Figure 1 Curaçao Willemstad Schottegat ca. 1828 by Willem H. Hoogkamer

An Intra-Caribbean Slave Movement Network : Export of Enslaved People from Curaçao 1847-1856

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First supervisor: Dr. Matthias Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge

Second supervisor: Dr. Rick Mourits

Course Coordinator: Prof. Dr. Marit Monteiro

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Jasmijn Janssen
S1028542

Content

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By Jasmijn Janssen, ORCID: 0009-0004-3281-7127

Abstract

The export requests and slave registers of Curaçao provide a snapshots of a part of enslaved life that is rarely studied, the possibility to be sold to a different colony. This thesis investigated the export requests slave owners wrote to obtain permission from the local authorities to export their enslaved property. These requests had never been studied before. The main objective of this research was to gain more insight into the slave movement networks that evolved around enslaved people who left the island. Who were these enslaved persons, where were they sent and who sent and took them to their destination? Additionally, these new sources are compared and contrasted to slave registers, which also registered export to foreign colonies, to gain more insight into the network that guarded these movements, and the sales of enslaved persons that often preceded their exportation. By combining quantitative and qualitative approaches this paper aims to gain more insight into an under researched aspect of enslaved life in the Dutch Caribbean. Academic research has previously focused on Curaçao's role in the transatlantic slave trade, but what role did slave export have on the island decades after the trade in African captives had been abolished? Enslaved people could be transported or sold abroad at any given time in their lives, something that had been part and parcel of enslaved life on Curaçao during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. This research examines the network of slave movements that were tied to legal slave export in the 1847-1856 period through a unique combination of methods.

Keywords

Slavery on Curaçao, export requests, slave registers, intra-Caribbean slave movement, social network analysis

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Introduction

On February 1st 1847 Estevan Balaguer filed a request to send Miguel, Hirolde, Carolus, Gerard and Francisco from Curaçao to Puerto Rico. As their owner Balaguer had to ask the governor of Curaçao for permission to export his enslaved property to the Spanish colony. This might seem an odd request at first, knowing that the transatlantic slave trade had been prohibited by the Dutch in the 1810's as a result of a treaty between the Dutch and the British Kings, but the destination is key here. Although the transatlantic slave trade was abolished, it was not prohibited to sell and transport enslaved people within Americas itself, i.e. from one colony to another. As long as the shipment was registered appropriately, Puerto Rico and other Caribbean colonies were legal destinations. Being transported from one colony to another could therefore still be part of an enslaved person's life, long after the 1810s. The case of Miguel, Hirolde, Carolus, Gerard and Francisco is not unique. There are dozens of requests from slave owners asking for permission to move their enslaved property. These movements of enslaved people raise some questions; who were these people, where were they sent to and for what reasons?

The Netherlands recently celebrated 150 years since Keti Koti, the term translates into 'broken chains' and it denotes to the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. 2023 Was the first year in which Keti Koti was widely celebrated across the country. Moreover, King Willem Alexander offered his apologies for the enslavement of people in the Dutch colonial empire (NOS Nieuws). The Dutch colonial past, and in particular the Dutch involvement in slavery and in the slave trade, have given rise to an ongoing societal and academic discussion. The King's apologies and the earlier apology of mister president Mark Rutte were seen as a milestone in this discussion (Rijksoverheid). Most Dutch colonies, like Suriname and Indonesia have become independent nations, but some are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Curaçao is one of them. Research into slavery in the Dutch empire creates new knowledge about the realities of enslavement. Scholars can not only contribute to the academic discussion on slavery, but also to the societal debate. One of the aspects of slavery that is under researched is the movement of enslaved people in the form of legal slave trade after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. The displacement of African captives and their shipment to the Americas is quite well known, not only amongst historians, it is also taught in Dutch schools (Van Suchtelen). Nevertheless, little is known amongst both students

and historians about the legal export of enslaved from Curaçao to other colonies in the Caribbean in the 1840s and 1850s.

Previous Research

Slavery on Curaçao and in the Dutch West Indian Empire

One of the expert scholars for the field of slavery in the Dutch Caribbean is Willem Egbert Renkema, who devoted his dissertation to slavery on Curaçao in the nineteenth century. Although his book was written more than forty years ago, it still remains relevant, since it provides an elaborate overview of slavery on Curaçao in the nineteenth century. Renkema refers to the Curaçao's plantation enterprises in the title of his dissertation which is quite peculiar, because he details later in his book that Curaçao was not a plantation economy. Its climate was not very suitable for agriculture, so most of its economic revenue was generated by trade (Renkema 2, 8)[1]. There were some plantations on the island but these estates mainly produced foodstuffs, instead of cash crops like most plantations in Suriname (Renkema2 12). During the seventeenth and eighteenth century Curaçao was a slave trading hub enslaved Africans were gathered on the island after their transatlantic voyage in order to be sold to other colonies in the Caribbean or in the Americas. The food-producing plantations were required to feed these African captives. The food-producing plantations were mainly established from the mid seventeenth century onwards, when the number of African enslaved people that were gathered on Curaçao started to grow steadily (Renkema2 14). Additionally, Renkema refers to a term called local absenteeism, most planters did not live on the plantations they owned, they lived in Willemstad (Renkema 2 96). During the first decades of the nineteenth century many planters were still fully dependent on the plantations for their income, yet in the second half of the nineteenth century planters started to acquire more income through trade and other activities and their plantations were responsible for only part of their livelihoods (Renkema2 103). As a result, plantations were also sold more often in this period, especially by planters who were also merchants (Renkema2 109).

Renkema also devoted some time to studying the export of enslaved people from Curaçao, not in his dissertation but in a small unpublished booklet about slave export on the island during the 1819-1847 period. This booklet is one of several sources Modianne Cathalina managed to

[1] Two works were authored by Dr. Renkema, since they are often sighted in this thesis, the in text citations have been indicated with "Renkema1" for *De Export van Curaçaose Slaven 1819-1847* and "Renkema2" for *Het Curaçaose Plantagebedrijf in de Negentiende Eeuw*

uncover for me from the collection of the National Archive of Curaçao. Although this scholarly work bears witness to the relevance of the subject in the eyes of a renowned slavery historian, the work itself was not very useful. The export numbers used in the booklet did not match the data from 1847-1856 in my dataset, nor did they match the data gathered for the 1834-1846 dataset constructed by master student Johrin Visser. Additionally, Renkema's references in this booklet were very poor, so it was virtually impossible to retrieve any primary sources he had consulted. When the work is referenced in this thesis it is done so with great consideration for its lack of academic quality.

Unlike Renkema, most scholars who studied Curaçao focused on the seventeenth and eighteenth century and on the island's role as a trading hub. O'Malley and Boruckin investigated slave trade in South America and the Caribbean in the eighteenth century (315). During the eighteen hundreds, the internal slave trade in those regions functioned as an extension of the transatlantic slave trade (316). O'Malley and Borucki stressed the role of Curaçao as a crucial trading hub in the slave trade network. They highlight that Curaçao was a major Atlantic trading hub during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. St. Eustatius and Suriname also briefly took this role in respectively the 1720s and the early eighteenth century, but they never reached the importance that Curaçao had as a distributor of African captives (321). This hub function has been noted before by other historians. Jordaan for example highlights that Curacao was not a typical plantation colony, compared to others in the Caribbean. This was due to the fact that the main pillar of its economy were not plantations, but rather shipping linked to slavery (Jordaan, 56). Many vessels were needed for these slave-trading activities. These ships were often manned by free or enslaved black people together with white people (57). This not only resulted in a less rigid distinction between the kinds of labor destined for enslaved persons and forms of labor meant for free people, but this must also have resulted in a higher percentage of skilled enslaved workers than in typical plantation colonies (58).

This role of Curaçao as a slave trading hub ensured the island was strongly connected with other parts of the Caribbean. The island had good trans-imperial connections with other Caribbean and Spanish South American colonies (O'Malley and Boruckin 323). Curaçao should, therefore, not be studied in an 'imperial vacuum', but rather be seen as an island within an interconnected region where imperial boundaries were not all that significant. Relations and interactions crossed borders frequently and this meant that colonies of different European powers were connected on a social, commercial and political level (Mulich 15-16;

Hoonhout 10-14). Seventeenth- and eighteenth century Curaçao was one of these trans-imperial centers, for which the enterprise of transporting captured Africans to colonies of other European powers was an economic lifeline (O'Malley and Boruckin 325-26).

Information from other secondary sources seems to indicate that Curaçao attempted to hold on to the position of a trans-imperial trading hub after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. Goslinga, for instance, describes that, even though political relations between the Dutch and the Venezuelan governments were tense, trade continued to flourish between Curaçao and Venezuela in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was also necessary to keep the trade with Venezuela going, as the island was more economically dependent on Venezuela than on the Netherlands (Goslinga 129-131). Dutch historian Pieter Emmer also examined the role of Curaçao after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. He published a book chapter about how the Dutch tried to evade anti-slave trade legislation that was enforced upon them by the British. He examined the role of the mixed British-Dutch courts, that were targeted at combatting illegal slave trade (Emmer 177). The second chapter of this thesis will also document anti-slave trade regulations, and it will illustrate the sentiments felt against them by Curaçao's slave owners. Like Emmer, Linda Rupert also concentrated on illegal trade in her book *Creolization and Contraband: Curaçao in the Early Modern Atlantic World,* which among other things detailed smuggling practices in the Willemstad harbor in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. She identified specifically the Spanish colonies as a key destination of illegal slave trade (4).

Several other publications focused on the role of Dutch companies and cooperations in the transatlantic slave trade, instead of considering specific colonies. One of the first scholarly publications to address this topic was Johannes Postma's 1991 book *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815.* Postma surveyed an long period of the Dutch involvement in the transatlantic slave trade (Van Royen 215). He documented the role of the Dutch West India Company and of private ships (214). He also made estimates of the numbers of enslaved people that were transported, the ships that were used, and the destinations (214). Numerous publications have followed Postma's book, for instance, an article by Fatah-Black and Van Rossum, which combined the new slave trade data with data of slave trade related industries to calculate the economic impact of the Dutch share in the transatlantic slave trade (63). Another recent publication by Vos, Eltis and Richardson focused on the trade relations between Dutch merchants and African traders (228).

In addition to the focus on the transatlantic slave trade another major research project has developed that mainly uses life course approaches to reconstruct the lives of enslaved populations. The Historical Database of Suriname Curaçao (HDSC) documents the enslaved and free populations of the former Dutch colonies Suriname and Curaçao from 1830 to 1950, and aims to make intergenerational links. Coen van Galen and Maurits Hassankhan published a research-note about the project several years ago (503), yet an award-winning recent publication more elaborately details the innovative research methods and results that were used to reconstruct the lives of the enslaved population of Suriname (Van Galen et al. 191). The research group, of which I am also a member, does, however, focus mostly on the lives of enslaved people that stayed in the same colony throughout their lives, not on those who left their home temporarily or permanently. Although the paper is helpful in highlighting problems and solutions that occurred when reconstructing life courses of enslaved people, these problems are less likely to come up for the Curaçao slave registers as these registers are more complete and the vast majority of lives have been neatly linked by Els van de Langenfeld. The Curaçao slave registers dataset as well as the Suriname slave trade dataset have both been published via Dataverse.

Slave Trade in other Colonies and Countries

Numerous scholars have devoted attention to slave trade networks in other locations in the Americas. The trade in enslaved between colonies in the Americas is often distinguished from the transatlantic slave trade with the term intra-American slave trade.[2] Michael Tadman has for instance investigated the development of internal slave trade networks in various colonies in the America's after they had outlawed the import of African enslaved people, through a survey of academic literature written on this subject. Tadman identified price differences, and differences between areas with a naturally increasing enslaved population and areas with a decreasing enslaved population as the main pull and push factors for internal slave trade networks (626). This hints to Curaçao as an interesting cases study as its enslaved population grew naturally, while many other enslaved populations in the Caribbean decreased.

Tadman also concludes that Brazil's internal slave trade networks received most scholarly attention while other South American colonies remain quite understudied (639). Studies mapping the slave trade networks in the Southern United States have shown that the internal

[2] Paquette & Smith for instance use this term in their work, as well as O'Malley & Borucki.

slave trade between states significantly contributed to the expansion of slavery in the United States, both economically and politically (639). Furthermore, Tadman also identified a paradox between paternalistic attitudes of American slave owners and their inclinations to sell enslaved people to slave traders who sold them to other states (634). One of the Caribbean internal slave trade networks that was quite well-documented by researchers is that of Cuba. Research of this colony concentrated mostly on the spread of illegally imported Africans from Havana to the rest of the country and on illegal smuggling of enslaved people from the Bahamas and Puerto Rico to Cuba (638). Trade between British colonies in the Caribbean is one of the most well-documented by historians such as David Eltis and Eric Williams (638).

Similarly to Eltis and Williams Barbadian historian Hilary Beckles also researched slave trade between British colonies. Beckles investigated a window raging from the ban of the transatlantic slave trade in the British empire in 1807 to the abolition of slavery by the British in 1833. He concluded that the patterns and numbers of intercolonial transfers were strongly influenced by the demand for slave labor across the Caribbean, and he judged these patterns reflected economic and demographic trends. Smaller colonies where the sugar sector was declining, and islands who did not produce sugar were typically net exporters, whilst larger sugar economies were generally net importers (257-258). Within the British Caribbean this trend was quite pertinent. Enslaved people were exported from non-sugar colonies such as the Bahamas and the Windward Islands to Jamaica which had a significant and growing sugar sector (258). Beckles also details that colonies who were net importers, such as Jamaica and Trinidad, often had enslaved populations that declined naturally (258). The demand for slaves was especially high in newly acquired colonies, and colonies where the sugar sector was expanding. Nonetheless, the export caused tensions from older British colonies, such as Barbados who feared the competition of these new sugar producers. Moreover, abolitionists also held strong objections, since they felt adding more sugar colonies would have the demand for slave labor spiral, worsen living conditions in these new sugar territories, and renew the confidence in the institution of slavery (Beckles 259).

Beckles also briefly discusses some examples of slave exports from non-British colonies, such as the case of Berbice which a major Dutch sugar colony during the eighteenth century. An influx of enslaved people from Berbice resulted in an absolute growth of the slave population on Demerara after 1807. Some of these slaves were sold to owners on Berbice, yet others came with their owners who hoped to build more prosperous plantations on the island (261). Beckles concludes with regard to the British islands that the percentages in both the net

importing and net exporting colonies were so low that they could not reverse the natural decline of the population in growing sugar economies nor did the transfers have any significant effects on the demographics in the colonies of departure (262). The export numbers for Curaçao were also relatively low. The export dataset made for this research contains only 266 records for a ten-year window, while the Curaçao slave population consisted of approximately seven thousand (Renkema1 190). This research, however, has different aims than that of Beckles. It does not attempt to investigate the demographic effects of export for Curaçao or for any of the destination colonies. It is my objective to map the network that was constituted by these transfers and use this new knowledge as a means to gain more insight into a trademark aspect of enslaved life, sale and separation. Additionally, I aim to analyze the effects of national and international socio-economic and political developments in the attitude towards slavery and slave trade on the slave movements on Curaçao.

A final interesting observation that was made by Beckles is the way in which the legality of intercolonial transfers was managed. Slave owners who wanted to either sell their enslaved property abroad or move with their slaves to another island had to acquire a license from the local government and post a bond for each enslaved person (264). This system was mainly targeted at exporting plantation slaves, since no permission was needed to export up to two slaves who were servants, sailors or fisherman (Beckles 265). Fascinatingly, a similar system existed both on Curaçao and on St. Thomas. The Curaçao export system also applied different regulations for enslaved servants and sailors, these differences will be addressed in chapter 2.

Jeppe Mulich studied the developments in the export of enslaved people after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in the Danish island colony of St. Thomas. Moving enslaved persons from St. Thomas to other islands was illegal, expect when moving them from an estate that belonged to the same owner as the estate they were living at. Yet, the aforementioned was only legal when permission was granted by the colonial officials. Many request for such transfers were filed in the Danish West Indies in the years following the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade (Mullich 148). One of the elements on which Mulich's research focused are the intercolonial plantation networks that were behind these movements of enslaved people. He investigates the role of colonial officials, slave owners and enslaved people in his analysis of the export of enslaved people from St Thomas (149). Albeit the fact that Mullich investigates an earlier period, which starts with Danish abolition African slave imports in 1803, his study can still be helpful to draw comparisons with Curaçao. Like

Curaçao, St. Thomas was not a plantation colony but an economy that was geared more towards trade, additionally quite a few transports in my dataset are destined for the Danish island colony.

Unfortunately, Mullich did not research any slave movement connections between St. Thomas and Curaçao. His analysis of the St. Thomas slave market can, however, still be helpful. He described that St. Thomas was part of regional network of slave markets during the late eighteenth century. He states that Caribbean planters very much willing to travel to a foreign colony if this meant they could purchase new human property for lower prices. Enslaved people from St. Thomas were popular amongst foreign planters because they were cheaper (134). It was not possible to uncover if low prices prompted foreign buyers to acquire enslaved people in Curaçao. Although it is quite probable that many Puerto Rican traders came to the Dutch island for this reason, the sale prices of Curaçao's exported enslaved people were not recorded in the export requests nor were they noted in the slave registers. Aruba did register the sale price in the slave registers, yet there is only one cases study that can provide incidental evidence in this matter, this case study is described in paragraph 3.2.2.

Puerto Rico appeared as a destination in my dataset much more often than St. Thomas, yet little is know about its role in the Puerto Rican slave movement networks after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. David Stark, who examined the demographical, social and economic aspects of Puerto Rican slavery, argues few enslaved people were brought to Puerto Rico from the African cost, nor from the Americas (4). Stark describes Puerto Rico in the early nineteenth century as a flourishing economy that was not dominated by sugar but exported multiple products. Plantations on the island were large rural ranches, not unlike the plantations Renkema described for Curaçao. This different form of agriculture enabled Puerto Rican enslaved people to live longer and have more children than their counterparts in most other Caribbean colonies (Clark 745). Yet, economic crises hit the islands still significant sugar industry in the mid-nineteenth century (Martinez-Fernandez 47). Paragraph 3.2.3 investigated correlations between this economic decline and the high number of enslaved people that were exported from Curaçao to Puerto Rico in 1847.

Research Question

Although the above mentioned information is helpful, it does not delve into the exportation of enslaved people from Curaçao in the 1840s and 50s. This goes to show that the subject is

almost absent in the historical debate, in which the transatlantic slave trade is still the dominant topic, yet some of the attention is shifting towards slave trade after the abolition of the import from Africa. The issue is also not yet part of the study of slavery in the Dutch West Indies, while it is a crucial part of enslaved life on Curaçao. The absence of Curaçao is remarkable because, contrary to most colonies in the Caribbean, its slave population increased naturally, so this could be a hint towards a flourishing export of enslaved people. The example at the start of the introduction, shows that enslaved people were still being moved from the island in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Whether this was still the same large scale commercial enterprise as it had been in the previous two centuries, is not questions this research will address. The question: **To what extent did slave movement networks exist around Curaçao in 1847-1855**? is central to this thesis. The sub questions will be addressed in the chapters that are devoted to answering them. The term slave trade is often used in academic research, but Camilla Cowlings term of slave movement is more fitting for my research. Slave trade denotes to the commercial enterprise of transporting and selling enslaved persons to make a profit. The sources that I have digitized and studied do not enable me to determine whether slave owners made a profit from selling, buying or exporting enslaved persons. It is probable that not only slave owners but also other actors, such as captains of vessels transporting enslaved persons made money through the movement of slaves, but it is not the most interesting question to ask. What my dataset and its links to other datasets, show are the movements of slaves, from one owner to the other, then to a ship and then to a foreign destination. Hidden in these sources is a complex network of slave movement patterns. Some of these patterns may have had a commercial motivation other movements may have emerged or ceased for very different reasons. Hence, I have chosen to show the variety of complex and interconnected networks through analyzing them in three different ways. I will dive deeper into the specifics of my methods in the sources and methods section. It was, however, not my intention to show every intricate detail of these networks, or to elaborately explain why the slave movements occurred as they did. My primary source material does not enable me to answer these questions, this would require digital access to all archives of Caribbean islands that have had slavery in the past, and much more time. Although I did historically contextualize the movement of enslaved people and make some attempts at interpreting why certain patterns occur in my data, the main aim of my research is to show the potential of my data for historical research. I hope to present the

diverse stories that my hold and to what new insights into slave movement my analysis can add to the scholarly debate.

Chapter 1: Sources and Methods

1.1 Sources

1.1.1 Research trip to Curaçao

The export requests, which were the main primary sources used in this research, are preserved in the National Archive of Curaçao. These files could not yet be digitized, consequently a research trip to Curaçao was required to study and photograph the documents. After some time, funding was obtained from several organizations within Radboud University, so the trip could be planned, and the data could be collected. Next to a possibility to use primary sources, that have never been used in published scholarly work, the research trip was also an opportunity for me as an aspiring scholar to learn from and be inspired by the employees of the National Archive of Curaçao. I was introduced to the difficulties they faced while working with a collection of nineteenth century material that had been stored in damp attics and cellars for decades. I learned about their restoration procedures, which consisted of preserving the crumbling pages by putting them back together like a puzzle. Moreover, I was informed about a part of the archive that was not yet inventoried. A great many kilometers of the colonial archive called the Boskaljon does not have an inventory list. Modianne Cathalina does, however, have astounding knowledge of what this archive contains. Together we discovered some new documents in the Boskaljon part of the archive. Some of these newly rediscovered sources served as contextualizing sources in my research. I felt the urge to do something in return for all the help that I received from the employees. I offered to do a lecture about my earlier research on slave importation and exportation in Curaçao. The lecture was open to the public, so it was visited and streamed online be a varied audience consisting of the archive's volunteers and donors, as well as museum directors and self-taught historians. I got many insightful questions and remarks that assisted me in doing this research. I hope my research trip can be the first of several journeys of students, because it was an enriching experience.

1.1.1 Data Collection and Creating a Dataset

During my trip to Curaçao, I photographed all export request letters, all replies written by the Governor General of Curaçao to these letters, and all other export related documents included in the folders. The archive only held the export requests of the 1847-1856 period, as a result this became the temporal scope of my research. Additionally, the export requests of 1834-1845, which are preserved in the Dutch National Archive in the Hague, were studied by master student Johrin Visser. When I returned to the Netherlands, I started to construct a dataset from the requests. A complete request consisted of four parts, the request letter itself, a

note stating that the enslaved people who were to be exported were indeed the property of the requestor, a note which disclosed that enslaved people had appeared before the Governor General to declare that they agreed to their exportation to another colony, and lastly the reply of the Governor General in which he stated in all cases that the export permit was granted.

243 Of the 246 enslaved persons in my data were said to have agreed to their own exportation. I have chosen not to delve deeply into this matter, for agency of enslaved people is not the main focus of my research. It is very questionable whether these were cases of informed consent. Seven enslaved people in my database, who were all part of the same transport group, were promised they would be granted their freedom after several years of working in Puerto Rico. Their owner writes that this was a common procedure, nonetheless there is only one such case in my data. Chapter 2 will show that there were no rules or regulations found in a thorough survey of legal records that required this procedure of agreement. The laws regarding slave trade were, however, very strict in the examined period. It might be that local authorities had instituted this as a customary procedure to keep with the wishes of the Dutch lawmakers. If one or both of the two aforementioned notes were missing while it was stated in both the request and the reply that these elements were included in the request process, then the choice was made to register these elements as present in the dataset. These notes were tiny pieces of paper that could very easily have been lost over the years, so when two archival documents bear witness to their existence at the time of filing the request, it seems highly probable they were indeed included in the request process.

