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The Dutch and the Portuguese in West Africa : empire building and Atlantic system (1580-1674)

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CHAPTER TWO: SENDING PEOPLE: LABOUR MIGRATION

During the period under analysis, the Dutch and the Portuguese posts and settlements in West Africa received migrants from two geographical areas: Europe and Africa, and with two distinct juridical statuses: free and forced. In addition, the Dutch and the Portuguese relied on the local recruitment of workers, whose role in the development of the posts and settlements was quite significant.¹

Chapter 2 will analyse comparatively the Dutch and the Portuguese free and forced migration as well as the free and coerced African and Eurafrikan workers at the service of these two European sea powers in their West African possessions. After examining the various groups of migrants and employees, we will discuss how the organization of the labour markets in the Republic and Portugal influenced the recruitment of workers for the overseas areas and the way the Dutch and the Portuguese perceived the use of free and unfree labor in their overseas possessions. Here, we will also debate how the different economic goals of the Dutch and the Portuguese for the West Coast of Africa influenced their policies in these areas, the development of specific economic activities and the mechanisms of labour recruitment. Overall, this chapter will give an insight on the kind of societies and fortress-societies developed by these two European sea powers on the African continent.

¹ For the Dutch case see: Jan Lucassen, 'The Netherlands, the Dutch, and long-distance migration in the late 16th to early nineteenth century' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move*, pp. 153-191; *idem*, *Dutch long distance migration. A concise history, 1600-1900* (Amsterdam: IISG, 1991); E. van den Boogaart, 'The servant migration to New Netherland, 1624-1664' in P. C. Emmer (ed.), *Colonialism and migration*, pp. 55-82; *idem*, 'De Nederlandse expansie in het Atlantisch gebied, 1590-1674' in D. P. Blok *et al* (ed.), *Algemene Geschiedenis den Nederlanden* 7 (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1980), pp. 220-254. For the Portuguese case see: Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 'Portuguese emigration from the fifteenth to the twentieth century: constants and changes' in P. C. Emmer & M. Morner (eds.), *European expansion and migration: essays on the intercontinental migration from Africa, Asia and Europe* (New York: Berg, 1992), pp. 17-19; *idem*, 'L'Emigration Portugaise (XV – XX siècles) – une constante structurale et les réponses aux changements du monde', *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 1 (Jan.-Jun., 1978), pp. 5-32; *idem*, 'L'émigration portugaise du XVème siècle à nous jours: histoire d'une constante structurale' in *Conjuncture économique – structures sociale: Hommage à Ernst Labrousse* (Paris: La Haye, 1974), pp. 254-75; Stanley L. Engerman and J. C. das Neves, 'The bricks of an Empire 1415-1999: 585 years of Portuguese Emigration', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 26/3 (Winter, 1997), pp. 471-510.

1. European migrants

Among the Europeans that migrated to the Dutch and the Portuguese posts and settlements in West Africa there were permanent and temporary migrants. The first category included settlers; while the second comprised merchants, soldiers, seamen, servants of the Portuguese Crown and employees of the Dutch WIC. In both categories, there were free and forced migrants.

1.1. Free migrants

The areas of West Africa under ‘Dutch’ commercial control received only temporary labour migrants. Due to the commercial interests of the private trading companies and their need of military protection, the Dutch settlements mainly received three types of temporary European workers: seamen; commercial agents; and soldiers.

Between the 1590s and 1623, the ‘Dutch’ private commercial companies freighted ships and hired crews regularly. These crews included seamen, soldiers, commercial agents and helpers.² For example, in 1611-1612, Pieter van den Broecke on his fourth voyage to Loango and Kongo on board the *Son* freighted by Gerret Veen, as chief factor, carried with him three junior factors: Anthonij Beucelaer, Heyn Classen and Marten van Colck, from Deventer.³

Based on an average of 20 voyages per year and an average crew of 30 men, we assume that approximately 15,000 men were recruited between 1599 and 1623.⁴ The commercial staff accounted for 10% of the crews, while the soldiers and the seamen made up 60% and 30%, respectively (see Table 1).

² For the Dutch terminology see Glossary.

³ J. D. La Fleur, trans. & ed., *Pieter van den Broecke's journal*, 83-103.

⁴ This average was calculated using the figures given by Unger for the decade of 1599-1608. W. S. Unger, ‘Nieuwe gegevens betreffende het begin der vaart op Guinea’, *Economisch-historisch Jaarboek*, 21 (1940), pp. 194-217.

Table 1: Estimated personnel recruited by private commercial companies (1599-1623)

a)	b)	c)	d)
Periods	No. of voyages	Average no. of crew members	Estimate: no. of men recruited
1599-1608	200	30	6,000
1609-1618	200	30	6,000
1619-1621/3	100	30	3,000
Total	500	-	15,000

Sources and Observations⁵

After the construction of Fort Nassau at Mori in 1612, the Admiralty of Amsterdam, on behalf of the States General, started to recruit temporary workers to serve at the fort. For example, Samuel Brun, a Swiss barber-surgeon, from Basel, was recruited by Admiralty of Amsterdam to serve at Fort Nassau for a term of three years between 1617 and 1620.⁶

According to De Jonge, this fortress had a permanent staff of 50 to 60 men, comprising military and civilian staff. Between 1612 and 1623, the Admiralty recruited an estimated number of 1,220 men.⁷ The military accounted for the majority of the personnel.⁸ Therefore, from the 1590s until 1623, approximately 16,200 Europeans worked as temporary migrants on board the merchant ships sailing in the routes linking the Republic to West Africa, at the commercial lodges and at Fort Nassau (see Table 2).

⁵ a) Though the first Dutch West India Company (WIC) was chartered by the States General in 1621, the private companies were granted between one and two years to recover some of the investments made in the West African Coast in the last years and to remove their personnel from the area. In 1624 the States General also transferred the administration of Fort Nassau to the WIC. J. K. J. de Jonge, *De Oorsprong van Nederland's Bezittingen*, p. 16.

b) The number of voyages for the period of 1599-1608 is based on the data given by Unger, while the number of voyages for the following periods was estimated by us, based on an average of twenty voyages per year. The average was calculated using the figures given by Unger for the first decade. W.S. Unger, 'Nieuwe gegevens betreffende', *Economisch-historisch Jaarboek*, 21 (1940), pp. 194-217.

c) The average number of crew members was determined based on data gathered from the Notarial contracts from the GAA and on information given in several journals of voyages from the period between the 1580s and 1623, e.g., Pieter van den Broecke. The number of men recruited by the private companies to serve on board the vessels operating in the trading circuits between the Republic and West Africa was estimated by us by multiplying the number of voyages by the average number of crew members.

⁶ "Samuel Brun's voyages of 1611-20", A. Jones, ed., *German Sources for West African History, 1599-1669* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 44-96.

⁷ Based on the number of men needed at the fort given by De Jonge and the information given by Samuel Brun concerning the number of soldiers shipped, the number of men alive at his arrival, and the number of men dead after three weeks, we estimated:

a) the annual mortality rate for this period;

b) the number of personnel recruited by the Admiralty for the period of 1612-1624.

⁸ An interesting description of this journey can be found in the journal of Samuel Brun, a Swiss barber-surgeon, serving at Fort Nassau between 1617 and 1620. 'Samuel Brun's voyages of 1611-20' in Adam Jones (ed.), *German Sources*, pp. 44-96.

Table 2: Estimated personnel recruited to serve at Fort Nassau (Mori) (1612-1623)

a) Periods	b) No. personnel needed	c) No. personnel sent annually	d) Estimate: no. personnel dead p/year based on a annual mortality rate of 680/1000	e) Estimate: no. personnel dead each three-year period based on a annual mortality rate of 680/1000	f) Estimate: no. personnel recruited each three-year period
1612-1614	50	125	85	255	305
1615-1617	50	125	85	255	305
1618-1620	50	125	85	255	305
1621-1623	50	125	85	255	305
Total	200	500	340	1020	1220

Sources and Observations⁹

The establishment of the WIC in 1621-1624 did not change the recruitment patterns of labour migrants to the Dutch ships and settlements in West Africa, since the Company continued to rely on the employment of temporary labour migrants.

The labour recruitment process of the WIC is not well known. However, the structural similarities between this Company and the VOC allow us to make some extrapolations based on the scarce information available. Like the VOC, the WIC had great

⁹ a) The data is presented in periods of three years because the personnel were usually recruited for terms of three years. Therefore, in principle, they had to serve three years. The periods only ended in 1623 because although the first Dutch West India Company (WIC) was chartered by the States General in 1621, only in 1624 did the States General also transfer the administration of Fort Nassau to the WIC. J. K. J. de Jonge, *De Oorsprong van Nederland's Bezittingen*, p. 16.

b) The number of personnel needed is based on the information given by J. K. J. de Jonge, *De Oorsprong van Nederland's Bezittingen*, p. 41.

c) The number of personnel sent annually to Fort Nassau is based on the information given by Samuel Brun, serving at Fort Nassau between 1617 and 1620. 'Samuel Brun's voyages of 1611-20' in Adam Jones (ed.), *German Sources*, p. 79.

d) The yearly estimated date rate of personnel has been calculated by us using an annual mortality rate of 680/1000. This annual mortality rate was calculated by us based on the information given by the Swiss barber-surgeon mentioned above. 'In the fort we found only forty men full of worms (...). Of our people, within three weeks about twenty men died and about thirty fell sick.' Op. cit., (note 9 c), p. 80. According to the figures of Brun we estimate that 40% of the soldiers were incapable of serving their posts after the first three weeks on the coast: 16% of them died while the other 24% fell ill. After one year the death rate would be of 680/1000: 680 men died for every 1,000 sent. Formula: d) = c) – 40. Such high values contrasted with the calculations of Feinberg for the first half of the 18th century. Feinberg in his study on Dutch mortality on the Gold Coast stated that the annual average of deaths among Europeans was 480/1000 between 1719 and 1760. The average of the annual mortality rate was 185/1000. The author also calculated the *net inflow* of employees: 46 persons per year, which represented a very low level of replacement of personnel. Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa: Elminans and Dutchmen on the Gold Coast during the Eighteenth century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1989); *idem*, 'New data on European mortality in West Africa: The Dutch on the Gold Coast, 1719-1760', *The Journal of African History*, 15/3 (1974), p. 366.

e) Considering that the personnel was supposed to serve three years and taking in to account the high mortality rate mentioned above, we estimated the number of men dead per term that needed to be replaced, by multiplying the number of deaths per year by three years. Formula: e) = d) x 3.

f) The number of men recruited by the Admiralty of Amsterdam to serve at Fort Nassau was estimated by us by summing the number of personnel needed to the estimate number of personnel dead per each three years. Formula: f) = a) + e).

need of employees both in Europe and overseas.¹⁰ Its objectives were different from the other Company, as were its needs, due in part to the demands imposed by the specific areas ruled. Like the VOC, the WIC had one office per Chamber of the Company, two most important offices being located in Amsterdam (Chamber of Amsterdam) and in Middleburg (Chamber of Zeeland). Individual candidates to the posts could enlist themselves in these offices. However, due to the high demand for labour, the Chambers could not rely on voluntary enlistment only. They had to resort to active recruiting. In general a Company employee signed a contract for a term of three to four years. The majority of those who served the Company in Europe were able to reach the end of their term, but that was not true for those who were employed overseas, given the high mortality rates.

Until the 1630s the labour needs of the Company in West Africa were very limited since the WIC held only Fort Nassau in the Gold Coast, Gorée in Senegambia and a few trading lodges along the coast. The permanent staff recruited to serve in these strongholds and lodges were few. The estimated garrison for these forts was 88 men.¹¹ However, because of the high mortality rate among Europeans, for every term of three years the Company had to recruit an estimated 268 employees to fill 88 posts; a ration of 3 men for 1 post for every three-year term (see Table 3).¹²

During the 1630s and 1640s, due to the takeover of the Portuguese possessions and the construction of several forts, entrepôts and lodges in the Gulf of Guinea and in West-Central Africa, the labour needs of the WIC increased.¹³ In the 1630s, the Company had to recruit every three years an estimated 300 to 400 employees for the garrison of the fortresses and the coastal fleet stationed in the Gulf of Guinea. The takeover of Angola and São Tomé swelled this number to about 4,000 men by the 1640s. The growing demand for manpower stopped after the loss of Angola and São Tomé in the late 1640s. At the time the WIC recruited approximately 800 men every three years. However, due to the construction of a few more forts and lodges on the coast, this number rose again to about 950 men in the 1660s. This estimated number of Company employees remained more or

¹⁰ For further information on the labour recruitment of the VOC see for instance: Jan Lucassen, 'A multinational and its Labor Force: The Dutch East India Company, 1595-1795', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 66 (Fall, 2004), pp. 11-39.

