

Notes

- 1 “DNB start onderzoek naar slavernijverleden” [DNB launches investigation into slavery history], 10 July, 2020, at <https://www.dnb.nl/actueel/algemeen-nieuws/nieuwsberichten-2020/dnb-start-onderzoek-naarslavernijverleden/>.
- 2 Completed studies include those into ABN AMRO, Bank of America and JP Morgan Chase: *Predecessors of ABN AMRO Bank N.V. and Connections to African Slavery in the United States and the Americas* (Rockville, 2006); *Report on Bank of America Predecessor Institutions Research Regarding Slavery and the Slave Trade* (Missoula, 2005). The research into Lloyd’s of London and the Bank of England is ongoing.
- 3 For the research questions drawn up by DNB’s internal working group on the history of slavery, see the afterword of this book.
- 4 At the beginning of our research, DNB’s internal working group on the history of slavery provided an indicative list of bank presidents and directors whose involvement in slavery they wanted to see investigated. That included Johanna Borski, who bought 2,000 of the first 5,000 shares in DNB. During the course of the research, several names were added to the list in consultation with the study’s advisory board (see the afterword for its composition) and by the researchers themselves. They include all DNB’s non-executive directors during the period under consideration (1814-1873), the group of sixteen major initial investors who played an important institutional role in the bank’s early days and legal consultant Jan Bondt.
- 5 A. M. de Jong, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Bank* (Haarlem, 1967).
- 6 H. J. M. van de Laar, *Opperbankier en Wetenschapsman Willem Cornelis Mees, 1813-1884* (The Hague, 1978) 104. In this biography, all activity in that regard is attributed solely to Jan Ackersdijk and Mees’ role remains out of sight.
- 7 Joost Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen: The Amsterdam Money Market During the First Half of the 19th Century* (Amsterdam, 1996).
- 8 Joost Jonker, “Roeien tegen de stroom, 1813-1860; De geschiedenis van Insinger & Co., deel 2” [Rowing against the current, 1813-1860; the history of Insinger & Co., part 2], *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 96 (2004) 135-155.
- 9 Maartje Janse, *De afschaffers: publieke opinie, organisatie en politiek in Nederland 1840-1880* (Amsterdam, 2007).
- 10 Pepijn Brandon & Karin Lurvink, “‘With the Power of Language and the Force of Reason’: An Amsterdam Banker’s Fight for Slave Owners’ Compensation”, in: Pepijn Brandon, Sabine Go & Wybren Verstegen, *Navigating History: Economy, Society, Knowledge and Nature* (Leiden / Boston, 2018) 228-248.
- 11 Marcel Boumans, *Over de betekenis van Pierson in de Geschiedenis van de Economische Discipline* (lecture to the N. G. Pierson Fund Foundation, 16 December, 2020). We are grateful to the author for making the text of the lecture available.

- 12 This research project, funded by the Dutch Research Council (Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, NWO) was a collaboration between Leiden University and the International Institute of Social History. It is the pre-eminent study of the economic importance of the slavery-based colonial economy.
- 13 Pepijn Brandon and Ulbe Bosma, “De betekenis van de Atlantische slavernij voor de Nederlandse economie in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw” [The significance of Atlantic slavery for the Dutch economy in the second half of the eighteenth century], *TSEG - The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History*, 16:2 (2019) 29-30. This definition was drawn up in order to calculate the share of slavery-based activities in GDP, but excludes part of the financial services sector. Since we are not investigating from the perspective of GDP but focus on DNB and its directors as private individuals, all forms of financial services and dividend payments should be included. Given the scope of this study, we have not been able to obtain a complete picture of the supply of goods to slave colonies.
- 14 Ulbe Bosma, “Commodification and slavery in the nineteenth century Indonesian Archipelago”, *Journal of Social History*, 54:1 (2020) 109-124.
- 15 Tom Pfeil, “Schuldencrisis, kredietfinanciering en belastinghervorming onder Willem I” [Debt crisis, credit financing and tax reform under William I], in: Ido de Haan, Paul den Hoed and Henk te Velde, *Een nieuwe staat: Het begin van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 2013) 210-219, specifically 214.
- 16 P. H. van der Kemp, “De sluiting van het Londensch tractaat van 13 augustus 1814” [The conclusion of the Treaty of London of 13 August, 1814], *Bijdrage tot taal-, land-, en volkenkunde*, 47:1 (1897) 239-280.
- 17 During the Napoleonic wars, Britain had transferred the French colony of Guadeloupe to Sweden. Now, however, they wanted it returned to French hands. As compensation, they offered the Swedes former Dutch colonies in Guiana.
- 18 Marcel van der Linden, “Zur Logik einer Nicht-Entscheidung: Der Wiener Kongress und der Sklavenhandel” [On the logic of a non-decision: the Congress of Vienna and the slave trade], in: T. Just, W. Maderthaner & H. Maimann (eds.), *Der Wiener Kongress: Die Erfindung Europas* (Vienna, 2014) 359.
- 19 In a letter to Van Nagell, William I wrote of “the uncertainty of the West [Indies] by virtue of the liberal principles of the trade in slaves and their treatment, and the individuals [the owners] being assured of direct trade on their plantations without the Government being burdened with the costs of always more or less precarious possessions and yet recovering the colony which has more positive Dutch plantations”. See Van der Kemp, “De sluiting” 276.
- 20 Dale Tomich, “Commodity Frontiers, Spatial Economy and Technological Innovation in the Caribbean Sugar Industry, 1783-1878”, in: A. B. Leonard & David Pretel (eds), *The Caribbean and the Atlantic World Economy: Circuits of Trade, Money and Knowledge, 1650-1914*. Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series (London, 2015) 184-216, specifically 186-187.
- 21 Ibid., 203.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Jan Postma, Alexander Gogel (1765-1821): *Grondlegger van de Nederlandse staat* (Hilversum, 2017) 177; NL-HaNA, 2.21.006.51, Goldberg, inv. no. 181; Paul Koulen, *Lijst van eigenaren van plantages, en houders van hypothecken op plantages in Berbice, Demerara en Essequibo, 1818-1819*, 53.

- 24 Postma, Alexander Gogel, 66-67.
- 25 Ibid., 134.
- 26 Ibid., 185.
- 27 G. J. Schutte, *De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën: Een onderzoek naar hun denkbeelden en optreden, 1770-1800* (Groningen, 1974) 148.
- 28 Postma, Alexander Gogel, 277.
- 29 Ibid., 356.
- 30 “Besluit van den Souvereinen Vorst van den 25sten Maart 1814” [Decree of the Sovereign Prince of 25 March, 1814], no. 105, *Staatsblad* no. 40, containing the charter and regulations of De Nederlandsche Bank.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 De Jong, *Geschiedenis*, vol. I, 85-86; Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 171-172.
- 33 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 168-172.
- 34 De Jager, *De bank van de gulden*, 20.
- 35 The involvement with slavery of the Dutch government and the head of state, King William I, fall outside the scope of this study.
- 36 Gert Oostindie, *Roosenburg en Mon Bijou: Twee Surinaamse plantages, 1720-1870* (Dordrecht, 1989) 321-322, 423, 426-427.
- 37 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 322.
- 38 Ibid., 190.
- 39 Koulen, *Lijst van eigenaren van plantages*. [List of plantation owners]
- 40 NL-HaNA, 1.05.01.02, WIC, inv. no. 542, scan 286 et seq.
- 41 NL-HaNA, 1.05.01.02, WIC, inv. no. 1033, scan 384 (Demerara); inv. no. 1135, scan 402 (from J. C. van den Heuvel in Demerara); inv. no. 637, scan 364 et seq (St Eustatius).
- 42 “Door Couderc, Brants & Chagouin: Wol en koffie” [By Couderc, Brants & Chagouin: Wool and coffee], *Nationaale Courant*, 26 August 1795 (Amsterdam). Wool: *Nationaale courant*, 11 September 1795. Sugar: *Nationaale courant*, 16 September 1795. Coffee: *Nationaale courant*, 22 September 1795. “Door Couderc en Brants indigo” [By Couderc & Brants, indigo]: *Amsterdamsche courant*, 26 August, 1806.
- 43 NL-HaNA, WIC, inv. no. 1179.
- 44 *Naamlijst der schepen, sailende op de kolonien Suriname, Demerary en Essequibo, Berbice, Curacao* (Amsterdam 1816) 22. *Naamlijst der schepen sailende op de kolonien Suriname, Demerary en Essequibo, Berbice, Curacao* (Amsterdam 1820) 48.
- 45 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 193.
- 46 In coffee and sugar growing, the majority of owners were absenteees. Alex van Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast: Roofbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantagekolonie, 1750-1863* (Leiden 1993) 199.
- 47 *Surinaamsche Staatkundige Almanach voor den Jaare 1818* (1817).
- 48 Walter Bodmer, “Schweizer Tropenkaufleute und plantagenbesitzer in NiederländischWestindien im 18. und zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts” [Swiss tropical merchants and plantation owners in the Dutch West Indies in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries], *Acta Tropica* (1946); Karwan Fatah-Black, *White Lies and Black Markets: Evading Metropolitan Control in Colonial Suriname, 1650-1800* (Leiden/Boston, 2015) 36-37.
- 49 *Surinaamsche Staatkundige Almanach voor den Jaare 1794* (1794).

