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THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND SLAVE TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY*

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Slavery has played a crucial role in the Indo-European trade. The Dutch East India Company indulged in slave trade for different economic activities at its various outposts for construction works, mining, canal digging and domestic works. The relationship between Indian textiles and slave trade in the seventeenth century demands a detailed study. Indian textiles did play a crucial role in the promotion and continuation of slave trade particularly in the Indian Oceanic World.

Keywords: slavery, Dutch East India Company, slave trade, Indian Oceanic World

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ГОЛЛАНДСКАЯ ОСТ-ИНДСКАЯ КОМПАНИЯ И РАБОТОРГОВЛЯ В XVII в.

Ишрат Алам

Работорговля сыграла критически важную роль в торговле между Индией и Европой. Голландская Ост-Индская компания занималась работорговлей в своих опорных пунктах, используя труд рабов на строительстве, в шахтах, при рытье каналов и в качестве домашней прислуги. Торговля индийским текстилем и работорговля были в XVII в. взаимосвязаны, что заслуживает специального изучения. Индийские ткани сыграли важную роль в продвижении и развитии работорговли, особенно в Индоокеанском мире.

Ключевые слова: рабство, голландская Ост-Индская компания, работорговля, Индоокеанский мир

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MAJOR DEBATES

The slave trade had a unique story in India. Karl Marx could identify the role of slavery in promoting primitive accumulation of capital in the eighteenth century [Marx, 1978, p. 165, 226, 253–255, 272, 284, 704, 710–712]. This linkage between slavery and capitalism was further verified and explained by Eric Williams [Williams, 2022, p. 26–48]. Eric Williams' study inspired

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some serious debate about the linkage between slavery and capitalism [Williams, 2022, p. 26–48]. The Dutch were exposed to participation in slave trade in Barbados where sugarcane plantations and manufacturing sugar were transferred from Pernambuco through the good offices of the Dutch [Ibid, p. 38–39]. Williams' work was inspired by the exigencies of contemporary politics, showed his unusual ability to identify patterns and linkages between wide-ranging and seemingly divergent historical developments. It has been rightly pointed out that *Capitalism and Slavery* was conceived, researched and drafted during a time of intense West Indian demand for self-government. Since Britain had promised self-government to colonies, whenever they were ready for it, West Indian intellectuals in the 1930s were determined to demonstrate their readiness [Green, 1987, p. 26]. A. William Green has argued that the complex agricultural and manufacturing process necessitated direct transfer of technology from an existing sugar culture in the British Caribbean [Green, 1987, p. 39]. It may be interesting to note that India had a fairly ancient history of sugar cultivation and technology. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) officials transported slaves from Bengal (India) to Java to cultivate sugarcane in the mid-seventeenth century. Interestingly enough, Indian sugar had attracted the attention of the VOC as early as 1620s [Prakash, 1984, p. 29, 123, 131, 286]. For antiquity of sugar and its technology in India, one may refer to [Needham and Ling, 1985, p. 204] which in fact supports Williams' thesis of 'No sugar no slave' [Williams, 2022, p. 27–47]. A variety of factors (poor quality of tobacco, search for new staple, onset of civil disturbances in England in 1639, requirement of continuous flow of abundant, reliable and disciplined labour) contributed to induction of African slaves. The Dutch merchants were prepared to satisfy planters' labour needs because they were eager to encourage larger commerce with the island. Consequently, influx of slaves expanded during the first half of 1640 [Green, 1987, p. 39–41]. It has been argued that the Dutch West India Company had acquired dominance over the Atlantic slave trade in the 1640s and simultaneously concentrated on slave trade at Brazil for the next decade. They also captured slaves from Iberian ships and the slaves traded by the private Dutch interlopers. [Ibid]. Another major source of slave supply was the consequence of eighty years' war between the Netherlands and Spain. It caused arrival of swarms of Dutch privateers into the Caribbean, who first disrupted Spanish commerce and then conducted vigorous contraband trade. Slaves were the most important product in that contraband².

J.G. van Dillen was possibly the first modern Dutch historian who studied various facets of slave trade and the involvement of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Dutch West Indies Company (WIC) in it [Van Dillen, 1970, p. 35, 74, 81–84]. Van Dillen had pointed out that in 1653, the pepper supplied from West Africa was of inferior quality in comparison to what was obtained from Oost Indie (i. e. South-East Asia) [Ibid, p. 159]. So, the Dutch decided to import another commodity, i. e. slaves. The Portuguese were already dealing with slaves [Ibid, p. 160–161] and the WIC was given permission around 1635 to participate in the slave trade [Ibid, p. 381]. The Dutch were exposed to participation in slave trade in Barbados where the art of planting cane and manufacturing sugar was transferred from Pernambuco through the good offices of the Dutch. After the loss of Brazil, the WIC looked towards Spanish colonies where for mining gold and silver, there was a demand for slaves [G.M.³, 1960, p. 44; Andaya, 2017, p. 93–94]. Since then, the demand for slaves continued and this trade was to be based on procurement of Guinea cloth from India. The VOC had realized the usefulness of Guinea cloth very early for slave trade [G.M., 1960, p. 44]. Gerard Reynst (11 November 1644) had realized the comparative cost advantage associated with obtaining labour (euphemism for slaves) from Madagascar, Mangelagy and Sada. The cloth interwoven with blue stripes was in great demand amongst them [Ibid]. The Arabs from

² This argument is based on [Goslinga, 1971] and [Palmer, 1976].

³ Abbreviation for *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs: Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*.

Sihir and Kisim were conducting their trade at Pala and Lamu islands, and Malindi by bringing Indian textiles, knives made in Arab land, variety of copper ware, pots, kettles, beaters and such like. Pieter de Carpentier (3 February 1626) sent 148 packets (3093 pieces) of Guinea cloth to Holland [Ibid, p. 184].

Philip D. Curtin had pointed out that slave imports into Spanish America between 1620–50 was on an average about 2000 a year; to Brazil, 4,000 a year [Curtin, 1969, p. 119]. During 1623 to 1636, the WIC had reportedly captured 547 Iberian ships, and presumably ‘others were captured by non-company Dutch marauders’ [Green, 1987, p. 43; Gemery and Hogendorn, 1979, p. 374]. Apart from these overseas slave raids, the Dutch consolidated their position by seizing Curacao in 1634, a strategic island on the main Spanish access route through the Caribbean and converted it into a dispatching centre for slaves and other contraband. Similarly Dutch interlopers could have served as a second source of slaves for Barbados. The Dutch supply of slaves was augmented by certain internal factors: consolidation of landholdings to achieve greater production efficiencies and package arrangement of other factors by the Dutch: they provided technology, machinery, stock, slaves, credit and guaranteed shipping at favourable rates [Ibid]. Thus, by the 1640s the Dutch had acquired certain advantage over others so far as slave trade was concerned.

Herbert S. Klein has argued that slaves purchased in Africa were not a low-cost item. The goods exported to Africa to pay for the slaves were costly manufactured products and were the single most expensive factor in the outfitting of the voyage, being more valuable than the ship, the wages for the crew and food supplies combined. Two-thirds of the outfitting costs of the French slavers in the eighteenth century, for example, were made up of goods used to purchase the slaves. Secondly, he argues further, that African demands dictated European exports to the sub-Saharan region, and top on that list were fine woven east Indian textiles. So important and expensive were the Asian textiles in this trade that the Europeans—especially the English—tried desperately to substitute cheaper European imitations, all of too little avail. It was in fact their role as Asian trade ports which explains why Liverpool and Nantes emerged as the premier slave trading ports of England and France respectively in the eighteenth century [Klein, 1988–89, p. 4–5].

Instead of having uniform pattern, slave trade had a scattered intermittent, and contingent references in the Mughal Empire and the Peninsular India [Habib, 2014, p. 114, 122, n2, 142–143, 280, 370–371, n2; Chatterjee, and Eaton, 2018, p. 1–43]. Akbar initiated a series of measures to discourage this unjust institution [Habib, 1993, p. 300–303]. It seems that Akbar’s antipathy for slavery appears to have the desired result. In the present paper an attempt has been made to glean information from Dutch East India Company records and indulgence of the same Company in this profitable trade.

SOURCES OF SUPPLY OF SLAVES

Compared to the Atlantic slave trade, slave trade carried on in the Indian Ocean region has largely remained inadequately studied and lopsided [Vink, 2003, p. 132]. The slave trade was found to be insignificant in monetary terms and therefore most studies on the Dutch East India Company mentions slavery and slave trade only in the passing [Ibid, p. 135]. It was estimated to be around 0.5 per cent of the total volume of trade even during the eighteenth century when it was considered to be substantially larger than the previous century [Ibid]. Markus Vink questioned this assessment and opined that the VOC joined the already existing slave trade which had a pretty long past history in Indian Ocean and its slave trade was urban-centred, drawing captive labour from three interlocking and overlapping circuits or sub-regions: ‘Greater South Africa’, ‘South Asia’, and ‘South-East Asia’. Dutch slavery discourse was rendered in religious and humanitarian terms. Private and company slaves served as general labourers and were used in

a wide variety of occupations in the Dutch settlements across the Indian Ocean basin. In certain of these slave societies, however, they also performed specific activities in accordance with the size of the individual slave household and the particular position the settlement occupied within the Company's overall commercial network. The division of slave labour roughly followed ethnic, gender and age lines based on colonial taxonomy and pre-existing indigenous beliefs and practices that characterized local slave systems. The number of companies and total Dutch slaves and the accompanying volume of the annual slave trades fluctuated greatly. In the late seventeenth century, there were about 4,000 company slaves and perhaps 60,000 total slaves. In order to replenish these numbers, 200–400 company slaves and 3,200–5,600 total slaves had to be imported each year. Assuming an average mortality rate en route of 20 per cent, 240–280 company slaves and 4,476–7,716 total Dutch slaves had to be exported from their respective catchment areas. While slave revolt was rare, slave resistance assumed a variety of everyday forms of resistance, especially desertion or 'maroonage' [Ibid, p. 176].

