

The Dutch and the Consolidation of the Seventeenth-Century South Atlantic Complex, c. 1630–1654

ABSTRACT: This article looks at the seventeenth-century South Atlantic and explores the role played by the Dutch private merchants based in Brazil and by the Dutch West India Company for the consolidation of the South Atlantic. To do so, it focuses on the political, military, and commercial exchanges between the northeastern Brazilian captaincies and Angola during the years 1630 and 1654.

KEYWORDS: Dutch—Commerce—South Atlantic

In recent years, scholarship on the Atlantic economy has clearly shown that throughout the early modern period the South Atlantic emerged as an economic, social, political, and cultural complex with a life of its own, in most cases operating independently from colonial powers based in Europe.¹ Historiography and information recently gathered in the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database (TSTD) have also demonstrated that the formation of the South Atlantic complex dates back to the 1570s, and its rise in the overall Atlantic economy starts to be most visible after the mid-seventeenth century.²

Most studies on this southern complex, however, have focused mainly on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the zenith of South Atlantic exchanges.³ With the exception of works by Alencastro and Puntoni, among others, little is known about the South Atlantic complex in the period between the 1570s and 1650s and about the impact of the arrival of northern European merchants, particularly those from the Dutch Republic (hereafter the Republic), in the South Atlantic and the role they might have played (or not) in the formation and consolidation of the complex.⁴

Often the arrival of Dutch merchants and especially the Dutch West India Company (WIC) in the South Atlantic is portrayed as a moment of intense conflict, leading to major losses in commerce and other types of exchanges within

the South Atlantic and between the former and Europe.⁵ Recent scholarship is shedding new light on the different types of interactions established between Dutch and Portuguese in the South Atlantic, and on the overall Atlantic economy, helping scholars to draw a more nuanced pictures of Luso-Dutch exchanges, where conflict and cooperation went hand in hand. Beyond Ebert's studies focusing on Dutch trade with Brazil in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, little is known about the participation of northern European merchants in the South Atlantic trade, especially in the bilateral commerce established between West Central Africa, Brazil, and South America.⁶

This article aims to partially fill this void in the literature by looking at the seventeenth-century South Atlantic and exploring the role played by the Dutch private merchants based in Brazil and the Republic and by the Dutch WIC for the consolidation of the South Atlantic as we came to know it in the following centuries. Here we will examine some of the political, military, and commercial exchanges between the northeastern Brazilian captaincies and Angola during the years 1630 and 1654.

To address some of these issues, we will start with a brief overview of the legal framework regulating Dutch participation in the South Atlantic trade. We will then look at early Dutch participation in the South Atlantic through the lens of Dutch private merchants' activities in the Brazilian and Angolan trades. A brief discussion of the political and commercial relations established between Dutch Brazil and Angola during the WIC's rule over parts of these territories will follow. Here we will pay special attention to political negotiations between the government of the WIC in Brazil, its headquarters in Luanda, and the Republic. Finally, we will examine the commercial circuits and exchanges linking these two territories. Our main goals are to highlight the role these relations played in the consolidation of the South Atlantic complex.

The evidence presented here has been gathered over the past seven years via thorough research in Dutch archives. For the study of Dutch private merchants' engagement in the South Atlantic we have used the collection of notarial contracts of the Amsterdam city archive.⁷ The collection of the first Dutch WIC⁸ has also been paramount for this study. Together with travel accounts and the information available in the TSTD, these source materials are key to reconstructing Dutch participation in the South Atlantic. Let us start by looking into the Dutch legal framework for the Atlantic trade.

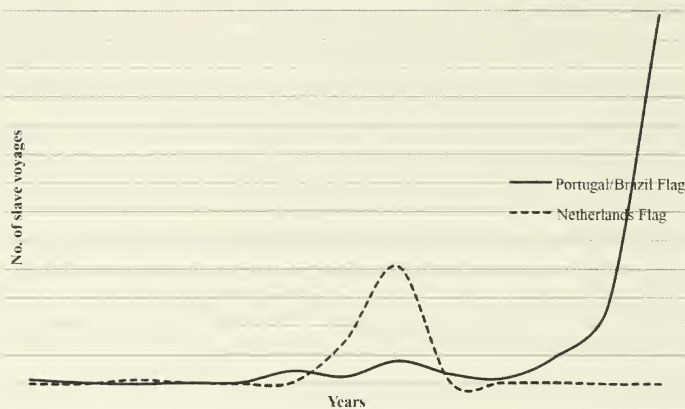
Private Trade and Legal Frameworks for Atlantic Commerce

