

## THE VOYAGE OF A CAPE SLAVER IN 1742

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Slavery at the Cape Good Hope has recently been discussed with scholarly insight by Anna J. Böeseken with reference to the late 17th century.<sup>1</sup> Not the least interesting sections of her excellent book are those dealing with the origins of the slaves and the trade which brought so many of these reluctant immigrants to our shores to serve the Dutch East India Company and individual burghers and officials. For the company, the regular supply of a labour force could best be assured by direct purchase in a cheap market, preferably not too far distant from the settlement. The voyage of the *Hasselt* to the Guinea coast in 1657-8 which inaugurated this trade scarcely fulfilled the second condition, but it was not long before the Cape government turned its attention to sources nearer home, sending the little yacht the *Waterhoen* to Madagascar in 1663.<sup>2</sup> Voyages to the island were long to continue, although with fluctuating fortunes, and to them were added excursions to Delagoa Bay, where for a period in the early 18th century the Cape maintained a trading post.<sup>3</sup> No regular trade with nearby Angola was instituted, although in 1658 the *Amersfoort* brought many slaves to the Cape from a captured Portuguese vessel bound from that territory for Brazil.<sup>4</sup>

Madagascar, sometime haunt of pirate crews, was of prime importance to the company at the Cape as a source of cheap labour, but the Dutch always faced keen competition there. In addition to the Arabs, the British and French were particularly active in those waters, while the Danes and Portuguese also took a share of the market. Moreover, there were many unauthorized voyages made in defiance of the monopoly claimed by the major trading companies.<sup>5</sup> The result was a considerable dispersal of Malagasys from Buenos Aires to Canada in the Americas, to the Red Sea area and to the factories and possessions of European powers with East Indian interests from St. Helena to Java, the Cape included. Although the trade was never conducted on the scale encountered on the African west coast, Hubert Deschamps has estimated that perhaps as many as 20 000 men, women and children were shipped from Madagascar between 1506 and 1776, a loss only partially made up by slave purchases in East Africa for use on the island.<sup>6</sup>

By the first half of the 18th century slavery was firmly rooted in the economic and social life of the Cape.<sup>7</sup> Lone voices were raised against the importation of slaves — Dominique Marius Pasques de Chavonnes, captain of the Cape garrison, in 1717 and the governor general of the Indies, Van Imhoff, in 1743, for example — but it was

1. *Slaves and free Blacks at the Cape 1658—1700* (Cape Town, 1977).

2. Böeseken, *Slaves and free Blacks*, pp. 10, 12, 64.

3. For this settlement see C.G. Coetzee, *Die Kompanjie se besetting van Delagoabaai*, (Archives Year Book for South African History, 11th. year, II, 1948.)

4. Böeseken, *Slaves and free Blacks*, p. 11.

5. For some sources see my article *The Cape and foreign shipping, 1714—1723*, *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 7n.

6. *Histoire de Madagascar* (3rd ed., Paris, 1965), pp. 86—87.

7. For a general account of Cape slavery see V. de Kock, *Those in bondage: an account of the life of the slave at the Cape in the days of the Dutch East India Company* (2nd ed., Pretoria, 1963).

generally accepted that White labour would prove expensive to the company and that in any case slaves were better suited to heavy work in a warm climate.<sup>8</sup> By 1742 there were more than 6 000 slaves at the Cape, more than 70% of them adult males, and forming the largest group in that small community of freemen, company servants and human chattels.<sup>9</sup>

This then is something of the background to the voyage of 1742, the central theme of this article. The account we have of it is not unique in the records of the Cape for the first hundred years of Dutch East India Company control there.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, it must be conceded that no narrative of a single expedition of this kind can hope to place the Cape slave-trade in wide perspective. Nevertheless, the *Dagregister bij wijze van Rapport* signed on Christmas Day in 1742 is a detailed document which illustrates vividly both the methods employed and the difficulties confronted on similar voyages of the period.<sup>11</sup>

