

**PREDECESSORS OF ABN AMRO BANK N.V. AND
CONNECTIONS TO AFRICAN SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE AMERICAS**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the direction of LaSalle Bank Corporation (LBC), History Associates Incorporated (HAI) conducted a study of predecessors of ABN AMRO Bank N.V. (ABN AMRO) to determine historical connections to African slavery in the United States and elsewhere in the Americas. LaSalle Bank N.A., headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, and LaSalle Bank Midwest N.A., headquartered in Troy, Michigan, are owned by LaSalle Bank Corporation, which is owned by ABN AMRO North America Holding Company. ABN AMRO North America Holding Company is owned by ABN AMRO Bank N.V., which is owned by ABN AMRO Holding N.V., headquartered in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

In conducting this research, HAI identified predecessors of LBC founded before 1866 in the United States and predecessors of ABN AMRO established before 1888 in Brazil, England, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden. HAI reviewed the original records of these predecessors and other relevant historical sources. The following briefly summarizes HAI's findings.

- No historical connections were identified between the predecessors of LBC and African slavery in the United States or elsewhere in the Americas.
- No historical connections to African slavery in the United States or elsewhere in the Americas were identified among ABN AMRO predecessors in Brazil, England, or Sweden.
- ABN AMRO predecessors in the Netherlands and France traded in securities and purchased goods from slaveholding areas of the United States. These transactions were infrequent, comprising only a small percentage of their business.
- ABN AMRO predecessors in the Netherlands, France, and Germany had historical connections to African slavery elsewhere in the Americas. Predecessors in all three countries had business associates in slaveholding territories, invested in securities associated with slaveholding territories, and traded in goods produced by slaveholding territories. Predecessors in France and the Netherlands had connections to the transatlantic slave trade, and one predecessor in the Netherlands accepted slaves as collateral on loans.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In July 2005, History Associates Incorporated (HAI)¹ was engaged by LaSalle Bank Corporation (LBC) to investigate historical connections between predecessors of ABN AMRO Bank N.V. (ABN AMRO) and African slavery both in the United States and elsewhere in the Americas. The HAI research team completed over 3,700 hours of work on this project, about 85 percent of which took place in Europe and South America. HAI researchers made inquiries and reviewed documents at more than seventy-five repositories in ten countries—Brazil, England, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.

HAI took a phased approach to this research. During the first phase, HAI identified the pre-1866 predecessors of LBC.² Researchers began with information provided by LBC and then cross-checked this with a variety of historical sources. The end result was a list of LBC predecessors, which is included in Appendix 2 of this report.

After identifying the pre-1866 predecessors of LBC in the United States, HAI attempted to locate any surviving records of these predecessors, specifically those that might comment on their business activities in the United States before 1866. These records include items such as accounting ledgers, minutes of partners or directors meetings, letterbooks, and correspondence files. Since the original records of LBC's pre-1866 predecessors appear not to have survived, HAI researchers focused their efforts on reviewing other sources. These sources include nineteenth and twentieth century newspapers and business periodicals, published histories and anthologies, personal papers of founders or directors, and publications by the banks themselves.

During the second phase, HAI identified predecessors of ABN AMRO established before 1888 in Brazil, England, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden.³ Researchers began with the information provided by the staff at the ABN AMRO Historical Archives in the Netherlands. HAI also contacted ABN AMRO staff in Brazil, England, France, Germany, and Sweden for further details.⁴ HAI researchers then turned to public sources to confirm and expand on this information. The end result was a list of predecessor entities founded before 1888 in each country. This list is included in Appendix 3 of this report.

¹ History Associates Incorporated (HAI) is an independent consulting firm that provides customized historical research and writing, litigation research, and archives and records management services. Our clients have included hundreds of corporations, government agencies, and professional and nonprofit organizations worldwide. In addition to the main office located outside Washington, D.C., HAI has offices in California, New York, and Berlin, as well as an international network of historical consultants.

² President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, freed all slaves residing in territories declared to be in rebellion against the federal government. It did not apply to slaves held in the border states of Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, and Missouri, which remained part of the Union. Nor did it free any slaves in southern areas already under Union military control or in the forty-eight counties that made up West Virginia (which would become the thirty-fifth state admitted to the Union, on June 20, 1863). In December 1865, the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution was ratified by Congress and slavery in the United States officially ended.

³ In 1888 Brazil became the last American nation to outlaw African slavery.

⁴ HAI would like to extend our thanks to the staff of ABN AMRO, particularly those at the ABN AMRO Historical Archives in the Netherlands, for their invaluable assistance throughout this project.

HAI researchers then attempted to locate any surviving records of these pre-1888 predecessors, specifically any that might describe their business activities before 1888. These records might include accounting ledgers, minutes of partners or directors meetings, letterbooks and correspondence files, and records of market research or commodity valuation. HAI began its research with finding aids and secondary sources in the custody of ABN AMRO, and then broadened its search to include records in the public domain.

Results varied by country. The Netherlands yielded the highest volume of original records. These records were dispersed throughout the country in thirty-three different repositories. In France and Germany, there were fewer surviving collections of original records, and they have been relocated to a few centralized archival facilities. In Brazil, England, and Sweden, original records of the predecessors from the period before 1888 appear not to have survived, so HAI focused its research on other public sources.

When considering each predecessor's potential historical connection to African slavery in the United States and elsewhere in the Americas, HAI researchers noted any evidence of the following:

- **Involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade**, including:
 - Purchasing Interest in Slaving Voyages
 - Insurance of Slaving Voyages
 - Clients or Accountholders Involved in the Slave Trade
 - Loans or Credit to Persons Involved in the Slave Trade

- **Involvement in Slave Ownership**, including:
 - Acquisition of Slaves by Foreclosure on Loans
 - Slave Owners as Clients or Accountholders
 - Loans or Credit to Slave Owners

- **Issuance of Slave Life Insurance Policies**

- **Involvement of Founders, Partners, Other Business Associates, and Their Families in Any of the Above**

- **Business Connections with Slaveholding Territories**, including:
 - Branches, Offices, or Agents in Slaveholding Territories
 - Clients or Accountholders in Slaveholding Territories

- **Investment in Securities from Slaveholding Territories**, including:
 - Bonds Issued by Slaveholding Territories
 - Shares of Businesses in Slaveholding Territories

- **Trade in Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories**, including:
Purchase, Sale, Transport, or Price Inquiries

Whenever HAI researchers located evidence of one of these types of involvement, we made an effort to collect more information on the institutions, individuals, or transactions involved. To do this, HAI researchers consulted related manuscript collections, family papers, secondary studies, and other resources related to the history of slavery and the slave trade.



PART I. LASALLE BANK CORPORATION FINDINGS

LaSalle Bank Corporation (LBC) owns LaSalle Bank N.A., headquartered in Chicago, Illinois, and LaSalle Bank Midwest N.A., headquartered in Troy, Michigan. After reviewing the materials provided by LBC and cross-checking these with publicly available sources, HAI identified the following two pre-1866 predecessors of LBC:

- First Commercial Savings Bank of Michigan (1863)
- Union Livestock National Bank of Chicago (1865)

HAI then conducted a search for any original records of these banks. As part of this search, HAI contacted universities, libraries, historical societies, museums, and state and federal archives likely to be custodians of these types of records. HAI was unable to find any original records of these two banks. In the absence of original records, HAI researchers reviewed a variety of other sources for any information on the business activities of these two banks before 1866.

HAI found no evidence of historical connections between the predecessors of LBC and African slavery in the United States or elsewhere in the Americas. Furthermore, based on our knowledge of banking in the United States before 1866, HAI considers it highly unlikely that either of these two northern banks conducted significant business in the American South or had connections to the institution of slavery during the short period between their founding and the abolition of slavery in the United States.



PART II. ABN AMRO BANK N.V. FINDINGS

A. PREDECESSORS IN THE NETHERLANDS

ABN AMRO was created in 1990 by the merger of two Dutch banks, Algemene Bank Nederland N.V. (ABN) and Amsterdam Rotterdam Bank N.V. (Amro). The origins of ABN date back to the Nederlandse Handel-Maatschappij, N.V. (Netherlands Trading Society), established in 1825 pursuant to a Dutch Royal decree of 1824. Amro was formed in 1964 by the merger of Rotterdamsche Bank, founded in 1863, and Amsterdamsche Bank, founded in 1871. During their history, each of these firms acquired or merged with numerous other Dutch banks, some of which date back to the late 1700s. With the assistance of the ABN AMRO Historical Archives, HAI identified 159 pre-1888 ABN AMRO predecessors in the Netherlands.

HAI located and reviewed original records from 63 of the pre-1888 ABN AMRO predecessors. These various records collections are stored in public repositories across the Netherlands, including municipal archives in the larger cities near the coast, the National Archives in The Hague, and regional history centers in the east and north. Supporting documentation was reviewed at the ABN AMRO Historical Archives in the Netherlands. HAI researchers also consulted published works relating to Dutch colonial history and the transatlantic slave trade.

HAI found evidence of the following historical connections between the Dutch predecessors of ABN AMRO and African slavery in the United States and the Americas:

- Insurance of Slaving Voyages
- Loans to Slave Owners
- Involvement of Business Associates in Slave Ownership
- Investment in Bonds from Slaveholding Territories
- Trade in Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories

Insurance of Slaving Voyages

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, transporting goods by ship could be both profitable and risky. One method of counterbalancing this risk was to organize a group of wealthy investors willing to insure the voyage's cargo, often in exchange for a portion of the profits. The insurers might further dilute the risk by selling shares of their portion of the insurance on a cargo. HAI researchers found evidence that one ABN AMRO predecessor in the Netherlands brokered insurance on ships and cargo that included slaves.

- Logbooks at the Rotterdam municipal archives indicated that the Rotterdam banking firm of **Chabot** brokered insurance on cargo carried by the ship *Vrouw Maria Isabella* in late

1774.⁵ Between 1768 and 1774 the *Vrouw Maria Isabella* made five voyages carrying cargo that included slaves.⁶ HAI confirmed that the voyage of 1774 for which Chabot brokered insurance was one of these slaving voyages. The journey began in the Netherlands in October 1774. From there, the ship sailed to an unidentified location in Africa. It arrived in the Dutch colony of Surinam in November 1775 with 280 slaves. It left Surinam for Holland in March 1776.⁷

HAI researchers noted two other cases where Chabot arranged insurance on voyages that may have been involved in the slave trade. However, the fragmentary nature of the surviving records makes it very difficult to determine if the specific voyages that Chabot helped insure were ones connected to the slave trade.⁸

Loans to Slave Owners

To finance colonial activities in the Americas, Dutch financiers developed a unique type of loan instrument called a *negotiatie*.⁹ These loans were financed by a syndicate of shareholders and granted to planters in the form of a mortgage on the plantation and its assets, including slaves. HAI researchers found evidence that one ABN AMRO predecessor in the Netherlands acted as a broker in arranging *negotiatie* loans to plantation owners in slaveholding territories.

The records of **Ketwich & Voombergh** indicate that the firm participated in *negotiatie* loans both as a shareholder and as the administrator of the loan. During our review of the firm's records, HAI found documentation regarding several plantations in the Guyana region that were offered as collateral on *negotiatie* loans between 1772 and 1810. For example:

- Records pertaining to the loan on the Guyana plantation *La Pénitence* included appraisals of the collateral securing the loan. This collateral included cultivations, buildings, and

⁵ Gemeentearchief Rotterdam (Municipal Archives Rotterdam), Toegangsnr. 32.01, Inventarisnr. 53, p. 17 (22 December 1774).