In the context of above findings, an attempt has been made in the present paper to focus on the nature of slave trade in the Indian subcontinent and the participation of the Dutch into this inhuman trade. The slave trade in the Indian Ocean is relatively well known to historians of commerce [Kurup, 1973, p. 56–60; Chattopadhyay, 1977; Caplan, 1980, p. 169–194; Patnaik and Dingwaney, 1985; Reid, 1983; Moreland, 1990, p. 2, 6, 7, 87, 93, 113, 117, 216–217; Furder, 1990, p. 8, 14, 79, 130, 201, 209, 275, 298, 302, 317–319; Hattingh, 1990, p. 3–18; Arasaratnam, 1995, p. 195–208; 1996, p. 18; Knapp, 1996, p. 193; Vink, 2003, p. 131–177]. However, the Indian Ocean slave trade has not attracted analysis akin to the Atlantic Slave trade [Klein, 1988–1989, p. 1–15]. A few fundamental attempts have been made to delineate the significant aspects of slavery in the Sultanate period (c. 1200–1500) [Habib, 1984, p. 89–93; Habib, 1988–1989, p. 233–247; Prasad, 1988–1989, p. 269–275; Habib, 2004, p. 430–436]. The institution of slavery in India witnessed a relative decline from the latter of the fourteenth century till Akbar's declaration of 1582 which freed the slaves [Habib, 2004, p. 435–436]. Akbar had prohibited slave dealing which implied disappearance of slave markets from the Mughal Empire. However, the private traffic in slaves continued [Ibid, p. 437–440]. Akbar's prohibition continued to have a lasting impact as will be apparent from the present paper.

The VOC had been consciously trading in slaves right from the beginning. As early as 5 January 1617, a resolution adopted at Jacatra had noted that the cargo procured at 'Madagascar would be slaves, while at Surat it would be indigo and textiles' [Prakash, 1984, p. 19]. In its instructions, dated 5 March 1617, the Council of the Indies, asked Pieter van den Broecke to buy as many slaves as possible at Madagascar [Ibid]. Markus Vink has classified slave supplying segmented microstates and stateless societies in the East outside the 'House of Islam' into three circuits or subregions [Vink, 2003, p. 140–43]. We are concerned with the first circuit or sub-region, the Indian subcontinent (Arakan/Bengal, Malabar and Coromandel) was found to be the most important source of forced labour' [Ibid].

S. Arasaratnam had rightly pointed out that the most effective source of slave labour for the Dutch during the first half of the seventeenth century was the Arakan/Bengal coast where the slave labour markets were fed by the slave raiding activities of the Arakanese, Maghs and the Portuguese until Mughals put an end to them by extending effective control over the Bengal/Burma border and the Delta waters [Arasaratnam, 1995, p. 201]. The VOC was importing slaves especially of Bengal and Arakanese origin on a regular basis from India's closest eastern neighbour Arakan. Pieter de Carpentier, the Governor-General, wrote on 25 December 1622 that the ship 'Neeuw Seelant' had arrived from the Coromandel coast with approximately 1,000 purchased (*ingecochte*) male and female slaves mostly young and small children in order to strengthen their colonies at Batavia, Ambonia and Banda. In pursuance of Governor-General Coen's instructions adequate number of ships be stationed at Ceylon, Coromandel Coast and

Bay of Bengal and try to procure as many people from there as possible for the ships to carry [*G.M.*, 1960, p. 121 (1 February, 1623)]. The Dutch director Van Uffelen had sent the yacht 'Medemblick' along with frigates the 'Jager' and the 'Muys' which reached Arakan on 24 November 1624 and it was hoped that they would receive 1,000 slaves but they could not get more than ninety-three slaves. It was decided to establish a factory (*comptoir*) in Arakan to procure 2,000–3,000 slaves. It was reported that there was an abundance of slaves and rice in Arakan. It was recommended that a reasonably strong and experienced person should be sent to Coromandel Coast to fetch slaves [*Ibid.*, p. 165]. The VOC had its trade relations with Arakan since 1625 [Van Dam, 1976, p. 97]. It was the deliberate policy of the company to have a relationship with Arakan to attain twin objectives of procuring rice and the best kinds of slaves, in terms of not only their courage or strength but also for their ingenuity (*verenuft*) and good naturedness (*goetardigheyt*) in comparison to slaves from elsewhere [*Ibid.*, p. 98]. It is reported that the king of Arakan had secured a convincing victory in Bengal in 1624 and as a result had brought 10,000 persons as captives [*Ibid.*]. Most of them had died due to some epidemic. But the VOC had purchased 3,000 slaves [*Ibid.*]. The Dutch had unbridled trade with Arakan and there was a regular flow of commodities as well as slaves through both overseas and overland [*Ibid.*]. It can be assumed that the slave trade continued smoothly. By 1624, the Dutch Company had started looking for alternative places for procurement of slaves. It had sent two ships the 'Vrede' and the 'Medemblick' in 1624 which returned from Arakan on 11 January 1625 and both together had brought 400 slaves, of which 100 had died, some in Arakan itself and some on the way [Prakash, 1984, p. 149]. It was reported that the king of Arakan had captured 7,000 slaves in Bengal who were expected to reach Arakan any day [*Ibid.*]. The Dutch Company had left six Dutch factors to 'buy them' [*Ibid.*]. It noted, 'There is not much more to do in Arakan than to buy slaves' [*Ibid.*].

Around this time, there was apparently a shrinking of the availability of slaves around Tegenapatam and Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast [*Ibid.*, p. 158]. After the departure of the 'Vrede' and the 'Medemblick' from Arakan on 11 January 1625, the Dutch factors had purchased 100 more slaves there [*Ibid.*]. The Dutch hoped to purchase more slaves at Arakan from the Kings acquisition of slaves in Bengal and planned to send the ship *Tenasserim* to Arakan for this purpose [*Ibid.*]. By 26 July 1625, the Governor-General De Carpentier had resolved: 'For populating the Company's territories and for securing them better, a large number of slaves were needed. So if enough slaves were not available in Pulicat and Tegenapatam, they should be procured in Arakan. Batavia's information was that thousands of Bengal slaves could be bought in Dianga if only the King of Arakan would allow them to be carried out of his kingdom' [*Ibid.*, p. 164].

Ysbrantsz wrote from Pulicat to the Governor-General De Carpentier at Batavia that in the absence of slaves at Tegenapatam and Pulicat, the 'Medemblick' and the yacht 'Jager' were sent to Arakan on 23 September 1625 to buy slaves. They expected a few hundreds of them [*Ibid.*, p. 176, 216]. It is reported that of 544 slaves purchased in Arakan in 1625, 386 had died there and only 130 could reach Pulicat [*Ibid.*, p. 219]. Most of them were also sick [*Ibid.*]. The king of Arakan had reportedly brought 10,000 slaves from Bengal. Of these, 4,000 had already died. The king of Arakan had banned the transportation of slaves out of Arakan and had decided to keep all of them for his services [*Ibid.*]. Therefore, under-merchant, Pouwels Crameheyn, had returned from Arakan leaving only two of his assistants there [*Ibid.*]. In February 1626, the Dutch Company received 3080 slaves at Pulicat from Arakan [*Ibid.*, p. 246]. They were brought in two *sampans*, one of these called the 'Pegal' belonged to Malaya and the other to a Muslim merchant of Arakan [*Ibid.*]. Interestingly, it was reported that 17 of these slaves had died in Arakan while another 12 had died on the way and three of these had been killed by the Dutch factors and the steersman because they had tried to take over one of the *sampans*. By 1635, we hear that one ton of rice cost 30 guilders, a slave 20, gum lac 20½ stuivers per lb. The Dutch ships, the 'Noordwyk'

and the 'Daman' had carried 2,713/4 tons of rice, 216 slaves and 2,688 lbs. gum lac from Arakan to Batavia [*G.M.*, 1960, p. 526 (4 January, 1636)]. In 1639–1640, it was found that there was a decline in the prices of rice and slaves in Arakan [*G.M.*, 1964, p. 99 (31 January, 1640)]. This trend continued till the next year 1641 [*Ibid.*, p. 145 (12 December, 1641)]. Therefore, it was decided to procure rice and slaves from Arakan as they were needed in Batavia [*Ibid.*]. In 1643 *opperkoopman* Arent van den Helm could procure a *farman* from the king of Arakan which permitted the Dutch to enjoy freedom in purchasing wax, gum lac, Cassomba (safflower), indigo, *caosese* white cotton cloth, rice and slaves [Van Dam, 1976, p. 97]. Armed with this permission, the VOC brought 600 slaves, male and female both on 22 December 1643 from Arakan to Batavia [*G.M.*, 1964, p. 223 (4 January 1644)]. Out of these 135 died of smallpox on their way to Batavia [*Ibid.*]. Earlier also 179 slaves had died because of smallpox [*Ibid.*].

It was felt in mid-1645 that serfs/slaves were essential for the existence of the 'republic' at Batavia. In case they were not available in Arakan then efforts were to be made to procure them from other places like island of Enggano. It was reported that thousand wild men were there and they should be taken to Batavia. Those who were brought from Madagascar were sold but the people complained that they were extremely dirty and lazy workers. By December 1645 it was reported that slaves were no more available in Arakan. The king had prohibited export of slaves [*Ibid.*, p. 280 (31 December 1645)].