- 50 Naamlijst der schepen (Amsterdam, 1816).
- 51 Naamlijst der schepen (Amsterdam, 1820).
- 52 One interesting aspect of Faesch & Co's shipping activities is that all its vessels were built outside the Netherlands. The shortage of ships there made it more advantageous to procure them on the British market. Once in the company's ownership, they were renamed. Maritiem-Historische Databank, Firma Faesch & Co.: <https://www.marhisdata.nl/eigenaar&id=3097>.
- 53 S. Kalff, "Mr. Abraham Vereul", *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 8:1 (1927) 378-388.
- 54 Maria Sara was both the sister of Abraham Vereul's mother and the wife of his father's brother. The company owned four ships, including one called Willem I (<https://www.marhisdata.nl/eigenaar&id=25845>).
- 55 Abraham Vereul, *Aanspraak, bij de opening van der eerste zitting van het committe tot de zaken der coloniën en bezittingen der Bataafsche Republyk, in America en ter kust van Guinea* (Amsterdam, 1795).
- 56 Schutte, *De Nederlandse patriotten en de koloniën*, 177, 194, 202-205.
- 57 *Surinaamsche Staatkundige Almanach voor den Jaare 1818* (1817).
- 58 De Eduard was referred to as a "speculation", which perhaps means that the plantation was held with the intention of reselling it. Due to the legal obligation to work plantations, however, there must have been some activity on it.
- 59 Koulen, *Lijst van eigenaren*.
- 60 In 1829 complaints were received from the enslaved women Jacuba, Julia Dorothea, Una and Effa, who "belonged" to *Le Repentir* but worked on *La Pénitence*, about their workload, treatment and confinement on the latter plantation. Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (New York/Oxford, 1994) 67.
- 61 Maritiem-Historische Databank, Firma Ramperti & Co: <https://www.marhisdata.nl/owner&id=35052>.
- 62 Ruud Priem, "The 'Most Excellent Collection' of Lucretia Johanna Van Winter: The Years 1809-22, with a Catalogue of the Works Purchased", *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 25, no. 2/3 (1997) 103-196.
- 63 "Carga-lijsten" [Cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19 April, 1828, 29 August, 1832, 11 May, 1833, 30 November, 1833, 18 March, 1836, 22 August, 1836, 12 October, 1837, 27 March, 1839.
- 64 Maritiem-Historische Databank, De Gebroeder Planta: <https://www.marhisdata.nl/cor&id=11984>. NL-AsdSAA, 5181, Archief van de Secretarie, Afdeling Algemene Zaken, Zeezaken/Archives of the Secretariat, Department of General Affairs, Maritime Affairs, inv. no. 7157, scan 147: <https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/5181/2.17.3.7.1.11/start/140/limit/10/highlight/7>.
- 65 Jonge Jacob: Maritiem-Historische Databank – Scheep. "Carga-lijsten Amsterdam" [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 13 November, 1830; "Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam" [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 23 August, 1831. "Carga-lijsten" [Cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 June, 1832.
- 66 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 205.
- 67 In the 1830s, we see that sugar was supplied by Goll & Co from London, Bremen and Le Havre (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 18 November, 1833, 30 March, 1835, 29 October, 1838). Also a cargo of tobacco (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 May, 1836, *De Avondbode*, 15 June, 1836),

- goods from New Orleans (NRC, 9 August, 1844) and cotton from Baltimore and sugar from Charleston, 1 September, 1837.
- 68 *Almanak voor de Nederlandsche West-Indische bezittingen, en de kust van Guinea*, 1842, 1843 and 1856 editions.
- 69 From the end of the French period in about 1812 until the Wisselbank closed in 1820, nine directors served on its board at various times. Six of them had no direct involvement in slavery-related activities: Willem Bruyn (d. 1795-1813), Gerardus Willebrordus te Sande (d. 1795-1817), Adriaan Teyler van Hall (d. 1796-1818), Jan Brouwer Joachiemsz (d. 1798-1814), Pieter van Lennep (d. 1814 and 1820) and Petrus Paulus Charlé (d. 1814-1820). The three who did were Daniël Changuion (d. 1801-1812), Jacob Hendrick Luden (d. 1818-1820) and Ananias Willink (d. 1818-1820).
- 70 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 201-203.
- 71 NL-AsdSAA, 735, Inventaris van het Archief van de Firma Hope & Co. met verwante archiefvormers [Inventory of the archives of Hope & Co. with related records], inv. no. 2879: "Journalen 1832-1848" [Journals 1832-1848] 169.
- 72 UK-TNA, Colonial Office, 111/28.
- 73 Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery (LBS), estate details, Blankenburgh, British Guiana: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/1128>. LBS, estate details, Anna Catharina, British Guiana: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/990>. LBS, estate details, Sage Pond, British Guiana: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/966>.
- 74 Gerarda Westerhuis & Jan Luiten van Zanden, "Four Hundred Years of Central Banking in the Netherlands, 1609-2016", in: Daniel Waldenström, Rodney Edvinsson & Tor Jacobson (eds), *Sveriges Riksbank and the History of Central Banking*. Studies in Macroeconomic History (Cambridge, 2018) 242-264.
- 75 F. J. E. van Lennep, *As Princes: Portraits of the 18th Century* (Haarlem, 1967) 99.
- 76 DNB directors were usually members of the learned Sociëteit Casino on Kloveniersburgwal, but Croockewit (s. 1828-1849; d. 1849-1854; p. 1854-1863) and A. Fock (d. 1837-1844; p. 1844-1858) were members of the rival Felix Meritis. J. L. de Jager, *De bank van de gulden: Organisatie en personeel van de Nederlandsche Bank 1814-1989* (Amsterdam, 1989) 31.
- 77 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 168-169.
- 78 De Jager, *De bank van de gulden*, 24.
- 79 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 170, 182.
- 80 De Jager, *De bank van de gulden*, 22-23, 31.
- 81 For a well-documented reconstruction of this episode, see P. Spigt, "Een netelige zaak: Moeilijkheden bij de benoeming van de directie van de Nederlandsche Bank in 1838" [A thorny issue: difficulties in appointing the board of De Nederlandsche Bank in 1838], *Amstelodamum* 58 (1966) 164-182.
- 82 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 171-172.
- 83 NL-HaNA, 2.02.01, Staatssecretarie [State Secretariat], inv. no. 6054: "Verbaal van de vergadering van aanzienlijken door Z.K.H. bij besluit d.d. 2 maart 1814, nr. 14 bijeengeroepen in de Nieuwe Kerk te Amsterdam op 29 maart daaraanvolgend, met bijlagen nrs. 1-3, 6-8, benevens lijsten der stemmingen over de Grondwet gehouden in de afdelingen" [Minutes of the meeting of dignitaries convened by His Royal Highness by decree dd. 2 March, 1814, no. 14, at the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam on 29 March inst., with appendices no. 1-3 and 6-8, as well as lists of votes on the Constitution held in the sections].

- 84 In 1844, for example, the governor of Noord-Holland reported to William II that, “Amongst persons and houses [companies] with interests in the colony of Surinam, there are strong and urgent complaints about the government of the colony; and especially about the Governor, Mr Elias, who, according to those complaints, protects the slaves against their masters in a manner so inhumane that by doing so he gives rise to well-founded fears of a general revolt of the slaves and of the consequent destruction of a colony which still provides regular work and sustenance to some seventy merchant ships.” NL-HaNA, 2.21.007.58, Baud, inv. no. 767: A.G.A. van Rappard to Baud, 19 August, 1844.
- 85 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 171-172.
- 86 In addition to his position as legal consultant to DNB, Bondt held many other offices in the first half of the nineteenth century. Between 1793 and 1836 he was also a consultant to the directors of the oriental trading and shipping companies, and from 1814 one of the directors of the Ledger of National Debt (*Grootboek der Nationale Schuld*).
- 87 Van Riel, “Hoe koning Willem I de uitgifte van staatsleningen financierde” [How King William I financed the issuance of government bonds], Appendix IV, 228.
- 88 De Jong, *Geschiedenis I*, 90-91.
- 89 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 71. Jonker also includes DNB non-executive director Goll & Co. and Wed. W. Borksi in this category.
- 90 Van Hall, “Herinneringen betreffende mr. Jan Bondt, en zijne vader mr. Nicolaas Bondt” [Memories concerning Jan Bondt, and his father, Nicolaas Bondt], in: *Gemengde schriften betrekkelijk tot de geschiedenis, de letterkunde en de geschiedenis der vaderlandsche rechtsgeleerdheid* (Amsterdam, 1848), 391-392; Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 206.
- 91 NL-AsdSAA, 199, Archief van de Familie Den Tex en Bondt [Archives of the Den Tex and De Bondt families], inv. no. 49: “Balances van de Firma Determeyer Weslingh & Zoon” [Balance sheets of the firm Determeyer Weslingh & Son].
- 92 NL-AsdSAA, 199, inv. no. 50: “Balances van de Firma 1818-1844” [Balance sheets of the firm, 1818-1844].
- 93 NL-AsdSAA, 199, inv. no. 44: “Secreet journalen van Jan Bondt, 1827-1844” [Confidential journals of Jan Bondt, 1827-1844].
- 94 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, Archief van de Bank Insinger en Co. [Archives of the bank Insinger and Co.], inv. no. 1445, 30 December, 1828.
- 95 Van Hall, “Herinneringen”, 403-406.
- 96 Van Riel, “Hoe koning Willem I de uitgifte van staatsleningen financierde” [How King William I financed the issuance of government bonds], *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* (1956) 210-235, specifically 216.
- 97 *Ibid.*, 212.
- 98 NL-HaNA, 2.21.005.34, Van Hall, inv. no. 68: Bondt to Van Hall, 17 December, 1843.
- 99 IISH, Collectie Fa. Determeyer Weslingh & Zn [Determeyer Weslingh & Zn collection], inv. No. 6: Prof. A. C. Holtius to Danish Council of State, 30 September, 1845.
- 100 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 11481a/53.
- 101 Karwan Fatah-Black, “A Network to Encourage the Slave Trade”, in: *Schiavitù e Servaggio nell'Economia Europea, secc. XI-XVIII* (Florance, 2014) 619-630.
- 102 Resoluties Staten-Generaal [Resolutions of the States General], 27 August 1788, 24 November, 1789.

