

INTRODUCTION TO THE ARCHIVES OF THE VERENIGDE OOSTINDISCHE COMPAGNIE

PREFACE

The archives of the Dutch United East India Company (VOC) in the General State Archives are among the most important archival material preserved in the Netherlands. This importance is not only measured by their extent, which covers about 1277 meters. Their contents are of incalculable value for historiography. The impressive quantity of documents not only provides information about the commercial, financial and diplomatic activities of the Company, but is also very significant for the history of the Netherlands and for those countries and regions in Asia where the VOC was established. These considerations form the foundation of this publication. In view of the large number of users from outside the Netherlands, we have thought it practical to include the introduction and the table of contents in English.

This publication consists of two parts: the inventory and the introductory section. The largest section is comprised of the inventory of the VOC archives. The appearance in print of the inventory brings to a close a long period of arranging and describing. In the last instance this was the task of Mrs. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, who worked at the General State Archives from 1937 to 1971. By the mid-1960s she had rounded off her exertions on the organization of the VOC archives. It is she who gave the VOC archives their present structure. With the assistance of the resulting typescript-inventory, which has been in use for years in the reading-room of the General State Archives- a growing number of historians and other interested people have been able to find their way through the complicated VOC archives.

In 1988 the plan to provide the inventory with an extended introduction and to publish it as a whole was conceived. The idea was not to produce a completely new inventory. The work of Mrs. Meilink-Roelofs has served as the basis for this book. The classification and numbering which she gave have been maintained. The inventory was subjected to a strict redaction with the aim of making it more making it easier to consult and more readily accessible to users. The number of subcategories in particular has been drastically reduced. There is a new description of many of the documents, and the language has been brought up to date. A few documents which had not yet been described and some recent acquisitions have been added to the inventory.

At this point it is appropriate to make a few remarks about the terminology and spelling. The term *Asia* has been used instead of the archaic Dutch term *Indië*, which was used to indicate the *octrooigebied* (the area under charter to the Company), in other words the area to the east of the Cape of Good Hope and to the west of the Straits of Magellan. The spelling of personal names conforms to the spelling in the archives, with the exception of the names of historically famous people, the orthography of whose names has been more or less canonized. Geographical names are used in their modern form, unless the name or the orthography has been completely changed in the course of time. It has been impossible to achieve absolute consistency in this. Finally, the names of ships have been standardized on the basis of Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries by J.R. Bruijn, F.S. Gaastra and I. Schöffer (The Hague 1979-1987), in order to make cross-references possible. Here too, in a few instances and for various reasons departures have been made.

The inventory is preceded by a long introduction, which serves as a guide for using the VOC archives.

As the result of the complexity and size of the Company's enterprises the structure of the archives is fairly complicated. The various rounds of administration have also left their traces in the classification of the archives. In order to have a better understanding of the structure it is very important to become acquainted with the operation and internal procedures of the Company administration. This is discussed in Chapter 1.

In Chapter 2 the vicissitudes of the archives and the earlier history of the present inventory are examined. This gives an insight into the way that this cultural heritage has been treated in the past and why certain, very extensive holdings have been lost.

Chapter 3 is absolutely vital for every user of the VOC archives. It contains practical instructions for the use of the most important series of the Company's archives and indicates which data can be found for various sorts of research.

The VOC archives in the General State Archives contain all the residue of the Company administration of the six chambers in the Republic. Besides these there were other bodies -in particular the overseas establishments- and persons who built up archives relating to the Company's activities. These form an important supplement to the VOC archives proper. Chapter 4 presents a survey of these related archives.

Finally, the maps and drawings of the VOC occupy a special position. The VOC maps and drawings preserved in the Maps and Drawings Section of the General State Archives have come from the VOC archives themselves and from other holdings. Maps and drawings from the VOC collection can also be found in other locations. Information about the maps collection in the General State Archives and about other collections is given in Chapter 5.

Many people have contributed to the realization of this book. The lion's share of the editing of the inventory was undertaken by R. Raben, who was also assumed editorial responsibility for the introductory section and for the compilation of the supplement. In 1990 H. Spijkerman took over the redaction of the inventory. The contributions to the introduction were made by staff members of the General State Archives and by historians from the University of Leiden. The English translation of the introduction was made by Mrs. R. Robson-McKillop. For the innumerable correction and processing work a large debt of gratitude is owed to all the staff of the *Eerste Afdeling* -above all to Mrs. N. Iterson- and the staff of the Interdepartmental Tekstverwerkingscentrum in Winschoten. The project was carried out under the supervision of Mrs. J. Pennings, head of arranging and describing of the *Eerste Afdeling* of the General State Archives.

The Hague, 17th May 1992
Joyce Pennings
Remco Raben

CHAPTER 1. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VOC

F.S. Gaastra

1. INTRODUCTION

Of all the trading companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch United East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC), which was created in 1602, was indubitably the most successful. Soon after its incorporation the VOC succeeded in firmly forcing back the Portuguese, who had established their commercial empire in Asia a century earlier, and pretty well eliminating them as competitors in the trade between Europe and Asia. The principal competitor of the VOC, the English East India Company (EIC), which had been founded in London in 1600, initially lacked the financial capacity, the organizational ability and governmental support to offer any real threat to the Dutch Company. It was only at the end of the seventeenth century that the EIC developed into a really potent rival, which would cut the ground from under the feet of the VOC in various regions in the course of the eighteenth century.

Nonetheless, until the end of its existence as a trading company in 1800, the VOC remained the largest of the Asiatic companies.¹⁾

A number of factors which had a bearing on the rapid growth of the Dutch Company can be indicated. To begin with the capital affluence available in the Republic provided the VOC with a substantial head start. By means of this the VOC was able to finance the costly military operations which were necessary to win the world monopoly on fine spices. The conquest of the Banda Archipelago in 1622 gave the Company the monopoly on nutmeg and mace. It took longer to achieve the monopoly in cloves. By extirpating the clove trees on various islands in the Moluccas, the VOC succeeded in concentrating this crop in Ambon. The capture of Makassar in 1667 meant that the last harbour where European and Asian merchants could purchase 'contraband' -that is to say traded outside the VOC- cloves had fallen into the hands of the Company. The monopoly on the trade in cinnamon was obtained by ousting the Portuguese from Ceylon. This took place in two stages: between 1637 and 1642 and from 1654 to 1658.

The operations of the VOC were not just confined to the transport of Asian products to the European markets. In Asia or Indië, as the whole trading area of the Company was known at that time, the VOC managed to accumulate the capital to build up a trade network between the various establishments. This intra-Asian trade provided a rich source of income for the Company during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Between about 1635 and 1690 this income was greater than the expenditure; thus the Asian business of the VOC ran at a profit and the enterprise in the Netherlands also profited from this. Furthermore, after 1639 the Dutch Company was the only European trader with access to Japan. During the seventeenth century this commercial connection proved extremely profitable and offered the Company a chance to buy up silver cheaply. All European merchants in Asia needed silver to buy textiles in India and pepper in the Indonesian Archipelago. Because of its 'Japanese connection' the VOC was able to make do with a fairly limited export of silver from Europe throughout the seventeenth century.

At the end of the seventeenth century there was an enormous expansion in trade and shipping between Europe and Asia. Textiles from India, coffee from Arabia and later also from Java, and tea from China captured the European market. This growth in trade was general; other European companies also profited from it. The VOC gradually ceded its unique position. The monopoly on fine spices diminished to relatively limited importance. The income from the intra-Asia trade no longer compensated for the spiralling expenditure which mounted partly under the influence of the rising administrative costs. The result was that year after year throughout the eighteenth century the Asian business of the VOC made a loss. Moreover, the trade with Japan almost dried up; after 1700 this counted for only very little. The profits from the sale of Asian wares at home were still sufficient to cover the pay for the extensive outfitting

of ships for Asia and to cover the annually recurring losses in Asia, but the financial reserves were shrinking.

The result of these structural changes was that the VOC leaned increasingly on sales results in the Republic. The financing of the business relied on these sales results and this put the Company in a vulnerable position: in the period after the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War in 1780, when no return fleets sailed home and no auctions of any significance could be held, the Company lost its credit in one fell swoop and found itself deeply in debt. After this war the Company was plunged into problems on such a scale that it was only able to remain afloat with governmental support. The invasion of the French and the collapse of the old Republic sealed the fate of the VOC. At the beginning of 1796, shortly after the founding of the Batavian Republic, the board of directors had to resign and the management was handed over to a Comité tot de zaken van de Oost-Indische handel en bezittingen (Committee for Affairs relating to East India Trade and Possessions). The VOC had been nationalized. On 1st January 1800 the VOC charter, the legal foundation of the enterprise, was revoked. Although the state of war in Europe permitted no drastic changes in course as far as shipping and trade to Asia were concerned, it meant the end of the Company.

The total figures for the two centuries of the Company's operations, for trade turnover, shipping and personnel, are impressive. Despite the dwindling returns, the business was on a much larger scale in the eighteenth century than it had been in the seventeenth. For instance, in total the VOC fitted out some 4,700 ships, nearly 1700 in the seventeenth century and a good 3000 in the eighteenth. Between 1602 and 1700, 317,000 people sailed from Europe on these ships, while between 1700 and 1795 this total reached 655,000. Trade figures confirm the growth of the business after 1700. The expenditure on equipage, that is to say shipbuilding and outfitting as well as the money and goods that were sent to Asia, reached the sum of f. 370 million between 1640 and 1700, and f. 1608 million in the years 1700-1795. In these periods the purchase prices of the return goods shipped home from Asia reached f. 205 and f. 667 million respectively; the sales prices of these return wares were f. 577 million in the first period and f. 1633 in the second.²⁾

2. THE FOUNDING OF THE VOC - THE CHARTER

The VOC was born in 1602 from a fusion of six small companies. Directly after the eerste schipvaart (first fleet) of 1595-1597, which had been organized by the Compagnie van Verre of Amsterdam, had demonstrated the possibilities of Asian trade, companies were set up in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and in Zeeland.³⁾ These companies accumulated capital for one expedition at a time. Nonetheless, there was continuity in the board of directors; the merchants in charge or the bewindhebbers (directors) sponsored successive expeditions. Each time the ships returned from Asia the investors, who included not only the board but also other shareholders or participanten, got back the capital they had subscribed, naturally augmented by a share in the profit. These companies competed fiercely with each other, which put pressure on the profit margins. The dwindling returns threatened to frighten off investors and to endanger the future of the trade with Asia.

The directors were by no means blind to this development and co-operation rapidly took place on a local level. In 1600 the Amsterdam companies amalgamated into one Geünieerde Amsterdamse Oostindische Compagnie (Unified Amsterdam East India Company), which was granted a monopoly on the trade from Amsterdam to Asia by the Amsterdam burgomasters. Concerted action was also taken in Zeeland. But co-operation did not extend beyond this. The people in Zeeland, for instance, had little stomach for a fusion with companies in Holland; they were afraid that Amsterdam would wield too much power in one united company. Moreover, new companies were being established in other cities -Hoorn, Enkhuizen and Delft. Therefore it seemed as if this mutual rivalry was to continue on into the seventeenth century.

The eventual unification into one company did not happen spontaneously, but was enforced by the government. The Dutch Republic was at war with the king of Spain and

Portugal. The existing companies, now mainly referred to as the *voorcompagnieën* (pre-companies), were unable to play any role in the conflict against Spain and Portugal. One united Company could be a powerful military and economic weapon in the struggle. The States of Holland under the guidance of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and, in their footsteps, the States General paved the way for a fusion. Eventually, after the intervention of the stadhouder (hereditary governor), Prince Maurits, the Zeelanders were no longer able to hold themselves aloof. On 20th March 1602 the States General granted the charter by which the *Generale Vereenigde Geoctroyeerde Compagnie* (General United Chartered Company) was created 4). The charter was valid for 21 years. Rivalry was now out of the question: the charter laid down that nobody except the VOC could send ships from The Netherlands to or conduct trade in the area east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan.

Many of the other clauses in the charter referred to the organization of the Company, the position of the board of directors and the shareholders, and to the way in which capital could be acquired. These clauses bore the traces of the laborious negotiations which had preceded the realization of the charter. The content and elaboration of the terms will be discussed in the sections below. Before this attention will be drawn to the compromising nature of the charter and to the federal structure, which was so characteristic of the Dutch East India Company.

Under the charter the pre-companies became departments or *kamers* (chambers) in the united Company. There were six of them: Amsterdam, Zeeland (which had its seat in Middelburg), Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. Agreement about the share of the chambers in the joint shipping and trade to Asia was reached fairly quickly. The Amsterdam Chamber was apportioned half of all operations, Zeeland a quarter and each of the four remaining smaller chambers were allocated one-sixteenth each. The Zeelanders were reassured by this system of distribution which was laid down in the charter; they had feared that, should the capital deposited by the chambers have been taken as the basis for the share in the management of the business, Amsterdam would have won more than half.

The directors of the pre-companies became the directors of the chambers as a matter of course. A general board, which was to be put in charge of the general management and was to consist of representatives of the directors of the chambers, was placed above the chambers. One great problem was how the proportional relationships between the chambers, which had now been settled, were to be reflected in the general board. Because Zeeland wanted the vote on the general board to be taken according to Chamber -so that each Chamber could have as much say as any other Chamber- agreement initially miscarried. Finally the Zeelanders consented to a head count in a board which was to consist of seventeen members. In it Amsterdam would be represented by eight directors, Zeeland by four and the smaller chambers would have one each, while the seventeenth member would be appointed in turn by one of the chambers other than Amsterdam. The Amsterdammers had assumed that this board, the *Heren XVII*, would meet in Amsterdam, but a concession was made to the Zeelanders on this point. It was decided to introduce an eight year cycle. For six consecutive years Amsterdam was to be the meeting place and during this time this chamber would also function as the presidential Chamber; after this for two years Middelburg was to be the seat of the *Heren XVII* and then the presidency would fall to the Zeeland Chamber.

Now, on paper at least, it was possible to set down in the charter exactly how much influence and say each chamber would have, however, practice was to show how this complicated structure would take shape. During the seventeenth century the same administrative practices with which the directors, often as regent, were familiar in the Republic gradually developed. The relationship between the boards of directors of the chambers and the meetings of the *Heren XVII*, who after all consisted of delegates from these boards, was in many respects comparable to the meetings of the States of Holland and Zeeland and the cities who delegated their administrators to the sessions of the States. Before each meeting of the *Heren XVII* the chambers were sent an agenda by the presidential Chamber. Thereupon their delegates were given instructions for voting. When important matters which had not been included in the agenda were brought up before the *Heren XVII*, consultations were held.

There was yet another aspect on which the charter was a compromise. This was in the matter of capital. Because the charter was to be valid for twenty-one years, the VOC was no makeshift organization which, as had been the custom of the pre-companies, had been set up just for one expedition. Nonetheless, no-one had wanted or dared to tackle the consequences of this for the regulations regarding the accumulation of capital. Even before the founding of the united Company, the pre-companies had collected money to finance the outfitting of ships for Asia. These ships were now amalgamated into one fleet; this vloot van veertien schepen (fleet of fourteen ships) was thus the first that was equipped by the VOC for an expedition to Asia. Hereafter, the charter proclaimed, opportunities would be offered for the depositing of new capital, not just for one expedition, but for a term of ten years, in which period several fleets would be equipped for Asia. The shareholders or participanten would get their money back in 1612, plus the profit which had accrued up to that moment, and there would be a fresh opportunity to subscribe capital for the next ten years. Moreover, it was laid down that as soon as five per cent of the original investment had been returned to the Company immediately after the return wares brought back from Asia had been sold, there would be a distribution of dividends to the shareholders.

These stipulations made the accumulation of capital impossible. This did not tally with the aim which had featured prominently in the foundation of the VOC: the provision of a firm and solid basis for trade with Asia.

Therefore this provision was more honoured in the breach than in the observance by the directors. The shareholders had to wait a very long time for a distribution of dividends and there was no restitution of capital after ten years. The original investment remained unchanged throughout the entire life of the Company. The States General, who had issued the charter, supported the directors in their non-observance of these stipulations.⁵⁾

In 1622/23 the charter was renewed for twenty-one years. After the shareholders had lodged a complaint, they were allowed a little more say, but there were no real changes accomplished. Later renewals of the charter often gave rise to political entanglements: various towns and provinces seized the opportunity to bargain for privileges, such as places for extraordinary directors in one of the chambers, in return for support of the renewal. On these occasions in wartime the States General sometimes asked for money or naval support. It was only late in the eighteenth century that any doubts arose about the methods employed by the Company and the situation in Asia was brought into the discussions held at the time of the renewal. But even then this did not amount to any real criticism: in general the Company enjoyed the support of the States General and the government strictly maintained the monopoly of the VOC. (See Appendix 4 for a list of the charters.)

3. DIRECTORS AND SHAREHOLDERS

After the founding of the VOC in 1602, the seventy-six directors who had headed the pre-companies were placed in control of the new company. The charter which established the monopoly and the duration of the business, albeit provisionally limited to twenty-one years, altered the position of the directors. They now formed a real board, a managerial group, with its own aims, which were distinct from those of the shareholders. Of course they were themselves important investors and, as such, their position and interests did not differ from those of the other shareholders. But as managers they strove to increase the turnover, and for continuity and consolidation, rather than for any short-term profit which would give the investors a quick return on their investment ⁶⁾. In this the directors enjoyed the protection of the charter. Only after ten years, thus after the expiry of the first decennial capital account, were they required to open the books and to account to the shareholders.

The incomes of the directors were fixed at a certain percentage of the turnover: at one per cent of the expenditure on the outfitting or equipages and at one per cent of the profits from the sale of the retourgoederen. (return wares). Directorship was for life. Shareholders had no influence at all on the appointment of new directors. Directors were supposed to have

shares in the VOC set at a fixed minimum amount: f. 6000 (in the chambers of Hoorn and Enkhuizen f. 3000). This sum was regarded as a surety; the directors were held responsible for instances of mismanagement or fraud though it was set down in the charter, that directors were not personally liable for debts incurred by the Company. As has already been said, the stipulations in the charter which favoured the shareholders -the rapid distribution of dividends from the profits made on the imports and the liquidation of the capital after ten years- were not observed by the directors. In short, in return for the right that the charter gave the directors to manage the VOC, there were few obligations, and even these were not strictly observed.

The charter fixed the number of directors at sixty: twenty in the Amsterdam Chamber, twelve in that of Zeeland and seven in each of the smaller chambers. In view of the fact that, at the time that the VOC was founded, there were more directors in all the chambers except that of Hoorn, for the time being there were to be no new appointments when a vacancy occurred. The appointments procedure, which was prescribed in 1602, gave the States of Holland, and for the Zeeland Chamber the States of Zeeland, the right to choose a candidate from a nomination list of three persons, which had been compiled by the directors still in office in the Chamber concerned. Upon the insistence of the Zeelanders this stipulation was included in the charter. However, in Holland it was never applied. A few days before the charter was issued, the States of Holland, at the suggestion of the city of Amsterdam, passed a resolution in which the choice from the list of three nominees was made the responsibility of the burgomasters of the city in question. For indeed, the burgomasters had, so ran the argument of the Amsterdammers, *vaste kennisse* (reliable knowledge) of the capacities of the candidates.

The Zeeland determination to leave the choice of the candidates to the States was probably prompted in order to prevent problems within their own circles. The situation there was more complicated than it was in Holland. Citizens of Veere and Vlissingen had had interests in the pre-companies in Zeeland, and these two cities did not want to relinquish their share in the trade with Asia in 1602. Finally, after a lot of rows, both the cities succeeded in each obtaining two directors' seats in the Zeeland Chamber. Veere lost its seat as early as 1603, because the director from Veere, Balthasar de Moucheron, resigned his place. As there were thirteen directors still in office, one more than prescribed by the charter, there was no question of filling this vacancy. In later years Veere never succeeded in winning back this second seat, despite a stubborn battle which recurred every time there was a new appointment. Middelburg kept a firm hold on the nine places that it had in its grasp, and the States of Zeeland took its side. The States of Zeeland held onto their right of nomination until 1646; after this the cities themselves assumed this right, and each city could fill its own places.

The outcome of this was that an intimate relationship developed between the regents of the cities and the directors. Party factions, political antitheses and cabals could very easily infiltrate the boards of directors. However, from the close ties between the city regents and the VOC directors, one cannot draw the conclusion that merchants gradually had to make way for administrators; certainly in Amsterdam good care was taken to see that business expertise was maintained on the board. One of the consequences of the system of appointments employed is that in municipal archives there is a great deal of information to be found about the appointment of directors.

Besides the sixty directors mentioned in the charter of 1602, in the course of time directors from outside the Chamber cities took their places on the boards of directors. This so called *extraordinair* or *buitengewoon* (extraordinary) directorship grew up as the result of the demands made by various provinces after the States General had granted the VOC some not insubstantial subsidies in 1606. Because they demanded to be able to supervise how this money was spent in 1613 and 1614 Gelderland, Utrecht, Friesland and the city of Dordrecht (als eerste en voorsittende stad, as premier and presidential city in Holland) were each granted the right to appoint one director. Dordrecht had already attempted to obtain influence in the VOC in 1602 by organizing a capital investment by a great many of its citizens. The city was thus able to achieve this aim in 1614. In 1642, at the time of the second renewal of the charter, a similar post was also granted to Overijssel and Stad en Lande.

The vicissitudes which preceded the second renewal of the charter (in 1642) also

offered various cities in the provinces of Holland a fine opportunity to get their hands on a director's place. There had already been a quarrel between Dordrecht, Amsterdam and Haarlem in 1636. The extraordinary directorship of the first mentioned city had more or less been informally transformed into an ordinary one, because the representative from Dordrecht, Elias Trip, had moved to Amsterdam during his term of office and thereafter was counted as an ordinary Amsterdam director. After Trip's death, Dordrecht wished this situation to continue, but, on the basis of the order of precedence among the cities of the States of Holland, Haarlem thought that its turn had come and therefore claimed the directorship that had previously been held by Dordrecht. During the discussion about the continuation of the charter which erupted shortly afterwards, it was made clear to the Company that they had to offer the cities something in return for support for the renewal. Haarlem and Leiden came off best; these cities secured an ordinary directorship in the Chamber of Amsterdam, but they could only take their seats in 1648. Besides its extraordinary directorship in the Amsterdam Chamber, Dordrecht obtained a similar place in one of the chambers in the Zuiderkwartier (Southern District, Delft and Rotterdam), later only in Rotterdam. Alkmaar was allowed a director who occupied a place in Hoorn and Enkhuizen in rotation. Gouda lagged behind a little, but later, in 1665, succeeded in securing a place in the Amsterdam Chamber. Much later, in 1696, the Ridderschap of Holland secured two ordinary directors' seats in the smaller Holland chambers. These seats were counted over and above the fixed number of sixty.

Thus, in the time-honoured custom of the Republic the administrative structure had become extremely complicated. Moreover, the smaller chambers did not observe the formal rules. In the chambers of the Noorderkwartier (Northern District, Hoorn and Enkhuizen), the director from Alkmaar was regarded as an *ordinaris*. This director continued to take his seat in whichever Chamber a place had fallen vacant, which meant that the Hoorn Chamber, or as the case may be that of Enkhuizen, sometimes only contained six directors from its own city. After 1669 this same happened with the director from the Ridderschap in the chambers of the Zuiderkwartier.⁷) (See Appendix 5 for a survey of the composition of the boards of directors.)

During the seventeenth century various modifications were made, not only in the number of directors, but also in their emoluments and election, and in the role of the shareholders. There was a great deal of discontent among the shareholders about the failure to honour the obligations laid down in the charter of 1602 with respect to the distribution of dividends and the establishment of the capital, as well as about the less than open attitude of the directors towards financial matters. Furthermore, suspicions that the directors were lining their own pockets at the Company's expense were rife among the shareholders. During the lifetime of the first charter this led to blazing rows. When the charter came up for renewal the States General made some small concessions to these complaints. First of all, changes were made in the way in which the directors were reimbursed. In future the one per cent commission would be calculated from the expenditure for the outfitting and from the net, instead of the gross, profits from the sales. This meant a drop in remuneration. In 1647 the whole regulation was abrogated and replaced by a fixed salary of f. 3100 per annum for the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber, f. 2600 for those in Zeeland, and f. 1200 for the directors of the smaller chambers. Moreover, in 1623 the directorship was fixed at a three-year term, but this ruling was soon disregarded: later on it seems that in most instances directors occupied their seats until their deaths.

