

## **1. Project information**

Dutch connections: the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795

The early modern era witnessed the emergence of an integrated Atlantic world connecting Europe, Africa, and the Americas, including the West Indies. These parts of the western hemisphere were connected by the circulation of people, goods and ideas. This integrated Atlantic world disappeared in a few decades after the Revolutionary era due to several causes, particularly the end of the slave trade and the decolonisation of the Americas.

In recent years, it has increasingly become clear that Dutch activities in this Atlantic world were of far greater significance than historians hitherto assumed. This proposal focuses on the Dutch dimension of the integrated Atlantic World between 1680 and 1795. The pivotal and indeed exceptional role of the Dutch in the Atlantic world was not one of empire-builders, but one of middlemen and brokers, who greased the Atlantic economic machine with unrivalled credit facilities and a myriad of commodities and distribution channels.

This project aims to analyze how the Dutch networks functioned in this Atlantic world system and to explain to what extent and why these networks changed during this period. The analysis relates to the circulation of people and goods as well as to that of ideas. The project will not only generate more insight into the relevance of the Atlantic dimension to Dutch history, but will also contribute to the rapidly expanding international field of 'Atlantic history' at large.

The research will focus on four (clusters of) pivotal centres at both sides of the Atlantic (Amsterdam/Rotterdam; Paramaribo; Curaçao/St. Eustatius; Elmina). Each of these centres is considered to be a major junction in the flow of people, goods and ideas connecting the three continents of the Dutch Atlantic and its multinational environment.

The project will result in a synthesizing monograph and an edited volume, two monographs, a number of articles in international and national journals, two doctoral dissertations (one of which primarily financed from other sources), a number of papers at international conferences, and digital databases. These publications will be mostly in English in order to contribute to the burgeoning field of Atlantic studies.

## **2. Principal applicant**

Prof.dr. Gert Oostindie, Professor of Caribbean History, Universiteit Leiden, and director, KITLV-KNAW/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Leiden.

## **3. Co-applicants**

- Prof.dr. Karel Davids, Professor of Economic and Social History, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
- Prof.dr. Femme Gaastra, Professor of Maritime History, Universiteit Leiden
- Dr. Henk den Heijer, Lecturer of Maritime History, Universiteit Leiden.

## **4. Previous and future submissions**

PR-06-58, 'Dutch connections: the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, c.1680-1830', prof.dr. Karel Davids (principal applicant), with prof.dr. Femme Gaastra, dr. Henk den Heijer and prof.dr. Gert Oostindie (co-applicants).

This submission was received favourably and rated as eligible for funding in the 2006 round for NWO 'programmatisch onderzoek GW', but in the last round did not receive the requisite ranking to qualify for funding.

The present proposal retains the paradigmatic and methodological framework of the original proposal but departs from the first one in providing a hypothesis more explicitly linking the overall field of Atlantic studies with the specific role of Dutch Atlantic networks. It also envisages a concluding study in the form of synthetic monograph. The periodisation has been slightly altered. Minor additions, updates and revisions have been implemented throughout the text.

### 5. Institutional setting

- Universiteit Leiden, Dept. of History
- Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Dept. of History
- KITLV-KNAW/Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, Leiden.

### 6. Period of funding

1 April 2008 – 31 March 2013 (five years)

### 7. Composition of the research team

#### a. principal applicant

- Prof.dr. Gert Oostindie, Universiteit Leiden, KITLV-KNAW

#### b. co-applicants

- Prof.dr. Karel Davids, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
- Prof.dr. Femme Gaastra, Universiteit Leiden
- Dr. Henk den Heijer, Universiteit Leiden

#### c. researchers

- Dr. Victor Enthoven (postdoc at the Vrije Universiteit)
- Dr. Henk den Heijer, Universiteit Leiden
- Drs. Han Jordaan (Ph.D. student Universiteit Leiden; KITLV-KNAW and Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis (ING-NWO))
- vacancy, PhD candidate at Universiteit Leiden
- vacancy, senior scholar for edited volume at KITLV and Leiden University

#### d. advisor

- Dr. Gerrit Knaap, Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis (ING-NWO)

#### e. table of participating scholars as requested:

Name	Affiliation	Supervisor(s) PhD's
prof. dr. Karel Davids	Vrije Universiteit	
dr. Victor Enthoven	Vrije Universiteit	co-supervising of both PhD students
prof.dr. Femme Gaastra	Universiteit Leiden	
dr. Henk den Heijer	Universiteit Leiden	co-promotor second PhD student
dr. Gerrit Knaap	Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis	co-promotor Jordaan
prof.dr. Gert Oostindie	Universiteit Leiden, KITLV-KNAW	promotor Jordaan and second PhD student
drs. Han Jordaan	KITLV/ING, Universiteit Leiden	Oostindie, Knaap
vacancy, senior scholar	KITLV, Universiteit Leiden	
vacancy, PhD student	Universiteit Leiden	Oostindie, Den Heijer

## 8. Structure of the Proposed Research

*Subproject 1.* Amsterdam and Rotterdam as nodal points in the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. Dr. Victor Enthoven (postdoc, 0,8 fte, 45 months). Vrije Universiteit/Universiteit Leiden; first supervisor prof.dr. Karel Davids, second supervisor prof.dr. Femme Gaastra. Deliverable: monograph.

*Subproject 2.* Paramaribo as a nodal point in the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. PhD student (1,0 fte, 48 months). Vacancy. Universiteit Leiden; promotor prof.dr. Gert Oostindie, co-promotor dr. Henk den Heijer. Deliverable: PhD thesis.

