

# MONOPOLIZING ARGUMENTS: OUTSIDE LOBBYING IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC FOR FREE TRADE TO BRAZIL, 1630-1638

JORIS VAN DEN TOL\*

«I pray», an anonymous pamphleteer wrote in 1636, «that other distinguished individuals, who could have written this ten times better than I did, will not be suspected of being the author, but that rather my reasons and arguments will be weight instead of carefully scrutinizing this author»<sup>1</sup>. From experience, the author knew what was going to happen after he had started the public discourse on free trade to Brazil. Pamphlets contrasting his view would try to harm his name or discredit his authority. Instead, the author wanted a productive discussion stemming from his arguments; he wanted a public discourse on free trade to Brazil.

The object of this chapter is to investigate how individuals reacted to the creation of colonial monopolies. In order to do so I will focus on the public discourse on free trade to Brazil. The scope of the chapter will be limited to the way these individuals tried to influence the decisions of the States General by lobbying for their own interests. Lobbying can, according to political science theories based on modern day practice, be divided into direct (or inside) lobbying and outside lobbying. The main difference between the two is that direct lobbying aims to obtain a majority of the decision makers, whereas outside lobbying aims to show and increase support by the public for a particular cause. The latter

---

\* Leiden University.

<sup>1</sup> «Bidde derhalven, datmen andere apparente personen, die het thienmaels beter als wel ick hadden kunnen doen, buyten verdacht wille houden, ende vele eer ende meer die redenen ende argumenta te ponderen als curieuschicken naer den autheur te vorschen». Knuttel 4425: Anonymous, *Reden van dat die West-Indische Compagnie oft handelinge niet alleen profijtelyck maer oock noodtsaeckelijck is tot behoudensse van onsen staet* (no printer, no place 1636) 8.

process is called «socializing the conflict»<sup>2</sup>. The printing of pamphlets for public discourse was ideal for socializing a conflict in an attempt to outside lobby in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. In fact, it has been argued that certain public individuals were very susceptible to pressure from pamphlets expressing the «public opinion»<sup>3</sup>. The use of pamphlets became so widespread that, for example, during the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648) no less than 5.336 pamphlets were printed, ranging from one (1570) to 326 (1618) per year<sup>4</sup>. From the absolute peak year in pamphlet printing, 1672, nearly nine hundred pamphlets have survived<sup>5</sup>.

Historical research on these pamphlets is a relatively new and not very widespread practice. Traditionally, pamphlets have been used to illustrate a historical narrative, functioning solely as striking examples or as suitable quotes. The first to systematically study pamphlets in their own right was Pieter Geurts, who, in his dissertation, analyzed different themes in the «war of words» during the early years of the Dutch revolt<sup>6</sup>. Still, Geurts' book did not study the *function* of pamphlets in history. In 1987 Craig Harline wrote a monograph in which he viewed «pamphlets not as repositories of historical facts but as a historical phenomenon in their own right»<sup>7</sup>. He studied their function and made dissociations based on types of pamphlets, audiences and subjects. Furthermore, his definition of a pamphlet as «[printed] writings of immediate and direct or indirect political significance» that were «intended sometimes to inform but usually to persuade the reader about current events», has been widely used since<sup>8</sup>.

Still, it was only when pamphlets came available online through TEMPO that widespread studies on pamphlets and public discourse really took off<sup>9</sup>. There is an edited volume from 2011 that contains articles by a large number of historians working on pamphlets and public discourse<sup>10</sup>. Additionally, several dissertations have been written since 2008 that examine the function of pamphlets in the Early Modern Dutch Republic<sup>11</sup>. Although these dissertations have only studied the relationship between pamphlets and public opinion

<sup>2</sup> KOLLMAN, 1998: 6-12; LOWERY, 2005: 6.

<sup>3</sup> T HART, 1993: 833.

<sup>4</sup> Based on search results from The Early Modern Pamphlets Online (TEMPO) which incorporates the pamphlet collection of the Royal Library (Knuttel collection) and the collection of the Groningen University library (Van Alphen collection) which together consist of nearly all the known Dutch pamphlets of the seventeenth century.

<sup>5</sup> The peaks in 1618 and 1672 can of course be explained through the events in the Dutch Republic: The Synod of Dordrecht in 1618 together with the faction battle between Van Oldenbarnevelt and Stadtholder Maurits, and the *Rampjaar* (Disaster year) in 1672 together with the murder of Johan and Cornelis de Witt.

<sup>6</sup> GEURTS, 1956.

<sup>7</sup> HARLINE, 1987.

<sup>8</sup> HARLINE, 1987: 3.

<sup>9</sup> See: <http://tempo.idcpublishers.info/>

<sup>10</sup> Not strictly focusing on pamphlets, but studying public identity/opinion/discourse partly using pamphlets is another edited volume: POLLMANN & SPICER, 2007; DEEN *et al.*, 2011.

