Suriname and the Atlantic World, 1650-1800

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7. Scattered connections, 1780-1795

During the Age of Revolution North American freighters and slavers came to dominate Paramaribo's shipping connections, and at the same time the number of connected ports also increased dramatically. In the first half of the 1770s (1770-1774) non-Dutch ships connected Paramaribo to 29 ports. In the years 1780 to 1784 both non-Dutch and Dutch ships came in from a total of 52 different places. In 1785-1789 this was 47 and in 1790-1794 the number had risen to 60. The increasing number of new ports and places connected to Paramaribo came at the expense of the connections to the Dutch Republic. Not only did the number of connected ports increase, also the role of non-Dutch shipping for the colony changed.

From the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) onwards North American ships were taking over ever larger chunks of trade that had hitherto been the privilege of the Dutch. The decline of Dutch overseas power also resulted in legislative changes, granting non-Dutch ships ever more access to the colony. "High goods" such as sugar and coffee came to be shipped on non-Dutch ships. In 1783 the Surinamese were given the right to organise their own shipping and in 1789 the Dutch even relinquished their privileged access to the slave market of Paramaribo. This last measure prompted an increase of slave shipments to the city, largely by North American and British traders. The decision to open the slave market to non-Dutch ships was the result of a successful lobby by plantation owners. The slave traders from Zeeland did their best to prevent this measure. Their protests resulted in the granting of some token measures to protect their interests. During the First Coalition War (1793-1795) North American freighters even began to ship sugar and coffee for the Suriname Company to Amsterdam.

In the 1780-1784 war years the lobby in the Dutch Republic to organise navy convoys for ships sailing to Suriname had failed. Once the war had subsided private parties interested in the tropical Atlantic were able to push for support from the States General for the recovery of the slave trade.[620] Due to the WIC's long running financial trouble its charter was not renewed in 1791. Meanwhile political forces were arguing for the centralisation of the state on a national level, including the management of the colonies. Private control over institutions and federal divisions came to be looked upon as archaic by sections of the Patriot Movement. When the supporters of this movement came to power with the help of the invading French army in 1795 they quickly centralised the management over the

[620] NL-HaNA, Verspreide Westindische Stukken, *Placaat tot aanmoediging van den Negerhandel in de West-Indische Colonien* (24 November 1789), entry 1.05.06 inv.nr. 1225

colonies and disbanded the Suriname Company. The British invaded the colony in 1799, and during the years in which the Dutch had no overseas empire the British abolished the slave trade. When the newly found Kingdom of the Netherlands regained control of Suriname the slave trade had ended, ultimately removing the vital peg that had kept the Atlantic together as an integrated world.

This chapter describes how the rather steady connections of the middle decades of the eighteenth century became more haphazard at the end of the century. First it details the difficulties of the Dutch to maintain their shipping connections to Paramaribo. This is followed with a description of the rise of North American shipping and the place of the North American shipping connection in the War for Independence. The last paragraph deals with the relinquishing of the exclusive Dutch access to Paramaribo's slave market. The reason for the change in the shipping routes was both military and economic: the collapse of the Dutch navy in wartime and the rise of North American freight shipping after Independence.

7.1. Trade with the heartland of independence

The story of the *Gaspee*, a schooner in the service of His Majesty the King of England, and the *Hannah* under captain Lindsey exemplifies the importance of the economic ties between the West-Indies – including Suriname – and the heartland of independence.[621] This paragraph discusses the economic importance of these connections which helps to explain the defiance of the New-Englanders in the face of British restrictions. In the early 1770s the Royal schooner cruised Narragansett Bay, trying to catch those who did not pay their duties going to Rhode Island.[622] The *Gaspee*'s captain Dudingston was despised by the rich Providence merchant John Brown. Brown was the man who formed a crucial link in the chain between the Surinamese plantations and New England distillers.[623] He was a notorious tax evader. Brown was the one reintroducing the tax-evasion strategy of "sailing to Madeira" after the Molasses Act had been renewed into the Sugar Act in 1767.[624] On the 9th of June 1772 the HMS *Gaspee* chased the paquet boat *Hannah* which had refused to lower its sails to be inspected. The *Hannah* was a lighter vessel. It is unclear if it was deliberate, but the ship tacked across the bay into the shallows off Namquit Point. There

[621] Robert H. Patton, *Patriot Pirates: The Privateer War for Freedom and Fortune in the American Revolution*, 1st Ed. (Pantheon, 2008), 4–6.

[622] Charles Rappleye, *Sons of Providence : the Brown Brothers, the Slave Trade, and the American Revolution*, 2006, 102–126.

[623] Postma, "Breaching the Mercantile Barriers."

[624] Wiener, "The Rhode Island Merchants and the Sugar Act."

it crossed a submerged sandbank. The pursuing and heavier *Gaspee* ran aground on the sandbank and had to watch how the crew of the *Hannah* mooned them.

This boyish mischief of the captain and crew is only half the story. Once John Brown heard that the *Gaspee* ran aground, he mustered a force of sixty men in the harbour. They took longboats and peddled two and a half hours to the stranded taxman. The men from Providence boarded the ship. Shots were fired and within minutes they subdued the crew. The ship was looted and (accidentally) set it alight.[625] This incident occurred a year before the Bostonians threw their tea party. It was clear that both cities spearheaded an impending revolt against British rule.

Rhode Island and Boston also became the main destination in the period before the opposition culminated in the uniting of the American states, and their declaration of independence. The molasses trade was part of a network that centred on a coastal trade along the American East Coast and was crucial to the economic development of the coastal colonies.[626] Exactly the heartland of the independence movement was the main customer of Surinamese and other non-British West-Indian molasses. Not all states were as eager to join the open rebellion against their motherland. As with any revolt some were willing to strike deals. Others had moved beyond reconciliation and were pledging to fight until the end, especially those with a direct interest in the regional trade.

In the early days of April 1778 the ship *Two Brothers* under the command of William McBride was captured by two British ships while sailing from Suriname to North America. The first ship that caught *Two Brothers* was non-commissioned, and simply plundered it. A second ship sailed by. It did have a commission from the King of England and took the *Two Brothers* as a lawful prize to Bristol where it was sold.[627] The *Two Brothers* had frequented Suriname and St. Eustatius and was on its way to Boston when it was attacked. The ship was a microcosm of the Atlantic network connected to Surinam. At the time the British privateer took the ship, it belonged to at least five merchants. Two of the owners (two brothers) lived in St. Eustatius: Samuel and Jonathan Jones. They had bought the prize

[625] Patton, *Patriot Pirates*, 4–6.

[626] Shepherd and Williamson, "The Coastal Trade of the British North American Colonies, 1768-1772."

[627] HCA, *Two Brothers, captain William McBride*, Inventory, account of sale, and fees for the sale of the prize The Two Brothers, captain William McBride at the High Court of Admiralty of England, 13-Jul-1778, 332/467/5.

ship *Pompey*[628] at Antigua and renamed it *Two Brothers*. The other three owners were Surinamese of Dutch descent: Meinertshagen, Oehlers and De Vries.[629] At least one of them had been active selling regional goods in Suriname since the early 1770s.[630]

[Figure 11]

Figure 10 Drinking scene of North American captains in Paramaribo, 1755
John Greenwood, Sea Captains Carousing in Surinam, 1755.

The initial voyages of the *Two Brothers* had been between Suriname and St. Eustatius.[631] It had carried a sundry of different articles which accompanied the bulk goods salt and molasses: salt toward the Suriname River to be used by slaves to pickle their food, molasses outwards for raw consumption and as the main ingredient to make North American rum. The *Two Brothers* did not just transport goods but also people who moved between the colonies. For example the Penha family, a long established name in the colony, went from Suriname to St. Eustatius on board the ship[632] and on the last voyage a mister Milldoff of Norwegian origin and a former officer in the army of the King of Denmark was passenger to the American colonies.

[628] HCA, Two Brothers of captain William McBride, 332/467/5, Letter by John Ball on the ownership of a ship, St. Eustatius 30-Aug-1777.
[629] Ibidem, Interrogation of captain William McBride of the Two Brothers taken as prize between Eustatia and Suriname and brought to Bristol by Dick William of the Barbay Pacquet, 1-Jun-1778.
[630] SvS, OBP, (1771), entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 346.
[631] HCA, Two Brothers of captain William McBride, 332/467/5, Interrogation of Thomas Dennett of Piscalaway (New Hampshire, Bristol 15-Jun-1778.
[632] Ibidem, Portclearance for the Penha family to leave on *Two Brothers* of captain William McBride to go from Suriname to Eustatius, 15-Oct-1777.

Captain William McBride received citizenship of St. Eustatius shortly before he went into the business of sailing between the colonies on the *Two Brothers*. He therewith became a subject of the States of Holland. The voyage of the *Two Brothers* should have been from Suriname to Boston in the 'rebellious colonies'. It went there in order to sell goods and be repaired. The crew was recruited at different places and were themselves highly (or purposefully) confused about the origin of their colleagues and passenger. From their testimonies it is even unclear how many came aboard in Suriname before the *Two Brothers* was caught.[633] In this case it might well be that those who were identified by others as Americans –and who might therefore be associated with the rebels – would identify themselves as Englishmen.[634] The crew did not fight the British openly, but their answers during the interrogation betray a defiant attitude. The inter-colonial nature of the ship's ownership, the noncompliance with metropolitan regulations, and its inter-imperial circuit of trade are representative for operations in the eighteenth-century Atlantic. They also reveal a high level of integration between the Atlantic regions outside the reach of Kings and Companies in Europe.