Until 1621 trade between the Republic, South America, and West Central Africa, including Brazil and Angola, was controlled by private businessmen. In the main Dutch port cities, there were a handful of private “companies” and several independent businessmen involved in these commercial branches.⁹ These firms had no formal commercial organization comparable to the WIC, as they only hired merchants and accountants aboard ships, onshore or aboard *leggers* (floating trading posts) to conduct trade in Brazil and on the western coast of Africa.¹⁰ The chartering of the WIC by the States General in 1621 brought an end to this initial period of free trade, as the company was granted a monopoly over all Atlantic trade.¹¹

From its outset, the WIC was met with great opposition from the merchants of Amsterdam and the northern port cities of the Republic, which had important investments in the North Atlantic fisheries, Brazilian sugar and dyewood, the salt trade with South America, and the African gold, ivory, and slave trades. Some commercial branches were therefore detached from the WIC’s monopoly soon after its establishment.

The military character of the WIC caused the disruption of many activities in these areas. For several years after the takeover of the captaincies in northeastern Brazil, sugar production decreased, causing major losses for the sugar refiners in the Republic.¹² In the years immediately after the occupation of Luanda, company officials also failed to secure a regular supply of slave labor to the city, and consequently to Dutch Brazil.¹³

During the same period, the burden of paying for the huge military campaigns against the Portuguese possessions began to be felt.¹⁴ The company lacked adequate cash flow to operate the businesses in Brazil, western Africa, the Caribbean, and North America, and struggled to ensure the transport of commodities, personnel, and weaponry between her posts and settlements. To mitigate its losses, the WIC granted shareholders permission to participate in the trade with Brazil and the Caribbean in 1638. In 1647, the company also agreed to open the slave trade from Angola to Brazil, the Caribbean, and the Spanish Americas to private businessmen in the Republic.¹⁵ However, these measures did not prevent the company from losing control over Brazil and Angola and her share in the South Atlantic trade after the early 1650s, as evidence from the TSTD clearly shows.



Slave voyages landing in Brazil per ship flag, 1570–1700

Source: <http://www.slavevoyages.org>; 19-07-2012.

Dutch Participation in the South Atlantic: From Private Trade to Company Monopoly

Dutch Private Trade in the South Atlantic

By the late sixteenth century, the Republic was home to two main groups of merchants with economic interest in the Brazilian and Angolan trades: a group of Christian merchants of Dutch, Flemish, and German origin¹⁶ and the Portuguese Sephardim established in Amsterdam and other Dutch cities.¹⁷ The first group started its economic activities in the South Atlantic in the late 1580s, investing mainly in the Brazilian sugar and dyewood trades and the African commerce in gold, ivory, and leather. In these early times, Dutch participation in the slave trade was minimal, as studies by Postma, Eltis, and Vos et al.¹⁸ have demonstrated. Sephardim were the businessmen engaged in these early “Dutch” slave trade, as many of them were already operating circuits connecting Iberia and the Netherlands to Angola and Brazil prior to their arrival in the Republic, while fleeing from Antwerp after Dutch blockage and from Iberia due to the persecution of the Inquisition courts.

Many of these businessmen did in fact combine in their portfolio investments in both regions of the South Atlantic. Christian merchants of Dutch, Flemish, and German origins appear engage simultaneously in the trade with

West Central Africa and Brazil. As for the Portuguese Sephardic Jews, they were engaged not only in the Brazilian but also in the Spanish American trade, guaranteeing the supply of an African slave labor force to these colonies and the transportation of the export commodities such as sugar, dyewood, tobacco, silver, gold, and precious stones to Europe.¹⁹

Although we could not find direct evidence that these businessmen did carry out bilateral trade between Angola and Brazil in separate circuits from those operated from the Republic and other European ports, as we will explain further in this article, there was already a notion among private businessmen that these two South Atlantic markets were complementary. This notion among Dutch merchants that Angolan and Brazilian trading markets were complementary would become very clear after the establishment of the WIC in 1621, particularly in the years immediately before the takeover of the Brazilian northeastern captaincies in 1630. The commercial routes, practices, and logistics put in motion by the Portuguese and Brazilian merchants based in the colony since the 1570s to operate in the South Atlantic certainly helped nurturing this growing awareness among WIC officials of the economic complementarity between the Brazilian and the Angolan markets.

WIC Politics in the South Atlantic

When the WIC laid clear plans to occupy extensive masses of land, such as Brazil, and Angola, the board of directors²⁰—also known as the Gentlemen Nineteen—did consider for the first time the idea of establishing a central government for the Dutch Atlantic, with its headquarters in the South Atlantic. In 1629–1630, when the company launched the second attack on Brazil, more precisely on the captaincy of Pernambuco, the board of directors, with the permission of the States General and Count Maurits of Nassau, started to prepare a document defining a new central government for the Dutch Atlantic settlements, including regulations concerning commercial, military, judicial, administrative, and fiscal organization—the so-called Order of Government of 1629.