- 103 NL-HaNA, 2.02.01, Staatssecretarie [State Secretariat], inv. no. 6555: "Brieven aan en consideraties en aantekeningen van W.C.H. baron van Lijnden van Blitterswijk, lid der Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal betreffende slavenhandel, 1787-1815" [Letters to and reflections and notes by Baron W. C. H. van Lijnden van Blitterswijk, member of the Senate of the States General, concerning the slave trade, 1787-1815], 1, cover.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Fatah- Black, "A Network to Encourage the Slave Trade"; Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815* (Cambridge, 1990) 295.
- 107 NL-HaNA, 2.02.01, Staatssecretarie [State Secretariat], inv. no. 6555: "Consideratien om de slavenhandel, augustus 1814" [Reflections concerning the slave trade, August 1814], 3.
- 108 Ibid., 4.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Paula E. Dumas, *Proslavery Britain: Fighting for Slavery in an Era of Abolition* (New York, 2016), 25.
- 111 "D'après les principes que j'ai posés, l'affranchissement des esclaves est impossibles et la prolongation de la traite au l'alimente indispensable." NL-HaNA, 2.02.01, Staatssecretarie [State Secretariat], inv. no. 6555: "Consideratien om de slavenhandel, augustus 1814" [Reflections concerning the slave trade, August 1814].
- 112 Karwan Fatah-Black, *Sociëteit van Suriname, 1683-1795: Het bestuur van de kolonie in de achttiende eeuw* (Zutphen, 2019) 68.
- 113 Van der Linden, "Zur Logik", 370.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 NL-HaNA, 2.02.01, Staatssecretarie [State Secretariat], inv. no. 6555: Van der Hoop to Van Lynden, 13 February, 1815.
- 117 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, Archief van de Bank Insinger en Co. [Archives of the bank Insinger and Co.], inv. no. 1359, 27 March, 1816.
- 118 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, inv. no. 1359, 15 October, 1816.
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 See also Brandon and Lurvink, "With the power of language and the force of reason", 237.
- 121 Van der Linden, "Zur Logik", 370-371.
- 122 Jaap Moes, *Onder aristocraten: Over hegemonie, welstand en aanzien van adel, patriciaat en andere notabelen in Nederland, 1848-1914* (Hilversum, 2012) 57-85; Niek van Sas, "Een Amsterdamse realist: Willem Frederik Röell 1767-1835" [An Amsterdam realist: Willem Frederik Röell 1767-1835] in: *Figuren en figuraties: Acht opstellen voor J.C. Boogman* (Groningen, 1979) 61-111, specifically 77-100.
- 123 Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2016) *passim*.
- 124 Cornelis Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean* (Assen, 1971) 360-362.
- 125 NL-RtdSA, 1-02, DTB Dopen [Register of Baptisms], inv. No. 111, 28 August, 1729.
- 126 Johannes Postma, *Dutch Shipping and Trade with Surinam, 1683-1795* (2009): <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-zeh-h82t>.
- 127 Fatah-Black, *Sociëteit van Suriname*, 80.

- 128 Barbara B. Oberg, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 35 (New Haven, 1999) 112-13.
 129 Oberg 35: 133-34.
 130 Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (Slavevoyages.org), voyage ID 32555, 32568, 32578, 32597 and 32625.
 131 Erick Noël, “La Fortune Antillaise Des Delahaye-Lebous (Fin XVIII e- Début XIX eSiècles)” [The West Indian Fortune of the Delahaye-Lebous family (late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries)], *Histoire, Économie et Société* 16, no. 4 (1997) 647-70.
 132 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, Notarissen ter standplaats Amsterdam [Notaries practising in Amsterdam], inv. no. 11481a/53.
 133 J. P. van der Voort, *De Westindische plantages van 1720 tot 1795: Financiën en handel* (Eindhoven, 1973) 101.
 134 Jonker, “Roeien tegen de stroom”, 145.
 135 He also traded with the firm De Wed. Hogguer & Sons.
 136 In 1759, for example, in his role as owner of the plantations in Surinam the baron granted the widow of Jean Catusse power of attorney for their daily administration. NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 10505/1523.
 137 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 10521/487.
 138 Ibid.
 139 Ibid.
 140 Confusingly, in their contracts the appointees were referred to as “negro officers” (“negerofficiëren”) – a term generally applied to men of African descent, usually still enslaved, who served as foremen on the plantations. In this case, however, they are probably European supervisors: Daniel Bonnin in 1763 and Michiel Liebert Meerkamp in 1765. Under their contracts, Bonnin and Meerkamp received f200 a year and “free accommodation, victuals and drink”, which they were allowed to consume “with the white servants”. NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. nos. 10534/641, 10552/1031.
 141 NL AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12725/76.
 142 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12393/630.
 143 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12402/130.
 144 J. E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795* (Amsterdam, 1963) vol 2, 982; *Surinaamsche Almanak voor 1835*, 69.
 145 *Surinaamsche Almanak voor 1835*, 71.
 146 Gert Oostindie & Jessica Roitman, *Dutch Atlantic Connections, 1680-1800* (Leiden/Boston, 2014); Catia Antunes, “From Binary Narratives to Diversified Tales”, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 131, no. 3 (2018) 393-407.
 147 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. nos. 8891/186, 8891/45, 8893/617, 10557/433, 13425/199, 11406/81, 10525/1356, 13446/229.a, 12719/102, 12719/111, 12416/281, 12424/481, 13483/218.
 148 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 10634/391.
 149 Van der Voort, *De Westindische Plantages* 191.
 150 Riksarkivet, Danish West Indies, Audited Accounts, Land Register of St Croix, 1865, collection 3, series 11, folio 149.
 151 Riksarkivet, Danish West Indies, Police Journal, Christiansted, St Croix, collection 3, series 53, folio 184.
 152 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12719/111.

- 153 Riksarkivet, Danish West Indies, Reports from Religious Congregations regarding Deaths, St Croix, collection 3, series 28, scan 283.
- 154 NL-AsdSAA, 5001, Ondertrouwregister [Register of Betrothals], inv no. 591, folio 133.
- 155 Van der Voort, *Westindische Plantages*, 275-76.
- 156 Kooijmans, *Vriendschap* 16-18.
- 157 Elias, *De Vroedschap* vol 2, 958-959.
- 158 D. de Hoop Scheffer, "Het Rijksmuseum en zijn begunstigers" [The Rijksmuseum and its benefactors], *Bulletin van Het Rijksmuseum* 6, no. 3/4 (1958) 88-89.
- 159 Elias, *De Vroedschap* vol. 2, 958.
- 160 NL-AsdSAA, 562 Archief van de Assurantiebezorgers Wed. J. van Bosse en Zoon [Archives of the insurer Wed. J. van Bosse en Zoon], inv. no. 29: "Breedvoerig en nauwkeurig verhaal" [Exhaustive and accurate account].
- 161 Extract uit de Resolutien van de Heeren Staaten van Holland, 6 May, 1768.
- 162 Van der Voort, *Westindische Plantages*, 310-11.
- 163 *Surinaamsche Almanak voor* 1834, 72, 80, 84, 85, 91, 95, 106.
- 164 Elias, *De Vroedschap* 755-56.
- 165 It should be noted, though, that not all of Anna Catharina's ancestors had a good reputation. Her father, Adriaan Isaac, was declared insane after a failed attempt to murder his wife and sentenced to house arrest in 1768. Her grandfather, Adriaan, was governor-general of Batavia (modern Jakarta, Indonesia) and oversaw what became known as the Batavian Fury, a massacre of the city's Chinese residents in October 1740. He died in prison in 1751.
- 166 Marita Mathijssen, *Jacob van Lennep: Een bezielde schavuit* (Amsterdam, 2018) 148-49.
- 167 Elias, *De Vroedschap*, Vol. 2: 969-974.
- 168 Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Chapel Hill, 1977) passim.
- 169 Van Stipriaan, *Surinamese contrast*, 117-118. For a 30-horsepower mill, more than f50,000 was paid, excluding installation.
- 170 *Ibid.*, 174-175; *Koloniaal Verslag* 1862.
- 171 Jaap van Soest, *Trustee of the Netherlands Antilles – a history of money, banking and the economy with special reference to the Central Bank of the Netherlands Antilles* (Willemstad, 1978) 32-33.
- 172 Van Soest, *Trustee of the Netherlands Antilles* 45.
- 173 Pfeil, "Schuldencrisis" 215-216.
- 174 NL-HaNA, 2.21.098, Kemper/Cras, box inv. no. 38, February 1816.
- 175 *Gedenkstukken* vol. 8, book 3, 1815-1825, 389-390: H. Croockewit to Kemper, 12 January, 1819; W. Willink jr to Kemper, 22 February, 1819. For Willink's influence over members of the Chamber of Commerce, see *Gedenkstukken* vol. 8, book 3, 1815-1825, 394.
- 176 Jeroen van Zanten, *Schielijk, winzucht, zwaarhoofd en bedaard: politieke debat en oppositievorming 1813-1840* (Amsterdam, 2004) 152.
- 177 NL-HaNA, 2.21.098, Kemper/Cras, box inv. no. 38: "Brieven van de secretaris van de Kamer van Koophandel te Amsterdam en van verschillende handelaren aldaar, memories en andere stukken omtrent een ontwerp-wet van consumptie op koffie en thee" [Correspondence from the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Amsterdam and from various traders there, memoranda and other documents concerning a bill on the consumption of coffee and tea], Croockewit to Kemper, 19 December, 1818.

- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Ibid.
- 180 Ibid., 12 January, 1819.
- 181 Ibid.
- 182 Quoted in Lauren Lauret, *Regentenwerk. Vergaderen in de Staten-Generaal en de Tweede Kamer, 1750-1850* (Amsterdam, 2020) 198, 154.
- 183 De Jong, *Geschiedenis* vol. I, 186.
- 184 Ibid., 780.
- 185 Ibid., 189-190.
- 186 Jonker, *Merchants, Bankers, Middlemen*, 170.
- 187 Gert Oostindie, “De koning en de Caraïben” [The king and the Caribbean], in: Ido de Haan, Paul den Hoed & Henk te Velde (eds.), *Een nieuwe staat: Het begin van het koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 2013) 173-182, specifically 174.
- 188 Bas de Gaay Fortman, “De West-Indische Maatschappij” [The West Indies Company], *De West-Indische gids* 11/12 (1929-1930) 307-315, specifically 308.
- 189 Sijtze van der Veen, *Gre Groot-Nederland & Groot-Colombia 1815-1830: De droom van Willem I* (Hilversum, 2015).
- 190 *Statuten der West-Indische Maatschappij, gevestigd te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1828).
- 191 Ibid., 69-70.
- 192 NL-HaNA, 2.25.68, De Nederlandsche Bank, inv. no. 16574, Afhandeling van de kwitanties op de aandeelhouders van de West-Indische Maatschappij inzake de eerste en tweede storting door aandeelhouders van 10% in de WIC 1828-1838. [Settlement of payments collected from shareholders in the West Indies Company, concerning their first and second instalments of 10 per cent, 1828-1838]. Also includes three receipts from 1838 from the West Indies Company for monies received from DNB.
- 193 Quoted in De Gaay Fortman, “De West-Indische Maatschappij”, 311.
- 194 KHA A40, XX 41 West-Indische Maatschappij, 1829-1880/West Indies Company 1829-1880; KHA A40, XX 42, West-Indische Maatschappij, 1851-1875/West Indies Company 1851-1875.
- 195 KHA XX 42 West-Indische Maatschappij, 1851-1875/West Indies Company 1851-1875: winst- en verliesrekening 1850 [profit and loss account 1850]. In 1862 the Company reports a share in sugar refinery De Nederlandsche Suiker Raffinaderij worth f5,750. PDF 86.
- 196 KHA A40, XX 41 West-Indische Maatschappij, 1829-1880/West Indies Company 1829-1880: 30 March, 1843.
- 197 KHA A40, XX 41 West-Indische Maatschappij, 1829-1880/West Indies Company 1829-1880: 30 April, 1863, D. Borski to shareholders in the West Indies Company.
- 198 Janny de Jong, *Van batig slot naar ereschuld: Een onderzoek naar de ideeën over de financiële verhouding tussen Nederland en Indië in de negentiende eeuw* (PhD thesis, University of Groningen, 1982) 27; Juliën Wolbers, *Geschiedenis van Suriname* (Amsterdam, 1861) 704.
- 199 Van Soest, *Trustee of the Netherlands Antilles*, 59-61.
- 200 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 13508/326.
- 201 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12501/273.
- 202 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12484/494; 12491/388.
- 203 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12484/494.

- 204 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12466/19.
- 205 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. nos 12494/47, 12494/48, 12494/49, 12494/450, 12494/51.
- 206 Helen Julia Paul, "The South Sea Company's slaving activities", Discussion Papers in Economics and Econometrics, School of Social Sciences, Economics Division, University of Southampton (Southampton, undated): https://www.southampton.ac.uk/economics/research/discussion_papers/author/helen_paul/0924_the_south_sea_company_slaving_activities.page.
- 207 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12521/28.
- 208 *Surinaamsche Almanak voor het jaar 1825*, 46.
- 209 *Surinaamsche Almanak voor het jaar 1834*, 68.
- 210 *Surinaamsche Almanak voor het jaar 1834*, 84-85.
- 211 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12481/18.
- 212 Van der Voort, *De Westindische Plantages*, 279.
- 213 *Surinaamsche Almanak voor het jaar 1834*, 89.
- 214 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 12521/26.
- 215 For the plantation *La Paix*, for example; see NL-HaNA, 2.02.09.08, inv. no. 227.
- 216 NL-AsdSAA, 447, Inventaris van het Archief van Handelshuis Van Eeghen en Co. [Inventory of the archives of the trading house Van Eeghen en Co.], inv. no. 6546: "Stukken betreffende de verkoop van de tweede hypotheek gevestigd op de plantage "La Bonne Intention" te Demerary, 1819-1829" [Documents pertaining to the sale of the second mortgage on the plantation *La Bonne Intention* in Demerara, 1819-1829].
- 217 NL-AsdSAA, 447, inv. no. 180: "Beleningsboekje" [Loan book].
- 218 NL-AsdSAA, 447, inv. no. 192: "Grootboek met Index, 1817-1823" [Ledger with index, 1817-1823].
- 219 Gert Oostindie & Jessica Vance Roitman, "Introduction", in: Oostindie & Roitman (eds), *Dutch Atlantic Connections* 16; Cathy D. Matson, *Merchants and Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore, 1998) 146.
- 220 H. van Felius & H. J. Metselaars, *Noordhollandse Statenleden, 1840-1919*, *Hollands Historische Reeks* 21 (The Hague, 1995) 124, 262.
- 221 NL-AsdSAA, 30153, Archief van de familie Crommelin [Archives of the Crommelin family], inv. no. 534: "Reflections on the situation of the Amsterdam Market for East and West India & American Produce towards the beginning of February 1817".
- 222 NL-AsdSAA, 30153, inv. no. 63: "Staten van inkomsten" [Statements of revenue].
- 223 NL-HlmNHA, BS Huwelijk Heemstede [Register of Marriages, Heemstede], 27 April, 1820; <https://www.wiewaswie.nl/nl/detail/29375444>.
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- 225 NL-HlmNHA, 3233, Familie Beels in Haarlem [Beels family of Haarlem], inv. no. 87: "Grootboek" [Ledger], letter C.
- 226 NL-HlmNHA, 3233, Familie Beels in Haarlem [Beels family of Haarlem], inv. no. 330: "Correspondentie van zakelijke aard" [Correspondence of a business nature].
- 227 NL-AsdSAA, 5001, DTB Dopen [Register of Baptisms], inv. no. 137, 186.
- 228 NL-AsdSAA, 735, Inventaris van het Archief van de Firma Hope & Co. [Inventory of the archives of Hope & Co.], inv. no. 90.
- 229 *Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant*, 21 August, 1893.
- 230 [Gleichman], *NNWB*, 659-660.