⁶ David Eltis et al., eds., *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, 2nd ed., forthcoming (first edition published as *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. A Database on CD-ROM* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999)). Cited hereafter using only the voyage identification numbers from the 1999 publication.

⁷ According to a number of Dutch archival documents cited in the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* and independently secured by HAI, on the last two slaving journeys a certain Carsten Edebool was the captain. This name corresponds with the entry in the Chabot logbook (Eltis et al., *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, Voyage ID #10830.) See also, Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, Toegangsnr. 68, Inventarisnr. 84.

⁸ One doubtful case is that of the *Vrouw Elisabeth*, for which insurance policies through Chabot are recorded in Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, Toegangsnr. 32.01, Inventarisnr. 52, p. 50 (30 July 1772); idem, Inventarisnr. 53, p. 3 (18 November 1774). Records used to document a potential match in the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (Voyage ID #10550) include: Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archives Amsterdam), Toegangsnr. 5075, Inventarisnr. 12734, doc. 9732/25; Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, Toegangsnr. 68, Inventarisnr. 54 and 55. A second doubtful case is that of the *Prinses Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina*, for which an insurance policy through Chabot is recorded in Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, Toegangsnr. 32.01, Inventarisnr. 52, p. 85 (21 October 1772). Records used to document a potential match in the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (Voyage ID #10575) include: Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Toegangsnr. 5075, Inventarisnr. 12731, doc. 9311/52.

⁹ On the new investment tool, the *negotiatie*, see Johannes Petrus van de Voort, *De Westindische Plantages van 1720 tot 1795. Financiën en Handel* (Eindhoven, 1973).

slaves on the plantation. These appraisals included the slaves' age, name, gender, profession, and other personal details such as their state of health.¹⁰

A comprehensive list of slave names found in the Ketwich & Voombergh records can be found in Appendix 1 of this report. HAI did not find slave names in the records of any other ABN AMRO predecessor.

The administrator of the *negotiatie* bore responsibility for the profitability of the plantation vis-à-vis the shareholders. To ensure this responsibility was met, directors appointed a local representative, or *agendaris*, in the colony to report on the condition of the plantation in question. When plantations yielded poor results, or when the owner defaulted on his debt, the administrator of the loan had several options. One was to recuse himself from the administration.

Because of Ketwich & Voombergh's involvement as directors and supervisors of these loans, the company's archives also contain documents concerning the local management of plantations, including the following record of a director submitting his resignation:

- In 1788 Abraham van Ketwich requested that he be removed as director of a *negotiatie* for the plantation *Vrouw Johanna* in the Dutch colony of Berbice because the plantation was in such poor financial condition.¹¹

In cases of extreme financial distress, the *negotiatie* lenders sometimes advised the plantation owner to sell his or her property. Ketwich & Voombergh did this in the case of one troubled plantation named *The Beehive*.

- According to the firm's records, *The Beehive*, a sugar plantation in Demerary, ran into financial difficulties two decades after receiving a loan of fl. 112,000 via a *negotiatie* administered by Ketwich & Voombergh. In 1797 the plantation owners agreed with Ketwich & Voombergh's local representative that the land should be sold. The slaves were transferred to a new plantation for the cultivation of cotton (*The New Beehive*).¹²

HAI also found two cases where the records indicate Ketwich & Voombergh became partial owner of a plantation when the original owner defaulted on his or her debt.

- In 1792 the firm was involved in a loan of fl. 300,000 to Thomas Cuming, owner of a plantation called *The Garden of Eden*. Ketwich & Voombergh was the largest shareholder

¹⁰ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archives of Amsterdam), Toegangsnr. 600, Inventarisnr. 591, Inventory and Appraisal of Plantation 'La Pénitence,' Demerary, owner J. F. de Saffon, 11 August 1772; idem, owner Louis Rigano, 8 June 1790. On the collection, J.C.A. Blom en J. Leferik (aanvulling), Archief van de Firma Ketwich & Voombergh en wed. W. Borski (Amsterdam, 2005).

¹¹ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archives of Amsterdam), Toegangsnr. 600, Inventarisnr. 684.

¹² Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archives of Amsterdam), Toegangsnr. 600, Inventarisnr. 656.

in this *negotiatie* and the firm's founder, Abraham van Ketwich, acted as supervisor of the loan.

Cuming began to default on his debt in 1804. In 1810 the local agent contracted by Ketwich to oversee the loan, Dirk Hoola van Nooten, became the provisory owner of the *Garden*, which included 1,000 acres and 321 slaves. In 1813 the *negotiatie* shareholders decided to purchase the plantation from Cuming. It remained their possession until 1847, when the plantation was sold for fl. 5,000.¹³

- In 1808 Abraham van Ketwich was again one of the supervisors of a *negotiatie* on *Spieringzorg* in Surinam. The owner of the *Spieringzorg* plantation defaulted heavily; she owed shareholders fl. 127,000 for the original loan plus fl. 188,887 in unpaid interest. The shareholders decided to take possession of the *Spieringzorg* plantation and liquidate it to recoup the owner's debt.¹⁴

Involvement of Business Associates in Slave Ownership

Founded in 1824 as a trading company to promote Dutch trade and industry, the Netherlands Trading Society (NTS) is the best known of ABN AMRO's predecessors in the Netherlands. Most of the NTS's business was trade in cash crops produced in the tropical climates of both the East and West Indies. For more information on this trade, please see the section "Trade in Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories."

As a rule, the NTS purchased these cash crops through third-party agents. By 1826, the NTS had engaged agents in ten cities in the Americas, including Alvarado, Bahia, Buenos Aires, Havana, Lima, Pernambuco, Port-au-Prince, Rio de Janeiro, and Valparaiso. These local agents received an annual stipend from the NTS for their services as well as a small commission on individual transactions. During our review of the records of the NTS, HAI researchers found evidence that one of these NTS agents personally owned slaves.

- Correspondence in the **Netherlands Trading Society** archive indicated that J. C. Wylep, an NTS agent in the Brazilian city of Pernambuco from 1825 to 1832, owned African slaves. Wylep's reports to the NTS included references to an unspecified number of slaves that he used in his sugar depot.¹⁵

HAI found no evidence to suggest other agents of the NTS owned African slaves.

¹³ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archives of Amsterdam), Toegangsnr. 600, Inventarisnr. 734-41.

¹⁴ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archives of Amsterdam), Toegangsnr. 600, Inventarisnr. 732.

¹⁵ Nationaal Archief (Dutch National Archives), Toegangsnr. 2.20.01, Inventarisnr. 926 (Wylep d.d. 23-10-1829).

Investment in Bonds from Slaveholding Territories

Trading in bonds and other securities from the Americas became commonplace in the major European markets during the eighteenth century. Banks and brokerage houses during this period earned a small commission by buying and selling bonds on behalf of their clients. They also bought and sold these bonds on their own account, not necessarily on behalf of a particular client.

During our review of the records of ABN AMRO's predecessors in the Netherlands, HAI researchers noted several cases in which Dutch predecessors traded in bonds issued by slaveholding territories in the United States and the Americas, as well as bonds of businesses in slaveholding territories. The surviving records provided very few details on individual transactions. The following examples notwithstanding, trade in bonds associated with slaveholding territories never represented a significant portion of the business of any of the ABN AMRO predecessors in the Netherlands.

- During the 1840s, the Gouda-based firm of **Knox & Dortland** mediated transactions between its clients and dealers in Surinam bonds, including Ketwich & Voombergh.¹⁶
- Eighteenth-century logbooks of **Vlaer & Kol** indicated the firm purchased a bond of fl. 1,000 issued on behalf of planters in Essequibo and Demerary at the request of a Baroness Anna Maria Taets van Amerongen, earning a commission of fl. 2.10.¹⁷
- Records from **Scheurleer & Zoonen** included references to transactions in West Indian plantation bonds undertaken on behalf of the firm's clients.¹⁸

Predecessor banks also became involved in trading West Indies securities through the execution of wills. HAI researchers noted the following two instances when ABN AMRO predecessors acting as executors of wills traded in securities from slaveholding territories:

- Records from **Guépin & Van der Vlugt** indicated the firm auctioned off shares of West Indian plantations on behalf of a deceased client and his descendants. The firm earned a partial commission, or *courtage*, on the sale.¹⁹
- The Amsterdam firm **Stadnitski & Van Heukelom** also auctioned securities in its role as a caretaker of estates. In 1829 the firm came into the possession of an undetermined

¹⁶ Nationaal Archief (Dutch National Archives), Toegangsnr. 3.21.15, Inventarisnr. 4, p. 84; Inventarisnr. 140, p. 191; and Inventarisnr. 57, p. 20.

¹⁷ Utrechts Archief (Municipal Archives of Utrecht), Toegangsnr. 715-1, Inventarisnr. 686, p. 146. Berbice, Essequibo, and Demerary became English colonies in 1814.

¹⁸ See the current account books from 1840 to 1870 in the collection Firma Scheurleer en Zoonen, Gemeentearchief Den Haag (Municipal Archives of The Hague), Beheersnr. 219, Inventarisnr. 157-236.

¹⁹ Nationaal Archief (Dutch National Archives), The Hague, Toegangsnr. 2.18.14, Inventarisnr. 4, pp. 47-48 (14 February 1807).

number of Surinam bonds that belonged to the late C. M. Robin. Stadnitski & Van Heukelom later liquidated the bonds at auction.²⁰

HAI researchers found that two Dutch predecessors appeared to have invested in West Indian securities on their own accounts.

- A 1768 entry in the ledgers of **Vlaer & Kol** recorded the firm's ownership of bonds issued by the owner of three plantations in Surinam.²¹
- Records from the **Loopuijt** banking house indicated the firm owned bonds issued by colonial planters from the late 1700s until the early 1860s.²² In 1800 the value of these bonds totaled fl. 4,390.²³

HAI researchers also noted cases in which predecessors traded or invested in bonds associated with the slaveholding states in the United States.²⁴ These included municipal and government bonds issued by slaveholding states, securities from banks and businesses based in slaveholding states, and bonds issued by the Confederate States of America during the Civil War. For example:

- Records of the predecessor **Stadnitski & Van Heukelom** noted transactions in state bonds from Maryland, South Carolina, and Virginia.²⁵
- Stock registers from the firm of **G. Mesdag** recorded trade in bonds of the state of Louisiana throughout the 1850s.²⁶
- Account ledgers of the predecessor **Scheurleer & Zoonen** documented trades in Louisiana and Maryland state bonds on behalf of the firm's clients.
- Two of **Scheurleer & Zoonen**'s corporate clients, Leembruggen, Guépin, and Muysken and Hollander & Lehren, purchased bonds of the Confederate States of America during the American Civil War.²⁷

²⁰ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archives of Amsterdam), Toegangsnr. 599. No inventory.

²¹ Utrechts Archief (Municipal Archives of Utrecht), Toegangsnr. 715-1, Inventarisnr. 687, p. 26.

²² Loopuijt's activities included, in addition to banking, distilling, malting, and trading in wheat. See, Ph.C.J. Swinkels, "De Schiedamse familie Loopuyt," *Scyedam*, 25 5 (1999), pp. 174-78; idem, 26 1 (2000), pp. 4-16.