*Subproject 3.* Curaçao and St. Eustatius as nodal points in the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. Drs. Han Jordaan (1,0 fte, 12 months). Universiteit Leiden, KITLV and ING; promotor prof.dr. Gert Oostindie, co-promotor dr. Gerrit Knaap. Deliverable: PhD thesis.

*Subproject 4.* Elmina as a nodal point in the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. Dr. Henk den Heijer (0,3 fte, 24 months). Universiteit Leiden. Deliverable: monograph.

*Subproject 5.* The Dutch Atlantic, 1680-1795: comparative perspectives. Volume based on international conference, to be (co-)edited by a senior scholar (0,6 fte, 12 months) with the (co-)applicant(s). Deliverable: edited volume.

*Subproject 6.* Synthesis. Dutch connections: the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. Dr. Henk den Heijer and prof.dr. Gert Oostindie. Deliverable: monograph. (*vervangingsubsidie*)

*Subproject 7.* The researchers will create datasets (e.g. on shipping, migration, flows of goods, entrepreneurs) as part of their subprojects. These datasets will be made digitally accessible by the Stichting Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS). In consultation with DANS, members of the research team will draw up guidelines to ensure the digital durability of the database. Early standardization of the research data will allow making these accessible by an Easy Store information system. Existing databases on Dutch trade, shipping and migration in the Atlantic area will be made accessible by a Deep Store information system and will be linked to the new datasets, which will create an important database for this research project and for other research projects in the future. Deliverables: several databases.

## 9. Description of the Proposed Research

The present description of the research programme includes discussion of all variables prescribed in the NWO-guidelines yet in a slightly adjusted order so as to optimize the composition and readability of the text.

### *Historiographical and theoretical context*

As a result of European expansion into the Western Hemisphere a common and integrated Atlantic World emerged during the early modern period connecting Europe, the Americas, the West Indies, and Africa. These new intercontinental interconnections were based on the circulation of peoples, goods and ideas. This research proposal takes the recent conceptualisations

of an integrated 'Atlantic world' as its starting point and attempts to highlight how precisely the Dutch Atlantic nodal points provided a nexus linking the various national subsystems of the wider Atlantic. The project is innovative as it integrates the Dutch Atlantic experience in the wider field of Atlantic history and highlights the specific role of the Dutch as brokers between the major Atlantic empires.

A number of American and British historians have shaped our understanding of Atlantic history, pointing out how an integrated Atlantic world came into existence soon after Columbus' voyage to the West, only to disintegrate around 1830 (e.g., Bailyn 2005, Games, O'Reilly). For three reasons, Atlantic studies is a burgeoning field of research. First, analysis of this 'world' begs many questions on the linkages between different subregions. Exciting contemporary research focuses on connections across time and space in the Atlantic world: migration and diasporas; transmission of diseases; commerce and financing; scientific, military, and technological diffusion; ideological and artistic production and sensibilities; conquest, colonisation, and imperialism; and race relations.

Second, the study of the Atlantic world offers rich opportunities for a comparative history of its subregions, focussing on a host of issues, from economic structures to state formation, and political discourses and institutions, as well as complex relations, identities, and practices involving class, race, and gender. Third, Atlantic history assumes a crucial role in the ongoing explorations into 'global' or 'world' history, involving comparisons with other regional or cultural areas (Pacific Rim, the Islamic world, Eurasia etc.) and the study of interregional dynamics.

The circulation of people was the driving force behind the formation of an Atlantic world. The digital revolution has it made possible to chart the migration and demographical developments around the Atlantic Ocean in much more detail than before. Before 1830, the number of African slaves crossing the Atlantic Ocean was much higher than that of Europeans. The research on the total number of enslaved Africans shipped across the Atlantic, a topic pioneered by Philip Curtin, has now resulted in the online publication of an enormous database about the transatlantic slave trade (Curtin; Eltis). It has become clear from this research that several African territories became closely connected with the plantation colonies in America. Historians succeeded also in collecting more data about European migration (Bailyn 1986).

Networks of trade are a second important theme of research. Entrepreneurs developed integrated transnational networks (Ibarra; Pieper & Lesiak). Harbours, cities and regions owed their prosperity to the growth of the Atlantic economy. Some historians maintain that the economic development of Europe was based on the connection with the rest of the Atlantic world (Acemoglu, Johnson & Robinson; Inikori; McCusker & Morgan; Morgan; Schwartz).

Finally, immaterial factors also conduced to the emergence of an integrated Atlantic world. Offices overseas, for instance, were part of the political system of appointments in the home country. Ideas, knowledge, religious convictions and myth were circulating (Alden; Lafuente, Elena & Ortega). Perhaps the most Atlantic – and elusive – of all myths was that of an Eldorado, a land of fabulous wealth and richness (Oostindie 2005).

In recent years, the Dutch dimension of the Atlantic world has attracted much scholarly interest, particularly in the United States. The present research programme ensures a more robust Dutch participation in the expanding field of Atlantic studies.

Dutch historiography has a traditional bias towards the East (Enthoven & Den Heijer). Recently however, the pioneering role of the Dutch in the Atlantic is acknowledged (Emmer & Klooster; Enthoven). Thus, while the Dutch participation in the transatlantic slave trade (ca. 540,000 enslaved Africans) amounted to only five per cent of the total trade, Dutch slavers were crucial in the early period (Den Heijer; Emmer; Eltis; Postma). Moreover, after the loss of Dutch Brazil, the Dutch were instrumental in bringing the 'sugar revolution' to the Caribbean. Finally,

recent scholarship acknowledges the importance of Dutch networks for migration flows constitutive of the Atlantic world, in particular the Jewish Diaspora (Bernardini & Fiering).