In 1646, the ships 'Mytgeest' and 'Dolphin' were sent to Arakan with fl. 7436.10.10 to purchase slaves and rice [*Ibid.*, p. 297 (15 January 1647)]. Next year, 1,046 slaves were procured of Bengal and Pegu origin; presumably the former category from Arakan and 430 of them had died [*Ibid.*, p. 326 (31 December 1647)]. In 1652, the Dutch factors purchased slaves from the Arakan king's galliot stationed at Pipli where slaves were available [*Ibid.*, p. 623 (24 December 1652)]. In 1653, the previous *farman* granted in 1643 was combined with another one which permitted the VOC to trade directly with places around Hugli on the Ganges and Pipli [Van Dam, 1976, p. 98]. The Dutch earned a bad reputation due to their slave trade, for the procurement of slaves at Arakan figured in the accusations against the Dutch in Bengal in 1653. The Dutch Commissioner Johan Van Verpoorten met Prince Mohammad Shuja and the prince was persuaded by Mirza Malik Beg and Nawazish Khan to allow the Dutch to transport over 5,000–6,000 persons as slaves regularly from Bengal to Batavia. These slaves were captured by Arakanese slave raiders. The prince created obstacles in their procurement in Bengal and consequently there was a subsequent decline in Dutch trade in Bengal [*G.M.*, 1964, p. 718 (19 January 1654); Arasaratnam, 1995, p. 202].

Apparently, Arakan continued to supply slaves, for on 17 February and 14 March 1654, Batavia received 236 tons of rice and 311 slaves which together cost f. 18139.10.14 [*G.M.*, 1964, p. 754 (7 November 1654)]. The Dutch Company's residence was prepared and strengthened at Arakan to capture slaves in future. It was felt that during the period supply of slaves had declined not only in Arakan but also in Banda and Formosa [*Ibid.*, p. 755 (7 November 1654)].

On 17 December 1654, the 'Zalm' reached Batavia from Arakan with 100 tons of rice and 150 slaves [*Ibid.*, p. 776 (26 January 1655)]. Arakan continued to be a stable source of slave trade. It sent 170 tons of rice and 200 slaves to Malacca [*Ibid.*, p. 822 (1 April 1655)].

The 'Sandyk' reached Batavia in 1655 with rice and slaves. The king of Arakan had granted a *farman* (permission) to purchase slaves. Accordingly, the Dutch Company had sent its *factors* to Drange to obtain 200 slaves but this could not materialize because the slave raiders of Arakan had sold the slaves in Bengal in 1656. The slave raiders resorted to many frauds in slave trade. Therefore, the Dutch were granted permission to have a permanent residence and the native slave raiders to receive in future all the slaves obtained through raiding. The men would be purchased of the age group 20 to 36 years old for 12 rials, women from 12 to 25 for 8½ rials, boys between 8 and 19 for 7½ rials, girls from 7 to 12 years for 6, and children between 3 and 6 years from 2½ rials and even younger ones without any price because they

used to fall sick between Drange and Arakan and might die en route. The number of women should be more than men, girls were not counted [G.M., 1968, p. 48–49 (1 February 1656)]. On 15 February 1656, 288 slaves and 70 tons of rice were brought from Arakan to Batavia [Ibid, p. 94 (4 December 1665)]. It was reported that Mirza Ahmad Beg, the governor, annoyed with the Dutch ‘through faulty imagination or by rejection of his saltpetre contract’, had decided to take revenge against the Dutch Commissioner J. Verpoorten and alleged that the Dutch had purchased 1,600 slaves, out of which 900 were Muslims from the Arakan’s galliot and had transported them as slaves. They were threatened. But the Emperor had called Mirza Ahmad Beg to the Court and another noble, Mirza Inspandiar [Espandiar] had succeeded him as governor. The latter was very friendly and asked the Dutch to construct their lodge within his territory at Kasuri or Hingely [Ibid, p. 132 (31 January 1657)].

In 1659, the VOC brought 274 tons of rice and 407 slaves together costing fl. 29813.11 to Batavia from Arakan [Ibid, p. 259 (16 December 1659)]. The king of Arakan had permitted the Dutch to trade freely in slaves in Arakan as well as Drange (in 1656). This order was taken for granted by the lower commanders that there was a sharp fall in the number of license holders to 250 only at Arakan and similar was the number at Drange [Ibid, p. 328 (16 December 1660)].

Arakan had acquired such a reputation in slave trade that 2 to 3 notable nobles (2 a 3 *aensienlycke heeren*) of Shah Shuja had become so desolate that they wanted to seek freedom from slavery [Ibid, p. 342]. Shaista Khan held slave trade against the Dutch on the ground that the Dutch were encouraging slave trade by purchasing slaves from Arakanese who raided for slaves in Bengal [Ibid, p. 497 (30 January 1666)].

While the principal commodity the Company procured in Coromandel was textile, it often also procured diamonds and slaves, among other commodities. J. P. Coen, Governor-General at Batavia, in a letter dated 5 January 1617, insisted on procuring slaves in the Coromandel ever since the Dutch Company’s arrival on the Coromandel coast for the nutmeg and the mace plantations in Amboina and Banda. Coen’s letter suggests insistence on giving priority to procurement of slaves. The Dutch Company’s Council of Indies at Jacatra referred to dispatch of two ships, the ‘Middelburg’ and the ‘Zuyder Eendracht’ to Madagascar to procure slaves [Prakash, 1984, p. 19]. The Council of Indies further instructed Pieter van den Broecke, Director designate at Surat to call at Madagascar and buy as many slaves there as possible. From Surat, one of the ships would be sent back to Jacatra with the slaves as well as the textiles and Indigo brought at Surat [Ibid, p. 21]. Coen had instructed De Haze at Masulipatam (30 November 1617) to send as many slaves as possible from Coromandel ‘for Jacatra needed them to populate Banda where due to the shortage of manpower, a large amount of nuts and mace were wasted’ [Ibid, p. 53]. Jacatra had already received ‘black slaves possibly from Madagascar [Ibid]. The ships the *Gouden Leeuw* and the *Neptunus* were used to bring those slaves [Ibid]. The Dutch Company sent ‘nineteen negroes’.

Jan Pietersz Coen in his letter of 19 September 1618 had instructed De Haze, at Masulipatnam, ‘Since the Company was short of people everywhere, Coromandel was advised to send as many slaves (particularly young men and women) as they could’ [Ibid, p. 75]. By November 1618, it was realized that ‘A severe famine had ravaged the region around Tirupapaliyur so much so that a *pagoda* could buy three to four children’ [Ibid, p. 80]. A list of demand of goods prepared at Jacatra on 16 July 1619 clearly mentions that ‘slaves, as many as possible’ should be sent from the coast of Coromandel annually for Moluccas, Ambonia, Banda, Java, Patani, Siam and the Netherlands [Ibid, p. 103]. This demand was possibly based on the fact that Coromandel had witnessed a continuous and devastating drought over the last two to three years’ and it was reported on 2 November 1619, that several thousand people had died of starvation and hence Pulicat had been instructed to buy both male and female slaves at Masulipatnam and hoped to be able to send some with the present shipment [Ibid, p. 119]. In a letter of 9 July

1621, the Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier at Jacatra reported arrival of 150 child slaves from the Coromandel coast on 7 June 1621 along with other commodities [Ibid, p. 164]. It is interesting to note that Jan Pietersz Coen demanded on 12 August 1621 that Andries Soury at Masulipatnam should send slaves because 'A large labour force was needed at Banda for the nutmeg and mace plantations. As such, as many slaves mainly young and middle aged rather than old — were to be sent to Jacatra as the ships could carry...' [Ibid, p. 170]. The demand for slaves for South-East Asian settlements of the Dutch Company was so demanding that on 16 October 1621, secret instructions were issued from Batavia to Jacob Dedel, Admiral of the joint venture of the Dutch and the English East India companies to purchase unlimited number of slaves for Batavia and Banda and not only that ships could also be sent to Madagascar for the purpose [Ibid, p. 175]. Similar concern finds reflection in Coen's letter of 18 October 1621 to Andries Soury at Masulipatnam [Ibid, p. 177]. In Coen's another letter (18 October 1625) to the same officer, it was pointed out that 2,000 to 3,000 slaves were needed for Batavia, Ambonia and Banda. Therefore Soury should send as many of them as he could' [Ibid, p. 179]. Coen reported to the Directors of the company at Amsterdam that only 124 slaves were brought by the Gouden Leeuw from the Coromandel Coast [Ibid, p. 191]. Coen's letter (8 May 1622) to Andries Soury and Abraham van Uffelen is interesting. He wrote: 'One Cornelis van Suylesteyn was being sent to serve as a captain at Fort Geldria and to help in the procurement of slaves. It had originally been planned to send with this man a sum of 6,000 rials of eight exclusively for investment in slaves. But since Batavia was short of capital while Coromandel was well provided, and since another ship was to be sent to Coromandel soon, it had been decided not to send this sum of money. Slaves — particularly young men and women — were needed in as large a quantity as possible. Two vessels from the Orissa coast were reported to have brought 300 slaves to Batavia during the current year. As such, no excuses pertaining to the non-availability of slaves would be entertained' [Italics mine. — *I. A.*] [Ibid, p. 197].