Furthermore, in 1623, via a very complicated procedure, some control and say was granted to the shareholders by the establishing of three commissions of principal shareholders -that is to say those from whom it was demanded, as it was of the directors, that they had at least f. 6000 invested in the chambers of either Amsterdam or Zeeland and f. 3000 in the smaller chambers.⁸)

One of these boards, that of the *rekeningopnemers* (inspectors of accounts), would inspect the *generale rekening* (general accounts) which had to be presented for the first time after the expiry of the first charter in 1622. After 1647 this financial accountability took place every four years, not just in the presence of the inspectors of accounts, but also in that of a committee from the States General.

The second board of principal shareholders functioned by chamber and was assembled when a directorship fell vacant. By means of *affixie van biljetten* (posting of bills) the same number of principal shareholders as there were directors still sitting was summoned; thus the directors and the principal shareholders formed an electoral college which was empowered to draw up a nomination list of three persons. In practice once again the chambers followed their own rules. In Zeeland, for instance, twice as many principal shareholders as directors assembled. In Amsterdam, by contrast, the main shareholders showed little enthusiasm for such meetings; usually only a few deigned to put in an appearance.

Finally nine principal shareholders were delegated by the chambers to attend the meetings of the *Heren XVII* and participate on their various committees, in which they were entitled to make recommendations. Four of them came from Amsterdam, two from Zeeland and three from the remaining smaller chambers, which meant that in turn each of these smaller chambers had to do without such a principal shareholder as a delegate. Their election took place in much the same way as that of the directors: shareholders compiled a list of nominations consisting of three persons, from which the local burgomasters made their choice. As these shareholders were obliged to swear an oath in the presence of the burgomaster (as did the directors), they were known as *beëdigde hoofdparticipanten* (certified principal shareholders).

Yet another modification was made to these electoral regulations in 1749. Then, following a proposal from principal main shareholders of the VOC, the stadhouder, William IV, was appointed *opperbewindhebber* (director-general). It was now the prerogative of the stadhouder to make a choice of new directors and new certified shareholders from the short-list of three names. However, neither William IV nor his successor, William V, took any direct interest in the administration; they were represented in the boards of directors of the chambers and in the meetings of the *Heren XVII* by a representant.⁹⁾

Finally, in 1786, when the Company was forced to turn to the government for support, at the suggestion of the States of Holland the board of directors of the Amsterdam Chamber was increased by six people. A political battle had preceded this move. The original idea of the States of Holland had been several more directors should also be nominated in Zeeland. Those directors who had espoused the cause of reform and who had been appointed by the Patriot-influenced administration would mainly concern themselves with the Asian side of the enterprise. But Zeeland opposed this and, as a result, the extension of the boards of directors was confined to Amsterdam. In this Chamber the newly appointed directors formed the *Departement tot de Indische Zaken* (Department for Asian Affairs), which was also known as the *Vijfde Departement* (Fifth Department). In view of the fact that the anti-Orange Patriots had the upper hand in Holland, initially this appointment was not made by the stadhouder, but by the States General on the recommendation of the States of Holland. When the political situation altered in 1788 and the stadhouder regained his former power, his rights were also restituted in this respect. In 1790 the Zeeland Chamber finally gave its approval to the introduction of this administrative body, which from that time on was known as the *Preparatoir Besogne* (Preparatory Conference).¹⁰⁾

The invasion of the French and the establishment of the Batavian Republic brought the regime of the old management to an end. By decree of the States General dated 24th December 1795, the directors were relieved of their office per 1st March 1796. The management of the Company was entrusted to the *Comité tot de Zaken van de Oost-Indische Handel en Bezittingen*, which consisted of twenty-one members.

4. THE CENTRAL MANAGEMENT; TASKS AND PROCEDURES OF THE HEREN XVII

Quite soon after 1602 the *Heren XVII* established a set working procedure. During the seventeenth century this board usually came together three times a year for meetings which lasted for one or more weeks. Occasionally there were only two meetings and this became the

rule after 1751. Between these sessions there were meetings of committees of directors, which prepared policy planning for the Heren XVII or inspected the management of the chambers. Like the meetings of the Heren XVII these committees, which were not mentioned in the charter and which evolved during the first half of the seventeenth century, were composed of delegates from the boards of directors of the chambers.¹¹⁾

The following commissions were active:

1. A committee for drawing up the annual balance sheet.
2. A committee for attending and supervising on the auctions of the chambers.
3. A commission for inspecting the books of the chambers.
4. A committee which read through the correspondence and documents received from Asia and then composed a draft letter for the administration in Asia. This committee, which was composed of four directors from Amsterdam, two from Zeeland and one from each of the smaller chambers, met in The Hague and was known as the Haags Besogne.
5. In wartime, the fleet was issued with secret routes and signals. These were compiled by a secret committee .

The time of the meetings of the Heren XVII and the subjects dealt with at them were largely dictated by the trading and sailing seasons. The autumn session can be considered to be the first in the annual cycle of meetings. This was summoned after the return of the return fleet from Asia, about the end of August. At this meeting decisions were taken on the following matters:

- The dates of the auctions of the six chambers, the quantity of goods offered for sale and the conditions under which these would be sold. This point had to be dealt with quickly, at the beginning of the meeting so that there was time to send notification of the auctions to the large commercial centres of Europe. Moreover, the auctions themselves could not be delayed too late into the autumn, in order to make sure that the merchants would not be prevented from dispatching the goods to the purchasers both at home and abroad because of the onset of the winter. It often happened that the autumn sessions went into recess for a time so that the auctions could be held and to allow the auction committee to do its work. When this happened, the second half of the autumn session fell very late in the year; sometimes the Heren XVII even met until Christmas or New Year.
- The number of ships and crew to be sent to Asia. This concerned the ships which from September -therefore while the meeting was still in session- until the summer of the following year were to sail from patria. Because, of course, the chambers had to have the first ships of this equipage shipshape long before September, a provisional decision had been taken on this point earlier. In the autumn the definitive list of ships was settled.
- The quantity of goods to be sent to Asia. This decision was an answer to the *eis der behoeften* (order for supplies) sent by the Governor-General and Council in Batavia.
- The quantity of gold and silver, minted and bullion, and the amount of copper coinage to be sent to Asia. This was in answer to the *eis der contanten* (order for ready money) received from Batavia. The decision about the precious metal and copper coin was *provisioneel* (provisional). In the spring there was a review to see if this needed to be supplemented.
- The compilation of what was known as the *eis van retouren*, a list of the products that the directors wished to receive with the next return fleet from Asia. Usually a provisional list was drawn up first; the definitive *eis* (order) was only decided upon after the autumn auctions had been held. The directors took account not only of the sales figures from their own auctions, but of from those in London as well. When the autumn session was interrupted by the holding of auctions, a definitive decision could be taken in the second half of this session. Sometimes, however, it was left to the directors who attended the auctions to make up the definitive order in collaboration with the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber. In a few instances the sale of spices in the spring also led to supplement this definitive list.
- The composition of the Governor-General and Council or the Raad van Indië (Council of the Indies) in Batavia and the promotion of high-ranking officials to the overseas establishments.

The right to appoint somebody a member of the Raad van Indië and commander of a Company establishment was the prerogative of the Heren XVII. Often decisions taken on this point were no more than a ratification of an appointment which had already been made in Asia.

Furthermore, this item on the agenda gave the directors of the various chambers the opportunity to put forward some protégé for promotion.

- In all the sessions of the Heren XVII, therefore also in the autumn, surveys were made on the financial situation of the chambers: the cash in hand, the credit balance in the exchange bank, the outstanding debts and claims. Moreover, in the autumn, and occasionally in the spring, an inventory of the stocks of cannon was drawn up.

- At various times during the autumn session extracts were read from the generale missive (general dispatch) from the Governor-General and Council of the Indies, which gave a survey of the commercial, financial and political situation of the VOC in Asia. Matters which required urgent attention or which the Heren XVII considered could be dealt with immediately were summarized in a letter to Batavia. Other matters were referred to the Haags Besogne with the rest of the voluminous collection of documents from Asia.

The next meeting of the Heren XVII took place in the early spring, often as early as February, or else in March. During this session decisions were made about the spring auctions, at which the VOC usually offered only spices for sale. Besides this, the gathering gave the directors the opportunity to check work in progress on the outfitting of the ships. This was when the definitive consignment of the amount of ready money was decided. Furthermore, in spring it was time for the liquidatie en egalisatie van de retouren en van de timmeringe van schepen (for the liquidation and settling up of the imports and of the building of the ships). On the basis of information supplied by the chambers, the directors checked to what extent the distribution system, which had been laid down in the charter, had been observed. As far as the imports were concerned this could mean that one chamber had to supply another chamber with a certain product or that a financial adjustment had to be made to set the proportions to rights. This was not possible with regard to the building of ships. However, later in the year, when the new programme was finalized, the results of the comparison and any imbalances in building activities up to that moment were taken into account.

Remarkably enough, it was often at the spring session that a decision was already made about the remittance of dividends. Therefore, this was done even before the auction of spices had taken place in March, and, furthermore, before the end of the financial year, which closed either in the middle or at the end of May. This means that the payments were entered in the books of the year still current. It is true that after 1669, at the suggestion of the Amsterdam Chamber, it was decided to wait until the books had been closed and the balance drawn up before assessing the dividend, but as early as about 1684 the old practices had been resumed.

Finally, it was at the spring session that the date on which the Haags Besogne would meet was decided. The directors who had been delegated to this gathering by their chambers had to count on spending quite some time in The Hague. Sometimes the Haags Besogne was in session for as long as three months. The return fleet not only brought a generale missive from the Governor-General and the Council of the Indies to the Heren XVII, but also copies of the correspondence between Batavia and the other establishments in Asia. This correspondence, arranged by establishment along with the relevant passages from the generale missiven and from letters which had been written earlier on behalf of the Heren XVII was read and replied to by the Haags Besogne. The report of the Besogne, which was known as the Haags Verbaal, is mainly a summary of the letters which had been read, with a reference to the draft reply, which is nearly always included at the back of the Verbaal. Occasionally short remarks were added; sometimes a more extensive commentary was given, for instance, when the directors in The Hague were able to obtain information directly from an employee who had come back from Asia.

As the Haags Besogne reviewed the navale magt, the survey of the Company ships present in Asia, which was prepared in Batavia, this was the body most suitable for drawing up a list of the complete VOC fleet, and on the basis of this to give advice about the building of

new vessels. During the eighteenth century the directors in The Hague added more details to the Verbaal, for instance, those relating to the sale of European goods in Asia. Besides this the Besogne found itself tackling a lot of the tasks which the Heren XVII could not, or would not, handle in their sessions. The directors in The Hague were also regularly requested to speed up or to bring to a close various cases in which the VOC was involved before the Hof van Holland. Lastly, the directors assembled in The Hague availed themselves of the opportunity to discuss the way matters relating to the equipage were progressing. When the Amsterdam directors had not done so during the spring session, they usually presented the Haags Besogne with a proposal for sending precious metal with the ships of the current equipage, in anticipation of the expected order from Batavia. This last matter was the only item on which the Haags Besogne took a decision. All other matters to which the Besogne had turned its attention were then placed before the next session of the Heren XVII for deliberation.

After this, in June, the committee whose job it was to check the books and draw up the annual balance sheet met. On this occasion not only the directors on this committee -two from Amsterdam, one from Zeeland and three from the other chambers (thus one chamber was not represented)- but also the book-keepers from the six chambers wended their way to the Oostindisch Huis of the Amsterdam Chamber. Here, each in turn, the accountants presented their books and financial documents for inspection. Finally, the committee drew up the general balance sheet of the VOC in patria from the six balance sheets. Among the papers which this committee collected were the lists of the goods sold by each chamber, the stocks, the outstanding debts and credits, the cash in hand and the credit balance in the bank of exchange. Once every four years when, according to the rules laid down in the charter, a financial accounting had to be made to representatives of the States General and the principal shareholders, after the books had been closed, they were inspected yet again by chamber.

From Amsterdam the committee could not really keep a close eye on the accounting. This was the reason that now and again a committee was appointed to inspect and check the books on the spot. A wide-spread fraud perpetrated in the Hoorn Chamber in 1670 had been the motive behind the formation of such a committee. The inspection of the chambers did not follow any particular schedule. Sometimes, after a session of the Heren XVII in Zeeland had finished, some directors stayed on in order to carry out this task. Then, on their return journey to Amsterdam, they inspected the chambers of Delft and Rotterdam, and later in the year visits were paid to Amsterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen.

The third meeting of the Heren XVII took place in the summer, usually in July, but sometimes not until August. This was when the draft reply of the Haags Besogne was discussed. After it had been approved and any amendments had been made, this reply was sent to Batavia in September with the first ships of the new equipage. The summer was also the time that provisional estimates were reached about ships, crews and goods for the forthcoming season. Moreover, a decision was made on the quantity of precious metals to be dispatched on the ships sailing in September; therefore this ruling was also an anticipation of the order which would only be received at the end of August and of the definitive decision, which would be taken later in the year. In the eighteenth century a provisional eis van retouren (order for return goods) was drawn up so that Batavia could set to work as soon as possible to assemble the goods for patria; therefore the questions which were decided later in the year by the Heren XVII increasingly assumed a supplementary character.

On rare occasions, under the pressure of special circumstances, there was not enough time to summon a full complement of the Heren XVII. In such instances, a meeting of the Halve Zeventien was deemed sufficient. For instance, after the outbreak of the war with England and France in July 1672, an extra session of the Halve Zeventien was summoned in The Hague, for just one day, 'so as not to cause a stir or be conspicuous'. Weather conditions could also cause a great deal of confusion. In 1681 when a severe frost made the journey by the directors from Holland to Zeeland impossible, a Halve Zeventien was summoned with The Hague once again as the venue to organize the spring auctions. However, these sorts of meetings trod on a lot of toes. The Zeeland directors were afraid that the other chambers

would be all too ready to seize such opportunities to transfer the meetings to The Hague during the time that Zeeland held the presidency. Amsterdam had objections to the Halve Zeventien because it was composed of four Amsterdam directors, two Zeelanders and four (sometimes two) delegates from the smaller chambers. With only four representatives, Amsterdam was underrepresented. Moreover, because of the even number of those present, voting could be deadlocked. Amsterdam wanted voting by Chamber, in which the four Amsterdammers would be permitted to have eight votes and the Zeelanders four or -if the Chamber of Zeeland happened to be in the chair- five votes.

The growth of the business and the concomitant increasing workload of the Heren XVII meant that in the course of the eighteenth century the directors found themselves ever more pressed for time. Above all during the lengthy deliberations in The Hague the schedule got increasingly out of hand. Sometimes the summer session could only get under way late in August and by then the return fleet had already arrived home. This was the time when the directors had a lot of work to see to in the chambers and also had to devote their attention to the preparations for the autumn session of the Heren XVII. Therefore, in 1751, it was decided to cancel the summer session. The multitudinous provisional decisions about the equipage and suchlike were left in the hands of the Haags Besogne; from then on the draft missive of the Haags Besogne was dealt with immediately the autumn session commenced, in order to limit any delay in its dispatch to the minimum.

Shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century yet another change was implemented in the organization of the central management. In 1755 it was decided to change the pattern of the trade with China and to send ships directly from the Netherlands to China. This entailed an infringement on the role of Batavia as organizer of shipping in Asia. Furthermore, the trade and shipping for China was put in the hands of a separate committee. This Chinese Comité (Chinese Committee), composed of directors from various chambers, fixed the equipage for Canton, decided how much tea, porcelain and other goods were to be bought, and corresponded with the VOC employees in China. After its inception, trade with China was dealt with only summarily in meetings of the Heren XVII. This form of organization, by which the trade and shipping for one area was entrusted to a special administrative branch, remained an exception within the Company, which was not imitated for any of the other areas.¹²⁾

All in all, the central management was badly constructed. The Heren XVII did not meet in permanent session. The composition of the assembly was constantly changing, and the Heren XVII had no administrative staff. Nonetheless, due to the practices which had evolved, the administration was a force to be reckoned with. The decisions of the Heren XVII were binding for the chambers; because each chamber was represented in the XVII, the directors of the chambers executed these decisions. There were certain unwritten rules honoured in the selection of delegates to the Heren XVII from the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland, and probably from the other chambers as well. In Amsterdam burgomasters and ex-burgomasters had precedence over other directors, after this seniority was taken into account. A similar rule was applied in Zeeland. However, by no means always did directors avail themselves of their 'right' of delegation, and certainly when there were sessions in Zeeland it was sometimes difficult for the Amsterdammers to drum up the eight members required for their delegation. During their term of office many directors will have attended one or more sessions of the Heren XVII; a number of directors attended the sessions so regularly that, despite the many changes, a certain degree of continuity was achieved.¹³⁾

The Amsterdam Chamber wielded great influence in the central administration. The preparations for and the conduct of the sessions of the Heren XVII were matters which the Amsterdammers tackled very thoroughly. During discussions of the agenda at the sessions of the XVII, the Amsterdam directors already submitted detailed suggestions on such important items as the equipage or the order for Asian goods, which had been given to the delegation. During meetings if the other chambers criticized the Amsterdam position, the Amsterdam delegation would consult the other directors in the chamber -something that was less feasible when the meeting was held in Middelburg; in such cases consultation was by correspondence.

Finally, the continuity in the administration was boosted by the work of the Company advocates. These advocates -there was a first and a second advocate- acted as secretary to the directors and, consequently, were the only permanent high-ranking officials who had a function on the central management. The advocate assisted the presidential chamber in the compilation of the agendas for the meetings of the Heren XVII and he attended these sessions as well as the meetings of the committees set up by the Heren XVII. Besides this, he was in the service of the Amsterdam Chamber. The most famous Company advocate was Pieter van Dam, who, for more than fifty years, from 1652 to 1706, occupied this office and compiled the important Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie about 1700. (See Appendix 6 for a diagram of the organization of the VOC.)

5. THE ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE CHAMBERS

As the managers of the chambers, the task of the directors was to carry out the decisions taken in the sessions of the Heren XVII. Very early in the seventeenth century the chambers were given facilities for this work. An Oostindisch Huis, where the directors met, the accountants, cashiers and clerks carried out their administrative activities and where goods were occasionally stored, was set up in all the cities with chambers. Besides this there were the requisite warehouses and complexes for the building and equipping of ships: shipyards, sail makers, rope-walks, forges; not forgetting abattoirs, apothecaries and a multitude of other businesses 14). The internal organization of the various chambers differed somewhat one from the other. When it was all said and done, the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland were respectively eight and four times bigger than one small Chamber and this alone made different demands on the organization.

In Amsterdam the directors usually met twice a week, on Monday and Thursday. During sessions of the Heren XVII and when there were matters which had to be dealt with quickly, extraordinary meetings were added. Many activities were, however, handled in committees. Initially the directors followed the practice which had begun in the pre-companies of setting up separate committees for each equipage. Directors were appointed for one season or one year to a committee for shipbuilding, victualling, ammunition, book-keeping or the sale of goods. Sometime around the middle of the seventeenth century four permanent committees, which in the eighteenth century were called departments, evolved. When directors were appointed they were given a seat on a committee and mostly remained active there for the whole of their term of office. 15)

The various administrative departments and sections of the business fell under these committees. The work was divided up as follows:

1. The committee for the rekenkamer (audit office) was in charge of the chief accountant, the clearing office, the pay office and the clerks' office. The chief accountant made up the ledger and the journal of the Chamber and he administered the transfer of shares and the remittance of the dividends. In the liquidation office were kept the books in which the transactions with merchants were accounted for. The pay office was in charge of the extensive personnel administration and the scheepssoldijboeken (ship's pay-ledgers) were held there. Lastly, the clerks' office carried out the secretarial duties.
2. The job of the commissie van ontvang (reception committee), often in conjunction with the rekenkamer, was to supervise the cashier. This committee was also given the responsibility of the buying up the silver and gold which was to be sent to Asia. The cashier and his assistants worked in the ontvangkamer (reception office).
3. The heeren van 't pakhuis (warehouse masters) or, according to their later more dignified nomenclature, Departement van de Commerce, supervised the book-keepers in the warehouse office. Here a record was kept of which goods had been purchased, which of these were sent to Asia, which imported goods had been received from Asia, and what prices these had fetched at the auctions. Besides, the directors on this committee had yet another task: they had to audition ministers of religion who wished to be considered for an appointment in Asia.

4. The task of the Commissie van de Equipage (equipment committee) was the inspection of all matter to do with shipbuilding and the outfitting of vessels. These directors supervised the shipyards, they were present when vessels sailed from and dropped anchor in the Texel roads, and were charged with recruiting sailors and soldiers. (See Appendix 7 for a diagram of the organization of the Amsterdam Chamber.)

In the Zeeland Chamber the directors formed themselves into three committees: the Commissie van de Thesaurie (finance committee), of koopmanschappen (commerce committee) and the Commissie van de Equipage (equipment committee).¹⁶ Here it was also the custom to give a director a seat on one of the committees as soon as he was appointed but, because equipment and commerce were considered to be much bigger plums on account of the possibility they offered for granting establishments to protégés and obtaining emoluments, there was a great deal of changing around: if a place on the equipment committee fell vacant, very often somebody from the finance committee took it and a newly appointed director was placed on the finance committee. The administrative division in Zeeland was identical to that in Amsterdam, albeit there were fewer people employed in the various establishments. Zeeland also had a chief accountant, a cashier's office, a commercial office and a pay office. Furthermore, just as was the case in Amsterdam, there were book-keepers and clerks in the shipyards. The office known there as the *buiten-comptoir* was an office in the warehouse.

6. ORGANIZATION OF THE VOC IN ASIA

Although the charter of 1602 was clear-cut and detailed in the way in which it laid down the organization of the VOC in the Republic, it was conversely vague about the administrative structure in Asia. The charter allowed the Company far reaching rights overseas: the VOC could build forts in Asia; employ soldiers; conclude treaties with Asian rulers; and appoint judges. However, these rights were not elaborated on: possibly in 1602 it was as yet impossible to foresee in what way the authority of the VOC overseas would expand.

The first fleets sent out by the VOC after 1602 were much more heavily armed than the ships of the pre-companies had been. The armaments were not so much intended to win territory in Asia, as to inflict as much damage as possible on the Portuguese. To begin with the Company adhered to the practices of pre-1602: the admiral of the outgoing fleet was given the supreme command in Asia and all the Company's employees were subject to him, whether they were in his immediate vicinity on ships or at some trading post or other. After a few years it became apparent that this way of going about things did not have much to recommend it and that the Portuguese example - a central authority in one fixed place - was worthy of imitation.

In 1609 the directors decided to place the supreme command in Asia in the hands of a Governor-General, who was to be assisted by a Raad van Indië (Council of the Indies).¹⁷ After a lot of fighting Batavia was founded in 1619 on the site of the Javanese harbour town of Jakatra. This became the seat of the Governor-General and Council or the Supreme Government as the Governor-General and Council were soon designated, and it became the administrative centre and rendez-vous for the Company's shipping traffic.

The Governor-General was not all powerful; he was the first in council, but was not empowered to take any important decisions without the council. The directeur-generaal (director general) was second-in-command; he had supreme control over the entire Company trade in Asia. Initially a certain division of labour had been thought out in the distribution of the other posts, which gave rise to a great number of double functions. As *visiteur-generaal* (auditor-general) one of the council would supervise the accounts; one would assume the function of president of the Raad van Justitie (Court of Justice); another would be put in charge of military matters; and yet another would concern himself with shipping. In practice it proved difficult to maintain such an organization; there were frequent vacancies caused by departure or death. Eventually the aim was to have six councillors besides the Governor-General in office in Batavia, while there would also be a few extraordinary councillors, who would enjoy only an

advisory capacity.