<sup>11</sup> DEEN & MOORDDAM, 2012; REINDERS, 2008; HARMS, 2010; STENSLAND, 2011.

or the pamphlets as a part of the general public discourse, they have failed to take their conclusions a step further<sup>12</sup>. How did this public discourse or public opinion influence the course of historical events? After all, the goal of printing *persuasive* pamphlets was not solely to contribute to a public discourse. Rather, pamphleteering was an instrument for outside lobbying. This chapter, therefore, aims to answer the question how did individuals react to- and/or lobbied for the creation of monopolies in Dutch Brazil by studying outside lobbying in pamphlets. After presenting a brief historical overview, the pamphlets will first be analyzed quantitatively and then qualitatively for their content, showcasing that outside lobbying was an essential part of the discourse of free trade in the 1630s.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first attempt by the West India Company (WIC) to acquire territories of the Portuguese in Brazil was in 1624, leading to a short-lived victory in the Bay of All Saints in the wealthy captaincy of Bahia. A second attempt on the Portuguese Atlantic colony resulted in the capture of Recife in the captaincy of Pernambuco in 1630, from where the territorial ambitions of the WIC in Brazil took form. Almost immediately, on October 16, 1630, the trade to Brazil was opened both to the inhabitants of the United Provinces and to the inhabitants of Pernambuco who were willing to submit to Dutch rule. The only conditions merchants had to uphold were that they would have to use the Company's ships and needed to pay various fees and taxes (*recognitie*). If one was a shareholder in the WIC, he would receive a five per cent discount on the freight rate. Furthermore, in order to stimulate migration to the colony, immigrants would not have to pay import taxes on anything they brought from Europe and also received a free trip to the colony<sup>13</sup>. This all was announced multiple times via pamphlets in the Republic.

<sup>12</sup> There is – to my knowledge – one exception to be made. There is an article by Michiel van Groesen in which he argues that news circulation about the successful capture of Bahia, and the way that image was kept alive by different authors, contributed to public support for a second invasion. See: VAN GROESEN, 2011: 167-193.

<sup>13</sup> Knuttel 3998: Anonymous, *West-Indische Compagnie. Articulen, met approbatie van de Ho:Mog: Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden, provisioneelijck beraemt by Bewinthebberen vande Generale geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie ter vergaderinghe vande Neghthiene, over het open ende vry stellen vanden Handel ende Negotie op de stadt Olinda de Parnambuco, ende Custen van Brasil* (Paulus Aertz van Ravesteijn, Amsterdam 1630); Knuttel 3999: Anonymous, *West-Indische Compagnie. Articulen, met approbatie van de Ho:Mog: Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden, provisioneelijck beraemt by Bewinthebberen vande Generale geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie ter vergaderinghe vande Neghthiene, over het open ende vry stellen vanden Handel ende Negotie op de stadt Olinda de Parnambuco, ende Custen van Brasil* (Weduwe en erfgenamen van Simon Moulett, ordinaris drukkers der Ed:Mog: Heeren Staten van Zeelandt, Middelburg 1630); Knuttel 4152: Anonymous, *West-Indische Compagnie. Articulen, met approbatie van de Ho:Mog: Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden, provisioneelijck beraemt by Bewinthebberen vande Generale geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie ter vergaderinghe vande Neghthiene, over het open ende vry stellen vanden Handel ende Negotie op de stadt Olinda de Parnambuco, ende Custen van Brasil. Hier zijn achter by ghedruckt de vryheden van Nieu-Nederlant* (Marten Jansz. Brandt, boeck-verkooper by de Nieuwe Kerk in de gereformeerde catechismus, Amsterdam 1631).

Despite the privileges, these regulations attracted neither a significant amount of merchants, nor a recognizable number of immigrants, mainly because of the ongoing (guerrilla) warfare in the area surrounding Recife and Olinda. Gradually, however, things improved when the conquests of the Dutch extended into the rest of the province of Pernambuco. Especially the clearing of *Varzea*, the rural area west of Recife, made peaceful commerce and settlement more likely and more attractive. The fact that the Company successfully maintained the colony for nearly four years also increased the confidence of merchants and migrants. When things were faring better, the WIC changed its policy on January 9, 1634. The import of provisions and munitions into Brazil, and the export of Brazil-wood to the fatherland now became monopolised by the Company. The sugar was abundantly used by the inhabitants of Dutch Brazil to acquire European provisions and manufactured goods. Migrants were still given free passage, but had to pay for their own food and drinks on the ships. Because of the increased number of inhabitants, the prices for housing increased rapidly<sup>14</sup>.

However, some of the investors of the WIC were troubled with the fact that the Company was losing a lot of revenue in the on-going war against the Portuguese, while private traders accumulated quite a lot of income. Why would the WIC have to bear all the costs, while others profited? Investors were especially upset with the Luso-Brazilian planters, who were now trading as free as when the Portuguese were still ruling. The opinion that the Catholics were getting rich at the expense of honest Calvinist investors, rang especially loud in Zeeland. Moreover, this bitterness stemmed from shareholders in the chambers of Maze and Stad en Lande. It was in Amsterdam where most of the support for free trade originated. Their reason for disliking the manner in which business was done was that the Company did not have sufficient means to buy all the sugar in Brazil, nor did it have the infrastructure and money to supply all the necessary imports to Brazil. Besides, the Company was profiting from the fees, taxes and tolls paid by the free traders<sup>15</sup>. As can be seen in Graph 1, the sugar imports in the Netherlands done by free traders (light colours) hugely exceeded the imports done by the company (dark colours). Unfortunately, no data on free trade before 1635 have survived<sup>16</sup>.