Dutch commercial expansion overseas deviated from the European pattern. While Dutch trade with Asia was relatively important, Dutch Atlantic possessions were few and modest in importance. Spain, Portugal, France and England possessed large Atlantic imperia, while the Dutch had only some scattered factories and plantation colonies. Yet the Dutch played crucial roles in trading and shipping. As merchants, privateers, and interlopers, Dutch entrepreneurs became the middlemen and brokers of the West, greasing the Atlantic economy with credit facilities and a myriad of commodities and distribution channels. Scholarly interest regarding in these mechanisms is growing (Israel; Klooster; Postma & Enthoven), but is still in its infancy.

The role of the Dutch in the circulation of ideas and knowledge in the Atlantic world deserves more attention as well. Dutch networks were instrumental in the spread of technical and medical know-how (Davids; Oostindie 1989; Rutten; Snelders; Van Stipriaan). As for religious connections, transatlantic networks connecting Germany via the Netherlands with Suriname (Staehein) emerged in the eighteenth century. In contrast, it is remarkable that the Dutch failed to partake in transatlantic religious, philosophical and political networks aiming at the eradication of the transatlantic slave trade and slavery itself (Oostindie 1996).

Dutch participation in the Atlantic world stems from ca. 1600 and initially promised to mark the building of an extensive formal empire. However, by 1680 the consolidated Dutch Atlantic had narrowed down to some trading posts in West Africa, the plantation zone of the Guyanas and a handful of tiny isles in the Caribbean. This pre-1680 history per se is not an object of the proposed archival research programme. We will use the extant historiography on this period though to establish parallels and divergences with the subsequent period of consolidated rule.

Modern historiography of the Atlantic takes 1830 as the closing of the early modern Atlantic. We do not depart for this paradigmatic caesura as such, but for practical reasons have chosen 1795 as the closing date for our archival research. The early disintegration of the Dutch Atlantic was evident by 1780. The entire period 1795-1830 – Napoleonic wars, French rule at home, British rule in the colonies, abolition of the slave trade, establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, finally the failure of the new imperial ambitions for the Dutch Atlantic – will be studied from secondary sources only. It is evident that this turbulent period warrants separate research.

*Innovative character, leading questions and hypotheses, methodology*

The proposed research is innovative as this is the first attempt to study the role of the Dutch in the Atlantic world from a multi-faceted perspective. We aim to establish the role of the Dutch as brokers and middlemen in the Atlantic world in different guises (entrepreneurs, sailors, colonists etcetera), in different spheres (social, economic and cultural) and at different nodal points. The size, organization and direction of the flow of people, goods and ideas will be reconstructed carefully.

In spite of the relative insignificance of their own possessions, the Dutch were crucial to the circulation of people, products and ideas within the Atlantic world. The aim of this project is *to trace how the Dutch networks in the Atlantic functioned, to establish changes in this broker's function between three continents and between the other national Atlantic empires, and to define contrasts and similarities between the Dutch and other European players in this area.*

More specifically, we hypothesize that for all of its merits, the four-phase developmental scheme for Dutch Atlantic history recently proposed by Jan De Vries (2005; see also Coclanis) is in need of adjustment. While De Vries suggests a succession of discrete phases, *we propose that in the Dutch Atlantic, the second stage – the attempt at organizing and dominating Atlantic trade – and the third – the construction of plantation economies – were to a large extent simultaneous.*

We suggest that *the real and neglected significance of the Dutch Atlantic lies precisely in its function of connecting, mainly through Curaçao and St. Eustatius, with the larger Atlantic empires, not as much with the intent to dominate, but simply to optimize business at the margins of non-Dutch mercantilism.*

We have chosen to focus on ‘nodal points’ in the Atlantic world. Again, this an innovative approach. The selection of each nexus is based on the following criteria:

1. The nodal point has functioned as a star-shaped network from where prolonged connections were maintained with other hubs in the Atlantic;
2. Dutch actors have played a crucial role in the formation and operation of the nodal point;
3. The nodal point had a formal (a set of rules and contracts), an informal (family contacts) as well as an illicit trade network, between which various kinds of interrelations were formed;
4. The nodal point played a pivotal role in the exchange of peoples goods and ideas;
5. The nodal point was part of an integrated Atlantic network.

*Preparatory work, expertise, synergy and institutional embedding of the research group*

Den Heijer, Enthoven, Jordaan and Oostindie are experts in Atlantic history and much of their previous work will be relevant to the present programme. Davids and Gaastra are specialists in economic, social and maritime history and have published extensively about the evolution and diffusion of technology, maritime labour and the economics of early modern colonialism.

While the programme will be centred at Leiden University, active cooperation with and also financial contributions by the other participating institutions are guaranteed. Monthly meetings and regular research seminars will ensure that the participants will indeed form a closely-knit Dutch Atlantic network themselves.

*Available sources*

In our choice of subprojects, we have included pragmatic considerations allowing for both a fair geographical distribution and sufficient archival sources to be available. Within the context of KITLV’s AWAD-project and the ING-project on sources for Dutch colonial history, we will benefit from first-hand advice on promising ‘new’ archival collections. See the description of subprojects for more specific information.

*Relevance to contemporary society*

With the massive postcolonial migration from the former colonies, Dutch colonial history has literally been brought home. This certainly applies to Dutch Atlantic history. The exodus from the former Dutch Caribbean to the Netherlands has sparked an awareness of the colonial roots not only of this migration, but of Dutch society and culture as such.

