

Windmills in the West Indies

*Dutch entrepreneurs and the development of Barbados
1621-1655*

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The cover shows the recently restored windmill of Morgan Lewis Plantation, St Andrew, Barbados. Photo Norman C. Kieft.

Introduction

[...] Being now come to the distance of two or three leagues, my first observation was, the form of the island in general, which is highest in the middle; by which commodity of situation, the inhabitants within have these advantages; a free prospect to sea, and a reception of pure refreshing air, and breezes that come from thence: the plantations overlooking one and other so, as the most inland parts, are not bar'd nor restrained the liberties of their view to sea, by those that dwell between them and it. [...] [We] put into Carlisle Bay; wich is the best in the island, where we found riding at anchor, 22 good ships, with boats plying to and fro, with sails and oars, which carried commodities from place to place: so quick stirring, and numerous as I have seen it below the bridge at London.¹

Thus described Richard Ligon, an English gentleman who left England in 1647 because of the English Civil War, his first view of Barbados. Roughly between 1650 –1700 Barbados knew a spectacular development in which the island became the most important English colony in the western hemisphere. Ligon did not mention windmills but in 1660 there were several hundreds on the island. Nowadays only one remains more or less intact. Morgan Lewis Windmill has strikingly Dutch features, suggesting a Dutch influence in Barbados. This study will show the crucial role that Dutch merchants and skippers played in the early development of the English colony of Barbados. In short: why were Dutch entrepreneurs so important and how did their involvement take place?

Dutch skippers and merchants were emphatically present from the start of the colony in 1627 until about 1660. The key importance of Dutch entrepreneurs in Barbados was one of the reasons for the English government to issue the first Navigation Act of 1651. This act, and its followers, was the expression of the mercantilist policy that the British government adopted to protect British trade and commercial interests from foreign, especially Dutch, competition. The ever more powerful attempts of the English to ban foreign competition from their richest colony eventually led to the end of the Dutch presence in Barbados. This subject will be studied against the background of the development of the Dutch Republic and of the economical and political developments in England

Besides a general reference, there will be little mention of the Dutch West India Company (WIC). This study is about private traders and masters who operated outside the monopoly of the WIC. The trade policy of the Dutch Republic therefore also lies beyond the perspective of this paper. It is the tale of entrepreneurs who tried to do business as they saw fit, on their own account and at their own risk.

The study is based on literature as far as developments in the Netherlands and England are concerned as well as the political and economic development of Barbados. An effort to draw a picture of trade relations between Amsterdam and Barbados from sources in the Notarial Archive of the Community Archives of Amsterdam (GAANA) shall be made. This Notarial Archive contains several types of acts and contracts that are relevant to the subject of this study. Firstly there are the freight charters. Merchants and ships masters usually made up a notarial act in which was described with what cargo and instructions the master was sent out and what he should bring back on his return. This kind of charter was essentially drawn up between private parties acting outside the WIC monopoly. From these charters we derive the names of the private traders involved in the trade with Barbados.

¹ Richard Ligon, *A true and exact history of the island of Barbadoes* (London 1657, second impression 1673, reprint second impression 1976), 21.

Another contract was the *bodemery*. It was a form of credit to merchants or masters on the security of the ships bottom and often (a part of) the cargo. This type of loan was mostly used by merchants to purchase the goods that were to be shipped. Loss through shipwreck or to piracy was at the risk of the money supplier. But after a safe return, the money supplier would receive the principal credit and an amount or percentage to compensate for the risk he had taken. The level of this compensation indicates the risk involved in the voyage. Again, this type of contract was used mostly outside the WIC operations.²

Furthermore there are *attestations* made by sailors or merchants for public notaries about events which they witnessed. Through *insinuations* people were held accountable for damages. Through *procurations* somebody could be entrusted to collect goods or money from a third party. Charters and contracts of this nature all give information about incidental occurrences and the normal proceedings in the business. The Notarial Archive, therefore gives information about the private trade between Barbados and the Republic. Only rarely was the WIC mentioned in the contracts.

A remarkable aspect of these contracts is that they very rarely mention the slave trade. This is interesting as some estimates give the number of slaves in Barbados in 1645 of 5680 rising to 20.000 in 1655.³ The reason for this omission is that the WIC strictly kept the monopoly on the slave trade, as well as the trade in dyewood and ammunitions. Private traders therefore had little to do with either of these cargoes.

The allowance of free trade outside of the WIC monopoly was mainly a victory for tradesmen from Amsterdam. The majority of Atlantic merchants and mariners in the south of Holland and in Zeeland remained within the WIC operations.⁴ Consequently, in this study we deal exclusively with private traders from the north of Holland. In publications about seventeenth century Atlantic trade, the so-called *triangular trade* between Europe, West Africa and the Americas is often mentioned. This implies that ships sailed out to Africa, carrying general cargo, which then was traded for slaves, who in turn were shipped across the Atlantic and were sold in the West Indies. With the proceeds of this trade a cargo of West Indian produce was bought after which the ship would return to the Dutch Republic. In the charters of the Notarial Archive almost no mention is made of the triangular trade. The private traders operated directly between Europe and the West Indies.

² S. Hart, 'De zeventiende eeuw, van 1585 tot ca. 1680', in: L.M. Akveld, S. Hart en W.J. Hoboken, *Maritieme geschiedenis der Nederlanden, vol 2* (Bussum 1977), 121-123.

³ Vincent T. Harlow, *A history of Barbados 1625-1685* (London 1926, reprint New York 1969), 338.

⁴ P.C. Emmer, 'The West India Company, 1621-1791: Dutch or Atlantic?', in: L. Blussé and F. Gaastra (eds), *Companies and trade* (Leiden 1981), 79.

1 Barbados prior to the English colonization

The island of Barbados is the most eastern island of the Caribbean. It is situated some 90 miles east of the great arch of the Lesser Antilles that stretches from Trinidad in the south to Puerto Rico in the north. The island mainly consists of coral rock and is approximately 21 miles long and 14 miles wide. The coral rock rises in a number of terraces to a height of 1.100 ft above sea level. The island is not really mountainous and there are no rivers but it is dissected by a number of deep gullies that drain excess rainwater. These gullies were a serious obstacle to inland travel and transportation.

Barbados lies in the northeast trade winds. Sailing vessels could reach the island relatively easy from Europe by following the Canary Gulf Stream and the northequatorial current across the Atlantic. As there were no high mountains one could easily pass the island without sighting it. In that case the sailing ships of the sixteenth and seventeenth century had no other option than to sail on to the Spanish Main and pass by Florida and then go back across the Atlantic to make another attempt.⁵

About the origin of the name of Barbados there is some uncertainty. On a map of 1508 the island is named *La Barbata*. From Spanish sources of the early sixteenth century the name *Los Barbudos* emerges. Often the name is explained through the presence of the bearded fig tree (*ficus citrofilia*) on Barbados. But as this tree is abundant in the entire Caribbean, this seems not a very probable explanation. A solution might be the presence of the coral reefs where the heavy ocean swell causes large breakers. Those breakers formed a 'beard' of foam around the island. On the often-embellished charts of the era, this beard might explain the name.⁶

Little is known about the earliest history of Barbados. From archaeological research it is known that the island was inhabited by Amerindians from 350 AD until the early sixteenth century. Their presence ended by the coming of the Spanish. The Spanish concentrated on the Greater Antilles but they needed labour from the other islands. They organised raids to the Lesser Antilles to capture Amerindians to use them as slaves on their plantations. The Indians could only hope to defend themselves in the heavy-forested mountains on the volcanic Lesser Antilles. But due to the relatively flatness of Barbados, they stood no chance and either migrated elsewhere or were forcibly taken away by the Spanish. In 1540 Barbados was uninhabited. The Indians kept coming to Barbados on foraging raids.⁷ It was the only uninhabited island at the time of colonization in the Caribbean.

In the early sixteenth century, Barbados was frequently visited by passing Portuguese and Spanish vessels searching food and fresh water. From their logbooks come the first known descriptions of Barbados. In 1541 the Spanish discoverer Alonzo de Santa Cruz found the island uninhabited. In 1563 Barbados was visited by Pedro a Campas in search of water. He found excellent springs.⁸ He let loose some hogs as a food supply for further visits. There are some indications that Indians visited the island to hunt those pigs.⁹

⁵ P.F. Campbell, *Some early Barbadian history* (St Michael 1993), 4.

⁶ Ibidem, 7-8.

⁷ Hilary D. Beckles, *A history of Barbados, from Amerindian settlement to nation-state* (Cambridge 1990), 1-6.

⁸ Rainwater filtered through the porous coral rock giving an excellent water quality.

⁹ Campbell, *Some early history*, 11.

2 England and the Dutch Republic in the Atlantic Trade after 1600

England and the English colonization in the West

In the period from 1540 - 1640 England knew a population growth that exceeded the increase of the food supply. Food prices in 1640 were eight times as high as in 1500, whereas wages only trebled in the period. That meant that a majority of the population was impoverished. Instead of endlessly dividing the family property, younger sons were encouraged to leave home and work as servants elsewhere. At the same time farmers tried to improve their producing techniques. In certain parts of England this involved a capital injection that only the bigger farmers could afford. Small farmers could not invest and lost the competition with their bigger neighbours. Employment in other sectors was lacking. Tradesmen suffered because of the lack of buying power in general. A situation of chronic unemployment developed.¹⁰

As a result of these circumstances people migrated away to find a livelihood elsewhere. Part of this migration was directed across the Atlantic. During the entire seventeenth century over 330.000 people, mostly young men, went to the Americas, the majority to the West Indies. Beside voluntary migrants an increasing number of people were forcibly shipped overseas convicted for begging or on religious grounds.¹¹

Colonies offered access to exotic products as well as a place where people could live who were forced to leave England for social-economic, religious or political reasons. The founding of a colony usually was the result of the initiative of merchants united in a trading company. The partners in a company took part in the joint operation at their own cost and risk, but they voluntarily subjected themselves to a code of behaviour that prevented competition amongst them. The king did not interfere directly in the process. He did issue patents to companies or peers, in which a certain area was designated to a company. Such a patent gave the company the right to establish settlements and to defend them. A patent also meant that the area fell under the jurisdiction of the crown.¹²

The Dutch Republic and the trade in the West Indies

The Dutch played a major role in the economic development of Barbados. To understand this process, we must now look at the economic development of the Netherlands.

