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# Rotterdam and the transatlantic slave trade

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## Introduction Rotterdam and the Transatlantic Slave System

Today the *Lloydkwartier* is an upcoming Rotterdam neighbourhood where new buildings are overlooking the river the Maas, yet in the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries ships left from here for Africa to trade slaves. To remind us of this episode in our history a slavery monument was unveiled in the *Lloydstraat* on June 16<sup>th</sup> 2013 – not long ago. This seems to be proof of a growing public interest in this subject hundred and fifty years after the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. But what do we exactly know about the ways in which the city of Rotterdam was involved in the transatlantic slave system? The main question of this thesis is: ‘Who were involved in the Dutch trans-Atlantic slave system in Rotterdam between 1770 and 1780, how and why were they involved, and how was their mutual relationship?’ To answer this question a networks approach will be used, an explanation of a social network analysis will be provided in the third chapter. First a number of sub-questions must be answered to make a network analysis possible and come to the main conclusion. The transatlantic slave system existed for two and a half centuries; this is probably too much to cover all in this single paper. For the sake of time, space and analysis the WIC period will be briefly discussed, in this period only the government appointed Dutch West India Company was allowed to engage in this trade. This period ended in 1730, when private enterprises were admitted. In this research the main focus will be on the period between 1770 and 1780, when the number of slaves in the Dutch colony of Suriname peaked, and bonds on slave plantations were still widely popular.<sup>1</sup> Who were the people involved? It is impossible to name all people involved, even when sailors, stevedores and other low-end labourers are left out. Not only impossible, but also quite uninteresting to just name thousands of people. More interesting will be to give a broader overview of what kind of people were involved, and in what ways, and then narrow this down and highlight the networks of some particular people, who invested in multiple slave-related enterprises. A second question, which will be partly answered by the first, is how people were involved. The sailors and stevedores are mentioned, but what about the investors, the traders and directors? In a lot of cases the slave trade probably wasn’t their primary mode of income. Were they politicians, clergymen, merchants or something else? And why did they decide to become involved? Was it financial gain, political power or was it considered prestigious? Maybe the reasons to get involved differed in different groups, times or networks.

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<sup>1</sup> Alex van Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast. Roofbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantageconomie 1750-1863* (Leiden 1993), 311-316 and in: J. Hudig Dzn., *De West-Indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley* Hudig (Hilversum 1922) 25-26.

A lot was written a lot on the transatlantic slave trade in general, and on the Dutch and the slave trade in particular. The Dutch company with the second most trips with slave ships to the Caribbean was founded in Rotterdam.<sup>2</sup> This means many people must have been involved in Rotterdam, but the knowledge on this topic is far from complete. This research is in line of the more local focus of a global phenomenon, such as Leo Balai did for the history of Amsterdam and the slave trade. Just as in his study, the focus will be on people rather than on processes, because if we want to know how the system worked, and how an urban community was part and parcel of that system, we have to know the people who were decisive in that system and how they operated.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacobus Rochussen. Twee Rotterdamse slavenhandelaren in de 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw* (Rotterdam 1996) 5.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Balai, *Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse slavenhandel* (Zutphen 2013).

## 1. Historiography

In this historiography an idea will be given of what has been written on this subject so far. I will start with a broad discussion of the historiography on the transatlantic slave system in general, to continue with a discussion for the Dutch situation, and to finally bring in scope the situation for the port city of Rotterdam -, the focus of this research.

### 1.1 Writing about the transatlantic slave system

The slave trade between Africa and the Americas was the largest forced migration in human history.<sup>4</sup> But despite its enormous impact on African, European and American society, the subject was largely ignored until the past quarter century.<sup>5</sup> According to the American professor Herbert S. Klein, who wrote a considerable amount of books and articles on Latin-America and comparative themes in social and economic history, the lack of research on slave trade before the 1990's was mainly the case because of its close association with European imperialism which resulted in a lack of interest in this morally difficult problem. This lack of interest has been abundantly caught up with the last couple of decades. According to Leo Balai, the new attention for this subject, at least in the Netherlands, grew because of the migration of descendants of slaves from the Americas to the Netherlands on the one hand, and the migration of descendants of slave traders from West-Africa to the Netherlands on the other hand.<sup>6</sup>

Still, already in 1944 Eric Williams wrote his *Capitalism and Slavery* in which he drew a connection between the Industrial Revolution and the Atlantic slave trade. He proposed two statements: first, that the slave trade made the finance possible for the Industrial Revolution in England. Secondly, that the abolition of slavery did not arise out of moral considerations, but out of the mature industrial capitalism, whereby industrial capitalists had shifting economic demands. His findings were dubbed 'the Williams thesis' in the academic field.<sup>7</sup> Even 28 years later scholars commented on the book. For example in Engerman's article in which he tried to falsify the Williams thesis by pointing out that investment in slavery had a low return, and thereby could not be the main financial source of

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<sup>4</sup> Johannes Postma, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (2003), introduction.

<sup>5</sup> Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 2010) 219.

<sup>6</sup> Leo Balai, *Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse slavenhandel* (Zuthpen 2013) 143.

<sup>7</sup> Roderick A. McDonald, 'The Williams Thesis: A comment on the state of scholarship', *Caribbean Quarterly* 25:3 (1979) 63-68.

the Industrial Revolution.<sup>8</sup> McDonald argued that Engerman only used a methodology and sources of data whereby the only outcome can be a disapproval of the Williams thesis. He also commented on other scholars who took a negative attitude towards the Williams thesis, and added that this debate is ‘in essence an ideological and philosophical division within the historical profession over the dimensions of the problems of slavery within Western culture.’<sup>9</sup>

The first to give a new impetus to slave trade studies was the American historian Philip Curtin with the publication of his *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A census* in 1969. In this book, Curtin tried to give an estimate of the volume of the slave trade. Curtin was the initiator in the ‘numbers-debate’, after his estimation of the volume, many scholars followed him and ameliorated the techniques to compute.<sup>10</sup> One other scholar in the numbers debate was Paul E. Lovejoy. His estimation came out a bit higher than Curtin’s, but was very close due to the use of partially the same data. He calculated that 11,698,000 enslaved persons left Africa, while 9.9 million people arrived in the Americas. He concluded that the Atlantic slave trade had an enormous impact on Africa.<sup>11</sup> Both Lovejoy and Curtin worked with population data in the Americas and shipping data, while Postma, who did the math for the Dutch slave trade, used shipping data. Inikori tried to prove Curtin had underestimated the volume of slave export, by pointing out the low quality of data Curtin used, and the insufficient methods of calculation. Inikori stressed that the estimates on slave export will stay below the actual number unless complete shipping data is used.<sup>12</sup> Several scholars focused on the volume of slave trade of one country, as for example Robert Stein did for the French slave trade.<sup>13</sup>

There is also a great deal of economic history written up on the Atlantic slave trade. Sixteen articles that focus on this aspect are bound in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. In these articles, the scholars used quantitative methods to understand the cause, mechanisms and impact of the slave trade. In the first part, ‘African perspectives’ concentrate on the African supply conditions. In the second part, ‘Atlantic-American perspectives’, the articles are concerned with the mortality of slaves, the

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<sup>8</sup> Stanley L. Engerman, ‘The Slave Trade and the British Capital Formation in the Eighteenth Century: A Comment on the Williams Thesis’, *The Business History Review* 46:4 (1972) 430-443.

<sup>9</sup> McDonald, ‘The Williams Thesis’, 65.

<sup>10</sup> Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, pp. xix – xx.

<sup>11</sup> Paul E. Lovejoy, ‘The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis’, *The Journal of African History* 23:4 (1982) 473-501.

<sup>12</sup> J.E. Inikori, ‘Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade: An assessment of Curtin and Anstey’, *The Journal of African History* 17:2 (1976) 197-223.

<sup>13</sup> Robert Stein, ‘Measuring the French Slave Trade, 1713-1792/3’, *The Journal of African History* 19:4 (1978) 515-521.

abolition of slavery and the triangularity of flows.<sup>14</sup> John Thornton reasoned that African slave trade with Europeans could not have had a negative effect on the economic development in Africa, because the Europeans did not force the African traders to participate.<sup>15</sup>

In *Black Ivory* an attempt was made to write an overview of the history of the British slave trade. It doesn't follow an economic approach, but rather describes the situation of slaves, the work Europeans did in Africa and the life on a plantation and rebellions. He points out several cultural aspects, such as religion, gender, family and even sex.<sup>16</sup>

On the one hand, there are these scholarly works that tried to get a better apprehension of the whole Atlantic slave trade in one study, such as Curtin and Klein. Alex van Stipriaan tried to grasp the system of slavery as a whole, using the plantation as a unit for research. According to him, a comprehensive study of the system, including economy, culture, politics etcetera, that allows room for change through time and differences between different plantations, times and areas still lacked, and he tried to cover this gap in his book *Surinaams contrast*.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, there are scholars who concentrated on one geographical area of the triangular trade, such as Robin Law, who analysed Dahomey, a kingdom in Africa.<sup>18</sup> And Needell, who contributed to the debate on the abolition of slave trade in Brazil.<sup>19</sup>

There are many definitions of slavery, as slavery was a practice through different times and places. Through a case study, Charlotte Breevoort tried to discover how pawnship and indentured servitude relate to slavery and if they can be included in the definition of slavery. She claimed that although pawnship and indentured servitude are not synonyms for slavery, there are many communalities.<sup>20</sup>

Apart from 'Western' scholars, there are several African scholars who attempted to investigate if the Atlantic slave trade produced the current economic underdevelopment in Africa. This debate is based on the underdevelopment and dependency theory, founded by Paul Baran and André Gunder Frank. This theory explains the outward drainage of surplus in

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<sup>14</sup> Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (red.), *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (London 1979).

<sup>15</sup> John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge 1998).

<sup>16</sup> James Walvin, *Black Ivory. A History of British Slavery*. (Glasgow 1992).

<sup>17</sup> Alex van Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast. Roofbouw en overleven in een Caraibische plantageeconomie 1750-1863* (Leiden 1993).

<sup>18</sup> Robin Law, 'Dahomey and the Slave Trade: Reflections on the Historiography of the Rise of Dahomey' *The Journal of African History* 27:2 (1986) 237-267.

<sup>19</sup> Jeffrey D. Needell, 'The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade in 1850: Historiography, Slave Agency and Statesmanship', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33:4 (2001) 681-711.

<sup>20</sup> Charlotte Breevoort, *Slavernij, pawnship en contractarbeid in Afrika 1800-1940* (Rotterdam 1997).



poor countries, due to colonial exploitation of countries by other countries. It focuses mainly on class structures. According to Joseph E. Inikori it is due the ideological baggage that accompanies the slave trade history, that the development debate on Africa is fuelled with ideological influences on both sides. Also, the scholars involved in this debate seem to be trapped in a paradigm, which limits the debate.<sup>21</sup>

## 1.2 The Netherlands

I will now shift my focus to the Netherlands. Much has been written – and is still being written - on the Dutch involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. Both Piet Emmers' *De Nederlandse slavenhandel 1500 – 1850* from 2003 and Johannes Menne Postma's *The Dutch in the Atlantic slave trade 1600 – 1815* from 1990 are important works in this respect. The focus of these studies lied primarily on how the organization functioned, studying on the trade itself and the question of if the Netherlands have profited from the transatlantic slave system. Also *Riches from Atlantic Commerce, Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1585 – 1817* edited by Johannes Menne Postma and Victor Enthoven in 2003 focused primarily on this economic part of the story. Much less is known about the individual people who made this system possible and maintained it. In other words, we can speak of a historiographical gap on this issue.

Corrie Reinders Folmer-van Prooijen wrote *Van goederenhandel tot slavenhandel* on the functioning of the Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie between 1720 and 1755. She also focused on the economic part, basing her study on the archival remains of this company. She distinguished three trading flows: the trade with Spanish colonists in the Caribbean, the direct return trade with Africa and the slave trade.<sup>22</sup>

One debate in the literature on slave trade is about its profitability. Emmer stated that the Dutch slave trade did not reach its full potential as in England because of the division between Holland and Zeeland.<sup>23</sup> In Postma's book *The Dutch in the Atlantic slave trade* he argued that the not very profitable slave trade continued because of the investments traders had in the plantations in the Americas. Although they would not make money on the slave trade itself, the plantations where they invested their money in needed new slaves to stay

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<sup>21</sup> Joseph E. Inikori, 'Ideology versus the Tyranny of Paradigm: Historians and the Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on African Societies', *African Economic History* (1994) 37-58.

<sup>22</sup> Corrie Reinders Folmer-van Prooijen, *Van goederenhandel tot slavenhandel. De Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie 1720-1755* (Leiden 2000) 11-222.

<sup>23</sup> P.C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel 1500-1850* (Amsterdam 2000) 168-178.

profitable.<sup>24</sup> Responding to Emmer's book, maritime historian Willem Flinkenflögel wrote about his idea of the profitability of the slave trade. He agreed with Postma, saying that the slave trade should be seen as a part of a macro-economic structure.<sup>25</sup>

Gert Oostindie analysed the Surinamese plantation system through a case-study on plantations Roosenburg and Monbijoux. By studying two plantations on micro level, different facets of the plantation system can be described in a dynamic framework. In his book he analyses production, labour and slavery on the said plantations. The development of these plantations were compared with the overall Surinamese history, and with assumptions about the differences between coffee and sugar plantations.<sup>26</sup>

The abolition movements seem a popular topic within the research on slavery. Elma Jones wrote about the abolition and the role of women in England and the Netherlands. In England, women who participated in the abolition movement, used the cause of slavery to contribute to the emancipation of women. In the Netherlands the women's actions were smaller, less radical and less public.<sup>27</sup> Marion Keete compared the relations between press, politics and the abolition of slavery in France and the Netherlands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to her, there was resentment in the French press against the abolition or emancipation, while in the Netherlands such resentment was absent, at least in the press.<sup>28</sup> Related to studies on abolition is the study on resistance. Van Stipriaan gave an overview of resistance against slavery, from the slave side as well as the slaveholder and merchant side. He began with a quote of Eugene Genovese, who gave a remarkable answer to the question why the slaves, who were the majority in the Americas, did not rise up against their oppressors. He said the question is naïve and arrogant, and we, from our modern day luxurious position, don't have the right to determine why, when and how others should put their lives in danger.<sup>29</sup> In England and France the discussion about slavery was influenced by new ideas during the Enlightenment, in the Netherlands the discussions remained tame and did not lead to much for a long time. The Dutch slave trade was abandoned only after the Brits urged the Dutch politicians to do so. Slavery itself was abandoned in 1863, but the

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<sup>24</sup> Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge 1990) 259-283.

<sup>25</sup> Willem Flinkenflögel, *Nederlandse slavenhandel (1621-1803)*, (Utrecht 1994) 11-12.

<sup>26</sup> Gert Oostindie, *Roosenburg en Mon Bijou. Twee Surinaamse plantages, 1720-1870* (Dordrecht 1989).

<sup>27</sup> Elma Jones, *Vrouwen en de afschaffing van slavernij in Engeland en Nederland 1780-1863* (Rotterdam 2002).

<sup>28</sup> Marion Keete, *Zwart Afgedrukt. Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar de relaties tussen pers, politiek en de slavenemancipatiewetten van Frankrijk in 1848 en Nederland in 1862* (Rotterdam 2000).

<sup>29</sup> Eugene Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (1979) 1.

public discussion never caused great uproar in the Netherlands.<sup>30</sup>

Protests from the slave side came in the form of marronage, sabotage and uprisings. The development of an Afro-Surinamese culture, languages and religion can also be seen as a form of resistance. From the nineteenth century resistance on Suriname plantations became stronger and more effective, due to the creolization process and the abolition of the slave trade. The slaves solemnly pushed for the abolition of slavery, it was not an exclusively white decision.<sup>31</sup> A. Van Danzig wrote *Het Nederlandse aandeel in de slavenhandel*, in 1968, which is a Eurocentric, critical description of the slave trade. He concluded that the Dutch share in the international slave trade was not very big, but not negligible. He accused the Dutch of being passive, because their share in the abolition movements was very small.<sup>32</sup> An example of the Eurocentric touch in his book is his description of the discrepancy between the European and African development. While strong empires emerged in Europe following the Middle Ages, at the same time the great African empires of Ghana, Mali and Sonrai crumbled apart in smaller coastal states – causing a 'the loss of culture' in Africa.<sup>33</sup> In 1965 two students of the University of Amsterdam wrote on this topic. In her master thesis Marijke Gijswijt, compared the abolition movements of England, France and the Netherlands. Maarten Kuitebrouwer did research on the Dutch parliamentary decision-making on the abolition of slavery, and concluded the decision was delayed because of different political opinions.<sup>34</sup> According to D. Eltis, much attention has been paid to the role of the British in the abolition of the slave trade, but less so about the illegal participation of British in the slave trade after the abolition. He thought that if we are more aware of this, a better understanding of British policy is possible.<sup>35</sup>

Elmina is a city in Ghana where the WIC had its main African office, which managed the Dutchmen involved in the slave trade. Johan Vos struggled with the subjectivity of historical sources, to judge which stories about Elmina are more relevant or valuable.<sup>36</sup> Henk den Heijer wrote a book about the Dutch side of one of the attempts to conquer Elmina from

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<sup>30</sup> Alex van Stipriaan and Thomas Polime, 'Kunst van overleven: Marroncultuur uit Suriname', (Amsterdam 2009).

<sup>31</sup> Alex van Stipriaan, 'Stemmen van protest', *Ik ben eigendom van... Slavenhandel en plantageleven* (Wijk en Aalburg 1993) 117-131.

<sup>32</sup> A. Van Danzig, *Het Nederlandse Aandeel in de Slavenhandel* (Bussum 1968) 5-144.

<sup>33</sup> Idem, 10-11.

<sup>34</sup> Marijke Gijswijt and Maarten Kuitenbrouwer, *Werkchrift 8. Geschreven, gedrukt en uitgegeven op het Historisch Seminarium van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1975).

<sup>35</sup> D. Eltis, 'The British Contribution to the Nineteenth-Century Transatlantic Slave Trade', *The Economic History Review* 32:2 (1979) 211-227.

<sup>36</sup> Johan Vos, *Elmina en de Nederlandse slavenhandel. Een zoektocht naar historische waarheid* (Rotterdam 2004).

the Portuguese in 1624.<sup>37</sup>

Another branch in the academic field of slavery focused on memory. Since the renewed interest in the history of slavery, descendants of slaves tried to give the memory of slavery a place. Valika Smeulders researched the heritage and representation of the slavery past in Suriname, Ghana, South-Africa and Curacao. According to her, a diversification in the representations took place.<sup>38</sup> Alex van Stipriaan wrote about developments and peculiarities of the commemoration of (the abolition of) slavery.<sup>39</sup> A schism between ‘black’ discourse’ and ‘white discourse’ problematizes the remembrance; the former group remembering the evil that has been done during slavery, the latter remembering the abolition.<sup>40</sup> James Walvin thinks the huge call in Britain for commemorating the slave trade and its abolition in 1807, is due to the recent debate on human trafficking and contemporary slave systems, and the availability of funding for institutions to devise exhibitions and debates about 1807.<sup>41</sup>

Besides scholarly work on slave trade, some works of fiction are written on the slave trade, for somehow the slave trade grabs people’s imagination. One example of this was *Christina*, written by a historian, in which a high positioned Dutch woman sailed from the Netherlands to Africa, and then on a slave ship to Curacao, after which her egalitarian views on humans got her into trouble with the white community.<sup>42</sup> *Gouden Handel* was a children’s book written about the slave trade. A Dutch boy sailed to Africa, where he met an Angolan girl. They both sailed on the same slave ship to Suriname, where they met another girl, who was the daughter of a plantation owner.<sup>43</sup> Characteristically, the white main characters in these novels are ‘good’ and condemn the slave trade.

### 1.3 Rotterdam

Hendrik Muller published a book with his findings about his grandfather, who was a nineteenth-century Rotterdam-based trader. It is an amateur work, based on the correspondence of Hendrik Muller senior. Muller traded on the Goldcoast in Africa, but had

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<sup>37</sup> Henk den Heijer, *Expeditie naar de goudkust. Het journal van Jan Dirckz Lam over de Nederlandse aanval op Elmina, 1624-1626* (Zutohen 2006).

<sup>38</sup> Valika Smeulders, *Slavernij en perspectief: mondialisering en erfgoed in Suriname, Ghana, Zuid-Afrika en Curaçao* (Rotterdam 2012).

<sup>39</sup> Alex van Stipriaan, *1 juli: tussen symbool en actualiteit* (Rotterdam 1999).

<sup>40</sup> Alex van Stipriaan, ‘Between diaspora, (trans)nationalism and American globalisation; A history of Afro-Surinamese Emancipation Day’, In Ruben Gowricharn (ed.), *Caribbean Transnationalism and Shifting Identities* (Lanham 2006) 155-178.

<sup>41</sup> James Walvin, ‘The Slave Trade, Abolition and Public Memory’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 19 (2009) 139-149.

<sup>42</sup> Cornelis Goslinga, *Christina. Historische roman over de Nederlandse slavenhandel* (Leiden 2000).