Two obvious illustrations are the inauguration of a national monument in commemoration of Dutch Atlantic slavery with a centre for education, documentation and research (NiNsee, Amsterdam) as well as the inclusion of Atlantic slavery as one of the fifty ‘windows’ of the recently published canon of Dutch history commissioned by the Dutch government. The present project will also link up with KITLV’s programme ‘The Atlantic World and the Dutch, 1600-2000’ (<http://awad.kitlv.nl/awad/>) and will engage the Advisory Committee and Country Coordinators in discussions on our research.

The present research programme will no doubt generate more data on and new interpretations of the making of the Dutch Atlantic and particularly the crucial significance of the African slave trade and slavery to the Dutch Caribbean. At the same time, it may help to broaden contemporary awareness of early Atlantic history which, after all, raises other extremely interesting questions apart from the history of African enslavement as such – the answering of which may in the end also help us to better understand the particular character of slavery in the Dutch Atlantic.

### *Subprojects*

Below, the subprojects are discussed in more detail. The first four are case studies, while the fifth and sixth both aim to provide comparative perspectives and an attempt at synthesis. The seventh is about the digital archiving of datasets generated in the other subproject.

*Subproject 1.* Amsterdam and Rotterdam as nodal points in the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. Dr. Victor Enthoven (postdoc, 0,8 fte, 45 months). Vrije Universiteit/Universiteit Leiden; first supervisor prof.dr. Karel Davids, second supervisor prof.dr. Femme Gaastra. Deliverable: monograph.

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century Dutch shipping and trade with West Africa and the Americas was concentrated in a few port cities. In the province of Zeeland the cities of Middelburg and Flushing had connections with the Dutch colonies of Berbice, Essequibo and Demerara in Guyana. During the eighteenth century individual merchants and firms of these port cities played a pivotal role in the Dutch transatlantic slave trade. In the province of Holland the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam had commercial interests and contacts in the Atlantic world. While all of the Dutch Republic may be considered a nodal point in the Atlantic network, this subproject focuses on Amsterdam and Rotterdam. This choice has to be made for reasons of manageability of the research project and the availability of archival sources. However, published results of research of the Zeeland-Atlantic network which are relevant for this research, e.g. the slave trade of the Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie, will be incorporated in the subproject.

Amsterdam had a large share in Dutch shipping and trade with Lisbon, Brazil, Suriname, Curaçao and New York (former New Amsterdam). Many merchants and firms (Cooymans, Van Eeghen, De Neufville et cetera) were involved in the distribution of European commodities in the Atlantic and the import of tropical products like sugar, coffee, cacao and tobacco. Through its Atlantic connections Amsterdam created new industries for refining sugar, spinning and blending of tobacco and producing chocolate. The city was also an important gateway for emigrants leaving for the New World. In the second half of the eighteenth century firms in Amsterdam played a dominant role in financing West Indian plantations. They also invested in projects in the United States (Van de Voort 1973; Riley 1978). Some Atlantic relations of Amsterdam, like those with Lisbon have already been studied (Antunes 2004), others will be researched within this project.

Rotterdam was involved in shipping and trade with the Senegambia region, the Caribbean, and the British North America. Besides sugar from the Guyanas it imported large quantities of tobacco and rice from Virginia and Carolina. And like Amsterdam, the city played an important role in the transport of emigrants to the New World. During the eighteenth century approximately 100,000 German emigrants embarked in Rotterdam for Pennsylvania. Several firms in Rotterdam invested in plantations in Dutch colonies in Guyana (Coopstad & Rochussen and Hudig & Whaley). Some of these firms were also involved in the transatlantic slave trade.

To analyse and describe the role of Amsterdam and Rotterdam within the Atlantic network it is necessary to identify merchants or groups of merchants which held key-positions in the local networks. What kind of relations did they maintain with their partners in the Atlantic, how did they communicate, what kind of information was exchanged and to what extent did they combine their Atlantic interests and contacts with those in the Asia trade (cf. De Vries 2005)?

The circulation of people is a key theme of the project. How and why made sailors, soldiers and emigrants transatlantic crossings? Special attention will be paid to German and Jewish migration networks. Secondly, research will be done on the nature and volume of the movement of commodities, including the shift from commodity trade to commissioned trade and the role of Amsterdam capital in the Atlantic, in financing plantation loans in the West Indies e.g.

A third theme of this subproject is the circulation of ideas and knowledge. Both the distribution of both scientific and technical knowledge and the transfer of political ideas via the nodal points will be researched.

The researcher will incorporate the results of former studies, but his main task is to exploit new archival sources. Most of the archival collections are located in the National Archives in The Hague and the municipal archives of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Next to well-known collections like the archives of the Dutch West India Company, the Society of Suriname and notaries' archives also lesser-known collections will be explored. e.g. archives of private firms (Brandt, Van Eeghen and Insinger in Amsterdam, Coopstad & Rochussen in Rotterdam), port authorities and shipping assurance companies. Other relevant sources include contemporary newspapers. Finally research will be done in the National Archives in Kew (Great-Britain). Relevant collections in Kew are the archives of the High Court of Admiralty, Colonial Office and War Office and particularly the recently uncovered collection of private and business correspondence confiscated by British privateers.

The complexity of this subproject requires an experienced senior researcher. Based at the VU, he will both benefit from regular exchange with other VU-researchers working on the circulation of ideas and knowledge in early modern Amsterdam and Rotterdam and contribute to the work of the researchers based in Leiden.