The ship in question was the *Brak*, a three-masted hooker sent out expressly by the company's Zeeland chamber for the Madagascar trade. Captained by Jacobus van der Spil of Middelburg and with Gilles Dabijn as chief mate, she reached the Cape on September 2, 1740 after a brief call at a popular Atlantic refreshment station, the Portuguese island of Santiago in the Cape Verde archipelago.<sup>12</sup> This was a long voyage for a vessel designed essentially for coastal traffic. Her crew — the figure is taken from a later sailing — numbered only fifty-two, of whom nine were soldiers, and her armament consisted of no more than ten three-pounders and four small breech-loaders.<sup>13</sup>

Preparations were immediately undertaken for an early departure and towards the end of October the *Brak* sailed for Madagascar on her first voyage as a slave-trader.<sup>14</sup> The expedition was an unexpected fiasco. A faulty chart led to navigational problems, Madagascar was never sighted and the *Brak* returned empty-handed to Table Bay.<sup>15</sup> The next year's voyage was more successful, the ship disembarking seventy-two slaves at the Cape, having lost ten after purchase on the island.<sup>16</sup> The Cape authorities, however, had hoped for better things and noted with regret the presence on Madagascar of British, French, Portuguese and Arab competitors in the trade.<sup>17</sup> The Dutch government on Ceylon was therefore requested to send over any slaves it could spare.<sup>18</sup>

8. See *The Reports of Chavonnes and his council, and of Van Imhoff, on the Cape. With incidental correspondence*, Van Riebeeck Society, 1, Cape Town, 1918.

9. C 527, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1742: Lords 17, Amsterdam, March 15 and June 9, pp. 137–138; 649–650. These and all other unp. documents cited are in the Cape Archives, Cape Town.

10. See C 660–661, *Scheeps and andere journalen*, 1664–1753.

11. C 661, *Scheeps en andere journalen*, 1707–1753, pp. 235–326. Subsequent references to the voyage of 1742, unless otherwise stated, are from this source.

12. C 447, *Inkomende brieven*, 1740: 31, Middelburg, April 4, p. 199; C 616, *Dag Register* (orig.), 1739–1743: Sept. 2, 1740, pp. 399–400. See also H.C.V. Leibbrandt, *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Requesten (Memorials) 1715–1806*, I (Cape Town and London, 1905), p. 376: Dabijn, Gilles, 4, 1744.

13. C 661: *Journal*, 1740, p. 187.

14. C 616: Oct. 23, 1740, p. 438. For the voyage see C 661: *Journal*, Oct. 22 – Dec. 26, pp. 187–215.

15. O.F. Mentzel, *A Geographical and topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope*, trans. H.J. Mandelbrote, I, Van Riebeeck Society, 4 Cape Town, 1921, p. 169.

16. C 616: Dec. 25, 1741, p. 761; C 527: Batavia, Feb. 26, 1742, p. 8.

17. C 527: Batavia, Feb. 26, 1742, p. 9.

18. C 34, *Resolutiën*, 1742: April 17, pp. 134–135.

There was, however, a gleam of hope for future commercial prospects on Madagascar in the report brought back by the *Brak* in December, 1741. The company writer Otto Lüder Hemmy of Bremen, later to become deputy Cape governor, had played an important part in negotiations on the island, and had established relations with several west coast potentates who had expressed an interest in further trade with the Dutch.<sup>19</sup> Plans were therefore laid for another voyage, cash was allocated for monetary transactions and trinkets for barter collected, some by local purchase.<sup>20</sup> Hemmy was again appointed to superintend the trade negotiations and was accompanied by a clerk from Amsterdam of Huguenot origin, Daniel Rousselet Brousson.<sup>21</sup> An interpreter Lambert made up the party. On April 24, 1742 governor Hendrik Swellengrebel gave Van der Spil his sailing orders and on the following morning, "met een gunstig windje", the *Brak* slipped out of Table Bay.