The request documents included an abundance of information about the enslaved persons, their owners, and the vessels that carried them and several other actors. Each row in my dataset represents one exported enslaved person, all information about them in the four aforementioned documents was listed in several columns within their own row. The columns resemble one piece of information that was listed in one or more of the four types of files. Firstly, all enslaved persons were given an identification number (further to be abbreviated as ID number). Most letters request the export of several enslaved people, this was documented with group ID numbers. Secondly, the numbers of the photographs of documents that listed information were included. Thirdly, three separate columns stated the day, month and year of the request letter. Fourthly, the person who wrote the request letter, this was not always the same person as the owner, was stated followed by the owner who wanted to export the enslaved person in the next column. Fifthly, it is included whether the export letter stated that the enslaved people had been previously sold to the owner that requested the export. The next

column registered the name of the owner if the enslaved person had not been acquired recently according to the letter. The next three columns registered the colonies of residence of the owner, again distinguishing between selling owners, buying owners and owners who exported enslaved people they already possessed. Later in the research process, all records have been linked to the slave registers of Curaçao and Aruba, as some exported enslaved people from Aruba were also present in the requests, to verify and clarify the often ambiguous information about sale in the requests. In many cases the information about sale in the requests turned out to be incorrect. I have therefore chosen to only use the data on sale in the slave registers for my network analysis chapter.

The next five categories are the personal attributes of the enslaved person, their name, mother's name, age, sex, and if known occupation. Then it was registered whether someone was a child or an elderly person, and for a child it was registered whether he or she was in the same transport group as his or her mother, more information on this topic will be provided in paragraph 3.2.1. Then a crucial category followed, the destination, this category was split up into "destination colony", if recorded "destination city" and "destination nationality" which denoted to the nation state that ruled the colony. Additionally, information about the vessel that transported the enslaved people was divided into "nationality of vessel" -the flag a ship flew-, "captain", and "vessel". These categories were followed by columns indicating whether the enslaved person agreed to their exportation, the reason for export -if named-, and a column stating whether the export was temporary or permanent. Most temporary exports could not be linked to files in the slave register as returning enslaved people were not deregistered from the slave register. Furthermore, several columns disclosed whether the export was approved and when this happened exactly. Lastly a few columns indicated certain financial factors, such as who stood surety for the bail, whether the export tax was paid -although this was indicated in just a few cases-, and one column for remarks. The next ten columns were filled in during the linking process with the slave registers, this process will be described in detail in section 1.2.4. After transforming the information in all request letters into a data set, the data was cleaned. This was for instance done through standardizing all the names of slave owners, vessels and captains and through transferring age descriptions of for example "eighteen months" into "1".

1.2 Methods

Critics may wonder why I have chosen three methods to analyze my results, and why I then also preceded this with a chapter that documented laws and regulations. For the legal chapter the answer is straight forward; there was little to no previous academic knowledge about the regulations for slave export from Curaçao, beyond the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, so these laws had to be mapped. Then the question of the three methods. It might have been easier to stick to one method and apply it in detail, yet this would not do justice to the wealth of information hidden in the export dataset. Since my research has an explorative nature, the first academic paper on slave export from Curaçao has yet to be published, I attempted to show the diversity of research possibilities this topic holds. Moreover, combining these methods into a coherent thesis made for innovative and interdisciplinary research, which also brought fourth more complex new insights than those that could be uncovered when using just one method. Using three methods did thus not stand in the way of my thesis gaining depth, on the contrary it was essential to bringing depth and complexity to my analysis.

1.2.1 Legal Analysis

To understand the historical context in which the export requests have been filed, it is crucial to understand the legal basis of the practices of slave exportation and slave trade. As was discussed in the introduction chapter the Dutch were under the pressure of the British empire to cease the transatlantic slave trade in the 1810s, yet slave trade was one of the main, if not the most important, economic enterprise on Curaçao. This chapter presents an overview of the laws and royal decrees that were published from the l816 -when Curaçao came back under Dutch control after being taken over by the British- until the mid-1850s. The selected period deliberately has a wider range than the period for which the export requests have been studied. It is essential to understand the long term legal and political developments that lay the basis for the slave export policies in the late 1840s and early 1850s.

New legislation, whether it was created in the Hague, Willemstad or in Paramaribo, had to be communicated to the inhabitants of Curaçao. This was done primarily through the *Curaçaose Courant*, the main local newspaper of the island, but laws were also collected and published in the *Publicatieblad van Curaçao en Onderhorigheden* (further to be referred to as Publicatieblad). This book was digitized and made available online in 2022 by the National Library of Aruba. Its subtitle states that it included publications, notifications, regulations, tariffs, ordinances and other legal regulations with regard to the Dutch West Indian colonial

possessions from 1816 to 1851. The Publicatieblad was the main source for this chapter, but other primary sources -such as the *Curaçaose Courant,* the Archive of the Ministry of the Colonies and letters to the Governor General of Curaçao- have been consulted to either verify or contextualize the legislation published in the Publicatieblad. To document the period after 1851, the *Staatsblad van het Koningrijk der Nederlanden,* which was a Dutch official magazine that was used to communicate changes in legislation to civilians from 1816 onwards, and *Curaçaose Courant* have been consulted.

Several Dutch keywords have been used to identify laws and regulations pertaining to slave trade in the aforementioned primary sources. Words and strings of words like "slavenhandel" (slave trade), and other word combination that carry the same meaning such as "handel in slaven" (trading in slaves) were used to scan for slave trade related legislation. Furthermore, Dutch idioms pertaining to the export of enslaved people such as "uitvoer" (export) and "uitgevoerd" (exported) were deployed to scan the primary sources for any regulations on the export of enslaved people from the Dutch colonies.. In addition, the Publicatieblad and Staatsbald were scanned for articles that referred to "verdragen" treaties, since these articles could similarly contain information about slave trade, since most laws were based on treaties between the British and Dutch empires. All hits for all keywords were then read closely to identify relevant articles, these articles were then used to compile chapter 2.

1.2.2 Quantitative Analysis

In this chapter descriptive statistics were deployed to quantitatively analyze the attributes of the enslaved people that were registered in the dataset. The analysis often combined these attributes to find correlations. The attribute destination was for instance combined with age and gender to see if slave owners who exported to a certain destination had a preference for certain attributes, such as a young age. Additionally, this method examined the destinations and gender distribution of enslaved servants as they came to the fore as a separate category with different legal regulations in the previous chapter. Lastly, the vessels that transported the enslaved persons were analyzed by the flags they flew, were these the same flags as those of their destinations? The ships who took the most enslaved persons were also categorized simultaneously by the flags they flew and by their destinations, to gain more insight into the network these vessels functioned in.

1.2.3 Case Studies

The choice for a case study based approach was partially inspired through an article by Camillia Cowling, who zooms in on the development of slavery in Cuba in the 1850s through

following the movements of an enslaved women called Teresa Mina. The analysis of the case studies is aimed at contributing to the scholarly understanding of slave movement networks across the Caribbean. This may raise the question how studying slave movement can contribute to the scholarly understanding of slavery itself. First of all, as Cowling also argues, the forced movement of enslaved people had a key role in the system of slavery, it turned people into commodities that could be bought, sold and thus transported in any way the owner saw fit (9). She adds that being taken from their social environment was not only a traumatic experience for enslaved people, it also made them more vulnerable because they lost their social network (Cowling 9).

The qualitative methods in this part of my thesis supplement the quantitative approach used in the first part of the results chapter. They zoom in on the lives of several enslaved persons and slave owners in my dataset. These cases are not significant because of their numbers, their significance is derived from their stories. Since the export dataset holds such a wide variety of information, it is very suitable for building narratives of individuals both enslaved and free. Through linking data from multiple datasets, that have been made available through the HDSC project and through my own research, the life courses of free and enslaved individuals could be reconstructed. Life course reconstruction is often used as a quantitative method, but it can also be used as a qualitative approach to gather anecdotal historical evidence. For all three cases studies, data from multiple datasets was linked to reconstruct lives and to test hypotheses. The three case studies were chosen to show the wide variety of stories that can be told when the export data is taken as a starting point, from enslaved children that were transported without their mothers, to black slave traders, to freed people using the export system to free others.

1.2.4. Social Network analysis

The third methods of analysis is social network analysis (further to be abbreviated as SNA). This approach can be used in a wide variety of scholarly disciplines, which raises the question how using this method can be beneficial in historical research. One of the benefits of SNA is that it can help researchers to explore complex relations between actors. Actors are called nodes in this method, and they usually resemble people or institutions. The nodes are connected by edges which resemble the relationships between the nodes. SNA can help scholars to concretize abstract concepts such as power and influence, through visualizing them in nodes and edges (Smeets). SNA has already proved useful in analyzing the sales of enslaved people between Surinamese plantations (Van Oort et al.) This method can similarly

be helpful to visualize slave movements on Curaçao, and it can assist in gaining more insight into the main actors in the slave export network on the island. Unlike the previous two methods, the third method is concentrated on the slave owners and not on the enslaved people. Enslaved people who were exported were often bought for this purpose just before their departure, SNA can thus help analyze the movements of exported people just before they left the island. The slave owners who bought and sold enslaved people for export are therefore the nodes in my network, and the enslaved people are symbolized by edges. Most owners who bought enslaved people for export were foreign, but some Curaçao-based owners also participated in this process.

The sale of exported enslaved people was, however, not mapped accurately in the export requests that formed the basis for my dataset, so how did I gather this information? To be able to map the sale process, the records in the export dataset had to be matched to the corresponding entries in the Curaçao slave register dataset. As was detailed in one of the cases studies, some exported enslaved persons came from Aruba, the process to identify their records in the slave registers was the same as for the Curaçao records. First of all, to extract all records of exported enslaved people from the slave registers of Curaçao the column "aanvullende informatie uitschrijving" (additional information removal) was filtered for the Dutch word "voer", after which the list was filtered manually to delete any records that did not pertain to exportation, this rendered a list of 269 records for the 1847-1856 period. This number is very close to the 266 exported enslaved people in my data, which is an indication very few export requests were lost.

Additionally, the exporting owner that was listed in the request had to match the last owner of an enslaved person in the slave registers. Furthermore, several personal attributes of the enslaved person had to match for both records such as their mother's name, the name of the enslaved person and the birthyear of the enslaved person. Age was listed instead of birthyear in the export request, so that attribute required some counting. A one year margin was used for birthyears. A somewhat larger margin was used for the names. Some requests were quite poorly preserved, as a result names of enslaved persons, as well as those of owners were sometimes hardly readable. When all other attributes matched and there were some differences in either the name of the enslaved person or the name of the owner than a match was still granted. 246 Of the 266 records in my dataset could be connected to a record of the same enslaved person in the slave registers of Curaçao or Aruba, so 93% of all records were successfully linked.

Subsequently it was possible for these 246 records to analyze if these people had been sold to the owner who exported them within two months before their exportation. I have chosen this timespan because I found, in my previous research into slave export on Curaçao, that it encompassed all pre-export sales. Usually foreign slave owners bought enslaved people within a few days or weeks before shipping them to another colony. However, only the sale month was registered in the slave registers not the exact day, I therefore used a maximum range of two months. For example: If a foreign slave owner bought an enslaved person on the 30th of April 1847 and exported them on the 5th of May 1847, both actions took place within a very short time span, still the sale is only registered as taking place in April 1847. If I had opted for a one month window, the aforementioned sale would not have qualified for my network analysis data. Applying these prerequisite left 232 records which could be used for my nodes and edges files which are required to construct a SNA.

My records could not be used in Gephi, a software tool that I used for SNA, in their original format. Fortunately, I had already standardized all owner names in my dataset, as well as the owner names from the slave registers in order to avoid any discrepancies. In order to compile the nodes file, which included both selling and buying slave owners, all slave owners were given a unique ID-number. Deciding whether a name denoted to the same slave owner was sometimes arduous. Generally speaking, I decided to solve this difficulty by opting for two different ID-numbers whenever it was ambiguous whether two slightly different names denoted to the same owner. For instance, J. Jesurun and J. A. Jesurun have been categorized as two different names. This option was chosen in particular for names that had a high frequency in my dataset and in the Curaçao slave registers such as Jesurun, de Haseth and Henriquez. This choice was, however, also made for less common names, such as the case of B.A. Guilloux and A. Guilloux, who have similarly received two seperate ID-numbers.

What is more, widows or wives did not receive the same ID-number as their husbands. The reason for this choice was that wives and widows could own their own enslaved people. The case of William Hendriquez and his wife Gijbertha de Lannoy is illustrative to explain this decision. The marital couple moved to Puerto Rico together, and they also filed one request together. Nevertheless, it was detailed in the request that Hendriquez owned two of the nine enslaved persons and De Lannoy possessed the other seven enslaved for whom they wanted to obtain an export permit. Given the fact that such cases did exist, wives and widows must be seen as individual actors within the network, even though they may have been strongly tied to their husbands in term of their enslaved property. Only one exception was made for both

aforementioned rules in the case of widow C. de Veer, who was registered both as C. de Veer and as C. de Veer widow of J.C. Ringeling. The fact that both names denote to the same woman is confirmed in the request that she filed together with Cornelis Conradi. It was stated in the request that Mrs. Ringeling was formerly known as Ms. De Veer. Most export request did, however, not provide such detailed information about the position of a wife or widow in the process of slave sale and export. Based on these two cases, it was most logical to view wives and widows as separate entities distinct from their husbands for the purpose of network analysis.

Once the ID-numbers were allocated the proses of compiling the edges file went relatively smoothly. The edges resemble the movement of one or more enslaved people from one owner to the other. Edges always have a source and a target (Yang et al.). In my analysis, the source was always the selling owner who lived on Curaçao, and the target was always the buying owner, whom was in the majority of cases was foreign, and in all cases exported the enslaved person he or she acquired shortly after the sale. Depending on the number of enslaved persons that were sold from one actor to another the edge carried a certain weight. When one enslaved person was sold the edge had a weight of one, when two enslaved people were sold a weight of two was applied etc. The weight is usually resembled in the network visuals by the thickness of the edge (Smeets). Since the slave movements always occurred in the same direction the network is a directed network. A directional relationship is like a one way street, it is therefore always visualized with an arrow (Yang et al.). Nevertheless, the actors in a directed network can be source for one edge and target for another. This also occurred in the slave export network, some owners who bought and exported enslaved people also sold enslaved people to other exporting owners. There is one case in which this involved the same person. Plantina Michaeux bought and enslaved women named Delfina and said she would export her to St. Thomas to work for her cousin as a servant, but then sold her to William Henriquez who exported her to Puerto Rico. All other cases which involved slave owners acting both as sellers and as buyers concerned distinctly different enslaved people. Nevertheless, as visualizations will show, slave owner always had a main role they were either predominantly buyers or sellers. Finally, apart from a directed network the slave export network is also a unipartite network meaning that it consists of one kind of nodes, namely only slave owners (Yang et al.).

In addition to the terminology that fits the slave export network, there are also various kinds of statistical analysis which can be applied in SNA. Centrality is one of the most frequently

used statistical measurements. It is most commonly measured in three ways: Firstly, degree which simply measures the number of relations a node has. Secondly, closeness which counts the steps it takes to go from one node to all other nodes, the fewer the steps the more influential a node is. Thirdly, betweenness which measures the degree to which one node connects other nodes and thus has a bridge function. If a node with a high degree of betweenness is removed the network falls apart into two separate networks. A node with high betweenness centrality is therefore termed a broker (Smeets). The slave export network is most suitable for measuring degree. The slave export network did not contain many nodes that were connected via other nodes, most of the network consists of micro networks that look more like spiders. The spider shape was created because many different owners sold enslaved people to the same owner who then exported them. Although there were some owners who sold to multiple buyers, none of them really took the role of a broker, betweenness centrality is therefore not a fitting statistical tool. When measuring degree one can measure in- and out-degree, the number of incoming edges and the number of outgoing edges per node (Yang et al.). Nodes with a high degree in the slave export network all have a high in-degree and a low out degree. Weighted degree also takes into account the weight of the edges that either lead to or away from a node (Yang et al.). This was insightful in analyzing the slave export network because weight resembled the number of enslaved people an owner bought or sold. When an owner bought or sold more enslaved people he was more central in the network.

Chapter 2 Slave trading and slave export laws in the Dutch West Indies

As was explained in section 1.2.1 this chapter will not yet consider the data in my dataset. It is essential to first analyze which legal regulations were applied to the movement of enslaved people on Curaçao. Various primary sources have been consulted to answer the sub question: **What legal regulations, laws and treaties guarded the process of slave exportation between 1816 and 1856?**

The starting year of the main primary source -the Publicatieblad- is logical, since Curaçao was under British rule from 1807 until 1816. During the British period all forms of slave export were forbidden (Renkema 1 192). Yet, on the 13th of August 1814 the Dutch and British kings negotiated a treaty which does not only outlaw the slave trade in all Dutch colonial possessions in West Indies, but also implemented severe punishments for people who traded in enslaved people and for those who in any way facilitated the trade (Publicatieblad 32). The treaty refered to the Dutch constitution which stated that the most powerful means should be implemented to prohibit a trade that was so gravely inhumane. It may seems as though the Dutch were giving up a significant trade, but most of the state-supported slave trade in the Dutch empire had already ceased in the 1790s (Mullich 144). Effectively, the Dutch were surrendering a trade that was already strongly declining.

The 1814 treaty was partially revised on the 4th of May 1818, nevertheless it still outlined severe sanctions for slave trading (Publicatieblad 32; Renkema1 191). Some examples of the punishments for slave traders were a fine of *ƒ*5000, a five-year prison sentence, and a statement of dishonoring (Publicatieblad 33). Those who were complicit in slave trade activities would receive the same penalties, this also included captains, whether they were Dutch or foreign, who transported enslaved people on their vessels. In addition, foreign ships that transported slaves could not enter the harbors of Dutch colonies, this was crucial for Curaçao which had been a slave trading hub for centuries. One exception was included in both treaties, enslaved people who already lived in a Dutch colony as well as their children could be transported or sold to another Dutch colonies (34). The treaty further included instructions for Dutch and British navy ships on how to spot and halt slave trading ships (36-37). A 1821 publication in the *Publicatieblad*, highlights once again that legislators were suspicions of enslaved people who were imported from colonies that still acquired captives

from Africa. The article refers back to the same treaty with Great Britain that was published in the *Publicatieblad* two years earlier (97).

Several new articles were added to the treaty in 1823, these additions were aimed mostly at combatting the illegal slave trade through the navy. The new articles were even more strict than the 1818 laws. Clues which indicated a ship could be involved in the illegal slave trade, such as excessive amounts of food on board, could be deemed enough prove for involvement in the slave trade (Publicatieblad 143). Transporting enslaved people from one Dutch colony to another was still permitted, nevertheless in the same year a tax of ten pesos was instituted for each enslaved person that was exported, infants were exempt. The tax was exactly the same amount as the tariff for the regular sale of an enslaved person within a Dutch colony (Publicatieblad 164). In 1824, yet another exception was added to the export tax. Owners did not have to pay the export tax for enslaved people who worked on ships. However, if the enslaved person would stay away for more than one year, the owner would still have to pay the export tax. When an enslaved person had died or fled during their time at sea the owner could be exempt from paying the tariff, but only when the captain and one of the crew members would declare this in front of a judge (Publicatieblad 234).

Two years later, new articles with harsher punishments for slave trade were added to the treaty between the Netherlands and Great Britain. The fine for engaging in the slave trade was for instance increased from ƒ5000 to ƒ10.000 and those caught trading in enslaved people would go to prison for fifteen years. Lastly, the vessels that were used in the trade would be confiscated by the local colonial government (Publicatieblad 271). On the one hand, the Dutch government wanted to repress illegal slave trade even further. On the other hand, it preferred to create room for legal forms of slave import and export as long as the enslaved people did not come directly or indirectly from the African continent. The fourth article of this publication detailed that import into Dutch colonies was permitted as long as the enslaved people came from colonies that did no longer directly trade with Africa. The publication further states that the Minister of Navy and colonies was charged with executing these new articles and with ensuring new laws were communicated well with the people in the West Indian colonies (Publicatieblad 272).

Surprisingly, legal and fiscal matters took a very different turn in 1828, when a great many taxes were abolished. According to the publication taxes were lifted to stimulate trade, and because some taxes were deemed ineffective. Two slavery related taxes were, nevertheless, left intact, the fee an owner had to pay for each enslaved person he owned and the tariff owed

for each enslaved person that was exported (Publicatieblad 332). It could thus be concluded that these taxes either served their purposes very well or were a very helpful to keep the colonial government's treasury filled. Only two years later in 1830, slave trading and slave exportation laws were revised again. First of all, transporting slaves from one Dutch West Indian colony to another remained possible but several additional articles were added to further detail the prerequisites for this trade. The fourth article of this law stated that import and export within the Dutch West Indies, could only take place when written permission was granted by the Governor General of the colony of residence. This permit could only be received when slave owners had first paid the exportation tariff and they had to provide proof that the enslaved people did indeed live in the colony from which their exportation was requested. Furthermore, the export should not in any way violate the anti-slave trade treaty of 1818 (Publicatieblad 469-470). In Suriname a proof of registration in the slave registers was also required. Even though this was not obligatory in other Dutch colonies, the request letters used for my dataset were in most cases also accompanied by a note that confirmed registration in the slave registers. Apart from paying taxes and showing proof of registration in the slave registers, owners also had to publicly announce the exportations of their enslaved property fourteen days prior to filing their export request with the Governor General. The measure gave anyone the chance to voice their objections to the transport. The export was generally announced through a message in the *Curaçaose Courant*. Moreover, slave owners were required to post *ƒ*1000 in bail for the export of enslaved people. This amount was refunded when the owner had send proof of arrival in the planned destination, the time limit for this refund was to be determined by the Governor General of each colony (Publicatieblad 470). The export data show in practice a third party was often mobilized to stand surety.