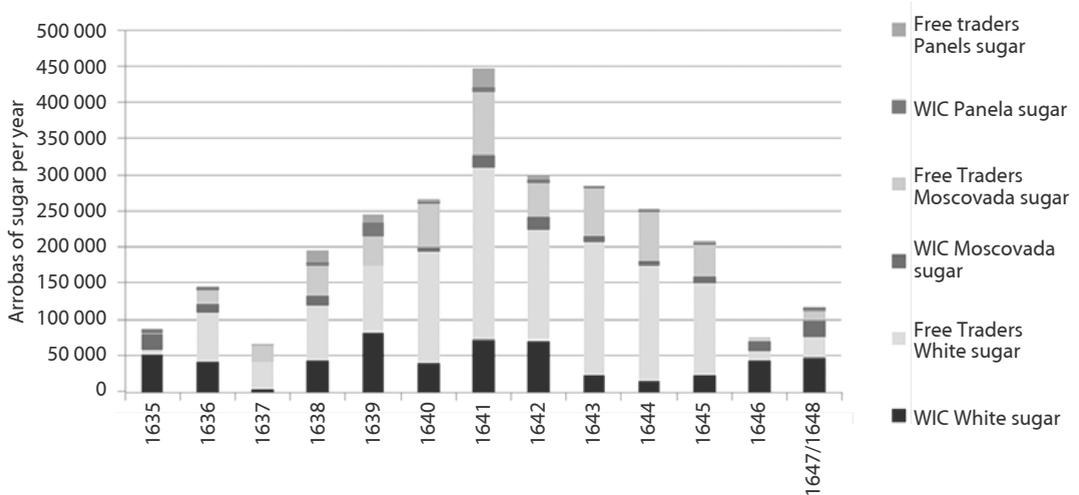
---

<sup>14</sup> BOXER, 1957: 76.

<sup>15</sup> BOXER, 1957: 76-77.

<sup>16</sup> This does not mean of course that there were no sugar imports in the Republic before that period or before the existence of the WIC of course. See: STRUM, 2012: 169-175; EBERT, 2003: 49-75.

**Graph 1:** Sugar imports in the Dutch Republic from Brazil in *arrobas*, sorted by transporter and type of sugar, 1635-1648. (Based on Wätjen)<sup>17</sup>



On December 27, 1636 the States General passed a resolution authorizing the WIC to resume and enforce its monopoly as it was stated in the original charter. This decision aggrieved many merchants. Some of them already had goods in transit to Brazil at the time, so they argued that ships that had left the Dutch ports prior to December 27 should be allowed passage on the old terms. The States General rejected this request, but decided that the WIC should pay a fair price for the ships and goods offered by the free traders. Strikingly, the general board of the WIC (*Heeren XIX*) discovered they neither had enough cash to pay for all of the moving assets nor did they have the possibility to organize the supply of basic needs in the colony themselves. Therefore they decided to ask the States General to comply with the demands of the free traders. Again, the States General refused, but were eventually persuaded by the States of Holland to allow free trade<sup>18</sup>. The joy for the free traders was short-lived as in early 1637 the States General changed its mind again. The States General were formed by representatives of the different provinces in the Republic. This meant that different alliances aiming for majorities needed to be formed constantly. These far from straightforward decisions by the States General are a testimony of this bargaining and constant negotiating within the different interests within the highest political authority of the Dutch Republic. The going back and forth of the political decision-making fueled the public discourse by pamphleteers on the topic of free trade; especially in the years 1637-1638.

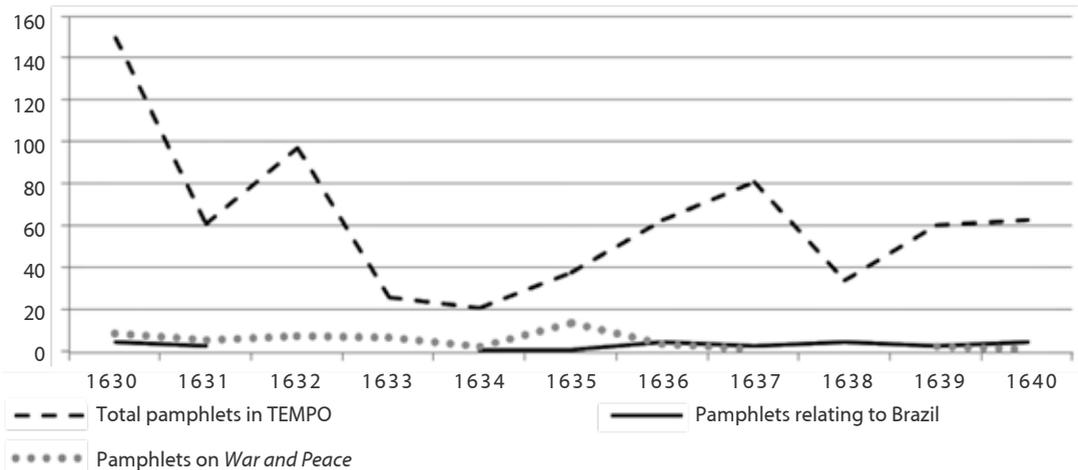
<sup>17</sup> WÄTJEN, 1921.

<sup>18</sup> BOXER, 1957: 77-78.

## DIFFERENT TYPES OF PAMPHLETS

Pamphlets were printed and distributed regularly in the Dutch Republic during the Early Modern period. The impact of a pamphlet could be very large. Printruns of more than 1000 copies were not unusual, and the pamphlets were passed along from one person to the other<sup>19</sup>. For the period under scrutiny in this article, 1630-1638, five hundred seventy-one pamphlets have been preserved in the TEMPO database. Of these, twenty-three were related to Dutch Brazil. In comparison, in that same period, fifty-two pamphlets on the issue of war and peace were distributed, obviously one of the most hotly debated topics during the Eighty Years' War<sup>20</sup>. So, even though twenty-three may not seem much, it is in fact a respectable amount. Especially if one takes into account that there was a lot of news published as pamphlets, pamphlets on «strange» occurrences such as shooting stars (*staertsterren*) and decrees by the States General. In 1638, out of the thirty-four pamphlets that were published in total, five (almost fifteen percent) were related to Dutch Brazil.