<sup>43</sup> Kees Uittenhout, *Gouden Handel* (2012).

relations in Middle America as well.<sup>44</sup>

In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, Rotterdam was one of the smaller founding fathers of the *West-Indische Compagnie* (WIC), which core business was defined by the state monopoly of the transatlantic slave trade. When the WIC lost its monopoly on the slave trade in 1730, private firms continued it, amongst others Rotterdam-based firms like Coopstad&Rochussen and Ferrand Whaley Hudig.<sup>45</sup> The main research on the former firm was done by Ineke de Groot-Teunissen, she suggested a much broader involvement in the slave trade by the Rotterdam society, especially of the closely interrelated bourgeoisie, and the economic, social and political elites. There is no such research yet that focused on these individual people who made the slave trade system possible for the city of Rotterdam, but very recently Leo Balai published a book on the history of the slave trade in Amsterdam in which he mainly focuses on people, instead of processes.<sup>46</sup> In this book Balai stated that there is no doubt that a part of the inhabitants of Amsterdam have gained a considerable amount of their fortune due to their involvement in the transatlantic slave trade, which they would not have gained otherwise.<sup>47</sup> It can be assumed that the same holds for Rotterdam, although the involvement of Amsterdam is likely to be more important due to the prominent position of this city.

In his book on the VOC, the Dutch East India Company, Grimm explained that the directors of this institute were part of the city elite. People part of this favoured group helped each other with jobs, marriageable daughters and other benefits. They held offices in the city council and had a stake in the VOC.<sup>48</sup> This means it was not surprising if the mayor of Rotterdam at the same time was one of the directors for the VOC in Rotterdam. If one wanted to be chosen into the council of the VOC of Rotterdam, it was convenient to have family members or acquaintances in the city council. Money and patrons with political influence were needed to acquire influential and profitable positions. Only a couple of families could afford to be in this position, and even many rich families did not even get the chance because the positions kept circulating within the same families.<sup>49</sup> Although the nobility had their own post in the VOC, they normally were not very active, and almost never were sent to national VOC meetings.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Hendrik Muller, *Muller. Een Rotterdamse zeehandelaar Hendrik Muller Szn (1819-1898)*, (Schiedem 1977).

<sup>45</sup> Ineke de Groot-Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacob Rochussen: twee Rotterdamse slavenhandelaren in de achttiende eeuw* (2005).

<sup>46</sup> Leo Balai, *Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse slavenhandel* (Zuthpen 2013).

<sup>47</sup> Idem, 12.

<sup>48</sup> Peter Grimm, *Heeren in zaken. De Kamer Rotterdam van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Zutphen 1994) 35.

<sup>49</sup> Idem, 43-46.

<sup>50</sup> Idem, 47.

As director of a 'Kamer', in this case the Rotterdam department, there were many ways to earn money on top of the yearly salary, and therefore the directors lived in prosperity.<sup>51</sup> Most people who became VOC director, usually had a history of many different public functions. The public and private sector were completely intertwined. Of the early VOC governors in Rotterdam, many were former traders, ship-owners, herring traders or officials in the navy.<sup>52</sup>

It was not allowed to fulfil a position as director in the VOC and the WIC at the same time, still there were a lot of connections between the two. Johan van der Veken, one of the founders of the VOC, sent ships to the West before the WIC was established. Also ship-owner and VOC-director Hendrik Willemsz Nobel, became a governor for the WIC in 1622. Hugo du Bois worked as governor for the WIC from 1730, but stepped aside four years later to allow his son to take the position. After this son died, his second son fulfilled the position. Hugo as well as his second son later abandoned their positions after they managed to get hold of a position as VOC-director. According to Grimm, the VOC was considered more prestigious than the WIC, and the du Bois family might have used the WIC as a stepping stone to the VOC.<sup>53</sup>

By mapping the Rotterdam people who were involved in the transatlantic slave system and to trace their micro-histories, this research will not only try to fill a historiographical gap, but has also the ambitious goal to add a new understanding to the broader topic of the transatlantic slave system.

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<sup>51</sup> *Idem*, 51.

<sup>52</sup> *Idem*, 52-55.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*, 52-53.

## 1.4 Sources and methodology

Useful sources can be found in the Rotterdam archives, the *gemeentearchief Rotterdam*. The most important archival sources are the written remains of companies trading in slaves or in bonds, such as ‘68. Fa. Coopstad&Rochussen (Hudig) / Ferrand Whaley.’ This is a collective record that includes the remainders of many firms operating in the 18th and 19th century. Coopstad&Rochussen was probably the biggest of these firms regarding to slave trade. These archives are already used for some historical studies, for example ‘Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacobus Rochussen. Twee Rotterdamse slavenhandelaren in de 18e eeuw’, which is a research done in the line of business history.

Two types of methods will be used. First, an in-depth story of six Rotterdam men will be provided, covering the years between 1770 and 1780, based on the notarial archives in the *gemeentearchief*. These six men were all somehow involved in slave trade or plantation bonds. Secondly, a social network analysis will be applied. Network analysis is an approach used in the social sciences to explain social patterns and behaviour through the analysis of relations among social entities, such as persons, groups or organisations.<sup>54</sup> Network analysis attempts to bridge individuals and structure. What kind of networks are important depends on society.<sup>55</sup>

In social network analysis individuals, or network members, are called nodes. Links or ties are the different types of relationships that connect the nodes.<sup>56</sup> All individuals are members of different social groups, he or she might be a church member and hold a job in a company. It encompasses friendship and acquaintance and all sort of links between people, for example through family ties and neighbourhood. Such links are not necessary equal, the social status of an employee might be lower than his boss’s. Every individual feels like he is in the centre of his social network. According to Barnes it is ‘a system of social relations through which many individuals carry on certain activities which are only indirectly coordinated with one another’.<sup>57</sup>

The rest of this thesis is constructed in the following order: First the history of the transatlantic slave trade is given, followed by a description of eighteenth century society in the Netherlands. After these more preliminary chapters, the Rotterdam companies involved in

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<sup>54</sup> C. David Gartrell, ‘Network Approaches to Social Evolution’, *Annual Review of Sociology* 13 (1987) 50.

<sup>55</sup> Jin-Wook Choi, ‘Governance Structure and Administrative Corruption in Japan: An Organizational Network Approach’, *Public Administration Review* 67:5 (2007) 931-942.

<sup>56</sup> Carlos A.R. Pinheiro, *Social Network Analysis in Telecommunications* (2011) 4.

<sup>57</sup> J.A. Barnes, ‘Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish’, *Human Relations* 7 (1954) 39-48.

slavery will be introduced, followed by the six lives of investors and a network analysis.



## 2. History of the transatlantic slave trade

In this chapter the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade will be discussed, with special focus on Suriname, because most of the slaves shipped by Rotterdammers, -the inhabitants of Rotterdam-, and all of the plantations subject of Rotterdam based investment companies, were located in this colony. In the second part of this chapter an overview will be given of the justification of the slave trade, because it remains very hard to understand for 21<sup>st</sup> century people how it was normal for the seventeenth-century people to buy and sell other human beings, and expose them to the gruesome life as a plantation slave.

### 2.1 The transatlantic slave trade

Even before the Portuguese docked on the sub-Saharan coast in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, slavery and slave trade existed. In Europe, the Romans used slaves, and after their empire declined, slavery persisted in many European areas, although less extensively. Also in parts of Africa, slaves were used, in some areas more than others.<sup>58</sup>

Initially, when the Portuguese explorers entered the slave trade, they were only an extension to the existing Muslim slave trade network, and their prime concern was not slaves, but gold. Only when the Americas were discovered, slaves became the most important merchandise. It took until 1600 for the Atlantic slave trade to surpass the eastern and northern African export trades in volume.<sup>59</sup>

The plantation system was first used by the Spaniards and the Portuguese on the islands of the African coast, before the system was exported to the Americas by the 1550's. This plantation system consists of white European people who owned and managed the plantation, and enslaved African people, who worked on the plantation.<sup>60</sup> The discovery of the America's would change the population of these continents forever. The indigenous populations diminished, and migrants from all over the world replaced them, enslaved Africans being the biggest group for a long time. More than ten thousand plantations were built and kept by these slaves.<sup>61</sup>

Brazil became more and more important for the Portuguese, and sugar was an ideal crop to make profitable trade. The Dutch decided to enter the Atlantic trade after Portugal was incorporated in the Spanish empire. The Dutch used to get their goods in Lisbon, but this

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<sup>58</sup> Herbert S. Klein, *The Atlantic slave trade*, 1-9.

<sup>59</sup> *Idem*, 10-15.

<sup>60</sup> *Idem*, 10-15.

<sup>61</sup> Alex van Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast. Roofbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantageconomie 1750-1863* (Leiden 1993) 1.

was made impossible because the Dutch were at war with Spain. A century after the Portuguese shipped out, the Dutch started to discover the African west coast and beyond. The initiative was taken up by merchants.<sup>62</sup> In the following years the Dutch became an important factor in the commercial connection between Brazil and Northern Europe. Migration of many Dutch planters gave the Caribbean sugar industry a major boost in the 1650's. The English, the French and the Dutch challenged Iberian control of the New World. They started their own plantations in the Americas, and the amount of slaves transported grew tremendously. Except for enslaved Africans, the population of freed Africans grew in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies.<sup>63</sup>

The activities of the European powers in the Americas were part of a European military and economic power play, which was fought largely outside European mainland. The centre of power relocated around the second half of the sixteenth century, from the Iberian Peninsula to north-western Europe. England and the Netherlands incorporated trade in the geopolitical strive for power, which improved their position.<sup>64</sup>

According to Klein, the French and English first primarily used indentured labour in their American colonies. Because of the economic crisis of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a lot of low wage European workers were willing to sign up to work in the American colonies. Only after the economy in Europe recovered, African slaves became the preferred labourers in the English and French colonies.<sup>65</sup> Another reason was that labourers returning to Europe spread stories about the horrible working conditions, causing others not to go.<sup>66</sup>

According to Emmer, the Dutch only took a small part in the Atlantic area. Only in the first half of the seventeenth century the Dutch were an important commercial factor in the Atlantic trade, but slave trade was still in its infancy. In the eighteenth century, when the slave trade was at its height, the Dutch were a minor player. Because of this slavery did not get the attention in Dutch history that it deserves.<sup>67</sup> The plantation economy complex matured around halfway the eighteenth century.<sup>68</sup>

In the Netherlands, trade on the Americas was monopolised by the state. For trade on Asia, the VOC was established, for trade on the Americas there was the WIC. This meant those companies were chartered to engage in trade activities, could decide on peace and war,

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<sup>62</sup> A. van Danzig, *Het Nederlandse aandeel*, 15-18.

<sup>63</sup> Klein, *The Atlantic slave trade*, 28-39.

<sup>64</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 22.

<sup>65</sup> Idem, 21-23.

<sup>66</sup> P.C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 52.

<sup>67</sup> P.C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 19.

<sup>68</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 20.

and conquer areas in their assigned areas.<sup>69</sup> The Dutch West India Company was founded in 1621. The board was located in five different areas, of which Amsterdam and Middelburg were the biggest investors. There were nineteen directors, of which two came from the Rotterdam area. However, in the initial period the most important task of the WIC was not trade, it was to attack the ships of the Portuguese and the Spanish, with whom the Dutchmen were at war until 1648. The slave trade only started to flourish when a sea captain from Delfshaven, named Piet Hein, managed to rob the Spanish fleet loaded with silver in 1628. With this money the Dutch tried to get a foothold in South-America, and they conquered some areas in Brazil, previously owned by the Portuguese. Also on the West coast of Africa the Dutch got control over some areas previously owned by the Portuguese, including the slave fort of Elmina. Now the Dutch controlled a considerable part of the Atlantic trade. Still, the WIC was not very profitable, the war took a lot of resources. Also, until 1645 the WIC used to sell half of their slaves on credit to the Portuguese plantation holders in Brazil, who did not pay it all back. After 1645 it was impossible to collect the debts because the Portuguese plantation holders revolted against the Dutch colonial rule. The only reason the WIC was kept alive was because of the great demand of slaves on the Dutch plantations. In 1654 the Portuguese forced the Dutch out of their last colonial territory in Brazil.<sup>70</sup> From 1658 onwards, Curaçao became more important for the Dutch slave trade. They used the rocky island as a transit port. The European planters on Curaçao sold European products as textiles and cheeses to Spanish colonists from Venezuela in exchange for cacao and skins. Slaves became more important as commodity; approximately 100,000 slaves were shipped from Curaçao to Spanish America.<sup>71</sup> After the slave trade to Spanish America fell in hands of the British, and trade to British and French colonies were blocked, the WIC decided to move its focus to Suriname.<sup>72</sup> The Dutch gained a foothold in ‘Dutch Guyana’ in 1667.<sup>73</sup> In 1675 the WIC went bankrupt, but a new WIC was established immediately. This new WIC saw its monopoly in the Atlantic trade decreased drastically. Only the slave trade stayed monopolised, due to pressure from the directors from the southern Dutch province of *Zeeland*. After a long quarrel between different Dutch actors, it was decided in 1682 the ownership of Suriname would be established in the *Geoctroyeerde Sociëteit van Suriname*. There were three different owners incorporated in the *Sociëteit*, namely the WIC, the city of

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<sup>69</sup> Idem, 22.

<sup>70</sup> P.C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 34-45.

<sup>71</sup> P.C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 57.

<sup>72</sup> Idem, 60.

<sup>73</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 22.

Amsterdam and the private person Cornelis van Aerssen, lord of Sommeldijk. This construction survived until 1795, although the van Aerssen family had sold its share prior to this date. Goal of the colony, as stated in the charter, was to support the Dutch economy. Although the plantations took a prominent place in how the Caribbean colonies are remembered today, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century it were shipping, staple markets and financing that made the Dutch economy to flourish. The planters were only allowed to export raw materials, mostly sugar, coffee and cotton, to the Netherlands on Dutch ships, which made them highly dependent on the Dutch economy. Other European colonial powers protected their planters by only allowing their goods on their home markets, but for the Dutch planters such agreements did not exist and they had to compete with colonial goods from other country's colonies. Moreover they could only import finished goods from the Netherlands, albeit there were some exceptions made for some goods produced in North America.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless the number of plantations in Suriname grew between 1700 and 1800 from one hundred to four hundred, and the number of slaves from 9.000 to 60.000. The number of plantations does not say it all, compared to 1713, in 1862 with half of the number of sugar plantations the output of sugar went up two and a half times. During the whole period, the importance of certain crops grew and diminished, and production and turnover changed.<sup>75</sup> Most histories of colonial Suriname write about a period of prosperity until 1770 and continuous decline afterwards. The fact that the production of sugar plantations between 1750 and 1830 continued to grow proves this assumption of rise and decline incomplete at least, and probably completely incorrect.<sup>76</sup>

Ever since the foundation of the WIC monopoly on slave trade, the company could not meet the demand. The company supplied only one third of what was needed. In 1738 the WIC gave up its monopoly on slaves, and this marks the start of private enterprises in the slave trade. While in the last decade of the slave monopoly the WIC transported 4000 slaves per year from Africa, the private companies accomplished to transport 6000 enslaved Africans in the same time. The shares of the different Dutch areas changed, for example the share of the slave traders from Zeeland grew from 25 to 75 percent. The share of Rotterdam remained around 12 percent.<sup>77</sup> From 1750 onwards there was a high financial input in the colony Suriname, around 30 million guilders was invested. A large part of this money was

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<sup>74</sup> *Idem*, 23-30.

<sup>75</sup> *Idem*, 32-37.

<sup>76</sup> Gert Oostindie, *Roosenburg en Mon Bijou. Twee Surinaamse plantages, 1720-1870*. (Leiden 1989) 4.

<sup>77</sup> Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 64.

used by the planters to buy slaves. The investments proved to be too high, as many planters could not pay back their debts and went bankrupt. This, together with other tendencies, caused the slave trade to diminish. In 1792 the second WIC was officially ended, which transformed the colony of Suriname from a private enterprise into a 'normal' colony, owned by the state. In 1795 France conquered the Netherlands, which ended the Dutch slave trade.<sup>78</sup> Between 1804 and 1816 the colony of Suriname was in British hands.<sup>79</sup> The slave trade was officially abolished in 1814, while slavery was abolished in 1863.<sup>80</sup> Although in the nineteenth century another two million slaves were transported, the British navy never reported a Dutch illegal slave ship. Maybe the merchants deemed the risks too high after the abolition of the slave trade. However, a substantial number was imported still after 1814 by slavers from other nations.<sup>81</sup> In total, the share of the Dutch in the slave trade was about five percent.<sup>82</sup>

Not every plantation colony was the same, just as not every plantation was the same. In the eighteenth century the British and the French set up high tariff barriers, favouring their own colony. The Dutch colonies did not get this kind of protective measures and had to compete with goods from other plantation colonies on the Dutch market. Another difference was that the planters in colonies of other countries were mainly migrants from the respective motherlands, and usually from the influential elite, giving them a good bargaining position in the governance of the colony. In Suriname half of the planters were Sephardic Jews, French Huguenots or from English or German descent. A powerful Dutch pressure group striving for better conditions for the inhabitants of the Dutch colonies in the west never occurred.<sup>83</sup> In the colony itself the planter elite did gain some influence in its governance. The Governors, often migrating from the Netherlands directly, succeeded each other rapidly. The planter elite, in the eighteenth century often second or third generation Surinamese inhabitants, were the only constant factor in the government and thereby became a group of power. Around 1770 this group consisted of seventy planters, who owned forty percent of the Surinamese plantations.<sup>84</sup> In the following years this elite changed drastically. Through bankruptcy, inheritance and repatriation two thirds of the plantation owners lived in the Netherlands in 1796, leaving the management of the plantations in hands of others, who often had different

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<sup>78</sup> Emmer, 65-66.

<sup>79</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 41.

<sup>80</sup> Balai, 1-50.

<sup>81</sup> Emmer, 190-191.

<sup>82</sup> *Idem*, 229.

<sup>83</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 31-32.

<sup>84</sup> *Idem*, 38-39.

interests than the owners.<sup>85</sup>

The sailors aboard of the Dutch slave ships were young, poor man from the provinces Zeeland and Holland. Around 15 percent of the male workforce of these provinces were sailors. Sometimes they were in debt with a guesthouse or brothel owners, and were forced to accept employment on ships. Most of the seaman sailed with the VOC. A lot of foreigners were drawn to the port cities of the Netherlands, on the Middelburgse Commercie Compagnie around 30 to 40 percent were foreign sailors.<sup>86</sup>

One factor in the Surinamese-Dutch relations, and for any colonial relation for that matter, that should not be ignored was the distance. A direct journey between these countries took up between six to eight weeks, and was highly dependent on weather conditions. This made the communication slow and vulnerable. The sailing ships could only sail out if there was enough wind, causing many ships leaving one place on the same time, which influenced the prices of the imported or exported goods. During times of war ships were an easy target and made communication between the colony and the mother country difficult, as did pirates and storms.<sup>87</sup>

The trans-Atlantic slave trade was for a considerable part triangular, meaning the ships first sailed from Dutch ports to the African west coast. They took old weaponry, textiles, kauri shells, alcoholic beverages and other goods with them. The value of these goods usually was around 25,000 to 60,000 guilders per cargo. It was hard to estimate what the African slave traders wished, because their tastes changed constantly. After the WIC period, ships remained for several months on the African coasts to find enough slaves. It was still possible to buy slaves from WIC officials in forts on the coast, this was faster and more reliable, but considerably more expensive. The Rotterdam company *Coopstad en Rochussen* normally used the second option.<sup>88</sup> They exchanged the goods for slaves, and sailed to the Americas. In the free trade period the Dutch mostly sailed to their plantation colony Suriname, or Curaçao if they could not reach Suriname. This second journey was called the middle passage and it took around two months. Because of the inhumane and unhealthy conditions, many slaves and sailors died during the voyage to the New World. From 1500 onwards there were approximately 300 revolts on Dutch slave ships. On arrival in the Americas, the traders sold their slaves to planters in exchange for money and sometimes for

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<sup>85</sup> *Idem*, 41.

<sup>86</sup> *Emmer*, 72-87.

<sup>87</sup> *Stipriaan, Surinaams contrast*, 23.

<sup>88</sup> *Emmer*, 75-78.

tropical products, as tobacco, coffee, sugar and cacao, which they could take back with them to Europe.<sup>89</sup>

Plantations in Suriname tended to be almost autarkic production units. Everything, from producing the crops from seed to product, food for the inhabitants of a plantation, restoration of water works, buildings and vehicles was done within the enclosure of a plantation as much as possible, so mostly by slaves. More complicated tasks were outsourced to specialists, and the importance of specialists grew as time passed. On the other hand the planters had to rely on import overseas for most of their commodities, slaves being one of those commodities. Legally slaves were not treated as human beings, but as property, or things. On their arrival they were branded and were given a new name. On a plantation slaves were given different specific tasks, some girls were used in the household, others worked on the fields and still others exercised a certain craft. Slaves were valued according to their task, gender, place of birth, age and race. In 1772, this could vary from nothing at all to f1500,-, but estimated prices fluctuated over time.<sup>90</sup>

On a plantation, different actors had different interests. The white plantation owner or administrator, wanted maximum production of crops through hard work and at minimal costs, while the slaves tried to avoid the whip with minimal labour. The plantation inhabitants were ranked hierarchical. At the top of the slave hierarchy was the *bastiaan*, usually a black male who was born on the plantation. He and a white officer had the duty to supervise the slaves. This first among the slaves sometimes also fulfilled the role of religious leader in his group. Besides the black officer and the white officer, a director managed the affairs of the plantation. In case of absenteeism, when the owner of the plantation lived in Europe, an administrator was appointed to supervise.<sup>91</sup> The number of slaves in Suriname is estimated at 60.000 in 1774, which was its absolute peak. After the seventies the number of slaves reduced. In total 213.000 enslaved Africans were transported to Suriname between 1668 and 1830. There was a negative natural growth of the slave population, because of the harsh living conditions the number of slaves shrank by five percent every year in the eighteenth century.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> P.C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 124.