Jan Pietersz Coen in his letter (8 May 1622) to Andries Soury and Abraham van Uffelen at Masulipatnam had asked them to supply 1,000 slaves. This letter is particularly interesting in the sense that it touches many policies and practical aspects of the above trade and hence we reproduce the entire text: 'The *Muys* was being sent to Coromandel mainly to bring back as many slaves — young males and females — as possible. In spite of the fact that Coromandel textiles were in great demand, the interest of the Company would be served better by the procurement of slaves, who were likely to afford a much higher profit' [Ibid].

With the 'Gouden Leeuw', Batavia had expected to get no less than 1,000 slaves but, in fact, they could receive only 124. Individual Muslim ships from Coromandel had reportedly brought to Achin 300 or more slaves. But Batavia had received no more than this number in all the years that Soury had been at Coromandel put together. For the VOC, it was a matter of shame that such an important matter had been treated so lightly. A large number of boys and girls from various quarters of Asia were needed to populate Batavia, Ambonia and Banda with servile people. Even hundreds of thousands of such persons would be welcome. It was instructive to consider the Portuguese precedent of how they had populated their possessions. It was also useful to consider how the Moors had extended their rule over Asia. They had obtained manpower from the enemy and had also purchased it. The Dutch had been so careless as to ignore these precedents. All places in Coromandel, Ceylon and Bengal were to be instructed to buy as many slaves as possible. Services of reliable 'free Dutchmen, Hindus and Muslim, were also to be used in this connection' [Ibid, p. 201–202].

Coen in his letter of 8 May 1622 to Pieter van den Broecke had instructed: 'Any number of slaves, particularly young people, could be sent to Batavia. Even if this number was 100,000, the Dutch territories were extensive and productive enough to support them adequately. The lot sent with the Sampson

had cost about 20 rials per head while on the Coromandel coast, it did not exceed 8 rials. But even if the cost at Surat could not be reduced, some young people of *good breeding* could be send' [Ibid, p. 203].

The demand for slaves from Masulipatnam continued [Ibid, p. 207]. Van Uffelen showed his understanding in Batavia's disappointment in the matter of supply of the slaves, but he pointed out that it would not be possible for Coromandel to enhance the number of slaves in ordinary times. The number of supply of slaves could be increased only during the famine. It says, 'Rice was unprecedentedly cheap at the moment at Pulicat and there was no prospect of getting a large number of slaves' [Ibid, p. 209].

In another letter from Masulipatnam to Coen at Batavia on 7 July 1622, Andries Soury pointed out that over the last four years, hundreds of persons had died of starvation in Pulicat and the surrounding areas because of the famine and the high prices. During this period, a large number of slaves were available. But the availability of rice had since improved substantially again leading to a reduction in the number of slaves available [Ibid, p. 209–210].

On 22 July 1622, Coen asked for at least 1000 'slaves who could be used to increase the population of Banda, Ambonia, the Moluccas and, in particular, Batavia. The territories conquered by the Company would thus become a source of profit. Besides, the increased population of these places would keep their alleged friends in duress and their acknowledged enemies in awe' [Ibid, p. 212]⁴. The Dutch Company considered slaves brought on one's own and then sold at Batavia to the free burghers a wiser policy [Ibid, p. 213]. But they allowed free burghers also to participate in the slave trade because the Dutch Company found that 'private traders were more efficient in buying slaves (so much so that they were known to procure more slaves in a day than the Company could in a year)' [Ibid]. The Directors had decided to allow free buyers to participate in this trade and bring as many slaves from Coromandel as possible. Coen, however, hoped that the factors, would in future, be able to send so many slaves that it would not be necessary to ask the 'free buyers to participate in the trade' [Ibid]. Similarly in a letter of 22 July 1622, Coen observed, 'The factors would be doing a greater service to the Company by sending slaves rather than any other item for Holland or the East Indies. If the slaves were bought at a reasonable price, they afforded a much higher profit than clothes did [Ibid, p. 214].

Around this time Dutch Company felt that Batavia was in a great need of young male and female slaves [Ibid, p. 220]. On 9 February 1623, Coen, reportedly was very pleased to receive a large number of slaves at a reasonable price from Coromandel. He wrote (9 February 1623), 'Their procurement was more important than that of even textiles though, of course, the procurement of the latter was not to be neglected by any means' [Ibid, p. 243].

Coen wrote to Van den Broecke at Surat on 14 May 1623 that if the slaves could be purchased at a cheap price, any number would not be too many for Batavia' [Ibid, p. 256]. Coen expressed his satisfaction over the fact that by the middle of June 1623, Batavia had received no less than 1,080 slaves. The 'Witte Beer' had brought 150 slaves while the 'Nieuw Zeeland' had brought 930 slaves from the Coromandel coast. It may be pointed out here that the latter had started its journey with 1,167 slaves. But 69 died on the way and 168 died after reaching Batavia [Ibid, p. 259]. He has touched upon the reasons for the casualty and found that 'The ship had run out of its supply of bread while the kettles used for boiling rice had been rendered useless by constant and heavy use. The men, therefore, had to live on raw rice and water. Hence the high mortality' [Ibid]. He expressed his satisfaction and observed, it was for the first time since 1614 that such a large number of slaves had been received from Coromandel. The large availability of slaves in Coromandel resulted from a bad harvest, bad government and wars. The Portuguese and the Muslims 'fully exploited such opportunities' [Ibid].

⁴ Coen also speaks about individuals like Muhammad, Alberto Gomes who indulged in slave trade in their individual capacity.

Pieter van de Carpentier had sent two large ships namely the *Wapen van Rotterdam* and the *Wapen van Enckhuizen* to fetch 700 slaves in 1624 from the Coromandel Coast. They were to be supplemented with slaves from Pulicat and Tegenapatam, Malabar, Cochin and other places [Ibid, p. 131 (3 January 1620)]. On 21 February 1623, the Edam had brought 200 slaves from the Coromandel Coast to Amboina and Banda for populating these islands [G.M., 1960, p. 148 (4 March 1624)]. Abraham van Uffelen wrote from prison at Bondara (near Masulipatnam) to Dutch chiefs on the coast of Coromandel endorsing the Governor-General's recommendation for 'procurement of slaves without an upper limit on the number' [Prakash, 1984, p. 275].

The Governor-General Pieter de Carpentier reported on 3 January 1624 that 514 slaves had reached Batavia on 7 March 1623 on the ship the 'Tholen' [Prakash, 2007, p. 53]. On its second arrival on 28 November 1623, it had brought 200 slaves [Ibid]. These were slaves largely procured from Pulicat, Tegenapatam and from the coast of Malabar and its neighbouring places [Ibid, p. 55]. Batavia had sent two big ships, the *Wapen van Rotterdam* and the *Wapen van Enckhuizen* to Coromandel which together could fetch 700 slaves [Ibid]. The reason behind such supply of slaves was the outbreak of plague had caused a large scale mortality among the slaves and about 303 of whom had died at Pulicat itself since February 1623 [Ibid, p. 74]. The impact was reflected in the ratio of one male to six females 'however high the price one is willing to pay for the males' [Ibid].

By the middle of July 1624, 245 male and female slaves were sent to Batavia from Masulipatnam [Ibid, p. 101]. In addition to 245, fifty-three more slaves were procured but they had died. The price of rice had increased [Ibid].

By now the Dutch Company had realized that procurement of slaves at Surat had become very expensive. It had noted that since the Muslims did not approve of this trade, it had to be carried clandestinely' [Ibid, p. 280]. By August 1624, it was resolved that, 'Since slaves could be bought more cheaply on the Coromandel coast and other places, Surat was not to purchase any' [Ibid, p. 105]. The ship 'Wapen van Rotterdam' had brought 630 slaves from Coromandel to Batavia on 11 March 1624 [Ibid, p. 137].

By 26 July 1625, large scale mortality among the slaves in Coromandel and the death of 93 during the Voyage to Batavia was troubling the Dutch officials. They reported that the mortality rate of slaves was a factor in '*further increasing the cost of the surviving slaves per unit*' [Ibid, p. 162]. Therefore only 98 male and female slaves could be obtained at Coromandel for coast Batavia between 8 March 1626 to 8 October 1626 [Ibid, p. 298].

The purchase of slaves on the Coromandel coast became expensive because the prices had gone up. Due to lack of availability of slaves around Tegenapatam and Pulicat, the Dutch Company alternatively resorted to another source i. e., Arakan. After the departure of the *Vrede* and the *Medenblick* from Arakan, 100 more slaves were available. The king of Arakan had reportedly captured 7000 slaves in Bengal in 1625 [G.M., 1960, p. 186]. It was reiterated (26 July 1625) by the Governor General Pieter de Carpentier in his letter to Governor at Masulipatam; 'For populating the Company's territories and for securing them better, a large number of slaves were needed. So, if enough slaves were not available in Pulicat and Tegenoz patam, they should be procured in Arakan. Batavia's information was that thousands of Bengal slaves could be bought in Dranga if only the king of Arakan would allow them to be carried out of his Kingdom' [Ibid, p. 164].

The ships, the 'Vrede', 'Medenblick' and yachts 'Tanassery' and 'Bon Remedia' were sent to Arakan in expectation of purchase of few hundred slaves and they had brought back 250 slaves and 200 tons (lasten) of rice [Ibid, p. 185 (3 February 1626)]. The 'Medenblick' and the 'Jaeger' were sent in their third voyage to Arakan and brought back to Pulicat on 16 November 1625, 130 slaves, of 544 slaves gathered at Arakan. The 'Medenblick' with the frigates 'Jaeger' and 'Muys' could bring 93 slaves from Arakan (24

November 1624) instead of expected 1000 [Ibid, p. 156, 159]. Encouraged by the prospect of obtaining annually 2–3 thousand slaves in large quantity, the Dutch Company contemplated to open a factory at Arakan [Ibid, p. 156 (27 January, 1625)]. The ships 'Medenblick' and 'Jaeger' brought 130 slaves from Arakan to Pulicat, a surplus of 544 pieces was collected in Arakan in the year 1625 [Ibid, p. 185 (3 February, 1626)].