*Subproject 2. Paramaribo as a nodal point in the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. PhD student (1,0 fte, 48 months). Vacancy. Universiteit Leiden; promotor prof.dr. Gert Oostindie, co-promotor dr. Henk den Heijer. Deliverable: PhD thesis.*

From the period 1680 towards the end of the eighteenth century, Suriname developed from a hazardous Dutch settlement to an important plantation colony peopled mainly by enslaved Africans and, to a much lesser degree, European immigrants from diverse origins. The colony imported slaves from Africa and provisions and all kinds of commodities from Europe and the Americas, and exported large quantities of tropical products to North America and particularly Europe.

Paramaribo was the administrative and economic centre of the colony. From this single urban settlement contacts were maintained with the Netherlands, West Africa, the islands in the Caribbean and the British colonies in North America. Europeans settled in Suriname as planters, artisans, soldiers and commercial agents. Jews formed a separate and crucial group within white Suriname society, originating from many different parts of the Atlantic. Metropolitan brokers were closely connected with the colony as in the import of tropical products, the extension of credit and, since the mid-eighteenth century, in direct investments in new plantations (Van de Voort 1973; Oostindie 1989; Van Stipriaan 1993).

Many scholarly works have been published on slavery, the plantation economy and other subjects of Suriname's past, but a study of Paramaribo as an early nodal point in the Atlantic remains to be written. Research has already unearthed a mass of data about the volume and value of Suriname's trade with the metropolis, but our understanding of the commercial relations with other nodal points in the Atlantic, the organisation of the network in Paramaribo and the transport of commodities is still inadequate. The Dutch-American historian Johannes Postma is the only one who made a start in this field (Postma 2003). The research will address these subjects systematically.

Though there was a small Native American population, colonial Suriname soon became a creation of immigrants – Europeans more or less by their own will, the great majority of enslaved Africans by definition against their will. How immigration was regulated in Paramaribo, the only port of entry, is as yet unknown. Neither do we have a reliable picture of the motives of the



European settlers, of their pre-entry information on or contacts in the colony and on the organization of their Atlantic crossing.

Over time a distinct colonial elite emerged in Paramaribo, dominated by metropolitan officials and local planters, merchants and administrators. A systematic study of the development of this elite and its relations with both the Netherlands and other parts of the Atlantic is direly wanted. Research on this topic will not only produce new information on commercial links, but also on local responses to increasing religious, cultural and notably 'racial' diversity within this quickly creolizing elite.

Paramaribo was the gateway for the distribution of knowledge and ideologies. Technical expertise included water management, agronomy and tropical medicine. Ideology included ideas about racial slavery and race relations, religious diversity and colonial rule. The researcher will study how the technical knowledge was imported and distributed, how some European ideological currents (e.g. learned societies and freemasonry) did find their way to Paramaribo while others did not (abolitionism) or only to a limited degree (missionary societies, Dutch patriotism).

The PhD researcher working in this subproject can take a substantial corpus of published sources and secondary literature as a starting point. Next to that, documents will be studied in the archives of the Second West India Company, the Society of Suriname, the Old Archive of Suriname and the archives of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs, all preserved in the National Archives in The Hague. The archive of the Portuguese-Jewish community in Amsterdam, preserved in the municipal archives of Amsterdam, is an important source for research on Jewish immigrants in Suriname.

*Subproject 3.* Curaçao and St. Eustatius as nodal points in the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. Drs. Han Jordaan (1,0 fte, 12 months). Universiteit Leiden, KITLV and ING; promotor prof.dr. Gert Oostindie, co-promotor dr. Gerrit Knaap. Deliverable: PhD thesis.

In the eighteenth century, Curaçao and St. Eustatius were important Dutch centres of trade, migration and information in the wider Caribbean. Merchants of non-Dutch colonies were selling tropical products and buying African slaves and European commodities. While initially Curaçao was the main centre, in the second half of the eighteenth century shipping and trade shifted to St. Eustatius. At the end of the eighteenth century both islands lost their position as nodal points in the Atlantic.

The Dutch initially used Curaçao mainly as a naval base in the war against Spain, but in the 1650s the island started to develop as a regional centre of trade and hence attracted settlers. The rise of Curaçao was closely connected with the development of a slave market on the island for Spanish colonies on the mainland. After the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713), the importance of Curaçao as a slave market diminished. The island's function as a commercial nexus linking the mainland Spanish colonies, the French and British Caribbean islands and North America was maintained throughout the eighteenth century (Klooster).

St. Eustatius started as a private plantation colony owned by merchants from the province of Zeeland, but passed into the hands of the Dutch West India Company in 1683. After the War of the Spanish Succession, Statia became a trade centre and gradually surpassed Curaçao as a slave market. Planters from the surrounding islands bought their slaves and commodities in Statia (Postma). Economic prosperity caused a rise in population from 1,245 inhabitants in 1720 to 7,830 in 1789. Half to two thirds of the inhabitants were African slaves, with a free population originating from North America, several Caribbean islands, and Bermuda. Like Curaçao, St. Eustatius had a substantial Jewish community which maintained close contacts with other Jewish communities in Amsterdam, New York and colonies in the Caribbean.

Research on Curaçao as a nodal point is not incorporated in the proposed subproject. Drs. Han Jordaan will execute this part of the research within the framework of a cooperation between the KITLV and the ING, and as a continuation of the AWAD project. The research on St. Eustatius envisaged in this subproject, however, fits perfectly with his ongoing research project on Curaçao. The projects are supplementary and will particularly generate insight in the relocation of trade, migrations and information from the one island to the other.