- 231 *Nederland's Patriciaat* 24 (1938) 65.
- 232 Dumas, *Proslavery Britain*, 149-155.
- 233 Da Costa, *Crowns of Glory*, 190.
- 234 *Ibid.*, 242-243.
- 235 Seymore Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Anti-Slavery* (Cambridge, 2009) 256-265.
- 236 J. P. Siwpersad, *De Nederlandse regering en de afschaffing van de Surinaamse slavernij*, 1833-1863 (Groningen, 1979) XVIII.
- 237 Eric Willem van der Oest, "The forgotten colonies of Essequibo and Demerara, 1700-1814", in: Johannes Postma & Victor Enthoven (eds), *Riches from Atlantic Commerce* (Boston/Leiden, 2003) 323-361.
- 238 Drescher, *Abolition*, 256-265.
- 239 Van Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast*, 113.
- 240 NL-UtHUA, "Familie Huydecoper" [Huydecoper family], 67, inv. no. 686: "Notulen van een vergadering van directeuren en commissarissen" [Minutes of a meeting of directors and commissioners].
- 241 NL-UtHUA, "Familie Huydecoper" [Huydecoper family], 67, inv. no. 686: "Notulen van een vergadering van directeuren en commissarissen" [Minutes of a meeting of directors and commissioners].
- 242 *Ibid.*
- 243 *Ibid.*
- 244 *Ibid.*
- 245 *Ibid.*
- 246 Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 130 & 145.
- 247 Jessica V. Roitman, "Land of Hope and Dreams: Slavery and Abolition in the Dutch Leeward Islands, 1825-1865", *Slavery and Abolition* 37:2 (2016), 377-390.
- 248 De Jong, *Geschiedenis*, 198.
- 249 NL-AsdSAA, "Familie Luden en aanverwante families" [Luden and related families], 922, inv. no. 299: "Rekening van ontvangst van compensatiegelden over de slaven van de plantage, met bijlage" [Account of compensation received for the slaves of the plantation, with appendix] 1836; inv. no. 300: "Lijst van akten betreffende de vererving van de plantage en stamboom van de erfgenamen van Anna Catharina Boode, met bijlage" [List of deeds concerning the inheritance of the plantation and lineage of the heirs of Anna Catharina Boode, with appendix].
- 250 This and the next paragraph are based mainly upon the recent study by Randy M. Browne, Lisa A. Lindsay & John Wood Sweet, "Rebecca's Ordeal, from Africa to the Caribbean: Sexual Exploitation, Freedom Struggles and Black Atlantic Biography", *Slavery & Abolition* (online, 2021); DOI: 10.1080/0144039X.2021.1938399.
- 251 Jacob Boode's statement courtesy of Randy Browne. The National Archive, Colonial Office, 116/159, 202: "Jacob Boode, Pensioner, late a private of the West India regiment. Is an African, came from the Gold Coast in the Ship with the Complainant [Rebecca]. Remembers that she cohabited with the Captain "Verscheur" and that on the arrival of the ship at Demerary the late Frederick Boode bought about fifty-five of the Negroes amongst whom was himself [Jacob]. Is positive that Mr Boode did not buy the woman Rebecca because she was the Captain's Wife. When the Captain left the Colony finally, some months afterward, witness remembers that Rebecca was large with child. That

- child (born after the Captain left this Colony) was the Complainant John. Witness further states that the Captain left a Negro Boy named Amber to attend upon his expected child. This Boy is since dead. Sworn to before me this 3rd Feby 1832 [Signed] Charles Elliot Protector of Slaves [Signed] Jacob Boode X his Mark.”
- 252 Maartje Janse, “Holland as Little England? British anti-slavery missionaries and continental abolitionist movements in the mid-nineteenth century”, *Past & Present* 229/Nov. (2015) 123-160, specifically 148-150.
- 253 By publication dd. 3 May, 1831; Angelie Sens, *De kolonieman: Johannes van den Bosch (1780-1844), volksverheffer in naam van de koning* (Amsterdam, 2019) 242-243.
- 254 De Jong, *Geschiedenis*, vol. 1, 191.
- 255 Sens, *De kolonieman*, 222-226, 237, 241-245.
- 256 Ibid., 272-280.
- 257 De Jong, *Van batig slot naar ereschuld*, 39-45.
- 258 For a detailed overview of what we do and do not consider “slave goods”, see Chapter 4.
- 259 Hugo Landheer, “Afrekenen met het verleden: De vereffening van de achterstallige schulden van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in het begin van de negentiende eeuw” [Settling with the past: clearing the overdue debts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century], in: Henk Boels, *Overheidsfinanciën tijdens de Republiek en het Koninkrijk, 1600-1850* (Hilversum, 2012) 189-230, specifically 226-227; Marjolein ‘t Hart, *A Financial History of the Netherlands*, 69-77.
- 260 Jeroen van Zanten, *Koning Willem II: 1792-1849* (Amsterdam, 2014) 464.
- 261 Borski kept a ledger of her assets and investments going back to 1832. One of the headings is “Colonie Effecten” (colonial securities). NL-AsdSAA, 735, inv. no. 2878: “Grootboek” [Ledger] 1832-1848.
- 262 NL-AsdSAA, 735, inv. no. 2879: “Grootboek” [Ledger] 1832-1848: 22, 26.
- 263 NL-AsdSAA, 735, inv. no. 2878: 28.
- 264 Jan Luiten van Zanden et al., *Value of the Guilder versus Euro*: <https://iisg.amsterdam/en/research/projects/hpw/calculate.php>.
- 265 Schutte, *De Nederlandse patriotten*, 199.
- 266 *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18 October, 1823.
- 267 Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 200; Wolbers, *Geschiedenis van Suriname*, 661 & 664.
- 268 NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4349, no. 467: “Geheim bijlage” [Confidential appendix], 15-17.
- 269 *Eerste rapport der Staatscommissie, benoemd bij Koninklijk Besluit van 29 November 1853*, no. 66 tot het voorstellen van maatregelen ten aanzien van de slaven in de nederlandse koloniën: Suriname (The Hague 1855) 262.
- 270 DNB did extend credit against some other remarkable goods, though. For example, S. Paleologo pledged opium worth tens of thousands of guilders on several occasions and G. Meer & Son put up a consignment of tortoises for f18,000 on 8 October, 1857.
- 271 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 509: “Copie-Verzoekschrift aan den Koning van G.C. Bosch, Reitz en andere kooplieden en belanghebbenden bij plantages in Suriname om versterking van de troepen aldaar met het oog op de gevreesde uitwerking van de Engelsche emancipatiemaatregelen op de slavenbevolking van Suriname. Met copie-rapport hierover van den minister Clifford aan den Koning, 1833 Juni 25-1833 Juli 12” [Copy of petition to the King from G. C. Bosch, Reitz and other merchants and parties

interested in plantations in Surinam, for reinforcement of the troops there in view of the feared effects of the British emancipation measures upon the slave population of Surinam; with copy of report on this matter from minister Clifford to the King, 25 June-12 July, 1833], 1 (cover).

- 272 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 509.
- 273 Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 12.
- 274 Ibid., 120-123.
- 275 Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 123; Elias to Baud, 16 June 1845. NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4317: exh. 4 August 1845, no. 267, confidential.
- 276 De Jong, *Geschiedenis*, vol. II, 127-129.
- 277 Ibid., 87, note 3.
- 278 Ibid., 182-184.
- 279 De Jong, *Geschiedenis*, vol. III, 425-426.
- 280 Ibid., 503-506.
- 281 See Chapter 4 for a further explanation of bills of exchange in the context of slavery-related services.
- 282 De Jong, *Geschiedenis*, vol. III, 503-506. Luden & Van Geuns opened a mortgage fund for the Annasburg and Kweeklust plantations in 1772. NL-AsdSAA, "Archief van de firma Ketwich & Voomberg en Wed. W. Borski" [Archives of the firm Ketwich & Voomberg and of Wed. W. Borski], 600, inv. no. 733.
- 283 De Jong, *Geschiedenis*, vol. II, 111-112.
- 284 De Jong, *Geschiedenis*, vol. I, 266-267.
- 285 De Jager, *De bank van de gulden*, 37.
- 286 Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 121-122; Collection, II, 42.
- 287 Ibid.
- 288 De Jong, *Van batig slot naar ereschuld*, 39.
- 289 NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4277: exh. 11 January, 1842, drawer Fr, confidential appendix. PDF 283.
- 290 Ibid.
- 291 Ibid.
- 292 Ibid.
- 293 Ibid.
- 294 Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 73-77.
- 295 *Verzameling van stukken aangaande de Surinaamsche aangelegenheden, thans aanhangig bij de Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal*, two volumes (The Hague, 1845/1846), part I, 90-92.
- 296 Ibid.
- 297 Ibid.
- 298 Ibid., 100-102.
- 299 Ibid.
- 300 Ibid.
- 301 Ibid.
- 302 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 8 November, 1843, Baud to Bosch Reitz et al.
- 303 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767, package 7: "Correspondentie in 1843 gehouden met den G. C. Bosch Reitz, te Amsterdam" [Correspondence conducted in