The company's main goal was to give an administrative, military, judicial, commercial, and fiscal unity to the government of the Atlantic colonies by establishing a head of government with supervising power over all colonies and settlements of the Dutch Atlantic.²¹ Brazil was to be the headquarters of this central government. For the South Atlantic this entailed that any colonies the WIC set up in the region were to come under the jurisdiction of the central gov-

ernment. So, according to the Order of Government of 1629, all posts and settlements taken over from the Portuguese during the 1630s and 1640s, namely Elmina, Axim, Shama, and the settlements of São Tomé and Angola, were at least in theory to be under the jurisdiction of the central government of Brazil. The reality would be quite different.

The central government of the colony and the Count Maurits of Nassau as governor-general of Dutch Brazil were in fact the political and administrative bodies of the WIC that devised the main plan to take over Angola and São Tomé from the Portuguese, and to maintain the economic links between the two shores of the South Atlantic. The main reason used by Count Maurits and the central government to get the approval for the expedition by the board of directors and the States General was the high demand for slave labor in Dutch Brazil. However, the preparation and sponsoring of this huge naval and military operation by Count Maurits and the central government was not, in our view, independent from the underlying jurisdiction that the Order of Government of 1629 had granted Dutch Brazil over the Atlantic. This decision was taken neither lightly nor without consistent knowledge of the links between these territories in the South Atlantic.²² The actions of Count Maurits of Nassau and the central government of Brazil that followed the takeover of Luanda and São Tomé, leading to disputes between these two entities and the board of directors and the States General in the Republic, are quite telling.

Immediately after the occupation of Angola and São Tomé, Count Maurits of Nassau and the central government of Brazil pleaded with the States General to bring these territories under the jurisdiction of Brazil, given the high demand for slave labor in the colony and the direct supply link between Angola and Brazil, established since 1630. The States General wrote them a report on this issue and submitted it to the company's board of directors for approval. To study the matter, the Gentlemen Nineteen organized a commission. In a report dated 6 February 1642, the commission voted in favor of the States General's proposal. According to this document, Angola should be under the direct administration of the Gentlemen Nineteen. The colony should be directly supplied from the Republic with provisions and exchange goods. Therefore, it should be separate from Brazil, as it was during the rule of the Portuguese. In the commission's point of view, it did not make sense to supply Angola and São Tomé via Brazil, since this colony was also supplied by the Republic. Besides, the voyages between Brazil and Luanda were, according to them, longer than the route be-

tween the Republic and Angola. In addition, Brazil already had financial problems, and administering another colony would be too costly for Dutch Brazil.²³

The commission argued that Angola and São Tomé should be supplied directly from the Republic and that all instructions should be sent by the Gentlemen Nineteen. On the one hand, they pointed out, the need for slave labor in Brazil was not a solid reason to give the jurisdiction over Angola and São Tomé to the government in Dutch Brazil, as other colonies that the WIC might occupy in the future would also need to import enslaved Africans. Although the slave trade was the principal commerce in Angola, there were also other commercial branches in this area that the company wanted to develop. On the other hand, they said, Brazil could not supply Angola and São Tomé without the supplies sent from the Republic, and time had shown that this redistribution had not functioned properly, since WIC employees in Angola faced a lack of foodstuffs, ammunitions, and provisions, despite the higher quantities of provisions sent from the Republic to Brazil. In addition, the transport of the troops from the Republic or from Brazil to Angola resulted in the same problem. The troops sent to Brazil were kept within the territory. As a consequence, Angola and São Tomé could not afford a rotation of soldiers, and the colony failed to redistribute these military to the West Central African settlements. These arguments were presented to the States General on 4 March 1642.²⁴

The States General accepted the arguments of the commission and, in opposition to Count Maurits of Nassau and the central government of Brazil, separated the governments of São Tomé and Angola from Brazil, thus establishing a new administrative division for the WIC posts in western Africa. According to the new organization, the western coast of Africa was to be divided in two districts with separate governments. The northern district included the coastal areas between the Cape of Three Points and the Cape Lopo Gonsalves (present-day Cape Lopez), while the southern district encompassed the coastal regions from Cape Lopez to the Cape of Good Hope, as well as the islands in the Gulf of Guinea. The government of the former district was based at Elmina and the latter at Luanda. Each government had jurisdiction over administrative, judicial, commercial, and religious affairs.²⁵ To the two districts, the board of directors added a third one: São Tomé, with its own government. The island was supposed to be a bridge between the two other districts.²⁶ This third district did not last long: by 1645 the islands of São Tomé were incorporated into the northern district but kept their own government.²⁷