Graph 2: Number of Pamphlets in TEMPO database per year (1630-1640).



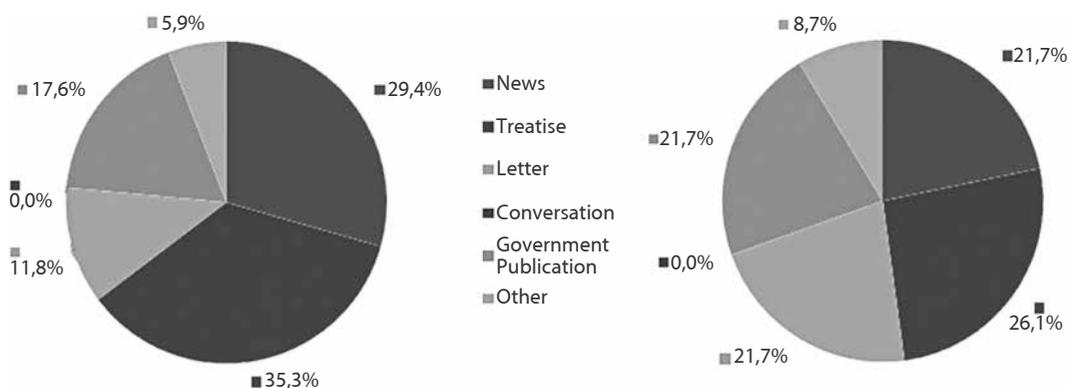
When examining the pamphlets on Brazil more closely, the first thing that stands out is that none of these pamphlets is a fictional conversation between two or more characters. This very popular genre called dialogue (*praetje*) is found in different discourses throughout the seventeenth century. However, it apparently was not in fashion for this type of discussion. In comparison, of the pamphlets arguing in favor of a lasting peace instead of a truce in the years 1607-1609, nearly one-third was of this genre. A second thing that becomes clear on first inspection is that a small minority of the pamphlets about Brazil

<sup>19</sup> DUKE, 1999: 115-132, 123-124; HARLINE, 1987: 21.

<sup>20</sup> STENSLAND, 2011: 227-252; REINDERS, 1595: 141-162.

is not an argumentative narrative, but is in fact a government publication, news or news in the form of a letter. When comparing unique pamphlets to reprints, it is striking that treatises are not reprinted at all, while a (fictional?) letter about the way the Company, Admiralty and States General spend too much money was reprinted four times. The other reproductions are articles announcing free trade to Brazil printed by order from the States General. These were printed simultaneously in Middelburg and Amsterdam and were later reprinted and republished together with the privileges for New Netherland<sup>21</sup>. The only persuasive text about free trade and monopoly that was reprinted is a pamphlet that compared the situation in Brazil to seventeenth-century board game called *verkeerspel*<sup>22</sup>.

**Graph 3:** Pamphlets on Brazil, divided by type of pamphlet. Left is unique prints (n=17), right includes reproductions (n=23).



By studying the originals in comparison to the reprints, it becomes clear that there is a distinction between rhetorical and economic value of pamphlets. When a pamphlet is published its arguments are added to the public discourse, this is its rhetorical value. All the following editions of the same pamphlet are produced only for their economic value. For relatively little costs, these copies could be sold. Apparently they were high in demand and could be sold, even though they were not new or original. Of course, this is not true for government publications, but the letter criticizing the amount of money wrongfully spent by the institutions clearly sold the most.

Even though the majority of the pamphlets related to Brazil published between 1630 and 1638 were not argumentative, all but one in the years 1637-1638 were. These were the

<sup>21</sup> New Netherland was a WIC colony on the North American East Coast from the Delmarva Peninsula to Cape Cod. The WIC received the rights of ownership of the Dutch settlement in New Netherland that had been granted by Amsterdam to a group of merchants in 1614; before the chartering of the company. However, because of an unwritten rule the colony came directly under the Amsterdam chamber (regional board) of the WIC. See further: HEIJER, 2002: 81-83; ROPER & JACOBS, 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Knuttel 4582: Anonymous, *Het spel van Brasilien vergeheleken by een goedi verkeer-spel* (no printer, no place 1638); Knuttel 4583: Anonymous, *Het spel van Brasilien, vergeleeken bij een goed verkeer-spel* (no printer, no place 1638).

pamphlets that formed the public discourse on free trade, as this topic was not debated in the years before. In the following paragraphs, these pamphlets on free trade will be analyzed and differentiated by the different arguments they used.

## «THE STRONGEST GOVERNMENT IS THAT WHICH IS HAPPILY OBEYED»<sup>23</sup>

The one pamphlet about Brazil that was not argumentative came out in 1637. It was an announcement that money could be invested in the WIC again<sup>24</sup>. Six other pamphlets answered the call for discourse by the author of the pamphlet mentioned in the introduction<sup>25</sup>. All of the pamphlets listed economic arguments to support their statements, both defenders of free trade and defenders of the Companies' monopoly. Considering that the topic had to do with trade, this is not strange at all. Another thing that unites all the publications is that they were printed anonymously. There is one that gives a clue about the identity of the author, but «Ior. H. Gr. Gron.» is not exactly a giveaway, apart from that there seems to be a connection to the province of Groningen<sup>26</sup>. The reason for all the anonymity remains unknown, but it seems likely that more than just the author mentioned in the introduction of this article feared criticism to their person.