<sup>90</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 99-104.

<sup>91</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 276-293.

<sup>92</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 311-316.

## 2.2 Justification of the Slave Trade

Another topic is the legitimization of slave trade by the Dutchmen. One kind of justification of slavery was found by the sixteenth century Spaniard Francisco de Vitoria. He tried to find an answer to the question of how the Spaniards should deal with the Indians they found in the Americas. According to de Vitoria, Aristotle had said that some peoples are slaves by nature, which can be ruled rather than rule themselves, the Indians seemed like such people. Drawn from Genesis, de Vitoria concluded that people were capable of dominating the world because they were made in the image of God. Because the sinning Indians didn't display such an image according to him, they could not rule.<sup>93</sup> In the Netherlands, slavery and slave trade was looked down upon in the beginning. It was something their Catholic foes did, not the civilized Protestants. When the Dutch got foothold in Brazil, this opinion changed rapidly. But now they needed a protestant justification as well. The jurist Hugo de Groot, or Hugo Grotius, wrote in his book about laws and rights in war and peace, that slavery and slave trade wasn't incompatible with international law. After a war, the victors had the natural right on the property and labour power of the victims. Although the Netherlands and Africa were not in war, there were lots of wars in Africa, in which people were rightfully enslaved, and rightfully sold to the Europeans.<sup>94</sup> The most common given argument is biblical. Noah had three sons: Shem, Japheth and Ham. One night Noah drank too much and fell asleep naked. Ham saw it and, making fun of it told his brothers. When Shem and Japheth heard, they walked backwards to their father and covered him with a blanket. The next morning Noah woke up, and after hearing what happened, blessed Shem and Japheth, but cursed the son of Ham. Somehow the Dutchmen interpreted this story as following: Shem is the ancestor of the Jews, Japheth of the Europeans and Ham of the Africans. Because Ham's son is cursed, it is allowed to enslave his descendants.<sup>95</sup>

According to Emmer, Europeans deemed slavery a better alternative for the Africans than staying in the violent and absurd African societies. The Europeans did them a favour by enslaving them and getting them out of Africa.<sup>96</sup>

By explaining slavery away, Rotterdam people in the eighteenth century could justify their involvement in the trade. Even though slavery was forbidden on European-Dutch soil itself, in other parts of the world this was not considered a moral problem. And even if it

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<sup>93</sup> Brett Bowden, 'The Colonial Origins of International Law. European Expansion and the Classical Standard of Civilization', *Journal of the History of International Law* (2005) 9-11.

<sup>94</sup> P.C. Emmer, *de Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 35-36.

<sup>95</sup> Flinkenflögel, *Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 88-94.

<sup>96</sup> P.C. Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 33.



somehow felt wrong, they could refer to the mentioned scientists and philosophers. According to Gert Oostindie, slavery did not need an explicit justification yet in the eighteenth century. Critiques on slavery focussed mainly on the excesses.<sup>97</sup> In the next chapter we will see how these ideas contradicted the Enlightenment spirit of the time.

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<sup>97</sup> Gert Oostindie, *Roosenburg en Mon Bijou. Twee Surinaamse plantages, 1720-1870* (1989) 6.

### 3. Rotterdam in the eighteenth century

In this chapter an overview will be given of Dutch society in the eighteenth century, particularly Rotterdam society. Without an understanding of life in early modern society it will be difficult to grasp the involvement in slavery within this context.

#### 3.1 Economy

The eighteenth century is sometimes called the ‘Silver Age’ in the Netherlands, as opposed to the seventeenth century, which is dubbed the Golden Age. According to Joop de Jong this economic downturn was rather relative, to other countries, than absolute. In Rotterdam the trade and manufacturing became more important.<sup>98</sup> In Rotterdam there was no trend of economic downturn visible, it remained a rather prosperous trading city. One of the reasons of this downturn was a tradition focused on trade, with little attention to industry and crafts. The Republic relied too heavily on its function as staple market, while other regions had developed similar markets.<sup>99</sup> In 1795, after the Republic was occupied by the French, the staple market collapsed completely.<sup>100</sup> The economic decline should be seen as a relative downturn compared to England and France.<sup>101</sup>

The size of the Rotterdam trade can be expressed in the yearly number of ships in Rotterdam. In the first quarter of the century there were 240 ships, in the second quarter 284, in the third 321, and in the period from 1775 to 1800 171 ships. Quantitatively only the last quarter of the eighteenth century can be considered a time of economic deterioration. After 1750 the trade grew in the Republic, only to go down because of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. The trade with the Far East and the West grew in importance, but Amsterdam profited most of this, by which they gained an even stronger prevalence in comparison to Rotterdam.<sup>102</sup> Compared to the other trading cities in the Netherlands that time, Rotterdam could be considered *nouveau riche*. Only in the last decades of the sixteenth century, Rotterdam grew in importance in the Republic, like was the case with Amsterdam as well, due to mass influx of well to do and well-connected migrants from the South.<sup>103</sup>

France and England were the most popular trade destinations in the eighteenth

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<sup>98</sup> Joop de Jong, *Een deftig bestaan*, 30.

<sup>99</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas. Geschiedenis van Rotterdam tot 1813*, (Zwolle 1999) 315-318.

<sup>100</sup> Idem, 333.

<sup>101</sup> Idem, 319.

<sup>102</sup> Idem, 319-320.

<sup>103</sup> Hanno de Vries, ‘Bewindhebbersd van de Kamer Rotterdam, een groepsportret’, *Rotterdamers en de VOC. Handelscompagnie, stad en burgers* (Amsterdam 2002) 95-96.

century, although England's importance fell in the course of the century. Stressing the prominent importance of France as a trade destination was the cargo of wine, which made up ten percent of all transported goods, followed by brandy (6%), sugar (6%), tobacco (5%), wheat (4%), cotton, rye and coal (3% each).<sup>104</sup>

In the financial world, Rotterdam played a marginal role, due to its lack of capital. The international market of money and capital was controlled by Amsterdam merchant-bankers. In Rotterdam the financial and stocks market took place on a lower scale, and often as ancillary activity. The in 1720 established trade firm, Joan Osy en Zoon, was one of the most important banking institutes of Rotterdam. The Osy family was Catholic and originated from France, and at the end of the century their firm operated in several aspects of the branch, including banking, ship owning and trade. Another important bank in the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was R. Mees en Zoonen, established in 1720.<sup>105</sup>

From the second half of the 18th century the Republic deindustrialised, crafts only flourished again after the French period. In Rotterdam, the most important productivity was tobacco, there were approximately 56 tobacco factories, which employed 3500 labourers. The labourers processed Virginia tobacco, the end product was exported mainly to Germany. Other crafts were refinery of sugar and salt, brewing and distilling amongst others, in which 850 to 900 people were employed. There were approximately 30 sugar refining factories, although sugar refineries experienced rough times after 1750. Other companies were involved in shipbuilding, roping, sawmills, oil mills. Ten percent of the Rotterdam population was directly dependent upon these crafts. In other parts of the Republic shipbuilding fell, but in Rotterdam it stayed remarkably constant. This could be explained because shipbuilding activities in Rotterdam already shrank before 1700. Because of the many trade contacts between Rotterdam and England, it is not surprising the first import of a steam engine in the Republic took place in Rotterdam. In 1776 a steam engine was placed near the Oostpoort, to pump excessive water.<sup>106</sup>

### 3.2 Society and population

At the end of the seventeenth century Rotterdam had a population of 51.000 inhabitants. Cities in these times were dependant on migrants to grow. In the first two decades of the century, the economic downturn and the War of the Spanish Succession caused the

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<sup>104</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 319-320.

<sup>105</sup> Idem, 321-322.

<sup>106</sup> Idem, 323-327.

population to decline. After the 1730's, migrants flocked to the city, but there was no sign of population growth because most of the migrants boarded ships and were never seen again. Around 1750 population had declined to c. 45.000. The second half of the century this number increased again to 57.000.<sup>107</sup>

Census data from 1809 show around 61 percent of the Rotterdam population was Protestant Reformed, this included the French-Wallonian, the English-Presbyterian and the Scottish congregations. The second biggest group was the Roman Catholics, with 15.000 followers, or 26 percent of the population. Other religions were Lutheran (5.6%), Jews (3.6%) and Arminians or Remonstrants (1.5%). Changes in the ratio of religions were a result of births per family in certain religious groups and primarily migration.<sup>108</sup> Religion took a prominent place in society. The Reformed Church was acknowledged by the government as the true church, but it was not the official state-religion, and other religions were tolerated, mainly because of pragmatic reasons.<sup>109</sup> On board of the slave ships the captains were ordered to pray twice every day to assure Godly blessings during the journey.<sup>110</sup> Of the elite 50 percent was Protestant Reformed, 12 percent was member of the Wallonian congregation, 1 percent Presbyterian, 12 percent Roman Catholic, 6 percent Lutheran, 12 percent Remonstrant, 1 percent Baptist and of 6 percent it is unknown.<sup>111</sup>

The size of migration is reflected in the marriage books. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, 52 percent of marriage partners were born in Rotterdam, 35 percent in the Republic and 13 percent abroad. Migrants from the Republic mainly came from Gelderland, Noord-Brabant and Limburg, while marriage and migration of foreigners show a decrease in Flamish, English, Scottish and French migrants, and an influx of Germans. This can be explained by the fact that in this century trade with the German hinterland increased. The growing number of trade contacts between Rotterdam and the German regions over land and over rivers through Gelderland, Brabant and Limburg gave an input to migration from these areas.<sup>112</sup>

In the eighteenth century, around ten to twenty percent of the population in cities lived in great poverty, they were beggars or people without a steady job. Just above them were soldiers, sailors and servants. The line between these classes was thin and easy to cross, together they made up more than half of the urban population. Ten to fifteen percent

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<sup>107</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 327.

<sup>108</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 328-239.

<sup>109</sup> Joop de Jong, *Een deftig bestaan*, 120-127.

<sup>110</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Twee Rotterdamse slavenhandelaren*, 82.

<sup>111</sup> Eric Palmen, *De koopmannen van Rotterdam*, 19.

<sup>112</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 329-330.

belonged to the bourgeoisie. They were shopkeepers, artisans, merchants, doctors and notaries. On the absolute top was the aristocracy, they fulfilled for example functions in the *vroedschap*, the city council, and other public positions, or in the big trading companies, it consisted three to four percent of the population.<sup>113</sup> Aristocracy should not be confused with nobility, a group that did not have any power in the cities. This top of *regenten* did not only have influence on city politics and justice department, but also on the economy, religious ideas and social welfare.<sup>114</sup> This three to four percent circulated the prestigious and lucrative jobs in their small group.<sup>115</sup> Historian Eric Palmen wrote a study on the eighteenth-century elite. He based himself on the taxes on Marriages and Burials. There were four categories, namely those who had to pay f3,-, f6, f15, f30 and a pro bono class. The highest tax of f30,- was paid at a taxed income of at least f12.000,-. He researched the taxes between 1750 and 1771. He concluded 758 people of Rotterdam were in this upper class.<sup>116</sup> In this study women are not included.

In 1742 2600 Rotterdam inhabitants earned more than 600 guilders a year. Of this group, 90 percent made between 600 and 4000 guilders per year. Almost half of these rich people were involved in trade. If their activities are viewed with a different approach, it can be concluded more than half of them were active in the port-related sector. If the merchants and industrials did not invest in their own company, they devoted it, just as the wealthiest elite, in bonds and real-estate. The top of the elite lived in the Boompjes and Haringvliet, where the most expensive houses could be found. Besides those two streets Leuvehaven, Wijnhaven, Zeevismarkt, Blaak, Nieuwehaven, Spaansekade and Molenwerf were streets where the elite members lived. Segregation between rich and poor was not strict, in every neighbourhood people of different social classes could be found. Religion and origin did not seem to be a decisive factor in living area, except for the Scottish and the British, who tended to live in proximity to members of their own community. After 1750 the poverty level rose; because unemployment and costs of living rose. The yearly contribution to poverty relief by the reformed church also rose slowly with 2 percent. Poverty relief made up 10 percent of the total city expenses. The biggest expenditure was maintenance and replacement of public works, around 40 percent.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Joop de Jong, *Een deftig bestaan. Het dagelijks leven van regenten in de 17<sup>de</sup> en 18<sup>de</sup> eeuw* (Utrecht, Antwerpen 1987) 14-16.

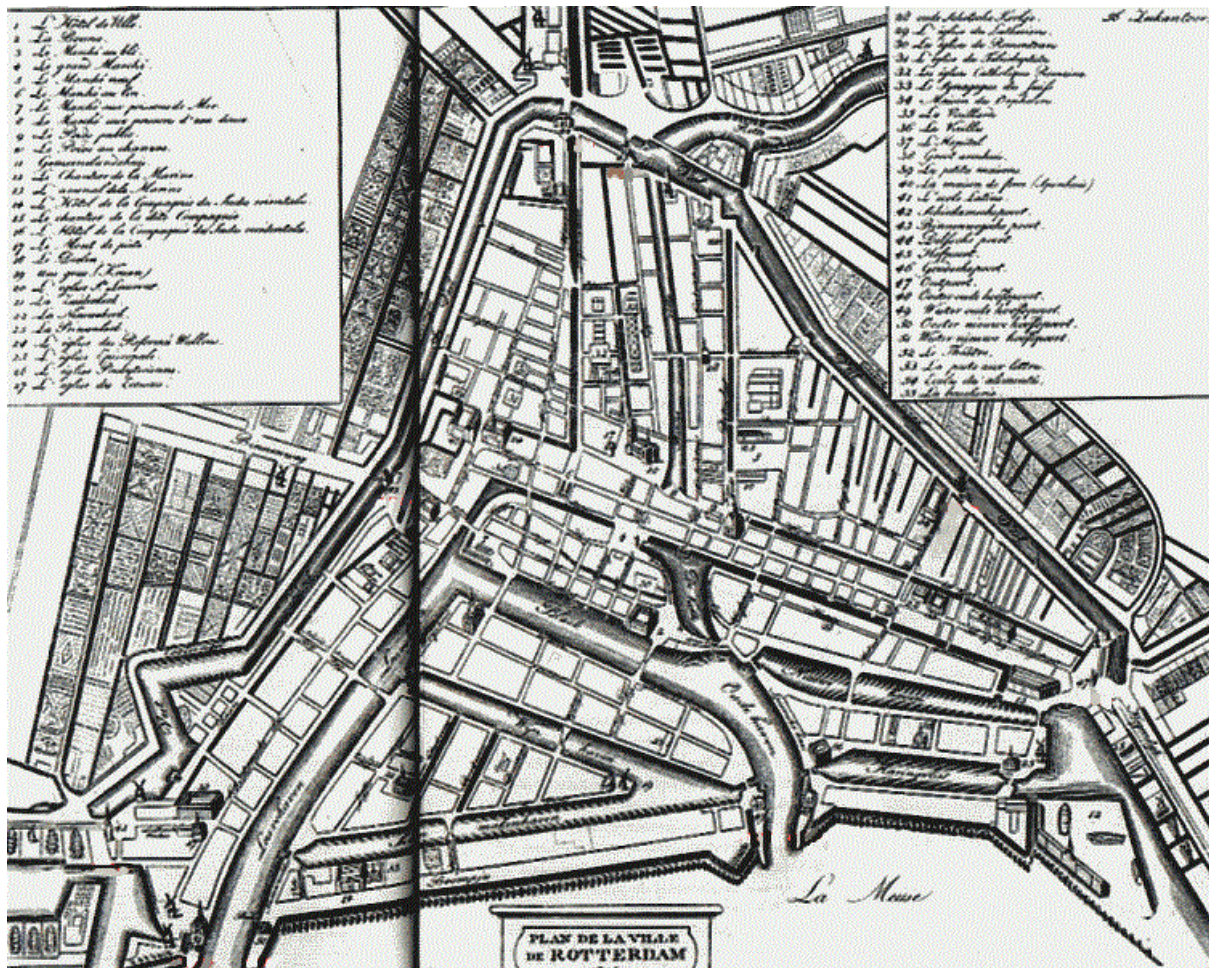
<sup>114</sup> Idem, 37-43.

<sup>115</sup> Idem, 57.

<sup>116</sup> Eric Palmen, *De koopmannen van Rotterdam, een cohortanalyse van de welstandselite van Rotterdam 1750-1803: economie, politiek, cultuur in een tijd van crisis*. (Rotterdam 1994) 13-19.

<sup>117</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 330-332.

## Rotterdam in 1815



<http://www.engelfriet.net/Alie/Aad/blaak.htm>

### 3.3 Culture

The eighteenth century was the century of Enlightenment. The Enlightenment can be characterised by reason, tolerance and believe in progress. One consequence of these values was the emphasis on the importance of education. The poorest children could attend reformed subsidised schools for the poor, with emphasis on reading and writing, for which religious texts were used. Children from the middle class went to paid schools, where they were educated in reading, writing, math and sometimes an additional course. The upper class kids attended the Latin school, but its importance decreased. Courses on Latin and Ancient Greek, rhetoric, theology, church history and philosophy were provided. Vocational schools used to be the responsibility of the guilds, but in the second half of the century the city council and churches interfered with this type of schooling.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Idem, 336-338.

In the Republic family and family ties were very important. They acted as reservoir for power, wealth and prestige. Trade and manufacturing companies were mainly organised as family companies.<sup>119</sup> The Rotterdam slave trade firm Coopstad&Rochussen was no exception to this. Isaac Jacobus Rochussen was married in 1749 to the niece of Herman van Coopstad, Esther Hudig. In 1769 a company on the Levantine trade was established of which Herman van Coopstad and his cousin Herman Oostendorp were co-owners. After the death of Coopstad, Rochussen set up a similar company 'Rochussen en Zoonen'. (Rochussens and sons)<sup>120</sup>

In this century the number of learned societies and clubs grew, with the idea education could enrich human mind. There were four types of societies; literary, scientific, moral and on social interests.<sup>121</sup> Around 1770 clubs emerged that aimed for social change. One quarter of the Rotterdam elite was member of one or more clubs.<sup>122</sup> The wealthier part of society had a membership in different associations for recreation. There were different clubs for men and women.<sup>123</sup> There were different motives to take part in a certain association, it could be religious, political, intellectual or even economic reasons.<sup>124</sup> It is not unthinkable that inhabitants of Rotterdam used these clubs to establish business connections, which could be of use for among others the slave trade.

The less wealthy found entertainment in coffee shops and bars. Dancing lessons, musicians and singers were also popular amongst many segments of society. The church had less and less influence on public life. In 1774 the establishment of a permanent theatre marked the highlight of the importance of this art in Rotterdam. It was also the start of the institutionalised commercial theatre operation in Rotterdam.<sup>125</sup>

Although the reformed church maintained its position as the dominant church, a wide range of heterodox views came into being. That these sectarian groups could propagate their view on the true faith without prosecution showed the relative tolerance of the Republic and the ideas of Enlightenment. Deviation of the accepted norms in the field of marriage, family and sexuality were not regarded with such an open mind. The city government had a bigger role in maintaining these norms than the church. Adultery, abuse, conjugal fights and bigamy,

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<sup>119</sup> Joop de Jong, 83-88.

<sup>120</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Twee Rotterdamse slavenhandelaren*, 28-31.

<sup>121</sup> Eric Palmen, *de koopmannen van Rotterdam*, 99-100.

<sup>122</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 338.

<sup>123</sup> Joop de Jong, *Een deftig bestaan*, 139-140.

<sup>124</sup> Joris Zijlmans, *Vriendenkringen in de zeventiende eeuw. Verenigingsvormen van het informele culturele leven te Rotterdam* (Den Haag 1999) 3.

