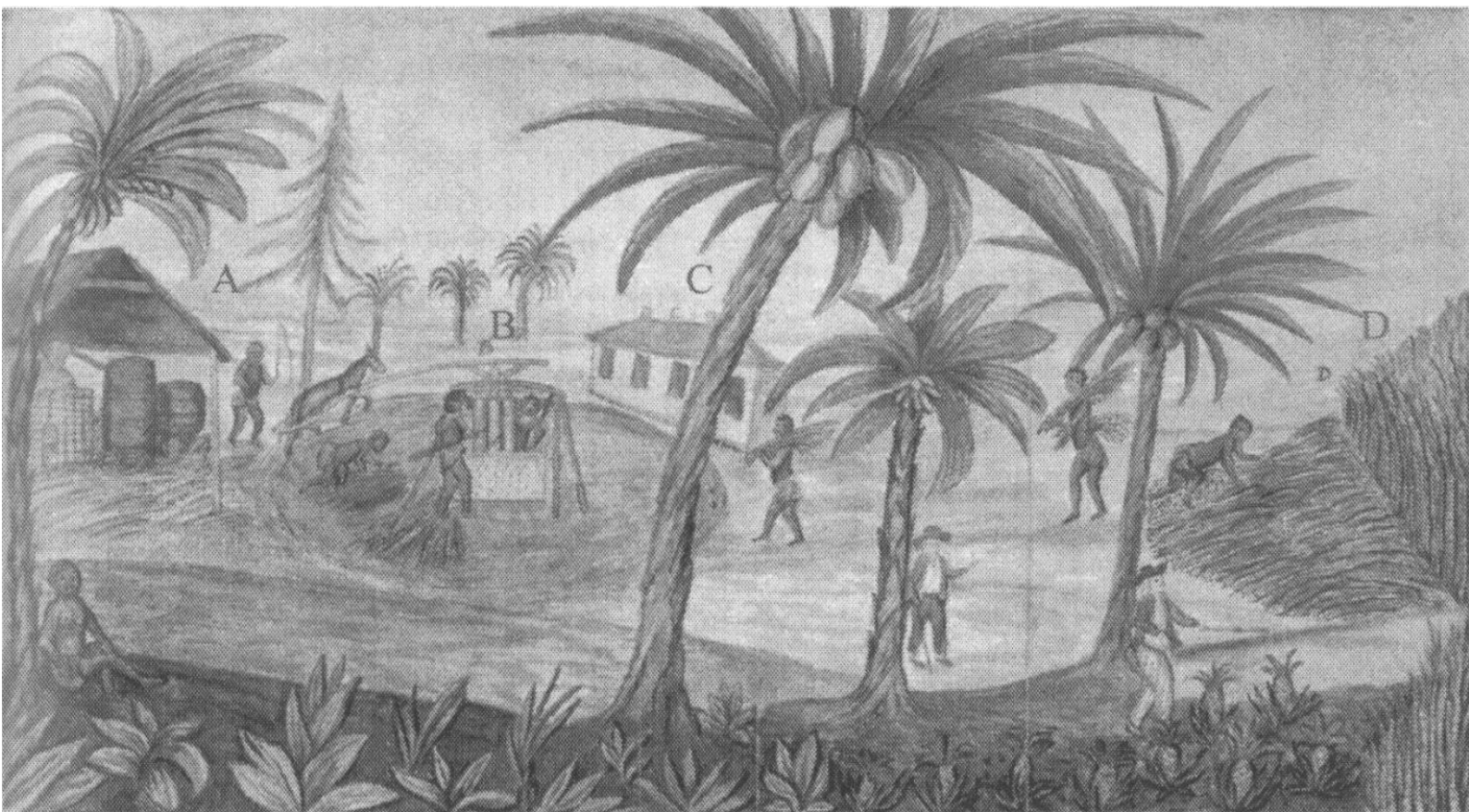


Life after Slavery

Living Conditions and Survival Strategies of the Formerly Enslaved Population of St. Eustatius in the Post-emancipation Caribbean, 1863–1909

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Research Master's Thesis Historical Studies,
Radboud University Nijmegen 2021–22

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Friday, 12 August 2022
Written in 25,271 words

Image: Sugar plantation on St. Eustatius. A. Where the rum or killdevil* is distilled. B. The mill where sugar is pressed from cane as it is driven between the three iron rollers. C. Where the sugar is boiled. D. The sugar cane.

*A West Indian name for rum.

Source: J. Veltkamp et al., *Het Journaal van Joannes Veltkamp (1759–1764). Een Scheepschirurgijn in Dienst van de Admiraliteit van Amsterdam*, Jaarboek / Vereeniging Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaart Museum, 1387–1536 (Zwolle: WBOOKS, 2014), 120–21.

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Acknowledgements

The work that lies before you is the result of work from the past six months. At the same time, however, I find the idea that this thesis is more so a result of six years of study much more compelling. The notion that I would have achieved this on my lonesome is either ignorant, insensitive, or both. Therefore, I think it only fair to thank those who supported me throughout my trajectory in becoming the academic I am today.

Starting with those closest to the thesis, I would like to express my most profound appreciation to Dr Van Galen for his guidance as supervisor while I was writing this thesis and my earlier work on St. Eustatius. Time and again, he managed to expose my weaknesses based on my writing and gave me all the space I needed to work on myself and my thesis. I am also extremely grateful to Dr Mourits and Dr Riswick for their technical support. They have helped me to deepen my understanding of statistical analyses and programming to such an extent that this thesis would not have been the same without their aid. Likewise, I am incredibly grateful to Dr Mourits and Dr Van Oort for their constructive feedback on my earlier work on St. Eustatius, which helped me improve significantly.

Behind the scenes, many people have diligently worked to help me gain insight into the sources that form the foundation of this thesis. Although more people undoubtedly contributed, the following names reached me. In no particular order, Dr Van Galen, Ms Doek as director of the National Archives of the Netherlands, Ms Francis as government commissioner of St. Eustatius, and Mr Van Langen as program manager of the National Archives, to all of whom I am deeply indebted. I would furthermore like to extend my sincere thanks to the Central Bureau for Genealogy for providing me with their dataset on the civil registers from their domain *WieWasWie.nl* and the National Archives of Curaçao for their version of the dataset from their search engine '*Stamboom onderzoek*'.

Unique to the research master's programme at Radboud University is that every student is assigned a personal tutor for guidance throughout the programme. Equally unique was the man who agreed to become my tutor: Dr Lyna, without whom I could not have undertaken this journey. He always went to great lengths to get me involved in academia in one way or the other, from workshops with the University of Glasgow to an internship at Stellenbosch University and, finally, letting me assist with a bachelor's course on colonialism. On the topic of my internship: working under the supervision of Dr Ekama is an experience that remains very dear to me.

Several workshops delivered many inspiring discussions while I was writing this thesis. Therefore, I want to acknowledge all participants of 'Life after Slavery? Slave Histories in the Global Era, 1750-1900' (December 2020), 'Rebuilding Life after Slavery: Manumission, Emancipation and Family Networks In European Empires, 1700-1900' (March 2022), and 'Social Histories of Dutch Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World' (April 2022). Similarly, I am grateful to all participants of the thesis colloquium provided by the research master's programme, with special thanks to Ms Janssen and PD Dr Jensz.

Lastly, I would be remiss in not mentioning my family and friends' continuous support while writing this thesis. Especially to Bram, Dorothee, Michiel, and Stijn: thank you.

A note on language

The author of this thesis strays away from the pejorative ‘slave’ as much as possible. Instead, relying on ‘(formerly) enslaved’ or ‘emancipated’ to address people who (partially) lived their lives in slavery instead. This terminology paves the way for the conception that a person is not born a slave but is born into slavery – having been restricted or completely denied their natural freedom.

This thesis repeatedly relies on the distinction between the ‘free’ and ‘emancipated’ populations of St. Eustatius. I base this distinction on a practical rather than a historical argument. With ‘free’, this thesis refers to those already part of the free population upon emancipation in 1863. ‘Free’ includes those who may have lived in slavery elsewhere and those manumitted before emancipation. Unfortunately, there is no way to distinguish these groups in the source material used for this thesis. Hence the practicality of this choice. With ‘emancipated’, this thesis refers explicitly to those liberated from slavery in 1863.

The title of this thesis – *Life after Slavery* – is by no means a suggestion that slavery as a phenomenon would cease to exist after 1863. Whether by continuing illegal bondage, with a period of apprenticeship in, for example, Surinam, or, of course, with other colonial powers that continued to participate in slavery itself, slavery remained relevant.

Neither would the title of this thesis want to suggest that slavery is no longer an issue today, whether through its still-felt legacy or in the form of modern slavery. The Global Slavery Index from 2018 estimated that 30,000 people live in slavery in the Netherlands alone.¹ Thus, ‘*Life after Slavery*’ should be interpreted as a historical construct that ties in with the legal circumstances on St. Eustatius from July 1, 1863, onwards.

This thesis is written in British English. All translations of primary sources and secondary literature to English are of the author alone. Original texts are supplied in the corresponding footnotes. All references are made according to the Chicago Manual of Style 17th edition guidelines and kept in the Zotero reference manager. Zotero is furthermore used to create the bibliography.

¹ International Labour Organization, Walk Free Foundation, and International Organization for Migration, ‘The Global Slavery Index 2018’ (The Minderoo Foundation, 2018), 93–94.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AC | <i>Amigoe di Curaçao</i> |
| CBG | Central Bureau for Genealogy Centre for Family History, The Hague |
| CC | <i>De Curaçaosche Courant</i> |
| CLARIAH | Common Lab Research Infrastructure for the Arts and Humanities |
| DANS | Data Archiving and Networked Services, an institute of the KNAW and NWO |
| DFS | Danish Family Search, a web system for genealogists |
| DNA | Danish National Archives, Copenhagen, Denmark |
| KB | Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague |
| KNAW | Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam |
| NAC | National Archives of Curaçao, Willemstad, Curaçao |
| NL-HaNA | National Archives of the Netherlands, The Hague |
| NL-SeusGE | Archive of St. Eustatius, Oranjestad, St. Eustatius |
| NWO | Dutch Research Council, The Hague-Utrecht |
| SKN | <i>Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden</i> |

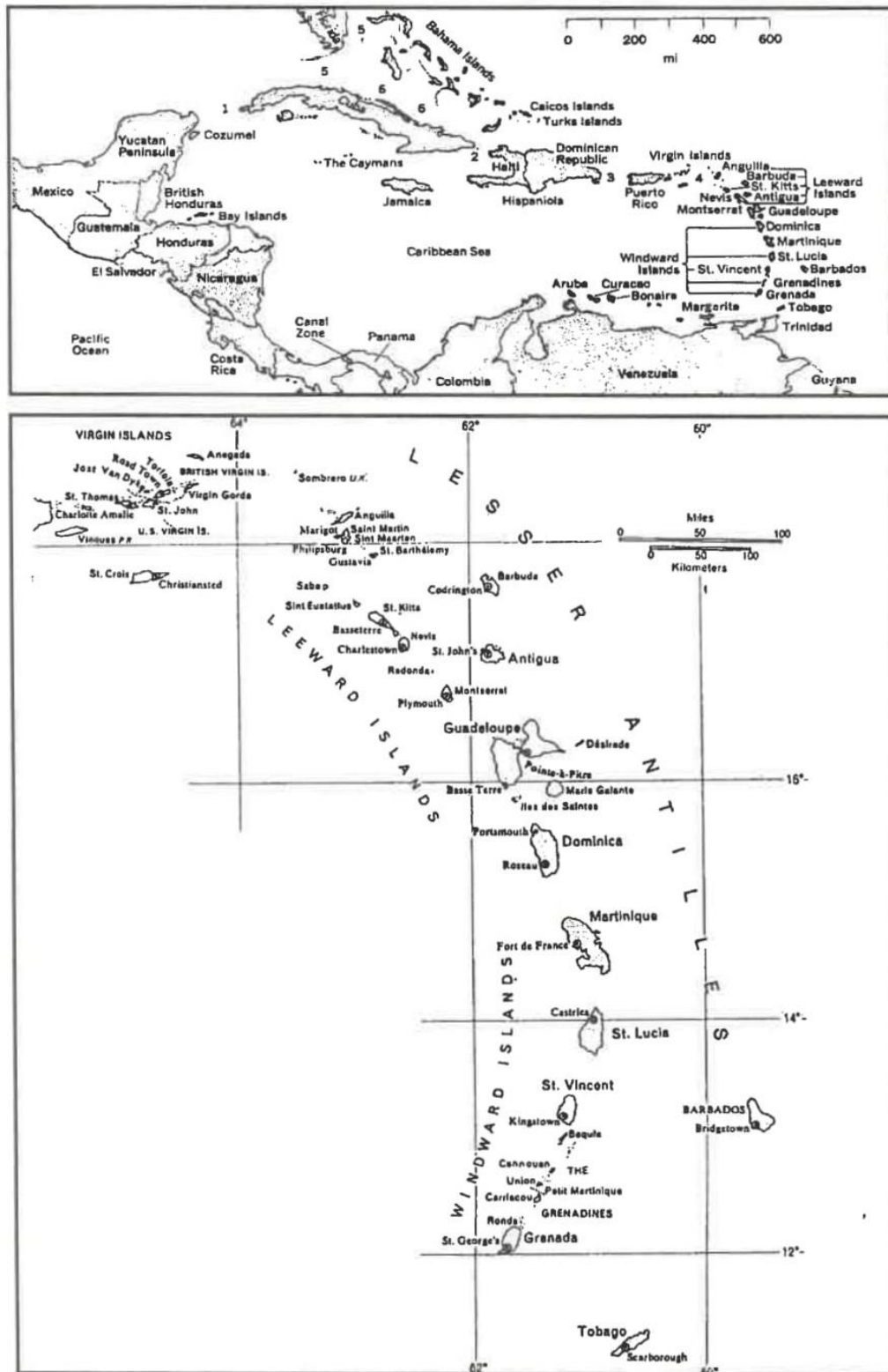


Image 1: The West Indies

Source: K. F. Olwig, ed., *Small Islands, Large Questions: Society, Culture and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean* (London-Portland: F. Cass, 1995), 0.

1. Introduction

The abolition of slavery in the Dutch West Indies in 1863 and the consequent emancipation of enslaved people is one of the most critical yet understudied events in the history of St. Eustatius, also known as Statia. Scholars have primarily characterised Statia's history by its importance as a trade node in the Atlantic trade or its symbolic role in the American War of Independence.² However, 1863 affected not just Statia's economics or politics, but its circa two thousand inhabitants, no less than two-thirds of whom were set free from their existence in bondage.³ This thesis is the first to explore the life courses of these people in the post-emancipation era of St. Eustatius. And even though this thesis concerns broader demographic shifts such as migration or family, some emancipated people do personally appear to illustrate one point and enrich another.

In chapter two, Judith Marsdin and her family illustrate how this thesis's sources are interconnected and can be used to gain insight into various life events of formerly enslaved people.⁴ In Judith's case, from her characteristics to the birth of her children and their untimely demise. But how similar was Judith's life story to that of others? At which point did the sources leave her story untold and let those of others shine through instead?

On the other hand, Ruth Martin and her family illustrate the point of migration in chapter four, as they disappear from the archival gaze on St. Eustatius, only to reappear on the Danish Virgin Islands.⁵ Of the three relatives with her upon emancipation, only Ruth and her daughter reappeared in the Danish census of 1880. Was there a difference between young and old when it comes to migration? Or a difference between men and women? Robert Saulman furthermore enriches the topic of migration as one of the nineteen contract labourers that left St. Eustatius for Surinam in 1872, adding to the complex migration network in the Caribbean. But why did they come to St. Eustatius in the first place? And why did they leave again?

Finally, the bridal couple of Douglas Courtar and Rosalina Rogerson underline several points regarding family in chapter five.⁶ They both grew unusually old, wed relatively older, and gave birth to a fairly large family in a relatively short amount of time. Yet the family composition cannot be viewed entirely separately from the economic hardships they endured after emancipation. Nor the general financial difficulties emancipated people had to navigate while trying to compose their families to their views or that of state and church. But why did the emancipated and state interests clash precisely in marriage and childbirth?

² For an elaboration on the literature review, see section 1.2. For the corresponding pieces of literature, see, e.g.: Y. Attema, *St. Eustatius: A Short History of the Island and Its Monuments*, trans. P. Daniels (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1976); J. Hartog, *De Forten, Verdedigingswerken En Geschiedstellingen van Sint Eustatius En Saba. Van Pieter van Corselles Tot Abraham Heyliger, 1636–1785* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 1997); J. F. Jameson, 'St. Eustatius in the American Revolution', *The American Historical Review* 8, no. 4 (1903): 683–708; B. W. Tuchman, *The First Salute: A View of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1988).

³ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862, Identifier: 0000428181. See also: J. Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden. Sint Maarten – Saba – Sint Eustatius*, Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen, IV (Aruba: De Wit N.V., 1964), 299–301.

⁴ Derived from the core dataset. For an elaboration on the sources and methodology, see chapter 2.

⁵ The core dataset. For an elaboration on migration, see chapter 4.

⁶ The core dataset. For an elaboration on the family, see chapter 5.

This thesis answers all of the abovementioned questions within their corresponding chapters and paragraphs. These questions show how the socio-economic legacy of slavery impacted emancipated people. Emancipation took away the few social services that slavery provided, for example, shelter, clothing, food and drink, and even medical attention.⁷ As a result, it raised the expectation of emancipated people to provide for themselves, even though these people had little to no prior experience in maintaining themselves outside the system of slavery. They were at their own mercy. This does not mean emancipated people were solely victims. Evidence suggests that they acted according to their rationale to make ends meet and actively used their newfound freedom and self-determination to navigate their new lives accordingly.⁸ As stated before, this thesis zooms in on two survival strategies that emancipated people relied on: migration and family.

1.1. Research questions

Caribbean migration and family during the nineteenth-century process of emancipation are both historically and conceptually entangled. In a historical sense, this entanglement already started during the age of slavery. The forced migration of enslaved people, whether through sales or otherwise, affected existing family structures in one way or the other.⁹ Conversely, after the abolition of slavery, migration and family were crucial in survival for the emancipated, as literature on the Leeward Islands has already pointed out.¹⁰ Put differently, migration and family became a means of existence after emancipation, where seasonal migrants, for example, left their families searching for work elsewhere, only to return later.

On a conceptual level, this thesis interprets emancipation, migration, and family founding as life events. These life events constituted the life courses of emancipated Statians. Glen Elder and Tamara Hareven stood at the forefront of what later became 'the life course approach'.¹¹ Two other advocates of this conceptual framework, Aart Liefbroer and Pearl Dijkstra, provided a most usable definition of a life course as 'a sequence of positions assumed by an individual over time'.¹²

⁷ For an exploration of eighteenth-century St. Eustatius, see chapter 3.

⁸ For scholarly works on migration as a survival strategy, see, e.g.: B. C. Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants: Environment and Human Survival on St. Kitts and Nevis* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); E. M. Thomas-Hope, 'Island Systems and the Paradox of Freedom: Migration in the Post-Emancipation Leeward Islands', in *Small Islands, Large Questions: Society, Culture, and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean*, ed. K. F. Olwig, Studies in Slave and Post-Slave Societies and Cultures (London-Portland: F. Cass, 1995), 161–78; G. F. Tyson, "'Our Side": Caribbean Immigrant Labourers and the Transition to Free Labour on St. Croix, 1849–79', in *Small Islands, Large Questions: Society, Culture, and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean*, ed. K. F. Olwig, Studies in Slave and Post-Slave Societies and Cultures (London-Portland: F. Cass, 1995), 135–60. For scholarly works on family as a survival strategy, see, e.g.: R. M. Allen, 'Di Ki Manera?: A Social History of Afro-Curaçaoans, 1863–1917' (Utrecht, Utrecht University, 2007); R. M. Allen, 'Contesting Respectability and Sexual Politics in Post-Emancipation Curaçao', in *Achaeologies of Erasures and Silences: Recovering Other Languages, Literature and Cultures in the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond*, ed. N. Faraclas et al., vol. 1 (Curaçao-Puerto Rico: University of Curaçao/University of Puerto Rico, 2017), 99–112; H. Everaert, 'Changes in Fertility and Mortality around the Abolition of Slavery in Suriname', *The History of the Family* 16, no. 3 (2011): 235–49.

⁹ C. W. van Galen and M. S. Hassankhan, 'A Research-Note on the Slave Registers of Suriname, 1830–1865', *The History of the Family* 23, no. 3 (2018): 506.

¹⁰ Allen, 'Di Ki Manera?', 231–32; Thomas-Hope, 'Island Systems', 166–68.

¹¹ For their first main contributions towards this approach, see: G. H. Elder, *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); T. K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*, Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

¹² A. C. Liefbroer and P. A. Dykstra, *Levenslopen in Verandering. Een Studie Naar Ontwikkelingen in de Levenslopen van Nederlanders Geboren Tussen 1900 En 1970*, Voorstudies En

Or, as yet another advocate would later describe it: ‘the life course is a cumulative process and should therefore be studied as a whole.’¹³ These definitions highlight that, although a life course is individual, it is everything but individualistic. Actors possess a certain degree of agency while being influenced by: external factors, decisions of others, and previous experiences. These factors determine life courses. The time and place, along with the timing and pace of life events, contribute to the unique development of a life course.¹⁴ Due to a source material deficit, there are little to no studies to follow up on life courses of (formerly) enslaved individuals.¹⁵ Regardless, this thesis interprets migration and family founding as interdependent life events of Statians.

Both considerations culminate in the following research question. Why did first-generation, formerly enslaved Statians rely on migration and the family as survival strategies after emancipation between 1863 and 1909? St. Eustatius is the central stage of this thesis for at least three reasons. First, previous research on the demographic properties of the enslaved population on the eve of abolition characterised Statia as a reasonably typical or average Caribbean island.¹⁶ Secondly, and as scholars already displayed, the Leeward Island group is unique in its inter-imperial structure, with foreign, neighbouring islands within viewing distance of each other.¹⁷ Thirdly, literature on Statia’s slavery history remains severely limited.¹⁸ The temporal scope of this thesis, from 1863 to 1909, ties in with the main actors: the first generation of emancipated Statians. Previous research pointed out that the average life expectancy at birth of enslaved women in the Dutch-speaking Caribbean in 1863 was 40.0 years.¹⁹ Although emancipation will undoubtedly have impacted this average, the temporal scope should provide an approximate frame nonetheless.

To help answer the main research question, I formulate two sub-questions. First, however, the social, political, and economic developments of St. Eustatius throughout the second half of the nineteenth century are explored. This historical context provides a solid background study that seamlessly complements the two sub-questions. After the historical context, this thesis shifts to the topic of migration with the first sub-question. How did migration impact the decline of the population of St. Eustatius between 1863 and 1909? The only information available on the post-emancipation population of St. Eustatius describes a sharp fall. However, there is no explanation for why this happened. Nor do we have a sense of emancipated people and their place

Achtergronden/Wetenschappelijke Raad Voor Het Regeringsbeleid, 0169-6688; V107 (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 2000), 19–20. ‘...een opeenvolging van posities die een persoon in de loop van tijd bekleedt.’

¹³ J. Kok, ‘Principles and Prospects of the Life Course Paradigm’, *Annales de Démographie Historique* 113, no. 1 (2007): 204–5.

¹⁴ G. H. Elder, M. K. Johnson, and R. Crosnoe, ‘The Emergence and Development of Life Course Theory’, in *Handbook of the Life Course*, ed. J. T. Mortimer and M. J. Shanahan (Boston: Springer US, 2003), 10–14.

¹⁵ H. Everaert, ‘Mogelijkheden En Moeilijkheden van de Levensloopbenadering in de Historische Demografie van Suriname Paramaribo’, in *Verkenningen in de Historiografie van Suriname. Van Koloniale Geschiedenis Tot Geschiedenis van Het Volk*, ed. M. Hassankhan, J. Egger, and E. Jagdew (Paramaribo: Anton de Kom Universiteit van Suriname, 2013), 207–9.

¹⁶ W. Raaijmakers, ‘Towards a Slavery Demographic of St. Eustatius, 1863: A Research-Note on the Borderellen and Emancipation Registers’, *Basiton: Working Papers on Slavery and Its Afterlives* 2, no. 1 (2021): 3–26.

¹⁷ K. F. Olwig, ‘Emancipation and Its Consequences’, in *Small Islands, Large Questions: Society, Culture, and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean*, ed. K. F. Olwig, Studies in Slave and Post-Slave Societies and Cultures (London-Portland: F. Cass, 1995), 1–7.

¹⁸ B. W. Higman, ‘Post-Emancipation Historiography of the Leeward Islands’, in *Small Islands, Large Questions: Society, Culture, and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean*, ed. K. F. Olwig, Studies in Slave and Post-Slave Societies and Cultures (London-Portland: F. Cass, 1995), 20–21.

¹⁹ H. E. Lamur, ‘Demographic Performance of Two Slave Populations of the Dutch Speaking Caribbean’, *Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe* 30, no. 1 (1981): 89.

within this development.²⁰ Finally, this thesis considers the family structures of emancipated Statians on St. Eustatius with the second sub-question. How did migration, mortality, and fertility impact the family compositions of emancipated Statians during childbirth and marriage between 1863 and 1909? Demographic parameters like migration, mortality, and fertility determined the possibilities of family compositions, which reveals information on the socio-economic conditions of emancipated Statians. The 'life course approach' conceptual framework ties these aspects together.

1.2. Literature review

Johan Hartog wrote one of the oldest works on St. Eustatius in 1964 that still is relevant today.²¹ Although slightly dated, Hartog presented a monumental, four-part series on the history of the Dutch Antilles, covering Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao (in two volumes), and the Leeward Islands of St. Martin, Saba, and St. Eustatius. Due to their comprehensive nature, the books provide a firm foundation for scholars seeking a way into Dutch Caribbean history. However, on the flip side of this comprehensiveness, some information could benefit from renewed and improved research due to the book's age. Hartog stated that 'a majority' of formerly enslaved Statians migrated towards the other Leeward Islands in search of work.²² In this regard, he did not flesh out the Dutch Leeward's connections to the neighbouring foreign islands like Anguilla, Saint Kitts and Nevis, or Antigua and Barbuda. Nor did he explore the aspect of family ties and networks that spread among this archipelago.²³

Interestingly, the literature on Statia's colonial history experienced an almost thirty-year gap. The next piece of literature to write on St. Martin and its connections to St. Eustatius would appear in 1993 by A. F. Paula.²⁴ In the meantime, debates on Caribbean migration and family had emerged that influenced later scholarly works. In 2016, Jessica Vance Roitman wrote two of the most prominent pieces of literature on St. Eustatius.²⁵ To this day, the literature on St. Eustatius remains limited nonetheless. A discussion of the literature follows regarding nineteenth-century Caribbean migration and family, emphasising emancipation and its aftermath. The pivotal points of debate are social perspective and agency in the post-emancipation Caribbean and sources and methodologies that scholars used to describe these histories.

Migration

The debate on post-emancipation migration includes discussion trends from the 1970s that continue to influence publications today. Douglas Hall would be the first entry in the discussion on migration in 1971.²⁶ Hall discussed the consequences of emancipation to a society on the British Leeward islands of Antigua, Barbuda, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitts. 'Whites' dominated

²⁰ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 704.

²¹ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*.

²² Hartog, 371–75.

²³ Hartog, 300–303.

²⁴ A. F. Paula, *'Vrije' Slaven. Een Social-Historische Studie over de Dualistische Slavenemancipatie Op Nederlands Sint Maarten, 1816–1863* (Zutphen: Centraal Historisch Archief, 1993).

²⁵ J. V. Roitman, 'Land of Hope and Dreams: Slavery and Abolition in the Dutch Leeward Islands, 1825–1865', *Slavery & Abolition* 37, no. 2 (2016): 375–98; J. V. Roitman, 'The Price You Pay: Choosing Family, Friends, and Familiarity over Freedom in the Leeward Islands, 1835–18', *Journal of Global Slavery* 1, no. 2 (2016): 196–223. This excludes popular publications like: W. de Bruin, *De Gouden Rots. Hoe Op Sint-Eustatius Wereldgeschiedenis Werd Geschreven* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2019).

²⁶ D. Hall, *Five of the Leewards, 1834–1870: The Major Problems of the Post-Emancipation Period in Antigua, Barbuda, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitts* (St. Lawrence-London, 1971).

this society, but 'free blacks' and 'slaves' bore it.²⁷ Considering the then plantation-based society that mostly cultivated sugar, Hall observed that the white plantocracy had to either use force to retain a workforce or seduce them financially. Planters feared that women, children, and the elderly would withdraw quickly after the abolition of slavery.²⁸ On the note of this labour gap after emancipation, he later added that 'the difficulty lay in persuading or attracting them to come to work on the estates. In none of the Leeward Islands did planters call for large importations of indentured estate-labour such as were demanded in Trinidad, British Guiana, or Jamaica.'²⁹

In doing so, a scholar like Hall distinguished himself from Hartog in two ways. First, by shifting the focus from one island to the entire – albeit exclusively British imperial – Leeward Island group. Secondly, by changing the social perspective from the islands as institutional actors to the slaveowners. Hall illustrated his findings using official administration data, although he admitted that these numbers were likely incomplete due to plenty of workers travelling via unofficial routes.³⁰ As a result, however, migration would be reduced to a matter of wage labour. This reduction left plenty of room for interpretation of the agency of formerly enslaved individuals and their personal reasons for migrating.

Furthermore, Hall discussed post-emancipation migration almost exclusively as a matter of not letting the formerly enslaved workforce move out, for example, with the use of 'apprentices'. These two observations by Hall would spark debates with different approaches to the labour gap. One method was more economical, and the other was predominantly cultural.³¹

Most interestingly, because of its relevance to the formerly enslaved, the debate took an interest in migration as a way of cultural resistance and existence. Bonham Richardson would introduce an innovative take on post-emancipation migration in 1980.³² He paved the way for thinking of migration of emancipated on the British Leeward islands both as a way of survival and a form of resistance to the former planters:

'The cultural "persistence" of a migration tradition in St Kitts and Nevis is therefore not an institutionalized inheritance from the past. Rather, this tradition survives because of its functional necessity [...]. The individualism displayed by the earliest migrants from the Leewards and also their descendants continues as a major cultural characteristic of the common folk of the Caribbean.'³³

²⁷ Hall, 8–10.

²⁸ Hall, 10–11.

²⁹ Hall, 32.

³⁰ Hall, 8. See also page 41.

³¹ Although beyond the scope of this research, the debate on post-emancipation migration took interest in the immigration of contract labourers: S. L. Engerman, 'Economic Change and Contract Labour in the British Caribbean: The End of Slavery and the Adjustment to Emancipation', in *Abolition and Its Aftermath: The Historical Context, 1790–1916*, ed. D. Richardson, Legacies of West Indian Slavery (London-Totowa: F. Cass, 1985), 225–26. Later contributions by, e.g., Piet Emmer, would expand this fabric even further by including European contract migration between the 16th and 18th centuries, in addition to African and Asian contract migration during the 19th and 20th centuries: E. van den Boogaart and P. C. Emmer, 'Colonialism and Migration: An Overview', in *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*, ed. P. C. Emmer, Comparative Studies in Overseas History 7 (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1986), 3–15. Engerman would delve into the racial origins of these two migration streams: S. L. Engerman, 'Servants to Slaves to Servants: Contract Labour and European Expansion', in *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery*, ed. P. C. Emmer, Comparative Studies in Overseas History 7 (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1986), 263–94.

³² B. C. Richardson, 'Freedom and Migration in the Leeward Caribbean, 1838–1848', *Journal of Historical Geography* 6, no. 4 (1980): 391–408.

³³ Richardson, 393–94. See also pages 407–408.

Richardson flipped the script Hall provided nine years prior while relying on some of the same numbers.³⁴ The focus was no longer on the plantation society but on formerly enslaved individuals who actively pursued their freedom of mobility, which would later become a tradition for their descendants. He richly illustrated his thesis with numerical data on migration while aware of the 'quantitative discrepancies between official and unofficial migration estimates.'³⁵

Karen Olwig edited a more recent contribution to this line of thought in 1995.³⁶ Olwig stated that the volume would transcend the abovementioned issues of 'freed slaves having thus been largely reduced to the status of workers, and their widespread attempts to acquire land on which to settle having been examined mainly as a threat to the existing plantation system'. These issues resulted from historiography focussing on the socio-economic process of emancipation instead of the post-emancipation period.³⁷ Indeed, as Barry Higman would point out in his historiographical introduction to the volume: 'with the exception of Richardson's contributions, the recent debates have not focused on the Leeward Islands.'³⁸ Yet, as Higman continued, the field of post-emancipation studies could benefit significantly from the rich and diverse experience of the Leeward Islands, especially the French and Dutch.

The two most noteworthy contributions to Olwig's volume concerning migration were that of George Tyson and Elizabeth Thomas-Hope.³⁹ Tyson especially highlighted the qualitative importance of post-migration histories where quantitative information is lacking. He laid bare the discrepancies between the theory and practice of emancipation as a socio-legal process on the Danish island of St. Croix. On St. Croix, emancipated were entrenched in legal restrictions after the abolition of slavery, limiting their mobility to combat the labour gap while being confronted with competing immigrant labourers.⁴⁰ Thomas-Hope took a more conceptual approach to the Leeward Islands. She dubbed the government entrenching emancipated in legal restrictions the 'paradox of freedom'.⁴¹ To summarise the essence of this interpretation of post-emancipation migration:

'Migration persisted as an expression of the pursuit of personal freedom and an acceptable identity, as well as of survival and material viability. As such it inevitably encompassed the dilemmas of absenteeism and belonging, of resisting the constraints to freedom and opportunity and accommodating to the post-emancipation plantation system that conditioned political, economic, and social spheres of life. Migration expressed the dialectic of enslaved and marronage, of resistance and adaptation.'⁴²

Migration had not just become part of a tradition of resistance in how Richardson described it but paved the way to building new identities for the newly emancipated.

This coherence between migration and identity eventually became relevant to broader scholarly works on early modern forced migration. In 2002, David Eltis depicted the process of Atlantic colonial expansion as 'a critical stage in the conflation and consolidation of the world's

³⁴ Richardson, 402.

³⁵ Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants*, 88. See also pages 126 and 132.

³⁶ K. F. Olwig, ed., *Small Islands, Large Questions: Society, Culture and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean* (London-Portland: F. Cass, 1995).

³⁷ Olwig, 'Emancipation and Its Consequences', 3.

³⁸ Higman, 'Post-Emancipation Historiography', 20–21.

³⁹ Tyson, 'Our Side'; Thomas-Hope, 'Island Systems'.

⁴⁰ Tyson, 'Our Side', 135–43. See also pages 155–156.

⁴¹ Thomas-Hope, 'Island Systems', 172–73.

⁴² Thomas-Hope, 174.

peoples and cultures.⁴³ Eltis' comparative approach to forced migration from Africa to the Americas revealed several exciting patterns on the issue of agency and migration. The most notable was the diversity of long-distance coerced migration during the age of slavery.⁴⁴ As he remarked, it is strange that scholars had long associated trans-Atlantic migration with Europeans seeking freedom in the New World. If anything, group identities are vital in explaining the slave trade and slavery, with these mechanisms having 'reinforced a sense of separateness among those living in a slave society.'⁴⁵ According to Eltis, the black group identity was more inclusive than that of whites and ultimately persisted due to the racially bound hardships they endured during slavery.