Two of the six pamphlets defended the monopoly of the WIC. It is striking that both of these used moral arguments. By moral I mean that they used *pathos* to play their audience on the fairness of enforcing the monopoly<sup>27</sup>. Another good example from moral argumentation comes from the previously mentioned pamphlet that compared the trade to Brazil to a board game<sup>28</sup>. Here the author argues that the allowing free trade for the investors that are now trading personally is not even that bad, but «the worst is (...) that most of the players on the left [non-merchants] (which includes the lame [widows], the cripple [orphans] and the blind [individuals with no knowledge of trading that trusted the WIC directors]) are watching but are getting nothing»<sup>29</sup>. In other words, it is unfair that the WIC investors that did not have the means to enjoy the privileges of free trade, got cheated out of their profits. The two pamphlets arguing in favor of a monopoly used none of the other

<sup>23</sup> MACHIAVELLI & LIVY, quoted in Kn. 4581, 12-13.

<sup>24</sup> Knuttel 4513: Anonymous, *Nieuwe inteyckeninge ende verhooginghe der capitalen vande geotroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie* (no printer, no place 1637).

<sup>25</sup> Kn. 4425: *Reden*, 8.

<sup>26</sup> Knuttel 4580: Ior. H. Gr. Gron., *Consideratien als dat de negotie op Brasil behoort open gestelt te worden onder articulen hier na beschreven* (no printer, no place 1638).

<sup>27</sup> Knuttel 4515: Anonymous, *Examen over het vertoogh teghen het onghefondeerde ende schadelijck sluyten der vryen handel in Brasil door een ondersoecker der waerheydt* (no printer, no place 1637) 7.

<sup>28</sup> Kn. 4582: *Het spel van Brasiliën*; Kn. 4583: *Het spel van Brasiliën*, passim.

<sup>29</sup> «Maer het swaerste is noch (...) so staen de meeste part van de Maets aen de linker zijde [niet negotianten] (daer onder Lamme [weduwen], Creupele [weesen] en Blinden [blindt in saken van Negotie, sich simpelijck op de Bewindthebbers vertrouwende] ende kijken toe en krijghen niet.» Kn. 4582: *Het spel van Brasiliën*, 5.

types of arguments. The four pamphlets challenging the monopoly and defending free trade, made use of other types of arguments, such as juridical.

The pamphlet that uses juridical argumentation, bases its argument on «the general law of peoples» (*gemeene recht der volckeren*) after which the author uses Latin quotes from Bartolus and Seneca, to underline the validity of his claim<sup>30</sup>. According to this law, trade cannot be limited or rejected to anyone. It is true that the charter had been issued before, but since free trade had been allowed before by the WIC, they implicitly already recognized this universal right that was originally claimed by Grotius<sup>31</sup>. The author finishes with eight counterarguments made by others, which he refutes one by one. Not all of these counterarguments are made in the other preserved pamphlets, which means that either they were made in pamphlets we no longer possess, or that these arguments previously were not a part of the public discourse. The author is well educated, as becomes clear from the extensive use of Latin quotes and examples from Roman literature and contemporary legal theory to support his claims. However, the author is also well-informed of various details about the Company and free trade; as becomes clear from his narrative. This leaves open the possibility that the author is using internal WIC directors' arguments in the public discourse. Especially the fifth counterargument he refutes strengthens the likelihood of the latter circumstance. This argument is that in two years of free trade only 800.000 guilders of dues and taxes had been paid by the free traders to the company, which was deemed not to be nearly enough to repair the infrastructures and buildings and to maintain the soldiers in Brazil<sup>32</sup>. This argument is not likely to be used to convince a public audience as it does not appeal to the reader. This means the author must have heard it somewhere else in order to refute it, possibly from WIC directors. The extensive use of Latin indicates that the targeted audience was not the average Dutch burgher but rather members of the well-educated elite. As Arthur Weststeijn noted, this elitist idea of free trade tied in with ideological origins of Dutch colonialism that were deeply rooted in the late humanist culture. Which of course took ancient Rome as its timeless ideal type<sup>33</sup>. Thus, the use of Latin examples made the argument of the author appeal to this audience. Targeting this well-educated audience made it more likely to achieve the explicit goal of the author: «revising the decision by the States General of April 14, and to return to limited free trade as decided by the *Heeren XIX* on July 18, 1636»<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Knuttel 4581: Anonymous, *Deductie, waer by onpartijdelijck over-wogen ende bewesen wort, wat het beste voor de Compagnie van West-Indien zy: den handel te sluyten of open te laten* (Isaac Burghoorn, 's-Gravenhage 1638), 3.

<sup>31</sup> Knuttel 4581: Anonymous, *Deductie, waer by onpartijdelijck over-wogen ende bewesen wort, wat het beste voor de Compagnie van West-Indien zy: den handel te sluyten of open te laten* (Isaac Burghoorn, 's-Gravenhage 1638), 3-4, 23.

<sup>32</sup> Knuttel 4581: Anonymous, *Deductie, waer by onpartijdelijck over-wogen ende bewesen wort, wat het beste voor de Compagnie van West-Indien zy: den handel te sluyten of open te laten* (Isaac Burghoorn, 's-Gravenhage 1638), 27.

<sup>33</sup> WESTSTEIJN, 2014: 187-204, 192.

