**Chapter 3**

**Negotiating for Slaves**

At the turn of the eighteenth century, an English trader wrote a trading manual entitled, “An account of the present commodities that are imported and exported at Madagascar and the manner of dealing with the natives.” [[1]](#footnote-1) The anonymous author gave instructions for English captains wishing to purchase slaves. He provided details about the commodities required for trade, as well as suggestions for negotiating with kings and preventing sailor and slave rebellions. Despite never mentioning the Sakalava, the writer referred to trading practices found in their slave-trading ports. He described St. Augustine’s Bay and Fort Dauphin as the best sources for “provisions.” For buying slaves, however, traders should visit the ports of the west coast, as “you need no doubt of meeting slaves enough at some of these places.”[[2]](#footnote-2) These ports, under Sakalava control, were as the most reliable points for purchasing slaves during the eighteenth century.[[3]](#footnote-3)

 Records left by other European captains and traders described their visits to these ports during this century. The smooth exchange of commodities for slaves required European captains to form alliances with Sakalava kings and trading representatives. Rigid hierarchies were visible in Sakalava trading negotiations that excluded others from participating. Europeans learned that only Sakalava kings could sell cattle, rice, or slaves for firearms. Europeans, seeking to trade with Sakalava sovereigns, agreed to these trading procedures and, in so doing, allowed these rulers to monopolize trade in western Madagascar. Sakalava trading procedures also reflected and engaged with ideas of trade and power already circulating within the Indian Ocean world. These trading practices were present even on the periphery of the Sakalava Empire, in regions such as Tulear that were under the control of members of the Sakalava confederation. Similar practices were observed by Europeans visiting Morondava and Massaleige, ports more traditionally considered part of the Sakalava Empire.[[4]](#footnote-4)

Elite traders had dominated foreign exchanges from northern Madagascar during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, in many respects, eighteenth-century Sakalava monarchs controlled trade using similar methods. When Portuguese arrived in northwestern Madagascar during the sixteenth century, they observed an already bustling exchange system in the ports of the island.[[5]](#footnote-5) The *Antaloatra* traders of the northwestern ports had cultural, economic, and religious ties with rulers in the Comoro Islands and East Africa that enabled them to sell slaves to traders from these locations throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some slaving ships probably came from the northern Indian Ocean, but the Malagasy possessed closer trading ties with East Africa and the Comoros.

These slaves probably came from the interior of Madagascar. The Antaloatra lacked the strength to seize slaves forcibly throughout the island and relied on traders in the interior of Madagascar for their supplies of slaves.[[6]](#footnote-6) River canoes transported slaves captured in the highlands of the island, the most populous region, to the round bays of the northwestern coastline.[[7]](#footnote-7) Throughout the seventeenth century, Antaloatra continued to export slaves, probably fewer than a thousand slaves annually. These slaves still came from eastern Madagascar and the highlands, although the instability within Madagascar likely interrupted slave-trading routes within Madagascar. The numbers of slaves exported from Madagascar to the Comoros, East Africa, and the northern Indian Ocean were probably quite small, at least in comparison to the numbers of slaves involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Around 1700, dhows visiting the northwestern ports of Madagascar annually probably numbered fewer than a dozen, at least judging by European observations. These ships likely carried fewer than a hundred slaves each.[[8]](#footnote-8)

It would be difficult to make any definite conclusions about the size of this trade, however, as evidence only comes from occasional observations of Europeans, who had reasons to inflate their estimates of the trade. Without any additional data, it would be difficult to assess the conduct of this trade over a long period, as it also appears likely that the numbers of slaves exported from Madagascar yearly fluctuated widely between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.[[9]](#footnote-9)

Regardless of these fluctuations, it appears that Antaloatra traders exported slaves from the northwestern entrepôts from the sixteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century.[[10]](#footnote-10) During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Sakalava or Sakalava-appointed leaders oversaw the slave trade from western Madagascar, but allowed the Antaloatra to maintain their trade networks within the Indian Ocean. The effect of this long-running export of slaves (and the inflation of the availability of Malagasy slaves by European observers) had an effect on Sakalava slave trading with Europeans and European perceptions of this practice. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European merchants, evading monopoly controls in the Atlantic, sought to uncover new sources of slaves and a few focused their efforts on Madagascar. Reports of a bustling slave trade already in operation in Madagascar attracted many of these traders. By the mid-seventeenth century, Europeans were convinced that Malagasy merchants could supply American markets with cheap slaves, prompting a brief increase in the number of Malagasy slaves transported to the Americas. This trade came to a halt within a few decades, due in part to the distances involved.[[11]](#footnote-11) During this period, European monopoly trading companies also purchased Malagasy slaves for their trading posts in the Indian Ocean.[[12]](#footnote-12)

As in West Africa, European trading companies attempted to carve out specific regions for their purchases and constructed trading posts or forts for the defense of their traders in the Indian Ocean.[[13]](#footnote-13) In Madagascar, however, Europeans faced hostility when they attempted to inhabit the shores of the island. This antagonism, combined with a lack of steady supplies on the island, meant that Europeans ships had to visit several ports. Captains were usually unable to purchase sufficient supplies of food and labor at a single port or even two. [[14]](#footnote-14) European ships had to move from port to port, their captains buying a few slaves and some rice and cattle at each port. European captains had to be knowledgeable about multiple regions of Madagascar, as they might have to visit multiple ports to fill their cargoes.[[15]](#footnote-15) This practice echoes the movements of slave-trading dhows in the ocean. Benefiting from centuries of maritime knowledge of winds and currents in the Indian Ocean, dhow captains directed their ships along the shoreline and visited at several ports during their voyages.[[16]](#footnote-16) In addition, dhow captains rarely required extremely large cargoes of food or water onboard for slaves, nor did dhows have room for such things, given their sizes.

As a result, Europeans struggled to purchase food and sufficient numbers of slaves, particularly during the decades prior to the rise of the Sakalava Empire. For example, one English ship in 1682 spent eighteen months off Massaliege. During this long stay, they only purchased 130 slaves. Most of the English crew, aside from seven men, died while the ship was at anchor in Massaliege. This death toll included three different captains. The crew sailed to Anjouan to purchase food before returning to Massaliege and resuming their attempt to fill the ship with slaves.[[17]](#footnote-17) This story is suggestive of the trouble Europeans faced in obtaining slaves and why they were forced to visit multiple regions of Madagascar to purchase commodities.

Sakalava rulers assimilated other trading practices already in use within the Indian Ocean world. As Europeans turned to Sakalava ports for purchasing slaves, Sakalava rulers forced Europeans to operate within established modes of trade, many of which served to demonstrate the political and economic dominance of these elites. Sakalava rulers wore silk clothes and jewelry.[[18]](#footnote-18) They even converted to Islam around 1800.[[19]](#footnote-19) European slave traders were forced to operate within this model and they only traded with Sakalava-appointed elites who exhibited these traits.[[20]](#footnote-20) Europeans also described how kings and queens used their military power to dominate trade. Having a monopoly on the use of violence allowed them to control local communities and establish themselves as the sole mediators for cross-cultural contact. Europeans had to contend with Sakalava ideas of power and kingship to obtain access to supplies of food and slaves on the west coast of Madagascar.

In return, Sakalava-affiliated leaders organized the visits of Europeans to their ports. Royal representatives gave foreign traders assistance with navigating, translating, and negotiating with rulers in western Madagascar. European merchants began to depend upon this assistance. They also relied upon the Sakalava to obtain sufficient commodities in a relatively short period on the west coast of Madagascar. This reliance allowed the Sakalava to dominate exchanges and control the movement of certain items, specifically firearms, rice, cattle, and slaves, within the west coast of Madagascar.

**Sakalava Trading Representatives**

In St. Augustine's Bay, the news of the Onslow’s arrival came to communities around the bay by May, at the end of fall in the southern hemisphere. Men and women brought food items such as oranges, lemons, and honey on canoes from the interior. By the time the English ship anchored in the bay in 1741, the Malagasy were ready.[[21]](#footnote-21) They approached the Onslow in their canoes and climbed onboard the ship with their food. Famished sailors peddled their personal belongings for fruit, chickens, and milk. Following good harvests, households sold their excess food items for alcohol, Indian cloth, and metals. The rapid appearance of these Malagasy amazed less experienced sailors, as no houses or buildings were visible on the “grand and beautiful” shoreline.[[22]](#footnote-22)

 The crews welcomed food from “very civil” Malagasy with “joy.”[[23]](#footnote-23) Malagasy living along the bay were aware of European demands and needs. They took advantage of the poor state of the crew to gain access to valuable items. Englishman Silas James visited Madagascar as a sailor towards the end of the eighteenth century. James observed,

Hardly was the anchor gone before we were visited by near twenty canoes, full of the inhabitants and their wives; with them they brought on board a great variety of the produce of the land, in order to trade with us, or barter for such articles as we possessed. The commodities they dealt in, though of a different specie from ours, were, like them, calculated for that prime object, the belly. Their goods consisted of an abundant variety of eatables, particularly tropical fruits, viz. yams, tamarinds, plantains, bananas, cocoa nuts, sweet potatoes, sugar-canes, oranges and honey, besides a great plenty of animals which principally consisted of monkeys and mococks.[[24]](#footnote-24)

By the eighteenth century, people living along the bay no longer fled from Europeans and instead provided them with ample food.[[25]](#footnote-25)