This new administrative division also entailed that supplies, including foodstuff, medicine, clothes, ammunitions, weapons, and ship equipage materials, were to be provided directly by the Republic to these governments. Supply of exchange goods for trade and the rotation of naval, military, and civilian staff was to be ensured by various Company Chambers, according to their share in the company capital. In practice, things were not so linear. This division of jurisdiction and the interference of the States General in the administrative matters of the WIC due to their political and diplomatic implications for the Republic made for multiple conflicts that usually ended in a loss for the governments of the posts and settlements in West Central Africa and other areas of the Atlantic. On the one hand, the irregular supply of exchange goods to the forts in West Central Africa by the aforementioned institutions caused commercial losses. On the other hand, the insufficient supply of foodstuffs and ammunitions, as well as the deficient rotation of the troops controlled by the institutions mentioned earlier, ended in territorial losses not only in West Central Africa, but also in Brazil.²⁸

The commands of Angola and São Tomé probably offer the best example of the problem. Initially, the supplies to the areas were to be provided by the central government in Brazil. In 1642, the States General recognized that this was an enormous burden on the finances of the colony and decided that provisions should be sent directly from the Republic by the board of directors. However, the Gentlemen Nineteen did not discharge the central government in Brazil from the duty of providing help and assistance to Angola and São Tomé.²⁹ And, more often than not, the Company Chambers in the Republic also failed to provide for these settlements.

The plea for the jurisdiction over Angola and São Tomé submitted by Count Maurits and the central government in Brazil and the arguments used tell us much about how the governor-general and central government viewed the South Atlantic under the WIC rule. For them, the South Atlantic had its own economic logic and unit that, once preserved, would benefit the company's colonies in the region. The States General and the company's board of directors did not share this opinion.

What it seems to have been here at stake is a conflict between different political and economic interests: those based in Dutch Brazil and Dutch Angola, which were represented by officials in these two WIC settlements, and those based in the Republic, which were represented by the Gentlemen Nineteen in the Republic. While the Gentlemen Nineteen would be protecting the interest of

the sugar merchants and refiners in Amsterdam (at least in theory, although in practice and in the long term, the board's policies would injure their interests), the central government of Brazil and Count Maurits stood for the WIC's interests in the colony, namely the activities of settlers and merchants who had made alliances with the Dutch, and the new settlers and merchants who started producing and trading with and in the colony under the auspices of the company.

By following commercial routes and practices already in place, Maurits was indirectly encouraging a certain economic autonomy for the colony of the WIC, which would help to improve the always precarious financial and economic situation there. Although the board of directors did advocate in favor of making the colonies self-sufficient, it feared that the colony would become too autonomous and eventually too powerful.

The question of power—or, to be more precise, the personal power that Count Maurits had acquired in Europe prior to his term in Brazil, and his increasing authority and leverage among the naval and military officials serving in Brazil, Angola, and São Tomé—was, in our view, another factor that led the company to dismiss the plea for the jurisdiction over Angola and São Tomé made by Count Maurits and the central government.

The disputes and arguments exchanged between the central government of Brazil, the board of directors, and the States General are also very telling in terms of the different understanding of a same reality by officials serving in the colonies and those serving in Europe, and the knowledge of the real situation by these two groups of WIC staff.

Those serving in the WIC colonies seemed to be far more aware of the role played by the commercial links between the two settlements in the South Atlantic, not only under the company's auspices, but also earlier, when both territories were still under control of the Portuguese and private merchants operated in these markets as free traders. Evidence gathered in the Notarial Archives of Amsterdam, the collection of the WIC, and the TSTD not only clearly shows continuity in the Angola-Brazilian commercial links under Dutch rule and but also suggests an increase in these exchanges during the company's rule over Brazil and Angola, as we will explain in more detail in the following section.

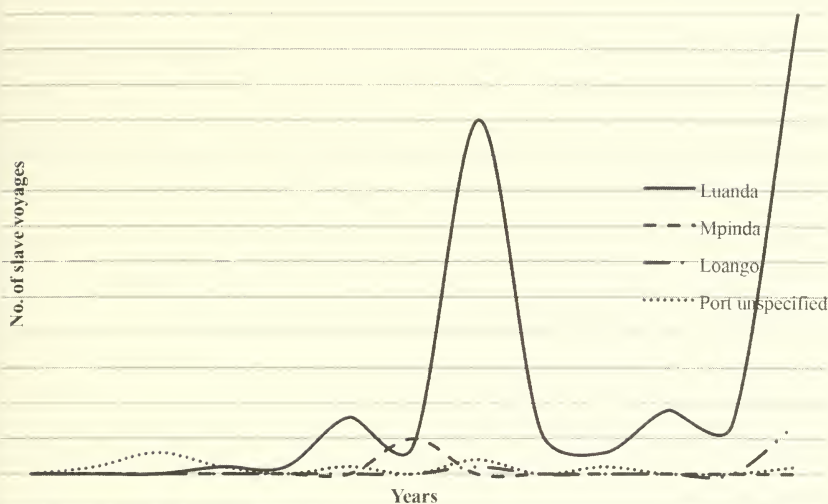
Dutch Commercial Routes in the South Atlantic

