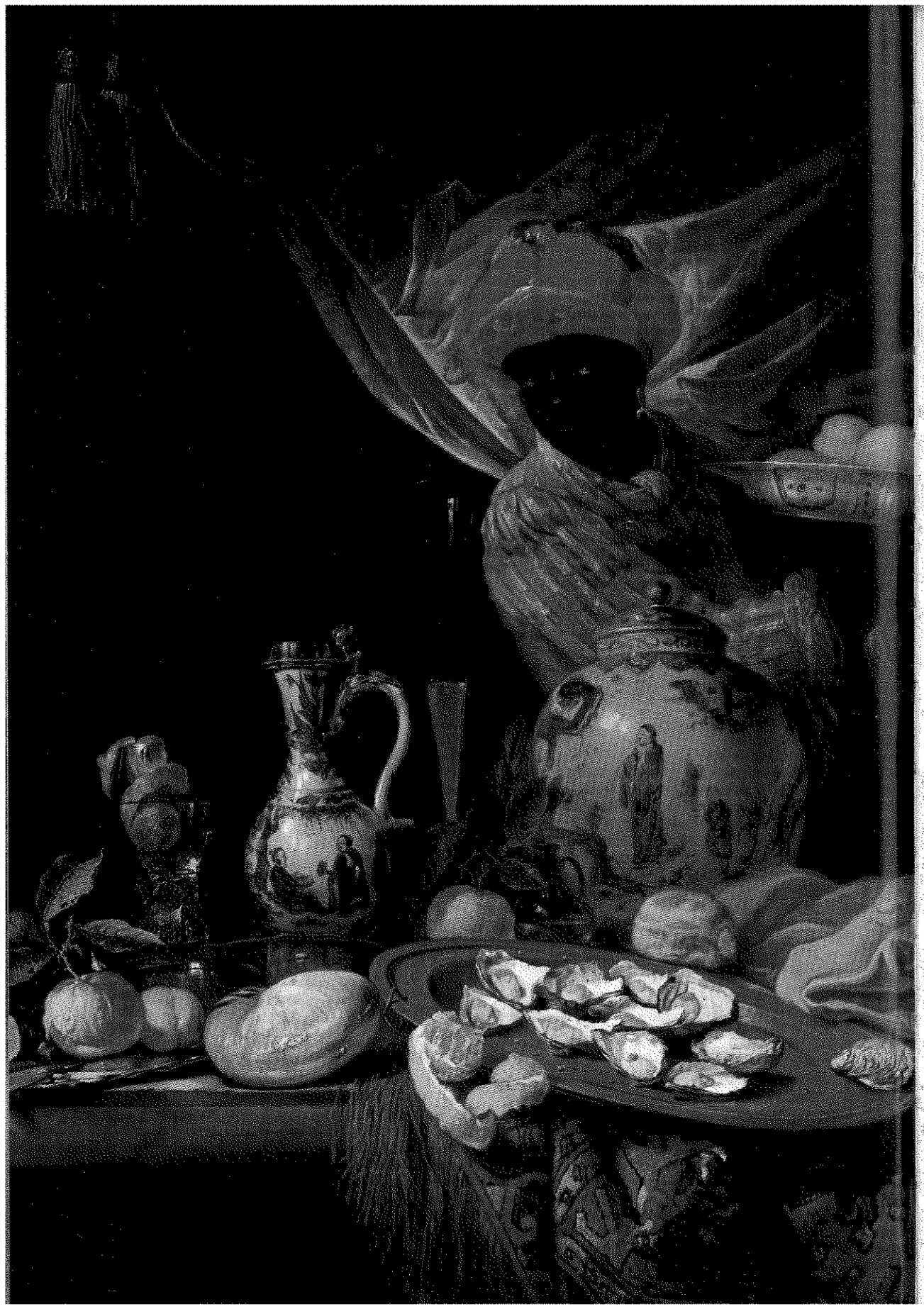

Julie Berger Hochstrasser

Still Life and Trade
in the Dutch Golden Age

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and fauna of Dutch Brazil, just as Barlaeus had exhorted merchants to do wherever they went.[199] But given what is known of his colony's deep investment in slave labor, the objections the moralists do raise seem all the stranger for their particular silence on the topic of slavery.

> To be sure, material *overvloed* (abundance) from any source could imperil a Republic founded on the ideals of piety and (for many, at least) Calvinist propriety. Dutch ministers of the seventeenth century inveighed ceaselessly against "money hounds" and vilified those "acts of cunning, dodges, deceits and deviltry" that (in the words of one Calvinist writer) were the mainstay of their trade. Yet the sins inherent to the Indies trade – financing on borrowed capital, banking on enormous profits, organizing on monopolistic principles – loomed particularly largely on the moralists' horizon. It was not, either, that its critics wanted fully to proscribe the American trade and the undeniable benefits it provided, so much as they hoped to circumscribe its most damnable practices and alert the godly Republic when fine intentions went awry . . . hence Udemans's ambivalence.[200]

However, it will already have been noted that Udemans's ambivalence did not extend to this most damnable practice of all.

As for New Holland, with the departure of Johan Maurits in 1644, things unraveled quickly.[201] By the following year, a Portuguese uprising broke out; between internal revolt by the Portuguese and outside support from the Spanish, one by one the remaining Dutch outposts fell back into Iberian hands.[202] By 1654, the profitable Dutch colony in Brasilia was only a memory, with the last Dutch "rights" bought out by salt (which was delivered) and money (which was disputed to the last days of the WIC).[203] To the end, it was a game of trade. Despite the loss of their Brazilian territory, however, the Dutch had found another way to capitalize still more directly on the thriving commerce in the Atlantic: the slave trade.

Slaves

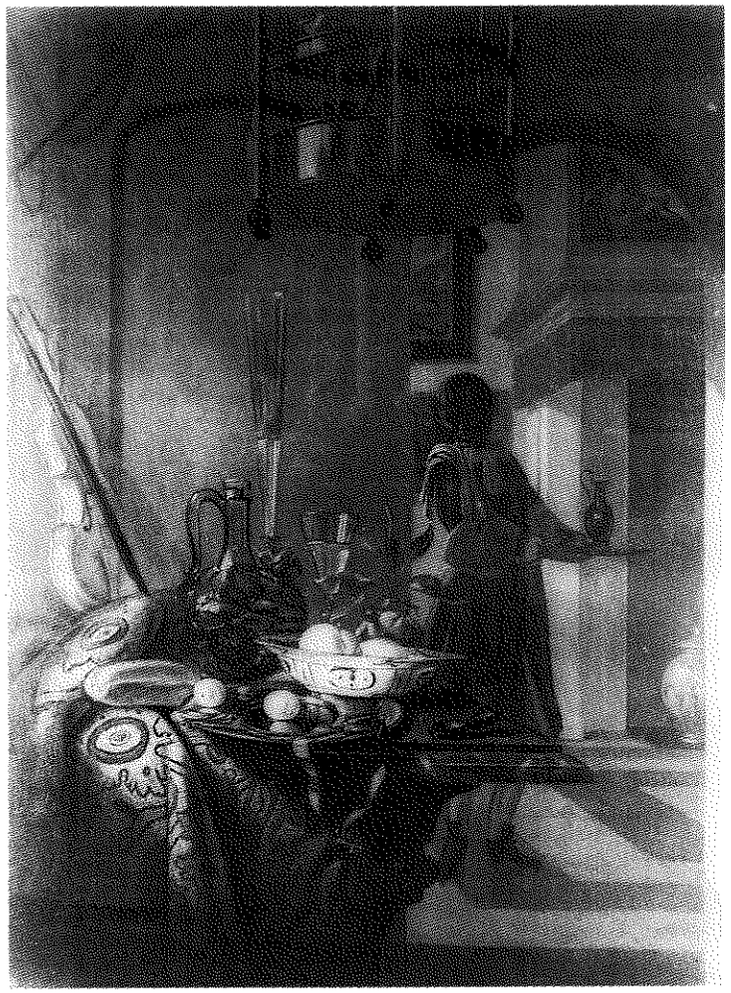
As far removed as the cool elegance of the *pronkstilleven* seems to be from the unthinkable realities of slave labor on Dutch plantations in the New World, it comes as a shock to discover that there are some pictures where the figure of a black African does make an appearance, right in the midst of all the familiar elements of Chinese porcelain, Turkish carpets, fine wines, Mediterranean fruits – all the products we have come to identify as commodities in the plying of Dutch trade. We already glimpsed him peeking around a column at the margins of de Heem's huge still life at mid-century (fig. 2); in Jurriaen van Streek's still life in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, we found him located still more firmly within the context – or perhaps the confines? – of still life, taking a much more central role, bearing a large China bowl of lemons and oranges

Detail of fig. 79.

117 Attributed to Jurriaen van Streek, *Moor with Nautilus Goblet, Porcelain, and Fruit*, formerly collection A. Kay, Edinburgh. Oil on canvas, $49^{1}/_{2} \times 54^{3}/_{8}$ in. (127 × 139.5 cm). Signed *AvB (Abraham van Beijeren)*.

behind a marble table spread with an oyster banquet (fig. 79).[204] Apparently painted several decades after de Heem's picture, this one places the servant right at the center of the action – in fact, he *is* the action. And his striped silk costume and distinctive crimson headgear contribute to the general air of luxury and exoticism stated also through the massive covered vase, the richly patterned carpet, and the flourish of drape drawn behind his head. But what is his role in this picture? What meaning does he bring to this lavish display?

Another painting attributed to Jurriaen van Streek, formerly in the Kay collection in Edinburgh, features another very dark-skinned "Moor," elegantly attired in a very European brocade coat, standing behind a massive marble table again heaped with fruit and porcelain, lifting a gold-mounted nautilus goblet the sheen of which stands out brilliantly against the dark backdrop (fig. 117).[205] Some connection between the pictures is obvious: while the two figures themselves are differently dressed and bear no close resemblance, the two large porcelain jars and the large fruitbowls with medallion-patterned exteriors do (compare also fig. 74).



118 H. van Streek, *Rich Interior with Still Life and a Moor*, Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Oil on canvas, $46^{3}/_{4} \times 37$ in. (120 × 95 cm), signed and dated 1686.

Another African servant in a costume almost identical to that of the figure in the Kay painting appears in a painting in the Hermitage (fig. 118). Dated 1686, this one is signed *H van Streek*, for Jurriaen's son Hendrick (1659–in or after 1720), who, like his father, worked in Amsterdam. This is a still life with a difference: now the painter has stepped back to command a view through the arched doorway beyond, where the servant enters bearing a silver ewer and plate.[206] The familiar fruitbowl reappears, and in this still life too a carpet has

119 Abraham van Tempel, *Portrait of the seacaptain Jan van Amstel and his wife Anna Boxhoorn*. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, signed and dated 1671.

been pulled back from a substantial marble table for an arrangement that this time includes not only fruit and wine but also a violin behind, a pocketwatch before, and a birdcage overhead.[207]

Is the birdcage in van Streek's scene, hovering over the servant's head, some allusion to his servitude?[208] The figures in all these scenes clearly play a servile role; miles away from their homes, their histories, they are subordinated to a setting that is familiar to Dutch still life. Deeply offensive as it is, like the foreign objects displayed in these still lifes, black Africans were lucrative commodities of the slave trade of the West India Company during the very period when these paintings were done, and they too are served up, almost as if on silver platters themselves, divorced from any details of the larger business of how they got there.

A portrait of the Dutch sea captain Jan van Amstel and his wife Anna van Boxhoorn painted by Abraham van Tempel (1622–1672) in 1671 (fig. 119) suggests a hint of that larger business, making visible what is conspicuously absent from any of the still lifes: it alludes more directly, if sparely, to the mechanism of the acquisition of commodities in particular and wealth in general. The "so-called vice-admiral"[209] appears in the full regalia of a sea officer complete with commander's staff in hand; he and his elegantly dressed wife sit before a balustrade where a thick curtain is drawn back to reveal a large sailing ship in the background. Again, a black servant bears a bowl of fruit, this time to Anna, who has taken one in her hand. Of course, the ship serves essentially as an attribute referring to the sea captain's means of livelihood, but its juxtaposition with the servant provides a fleeting glimpse of an otherwise largely undepicted story: of the means whereby so many Dutch burgers enjoyed the wealth pronounced by this portrait's grand architectural setting and rich garments.

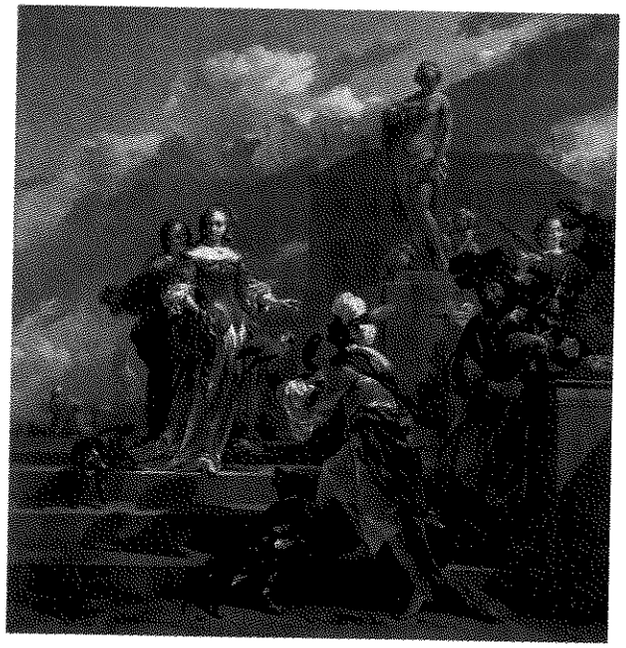
It could be taken as a sort of visual Freudian slip about the role of slavery in Dutch prosperity, forging a link simply and directly in a shorthand of images – from the ships at sea, to the black hands that provide exotic fruits, to the white wealthy who both command and consume them. In fact, van Amstel is neither a slavetrader nor a merchant, but rather a naval hero, veteran of several successful maritime campaigns under Admiral de Ruiter; H. F. Wijnman identifies the boat not as a trading vessel, but as a warship.[210] However, the interconnected nature of wars, trade, and affluence during this period gives a certain truth to the visual intuition.[211]

In fact, the inclusion of a Negro servant proves quite common in portraits of this period. Wijnman's discussion of Abraham van Tempel mentions him in the same breath as stylish Hague portraitists such as Jan Mijtens (*c.* 1614–1670) and Adriaen Hanneman (*c.* 1603–1671), who also exploited the artistic possibilities of contrasting the white skin of a Dutch lady with the black skin of an African youth.[212]

Although Wijnmans suggests that a portrait of Cornelis Tromp in fantasy costume painted by Mijtens in 1668 may have inspired Boxhoorn's commission of the portrait of her husband,[213] it is surprising that he does not mention the companion portrait of Tromp's wife, Margaretha van Raephorst, also painted the same year of 1668,[214] for the women's portraits share a still stronger common denominator: here too a young black boy attends the woman in the painting, now delicately cradling her milk-white hand (fig. 120).