 The Malagasy observed European ships entering their bay, the large ships always in danger of scraping their bottoms on reefs that dotted the bay. Europeans lowered smaller boats, known as *chaloupes*, longboats, or “pinnaces,” overboard.[[26]](#footnote-26) These boats sounded the depth of the bay ahead of the larger ship. At times, Europeans employed local fishermen to assist with navigating into the bay, but it was more usual for the Sakalava to send a navigator to the ship as it entered the bay.[[27]](#footnote-27) These skilled Malagasy assisted Europeans in finding secure anchoring in the bay. Just as Vasco da Gama had engaged a local sailor from the East African coast for assistance in sailing to India, European captains relied upon local navigators to anchor safely in Indian Ocean harbors.[[28]](#footnote-28) Navigators could read European maps and use their instruments. They were also knowledgeable about monsoonal wind schedules.[[29]](#footnote-29) If they failed to lead the ship in successfully, however, frustrated European captains punished them.[[30]](#footnote-30) With the help of these sailors, European monopoly companies tended to neglect the improvement of their geographical knowledge of the coastline until the nineteenth century.[[31]](#footnote-31) As a result, European sea charts remained rudimentary and captains relied heavily upon local knowledge to come to anchor in the port.[[32]](#footnote-32)

 The navigator who assisted the Europeans with entering the bay was the first royal representative to come onboard. These representatives ensured that Europeans would only purchase slaves, cattle, and rice from the Sakalava rulers. When the Onslow entered the bay in 1741, a royal greeting party came aboard. The party was sent by Prince Will, the local ruler, and was comprised of “three men ... from St. Augustine’s Bay.”[[33]](#footnote-33) The party usually included a skilled navigator, a translator, and a messenger from the Sakalava monarch, King Baba.[[34]](#footnote-34) On another occasion, Prince Will raised a Union Jack flag to welcome the approaching Swallow, before sending his representatives to the ship.[[35]](#footnote-35) By the middle of the century, European captains expressed their surprise if such a group did not approach the ship as it came into the bay, as they had come to depend on this greeting party. After the Sussex arrived in the bay in 1738, the English crew “hoisted their colours and fired several guns, for to bring the Malagasy down.” When Malagasy lit fires along the shoreline at night, the English decided it was a signal of their goodwill and approached the shoreline the next day.[[36]](#footnote-36) That day Prince Will dispatched his canoes carrying an interpreter and a navigator, referred to as a “pilot,” to the Sussex. The crew welcomed the English-speaking translator and his gift of honey on board, and began to anticipate trading negotiations.[[37]](#footnote-37)

 The second member of the welcoming party, the translator, developed the most long-lasting relationship with the visiting crew. This interpreter remained on board during their entire stay of the ship in the bay, to ensure ease of communication between Europeans and Malagasy.[[38]](#footnote-38) Interpreters sent to ships in St. Augustine’s Bay and Morondava possessed titles such as “Captain William Bush,” “Tom Bush” or “Captain Martin.”[[39]](#footnote-39) Prince Will himself spoke English, but these interpreters were nearly fluent in English. They spoke English, even with French and Dutch merchants.[[40]](#footnote-40) We know little about these interpreters, their role in the coastal communities, and whether Europeans had given them these names.[[41]](#footnote-41) It was only clear that they worked for Prince Will and they demonstrated loyalty to their leaders.

 A third member of the welcoming party met with the European captain to receive messages for the king in Tulear, King Baba. This messenger frequently spoke English as well, as with “James Martin” who met the crew of the Onslow in 1740. James Martin quickly advised the captain that the real ruler of southwestern Madagascar resided in Tulear.[[42]](#footnote-42) This messenger, also described as the king’s “ambassador,” was assisted the captain in settling trade by taking messages to King Baba about the trading demands of the Europeans. Sometimes the ship’s captain was particularly desperate for supplies and sailed from the bay into Tulear where King Baba sold these goods. Most of the time, however, the messenger accompanied an officer of the crew on a visit to King Baba in Tulear.[[43]](#footnote-43) The officer had to bring a present to the king in order to start trade.[[44]](#footnote-44) The dispatch of this present to Tulear, “according to custom,” was the first step in trading negotiations between Europeans and King Baba.

 The messenger informed Europeans that when King Baba arrived in the bay, formal trade negotiations could start.[[45]](#footnote-45) Only King Baba was able trade guns for rice and slaves, and he could provide captains with a large number of cattle as well.[[46]](#footnote-46) Without the King’s permission, Europeans could only purchase small food items such as lemons from the people who visited their ship in canoes.[[47]](#footnote-47) For example, in 1751, the royal messenger, “Tom Bush,” informed the captain of the Delaware that the interpreter “Captain Martin” and Prince Will had gone to see the King Baba in Tulear, and would not return for several days. No trading of rice, cattle, or slaves could commence until all three men returned.[[48]](#footnote-48)

 Royal representatives also transmitted considerable information about trading prospects in the bay prior to the arrival of the king.[[49]](#footnote-49) They could tell the ship’s captain where to accomplish certain tasks, including getting water, constructing their trading factory, and fetching wood for the ship.[[50]](#footnote-50) Captain George Bagwell of the Hertford heard some good news when he arrived in the bay. Messengers described the bloody wars that had occurred recently and that the present King Baba had murdered three of his brothers to take over power eighteen months earlier. As a result, King Baba had many slaves for sale. Six months earlier, the king had sold eight hundred slaves to the French, according to messengers. As a result, Captain Bagwell decided to stay in St. Augustine’s Bay for several weeks, but only purchased twenty-nine slaves. During this stay, he had to purchase enough food to support his crew, to the profit of local Malagasy and the Sakalava rulers.[[51]](#footnote-51) Sakalava messengers may have been attempting to prolong the visit of the visiting Englishman, in order to sell more items to his crew.

 Messengers were a crucial source of information for visiting European traders on commerce in the Indian Ocean. They knew intimate details about commerce, politics, and the needs of European traders. European captains would go months without any updates about events in the ocean. Passing ships carried news of European peace treaties, shifting alliances, and crucial information about the control of ports such as Madras. During times of war, such information was invaluable for the crew of ships like the Haeslingfield. In 1739, the captain of the Haeslingfield spoke with a Portuguese commodore in St. Augustine's Bay. The Portuguese reported, “the English were at war with Spain” and the Spanish had taken an English galleon.[[52]](#footnote-52)

 These representatives also gave captains news of passing ships. Captains routinely asked messengers if any English, French or other European ships had stopped in the bay recently. More likely than not, this news reassured worried captains, as knowledge of the East Indies in Europe tended to lag as much as a year behind events in the ocean. The captain of the Caesar discovered that three English ships had anchored in the bay recently, before sailing north.[[53]](#footnote-53) Knowing that trade still continued without disruption encouraged visiting captains to remain in the bay and open trading channels with Prince Will and King Baba. Likewise, the absence of these assurances prompted some captains to travel elsewhere for supplies.[[54]](#footnote-54)

 When the Sussex went missing in 1738, the captain of the Prince William heard a rumor that the Malagasy had seized and enslaved the entire crew at Massaliege.[[55]](#footnote-55) In 1740, the EIC officers commanded the captain of the Onslow to touch at Madagascar “in her outward bound passage in order to enquire further after the ship Sussex,” as well as purchase supplies for their voyage to India.[[56]](#footnote-56) When the ship arrived, “James Martin,” one of the messengers, informed the captain that the Malagasy had not seized the crew of the Sussex and instead they had been castaways on the coast of Madagascar. Another English ship had been in the bay the previous year and received one of the surviving sailors of the Sussex, John Dean, as well as a letter left by another survivor with King Baba.[[57]](#footnote-57)

 Messengers also knew enough of European politics to manipulate rivalries to their advantage. In 1714, a messenger reassured a French captain that, after some English ships stole three hundred cattle without paying, the Malagasy would no longer trade with the English.[[58]](#footnote-58) Despite this statement, English merchants continued to trade peacefully in the bay. Further north, at Massaliege, a boat with French colors approached an English ship, the Diligent. After a confrontation with the English captain, the people quickly explained that some chiefs owned this flag. The boat carried rice for local trade and “it was customary to hoist French colours when they had trade.”[[59]](#footnote-59) Royal representatives in Sakalava ports usually expressed a great friendship with the English when they spoke with English traders and the opposite when they met with Frenchmen.[[60]](#footnote-60) By playing off perennial English/French competition, the Sakalava representatives ensured they received favorable trading deals with passing traders.

**Pirates**

 Sakalava representatives also knew how to use European itinerants to their advantage in trading negotiations. The period that began European slave trading in Madagascar coincided with the spread of piracy from the Atlantic into the Indian Ocean. A number of these pirates made Madagascar a base for their operations in the ocean and Sakalava monarchs took advantage of their presence on the island. By the eighteenth century, many of these European pirates became Malagasy subjects under the patronage of the Sakalava Empire. In return for harboring these fugitives, Sakalava monarchs acquired military and linguistic knowledge from European and American pirates. Forging close links with the pirates, allowed the Sakalava to monopolize trade.[[61]](#footnote-61)

Pirates lived on the coast of the island from around 1690 until at least 1720.[[62]](#footnote-62) The paths that brought them to Madagascar varied. Most pirates came from a seafaring background and were either out-of-work sailors from Europe or disgruntled privateers. The need to find a home in the ocean drew the pirates to Madagascar and the Comoro Islands. For some of these illicit traders, residence in Madagascar offered a respite from sea life and the possibility of living the life of a rich merchant. The pirate lifestyle among the Sakalava was so appealing to European sailors that many “fractious fellows” tried to flee inland at St. Augustine’s Bay and other ports to join pirates.[[63]](#footnote-63) With enough firearms and allies, pirates could live safely and peacefully on the shores of Madagascar. By gathering dependents, intermarrying with locals, coordinating (illegal) trade, and forming armies, pirates became part of the fabric of Madagascar.

