



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Dark horses of business : overseas entrepreneurship in seventeenth-century Nordic trade in the Indian and Atlantic oceans**

Wirta, K.H.

### **Citation**

Wirta, K. H. (2018, December 12). *Dark horses of business : overseas entrepreneurship in seventeenth-century Nordic trade in the Indian and Atlantic oceans*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/67312>

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/1887/67312>

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

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/67312> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Wirta, K.H.

**Title:** Dark horses of business : overseas entrepreneurship in seventeenth-century Nordic trade in the Indian and Atlantic oceans

**Issue Date:** 2018-12-12

# **Dark Horses of Business**

Overseas Entrepreneurship in Seventeenth-Century Nordic Trade in the  
Indian and Atlantic Oceans

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 woensdag 12 december 2018  
klokke 13:45 uur

door

Kaarle Henrik Wirta  
geboren te Tampere (Finland) op 30 augustus 1987

Promotores:

prof. dr. C.A.P. Antunes (Universiteit Leiden)

prof. dr. L. Müller (Stockholms universitet, Stockholm)

Promotiecommissie:

prof. dr. G. Oostindie (Universiteit Leiden)

prof. dr. D. Pargas (Universiteit Leiden)

dr. A. Schrikker (Universiteit Leiden)

prof. dr. C.A. Davids (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)

prof. dr. M. Hunt (Uppsala universitet, Uppsala)

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	iv
Summary in English and in Dutch.....	v
Abbreviations .....	viii
Table of figures and maps .....	ix
1 Individuals in Seventeenth-Century Overseas Business .....	1
1.1 Willem Leyel and Henrich Carloff introduced .....	1
1.2 Why the entrepreneurial lens?.....	6
1.3 The general and Nordic contexts during the seventeenth century.....	11
1.4 A smaller scale of analysis – placing the individual in the spotlight.....	18
1.5 What is known about Leyel and Carloff so far? – Presenting the literature and primary sources ..	22
1.6 Outline of the study.....	27
2 The Grass is Always Greener on the Other Side .....	29
2.1 Introduction.....	29
2.2 The Nordic region – the kingdoms of entrepreneurial opportunity.....	30
2.3 Foreigners and migration in the early Nordic overseas ventures .....	33
2.4 Glückstadt: a case of institutional sheltering .....	37
2.5 Willem Leyel and the elite of Elsinore.....	43
2.6 From Elsinore to Batavia.....	44
2.7 Return to Copenhagen and new plans .....	47
2.8 Hard times, new opportunities – Henrich Carloff and the WIC.....	50
2.9 Negotiated loyalties in Western Africa.....	55
2.10 Conclusion .....	58
3 One Foot at Home, the Other Overseas.....	61
3.1 Introduction.....	61
3.2 Leyel and the First Danish East India Company – an overwhelming challenge.....	61
3.3 Carloff in the Nordic kingdoms, and his years with the Swedish Africa Company, 1649-1657 ...	66
3.4 The First Charter – 1645–1652 .....	66
3.5 The SAC 1652–1657.....	69
3.6 The status of the DEIC and its first steps in India.....	73
3.7 Coordinating negotiations.....	75
3.8 Carloff in Western Africa .....	82
3.9 Conclusion.....	89
4 Like a Spider in the Web.....	91
4.1 Introduction.....	91

4.2	Level's relationships within the Danish East India Company .....	92
4.3	Betrayal of the trusted men and the mutiny: 1648 .....	95
4.4	Connections outside the DEIC.....	99
4.5	Carloff: from the SAC to Glückstadt, and into the spider's web of networks .....	108
4.6	Carloff and the establishment of the Glückstadt Company .....	109
4.7	Carloff, ghost investments and internal business network connections .....	110
4.8	Carloff, difficult relationships and connections in Western Africa.....	115
4.9	Conclusion.....	122
5	Gatekeepers of Knowledge from Overseas .....	125
5.1	Introduction.....	125
5.2	The definition of knowledge overseas.....	127
5.3	Level and knowledge in the Indian Ocean.....	130
5.4	Carloff and the accumulation of knowledge in the Atlantic .....	134
5.5	Conclusion.....	143
6	Brokers of Violence .....	145
6.1	Introduction.....	145
6.2	The use of violence in seventeenth-century maritime trade .....	145
6.3	Level and violence in the Indian Ocean .....	148
6.4	Carloff: an act of revenge or an entrepreneurial opportunity in Western Africa?.....	152
6.5	From Western Africa to the Caribbean Sea .....	156
6.6	The attack .....	159
6.7	Conclusion.....	163
7	Conclusions .....	165
7.1	Overseas business through the eyes of the individual .....	165
7.2	Mechanisms of overseas entrepreneurship .....	167
7.3	Overseas entrepreneurship in business history .....	173
8	Sources and Bibliography.....	177
	Curriculum vitae.....	201

## Acknowledgements

To write a dissertation would not have been possible without the invaluable support of the numerous people who have been in my life during my years as a PhD candidate. I am particularly grateful to my two supervisors, Prof. Cátia Antunes and Prof. Leos Müller. Thank you Cátia for being patient and trusting that eventually, I will find my way through the process. Thank you Cátia for understanding, when life brought surprises. Leos, thank you for bringing essential knowledge on my topic and for guiding me when I have met obstacles on the way. With both of your support I am ready to stand on my own feet as an academic.

I thank my colleagues. Eli, for the last years I have called you a lifeline for a good reason. Julie, during the years in Leiden, our “Scandinavian language” made it possible for me to feel safe and at home. Edgar I am thankful for our discussions, business trips and sessions with Josh Tillman.

Joris, Hasan, Erik, Kate, and Bram: thank you. I will always appreciate your assistance both in work and socially. Damian, Noelle, Marion, Scott, Karwan, Sanne, Jeannette, Matthias and Aniek: thank you for your friendship at the university. I am thankful towards the Institute of History for a stimulating environment and especially to Peter Meel for all the support. I want to thank all the archivists that have helped me. I want to thank the numerous people whom I have met during conferences and who have been helpful in my research, especially Alexander Jordan, Lisa Hellman and Malin Johansson for reading my work and always seeing the potential in it.

Thank you, Ronny Holmqvist and Holger Weiss, for believing in me as a historian from very early on. I am thankful for the inspiring people whom I have been privileged to cooperate with, especially Kalle Kananaja, Lauri Tähtinen, Rinna Kullaa, Göran Rydén, Hugo Suidman, Jonne Harmsma, Felicia Gottman and Julia Adams.

My final thank goes to my family and friends. You are so many and it is a privilege to have you all in my life. Otso, simply thank you for everything. Henkka, Onni, Olli, Pulli, Patrik, Jussi, Daniel, Toni, Heikki, Henri, Katja and all the others, you have always given me strength when I needed it the most. I am forever thankful for the incredible family I have in Finland. The Tuomaala family has been my backbone for all these years. Kiitos Marita. Tack Valtteri för att du är min vägvisare. Tack pappa för det oändliga stödet och tryggheten. Kiitos elämästä, rakas äiti. My biggest thanks go to Tuulia, who stood by my side and showed that a PhD is team work. My whole heart – my whole life. My greatest inspiration is my daughter. Saga, med dig är livet som en dans, pappa älskar dig!

Tammerfors 2018