¹¹ Estimated value based on data given by: 'Samuel Brun's voyages of 1611-20' in Adam Jones (ed.), *German Sources*; J. K. J. de Jonge, *De oorsprong van Nederland's Bezittingen*, p. 41.

¹² Based on the *Monster Rollen* available for the Second WIC, Feinberg calculated an average of 239 men employed annually by the Company in the Gold Coast during the period of 1719 and 1760, and emphasized that this annual average decreased throughout the 18th century until 1760 (date of the last available *Monster Rollen*). These employees, both civilian and military, were Europeans recruited in the Republic. Harvey M. Feinberg, 'New data on European mortality in West Africa'.

¹³ For further information on the takeover of the West African settlements see Chapter 1.

less stable until 1674. Hence, based on an annual mortality rate of 680/1000, between 1624 and 1673 the Company hired an estimated number of 17,000 men to serve in West Africa.¹⁴

The European migrants recruited by the Company were divided into military and civilian personnel. The military staff comprised soldiers, recruited as individual mercenaries or as parts of entire regiments, to serve on land and at sea, while the civilian staff included the administrative, commercial, judicial and medical personnel, as well as artisans and seamen. For instance, in 1669, Abraham van Asperen was the head-chief of the permanent garrison at Gorée, Evert Williemsz Munnick was the commander of the land militia and Jan van Dilsen and Carel le Coote were assistants at the Petite Côte. All were hired by the WIC, Chamber of Amsterdam.¹⁵

According the *Monster Rollen* of 1645 for the Gold Coast the military staff accounted for 62% of the personnel, while the civilian staff for only 38%.¹⁶ Among the civilians, the seamen and the craftsmen represented 32% and 30%, respectively. The administrative, commercial and judicial staff accounted for only 20%, and the medical assistants and the religious staff for a mere 3.6% each.

In fact, during the rule of the first WIC, the majority of the Company employees recruited to serve in West Africa were military. It should nevertheless be emphasized that during the military offensives in the decades of the 1630s and 1640s, the needs of the Company for military personnel must have been clearly higher than before or after (see Table 4). These figures tell us much about the WIC priorities regarding naval power, settlement and trade. Commerce and settlement were not so clearly its highest concerns.

Nevertheless, these figures are only estimates for the WIC personnel in West Africa on land and at sea. The manpower needed for the war and merchant fleets of the Company sailing in the Northern and Southern Atlantic is not included in our estimates. Had we done so, the number of labour migrants hired by the Company would have been higher. According to De Laet, during the period 1623-1636 the WIC hired 67,000 men, including sailors and soldiers.¹⁷ During the same period the Company hired an estimated number of 1,179 men to serve in West Africa. Based on the figures given by De Laet and our own calculations, of each 1,000 men employed by the WIC only 18 served in West Africa. A comparison between the employees of the Company in Brazil and West Africa around the

¹⁴ For further information on the origin of these workers, see section four.

¹⁵ GAA, NA 2791/549: 1669-10-11; 2791/709: 1669-10-24.

¹⁶ Henk den Heijer and Feinberg reached similar figures for the WIC military staff serving in West Africa in the 18th century: 50-60%. Henk den Heijer, *Goud, inoor en slaven*. P. 82; Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans*, p. 34.

¹⁷ J. De Laet, *Iaerlyck verhael van de Vernichtinghen der Geootroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie in dertien boeken I* (s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1931), pp. 280-281.

years of 1642 and 1645 shows that the number of employees in Brazil was four times higher than the total of the Company staff in West Africa (see Table 5).

Hence, West Africa took less than 2% (1.8%) of the Company personnel and Brazil about 7%. The remaining 91% of the WIC employees were on board the war fleets sailing in the Atlantic as well as in the settlements of the Caribbean islands and North America. These fleets had two main purposes: on the one hand, to attack the Spanish and the Portuguese fleets, especially those transporting silver and sugar; and, on the other hand, to assault the Portuguese and the Spanish possessions in West Africa and the Americas. Once again, these proportions show much about the military and economic priorities of the Company in the Southern Atlantic.

To sum up, the personnel recruited by the Dutch private trading companies and by the States General, and later by the WIC, were temporary labour migrants. The crews, commercial staff and soldiers only stayed on the West Coast of Africa temporarily, returning to the Republic immediately after one voyage or at the end of their labour contract.

CHAPTER TWO

Table 3: Estimated number of European labour migrants to the Dutch WIC settlements in West Africa (1624-1673)

a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)	g)	h)
Three-year terms	Personnel used: estimate	Personnel dead on service per year: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 680/1000	Personnel died during their service each 3 years: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 680/1000	Labour migrants: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 680/1000	Personnel died during their service per year: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 200/1000	Personnel died during their service term of three years: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 200/1000	Labour migrants: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 200/1000
1624-1627	88	60	180	268	18	53	141
1628-1630	108	73	220	328	22	65	173
1631-1633	108	73	220	328	22	65	173
1634-1637	128	87	261	389	26	77	205
1638-1640	228	155	465	693	46	137	365
1641-1643	1357	923	2768	4125	271	814	2171
1644-1647	1357	923	2768	4125	271	814	2171
1648-1650	267	182	545	812	53	160	427
1651-1653	267	182	545	812	53	160	427
1654-1657	267	182	545	812	53	160	427
1658-1660	267	182	545	812	53	160	427
1661-1663	267	182	545	812	53	160	427
1664-1667	313	213	639	952	63	188	501
1668-1670	313	213	639	952	63	188	501
1671-1673	313	213	639	952	63	188	501
Total	5648	3843	11524	17172	1130	3389	9037

Sources and Observations¹⁸

¹⁸ a) The information is organized in periods of three years because the Company employees usually signed contracts for terms of three years, and in principle had to serve three years. The periods started in 1624 because the administration of Fort Nassau was only transferred to the jurisdiction of the Company then. Until 1624 the regular envoy of personnel, provisions and ammunitions was under the control of the Admiralty of Amsterdam and the States General. See: J. K. J. de Jonge, *De oorsprong van Nederland's bezittingen*, p. 16.

b) In order to estimate the personnel employed by the Company over time we took into account the following aspects: i) the number of forts held by the WIC in each three-year period. The date of takeover is considered as the incorporation of the forts and posts under the jurisdiction of the Company. This fact would have a direct effect on the number of employees needed, since the number of forts possessed by the Company increased over time. For instance, between 1624 and 1627 the WIC only held Fort Nassau, while in the period of 1641-1643 the WIC held Nassau, Gorée, Arguin, Elmina, Shama, Boutry, Axim, Angola and São Tomé, aside from the sea personnel serving in the coastal fleet patrolling the Gold Coast; ii) the number of employees serving at each fort, post or colony during the time each place was under the administration of the Company; iii) the number of Company employees at Fort Nassau, Elmina, Shama, Boutry, Axim, Accra, Kormantine and the sea personnel at the Gold Coast was estimated based on the data available in the *Monster Rollen* of 1645. 'Monsterolle der persooene soolangse de gout Cust opt Casteel del Myna, het fort Nassouw, Axem, Cra, Cama, Company en Cabo Cors, als op de schepen en de jachten in dienst der Geoctrojeerde Westindische Compagnie worden bevonden' in Klaas Ratelband (ed.), *Vijf dagregisters*, pp. 355-360; iv) the number of WIC-employees at São Tomé (162-1648) is based on data extracted from the correspondence exchanged between Jan Claesz. Cock, Maurits Nassau and the Supreme Council in Brazil from December 1641 to May 1642. NA, OWIC 57:1641-12 – 1642-05: Several letters of Jan Claesz. Coeck addressed to Maurits Nassau and the Supreme Council in Brazil in Louis Jadin (ed.), *L'Ancien Congo et Angola I*, pp. 145-153, etc.; Klaas Ratelband, *Os Holandeses no Brasil e na Costa Africana*, pp. 178-183; v) the number of Company employees and 'citizens' in Angola is based on the data collected from the capitulation report dating from 1649. NA, OWIC 65: 1649-08: 'Relaes van tgene sich in het Coninckrijck van Angola heeft toegedragen' (Augustus, 1649); Klaas Ratelband, *Os Holandeses no Brasil e Costa Africana*, p. 333; vi) the number of employees at Gorée and Arguin is an estimate based on the number of Company employees at other forts in the Gold Coast. Assuming that Gorée and Arguin would have a smaller garrison than Forts Nassau and Axim, with 38 and 29 servants, respectively, we decided to attribute to the abovementioned stone-holds a permanent staff of 20 men each. In c. 1670, Gorée had a garrison of 100 men and Arguin just 25 men. GAR, Handel No. 83.

c) and f) Over time historians have presented different annual mortality rates for Europeans in West Africa. Apparently, such figures seem to differ between regions and chronologies, as well as between nations. Curtin in his study on European mortality in West Africa during the 19th century gives very different mortality rates for the military staff serving in the several British Commands in West Africa, with values that range from 430/1000 to 668/1000; while Feinberg on his study on mortality among the WIC staff in the 18th century presented an average annual mortality rate of c. 200/1000. However, in the early 17th century mortality rates among Europeans in West Africa were probably higher. For further information on Philip Curtin's and Feinberg's calculations see for instance: Philip D. Curtin, 'The White Man's Grave: image and reality, 1780-1850', *Journal of British Studies*, (1961), pp. 94-110; *idem*, 'Epidemiology and the slave trade', *Political Science Quarterly*, 83/2 (June, 1968), p. 220; *idem*, *The image of Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), pp. 483-487; Harvey M. Feinberg, 'New data on European mortality in West Africa', pp. 357-371.

The absence of *Monster Rollen* and *Lijsten van Overlijden* until the early 18th century does not allow us to calculate accurate mortality rates of the Europeans serving the Company in West Africa and the needs of replacement of civilian and military staff in the 17th century. However, based on the information given by Samuel Brun, a Swiss barber-surgeon from Basel, serving the States General in Fort Nassau at Mori between 1617 and 1620, we estimated the mortality rates of the Europeans in West Africa in the first half of the 17th century. For further information on the calculation of this annual mortality rate see: 'Samuel Brun's voyages of 1611-20' in Adam Jones (ed.), *German Sources*, p. 79. Regarding the discrepancies on the annual mortality rate of the Europeans in West Africa, we decided to calculate the number of WIC-Personnel that died in the service based on two different mortality rates. The first annual mortality rate was calculated based on the figures given by De Jonge for the permanent garrison needed to maintain fort Nassau: 50 men; and on the information given by Samuel Brun during his term at the fortress, 1617 and 1620. The warship *Gelderland*, which transported him to the Gold Coast, carried on board 125 soldiers and when they arrived at the fortress only 40 men of the garrison were alive, and most of them were ill. If we assume that the Admiralty of Amsterdam and the States General sent annually a total of 125 and after one year only 40 men were alive than gives an annual mortality rate of 680/1000. Formula: $c = (b \times 680) : 1000$. The second mortality rate is based on average annual mortality rate calculated by Feinberg. Formula: $f = b \times 200 : 1000$

d) and g) In order to know how many men needed to be replaced due to premature death during their term and considering that the Company employees were supposed to serve three years, we multiplied the number of deaths per year by three years. Formulas: $d = c \times 3$; and $g = f \times 3$

CHAPTER TWO

Table 4: Company Personnel at the Gold Coast (1645)

a)			b)							Civilian Staff Subtotal	Civilian Staff (%)	Total	
WIC Personnel	Settlements/Vessels	Military Staff	Military Staff (%)	Civilian Staff									
			c)	d)	e)	f)	g)						
			Administrative/ Commercial staff	Religious Staff	Medical Staff	Craftsmen	Seamen	Boys					
Land based Personnel	Elmina	71	32.3	5	1		8			14	6.4	85	
	Comany / Komenda			1						1	0.5	1	
	Cabo Cors / Cape Coast			1						1	0.5	1	
	Fort Nassau / Nassau	28	12.7	4	1	12	2		2	10	4.5	38	
	Fort Axem / Axim	24	10.9	2	1	12	1			5	2.3	29	
	Fort Chama / Shama	4	1.8	2						2	0.9	6	
	Craa / Accra	8	3.6	2						2	0.9	10	
	Subtotal	135	61.4	17	3	2	11		2	35	15.9	170	
Maritime Personnel	Yacht <i>De Fortuyn</i>			1			6	5	2	14	6.4	14	
	Yacht <i>Den Dolphijn</i>	1	0.5	1			2	9	1	13	5.9	14	
	Yacht <i>De Visscher</i>			1		1	3	8	1	14	6.4	14	
	Yacht <i>Riael</i>						3	5		8	3.6	8	
	Subtotal	1	0.5	3		1	14	27	4	49	22.3	50	
Total		136	61.8	20	3	3	25	27	6	84	38.2	220	
Civilian Staff Percentage				23.8	3.6	3.6	29.8	32.1	7.1	100			

Sources and Observations¹⁹

e) and h) In order to calculate the number of labour migrants (Company employees), both military and civilian, needed for the maintenance of the Company settlements in West Africa over time, we added the number of employees used to the number of workers dead on service per three-year term according to a specific annual mortality rate. Formulas: e) = b) + d) and h) = b) + g).