Table 12 Crew of the Two Brothers in hierarchical order, April 1778

William McBride	Captain from St. Eustatius is 42 years old. He was born in Lancaster County Worcester, Massachusetts Bay, North America. Subject of the States of Holland, and before that of the King of Great Britain. He was a burgher of St. Eustatius. He resided in Connecticut, from where he sailed to St. Eustatius. His wife was in Norwich, Connecticut.
Thomas	Born in Pascalway, New Hampshire and claims to be subject of King

[633] The figure ranges between six and four out of the nine present at the moment of capture. According to the Thomas Dennet, second to captain McBride, six of the crew were Dutch, one American, and two English, including himself. Contrary to Thomas Dennet, Thomas White says there were five Dutch on board, and that there were two Americans in the crew. Peter Bale says he and one other man were the English on board. Peter thinks the passenger is a Dutchman on a commission to the rebel army. Peter upholds the nationality of the people was American, Dutch and English. Ibidem, Interrogation of Thomas White of Rhode Island on *Two Brothers* of captain William McBride, Bristol, 15-Jun-1778; Ibidem, Interrogation of Peter Bale of Eustatius Mariner of *Two Brothers* of captain William McBride, 15-Jun-1778.

[634] The New Hampshire born Thomas Dennet claimed himself a loyal subject of King George III while he was sailing with goods from a competitor of the King to supply a colony in open rebellion to the King and very likely having on board an officer seeking to offer his services to the rebel army. Ibidem, Interrogation of Thomas Dennet.

Dennet	George III.
Thomas White	From Rhode Island, which he regarded as his residence. He was 20 years old.
Peter Bale	From St. Eustatius, around 22 years old. In the previous three years he lived in Manchester and Long Island, and did not remember how long he stayed in St. Eustatius, before he went to sea again. He said he was a subject of King George the III, and had not been admitted burgher or freeman in any city or town.
Abraham Sprous	Foremast man from St. Eustatius was thirty eight years. He was born in St. Eustatius, a subject of the States of Holland, and a citizen of St. Eustatius for twenty years, ever since he had been able to bear arms.
Mr. Milldoff	Norwegian who served as officer in the army of the King of Denmark, passenger.

A typical North American vessel on the Paramaribo waterfront was the *Sally* under command of captain Valentine.[635] It was built in Boston in 1770 and was owned by two stakeholders from that same city.[636] They outfitted a voyage with seven seamen from Boston to Suriname and back to Boston.[637] The ship was not mounted with guns, but its hold was filled with wood, various kinds of fish, as well as hoops and staves to make into barrels to transport molasses.[638] The goods on board were sold to a few middlemen in the city, such as the company Clemens & Scheffer, and the merchants Brandon, and Oehlers. What was not sold to middlemen was auctioned off.[639] The skipper Thomas Valentine must have been well known in Surinam. For a period of twenty years he sailed between North America and Surinam, as well as between Suriname and St. Eustatius. He arrived on ten

[635] There is another ship named Sally mentioned in this article. That one is commanded by Captain Harding.

[636] HCA, *Ownership documents of the Sally built at Rhode Island in 1770, stipulating that no subject of of the King of Great Brittain has part therein* (Boston 20 augustus 1777), Boston, 32/447.

[637] HCA, *Contracts of the seamen aboard the Sally, captain Thomas Valentine. They agree that for the mentioned wages they will stay on the ship for the travel to Suriname and back to Boston* (Boston 1777), Boston, 32/447.

[638] HCA, *Portclearance and cargo statement of the Ship Sally, captain Thomas Valentine, sailing from Boston* (Boston: Naval Officer of Boston, State of Massachusetts Bay 20 augustus 1777), Boston, 32/447.

[639] HCA, *Account of sales in Suriname of the ship Sally, captain Thomas Valentine* (Paramaribo 15 december 1777) 32/447.

different ships, but practically always outfitted from Boston, with sometimes a different destination on the way back to North America. We can say he was experienced in doing business in the colony by the time he wrote the accounts that are studied here. In 1777 he had been in Suriname on at least eighteen voyages spanning a period of sixteen years. Adding up the months he stayed in the colony – waiting to sell his cargo and load up for the return voyage – we see he lived in Suriname for roughly four and a half years.[640] Many Governors in the colony spent less time than him before they died or left.

Valentine knew how to do business in Surinam. Even before the *Sally* had arrived and worked its way through customs the captain had already bought three gallons of rum for his crew. He would buy another three gallons only ten days later. After each voyage repairs had to be made to the ship. The waterfront of Paramaribo was not well suited for repairing bigger vessels, but small time maintenance was done. Thomas Valentine bought hardwood to fix the mast and hired 'a negro' to help with work on the *Sally*.[641] After a week and a half he started to sell the goods on board. With buying he waited almost three weeks after his arrival. In this period he spent his money on fixing the mast of the ship as well as coopering barrels to load molasses in.[642] He spent a total of *fS* 2,129 on blacksmiths, coopers, twine, and especially the port charges (*fS* 832). The Englishmen (or after independence Americans) were banned from exporting sugar. They were however allowed to get molasses and bring it to the New England colonies to make rum. These smaller ships sailed up the Suriname River, or had a sailor on board a barge to buy up molasses, or bought it from brokers in the city. Their ship and crew was simply too small to be able to send a group of sailors upstream. British captains rented slaves to assist them on board the ships with repair work or with coopering the molasses barrels.[643]

It only follows that the North American skippers and sailors were not only a regular sight in the city of Paramaribo, but that they were an integral part of it, relying on local slave owners to rent out their workers for sundry jobs to be done on the arriving vessels. The contribution to the Surinamese society was far more than relieving it of its surplus molasses.

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[640] PSNADC.

[641] HCA, *Account of the costs for the ship Sally, captain Thomas Valentine while being in Paramaribo* (Paramaribo 17 december 1777), Paramaribo, 32/447.

[642] Ibidem.

[643] HCA, The Sally, captain Thomas Valentine; *Account of Expences in Suriname by captain Russel of the Dolphyn* (Suriname, 1778), *Account of the Costs for the Ship Sally, captain Thomas Valentine While Being in Paramaribo* (17 December 1777) 32/447.; HCA, *The Dolphyn, captain Russel*, 32/309.

They participated in city life and the hustle and bustle on the Paramaribo waterfront. Also the inhabitants -including the governing councils- were beginning to see them in that light. With the rules and regulations that were issued the Governor and his councillors started to refer to them in the same way as they referred to the Dutch captains. And they also started to expect from the same commitment regarding civil duties. Examples are that British and Dutch skippers and middlemen were obliged to keep to the same rules regarding the price of wheat. If a fire broke out both the British and Dutch crews on board of ships on the waterfront had to follow the same instructions to help to put it out (half the crew left the ship at the first alarm and again half of that when the second alarm is sounded). When extra taxes were levied to pay for the fight against the Maroons, British skippers were expected to contribute the same amount as Dutch skippers. When the tax to finance the Maroon wars were suspended because of economic difficulties, the Dutch and British were again treated equally.[644]

The dealings between the Surinamese and the North American English were not frictionless. The borders between insiders and outsiders were quickly drawn in moments of conflict. On such occasions clashes would be framed as between "inhabitants" and "English." These clashes were sometimes on very crude economic issues. And sometimes they were not. An example is the incident surrounding the perceived foul play of a Dutch army officer during a game of billiard, in which a British merchant played a crucial role. The officer had bounced his ball ("as is customary in these lands" he said to his defence). A British captain who was not playing but watching the game got into an argument with the officer about the rules. The captain left, only to return with a group of sailors to back up his arguments with fists. The stand-off was solved after a few blows, but the fight was not over. To ensure that both sides – who were each mustering their supporters – would not clash later that evening, the Commander and Bailiff organized a meeting with the captain and the officer. A British merchant was invited to the meeting as an independent mediator. The opposing parties shook hands and had a drink after which peace was restored. The mediating merchant was requested to write a report of the events. His role was important. While captains and especially sailors come and go, the merchant was a more dependable part of the community functioning as a mediator between Dutch colonists and the people working the regional trade.[645]

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[644] Bylaw 636, 743,787 and 819, from the mid eighteenth century lay down the same rules for both groups. Only the import tax discriminated against British shipping.