Rules for importing enslaved people from foreign colonies into the Dutch West Indies remained the same in 1830 as they were in 1818 and 1825. Import was only allowed when the enslaved people came from a colony that did not import captives from Africa. The laws therefore upheld their focus on combatting slave trade across the Atlantic, whilst permitting slave trade within the Caribbean. The export of slaves from the Dutch colonies to other colonies was only permitted when approval was granted by the Department of the Colonies in the Netherlands. Exportation from Suriname was further discouraged by a tax of *ƒ*100 per enslaved person, regardless of their physical fitness or age (Publicatieblad 469). The fact that exportation from Suriname was obstructed more than exportation from the Dutch West Indian colonies can be related to the shortage of plantation workers in Suriname. Moreover, whilst

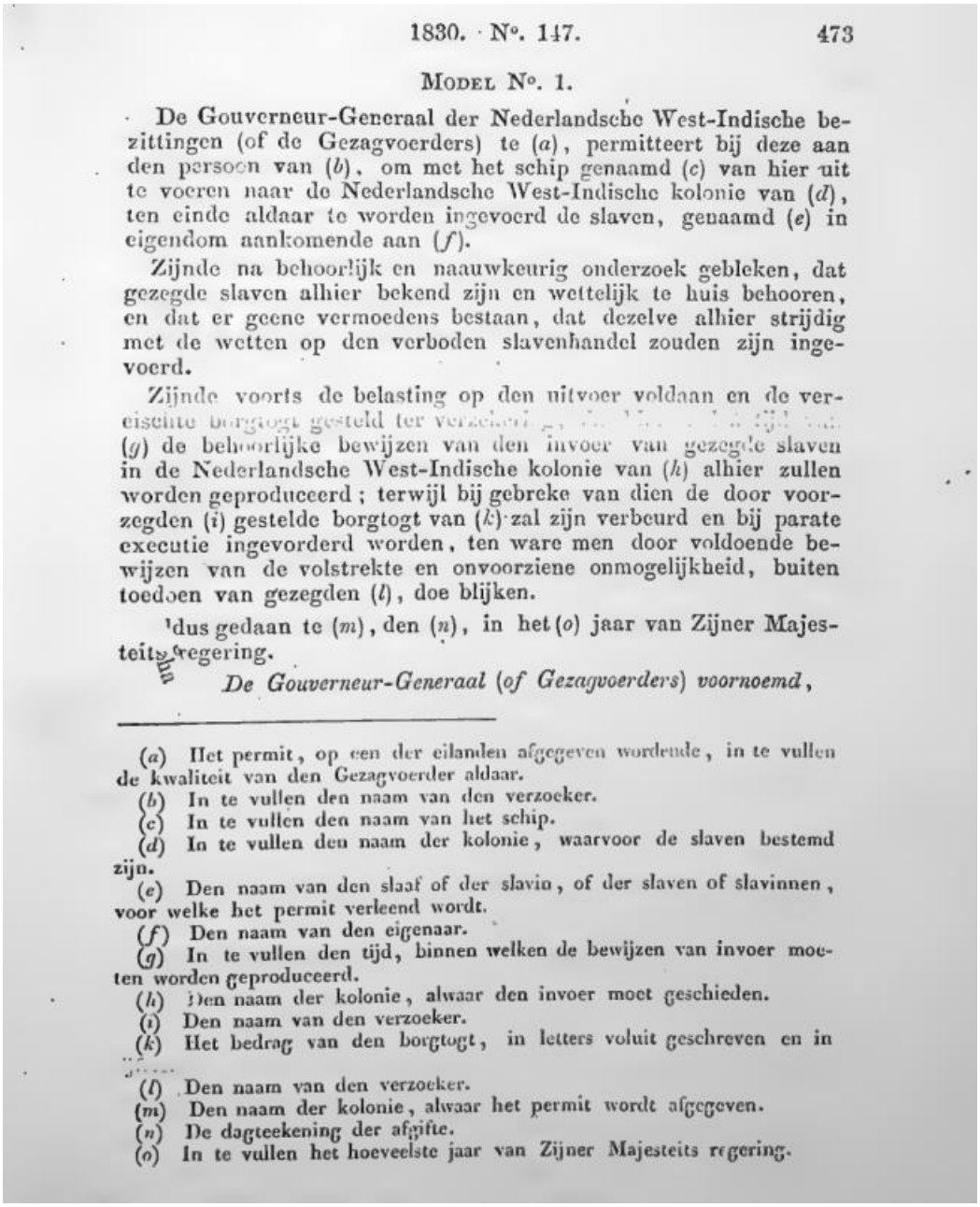
Curaçao's slave population grew naturally, deaths still exceeded births in Suriname in the mid and late eighteenth century (Renkema1 189). This could also be the reason that export from other Dutch colonies to Suriname was stimulated through laws of 1830. The sixth article of this law states that for each Dutch West Indian enslaved person that is imported in Suriname the owner would receive a reward of *ƒ*25, if the enslaved person was healthy and could work on a plantation. For each healthy enslaved person younger than sixteen and older than twelve the owner would receive *ƒ*12,50. Whether an enslaved person was indeed a 'fit plantation slave' was judged by the counsel's commissioner of Suriname (Publicatieblad 470-471). The next chapters, which will detail the analysis of the data gathered from the requests, will show that -at least in the late 1840s and the 1850s- this financial stimulus did not lead to many slaves being exported from Curaçao to Suriname.

Another interesting addition made in 1830, was that of the seventh article, which stated that enslaved servants were exempt from the exportation tax (Publicatieblad 471). Owners who took their enslaved servants with them to another colony on a temporary basis did not have to pay the tariff. The colonial government did, nevertheless, require the owners to post a bail of *ƒ*1000 per enslaved servant. When a servant did not return to the same Dutch colony within the time that was indicated by the Governor General, bail was retained by the colonial government (471). This part of the law thus enabled owners to take their enslaved servants with them on their travels, which did indeed still happen quite frequently in the 1840s and 1850s, as will be shown in paragraph 3.1.3. The next article of the law detailed another group that was excluded from the export tax; seafaring enslaved people (471). Enslaved persons who worked aboard a ship were not seen as exported enslaved people but as enslaved people who had to leave the colony as part of their occupation. Yet, the situation of the enslaved person had to meet certain prerequisites: the vessel on which the enslaved person was working should sail under the Dutch flag, the ship should sail from a Dutch harbor, the enslaved sailor should be listed on a special muster roll, the vessel was only allowed to move within the tropics, and the ship was not allowed to sail to African seas or coasts (471-472). The mention of the muster roll is interesting, since there are indeed no cases of enslaved sailors in the export requests examined for this research. It is thus quite probable that there was a separate muster roll on which enslaved sailors who left Curaçao were recorded.

The nineth article of the 1830 adaptations to slave export legislation lists all additional penalties for illegal export. Any person who tried to export an enslaved person illegally, or any person who was complicit in such an act -including the captain of a vessel who would

transport the enslaved person- would receive a fine of *ƒ*500 per enslaved person. More importantly, however, any enslaved person that would fall victim to illegal exportation would be manumitted. The illegally transported enslaved person would receive a letter of freedom from the colonial government. The cost for manumission had to be met by the owner, whilst the cost of manumitting an adult slave at the time was *ƒ*500 (Publicatieblad 472; 550). Future research could possibly examine if such cases did occur through a survey of Curaçao's manumission records. Transporting an enslaved person to a different colony illegally would be very hard in the 1840s or 1850s, since the slave registers were neatly and strictly kept during this period, so a disappeared enslaved person would be noticed quickly. Moreover, punishments for those involved were severe, not only fines but also loss of property.

Apart from ten elaborate articles, the 1830 law also included two templates for answering export requests, one general template (figure 2) and one for enslaved servants (figure 3). The fact that these templates were written could indicate legislators expected numerous export requests would still be filled, even though there were many strict regulations. The general template detailed that the Governor General or his assisting commander should include how all aspects of the new regulations were met in their reply to the request. They should for instance state that export taxes had been paid, that the enslaved people were indeed the property of the requestor, and that they were not brought to the Dutch colony in an illegal fashion. Additionally the ship with which the enslaved people left the colony also had to be named, as well as the date on which permission was granted (Publicatieblad 473). The model for answering export request of enslaved servants is quite similar but differs in some aspects. An elaborate description of the enslaved servant's appearance had to be given, and the model indicated that a time limit for the servants stay abroad had to be included (474). Remarkably, both model answers have been designed to confirm the export request, there were no model answers included for denying the request. This could indicate legislators expected that all, or most, requests would be answered with a permit, which does not seem completely logical concerning the scrupulous export regulations listed in the very same publication.



1830. · N°. 147. 473

MODEL N°. 1.

De Gouverneur-Generaal der Nederlandsche West-Indische bezittingen (of de Gezagvoerders) te (*a*), permitteert bij deze aan den persoon van (*b*), om met het schip genaamd (*c*) van hier uit te voeren naar de Nederlandsche West-Indische kolonie van (*d*), ten einde aldaar te worden ingevoerd de slaven, genaamd (*e*) in eigendom aankomende aan (*f*).

Zijnde na behoorlijk en naauwkeurig onderzoek gebleken, dat gezegde slaven alhier bekend zijn en wettelijk te huis behooren, en dat er geene vermoedens bestaan, dat dezelve alhier strijdig met de wetten op den verboden slavenhandel zouden zijn ingevoerd.

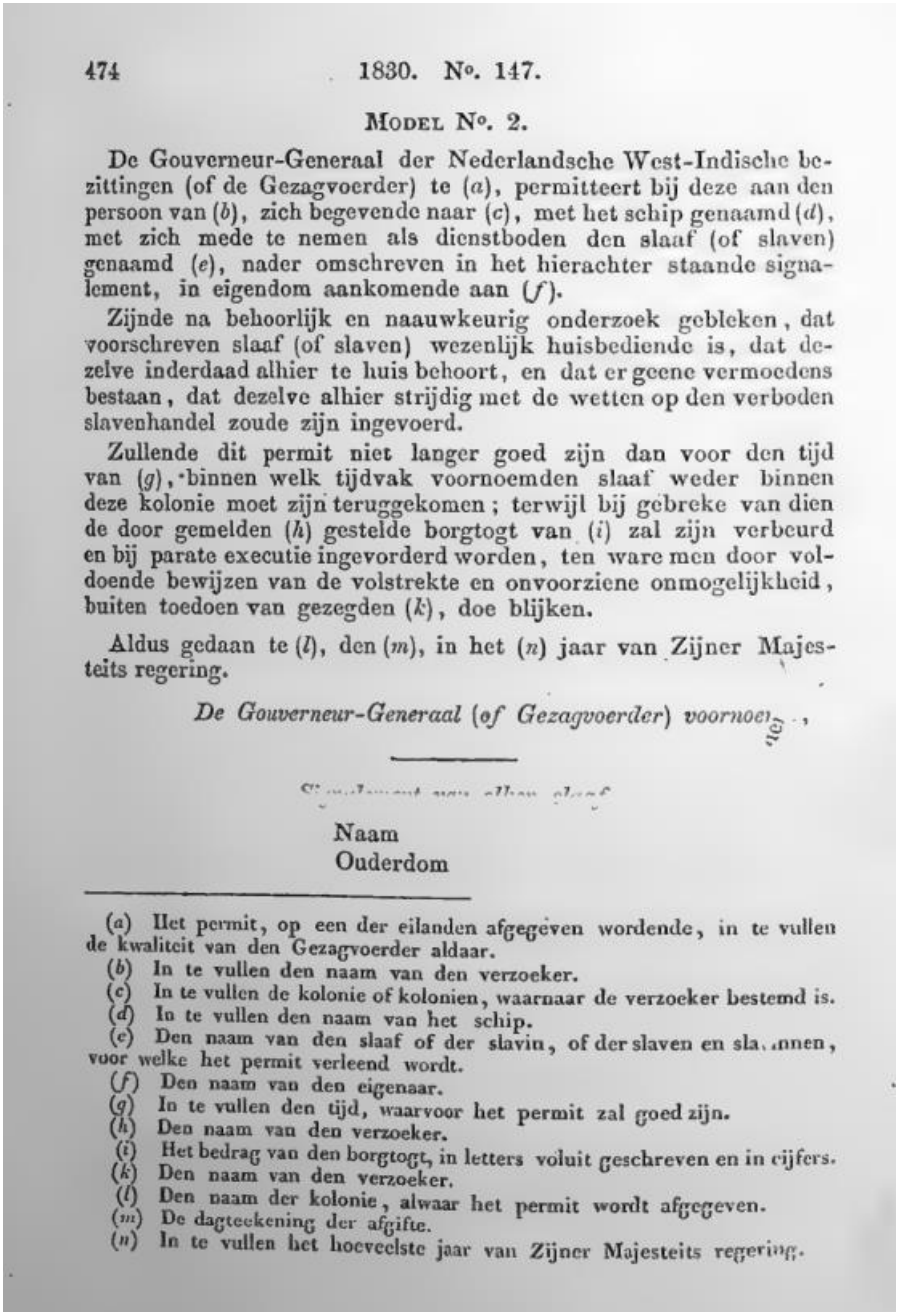
Zijnde voorts de belasting op den uitvoer voldaan en de vereischte borgtogt gesteld ter verzekering [illegible] (*g*) de behoorlijke bewijzen van den invoer van gezegde slaven in de Nederlandsche West-Indische kolonie van (*h*) alhier zullen worden geproduceerd; terwijl bij gebreke van dien de door voorzegden (*i*) gestelde borgtogt van (*k*) zal zijn verbeurd en bij parate executie ingevorderd worden, ten ware men door voldoende bewijzen van de volstrekte en onvoorziene onmogelijkheid, buiten toedoen van gezegden (*l*), doe blijken.

Aldus gedaan te (*m*), den (*n*), in het (*o*) jaar van Zijner Majesteits regering.

De Gouverneur-Generaal (of Gezagvoerders) voornoemd,

(*a*) Het permit, op een der eilanden afgegeven wordende, in te vullen de kwaliteit van den Gezagvoerder aldaar.
(*b*) In te vullen den naam van den verzoeker.
(*c*) In te vullen den naam van het schip.
(*d*) In te vullen den naam der kolonie, waarvoor de slaven bestemd zijn.
(*e*) Den naam van den slaaf of der slavin, of der slaven of slavinnen, voor welke het permit verleend wordt.
(*f*) Den naam van den eigenaar.
(*g*) In te vullen den tijd, binnen welken de bewijzen van invoer moeten worden geproduceerd.
(*h*) Den naam der kolonie, alwaar den invoer moet geschieden.
(*i*) Den naam van den verzoeker.
(*k*) Het bedrag van den borgtogt, in letters voluit geschreven en in [illegible]
(*l*) Den naam van den verzoeker.
(*m*) Den naam der kolonie, alwaar het permit wordt afgegeven.
(*n*) De dagteekening der afgifte.
(*o*) In te vullen het hoeveelste jaar van Zijner Majesteits regering.

Figure 1 Model for answering export requests, for non-servants. Publicatieblad van Curaçao p. 473



474 1830. N°. 147.

MODEL N°. 2.

De Gouverneur-Generaal der Nederlandsche West-Indische bezittingen (of de Gezagvoerder) te (*a*), permitteert bij deze aan den persoon van (*b*), zich begevende naar (*c*), met het schip genaamd (*d*), met zich mede te nemen als dienstboden den slaaf (of slaven) genaamd (*e*), nader omschreven in het hierachter staande signalement, in eigendom aankomende aan (*f*).

Zijnde na behoorlijk en naauwkeurig onderzoek gebleken, dat voorschreven slaaf (of slaven) wezenlijk huisbediende is, dat dezelve inderdaad alhier te huis behoort, en dat er geene vermoedens bestaan, dat dezelve alhier strijdig met de wetten op den verboden slavenhandel zoude zijn ingevoerd.

Zullende dit permit niet langer goed zijn dan voor den tijd van (*g*), binnen welk tijdvak voornoemden slaaf weder binnen deze kolonie moet zijn teruggekomen; terwijl bij gebreke van dien de door gemelden (*h*) gestelde borgtogt van (*i*) zal zijn verbeurd en bij parate executie ingevorderd worden, ten ware men door voldoende bewijzen van de volstrekte en onvoorziene onmogelijkheid, buiten toedoen van gezegden (*k*), doe blijken.

Aldus gedaan te (*l*), den (*m*), in het (*n*) jaar van Zijner Majesteits regering.

De Gouverneur-Generaal (of Gezagvoerder) voornoem[illegible],

---

[illegible]

Naam
Ouderdom

(*a*) Het permit, op een der eilanden afgegeven wordende, in te vullen de kwaliteit van den Gezagvoerder aldaar.
(*b*) In te vullen den naam van den verzoeker.
(*c*) In te vullen de kolonie of kolonien, waarnaar de verzoeker bestemd is.
(*d*) In te vullen den naam van het schip.
(*e*) Den naam van den slaaf of der slavin, of der slaven en sla[illegible]nnen, voor welke het permit verleend wordt.
(*f*) Den naam van den eigenaar.
(*g*) In te vullen den tijd, waarvoor het permit zal goed zijn.
(*h*) Den naam van den verzoeker.
(*i*) Het bedrag van den borgtogt, in letters voluit geschreven en in cijfers.
(*k*) Den naam van den verzoeker.
(*l*) Den naam der kolonie, alwaar het permit wordt afgegeven.
(*m*) De dagteekening der afgifte.
(*n*) In te vullen het hoeveelste jaar van Zijner Majesteits regering.

Figure 2 Model for answering export requests, for enslaved servants. Publicatieblad van Curaçao p. 474

Lastly, it is interesting to notice that the legislation was designed in Paramaribo on October 26st 1830, subsequently laws that applied mainly to the Dutch Caribbean were not made there. This could have caused resentment among Dutch Caribbeans, and in fact it did. One example of this resentment can be found in a letter by three inhabitants of Curaçao written on March 14th 1832. Mr. J. R. Lauffer, Mr. H. Juttingen and Mr. Ab. de Veer Jr. wrote to the Governor General of the Dutch West Indies to complain about several issues, yet most of their letter was devoted to criticizing the "restricting measures concerning the transport of slaves in

the publication of the 26st of October 1830". The three man stressed that Suriname was a plantation colony whilst Curaçao's economy was based on trade, and that they should therefore not have been subjected to the same laws and regulations. They complained about the time consuming procedures with regard to the exportation of slaves. Asking for permission from the Department of the Colonies took ages according to the letter writers, even though it was but a mere formality. The men wrote that "in most cases the opportunity to sell a slave was long gone by the time permission was granted". The export dataset shows that the procedure was very quick during the 1847-1856 timespan, the vast majority requestors received a reply within one or two days. Renkema also indicates that it could take up to a year for export requests to be answered by the Minister of the Colonies in Paramaribo (Renkema1 195). Unfortunately, Renkema does not allude to any sources which brought him to this conclusion. Moreover, the men outline in a slightly ironical tone, "the only slave market that was easily accessible for slaves from Curaçao was that of Suriname, the colony of which they so gravely detested its climate." The men accuse the Surinamese of "denying them the chance to get rid of excess slaves when the prices of foodstuffs rose to extreme heights." They requested that the entire set of slave trade regulations established in 1830 would be suspended. The men wished that all export request which did not violate the royal decrees on slave trade of 1818 and 1825, or the laws on slave trade dating from November 1818 and December 1824, should not have to pass through the General Counsil in Paramaribo. The three men stress again that laws which were only fitting for the Surinamese context should not be applied to Curaçao. [3]

The letter is a clear example of slave owners' discontent with the slave export regulations. According to Renkema the dissatisfaction was widespread among slave owners (Renkema 1 192-193). He indicates, in his unpublished paper, he has read several letters written by prominent Curaçao slave owners, who complained about the issue directly to the King. These slave owners argued that, because of the natural increase in enslaved people and the returning problems of draught and economic crisis, slaves would starve if there was no possibility to sell them to other islands (193). It is unfortunate that Renkema did not use any footnotes to reference these letters. Whether these statements are actually truthful is thus hard to determine. It is, nevertheless, very much possible that Lauffer, Jutting and de Veer were not the only slaver owners who expressed their discontent. The way in which the selling of enslaved people for export purposes is described by these slave owners contrasts sharply with

the paternalistic attitudes of American slave owners described by Tadman (634). One of the sources Renkema did, however, reference was an official letter from de minister (probably of the Ministry of the Colonies) to the Governor General indicating the local authorities would again be authorized to handle the export requests (193).[4] Renkema concluded that this official letter, even though it was probably not the intention of the minister, effectively gave local authorities the freedom to deal with slave export as they saw fit. Recent, yet also unpublished research, by master student Johrin Visser indicates that during the mid-1830s through the mid-1840s almost all export request filed on Curaçao were indeed honored (8). The trend of the local authorities having main power over slave exportation, also seems apparent in the 1840s-1850s data gathered for this research, as all export request from this period were also honored. Nonetheless, some critical remarks must be made here. It could also be that only those export requests that were indeed granted were preserved.

Renkema strongly supported the idea that there were barely any slave export limitations, beyond the permission of the local authorities, from the 1830s onwards. He even stated that there were no new regulations after 1833 (194). This is, however, very inaccurate, given the fact that supplementary slave export regulations were published in the Publicatieblad in 1831, 1838, 1848 and in the *Curaçaose Courant* in 1853.

In early 1831 it was once again stressed that enslaved people can only be exported when the export tariff and annual yearly tax per enslaved person were paid in full (Publicatieblad 486). Yet, not only slave export was subjected to strict regulations, import of enslaved people was also caped by rigid laws and punishments. In June 1831, several additional regulations with regard to slave import were presented. A crucial new element was the fact that Aruba and Bonaire could no longer import any enslaved people except for those coming from Curaçao (Publicatieblad 516). Enslaved people who worked on ships and enslaved servants were allowed to stay on Aruba or Bonaire temporarily. Moreover, Bonaire and Aruba were no longer allowed to issue passports for enslaved people travelling to Curaçao except for those who came from Curaçao originally (516). Enslaved servants could be imported to Curaçao temporarily, this group was exempt from the exportation taxes if the owner could present proof that the enslaved servant came from a colony that no longer imported captives from

[4] The reference given by Renkema for the official letter is still quite vague: G. G. aan Kol, 14 maart 1832, ARA Kol. 832, Exh. 14 maart 1832 nr. 34/25 (hierin ook 2 adressen van Curaçao d.d. 26 juni resp. 29 okt. 1831)

Africa (517). In short, importation of enslaved persons to Aruba and Bonaire was forbidden and importation into Curaçao was subjected to very strict regulations, as was export.

The trend of eliminating illegal slave trade continued in 1838 when the 1830 slave exportation laws are adapted once more. The first adaptation seems impactful at first but might have made exportation easier in practice. Export and import of enslaved people between Dutch West Indian colonies was provisionally suspended. The Governor General was, however, allowed to make exceptions (Publicatieblad 646). This adaptation is partially in line with Renkema's statement, that from the mid-1830s onward local authorities on Curaçao had practically all power over slave export permits (193). The first article of the 1838 law definitely gave the local authorities the power to make exceptions, and more importantly the power to decide what situations should have been deemed exceptional, since there were no outlines for exceptions in the aforementioned article. Nonetheless, this did not give the Governor General full control over the export and import of enslaved people. Interestingly, however, unpublished research showed that from 1838 onwards owners started to use "sending a trouble maker away" as a reason for exporting an enslaved person in their export requests (Visser 15). Yet, in the requests examined for this research this argument was never used by slave owners. A reason for exportation was rarely given in the 1847-1856 period, except for the occasional ground that a family member abroad was in need of an extra servant. There were, nevertheless, several additional articles in the 1838 law that granted the local authorities on Curaçao more power. The second article for instance suspended import and export from and to foreign colonies, apart from exceptions which were to be determined by the local authorities of Suriname and Curaçao. Import or export to and from foreign colonies that still directly traded in captives from the African coast remained prohibited in all cases (Publicatieblad 646). All other aspects of the 1830 slave trade regulations remained the same, yet the 1838 exceptions effectively gave the local authorities more power to decide which enslaved people could be imported or exported.

Ten years later in 1848, the Dutch and British crowns once again joined forces to further sharpen the slave trade legislations. In the Publicatieblad this new legislation was announced in a brief fashion, simply stating that export of enslaved people was no longer permitted except for exportation to colonies under Dutch rule (797). Nevertheless, the Staatsblad van het Koningrijk der Nederlanden (further to be referred to as Staatsblad), the Dutch equivalent of the Publicatieblad, did include all new articles of the anti-slave trade legislation. The first article states that both nations were prepared to do all that was necessary to end the moral

wrong of slave trading within their empires, additionally it stressed they aimed to do this mainly through penal law. The other articles detailed how the two nations were to practically implement and strengthen their anti-slave trade laws and practices (Staatsblad 476).