²³ Gemeentearchief Schiedam (Municipal Archives of Schiedam), Toegangsnr. 200, Inventarisnr. 108. The 1800 entry appears in the general account book under Inventarisnr. 5.

²⁴ For purposes of this report, the term "slaveholding states" refers to the following: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

²⁵ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam (Municipal Archives of Amsterdam), Toegangsnr. 599. No inventory.

²⁶ Groninger Archieven – Regionaal Historisch Centrum (Groningen Archives and Regional History Center), Toegangsnr. 1791, Inventarisnr. 127.

²⁷ Gemeentearchief Den Haag (Municipal Archives of The Hague), Beheersnr. 219, Inventarisnr. 159.

- Records from the provincial bank **G. Vermeer Johnz** indicated this firm bought and sold shares of Citizens Bank of Louisiana.
- On behalf of various clients, **Vermeer** also bought, sold, and held bonds of the Confederate States of America throughout the 1860s.²⁸

Trade in Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories

Slaveholding territories in the United States and the Americas produced and exported a number of cash crops that were in great demand in Europe, including cotton, sugar, tea, tobacco, rice, cacao, and indigo. Before 1888, slaves provided most of the labor required to cultivate, harvest, and transport these crops. HAI's research indicated that one ABN AMRO predecessor in the Netherlands, the **Netherlands Trading Society (NTS)**, was involved in trading goods produced by slaveholding territories in the United States and elsewhere in the Americas.

Founded in 1824 as a trading company to promote Dutch trade and industry, the NTS is the best known of ABN AMRO's predecessors in the Netherlands. A considerable portion of the business of the NTS was trade in cash crops produced in tropical regions. Although the vast majority of this trade occurred with the East Indies, now East Asia, the NTS also purchased exports of the West Indies and the Americas.

During its early years, the NTS purchased these exports through third-party agents. Reports submitted by these agents to the NTS indicated that the society was purchasing various cash crops from the United States and elsewhere in the Americas, most notably cotton, sugar, and tobacco. The first consignment of cotton arriving from the United States was dispersed in Amsterdam at an auction of the NTS in 1826.

Starting in 1832 and continuing for the next decade, a Hugo C. Gildemeester, the NTS's agent in New Orleans, relayed information on the U.S. cotton market back to the Netherlands. Gildemeester also collected details about local markets in Charleston, New Orleans, Mobile, and New York.

In the mid-1850s, the NTS sent a representative to the United States, D. L. W. Hooglandt, to explore the possibility of direct trade between the Netherlands and a "Planters' Agency" in the southern United States.²⁹ C. Goethe Baylor, a former U.S. consul in Amsterdam, offered his services to the NTS in an attempt to promote direct trade between the NTS and southern planters. HAI found no evidence that these men ever succeeded in their efforts to establish direct trade between NTS and the southern United States.

The NTS had terminated most of its American agreements by 1828 when the firm moved to concentrate its business in the Dutch East Indies.³⁰ During the 1830s, the NTS was indirectly

²⁸ Stadsarchief en Atheneumbibliotheek Deventer (Municipal Archives of Deventer), Toegangsnr. 884, Inventarisnr. 19, 22, 24-36.

²⁹ Nationaal Archief (Dutch National Archives), NHM, Inventarisnr. 1526; Hoogland nr. 1-4, 7-8; *ibidem*, Inventarisnr. 1543; Hoogland nr. 10-55; *ibidem*, Inventarisnr. 1560; Hoogland nr. 56-72.

³⁰ Nationaal Archief (Dutch National Archives), Toegangsnr. 2.10.01, Inventarisnr. 2293 (Indicateur for 1825).

involved in the trade of goods produced in slaveholding territories, especially cotton, through its investments in the second West India Company, founded in 1828.³¹ This company was established to facilitate trade between the Netherlands and its colonies in the West Indies, much as the NTS did in the 1820s.

³¹ The second Dutch West India Company should not be confused with the first Dutch West India Company, which was founded in 1621 and later reorganized in 1674.



B. PREDECESSORS IN FRANCE

ABN AMRO's subsidiaries in France include Banque Odier, Bungener, Courvoisier (OBC), and Banque de Neuflyze. OBC was created by the merger of two Parisian banks, Courvoisier & Cie and Odier, Bungener, and Cie. Both firms have predecessors that date back to the late 1700s and early 1800s. Banque de Neuflyze emerged from the banking house of Mallet Frères, originally established in 1713. Since its founding, Banque de Neuflyze has acquired several other French firms, some with eighteenth-century predecessors. The oldest of these is Banque André, which was initially founded in Genoa in 1667.

Few records are available for the pre-1888 predecessors of OBC, but for Banque de Neuflyze records of the four largest predecessors have survived. HAI researchers also located and reviewed materials from Banque Guérin, housed at the Rhône departmental archives in Lyon, and the André and Mallet banking house, held at the Centre des archives du monde du travail (CAMT) in Roubaix.

HAI identified the following historical connections between ABN AMRO's French predecessors and African slavery in the United States and the Americas:

- Investment in Slaving Voyages
- Clients or Accountholders Involved in the Slave Trade
- Clients or Accountholders in Slaveholding Territories
- Investment in Bonds from Slaveholding Territories
- Trade in Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories

Investment in Slaving Voyages

Outfitting a shipping expedition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries required large outlays of cash, more than most individuals could afford alone. Thus, most voyages were mounted by a group of investors, each of whom held a certain "interest" in the voyage. Typically, the profits or losses of the voyage were distributed among the investors based on the amount of their interest in the voyage.

During our review of records of ABN AMRO predecessors in France, HAI researchers found evidence that one firm, the house of **Mallet**, held interests in several voyages connected with the transatlantic slave trade during the late 1700s.

- In a general account book covering the years 1770-71, HAI researchers found an entry demonstrating an interest of 11,034:13:9 French *livres* in a ship called *Le Duc de Duras*.³² A ship of the same name completed five slaving voyages during the late 1760s and early

³² Centre des archives du monde du travail (hereinafter CAMT), 57 AQ (Banque Mallet Frères et Compagnie), doc. 2, p. 525.

1770s— three departing from Nantes in 1769, 1772, and 1774, and two departing from Bordeaux in 1767 and 1769.

Mallet's account books for 1776-77 also noted small payments relating to Mallet's interest in voyages of the *Duc de Duras*, but provided no further details.³³

- The general account book for 1776-77 included entries for payments to and from Mr. Dubois (le jeune) in Le Havre as a result of Mallet's interest in voyages of the ship *Infant d'Angole*.³⁴ During the years 1774-75, the *Infant d'Angole* made one slaving voyage from Le Havre to Angola and Cap Français at Saint Domingue (Haiti).³⁵ Payments relating to Mallet's interest in *Infant d'Angole* continued until at least 1785.³⁶
- The same account book included an entry for 30 June 1777 indicating that J. R. Wirtz & Cie from Bordeaux owed Mallet 2,925:3:8 French *livres* for its interest in the ship *La Dame Cécile*.³⁷ This ship made three slaving voyages from Le Havre in 1773, 1776, and 1778.³⁸
- An entry from Mallet's account ledger for 22 February 1791 indicated that the firm A. F. Delaville & Barthelemy owed Mallet 4,120 French *livres* for its "interest in three slave ships"—*Madame*, *Henri Quatre*, and *Madeleine*.³⁹ The Nantes-based outfitter Delaville dispatched the *Madame* on three slaving voyages in 1783, 1786, and 1788, the last time in partnership with Barthelemy.⁴⁰ Delaville set out the *Henri Quatre* in 1783 and 1791, the last again in partnership with Barthelemy.⁴¹ There were records of only one *Madeleine* slaving voyage, in 1783.⁴²

³³ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 4, pp. 499, 579.

³⁴ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 3, p. 177.

³⁵ The voyage in question is Voyage ID #32599. The other voyages are #32554, #32566, and #32575. The outfitters for this voyage were Renault and Dubois, who in preceding years had organized three other slaving voyages.

³⁶ See the account books for 1781-82 under 57 AQ, doc. 5 and doc. 6. The absence of archival records for the period 1774-75, in particular an account book from the Mallet archive, made it impossible to learn more about the exact nature of Mallet's investment.

³⁷ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 3, p. 169.

³⁸ Voyage ID #32595, #32623, and #32655.

³⁹ Archives Nationales (French National Archives), CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 7, p. 207. See also, CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 8, p. 683.

⁴⁰ Voyage ID #31120, #31180, and #31248.

⁴¹ Voyage ID #31115 and #31386.

⁴² Voyage ID #31114. See also, Jean Mettas, *Répertoire des expéditions négrières françaises au XVIIIe siècle*; Tome 1, *Nantes* (Paris, 1978); Tome 2, *Ports autres que Nantes* (Paris, 1984), ed. Serge and Michèle Daget. The only way of establishing in which of Delaville's voyages Mallet precisely had an interest is to secure copies of all archival records Mettas consulted for these voyages.

Clients or Accountholders Connected with the Slave Trade

The records of several ABN AMRO predecessors in France included transactions with persons connected with the transatlantic slave trade. In many cases, the surviving records provided very little detail on the relationships between the predecessors and these individuals.

In the records of the house of **Mallet**, HAI researchers noted the following individuals and corporations that were clients of Mallet:

- Arnous Père & Fils, Beugeard & Desegrais, Delaire Père, Fils & Painparay, Laffon Deladébat, Laralde, Lebreton, Deblessin & Dessaudrais, Rocaute Debussac, and Van Hoogwerf.

All were involved in the slave trade during the period they had ties to Mallet.⁴³

Whenever possible, HAI researchers examined other sources that might provide more information on the clients or accountholders believed to have been involved in the slave trade. For instance, in the records of Mallet:

- The register of incoming correspondence from 1784 indicated Mallet intended to offer August Simon in Nantes a credit of 40,000-50,000 French *livres*.⁴⁴ Sources on the French slave trade listed an outfitter named “Simon” (the records did not provide a first name) in Nantes who dispatched the *Comte de Tréville* on a slaving voyage to Africa in May 1784. “Simon” organized an additional twelve voyages between 1786 and 1793.
- Mallet’s accounts for 1790-91 included references to the Le Havre firm Colombel aîné, Besonguet & Barabé.⁴⁵ This firm is known to have dispatched two slave ships in 1789 and 1791.⁴⁶
- On 17 October 1785 one of Mallet’s contacts in London recommended W. Collow from Le Havre, who had a particular commercial interest in the Caribbean island of Tobago.⁴⁷ William Collow was the joint outfitter of eight slaving voyages from Le Havre between 1787 and 1791, two of which disembarked African slaves at Tobago.⁴⁸ Collow was not listed as a client of Mallet’s in the early 1780s but had become one by 1790.⁴⁹

⁴³ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 1, doc. 2, doc. 3, and doc. 4.

⁴⁴ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 109, p. 22; see also p. 681.

⁴⁵ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 7, p. 127.

⁴⁶ Voyage ID #32791 and #32823.

⁴⁷ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 109, p. 116.

⁴⁸ Voyage ID #32760 and #32837.

⁴⁹ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 7, p. 150.