The capture of the city of Antwerp by Spanish forces in 1585 during the Dutch Rising was the prelude to an enormous expansion of trading, shipping and financial facilities in the Republic. Trade in the northern provinces developed in a short time into an entrepot. Trade routes that previously went through Antwerp and the German Hanseatic cities shifted to Amsterdam in the closing decades of the sixteenth century. A variety of industries that upgraded goods from all over Europe developed in the province of Holland. A large, complex system of storage and distribution was formed. Simultaneously, an elaborate system of financial services and assurances enabled merchants to minimise their financial risks.¹³

Until the 1590s Dutch merchants were mostly engaged in the European trade. The imports of tropical produce usually took place by trading with the Spanish or Portuguese. A number of trade embargos by Spain, united in a personal union with Portugal, against the

¹⁰ John Morill, 'The Stuarts (1603-1688)', in: Kenneth O. Morgan (ed), *The Oxford history of Britain* (Oxford 1988, reprint 1999) 329-331.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, 337.

¹² G.M. Trevelyan, *Illustrated English social history, vol 2, the age of Shakespeare and the Stuart period* (Harmondsworth 1964, reprint 1966), 124.

¹³ Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch primacy in world trade 1585 – 1740* (Oxford 1989), 46.

revolting Dutch, interrupted the flow of tropical goods into Holland. Dutch traders were now forced to go out to the regions where spices, salt, sugar and tobacco were grown. The search for these goods led to expeditions to Guinea in Africa and to the East and West Indies. Equipping expeditions to such distant and dangerous destinations was a very costly affair. To spread the risk, merchants formed consortia that entered into a fierce competition amongst one another. This competition in turn led to further risks for the participating merchants. Therefore it was decided to stop this competition and regulate participation in the colonial trade. In 1602 trade with the East Indies was regulated through the monopoly of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Up to 1621 trade on Africa and the West Indies however remained a strange mixture of cooperation and competition.¹⁴ Ships from Rotterdam and the province of Zeeland were sent out to the Caribbean to find the goods that became unavailable due to the Spanish embargo. Especially the Portuguese colony of Brazil offered good opportunities to Dutch merchants. The Portuguese producers were very willing to sell their produce to the Dutch, as they were unhappy with the Spanish domination of Portugal. It also proved possible for Dutch traders to deal directly with Spaniards who thus circumvented Spanish taxation.¹⁵

To have any hope of success in getting access to the goods that were produced in the Americas it was necessary to establish trading posts in the Caribbean and on the continent. Protected by a fort, a trading post could stockpile cargo and give merchants an opportunity to await the best moment for their transactions. Such an operation demanded close cooperation between merchants, thus providing another incentive to form consortia. The provinces of Zeeland and Holland supported these initiatives by offering tax reductions and the supply of arms.¹⁶ Some cities in the north of Holland managed to achieve an important position in the salt trade from the coast of the Venezuela, in particular from Punta de Araya.

After 1600 Dutch entrepreneurs became active in the transatlantic trade following the Spanish trade embargo against the Dutch Republic. Both Spain and Portugal were heavily involved in that trade for over a century. Since the 1560s England was also active in the region. Although the Dutch were late in entering the competition, they did not seem to be at a disadvantage because of the enormous competing power they had built during the struggle with Spain. Dunn states that between 1604 and 1640: “the Hollanders turned the Caribbean into a Dutch lake”. One difference between the English and the Dutch is that the first were far more inclined to establish colonies where considerable numbers of Britons lived, whereas the Dutch were primarily interested in trading.¹⁷

The West India Company

In 1607 some merchants in the United Provinces pleaded for the founding of a trading company for the Atlantic trade that would be protected by a monopoly similar to the VOC. In that year the Republic started negotiations with Spain over a peace settlement. A Dutch West India Company would constitute a threat to Spanish interests and to the peace talks, and therefore the forming of this company was delayed. The peace talks led to a cease-fire in 1609 that was to last twelve years. During this cease-fire a definitive peace should be negotiated. This final peace treaty never came about and the war was resumed in 1621. In that year merchants from the south of Holland and from Zeeland successfully persuaded the Estates General to grant the charter to establish the West India Company. The launch of the WIC

¹⁴ Israel, *Dutch primacy*, 61,62.

¹⁵ Ibidem, 58.

¹⁶ Ibidem, 64.

¹⁷ Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and slaves, the rise of the planter class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina 1972), 55.

proved to be more difficult than the start of the VOC. One reason was the fact that from the beginning of the century a number of private companies had been successfully engaged in the transatlantic trade. They did not need the monopoly of the WIC. Some circles in Zeeland specifically asked for permission to engage in privateering against Spain. Merchants especially in Amsterdam were very reluctant to this and hesitated to furnish funds for the company. Cities to the north of Amsterdam, especially Hoorn, were against handing over their stake in the salt trade with Punta de Araya to a company in which their influence would be limited. All this and the economic depression of the beginning of the seventeenth century and the additional difficulties as a result of the renewed war with Spain made investors reluctant to supply capital for the new company. It lasted until 1623 before the necessary capital of six million guilders was brought together.¹⁸

The charter of the WIC stated that the company had the monopoly on the Atlantic trade south of the tropic of cancer. Besides, the company had the right to engage in privateering operations against Spanish and Portuguese interests and the right to found colonies. Within the area designated by the charter the company could participate in alliances and keep armed forces. In this respect, the WIC resembled the older VOC. The main difference between the two companies was that the WIC operated in an area where Spain and Portugal were very prominently present. That meant that warfare was to be a key activity of the new company. Most of the shareholders were much more interested in the development of commercial activities.¹⁹ The governors of the WIC, the '*Heren XIX*', stressed the importance of the conquest of colonies and markets that should be protected by fortresses, garrisons and naval squadrons. Only thus could the role of the Republic in world trade be guaranteed.²⁰ The WIC met with disaster in its first attempts to make conquests in its territory. In 1624 Salvador de Bahia in Brazil was conquered, but lost the next year to a large Spanish force. In 1625 an attempt to conquer Puerto Rico failed. On the Gold Coast in West Africa the important Portuguese fortress of El Mina proved impregnable. Furthermore the company lost two fortresses on the Amazon estuary. These setbacks rapidly exhausted the companies financial reserves.²¹

Despite these setbacks the company managed to make trade with West Africa profitable. The absence of competition between merchants caused the returns to rise. The WIC controlled a major part of the gold trade from West Africa. Besides, the returns of privateering were considerable. In this respect the capture off the coast of Cuba of a treasure-fleet from the Spanish Main by the WIC admiral Piet Heyn in 1628 was an enormous success. Nevertheless the returns of the gold trade and privateering were insufficient to improve the position of the WIC.²² Better chances were sought in the capture of the cities Olinda and Recife in the province of Pernambuco in northeast Brazil. It took however a long time before the company could begin to profit of this conquest due to the stubborn resistance of the Portuguese in inland Pernambuco. It lasted until 1633 before Portuguese resistance was broken with the help of local Indians and Pernambuco was conquered. The Portuguese were afraid that the staunch Dutch Protestants would interfere with their Roman Catholicism. They were appeased by the grant of freedom of religion and tax exemption in trading with the Dutch Republic. Slowly the possession of Pernambuco began to offer better prospects.²³ The situation improved dramatically when the Estates General of the United Provinces decided to replace quarrelling governors of Pernambuco by the very competent count John Maurice of

¹⁸ Henk den Heijer, *De geschiedenis van de WIC* (Zutphen 1994), 33.

¹⁹ Ibidem, 33, 34.

²⁰ Israel, *Dutch primacy*, 157.

²¹ Ibidem, 160.

²² Ibidem, 161-162.

²³ Den Heijer, *De WIC*, 41.

Nassau-Siegen. He arrived in Brazil in 1637. He tried to increase the production of sugar and asked to send colonists over from the Netherlands. Only a few Dutchmen were prepared to settle in Brazil. A number of Portuguese Jews who fled to Holland from the Inquisition, came over.²⁴

Private trading and the WIC

The poor financial position of the WIC hindered the development the company as well as the trade with Brazil. Due to the high cost of warfare, the company lacked funds to supply the colony with necessary goods. As early as 1630 the WIC decided to abolish the monopoly in part by allowing private traders to do business directly with Brazil. These traders in turn had to pay the company a recognition fee. Only the trade in dyewood, slaves and munitions remained under the rules of the WIC monopoly. After a short interruption in which the monopoly was reinstated, private trading was again introduced in 1638.²⁵ The trade with Brazil gradually became more important for the Republic. The colony exported more dyewood, sugar and tobacco. In the late 1630s the Dutch controlled the sugar trade and the slave trade connected with it. Especially Sephardic Jews were engaged in the production, transport and refining of sugar. The strong position of the WIC proved a severe obstruction for the Portuguese sugar exports from southern Brazil.²⁶

The Portuguese rising against Spain in 1640 led to the independence of Portugal. Portugal and the Dutch Republic with the exception of the province of Zeeland reached a cease-fire in 1641. The WIC were also opposed to this treaty because the struggle against the Portuguese interests in West Africa and in Brazil was almost a *raison d'être* for the company. The Portuguese in Pernambuco started to resist the Dutch. They harboured a strong dislike of the Dutch and even more of the Sephardic Jews. Many Portuguese owed large debts to the Jewish buyers of their sugar.²⁷ In 1642 and 1645 risings in Pernambuco led almost to the complete loss of the colony. In the end the last small remnant of the colony was handed over to the Portuguese.²⁸ This put an end to the role of the WIC in the Netherlands colonial system. In the future the company would engage in trading with colonies of other powers.²⁹ But in this sphere it also played only a minor role. The lifting of the monopoly in favour of private traders in the Caribbean in 1638 was a stimulus for private enterprise. The peace with Portugal in 1641 and the peace with Spain in 1648 made the company dependent of the recognition payments of the free traders.³⁰

In the first years of its existence The WIC had little to do with Barbados. According to the chronicle of the WIC over the years 1621-1636 '*Het iaerlijck verhael*' by Johannes de Laet, the island was only visited a few times by company ships. They only came for victuals and fresh water.³¹

²⁴ Ibidem, 45.

²⁵ Den Heijer, *De WIC*, 45.

²⁶ Israel, *Dutch primacy*, 165.

²⁷ Ibidem, 168.

²⁸ Den Heijer, *De WIC*, 50-53.

²⁹ Israel, *Dutch primacy*, 170.

³⁰ Johan E. Elias, *Het voorspel tot den eersten Engelschen Oorlog, tweede deel* (Den Haag 1920), 160,161.

³¹ Johannes de Laet, *Het iaerlijck verhael van de verrichtingen der Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie* (Leiden 1644, facsimilae Den Haag 1931) Vol II, 76, 97, 166-167, 185, Vol III 188.