The second article of the law for instance states that ships pertaining to the British and Dutch Royal Navies could search any merchant vessel they suspected of transporting enslaved people. If these vessels did indeed carry enslaved people who were on board for the express purpose of traffic the ship could be confiscated and the Captain should face trial at a special slave trade tribunal (Staatsblad 477). Having enslaved sailors or servants aboard a ship was not considered illegal (486). This right to visit and search British and Dutch merchant ships did not apply when those ships were on Mediterranean or European seas, thus indicating that the practice was targeted towards the Caribbean and Atlantic waters. When read closely, the 1848 additions seem similar to those made in 1821 and 1824. In those years regulations were also implemented that enabled navy ships to search merchant vessels upon suspicion of carrying slaves. The crucial difference being that British and Dutch naval vessels were in 1848 also allowed to search each other's merchant ships. Finally, the Curaçaose Courant of September 24, 1853 another publication is published regarding new slave trade laws. The article, however, only reiterated preexisting regulations.

Research into legal and illegal slave import into Cuba details that similar treaties existed between Spanish and British powers. In her case study of a Cuban enslaved women who tried to obtain her freedom through a court case Cowling refers to her as an emancipado. An emancipado was an enslaved person who was illegally imported into Cuba from Africa after 1820. When the British navy had ceased a Spanish ship that transported captives from Africa, those enslaved people were freed (Cowling 10). Similarly to the treaty between the British and the Dutch, there was also a treaty between the Spanish and the British which stated that the British navy was permitted to search Spanish ships. It also detailed that slaves who were brought to Cuba via illegal slave trade would be set free, similar to illegal captives on Dutch ships. The influence of British powers in the Caribbean did thus not only affect Dutch slave trade legislation, but also Spanish regulations. Yet, Cowling stresses that many enslaved Africans were still imported illegally to the Havanna harbor in the second half of the nineteenth century as the British navy only searched a small number of the incoming ships (10). The British navy also intervened in the Danish and Swedish Caribbean territories. Yet, their efforts there also seemed quite ineffective. During the 1810s and 20s, a network of local slave traders and smugglers appeared to have created a flourishing illegal trade in both

locally-born and African-born enslaved people between these Scandinavian colonies (Mullich 143). As was mentioned before, importing enslaved Africans into the Willemstad harbor would have been a futile effort as Curaçao had neatly kept slave registers and strict slave import regulations. Nevertheless, considering the attitudes of Curaçao slave owners that came to the fore in their letter it is not unthinkable that some illegal slave trade still occurred in Willemstad.

To conclude, from 1816 onwards the Dutch Empire was forced by the British empire to make its slave export regulations stricter. Throughout the next five decades the regulations that had to followed by slave owners who wanted to export enslaved people became more meticulous, and punishments for any person involved in the illegal slave trade became harsher. The focus of these measures was always to combat the illegal trade in African captives, intra-Caribbean slave movements of enslaved people who were born in the area were permitted as long as the conditions were met. Renkema discussed the influence of the local authorities in Curaçao, who applied the regulations as they saw fit. My Data do indeed show that a flourishing export existed in 1847, yet this export was mostly in line with the regulations. After the peak in 1847, however, exports to non-Dutch colonies dropped drastically. Yet, they did not cease entirely, which would have been consistent with the ban on international slave export announced in the Publicatieblad in 1848. Contrary to what legislation prescribed, local authorities on Curaçao did still grant export permits to owners wanting to take their enslaved property to non-Dutch colonies. In 1847, many large groups were exported in one transport to mostly Spanish colonies, this kind of trade ceased abruptly in 1848, probably as an effect of the new legislation. Nevertheless, enslaved people from Curaçao were still exported to colonies like St. Thomas and Venezuela and not all of them were servants. The next chapter will detail the exact numbers of enslaved people that were exported in the 1847-1856 timespan as well as their destinations and some more elaborate stories in the form of case studies and networks.

Chapter 3 Results

3.1 Quantitative Results

The first step in analyzing my data is applying descriptive statistics to it. This type of analysis can provide insights into quantitative questions, such as; To which destinations were most enslaved people exported? Were exportation numbers equally divided over the years? Were more men exported than women? My analysis will combine the aforementioned elements to answer the sub-question: **How can analyzing attributes of exported enslaved people in combination with their destinations, and the vessels that carried them help to analyze the slave movement network that existed around Curaçao from 1847 to 1856?**

3.1.1 Destinations

The first question that comes to mind when thinking about exportation is that of the destination of enslaved people. To which colonies were enslaved people transferred, and can discrepancies be observed in other elements such as time and gender with regard to the different destinations? Before studying the exact destinations it is interesting to look at the empires to which these colonies belonged. I did not only register the destinations of enslaved people, I also categorized them in nationalities. This term denoted to the nation state which ruled the colony. In most cases the colony belonged to the colonial empire that ruled it in the 1840s and 1850s, Puerto Rico and Cuba were for instance part of the Spanish empire. Other destinations had, however, already achieved independence, such as Venezuela which became independent from Spain in 1821. Categorizing the destinations in this fashion provides more insight into the question which colonial powers acquired most enslaved people from Curaçao? Table 1 clearly shows the vast majority of enslaved persons went to Spanish colonies. Trade with Dutch colonies, which was subject to much fewer restrictions, as was detailed in chapter two, is dwarfed in size compared to the trade with Spanish colonies. This prompts the logical next step in my analysis, showing to which Spanish colonies these enslaved people went.

Table 1 also neatly indicates to which colonies the enslaved people were exported and what the national affiliations of these colonies were. It is crucial to add that the term destination was used pragmatically, since some destinations were colonies, for example Suriname, whilst others were islands that were part of a larger colony such as St Eustatius. I chose to, in all cases, transcribe the destination that was stated in the export request, even if it was somewhat ambiguous. In one request the owner explained that he wanted to bring an enslaved servant on his journey with various destinations, this was categorized with the term “travels”. Another severely damaged request detailed that the enslaved person would be taken to a place called Charony, which does not exist today as a place in the Caribbean. These two destinations were not included in table 1. Table 1 displays that the vast majority of enslaved people who were sent to the Spanish empire went to Puerto Rico and a small part of this group went to Cuba. Furthermore, it is compelling to see that one enslaved person went to

the Netherlands, since slavery was only permitted in the Dutch colonies not in the motherland. It is similarly interesting to see that one enslaved person went to Jamaica, since slavery had been abolished in the British empire in 1838. Another Dutch destination was Suriname, as was detailed in the previous chapter, slave owners received a reward of *f*25 when they brought a healthy enslaved plantation worker to Suriname. Table 1 shows that this stimulus was not very effective with regard to Curaçao for the 1847-1856 period, only thirty enslaved persons were exported to Suriname. Moreover, most of the enslaved people who were send to Suriname were servants not plantation workers, but this will be discussed later in this chapter. Another destination that stands out is Venezuela. It was stated in the introduction that ties between Curaçao and Venezuela remained very strong throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, only four enslaved persons were exported to the nearest mainland country. Lastly, the numbers in table 1 indicate that there may have been an economic pull factor to export enslaved persons to Puerto Rico. The numbers in table 1 can, nonetheless, be nuanced by involving temporal and gender elements.

Table 1 Number of exported enslaved people per destination ordered by national affiliations of the destination colonies. (1847-1856)

Destinations ordered by national affiliation	**Number of exported enslaved people per destination**
Danish	**13**
St. Thomas	13
Dutch	**34**
St. Eustatius	1
St. Martin	2
Suriname	30
The Netherlands	1
English	**1**
Jamaica	1
Spanish	**211**
Cuba	18
Puerto Rico	193
Venezuelan	**4**
Venezuela	4
Total	**263**

First off the temporal element, figure 4 shows that the number of exported enslaved persons were not at all evenly distributed over the time window. In 1847 there was a spike in the number of exports, 226 of the total of 266 enslaved people were exported in that year. The low numbers in the following years are a direct consequence of 1848 law that forbade export to non-Dutch colonies as was detailed in chapter 2. Before zooming in on 1847, I will first examine the distribution of destinations for the other years in my dataset. When the data from 1847 are removed from the equation -as was visualized in figure 5-, Suriname surfaces as a regularly chosen destination. A low but steady number of enslaved people was transported to Suriname during all years except for 1852. Yet, zooming in om 1847 provides a sharply contrasting image. Figure 6 shows the peak in 1847 is almost entirely due to the sudden and steep rise of exports to Puerto Rico, no fewer than 191 people were transported to that Spanish colony in 1847. The only other destinations in the 1847 data are Cuba, St. Thomas and Venezuela, which together only make up 15% of the transports.

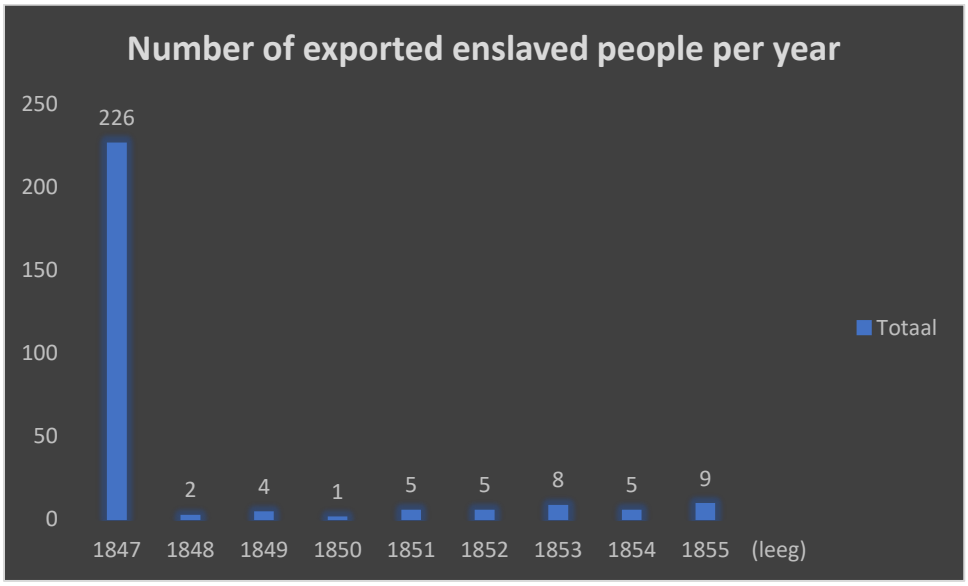


Figure 4 Number of exported enslaved people per year (1847-1856). The year 1856 is not shown in this graph or in any other graphs as no request were filed in that year, yet some requests from November 1855 were answered in January 1856, as a result 1856 was included in the timely scope of this research.

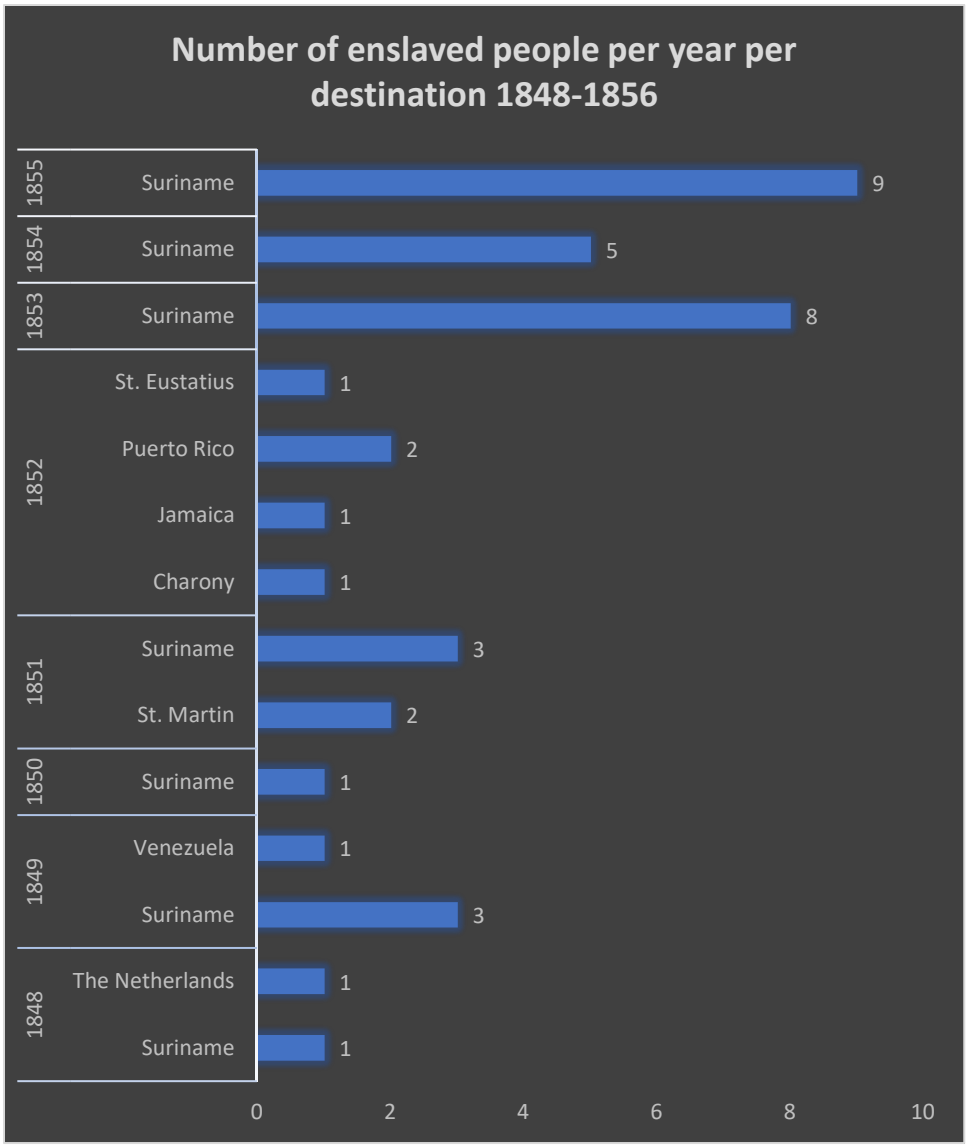


Figure 5 Number of enslaved people per year per destination in 1848-1856 period.

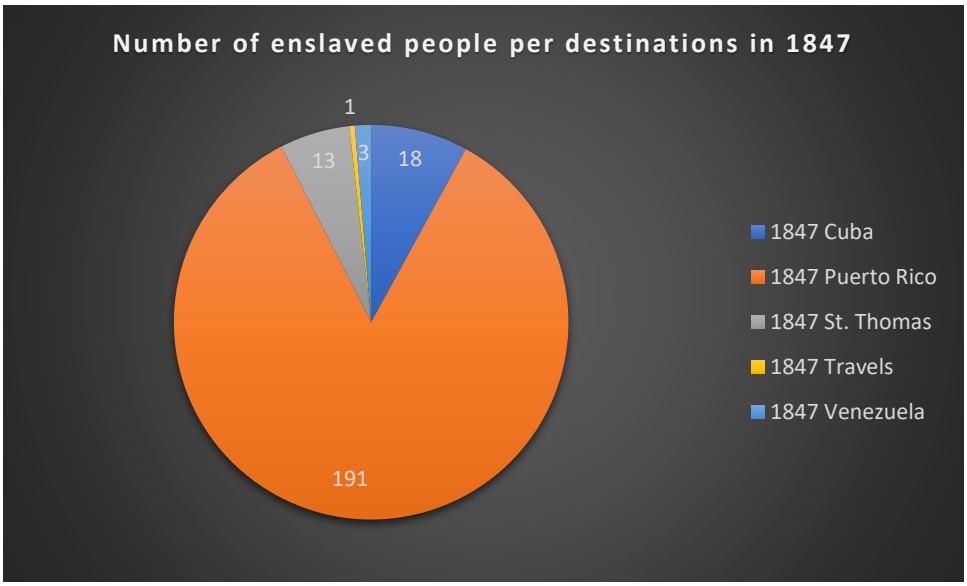


Figure 6 Number of enslaved people per destinations in 1847

The numbers visualized in figure 6 are solely based on the export requests. These figures can, however, be compared to export numbers present in other primary sources such as the Curacao slave registers and a document titled *Numerieke staat der slaven naar vreemde bezittingen uitgevoerd 30 november 1847 (*further to be abbreviated as *Numerieke staat*). The latter is a table which was drawn up to count the number of men, women and children that were exported in the years 1845, 1846 and 1847. I found in my earlier research that 197 enslaved people were exported to Puerto Rico, thirteen to St. Thomas, eighteen to Cuba and two to Venezuela in 1847 according to the *Numerieke staat* document (Janssen 19). All numbers match exactly with the export requests except for the sum of enslaved people who went to Puerto Rico. The export requests dataset listed 6 people less than the aforementioned counting document. Two possible explanations can be given for this small discrepancy, either one or multiple requests were lost, or the count of enslaved people in *Numerieke staat* was not entirely correct. Nevertheless, this small inconsistency is quite negligible, since it is reassuring that both primary sources show the same pattern of destinations with almost perfectly matching numbers. The total number of enslaved people that were categorized as exported abroad in 1847 in the slave registers of Curaçao is 227, and the number of enslaved people listed in the export requests for the same year is 226. There is only a very small discrepancy also indicating that the numbers from the request are a reliable source, and that most export request have been preserved for 1847.

3.1.2 Gender and Age

Now that a picture was painted of the destinations during the 1847 peak as well as during other years, another question surfaces: Who were exported to these destinations? The attributes gender and age can be helpful to answer this question. Firstly, the differences between the destinations of men and women will be considered, secondly the differences in age patterns of the two sexes will be analyzed. Before

continuing to the analysis of the numbers of men and women per destination, it is crucial to investigate the female-male ratio amongst Curaçao's enslaved population. 48% Of the records in the island's slave registers are of enslaved men, and 52 % of records pertain to enslaved women. The ratio is thus nearly fifty-fifty. My data show 56% of the exported enslaved people were male and 44% of the exported enslaved people were female. It must be added here that there were two observations in my dataset for which the sex of the enslaved person was not registered. Both records pertained to children, one was two years old, and the other was six years old. These observations have not been included in all graphs that visualize gender. Nevertheless, slightly more men were exported than women, even though there were somewhat more female enslaved persons on the island according to the slave registers. Slave owners who came to Curaçao to buy and export slaves seemed to have a modest preference for enslaved men. This is, however, not true for slave owners from all destinations. Figure 7 shows slave owners who exported enslaved people to Puerto Rico were much more inclined to buy men than slave owners from other destinations. The vast majority of male enslaved persons were sent to Puerto Rico. Although, Puerto Rico was also the most frequently chosen destination for enslaved females, it only received approximately two third of exported women. Moreover, there was more variety in the destinations of women. Some destinations with low numbers -such as St. Martin, St. Eustatius, and Jamaica- only occur in figure 8. Lastly, slave owners who exported to Suriname appear to have had a strong preference for female enslaved persons.

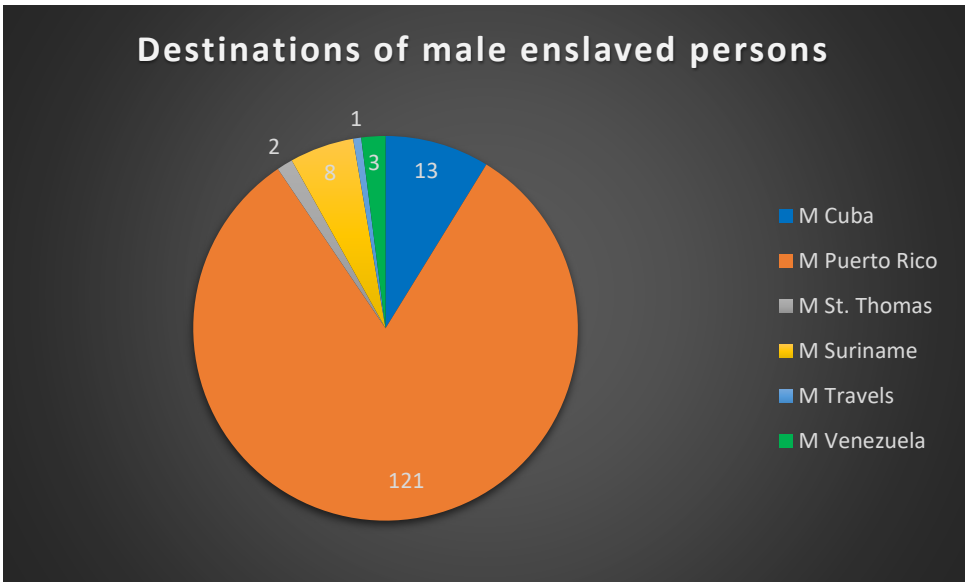


Figure 7 Destinations of male enslaved persons (1847-1856)

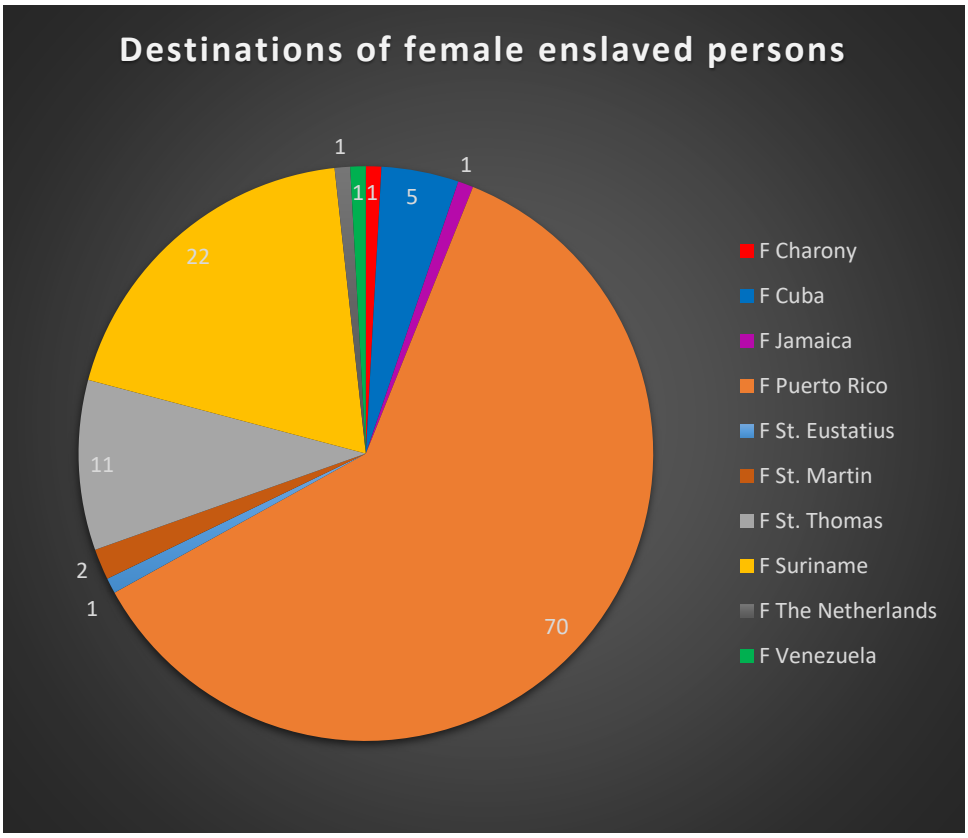


Figure 8 Destinations of female enslaved persons (1847-1856).