- In October 1790, Mallet received information about Ambroise Perrotin (père) from Nantes to the effect that the correspondents valued this “house of outfitters,” known for their trade in Africa and their substantial assets in Saint Domingue, at 50,000-60,000 French *livres*.⁵⁰ At some point before 1791, Ambroise Perrotin Père & Fils became a client of Mallet.⁵¹ Ambroise Perrotin Père & Fils organized ten slaving voyages between 1785 and 1792.
- On 22 March 1791, François Fruchard wrote Mallet requesting a credit of 20,000 French *livres* on behalf of his son, Fruchard fils aîné from Nantes.⁵² On 18 May 1791, the account of F. Fruchard Fils with Mallet was debited 19,721:17:3 French *livres*.⁵³ In June 1791, Fruchard Fils dispatched the *Bon Père* on a slaving voyage to Calabar (today a port in Nigeria) and Saint Domingue.⁵⁴
- On 16 January 1790, the account of Massac & Lemarcis from Rouen was credited with 4,554 French *livres* for a payment drawn from Romberg, Baptist & Cie by a relative from Saint Domingue.⁵⁵ Romberg and Baptist were outfitters from Bordeaux who, between 1785 and 1790, organized six slaving voyages to Saint Domingue.

The ABN AMRO predecessor **Banque André** also had business dealings with individuals and corporations, particularly maritime traders and outfitters, involved in the slave trade. For instance:

- Early in 1823, André executed various transactions on behalf of Philippon & Cie from Le Havre. In that year Philippon dispatched the ship *Glaneur* on a slaving voyage to Brazil.⁵⁶ André arranged payments for necessary purchases, including supplies in Liverpool and the acquisition of “cowries,” merchandise commonly used to trade with Africa.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 109, pp. 604-5.

⁵¹ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 8, p. 594. Ambroise Perrotin was already a client of Mallet in 1776-77, years in which one of his slave ships was at sea. Voyage ID #3105.

⁵² CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 109, p. 627.

⁵³ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 7, p. 53.

⁵⁴ Voyage ID #31385.

⁵⁵ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 4, p. 341. See also, CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 4, p. 345.

⁵⁶ Voyage ID #34376.

⁵⁷ CAMT, 44 AQ (Banque de Neuflyze), doc. 206, pp. 55-56, pp. 70-71, p. 119, and p. 178; and 44 AQ, doc. 222, p. 48.

- In 1819, André negotiated with Vasse-Mancel from Le Havre about a credit of FF 15,000.⁵⁸ Vasse-Mancel remained a client of the bank until 1825, when correspondence with André showed Vasse-Mancel dispatching tobacco to the German city of Bremen.⁵⁹ In 1824, Vasse-Mancel organized a slaving voyage to the island of Goree off the coast of Senegal.⁶⁰
- Other slave trading clients of André noted in registers of correspondence from 1819 onward include Rosset & Boudet from Nantes (voyages in 1815 and 1822) and Firebrace Davidson & Cie from Le Havre (a voyage in 1823).⁶¹

Clients or Accountholders in Slaveholding Territories

During our review of the records of ABN AMRO's French predecessors, HAI researchers noted evidence that one firm, the house of **Mallet**, earned commissions by managing capital and extending credit to individuals and institutions based in slaveholding territories in the United States and the Americas. For example:

- In 1781, the account of trader Isaac Tarteiron from Bordeaux was credited with 11,507:9 French *livres* originating from Cap Français (Saint Domingue).⁶²
- The house of Michel Chaurand & Ducamp from Nantes was credited with 8,600 French *livres* originating from Cap Français.⁶³
- In 1782, the successors of Widow Hardy at Martinique owed the bank 21,062:17 French *livres*.⁶⁴
- Around the same period of time, a military official at Martinique, one La Perriere, owed the bank 19,182:13 French *livres*.⁶⁵

From 1870 onward, the house of **André** also extended its services and contacts to supply banks in the Americas with loans. In these instances, André was not itself the creditor, but rather the mediator between suppliers and receivers. For this service André levied an annual commission.

⁵⁸ CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 172, p. 456.

⁵⁹ CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 222, p. 53.

⁶⁰ Voyage ID #34411.

⁶¹ CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 176, p. 199; and 44 AQ, doc. 177, p. 268.

⁶² CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 5, p. 622.

⁶³ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 5, p. 693.

⁶⁴ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 5, pp. 675, 772.

⁶⁵ CAMT, 57 AQ, doc. 5, pp. 768, 773.

- Loans were provided to banks in Cuba and Brazil, including: the Banco Mercantil da Bahia (Brazil), which received a loan in 1872; the Banco da Bahia (Brazil), which received a loan of FF 500,000 in 1879; and the Banque Espagnol de l'Ile de Cuba, which received a loan in 1883.⁶⁶

Investment in Bonds from Slaveholding Territories

Trading in bonds and other securities from the Americas became commonplace in the major European markets during the eighteenth century. Banks and brokerage houses during this period earned a small commission by buying and selling bonds on behalf of their clients. They also bought and sold these bonds on their own account, not necessarily on behalf of a particular client.

During our review of the records of ABN AMRO's French predecessors, HAI researchers noted evidence that one predecessor, **Banque André**, invested in bonds issued by municipalities and corporations located in slaveholding territories. For instance:

- Records of the bank indicated the firm traded in Cuban securities in the period before 1886.⁶⁷
- The bank also bought and sold securities associated with southern Brazil, including those issued by the Brazilian Railway Dom Pedro I.⁶⁸

The following are examples of Banque André's transaction in bonds from the slaveholding states in the United States.

- According to bank ledgers and correspondence, the firm traded in bonds of the state of Louisiana between 1838 and 1849.⁶⁹ In 1858 a Dutch client, Hope & Co. from Amsterdam, sold eight Louisiana bonds through André.⁷⁰
- During the 1850s, André also bought and sold bonds of the state of Texas.⁷¹
- Original records also indicated that in 1866, Union Bank of Louisiana owed André FF 86,737 in outstanding debt. The records did not relate the history of this debt or the nature of André's business transactions with Union Bank of Louisiana.⁷²

⁶⁶ CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 4113, pp. 40, 60, 67.

⁶⁷ CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 70, pp. 81-82, 111.

⁶⁸ CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 70, pp. 71, 99.

⁶⁹ CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 59 and doc. 62-64.

⁷⁰ CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 3304, p. 84. See also the correspondence with Hope & Co. from 1849-50 in 44 AQ, doc. 14.

⁷¹ CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 65, p. 56.

⁷² CAMT, 44 AQ, doc. 37, Liquidation de N/Société de 1860 à 1865.

Trade in Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories

Slaveholding territories in the United States and the Americas produced and exported a number of cash crops that were in great demand in Europe, most notably cotton, sugar, tea, tobacco, rice, cacao, and indigo. Before 1888, slaves provided most of the labor required to cultivate, harvest, and transport these crops.

During our review of the records of ABN AMRO's French predecessors, HAI researchers found one case of trade in goods produced in slaveholding territories in the Americas.

- During the 1850s, **Banque Seillière-Demachy** dealt in tobacco, which they purchased from, among other places, Paraguay. In 1854 Seillière recorded a profit of FF 25,500 on their trade in tobacco from Paraguay, where slavery had not yet been abolished.⁷³

HAI researchers also noted the following investment by **Banque Seillière-Demachy** in goods produced in a slaveholding state in the United States.

- According to its ledgers, the bank invested in Kentucky tobacco between 1857 and 1860.⁷⁴

⁷³ CAMT, 2003 053, doc. F 1 SD 2, Inventaire 31/12/1854.

⁷⁴ CAMT, 2003 053, doc. F 1 SD 2, Inventaire 31/12/1857–Inventaire 31/12/1860.

C. PREDECESSORS IN GERMANY

ABN AMRO's subsidiary in Germany is Delbrück Bethmann Maffei AG. This firm was created by the merger of three banks, Delbrück Leo & Co., established in 1854; Bethmann, established in 1748; and Maffei, established in 1954.⁷⁵ Delbrück's two principal predecessors are the Berlin banks Gebrüder Schickler, established in 1795, and Splitgerber & Daum, established in 1712. In addition to the initial Gebrueder Bethmann firm established in 1748, the other predecessor of Bethmann Bank is Maison Johann Jakob Adami, established in 1700. Both are Frankfurt banking houses.

HAI located and reviewed historical records of the Bethmann predecessors, which are housed in the Municipal Archives of Frankfurt. Original records of Delbrück and its pre-1888 predecessors appear not to have survived; however, HAI researchers reviewed public records describing the business activities of these firms.

HAI identified the following historical connections between the German predecessors of ABN AMRO and African slavery in the United States and the Americas:

- Clients or Accountholders in Slaveholding Territories
- Investment in Bonds from Slaveholding Territories
- Founders Trading Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories
- Trade in Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories

Clients or Accountholders in Slaveholding Territories

HAI found evidence that one ABN AMRO predecessor, **Gebrüder Bethmann**, had a client located in a slaveholding territory in the Americas.

Most of Gebrüder Bethmann's business during the second half of the 1700s was in German-speaking Europe. HAI's review of the bank's account ledgers and correspondence from the period 1760 to 1820 identified more than two hundred clients in nearly one hundred cities. These materials revealed a preponderance of commercial partners in and around Cologne, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Leipzig, and Vienna, with only occasional mentions of banking houses located in Amsterdam, Antwerp, Milan, and Paris. However, HAI researchers found evidence of one Gebrüder Bethmann client in a slaveholding territory in the Americas:

- Records of the bank showed that the French planter Count Louis Pantaléon Noé, who had extensive holdings in the French colony of Haiti, opened an account with Gebrüder Bethmann in 1798.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ The Maffei Bank is often confused with a bank of the same name established by Peter Paul Maffei in 1808; however, the 1808 bank is not an ABN AMRO predecessor.

⁷⁶ Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt (Municipal Archives of Frankfurt), Bethmann-Archiv, VII/16 [13.10.1798].

HAI researchers did not locate any evidence that Gebrüder Bethmann ever directly owned plantations or other properties in the United States and the Americas during the slaveholding era. In fact, an 1815 letter written by a descendant of the Bethmann brothers specifically stated that neither the Bordeaux nor the Frankfurt branches of his family had ever owned a plantation.⁷⁷

Investment in Bonds from Slaveholding Territories

Trading in bonds and other securities from the Americas became commonplace in the major European markets during the eighteenth century. Banks and brokerage houses during this period earned a small commission by buying and selling bonds on behalf of their clients. They also bought and sold these bonds on their own account, not necessarily on behalf of a particular client.

During our review of the records of ABN AMRO's German predecessors, HAI researchers found evidence that one predecessor invested in bonds of institutions in slaveholding territories.

- Records of the firm indicated that **Splitgerber & Daum** bought and sold bonds of the Royal Danish West India Company as well as bonds used to finance unnamed West Indian plantations.⁷⁸ The surviving records did not provide any more details.

Founders Trading Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories

HAI's research on the founders of German predecessors indicated that the Bethmann family, involved in founding Gebrüder Bethmann, may have had ties to African slavery in the Americas.