3 Barbados: the colony and the Dutch

Colonization by the English

The colonization of Barbados was the initiative of two London merchants, Sir William and Sir Peter Courteen. Sons of a Flemish merchant who fled Flanders for the war with Spain, they were partners in a trading company. Their company had an establishment in Middelburg, the capital of the province of Zeeland. The Courteens had close relations with a Zeeland entrepreneur, Jan de Moor from Middelburg. De Moor and Peter Courteen founded fort Kijkoveral (“look around”) on the Essequibo river in Guyana. Jan de Moor was also one of the founders of the Dutch WIC in 1621.³² Another of the founders was Pieter Boudaen Courten³³ who was the son of Mathias Boudaen and Margaretha Courten, a sister of Peter and William Courteen.³⁴ The English historian Harlow mentions a Peter Boudaen who was married into the Courteen family and who was one of the founders of the Courteen Company.³⁵ This shows how closely related Dutch and English commercial operations in the West could be.

In 1624 the Courteens sent a ship westbound to search for land that could be settled as an agricultural colony. Returning from Brazil the ship reached Barbados. The presence of excellent drinking water and the quality of the soil were promising. The leader of this expedition, John Powell, claimed the island in name of King James I. That happened on 14th May 1625. Powell sailed home to England where he and his brother Henry negotiated with the Courteens to set up a colony. As a result the ship *William and John* under command of Henry Powell and with a crew of about sixty set sail for Barbados in November 1626. They arrived at Barbados in February 1626/27.³⁶ Immediately after landing on the island, Henry Powell sailed on to the Anglo Dutch settlement on the Essequibo in Guyana. Its governor, Aert van Groenewegen (also known as Amos van Groenewegen) supplied Powell with tools and forty Arawak Indians. These Indians proved invaluable with their knowledge of plants and agriculture in the tropics. In 1627 John Powell sailed to Barbados with another group of colonists.³⁷

Life on the island was very difficult in the first years. There were many practical difficulties to be solved. Inexperience with living in the tropics and cultivating the tropical forest, lack of tools, equipment and manpower, and a high mortality rate dominated the lives of the colonists. During the 1630s Barbados also suffered from other problems, such as the question of the proprietorship, the build-up of a viable economy, political strife in England before and during the English Civil War. All this had a strong influence on the development of Barbados.

³² Den Heijer, *De WIC*, 88.

³³ De Laet, *Iaerlijck verhael*, Vol I, (34).

³⁴ Johan E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1587-1795, vol II* (Amsterdam 1963), 801.

³⁵ V.T. Harlow, *Colonizing expeditions to the West Indies and Guyana, 1623-1667* (Hakluyt Society 1925, reprint Liechtenstein 1976) xxix.

³⁶ Until 1752 England used the Julian calendar. The new year started on Annunciation Day (25th March). In the Netherlands, Zeeland and Holland accepted the Gregorian calendar in 1582 and 1583 respectively. New Years Day was 1st January. The Gregorian calendar was also ten days ahead of the Julian calendar. Julian New Year 1627 fell on Gregorian april 4th.

³⁷ Harlow, *Barbados*, 7-8.

Proprietorship

The control over the colony caused enormous problems. Courteen, as leader of the syndicate was the first factual owner of Barbados. At his expense the colonists received the necessary tools and a yearly wage of £ 100. The colonists did not receive ownership of the land, but were expected to produce and hand over their crop to the agent of the syndicate.³⁸

In 1625 Charles I became king of England. In the wake of his succession a number of his followers received a peerage. One of those was James Hay, the first Earl of Carlisle. Charles I also introduced a rule that only nobles could obtain the right to possess colonies. As Courteen was not a peer, he could not claim ownership of Barbados. He may have tried to build up a prosperous colony rapidly and thus get recognition of his endeavour and keep it.³⁹ That hope soon dwindled.

Courteen's colony was governed by Governor John Powell since 1627. But when the new king granted letters of patent for the settlement of Barbados and other "Caribbee" islands to Carlisle, trouble started. Carlisle assumed the title of 'Lord Proprietor'. This meant that he was fully responsible for the defence and administration of the island. He was allowed to levy taxes on trade, establish courts of law, religious and political institutions. He could also dispose of the territory of the island.⁴⁰ A remarkable feature of Carlisle's proprietary grant was that he was in severe financial difficulties. Normally, people who were insolvent were excluded from such favours because of the great cost involved in developing a colony. Carlisle struck a deal with nine of his biggest creditors, all-important London merchants. They received ten thousand acres of land in Barbados in lease by which Carlisle's debt was settled. (On the oldest surviving map of Barbados, Ligon's Map, an area is designated as: "*The ten thousand acres of the Merchants of London*").⁴¹ The result was a struggle for power between Courteen's colonists and the merchants of London who were acting in name of Carlisle. The Courteens ended their resistance in 1630. Thereafter trouble arose between freedom loving planters and autocratic governors. In England, after Carlisle's death in 1636 the heirs to his estate fought bitter battles with others who stated a claim to the colony. These struggles hampered the economic development of the colony seriously.⁴²

Political strife in England and the consequences for Barbados

In England, political tension and wars dominated the period from 1642 and 1660. On the one hand were the royalists or 'Cavaliers'; on the other were the 'Roundheads' from the side of Parliament. The effects of these troubles were felt in Barbados. Relatives of the planters vehemently opposed one and other in England. Others, having lost their property in England came to Barbados to start anew. Their coming brought the risk of party strife on Barbados. Yet the Barbadians managed to prevent the trouble coming to the island. Richard Ligon wrote that every person that mentioned either Roundhead or Cavalier should invite everyone who heard it, to a meal '*with a shot and a turkey*' at his home. Sometimes one mentioned these words deliberately in order to be able to enjoy each other's company.⁴³ Yet the effects of the Civil War in England had severe consequences for Barbados. In England people and capital

³⁸ Beckles, *A history of Barbados*, 7-8.

³⁹ Campbell, *Some early history*, 29.

⁴⁰ Beckles, *A history*, 8.

⁴¹ Ligon, *A true history*. Ligon stayed on Barbados from 1647-1650. He wrote a detailed account of his stay to which he added a map that was based on an older map by John Swan. Swan's map was lost so subsequently Ligon's map is the oldest surviving. A remarkable feature of this map is the number of ships flying the Dutch flag.

⁴² Harlow, *Barbados*, 10-13.

⁴³ Ligon, *A true history*, 57.

were spent on warfare and not on the development of colonies. Ships were used to blockade ports or fight battles leaving the planters without supplies. The Civil War made Barbados dependent on others.⁴⁴

Here the Dutch played an important role. They could deliver all the necessary goods cheaper than the English. The direct access to the world market through the commercial emporium of Amsterdam made the Dutch attractive as buyers of the produce of the planters. The English government tried to reduce the influence of foreigners on Barbados by inciting the planters to grow their own food. The colonies would thus be less dependent on the outside world. But the colonists did not only need food. Their dependence on cloth, ironware, building material, livestock made imports from Europe essential.⁴⁵

At some instances the English tried to drive the foreigners out of their colonies by force. The pro-Dutch behaviour of the governor of Barbados was remarkable. In November 1644 an English naval force under Commander Jackson arrived in Barbados. Arent van Culaer was a merchant on the Dutch vessel *'Het Wapen Van Rensselaerswijck'* which happened to be in Barbados. The *'St Pieter'* with skipper Simon Jansen also was anchored in Carlisle Bay. Van Culaer resided in the house of Governor Bell, who warned him that Jackson wanted to use force against the Dutch ships. Van Culaer let the Dutch crews go ashore, as they stood no chance against the superior English force. Jackson took the ships, but the crews survived.⁴⁶

Trade from the Dutch Republic with Barbados was not just a Dutch affair. Some Englishmen living in Amsterdam played their part as well. On 23rd December 1641 Jan Quarles, English merchant in Amsterdam, through skipper Nathaniel Biglant of the ship *'De Melior'* gave power of attorney to Haije Jansz on Barbados to receive goods in his name.⁴⁷ One of the most important English merchants in Amsterdam was Giles Sylvester who had a trading company together with his brother Constant. Giles Sylvester was shipowner of the vessel *'Waterhond'* of which Haije Jansz had been skipper.⁴⁸ In 1648 Sylvester was charterer of the ship *'De Planter'* of the city of Medemblik.⁴⁹

Dutch skippers and the planters

Cultivating a tropical island covered with a dense tropical forest was very labour intensive. The development of a farm after clearing the land was also very difficult. Tools, food, clothing, building materials, all had to be imported from Europe. The expenses for these imports were high and it would take considerable time before the investment would generate a profit. Richard Ligon gave a detailed description of what was needed to start a plantation in Barbados. He advised the reader how one should import the right articles and sell them in Barbados to a profit. These goods were shoes, textiles and clothing. Further one should bring salt meat, fish, ale, spirits, olive oil and candles, tools, ironware, cooking pots, nails, hinges and cramps of iron as well as muskets, powder and lead. From the proceeds one should buy sugar in Barbados, which should be sold in Europe. By repeating this process three or four times one could accumulate enough money to buy a plantation.⁵⁰ The deeds in the Notarial Archive tell us something about outgoing cargo to the West Indies. They mention (French) wine and brandy, fine cloth and coarse linen, beef, herring, peas and lard. And also knives,

⁴⁴ Harlow, *Barbados*, 36-37.

⁴⁵ Harlow, *Barbados*, 22-23.

⁴⁶ GAANA, Nots P. Capoen, 27 06 1645, inv nr 1573/397.

⁴⁷ GAANA, Nots E. Cocq, 15 03 1641, inv nr 489/98.

⁴⁸ GAANA, Nots J. v.d. Hoeven, 21 03 1646, inv nr 1646A/177.

⁴⁹ GAANA, Nots, J. Cocq, 08 08 1648, inv nr 2104B/861.

⁵⁰ Ligon, *A true history*, 109-112.

combs, thread and livestock as cattle, pigs, donkeys and horses. Some deeds also mentioned brick and clinkers. It was very common practice to load bricks as ballast in outgoing ships which could afterwards be used for buildings.