Not only that the king of Arakan had procured 10,000 slaves from Bengal, of them in a very short time 4,000 had died (i. e. 40 per cent). Due to this high death rate, the governor of Bengal had prohibited export of slaves [Ibid]. It was expected that the emperor would issue a new *farmān* for purchase of slaves from Diang, near Chittagong [Ibid]. It was complained that the purchase of slaves was not taking place on expected lines. They were always struck by high death rates. In 1625, 1,300 slaves were procured at Arakan and Coromandel coast but half of them had died [Ibid, p. 185–186]. However, slaves were procured in Orissa especially at Balasore [Ibid, p. 186]. In early 1625 three large ships of 400–500 tons were sent to Arakan and Coromandel Coast to procure rice and slaves from there [Ibid, p. 196]. In order to extend the city and increase population of the town, diligent and laborious slaves were to be maintained. Slaves were also required to cultivate the fallow land (*braeck landen*) [Ibid, p. 199]. Apparently 1626 remained a poor year for slave trade because authorities at Coast were not permitting it and secondly prices had risen very high [Ibid, p. 204]. But the Governor-General and his Council had instructed the director Marthen Ysbrantsz to procure slaves [Ibid]. By December 1626, 350 slaves, male and female both, were sent to Banda from Batavia to take care of the enclosures and fruits [Ibid, p. 217].

On 27 January 1625, Rs. 60,000 were sent to Coromandel to purchase the desired cloth and slaves for Batavia [Ibid, p. 175 (24 October 1625)]. On 2 February 1627, 3080 Araakanese were received at Pulicat, 27 of them had died in Arakan or during travel. 3 were killed by Dutch Company factors [Ibid, p. 246].

A famine was expected and hence it was expected that prices of slaves would rise because Bijapur's army had destroyed Carnatic. Not less than 150,000 men were sent towards Golconda and Bijapur as slaves [G.M., 1964, p. 327 (31 December 1647)]. The Dutch had captured two small Portuguese ships carryings 180 packs of cloth and 300 slaves from Nagapattanam [Ibid, p. 175 (24 October 1625); 791 (26 January 1655)]. The same factor continued to guide purchase of slaves by the VOC in 1660 on the Coromandel Coast. It was ravaged by devastating famine. In order to cultivate new plants of clove in Amboina, there was a shortage of labour due to smallpox epidemic. The slaves could be sent from Batavia. The new trees were to be cultivated because the plants were destroyed by rebels and secondly the trees had become five to thirty years old [G.M., 1968, p. 315 (16 December 1660)].

The king of Bijapur had waged a war against Shahji, and Nagapattinam fell under his jurisdiction. VOC found the situation conducive for slave trade from Nagapattinam. Nagapattinam had undergone a severe famine. The VOC purchased 3,695 slaves against rice and took them to Jafnapatnam. They were expecting that the Commissioner Van Goens would order purchase of more than 4,000 slaves. The VOC also sent 500 slaves to Jafnapatnam along with 33 weavers and painters [Ibid, p. 175 (24 October 1625); 335–366].

The *Walvis* (24 December 1660) and the *Ulisses* (29 December 1660), had brought to Batavia a cargo of fl. 4, 71, 234.9.14, comprising textiles and 295 slaves. The area was totally devastated by widespread famine to such an extent that all villages, small towns and hamlets were divested of any population. Same was true about Nagapattinam. It was felt that it would not be possible to plough the land in next two to three years. The people did not have any work. Such a miserable situation, therefore, propped up slave trade. Some were sent to Jafnapatnam but still 400 slaves were left at Nagapattinam [Ibid, p. 175 (24 October 1625); 335 (26 January 1661)].

We also get some information of slave trade by the Dutch Company from Malabar and Sri Lanka. 80 Slaves from Malabar were sent to Colombo from Manaer [Ibid, p. 433].

Ceylon was counted as a profit giving factory because the Dutch could seize slaves procured by the Portuguese and the total earning was fl. 12, 427.3.4. [Ibid, 1964, p. 815], Next we hear about slave trade in Indonesian islands. It was realized in 1623 that many people and slave were required at Amboina to cultivate cloves plants and the maintenance of the fort [Ibid, 1960, p. 141(3 January 1624)]. In the north-east coast of Timor, the trade in wax, slaves and cisir(?) was started before the arrival of the yacht *Timor*, with eleven junks [Ibid, p. 141].

Only 19 slaves could be obtained from Timor while more were needed for the gold mine of Salida [Ibid, 1968, p. 845 (31 January 1673)]. The people of the West Coast were too lazy to work against wages. From the town of Timu (on the north coast of Sawu) 100 to 150 slaves could be expected presumably to work in Salida mines [Ibid].

By 27 October 1625, the Dutch forts in Moluccas had 420 white persons besides 300 'mardijers' (people transported to Indonesian Archipelago as slaves and later freed and their descendants) and slaves [Ibid, 1960, p. 179]. This strength, however, was not sufficient to protect their forts, prevent transports of cloves, and prevent the foes and force inhabitants to work [Ibid, p. 180]. In December 1646, four slaves were brought from Bali [Ibid, 1964, p. 286 (21 December 1646)]. The Dutch had purchased fifty-nine slaves from Portuguese at Malacca by paying f.3, 761.5.15 [Ibid, p. 743 (6 February 1654)].

It was instructed in October 1625 that no slave was to be procured from Banda. The Dutch Company should send persons to look for good number of people from many places because the Dutch were finding it difficult to carry on even ordinary trade due to shortage of people [Ibid, 1960, p. 681].

The Dutch people of Banda had requested for remitting the debt of about 80,000 rials of eight which was caused by the flight of slaves. The prices of slaves had risen excessively and Banda was facing acute depopulation. Therefore, all citizens and mardikers of Banda were advised to construct their houses there or at Pouloay along with garrison [Ibid, p. 384].

Over entire Banda in August 1637 there were 3731 people comprising men, women and children. According to a contemporary observation they could be arranged in the following manner to make sex ratio clearer.

Table I. Share of Slaves in Demographic Composition of Banda, 9 December 1637

Male		
(a)	(b)	(c)
Dutch	Bandanese	Different Nations
457 364 (salaried company savants) 93 (citizens without salary)	81 35 Free 46 Serfs/slaves	974 200 free people of different nations 794 serfs/slaves of different nations
457	1075	
Total Male: 1532		
Female		
(a)	(b)	(c)
Dutch	Bandanese	Different Nations
23	246 124 Free 122 Serfs/slaves	1017 319 free 698 serfs/slaves
23	246	1017
Total Women: 1286		

Children (Below the age of 12)		
(a)	(b)	(c)
Dutch	Bandanese	Different Nations
88	103 68 Free 3 5 Serfs	722 349 free 373 serfs/slaves
88	103	722
Total Children: 913		
Total 3731		

Source: [G.M., 1960, p. 616–617].

All other goods and slaves (specially, natural Singalese) should be procured [Ibid, p. 722; Vink, 2003; Cape, 1687; Ambon, 1688; Banda, 1688] share of slaves in the population is not spelt out which further strengthens our argument (see Vink, ‘para 36’) Batavia in 1689 had a slave population of 22570 adults (12,557 men and 10,013 women) and 3501 children (ratio 6, p. 4, p. 1) (Ibid)].

In 1649, eighty-four slaves, 14.22 picol sandalwood and 30 picols wax worth f. 45, 654.10.8 were received from Solor at Batavia [G.M., 1964, p. 334].

In 1653, Josua Braconier was sent to Damme in order to procure serfs because earlier sixty persons were brought from there [Ibid, p. 679 (19 January 1654)]. In 1653, it was found that Onin (near New Guinea) until then not known to the Dutch, would provide sufficient number of bonded labour [Ibid]. They were shipped to Banda where the slaves from Bengal had died. It was discovered that there were many larger islands like the island of Buno where slaves could be obtained [Ibid]. In the island of Banda (1662) the slaves were purchased from the VOC on the basis of payments in two installments [Ibid, 1968, p. 407].

The slaves were used for cultivating mace and nutmegs in the island of Ali although it lacked drinking water [Ibid, 1964, p. 680 (19 January 1654)].

At Onin, the Dutch were assured of a supply of 200 to 300 slaves at a very low price in exchange of cloths presumably from India [Ibid, p. 749 (7 November 1654)].

In 1654, after inflicting a crushing defeat on Portuguese at Corbaffa islands with the help of Coupanese and people of Roti island 106 persons were imprisoned and 200 more slaves were expected [Ibid, p. 750 (7 November 1654)].

Our sources refer to Dutch exports of slaves from Africa to Batavia or other Asian factories. It was estimated that 4,000–5,000 slaves could be brought from Pata, Lania and Malindi in Africa at 1½, 2 1/3 rials of eight because they were physically strong [G.M., 1960, p. 44, 350].

Gerard Reynst, the Governor-General observed (26 October 1615) that a ship should be sent to Madagascar to fetch slaves without which it would be difficult to maintain the fortification [at Bantam] and the labour was not easily available there. The weather was very hot. It was realized that one slave would perform more work than two or more Dutch persons [Ibid, p. 46].

Reynst complained that the Spaniards had an advantage over the Dutch because they had slaves to work for them. The Dutch needed slaves to work in the fort, factories, ships, etc., in the Moluccas. Ships coming from Holland should bring slaves from Madagascar and especially from a closely located island Jan de Nova situated on the north-west of Madagascar.