Gebrüder Bethmann was founded in 1748 by the oldest and youngest of three brothers, Johann Philipp and Simon Moritz Bethmann. The middle brother, Johann Jakob Bethmann, had moved to the French port city of Bordeaux in 1745. Johann Jakob helped establish the firm of Bethmann & Imbert in Bordeaux, which traded extensively with the French West Indies during the last half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁹

Records indicate that Johann Jakob Bethmann also contemplated joining a consortium of investors involved in the slave trade through a firm he owned with his brother-in-law, called Bethmann & Desclaux. The proposed venture entailed cooperating with the Danish Guinea Company to transport a total of 3,600 slaves over three years. Johann Jakob secured a commitment from his brothers' bank, Gebrüder Bethmann, for a three-year loan guaranty in the amount of 300,000 *livres*. Johann Jakob ultimately decided to withdraw from the project.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt (Municipal Archives of Frankfurt), Frankfurt, Bethmann-Archiv, VII/11 [1.10.1814].

⁷⁸ Friedrich Lenz and Otto Unholtz, *Die Geschichte des Bankhauses Schicker* (Berlin, 1912), pp. 129, 171.

⁷⁹ Wolfgang Henninger, *Johann Jakob von Bethmann 1717-1792. Kaufmann, Reeder und kaiserlicher Konsul in Bordeaux* (Bochum, 1993), pp. 629-33. Henninger's list of ships was compiled through his research in the Archives départementales de la Gironde in Bordeaux. The Bordeaux Bethmann is not a legal predecessor. For this reason, the archival materials from the Bordeaux departmental archives used to compile this list of ships were not independently verified.

⁸⁰ Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt (Municipal Archives of Frankfurt), Bethmann-Archiv, I/3 [21.5.1768].

Trade in Goods Produced in Slaveholding Territories

Slaveholding territories in the United States and the Americas produced and exported a number of cash crops that were in great demand in Europe, most notably cotton, sugar, tea, tobacco, rice, cacao, and indigo. Before 1888, slaves provided most of the labor required to cultivate, harvest, and transport these crops.

HAI researchers found evidence that three of ABN AMRO's German predecessors traded in goods produced in slaveholding areas of the United States and the Americas.

The **Maison Johann Jakob Adami**, which was founded by the Bethmanns' uncle in 1700 and eventually merged with the bank, traded extensively in goods from slaveholding territories. For instance:

- A general ledger of the firm dated December 1745, at the time of Adami's death, noted goods to the value of 14,313 Reichsthaler, including tea, indigo, and cochénille.⁸¹ The Adami business was continued from December 1745 to 1748 by the successor named in his will, the oldest Bethmann sibling, Johann Philipp Bethmann.

Trade in overseas goods, mostly but not exclusively from the Americas, was also part of **Gebrüder Bethmann's** business into the early nineteenth century. For example:

- In 1810, a search for smuggled goods stored in Frankfurt revealed that Gebrüder Bethmann possessed more than 363,044 francs' worth of items regarded by French occupation authorities as contraband from the West Indies, including coffee, indigo, and rum.⁸²

The business activities of the predecessor **Splitgerber & Daum** included trade in goods from slaveholding territories, particularly sugar, from the 1720s onward.

- In 1747, the French Crown denied the banking house's request to trade directly with France's West Indian colonies under the Prussian flag.⁸³ However, the French government approved a second journey in 1756 to supply French colonies with manufactured goods and to import unspecified goods produced in the French West Indies.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte* 4 (Glashütten, 1925), p. 623.

⁸² *Geschichte der Handelskammer zu Frankfurt am Main, 1707-1908* (Frankfurt am Main, 1908), pp. 180-89.

⁸³ Lenz and Unholtz, *Die Geschichte*, 79.

⁸⁴ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Prussian Secret Central Archives, Germany), Denkschrift zur Feier des hundertjährigen Jubiläums des Bestehens des Handlungshauses Gebrüder Schickler, Berlin, V S 595 [Januar 1896].

- In 1740, David Splitgerber received a license from the Prussian crown to operate a sugar refinery in Berlin. The first refinery began operations in 1749.
- From 1751 to 1787, the Prussian crown granted Splitgerber & Daum a sugar monopoly, leading the firm to open two additional sugar processing plants in 1751 and 1754.⁸⁵ The monopoly granted to Splitgerber & Daum allowed the Berlin merchants to import raw sugar cane and other supplies without taxation. In return, the firm attempted to meet the rising demand for refined sugar while exercising monopoly control over prices in most of the Prussian lands.⁸⁶

Splitgerber & Daum also purchased and outfitted ships for the express purpose of supplying their Berlin refineries with raw sugar cane, as well as to export and import other goods, including coffee and indigo. They also participated in shipping voyages organized by other merchants.⁸⁷ Most of these voyages concerned the transport of goods within Europe and not across the Atlantic; however, there are records indicating the firm had a minority participation in voyages involving trade with the Americas.

- Records of the firm indicated that Splitgerber & Daum had an investment in two ships, the *St. Michel* and the *La Dame Cathérine*, in 1743 and 1749, respectively. These ships are known to have participated in the transatlantic slave trade during this period.⁸⁸ The surviving documentation provided no further details, and it is not possible to determine whether Splitgerber & Daum was connected with the slave trading voyages made by these two ships.

⁸⁵ Hugo Rachel, *Die Handels-, Zoll- und Akzisepolitik Preußens 1740-1786*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1928), pp. 754-65.

Splitgerber & Daum, later Gebrüder Schickler, owned these three facilities until 1797, 1850, and 1871, respectively.

⁸⁶ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Prussian Secret Central Archives, Germany), Circularordre an die Kammern, ohne Kurmark, Magedburg, Schlesien, Ostfriesland, Gen. Dept. 42, 5, IV [7.1.1751].

⁸⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (Pommerian Regional Archives, Poland), Wegen des von dem Kaufmann Olssen zu Stettin zu betriebsenden Handels nach Spanien und Portugal mit eigenen Schiffen 1756-1779, Inventariz Zespoku Rekopisy I Spuszczony [XVIII w., 1 poszyt. Nlb.].

⁸⁸ Lenz and Unholtz, *Die Geschichte*, 81; Voyage ID #30486 (*St. Michel*) and Voyage ID #30546 (*La Dame Cathérine*).



D. PREDECESSORS IN ENGLAND

ABN AMRO's subsidiary in England is the brokerage house Hoare Govett, Ltd., which was acquired by ABN AMRO in 1991. Hoare Govett was formed in 1969 by the merger of two older firms, Govett, Sons & Co. and Hoare & Co. Adolphus Frederick Govett of Laleham, England, founded the brokerage house Govett, Sons & Co. in 1856. The origins of Hoare & Co. can be traced to approximately 1910, when the company's namesake, Christopher "Kit" Hoare, joined the existing brokerage firm Cohen, Laming. Within a few years, Christopher Hoare became a partner of Cohen, Laming and the firm was renamed Hoare & Co.

HAI was unable to locate any original records of Hoare Govett or its predecessors in public repositories. The current management of Hoare Govett reported that they held no records related to the firm's early history or that of its predecessors. In the absence of original records, HAI turned to other sources to reconstruct the history of this firm, including periodicals, financial reporting databases, and scholarly publications.

HAI identified no historical connections between the ABN AMRO predecessor Hoare Govett and African slavery in the United States or elsewhere in the Americas.



E. PREDECESSORS IN SWEDEN

ABN AMRO's subsidiary in Sweden, Alfred Berg AG, was one of the earliest brokerage houses established in Sweden. The company was founded by Stockholm city broker Carl Gustaf Hierzéel in 1863. After Hierzéel's death, a series of partners ran the firm until 1901, when Alfred Berg took control and gave the firm the name it bears today. ABN AMRO acquired the firm in 1995.

HAI researchers reviewed the records retained by Alfred Berg AG but found no documents dating before 1888. According to employees of Alfred Berg, it is not the firm's practice to keep written records past Sweden's legal requirement of ten years. In the absence of original records, HAI reviewed other historical sources, including business periodicals, scholarly publications, and vital records, to reconstruct the history of this firm.

HAI identified no historical connections between the firm Alfred Berg and African slavery in the United States or elsewhere in the Americas.



F. PREDECESSORS IN BRAZIL

ABN AMRO's principal subsidiary in Brazil is Banco Real, which was established in 1925 under the name Cooperativa Bancária. Over the next seventy years, the firm acquired a number of other Brazilian banks before being acquired by ABN AMRO in 1998. Since the merger, Banco Real has also acquired two formerly state-owned banks, Banco do Estado de Pernambuco S.A. (Bandepe) and Banco do Estado do Paraíba (Paraiban).

HAI researchers examined a variety of historical sources in Brazil relating to Banco Real and all of its predecessors. These included historical materials maintained by the banks, records at the Brazilian national archives, and materials at a variety of libraries. Our research determined that the oldest of these predecessors, Banco Commerciale Italiano de São Paulo, was founded by Italian immigrants in 1900, twelve years after the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888.

HAI identified no direct historical connections between the Brazilian predecessors of ABN AMRO and African slavery in the United States or elsewhere in the Americas.

APPENDIX 1

SLAVE NAMES APPEARING IN KETWICH & VOOMBERGH RECORDS

The following is a comprehensive list of the slave names found by HAI researchers during the course of this research. These names appeared in the records of the Dutch firm Ketwich & Voombbergh. HAI did not find slave names in the records of any other ABN AMRO predecessor.

To provide funds for colonial activities in the Americas, Dutch financiers developed a unique type of financial instrument called a *negotiatie*. These were loans financed by a syndicate of shareholders and granted to planters in the form of a mortgage on the plantation and its assets, including slaves. The slaves listed in this appendix were among the property mortgaged to a syndicate of investors, which included Ketwich & Voombbergh. Ketwich & Voombbergh accepted property from several plantations as collateral. Documents relating to five of those plantations include the names of slaves associated with the plantation. The names of those slaves and the plantations and owners to which they were attached are listed here.

Due to the condition of the original records, some names were illegible or difficult to decipher; these names have been italicized.