Dutch traders played a major part in importing of the above mentioned goods in Barbados. A deed dated 21st November 1634 states that Jan Niengs van Hoorn, merchant of Amsterdam, would sail as charterer with the ship '*De Swarte Raven*', with Claes Ghijsen of Zaandam as skipper, with a cargo of goods to the Barbados, Tortuga, St Kitts and other free islands to trade and load goods as the charterer saw fit.⁵¹ The deed mentions Barbados explicitly. In 1635 skipper Adriaen Turck of the ship '*Het Wapen van Amsterdam*' sailed for Barbados with a cargo of bread, peas, pitch and tar.⁵² Skipper Pieter Pietersz of the '*St Pieter*' carried nine hogsheads of French wine and three hogsheads of *brandewyn* (brandy) to the island.⁵³ The reception of the Dutch on Barbados was very warm as they supplied the necessary goods in larger quantities and at lower cost than the English could. This eventually led the Dutch to control practically the entire trade of Barbados.⁵⁴

Dutch merchants not only just visited Barbados on their ships. Some of them actually settled in Barbados to conduct their affairs with the planters. The above mentioned Jan Niengs stated in a declaration on 18th December 1635 that he left goods on Barbados in the hands of Wijbrant Masier, who resided in Barbados.⁵⁵ In some cases some traders visited Barbados as skipper, returning later to settle on the island. On name that is mentioned several times is that of Haije Jansz van Norden, who visited Barbados in March 1639 as skipper of the '*Tortelduijf*'.⁵⁶ In December 1644 Jansz bought a horse on Barbados from skipper Willem Cornelis Oldemarekt, who visited Barbados homeward bound from Brazil. In 1647 Jansz sold a plantation of 50 acres that he had bought earlier for 2.940 guilders.⁵⁷

Women occasionally played a part as well. Diewer Jansdr Visser, wife of skipper Adriaen Turck, was present when in October 1643 skipper Theunis Jansen tried to sell some donkeys for 400 pounds of 'live' pork. At that occasion Diewer Visser apparently wanted to encourage Theunis Jansen when a reasonable offer was made. She exclaimed words to the effect of: 'Open your mouth while your being fed' (*Gaept dewijle ou pap wordt geboden*).⁵⁸ An other example of women taking part is a deliverance of goods by Marretje Maartens of Enkhuizen to skipper Sijmen Jansen of the '*Graaf van Egmont*'. The goods were to be delivered to her husband, Michiel Andriessen, who was resident in Barbados.⁵⁹

The Dutch were also involved in furnishing capital for the development of Barbados. Cultivating the island demanded large amounts of money that was unavailable in England because of the Civil War. The planters approached Dutch bankers for credits. These were willing to help and amongst other things financed the introduction of the sugar culture.⁶⁰ The planters themselves were also prepared to re-invest their profits in labour, machinery and land. They were ready to shift investments to alternative crops thus showing a commitment to market requirements.⁶¹

⁵¹ GAANA, Nots I.H. v. Gieteren, 21 11 1634, inv nr 1225/49v.

⁵² GAANA, Nots J. v.d. Ven, 11 12 1635, inv nr 1143/118.

⁵³ GAANA, Nots I. v. Gieteren, 10 29 1636, inv nr 1261A/417.

⁵⁴ Elias, *Voorspel*, 162, 163.

⁵⁵ GAANA, Nots J. Warnaerts, 18 12 1635, inv nr 672/1^e pak 156v.

⁵⁶ GAANA, Nots J. v.d. Ven, 19 03 1639, inv nr 1053/134v-135v.

⁵⁷ GAANA, Nots J. v.d. Ven, 16 10 1647, inv nr 1082/235v-236v.

⁵⁸ GAANA, Nots P. Capoen, 06 10 1643, inv nr 1570/352.

⁵⁹ GAANA, Nots P. Capoen, 25 10 1647, inv nr 1574/633.

⁶⁰ Elias, *Voorspel*, 163.

⁶¹ Beckles, *A history*, 13.

4 From tobacco to sugar 1627-1643

Although the English government wanted the planters to be self-sufficient, most of them chose to produce for the market. That was the way in which they could pay for their necessary imports and earn back their investment. In the beginning of the colony one of the most promising crops was tobacco. To plant tobacco on an economic basis, could not be done in the European type small, family owned farm. The best results were achieved if planting took place on a much larger scale. This large-scale production demanded a large supply of labour.⁶² There were no Indians on Barbados and the use of slaves from Africa was expensive. Therefore in the early days of the colony planters made use of indentured servants. These labourers came from England and worked under a three to five year contract. During this period the servants were obliged to work on the same plantation. Planters usually ordered their relatives or others in England to hire servants and see to their passage to the West Indies. This steady supply of labour was essential for the plantations. If a planter got into serious financial problems he could sell the contracts with his servants to an other planter. This meant in fact that servants became capital goods but they were never regarded as slaves.

As we saw, Henry Powell in 1627 brought some forty Indians from the Essequibo to Barbados. At first they were free, but gradually they were considered unfree. Their treatment was not as harsh as the treatment the first slaves from Africa received. The number of African slaves slowly rose until the sugar planting started in the mid 1640s. After that large numbers of black slaves were imported in Barbados. In 1636 governor Hawley of Barbados ordered that all blacks and Indians and their offspring would be slaves for life.⁶³

Reports of Dutch sailors who passed Barbados in the early days of the colony show a remarkable growth of the population. In 1628 the skipper of the WIC yacht '*Tiger*' stated that the island was inhabited with six hundred English. In 1629 a WIC fleet under Admiral Jan Jansz van Hoorn visited Barbados. He reported that 1500 English were engaged in planting tobacco.⁶⁴ In the 1630s the city of London kept record of the number of emigrants who left for the Americas. The number of persons who left for Barbados rose from 1227 in 1635 to 8707 in 1639.⁶⁵ The majority of these emigrants were indentured servants. Their voyage was a way to escape from unemployment and poverty in England. Apart from the servants a slowly growing number of planters who left England because of the increasing threat of a civil war during the 1630s.⁶⁶

The high mortality rate of servants made their numbers dwindle. Demand for labour however, remained high. Eventually this process led to higher wages. In order to hire labour, planters were also invest in better working conditions. In combination with the expansion of the tobacco production in Virginia, higher labour cost in Barbados led to lower profits for the planters. Therefore planters began to look for other crops. Experiments with cotton, indigo and ginger took place. The transition to alternative crops was not rapid. Appendix 2 shows that tobacco was still exported from Barbados well into the 1650s. This is quite remarkable as Barbadian tobacco was considered to have probably the worst quality in the world. Planter Peter Hay sent his first shipment of tobacco to England in 1637. The comment on the quality was: "your tobacco of Barbados of all the tobacco that cometh to England is accompted the

⁶² Robert Carlyle Batie, 'Why sugar? Economic cycles and changing of staples on the English and French Antilles 1624-1654', in: Hilary Beckles and Veren Sheperd, *Caribbean slave society and economy* (Kingston/London 1991), 40.

⁶³ Harlow, *Barbados*, 15-19.

⁶⁴ De Laet, *Iaerlijck verhael*, Vol II, 76, 97.

⁶⁵ Dunn, *Sugar*, 55.

⁶⁶ Batie, *Why sugar ?*, 45.

worst".⁶⁷ Smokers in Barbados imported tobacco from Virginia themselves. During the 1630s many planters switched to raising cotton all over the Caribbean, causing overproduction. In 1639 cotton prices fell dramatically on the London market. The Barbados economy suffered greatly. Then planters started producing indigo until that went wrong as well. From the mid 1640s the transfer to growing sugar cane was made. That crop in the end saved the Barbadian economy.⁶⁸

The exports from Barbados show the different crops that the planters experimented with. Until the mid 1640s tobacco remained the most important produce. In many freight charters ships 'with goods' were chartered to travel to Barbados to collect tobacco. In some contracts the freight price of other cargo was expressed in tobacco. In a charter of 15th March 1646, skipper Jan Derck Mol of the *Charitie van Amsterdam* was ordered to sail to Barbados to load tobacco and other cargo. The freight price was quoted as follows: 1 lb of sugar was the equivalent of 5 lbs of tobacco, 1 lb of indigo equalled 2 lbs of tobacco and 1 lb of ginger or candied peel equalled 4 lbs of tobacco.⁶⁹ In the 1640s cotton, indigo, ginger and occasionally candied peel returned in the charters. In the 1650s the number of charters in which these goods were mentioned diminished rapidly in favour of sugar.

5 Sugar; the Dutch bonanza 1643-1651

The cultivation of sugar had been known in the Mediterranean since the 14th century. In 1449 a planter on Sicily invented a cane press with three vertical rollers, which was used until the beginning of the 20th century. Sugar cultivation spread from the Mediterranean via the Canary Islands to the West Indies. The Spanish produced sugar in Cuba, Hispaniola and Mexico. But it were the Portuguese that were so successful in Pernambuco and around Bahia that they supplied almost the entire European market. The Dutch capture of Pernambuco in 1630 gave Holland, and particularly Amsterdam, where the brown muscovado sugar was refined, a dominant position. By capturing forts on the West African Slave Coast the Dutch also controlled the supply of slaves.⁷⁰

The introduction of sugar cane in Barbados took place in 1627 when Henry Powell after landing his party on Barbados, sailed on to the Essequibo in Guyana. On his return Powell brought a group of Indians and some sugar cane plants. The plants grew well but no one knew how to produce sugar from them. The juice was used to concoct an alcoholic drink, but very little sugarcane was planted since. It lasted to 1643 before sugar cane was planted again on Barbados.⁷¹ In 1655 almost the entire production of the island consisted of sugar. The production of sugar made Barbados the most prosperous colony in the 17th century. The speed with which this process developed was astonishing.⁷² It should be emphasised that the economic development of the French and English Antilles had been strong before 1640. Proof of that can be found in the large number of Europeans that migrated to the Caribbean. Profits, even on the inferior Barbados tobacco were high. In 1628 on Barbados, twenty servants were hired for £ 1000 annually. The planter therefore must have expected to receive a return of at least £ 50 per servant. That is a large sum compared to the average wage of a farm labourer in England of about £ 10 a year.⁷³

⁶⁷ Dunn, *Sugar*, 53.

⁶⁸ Beckles, *A history*, 12-15.

⁶⁹ GAANA, Nots J. Steijns, 15 03 1646, inv nr 849/98.

⁷⁰ Dunn, *Sugar*, 60, 61.

⁷¹ Ibidem, 61.

⁷² Batie, *Why sugar?*, 37.

⁷³ Ibidem, 39, 40.