120 Jan Mijtens, *Portrait of Margaretha van Raephorst*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Oil on canvas, 53 1/2 × 41 1/8 in. (136 × 104.5 cm), signed and dated *J A Mijtens F. AN 1668.*

Nor is the example unique. The pose of that servant's decorous attention to the languidly drooping hand had been used by Adriaen Hanneman in another portrait several years earlier, about 1664, of Maria Stuart.[215] Mijtens too had elsewhere exploited



121 Nicolaes Berchem, *A Moor Presenting a Parrot to a Lady*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection, inv. no. 1961.29. Oil on canvas, 37 × 35 in. (94 × 89 cm). Mid-1660s.

the contrast between light-skinned lady and dark-skinned servant, as in his portrait of Elizabeth Maria of Portugal of around 1665. And black servants continue to adorn portraits of Dutch sitters frequently over the century between 1650 and 1750.

Only rarely did the boys appear in such pictures as property of the sitters portrayed; research has found in most cases no connection between the servant and the portrait sitter in real life.[216] Moreover, the same figure could even be plugged into various portraits as needed; in other words, a black servant could always be painted into one's portrait whether or not the sitter retained one in fact. The evidence that really clinches this is a pair of portraits, by one painter, of different ladies, composed as almost mirror images of each other, with an identically dressed Moor conveniently recycled in each picture.[217] It is an appalling erasure of identity for the young man, recalling nothing so much as the substitution of another silver pitcher or velvet drape in a still life – yet in a grimly backhanded way it is also his tribute that he is brought in for the dignity and flare he bestows to the "sitter," whose portrait and identity have not been so utterly sundered. For Marisa Otte concludes that evidently the inclusion of a Negro servant in one's portrait became popular for the general air of luxury and prestige he brought the sitter, and for the visual variety he brought to the work. Just a few years after these examples were painted, Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678) advised painters in his *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst* (Introduction to the Advanced School of Painting) of 1678, regarding "de Omstandicheit, ofte bywerk" (elaboration, or finishing touches) in history paintings: "Variety, in many permutations arranged together, and finishing touches give the things a luster: so to me also any form of animal or plumed fowl, decorates the work: so the eye also finds pleasure sometimes by maidens to add a Moor."[218]

Otte points out that, while Hoogstraten is discussing history paintings here, the same rule could apply to portraiture as well, since it is not discussed as a separate genre in the *Inleyding*. The same considerations might be at work in

an extraordinary harbor scene by Nicolaes Berchem (1620–1683) entitled *A Moor Presenting a Parrot to a Lady* (fig. 121). Were it not dated to the mid-1660s, one might have thought it to have been composed directly in response to Hoogstraten's dictates. Here are all Hoogstraten's suggestions for visual variety rolled into one colorful conglomeration: the animals, the plumed fowl, and by maidens, the Moor. Even a familiar little snippet of still life makes its way into the picture on a parapet at right: the *roemer* of wine with lemon, as if by way of a nod to his father, Pieter Claesz. The figure of just such a refined lady commonly appears in other Italianate harbor scenes, but never elsewhere in such direct confrontation with a colorfully dressed Moor.[219] Of course, there is a great deal more here in body language alone: in the lady's casually commanding gesture, half dismissing the Moor with her turn of head; in the Moor's abjectly cowering submission, shielding his lips as if the parrot will speak for him; in the nude stone statue that suggestively mirrors the S-curve of the maiden's elegantly clothed body, as if to disrobe her before our very eyes – the visual record indicts the *mentalité* more summarily than could any amount of verbal discourse.[220]

122 *Brasilianisch Trarara*, Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha, Germany. Watercolor of blue and yellow macaw (*Ara* sp.) in Caspar Schmalkalden's *Reise*, probably copied from a painting by Albert Eckhout, c. 1642–5.

Apart from the art-theoretical notion of the *bijwerk*, it has been observed that "blacks in eastern costume with parrots often symbolized Africa," as in Olfert Dapper's *Historische Beschryvinge van Amsterdam* of 1663 reproduced earlier (fig. 3).[221] This is noted in regard to their presence in Italianate harbor scenes, but in such a context, it is in fact difficult to tease out how much of this is denotative symbolism and how much is artistic play along the lines of Hoogstraten's dictates.[222] Oddly, moreover, judging from the evidence of a period watercolour study in which an identically formed bird (though of the blue rather than the red variety) is clearly labeled as Brazilian (fig. 122), it seems the "parrot" offered by Berchem's Moor is actually a Brazilian macaw, so it is not consistent with the African origin of the figure himself.

But it is in just such displacements that one recognizes the very nature of the "exotic": Peter Mason formulates that removing something from its original cultural context into another is the very defining move that renders it such.[223] Surely that is one of the pictorial interests of Berchem's scene (that is, exoti-

cism for its own sake), though it packs far more potently insidious dynamics too in terms of race, class, and gender.

In still life, it is easy to recognize the kind of visual variety advocated by Hoogstraten's seventeenth-century dictate.[224] In these terms one could read the African youth in de Heem's *pronk* still life (fig. 2) precisely as a *bijwerk*, playing much the same role as the pair of tropical birds over his head: adorning the work with visual variety pleasing to the eye, just like the birds the artist also included elsewhere, as in the Florida still life of about 1655 (fig. 44).[225]

But far more than the South American birds, or even the Turkish carpet or the Spanish fruit, African slaves were a commodity of formidable importance to the Dutch trade economy in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[226] In fact, specifically during the years when the inclusion of blacks in still life, portrait, and genre paintings became popular in Holland, the trade in slaves had assumed a key position as the last remaining business of the Dutch West India Company.

That persons of color could signify more generally an association with the trading companies was confirmed by Gerard de Lairesse's suggestion in his *Groot Schilderboek* of 1707 that the profession of director of the East India Company can be indicated by painting "*mooren met olifantstanden*" (Moors with elephant's tusks) in a landscape with palms.[227] Thus our first response to Tempel's portrait of Jan van Amstel proves not so far-fetched; Otte notes that there are portraits known of administrators of the East and West India Companies and colonies where a page appears as a logical attribute, though these are nearly always blacks in European garb.[228]

Actually, anyone who even just *invested*, especially in the West India Company, also shared in the wealth slaves won in a very real fiscal way, and as already observed, that broadens the pool of associated individuals – or individuals who would make that association – dramatically. With regard to still-life painting, then, one could extrapolate from Lairesse's text that the inclusion of a black African could invoke the same logical associations with the colonies or the trading companies, bearing special significance not only for a company director, a colonial administrator, or a plantation owner, but also for a shareholder of the *partenrederij*, or any of the other numerous investors in the ventures overseas.

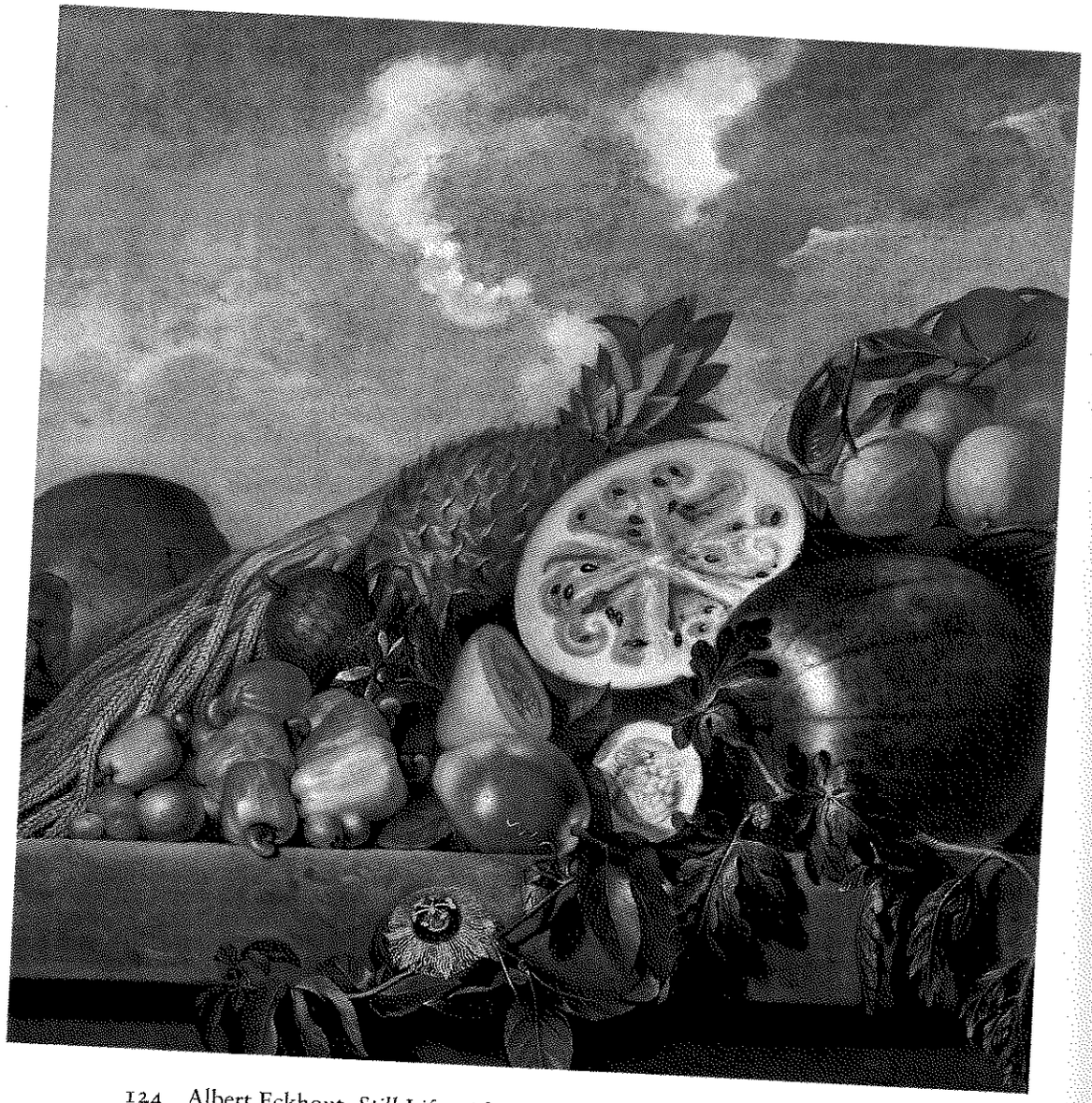
The still lifes examined in this book share a palpable Eurocentric feel.[229] Notwithstanding the variety of exotic elements that they gather together, they are grounded in that Dutch perspective. This becomes clearer by contrast with one obscure painting, auctioned in Berlin in 1926 but now lost, that combines an African figure with still life in an altogether different atmosphere from the comparatively stuffy air of the *pronkstilleven*. Its flavor is less distinctly Dutch, more exotic. Here a black woman peoples a still life of foreign fruits and flowers (fig. 123). It is tentatively attributed to Barend van der Meer (1659–between 1692 and 1703), but he was born in Haarlem and joined the guild there in 1681, moving to Amsterdam probably in the year of his marriage, 1683; there is no known record of his having traveled abroad. This assortment of tropical

123 Attributed to Barend van der Meer or Gregorius de Coninck, *Fruit Still Life with a Black Servant*, Auction Berlin (Lepke), 3-23-1926, no. 96. Oil on canvas, 49 1/2 × 69 3/4 in. (127 × 179 cm).

fruits and blossoms is more reminiscent of the still lifes painted by Albert Eckhout (*c.*1610–1666) in Brazil (fig. 124).[230] Likewise, the woman's loosely gathered blouse and light shawl, the basket she bears on her head, and the open air behind her, all conspire with the abundant heap of unusual fruits to evoke the feel of a far-off place. Within the small subgenre of still lifes with black servant, she is defined by her difference: first and uniquely, she is a woman; moreover, she looks more of the New World than inserted into the Old.