The role of St. Eustatius as a nodal point in the Atlantic is a virtual lacuna in historiography. Some work has been done on commodity trade, but a full analysis on the nature and intensity of commercial contacts remains to be written. On the basis of publications and archival research, a selection of important and representative merchants and firms on St. Eustatius will be made. The next step will be to investigate how these players in the field were operating. Research will focus on how the network was built, the influence of official organisations and the role family or ethnic networks played. Research into migration will focus both on the free population, particularly the Jews, and the slave trade and its organisation. A related question is the role of St. Eustatius as a portal for migrants to other parts of the Caribbean.

The distribution of ideas via St. Eustatius is the third subject of research. In the ideological field the researcher will deal with the role and influence of missionaries, but also with the distribution of anti-British revolutionary pamphlets and literature through St. Eustatius to Caribbean.

The researcher of this subproject will focus on sources preserved in the National Archives in The Hague, e.g. the archives of the Second West India Company, the Old Archive of St. Eustatius, Saint Martin and Saba, the archives of the Admiralty Boards and the archives of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs. For unravelling the Jewish network the archives of the Portuguese-Jewish community will be of great value. Also documents of firms in Amsterdam and Rotterdam will be studied; this will be coordinated with the researcher for subproject 1.

*Subproject 4. Elmina as a nodal point in the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. Dr. Henk den Heijer (0,3 fte, 24 months). Universiteit Leiden. Deliverable: monograph.*

The town of Elmina was already an important trading centre on the Gold Coast before it was discovered by Europeans in the fifteenth century. Elminians were engaged in commercial transactions which linked their town with coastal areas and states in the interior. After the Portuguese built a trading castle in Elmina in 1482, the town became part of an international trading network connecting West-Africa with Europe and, after the start of the transatlantic slave trade, the Americas. Between 1637 and 1872 the castle was in Dutch hands. In this period Elmina can be described as a city state in which the Dutch played a pivotal role.

In Elmina, the Dutch maintained contacts with the Netherlands, African states in the interior and coastal areas from Sierra Leone in the north to Calabar in the south, European companies with settlements on the West African Coast and several plantation colonies in the Americas. Elmina was a multi-ethnic community of Africans of different ethnic groups, of Dutchmen, and of people from Euro-African descent. The town played a crucial role in the transit trade of European, Asiatic (textiles and cowrie shells from the Maldives), African and Brazilian commodities, as well as in slaves. Until 1734 the Dutch West India Company held a monopoly in overseas trade in Elmina. After that, private merchants entered the trade. Firms such as the Middelburgsche Commercie Compagnie (MCC) and Coopstad & Rochussen (CR) of Rotterdam had agents in Elmina. The town was not only a nodal point within a wider Atlantic trading network, but it was also an important centre of information and migration on the Gold Coast.

Some aspects of Elmina already have been studied, in particular the relations between Europeans and Africans in town, contacts with the kingdom of Asante in the interior (Feinberg;

Yarak), and the volume of the slave trade and the commodity trade prior to 1740 (Postma 1990; Den Heijer). Research on Elmina as a West African nodal point in the Atlantic, however, remains to be written. A study of Ouidah, the most important trading centre on the Slave Coast, was recently published (Law). This study will be an important frame of reference for the proposed subproject.

Research will first focus on persons who held key positions within the Elminian network. One of the questions that has to be answered is how Dutch officials and agents of private firms maintained contacts with their Euro-African and African partners. What was, for instance, the role of African middlemen in the trade process and how were contacts organised with states in the interior? After this is done the structure of the Elminian network for commodity trade and its role as centre of migration will be studied. Attention will be paid to the origin of sailors and soldiers (mainly from European origin, but also Africans from different parts of the coast and inland states), of Europeans who settled on the Gold Coast, but also of Eurafricans who were sent to the Netherlands and slaves who were shipped to the plantation colonies in the Americas. Finally research will be done on the distribution of technical knowledge via Elmina. How for example was the transfer of mining technology – necessary for gold mining in the hinterlands – organised, or the distribution of expertise on plantation crops?

The researcher working in this subproject will first collect and digest the results of previously published research. He will add to these unpublished data he generated in former projects. Finally he will do additional research in relevant archival collections. The most important documents are preserved in the National Archives in The Hague, notably in the archives of the Second West India Company, the Dutch settlements in Guinea and several colonial collections. Documents of the MCC in the provincial archives in Middelburg and of CR in the municipal archives of Rotterdam will also be studied, as well as collections in the National Archives in Kew as well.

*Subproject 5. The Dutch Atlantic, 1680-1795: comparative perspectives.*

Towards the end of the project, we will organise a major conference with a wide range of specialists on the Atlantic, Dutch and non-Dutch. At this conference we will present the findings of our programme, while external papers will be invited both on the Dutch Atlantic and on other Atlantic empires in order to increase our comparative understanding of the Atlantic and to rethink the merits of our ‘nodal points’ approach. The papers will be revised for publication in an edited volume. A subsidy is requested for the conference costs and for the engagement of a co-editor of the eventual book, a senior scholar who is a native speaker of English. As contributors, we will invite both key Atlantic historians working on other Atlantic empires, scholars working on the Dutch Atlantic in countries outside of the Netherlands, and Dutch historians working in the field of world history. A definitive list of contributors will be compiled as our work progresses. Potential invitees with whom we have already had contacts include professors Douglas Bradburn, Ana Crespo Solana Wim Klooster, Christian Koot, Jan Lucassen, Silvia Marzagalli, John McCusker, Jan Parmentier, Johannes Postma, and Claudia Schnurmann.