Not only gender was reported in the export requests, age was also noted. Age is an important factor that will play a major role in paragraph 3.2.1. This case study will delve into the cases of children who were exported without their mothers, but for this paragraph, it is paramount to explain that legally enslaved people younger than twelve were considered children on Curaçao. Figure 9 shows the distribution of ages of exported enslaved persons, the orange bars represent the age categories of children. The histogram clearly shows a peak in the age categories twelve to and eighteen and eighteen to 24. These categories could have the highest frequencies because these were the ages at which enslaved persons would be most physically fit. Owners may have selected enslaved people between twelve and 24 because they either felt those enslaved persons would be fit enough to make long overseas journeys or their motivation might have been that these young people could still labor for them for many years.

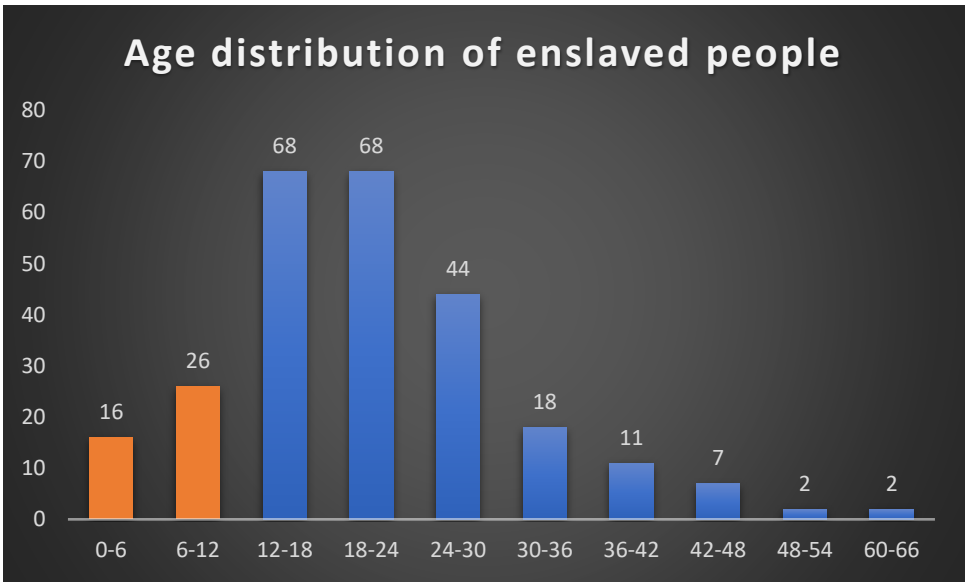


Figure 9 Age distribution of enslaved people (1847-1856).

It is also compelling to see how the age patterns differ for the female and male enslaved persons. When comparing the two lines in figure 10 the female line visualizes a more gradual distribution than the male line. The peak for exported enslaved women is situated in the age category eighteen to 24, whilst the peak for men is between the ages of twelve and eighteen. Men also show higher numbers than women in the age category eighteen to 24. Furthermore, for the age category of 24 to thirty a significantly higher number of men were exported than women. In the category thirty to 36, the numbers are exactly equal for both sexes, and for the older categories the number of enslaved females is slightly higher or the same. In conclusion more men were exported then women, and at a younger age when they had just legally aged from enslaved boys to men.

It could be that some destination colonies had a need for young male slaves. This raises the question where did these young men and women go? It is most logical to zoom in on Puerto Rico to answer this question, since that Spanish colony received the most enslaved people from Curaçao. In order to answer this question more precisely Puerto Rico is compared and contrasted to Suriname, the export destination that was most steadily present throughout the timespan. Figure 11 shows enslaved people from all age groups were exported to Puerto Rico, but most of them were between the ages of twelve and 24.. Figure 12 shows the ages of enslaved people who were transferred to Suriname also represented all age categories. Nonetheless, children between the ages of zero and six constituted the largest group, followed by the twelve to eighteen year-olds and thirdly the six to twelve year olds. This high number of children and teenagers can be clarified by the fact that Suriname received the highest number of enslaved servants from Curaçao, most of them were women and they took their children with them. The next paragraph will shed further light on the position of enslaved servants.

The figures in this paragraph have shown that slave owners who bought and exported to Puerto Rico were more inclined to choose enslaved people who were in their teens or twenties, and that they had a preference for men. Whilst slave owners who exported to Suriname for instance showed a preference for mothers with children. The case of Puerto Rico will be analyzed in more detail in the second and third part of this chapter through network analysis and case studies.

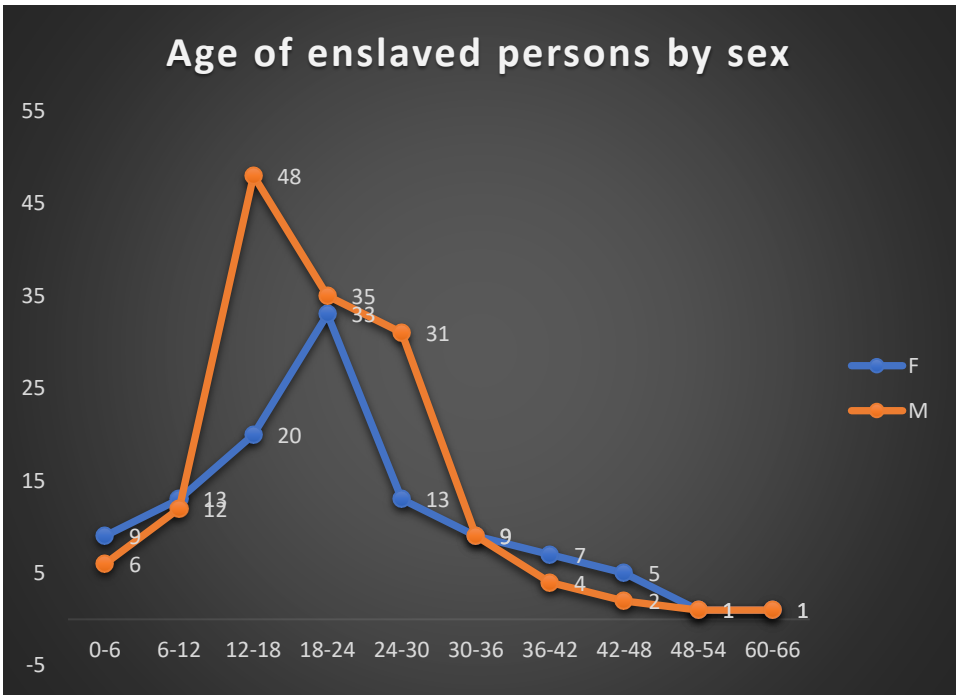


Figure 10 Age of enslaved persons by sex (1847-1856).

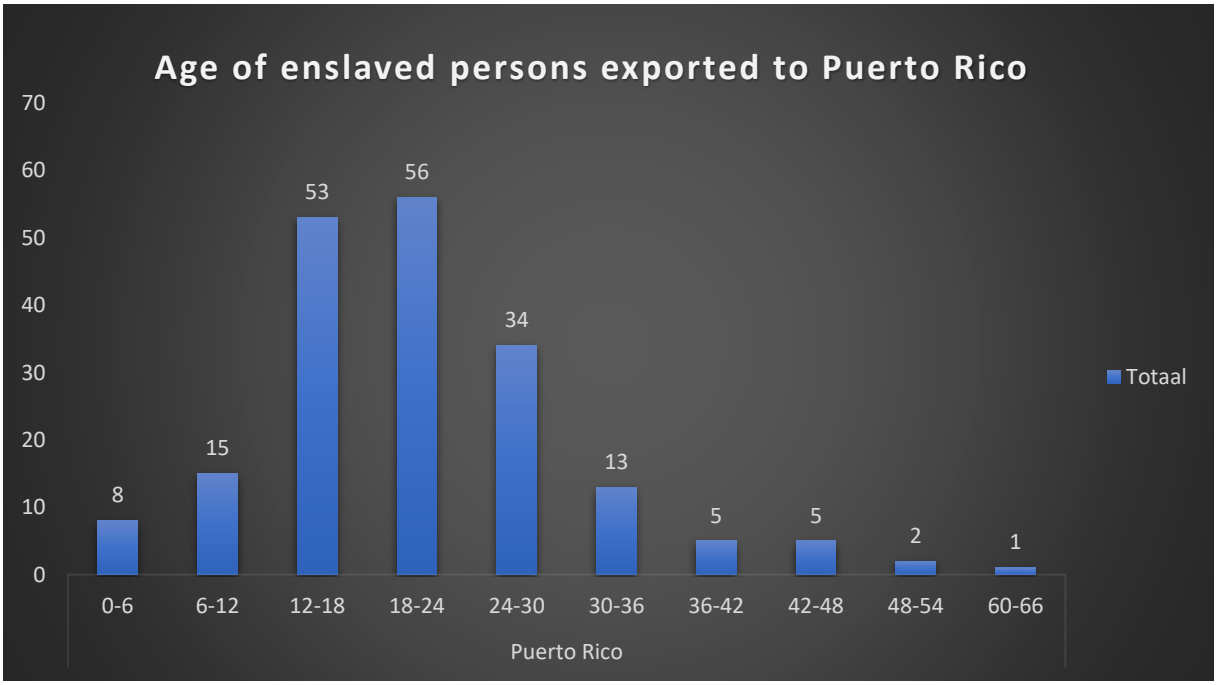


Figure 11 Age distribution of enslaved people who were sent to Puerto Rico (1847-1856).

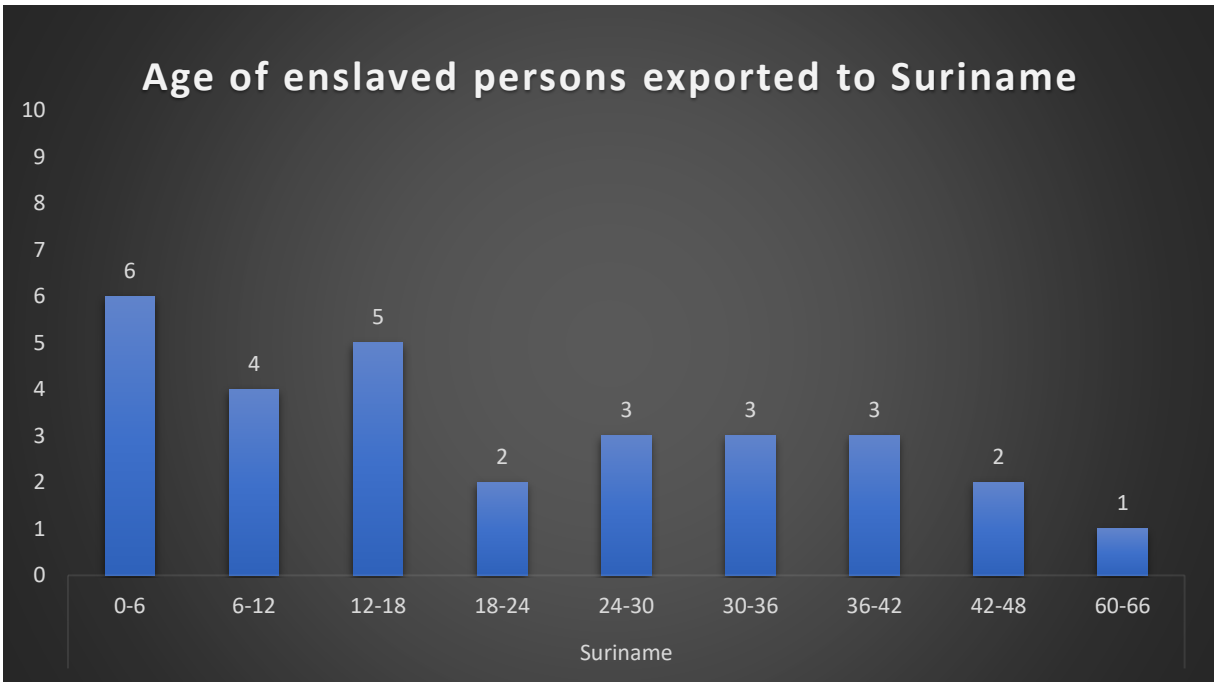


Figure 12 Age distribution of enslaved people who were sent to Suriname (1847-1856).

3.1.3 Enslaved servants

The dataset also contained a special group, the enslaved servants. This group had a special status with regards to export. As was detailed in chapter 2, in 1830 a law was instituted that excused owners of enslaved servants from paying export taxes. Owners could take their servants with them without paying the export tariff as long as their departure was temporary. The model answer for this kind of request showed that the time limit for the voyage had to be indicated, yet this was never done for the requests in my dataset. Nonetheless, for seven of the 23 enslaved servants in my data, it was stated that their export was temporary. The 1830 model answer also included a description of the appearance of the enslaved servant, but this was not included in the request replies examined for this research. Nevertheless, this group is still interesting to consider as they travelled with their owners, instead of most other enslaved persons who were sold to a foreign buyer and then exported. The export of servants was thus not a commercially oriented form of export, it was a way to make travelling more comfortable for owners. Moreover, it is the only group in my dataset for which it is known what their profession was both in Curaçao and at their new residence.

Subsequently, it is interesting to see where these enslaved servants went. Figure 13 visualizes that most of them went to Suriname and St. Thomas, of the thirty people that went to Suriname eight were servants, and of the thirteen people that were transported to St. Thomas six were servants. For both colonies a significant share of the imported enslaved people were servants. What is more, all of the 4 people that were sent to Venezuela were servants. These numbers higlight that Curaçao had a very different slave export relationship with Suriname, St. Thomas and Venezuela than it had with Puerto Rico which received no servants from Curaçao.

When thinking of servants one often thinks of women, yet not all enslaved servants were women. Figure 14 shows that there were indeed more female servants than male servants, nonetheless in my dataset 26% of servants were men. Figure 14 depicts that most servants who went to Suriname and St. Thomas were women, whilst most servants who were sent to Venezuela were men. The gender ratios varied quite a lot per destination. There is also more variation in the destinations of female servants, however this is also more probable as their numbers were much higher in my data.

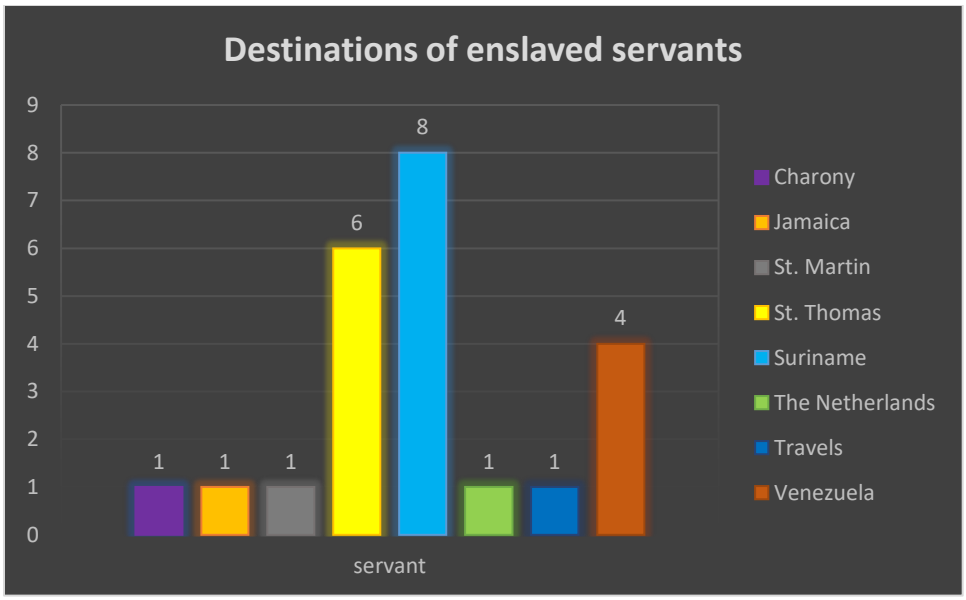


Figure 13 Destinations of enslaved servants (1847-1856).

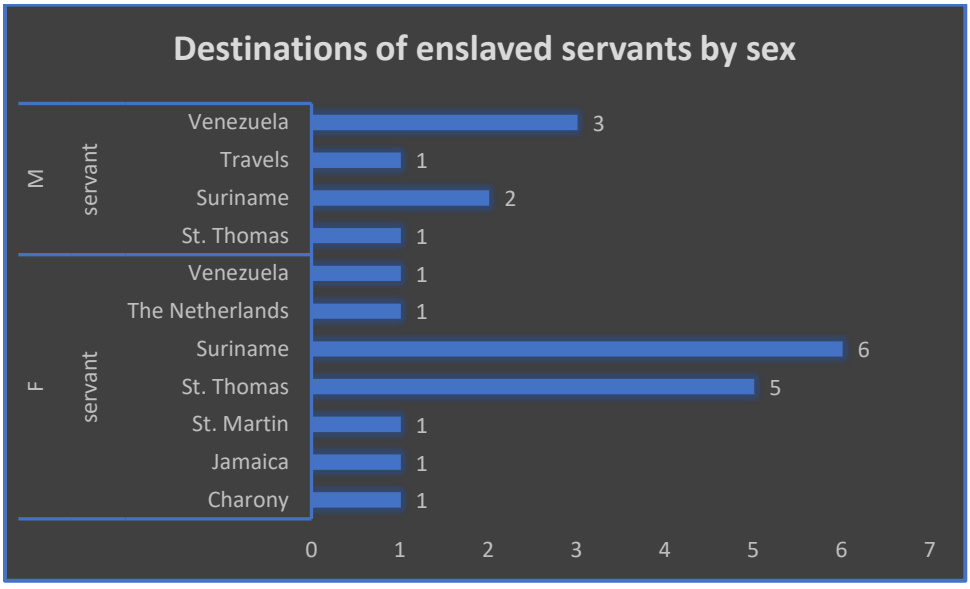


Figure 14 Destinations of enslaved servants by sex (1847-1856).

3.1.4. Vessels and Voyages

In addition to the servants, another group is present in my data which can provide new insights. Next to the owners and the enslaved persons, a third group of actors were the ships and their captains that took the enslaved persons to their destination. For 232 of the 266 requests the vessels and captains were recorded. It was also stated in the request which flag was flown by the ship, denoting to the nation state for which the ship sailed. These categories of data can show which vessels transported the most slaves, and for instance whether Spanish ships mainly made voyages to Spanish colonies.

Figure 15 demonstrates that the vast majority of enslaved people were transported by Spanish ships, while about a quarter of the enslaved persons were carried by Dutch ships. Figure 16 is a little more complex but the bar chart displays that of the 160 enslaved people transported by Spanish vessels, 142 sailed to Puerto Rico. Moreover, figure 16 shows that of the 64 enslaved people who were shipped by boats flying the Dutch flag, 34 travelled to Puerto Rico while seventeen travelled to Suriname, and thirteen to St. Thomas. Interestingly, five enslaved people were sent to Puerto Rico on Danish ships, yet all enslaved people who were brought to the Danish colony of St. Thomas were transported by Dutch ships.

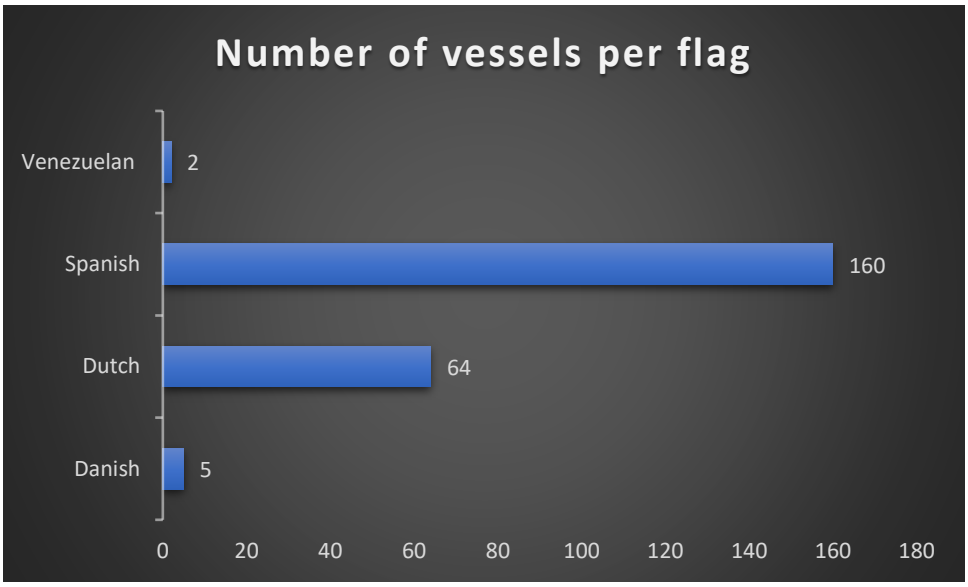


Figure 15 Number of vessels per flag (1847-1856).

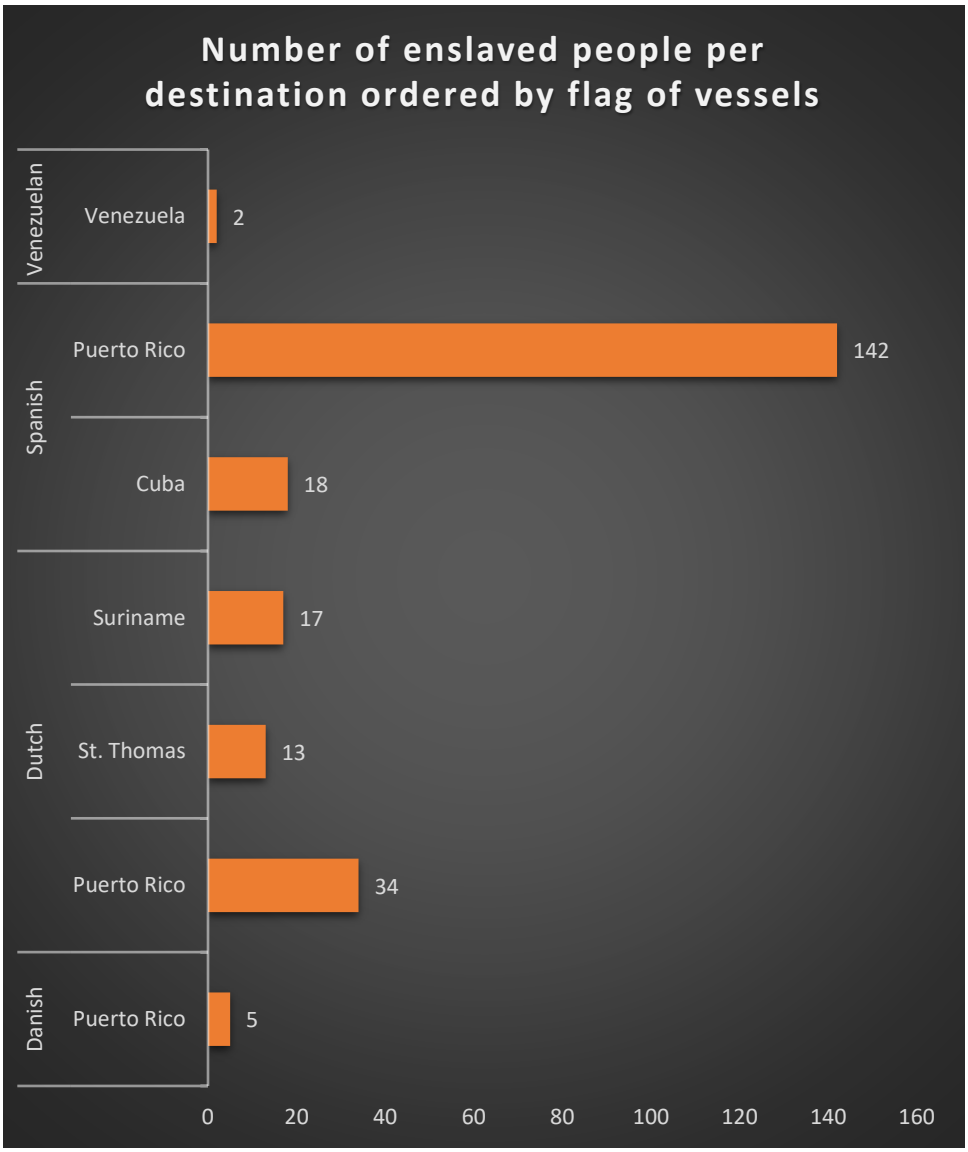


Figure 16 Number of enslaved people transported to a destination ordered by the flags of the vessels (1847-1856).