The correspondence between the Governor-General and Council and the many establishments of the VOC in Asia was apportioned out among the councillors. The *generale missive*, in which the Governor-General and Council reported to the *Heren XVII* about the state of Company business in Asia, was also composed according to this division of the *beschrijvinge* (reports) of the establishments. Each councillor assumed the responsibility for a certain section of this missive, after which, naturally, the whole report was laid before the entire *Raad van Indië* for approval and signing. It was also the job of the Governor-General and Council to compile the *generale eis van Indië* (general order from Asia), in which the amount of monies, goods, ships and crews considered necessary for the business overseas was summed up. In the sessions of the *Heren XVII* it served as a guideline for decision-making on this subject. The orders from the various establishments were included in the *generale eis*; the Governor-General and Council were empowered either to reduce or increase each order according to their own insights. For some years during the second half of the seventeenth century, only Ceylon was permitted to submit its own order to the *Heren XVII*. Conversely, the Governor-General and Council in Batavia acted as a serving hatch through which the orders from the directors at home could be passed on to the establishments.

There were great differences in size, economic importance and political status between the many establishments or establishments of the VOC in Asia. In their *generale instructie* (general orders) for 1650, the directors distinguished three categories into which the different establishments could be divided, a division which also reproduces the difference in political position.¹⁸

1. The trade that the Company had won by *eigen conqueste* (by their own conquest), for example the Banda Archipelago and Formosa (Taiwan).
2. Trade carried on under the auspices of exclusive contracts which had been drawn up, for instance, with the ruler of Ternate, and in Amboina (Ambon and the area around it).
3. Trade pursued under the auspices of treaties concluded with Asian rulers or nations, under which the VOC traded on a more or less equal footing with the Asian partner.

Earlier, in 1620, on his return from Asia, the Governor-General had made such a threefold division. The distinction was somewhat artificial. The exclusive contracts had for the most part been exacted by violence so that for example, in the islands in the Moluccas it would be more correct to speak of a conquest rather than trade on a contractual basis.

The importance and the status of the establishments were expressed in the forms of address and the salaries of the chief officials. The large establishments, where the VOC also exercised a territorial authority, were under the authority of a governor. About 1685 these were Ambon, Banda, the Moluccas (Ternate), Coromandel, Ceylon and Malacca; a century later the Cape of Good Hope, the north coast of Java and Makassar also had a governor. Other economically important establishments such as Bengal, Surat and Persia were headed by a director (a title which, in the Company parlance, was associated with trade). In Malabar and on the west coast of Sumatra (Padang) there was a *commandeur* (commander) in charge. Cheribon, Banjarmasin and Palembang had residents, while in Japan and on Timor there was an *opperhoofd* (head of establishment). These authorities did not function on their own, just as the Governor-General in Batavia they were the first person in a council; they had to make important decisions in *rade* (in council). Also on these councils a certain degree of division of labour was apportioned to the members. The second-in-command, the *secunde*, was usually an *opperkoopman* (chief merchant) and was in charge of trade. Furthermore, the council should contain a military commander, the head of the book-keeping and the *fiscaal* (in charge of detecting fraud and other crimes). In practice the composition of the board was rather different.

7. BATAVIA AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE

All the VOC establishments in Asia (thus including that at the Cape of Good Hope) were subject to the Governor-General and Council in Batavia. At the same time Batavia was the most important and, for a while during the seventeenth century, the only harbour of arrival and departure for ships to and from Europe. Communications between the directors in the Republic and the various establishments was also carried on principally via the Governor-General and Council and its administrative machinery.

There were a number of exceptions to this rule. The VOC establishment at Gamron in Persia and at times the establishments in India corresponded with the directors at home overland via the Levant. Besides this, after the founding of the establishment at the Cape of Good Hope, there was an exchange of correspondence between the administrators there and the directors in the Republic. Finally, whenever ports other than Batavia were included in the Europe-Asia trade, there was a direct exchange of letters between the directors and that particular establishment at that time.¹⁹⁾

The Governor-General and Council saw this trade which circumvented Batavia as a threat to their own position. Moreover, they considered that such moves detracted from the efficacy of the role of Batavia as rendez-vous. Therefore the authorities in Batavia were well pleased when in 1636 the directors stopped the direct trade with Coromandel, Surat and Gamron, which had actually begun before the foundation of Batavia. In 1665, however, the Governor-General and councillors had to resign themselves to the fact that Ceylon was to function alongside Batavia as second port for homeward-bound shipping. The Heren XVII had given their assent to this trade in order to be able to supply the rapidly growing demand for pepper on the European market -the pepper from Malabar was imported via Ceylon. Moreover, this route had the added advantage that cinnamon from Ceylon was imported into Europe more quickly and, because it did not have to be transshipped, in better condition.

After Ceylon was granted a direct connection with home, fierce competition rapidly flared up between the governor of the island, Rijklof van Goens, and the Governor-General and Council. Van Goens believed that Ceylon, or more accurately the city of Galle, from where the homeward-bound VOC ships sailed, would serve as a better rendez-vous than Batavia for the Indian establishments of the Company. The result of his efforts was that the homeward-bound fleet from Ceylon was sometimes more richly laden than the ships from Batavia. On the basis of this the directors decided to extend this directe vaart to Coromandel and Bengal. This, however, did not prove a success, perhaps partly because Batavia did not support this policy and possibly even sabotaged it. Whatever the cause, little by little, the Governor-General and Council managed to win back lost ground and, by about 1700, apart from Batavia, only Galle had a direct link with patria.

The shifts in trade during the eighteenth century brought new changes in the shipping. During the first three decades, ships, known as coffee ships, sailed regularly from Mocca on the Red Sea via Galle back to the Netherlands. More importantly, after a caustic debate between the Heren XVII and the Governor-General and Council, in 1720 a direct link was established between The Netherlands and Canton. Up to 1733 the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland sent a total of thirteen ships to Canton, which failed to make Canton. After this, the organization of this trade was once again entrusted to Batavia on the understanding that of the two or three ships which then sailed annually from Batavia to China, only one would return to its homeport; the other ships with their cargos of tea and porcelain sailed back to the Netherlands via the Sunda Straits. Eventually, in 1756, when the Chinese commissie was inaugurated, the trade with China was once again managed from the Republic; the direct return fleet was continued.

The direct shipping link and the correspondence between patria and the establishments in India which this brought in its wake notwithstanding did not represent a fundamental infringement to the position of Batavia as the head office of the VOC in Asia. Batavia remained the centre for administration and book-keeping. Furthermore, the Governor-General and Council in Batavia continued to forward copies of correspondence with all its subordinate VOC establishments to the directors at home, including the letters exchanged with Ceylon, Canton

and Bengal.

The Governor-General and Council were assisted in their work by the generale secretarie (central administration). The secretary to the Governor-General and Council, who was in charge of the secretariat, attended the meetings of the Raad van Indië and drew up the resoluties (proceedings).²⁰ Either the secretary himself, or the second man in the secretariat, an employee with the rank of koopman (merchant), entered up the Batavia dagregister (diary). The many clerks employed in the secretariat took care of the extensive paperwork entailed in the correspondence with the establishments in Asia and the chambers at home.

The directeur-generaal was responsible for trade and shipping throughout the whole of the Asian branch of the enterprise. Naturally he was expected to discuss such important matters as the compilation of the eis for goods and monies from patria in the council. In Batavia the warehouses, both for the merchandise and for provisions, the pay office and the ready money were under his supervision. He was assisted by two opperkooplieden van het Kasteel (chief merchants from the Castle). From 1664 the jobs were divided between these two officials in such a way that the first or senior of them administered the goods which were sent in by the Asian establishments, while the junior looked after the goods which were dispatched from Batavia. The extent of their task expanded in the course of time in which case the staff in the negotiekantoor (trade office), which they headed, was increased by a series of merchants, junior merchants and book-keepers.

The boekhouder-generaal (chief accountant) was also subordinate to the director-general. On the basis of the trading books from the establishments, the chief accountant made up both the generaal journaal (general journal) and the generaal grootboek (general ledger), copies of which were forwarded to the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland. Furthermore, the chief accountant administered the cargos which had been received from the Netherlands, as well as the retourgoederen which were sent back home. When the ships were unloaded in Batavia an inspection was held to check to what extent the goods received corresponded to the original demands or orders of the Governor-General and Council, with reference to the decision the Heren XVII had taken on these. When this had been done, the original order with a report on any excesses or omissions was sent back to the Netherlands, so that the directors could see where they or the chambers had been remiss.²¹)

Apart from this, from the work of the chief accountant can be deduced that in Asia, in contrast to patria, the accounting was centralized. The system employed did not link up with that of the chambers ²²). The rationale behind this was very logical: as factor, the Asian branch of the business was responsible to the enterprise in the Republic for everything that it received from the chambers. The firm in the Republic was regarded as a unit, the current account refers to the Generale Oostindische Compagnie (General East India Company). In these current accounts everything which had been received from home in the way of goods and monies was noted in the credit column, and what was shipped back home in the way of return wares appears in the debit column. Expenses incurred in Asia were divided between five items: the general expenses, pay, expenses for ships, fortifications, and schenkagie (gifts). Under income, a distinction was made between income from trade and that derived from taxes and suchlike (called respectively generale winsten (general profit) and generale inkomsten (general income)). In the eighteenth century several items of costs and incomes were added to the books, but the system itself remained unchanged. The generale missiven also contain financial data about the Asian business. The making up of the general journals could sometimes be a lengthy process and therefore the book-keepers quickly gathered together the results from the various establishments and drew up the balances of income and expenditure per office. These could then be sent back with the return fleet in December or February as part of the generale missive. The 'real' financial books arrived as much as a year later.

The visitateur-generaal, who was also under the director-general, had the task of inspecting the books and financial administration in Asia. He was also put in charge of checking the consumptie-rekeningen, in which, after their arrival from home, the captains had to account for the provisions used during the voyage.

The central role of Batavia in the Asian business is made obvious not only by the

financial administration, but is also quite clearly indicated in the personnel administration as well. The pay office kept the number of staff throughout the whole of the Asian business up to date and for this purpose was annually supplied with the requisite information by the establishments. Every year after 1689 a complete list of the Company personnel in Asia was sent home in duplicate.

Batavia was also the seat of the highest law court in Asia, the Raad van Justitie. It was a rule that the president was also a member of the Raad van Indië. Furthermore the seven members of this council were appointed by the Heren XVII, a fact that could not always prevent conflicts with the Governor-General and Council. The job of the fiscaals -there were two in Batavia- was to detect crime and the act as prosecutors.

In order to play a central role in the maritime traffic Batavia was also provided with the requisite infrastructure such as shipyards, warehouses, a workmen's quarter and suchlike. No new ships were built in Batavia, but a lot of maintenance and repair work on the ships had to be carried out there, and the facilities needed for this were located on the island, Onrust, which lay just off the coast of Batavia. Work here and the ships in the roads were under the charge of the equipagemeester (master of the equipage). He was present when ships arrived and when they sailed; before they sailed he and one of the fiscaals called the muster-roll of that ship, after which he checked the cargo.

Naturally Batavia was also provided with administrative bodies for the city itself. These administrative institutions appear to have been copied from those in cities in the Republic: there was a college van schepenen (board of aldermen), a board of governors of the orphanage, and of heemraden (drainage board). Public order was maintained by the baljuw (bailiff) and his men or kaffers. The Governor-General and Council exercised a great deal of influence in these organs; the presidents of these institutions were usually members of the Raad van Indië. There was scarcely any citizenry independent of or free from the VOC and, in so far as there were any vrijburgers (free citizens), they had little say in the management of things. (See Appendix 8 for a diagram of the organization of the VOC in Asia.)

8. THE END OF THE VOC

The VOC endured a long drawn out death agony. As a consequence of the outbreak of the war with England in December 1780, the Company was engulfed by such colossal financial problems that the chambers in Holland had to request suspension of payment. Only the financial situation of the Zeeland Chamber did not yet require such a measure: this chamber did owe the Amsterdam Chamber a large sum of money, but had not borrowed a lot of money from third parties. The moratorium granted the chambers in Holland robbed the VOC of its credit in one fell swoop. The Company could not longer go ahead under its own steam. It was only thanks to the government, who guaranteed repayments and the payment of interest on any financial obligations that the VOC would undertake, that the directors were able to keep the Company afloat.

This dependence on the Government not only led to the bolstering of the management by the Vijfde Department, but -in 1790- also gave rise to the setting up of the Hollands-Zeeuwse Staatscommissie (Committee from the States of Holland and Zeeland). This committee of political supervision or politique insien consisted of four members from Holland and two from Zeeland, who were appointed by the States of their province. After the French occupation and the fall of the old Republic, the four members from Holland were replaced by Patriot regents. Later in the same year, another six Patriots were appointed to the committee. Placed under legal restraint, the days of the directors were numbered. In fact this committee proposed replacing the old board of directors by a Comité tot Zaken van de Oost-Indisch Handel en Bezittingen. This plan was adopted by the States General and on 1st March 1796 the directors resigned their posts.

However, the charter of the VOC was simultaneously renewed, initially until the end of 1798, later to 31st December 1800. Thus the VOC continued to exist. Nonetheless, the

activities of the chambers were reduced to a minimum. Personnel were dismissed and workplaces were dismantled. In 1803 the chambers of Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen were abolished. Rotterdam and Middelburg were left with mere sales offices. In the meantime the fact that the charter had not been renewed meant that the Company no longer had a legal basis. In the absence of any new rules, the Comité and its successor, the Raad der Aziatische Bezittingen en Etablissements (Council for the Asiatic Possessions and Establishments) (instituted on 15th May 1800), took the old order as its guideline.

In Asia the many changes undergone by the management of the Company had yet less effect. In 1793 one last attempt was made to halt the rot by sending out two commissioners, S.C. Nederburgh and F. Frijkenius. In 1795, after the outbreak of war, most of the VOC establishments fell into English hands. Java still remained under the Dutch and the Dutch flag still flew over the establishments in Canton and Deshima (Japan). The war had far-reaching consequences for trade and for shipping between Europe and Java; this could not longer continue on the old footing. Institutional changes in Batavia and in Java came later when H.W. Daendels, as Governor-General, thoroughly reorganized the administration. The great break with the past however came in 1811, when Java passed into English hands.

Notes

1. See, for example, the figures for the shipping of the Dutch East India Companies in J.R. Bruijn et al. eds., *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Rijksgeschiedkundige publicatiën grote serie, 165-167 (3 volumes; Den Haag 1979 and 1987), especially Volumes II and III.
2. For these figures see: *Ibidem*, Volume I (for shipping, trade and personnel) and J.P. de Korte, *De jaarlijkse financiële verantwoording in de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. Werken uitgegeven door de vereniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief 17 (Leiden 1984) (for trade and finance).
3. For the pre-companies: R. Bijlsma, 'De archieven van de compagnieën op Oost-Indie, 1594-1603', *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven* 49 (1926) I, 173-224; Hans de Haan, *Moedernegotie en grote vaart. Een studie over de expansie van het Hollandse handelskapitaal in de 16e en 17e eeuw* (Amsterdam 1977) 79-99; F.S. Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC* (Zutphen 1992) 13-29.
4. The original charter is in the archives of the VOC (inv. nr. 1). The charter of 1602 and the texts revised at the various renewals have been printed in various places, including C. Cau, *Groot Placcaetboek I* (Den Haag 1658) 530 et seq. and Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*. F.W. Stapel and C.W.Th. van Boetzelaer eds. *Rijksgeschiedkundige publicatiën, grote serie* 63, 68, 74, 76, 83, 87, 96, (7 volumes; 's-Gravenhage 1927-1954) first book, part I, 43.
5. J.G. van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie*. Werken uitgegeven door de vereniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief 14 ('s-Gravenhage 1958) 20-45, deals extensively with the problems that arose during the first ten years and the frustration of the capital investors.
6. N. Steensgaard, 'The Dutch East India Company as an Institutional Innovation' in: M. Aymard ed., *Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism* (Cambridge and Paris 1982) 235-257, especially 239-244.
7. For the appointment, remuneration etc. of the directors: Van Dam, *Beschryvinge* first book, part I, 156-229. See also Femme Gaastra, *Bewind en beleid bij de VOC. De financiële en*

commerciële politiek van de bewindhebbers, 1672-1702 (Zutphen 1989) 25-33.

8. From 1648 onwards the directors of the Delft and Rotterdam chambers were only required to invest f. 3,000 to be shareholders in their Chamber. The functions which were open to the principal shareholders are clearly set out by F.W. Stapel in his edition of Van Dam, *Beschryvinge* first book, part I, 295 note 5.

9. For the background to the appointment of William IV as director-general, see Isaac de Pinto, 'Anecdotes historiques touchant le Stadhoudérat des Indes dans l'illustre maison d'Orange en 1748 et 1749'. A.J. Veenedaal Jr. ed. in

CHAPTER 2. ORIGIN AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE VOC ARCHIVES

J.C.M. Pennings

1. DURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE COMPANY (1602-1795)

The activities in the chambers of the Company led to the production of a large quantity of paperwork. In view of the fact that the administration (and most of the other activities) was carried out independently by the six chambers, there was never a central archives depository and there was no uniform archives administration. Each chamber took care of its own papers. Furthermore, papers were yet again divided up among the different departments of the one chamber. The larger and more complex the organization of a chamber, the greater the number of places in the city where one could come across archival documents. For instance, the Amsterdam Chamber was divided into four departments, which themselves were comprised of several *comptoirs* (offices), each of which managed its own paperwork. The largest proportion of the documents was kept in the *secretarie* (administration), an office which was part of every chamber however small.

The archives of the various chambers do not only contain documents pertaining to the administration of the Company in the Republic. All chambers could count upon a growing stream of paperwork from the *octrooigebied* (the area covered by the charter of the Company). Each year journals, letters, *resoluties* (proceedings), *dagregisters* (diaries), muster-rolls and other documents from the Governor-General and Council in Batavia and from the other establishments in Asia and the Cape of Good Hope arrived on the return ships. The *Heren XVII* (the board of directors) expected the Governor-General and Council to have all documents of importance for the directors copied and sent home in sixfold, one copy for each chamber. However, the copywork in the *generale secretarie* (central administration) in Batavia mounted up so much that it was impossible to oblige all the chambers at any one time. This was the cause of an incessant stream of complaints from the *Heren XVII* to the Governor-General and Council, but all in vain. In practice, only the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers could count on a regular supply.¹⁾ Nonetheless, the Governor-General and Council did make efforts to improve the situation. In 1725 the backlog in the clerical work in the *generale secretarie* in Batavia had reached such proportions that the Governor-General and Council proposed printing the *resolutieboeken* (records of proceedings) and the *dagregisters*. Only a few days later the plan was rejected because of the lack of type font. So things remained as they always had been and transcripts were made only for the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland.²⁾

The Company did indeed do its utmost to keep its administration carefully concealed from the outside world. VOC employees could indeed use them for reference; and directors often had copies made for their own use, which are now found in their private archives. For outsiders the VOC observed stringent secrecy about its activities and its internal administration. In this the VOC was stricter than the West India Company. For example, a work like that of the VOC advocate, Pieter van Dam, the *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie* (Description of the East Indian Company) (1701), which was based entirely on original documents, was intended for internal use only. It was only published in the twentieth century. In contrast, Joannes de Laet, the author of the *Jaerlijck Verhael van de West Indische Compagnie* (Annual Report of the West India Company), could have his work published in 1644.

The Amsterdam Chamber

Among the six chambers of the VOC, without any doubt that of Amsterdam possessed the largest archives. The main reason for this was the extent of the business of the Amsterdam Company. In fact, in accordance with the stipulations of the charter, the Amsterdam Chamber assumed the responsibility for half of all the work. Besides this, the size of the

archives was also affected by the administrative machinery of the Company. The *Heren XVII* did not have their own administrative apparatus, but made use of the administration of the chamber which held the presidency. For three-quarters of the time this was Amsterdam, and for the remaining quarter Zeeland. Furthermore, the Company advocate was employed not only by the *Heren XVII* but also by the Amsterdam Chamber. He was domiciled in Amsterdam. In practice this meant that most of the records of the *Heren XVII* were to be found in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber. For instance, letters addressed to the *Heren XVII* were bound into the same volume as those to the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber. For several years they also kept a common letter-book for outgoing documents.

The archives of the Amsterdam Chamber were formed and stored at various locations within the city. The most important of these sites was the *schrijf- of klerkenkantoor* (clerical administrative office) in the Oostindisch Huis in the Oude Hoogstraat. The oldest known instruction for the clerks of the *schrijfkantoor* dates from 1663.³⁾ This mentions a chief clerk, under whose authority thirteen other clerks worked. In a regulation dating from 1703, two chief clerks are mentioned.⁴⁾ All the papers and documents presented by the directors or the Company advocate were copied in the *schrijfkantoor*. The clerks worked in turns under the supervision of the directors of the *departement van de rekenkamer* (department of the audit office) or of one of the advocates.

Among the routine activities in the *schrijfkantoor*, as these are described in the few extant eighteenth-century notes, were keeping up to date all the letter-books of outgoing documents from the Amsterdam Chamber to the other chambers, the *resolutieboeken* of the chamber, the duplicate *resolutieboeken* of the *Heren XVII*, the indexes on the *resoluties* and the outgoing letters of the *Heren XVII*, and the indexes on the *resoluties* of the chamber. This is only a random selection. The clerks were kept exceedingly busy in March and September when the *Heren XVII* held their sessions, and in June or July when the *Haags Besogne* (preparatory session of the *Heren XVII* held in August) met. Before this latter body assembled it was the responsibility of the clerks to see that the directors of all the chambers were supplied with the relevant documents and, after the session had closed, that documents such as the reports of the *Haags Besogne* and the letter-books of outgoing letters to the Governor-General and Council were sent to the chambers.⁵⁾

As a result of all these activities the size of the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber increased rapidly, all the more so because every year another not insubstantial number of records arrived from the *octrooigebied* with the return ships. Above all it was the swelling number of what are called the *overgekomen brieven en papieren* (letters and papers received from Asia) which gave the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber a lot of food for thought as time went by. In 1695 they decided to set up a *charterkamer* (records room), in view of the fact that '... the books and papers, from time to time, received from Asia, have grown to such quantities, the which will only but increase in the years to come ...'.⁶⁾

These were the years in which Pieter van Dam also girded up his loins for work. In 1693 he was commanded by the *Heren XVII* to write a description of the VOC based on the records. It is not certain if the work of Pieter van Dam played a role in the appointment of the first librarian of the *charterkamer* in 1699. In view of the dates one could assume that this was indeed the case.

This librarian, whose name was Pieter van Rijn, was given the task of looking after and making an inventory of the Company's charters and papers.⁷⁾ For this he was paid an annual salary of 200 guilders. Pieter van Rijn had worked for the Amsterdam Chamber as a book-keeper in the *liquidatiekantoor* (clearing office) since 1680. He continued to fulfil this function after his appointment as librarian in 1699. The same applied to his successors: for all of them the office of librarian was a subsidiary position. Pieter van Rijn died in 1726. Only in 1742 was his successor, Dirk ten Brink, who had been employed as permanent clerk to the first advocate of the Company, appointed.⁸⁾ He, in his turn, was succeeded in 1759 by Cornelis Heyligendorp, who like Ten Brink occupied the position of permanent clerk to the first advocate.⁹⁾ In 1778 Heyligendorp was appointed supercargo and *opperhoofd* (head of the establishment) in China. After his departure the chaos in the *charterkamer* rapidly

mounted. This was a thorn in the flesh for the directors of the *rekenkamer*, who considered the proper organization of the books and papers very important. In the meeting of the directors of the Amsterdam Chamber held on 20th October 1779, they proposed that the Company advocate, Meerman van der Goes, be appointed librarian.¹⁰⁾ The meeting supported this motion. Nonetheless, complaints about the state of the charters and papers continued. In the opinion of the directors of the *Vijfde Departement* (Fifth Department), set up in 1786 and given provisional houseroom in the *charterkamer*, the documents were treated with the utmost nonchalance. It was quite common for documents not to be replaced after use and then could not be found again.¹¹⁾

Besides the clerks in the *schrijfkantoor* of the Oostindische Huis, other VOC functionaries received and wrote documents. For instance, the chief accountant of the Amsterdam Chamber, with the assistance of clerks, made up the accounts and drew up the balance sheets and, amongst other tasks, he kept the journals, daybooks, ledgers and share registers up to date. In the pay office the Amsterdam chamber employed book-keepers, who recorded the ship's pay-ledgers. When they took office the book-keepers were moreover required to swear a special oath; they swore that they would not let anybody see their books and papers, unless the latter had received permission to be able to do so from the directors. However, at their own express request, the book-keepers were allowed to supply permitted abstracts from papers, provided that these were not injurious to the VOC ¹²⁾. The compilation of the muster-rolls was the task of a clerk in the equipage department ¹³⁾. Finally there were book-keepers and clerks employed in the warehouse and the shipyard.