Pirates engaged in trade with rulers on Madagascar and relied upon supplies purchased from rulers for their survival. Europeans complained that these “renegades of all nations” disturbed communities in Madagascar, by kidnapping people and cattle from communities on the island.[[64]](#footnote-64) In fact, pirates were relatively successful at living on the island and disrupted Malagasy communities less than European colonists had. Many of these migrants were adept at surviving in the harsh environment of Madagascar, although mortality rates were comparable among pirating groups as among English or French colonists on the island. The smaller size of pirate groups, however, meant their long-term residence was not as threatening to the Malagasy. Pirates relied on intermarriage with Malagasy women and supplies of guns for survival, strategies that still occasionally failed them.[[65]](#footnote-65)

 Many pirates sought shelter and protection through alliances with Sakalava monarchs. In St. Augustine’s Bay, around the end of the seventeenth century, there were “nine or ten white men who were under the king of Boarare [Baba?].”[[66]](#footnote-66) When shipwrecked sailor Robert Drury visited western ports during the first decades of the eighteenth century, white men were a fixture in Sakalava courts.[[67]](#footnote-67) By the 1720s, when the French attempted to stop pirates from controlling trade from the east coast of Madagascar, many pirates fled to the west coast. They sought protection under the “king of Massaly,” the Sakalava monarch at Boina.[[68]](#footnote-68) French sources described the king as the “strongest” monarch on the island. The king reportedly “has the most territory of Madagascar, and often sends out 50,000 men on foot, [so the king] can easily rule the entire island.” His close relationship with pirates bolstered his power. The king supposedly loved and protected whites and traded with them.[[69]](#footnote-69) In Massaliege, the pirates lived in “a very decent manner,” in houses with pewter dishes and were very rich, owning “many cattle and several slaves.”[[70]](#footnote-70)

 In return for their place in the Sakalava court, pirates assisted local monarchs with translation and negotiations with passing European ships. They facilitated long-distance trade from western Madagascar to European and American ships, much as the Antaloatra assisted the Sakalava in maintaining trade networks within the Indian Ocean.[[71]](#footnote-71) They may have also provided the Sakalava with a linguistic education and taught the Malagasy how to use firearms. Reportedly, the people of St. Augustine’s Bay knew how to curse in English, making frequent statements such as “G-d D—n ye, John, me love you.”[[72]](#footnote-72) Within a few decades, the Sakalava had incorporated knowledge gained from pirates into their own trading patterns, visible in their use of English translators, for instance.

 The age of piracy also attracted European vessels to Sakalava ports and away from the east coast of Madagascar.[[73]](#footnote-73) In European eyes, Sakalava kings had re-established “regulated commerce” on the island by preventing pirates from entering their ports. Europeans also stated that pirates did not dare to attack Sakalava tributary states, so Sakalava-controlled ports were safe for commerce.[[74]](#footnote-74) The threat of piracy from Madagascar had largely passed from Madagascar by around 1720, but European sea captains continued to fear pirate attacks for most of the eighteenth century.[[75]](#footnote-75) European traders continued to trust the Sakalava to protect them in their ports and, in return, Sakalava rulers welcomed traders and drew upon knowledge obtained from the pirates.

**The King's Arrival: Food, Drink, and Presents**

 This knowledge was important in the next stage of trading negotiations: the meeting between the king and the ship’s captain. After the ship came to anchor, a European captain would order his crew to fire canon salutes to greet Prince Will and King Baba. After royal representatives delivered presents to the king in Tulear, usually a gun and “good spirits,” Europeans received in return “a fat ox or some other valuable thing.” [[76]](#footnote-76) King Baba usually arrived a few days later.[[77]](#footnote-77) A meeting with King Baba was a significant ceremony because, as all passing captains knew, he was the one who controlled their successful acquisition of goods in St. Augustine’s Bay.[[78]](#footnote-78)

 The king and prince frequently ordered that the longboat come to the shore and carry them to the boat.[[79]](#footnote-79) Boat also carried their large retinues, described as the king’s “black princes.”[[80]](#footnote-80) In 1743, the King brought along his grandson and daughter on his visit to the ship, in addition to the various “nobles.”[[81]](#footnote-81) These “nobles” had English names, such as Prince George, John, Dick, Frederick, and “Robin Hood.” [[82]](#footnote-82) A few decades later, an English visitor observed that when King Baba arrived, he was “attended by full fifty of his nobles and a vast retinue of commoners.” Observers explained that many received their English names from the frequent visits of English in the bay. These nobles

had received the royal titles of Prince George, Duke of York, Duke of Cumberland, Prince Ferdinand, &c. and one of them had actually called himself Sir Isaac Newton, nor the two legged animal answer to any other name. Among the class of commoners we noticed Robin Hood, Will Scarlet, and Little John.[[83]](#footnote-83)

Some of these local chiefs even claimed to be powerful enough to coordinate trade on their own, but Europeans preferred to deal with the established rulers: Prince Will and King Baba.[[84]](#footnote-84) All of the Malagasy guests were dressed in “oriental panoply” and armed with all sorts of weapons, from guns to spears.[[85]](#footnote-85) Women and children were not excluded from the party and the chance to examine the European ship closely.

 Once onboard, the ceremony between the Europeans and Sakalava consisted of two parts: the consumption of a meal and the exchange of more presents.[[86]](#footnote-86) The king and his favorites sat down for a meal with the Europeans, although the majority of his retinue did not partake.[[87]](#footnote-87) In addition to the meal, King Baba drank copiously during the feast. The alcohol made the feast a real celebration and diplomatic occasion.[[88]](#footnote-88) Alcohol consumption acted as a cross-cultural social activity that both groups enjoyed. The captain of the Diligent found he received only a “cool reception” from the king Baba until he saw the brandy as a present. The minute the King and his attendants came aboard, they usually drank “a good deal of brandy.”[[89]](#footnote-89) A common gift to the king was several bottles of brandy.[[90]](#footnote-90)

 Both Malagasy and Europeans drank to excess, even though Europeans boasted their high tolerance to the local Malagasy alcohol, *toaka*, while Malagasy officials would be falling down after drinking the same amount.[[91]](#footnote-91) On one occasion onboard the ship, the Malagasy “behaved very ridiculous, being much in liquor professed a great deal of friendship and made large promises” to the crew.[[92]](#footnote-92) Similarly, when the king's sisters and eldest daughter came on board, they were “not easy [until] they got more” brandy to drink.[[93]](#footnote-93) At least one English sailor died of alcohol asphyxiation on the shores of St. Augustine’s Bay.[[94]](#footnote-94)

 After the meal, the king and the captain formally exchanged gifts that were both practical and luxurious. Malagasy rulers frequently brought the commodities most desired by Europeans: food items. The presentation of a bull, however, was hardly a “gift” according to one captain. He explained that “the present is more properly selling them,” as the King expected a present in return for the bull. Despite being obligatory, both sides of these exchanges referred to them as “presents.” When in 1742, King Baba brought a captain five bulls, one from himself and one from each of his four wives, the king was “affronted” when the cattle were not killed immediately. The captain, not wanting to seem ungrateful, felt obliged to kill two and have them salted.[[95]](#footnote-95) Slaves were also frequent presents and young female slaves were given for the use of the ship's captain.[[96]](#footnote-96) In fact, even if the visiting Europeans were not slave traders, Sakalava rulers still offered slaves as gifts.[[97]](#footnote-97)

 European gifts to King Baba always included guns and their accoutrements and at times, the king refused to accept any other gifts.[[98]](#footnote-98) In addition, King Baba received presents of clothing. Rulers of western Madagascar valued presents of foreign clothing, as well as beads and jewelry.[[99]](#footnote-99) A captain in 1749 gave the king of Massaliege a “buccaneer” gun, a “half buccaneer” gun, a small keg of powder, as well as a case of cordials, a looking glass, and some pewter and clothing.[[100]](#footnote-100) One European captain gave the king a “second-hand imperial blue silk coat” from India, along with some other worn European clothing. The pleased king danced a “jig” with his attendants before leaving, without “showing the least token of gratitude.”[[101]](#footnote-101) The demand for cloth and clothing explained why some of the most frequently stolen goods (other than firearms) from Europeans were the ship's canvas and dirty laundry.[[102]](#footnote-102)

 On many occasions, the queens, wives of the king, and their daughters came on board and received gifts as well. Sakalava monarchs had several wives, as many as twelve in the case of the king of Young Owl (Morondava). All of these wives required presents from European traders.[[103]](#footnote-103) When messenger took presents from an English ship to King Baba in Tulear, gifts to his wives were usually included as well.[[104]](#footnote-104) Noble women also accompanied their husbands onboard.[[105]](#footnote-105) The wives of Prince Will received gifts from the captains, a practice that became “customary” during the eighteenth century.[[106]](#footnote-106) Men received guns, while women received mirrors, scissors, and cloth from Europeans.[[107]](#footnote-107) Despite Sakalava women possessing political power in northern Madagascar, European captains rarely gave women guns as presents.[[108]](#footnote-108)