<sup>125</sup> Idem, 353-359.

were persecuted by the city council. Divorce was possible but not often conducted. Criminals, drunks, lunatics, homeless, beggars and prostitutes were employed in the Workhouse or treated in the 'Betterhouse'. Prostitution, although disapproved of, was quite common in the city because of the many sailors and the late marital age. Homosexuals were prosecuted and sentenced to death or banned from the city.<sup>126</sup>

Elite culture at the end of the eighteenth century did not focus on abundance, although some members of the bourgeoisie might have still seen exorbitant meals as highest form of hospitality. Auction registries show in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century a taste for classicist paintings, later the preference changed to Dutch paintings. The lifestyle of the urban elite resembled the aristocracy more and more, especially their manors, hunting trips, refined foods and luxury. The bourgeoisie followed the lead of the elite, and in the course of the eighteenth century, more wealthy Rotterdammers could be distinguished by their wigs and expensive clothing. The gap between rich and poor in the Republic grew.<sup>127</sup> The ties between aristocracy and economic activities loosened, but were never broken completely. The aristocracy operated in the economic field as consumers, employers, directors and shareholders. The bourgeoisie could climb higher on the social ladder by marriages to members of the aristocracy.<sup>128</sup>

### 3.4 Politics

The city council and other prestigious positions in the city were filled with elite family and friends, nepotism amongst the ruling elite was common practice. Halfway the century many people in the Republic thought it needed a *stadtholder* that could act as political leader as well as army commander during the threat of war. During the War of Austrian Succession from 1740-1748 the French reached Dutch borders in 1747, Rotterdam was the first city of Holland that declared Willem IV stadtholder. The stadtholder did not manage to change the corrupt political order. The discontent about the affairs resulted in a political schism; the Orangists and the Patriots. The patriots were against the stadtholder, Willem IV, prince of Orange. This group mainly consisted of middle class bourgeois disappointed in their aspirations to fulfil administrative high positions in politics, they hoped for a democratic reform. But also some people from the ruling class were patriot, they opposed the man who limited their power. The orangists supported the *stadtholder*, in many cases they were

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<sup>126</sup> Idem, 338-353.

<sup>127</sup> Idem, 353-359.

<sup>128</sup> Joop de Jong, *Een deftig bestaan*, 69.



appointed by him. The lower middle class also gathered on this side, in the hope Willem could put a hold to the corruption and arbitrariness of politics and governance. The popularity of Willem IV decreased swiftly. The same goes for his successor, Willem V; during the American Revolutionary War in 1776, many merchants from Holland supported the Americans because they saw England as the largest competitor to the Republic. Moreover, the reformists thought positively of the American political ideals. Because of the support of Dutch merchants with goods for the American rebels, England declared war. Willem V was oriented towards England and regarded as scapegoat.<sup>129</sup>

From 1780 onwards the patriots protested against the functioning of the Republic. In 1787 a small revolution took place; city councils were cleared of orangists. Willem V, who now fulfilled the position of stadtholder, fled to Nijmegen. In autumn the same year the Prussian army intervened and the patriots fled. The old order was restored and patriots were banned from their public posts. In 1795 the French invaded the Republic, and applied their revolutionary ideas to the Dutch polity.<sup>130</sup>

To conclude, the economy was still flourishing, although there were changes in the importance of economic branches. Trade was very important, especially trade with England and France. Only during the last quarter of the eighteenth century the number of ships leaving the Rotterdam harbour declined. The Rotterdam population grew in the second half of the century, mainly because of migration. There was a small group of wealthy people, approximately twenty percent of the population, towering above the masses. Only about 2.600 Rotterdammers made more than 600 guilders annually. The bourgeoisie and elite were in rapture over Enlightenment ideas, leading to meetings in learned societies and a focus on education. The new bourgeoisie copied the established elite mannerisms and started to wear wigs. Family ties were very important, and this was reflected in the many family businesses. Religion was important, but due to pragmatic reasons people worked together in trade. 61 percent of the Rotterdam population was member of some kind of protestant congregation, 26 percent was Catholic. Politics were a bit rough due to orangist and patriot fractions. City councils were nepotist organisations.

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<sup>129</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 361-364.

<sup>130</sup> Idem, 365-379.

## 4. Rotterdam involvement

In this chapter I'll give a more in-depth description of the situation in Rotterdam regarding the slave trade and plantations. First, two companies will be introduced, the first one mainly occupied with investment funds for slave plantations, the second one primarily with slave trading. After that five people who invested in one or both of these trades are described, using the Rotterdam notarial archives from 1770 to 1780.

### 4.1 Ferrand Whaley Hudig

Ferrand Whaley Hudig was born in 1734 in Rotterdam. He was the son of the Rotterdammer John Hudig and Maria Geertruid van Coopstad. His mother was the sister of Herman van Coopstad, the famous slave trader-, discussed hereafter. The firm of Ferrand Whaley Hudig was established in 1756, when he was 22 years of age.<sup>131</sup>

Three years later he got involved in *negotiaties*, which were investments in plantations in Suriname. As director of a negotiation, he maintained contacts in Suriname to lend large sums of money to planters. In the Netherlands he found private investors who were willing to buy a share in such a negotiation. A negotiation could lead to 5/8 of the estimated value of a plantation. The total value of a plantation was estimated by adding up the total amount of land, the value of the cultivated land, the buildings and the slaves. The plantation itself was the pledge for the investment.<sup>132</sup> The first *negotiatie* mentioned in his administration is a capital of almost 20.000 guilders, and the first shareholder mentioned is Willem van der Sluys.<sup>133</sup>

From the 1740's onwards the demand for credit rose in the Caribbean colonies due to the promising new crop of coffee. Many people were eager to establish a new plantation and cultivate this crop. Furthermore, a new area in Suriname was made suitable for agriculture in these years, which was an extra incentive to open up a new plantation. The prominent place of the Netherlands in the international market for exotic goods had diminished, and Dutch merchants hoped investing in Suriname would increase the output and ameliorate the position of the Netherlands.<sup>134</sup>

This system of lending to plantations started in 1751 with a project set up by Willem

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<sup>131</sup> J. Hudig Dzn., *De West-Indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley Hudig* (Hilversum 1922) 16.

<sup>132</sup> J. Hudig Dzn., *De West-Indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley Hudig* (Hilversum 1922) 32.

<sup>133</sup> *Idem*, 16-18.

<sup>134</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 206-207.

Gideon Deutz, a mayor of Amsterdam.<sup>135</sup> The loans took the form of an investment fund. Investors could buy debentures for f1000,- a piece.<sup>136</sup> Most negotiations were agreed upon to last 20 years, within which only interest would be paid the first ten years. In the second ten years the full amount would be paid back plus interest. Usually the interest was set at six percent per year, but this was later lowered to five.<sup>137</sup> Bonds on plantations were considered safe investments, suitable for widows and orphans. The investment fund was managed by the director, in this case Ferrand Whaley Hudig. Out of the bondholders a few people were designated as commissioners and met each other a few times a year to ascertain if the director represented the interests of the bondholders.<sup>138</sup>

In 1769 and 1770 a bubble occurred in the plantation *negotiaties*, because everyone wanted to invest money.<sup>139</sup> Between 1765 and 1775 f30.000.000,- in investment capital was drawn to Suriname.<sup>140</sup> Because of the capital flow that occurred between 1750 and 1775, a whole new group of planters, often inexperienced, were eager to start a plantation in Suriname. Very soon many of them came to understand they were not capable of paying back the loans-, and many were heavily indebted. Plantations that went bankrupt came into hands of foreign creditors.<sup>141</sup> The prognosis of the rich making plantation investments turned out to be disappointing. In the case of Hudig, only Godefroy-Thomas, owner of Anna'szorg managed to pay back the interest and the loan. Roosenburg and Monbijoux paid back the interest and most of the loan. All other plantations could not even pay most of the interest in the first ten years, let alone the loan. In most cases the bondholders lost their money, because it was quite hard to find a new plantation owner after it went bankrupt.<sup>142</sup> There were a variety of reasons why the planters were unable to pay their debts. In 1769 there was a drought in Suriname, in 1770 the prices for coffee and cacao dropped in the Netherlands. Furthermore the Amsterdam stock market witnessed a crisis in 1773, but this cause has proved to be far less influential than originally thought. The system was already cracking prior to this date.<sup>143</sup> The planters who received the money, only invested a small part in their plantation, and consumed a large part of it. Also, there were two weaknesses in this specific type of investment. First, the size of the investment was determined by the value of the

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<sup>135</sup> J. Hudig Dzn., *De West-Indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley Hudig* (Hilversum 1922) 8.

<sup>136</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 207.

<sup>137</sup> J. Hudig Dzn., *De West-Indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley Hudig* (Hilversum 1922) 13.

<sup>138</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 207-208.

<sup>139</sup> J. Hudig Dzn., *De West-Indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley Hudig* (Hilversum 1922) 25-26.

<sup>140</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 209.

<sup>141</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 69.

<sup>142</sup> J. Hudig Dzn., *De West-Indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley Hudig* (Hilversum 1922) 30.

<sup>143</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacobus Rochussen*, 29.

factors of production. The amount could be as much as 5/8<sup>th</sup> of the estimated value, and if a new taxation had taken place and the estimated value was higher, a new loan could be issued. The problem was that the factors of production were no guarantee for profit, since price fluctuation and crop failure could not be predicted. The taxation of the plantations was a doubtful process, in which the value was often estimated too high. The second weakness was the negotiation director, who was not at risk at all. In practice he invested other people's money and would lose his business if the fund came to an end.<sup>144</sup>

For Ferrand Whaley Hudig the bonds stayed profitable. He paid five percent interest over the total sum of one plantation to the bondholders, but he asked the Surinamese planters to pay him six percent interest over the total sum including overdue interest, and he kept the difference for himself. Even when plantations could not measure up to the interest and the interest was lowered to 2.5 or 3 percent, the one percent difference in interest remained. This was only part of his profit. All plantation produce had to be sold by him, of which he took a certain percentage; he provided for the transport, the assurance of the shipment, etcetera, all to a certain percentage.<sup>145</sup> In his later life he did admit he had made some mistakes. Because of his inexperience he had overlooked the need to monitor the planters. This inexperience had cost him a lot of money because he had to pay the deficits from his own pockets.<sup>146</sup>

Ferrand Whaley Hudig died on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June, 1797. His son Jan Hudig had taken over the firm. In this year, the firm still had ties with the plantations Roosenburg en Monbijoux, Annaszorg, Janslust en Block en Bosch, Somerszorg, Duuringe, Driesveld and Bijgelegen.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 207-208.

<sup>145</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 221.

<sup>146</sup> Gert Oostindie, *Roosenburg en Mon Bijou*, 343-344.

<sup>147</sup> J. Hudig Dzn., *De West-Indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley Hudig* (Hilversum 1922) 82.

### Ferrand Whaley Hudig plantation bonds

	Year	Planter	Plantation	Crop	Slaves	Acres	Sum
1	1760	Jan Alexander van Sandick	Roosenburg	Sugar	185	1057	F100.000,-
2	1765	A.M. Godefroy- Thomas	Anna'szorg	Coffee and cacao	117	500	F70.000,-
3	1767	Fransiscus Johannes Block	Janslust Block en Bosch	Coffee Coffee	69 4	100 100	F90.000,-
4	1767	Jan Carel Somers	Somerszorg	Coffee	113	401	F56.000,-
5	1767	Dowager van Sandick-van Haren	Roosenburg MonBijoux	(replaced 1) Coffee	86	154	F156.000,-
6	1768	Jacob Fetter	Venetia Nova Ma Resource	Coffee Livestock	?	260 900	F52.000,-
7	1769	Jan Ysak de Haan	Somerszorg	Coffee (replaced 4)	107	401	F125.000,-
8	1770	Jan Carel Somers	De Vreede	(Paid off in 1 year)	28	?	F18.000,-
9	1770	Jan Ysak de Haan	Duuringe	Coffee and cotton	101	292	F120.000,-
10	1772	Bernard Texier	Driesveld	Coffee	135	500	F170.000,-
11	1774	Bernard Texier	Bygelegen		?		F15.000,-
12	1775	Dirk van der Mey	Nieuw Hazard Afgeleegen	(Nieuw Hazard was first called Venetia Nova, replaced 6)	61	262 900	F50.000,-
13	1776	Carl Willem von Jeckel	La Confiance	Sugar	33	677	F50.000,-

(Source: J. Hudig Dzn., De West-Indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley Hudig (Hilversum 1922) 27-29.)

## 4.2 Coopstad and Rochussen

Isaac Jacobus Rochussen, born in 1720, originated from an elite family in Vlissingen. He was the only child of Isaac Rochussen and Adriana Cornelia Stocke. He studied in Leiden for some years, then returned to Zeeland. From 1736 the family Rochussen lives a part of each year on In de Boompjes, Rotterdam, where father Isaac Rochussen was appointed as an official in the *Admiralty of Rotterdam*.<sup>148</sup> This was one of the five institutions in the Republic that was designated to manage maritime affairs, from jurisdiction over price setting to equipping warships. In later years Isaac Jacobus himself was in the position as *commys van de Hoofdelijke betaling* for the Admiralty.<sup>149</sup> He married Esther Hudig, the niece of Coopstad, and daughter of John Hudig and Maria Geertruid van Coopstad, in 1749. They lived on the Schiekade in Rotterdam. At this point he was already involved in the slave trade, which was mentioned in their marriage poem. From their marriage six children were born, of which three died in the first year of life. Their surviving children were Isaak, Michiel Baelde and Jan. His son Michiel Baelde Rochussen, was named after Michiel Baelde, who was the second husband of Maria Geertruid van Coopstad. In 1779 his company had huge debts, from which he disassociated himself. His wife changed her will drastically to secure the family capital. He probably withdrew himself from business. He died in 1797 in Rotterdam.<sup>150</sup>

Herman van Coopstad was the son of Leonard van Coopstad and Elisabeth van Halm. He was born in 1708, and died unmarried in 1772 while living on the Haringvliet. He conducted business in Smyrna, Turkey, together with his nephew Herman Oostendorp, in their company 'Van Coopstad en Oostendorp'. His firm sailed out ships to the Levant on a yearly basis. In 1739 he acquired the position of lower officer in the *Schutterij*, the local citizen militia of Rotterdam. From 1745 onwards he was the director of the Levantine trade and navigation on the Mediterranean Sea in Rotterdam. In the years 1758 and 1759 he served as *schepen*, or alderman, in the local council.<sup>151</sup>

In 1738 the WIC lost its monopoly on the slave trade and private companies took over.<sup>152</sup> The peak of the slave supplies was around 1770, the same time as the run on plantation investments.<sup>153</sup> Herman van Coopstad and Isaac Jacobus Rochussen initiated their partnership between 1747 and 1750. Their company included three kind of activities. Firstly,

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<sup>148</sup> *Naemwijzers der stad Rotterdam, 1736-1761*.

<sup>149</sup> L. Priester, *Nederlandse houding ten aanzien van de slavenhandel en de slavernij 1596-1863*, 221.

<sup>150</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacobus Rochussen*, 28-41.

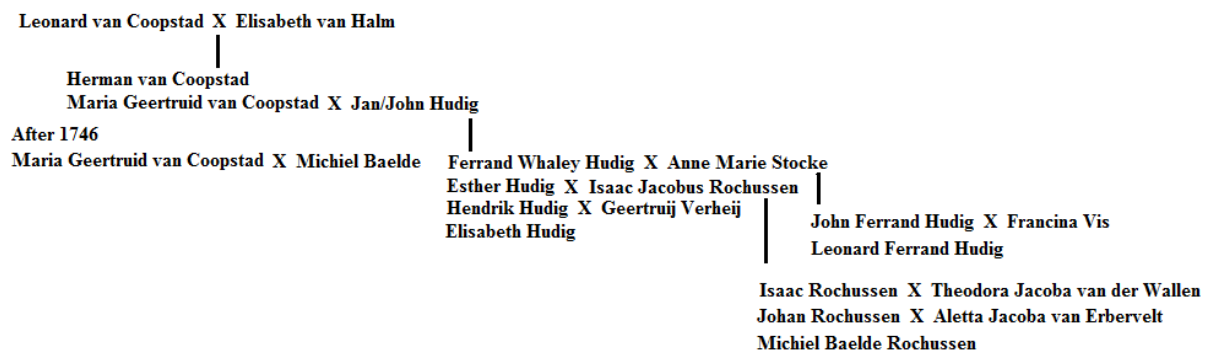
<sup>151</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacobus Rochussen*, 32-36.

<sup>152</sup> Emmer, *De Nederlandse slavenhandel*, 64.

<sup>153</sup> Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 211-212.

the direct trade to Suriname, secondly as lenders to planters and thirdly in the slave trade. In 1765 a loan was issued for f670.000,- for ten different plantations, including Carelsberg, L'Embaras en Venlo, and Vreede. In 1767 another loan was issued worth fl.335.000,- on twenty plantations. In 1772 Herman van Coopstad died, and Rochussen took over the company, while establishing another slave trade company named Rochussen en Zoonen.<sup>154</sup>

To conclude; there were some powerful families concerned with the investment in slave ships and plantations. They invested a lot of money, but mostly the money of others. Ferrand Whaley Hudig, as director of the funds, earned his money by keeping a one percent fee on all payments done by the planters. Herman van Coopstad conducted trade in the Levant, next to his slave business. He and Isaac Jacob Rochussen were part owners of all the ships they sent around the Atlantic, collecting revenue from every sold slave. It is noticeable that, after the death of Coopstad, when the trade hit a dead end, Rochussen's financial situation became less certain.



Apart from these firms, there was also a slave trade company in the hands of the family Hamilton-Meijners, who also directed a negotiation fund. The family Osy set up plantation investments. Unfortunately there is not a lot of archival sources on these firms.

In the next part I will discuss people who appeared on the lists as investors in the slave trade as well as plantation investments. It is based on notarial archival sources from 1770 to 1780. These particular years are chosen because of the interesting time. Firstly because the Dutch slave trade was at its peak during these years, secondly because of the booming plantation investments.

<sup>154</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacobus Rochussen*, 28-30.

## Coopstad and Rochussen (and sons) slave journeys

Ship	Purchased slaves	Slaves deceased	Slaves shipped	Years
Maria Galey	317	27	290	1747-1749
Gulde Vrijheid 2	290	40	250	1748-1749
Willem&Carolina	360	50	310	1749-1751
Gulde Vrijheid 2	300	50	250	1750-1752
Willem&Carolina	380	53	327	1751-1753
Gulde Vrijheid 2	270	45	225	1752-1754
Willem&Carolina	253	14	239	1753-1755
Maria Geertruy Galey	331	30	301	1753-1755
Jonge Isaace	330	80	250	1754-1755
Gulde Vrijheid 2	330	26	304	1754-1756
Willem&Carolina	380	60	320	1755-1757
Maria Geertruy Galey	367	37	330	1755-1757
Francois Eranie Galey				1756-
Jonge Isaac	470	47	423	1756-1757
Frans Willem	305	30	275	1756-1758
Keenenburg	325	49	276	1757-1758
Willem&Carolina	451	21	430	1757-1758
Maria Geertruy Galey	400	40	360	1757-1758
Jonge Isaac	552	38	514	1757-1759
Frans Willem	320	30	290	1758-1760
Willem&Carolina	475	45	440	1758-1760
Maria Geertruy Galey	420	41	379	1759-1761
Frans Willem	330	28	302	1760-1761
Frans Willem	330	27	303	1761-1763
Maria Geertruy Galey	400	50	350	1761-1762
Publicola	425	55	370	1761-1762
Drie gebroeders	380	60	320	1762-1764
Maria Geertruy Galey	375	50	325	1762-1764
Frans Willem	310	35	275	1763-1765



Publicola	400	50	350	1763-1765
Maria Geertruy Galey	350	50	300	1763-1765
Drie Gebroeders	410	40	370	1764-1766
Frans Willem	260	33	227	1765-1766
Publicola	350	50	300	1765-1767
Willemina Aletta	350	60	290	1765-1766
African	300	30	270	1766-1768
Drie Gebroeders	400	40	360	1766-1768
Guineese Vriendschap	370	50	320	1767-1769
Publicola	350	50	300	1767-1769
Willemina Aletta	330	36	294	1767-1768
Maria Isabella	271	11	260	1768-1769
Willemina Aletta	330	30	300	1768-1769
Nicolaas Theodorus	280	30	250	1768-1770
Guineese Vriendschap	415	65	350	1769-1770
Maria Isabella	400	30	370	1769-1770
Willemina Aletta	330	30	300	1770-1771
Guineese Vriendschap	430	32	398	1770-1771
Keenenburg	315	45	270	1770-1771
Maria Isabella	420	20	400	1770-1772
Nicolaas Theodorus	350	150	200	1770-1772
Maas	450	50	400	1770-1772
Willemina Aletta	350	50	300	1771-1773
Guineese Vriendschap	360	60	300	1772-1773
Keenenburg	340	40	300	1772-1774
Elizabeth	460	60	400	1772-1774
Willem Suzanne	300	32	268	1772-1774
Maria Isabella	300	60	240	1773-1774
Hermine Elisabeth	170	20	150	1773-1775
Willemina Aletta	340	25	315	1773-1775
Guineese Vriendschap	284	6	278	1774-1775
Maria Isabella	310	30	280	1774-1775

Catharina Hendrina	400	50	350	1774-1776
Keenenburg	375	25	350	1775-1776
Hermina Elisabeth	180	35	145	1775-1777
Elisabeth	550	50	500	1776-1777
Total:				
65	22756	2683	20073	155

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<sup>155</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jakob Rochussen. Twee Rotterdamse slavenhandelaren in de 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw.* (Rotterdam) 106-107.