[645] SvS, *Relaes van seeker saek tusschen den officier Everhard Brouwer en een Engelse Cap. Voorgevalle* (1739), entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 266 fo. 857.; SvS, *Verklearing over het bijleggen van*

This could also work the other way around. Merchants, despite (or because of) their role as mediator, were also viewed with suspicion. British merchants were accused of striking secret deals with skippers; for example that they would buy up all horses or tobacco coming into the harbour, monopolising the market, and later selling the goods at a scandalous profit.[646] The animosity between merchants and colonists was felt on both sides. Thomas Palmer, an agent of North American traders said that he despised being in Surinam. According to him the white colonists in Suriname were nothing more than "negroes with pale skins." This was clearly not meant as a compliment. He did not only complain about the cultural peculiarity of the whites in Suriname, but also on the terrible state of the local market and how difficult it was to make a profit.[647]

No matter if there was more love than hate in the relationship, there was a frequent exchange and interrelation across imperial boundaries in the colonies. This is also clearly represented by the first news article in the first newspaper printed in the colony. It is both a sign of a growing urban community as well as a rooted connection to the North American colonies that the incident of forced British taxed tea imports into New England formed the opening news in Surinam's first newspaper. The violent opposition to prevent the selling of tea was described as *vlytig*, a positive word meaning industrious.[648] Paramaribo was becoming a place where there was a frequent exchange and interaction with people from colonies officially belonging to different empires, who felt a commonality when it came to tax issues with the metropolis. Surinamese merchants and planters also travelled to North America to do business, some even accompanied the barrels of molasses to Boston to ensure their sale and organise a return shipment.[649]

The independence struggle of the North Americans was partly fought over the right to import cheap molasses into Boston and Rhode Island from Dutch and French plantation colonies.[650] By the time the thirteen states had declared their independence, the products shipped from Suriname

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de ruzie tussen de Officier en de Engelse Capitein (Paramaribo 27 October 1739), entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 266.

646 Bylaw 688, 17-Feb-1767, *Plakaatboek*, 807-808.

647 HCA, *Letter from Paramaribo to the owner of the Eagle Martin Brimmer about the Carolina cargo carried by Ross captain of the Eagle and his life in the colony* (10 april 1778), 32/325.

648 'Noord-Amerika', *De Weeklycksche Woensdaagsche Surinaamse Courant, 1.1* (10 augustus 1774) 2.

649 SAA, Archief van het nieuw stedelijk bestuur, *Bijlagen bij de notulen van het comite voor zeehandel en koopvaart* (1795), entry 5053 inv.nr 1021-1022.

650 McCusker, *Rum and the American Revolution 1*.

northwards had diversified as well as the destinations they sailed to. A prime example is *The Eagle*. It sailed from Boston to Charleston in South Carolina before it continued onward to Surinam. At the first stop in Charleston the captain unloaded wood, and the crew sold apples. The hold of *The Eagle* was filled with rice before sailing for Surinam. *The Eagle* only sailed into the Suriname that one time, but its captain, James Ross might have been there before.[651] He sailed almost in a straight line to Suriname arriving a little bit too far east. Sailing up the Suriname River the captain went off board to the fort to organise the documents. The captain handled the goods on board *The Eagle*. His crew of five hands helped to organise the barge loads of molasses. A man of the crew would be send to the plantations while those in Paramaribo waited for his return.[652]

In Suriname there was also a correspondent looking after the goods brought in by captain Ross. This man discussed the state of the market with one of the owners of *The Eagle*. According to this mister Palmer there were 50 casks of rice in stock at the Paramaribo market at any time. Competition from Providence had allegedly arrived two days earlier than they had.[653] This had supposedly caused the market to be flooded– with rice.[654] In his letter, Palmer (the Paramaribo agent) went out of his way to make clear that only little profits should be expected from the sale of goods in Surinam. Yet this was only a minor problem. The return cargo would "make amends."[655] That the molasses would make up for any loss made on the shipment from North America was clear, and had been the rule for the merchants in the regional trade. Molasses were however not the only product loaded aboard *The Eagle*. The origins and destinations in the trade were changing quickly compared to the earlier periods. Around twenty different kinds of products (and of some products different varieties) were taken on board in Suriname by *The Eagle*. The molasses were not the thing Ross spent most money on. He also loaded for *fS* 720 in ginger, *fS* 200 in pens, *fS* 419 of cordage, and

[651] PSNADC.

[652] HCA, *Log of the Eagle, captain James Ross: Boston to Charlestown to Suriname to Boston and from Bermuda to New York* (1778) 32/325.

[653] Ibidem, Letter from Palmer in Paramaribo to the owner of the Eagle Martin Brimmer about the Carolina cargo carried by Ross captain of the Eagle and his life in the colony, 10-April-1778. The letter was dated April 10th 1778 and was sent from Paramaribo to the owner of the Eagle Martin Brimmer. Captain Ross was told to deliver this letter, which held 'a most miserable Account Sales of his Carolina Cargo'.

[654] Four other ships had indeed arrived in March 1778, but none of those had arrived two days before the Eagle, and none of them had come from Providence or Rhode Island generally. PSNADC.

[655] HCA, Letter from Palmer, 32/325.

several hundreds in varieties of linen. Other commodities bought in Suriname for the North American market were paper, tea, handkerchiefs and food. The price of the goods loaded on board *The Eagle* by Ross on its way to Boston was almost *fS* 3,180, many times more than the value of the molasses they bought.

The North Americans kept Suriname integrated into their Atlantic network, and did so depending on Surinamese middlemen. The Dutch tried to save their position in the Atlantic by lowering taxes and restrictions on shipping to and from the colony. Simultaneously with the decline of the Dutch maritime position in the Atlantic, the North Americans rapidly increased their shipping, and the range of ports active in the Atlantic trade. The diversification in both origins and destinations also meant the sudden increase of American ships sailing on St. Eustatius, having the Americans thicken a connection between two Dutch colonies. In that same period Dutch shipping on Dutch harbours was partially taken over by Americans.

According to Nassy the colonists in Paramaribo were spending more per capita than in any city in the Americas.[656] The colony's waterfront showed a lively trade in regional products, and along the river one could find 'many shops' as well as "warehouses for the foodstuffs and other products that have been shipped in by the Americans to provide for Negroes on the plantations." This lively trade was important for the colony, as it had been since its founding. David Nassy argued "if the interests of the Republic would allow for Suriname to be turned into a free port, and colonists would become free to trade their products themselves, the colony would see a happy change without causing damage to the Capital."[657] Nassy and his co-authors (amongst them the Paramaribo-based regional trader Samuel Brandon) hoped to follow up on an important change that had already been introduced for the regional trade in 1783. In December of that year the directors of the SC in Amsterdam issued a new by-law allowing Dutch ships to load and ship molasses and distillates to regional destinations. In 1783 the Directors of the SC saw fit to give Dutch ships the right to operate in the trade at half the cost of British / North American ships. The 5 per cent tax was cut in half for the Dutch coming from North American or non-Dutch regional ports.[658] After the directors had succumbed to the pressure from the colonists to open the trade connections in 1704, requests had continued to not only open this trade for the non-Dutch captains, but also to allow the

[656] Nassy et al., *Essai historique*, 44.

[657] Ibid., 42–44.

[658] Bylaw 869 on the export of strong drinks to America and nearby ports, 6-Dec-1783. J.A. Schiltkamp and Th. de Smidt, *West Indisch Plakaatboek* (Amsterdam: Emmering, 1973) 1056–1057.

Surinamese themselves to trade with the regional ports. The ban on this Surinamese trade had however continued, and the non-Dutch, chiefly British and North-American ships and merchants had catered the connection exchanging molasses for a wide range of consumption goods.[659]

The Fourth Anglo-Dutch War had greatly impeded the North American trade to the Caribbean colonies. In Jamaica the break-out of famine was directly linked to the lack of North American shipping to the island.[660] While such a shortage as a result of war is not mentioned in the case of Suriname, the directors of the colony emphasized the importance of rum from the newly found distilleries in Paramaribo to be exported from Suriname, and being one for the rare finished products exported from the colony in the early-modern period. In the late seventies ships also carried finished products (of Dutch origin) to North America. Overall the chief export to North America remained to be molasses. There was a growing sense in the colony that the colony should become integrated in the regional trade, and that those organising their business in the colony should have direct access to this trade and shipping. While it was clearly advantageous for merchants and plantation owners in the colony, the SC directors remained sceptical about opening up a connection that was not under their control. Johan Hodshon and son wrote that several planters had started rum distilleries in the colony and requested to be allowed to trade the rum that they produced in the neighbouring islands and districts and to that end use their own ships. They argued that they wished to follow the rules that applied according to the by-law of 1704, with one difference, namely not to see these ships as foreign. The request was placed in the hands of a commission.[661] The commission on the issue argued that to allow this would be advantageous to the planters, but that it might encourage planters with large mortgages to trade illegally. Therefore, the rules of 1704 were to be amended, but the new ones were to be strictly enforced.[662]

To make the leap from colony to major power the young American Republic incorporated captured ships into their fleet. To add to the fledgling navy of the recently independent British colonies privateers were going out capturing and arming any vessel they could find. But not only their makeshift navy was strengthened, captured ships were also used by

[659] Bylaw 869.

[660] Richard B. Sheridan, "The Crisis of Slave Subsistence in the British West Indies During and after the American Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 33, no. 4, Third Series (October 1976): 615–641.

[661] SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1783, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 73, Request to trade rum, 1-Oct-1783.