 A final component of the king's visit, a gun salute, had to occur upon his departure for the shore. European ships commonly saluted one another, as they would have in European-controlled ports.[[109]](#footnote-109) Sakalava trading representatives learned to request this gesture from visiting ships. In Morondava, “Capt. John the linguist” informed the captain that he had to fire the guns twice to show they were there for trade (in addition to sending a gift of brandy to the king).[[110]](#footnote-110) Sometimes “natives of distinction” were also saluted by gunshots, including John Nick and Prince Gregory by the ship Beckenham.[[111]](#footnote-111) If the captain failed to salute the king upon coming on board, King Baba ordered the captain to do so immediately, even if he seemed a bit startled by the result.[[112]](#footnote-112)

**Negotiating Prices**

 After the king visited the ship, relations between Europeans and Malagasy took place on beaches where they would agree on prices for rice and cattle. The king's purser remained on the coast to settle any trading disagreements that could arise after the king returned to Tulear. Of course, as one captain observed, prices were never hard and fast: “The agreeing on the price of cattle is merely a matter of form for they deceive you in the size and age of the cattle as much and whenever they can.”[[113]](#footnote-113) Prices were heavily debated, anywhere along the coast, at any point in time, by English and French captains alike.[[114]](#footnote-114) Between disputes over the size of cattle, the age of the slaves, and the size of a measure of gunpowder, the captain and his representatives were busy during their stay.[[115]](#footnote-115) Officials in Europe, however, insisted on their captains purchase commodities for the same prices from voyage to voyage. These commands produced difficulties for captains trying to purchase the necessary commodities in Madagascar.[[116]](#footnote-116)

 As early as 1692, slave traders on the shores of Madagascar demanded guns from Europeans in return for slaves. The anonymous English guide advised slave-trading captains to bring large quantities of firearms to Madagascar.[[117]](#footnote-117) The trading goods that the “natives esteem most are good powder and arms,” the writer explained. These commodities were supplemented with flints, beads, scissors, knives, and various other small items. In negotiating for slaves from the Sakalava, Europeans had to discover the exact number of guns or amount of gunpowder that would be required for slaves.[[118]](#footnote-118) Prices varied from one slave to another, with younger (Europeans preferred slaves between fourteen and twenty-five years old) male slaves costing Europeans at least a gun, some gunpowder and flints. Prices sometimes included other commodities, such as barrels of alcohol, but always included at least one gun.[[119]](#footnote-119)

 Europeans purchased cattle with gunpowder and other food for a variety of flints, bullets, and other desired goods like knives.[[120]](#footnote-120) To obtain food such as “yams, potatoes, fowls, goats, plantains, bananas, milk, honey, tamarinds, or wax,” they traded with beads or knives. Guns were required for the purchase of slaves and gunpowder for cattle. Slave traders purchased large amounts of food for the survival of the crew and slaves.[[121]](#footnote-121) The most common purchase to feed slaves was manioc. Rice was reserved for European crewmembers. The anonymous English writer wrote that, “If you meet with yams [perhaps manioc], buy as many as you can, for your slaves continue more hearty when they feed upon them, than when you give them rice.”[[122]](#footnote-122) Transporting Malagasy slaves to the Americas (as opposed to locales throughout the Indian Ocean) was particularly resource intensive. Captains tried to fill large cargoes of slaves (200+) and purchase enough food, primarily beef, rice, and manioc, to last for several months at sea.

 By controlling this trade in cattle, rice and slaves, Sakalava rulers monopolized the importation of guns into their territory. Sakalava rulers prevented other groups in western Madagascar from owning guns.[[123]](#footnote-123) In fact, it was only during periods of unrest that Sakalava subjects managed to purchase guns. In 1734, following the death of the Sakalava king in Mahabo, there was massive unrest in Morondava. Canoes of men, women, and children approached the ship and tried to sell small quantities of rice, callavances, and some cattle in return for guns.[[124]](#footnote-124) They might have been selling their food to Europeans because they required guns to defend themselves in uncertain times.

 Usually, as trading began, the captain negotiated with Prince Will to provide him with men to “build a storehouse” on the shore. The “factory” or storehouse constructed along the bay was little more than a hut (or huts), impermanent and to be taken down by the Malagasy after the ship left.[[125]](#footnote-125) Europeans paid Malagasy workers “some powder, beads, looking glasses, etc” for their assistance in construction. These workers built the factory with local materials, the building sometimes lacking a roof if the ship visited during the dry season.[[126]](#footnote-126) After the storehouse was built, the captain divided it “into two parts, one end for trading in and the other for salting and packing your meat.”[[127]](#footnote-127) A factory contained trading goods, under strict guard by the crewmembers. Keeping guns and gunpowder dry was their primary concern, although this was next to impossible during the rainy season. Wise captains did not send a large number of supplies to the shore at a time, in order to reduce theft and damage.

Captains ordered tents erected for the quartering of soldiers and sailors onshore, so that they could guard firearms in the factory and assist in the transportation of slaves. Europeans also used tents for the rehabilitation of sick sailors. Once again, Sakalava rulers determined the location of these tents.[[128]](#footnote-128) Ideally, the factory and tents were located as close to the shore and river as possible, to facilitate trade with the interior of the island. The constructions had to be easily approachable by canoe. Captains still complained of the difficulties involved in loading cattle and slaves onto longboats and bringing them to the ship, particularly in bad weather.[[129]](#footnote-129)

 Europeans required factories on the shores of Madagascar because it sometimes took several months for slaves to arrive on the shoreline.[[130]](#footnote-130) After European sailors, with the help of paid Malagasy labor, erected the factory and tents on shore, soldiers and sailors disembarked with their trade goods of mostly guns and gunpowder, and waited for the arrival of the slaves. These soldiers and slaves living in the tents had increased contact with the diseases of Madagascar and the inhabitants of the island. Sick men sent ashore to recover frequently got sicker and sicker, particularly if a ship arrived in the hot season. During this time of year, European sailors were more vulnerable to catching illnesses ashore.[[131]](#footnote-131) Already weak with scurvy, the sailors’ sickly conditions could be exacerbated by the heat and unclean drinking water, especially if they stayed on shore for longer than a few months. The crew of the Beckenham was unlucky and spent all of November and December, months of intense heat, ashore in St. Augustine’s Bay. The captain complained that the “number of our sick [was] still increasing” throughout their entire stay.[[132]](#footnote-132) Another stated, “Natives here seem to wonder much at the White men's' dying.”[[133]](#footnote-133)

 European traders hired Malagasy to assist in the necessary “drudgery” to ease the work of sailors.[[134]](#footnote-134) Europeans hired them to help with filling water barrels and transporting food to their ships, in addition to hiring them to build the factories and tents that housed the sailors on the shore. Despite this cooperation, on more than one occasion, Malagasy attacked the sailors. The people of Madagascar knew of the disgruntled mood of the sailors and could take advantage of it. Sailors living on shore had more time for establishing relationships with local Malagasy, relationships of either conflict or cooperation. In 1761, the ship's chief mate went ashore with a number of armed men. A great number of Malagasy, “armed with muskets and lances,” approached the beach and tried to get into the English canoes. The chief mate called upon “Captain Frazier,” a local headman, to ask why the Malagasy had attacked his crew. Captain Frazier replied that, contrary to English promises, his subjects had been treated “very ill” by the English sailors and some of them were killed by the Malagasy. After a complaint to King Baba, a Sakalava royal guard was left at the European’s tent to prevent future disagreements.[[135]](#footnote-135)

 On another occasion, the Malagasy took advantage of a disgruntled sailor. Silas James, an English sailor, was stationed on shore to guard the tents. He complained of hunger. When he observed some local fishermen bringing fish to the beach, James offered his assistance with bringing in the nets, in return for a few fish. The men, observing James' poor state, invited him to their fire and gave him some sweet potatoes and fish, which made “a most exquisite supper.” James fell asleep and woke to discover that the fishermen had “cut away almost the whole tent,” taken the iron hoops off the water casks, and rolled the casks into the sea. The captain promptly beat this sailor for neglecting his duty.[[136]](#footnote-136)

 On another occasion, an English captain blamed two of his sailors for mistreating Malagasy on the shore. The captain decided that, due to the actions of these two, the Malagasy had become inclined to “do us some injury” and took some of King Baba’s representatives hostage until the peaceful conclusion of trade.[[137]](#footnote-137) Impoverished sailors clearly had many incentives to ally with the Malagasy. By trading commodities from the ship illegally, sailors could purchase supplementary food. Unsurprisingly, stories of such trades appear frequently in the archives.[[138]](#footnote-138) One particularly humorous encounter involved three sailors stealing gunpowder to sell to the locals. The sailors stole gunpowder from the large canons mounted on the ship in order to escape detection, which they sold in return for honey. The following day, King Baba came aboard and the officers order an eight-gun salute. “To the astonishment of everyone on board... only one cannon made a report, the other seven had no more powder in them than what was contained in the tube, and these went off with a fizz!”[[139]](#footnote-139) Fearing the wrath of the captain, the three sailors fled into the interior of Madagascar.