¹⁹ 'Monsterolle der persoone soolangse de gout Cust opt Casteel del Myna, het fort Nassouw, Axem, Cra, Cama, Company en Cabo Cors, als op de schepen en de jachten in dienst der Geotrojeerde Westindische Compagnie worden bevonden' in Klaas Ratelband (ed.), *Vijf dagregisters*, pp. 355-360. Observations: Each category can be broken down as follows: a) military staff: Military officers: director, lieutenant, constable, sergeant, captain of arms, corporal, as well as the soldiers, the naval cadets, the drummers and the lancers; b) civilian

SENDING PEOPLE

Table 5: WIC Personnel in Brazil and West Africa: a comparison (1642/1645)

a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)
Years	Brazil	Gold Coast	São Tomé	Angola	West Africa
1642/1645	4000	220	300	650	1170

Sources and Observations²⁰

staff : the administrative/commercial staff, the religious staff, the medical staff, the craftsmen, the seamen and the boys/helpers; c) administrative/commercial staff: includes fiscal, chief-factor, junior-factor, assistant; d) religious staff: the comforter of the sick (*sieckentrooster*); e) medical staff: includes surgeon; f) craftsmen: equipage-masters, blacksmiths, key-makers, carpenters, bricklayers, barrel-makers, kanomen, coopers, sail-makers, petty officers responsible for the vessels's rigging of the fore mast; g) seamen: skippers, pilots, shipmasters, sailors, cook, a steward in charge of provisions. For the Dutch terminology see Glossary.

²⁰ a) The data for Brazil, São Tomé and Angola pertains to the year of 1642; the information for the Gold Coast to 1645;

b) The number of Company employee in Brazil in 1642 is based on information given by Van den Boogaart. E. van den Boogaart, 'De Nederlandse expansie in het Atlantisch gebied' in D. P. Blok *et al* (ed.), *Algemene Geschiedenis den Nederlanden* 7, pp. 220-254;

c) The number of Company employee on the Gold Coast in 1645 is based on the data available in the *Monster rollen* of 1645. See: 'Monsterolle der persoone soolangse de gout Cust opt Casteel del Myna, het fort Nassouw, Axem, Cra, Cama, Company en Cabo Cors, als op de schepen en de jachten in diesnt der Geoctrojeerde Westindische Compagnie worden bevonden' in Klaas Ratelband (ed.), *Vijf dagregisters*, pp. 355-360;

d) The number of WIC-employees at São Tomé in 1642 is based on data extracted from the correspondence exchanged between Jan Claesz. Cock, Maurits Nassau and the Supreme Council in Brazil from December 1641 until May 1642. See: NA, OWIC 57, Several letters of Jan Claesz. Coeck addressed to Maurits Nassau and the Supreme Council in Brazil between December 1641 and May 1642; Klaas Ratelband, *Os Holandeses no Brasil e na Costa Africana*, pp. 178-183;

e) The number of Company employees and 'citizens' in Angola in 1642 is based on the data pertaining to the fleet of General (?) Jol; Klaas Ratelband, *Os Holandeses no Brasil e na costa Africana*, p. 333.

f) Formula: f) = b) + c) + d) + e).

In the Portuguese forts and settlements of West Africa there were both permanent and temporary European labour migrants, among whom were not only Portuguese, but also Castilians, Genovese, French and Flemish.²¹

The first permanent European settlers were sponsored by the Crown. In order to attract permanent colonists to Cape Verde, São Tomé and Angola, the Crown granted the exploitation of the territories to private noble landlords, and gave away commercial privileges to future settlers. Despite these incentives, most Europeans were reluctant to settle because of the distance between West Africa and Portugal, the harshness of the climate and the small number of profitable economic activities. Furthermore, the high mortality rates among Europeans and the low life expectancy in these regions made it very hard to maintain the European population. Moreover, the limited number of European women restricted the birth rate of Europeans in the settlements and stimulated mixed-marriages between European men and local women. Therefore, the permanent European population in the Portuguese settlements of West Africa remained small and even decreased throughout the 17th century; while the number of mixed-descent people and Africans increased – the so-called ‘Africanization’ of the Portuguese colonial societies (see Table 6).²²

Besides European colonists, the Portuguese settlements also received temporary migrants. Among them were merchants, commercial agents, seamen and royal servants. The last group was the largest. For instance, in 1607, the Portuguese Crown had approximately 400 men serving in West Africa. The military staff accounted for 51% of the royal personnel, the clergymen for 31% and the civilian staff for only 18%. Among the civilian servants, the

²¹ Foreigners settled in the Archipelagoes of Cape Verde and São Tomé, either as landlords or merchants. For instance, the first *capitão-donatário* of the Santiago Island was a Genovese: António Noli. Like him many other inhabitants of the Santiago and Fire islands in the late 15th century were Galician, Castilian, French and Genovese. For further information see: Isabel Castro Henriques and Alfredo Margarido, ‘Os italianos como revelador do projecto político português nas ilhas atlânticas (XV-XVII)’ in Isabel Castro Henriques, *Os pilares da diferença: Relações Portugal-Africa: Séculos XV-XX* (Lisboa: Calendoscópio, 2004), pp. 144-154; Charles Verlinden, ‘Antoni da Nolie e a colonização das ilhas de Cabo Verde’, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras*, 3rd series, 7 (1963); *idem*, ‘L’influenze italiana nelle colonizzazioni iberica: Uomini e metodi’, *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 36 (1952), pp. 254-270.

²² Gerhard Seibert, ‘Beyond slavery in Cape Verde and São Tomé e Príncipe: A comparison of two African Creole societies’, paper presented at the 2007 Conference: Beyond Slavery in the Iberian Atlantic, organized by the Rethinking the Iberian Atlantic project, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool, 13-15 September 2007; Cristina Maria Seuanes Serafim, *As ilhas de São Tomé*, pp. 267-298; Iva Cabral, ‘Ribeira Grande: Vida urbana, gente, mercancia, estagnação’ in Maria Emília Madeira Santos (coord.), *História Geral de Cabo Verde II*, pp. 262-274; Carlos Agostinho das Neves, *São Tomé e Príncipe*; António Carreira, *Cabo Verde – Formação e Extinção de uma Sociedade Escravocrata (1460-1878)* (Lisboa: Comissão da Comunidade Económica Europeia para o Instituto Caboverdeano do Livro, 1983).

fiscal and commercial officials accounted for 61% and the judicial personnel for 37% (see Table 7).

Table 6: No. of European settlers (*moradores* or *vizinhos*) in Portuguese settlements of West Africa: some examples (1605-1675)

Years	Cacheu	Luanda	São Tomé g)
1605	-	-	80
1607	-	300 d)	-
1616	500 a)	-	-
1621	-	400 e)	800
1641	22 b)	-	40
1644	40 c)	-	-
1672	-	-	15/20
1675	-	132 f)	17

Sources and Observations²³

Based on this data and assuming that each royal servant served at least for a term of three years, we estimate that the Portuguese Crown recruited a total of circa 8,000 men between 1581 and 1673.²⁴ The military staff, comprising only the high ranking officers and the skilled soldiers, accounted for 63% of the total number of royal servants; while the civilian personnel for only 23%. The ecclesiastic staff, on the other hand, represented 15% of the total personnel (see Table 8).²⁵

²³ a) Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (hereafter BSG), Ms. 141-C-I: Manuel Alvares, 'Ethiopia Menor e Descrição geográfica da província da Serra Leoa, 1616'; W. Rodney, 'Portuguese attempts at monopoly on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1580-1650', *Journal of African History*, 6/3 (1965), pp. 307-322.

b) 'Lista nominal dos moradores de Cacheu, Bissau, Geba e Porto de Santa Cruz de Guíñala, que assinaram a aclamação de D. João IV, em Fevereiro, Março e Abril de 1641' in António Carreira, *Os Portugueses nos Rios de Guiné (1500-1900)* (Lisboa: [António Carreira], 1984), pp. 131-132.

c) AHU, Cabo Verde, box 2, April, 1644; W. Rodney, 'Portuguese attempts at monopoly on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1580-1650', *Journal of African History*, 6/3 (1965), pp. 307-322.

d) '1607: Estabelecimentos e resgates portugueses na costa ocidental de África por um anónimo' in Luciano Cordeiro (ed.), *Questões Histórico-Coloniais I* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1935), pp. 275-305.

e) Garcia Mendes Castello Branco, '1574-1620: Da Mina ao Cabo Negro' in Luciano Cordeiro (ed.), *Viagens, explorações e conquistas dos Portuguezes: Colecção de documentos* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1881), pp. 26-32.

f) F. A. A. Mourão, 'Configurações dos Núcleos Humanos de Luanda do século XVI ao século XX' in *Actas do Seminário 'Encontro de Povos e Culturas em Angola'* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997), pp. 110-225. See also: Cristina Maria Seuanes Serafim, *As ilhas de São Tomé*, table 50, p. 301.

²⁴ The data is presented in periods of three years because the personnel were usually recruited for terms of three years.

²⁵ The ecclesiastic staff comprised only the secular personnel serving in the bishoprics and parishes of the forts and the colonies. They are included in the Crown's payroll because their wages were paid by the Crown and when the royal monopolies were leased out by the *contratadores*. Often, there were complaints against the *contratadores* for non-payment. See, for example: Maria Emília Madeira Santos and Maria João Soares, 'Igreja, Missão e Sociedade' in Maria Emília Madeira Santos (coord.), *História Geral de Cabo Verde II*, pp. 399-429.

Table 7: No. of royal servants at the Portuguese posts and settlements in West Africa (1607)

Posts and settlements/ Groups of staff	Military Staff	Civilian Staff					Total
		Administrative staff	Judicial Staff	Fiscal and economic staff	Subtotal	Ecclesiastic Staff	
Cape Verde & Guinea Captaincy	97		5	8	13	50	160
Mina Captaincy (Gold Coast fortresses)	50		4	9	13	6	69
São Tomé and Príncipe Captaincy	26		13	14	27	42	95
Angola & Kongo Captaincy	27	1	4	12	17	23	67
Subtotal	200	1	26	43	70	121	391
Percentage per group of staff (%)	51	1	37	61	18	31	100

Sources and Observations²⁶

Nevertheless, these figures do not include all military staff serving the Portuguese Crown in West Africa. Unskilled soldiers were not listed in the enrolment of personnel of 1607. Moreover, the military encounters between the Dutch and the Portuguese in the 1630s and 1640s increased the demand for manpower in the Portuguese settlements. In São Jorge da Mina, for example, the number of military almost trebled, increasing from 57 to 139 men between 1608 and 1632.²⁷ In order to meet this rising demand the Crown recruited volunteer soldiers, convicts and orphans in the Kingdom.²⁸ All these soldiers were supposed to serve for a lifetime – which meant a period of 20 to 40 years.²⁹

²⁶ '1607: Estabelecimentos e resgates portugueses na costa ocidental de África por um anónimo' in Luciano Cordeiro (ed.), *Questões Histórico-Coloniais* I, pp. 275-305.

²⁷ J. Bato'Ora Ballong-Wen-Mewuda, *São Jorge da Mina* I, p. 202.

²⁸ For example, the sergeants serving in Cambambe (Angola) in 1607 had an average age of 38, and the soldiers 29 years old. Due to the absence of a professional army in Portugal, the use of convicts and orphans in the Portuguese army and navy was a common practice from the Middle Ages onwards. Among the orphans, recruitment could take place at a very young age, sometimes under the age of ten, although this was forbidden by law. This lasted until the 18th century. The first attempt to professionalize the Portuguese army was carried out by Count Schaumburg-Lippe. Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 65-77 & 100. [Port. Trans. *Degredados e Orfãos: colonização dirigida pela Cora no Império Português* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998).

²⁹ Calculations are made based on an enquiry conducted at the forts. IAN/TT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, book 205, folios. 646-886.