<sup>34</sup> «(...) soo wert vertrouwt dat hare Ho:Mo: alle «telve near hare wijsheyt ondersoekende, hare latest Resolutie vanden 14. April latestleden sullen modereren, ende dienvolgens den handel met sodanige Limitatien sullen open-stellen, als by de Regeleme[n]t inde absolute

One of the pamphlets stands out from the others because of its style. This pamphlet is very schematic, numbers point by point all the different arguments, uses subtitles to indicate a new subject and uses meta-communication to help the reader perusing the argument. The style in which it is written is very modern, and even renowned authors such as Lipsius or Grotius could learn something from this style. The author of this pamphlet also uses Latin in his text, and French, but the examples he uses are proverbs, which were probably much more common knowledge than the Roman laws in the pamphlet mentioned earlier. These pieces of wisdom are used to support solely economic argumentation. Another thing worth mentioning is that the cover page of this pamphlet has the same decorative image as the pamphlet that compared the trade to Brazil to a board game, which indicates that it is likely that they were printed by the same printer. However, these two pamphlets have a contrary standpoint, which emphasizes the different values of a pamphlet: the economic value for the printer and the rhetorical value for the author (see Figure 1).

**Figure 1:** The two pamphlets with the same decorative elements on the front page. Kn. 4580 on the left and Kn. 4582 on the right. Additionally, the last line with the year is printed in the exact same wording and font on both pamphlets. This also indicates they were probably printed by the same printer.

## CONSIDERATIEN

ALS *1638*

Dat de Negotie op BRASIL  
behoort open gestelt te worden,  
onder Articulen hier na beschreven,

DOOR

Io. H. Gr. Gron.



Ghedruckt in 't Jaer ons Heeren 1638.

## HET SPEL

VAN *1638*

# BRASILIEN,

Vergheleken by een goedt  
Verkeer-Spel.



Ghedruckt in 't Jaer ons Heeren 1638.

The last two pamphlets constitute a dialogue. The first to be published criticized the plan to close the trade to Brazil, which in turn received criticism from the second pamphlet.

Resolutie vande XIX, den 18. Julii, 1636 door desen is gearresteert ende besloten gheweest». Kn. 4581: *Deductie*, 32.

The first author gives economic arguments for free trade, arguing that at least five sections of the community would profit from it, and that having a monopoly and a monopsony in Brazil was bad for the planters that partially needed to rely on the supplies provided by the WIC<sup>35</sup>. The author is clearly very well informed about the situation in Brazil, which means that he either lives there or has someone else as an agent; it is clear that the author is a private trader. It even seems likely that the author was a Luso-Brazilian, though he never clearly states so. His emphasis on the difficulties the Portuguese are experiencing, like missing oil and wine, indicate that, at the very least, he sympathizes with them<sup>36</sup>.

The author of the pamphlet that tried to refute him also noticed that the first author might have been Portuguese. The proof that he is Portuguese, the second author suggests, is that the first author got the reason for the Dutch Revolt wrong. According to the second author, it was not because of the «Tenth Penny» issued by the Duke of Alva, like the first author said. He who made such a silly mistake «must be a Portuguese stranger»<sup>37</sup>. All the other counterarguments the author puts to the table are not as interesting, since he is just arguing that what the first author said is not true. No, Portuguese planters will not leave the colony. No, this decision was not only made by Zeeland and the other chambers in the periphery (meaning: not Amsterdam), and other similar ways of arguing. He does not argue to prove his right, he just states opposite of what the first author has stated.

There is however one aspect that is interesting about this last pamphlet. On the first page, when pointing out that the decision to reinstate the monopoly was made unanimous, the author writes that the decision was made «after long deliberation and with an unanimity of advice, not just by the people from Zeeland and the periphery-chambers, not just by the brightest politicians here in this country, but even the highest government in the United Netherlands»<sup>38</sup>. The phrase «here in this country», which is not the same country as that of the highest government of the United Netherlands, which is mentioned separately, can only indicate Dutch Brazil. This remark can mean three things: 1. The author is writing this from Brazil, which is interesting because it means that there was either a discourse exchange between the Dutch Republic and Brazil or that individuals from Brazil were actively involved in the public discourse in the Dutch Republic; 2. The pamphlet was meant for an audience in Brazil, which would mean that there was either a press together with a public discourse in Pernambuco or the Dutch tried to influence a public discourse in Brazil. Since this pamphlet explicitly mentions it is referring to the first

<sup>35</sup> Knuttel 4514: Anonymous, *Vertoogh, bij een lief-hebber des vaderlants vertoont. Tegen het ongefondeerde en schadelijck sluyten der vryen handel in Brazil* (no printer, no place 1637) [A3ro].

<sup>36</sup> Knuttel 4514: Anonymous, *Vertoogh, bij een lief-hebber des vaderlants vertoont. Tegen het ongefondeerde en schadelijck sluyten der vryen handel in Brazil* (no printer, no place 1637) [A3ro].

<sup>37</sup> «dat hy in die nederlantsche saecken een Portugijs vreemdelingh is» Kn. 4515: *Examen over het vertoogh*, 11-12.

<sup>38</sup> «na soo rijpe deliberatie van rade, ende met sodanen eenparicheyt van advijs, niet van de Zeeuwen ende Buyten-cameren (ghelijck die daer worden genoemt) niet alleen van die ghesonste politiquen hier te Lande; maer selve van d'hoogste regeringhe der vereenichde Nederlanden». *Idem*, 3.

pamphlet, this means that the first pamphlet must have been read in Brazil too; or 3. The author is pretending there is a link between himself and Brazil in an attempt to boost his credibility. Which would still be remarkable since it is done so nonchalantly that it appears not to be a unique situation that someone from Brazil is involved in the public discourse in the Dutch Republic.