### 4.3 Daniel de Jongh and Daniel de Jongh Adriaanszoon

Daniel de Jongh invested in the plantation Driesveld, which was under the direction of Ferrand Whaley Hudig.<sup>156</sup> He also was owner of 1/32nd part in the slave ship Frans Willem, and 1/32<sup>nd</sup> of slave ship d'Gulden Vrijheid for a trip in 1750, for which Coopstad and Rochussen were the bookkeepers. This investment was for three shipments to Africa and the Americas.<sup>157</sup> He is also mentioned as *reder* for the slave ship d'Gulden Vrijheid in 1750.<sup>158</sup> Daniel de Jongh Adriaanszoon and Adrianus de Jongh invested in the plantation Somerszorg.<sup>159</sup> His wife was also mentioned as an investor, but it is not clear in which plantation.<sup>160</sup> Adrianus de Jongh and Anna de Jongh invested in the Surinamese plantation Monbijoux en Roosenburgh as well.<sup>161</sup> It can be stated that the whole family was involved in the slave trade and slavery. The reason Daniel de Jongh will be discussed rather than another family member, is because he was the only one who was a ship owner as well as a bondholder in plantations.

Daniel de Jongh was born in 1721, and baptised in the Lutheran church. His parents were Daniel de Jongh and Elisabeth Hartigh. In 1750 he got married to Anna Eduardina Elisabeth Gordon, from Schiedam. They moved to the first quay of the Haringvliet in Rotterdam, behind the English Church and the second quay of Blaak, behind the Lutheran Church.<sup>162</sup> He had three other sisters and brothers. His wife died in 1783-, and he himself in 1796. They passed away childless.<sup>163</sup>

Daniel de Jongh and his nephew Daniel de Jongh Adriaanszoon were in business together.<sup>164</sup> They owned a few warehouses and some copper mills.<sup>165</sup> They traded in copper and tin.<sup>166</sup> He owned two copper mills in Gelderland, the Pannekoeksmolens, or Rotterdam mills.<sup>167</sup> Many notarial documents reported false copper deliveries to his warehouses. People brought copper of lesser quality than promised, or copper disappeared.<sup>168</sup> Their business was not confined to Rotterdam-, it stretched out to Hamburg, England, Brussels and Rouen in

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<sup>156</sup> GAR 68/677.

<sup>157</sup> GAR 68/38.

<sup>158</sup> GAR 68/13.

<sup>159</sup> GAR 68/677.

<sup>160</sup> GAR 68/698.

<sup>161</sup> GAR 68/677.

<sup>162</sup> ONA 2724/1164.

<sup>163</sup> GAR Digitale Stamboom

<sup>164</sup> ONA 2929/1141.

<sup>165</sup> GAR 33-01/684.

<sup>166</sup> ONA 3451/110-111.

<sup>167</sup> <http://www.geheugenvanapeldoorn.nl/bijzondere-plaatsen/wenum-wiesel/rotterdamse-kopermolen/>

[http://www.vaassenhistorie.nl/files/rotterdamsche\\_kopermolen.pdf](http://www.vaassenhistorie.nl/files/rotterdamsche_kopermolen.pdf) (09-05-2014).

<sup>168</sup> ONA 3451/110-112, 3451/125, 3451/198.

France. One export list is rather remarkable. Where de Jongh normally only exported copper and tin, in 1774 he shipped 129 salmons on the ship *La Prudence*, heading to Rouen.<sup>169</sup> De Jongh must have been very wealthy, for many times people took out loans from him.<sup>170</sup> In 1779 a merchant named Cornelis van Geel was loaned 8000 guilders, which was much more than the yearly income of most people, who made not even f200.<sup>171</sup> In 1779 the merchant Anthoni van der Haar borrowed f1000,-. As collateral van der Haar pawned two investments in a Surinamese plantation from the Amsterdam Willem Gideon Deutz.<sup>172</sup>

Apart from the investments in the slave ships, he also was co-owner of ships that sailed out to other areas. It is not specifically mentioned to where the ships sailed, but in every agreement the Turkish pass is referred to. The *Turkse pas* was required for ships that sailed to the Mediterranean Sea and Western Africa, to guarantee that the ship would not be looted by pirates.<sup>173</sup> Most of these ships were brought under the supervision of the company Pieter en Adrianus Dubbeldemuts, which owned ships and managed affairs for their own and other trade ships. Daniel de Jongh was not the only person who had connections in the slave trade as well as in these particular ships. Pieter van der Wallen van Vollenhoven, Rudolf Mees, Gerrit and Gilles Groenevelt all had bonds in plantations.<sup>174</sup>

Daniel and Adrianus de Jongh both invested in the new Rotterdam theatre. The investment needed was f31000,-. Other slave investors, like Michael Baelde, also had a share in the new theatre.<sup>175</sup>

De Jongh, together with Hendrik Cramer, was in charge of the administration of the orphanage from 1763 to 1770.<sup>176</sup> Daniel de Jongh was very committed to his church, the Evangelist-Lutheran church. From 1739 until 1767 Daniel and Adrianus de Jongh were responsible for the church organ. They kept the financial records for the maintenance of it. When they handed down their duties to their successor, they did not leave the organ without means. Already in 1748 de Jongh had donated 600 guilders, but in 1767 he also contributed a couple of bonds to the organ, of which was one bond in the plantations Roosenburg and Monbijoux worth a 1000 guilders.<sup>177</sup> Other people that donated money for the Lutheran organ in 1748 were Johannes and Adrianus de Jongh, Henricus van Dobben, Clementia van

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<sup>169</sup> ONA 3002/1197.

<sup>170</sup> ONA 2933/862.

<sup>171</sup> Joop de Jong, *Een deftig bestaan*. 14-15.

<sup>172</sup> ONA 2934/1091.

<sup>173</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacobus Rochussen*.

<sup>174</sup> ONA 3416/885.

<sup>175</sup> ONA 3138/866.

<sup>176</sup> GAR 28-01/136.

<sup>177</sup> GAR 28-01/223.

Dobben, Helena van Braken, Gerrit van Brakel and his wife, Lydia van Brakel-van Dobben. I mention this because Gerrit van Brakel and Lydia van Dobben had shares in plantations Duuringe, Somersorg, Janslust, Blok en Bosch and Roosenburg en Monbijoux. Daniel de Jongh and Frans Munnickhuijzen, made an inventory of the deceased Marten van Dobben. Frans Munnickhuijzen was preacher of the Lutheran church in Schiedam, and the second husband of Lydia van Dobben.<sup>178</sup> Probably these three families; van Dobben, van Brakel and de Jongh, were of the upper class of the Lutheran Church.

According to some sources, de Jongh was a patriot-, and was banned from Rotterdam in 1789. In this era in the Dutch Republic there was a struggle between the Patriots and the Orangists. The Orangists supported the monarchy of the House of Orange-Nassau, the Patriots wanted a more representative political system. Many Lutheran people supported the Patriots. After the power of Willem V was restored in 1787 de Jongh and his wife fled to Brussels, where he bought a mansion in Laeken, 'Wel te Vreede'. Here he lived the rest of his life.<sup>179</sup> His mansion in Laeken had one room, de *liefhebberijkamer* dedicated to his art collection. The room was filled with 54 paintings and multiple books with engravings and drawings.<sup>180</sup> After his death everything he owned was inherited on the one hand by the children of Daniel de Jongh Adriaanszoon; Erdwin Adrianus, Daniel, Johannes, Anna Maria, Frederik Johannes, Johanna Sophia Lucia and Lucia Maria, and on the other to Floris Coenraad Muijsken and Clara Elisabeth Muijsken, the children of late Elizabeth Crol, who was family of the wife of Adriaan de Jongh. He had bonds in the United States of America, the Republic of Poland, the Russian empire and the Kingdom of Spain. In total the bonds and his cash were worth f144.000,-.<sup>181</sup> In his estate inventory more bonds in other countries and cities were mentioned. At the moment of his death he still owned a few slavery-related products: two investments of f1000,- apiece from the firm of Espenne Lespinasse and Gisena van der Vliet, in the plantations Blankenburg, Vreede en Hoop, L'incertitude and Sage Pond in one of the Caribbean colonies of Denmark. Five investments worth f1000,- apiece from Dirk Luden, director of the *Societeit der Plantagie Bruynsburg*, in Suriname; three investments worth f1000,- apiece from Ferrand Whaley Hudig on the plantation Driesveld; and three investments worth f1000,- apiece from the firm A. Hamilton en Meijners, in the plantation Bellavoir in Suriname. He also owned parts in ships from Vlissingen from Adriaen

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<sup>178</sup> ONA 2921/773, 2923/125.

<sup>179</sup> <http://hdebic45.deds.nl/Genea/Egodoc-dJ/Egodoc-dJ-1.html>

<sup>180</sup> ONA 3248/275-464.

<sup>181</sup> ONA 3249/706-800.

Kroef, but it is unknown whether these ships sailed to the America's.<sup>182</sup> In total the value of these bonds was f13.000,-, which was not a significant part of his overall capital, however, not negligible either. He owned a grave in the *Groote Kerk op den Frans* in Rotterdam, but it is unknown if he is buried there for he was banned from the city. The lack of colonial belongings is striking. In the property inventory there are only a few things; Mahogany furniture, 'East-Indian' (Indonesian) shaving cloths, silk, pepper, a 'fine East-Indian porcelain salad bowl' and kitchenware for tea, coffee and pepper.<sup>183</sup>



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**Daniel de Jongh**

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<sup>182</sup> ONA 3248/275-464.

<sup>183</sup> ONA 3248/416.

<sup>184</sup> <http://hdebie45.deds.nl/Genea/Egodoc-dJ/Egodoc-dJ-1.html> (09-05-2014).

#### 4.4 Samuel and Johan Hoppesteijn

Johan Hoppesteijn had bonds in Duuringe.<sup>185</sup> Samuel owned bonds in Annaszorg and Driesveld, they both owned a couple of bonds in Roosenburg en Monbijoux, Janslust en Block and Bosch, and Somerszorg.<sup>186</sup> Together they also were owners of 2/32<sup>nd</sup> part of the ship Maria Geertruy Galey in 1761.<sup>187</sup> Samuel Hoppesteijn was, together with H. Saffin, Gerrit van der Pot, Heer van Groeneveld, Nicolaes de Amorje and Michiel Viruly, commissioner of the *negotiatie* on the plantation Driesveld.<sup>188</sup>

Samuel was born in 1729, Johan in 1733. Their parents were Gijsbert Hoppesteijn and Johanna van Duyn. They lived in the Rijstuin in Rotterdam, which was a street where many wealthy families had their home. This street still exists today, and is located behind the central library in Rotterdam. In 1762 Samuel married Adriana Hendrica Mees and they moved to Zuydblaak. Her brother, Rudolph Mees was frequently named on the lists with plantations investments. Samuel married a very rich women; when her mother died, Adriana Hendrica did not accept the f10.130 inheritance, but invested it in favour of her cousin, who was an orphan and a minor. Samuel also inherited ten thousand guilders from his mother in law.<sup>189</sup> Adriana gave birth to four children: Johan Hoppesteijn (1763-1768), Gregorius Hoppesteijn (1765-1765), Gregorius Hoppesteijn (1768-1776) and Gijsbert Johan Hoppesteijn (1770).<sup>190</sup> In some documents Samuel is presented as *schepen* of Kralingen.<sup>191</sup> Samuel died in 1794, leaving behind one minor child.<sup>192</sup>

Samuel and Johan were real-estate agents. Most documents in the archives related to them regarded the selling of houses.<sup>193</sup> Samuel bought stocks in London worth 150.000 pounds.<sup>194</sup> Samuel conducted other kinds of trades as well. One document states a sugar merchant had deceived him, when he tried to buy a large quantity of sugar for three sugar refineries.<sup>195</sup>

Jan Theodore Frescarode, Samuels notary, and the notary for many other people researched in this paper, was a shareholder in the plantations Somerszorg and Driesveld.

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<sup>185</sup> GAR 68/677

<sup>186</sup> GAR 68/677

<sup>187</sup> GAR 68/36

<sup>188</sup> ONA 3007/311.

<sup>189</sup> ONA 3054/1548-1559

<sup>190</sup> <http://www.mocavo.com/De-Nederlandsche-Leeuw-Tijdschrift-Van-Het-Koninklijk-Nederlandsch-Genootschap-Voor-Geslacht-En-Wapenkunde-Volume-1889-1894/264248/207>

<sup>191</sup> ONA 3094/147

<sup>192</sup> GAR digitale stamboom

<sup>193</sup> ONA 3094/147, ONA 3150/671, 690.

<sup>194</sup> ONA 3283/28

<sup>195</sup> ONA 2997/218

## 4.5 Willem van der Sluijs

Willem van der Sluijs owned 1/32nd part in slave ship the Frans Willem.<sup>196</sup> He had a share in de Jonge Isaac as well.<sup>197</sup> From the company Hudig he had a share in the ship Willem Suzanna en Elisabeth, but this ship probably did not set sail to the coast of Africa, and sailed straight to Suriname instead. Although this is not slave trade, it still indicates a contribution to the slavery system.<sup>198</sup> He acquired bonds in the plantations Annaszorg, and even though he probably was not the owner of these bonds from the beginning, he certainly was in 1777 and 1778.<sup>199</sup> In 1765 he had bought a bond worth f1000,- in the negotiatie on plantation Twijfelachtig.<sup>200</sup> In 1769 he bought bond number 65 in plantation Somersorg.<sup>201</sup>

Willem van der Sluijs was born in 1721. His parents were Jan van der Sluijs en Menkeia van Barleus, they lived in de Rijsthuin in Rotterdam. He married three times in his life, and had many children, of which all but one passed away before they matured. He first married Elizabeth Overschie in 1753. They moved to the Wijnstraat in Rotterdam. Elizabeth died six years later. He remarried to Maria Dubbeldemuts in 1760. After giving birth to a number of children, she died in 1772. Maria Dubbeldemuts was the sister of Pieter and Adrianus Dubbeldemuts, the businessmen Daniel de Jongh knew from his trade ship affairs. Her inheritance is divided between Willem van der Sluijs, Laurens Dubbeldemuts van der Sluijs, who is their son, and Pieter van Dijk, a son from her first marriage. She was very wealthy and left them a couple of houses, ship shares, jewellery and clothing, which had an overall value of f37725:5. They also got f30331:16:11 cash each. The shares were in the following ships: 1/8<sup>th</sup> in the ship de Catharina galeij, 1/8<sup>th</sup> in ship de vrouwe Catharina, 1/8<sup>th</sup> in the ship Juffrouw Johanna Barbara, 2/15<sup>th</sup> in the ship de Maria en Helena, 3/16<sup>th</sup> in ship De Jongste Johannes, 1/4<sup>th</sup> in ship de Stephanus, 1/6<sup>th</sup> in the ship de Jonge Theodorus, 1/8<sup>th</sup> in de Catharina Liedewey, worth f1500,-. The destination of these ships is not known.<sup>202</sup> Exactly one month after her death, he remarried Maria Anna de Soett, who was the widow of Dirk van der Steen. Unfortunately he died two months later, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April 1778. They married under prenuptial agreements, which stated that if Willem van der Sluijs passed away before her, he would leave de Soett f1500,- on an annual basis. If he would die childless, he

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<sup>196</sup> GAR 68/38

<sup>197</sup> GAR 68/26

<sup>198</sup> GAR 68/715

<sup>199</sup> GAR 68/677.

<sup>200</sup> GAR 68/395.

<sup>201</sup> GAR 68/310.

<sup>202</sup> ONA 2920/1643-1735.



would leave her 10.000 Carolian guilders.<sup>203</sup> His only living son, Laurens Dubbeldemuts van der Sluys was 16 years old at this point and he continued living with his stepmother until he matured.<sup>204</sup> Jacob and Frederik Wartla were appointed as guardians of Laurens. It was mentioned these two gentleman saw Willem van der Sluijs on a daily basis for many years.<sup>205</sup> The Wartla brothers were in the same business as van der Sluijs. Standard practice was that van der Sluijs and the Wartla brothers owned shares in ships, and the Dubbeldemuts brothers were appointed to arrange the administration. This happened for example in 1772, with the ship ‘De gestadige Jager, in which van der Sluijs had a share of 1/16<sup>th</sup>.<sup>206</sup> Also in the same year for the ship ‘Pro Patria’, the Dubbeldemuts brothers owned 1/4<sup>th</sup>, the Wartla brothers 1/4<sup>th</sup>, Willem van der Sluijs 1/4<sup>th</sup> and Cornelis van der Sluijs 1/4<sup>th</sup>.<sup>207</sup> In another document Adrianus Dubbeldemuts and Abraham Baartmans, former schepenen of Rotterdam, are called the appointed guardians of Laurens.<sup>208</sup> It is remarkable that Laurens Dubbeldemuts van der Sluijs is called the only heir of Willem, while Willem was the guardian of his stepson Pieter van Dijk.<sup>209</sup>

The main economic activity conducted by van der Sluijs was investing in trade ships. Most ships probably set out to the Levant, but this is uncertain, the notarial acts all stated that the director of the investment was responsible for applying for the necessary passes to sail ‘freely and unmolested regarding the ships of Barbary.’<sup>210</sup> In 1773 Isaac Rochussen, from the firm Rochussen en Zoonen, functioned as bookkeeper for the slave ship ‘de Hermina Elizabeth’ in which van der Sluijs was also shareholder, and for this ship the authorized representative was also responsible for applying for the passes to safely sail passed the ships of Barbary.<sup>211</sup> This particular ship made a slave journey in 1775, exporting 180 slaves of which 35 slaves died on the way.<sup>212</sup> In 1777 a new document was drawn up for this in particular, on which van der Sluijs is mentioned again.<sup>213</sup> In 1776 he owned 1/32<sup>nd</sup> of the ship ‘d’Willem, Susanna en Elizabeth’, which sailed directly between Suriname and Rotterdam, of

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<sup>203</sup> ONA 3146/267-272.

<sup>204</sup> ONA 2932/555.

<sup>205</sup> ONA 2932/447

<sup>206</sup> ONA 3270/282.

<sup>207</sup> ONA 3270/313.

<sup>208</sup> ONA 3283/560-566.

<sup>209</sup> ONA 3284/913-917 and ONA 2920/1736.

<sup>210</sup> ONA 3267/1964.

<sup>211</sup> ONA 3272/209

<sup>212</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jakob Rochussen. Twee Rotterdamse slavenhandelaren in de 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw.* (Rotterdam) 107

<sup>213</sup> ONA 3280/1088.

which Coopstad and Rochussen were bookkeepers.<sup>214</sup> In 1777 the shareholders, van der Sluijs amongst them, authorized Rochussen to sell the ship in Amsterdam.<sup>215</sup> In 1779 van der Sluijs is mentioned as shareholder in the ship ‘de Drie Gebroeders’, which used to be a slave ship of the company Coopstad and Rochussen.<sup>216</sup> Willem van der Sluijs also invested in a ship from the firm Coopstad en Oostendorp in 1775. This firm traded on the coast of Smyrna, Turkey, and required the mentioned pass as well.<sup>217</sup> In 1772 and again in 1777 Herman Oostendorp was the bookkeeper of the ship d’Herman, in name of his firm Coopstad and Oostendorp. In this ship Pieter van der Wallen and his grandson Pieter van der Wallen van Vollenhoven owned 1/8<sup>th</sup> and Willem van der Sluijs 1/16<sup>th</sup>, de brothers Dubbeldemuts were responsible for the administration.<sup>218</sup> Also in 1777, Herman Oostendorp let the ship ‘de Tanna’ sail out, in which he owned 3/8<sup>th</sup>, Pieter van der Wallen 1/8<sup>th</sup> and van der Sluijs 1/8<sup>th</sup>.<sup>219</sup> In 1773 Willem van der Sluijs and Pieter van der Wallen van Vollenhoven invested in a ship, ‘de Catharina Henderina’, of which Isaac Jacob Rochussen was the bookkeeper.<sup>220</sup> There were many ships in which van der Sluijs as well as van der Wallen were investors. In most cases the bookkeepers of the ships in which van der Sluijs invested were Franco, Abraham and Adrianus Dubbeldemuts, brothers of Willem van der Sluijs’ second wife.<sup>221</sup> The bond between the Dubbeldemuts family and Willem van der Sluijs was quite strong, regarding that in 1772 a ship bound to the Levant is mentioned, which is named after the sister of Willem van der Sluijs; d’juffrouw Johanna Barbara.<sup>222</sup> In 1776, Willem van der Sluijs invested in the same ship as Jean Boudon, the companion of Pieter van der Wallen.<sup>223</sup> Abraham Baartmans, the appointed guardian of Willem’s son Laurens, also invested in ships.<sup>224</sup> Van der Sluijs’ only surviving son bore the name of his father and his mother: Laurens Dubbeldemuts van der Sluijs.

Apart from the income out of ship shares, van der Sluijs also let his money work in an investment fund in London.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> ONA 3278/1207.

<sup>215</sup> ONA 3280/1088, 3279/970.

<sup>216</sup> ONA 3285/377.

<sup>217</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacob Rochussen. Twee Rotterdamse slavenhandelaren in de 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw.* (Rotterdam) 34.

<sup>218</sup> ONA 3270/905.

<sup>219</sup> ONA 3280/1820

<sup>220</sup> ONA 3271/1246.