The unsatisfactory results of the tobacco culture and of its successors made the search for an alternative necessary. Yet the switch to sugar planting was not obvious. The culture needed large numbers of labourers and the processing demanded large investments. On the other hand were the high prices for sugar on the European market. Until 1640 the majority of sugar imported into Europe came from Brazil. The Dutch conquest of Pernambuco resulted in the destruction of many sugar mills or *engenho's*. The supply of sugar to Europe decreased and prices rose. In 1624 muscovado sugar in Amsterdam cost 0.32 guilders per pound. In the 1630s prices never were below 0.50 guilders a pound. This price level enabled Caribbean planters to produce sugar provided they could master the difficult production technique.⁷⁴ The high investment involved with introducing the sugar culture demanded that planters should be safe from confiscation from their own government and security from attack from the outside. Therefore a reliable government in the colonies was necessary. The rapid growth of the population on Barbados enabled the raising of a strong yeomanry that could protect the island. The forming of an Assembly that curbed the power of the governor in the interest of the planters protected them from abuse of power by the government.⁷⁵

The re-introduction of sugar cane in Barbados took place through Dutch ships passing Barbados on their way to Europe. Planters in Barbados experimented on a small scale with growing cane. The first production of sugar was of a very poor quality, but through further experiments and through advice from Dutchmen in Brazil, the quality of Barbadian sugar improved. Barbadian planters themselves went to visit Dutch operated sugar factories in Pernambuco.⁷⁶ James Drax, a planter of Anglo-Dutch descent, is said to have brought a model of a Dutch sugar-mill from Brazil. An other story is that a Dutchman from Pernambuco at the request of Drax, visited Barbados and explained the method of producing sugar.⁷⁷ Dutch involvement is also shown by the cargo of tools for a sugar-engine that skipper Jan Derck Mol of *'The Phenix'* took to Barbados in 1647.⁷⁸ One of the still visible signs of the Dutch influence of Barbados is the large number of ruins of windmills in Barbados. Mules, oxen or slaves usually powered the sugar-mills in Brazil. But lying in the Northeast Trade, Barbados almost always has plenty of wind. The development of windmills in the Dutch Republic in the first half of the 17th century reached a peak. This acquired knowledge was taken to Barbados and put into practice. The number of windmills in Barbados rose to some 400 by 1676. Application of this new technology made sugar-making more efficient and therefore more competitive.⁷⁹ An other impulse that the Dutch had on the sugar-culture on Barbados came around 1645. In that year the Portuguese in Pernambuco rose against the Dutch. The Dutch expected to beat down this insurrection. Therefore the Dutch governor of the WIC in West Africa was ordered to continue sending slaves to Brazil. But the rising of the Portuguese disrupted the planter economy in such a way, that the slaves could not be employed. Therefore the slaves were sold in the Caribbean for very low prices. As Barbados was almost the first island that could be reached from Brazil, the Barbadian planters could cheaply buy a large number of slaves. In some instances, a slave-owner could earn back the price he paid for a slave within eighteen months. Rich planters could invest in large numbers of slaves, thus increasing their income greatly. Less prosperous planters could not keep up with this competition so a divide between two classes of planters developed. Some rich planters bought

⁷⁴ Ibidem, 44.

⁷⁵ Batie, 'Why sugar', 45.

⁷⁶ Ligon, *A true history*, 85.

⁷⁷ Dunn, *Sugar*, 62.

⁷⁸ GAANA, nots J. Steijns. 04 02 1647, inv nr 849/116.

⁷⁹ Dunn, *Sugar*, 28.

the estates of their poorer neighbours.⁸⁰ In 1680 there were 19 planters with over 200 slaves and 89 with more than 100 slaves. The rich planters became very powerful. In the end there were some two or three hundred planters who dominated the Barbados economy and politics.⁸¹ The prospect of making a fortune in sugar drove a number of royalists from England to Barbados.⁸² Quite a few of the immigrants in the 1640s and 1650s became very wealthy. Some of them acted as agents for Dutch merchants.⁸³

Remains the question why the Dutch were willing to share their knowledge of the very profitable sugar-industry. It was not just the Portuguese rising in 1645 as the first introduction of sugar by the Dutch took place in 1643 already. More important seems to be the tendency of the Dutch rather to trade than to produce. In contrast to the British, the Dutch never emigrated in large numbers to colonies. The profits of the sugar-trade in Europe were so large that they contented themselves with trading, leaving production to others. The Dutch did expect to make use of their dominant position in the Barbados trade. The Dutch and the Barbadians knew and trusted each other.

6 Paradise lost 1651-1655

The turning point

The Dutch position in world trade received an extra impulse when the war with Spain ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Just as during the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621) did the Dutch mercantile system build up a considerable advantage over its competitors. The difficulties of the war and the costs involved, forced the Dutch to use cheaper and more effective methods of trade and transport. Thus a formidable competitive power was built up.⁸⁴ England, recovering from the Civil War, was confronted with this competition. The English government adopted a policy of mercantilism in which the government offered military (naval) power to the merchants in return for taxation. The merchants accepted taxation as their profits rose thanks to the protection by the government. The Dutch were the greatest competitors of British trade. The growing tension that arose led to the passing by the English Parliament of the First Navigation Act of 9th October 1651.⁸⁵ This act stated that all goods imported into England and all goods exported from English colonies should be shipped in English ships.⁸⁶ The consequences for the Republic of this act were severe. In 1652 the first of the Anglo-Dutch wars broke out.

The importance of the Dutch for Barbados may be illustrated as follows. Earlier the English merchant Giles Sylvester was conducting trade with Barbados from Amsterdam where he resided. In 1651 he was living in Barbados. It was the period shortly before the issuing of the Navigation Act. In a letter attributed to Giles Sylvester a picture of the Dutch trade with Barbados is given. The letter was directed to the father of the author in England. After an introduction where Sylvester complained that he had to deliver sugar and ginger into the hands of the governor (Lord Willoughby), he describes the importance of the Dutch:

⁸⁰ Batie, *Why sugar*, 46.

⁸¹ Dunn, *Sugar*, 46-48.

⁸² Batie, *Why sugar*, 47.

⁸³ Dunn, *Sugar*, 78.

⁸⁴ Israel, *Dutch primacy*, 196-207.

⁸⁵ Julian calendar. In the Republic the date was 19th October.

⁸⁶ Ibidem, 210.

‘...I could hartily wish yt you had sent a small Cargo for yourself in any of ye Dutch Shippes; it would haue bene an excellent business. The Duch sell their Commodityes, after ye rate at a penny for a pound of sugar. Browd & brimd, white or black hatts yeeld here 120 lb of sugar, & 140 & some 160 lb; Broune thred is at 36, or 40 lb of sugar a pound; thred stockens of 36 pence will yeeld 40 lb of sugar a paire; mens shoes 16 lb; new fashioned shoes 25 or 30 lb a paire; pinnes at great rates & much desyred; a man may haue for them what hee deseryeth; an anchor of brandewyn 300 lb of sugar, tufted Holland at 16 or 20 of sugar; a yard of good whyted osenbridge linnen at 6 or 7 lb of sugar; Holland of 12 pence, if fyne, will yeeld 12 or 14 lb of sugar a yard; & all Commoditys are accordingly...’⁸⁷

The Navigation Act was meant to put to an end the Dutch role in the trade between the British colonies and the world. That Act was at first neglected in Barbados because of the role that the Dutch played in the supply and survival of the colony during the English Civil War. To force the Barbadians to obedience the English Parliament sent a fleet under Admiral Sir George Ayscue to the West Indies.⁸⁸ The following fragment of Giles Sylvester’s letter shows that such an undertaking could not remain a secret for long:

“...If you see any convenience to send, yt if any Duchman goeth for these parts, before ye fryggotts come, send if possible you can. Take up some commodityes upon bodemery out & home againe. The Dutch-men are made to be gone, & to make another Voyage, before ye Comming of ye fryggotts. At a 100 guilders of Commoditys there make 2000 lb of sugar...’⁸⁹

Sylvester expected that the Dutch could still make one more roundtrip to Barbados before Ayscue would reach Barbados. In fact there were seventeen foreign ships in the ports of Barbados when the fleet arrived.⁹⁰ In the Netherlands merchants were apparently also aware of the English plans. In a freight-charter of December 1651, charterer Gilles Marcelis explicitly stated that the ship ‘*De Hoop*’ should under no circumstance visit Barbados.⁹¹ Other charterers tried to escape from the Navigation Act by using ships from other countries. The Amsterdam merchant Guillaume Momma chartered a ship from Hamburg for a trip to Barbados. In a statement skipper Carsten Grube said that he arrived in Barbados on the 10th October 1651 (Julian Calender). On 15th October the Parliament fleet under Ayscue arrived. The English took the ship and sold it to the highest bidder in February 1652.⁹² The same happened to skipper Laurens Mondt of ‘*De Hoop*’ and skipper Jan Jacob Vervier of the ‘*St Jan*’ who visited Barbados returning from Brazil. Ayscue had their cargo transferred to other ships and sold both vessels publicly.⁹³ The rising tensions between the Dutch Republic and England eventually led to an armed conflict. The first Anglo-Dutch War 1652-1654 dealt a severe blow to the economic ties between the Netherlands and Barbados.⁹⁴ The higher risk of voyages to Barbados is noticeable in the bodemery-contracts. In 1635 a credit on the ‘*Catharina van Grint*’ was issued at an interest-rate of 5%.⁹⁵ In 1646 a rate of 24% was

⁸⁷ Vincent T. Harlow (ed), ‘A letter from Barbados by ye way of Holland concerning ye condiccion of honest men there, 9 aug 1651’, in: *Colonizing expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana 1623-1667* (Hakluyt Society 1925, reprint Lichtenstein 1976), 51.

⁸⁸ Harlow, *Barbados*, 85.

⁸⁹ Harlow (ed), *Colonizing expeditions*, 51.

⁹⁰ Harlow, *Barbados*, 85.

⁹¹ GAANA, Nots J. Oli, 06 12 1651, inv nr 1535/146

⁹² GAANA, Nots J. v.d. Ven, 05 11 1652, inv nr 1102/19v, 20.

⁹³ GAANA, Nots J. v.d. Ven, 29 11 1652, inv nr 1102/164v, 165.

⁹⁴ Batie, ‘Why sugar’, 49.