During the early period of Dutch activities in the South Atlantic, businessmen appear to have used three main types of long-distance circuits: direct routes

linking the Republic to the New World, mainly Brazil; triangular routes linking the Republic to the Americas calling at West Central Africa, mainly Cape Lopez, Loango, Kongo, and Angola; and direct routes linking the Republic to the Gulf of Guinea and nearby coast, and to the coastal regions of Cape Lopez, Loango, Kongo, and Angola. Most of these circuits included port-to-port navigation to guarantee the exchange of commodities—a common practice among “Dutch” traders in the Atlantic.

So, unlike their counterparts based in Portugal, Brazil, and Angola, who by the late sixteenth century were already operating bilateral circuits between Angola and Brazil, and between the latter and other ports along the West Central African coast, completely separate from the European circuits, businessmen from the Republic were using bilateral routes between Europe and both margins of the South Atlantic or the so-called triangular circuits, linking Europe to West Central Africa and the Americas.

After the WIC gained control of Brazil, new long-distance routes were established. The Gentlemen Nineteen advocated that trade with Loango and Kongo should be done via Brazil. This situation promoted two main routes: a circuit connecting the Republic with Brazil and a route linking Dutch Brazil to the “Angolan Coast.” In the former circuit provisions, ammunitions, personnel, and exchange goods were sent from the Republic to Brazil, and sugar, dyewood, tobacco, and company employees and a few passengers journeyed back home. The latter route connecting the ports of Pernambuco to western Africa had several functions: (1) supplying the WIC employees at Loango and Kongo with exchange goods, foodstuffs, and weapons; (2) transporting the enslaved Africans needed for the sugar planters in Brazil; (3) shipping ivory and dyewood to be re-exported to Europe via Brazil; and (4) ensuring the communication between the local governments of the WIC in the different posts and settlements. Besides the aforementioned routes, several other circuits linked New Holland (present-day northeastern Brazil) to the company’s settlements in western Africa. In the 1630s, the main routes were (1) Pernambuco to Senegambia (Gorée) to Pernambuco, and (2) Pernambuco to Gold Coast (Mouri, later on Elmina) to Pernambuco. There was also an important route connecting Pernambuco to Cape Lopez and back to Pernambuco. Cape Lopez was usually the location on the western coast of Africa where the WIC vessels operating in the coastal trade in the Bight of Biafra and on the Slave Coast awaited the Brazilian fleets with enslaved Africans to be exported to the colony.



Principal ports of slave purchase in West Central Africa, 1571–1700

(for slave voyages landing in Brazil)

Source: <http://www.slavevoyages.org>; 19-07-2012.

Between 1641 and 1648, the company also promoted direct routes linking the Republic to Angola and São Tomé. The most important circuits linked the Republic to Luanda and the port of São Tomé. These routes had two main functions: to supply provisions, ammunition, and foodstuffs to the military and civilian staff of the company; and to ship the African products purchased at these coastal areas to the Republic, namely São Tomé sugar and Angolan ivory and red dyewood. However, given the fact that the main “product” available—slave labor—was for the Brazil consumption market, the routes to Europe never became intense. In fact, the return voyages to Europe were often done via Brazil, where the enslaved workers would be unloaded and the cargoes completed with Brazilian sugar, dyewood, and tobacco.

During the WIC rule over Angola and São Tomé (1641–1648), Luanda became the main supplier of enslaved Africans to meet the needs of the Portuguese-Brazilian, Jewish, Dutch, and Flemish sugar-planters in Brazil. In the 1640s, however, the most important route linked Pernambuco to Luanda, as data from the TSTD clearly shows.

To sum up, from 1630 onward, Dutch Brazil was used as an entrepôt of the company for the trade with West Central Africa, especially in the areas south of

Cape Lopez, such as Loango, Kongo, and Angola. In this way, the supply of European exchange products, provisions and ammunition, and African goods purchased in these regions was guaranteed to the consumption markets in Europe and the Americas via Brazil. Military and civilian WIC personnel serving in West Central Africa were also transported via Brazil. Hence, the company maintained separate bilateral circuits to connect its different settlements in the South Atlantic.