In this sense, Eltis deviated from Thomas Hope's paradox of freedom. Migration as a historical process has continually been reinforcing group identities. In comparison, Thomas-Hope viewed the act of migrating as part of building an identity or even a tradition. Eltis' conception was especially true in the case of the (trans-)Atlantic slave trade and slavery. The editors recently included this line of thought in the 2019 Routledge *Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination*, where Eltis would reproduce most of these findings.⁴⁶ In his essay, befittingly called 'Identity and Migration', 'group self-perceptions and social values are taken as the starting point of the migration instead of one of the consequences of migration.'⁴⁷ That also concludes the state of the art of the scholarly debate on emancipated and migration. Pre-emancipation migration reinforced group identities along a racial divide. At the same time, the act of migrating itself had become part of the identity of the formerly enslaved in the post-emancipation Caribbean.

The family

The historiography of Afro-Caribbean families can be divided into two movements. On the one hand, scholars usually write about the black family in slavery. On the other hand, in the recent past, some works have appeared on families of formerly enslaved people, although these works lag in numbers compared to the first stream. At the same time, both currents are necessary to grasp the overall picture of families freed from slavery with emancipation.

The three-pronged approach to the family in bondage that emerged in the 1970s has since been largely concluded.⁴⁸ As James H. Sweet highlighted in 2013, 'the most recent works on slave family seem to underscore the variability of family structures'.⁴⁹ The threefold discussion first highlighted the family to maintain economic production through reproduction for slaveowners.⁵⁰

⁴³ D. Eltis, 'Introduction: Migration and Agency in Global History', in *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*, ed. D. Eltis, The Making of Modern Freedom (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 2.

⁴⁴ Eltis, 4. See also page 36.

⁴⁵ D. Eltis, 'Free and Coerced Migrations from the Old World to the New', in *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*, ed. D. Eltis, The Making of Modern Freedom (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 60. Another take by Mechal Sobel describes identity, in turn, '...shaped the form and direction of migration streams': M. Sobel, 'Migration and Collective Identities Among the Enslaved and Free Populations of North America', in *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*, ed. D. Eltis, The Making of Modern Freedom (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 176.

⁴⁶ D. Eltis, 'Identity and Migration: The Atlantic in Comparative Perspective', in *The Atlantic World: Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination*, ed. W. Klooster and A. Padula, vol. Second edition (New York: Routledge, 2019), 146–68.

⁴⁷ Eltis, 146.

⁴⁸ J. H. Sweet, 'Defying Social Death: The Multiple Configurations of African Slave Family in the Atlantic World', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 252.

⁴⁹ Sweet, 252. For a conception of slavery as a social death, see: O. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge-Londen: Harvard University Press, 1982).

⁵⁰ R. W. Fogel and S. L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (New York: Norton, 1974), 126–28.

Mortality was generally high, and the options to import new labourers declined after the abolition of the international slave trade in 1807. Secondly, previous research capitalised on the predominant role of female figures in slave families and the consequent instability due to the lack of a leading male figure.⁵¹ Thirdly, scholars addressed family in slavery as a form of agency and resistance by enslaved.⁵² After all, family founding in bondage required resilience.

First, from an economic perspective, modern-day scholars have moved away from the above statement since the late 1990s. Instead, they highlighted the variability of the family during enslavement. Two of the first to do so were Brenda Stevenson and Larry Hudson Jr. in 1996 and 1997, respectively.⁵³ Stevenson examined antebellum Virginia. Personal stories, anecdotal evidence, newspaper reports, and judicial sources highlighted the diversity of family compositions above all.⁵⁴ She created room for discussion on what familial ties and family values meant for the enslaved, from plantation communities to husbands and wives to ever-meddling owners.⁵⁵ Hudson would be one of the first scholars to use this newfound space. While examining Antebellum South Carolina, Hudson introduced the family as more than just an adaptive mechanism.⁵⁶ He furthermore considered the impact of the master and other external factors, marriage tradition, family composition, and the socioeconomic backgrounds of those involved in slave marriage. In the end, Hudson determined that family was vital to enslaved South Carolina people who tried to survive and wanted to use the little social mobility they had during bondage.⁵⁷

Secondly, publications by modern-day scholars claimed the exact opposite of instability through matrifocality. They contended that matrifocality provided some certainty to the family in slavery and emancipation.⁵⁸ Yet, Jennifer Morgan and Emily West would build on these previous insights in 2004.⁵⁹ By studying multiple wills and inventories of South Carolina and Barbados, Morgan concluded that women were central to the system of slavery for the upkeep of its racial identity due to their reproductive function.⁶⁰ She highlighted not just the impact of slavery on women and families but also that of women and families on slavery. However, it was not the matrifocality that brought about this instability but rather the ability of women to fortify or breach isolated categories of identity.⁶¹ Scholars like West brought the relationship between male and female enslaved to the forefront. She primarily based her study on biographies of formerly enslaved individuals. She concluded that although the institution of slavery and slaveowners undermined family stability, enslaved people themselves strove towards union out of affection for one another.⁶²

⁵¹ J. Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family From Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 5–7, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.00656>.

⁵² H. G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 463–64.

⁵³ B. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); L. E. Hudson, *To Have and to Hold: Slave Work and Family Life in Antebellum South Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997).

⁵⁴ Stevenson, *Life in Black and White*, 159–65.

⁵⁵ Stevenson, 206–57.

⁵⁶ Hudson, *To Have and to Hold*, 183.

⁵⁷ Hudson, 177–84.

⁵⁸ Stevenson, *Life in Black and White*, 159–65; Hudson, *To Have and to Hold*, 177–84.

⁵⁹ J. L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*, Early American Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); E. West, *Chains of Love: Slave Couples in Antebellum South Carolina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

⁶⁰ Morgan, *Laboring Women*, 1–11. See also pages 196–201.

⁶¹ Morgan, 3.

⁶² West, *Chains of Love*, 1–10. See also pages 157–159.

Thirdly, on the matter of slave agency, three successive articles by Barry W. Higman in 1973, '75, and '78 laid a foundation that reframed the traditional conception of emancipated and family. Relying on plantation records from Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad, Higman argued in favour of solid bodies of kinship, despite 'the continued importation of slaves; the ruthless separation of kin through sale or removal; the overwhelming authority of the master'.⁶³ And even though the forms of these bonds were uncertain at times, where the mother's central role seemed to be the only secure one, the nuclear family core was a 'constant model'.⁶⁴ Higman subsequently linked these family compositions to the hardships of slavery that restricted family founding in one way or another and to that African and creole practices.⁶⁵ Michael Craton later echoed Higman's ideas with evidence from the Bahamas in 1979.⁶⁶

Although scholars like Stevenson, Hudson, Morgan, and West already critiqued an approach like Higman's to the family as having a stable, nuclear core, Wilma Dunaway most directly disagreed with this 'exaggeration' of agency in 2003.⁶⁷ The exaggeration of agency was just one of four flaws Dunaway signified in contemporary historiography.⁶⁸ On the notion of slave agency, she lashed out at scholars like Higman and Craton, who had traded the victimisation of enslaved for characteristics like agency, autonomy, and independence. The exaggeration of agency would have 'the effect of whitewashing from slavery'.⁶⁹ Interestingly, Dunaway makes her case with an equally quantitative approach, employing tax lists and census manuscripts to lay bare household compositions in slavery and emancipation.⁷⁰

Like Dunaway, other scholars bridged the gap between slavery and freedom, grasping the continuities and discrepancies between both systems.⁷¹ One such scholar was Huub Everaert, who in 2011 extended the socio-demographic research into the post-emancipation era by focusing on parameters like mortality and fertility in Surinam.⁷² If anything, this quantification of post-slavery history demonstrated the potential of these demographic data to infer the broader social change known as the abolition of slavery and how it impacted an aspect like family.⁷³

Meanwhile, another work on the family in slavery and emancipation in the Dutch Caribbean took a more socio-cultural approach to the subject. Rose Mary Allen presented 'the key factors determining the social and cultural life of Afro-Curaçaoans during the first fifty years after

⁶³ B. W. Higman, 'Household Structure and Fertility on Jamaican Slave Plantations: A Nineteenth-Century Example', *Population Studies* 27, no. 3 (1973): 527.

⁶⁴ B. W. Higman, 'The Slave Family and Household in the British West Indies, 1800-1834', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6, no. 2 (1975): 283.

⁶⁵ B. W. Higman, 'African and Creole Slave Family Patterns in Trinidad', *Journal of Family History* 3, no. 2 (1978): 176-77.

⁶⁶ M. Craton, 'Changing Patterns of Slave Families in the British West Indies', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10, no. 1 (1979): 1-35. See also Higman's contribution from 1995, that is arguably one of the larger socio-demographic studies of its kind: B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* (Kingston, Jamaica: The Press, University of the West Indies, 1995).

⁶⁷ W. A. Dunaway, *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation*, Studies in Modern Capitalism (New York: Maison des Sciences de l'homme/Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2. See also: Stevenson, *Life in Black and White*, 159-65; Hudson, *To Have and to Hold*, 177-84.

⁶⁸ Dunaway, *The African-American Family*, 2. '...a flawed view of the slave family, scholarly neglect of small plantations, limited analysis of the Upper South, and academic exaggeration of slave agency.'

⁶⁹ Dunaway, 4.

⁷⁰ Dunaway, 13. See also pages 114-141.

⁷¹ See, e.g.: Gutman, *The Black Family*.

⁷² Everaert, 'Changes in Fertility and Mortality'. For a study on the demographic characteristics of the enslaved population of Suriname, see: A. A. van Stipriaan, *Surinaams Contrast. Roofbouw En Overleven in Een Caraïbische Plantagekolonie, 1750-1863* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015).

⁷³ Everaert, 'Changes in Fertility and Mortality', 235-37.

the abolition of slavery in 1863'.⁷⁴ She used socio-cultural sources, such as oral history and primary and secondary sources.⁷⁵ Interestingly, Allen used social contrasts imposed on formerly enslaved people after emancipation. On the one hand, she examined how local family forms and togetherness took shape. On the other hand, she explained how church and state tried to mould and bend these local practices to their will. In this sense, she attributes a certain degree of agency to the emancipated: '...it is important to look at change and continuity over time with regard to culture and to examine the role Afro-Curaçaoans played in this process of change.'⁷⁶

In the end, Allen concluded that families enduring 'involved a constant search for land, for food and for wage labour', where men and women contributed equally.⁷⁷ That is not to say men and women were not subjected to different norms when expected to live respectable lives. Allen described that women in particular 'instilled in their children the importance of family relationships and passed on information about their relatives.'⁷⁸ Both men and women, however, were subjugated to *bida drechi*, 'a monogamous relationship between a man and a woman sanctioned by civil but principally religious marriage.'⁷⁹ Following this moral code, Allen concluded that church, state, and family roles subjugated women. In 2017, Allen reproduced some of these findings and expanded on the concept of respectability.⁸⁰ Respectability included becoming 'responsible and dedicated husbands, providers and fathers' for men, while women had to live up to standards of femininity.⁸¹ Moreover, respectability meant distancing oneself from their Afro ethnicity.

St. Eustatius

The above discussions on migration and family display some striking parallels. These parallels are now formulated in the form of three questions. First is the threshold of agency and oppression: when does the story of (formerly) enslaved individuals actively pursuing their social mobility become an act of self-determination instead of a necessary precaution in surviving? And secondly, how can historians approach life events like migration and the founding of a family to draw definite conclusions without losing sight of the variety and diversity of individual cases? The above discussions, thirdly, beg the question: where is St. Eustatius to be found in all this literature? Two recent publications by Jessica Vance Roitman are one possible answer to all three questions.⁸² In 2016, she released two related articles on the consequences of emancipation on neighbouring islands for the enslaved St. Eustatian population.⁸³

⁷⁴ Allen, 'Di Ki Manera?', 9. For a study on slavery and freedom regarding manumission on eighteenth-century Curaçao, see: H.R. Jordaan, 'Slavernij En Vrijheid Op Curaçao. De Dynamiek van Een Achttiende-Eeuws Atlantisch Handelsknooppunt' (Doctoral Thesis, Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, 2012).

⁷⁵ Allen, 'Di Ki Manera?', 10.

⁷⁶ Allen, 9–10.

⁷⁷ Allen, 208–9.

⁷⁸ Allen, 227.

⁷⁹ Allen, 231–32.

⁸⁰ Allen, 'Contesting Respectability'.

⁸¹ Allen, 104–6.

⁸² Roitman, 'Land of Hope and Dreams'; Roitman, 'The Price You Pay'. Aside from A. F. Paula's 1993 monograph on St. Martin with references to Statia: Paula, *Vrije Slaven*. For a continuation of this explicitly inter-imperial research on Dutch and French colonial borderlands, see: L. Sicking, *Colonial Borderlands: France and the Netherlands in the Atlantic in the 19th Century*, trans. P. Mason (Leiden, 2008).

⁸³ For a historical overview of eighteenth-century St. Eustatius, see: H. Jordaan and V. Wilson, 'The Eighteenth-Century Danish, Dutch and Swedish Free Ports in the Northeastern Caribbean: Continuity and Change' (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 273–308; J. V. Roitman and H. Jordaan, 'Fighting a Foregone Conclusion: Local Interest Groups, West Indian Merchants, and St. Eustatius, 1780–1810', *TSEG / Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 12, no. 1 (2015): 79–100.

Concerning migration, Roitman used the inter-imperial positioning of St. Eustatius in the Leeward Island group to analyse the tendencies of maritime *marronage* of enslaved Statians until 1863. From St. Eustatius, neighbouring foreign islands were within viewing distance, and so was the possibility of freedom.⁸⁴ The British abolition of slavery in 1834 and the Danish, Swedish, and French abolitions around 1848 impacted the number of runaways. These abolitions provoked reactions from slaveowners and their enslaved property alike, considering information travelled quickly between and on the islands.⁸⁵ Contrary to the above status quaestionis on migration and identity, Roitman concluded that, above all, 'slaves from the Dutch Leeward islands who tried to escape matter because their attempts to reach freedom are a lens through which we can see how the Leewards worked as a geographical space.'⁸⁶ Enslaved utilised the geographical space of the Leeward Islands to flee from bonded labour and illegal slave sales. It was, in other words, not necessarily about slave identity as much as it was a matter of survival.

Roitman used the topic of the family both as an argument for and against *marronage*. On the one hand, the extended family networks spreading throughout the islands partly facilitated information on the possibility of freedom.⁸⁷ On the other hand, 'freedom without their friends and family in familiar surroundings was often too high a price to pay.'⁸⁸ During slavery, family proved to be a reason for (formerly) enslaved not to escape.⁸⁹ In this sense, whether the family as an institution was stable, it provided a certain sense of security. Roitman combined quantitative and qualitative methodology to reach both conclusions on migration and family. She used rough estimates of runaways and relied on anecdotal evidence to fill in the gaps.

This thesis builds on these findings by shifting the focus to the aftermath of emancipation. It furthermore employs different techniques to gain insight into the life courses of formerly enslaved Statians. This research lies at the cutting edge of migration and the family debates.

1.3. Structure

Following this introduction, this thesis is divided into four chapters. The second chapter deals with the different sources and methodologies of this thesis. How does the social perspective of the sources affect the information contained inside? Colonial sources are notorious for creating a paper reality that diverged from social reality. Chapter three zooms in on the historical context of St. Eustatius. How did emancipation impact the evolving social, political, and economic climate in the nineteenth-century Dutch Caribbean? Although not a sub-question, the chapter provides a historical foundation for subsequent chapters to build on. Chapter four concerns itself with the issue of migration. How did migration impact the decline of the population of St. Eustatius between 1863 and 1909? More specifically, it deals with the relevance of this decline to the mobility of formerly enslaved Statians. Chapter five subsequently focuses on the emancipated Statians that remained on St. Eustatius for the duration of the life events of marriage and childbirth. How did emancipated Statians compose their families in terms of marriage and childbirth? Mortality and fertility provide much insight into the socio-economic circumstances for families to emerge. Finally, the conclusion combines all insights gained throughout this thesis to satisfactorily answer the main research question. The conclusion moreover integrates both migration and the family instead of dealing with them separately.

⁸⁴ Roitman, 'Land of Hope and Dreams', 378–83; Roitman, 'The Price You Pay', 197–99.

⁸⁵ Roitman, 'Land of Hope and Dreams', 378–83; Roitman, 'The Price You Pay', 207.

⁸⁶ Roitman, 'Land of Hope and Dreams', 392.

⁸⁷ Roitman, 380.

⁸⁸ Roitman, 'The Price You Pay', 223.

⁸⁹ Roitman, 221–23.

2. Sources and methodology

I have used multiple sources for this thesis, some of which I have incorporated into the core dataset, while others serve as context. For example, the slavery dataset of St. Eustatius, 1863, was constructed using the *borderellen* and emancipation registers during previous research.⁹⁰ This cross-sectional data (illustrated by its vertical alignment in *Figure 1*) is the foundation for the core dataset of this thesis. The civil records of St. Eustatius, 1869–1909, are longitudinal data (illustrated by their horizontal alignment in *Figure 1*). They are used to track formerly enslaved people throughout time, for the life events of marriage, childbirth, and death on St. Eustatius. I use contextual sources like governmental enquiries and local newspapers to contextualise the information from the core dataset. I briefly address the data gap between 1863–69 in the section ‘Civil registry’ of the following paragraph but otherwise explore the gap in section 4.2, ‘Missing emancipated in the civil registry, 1863–69’.

Below, I give insight into the emancipation dataset of St. Eustatius. Then, I consider the civil records, after which I elaborate on the contextual sources. Lastly, I explain the cleaning, transforming, and matching of data from the core dataset.

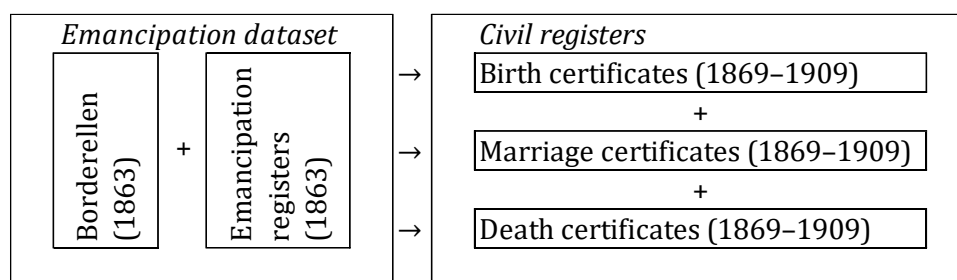


Figure 1: A schematic overview of the core dataset

2.1. Sources

Before elaborating on the process of constructing the core dataset, the underlying sources are evaluated and provided with context and critique. In a similar vein, Remco Raben explained that the main problem is that the colonial sources’ bias is nearly inescapable. Especially in the case of slavery histories, where perspectives other than that of the contemporary administrations are often lacking, ‘colonial information exerts a gravitational force upon how we look at history: it dictates the range of our view and suggests the terms in which we analyse the societies’.⁹¹ In other words, colonial sources do not just determine how we perceive these histories, such as social categories and classifications. They consequently limit how far we can perceive the vast undercurrent of information. That is why Raben fittingly concluded that ‘in the end, it remains

⁹⁰ W. Raaijmakers, ‘Slavery Emancipation dataset of St. Eustatius, 1863’. Data Archiving and Networked Services (henceforth: DANS), an institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (henceforth: KNAW) and the Dutch Research Council (henceforth: NWO). <https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/> (2021). DOI: 10.17026/dans-x27-fnye [Embargo 01-09-2023]. For a research-note on the dataset, see: Raaijmakers, ‘Towards a Slavery Demographic’.

⁹¹ R. Raben, ‘Ethnic Disorder in VOC Asia. A Plea for Eccentric Reading’, *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 134, no. 2 (2019): 115–17.

extremely important to read not along but beyond the archival grain.⁹² Therefore, this thesis combines a multitude of sources to try and transcend singular imperial narratives.⁹³

Emancipation dataset

The borderellen and emancipation registers were a product of the process of abolition. A borderel consisted of a signed receipt along with a list of enslaved with several characteristics. Both elements are displayed in *Images 2 and 3* by way of illustration.⁹⁴ Slaveowners or their representatives submitted initial lists of enslaved to the General Audit Chamber, after which three inspectors and a designated physician, called the verification committee, verified all 66 borderellen on May 18–21, 1862.⁹⁵ Children born after the proclamation of the Emancipation Act were unaccounted for, akin to emancipated with leprosy and elephantiasis.⁹⁶

Each of the elements of a borderel carried unique information. The receipt from *Image 2* displays the number of approbated enslaved and the corresponding sum of guilders. It furthermore contained the name of the slaveowner and their signature. More interestingly, the second part, displayed in *Image 3*, includes a variety of variables on enslaved themselves. One such enslaved was a little girl called Judith Marsdin: the slaveowner recorded her first name (Judith), sex (female), age (one), occupation (none), religion (Protestant), and any remarks such as leprosy or elephantiasis (none) in that order. Although these characteristics tell us something about Judith, several questions remain: Why was this information crucial in determining it was Judith in the first place? Who provided Judith's characteristics to her owners? And what were the implications of these factors for the report itself?

⁹² Raben, 117.

⁹³ R. Raben, 'A New Dutch Imperial History?: Perambulations in a Prospective Field', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 128, no. 1 (2013): 13.

⁹⁴ Raaijmakers, 'Towards a Slavery Demographic', 7–8.

⁹⁵ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 300–301; O. ten Hove and W. Hoogbergen, 'De Opheffing van de Slavernij in Suriname. Het Archief van de Algemene Rekenkamer in Nederland', *OSO. Tijdschrift Voor Surinaamse Taalkunde, Letterkunde En Geschiedenis* 19, no. 1 (2000): 1–2.

⁹⁶ For a list of prerequisites, see the emancipation act: '(No. 165.) Wet van den 8sten Augustus 1862, houdende opheffing der slavernij op de eilanden Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Eustatius, Saba en St. Martin (Nederl. ged.).', *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (henceforth: SKN), 1 Jan. 1862.

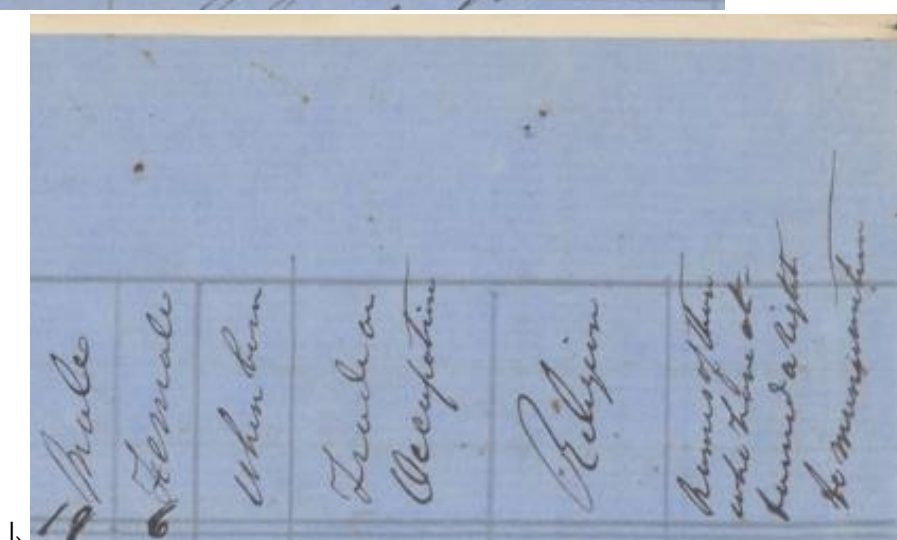
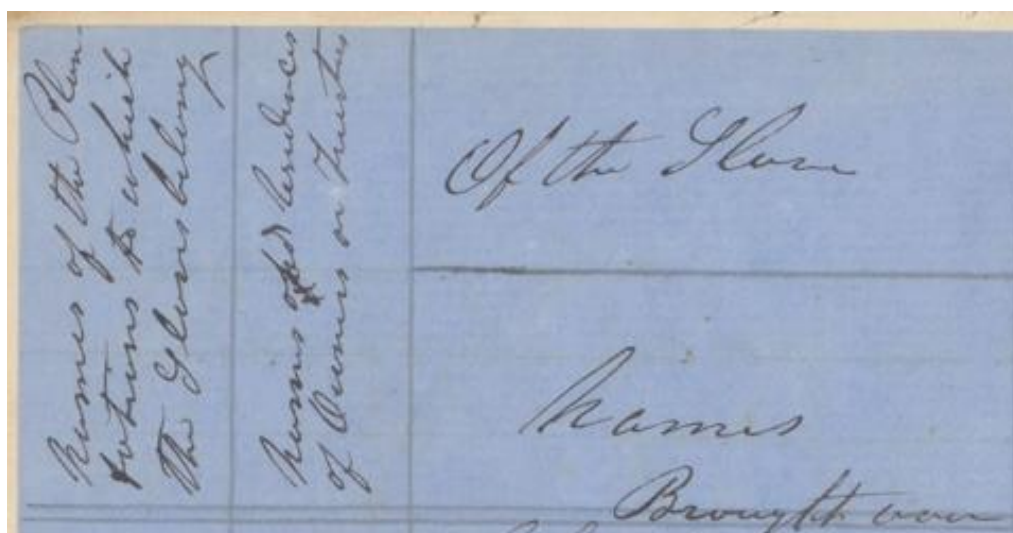


Image 3: An enhanced overview of the columns in the list of enslaved property as the second part of the borderel of the Campbells, from left to right: 'names of the plantations to which the slaves belong, names and residence of owners and trustees; of the slave, names, male, female, when born, trade or occupation, religion, those who have obtained a right to manumission'

Source: NL-HaNA_2.02.09.08_247_0012.

The characteristics provided in the borderellen, as Okke ten Hove and Wim Hoogbergen have argued, were crucial in describing Judith because the government would compensate her owners with a sizeable standard sum of two hundred guilders, akin to every other approbated enslaved person. The amount of money at stake required a meticulous verification process.⁹⁷ And although her owners drafted the information on Judith, a characteristic like occupation simultaneously attests to a social structure in the slave population.⁹⁸ A variable like religion, however, hints at another dimension of slavery: Christianisation. Being a Christian was required to be eligible for manumission, although it was not a prerequisite for emancipation. Furthermore, mainly the Dutch Reformed and Methodist churches provided weekly Sunday education, aside from services, to free and enslaved people.⁹⁹ These perks could alter the preferred movements.

Lastly, the borderellen are enticing because of what they do not tell us. Judith's family relations and social ties may have been evident to her but are unapparent in the borderellen. The government apparently did not deem this information relevant for compensation.

The emancipation registers somewhat fill this gap, as the registrar listed Judith's mother, Martha Ann, and grandmother Leah. The registry consequently touched upon other family members.¹⁰⁰ Contemporary laws prescribed mothers and children to remain united.¹⁰¹ The emancipation registry also built on the borderellen more presently. Judith appeared in her borderel-based cohort within the emancipation registers, referenced by the borderel number 58, as displayed in *Image 4*. Although the local administration drafted emancipation registers in Oranjestad to record everyone who the Dutch government liberated in 1863, there are traces that the logs were used long after that. The remarks column sometimes listed recognitions of children, marriages, and deaths. In Judith's case, she was recognised with the marriage of Abram Spanner and Martha Ann on June 4, 1902, illustrated in *Image 5* under number 966.¹⁰²

The registers also beg the question of why they may have been used to keep records of emancipated long after emancipation. Why were these registers used alongside the civil registers to keep track of the marriage of Judith's parents? A practical reason was that people born into slavery did not have birth certificates. The registrar commonly added information about name changes, acknowledgements, and legalisations to the birth certificate as notes.¹⁰³ The scholar Alexandra Widmer provided another possible answer. She claimed that 'identity categories through which populations are accounted for in censuses do not merely reflect reality, for as they are embedded in racial, ethnic and national politics, census categories play a role in constructing identities.'¹⁰⁴ The Dutch government may have wanted to be able to track emancipated like Judith in their own register to keep them within a separate, formerly enslaved identity. This idea of representation through registration could have been part of the colonial narrative on St. Eustatius, in which the government tried to maintain control through a colonial census.

⁹⁷ ten Hove and Hoogbergen, 'De Opheffing van de Slavernij', 1–2.

⁹⁸ ten Hove and Hoogbergen, 3.

⁹⁹ Raaijmakers, 'Towards a Slavery Demographic', 10–11.

¹⁰⁰ NL-SeusGE_Slavenregisters-St. Eustatius_1_0028.

¹⁰¹ van Galen and Hassankhan, 'A Research-Note', 506.

¹⁰² NL-SeusGE_Slavenregisters-St. Eustatius_1_0028. 'Erkend by huwelijk van Abram Spanner en Martha Ann - 4 juni 1902.'

¹⁰³ R. F. Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand En Bevolkingsregister* (Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 1988), 62–63.

¹⁰⁴ A. Widmer, 'Making People Countable: Analyzing Paper Trails and the Imperial Census', in *Sources and Methods in Histories of Colonialism: Approaching the Imperial Archive*, ed. K. Reid and F. Paisley, The Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources (Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2017), 101.

While the borderellen and emancipation registers reflect their administrative origin, the variables drafted in these sources reflect underlying social realities, which I consider moving forward. Ten Hove and Hoogbergen suggested that researchers could use both sources to create a census of the enslaved Statian population in 1863.¹⁰⁶ I merged the two sources into the emancipation dataset by hand, which was made possible due to the relatively small number of enslaved people with 1,201 individuals. The process of matching was a fairly simple one. Because the registrar denoted borderel numbers in the emancipation registers, and enslaved were furthermore registered in borderel-based cohorts, as shown in *Image 4*, I compared each borderel with the designated borderel number in the records. Moving forward, I matched similar names within the borderel and cohort and considered age constraints, albeit somewhat leniently. In case a variable like age appeared in both sources, I opted for the emancipation registry over the borderellen, as a single registrar constructed that source instead of a variety of owners. I added a suffix to each variable to indicate whether I derived information from the borderellen or the emancipation registry. All info was input at face value so that characteristics like occupations from the borderellen could be categorised by later users if need be. I translated Dutch occupations into English and included a list in *Appendix A*.

Of the 1,201 individuals, 94 remained unmatched between the sources, meaning the matching process mounted up to a 92.2% match. The remaining 7.8% could be a result of a variety of reasons. Naturally, I could have overlooked some individuals in the matching process itself. However, individuals could also have died between the construction of the borderellen and the drafting of emancipation registers.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps some others migrated at their leisure before being able to be registered. Some others still may have been hired out at the time of verification.

Civil registry

Contrary to the borderellen and emancipation registers, the civil registers are not a colonial source necessarily. From 1811, the Dutch government dynamically recorded all mutations in citizens' civil status.¹⁰⁸ The registration process initially only applied to the Netherlands, and the Dutch government would only later introduce it to the colonies. On the Leeward Islands, registration would only start in 1869, explaining the data gap between 1863–69.¹⁰⁹ The civil registry included the life events of (child)birth, changes in marital status, and death. The registrar wrote each registration on pre-printed forms that they drafted in duplicate. One copy remained in the municipality, and the other was sent to the regional or provincial offices to be kept in a separate archive.¹¹⁰ Due to privacy regulations in the Dutch Civil Code, the government releases certificates from the civil registers with an embargo of 50, 75, and 100 years for the death, marriage, and birth certificates, respectively. Nowadays, each batch of newly-released certificates is digitised and uploaded by the Central Bureau for Genealogy (henceforth: CBG) on their domain WieWasWie.nl for genealogical research purposes.

The civil registers seem a reliable source to work with, as individual mutations in civil status are likely able to reflect broader societal changes. However, Mourits et al. pointed out two

¹⁰⁶ ten Hove and Hoogbergen, 'De Opheffing van de Slavernij', 2–3.

¹⁰⁷ ten Hove and Hoogbergen, 2. For regulations as to which enslaved persons would be compensated, see: '(No. 165.) Wet van den 8sten Augustus 1862, houdende opheffing der slavernij op de eilanden Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Eustatius, Saba en St. Martin (Nederl. ged.).' SKN, 1 Jan. 1862.

¹⁰⁸ Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 18–26.

¹⁰⁹ 'Het Nationaal Archief van de Nederlandse Antillen', Internet Archive – Genlias, last modified March 13, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20101122202228/http://genlias.nl/nl/page2226.jsp>.

¹¹⁰ R. Mourits, I. van Dijk, and K. Mandemakers, 'From Matched Certificates to Related Persons', *Historical Life Course Studies* 9, no. 1 (2020): 52; Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 21.

aspects that require attention from its users: ‘the civil registry only includes information on family ties that (1) left a paper trail and (2) were in accordance with the law.’¹¹¹ It is, therefore, essential to remember that the civil registry reflects the legal status instead of the population’s social status. In terms of undercount and non-registration, unmarried couples living together do not appear in the civil registers, nor does the fatherhood of children born outside legal marriage. It was, however, possible to legally recognise a child during marriage, although the recognising father was not necessarily the biological father.

In the end, Mourits et al. concluded that, notwithstanding imprecisions and oversights, ‘the civil certificates reflect the relations between the individuals quite well’, as the occurrences of undercount and non-registration remained an exception rather than the rule.¹¹² However, the civil registry developed itself within a European context. Nearly all children were born within a marriage or were legitimised by their parents or caretakers afterwards. This need not be the case in St. Eustatius. Were people inclined to register their children in the first place? Did they consider a registration to be in their best interest? With these uncertainties in mind, I chose the civil registers to track emancipated Statians like Judith Marsdin throughout time. The registry is one of the only sources to have structurally recorded emancipated their civil status.

Judith appeared six times in the civil registry after the abolition of slavery in 1863: three times as a mother on a birth certificate and three times as a mother on a death certificate.¹¹³ According to the marriage certificates, Judith never legally married on St. Eustatius, nor did she die before 1909, according to the death certificates. Although the father of her children remains unknown, I could retrace Judith giving birth to her twin daughters Leny and Martha Ann on November 9, 1886, and her son William Henry Ulysses Napoleon on October 25, 1891. Unfortunately, Leny, who probably appeared under the name of Lucy, was registered as deceased on November 11, 1886, at just two months old. On May 6, 1888, Martha Ann would befall the same fate as Leny, followed by a baby sister registered as lifeless on November 11, 1890. The demise of Judith’s daughters left William as her only remaining registered child. In line with legal prescriptions, the registrar did not register the dead newborn on the birth certificates.¹¹⁴ The girl was either born lifeless or had died before the declarer had reached the civil administration office. Other members of the Marsdin family appear in the civil registry after 1863. They provide some hope that Judith and William were not dependent on each other alone.

The civil registry inherently contains many variables. These variables were standardised to a high degree, adding to the registry’s reliability.¹¹⁵ A certificate, as shown in *Image 6*, included general information like the municipality, the registration date, event date and time, along with more specific information like names, age, gender, place of birth, place of residence, and occupation of the persons involved. Additional information in the marriage certificates jotted down on the sidelines could come down to, for example, recognitions of children during marriage and divorce dates. The accompanying *Table 1* shows all the information the registrar was legally required to include in the civil registry.

¹¹¹ Mourits, van Dijk, and Mandemakers, ‘From Matched Certificates’, 52.

¹¹² Mourits, van Dijk, and Mandemakers, 52.

¹¹³ The core dataset.

¹¹⁴ Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 42–43.