⁹⁵ GAANA, Nots J. Warnartsz, 21 11 1635, inv nr 671/355.

required on the '*Charitie van Amsterdam*'.⁹⁶ In Juli 1651 the rate on '*De Jonge Tobias*' was 22%.⁹⁷ In 1654 the rate on the '*Coninginne Hester*' was 36%.⁹⁸

Circumvention of the Navigation Act

The Dutch interests in Barbados were important enough not to let trade with Barbados slip.⁹⁹ To escape from the regulations of the Navigation Act other solutions were sought. Skippers or merchants calling at Barbados first tried to get a letter of consent from the governor, permitting them to trade with the island. Still remembering the vital role of the Dutch during the Civil War, these letters were given. In a statement skipper Cornelis Tamesz of the '*St Anna*', skipper Claes Heijndricks Gietermaker of the '*Gietermaker*' and skipper Cornelis Barentsz van der Veer of '*De Koning van Frankrijk*' told how these ships could discharge their cargoes by consent of the governor.¹⁰⁰ An English fleet under William Penn found in February 1655 fifteen foreign ships in Carlisle Bay. Penn saw that governor Searle illegally granted permission to foreign skippers to do business on the island.¹⁰¹ Merchant Simon Jansen Ploegh saw from the '*Drij Cronen*' how Penn's fleet sailed into Carlisle Bay. Skipper Adriaen Jacobs decided to shift his ship to Oistins Bay and so escaped capture. They noticed how a few hours later the English took the other ships.¹⁰²

Another way to continue trading with Barbados was to charter English vessels or to employ English masters. This tactic seems to have been successful as is shown in a bodemery-contract. An English merchant in Amsterdam, James Ward, issued a credit of 500 guilders on the bottom of '*De Pauw*', skipper William Pestell of London, at a rate of only 5%.¹⁰³ Later licenses could be purchased from the English Parliament. Jacques van Duren, Jacques van der Mark and Jacobus van Zack, merchants in Amsterdam and Jacob Vos, skipper of the '*St Jan Baptist*' stated that all Dutch ships that sailed for Barbados required a dismissal or consent. To be able to act freely they even hired English staff.¹⁰⁴ The statement of William Arissz of Falmouth demonstrates that this kind of consent did not always succeed. He sailed as skipper of the galyote '*De Drie Oijevaars*' to Barbados with consent of 'Cromwel'. After arriving in Barbados in February 1658, all documents were handed over to the agent in Barbados and all dues paid. On that the cargo of 297 bars of iron and 9000 bricks was discharged. A few days later the English man-of-war '*Marssemoer*' arrived under captain 'Jan Mins', who took the ship together with five others. Despite the endeavours of the agent and the governor, the ships were sent to Jamaica where they were sold.¹⁰⁵

In the following years Dutch trade with Barbados was increasingly impeded. Since 1655 Jamaica was an English colony. Ships sailing from England for Jamaica called at Barbados on the way. Thus the presence of English merchantmen and warships made clandestine calls to Barbados by foreign ships far more difficult.¹⁰⁶ Dutch entrepreneurs to continue the trade with Barbados used more and more London merchants and sailors. The deeds of the Notarial Archive show that after 1660 that skippers almost exclusively English and the names of ships suggest an English origin. Besides, the number of ships sailing to

⁹⁶ GAANA, Nots J. Steijns, 25 03 1646, inv nr 849/98.

⁹⁷ GAANA, Nots J. Cocq, 07 03 1651, inv nr 2106/226.

⁹⁸ GAANA, Nots J. v.d. Ven, 26 10 1654, inv nr 1110/67.

⁹⁹ Elias, *Voorspel*, 164.

¹⁰⁰ GAANA, Nots J. v.d. Ven, 25 11 1654, inv nr 1110/173.

¹⁰¹ Harlow, *Barbados*, 86.

¹⁰² GAANA, Nots J. Thielmans, 09 03 1656, inv nr 2117/216.

¹⁰³ GAANA, Nots J. v.d. Ven, 10 10 1656, inv nr 1119/32.

¹⁰⁴ GAANA, Nots B. Baddel, .. 07 1657 (fire damage), inv nr 982A/197.

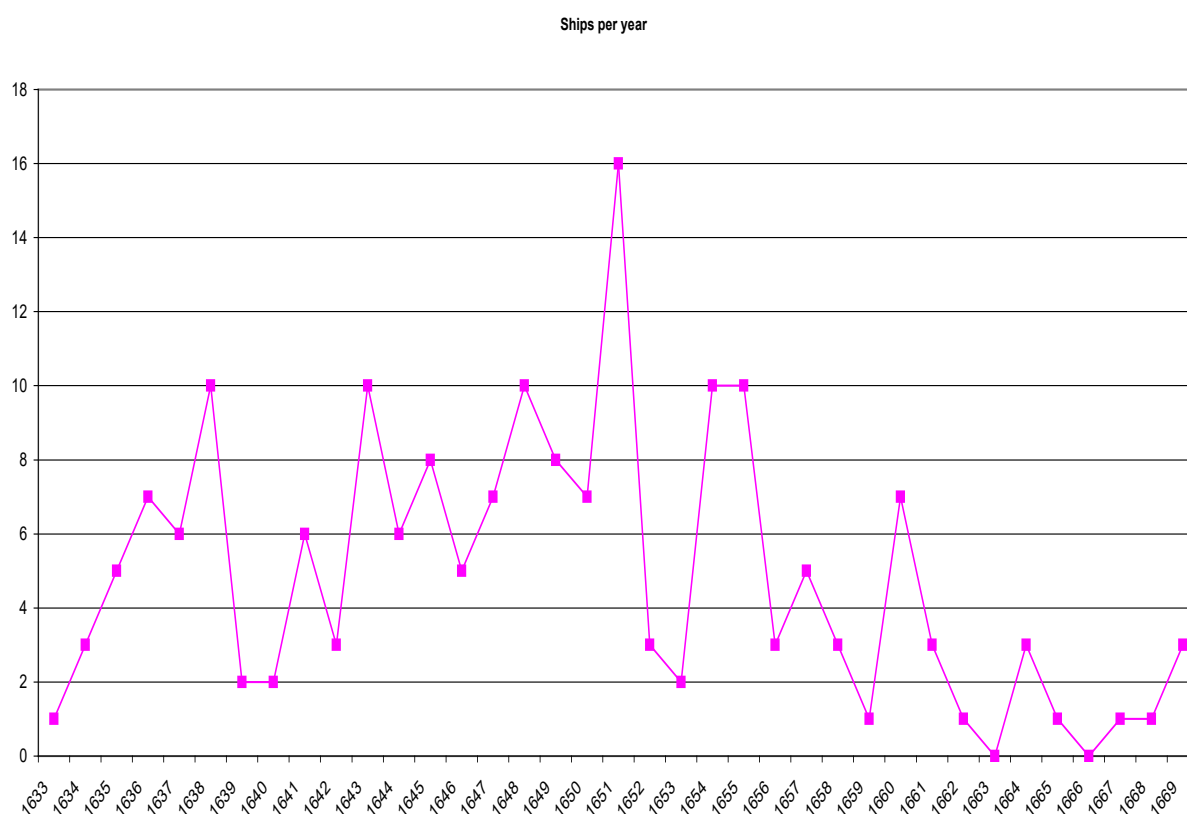
¹⁰⁵ GAANA, Nots A. Lock, 30 07 1658, inv nr 2205/173.

¹⁰⁶ Harlow, *Barbados*, 94.

Barbados fell to only a few a year. The English were fully capable of supplying Barbados. Dutch shipping and trading moved away and concentrated to other, mostly Spanish and French, destinations in the Caribbean.¹⁰⁷ The restoration of the monarchy in England caused Barbados to lose part of its political and economic independence. New Navigation Acts almost completely destroyed any hope of continuing trade by the Dutch with Barbados.¹⁰⁸

The number of Dutch ships that visited Barbados according to the Notarial Archive is shown in *figure 1*. It should be taken into consideration that after 1651 an increasing number of ships were operated under English patents and English skippers. Almost all ships mentioned called at Barbados for trade purposes. Only a very small proportion of the vessels in the graph visited the island for water, victuals or repairs only. The true numbers of Dutch ships that called at Barbados was undoubtedly higher. In the deeds in the Notarial Archives mention was made of voyages to the Caribbean Islands, without specific mention of Barbados. These trips were excluded from the graph. It is also very likely that a number of ships visited Barbados without a contract or deed before a notary public.

Figure 1: Dutch ships in Barbados



Source: Index-cards GAANA.

The graph clearly shows how Dutch trade was seriously affected by the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1652-1654. After the war Dutch merchants tried to resume their trade but the costly

¹⁰⁷ Israel, *Dutch primacy*, 239.

¹⁰⁸ Dunn, *Sugar*, 80.

English licenses and far stronger English competition made trading with Barbados far less profitable. The deployment of English naval power in the Caribbean after the capture of Jamaica in 1655 forced the Dutch too seeks their fortune elsewhere. Since the peace between Spain and the Netherlands, trade with the Spanish possessions was more profitable.

Conclusion

The involvement of the Dutch in the development of the English colony of Barbados has been substantial. It can be separated into three stages. First the period of 1627-1643. An Anglo-Dutch trading-house stood at the beginning of the colony. The second period lasted from 1643-1651. This period saw the introduction of the sugar-industry to Barbados in which the Dutch played a major role. It was also the time when Barbados became a very rich island. The third period is that after 1651, when England effectively ousted the Dutch from Barbados.

The founding of the English colony was a difficult and painful process. Political struggle and conflicting commercial interests of the planters dominated the first decades. Later, the island was dragged into the political complications of the English Civil War.

The Dutch involvement in the development of the English colony of Barbados was the result of the inherent economic strength of the Dutch Republic. The central position in world trade that the Netherlands, and especially Amsterdam, had in the 17th century, allowed Dutch traders to play an important role in the West Indies. The backlash of the resumed war with Spain after the Twelve-Year Truce was less severe in the Atlantic than in other areas where the Republic traded. The war against Spanish and Portuguese led to a stronger Dutch presence in Africa and the Americas.

The Dutch hunger for favourable commercial opportunities is shown by their presence in Barbados from the beginning of the colony. In the early 1630s Barbados hardly was an interesting trading partner because the conflict over proprietorship and the hardships of the cultivation of the wilderness. Yet, there were intensive contacts by Dutch traders with the island. The Amsterdam archive shows how certain skippers and merchants were regularly involved in transactions with Barbados. These contacts were much stimulated by the outbreak of the English Civil War. This war interrupted the supply of the island from England. Apart from that, the contacts of Barbados with the mother country were wilfully decreased to prevent the struggle within England from infecting Barbados. In this context there were excellent opportunities for the Dutch of commercial initiatives. It is clear that the role of the Republic as a source of necessary goods at reasonable prices and as a bridge to the world market for the produce of Barbados, led to a sense of solidarity between the colonists and the Dutch. Thus early attempts by the English government to exclude the Dutch from trade with Barbados failed. Some of the Barbadian governors openly sided with the Dutch.

The Netherlands played an important role in the introduction of the sugar-industry on Barbados. The sugar-culture made Barbados the richest English colony for several decades. A remarkable fact is that after a brief period of producing sugar in Brazil, the Dutch were content with to trade in sugar rather than to produce it. Only after the Navigation Act of 1651 were the Dutch driven from the trade with Barbados. The Dutch efforts to circumvent this act by using ships and merchants from England and Hamburg offered some short term result, but in the longer run Barbados was lost as an important trading partner for the Dutch. They chose other areas where opposition was smaller and prospects better.

Remarkable was the almost complete absence of the much-mentioned 'Triangular Trade'. The common idea that ships loaded with goods sailed from Europe to West Africa where the

goods were traded for slaves who, in turn, were sold for sugar in the West Indies, is not applicable to the Amsterdam trade with Barbados. The most important explanation for this is that the slave trade remained under the monopoly of the Dutch West India Company. This company is rarely mentioned in the Amsterdam Notarial Archive in connection with Barbados. The Amsterdam sources are mostly concerned with private traders and less with the WIC. Another aspect of the absence of the triangular trade is the enormous importance of the supply of a wide variety of goods from Europe to the planter colonies in the West Indies. Therefore ships could cross the Atlantic with full cargoes in either direction.