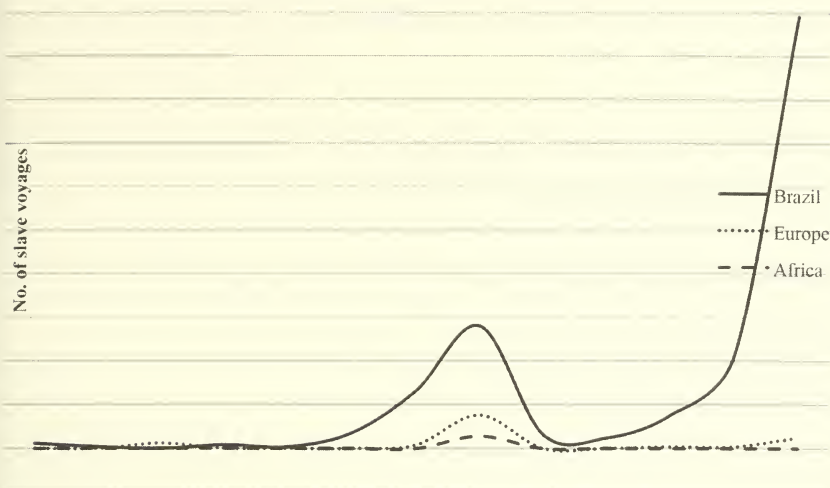
The loss of Brazil brought to an end the circuits linking that colony to West Central Africa operated by ships sailing under Dutch contract. The circuits linking Brazil to Angola and the Gulf of Guinea were reactivated in the 1650s by Portuguese-Brazilian traders. These traders took alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and some gold to purchase enslaved Africans at the trading posts of the different European powers installed on the western coast of Africa. These circuits would become of special importance during the second WIC (1674–1791).³⁰

Private businessmen based in the Republic with interests in the South Atlantic started to operate new circuits linking Loango, Mpinda, and Angola with Curaçao (the new WIC entrepot for the trans-Atlantic trade), Suriname, and sometimes North America. The period of the Dutch South Atlantic was over. The new routes were based on the classical triangular scheme and guaranteed essential exchanges between the South and the North Atlantic.

Conclusion

The bilateral circuits between Dutch Brazil and West Central Africa, more precisely Loango and Angola, played an important role in consolidating various commercial practices and social exchanges that were already taking place between these two territories while they were under the rule of the Portuguese, as information gathered in the TSTD suggests.

By drawing on the preexisting commercial links between Brazil and Angola, the presence and rule of the WIC over these two territories not only stimulated circuits between the northeastern captaincies, Loango and Angola, and strengthened the links between these regions, but also forced the Portuguese, Luso-Brazilians, and Luso-Angolan merchants pushed to the southern captaincies of Brazil, the Kwanza estuary, and the Benguela region, in Angola, to make more intensive use of bilateral circuits that started to emerge in the 1570s. The WIC's naval power and its regular attacks on Portuguese ships sailing between the South and the North Atlantic might also have been an important reason to



Region where voyages began, 1571–1700

Source: <http://www.slavevoyages.org>; 19-07-2012.

strengthen already existing and new bilateral circuits between Brazil and West Central Africa.

In fact, after the Dutch conquest of Pernambuco, the Luso-Brazilian planters were forced to grow the crops farther south in Bahia and the surroundings of Rio de Janeiro.³¹ In addition, due to the Dutch takeover of Angola and São Tomé, they were also forced to find new supply markets in order to meet the labor demand of the sugar planters in Brazil. The development of local production in Brazil provided the traders with goods, such as spirits, tobacco, and (later) gold, which could be exchanged for African products.³² Besides, the merchants' knowledge concerning the demands of the African consumption markets played an important role in the establishment of these new trading routes. The most important ports of departure for these routes were Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. Some authors, such as David Eltis, argue that there were several attempts to transport enslaved Africans from Mozambique to Brazil, and there are indeed some references to a few voyages.³³ However, the time requirements and other logistical aspects of these voyages made them unprofitable. After the recapture of the northeastern Brazilian captaincies and Angola, the direct routes linking Brazil to West Central Africa, particularly to Angola, would become a key feature of the Luso-Brazilian South Atlantic, also known as the "Angola-Brazil

complex."³⁴ From the 1670s and 1680s onward, these routes played a key role in supplying enslaved Africans to meet the high demand of manpower in the Brazilian labor market.

NOTES

1. Eltis, *The Rise of Slavery in the Americas*, 307; Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes*, 62, and "The Economic Network of Portugal's Atlantic World," 118–119.