The Dutch hooker dropped anchor on May 26 in St Augustine's Bay on the south-west coast of Madagascar after a stormy passage from the Cape. Her arrival coincided with that of a French slaver from Mauritius, the *Ville de Pondichéry*, but any suspicions the Dutch entertained that they would find her an unwelcome competitor were quickly dispelled when they were informed that the French were bound for Mozambique where they intended to buy slaves for the Coromandel coast. Another possible threat to trade lay in the presence at Masselage on the north-west coast of a French ship, the *Renommée*, but the visitors from the Cape were assured that if she failed to embark five or six hundred slaves there, she would also sail to the African mainland to complete her purchases. The *Ville de Pondichéry* took a letter from Van der Spil, Hemmy and Rousselet Brousson, with a covering note to the British governor of Madras asking him to send it on to the Cape for them, a somewhat circuitous delivery route.

The *Brak* was no stranger to St. Augustine's Bay and as soon as she had dropped anchor canoes came out from shore with the latest news from the region. Food too had to be obtained for the officers and merchants, the ship's company and, in course of time, for the slaves. The first of many transactions of this kind during a protracted stay in south-west Madagascar was arranged on Sunday, May 27. Foodstuffs were generally acquired by barter, the most succulent delicacies going to the officers' table. Chicken, eggs, milk, mealies, fish, fruit and green vegetables appeared regularly on the menu, together with such tropical products as yams and sugar-cane, and sometimes more exotic dishes: turtle, pheasant or flamingo. Despite a poor rice harvest, a large quantity was purchased in September for the slaves on a scale of exchange established with island dignitaries in the previous month. Drought had caused severe stock losses, but meat was available, again at a predetermined price.

Muskets, powder and ammunition figure among the items bartered for rice, but ordinary provisions were obtained for such trade goods as tobacco, knives, English penknives, razors and mirrors. On September 26, for example, four baskets of mealies, four bundles of sugar-cane and six chickens cost the company's servants thirteen pounds of tobacco, two table knives, three penknives and a hand mirror. The emphasis in the goods supplied to the Malagasys was on utility, rather than upon the purely de-

19. C 527: Batavia, Feb. 26, 1742, p. 10. See also P. Boiteau, *Contribution à l'histoire de la nation malgache* (Paris, 1958), p. 46.

20. C 34: March 5, 1742, p. 102.

21. C 527: Lords 17, Amsterdam, May 5, 1742, p. 473. Rousselet Brousson replaced Nicolaas Arendse.

corative. Buttons were popular; beads, it would seem, less so. It is known that the Cape authorities had considerable difficulty in disposing of the beads brought back from Delagoa Bay long after the settlement there had been abandoned.<sup>22</sup> There are, moreover, indications that the Dutch were considered rather close-handed in their commercial dealings. Hemmy and Rousselet Brousson noted that the British and French were far more aware of a growing desire for silver coin, even in the purchase of provisions. This represented no change to a money economy on the island, but the intrinsic value of coins was appreciated, even if they were only used for personal adornment, or for the embellishment of temples.

Contact with the local royal house was established on the evening of May 30, when a Prince Willem and his retinue came aboard the *Brak*. The attendants included two headmen, Jan and Sam, who were to play a part in the acquisition of slaves. The Dutch came to have a high opinion of Sam, a frail, elderly man whose honesty and loyalty raised him in their estimation above most of his fellows. Willem's arrival was marked by that exchange of presents which accompanied every encounter with the Malagasys. King Rammanrasse's visit to the *Brak* on July 13, for instance, the first time that monarch had ever set foot on a ship, made heavy inroads into the stock of trade goods; the festivities attending the circumcision of his youngest son Scherria in the following month further depleted the guns and ammunition stowed in the hold.<sup>23</sup> In contrast, the celebration of Swellengrebel's birthday by the Dutch in September was a modest and entirely domestic affair.<sup>24</sup>

When Willem visited the *Brak*, King Rammanrasse was at nearby Tullear with his court. The Dutch supercargoes Hemmy and Rousselet Brousson therefore hastened to meet him there in order to begin negotiations without delay, leaving the ship to follow a few days later. An audience was held with due ceremony on June 1. Rammanrasse, seated upon his customary throne — "een hooge zand heuvel naast zijn hoff" — inspected the merchants' credentials, carefully examined the presents they had brought him and expressed the hope that the Dutch would not be as niggardly with gifts as they had been in the previous year. Here too the traders met a certain James Martin, a Christian and doubtless a half-caste, who was the *éminence grise* among the king's ministers. Lighter relief was provided by the ten queens who accompanied the supercargoes to the residence set aside for them and, in the words of the report, "ons buijtingemeen liefkoosden".