The unusually fresh air of this scene is also completely unlike the dark interiors of the numerous, more identifiably Dutch examples – the type they constitute being further defined by a contrast even more extreme: the so-called "ethnographic portraits" commissioned by Johan Maurits in Brazil and painted by Eckhout. Part of a series of the various peoples living in Brazil, one depicts a mother and child apparently from the Gold Coast of West Africa (fig. 125), paired in a pendant with a male figure probably meant as her mate.[231] Gone are the trappings of rich Dutch bourgeoisie: here they stand outdoors and bare-breasted. These ethnographic observations convey nothing of the horror of the slave trade and the murderous labor to which Africans were subjected upon their arrival in the New World, yet they do come much closer to representing the reality of the majority of the Africans who encountered Dutchmen during this period than that presented in the very refined atmosphere of the *pronkstilleven*.[232]

However, the African family do not seem to be placed at the bottom of the implicit hierarchy discriminating various levels of "civilization" in Eckhout's series. While another pair depicts mulattoes, who seem highest within the hierar-

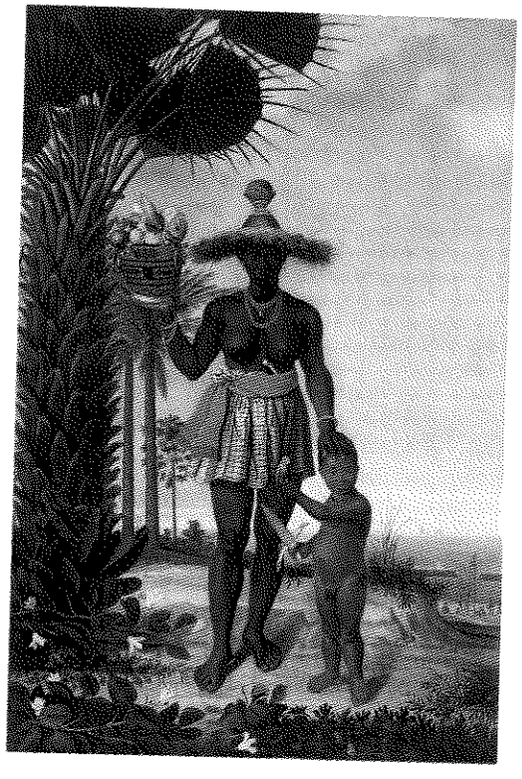


124 Albert Eckhout, *Still Life with Tropical Fruits*, National Museet, Etnografisk Samlung, Copenhagen. Oil on canvas, $36^{5}/_{8} \times 35^{3}/_{8}$ in. (93 × 90 cm). From a series of twelve paintings of Brazilian foods, *c.* 1641.

chy given both their more Westernized styles of dress and the visibly cultivated plantation background, a third pair depicts members of the indigenous so-called "Tapuya" (actually the Tarairiu),[233] who are evidently relegated to the lowest rank both by their nudity and by the visible spoils of cannibalism: the "Tapuya" woman holds a severed human hand, while a foot protrudes from her backpack.[234]

It is possible that the African servants in still-life paintings bore no more specific associations for the viewer than the generally luxurious flavor of their exotic origins, or the prestige and status associated with retaining servants from afar. But the fact remains that in the very years when they were most popularly depicted in still life and portrait alike, sub-Saharan Africans were also themselves a valuable commodity in Dutch trade. One wonders how present this consideration would have been for viewers of such pictures at the time – after all, Nieuhof's description of his trip to Brazil, published in 1682 and accessible to the armchair traveler, coolly reviews the cash value of African slaves there in good or bad times:

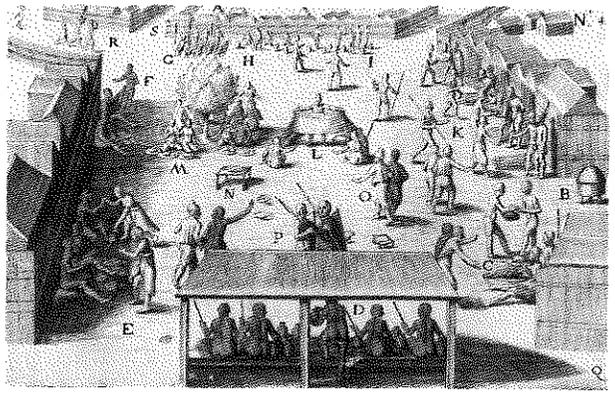
> These Negros or blacks come mostly out of the kingdoms of the Congo, Angola and Guinea. The best and hardest working of them cost in good times seventy, eighty, even a hundred or more pieces of Eight. Occasionally there are some that are even sold for fourteen or fifteen hundred guilders: if they are especially well trained. But in bad times they are valued at scarcely forty pieces of Eight.[235]



125 Albert Eckhout, *West African Woman with Child*, National Museet, Etnografisk Samlung, Copenhagen. Oil on canvas, 105 × 70 in. (267 × 178 cm). *c.* 1641.

The Dutch played a major role in the transport of slaves from the West African coast to the Americas, from the explosion of their Atlantic slave trade in the 1640s and for nearly a century thereafter;[236] so to fully address the implications of black Africans as commodities in Dutch still life therefore requires an excursus on this slave trade itself.

When Dutch merchants began frequenting the West African Coast in the 1590s, their main interest was not slaves but African gold.[237] In 1591, the Dutch Captain Barent Ericzoon discovered the commercial opportunities on the West African coast while imprisoned by Portuguese on the African island of Principe; with the small company he organized upon his return to Holland in 1593, a regular trade link was established between Holland and Africa.[238] Pieter de Marees's *Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Guinea anders de Gout-custe de Mina genaemt* . . . (Description and historical account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea otherwise known as the Gold Coast of Mina . . .), published in 1621, illustrates a market in Guinea in which Dutch traders are found side by side with African and other merchants (fig. 126).



126 A market in Guinea. Engraved illustration from Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinghe ende historische verhael van het Gout Koninckrijck van Guinea anders de Gout-custe de Mina genaemt*, 1621.

The exportation of slaves both to Europe[239] and to Spanish colonies across the Atlantic[240] had been a long-standing Portuguese monopoly.[241] Initially the Dutch were opposed, it seems, to trading in human beings. In 1596, the Rotterdam skipper Pieter van der Haagen sailed into the harbor of Middelburg with 130 "moors and mooresses" to sell as slaves, but the city council determined after lengthy debate that the people must be set free.[242] G. A. Bredero's (1585–1618) 1615 play *Moortje* (Little Moor) has a young man openly condemn the slave trade conducted by Amsterdam merchants, apparently most likely Sephardic Portuguese Jews still trading with the Portuguese in Pernambuco, Brazil: "Inhuman use! Ungodly villainy! That one sells men into beastly slavery! Even here in this town [there are men] who conduct such trade in Pernambuco: but it shall not remain hidden from God."[243]

However, Pieter Emmer and Ernst van den Boogaart judge that to be slim evidence for any truly substantive objection to slavery among the Dutch populace.[244] In any case, as Spruit wrily observes, this position reversed abruptly when the West India Company tried to establish colonies of their own in the New World.[245]

Notwithstanding several sporadic slaving incidents, it was only with the conquest of Brazil that the Dutch really felt themselves in need of African manpower for the grueling labor on their own plantations and hence were drawn into the transatlantic slave trade on a regular basis and, eventually, a large scale:

> The WIC directors initially had little interest in the slave trade. But this changed drastically after the WIC had acquired a plantation colony in northern Brazil in 1630, only nine years after the foundation of the company. No contemporary record is found concerning consultations with theologians; apparently economic incentives were sufficient to brush aside whatever moral scruples might initially have precluded the company from participating in the slave trade.[246]

The swift change of heart is seen in the example of Willem Usselincx (1567–1647), one of the founders of the West India Company, quoted early on as saying of the Negro, "this people works only as long as the cane is at their backs."[247] Initially he wanted to see Dutchmen working on the plantations, maintaining: "One man of this land shall accomplish more work than three Blacks,

who cost a great deal of money."[248] But he changed his opinion quickly to choose also in favor of slavery. Clearly the majority opinion was that, as governor Johan Maurits reported to his Company superiors in 1638, "It is not possible to effect anything in Brazil without slaves . . . and they cannot be dispensed with upon any consideration whatsoever: if anyone feels that this is wrong, it is a futile scruple."[249] The "ungodly villainy" Bredero had condemned in "Farnabock" was now conceded in a similar judgment penned to the Lord Directors in 1640 about Pernambuco, then one of the principal "sugar captaincies" of the Dutch territory in Brazil: "Without Negroes and oxen nothing can be expected from Pernambuco."[250] He spells out the link in still more directly material terms: "The fruits of the land can never be secured or garnered save through their work; and consequently there is not the smallest doubt that the more slaves are imported, the better will the land be cultivated, and the greater will be the Company's profits, which in these last years would have been twice as great if more slaves had been imported."[251]

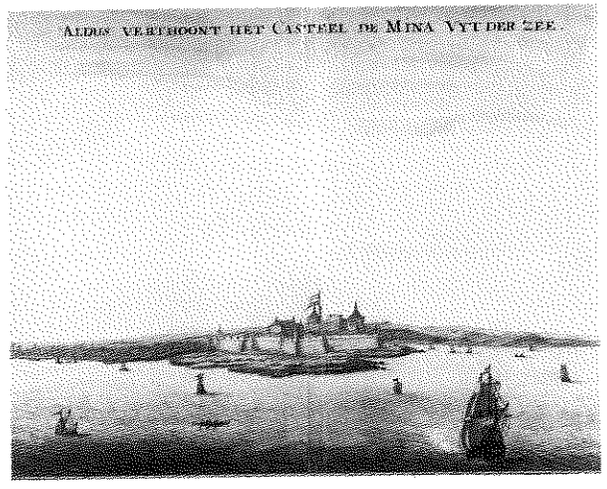
More pointedly, eight years later, Padre Antonio Vieira wrote: "Without Negroes there is no Pernambuco, and without Angola there are no Negroes."[252]

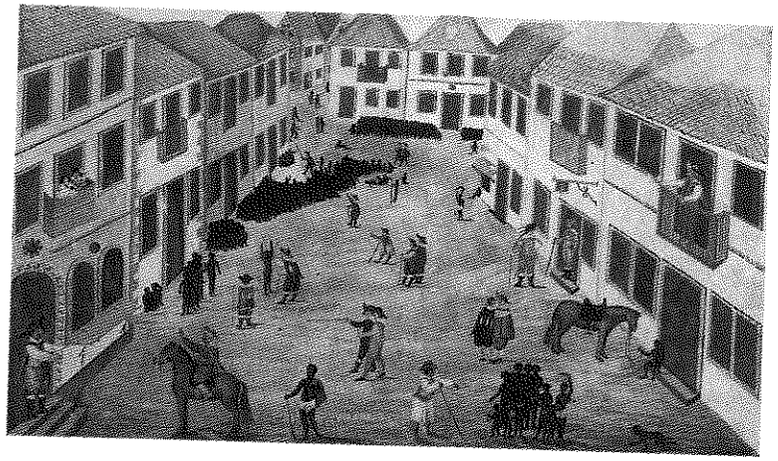
So it is no surprise that it was a fleet commissioned by the WIC authorities in Dutch Brazil that had made the drive to capture the Portuguese ports in West Africa. In 1637, they had finally succeeded in ensuring the Dutch their own regular supply of slaves by capturing the main Portuguese stronghold on the African coast: the castle at Elmina, illustrated complete with Dutch flag atop its ramparts and Dutch battleship in the foreground in a pen drawing of about 1644 attributed to Johannes Vingboons (fig. 127).[253] By 1642, these forces had captured the last of the coastal stations controlled by Portugal to become the dominant nation on the African coast.[254]

Life was miserable for the Dutch stationed in these West African "factories"; as elsewhere, Company employees attempted to continue their Dutch lifestyle without any concessions to the climate and the circumstances.

> Life was horrible, frightful. Men died like rats, of unknown tropical diseases or were weakened by the murderous climate . . . Out of fear and boredom, the men turned to drink and native women and tried in all sorts of ways to get rich. They kept themselves alive with dreams about their return in great prosperity, a dream which became reality for only a very few.[255]

127 Attributed to Johannes Vingboons, *The Castle of Elmina*, Nationaal Archief, Amsterdam. Colored pen drawing, *c.* 1644.





128 Slave market in the Jodenstraat in Mauritsstad, Brazil. Illustration from the *Thierbuch* of Zacharias Wagener, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett. Pen and ink with watercolor on paper, *c.* 1640.

However unpleasant it was for the poorly paid soldiers and sailors in the employ of the Company, it was nothing short of barbaric for the souls bought and traded there and shipped off into slavery.[256] A glimpse at the depressing entries in the daily register of the castle at Elmina conveys something of both. On February 28, 1645, it announced the arrival of a yacht with 156 Negroes of whom several were already dead. In March it declared that if the blacks did not return the straw mattresses and duffelbags robbed from some sailors, the Negro village would be set on fire. In April two soldiers were imprisoned for fighting with each other; one died a week later as a result of his wound. The same month one slave gave birth, while another young one drowned in the river, and another was found on the beach beaten to death; three others, "presumably the murderers," had escaped. Meanwhile, yet another yacht arrived with 502 slaves, of which 156 *stuks* (pieces) were sent to Brazil. One May night, two watchmen were found dead drunk at their post, one having been struck and wounded for it; the following month eight sailors were imprisoned for skipping prayer service. On July 21 the Company paid "the usual fine" to a native prince because a Company slave had slept with one of his wives; the grim notation of the following day fixed the tone: *"Onstuimig, regenachtig, lelijk weer."* (Stormy, rainy, awful weather.)[257]

The grim conditions at Elmina were only the beginning of the nightmare for the men, women, and children bought by the traders, branded with a hot iron, and crowded into the dark holds of slaveships for a long and often fatal voyage into the unknown. In a report of January 4, 1639, slavetrader Joost Beydaels gave several tips on how to minimize the death of slaves during the journey.[258] The West India Company even hired doctors exclusively to maintain the health of the slaves, though Johannes Postma charges this was fundamentally motivated less by humanitarian concerns than by commercial ones, to minimize losses from sickness and death.[259] Even so, such fatalities were considerable: as high as one in four.[260] Beside an illustration of the slave market in the Jodenstraat in Mauritsstad, Brazil, dating to about 1640, the artist – a German soldier with some artistic talent whom Johan Maurits encouraged – noted how "the poor people, half dead from hunger and thirst, came crawling out of the stalls like swine or sheep to be sold" (fig. 128).[261] In contrast, Nieuhof's coldly pragmatic remarks about slaves dying off in crowded Company warehouses support the allegation that commercial priorities prevailed over any human concern: "Also one absolutely had to sell the Negros; because otherwise not only did they stay in warehouses, to the hindrance of the magazines; but furthermore died off daily, to the disadvantage of the Company."[262]

Yet even in the face of this atrocity, Johan Maurits himself, the much-loved "Humanist Prince" of the colony of New Holland from 1637 to 1644, had himself portrayed with black servant in attendance (fig. 129) – a measure of how deeply assumed was the racism whereby this hierarchy could be institutionalized. Postma reminds us that the abominations of the slave trade may not have seemed so outrageous given the times.[263] And Dutch handlers were purportedly more careful of their slaves than others – Nieuhof's comments on the handling of the slaves in Brazil portray the Dutch as somewhat more restrained than their Portuguese predecessors: "By the Portuguese these slaves were handled as unreasoning beasts and disciplined without mercy. One must also not be too common with them: otherwise they misuse the goodness: but moderately punished, they are best ruled."[264]

129 Pieter Nason, *Portrait of Johan Maurits van Nassau*, National Museum in Warsaw. Oil on canvas, $91^{1}/_{3} \times 67^{1}/_{3}$ in. (232 × 171 cm), 1666.