[662] Ibidem, Report from the commission on regional trade, 6-Dec-1783.

merchants. The privateering of the North Americans was not simply aimed at pestering the British and taking their merchandise, but also to increase their navy and merchant fleet. Ships taken by the young republic were sometimes immediately used to cater the trade connection between Suriname and Boston.[663]

This strict enforcement of the remaining restrictions proved to be very difficult. The Dutch ambassador to the United States in Philadelphia sent a letter to the States General about the causes for this *sluickhandel* by citizens of North America. In his opinion this trade was expanding to the detriment of the Dutch Republic, trafficking "sugar, coffee, indigo & cotton" from the colonies of the Dutch Republic to "various places in North America." The SC was unable to take any effective measures, but encouraged the enforcement of the 1704 bylaw.[664] The SC installed a commission to investigate the issue, but had to conclude that despite the resolutions and letters on the issue since 1784 the export of the "products of the colony" on North American vessels had continued to grow. When the trade on Dutch vessels was opened the directors of the SC argued that "to us it seems profitable for the inhabitants of the colony that those goods are shipped by ships equipped over there." They had blocked any such attempt for eighty years. Now they allowed all inhabitants of the colony to be free to harbour and equip small vessels and sail these to neighbouring places in America and bring back from there in return all those goods of which the import and export had until then been limited to non-Dutch ships. They further encouraged such Surinamese trade by levying only 2.5 per cent trade tariffs instead of the 5 per cent for non-Dutch ships. Despite these encouragements North American ships overtook shipping in the Atlantic in the years after the fourth Anglo-Dutch War.

With little other means at their disposal, the directors wrote a letter to the governing council in Suriname to ask them to be vigilant, and "that the useful and permitted North American trade shall not be misused" as a cover for the illegal trade.[665] They reasoned that "many of those products have ended up in North America (...) by the necessity for the planters to continue their business during the War." The lack of imports made it necessary to

[663] HCA, The Sally of Thomas Valentine 32/447, Court of Vice Admiralty of the province of New York, Court papers and Interrogation of the Sally, captain Thomas Valentine, 30-Jan-1778.

[664] SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1784, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 74, Breaching of the 1704 regional trade law, 23-Jun-1784.

[665] "dat van den nuttigen en veroorloofden Noord Americaanschen handel geen misbruik worden gemaakt." SvS, *Resoluties directeuren* 1786, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 76, Report on the illicit trade, 1-Nov-1786.; Ibidem, Illegal trade on North America, 11-Oct-1786.

exchange goods with "*vreemde schippers*" (alien captains) and they accepted that those captains had been admitted to Suriname by the council for that reason.[666] This leniency did not sit well with the other provinces, and the deputies of Holland and West Friesland as well as Utrecht supported the complaints by the ambassador in the U.S.[667] In May 1787 two North American interlopers were caught, much to the delight of the directors of the SC. They hoped that this would set an example.[668] However, overall it rarely happened that American ships were prosecuted for smuggling, despite the insistence of the directors of the company on the vigilance of Suriname's government.

The shipping of high goods by North Americans seems so pervasive that one could wonder if they even knew it was not allowed. When an American shipping company introduced the Suriname-based Jewish merchant Samuel Brandon to George Washington, the parties involved were completely open about the export of sugar and coffee from the colony to North America, despite the strict ban on the export of high goods by the Suriname Company in Amsterdam. Those operating in the regional trade seem to have been in the dark about the restrictions to limit the outward shipping of high goods from the colony. In a letter by George Washington on the purchase of a she-ass he wanted to make with Samuel Brandon in Suriname he wrote that in case the purchase failed he "requested Mr Branden to send the proceeds of the sales of the flour, in Molasses & Coffee", without hinting at the illicit nature of coffee export or special remuneration for the risk taken by Brandon. Washington sent "twenty five barrels of superfine flour ... but if it should prove inadequate, the deficiency shall be made up in the way most agreeable to yourself." The forward nature of the request "proceeds from the good character given of you to me, by Messrs Fitzgerald & Lyles of Alexandria." Of course, something could go wrong on the way from Suriname to North-America, and "if contrary to my wishes, a disappointment happens, I request in that case that you would be so obliging as to send me in return for the flour, two hogsheads of Molasses, & the remainder in the best Coffee of your Country." When the ass was delivered Washington wrote a second letter to Samuel Brandon notifying

[666] SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1784, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 74, Admission of non-Dutch ships, 18-Aug-1784.

[667] Ibidem, Deputees of the Provinces complain against regional exports, 1-Sep-1784.

[668] SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1787, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 77, Case of two North American ships caught smuggling, 9-May-1787 and 23-May-1787.

him of the safe arrival as well as of the molasses and coffee as stated on the bill of lading.[669]

So, why only coffee, why not ship sugar as well? Fitzgerald and Lyles had strong opinions on what should be shipped from the colony. They did not recommend ordering rum, which 'is high proof but badly flavoured', and also the Surinamese sugar was thought to be "extremely dark." That one of these was a legal and the other an illegal export did not deserve to be mentioned in their letter. Two other products were recommended; but also in that case they made no distinction between the legal export of molasses, and the illegal export of coffee. Both the products were, according to Lylse "superior to any we get from the West Indies." The four products were regarded as the colony's only exports, "except Cocoa which we make but little use of here." Again, cocoa cannot be exported legally from Suriname to America, but this fact is completely ignored by the representative of the shipping company, who only disregarded the product because there was no demand in the place from where they operated.[670]

The connection between Suriname and North America saw a mixture of both consignments to the captains, or to trusted Surinamese merchants. Someone like Samuel Brandon was a trusted figure in the colony. He supplied flour to the Suriname Company[671] and was also contracted to provide the company with regionally imported beef.[672] Brandon traded flour through North American shipping companies, such as Fitzgerald & Lyles, who consigned goods to their captain as well as to Brandon. George Washington trusted Brandon more than the captain despite the suggestion by Fitzgerald & Lylse to consign the goods to the captain because of the length of the voyage. Washington thought "it is more in the power of a resident at

[669] Theodore J. Crackel (ed.), *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008). http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-04-03-02-0464 (seen 30-Sep-2011).

[670] Idem.

[671] SvS, OBP, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 386, Contract of Samuel Brandon with Governor J.G. Wichers, 18-Sep-1786. In 1786 Samuel Brandon closed a contract with Governor Wichers to supply the colony with 'zoo veel vaaten goede en witte Engelsche blom als ten behoeven van het militaire hospitaele door den boekhouder derzelve zal werden gerequieerd' for the set price of 2.5 stuyvers per pound. The contractual obligation to supply flour would end six months and a day after the declaration of war would have arrived in the colony.

[672] SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1794, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 84, The delivery of Dutch and American meat. The SC consumed about thirty six thousand pounds of meat per month. According to a resolution of the directors in 1794 a total of 110.000 pounds of meat can be bought from the Americans per year, about a quarter of the yearly consumption. The supplier of at least part of this amount are the heirs of Samuel Brandon.

Surinam, than it can be in that of the Captn to procure" even though the captain, William Bartlett had sailed his sloop *Polly* to Suriname before.[673]

How Brandon became known as someone to buy asses from is curious. Mules were shipped to the colony from Rhodes Island, but were increasingly coming from North Africa as well. The animals were used for transport on the plantations as well as in Paramaribo itself. Dutch traders made inquiries with their correspondents in the colony[674] and made requests to the SC to infringe on the charter and be permitted to bring mules to Suriname.[675] In the case of the Wirth brothers (one in Amsterdam, the other in Suriname) the mules were to be taken on board along the way to fulfil the contract of C.H. Wirth with planters for the delivery of these animals. The ship on which this should happen was purpose-built to transport mules, but because it was built outside of the Dutch Republic, a special permission was needed. They realized that the war with England was drawing to a close, and soon the war-time flexibility to let non-Dutch ships sail to Suriname would very likely end, making a specific permission from the directors all the more important.[676] The Wirth brothers and Klint & Co were not alone in the connection between Morocco and Suriname. According to an American in Tanger "Mules are exported to Suriname and to other parts of America both on the Continent and among the Islands." The Americans were at the time quickly advancing into the Mediterranean, providing American ships "Ports where our ships may rest if we shou'd be engaged in a European War, or in one with the other Barbary States." The idea was that their ships would "become the Carriers of Wheat from Morocco to Spain, Portugal and Italy, and may find Employment at times when the navigation of our own country is stop'd by the winter Season, and we shall resume our old mule trade from Barbary to Suriname and possibly to some of the West India islands."[677]

The shipments of mules could be sizable. There was a captain W. Cowell with a schooner *Machias* had sailed from Boston "with a load of planks and provisions, left for Suriname with 61 mules",[678] he arrived in

673 PSNADC

674 MCC, *Letters from the directors of the MCC to Adriaan Gooternaar*, entry 20 inv.nr. 100.

675 SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1783, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 73, In 1783 the directors grant permission to widow Simon Klint & Comp to have a ship (built outside the Dutch Republic) sail to the Barbary coast to buy Mules and to bring them to Suriname, 5-Nov-1783.

676 Ibidem, Neutral ship from Suriname employed in regional trade, 3-Sep-1783.

677 Barbara B. Oberg and J. Jefferson Looney (eds.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008). Letter from Thomas Barclay to the American Commissioners, Tangier, 10-Sep-1786.

678 "*avec un Chargement de Planches et autres moindres Denrées, est parti dernierement pour Surinam avec 61. Mules.*" Ibidem.

Suriname with 44.[679] There was also a captain Joseph West of the schooner *Adventure* who was there for the same reason. Both the ships were sent over by a "Mr: Codman Junior de Boston."[680] Captain Cowell returned a year later coming from Boston and Cadiz in the brigantine *Romulus* for another cargo of mules. He brought cash, iron weights and barrels of butter[681] and planned to take on 70 mules. With the help of Chiappe he was to "leave without delay for Surinam."[682] Whether the voyage was a success is unsure since he does not appear in the data of the arriving ships in Suriname. The mule trade to Suriname followed the ebbs and flows through which North Americans came to overtake the Atlantic. It started off during the booming years of the colony, but quickly slumped during the War for Independence, to recover quickly after the war was over.