<sup>221</sup> ONA 3270/313

<sup>222</sup> ONA 3270/424.

<sup>223</sup> ONA 3278/102.

<sup>224</sup> ONA 3277/986.

<sup>225</sup> ONA 3281/449.

#### 4.6 Pieter van der Wallen

It is not quite clear in which year Pieter van der Wallen was born, or in which year he got married. For sure is that his father's name was also Pieter van der Wallen. He married to Agatha Brakel, and their first child, Elizabeth, was born in 1724. The families van der Wallen and Brakel were connected through another marriage as well, namely that of Jan van der Wallen and Cornelia Brakel, who in 1724 bore a son named Pieter van der Wallen, and in 1727 a daughter named Agatha. Our Pieter van der Wallen and Agatha Brakel did not return the favour, after Elisabeth, more daughters were born, namely Francina (1725), Hillegonda (1727), another Elisabeth (1729), a third Elisabeth (1731), Agatha (1734), Petronella Jacoba (1738) and Pieter (1742). Six years later, in 1748, Pieter became grandfather, his daughter Francina gave birth to Pieter van der Wallen van Vollenhoven, whose father was Jan Corneliszoon van Vollenhoven. Unfortunately Francina died during childbirth. Pieter and Agatha celebrated their silver wedding anniversary in the same period. In honour of the twenty-five years of marriage, three close friends had written poems. All three poems featured the loss of Francina, which obviously must have been a damper for the festivities. The first poem covered twelve pages, and used Pieter's job as a ship-owner as a metaphor for the marriage. For example, the young children of the couple that passed away 'fell overboard'. The only surviving children at the time were Hillegonda, Elizabeth, Agatha and Petronella. The author of this lengthy poem was D. Smits, the other two were Pieter's colleague Nikolaes Versteeg and Abraham Maes.<sup>226</sup> Nikolaes Versteeg, a real-estate agent, was a member of the poet's club 'Natura et Arte'.<sup>227</sup>

The niece of Pieter van der Wallen, Theodora Jacoba van der Wallen, married to the eldest son of Isaac Jacobus and Esther Rochussen, Isaac Rochussen.<sup>228</sup> Hillegonda van der Wallen was married to Cornelius Tobias Snellen, I mention him because his family is frequently seen on the payment lists of Ferrand Whaley Hudig, and once as investors in a ship of Coopstad and Rochussen. Cornelius Tobias was a doctor and ancient-*schepen*.<sup>229</sup> According to the will of the Rotterdam merchant Adriaan Coelentroevoer, Pieter van der Wallen was de bookkeeper of the Remonstrantse (or Arminian) Society.

Pieter van der Wallen was 1/16<sup>th</sup> owner of slave ship de Jonge Isaac, 1/16<sup>th</sup> owner of d'Gulden Vrijheid in 1750, and also 1/16<sup>th</sup> in the slave ship de Frans Willem ten years

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<sup>226</sup> GAR 38/1002, ONA 2999/316.

<sup>227</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 339.

<sup>228</sup> Teunissen, *Herman van Coopstad en Isaac Jacob Rochussen*, 42.

<sup>229</sup> ONA 2718/931.

later.<sup>230</sup>

Hendrik or Hendirk van der Wallen had shares in plantation Somersorg.<sup>231</sup> Pieter van der Wallen was one of the people who had bought themselves into the plantation fund of Coopstad and Rochussen. This loan was worth a total of f650.000,-, other investors were Jacob Cossart, Michiel Baelde, Pieter Baelde, Hendrik Arnold Creeto, Jan Pott, Joan Osy, Jacob Mossel and Herman Forsten.<sup>232</sup> The money was intended for the Surinamese plantations Carelsburg, L'embaras en Venlo and de Vreede. This *negotiatie* started in 1766.<sup>233</sup> Later other plantations were included, namely Toevlugt, Vriessenburg, Nova en Dwingelo, Welgevallen Zoelen, Zuijningheid, Mariaas Hoop, Maagdenburg and La Ressource.<sup>234</sup> It seemed like these plantation investments were more trouble than they were profitable. In the studied years, the investors frequently visited the notary to draw up new documents, expressing their displeasure with the affairs. In 1779, one document stated that the plantations could not pay up because of a lack of slaves and other needs, the plantations did not have enough financial strength to buy new slaves, the land had not been cultivated properly in a couple of years, causing it unable to pay the interest.<sup>235</sup> Pieter van der Wallen, together with Jacob Cossart, Joan Osij, Jacob Mossel and Herman Frosten, were authorised to act in name of the investors in this *negotiatie*. Isaac Jacob Rochussen got sick of the meddling of the investors: in 1777 Rochussen drew up a document in which he declared that the moneylenders did not have the rights to interfere in the C&R Company. The investors complained Rochussen had appointed Ferrand Whaley Hudig as bookkeeper of the ship de Willem, Susanna en Elizabeth without their consent. Rochussens defence was that this ship had nothing to do with the negotiations the prosecutors invested in.<sup>236</sup> Herman Oostendorp, colleague and family of the now deceased Herman van Coopstad, also interferes in the plantation investments. In 1777 the authorized investors want Herman Oostendorp to mind his own affairs and hand over everything regarding the ten plantations to them.<sup>237</sup> In 1779 Herman Oostendorp was director of the Levantine trade in Rotterdam, and he was also considered the director of the troubled negotiation. Leonard Oostendorp was the planter of plantation de Vreede in Suriname, he was the son of Susanna van Coopstad and Johan

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<sup>230</sup> GAR 68/26, 68/13, 68/38.

<sup>231</sup> GAR 68/677.

<sup>232</sup> ONA 2930/669, 2724/1144.

<sup>233</sup> ONA 2724/1144.

<sup>234</sup> ONA 2930/837-847.

<sup>235</sup> ONA 2933/1217.

<sup>236</sup> ONA 2930/669.

<sup>237</sup> ONA 3005/1050-1061, 3005/1099, 3005/1332-1338, 3006/346-353.

Oostendorp. In 1778 he visited the Netherlands, and the investors took the opportunity to get back their invested money. They agreed that Leonard Oostendorp would pay back f15.000 on the spot, and f177.000,- later.<sup>238</sup> Johan Oostendorp, Leonard's brother, was owner of the plantation L'Embaras en Venlo. In 1779 he could not pay the mortgage, and a second loan was launched on the name of Herman Oostendorp.<sup>239</sup>

It is perhaps not too surprising van der Wallen invested in the slave trade, for his profession was ship-owner. Van der Wallen was the director of the ships, but much of the work he left to the family Dubbeldemuts. In 1773 and 1775 one of the people authorised to manage the affairs of the ship 'de vrouwe Johanna', was Pieter Dubbeldemuts van Dijck, the stepson of Willem van der Sluijs.<sup>240</sup> In general it is not mentioned where-to his ships sailed out, but in the contracts in which the Dubbeldemuts family is authorised, it was mentioned that they should acquire a Turkse Pas if necessary.<sup>241</sup> The destination of some ships is mentioned. For example in 1773 the De Margaretha Dorothea en Catharina, first sailed out to Nantes, and after that to Fiume, which is located in modern Croatia.<sup>242</sup> Ship 'Amsterdam', took the same route, and had the explicit order to load up with sugar in Nantes and Paimboeuf before going to Fiume.<sup>243</sup> Ship de vrouwe Johanna planned to sail from Oostende to Livorno, but got severely damaged and had to harbour in Plymouth.<sup>244</sup> In 1779, one year before the Fourth Anglo-Dutch war, and during the war between France and Spain on the one side, and England on the other, the ship 'den Arend' of van der Wallen was captured by an English warship just off the coast of Spain, near Cape Finisterre.<sup>245</sup> The good friends of Willem van der Sluis, Jacob and Frederik Wartla, merchants and sail producers, as well as bookkeepers and ship-owners of various ships, stated that the ship den Arend was in a good condition when it left Rotterdam, and was worth f12.500,-. The ship was renovated thoroughly multiple times, for the first time in 1769.<sup>246</sup>

Many of the people who invested in van der Wallen's ships, were also investors in the slave trade or slave plantations. For example Jacob Cossart, Johan Gerard Francois Meijners, and later his widow Hamilton-Meijners, Johan Verstolk, the widow of Theodore van Teylingen, Bastiaan Molewater, Jan van Alphen and Pieter van der Wallen van

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<sup>238</sup> ONA 3006/1006-1030.

<sup>239</sup> ONA 3007/1806-1811.

<sup>240</sup> ONA 3106/600-601, 3108/539.

<sup>241</sup> ONA 2998/139-145.

<sup>242</sup> ONA 3000/402.

<sup>243</sup> ONA 3002/31.

<sup>244</sup> ONA 3002/124-126

<sup>245</sup> ONA 3007/103-116.

<sup>246</sup> ONA 3007/190-195.

Vollenhoven.<sup>247</sup> Others did not invest in slavery themselves, but members of their families did.<sup>248</sup> Pieter van der Wallen's partner in ship-owning seemed to be Jean Boudon, who normally owned a share as big as van der Wallen's in the ships.<sup>249</sup> His highest official position in the city was president commissioner of the *Zeegerecht*, or sea court.<sup>250</sup> Pieter van der Wallen must have been a well-known person in Rotterdam, in many notarial documents where the location of houses are mentioned, Pieter van der Wallen's house is used as point of orientation. For example: "Wijnstraat, south of Pieter van der Wallen."<sup>251</sup> Out of these orientation references became clear, Pieter van der Wallen must have lived close to Rudolf Baelde.<sup>252</sup>

In 1776 Pieter van der Wallen was appointed as executor of the will of Lydia van Dobben, and her late husband Gerrit van Brakel, who also had investments in the plantations from the firm Hudig.<sup>253</sup> Van der Wallen must have been known as a trustworthy person, for he is asked as executor more than once.

#### 4.7 Michiel Baelde

Michiel Baelde was born in 1694, and passed away in 1770. His parents were Michiel Baelde and Cornelia van Swieten. His first wife was Johanna Elisabeth Bos, with whom he had two sons, Michiel and Pieter Hendrik. Two years after she passed away, he remarried Maria Geertruij van Coopstad. Maria Geertruij was the sister of Herman van Coopstad. Her first husband was Jan Hudig, the father of Ferrand Whaley Hudig. She was also the mother of Esther Hudig, the wife of Rochussen. Esther Hudig and Isaac Jacobus Rochussen met each other on Zomerhof, the country house of Baelde.<sup>254</sup> The *Zomerhofstraat* in the modern day Agniesebuurt in Rotterdam still reminds us of where this country house used to be. Michiel Baelde seemed a committed stepfather. He helped Ferrand Whaley Hudig with the establishment of his firm. The payment of f14.000,- for the first *negotiatie* on plantations Roosenburg and Monbijoux was done by Michiel Baelde, and the correspondence was through him.<sup>255</sup> In 1754 Esther and Isaac Jacobus named their newborn son Michael Baelde

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<sup>247</sup> ONA 2998/139-145, 2999/316, 3002/124-126.

<sup>248</sup> ONA 3002/124-126, 2998/139-145.

<sup>249</sup> ONA 3004/986-987-989.

<sup>250</sup> ONA 2724/1144.

<sup>251</sup> ONA 2721/593.

<sup>252</sup> ONA 2926/183.

<sup>253</sup> ONA 3109/961.

<sup>254</sup> Ineke Teunissen, *Hermand van Coopstad en Isaac Jacob Rochussen*, 38.

<sup>255</sup> J. Hudig Dzn., *De west-indische zaken van Ferrand Whaley Hudig 1759-1797*, 17.

Rochussen, who unfortunately did not survive the first year. In 1754 a second Michiel Baelde was born.<sup>256</sup>

Both of Michiel Baelde's children died during childhood, Michiel being five, and Pieter Hendrik not even one year. Politically, Michiel Baelde was a patriot, religiously, he was a member of the Dutch reformed church. He was one of the 758 upper class people as researched in Eric Palmen's book, who made more than f12.000,- per year.<sup>257</sup>

#### 4.8 Conclusion

All people described in this chapter belonged to the wealthy few of the city. Most of them fulfilled public functions in the city council and the admiralty. Except for extra income, this also brought prestige. The described gentleman had various occupations. Some of them were in trade, others made most of their money by investing in ships, or selling real-estate. Most of them invested in international bonds, for example in the city of London or the Russian empire. Their companies were often family-based, as can be seen with C&R or Samuel and Johan Hoppesteijn. In their spare time they visited learned societies, to enjoy poetry or learn about physics. Daniel de Jongh collected art, but from the others it was hard to find information on their private life, because only the notarial records were left. They married multiple times because of the low life expectancy. They had many children, of which only few lived to reach maturity. They attended church, and sometimes even fulfilled a position in the church as well.

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<sup>256</sup> Teunissen, *Hermand van Coopstad en Isaac Jacob Rochussen*, 40.

<sup>257</sup> Eric Palmen, *De koopmannen van Rotterdam*, appendix.

## 5. Connections and links

In the bookkeeping of six plantations and five slave ships, I distilled 228 unique names of Rotterdammers, mainly men, who were financially linked to the slave system. Owners of bonds could change through inheritance, selling, buying, donating or debts. These names will be used to describe the general characteristics of the investors and stock holders and to see if there was a genuine network at stake. I distinguished four different types of links, through which the investors may have known and met each other. Many people in the books of C&R and FWH are not included in the study of the lucky few of Palmen, which means they did not pay enough taxes to belong to the wealthiest group, or did not live in Rotterdam.

### 5.1 Church

Eighteenth century society was still highly religious. The investors all belonged to a church, although it did not have to be the same church.

Lydia van Dobben was, just like Daniel de Jongh, a member of the Lutheran church. They both had bonds in plantations. When Lydia's second husband died, and later she herself, Daniel de Jongh was appointed as executor of their wills. Daniel de Jongh was also named in the will of Maarten van Dobben, and inventoried his estate.<sup>258</sup> Probably the van Dobben's, together with the de Jongh's, were the wealthiest of their church. In 1748 donations were made to maintain the church organ. Of the nine donors, three were van Dobben's and three de Jongh's.

There are no clear membership lists of the churches in those days, but the *digitale stamboom* of the city archive for Rotterdam made an inventory of the Baptism, Wedding and Burial Books of the different churches. Still, these are not very specific-, and in many cases there is no differentiation made between regular Dutch reformed and Wallonian baptisms. Secondly, the different ways of writing surnames does not make it easier to trace back all the investors' religious affiliation. Thirdly, people sometimes married someone outside of their church, making it hard to decide to which church they belonged to.

Still, it seems likely that people met every Sunday, and came to know each other. Through church new contacts could be established, which could be used later for business

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<sup>258</sup> ONA 2920/1786.



purposes.

In the case of the investors most people seemed to be protestant reformed or Wallonian, which is logical because most Rotterdam people were protestant reformed. But taken in consideration that the second biggest group was the Catholics, it is remarkable how little few Catholics are among the investors. So although in practice the Republic had freedom of religion, it seems as if in this particular trade not all religions were equally present conform the religious denominations of the overall population. In a certain group religion could create unity, while between different groups it was a dividing factor. As for the investors, it is difficult to say how many of them knew each other from church. Sometimes it is very clear as in the case of the Lutheran investors. In case of the investors with a French name it would be a logical assumption that they all went to the Wallonian church, but of the biggest group, the undefined protestants, it is hard to say if they knew each other from church.

## 5.2 Family

According to Eric Palmen, 43 percent of the Rotterdam firms in the eighteenth-century were family-based. A firm holder often started a company with his son. Brothers also conducted business with each other, and associates were recruited from in-laws.<sup>259</sup> Knowing this fact, it is not surprising that many members of the same family invested in the same branches. This is not any different in the slave trade or plantation economy.

The most striking family tie deals with Michiel Baelde. As the stepfather of Ferrand Whaley Hudig, stepfather-in-law of Isaac Jacobus Rochussen and the brother-in-law of Herman van Coopstad he probably felt the need to help his family out by investing in the business. His brother Hendrik and cousins van Swieten appear as investors quite regularly as well. Hendrik Hudig, the brother of Ferrand Whaley owned quite some shares in the family business.

The significance of family ties become clear when one takes a look at the distribution of shares. There were 150 bonds in plantation Somerszorg, and the investment ran from 1769 until 1823. This fund was not very profitable, for every bond f1145 was payed in the end, not much more than the initial f1000,- investment.<sup>260</sup> The shares were divided between sixty-five people, of which twelve were women, owning twenty-four shares in total. Twenty-five of the

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<sup>259</sup> Eric van Palmen, *De koopmannen van Rotterdam*, 31.

<sup>260</sup> GAR 68/310.

total were somehow related. First of all, Michiel Baelde, stepfather of Hudig, and his brother Hendrik Baelde appear on the list. Secondly Willem Hendrik van Swieten and Adriaan van Swieten, were related to Michiel Baelde, whose mother was Cornelia van Swieten. The third family connection is Wilhelmina Catharina den Beer, born Pielat and married to Leonardus den Beer. Fourthly, are Johan Hoppesteijn and Samuel Hoppesteijn. Connected to Hoppesteijn was Rudolf Mees, brother of Samuel Hoppesteijn's wife, and his brother Adriaan Mees. The next couple is Jan Knijn and Nicolaas Knijn. Furthermore there is Adrianus de Jongh and Daniel de Jongh Adriaanszoon, although Daniel de Jongh Adriaanszoon did not own the share himself but guarded it for the Fund for Widows of Army Officers. Regnera van der Heijde was the widow of Isaac le Petit and-, she was an in-law of A.L. van Riel, born le Petit, who came together with her husband Olivier van Riel. Bastiaan Molewater owned one share, just as his brother-in-law Guilliam Balthazar, husband of Magdalena Molewater, did. Jacoba Bosschaert was the widow of Jan van der Heim, and she came to Hudig's office together with Adriana Catharina van der Heim. Lastly, Carolina Jacoba van Bulderen, born de Lille, owned one share, while Christiaan Evarthus de Lille owned two.<sup>261</sup> Twelve different families can be distinguished, sometimes overlapping.

Another remarkable family was Snellen. Of the thirty-one different people that invested in the plantations Venetia Nova and Ma Resource between 1773 and 1823, four had Snellen as a surname, of which three were women.<sup>262</sup>

Overall, family connections are easy to spot among the investors. The slavery-related businesses were family firms, and investors went together with family members to the offices to buy shares and bonds. How these families were connected to one another is made visible in the last paragraph in this chapter, where a graph is plotted representing family relations.

### 5.3 Business

The fact that investors knew each other from other economic activities becomes clear when one looks at Pieter van der Wallen, Willem van der Sluijs and Daniel de Jongh, who all went to the Dubbeldemuts office to manage their ship-owning and investing affairs. One particular ship stands out. In 1778, a notarial document was drawn up to prove the divided ownership of ship de Anna Helena amongst eight merchants from Rotterdam, of which the directors were Pieter and Adrianus Dubbeldemuts. The eight merchants were Gerrit Groenevelt junior,

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<sup>261</sup> GAR 68/310.

<sup>262</sup> GAR 68/493.

Gerrit Groenevelt, Pieter van der Wallen van Vollenhoven, Daniel de Jongh, Rudolf Mees, Salomon Bosch and Gilles Groenevelt.<sup>263</sup> Gilles and Gerrit Groenevelt owned funds in Monbijoux.<sup>264</sup> Rudolf Mees owned a bond in Somersorg amongst other things, and was the brother-in-law of other investor Samuel Hoppesteijn. The ownership of Anna Helena is an outstanding example to show the importance of how through family and business many people were interwoven in a network, but it is certainly not the only example. Between 1770 and 1780 alone Willem van der Sluijs was part owner of at least eighteen ships sailing to the Mediterranean Sea, together with other slavery investors, at the Dubbeldemuts office.<sup>265</sup>

Notaries had a special position in these business connections. On the one hand, the slave trading companies and investment fund directors went to their notaries on a regular basis. They made use of the same notaries. One of them, Jean Theodore Frescarode, owned bonds in Driesveld and Somerszorg.<sup>266</sup> On the other hand, besides from investing directly, notaries profited from the slave trade by drawing up legal documents regarding negotiations, and the sales of plantations and ships. Notarial offices could therefore have been places for business associates to meet each other.

By conducting business in various trades people came to know each other. As shown, from the six men from the last chapter, three had commercial activities through the same firm. These new contacts could have led to interesting new deals and tips about investments. Notaries and their offices could have fulfilled a special role in a network.

#### 5.4 Learned Societies

In Rotterdam there were several social clubs or learned societies. They were an expression of Enlightenment thinking, in which man was assumed to be a *tabula rasa*, which could become more complete through education and a proper upbringing.<sup>267</sup> Some of them were organised along political lines, so they were either Orangistic or Patriotic. One of the learned societies was the Collegium Physicum Experimentale, established by the doctor Leonard Stocke, who also happened to own a share in the plantation Venetia Nova and Ma Resource.<sup>268</sup> The gentlemen of this society met each other every Friday in June, July and August. First they

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<sup>263</sup> ONA 3416/885.

<sup>264</sup> GAR 68/677.

<sup>265</sup> ONA 3270/282, 3270/313, 3270/424, 3270/905, 3271/1030, 3273/1083, 3273/1150, 3274/886, 3274/882, 3274/1279, 3276/275, 3277/727, 3278/919, 3278/1207, 3279/970, 3297/1407, 3280/1095, 3280/1820.