¹¹⁵ Mourits, van Dijk, and Mandemakers, ‘From Matched Certificates’, 53–54.

| General | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| municipality | | |
| registration date | | |
| event date | | |
| event time | | |
| Birth certificate | Marriage certificate | Death certificate |
| <i>Informant</i> | <i>Informant</i> | <i>Informant</i> |
| first name | - | first name |
| last name | - | last name |
| age | - | age |
| occupation | - | occupation |
| place of residence | - | place of residence |
| relation to the newborn | - | relation to the deceased |
| <i>Child</i> | <i>Bride & Groom</i> | <i>Deceased</i> |
| first name | first name | first name |
| last name | last name | last name |
| sex | | sex |
| place of birth | place of birth | place of birth |
| - | age | age |
| - | occupation | occupation |
| - | name former spouse | name (former) spouse |
| <i>Parents</i> | <i>Parents bride/groom</i> | <i>Parents</i> |
| first name | first name | first name |
| last name | last name | last name |
| occupation | occupation | occupation |
| place of residence | place of residence | place of residence |
| <i>Witnesses</i> | <i>Witnesses</i> | <i>Witnesses</i> |
| first name | first name | - |
| last name | last name | - |
| age | age | - |
| occupation | occupation | - |
| place of residence | place of residence | - |
| - | relation to bride/groom | - |
| <i>Other remarks</i> | <i>Other remarks</i> | <i>Other remarks</i> |
| acknowledgement of extramarital status | acknowledgement of premarital children | unsystematic |
| foundling | - | - |
| multiple births | - | - |
| name changes | - | - |
| - | divorce date & location | - |

Table 1: All variables from the civil registry per certificate

Source: R. Mourits, I. van Dijk, and K. Mandemakers, 'From Matched Certificates to Related Persons', *Historical Life Course Studies* 9, no. 1 (2020): 54.

While writing this thesis, in May 2022, I was granted access to the original scans of the civil registry by the Government Commissioner of St. Eustatius on account of the Census Office. For this, I am most grateful. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, I could not use these scans to create a dataset myself. That is why I relied on the CBG, which was so generous as to share their dataset in November 2021. Users can otherwise find this data on their domain *WieWasWie.nl*. It contains information from all birth, marriage, and death certificates between 1811 and 1909. The datasets on the Stadian civil registry are a direct result of the Dutch Genlias project and were made available by the National Archives of the Netherlands Antilles.¹¹⁶ This project ran for 15 years: from 1998 up until 2013. It aimed to input all available genealogical information from the civil registers into a searchable database, open to the broader public via the internet.¹¹⁷ The project relied on multiple regional archival institutions to achieve this goal, along with volunteers who worked under the supervision of archivists.¹¹⁸

According to Genlias' website, the project distinguished itself in three ways:

1. 'Reliability – Genlias can attain a high degree of reliability by using information stemming from authentic records from the Civil Register.
2. Quality – From a functional point of view, Genlias is an optimal system for opening up genealogical information from the Netherlands and overseas in a user-friendly environment.
3. National searching – Genlias is a national database that allows you to search the whole of the Netherlands. Provincial boundaries are of no importance. Data from overseas is also entered.'¹¹⁹

While boasting its reliability, the quality of the inputs by the volunteers is left amiss. My thesis supervisor kindly provided me with a checklist composed by the then overseeing archivist of the National Archives of the Netherlands Antilles. They guided volunteers on their inputs for St. Eustatius. From this list, I could derive that 1881–89 and 1893–95 for the birth certificates, and 1869–92 for the marriage certificates were input under supervision. All remaining certificates were digitised without the watchful eye of an archivist, although there may have been check-ups afterwards.

Regardless, it is hard to imagine that the inputs by these volunteers thwart the CBG files on the civil registry from being used as a source, mainly because legal prescriptions already standardised certificates to such a high degree. Perhaps some certificates require more corrections in spelling due to input errors than others. After the Genlias project was rounded off, all information was transposed to the CBG. They implemented the civil registry of St. Eustatius on their domain *WieWasWie.nl* in 2016.

Many of the variables shown in *Table 1* did not make it into the data files. The declarants, witnesses, recognitions of children, and patronymics were left out entirely. So were occupations, dates and places of birth of the brides and grooms and the deceased. The lacking information is

¹¹⁶ 'Het Nationaal Archief van de Nederlandse Antillen', Internet Archive – Genlias, last modified March 13, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20101122202228/http://genlias.nl/nl/page2226.jsp>.

¹¹⁷ 'Over Genlias', Internet Archive – Genlias, last modified March 13, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20101122201952/http://genlias.nl/nl/page20.jsp>.

¹¹⁸ For a list of participating archival institutions, see: 'Deelnemende archiefinstellingen', Internet Archive – Genlias, last modified January 21, 2021, <https://web.archive.org/web/20101122194701/http://genlias.nl/nl/page22.jsp>.

¹¹⁹ 'Ambition', Internet Archive – Genlias, last modified February 12, 2021, <https://web.archive.org/web/20101111234229/http://www.genlias.nl/en/page21.jsp>.

problematic. Ultimately, the National Archives of Curaçao (henceforth: NAC) solved this problem by sending in the Stadian civil registry in May 2022. The NAC files include information such as the declarant, witness, and recognitions of children. Some of this information proved indispensable while writing on the topic of family.

Contextual sources

Of the two types of contextual sources, the annual reports by the Minister of Colonial Affairs to the House of Representatives of the Netherlands between 1863 and 1909 capitalise further on the idea that knowledge equals power.¹²⁰ These proceedings reported on everything ranging from population numbers, military management, and judicial proceedings to religious institutions, charities, education, and finances each December. On the one hand, such reporting was part of a broader practice to annually review any developments within the Netherlands and base future policy and budget on them. On the other, combined with colonial census taking, enquiries were a tool to extend knowledge and assert colonial power.¹²¹ There are at least two dimensions to this concept of power. First is the general development of nation-states and their use of technological advancements such as census and enquiries to fortify existing control. Secondly is the willingness of the local populations to provide the necessary information. Gathering information for censuses or enquiries was an arduous process for which authorities required power to begin with.

The local governor of St. Eustatius would report the population numbers to the governor of Curaçao, who then communicated the results with the Minister of Colonial Affairs. As the 1880–81 reports explained:

‘The data about the population at the end of the year [...] has been taken from the registers of the district magistrates and the civil registrars, as well as from the reports sent to the governor [in Curaçao] by the local governors of the islands Bonaire, Aruba, St. Martin (Dutch part), and St. Eustatius and Saba.’¹²²

Unfortunately, exploratory archival research could not explain how the local governor of St. Eustatius would obtain his information. First, the archives of St. Eustatius were limited to 1709–1828 and 1828–45.¹²³ Secondly, the archive of the colonial government from Curaçao 1828–1939 was not digitally available.¹²⁴ Thirdly, the Ministry of Colonial Affairs 1850–1900 archive

¹²⁰ G. Roger Knight, ‘Colonial Knowledge and Subaltern Voices: The Case of an Official Enquiry in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Java’, in *Sources and Methods in Histories of Colonialism: Approaching the Imperial Archive*, ed. K. Reid and F. Paisley, The Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources (Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2017), 85–88.

¹²¹ Roger Knight, 95–96; Widmer, ‘Making People Countable’, 112–13.

¹²² States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1880–81, Identifiers: 0000403228 and 0000401450. ‘*De opgaven omtrent de bevolking bij het einde van het jaar, zoowel als die van de geboorten en sterfgevallen in dat jaar, zijn getrokken uit de registers van de wijk- en districtsmeesters en de ambtenaren van den burgerlijken stand, alsmede uit de verslagen, door de gezaghebbers der eilanden Bonaire, Aruba, St. Martin, (Ned. ged.), St. Eustatius en Saba aan den gouverneur ingezonden.*’

¹²³ NL-HaNA, Access No. 1.05.13.01 Inventaris van de archieven van St. Eustatius, St. Maarten en Saba, 1709–1828 (1869); Access No. 1.05.13.02 Inventaris van de archieven van St. Eustatius en Saba, 1828–1845 (1860).

¹²⁴ NAC, Access No. CW-WiNAC-001, 005 Archief van het Gouvernement/Archief Koloniale Overheid, 1828–1939.

contained correspondence and governor's journals but could not pinpoint the origin of the information either.¹²⁵

One of the two newspaper sources I use in this thesis allegedly served as an extension of the government. *De Curaçaosche Courant* was a weekly newspaper from Curaçao and was spread among the other islands of the Dutch Caribbean from 1816 onwards.¹²⁶ Once England returned the Caribbean islands to the nascent Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1816, the newspaper changed its publishing language from English to Dutch.¹²⁷ For nearly sixty years, the *Courant* remained the only publicly available press on St. Eustatius, as the *St. Eustatius Gazette* had halted its presses around 1793.¹²⁸ The newspaper concerned itself with governmental announcements and an overview of contemporary events.¹²⁹ Even though the *Courant* was a semi-official paper until it ceased business in 1883, Curaçao never provided any financial guarantees.¹³⁰

The other newspaper, *Amigoe di Curaçao*, chronologically followed up the *Courant* in 1884 but was dubbed a people's newspaper in contrast to its predecessor. The newspaper was a weekly specifically meant for Curaçao and its surrounding islands.¹³¹ *Amigoe* initially appeared in both Dutch and Papiamentu until 1900, after which Dutch became its sole publishing language. Its aim has always been to provide explanations in addition to information. The newspaper thus positioned itself as a mouthpiece to the general public. *Amigoe* furthermore continues to appear to this very day. Unfortunately, for this thesis, the newspaper only covers the last 25 years of the research period. Therefore, the *Courant* is the most significant source of information of the two newspapers throughout the considered post-emancipation period.

2.2. Methodology

I accomplished the cleaning, transforming, and matching of the civil registers to the emancipation dataset with R, an open-source programming language for statistical computing. Anyone with a computer could run the R script, regardless of the operating system or access to proprietary software. I enclosed the R script for cleaning, transforming and matching the core dataset in *Appendix C*. I accompanied this script with a step-by-step explanation in the texts following one or several hashtags. This approach is in line with what Wilkinson et al. called the 'FAIR Guiding Principles for scientific data management and stewardship': data should be Findable, Accessible, Interoperable, and Reusable.¹³² Therefore, the methods and results from this thesis should be transparent and reproducible.¹³³ Descriptive statistics operationalises data produced in this thesis to allow for in-text explanations of the information without inferential testing.

¹²⁵ NL-HaNA, Access No. 2.10.02 Inventaris van het archief van het Ministerie van Koloniën, 1850–1900.

¹²⁶ J. Hartog, *Journalistiek Leven in Curaçao* (Willemstad: Paulus-drukkerij, 1944), 84.

¹²⁷ S. Kalff, 'Curaçaosche Journalistiek', *De West-Indische Gids* 7, no. 1 (1925): 1.

¹²⁸ Hartog, *Journalistiek Leven*, 127–36; Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 730–31. Hartog 44, 127–136; Hartog 64, 730–1.

¹²⁹ Kalff, 'Curaçaosche Journalistiek', 1–2.

¹³⁰ Hartog, *Journalistiek Leven*, 25–26.

¹³¹ Hartog, 154–58.

¹³² M. D. Wilkinson et al., 'The FAIR Guiding Principles for Scientific Data Management and Stewardship', *Scientific Data* 3, no. 1 (2016).

¹³³ Practicalities aside, there are also ethical principles underlying this approach: J. R. Levin, 'Ethical Issues in Professional Research, Writing, and Publishing', in *Handbook of Ethics in Quantitative Methodology*, ed. A. T. Panter and S. K. Sterba, Multivariate Applications Series (New York: Routledge, 2011), 463–92.

Data cleaning

Considering the context of the data files of the civil registry explained above, the registers needed a thorough cleaning before I could use them consistently. The emancipation dataset, on the other hand, was ready to use. I addressed three things for each birth, marriage, and death certificate: the removal of empty columns for clarity, the removal of duplicate entries to correct input errors, and the splitting up of the general remarks columns into person-related remarks to retain as much information as possible. The last step is essential for future data transformations from a certificate to a person dataset.

First, I used R to summarise each of the three certificates to detect columns that did not contain any values. For the birth certificates, this resulted in the removal of five empty columns: the patronymic of the child, father, and mother, along with the occupations of the father and mother. For the marriage certificates, I removed eighteen empty columns: the patronymic of the bride and groom, their date and place of birth, occupation, and baptismal date, along with the patronymic of the father and mother and their occupation, of both bride and groom. For the death certificates, I removed nine empty columns: the patronymic of the deceased, father, mother, and partner and their occupation, along with the place of birth of the deceased.

Then, I combined the certificate dates with the number of the certificate for that date to create a unique identification number, with which I removed all duplicate entries for all the registered births, marriages, and deaths. For the birth certificates, this resulted in the removal of 364 duplicates, reducing the number of observations from 2,597 to 2,233. I removed 86 duplicates for the marriage certificates, reducing the number of observations from 444 to 358. For the death certificates, I removed 348 duplicates, reducing the number of observations from 2,843 to 2,495.

Lastly, I sought patterns and motifs in the general remarks columns to extract and allocate person-related remarks. The general remarks were clouded with birth districts for the birth certificates, even though this information was already present in the dataset. Therefore, I removed them from the general remarks. Next, the family role specified in the general remarks – ‘father’, ‘mother’, or ‘child’ – was used to create dedicated remarks. Additionally, I accounted for the father and mother’s full names. I applied a similar strategy to the marriage certificates, except for two things: there were no full searchable names in the general remarks, and I approached the roles of bride and groom with terms like ‘widow(er)’, ‘marriage to’, ‘dissolved’, and ‘divorce’, instead. This way, I adapted previous search strategies to a new type of certificate. Other roles defined in the general remarks were the fathers and mothers of brides and grooms, who were named accordingly.

Finally, the death certificates required yet another approach. Contrary to the birth districts in the general remarks from the birth certificates, the places and dates of birth in the general remarks from the death certificates were not already present in the dataset. Thus, before seeking out person-related remarks, this information was extracted from the general remarks to separate variables. Afterwards, the roles during death, ‘husband’, ‘wife’, ‘father’, and ‘mother’, were once again used to create dedicated remarks. Once I removed these sentences from the general remarks, I assigned the leftover ‘general’ remarks to the deceased.

Data transformations

As stated before, I use the civil registers to track people throughout time. Before doing so, I converted the records from a certificate to a person dataset. This way, individuals that appear in the civil registers and the emancipation dataset could be matched to each other. There are multiple ways to go about this transformation. Still, for reasons explained in the next section, I

decided on the data format for burgerLinker, developed for linking Dutch civil registers and provided by the Common Lab Research Infrastructure for the Arts and Humanities (henceforth: CLARIAH). This format is visible in *Table 2*.¹³⁴ According to this format, each certificate receives its own registration type and registration ID, after which the persons from that certificate are split up and receive a unique person ID. Additionally, the role of each person for that certificate is specified.

With this data format in mind, the transformation process began. First, the date format was converted from the Dutch standard to CLARIAH to make dates calculable. In case the date of a certificate was incomplete, I used the date of birth, marriage, or death as a substitute and vice versa, considering these dates were the closest data available. The registrar initially provided Louis Ivanhoff Euson with an approximate birthdate of August 1901. I gave him a birthday of August 15, 1901, to specify.

Consequently, a registration type and unique registration ID were created for each certificate, after which I provided individual information per role per certificate in a subset. Furthermore, this role per person was denoted, along with their sex. Each of the certificate-specific person datasets then received empty variables that appeared in the other certificates to prepare for the future merging of rows. Likewise, the names for all variables were standardised. After I transformed the data, all persons per certificate were merged and provided with a unique person ID. However, I have not joined these three certificate-specific person datasets yet. If necessary, I would only do this after matching the persons from the certificates to the emancipation dataset.

| row | registration ID | registration Type | event Date | person ID | role | givenName | lastName | gender |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------|------------|-----------|----------|---------------------|-----------|--------|
| 1 | 1 | Birth | 1835-10-28 | 1 | newborn | paulina | boven | f |
| 2 | 1 | Birth | 1835-10-28 | 2 | mother | johanna pieternella | vermeulen | f |
| 3 | 1 | Birth | 1835-10-28 | 3 | father | petrus | boven | m |
| 4 | 2 | Death | 1900-02-15 | 4 | deceased | paulina maria | boven | f |
| 5 | 2 | Death | 1900-02-15 | 5 | mother | joanna | vermeulen | f |

Table 2: Data format for burgerLinker provided by CLARIAH

Source: J. Raad, 'Adapting the data model,' GitHub – CLARIAH/burgerLinker, last modified August 27, 2021, <https://github.com/CLARIAH/burgerLinker/wiki/02.-Adapting-the-data-model#1-data-model-description>.

Data matching

The main reason to work towards the data format for burgerLinker provided by CLARIAH is to enable future research to use the Linked Data burgerLinker program more easily for partial matching.¹³⁵ However, for this thesis, exact matching in R was used: only individuals with identical names in the emancipation dataset and civil registers were matched to each other,

¹³⁴ For a more elaborate description of the process of converting certificates from civil registers to a person dataset, see: Mourits, van Dijk, and Mandemakers, 'From Matched Certificates'.

¹³⁵ For information on Linked Data, see: B. DuCharme, *Learning SPARQL* (Sebastopol: O'Reilly Media, 2013), 25–26.

considering gender and time constraints. I based this decision on Mourits et al. their successful attempt to link birth, marriage, and death certificates: '85% of all established matches between birth, marriage, and death certificates [...] were a result of exact string comparisons.'¹³⁶ Even though this thesis relies on the exact matches of names, there are several ways to standardise spelling to boost the likelihood of an exact match. First, I converted all text to lowercase and removed all blank spaces. Then, I replaced the characters 'ch', 'c', 'z', 'ph', and 'ij' with 'g', 'k', 's', 'f', and 'y', respectively.¹³⁷

After all that had been said and done, I matched the emancipation dataset to each type of certificate twice. Once for the names from the borderellen and once for the names from the emancipation registry. After all, there was no way of knowing which name emancipated people would use for later registration. Then, these matches were joined and made distinct. Formerly enslaved individuals registered as newborns on the birth certificates were removed, as well as anachronistic credentials and mismatched genders. Perhaps superfluously, formerly enslaved could not have been born twice, nor could they have appeared in civil certificates before they were born, nor would they have been likely to change gender at the time.¹³⁸ Finally, the NAC files went through a similar process of cleaning and standardising before being matched to the emancipation dataset.

This entire process led to a final number of observations of 375 unique individuals. These 375 individuals out of a formerly enslaved population of 1,201 later appeared in the civil registry in one way or the other. One hundred sixty-six formerly enslaved Statian individuals were involved with 450 birth registrations as a parent. As a bride, groom, or parent, 200 individuals engaged in 312 marriages. And 299 individuals were involved with 567 deaths as a deceased, a partner, or a parent.

¹³⁶ Mourits, van Dijk, and Mandemakers, 'From Matched Certificates', 53–56.

¹³⁷ K. Mandemakers et al., 'LINKS: A System for Historical Family Reconstruction in the Netherlands', *Historical Life Course Studies*, (Forthcoming).

¹³⁸ Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 40.

3. Nineteenth-century St. Eustatius

St. Eustatius is shrouded in mystery about how and when Europeans first discovered it. Some accounts attest to Christopher Columbus having first sighted the island in 1493, although there is little evidence to support this suggestion.¹³⁹ According to Ypie Attema, the name St. Eustatius did not necessarily originate as a corruption of the Christian martyr's name Saint Eustace, but rather as a 'Spanish corruption of an Amerindian name'.¹⁴⁰ However, as Attema would conclude, there is little certainty regarding this information. 'It is certain, however,' Attema continued, 'that the island has long been known under several names', examples of which are Estasia, Estaxia, Estazia, Estasio, Estatio, Estathio, and so forth.¹⁴¹ The different names by which St. Eustatius has been known are a testimony of both the international-imperial structure of the Leeward Islands and the many flag changes that took place on St. Eustatius.¹⁴² These flag changes occurred between the first European settlement on the island in 1636 and 1816, when Britain returned St. Eustatius to the Dutch.

3.1. Social structure

With a surface area of just 21 square kilometres (km), measuring 7.9 km in length and 4 km at its widest width, St. Eustatius is one of the smaller islands in the Leeward archipelago, notwithstanding Saba. Nevertheless, the island has three geological areas: two volcanic hills separated by a fertile valley.¹⁴³ Despite its fertile soil, St. Eustatius is not necessarily known for its agricultural or pastoral farming. Statia frequently suffered droughts that otherwise thwarted harvests and the possibility of maintaining cattle. Another cause for the lack of interest in agriculture, Attema elaborated, was 'the fact that the island took over the role of Curaçao as the main slave depot in the Caribbean in the eighteenth century'.¹⁴⁴ As a result, an interest in trade replaced the interest in growing sugar and tobacco.

Aside from the previous droughts that plagued St. Eustatius, hurricanes were another natural phenomenon that was commonplace. A hurricane in 1827, for example, claimed the lives of two people on St. Eustatius.¹⁴⁵ And in 1837, a hurricane destroyed the harvest and cooking houses of two Statian plantations. This trend continued throughout the nineteenth century. In 1898–99, twenty homeless people, following a hurricane, had to be temporarily housed in the rectory of the Roman Catholic church.¹⁴⁶

The population of nineteenth-century St. Eustatius consisted of various groups. The larger groups were, first, enslaved and, secondly, white Europeans, where people in slavery outnumbered freedmen and Europeans.¹⁴⁷ Of course, in 1863, slavery was *de jure* abolished.

¹³⁹ Attema, *St. Eustatius*, 13; Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 24–25.

¹⁴⁰ Attema, *St. Eustatius*, 13.

¹⁴¹ Attema, 13; Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 24–25.

¹⁴² Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 705.

¹⁴³ Attema, *St. Eustatius*, 14.

¹⁴⁴ Attema, 14.

¹⁴⁵ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 424–26.

¹⁴⁶ Hartog, 424–26.

¹⁴⁷ Hartog, 419–20.

Therefore, there were no longer any separate records of freedmen and enslaved after abolition. However, their former enslavement undoubtedly left its mark on the overall social structure, even if it was just for their skin colour.¹⁴⁸ Whether slaveowners remained on St. Eustatius after emancipation could have had significant consequences on the island's social structure. That is if slaveowners weren't absentee owners. In 19 out of 66 instances, the Statian borderellen were not signed by slaveowners but by a legal representative instead.¹⁴⁹ A manual search through the civil registry of the 45 slaveowners that were present upon emancipation shows that they appeared only 13 times on the birth, marriage, and death certificates.¹⁵⁰ The absence of their names is not strictly proof of their absence from St. Eustatius entirely. However, this indication of the few slaveowners that resided on St. Eustatius after emancipation suggests that civil conflict with formerly enslaved people could not have been widespread. After all, the population of St. Eustatius remained around two thousand people throughout most of the nineteenth century.¹⁵¹

Throughout the nineteenth century, de-population was a common phenomenon throughout the West Indies. Hartog, for example, claimed how de-population was four times more common in the French colonies than in the Dutch.¹⁵² Although exact numbers and a boundary of which people were inclined to leave in the first place were left amiss.

Whereas the plantations could be considered rural, Oranjestad and Lower Town (*Benedenstad* in Dutch) were the two urbanised areas on St. Eustatius. During the era of the international slave trade, there was a warehouse in Lower Town where enslavers housed enslaved people before they were sold.¹⁵³ Notwithstanding the economic success of St. Eustatius in the eighteenth century as a trading hub, Hartog lamented that a subsequent economic decline in the nineteenth century resulted in the deterioration of Lower Town.¹⁵⁴ During the 1820s, Lower Town had dilapidated, so the remaining houses were on the verge of collapsing. Therefore, in 1829, the Statian municipal council had to demolish these houses to avoid injury.¹⁵⁵ With Oranjestad remaining, urbanisation characterised the first years after emancipation.¹⁵⁶ So much so that in 1903, only fifty out of fifteen hundred inhabitants of St. Eustatius lived outside Oranjestad.

The hygienic status of St. Eustatius and especially Oranjestad has been described as relatively poor, as epidemics broke out at any given moment. And not surprisingly so, according to Hartog, considering the uncleanness of houses, yards, streets, cemeteries and water discharges.¹⁵⁷ Even though the hygienic status left much to be desired, enslaved people annually made an effort to clean the island or were tasked to do so.

3.2. Politics and policies

The flag and, therefore, the nationality of St. Eustatius changed no less than twenty-two times between the first occupation of the island in 1636 and its permanent settlement in 1816. Although both dates attest to Dutch interferences, the British and French also repeatedly claimed the island

¹⁴⁸ Hartog, 420.

¹⁴⁹ The emancipation dataset.

¹⁵⁰ The core dataset.

¹⁵¹ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 704.

¹⁵² Hartog, 419.

¹⁵³ Hartog, 284–85.

¹⁵⁴ Hartog, 368.

¹⁵⁵ Hartog, 373.

¹⁵⁶ Hartog, 420–21.

¹⁵⁷ Hartog, 426–30.

as their own.¹⁵⁸ The desirability was mainly due to its role as a trading node and Statia's favourable location for transatlantic trade. The area of St. Eustatius also ties in with the international-imperial structure of the Leeward Islands: with various nationalities claiming different islands within each other's vicinity, the British and French would have benefited from Statia's easterly wind.¹⁵⁹

Once Great Britain had returned the Dutch West Indian possessions to the Netherlands in 1816, the Dutch government initially divided the agglomeration of colonies into three administrations: first, Surinam, secondly, Curaçao with Aruba and Bonaire, and thirdly, the Leeward Islands of St. Martin and Saba, and St. Eustatius.¹⁶⁰ A governor would govern the Leeward islands on St. Eustatius, who was to be appointed by the king and under the direct supervision of the Minister of Colonial Affairs. Soon, however, the administration appeared to be too elaborate to function properly.¹⁶¹ That is why until 1866, the government commissioned an abundance of regulations.

Finally, in 1865, new regulations were introduced to St. Eustatius.¹⁶² The island would keep its local governor, who was accountable to the administration of Curaçao since 1848. In addition, counsellors supported the regional governor, who formed the Board of Police together. The fact that these local counsellors were electable under the new electoral law was a novelty.¹⁶³

On October 21, 1862, a different law entirely was proclaimed on St. Eustatius: the Emancipation Act.¹⁶⁴ Two months prior, however, two distinct versions were commissioned in the *Bulletin of Acts, Orders and Decrees of the Kingdom of the Netherlands* (*Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* in Dutch). First, act number 164 of 1862 was the act abolishing slavery in the colony of Surinam.¹⁶⁵ This version of the Emancipation came with a fifth chapter that was otherwise missing in act number 165, the act abolishing slavery on the islands of Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Eustatius, Saba and St. Martin (Dutch part).¹⁶⁶ This chapter described the preconditions of the ten years of work under state control formerly enslaved people faced, also known as the period of apprenticeship in Surinam.¹⁶⁷ For Curaçao and the subordinate islands, however, there was no period of apprenticeship. The Emancipation Act would *de jure* emancipate all enslaved people as of July 1, 1863.

Act number 165 consisted of four chapters that each contributed their way to the process of emancipation.¹⁶⁸ First were two general principles: slavery was to be abolished, and slaveowners were to be compensated. The second chapter described the methods and reasons

¹⁵⁸ Hartog, 704–5.

¹⁵⁹ Attema, *St. Eustatius*, 14.

¹⁶⁰ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 304–8.

¹⁶¹ Hartog, 305.

¹⁶² Hartog, 311–12.

¹⁶³ For an elaboration on the election system, see: J. Hartog, *Aruba. Zoals Het Was, Zoals Het Werd. Van de Tijd Der Indianen Tot Op Heden*, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen*, I (Aruba: De Wit N.V., 1953), 136–38. For an elaboration on citizen's rights, see: J. Hartog, *Curaçao. Van Kolonie Tot Autonomie. (Na 1816)*, vol. II, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen*, IV (Aruba: De Wit N.V., 1961), 690.

¹⁶⁴ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 300–301.

¹⁶⁵ '(No. 164.) Wet van den 8sten Augustus 1862, houdende opheffing der slavernij in de kolonie Suriname,' SKN, 1 Jan. 1862.

¹⁶⁶ '(No. 165.) Wet van den 8sten Augustus 1862, houdende opheffing der slavernij op de eilanden Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Eustatius, Saba en St. Martin (Nederl. ged.),' SKN, 1 Jan. 1862.

¹⁶⁷ For more information on the terms of reference of the period of apprenticeship, see: P. Emmer, 'Between Slavery and Freedom: The Period of Apprenticeship in Suriname (Dutch Guiana), 1863–1873', *Slavery & Abolition* 14, no. 1 (1993): 87–113.

¹⁶⁸ '(No. 165.) Wet van den 8sten Augustus 1862, houdende opheffing der slavernij op de eilanden Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Eustatius, Saba en St. Martin (Nederl. ged.),' SKN, 1 Jan. 1862.

for the process of compensation, which resulted in the borderellen. Conversely, the third chapter elaborated on the administrative emancipation process for the enslaved. This process resulted in the emancipation registry. Fourthly were the general terms and conditions. For example, religious education was to be stimulated as much as possible among emancipated people.

Furthermore, former slaveowners were obliged to provide emancipated people with housing for three months. In return, the emancipated would have to work four days a week on the corresponding planter their property. Yet another article of the fourth chapter dictated that the administration would take care of the most impoverished and orphans if need be.

Aside from an exceptional law like the Emancipation Act, the Curaçao administration also upheld everyday policies. As such, it conducted procedures to manage the otherwise poor hygienic conditions in the Dutch West Indies. The administration would appoint one paid physician to the three Leeward Islands.¹⁶⁹ In addition to a physician, government officials equipped each island with a Board of Health. This Board consisted, aside from the physician, of non-medical practitioners and supported the local governor regarding the state of health on St. Eustatius. Because St. Eustatius had a busy port and frequently contacted foreign ships throughout the nineteenth century, quarantine measures were vital in combating infectious diseases. However, Hartog described that it wouldn't be until 1851 when the local governor finally enforced quarantine with night guards recruited from the garrison and the civil guard.¹⁷⁰

3.3. Economic (in)activity

Economically, Hartog characterised the nineteenth century as the 'the sombre years' of St. Eustatius.¹⁷¹ Contemporary Statians were already aware of the declining economy after the eighteenth-century prosperity. Therefore, merchants repeatedly tried to let the Statian economy bloom again, for example, by obtaining the rights for a free port in 1828.¹⁷²

The primary agricultural produce on St. Eustatius came down to corn, yams, sweet potatoes, cassava, and garden fruits. These products were healthy rather than tasteful. The land was cultivated according to each farmer's insights, resulting in diverse arable practices.¹⁷³ In 1817, the local governor claimed that farmers 'would regard it as despotism if any supervision were instituted for the improvement of farmers to the benefit of their property.'¹⁷⁴

Two agricultural products deserve special attention: sugar and cotton. Between 1817 and 1829, Statian sugar production halved, from eight hundred to four hundred thousand pounds.¹⁷⁵ It remained around this level until emancipation, with a few outliers. After 1863, sugar as a livelihood for landowners of St. Eustatius was negligible. At the beginning of the twentieth century, only a single plantation on St. Eustatius briefly dared to cultivate sugar cane to produce rum. Since sugar superseded cotton in the seventeenth century, cotton had not been a significant export product of Statian plantations.¹⁷⁶ In fact, in 1816, cotton cultivation vanished completely from St. Eustatius. Throughout the nineteenth century, however, the Curaçao administration revived cotton cultivation between 1862 and 1870, but only briefly. Due to emancipation,

¹⁶⁹ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 426–28.

¹⁷⁰ Hartog, 426–28.

¹⁷¹ Hartog, 304–5.

¹⁷² Hartog, 345–46. For an overview of the different free ports in the eighteenth-century West Indies, see: Jordaan and Wilson, 'The Eighteenth-Century'.

¹⁷³ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 446–47.

¹⁷⁴ Hartog, 446. '*...als een despotisme zouden aanmerken, wanneer enig toezicht ter verbetering des landbouwers tot voordeel hunner bezittingen daargesteld wierd.*'

¹⁷⁵ Hartog, 438–39.

¹⁷⁶ Hartog, 441–45.

attracting a sufficient workforce had become increasingly challenging. Furthermore, at the beginning of the twentieth century, British agricultural scientists successfully grew cotton on St. Kitts and Antigua.¹⁷⁷ Considering these islands faced some of the same climatic challenges as St. Eustatius, Statian farmers adopted the new British model to start cultivating cotton again, even though this initiative died rather quickly too.

Pastoral farming had always remained part of Statia but never reached similar heights to arable farming. The local governor of St. Martin described livestock farming in 1816–17 as ‘insignificant [as it] provides only the inhabitants with some meat, milk, and a little butter’.¹⁷⁸ The meat was in such low demand that Statians only slaughtered cattle if a sufficient number of people enlisted themselves to buy the meat in the first place.¹⁷⁹ As a result, livestock by-products such as hides and horns were of little interest to St. Eustatius. Even the sheep allegedly had ‘hairy wool’, which was ‘unsuitable for any use’, according to the local governor of St. Martin.¹⁸⁰ The land where cattle could graze was further restricted during an upsurge in, for example, cotton production.

Finally, fisheries meant less than a frugal existence for Statians during the nineteenth century, according to the local governor of St. Eustatius. Governors often declared fish poisonous, and all experienced fishermen had left Statia during the French and British occupations of the island, before 1816.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Hartog, 441–43.

¹⁷⁸ Hartog, 447. ‘...niet beduidend [zij] verschaft alleen de inwoners enig vlees, melk, en een weinig boter’.

¹⁷⁹ Hartog, 447–49.

¹⁸⁰ Hartog, 447. ‘...haarachtige wol [...] ondienstig tot enig gebruik’.

¹⁸¹ Hartog, 450.

4. A matter of migration?

The population numbers for St. Eustatius in the years 1863 and 1900, derived from the annual colonial reports, are the only data in recent literature that provide insight into the post-emancipation population of Statia.¹⁸² As a result, the stellar decline of 1,977 inhabitants to a mere 1,334 alludes to an island with a rapidly deflating population. Without any further explanation, it is easy to jump to conclusions. These numbers alone could give evidence of deplorable living conditions with high mortality and low fertility, a large outflow of migrants with limited inbound migration, or a combination of both. However, a lot happened on the island within these forty years. Of course, emancipation had a direct and longer-lasting impact with the economy shifting from slave to wage labour. But St. Eustatius also remained a colony of the Netherlands throughout this period. Therefore, additional policymaking could have shaped the island. Statia was furthermore susceptible to tropical weather conditions like the other Leeward Islands in the West Indies.

This chapter fills the gap between 1863 and 1909, aiming to shed light on the decline in population using the colonial reports and the civil registry. The central question is: how did migration impact the deterioration of the population number of St. Eustatius between 1863 and 1909? Ultimately, it remains to be seen what factors played a role in the total population change. This chapter uses the following guiding questions to guide the reader's attention. First, the data gap in the civil registry between 1863 and 1869 is addressed. How crucial were these initial years after emancipation? Secondly, the period from 1869 to 1909 is discussed. How do novel insights from the civil registers help us grasp population changes? Throughout this chapter, anecdotal evidence from the Danish Virgin Islands and Surinam provides insight into the personal stories of those who did migrate. This chapter is mainly concerned with extensive demographic data and would otherwise lack the names and faces of those who used their mobility in one way or another.

4.1. The Danish census

Until emancipation, Ruth Martin (45), along with her son Robert (24), daughter Fanny (16), and grandson John Richard (1), lived and worked on the plantation Golden Rock.¹⁸³ Judging by its slave capital, Golden Rock was one of the most extensive plantations on St. Eustatius, where the Martins worked as field labourers.¹⁸⁴ The plantation was established anywhere between 1775 and 1863. The attorney Raapzaal Heyliger Moore governed it at the time.¹⁸⁵ Any trace is missing of Ruth, Robert, and Fanny after 1863. That is until they appear in the Danish census of 1880.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² Hartog, 704.