Table 13 Mules to Paramaribo on non-Dutch vessels, 1760-1794

1760-1764	4
1765-1769	585
1770-1774	573
1775-1779	92
1780-1784	131
1785-1789	351
1790-1794	555

Source: PSNADC

7.2. The impact of war

During the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War the entire Dutch slaving fleet had been captured. In the first year 12 slave ships were taken, and of three others the whereabouts remain uncertain, but as Postma argued, they were also likely the victim of privateering actions.[683] The change in the shipping route was not just a replacing of Dutch actors with non-Dutch ones. Part of the change that took place can be explained by captains and traders seeking new ways to connect to the colony. The Dutch had to find creative ways to deal with the fact that they were being over-powered in wars with both the British (1780-1784) and the French (1793-1795). Meanwhile the newly independent

[679] PSDC

[680] Oberg and Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition.* From Giuseppe Chiappe, 27-Dec-1787.

[681] '2m:$ Fortes Comptants, 200. quintaux de Fer poid petit, et 80. Barils de Boeur.'

[682] Ibidem, Mogador, 19-Feb-1789.

[683] Postma, *The Dutch*, 165, 284.

United States had quickly acquired a (privateer) navy[684] and an expanding merchant fleet that started to operate in the Atlantic and Pacific, as well as the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.[685] Unsurprisingly the same ports engaged in that expansion were the same ports that connected to Suriname, a fact that reaffirms that the New Englanders can be called the Dutch of the late eighteenth century. For Suriname the increased American shipping partially made up for the damage that had been done to the Dutch merchant fleet. Non-Dutch vessels were taking over a share of the colony's connection to Europe, the slave trade, as well as making connections to previously unlikely places such as North-African mule markets.[686] For the trade of the Dutch Republic it was a period of contraction. By relying on its American connections, Suriname and its neighbouring Dutch colonies suffered less from the collapse of the Dutch Atlantic than might be expected based on the troublesome waters its motherland had encountered.[687]

The interruption of Suriname's ship-traffic due to the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) did not last long, and shipping recovered before the formal peace-treaty had been signed. The ships that had been retained during the first year of the war started to sail out again in 1782, causing a large influx into Suriname that year. Ships from North America also started to come to port during the last phase of their War for Independence (1775-1783). The more intricate and risky route of the slave trade was hit harder by the war. It was interrupted completely, and it took until 1784 before a large number of slaves were brought to the colony on board Dutch ships again.[688] That same year sugar export had recovered, and also coffee production had not suffered greatly. Over the following years the Dutch were able to partialy rebuild their navy, and also the shipping to and from the colony was rising after 1785. This post-war recovery did not last very long, and the losses of the Dutch merchant capabilities were reflected in the increasing number of non-Dutch ships used in the connection between the colony and the motherland. The exports to the Dutch Republic started to suffer during the

[684] Patton, *Patriot Pirates*.

[685] The Empress of China from New York was the first ship flying the flag of the independent colonies that arrived in China in 1784. The ship was soon followed by ships from Boston, Salem, Providence, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. David M. Pletcher, *The Diplomacy of Involvement: American Economic Expansion Across the Pacific, 1784-1900* (University of Missouri Press, 2001), 9–10.

[686] In 1789 the States General allowed non-Dutch ships to bring slaves to the colony. Voort, *De Westindische Plantages*, 24.

[687] Oostindie, "British Capital."

[688] *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (Atlanta, Georgia, 2008), http://www.slavevoyages.org/.

early 1790s, and especially after the outbreak of yet another War. This First Coalition War (1793-1795) against revolutionary France ended in the French occupation of the Dutch Republic, and again losses of merchant ships en route from Suriname to the Netherlands.[689]

Exports to the Dutch Republic were only part of the colony's story. The rise of the independent North Americans as an Atlantic and even global shipping power, and as a growing market for tropical products, meant that Surinamese goods were increasingly making their way past Dutch restrictions onto North-American ships, and some of it also illicitly to North America itself. During the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War Suriname's directors had allowed non-Dutch ships to export "high goods" such as sugar and coffee from Suriname to the Netherlands, and also allowed planters to exchange such products for North American wares. What started as a war-time exception, continued in the years that followed. Unknown amounts of sugar, coffee, cotton and cacao never made it to the Dutch Republic. In exchange for both molasses and the "high goods" the American ships were providing the colony with provisions and slaves. In 1791 more than three thousand slaves were brought to the colony – a number not reached since the heydays of the slave trade in the late 1760s and early 1770s – two thirds of them on non-Dutch ships, costing about a million guilders.[690]

7.3. Maritime security

While the importance of the Atlantic trades increased, the Dutch appreciation for the West India Company declined. The WIC monopoly on the slave trade had already been opened up in the 1730s out of dissatisfaction with the performance of the company in the trade, failing to deliver the required amounts of slaves to the planters. The WIC never played a role in protecting shipping routes to and from Suriname as this was seen as the responsibility of the navy, although they did have cruisers on the African coast. The decline of the Dutch navy within Europe had been a continuous process from 1700 onward, and from 1740 it "was no longer a significant factor in European politics."[691] Only the Caribbean trade was deemed important enough to require regular escorting convoys, also because the VOC was still taking care of its own protection. This convoying had come about thanks to pressure of Amsterdam merchants. The first regular escorting service to the West Indies started in 1737, and came to include

[689] PSDC.

[690] See Appendix 1 Graph 4.

[691] J. R Bruijn, *The Dutch Navy of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 147–148.

Suriname from 1748.[692] From 1750 onward these missions were no longer solitary nor yearly, but the Admiralties organised squadrons that stayed overseas for more than a year. This was done to spare the crew that would have the time to get used to the tropical disease environment and the climate, and in case many died this would not result in the immobilizing of the entire squadron.[693] All naval protection from the States General had to be lobbied for by interested merchants or the directors of the Suriname Company, and to be financed by them as well.[694]

Between 1771 and 1791 Dutch opinions on the WIC further deteriorated and in governing circles people were "coming to the conclusion that the WIC had outlived the reason for its existence."[695] While the impact of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) on the finances of the WIC was less than has often been maintained, the war had undermined its legitimacy by showing that it was incapable of defending its overseas possessions.[696] Different from the VOC, Suriname's maritime connections relied to a limited extent on the admiralties of the Dutch Republic for protection of the shipping traffic. The absence of the WIC in the protection of Atlantic trades underlines again how unimportant the company had become for the Atlantic trade.

The American-Dutch arms trade via St. Eustatius was one of the important reasons for the start of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. Angered by the 'insolence' of the Dutch who traded freely with the rebellious North American colonies the British decided to go to war in December 1780. Jonathan Israel claims that the British did so not only because they were trying to stop this trade, but also because they "could expect to capture Dutch colonies, as well as large quantities of Dutch shipping."[697] The British attacks understandably focussed on St. Eustatius. But they also had their privateers hawkishly cruising the Guiana Coast, which makes sense considering the importance of these colonies to the trade network of the rebellious colonies. The end of the long period of neutrality since 1688

[692] Jaap R. Bruijn, "Protection of Dutch Shipping: The Beginning of Dutch Naval Presence in the Caribbean, 1737-c. 1775," in *Global Crossroads and the American Seas*, ed. Clark G. Reynolds (Missoula: Pictorical Histories Publishing, 1988).

[693] NL-HaNA, Stadhouderlijke secretarie, inv.nr. 1257, Memorie van Schrijver, 1-May-1750. A.M.C. van Dissel and P.M.H Groen, *In de West: de Nederlandse krijgsmacht in het Caribisch gebied* (Franeker: Van Wijnen, 2010), 20.

[694] Lohnstein, *De militie*, 12, 192.

[695] Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean*, 573.

[696] Henk den Heijer, *De geoctrooieerde compagnie. De VOC en de WIC als voorlopers van de naamloze vennootschap* (Deventer, 2005), 192, 194.

[697] Israel, *Dutch Primacy*, 402–403.

meant the Dutch had to organise a stronger defence of their maritime routes and overseas possessions. They were unable to make this transition and many ships and colonies fell victim to the British attacks.

Having colonies was expected to have a beneficial effect on the strength of the Dutch defences. Time and again the need for overseas colonies had been supported, in part, by the argument that the Dutch needed a large merchant fleet and the able bodied sailors that would come with it. These ships and sailors would form a reserve army in case the country was attacked.[698] With the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War a long period of relative peace came to an end, and Dutch sailors and ships were indeed mobilized to fight the British. The Dutch still had a large merchant fleet, but no longer a military force to protect it. All that was left was a "second-rate navy" of twenty ships of the line and forty frigates. By concentrating much of the naval force around the North Sea all convoying to the Atlantic from the Republic was completely stopped.[699] The wartime mobilization closed off the European shipping connections to Suriname, preventing exports of colonial products as well as the import of supplies.