<sup>266</sup> GAR 68/788, 68/698, 68/677, 68/310.

<sup>267</sup> Eric Palmen, *de koopmannen van Rotterdam*, 99.

<sup>268</sup> GAR 68/493.

would attend a lecture by Stocke, and afterwards ‘they were in all freedom to smoke some pipe tobacco and have a glass of white beer with the others. To maintain the friendship a friendly meal with the joint members was organised in August.’ The document in which this was agreed upon was signed in the house of the mayor Theodore van Teylingen in 1747.<sup>269</sup> Other members were Ham, Herman van Coopstad, S. Snellen, Bisschop, Pieter van der Wallen. Of the twenty-four people who signed, for only two of them it can be said for sure that they invested in C&R or in the Hudig firm, but another eight surnames are on the founding document of the society, who can also be found on the investors lists.

The *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* still exists today. It was once founded by the preacher Jan Nieuwenhuijzen in 1784, with the goal to improve knowledge of the less privileged. The society founded schools and a library. A real member roll is lacking, but some names are known. Cornelis van Vollenhoven, an in-law of Pieter van der Wallen, Leendert Blankenbijn and Gregorius Mees, are three men for whom one or more of their family members invested in slavery.<sup>270</sup>

Studium Scientiarum Genitrix was one of the four big Dutch literary societies. The others were based in The Hague, Leiden and Amsterdam. It was founded in 1773. This society had a more Patriotic character; Patriots Samuel van Hoogstraten and Pieter Paulus were patrons of the society. Women could also subscribe to this club. Twenty-four members invested in slave ships and plantations, often prominent people of Rotterdam society, and many with high positions such as *schepen* and membership of the *vroedschap*. For example Johannes Hoog, former *schepen* of Rotterdam, had shares in the bond of the plantations Janslust and Blokkenbosch. In the books of Hudig, Hoog is mentioned as ‘administrator of the society’, by which Studium Scientiarum is meant. The notary and investor Jean Theodore Frescarode is mentioned as a member in the book of Eric Palmen.<sup>271</sup> Gilles Groenevelt also served as *schepen*, owned shares in Monbijox and Duuringe, and was member of Studium. Pieter van der Wallen van Vollenhoven, the grandson of Pieter van der Wallen, was also a member, had fulfilled a position as commissioner of the maritime law, and was a member of Studium Scientiarum and *Maatschappij tot 't Nut van het Algemeen*. Samuel Hoppesteijn, one of the men written about in detail in the last chapter also joined this club. Jan Rochussen, who sailed out a few slave ships with his father after the passing away of Coopstad, apparently enjoyed literature as well. Thirty-five members of this society had family

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<sup>269</sup> GAR 412-01/560.

<sup>270</sup> GAR 66-02/1357.

<sup>271</sup> Eric Palmen, *de koopmannen van Rotterdam*, appendix.

members investing in plantations or slave ships.<sup>272</sup>

Another society was *Het Bataafsch Genootschap der proefondervindelijke wijsbegeerte*, or Batavian Society for Experimental Philosophy. It was founded by Steven Hoogendijk in 1769, it was an Orangist gentlemen's club and-, Willem V was the patron.<sup>273</sup> The goal of this club was to improve and invent art and machinery, for the benefit of agriculture, shipping, machine factories, dikes and rivers, roads and farm land. They wanted to discover new truths and properties in physics, chemistry, natural history, medicine and surgery. There was one condition, everything done had to have a practical nature; they were not interested in theoretical knowledge. For example stars could only be researched if it resulted in better navigation for ships. The directors were Willem Theodore Gevers Deinoot and Paulus Hartog.<sup>274</sup> Unfortunately the first membership list is from 1806. Members were the Orangist Johan Marten Collot d'Escurij and Patriot le Sage ten Broek. For our research important names were Rudolf Mees, the brother of the wife of Samuel Hoppesteijn, Abraham Gevers, Nicolaas Martinus Boogaart van Alblasserdam, and Michiel Baelde Rochussen, who joined the society in 1788 and all invested, except for Rochussen.<sup>275</sup> Rudolf Mees was also a member of *Studium Scientiarum* and *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*. Six surnames match surnames of investors, but cannot be verified with certainty if they are the same people.

Society Pax also knew some esteemed members. Mayor Isaac van Teylingen, who funded a part of the slave journey with ship *de Drie Gebroeders*, was one of them. Of the fifty-four members only four had done or were in business with either Coopstand and Rochussen or Hudig. In this society, the social aspect was paramount.<sup>276</sup>

Other learned and social societies, such as *Prodesse Canendo* and *Verscheidenheid en Overeenstemming*, did not leave any membership registers behind.

In *Studium Scientiarum Genetrix*, 31 percent of the cohort Eric Palmen studies were members of the reformed church, 13 percent were remonstrant, 8 percent were Wallonian, and smaller groups were from other congregations.

Signing up for a learned society was, aside from learning, a way to meet people and socialize. Of the Rotterdam-based societies, many had members who invested in slavery or family members of them who did. In chapter 5.5 a graph is drawn in which the investors are

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<sup>272</sup> GAR 276/35.

<sup>273</sup> GAR 444-01/4694.

<sup>274</sup> GAR 33-01/3834.

<sup>275</sup> GAR 173-01/24.

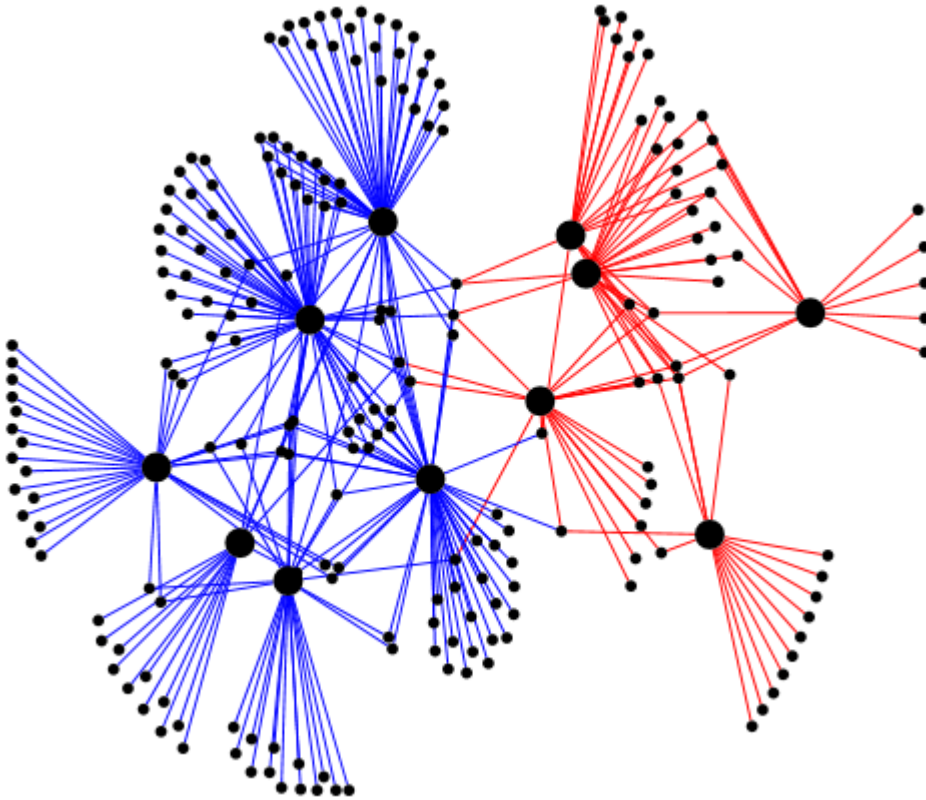
<sup>276</sup> Eric Palmen, *de koopmannen van Rotterdam*, 103.

connected to each other by learned societies. In that graph family members and acquaintances are left out, so the result seems a bit disappointing compared what is described in this paragraph.

## 5.5 Social Network Analysis

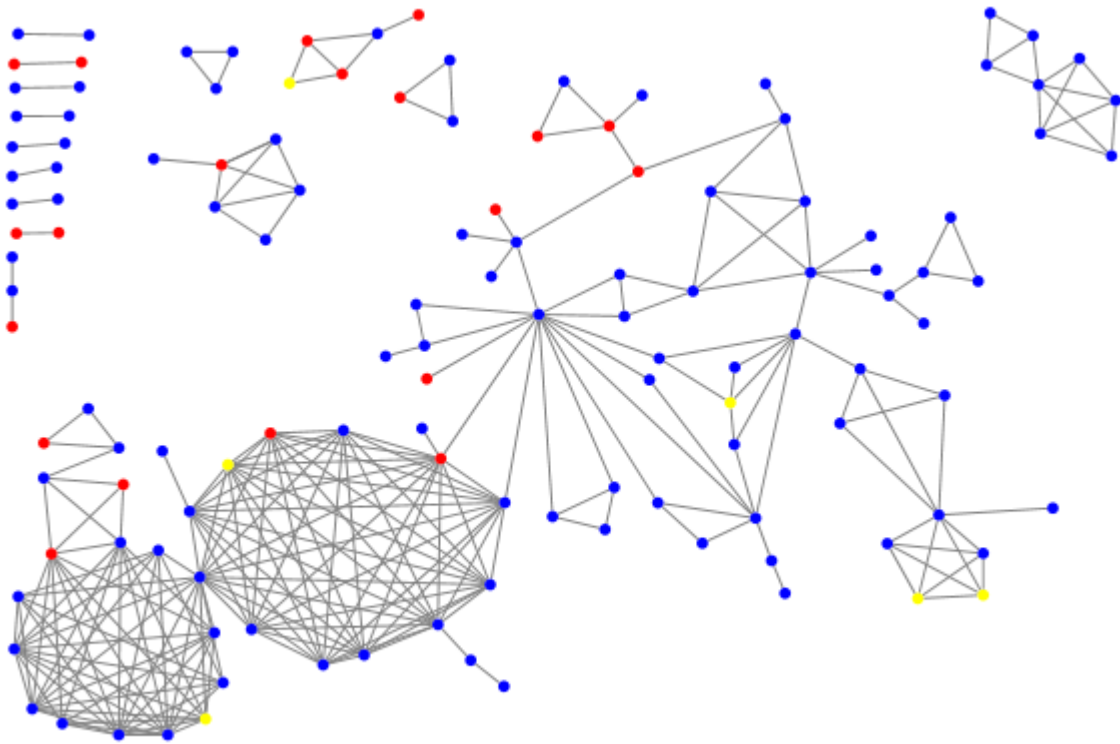
In this paragraph a social network analysis will give additional insight in the way people were connected. The connections between people are more important in this regard than the characteristics of single individuals. The data used for this analysis consist of five different lists of slave ship investors, and six different lists of plantation investors. The people figuring as nodes in the network analysis are slightly different from the people named in the descriptive chapter. Only complete and clear lists drawn up at the beginning of a certain investment are taken from the archives for this analysis, any amendments made in later years are not taken into account. The plantations represented were Roosenburg and Monbijoux, Somerszorg, Venetia Nova and Ma Resource, Vreede, Twijfelachtig, and lastly, Confiance. The slave ships represented were Gulden Vrijheid, Maria Geertruy Galey, Frans Willem, de Drie Gebroeders and de Jonge Isaac. The program used to make these graphs is NodeXL, a free extension to Microsoft Excel.

Firstly, a graph is plotted to show how these investors were connected to different plantations and ships. Secondly, another graph shows how these people were related to each other through family and extended family ties. Thirdly, a graph represents the relationships through learned societies. Why a similar graph for religion is left out will be explained under the family graph.



This first graph represents how investors were connected to plantations and slave ships. The blue edges represent the connections to the plantations, the red edges -the connections to the ships. The plantations and ships itself are bigger nodes than the investors. In this graph it is made visible that people investing in one plantation, are more likely to invest in other plantations. It is less likely for ship investors to invest in more ships. Only a few people invested in ships as well as plantations. One simple explanation for this could be that the timeframe in which the plantation investment contracts were closed was different from the slave ships. The first of the six plantation investments started in 1765, the last one in 1776. The first slave ship sailed out in 1750, one in 1760 and another one in 1761. From the other two it is not clear in which year the shares were sold. Later lists for slave ships were not available. Another explanation could be that investing in slave ships was considered quite risky, so more people were willing and able to invest in plantations.





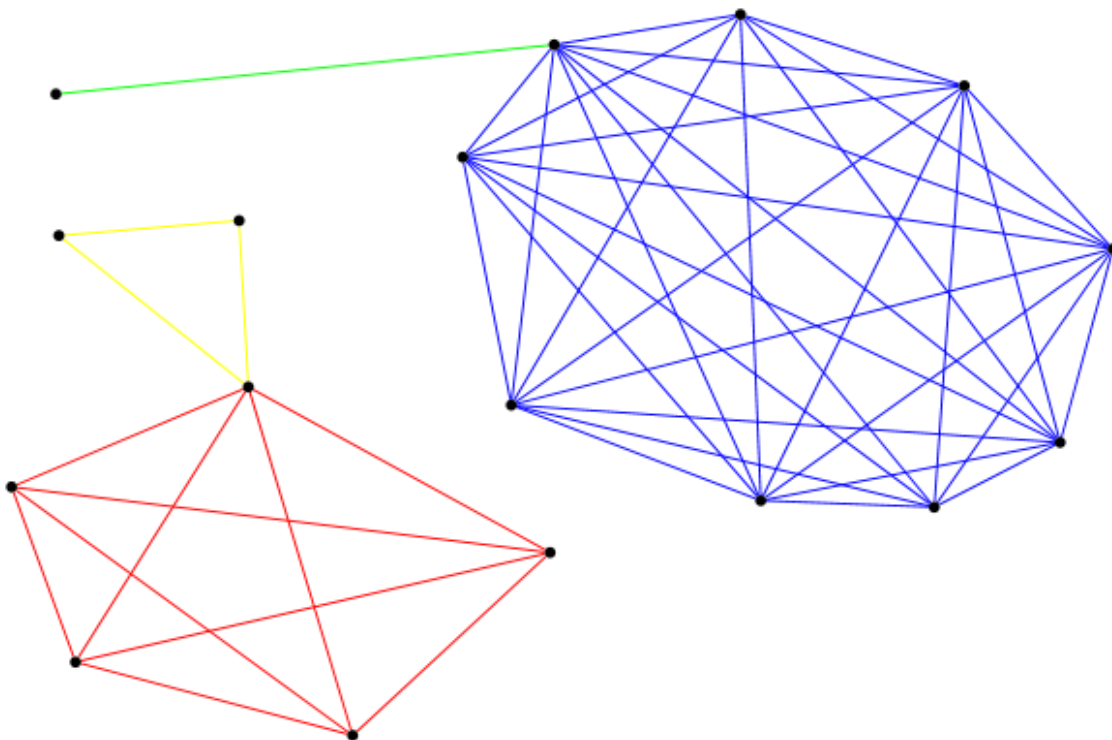
The family ties are based on information from the *digitale stamboom*. The *digitale stamboom* is the result of the digitalization of different church records on baptism, marriage and death. This information is provided for free and accessible via internet, making it an easy to use source. On the downside, it is not complete, only confined to Rotterdam and its surroundings and because spelling was not set in the investigated period, not always clear. Additionally, I intended to make a similar graph for religious affinity, but this proved to be too hard. Firstly because people sometimes changed the church they attended, either through marriage or other reasons. Secondly, the main church, the Dutch reformed church, was so big I can hardly imagine all people registered in these books knew each other from that church. Thirdly, there is not always a distinction made between different churches. For instance, the Wallonian church records sometimes seem to be kept under the Dutch reformed church.

If I was not sure enough about certain names, they were excluded from the data set. For instance, ‘Jan Veen’ bought shares in four different slave ships, but his name was so common it was impossible to figure out which one was the right one. Also people without any relatives are excluded from the graph, these were mainly people not originating from Rotterdam, thereby invisible in the *digitale stamboom*.

In this graph, the blue nodes represented plantation investors, red nodes were ship investors, and yellow means both. 73 out of 221 are excluded because they did not have any relatives. As made visible in the graph, there was a higher probability that plantation

investors had relatives with the same type of investments. Sometimes this is not coincidental: the biggest cluster in the lower left corner represents the family Baelde. In 1767 Hendrik Baelde bought multiple bonds in Roosenburg and Monbijoux for at least six family members. Already discussed was the assumption in that time that investing in plantations was quite safe, particularly when compared to transatlantic trade. This could be an explanation why more people than just the rich uncle from the family had bonds.

The graph made visible that although many people are excluded or just related to one or two other people, networks of families can be distinguished as well. A special role in such a network was played by remarried widows, who in the graph connected their natural family, with the families of the first and second husbands.



In this graph members of certain learned societies are represented, and their relation to each other. Without family members mentioned, and only strictly using the eleven lists, the result seems a bit meagre. The blue lines symbolize the relationship between the members of *Studium Scientiarum Genitrix*. The green line is the connection between Rudolf Mees and N.M. Boogaart van Alblasterdam, the only members from the data set that are part of *Het Bataafsch Genootschap*. The red connections are through *Collegium Physicum*

Experimentale, of which member Pieter van Hoogwerff makes the connection to Pax.

In this paragraph visualisations of different types of network were made. The family graph showed many investors were indeed related to each other, although a smaller but considerable amount was excluded as well. The graph that linked plantations and ships to investors, showed many investors had bonds in different plantations. The last graph showed that with the sources available now, learned societies were not a major factor in the network.

## 5.6 Conclusion

Four types of connections have been described in the last chapter. The most obvious one was family. Family ties were very important in the eighteenth century, and as shown; there was also an economic segment to these family relationships. Church relationships were harder to prove, as the sources are not that clear. Still, it is visible people must have maintained acquaintances through their church congregations. The wealthier people of Rotterdam seemed to spread their capital in different types of businesses. Sometimes the other businesses besides slavery-related investments overlapped. Notaries played a special role in the network, as their offices were visited on a daily basis by businessman. Learned societies were opportunities to develop oneself while extending one's network in an informal way. In the last paragraph, three graphs were sketched to show how investors and ships and plantations were connected, and how investors were connected to each other via family and learned societies.

## 6. Conclusion

The main objective of this thesis was to analyse who were involved in the transatlantic slave trade in Rotterdam between 1770 and 1780, how they were involved and how their mutual relationship was. This will give a deeper understanding of the mechanism behind the slavery system that existed for almost three centuries.

We came across three types of involvement in this research. Firstly, there were the directors of the companies. They actively sought people capable of and willing to invest large sums of money in the sustainment of slavery. They did the bookkeeping of the firms, the arrangement of cargo and liaised with contacts in Suriname. The second type were the ship shareholders. They bought a part of a ship that was destined to West-Africa and the Caribbean. The third type were people who bought bonds in a plantation investment. This could be seen as a less direct linkage to slavery, but without the mass influx of capital, less plantations would have been established. The plantation funds therefore is one factor that made the maintenance of this system possible. Many of the people included in this study fitted in more than one type. The directors of Coopstad&Rochussen bought shares in their own ships, just as Ferrand Whaley Hudig, the director of the investment funds, who owned a share in slave ship de Drie Gebroeders, and in Maria Geertruid Galey. Many of the investors had shares in ships as well as bonds in plantations.

Only a few people were full time occupied with slavery-related tasks. Most of them just invested money, and that particular investment was not the main income of the people in question. In case of the plantation funds some investors were appointed as overseers, and were responsible of monitoring the director to check if he acted in the investor's interests. The investments seemed a local undertaking. Most investors came from Rotterdam and the surrounding towns, sometimes as far as Schiedam or Dordrecht.

There were at least four ways in which the investors and directors could have been connected. The most visible and present form was family. Many investors were family, either by birth or by marriage. This is made visible in the graph. Sometimes people bought shares for family members, as was the case for Hendrik Baelde. The second form was church, of which members met each other on Sundays. We can see that Lutheran family de Jongh, as well as the other family from the same church, van Dobben and van Brakel, invested in the same trade. Catholics seem underrepresented in this study. The family Osy, a wealthy Catholic banking family, directed plantation investments. If the investors in their fund were

known, it would have been easier to conclude something on the involvement of Rotterdam Catholics in the slavery-related sector. Another way were business connections outside the slave trade, many merchants used the same ships, notaries and banks. Lastly, the learned societies were one place to develop oneself while acquainting new people, or keeping up older contacts.