Table 8: Estimated No. of royal servants sent to the Portuguese posts and settlements in West Africa (1581-1673)

a)	b)	c)	d)	e)
Three-year terms	Military Staff (high-ranking and skilled soldiers)	Civilian Staff	Ecclesiastic Staff	Total Royal Personnel used
1581-1583	200	70	121	391
1584-1587	200	70	-	270
1588-1590	200	70	-	270
1591-1593	200	70	121	391
1594-1597	200	70	-	270
1598-1600	200	70	-	270
1601-1603	200	70	121	391
1604-1607	200	70	-	270
1608-1610	200	70	-	270
1611-1613	200	70	121	391
1614-1617	200	70	-	270
1618-1620	200	70	-	270
1621-1623	200	70	121	391
1624-1627	200	70	-	270
1628-1630	200	70	-	270
1631-1633	200	70	121	391
1634-1637	200	70	-	270
1638-1640	150	57	-	207
1641-1643	150	57	115	322
1644-1647	150	57	-	207
1648-1650	150	57	-	207
1651-1653	150	57	115	322
1654-1657	150	57	-	207
1658-1660	150	57	-	207
1661-1663	150	57	115	322
1664-1667	150	57	-	207
1668-1670	150	57	-	207
1671-1673	150	57	115	322
Total	5050	1817	1186	8053
Percentage (%)	63	23	15	100

Sources and Observations³⁰

³⁰ a) The data is presented in periods of three years because the personnel were usually recruited for terms of three years.

b) In order to estimate the personnel used by the Portuguese Crown over time we took into account the following aspects:

- the number of forts in possession of the Crown in each three-year period. The date of takeover is considered to incorporate the forts and posts under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese Crown. This fact would have a direct implication on the number of employees needed, since the number of forts possessed by the Portuguese Crown increased over time. For instance, from the 1630s and 1640s onwards all forts in the Gold Coast were taken over by the Dutch WIC: Arguin, Elmina, Shama, and Axim;

- the number of employees serving at each fort, post or colony during the time each place was under the administration of the Portuguese Crown;

In 1671, the governor of Angola informed the Crown that in order to maintain the garrisons of the forts, he needed a total of 50 men annually.³¹ Assuming that all other posts and settlements in West Africa had a similar annual demand for military manpower, the Crown had to transport approximately 200 men per year. Therefore, between 1580 and 1674, an estimated number of 18,100 European unskilled soldiers were transported (see Table 9).

Table 9: Estimated No. of European unskilled soldiers shipped annually to the Portuguese settlements in West Africa (1580-1674)

	Cape Verde	Guinea	Mina	São Tomé	Angola	Total
1580-1637	2850	-	2850	2850	2850	11400
1638-1640	100	-	-	100	100	300
1641-1674	1650	1650	-	1650	1650	6600
Total	4600	1650	2850	4600	4600	18300

Sources and Observations³²

However, this figure only represents the number of men replaced annually, and not the total number of unskilled European soldiers in the garrisons. By the late 17th century, German soldiers and surgeons serving the Dutch in the Gulf of Guinea acknowledged the higher resistance of the Portuguese at Elmina and the São Tomé Island to tropical diseases compared with the Europeans sent directly from Europe. According to them, this was due to their acclimatization to those strange climates. However, the Portuguese higher resistance to tropical diseases was a consequence of the inter-marriage of the settlers with local women. These locally born Europeans and their offspring of mixed-descent grew up in a new

- the number of royal-servants at the various posts and settlements was estimated based on the data available in '1607: Estabelecimentos e resgates portugueses na costa occidental de África por um anónimo' in Luciano Cordeiro (ed.), *Questões Histórico-Coloniais* I, pp. 275-305.

c) The number of civilian staff was calculated using the same data and criteria as mentioned in b);

d) Since clergymen did not serve or were appointed for periods of three years, we estimated that, on average, the ecclesiastic staff paid by the Crown would only be replaced every ten years.

e) Calculated by us. Formula: e) = b) + c) + d)

³¹ Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (hereafter AHU), Angola, box 10, doc. 43: 1671-07-27.

³² The division of the periods took into consideration the loss of settlements to other European sea powers, as well as the establishment of new military garrisons in some colonies, such as in Guinea during the 1640s. During the rule of Gonçalo Gamboa de Ayala as captain-general of Cacheu (Guinea-Bissau region), Farim and Ziguichor were founded and fortified. The building of a fortress in Cacheu was also planned, but due to lack of materials and financial resources it was delayed for a few years. For further information see: Wladimir Brito, 'Cacheu, ponto de partida para a instalação da administração colonial a Guiné' in Carlos Lopes (dir.), *Mansas, Escravos, Grumetes e Gentio*, pp. 249-261; Maria Luisa Esteves, 'O Cacheu em meados do séc. XIX', *Oceanos*, 3 (1990), pp. 111-113; *idem*, *Gonçalo Gambôa de Aiala*.

‘childhood disease environment’. Their immune systems had, therefore, acquired the antibodies necessary to fight tropical disease better.³³

However, we decided to assume that the annual mortality rates among the Portuguese were identical to the ones found by Samuel Brün, – 680/1000 – and therefore we calculated that each Portuguese post or settlement in West Africa did not have more than 70 to 75 white unskilled soldiers.³⁴

So, if each post or settlement permanently would have 73 white soldiers, and annually 50 of these soldiers died, only 23 would be left. Since soldiers were supposed to serve a lifetime and if we assume that a soldier was able to bear arms for at least twenty years, every twenty years the Crown was forced to replace the remaining soldiers in each colony: a total of 92 men. Thus, between 1580 and 1674 these men had to be replaced at least five times, which accounts to a total of 460 men.

Hence, between 1581 and 1673 the Portuguese Crown would have sent to West Africa a total of 18,500 white unskilled soldiers, roughly 19,000 men on top of the high ranking and skilled soldiers, who numbered 5,200 men. In total, the Portuguese Crown may have sent to West Africa around 25,000 military during a period of *c.* 90 years.³⁵

However, the royal servants did not always travel alone to the overseas settlements. In many cases, royal officers travelled with their wives and children. This practice was more common for those serving in Madeira, Azores and Brazil than for men sent to the West Coast of Africa or India. Probably only 10% of the royal officers took their families with them. Hence, from an estimated total of 27,000 royal servants (25,000 military plus 2,000 civilians) only 2,700 men would have served in the posts and settlements with their families, which would have accounted for a total of 8,100 extra people. For instance, Domingos Guedes, appointed captain-general of Massangano (Angola) by the Crown, travelled with his

³³ ‘Johann von Lubelding’s voyage of 1599-1600’ in Adam Jones (ed.), *German Sources*, pp. 9-17; ‘Andreas Josua Ulsheimer’s voyage of 1603-1604’ *ibidem*, pp. 18-42; ‘Samuel Brun’s voyages of 1611-1620’ *ibidem*, pp. 44-96; ‘Michael Hemmersam’s description of the Gold Coast, 1639-1645’ *ibidem*, pp. 97-144;

³⁴ This calculation was made by using the following formula: $x = 1000 \cdot 50 : 680 = 73.5$ soldiers. Such figures may seem very low compared to the numbers given by Garcia Mendes Castello Branco in 1621 for Mina and Angola: 300 and 250 soldiers, respectively. However, the estimate of 70 to 75 white soldiers is fairly consistent, for instance, with the lists of white soldiers at service in Cape Verde in 1664 – then there were only 55 white soldiers. Cadornega in his account of the Angolan Wars, written in the early 1680s, informs us that for instance the garrison of Cambambe in the interior of Angola did not have more than 25 Portuguese soldiers. AHU, Cabo Verde, box 5, doc. 182: 1664-09-24; Garcia Mendes Castello Branco, ‘1574-1620: Da Mina ao Cabo Negro’ in Luciano Cordeiro, *Viagens, Explorações e Conquistas dos Portuguezes*, pp. 26-32; António de Oliveira Cadornega, *História geral das Guerras Angolanas*, 3 vols. (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1972).

³⁵ For further information on the origin of these workers, see section four.

wife and children in 1651. António Lobo de Évora, appointed *juiz dos órfãos* in the island of São Tomé in 1660 also travelled with his wife and family.³⁶ This practice contrasted with the situation in the Dutch posts and settlements, since, usually, Company employees were not allowed to travel with their families.³⁷

In short, the Dutch settlements in West Africa only recruited temporary migrants; whereas the Portuguese received both temporary and permanent migrants. This difference in migration patterns relates to the policies of settlement and economic development, as well as the characteristics of the labour market of the Dutch Republic and Portugal, as we will demonstrate later in this Chapter. The Dutch State, the private companies and the WIC sponsored the establishment of small military garrisons to protect the trading posts, since commerce was their exclusive economic activity. The Portuguese Crown, in contrast, gave incentives to the establishment of colonists and the development of local economic activities besides trade, which would guarantee the autonomous survival of the settlers without constant support or supplies from the Kingdom. Nevertheless, in both cases the number of European labour migrants was low compared to the personnel serving in other Atlantic areas.³⁸

1.2. Forced migrants

In order to answer the demands of the labour markets in West Africa, European States made use of coerced migration.³⁹ Both the Dutch and the Portuguese used criminal convicts and

³⁶ Calculations made based on an average of four persons per family, excluding the men: wife + three children. However, there are many examples of both military and civilian servants travelling with their families. AHU, Angola, box 5, doc. 48: 1651-01-16; doc. 125: 1653-09-06; doc. 128: 1653-09-22; AHU, São Tomé, box 2, doc. 127: 1660-06-28.

³⁷ Natalie Everts, 'Brought up well according to European standards': Helena van der Burgh and Wihlelmina van Naarssen: two Christian women from Elmina' in I. van Bessel (ed.), *Merchants, Missionaries & Migrants: 300 years of Dutch-Ghanaian relations* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2002), pp. 101-110.

³⁸ For example, for the Dutch troops sent to Brazil, see: B. Miranda, 'Military Daily life in Dutch Brazil (1630-1654): Daily life of WIC-soldiers' paper presented at the 5th Atlantic Day held at the NiSee, 2008-06-13. Work in progress for a PhD dissertation entitled: *Quotidiano militar na Nova Holanda: a vida diaria dos soldados da Companhia das Indias Ocidentais (1630-1654)*, supervised by G. Oost-Indie and M. Wiesebron at Leiden University.

³⁹ A. R. Ekirch, *Bound for America: The transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718-1775* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); R. Hume, *Early Child Immigration to Virginia, 1618-1642* (Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Company, 1986).

orphans to promote the settlement in different areas of the Atlantic, according to their general goals.⁴⁰

The use of forced labour migration by the Dutch WIC and VOC in their overseas possessions has not received great attention by the historiography. Only in recent years a few scholars have studied in detail the forced migration organized by the VOC between the various posts and settlements in the Indian Ocean, including Cape Town.⁴¹ In regard to the forced migration to the Dutch Atlantic possessions very little is known. An important contribution has been given by Ernest van den Boogaart on his study of the Dutch indentured labour to North America. The author argues that in the 1650s and 1660s, the WIC and the city of Amsterdam had considered using penal migration and deportation of orphans as possible ways to populate the colony of New Netherland. But, apparently, these policies were never implemented systematically.

In the Dutch possessions in the Southern Atlantic, especially in West Africa and Brazil, no evidence was found of penal migration from Europe. However, between 1624 and 1674, several employees of the WIC both in the West African possessions as well as in Brazil were sentenced to criminal exile either for civil or military crimes. For example, during the WIC rule over São Tomé (1641-1648) several Company employees at Elmina were sentenced to exile in the Equatorial islands.⁴²

Unfortunately, the number and nature of primary sources available as well as the time constraints of the present research enabled us to present here a detailed and deep analysis of the use of forced migration in the Dutch West African possessions. Nevertheless, there are evidence argue that the Dutch WIC also made use of penal migration in their Atlantic possessions. However, more detailed studies are necessary to determine its volume, organization and juridical framework.

⁴⁰ E. van den Boogaart, 'The servant migration to New Netherland' in P. C. Emmer (ed.), *Colonialism and migration*, pp. 55-81; Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and orphans*.

⁴¹ See, for example: Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁴² For examples, see for instance, Louis Jadin (ed.), *L'Ancien Congo et l'Angola* I-III. Examples of forced migration between Dutch Brazil and the Company posts in West Africa might also be found in the same collection of documents.