The archives which thus evolved were not kept entirely in the *charterkamer* in the Oude Hoogstraat. Probably there were also papers from the Amsterdam Chamber in the *Zeemagazijn* (ships' store) or Oostindisch Buitenhuis on Oostenburg. Most of the shipyards, warehouses and other buildings of the VOC were situated in the vicinity of this large storehouse.¹⁴⁾

The mapmaker occupied a special position in the business. He provided not only the ships of the Amsterdam Chamber with maps and navigational instruments, but those of the other chambers as well. Only the Zeeland Chamber occasionally commissioned its own maps. The maps were compiled on the basis of the ships' logs which were brought back on the return ships. Upon the arrival of these ships it was the right of the mapmaker to claim these logs. Logs and maps were kept in a special room in the Oostindisch Huis, where they were regularly inventoried by the mapmaker.¹⁵⁾

Zeeland Chamber

In comparison to the Amsterdam archives, the situation of the archives in the Zeeland Chamber was much better. For instance, Zeeland had a *charterkamer* committee, who supervised the administration of the archives by the *chartermeeester* (archivist). The first reference to a *chartermeeester* dates from 1737. This was the year in which an instruction was compiled for the *chartermeeester* Thomas Cunnegham (or Cunningham) 't Hooft.¹⁶⁾ This included the stipulation that the books and papers from the *charterkamer* could only be lent to directors and functionaries in return for a receipt. The directors of the *Vijfde Departement* in Amsterdam were cognizant of this regulation. In 1786 they suggested adopting the Zeeland system in Amsterdam; probably this never got beyond the proposal.

Another stipulation in the instruction of the *chartermeeester* stated that all chests containing letters and papers, which were brought from Asia by the return ships, had to be opened by the *chartermeeester* and their contents had to be recorded. After this had been done, the papers which were required for daily use had to be deposited in the records cupboards in the directors' boardroom. On the basis of these documents the *chartermeeester* kept the 'general register of all the Company's books which were sent home from Asia' up to date. This register is the oldest inventory of the archives of the Zeeland Chamber which has survived. The documents described in it cover the period 1612 to 1794 and are classified alphabetically according to the type of document e.g. *acteboeken* (registers of title

deeds), *brieven en papieren ontvangen uit Indië* (letters and papers received from Asia), *cassaboeken* (cashbooks) and so forth.¹⁷⁾

Chambers of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen

Much less is known about the care of the archives in the chambers of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. On average the smaller chambers had no more than twenty employees.¹⁸⁾ In some cases the administration of the archives was the task of one of these officials, for instance the book-keeper, but it was not unknown for the directors themselves to lend a hand with them. This is what happened in Enkhuizen. In 1800, the deputy-secretary of the former Enkhuizen Chamber, Mr. Rant, wrote to the *Raad der Aziatische Bezittingen en Etablissements* (Council for Asian Possessions and Establishments), amongst other information, that '... directors at times, had taken charge of the work of the books and charters, themselves, and without employing anyone else therefore...'. In his opinion this was the reason that the archives room in Enkhuizen was in a state of utter chaos and there were no lists of VOC archivalia.¹⁹⁾ Such lists of the defunct Company's archives were, however, present in the former chambers of Delft and Hoorn.²⁰⁾ The register of the Delft Chamber, compiled by the clerk David Vallensis, is very extensive and gives some idea of how large the archives must have been during the era of the Company. The archives were stored in three different locations in Delft: in the *charterkamer*, in the office of the chief accountant, and in the pay office.²¹⁾ Unfortunately all that we know about the archives of the Rotterdam Chamber is that the Oostindisch Huis in the Boompjes had a *charterkamer*.²²⁾ Although there is no record of this, it is plausible that there were also archival documents to be found in The Hague, in the premises where the *Haags Besogne* met.

2. BATAVIAN - FRENCH PERIOD (1796-1813)

Intensive interest in the VOC archives

In 1795 the VOC was given a new direction. Along with its debts and its archives, the possessions of the Company passed into the hands of the state. On the orders of the States General, all the papers of the VOC present in Amsterdam were handed over on 30th January 1796 to the *Comité tot de Zaken van de Oost-Indische Handel en Bezittingen* (Committee for Affairs relating to the East Indian Trade and Possessions), which was shortened to *Oostindische Comité*.

The *Oostindische Comité* took its responsibility for the care of the VOC archives very seriously. Through the intervention of B.F. van Liebeherr, one of the committee members, the 'secret' papers were speedily transferred from the former VOC premises in The Hague to Amsterdam.²³⁾ At the suggestion of the well known Patriot S.I. Wiselius in 1796 an investigation into the books and papers of the VOC was set in motion and a *chartermeester* was appointed.²⁴⁾ His instructions made it clear that he was not only to take charge of the archives, but also to write a historical account of the Company. This assignment was entrusted to a former book-keeper from the factory in North Java, Jan La Pro. The fact that in those days people were mainly interested in the political and military history of the VOC is revealed by the documents which La Pro considered to be important for his work and which he had placed in the Oostindisch Huis: the reports of the *Haags Besogne*, the *resoluties* of the *Heren XVII*, of the Amsterdam Chamber and of the Governor-General and Council, the outgoing letters from the *Heren XVII* to Asia, and so forth. Duplicates of these were transferred to the Buitenhuis on Oostenburg in Amsterdam, where the series referring to financial and economic affairs were also moved. These documents were described as '... a party of superfluous and mostly useless books and papers from the last century ...'.²⁵⁾

Centralization of the administration and archives

In 1800 the *Oostindisch Comité* was superseded by the *Raad der Aziatische Bezittingen en*

Etablissements (Council for Asian Possessions and Establishments), or the *Aziatische Raad*. The goal of the *Raad* was to concentrate its administration in Amsterdam as far as possible. From this time onwards the chambers outside Amsterdam were known as *buitencomptoir*en (external offices). In 1802 the *buitencomptoir*en in Hoorn, Enkhuizen and Delft were liquidated; only outstanding business -mostly salary claims- were still dealt with. The offices in Rotterdam and Middelburg continued to function.

As far as the archives of the former VOC were concerned, the policy of the *Aziatische Raad* was aimed at transferring as many papers as possible to the *generale charterkamer* (general records room) in the Oostindisch Binnenhuis in Amsterdam. This applied to the papers that were still kept in other locations in Amsterdam and at the *buitencomptoir*en. The secretaries or chief accountants of the *buitencomptoir*en were requested to forward registers of the VOC archives in their possession to the *chartermeeester* of the *Aziatische Raad* within three months.²⁶⁾ None of the *buitencomptoir*en offered the slightest resistance to this measure. Some did, however, object to such short notice. In due course the offices in Enkhuizen, Delft and Rotterdam submitted lists of their VOC archives ²⁷⁾. Only the inventory from Delft is still extant ²⁸⁾.

Nowhere is there any evidence that on this occasion archival records were actually handed over. This only took place in 1804, when the *Aziatische Raad* instructed the *buitencomptoir*en to send their pay ledgers before 1st November to Amsterdam, where a central pay office was to be established.²⁹⁾ The first to respond was J.C. de Blocquery, former chief accountant with the VOC, who was responsible for the business still outstanding in the defunct chambers of Hoorn and Enkhuizen. Besides forwarding 101 chests of pay ledgers, he also sent the so-called *liquidatieboeken* (settlement books) and the *actie- en afgifte boeken* (registers of shares and drafts) to Amsterdam.³⁰⁾ A good year later, around about the end of 1805, the Delft office sent muster-rolls and *soldijkohieren* (pay-ledgers) to Amsterdam.³¹⁾

Part of the Delft archives had been sent to Rotterdam in 1803. The remainder followed a few years later, when the Oostindisch Binnenhuis in Delft was handed over to the army medical service in 1807. This meant that a solution had to be found for the considerable amount of books and papers there on the spot. The *Ministerie van Koophandel en Koloniën* (Ministry for Commerce and Colonies) ordered chief accountant Smits of the Rotterdam office to transfer the charters and papers which had been deposited in the Oostindisch Binnenhuis in Delft to Rotterdam. As an alternative, Smits himself proposed that, should the new owners in Delft not want to use the *charterkamer*, simply to close this up so that the cost of transportation could be saved. The *Aziatische Raad* did not adopt his suggestion.³²⁾

In the Delft inventory already mentioned, which had been compiled by the clerk Vallensis, there is an exact record of which documents arrived in Rotterdam on 3rd March 1807. This would appear to have been the bulk of the archives of the Delft Chamber. In Rotterdam the documents were stored at three places: in what was known as the *Delftse kamer* (Delft Chamber), in the great *charterkamer* and in the mace loft.

The former Hoorn Chamber continued to occupy its old building until 1809. In this year it had to make way for the *Raad en Rentmeester Generaal van de Domeinen in Noord-Holland* (Council and Rentmaster General for the Domains in North Holland). On this occasion De Blocquery handed over some of the books and papers of the former Hoorn Chamber to the *Aziatische Raad*, to wit those pertaining to the commercial department.³³⁾

In Amsterdam the documents from Hoorn and Enkhuizen were placed in the warehouse Batavia (on the Rapenburg). At this juncture in time the remaining VOC documents were to be found in the *charterkamer* of the Oostindisch Binnenhuis, in the Oostindisch Buitenhuis and in the storehouse the Oude Werf.³⁴⁾ No trace of any system can be discovered in the division of the VOC archives then adopted. For instance, the *net-resoluties* (fair copies of the proceedings) of the *Heren XVII* were in the *charterkamer*, while the *minuut-resoluties* (draft minutes of the proceedings) were put in the storehouse the Oude Werf and the *kopie-resoluties* (duplicates of proceedings) were deposited in the warehouse Batavia.

Opposition from Zeeland

The fate of the archives of the Zeeland Chamber is a story in itself. In 1800 the office in Middelburg was also asked to submit registers of any VOC archives in its possession and later on, in 1804, to hand over the pay ledgers. The office did not comply with either request. However, in 1804 a number of the registers, charters and *papieren tot de negotiatiën* (commercial papers) asked for by the *Aziatische Raad* were handed over.³⁵⁾ In the same year and in the years that followed the Middelburg office stoutly resisted any infringement of its competence to the advantage of Amsterdam. Whatever the cost, it wanted to hold onto its share in the East Indian trade and endeavoured to maintain the autonomous position it had occupied during the Company era. Eventually even Middelburg had to bow before the wish to concentrate commercial activities in Amsterdam. Therefore in 1808 the former offices of the VOC in Middelburg were united into one office, with Commissioner-Director N.C. Lambrechtsen at its head. It was he who proposed selling the so-called useless papers of the former East India and West India Companies. He was obliged to do so because the charters and papers had to be moved from the Westindisch to the Oostindisch Huis, which meant that space would be a problem. Lambrechtsen obtained permission for the ministry for his plan, but it is not certain if matters ever progressed as far as an actual sale.³⁶⁾

Despite repeated insistence from Amsterdam, Middelburg remained firm in its refusal to hand over the former VOC archives. It was only in 1851 that Middelburg finally succumbed. The official P. Pous played a decisive role in this tug-of-war. He had been appointed to the position of deputy-secretary by the *Oostindisch Comité* in 1797. For more than half a century the Company's papers remained in his care. He guarded them as if they had been his own children. An example of the dedication shown by Pous is the action he took in 1809 to prevent the papers falling into the hands of the English.

The story began in 1809 when the English occupied the island of Walcheren, at which time a sequestration order was placed on the *Oostindisch Huis* and the papers contained in it. The commissioner-director, Lambrechtsen, was approached by two English prize commissioners with the question '...if I would be inclined to purchase from them all the books, charters and papers which are to be found in the *Oostindisch Huis*, under the supposition the English government deemed the same useless for the service of the English East India Company and therefore they had another use for the house than had so far been the case...'.³⁷⁾ The *Ministerie van Marine en Koloniën* (Ministry for the Navy and Colonies) ordered him to reply to the English stating that they, for their part, were not in the least interested. In view of the fact that there were duplicates of almost all the Middelburg archival records in Amsterdam, there was absolutely no reason to enrich the enemy, was the opinion of the Ministry.³⁸⁾ It proposed that, when the archives were sold as waste paper by the English, Lambrechtsen should even at that late stage select the most important documents among them and buy them back. However, this never came to pass. Pous, according to his own account, was able to persuade the English prize-master, General Sontny, who was billeted with Pous' brother-in-law, to leave behind the books and papers from the VOC archives in the *charterkamer*. The English only took documents relating to Ceylon ³⁹⁾. The bulk of the archives was saved for Middelburg, despite the fact that the English made a huge mess of the great *charterkamer*. According to Lambrechtsen, the *charterkamer* '... before the arrival of the English had been a show-piece of neatness and order; a monument to ancestral industry and diligence and to the broad extent of the business and possessions of the former East India Company'.⁴⁰⁾ It is possible that the loss of a great part of the seventeenth century archives can be laid at the door of the English interference.⁴¹⁾

The English withdrew in December of the year 1809; in May 1810 the French arrived. No lesser a person than Pous himself escorted the Emperor Napoleon around the island of Walcheren, and he took the opportunity to show him the Oostindisch Huis: '... he then also came to the *charterkamer*, which spacious and clean room he immediately wanted not

because of the books to be found there, but in order to make it into a hospital ward ...'. Pous advised him against doing so because the *charterkamer* was located on the third floor and, moreover, was cold in winter. It seemed that danger was averted until January 1814, when six thousand French troops retreated to Walcheren and wanted to sell the archives as waste paper to allay their financial straits. According to Pous, the French did indeed destroy and sell a great deal of them.⁴²⁾

The establishment of a central archives depot in Paris

Not only the Zeeland archives, but also those in Amsterdam suffered at the hands of the French. It was Napoleon's wish to institute a central depository for all the archives from the countries he had occupied. This so-called iron palace was to be built in Paris in the Champ de Mars.

In June 1811, the first, and what would later prove to be the only, consignment of colonial archival records from Amsterdam arrived in Paris ⁴³⁾. The French were mainly interested in documents which could be of use for the current service. In the twenty-one chests which were packed for transportation, there were very few VOC documents. Only the *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie* by Pieter van Dam, a number of treaties with Asian rulers and *memories van overgave* (final reports) were included in the consignment. However, these documents were never actually sent. Only thirteen chests and one iron box ever arrived in Paris ⁴⁴⁾. The commissioner of the *Departement van Koophandel en Koloniën* (Departement for Commerce and Colonies), H. Vollenhoven, stated this in 1815. According to him, in total some forty volumes, which did not include the VOC works mentioned, were sent to Paris.⁴⁵⁾

A second operation was planned in 1812. This time a great many more documents were involved. The French national archives sent one of its officials, called Tourlet, to the Netherlands. His commission was to select the most interesting documents from the Dutch archives and to send these to Paris. He was informed about the colonial archives by Vollenhoven, who was then *Chef der Divisie tot de Liquidatie der Zaken van de Koloniën* (Head of the Department for the Settlement of Colonial Affairs). On 2nd June 1812 Tourlet took leave of Vollenhoven, having first signed a declaration about which archival documents from the former *Ministerie van Marine en Koloniën* had to be transferred to Paris. In total these comprised 3955 volumes about the East. These documents never went any further than the archives depository on the Turfgracht near the Jewish synagogue in Amsterdam. The transportation to Paris was a non-event.⁴⁶⁾

In 1813 the Netherlands regained its independence. King William I decided to put Colonel M.J. de Man, the former deputy-director of the *Depot-Generaal van Oorlog* (General Depot of War), in charge of the retrieval of the Dutch archives in Paris. De Man made sure that, in the winter of 1815/1816, two chests containing archival documents from the *Departement van Koophandel en Koloniën* were returned to the Netherlands. As was said earlier, these chests, with the exception of a few maps, contained little or no VOC documents.⁴⁷⁾

3. THE ERA OF THE MINISTRY OF COLONIES (1813-1856)

Removals and large-scale destructions

In the summer of 1816, on the orders of the director-general of the *Departement van Koophandel en Koloniën*, J. Goldberg, the documents brought back from Paris along with other charters, books and papers pertaining to the department, were transferred to the *charterkamer* in the Binnenhof in The Hague. In 1815 the depository in Amsterdam handed over to the department eighteen chests containing archives, including *resoluties* of the *Heren XVII* and the Amsterdam Chamber. These documents were also stored in the *charterkamer* in the Binnenhof. An inventory was compiled of the documents to be found there, which shows that these were mainly documents from the last period of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸⁾ A few decades later it seemed that a large proportion of the

documents had been returned to Amsterdam. It is not clear when exactly they were brought back.

In Amsterdam the VOC archives were kept at various locations. One of these places was still the Oostindisch Binnenhuis, where the books and papers from the pay office were housed. A considerable portion of the archives stored there was sold to the highest bidder by the ministry in the winter of 1821/1822. This was the fate which befell some 9,500 to 10,000 volumes, mainly dating from the seventeenth century.⁴⁹⁾

In 1832 the *Ministerie van Koloniën* (Ministry of Colonies) was asked to vacate the Oostindisch Binnenhuis, as the building had been designated as premises for the administration of direct taxation and excise. Plans were made to house all the VOC papers in the Westindisch Slachthuis. This former warehouse of the West India Company was situated on the IJkant in Amsterdam. VOC archival records were already stored here. In view of the fact that the papers in the Westindisch Slachthuis were in a state of great disorder, the minister first had an inventory compiled by the clerk P.L. de Munnick before giving the signal for the removal of the remaining VOC archives from the Oostindisch Binnenhuis. From this inventory it seems that the papers were located in the first and second records lofts of the Westindisch Slachthuis.⁵⁰⁾

From the very beginning it was obvious that the Westindisch Slachthuis could not contain the huge VOC archives. In 1830 an investigation was set in train by the commissioner for the colonies, J. van der Velden, to find out which books and papers could be destroyed or sold without any objections. De Munnick, who in the meantime had been promoted to head of the magazine, continued this investigation in 1832. Both reached the same conclusion that two-thirds of the pay-ledgers could be missed without raising any problems. At first the plan was to clear out of the way only those books and papers dating from before 1750, but because this yielded so little, the *landboeken* from post-1750 had to follow suit.⁵¹⁾ Finally it was laid down in a Royal Decree of 8th June 1832 that the following documents had to be sold by public subscription: those registers which were known in the pay office of the VOC under the designations *landboeken* and *thuisreisboeken* (see below), the letter files containing the documents paid up to the year 1750, *minuut-notulen* (draft minutes) and financial documents including amongst other material ledgers, bankbooks and commercial registers. The number of volumes to be disposed of amounted to 5136, the number of letter files to 1851. In total 3160 volumes and 587 letter files from the pay office were to be preserved.⁵²⁾

Thus what remained of the extensive holdings were the muster-rolls and ship's pay-ledgers, which were also known as *uitreisboeken*. Nothing has survived of the so-called *landboeken* and *thuisreisboeken*. It is therefore difficult to determine what these books contained.⁵³⁾ Even in earlier years these *landboeken* and *thuisreisboeken* must have fallen prey to tidying up frenzies of the *Ministerie van Koloniën*. Before the spring clean of the year 1832 there were only a few such documents dating from before 1750 still extant in the pay office in Amsterdam. It is probable that these documents were among the great mass of VOC paper which was sold in the winter of 1821/1822.

The criteria which were observed in this clearance were for the most part pragmatic. In principle one preserved what was still important for outstanding business, for example the salary administration which was needed for the settlement of salary claims. Among the remaining documents which were destroyed were the whole of the secret archives of the *Heren XVII* and the Amsterdam Chamber and the large bulk of the documents referring to the administration of the Company in the Republic.

The transference of the archives of the Zeeland Chamber to Amsterdam in 1851

The bulk of the archives of the Zeeland Chamber was saved from destruction thanks to the stubborn refusal of the Zeelanders, Pous in particular, to hand the archives over to Amsterdam.⁵⁴⁾ Finally in 1851 Pous was simply forced to surrender his archives. After half a century of pleading people in Amsterdam realized that '... Mr Pous, an extremely elderly man, would be reluctant to part with the papers which he seems to have had in his care

since the liquidation of the Company ...'.55)

Throughout the years, whenever Amsterdam intimated that it would like to receive the Middelburg archives, Pous had continually produced impediments to the transference. For instance, in 1830, Pous wrote that he was too preoccupied to send the papers at a time '... in which I even on our island can yet see the flag of rebellion and ingratitude flying on the other side ...'. In this he was referring to the feelings of the man in the street: 'For to load up everything *en masse*, I at least would be most reluctant to lend my hand to this in these times; the common man, and this class it is, who here as elsewhere can cause the most disturbance, is still much too much attached to the ancient name of the East India Company, not to observe with sorrow that people were taking away the Company's books and papers, for which, as it were, a sacred respect is nurtured ...'.56) In 1851 he made one final attempt to obstruct a complete removal. On this occasion he suggested finding out which documents were available both in Middelburg and Amsterdam, and then to send thither only those Zeeland documents which were not available in duplicate form in Amsterdam.57) Amsterdam, however, wanted the complete archives and got them. In September 1851 a total of 6250 kilos of archives from Middelburg arrived in the Westindisch Slachthuis.58)

Beginning of the historical interest in the VOC archives

In those days the general public was completely ignorant of the content and probably even of the existence of the VOC archives. This is not surprising as the old habit of secrecy which insisted that the archives were only there for internal information was still maintained in the department. Visitors were hardly ever permitted into the depositories. This was in contrast to the practice in the State Archives, where there had been limited access to government documents since 1829. However, in those days historical interest for the VOC archives was not very great.

This changed in the 1840s, when academic interest in Dutch-Asian relations disseminated back from the Indies. People began to discover the historical value of the VOC archives and asked permission from the department to be able to conduct research in the archives. The huge clearances in the Company's archives and the way in which the documents were looked after became general knowledge at this time and caused a storm of public indignation.59) The American historian J. Romeyn Brodhead, who visited the Westindisch Slachthuis in 1841, wrote this about it: 'In applying in Amsterdam at West India House, I was to my infinite surprise and mortification informed by Mr. de Munnick, the keeper, that all the books, documents and papers of every kind belonging to the Old East and West India Comp. of a date prior to 1700 had been sold at public auction in 1821 by order of the Government of the Netherlands'.60)

The famous antiquarian Frederik Muller, a regular visitor to the Westindisch Slachthuis, was also incensed by the way in which the VOC archives were being kept. During one of his visits he came across the first shareholders' register of the VOC in a most unlikely place: 'This book was being used as a doorstep in order to prop closed a door that was otherwise constantly opening!'61) In 1853 J.J.F. Noordziek wrote a survey of archives in the Netherlands. The picture he paints of the condition of the VOC archives is not very rosy. 'From the point of view of light, cleanliness, dryness and security [the lofts of the Westindisch Slachthuis] leave a lot to be desired'. The best rooms in the building were let to the *Nederlandse Handelmaatschappij* (Dutch Trading Company) to store bales of grocery articles from the colonies. The documents comprising the archives were spread over four lofts, in the best of which the archives of the Zeeland Chamber had found a home.62)

The fact that Noordziek was even able to compile a survey of the contents of the colonial archives was entirely due to one man, the lawyer L.C.D. van Dijk. He was the first Dutch academic to choose a topic from Dutch colonial history for his thesis and for this he conducted research into original source material 63). During his research he ran into a lot of resistance on the part of the department. However, Van Dijk was not to be deterred. Absolutely fascinated by the material he discovered in the archives lofts in Amsterdam, he

even offered his services to the department free of charge to put the sources in order. In 1852 the Minister of Colonies appointed him scientific archivist, specially concerned with the arrangement and ordering of the archives of the Zeeland Chamber which had been transferred from Middelburg. Investigations of an administrative nature continued to be the responsibility of the agent of the *Departement van Koloniën* (Department of Colonies), De Munnick.⁶⁴) Nonetheless, this new development did not mean that visitors to the Westindisch Slachthuis were helped in any more satisfactory manner. According to Frederik Muller supervision was improved but one had now jumped from the frying pan into the fire: 'Two officials of high birth were appointed one after the other, who mistrusted the many visitors in the most demeaning manner and made all research difficult.'⁶⁵)

4. THE VOC ARCHIVES AND THE GENERAL STATE ARCHIVES

Transferences

This situation was not to last long. Despite opposition from the *Minister van Koloniën* (Minister of Colonies), Ch.F. Pahud, the VOC archives were handed over to the State Archives in The Hague in 1856. It was high time. In the preceding years, as the result of the public airing of Indies affairs in the *Tweede Kamer*, the public had become alerted to the existence of the old colonial archives and people began to take an interest in them. The Batavian clergyman W.R. van Hoëvell, founder of the historically slanted *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, played an important role in this. In conjunction with the recently appointed State Archivist, R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink, he pleaded for accessibility to the VOC archives. They were both firmly convinced that public access would be best guaranteed in the new premises of the State Archives at the Plein in The Hague. In Bakhuizen's view, the accessibility to the colonial documents in the ministry was completely unsatisfactory. For himself personally the transfer of the Company's archives to the State Archives was a sort of test case for the public accessibility of archives. His new archives bill, which was yet to be drafted, would also regulate the handing over of archives still in the hands of departments.⁶⁶) Here it should be noted that the first archives bill was only passed in 1918, long after Bakhuizen van den Brink's term of office as State Archivist.