In the first years after the establishment of New Holland, few slaves were imported, but by 1637 trafficking was established.[265] The WIC employed Portuguese merchants to provide expertise, and with the capture of Elmina in 1637 assuring a base for operations on the west African coast, the foundation was laid for the Dutch to provide a steady

supply of slaves for the colonies in the New World. An average of 1500 slaves per year were imported to New Holland consistently from 1636 to 1641.[266] Over the succeeding four years, with the West India Company at the height of its power, the flow peaked, over 5,000 slaves being shipped there in 1644 alone[267] – an increase that, as Postma notes, was clearly linked to Dutch expansion in Africa and Brazil.[268] Crucial in this expansion was what some authors call the "sugar revolution": the introduction of sugar cultivation from Brazil to the Caribbean islands.[269] As noted, sugar plantations required extensive cheap labor and, in turn, brought the planters sufficient returns to enable them to purchase large numbers of slaves.[270] The growth in the slave population on the island of Barbados illustrates this clearly: between 1641 and 1645 the number of slaves there had increased from several hundred to approximately 6,000.[271]

The Hoge Raad that came to power after the departure of Johan Maurits was not as agreeable with the chiefly Portuguese population of New Holland.[272] The Portuguese settlers or *Moradores* rebelled against the WIC administration in 1645, and piece by piece the Dutch holdings were lost to Portugal; Recife was the last stronghold to surrender, in 1654.[273] But as this market receded, others grew more important. Between 1646 and 1648 the WIC sold 2,300 slaves to the planters of São Thomé, but it was with acquisition of the traditionally Portuguese markets in the Spanish American colonies that the Dutch replaced the market they had lost in New Holland and re-entered the slave trade on a large scale.[274] They supplied these markets by way of the island of Curaçao,[275] which in the late 1650s became a major center for the Atlantic slave trade, supplying Spanish mainland colonies through Spanish government contracts known as *asientos*.[276]

Before 1640, the *asiento* trade had been dominated by the Portuguese, since they were the only ones with bases in Africa, and after 1713 the English held control; but there was intense competition over the *asiento* in the years in between, in which the Dutch largely held sway. When Portugal achieved her independence in 1640, Spain suspended the *asiento* system, but the licensing process that replaced it proved ineffectual in restricting illicit trade: in 1658, the Dutch illegally delivered to various points in the Caribbean some 1,700 slaves – a volume not reached again until they signed their own *asientos* in the 1660s. So in 1662, the Spanish reinstated the *asiento*, to renew the revenues for the crown. Although they first contracted with two Genoese merchants, they were obliged to rely primarily on Dutch suppliers; in that year alone an estimated 2,500 slaves were supplied by the WIC.[277] Dutch control increased gradually, until in time the Dutch banker Balthazar Coymans was appointed as the administrator of the *asiento*. Between 1663 and 1667 nearly 3,600 slaves were shipped from Curaçao to the Spanish colonies.[278] In 1667, the WIC signed a still bigger contract, for nearly 4,000 slaves per year, with a similar one the following year; Curaçao was now the biggest slave depot in the Caribbean.[279]

Slightly later reports on conditions in Curaçao also attest to the abominable realities of conducting a trade in human beings. In 1726, it was reported to the West India Company that the slave house in the Waterfort on Curaçao that measured 18 by 7 meters could contain 400 to 450 slaves: the men stayed on the first floor, the women and children on the ground floor. Mortality rates soared with the crowded conditions, not only after arrival, but on the ships as well. It is recorded that of the cargo of the *Steenhuizen* arriving in Curaçao in 1735, 146 slaves died along the way and in the harbor: 101 of bellyache, 14 from fever, 3 from scurvy, 4 from sleeping sickness, 3 from pleurisy, 2 from tuberculosis, and finally 10 more "suddenly" and 9 "slowly pining away."[280]

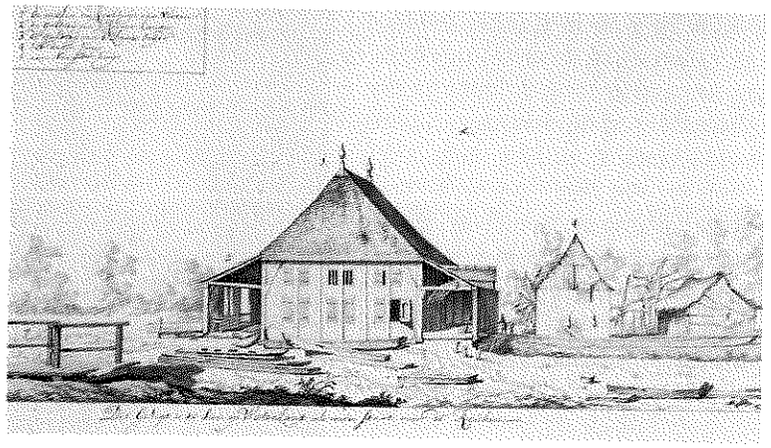
However, it was the Dutch plantation colony of Suriname, on the "Wild Coast" of Brazil, that was known as the place where life was especially bad for slaves.[281] Work on the sugar plantations was the most difficult of all: by comparison, household slaves had a far easier time. Yet plantation law prohibited any slaves from tasting the sweet product of their labors.

130 F. Otto, engraved frontispiece for Maria Sibylla Merian's *Dissertation sur la generation et les transformations des insectes de Suriname*, 1726.

> The other danger is that should a Negro dare to taste that Sugar which he produces by the Sweat of his Brow, he would run the hazard of paying the expense by some hundred lashes, if not by the breaking out of all his teeth . . . As to the Breaking out of their Teeth for Tasting the Sugar Cane Cultivated by themselves, or Slitting up their nose and Cutting off theyr ears from private Peek, these are Look'd upon as Laughable Trifles, not Worth so much as to be mention'd.[282]

So harsh was their lot that slaves risked inconceivable tortures to flee from the plantations into the surrounding jungles, despite routine hunts to recapture them.[283]

One need not belabor the point to establish clearly that the horrific realities of slavery were at the farthest remove from the genteel depictions of *pronkstilleven*. But it is possible that the situation for the slaves in Dutch colonies was not widely known in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. Even at the opening of the eighteenth century, Maria Sibylla Merian's artwork in Suriname centered only on native plants and insects, offering a gentle picture of minute focus; the frontispiece for her book is peopled not with slaves but with milky white cherubs (fig. 130).



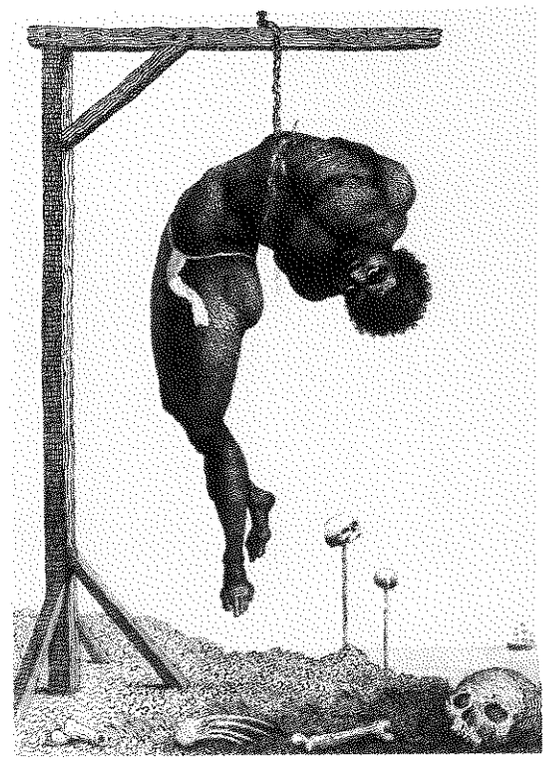
131 Dirk Valkenburg, *Plantation Waterland*, Rijksprentenkabinett, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Drawing, $7^{1}/_{2} \times 13^{1}/_{3}$ in. (19.2 × 33.9 cm), 1708.

Nor do Dirk Valkenburg's charming views of Suriname from the early 1700s hint at any of those beastly cruelties, as we have seen. Even when they depict the sugar-making facilities (fig. 114), his drawings are cool, detached, even delicate; his view of Plantation Waterland (fig. 131) is dispassionately labeled: "This view of Waterland is seen by standing before the kitchen. 1 the mill and boiling house from the front. 2 the gallery on the river side. 3 the gallery on the land side. 4 the distillery. 5 a slave house." Yet its matter-of-fact tone belies untold narratives, for it was drawn in 1708, only a few years after the plantation driver, Ayakô, had escaped into the bush.[284]

It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that the physical atrocities of Dutch slavery really appeared in the visual record.[285] John Gabriel Stedman (1744–1797), the British mercenary soldier hired to help quell a slave revolt in Suriname who wrote and illustrated a narrative of his expedition, presents a horrifying account of atrocities against colonial slaves witnessed during his stay from 1772 to 1777.[286] The published book was provided with engravings after Stedman's drawings, some by the now-eminent English printmaker William Blake (1757–1827). So for example Stedman quoted and gruesomely illustrated (fig. 132) a confirmed 1773 eyewitness description that makes immediate the visceral realities:

> I saw a black man hang'd alive by the ribs, between which with a knife was first made an incision, and then clinch'd an Iron hook with a Chain – in this manner he kept living three days hanging with his head and feet downwards and catching with his tongue the drops of water (it being in the rainy season) that were flowing down his bloated breast who the vultures were picking in the putred wound.[287]

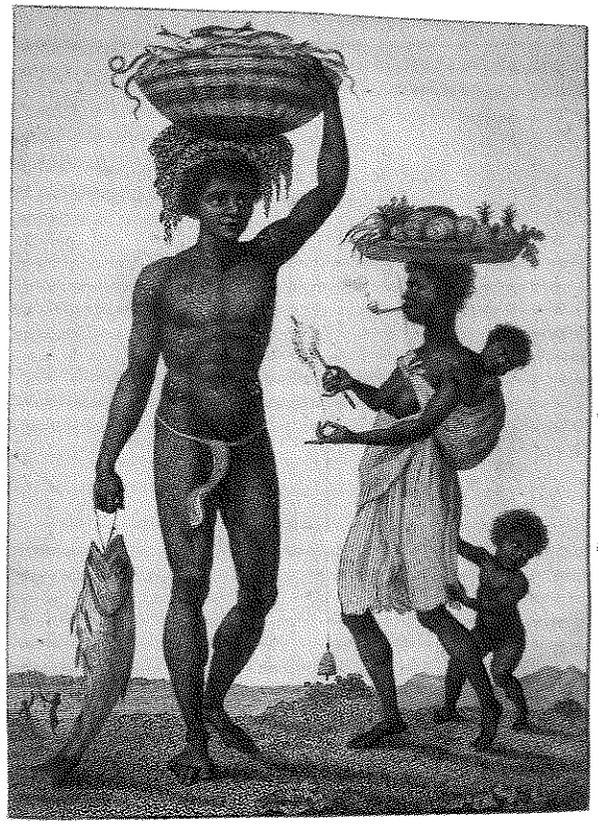
Notwithstanding his clear expression of compassion for the fate of such victims, even Stedman leaves us with a deeply ambiguous message: the suffering of the slave revolt is contrasted sharply with a more peaceful status quo implicitly on offer in a "properly" functioning slave society. The caption for a picture of a "Family of Negro Slaves from Loango" is transparent: "a Negro family in that State of Tranquil Happiness to which they [slaves] are all entitled When they are Well treated by their Owners" (fig. 133). Still Stedman's account remains almost unique in its graphic depiction of the cruelties of slavery. In fact, throughout this history of slavery, it appears that the only frank reports of its dark side are recorded by outsiders: the Fleming de Bry indicting the Spanish (fig. 107), the German Wagenaer implicating Dutch Brazil (fig. 128), and the Scot Stedman and the Englishman Blake unmasking Dutch Suriname (fig. 132).



132 Engraving by William Blake after a drawing by John Gabriel Stedman, based on a 1773 eyewitness description, from Stedman, *Reize naar Suriname*, 1796.