Disruption caused by the start of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War in December of 1780 was most strongly felt in Suriname in 1781. That year only one ship was registered as having arrived in Texel from Suriname.[700] Despite the investments by the Dutch admiralties the British navy and privateers were able to capture a substantial amount of Dutch merchant ships. The remaining Dutch ships around the world did not sail out for fear of capture. Colonies were also attacked. Suriname's neighbouring Dutch colonies Berbice, Demerara and Essequibo (BDE-colonies) fell victim to a British attack and were occupied, although the French were able to take the colonies soon after and return the colonies to the Dutch. The temporary British take-over of the BDE-colonies jumpstarted the arrival of British planters there.[701] Also Suriname's regional connected node St. Eustatius was ransacked under the leadership of Sir George Rodney. That attack was retribution for the arms trade between the island and the rebellious colonies, symbolized by the 'first salute' that the colonists had given to the *Andrew*

[698] "door het aenqueecken van Zee-varent Volck en bequame Matrosen" Hartsinck, *Beschryving*, 1770, 2:625.

[699] J. R Bruijn, *The Dutch Navy of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), 156–159.

[700] *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 3-Jan-1781.

[701] Oostindie, "British Capital."

Dorea.[702] In 1781 only 16 ships sailed into Suriname, half of these were Dutch, the other half non-Dutch.[703]

It took some time before the declaration of war by the British reached the ports and ships involved. One ship on its way to Suriname was lucky; captain Pieter Jurgens of the *Vrouw Wynanda Lybertus* had a visit from a British privateer near Madeira, but was left alone. The privateer had not yet heard that hostilities had broken out, and even took the letter in which Jurgens described the incident for him to Lisbon.[704] Many others were not so lucky. The *Snelle Zeiler* of Pieter Hans de Leeuw, and the *Vier Goede Vrienden* of Jan Gysbert had sailed out from Suriname unknowing of the impending conflict in October of 1780. When they were caught they were brought up to England.[705] Also captain C. Kosro on its way to St. Christopher was caught before it could make it to its stop-over Suriname.[706] The British had been a nucanse on the Wild Coast for several years already. From the outbreak of the American War for Independence, British privateers were active trying to capture American ships on the Wild Coast. In 1777 a Dutch squadron of eight ships sailed out to the West Indies, two of which were sent to the Wild Coast to attack the privateers. At the outbreak of the War the States General ordered the frigate *Eendragt* of the West Indian squadron to sail to Suriname.[707] The ship and its captain P.G. Udemans had to fight off three British privateers at the Marrowijne River before it could safely sail up the Suriname.[708]

British privateers were cruising near the mouth of the Suriname River, especially keen on capturing ships leaving the colony. Those who wanted to leave the colony would try to sail in convoy, and an argosy of five left Suriname on the 20th of February. This was not enough protection against the British. On the 6th of March 1781 the *Jonge Theodoor*, captain Jan Reygers, the *Maasstroom* of captain Christiaan Eeg and *Anne Maria*

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[702] Barbara W. Tuchman, *The First Salute: a View of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1988).

[703] See appendix for aggregate data from the PSDC and the PSNADC.

[704] *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 17-Feb-1781.

[705] *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 25-Jan-1781 and *Noordhollandsche Courant*, 14-03-1781 and PSDC.

[706] Hollandsche Historische Courant, 19-Jun-1781.

[707] J. C. de Jonge, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche zeewezen*, vol. 4, 2nd ed. (Haarlem: A.C. Kruseman, 1861), 452–463.

[708] Letter from G.P. Benelle, 18-Mar-1781 cited in: Gerhard de Kok, *Het Surinaamse brievenboek van Johann Jakob Faesch. 23 zakelijke brieven uit 1780 en 1781* (unpublished source publication, 2012). NA, entry 1.11.01.01 inv.nr. 1872, Kopieboek van brieven van en aan een (niet nader aangeduid) handelshuis in Suriname 1781-1784.

Elisabeth, of captain Christiaan Koos with a load of coffee and were brought up in Barbados.[709] There were some other ships from Demerara as well as to Suriname with them there.[710] The other ships of the convoy were taken as well. The ship of Wijs was retaken and brought to Martinique, and the *Hooyland* to Portsmouth.[711] The loss of the convoy (excluding the retaken ship of Captain Wijs) came down to a total of 1,337,648 pounds of sugar, 1,547,687 pounds of coffee, 109,155 pounds of cacao, and 23,061 pounds of cotton, which all befell the British.[712]

While the Dutch were being over-powered in this war, Suriname was able to withstand an attack on the colony, and even managed to capture two of the assailant's ships. A vessel had left Lisbon on the 15th of February to bring the message that war had broken out. Once near the Suriname River it was chased to the Marrowijne River by an British privateer.[713] Captain A. de Roock arrived too late to save Berbice from the British attack, but was able to rout the three British privateers at the mouth of the Suriname River.[714] The defence of the colony was made up of the navy vessels *Valk* with 24 pieces under captain Willem Silvester, *Thetis*, 24 pieces under captain Laurens Spengler,[715] and nine merchant ships were also employed for the defence. In addition an army of about a hundred "both Maroons and soldiers" had been placed in the fortress.[716]

Once the hostilities had started there was a lobby that tried to ensure the military defence of the trans-Atlantic connections. A request was made to the States General by the merchants, planters and inhabitants of Suriname concerning military protection for the ships sailing to the colony. The Stadtholder Willem V had opposed the conflict with England, and rather feared a French attack. Once conflict had become unavoidable, he as well as his officer corps in the navy were adamant that the European waters needed all the protection they could get. One of the main lobbyists for the protection of the Atlantic connections was Guillelmus Titsingh. Titsingh had taken the

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709 *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 19-Jun-178.

710 Letter from C. Eeg in the *Noordhollandsche Courant*, 18-Jun-1781, and PSDC.

711 Letter from captain J.F. Salmer in Portsmouth, 30-Jun-1781, cited in: Gerhard de Kok, *Het Surinaamse brievenboek van Johann Jakob Faesch23 zakelijke brieven uit 1780 en 1781* (unpublished source publication, 2012). NA, entry 1.11.01.01 inv.nr. 1872, Kopieboek van brieven van en aan een (niet nader aangeduid) handelshuis in Suriname 1781-1784.

712 PSNADC

713 *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 12-Jul-1781.

714 *Hollandsche Historische Courant*, 30-Jul-1781.

715 *Noordhollandsche Courant*, 4-May-1781.

716 "zoo Samarakken als Auxader Negers als Soldaten", *Middelburgse Courant*, 1-Jan-1781.

private initiative to send out the ship *Grand Estafette* to notify Suriname of the impending danger of the war that had broken out with the British. The ship arrived only ten days after captain Roock, who himself had been too late to prevent an British attack on the Guiana colonies.[717]

After the devastation of the war was becoming clear to the merchants and investors in the Dutch Republic, "all those who had any interest concerning the trade on Suriname, Berbice and Curaçao" were requested to meet at tavern *De Munt* in Amsterdam.[718] Topic of the meeting was the provisional report, likely concerning plans to recover the trade with the colonies. The lobbyists boasted that after two months they had managed to assemble 17 ships, with 1200 men and a total of 400 cannons.[719] Now they wanted navy vessels of the admiralty to protect them to the West, or compensation in case this fleet would have to stay the winter at Texel. The States General refused, but on the insistence of the Stadtholder Willem V a convoy was formally granted. It was an empty gesture since opposition from the naval officers as well as the States of Friesland prevented them from actually sailing out. It took until April 1782 for the convoy to sail out. After guiding the thirteen ships of the convoy for ten days the escort returned to Texel, and the merchants arrived in Suriname in June.[720] The year saw a recovery of shipping, in July a smaller convoy of armed[721] merchants sailed out again to Suriname from Texel[722] and arrived safely in the end of August,[723] with their convoying *kotter* sailing onwards to Curaçao.

The recovery of the shipping to Suriname went surprisingly fast, helped by the use of non-Dutch ships of various nationalities. To be protected from assaults by the British, ships sailed out from Suriname under neutral flags. This was not always enough to fool the British. The ships *Arent Jan* of C.C. Heyden and the ship of J.F. Selouw sailed under Danish and Prussian flag, but were caught by the British when they sailed out of the Suriname River. Although they were released, the lading had to be left behind.[724] The unloading of the goods was strongly protested against by the

[717] N.D.B. Habermehl, "Guillelmus Titsingh: een invloedrijk Amsterdams koopman uit de tweede helft van de achttiende eeuw (1733-1805)," *Amstelodamum* 79 (1987): 81–124.

[718] *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 12-Jun-1781.

[719] *Groninger Courant*, 19-Oct-1781.

[720] Habermehl, "Guillelmus Titsingh."

[721] *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 24-Dec-1782.

[722] In the convoy were the ships of Jochem Tiede, Pieter Juriaans, and Juriaan van der Meer protected by a *kotter*. *Middelburgse Courant*, 28-12-1782.

[723] *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 31-Dec-1782.

[724] *Hollandsche Historische Courant*, 26-Dec-1782.