The assistant merchant *Fredrick Verburg* with the galliot the *Tulip* was hopeful of sending asses and 100 slaves from Madagascar. So far as slaves were concerned there was a general scarcity and consequently,

they were to be sent to Cape from other places [*G.M.*, 1968, p. 46 (24 December 1655); Allen, 2014, p. 112–115]. But in 1656, the Dutch company was considering procuring slaves from Angola but they were apprehensive because most of the slaves from there used to die due to considerably long voyage. Moreover, even if they reached Cape, they might turn fugitive. So as an alternative it was thought that they should be sent from Angola to Batavia and Bengali slaves should reach Cape. But it was found to be a cumbersome process [*Ibid*, p. 191]. It was decided to suspend slave trade from Angola as well as Guinea because they were not proving profitable [*Ibid*, p. 239]. The slave trade at New Guinea was resumed in 1655 [*Ibid*, p. 13 (24 December 1655)].

UTILITY OF SLAVES

In order to enclose Batavia city by a canal, cost was estimated and particular section of population was entrusted with the job. They were to contribute for the digging of the canal. The eastern end was assigned to the chained slaves (*Kettingslaven*) and their Toyoleese serfs through a pure swamp called Caymans canal. For that purpose they presented 100 rials of eight which in contract had become 11,000 rials of eight. By this all the eastern part would become inhabitable and rent was to be paid to the Company. They could also purchase it for 10 penny [*G.M.*, 1960, p. 444 (1634)]. In the same year it was also decided to raise a thick stone wall near Castle of Batavia and laid with parapet. It was planned to make it in fourteen days. The height of the wall was to be about 22 ft and 7 ft inside, sloping by 1ft. The work began on 25 September 1634 and was provided with material like lime and stone and labourers and chained slaves and it was estimated that it would cost 2,200 rials of eight and it meant investing eleven rials for one cubic fathom [*Ibid*, p. 480].

In 1638 at Batavia, the Dutch Company's expenditure under different heads was, p.

Repairing and carpentering of new residence and warehouse	fl. 1,31,114.14.4
Payment made to soldiers, free person	fl. 24,249.1.14
In fortification, provisions and cloths for chained slaves used for the town work	fl. 34,735.16.12
Expenses on carpentering (of ships)	fl. 432896.18
In gifts, etc.	fl. 3975.4.10
Total	fl. 845214.15.8 [<i>Ibid</i> , p. 615–616]

At Batavia, fl. 14765.7.10 was spent in fortification, provisions and cloths for chained slaves out of total expenditure worth fl. 9,60,783.17.3 [*G.M.*, 1964, p. 151 (12 December 1641)]. By 1643, it was realized that the fortification, wall, some old houses, roofs of the houses of artisans, warehouse, armoury were in need of repair. For this work, artisans, chained slaves and serfs were to be employed [*Ibid*, p. 218 (22 December 1643)].

Income and expenditure in Batavia from 1 September 1643 to 31 August 1644 were:

In provisions following the roll	f. 117576.3.9
In garrison, repairs of old houses, salary of ambassadors, hospital, etc.	f. 90658.11.4
In fortifications, materials and cloth as the cost of slaves	f. 13476.10.8
In gifts and presents	f. 3643.5.5
In salary of garrisons and Company's servants	fl. 438278.4.12
In maintenance of the ships and people	fl. 697011.12.4
Total	Al. 1360644.7.10

Source: [*G.M.*, 1964, p. 253].

On 31 December 1648, Batavia had received rice and slaves worth fl. 20,275.2 [Ibid, p. 334 (18 January 1649)]. A kind of crisis was observed in 1652 at Batavia when many 'serfs' had left Batavia due to successive failures of crops. People had become poorer and poorer. By 31 August 1652, the Dutch Company had 114 tons of rice from Banda for maintaining 4,389 souls which would sustain them for four to five months. Whereas the requirement was for 20,000 lbs for four months [Ibid, p. 596 (24 December 1652)]. At Batavia, it was complained that due to the shortage of slaves, works like woodwork on ships and fetching of coral stones could not be undertaken in 1652–1653 [Ibid, p. 661 (31 January 1661)].

There was an acute shortage of carpenters at Batavia and due to this quick repairing of ships was delayed [G.M., 1968, p. 239]. But by 1658, they had highly skilled slaves in the craft of ship building which would save the Company from paying inflated salaries to Dutch counterparts [Ibid, p. 240]. Some of the slaves had become very old and crippled and incurably sick to perform any work. So, the Company sold them for 1606 rixdollars [Dutch coins, valued at 60 stuivers, i. e. 3 florins] to avoid their burden and further harm [Ibid, p. 406–407]. There are frequent references to flight of slaves due to their pathetic conditions.

By 1631, Bantam had emerged as a hiding place (*schuil hoch*) for all discontented slaves and others, who had robbed their masters at Batavia and fled to Bantam with the booty [G.M., 1960, p. 324]. Two free persons with some slaves had fled from Lonthoir presumably to Bantam, and consequently had made the place unsafe. They feared that the 'Wayer' would be burnt. The VOC had decided that any slave who revolted would be put to death [G.M., 1964, p. 237 (23 December 1644)].

INDIAN TEXTILES AND SLAVE TRADE

The Dutch Company's insatiable demand for slaves was restricted possibly by the shortage of cash. The officials on the coast declared that as many as 2,000 could have been bought if they only had the money [Arasaratnam, 1995, p. 203]. This problem of cash could be offset by devising a unique method by them. The Dutch resorted to encouraging supply of a particular kind of cloth which came to be known as Guinea cloth. Hans de Haze at Masulipatnam wrote to Jan Pietersz Coen on 5 June 1617 that 3,000 pieces of white textiles for Guinea had been purchased at Tirupapaliyur (alias Tegenapatam) where the best lots were manufactured [Prakash, 1987, p. 26]. Guinea cloth was the generic term for a wide range of cheap, brightly coloured (or white) Indian calicoes, mostly striped or chequered, which were purchased for consumption by African slaves]. The best Guinea cloth was manufactured in Tirupapaliyur. The Dutch factors could not put out contracts for more than 3,000 pieces because of the shortage of capital [Ibid, p. 30]. Another source of supply was Puleceri. It was observed in August 1617, that the French could not buy this variety because very few weavers manufactured it in Puleceri. Secondly the *Nayak* had monopolized the trade with French to himself [Ibid, p. 33]. It was estimated in 1 September 1617 that Coromandel alone could supply 6000 pieces of Guinea cloth at the rate of 28 *fanums* per piece which would mean an expenditure of 11,200 pagodas [Ibid, p. 41]. The Directors of the Company at Amsterdam observed (19 October 1617) that fourteen packets of Guinea cloth purchased at Tirupapaliyur were superior in quality and width in comparison to those manufactured at Masulipatnam [Ibid, p. 46]. This had sold well in Amsterdam [Ibid]. It was hoped that annual supply of 300 to 400 bales would not be excessive and the desirable dimensions would be 50 to 70 ells (3/4 of yard) in length and 1½ ells in width per piece [Ibid]. A demand for 200 to 400 bales of Guinea cloth manufactured at Tirupapaliyur was made on 10 November 1617 [Ibid, p. 47, 50]. Again demands for 300 to 400 packets-half raw and half bleached white-was made on 22 November 1617 and 30 November 1617 respectively [Ibid, p. 50, 51]. Jan Pietersz Coen had very clearly instructed his subordinates that orders for Guinea cloth by

Moluccas were to be met proportionately to the capital available and not at the expense of the procurement of indigo and Guinea cloth for Holland [Ibid, p. 52]. The list of goods to be supplied annually from Coromandel for Holland, sent from Jacatra on 1 December 1617 refers to eight to ten packets on Negro cloth, which was a generic term for the calico exported to West Africa and Brazil for use by African slaves. It was also referred to as Guinea cloth [Ibid, p. 54; esp. n2]. In the same list, the demand exclusively for Holland had 200 to 400 Guinea cloth from Tirupapaliyur half raw and half bleached white along with indigo, Bengal gingham and cotton yarn [Ibid, p. 56]. The demand for Holland next year continued [Ibid, p. 64, 67]. In September 1618, the annual orders from the Gentlemen XVII were for 1,000 packets of the best quality Indigo besides 300 to 400 bales of Guinea cloth from Tirupapaliyur with a length of 50 to 70 ells and width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ells. All pieces were to be bleached white [Ibid, p. 74, 76]. By December 1618, the Directors at Enkhuizen Chamber instructed De Haze at Pulicat to procure 8,000 pieces of Guinea cloth for Holland annually and they were expected to yield substantial profit [Ibid, p. 81]. Four thousand pieces of guinea cloth were required annually for Moluccas, Amboina, Banda, Java, Patani, Siam and 400 pieces for the Netherlands in July 1619 [Ibid, p. 102–103, 109]. Van Ravesteyn and Goeree had realized (28 August 1619) that it was not necessary to reopen the factory at Tegenapatam in so far as Guinea cloth usually procured there, could in fact be had cheaper at Narsapur, Jacatras' position was that such decisions were best left to men on the spot. The Company's concern was only with buying textiles wherever they were available most economically [Ibid, p. 114, 116]. Andries Soury (22 May 1621) dispatched a cargo worth f. 128,494.3.1 consisting of 588 packets of Guinea cloth, 452 packets of indigo and 1,788 carats of diamonds, from Masulipatnam to the Directors at Hoorn chamber [Ibid, p. 162]. The Directors at Amsterdam instructed Andries Soury on 18 September 1621 to send 20,000 pieces of Guinea cloth of about 50 ells length each — all white and bleached [Ibid, p. 171]. Around 3,000 were demanded for Batavia for Moluccas, Amboina, Banda Batavia, Jambi and the Netherlands [Ibid, p. 177 (18 October 1621)]. On 25 November 1621 the *Naarden* was sent to Holland with pepper, saltpetre, Guinea cloth and fine *muris* worth f. 62,753 [Ibid, p. 188]. By May 1622, Coen had asked his subordinates in Surat to explore the possibility of procuring Guinea-cloth in Surat to find a substitute supplier to that from Coromandel coast [Ibid, p. 203].