Appendix 1

Table 1: Ships to Barbados

Date deed	Inv Nr	Notary	Year	Ship	Skipper	Origin
1634 05 16	694r61/40v	J. Warnaertsz	1634	Den Adam	Pieter Jansz Hartman	
1634 09 10	694/63	J. Warnaertsz	1634	De Bontekraij	Reinier Sijmons	
1634 11 21	1225/49v	I. v. Gieteren	1634	De Swarte Raven	Claes Ghijsen	Zaandam
1634 12 22	1238/8	I. v. Gieteren	1633	De Liefde	Claes Cornelisx	
1635 11 21	671/355	J. Warnaertsz	1635	St Catharina van Grint	Adriaen Turck	
1635 12 11	1143/117	J. v.d. Ven	1635	De Waterhond	Cornelis Jansz Buijsman	
1635 12 11	1143/118	J. v.d. Ven	1635	Het Wapen van Amsterdam	Adriaen Turck	
1636 01 18	695/268v	J. Warnaertsz	1635	De Fortuyn	Pieter Jansz Bladt	
1636 01 08	695/268v	J. Warnaertsz	1635	Den Engel Gabriël	Frans Cornelis Kint	Rotterdam
1636 04 17	627/38/119v	J. Warnaertsz	1636	De Swarte Raven	Claes Ghijsen	Zaandam
1636 07 14	836/r27/1440	F. Bruiningh	1636	De Blinde Fortuijn	Simon Clausse	Zuiderwoude
1636 10 09	865/371-372	J. v. Zwieten	1636	St Pieter	Pieter Pietersz	
1637 11 23	676/178	J. Warnaertsz	1637	St Christophel		
1637 11 29	1915/740-742	P. Uijttendbogaert	1637	De Hove	Jan van Rhee	
1637 11 30	677	J. Warnaertsz	1637	De Eendracht	Wouter Pieterszen	
1638 02 20	1420/715	C. Tou	1638	St Pieter	Jan Verstege	Kampen
1638 11 30	876/401	J. v. Zwieten	1638	De Waterhond	Jan Jansz Cleijn	
1638 12 04	922/r11/46	J. Bosch	1638	St Pieter	Jan Theunis	
1638 12 04	922/r11/46	J. Bosch	1638	Den Coninck David	Herman Pieterszen	
1638 12 04	922/r11/46	J. Bosch	1638	St Jacob	Jacob Pietersz Stort	
1639 03 19	1053/134-135	J. v.d. Ven	1637	De Tortelduijf	Haije Jansz	Norden
1639 03 25	599/587	L. Lamberti	1639	De Waterhond	Jan Jansz Cleijn	
1640 01 21	1609/417-418	E. Pels	1639	St Pieter	Frans Willemsen	
1640 12 11	488/534	E. Cocq	1636	De Liefde	Gerrit Jansz	
1641 01 01	1059/20v	J. v.d. Ven	1641	De Trommel	Cornelis Gerrebrantsz	Wieringen
1641 03 15	489/98	E. Cocq	1641	De Parrekich	Dirck Dircksz Buns	
1641 12 16	732A/389	P. Carelsz	1641	Het Wapen van Amsterdam	Huibert Heindrick	
1641 12 16	732A/389	P. Carelsz	1641	De Hoop	Carel Gerbrantsz	
1641 12 16	732A/389	P. Carelsz	1641	De Bul	Jakob Kornelis	
1641 12 23	1060/395	J. v.d. Ven	1641	De Melior	Nataniël Biglant	
1643 01 26	1571/65	P. Capoen	1642	De Hoop	Cornelis Gerrebrantsz	Wieringen
1643 03 05	491/78	E. Cocq	1642	Graeff Mourits	Jacob Graeff	
1643 03 05	491/78	E. Cocq	1642	Het Wapen van Amsterdam	Huibert Heindrick	
1643 04 09	1570/120	P. Capoen	1643	Het Huijs te Muijen	Jan Gerritsz Muijen	
1643 10 06	1570/352	P. Capoen	1640	Het Bonte Lam	Theunis Jansen	
1644 04 05	1572/200	P. Capoen	1643	De Jonge Dogger	Symon Claessen Dogger	
1644 04 08	1289/47	H. Schaeff	1643	Hollandia	Pieter Femmen	
1644 04 16	1026A/273	S. v.d. Piet	1643	De Liefde	Cornelis Garbrants	
1644 06 13	1422/783	C. Tou	1644	De Gieter	Dirck Jacobsz	
1644 12 07	1290/50	H. Schaeff	1644	Den Blaewen Haen	Willem Cornelisz Oldemarckt	
1645	1026B/1081	S. v.d. Piet	1645	De Liefde	Hubert Hubertsen	
1645 03 27	1809/447	A. Eggericx	1645	Hollandia	Paulus Jansz	
1645 05 03	1920/526	J. de Weijse	1645	St Franciscus	Hendrick Blaes	
1645 06 27	1573/397	P. Capoen	1644	St Pieter	Simon Janssen	Dursterdam
1645 06 27	1573/397	P. Capoen	1644	Het Wapen van Rensselaerswijck		
1645 10 04	1813/708	A. Eggericx	1643	Sta Maria	Claes Florissen Waerden	
1645 10 04	1813/708	A. Eggericx	1643	St Jan Baptista	Stm Jan Jochumse	
1645 11 07	1573/700	P. Capoen	1645	De Orangenboom	Sijmen Walichsen	
1645 12 09	1813/1038	A. Eggericx	1644	St Jacob	Jacob Jansz	
1646 02 22	1573B/938	P. Capoen	1646	Prins Hendrick	Cornelis Jacob Keijser	
1646 03 15	849/100	J. Steijns	1646	De Charitie van Amsterdam	Jan Derck Moll	
1646 03 22	734	P. Carelsz	1644	De Verloren Soon	Volkert Jelisz	Aartswoud
1647 01 09	1077/278	J. v.d. Ven	1646	De Zeeridder	Pieter Jansz	Amsterdam
1647 04 02	849/116	J. Steijns	1647	De Phenix	Jan Derck Moll	
1647 04 17	847/346	J. v. Zwieten	1647	De Hoop	Jan Pietersz Top	Grootebroek
1647 05 03	1796/298	C. Vliet	1645	De Liefde	Huibert Heindrick	
1647 06 03	1294/68	H. Schaeff	1647	De Seerobbe	Sijmon Dircks van Rarep	
1647 06 22	1574/405	P. Capoen	1647	Den Gloeijenden Oven	Cornelis Jacobs Reijssen	
1647 10 25	1574/633	P. Capoen	1647	Den Graeff van Egmont	Sijmon Jansen	
1647 11 09	1294/191v	H. Schaeff	1646	St Laurens	Jacob Sieuwertse	
1647 11 11	1574/683	P. Capoen	1647	De Schotse Duijtsman	Jacob Evertsen Sandelingh	
1648 03 16	1647/4	J. v.d. Hoeven	1648	De Schel	Dirck Jacobs Schellinger	
1648 04 01	899/223-226	J. v. Zwieten	1648	Het Hoff van Cleeff	Jan Coertsen	
1648 06 09	1690A/1009	P. de Bary	1648	De Eendracht	Pieter Meijnerts	
1648 08 08	2104B/861	J. Cocq	1648	De Planter		
1649 01 26	1575/137	P. Capoen	1648	De Waterhond		
1649 05 04	1091/2	J. v.d. Ven	1648	De Vergulde Pauw	Stoffel Jurriaans	
1650 07 13	2278/77,78	J. de Winter	1648	De Jonge Prins van Denemarken	Thielman Willekens	Glückstadt
1649 10 15	1198/136	J. de Vos	1649	Amstelredamme	Cornelis Claesz	Rotterdam
1649 10 25	1092/69v	J. v.d. Ven	1649	De Vergulde Pauw	Jacob Dircks Los	