¹⁸³ The dates of birth from the Emancipation dataset have been used, in lieu of the ages listed in the Danish census, for the sake of continuity of data in this thesis.

¹⁸⁴ Raaijmakers, 'Towards a Slavery Demographic', 9–10.

¹⁸⁵ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 732–33.

¹⁸⁶ The Danish censuses were taken every decade in 1860–90, 1901, et cetera. Because there is no way to verify the inputs of those who digitised the original sources from the Danish National Archives, Copenhagen, Denmark (henceforth: DNA), the engine was searched for a variety of spellings of 'St. Eustatius', namely 'Eustatius', 'Statia', 'Estati', and 'Ustati'. Another emancipated family from St. Eustatius that appeared in the census of 1880 was that of Leonora, Eglantine, and Gerald Lindesy: 'Leonora Lindesy', DNA, Arkivalieronline, Folketællinger, Census (West Indies), Statistics Denmark, West Indian census 1880.

Ruth was the head of her family as her mother had passed away before emancipation. So perhaps it was under her guidance that she and Fanny, who presumably adopted the full name of Fransesca, arrived on the Danish island of St. John in 1868. Robert had not joined them, nor had John Richard. Why they did not join them remains unknown. By 1880, twelve more years had passed since Ruth and Fransesca were set free from Golden Rock. Who knows where they had resided in the meantime. And who knows where they would wind up later.

It is fascinating that the Danish government recorded them in a household of eight persons in 1880.¹⁸⁷ Men and women were equally split, ranging from 2 to 60 years old. They all shared the same legal marital status of 'Single', even though these statuses did not necessarily reflect social reality.¹⁸⁸ What the connection between Ruth and Fransesca was with the three men Joshua Jaivis (35), Edward Hagud (43), and Philip Samuel (60), can only be left open for interpretation. To whom the boy Franky Samuel (10) and the two girls Hendieta (5) and Christifenca (2) belonged remains a mystery as well. Outside of cohabitation, there could have been many connections between them, none of which the Danish census explicates.

The story of Ruth, Robert and Fransesca was like many others, yet unique in many ways. Robert and John Richard missing from Ruth and Fransesca could be interpreted as an example of how men and women, the young and the elderly, took a different approach to or befell an alternative fate during their respective post-emancipation lives. Additionally, St. John was one of the many islands to choose from as a possible destination. Their occupations as field labourers could have impacted these choices further.

4.2. Missing emancipated in the civil registry, 1863–69

There are several practical reasons why 826 out of 1,201 emancipated Statians did not appear in the civil registers.¹⁸⁹ First, the emancipation registers kept track of some of their marriages, recognitions during marriage, or deaths after abolition.¹⁹⁰ However, emancipated people were unlikely to be solely recorded in documents other than the civil registry. The traces in the emancipation registers only concerned around 140 people, about half of whom were indeed missing in the civil registry but were not reported as markedly different by the registrar. Furthermore, there is no way of knowing who kept this record in the emancipation registers, nor how they knew. A second practical reason may be that the emancipated were not involved with any births, marriages, or deaths during their stay on St. Eustatius. Therefore, it is unreasonable to assume that all missing emancipated migrated, similar to the Martin family. There is no way to detect or quantify whether and how often people migrated between life events captured in the birth, marriage, and death certificates either.¹⁹¹

These problems show the importance of having insight into all the available information about people's life courses and a clearly defined concept of migration. The definition of migration in this situation is tricky, especially considering the data does not always distinguish between emigrants and immigrants, men and women, or emancipated and free.¹⁹² That means that,

Via DFS. <https://www.danishfamilysearch.com/cid20050508>; 'Eglatine Lindesy',
<https://www.danishfamilysearch.com/cid20050511>; 'Gerald Lindesy',
<https://www.danishfamilysearch.com/cid20050512>.

¹⁸⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁸ Widmer, 'Making People Countable', 101–3.

¹⁸⁹ The number of 1,201 emancipated is from the core dataset and may deviate from the colonial reports.

¹⁹⁰ Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 62–63; Widmer, 'Making People Countable', 101–3.

¹⁹¹ Mourits, van Dijk, and Mandemakers, 'From Matched Certificates', 52–54.

¹⁹² C. Harzig, D. Hoerder, and D. R. Gabaccia, *What Is Migration History?*, What Is History? (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 1–7.

unfortunately, some questions remain unanswered at this point.¹⁹³ Was migration obligatory or facultative? In the Martin's case, there was no mention of their reason for moving to St. John. How did individual motives differ between the young and the elderly, and men and women? Perhaps John Richard and Robert Martin had passed away before Ruth and Fransesca moved to the Danish West Indies, or maybe they had gone elsewhere. Who migrated seasonally? As stated before, there is no way of knowing how frequent the Martins had moved before being recorded in the Danish census. If anything, this chapter defines migration as the possibility of individuals like Ruth, Robert, Fransesca, and John Richard to be mobile, along with probable economic, meteorological, or political incentives.

Although data from the civil registry between 1863 and 1869 are missing, the population numbers for these years are nonetheless invaluable in the context of mobility. There are traces of how many and who left Statia after emancipation in both primary sources and secondary literature. At first, emancipated Statians were allegedly hesitant to come to an employment agreement with their former owners. The 1864 colonial report underlines this sentiment, which stated that 'they [formerly enslaved] still have little appetite for sedentary work. Even with high wages, the need for field workers or domestic servants cannot be sufficiently met.'¹⁹⁴ The emancipated disinterest in labour agreements seems to only partially have been caused by a lack of available economic incentives. Perhaps a certain resentment towards their former enslavement and former owners also played a role.

It would not be until 1867 that a planter managed to form an agreement with a formerly enslaved individual, but by then, the 'best' field labourers were already gone, according to Hartog.¹⁹⁵ Hartog claimed that 'many' emancipated people left St. Eustatius after 1863, perhaps just because they could or because the demand for employment would be higher elsewhere.¹⁹⁶ Roughly 250 people allegedly moved following emancipation, the more significant part of which left for the Danish island of St. Croix. Engagement in Statia was low due to a terrible drought plaguing the island for several years. Those who did stay reportedly lived in extreme poverty and had insufficient means of subsistence. Vague as it may be, Hartog described how 'in due time' the 'majority' of the emancipated Statians returned to the island because they were 'attached' to their place of birth.¹⁹⁷

Hartog's statements may be challenging to test for precision due to a lack of foundation for this data.¹⁹⁸ The estimated 250 individuals that left for St. Croix directly after abolition do give some idea of what portion of the 826 missing or 1,201 total of emancipated is likely being discussed. It is, therefore, all the more surprising that the total population change between 1862–68 from *Figure 2*, as disclosed in the colonial December reports, does not reflect 250 people

¹⁹³ H. Dingle and V. A. Drake, 'What Is Migration?', *BioScience* 57, no. 2 (2007): 114–15. For an alternative, albeit slightly dated model on migration, see: E. S. Lee, 'A Theory of Migration', *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 47–57.

¹⁹⁴ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1864, Identifier: 0000426929. '*De lust tot gezetten arbeid is bij hen echter nog gering. Zelfs door hoge loonen kan men niet voldoende in de behoefte aan veldarbeiders of huisbedienden voorzien.*'

¹⁹⁵ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 371–75.

¹⁹⁶ Hartog, 371–75.

¹⁹⁷ Hartog, 371–75.

¹⁹⁸ The only source that Hartog cited in this section to support his thesis was that of a contemporary article in *De Economist* from 1866, which does not support his claim. Hartog, 371–75; C. A. van Sypesteyn, 'Afschaffing Der Slavernij in de Nederlandsche West-Indische Kolonien', *De Economist* 15, no. 1 (1866): 1–85.

leaving. Admittedly, the number of men (both free and emancipated) decreased slightly after emancipation in July 1863. However, those 192 men do not add up to those mentioned earlier.

Moreover, the number of women slightly increased after emancipation from 1,070 to 1,113, likely due to high fertility and low mortality rates. For the births and deaths, and birth and death rates of the Statian population from 1869 to 1909, see *Appendix D*. This thesis explores the births and deaths in further detail in sections 5.2, 'Mortality, 1869–1909', and 5.3. 'Fertility, 1869–1909'. Beyond 1863, the male and female populations remained remarkably stable.

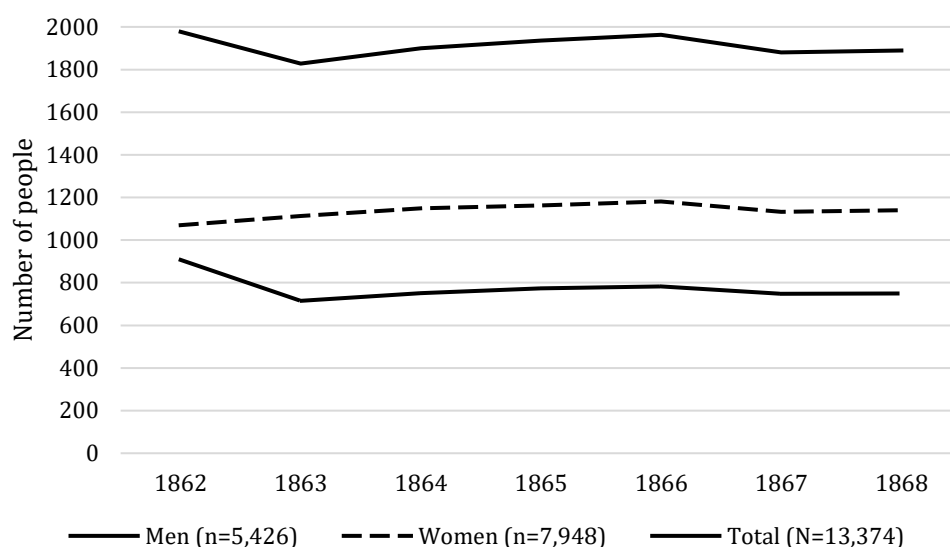


Figure 2: Total population change of St. Eustatius, 1862–68

Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862–1868.

In a shocking turn of events, the colonial report of 1888 contained the following message:

‘The population of St. Eustatius in previous years has been wrongly stated, as the departure in 1864 of about 600 freedmen and persons who have left the island since then has not been taken into account.’¹⁹⁹

This revelation would not just gravely alter the numbers on display in *Figure 2* but also have broader implications for research like that of Hartog and, of course, this thesis, which relies on these numbers. After all, instead of circa 250 people, possibly 600 of the 826 missing emancipated had left Statia by 1864. In the years after that, more people followed. As it turns out, Hartog’s claim of around 250 emancipated people that initially left Statia for St. Croix pales in comparison. That is, assuming the 250 people that Hartog referred to were part of the larger group of 600 people. Thus, Hartog’s claim that many emancipated left Statia seems to have been understated by him.

¹⁹⁹ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1888, Identifier: 0000386992. ‘*De bevolking van St. Eustatius over vorige jaren is foutief opgegeven, vermits geen rekening is gehouden met het vertrek in 1864 van ongeveer 600 vrijgelatenen en van de personen die sedert het eiland hebben verlaten.*’

The 826 emancipated that disappeared from the archival view can be grouped and analysed to understand what these individuals were like regarding gender, age, and occupation during slavery. After all, that information from 1863 is available via the emancipation dataset.

In crude numbers, missing women were slightly outnumbered by missing men with 379 to 419, even though women outnumbered men with 623 to 550 in total in 1863. Put differently, 76.2% of men and 60.8% of women of the emancipated people were missing. These percentages allude to men being more mobile than women if their absence would indeed be an indication of mobility. Migrationally, men outnumbering women is a phenomenon that Hall has described for the British Leewards of Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitts to Trinidad (1839–46), and additionally by Richardson for British Guinea (1835–45).²⁰⁰ Hall remarked that ‘a strong, able-bodied adult worker’ earned more than those ‘weaker’ on an Antiguan estate.²⁰¹ Precise estimates of the ages of migrants only appear in Tyson’s ‘Free Labour on St. Croix, 1849–79’.²⁰² There, he stated how ‘sixty-eight per cent of all immigrants, [...] were between 16 and 35 years old.’²⁰³ ‘These men and women’, Tyson continued, ‘were widely considered to be the best workers on the island [of St. Croix].’ Interestingly, the ages of the missing emancipated men and women were strikingly similar. Of the missing emancipated Statians, over 75% of men and women were under 35 upon emancipation. This age group seems to indicate a specific fitness that resembled other Caribbean post-emancipated migrants.

The other 25% of emancipated Statians reached into the late seventies and captured a group that Gert Oostindie described as ‘the elderly.’²⁰⁴ According to Oostindie, slaveowners tried to keep their enslaved working for as long as possible. This mindset generally led to those aged between 15 and 50 actively working in slavery. There is a headroom of some fifteen years between Oostindie’s definition of ‘elderly’ and the first 75.0% of the emancipated people from *Figure 3*. However, *Figure 3* nonetheless shows that the missing emancipated people predominantly qualified for work according to age. Humphrey E. Lamur calculated the life expectancy at birth of enslaved women for the Curaçao population in 1863 to be 40.0 years. Because life expectancy is only an average that a specific cohort is expected to live, it is not unthinkable that some outliers of the remaining 25.0% could have passed away before the death certificates in the civil registry in 1869.²⁰⁵

Regarding morbidity, only leprosy and elephantiasis were recorded as infectious diseases by the committee that verified the borderellen.²⁰⁶ Of both conditions, the verification committee reported twelve and twenty cases among the enslaved population in 1863. The emancipated that remained absent in the civil registers contained six and thirteen instances. Thus, these people possibly passed away between 1863 and 1869, even though their numbers appear small compared to those mentioned above.

²⁰⁰ Hall, *Five of the Leewards*, 39–41; Richardson, *Caribbean Migrants*, 87–89.

²⁰¹ Hall, *Five of the Leewards*, 39.

²⁰² Tyson, ‘Our Side’, 141–43.

²⁰³ Tyson, 142.

²⁰⁴ G. Oostindie, ‘Roosenburg En Mon Bijou. Twee Surinaamse Plantages, 1720–1870’ (Dordrecht, Foris Publications, 1989), 110–13.

²⁰⁵ Lamur, ‘Demographic Performance’, 89.

²⁰⁶ Raaijmakers, ‘Towards a Slavery Demographic’, 8.

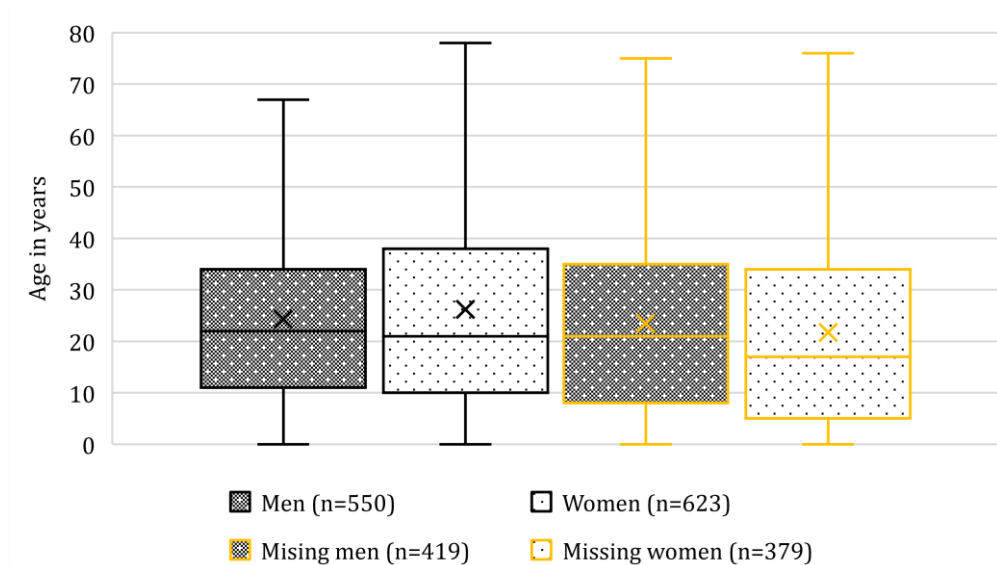


Figure 3: Ages of emancipated people, 1863 (N=1,173), and those missing from the Stadian civil registry, 1869–1909 (N=798)
Source: The core dataset.

Some missing emancipated are remaining. What became of them? The occupations of all emancipated in 1863 are grouped in categories in *Figures 4 and 5* and divided by gender. Even though the labour categorisation reproduces that of the Dutch colonial government at the time, literature nonetheless seems to underscore its usability in reflecting the social structure of slave communities.²⁰⁷ *Figures 4 and 5* show that many emancipated were unemployed during slavery. 89.1% of these unemployed were children below the age of 15. The remaining 10.9% were unemployed, perhaps because they were unable or incapable due to other reasons.²⁰⁸ Secondly, *Figure 4* shows that male skilled and field labourers are missing the most compared to the entire emancipated population of 1863.

The numbers that constitute the labour categories vary between each other and between genders. This thesis disclosed the categorisation of all occupations from the borderellen in *Appendix B*. According to the borderellen, there were only 43 men and 3 women capable of skilled labour such as smithing or carpentry, of which 30 male and 2 skilled female labourers do not appear in the civil registers at all. Skilled labourers could earn significantly more than field and domestic labourers at Curaçao rates.²⁰⁹ A field worker could generally earn 0.50 guilders a day during rainy seasons. Female domestic servants could receive a monthly salary of 8 to 10 guilders.

Meanwhile, skilled workers would earn up to 2.50 guilders daily. Skilled labourers certainly had the highest economic incentive to seek job opportunities elsewhere. However, similar to the Martins, who were field labourers, this explanation of wages does not fit all.

²⁰⁷ For literature relying on a similar categorisation, see: G. Heuman, 'The Social Structure of the Slave Societies in the Caribbean', in *General History of the Caribbean. Volume III, The Slave Societies of the Caribbean*, ed. F. W. Knight (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 139–43.

²⁰⁸ Oostindie, 'Roosenburg En Mon Bijou', 110–13.

²⁰⁹ van Sypesteyn, 'Afschaffing Der Slavernij', 59–66.

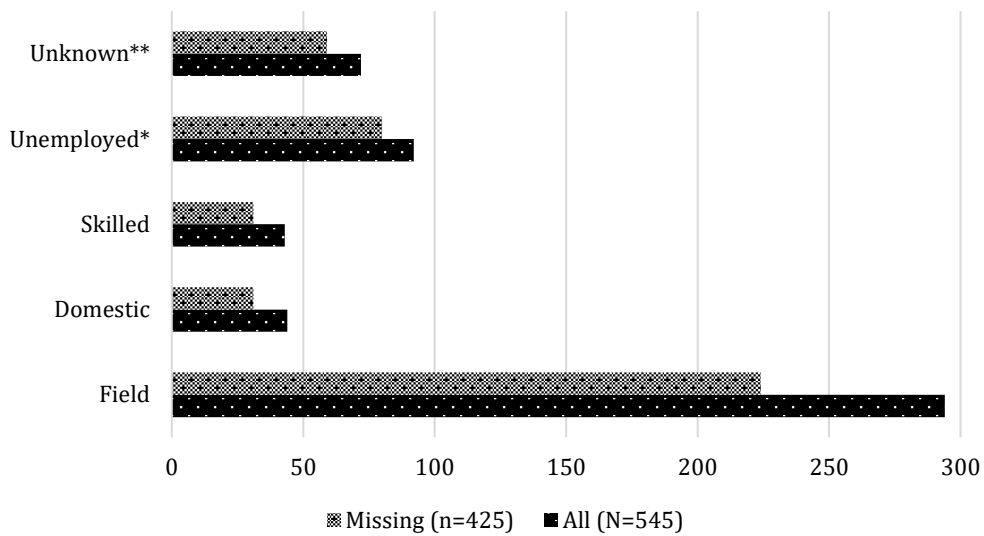


Figure 4: Emancipated men from St. Eustatius, grouped by occupation during slavery, 1863
Source: The core dataset; the emancipation dataset.

*Unknown: The corresponding borderel did not list an occupation.

**Unemployed: The borderel actively listed 'no occupation' or 'unemployed'.

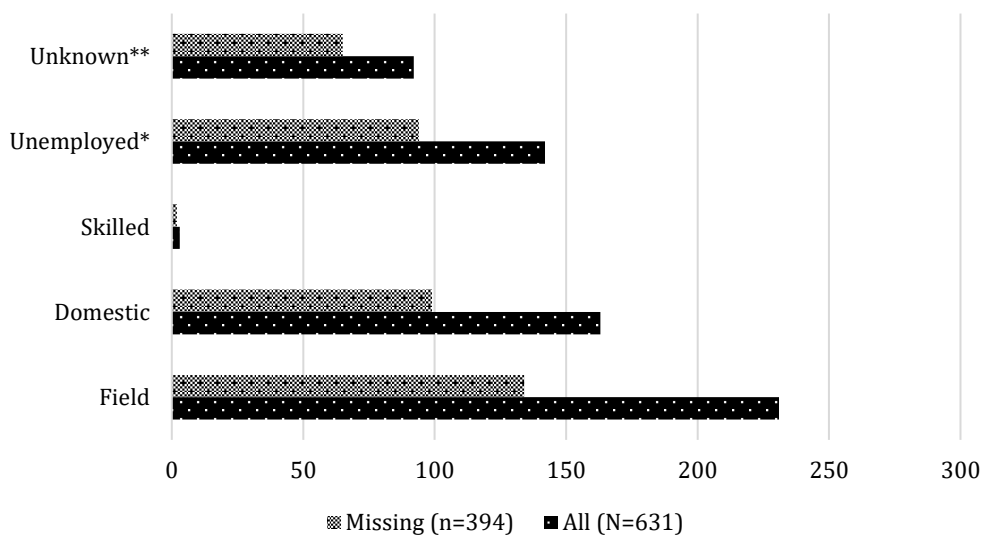


Figure 5: Emancipated women from St. Eustatius, grouped by occupation during slavery, 1863
Source: The core dataset; the emancipation dataset.

*Unknown: The corresponding borderel did not list an occupation.

**Unemployed: The borderel actively listed 'no occupation' or 'unemployed'.

4.3. Contract labourers off to Surinam

On October 18, 1872, 34 contract labourers set foot in Paramaribo, Surinam.²¹⁰ They were a few of the hundreds of labourers recruited by recruiters in the West Indies that year.²¹¹ Before leaving St. Eustatius on September 30, these labourers had signed their contract on September 25, by which they put their obligations to the Surinam planter in writing. Almost all of them, both men and women, listed their occupations as field and factory workers. They would be put to work on the Hooyland plantation in the Commetewane district under the supervision of H. Wright.²¹² Their journey lasted a little over two weeks while the Swedish schooner *Sir Carl* transported them. Once they arrived, they had three days before their contract would take effect, after which they were bound to work until October 21, 1875, so for three years exactly.

Although all these people were employed while living on St. Eustatius, not everyone was born there. Others came from Antigua, Barbados, Madera, or St. Kitts.²¹³ Robert Saulman was one of the 19 Statians that left the island for Surinam. Robert was furthermore one of 8 emancipated Statians. Unfortunately, in 10 out of 34 cases, the contract would end because of the untimely demise of the contracted labourer: dropsy, hydrops, malaria, pleurisy, and ulcers were the most common causes. The rest of the labourers outlived their three-year contract, after which they disappeared from this paper trail – except for Robert Saulman. Upon the end of his contract, Robert, 39 years of age, sooner or later returned to St. Eustatius, where the civil registry would eventually record him passing away on September 4, 1920, having lived no less than 81 years.

The case of Robert Saulman and his peers touches upon many motives woven throughout this chapter. For one, Robert was likely to be one of the Statians that returned to their birthplace, who were already briefly described by Hartog in the previous paragraph. Furthermore, Robert and the other contract labourers illustrate how some of the same prospects confronted Statians and non-Statians, emancipated and free, and men and women. That is not to say their motives could not differ from one another, even though these motives remain undescribed.

4.4. Population numbers and composition, 1869–1909

Section 4.2, 'Missing emancipated in the civil registry, 1863–69', focused almost exclusively on 1863–69. This paragraph moves forward in time and information as the civil registers became available from 1869 onwards. Even with the discrepancy of 1888, the total population change during these forty years may reveal something about the post-emancipation situation on St. Eustatius. Interesting are the medium to long-term consequences of emancipation. In general, between 1888–1909, the total population changed with a slight but steady decrease, as shown in *Figure 6*, along with several tipping points in 1895 and 1906. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the decline of sugarcane culture would struggle as competing markets from Europe and the Dutch East Indies became more profitable.²¹⁴ The abolition of slavery in 1863 subsequently drove production further down. Towards the end of the century, the socio-economic situation would be dire.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ H. E. Lamur, N. H. A. Boldewijn, and R. Dors, *West Indische contract arbeiders in Suriname: 1863–1899: Hoge [kinder]sterfte en laag geboortenniveau / West Indian Indentured Labourers in Suriname: 1863–1899: High [Child] Mortality and Low Birth Level* (Paramaribo: Drukkerij Paramaribo, 2014), 349–55.

²¹¹ Lamur, Boldewijn, and Dors, *West Indische contract arbeiders*. See pages: I–XV.

²¹² Lamur, Boldewijn, and Dors, 349–55.

²¹³ Lamur, Boldewijn, and Dors, 349–55.

²¹⁴ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 369–70.

²¹⁵ Hartog, 384–86.

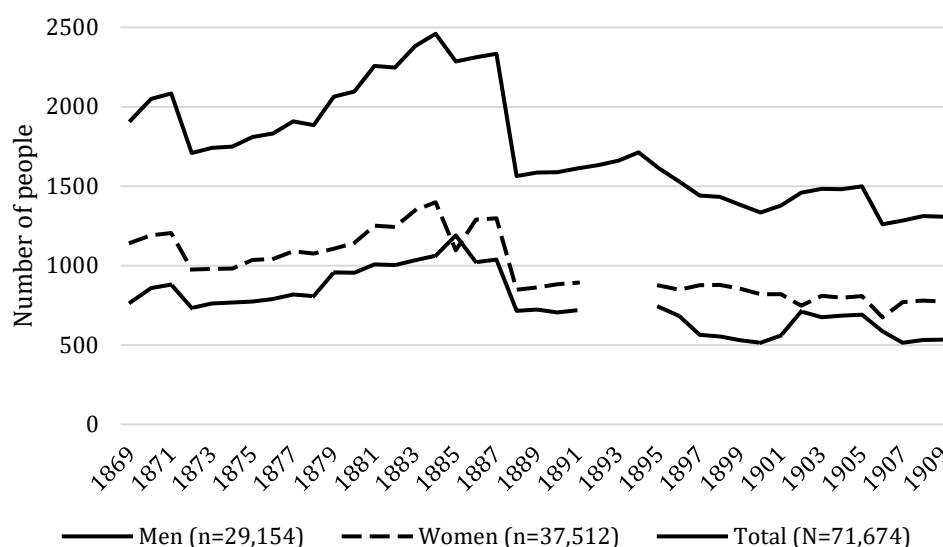


Figure 6: Total population change of St. Eustatius, 1869–1909

Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1869–1910.

Although the tipping point of 1872 lies outside the temporal scope of reliable data, the relative decline in *Figure 6* is nonetheless worth mentioning. Interestingly, the colonial reports from 1871–73 do not provide any information about what might have caused the sudden drop.²¹⁶ The *De Curaçaosche Courant* newspaper, however, did so extensively. In addition to the drought that plagued the island in the early 1860s, another natural phenomenon hit Statia: hurricanes. On August 21, 1871, the fourth hurricane of that season appeared to have been the most devastating one in recent years. St. Eustatius informed the newspaper that both Saba and itself had to endure lots of damage: ‘many buildings have been blown down so that the government was forced to provide housing for several people.’²¹⁷ Although there were no casualties, a reported total of forty houses had been blown down, with many others being heavily damaged.²¹⁸

On September 15, the secretary of state in Curaçao, W. B. Mellink, appointed a commission tasked with raising money for those in need because of the hurricane on Saba and St. Eustatius.²¹⁹ To quote the secretary: ‘the majority of the poor population has been deprived of goods and chattels.’²²⁰ Later, on November 17, Mellink would report that the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao raised a total of 2,039.11 guilders.²²¹ Unfortunately, the funds proved insufficient to repair all damages.²²² Suppose the injuries by the hurricane in 1871 indeed were so severe that it destroyed dozens of houses and damaged many more. In that case, it could have encouraged Statians to seek housing elsewhere, explaining the drop in 1872. The 34 contract labourers that left for Surinam that year provide further explanation. Economic prospects of, for example, Surinam could have drawn emancipated, free Statians, and people born elsewhere.

²¹⁶ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1871–1873, Identifiers: 0000415807, 0000414230, and 0000412470.

²¹⁷ *De Curaçaosche Courant* (henceforth: CC), 2 Sep. 1871, p. 3. ‘...dat zeer veel gebouwen zyn omvergewaaid, zoo dat het gouvernement genoodzaakt was een aantal menschen van huisvesting te voorzien.’

²¹⁸ CC, 9 Sep. 1871, p. 3.

²¹⁹ CC, 16 Sep. 1871, p. 2.

²²⁰ CC, 16 Sep. 1871, p. 2. ‘...het meerendeel der arme bevolking van have en goed is beroofd geworden.’

²²¹ CC, 25 Nov. 1871, p. 2.

²²² CC, 25 Jan. 1873, p. 4.

As far as 1895 was concerned, the governmental reports of 1894–96 failed to mention anything of value to explain this tipping point.²²³ Calm and peace would reign throughout the Dutch West Indies, except for a yearly drought lasting until the last couple of months. The *Amigoe di Curaçao* newspaper too, would not report on anything other than parcel services that travelled up and down, along with some job changes of civil servants.²²⁴ According to Hartog, 1895 does conclude a decade-long process of seasonal emigration, after which the unwed male population allegedly left St. Eustatius for good.²²⁵ The emigrants would have gone to the Bermuda Islands, specifically British Guyana and Trinidad, where they sought employment as dockworkers. The female population from *Figure 6* has always outnumbered the male population. Still, some of the male population permanently that left St. Eustatius in 1895 could explain why this difference increased between 1895 and 1900.

Moreover, the number of births continuously remained more significant than the number of deaths for both men and women. The birth rate per mille slightly increased from 26.25 in 1885 to 29.14 in 1895. For all births and deaths, and birth and death rates of the Statian population in the years 1869 to 1909, see *Appendix E*.

The resurgence at the end of the nineteenth century coincides with a brief rise and fall in cotton cultivation. The Curaçao administration initiated the cultivation, which lasted until 1907.²²⁶ This sentiment was, for example, mentioned in the colonial report of 1903, where ‘cotton planting started with initial good results, spurred on by the relatively high prices, which, according to report, ‘will not decline in the first few years.’²²⁷ However, the 1907 report stated ‘that the poor condition of it [cotton planting] is due to the little care given to it in 1906/1907.’²²⁸ This lack of care, as would later be concluded, ‘that is indispensable to achieve the greatest possible benefits’, was due to planters being short on cash. Planters could not pay a sufficient workforce to ‘exhibit the steady and careful vigilance’ otherwise required for cotton cultivation.²²⁹ At the very least, the so-called ‘sea island cotton’ production ensured a short economic upswing and could attract workers from the outside.²³⁰ This example shows how people were not just inclined to leave St. Eustatius but that the island could also attract people under the right circumstances, similar to the labourers from abroad who were contracted on St. Eustatius in 1872.

²²³ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1894–1896, Identifiers: 0000376166, 0000374454, and 0000372628.

²²⁴ E.g. *Amigoe di Curaçao* (henceforth: AC), AC, 14 Jul. 1894, p. 2; 8 Jun. 1895, p. 2; 19 Sep. 1896, p. 2.

²²⁵ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 394–96.

²²⁶ Hartog, 441–43.

²²⁷ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1903, Identifier: 0000359715. ‘...op dit eiland met aanvankelijk goeden uitslag een aanvang gemaakt met het aanplanten van katoen, daartoe aan gezet door de vrij hooge pryzen, die, volgens ingekomen berichten, in de eerste jaren niet zullen verminderen.’

²²⁸ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1907, Identifier: 0000351601. ‘...betreffende de mededeeling over de katoen op St. Eustatius kan worden gemeld, dat gebleken is, dat de slechte stand daarvan bij de begroting voor 1908 vermeld, toegeschreven moet worden aan de weinige zorg in 1906/1907 daaraan besteed.’

²²⁹ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1908, Identifier: 0000349403. ‘...aan de katoenvelden niet die gestadige en zorgvuldige oplettendheid werd en wordt bewezen, die bepaald noodzakelijk is om van de cultuur de grootst mogelijke voordeelen te trekken. Gebrek aan contanten is een der oorzaken.’

²³⁰ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 396.

As stated several times before, there are no migration records available. However, there is information on the localities of birth of those who resided on St. Eustatius. *Figure 7* shows that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the relative share of Statian inhabitants born in other West Indian colonies increased, only to sharply decline after the cotton cultivation had halted on St. Eustatius. This increase and decrease would further support the suggestion that St. Eustatius could attract people born elsewhere under the right circumstances. If this were indeed the case, these people would primarily come from the West Indies, pointing towards a mutual connection between West Indian possessions of varying national-imperial powers. Judging by these statistics, the 15 contract labourers from Antigua, Barbados, Madera, or St. Kitts, may not have been all that exceptional when compared to the greater flow of West Indians. Regardless, they formed a small yet always-present portion of the population of St. Eustatius from 1869 to 1909.

This suggestion of an international-imperial flow of people corroborates a more recent trend in scholarly publications. Traditionally, research focused on particular national-imperial groups of islands in the West Indies. For example, historians like Hall and Richardson mainly highlighted the Commonwealth Caribbean Leewards.²³¹ On the other hand, Thomas-Hope was one of the scholars brought together by Olwig to write on island systems in the post-emancipation Caribbean in general. She argued in favour of a culture of ‘trans-islandness’, where social and economic networks would reach beyond the borders of single Caribbean Leewards Islands.²³² The reach of networks would be possible due to an emerging culture of emancipated departing and returning as part of their livelihood. Family networks fortified the urge to return and the close contact the emancipated maintained with their next of kin. Thomas-Hope concluded that ‘migration became part of the behavioural patterns associated with livelihood strategies, social relationships, status, and social mobility.’²³³

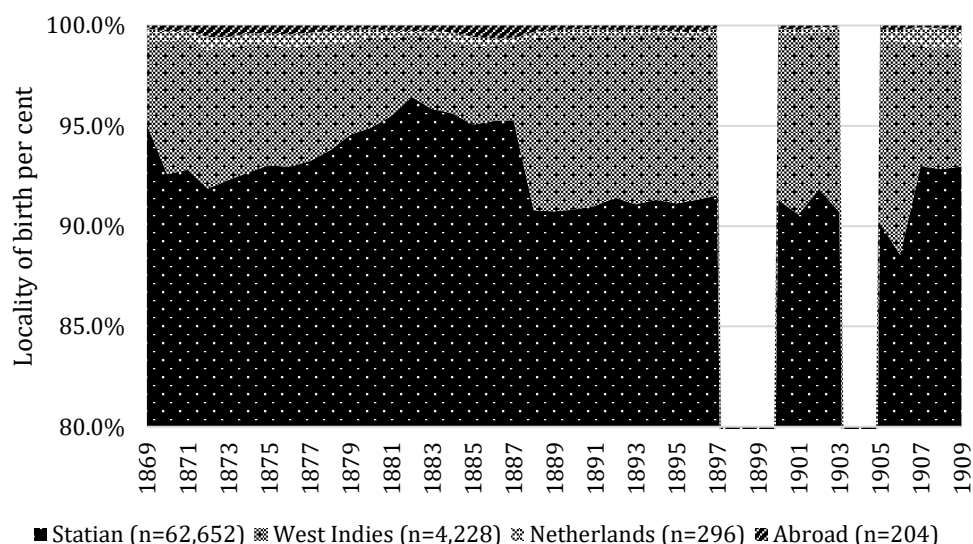


Figure 7: Composition of the population of St. Eustatius, 1869–1909 (N=67,380)

Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1869–1910.