2. Domingues da Silva, "The Atlantic Slave Trade to Maranhão, 1680–1846"; Domingues da Silva and Eltis, "The Slave Trade to Pernambuco, 1561–1851"; Ribeiro, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Bahia, 1582–1851." See also Mendes, "The Foundations of the System."

3. See, for instance, Candido, "Trade, Slavery and Migration in the Interior of Benguela"; "Transatlantic Links"; "Merchants and the Business of the Slave Trade in Benguela, c. 1750–1850"; and "Benguela et l'espace atlantique sud au dix-huitième siècle." Ferreira, "The Atlantic Networks of the Benguela Slave Trade (1730–1800)"; Lopes, "Negócio da Costa da Mina e Comércio Atlântico," 176; Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo do Tráfico de Escravos entre os Golfo de Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos*; Florentino, *Em costas negras*; Ribeiro, "O comércio das almas e a obtenção de prestígio social"; Flory, "Bahian Society in the Mid-colonial Period"; Donovan, "Commercial Enterprise and Luso-Brazilian Society during the Gold Rush."

4. Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes*; Puntoni, *A mísera sorte and Guerras do Brazil, 1504–1654*.

5. See, among other works, Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1682*; Emmer, "The First Global War" and "The Struggle over Sugar"; Mello, *Olinda restaurada and O negócio do Brasil* (Dutch ed.: *De Braziliaanse affaire*).

6. Ebert, "Dutch Trade with Brazil before the Dutch West India Company, 1587–1621" and *Between Empires*.

7. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, formerly Gemeente Archief van Amsterdam, Notariële Archieven.

8. Nationaal Archief, Oude West-Indische Compagnie (hereafter cited as NA, OWIC).

9. Unger, "Nieuwe gegevens betreffend het begin der vaart op Guinea, 1561–1601"; Enthoven, "Early Dutch Expansion."

10. "Andreas Josua Ulsheimer's Voyage of 1603–4," in Jones, *German Sources*, 21–29; "Samuel Brun's Voyages of 1611–1620," in Jones, *German Sources*, 45–96; La Fleur, Pieter van den Broecke's *Journal of Voyages to Cape Verde, Guinea and Angola* (1605–1612), 28, 47, 83–103. See also Ribeiro da Silva, "Dutch Vessels in African Waters."

11. Emmer, "The West India Company, 1621–1791"; Heijer, *De geschiedenis van de WIC*, chaps. 1–3. See also Boogaart and Emmer, "The Dutch Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1596–1650."

12. Ebert, "Dutch Trade with Brazil," 49–76, and *Between Empires*, chaps. 3, 5, 6.
13. Ratelband, *Nederlanders in West-Afrika (1600–1650)* [Portuguese trans.: *Os Holandeses no Brasil e na Costa Africana*].
14. Jong, "Staat van oorlog."
15. Emmer, "The West India Company," 79–81; Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580–1680*, 110; Dillen, *Van rijkdom en regenten*, 169.
16. On the mercantile groups in the Republic, see, for example, Antunes, *Globalisation in the Early Modern Period*; Gelderbloom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578–1630)*; Lesger and Noordegraaf, *Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Early Modern Times*.
17. On the Portuguese Sephardim in the Republic, Western Europe, and the Atlantic in general, see Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–1750*, and *Diasporas within the Diaspora*; Kaplan, *An Alternative to Modernity*; Swetschinski, *Reluctant Cosmopolitans*.
18. Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815*, chap. 1, and "A Reassessment of the Dutch Atlantic Slave Trade"; Vos, Eltis, and Richardson, "The Dutch in the Atlantic World."
19. Gelderbloom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden, 180–181*, 224, 231, 238. For further details on the activities carried out by these merchants on both shores of the South Atlantic, see Ribeiro da Silva, *Dutch and Portuguese in Western Africa*, chap. 7.
20. The direction of the company was given to an assembly—the board of directors—formed by nineteen directors—the Gentlemen Nineteen—from the different chambers. Once again, the number of directors per chamber depended on the capital and the political and economic power of the provinces and cities. Amsterdam had eight directors on the board, and Zeeland had four, while the other three chambers had two each. A member of the States General also had a chair in this assembly. The board was chaired by the chamber of either Amsterdam or Zeeland. Amsterdam held the presidency for six consecutive years and Zeeland for two. The Gentlemen Nineteen gathered in assembly two or three times a year to decide on the company's administrative policies for the coming months. They were also in charge of the WIC's finances and the distribution of dividends among shareholders. The board also had the authority to form commissions to study certain matters. The members of such commissions were chosen among the directors, and once again their number was proportional to the capital and the power of each chamber. The chambers, on the other hand, were responsible for putting these policies into practice. Heijer, "Directores, Stadhouderes e conselhos de administração," and Goud, *ivoor en slaven: Scheepvaart en handel van de Tweede Westindische Compagnie op Afrika, 1674–1740*.
21. Each settlement or group of settlements would have its local government, comprising a Council of Government and Justice or two separate councils. These councils