Some documents were excepted from the transfer of the VOC papers to the State Archives in 1856. A number of so-called doubles, including the *resoluties* of the *Heren XVII* from the Zeeland Chamber, were loaned to the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam.⁶⁷) Furthermore, at the request of De Munnick, the pay-ledgers remained at the *Departement van Koloniën* in Amsterdam, in view of the fact that these were still regularly needed for dealing with claims of descendents of VOC employees. Bakhuizen van den Brink agreed wholeheartedly to this. In his opinion archives should only be preserved if they were of scientific interest. He even suggested the long term destruction of pay-ledgers and similar documents, which in his eyes were completely useless for either historical science or for the interests of the state.⁶⁸) However, the minister of internal affairs, under whose jurisdiction the State Archives fell, had completely different ideas. On his orders, the pay ledgers then still extant - some had been destroyed in the intervening years ⁶⁹) - were handed over to the State Archives in 1884. In total this involved some 4037 volumes, including 3000 ship's pay ledgers.⁷⁰)

Not much had survived of the archives of the smaller chambers. In the old archives of the municipality of Rotterdam and the old archives of the municipality of Hoorn it transpired that there were still a number of documents from the chambers of Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen respectively. In 1901 these documents were handed over to the State Archives.⁷¹)

Administration of the VOC archives

Throughout the years many archivists have occupied themselves at the General State Archives with the description and arrangement of the VOC archives. After the transfer in

1856, J.K.J. de Jonge was the first person to take charge of the administration of the VOC archives in the General State Archives. He created a great deal of work for his successors by taking apart the volumes containing the *overgekomen brieven en papieren* of the *Heren XVII* and the Amsterdam Chamber up to the year 1690. It was only in this year that it became the rule to make tables of contents of the *overgekomen brieven en papieren*. In order to facilitate consultation of the pre-1690 documents, De Jonge pulled apart all volumes up to 1659 and the volumes from the *Westerkwartieren* (Western Quarter) from 1660 to 1690. Having done so he then rearranged the documents according to factory, which meant that the origin of and connection between the documents was no longer readily distinguishable. Around the turn of the century his efforts were rectified by J.E. Heeres and H.T. Colenbrander.⁷²⁾

The first inventory was compiled in the seventies of last century by the retired naval officer P.A. Leupe. This may not really be called an inventory. It was more a catalogue of documents, not only from the VOC but from other East Indian archives as well. The papers were arbitrarily arranged according to subject. Thus, from the records of the Amsterdam Chamber and the States General, Leupe compiled a collection of journals consisting of descriptions of voyages of discovery, ship's logs, instructions and so forth.⁷³⁾ In some cases he also disturbed the original unity of the volumes by tearing out items and then arranging these according to subject. Later Heeres returned these documents to their original place and restored the original order.⁷⁴⁾ However, the same was not done with the maps and drawings, which Leupe excised from the *overgekomen brieven en papieren*. Today these still remain in the collection of foreign maps which Leupe put together at that time in the maps and drawings section of the General State Archives.

After Leupe, Heeres and P.A.N.S. van Meurs worked simultaneously on the VOC archives. Van Meurs was engaged with describing the personnel administration of the Company. He compiled a survey of the series of ship's pay-ledgers, which had swelled considerably in 1884 when the papers from the depository of the *Ministerie van Koloniën* in Amsterdam were added. While he was doing this he also made a detailed description of the nature and setting out of the ship's pay ledgers.⁷⁵⁾

During the 1880s Heeres took upon himself the responsibility for arranging the bulk of the VOC archives. In fact it was impossible to talk about clearly delineated VOC archives, because the documents had become thoroughly mixed up with other colonial archival holdings. Heeres commenced his task of making an inventory by separating documents of private origin from the records of the VOC proper. Then he began by describing the archives of the so-called pre-companies, after which he attacked the arranging and describing of the VOC archives. For the limits of the archives he took 1602, the year the VOC was founded, as the beginning and 1795, the year in which its administration passed into the hands of the government, as the closing date. He rounded off the provisional arranging and describing of the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber in 1891, and two years later he finished those of the Zeeland Chamber. In these archives his principal concern had been the description of the *overgekomen brieven en papieren*. While he was working on the definitive arrangement of the records which had been kept in the *secretarie* of the Amsterdam Chamber, he was appointed professor at the *Indische Instelling* (College of the Indies) in Delft in 1897.

His task was assumed by H.T. Colenbrander, who completed the arranging and describing of the *secretarie* archives of the Amsterdam Chamber. In the category of documents received from Asia Colenbrander introduced a break of before and after 1614. The documents from before 1614 were classified according to voyage, in a manner that was identical to the way in which Heeres had compiled the inventory of the archives of the pre-companies. The documents from after 1614, when a more permanent central administration had been established in Asia and the chambers in the Republic could count on a more regular stream of papers from Batavia, were arranged chronologically.⁷⁶⁾

When this had been accomplished, Colenbrander set to work on the archives of the Zeeland Chamber. First of all he classified all the documents received by factory and not by year, as had been the case for the Amsterdam Chamber. Then Colenbrander described the

documents originating from the three departments of the Zeeland Chamber: those of the equipage, of *koopmanschappen* (commerce) and the *thesaurie* (finance). In this inventory there was as yet no description of the financial documents.

Between the years 1898-1902 Colenbrander and the former State Archivist, Th.H.F. van Riemsdijk, carried out a very regular written discussion about the way in which the inventory of the VOC archives should be compiled. Both believed that the inventory should reflect as much as possible the working of the administration of the VOC, but there were too few documents still extant to really do this justice. The goal remained, completely in the spirit of Heeres, to return the records as far as possible to their place of origin and to weed out the documents that did not belong in the VOC archives. In accordance with this policy, documents from the collections, arbitrarily formed since 1856, of the East Indian section of the colonial archives, which did not belong to the VOC archives proper, were traced by Colenbrander to archives of special VOC committees⁷⁷) or to private archives of directors. Furthermore, Colenbrander reunited the enclosures of the *generale missiven* (general letters) from the Governor-General and Council to the Zeeland Chamber with the VOC archives, from which these enclosures had been separated for quite some time.⁷⁸)

In 1902 the advisory committee for '*s-Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën* (National Historical Publications), of which Colenbrander became the secretary, was set up. J. de Hullu took over the description and arrangement of the financial registers of the VOC from Colenbrander. In 1905 De Hullu introduced consecutive numbering, the so called K.A.-numbering, into Colenbrander's draft finding aid⁷⁹). In his own new function Colenbrander worked to restore the original order of the *overgekomen brieven en papieren* which had been disturbed by De Jonge. He completed this in 1912.

After this a great stillness fell upon the VOC archives. During this time the archives of the pre-companies and of the six chambers were all provided with a finding aid in manuscript. Leaving aside some work which was carried out on the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber by R. Bijlsma, this silence was only broken in 1937 by Mrs. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs. She was given the task of compiling a new inventory of the archives of the Zeeland Chamber. As a result of the fact that, when the State Archives were moved from the Plein to Bleijenburg in 1901, the VOC archives were not numbered according to the inventory of Heeres and Colenbrander, any consultation on the basis of the existing inventory, of the Zeeland archives in particular, was rendered extremely difficult. Therefore there was a pressing need for a re-processing. Mrs. Meilink-Roelofs devoted most of her time to the description of the series of documents received from the factories in Asia in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber. Alongside this she reworked the manuscript catalogue of the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber compiled by Heeres and Colenbrander, as well as (re-processing the financial documents and the so called miscellaneous documents of both these chambers. She completed her task of processing of the VOC archives in 1963. A hundred years or more after the documents had been transferred to the General States Archives, an integral catalogue of the VOC archives was finally available. A few years later, on the basis of the new arrangement, the archives were numbered consecutively. The inventory - which fills nine typescript volumes - has greatly facilitated access to the VOC archives and has stimulated research into the history of the Dutch overseas, as well as Asian history.

One important component of the VOC archives, the *overgekomen brieven en papieren* were made even more accessible. In the Amsterdam Chamber at the time of the VOC itself access to these documents had been provided by means of tables of contents. However there were none of these for the volumes dating from before 1690. Mrs. Meilink-Roelofs had these compiled. She also made sure that the tables of contents of all the *overgekomen brieven en papieren* in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber were typed out and made available to the public.

Mrs. Meilink-Roelofs retired from the General State Archives on the 1st January 1971, after she had accepted the position of extraordinary professor in the history of Western European overseas expansion. Although she continued to occupy herself intensely with the history of the early Dutch East Indies, she was not to be able to complete a book about the

organization of the VOC and a general introduction to the inventory of the VOC archives. She died in 1988, shortly after work was begun on the publication of her inventory.

Notes

1. VOC, inv. nrs. 312-344, letter-book of outgoing documents [...] of the *Heren XVII* and the Amsterdam Chamber to establishments in Asia.
2. See VOC, inv. nr. 741, duplicate-proceedings of the Governor-General and Council, especially 5th and 8th June 1725.
3. Pieter van Dam, Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie first book, part I. F.W. Stapel ed. Rijksgeschiedkundige publications, grote serie 63 ('s-Gravenhage 1927) 395.
4. VOC, inv. nr. 360, instructions of the Amsterdam Chamber to its employees; VOC, inv. nr. 7229, duplicate rules and regulations for the clerks in the *schrijfkantoor* in Amsterdam d.d. 1763 April 25th.
5. VOC, inv. nr. 7230, draft notes concerning the work of the clerks in the *schrijfkantoor* of the Amsterdam Chamber.
6. VOC, inv. nr. 244, proceedings of the Amsterdam Chamber.
7. VOC, inv. nr. 245, proceedings of the Amsterdam Chamber.
8. VOC, inv. nr. 129, duplicate-proceedings of the *Heren XVII*; VOC, inv. nr. 259, proceedings of the Amsterdam Chamber.
9. VOC, inv. nr. 131, duplicate-proceedings of the *Heren XVII*; VOC, inv. nr. 259, proceedings of the Amsterdam Chamber.
10. VOC, inv. nr. 287, proceedings of the Amsterdam Chamber.
11. VOC, inv. nr. 294, proceedings of the Amsterdam Chamber.
12. Van Dam, Beschryvinge first book, part I, 371-388, 412, 413.
13. Ibidem, 394.
14. J.C. Overvoorde and P. de Roo de la Faille eds., De gebouwen van de Oost-Indische Compagnie en van de West-Indische Compagnie in Nederland (Utrecht 1928) 44. According to Overvoorde one objection to the storage of part of the VOC archives in the Oostindisch Buitenhuis was that it was too far away from the board room in the Hoogstraat.
15. VOC, inv. nr. 360, instructions of the Amsterdam Chamber to its employees; Van Dam, Beschryvinge first book, part I, 402-404; G. Schilder, 'Het cartografisch bedrijf van de VOC' in: Patrick van Mil and Mieke Scharloo eds., De VOC in de kaart gekeken: cartografie en navigatie van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, 1602-1799 ('s-Gravenhage 1988). See also Chapter 5.
16. In 1737 the director Radermacher was appointed one of the committee members. In his private archives there are still a number of documents relating to this *charterkamer* committee. Radermacher archives, inv. nrs. 190 and 354.

17. VOC, inv. nrs. 13862-13865 and 14924-14926, (duplicate) inventories of documents in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber, 1612-1794.

18. J.E. Heeres, 'De Oost Indische Compagnie' in: Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië I (2nd impression; 's-Gravenhage and Leiden 1917) 505.

19. Archives of the *Raad der Aziatische Bezittingen en Etablissements* (Council for Asian Possessions and Establishments) (hereafter: Archives *Aziatische Raad*), inv. nr. 87, 20th December 1800.

20. The lists of the archives of the Hoorn Chamber were compiled on 29th February 1796. See VOC, inv. nr. 14927.

21. 'Register van de klerk Vallensis van alle de boeken, charters, missiven, documenten enz. welke voorhanden zijn geweest bij het kantoor der voormalige Oostindische Compagnie ter Kamer Delft ...' [c. 1802]; VOC, inv. nr. 14928.

22. Overvoorde and De Roo de la Faille eds., Gebouwen, 98; Roelof van Gelder and Lodewijk Wagenaar, Sporen van de Compagnie. De VOC in Nederland (Amsterdam 1988) 111.

23. Archives of the *Comité tot de Oost-Indische Handel en Bezittingen* (Committee for Affairs relating to East India Trade and Possessions) (hereafter: Archives *Oost Indisch Comité*), inv. nr. 11, committee proceedings, 11th April 1796; idem, inv. nr. 139a, minutes of the department for domestic administration in Asia and the Cape of Good Hope, 26th April 1796.

24. Archives *Oostindisch Comité*, inv. nr. 11, *Comité* proceedings, 31st March 1796; idem, inv. nr. 154, minutes of the department of commerce and equipage, 31st March 1796.

25. Archives *Oostindisch Comité*, inv. nr. 11, *Comité* proceedings, 14th April and 9th May 1796; idem, inv. nr. 12, *Comité* proceedings, 4th July 1797. According to Overvoorde and De Roo de la Faille eds., Gebouwen, 44, more than a thousand chests containing VOC archives were stored here.

26. Archives *Aziatische Raad*, inv. nr. 28, proceedings, 18th September 1800.

27. Archives *Aziatische Raad*, inv. nr. 87, letters from the external establishments, 20th December 1800; Idem, inv. nr. 34, proceedings, 29th August and 18th September 1804.

28. VOC, inv. nr. 14928, inventory of the clerk Vallensis.

29. Archives *Aziatische Raad*, inv. nr. 34, proceedings, 25th September 1804.

30. Idem, proceedings, 25th October and 23rd November 1804; Idem, inv. nr. 35, proceedings, 18th January and 5th March 1805.

31. VOC, inv. nr. 14928, inventory of the clerk Vallensis.

32. Archives of the *Ministerie van Koophandel en Koloniën* (Ministry for Commerce and Colonies) (hereafter: Archives *Min. K. & K.*), inv. nr. 35, fair copy report of the head of the First Division of the ministry, 12th February 1807.

33. Archives of the *Ministerie van Marine en Koloniën* (Ministry for the Navy and the Colonies) (hereafter: Archives *Min. M. & K.*), inv. nr. 72, report 29th and 31st March 1809.
34. VOC, inv. nrs. 14929 and 14930, Inventory of the colonial archives housed in the *Departement van Marine en Koloniën* (Department of the Navy and Colonies) in Amsterdam.
35. Archives *Aziatische Raad* (Asian Council), inv. nr. 34, proceedings, 4th October 1804.
36. Archives *Min. M. & K.*, inv. nr. 110, minutes report of the head of the 7th, later 4th, division of the Ministry, 11th March 1809.
37. Archives *Min. M. & K.*, inv. nr. 111, minutes report of the head of the 7th, later 4th, division, 30th September 1809, nr. 249.
38. Archives *Min. M. & K.*, inv. nr. 65, minutes report of the minister, 17th October 1809.
39. Archives of the *Ministerie van Koloniën* (Ministry of Colonies) (hereafter: Archives *Min. Kol.*), inv. nr. 57, report 9th December 1850, litt. A, nr. 5.
40. Archives *Min. M. & K.*, inv. nr. 137, 21st January 1810.
41. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, Van geheim tot openbaar. Een historiografische verkenning. (Leiden 1970) 12.
42. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 57, report 9th December 1850, nr. 5; Idem, inv. nr. 841, report 28th May 1831, nr. 17.
43. The collection of maps, which had been in the *Depot-Generaal van Oorlog* (General Depot for War) since 1806, the bulk of which were transferred to the French *Dépôt de la Marine* (Navy Depot) in 1810 is not discussed here. See Chapter 5.
44. Archives *Min. K. & K.*, inv. nr. 216; contains amongst other documents a memorandum for the year 1811 from Mr. Dozy, head of the third division of the *Ministerie van Koophandel en Koloniën* and future head of the *Hollandse Divisie* (Dutch Division) of the *Ministerie van Marine en Koloniën* in Paris, about the desirability of transferring the colonial archives to Paris. To this he appended a list of documents concerning the East which were in the Netherlands at that moment and should remain there. In total this list consists of 8372 volumes; not included are 7028 volumes concerning establishments. In another list he indicated which documents had already been packed for Paris. This refers to the 21 chests already mentioned. Archives of the *Hollandse Divisie* of *Marine en Koloniën* in Paris, inv. nr. 6.
45. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 111, report 2nd September 1815, nr. 1252. Contains a survey of the documents which actually arrived in Paris in 1811.
46. Archives of the *Hollandse Divisie* of the *Ministerie van Marine en Koloniën* in Paris, inv. nr. 6; Archives of the *Generale Intendance voor de Financiën en der Publieke Schatkist* (General Department for Finances and the Public Treasury), inv. nr. 955, minutes, 17th April 1812; Idem, inv. nr. 1032, Letter from the carrier Bruynseraede, 23rd November 1813; Archives of the General State Archives (hereafter: Archives ARA), inv. nr. 3, nrs. 270, 271, 274, 274a and 295; nr. 274a gives an overview of the documents which Tourlet thought should be forwarded to Paris.
47. Archives ARA, inv. nr. 4, nr. 37; *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 119, report 16th February 1816, nr.

966; Archives of the *Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, Legatie Frankrijk* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, French Legation), inv. nr. 80: contains a list of the documents returned and a catalogue of the maps which were in the Netherlands in 1810, a part of which were taken to Paris.

48. Goldberg Collection, inv. nr. 124: contains amongst other items an *inventaris der charters, boeken en papieren toebehoorende aan het Departement van Koophandel en Koloniën, welke in de charterkamer van het zelve Departement op het Binnenhof in 's-Gravenhage zijn overgebracht, den 28 augustus 1816* (inventory of the charters, books and papers pertaining to the Department for Trade and the Colonies, which were transferred to the records room of that same Department in the Binnenhof in The Hague, 28th August, 1816); Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 37, report 11th September 1816, nr. 5452a: contains the same inventory.

49. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 300, report 27th November 1821, nr. 26/1; Idem, inv. nr. 302, report 17th December 1821, nr. 25/1. It concerned 28,920 kilos of paper, which according to a note by Mrs. Meilink-Roelofs, involved 9,500 to 10,000 volumes.

50. VOC, inv. nr. 14931, *Inventaris van het Oost Indische Archief berustende in het Westindische Magazijn te Amsterdam opgemaakt ingevolge resolutie van den Minister voor de Marine en Koloniën, 6 dec. 1828, litt. G&H, nr. 46*. (Inventory of the East India Archives housed in the Westindische Storehouse in Amsterdam compiled as the result of the decision of the Minister for the Navy and the Colonies, 6th December 1828, litt. G&H, nr. 46).

51. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 841, 28th May 1832, nr. 17. Amongst other things, this contains detailed lists of the books and papers present and of the books and papers from the pay office that were present and were to be cleared out.

52. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 841, report 16th June 1832, nr. 18.

53. *Thuisreisboeken* were probably a sort of ship's pay-ledgers kept during the homeward voyage. All that is known about the *landboeken* is that they, at least in the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers, were set out according to establishment and that amongst other things, they contained wills, inventories of possessions, and accounts of VOC personnel.

54. Notwithstanding, even in Zeeland documents such as letter-books, *dagregisters*, *resoluties* and reports from Batavia were tidied up by the authorities.

55. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 49, report 2nd November 1850, litt. A, nr. 6.

56. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 841, report 28th May 1832, nr. 17.

57. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 64, report 13th January 1851, litt. A, nr. 1.

58. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 74, report 27th February 1851, nr. 13.

59. Meilink-Roelofs, Van geheim tot openbaar, 12-14.

60. J. Romeyn Brodhead, Documents relative to the colonial history of the State of New-York, [1603-1678], procured in Holland, England and France I. E.B. O'Callagan ed. (Albany 1856) xxv.

61. Fred. Muller, 'Ervaringen in Nederlandse archieven', De Nederlandse Spectator 11th July 1874, 225-229.

62. J.J.F. Noordziek, Archiefwezen 1826-1852. Met eene korte opgave van de inhoud van eenige boekerijen ('s-Gravenhage 1853) 66-71.

63. L.C.D. van Dijk, Specimen Politico-juridicum Inaug. continens Historiam inquisitionis in delicta a praefectis atque officialibus in India cum orientalium occidentali commissa (Utrecht 1847).

64. Meilink-Roelofsz, Van geheim tot openbaar, 14-16; Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 152, report 22nd January 1852, nr. 4.

65. Muller, 'Ervaringen', 228. Frederik Muller can only have meant Van Dijk and De Munnick.

66. Meijlink-Roelofsz, Van geheim tot openbaar, 16-19; R. Fruin, De gestie van R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink als archivaris des Rijks, 1854-1865 ('s-Gravenhage 1926) 65-78.

67. Fruin, Gestie, 76-77. According to Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven (hereafter: VROA) 16 (1893) 7 at a certain moment these documents were reunited with the Company archives in the General State Archives.

68. Archives ARA, inv. nr. 18, outgoing letters 1856, nr. 118. Bakhuizen van den Brink wrote this as a reaction to a suggestion from De Munnick to the minister of Foreign Affairs. Archives *Min. Kol.*, inv. nr. 540, 10th September 1856, litt. A/1.

69. In 1862 yet another large quantity of registers was cleared out. See report about the processing of the financial records of the VOC in the General State Archives by Van Meurs: VROA 12 (1889) 6.

70. Archives ARA, inv. nr. 64, nrs. 151, 183 and 224; VROA 7 (1884) 2.

71. Archives ARA, inv. nr. 83, nr. 341; Idem, inv. nr. 113, nr. 333; VROA 24 (1901) 11-14.

72. VROA 12 (1889) 4-5; VROA 21 (1898) 6.

73. VOC, inv. nr. 14932, Catalogue of miscellaneous documents, assembled from the East India archives by Leupe, ca. 1875.

74. VROA 14 (1891) 7; VROA 17 (1894) 6.

75. VROA 11 (1888) 11; VROA 12 (1889) 5-6. The survey is found in VOC, inv. nr. 14933.

76. VROA 21 (1898) 5-6.

77. Such as de *Hollands-Zeeuwse Staatscommissie* (Committee of the States of Holland-Zeeland) of 1790 and the *Comité van de Provisionele Representanten van het Volk van Holland tot de zaken van de Oostindische Compagnie* (Committee for the Provisional Representatives of the People of Holland for the affairs of the East India Company) of 1795. These archives are described in the Inventaris van de Gewestelijke Besturen Bataafs-Franse tijd, 1795-1807, en hiermee samenhangende commissies, 1782-1802. III ('s-Gravenhage no date) 545-609.