This trans-Atlantic sphere of public discourse that seems to have happened simultaneously in two different locations, looks like a promising new avenue for future research. The literature on pamphlets, public opinion, public debate, and the public sphere has been devoted to national contexts. If there was any attention for the colonies, they have been considered as a topic and not as a geographical place where this discourse happened. These connections formed by debates spanning oceans and continents. This sphere not only existed in the imagination of individuals engaged in the discourse, but is also represented in the pamphlets that functioned as a repository. The individuals that formed this trans-Atlantic phenomenon thus exerted supra-national influence on the outcome of the political decision-making process.

## CONCLUSION

The far-from-straightforward decision-making process in the States General sparked a public discourse and concomitantly a public discourse on the issue of free trade to Brazil in the years 1637-1638. Especially in the last year challenging the monopoly was an important issue in the public discourse. Economic arguments, supported by moral and juridical reasoning were printed in large numbers. The individuals reacted to the monopoly in Dutch Brazil by outside lobbying for their own interest through the use of pamphlets. How did this public debate and discourse influence the outcome of the decision-making process? What was the outcome of this campaign?

The WIC chamber of the Noorderkwartier, which previously had opted for maintaining the monopoly, was convinced and now supported the Amsterdam chamber in its attempt to convince the States General to allow free trade. There is no proof that this is a direct result from the public discourse, but the pamphlets arguing for free trade obviously did not do any harm. The chamber of the Noorderkwartier felt that at the very least the opinion of Johan Maurits van Nassau, the newly appointed Governor General in Brazil, should be taken into account. The States of Holland sided with the chambers of Amsterdam and Noorderkwartier and used delaying tactics. When Johan Maurits finally gave his opinion in January 1638, he proclaimed to be in favor of free trade. He was heavily influenced by his trusted vice-governor commander of the army Krzysztof Arciszewski, and furthermore stressed the risk of losing the Portuguese plantation owners if free trade

would not be allowed<sup>39</sup>. It must be noted here that Arciszewski had a personal connection with the author of one of the pamphlets arguing for free trade, since that author mentions he was only able to obtain a house in Recife through his personal connection with the Polish WIC army commander<sup>40</sup>. Outside lobbying was certainly not the only mechanisms for individuals pursuing their own interests. Patronage and personal networks had been important as well.

On April 29, 1638 the States General, the *Heeren XIX* and the various chambers came to an agreement. The conclusion was that the trade in slaves, Brazilwood and munitions would be monopolized by the Company, while the other trade would be licensed and only allowed to all inhabitants of the Dutch Republic who were shareholders in the WIC. Since the plantation owners used all their money in their *engenhos*, they were not obligated to obtain a license or become a shareholder and could still trade in the same manner as they did before<sup>41</sup>. This outcome resulted in a lot of free trade in sugar (see graph 1) and a Company that kept the most profitable trade for itself. This way, none of the parties was left empty-handed. Or, as Henk den Heijer stated, this was a perfect example of the typical Dutch *poldermodel*<sup>42</sup>.

Thus, when confronted with a monopoly, the individuals who benefited from free trade used outside lobbying, here represented by pamphleteering, in an attempt to influence the decision-making process. There are signs that lead to believe that even individuals outside the Dutch Republic, in this case Brazil, attempted to (or even succeeded in) influencing the public discourse. At the very least, this form of outside lobbying contributed to a result that was more favorable than a monopoly held by the Dutch West India Company.

## SOURCES

Kaninklijke Bibliotheek: National Library of the Netherlands

Knuttel 3998: Anonymous, West-Indische Compagnie. Articulen, met approbatie van de Ho:Mog: Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden, provisioneelijck beraemt by Bewinthebberen vande Generale geotroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie ter vergaderinghe vande Neghentiene, over het open ende vry stellen vanden Handel ende Negotie op de stadt Olinda de Parnambuco, ende Custen van Brasil (Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteijn, Amsterdam 1630).

Knuttel 3999: Anonymous, West-Indische Compagnie. Articulen, met approbatie van de Ho:Mog: Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden, provisioneelijck beraemt by Bewinthebberen vande Generale geotroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie ter vergaderinghe vande Neghentiene, over het open ende vry stellen vanden Handel ende Negotie op de stadt Olinda de Parnambuco, ende Custen van Brasil (Weduwe en erfgenamen van Simon Moulett, ordinaris druckers der Ed:Mog: Heeren Staten van Zeelandt, Middelburg 1630).

Knuttel 4152: Anonymous, West-Indische Compagnie. Articulen, met approbatie van de Ho:Mog: Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden, provisioneelijck beraemt by Bewinthebberen vande Generale geotroyeerde West-Indische

<sup>39</sup> BOXER, 1957: 79-81.

<sup>40</sup> Kn. 4514: *Vertoogh*, [A3ro-vo].

<sup>41</sup> BOXER, 1957: 81-82.

<sup>42</sup> HEIJER, 2007: 72-92.