should include the high civilian and military officials of the company. Each settlement would also have a governor, who was to be the head official of both councils. These governors and local governments would also have full powers, including permission to solve economic and financial problems in the areas under their jurisdiction. However, they were subordinated to the central government and the company's board of directors. The governors would have access to the meetings of the local governments as advisers. In fact, they were always supposed to be present whenever the local governments discussed issues related to war, construction of defensive structures, and the organization of military expeditions. The council was to be independent from the general-director, who was to act like the leader of the government. The council was also obliged to report on the administrative situation in the settlement to the board of directors. Schiltkamp, "Legislation, Jurisprudence, and Law in the Dutch West Indian Colonies," 320-321.

22. NA, OWIC, 8: 18 December 1640. For the French translation of this document, see "Les XIX au gouverneur et au conseil de Recife," in Jadin, *L'Ancien Congo et l'Angola 1639-1655 d'après les archives romaines, portugaises, méerlandaises et espagnoles*, vol. 1, docs. 9, 11.

23. Nationaal Archief, Staten Generaal (hereafter NA, SG), no. 5773: 6 February 1642. For the French translation of this document, see "Rapport de la commission formé par les XIX pour étudier le pro et le contre de la séparation de Loanda avec le Brésil," in Jadin, *L'Ancien Congo et l'Angola*, vol. 1, doc. 76, pp. 200-202.

24. NA, SG, no. 5773: 4 March 1642. For the French translation of this document, see "Arguments des commissaires de XIX contre un mémoire des États-Généraux sur le gouvernement des nouvelles conquêtes d'Afrique," in Jadin, *L'Ancien Congo et l'Angola*, vol. 1, doc. 84, pp. 237-239.

25. "VV. HH. Puissances, par leur lettre du 13 courant, nous ont chargés de hâter l'élaboration de l'instruction sur le gouvernement du district sud de la côte d'Afrique. Il s'étendra du sud de la ligne de l'Equateur au cap de Bonne-Espérance, et comprendra notamment São Paulo de Loanda et l'île de São Tomé. Nous avons établi cette instruction ici, à la réunion de ce 19, selon votre demande, et nous en envoyons ci-joint la copie à VV. HH. Puissance." NA, SG, no. 5773: 19 March 1642. For the French translation of this document, see "Les XIX aux États-Généraux," in Jadin, *L'Ancien Congo et l'Angola*, vol. 1, doc. 96, pp. 250-251. NA, OWIC 9: 19 April 1642. For the French translation of this document, see "Les XIX à Jacob Ruychaver, commandeur à la Guinée," in Jadin, *L'Ancien Congo et l'Angola*, vol. 1, I: doc. 101, p. 271.

26. NA, OWIC 9: 14 June 1642. For the French translation of this document, see: "Les XIX aux directeurs de Loanda," in Jadin, *L'Ancien Congo et l'Angola*, vol. 1, doc. 112, pp. 296-302.

27. NA, OWIC 56, no. 23: 28 May 1641. For the French translation of this document, see: "Instruction du comte de Nassau et du conseil secret du Brésil pour l'admiral Jol,

P. Moortamer, C. Nieulant and J. Henderson," in Jadin, *L'ancien Congo et l'Angola*, vol. 1, doc. 27, pp. 34–42.

28. For further information on the disputes between the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland regarding the investments in Brazil and the sponsoring of the military conflicts with the Portuguese in this colony, see, for example, Emmer, "The West India Company," 71–95; Dillen, *Van rijkdom en regenten, handbook tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republiek*, 160–170.

29. NA, OWIC 8: 3 August 1643. For the French translation of this document, see "Les XIX au gouverneur et au Conseil du Recife (extraits)," in Jadin, *L'ancien Congo et l'Angola*, vol. 1, doc. 165, pp. 466–467.

30. Heijer, "The Western African Trade of the Dutch West India Company, 1674–1740."

31. Santos, "A grande construção"; Abreu, "Um quebra-cabeças (quase) resolvido"; Schwartz, *Segredos internos*; Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico*.

32. Curto, *Enslaving Spirits*; see also Ribeiro, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Bahia, 1582–1851," 140–145.

33. Smith, "Old Christian Merchants and the Foundation of the Brazil Company, 1649"; Boxer, "Padre António Vieira, S.J., and the Institution of the Brazil Company in 1649." See also Ribeiro, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Bahia," 140–145.

34. Alencastro, "The Economic Network of Portugal's Atlantic World," 118–119.

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