1649 10 25	1092/69v	J. v.d. Ven	1649	De Vergulde Ploegh	Gerrit Jansz Ploegh	
1649 12 28	2278/63,64	J. de Winter	1645	Tamandre		
1650 01 14	1093/54	J. v.d. Ven	1649	De Fortuijn	Jan Pietersz	
1650 04 07	1093/393	J. v.d. Ven	1650	De Blauwe Eenhoorn	Gerrit Jansz Ploegh	
1650 05 24	1094/110	J. v.d. Ven	1649	De Bruijnvis	Pieter Jansz Hil	
1650 06 03	1799/436	C. Vliet	1650	De Liefde	Jan Centen	Bergen
1650 08 09	1864/236	J. Steur	1649	De Schel	Hendrixse Pijper	Opperdoes
1650 10 25	2111/353	J. Thielmans	1650	Den Dolphijn	Aris Jansz Dul	
1651 01 26	1695/107	P. de Bary	1649	Het Hoff van Cleeff	Jan Jansz Bloem	
1651 01 26	1695/107	P. de Bary	1650	Abrahams Offerhand	Sijbrant Thijsz	
1651 01 30	2421a/27	P. v. Toll	1651	De Voorsichtigheijt	Jan Reijners Wagenaer	
1651 02 18	1659/238	P. de Bary	1650	St Jacob	Stm Jan Jacobs Vervier	
1651 06 12	1695/1393	P. de Bary	1651	De Orangenboom	Hendrick Pietersz	
1651 07 03	2106/226	J. Cocq	1651	De Jonge Tobias	Willem Jansz Eubels	Edam
1651 07 07	1097/288	J. v.d. Ven	1650	De Planter	Leendert Cornelisz Valcken	
1651 07 13	2112/70	J. Thielmans	1651	St Jan	Sibran Seres	Buiksloot
1651 08 16	1097/443	J. v.d. Ven	1651	De Salamander	Pieter Marijnissen	
1651 09 08	1557/979	J. Oli	1651	De Hoop	Jan van Rhee	
1651 09 21	560B/166	J. Westfrisius	1651	Het Swarte Paert		
1652 08 06	1100/329	J. v.d. Ven	1652	De Patientie	Adriaen Dircx Coopal	
1652 10 07	1922/193	J. de Weijse	1652	Emanuel	Aerent Jacobsz Schilder	
1652 10 07	1922/193	J. de Weijse	1652	De Star	Hendrick de Vijcke	
1652 11 05	1102/19v,20	J. v.d. Ven	1651	St Michiel	Carsten Grube	Hamburg
1652 11 29	1102/164v,165	J. v.d. Ven	1651	De Hoop	Lourens Mondt	
1652 11 29	1102/164v,165	J. v.d. Ven	1651	St Jan	Jan Jacobs Vervier	
1653 01 20	1103/109	J. v.d. Ven	1651	De Blauwe Eenhoorn	Gerrit Jansz Ploegh	
1653 11 11	824/--	J. Verheij	1653	De Fortuijn	Hans Warregaren Avonturier	
1653 12	1106/264	J. v.d. Ven	1651	Den Engel Rafael	Barent Jenckel	Hamburg
1654 10 26	1110/67	J. v.d. Ven	1654	Coninginne Hester	Gerrit Idesz	
1654 11 23	1802/650	C. Vliet	1654	Den Swarten Arent	Harmen Droogh	
1654 11 25	1110/173	J. v.d. Ven	1654	De Koning van Frankrijk	Cornelis Barentsz van de Veer	
1654 11 25	1110/173	J. v.d. Ven	1645	De Gietermaker	Claes Heijndricksz Gietermaker	
1654 11 25	1110/173	J. v.d. Ven	1654	St Anna	Cornelis Tamesz	Medemblik
1654 12 19	1110/267	J. v.d. Ven	1655	St Nicolaes	Lourens Mondt	
1655 01 01	1112/1	J. v.d. Ven	1653	Princesse Royael	Pieter Scheurwater	
1655 05 14	1113/153	J. v.d. Ven	1655	St Joris (Londen)	Barent Kelly	Londen
1655 06 10	1113/242	J. v.d. Ven	1654	Den Sterken Roeland	Pieter sijmonsz	Zaandam
1655 07 30	2199/124,125	A. Lock	1655	De Peereboom	Jacob Jansz Huijs	
1655 10 12	1115/48	J. v.d. Ven	1655	De Fortuijn	Pieter Fernambuco	
1655 10 26	1115/106	J. v.d. Ven	1655	Fernambuco	Douwe Dirx	
1656 02 12	1306/33	H. Schaeff	1656	De Groene Vaech	Gerrit Jansen Stavast	
1656 01 04	1803/3	C. Vliet	1655	Oossaan	Evert Cornelisz	
1656 03 09	2117/216	J. Thielmans	1655	De Drij Cronen	Adriaen Jacobs	
1656 04 28	1306/83	H. Schaeff	1654	Het Huijs te Schagen	Jurrien Thijmondz Mugh	
1656 10 10	1119/32	J. v.d. Ven	1656	De Pauw	William Pestell	Londen
1657 07	982A/197	B. Baddel	1657	St Jan Baptist	Jacob Vos	
1658 01 30	1539/263	J. Oli	1658	De Invention van Nieucasteel	Thomas Courtman	
1658 07 30	2205/173	A. Lock	1658	De Drie Oijevaars	Willem Arisz	Falmouth
1658 09 17	2205/440	A. Lock	1657	De Parel	Adriaen Pietersz	Ilpendam
1659 12 16	1131/283	J. v.d. Ven	1657	De Hoop	Stoffel Jansen	
1660 05 29	1133/266	J. v.d. Ven	1660	De Invention van Nieucasteel	Thomas Courtman	
1660 07 15	2208/1054	A. Lock	1657	De Liefde	Frans S Jansz	
1660 07 19	1907/227	F. Uijttendbogaert	1659	De Witte Duijff	Jacob Jonker	
1660 07 21	1134/110	J. v.d. Ven	1660	St Paulus	John Bowler	Exon
1660 08 14	1540/208	J. Oli	1660	De Vergulde Son	Cornelis Jacobsen	Amsterdam
1660 08 23	1540/213	J. Oli	1660	Het Witte Postpaert	Jan Pietersz Fijess	Hoorn
1660 11 29	905/793	J. v. Zwieten	1660	Den Dolphijn	Robert Williams	Schotland
1661 02 24	1136/280-281	J. v.d. Ven	1661	De Gouden Leeuw (Londen)	Thomas Courtman	
1661 07 19	1925/161	D. Doornick	1661	De Fortuijn	Pieter Remmen	
1662 03 10	1140/282	J. v.d. Ven	1662	De Phenix	John Gray	
1662 09 29	2156/361	J. d'Amour	1660	Het Swarte Paert	George Armstrong	
1664 06 24	2157/154	J. d'Amour	1664	The Goulden Fortune	William Triknos	
1665 07 15	2219A/317,318	A. Lock	1664	De Vos	Eduard Kirton	
1668 03 17	1993/142	J. v. Loosdrecht	1667	De Margaretha		
1669 04 29	2789/133	P. v. Buijtene	1668	De Roo de Leeuw	Thomas Thompson	Rochester
1669 08 06	2230/1044	A. Lock	1669	Troyall	John Crowe	
1669 08 06	2230/1044	A. Lock	1669	De Reeders Avontuur	Willem Luyt Touw	
1669 09 16	3878/397	Ph. Laurentius	1669	De Coningh Salomon	Isaac Fockegracht	

Source: GAANA index-cards Barbados

Table 1 is a compiled list of deeds from the Notarial Archive. More than one deed could be dealing with one and the same trip. In those cases only one entry in the table was made. Some deeds mention only a ship's name, but no skipper. These were included in the table. In some

instances a skipper was named, but no ship. These were excluded from the table to prevent double counts for instance when another replaced a skipper. The table is in chronological order of the dates of the deeds. This order may not entirely correspond with the actual time of the voyage. Some statements were given after returning to Amsterdam, which may have been months or even years after the incident described, took place. Under the heading year an estimate of the year of the voyage is given. The column 'Origin' gives the place of origin of the skipper as far as stated in the archive.

Appendix 2

Cargo exported from Barbados

Date Deed	Inv nr	Notary	Ship	Skipper	Cargo
1635 12 11	1143/118	J. v.d. Ven	Het Wapen van Amsterdam	Adriaen Turck	Tobacco
1636 01 08	695/268v	J. Warnaeztz	De Fortuyn	Pieter Jansz Blad	Tobacco, dyewood
1636 01 08	695/268v	J. Warnaeztz	Den Engel Gabriel	Franck Cornelis kint	Tobacco, dyewood
1636 04 17	627/38/119v	J. Warnaeztz	De Swarte raven	Claes Ghijsen	Tobacco
1636 07 14	836/r27/1440	F. Bruiningh	De Blinde Fortuijn	Simon Clausse	Tobacco
1637 11 30	677	J. Warnaeztz	De Eendracht	Wouter Pieterszen	Tobacco
1638 09 09	876/321 verto	J. v. Zwieten		Cornelis Jansz Buijsman	Tobacco
1638 11 30	867/401	J. v. Zwieten	De Waterhond	Jan Jansz Cleijn	Tobacco, cotton
1639 01 28	696/r84/41	J. Warnaeztz		Adriaen Dirx Houttuijn	Tobacco, cotton
1639 03 25	599/587	L. Lamberti	De Waterhond	Jan Jansz Cleijn	Tobacco
1640 12 11	488/534	E. Cocq	De Liefde	Gerrit Jansz	Tobacco
1641 03 15	489/98	E. Cocq	De Parekich	Dirck Dircksz Buns	Cotton
1641 12 16	732A/389	P. Carelsz	De Hoop	Carel Gerbrantsz	Cotton
1643 01 26	1571/65	P. Capoen	De Hoop	Cornelis Gerrebrantsze	171 rolls tobacco
1644 04 05	1572/200	P. Capoen	De Jonge Dogger	Symon Claessen Dogger	Tobacco
1644 04 08	1289/47	H. Schaeff	Hollandia	Pieter Femmen	Tobacco
1644 05 07	1070/15	J. v.d. Ven	De Liefde	Franchois Gerrebrants	Tobacco
1645	1026B/1081	S. v.d. Piet	De Liefde	Hubert Hubertsen	Tobacco, cotton
1645 03 27	1809/447	A. Eggericx	Hollandia	Paulus Jansz	350 rolls tobacco
1645 05 24	1573A/324	P. Capoen		Jacob Gerritsen Roemer	400lbs cotton, 5000lbs tobacco, 40lbs indigo
1645 11 07	1573A/700	P. Capoen	De Orangenboom	Sijmen Walichsen	Tobacco, dyewood
1646 02 22	1573B/938	P. Capoen	Prins Hendrick	Cornelis Jacob Keijser	Tobacco, cotton or indigo
1647 01 09	1077/278	J. v.d. Ven	De Zeeridder	Pieter Jansz	Tobacco
1647 02 12	849/111	J. Steijns	De Charitie van Amsterdam	Jan Derck Mol	Tobacco or indigo, sugar, ginger, candied peels
1647 05 17	1796/298	C. Vliet	De Liefde	Huibert Heindrick	600 rolls tobacco
1647 06 22	1574/405	P. Capoen	Den Gloeienden Oven	Cornelis Jacob Reijzen	Sugar
1647 11 09	1294/191v	H. Schaeff	St Laurens	Jacob Sieuwertse	Sugar, tobacco or else
1648 03 16	1647/4	J. v.d. Hoeven	De Schel	Dirck Jacobs Schellinger	Sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo
1648 06 09	1690A/1009	P. de Bary	De Eendracht	Pieter Meijners	200 slaves
1649 10 25	1092/69v	J. v.d. Ven	De vergulde Ploegh	Gerrit Jansz Ploegh	Tobacco
1649 11 11	1090/309	J. v.d. Ven	De Vergulde Pauw		Tobacco
1649 12 28	2278/2/63,64	J. de Winter	Tamandre (ex Portugees)		Negroes
1650 05 24	1094/110	J. v.d. Ven	De Bruijnvis	Pieter Jansz Hil	Tobacco
1650 06 03	1799/436	C. Vliet	De Liefde	Jan Centen	Sugar, ginger
1650 10 25	2111/353	J. Thielmans	Den Dolfijn	Aris Jansz Dul	Sugar, cotton, indigo, ginger
1651 01 30	2421a/27	P. v. Toll	De Voorsichtigheijt	Jan Reijners Wagenaer	Sugar, tobacco or else
1651 06 12	1695/1393	P. de Bary	De Orangeboom	Hendrick Pietersz	Sugar
1651 07 03	2106/226	J. Cocq	De Jonge Tobias	Willem Jansz Gubels	Sugar, tobacco, ginger, catar
1651 09 08	1557/979	J. Oli	De Hoop	Jan van Rhee	Sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger
1651 09 21	560B/166	J. Westfrisius	Het Swart Paert		200 points muscovado sugar
1652 05 08	2279/v 15	J. de Winter	Het Hoff van Cleeff	Jan Jansz Bloem	Sugar
1654 11 23	1802/650	C. Vliet	Den Swarten Arent	Harmen Droogh	Sugar, tobacco, ginger
1656 02 12	1306/33	H. Schaeff	De Groene Vaech	Gerrit Jansen Stavast	Sugar
1657 04 27	1899/295	F. Uijtenbogaert	Het Huijs te Schagen	Jurrien Thijmonds Mugh	Sugar
1665 02 24	2218A/419	A. Lock		Hendrick Carlisle	Cotton

Source: GAANA index-cards Barbados

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