The six people thoroughly researched all belonged to the highest classes of society. In a time where most people had trouble making both ends meet, this does not come as a surprise. Between 1750 and 1771, 758 inhabitants made more than f12.000,- per year.<sup>277</sup> Around 1750, the population had declined to 50.000 inhabitants, of which approximately only 2.600 persons had an income higher than 600 guilders per year.<sup>278</sup> Taking into account one bond in a plantation fund was a f1000,- investment, only a fraction of the population was able to purchase a share. In the second half of the century the population increased due to migration. Trade was an important economic sector in Rotterdam. Although trade with the Far East and the West were important, most trade was conducted closer at home, with the British and the French.<sup>279</sup>

The six men got their wealth in first instance from their favourable position at birth, but they worked as well. They fulfilled functions in the city council, the admiralty or in big companies as the WIC and VOC. All of them loan money at interest to other people. Most of them had international stocks in countries and cities. Daniel de Jongh had many investments in plantations, not only directed by Rotterdam-based businessmen. Two of them were primarily real estate agents, but also merchants. Three of the six people were ship owners, whose ships were destined for international trade. This means that people investing in slave trade, already invested in other ships as their profession. They had an international outlook. This sample of six men is too small to extract it to all slavery investors, but it is still an interesting observation. Also, it is remarkable that the wealthy people in that time did not have one single profession, as could be said about most people today. It seems they invested in a lot of different branches and trades, as to spread the changes. Also jobwise they fulfilled different positions at the same time, and sometimes taking up a small project, as for instance to inventory the goods and capital of a deceased acquaintance.

The network analysis showed that many investors had bonds in multiple plantations.

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<sup>277</sup> Eric Palmen, *De koopmannen van Rotterdam, een cohortanalyse van de welstandselite van Rotterdam 1750-1803: economie, politiek, cultuur in een tijd van crisis*. (Rotterdam 1994) 13-19.

<sup>278</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 330-332.

<sup>279</sup> Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas*, 319-320.

Although a significant amount of people were excluded from the family relations graph, still 222 people were included, as they were somehow related to other people investing in the same trade. The learned societies showed a disappointing graph, for one because comprehensive sources are lacking, but also because apparently less investors than expected were members of a club.

To conclude; the people involved in slave trade were among the top 20 percent wealthy people of Rotterdam. They were involved by directing, or investing in a slave ship or plantation. Many of these investors had connections with each other through family, business, church or clubs. The main reason to invest was financial gain, to secure wealth for themselves and family members, the family capital often was spread over many different investments.

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## Abbreviations

GAR	Gemeente Archief Rotterdam
ONA	Oud-Notarieel Archief
C&R	Coopstad en Rochussen
FWH	Ferrand Whaley Hudig

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GAR 28-01/136  
GAR 28-01/223  
GAR 33-01/684  
GAR 33-01/3834  
GAR 38/1002  
GAR 66-02/1357  
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GAR 68/677  
GAR 68/698  
GAR 68/715  
GAR 68/788  
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GAR 276/35  
GAR 412-01/560  
GAR 444-01/4694

ONA 2721/593  
ONA 2718/931  
ONA 2724/1144  
ONA 2724/1164  
ONA 2920/1643-1735  
ONA 2920/1736  
ONA 2920/1786  
ONA 2921/773  
ONA 2923/125  
ONA 2926/183  
ONA 2929/1141  
ONA 2930/669  
ONA 2930/837-847  
ONA 2932/447  
ONA 2932/555  
ONA 2933/862

ONA 2933/1217  
ONA 2934/1091  
ONA 2997/218  
ONA 2998/139-145  
ONA 2999/316  
ONA 3000/402  
ONA 3002/31  
ONA 3002/124-126  
ONA 3002/1197  
ONA 3004/986-987-989  
ONA 3005/1050-1061  
ONA 3005/1099  
ONA 3005/1332-1338  
ONA 3006/346-353  
ONA 3006/1006-1030  
ONA 3007/103-116  
ONA 3007/190-195  
ONA 3007/1806-1811  
ONA 3007/311  
ONA 3054/1548-1559  
ONA 3094/147  
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ONA 3108/539  
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ONA 3267/1964  
ONA 3270/282  
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ONA 3274/882  
ONA 3274/886  
ONA 3274/1279  
ONA 3276/275  
ONA 3277/727  
ONA 3277/986  
ONA 3278/102  
ONA 3278/919  
ONA 3278/1207  
ONA 3279/970  
ONA 3280/1088

ONA 3280/1095  
ONA 3280/1820  
ONA 3281/449  
ONA 3283/28  
ONA 3283/560-566  
ONA 3284/913-917  
ONA 3285/377  
ONA 3297/1407  
ONA 3416/885  
ONA 3451/110-111

## Appendix

### 1. Plantation investments

#### 1.1 Roosenburg and Monbijoux

Registrations of obligations in the mortgage loan of f156.000 on Roosenburg and Monbijoux from 1767.<sup>280</sup>

- 1-10. Michiel Baelde
- 11-15. Hendrik Baelde
16. Hendrik Baelde for his children
17. Hendrik Baelde for Magdalena Cornelia Baelde
18. Hendrik Baelde for Miss Maria Geertruid Baelde
19. Hendrik Baelde for Anna Engelina Baelde
20. Hendrik Baelde for Isaak Baelde
21. Hendrik Baelde for Michiel Baelde, son of Hendrik
- 22-25. Samuel Hoppesteijn
- 26-29. Johan Hoppesteijn
30. Abraham Erbevult
- 31-50. Dionisus Paauw
- 51-55. A. Stocke, widow Rochussen
56. M. Gerard Daniel Denick
57. E.A. Backer, widow I. Bisdom
- 58-60. Gerard van Andel
- 61-62. Griesje van Lienden
- 63-64. Martinus Esbeek
65. G. Hoogwaart
66. Regnera van der Heijde widow Isaac le Petit
67. Dirkje van Doorn
68. Willem van der Sluijs
69. Bastiaan Molewater
70. Adam Overschie
- 71-80. Pieter Breugels
- 81-83. Theod. Christiaan Buscher
- 84-86. Johannes Mickenschrijver
- 87-94. Adrianus de Jongh
- 95-97. H.D. Mispelblom Beijer
- 98-100. Hendrik Snellen
- 101-102. Anna Vink, widow Bernard Martin Roos
- 103-105. Olivier van Riel Wzoon
- 106-107. Michiel Virulij
108. Johannes Hennink
109. Johannes Schumacher
- 110-115. Jacoba van Bulderen, born de Lille
- 116-119. M.N. Boogaart van Alblasserdam

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<sup>280</sup> GAR 68/186.

- 120-121. Susanna Bartha Snellen
- 122. Cornelioa Catharina Snellen
- 123. Anna Maria Snellen
- 124. Anna Snellen
- 125. Nicolaas Knijn
- 126. Jan Knijn
- 127-128. Lydia van Dobben, widow Gerrit van Brakel
- 129-130. Adrianus de Jongh
- 131-132. Maria Jans Zeeuw, widow Pieter van Tol
- 133-134. Elisabeth Everaars, widow Leendert Balbian
- 135. Jacoba de Meij, widow Cornelis Mattheus van Schinne
- 136-139. Widow Jan Nierhoff, Dordrecht
- 140-142. M. Nicolaas Boogaart van Alblasserdam
- 143-149. Frans Willem Schas
- 150. Arnout van Zuijlen van Nijevelt
- 151. Christiaan Everdus de Lille
- 152. Joseph van Tueren
- 154-155. Christiaan Everdus de Lille
- 156. Ferrand Whaley Hudig
- 157. Gerrit Groenevelt and Gilles Groenevelt

## 1.2 Somerszorg

Register of shares in the negotiation *Somerszorg*, 1769<sup>281</sup>

- 1, 2, 3. Michiel Baelde
- 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Hendrik Baelde
- 11, 12, 13, 14. Johan Verstolk junior
- 15, 16. Wilhelmina Catharina den Beer, born Pielat
- 17, 18. Willem Hendrik van Swieten
- 19, 20, 21. Adriaan van Swieten
- 22, 23, 24. Gijsbert van Royen
- 25, 26. Jacob Mispelblom Beijer, lord of Zuijscharwoude
- 27. Cornelis Knappert
- 28, 29, 30. Adrianus Criellaart
- 31, 32. Samuel Hoppesteijn
- 33, 34. Johan Hoppesteijn
- 35. Jan Knijn
- 36. Nicolaas Knijn
- 37, 38. Mattheus Blankenbijn
- 39, 40, 41, 42. Pieter van Beefdingh
- 43, 44, 45. Josua van der Aa
- 46, 47, 48. Michiel Virulij
- 49, 50. Rombout van der Houven
- 51, 52. Hendrik Meesing
- 53, 54. Abraham Erbervelt
- 55, 56. Pieter van Swieten

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<sup>281</sup> GAR 68/310.

- 57, 58. Adrianus de Jongh  
 59. Pieter Harting  
 60. Anth. De Normandie  
 61, 62. Regnera van der Heijde, widow Isaac le Petit  
 63. Bastiaan Molewater  
 64. Guilliam Balthazar, husband Magdalena Molewater  
 65. Willem van der Sluijs  
 66. Rudolf Mees  
 67. Adriaan Mees  
 68. Johanna van den Bergh, widow Gregorius Mees  
 69. Hendrik van der Wallen  
 70. Petrus Vink  
 71, 72. Dignes de la Motte, widow Denick  
 73, 74, 75, 76. Olivier van Riel  
 77, 78. A.C. van Riel, born Le Petit, widow van de Velde  
 79, 80. Lydia van Dobben, widow Gerrit van Brakel  
 81, 82, 83. M.Nic.M. Boogaart van Alblasterdam  
 84, 85, 86. Gerard van Andel, from 1772 Marcus van Rossum  
 87. Fund for widows of officers, in the name of Daniel van Berken 1770-1773, and on name of Daniel de Jongh Adriaanszoon 1773-1823  
 88. Willem van Triest  
 89, 90. Helena Venkel, widow Engel van Limburg  
 91, 92, 93, 94. Petronella Johanna Timmermans, widow Abraham Haverkamp  
 95, 96, 97, 98. Aert van Harmelen  
 99, 100. Hermanus van Reverhorst  
 101, 102. Alexander van Ijperen  
 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108. Huijbert van Hamel  
 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118. Dionisius Paauw  
 119, 120, 121. Leonardus den Beer  
 122, 123, 124. Jacoba Bosschaert, widow Jan van der Heim  
 125, 126. Adriana Catharina van der Heim  
 127. Elisabeth Beudt, widow Jan Albert Pichot  
 128, 129, 130. Jan Snellen  
 131, 132, 133, 134. Coenraed de Kuijper  
 135, 136. F.A. Persoons  
 137, 138. Christiaan Evarodus de Lille  
 139. Joseph van Tueren  
 140, 141, 142, 143, 144. Jan Pels  
 145. Carolina Jacoba van Bulderen, born de Lille  
 146. Theod. Chris. Busscher  
 147. Hermanus Reverhorst  
 148. Cornelis Kool  
 149, 150. Jean Theodore Frescarode



### 1.3 Venetia Nova and Ma Resource

Obligation keepers of plantations Venetia Nova and Ma Resource from 1773 until 1823.<sup>282</sup>

- 1, 2. Michiel Baelde
- 3, 4. Hendrik Baelde
- 5, 6. Abraham Erbervelt
- 7, 8. Herman van Ijzendoorn
- 9, 10. Johannes Mickenschrijver
11. Willem Hendrik van Jorettes??
12. Hendrik Hudig
- 13, 14. Jan Snellen
- 15, 16, 17, 18. Dirk van Dam
- 19, 20. H.D. Gaubeus
- 21, 22. Pieter Corbeau
- 23, 24. Alexander van Ijperen
- 25, 26. Anna Maria Snellen
27. Catharina Snellen
28. Anna Snellen
29. Rombout van den Hoeven
30. Jan Pels
- 31, 32, 33. Christiaan Er. De Lille
34. Martinus den Beer, mayor of Schiedam
35. Sizag Brouwer
36. Leonardus Stocke
37. Cornelis de Kok
38. Cornelis Sterkstad
39. Geertje van Leeuwen
40. Gerrit van Driel
- 41, 42. Emerentia Schim (wife of P. Doodewaart)
- 43, 44, 45. Pieter van Doodewaart
- 46, 47. Geertje van Leeuwen
48. Abraham van Marelant
49. Johannes Schumacher
50. Adriaan van den Burght
- 51, 52. Blanco and 'to ourselves'

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<sup>282</sup> GAR 68/493

## 1.4 Vreede

Register of shares in the negotiation on plantation De Vreede in 1770.<sup>283</sup> 1. F1000,- Michiel Baelde

2. Hendrik Baelde
- 3, 4. Lambertus van Andel
- 5, 6. Laurens Knappert
7. Justus den Hengst
8. Joris van Marelant
9. Samuel Hoppesteijn
10. Joh. Ant. De Normandie
11. Nicolaas Sterkstaat, ook geschreven als Sterkstadt
12. Johanna Hester Engelen, widow of C Pronk
13. Catharina Barbara van den Berg
14. M.M. le Coinste, widow of H. de Normandie
15. Lieux Colc. W.B. van Alphen
16. H. Jacob van Hersele
17. Arie Knijn
18. Johannes Schumacher

## 1.5 Twijfelachtig

Bond of f215.000,-, on plantation Twijfelachtig, documents from 1765.<sup>284</sup>

1. Michiel Baelde f4000,-
2. Samuel Hoppesteijn f2000,-
3. Johan Hoppesteijn f2000,-
4. Hendrik Baelde f5000,-
5. Olivier van Riel f4000,-
6. Leendert van Haveren f3000,-
7. W Boogaert van Alblasterdam f3000,-
8. Rombout van den Houve f2000,-
9. Pieter van Beeftingh f4000,-
10. Hendrik Meeseng f2000,-
11. Petrus Vink f1000,-
12. Ad. Criellaert f3000,-
13. Engel van Limburg f2000,-
14. D.W. Steen and D.J. Bieren f3000,-
15. Michiel Virulij f3000,-
16. T. Beeldemaker f4000,-
17. Elisabeth Dignes de la Motte, widow Francois Denick f2000,-
18. Regnera van der Heijde, widow Isaac le Petit f2000,-
19. A.C. de Riel, born le Petit, widow Van de Velde f2000,-
20. Rudolf Mees f1500,-
21. Adriaan Mees f1500,-
22. Jan Knijn f1000,-

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<sup>283</sup> GAR 68/616.

<sup>284</sup> GAR 68/395.

23. Nicolaas f1000,-
24. Abraham Teijssen f2000,-
25. B.J. Teijssen f1000,-
26. Katharina ven den Hoeven f1000,-
27. Hendrik van der Wallen f1000,-
28. Josua van der Aa f3000,-
27. Gerard van Hudel f2000,-
28. Pieter Harting f1000,-
29. Laurens Constant f4000,-
30. Isaac Molewater f2000,-
31. Hendrik Bachens f2000,-
32. Widow L. Fenema f2000,-
33. Johan Verstolk and Gijsbert van Roijen f3000,-
34. Johan Verstolk junior f1500,-
35. A. Reepmaker f2000,-
36. Mattheus Blankenbijn f2000,-
37. Coun. Maastricht f2000,-
38. W. Vand. Sluijs, for Catharina Hillegonda Bosschaert f3000,-
39. W. van der Sluijs for Cornelia Johanna Bosschaert f2000,-
40. W. van der Sluijs for Clasina Bosschaert f1000,-
41. Willem van der Sluijs f1000,-
42. Joh. Antonie de Normandie f1000,-
43. W. Treft for widow Baelde f1000,-
44. W. Treft for Adranus Oudemans f1000,-
45. W. Treft for Catharina Terite f1000,-
46. Michiel Baelde f2000,-
47. Gerard van Andel f2000,-
48. A. van Swieten f4000,-
49. I. Hennik f1000,-

## 1.6 Confiance

Register of shareholders in plantation La Confiance, 1776. Commissioners of this negotiation were Samuel Hoppesteijn, Michiel Virulij, AW Jenn van Basel, H Saffin, G van der Pot and A. des Amorie.<sup>285</sup>

- 1.2. Michiel Baelde
- 3.4. Hendrik Baelde
5. Hendrik Baelde for M.G. Baelde
- 6.7.8. Hendrik Snellen
- 9 a 12 Johan Hoppesteijn
- 13.14. Mespelblom Beyer
15. 16. Ictas Schoondea
17. Just. Van Leeuwen
18. O. Van Riel, widow Loon
- 19.20. Adriaan van Swieten
21. Hermanus van Revenhont
22. A.I. van Ravensteijn

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<sup>285</sup> GAR 68/526.

23.24. Jacob van der Mandire d'Ouwerkerk  
25.26. Nicolaas Knijn  
27. Jan Knijn  
28.31. Johannes de Vaek  
32.33. Alexander van Yperen  
34. Elizabeth Vroyesteijn  
35.36. Hermanus Knipschaer  
37. Hendrik Hudig  
38.42. Jan Schumacher  
43.44. Herman van Ijzendoorn  
45.46. Johannes Hoogvliet  
47. Simon Kool  
48. Maria van Rhijs  
49.50. Geertruy van Keyzerswaard

## 2. Slave trade

### 2.1 d'Gulden Vrijheid

List of shareholders in ship d'Gulden Vrijheid, for a slave trip in 1750.<sup>286</sup>

1/8<sup>e</sup> A.M. van Wevelinchoven, widow of van der Lende  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Jacobus Fremeaux  
1/16<sup>e</sup> George Hendrik Rivecourt  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Gerrardus Beeldemaker  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Maarte de Haas  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Pieter van der Wallen  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Jan Kockuijt  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Thimon van Schoonhoven  
1/32<sup>e</sup> J L Lampsius van Baarland van oude Lande  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Daniel de Jongh  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Jan Veen  
3/16<sup>e</sup> Herman van Coopstad  
3/16<sup>e</sup> Isaac Jacob Rochussen

### 2.2 Maria Geertruid Galey

List of shareholders in ship Maria Geertruy Galey, for a slave trip in 1761.<sup>287</sup>

4/32<sup>e</sup> parten Joan Osij en Zoon  
2/32<sup>e</sup> Pieter Korg Hendrik Zoon  
2/32<sup>e</sup> Mevrouw van Zuijlen van Nijevelt  
2/32<sup>e</sup> Frans Schas  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Jan Veen  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Ferrand Whaley Hudig  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Widow Daniel Pichot  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Hendrik Snellen  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Olivier van Riel W Loon  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Jan Malijman  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Willem Hendrik van Steenberch  
1/32<sup>e</sup> I.B. van Vheelen  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Meschert van Ingen  
2/32<sup>e</sup> Samuel en Johan Hoppesteyn  
2/32<sup>e</sup> Pieter van Hoogwerff  
1/32<sup>e</sup> I Oudemeulen  
4/32<sup>e</sup> Herman van Coopstad  
4/32<sup>e</sup> Isaac Jacob Rochussen

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<sup>286</sup> GAR 68/13.

<sup>287</sup> GAR 68/36.

## 2.3 Frans Willem

List of shareholders in ship François Willem or Frans Willem, for three slave trips, starting in 1760.<sup>288</sup>

4/32<sup>e</sup> Joan Osij en Zoonen  
4/32<sup>e</sup> Frans Schal  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Willem Schal  
2/32<sup>e</sup> Pieter van der Wallen  
2/32<sup>e</sup> Jan Corkuijt  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Baron Hammesteyn  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Timon van Schoonhove  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Daniel de Jongh  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Jan Veen  
1/32<sup>e</sup> IH Hartcop Hoffman  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Willem van der Sluys  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Albertus Lippert  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Widow L. van Thun  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Daniel Pichot  
1/32<sup>e</sup> IB van Vheelen  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Willem van Heenberch  
1/32<sup>e</sup> T. Beut  
4/32<sup>e</sup> Herman van Coopstad  
3/32<sup>e</sup> Isaac Jacob Rochussen

## 2.4 De Drie Gebroeders

List of shareholders in ship de Drie Gebroeders, for one slave journey.<sup>289</sup>

1/16<sup>e</sup> Roelof Ulren  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Isaac van Teylingen  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Jacob Cossaert  
2/16<sup>e</sup> Joan Osy and son  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Nicolaas Smithoff  
1/16<sup>e</sup> JJ van Voorst  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Jan van Kruyten  
1/16<sup>e</sup> N. Heijnsius  
1/16<sup>e</sup> Jan van Brakel  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Jan Oort  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Ferrand Whaley Hudig  
1/32<sup>e</sup> C. Pistorius  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Jan Hendrik Saffin  
1/32<sup>e</sup> Jan Malijman  
3/16<sup>e</sup> Coopstad en Rochussen

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<sup>288</sup> GAR 68/38.

<sup>289</sup> GAR 68/57.

## 2.5 de Jonge Isaac

List of shareholders in ship de Jonge Isaac for one slave journey.<sup>290</sup>

- 1/16<sup>e</sup> George Hendrik van Rivecourt
- 1/16<sup>e</sup> Pieter van der Wallen
- 1/16<sup>e</sup> Albertus Lippert
- 1/16<sup>e</sup> Joan Osy and son
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> AJ Timmers, widow Zuylen van Nieveld
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Willem van der Sluys
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Olivier van Riel Willemzoon
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Willem van Soomeren
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Cornelis van Nooten
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Hendrik van der Laan
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Jan Veen
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Jan van Brakel
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> John van Mierlo
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> JJ Mauricius
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> R Larcher
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> IB van Vheelen
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> I Bavius de Vries
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Olivier Bogaard
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Daniel Smout
- 1/16<sup>e</sup> Tobias Feldner
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> NM van der Noor de geeter
- 2/32<sup>e</sup> Herman van Coopstad
- 1/32<sup>e</sup> Isaac Jacobus Rochussen

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<sup>290</sup> GAR 68/26.