78. VROA 24 (1901) 8-10.

79. This K.A. (*Koloniaal Archief* - Colonial Archives) numbering remained in use until the recent re-arrangement and renumbering. A concordance of this is contained at the back of the inventory section.

Chapter 3. NOTES ON THE USE OF THE VOC ARCHIVES

B.J. Slot, M.C.J.C. van Hoof and F. Lequin*

To a large extent the structure of the VOC archives follows that of the organization of the Company itself in the Republic. The records of the six chambers of the VOC constitute the six main archives. From the point of view of content and bulk, the archives of the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers are undeniably the most important. Most of the internal organization can be retraced in these two archives. This is much less true of the archives of the four remaining chambers, only a few larger or smaller fragments of which have escaped the hand of destruction.

The archival structure varies slightly from chamber to chamber. The reason for this lies in the differences in the internal organization of the chambers or in divergent methods of archive management during the VOC period. Besides this, it is impossible to reconstruct the original order on the basis of the fragmentary remnants -most notably in the smaller chambers. Naturally the most conspicuous difference is the presence of the records of the Heren XVII (the directors of the Company) in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber.

Roughly speaking, the principal components of a Chamber archive follow a line which runs from the general to the particular, from the planning of policy to its implementation. This is most clearly observable in the arrangement of the archives of the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers: in both chambers, following the charters which form the constitution of the Company, come the resoluties (proceedings), the outgoing documents, the incoming documents, documents pertaining to committees and what are termed 'documents kept separately, originally miscellaneous documents'; all these are followed by the documents of the executive departments of the chambers. The position of the committees' archives forms an important exception to the arrangement according to the line of policy making. The task of the committees was pre-eminently one of policy-planning, but in the archives their records are placed after the resoluties and the incoming and outgoing documents. The abridged table of contents of the inventory provides a useful survey of the contents of the archives (See p....)

The main surviving categories of the archives are described in the notes which follow. Only very extensive categories of documents or those of outstanding importance are considered here. The descriptions treat the structure and content of the main series very briefly, provide instructions for their use and indicate specific finding aids. The archives of the Amsterdam Chamber are taken as the basis for the order in which the categories are discussed.

The first category is comprised of the resoluties of the Heren XVII and of the chambers. These are especially important for research into policy as this was formulated in the Republic. The next section covers the uitgaande brievenboeken (letter-books of outgoing documents) of the Heren XVII and of the chambers: instructions to the octrooigebied (the area under charter to the Company) as well as documents within the Republic about activities and events in the octrooigebied.

This section is followed by the most extensive part of the archives: the various groups of documents sent from the octrooigebied to the Republic. These include the kopie-resoluties (duplicate proceedings) of the Governor-General and Council, letters with enclosures sent directly to the Republic from the main establishments in the octrooigebied, and the various duplicate letters with enclosures sent to the Governor-General and Council from the subordinate establishments with enclosures (the so-called Batavia's ingekomen brievenboek or the Batavia letter-book of incoming documents). This section is vital to an understanding of policy, shipping and trade within the octrooigebied. It contains valuable data about local conditions and events in Asia.

Thereafter come, as far as they have survived, the archives of the committees of the Heren XVII, which are extremely fragmentary. The description of this set of documents is

followed by a section containing brief remarks about the files on various subjects which have been kept separately by the administration. This deal with a number of diverse. This concludes the central part of the description of the archives of the Heren XVII and the Chamber of Amsterdam and of the Zeeland Chamber. Finally the most important files of the archives of the departments (offices with specific assignments) and functionaries are dealt with. These include documents from the pay office which are very important for prosopographic research, as well as the accounts of the chambers which contain data about the economic activities of the Company in the Republic.

1. RESOLUTIES (PROCEEDINGS)

Heren XVII

Matters which affected the general management of the Company were discussed and dealt with in meetings of the Heren XVII. With the exception of a series of minuut-resoluties (draft minutes of proceedings) for the years 1654-1796 (inv. nrs. 24-98), three series of the resoluties taken during the meetings have been preserved: two series in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber and the Heren XVII (inv. nrs. 99-145 and 146-210) and a series in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber (inv. nrs. 7343-7416). In the archives of the Zeeland Chamber the resoluties of the Heren XVII are to be found in the chapter ingekomen stukken uit Europa (documents received from Europe). The chapter which is headed resoluties only contains the proceedings of the chamber itself. Such a division ignores the fact that for two of the eight years the Heren XVII met in Middelburg and their resoluties were both recorded and copied there.

The resoluties were recorded in six fair copies, one for each chamber. The series which is described under inv. nrs. 146-210 contains such fair copies, in view of the label originele resoluties (original proceedings) on the spines of the volumes, as well as the presence of the signatures of the delegates following each final meeting day. In the initial period the contents of letters and other documents, whether dispatched or received, was often inserted in the text. Later on such documents tend to be found increasingly frequently bound in as enclosures. After 1673 there marginals containing a short summary of the resoluties, which greatly facilitates research. The resoluties only contain the results of the deliberations of the Heren XVII and the decisions which were subsequently taken on the basis of these. Little or nothing of the discussions and differences of opinion can be traced in the resoluties.

The series which comes before the series of fair copies in the inventory (inv. nrs. 99-145) is a copy of the numbers 146-210. One advantage of this series of duplicate resoluties is that, right from the very beginning, a short summary of the resoluties has been added in the margin. The documents which have been inserted in the text of the fair copies are also included in the kopie-resoluties, but unfortunately this has not always been the case with the enclosures bound with them.

Above each of the sessions the names of the seventeen delegates who attended are noted in the resolutieboeken (records of proceedings), with the name of the Chamber to which they belonged. Then the items of agenda for the meeting are summarized. These are the punten van beschrvinge. There is a reference to the date of the resolutie concerned in the margin of each of the punten van beschrvinge. Furthermore, even if the reading of a report or of a statement is merely referred to, the date on which this took place is recorded. Conversely, in the resoluties or there is a reference in the margin to which of the puntten van beschryvinge is intended.

The punten van beschryvng had to be sent to the chambers a good while in advance so that they could add supplementary material and formulate their opinions. Important topics that were not entered on the agenda in good time and which cropped up during or just before a meeting could not be handled without due notice. Only if there was absolutely no question of postponement, could they be dealt with extraordinaris (out of order). The final item on the agenda provided for the discussion of 'ordinary business' that

had not been entered in the agenda.

Sometimes a chamber would seek the advice of other chambers on a certain matter. If the resultant advice was unanimous this was considered tantamount to a decision taken by the Heren XVII. Should one of the chambers not concur in this opinion, the item then had to be entered upon the agenda of the Heren XVII and discussed at their meeting.

The resolutieboeken can also contain the resoluties of the smaller halve Zeventien (Half Seventeen). The composition of this board varied from between eight to eleven delegates. Its decisions were as binding as those taken by the full complement of the Heren XVII. From 10 August 1660 onwards, the meetings of the halve Zeventien were noted as meetings of the Heren XVII in the resolutieboeken. A head count of the number of delegates present gives the answer to whether or not it concerns a meeting of the smaller halve Zeventien.

The archives of the Amsterdam Chamber contain a four volume subject index of the resoluties present (inv. nrs. 221-224). According to a note at the beginning of the index these include, first and foremost, the standing (= fixed, immutable) orders, instructions and regulations issued by the Heren XVII. Besides this, the index indicates many resoluties which were not standing orders but which serve 'on the one hand to indicate how many diverse matters and instances have been taken note of, discussed and dealt with, and, on the other hand, to be able to take cognizance of and (if necessary) to find with ease sundry affairs and instances which are of significance'. The entries run from Aannemen (engage) to Zijde (silk). Under each entry, all the resoluties concerned are mentioned chronologically with an indication of the contents.

The archives of the Zeeland Chamber contains an alphabetical repertory of the resoluties (inv. nrs. 7417-7422). On 22nd January 1743 the first two volumes which covered the period up to 1742 were offered to the directors of the chamber by the liquidatie boekhouder (clearing accountant), Thomas Cunningham 't Hooft. He had compiled the repertory virtually single-handed, not on the orders of the directors, but probably for his personal use. Perhaps this had some connection with his additional function as archivist. In this repertory the resoluties are set out alphabetically according to the initial letter of each subject. The resoluties are listed chronologically under each letter. There is no lexicographic order beyond the first letter of the name of the subject.

Besides these larger series, smaller series and separate documents have been preserved. A few such examples are: in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber there are collected abstracts from the resoluties on ecclesiastical matters 1603-1671 (inv. nr. 212), draft secret resoluties 1738-1794 (inv. nrs. 216-218) and secret resoluties 1777-1794 (inv. nrs. 219-220); in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber there are duplicate resoluties 1618-1623, 1657-1663 (inv. nrs. 7425-7427), duplicate secret resoluties 1779-1795 (inv. nr. 7429) and collected abstracts of resoluties referring to matters of importance for the different departments of the Zeeland Chamber 1699-1728 (inv. nrs. 7432-7433); in the Hoorn Chamber there are duplicate secret resoluties 1790-1795 (inv. nr. 14327).

The Amsterdam Chamber and the Zeeland Chamber

Of the meetings of the boards of directors of the six Chambers of the VOC, only the resoluties of those of Amsterdam and Zeeland have survived. The Amsterdam resoluties begin with five volumes covering the period 1602-1629 (inv. nrs. 225-229). These are followed by a series covering 1623 to 1796 (inv. nrs. 230-304). Although the first four volumes are entitled Cladde vande dagelijcxse resolutien (rough drafts of the daily proceedings), they do, in fact, form part of a series. From 1707 onwards a short summary of every resolutie is recorded in the margin. The resoluties of the Zeeland Chamber cover the period 1601-1796 (inv. nrs. 7241-7278), but the margin summaries are only noted from 1745 onwards.

Besides the series mentioned above, several smaller series and separate documents have been preserved. For the Amsterdam Chamber these are, for instance, drafts of secret resoluties for the years 1738-1794 (inv. nrs. 216-218) and secret resoluties 1777-1794

(inv. nrs 219-220). For the Zeeland Chamber these include secret resoluties 1642-1787 (inv. nr. 7279) and draft resoluties 1770-1776 (inv. nr. 7240); and for the Hoorn Chamber secret resoluties 1691-1794 (inv. nr. 14318).

The resoluties clearly reveal the working procedures of the Company. The chambers can be regarded as the executive arm of the Heren XVII. Besides this they had an important function in the planning of policy. In the executive operations of the chambers, the code of apportionment laid down in the charter was observed. In principle this was applied to all activities including the building and outfitting of ships, the dispatch of goods and ready money, and the reception and auctioning of merchandise. The chambers were bound to abide strictly by the decisions of the Heren XVII on such matters as outfitting and sales and could not digress from this on a single point.

The directors of the Chambers met as often as was necessary. Besides the ordinary meetings there were extraordinary sessions. During their meetings the directors discussed the various *pointen van beschryvinge* of the Heren XVII. The standing committees or departments of the chamber were directed to investigate the various points in conjunction with special committees appointed for this task and then to make a report to the plenary session.

The resoluties offer a glimpse of the large number of activities and responsibilities of the directors. A few examples will serve to demonstrate the diversity of these activities: they read the letters which had been sent from Asia; they appointed the personnel who entered the service of the chamber and compiled instructions relating to the various functions; they selected and appointed ministers of religion who were sent to Asia (in order to do so the directors of the warehouse listened to a sermon delivered by the aspiring candidate and then made their report to the plenary session of directors); they nominated delegates to the *Haags Besogne* (The Hague Committee which met in The Hague for a preparatory session in August); they dealt with the requests from Company officials who were leaving for Asia and wished to take somebody with them; and, finally, they made a decision about requests for subsidies from other chambers.

In the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber there is a subject index on the resoluties consisting of four volumes (inv. nrs. 307-310). Just as in the case of the index on the resoluties of the Heren XVII, in the first place this index contains the standing orders, instructions and regulations of the Amsterdam Chamber. Furthermore, there are a great many references to decisions which are not strictly standing orders but which serve 'on the one hand to indicate how many diverse matters and instances have been taken note of, discussed and dealt with, and, on the other hand to be able to be able to take cognizance of and (if necessary) to find with ease sundry affairs and instances which are of significance'. Furthermore the names of personnel appointed have also been entered in the index, with a note on their salary, emoluments, and other forms of income, as well as the rent for their houses. The first volume, the index covering 1602-1743, begins with a reference to the instructions given to and the oaths sworn by VOC officials as apothecaries, bookbinders, clerks, smiths and sailmakers. The entries contained in the four volumes run from *Aalmoezenier* (chaplain) to *Zijdwormen* (silkworms). All the appropriate resoluties are recorded chronologically under each entry.

In the archives of the Zeeland Chamber from 1736 onwards there are alphabetical indexes available in the *resolutieboeken* themselves. For the period 1783 to 1796 there is a separate alphabetical index for the resoluties (seven volumes; inv. nrs. 7280-7286). Each volume refers to one volume of resoluties. The resoluties are not arranged chronologically under the letters A to Z, but are placed in the sequence of and with reference to the pages on which the *resolutie* in question is to be found.

2. OUTGOING DOCUMENTS

The archives of the Amsterdam Chamber and the Heren XVII contain a series of letter-books of outgoing documents to the kantoren (establishments) in Asia (inv. nrs. 312-344). Generally, instructions to the subordinate establishments were only passed on through the Governor-General and Council in Batavia. In the series of outgoing documents, the letters to the heads of the subordinate establishments which corresponded directly with the Republic (Cape of Good Hope, Persia, Malabar, Ceylon, Coromandel, Bengal and, in some eras, China and Surat) are therefore of less importance. The letters to the Governor-General and Council contain orders and reflections upon reports received from all the individual establishments. These letters are divided up into chapters according to establishments, the name of which is noted in the margin. There are also chapters pertaining to general policy in Asia. The letter-books also contain decisions passed in the Republic concerning matters in the area under charter, for which one will seek in vain among the resoluties. The letters often betray a marked difference of opinion between the Heren XVII and the administration in Asia. In view of the great importance of these letters in the administration of the VOC, alphabetical subject indexes were compiled for them both in the Republic (inv. nrs. 345-349) and in Batavia.

Up to 1642 the letters from the Amsterdam Chamber to the establishments in the octrooigebied have been included in the series of kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven (letter-books of outgoing documents) of the Heren XVII. After 1642 there is a separate series of kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven van de kamer (letter-books of the outgoing letters of the chamber) (inv. nrs. 350-354).

In the archives of the Zeeland Chamber just one single register of the letters from the chamber to the octrooigebied has been preserved (inv. nr. 7313). It covers the years 1773-1794. Besides this, the archives of the Zeeland Chamber contain a series of kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven to the Heren XVII and to the other chambers. This series is of great importance for an understanding of the relationship of the chambers to one another (inv. nrs. 7290-7311).

3. INCOMING DOCUMENTS FROM ASIA

The documents which were received from Asia are the most important source for the history of Dutch activities in the octrooigebied. Not only this, they are also a treasure trove of data about Asian history.

Two extensive series of such documents have survived: one in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber, and a second in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber. It is advisable to commence an investigation in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber. Should some required documents be missing there, or should one be looking for further data, then it can be useful to also cast one's eye over the series in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber. There are no documents from Asia present in this latter archive from before 1680.

I. Amsterdam Chamber

When the Company launched its operations in Asia, initially it had no permanent establishments. The documents sent back from Asia during these years represent a fairly random collection of papers brought by homeward-bound ships. These are what are known as stukken betreffende de vroegste scheepstochten (documents pertaining to the earliest voyages), up to about 1614 (inv. nrs. 437-655). For the years 1607-1613, at the beginning of the series of overgekomen brieven en papieren (letters and papers received) mentioned below, there are also documents originating from the first permanent establishments (inv. nrs. 1053-1055). From 1614 onwards there is a fixed series of annual collections of reports with enclosures.

The structure of the records forwarded from the establishments from 1614 onwards is

fairly complicated. There appear to have been five important categories, but two of these have been almost entirely lost. These are the dagregisters (diaries) of the different establishments and the registers of the accountants stationed in Asia. To some extent this loss can be compensated by the other collections: by the archives of the boekhouder-generaal (chief accountant), which were shipped to the Netherlands from Batavia in 1863, and by the dagregisters from Batavia in the Indonesian National Archives, which have been partially published.¹⁾ The three remaining blocks are a series of kopie-resoluties from the Governor-General and Council in Batavia, a series of duplicate documents dispatched by the Governor-General and Council, and the so-called overgekomen brieven en papieren uit de vestigingen (letters and papers received from the establishments), which can be further subdivided into various sections.

Kopie-resoluties (duplicate proceedings) of the Governor-General and Council

The kopie-resoluties of the Governor-General and Council are the reflection of the administrative activities of the highest VOC board outside the Republic, whose competence extended over the whole of the octrooigebied. Like the resoluties of the Heren XVII and the chambers, they principally provide information about current administrative affairs affecting trade, appointments, issuing of regulations and the administration, but say little about the background to the policy. Only on a rare occasion does one come across data pertaining to colonial policy. For decisions on political matters, in the first instance the researcher should seek recourse to the uitgaande brievenboeken referred to below.

From the point of view of form the Batavian resoluties -in contrast to the resoluties of the Heren XVII and the chambers- are sometimes more like proceedings in the modern sense: in the event of fundamental administrative differences, the points of view of the various factions and persons have been noted. The ordinary resoluties are fairly complete (inv. nrs. 656-827). Before 1636 they were not always preserved as a separate series, but have been partly bound into the volumes of overgekomen brieven en papieren. The inventory notes these exceptions.

The only complete finding aids to the series of kopie-resoluties are the chronological tables of contents in each volume. Besides these there is an alphabetical repertory on personalia (appointments and similar matters) (inv. nrs. 828-834), and a summary, therefore incomplete, alphabetical repertory of the realia (subjects) (inv. nrs. 835-839). This latter repertory has also appeared in print.²⁾ The lack of a good alphabetical subject index makes the series less easy to use than might otherwise have been the case.

The separate series of kopie-secrete resoluties (duplicates of secret proceedings) only covers the years 1756-1791 (inv. nrs. 840-847). Many secret resoluties have been bound in with the series of ordinary resoluties, especially in the years 1704-1727. This is noted in the inventory. Moreover, secret resoluties have often been included in the overgekomen brieven en papieren. To gain access to these one should consult the typescript tables of contents available for this series. (The inventory does not indicate the place where the secret resoluties, which are dispersed through the series of overgekomen brieven en papieren, are to be found).

Duplicate outgoing documents of the Governor-General and Council.

This series contains the letters dispatched by the Governor-General and Council in Batavia, both to the establishments in Asia and to Asian authorities. The Batavia's uitgaande brievenboek (Batavian letter-book of outgoing documents to subordinate establishments) is available almost in its entirety in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber (inv. nrs. 849-1052). The few parts of the letter-book which can be found in other places are mentioned in the inventory. These concern the documents dispatched in the period 1614-1634, which are to be found in the series overgekomen brieven en papieren.

To an even greater extent than the kopie-resoluties of the Governor-General and Council, the series of kopieboeken van uitgaande missiven (letter-books of the outgoing documents) provides a direct source of information about the administrative dealings of the

Governor-General and the Council in the area outside Batavia and its environs. Here one comes across the political particulars which one often fails to trace in the resoluties. It is recommended that this series be used in combination with the uitgaande brievenboeken of the Heren XVII, which contain policy instructions from the board of directors in the Republic to the Hoge Regering (Supreme Government in Asia i.e. the Governor-General and Council).

Further access is offered in the tables of contents of the addressees, which are found in every volume.

Overgekomen brieven en papieren (Letters and papers received)

For the period up to 1614 the documents are described in detail in the inventory in the series stukken betreffende de vroegste scheepstochten (see above). In the post-1614 period the documents were put together in a number of annual bundles, initially fairly haphazardly, but, after 1660, these documents were bound together in a clearly structured way, which is reproduced below:

General Series: letters and papers received by the Heren XVII and the Amsterdam Chamber from Asia 1607-1794 (inv. nrs. 1053-3987)

This series is in fact a combination of the letters of the Governor-General and Council to the Heren XVII and the Amsterdam Chamber, plus enclosures, as well as the documents sent from those establishments which corresponded directly with patria. This series consists of annual batches comprised of the following components:

- a. Generale missiven (general letters) plus enclosures.
- b. Documents concerning the conduct of business in Asia, especially in Batavia, originating from the departments of the Governor-General and Council.
- c. Documents from the Raad van Justitie (Court of Justice).
- d. Documents, principally from offices in Persia and several other establishments in the Westerkwartieren (western part of Asia), which had been sent 'overland' via Basra and Aleppo to the Republic. However, such records are not present for all years, but they exist for most years up to ca. 1730.
- e. Documents from a number of large establishments whose reports were sent directly to the Republic, not through Batavia, (Bengal, Coromandel, Ceylon and Malabar, and occasionally Surat as well): letters, often accompanied by diaries, resoluties and documents concerning the administration of these establishments. Often these collections of documents are so extensive that in fact a duplicate archive of the establishments was created.
- f. The Batavia's ingekomen brievenboek (Batavian letter-book of incoming documents) which contains copies of all the letters received in Batavia from the establishments in Asia, often including comprehensive enclosures (resoluties, diaries, copies of documents and administrative papers), which sometimes, as is the case with series e, are so extensive that they form a sort of duplicate archive of that establishments. These copies have been bundled according to establishments. In the eighteenth century the series is followed by one or more bundles of secret letters.

Series of letters and papers received by the Heren XVII and the Amsterdam Chamber from the Cape of Good Hope, 1651-1794 (inv. nrs. 3988-4373)

This series is similar to series b mentioned above, with the proviso that there are also volumes containing legal papers included. This series sometimes also includes papers from subordinate establishments (Mauritius), and from expeditions (to Madagascar and Rio Delagoa), as well as from other establishments (Persia and Surat) which forwarded their papers to the Republic via the Cape of Good Hope.

Series of letters and papers received by the Heren XVII and the Amsterdam Chamber from China, 1729-1794 (inv. nrs. 4374-4447)

As these documents were handled by a separate committee, they also form a separate series. In some years they are to be found intermingled with the general series of letters

and papers received from Asia.

In the generale missiven, which are often very lengthy, the topics are usually dealt with according to an established sequence. First of all they contain a general report on shipping movements and trade, followed by a discussion of the various establishments, in a fixed order. The concluding section of the letters deals with financial and staff matters. In the letters from the establishments to Batavia the shipping movements, trade in general (first that of the main establishments and then of the subordinate establishments), trade per item, political news about local authorities, news about other European powers in the region, and personnel and legal affairs are treated in order of sequence. Moreover, the letters have often been provided with extensive postscripts referring to particular subjects.

From important establishments, especially those in the Westerkwartieren, not only the letters to the Heren XVII, but also those to the Governor-General and Council in Batavia are present. For instance, among papers from Coromandel, which were sent directly to the Heren XVII (series e), can also be found duplicates of letters to Batavia, while in the Batavia's ingekomen brievenboek there are copies of both letters from Coromandel to Batavia as well as of letters to the Heren XVII. There is a certain difference in tone between the letters from the establishments to Batavia and those addressed to the Heren XVII. Batavia was the immediate superior of the establishments and it was the place where important decisions were taken and local decrees were accorded approval. Therefore, letters to Batavia are usually more detailed, although it has to be admitted that information not to be found in letters to Batavia, is to be found in those to the Heren XVII.

Finally, mention should be made of the treaties and documents with Asian rulers. These may be found scattered throughout the overgekomen brieven en papieren. Moreover, there is a separate series of treaties present in the category *afzonderlijk gehouden stukken* (documents kept separately) (inv. nrs. 4777-4787). As treaties and documents with Asian rulers were only of interest to the management of the VOC in a Dutch translation, usually only such translations are to be found in the VOC archives. On only a very rare occasion is there an example of a treaty in the original language bound into the volumes of letters and papers received from Asia.³⁾

There are a number of finding aids to this confused mixture of papers. The main aid is the tables of contents of the series of letters and papers received from Asia, the Cape of Good Hope and China. The typescripts of the tables of contents can be consulted in the General State Archives in a series consisting respectively of thirty-one, three and one volume. Most of them have been compiled from the original tables of contents. These mention each document separately, but their redaction is not consistent and they usually only provide a vague indication of the contents. If one knows with some degree of accuracy for what one is looking (as far as place and date are concerned) and the amount of material to be investigated is fairly modest, these tables of contents are a useful means of selecting material quickly. If the object of research is less sharply defined chronologically, one can use the publication of extracts from the general letters, published by W. Ph. Coolhaas and J. van Goor, as orientation material.⁴⁾ This series has been furnished with good indexes on personal names, geographical names, names of ships, and affairs. Besides these, the repertories on realia and personalia in the Batavian resoluties can offer a survey of the period within which certain events occurred.