It appears to be the case that those who knew full well how abominable the treatment of the slaves really was, justified it as an economic necessity.[288] One Dutch trader stationed on the African coast around 1700 defended the branding of the slaves after they were sold by Africans to the Dutch in just these terms: "I doubt but this Trade seems very barbarous to you, but since it is followed by mere necessity it must go on; but we yet take all possible care that they are not burned too hard, especially the Women, who are more tender than the Men."[289] And business being business, Dutch participation in the slave trade only intensified toward the end of the seventeenth century. During the 1670 *asiento* of Portuguese merchant Antonio Garcia, they came to monopolize the delivery of slaves to the Spanish colonies.[290] An Austrian scholar estimates that more than 4,200 slaves were sent to Curaçao annually between 1668 and 1674, about half of them going to the *asiento* trade.[291]

When the WIC faced bankruptcy in 1674, the old company was dissolved, but a new one was promptly formed in its stead – because, in Postma's assessment, "it was agreed that the interests of the Republic were best served by a monopolistic organization."[292] The slave trade had become the mainstay of the



133 *Happy Family from Loango*, after a drawing by John Gabriel Stedman, from Stedman, *Reize naar Suriname*, 1796.

company, as their own documents emphasize repeatedly from the 1670s onward; by the turn of the century, it seems to have been taken quite for granted: "And since the slave trade has always been considered, and always should be, one of the biggest and chief concerns of the company, we should time and time again pay good attention to it, continue it, and preserve it."[293]

The Spanish authorities wanted Dutch permission to obtain their own slaves directly from the African coast, but the WIC refused; for several years Spain denied them the *asiento*, although intensive smuggling continued.[294] In the end the Spanish were forced to return to the WIC, evidently unable to secure an adequate supply of slaves elsewhere. In the autumn of 1678 the *asiento* went to two Seville merchants, who again contracted with the Company as the most reliable suppliers.[295] Their first contract in 1679 called for 6,500 slaves to be delivered to Curaçao, and similar contracts were signed consistently for the next eight years. Between 1680 and 1688 approximately 2,250 slaves per year went to Curaçao and from there to the Spanish colonial ports.[296] But after the Coymans *asiento* terminated in 1687, the Dutch participation (although it continued for several more decades) was only secondary; in the 1690s, the Portuguese regained the upper hand, followed by the French in 1701 and finally the English in 1713.

In review, then, some of the most active and stable periods of WIC involvement in the *asiento* trade were from 1662 to 73 and then from 1679 to 87. Of the portrait and still-life paintings produced in the Netherlands including Africans, most of the dated examples discussed here fall into this very time frame: precisely at the point when their commodity value was most firmly established in Dutch trade. The sense of display of exotic luxury in general, and more specifically of the riches gleaned through trade, is in every way supported by the facts of this case too. Just like the Indian pepper and Chinese porcelain, Caribbean salt and Baltic grain, Mediterranean fruits and French wine that

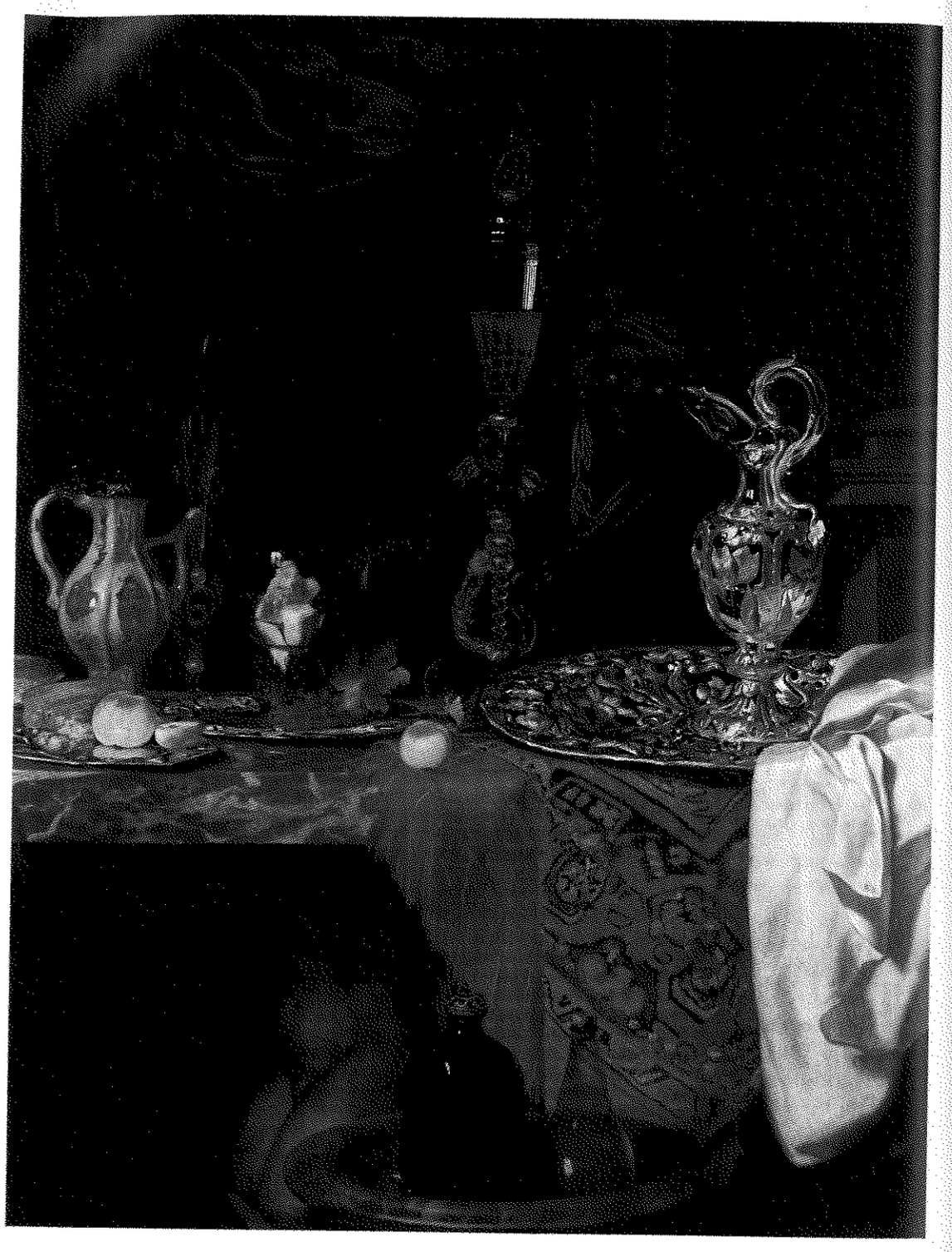
share the canvases with these silk-clad figures, black slaves were one more exotic commodity in the flourishing Dutch trading empire.[297]

Both Spruit and Postma point out that for moral exoneration, those concerned with the slave trade would have turned to whatever ministers would have obliged them with what they wanted to hear; Calvinists justified slavery generally under the "curse of Ham" theory.[298] Udemans's long-winded justification for slavery "in the Indies," already examined, could apply not only to indigenous slaves in the East Indies, such as the islanders of Banda enslaved on their own land, but also to African slaves hauled to the West Indies.[299] Anyone who wonders how the calculating commercial considerations that obviously dominated the operations of the West India Company could possibly have had the last word in this wholesale trafficking of human souls need only review Udemans's exhaustive vindications of the institution of slavery.[300] Right in the place where one would most expect to find some register of moral scruples regarding slavery, they are utterly absent.[301]

The elegant still lifes with black servant quietly allow this too; they even underscore and enhance it. If these artists had wanted to moralize about excess in consumption, any such message is rendered ambivalent here in this wordless realm; if they had really wanted to moralize, there is so much more they could have moralized about here that goes unaddressed. De Heem's grand still life with the black servant peeking around a pillar (fig. 2) does much more to marginalize the figure than to include him, more to reify him along with the opulent still life on the table than to acknowledge in any way his substantive role in its achievement. Then again, those pictures that place him more centrally are just as unnerving for locating him so firmly within the context of other still-life commodities (fig. 79).

The slave trade demonstrates the farthest extreme of abasement that diet and commerce could conspire to instigate. In serving exotic luxuries on elegant tables, this visual discourse of the seventeenth century compliantly offered hard-won commodities in a display that is implicated by its silence: it remains for the most part pleasantly, comfortably devoid of any of the more sordid details of the vast mechanism of global trade whereby they were acquired.[302] What is at stake here is the role of this imagery in the formation and perpetuation of a particular *mentalité* that one could call facile consumption.

Yet there are curious cracks in this self-assured façade. Another odd painting by Barend van der Meer is one such image (fig. 134). It is again a *pronk* still life, complete with gleaming silver, exotic porcelain and fruit and carpet, all presented on a hefty and richly veined slab of marble that undergirds the opulence of the display. And here in the background is another African boy, this time almost lost in the darkness behind the dramatically lit scene. In fact, one can pick him out of the murk only by the gleam of his eyes; they catch the same highlights as the ornate auricular ornament of the large silver vase before him that holds his gaze. His mouth gapes as if in awe of its richness, revealing a few white teeth, while a pearl on his ear captures a glint still softer than the



134 Barend van der Meer, *Finely Laid Table with a Moor*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Oil on canvas, $58^{7}/_{8} \times 45^{5}/_{8}$ in. (150.7 × 117.6 cm), signed *B van der meer f*, *c.* 1675–80.

whites of his eyes, and the pale cloths around his neck and forehead just emerge from the shadows; other than that, his figure is shrouded in darkness. Here is not the confident servant striding forward, but rather a much more hesitant presence. Is it a hesitancy to which one should attribute significance? Also half-shrouded in the painting's inky periphery is a sculpted marble figure, crouched to bear the massive weight of the tabletop that overshadows it. Again the viewer is arrested: is one to read a message from this conjuncture, between this cold marble body stooped beneath its load, and this young man with his anxiously averted gaze?

The popularity of these pictures certainly did not suffer for their pleasant comforts. If still lifes of the laid table might have entertained some ambivalence about luxurious consumption for those already so inclined, they made few such overt moves to drive home the point of the human cost at which these luxuries were won. Certainly all this is hindsight – and moralizing in the extreme – yet it is an aspect of this visual culture that remains central to its mute stance as specifically visual imagery.

It is not to fault the painters of Dutch still life, nor particularly to blame the Dutch, who after all enjoyed an outstanding reputation at the time for their tolerance; in other respects, the Netherlands was a remarkably open intellectual forum for its day, one to which political and religious dissidents came from throughout Europe to escape persecution.[303] The Dutch were neither unique nor even unusual in their collective subversion of a cultural embarrassment like the slave trade.[304] But they were both unusual and even – in their way – unique, in their propensity to work through such issues (to whatever extent they did) in pictures.

Moreover, the precedent of facile consumption popularized in these images, along with their insidious normalization of racial hierarchy and cultural presumption, are parts of a legacy to which all the world today is heir – some of the most profound challenges facing postmodern culture, as the embattled terrain of consumption attests.[305] They highlight in the most drastic terms the problem that all exploitative production truly presents, for the question still haunts us: who consumes what, and at whose expense?

200 Schmidt 2001, 260. The other and most common critique was leveled against yet another commodity that finds its way into Dutch still life: gold. "The 'blinding dazzle of gold' posed a threat to the godly Republic; and the very success of the Dutch overseas expansion – the accumulation of gold – provoked concern among the guardians of godliness."

201 "After the departure of Johan Maurits, the government of New Holland was taken over by a new *Hoge Raad* of three people. Meanwhile the Portuguese tried to incite an uprising among their countrymen in New Holland. The planters stood back and waited to see which party would gain the upper hand. When the Portuguese representative in the Hague got no results with his political steps, in Portugal they were pushing more and more insistently for a general uprising. The Hoge Raad in Recife threw oil on the fire with their extremely intolerant conduct against the Catholics and Jews." My translations from Spruit 1988, 56.

202 "In 1645 the uprising broke out. Everywhere great atrocities were committed and destruction was wrought. The chamber of Zealand wanted a great war force to be mounted to retain New Holland. But the rest of the Directors and the States General wanted peace, especially when there was an end to the Eighty Years' War, with which among other things also the taking of booty from Spanish ships came to an end. Above all the yields of the WIC grew worse and worse. Through lack of resistance New Holland was taken bit by bit." *Ibid.*

203 Recife was the last Dutch territory to be taken over, in 1654. Spruit 1988, 56.

204 Previously ascribed to Barend van der Meer, in Munich's 1957 catalogue, according to the notes of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie. There had also been African servants depicted within portraiture earlier in the century. Slive comments on the black boy (a servant or slave?) in a portrait by Frans Hals: "As portrayed by Hals, his dignity and reserve have nothing in common with the stereotypical blacks depicted by so many of the artist's contemporaries." Slive 1989, cat. no. 67, figs. on 319–20; quote, 317. However our focus here is more particularly upon such figures in still life.

205 The painting is signed with the monogram of Abraham van Beijeren, and the collector himself (rather outrageously) defended the attribution, further proposing that Jan Vermeer contributed the still life; see Kay 1939, 167–9, with illustration. But Ingvar Bergström attributed the picture to Jurriaen van Streek, as noted in the records of the Rijksdienst voor Kunsthistorische Dokumentatie, where the note is also added: "S.G.: possibly also Barend van der Meer."

206 Besides the servant's costume, there are other similarities of detail between the two pictures: the large porcelain bowl in the Hermitage still life displays the same motifs of decoration as the one in the Kay painting, while the massive ginger jar so cleanly depicted in the Kay painting looks very like the one standing in the fireplace just visible at the back through the doorway of the Hermitage scene. Some connection between the pictures is obvious, though the hand is evidently not the same. (Similarly noted in the archives of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie.)