The Portuguese Crown, in contrast, sponsored the ‘export’ of exiles and orphans from the Kingdom, as early as the 15th century.⁴³ Cape Verde and São Tomé were the first Portuguese settlements in West Africa to receive forced migrants. Later, Angola also became a main destination for convicts. The Guinea-Bissau region, on the other hand, received the lowest number of exiles. For instance, between 1536 and 1821 the Inquisition Courts of the Kingdom sentenced about 120 individuals to exile in São Tomé, 30 to Cape Verde and only 2 men to Guinea.⁴⁴ For the same period the Inquisition Court of Lisbon alone sentenced to exile in Angola more than 140 individuals and to Brazil about 250 men.⁴⁵

Especially in early years of colonization the forced migrants were used to increase the European population and to compensate the high mortality rates among the settlers. For instance, in the early period of settlement in São Tomé, the Crown granted each convict ‘permission to import goods from Portugal and to conduct slave raids in the Mina area. (...)’. Each exile was to be given a male or female slave for his personal service; the costs would be paid by the State, with royal taxes.⁴⁶ Throughout the 16th century, this practice was less used, probably due to the increase of the European population in the Archipelagoes given the economic prosperity of the islands, related to the growth of the coastal and inter-continental trade. Coerced migration was also used during periods of economic crisis to balance the migration of the European population to other colonial areas. In fact, the transport of exiles increased again during the economic decline of Cape Verde and São Tomé in the mid-16th century and the early 17th century, respectively.

On the other hand, the exiles were sent to the West African settlements to meet the shortage of skilled workers, especially artisans. This was one of the few possible solutions, since the Portuguese labour market had a clear lack of free skilled workers.⁴⁷

Convicts and orphans were also an important ‘reservoir’ of manpower for the Portuguese Crown.⁴⁸ Due to the absence of a professional army and navy, the use of

⁴³ Although, apparently, the shipment of convicts to the settlements was more regular than that of orphans. Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and orphans*, pp. 42-64.

⁴⁴ Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, *A Inquisição em Cabo Verde, Guiné e S. Tomé e Príncipe (1536-1821): contributo para o estudo da política do Santo Ofício nos territórios africanos I* (unpublished MA thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2002), pp. 274-307.

⁴⁵ These figures are from a database project on the processes of the Inquisition Court of Lisbon by Cátia Antunes and F. Ribeiro da Silva. Work in progress.

⁴⁶ Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and orphans*, pp. 53 & 61-63; Luis da Cunha Pinheiro, ‘O Arquipélago do Golfo da Guiné: Fernando Pó, São Tomé, Príncipe e Ano Bom: O povoamento’ in Artur Teodoro de Matos (coord.), *A colonização Atlântica II* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 2005), pp. 251-253.

⁴⁷ A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A social history of black slaves and freemen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

convicts and orphans as military and seamen was a common practice since the Middle Ages.⁴⁹ On several occasions the governors of the different garrisons in West Africa suggested to the Crown the shipment of convicts to serve as soldiers. Both, João Carvalho Moutinho, captain of Cacheu in 1666, and the governor of Angola in 1671 requested the shipment of exiles to serve as soldiers in the forts under their jurisdiction.⁵⁰ Apparently, the Crown took into consideration such proposals, since by the mid-1670s Angola received a group of 300 exiles, recruited both in the Kingdom and Madeira, while another group of convicts was sent to São Tomé.⁵¹

Nevertheless, the role played by the convicts and the orphans in the formation of the Portuguese settlements should not be overestimated. According to Coates the annual average of exiles from and within the Portuguese Kingdom was 100 convicts between 1550 and 1755. For the whole period, the author estimated a total of 20,500 convicts generated either by the royal, the ecclesiastic and the Inquisition courts in the Kingdom and a total of 50,000 convicts turned out by the courts into the overseas areas. Thus, over three centuries both the Kingdom and the Empire generated about 75,500 convicts – an insignificant figure in view of the geographical dimensions of the Empire and the Kingdom.⁵² Moreover, many of the convicts did not go to overseas areas. For instance, roughly half of the individuals sentenced by the Inquisition Courts of the Kingdom to be exiled in Cape Verde, Guinea and São Tomé between 1536 and 1821 never reached their final destination.⁵³

In short, the use of forced European migrants was a way to solve the shortage of European population, skilled workers and manpower for the army in the posts and settlements of West Africa, but their role in the building of the Portuguese Atlantic Empire was not as significant as Coates has claimed. In the Dutch case, penal migration might have had a role in the building of the Dutch Southern Atlantic Empire, especially as a way to shift personnel between different possessions in order to reduce turmoil among employees and to compensate high annual mortality rates in some settlements.

⁴⁸ Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and orphans*, pp. 65-77.

⁴⁹ This situation lasted until the 18th century. The first attempt to professionalize the Portuguese army was carried out by Count Shaumburg-Lippe. Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and orphans*, p. 100.

⁵⁰ AHU, Guiné, box 2, doc. 39: 20-09-1666; Angola, box 10, doc. 43: 27-07-1671.

⁵¹ AHU, Angola, box 11, doc. 70: 17-07-1676; Madeira, box 1, doc. 27: 06-05-1676; São Tomé, box 3, doc. 22: 24-09-1674.

⁵² Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and orphans*, p. 40.

⁵³ Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, *A Inquisição em Cabo Verde, Guiné e S. Tomé e Príncipe*, pp. 274-307

2. Forced African migrants: Slaves and manumitted slaves

The shortage of European manpower in the West African settlements forced the Dutch and the Portuguese to use slave labour. However, these two European powers started to use forced African labourers at different times and in different activities.

Most of the studies on the Dutch slave trade have ignored the ownership of slaves by the Companies chartered by the States General – the WIC and the VOC – and by the Companies' employees.⁵⁴ According to traditional historiography the Dutch only started to use slave labour in the mid-1630s, after the takeover of the North-eastern Brazilian captaincies to supply the sugar plantations. However, the takeover of the Portuguese possessions in the Gold Coast in the late 1630s and the need for repairs in most of those forts after the sieges must have raised the Company's demand for manpower. Given the reduced number of Europeans on the coast, it is likely that part of the reconstruction works was not done by the European staff of the WIC, but by slaves, especially the unskilled tasks required for this type of activity. Similar practices were adopted by other European sea powers both in West Africa and parts of the Atlantic world in order to build and maintain fortresses and towns.⁵⁵ Thus, we think the WIC started to use slaves in West Africa during the 1630s, as the labour needs increased when the Company took hold of several Portuguese possessions on the Gulf of Guinea and in West-Central Africa.

In 1645, the WIC had a total of 409 slaves in its service on the Gold Coast. Given the number of European employees – 220 men – there were roughly 2 (1.9) slaves to each European free labourer (see Table 10).

⁵⁴ Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic slave trade 1600-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); E. van den Boogaart and P. C. Emmer, 'The Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade, 1596-1650' in Henry A. Genery and Jan S. Hogenborn (eds.), *The Uncommon market; essays in the economic history of the Atlantic slave trade* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), pp. 353-375.

⁵⁵ For detailed information on the use of slaves in the Portuguese and Spanish American cities, see Chapter 5, section six.

Table 10: Slaves owned by the WIC in the Gold Coast (1645)

	Settlement/Slaves	Men	Boys	Women	Girls	Children	Infants/Babies	Total
Land	Elmina	68	30	52	23	-	11	184
	Comany / Komenda	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Cabo Cors / Cape Coast	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Fort Nassau / Nassau	59	20	44	22	-	11	156
	Fort Axem / Axim	16	-	5	-	2	-	23
	Fort Chama / Shama	8	2	5	-	-	-	15
	Craa / Accra	9	4	8	-	-	-	21
Sub-total		162	56	114	45	2	22	401
Sea	Yacht De Fortuyn	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
	Yacht Den Dolphijn	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
	Yacht De Visscher	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
	Yacht Riael	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Subtotal		-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Total		162	56	114	45	2	22	409

Sources and Observations⁵⁶

Comparatively, the Company slaves accounted for 65% of the employees: the Europeans for only 35%. Based on the proportion of slaves per European mentioned earlier, we estimate that during the 1630s the WIC made use of approximately 219 to 290 slaves in the West African posts. In the 1640s, due to the takeover of Angola and São Tomé, this figure increased to an estimated number of 2,000 to 2,500 slaves, although after 1648, the number of slaves used by the Company decreased to between 400 and 450 (see Table 11). Nevertheless, these figures do not match the total number of slaves purchased by the WIC for the Company service in West Africa. Due to the mortality rates, the Company had to acquire a higher number of slaves. The accurate annual mortality rate of slaves in West Africa is difficult to determine.⁵⁷ However, if we assume that the annual mortality rate of the slaves was half of the European annual mortality rate $[(680/1000)/2=340/1000]$ the Company would have bought annually between 60 and 125 slaves, with an exception made

⁵⁶ 'Inventaris van alle de goederen langs de geheele Guineese Custe, competeerende de Ed. Heeren, bewinthebberen der Geoctrooyeerde Westindische Compagnie, over gegeven door de Heer Jacob Ruichaver aen de Heer Generael Jacob van der Wel: 1645-12-01 in Klaas Ratelband (ed.), *Vijf Dagregisters*, pp. 370, 373-375, 377-378 & 380.

⁵⁷ We decided to assume that the slave's mortality rate in West Africa would be at least half of the European mortality rate. Since they were born and raised in the African disease environment, they had, in principle a superior resistance to tropical diseases.

for the 1640s, when the annual need for unfree labourers would have increased to between 600 and 750 slaves per year. Every three years the WIC bought an estimated number of 180 to 370 slaves, and in the decade of 1640 about 1,800 to 2,250 slaves (see Table 11). Hence, the WIC owned and employed a considerable number of slaves and over time their number increased.⁵⁸

This data differs from the conclusions presented by Vink in a recent study on the VOC slave trade in Asia during the 17th century. According to the author, the Company used an insignificant number of slaves as a consequence of the commercial interests of the VOC.⁵⁹ We would argue that other factors such as the shortage of manpower, the nature of the activities developed in the different colonial areas, and the way the Companies perceived the slaves and their working skills determined the number of unfree workers they employed.⁶⁰

In the Portuguese settlements, the commercial privileges granted by the Crown to the private noble landlords and settlers of Cape Verde and São Tomé facilitated the purchase of slaves from the late 15th century onwards. Both in Cape Verde and São Tomé, slaves represented more than 80% of the population of the islands, while the European and mixed-descent settlers accounted only for 5% to 10% (see Tables 12 and 13). Based on the proportion of slaves per European and the economic activities developed in the Guinea-Bissau region and Angola, we estimate that there were approximately 960 slaves for every 60 white inhabitants in the Guinea-Bissau region and 2,000 to 2,500 slaves in Luanda (Angola) in the 17th century (see Tables 14 and 15). However due to the lack of serial data it is impossible to estimate the total number of African slaves bought and employed by the Portuguese settlers in West Africa between 1580 and 1674.

⁵⁸ Feinberg informs us that in the 18th century, the WIC in the Gold Coast had c.800 slaves at its service. Regarding the annual average of Company employees of European origin serving the WIC on the coast of 238, one may state that the Company had 3 slaves per Company employee. In total the slaves represented 77% of the total population under Company administration, while the Europeans only accounted for 23%. Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans*, p. 65.

⁵⁹ Markus Vink, 'The World's Oldest Trade': Dutch Slavery and Slave Trade in the Indian Ocean in the 17th Century', *Journal of World History* 14/2 (2003), 76 pars, 15 Apr. 2008, <<http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jwh/14.2/vink.html>>.

⁶⁰ For more information on the Dutch perceptions on slave labour, see section four of this chapter.