**Runaways and Rebels**

 The work demanded of famished sailors tempted many of them to rebel or flee, as the three described above did.[[140]](#footnote-140) Some of the crew of the Dragon called the captain an “old dog” and the captain placed them into irons.[[141]](#footnote-141) Stories of piracy abounded and captains worried about sailors threatening them with “piratical expressions.”[[142]](#footnote-142) By the mid-eighteenth century, European pirates had mostly vacated Madagascar, but captains still worried about maintaining ship discipline.[[143]](#footnote-143) On the Delaware, a sailor named James Morrice refused to bring a shipment of rice on the pinnace. Morrice “damned the officer of the factor[y] and said he would not bring the rice forever, a son of the bitch you all.” Morrice and the officer began to strike each other. When the captain arrived to stop the fight, Morrice informed him that he thought there were “too many officers on board and denied what he had said on shore.” As punishment, Morrice was to receive two or three lashes. He retorted that he would swim ashore to escape, but the captain placed him in irons as an example to other crewmembers.[[144]](#footnote-144)

 In defense of the captain who punished Morrice, one sailor could influence others and convince them to run away with him.[[145]](#footnote-145) Sailors tended to escape in groups and steal items from the ship, including the longboat and “the ship's canvas,” items invaluable for the ship's functioning.[[146]](#footnote-146) Many of the escaping sailors were repeat offenders.[[147]](#footnote-147) The most frequent runaways were *lascars*, seamen acquired in the Indies and the Arabian Peninsula for working on ships.[[148]](#footnote-148) On the Houghton, in addition to five other sailors attempting to run, three “black lascars” were successful: Hattular, Shaw Mahomett, Shecoseen.[[149]](#footnote-149) Two sailors from the Talbot escaped with “Cock eye,” a lascar from Bengal, and headed for Tulear.[[150]](#footnote-150) Captains remained cautious in trading with the Malagasy, yet their sailors ran away, preferring to associate with the Malagasy rather than remaining on board the ship.[[151]](#footnote-151) One Englishman even offered a cautionary tale. He told of three runaways who became “wretched objects of [King Baba's] capricious cruelty.” To ingratiate himself with the king, one of the sailors constructed the king a palace “in the English taste.” Even this carpenter became a victim of the king's ill will and boarded a Portuguese ship going to China to escape the island.[[152]](#footnote-152) This warning did nothing to decrease the incidence of desertion on the shores of Madagascar.

 When sailors ran away, European captains enlisted the help of either King Baba or Prince Will to find them. The captain of the Delaware found the stolen longboat without their assistance, but then relied upon King Baba to help him recover his sailors.[[153]](#footnote-153) When a seaman of the Oxford ran away, the captain offered a reward of “six quarts of gun powder to any of the natives who shall apprehend him.” The captain thought this reward would be sufficient as “These people are cunning enough to entice” them to help the English. Despite the captain's confidence, the runaway sailor was not found before the ship departed for England.[[154]](#footnote-154) For the recovery of runaways, European captains relied upon the goodwill and support of Prince Will and King Baba. Captains found themselves helpless without it.

 Captains frequently described the men they picked up in Malagasy ports as sailors “left” by earlier vessels. More likely, these sailors had been runaways from previous voyages or even retired pirates. They worked as intermediaries for captains. When the captain of the Chesterfield took on a Frenchman at St Augustine’s Bay, he sent the man to Young Owl to lead negotiations with the king because he spoke Malagasy.[[155]](#footnote-155) Captains expected these rescued sailors to work for their passage. Another English ship, the Devonshire, recovered two lascars who, supposedly, had been taken in a “Moor's ship” belonging to Bombay and carried to the Red Sea two years earlier, before gaining passage on a French ship to Fort Dauphin, via Mauritius, and traveling across the island to St. Augustine’s Bay.[[156]](#footnote-156) The vast majority of runaways, however, remained on shore and became part of Malagasy society.[[157]](#footnote-157)

 Europeans worried over other dangers that threatened their voyages. The longer it took to acquire slaves, the more likely slave rebellions were to occur onboard.[[158]](#footnote-158) To prevent slave revolts, captains tried to guard slaves, give them enough food, and ensure they were well treated, letting “nobody bloody them.” To prevent rebellions, Europeans frequently agreed to pay higher prices for slaves than originally agreed to, in order to hurry the arrival of slaves to the ship.[[159]](#footnote-159)

Rebellions were still frequent. The first slave acquired by the crew of the Dragon, named “Adam,” hid a hammer and after more slaves had been loaded, he started to remove the slaves' irons.[[160]](#footnote-160) Many slaves encouraged each other in rebellion. A female slave was freed to assist with the ship's cooking, but she attempted to steal weapons and free other slaves.[[161]](#footnote-161) Once free, slaves would try to escape to the shore, if within swimming distance, and occasionally revenge themselves on the ship's crew.

On another voyage, the slaves escaped from their irons twice and the second time they were able to seize a member of the crew. They failed to concede defeat even after the English fired a musket into their midst and they continued firing until they killed one of the slaves. The seventeen Malagasy who had fled in a canoe were brought back on board, although three made another escape and were fired upon until they cried out for mercy. One slave was so severely injured that he threw himself overboard. The captain forced the rebelling slaves to admit their crimes and chained them more carefully in the future. In the inquiry into which slaves were responsible for the uprising, an interpreter assisted the English. In this action, he placed his loyalties into question: was he more loyal to the rebelling slaves or the Europeans?[[162]](#footnote-162) On board another ship, the Delaware, the interpreter was one of the first hostages the slaves seized during their uprising. Using pieces of wood and a lance, the slaves stabbed him through his body when the English sent him in to “parley” with the ringleader. Two more “linguists” had to be found to inquire after this bloody rebellion. The slaves finally admitted they had originally intended to poison the entire crew, echoing the use of poison trials on the west coast of Madagascar in determining the guilt of suspected individuals.[[163]](#footnote-163)

 The scariest encounter may have been at Morondava, where rebelling slaves on board the St. Michael stated that the Sakalava king had encouraged them to rebel and that he had promised them guns if they did so. Just a few months prior to the arrival of the St. Michael, some French slave traders had also experienced a slave revolt at Morondava just prior to their departure from the island.[[164]](#footnote-164) Time and time again, while off the coast of Madagascar, the slaves on the St. Michael managed to escape their rusty irons. The slaves broke loose and this prompted the sailors to fire upon them. The English killed several slaves in suppressing multiple rebellions on the St. Michael. In addition, several slaves jumped ship and swam to shore while the ship was at anchor in Fort Dauphin and in Morondava. The ship's doctor reflected, after the rebellions: “I believe there is scarce an instance where such a small number of Negroes persisted so long in such an obstinate attempt, for there was not in all above 150 men of them.”[[165]](#footnote-165)

 In concluding trading agreements, particularly those concerning slaves, the threat of violence was always present. Rebellions by sailors, slaves, and Sakalava subjects threatened to unravel the carefully ritualized exchanges of the Sakalava and Europeans. Both Sakalava kings and European captains recognized their dependence on each other for commodities and they both relied upon the use of force for stability in these exchanges. They also depended on each other for assistance in the control of their inferiors, whether sailors, fishermen, or slaves. The next chapter explores how the Sakalava used this threat of violence to successfully integrate commercial zones and create an expanding confederacy within the island.

1. An anonymous guide to trade, entitled “An Accot of the present comodityes that are imported & exported at Madagascar and the manner of dealing with the natives,” late seventeenth century?, in “Rawlinson Ms. A 334,” Memoirs of East India, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Library, ff. 61-2 (henceforth Rawlinson Ms). The document does not use the term Sakalava to describe the leaders of the ports on the west coast, as perhaps the writer visited the coast prior to Sakalava occupation. Spellings have been altered to confirm with contemporary usage. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Ibid., f. 62v. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. This argument is echoed in Solofo Randrianja and Stephen Ellis, *Madagascar: A Short History*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 104, 107. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. It must be noted that Europeans rarely referred to the traders in St. Augustine’s Bay as Sakalava. Despite this fact, it appeared that the ruler of Tulear and his representative in the bay were related (by fati-dra) to the Sakalava of Menabe. The introduction of the trading procedures described in this chapter occurred directly following the alliance between the Sakalava of Menabe and the local groups around Tulear. Marie-Pierre Ballarin, *Les reliques royales à Madagascar: source de légitimation et enjeu de pouvoir, Xviiie-Xxe siècles* (Paris: Karthala, 2000), 32-4. A nineteenth century European also stated that the Malagasy around St. Augustine’s Bay were Sakalava. Pascoe Grenfell Hill, *Fifty Days on Board a Slave-Vessel in the Mozambique Channel, in April and May, 1843* (London: J. Murray, 1844), 11. The term Sakalava could be interpreted as groups affiliated with the Sakalava kingdoms elsewhere on the island. For more details, see Chapter 2.