Apart from zooming in on the flags and destinations of the vessels it is also insightful to consider the ships themselves. Figure 17 displays the boats who transported more than 5 enslaved persons, the blue bars represent Spanish ships and the orange bars denote to Dutch ships. Interestingly, no vessels sailing under other flags transported more than five people. The Spanish ships travelling to Puerto Rico clearly transported by far the most enslaved persons. The four Spanish ships with the highest numbers - Golet Balair, Schoener Mathilda, Golet La Fernandina, and Schoener Magdalena- together transported a little over 50% of all enslaved persons in my dataset. Furthermore, some noteworthy numbers were also present with the Dutch ships. Schoener Esther, for example, was the only Dutch ship that transported enslaved people to Puerto Rico, yet she transported exactly as many persons as one of high ranking Spanish vessels. One of the Dutch ships, Schoener Essex, transported exported slaves to two destinations. In my previous research, I found that Schoener Essex was also deployed in transporting enslaved people who were imported to Curaçao from Suriname.

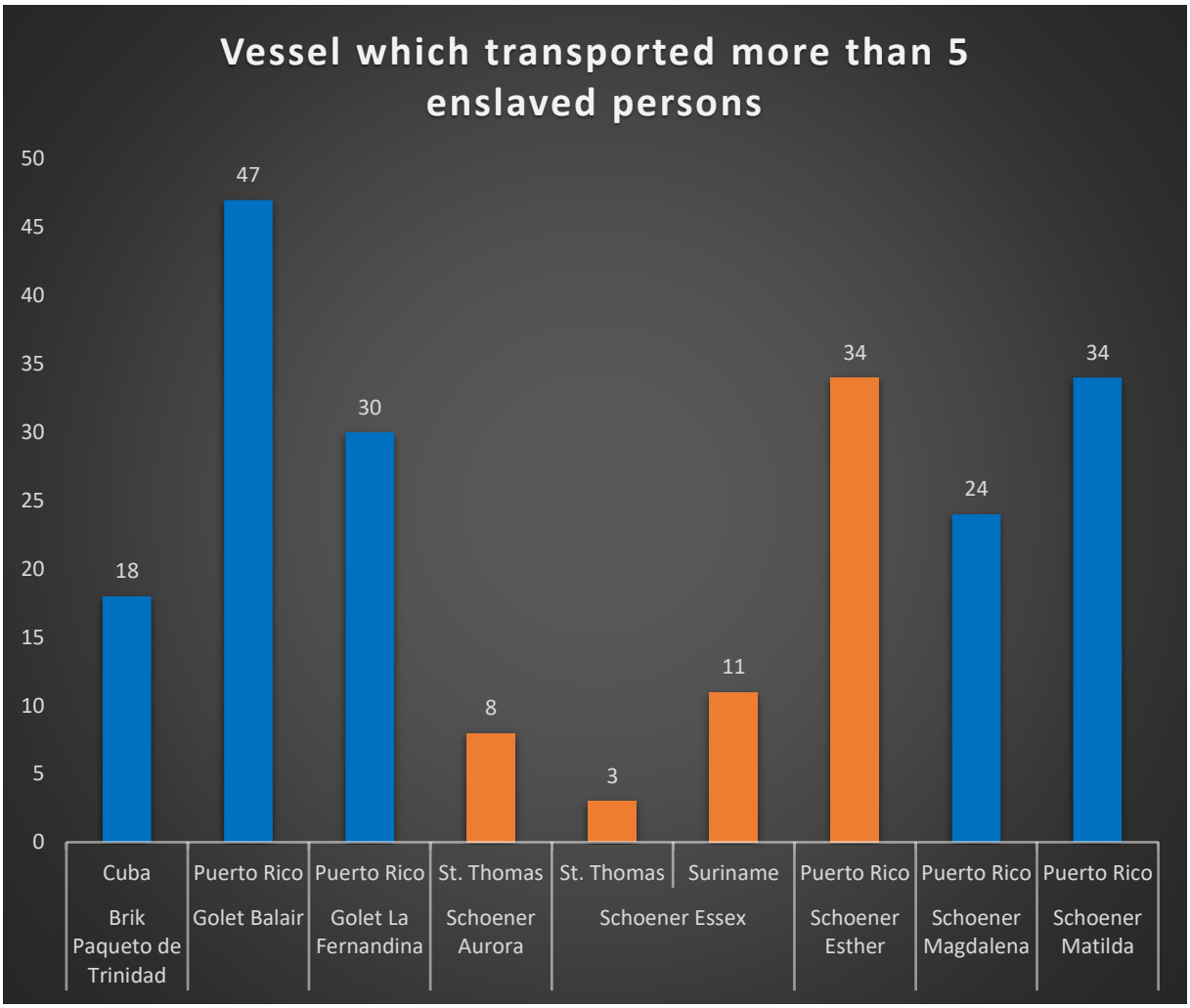


Figure 17 Vessel which transported more than 5 enslaved persons (1847-1856)

3.1.5 Conclusion

The quantitative analysis of the data gathered, digitized and processed for this research has brought forth several new insights about slave export on Curaçao in the late 1840s and 50s. First the destinations were considered. The majority of enslaved people went to Spanish colonies, almost all of them to Puerto Rico. Exportation numbers were, however not equally distributed over the years, a sharp peak was observed in 1847. During that year most enslaved persons were sent to Puerto Rico, during the other years Suriname was the most frequently returning destination. Almost twice as many men as women were exported to Puerto Rico, whilst more women than men were exported to St. Thomas and Suriname. There were somewhat more records of enslaved men in my data then of enslaved women, even though there are slightly more records pertaining to female enslaved persons in the Curaçao slave registers.

When investigating age, it was shown that the age categories with the highest ranking number were twelve to eighteen and eighteen to 24. Nevertheless, splitting the age distribution in two separate lines for the two sexes build a more nuanced image. The export of male enslaved persons peaked at the ages

of twelve to eighteen, but the export of women reached the highest numbers for the ages eighteen to 24. Once zooming in on Puerto Rico and contrasting it with Suriname, it was shown that people between the ages twelve and 24 compiled the largest group of enslaved people destined for the Spanish colony, while enslaved persons from the ages of zero to eighteen were most numerous among those transferred to Suriname.

Additionally, the enslaved servants were analyzed as a separate group to whom different regulations applied. Although most servants were female, approximately one fourth of them was male. Yet, the gender ratios of servants per destination did not always follow this pattern. Suriname and St. Thomas, the colonies which received most servants, did indeed also bring mostly female servants to their shores. Venezuela, which only imported servants from Curaçao, brought three male servants and one female servant to its shores.

Lastly, a different kind of actor was concerned, the captains and their vessels. The large majority of ships flew the Spanish flag and most of these ships sailed to Puerto Rico. Danish and Dutch ships also brought enslaved persons to Puerto Rico. Zooming in on the ships who transported more than five enslaved people showed that only Dutch and Spanish ships carried more than five enslaved persons. The four Spanish ships with the highest numbers of enslaved transportees together carried a little more than half of the people in my dataset, but one Dutch vessel also carried a significant number of enslaved persons.

Quantitative analysis helped gain insight into the main destinations, gender ratios, age distribution, and ships who transported the most slaves. Nonetheless, this method cannot tell the stories of the enslaved individuals in my dataset. The next part of this chapter will zoom in on three very different case studies which will shed light on the narratives of enslaved individuals. As a follow up to this qualitative approach the third part of this chapter will tackle the data through network analysis.

3.2 Case Studies

Three very diverse case studies have been selected to answer the sub question: **How can life courses of exported children, Caban and Puerto Rican slave traders, and formerly enslaved persons test hypotheses and enhance the understanding of the slave movement network around Curaçao in 1847 to 1856?**

3.2.1 The illegal in legal slave exportation: micro networks of children who were exported without their mother

In the first part of this chapter, it was made clear that enslaved children were also exported. The data used for this research included 42 records of children who were exported, eleven of these children were exported without their mother. Nine of these eleven children could be traced back in the slave registers, and they have therefore been chosen as the protagonists in this case study. But first, the question who could be seen as an enslaved child and why? To determine which enslaved persons would be seen as children, legislation with regard to enslaved children from the late 1830s was used. It is important to once again make the distinction between Suriname and the Dutch West Indies with regard to the status of enslaved children. The degree to which enslaved children were protected by the law varied in these Dutch colonies. In Suriname, enslaved mothers and children could not be sold separately, there was no age limit that curbed this regulation.

During the 1840s and 1850s, some Dutch people were critical of the separation of enslaved mothers and children. The novel Uncle Tom's Cabin written by American abolitionist Harriet Beecher Stowe was published in the United States and in the Netherlands in 1852. It was especially influential in the discussions about slavery. It introduced a broad audience to the horrors of slavery and made some of its readers question whether slavery was in line with their beliefs. Mr. Van Hoëvell senses this societal unrest and tries to provide an answer in his 1854 book *Slaves and Free People under Dutch Law*. He explicitly highlights that some Dutch people laid connections between the horrors in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the lives of enslaved people in Suriname. Nevertheless, he said readers should rest assured, slaves in Suriname had a better life than those in the United States, especially so when it came to the bond between mother and child. He went on to exclaim that separating enslaved parents and their children is forbidden in Suriname, which is not entirely true as fatherhood was not recognized for enslaved people so fathers could be separated from their children at any time (Van Hoëvell 49). Van Hoëvell also quoted the Dutch Minister of the Colonies who said that as long as a slave's mother was alive, and both remained enslaved, they could not be sold,

exchanged, or donated separately, and alienating them in any other way was also forbidden (50). The only exception was that of partition through manumission, since enslaved mothers and children could be manumitted separately in Suriname. Van Hoëvell discussed how these regulations were in line with Christian morals, whilst he compares enslaved people with cattle in the next paragraph when he details why enslaved people do not have a father (50). Facinatingly, Van Hoëvell completely neglected to mention Curaçao or any other Dutch colony in the West Indies, perhaps because, the laws and particularly practices in this colony were less fitting to Dutch Christian morals.

On Curaçao regulations with regard to maternal relations were quite different and a little more ambiguous. Two laws have been identified that could shed light on the legal status of enslaved children in the 1840s and 1850s. First, publication 165, which was published in 1832 in the Publicatieblad, provides clues to the age limit for enslaved children. The publication detailed that in order to manumit an enslaved person ƒ300 in bail had to be posted for slaves younger than twelve, ƒ500 for enslaved people between the ages of twelve and forty, and ƒ400 for enslaved persons over forty (550). It can therefore be concluded that enslaved people over forty were considered old and that those under twelve were considered to have been children. Nevertheless, this legislation did not bring to the fore any evidence of regulations on the separation of mother and child. To gather more legal evidence on this specific question the Governor's journal of the 5th of December 1839 was required. This episode in the journal stated all kinds of moral objections against the separation of enslaved mothers and their children. Parting mother and child through sale was deemed inhumane, and the text refers to the regulations in Suriname that forbade the practice of selling mothers and children to different owners (101). Another comparison is drawn with Suriname with regard to enslaved people working on plantations, Curaçao's enslaved plantation workers were deemed less attached then their Surinamese counterparts and could therefore be sold separately (101). Moreover, enslaved children were said to only require maternal care until the age of twelve, after which they could be separated from their mother's by sale (102). It is stated explicitly that the regulations had been designed in such a way that it would not be disadvantageous for slave owners (102). When reading between the lines is seems as though these regulations were made quite reluctantly.

Renkema also discussed the matter of mother and child separation in his dissertation. He explained the age limit of twelve was seemingly chosen because this was the age at which most enslaved persons, whether they worked on plantations or had domestic tasks, were fully

emerged into the work force (Renkema 2 126). Moreover, Renkema illustrates that the aforementioned 1839 law was met with resistance from slave owners (133). The Governor General had already proposed this legislation in 1830, yet it was only ratified in 1839 (Renkema 133). One of the arguments that slave owners used to defend the separate sale of enslaved mothers and children was that it would have significant negative effects on their finances if they had to keep mothers and their children together (Renkema2 133-134). Renkema highlights that lack of recognition for slave marriages, separate sale of slaves who lived on the same plantation, and resistance against the abolition of the separate sale of mothers and children have all substantially hampered the formation of families amongst enslaved people on the island (134). It is paramount to highlight, as Renkema also did, that this did not entail that some enslaved people on the island did live in family settings with two or more generations. Nonetheless, Renkema stressed the difference between Suriname and Curaçao was striking (134). Renkema also briefly mentions a 1836 case in which an enslaved mother wanted to prevent her children from being separated from her through sale and exportation. The mother abducted her two sons who had been sold to a broker by her owner and were to be exported. The attempt failed, but it is definitely an interesting case that warrants further research, unfortunately -as is often the case in Renkema's work- the referencing is quite unclear (134). Yet, there are many well-documented cases of mothers and children who were separated through export in my dataset.

Before I continue to these cases, I want to add some essential contextualization. Although I am fully aware of the fact that children are still in need of parental care after the age of twelve, I have chosen to use this nineteenth century age boundary to select my case studies. As a result, I could examine if the law that forbade separating mothers and children under the age of twelve was indeed upheld when exporting enslaved people. The exporting owner, who was in most cases not living on Curaçao, often bought enslaved people from an owner who lived on the island, shortly afterwards the owner exported these people. In a minority of cases the situation was a little different, these are records of owners who took their enslaved servants with them on their travels, or owners who moved to a different colony and brought their enslaved property with them. Even if there was no sale involved, when mother and child were not exported together they would still be separated. It is essential to realize here that these exports were by no means illegal. The owners were granted permission from the local authorities, for 247 of the 266 enslaved people in my dataset written proof of the local authorities approval was preserved. There are no cases in my dataset were export permission

was not granted, yet it could be that these requests were lost. More importantly, all the children chosen for these cases studies have been exported with permission from the governor of Curaçao. Their exportations were thus deemed perfectly legal, even though in all nine cases children were exported without their mother whilst they were younger than twelve. Their age had been written in the requests and was checked with their registered birth year in the slave registers, in all ten cases there were no discrepancies in age.

This prompts the question what the stories of these children were and how were they separated from their mothers. Their nine life stories have been reconstructed via their records in the slave registers. The first story is that of Albertina. She was exported to Puerto Rico by Manuel de Jesus Cuebas in March 1847. Albertina was ten years old when she was exported in a group with seven other enslaved people. Manuel de Jesus Cuebas bought Albertina from Francisco Toribio Leijba in March 1847. Leijba had owned Albertina and her mother Maria Thomasa since before the start of the slave registers dataset in 1839. Yet, Maria Thomasa and Albertina were not separated by Albertina's sale. Albertina was orphaned when her mother died in November 1846. Although one could have many moral objections to selling a ten year old girl who had lost her mother just months before, Albertina's exportation was in line with the law.

A similar situation existed for Juliana Dorothea, who was shipped to Puerto Rico by Antonio Canales in May 1847, when she was nine years old. Antonio Canales bought her from Bregita da Costa Gomez in April 1847, but this moment did not mark the separation of Juliana and her mother. Juliana Dorothea's mother died in July 1841, she had already been sold several times as an orphan before she was exported. Antonio Canales did, however, export another enslaved child under the age of twelve without his mother in the same month that he exported Juliana. The nine-year old John was exported to Puerto Rico after he had just been separated from his mother when he was bought by Canales. In this case Canales did thus breach the law mothers with the permission of the governor of Curaçao. The fact that Canales adhered to the law in one case and not in another within one month shows a disinterest or even disregard for the regulations of the Dutch colony.

The fourth life story is that of brother and sister Louis and Valentina, who were exported by their owner Gijbertha de Lannoij. De Lannoij moved to Puerto Rico together with her husband William Hendriquez, and they took nine enslaved people with them. The couple left for Puerto Rico in May 1847 when Louis and Valentina were 9 and 8 years old. It stands out that ten-year-old Francios, who also belonged to de Lannoij and Hendriquez, was exported

together with his mother Fransina. Fransina's other two sons Dionisio and Lucas, who were thirteen and nineteen, were also taken to Puerto Rico by the couple, whilst the much younger Louis and Valentina were transported without their mother. This prompts the question was their mother deceased like Albertina's? When going back through the slave registers it becomes clear that both children were donated to de Lannoij by the widow of J. J. de Lannoij in April 1847. The widow of J. J. de Lannoij had possessed Louis and Valentina since their births. The widow also owned their mother Dorothea, but she was not donated to Gijbertha de Lannoij. Dorothea was sold to C.L. de Windt in 1845, this was the point in time at which she was separated from her children. Dorothea was not deceased when her children were exported, because the slave registers show she died in 1862. Subsequently, both the sale of Dorothea to C.L. de Windt and the exportation of her children went against the regulations.

Another case of such a breach of the law is that of William who was exported to Puerto Rico by Pedro Virella in May 1847. William was eleven when he was exported together with four other enslaved people, his mother was not part of this group. Pedro Virella bought William from Robert Conn on April 30 1847, just as he bought all other enslaved people in the transport shortly before their departure to Puerto Rico. Robert Conn and his children had owned William and his mother Cathalina since 1839, but Cathalina was sold in March 1843. William had thus been separated from his mother before he was exported, but his mother was still alive when he was sent to Puerto Rico. Similar to the case of Louis and Valentina, William's case shows very little concern for the laws that prohibited the separation of enslaved mothers and children amongst both slave owners and local authorities.

The next case is that of Chevalier and Clatilda who were siblings. Similar to William they were exported by Pedro Virella in May 1847, but they were part of a different transport group. Virella bought the siblings from Isaac Henriquez Moron in May 1847. Henriquez Moron had just bought the siblings from J. Laroche in Puerto Cabello Venezuela in April 1847, and imported them to Curaçao. The sibling's mother was called Plantina, yet there is no enslaved person named Plantina who was imported from Venezuela by Henriquez Moron, neither did Henriquez Moron ever own an enslaved women called Plantina. It can thus be concluded that Chevalier and Clatilda had been without their mother since at least April 1847. In addition to the trade with neighboring Venezuela, enslaved people were also bought on Bonaire and then exported via Curaçao. This was the case for the ten-year-old Martis who was exported to Cuba by Salvador de Castro in August 1847. Martis was part of the largest transport group in my dataset, next to him seventeen other enslaved persons were exported to Cuba within five

days by Salvador de Castro. Martis mother Susanna was not among those seventeen people, yet the exportation of Martis did not mark the point of their separation. De Castro bought Martis from J. Schotborgh Cz. on Bonaire in August 1847. Schotborgh can, however, be found as owner of Martis in the slave registers of Curaçao. Schotborgh also owned Martin's mother Susanna but he did not sell her to De Castro. Martis and Susanna were thus parted just before Martis' exportation through the sale on Bonaire.

Lastly the intriguing case of Adele, who was exported to St. Thomas by Nancy Joseph when she was ten years old in November 1847. Nancij Joseph bought Adele from the widow of J.H. Romer in the same month she exported her. The widow of J. H. Romer also owned Adele's mother Henriette and she did not sell her to Nancij Joseph. Henriette died in September 1854, so she was still alive when her daughter was exported. Again the mother-and-child separation laws were disregarded, yet an interesting argument was given in the export request for Adele. Joseph wrote that Adele was a family member of hers. Moreover, Adele was the only enslaved person that was listed on the folio of Nacij Joseph in the slave registers. Could it than be that Nancij Joseph was perhaps a manumitted family member of Adele? There is no person in Curaçao's manumission registers who took the name Nancij Joseph. It is therefore hard to determine whether Adele and Nancij Joseph were indeed family. The third case study will, however, proof that manumitted family members did indeed export enslaved kin.

Seven out of the nine case studies discussed in this paragraph bring to the fore a seeming disregard for the 1839 law that prohibited parting enslaved mothers and children under twelve. Most children were separated through a sale that occurred shortly before the export, others had been separated from their mothers by sale several years earlier. Only in two cases was the law not breached as the enslaved children were orphaned. This indifference to the 1839 law was not only present amongst slave owners but clearly also amongst local authorities. The governor of Curaçao did not commented on the fact that enslaved children under twelve were separated from their mothers in any of his replies. Interestingly, all the cases occurred in 1847, the peak year for slave export. All requests in that year were answered within one or two days, so the governor -or his clergy men who might have written the replies for him- did not take much time to consider the requests. Nevertheless, it is unambiguous that the separation of enslaved mothers and children via international slave movement, which the laws and treaties described in chapter two and in this paragraph aimed to prevent, did still exist in in 1847. Yet, for export within the Dutch Kingdom slave owners and local authorities did abide by the law. As was mentioned in part 3.1.2 of this chapter, Suriname imported a

considerable number of enslaved children from Curaçao, but these children were all accompanied by their mothers who were mostly servants.

Finally the cases of siblings Chevalier & Clatilda, and Martis showed the potential this case study based approach has for unraveling the complex intercolonial slave movement network that existed around Curaçao even after international slave trade had formally been abolished. The case of the siblings revealed a micro network in which Venezuela, Curaçao and Puerto Rico were connected, whilst Martis' case shows how Bonaire, Curaçao and Puerto Rico were intertwined through slave movement. These micro networks could be made more complete through digitizing and connecting multiple colonial archives in the Caribbean. Additionally, the examples showed the Dutch colony of Curaçao cannot be viewed in isolation, it was as spin in a complex interconnected networks within the Caribbean. The micro networks of enslaved children who were separated from their mothers and other kinds of micro networks can provide new insights into enslaved life in the Caribbean. The next two case studies paint a picture of two other kinds of micro networks to show other potential new insights hidden in my dataset.

3.2.2 Export to the Spanish colonies: a Comparison of Puerto Rico and Cuba

This cases study aims to test hypothesis that have been put forward in research about slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico, by tracing the movements of enslaved people from Curaçao to Cuba and Puerto Rico. In order to accomplish this goal the case studies centers on two groups of enslaved people, one which was transported to Puerto Rico and the other to Cuba. These two groups will be compared and contrasted to gain a better understanding of the export of enslaved people from Curaçao to the two Spanish colonies.