Van Uffelen found (28 September 1622) that the production of Guinea-cloth was increasing and at Pulicat hoped to be able to supply 20,000 pieces per annum. He lamented that the present shipment was carrying 3,024 pieces of unbleached Guinea cloth owing to the fact that the producers were unwilling to bleach the cloth white soon after the monsoon [Ibid, p. 224]. The invoice of the ship 'Dordrecht' sailing for Amsterdam had 114 packets (3,024 pieces) of unbleached and 470 packets (9,870 pieces) of bleached white Guinea cloth, both together cost 63,130 rials [Ibid, p. 226].

It was reported by 23 October 1622 that the weavers of Surat could weave guinea cloth but it would not be of similar quality than those from Coromandel and they were available for cheaper price in Coromandel [Ibid, p. 229]. The production of Guinea-cloth and Chinese cangans were started by Broach by 1622 at the initiative of Pieter van den Broecke [Ibid, p. 234]. Van Uffelen (23 April 1623) could send 9,166 pieces of Guinea cloth from Masulipatnam to Holland along with other commodities worth f. 135,859.217 [Ibid, p. 247] and he reported that Guinea-cloth was now manufactured at several places and given the availability of funds they ordered 20,000 pieces and hoped that even more could be sent per annum [Ibid]. The Dutch company was realizing that it was getting very expensive for the company to cloth the slaves in the old style. The manufacturing at Coromandel of a cloth (presumably Guinea-cloth) especially for slaves was a welcome step [Ibid, p. 250]. It was estimated in April 1623 that around 450 packets (9,450 pieces) of Guinea-cloth were required for South-East Asian colonies [Ibid, p. 252]. while annual orders for Holland continued to be for 500 to 600 packets [Ibid, p. 262]. De Carpentier,

the Governor-General at Batavia had instructed Van Uffelen at Masulipatam to fulfil the demand for Guinea-cloth and subject to the availability of funds, they could even be supplied in excess of the orders [Ibid, p. 272]. Interestingly we find that out of expected f. 20,000 to f. 30,000, the shipment of goods was in the following order, p. Indigo — f. 5,000; Guinea-cloth — f. 50,000; cotton yarn — f. 1,000; fine textiles 40,000; saltpetre — f. 20,000 and diamonds — f. 40,000, which is clear indication of the Dutch preference for Guinea cloth [Ibid, p. 281]. By 23 December 1623, Pieter van den Broecke asserted that he could persuade with great difficulty the weavers to charge 5 guilders and less for one piece of Guinea cloth [Ibid, p. 286]. Pieter van den Broecke expressed hope (11 January 1624) that Surat would be able to produce better quality Guinea cloth than what was manufactured on the Coromandel coast and at a lower cost [Prakash, 2007, p. 64]. On 19 January 1624, 1,000 pieces (twenty-four packets) of Guinea cloth worth f. 5,705.8.10 was sent to Holland from Surat [Ibid, p. 71]. The Company planned to produce good quality Guinea cloth at Tegenapatam and it was hoped that if the price could be reduced somewhat, the Tegenapatam variety would perform better in comparison to its Masulipatnam counterpart [Ibid, p. 102].

Since the Dutch company was facing the problem of cost in procuring textiles especially for slaves, they contemplated to try other varieties of textiles too. Therefore, they had entered into contracts at Draksharama for 6,000 pieces of *dungarees* for the slaves [Ibid]. The annual orders of textiles from Surat for southern quarters (9 August 1624) reflected a demand for 100 packets of Guinea cloth at the estimated cost of f. 2,000 [Ibid, p. 111]. In the same year thirteen packets (520 pieces) of Guinea cloth worth f. 2,642.1.4 from Pulicat was sent to Holland [Ibid, p. 119]. In 1624, 3,157 pieces of Guinea cloth worth f. 14,618.2.10 was sent to Holland [Ibid, p. 120]. The Directors of the Company report from Amsterdam that Guinea cloth was sold at Amsterdam at the rate of f. 12½ per *ell* [Ibid, p. 123]. It was realized that Guinea cloth produced in Coromandel was cheaper and proper in size and therefore no order was placed for procuring Guinea cloth at Surat [Ibid, p. 125]. However, in 1625, 1,000 pieces (sixteen packets) of Guinea cloth worth f. 5,053.10.2 were sent from Surat to Holland in April 1625 [Ibid, p. 151]. In addition, 1480 pieces (thirty-seven packets) of Guinea cloth worth f. 7,474.3.7 was sent from Surat to Batavia in April 1625 [Ibid, p. 152]. In another ship, the *Nieuw Bantam*, 520 pieces of Guinea cloth (twelve packets) worth f. 2,604 was sent to Batavia. Thus, in three ships 3,000 pieces of Guinea-cloth worth approximately f. 15,131.13.9 were sent to Holland and Batavia [Ibid, p. 151–155]. Besides, ‘Negro’ clothes were also sent from Surat to Batavia in April 1625. Together it amounted to 9,640 pieces (forty packets) worth f. 650 [Ibid]. It seems they could not send more because of the shortage of funds [Ibid, p. 160]. Libenaar wrote from Masulipatnam to the Governor-General De Carpentier on 26 June 1625 that ‘Because of the shortage of funds, the Dutch factors were obliged to sit idle’. If funds had been available, the factors at Draksharama and Palicol could have bought 1,500–2,000 pieces of Guinea cloth each month. Because of the lack of demand from the Company, the weavers had moved to other jobs [Ibid]. By 26 April 1625, it was reported that the ship ‘Medenblik’ had brought fine textiles and Guinea-cloth worth about f. 30,000 from Tegenapatam to Pulicat [Ibid, p. 209]. The fluyt ‘Edam’, the frigate *Tenasserim* and the ship ‘Delfshaven’ together carried a cargo worth around f. 150,000 consisting of 657 packets of clothes, yarn and Guinea-cloth for the India and the Netherlands, 22,000 pounds of saltpetre 25,000 pounds of pepper, 200 *lasts* of rice, some steel, iron and sundry items besides 200 slaves [Ibid, p. 225]. The ship ‘Coningh David’ was sent from Coromandel to Holland on 8 March 1626 carrying 9,495 pieces of Guinea-cloth worth f. 43,966.3.11 [Ibid, p. 258].

According to one estimate of 27 June 1626, the Company could sell 9,450 pieces (450 packets) of Guinea-cloth worth f. 45,000 in the Moluccas, Amboina, Java, Jambi, Patani, and other south-eastern quarters [Ibid, p. 279]. By this time, Holland had acquired adequate stocks of fine textiles which could

last for another four to five years. 'Therefore, only coarse Guinea cotton cloth including both the raw unbleached and bleached varieties were to be provided by Coromandel. The unbleached variety fetched ½ stuiver per ell less than the bleached one.' [Ibid, p. 296]

By 10 June 1627 Van Rossen and Pietersz at Masulipatnam could send a cargo of f. 90,845 to Batavia consisting mostly of Guinea-cloth, and other textiles [Ibid, p. 314]. Again, the Dutch factors complained about lack of adequate cash else they could have purchased 3,000 pieces of Guinea cloth per month [Ibid, p. 315]. By this time, i. e. 1627, the directors had preferred Masulipatnam over Surat for the supply of Guinea-cloth [Ibid, p. 326]. Pieter van den Broach had also admitted that it was not possible to improve the quality of the Guinea-cloth manufactured at Surat [Ibid, p. 373].

The supply of Guinea-cloth from India to Holland and Batavia, as it appears from the above discussion was directly linked with slave trade both within Asia and Africa via Holland. The trade in slaves from Africa by Muslim merchants was a well-established fact of history by the beginning of the seventeenth century and small quantity of textile goods used by the inhabitants [Moreland, 1920, p. 216–217].

Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker and his Council instructed (4 December 1656) their director at Masulipatnam to invest all money (*gelt*) in the purchase of Guinea-cloth (*Guinees lijwaet*), coarse Salempuris, etc., so long the Company had the advantage over others [G.M., 1968, p. 100]. It is reported that 60 tons of rice and some 'negro' clothes (*negros deeden*) were sent from Batavia to Cape Town and it was clearly said that since the slave trade in Angola had become not profitable so was reported also from Coast of Guinea, the Commander Riebeeck was ordered to wait [Ibid, 1968, p. 239]. Guided by the desire to increase production of Guinea-cloth and salempuris, the VOC officials attempted to encourage the weavers of ten villages on Coromandel coast to weave.