SENDING PEOPLE

Table 11: Estimated number of forced African migrants employed by the WIC in West Africa (1624-1673)

a)	b)	c)	d)	e)	f)
Periods	No. slaves used (1.9 slaves p/European; except Angola and São Tomé - 1.5)	No. slaves died during service per year: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 120/1000	No. slaves died during service each three years: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 120/1000	No. slaves died during service per year: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 300/1000	No. slaves died during service each three years: estimate based on an annual mortality rate of 300/1000
1624-1627	-	-	-	-	-
1628-1630	-	-	-	-	-
1631-1633	-	-	-	-	-
1634-1637	243	29	88	73	219
1638-1640	433	52	156	130	390
1641-1643	2578	309	928	773	2320
1644-1647	2578	309	928	773	2320
1648-1650	507	61	183	152	457
1651-1653	507	61	183	152	457
1654-1657	507	61	183	152	457
1658-1660	507	61	183	152	457
1661-1663	507	61	183	152	457
1664-1667	595	71	214	178	535
1668-1670	595	71	214	178	535
1671-1673	595	71	214	178	535
Total	10152	1217	3657	3043	9139

Sources and Observations⁶¹

⁶¹ a) The data is presented in three-year periods because the estimate of the number of Europeans was made for terms of three years.

b) Based on the number of WIC-servants on the Gold Coast given by the *Monster Rollen* of 1645: 220 men, and on the total number of slaves owned by the Company in the same year listed in the *Inventaris van alle de goederen langs de gebeele Guineese Custe*, we calculated the ratio of slaves to Europeans: 1.9 slaves per 1 European. Using this figure and the estimated number of WIC-Personnel used in the West Coast of Africa, we estimated the number of slave labourers used by the Company over time. Formula: Personnel used – Estimate x 1.9;

The number of slaves owned by the Company in São Tomé and Angola was calculated based on a lower proportion of African slaves per European migrants: 1.5 slaves per 1 European. This decision was taken in view of the commercial crises affecting Luanda and São Tomé as a consequence of the abandonment of the city by the Portuguese inhabitants and the latent war against the local Portuguese government taking refuge in the bush. In addition, we took also in account the information

Table 12: Population of Santiago and Fogo (Cape Verde) (1582)

Islands	Places	Slaves		Married Manumitted Slaves		<i>Moradores</i> and <i>Vizinhos</i>		Total	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Santiago	Ribeira Grande	5700	92	-	-	508	8	6208	40
	Praia	1000	83	-	-	200	17	1200	8
	Interior	5000	83	400	7	600	10	6000	38
Fogo	-	2000	87	-	-	300	13	2300	15
Total		13700	87	400	3	1608	10	15708	100

Sources and Observations⁶²

supplied by the directors of the Company of these two colonies to Count Maurits of Nassau and the Supreme Council (*Supreme Raad*) in Brazil, concerning the lack of food to feed the troops and the slaves. For further information see for instance: NA, OWIC 57. Several letters of Jan Claesz. Coeck addressed to Maurits Nassau and the Supreme Council in Brazil between December 1641 and May 1642. Klaas Ratelband, *Os Holandeses no Brasil e na Costa Africana*, pp. 178-183. Formula: Personnel used – Estimate x 1.5;

c) The death rates of the ‘castle slaves’ on the West Coast of Africa were probably lower than in the Middle Passage or in the Americas, because: firstly, the transport between the place of capture and the place of work was shorter; secondly, the process of ‘acclimatization’ was easier, given the climate similarities within the Gulf of Guinea and even within Angola; and, finally, the work performed by these slaves was not as harsh or as intensive as in the Americas. In the settlements in West Africa slaves were used mainly for the construction of castles and forts and for repairing works and daily domestic tasks. However, since an annual mortality rate for slaves in the West Coast of Africa was not to be found, we decided to make estimates based on two different mortality rates: 120/1000 and 300/1000.

The first annual mortality rate is based on the average annual mortality rate calculated by Robert Stein for the slaves transported by French vessels in the 18th century (12% = 120/1000). See: R. Stein, ‘Mortality in the eighteenth-century French slave trade’, *The Journal of African History*, 21 (1980), pp. 35-41. Formula: c) = (b) x 120): 1000.

However, considering the questions raised about the author’s calculations, we decided to use a second death rate. This second annual mortality rate was based on the assumption that slave mortality would be at least half of the European mortality in West Africa during the first half of the 17th century (680/1000 – for further information on the calculations see Observations to Table 3: Estimated WIC-Personnel used and recruited for West Africa), i.e. 300/1000. Formula: c) = (b) x 300): 1000.

d) In order to know how many slaves needed to be replaced due to premature death we multiplied the annual number of deaths per terms of three years. Formulas: d) = c) x 3.

⁶² Calculated based on data given by Francisco de Andrade, ‘Relação de Francisco de Andrade sobre as ilhas de Cabo Verde’ in António Brásio (ed.), *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, 2nd series, III (Lisboa: Agência geral do Ultramar / Academia Portuguesa de História, 1964), pp. 97-107. Observations: *Moradores/vizinhos* - inhabitants and citizens - were not exclusively white settlers. *Mestiços* and free Africans could also have such juridical status.

Table 13: Population of São Tomé (1620-1621) and Príncipe (1607)

	São Tomé Island (1620-1621)	São Tomé Island (1620-1621) (%)	Príncipe Island (1607)	Príncipe Island (1607) (%)
European settlers	800	5	11	2
<i>Mestiço/Crioulo</i>	2000	13	18	3
Manumitted slaves	-	-	20	4
Slaves	12569*	82	500	91
Total	15369	100	549	100

Sources and Observations⁶³

Table 14: No. of whites versus the estimated slave population in the Portuguese settlements in the Guinea-Bissau region (1641)

	a) No. of European inhabitants (<i>moradores</i>)	b) Estimated No. of slaves based on the proportion of 16 slaves per settler	c) Estimated No. of slaves based on the proportion of 7 slaves per settler
Forts and settlements			
Cacheu	22	352	154
Bissau	9	144	63
Geba	13	208	91
Santa Cruz de Guíñala	16	256	112
Total	60	960	420
Total (%)	6	94	88

Sources and Observations⁶⁴

Table 15: No. of whites versus the estimated slave population in Luanda (Angola)

	d) No. white inhabitants	e) Estimated no. slaves based on the proportion of 16 slaves per European	Estimated no. slaves based on the proportion of 7 slaves per European
Years			
1607 a)	300	4800	2100
1621 b)	400	6400	2800
1675 c)	132	2112	924
Total (%)	6	94	88

Sources and Observations⁶⁵

⁶³ Based on information collected from Cristina Maria Seuanes Serafim, *As ilhas de São Tomé*, tables 50, 51, 52 & 53, pp. 301-303. Observations: * Calculated by us based on information given by the author quoted in note 60 above.

⁶⁴ a) 'Lista nominal dos moradores de Cacheu, Bissau, Geba e Porto de Santa Cruz de Guíñala, que assinaram a aclamação de D. João IV, em Fevereiro, Março e Abril de 1641' in António Carreira, *Os Portugueses nos Rios de Guiné*, pp. 131-132.

b) and c) calculated by us based on the available data for the São Tomé population in 1621. For detailed information on the sources see notes to Table 13.

Even after manumission, slaves continued to play an important role in the Portuguese settlements of West Africa.⁶⁶ In Cape Verde, for instance, manumitted slaves accounted for 90% to 95% of the unskilled military staff, while white unskilled soldiers represented only 5% to 10% (see Table 16). These figures contrasted with the Dutch situation, where the majority of the military staff, whether high ranking officers, skilled or unskilled soldiers were recruited and sent from Europe. Therefore, both slaves and manumitted slaves played a key role in the economic growth and military defence of the Portuguese settlements in West Africa.

Table 16: Estimated no. of volunteers in the militias in Santiago Island (Cape Verde)

Years	a)	b)
	No. <i>companhias de ordenança</i>	Estimated No. Volunteers (based on average 150 men per military unit)
1582	4	600
1606	7	1050
1620	12	1800

Sources and Observations⁶⁷

The reduced number of European migrants in the Dutch and the Portuguese settlements, their high mortality rates in tropical environments and their reduced life expectancy forced the Republic and the Portuguese Kingdom to make use of slave labour. Both, the Dutch and the Portuguese relied heavily on slave workers that accounted for 50% to 80% of the total population of the settlements. However, the volume of slaves and manumitted slaves was higher in the Portuguese settlements of São Tomé and Cape Verde, due to the nature of the economic activities on these islands.

⁶⁵ a) '1607: Estabelecimentos e resgates portugueses na costa ocidental de África por um anónimo' in Luciano Cordeiro (ed.), *Questões Histórico-Coloniais* I, pp. 275-305.

b) Garcia Mendes Castello Branco, '1574-1620: Da Mina ao Cabo Negro' in Luciano Cordeiro (ed.), *Viagens, explorações e conquistas dos Portugueses: Colecção de documentos*, pp. 26-32.

c) F. A. A. Mourão, 'Configurações dos Núcleos Humanos de Luanda do século XVI ao século XX' in *Actas do Seminário 'Encontro de Povos e Culturas em Angola'*, pp. 110-225.

d) and e) calculated by us based on the available data for the São Tomé population in 1621. For detailed information on the sources see notes to Table 13.

⁶⁶ In the Portuguese colonies of West Africa, slaves were often manumitted by their masters in their wills.

⁶⁷ a) Ilídio Cabral Baleno, 'Pressões externas' in Maria Emília Madeira Santos (coord.), *História Geral de Cabo Verde* II, pp. 173-188.

b) Calculated by us based on the number of militia unities and an average number of 150 men per unit. Formula: b) = a)*150.

The main difference concerning the use of slave labour in the Dutch and the Portuguese settlements was their different attitudes towards slave work and slave skills. The Dutch, in general, considered the training of slaves to perform skilled activities, such as craftwork, as inefficient, whereas the Portuguese trained slaves to carry out numerous activities from the simplest domestic tasks to hard plantation work and even highly skilled commercial activities.

3. Locally recruited personnel

Despite the high number of slaves employed by the Dutch and the Portuguese, not all labour needs were met. Both free African and mixed-descent workers had to be hired in the labour markets of the posts and settlements. In the Portuguese case, workers were even recruited from among the European permanent settlers.

3.1. Free Africans

The recruitment of free Africans by the 'Dutch' started as early as the establishment of the first commercial contacts. Between the 1590s and 1623, both the garrison of Fort Nassau and the staff of the commercial companies recruited free African labourers locally to perform specific activities seasonally. The local recruitment of free Africans continued after the establishment of the WIC in 1621-1624. The Company hired both civilian and military staff either on a permanent or temporary basis. However, their number is unknown for the 17th century, but, according to the available information for the first decades of the 18th century, it would have been low compared with the European civilian and military staff.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ In 1715, the WIC personnel locally born and recruited on the Gold Coast accounted only to 3.9% and 2.7% of the land and sea personnel respectively of the Company. Over time the number of Africans incorporated in the military staff of the Company increased, especially during the second half of the 18th century. Feinberg informs us that until 1750 the annual number of Africans employed by the WIC at its forts on the Gold Coast was around 10, but by the end of the 1760s they already numbered 75 and in 1773 they numbered 143. Yves Delepeleire, 'Nederlands Elmina: een socio-economische analyse van de Tweede Westindische Compagnie in West-Afrika in 1715' (unpublished BA Diss., University of Ghent, 2003-2204). http://www.ethesis.net/wic/wic_deel_3.html; Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans*, p. 69; *idem*, 'New data on European mortality in West Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 15/3 (1974), p. 363.

In the Portuguese settlements, the massive use of slave labour gave little room for the local recruitment of free African workers. Nevertheless, both the Crown and the settlers hired labourers locally. The services of free Africans were especially drawn on by merchants in the Guinea-Bissau region and Angola. Here, due to the difficulties in penetrating into the interior and getting access to the hinterland commercial networks, the merchants and settlers often hired free Africans to conduct trade on their behalf in the hinterland markets. In the Guinea-Bissau region this group became known as *grumetes*; while in Angola they were called *pombeiros*. Furthermore, the Portuguese Crown also recruited free Africans to serve in the army – the so-called *Guerra preta*.⁶⁹ However, due to the lack of numerical data it is impossible to estimate the number of free Africans locally recruited by the Portuguese.

3.2. Mixed-descent workers and European settlers

In addition to free Africans, the Dutch and the Portuguese also hired mixed-descent workers in their West African posts and settlements, although the role played by the mixed-descent people in each empire was different.

The recruitment of mixed-descent people in the Dutch settlements started only in the late 17th century. However, even in the first decades of the 18th century, their number was extremely low compared with the European civilian and military staff of the WIC employed in the forts, entrepôts and lodges.⁷⁰ Therefore, during the period under study, the employment of Eurafricans by the Company had a reduced impact on the local economy of the posts and settlements.⁷¹

⁶⁹ For further information see Chapter 1, section two.

⁷⁰ Yves Delepeleire, 'Nederlands Elmina', http://www.ethesis.net/wic/wic_deel_3.html; Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans*, p. 69; *idem*, 'New data on European mortality in West Africa', *The Journal of African History* 15/3 (1974), p. 363.

⁷¹ For further information on the employment of Eurafricans by the Dutch WIC in the 18th century see: Natalie Everts, 'Social outcomes of a trading relationship: Ties between Africans and Europeans in the hubs of the slave trade', Unpublished paper presented at the Conference: *African slave trades and African slavery in a global perspective* Leiden, 18 May, 2006; Michiel R. Doortmont, *An overview of Dutch relations with the Gold Coast in the light of David Nyendaal's Mission to Ashanti in 1701-1702*, paper presented at the Conference: *Dutch Ghanaian Relations: Past and Present*, The Hague, 7 November 2001. © Michel R. Doortmont, 2001, <http://www.oprit.rug.nl/doortmont>. Publ. in I. van Kessel (ed.), *Merchants, Missionaries and Migrants. 300 years of Dutch-Ghanaian relations* (Amsterdam/Accra: KIT Publishers, 2002), pp. 19-32; Michiel R. Doortmont, Natalie Everts & J.J. Vrij, 'Tussen de Goudkust, Nederland en Suriname. De Euro-Afrikaanse families Van Bakergem,

In the Portuguese settlements mixed-descent people were hired by private merchants, settlers and by the Crown to perform multiple tasks.