Before delving in to the case studies it is paramount to paint a picture of slavery in the two destination colonies in the second half of the nineteenth century. During the 1840s and 1850s, sugar consumption was on the rise. It is often thought that this caused a sugar boom; a tremendous increase in the production of sugar in plantation colonies in the Caribbean, and with that a rise in the demand for slave labor. Cuban American Historian Luis Martínez-Fernández, however, nuances this idea by putting forward that the world sugar market put tremendous pressure on the economies of Puerto Rico and Cuba (47). The production of sugar from beet roots grew exponentially in this period, as a result world sugar prices fell or at best remained stable during 1840-1856 period that was studied by Martínez-Fernández (47-48). Martínez-Fernández' study focused on how both Spanish sugar colonies responded differently to this setback for their economies. Cuban planters generally responded by producing more

sugar. Instead of diversifying her economy, Cuba expanded her sugar sector. By 1855 sugar and sugar-related products constituted 84% of the colonies export and 58% of the islands agriculture consisted of sugar plantations. Cuban planters scaled up to remain profitable in the competitive world market (Martínez-Fernández 48). Puerto Rico's response was very dissimilar form Cuba's approach. While Cuban planters managed to continue to establish economic growth through sugar production, Puerto Rico faced a period of stagnation and even decline between 1850 and 1859. Capital was geared away from sugar to other crops, or commercial activities, and some investors even left the island (Martínez-Fernández 58).

Several differences in the economic histories of both Spanish colonies caused these diversions in responses to the changes in the sugar market. Firstly, the Cuban sugar boom commenced in the 1760s. The capital was under British rule for eleven months, and received an influx of ten thousand enslaved persons, which gave a prodigious boost to the Cuban economy. Puerto Rico's sugar boom started about fifty years later in the early nineteenth century, and while Cuba had imported enslaved people to boost its sugar economy, Puerto Rico attracted foreign entrepreneurs to invest in sugar plantations (Martínez-Fernández 58). The expansion of the Puerto Rican sugar sector occurred in a much shorter timespan mainly throughout the 1820s and 1830s, during the 1840s the islands' sugar economy already began to decline, and by 1860 the number of sugar estates had dropped two-thirds from the peak in 1830. Since most Puerto Rican planters were immigrants they were also more quick to leave when decline hit then their Cuban colleagues (Martínez-Fernández 59).

It is also paramount to stress that Martínez-Fernández highlights that chronic droughts and deteriorating soil fertility severely plagued the Puerto Rico's southern coast throughout the 1840s (59). A Puerto Rican book on ecological history titled *Puerto Rico y la Sequía de 1847 (Puerto Rico and the Drought of 1847)* tells the story of a severe drought that hit the country during the year in which exportation from Curaçao to Puerto Rico peaked very sharply. Furthermore, Puerto Rico was not as strongly a plantation economy as Cuba. Sugar plantations only developed in some areas such as Ponce, Guayama, and Mayaguez. Half of the islands agricultural land was actually geared towards subsistence farming, and the other half was used for cash crops, mainly sugar and coffee (Martínez-Fernández 60). This may, however, have made enslaved persons from Curaçao suitable as enslaved laborers for Puerto Rico. As was explained in the introduction, Curaçao's economy was much more geared towards trade than towards plantations. The plantations that were present mostly produced foodstuffs (Renkema2 26). The knowledge and skills enslaved people from Curaçao had with

regard to growing food crops might have been beneficial for Puerto Rican planters. Moreover, planters from Curaçao claimed that exporting enslaved persons during years with failed harvests was necessary to prevent starvation amongst the enslaved population. The reverse could by true for Puerto Rico in 1847. The 1847 draught must have been severe for a book to be dedicated to it, this could have resulted in starvation amongst enslaved people in Puerto Rico. Importing enslaved people from Curaçao could have been a solution to replace the lost labor force with agriculturally skilled workers who were used to handling drought, for the phenomenon was part and parcel of agriculture on Curaçao (Renkema2 26;32). It must, nevertheless, be stressed that this is just one theory and there are many other possibilities.

Enslaved workers could, for instance, have been sold on from Puerto Rico to Cuba where the demand for slave labor was high as the Cuban sugar sector was still expanding. Martínez-Fernández argues sale form Puerto Rico to Cuba did happen, it was in fact feared amongst Puerto Rican enslaved people (53). In 1850, a major epidemic hit Cuba killing approximately 30.000 enslaved persons, this led to Cuban planters buying entire Puerto Rican estates in order to obtain the enslaved labor force that was part of the estate. He adds that this practice continued after Puerto Rican authorities had instituted and export tariff of $75 per slave in 1853 (Martínez-Fernández 53). It is therefore not unthinkable that some of the enslaved people from Curaçao were sold on to Cuba, either directly or later in their lives. The new importees from Curaçao could also have been used to start or scale up sugar plantations. The second hypothesis actually fits best to the profile of the enslaved workers who were send to Puerto Rico, since they were mostly teenage and adolescent men. Yet, both hypotheses cannot be tested with the sources that were accessible for this research, so they remain interesting speculations at best.

The estimations of enslaved population numbers made for Cuba and Puerto Rico by Martínez-Fernández are not so speculative. He concluded that 702,000 slaves had arrived in Cuba, and only 77,000 were imported to Puerto Rico. Cuba’s enslaved population peaked at 436,500 in 1841, whilst Puerto Rico’s enslaved population reached its highest numbers in 1846 at a mere 51,300 (61). During the period right after Puerto Rico’s sugar boom, approximately 1400 enslaved persons were brought to Puerto Rico each year. During the 1845 through 1860 period, however, only about 700 enslaved people were imported yearly. Slave imported numbers for Cuba remained consistently high at roughly 10,000 from the late 1820s to 1860 (Martínez-Fernández 61) In 1847, 193 enslaved persons were send from Curaçao to Puerto Rico. If Philip D. Curtin's estimates -which were the basis for Martínez-Fernández numbers-

were correct, than enslaved people from Curaçao constituted about 28% of the enslaved importees in Puerto Rico in 1847.

Although most of Martínez-Fernández' argumentation is very sound, a critical remark towards his conclusions must be made. He concludes that there was a reduced demand for labor in Puerto Rico after the sugar boom and that adding new enslaved people did not significantly increase the productivity of a sugar plantation. Still, around 700 people were imported from Puerto Rico each year. Why would planters invest the time and money to import slaves from Curaçao and other colonies when this did not help their business? Unfortunately, his argumentation loses track even further when he argues that "the lesser importance of slavery was also reflected in Puerto Rico's racial patterns" (62). He states that there was a high degree of mixed-race people among the islands population and supports this with census data from the 1820s, 1830s and 1860s in which the free Black population was between 38% and 595 (62). The numbers in itself are very valid, but linking the presence of a mixed-race group to a lesser importance of slavery is downright incorrect. Race mixing occurred in all slave societies, voluntarily and involuntarily. What this high percentage of free black people can indicate is, that mixed-race people in Puerto Rico had quite some social mobility.

An example of a black or mixed-race Puerto Rican who did indeed have considerable social status is that of Nicolas Mas. He did not only purchase enslaved people on Curaçao he also bought several enslaves persons on Aruba. He was recorded as a "Moor" in the Aruban slave registers, which was a Dutch historical term for a black person. Mas exported seven enslaved people from Aruba via Curaçao and seventeen enslaved people directly from Curaçao. He thus exported a total of 24 enslaved people in five different journeys, all exports took place in April and May 1847. The Aruban slave registers recorded the sale prices of the enslaved people. Mas paid *ƒ*2,527 in total for the seven enslaved persons he bought from six different owners. This made the average price of an enslaved person bought by Mas *ƒ*361. When taking this average as an indicative price, it can be estimated that he spent around *ƒ* 8, 664 on all 24 enslaved persons he purchased on the Dutch islands. Whether these prices were lower than the average prices in Puerto Rico could not be determined with the available sources. It could be that Curaçao, similarly to St. Thomas -as was detailed in the introduction-, had lower slave prices than other colonies in the Caribbean, but this research could neither prove nor debunk that hypothesis.

Moreover, Mas bought all 24 enslaved people in the same month he exported them, and he acquired most just days before exportation. He bought the enslaved persons from twenty different owners. Although it remains unknown what Mas' motives were, he can definitely be deemed a slave trader as he bought and exported several groups of enslaved people. Through the sale prices recorded in the Aruban slave registers we know he was willing to invest a large amount of capital in new enslaved property, so Mas was probably not an impoverished planter struck by the effects of a severe draught. Additionally, it is noteworthy to add that there was a large variety in the ages of the people Mas bought, the youngest was three and the oldest 49, and almost all ages in between were present in his group. Mas acquired ten men and fourteen women. In conclusion, he did not seem to have a preference for enslaved men of teenage or adolescent ages like most Puerto Rican buyers. It is unknown to which part of Puerto Rico the enslaved persons exported by Mas were taken. One Puerto Rican slave owner did state the destination are in his request. Thomas Marin wrote he would take the enslaved people to Mayaguez, Puerto Rico. This was indeed one of the areas Martínez-Fernández identified as a part with many sugar plantations. For these ten people exported by Marin, it is highly likely they were taken to a sugar plantation. The demographics of this group also hint towards this conclusion. The group consisted of two women and eight men between the ages of fifteen and thirty.

Then there is one slave owner in my dataset who exported directly to Cuba. Salvador de Castro transported eighteen enslaved people to Cuba in four different transport groups. All people were exported in August 1847. De Castro bought these eighteen people from thirteen different owners all in the same month. The group consisted of five women and thirteen men, between the ages of six and 41, but most were in their late teens or early twenties. It is listed for thirteen of the eighteen enslaved persons that de Castro intended to take them to Trinidad, a city near the southern coast of Cuba. The area surrounding Trinidad was nicknamed Valley of the Sugar Mills (Valley of the Innocents). This area was the center of Cuba's sugar production from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century. Consequently, it is reasonable to conclude there is a fair chance these thirteen enslaved persons, and perhaps all eighteen, were forced to work on a sugar plantation. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that for four transports a document was included which states the enslaved persons had appeared before the Governor General of Curaçao to declare they agreed to the transport. This procedure was customary on Curaçao during the timespan of my research. Nonetheless, it is hard to image, especially in this case, this was a case of informed consent. If the enslaved

people had known they were being put to work in the heart of the Cuban sugar industry, they would doubtlessly have been as fearful as their Puerto Rican counterparts. In conclusion, the groups exported by de Castro seem to fit the picture painted by Martínez-Fernández of Cuba importing enslaved persons to support her expanding sugar production. At least eighteen enslaved people from Curaçao were brought to the Spanish island, most probably to work in the Cuban sugar industry.

In short, what differentiates slave movement in the Puerto Rican and Cuban case studies from for instance the export to Suriname are the clear signs of a slave trade network. Enslaved people who were exported to Puerto Rico or Cuba were not servants who travelled with their owners like many who went to Suriname and Venezuela. Mainly Puerto Rican slave owners, but also one Cuban slave owner, came to Curaçao to buy enslaved people from various owners and then export them to the Spanish colonies. Interestingly, at least one of the Puerto Rican slave owners who bought enslaved people from Curaçao was himself also a black person. This is incidental evidence for Martínez-Fernández' claim that there were many mixed-race people amongst Puerto Rico's free population. For some enslaved individuals who ended up in Puerto Rico or Cuba, it can be concluded that it is quite probable they were put to work on a sugar plantation. This conclusion is in line with Martínez-Fernández hypothesis. However, the Cuban American historian also stated that Cuba imported many more enslaved persons than Puerto Rico. My data showed that the vast majority of enslaved persons from Curaçao were send to Puerto Rico. It could be, however, that some of these enslaved people were transported to Cuba after their arrival in Puerto Rico. I did unfortunately not have access to any sources that could verify or deny this claim. This case study highlights, once again, the potential for new insights that could be attained when archival sources on slavery and slave movement across the Caribbean were to be digitally connected.

3.2.3 Traces of Resistance: The Story of Martha Maria, Simon and Franciso

The Cuban enslaved women Terasa Mina was not only coerced into several journeys across Cuba, she also used the islands transportation networks in an attempt flee from her master who wanted to send her to a sugar plantation. She used her knowledge of slave-moving processes to her advantage (Cowling 9). Even though her attempt to get out of the system of slavery may seem small it is still significant according to Cowling because it contributed to a process that she termed place-making. This term refers to the social process of making a point on a map into a place by human movements and through relations of power (9). Teresa's flight attempt, although unsuccessful, was a movement that defied the dominant powers of

slavery. My dataset similarly holds one story of a movement that opposed dominant power structures by using the system of slave export in Curaçao to benefit an enslaved men named Francisco. Although my research is not focused on the agency and resistance of enslaved persons but rather on their movement through export, this story was too compelling not to include it. Additionally, the narrative shows there are cases in which enslaved and freed persons used the export system to their advantage.

Unlike the other stories this case does not start on Curaçao but on Suriname, with the manumission of Martha Maria Eugenia Kol on the 30th of August 1852. Martha was fifty years old when she is manumitted by Ms. A.P. Crol the widow of Mr. P. de Kanter and she worked as a washerwomen. Simon Philippus Mortes Kant was manumitted at the same day by Ms. A.P. Crol. He was 45 when he was manumitted and he worked as a cook. It is stated in the additional information of both manumission records that Martha and Simon obtained permission to travel to Curaçao to visit their family. Before Martha and Simon traveled to Curaçao they married on March 22 1854. It is stated in their marriage certificate that both spouses were born on Curaçao, yet they cannot be found in Curacao's slave registers, most likely because the left the island before 1839, which is the starting year of the slave register dataset. The couple travelled to Curaçao just a few months after their marriage and Martha Maria filed a request to ask for permission to export her nephew Fransico on September 13, 1854.

What stands out in Martha's request letter as opposed to the other requests is that the argumentation is much more elaborate. When reading between the lines it seems as though Martha felt she had to proof herself to convince the governor. For instance, in the first paragraph of the letter she explained she was married to Simon and that they had both been manumitted by Ms. Crol. She goes on to explain that she has come to Curaçao to visit her mother, sister, and nephew Francisco. She then details the complex situation of Fransico and herself. Martha had bought Fransico in Suriname before she was manumitted. Since enslaved people were property and could therefore not legally own anything themselves, she had Fransico listed on the folio of the underaged children of H. M. van Rhijn. She explains that the children of H. M. van Rhijn had taken Fransico with them to Curaçao. The island's slave registers indeed show that van Rhijn's underaged children S. Schorrenberg van Rhijn and H. Schorrenberg van Rhijn imported Francisco from Suriname to Curaçao in May 1851. Martha stated she brought a special act of transport, which Mr. van Rhijn gave to her. Van Rhijn stated in the document that the sale of Fransico to Martha had taken place in accordance with

all rules and regulations. This document was probably not preserved as it was not in the folder with the request. The letter continuous by listing all legal prerequisites for exporting an enslaved person and detailing how Martha had met these requirements for Fransico. Martha then explained J. M. Dania will stand surety for her, and that she would send proof of Fransico's arrival in Suriname within six months. The letter is signed with a cross instead of a name as can be seen in figure 18 below. A clarification is added underneath the cross, the letter was written by J. M. Dania for Martha, like many formerly enslaved people Martha was probably illiterate.

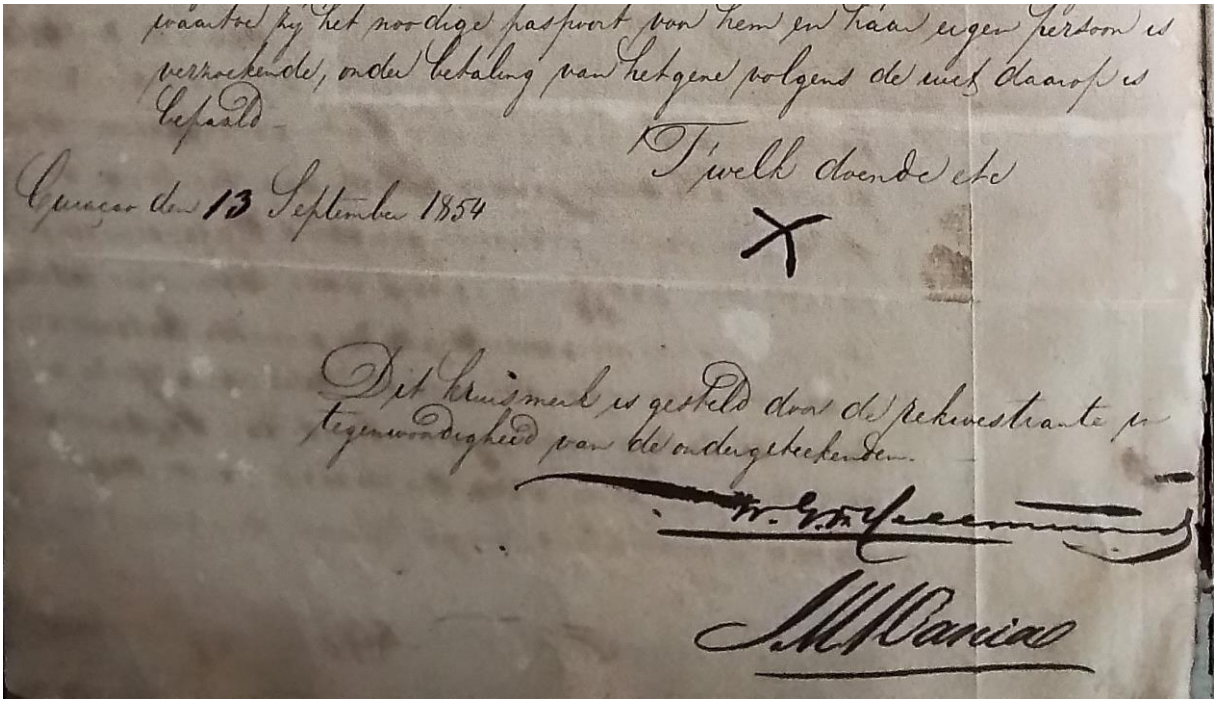


Figure 18 Signature of Martha Maria Eucenia Kol on the export request for her nephew Franscisco

Another letter was included with the request, this letter was written by D. M. Rammelmen Elsevier and it detailed that J. M. Dania would indeed stand surety, in addition to confirming that Fransico was indeed the property of Martha and that all procedures had been followed to the letter. Out of all requests that I have studied to compile my dataset this is the only request which was accompanied by such an additional letter. Similar to many other requests, a note was included on which it was stated who owned Fransico according to the Curaçao slave registers. Interestingly, according to the note H. M. van Rhijn was the owner of Fransico, not his underaged children. Another note was included which informed the Governor General Maria Eucenia Kol had paid the export tax for Francisco. Martha Maria's request is the only case in which I found such a note, in some requests it was simply stated that the tariff had

been paid and oftentimes this detail was omitted. The answer of the Governor General is also slightly longer than most, nevertheless it still followed the standard format. Apart from granting permission, it was stated in the reply that Fransico had appeared in front of the Crown's prosecutor to confirm that he was willing to move back to Suriname. It was costumery to include this information in requests and replies.

The last record of Fransico in the Curaçao slave registers stated he was sold to Martha Maria Eucenia Kol and exported to Suriname in September 1854. The Surinamese slave registers confirm that Franisco was enlisted in Suriname on November 14 , 1854 as the property of S. P. M. Kant. As promised, Francisco was manumitted on August 25, 1856 by Simon Kant. He took the name Jean Francisco Dant and his profession was listed as house servant. Simon and Martha Maria did not own any other enslaved people besides Francisco. Fransisco is listed twice in the Surinamese civil registry, both times as Fransisco Kant using the name of his uncle. He is listed as witness to a birth in 1865 and in 1884, so he must have lived for at least 28 years after his manumission to the age of 58.

Martha's and Simon's story is a telltale sign of the tremendous persistence and effort of a formerly enslaved couple to free their nephew. It shows what potential the HDSC holds for qualitative research, and how fascinating life stories can be reconstructed by tracking people through the registers. Nevertheless, the data in the export requests are invaluable missing puzzle pieces to properly construct life courses. The life course of Fransico may represent an exception in the patterns of slave movement, but the story of Fransisco, and his aunt and uncle is surely one that defied dominant power structures. It is also an example of place making as Cowling has themed it. Through their social interaction Martha Maria, Simon and Franciso made both Suriname and Curaçao into a place in which they belonged in which they transferred from enslaved to free.

3.3 Social Network Analysis

After preparing the data from the export requests and slave registers for SNA, Gephi has been used to create graphs that visualize the export network in an insightful way. These graphs will be analyzed to answer the sub question: **To what extent can social network analysis bring about new insights into the slave movement network that existed around Curaçao in the 1847-1856 period?**

This chapter will explore this process in a step by step fashion, starting with an ego network. An ego network is the network of one node within the complete network, such a network is depicted in figure 19 for slave owner Manuel de Jesus Cuebas. De Jesus Cuebas was a Puerto Rican slave owner who transported many enslaved people to that Spanish colony. For the purpose of simplification the definition of an ego network is somewhat stretched here. Given the fact that De Jesus Cuebas and many others transported a large number of enslaved persons in various transport groups, figure … only depicts one transport group. To compile this group De Jesus Cuebas bought seven enslaved people from J. A. Jesurun, four from D. Dovale, one from C. M. Neuman, and one from the widow of Samuel van D. Hoheb. The number of enslaved people that are represented by an edge is reflected in the size of its arrow, and the arrows indicate the direction of the sale. Figure 20 is somewhat more complex, it represents the slave movements of three transport groups, who were exported by three distinct slave owners. Manuel de Jesus Cuebas' group is still present, but Antonio Cabaso's and Thomas Marin's group have been added to the visualization. Some other elements have been included to make figure 20 more insightful. Not only does the size of the arrows represent the weight of the edges, the color of the nodes also represents which slave owners are most strongly connected to one another. This coloring was computed by a function called "modularity", which will be explained in more detail later in this chapter. This network of 4 traders provides an indication of what the complete network will encompass, yet the entire network is required to analyze patterns in the slave movements.

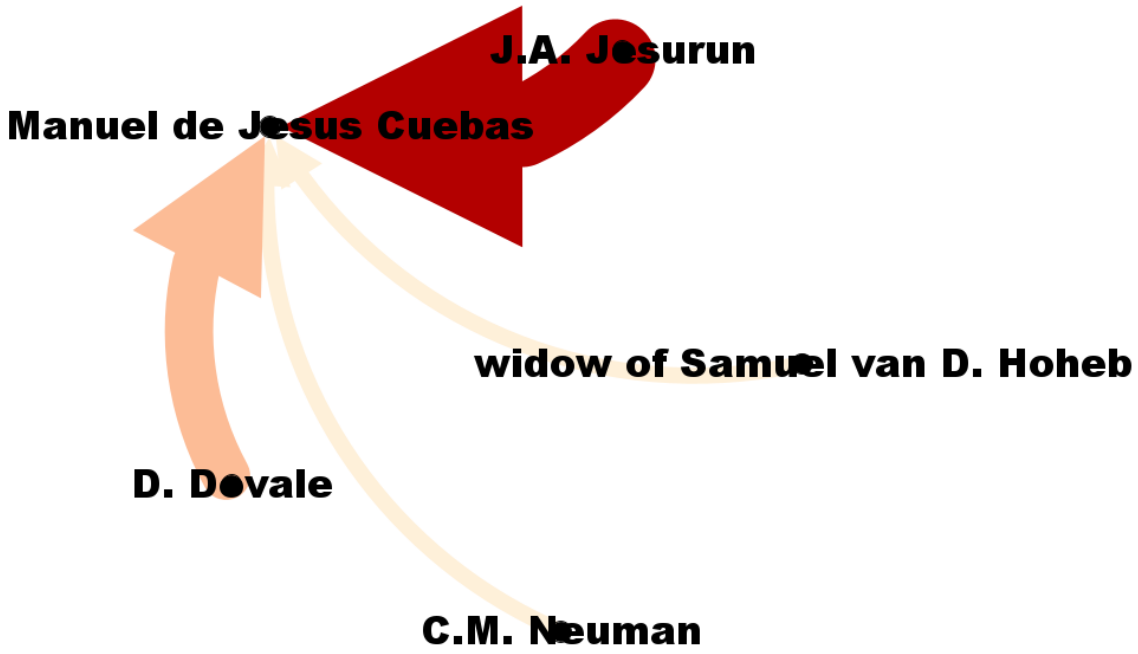


Figure 19 Ego network of Manuel de Jesus Cuebas for one of his transport groups.