²³¹ Hall, *Five of the Leewards*; Richardson, ‘Freedom and Migration’.

²³² Thomas-Hope, ‘Island Systems’, 166–68.

²³³ Thomas-Hope, 168.

Although the fluctuations of the total population change from *Figure 6* could repeatedly correlate to migration flows, there is no way to distinguish between emancipated and free Statians. After all, the sources do not differentiate between these groups themselves. Excerpts like the story of the West Indian indentured labourers in Surinam are therefore invaluable for grasping the different group dynamics on St. Eustatius. The core dataset can also distinguish between emancipated and free, but only for life events on St. Eustatius. From the birth, marriage, and death certificates, the latter shine new light on shifts in the composition of the population above all; did people born on St. Eustatius also die on the island, similar to the case of Robert Saulman? Or did people move away beforehand? And do these choices differ between groups with different places of birth?

Figures 8 and 9 gain insight into the birthplaces of the deceased from St. Eustatius between 1869 and 1909. *Figure 8* only concerns the 1863 cohort of the free population to allow for a comparison with the emancipated population from the same year, as displayed in *Figure 9*. Unfortunately, either due to ignorance or poor registration, the birthplace of the vast majority of people that died on Statia during these forty years remains unknown, whether emancipated or free. From an administrative standpoint, this does not necessarily come as a surprise: the place of birth was a category to be filled out 'as far as one can find out by oneself' or 'if possible'.²³⁴ This 'oneself' were two people, likely a relative or acquaintance of the deceased.

Conversely, this would raise the expectation that the registrar knew the place of birth. Unless, of course, there were no familiar people. Registrars could also substitute information like a birthplace from other certificates from the civil registry. There was a general lack of paper traces of the emancipated born during slavery, specifically in the birth certificates. It is, therefore, all the more surprising that the number of death certificates not listing a birthplace is significantly higher for free than emancipated Statians, with 84.4% and 67.0%, respectively. Perhaps the sources are lacking in this regard, or maybe this is one of the limitations of this research approach.

For the emancipated people in the civil registry, those born and died on St. Eustatius claimed a relative size of one-third, with 30.7%. Like Robert Saulman, this meant people maybe were inclined to leave St. Eustatius in the meantime, however (in)frequent. At first glance, 30.7% for just St. Eustatius is surprising, too, as most emancipated were likely to either have been born on St. Eustatius or elsewhere in the West Indies. The only two liberated from the West Indies were born on the then Swedish island of St. Barth. Scholars like Enthoven, Jordaan, Wilson, and Roitman have recently described how Statia and the rest of the West Indies had established an intensive commodity trading network in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which included enslaved property.²³⁵ The trading network meant that slavers exchanged enslaved people between colonial and imperial powers. Even after the abolition of the international slave trade in 1807, this network continued to operate.

Of the enslaved population living in 1863, 89.3% were born after the abolition of the international slave trade. Following this line of thought, two emancipated Statians were reportedly born abroad. This concerned two African people, both born well before 1807. After 1807, illegally importing enslaved people from Africa had to be a cumbersome process, according to Roitman.²³⁶ Although private trading continued, no doubt, the chances of success were slim. The British Royal Navy regularly patrolled the waters of the neighbouring St. Kitts and Nevis to

²³⁴ Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 40–42. "voor zover men zulks kan te weten komen" of "zo mogelijk".

²³⁵ V. Enthoven, "'That Abominable Nest of Pirates': St. Eustatius and the North Americans, 1680–1780", *Early American Studies* 10, no. 2 (2012): 253–58; Jordaan and Wilson, 'The Eighteenth-Century', 285–88; Roitman and Jordaan, 'Fighting a Foregone Conclusion', 85–88.

²³⁶ Roitman, 'Land of Hope and Dreams', 384–87; Roitman, 'The Price You Pay', 221.

enforce the prohibition of this type of slave trade. Maintaining the status quo made the likelihood of enslavers importing enslaved people from abroad to St. Eustatius small at best. Additionally, Hartog reported that the Dutch West Indies traded enslaved people internally until at least the 1820s.²³⁷

Because the place of death does not dictate how mobile people were before their demise – the absence of evidence is no evidence of absence – it is impossible to infer any conclusions as to how mobile men or women of different descent were. For now, it is fair only to conclude that the immobility of enslaved during slavery shines through in the post-emancipation era and sharply contrasts the birthplace profile of free Statians during death.

²³⁷ J. Hartog, *Curaçao. Van Kolonie Tot Autonomie. (Tot 1816)*, vol. I, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen*, IV (Aruba: De Wit N.V., 1961), 459.

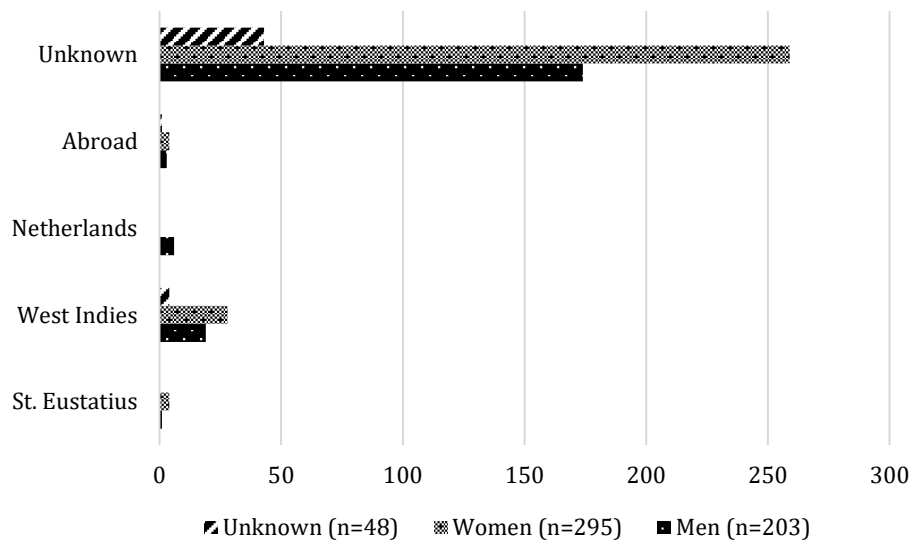


Figure 8: Birthplaces of free Statians in the death certificates, 1869–1909 (N=546)
Source: The core dataset.

Note: This only concerns the 1863 cohort of the free population to allow for a comparison with the emancipated population from the same year.

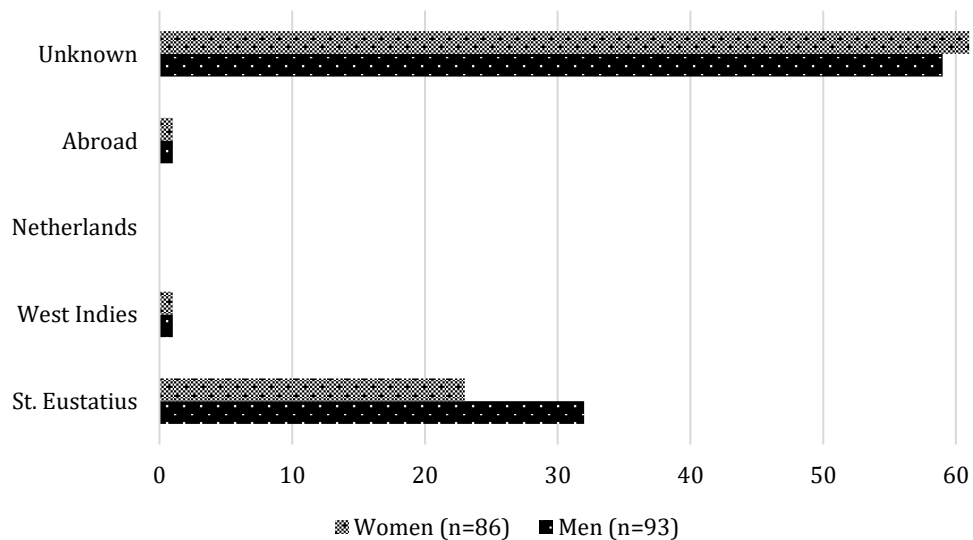


Figure 9: Birthplaces of emancipated Statians in the death certificates, 1869–1909 (N=169)
Source: The core dataset.

4.5. Conclusion

The population numbers for St. Eustatius in the years 1863 and 1900 are the only data in all of the recent literature that provide insight into the post-emancipation population of Statia. This chapter relied on population numbers, newspaper articles, and the civil registry to fill this gap. In doing so, it uncovered how scholars underestimated the number of migrants between 1864 to 1888. The shift changed existing perceptions of the mobility of both free and emancipated Statians. The emancipated Statians missing from the civil registry were subsequently analysed to discover that they were relatively young and that, depending on gender and occupation, the economic incentive to migrate could have varied immensely. Resentment towards their former owners may have strengthened this migration. Anecdotal evidence from the Danish census highlighted individuality above all.

Information from the civil registry became available from 1869 onwards, allowing further analysis of the population numbers and composition. By studying several tipping points in the total population change, different factors appeared to have played a role in the alleged mobility of Statians, from weather effects to economic circumstances to agricultural policies. Anecdotal evidence from Surinam illustrated how these tendencies were not solely applicable to Statians and non-Statians but to emancipated and free Statians, and men and women.

The examples from Surinam and the Danish Virgin Islands show how St. Eustatius was just one of the many islands in the West Indies that were available to its inhabitants, regardless of the national-imperial borders between the individual islands. This finding leads back to the central guiding question of why the population of St. Eustatius declined between 1863 and 1909. To a large extent, the answer seems to be emigration, even though an exact definition of migration and the precise number of migrants are difficult to retrieve. This difficulty mainly lies in the wide variety of events on St. Eustatius and the many cases that these events produced. St. Eustatius reportedly became a less attractive destination during the second half of the nineteenth century. Drought, hurricanes, and a long economic decline made St. Eustatius a less favourable option to some. That is not to say St. Eustatius could not attract people under the right (financial) circumstances or would not act as a gateway to, for example, contract labourers. At the same time, and perhaps as a result thereof, other destinations, such as the Bermuda Islands, the Danish Virgin Islands, or the other islands from the Dutch West Indies, became more favourable through the prospects of a more stable economy. Individual cases underscored some people their inclination to return to St. Eustatius later.

This chapter shows that emancipated Statians came in touch with migration in more than one way. This finding aligns with Richardson's theory of post-emancipation migration as a form of resistance and existence. And it is an extension of the contributions by Olwig, Tyson, and Thomas-Hope that highlighted the relationship between migration and identity. Emancipated Statians might have been compelled to seek out other and better opportunities elsewhere. At the same time, they also had the self-determination to do so, considering some events were but an incentive. Like Eltis' work on migration and identity, migration on St. Eustatius followed a distinct line between emancipated and free, notwithstanding the individuality of the corresponding life courses. In addition to this differential, others like gender, age, and occupation likely played a crucial role in determining both possibilities and opportunities. In conclusion, regarding migration, the emancipated-free contrast was not the only marker of identity for communities of St. Eustatius in the post-emancipation era.

5. Family matters

The previous chapter studied the emancipated Statians that likely left St. Eustatius after emancipation. Conversely, this chapter directs its attention to those who do appear on the island during childbirth, marriage, and death. Previous literature linked these demographic parameters to broader social and economic conditions.²³⁸ For Curaçao, for example, research has proven that men and women were actively seeking land and labour to overcome economic and ecological challenges.²³⁹ Marriage strategies became survival strategies as Afro-Curaçaoans tried to navigate the economic boundaries between formal and local marriage practices.²⁴⁰ There were different gender norms for men and women as to what contributed to leading respectable lives in the eyes of the public and the state.²⁴¹ These gendered norms, in turn, created asymmetrical power relations in which society and state subjected women to both standards of womanhood and former serfdom.

This chapter tests the above insights for St. Eustatius in the shadow of the previous chapter on migration. Therefore, the central question in this chapter is: How did migration, mortality, and fertility impact the family compositions of emancipated Statians during childbirth and marriage between 1863 and 1909? Ultimately, the question remains of how former enslavement impacted socio-economic vulnerability. This chapter poses three guiding questions to guide the reader's attention. First, the characteristics of Statians captured in the civil registry are approached prosopographically. Which Statians remained on St. Eustatius after emancipation? Secondly, mortality and fertility are considered. How were emancipated Statians affected by these living conditions? Thirdly, family compositions themselves are laid bare. How did emancipated Statians compose their families during childbirth and marriage? The formerly enslaved Douglas Courtar is closely followed throughout this chapter to provide additional insights, as life courses like that of Douglas help to interpret demographic patterns.

5.1. Emancipated in the civil registry, 1869–1909

As Douglas Courtar, at the age of 104, laid his wife Rosalina Rogerson to rest in 1953, he had been through it all.²⁴² Born in 1849, he had witnessed emancipation first-hand in 1863. He got officially married in 1894, after which he and Rosalina conceived four children in just six years. But had he gotten married before? Perhaps during slavery? Douglas subsequently experienced the wedding of his first child and eldest daughter in 1911. And he went through the death of his third child and eldest son in 1948. But were such multi-generational experiences commonplace at the time? It will come as no surprise that Douglas was unique in many ways. Aside from the fact that the sources recorded his life course in such incredible detail, Douglas reached extreme old age, outliving many. At the same time, Douglas was part of a group of formerly enslaved individuals.

²³⁸ Everaert, 'Changes in Fertility and Mortality', 236; Higman, *Slave Populations*, 347–48; F. W. A. van Poppel, 'De "Statistieke Ontleding van de Dooden". Een Spraakzame Bron?' (Nijmegen, KU Nijmegen, 1999), 5–7.

²³⁹ Allen, 'Di Ki Manera?', 208–9.

²⁴⁰ Allen, 231–32.

²⁴¹ Allen, 'Contesting Respectability', 109.

²⁴² The core dataset.

The colonial report of 1862 was the last to discern ‘those free’ from ‘those not free’.²⁴³ The report showed how the enslaved population outnumbered the free by 1,145 to 832. The information from December 1868, from where the civil registry picked up, only determined that the total population was 1,890, without a similar distinction.²⁴⁴ Regardless, the previous chapter has illustrated some traces of who left St. Eustatius after emancipation exist in sources and literature. Even though phrases like Hartog’s ‘best’ field labourers and Hall’s ‘able-bodied’ workers that allegedly migrated are challenging to test for precision, there are indications of who remained on St. Eustatius after liberation.²⁴⁵

The previous chapter tested these theses to catch glimpses of those who emigrated. This chapter interprets the results of those tests to gain insight into those inclined to stay. For St. Eustatius, emancipated women were significantly more likely to appear in the civil registry, with 39.2% of the total emancipated female population, compared to 23.8% of emancipated men.²⁴⁶ The ages of emancipated men and women who appeared in the civil registry differed slightly from those missing. Missing emancipated seemed to include fewer children below the age of 10. For women, in particular, the elderly were likelier to stay on St. Eustatius.²⁴⁷ In short, post-emancipation migration led to the ageing of the emancipated population that remained on St. Eustatius. Finally, in terms of occupation, skilled labourers were most likely to leave.²⁴⁸ Regardless, those appearing in the civil registry were mostly regular field labourers that did not practice a specific skill such as carpentry or smithing during slavery. All in all, compared to the missing Statians, those left behind were predominantly female, generally older, and less skilled in the labour they could perform.

Because the findings of this chapter build on the previous one, some of the same source criticisms apply. Therefore, emancipated people in the civil registry were not obliged to stay on St. Eustatius either before or after the corresponding life event.²⁴⁹ Nor were they expected to remain on St. Eustatius in-between life events if they appeared more than once. Furthermore, the previous chapter could not fully explain if some emancipated Statians, for example, infants, the elderly and the sick, had passed away during the data gap between 1863 and 1869. Especially infant mortality is out of the question, considering children would have to live at least six years before being able to register in the civil registry.²⁵⁰ These age gaps are also relevant for marriage ages and fertility periods. Men and women could have already been married between 1863 and 1869, otherwise driving the age during first marriage down. Furthermore, women could have also given birth during these years, otherwise lowering the age for first childbirth.

For the free population of St. Eustatius, it is imperative to distinguish the 1863 cohort. Otherwise, information on the free population would be clouded by those born after 1863, i.e., by the dynamic nature of the civil registry, considering that the emancipated population is inherently

²⁴³ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862, Identifier: 0000428181.

²⁴⁴ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1868, Identifier: 0000420265.

²⁴⁵ Hall, *Five of the Leewards*, 39–41; Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 371–75.

²⁴⁶ In crude numbers missing women were outnumbered by missing men with 379 to 419, even though women outnumbered men with 623 to 550 in total in 1863.

²⁴⁷ Derived from *Figure 3* and information from the core dataset.

²⁴⁸ Derived from *Figures 4 and 5* and information from the core dataset.

²⁴⁹ Dingle and Drake, ‘What Is Migration?’, 114–15; Harzig, Hoerder, and Gabaccia, *What Is Migration*, 1–7; Lee, ‘A Theory of Migration’, 47–57.

²⁵⁰ This is the difference between emancipation in 1863 and the instigation of the civil registry in 1869. Infant mortality generally refers to deaths before the first birthday of the newborn.

static. As soon as first-generation free and emancipated of 1863 started founding families, new members would logically lose the 'first-generation' status and become part of the next generation. In this sense, the term 'family' is complex. The civil registry only structurally gained insight into those who could legally register.²⁵¹ That is not to say that a family could not take different shapes and forms with courtship and togetherness, some glimpses of which appear in the sources with children born outside of wedlock and recognitions of children during marriage. These findings are clear evidence of emancipated Statians living according to their own rationale, even if it deviated from that of, for example, the Dutch colonial government.

The Dutch government did not legally recognise slave marriage in the Curaçao region.²⁵² In the post-emancipation era, the civil registry only recorded formal weddings, which *Figures 10 and 11* spread over time. *Figure 10* only concerns the 1863 cohort of the free population, whereas *Figure 11* concerns emancipated people. Crude numbers remained low, and fluctuations were more likely to occur. With this in mind, it is fascinating that both figures converge with a peak in 1882 and a trough in 1883. The Curaçao administration noticed this sudden drop in marriages in 1884:

'In order to promote marriage among the underprivileged as much as possible, the ordinance of September 21, 1883, exempts persons who can prove their incapacity from the only fee the registrar of births, marriages and deaths still charges them, namely for recording the declaration of marriage at the address of one of the interested parties. [...] The governors of the neighbouring islands are also invited, as much as possible, to cooperate in the promotion of marriages; It is to be feared, however, that the notion, ingrained in the lesser population, that beautiful attire and festive celebrations are indispensable at weddings, will always form an obstacle against marriages of the less wealthy and that consequently, the illegitimate births will always remain numerous.'²⁵³

The Curaçao administration promoted formal wedlock by reducing costs to target the main 'culprits': the poor. Despite the administration's efforts, it feared that the poor would continue to give birth outside of wedlock due to their 'misunderstanding' of how people 'should' hold a marriage. The Curaçao administration actively encouraged the population, specifically the poor, to engage in formal wedlock according to their rationale, without regard for local practices.

66.5% of all births between 1869 and 1883 happened out of wedlock.²⁵⁴ However, only 26.2% of all women who gave birth in this period were first-generation emancipated mothers.

²⁵¹ Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 27–29. See also pages 49–52.

²⁵² van Galen and Hassankhan, 'A Research-Note', 506.

²⁵³ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1884, Identifiers: 0000395951. *Ten einde het aangaan van huwelijken onder de mindere klasse zooveel mogelijk te bevorderen, zijn bij verordening van 21 September 1883 (Publicatieblad n°. 13) personen, die van hun onvermogen kunnen doen blijken, vrijgesteld van het enige emolument dat de ambtenaren van den burgerlijken stand hun nog in rekening mochten brengen, namelijk voor het aanteekenen der huwelijksaangifte aan huis van een der belanghebbenden. [...] De gezaghebbers van de onderhoorige eilanden zijn verder uitgenoodigd om, zooveel in hun vermogen is, mede te werken tot bevordering van het sluiten van huwelijken, het is echter te vreezen dat het bij de mindere bevolking ingewortelde begrip, dat bij huwelijksplechtigheden fraaie kleeding en feestviering onmisbaar zijn, steeds een hinderpaal zal vormen tegen huwelijken van onbemiddelden en dat dus de onwettige geboorten steeds talrijk zullen blijven.'*

²⁵⁴ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1869–83, Identifiers: 0000418699, 0000417225, 0000415807,

Whomever the Curaçao administration thought of when they targeted the poor, it could not have been just the emancipated population. Regarding Hartog's earlier statement of remaining emancipated Statians being highly impoverished and lacking sufficient means of subsistence, it appears that they were not the only ones facing financial difficulties.²⁵⁵ Douglas and Rosalina benefited from these new measures when they wed ten years later. Their wedding is also where another son of Douglas and Rosalina appears in the paper trail they left behind. Charles Fredrik, born seven days before the wedding, may have been an essential motivator for Douglas and Rosalina to enter marriage.

These findings are an extension of Hudson's previous work on the slavery era that highlighted economic well-being as an essential factor in the ability to marry.²⁵⁶ This aligns with what Allen called *bida drechi* for the post-emancipation period: 'a monogamous relationship between a man and a woman sanctioned by civil but principally religious marriage.'²⁵⁷ This moral code was something emancipated Curaçaoans would strive toward to gain prestige within the patriarchal social system. However, poverty would thwart people's abilities to uphold the principle of *bida drechi* and would postpone formal marriage. At first glance, this pattern reverberates with St. Eustatius, where emancipated brides and grooms were more likely to wed at a later age at 42.0 and 42.9 years on average than free brides and grooms were at 31.9 and 39.6 years.²⁵⁸ Section 5.4, 'Family types in the birth and marriage certificates, 1869–1909', further explores the ages of brides and group configurations during marriage.

0000414230, 0000412470, 0000410493, 0000410074, 0000408248, 0000406519, 0000404950, 0000403228, 0000401450, 0000399908, 0000398148, and 0000395951.

²⁵⁵ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 371–75.

²⁵⁶ Hudson, *To Have and to Hold*, 177–84.

²⁵⁷ Allen, 'Di Ki Manera?', 231–32.

²⁵⁸ The core dataset.

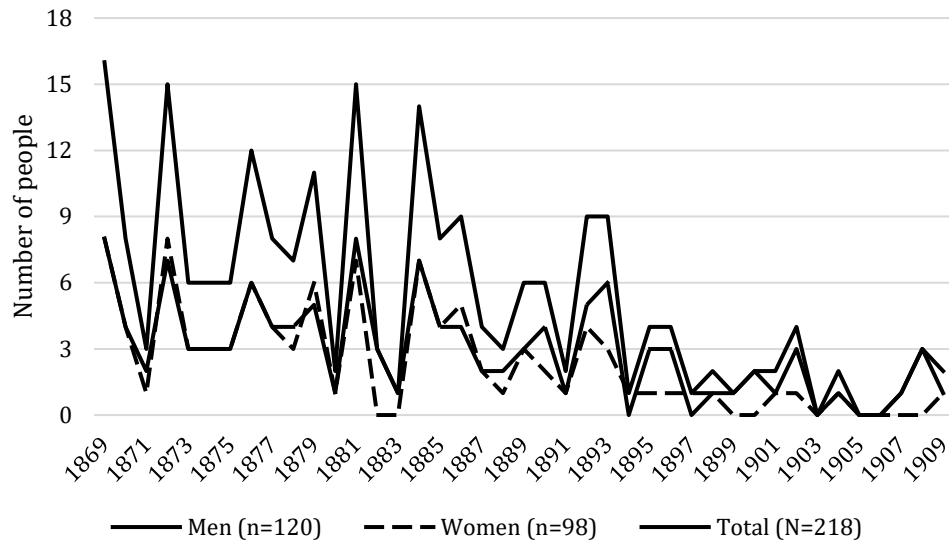


Figure 10: Number of married people from the free population of St. Eustatius, 1869–1909
Source: The core dataset, CBG files.

Note: This only concerns the 1863 cohort of the free population.

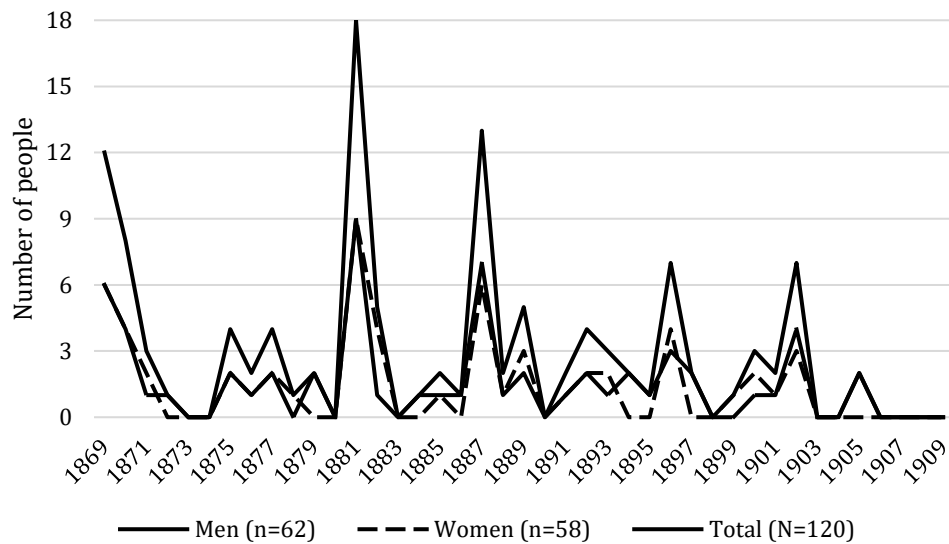


Figure 11: Number of married people from the emancipated population of St. Eustatius, 1869–1909
Source: The core dataset, CBG files.

5.2. Mortality, 1863–1909

Upon his return to St. Eustatius in 1881, the government medical officer must have been satisfied with the state of health of the Statian population.²⁵⁹ Nothing notable would roam the island in terms of diseases. Unfortunately, things would turn for the worse in 1882, illustrated by *Figures 12 and 13*, where *Figure 12* only concerns the 1863 cohort of the free population and *Figure 13* concerns emancipated people. Even though the colonial reports would conclude that the health status was ‘not unfavourable’, they described three recurring infectious diseases that year: malignant catarrhal fever, rheumatic fever, and blackwater fever.²⁶⁰ All three indicated unhealthy living conditions. But especially blackwater fever was a cause for concern. In 1899, the medical doctor W. H. Cross would write that blackwater fever was ‘the cause of more deaths and invaliding than all the other diseases from which Europeans suffer in West Africa, and the same remark applies to the opposite side of the continent.’²⁶¹ He furthermore remarked that only in 1884, doctor J. F. Easmon would have traced the nature of blackwater as a malarial disease and successfully treat it.²⁶² No wonder mortality was high at the beginning of the 1880s when an incurable infectious disease spread among Statians.

From 1888 to 1994, mortality in *Figures 12 and 13* reached a low and seemed to affect the emancipated population in particular. It appears as though health conditions were not the only cause of mortality: economic conditions were contributing just as well.²⁶³ The governor of Curaçao expressed during a meeting on May 10, 1892:

‘It is with great regret that I have to conclude that on my recent inspection trip [among the Dutch West Indian possessions], I found the situation on the Leeward Islands even less favourable than I had suspected from official documents and eyewitness reports. [...] Big changes and drastic measures have to be taken. If St. Martin (Dutch part) and St. Eustatius are not to perish completely.’²⁶⁴

This pitiful socio-economic status of St. Eustatius once again poses the question of whether former enslavement or just poverty in general, caused higher mortality or being prone to an increased risk of dying.

The only clue left as to why the mortality did not rise among emancipated during these trying years for St. Eustatius was article 23. Article 23 of the Emancipation Act stated that ‘the

²⁵⁹ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1881, Identifier: 0000399908.

²⁶⁰ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1882, Identifier: 0000398148. ‘*Op St. Eustatius kwamen vele gevallen van katarrale en rheumatische koorts en van tijd tot tijd ook tusschen poozende koorts van bilieusen aard voor. Overigens was de gezondheidstoestand niet ongunstig te noemen.*’

²⁶¹ W. H. Cross, ‘Blackwater Fever’, *The Lancet* 153, no. 3943 (1899): 821.

²⁶² J. F. Easmon, *The Nature and Treatment of Blackwater Fever: With Bibliography, Notes and Temperature Charts of Cases Treated* (London: Government of the Gold Coast Colony, 1884).

²⁶³ AC, 22 Nov. 1890, p. 2; 16 May 1891, p. 1.

²⁶⁴ AC, 14 May 1892, p. 2. ‘*Tot mijn groot leedwezen moet ik echter constateeren, dat ik op mijne onlangs gehouden inspectie reis den toestand op de Bovenwindsche Eilanden nog minder gunstig heb gevonden, dan ik uit de officieele stukken en de berichten van ooggetuigen reeds vermoedde. Die toestand bleek mij zoodanig, dat ik van de indiening der gereed liggende plannen tot wijziging der belastingen aldaar meende te moeten afzien. Wijziging der belastingen kan hier niets baten. Groote veranderingen, ingrijpende maatregelen moeten genomen worden. — willen St. Martin (Ned. Ged.) en St. Eustatius niet geheel te gronde gaan.*’

board is responsible for the housing and care of uncared-for orphans and other dependents.²⁶⁵ Between 1885 and 1908, this included emancipated Statians.²⁶⁶ Between 1888 and 1893, the annual relief to all emancipated remaining on St. Eustatius ranged between 1,093.25 and 904.65 guilders, after which it plummeted to 792.90 guilders.²⁶⁷ Perhaps the more considerable relief sums meant emancipated Statians such as Douglas Courtar could more easily get by. What the colonial government had intended for the funds became somewhat apparent in the 1864 report. The government reserved the fund for 'maintenance costs, including medical treatment and burial costs'.²⁶⁸ These funds were not so much a luxury expense but served to keep dependants alive. Curiously, Hartog apparently disapproved of this state of affairs. He claimed it to be 'strange' that while the government helped 'needy ex-slaves', there was no trace of help or support for the 'ordinary poor'.²⁶⁹ However, it remains unclear whether formerly enslaved alone could claim the relief funds, as both the Emancipation Act and the colonial report state otherwise. It is safe to assume that former enslavement and economically impoverished living conditions were intertwined.

The mean age at death further distinguishes free Statians from the 1863 cohort and the emancipated population. The mean age at death of the free population averaged 61.95 years in total, with 59.24 and 63.46 years for men and women, respectively. The emancipated population, that is, those who appear in the civil registry, was 56.77 years on average, with 55.1 and 58.03 years for men and women, respectively. It goes to show how exceptional Douglas was. Rosalina, too, for that matter: she had lived to be 96 years old no less.²⁷⁰ It also shows that the formerly enslaved people that stayed in St. Eustatius until death –predominantly female, slightly aged, and unskilled – were more vulnerable than free Statians. This interpretation extends Higman's argument into the post-emancipation era, where higher mortality among enslaved in the British West Indies was one of the main pressure points to which enslaved families were exposed.²⁷¹ Crude mortality rates themselves, Higman would later describe, 'represented real contrast in mortality experience'.²⁷² Even though dynamic mortality rates are difficult to calculate without the exact number of emancipated Statians still on St. Eustatius, it is clear that the mortality experience was affected by former enslavement in the post-emancipation era.

²⁶⁵ '(No. 165.) Wet van den 8sten Augustus 1862, houdende opheffing der slavernij op de eilanden Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, St. Eustatius, Saba en St. Martin (Nederl. ged.),' SKN, 1 Jan. 1862. *'Het bestuur belast zich zooveel noodig, met de huisvesting en verpleging van onverzorgde weezen en andere hulpbehoevenden.'*

²⁶⁶ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 386. See also page 303.

²⁶⁷ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1888–1893, Identifiers: 0000386992, 0000385167, 0000383501, 0000381763, 0000379694, 0000378053.

²⁶⁸ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1864, Identifier: 0000426929. *'In den aanvang van het jaar 1864 was het aantal vrijgemaakte weezen en andere hulpbehoevenden als volgt: [...]. De daardoor veroorzaakte kosten van onderhoud, met inbegrip van geneeskundige behandeling en begrafeniskosten.'*

²⁶⁹ Hartog, *De Bovenwindse Eilanden*, 386. *'Vreemd was het, dat, terwijl voor hulpbehoevende ex-slaven nog jaarlijks een bedrage werd uitgetrokken, van hulp of steun aan de gewone armen geen spoor te vinden was.'* See also page 303.

²⁷⁰ The core dataset.

²⁷¹ Higman, 'The Slave Family', 263.

²⁷² Higman, *Slave Populations*, 317–22.



Figure 12: Number of deaths of the free population of St. Eustatius, 1869–1909
Source: The core dataset.

Note: This only concerns the 1863 cohort of the free population.

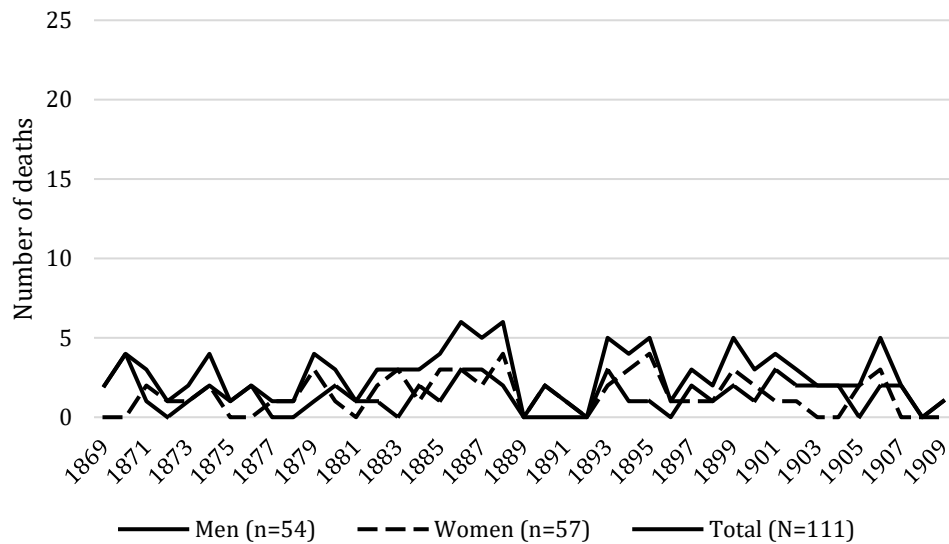


Figure 13: Number of deaths of the emancipated population of St. Eustatius, 1869–1909
Source: The core dataset.

5.3. Fertility, 1863–1909

Previous research by Huub Everaert suggested that fertility in Surinam after emancipation rose suddenly and sharply. He highlighted four interconnected causes:

‘The increase in fertility after the abolition of slavery can be attributed to a number of underlying and mutually supporting processes: (a) young women probably giving birth at younger ages; (b) more women giving birth than previously; (c) older women continuing to have children for longer; and (d) birth intervals declining after 1863.’²⁷³

To Everaert, these four factors were a clear indication of a greater willingness of emancipated women to have children. He suggested emancipation as a possible explanation, as ‘hopes of a better future for their children’ were perhaps the most significant incentives.