207 A de Hooch interior likewise dated after 1680 takes yet another step back from such a scene and further peoples it (Pieter de Hooch, *Woman Kneeling by a Fire, with Figures at a Table*, Sutton 1998, cat. no. 153, after 1680). Now the implicit is made explicit; the omitted players are depicted: here the black servant is pouring tea for a white lady and gentleman at the carpet-draped table. The still life has been scaled down here to a single *roemer* with a lemon on a platter, but the elegant setting has been still further articulated: not only boldly patterned marble-tiled floors like those in the Hermitage painting, but also tooled leather on the walls, heavy drapes, and a window opening onto a vista of tree-lined water; not only a massive stone hearth but also marble pillars with delicate carving to decorate it, and another woman kneeling beside it with firewood. If this is a glimpse of still life in context, it spells out clearly the role of the black servant within that context.

208 Another painting by de Hooch from the same decade also includes a Negro figure, here separated from the other figures in the scene by a similar birdcage (*Figures with Parrot at a Table*, Sutton 1998, cat. no. 150, private collection in Holland. After 1680).

209 Finally definitively identified here by H. F. Wijnman. See Wijnman 1959, 97–109.

210 Wijnman 1959, 97.

211 This remarkably lively, but nevertheless posthumous, portrait of van Amstel was commissioned by his wife. Having risen to the rank of Lieutenant Captain in 1658, van Amstel sailed under de Ruiter on successful campaigns to Lisbon, Sweden, and during the

Second Anglo-Dutch War, before his death in 1669. Just as his wife chose the best poets to write his elegies – Joost van den Vondel and Joannes Antonides van der Goes – so too she turned to van Tempel as a celebrated Amsterdam painter, popular in chic circles for his ability to produce in the elegant style of Anthony van Dyck, to commit her "brief marriage to the brilliant sea hero" to posterity, in a painting dated two years after his death. Wijnman 1959, 100–05.

212 Otte quotes Debrunner's suggestion that the black servants in portraits were used as "amusing background to the supposed beauty of the white skin," although she qualifies that the extent to which this might be the case is difficult to determine. Debrunner 1979, 92; quoted in Otte 1987.

213 In 1667, Margaretha van Raephorst had married the still more illustrious naval hero Cornelis Tromp; their portraits were painted by Mijtens the following year. Amstel died the year after that, in 1669, but Mijtens passed away in 1670, obliging Boxhoorn to turn elsewhere for the commemorative portrait.

214 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. He does observe that Margaretha van Raephorst was niece to Anna van Boxhoorn, venturing it is "not unlikely" that Boxhoorn lived with her at some point, citing this among other evidence of the closeness between Tromp and Amstel.

215 Mauritshuis, The Hague, about 1664; reproduced in Buvelot 2004, 43, fig. 46.

216 See Otte 1987. My thanks to Jean Baptiste Bedaux for bringing to my attention this useful article by a student of his at the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.

217 They are almost mirror-image portraits by M. L. A. Clifford, of about 1730, in which the same servant figure seems to be repeated, striped silk costume and all: one of *Anna Margaretha Josepha van Renesse,* Vassen, De Cannenburgh, and the other of *Adriana Wilhelmina Burlamachi*, private collection, dated 1730. Reproduced in Otte 1987, 7.

218 "Verscheidenheyt, in veel veranderingen/ By een gevoegt, en bywerk geeft de dingen/ Een luister: zoo m'ook eenich tam Gediert/ Te pas brengt, of gepluimt gevogelt, 't siert/ Het werk: zoo vind het oog ook een vernoegen/ Somtijts een Moor by maegdekens te voegen." Hoogstraten 1969 [1678], 141; quoted in Otte 1987, 7.

219 For an overview of Italianate harbor scenes see Schloss 1982.

220 Flemish painter Jan Pauwel Gillemans II produced a pendant pair of highly decorative still lifes that seem especially clearly to deploy Hoogstraten's conception of the *bijwerk*. Amongst the heaps of silver plate and mounds of fruit, one picture features a white girl, the other a black boy. A large parrot provides the "plumed fowl," complementing the girl within the one work, just as the other painting balances her against the boy – all staged against grandiose classical architecture. Gillemans, Auction Amsterdam (Christie's), 3-26-1988, no. 158. I omit them from the discussion here only because they are Flemish rather than Dutch, but the principle of the *bijwerk* is clearly in evidence, as is quite extraordinarily unabashed deployment of race, class, *and* gender.

221 Schloss 1982, 20 and 156, n. 5.

222 On meanings associated with the slaves in these Italianate harbor scenes, and especially on moral disapproval of Italian life as indolent, powerfully expressed in travel accounts, see Schloss 1982, esp. ch. 3, "Transition to Elegance and Artifice," 19–20. "Nearly all the port figures, even the slaves who connote hard physical labor, are depicted as idle, while in the foregrounds groups of people at leisure ostentatiously pursue pleasure." Schloss diagnoses a fundamental ambivalence toward Italy here: on the one hand, attraction to its natural and man-made beauty, but on the other, concern that the ease of life presumed to exist there was morally dangerous.

223 See Mason 1998. His example of the Native American "feather skirt" (actually a headdress – implausible as an article of clothing to have been worn below the waist) demonstrates an instance of an object becoming misunderstood as a result of its removal from its authentic context, then propagating misinformation throughout the imagery, but thereby nevertheless becoming emblematic of the "exotic." Here it is entirely possible that Brazilian birds and African youths did see the same ports of call, but in any case, on Mason's definition, the mixing of origins would only contribute to the overall "exoticism" of such a scene, just as the ship at anchor in the harbor beyond encourages.

224 Here, Mason's twentieth-century formula, defining the exotic as something displaced from its context, could be seen to work in a sense as an amplification of Hoogstraten's seventeenth-century art-theoretical one, advocating visual variety, or as it were, the introduction of the unexpected.

225 Compare also the painting by Jan Davidsz de Heem in the Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna, with the same large red macaw. The coloration of de Heem's macaw is the same

in each case, and in turn matches that of the bird in Berchem's harbor scene (fig. 121) – scarlet with white face and blue-tipped wings – except that de Heem further nuances the color of the wings to include shades of green and yellow above the blue tips.

226 Several authors note also the importance of the "triangular trade" in providing a market also for European manufactures in the colonies. See, for example, de Vries and van der Woude 1995.

227 See de Lairesse 1740, vol. 1, 34; quoted in Otte 1987, 7.

228 See, for example, Frans van der Mijn's portrait of *Jan Pranger*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, dated 1742, reproduced in Otte 1987. Otte does note one example of a black in African clothing as the painter P. de Wit imagined it, in the portrait of Dirk van Wilree, in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Otte 1987, 10, n. 9. Still, Otte's assumption that other portrait subjects "had nothing or only indirectly anything to do with the colonies" – and her concomitant conclusion that it was more likely just the suggestion of wealth and luxury that the Negro brought to the portrait that would have motivated their inclusion – does not address the more specific wealth and luxury that black slaves actually brought to the Dutch in this regard.

229 Though Spruit does write that even on the West African coast, while life was so abominable for the common Dutch soldiers stationed there, "the governor lived in great state, surrounded with paintings, tapestries, and other costly luxuries." Spruit 1988, 64. So *pronkstilleven* such as these could have related directly to that milieu as well; a black servant in that sort of context would most decidedly have pointed significance.

230 On the still lifes of Eckhout, see the catalogue of the Mauritshuis exhibition, Buvelot 2004; also Parker Brienen 2001; Chong and Kloek 1999, 192–4; Whitehead 1989.

231 The series has attracted increasing attention for its ethnographic and postcolonial interest. Mason sees these pictures as a "negative self-definition of the European ruling class": these "exotic" and "primitive" figures are what Europeans are not. Mason 1989, 52. See also Buvelot 2004; Parker Brienen 2001; Herkenhoff and Cabral de Mello 1999; Whitehead 1989; and further discussion below, in chapter 8, "Symbolic Anthropology."

232 Compare Honour 1979. On the other hand, neither are these figures fully ethnographically accurate, as has been observed: for example, her pearl and coral jewelry would not have been worn by a slave. See as in n. 231.

233 See van den Boogaart 1979.

234 On the trope of implicit hierarchization of various peoples based on their degree of civilization, again compare Ernst van den Boogaart's analysis of the figures in Jan Hugo van Linschoten's *Icones*, which was a reprint of all the figures from his *Itinerario*, published and circulated independently of the text. Van den Boogaart, 1999, esp. 175, and 177–86.

235 "Deze negers of zwarten komen meest uit het koningrijk van Kongo, Angola en Guin. Die de beste en arbeitzaemste zijn, kosten in goede rijden zeventigh, taghentigh, ja hondert en meer stukken van Achten. By wijle zijn'er ook eenige voor veertien of vijftien hondert gulden verkocht: hoewel zoodanige iet byzonders geleert hadden. Maer by slechte tijden golden zy naulix 40. stukken van Achten." Nieuhof 1682a, 215.

236 The Dutch involvement in the Atlantic slave trade has been extensively researched and usefully evaluated by Johannes Menne Postma, first in his Ph.D. dissertation (Postma 1971) and then in his book (Postma 1990); I have drawn the majority of the information and a variety of the references in my summary of the subject from these two sources.

237 Africa had traded with Europe since the fourteenth century: textiles, copper, arms, and beads were obtained in trade first for African gold, ivory, and spices, then slaves, later also coffee, tea, cocoa, and other products. But Postma points out that Europeans would never have been so interested in the African trade had it not been for the traffic in slaves: excluding the slaves, African trade was much smaller than that of the West Indies and America. It also provided Europeans with a cover "to penetrate the mercantilistic Spanish empire and smuggle European manufacturing into the Spanish colonies." Postma 1971, 3. The triangular trade of the "Great Circuit" between Europe, Africa, and the Americas enabled the Europeans to acquire the highly desired agricultural products of the Western hemisphere, goods largely produced by the labor of black slaves. See Williams 1944, 52–4.

238 See also Honore Naber 1937, 8–12; Ratelband 1953; and Klein 1965. A bigger company, the *Vereenigde Compagnie* (United Company), was organized in 1599; in 1610 it was enlarged as the Guinea Company. Two years later the first Dutch trading station or

"factory" was established at Mori on the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana), and from this point on "the Dutch presence on the African coast increased steadily." See Postma 1990, 17.

239 Slaves bought in northern Africa were being taken to Europe across the Mediterranean to markets in Venice, Seville, Lisbon, and as far north as Antwerp, for use primarily as domestic servants as early as the fourteen and fifteenth centuries. On the "Great Mediterranean slave trade," see Davis 1966, quoted in Postma 1971. Then in the 1440s, the Portuguese began regular runs from west Africa via the Atlantic; by 1448, Prince Henry of Portugal declared the slave trade a state monopoly. Around 1600, slavery disappeared in Europe – ironically, as Postma points out, about the same time when it became prominent in the Americas. He speculates that had it not been for the discovery of America and the attendant demand for cheap labor for mines and plantations, the export of African slaves might never have developed into a significant commercial activity. Postma 1971, 7.

240 The real opening of the Negro slave trade to the West is generally assigned to the year 1518, when the Spanish King Charles V granted the first of a long series of trade monopolies, called the *asientos de negroes*, on the importation of black slaves into the Spanish colonies (Postma 1971, 8). In that year, the first cargo of black slaves was taken to the West Indies directly from Africa; and from that point the Atlantic slave trade gradually grew into an accepted and lucrative institution, managed exlusively by the Portuguese. By 1540, several thousand black slaves were shipped across the Atlantic annually; perhaps even as many as 10,000 per year (according to Davidson 1961, 49; and Curtin 1969, 115–16; although Postma did not find evidence to substantiate this.)

241 Throughout the sixteenth century, exclusive Portuguese control continued with "only sporadic intrusions by rival Europeans." Postma found Dutch names cropping up as early as 1528 in connection with slave export to the Spanish colonies, but speculates they may well have been "either Germans or Flemings from the Belgian provinces." Postma 1990, 4 and 10.

242 Postma 1990, 10; compare Spruit 1988, 59. Postma notes that similar incidents had occurred in Amsterdam with Portuguese Jews there, suggesting that "the Dutch themselves were not favorably disposed to enter the trade in human beings, which was widely practiced in southern European cities at that time." Postma 1990, 10. See also van den Boogaart and Emmer 1979, 354–7; and Donnan 1931, vol. 1, 16–17, cited in Postma 1990.

243 "Onmenschelyck ghebruyck! Godloose schelmery!/ Datmen de menschen vent tot paartsche slavernij!/ Hier zynder oock in stadt, die sulcken handel dryven/ In Farnbock: maar't sal Godt niet verhoolen blyven." Bredero 1617, lines 233–6. Quoted in Spruit 1988, 61; and Postma 1990, 11.

244 Citing Ratelband and Goslinga as claiming that "there was a strong popular opposition to the slave trade, shared by a majority of the WIC board," they counter that this "certainly strains the available evidence," calling it shallow for Goslinga to derive popular condemnation from one line in a play; in contrast, they cite the "far more influential writings of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten and Dierick Ruiters, in which the commercial opportunities in the Atlantic are discussed," where "no marked disapproval of the slave trade appears." Linschoten 1957 [1596], and Ruiters 1913 [1623], cited in van den Boogaart and Emmer 1979.

245 Spruit 1988, 59–60.

246 Postma 1990, 17.

247 Quoted in Spruit 1988, 25. This supports Postma's assessment in his 1971 dissertation that the Dutch attitude toward the Negro was "openly arrogant and condescending." Nieuhof's observations of the Negroes from his trip to Brazil are somewhat less critical, if equally stereotyping; he describes a Negro miracle cure he witnessed, telling of their superstitions, but also records that they are good swimmers and divers, and good fishermen. Nieuhof 1682a, 215.