In the Guinea-Bissau region and Angola, settlers and merchants often used Eurafricans to conduct trade on their behalf in the supply markets located in the hinterland of the coastal areas. In the Guinea-Bissau region, they were integrated in the group of the *grumetes* and worked as sailors, commercial agents, translators and soldiers for the Portuguese living on the coast. In Angola, the European traders and the factors of the royal *contratador* residing in Luanda and the Kwanza fortresses also selected their commercial agents from among mixed-descent people. These men became known as *comissários* or *aviados*.⁷²

The Portuguese Crown, on the other hand, hired Eurafricans for two main reasons: i) to increase the military manpower of the posts and settlements and ii) to fill the vacant posts in the local administration. For example, André Álvares de Almada, captain of one of the militia units of the Santiago Island (Cape Verde) in 1598, was of mixed-descent.

The recruitment of royal servants from the Eurafrican group increased over time due to the decreasing number of Europeans willing to serve in the posts and settlements and the lack of European immunity to diseases caused by the climate and the environment, especially in the Guinea-Bissau region, São Tomé and Angola. During the second half of the 17th century, even the ranks of governor and captain-general along the Kwanza River fortresses in Angola were held by men of mixed-descent. João Fernandes Vieira, governor between 1658 and 1661, and captain-general Luís Lopes de Sequeira are two examples.⁷³ In 1684, the

Woortman, Rühle en Huydecoper', *De Nederlandsche Leem. Tijdschrift van het Koninklijke Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Geslacht- en Wapenkunde* 117 (2000), pp. 170-212, 310-344 & 490-577; Michiel R. Doortmont and Natalie Everts, 'Vrouwen, familie en eigendom op de Goudkust. Afrikaanse en Europese systemen van erfrecht in Elmina, 1760-1860' in Corrie van Eijl, *et al* (eds.), *Geld & Goed. Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 17 (Amsterdam: Stichting beheer IISG, 1997), pp. 114-130; Michiel R. Doortmont and Natalie Everts, 'Onzichtbare Afrikanen. Euro-Afrikanen tussen de Goudkust en Nederland, 1750-1850' in M. 't Hart, Jan Lucassen & H. Schmal (eds.), *Nieuwe Nederlanders. Vestiging van migranten door de eeuwen heen* (Amsterdam: Stichting beheer IISG, 1996), pp. 81-100; Natalie Everts, 'Cherchez la femme. Gender-related issues in eighteenth-century Elmina', *Itinerario*, 20/1 (1996), pp. 45-57; Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans*, pp. 88-92;

⁷² For the Portuguese terminology see Glossary.

⁷³ António Luís Alves. Ferronha, *Angola - 10 anos de história (1666-1676)* I (unpublished MA thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 1988), pp. 24-26, 30, 32, 35 & 95-98; Eunice R. J. P. L. Jorge da Silva, *A administração de Angola: Século XVIII* I (unpublished MA thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 1996), pp. 7-21.

Crown even ordered that: ‘the colour of the skin of men should not be taken into account for the military promotions in the garrison of Angola and the military units’.⁷⁴

European colonists were also hired by the Crown. In fact, until the mid-16th century, only inhabitants and citizens (*moradores* and *vizinhos*) of European descent residing in the main urban centres of the settlements were accepted as royal servants and members of the municipal councils.

Usually, members of the local elites were allowed to become interim royal servants as replacements of high-ranking royal officers who had died.⁷⁵ For example, during the early 17th century, three powerful families of sugar planters: the Barbosa da Cunha, the Pires de Tavóra and the Alva Brandão families controlled several vacant high posts of the royal civil and military administration in São Tomé.⁷⁶ Less prominent settlers were also accepted as royal servants for middle- and low-ranking posts. The number of royal servants recruited locally increased over time, especially among mixed-descent people, as we have emphasized earlier.

Due to the lack of data it is impossible to estimate the number of Eurafricans and European settlers recruited either by merchants, settlers and the Crown. Nevertheless, based on the available information for São Tomé in 1620-1621, we estimate that mixed-descent people accounted for 13% of the population, while the European colonists accounted only for 5%. This figure may be seen as an indicator of the percentage of Eurafricans and European settlers that could be potentially employed in the Portuguese settlements of West Africa. However, in the Guinea-Bissau region and Angola different proportions might be found.

To sum up, among the workforce recruited locally, the mixed-descent people were an important group, although the numbers differ significantly. Mixed-descent children of Europeans in the employ of the WIC and African women were less common during the period under analysis than Eurafricans in the Portuguese settlements.⁷⁷

Therefore, the number of people of mixed-descent employed by the Portuguese was higher than by the Dutch. Many of the mixed-descent people could be found in the royal

⁷⁴ António Luís Alves Ferronha, ‘Angola - 10 anos de história’ I, pp. 24-26, 30, 32, 35 & 95-98; Eunice R. J. P. L. Jorge da Silva, *A administração de Angola* I, pp. 7-21.

⁷⁵ For further details on the replacement of royal servants by the local settlers see Chapter 1. Cristina Maria Seuanes Serafim, *As ilhas de São Tomé*, pp. 169-183.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 275-282.

⁷⁷ For further information on the inter-marriages between Dutchmen and African women, see Chapter 3.

governments, the municipal councils and the local militias. Mixed-descent people also played a key role as middlemen between the coast and the hinterland markets. Hence, Eurafricans were essential for the development of the Portuguese posts and settlements, whilst in the Dutch case, they only acquired some relevance in the late 17th and in 18th centuries.

4. European labour markets and West Africa

The different patterns of labour migration and local recruitment of personnel found in the Dutch and the Portuguese posts and settlements were partly a consequence of the characteristics of the labour markets of the Dutch Republic and Portugal. These markets were organized differently and their capacity to meet the labour demand of the two States and their overseas empires differed considerably.

In the last quarter of the 16th century, the northern Netherlands' labour market extended beyond its political boundaries and incorporated workers from several neighbouring areas. The Dutch Republic received numerous migrants from the western German States, the 'Hansa' cities, Scandinavia and Switzerland. Most of these migrants were employed in the seafaring, shipbuilding and the commercial sectors. After the mid-17th century, the recruitment of seamen in the coastal provinces was insufficient and, in the second quarter of the 17th century, Dutch skippers and companies started to recruit a huge number of immigrant sailors from Scandinavia.⁷⁸

The same proportion was, probably, found among the crews serving on board the ships freighted by the private companies operating in West Africa between the 1590s and 1623 and recruited by the Admiralty of Amsterdam to serve at Fort Nassau between 1612 and 1623. For instance, Johann von Lübeling, a lance-corporal of German descent, was

⁷⁸ Jan de Vries and A. van der Woude, *The first modern economy: Success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 72-78 & 632-653; Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: its rise, greatness, and fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 327, 356-357 & 334-340; Jaap R. Bruijn, *The Dutch navy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1993); Jan de Vries, 'The labour market' in K. Davids & L. Noordegraaf (eds.), *The Dutch economy in the Golden Age: Nine Studies* (Amsterdam: Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief, 1993), pp. 55-78; J. L. van Zanden, *The rise and fall of Holland's economy: merchant capitalism and the labour market* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); P. C. van Royen, 'Recruitment Patterns of the Dutch Merchant Marine in the 17th to nineteenth centuries' in L. R. Fischer *et al* (ed.), *The North Sea: Twelve essays on social history of maritime labour* (Stavanger: Stavanger Maritime Museum, 1992), pp. 22-24; A. Knotter and J. L. van Zanden, 'Immigratie en arbeidsmarkt in Amsterdam in de 17e eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, 13 (1987), pp. 403-431.

hired by the States General to serve on the fleet sent to conquer São Tomé in 1599-1600.⁷⁹ Another example was the surgeon Andreas Josua Ulsheimer, born in Swabia, southeast Germany, and employed by the *Compagnie van Guinea* to travel on board a ship freighted for a voyage to West Africa in 1603-1604.⁸⁰

According to J. Lucassen: 'in the case of the West India Company (WIC) and related companies sailing to Africa and America [we] may expect between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of crews to have been foreign.'⁸¹ A similar proportion would be found among the WIC land and sea personnel serving in West Africa. Unfortunately, the *Monsterolle* of 1645 for the Gold Coast gives little information regarding the origins of the Company employees.⁸² However, based on some journals of voyages and notarial contracts from the GAA, we estimate that about 40% of the WIC employees in West Africa were foreigners.⁸³ Identical percentages have been calculated for the early 18th century. Delepeleire, based on the *Monster Rollen* of 1715 for the Gold Coast, has demonstrated that 39% of the WIC employees were foreigners, mainly from Germany, Scandinavia and the southern Netherlands.⁸⁴

Giving the fact that the percentage of foreigners in the VOC ships was higher among the soldiers than crew members, a similar analysis for the WIC fleets would be of great interest. Unfortunately, the data available for the West African Coast does not allow us to do similar calculations for the period of 1621-1674.

In short, the abundance of labour migrants in the Dutch Republic gave the Dutch private merchants, the Admiralties and the WIC the chance to hire the required number of labourers needed for the military and civilian staff of their fleets and settlements in West Africa and other areas of the Atlantic.

⁷⁹ 'Johann von Lübeding's voyage of 1599-1600' in Adam Jones (ed.), *German Sources*, pp. 9-17.

⁸⁰ 'Andreas Josua Ulsheimer's voyage of 1603-4' *ibidem*, pp. 18-43.

⁸¹ Jan Lucassen, 'Dutch emigration' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the move*, p. 168.

⁸² From the 220 WIC employees listed in the *Monsterolle* of 1645, only for 22 men was the place of residence/origin given: only 2 were foreigners: a German and a Flemish man. 'Monsterolle der persooene soolangse de gout Cust opt Casteel del Myna, het fort Nassouw, Axem, Cra, Cama, Company en Cabo Cors, als op de schepen en de jachten in diesnt der Geotrojeerde Westindische Compagnie worden bevonden' in Klaas Ratelband (ed.), *Vijf dagregisters*, pp. 355-360.

⁸³ For example, Michael Hemmersam was a goldsmith from Nuremberg serving the Dutch WIC between 1639 and 1645 on the Gold Coast. 'Michael Hemmersam's description of the Gold Coast, 1639-45' in Adam Jones (ed.), *German Sources*, pp. 97-127. For other examples see also: GAA, NA 485, map 4/61: 1625-08-16; 834/38: 1627-04-14; 521/7-7v: 1636-01-23; 1289/8v-19v: 1644-02-08; 1289/109: 1644-08-05; 1306/214: 1656-11-15.

⁸⁴ Y. Delepeleire, *Nederlands Elmina* http://www.thesis.net/wic/wic_deel_3.html.

In Portugal a similar policy would have been impossible. Contrary to what happened in the Republic, the Portuguese labour market was still mostly based on servile and slave work at the end of the 16th century.⁸⁵

On the one hand, due to the intense slave trade between West Africa and Portugal the number of African slaves available at the Portuguese coastal cities and the hinterland areas was high. In cities such as Lisbon, Porto, Lagos and Tavira and the hinterland areas slaves worked in the heaviest jobs in shipping, fishing, pre-industrial and rural activities. Slaves were also employed on urban trade, like selling food-stuff or working in a small shop; while others were rented or leased out by their masters to third parties to perform similar activities. African slaves were also employed in domestic services. The Portuguese Crown was probably one of the biggest owners and employers of slaves. African slaves worked in the royal fleets, shipyards, and harbours. Slaves were also used as a way of payment to royal servants. The city councils and the religious orders were two other major users of slave labour to clean streets, unload ships and carry merchandises from harbours to the markets, and so on. In fact, giving the low price of slaves in Portugal, people from various social strata could afford and keep slaves at their service.⁸⁶

On the other hand, the number of paid labourers was small and their wages were low. Workers from the surrounding regions were not attracted to jobs in Portugal. Spain had, in fact, a similar problem, especially in the regions of Catalonia, Valencia and Andalusia.

In addition, Portugal had high emigration rates to the overseas settlements and a scarcity of money among middle and low social groups to pay free labourers.⁸⁷ Consequently, the Portuguese Crown had serious problems recruiting the personnel needed for the administration, commercial organization and military defence of the territories in West Africa and other parts of the Empire.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A social history of black slaves and freemen in Portugal*.