 In addition, these trading procedures differed greatly from those outside of the west coast of Madagascar. See, for instance, French trading experiences in East Madagascar described in Chapter 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Portuguese sources from the sixteenth and especially seventeenth century describe dhows carrying about 1,000 to 5,000 slaves from the northwestern ports annually. The earliest descriptions of this slave trade come from the letter from Afonso de Albuquerque to the king,” 6 February 1507, in *Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa, 1497-1840* (Lisboa: National Archives of Rhodesia, 1962), 2: 121. See also the letter from Sebastiao de Sousa to the King, 17 September 1521, in Ibid., 6: 67; Portuguese observations around 1550, in COACM, 1:97-104. It seems probable that the Portuguese writers did not actually observe the loading of slaves onto dhows. Instead, these numbers may have been “more a reflection of capacity than actual exports.” Pier M. Larson, “Enslaved Malagasy and Le Travail de la Parole at the Pre-revolutionary Mascarenes,” *Journal of African History* 48 (2007): 459. Based on these observations, historians have postulated that 200,000 slaves total were exported from Madagascar on non-European vessels between 1500 and 1800. See discussions of this slave trade and its magnitude in J. C. Armstrong, “Madagascar and the slave trade in the seventeenth century,” *Omaly sy anio*17-20 (1983-1984): 211-233; Pier M. Larson, “Colonies Lost: God, Hunger, and Conflict in Anosy (Madagascar) to 1674,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 2 (2007): 458-62; Thomas Vernet, “Le commerce des esclaves sur la côte swahili, 1500 - 1750,” *Azania* 38, no. (2003): 75-88. For more details on the Antaloatra, see Chapter 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. The records of the Jesuit priests Freire and Mariano, 1613-4, COACM, 2: 9-13. See also the letter from Mariano, 1619, COACM, 2: 312; François Callet, *Histoire des rois, traduction du Tantaran'ny andriana*, 5 vols. (Tananarive: Éditions de la Librairie de Madagascar, 1953), 1: 591-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. “A Voyage in the ship Frances from Mossambique for St. Lawrence”, 1640, reproduced in 1700?, in “Rawlinson Ms. A 334,” ff. 54-7. See also Stephen Ellis, “Un texte du XVIIe siècle sur Madagascar,” *Omaly sy anio* 9 (1979): 151-66. See also the records left by the French colonist, Martin, 1665-8, COACM, 9:555-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Without hard evidence, it is hard to determine the magnitude of this trade, although we have good reason to doubt some of the Portuguese observations. First, the number of dhow ships leaving the northwestern ports more likely would have been on the magnitude of a dozen ships a year, which would cap out the exports of slaves at about 2,000-2,500 annually. One Dutch source from 1664 states that two or three large dhow ships of 400 tons visited the northwest ports for slaves and amber gris a year. European slave traders rarely purchased more than a thousand or two thousand slaves a year from the entire island of Madagascar during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, augmenting this number with slaves from East Africa. It is hard to believe, judging by the existing evidence, that the northwestern ports exported 5,000 slaves annually on non-European dhows.

The estimates for the eighteenth century come from Robert Everard, “A Relation of Three Years Sufferings of Robert Everard, Upon the coast of Assada near Madagascar in a Voyage to India in the Year 1686 and of his Wonderful Preservation and Deliverance, and Arrival at London, Anno 1693,” in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed. A. and J. Churchill, vol. VI (London: Printed by assignment from Messrs Churchill, 1732). In 1734, a dhow from northwest Madagascar carried a hundred slaves (“captifs”) to Anjouan: the ship journal of the Le Chauvelin, 1733, “MAR 4 JJ/98.”