Danish and Prussian ministers in the Dutch Republic.[725] These representatives in the various port cities played a role in keeping the system working.[726] Not only the flags were non-Dutch, also the names were to convince the British of the non-Dutch origins of the ships. Johannes Fahrdus received permission to equip *Aartshertogin Marria Anna* under captain Rasmus Prahl for Suriname and back. Due to the uncertainty of the outcome of the peace negotiations, as well as the small amount of ships going to the colony, the directors allowed this ships to sail out. Also widow Arnoldus Ameshoff & Zonen, merchants in Amsterdam received permission for F. Brouwers in Oostende to sail *D'Oostenrijker* of captain Adriaan Maaze under the Imperial flag of Austria to Suriname.[727]

After the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, ships continued to be fitted out from the Southern Netherlands, as well as the German coast. The conflict had also caused the routes to change. Some captains tried to make a run to North America, and sail to Suriname from there. When tensions had started to arise between the States General and the Austrian Emperor, a Dutch ship on its way to Suriname raised an American flag while in Boston. Even though it was loaded with American goods for the Surinamese market, the ship's bookkeepers were able to be granted a tax break by the Directors of the SC.[728] The neutral shipping did not sit well with Amsterdam merchants, bookkeepers, *Reeders*, and captains trading and navigating on Suriname. They asked if the directors could stop issuing papers to neutral vessels, and only give papers to "inhabitants of this state, sailing under Hollandic flag,

[725] *Diemer of Watergraafmeersche Courant*, 25-Dec-1782.

[726] To make the connection between Dutch colonies, the Dutch Republic and Prussia smoother, the King of Prussia grants a license to Van Teijlingen to be Prussian Consul for Suriname, Curaçao and other colonies. Nationaal Archief Den Haag, Sociëteit van Suriname, Resoluties directeuren, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 73, Prussian Consul for Suriname, Curaçao and other colonies of the State, 5-Nov-1783.

[727] Ibidem, Request to sail out under neutral flag, 6-Aug-1783.

[728] The ship *America*, captain Marten de Vries had the Amsterdam merchants Wilhelm and Jan Willink as shareholders. As the ships accountants they managed to receive permission for their ship, despite its change of colours, and loss of papers, to be taxed as a Dutch ship by the time it had arrived in Suriname. The ship was held up in Boston because of the tensions with the Austrian Empire and loaded with various American goods to sail to Suriname. The captain gave his *Turkschen Pas*, which allowed him access to the colony to the Dutch ambassador in the U.S. P.J. van Berckel. He also destroyed his other papers and raised an American flag to be able to proceed on his voyage and stay clear of possible danger. Since no foreigners (*'Vreemdeling van wat Natie'*) had any part in the ship or its cargo, but all were subjects of Holland and citizens of Amsterdam, they received permission to sail from Suriname to the Dutch Republic and not to be treated as an American or stranger. Ibidem, 15-Jun-1785.

and built within these lands."[729] The request was made in vain. Even once the hostilities had ceased, non-Dutch ships and foreign built ships continued to be used to sail to Suriname.[730]

During the war with revolutionary France (1793-1795) non-Dutch ships were increasingly allowed to sail to the Dutch colonies, and Rudolph Valtravers reported in 1793 that "Nicholas Foster of Baltimore, captain of the frigate *Anne*, built in North America and flying American colours, is the first to sail from Amsterdam." The ship was carrying "Dutch cargo for Berbice" and was set to return "with cotton, sugar, coffee, and indigo. Another countryman of his will reportedly do the same."[731] There was a sudden increase of American ships sailing from Suriname to Amsterdam in 1793, which amounts to a total of seven ships that year, and an increase the next year to eleven non-Dutch ships sailing to Amsterdam. One of them, the frigate *President Richmond (Illustrious)*, or *The Illustrious President of Richmond*, or more simply in legal papers of the British Admiralty referred to as *The Illustrious President* was intercepted by the British Navy on a voyage from Suriname to Amsterdam. The ship's captain, Dennis Butler was from Virginia and had been sailing back and forth between Suriname and Amsterdam since 1793. The ladings in the ship on both voyages were large amounts of sugar, cacao, coffee and cotton. He served several times as a carrier for the SC to bring supplies to the colony. On his last voyage he was to load 110 *last* of various "free and permissible goods", and because of the good reputation of the captain in previous voyages to the colony he was permitted to use the rest of the available space for his private goods. For the return voyage the Governor was instructed to load 350 hogsheads of sugar that had been collected as taxes in the colony, and the captain was free to load more for his own account, as long as he had a speedy return. The payment for the freight from Suriname to the Republic was set extremely low, at one *stuyver* per pound sugar, and a ten per cent extra for losses on the

[729] 'Request van verscheidene Kooplieden, Boekhouders en Reeders van scheepen, mitsgaders schippers, handel drijvende en vaarende op Suriname woonenen binnen deze stad houdende het verzoek om redenen breder bij het zelve Request vermeld, dat het de heren dezer vergaderingmogten behangen van nu voortaan geen permissie tot het equiperen van schepen naar de Colonie te verlenen anders dan aan Ingezetenen dezer staat onder Hollandsche vlag varende en binnen dezer landen gemaakt.' SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1783, *Request to ban neutral ships, 3-Sep-1783*, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 73.

[730] SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1785, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 75, Sailing under Swedish flag, 13-Apr-1785 and SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1787, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 77, Slave ship built outside the Dutch Republic, 31-Oct-1787.

[731] Letter to Thomas Jefferson from Rudolph Valltravers, Rotterdam, 5/4-May-1793 in: Barbara B. Oberg and J. Jefferson Looney (eds.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008).

way.[732] Those who were not in the service of the SC received specific permissions to sail to Suriname, but only by paying bail of *fl* 5,000 to ensure that they would sail back to the Republic rather than to North America or other destinations.[733]

The convoying to the West was taken more seriously by the States General during the war with France. In May 1794 a large number of interested parties requested a convoy for the ships to the West by two to three frigates. The directors of the SC commissioned Willem Six to discuss with the most prominent *Cargadooren* on the bourse about the time when this convoy would most preferably sail out.[734] Six managed to convince the Stadtholder Willem V, Prince of Orange, and it was made public that the *Ceres*, *Thetis* and *Triton* as well as the *Zeemeeuw* would be sailing out as convoy.[735] Quickly after the Batavian Revolution the merchants made a plan to send a North American ship to notify the colony of the changes that had taken place, and the directors agreed that this should be done, that this vessel would be exempt from the *lastgeld*.[736] The frigate *Zorg en Hoop*, under

[732] SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1794, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 84, Notarial act for the Illustrious President, 19 and 20-Sep-1794; SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1795, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 85, Letter from captain Butler in Suriname, 29-Jan-1795.

[733] SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1795, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 85. Permissie om onder borg van fl5000 naar Suriname te varen om Provizien af te leveren voor Suriname en weer naar de Republiek te varen: Schipper Mungo Mackay, voerende het Noord-Americaansche schip *Maria en Eliza* (miss. van de Sta. Gen. 30-Dec-1794). On 27 May-1795 a request comes in from captain W. Whetten en S. Simons to sail with the North America ships schepen *The Resolutio*n en *Clarissa*, to Suriname and back with a bail of fl 5,000. In June they are followed by P.W. de Jong, capt o*f Petronella Cornelia.* Coenraad Brandligt, boekhouder van *De Zorgvuldigheid* under captain Andries Jensen Smit, with papers of the Court of Denmark to carry the Danish Flag and paying the bail of fl 5,000. Samuel Parker, American ship, *The Henry.* Hudig & Blokhuizen, cargadoor te R'dam request permission for the Danish ship *Frieheden* under captain Jacob Prot, a week later the directors send the letter permitting the ships of Jun 10 to sail out.

[734] SvS, *Resoluties Directeuren 1794*, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 84. Request for military protection, 7-May-1794.

[735] Ibidem, Convoy for the West Indies, 9-Jul-1794. On the 6-Sep-1794 the *Thetis* under Captain-lieutenant Visser and *De Triton* under captain Lemmers left for the West Indies with 5 ships to Curaçao, one to Elmina, 1 to St. Eustatius, 3 to Demerary and to Suriname: A. de Boer, A. Mol, W. Odewals, J.F. Palm, P. Bloedoorn, C. Eeg, H. Steur, P. Assenholm, K. Duurhagen, N. Adriaans, B. Calgreen, P. Jacobs, A. Muller to Suriname. *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 09-Sep-1794. On that same day out of the Maas the *Ceres* sailed out under captain Ditmers, who had in his convoy J. Pruysing and F. Zeeman to Suriname and a ship to Cape of Good Hope. *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 9-Sep-1794.

[736] SvS, Resoluties Directeuren 1795, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 85. North American ship to notify the colony, 3-Feb-1795.

captain Barend Bade was to transport military and other supplies to Suriname. Out of fear for the dangers of sailing through the English Channel he decided to sail north around Scotland and to try and join a squadron to the West.[737] The growing power of the Americans in the Atlantic ensured that by the time of the First Coalition War (1793-1795) the growth of the American position in the Atlantic ensured that their ships and merchants started to take ever larger chunks of the shipping between Suriname and the Netherlands. The American ships were not only servicing the regional trade, but also the connection with Africa and Amsterdam.