⁸⁶ A. F. Silva, 'El comercio de esclavos entre el Algarve y Andalucía en el siglo XV', *Cadernos Históricos*, 3 (1992), pp. 94-96; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a economia mundial IV* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1983), pp. 172-173, 198-204; Maria do Rosário Pimentel, 'O escravo negro na sociedade portuguesa até meados do século XVI' in *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu IV*, p. 171-173; Diogo Ramada Curto, 'A língua e o Império' in Francisco Bethencourt & Kirti Chauduri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa I*, p. 415;

⁸⁷ Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, 'Economia de subsistência e economia monetária' in Francisco Bethencourt & Kirti Chauduri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa I*, pp. 314-315; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 'Portuguese emigration from the fifteenth to the twentieth century: constants and changes' in P. C. Emmer & M. Morner (eds.), *European expansion and migration*, pp. 17-19; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a economia mundial IV*, pp. 152-153 & 197-198.

⁸⁸ For further information on the difficulties of military recruitment, see: António Dores Costa, 'Recrutamento' in Manuel Themudo Barata and Nuno Severiano Teixeira (dir.), *Nova História Militar de Portugal II*, pp. 73-92;

In order to meet the rising demand for a workforce, the Portuguese Crown used three main strategies. Firstly, the Crown tried to recruit soldiers in the Kingdom, though the number of voluntary recruits was very limited. Besides, there were several overseas areas more attractive to volunteer soldiers and paid mercenaries than West Africa.⁸⁹ Secondly, the Crown made use of convicts and orphans, as mentioned earlier.⁹⁰ Thirdly, the Crown used recruitment of European- and mixed-descent settlers, as well as manumitted slaves in the different overseas posts and settlements. The locally recruited personnel, however, could only be used as a solution due to the policies of sponsorship of settlement and economic exploitation of most of the settlements in West Africa.

The distinct characteristics of the Dutch and the Portuguese labour markets influenced the way in which these Europeans perceived the use of free and forced labour. While the Republic labour market was based on free and well-paid work, both unskilled and skilled, the labour market in Portugal was still based on servile and slave labour.

According to the WIC employees, the slaves lacked knowledge in navigation, because they were from the interior of the African continent, and were therefore not suitable for sea-related activities.⁹¹ This lack of skills could probably have been overcome by training. However, slaves were rarely trained to be craftsmen, seamen, soldiers, interpreters or guides. In the primary sources of the WIC posts in the Gold Coast we could not find any explanation for the lack of use of slaves in the activities listed earlier. However, the correspondence between the Board of Directors of the Company in Amsterdam and the governor of New Netherland (present-day New York) helps us to understand this phenomenon. In 1657, the Gentlemen Nineteen advised the director-general of the colony – Peter Stuyvesant – to train the slaves as craftsmen. Stuyvesant refused, arguing that slaves were not fit for skilled jobs.⁹² The high-ranking officers of the WIC in the Gold Coast presumably shared this opinion, and therefore did not use or train the Company slaves for any skilled work. Coming from a labour market based on free skilled work, the Company

⁸⁹ For the War of Independence against Spain, the Portuguese King recruited soldiers in the Dutch labour market through his agents in the Republic. Cátia Antunes, *Globalisation in the Early Modern Period*, pp. 141-182.

⁹⁰ For further information on the use of convicts as soldiers and sailors see: Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and orphans*, pp. 65-77.

⁹¹ Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans*, p. 68.

⁹² Most of the slaves shipped to New Netherland were the property of the Company and were used on several company services, such as 'building forts, clearing land, cutting wood, burning lime and working on its farms'. E. van den Boogaart, 'The servant migration to New Netherland' in P. C. Emmer (ed.), *Colonialism and migration*, p. 68.

employees preferred to hire Free Africans to perform certain activities rather than training the slaves.

In the Portuguese settlements, the use of slaves was the most natural solution for the problems posed by the Portuguese labour market, which was also highly dependent on slave work. The use of slaves in Portugal was a consequence of the low wages, low number of free workers, high emigration rates to the overseas settlements and lack of capital among middle and low social groups to pay free labourers.⁹³ Slaves could and were used in almost all economic activities, even in highly skilled crafts, which required long and intensive apprenticeships. Often, slaves were trained as craftsmen to meet the shortage of skilled workers in the overseas areas and performed most of the tasks in the urban centres, as mentioned earlier.

Private owners employed slaves in the urban trades, such as selling foodstuffs in the street (fish, water, and sweets) or working small shops. However, some of them also rented their slave labour force to others, in order to capitalize the initial investment, because then the slaves would receive a wage, like a free labourer or a journeyman. These practices may explain the willingness of masters to train their slaves, as referred earlier.⁹⁴

To sum up, the characteristics of the Dutch and the Portuguese home labour markets influenced the labour migration and recruitment overseas.

⁹³ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 'Portuguese emigration from the fifteenth to the twentieth century' in P. C. Emmer & M. Morner (eds.), *European expansion and migration*, 17-9; Maria do Rosário Pimentel, 'O escravo negro na sociedade portuguesa' in *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu IV*, p. 171; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os descobrimentos portugueses e a economia mundial IV*, pp. 152-153, 170-173 & 197-198; A. F. Silva, 'El comercio de esclavos entre el Algarve y Andalucía en el siglo XV', *Cadernos Históricos*, 3 (1992), pp. 94-96; Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, 'Economia de subsistência e economia monetária' in Francisco Bethencourt and K. Chauduri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa I* (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), pp. 314-315 & 334.

⁹⁴ Maria do Rosário Pimentel, 'O escravo negro na sociedade portuguesa' in *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu IV*, p. 173; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial IV*, pp. 200-202 & 204.

5. Policies of settlement and West Africa

The patterns of labour migration to the Dutch and the Portuguese settlements in West Africa were also influenced by the different policies of settlement and economic development implemented by the 'Dutch' mercantile elite and the Portuguese Crown.

Until 1623 the Dutch private commercial companies only had maritime commercial interests in this area. Therefore, there was never a policy of settlement of commercial agents or colonists in West Africa. The first Dutch settlement – Fort Nassau – was sponsored by the States General only to provide military aid to the commercial agents of these trading companies against the attacks of the Portuguese on the Gold Coast.

After 1623, the WIC followed an identical policy combining commercial interests and military presence. However, the Company adopted a more aggressive attitude towards the Portuguese garrisons in the Gulf of Guinea. This policy led to the successful takeover of several Portuguese forts on the Gold Coast during the 1630s and 1640s. However, despite having a higher number of settlements, the WIC never promoted the migration of settlers from the Republic to the Gold Coast. The only exception was Angola under the Company's administration between 1641 and 1648. In this colony the WIC allowed the establishment of free merchants.⁹⁵ The depopulation of Luanda due to the abandonment of the city by the Portuguese and the consequent commercial 'crisis' may have been the two reasons why the Company allowed the settlement of ex-servants and businessmen, hoping to revitalize the city and trading activities. In fact, before their arrival in Angola, the Company was unable to profit from any commercial activity.

This evidence shows clearly that the WIC never had any intention of having a settlement in the Gulf of Guinea or in the West-Central Africa with sponsored migration of European colonists and indentured workers. Conducting trade in African goods and guaranteeing the military protection of this commerce were the main goals of the WIC. By limiting the migration and presence of people from the Republic to West Africa, it was easier for the Company to keep the commercial monopoly on trade. This policy contrasted

⁹⁵ NA, OWIC 65: 1649-08: 'Relaes van tgene sich in het Coninckrijck van Angola heeft toegedragen'; Klaas Ratelband, *Os Holandeses no Brasil e na costa Africana*, p. 333.

strongly with the strategy followed by the WIC for the settlements in North America, Brazil, Guyana and the Caribbean Islands.⁹⁶ In these settlements the WIC attracted individual white colonists and migrant families.⁹⁷

The Portuguese Crown on their part promoted the settlement of immigrants and the development of agriculture in most of the Atlantic settlements from the 15th century onwards.⁹⁸ In the West Coast of Africa, the process of settlement was identical to the other Atlantic territories. The single exceptions were the Gold Coast and Senegambia.⁹⁹

In order to attract permanent colonists to Cape Verde and São Tomé, the Crown granted all settlers permission to trade with the nearest African coastal areas. However, to take part in this trade the settlers had to be permanent residents of the islands and only goods produced locally could be used in this commerce.¹⁰⁰ These royal measures promoted

⁹⁶ Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of mercantilism, 1550-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Jan Lucassen, 'The Netherlands, the Dutch, and Long-Distance Migration' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the move*, pp. 153-191; E. van den Boogaart, 'De Nederlandse expansie in het Atlantisch gebied' in D. P. Blok *et al* (eds.), *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 7, pp. 220-54.

⁹⁷ E. van den Boogaart, 'The servant migration to New Netherland' in P. C. Emmer (ed.), *Colonialism and migration*, pp. 55-81.

⁹⁸ There is a long-standing historical debate concerning the existence of inhabitants in the Cape Verde archipelago prior to Portuguese arrival. Ilídio Cabral Baleno, 'Povoamento e formação da sociedade' in Luís de Albuquerque and Maria Emília Madeira Santos (coord.), *História geral de Cabo Verde* I, pp. 125-130; António Carreira, *Cabo Verde: Formação e extinção de uma sociedade escravocrata*, pp. 309-310.

⁹⁹ The settlement of Europeans in the Guinea-Bissau region was strictly controlled by the Crown from the 15th century. In order to settle temporarily on the coast and to trade a royal licence was needed. Despite the temporary character of these royal licences, many merchants settled for long periods of time on the coast, and were followed by many other who had no such permission. In the early 16th century, the Portuguese Crown tried to remove these 'illegal' traders from the area, by imposing fees and advising the traders to return to Portugal or to Santiago (Cape Verde). Such measures did not have much impact and in 1518 the King imposed the death penalty on those refusing to leave. This policy of the Portuguese Crown continued until the early 18th century. Only then did the Crown start to sponsor the settlement of European colonists in this area. António Carreira, *Os Portugueses nos Rio da Guiné*, p. 22; Maria Emília Madeira Santos, 'Os primeiros lançados na costa da Guiné: aventureiros e comerciantes' in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *Portugal no Mundo* II, pp. 125-136; Maria Manuel Torrão, 'Actividade comercial externa de Cabo Verde: organização, funcionamento, evolução' in Luís de Albuquerque and Maria Emília Madeira Santos (coord.), *História geral de Cabo Verde* I, pp. 249-255.

¹⁰⁰ According to the Portuguese royal legislation, in order to become *inhabitant* and *citizen* (*morador* and *vizinho*) of a urban centre one needed to fulfil one of the following requirements: a) be born there; b) have a 'dignity' there; c) serve as a royal and/or a municipal officer there; d) have enough wealth to live 'reasonably' well; e) have been released or adopted there; f) have married a woman from there; and g) have settled and lived continuously there for at least four years, with family and belongings. In the early period of settlement the status of *inhabitant* and *citizen* were more or less equivalent. However, after the birth of the first generation of locally born people – the so-called *sons of the land* – the distinction started to be more visible and better defined. From that moment onwards, *inhabitants* were all individuals born in the city, as well as those from abroad who had married local women or lived in the city for four or more years; while *citizens* were the wealthy inhabitants of the city and landlords of the farms, plantations and sugar mills in the islands countryside. This group included either white men – the so-called *whites from the land*, as well as mixed-descent people – usually the offspring of the *whites from the land* and African women. Thus, one should stress that being white was not a

simultaneously settlement and economic growth. The commercial privileges offered to the settlers attracted merchants interested in the African trade, especially those with the sufficient capital of their own to start a business overseas. This availability of capital enabled settlers to engage in commerce and to promote the development of local economic activities, not only commercial goods, but also foodstuffs to supply the local inhabitants. Moreover, the commerce with the coast gave the settlers access to the African labour markets.

The Portuguese Crown sponsored therefore a policy of settlement by sponsoring the permanent migration of European colonists and European forced migrants, either convicts or orphans. The policies for economic development stimulated the import of African slaves, who were the backbone of the agricultural production used in the local and international markets. In addition, the low number of European women stimulated mixed marriages between European men and African women and promoted the creation of a new social element – the mixed-descent group. In the Dutch posts, the number of European women was even smaller than in the Portuguese settlements. Yet, the mixed marriages remained small in number. The temporary character of the migration to the Dutch posts might explain the low number of inter-marriage between the employees of the Company and African women.

Hence, the policies of settlement and economic development made possible the massive use of local recruitment to fulfil the labour needs of the Portuguese settlements in West Africa. In fact, the major source of labour force for the Crown, the settlers and the private merchants came from the settlements. Slaves, manumitted slaves and mixed-descent people made up the majority of labourers in Portuguese West Africa.

To sum up, the different characteristics of the Dutch and the Portuguese labour markets and the distinct policies of settlement and economic strategies determined the patterns of labour migration and local recruitment. These differences generated two distinct types of society, as we will see in the following chapter.

condition of being a *citizen*. However, until the mid-16th century, these *mixed-descent citizens* were unable to occupy any positions in the municipal and the royal administration of the islands. For the Portuguese terminology see Glossary.