On June 4 a contract was signed between the king-in-council and the Dutch. Slaves supplied by the king were to be purchased for cash: thirty Spanish *reales* for an adult male; twenty-five for a woman. Taking the Spanish coin at its then current value of nineteen *stuivers*,<sup>25</sup> we may estimate the top price in modern currency at R4,75. The king was later to insist that no island potentate would sell a slave without some cash element reflected in the price, but his was evidently an exaggeration. For slave purchases from other sources a number of alternatives were listed, having reference to the variety of goods available as barter. A slave of either sex might cost three

22. C 533, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1748: Lords 17, Amsterdam, April 20, pp. 81–82.

23. Malagasy personal names are transcribed as they appear in the report.

24. Celebrated on Sept. 22. A. Hallema ('Een vergeten Kaapsche gouverneur Hendrik Swellengrebel 1739–1751', *De Indische Gids*, LIV, 1932, p. 7) gives his birthday as Sept. 20.

25. Mentzel, *Geographical and Topographical description*, I, p. 154n.

muskets, twelve pounds of gunpowder, five pounds of lead shot and thirty flints.<sup>26</sup> Other prices were twenty-five pounds of assorted beads, or a quarter leaguer of brandy; seventy-five pounds of powder, "sonder meer", or three iron pots, three dressing mirrors, twenty pounds of powder, six pounds of lead shot and fifty flints. The cost of a child was not stipulated, but was set in practice at a lower level. When the king and Prince Dabbihi brought in the boy Tsimette on July 13, they accepted 13¾ *reales*, a dozen pewter plates and a like number of dishes and spoons. The terms of the contract of June 4 were scrupulously observed by both parties, the Dutch undertaking to remain at Tullear for three months, a sojourn later extended.

Having established the slave-trade on a business-like footing, arrangements were made for the construction of a factory on shore, with guard-house, kitchen, hospital and surgeon's dwelling, all to be enclosed within a protective palisade. The cost was met from the stores of tobacco, brandy and other goods. This seems to have been no permanent settlement for subsequent reoccupation, but for the season only. The buildings were erected without delay and the Dutch took possession of them on June 13, "niet sonder staatelijk gevolg", as die report notes, "werdende door sijn Maijt. en de geheelde Coninklijke familie (*sic*) verseld". When the two merchants were absent, authority devolved upon the resident third surgeon of the *Brak*, Frederik Hofman. The little hooker remained offshore, to be used as a virtual prison for the slaves.

On June 16 the king held an augmented council attended by tributary princes and dignitaries from afar who pledged their help for the trading enterprise. Moreover, in order to dissuade the Dutch from looking in other directions for slaves, the headman Jan was to be sent inland to Ambolambo with a hundred and twenty armed men to negotiate for slaves in a region known to supply an annual quota to Masselage for purchase by foreign visitors. The party from the *Brak* were not entirely happy about this scheme, suggesting to the minister Martin that "dit gantsche gebouw op losse schroeven stond". Nevertheless it was felt that the company's interests would be served if Jan were given a generous supply of ammunition before he set off.

It was in the late afternoon of the same day that the first slave was purchased. Seehasjek, an adult male, cost the Dutch twenty-five pounds of assorted beads. Four days later a woman, Tsalille, was bought for the stipulated quantity of muskets and ammunition. Neither would ever see the Cape. The trade continued slowly, with the king and his heir. Prince Mabiase, making useful contributions. On July 18 a neighbouring potentate, King Simanminde, sent in a slave. He ruled over a territory known to the Dutch as St Jan, evidently located near the bay of Santa Justa on the southern coast. Simaminde was later to advise the Dutch to visit him there to step up their purchases.