- 1843 with G. C. Bosch Reitz of Amsterdam].
- 304 Ibid.
- 305 Through local legislation, the colonial government provided a framework for the relationship between owners and slaves. In Surinam, new regulations were issued in 1686, 1695, 1725, 1749, 1760, 1761, 1784, 1799, 1817, and 1851. During the eighteenth century, in particular, the administration began to play a growing role in regulating slavery. Cruel mistreatment by temporary overseers was identified as a source of problems, so by tempering their behaviour the administration hoped to prevent revolts. In 1784, a number of restrictions were placed on the “domestic jurisdiction” of owners and overseers. Under pressure from the abolitionist discourse, the most drastic revision took place in 1851: a substantial limitation of domestic jurisdiction, with extensive regulation. Karwan Fatah-Black, “The usurpation of legal roles by Surinam’s Governing Council, 1669-1816”, *Comparative Legal History*, 5:2 (2017) 243-261.
- 306 *Verzameling van stukken*, part I, 110. Amongst the signatories were Insinger & Co., Broen & Co., Determeyer Weslingh & Son, J. Luden, Goll & Co., Luden & Van Geuns, Hodshon & Son and Ketwich & Voomberg.
- 307 Ibid.
- 308 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 19 February, 1844, G. N. to Baud.
- 309 Ibid.
- 310 Ibid.
- 311 Ibid.
- 312 Ibid.
- 313 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: undated note.
- 314 Ibid.
- 315 Ibid.
- 316 Ibid.
- 317 Ibid.
- 318 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 19 August 1844.
- 319 Ibid., 16 September, 1844.
- 320 *Verzameling van stukken*, I, 123-129 (undated October 1844; reminder dd. 2 October, 1844; reply from Baud dd. 11 November, 1844; petition to Baud dd. 27 November, 1844).
- 321 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. No. 767: 30 September, 1844, Boyen to Baud.
- 322 NL-HaNA 2.21.005.34, Van Hall, inv. no. 68: “Kopie brief over rekest Carp, Ketwich & Voomberg, Broen & Co, J.J. Poncelet, 18 januari, 1843” [Copy of letter concerning petition from Carp, Ketwich & Voomberg, Broen & Co., J. J. Poncelet, 18 January, 1843]. This states, “Mr [J. J.] Carp told me this morning that there were fifty signatures on it ... His Honour was therefore now again anxious to fortify the same with more signatures.”
- 323 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 25 January, 1845, Huidekoper to Van Hall – handwritten copy by Baud.
- 324 Ibid.
- 325 Ibid.
- 326 Ibid.
- 327 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, “Inventaris van het Archief van de Bank Insinger & Co.” [Inventory of the Archives of the Bank Insinger & Co.], inv. no. 1445: 12 May, 1843, scan 52.
- 328 Ibid.

- 329 Ibid., copy of note by Baud dd. 18 March, 1844.
- 330 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 19 October, 1844, Rijk to Baud.
- 331 Verzameling van stukken, part II, 15.
- 332 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: “Dinsdag” [Tuesday 8 March, 1845].
- 333 Ibid.
- 334 Ibid.
- 335 Ibid.
- 336 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: memo dd. 26 February, 1845.
- 337 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 1 March, 1845, Rauzow to Baud.
- 338 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. No. 767: 30 September, 1844, Boyen to Baud.
- 339 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: note dd. “Maandag 7” [Monday 7 March, 1845].
- 340 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: “Dinsdag” [Tuesday].
- 341 A keen observation by Siwpersad (*De afschaffing*, 152).
- 342 Quoted in Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 118. HTK 1844-1845: 14 March, 1845, 256.
- 343 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 29 March, 1845, Rauzow to Baud.
- 344 Quoted in Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 122; *Bijdragen*, 307.
- 345 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 25 January, 1845, Huidekoper to Van Hall.
- 346 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 26 January, 1846, Brugmans to Baud.
- 347 Ibid.
- 348 Ibid.
- 349 NL-HaNA, “Kolonien” [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4356, no. 361 confidential: 3 September, 1846, De Veer to Baud.
- 350 Ibid.
- 351 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 19 October, 1844, Rijk to Baud.
- 352 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 19 March, 1842, Trabijs to Mees.
- 353 Van der Laar, *Opperbankier en wetenschapsman*, 103.
- 354 NL-RtdSA, Archives of the Mees Family, 39, folder 438: “Adres aan de Koning” [Petition to the King], 1838.
- 355 Janse, *De afschaffers*, 56; Alex van Stipriaan, *Rotterdam in slavernij* (Amsterdam, 2020) *passim*.
- 356 NL-RtdSA, Mees Family Archives, 39, folder 438: 4 December, 1843, Mr Alexander on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Mees.
- 357 Apart from Mees, recurring names in this respect are A. Bogaers, Van Reesema, J. Thooft, D. Twiss, E. Miller, W. Mark, William Jay, S. Dunlop Jr, G. Levington, J. M. Brown and M. Beaton; “Adres aan de Koning” [Petition to the King] 1838.
- 358 Janse, *De afschaffers*, 58-67.
- 359 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 11 December, 1843, Ackersdijck to Mees.
- 360 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 453: undated (probably 1843), Mees to an “Amicissime”.
- 361 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 11 December, 1843.

- 362 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 20 February, 1842, Ackersdijck to Mees.
- 363 Janse, *De afschaffers*, 65-69.
- 364 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 12 November, 1842, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 365 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 15 January, 1843, Ackersdijck to Mees.
- 366 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 1 October, 1843, JA-Wc.
- 367 "The Antislavery Committee is very much in favour of your plan to publish a kind of journal and promises its enthusiastic co-operation." NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 30 October, 1843, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 368 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 438: loose membership list, inscribed front and back.
- 369 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 21 November, 1843, Ackersdijck to Mees.
- 370 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 28 December, 1843, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 371 "Mr [U. U. Fels], a lawyer here, a good Jew, is the chief writer of that newspaper. He has told me that I may list him amongst the persons mentioned as publishers of our journal. I believe that this will be useful to us. He will soon be a complete abolitionist and can then support the good cause in his newspaper. He is diligent, of good faith and not incompetent, and his newspaper is widely read here. Henceforth, he will always provide us with issues in which the colonies are discussed." NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 5 January, 1845, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 372 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: 29 March, 1845, Rauzow to Baud.
- 373 Ibid.
- 374 Ibid.
- 375 Van der Laar, *Oppebankier en wetenschapsman*, 99.
- 376 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 27 December, 1841, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 377 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 13 October, 1843, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 378 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 1 June, 1844, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 379 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 17 February, 1844, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 380 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 26 March, 1844, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 381 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 10 April, 1846, Ackersdijck to Mees.
- 382 NL-RtdSA, "Archief van de familie Mees" [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 24 December, 1844, Mees to Ackersdijck.

- 383 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 26 April, 1846, Ackersdijck to Mees; NL-RtdSA, Archive of the Mees Family, 39, folder 353: 19 July, 1846, Rueb to Mees.
- 384 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 2 March, 1847, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 385 A letter from Rueb indicates that Mees encouraged them and urged them to keep going: “I received with gratitude your exhortation to continue with the journal. The great difficulty is to find a capable person here in Utrecht, who has the time, the ability and the inclination to supply the foundation with articles from time to time. With even the best of will and the greatest of diligence, this is difficult for members not residing in Utrecht because it requires time-consuming correspondence.” NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 10 September, 1847, Rueb to Mees.
- 386 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 27 October, 1847, Ackersdijck to Mees.
- 387 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 16 March, 1848, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 388 His father – and plantation owner – Rudolf Adriaan, plus G. Mees, A. Mees (“Raz”), C. Mees and R. Mees. On the women’s petition of 1842 are his grandmother Catherina Elisa van Oordt, his sister Cornelia Mees, I. W. C. Vogel (née Mees) and the more distantly related A. M. Mees van der Wallen, wife of Johan Gregorius Mees, son of Willem Cornelis’ grandfather’s uncle.
- 389 Van de Laar, *Opperbankier en wetenschapsman*, 115. In December 1849, he was indeed offered the opportunity to succeed Thorbecke at Leiden, again putting him into doubt (letter dd. 9 December, 1849, inv. no. 1587; Van de Laar 151/152).
- 390 Van de Laar, *Opperbankier en wetenschapsman*, 112–114.
- 391 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 30 March, 1848, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 392 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 25 March, 1849, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 393 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 1587: 25 March, 1849, Mees to Ackersdijck.
- 394 NL-RtdSA, “Archief van de familie Mees” [Mees family archive], 39, folder 353: 26 March, 1849, Ackersdijck to Mees.
- 395 R. Reinsma, *Een merkwaardige episode uit de geschiedenis van de slavenemancipatie* (The Hague 1963) 67; Janse, *De afschaffers*, 92.
- 396 “Besluit van den Souvereinen Vorst van den 25sten Maart 1814” [Decree of the Sovereign Prince of 25 March, 1814], no. 105, *Staatsblad* no. 40, containing the charter and regulations of De Nederlandsche Bank.
- 397 Richard Roberts, *Schrodgers: Merchants & Bankers* (London, 1992) 66.
- 398 De Jong, *Geschiedenis* vol. 1, 81.
- 399 This is evident from the appendix to the annual report for 1863–1864, for instance, which briefly discusses an error in the books of the Java steam weaving mill. NL-HaNA, 2.25.68, inv. no. 1050.
- 400 The most recent “protest” involving Van Offen and Hope had occurred in Hamburg on 16 November, 1789; see NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 15457/1282. Earlier examples came from Cadiz and Copenhagen, amongst others.