Table II. Invoice of Packets of Diverse Clothes, which were to be procured for Holland, 1686

Nos.	Particulars	Quantity	Rate	Total
2,500	Packets of bleached Guinea-cloth of 20 pieces	500,00	@f. 170	f. 425,000
1,500	Packets of bleached raw or unbleached, piece	300,00	@f.160	f. 240,000
850	Packets of bleached blue as, p. 800 brown blue piece 16,000 @f. 200 f. 160000 Packets of 50 dark blue pieces 1,000 @ f. 180 f 9,000	170,00		f. 169,000
100	Packets of fine bleached Guinea cloth, pieces	300,00	@f.560	f. 56,000
20	Packets of bethilles-otisaals, pieces	2,000	@f.500	f. 12,000
80	Packets of bethilles allegias, pieces	8,000	@f.550	f. 44,000
30	Packets of bethilles callowappoe, pieces	3,000	@f.713	f. 21,390
40	Packet of bethilles sesterge\anty, pieces	4,000	@f.630	f. 25,200
30	Packets of fine moeris, pieces	3,000	@f.860	f. 25,800
40	Packets of common moeries, pieces	4,000	@f.470	f. 18,800
20	Packets of fine bleached parcallen, pieces	4,000	@f.750	f. 15,000
125	Packets of common bleached parcallen, pieces	20,000	@f.310	f. 38,750
60	Packets of Salempuris, pieces	60,000	@f.750	f. 45,000
750	Packets of coarse Salempuris, pieces	6,000	@f.312	f. 234,000
150	Packets of unbleached Salempuris, pieces	120,00	@f.280	f. 42,000

Nos.	Particulars	Quantity	Rate	Total
50	Packets of brawn blue, pieces	4,000	@f.365	f. 18,250
20	Packets of gingang four thread broad bleached pieces	2,000	@f.660	f. 13,200
10	Packets of salpicados four thread broad bleached flowered, pieces	1,000	@f.1000	f. 10,000
40	Packets of gekeperde rock flowered, pieces	4,000	@f.1500	f. 60,000
30	Packets of Chialouw rock flowered, pieces	3000	@f.700	f. 21000
38	Packets of small rock flowered in each packet of 160, pieces	6080	@f.480	f. 18240
30	Packets of broad gekeperde in each packet of 160, pieces	3000	@f.1600	f. 48000
38	Packets of small pieces	6080	@f.1300	f. 49000
40	Packets of four thread (according to the monsters), pieces	4000	@f.1500	f. 60000
125	Packets of 'negro' clothes, pieces	20000	@f.300	f. 37500
125	Packets of cambaya of coast, pieces	20000	@f.576	f. 72000
20	Packets of <i>chiavonis d'orinaal</i> , pieces	6000	@f.850	f. 17000
40	Packets of rumaals per esta @2000 pieces, all in one packet	8000	@f.22000	f. 88000
30	Packets of Broad baftas white, pieces	3000	@f.320	f. 9600
19	Packets of blue broad baftas white @80 pieces per packets, pieces	1520	@f.4081	f. 7752
20	Packets of Cambays and? 'rocken', painted pees	2000	@f.1100	f. 22000
15	Packets of Chintz, fine painted @ 200 pieces per packet	3000	@f.2250	f. 33750
15	Packets of bethilles of Ternetten, pieces	500	@f.500	f. 7500
150	Packets of diverse sail cloth or 8,000 pieces as 50 dittoes from Nagelwanze of 40 p. @ f. 160 f 8,000 Packets of 100 of 60 pieces @ f. 124 f. 124000			169000
19	Packets of bleached dongris, pieces Alibanees, of the English kind pieces 2000 following as sample	3040	@f.236	f. 4484
7169	Packets of diverse cloth for Patria, the total amounted to			f. 2030616
67	Packets of cotton yarn or	10050	@f.150 each pound	f. 44422
7236	Packets of diverse kinds of textiles and cotton yarn for the Patria total			f. 2030616

Source: [Van Dam, 1976, p. 218–222].

Table III

S. No.	Date & Year	Guinea	Bethilles	Mouris	Parcallen	Gingans	Negros Cleden
1	20 Nov. 1681	74–75,000 (57.29%)	16600 (12.68%)	6600 (6.04%)	8000 (6.11%)	2000 (1.52%)	4000 (3.05%)
2	14 Dec. 1682	54,500 (49.14%)	109000 (9.82%)	5600 (5.04%)	6000 (5.40%)	2000 (1.80%)	8000 (7.21%)
3	20 March 1684	66500 (42.03%)	12700 (8.02%)	6600 (4.17%)	5000 (3.16%)	3500 (2.21%)	8000 (5.05%)
4	9 Dec. 1684	103000 (30.29%)	18500 (5.44%)	7000 (2.05%)	24000 (7.05%)	29000 (8.52%)	20000 (5.88%)
5	1 Oct. 1685	38000 (35.21%)	4000 (3.70%)	6400 (5.93%)	8000 (7.41%)	6500 (6.02%)	4000 (3.70%)
6	20 Oct 1686	75000 (47.16%)	5500 (3.45%)	5600 (3.52%)	2000 (1.25%)	9500 (5.97%)	4000 (2.51%)
7	5 Nov. 1687	80000 (444.79%)	13100 (7.33%)	4600 (2.57%)	10000 (5.59%)	3500 (1.95%)	4000 (2.23%)
8	26 Nov. 1688	81000 (50.62%)	3–6000 (3.75%)	2000 (1.25%)	4000 (2.05%)	-	-
9	9 Dec. 1689	86000 (49.56%)	5500 (3.17%)	2000 (1.15%)	3–4000 (2.30%)	-	6–8000 (4.61%)
10	14 Dec. 1690	88000 (46.46%)	5900 (3.11%)	1500 (0.79%)	6–8000 (4.22%)	-	8000 (4.22%)
11	8 Dec. 1691	70000 (37.13%)	9500 (5.03%)	6000 (3.18%)	7000 (3.17%)	-	8000 (4.24%)
12	6 Dec. 1692	67000 (36.65%)	6300 (4.91%)	6000 (3.28%)	8500 (4.64%)	2000 (1.09%)	11000 (6.01%)
13	11 March 1694	74600 (39.76%)	4500 (9.39%)	2900 (1.54%)	9000 (4.79%)	4600 (2.45%)	8000 (4.26%)
14	21 March 1695	65000 (33.29%)	6400 (3.27%)	2600 (1.33%)	9000 (4.61%)	3600 (1.84%)	8000 (4.09%)
15	5 Dec. 1695	33600 (25.57%)	7500 (5.70%)	3600 (2.73%)	7000 (5.32%)	600 (0.45%)	4000 (3.61%)
16	27 March 1697	27500 (24.88%)	5500 (4.97%)	3000 (2.17%)	6500 (5.88%)	1500 (1.35%)	4000 (3.61%)
17	24 July 1698	29000 (24.46%)	8500 (6.58%)	4500 (3.48%)	7000 (5.42%)	4600 (3.56%)	4000 (3.09%)
18	6 March 1699	37100 (36.80%)	8900 (8.82%)	4500 (4.46%)	7800 (7.73%)	4100 (4.06%)	3000 (2.97%)
19	17 Feb. 1700	38600 (27.80%)	–	2600 (1.87%)	10000 (7.20%)	4100 (2.95%)	3000 (2.16%)

Source: [V.O.C. (Nationaal Archief, The Netherlands, Records) 109–112]; see also [Alam, 2025, p. 155–166].

These two kinds of textiles. But apparently, they could not succeed due partly to depopulation, scarcity of coarse cotton yarn (presumably varieties used in weaving these two varieties) and partly reluctance of the weavers to give up weaving their customary rambutins [Ibid, p. 427]. Joan Maetsuyker wrote on 23 November 1675 that substantial amount of Guinea-cloth was consumed in slave trade with the Boutonders [G.M., 1971, p. 45].

The demand for Guinea-cloth by the Dutch, English and Danish companies was further stretched by the participation of even Armenian merchants like Godsia Solomon (Khawja Sulaiman?) and it eventually led to rise in its cost [Ibid, p. 447–448]. It was reported in April 1681 that the cost of one packet of Guinea cloth had risen by 2 pagodas [Ibid]. The Guinea cloth production witnessed a rise in the entire Coromandel coast [Ibid, p. 448]. The Dutch Company's blue dyeing unit at Nagapattinam became extremely busy [Ibid, p. 449]. The exchange of coins of gold against pagodas current in Coromandel coast became particularly profitable to an unexpected degree [Ibid]. The Dutch could collect 600 packets or 12,000 pieces of Guinea cloth in a period of four to five months [Ibid]. The English Company could send 5,000 packets to England [Ibid]. In comparison to other clothes, payment in cash made it cheaper by seven per cent [Ibid]. In contrast due to shortage of cash, the Dutch company could send only three packets [Ibid]. It seems by the 1680s the situation had improved tremendously.

In one year in July 1683, the VOC could purchase 1,430 packets (28,600 pieces) of Guinea cotton textile [Ibid, p. 629].

In 1684, the supply of slaves from Arakan slackened and therefore the Directors of the Company decided to compensate the fall by supplying from the Coast of Guinea and Angola [Ibid, p. 749]. There was a rise in demand for Guinea textile in Holland. A ship was sent for Middleburg comprising mostly Guineese textiles worth f. 94065 other textiles and pepper costing f. 34551 [Ibid]. By 1695–6, the VOC tried to invest money on Guinea textiles at Surat on the western coast [G.M., 1975, p. 771]. It was found that Guinea cloth could be purchased at Surat at the same rate if not higher as was available on the Coromandel coast [G.M., 1976, p. 39]

From the above Table, it becomes clear that there were no less than five varieties of Guinea cloth presumably according to their fineness and colour. In 1662, there was a demand for 4,950 packets of Guinea cloth at the estimated cost of f. 8,90,000, 1,010 packets of Salempuris at the estimated cost of f. 3,39,250 and 125 packets of 'negoios' cloth at the estimated cost of f. 37,500 and these three collectively constituted nearly 23 per cent of the total demand for Indian textiles and cotton yarn.

From the above discussion it appears that Indian textiles did play a crucial role in the promotion and continuation of slave trade particularly in the Indian Oceanic World.

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