



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Lobbying in Company: Mechanisms of political decision-making and economic interests in the history of Dutch Brazil, 1621-1656

Tol, J.J.S. van den

Citation

Tol, J. J. S. van den. (2018, March 20). *Lobbying in Company: Mechanisms of political decision-making and economic interests in the history of Dutch Brazil, 1621-1656*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/61008>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/61008>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The following handle holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation:

<http://hdl.handle.net/1887/61008>

Author: Tol, J.J.S. van den

Title: Lobbying in Company: Mechanisms of political decision-making and economic interests in the history of Dutch Brazil, 1621-1656

Issue Date: 2018-03-20

Lobbying in Company

Mechanisms of political decision-making and economic interests in the
history of Dutch Brazil, 1621-1656

PROEFSCHRIFT
ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor
aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College van Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 20 maart 2018
klokke 16:15 uur

door

Joris Job Sebastiaan van den Tol
geboren te Rotterdam
in 1987

Promotores: prof. dr. C.A.P. Antunes
prof. dr. W. Klooster (Clark University)

Promotiecommissie: prof. dr. E. Amann
dr. M. De Campos Françozo
prof. dr. M. van Groesen
prof. dr. G.H. Janssen (Universiteit van Amsterdam)
dr. A.J.A.M. Schuurman (Wageningen Universiteit)
dr. G. Vermeesch (Vrije Universiteit Brussel)

Dit proefschrift is tot stand gekomen mede dankzij financiering van het NWO-project 'Challenging Monopolies' aan de Universiteit Leiden, het Leids Universiteits Fonds, en Fulbright.

To my mother

Table of contents

LIST OF TABLES	IV
LIST OF FIGURES	IV
ABBREVIATIONS	V
0. INTRODUCTION	1
0.1. LOBBYING.....	3
0.2. CONCEPTS	7
0.3. DEBATES.....	11
0.3.1. <i>Interest groups</i>	11
0.3.2. <i>Organization</i>	15
0.3.3. <i>The Atlantic</i>	18
0.4. SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY	21
1. LOBBYING FOR THE CREATION OF THE WIC	25
1.1. THE DUTCH REPUBLIC.....	25
1.1.1. <i>The cities</i>	25
1.1.2. <i>Provincial States</i>	28
1.1.3. <i>States General</i>	31
1.1.4. <i>The Stadholders</i>	34
1.1.5. <i>Conflicting powers</i>	35
1.2. THE WEST INDIA COMPANY.....	40
1.2.1. <i>Willem Usselincx</i>	42
1.2.2. <i>The lay-out of the WIC</i>	49
1.3. BRAZIL.....	51
1.4. CONCLUSION	54
2. LOBBYING IN BRAZIL	57
2.1. 1624/1630-1636: AD HOC SOLUTIONS	59
2.2. 1637-1646: CONSOLIDATION AND A PRINCE IN THE TROPICS	64
2.2.1. <i>The Diet as a colonial tool</i>	66
2.2.2. <i>The Brazilian Diet of 1640</i>	68
2.2.3. <i>The 81 petitions of August 1640</i>	72
2.2.4. <i>Petitions for regulations</i>	75
2.3. RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS	80
2.3.1. <i>The power of the church</i>	82
2.4. SLAVERY	85
2.4.1. <i>Access to institutions for non-Europeans</i>	89
2.5. THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCE OF TOP-DOWN DECISION-MAKING	91
2.5.1. <i>Johan Maurits' reaction</i>	94
2.5.2. <i>The Reactions from the Council of Justice and the ministers</i>	96
2.6. CONCLUSION	101