7.4. Saving Suriname's slavery

After the war with its disastrous outcome, merchants from the seaside-provinces Zeeland and Holland pressured for a revival of the slave trade in the 1780s and the early 1790s. The plans regarding the slave trade came down to a tax-break from the WIC duties and opening of the trade to non-Dutch merchants.[738] The argument of the *Amsterdammers* to enter the war with Britain had been to ensure their trade with North-America. While it was far from certain that the rebellious colonies would win, it was clear that having access to that quickly expanded market, both for trade and finance, was important for those in Amsterdam, and especially to those with interests in the arms trade via St. Eustatius.[739] The ten ships that were part of the revival of the slave trafficking in 1784 were Dutch and arrived from the Gold Coast as well as from Caribbean destinations. These shipments were initially insignificant compared to the enormous amounts of people who arrived on Dutch ships, but they came to take a substantial part of the trade in all Dutch colonies in the Guianas.[740]

While Suriname had absorbed almost all of the traded slaves of the Dutch in the previous decades, its neighbouring plantations on the Guiana Coast were now also taking in increasing numbers of slaves, reducing Suriname's share to about half.[741] The infringements on the trade in the other Guianas are clear, the strong ties of the colonies with the British Atlantic and its open geography made slave imports easier. In Suriname the North American traders also started to ship slaves to the colony.[742] The Fourth Anglo-Dutch War had caused a lack of slaves for the planters. In 1784

[737] Ibidem. Evading the English Channel, 30-Oct-1795.

[738] PSDC.

[739] Tuchman, *The First Salute*.

[740] Oostindie, "British Capital."

[741] Postma, *The Dutch*, 288.

[742] Ibid., 289.

nineteen slaves arrived in Suriname from the North American port of Halifax on board the schooner *Patty*, captain Samuel Little. The shipment was a gross infringement on the regulation of the States General. John Wentworth was from Halifax in Nova Scotia, was Surveyor General of all his Majesties woods in America and late Governor of New Hampshire. He shipped the nineteen slaves "for the account and risk of Paul Wentworth, formerly of Suriname, but now or late residing in England" to discharge a debt due to Paul Wentworth.[743] The SC directors allow the importation of slaves from on board the *Patty* by Rocheteau as attorney for Paul Wentworth in Suriname. The directors explained their action by arguing that the price of "*fl* 370 per head" sounded very good since they were good slaves, approving the admission of the regionally imported slaves by the Governor.[744] Burgomaster Rendorp wrote up a report in the issue in August of 1786. This provisional report by Rendorp reminded the directors of the obligation to deliver 2,500 slaves to Suriname yearly, and to raise this proportionally to the growth of the colony. The leniency towards foreign slave ships started in 1783 when the SC directors allowed Jan Willem van Arm of the Imperial brigantine *Paix & Libertas* of captain Henricus Ditmar to sail from Ostend to Guinea, load slaves, sail to Suriname, and sail back with cargo.[745] The ship left Ostend in August 1783 and arrived as the *Vrede en Libertijt* in Suriname in November of 1784. There it was treated as a Dutch ship on arrival, disembarking 130 of the 150 slaves alive in Suriname. Over the following years several ships would sail from ports such as Ostend, Hamburg and Emden to Suriname, but there were only very few of these non-Dutch ships that would transports slaves. The non-Dutch European ships were mostly employed in the direct connection to the colony.

What was very common in the last years of the war, as well as afterwards, was to request exemption from the WIC taxes on the slave trade. Slavers would request their exemption, but would not always sail to Suriname with their human cargo, some of them went straight to Demerara. The exemption did not only concern the taxation, but also the right not to unload the slaves once the ship arrived in Suriname, but rather to sail onwards to another colony (See Appendix 4).

The many requests to be exempted from taxation culminated in the issuing of the law that relieved the slave traders from several constraints. "Because the trade on the West Indies is one of the most notable, and for as long as no new means have been thought out to provide the colonies in the

[743] SvS, *Resoluties Directeuren* 1787, entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 77.

[744] SvS, *Resoluties Directeuren* 1783, *Regional slave trade*, 23-Jun-1784 entry 1.05.03 inv.nr. 73-74.

[745] SvS, *Resoluties Directeuren* 1783, Permission for Ostend slave ship, 5-Feb-1783.

West Indies with hands to do the work, the Negerhandel has to be seen as inseparable for the blossoming and prospering of those colonies and of the entire commerce."[746] The States General took a number of measures, that would be in effect until the end of the WIC charter. The first was to reaffirm what had been laid down in the resolution of 27 Augustus 1788; that the ships were free to sell their slaves in the agricultural colonies of the state publicly and directly from the ship, and so there was no need for official auction. The slave traders were also protected from faulty planters, by being allowed to organise their own securities for the slaves that they sold. However, in the relation between the slave traders and the investment funds, the States General organised a strong protection for the investment funds by stating that the suppliers of slaves were not free to demand goods to be laden as payment for the slaves that should be shipped to the general fund or private fund, or one that has mortgage, unless the Agendaris of those funds or creditors of the mortgage agreed. This rule came out of the disparity between the set exchange rate between cash and pounds of sugar and coffee in the colony and the market price of those goods in the Republic. The exchange rate was such that it was far cheaper for the planter to write out a bill of exchange, than paying with sugar and let the slave trader reap the profits of the sale on the metropolitan market. The new regulation made it clear that once the exchange had taken place, neither party could claim payment or restitution. With the acceptance of produce as payment, the slave traders lost any rights to the slaves.[747]

The lobby to reinvigorate the slave trade was led by merchants in Zeeland and Holland, among them many of the absentee plantation owners who had laid their hands on the plantations during the years that credit collapsed and the defaulted plantations changed hands to the *negotiatie* holders. In the regulation of 1789 the trade was encouraged by reducing taxes. The WIC, to whom this *lastgeld* was paid out, lost an important source of income. Postma rightly argued that the "planters would have welcomed foreign slave vendors if they had been allowed to sell slaves in the Dutch colonies."[748] The trade was opened by the States General in 1789 to allow non-Dutch ships to bring slaves to the colony.[749] For Suriname Postma argues that the American ships arriving in Suriname were bringing in slaves "in small numbers",[750] and that this import was overall minor before 1795.[751]

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[746] NL-HaNA, Verspreide Westindische Stukken, *Placaat tot aanmoediging van den Negerhandel in de West-Indische Colonien,* entry 1.05.06 inv.nr. 1225.

[747] Ibidem.

[748] Postma, *The Dutch*, 386.

[749] Voort, *De Westindische Plantages*, 24.

[750] Postma, *The Dutch*, 289.

Later he published his data suggesting that there were already increased slave sales from non-Dutch vessels in the 1790s.[752] In 1791, given the war time interruption, the States General and the SC were making less fuss about the origins of the slave ships coming to the colony. The North American ships started to come in, and overshadowed the Dutch trade completely. Postma's data reveals a quick growth of the number of slave ships coming to Suriname in the early 1790s. There was a clear change in the pattern of the non-Dutch slave trade to the colony. In 1784 a total of 47 slaves were disembarked by non-Dutch ships, but in 1789 this grew suddenly to 1260, and remained high throughout the 1790s. The slaves from non-Dutch ships that arrived in 1789 came from St. Eustatius on North-American ships. In the early nineties the non-Dutch ships started to bring in slaves directly from Africa. Suriname saw the importation of 1 million guilders worth of slaves on board non-Dutch ships. The export of tropical products to the Dutch Republic that year valued 5 million guilders for sugar and 6.6 million for coffee. In the following years the circuit of shipping also changed, with an increased number of embarkation regions in Africa.

Within the Dutch Republic the political context was shaped by military defeats which discredited the rulers as well as the Stadtholder of Orange, William V. The Patriot opposition movement made attempts at unifying the country to turn around the economic, moral and military decline of the Republic. This Dutch Patriot movement did not have a clear vision on how to deal with the colonies other than centralising their administration. Patriotism within the colonies had a strong local dynamic, rather than simply mimicking the Dutch conflict.[753] While the colonial policy of these patriots was not formulated coherently for Suriname or the Caribbean more generally, the argument in favour of a centralized government was bound to have an effect on the future rule over the colony. The VOC, WIC and Admiralty were clear examples of the federal divisions in the Republic. They were organised in decentralised provincial chambers. The other colonies were managed by companies in which cities or provincial states had an important say, such as the Company for Trade on Essequibo and annex Rivers (SNER) and the Suriname Company. Once the Patriots came to power with the help of the French invasion during the First Coalition War,

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[751] Ibid.

[752] Postma, "Suriname and Its Atlantic Connections," 306.

[753] For the lack of the Patriot vision on the colonies see: G Schutte, *De Nederlandse patriotten en de koloniën. Een onderzoek naar hun denkbeelden en optreden, 1770-1800.* (Groningen: H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1974), 202.

they quickly disbanded company interests and centralised overseas government.[754]

With the end of the WIC in 1791 part of the overseas Atlantic domains had already changed hands into a central governing body. Therewith also its part in the managing of the SC came into the hands of the *Raad der Koloniën*, which continued to manage it together with the representatives of the city of Amsterdam. After the Batavian Revolution the "Provisional Representatives of the People of Amsterdam" claimed ownership of the colony. De directors protested arguing that "Suriname (...) is not owned, nor can be owned by the common body of the people of this Republic, but belongs to several private individuals or corpora, who have acquired this private property *titulo oneroso*."[755] It was no use. The ideology of the time was that colonies should come under central state authority, and no longer be dominated by city interests. All the board members of the city of Amsterdam were replaced by Patriots, who only managed the organisation for a few months. In October 1795 the SC was terminated and Suriname came, together with the other possessions in the Atlantic, under the management of the Committee for the Colonial Affairs on the Coast of Guinea and in America.[756]

[754] Ibid., 107.

[755] SvS, *Resoluties Directeuren* 1795, inv.nr. 85, 25-Mar-1795.

[756] Ibidem, 30-Oct-1795.