Because the civil registry started in 1869, fertility directly after emancipation appears missing. However, the colonial reports did, in fact, report on the number of births. By subtracting the circa 600 people that allegedly left St. Eustatius in 1864, the deficit can correct the total population change from *Figure 2* and the birth rate supplemented in *Appendix D* to gain insight into the actual birth rate, albeit only approximately.²⁷⁴ *Appendix F* supplements the corrected total population change. *Figure 14* shows the corrected birth rates. What shines through is that there was a sudden and sharp rise in fertility in the years directly following emancipation for St. Eustatius. This momentary lapse begs whether Everaert’s theses for Surinam can also explain Statia’s rise in fertility.



Figure 14: Corrected birth rate of the population of St. Eustatius, 1862–68 (N=452)

Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862–1868.

²⁷³ Everaert, ‘Changes in Fertility and Mortality’, 246.

²⁷⁴ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1888, Identifier: 0000386992. ‘*De bevolking van St. Eustatius over vorige jaren is foutief opgegeven, vermits geen rekening is gehouden met het vertrek in 1864 van ongeveer 600 vrijgelatenen en van de personen die sedert het eiland hebben verlaten.*’ Previously translated as: ‘The population of St. Eustatius in previous years has been wrongly stated, as the departure in 1864 of about 600 freedmen and persons who have left the island since then has not been taken into account.’

The missing age of parents made it impossible to distinguish the 1863 cohort of the free population in the civil registry. Therefore, the number of registered children was only calculated for all women not part of the first-generation emancipated between 1863 and 1909. The group left behind further convolutes the data, considering the numbers for the free population include their offspring. Two calculations were made for the fertility period and birth intervals of first-generation emancipated women: one for all women between 1863 and 1909 and the other for girls 14 years and younger in 1863 to calculate fertility rates for those fertile from 1869 onwards.²⁷⁵ For both calculations, only births to mothers aged 55 or younger are included to exclude post-menopausal women.²⁷⁶

During slavery, childlessness among enslaved women on St. Eustatius was 19.9% among women who had reached childbearing age (n=302).²⁷⁷ This percentage resembles that of Curaçao at 20.0% but is significantly lower than that of Surinam at 29.0%, Lamur's calculations suggest.²⁷⁸ So naturally, there was a lot more headroom for Everaert's thesis of '(b) more women giving birth than previously' in Surinam than for St. Eustatius or Curaçao.²⁷⁹ The current data does not allow calculations on St. Eustatius childlessness after 1863 because the free and emancipated female populations are unknown.²⁸⁰ The civil registry further only recorded declared births.²⁸¹

The numbers, as presented in *Table 3* and as a result of the abovementioned two calculations, are somewhat puzzling. Starting with the mean number of children, emancipated women conceived an equal average number of children in slavery (n=369) and abolition with 2.40.²⁸² This continuum is remarkable in itself, considering the same female population would continue to conceive a high number of children even after emancipation, easily outnumbering free women with 1.63 on average. That is not even considering children outside of the view of the registrar of the civil registry.²⁸³ Douglas and Rosalina formed a more prominent family with their children, Catherine Beatrice, Ann Elisabeth, Henry Seiford, and Paul John. For emancipated women younger than or equal to 14 years old in 1869, the number is somewhat lower at 2.05 children on average. This number is still higher than free women, even though the lower number of data (n=40) makes it difficult to substantiate this conclusion further. Regardless, suppose Everaert's thesis that emancipation is the most significant incentive for this continuing high number of births. In that case, the 'hopes of a better future for their children' was a strong belief among emancipated.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁵ According to various government websites on women's health, girls usually have their periods anywhere between 12 and 16 years old. Here, the middle of those two ages has been chosen. For the websites, see: 'Periods', National Health Service, last modified August 5, 2019, <https://www.nhs.uk/conditions/periods/>; 'Your menstrual cycle', Office on Women's Health – U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, last modified February 22, 2021, <https://www.womenshealth.gov/menstrual-cycle/your-menstrual-cycle>.

²⁷⁶ According to various government websites on women's health, women have their menopause no later than around the age of 55. For the websites, see: 'Menopause', National Health Service, last modified May 17, 2022, <https://www.nhs.uk/conditions/menopause/>; 'Menopause basics', Office on Women's Health – U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, last modified February 22, 2021, <https://www.womenshealth.gov/menopause/menopause-basics#references>.

²⁷⁷ Raaijmakers, 'Towards a Slavery Demographic', 22.

²⁷⁸ Lamur, 'Demographic Performance', 90.

²⁷⁹ Everaert, 'Changes in Fertility and Mortality', 246.

²⁸⁰ See footnote 274.

²⁸¹ Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 27–29. See also pages 49–52.

²⁸² Raaijmakers, 'Towards a Slavery Demographic', 22.

²⁸³ Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 27–40.

²⁸⁴ Everaert, 'Changes in Fertility and Mortality', 246.

Furthermore, for childbearing mothers in slavery (n=207), the average childbearing period lasted for 18.4 years, and women aged between 23.0 and 41.4 years old.²⁸⁵ This characteristic would change in two ways. First, all emancipated women had their first registered child at a later age of 29.67 years on average. Meanwhile, the mean age of the last registered child remained roughly the same at 38.52 years. Secondly, and as a result, the fertility period became shorter at 8.85 years on average, and the birth interval became smaller. However, for emancipated women younger than or equal to 14 years old in 1869, the beginning and end of the fertility period were at earlier ages, at 23.60 and 34.21 years on average, respectively. This group of young women, in turn, expanded fertility periods to 10.61 years.

To summarise, fertility periods generally were delayed in their beginning, and birth intervals became shorter after emancipation. Compared to Everaert's four explanations for a peak in fertility after liberation, these tendencies align with theses (c) and (d). However, explanation (a), 'young women probably giving birth at younger ages', does not seem to apply to St. Eustatius.²⁸⁶ After all, even emancipated women younger than or equal to 14 years old in 1869 would not start receiving their first registered child sooner than women in slavery in 1863. There are at least three possible reasons for this. First, lower data values for emancipated women could allow for more considerable data fluctuations than the higher values for free women between 1869 and 1909. Another explanation is that women stopped registering their children at lower ages or gave birth elsewhere before returning to St. Eustatius, hinting at migration. Thomas-Hope claimed that emancipated people might have been settling later due to migration.²⁸⁷ Her reason ultimately led back to the conclusions of the previous chapter, i.e., migration was a way to make ends meet. Alternatively, childbirth at later ages resembled a tendency to first achieve financial stability before settling down, resembling Allen's thesis on the family as a survival strategy.²⁸⁸ The following section explores this strategy further. These findings suggest that St. Eustatius should be viewed in its own regard. Distinct from, in this case, Surinam.

| | Free women (n=1,231) | Emancipated women (n=123) | | | Of which ≤ 14 years in '69 (n=40) | | |
|--------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| | <i>No. of registered children</i> | <i>No. of registered children</i> | <i>Age at registered first child</i> | <i>Age at registered last child</i> | <i>No. of registered children</i> | <i>Age at registered first child</i> | <i>Age at registered last child</i> |
| Min | 1 | 1 | 12 | 21 | 1 | 12 | 21 |
| Max | 10 | 10 | 54 | 55 | 6 | 46 | 49 |
| Mean | 1.63 | 2.40 | 29.67 | 38.52 | 2.05 | 23.60 | 34.21 |
| Median | 1 | 2 | 29 | 40 | 1 | 21 | 35 |

Table 3: A summary of the number of children of free and emancipated women on St. Eustatius, along with the ages of emancipated women during childbirth, 1869–1909
Source: The core dataset.

Note: The 1863 cohort of the free population cannot be distinguished by the number of births in the civil registry. The ages of free childbearing mothers were unavailable in the CBG and NAC files.

²⁸⁵ Raaijmakers, 'Towards a Slavery Demographic', 22.

²⁸⁶ Everaert, 'Changes in Fertility and Mortality', 246. For a comparison between Surinam and Curaçao fertility, see: Lamur, 'Demographic Performance', 90–93. See also page 100.

²⁸⁷ Thomas-Hope, 'Island Systems', 170.

²⁸⁸ Allen, 'Di Ki Manera?', 231–32.

5.4. Family types in the birth and marriage certificates, 1869–1909

The core dataset allows for careful dissection of families in a twofold manner. Once during childbirth and once during marriage. *Table 4* shows that emancipated and free mothers were mostly not legally married. It is remarkable that free women, too, were almost twice as likely to be registered with their children alone. Before the 1970s, the father would usually have been the one to register the birth.²⁸⁹ If the delivery concerned an illegitimate child, the father's name might not appear on the certificate unless the father recognised the child at the same time or had already done so in a separate document.²⁹⁰ Therefore, the absence of fathers on the birth certificates does not indicate a father's negligence per se. Instead, these findings again confirm that births outside of wedlock were commonplace for free and emancipated populations.

If free and emancipated women registered with a partner, they were more likely to do so with a husband from the free Statian population than with an emancipated one. In *Table 4*, the difference in relative share is vast between family types ii., 'free woman and free man with child', and iii., 'free woman and emancipated man with child', compared to the differences between v., 'emancipated woman and free man with child', and vi., 'emancipated women and emancipated man with child'. The practical explanation for this phenomenon is availability. The free population was much larger than the emancipated population in crude numbers.²⁹¹ The size difference is even more apparent in the case of the free male population as compared to emancipated males between 1863 and 1909. Upon emancipation in 1863, the female slave population already outnumbered the male slave population with 623 to 550.²⁹² This discrepancy would grow in the subsequent years due to migration. As has already been shown, men were more likely to migrate than women, meaning that the emancipated left behind were predominantly women.²⁹³ The colonial report of 1862 furthermore claimed that for the free population too, women outnumbered men, with 474 to 358.²⁹⁴ However, these numbers cannot distinguish the relationships that existed during slavery.

The numbers from *Table 4* also reveal information on marriage practices, with women often not being legally married during childbirth. The difference between family types ii. and v. could furthermore suggest that free men were more likely to follow a European marriage-childbirth model than emancipated men, which may come back to the mobility and tendency to migrate of the latter group. Furthermore, remarriage was most common amongst emancipated grooms at 11.5–12.9%, whereas emancipated brides only remarried for 1.8–3.5% between 1869 and 1909.²⁹⁵ Meanwhile, among free Statians, remarriage was relatively low, with 3.1–3.5% for grooms and 2.0–2.2% for brides.²⁹⁶ These percentages of remarriage underline the likelihood of emancipated grooms following informal rather than formal marriage and practices of fatherhood. However, low N-values once again leave room for error.

²⁸⁹ Vulsma, *Burgerlijke Stand*, 29.

²⁹⁰ Vulsma, 27.

²⁹¹ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862, Identifier: 0000428181.

²⁹² Ibidem.

²⁹³ The core dataset.

²⁹⁴ States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862, Identifier: 0000428181.

²⁹⁵ In the CBG files, 8 out of 62 emancipated grooms and 2 out of 68 emancipated brides remarried between 1869 and 1909. In the NAC files, 7 out of 68 emancipated grooms and 1 out of 55 emancipated brides remarried between 1869 and 1909.

²⁹⁶ In the CBG files, 6 out of 195 free grooms and 4 out of 199 free brides remarried between 1869 and 1909. In the NAC files, 5 out of 129 free grooms and 3 out of 135 free brides remarried.

| Family types | n | % |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------|
| i. Woman (f*), child | 1,249 | 65.2% |
| ii. Woman (f), man (f), child | 577 | 30.1% |
| iii. Woman (f), man (e), child | 90 | 4.7% |
| Subtotal | 1,916 | 100.0% |
| iv. Woman (e*), child | 211 | 66.6% |
| v. Woman (e), man (f), child | 63 | 19.9% |
| vi. Woman (e), man (e), child | 43 | 13.5% |
| Subtotal | 317 | 100.0% |
| Total | 2,233 | |

*f: From the free Stadian population.

*e: From the emancipated Stadian population.

Table 4: Family compositions of the population of St. Eustatius during childbirth, 1869–1909
Source: The core dataset, CBG files.

Table 5 takes a different approach to family structures, as it derives its information from the marriage records, specifically the first recorded marriage of either the bride or groom. The family types work from the principle that the bride and groom are essential, similar to how mother and child were always present in the birth certificates. Interestingly, children registered outside of wedlock in *Table 4* are likely those recognised during a marriage in *Table 5*. *Table 5* furthermore comes with three caveats. First, children had to survive until a union could identify them.²⁹⁷ Again, and as previously discussed, marriage was usually only possible once the wedding couple was financially secure enough to enter into marriage.²⁹⁸ Lastly, low data rates make it somewhat challenging to derive tangible conclusions from the table.

Recognitions seemed to have been especially apparent with marriages that involved emancipated people, either as a bride, groom, or both. Grooms who recognised children were not the biological father necessarily but agreed to recognise the children as their own regardless.²⁹⁹ Thus, it is entirely plausible that Douglas was not the biological father of Charles Fredrik. Of the three groups involving emancipated people, two were more prominent on average: family types ii., ‘free bride and emancipated groom’, and iv., ‘emancipated bride and emancipated groom’. Emancipated brides were most often engaged in recognising children when going into marriage, and, in doing so, provided for the most prominent families. Higman described that, during slavery, ‘colour, country, age and occupation were not independent but related characteristics’.³⁰⁰ Perhaps this still held true after the emancipation of formerly enslaved in contrast to the free population. In other words, both former enslavement and gender were not separate but jointly responsible for differences in family composition. These interconnected axes of difference would corroborate with Allen’s previous theses of men and women equally contributing to maintaining household structures while confronted with different moral codes.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ The core dataset, NAC files.

²⁹⁸ Allen, ‘Di Ki Manera?’, 208–9; F. van Poppel and J. Nelissen, ‘The Proper Age to Marry: Social Norms and Behavior in Nineteenth-Century Netherlands’, *The History of the Family* 4, no. 1 (1999): 59.

²⁹⁹ Mourits, van Dijk, and Mandemakers, ‘From Matched Certificates’, 52.

³⁰⁰ Higman, ‘Household Structure’, 537.

³⁰¹ Allen, ‘Di Ki Manera?’, 257–64; Allen, ‘Contesting Respectability’, 104–6.

| Family types | Marriages | | Of which recognised children | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|------|------------------------------|-----|-----------|
| | n | % | n | % | Mean size |
| i. Bride (f*), groom (f) | 95 | 53% | 21 | 32% | 2.67 |
| ii. Bride (f), groom (e*) | 29 | 16% | 13 | 20% | 2.85 |
| iii. Bride (e), groom (f) | 23 | 13% | 11 | 17% | 4.27 |
| iv. Bride (e), groom (e) | 32 | 18% | 21 | 32% | 4.00 |
| Total | 179 | 100% | | | |

*f: From the free Statian population.

*e: From the emancipated Statian population.

Table 5: Marriage compositions of the population of St. Eustatius during their first registered marriage, 1869–1909

Source: The core dataset, NAC files.

Note: This only concerns the 1863 cohort of the free population.

Two patterns seem to emerge from the results of *Tables 4 and 5*. On the one hand, the free nor emancipated population seemed to marry according to a European value system, where childbirth follows formal marriage. However, this European value system still is most apparent when free mothers and fathers, and free brides and grooms came together in-group, as free fathers were present primarily during birth and marriages between free people recognised the least number of children. On the other hand, the emancipated population seemed to find a family according to their rationale that suited their living conditions better, considering they recognised the most children when marrying in-group. Mixed marriages were furthermore more common than emancipated marrying in-group. At the same time, there were differences between emancipated men and women.

Table 6 explores the cultural differences behind each gender's rationale considering age. In section 5.1, 'Emancipated in the civil registry, 1869–1909', the mean age during marriage has already been touched upon briefly. Generally speaking, on average, emancipated brides and grooms were more likely to wed at a later age at 42.0 and 42.9 years than free brides and grooms were with 31.9 and 39.6 years between 1869 and 1909.³⁰² The average marital age in the Netherlands was lower than the average of both free and emancipated Statians. Dutch brides generally married 24.8–28.4 years in the nineteenth century and grooms 26.2–31.4 years, depending on socioeconomic background.³⁰³ For the Netherlands, besides physical and social maturity, to determine whether people were ready to marry was economic maturity.³⁰⁴ But what does the higher average age of marriage for free Statians mean if financial maturity comes with age? And how could the even higher mean age during marriage of emancipated Statians be explained?

On average, Statian men were older than Statian women when they married, with the differences varying between 1.1 years for family type iii. to 6.1 years for family type i. The most significant difference in average age during marriage between men and women occurred, aside from family type i., in family type iv. As a result, the difference between emancipated and free

³⁰² The core dataset.

³⁰³ T. Engelen and J. Kok, 'Permanent Celibacy and Late Marriage in the Netherlands, 1890–1960', *Population* 58, no. 1 (2003): 80; van Poppel and Nelissen, 'The Proper Age', 67.

³⁰⁴ van Poppel and Nelissen, 'The Proper Age', 54. See also page 63. For a comparative study on England, see: A. Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction, 1300–1840* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

marriage comes to light, this time exclusively within each group. The age of married emancipated was highest during the marriages in-group. The differences were not a likely result of the age structure of the emancipated population, as women and men weighed about equal for each age group. *Appendix G* offers the age structure.

Higman explained that, for a similar trend in the British West Indies during slavery, 'it was not that they [younger women] lived alone with their children before settling with a man, but that they lived in childless co-residential unions or extended family households.'³⁰⁵ Thomas-Hope has previously added to this explanation for the post-emancipation era that family networks sometimes stretched beyond the borders of single islands in the Leeward archipelago.³⁰⁶ This thesis already argued extensively that emancipated Statians struggled financially. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that higher marriage ages were related to harsher economic conditions on the road to financial maturity.

Concerning entering wedlock at a later age, numbers are again running thin. Conclusions are only drawn tentatively. Thomas-Hope did offer the following explanation for the Caribbean: 'social acceptance of different types of union [...] encouraged the delay in formal marriage and permitted freedom of movement'.³⁰⁷ The leniency of marriage norms because of social acceptance suggests that, aside from economics, marriage culture played a role on St. Eustatius. Concerning Curaçaoan culture, especially the differences between male and female prospects of respectability, Allen addressed this concept with *bida drechi*.³⁰⁸ While families reared men to financially provide for their future families, they brought up women to follow standards of femininity.³⁰⁹ Given the formerly enslaved people's financial difficulties, it is reasonable that their average age of marriage was higher than that of the free population. At the same time, age differences between men and women were significant. In line with the above ideal of respectability, emancipated people perhaps tried to apply the idea of *bida drechi* from their own socio-economic position. In other words, financial hardship and social expectations entrenched formerly enslaved people after emancipation.

³⁰⁵ Higman, 'The Slave Family', 280.

³⁰⁶ van Poppel and Nelissen, 'The Proper Age', 63.

³⁰⁷ Thomas-Hope, 'Island Systems', 170.

³⁰⁸ Allen, 'Di Ki Manera?', 231–32.

³⁰⁹ Allen, 'Contesting Respectability', 107–9.

| Number of women (n=190) | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| Age of woman | Type i. bride (f*), groom (f) | Type ii. bride (f), groom (e*) | Type iii. bride (e), groom (f) | Type iv. bride (e), groom (e) | Total |
| 11-15 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 16-20 | 15 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 21 |
| 21-25 | 22 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 28 |
| 26-30 | 20 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 32 |
| 31-35 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 24 |
| 36-40 | 15 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 23 |
| 41-45 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 20 |
| 46-50 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 12 |
| 51-55 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| 56-60 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 8 |
| 61-65 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| 66-70 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 71-75 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 76-80 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 102 | 29 | 23 | 30 | 184 |

| Number of men (n=190) | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| Age of man | Type i. bride (f*), groom (f) | Type ii. bride (f), groom (e*) | Type iii. bride (e), groom (f) | Type iv. bride (e), groom (e) | Total |
| 11-15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 16-20 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| 21-25 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 17 |
| 26-30 | 23 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 29 |
| 31-35 | 18 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 31 |
| 36-40 | 15 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 27 |
| 41-45 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 23 |
| 46-50 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 12 |
| 51-55 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 15 |
| 56-60 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 14 |
| 61-65 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 |
| 66-70 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| 71-75 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 76-80 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 103 | 29 | 23 | 30 | 185 |

*f: From the free Stadian population.

*e: From the emancipated Stadian population.

Table 6: Ages of brides and grooms in the different family compositions of the population of St. Eustatius during their first registered marriage, 1869–1909
Source: The core dataset, NAC files.

Note: This only concerns the 1863 cohort of the free population. Furthermore, ages during the marriage of four brides and five grooms were unavailable in the NAC files, which explains the discrepancy between the n value of 190 and the total of 185 for men and 184 for women.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter directed attention to those who appear in the sources during childbirth, marriage, and death. Compared to the missing Statians, those left behind were predominantly female, generally older, and less skilled in their labour. This description of emancipated people in the civil registry explains why scholars described them as less capable and impoverished in a Statian context. The Curaçao administration itself even actively encouraged the population, specifically the poor, to engage in formal wedlock according to their rationale, without regard for local practices.

After emancipation, mortality was high on St. Eustatius, considering numerous infectious diseases roamed the island. Aside from the epidemiological situation, economic conditions also contributed to mortality. The medical and financial conditions indicated that Statians were generally impoverished, much like literature has already suggested. Considering this especially affected the emancipated, the mortality experience was affected by former enslavement in the post-emancipation era. Fertility initially rose after emancipation. Fertility periods were delayed in their beginning and end, and birth intervals became shorter. As a result, fertility hinted at either family as a survival strategy, migration, or both.

In family compositions, two patterns seemed to emerge regarding marriage. On the one hand, the free nor emancipated population appeared to marry according to a European value system, where childbirth followed formal marriage. However, this European value system is still most apparent when free mothers, fathers, brides, and grooms came together in-group. On the other hand, the emancipated population seems to have started families according to their own rationale, which suited their living conditions better. Differences between emancipated men and women came down to a difference in culture. Financial hardship and social expectations entrenched formerly enslaved people after emancipation. Emancipated were likely trying to live respectable lives while navigating financial difficulty.

The above findings lead back to the central question of this chapter. How did migration, mortality, and fertility impact the family compositions of emancipated Statians during childbirth and marriage between 1863 and 1909? It seems that all three demographic parameters affected family compositions but were only able to do so because of a common denominator: socioeconomic vulnerability. Deteriorated resilience made disadvantaged Statians likely susceptible to epidemiological and economic crises and changed their mortality prospects. Emancipated then factored these experiences into the considerations of their form of family and choice of marriage partner. Although a former existence in slavery almost certainly led to poverty, poverty did not have to be the same as a former existence in slavery. In other words, some of these experiences apply to the ordinary poor, not just the emancipated.

Like Higman's theory of agency to maintain a nuclear family during slavery, this chapter explored the different family compositions of emancipated Statians. But like scholars such as Stevenson, Hudson, Morgan, and West suggested, family compositions varied greatly. The difference between emancipated and free Statians when it concerns the family compositions, specifically the absence of legally wed fathers during childbirth and the presence of recognised children during marriage, shows how conceptions of family and togetherness differed between these two groups. Like Allen described for Curaçao, surviving financially and living respectable lives in the form of European practices entrenched emancipated Statians. If anything, this balancing act attests to the self-determination of emancipated Statians and, to a certain extent, the ordinary poor. Primarily due to the possibility of migration and the uncertain backdrop of mortality and infertility, it seems unreasonable to overlook the hardships formerly enslaved people were subjected to after emancipation.

6. Conclusion

The abolition of slavery in the Dutch West Indies in 1863 and the consequent emancipation of enslaved people remains one of the most critical yet understudied events in the history of St. Eustatius. This thesis was the first to explore the life courses of these people in the post-emancipation era. Emancipation took away the few social services that slavery offered. As a result, it raised the expectation of emancipated people to provide for themselves: they were at their own mercy. This thesis explored at least two ways emancipated people made ends meet: migration and family.

This thesis answered the following central research question. Why did first-generation, formerly enslaved Statians rely on migration and the family as survival strategies after emancipation between 1863 and 1909? First, existing literature discussions on migration, the family, and St. Eustatius were explored to answer the main research question. Afterwards, the thesis focused on the core dataset and contextual sources that constitute the thesis. Furthermore, it elaborated on the methodology employed to operationalise this data. This thesis answered two sub-questions after discussing the historical context of nineteenth-century St. Eustatius. How did migration impact the decline of the population of St. Eustatius between 1863 and 1909? And how did migration, mortality, and fertility impact the family compositions of emancipated Statians during childbirth and marriage between 1863 and 1909? The 'life course approach' conceptual framework tied these aspects together.

Regarding the decline in population numbers, migration seemed to have been the most prominent answer. However, the exact number of migrants flowing in and out remains unknown, even though primary and secondary sources provided estimates. The difficulty of approaching migration was further troubled by the lack of a single definition that could cover the wide variety of types of migration and the unique cases of migrants to boot. As such, push factors like droughts, hurricanes, and a long economic decline during the second half of the nineteenth century existed. At the same time, St. Eustatius pulled migrants in with labour prospects, either on the island itself or via contractors. In line with the previous works of scholars like Richardson, Olwig, Tyson, and Thomas-Hope, the above findings showed migration and the formerly enslaved identity to be closely linked. Furthermore, like Eltis, this thesis underlined former enslavements as the existing axis of difference while adding others like gender, age, and occupation in determining both possibilities and opportunities.

For those who resided on St. Eustatius during marriage, childbirth, and death, aspects like migration, mortality, and fertility impacted the possibilities of family founding. The group in the civil registry seemed prone to health and economic hardship. This vulnerability affected their form of family and choice of marriage partner. Here, emancipated people used their newly acquired self-determination. Once again, although a former existence in slavery almost certainly led to economic poverty, economic poverty did not have to be the same as a former existence in slavery. In other words, some of these experiences apply to the ordinary poor, not just the emancipated. These conclusions resemble previous findings from scholars that highlighted the variability of family structures above all. As Allen described, this variability was encouraged by surviving financially and living respectable lives in the form of European practices.

That leads back to why first-generation, formerly enslaved Statians relied on migration and the family as survival strategies after emancipation between 1863 and 1909. But why did formerly enslaved people need survival strategies in the first place? There are two components to this question. On the one hand, formerly enslaved people found themselves in a miserable socio-economic position after emancipation. As such, there were little or no positive prospects in the form of a flourishing economy on St. Eustatius. Climatic and policy conditions maintained this financially poor state. On the other hand, socio-cultural norms and values about marriage and family enforced a gap between rich and poor, and between the free and emancipated populations. The Dutch colonial government had little to no regard for local practices of togetherness, which appeared plenty in the sources during marriage and childbirth.

That leaves the question: why did formerly enslaved people use migration and family founding? First, it is worth mentioning that formerly enslaved people did not have the possibilities of migration and family founding at their disposal during slavery in an abolitionist sense. That is, the freedom to go wherever they wanted and form officially recognised families, notwithstanding the bond between mothers and their children. At the same time, both migration and family have a socio-economic and cultural component. With both regular and irregular migration, migration allowed emancipated people to improve their socio-economic position as long as they could. Forming a family provided social security, enlarged the family network of individuals, whether already existing or not, and was a sign of financial maturity. In turn, migration became an integral part of the emancipated culture, who continued to use their mobility to make ends meet and resist the structures that existed in slavery. European cultural norms imposed by the government and society, in turn, confronted those who founded their families on St. Eustatius. Of course, this does not exclude economic opportunity on St. Eustatius or emancipated people marrying out of sheer affection.

After analysing the literature on migration and family, this thesis drew some parallels between the two that were subsequently formulated as questions. First, where does the story of (formerly) enslaved individuals actively pursuing their social mobility become an act of self-determination instead of a necessary precaution in surviving? This question touches on the motives that emancipated people used, which remain largely hidden behind the demographic nature of this thesis. Nevertheless, one can conclude that emancipated people had their own rationale that best suited their situation in society, whether it related to migration or their interpretation of family. Secondly, how can historians approach life events like migration and family founding to draw definite conclusions without losing sight of the variety and diversity of individual cases? This question touches on scholars their approach when investigating such history instead. And in doing so, I hope this thesis demonstrated the importance of letting unique voices shine through in broader demographic stories.

Another question that followed migration and family in the literature analysis was: where is St. Eustatius to be found in this discussion? Roitman previously concluded that, during slavery, migration in the form of marronage was more so a matter of survival: enslaved utilised the geographical space of the Leeward Islands to flee from bonded labour and illegal slave sales. Additionally, Roitman used the topic of the family both as an argument for and against marronage. Extended family networks spreading throughout the Leeward archipelago partly facilitated information on the possibility of freedom. Meanwhile, a life in freedom without a family was such a grim prospect that people preferred to remain in slavery.

This thesis works from the same group of people – the formerly enslaved population of St. Eustatius, which makes it challenging to connect emancipated migrants to those founding families on St. Eustatius. Would extended family networks continue to provide information after

emancipation, perhaps on where wages were higher? Robert Saulman, for example, must have received word about the opportunity in Surinam somewhere. Would family members migrate and encourage each other to join them in their travels? Or would those who decided not to migrate, in turn, encourage family members to stay after all? Ruth Martin, for example, would not migrate with all of her relatives that appeared in the emancipation registry. Furthermore, David Courtar and Rosalina Rogerson may have wed at a later age but could have easily remained mobile before that. Similarly, their children could have moved off to another island in the Caribbean or elsewhere. If anything, the life events of migration and family remained intimately entangled, even in the life courses after the abolition of slavery.

Having described how this thesis complements existing scholarly works on the history of St. Eustatius, the only thing left to do is peer cautiously into the future. This thesis drew many lines to delineate everything from its spatial and temporal settings, the thematic coherence and a choice of perspective, and the sources and methodologies to approach the subject at hand. As a result, many issues have been left unaddressed. Religion, for example, could not be tied to any demographic shifts in the population numbers, mainly because the lived experiences of the emancipated remains largely unknown but would otherwise be an interesting addition to current debates. Likewise, the church's role in leading respectable lives remains poorly visible in the sources used. At the same time, researching extended family networks or circles of acquaintances through witnesses to weddings or newborn children would be fascinating for expanding our understanding of both migration and family.

Moreover, this thesis has paved the way for new research topics. Naturally, scholars could carry out the same research for other islands of the Dutch Caribbean, such as Saba and St. Martin or Aruba and Bonaire. Similarly, scholars could combine the case study of St. Eustatius with an island controlled by a different colonial power to allow for international-imperial comparative research. Future research could also expand the temporal scope of this research back in time and closer to the present to either gain better insight into the era of slavery or the experiences of future generations of the people who can trace their ancestry back to slavery. The possibilities to engage in even broader debates about the legacy of slavery seem endless. And even though formerly enslaved people belong to the (not-so-distant) past, their stories have only recently started to be brought to light.