By this time the merchants from the *Brak* had acquired twenty-one slaves, including four women and a boy. However, early in the morning of July 19 there occurred an event which was to set back the whole programme. A number of the male slaves succeeded in loosening their bonds, surged on deck and after attempting to seize a weapon from the sentry, jumped overboard. They were immediately followed and six were pulled out of the water. Seven, however, including Seehasjek, were never seen again and perhaps drowned before they could reach shore. The two ring-leaders were severely punished and all the slaves were tightly bound hand and foot to

26. Deschamps (*Histoire de Madagascar*, p. 86) gives almost the same price for a slave at St. Augustine in 1741. He suggests two muskets instead of three.

prevent any further trouble. The incident affords us a brief glimpse into the minds of these wretched hostages to commercial enterprise.

The trade continued at Tullear until early October, the *Brak* delaying her sailing until the outcome of Jan's expedition into the interior was known. This proved a signal failure. Two large French ships were engrossing all the available slaves, Jan could obtain none and in fact fled to Masselage "om een onvermijdelijke dood te ontgaan die hem alhier was toegewezen". Slaves continued to come in from local sources, but the trade remained slack.

In the latter part of July the king moved his court to St. Augustine's for two weeks, leaving the queen consort Rammahoute in charge. The king's senior wife did not neglect the royal undertaking to keep the Dutch supplied with slaves and her visits illustrate another of the sadder aspects of contact between Whites and Malagasys. After finishing her business on July 24, she sat at the factory with her attendants drinking steadily through the company's seemingly inexhaustible stock of brandy. A prodigious quantity of this spirit was consumed during the *Brak*'s stay and we note in passing the sour comment in the report for August 14 and 15: "Niets voorgevallen, maar den Coning gezint zijnde tot debauché kosten ons in deese dagen door een geweldige afperssing aan brandewijn ... 6 kannen".

On October 4, when the company's servants bought the female slave Sjapettak from James Martin for twenty-five pounds of beads, there were twenty-eight of these unfortunates below decks in the *Brak*. In addition to the losses sustained in the escape bid, six more had died within hailing distance of their homeland, all but one after at most a month in captivity. Four more, including the woman Tsalille, succumbed after the *Brak* left Madagascar, one as the ship reached Table Bay.

There were few losses among the Whites on the hooker. A sailor, Jan Hinskens, died in the first weeks at Tullear and another, Pieter Bonket of Amsterdam, fell from the yards soon after the *Brak* sailed from that anchorage. The unexpected death after a short illness of the skipper, Van der Spil, in the early hours of August 30 must, however, have cast a gloom over the whole slaving venture. His body was brought ashore and buried in a tomb provided by the king, who with the royal princes and other notables took refreshment at the factory after the interment. Dabijn assumed command and Francois Pennink, later to succeed to the captaincy,<sup>27</sup> became chief mate. The change in leadership was followed by a ceremonial meeting between the new captain and the king, at which the latter promised to remain a true friend and ally of the Dutch and was rewarded for his loyalty with the gifts he clearly expected.

There were also three deserters from the *Brak*. A young deck-hand, Gijsbert van Melkenbeeke of Ressegem, south-east of Ghent, ran off in September when he was sent to cut wood and was not recovered. On the morning of October 9 it was reported that there were two more absentees: Melchior Boone of Louvain, the *scheeps corporaal* in charge of repairs to the guns and the supply of ammunition, and a sailor detailed to assist him, Francois Aling of Bruges. They had absconded with their tools. Here was a problem for a ship ready to sail, since a skilled smith and his equipment could ill be spared. The king, doubtless realizing that the men could be useful to him, was reluctant to start a search, but the promise of further presents helped him to change his mind and the deserters were in custody before the day was out. They were each sentenced to a fine, loss of wages and corporal punishment.