- 401 Herbert S. Klein & Ben Vinson, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (New York, 2007) *passim*.
- 402 Matt D. Childs, "A Case of 'Great Unstableness': A British Slaveholder and Brazilian Abolition", *The Historian* 60:4 (1998) 717-740.
- 403 De Jong, *Geschiedenis* vol. 1, 81.
- 404 NL-HaNA, 2.25.68, inv. no. 100497: "Journaal" [Journal] October 1852-March 1853, 9 October, 1852.
- 405 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9 October, 1852.
- 406 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21 October, 1854.
- 407 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 28 May, 1847.
- 408 *Binnenlandse Bataafse Courant*, 3 May, 1800.
- 409 Jonker, "Roeien tegen de stroom" [Rowing against the current] 141-143.
- 410 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, "Inventaris van het Archief van de Bank Insinger & Co." [Inventory of the Archives of the Bank Insinger & Co.], inv. no. 1456: "Betaalboek 1821-1839" [Payment book 1821-1839], Dedel.
- 411 George Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford 2008) 103-6.
- 412 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 March 1843; *Veendammer Courant*, 20 October, 1864.
- 413 Richard Roberts, *Schroders: Merchants and Bankers* (London, 2016) 66.
- 414 Judith F. Gentry, "A Confederate Success in Europe: The Erlanger Loan", *The Journal of Southern History* 36:2 (1970) 157-188.
- 415 Marc D. Weidenmier, "The Market for Confederate Cotton Bonds", *Explorations in Economic History* 37:1 (2000) 76-97.
- 416 Kornelis Douwe Bosch, *De Nederlandse Beleggingen in de Verenigde Staten* (Amsterdam, 1948) 132-135.
- 417 De Jong, *Geschiedenis*, vol. 1, 400-401.
- 418 Bosch, *De Nederlandse Beleggingen*, 129-131.
- 419 Ulbe Bosma, *The Making of a Periphery: How Island Southeast Asia Became a Mass Exporter of Labor* (New York, 2019) 64.
- 420 Harm Nijboer & Benno van Tilburg, "Tussen compagnie en handelmaatschappij: De Nederlandse koffiehandel in de achttiende Eeuw" [Between chartered company and trading company: the Dutch coffee trade in the eighteenth century], in: Pim Reinders & Thera Wijsenbeek (eds), *Koffie in Nederland* (Zutphen, 1994) 33-34.
- 421 Chris Evans & Olivia Saunders, "A World of Copper: Globalizing the Industrial Revolution, 1830-70", *Journal of Global History* 10:1 (2015) 3-26.
- 422 Amarjit Kaur & Frits Diehl, "Tin Miners and Tin Mining in Indonesia, 1850-1950", *Asian Studies Review* 20:2 (1995) 108-12.
- 423 Titas Chakraborty & Matthias van Rossum, "Slave Trade and Slavery in Asia: New Perspectives", *Journal of Social History* 54:1 (2020) 1-14.
- 424 See Figure 6.
- 425 Pepijn Brandon & Ulbe Bosma, "De betekenis van de Atlantische slavernij voor de Nederlandse economie in de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw" [The significance of Atlantic slavery for the Dutch economy in the second half of the eighteenth century], *TSEG – The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 16:2 (2019).
- 426 NL-HaNA, 2.25.68, inv. no. 100496: 21 April, 1852.

- 427 J. M. van Winter, “De openbare mening in Nederland over de afschaffing der slavernij” [Public opinion in the Netherlands concerning the abolition of slavery], *De West-Indische Gids* 34 (1953) 61-90, specifically 86.
- 428 Cees Fasseur, *Kultuurstelsel en koloniale baten: De Nederlandse exploitatie van Java 1840-1860* (Leiden, 1978) 78-79.
- 429 Remieg Aerts, *Thorbecke wil het: Biografie van een staatsman* (Amsterdam, 2020) 354-355.
- 430 Janse, *De afschaffers*, 88; Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 191; Van Winter, “De openbare mening”, 71-72.
- 431 Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 200 and 207; Pahud to the King, 7 December, 1849. Kol (after 1849) inv. no. 4357, 7 December 1849 lett. B no. 437 confidential.
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- 433 “Carga-lijsten, Rotterdam” [Rotterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 April, 1829; coffee from Surinam in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 May, 1829; tobacco from Curacao in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30 June, 1832; “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *De Avondbode*, 5 December 1838; “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 1 August, 1848; coffee from Baltimore in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14 May, 1849; sailcloth from St Petersburg in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 October, 1849; sugar from Havana in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], 27 October, 1849; tobacco from Curacao in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6 February, 1850; orange peel from Curaçao in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7 April, 1851; “Advertentie voor diverse manufacturen” [Advertisement for sundry manufactures], *Java-bode, nieuws, handels- en advertentieblad voor Nederlandsch-Indie, Batavia*, 19 April, 1854; sugar from Batavia in “Carga-lijsten, Rotterdam” [Rotterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 4 March, 1861; tobacco from Baltimore in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 April, 1861; rice from the Dutch East Indies in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 25 March, 1864; “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists] *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 1 August, 1866; indigo in “Carga-lijsten, Amsterdam” [Amsterdam cargo lists], *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 May, 1866.
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- 435 “Advertentie Amsterdamsche-Scheepvaart-Maatschappij” [Advertisement: Amsterdam Shipping Company], *Arnhemsche Courant*, 20 January, 1865.
- 436 Felius, *Noordhollandse Statenleden*, 31.
- 437 J. G. S. J. van Maarseveen, *Briefwisseling van Nicolaas Gerard Pierson 1839-1909*, vol. I (1851-1884) (Amsterdam, 1990) 122: Van de Putte to Pierson, 4 November, 1866, 265.
- 438 Theo van Tijn, *Twintig jaren Amsterdam. De maatschappelijke ontwikkeling van de hoofdstad, van de jaren ‘50 der vorige eeuw tot 1876* (PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1965) 329.

- 439 Maarten Kuitenbrouwer, “De Nederlandse afschaffing van de slavernij” [The Dutch abolition of slavery], *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 93:1 (1978) 69-100, specifically 96.
- 440 Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer, *Schriftelijke nalatenschap: Briefwisseling 1808-1876*, vol. 3 (1848-1866), no. 85: J. L. Gregory Pierson to Groen van Prinsterer, 23 August, 1850.
- 441 C. Schmidt, *Om de eer van de familie. Het geslacht Teding van Berkhout 1500-1950: een sociologische benadering* (Amsterdam, 1986) 161-162.
- 442 K. A. Zeefuik, *Hernhutter zending en Haagsche Maatschappij 1828-1867: Een chapter uit de geschiedenis van zending en emancipatie in Suriname* (Utrecht, 1973) 16.
- 443 Mees (pres.), Heukelom (dir.), Insinger (dir.) Rendorp (dir.), Luden (dir.), Wolterbeek (dir.) and Molkenboer (sec.).
- 444 NL-HaNA, 2.02.09.08, inv. no. 225: “Index vrijverklaarde slaven” [Index of liberated slaves].
- 445 NL-HaNA, 2.02.09.08, inv. no. 228; NL-HaNA, 2.02.09.08, inv. no. 227; NL-HaNA, 2.02.09.08, inv. no. 225; NL-HaNA, 2.02.09.08, inv. no. 223.
- 446 NL-AsdSAA, 5075, inv. no. 20530, deed 55040.
- 447 NL-HaNA, 2.02.09.08, inv. no. 223.
- 448 NL-AsdSAA, 394, “Inventaris van het archief van de familie Boissevain” [Inventory of the archives of the Boissevain family], inv. no. 1277: “Stamboom van de nakomelingen van Theodor van Heukelom, 1615-1836” [Lineage of the descendants of Theodor van Heukelom, 1615-1836].
- 449 NL-AsdSAA, 394, inv. no. 985: “Kasboek van inkomsten uit de nalatenschap van Walrave van Heukelom, met bijlagen, 1853-1874 [Cash book of income from the estate of Walrave van Heukelom, with appendices, 1853-1874].
- 450 LBS, Details for the firm John and Abraham Willink and Co.: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/522991375>.
- 451 Parlementair Documentatie Centrum (Parliamentary Documentation Centre, PDC), biography of A. Willink.
- 452 NL-AsdSAA, 728, “Inventaris van het archief van de familie Dedel” [Inventory of the archives of the Dedel family], inv. no. 86: “Scheiding van de nalatenschap van A. Willink, 1863” [Division of the estate of A. Willink, 1863].
- 453 See, for example, the plantation *La Prosperité*: NL-HaNA, 2.02.09.08, inv. no. 227.
- 454 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, “Inventaris van het Archief van de Bank Insinger & Co.” [Inventory of the archives of the bank Insinger & Co.], inv. no. 1359: “Notulenboekje van de vergaderingen van directeuren” [Minute book of the meetings of the board of directors], scan 176-178.
- 455 Ibid.
- 456 Ibid.
- 457 Ibid.
- 458 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, inv. no. 1446.
- 459 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, inv. no. 1431: “Notulenboek van de vergaderingen van directeuren van de sociëteit van eigendom van de plantages Anna Catharina en Jagtlust in Suriname, 1833-1844 [Minute book of the meetings of the board of directors of the ownership company of the plantations Anna Catharina and Jagtlust in Surinam, 1833-1844], scan 16-31.