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Appendices

A. List of translations of occupations that appeared in the borderellen

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Baker | <i>Bakkerin</i> |
| Carpenter | <i>Timmerman</i> |
| Cook | <i>Kok</i> |
| Field labourer | <i>Veldarbeider</i> |
| Herdsman | <i>Veehoeder</i> |
| House servant | <i>Huisbediende</i> |
| Kitchen servant | <i>Keukenmeid</i> |
| Labourer | <i>Arbeider</i> |
| Loader | <i>Sjouwer</i> |
| Porter | <i>Operateur in poorter of ander werk</i> |
| Sailor | <i>Bootsgezel, zeeman</i> |
| Servant | <i>Bediende, dienstknecht, dienstmeid</i> |
| Shoemaker | <i>Schoenmaker</i> |
| Washer | <i>Waschvrouw</i> |

B. The categorisation of all occupations from the borderellen

| | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| Domestic labour | Butler |
| | Cook |
| | Domestic servant |
| | House attendant |
| | House servant |
| | Kitchen servant |
| | Midwife |
| | Nurse |
| | Servant |
| Field labour | Washer |
| | Cattle minder |
| | Field labourer |
| | Grass picker |
| | Herdsman |
| | Labourer |
| | Loader |
| | Overseer |
| | Porter |
| | Shepherd |
| | Sugar boiler |
| Skilled labour | Waiting boy |
| | Watchman |
| | Worker |
| | Baker |
| | Boatman |
| | Carpenter |
| | Cooper |
| | Driver |
| | Groom |
| | Mason |
| | Mechanic |
| | Sailor |
| | Seaman |
| | Shoemaker |

C. R script for cleaning and transforming the civil registers, and exact matching them to the emancipation dataset

30/06/2022

```
# General preparation

#### Set my working directory
setwd('C:/Users/woute/Documents/Radboud Universiteit/MA Res - Historical
Studies/Year 2 Semester 2/Thesis/Data')

#### Read all three csv files
Birth <- read.csv('CBG_St_Eustatius_BS_Geboorte.csv')
Marriage <- read.csv('CBG_St_Eustatius_BS_Huwelijk.csv')
Death <- read.csv('CBG_St_Eustatius_BS_Overlijden.csv')

#### Load required packages
library(readxl)
library('data.table')
library('tidyverse')

# Cleaning the original data frames (henceforth: df)

## Birth certificates

#### Preserve an original copy
Birth_0 = Birth

### Removing empty columns and duplicate values

#### Summarise the contents of the Birth df
summary(Birth)

#### Delete all 5 empty columns
Birth <- select(Birth, -c(Vader_Patronym, Vader_Beroep, Moeder_Patronym,
Moeder_Beroep, Kind_Patronym))

#### Create a unique identification number 'AkteID'
Birth$AkteID = str_c(Birth$Akte datum, Birth$Aktenummer, sep = ': ',
collapse = NULL)

#### Remove all 364 duplicate entries with AkteID
Birth <- distinct(Birth, AkteID, .keep_all = T)

### Distinguishing person-related remarks with family role

#### Rename the remarks column for clarity
names(Birth)[names(Birth) == 'i..Opmerking'] <- 'Opmerking'

#### Cross-reference birth districts and remove them from the remarks
column
Birth$Kind_Geboorteplaats = str_c('Geboren in district:',
Birth$Kind_Geboorteplaats, sep = '', collapse = NULL)
```

```

Birth$Opmerking <- str_remove(Birth$Opmerking, Birth$Kind_Geboorteplaats)
Birth$Kind_Geboorteplaats <- str_remove(Birth$Kind_Geboorteplaats, 'Geboren
in district:')

#### Remove a leftover '.', along with the wrong spelling of 'Cherry Tree'
as 'Cherrytree'
Birth$Opmerking <- str_remove(Birth$Opmerking, '[.]')
Birth$Opmerking <- str_remove(Birth$Opmerking, 'Geboren in district:
Cherrytree')
Birth$Opmerking <- str_trim(Birth$Opmerking)

#### Create the first 3 subsets for remarks based on family role during
birth
Birth_Vader_Opmerking <- Birth[str_detect(tolower(Birth$Opmerking),
'vader'),]
Birth_Moeder_Opmerking <- Birth[str_detect(tolower(Birth$Opmerking),
'moeder'),]
Birth_Kind_Opmerking <- Birth[str_detect(tolower(Birth$Opmerking),
'kind'),]

#### Reduce these 3 subsets to the remarks and AkteID for clarity
Birth_Vader_Opmerking <- select(Birth_Vader_Opmerking, c(Opmerking,
AkteID))
Birth_Moeder_Opmerking <- select(Birth_Moeder_Opmerking, c(Opmerking,
AkteID))
Birth_Kind_Opmerking <- select(Birth_Kind_Opmerking, c(Opmerking, AkteID))

#### Rename remarks column in these subsets to specify family role
names(Birth_Vader_Opmerking)[names(Birth_Vader_Opmerking) == 'Opmerking']
<- 'Vader_Opmerking'
names(Birth_Moeder_Opmerking)[names(Birth_Moeder_Opmerking) == 'Opmerking']
<- 'Moeder_Opmerking'
names(Birth_Kind_Opmerking)[names(Birth_Kind_Opmerking) == 'Opmerking'] <-
'Kind_Opmerking'

### Distinguishing person-related remarks with full names

#### Remove Nomen Nescio (NN) from father's family names for clarity
Birth$Vader_Familienaam <- str_remove(Birth$Vader_Familienaam, 'NN')

#### Make a searchable full name for both fathers and mothers
Birth$Vader_Volnaam <- str_c(Birth$Vader_Tussenvoegsel,
Birth$Vader_Familienaam, sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)
Birth$Vader_Volnaam <- str_trim(Birth$Vader_Volnaam)
Birth$Vader_Volnaam <- str_c(Birth$Vader_Voornaam, Birth$Vader_Volnaam, sep
= ' ', collapse = NULL)
Birth$Vader_Volnaam <- str_trim(Birth$Vader_Volnaam)

Birth$Moeder_Volnaam <- str_c(Birth$Moeder_Tussenvoegsel,
Birth$Moeder_Familienaam, sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)
Birth$Moeder_Volnaam <- str_trim(Birth$Moeder_Volnaam)
Birth$Moeder_Volnaam <- str_c(Birth$Moeder_Voornaam, Birth$Moeder_Volnaam,
sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)

```



```

Birth$Moeder_Volnaam <- str_trim(Birth$Moeder_Volnaam)

#### Create the last 2 subset for remarks based on the full names
Birth$Vader_Volnaam[Birth$Vader_Volnaam == ''] <- NA
Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2 <- Birth[str_detect(tolower(Birth$Opmerking),
tolower(Birth$Vader_Volnaam)),]
Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2 <-
Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2[!(is.na(Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2$Vader_Volnaam) |
Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2$Vader_Volnaam == ''), ]
Birth_Moeder_Opmerking_2 <- Birth[str_detect(tolower(Birth$Opmerking),
tolower(Birth$Moeder_Volnaam)),]

#### Reduce these 2 subsets of full names to remarks per family role and
AkteID
Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2 <- select(Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2, c(Opmerking,
AkteID))
Birth_Moeder_Opmerking_2 <- select(Birth_Moeder_Opmerking_2, c(Opmerking,
AkteID))

#### Rename the remarks column of full names to specify family role_2
names(Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2)[names(Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2) ==
'Opmerking'] <- 'Vader_Opmerking'
names(Birth_Moeder_Opmerking_2)[names(Birth_Moeder_Opmerking_2) ==
'Opmerking'] <- 'Moeder_Opmerking'

### Merging person-related remarks

#### Merge all family role specific remarks in a single df using AkteID
Birth_Opmerking_List <- list(Birth_Kind_Opmerking, Birth_Moeder_Opmerking,
Birth_Moeder_Opmerking_2, Birth_Vader_Opmerking, Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2)
Birth_Opmerking_Merge <- Birth_Opmerking_List %>% reduce(full_join, by =
'AkteID')

#### Remove any duplicate remarks per family role from this merged df
Birth_Opmerking_Merge$Vader_Opmerking.x <-
str_remove(Birth_Opmerking_Merge$Vader_Opmerking.x,
Birth_Opmerking_Merge$Vader_Opmerking.y)
Birth_Opmerking_Merge$Moeder_Opmerking.x <-
str_remove(Birth_Opmerking_Merge$Moeder_Opmerking.x,
Birth_Opmerking_Merge$Moeder_Opmerking.y)

#### Remove all redundant columns
Birth_Opmerking_Merge <- select(Birth_Opmerking_Merge, c(AkteID,
Kind_Opmerking, Moeder_Opmerking.y, Vader_Opmerking.y))

#### Remove the '.y' of the remarks_2 columns of the father and mother
names(Birth_Opmerking_Merge)[names(Birth_Opmerking_Merge) ==
'Vader_Opmerking.y'] <- 'Vader_Opmerking'
names(Birth_Opmerking_Merge)[names(Birth_Opmerking_Merge) ==
'Moeder_Opmerking.y'] <- 'Moeder_Opmerking'

#### Merge the original df with the merged remarks

```

```

Birth_Clean <- merge(Birth, Birth_Opmerking_Merge, by = 'AkteID', all =
TRUE)

#### Replace NA values with blanks in all remarks columns
Birth_Clean[is.na(Birth_Clean)] <- ''

#### Clean a loose 'Geboren in district: Bovendorp ' from the remarks
Birth_Clean$Kind_Opmerking <- str_remove(Birth_Clean$Kind_Opmerking,
'Geboren in district: Bovendorp ')

#### Remove the general remarks column
Birth_Clean <- select(Birth_Clean, c(AkteID, Gemeente, Aktenummer,
Aktedatum, Soort_Akte, Kind_Voornaam, Kind_Tussenvoegsel, Kind_Familienaam,
Kind_Geslacht, Kind_Geboortedatum, Kind_Geboorteplaats, Kind_Opmerking,
Vader_Voornaam, Vader_Tussenvoegsel, Vader_Familienaam, Vader_Opmerking,
Moeder_Voornaam, Moeder_Tussenvoegsel, Moeder_Familienaam,
Moeder_Opmerking))

#### Remove now redundant dfs
rm(Birth, Birth_Kind_Opmerking, Birth_Moeder_Opmerking,
Birth_Moeder_Opmerking_2, Birth_Opmerking_List, Birth_Opmerking_Merge,
Birth_Vader_Opmerking, Birth_Vader_Opmerking_2)

## Marriage certificates

#### Preserve a copy of Marriage as Marriage_0
Marriage_0 = Marriage

### Removing empty columns and duplicate values

#### Summarise the contents of the Marriage df
summary(Marriage)

#### Delete all 18 empty columns
Marriage <- select(Marriage, -c(Bruidgom_Patronym,
Bruidgom_Geboortedatum, Bruidgom_Geboorteplaats, Bruidgom_Beroep,
Bruidgom_Doopdatum, Bruid_Patronym, Bruid_Geboortedatum,
Bruid_Geboorteplaats, Bruid_Beroep, Bruid_Doopdatum,
Vader_bruidgom_Patronym, Vader_bruidgom_Beroep, Vader_bruid_Patronym,
Vader_bruid_Beroep, Moeder_bruidgom_Patronym, Moeder_bruidgom_Beroep,
Moeder_bruid_Patronym, Moeder_bruid_Beroep))

#### Create a unique identification number AkteID
Marriage$AkteID = str_c(Marriage$Aktedatum, Marriage$Aktenummer, sep = ':
', collapse = NULL)

#### Remove all 86 duplicate entries with AkteID
Marriage <- distinct(Marriage, AkteID, .keep_all = T)

### Distinguishing person-related remarks with family role

#### Rename the remarks column for clarity
names(Marriage)[names(Marriage) == 'i..Opmerking'] <- 'Opmerking'

```

```

#### Create 6 subsets for remarks based on role during marriage
Marriage_Bruidegom_Opmerking <- Marriage[grep('wedwnaar|ontbonden|huwelijk
te|chtscheiding', tolower(Marriage$Opmerking)),]
Marriage_Bruid_Opmerking <- Marriage[grep('weduwe|ontbonden|huwelijk
te|chtscheiding', tolower(Marriage$Opmerking)),]

Marriage_Vader_bruidegom_Opmerking <- Marriage[grep('vader van de
bruidegom|ouders van de bruidegom', tolower(Marriage$Opmerking)),]
Marriage_Moeder_bruidegom_Opmerking <- Marriage[grep('moeder van de
bruidegom|ouders van de bruidegom', tolower(Marriage$Opmerking)),]

Marriage_Vader_bruid_Opmerking <- Marriage[grep('vader van de bruid |vader
van de bruid.|vader van de bruid:|ouders van de bruid |ouders van de
bruid.|ouders van de bruid:', tolower(Marriage$Opmerking)),]
Marriage_Moeder_bruid_Opmerking <- Marriage[grep('moeder van de bruid
|moeder van de bruid.|moeder van de bruid:|ouders van de bruid |ouders van
de bruid.|ouders van de bruid:', tolower(Marriage$Opmerking)),]

#### Reduce these 6 subsets of the remarks and AkteID
Marriage_Bruidegom_Opmerking <- select(Marriage_Bruidegom_Opmerking,
c(Opmerking, AkteID))
Marriage_Bruid_Opmerking <- select(Marriage_Bruid_Opmerking, c(Opmerking,
AkteID))

Marriage_Vader_bruidegom_Opmerking <-
select(Marriage_Vader_bruidegom_Opmerking, c(Opmerking, AkteID))
Marriage_Moeder_bruidegom_Opmerking <-
select(Marriage_Moeder_bruidegom_Opmerking, c(Opmerking, AkteID))

Marriage_Vader_bruid_Opmerking <- select(Marriage_Vader_bruid_Opmerking,
c(Opmerking, AkteID))
Marriage_Moeder_bruid_Opmerking <- select(Marriage_Moeder_bruid_Opmerking,
c(Opmerking, AkteID))

#### Rename remarks column to role during marriage
##### For the groom and bride
names(Marriage_Bruidegom_Opmerking)[names(Marriage_Bruidegom_Opmerking) ==
'Opmerking'] <- 'Bruidegom_Opmerking'
names(Marriage_Bruid_Opmerking)[names(Marriage_Bruid_Opmerking) ==
'Opmerking'] <- 'Bruid_Opmerking'

##### For the parents of the groom
names(Marriage_Vader_bruidegom_Opmerking)[names(Marriage_Vader_bruidegom_Op
merking) == 'Opmerking'] <- 'Vader_bruidegom_Opmerking'
names(Marriage_Moeder_bruidegom_Opmerking)[names(Marriage_Moeder_bruidegom_
Opmerking) == 'Opmerking'] <- 'Moeder_bruidegom_Opmerking'

##### And for the parents of the bride
names(Marriage_Vader_bruid_Opmerking)[names(Marriage_Vader_bruid_Opmerking)
== 'Opmerking'] <- 'Vader_bruid_Opmerking'
names(Marriage_Moeder_bruid_Opmerking)[names(Marriage_Moeder_bruid_Opmerkin
g) == 'Opmerking'] <- 'Moeder_bruid_Opmerking'

```

```
### Merging person-related remarks

#### Merge all remarks per role during marriage in a single df with AkteID
Marriage_Opmerking_List <- list(Marriage_Bruidegom_Opmerking,
Marriage_Bruid_Opmerking, Marriage_Vader_bruidegom_Opmerking,
Marriage_Moeder_bruidegom_Opmerking, Marriage_Vader_bruid_Opmerking,
Marriage_Moeder_bruid_Opmerking)
Marriage_Opmerking_Merge <- Marriage_Opmerking_List %>% reduce(full_join,
by = 'AkteID')

#### Merge the original df with the remarks
Marriage_Clean <- merge(Marriage, Marriage_Opmerking_Merge, by = 'AkteID',
all = TRUE)

#### Replace NA values with blanks
Marriage_Clean[is.na(Marriage_Clean)] <- ''

#### Remove the general remarks column
Marriage_Clean <- select(Marriage_Clean, c(AkteID, Gemeente, Aktenummer,
Aktedatum, Soort_Akte, Bruidegom_Voornaam, Bruidegom_Tussenvoegsel,
Bruidegom_Familienaam, Bruidegom_Leeftijd, Bruidegom_Opmerking,
Bruid_Voornaam, Bruid_Tussenvoegsel, Bruid_Familienaam, Bruid_Leeftijd,
Bruid_Opmerking, Vader_bruidegom_Voornaam, Vader_bruidegom_Tussenvoegsel,
Vader_bruidegom_Familienaam, Vader_bruidegom_Opmerking,
Moeder_bruidegom_Voornaam, Moeder_bruidegom_Tussenvoegsel,
Moeder_bruidegom_Familienaam, Moeder_bruidegom_Opmerking,
Vader_bruid_Voornaam, Vader_bruid_Tussenvoegsel, Vader_bruid_Familienaam,
Vader_bruid_Opmerking, Moeder_bruid_Voornaam, Moeder_bruid_Tussenvoegsel,
Moeder_bruid_Familienaam, Moeder_bruid_Opmerking))

#### Remove now redundant dfs
rm(Marriage, Marriage_Bruid_Opmerking, Marriage_Bruidegom_Opmerking,
Marriage_Moeder_bruid_Opmerking, Marriage_Moeder_bruidegom_Opmerking,
Marriage_Opmerking_List, Marriage_Opmerking_Merge,
Marriage_Vader_bruid_Opmerking, Marriage_Vader_bruidegom_Opmerking)

## Death certificates

#### Preserve an original copy
Death_0 = Death

### Removing empty columns and duplicate values

#### Summarise the contents of the Death df
summary(Death)

#### Delete all 9 empty columns in Death
Death <- select(Death, -c(Overledene_Patronym, Overledene_Geboorteplaats,
Overledene_Beroep, Vader_Patronym, Vader_Beroep, Moeder_Patronym,
Moeder_Beroep, Partner_Patronym, Partner_Beroep))

#### Create a unique identification number AkteID
```

```

Death$AkteID = str_c(Death$Akte datum, Death$Akte nummer, sep = ': ',
collapse = NULL)

#### Remove all 348 duplicate entries with AkteID
Death <- distinct(Death, AkteID, .keep_all = T)

### Distinguishing person-related remarks with life events

#### Rename the remarks column for clarity
names(Death)[names(Death) == 'i..Opmerking'] <- 'Opmerking'

#### Remove redundant spaces, semicolons, and double full stops, and ensure
that
#### every sentence starts with a capital letter and ends with a full stop
Death$Opmerking <- str_trim(Death$Opmerking)
Death$Opmerking <- str_c(Death$Opmerking, '.', sep = '', collapse = NULL)
Death$Opmerking <- str_replace(Death$Opmerking, ';', '.')
Death$Opmerking <- str_replace(Death$Opmerking, '\\.{2,}', '.')
Death$Opmerking <- str_replace(Death$Opmerking, ' {2}', ' ')
Death$Opmerking <- str_remove(Death$Opmerking, '^\\.')
Death$Opmerking <- str_trim(Death$Opmerking)

#### Create subsets from remarks column based on life events
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking <- Death[grep('geboren ',
tolower(Death$Opmerking)),]
Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking <- Death[grep('overleden ',
tolower(Death$Opmerking)),]

#### Reduce these 2 subsets to the remarks and AkteID for clarity
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking <-
select(Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking, c(Opmerking, AkteID))
Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking <-
select(Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking, c(Opmerking, AkteID))

### Distinguishing person-related remarks with places of death

#### Extract and preserve the full sentences containing the district of
death
Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking$Deathsdistrict_Volzin <-
grep('Overleden ',
unlist(strsplit(Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking$Opmerking,
'(?<=\\.)\\s+', perl = TRUE)), value = TRUE)

#### From which to extract the district as a variable using capital letters
Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking$Overledene_Overlijdensdistrict =
Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking$Deathsdistrict_Volzin
Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking$Overledene_Overlijdensdistrict <-
sapply(str_extract_all(Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking$Deathsdistrict_V
olzin, '\\b[A-Z][a-z]+\\b'), paste, collapse = ' ')
Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking$Overledene_Overlijdensdistrict <-
str_remove(Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking$Overledene_Overlijdensdistri
ct, 'Overleden ')

```

```

#### Merge the the district of death the original df
Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking <-
select(Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking, -c(Opmerking))
Death_Clean <- merge(Death, Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking, by =
'AkteID', all = TRUE)

#### Delete the district of death from the original remarks column
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Deathsdistrict_Volzin)
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Opmerking)

### Distinguishing person-related remarks with dates and places of birth

#### Extract the dates of birth in separate columns
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Overledene_Geboortedatum <-
sapply(str_extract_all(Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Opmerking,
'\d{2}-\d{2}-\d{4}|\d{4}'), paste, collapse = ' ')

#### Extract the full sentences containing the places of birth
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Birthplaats_Volzin <-
sapply(str_extract_all(Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Opmerking,
'Geboren te.*(?!=\\.|Geboren in Nederland.)', paste, collapse = ' ')
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Birthplaats_Volzin <-
str_extract(Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Birthplaats_Volzin,
'.*?[a-z0-9][.?!]')

#### Extract the place of birth as a usable variable using capital letters
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Overledene_Geboorteplaats =
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Birthplaats_Volzin
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Overledene_Geboorteplaats <-
sapply(str_extract_all(Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Birthplaats_Vo
lzin, '\\b[A-Z][a-z]+\\b'), paste, collapse = ' ')
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Overledene_Geboorteplaats <-
str_remove(Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking$Overledene_Geboorteplaats,
'Geboren ')

#### Merge the dates and places of birth with the original df
Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking <-
select(Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking, -c(Opmerking))
Death_Clean <- merge(Death_Clean, Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking, by
= 'AkteID', all = TRUE)

#### Delete the dates and places of birth from the general remarks column
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Birthplaats_Volzin)
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Opmerking)

#### Clean off a loose 'Overleden Plantage English Quarter'
Death_Clean$Overledene_Geboorteplaats <-
str_remove(Death_Clean$Overledene_Geboorteplaats, 'Overleden Plantage
English Quarter')
Death_Clean$Overledene_Geboorteplaats <-
str_trim(Death_Clean$Overledene_Geboorteplaats)

```

```

### Distinguishing person-related remarks with family role

#### Separate any remarks based on role during death
Death_Vader_Opmerking <- Death[str_detect(tolower(Death$Opmerking),
'ouder|vader'),]
Death_Moeder_Opmerking <- Death[str_detect(tolower(Death$Opmerking),
'ouder|moeder'),]
Death_Partner_Opmerking <- Death[str_detect(tolower(Death$Opmerking),
'echtgeno'),]

#### Reduce these subsets to the remarks and AkteID for clarity
Death_Vader_Opmerking <- select(Death_Vader_Opmerking, c(Opmerking,
AkteID))
Death_Moeder_Opmerking <- select(Death_Moeder_Opmerking, c(Opmerking,
AkteID))
Death_Partner_Opmerking <- select(Death_Partner_Opmerking, c(Opmerking,
AkteID))

#### Rename remarks columns in these subsets to specify family role
names(Death_Vader_Opmerking)[names(Death_Vader_Opmerking) == 'Opmerking']
<- 'Vader_Opmerking'
names(Death_Moeder_Opmerking)[names(Death_Moeder_Opmerking) == 'Opmerking']
<- 'Moeder_Opmerking'
names(Death_Partner_Opmerking)[names(Death_Partner_Opmerking) ==
'Opmerking'] <- 'Partner_Opmerking'

#### Merge all 3 family role-specific remarks with AkteID
Death_Opmerking_List <- list(Death_Vader_Opmerking, Death_Moeder_Opmerking,
Death_Partner_Opmerking)
Death_Opmerking_Merge <- Death_Opmerking_List %>% reduce(full_join, by =
'AkteID')

#### Merge the personal remarks with the original df
Death_Clean <- merge(Death_Clean, Death_Opmerking_Merge, by = 'AkteID', all
= TRUE)

#### Remove any full sentences on dates and places of birth from the family
role
#### remarks columns, as well as places of death
##### For the remarks on the father
Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Birthplaats_Volzin)
Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking)
Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Deathsdistrict_Volzin)
Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking)
Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking <- str_replace(Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking, '
{2}', ' ')

##### For remarks on the mother
Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Birthplaats_Volzin)

```

```

Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking)
Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Deathsdistrict_Volzin)
Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking)
Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking <- str_replace(Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking, '
{2}', ' ')

##### And for remarks on the partner
Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Birthplaats_Volzin)
Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking)
Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Deathsdistrict_Volzin)
Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking)
Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking <- str_replace(Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking,
' {2}', ' ')

#### Remove the family role remarks from the general remarks column
##### With remarks on the father
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Vader_Opmerking)
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Opmerking)

##### With remarks on the mother
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Moeder_Opmerking)
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Opmerking)

##### And with remarks on the partner
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Opmerking,
Death_Clean$Partner_Opmerking)
Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_trim(Death_Clean$Opmerking)

Death_Clean$Opmerking <- str_replace(Death_Clean$Opmerking, ' {2}', ' ')

#### Rename the general remarks column to the remarks on the deceased
names(Death_Clean)[names(Death_Clean) == 'Opmerking'] <-
'Overledene_Opmerking'

#### Remove Nomen Nescio (NN) and replace NA with blanks
Death_Clean$Vader_Familienaam <- str_remove(Death_Clean$Vader_Familienaam,
'NN')
Death_Clean$Moeder_Familienaam <-
str_remove(Death_Clean$Moeder_Familienaam, 'NN')
Death_Clean$Overledene_Geboorteplaats <-
str_remove(Death_Clean$Overledene_Geboorteplaats, 'NA')
Death_Clean[is.na(Death_Clean)] <- ''

#### Reorder the columns in Death_Clean
Death_Clean <- select(Death_Clean, c(AkteID, Gemeente, Aktenummer,
Aktedatum, Soort_Akte, Overledene_Voornaam, Overledene_Tussenvoegsel,
Overledene_Familienaam, Overledene_Leeftijd, Overledene_Geslacht,
Overledene_Geboorteplaats, Overledene_Geboortedatum,

```



```

Overledene_Overlijdensplaats, Overledene_Overlijdensdistrict,
Overledene_Datum_overleden, Overledene_Opmerking, Vader_Voornaam,
Vader_Tussenvoegsel, Vader_Familienaam, Vader_Opmerking, Moeder_Voornaam,
Moeder_Tussenvoegsel, Moeder_Familienaam, Moeder_Opmerking,
Partner_Voornaam, Partner_Tussenvoegsel, Partner_Familienaam,
Partner_Opmerking))

#### Remove now redundant dfs
rm(Death, Death_Geboorteplaatsendatum_Opmerking, Death_Moeder_Opmerking,
Death_Opmerking_List, Death_Opmerking_Merge,
Death_Overlijdensdistrict_Opmerking, Death_Partner_Opmerking,
Death_Vader_Opmerking)

# Transforming the clean dfs to persons instead of life events

## Birth certificates

#### Preserve an original copy of Birth_Clean
Birth_Merge <- data.frame(lapply(Birth_Clean, function(v) {
  if (is.character(v)) return(tolower(v))
  else return(v)
})))

#### Convert the date format for both date of registration and date of
birth
Birth_Merge$event_date <- strptime(as.character(Birth_Merge$Aktedatum),
'%d-%m-%Y')
Birth_Merge$event_date <- format(Birth_Merge$event_date, '%Y-%m-%d')

Birth_Merge$event_date_1 <-
strptime(as.character(Birth_Merge$Kind_Geboortedatum), '%d-%m-%Y')
Birth_Merge$event_date_1 <- format(Birth_Merge$event_date_1, '%Y-%m-%d')

Birth_Merge$event_date[!is.na(Birth_Merge$event_date_1)] =
Birth_Merge$event_date_1[!is.na(Birth_Merge$event_date_1)]

#### Provide the loose case of Louis Ivanhoff Euson with an estimate
Birth_Merge$event_date[is.na(Birth_Merge$event_date)] <- '1901-08-15'

#### Assign a unique identification number 'registration_id' per
certificate
Birth_Merge <- Birth_Merge[order(Birth_Merge$event_date),]
Birth_Merge$registration_id <- seq_along(Birth_Merge[,1])
Birth_Merge$registration_type <- 'Birth'

#### Create empty variables to prepare for later merging
Birth_Merge$age <- NA
Birth_Merge$gender <- NA
Birth_Merge$birth_date <- NA
Birth_Merge$birth_place <- NA
Birth_Merge$death_date <- NA
Birth_Merge$death_place <- NA
Birth_Merge$death_district <- NA

```

```

#### Subset a df per person
Birth_Merge_Child <- select(Birth_Merge, -c(AkteID, Gemeente, Aktenummer,
Aktedatum, Soort_Akte, Vader_Voornaam, Vader_Tussenvoegsel,
Vader_Familienaam, Vader_Opmerking, Moeder_Voornaam, Moeder_Tussenvoegsel,
Moeder_Familienaam, Moeder_Opmerking, event_date_1, gender, birth_date,
birth_place))
Birth_Merge_Father <- select(Birth_Merge, -c(AkteID, Gemeente, Aktenummer,
Aktedatum, Soort_Akte, Kind_Voornaam, Kind_Tussenvoegsel, Kind_Familienaam,
Kind_Geslacht, Kind_Geboortedatum, Kind_Geboorteplaats, Kind_Opmerking,
Moeder_Voornaam, Moeder_Tussenvoegsel, Moeder_Familienaam,
Moeder_Opmerking, event_date_1))
Birth_Merge_Mother <- select(Birth_Merge, -c(AkteID, Gemeente, Aktenummer,
Aktedatum, Soort_Akte, Kind_Voornaam, Kind_Tussenvoegsel, Kind_Familienaam,
Kind_Geslacht, Kind_Geboortedatum, Kind_Geboorteplaats, Kind_Opmerking,
Vader_Voornaam, Vader_Tussenvoegsel, Vader_Familienaam, Vader_Opmerking,
event_date_1))

#### Add the role per df during birth
Birth_Merge_Child$role <- 'newborn'
Birth_Merge_Father$role <- 'father'
Birth_Merge_Mother$role <- 'mother'

#### Rename all columns from each of the three subsets to align with each
other
Birth_Merge_Child <- setnames(Birth_Merge_Child, c('Kind_Voornaam',
'Kind_Tussenvoegsel', 'Kind_Familienaam', 'Kind_Geslacht',
'Kind_Geboortedatum', 'Kind_Geboorteplaats', 'Kind_Opmerking'),
c('name_first', 'name_middle', 'name_last', 'gender', 'birth_date',
'birth_place', 'remarks'))
Birth_Merge_Father <- setnames(Birth_Merge_Father, c('Vader_Voornaam',
'Vader_Tussenvoegsel', 'Vader_Familienaam', 'Vader_Opmerking'),
c('name_first', 'name_middle', 'name_last', 'remarks'))
Birth_Merge_Mother <- setnames(Birth_Merge_Mother, c('Moeder_Voornaam',
'Moeder_Tussenvoegsel', 'Moeder_Familienaam', 'Moeder_Opmerking'),
c('name_first', 'name_middle', 'name_last', 'remarks'))

#### Denote the genders
Birth_Merge_Child$gender <- str_replace(Birth_Merge_Child$gender, 'v', 'f')
Birth_Merge_Father$gender <- 'm'
Birth_Merge_Mother$gender <- 'f'

#### Merge all three subsets
Birth_Merge <- rbind(Birth_Merge_Child, Birth_Merge_Father,
Birth_Merge_Mother)

#### Add a unique identification number 'person_id' per person
Birth_Merge <- Birth_Merge[order(Birth_Merge$registration_id,
desc(Birth_Merge$role)),]
Birth_Merge$person_id <- seq_along(Birth_Merge[,1])

#### Replace NA values with empty values and reorder the columns
Birth_Merge[is.na(Birth_Merge)] <- ''

```

```

Birth_Merge <- select(Birth_Merge, c(registration_id, registration_type,
event_date, person_id, role, name_first, name_middle, name_last, gender,
age, birth_date, birth_place, death_date, death_place, death_district,
remarks))

#### Standardise names according to LINKS (LINKS_ontwerp_2020_06_03, p. 20)
##### Replace all
##### 'ch' with 'g',
##### 'c' with 'k',
##### 'z' with 's',
##### 'ph' with 'f',
##### 'ij' with 'y'

Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('ch',
'g', y))
Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('c',
'k', y))
Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('z',
's', y))
Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('ph',
'f', y))
Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('ij',
'y', y))

#### Additionally, remove any spaces
Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Birth_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub(' ',
'', y))

#### Remove redundant dfs
rm(Birth_Merge_Child, Birth_Merge_Father, Birth_Merge_Mother)

## Marriage certificates

#### Preserve an original copy
Marriage_Merge <- data.frame(lapply(Marriage_Clean, function(v) {
  if (is.character(v)) return(tolower(v))
  else return(v)
})))

#### Convert the date format for the date of marriage
Marriage_Merge$event_date <-
strptime(as.character(Marriage_Merge$Aktedatum), '%d-%m-%Y')
Marriage_Merge$event_date <- format(Marriage_Merge$event_date, '%Y-%m-%d')

#### Assign a unique identification number registration_id per certificate
Marriage_Merge <- Marriage_Merge[order(Marriage_Merge$event_date),]
Marriage_Merge$registration_id <- seq_along(Marriage_Merge[,1])
Marriage_Merge$registration_type <- 'Marriage'

#### Create empty variables
Marriage_Merge$age <- NA
Marriage_Merge$gender <- NA
Marriage_Merge$birth_date <- NA

```

```

Marriage_Merge$birth_place <- NA
Marriage_Merge$death_date <- NA
Marriage_Merge$death_place <- NA
Marriage_Merge$death_district <- NA

#### Subset a df per person
Marriage_Merge_Groom <- select(Marriage_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Bruidegom_Voornaam, Bruidegom_Tussenvoegsel,
Bruidegom_Familienaam, gender, Bruidegom_Leeftijd, birth_date, birth_place,
death_date, death_place, death_district, Bruidegom_Opmerking))
Marriage_Merge_Bride <- select(Marriage_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Bruid_Voornaam, Bruid_Tussenvoegsel,
Bruid_Familienaam, gender, Bruid_Leeftijd, birth_date, birth_place,
death_date, death_place, death_district, Bruid_Opmerking))

Marriage_Merge_Groom_Father <- select(Marriage_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Vader_bruidegom_Voornaam,
Vader_bruidegom_Tussenvoegsel, Vader_bruidegom_Familienaam, gender, age,
birth_date, birth_place, death_date, death_place, death_district,
Vader_bruidegom_Opmerking))
Marriage_Merge_Groom_Mother <- select(Marriage_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Moeder_bruidegom_Voornaam,
Moeder_bruidegom_Tussenvoegsel, Moeder_bruidegom_Familienaam, gender, age,
birth_date, birth_place, death_date, death_place, death_district,
Moeder_bruidegom_Opmerking))

Marriage_Merge_Bride_Father <- select(Marriage_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Vader_bruid_Voornaam,
Vader_bruid_Tussenvoegsel, Vader_bruid_Familienaam, gender, age,
birth_date, birth_place, death_date, death_place, death_district,
Vader_bruid_Opmerking))
Marriage_Merge_Bride_Mother <- select(Marriage_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Moeder_bruid_Voornaam,
Moeder_bruid_Tussenvoegsel, Moeder_bruid_Familienaam, gender, age,
birth_date, birth_place, death_date, death_place, death_district,
Moeder_bruid_Opmerking))

#### Add the role per df during marriage
Marriage_Merge_Groom$role <- 'groom'
Marriage_Merge_Bride$role <- 'bride'

Marriage_Merge_Groom_Father$role <- 'groom father'
Marriage_Merge_Groom_Mother$role <- 'groom mother'

Marriage_Merge_Bride_Father$role <- 'bride father'
Marriage_Merge_Bride_Mother$role <- 'bride mother'

#### Rename all columns from each of the 6 subsets to align with each other
Marriage_Merge_Groom <- setnames(Marriage_Merge_Groom,
c('Bruidegom_Voornaam', 'Bruidegom_Tussenvoegsel', 'Bruidegom_Familienaam',
'Bruidegom_Leeftijd', 'Bruidegom_Opmerking'), c('name_first',
'name_middle', 'name_last', 'age', 'remarks'))

```

```

Marriage_Merge_Bride <- setnames(Marriage_Merge_Bride, c('Bruid_Voornaam',
'Bruid_Tussenvoegsel', 'Bruid_Familienaam', 'Bruid_Leeftijd',
'Bruid_Opmerking'), c('name_first', 'name_middle', 'name_last', 'age',
'remarks'))

Marriage_Merge_Groom_Father <- setnames(Marriage_Merge_Groom_Father,
c('Vader_bruidgom_Voornaam', 'Vader_bruidgom_Tussenvoegsel',
'Vader_bruidgom_Familienaam', 'Vader_bruidgom_Opmerking'),
c('name_first', 'name_middle', 'name_last', 'remarks'))
Marriage_Merge_Groom_Mother <- setnames(Marriage_Merge_Groom_Mother,
c('Moeder_bruidgom_Voornaam', 'Moeder_bruidgom_Tussenvoegsel',
'Moeder_bruidgom_Familienaam', 'Moeder_bruidgom_Opmerking'),
c('name_first', 'name_middle', 'name_last', 'remarks'))

Marriage_Merge_Bride_Father <- setnames(Marriage_Merge_Bride_Father,
c('Vader_bruid_Voornaam', 'Vader_bruid_Tussenvoegsel',
'Vader_bruid_Familienaam', 'Vader_bruid_Opmerking'), c('name_first',
'name_middle', 'name_last', 'remarks'))
Marriage_Merge_Bride_Mother <- setnames(Marriage_Merge_Bride_Mother,
c('Moeder_bruid_Voornaam', 'Moeder_bruid_Tussenvoegsel',
'Moeder_bruid_Familienaam', 'Moeder_bruid_Opmerking'), c('name_first',
'name_middle', 'name_last', 'remarks'))

#### Denote the genders
Marriage_Merge_Groom$gender <- 'm'
Marriage_Merge_Bride$gender <- 'f'

Marriage_Merge_Groom_Father$gender <- 'm'
Marriage_Merge_Groom_Mother$gender <- 'f'

Marriage_Merge_Bride_Father$gender <- 'm'
Marriage_Merge_Bride_Mother$gender <- 'f'

#### Merge all 6 subsets
Marriage_Merge <- rbind(Marriage_Merge_Groom, Marriage_Merge_Bride,
Marriage_Merge_Groom_Father, Marriage_Merge_Groom_Mother,
Marriage_Merge_Bride_Father, Marriage_Merge_Bride_Mother)

#### Add a unique identification number person_id per person
Marriage_Merge <- Marriage_Merge[order(Marriage_Merge$registration_id,
Marriage_Merge$role),]
Marriage_Merge$person_id <- seq_along(Marriage_Merge[,1])

#### Replace NA values with empty values and reorder the columns
Marriage_Merge[is.na(Marriage_Merge)] <- ''
Marriage_Merge <- select(Marriage_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, person_id, role, name_first, name_middle,
name_last, gender, age, birth_date, birth_place, death_date, death_place,
death_district, remarks))

#### Standardise names according to LINKS (LINKS_ontwerp_2020_06_03, p. 20)
##### Replace all
##### 'ch' with 'g',