PLANTATION: LA PENITENCE
OWNER: JEAN FRANCOIS DE SAFFON
DATE: AUGUST 1772 – JUNE 1790

SOURCE: GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 591 (11 AUGUST 1772)
GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 591 (8 JUNE 1790)

Abrame	Bootsman	Favori
Achiles	Brutus	Ferdinand
<i>Achilles</i>	Caatje	Filis
Adam	Calas	Flora
<i>Affiba</i>	Camilus	Flora
Afiba	<i>Cancide</i>	Fortuyn
<i>Akan</i>	Casar	Francois
Alessa	Castor	Francois
Alexander	Catharina	Fulvie
Alexis	Cato	Gentil
<i>Alkessie</i>	<i>Caula</i>	Groot Castor
<i>Alsere</i>	Charles	<i>Guassie</i>
<i>Alsire</i>	Charlotte	Hason
<i>Althen</i>	<i>Ciceron</i>	Hector
Amadeus	Cirus	Henriette
<i>Amarilles</i>	Claartje	Henry
Amelia	Cleopatra	Hester
Andromaca	Colette	Jack
Andromacque	<i>Colin</i>	Jacob
Antje	Constance	<i>Jacoba</i>
Antonin	Constantyn	Jane
Appollo	<i>Core</i>	<i>Janerede</i>
Arcas	Coriolan	Jaquin
<i>Arlace</i>	Cupido	Jason
<i>Arrette</i>	Cupidon	Joanna
Arsenne	Damis	Joseph
<i>Arsenor</i>	Daphnios	<i>Joso</i>
<i>Asor</i>	David	<i>Jotnyn</i>
Asor	Delila	Julie
<i>Assan</i>	Diana	Julie
<i>Athalia</i>	Diana	Juno
<i>Aventure</i>	Donane	Jupiter
Avontuur	<i>Dorinda</i>	Justine
Bachus	<i>Emire</i>	Klarinda
Bella	Esau	<i>Klyn</i> Castor
Berbice	<i>Ester</i>	<i>Klyn</i> Jacq
Berenice	Fabius	Laure
Bergere	<i>Famier</i>	Lear
Boas	Fatime	Leyde



Lidon	Pompi	<i>Tom</i>
<i>Linda</i>	Priam	<i>Tornotte</i>
<i>Lindo</i>	Prince	<i>Trancina</i>
Lisette	Profit	<i>Trujeam</i>
<i>Lison</i>	Proserpine	Valide
<i>Lison</i>	Remus	Van Dame
<i>Lorret</i>	Robin	Vespasia
Louis	Roesana	Victor
Louis	Romain	Victor
Lubin	Romulus	Washington
<i>Lubin</i>	Rosalie	Willemintje
Lucas	Rosette	Zaire
<i>Lusignan</i>	Roxane	[<i>Illegible</i>]
<i>Lydia</i>	<i>Saba</i>	[<i>Illegible</i>]
<i>Margo</i>	<i>Sam</i>	[<i>Illegible</i>]
Mariana	Sammy	
Mars	Samson	
Maruys	Samson	
Medea	Sara	
<i>Menitor</i>	Scipio	
Meriope	Seavola	
Midas	<i>Selvador</i>	
Mimi	<i>Semse</i>	
Mon Repos	<i>Sertornos</i>	
Mustapha	Silla	
Mustapha	Silvie	
<i>Natide</i>	Silvie	
<i>Nemismolde</i>	<i>Smerna</i>	
Neptune	Solon	
Neron	Sophia	
Neron	Sultan	
<i>Nervie</i>	Sultane	
Newyork	Susanne	
<i>Octave</i>	Telemagne	
Oreste	<i>Themire</i>	
Orosman	Theopile	
Paay	Theresia	
Pallas	Theresia	
<i>Palmire</i>	Thoams	
Pan	Tibere	
<i>Paramonche</i>	<i>Tireus</i>	
Penitence	Titus	
<i>Perret</i>		
Philippe		
Polax		



PLANTATION: THE BEEHIVE
OWNER: WILLIAM ROTH
DATE: JUNE 1772 – JUNE 1774

SOURCE: GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 648 (22 JUNE 1772)
GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 648 (15 JUNE 1774)

Abraham	George	Old Sam
Adonis	Gio	Pamela
Agix	<i>Goroon</i>	Peggy
<i>Amtram</i>	Grange	Penny
Anna	<i>Gumsaal</i>	Philis
Appollo	<i>Harmonia</i>	<i>Pieter</i>
Bachus	Herculus	Pluto
Bachus	Herry	Polidon
Bella	Isaac	Pomelia
Ben	Jacob	Pompe
Betty	Jacq	Primus
Billy	<i>Jaler</i>	<i>Prins</i>
<i>Carlo</i>	Jany	Quamino
Carry	Jaspar	Quamino
Casper	Jenny	Quasje
Castillo	Johanna	Richard
Cato	<i>Jonas</i>	Romeo
Cato	Jorck	Rose
Caty	Judith	Saba
<i>Cettis</i>	Jupiter	Sadie
Charles	<i>Kera</i>	Sally
Chloe	<i>Kil Killo</i>	Sally
Cilia	Kilkenny	Sam
Clarissa	Letty	Samson
<i>Codje</i>	Little Matilla	Scipio
<i>Coimba</i>	Lizette	Silvia
Colin	London	Silvia
Congo Bachus	Louisa	Sophia
Corck	Marianne	Sophia
Corck	Mattilla	St. Eustatius
Cordelia	May	Steeven
<i>Couyoe</i>	Mercury	<i>Sus</i>
Cupido	Mery	Susanna
Diane	Molly	<i>Tam</i>
<i>Dick</i>	Monimia	<i>Terrel</i>
Essex	Nancy	<i>Tillauu</i>
Eva	Nepthun	Tom
Franck	Old Peter	



Tonny
Violetta
Warner
Wilks
Will
Yan Philip
York
York

PLANTATION: THE NEW BEEHIVE
OWNER: THOMAS CUMING
DATE: MARCH 1794

SOURCE: GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 655 (31 MARCH 1794)

*Please note, assets of *The New Beehive* include some slaves previously belonging to *The Beehive* plantation owned by William Roth.

<i>Adoe</i>	Jenny	Susette
Adonis	Jimmy	Terril
Angelic	Joe	Thema
B. Quamino	John Louis	Tirrill
B. Wale	Judy	Tom
Bacchus	Jupiter	Tommy
<i>Belinda</i>	Kildare	Toney
Bella Juno	Kitty	Violet
Ben	London	<i>W. Dolly</i>
Bess	M. George	Will
Betty	Martilla	Y. Peggy
Branden	Mercury	
<i>Camp</i>	<i>Mingo</i>	
Cape	Molly	
Celia	Ned	
Cesar	Nell	
Cesar	<i>Old Fellow</i>	
Charles	Old John	
Charlotte	Old Ned	
Clarissa	Old Peggy	
Cloe	Pamla	
Collin	<i>Patid</i>	
Cork	Penzance	
<i>Cudjoe</i>	Peter	
<i>Cupid</i>	Phebe	
Cupidon	<i>Pollidore</i>	
Diana	Pompey	
Dick	Prince	
Dublin	Providence	
Fortune	Quaco	
<i>Franscina</i>	Quamino	
George	Quasheba	
<i>Gilblas</i>	Roger	
Grange	Romeo	
Harris	Rosetta	
Harry	Sally	
Hercules	Silvia	
Jack	Sophy	
Jack Phillips	Stephen	



PLANTATION: LE REPENTIR
OWNER: PIERRE LOUIS DE SAFFON
DATE: APRIL 1772 – JANUARY 1780

SOURCE: GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 663 (18 APRIL 1772)
GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 663 (18 OCTOBER 1773)
GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 666 (29 JANUARY 1780)

Adam	<i>Dorinde</i>	Mariana
Adyouba	Florida	Mariane
Affiba	<i>Flossurg</i>	<i>Marritje</i>
<i>Agor</i>	<i>Fortuyn</i>	Mars
Alida	Forune	<i>Matthys</i>
Amba	Francois	<i>Minerva</i>
Amba	<i>Fransoek</i>	Moses
<i>America</i>	<i>Gratia</i>	<i>Pemba</i>
<i>Andrus</i>	Heneriette	<i>Philida</i>
Anna	Henrietta	Philip
Anna	<i>Jaba</i>	Philis
<i>Apeluis</i>	Jaco	Pieter
Asia	Jacob	Pieter
<i>Assa</i>	Jacoba	<i>Plagrue</i>
<i>Atty</i>	Jake	<i>Plattie</i>
<i>Ayouba</i>	Jan	<i>Primo</i>
<i>Babo</i>	<i>Jansje</i>	Prins
Barbera	<i>Jenny</i>	Profit
Belina	Job	<i>Quacko</i>
Bella	Joseph	<i>Quacue</i>
Bettie	Jupiter	<i>Quakoes</i>
<i>Boerie</i>	<i>Kanu</i>	Quamino
<i>Bosuran</i>	<i>Klyn Comba</i>	<i>Quams</i>
Canje	La Pale	<i>Quassi</i>
Casar	<i>Landaq</i>	<i>Quayu</i>
Catharina	<i>Leira</i>	<i>Quimamiel</i>
<i>Coimba</i>	Leonora	Quossiba
Collin	Linga	<i>Rees</i>
Cupido	Louisa	Robin
Daniel	<i>Lueq</i>	Robyn
David	<i>Mara</i>	Rosa
Dego	Margarita	Rosa
Dego	<i>Mariam</i>	Rosetta
Diana		Sam
Dorethea		Samson
Dorinda		



Sankie
Sankie
Sanquie
Santje
Sara
Sara
Sassebo
Sera
Seripio
Silla
Sirus
Susanna
Toni
Tony
Venus
Villar
Vlissary
Willem
Wis Jinge
Yamis
Yanqui
Yennie
Zuakue
[Illegible]
[Illegible]
[Illegible]



PLANTATION: THE COVENT GARDEN

OWNER: THOMAS OSBORN

DATE: JULY 1772 – MAY 1775

SOURCE: GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 672 (JULY 1772)
GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 672 (29 MARCH 1774)
GEMEENTEARCHIEF AMSTERDAM, TOEGANGSNR. 600, INVENTARISNR. 677 (26 MAY 1775)

Aba	<i>Francie</i>	Pope
<i>Araffin</i>	Gini	Prins
<i>Asscher</i>	<i>Hamlet</i>	Quamino
Bachus	Hannibal	<i>Quassio</i>
Betty	<i>Hatia</i> Tom	Quassy
Betty	<i>Hilly</i>	Romeo
Billy	Hoop	Rose
<i>Bin</i>	Isabella	Sampson
Blue	Jack	<i>Sancho</i>
Bobb	<i>Jakin</i>	<i>Satira</i>
Bosman	<i>Jally</i>	<i>Striphon</i>
<i>Brutus</i>	<i>Jany</i>	<i>Sue</i>
<i>Carlotto</i>	Jimm	<i>Sulla</i>
Cassia	Joo	<i>Sullies</i>
<i>Castillio</i>	<i>Juba</i>	Suriname
Cato	Julie	<i>Taem</i>
<i>Cattius</i>	Koffy	<i>Tom</i>
Cesar	<i>Ledge</i>	<i>Tom</i>
Cicilia	Ledy	Tom <i>Codio</i>
Cirus	<i>Lesinda</i>	Tone
Cit	<i>Littje</i>	Wilks
<i>Citti</i>	Luci	Will
Clarinda	Marcus	<i>Zynde</i>
<i>Clarissa</i>	Mingo	[<i>Illegible</i>]
Cleo	<i>Monday</i>	[<i>Illegible</i>]
<i>Cola</i>	Monday	[<i>Illegible</i>]
<i>Cuffy</i>	Moses	[<i>Illegible</i>]
<i>Cunba</i>	<i>Ninba</i>	[<i>Illegible</i>]
Cupido	<i>Oeera</i>	[<i>Illegible</i>]
<i>Cupitt</i>	Ottullo	
<i>Demerare</i> Tom	Paast	
Diana	Philip	
Dick	<i>Pierrot</i>	
Dimbo	Pieter	
Fanni	<i>Placy</i>	
Filis	<i>Polidor</i>	
Flora	Pompeus	
Flora		

APPENDIX 2

LASALLE BANK CORPORATION PREDECESSORS

HAI identified the following predecessors of LaSalle Bank Corporation (LBC) in the United States. These entities are grouped according to major corporate families. For each institution, the name given is the original name of the entity, and the year listed represents the date the entity was established.