- 460 *Surinaamsche Almanak voor het jaar 1837*, 90.
- 461 NL-HaNA, "Slavenregisters" [Slave Registers]: inv. no. 36, fo 4271.
- 462 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, inv. no. 1456: Dedel.
- 463 See Chapter 2.
- 464 NL-AsdSAA, 735, inv. no. 2878, 74; 149.
- 465 The government circular of 15 May can be found at: NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4345: 3 August, 1848, no. 313, confidential.
- 466 Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 157-158.
- 467 "Missive Amsterdamse belanghebbenden" [Missive from interested parties in Amsterdam], 13 July, 1848. NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4344: 18 July, 1848, no. 287/E, appendix.
- 468 Brandon, "With the power of language", 233-237; Jonker, "Roeien tegen de stroom", 143-145.
- 469 "Missive Amsterdamse belanghebbenden" [Missive from interested parties in Amsterdam], 13 July, 1848. NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4344: 18 July, 1848, no. 287/E, appendix.
- 470 "Memorie De Veer" [Memorandum, De Veer]. NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4356: 24 September 1849, no. 361, confidential, appendix. See also Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 159.
- 471 NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4345: 3 August, 1848, no. 313, confidential.
- 472 Roo le Chevalier, E. G. Veldwijk, F. Taunay, G. C. Bosch Reitz, J. J. C. van Hasselt and P. C. Gülcher.
- 473 NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4349: 12 October, 1848, no. 467, confidential, appendix 15-17; J. Droppert, *De Heimelijke Tegenstanders: Een onderzoek naar de politieke invloed van Amsterdamse belanghebbenden in de negentiende eeuw omtrent de afschaffing van de slavernij, 1840-1863* (Bachelor's thesis, Leiden University, 2021) 31-33.
- 474 NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4349: 12 October, 1848, no. 467, confidential, appendix, 8.
- 475 *Ibid.*, 24-25.
- 476 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 477 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 767: note dd. 20 March, [1846].
- 478 Baud to Van Raders, 11 January. lett. B no. 9/A confidential; extracts from private letters from the colony in: NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4350: 9 February, 1849, no. 52/C, confidential, appendix. See also Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 168-169.
- 479 Van Raders to the Minister of the Colonies, 9 April, 1849; NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4350: 9 February, 1849, lett. B no. 52/C, confidential.
- 480 Brugmans to De Veer, 24 January, 1849; NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4350: 9 February, 1849, no. 52/C, confidential, appendix; Rijk to Baud, 1 February, 1849; Baud to Van Raders, 11 January, 1849.
- 481 Siwpersad, *De afschaffing*, 206, note 67. See also: "Memorie over de oorzaken van verval en de middelen van opbeuring der Kolonie Suriname" [Memorandum on the causes of decline and the means of recovery in the colony of Surinam], Rijk to the King, 18 June, 1849. Both documents are in NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1814-1849, 2.10.01, inv. no. 4354: 17 July, 1849, no. 260, confidential.

- 482 Dik van der Meulen, *Koning Willem III: 1817-1890* (Amsterdam, 2013) 238.
- 483 Pahud to the King, 18 June, 1850; NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1850-1900, 2.10.02, inv. No. 5819: 18 June, 1850, lett. B no. 176, confidential. Pahud to Von Schmidt auf Altenstadt, 23 February, 1852; NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1850-1900, 2.10.02, inv. no. 5830: 23 February, 1852, lett. B no. 64, highly confidential.
- 484 NL-HaNA, 2.02.22, inv. no. 1054, document 53.
- 485 Ibid.
- 486 Ibid. Baud also kept a copy of the petition; NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 923: "Ontwerp-Reglement op het beleid der regeering in de Westindische bezittingen. Met contra ontwerp van uit Suriname aan de Tweede Kamer toegezonden. Verzoekschrift belanghebbenden, 5 november 1852" [Draft regulation on the policy of the government in the West Indian possessions, with counterdraft submitted to the House of Representative from Surinam; petition from interested parties, 5 November, 1852], 9-10.
- 487 Cf. Dumas, *Proslavery Britain*, 158-162.
- 488 Kuitenbrouwer, "De Nederlandse afschaffing", 78.
- 489 Kuitenbrouwer, "De Nederlandse afschaffing", 81-83; Janse, *De afschaffers*, 91-96.
- 490 Quoted by Kuitenbrouwer, "De Nederlandse afschaffing", 79; HTK 1853-1854, 10 December, 1853, 385.
- 491 Pahud to Le Chevalier, 24 July 1854; NL-HaNA, Koloniën [Colonies] 1850-1900, 2.10.02, inv. no. 354: exh. 27 July 1854, lett. B no. 14/202.
- 492 KHA, G12, "Verzameling stukken, afkomstig van C.P. Schimpf" [Collection of documents from C.P. Schimpf], inv. no. 2: 29 October, 1855, Pahud to Schimpf.
- 493 Kuitenbrouwer, "De Nederlandse afschaffing", 84.
- 494 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, "Inventaris van het Archief van de Bank Insinger & Co." [Inventory of the archives of the bank Insinger & Co.], inv. No. 1445: copy of letter to minister dd. 20 November, 1855.
- 495 Ibid., copy of letter to minister dd. 20 November, 1855. See also *Eerste rapport der Staatscommissie*, 121. Amounts include land. For enslaved persons without land, an amount of f260 was estimated.
- 496 See p. 145 of this book.
- 497 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 930: 2 October, 1856, Brugmans to Baud. See also Siwipersad, *De afschaffing*, 227.
- 498 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 930: 2 November, 1856, Brugmans to Baud. Between June 1848 and January 1852, Mijer was charged with drafting a penal code for Europeans in the Dutch East Indies. He was also an ardent supporter of the colonial system of forced cultivation.
- 499 Kuitenbrouwer, "De Nederlandse afschaffing", 79-80; HTK 1855-1856, 12 December, 1855, 402.
- 500 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 930: 15 April, 1855, Brugmans to Baud.
- 501 Ibid.
- 502 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 930: 25 January, 1856, Baud to Brugmans.
- 503 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 930: 25 January, 1856, Baud to Brugmans.
- 504 KHA, G12, Schimpf, inv. no. 3: 20 April, 1857, Mijer to Schimpf.
- 505 KHA, G12, Schimpf, inv. No. 3: 21 June, 1857, Schimpf to Mijer.
- 506 Ibid.

- 507 NL-HaNA, Baud, 2.21.007.58, inv. no. 930: 5 May, 1856, Brugmans to Baud.
- 508 KHA, G12, Schimpf, inv. no. 2: 14 May, 1856, Mijer to Schimpf.
- 509 *Bijlagen Handelingen* 1856-1857, 1218-1239.
- 510 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, "Inventaris van het Archief van de Bank Insinger & Co." [Inventory of the archives of the bank Insinger & Co.], inv. no. 1445: copy of letter dd. 1 September, 1857. See also: Brandon, "With the power of language", 228.
- 511 This in itself is not so strange, since Mijer had been appointed on 5 December, 1855 and so it may well be that the letter from a few days earlier had been overlooked during the handover.
- 512 Ibid.
- 513 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, "Inventaris van het Archief van de Bank Insinger & Co." [Inventory of the archives of the bank Insinger & Co.], inv. no. 1445: copy of letter dd. 1 September, 1857.
- 514 Ibid.
- 515 Ibid.
- 516 Brandon, "With the power of language", 237.
- 517 NL-AsdSAA, 1455, "Inventaris van het Archief van de Bank Insinger & Co." [Inventory of the archives of the bank Insinger & Co.], inv. no. 1458: "Stukken betreffende het verzamelen van informatie aangaande slavernij in Brits-Guyana en de Franse koloniën, 1850-1853" [Documents concerning the collection of information on slavery in British Guiana and the French colonies, 1850-1853], f. 5.
- 518 Ibid.
- 519 Ibid., f. 6.
- 520 Ibid., f. 13.
- 521 Ibid., f. 9.
- 522 Ibid.
- 523 Ibid., f. 6 and f. 10.
- 524 Ibid., f. 10.
- 525 Ibid., f. 28.
- 526 Ibid.
- 527 NL-HaNA, 2.10.02, inv. no. 5895, subfolder 120-129, document 127; HTK 1857-1858, 16 February, 1858, 341.
- 528 NL-HaNA, 2.10.02, inv. no. 5895, subfolder 120-129, document 127.
- 529 Ibid.
- 530 Brandon, "With the power of language", 233-236.
- 531 NL-HaNA, 2.10.02, inv. no. 5895, subfolder 120-129, document 127.
- 532 Ibid.
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- 534 NL-HaNA, 2.02.22, inv. no. 1075, subfolder 130-139, document 138, 2.
- 535 NL-HaNA, 2.02.22, inv. no. 1075, subfolder 130-139, document 138, 7.
- 536 NL-HaNA, 2.02.22, inv. no. 1075, subfolder 130-139, document 138, 9.
- 537 NL-HaNA, 2.02.22, inv. no. 1075, subfolder 130-139, document 138, 10.
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- 548 Ibid., 28.
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- 551 Van Winter, "De openbare mening", 84.
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- 583 Ibid.
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- 601 Ibid.
- 602 Ibid.
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- 604 Sypesteijn, *Afschaffing der slavernij*.
- 605 J. F. Zeegelaar, *Suriname en de opheffing der slavernij in 1863* (Amsterdam, 1871) 82.
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- 609 Eduard Slootweg, *Het Staatstoezicht in Suriname, 1863-1873* (Bachelor's thesis, Leiden University, 1987) 73. The following figures are provided here for plantation and other land transactions, taken from the emancipation reports of 1863-1872: 59 in 1863; 57 in 1864; 130 in 1865; 161 in 1866; 42 in 1867; 34 in 1868; 20 in 1869; 24 in 1870; 20 in 1871; 41 in 1872.
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