248 Usselincx, quoted in Spruit 1998, 25.

249 "Sommier Discours over den state vande vier geconquesteerde Capitanias" (Jan. 1638), in *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht.* (Utrecht, 1878 to date), ii, 292–3, quoted in Boxer 1957, 83. Also quoted in Postma 1990, 17. Early attempts by the Spanish to enslave Native Americans had disastrous results, with appalling losses through sickness and death. Consequently Scelle reports that planters valued the labor of one black slave equal to that of four Indians. Scelle 1910, 615. Eric Williams argues that the notion of Negroes being better suited for hard labor in the tropics is indefensible, and that it was simply a question of supply and demand

between white and black labor. Williams 1944, 23 ff.; see also Mannix and Cowley 1962, 2–3.

250 "Zonder negers en ossen komt er van Pernambuco niets terecht." Quelen 1640, 13; quoted in Spruit 1988, 60; quoted in translation in Boxer 1957, 137.

251 Quelen 1640, 12; quoted in Boxer 1957, 138.

252 *Cartas de Antonio Vieira, S. J.* (ed. Azevedo), vol. 1, 243, quoted in Boxer 1957, 137.

253 The castle was the major trading center of the Portuguese, and therefore strongly defended, but the local Africans, dissatisfied with the Portuguese as trading partners, assisted the Dutch in ousting them. For a fuller description see Spruit 1988, 62–3.

254 Postma records that although other northern Europeans such as English, French, Danes, Germans, and Swedes were also present, the Dutch drove the Portuguese off the west African coast altogether at this point: in 1641, they drove the Portuguese off the islands of São Thomé and Annabon, and from the coastal trading stations at São Paula and Benguela; the following year they took Axim, the last remaining coastal station controlled by Portugal. Postma 1990, 18.

255 "Het leven was er verschrikkelijk. Men stierf als ratten aan onbekende tropische ziekten of werd gesloopt door het moordende klimaat . . . De mannen gingen zich uit angst en verveling te buiten aan drank en inlandse vrouwen en probeerden zich op allerlei manieren te verrijken. Zij hielden zich op de been met dromen over een terugkeer in grote welstand. Een droom die slechts voor een enkeling bewaarheid werd." Spruit 1988, 64.

256 There had actually been slavery of blacks by other blacks within Africa long before this trade began, but as one freed slave made clear, its terms and circumstances were altogether different from what developed in the West: ". . . but how different was their condition from that of the slaves in the West Indies! With us they do no more work than other members of the community, even their masters; their food, clothing and lodging were nearly the same as theirs (except that they were not permitted to eat with those who were freeborn), and there was scarce any other difference between them than a superior degree of importance which the head of a family exercises over every part of his household. Some of these slaves have even slaves under them as their own property and for their own use." Equiano 1967, 10; also cited in Postma 1971, 6. This fascinating autobiography by the freed slave Olaudah Equiano was abridged and edited by Paul Edwards and first published in 1789.

257 "28 februari 1645: Het jacht 'de Visser' keert terug met 15,158 pond olifantstanden. Eveneens verscheen het jacht 'de Gulde Ree' met 156 negers waarvan er al enkele waren overleden."

"11 maart 1645: De zeelui van het jacht 'de Visser' door de zwarten beroofd van strozakken en plunjezakken. Als de spullen niet worden teruggebracht zal het negerdorp in brand worden gestoken."

"1 april 1645: Ruzie tussen de soldaten Jan Raven en Daniël Baar waarbij Raven een houw van een duim breed in zijn linkerschouder oploopt. Beiden gevangen gezet."

"4 april 1645: De vrouw van Janseye heeft een jongen gebaard. Een jonge slaaf is in de rivier verdronken. 7 april 1645: Het jacht 'de Fortuyn' gearriveerd met 502 slaven, waarvan 156 stuks naar Brazilië worden gestuurd. 18 april 1645: Aan het strand een doodgeslagen Compagniesslaaf gevonden. Drie andere slaven-kennelijk de moordenaars-zijn ontsnapt."

"15 mei 1645: De vaandrig heeft om half twee 's nachts een korporaal en twee schildwachten stomdronken op hun post aangetroffen. De vaandrig sloeg erop los met zijn rotting, waarop de sergeant de vaandrig een houw over de arm heeft gegeven. 6 juni 1645: Acht van de maats hebben de gebedsdienst verzuimd, zijn gevangen gezet en moesten vervolgens wacht lopen met een zwaar geweer."

"21 juli 1645: De Compagniesslaaf Coffy heeft bij een van de vrouwen van de inlandse vorst geslapen. De Compagnie betaalt de vorst de gebruikelijke vergoeding ter waarde van 80 gulden. 22 juli 1645: Onstuimig, regenachtig, lelijk weer." Quoted in Spruit 1988, 64.

258 He emphasized adequate water, and food consisting of porridge, beans, and barley meal with palm oil and fruit; above all, the decks must be scrubbed daily. Quoted in Spruit 1988, 61.

259 Postma 1971, 211, citing van Brakel 1918, 57. Compare also Spruit 1988, 120: The WIC had doctors hired exclusively for the slaves, not so much out of humanitarian concerns as to keep loss as a result of sickness and death as minimal as possible. Some doctors began their own business buying sick slaves, after which they would try to get the patients healthy and sell them at a profit. Moreover there were hospitals built: Curaçao had a "poxhouse" for sufferers from the pox, and

then for sicknesses of a more general nature there was the so-called "sweathouse." Spruit 1988, 120. De Vries says some historians allege that the West India Company did more for their slaves than they did for the health of their own employees; de Vries and van der Woude 1995.

260 Mortality percentages ranged from seven percent in 1637 to twenty-six percent in 1644 for slaves taken aboard in Guinea who had to endure the sailing time of three to four months to Recife; mortality rates do not differ statistically for slaves taken aboard in Luanda in Angola for the shorter trip of three to four weeks. Van den Boogaart and Emmer 1979, 367–9, further compiled in Postma 1990, 21.

261 Zacharias Wagener (elsewhere transcribed Wagenaar, Wagenaer, or Wagner) was already active as an artist in Brazil before the arrival of Johan Maurits. His *Thierbuch* from which this is quoted is described as "one of the most vivid and comprehensive records of the Dutch colony in Brazil during Johan Maurits' reign" by Joppien 1979, 297–376. Compare also Boxer: "Noticing that a German soldier from Dresden named Zacharias Wagener was a clever draughtsman, he made him his steward and gave him the opportunity of developing his talents. Wagener evidently worked closely with Eckhout, as many of the lively sketches in his *Thierbuch*, or album depicting Brazilian men and beasts, are miniature copies or adaptations of Eckhout's work." Boxer 1957, 153. Full-color facsimiles of the pages of Wagener's *Thierbuch* are now available in a paperback edition; see Wagener 1997. Wagener later entered the service of the VOC, where he became envoy to Canton, chief of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki, and governor of the Cape Colony, before he died in Amsterdam in 1668.

262 "Ook moest men nootzakelijk de Negros verkopen; want andersints die niet alleenlijk in de pakhuizen tot laste van de magazijnen bleven; maer storven ook daghelix wegh, tot schade van de Kompagnie." Nieuhof 1682a, 47. This is painfully corroborated in the later historical reconstruction of the voyage of a slave-trading ship called the Diligent; see Harms 2002.

263 "The cruelties involved in the slave trade were by the standards of its age perhaps not all that unusual, until the humanitarian impulses of the eighteenth century began to introduce more humane standards, which in time also began to challenge the slave trade itself. It is undoubtedly safe to assume that African and European merchants alike were motivated chiefly by economic profit." Postma 1990, 7.

264 "By de Portugesen worden die slaven als onredelijke beesten gehandelt en onbarmhertigh gehandhaeft. Men moet zich ook met de slaven niet te gemeen maken: anders misbruiken zy de goetheit: maer matelijk gestraft, zijn zy best te regeren." Nieuhof 1682a, 215.

265 See Postma: in the first confusion after the seizure of the territory, some slaves were deposited and no one quite knew what to do with them as the plantations were not yet operating. In 1635, the WIC did charter two ships expressly for the purpose of obtaining slaves for New Holland, but they did not arrive from Africa until two years later. In 1636, 1,046 slaves captured at sea from enemy ships were delivered in New Holland, but it was the following year when importation began in earnest.

266 For fuller statistics on slave imports in Dutch Brazil, 1630–51, see Postma 1990, Table 1.1, 21.

267 Postma 1990, 21. Postma continues: "With the onset of the Moradores' revolt the following year, the WIC slave trade to Brazil quickly came to a halt. Of the grand total of 26,286 documented slave imports into New Holland, 94 percent were brought in during the ten-year period of 1636 to 1645. And this is essentially the limit of the Dutch contribution to the African migration to Brazil. The yearly average for this period comes to about 2,500, which is significantly lower than the 3,000 to 4,000 slaves the Portuguese were said to have brought to Brazil annually in the time prior to the Dutch attack." Postma 1990, 21–2. By comparison, New Netherlands on the North American coast was insignificant in the Dutch slave trade, because the demand was small there compared with Brazil. Only two complete slave cargoes arrived in New Amsterdam (later New York), the *Witte Paart* in 1654 with an unspecified number of slaves, and *Gideon*, ten years later, with 290.

268 Postma 1990, 18.

269 See Curtin 1969, 126.

270 For insight into actual exchange values, see the lists published in Jones 1995.

271 See also Davies 1974, 118.

272 When the union of Spain and Portugal ended in 1640, peace was established between Portugal and the Dutch, but it was uneasy at best, up until 1661 when it was finally resolved.

273 Nieuhof's description of his trip to Brazil records: "The free people then were Dutch, Portuguese, and Brazilian natives: of which the Portuguese were far greater in number, outnumbering others ten to one. They possessed most all the sugar mills, houses and unmovable goods, except for a few Dutchmen, who were also committed to the cultivation of sugar: but they were almost all bankrupt and insolvent; especially those, who as a result of the mutiny of the Portuguese, had to leave everything where it was, and leave their goods behind, at the mercy of the enemy." My translation from Nieuhof 1682a.

274 Even in the heyday of Dutch involvement, they were not alone. Shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century the English took an active interest, and toward the end of the century also the French. To a lesser extent the Danes, Swedes, and Germans were also involved, although they were supplied with capital and ships from Dutch investors. Portugal reentered in 1648 by recapturing old trading centers; only when Holland and Portugal finally made peace in 1661 did the Dutch become regular participants again.

275 Too arid for plantation, and offering no gold or other attractive resources, Curaçao had not attracted the Spaniards' attention. But the Dutch found its natural harbors useful for refurbishing ships, and in 1641 the WIC established it as a collecting point for slaves captured from foreign vessels; from there the slaves were sold and perhaps also smuggled to mainland Caracas and Dutch Guiana. When Brazil was lost, the WIC renewed their focus on Curaçao.

276 The treaty of Tordesillas with Portugal in 1496 prevented the Spanish from holding any commercial bases of their own on the African coast, so they depended upon other nations for shipment of slave labor from Africa. Efforts to use Native Americans for this grueling work failed. The Spanish friar Las Casas and other Spanish settlers on the island of Hispaniola persuaded Charles V of Spain to allow slaves to be imported regularly from Africa to the Spanish colonies. From 1518 to 1805 with only a few interruptions, the series of contracts known as *asientos de negroes* governed the shipment of African slaves no longer via Europe but now direct to the Americas. Such a contract, purchased from a designated agent of the royal government, authorized the bearer to bring slaves into the Spanish colonies.

277 This *asiento* went to Domingo Grillo and Ambrosia Lomelin, to supply 24,000 slaves to the Spanish colonies over the next seven years. Postma 1990, 35.

278 For the estimated traffic and destination of slaves from 1658 to 1674, see Postma 1990, Table 2.2, 35.

279 Between 1668 and 1673, 13,000 slaves were delivered from Curaçao to the Spanish American ports of Portobelo, Cartagena, and Veracruz, an average of about 1900 annually which was considerably under the numbers called for in the *asiento* contract; but the Dutch were meanwhile supplying their own settlements on the Guiana coast and in the Antilles, as well as French and English colonies. Postma 1990 draws here on the unpublished research of the Austrian scholar Franz Binder.

280 "Onderweg en in de haven stierven 146 slaven van wie 101 aan buikloop, 14 aan koorts, 3 aan scheurbuik, 4 aan slaapziekte, 3 aan pleuris, 2 aan tering en ten slotte nog 10 'schielijck' en 9 'lang queynend'." Spruit 1988, 121. Today the Museum Kurá Hulanda near the Waterfront in Willemstad documents the history of slavery in Curaçao.

281 In 1667, a party of Zeelanders had taken over the colony from the English, changing the name of the fort at Paramaribo from "Willoughby" to "Zeelandia." Fending off further English challenges, the Dutch established a chartered society to run the colony under the governorship of the wealthy regent Cornelis van Aerssen van Sommelsdyck. For detailed accounts, see Spruit 1988, 91, and Klooster 1998, 38.

282 Stedman 1992 [1796], chs. 13, 26.

283 Present-day Maroons or Bush Negroes in Suriname are the descendents of slaves who fled plantations and founded their own settlements. Since the end of the seventeenth century, they have lived in villages along rivers in the interior regions of South America, creating a culture of their own and fighting steadily for their independence, which they won in 1762, a full century before the emancipation of the rest of the slaves of the country. The records for their oral history, passed down from generation to generation, begin with the "Heroic Years" from 1685–1738. It is only in the twentieth century that an anthropologist turned his attention to recording these tales of the "First-time" – Richard Price's direct oral account of "the historical vision of an Afro American people." See Price 1983.