27. C 531, Uitgaande brieven, 1746: Lords 17, Amsterdam, April 15, p. 277.

There were gains as well as losses. While the king was at St Augustine's with his court, a London East Indiaman, the *Salisbury*, lay at anchor there, seeking water and provisions. This circumstance may not have been unconnected with the king's decision to visit the bay. On the afternoon of August 8, four soldiers from the British vessel arrived at the factory. They complained of ill-treatment at the hands of the ship's captain, Christopher Burrows, and asked to be taken aboard the *Brak*. One of them later planned an escape by boat with navigational instruments he had fashioned, but was discovered, punished and set on shore. The others, however — William Ramsey of Barbados in the West Indies, George Hall of Cirencester and Joseph T(h)orp of Hull — were not involved in this deception and were allowed to join the *Brak*'s crew after swearing an oath of allegiance to the Dutch company. The *Salisbury*'s captain must surely have made enquiries about his men when he reached the Cape in January, 1744 on the homeward run from Madras.<sup>28</sup>

The *Brak* sailed from Tullear on October 10 after fond farewells from the local people, "van de grootste tot de klijnste". The trade had been disappointing, but the season was not too far advanced to make calls elsewhere. Political unrest in the Masselage region dissuaded the Dutch from steering for that noted slaving centre and they resolved instead to follow up the invitation they had received to visit Santa Justa Bay. The voyage there, against contrary winds, took eighteen days and on arrival the captain could find no clear passage into the harbour. It was therefore decided to return to the African coast and to make a final effort to recoup some of their losses by calling at the company's old trading station, abandoned in December, 1730.

On the evening of November 8 the *Brak* dropped anchor in Delagoa Bay between the island of Santa Maria (Inhaca) and that of the Elephants (Ilha dos Elefantes), where she remained for three weeks. Various small craft came out to greet the traders and on November 18 Hemmy and one of the mates landed on Santa Maria to assess the possibility of obtaining provisions, Dabijn holding four local men hostage on the *Brak* against their safe return. Their report on that barren island was disquieting.

From the commercial angle, the time spent in Delagoa Bay was not unprofitable. Four slaves were purchased, two women and two boys, and at barter prices well below those charged on Madagascar, pewter plates and dishes forming a major part of the exchange. All these slaves were safely landed at the Cape. Furthermore, seventy-two ounces of ambergris and 165 pounds of ivory were acquired for goods valued at little more than twenty-three guilders. The supercargoes were also able to give the Cape authorities some idea of the practicability of further trade in a region where the Dutch language had not yet been entirely forgotten.

On November 25 Dabijn suggested to his ship's council that the time had come to leave. Trade was not brisk and a delay might have serious consequences since food was in short supply and both the Whites and the slaves were complaining of nausea. Four days later the *Brak* left her anchorage and "onder verwagtng van gods zeegen" set course for home, reaching Table Bay on Sunday, December 23, after an eight months' absence.

The voyage of the *Brak* in 1742 forms only a small part of the larger history of slave purchases for the Cape and her human cargo from Madagascar represents an insignificant fraction of the total export of people from that island in the hey-day of the trade. Nor, even with the addition of slaves, ivory and ambergris from Delagoa

28. C 618, Dag Register (dupl. 1743—1745: Jan. 8, 1744, p. 212.

Bay, can it be described as a markedly successful voyage. She had done better in 1741, and in 1743, before her suspect timbers, locally patched up, rendered her unfit for further expeditions of the kind,<sup>29</sup> she brought back her largest consignment: ninety-nine slaves, with only fourteen losses.<sup>30</sup> No balance-sheet can be drawn up, since the slaves were not for sale and the precise worth to the company of the labour provided by the survivors cannot be accurately measured. Nevertheless the financial statement included in the report compiled by Hemmy and Rousselet Brousson makes interesting reading.