Should one wish to set up a broadly-based investigation, a recommended procedure is to begin by reading through general documents which offer a summary account of events, and only then, possibly on the basis of the indications found in these, to search for more detailed documents via the tables of contents. There are various such series of documents of general contents which come into consideration here. Brief, but extremely useful, are the summaries of the documents which were received from Asia, compiled by a committee of the Heren XVII in The Hague, and which were used for composing the letters from the XVII to Asia. This annual abstract can be found in the reports of the Haags Besogne (inv. nrs. 4455-4506). The ultimate result of the work of the Haags Besogne is the

kopieboek van uitgaande missiven (letter-book of the outgoing documents) of the Heren XVII, and this is especially important for the period for which there are no reports of the Haags Besogne available (inv. nrs. 312-344). More details are given in the Batavia's uitgaande brievenboek (inv. nrs. 849-1052), in which local events are often discussed at great length in letters and instructions to the subordinate establishments. Another method which may provide a useful starting point for a broadly-based investigation, is the perusal of the chronological tables of contents of the kopie-resoluties of the Governor-General and Council in Batavia (inv. nrs. 656-827).

II Zeeland Chamber

Generally speaking, the documents in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber which were sent from the octrooigebied are comprised of the same kind of categories as those in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber. However, they have been arranged on a different basis: in the first place they are ordered according to the nature of the documents (letters, resoluties, diaries, etc.), then geographically and finally chronologically. (In the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber the documents are arranged firstly chronologically, then according to their nature and, finally, geographically). The geographical classification in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber is fairly slapdash; documents from a particular establishment can be filed in a bundle from another establishments. Such instances are fully indicated in the inventory.

The series is subdivided into the following categories of documents:

A: A very incomplete series of letters from the Governor-General and Council to the Heren XVII and the Zeeland Chamber, 1658-1792 (inv. nrs. 7527-7599). This series is therefore partially identical to series a of letters and papers received from Asia found in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber.

B: Kopie-resoluties of the Governor-General and Council (inv. nrs. 7600-7609). This concerns only a few resoluties, secret resoluties and minutes for several years during the eighteenth century.

C: Duplicate dagregisters of Batavia. In contrast to the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber, the Zeeland Chamber possesses an admittedly small and fragmentary series of duplicate dagregisters from Batavia Castle of several random years during the period 1647-1766 (inv. nrs. 7610-7617).

D: Duplicates of the outgoing documents of the Governor-General and Council (inv. nrs. 7618-7657), corresponding to the series of duplicates of outgoing documents of the Governor-General and Council in the Amsterdam Chamber. This series also shows many gaps. The letter-books of the outgoing documents cover the years 1683-1787, the secret letters the years 1755-1789.

E: A series of kopie-ingekomen stukken (duplicate incoming documents) to the Governor-General and Council from the establishments in Asia, which corresponds to the Batavia's ingekomen brievenboek (series f) and to series b of the letters and papers received from Asia in the Amsterdam Chamber, but in this instance divided up into geographical series, from about 1682 (inv. nrs. 7658-9179). This file does not form a continuous series; there are a great many lacunae. It is characterized by a very careless and inconsequential classification. Generally, establishments by establishments, the series of letters with enclosures have been included first, followed by a series of secret letters with enclosures. After this, series of documents such as resoluties, dagregisters, letter-books of incoming and outgoing documents and a few documents to do with book-keeping, which were originally sent with the letters but later separated, can be included. In this series it is

primarily the geographical classification that has been very inaccurately observed: many documents concerning a particular establishment have been filed with documents from another establishment. In the drawing up of the inventory, letters from two or more establishments have been mentioned under the name of the establishment which sent the bulk of the documents in the volume. There is always a cross-reference to the other establishments included.

F: A series of documents pertaining to the book-keeping of the VOC establishments in Asia. It is mainly composed of the reports of the *visitateur-generaal* (the auditor-general) in Batavia from the years 1771-1786 (inv. nrs. 9180-9191).

G: A series of documents from the Raad van Justitie (Court of Justice) in Batavia, which corresponds to the documents which have been mentioned in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber under c. However, the series in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber is much more extensive (inv. nrs. 9192-9540). Amongst other papers, it includes letters to the directors at home, civil and criminal legal records, and case-files, largely from the eighteenth century.

H: Series of documents originating from the factories in Bengal, Coromandel, Ceylon, Malabar, Surat, as well as a bundle of documents from Persia which had been sent home overland (inv. nrs. 9541-11024). To a certain extent, this series is comparable with series d and e of the letters and papers received from Asia in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber

As is the case of those from the Amsterdam Chamber, the volumes contain old tables of contents, but there is no separate typed version of these available.

4. ARCHIVES OF THE COMMITTEES

There were various committees and *besognes* (working parties) of the directors, which carried out tasks which could not be finalized during the short sessions of the Heren XVII. The most important of these were the Haags Besogne and the committee for the China trade. The Haags Besogne had to compose the draft letter of the Heren XVII in reply to the *generale missiven* from Batavia. In order to achieve this, a detailed annotated summary of the papers received was drawn up. The summary is divided up systematically according to establishment. In 1787 this task was assumed by what was known as the *Vijfde Departement* or *Preparatoir Besogne* (Fifth Department or Preparatory Committee). The reports of the Haags Besogne and of the *Vijfde Departement* or *Preparatoir Besogne* are present in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber (inv. nrs. 4455-4506 and 4516-4529).

The file of the committee for the China trade included in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber consists of reports (inv. nr. 4542) and drafts as well as duplicates of outgoing documents to China (inv. nrs. 4543-4553). It is also furnished with a useful alphabetical repertory of the letters received from China during the years 1757-1779 (inv. nr. 4556).

A third committee was that charged with the drawing up of the annual *generale staat* (annual balance sheet). The Company had no central book-keeping. Each year the six Chambers prepared a separate balance sheet. These six separate balance sheets were combined into the *generale staat* by a committee drawn from the Heren XVII. In order to do this, every year the accountants of the Chambers presented themselves before this committee with journals and ledgers. Because of this method of keeping the books it is difficult to get an insight into the real financial position of the chambers and of the profitability of Company business as a whole. The summarized financial statements of the committee for the drawing up of the annual *generale staat*, compiled from the accounting of the various chambers, have been preserved from 1662 (inv. nrs. 4584-4597). The

summarized statements of the Amsterdam Chamber are also available from 1642 (inv. nr. 4583).

Few documents pertaining to the other committees of the Heren XVII have survived.

5. DOCUMENTS KEPT SEPARATELY, PARTLY ORIGINALLY MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

Documents of diverse character, which cannot be retraced to the administration or the archives of a particular department of the chamber, have been brought together in the inventory under the section documents kept separately. Such papers exist only in the archives of the Chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland. The first part, documents pertaining to the management in Europe, is classified according to subject: these refer to such things as the legal status of the Company; personnel; ecclesiastical affairs in Asia; relations with European powers; documents dealing with the decline of the Company and proposals for improvements. In the second part, documents concerning the management in Asia, the documents are also arranged according to subject, such as registers of treaties concluded with Asian rulers; and papers concerning trade and personnel in Asia. They include a series of documents arranged geographically, divided up according to factory (inv. nrs. 4833-4926 and 11229-11335). These provide a supplement to the overgekomen brieven en papieren).

6. ARCHIVES OF THE DEPARTMENTS

The rather fragmentary archives of the departments contain data about details of the business conducted by the various Chambers. These are the vestiges of the administration of the departement van de equipage (equipage department : outfitting of ships and navigation); of the soldijkantoor (the pay office : personnel administration of VOC employees in the octrooigebied and on board ships); the departement van de commercie (which administered the sale of merchandise and purchase of goods for Asia; in the Zeeland Chamber this is called the department of koopmanschappen); the departement van de ontvang (cashier's office : payments, management of real estate; in Zeeland this was called departement van de thesaurie); and of that of the opperboekhouder (chief accountant: capital stock, loans, payments in the Republic).

Large fragments of the archives of the chief accountant and of the pay office have been preserved for most of the chambers. Only in the archives of the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland are there any documents from other departments still available, but only in very depleted numbers. Gaps can sometimes be filled in, or at least an impression gained of the composition of the lost archives, from the personal archives and collections of directors and personnel in the Republic.

A reasonably large amount of material from the equipage departments of the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland is still extant. In this one can find an incomplete collection of regulations and other documents to do with the outfitting, crews and navigation of ships. Also available in the archives of the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland is a very incomplete collection of ship's logs (inv. nrs. 5049-5142 and 11417-11439). The so-called uitloopboekjes , registers of ships put to sea (inv. nrs. 4932-4943), provide information about the ships leaving port for the various chambers, noting the names of the captains, the number of crew members, the dates of departure and arrival, the tonnage and so forth. The publication of all these data in the two volumes of Dutch-Asiatic Shipping has more or less rendered consulting of these books superfluous.⁵⁾

The archives of the departementen van de ontvang/thesaurie and of commercie/koopmanschappen are so incomplete that they afford only very limited use for any research.

I. Pay Office

The pay office was responsible for the administration of the entire personnel in the various establishments and factories of the VOC between the Cape of Good Hope and Nagasaki Bay, as well as those on board the ships of the VOC which plied the intra-Asian trade routes. For the period 1700-1791, this administration has survived pretty well intact. Personnel in the Republic do not fall within the scope of this survey.

The personnel records from the eighteenth century consist of: 1) *generale land-en zeemonsterrollen* (general land and sea muster-rolls); 2) *scheepssoldijboeken* (ship's pay-ledgers); and 3) *de rollen van de gekwalificeerde civiele en militaire dienaren* (rolls of the qualified civil and military employees).⁶ All in all it contains personal data about some 620,000 people and runs to a good 1.2 million pages. The volumes fill a total of about 245 metres and take up one-fifth of the total volume of the VOC archives. The amount of work involved in the administration of personnel and pay can be shown by the following piece of arithmetic. If we work on the assumption of one original volume plus six copies of the general land and sea muster-rolls, two series of the rolls of the qualified civil and military employees and one series of ship's pay-ledgers, this means that a good 2,275,000 pages were written up in the *algemeen soldijkantoor* (general pay office) in Batavia. From the general land muster-rolls for Batavia between 1700-1791 it appears that an average of 137 people were engaged in the work in the *fourschrijfafdelingen* (clerks' offices) in Batavia: the *generale secretarie* (central administration), the *algemeen soldijkantoor* (general pay office), the *soldij-visitekantoor* (pay auditing office) and the *monsterrolschrijvers* (clerks of the muster-rolls). During the same period there was an average of six clerks occupied with the *generale monsterrol* (general muster-roll). On the basis of the known facts, the total production of these people must have been 1,225,000 pages. This works out at ten pages per clerk per day, for what one assumes was the six-day workweek and the seven-hour working day customary at that time.

Besides the muster-rolls and the pay-ledgers, the archives of the pay office contains some other documents referring to the winding up of pay agreements, especially a series of wills made by personnel who had died in Asia (inv. nrs. 6847-6927) and other papers relating to legacies. In the disquisition which follows only the personnel administration will be examined.

Despite the fact that they have been entered in the inventory as separate series, the general land and sea muster-rolls, the ship's pay-ledgers and the rolls of qualified civil and military employees form a coherent whole. This is an important source both for research into an individual Company employee or 'employee' as he was known and for a serial investigation (for instance, into mortality among Europeans in the East).

The legibility of the general land and sea muster-rolls and of those of the qualified civil and military employees is good; conversely, the ship's pay-ledgers are fairly difficult to decipher.

Machinery of the Personnel Administration

All six Chambers of the VOC in the Republic not only had their own ships, but also their own employees and personnel administration. The personnel administration within the Republic was decentralized. In Asia it was centralized in what was known as the *algemeen soldijkantoor* (general pay office) in Batavia, which was under the charge of the *algemeen soldijboekhouder* (paymaster general).

For instance, as soon as a ship from the Amsterdam Chamber sailed for Batavia, all VOC employees on board were registered in two identical ship's pay-ledgers immediately after departure. Upon their arrival in Batavia, the current accounts of these employees were closed in the ship's pay-ledger and the wage owed by the Company for the duration of the voyage was entered under the credit of each individual employee. Each employee was then issued individually with an extract from the ship's pay-ledger bearing a statement of the

soldijrekening (balance). One of the copies of the ship's pay-ledgers which arrived in Batavia was sent back to the Amsterdam Chamber. The other remained behind in the algemeen soldijkantoor in Batavia.

We shall now follow in the footsteps of an employee who pursued his Asian career in Batavia and Bengal. If he remained in Batavia for a number of years, then, every year on 31st August, the wage he had earned was registered at the algemeen soldijkantoor on that particular page in the ship's pay-ledger on which the account of this employee was kept. He was obliged to present himself in person at the office every year on 30th June in order to have himself registered on the general muster-roll. Each year he was once again given an extract from the ship's pay-ledger containing the new balance of his account. During his career, the employee was able to garner a whole collection of such extracts, which he had to keep. The moment of his departure to Bengal his current account in Batavia was closed. He was issued with an extract containing the new balance which included the wage owed to him for the current year (up to the date of departure from Batavia). On his arrival in Bengal the employee presented this extract and he was then registered in the personnel administration of the main establishment in Bengal at Chinsura.

During his posting to Bengal, every year the employee presented himself at the annual muster at the pay office at Chinsura on 30th June, or else at one of the subsidiary establishments. In the latter event, this office passed on the information to Chinsura. Also in Bengal the amounts owed to the employee were annually entered into his account on the 31st August and he was issued with an extract. The head office at Chinsura informed the algemeen soldijkantoor in Batavia of these annual registrations or, as the case may have been, of the death or of the departure from Bengal of that employee. By means of what were known as comptoirboeken, which are no longer available, all the factories and establishments of the VOC between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, kept the algemeen soldijkantoor in Batavia abreast of changes to be entered into the ship's pay-ledgers. Alterations in the current accounts of employees aboard the ships involved in the intra-Asian trade were passed on to the algemeen soldijkantoor by means of the binnenlandsche scheepsboeken, which have also not survived. The pay office in Batavia registered these changes in what were known as slapers: the originele (originals) of the ship's pay-ledgers and of the land and sea muster-rolls.

At least once a year the algemeen soldijkantoor kept the personnel administration of the Amsterdam Chamber informed of the new entries in the slaper of the ship's pay-ledger by means of what was termed the quohier, an extract made from that ship's pay-ledger. This enabled the Amsterdam Chamber to keep the other copy of the ship's pay-ledger up to date. The algemeen soldijkantoor was obliged to provide annual copies of the general land and sea muster-rolls in sixfold for forwarding to the six chambers in the Republic.

If an employee was dismissed by the Governor-General and Council in Batavia, he personally received his last statement of account with his final balance upon handing over at the algemeen soldijkantoor all the pay-slips he had accrued during his career. In return for these, upon his return to the Republic, he or his proxy was paid the amount stated on the account at the pay office of the chamber which had employed him. In the event of his decease outside the Republic, the amount was paid to a relative or to a proxy.

Employees who entered Company service in Asia, in contradistinction to the Republic, were entered in the muster-rolls as in dienst (in service) and fell under the administration of the Amsterdam Chamber. As this category of people had not reached the East by VOC ship, there are no ship's pay-ledgers for them. Nonetheless, their salary administration, both in Batavia and in the Republic, was carried out in the same fashion as for the other employees.

General Land and Sea Muster-Rolls

The muster-rolls annually furnish a complete specification of all the land and sea personnel in Asia, with 30th June as reference date. In the eighteenth century this involved an

average of 18,500 land personnel and 3,200 employed at sea. Therefore, every year there were on an average nearly 22,000 employees operational in the trading area of the VOC.

On 11th October 1686 the Heren XVII decided to introduce the annual registration of the entire personnel on land or at sea throughout the whole of the octrooigebied. Prior to 1686, apparently, there had been no general registration of personnel carried out.

With the help of the comptoirboeken and the binnenlandsche scheepsboeken summaries were compiled annually in the algemeen soldijkantoor in Batavia containing the workforce in all establishments and factories of the VOC and on all the ships plying the intra-Asian trade routes. Each year these summaries were put together rewritten as one whole, the general land and sea muster-roll. This copy was kept as slaper in the algemeen soldijkantoor and provided the basis for the six transcripts destined for the six chambers.

Meteorological conditions made it impossible for all the individual rolls to be available in Batavia at the same time. A set routine, dictated by the weather, developed. First of all the returns for Batavia and a fixed number of other establishments which were available on time were completely rewritten into one whole and dated on the 15th January following the 30th June to which the return referred. This was what was known as the first roll, called a-rol in the finding aid on the general land and sea muster-rolls. Returns which arrived later were put together in the first restantrol (remainder-roll) (b-rol), and, if necessary, in a second restantrol (c-rol), generally dated at least one year later than the first roll. Occasionally an aparte rol (separate roll) from one of the establishments was sent directly to the Republic, thus bypassing Batavia, and was then added to the muster-roll to which it pertained in order to complete it.

Two series of the six copies of the general land and sea muster-rolls of the six chambers are still extant. The series of the Zeeland Chamber begins in the year 1691, probably the first year that the general land and sea muster-rolls were compiled, and continues up to and including 1791 (inv. nrs. 11534-11820). The land and sea muster-rolls in the archives of the Zeeland Chamber have been split into two groups. The sea muster-roll has only been included in with the land muster-roll after 1780. The series in the Amsterdam Chamber begins in 1720 and continues up to and including 1791 (inv. nrs. 5168-5239). The Zeeland series is plagued by more lacunae than that of Amsterdam. In some instances the Zeeland series can stop a gap in the Amsterdam series. When one is considering the period 1691-1791, then, with the exception of one year (1707), one has a continuous series of yearly returns which make up a total of 126 volumes at one's fingertips. The years 1790 and 1791 are very incomplete; there are no general land and sea muster-rolls for the years 1792 up to and including 1795 in the VOC archives.

The method of registration for a land muster-roll ran according to the following procedure. Within one particular establishment the return of the main establishment was treated first, after which, if necessary, those of any subordinate establishments were considered. The registration of the personnel within one establishment was classified according to professional category; within one of the professional categories represented at that establishment, the registration of all members of the personnel followed a strictly hierarchical order. (See Appendix 9 for the model of the layout of one page of the general land and sea muster-rolls.)

At the beginning of the volumes of the general land and sea muster-rolls there are various contemporary surveys which offer some insight into the copious material. In the case of the land muster-rolls these are lists of: 1) the names of the establishments registered in the muster-roll; 2) the total number of employees in each separate establishment; 3) the total number of employees registered in the volume in question. The sea muster-rolls have been supplied with lists of the names of the ships registered in them, with the crew numbers (with indication of the folio) and of the total number of all the crew members of all the ships together.

Generally at the end of a land muster-roll there are what are called a korte sterkte and a korte samentrekking. A korte sterkte provides a recapitulation of the number of staff of each separate establishment included in that muster-roll, classified according to

establishment and according to the professional categories represented in that establishment. The korte samentrekking provides a summary of the total strength of each of the seven professional categories, which together comprised the land staff, and which can be found in the muster-roll concerned. In contrast to the korte sterkte, the last mentioned survey contains no specification of the names of the various establishments. The korte samentrekking was not always consistently classified in the course of the eighteenth century. There are separate recapitulations concerning the inlandsche dienaren (native employees), whose names are only incidentally mentioned, for the years 1700-1755 and 1782-1791. These surveys can be found either in a separate roll which follows directly upon the korte sterkte, or at the end of the korte samentrekking itself.

At the end of the sea muster-rolls there is merely a korte samentrekking which offers an idea of the range of the professional categories which were to be found among those on board the registered ships.

A detailed finding aid has been made for the muster-rolls which indicates where the returns from the various establishments and factories with their workforce are to be found, and which also offers an insight into the presence of the various contemporary registers and surveys.⁷⁾ Appendix 10 provides a schematic outline of which establishments are to be found for which years in the land muster-rolls.

Ship's pay-ledgers

Data about aboard which ship personnel who had entered the Company's service in the Republic arrived in Asia can be found in the muster-rolls. This information provides a key to the scheepssoldijboeken (ship's pay-ledgers). One minor complication arises if one is dealing with a employee who broke his journey at the Cape of Good Hope for any length of time, be it short or long. In this case data about his career can be found in the ship's pay-ledgers of the ship on board which he sailed from the Republic.

In principle each ship which sailed from the Republic had its own ship's pay-ledger which bore the name of that ship. As well as being called a scheepssoldijboek, a ship's pay-ledger was also known as a principaal grootboek. Until the moment of disembarkation in Batavia the ship's pay-ledger bore the character of a ship's muster-roll, in the sense that it provided a rundown of all those on board. After arrival in Batavia mutations in the career of the employees were kept up to date in the copies of the ship's pay-ledgers in Batavia and in the Republic. The ship's pay-ledgers of a good ninety per cent of all the ships which sailed from the Republic to Asia during the eighteenth century have survived. This is not as surprising as it may seem at first sight. Even long after the VOC had been liquidated, the personnel administration had to remain available for the verification of the financial claims of the next-of-kin of former VOC employees.⁸⁾ Alterations were being entered into the ship's pay-ledgers for a long time after 1795. For instance, in 1813 the Algemeene Commissie tot Liquidatie der Pretentiën (General Committee for the Settlement of Claims) was instigated in The Hague.

The collection of the ship's pay-ledgers for all six chambers amounts to 2991 volumes. What is known as the nieuwe serie (new series), far and away the largest part, dates from the eighteenth century. The oude serie contains only 198 volumes: 20 volumes for the period 1633-1670; the remaining 178 volumes covering the years 1672-1699. The nieuwe serie (2793 volumes) begins in 1699/1700 and continues up to and including 1794/1795. As the Amsterdam Chamber employed the greatest number of personnel, nearly half of this (1374 volumes, inv. nrs. 5269-6842) comes from the archives of this chamber. The number of ship's pay-ledgers preserved in the archives of the other chambers are respectively: 636 (Zeeland, inv. nrs. 12672-13307); 205 (Enkhuizen, inv. nrs. 14638-14842); 205 (Delft, inv. nrs. 13876-14080); 195 (Rotterdam, inv. nrs. 14102-142960); and 181 (Hoorn, inv. nrs. 14348-14527 I). The ship's pay-ledgers which are still extant are the copies which were remitted to the Republic after the arrival of the ships in Batavia.

A ship's pay-ledger consists of a series of rekeningen courant (current accounts). At least two pages have been reserved for each employee. Viewed superficially, the left and

right hand pages resemble the debit and credit sides of a somewhat overgrown household account book. Closer inspection reveals that it is more complicated. (See Appendix 11 for a model of the layout of one page the ship's pay-ledgers.)

The left hand page. The following items are listed from top to bottom: 1) two months' wages in advance to the employee; 2) his outfit, for which the employee was responsible, with, if necessary, money borrowed from the VOC; 3) if required, any other amount owed by the employee (the vaderlandse schuld or home debt); 4) a single or multiple amounts paid by the VOC in the Republic to family members or proxies of the employee out of his credit accrued during his appointment in Asia; 5) the final payment in the Republic after the end of his Asian career, either after his death or upon repatriation.