- Compagnie ter vergaderinghe vande Neghentiene, over het open ende vry stellen vanden Handel ende Negotie op de stadt Olinda de Parnambuco, ende Custen van Brasil. Hier zijn achter by ghedruckt de vryheden van Nieu-Nederland (Marten Jansz. Brandt, boeck-verkooper by de Nieuwe Kerk in de gereformeerde catechismus, Amsterdam 1631).
- Knuttel 4425: Anonymous, Reden van dat die West-Indische Compagnie oft handelinge niet alleen profijtelijck maer oock noodtsaeckelijck is tot behoudnisse van onsen staet (no printer, no place 1636).
- Knuttel 4513: Anonymous, Nieuwe inteyckeninge ende verhooginghe der capitalen vande geotroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie (no printer, no place 1637).
- Knuttel 4514: Anonymous, Vertoogh, bij een lief-hebber des vaderlants vertoont. Teghen het ongefondeerde en schadelijck sluyten der vryen handel in Brazil (no printer, no place 1637).
- Knuttel 4515: Anonymous, Examen over het vertoogh teghen het ongefondeerde ende schadelijck sluyten der vryen handel in Brasil door een ondersoecker der waerheydt (no printer, no place 1637).
- Knuttel 4580: Ior. H. Gr. Groningen, Consideratien als dat de negotie op Brasil behoort open gestelt te worden onder articulen hier na beschreven (no printer, no place 1638).
- Knuttel 4581: Anonymous, Deductie, waer by onpartijdelijck over-wogen ende bewesen wort, wat het beste voor de Compagnie van West-Indien zy: den handel te sluyten of open te laten (Isaac Burghoorn, 's-Gravenhage 1638).
- Knuttel 4582: Anonymous, Het spel van Brasiliën vergeheleken by een goedt verkeer-spel (no printer, no place 1638); Knuttel 4583: Anonymous, Het spel van Brasiliën, vergeleeken bij een goedt verkeer-spel (no printer, no place 1638).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BOXER, C.R. (1957) – *The Dutch in Brazil*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- DEEN, F., et al., eds. (2011) – *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic*. Leiden: Brill.
- DEEN, F. & MOORDDAM (2012) – *Publiek debat en propaganda in Amsterdam tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand (1566-1578)*. Dissertation in History. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- DUKE, A. (1999) – *Dissident propaganda and political organization at the outbreak of the Revolt of the Netherlands*. In BENEDICT, P., et al., eds. – *Reformation, revolt and civil war in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*. Amsterdam: Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks 176, p. 115-132.
- EBERT, C. (2003) – *Dutch Trade with Brazil before the Dutch West India Company, 1587-1621*. In POSTMA, J. & ENTHOVEN, V., eds. – *Riches from Atlantic Commerce*. Leiden: Brill, p. 49-75.
- GEURTS, P.A.M. (1956) – *De Nederlandse opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584*. Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt.
- HARLINE, C.E. (1987) – *Pamphlets, printing and political culture in the Early Modern Dutch Republic*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff.
- HARMS, R. (2010) – *De uitvinding van de publieke opinie: pamfletten als massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw*. Dissertation History. Utrecht: Utrecht University.
- HEIJER, H. den (2002) – *De Geschiedenis van de WIC*. Zutphen: Walburg Press.
- (2007) – *Het recht van de sterkste in de polder. Politieke en economische strijd tussen Amsterdam en Zeeland over de kwestie Brazilië, 1630-1654*. In BOS, D., et al., eds. – *Harmonie in Holland: Het poldermodel van 1500 tot nu*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, p. 72-92.
- HELMERS, H.J. (2011) – *The Royalist Republic: literature, politics and religion in the Anglo-Dutch public sphere, 1639-1660*. Dissertation in History. Leiden: Leiden University.
- ISRAEL, J.I. (1996) – *De Republiek, 1477-1806*. Franeker: Van Wijnen.
- KOLLMAN, K. (1998) – *Outside Lobbying: Public opinion and interest group strategies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ROPER, L. H. & JACOBS, J., eds. (2014) – *The Worlds of the Seventeenth-Century Hudson Valley*. Albany: Sunny Press.

- LOWERY, D. (2005) – «*Why do organized interests lobby? A multi-goal, multi-context theory of lobbying*». Inaugural Address as Professor of Public Administration at Leiden University on May 24. Available at Leiden University Repository via: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/3492>.
- POLLMANN, J. & SPICER, A., eds. (2007) – *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*. Leiden: Brill.
- REINDERS, M.E.H.N. (2007) – *Justus Lipsius between War and Peace: His Public Letter on Spanish Foreign Policy and the Respective Merits of War, Peace or Truce*. In POLLMANN, J. & SPICER, A., eds. (2007) – *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*. Leiden: Brill, p. 141-162.
- REINDERS, M.H.P. (2008) – *Printed Pandemonium: The Power of the Public and the Market for Popular Political Publications in the Early Modern Dutch Republic*. Dissertation History Erasmus University, Rotterdam.
- STENSLAND, M. (2011) – *Peace or no peace? The role of pamphleteering in Public Debate in the run-up to the twelve-year truce*. In DEEN, F., et al., eds. – *Pamphlets and politics in the Dutch Republic*. Leiden, Brill, p. 227-252.
- (2012) – *Habsburg communication in the Dutch Revolt*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (edited version of her 2008 dissertation at Oxford University).
- STRUM, D. (2012) – *O Comércio do Açúcar: Brasil, Portugal e Países Baixos*. Rio de Janeiro.
- 'T HART, M.C. (1993) – *Autonom maar kwetsbaar. De Middelburgse regenten en de opstand van 1651*. «De zeventiende eeuw», 9, 1. p. 51-62.
- VAN GROESEN, M. (2011) – *Lessons learned: The Second Dutch Conquest of Brazil and the Memory of the First*. «Colonial Latin American Review», 20, 2, p. 167-193.
- WÄTJEN, H. (1921) – *Das holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien. Ein Kapitel aus der Kolonialgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.
- WESTSTEIJN, A. (2014) – *Dutch Brazil and the Making of Free Trade Ideology*. In VAN GROESEN, M., ed. – *The Legacy of Dutch Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 187-192.