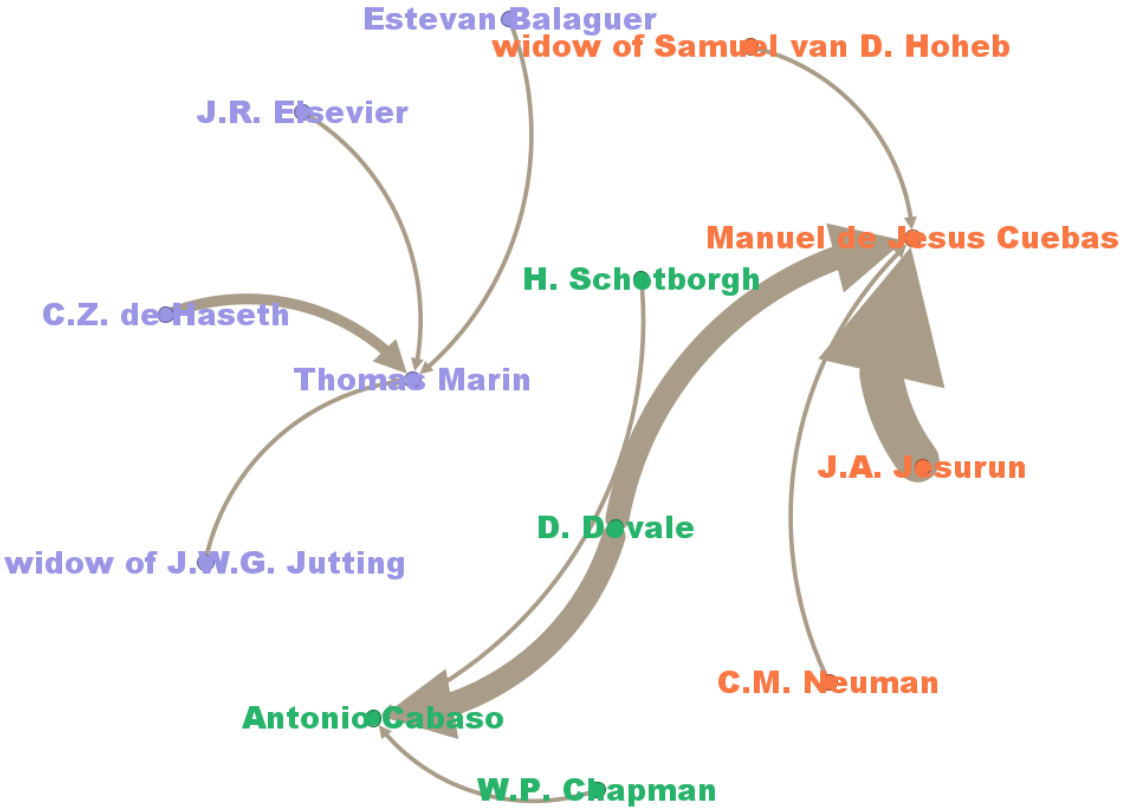


Figure 20 Network graph of three transport groups exported by three different traders

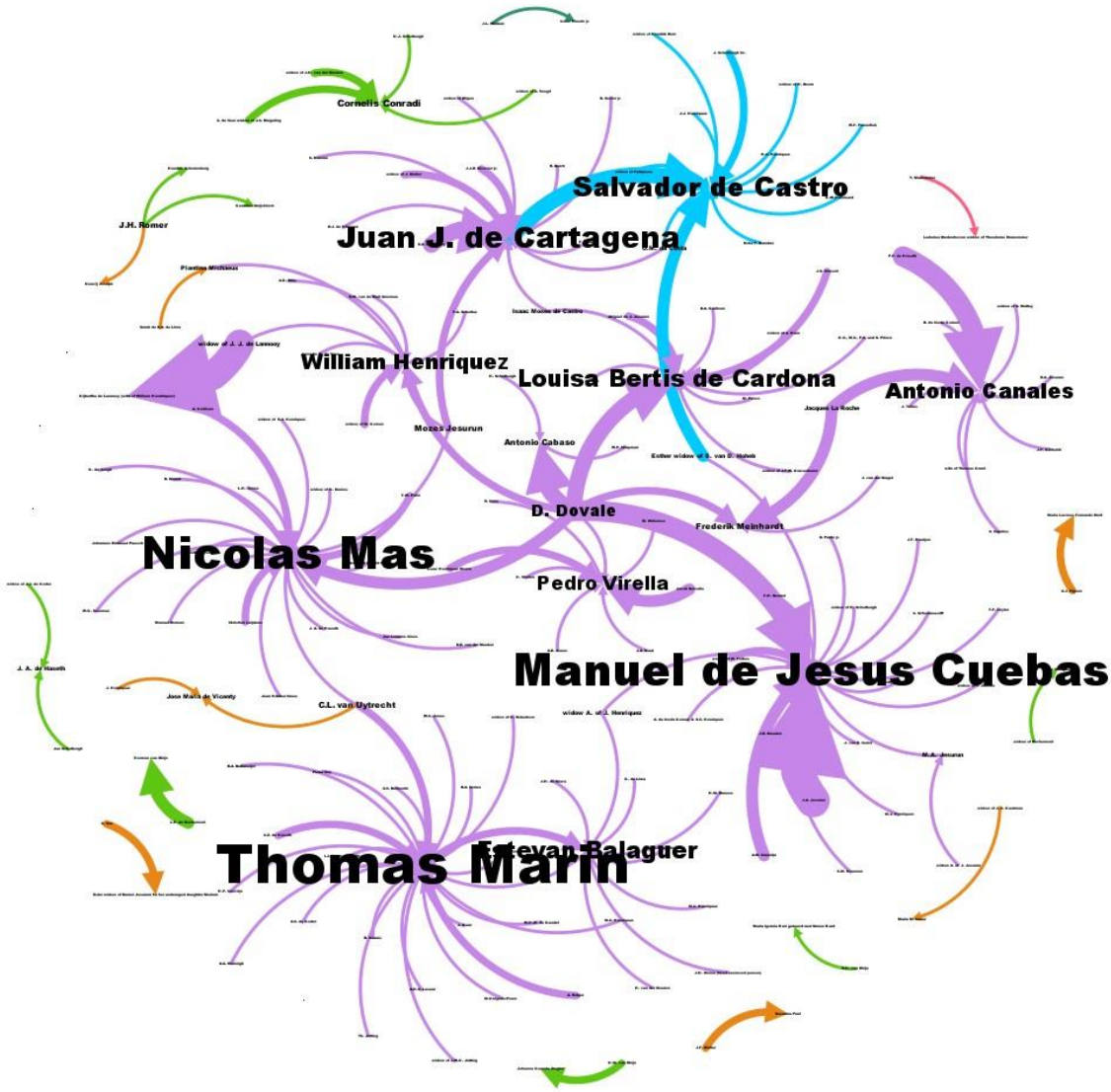


Figure 21 Network graph of the all nodes and edges ordered by weighted degree.

Figure 21 encompasses all nodes and edges extracted from the slave registers and the export dataset. The edges' size is determined by their weight and all arrows point towards the owner who bought the enslaved person(s). The nodes are represented by the names of the slave owners, the names are seized according to the weighted degree measurement. Weighted degree calculates in-degree, out degree and takes into account not only the number of ingoing or outgoing edges but also their weight. This type of analysis works very well for the slave export network as a slave owner became more prominent in the network when he or she bought or sold more slaves, nevertheless the number of inbound or outbound edges also matter as each edge represents a relationship with another slave owner. The colors of the edges represent the export destinations, purple was used for Puerto Rico, light green for Suriname, blue for Cuba, orange for St. Thomas, red for Venezuela and dark green was applied when the request stated an enslaved person would be brought along to multiple travel destinations. It stands out is that

the vast majority of edges is purple. Moreover, these Porto Rican edges also show a distinctively different network structure as opposed to the other edges, only the Cuban network has a similar make up. The networks linked to Suriname, Venezuela and St. Thomas consist of fewer edges then the Puerto Rican networks, most of them are comprised of a single edge. The largest network in this group is that of Cornelis Conradi, who exported to Suriname, it consists of only four edges. All Puerto Rican networks contain more edges than Conradi's. The size of the nodes highlights that the top three slave owners with the highest weighted degree are Thomas Marin, Manuel de Jesus Cuebas, and Nicolas Mas. These slave owners were profoundly influential in the export network, not only did they buy large numbers of enslaved persons they also bought them from multiple different slave owners. Lastly, there is also one selling owner who was also quite influential, D. Dovale. Dovale sold enslaved persons to numerous different owners. He traded not only with influential figures, such as Nicolas Mas and Manuel de Jesus Cuebas, but also with less prominent slave owners such as Pedro Virella and Antonio Cabaso.

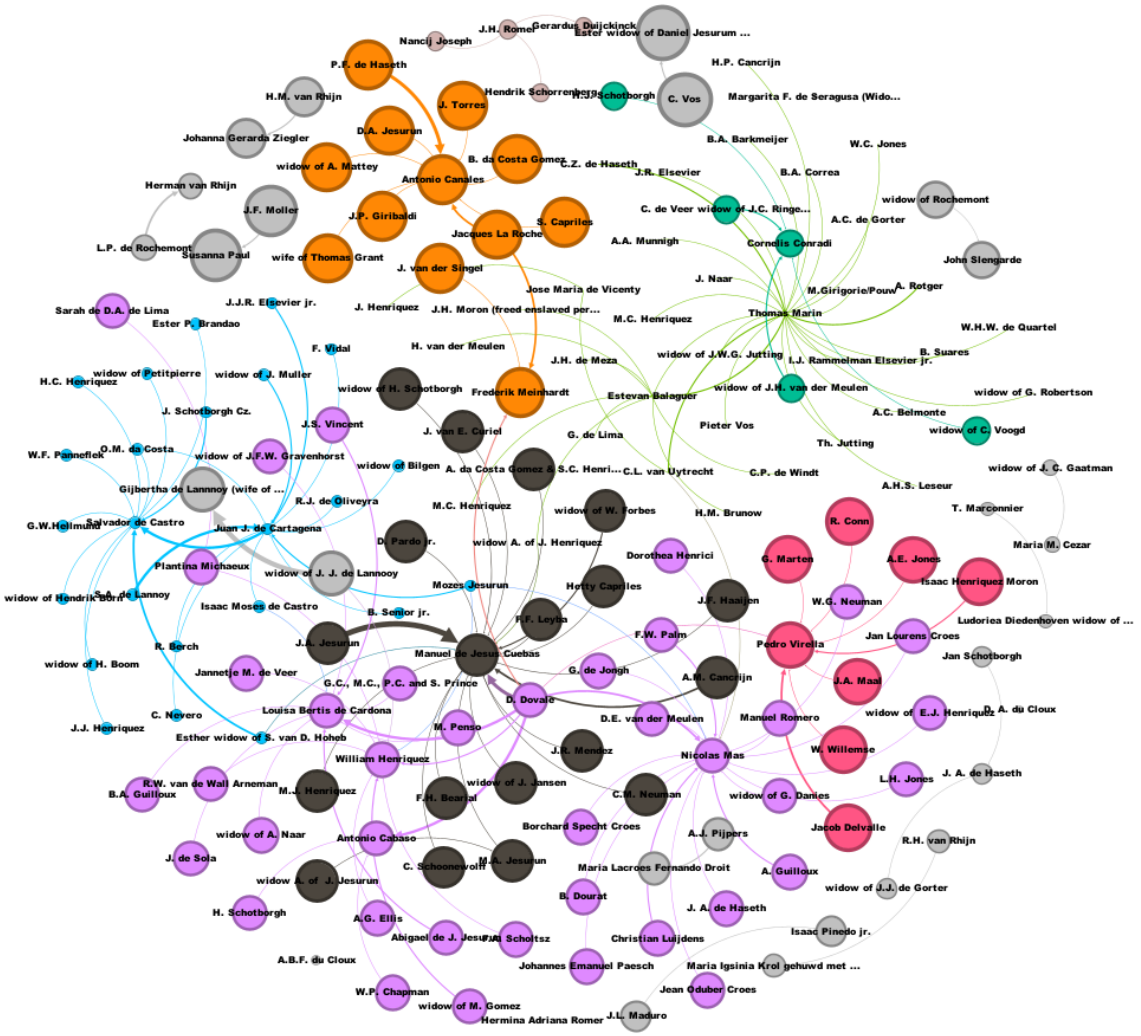


Figure 22 Network graph of the all nodes and edges ordered by modularity.

Weighted degree has proven to be a helpful tool to identify the most influential slave owners in the network, and to see how network structures varied between destinations. Yet, it is also compelling to look into the various sub-networks, this can be done via another statistical method. Figure 22 was created applying an analytical tool named modularity. Modularity can be applied in many fields, because it is useful to analyze complex systems (Baldwin and Clark 63). Slave exportation on Curaçao was indeed a complex and diverse system. The concept of modularity is based on the combination of two sub concepts, interdependence within and independence across modules (Baldwin and Clark 63). A module consists of elements that are strongly connected with each other and weakly connected with the elements in other modules. Although all modules are part of the same network, they function more independently from one another, whilst nodes within the same module are interdependent on each

other (Baldwin and Clark 63). Modules are indicated by Gephi with colors, whilst the size of nodes visualize the degree of interdependence within the module.

Figure 22 shows that the six largest modules all consisted of more than five nodes, and that the slave export network consisted of a total of nine subnetworks represented by the nine different colors in the graph. Consequently, the export network consisted of nine smaller sub-networks that were quite independent from one another, yet the slave owners in these subnetworks were more interdependent on each other. Some sub-networks were quite large like the purple and the black clusters, while for instance the dark green network consisted of only five slave owners. It further stands out that most nodes within one module are the same size, only the grey network has nodes of different sizes. The grey module is also somewhat peculiar as not all nodes within that network are interconnected, it could therefore also be seen as eleven very small modules. This translates into the conclusion that there was little difference in the degree of interdependence between the nodes in the six largest modules, and more variation of the degree of interdependence in the smaller modules.

Interestingly, several slave owners whom according to the degree analysis were the most influential, or at least the most connected, score low in the modularity analysis. Thomas Marin (light green module), Juan J. de Cartagena and Salvador de Castro (light blue) score very low on modularity, consequently there was a low degree of interdependence within their modules. Nicolas Mas, William Hendriquez, Antonio Cabaso, and Louisa Bertis de Cardona, who are all in the purple network, score high on both degree and modularity. Applying modularity statistics uncovers that the Puerto Rican slave owners who bought many enslaved persons were not all part of the same network, instead they were part of various sub networks that had very different structures. The aforementioned purple group is part of a more interdependent module. While the exporting slave owners in the light blue and light green networks are more independent from other actors. In practice this probably translated into the fact that the slave owners who sold to Marin, de Castro and de Cartagena probably only sold to them. The names connected to the edges that led to the nodes of Marin, de Castro and de Cartagena were all very small in the previous figure, meaning that these owners only sold an enslaved person once or twice within the scope of this research. All three aforementioned traders seemed have quite a pronounced preference for these one-time sellers, whilst most other influential traders were more interdependent on the sub network within their module. Lastly, most slave owners who exported to other destinations than Puerto Rico appear to have most frequently been part of modules with a low degree of interdependence, since they can mostly be found in the grey module.

Even though the two graphs of the entire network have given rise to a manyfold of new insights, it could be that even more actors were involved, most request letters were not written by the foreign slave exporters, which is quite logical as the might not have been fluent in Dutch. A third party often wrote the letters in their name, and this third party may also have been the person to buy the enslaved

people. Unfortunately, there is no evidence in my data to support that second claim, but it is not unthinkable that the person who wrote the letter for a foreign owner also assisted in other aspects of the export process. What does stand out in my data, however, is that many letter writes also stood surety for the same slave owners they wrote the letters for. Felix Vidal, for instance, wrote 15 letters through which the export permits for 72 enslaved persons were acquired. He wrote several request letters for Juan J. de Cartagena, Thomas Marin, and Nicolas Mas, who were described in this chapter as the key figures in the export network. It was not possible to expand beyond this observation in this research for two valid reasons. First, my data does not supply sufficient information of third parties in the export process beyond the fact that they wrote the request letters. Secondly, my research question is centered on the movement of the enslaved people, I therefore prioritized mapping their relocation patterns. Future research could, however, look into the role of these letter writers to see whether they were perhaps brokers in the slave exportation process. Willemstad's harbor registers could be very helpful in this regard, for they could answer the question whether foreign owners, who bought slaves on Curaçao and then exported them, actually set foot on the island themselves. If have scanned through a few pages of these registers during my research trip to Curaçao. The registers at first glance seemed to have tracked quite neatly who arrived in the harbor and who left it. Unfortunately, the timespan and scope of my research did not allow for a thorough scan of these registers, but future research could cease this opportunity.

Nevertheless, linking information about enslaved people in the export requests with the information about sale that was noted in the slave registers has rendered crucial new insights about the slave exportation network on Curaçao. Through the application of weighted degree analysis the most influential actors in the network have been identified. This type of analysis also showed that the slave owners who exported to Puerto Rico and Cuba functioned in a network with very different structures as those who exported to Suriname, St. Thomas, and Venezuela. Additionally, nine different modules within the export network have been identified through applying modularity analysis. The degree of interdependence within these modules varied greatly. Some influential slave owners were part of a module that was strongly interdependent. Yet, other prominent owners functioned within a module with a low degree of interdependence, hinting towards their inclination to buy from owners who only incidentally sold an enslaved person to an owner who would export this person.

Conclusion

This thesis attempted to answer the question **To what extent did slave movement networks exist around Curaçao in 1847-1855?**, by deploying several analytical methods.

Firstly, the treaties, law and regulations that guarded the movements of enslaved persons in the Dutch West Indies were analyzed. The pattern that emerged from this analysis showed the Dutch empire was under pressure of the British empire to tighten the rules with regard to slave trade. From the 1810s onward regulations with regard to slave trade became more strict. The primary focus of these laws was always on combatting the illegal transatlantic trade in African captives. Intra-Caribbean movement of enslaved persons who were born in the Dutch colonies was permitted when all prerequisites were met and permission from local Dutch authorities was obtained. Enslaved servants and sailors were subject to exceptions to some of those prerequisites such as the export tariff. When local colonial authorities gained the power to grant export permits in the 1830s, they had considerable influence on the practical application of these regulations. The flourishing export that existed in 1847 was effectively caped by new regulations that were installed in 1848. These new articles forbade slave exports that were not within the Dutch West Indian colonies. The export dataset does, however, show that several exceptions were made, as export permits to Venezuela, St. Thomas and Puerto Rico were still granted in small numbers.

Secondly, quantitative analysis has shown that personal attributes varied greatly depending on temporal and spatial factors. The vast majority of enslaved people in the data were sent to the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico in 1847. After this sharp peak in 1847, exports in the following years showed very different patterns. In 1847, Puerto Rico received almost double the amount of enslaved men as opposed to enslaved women, while the gender ratio in the entire dataset was nearly fifty-fifty. Other colonies, such as Suriname and St. Thomas, imported more enslaved women from Curaçao. Corresponding differences were observed for the ages of exported enslaved people. Among enslaved people that were shipped to Puerto Rico the age categories of twelve to eighteen and eighteen to 24 were the highest ranking. Although these age categories were also the most numerous for the entire dataset, other colonies show a very different pattern. Suriname for instance mostly received enslaved persons between the ages of zero and eighteen. The exceptionally high number of children for Suriname was due to the children of enslaved female servants that were exported together with their mothers. In short it can be concluded that Puerto Rico imported mostly men in their fittest ages in 1847, while other colonies imported mostly women of all ages, often together with their children, during

the 1848-1856 period from Curaçao. When analyzing the ships that brought these enslaved people to their destinations, it was observed that most ships flew the Spanish flag and sailed to Puerto Rico. Zooming in on vessels that transported more than five enslaved persons, brought forth the insight that these were all Spanish and Dutch ships. Moreover, the four highest ranking Spanish ships carried a little over half of all enslaved people in the data.

Thirdly, reconstructing the live courses for three different groups present in the data brought to light new insights into their roles within the network. The reconstructions of micro networks of children who were exported without their mothers showed these children were often separated from their mothers some sales before the sale to the foreign owner that exported them. Even though it was forbidden to separate enslaved children under twelve from their mothers through sale, both Curaçao-based owners and foreign owners showed little regard for this law. Moreover, the Governor General who granted the export permits seemed untroubled by the fact that laws were breached by exporting enslaved children without their mothers. The second case study compared and contrasted slave movements destined for Puerto Rico and Cuba. Slave owners from both colonies acquired enslaved people in Curaçao for the purpose of exporting them, these are clear signs of a slave trade network. Interestingly one of the Puerto Rican slave exporters was a black person, yet this is in line with academic literature on Puerto Rican demographics in the second half of the nineteenth century. It can be concluded with some certainty that several enslaved persons who were transferred to Puerto Rico and Cuba were send to areas where sugar cultivation was the main economic activity. Subsequently, it is probable they were exported to be put to work on sugar plantations. The story of Martha Maria and Simon who exported their nephew Francisco to Suriname to manumit him, illustrates that in exceptional cases the export network could be used to defy the dominant powers of slavery instead of enforcing them through displacement.

Fourthly, through linking the majority of records in the export dataset to records in the slave registers, the network of sales that occurred shortly before exportations could be documented. This network was visualized by applying SNA. A Graph that visualized the weighted degree of individual owners depicted that owners who exported to Puerto Rico had most relationships in the network, and could therefore be considered most influential. Additionally, this graph also visualized that the networks owners who exported to destinations other than Puerto Rico consisted of much fewer connections. Applying modularity brought more new insights. It showed there were nine subnetworks within the network. The degree of interdependence within these sub networks varied greatly. Most influential Puerto Rican slave exporters were

part of sub networks with a high degree of interdependence, while two were involved in subnetworks with low degrees of interdependence.

All four chapters combined paint a picture of an incredibly diverse slave movement network that existed around Curaçao in the 1847-1856 period. All actors present in the data have been considered, and they all reveal different kinds of slave movement, some clearly hint towards slave trade others paint a very different picture. Yet, if my analysis has shown one thing than it is that Curaçao was still a center in an intra Caribbean slave movement network during the 1847-1856 time frame. This research prompts many new questions about the roles of other slave movement centers in the Caribbean in the second half of the nineteenth century and their connections to Curaçao.

Some concrete suggestions for further research have already been given throughout this thesis. It is paramount to add, however, that future research would benefit greatly from digitally connecting all slavery-related archives in the Caribbean, preferably in a system that deploys Linked Open Data. Connecting these numerous archives through Linked Open Data would create ample new opportunities to research slave movements in the Caribbean after the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. Methodically, Social Network Analysis has significant potential to render novel insights into these complex interconnected historical networks. When Linked Open Data is used the relations between data from various archives can easily be connected to analyze the overarching network.

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*Two works were authored by Dr. Renkema, since they are often sighted in this thesis, the in text citations have been indicated with “Renkema1” for *De Export van Curaçaose Slaven 1819-1847* and “Renkema2” for *Het Curaçaose Plantagebedrijf in de Negentiende Eeuw.*