At the peak of the nineteenth century slave trade, English observers estimated that sixty large ships sailed from Madagascar in a single year: Evidence taken before select committee (July 20, 1871) in Correspondence of Lt Col CP Rigby, political agent at Zanzibar July 27, 1858 - September 3, 1861, “AA 12/2”, Zanzibar National Archives (henceforth ZNA), 150-1. In 1873, the British abolitionists estimated about 2,000 slaves a year came from Madagascar: Letter from Bartle Frere to Earl Granville, 12March 1873, State Papers Relating to East Africa, 1857-1874, in “BL 1/1,” ZNA, 1: 42. During the nineteenth century, European captains observed a maximum of three hundred slaves per vessel, mostly children. However most ships carried smaller loads, maybe a hundred or hundred fifty slaves, when they sailed to East Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Prior to the sixteenth century, there is no evidence of a widespread exportation of slaves from Madagascar to the northern Indian Ocean shores. The *Zanj* (black) slaves in the Middle East most likely referred to slaves from the Horn of Africa, a region that remained an exporter of slaves to the Arabian Peninsula and further east. Madagascar appears to have been an export region for slaves during periods in which other exports may have been disrupted. These disruptions encouraged entrepreneurial slave traders to send more dhows to Madagascar and East Africa than usual. The period after the arrival of Europeans in the Indian Ocean during the sixteenth century ushered in a time of expanded slave trading with Madagascar. Even during this period, the voyage from Madagascar was relatively long, compared with ships carrying slaves from the horn of Africa or even East Africa. The slave cargoes from Madagascar were added to voyages departing from East Africa and going to the Middle East. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. On the Antaloatra providing long-term stability to the slave trade, see Gwyn Campbell, “Madagascar and the Slave Trade, 1810-1895,” *The Journal of African History* 22, no. 2 (1981): 205. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. On the slave trade to the Americas, see the The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, http://www.slavevoyages.org <accessed November 14, 2008>. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. During the sixteenth century, Portuguese traders tried to use Madagascar as a supplementary source of slaves for Mozambique as well as replenishing and filling the cargoes of their passing ships: See seventeenth century Dutch and French descriptions of the Portuguese trade, “COL C/5A/1.” Portuguese traded for slaves for their Indian Ocean holdings in Goa as well. During the seventeenth-century, the Dutch bought slaves for the Cape, Mauritius, and Batavia: Rene Barendse, “Slaving on the Malagasy Coast, 1640-1700,” in *Cultures of Madagascar: Ebb and Flow of Influences,* ed. Sandra Evers and Marc Spindler (Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies, 1995), 137-55; J. Moree, *A Concise History of Dutch Mauritius, 1598-1710: A Fruitful and Healthy Land* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998), 31; references to Madagascar are scattered throughout the Portuguese documents in George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa collected in various libraries and archive departments in Europe*, 9 vols. (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1964), vols. 1-6. For a good summary of the slave trade, see Markus Vink, “‘The World's Oldest Trade’: Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of World History* 14, no. 2 (2003):131-77. The French wanted slaves for the Mascarene islands and the English for their Indian Ocean holdings during the eighteenth century. For an overview, see J. M. Filliot, *La traite des esclaves vers les Mascareignes au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: ORSTOM, 1974); Richard B. Allen, “The Constant Demand of the French: The Mascarene Slave Trade and the Worlds of the Indian Ocean and Atlantic During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Journal of African History* 49 (2008): 43-72. The English also bought slaves for St. Helena Island, as well as for their bases in India and Indonesia. For more details, see Chapter 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. On the European organization of the slave trade, see Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 74-102. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Portuguese ships primarily visited the northwest ports, the English, the southwestern region around St. Augustine's Bay, the Dutch, Antongil Bay, and the French, Fort Dauphin. These preferences reflected a desire to protect European ships against other European threats, rather than a commentary on the supplies of slaves. The Portuguese kept control of slave exports from Mozambique prior to the mid-eighteenth century, so other groups such as the French had trouble securing large cargoes for reasonable prices in East Africa. See the encounter of the French there in 1737: “COL C/4/3.” See also the ship journal of the Vierge de Grace, 1732, “MAR 4 JJ/74.” [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. On this knowledge of sailing into ports, see the directions given to ships, end of the seventeenth century, in “MAR 4 JJ/90.” Trading companies preferred to send ships multiple times to Madagascar, see discussions of which captains to send to Madagascar, South Sea Company Correspondence, 1726 “Add. 25502,” British Library, f. 203. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. This increases our difficulty in figuring out the origins of ships visiting the Arabian Peninsula. See C. G. Brouwer, “Non-western Shipping Movements in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden during the 2nd and 3rd Decades of the Seventeenth Century, according to the Records of the Dutch East India Company (Part 2),” *Die Welt des Islams* 32, no. 1 (1992): 29 (Part 1 of this article, published in 1991, also mentions this trade.); see also the mention of Portuguese seizure of a “Swahili vessel” in 1633/4 mentioned in the Hadrami chronicles: R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast; Hadrami chronicles, with Yemeni and European Accounts of Dutch pirates off Mocha in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 68. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. The ship journal of the Royalle, 1682, “MAR 4 JJ/90.” [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Robert Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury* (London: Printed and sold by W. Meadows 1743; Hull Reprinted for Stodart and Craggs, 1807), 369. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. For more details, see Chapters 6 and 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. To compare this practice with the Swahili, see Chapurukha Makokha Kusimba, *The Rise and Fall of Swahili States* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. The ship journal of the Onslow, 1740, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. The ship journal of the Houghton, 1746, “IOR/L/MAR/B/438 F.” [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. The ship journal of L'Amphitrite, 1734, “MAR 4JJ/126”; the ship journal of the Philibert, 1733, “MAR 4 JJ/114, 1733.” [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Silas James, *Narrative of a Voyage to Arabia, India, &c.* (London: W. Glindon, 1797?), British Library, ff. 140-1. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Compare this reaction to the reception Europeans had received in the bay a century earlier. See Chapter 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. For example, see the use of the longboat in the ship journal of the Caesar, 1747, “IOR/L/MAR/B/235 H.” [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Dalrymple states that only Arabian navigators know how to pilot the coast between Northwest Madagascar, the Comoro Islands, and East Africa: Dalrymple, “Geographical collections,” “Add. 33,765,” f. 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. One observer advised, “When you come upon the coast of Madagascar and begin to draw near any bay or river where ships commonly touch at for slaves or provisions, you must spread your ensign, and if you are afraid of rocks or shoals and can't discover the proper anchoring place, .. [ask] if there be any white men upon the place, and canoes to come off.” From “The present commodities,” in “Rawlinson Ms. A 334,” f. 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Alexander Dalrymple gives an account of a French captain who threatened to cut off the head of a navigator who led him astray, “whether by mistake or design was not known.” Alexander Dalrymple, “Geographical collections of Alexander Dalrymple on “Mauritius, Island of Bourbon, Madagascar, and Diego Rayes,” 1808, “Add. 33,765,” British Library. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. During the nineteenth century, the French made precise measurements about the locations of ports around Madagascar. See, for instance, observations of Île Sainte Marie from 1847, in “MAR 5JJ/436.” [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. On the dangers of sailing into St. Augustine’s Bay: the ship journal of the Marquis, 1769, “MAR 4 JJ/ 83.” Prince Will was also known as “Prince Augustin.” The ship journal of l’Astree, 1735, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. The ship journal of the Onslow, 1740, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C.” On the relationship between Prince Will and King Baba, and these rulers and the Sakalava Empire, see Chapter 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Prince Will and King Baba appeared to have been described by the Dutch traders who visited Tulear in 1715 as “king Demonaji” and “viceroy Bevaha.” Hendrik Frappé and Willem van der Lint, *Slawehandel met Madagaskar: die joernale van de Kaapse slaweskip Leijdsman, 1715*, ed. Pieter E. Westra and James C. Armstrong (Kaapstad: Africana Uitgewers, 2006), 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. The ship journal of the Swallow, 1749/50, IOR/L/MAR/B/385 A.” See also “William Purser, the interpreter” described by Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury*, 332-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. John Dean, “Narrative of one of the crew belonging to the Ship Sussex,” 1738, “MSS. Eur. B. 2. /K. 11,” ff. 8-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. It should be noted that the French never encountered any Malagasy translators elsewhere on the island. In fact, the French traders usually brought a translator with them from the Mascarenes. See: the ship journal of the Reine, 1734, “MAR 4 JJ/91.” [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. On at least one instance, Captain Bush also presented himself as an influential chief at Morondava as well. The ship journal of the Hertford, 1734, IOR/L/MAR/B/656 E-G.” [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Ibid.; the ship journal of La Conde, 1733, “MAR 4 JJ/97.” There were also French interpreters at Fort Dauphin, such as “Paul Negre,” in 1737: the ship journal of the Duc d’Anjou, “MAR 4 JJ/76.” [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Drury suggested that William Purser, for instance, learned English from pirates. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury,* 332-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. The ship journal of the Onslow, 1740, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C.” See also description of Prince “Ouil” and his messenger: the ship journal of l’Astree, 1735, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. The ship journal of the Swallow, 1749, “IOR/L/MAR/B/385 A.” At Young Owl, a parallel procedure took place - upon the arrival of a European ship, the king's messenger came to assist with the movement of his present up the Morondava River to the king's palace 12 to 15 leagues in the town of Mahabo. The ship journal of the Delaware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B”; observations of a French captain, 1743, “MAR 4 JJ/74.” [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. The ship journal of the Salisbury, 1742, “IOR/L/MAR/B/478 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. King Baba, like Prince Will, was an honorific. The French also described the king of Boina as “Adrian Baba”: the ship journal of the Hirondelle, 1731, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. The ship journal of the Hertford, 1734,”IOR/L/MAR/B/656 E-G.” [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. In St. Augustine's Bay in 1733: the ship journal of the Philibert, “MAR 4 JJ/114.” [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. The ship journal of the Delaware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. The ship journal of the Delaware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. The ship journal of the Ilchester, 1750, “IOR/L/MAR/B/601B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Archival research, so far, does not back up these claims. Might he have been intentionally misled? The ship journal of the Hertford, 1734, “IOR/L/MAR/B/656 E-G.” [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. The ship journal of the Haeslingfield, 1739, “IOR/L/MAR/B/642 C”; the ship journal of the Duke of York, 1723, “IOR/L/MAR/B/94 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. The ship journal of the Caesar, 1747, “IOR/L/MAR/B/235 H.” [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. The ship journal of the Warren, 1750, “IOR/L/MAR/B/571 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. The ship journal of the Prince William, 1738, “IOR/L/MAR/B/324 E.” [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. Orders and Instructions, to Cap John Balchen Commander and Ralph Congreve Chief Mate of the Onslow, 1740, “IOR/E/3/108,” f.164. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. The ship journal of the Onslow, 1740, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C.” For the full story, see Dean, “Narrative,” “Sussex, MSS. Eur. B. 2. /K. 11.” On rescuing some of the crew, see the ship journal of the Winchester, 1736, “IOR/L/MAR/B/643A.” On “Prince Martin”: the ship journal of the Astree, 1735, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Memoire, 1714, in Correspondance d'ile Bourbon, “COL C/3/3-4.” [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. The ship journal of the Diligent, 1761, “IOR/L/MAR/B/320 E.” [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. See the ship journal of the Dragon, 1753, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. The different reaction of Malagasy leaders on the east coast of Madagascar is testament to the very different attitudes towards power and kingship on the different coasts. On the east coast, the descendents of pirates became powerful leaders, eventually leading to the creation of the Betsimisaraka Confederation. See Chapter 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Despite the British announcing the dispersal of pirates from Madagascar, the sultana of Anjouan complained of pirates in 1704: Stanes, “A Journal of a voyage to Muscat and Surrat,” 1703, “Add. Ms. 24931,” British Library (see also Sloane Ms. 3145). One French document also states that 1704 was the peak of pirate activity off Madagascar: M L'Abbe Davelu, n.d., "Notes historiques sur l'isle de Bourbon, 1506-1753", *Fonds des Colonies, Divers, Collection Moreau de St Méry,* “COL F/3/1,” French National Archives, Paris. Another French source states that pirates, “forbans,” and “filibusters” inhabited Madagascar mostly around 1706: letter, 28 July 1706, “MAR B/2/190,” f. 623. In 1731, a dispatch from the Mascarenes stated that the pirates in Madagascar had been eliminated: letter, 1731, “COL C/3/5.” For an overall summary of pirates in Madagascar, see Hubert Deschamps, *Les pirates à Madagascar aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1972), especially 100-105, 121-177. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. “IOR/L/MAR/B/402 A-D, King George, 1718,” British Library. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Dalrymple, “Geographical collections,” “Add. 33,765,” 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Our primary sources on these migrant communities come from European efforts to eradicate their presence on Madagascar when they threatened the licit trade of European monopoly companies. Europeans also noted the degree of interaction between the pirates and the Malagasy. The suppression of piracy gained support in part due to religious sectarianism, as the French complained that mostly English protestant pirates spread Protestantism among the Malagasy. See colonial correspondence, 1706, “COL C/2/12.” The French government tried to stop illegal trading with pirates at île de Bourbon (Reunion) in 1711: orders of the king of France, 11 January 1711, “COL C/3/31.” [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. "The deposition of Goe. Recreley taken December the 18th, 1698,” Records of the High Court of Admiralty and colonial Vice-Admiralty courts, "HCA 1/98," National Archives, Kew, UK. See Frappé and Lint, *Slawehandel met Madagaskar,* 99. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury,* 381-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. A few decades earlier Drury described four white men living in Massaliege, coming from Île Sainte Marie. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury*, 428. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. “COL C/3/3-4,” French National Archives, Paris. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury*, 430. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Interestingly, Anjouan never housed any such migrants, other than those seeking to sell and plunder ships there or in Mozambique. The Sultan of Anjouan also complained the pirates pillaged his island as well, in 1714. The ship journal of the Greenwich, 1720, “IOR/L/MAR/B/488 A”; the ship journal of the Prince Frederick, 1722, “IOR/L/MAR/B/663 C”; the ship journal of the Curieux, 1708, “MAR 4 JJ/88”; the ship journal of the Sirenne, 1720, “MAR 4 JJ/90.” [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Downing, *A Compendious History of the Indian Wars*, 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. See, for instance, the ship journal of the King George, 1718, “IOR/L/MAR/B/402 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Letter of Boucher, 1724, on the pirates in Madagascar, “COL C/3/3-4.” [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Justin Corfield and Ian Morson, eds, *British Sea-Captain Alexander Hamilton's A New Account of the East Indies (seventeenth - eighteenth Century)* (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. “The present commodities,” in “Rawlinson Ms. A 334,” f. 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. These ceremonies were similar in Fort Dauphin, although Europeans frequently dealt with more than one king. The ship journal of the Astree in 1734, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” The trading ceremony was different at île Sainte Marie, reportedly due to the influence of the pirates. The “serment” ceremony involved sharing a concoction of salt water and gunpowder, as described in the ship journal of the Heron, 1732, “MAR 4 JJ/91.” [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. The ship journal of the Grantham, 1750, “IOR/L/MAR/B/617 K”; the ship journal of the Dragon, 1753, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598 D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. The ship journal of the Hardwicke, 1751, “IOR/L/MAR/B/568 D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. The ship journal of the Pitt, 1759, “IOR/L/MAR/B/525 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. The ship journal of the Grantham, 1743, “IOR/L/MAR/B/617 I”; the ship journal of the Grantham, 1750, “IOR/L/MAR/B/617 K.” [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. The ship journal of the Dragon, 1758, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598 E”; on other names, see the ship journal of the London, 1767, “IOR/L/MAR/B/1 E.” [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. James, *Narrative of a Voyage*, 146. These names were repeated by Dr Edward Ives, “A voyage to India in the year 1754,” in COACM, 5: 255. At Young Owl, as well, various headmen and “captains” boarded with the Sakalava king. The ship journal of the Heaslingfield, 1739, “IOR/L/MAR/B/642 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Dean, “Narrative,” “MSS. Eur. B. 2. /K. 11.” [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. James, *Narrative of a Voyage*,146. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. In Fort Dauphin, “we have had many kings aboard the ship, always wanting to drink eau de vie. The ship journal of the Astree, 1734: “MAR 4 JJ/86.” [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. The ship journal of the Oxford, 1751, “IOR/L/MAR/B/588 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. The ship journal of the Diligent, 1761, “IOR/L/MAR/B/320 E.” [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. The ship journal of the Duke of Albany, 1764, “IOR/L/MAR/B/553 A.” For another account of presents to the Sakalava king in 1743, see the ship journal of the St. Charles, “MAR 4 JJ/74.” [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. For example Everard, “A Relation,” 263. The captains of ships relied on plying their sailors with alcohol to decrease discontent during long trips: the ship journal of the Warren, 1749,“IOR/L/MAR/B/571 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. The ship journal of the Prince Henry, 1761, “IOR/L/MAR/B/325 G.” [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. The ship journal of the Dragon, 1753, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. The ship journal of the Haeslingfield, 1739, “IOR/L/MAR/B/642 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. The ship journal of the Swift, 1741-2, “IOR/L/MAR/B/616 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. The ship journal of the Onslow, 1741, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. The ship journal of the St. Charles, 1742, “MAR 4 JJ/74.” [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. The ship journal of the Astree, 1737, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. The ship journal of the Dragon, 1753, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. The ship journal of the Swallow, 1749-50, “IOR/L/MAR/B/385 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. Said to be of such poor quality that it was said to have been the property of the cabin boy, not the captain. James, *Narrative of a Voyage,*146 [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. The ship journal of the Oxford, 1751, “IOR/L/MAR/B/588 B.” In 1749, an English captain gave the king of Massaliege presents that included a “scarlet gold laced cloak” and a “gold laced ... hat.” The ship journal of the Swallow, 1749-50, “IOR/L/MAR/B/385 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. The ship journal of the Stormont, 1759, “IOR/L/MAR/B/458 B”; the ship journal of the Hertford, 1734, “IOR/L/MAR/B/656 E-G”; the ship journal of the Chesterfield, 1748, “IOR/L/MAR/B/507 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. The ship journal of the Prince Henry, 1761, “IOR/L/MAR/B/325 G.” [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. The ship journal of the Onslow, 1741, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. The ship journal of the Hougton, 1748, “IOR/L/MAR/B/438 F.” [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. In 1734, St. Augustine's Bay, the ship journal of the Philibert, 1733, “MAR 4 JJ/97.” [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Ibid.; the ship journal of the Onslow, 1741, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C”; in the case of Massaliege, ruled by a queen: the ship journal of the Delaware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” For an example, see Randrianja and Ellis, *Madagascar*, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. The ship journal of the Grantham, 1743, “IOR/L/MAR/B/617 I.” [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. The ship journal of the Dragon, 1753, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. The ship journal of the Beckenham, 1764, “IOR/L/MAR/B/561 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. In 1734, St. Augustine's Bay, the ship journal of the Philibert, “MAR 4 JJ/97.” [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. The ship journal of the Oxford, 1751, “IOR/L/MAR/B/588 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. See for instance the French visit to Massaly: the ship journal of the 1736, the Griffon, “MAR 4 JJ 144 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. The ship journal of the Diligent, 1761, “IOR/L/MAR/B/320E.” Without fixed weights (prior to the Merina Empire and the creation of a rice-based weight measurement), the debates over the size of a “gamelle” of rice or a “bamboo” of gunpowder became quite heated: the ship journal of the Astree, 1737, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. For example, “Orders and Instructions to Cap George Bagwell and Mr Richard Taylor and Mr William Oaker, in reference to the ship Hertford,” 1733, “IOR/E/3/106, Letterbooks, 1733,” f. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. The author explained that, whereas traders only demanded guns on the east coast, on the west, they asked for guns as well as “some powder and flints, or some other thing that they want.” From “The present commodities,” in “Rawlinson Ms. A 334,” f. 61; other examples of prices of slaves include: in Fort Dauphin where the French bought slaves for a combination of gunpowder and guns: the ship journal of the Astree, 1734, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Frappé, and Lint, *Slawehandel met Madagaskar,* 65-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. The preferred age for slaves was under twenty-five: Letter from London, 2 April 1740 in “IOR/E/3/108, Letterbooks,” f. 99. For examples of prices, see the ship journal of the Swallow, 1749/50, “IOR/L/MAR/B/385 A”; the ship journal of the Dragon, 1753, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. See, for instance, the letter in 1733, “COL C/3/7.” [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. On the prices for cattle, sheep, and other goods on negotiation with locals: the ship journal of the Philibert in St. Augustine's Bay, 1734, “MAR 4 JJ/97.” [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. “The present commodities,” in “Rawlinson Ms. A 334,” f. 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury,* 396-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. The ship journal of the Hertford, 1734, “IOR/L/MAR/B/656 E-G.” [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. In 1734, three tents were erected at St. Augustine’s Bay: the ship journal of the Philibert, “MAR 4 JJ/97.” [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. The ship journal of the Onslow, 1741, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. “The present commodities,” in “Rawlinson Ms. A 334,” f. 61. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. The ship journal of the Hertford, 1734, “IOR/L/MAR/B/656 E-G.” [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. The ship journal of the Discovery, 1700, “IOR/L/MAR/A/CL.” [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. The ship journal of the Edgebaston, 1740, “IOR/L/MAR/B/622 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. The ship journal of the Delaware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. The ship journal of the Beckenham, 1764, “IOR/L/MAR/B/561 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. The ship journal of the Delaware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. “The present commodities,” in “Rawlinson Ms. A 334,” f. 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. The ship journal of the Prince Henry, 1761, “IOR/L/MAR/B/325 G.” A similar encounter occurred during a French stopover in Zanzibar during the 1750s: the ship journal of the Gloire, 1757, “MAR 4 JJ/87, 1756.” [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. James, *Narrative of a Voyage,* 150-153 [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. The ship journal of the Delware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. The ship journal of the Duke of Albany, 1764, “IOR/L/MAR/B/553 A-D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. James, *Narrative of a Voyage,* 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. For examples of runaways in Madagascar, see the ship journal of the Northington, 1777, “IOR/L/MAR/B/483 D”; the ship jornal of the Godfrey, 1778, “IOR/L/MAR/B/464 D”; the ship journal of the Egmont, 1770, “IOR/L/MAR/B/535 F.” [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. The ship journal of the Dragon, 1758, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598 E.” [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Examples of pirate sightings during the eighteenth century: the ship journal of the Curieux, 1708, “MAR 4 JJ/88.” See also the ship journal of the King George, 1718, “IOR/L/MAR/B/402 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. The ship journal of the Delaware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. The ship journal of the Onslow, 1741, “IOR/L/MAR/B/164 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. The ship journal of the Durrington, 1748, “IOR/L/MAR/A/613D”; the runaways of the Tilbury also stole a long boat: the ship journal of the Tilbury, 1757, “IOR/L/MAR/B/551 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. The ship journal of the Durrington, 1748, “IOR/L/MAR/A/613 D.” [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. On lascars, see Janet J. Ewald, “Crossers of the Sea: Slaves, Freedmen, and other Migrants in the Northwestern Indian Ocean, c. 1750-1914,” *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (2000): 69-91. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. The ship journal of the Houghton, 1748, “IOR/L/MAR/B/438 F”; see also the ship journal of the Ajax, 1759, “IOR/L/MAR/B/620 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. The ship journal of the Talbot, 1769, “IOR/L/MAR/B/474 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. For example, the ship journal of the Haeslingfield, 1739, “IOR/L/MAR/B/642 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. James, *Narrative of a Voyage,* 170-3 [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. The ship journal of the Delaware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. The ship journal of the Oxford, 1751, “IOR/L/MAR/B/588 B.” [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. The ship journal of the Chesterfield, 1748, “IOR/L/MAR/B/507 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. The ship journal of the Devonshire, 1764, “IOR/L/MAR/B/272 E.” [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. On one occasion, the English captain learned of three English sailors on board a Dutch ship anchored in Tulear, where the Dutch were engaged in buying slaves. The Dutch captain refused to return the English sailors, as the sailors said they were not interested in boarding the English ship. A fourth man changed his mind about leaving Madagascar on either ship and ran away into the country. The ship journal of the Sandwich, 1753, “IOR/L/MAR/B/606 C.” [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. For more slave rebellions, other than what is mentioned below, see the letter about the French ship the Subtile in 1730, “COL C/4/3.” See also smaller events, such as the theft of canoes by slaves: see the 1750 account in the ship journal of the Princesses Emilie, “MAR 4 JJ/86.” Villagers might have harbored runaway slaves: Drury, *The Adventures of Robert Drury*, 446-7. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. “The present commodities” in “Rawlinson Ms. A 334,” f. 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. The ship journal of the Dragon, 1758, “IOR/L/MAR/B/598 E.” [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. The ship journal of the Swallow, 1749/50, “IOR/L/MAR/B/385 A.” [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. The ship journal of the Delaware, 1752, “IOR/L/MAR/B/322 B.” For more about the poison trials, called *tanguin*, see Chapter 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. “Journal and Logbook of an anonymous Scotch sailor, 1726-1729,” Hispanic Society of America, New York, “HC 363/1299”; also referred to in the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Voyage ID 76203.

 The voyages of the “Saint-Michel” are also mentioned by François Rajaoson, “Pour une interpellation permanente sur l’esclavage,” in *La route des esclaves: système servile et traite dans l'est malgache*, ed. Ignace Rakoto and Eugène Régis Mangalaza (Paris: Montréal, 2000), 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. “Journal and Logbook of an anonymous Scotch sailor.” [↑](#footnote-ref-165)