284 Price 1983.

285 It is to be noted that in the eighteenth century the scale of the trade in bonded Africans had escalated appreciably in Suriname in particular. In 1683 van Sommelsdyck, the Dutch governor of Suriname, had noted that more than a million pounds of sugar cane were burned, for want of slaves to harvest and process it, but slave importation increased from 10,000 at the beginning of the eighteenth century to 60,000 in 1774; see van Zanden 1993, 90–91.

286 Stedman's narrative was promptly also translated into Dutch, but now see the authoritative English reprint of Stedman's narrative, co-edited by Richard and Sally Price, amplified with a long and extremely useful introduction; Stedman 1992 [1796].

287 Stedman 1790 (ms), ch. 6, quoted in Price 1983, 86, with the comment that the drawing illustrates the kind of execution meted out to the captured Saramaka Joosie in 1730, but in fact depicts a much later execution. Another eyewitness account describes the merciless whipping of a female Samboe slave in 1774 for no other crime than resisting her handler's seduction: "lacerated in such a shocking manner by the whips of two Negro-drivers, that she was from her neck to her ankles literally dyed with blood . . . she had received two hundred lashes . . . [and almost immediately afterwards was given another two hundred, yet] her only crime consisted in firmly refusing to submit to the loathsome embraces of her detestable executioner [her white overseer]." Stedman 1790 (ms.), ch. 13, quoted in Price 1983, 46. See also Stedman 1992 [1796].

288 See the lucid account of van Zanden in "The slave trade, slavery, and the plantation economy in Suriname," Part V of van Zanden 1993, 88–102.

289 Bosman 1967 [1721] 364–5 (first published in Dutch in 1704); quoted in Postma 1990, 7.

290 When Garcia received this *asiento*, the Spanish expected him to contract with Portuguese suppliers; to their surprise and displeasure, he signed another contract with the WIC. Postma 1990, 36, and Goslinga 1971, 361–2.

291 Postma 1990, 37, quoting the unpublished research of Franz Binder, and *Nederlandse bezittingen ter Kuste van Afrika*, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, vol. 24, minutes 8/20/1674.

292 Postma 1990, 37.

293 *Archives of the Tweede West-Indische Compagnie*, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, vol. 54, doc. 12/18/1702, quoted in Postma 1990, 36.

294 Minutes of the meetings of the directors of the WIC and the Amsterdam chamber record that the smuggling was not only openly acknowledged but actually encouraged by the WIC, despite entreaties by the firm of Joseph Coymans that the smuggling was preventing them from regaining the *asiento*. As noted earlier, Klooster emphasizes that the extent of this smuggling in both volume and value has been significantly underestimated. See Klooster 1998, 138. On the Dutch slave trade in the Caribbean see also Klooster 1998, 105–20.

295 They were Juan Barroso de Pozo and his son-in-law Nicolas Porcia. Postma 1990, 41.

296 Postma 1990, 41.

297 Ironically, as De Vries noted apropos of the East India trades, in this case too, when one tries to determine who really made the profits from the slave trade, the answer is elusive. The trade was highly speculative and very volatile. It depended upon a variety of conditions beyond the control of traders (such as whether or not they could get slaves) and sometimes it was disastrously unprofitable. The West India Company as a whole was never very profitable, hardly paying any dividends; even when the new company opened, it was unprofitable. Nor was it the planters who profited – while other Caribbean islands and Brazilian plantations have yet to be individually studied, results from Jamaica and Barbados indicate that the enormous increase in volume of production tended to drive down profitability, so that most plantations were on the verge of bankruptcy. Was it, then, the slave suppliers who profited? Tribes and chieftains who controlled the slave trade were very powerful, and African historians say that profit was so attractive that more productive activities such as agriculture were abandoned for slave raiding; more would have to be known to draw a verdict here. What can be said with certainty is that the profits for this trade *were* enjoyed by European consumers. Every decrease in price increased demand. The *consumers* were the ones who benefited from low prices, and saw to it that rates of return remained low – all because of the slave supply. Jan de Vries, lecture on European Economic History, University of California at Berkeley, 1983.

298 A particularly remarkable example from the eighteenth century was the black preacher J. E. J. Capitein (1717–1747), who became well known especially for defending slavery. See Spruit 1988, 65–9.

299 Of course, first written just in the early years of the eventually failed Brazilian colony, Udemans's book far predated the heyday of

the Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade.

300 See under "Pepper," above, for a discussion of his rationalizations regarding Indian slavery.

301 His only stricture – ironically – was against slave-trading with the Spanish and the Portuguese: "De Koopmanschap, die in het Pausdom, met namen onder de Spaengiaerden, ende Portugijsen, met de arme slaven gedreven wort, is eene vervloeckte kramerie . . ." [Trade, in Papal regions, namely with Spaniards, and Portuguese, with poor slaves, is a damnable pedlary . . .] Udemans 1655 [1638], 318–19. Recall that his publication went through three editions between 1638 and 1655; clearly this was one piece of advice that was not heeded in later years.

302 One postmodern view holds that such critical discourse *perpetuates* the "tactics of dominance," countering that – to apply the theory to our specifics here – foreign products on the banquet table connote the conquest of *European* culture by the *Other*, rather than the other way around. If this is one exercise in refreshing our perception, still here in answer to the staggering inhumanities of the slave trade, it comes off as preposterously smug. I am obliged to submit that all these dimensions are inherent in the picturing of consumption, if not in the seventeenth century, then definitely in our study of it in the twentieth.

303 Goethe's remark, quoted by Weber because he felt it "applied often enough to the Calvinist," should probably also give us pause here: "The man of action is always ruthless; no one has a conscience but an observer." Weber 1958, 151.

304 The institution of slavery had even existed within Africa long before arrival of the Europeans; see Miers and Kopytoff 1977.

305 For bibliography on modern scholarship addressing consumption issues, see Hochstrasser 2001.

Chapter 6

1 Cats in van Beverwyck 1672, 133. For Dutch text see Appendix 1, "On Sugar and Other Spices."

2 "Van de maniere van leven der volwassene, oft middel-jarighe, en voor eerst van de verkiesinge der Spijse." Van Beverwyck 1636 and 1672.

3 Van Beverwyck 1672, 222. For Dutch text, see Appendix 1.

4 "En indien men op alles wel acht neemt, men zal bevinden, dat men't allentijde in kruyden, vruchten, en dieren, bequame spijs, en genees-middelen van Naturen kan hebben, ten zy de gaven Gods misbruyckt werden. En degene daer geen Orangie-appelen en wassen, en behoeven daerom haer Lant niet te beschuldigen: want sy hebben in de plaets Azijn. En om dat het een Land zoude konnen bekomen uyt het ander, 't gener, dat hetselve niet en heest, daer in is versien door de Schip vaert." Van Beverwyck 1672, 223.

5 "Hoe wel dat elck Landt genoegh heeft, om den honger van d' inwoonders te versadigen, en de sieckten, die daer vallen, te genesen . . . Soo dat het een groote dertelheyt is, sijnen eygen kost, en eygen dranck te versmaden, en niet te meugen, als 't dat van verre komt en veel kost, tot ondienst niet alleen van de Lichamelicke gesontheyt, maer dickwils oock tot bederf van het huys-gesin." Van Beverwyck 1672, 223.

6 "De Romeynen, doense in groote matigheyt, en soberheyt leefden, brachten de geheele werelt onder haer gebiedt: dan zijn ten lesten door haer groote weelde en overdaet selver onder-gebracht [. . .]" Van Beverwyck 1672, 223.

7 "Sy streelen haren lust, en soecken aller wegen/ Waer toe dat evenstaech haer buycken zijn genegen:/ Het schijnt dat sy alleen tot vreten zijn gemaeckt,/ En hoe yet dierder is, hoe dattet beter smaeckt." Van Beverwyck 1672, 224.

8 "Sommige hier te Lande houden meer van Cavaiar uyt Moscovien, als van onsen verschen Visch: meer van Sauçijsen van Bolognien, als van de gene die hier gemaeckt werden; en soo voort al wat van verre komt, is soet. Het welck in de Romeynen mede berispt wert van Petronius Arbiter in Sat. 'Een jong Faisant gehaelt uyt ver-gelege Kusten,/ Dat is een soete beet voor hare grage lusten,/ Dat is gewenschte kost voor Ioncker lecker-tant,/ Om dat hy niet en is te vinden in het Lant.' " *Ibid.* Foreign fare was still considered unnecessarily luxurious in England even in the early part of the eighteenth century, when "a Manchester manufacturer, who placed a pint of foreign wine before his guests, exposed himself to the remarks and headshakings of all his neighbors." Marx 1967 [1867], 652.

9 Van Beverwyck 1642, 4 and *passim*; cited in Schmidt 2001, 264.

10 "Laet ons water, laet ons meel hebben, seyde de wijse en sobere Epicurus, en wy zullen ons geluck tegen Jupiter stellen. Seer prijselick

zijn dese verssen van den Poëet Euripides. Hebje water, hebje broodt,/ Klaecht dan niet van hongers-noodt." Van Beverwyck 1672, 224.

11 "Nu aen d'ander zijde houden't eenige daer voor, dat de veranderinge van Spijse niet heel te verwerpen en is. De Poëet seyt seer wel in de Mannelicke achtbaerheyt:/ Geen Kost bevalt de maegh, al isse noch soo goet,/ Indienmen dagh aen dagh niet anders eten moet./ Want alsoo simpele en eenderhande kost haest versadight, en lichtelick doet walgen, en daer-en-tegen de veranderingh aengenaem is, en't gene men met smaeck eet, van de maegh beter omhelst en verteert wert: soo en schijnt de verscheydenheyt van spijse, soo ondienstigh niet. Hier-benessens soo isser in't lichaem groote verscheydenheyt van de leden, de welcke elck met bysonder voedsel volgens haer eygen nature moeten gevoedet werden, waer toe de verscheyde spijse schijnt nut ende van noode te wesen." Van Beverwyck 1672, 226.

12 "Ons dunckt datse beyde plaetse konnen hebben, alsse wel verstaen werden." Van Beverwyck 1672, 226.

13 A ready example for American readers is the Boston Tea Party; see Breen 1988.

14 On wine as booty see p. 122 and n. 108. On the mention of lemons and oranges, raisins and currants, and nuts, among cargo seized, see p. 87–8 and nn. 75–7 and 80.

15 *Hollandtsche Mercurius, Behelzende De aldergedenckwaerdigste Voorvallen IN EUROPA: In't Jaer 1661.* The spelling variations of *Hollandtsche Mercurius* in the notes following are transcribed as found. All issues are located in GAA, WW1.

16 *Hollandse Mercurius, Behelsende De aldergedenckwaerdigste Voorvallen in Europa, Ende de gantsche Wereldt, In't Jaer 1662.*

17 *Hollantsche Mercurius, Vervatende, De voornaemste Geschiedenissen, voor-gevallen in den Jaere 1669. Binnen Christenryck.*

18 *Hollandtsche Mercurius, Vervaetende de voornaemste Gheschiedenissen, voorgevallen niet alleen in Christenryck, Maer oock in Asia, Africa en America, Binnen het Jaer 1670.* This issue's "Register" (a sort of overview of "States of the Union") lists in addition to many European locations a "Staet van Oost-Indien," as well as of Suriname, Peru, Tafilette, and Moorse Prins.

19 *Hollantze Mercurius, Vervatende, Het aenmerckelijckste, voorgevallen over den gantschen AERTBODEM In het Jaer 1671 tot 1672.* However, this issue's Register includes only reports on Germany, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Brabant, Spain, Italy, and England.

20 *Hollandsche Mercurius* (Haarlem: Pieter Casteleijn), July 1650.

21 *Ibid.*, 26. The potential seriousness of such a seemingly minor incident would have been vividly etched in the minds of Dutch readers by a related occurrence, reported in the travel journal of Willem Bontekoe, that took a more unfortunate turn. Bontekoe tells how a spark from a candle ignited a keg of brandy on board his ship the *Nieuw Hoorn*; the merchant Hein Rol was reluctant to pitch their gunpowder overboard for fear of being left defenseless in the event of enemy attack, so that ultimately the fire reached the gunpowder and blew the ship to smithereens. Bontekoe 1646; in modern Dutch translation, Bontekoe 1989, 25–9.

22 *Hollandsche Mercurius*, June–July 1652, 70–71. Or the June 1655 listing of the "General CARGO, of 13 East-Indian Return-Ships," including "6,502,803 Pounds of Pepper, 2,982,320 Pounds of Sugar, Sappan-Wood, Nutmeg, Giroffel Cloves, Mace, Cinammon, raw Persian Silk." *Hollandsche Mercurius*, June 1655, 64.

23 "Storm en onweder ontroerde gheweldigh de voorgaende Maendt beyde de Spaense en de Brittanise Zee: Juyst op die tijt als den Vice-admirael M. de Ruyter een Vloot Spaens en Straets vaerders na Hollant convoyeerden; de duysterheydt verstroyde sommighe van de Vlach: Daer af dese volgende door 't voorsz Tempeest sijn gebleven: I. 't Wapen van Ceulen, gaende van Livorne op Amsterdam, hebbende tot Cadix oock veele Contanten in genomen, geestimeert op 10. Tonnen Gouts, al't Volck en 70000. stucken van Achten sijn daer af aen l'Isle de Bas gebergt . . . *Hollandsche Mercurius*, December 1654, 113.

24 *Hollandsche Mercurius*, December 1654, 113.

25 Albeit sometimes disputed with a quizzically honorable mingling of piracy and diplomacy. One entry in April 1651 cites a robbery against the Dutch by French pirates, including a list of ships and what was "geconfisqueert" (confiscated), specifying which were plundered, which had been restored and which had been promised to be restored, and concluding that the admirals "toward the end of the commerce of these lands, should be able to maintain their old free course." *Hollandsche Mercurius*, December 1654, 113.

26 See Appendix v.

27 *Ibid.*