Michigan National Bank

First Commercial Savings Bank	1863
Michigan Bank, National Association	1926
Central Bank, National Association	1934
Michigan National Bank, Lansing	1934
Michigan National Bank-West Metro	1953
Tri-City Bank	1958
Valley National Bank of Saginaw	1959
First National Bank of Wyoming	1960
Troy National Bank	1962
Beverly Hills Savings, A Federal Savings and Loan Association, LaSalle	1965
Oakland National Bank	1965
West Oakland Bank, National Association	1971
Community Bank of Washtenaw	1972
Michigan National Bank-Mid Michigan	1973
Michigan National Bank-Dearborn	1973
Michigan National Bank of Macomb	1974
Michigan National Bank-West	1974
Michigan National Bank-Farmington	1977
Michigan National Bank-Sterling	1978
Michigan Bank-Midland	1979
Michigan Bank-South Metro	1979
Michigan National Bank-Ann Arbor	1979
Michigan National Bank-Livingston	1979
Michigan National Bank-Grosse Pointe	1981



Standard Federal Savings Bank

Tower Federal Savings Bank	1882
Family Federal Savings and Loan of Saginaw	1886
United Home Federal	1887
Highland Park Federal Savings and Loan Association	1888
Sandusky County Federal Savings and Loan Association	1889
First Savings Association of Ypsilanti	1890
Standard Federal Savings and Loan Association	1890
First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Kalamazoo	1893
Fidelity Federal Savings and Loan Association	1897
First Federal Savings and Loan of Lenawee County	1899
First Savings Association of Dowagiac	1906
National Security Savings and Loan Association	1907
Peoples Federal Savings and Loan Association of Detroit	1911
Peoples Savings Bank, FSB	1923
Bell Federal Savings and Loan Association	1925
First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Fort Wayne	1933
Down River Federal Savings and Loan Association	1934
First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Niles	1935
South Bend Federal Savings & Loan Association	1935
First Federal Savings and Loans Association of Jackson, MI	1936
United Savings and Loan Association	1936
Detroit Federal Savings and Loan Association	1937
Colonial Federal Savings and Loan Association	1953
First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Goshen	1958
American Federal Savings and Loan Association of Fort Wayne	1961
Fort Wayne Federal Savings and Loan Association	1968
Landmark Savings and Loan Association	1974
Central State Savings and Loan Association	1980



LaSalle National Bank

Union Livestock National Bank	1865
First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Peoria	1874
Farmers' State Bank of Sheffield	1876
Fort Dearborn Federal Savings and Loan Association	1886
Home Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago	1886
Kaspar & Karel	1887
Melrose Savings	1889
National Savings and Loan Association	1889
Stock Yards Savings Bank	1902
Lake View Trust and Savings Bank	1905
Cragin Federal Savings and Loan Association	1909
American State Bank	1911
Madison and Kedzie State Bank	1913
Western National Bank of Cicero	1913
Alliance Savings and Loan Association	1915
State Bank of Lake Zurich	1916
Mutual National Bank of Chicago	1917
Howard Avenue Trust & Savings Bank	1922
Lincoln Savings Association	1922
Riverside Savings, A Federal Association	1922
Talman Home Federal Savings & Loan Association of Illinois	1922
Capitol Savings and Loan Association	1923
Central DuPage Federal Savings and Loan Association	1923
Kaspar-American State Bank	1924
North West Federal Savings and Loan Association	1925
Halsted Exchange National Bank	1926
National Builders Bank of Chicago	1927
Stock Yards Bank and Trust	1933



Central National Bank in Chicago	1936
Madison-Crawford National Bank	1936
Colonial Savings and Loan Association	1941
Northwest National Bank of Chicago	1941
Northbrook Trust and Savings Bank	1946
Metropolitan Trust Company of Chicago	pre-1950
Trust Company of Chicago	pre-1950
Marine National Bank	pre-1954
Franklin Park Bank	1954
Skokie Federal Savings and Loan Association	1956
Unity Savings Association	1957
Bank of Lisle	1960
Mundelein Savings and Loan Association	1960
Hartford Plaza Bank of Chicago	1962
Bank of Westmont	1963
Columbia National Bank of Chicago	1964
Bank of River Oaks	1966
First State Bank and Trust of Franklin Park	1969
First Security Bank	1973
Americana Federal Savings and Loan Association of Chicago	1975
Morton Grove Bank	1975
Manufacturers Affiliated Trust Co.	1988
Affiliated Bank/Chicago	1988
Exchange Bank of DuPage	1988
Exchange Bank of Lake County	1988
Affiliated Bank	1990
LaSalle National Trust, National Association	1990
Comerica Bank-Illinois	1992
LaSalle Bank Illinois, Franklin Park	1996

APPENDIX 3

ABN AMRO BANK N.V. PREDECESSORS

HAI identified the following predecessors of ABN AMRO Bank N.V. These entities are grouped by country and then according to major corporate families. For each institution, the name given is the original name of the entity, and the year listed represents the date the entity was established.

THE NETHERLANDS

Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij (NHM)

Firma I. Loopuijt, Schiedam	1772
Chabot, Rotterdam	1776
Ian Havelaar & Zoon, Rotterdam	1781
Wed. Tjeenk & Co, Amsterdam	1790
Wed. J. te Veltrup & Zoon, Zaandam	1791
Nachenius & Zoon, Amsterdam	1797
Guépin & Van der Vlugt, Haarlem	1798
De Lange & De Moraaz, Alkmaar	1804
Frans Laurijssen, Breda	1832
Wed. Knox & Dortland, Gouda	1842
Firma J. H. van der Dussen, Kampen	1848
Bankierskantoor L.A. Houtman & Zoon, Weesp	1849
Simon Zadoks & Zoon	1854
Geldersche Credietvereniging, Arnhem	c. 1860s
Verwey & Ankersmit, Deventer	c. 1860s
Gebr. van der Pol & Co, Oosterhout	1863
Surinaamsche Bank, Amsterdam/Paramaribo	1865
A. de Visser, Meppel	1865
E. Philips & Co, Maastricht	1871
Limburgsche Credietvereniging, Maastricht	1872
Ingen-Housz & Zoon, Breda	1877
Lotichius & Co, Helmond	1877



Egbert Veen & Co	1881
Schuurman en De Bas	1884
Firma A. Koopman	1887
Firma H.G. Post & Co.	1887

De Twentsche Bank

Simon Boasson, Middelburg	c. early 1800s
Administratiekantoor van Aandelen in Vennootschappen en in Binnen- en Buitenlandse leeningen (Kerkhoven & Co), Amsterdam	1813
G. Vermeer Johz.	1817
Van Ranzow & Co., Arnhem	1822
Schmasen & Nacken te Roermond	1842
Willem Smit, Haarlem	1842
Firma B.W. Blijdenstein Jr., Enschede	1843
Firma van Dijk & Zoon, Apeldoorn	1847
Firma M.J. Ogier & Co., Gouda	1850
Westerkappel & Hoofd, Haarlem	1850
Firma Gebr. Ten Doesschate, Goor	1856
Firma B.W. Blijdenstein te Londen	1858
Twentsche Stoom-Bleekerij, Enschede	c. 1860s
Ancienne Maison Léon & Dreher	1862
Verboom & Van der Leeuw, Rotterdam	1864
Haarlemsche Bankvereniging firma Teding van Berkhout & De Clercq, Haarlem	1864
Het Onderling Crediet, Rotterdam	1865
Firma G. Mesdag, Groningen	1865
Ledeboer & Co., Almelo	1868



Julius Oppenheim, Groningen	1870
Buisman, Gratama & Co., Zwolle	1870
Credietvereniging onder beheer van de Twentsche Bankvereniging B.W. Blijdenstein & Co, Amsterdam	1871
Nijmeegsche Bankvereniging Van Engelenburg & Schippers CV, Nijmegen	1871
Wed. J. de Jongh & Zoon, Rotterdam	1874
Exchange & Investment Bank Jordaan & Co., London	1875
J.G. ten Houten & Co., Winterswijk	1876
Koole & Zoon, Zierikzee	1877
W.J. van Neck, Den Helder	1878
Commanditaire Bankvereniging S. Meihuizen & Co., Groningen	1882
Hollandsche Crediet- en Depositokas Mees & Ritsma, Haarlem	1882
Foekens, Hompe & Van der Schooren, Arnhem	1883
Venlosche Handelsbank, Venlo	1883
Stichtse Bank, Utrecht	1884
Van Mierlo & Zoon, Breda	1884
D.A. Wisselink, Alkmaar	1886
Stoop & Zoon, Dordrecht	1888
Bergsma & Dijkers, Hengelo	1889

Rotterdamsche Bank

Ketwich & Voombergh, Amsterdam	1722
Determeyer, Weslingh & Zoon, Amsterdam	1765
Jan Blijdenstein & Co., Utrecht	1798
Maris & Schipper, Willemstad	1801
Hooghwinkel & Co., Dordrecht	1802
G.J. & A.E. Groeneveld, Winschoten	1808



Hoffman & Co., Gouda	1816
Bank en Handelsvereniging v/h P.J. Berger, Venlo	1825
A. Bloembergen & Zoon	1825
Firma R.F. Mulder, Appingedam	1825
Fransen van de Putte & Zoon, Goes	1825
J. Koppel & Co., Apeldoorn	1830
Firma Mr. P.A. Greup, Schoonhoven	1835
P. Groen & Zoon, Den Helder	1860
W. Laane, Roosendaal	1860
Nederlandsch-Indische Handelsbank, Amsterdam	1863
Commanditaire Vereeniging	1864
Firma Boon & Mulder, Hoogezand	1865
Marx & Co., Rotterdam	1869
Nederlandsch-Amerikaansche Stoomvaart Maatschappij	1870
Eindhovenensche Bankvereniging, Venlo	1872
Bank of Belgium and Holland, London	1872
Eindhovenensche Bankvereniging, Eindhoven	1872
Overijsselsche Bank, Zwolle	1872
Gorinchemse Bank, Gorinchem	1873
J. de Lange Corn. Johzn., Alkmaar	1875
Fockema & Van Kleffens, Dokkum	1875
Geertsema Feith & Co., Groningen	1876
C.R.C. Wibaut & Co., Vlissingen	1877
Firma J. van Dijk Lzn. Te Meppel	1877
Westfriesche Bank, Timmerman Koelman & Co., Schagen	1878
P. Posthuma & Zoon, Franeker/Harlingen	1879
Wed. Joh. Van Rijckevorsel & Zonen	1879



H. Delhougne te Sittard	1881
Huydecoper & Van Dielen, Utrecht	1883
I.P. Rosingh, Dokkum	1884
Firma Benes & Co, Coevorden	1886
August van Rijckevorsel, Helmond	1887

Amsterdamsche Bank

Stadnitski en Van Heukelom, Amsterdam	1780
Bankierskantoor Reinders en Knol Bruins, Groningen	1810
P. Koumans Smeding, Leeuwarden	1818
Firma Lezwijn en Eijgeman, Leiden	1826
Doyer & Kalff	1826
CV Wertheim & Gompertz, Amsterdam	1834
Scheurleer & Zoonen, Den Haag	1840
Firma Victor A. van Rijckevorsel & Tilman	1840
P. Madry & Zoon, Rotterdam	1848
T. Goedewaagen & Zoonen, Gouda	1849
Firma W. Timmermans & Zonen, Waalwijk	1857
Gebr. Mispelblom Beijer, Leeuwarden	1858
J.A. Tak & Co., Middelburg	1859
J.A. Zip & Van Teylingen, Middelburg	1865
P.J. Siegers & Zoon, Vlissingen	1865
D.M. van Assen, Groningen	1868
Firma H.J. Wouterlood & Co., Schiedam	1870
Van Dockum & Van der Muelen, Weesp	1871
Bankiers- en Effectenkantoor van Waesberghe, Hulst	1871
Ten Cate Fennema & Alma's Bank, Sneek	1871
Dordrechtse Onderlinge Credietvereniging, Dordrecht	1871
Maaldrink & Co., Zutphen	1871