```

```

##### 'c' with 'k',
##### 'z' with 's',
##### 'ph' with 'f',
##### 'ij' with 'y'

Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y)
gsub('ch', 'g', y))
Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y)
gsub('c', 'k', y))
Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y)
gsub('z', 's', y))
Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y)
gsub('ph', 'f', y))
Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y)
gsub('ij', 'y', y))

#### Additionally, remove any spaces
Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Marriage_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y)
gsub(' ', '', y))

#### Remove redundant dfs
rm(Marriage_Merge_Groom, Marriage_Merge_Bride, Marriage_Merge_Groom_Father,
Marriage_Merge_Groom_Mother, Marriage_Merge_Bride_Father,
Marriage_Merge_Bride_Mother)

## Death certificates

#### Preserve an original copy of Death_Clean for reference while replacing
all capital letters with lower cases in Death_Merge
Death_Merge <- data.frame(lapply(Death_Clean, function(v) {
  if (is.character(v)) return(tolower(v))
  else return(v)
})))

#### Convert the date format for both date of registration and date of
birth
Death_Merge$event_date <- strptime(as.character(Death_Merge$AkteDatum),
'%d-%m-%Y')
Death_Merge$event_date <- format(Death_Merge$event_date, '%Y-%m-%d')

Death_Merge$event_date_1 <-
strptime(as.character(Death_Merge$Overledene_Datum_overleden), '%d-%m-%Y')
Death_Merge$event_date_1 <- format(Death_Merge$event_date_1, '%Y-%m-%d')

Death_Merge$event_date[!is.na(Death_Merge$event_date_1)] =
Death_Merge$event_date_1[!is.na(Death_Merge$event_date_1)]

#### Assign a unique identification number registration_id per certificate
Death_Merge <- Death_Merge[order(Death_Merge$event_date),]
Death_Merge$registration_id <- seq_along(Death_Merge[,1])
Death_Merge$registration_type <- 'Death'

#### Create empty variables

```

```

Death_Merge$age <- NA
Death_Merge$gender <- NA
Death_Merge$birth_date <- NA
Death_Merge$birth_place <- NA
Death_Merge$death_date <- NA
Death_Merge$death_place <- NA
Death_Merge$death_district <- NA

#### Subset a df per person
Death_Merge_Deceased <- select(Death_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Overledene_Voornaam,
Overledene_Tussenvoegsel, Overledene_Familienaam, Overledene_Geslacht,
Overledene_Leeftijd, Overledene_Geboortedatum, Overledene_Geboorteplaats,
Overledene_Datum_overleden, Overledene_Overlijdensplaats,
Overledene_Overlijdensdistrict, Overledene_Opmerking))
Death_Merge_Partner <- select(Death_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Partner_Voornaam, Partner_Tussenvoegsel,
Partner_Familienaam, gender, Overledene_Geslacht, age, birth_date,
birth_place, death_date, death_place, death_district, Partner_Opmerking))
Death_Merge_Father <- select(Death_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Vader_Voornaam, Vader_Tussenvoegsel,
Vader_Familienaam, gender, age, birth_date, birth_place, death_date,
death_place, death_district, Vader_Opmerking))
Death_Merge_Mother <- select(Death_Merge, c(registration_id,
registration_type, event_date, Moeder_Voornaam, Moeder_Tussenvoegsel,
Moeder_Familienaam, gender, age, birth_date, birth_place, death_date,
death_place, death_district, Moeder_Opmerking))

#### Add the role per df during death
Death_Merge_Deceased$role <- 'deceased'
Death_Merge_Partner$role <- 'partner'
Death_Merge_Father$role <- 'father'
Death_Merge_Mother$role <- 'mother'

#### Rename all columns from each of the four subsets to align with each
other
Death_Merge_Deceased <- setnames(Death_Merge_Deceased,
c('Overledene_Voornaam', 'Overledene_Tussenvoegsel',
'Overledene_Familienaam', 'Overledene_Geslacht', 'Overledene_Leeftijd',
'Overledene_Geboortedatum', 'Overledene_Geboorteplaats',
'Overledene_Datum_overleden', 'Overledene_Overlijdensplaats',
'Overledene_Overlijdensdistrict', 'Overledene_Opmerking'), c('name_first',
'name_middle', 'name_last', 'gender', 'age', 'birth_date', 'birth_place',
'death_date', 'death_place', 'death_district', 'remarks'))
Death_Merge_Partner <- setnames(Death_Merge_Partner, c('Partner_Voornaam',
'Partner_Tussenvoegsel', 'Partner_Familienaam', 'Partner_Opmerking'),
c('name_first', 'name_middle', 'name_last', 'remarks'))
Death_Merge_Father <- setnames(Death_Merge_Father, c('Vader_Voornaam',
'Vader_Tussenvoegsel', 'Vader_Familienaam', 'Vader_Opmerking'),
c('name_first', 'name_middle', 'name_last', 'remarks'))
Death_Merge_Mother <- setnames(Death_Merge_Mother, c('Moeder_Voornaam',
'Moeder_Tussenvoegsel', 'Moeder_Familienaam', 'Moeder_Opmerking'),
c('name_first', 'name_middle', 'name_last', 'remarks'))

```

```

#### Denote the genders
Death_Merge_Deceased$gender <- str_replace(Death_Merge_Deceased$gender,
'v', 'f')
Death_Merge_Partner$gender <-
ifelse(Death_Merge_Partner$Overledene_Geslacht == 'm', 'f', 'm')
Death_Merge_Partner <- select(Death_Merge_Partner, -c(Overledene_Geslacht))
Death_Merge_Father$gender <- 'm'
Death_Merge_Mother$gender <- 'f'

#### Merge all 6 subsets
Death_Merge <- rbind(Death_Merge_Deceased, Death_Merge_Father,
Death_Merge_Mother, Death_Merge_Partner)

#### Add a unique identification number person_id per person
Death_Merge <- Death_Merge[order(Death_Merge$registration_id,
Death_Merge$role),]
Death_Merge$person_id <- seq_along(Death_Merge[,1])

#### Replace NA values with empty values and reorder the columns
Death_Merge[is.na(Death_Merge)] <- ''
Death_Merge <- select(Death_Merge, c(registration_id, registration_type,
event_date, person_id, role, name_first, name_middle, name_last, gender,
age, birth_date, birth_place, death_date, death_place, death_district,
remarks))

#### Standardise names according to LINKS (LINKS_ontwerp_2020_06_03, p. 20)
##### Replace all
##### 'ch' with 'g',
##### 'c' with 'k',
##### 'z' with 's',
##### 'ph' with 'f',
##### 'ij' with 'y'

Death_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Death_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('ch',
'g', y))
Death_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Death_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('c',
'k', y))
Death_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Death_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('z',
's', y))
Death_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Death_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('ph',
'f', y))
Death_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Death_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub('ij',
'y', y))

#### Additionally, remove any spaces
Death_Merge[,c(6:8)] <- lapply(Death_Merge[,c(6:8)], function(y) gsub(' ',
'', y))

#### Remove redundant dfs
rm(Death_Merge_Deceased, Death_Merge_Father, Death_Merge_Mother,
Death_Merge_Partner)

```



```

# Slavery Emancipation dataset of St. Eustatius, 1863

#### Read the Excel file
Emancipation_0 <- read_excel('Slavery Emancipation dataset of St.
Eustatius, 1863.xlsx', na = '-', col_types = c('numeric', 'numeric',
'numeric', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'numeric', 'text',
'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text',
'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'text', 'numeric',
'numeric', 'text', 'text'))

#### Preserve an original copy
Emancipation_Merge <- data.frame(lapply(Emancipation_0, function(v) {
  if (is.character(v)) return(tolower(v))
  else return(v)
})))

#### Standardise names according to LINKS (LINKS_ontwerp_2020_06_03, p. 20)
##### Replace all
##### 'ch' with 'g',
##### 'c' with 'k',
##### 'z' with 's',
##### 'ph' with 'f',
##### 'ij' with 'y'

Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)] <- lapply(Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)],
function(y) gsub('ch', 'g', y))
Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)] <- lapply(Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)],
function(y) gsub('c', 'k', y))
Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)] <- lapply(Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)],
function(y) gsub('z', 's', y))
Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)] <- lapply(Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)],
function(y) gsub('ph', 'f', y))
Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)] <- lapply(Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)],
function(y) gsub('ij', 'y', y))

#### Additionally, remove any spaces
Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)] <- lapply(Emancipation_Merge[,c(4:6)],
function(y) gsub(' ', '', y))

# Exact matching of the _Merge dfs

#### Create searchable full names based on 'name_first' and 'name_last'
Birth_Merge$name_full <- str_c(Birth_Merge$name_first,
Birth_Merge$name_last, sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)
Marriage_Merge$name_full <- str_c(Marriage_Merge$name_first,
Marriage_Merge$name_last, sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)
Death_Merge$name_full <- str_c(Death_Merge$name_first,
Death_Merge$name_last, sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)

### For names during slavery
Emancipation_Merge$name_full <- str_c(Emancipation_Merge$name_B,
Emancipation_Merge$name_last_E, sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)

```

```

#### Exact matching
Match_Emanicipation_Birth_S <- inner_join(Emancipation_Merge, Birth_Merge,
by = 'name_full')
Match_Emanicipation_Marriage_S <- inner_join(Emancipation_Merge,
Marriage_Merge, by = 'name_full')
Match_Emanicipation_Death_S <- inner_join(Emancipation_Merge, Death_Merge,
by = 'name_full')

### For names upon emancipation
Emancipation_Merge$name_full <- str_c(Emancipation_Merge$name_first_E,
Emancipation_Merge$name_last_E, sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)

#### Exact matching
Match_Emanicipation_Birth_E <- inner_join(Emancipation_Merge, Birth_Merge,
by = 'name_full')
Match_Emanicipation_Marriage_E <- inner_join(Emancipation_Merge,
Marriage_Merge, by = 'name_full')
Match_Emanicipation_Death_E <- inner_join(Emancipation_Merge, Death_Merge,
by = 'name_full')

### Join the different names during slavery and upon emancipation,
### while removing duplicate events instead of persons
Match_E_B <- rbind(Match_Emanicipation_Birth_S, Match_Emanicipation_Birth_E)
Match_E_B <- distinct(Match_E_B, person_id, .keep_all = T)

Match_E_M <- rbind(Match_Emanicipation_Marriage_S,
Match_Emanicipation_Marriage_E)
Match_E_M <- distinct(Match_E_M, person_id, .keep_all = T)

Match_E_D <- rbind(Match_Emanicipation_Death_S, Match_Emanicipation_Death_E)
Match_E_D <- distinct(Match_E_D, person_id, .keep_all = T)

### Remove double births, anachronistic cases, and mismatched genders
Match_E_B <- subset(Match_E_B, role != 'newborn')

Match_E_B <- subset(Match_E_B, birth_B_E <= event_date)
Match_E_M <- subset(Match_E_M, birth_B_E <= event_date)
Match_E_D <- subset(Match_E_D, birth_B_E <= event_date)

Match_E_B <- subset(Match_E_B, gender_B == gender)
Match_E_M <- subset(Match_E_M, gender_B == gender)
Match_E_D <- subset(Match_E_D, gender_B == gender)

#### Remove redundant dfs
rm(Match_Emanicipation_Birth_E, Match_Emanicipation_Birth_S,
Match_Emanicipation_Marriage_E, Match_Emanicipation_Marriage_S,
Match_Emanicipation_Death_E, Match_Emanicipation_Death_S)

## The NAC Marriage Certificates
### Read the original data file
Marriage_NAC <- read_excel("NAC_St_Eustatius_BS_Huwelijk.xls")

### Preserve an original copy of Marriage_NAC

```

```

Marriage_NAClean <- data.frame(lapply(Marriage_NAC, function(v) {
  if (is.character(v)) return(tolower(v))
  else return(v)
})))

### Create the unique identifier AkteID
Marriage_NAClean$AkteID <- str_c(Marriage_NAClean$Jaar,
Marriage_NAClean$Akte, sep = ': ', collapse = NULL)

#### Remove all 86 duplicate entries with AkteID
Marriage_NAClean <- distinct(Marriage_NAClean, AkteID, .keep_all = T)

### Determine the recognised number of children per marriage
Marriage_NAClean$children <- 12 - rowSums(is.na(Marriage_NAClean[,46:69]))
/ 2

###Prepare the ages of brides and grooms
Marriage_NAClean$age_bride <- substr(Marriage_NAClean$Vrouw.oud, 1, 2)
Marriage_NAClean$age_groom <- substr(Marriage_NAClean$Man.oud, 1, 2)

###Calculate the birthdates of brides and grooms
Marriage_NAClean$birth_date_bride <- as.numeric(Marriage_NAClean$Jaar) -
as.numeric(Marriage_NAClean$age_bride)
Marriage_NAClean$birth_date_groom <- as.numeric(Marriage_NAClean$Jaar) -
as.numeric(Marriage_NAClean$age_groom)

### Create a sequenced identifier per marriage
Marriage_NAClean <- Marriage_NAClean[order(Marriage_NAClean$Akte),]
Marriage_NAClean <- Marriage_NAClean[order(Marriage_NAClean$Jaar),]
Marriage_NAClean$registration_id <- seq_along(Marriage_NAClean[,1])

### Standardise names according to LINKS (LINKS_ontwerp_2020_06_03, p. 20)
#### Replace all
#### 'ch' with 'g',
#### 'c' with 'k',
#### 'z' with 's',
#### 'ph' with 'f',
#### 'ij' with 'y'

Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)] <- lapply(Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)], function(y)
gsub('ch', 'g', y))
Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)] <- lapply(Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)], function(y)
gsub('c', 'k', y))
Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)] <- lapply(Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)], function(y)
gsub('z', 's', y))
Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)] <- lapply(Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)], function(y)
gsub('ph', 'f', y))
Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)] <- lapply(Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)], function(y)
gsub('ij', 'y', y))

### Additionally, remove any spaces
Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)] <- lapply(Marriage_NAClean[,c(1:4)], function(y)
gsub(' ', '', y))

```

```

### Create full names for both brides and grooms
Marriage_NAClean$name_full_bride <-
str_c(Marriage_NAClean$Voornamen..Vrouw.,
Marriage_NAClean$Achternaam..Vrouw., sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)
Marriage_NAClean$name_full_groom <- str_c(Marriage_NAClean$Voornamen..Man.,
Marriage_NAClean$Achternaam..Man., sep = ' ', collapse = NULL)

### Create separate subsets for the brides and grooms
Marriage_NAC_Bride <- select(Marriage_NAClean, c(6, 71:72, 74, 76:77))
Marriage_NAC_Groom <- select(Marriage_NAClean, c(6, 71, 73, 75:76, 78))

### Denote the role during marriage of both brides and grooms
Marriage_NAC_Bride$role <- 'bride'
Marriage_NAC_Groom$role <- 'groom'

### Rename the variables from the subsets to match formats of other dfs
names(Marriage_NAC_Bride)[names(Marriage_NAC_Bride) == 'Jaar'] <-
'event_year'
names(Marriage_NAC_Bride)[names(Marriage_NAC_Bride) == 'age_bride'] <-
'age'
names(Marriage_NAC_Bride)[names(Marriage_NAC_Bride) == 'birth_date_bride']
<- 'birth_date'
names(Marriage_NAC_Bride)[names(Marriage_NAC_Bride) == 'name_full_bride']
<- 'name_full'

names(Marriage_NAC_Groom)[names(Marriage_NAC_Groom) == 'Jaar'] <-
'event_year'
names(Marriage_NAC_Groom)[names(Marriage_NAC_Groom) == 'age_groom'] <-
'age'
names(Marriage_NAC_Groom)[names(Marriage_NAC_Groom) == 'birth_date_groom']
<- 'birth_date'
names(Marriage_NAC_Groom)[names(Marriage_NAC_Groom) == 'name_full_groom']
<- 'name_full'

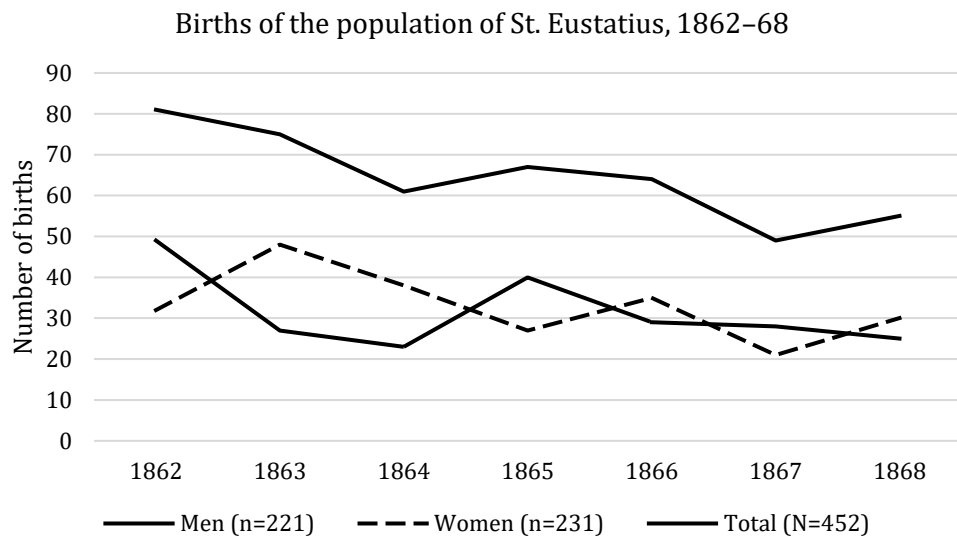
### Merging both subsets into a new df
Marriage_NACMerge <- rbind(Marriage_NAC_Bride, Marriage_NAC_Groom)
Marriage_NACMerge <- Marriage_NACMerge[, c(5, 1, 6, 4, 3, 7, 2)]

### Exact matching to the emancipation dataset
Match_E_NAC <- inner_join(Emancipation_Merge, Marriage_NACMerge, by =
'name_full')

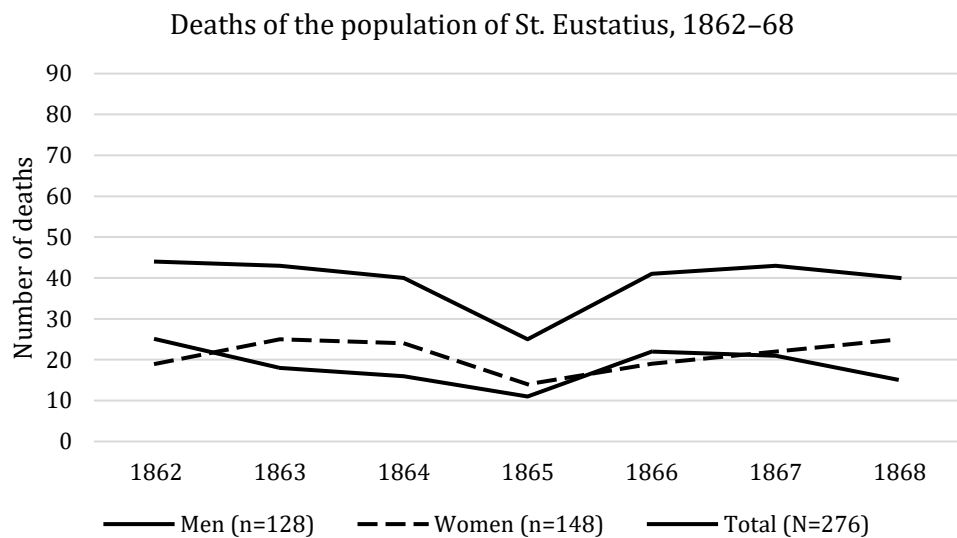
### Remove redundant dfs
rm(Marriage_NAC_Bride, Marriage_NAC_Groom)

```

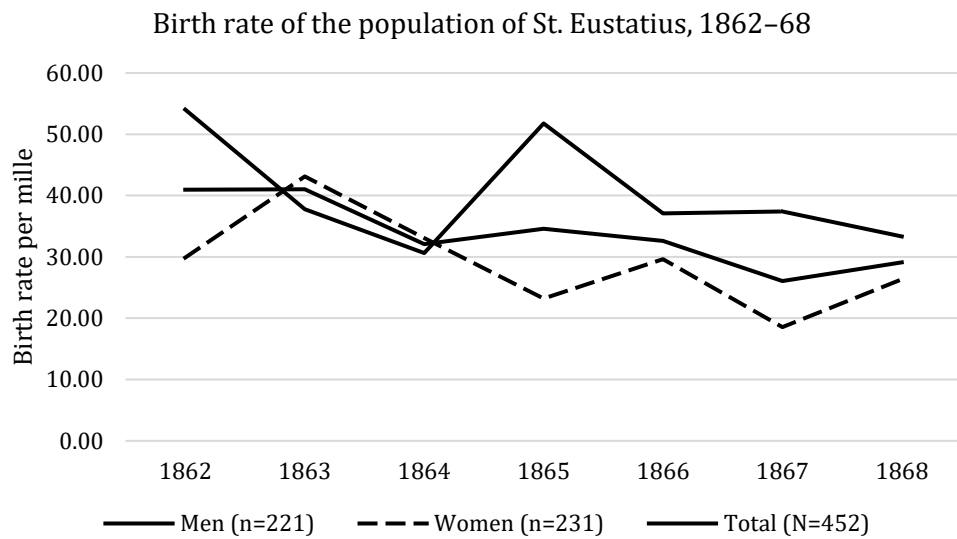
D. Births and deaths, birth and death rates of St. Eustatius, 1863–69



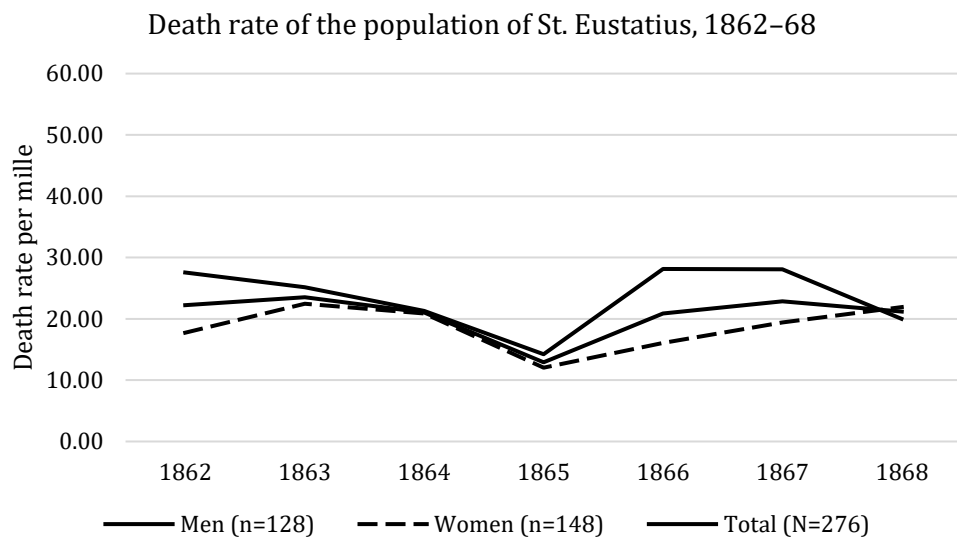
Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862–1868.



Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862–1868.

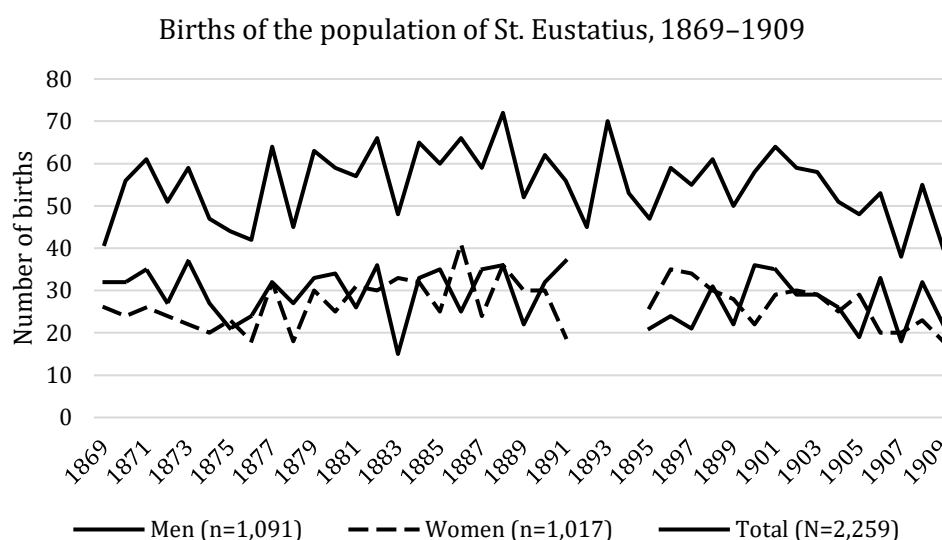


Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862–1868.

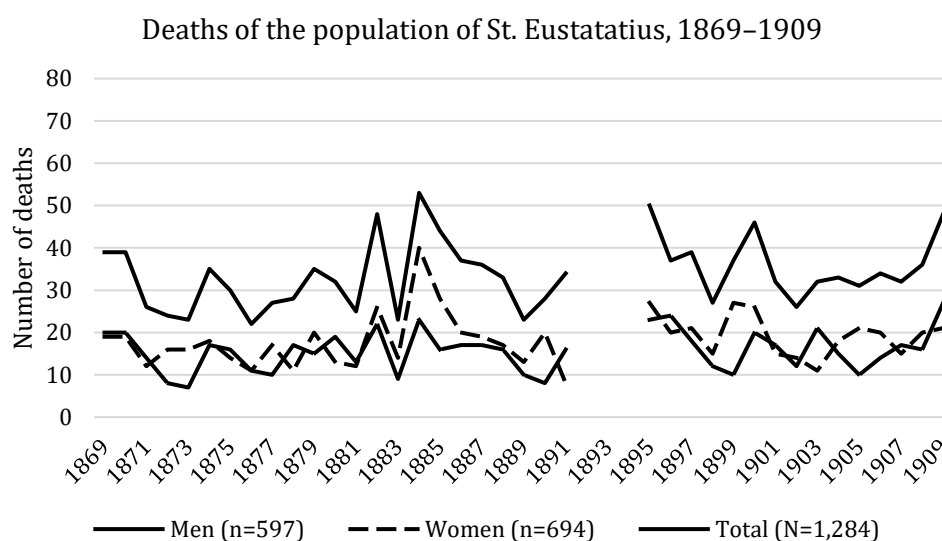


Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862–1868.

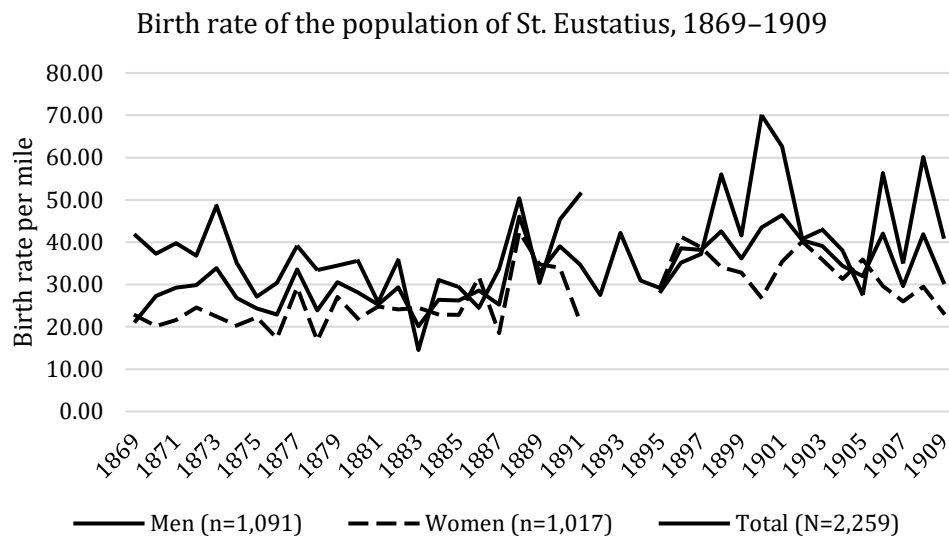
E. Births and deaths, birth and death rates of St. Eustatius, 1869–1909



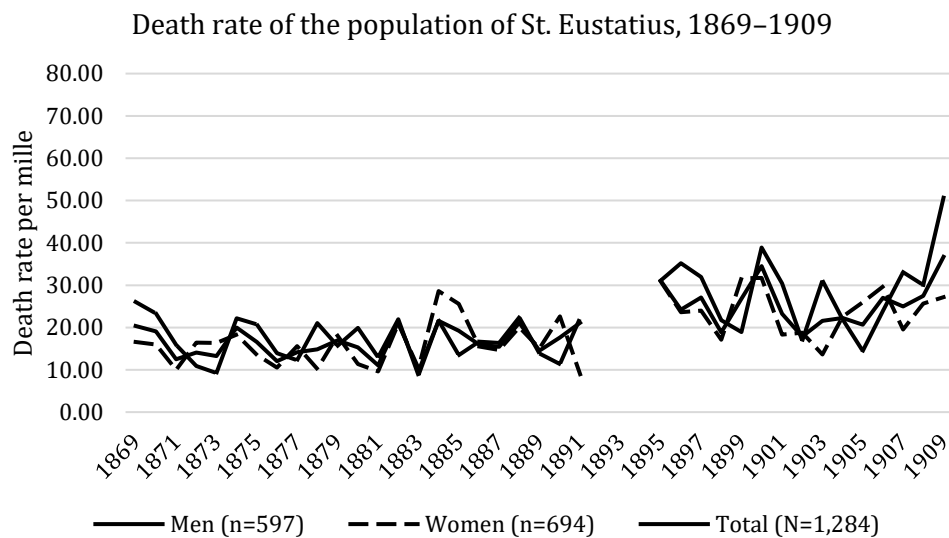
Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1869–1910.



Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1869–1910.

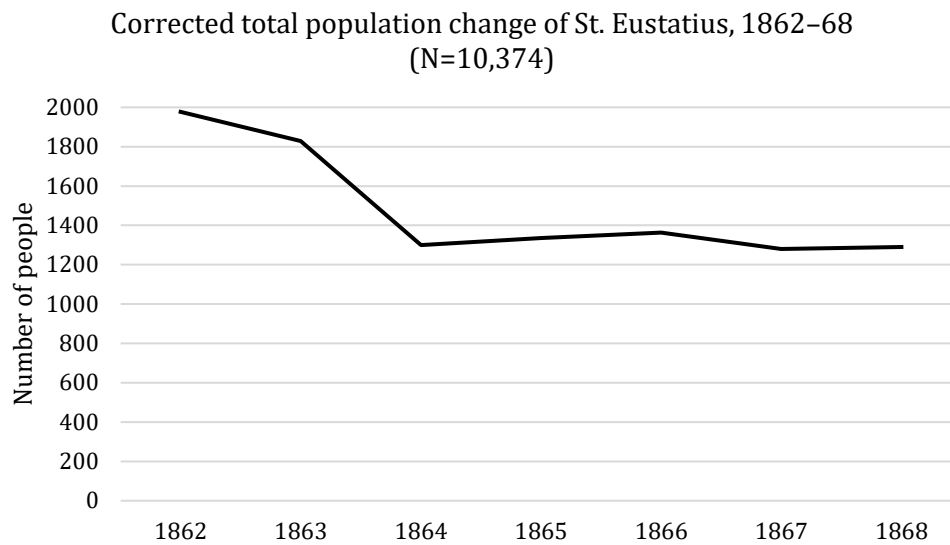


Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1869–1910.

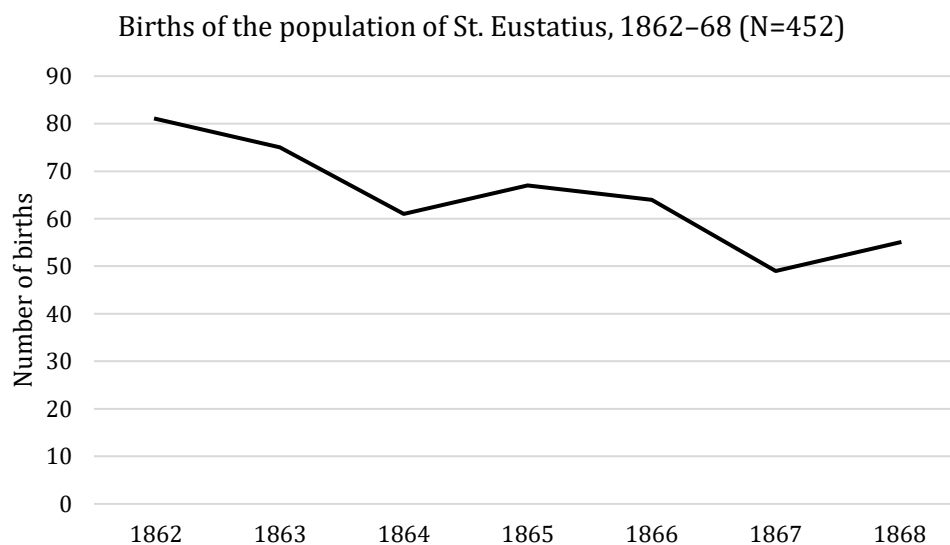


Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1869–1910.

F. Corrected total population change and births of St. Eustatius, 1863–69



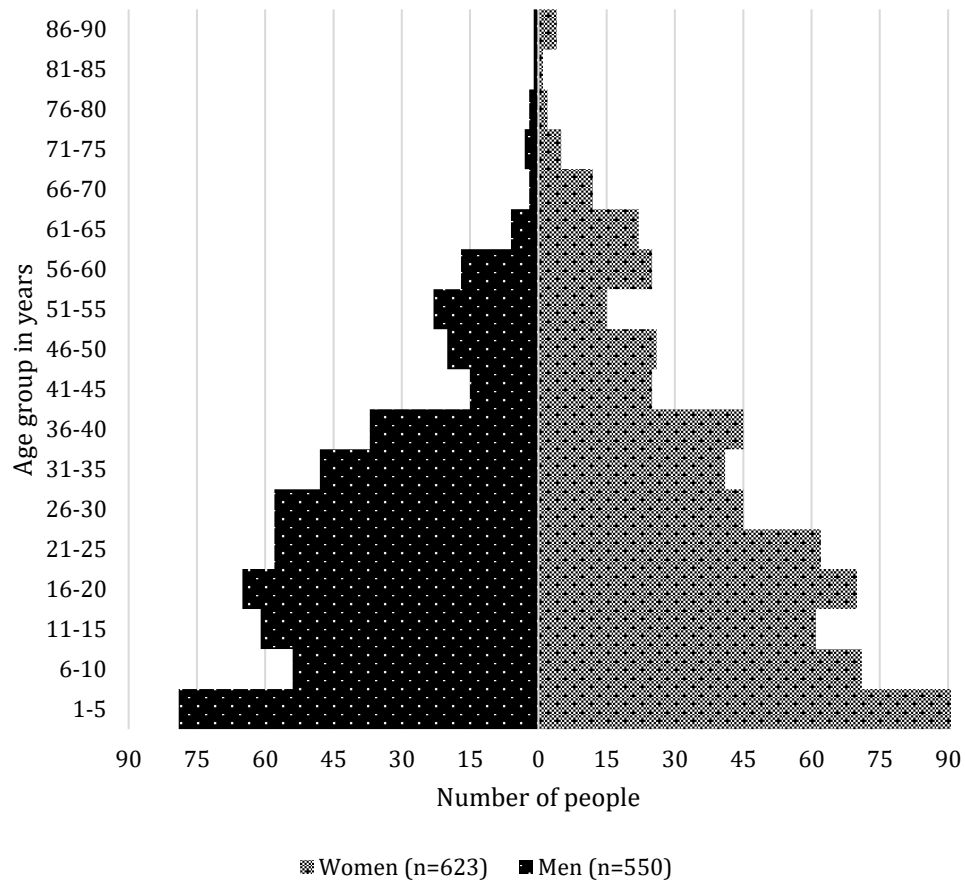
Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862–1868. The correction stems from 1888, Identifier: 0000386992.



Source: States-General digital, Parliamentary documents, House of Representatives of the Netherlands, Colonial reports and attached population statistics, 1862–1868.

G. The age structure of the emancipated population of St. Eustatius, 1863

Age structure of the emancipated population of St. Eustatius,
1863 (N=1,173)



Source: The emancipation dataset.

Note: Ages were grouped to consider age heaping.