3. TRADING REGULATIONS OR FREE TRADE	105
3.1. THE OPENING MOVES.....	106
3.2. SELECTING THE PLAYING FIELD	115
3.3. MAKING IT COUNT.....	122
3.4. MAKING IT COUNT EVEN MORE.....	126
3.5. THE ROLE OF THE AMSTERDAM CITY COUNCIL.....	132
3.6. DELAYING A DECISION.....	138
3.7. LOBBYING TO AND FROM THE COLONY	143
3.8. CONCLUSION	150
4. PETITIONING THE PUBLIC SPHERE.....	155
4.1. WHAT IS THE PUBLIC SPHERE?	158
4.2. THE DUTCH PUBLIC SPHERE	159
4.2.1. <i>Pamphlets and Dutch Brazil</i>	162
4.3. PETITIONS AND PUBLIC OPINION.....	164
4.3.1. <i>Printed petitions</i>	166
4.4. MULTIPLE SIGNATURES ON PETITIONS	169
4.4.1. <i>Group petitions to the States General</i>	171
4.5. MANAGING INFORMATION OF THE REVOLT IN BRAZIL	175
4.6. PETITIONING THE PUBLIC SPHERE ON BRAZIL.....	178
4.7. PETITIONING THE PUBLIC SPHERE ON THE ATLANTIC	183
4.7.1. <i>Other forms of signatures</i>	186
4.8. CONCLUSION	188
5. PERSONAL CONNECTIONS AND DIRECT LOBBYING	193
5.1. PERSONAL CONNECTIONS AND SOCIETAL CAPITAL	194
5.2. APPOINTING A NEW HIGH GOVERNMENT IN BRAZIL	201
5.3. BACKGROUND ISSUES.....	205
5.3.1. <i>Peace negotiations in Münster</i>	205
5.3.2. <i>A Frisian chamber in the WIC</i>	206
5.4. CONTROL OF INFORMATION.....	210
5.5. PERSONAL RELATIONS.....	216
5.6. CONCLUSION	220
6. THE LAST HOPE, 1652-1654	223
6.1. THE SECOND BATTLE OF GUARARAPES	224
6.2. WHY WAS BRAZIL LOST?.....	226
6.3. THE DELEGATES FROM BRAZIL.....	230
6.4. REQUESTING A RESOLUTION FROM THE STATES GENERAL.....	233
6.5. A DELEGATION TO FRIESLAND	237
6.5.1. <i>The report from the Friesland commission</i>	240
6.6. SPEEDING UP THE ADMIRALTIES	243
6.7. SEIZING MOMENTUM	249
6.8. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE.....	251
6.9. IT IS ALL ABOUT THE MONEY.....	253

6.9.1. <i>It is about the people</i>	255
6.10. THE LOSS OF BRAZIL.....	256
6.11. CONCLUSION	259
7. LOBBYING FOR MONEY IN THE AFTERMATH OF DUTCH BRAZIL.....	263
7.1. RETURN TO THE REPUBLIC.....	269
7.2. CLAIMING WAGES	270
7.3. TRAVEL PENNIES	274
7.4. SHARED FEATURES	277
7.5. THE PRINTED PETITION FROM THE ARMY	280
7.6. CONCLUSION	283
MAKING THE COMPANY WORK	287
MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.....	295
SECONDARY LITERATURE AND PUBLISHED SOURCES.....	299
SUMMARY IN DUTCH	317
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	325
CURRICULUM VITAE	327

List of Tables

Table 1-1: Stadholders in the Dutch Republic, 1580-1696.....	34
Table 2-1: Property auction prices Recife / Mauritsstad September 1642.....	93
Table 3-1: Representatives of the WIC chamber of Amsterdam to the States General in January 1637	117
Table 3-2: Competing calculations for economic policy in 1637.....	129
Table 3-3: Sugar prices in the Dutch Republic with East Indian sugar as a comparison	130
Table 3-4: Familial connections to the two main chartered companies for Amsterdam Burgomasters (1636-1637).....	136
Table 6-1: Requests sent to the States General by the delegates of Brazil 1652-1654	232
Table 6-2: Subsidies for Brazil by the States General.....	236

List of Figures

Figure 1-1: The institutional basis of the Republic after 1595	29
Figure 1-2: The provinces, voting cities, and Generality Lands of the Republic of the United Provinces in 1621.	33
Figure 1-3: Percentage of survived Dutch language pamphlets dealing with war and peace	37
Figure 1-4: The governance structure of the West India Company	49
Figure 2-1: Examples of markings on sugar crates with from left to right: WIC, variety of producers, and Gaspar Dias Fereira on the ship <i>Soutberg</i> in 1637.	76
Figure 3-1: The call option for WIC shares in 1629	145
Figure 4-1: Front and back of the petition requesting a place for the Remonstrant's religion with around 250 signatures.....	170
Figure 4-2: Portrait of Hartman Hartmansz holding a piece of paper as part of Rembrandt's <i>The Anatomy Lesson of dr. Nicolaes Tulp</i> , Oil on canvas, 1632 (Mauritshuis).	182
Figure 4-3: The 92 signatures in a round-robin supplied on 15-Oct-1652	187
Figure 4-4: A less organized round-robin	188
Figure 7-1: Sixteen signatures on the petition on 3 December 1654.....	279

Abbreviations

BMGN	Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis van de Nederlanden
EIC	English East India Company
NL-HaNA	Nationaal Archief, The Hague, The Netherlands
NL-UtHUA	Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, The Netherlands
NL-AsdSAA	Stadsarchief, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
NL-04-0041-000	Tresoar, Leeuwarden, The Netherlands
NNBW	Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek
TSEG	Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis
US-nar	New York State Archives, Albany, NY, United States
VOC	Dutch East India Company
VRBM	Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscript
WIC	Dutch West India Company