*Subproject 6. Synthesis. Dutch connections: the circulation of people, goods and ideas in the Atlantic world, 1680-1795. Dr. Henk den Heijer and prof.dr. Gert Oostindie. Deliverable: monograph. (vervangingssubsidie)*

The project will be completed by the writing, by Den Heijer and Oostindie, of a monograph providing a synthesis of the work done in the individual studies and in the international conference in the light of our hypothesis about the development of the Dutch Atlantic economy formulated above. This monograph will also explore the relevance of the Dutch case for the wider field of Atlantic studies and re-evaluate the concept of ‘nodal points’ as a heuristic device. The synthesis will therefore provide a state-of-the-art overview of Dutch Atlantic history up to ca.

1800, discuss the specific character of Dutch colonialism and Dutch networks in the wider Atlantic, and reflect on the consequences of our findings for the debate on Atlantic history as such. In order to fully incorporate the results of the other subprojects, we will start the writing of the synthesis in the last 15 months of the total projects and complete the book manuscript several months after all other subprojects have been finished. A *vervangingssubsidie* is requested for Oostindie.

*Subproject 7. Datasets.* All researchers.

In *all* subprojects, the researchers will create datasets (e.g. on shipping, migration, flows of goods, entrepreneurs) as part of their subprojects. These datasets will be made digitally accessible by the Stichting Data Archiving and Networked Services (DANS). In consultation with DANS, members of the research team will draw up guidelines to ensure the digital durability of the database. Early standardization of the research data will allow making these accessible by an Easy Store information system. Existing databases on Dutch trade, shipping and migration in the Atlantic area will be made accessible by a Deep Store information system and will be linked to the new datasets, which will create an important database for this research project and for other research projects in the future.

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## 10. Work Programme

The full programme will be executed over a five-year period in the period 1 April 2008 – 31 March 2013, with the following specifics for the various subprojects:

- subproject 1: 1 April 2008 – 31 March 2012
- subproject 2: 1 September 2008 – 31 August 2012 (defense dissertation Summer 2012)
- subproject 3: 1 September 2011 – 31 August 2012 (defense dissertation Summer 2012)
- subproject 4: 1 January 2011 – 31 December 2012
- subproject 5: conference early 2012, completion edited volume Fall of 2012
- subproject 6: 1 January 2012 – 31 March 2013
- subproject 7: 1 April 2008 – 31 December 2012.

## 11. Word Count

For the general description of the project, 1,958 words. A total of 3,435 words for the seven subprojects. In both cases, the number of words does not exceed the maximum.

## 12. Planned Deliverables

- subproject 1: monograph in English, articles in English\*
- subproject 2: dissertation in Dutch, articles in Dutch and/or English\*
- subproject 3: dissertation in Dutch or English, articles in Dutch and/or English\*
- subproject 4: monograph in Dutch
- subproject 5: edited volume in English
- subproject 6: monograph in English
- subproject 7: various databases in English

\* Articles will be prepared for scholarly journals – *International Journal of Maritime History*, *Atlantic Studies*, *Journal of Early Modern History*, *Journal of Global History*, *Itinerario*, *New West Indian Guide*, *Tijdschrift voor Zeegegeschiedenis* – as well as for the edited volume (subproject 5).

## 13. Short Curriculum Vitae Principal Applicant

Gert J. Oostindie (1955) studied History and Social Sciences at the Free University, Amsterdam (M.A., *cum laude*, 1982; Praemium Erasmianum Prize for MA-thesis on colonial history of Cuba) and graduated from Utrecht University (Ph.D., *cum laude*, 1989, thesis on plantation economy and slavery in Suriname). Since 2000, he is the director of the KITLV/ Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies in Leiden, an institute of the KNAW/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. From 1993 through 2006, he held a chair in Anthropology of the Caribbean at Utrecht University. In 2006, he was appointed to a chair in Caribbean History at Leiden University.

Oostindie's initial work was in social and economic history of Latin America, and specifically the (Dutch) Caribbean. He then moved to the study of more contemporary themes such as ethnicity, decolonisation and migration, always in Caribbean studies. His most recent work incorporates comparative perspectives on Dutch colonialism in Asia and the Atlantic, including the place of colonialism in the contemporary Dutch canon of history. He directs the international program 'The Atlantic World and the Dutch, 1600-2000' financed by the Dutch ministries of Foreign Affairs (BZ) and Education, Culture and Sciences (OCW); see <http://awad.kitlv.nl/awad/>.

Oostindie has (co-)published over twenty books and many more articles. Most of his work is available full-text online in Keur der Wetenschap/Cream of Science. For more details, see <http://www.kitlv.nl/oostindie.html>. Five books of relevance to the present theme are:

- Ethnicity in the Caribbean* (ed.). Reprint with new Preface, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005. (Original edition London: Macmillan, 1996.)
- Paradise Overseas. The Dutch Caribbean: Colonialism and its Transatlantic Legacies*. Oxford: Macmillan, 2005.
- Facing Up to the Past. Perspectives on the Commemoration of Slavery from Africa, the Americas and Europe* (ed.). Kingston: Ian Randle/The Hague: Prince Claus Fund, 2001.
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## 14. Summary for non-specialists

Door de Europese expansie in het westelijke halfrond ontstond in de vroegmoderne tijd een geïntegreerde Atlantische wereld waarin Europa, Afrika en Amerika steeds meer met elkaar verbonden raakten. Dit verband ontstond door de circulatie van personen, goederen en ideeën. Door verschillende oorzaken ging veel van deze samenhang in de negentiende eeuw verloren. Dit projectvoorstel neemt het concept van de ‘Atlantische wereld’ als uitgangspunt. Het beoogt een bijdrage te leveren aan het internationaal snel expanderende onderzoeksterrein van ‘Atlantic history’ en bovendien meer kennis en inzicht te verwerven in de relatie tussen de Atlantische en de Nederlandse geschiedenis.