The capital outlay for the expedition exceeded 8 900 guilders, almost 80% of which was spent on the voyage. Two-thirds of this expenditure went, either directly in purchase price, or indirectly for sustenance, on the slaves who finally reached the Cape. Nineteen men, six women and three children entered the slave lodge in December, 1742. Each slave landed cost the company a little more than 163 guilders, some five times the price of a single slave bought from King Rammanrasse on Madagascar. This figure, however, does not take into account the outlay of some 1 145 guilders on the seventeen slaves who died or fled after purchase. The heaviest mortality was among the men; all the children and all but one of the women reached the Cape.

We see the slave here as a commodity; little of his humanity emerges from these pages. In this barbarous trade it is the commercial instincts of the purchasers and the cupidity of those from whom they bought which reign supreme. These slaves who swelled the Cape's captive labour force lost more than their freedom. Dragged from their homes, transported across the sea to an alien society, they joined the ranks of the culturally dispossessed. They and their descendants were to lose their customs, their traditions and their language, while even their names so carefully transcribed in this document<sup>31</sup> were discarded by their new masters, who preferred Claas, Maria, November or Junius "van Madagascar" or "van Rio de la Goa" to such names as Tsalatse, Himahone, Reytaase or Tshahangohani by which they were known in their native lands. The subsequent histories of these immigrants by compulsion are obscure, but their significance in the evolution of the complex racial structure of modern South Africa is not to be disregarded.

## APPENDIX

### Slave purchases during the Brak's voyage in 1742

#### *Madagascar*

June 16	Seehasjek (male). Escaped July 19.
20	Tsalille (female). Died off Delagoa Nov. 2.
21	Tsjahielle (male). Escaped July 19.
24	Serasse (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
26	Tsinafoerits (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
	Tsinanouw (male). Escaped July 19.
	Ambelahetouw (male). To Cape Dec. 23.

29. C 529, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1744: Lords 17, Middelburg, May 12, pp. 527–528; C 530, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1745: Lords 17, Middelburg, April 10, p. 72; C 531: Lords 17, Amsterdam, March 10, 1746, p. 81.

30. C 528, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1743: Batavia, Dec. 21, pp. 694–695.

31. That they are phonetic forms is indicated by spelling variations in the original text.



- 28 Tandenatouw (male). Died at sea Dec. 18.  
Rayhavan (male). Died at sea Dec. 3.
- 30 Sarosse (female). To Cape Dec. 23.  
Anrewesa (female). To Cape Dec. 23.
- July 8 (?) Malin (male). To Cape Dec. 23.  
Reytonduts (male). Escaped July 19.  
Remahay (male). Escaped July 19.  
Raatjeta (male). To Cape Dec. 23.  
Terlonge (male). Escaped July 19.
- 1 Tsiwokonde (male). To Cape Dec. 23.  
Tsimandeha (male). Escaped July 19.
- 13 Tsimette (male child). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 15 Himahone (female). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 18 Tsitoehisa (male). Died Tullear Sept. 26.
- 19 Koelaatsey (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 24 Jambilly (male). Died Tullear Aug. 12.
- 30 Rayrivits (male). Died Tullear Aug. 21.
- 1 Minanreew (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 12 Tsantohey (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 13 Raykoele (male). Died Tullear Sept. 8.
- 16 Rangedahe (male). Died Cape Dec. 23.
- 23 Tsilatse (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 27 Tsifonsaha (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- Sept. 3 Tetsihey (male). Died Tullear Sept. 15.  
Serambese (male). To Cape Dec. 23.  
Sangira (male). Died Tullear Oct. 3.  
Tsiarfetse (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 8 Beloene (male). To Cape Dec. 23.  
Tsiheynouw (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 17 Filantsimore (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 26 Souwvlak (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 1 Reytaase (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 2 Rayaake (male). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 4 Sjapettak (female). To Cape Dec. 23.

*Delagoa Bay*

- Nov. 10 Tsahangohani (male child). To Cape Dec. 23.
- 20 Mahanota (female). To Cape Dec. 23.  
Angelangie (female). To Cape Dec. 23.  
Rammansori (male child). To Cape Dec. 23.