Firma Vierssen Trip en Feith, Groningen	1872
D.J. Huizinga's Bank, Loppersum	1872
Bank of Belgium and Holland, London	1872
Buskes & De Bas, Utrecht	1873
Friesche Handelsbank, Leeuwarden	1873
Gebr. Wiegman, Amsterdam	1877
Crediet-, Deposito- en Effectenbank v/h Waal & Co, Arnhem	1881
Koloniale Bank	1881
Firma Van der Elst & Lebret, Dordrecht	1882
Firma D. Kluifhoofd & Zoon, Numansdorp	1882
Wertheim & Gompertz, Westendorp & Co. en F.W. Oewel, Amsterdam	1883
Effectenkantoor N.A. Wichers, Groningen	1884
Firma Luyks van Hasselt, Bergen op Zoom	1884
Firma Willeumier van Tyen & Van Laer, Wormerveer	1884
Goedewaagen & Co., Amsterdam	1885
Vos en Koppius, Groningen	1886
Utrechtsche Landbouwbank, Utrecht	1887
Utrechtse Bankvereniging, Utrecht	1887

Algemene Bank Nederland (ABN)

Praetorius & Zoon, Amsterdam	c. mid- 1800s
Deposito-, Voorschot- en Effectenbank van Eibergen, Neede en Omstreken te Eibergen, Neede en Omstreken, Eibergen	1859
Gebroeders Kingma, Leeuwarden	1869
S. van Dantzig, Rotterdam	1872
's- Grarenhage Credietvereniging en Depostokas	1880
Firma D.W. Brand, Amsterdam	1881
Coöperatieve Voorschot- en Spaarbank voor Bergum, Garijp en Suameer	?



Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank (Amro Bank)

Vlaer & Kol NV, Utrecht	1719
Bicker, Caarten Obreen, Rotterdam	1815
Firma P.J. Landry, 's- Grarenhage	1842
Stichting Nutsspaarbank Hallum, Hallum	1864
Spaarbank Stiens, Stiens	1864



FRANCE

Banque de Neuflyze

De Neuflyze, Schlumberger & Cie	1945
De Neuflyze, Schlumberger, Mallet & Cie	1966
Banque de Neuflyze, Schlumberger, Mallet (NSM)	1969
Banque de Neuflyze, Schlumberger, Mallet, Demachy (NSMD)	1999

Maison André

David André	1667
Dominique André	1800
Dupin & Dominique André	1801
André, Cottier & Cie	1808
D. André et F. Cottier	1816
Adolphe Marcuard & Cie	1843
Marcuard, André & Cie	1863
André, Girod & Cie	1883
André, de Neuflyze & Cie	1889
de Neuflyze & Cie	1896

Maison Mallet

De la Rive et Mallet	1713
Isaac Mallet & Cie	1721
Dufour et Mallet	1728
Isaac Mallet	1729
Isaac Mallet et Rilliet	1730
Isaac Mallet	1735
Robert Dufour & Cie	1737
Robert Dufour, Mallet & Cie	1750
Dufour, Mallet et Le Royer	1762
Mallet et Le Royer	1771
Mallet, Le Royer et Mallet Fils	1777



Mallet Père & Fils	1782
Mallet Père, Fils & Cie	1788
Mallet Frères & Cie	1792

Banque Schlumberger

MM Schlumberger, Istel & Noyer	1919
MM Schlumberger & Cie	1925

Banque Demachy

Banque Seillière	1807
Demachy & Seillière	1857
Demachy & Cie	1911
Demachy S.A.	1959

Banque Jordaän

Jordaän, Cohen & Wennink	1884
Banque Jordaän & Cie	1909

Banque Guérin

Veuve Guérin & Fils	1749
Societe de Gestion Financiere (SGF)	1931

Banque du Phenix

post-1945

Banque OBC

Odier, Bungener, Courvoisier (OBC)	1960
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Maison Courvoisier & Cie

Berthoud Père & Fils	1785
Berthoud Frères	1789
Louis Berthoud & Cie	1851



Edouard Berthoud & Cie	1896
Courvoisier, Berthoud & Cie	1912
Berthoud Courvoisier & Cie	1920
Courvoisier & Cie	1925
Courvoisier & Fils	1931
Courvoisier & Cie	1955

Maison Odier Bungener

J. A. Blanc, Mathieu & Cie	?
Hentsch, Blanc & Cie	1812
J. A. Blanc, Colin & Cie	1823
Mathieu Hentsch & Cie	1854
Hentsch Lustcher & Cie	1857
Hentsch Frères & Cie	1884
Velay Hentsch Odier & Cie	1889
Odier Bungener & Cie	1896
Odier Sautter & Cie	1907
Odier Bungener & Cie	1934



GERMANY

Delbrück Bethmann Maffei

Delbrück Leo & Co.

Splitgerber & Daum	1712
Gebrüder Schickler	1795
Delbrück, Leo & Co.	1854

Bethmann Bank

Bankhaus Jakob Adami	1700
Gebrüder Bethmann	1748

Maffei Bank	1954
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ENGLAND

Hoare Govett

Govett, Sons & Co.	1856
C. Hoare & Co.	c. 1910



SWEDEN

Alfred Berg

Carl Gustaf Hierzéel	1863
John Håkansson	1871
Fondkommission Berg Kommanditbolag	1901
Alfred Berg Fondkommission AB	1917



BRAZIL

ABN AMRO

Banco Holandês da América do Sul	1917
Banco Holandês Unido	1933

Banco Real

Banco Popular de Guaratinguetá	?
Banco Geral de Finanças e Comércio	?
Banco Santaritense	1917
Banco Comercial de Alfenas	1918
Banco J. O. Resende	1922
Banco do Norte do Brasil	1925
Cooperativa Bancária	1925
Banco de Campanha	1927
Banco Comercial de Bom Sucesso	1928
Banco da Lavoura de Minas Gerais	1928
Banco de Pouso Alegre	1928
Banco Rio Minas	1929
Banco do Estado do Paraíba (Paraíba)	1930
Banco de Minas Gerais	1930
Casa Bancária Alves Pereira & Cia	1932
Banco Mercantil de Niterói	1932
Banco Mercantil da Metrópole	1932
Casa Bancária A. Della Lúcia	1932
Banco Dumont	1938
Banco Continental	1939
Banco Patriarca do Brasil	1939
Banco do Planalto de Minas Gerais	1939
Banco Ipiranga	1939
Banco de Itajubá	1939
Banco do Comércio de Minas Gerais	pre-1940s
Banco de Crédito e Comércio de Minas Gerais	1942



Casa Bancária J. Vilela & Cia	1942
Banco Vera Cruz	1943
Banco Real Unido	1943
Banco Mercantil da Guanabara	1943
Banco Nacional do Comércio e da Produção	1943
Banco de Uberlândia	1944
Banco Real	1971

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Banco de Pernambuco S.A. [Bandepe]

Banco Popular de Garanhuns	?
Caixa de Crédito Mobiliário de Pernambuco	1938
Banco de Desenvolvimento do Estado de Pernambuco S.A.	1963
Comper Crédito Financiamentos e Investimentos	1966
Comper Distribuidora de Títulos e Valores Mobiliários	1968
Banco do Estado de Pernambuco S.A.	1969
Banco de Pernambuco S.A.	2000

Banco Sudameris

Banco Commerciale Italo-Brasiliano	1900
Banco Francês Italiano para a América do Sul	1910
Banco Bahiano da Produção	1913
Banco Federal Brasileiro	1924
Banco Mercantil do Norte	1928
Banco América do Sul	1937
Banco Financiador de Indústria e Comércio	1939
Banco Aliança de São Paulo	1943
Banco da Cidade de Santos	1944
Banco da Cidade de Americana	1951
Irmãos Guimaraes Crédito, Financiamento e Investimento	1951
Investa, Companhia de Crédito, Financiamento e Investimento	1951



Socredito Crédito, Financiamento e Investimento	c. 1960s
Verba Crédito, Financiamento e Investimento	c. 1960s
Sociedade Varicredito Crédito, Financiamento e Investimento	c. 1960s
Santo Amaro Crédito, Financiamento e Investimento	1967
Banco Comercial do Para	c. 1969
Banco Comercial de Produção	1970
Banco Sudameris	1978

APPENDIX 4

REPOSITORIES CONSULTED BY COUNTRY

The following is a list of repositories visited or contacted by HAI researchers during the course of this research.

Brazil

Arquivo Nacional
Associação dos Funcionários Aposentados do Bandepe (Asfab) - Biblioteca
Biblioteca Nacional
Centro Cultural do Banco de Brasil
Fundacao Casa de Rui Barbosa
Ministerio da Fazenda - Biblioteca
Museu Histórico do Banco Sudameris
Universidade Cândido Mendes (UCAM)

England

British Library
British National Archives
Guildhall Library
London Metropolitan Archives

France

Archives départementales du Rhône
Bibliothèque du centre Pompidou
Bibliothèque nationale de France
Centre des archives du monde du travail
Centre historique des archives nationales

Germany

Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv
Bundesarchiv Koblenz
Deutsche Bibliothek
Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz
Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln
Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt
Landesarchiv Berlin
Staatsarchiv Hamburg
Staatsarchiv München
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin



The Netherlands

ABN AMRO Historisch Archief
Gemeentearchief Amsterdam
Gemeentearchief Breda
Gemeentearchief Den Haag
Gemeentearchief Haarlem
Gemeentearchief Helmond
Gemeentearchief Kampen
Gemeentearchief Leiden
Gemeentearchief Roosendaal
Gemeentearchief Rotterdam
Gemeentearchief Schiedam
Gemeentearchief Venlo
Gemeentearchief Waalwijk
Gemeentearchief Zaanstad
Groninger Archieven – Regionaal Historisch Centrum
Historische Centrum Overijssel te Zwolle
Koninklijke Bibliotheek
Nationaal Archief
Regionaal Archief Alkmaar
Regionaal Archief Leiden
Regionaal Archief West-Brabant
Regionaal Historisch Centrum Limburg
Rijksarchief in Noord-Holland
Stadsarchief Deventer
Stadsarchief Dordrecht
Statsarchief 's-Hertogenbosch
Streekarchief Friesland
Streekarchief Midden-Holland
Streekarchief Oostgelderland
Streekarchief Regio Eindhoven
Streekarchief Zeeland
Utrechts Archief
Zeeuws archief



Poland

Archiwum Panstwowe w Szczecinie

Portugal

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino
Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa

Sweden

Kungliga biblioteket
Landsarkivet i Uppsala
Riksarkivet Stockholm
Stockholms stadsarkiv

Switzerland

Archives de l'Etat de Neuchâtel

United States

Archives of Michigan
Chicago Historical Society
Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection
Indiana Historical Society
Indiana State Archives
Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
Ohio Historical Society
Paulding County Carnegie Library, Ohio
State Library of Ohio
University of Maryland, McKeldin Library