In de Nederlandse overzeese geschiedschrijving is de blik tot nu toe altijd meer naar het Oosten dan naar het Westen gericht geweest. In het licht van het internationale onderzoek is de rol van Nederlandse netwerken in de Atlantische wereld tussen circa 1680 en het einde van de achttiende eeuw echter bijzonder interessant. Vergeleken met de andere koloniale machten in de Amerika’s was het koloniale bezit klein. Het aandeel van de Republiek in de circulatie van mensen, goederen en ideeën in de Atlantische wereld via deze ‘knooppunten’ was echter substantieel.

Dit project is erop gericht te onderzoeken *hoe Nederlandse netwerken tussen 1680 en 1795 functioneerden, hoe de bemiddelende functie zich ontwikkelde en waar de verschillen lagen tussen het Nederlands-Atlantische imperium en de andere Europese imperia in het Atlantisch gebied*. Het beginpunt is gesteld op het moment dat het koloniale bezit van de Republiek in het Atlantische gebied zich voorlopig heeft gestabiliseerd. Door het onderzoek door te trekken tot het einde van de achttiende eeuw hopen we inzicht te krijgen in het functioneren van de netwerken in de periode van maximale integratie (1680-1780), maar wordt tevens het begin van de relatief vroege desintegratie van het Nederlands-Atlantische systeem onderzocht.

Voor een diepgaand inzicht in het functioneren van netwerken is een combinatie van invalshoeken vereist. De rol van – al dan niet geboren – ‘Nederlanders’ als verbindingsfiguren in de Atlantische wereld wordt in dit project daarom in hun verschillende gedaantes (als handelaars, zeevaarders en kolonisten, maar ook als lidmaten van bestuurlijke, culturele of religieuze netwerken), in verschillende sferen (economisch, sociaal, cultureel) en op verschillende knooppunten onderzocht. De omvang, aard en richting van stromen van mensen, goederen en ideeën dient zo volledig mogelijk te worden gereconstrueerd; bovendien moet worden nagegaan hoe netwerken werden georganiseerd en op gang gehouden. Als onderzoeksstrategie hanteren wij een focus op cruciale ‘knooppunten’ in de Atlantische wereld: in Europa ligt de nadruk op Amsterdam en Rotterdam, in de Amerika’s op Paramaribo en Curaçao/Sint Eustatius, in Afrika op Elmina.

Uitgangspunt van het programma is dat het Nederland-Atlantische rijk dan wel betrekkelijke klein was, maar dat Nederlanders een belangrijke bemiddelende functie vervulden met en tussen de andere Atlantische imperia. Onlangs heeft de befaamde historicus Jan de Vries in dit verband een schema voorgesteld van vier achtereenvolgende stadia in de Nederlands-Atlantische geschiedenis. Onze hypothese is *dat de tweede en derde fase van dit schema – het streven naar deelname aan en mogelijk dominantie van de hele Atlantische handel, respectievelijk de concentratie op eigen plantagekolonies – niet opeenvolgend maar gelijktijdig waren. Het werkelijke en veronachtzaamde belang van de ‘Dutch Atlantic’ ligt juist in die functie van het onderhouden van intensieve relaties, vooral via Curaçao en Sint Eustatius, met de grotere Atlantische imperia, niet zozeer om deze te beheersen, als wel met de bedoeling zo in de marge van het mercantilisme van de andere Europese mogendheden de eigen economische kansen te optimaliseren.*

De maatschappelijke relevantie van dit onderzoek ligt in de sfeer van de ‘herontdekking’ van de koloniale geschiedenis. De Caraïbische exodus naar Nederland heeft de ooit vergeten Atlantische geschiedenis teruggebracht in het collectieve bewustzijn. Dit geldt in het bijzonder het Nederlandse slavernijverleden, een van de vijftig vensters van de nieuwe Nederlandse canon. Dit onderzoeksprogramma is relevant voor het begrip van het Nederlandse slavernijverleden, maar doet ook recht aan het feit dat slavernij niet het *enige* belangwekkende aspect is van de Nederlands-Atlantische slavernij.

In dit programma fungeert het Instituut voor Geschiedenis van de Universiteit Leiden als spin in een eigentijds netwerk van onderzoekers van de Leidse universiteit, de Vrije Universiteit, het KITLV en het ING. Laatst genoemde instituten dragen €196.000 bij.

Het programma zal uitmonden in een synthese, een *edited volume* gebaseerd op een internationale conferentie, een monografie, twee dissertaties, diverse artikelen in internationale en nationale tijdschriften, conferentiepapers en een professionele en zeer uitgebreide database. De meeste publicaties zullen in het Engels worden geschreven.

In het internationale congres, het *edited volume* en de synthese zal de vraag centraal staan hoe het patroon van de onderzochte knooppunten en netwerken in de Nederlands-Atlantische wereld past in het bredere beeld van de Atlantische wereld in deze periode, en wat de implicaties van de onderzoeksresultaten zijn voor de *state of the art* van het internationale wetenschappelijke debat over *Atlantic studies*.

## 15. Research Budget

Total research budget is €746,000. KITLV and ING jointly contribute €196,000 to subproject 3. Funding required from NWO amounts to €550,000:

Subproject 1	€170,633
Subproject 2	€172,371
Subproject 3	€ 47,336
benchfee 1-3	€ 15,000
Subproject 4	€ 45,966
Subproject 5	€ 48,694
Subproject 6	€ 25,000
Subproject 7	<u>€ 25,000 +</u>
Total	€550,000