The right hand page. The following items are listed from top to bottom: 1) the payment, either credited partly or fully by the VOC, for salary due during the voyage to Batavia; 2) any eventual debt from the left hand page deducted from this; 3) sums credited to the employee by the VOC, based on either the whole or, as the case may be, part of the wage he had earned during a whole or part of a financial year (1st September up to and including 31st August). The amount of these sums depended on the extent to which the employee used his official wage to cover his living costs and the amount of private income he had at his disposal, for instance from private trade. These entries were always related to activities carried out in the past financial year. Should the employee have been posted to one particular establishment for many years, his wage was entered annually on 31st August. A new entry was also made in the ledgers each time the employee moved to another establishment. Each time a new wage was credited to his account his place of work was mentioned. There is one exception to the rule that the geographical career of an employee can be traced from the mention of his posting: those employees who were posted on the island of Deshima in Nagasaki Bay were registered as being employed in Batavia.

It should be stressed that the items listed on the right hand side of the ship's pay-ledgers are not payments made to the employee while in Asia. This is obvious from the current accounts of the employees who made no claim on payments in the Republic during the whole of their working lives in Asia (items on the left hand page). In these accounts, the sum of the amounts credited on the right hand page is the only one mentioned on the left hand page as the only amount paid out (final payment) by the VOC in the Republic.

The items noted on the right hand side refer only to the official VOC wages and therefore do not take account of any emoluments and legal profit shares. There was one exception to this rule for the employees in Canton. Their legal, sometimes considerable, profit shares are noted in the ship's pay-ledgers.

In by far and away the largest number of cases, the series of items concludes either with the date and place of death, or with the date on which the employee left Batavia or arrived in the Republic. In some cases the last amount credited on the right hand page is the last information about the career of an employee; there is no mention of his decease or of his departure or of his return to the Republic. It is only very seldom that both the date of departure from Asia and the date of return to the Republic are noted on the right hand side of the ship's pay-ledgers. Perhaps it was arranged so that the date of departure from the East was recorded if an employee had no paid function on board during his homeward voyage, and, conversely, that the latter had been the case when his date of arrival in the Republic is recorded.

At the beginning of a ship's pay-ledger there is what is known as an alphabet or register of first names of the employees registered in it. No alphabetical order has been followed within one particular initial letter. These indexes are not always reliable. Besides this, certain documents relating to an employee have occasionally been bound into a ship's pay-ledger: a will of an employee who died during a voyage or a will and/ or an estate inventory of an employee who died in Asia.

There is a register which gives access to the numbers of the oude serie and the nieuwe serie of ship's pay-ledgers, subdivided under the six different chambers.⁹⁾

Rolls of the Qualified Civil and Military Employees

The ship's pay-ledgers provide information about the places to which an employee was posted (place of work). With the help of a register of geographical names this furnishes a key to the rolls of qualified civil and military employees.¹⁰ These rolls refer to the higher land personnel (gequalificeerde), in other words all the higher civil ranks commencing with jong assistent (junior clerk), and all the higher military ranks commencing from sergeant.

Amongst other information the rolls of the qualified civil and military personnel provide data which is not to be found for instance in the ship's pay-ledgers on such things as in which rank and function an employee passed his life at the posting concerned. This source also provides an insight into the system of advancement within the VOC.

For each year the rolls contain personal details of all the qualified employees in all the VOC establishments from the year 1701 up to and including the year 1787, including the year 1707 which is missing from the general land and sea muster-rolls. A complete series has been preserved from both the Amsterdam and the Zeeland Chambers respectively (inv. nrs. 5240-5261 and 11821-11928). The Amsterdam pay office bound the civil and military rolls together, whereas in Zeeland they were kept separate. A different number of years has been bound in each volume each time.

Every year all the establishments forwarded their returns to Batavia with 30th June as their reference date. The only exception was the Cape of Good Hope, the returns from which were sent directly to the Republic. These individual returns, with the civil and military personnel together in one survey, were rewritten into two separate returns, dated Batavia the last day of February of the year that followed the date to which the registration referred. Thus there was one roll, divided per establishment, for all the qualified civil employees in all establishments and another separate roll for all the qualified military employees in all establishments. The Cape sent its return in one single document directly to the Amsterdam Chamber, where it was bound together with the other returns. If the arrival in Batavia of a return from a particular establishment was delayed, this roll was then sent (with the civil and military employees in one return) to the Amsterdam Chamber under separate cover.

The rolls are divided up according to establishment and the registration of the individual employees follows a strictly hierarchical sequence from the highest to the lowest. (See Appendix 12 for a model of the layout of one page of the rolls of the qualified employees.)

With the exception of the separate rolls (those sent later), the registers of the qualified employees have been provided with various indexes. Indexes of the names of the VOC establishments which occur in that roll are only to be found at irregular intervals; moreover they are far from complete and contain few details. The key to all the place-names occurring in the rolls of the qualified civil and military employees, mentioned earlier, as well as an index of place-names with all the variations in spelling to be found in the rolls offers a solution to this.

There are regularly recurring indexes of the first names of the employees included, however by the 1780s these are mostly according to surname. In the registers for the civil employees for the years 1737-1787, and the registers for the military employees for the years 1765-1768, 1770, 1772-1775, 1777, 1779-1781, and 1785-1787, only the names of the personnel stationed in Batavia are recorded.

The foregoing survey gives an idea of the way in which the individually discussed series of sources can be considered as a whole. Appendix 13 reproduces this again diagrammatically.

II. Chief Accountant

The VOC did not have a centralized book-keeping department. To the bitter end, the book-keeping remained cluttered and fragmentary, organized as if it was that of some makeshift companies without any connection with each other, instead of that of one trading corporation. Every year the chambers did make up their balance sheets on the basis of their ledgers and journals. To our eyes the balance sheets seem to be pretty rudimentary, not least because operations in Europe and Asia were kept completely separate. The six balance sheets, which were the fruit of each chamber's endeavours, were then combined into a *generale staat* by a committee of the Heren XVII.

Each Chamber of the Company had its own *opperboekhouder* (chief accountant). In the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland he was assisted by several clerks. The accountants kept the journals and the ledgers, as well as the registers of applications for and the transfer of shares up to date. Besides the accountants, each chamber had cashiers, who managed the ready money the cash-box. All expenditure had to be recorded in a *specieboek* or cashbook.

Subscription of Capital and Dividends

When the VOC was incorporated in 1602 it was laid down that every resident of the Republic could have a financial stake in the business. The amount involved was left open and the subscribers could invest their capital for multiple terms. One could subscribe to the chamber of one's choice. The share, which was called an *actie*, had no uniform nominal value and was always negotiable: it could be sold, exchanged or used as collateral. Transfer of shares had to take place before the book-keeper in the presence of one or two directors, both of whom also signed the deed of transfer.

Each chamber paid out dividends on the basis of the capital subscribed to that chamber. Dividends were paid out on the basis of the amount of money invested by the shareholders. The percentage was determined by the Heren XVII either every year or every couple of years. Payment occasionally took place in the form of spices. In 1679 for the first time the Company was forced to pay out its dividend in the form of bonds. These bonds had not yet matured and the Company could always redeem them.

The oldest subscription registers of the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers have been preserved and have been published (inv. nrs. 7064 and 13794).¹¹ Likewise the ledgers with the capital accounts of the shareholders have also survived (inv. nrs. 7067, 13795-13797 and 13799). The ledgers of the Zeeland Chamber run up to 1710. In them each shareholder has a separate current account, with entries of the debts and claims which resulted from changes in a shareholder's share portfolio.

The transfer of the shares, often with appendices, of all the chambers have been preserved (Amsterdam, inv. nrs. 7083-7118; Zeeland, inv. nrs. 13802-13805 and 13807-13812; Delft, inv. nrs. 14089-14092; Rotterdam, inv. nrs. 14298-14301; Hoorn, inv. nrs. 14549-14551; and Enkhuizen, inv. nrs. 14849-14852). The registers begin about 1750 and most of them continue up to the liquidation of the Company. Only the archives of the Hoorn Chamber still contain seventeenth century transfers. The transfers are on preprinted forms. The appendices can contain interesting information, such as the function, profession and place of residence, about both vendor and purchaser. If the transfer was in connection with a legacy, extracts from the will are often also included.

In view of the fact that there are no indications the purchaser received a transcript of the transaction, the possession of shares by a particular person, and the extent of his holdings, can only be demonstrated from the transfer registers and the ledgers with the capital accounts.

The archives of the Amsterdam Chamber contain a series of ledgers of the dividends paid on shares for the period 1628-1796 (inv. nrs. 7068-7081). The Zeeland Chamber possesses these ledgers for 1710-1747 and 1760-1800 (inv. nrs. 13800 and 13806) and Enkhuizen for the years 1720-1802 (inv. nr. 14853). In these ledgers it was also the practice to accord each shareholder a separate entry. On the left page there is a statement of how many shares a person owned, on the right hand side how much was paid out every

year, or sometimes every second year. Furthermore, the archives of the chambers of Amsterdam., Zeeland and Hoorn have several loose eighteenth century documents about dividends (inv. nrs. 7123-7125, 13801, and 14547).

The documents mentioned above concerning subscription of capital, transfers and dividends are not merely useful for research from the point of view of business economy. They can also furnish data about very diverse subjects such as individual people, the distribution of share holdings of the Company in the Republic, and the capital resources of various sectors of the population. For instance, it is possible to trace the role of immigrants in the financing of East Indian ventures.

Loans

A second category of documents in the archives of the chief accountants deal with the money borrowed by the Company, obtained by issuing bonds and anticipatiepenningen (see below). The bonds were of a long-term duration. When a loan was floated, shareholders were given priority. Initially the bonds were signed by two directors, but this number was increased to four after 1670.

As well as structural financial shortages, after the arrival of the ships from Asia the VOC often faced problems of liquidity before the auctions had been held. This was when the money owed to repatriated VOC employees and the wissels (bills of exchange) brought by the return ships had to be honoured. Moreover, in the spring, money had to be paid out to the shareholders. The Company was forced to borrow money in order to meet these debts. It did this *bij anticipatie*, anticipating the profits to be made on the sale of the merchandise. The loan was sometimes just for a matter of weeks and at the very most for six months.

The archives of the Amsterdam Chamber still contain one journal and one ledger of the interest paid on bonds and a memoriaal (daybook) of registered anticipatiepenningen (inv. nrs. 7128-7130). In the Zeeland Chamber there is a journal and a ledger of anticipatiepenningen from 1680 (inv. nrs. 13832). Furthermore, there are, principally among the documents of the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers, still a few loose documents preserved such as lists of bondholders and of holders of anticipatiepenningen (inv. nrs. 7131-7133); accounts of the payment of the 100th and 200th penning (a sort of tax?) (inv. nrs. 7139-7140, 13831 and 13835, and 14304) and receipts (inv. nr. 14303). These documents date from very divergent years during the entire era that the Company was operational.

Book-keeping

The VOC practised its own form of double or Italian book-keeping. Both a journaal (journal) and a grootboek (ledger) were entered up. Daily recurring financial transactions, such as money received, payments, subsidies to or from other chambers, money borrowed *bij anticipatie*, repayments, income from the sale of the merchandise, dividends to shareholders, and the payment of salaries, were first of all recorded in the memoriaal (daybook). In the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland this daybook was called *boek van de ontvangers* or *boek van de thesauriers*. Then the data were entered into the journal and the ledger and calculated. The quantity and price of goods bought and sold was added. The journal was divided up chronologically; in the ledger entries were arranged per business relation, per product or per object of expenditure.

Amounts to do with the building and outfitting of ships, such as wages paid to workmen, for shipbuilding materials, for victualling of the ships for the voyage, and for the provision of ready money, merchandise and various requirements for Asia, were accounted for in the ledger under equipage costs. Each section such as beer, butter, bread, *koopmanschappen* and requirements for Asia, sailcloth, navigational equipment, and galley provisions, had a separate account. In their turn, some sections were even more closely specified. Besides this all deposits, withdrawals and credits were recorded. No record of *theretouren* (return goods) was entered in the ledgers. The authorities in Asia stated the purchase price of the *retourgoederen*; this was noted in the resoluties of the Heren XVII. No

profit and loss account was made up. At the end of the financial year the balances of the income and expenditure were transferred to the item *retouren generaal* (general returns) in the ledger.

In the journal, which is arranged chronologically, each item is headed with the keyword entry that is also used in the ledger. In the margin there are cross-references to the relevant page in the ledger. Also in the ledger each item begins with a cross-reference to the relevant page in the journal. The record in the journal is the most detailed. For instance, next to a payment to a baker for bread delivered, there is also a record of the amount of bread which he provided as well as how much this cost per loaf. The ledger merely records that a certain sum was paid to the baker for bread delivered. The advantage of the ledger for research is that all the expenditure of bread delivered for a certain embarkation is noted together in one place.

A journal begins with a summary of those who had been promoted since the previous amount was closed and in this book are given credit as a consequence. These are followed by those with debts who were now in the red. The journals are divided up per calendar month. First of all, for instance, the total sum of money paid out to third parties during that month is recorded, and the amount is then specified: wages; barber's requisites; supplies for ship's crews; commissions on imported goods which had been sold; house rent and so forth. The records are pretty detailed. One item like wages can be subdivided again into various payments. Each record of payment is accompanied by the name of the recipient.

Each entry begins with a cross-reference to the page in the corresponding ledger. In the ledger under wages there is simply a record of the date, then the fact that the recipients were paid wages for work in the warehouse and so forth, and the total amount paid. Just as in the case of the equipage ledgers, all the amounts paid out as wages during the duration of the ledger are put together. One disadvantage for the researcher is that the entries are noted per equipage and thus not by individual ship.

From the seventeenth century, only the oldest journals and ledgers from the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland have survived (inv. nrs. 7142, 7169 and 13782-13785), and there is one journal from the Enkhuizen Chamber (inv. nr. 14854). The archives of the Zeeland Chamber still contain a few separate journals and ledgers from the equipage department for the years 1614-1628 (inv. nrs. 13786-13793). From 1700 onwards, the journals and ledgers of the chambers of Amsterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen (in this last instance incomplete) have been preserved (Amsterdam inv. nrs. 7143-7168 and 7170-7194; Hoorn inv. nrs. 14554-14623; and Enkhuizen inv. nrs. 14855-14909). Most ledgers have either an index bound in or else a separate one. The archives of the Delft Chamber contain a single journal for 1768-1772 (inv. nr. 14084) and the Rotterdam Chamber a series of undated indexes (inv. nrs. 14305-14315).

The archives of the Zeeland Chamber contain several loose documents concerning accountants and the office of accountant, for the most part correspondence (inv. nrs. 13770-13781); the Hoorn Chamber still has a few documents originating from the cashier (inv. nrs. 14541-14542). The Amsterdam Chamber still has a series of balance sheets extracted from the eighteenth century ledgers (inv. nrs. 7195-7204) and a series of notations of entries in the journals (inv. nrs. 7206-7212). Besides these, there are several loose financial documents from the chambers of Amsterdam, Zeeland, Delft and Hoorn preserved (Amsterdam inv. nrs. 7214-7226; Zeeland inv. nrs. 13758-13769; Delft, inv. nrs. 14082-14083 and 14085-14086; and Hoorn inv. nrs. 14543-14544).

Notes

The division of labour between the authors was as follows: B.J. Slot wrote the introductory section and the parts about the outgoing documents, the documents received from Asia, the archives of the committees, the documents kept separately about the administration of the chambers, as well as the introductory paragraphs to the departmental

archives. M.C.J.C. van Hoof treated the resoluties and, under the departmental archives, the parts dealing with that of the chief accountant. F. Lequin was responsible for the section about the pay office.

1. J.A. van der Chijs et al. eds., *Dagh-register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India* (31 volumes; Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1887-1931). The period covered is 1624-1682, albeit with many gaps.

2. *Realia. Register op de generale resolutiën van het kasteel Batavia* (3 volumes; Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1882-1886).

3. A number of such documents are still held as separate series in the Indonesian National Archives. Furthermore a collection of miscellaneous letters, possibly from the archives of the Dutch establishments in India, has found its way into the archives of the Hoge Regering in the General State Archives. Several documents are also present in the archives of the factories in Japan and Canton. Various similar documents were also kept by VOC employees as *curiosa*, and were dispersed throughout museum and manuscript collections. A few miscellaneous documents are to be found in the collection *Aawinsten van de Eerste Afdeling* in the General State Archives and in several private archives. It should also be mentioned that there is a collection of letters from rulers in the Riau and Malacca in the archive of the naval officer, Van Braam (General State Archives).

4. W. Ph. Coolhaas and J. van Goor eds., *Generale missiven van gouverneur-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, grote serie 102, 112, 125, 134, 150, 159, 164, 193 and 205 (9 volumes; 's-Gravenhage 1960-1988). At the moment at which this introduction was being written this publication covers the period up to 1737.

5. J.R. Bruijn, F.S. Gaastra and I. Schöffner, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and eighteenth Centuries*. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, grote serie 165-167 (3 volumes; Den Haag 1979 and 1987). Volumes 2 and 3 contain data about various VOC ships on the high seas.

6. The following instructions and analyses have been based on the systematic study of this voluminous archival collection; see: F. Lequin, *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de achttiende eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen* (2 volumes; Leiden 1982); Chapter I and pp. 580-592 give details about archivalia which give information about personnel.

7. F. Lequin, *Toegang op, en systematisch overzicht van de getalsmatig ontlede en in kaart gebrachte gegevens uit de 126 banden generale land- en zeemonsterrollen van de VOC 1700-1791* (Typescript; Leiden 1978).

8. Archive of the Colonial Ministry, inv. nrs. 2990-3010; Archif van de Comptabiliteit Oost-Indische Bezittingen (Archive of the of the East Indian Possessions), inv. nrs. 149-165, 167, 190 (see Lequin, *Personeel*, 230 note 64).

9. *Klapper op de scheepssoldijboeken van de VOC* (Register of the ship's pay-ledgers of the VOC), General State Archives (typescript; n.p., n.d.).

10 F. Lequin, *Klapper op de plaatsnamen die voorkomen in de rollen van de gekwalificeerden van de kamer Amsterdam, 1701-1787* (typescript; Leiden 1976). This register is housed in the reading room of the General National Archives, code 1.04.24.

11.J.G. van Dillen, Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie. Werken uitgegeven door de Vereniging Het Nederland Economisch-Historisch Archief 14 ('s-Gravenhage 1958); W.S. Unger, 'Het inschrijvingsregister van de kamer Zeeland der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie', Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek 24 ('s-Gravenhage 1950) 1-33.

CHAPTER 4. OTHER ARCHIVES OF VOC INSTITUTIONS AND OFFICIALS

B.J. Slot

The VOC archives consist of the archives of the boards of directors of the six chambers and several archives from departments and offices of these chambers. However, many more institutions and persons working under the aegis of the VOC produced archives but only a part of their archives has been preserved. A number of institutions and persons from among these can be singled out: there are the archives of the establishments of the Company in the *octrooigebied* (the area under charter to the Company), the archives of the subordinate offices of these establishments, and archives of officials of the VOC in the Republic and of the VOC employees in the *octrooigebied*. Some of these archives have remained in the place where they were created, some are to be found in public archive depositories in the Netherlands, and yet others have ended up in manuscript collections at home in the Netherlands and abroad.

Only a few of the archives of the many establishments of the VOC in the *octrooigebied* are still left. The largest and most important of these are located in countries with climatologically adverse conditions and are sometimes in a precarious state. Moreover, the lacunae in them are much more serious than those in the VOC archives in the Netherlands. As a result, searching abroad for the text of a document which has been lost in the Netherlands is in many cases fruitless effort. On the other hand, the archives of establishments in the *octrooigebied* also contain a lot of material that was never sent to the fatherland, in particular documents concerning the local administration.

The archives still remaining in the *Arsip Nasional* (National Archives) in Jakarta consist of the archives of the Governor-General and Council, other government bodies in Batavia, and fragments of archives from other establishments in Indonesia. In Sri Lanka, India, and South Africa are still extensive archives of the former VOC establishments there. Among these archives those of Batavia are the largest, but many of the series have disappeared from the archives or there are only fragments now present. As far as structure is concerned, the archives of Ceylon and South Africa are the most intact. Also in a reasonably good condition, in particular the section from the eighteenth century, are the Malabar archives in Madras, but their structure is no longer easily discernible because of a chronological reorganization which took place under English rule. In the General State Archives, besides the VOC archives proper, there are also documents originating from the *Hoge Regering* (Governor-General and Council) and the chief accountant in Batavia, the archives of the factories in Japan and Canton, and fragments of the archives of Dutch establishments in India. Smaller parts of the archives of officials and factories can also be come across in family archives and manuscript collections.

In general, it can be stated that the structure of the overseas administrative archives is somewhat ambivalent. Contemporaneous Dutch administrative archives are usually based on one or more series of *resoluties* (proceedings) with annexes, but in the various archives of the VOC establishments the marked deference to higher authority (the Governor-General and Council in Batavia, c.q. the directors in the Republic) led to correspondence with superiors being accorded a central place, while the *resoluties* with their annexes are directed more towards the local administration. This is the reason that alphabetical indexes on the correspondence with superiors occur more frequently than indexes on the *resoluties*. The *dagregisters* (diaries) occupy a place apart in the structure of the archives. It sometimes seems that these *dagregisters*, as is the case with the English factory archives, form the backbone of the archives. Namely, in the *dagregisters* there is a detailed report of incoming and outgoing correspondence. However, it is only on rare occasions that this role is really evident.

Dutch judicial and notarial archives also evolved in the *octrooigebied* of the VOC. In principle these archives were produced by VOC employees or persons or bodies which were

subject to the local VOC authorities. Such judicial and notarial archives have generally been kept in the archives of the particular establishment. They are present in Jakarta, Sri Lanka, India, and Cape Town, and for Japan and Canton in the General State Archives. One part of the legal archives from Batavia (several series from the archives of the bench of aldermen and the *weeskamer* or orphan board were transferred to the General State Archives in the nineteenth century.

1. THE JAKARTA ARCHIVES

Far and away the largest archives from the *octrooigebied* of the VOC are those of the central administrative bodies in Batavia. During the Dutch administration, these were kept in the so called *Landsarchief*, now the *Arsip Nasional* in Jakarta. A printed inventory of this was published in 1882.¹⁾ This inventory is quite primitive and it is difficult to trace the various documents back to the administrative bodies which produced the archives in Batavia. The first 99 pages of this inventory concern documents of the Governor-General and Council and of the *commissarissen-generaal* (commissioners-general). The documents originating from various other administrative agencies in Batavia are mentioned on pages 100-112. Finally, pages 113-354 describe what are called *gewestelijke stukken* (regional documents). It seems that these harbour a mixture of documents received by the Governor-General and Council from the *buitenkantoren* (outer establishments) and several miscellaneous remnants of the archives transferred from these *buitenkantoren*. Moreover, it should be remarked that, in contrast to the VOC archives in the General State Archives, the archives in Jakarta were not stopped in 1795. Van der Chijs' inventory contains documents up to and including the English Interregnum (1816), and in a few instances even later.

From the point of view of form the archives in Jakarta are largely typical administrative archives, consisting of series of *resoluties* and enclosures. The arrangement of the archives, however, is somewhat curious. The first category of the inventory contains the *stukken uit patria* (documents from home). Besides the letters from the *Heren XVII*, there are also those from individual chambers. Of particular importance among these are letters from those chambers of which very few documents have been preserved in the Netherlands: Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen, as well as letters from the Zeeland Chamber dating from the seventeenth century.

A second category is formed from the *Indische stukken* (documents produced in Asia). These include the *resoluties* from the Governor-General and Council in Batavia plus the annexes. The *resoluties* form a less complete series with the same contents than those in the VOC archives in the Netherlands. The series *korte notulen* (abbreviated minutes) are alphabetical tables of contents which in the VOC archives are bound in with the *resoluties*. There is a series of *bijlagen* (annexes) which mainly refer to the administration in Batavia and its environs. These annexes are not to be found as a series in the Dutch VOC archives. They are very significant for providing background to the decision-making of the Governor-General and Council concerning the administration in Asia. Furthermore, the category *Indische stukken* contains the *dagregisters* which were compiled at Batavia Castle, the bulk of which are not to be found in the VOC archives in the Netherlands, and letters to the subordinate establishments. Of the latter letters there is a much less complete series than that in the *Batavia's uitgaande brievenboek* (Batavian letter-book of outgoing documents) in the General State Archives. There is also a small collection of original treaties and contracts concluded with local rulers in Asia.

The archives of various services and offices of the central administration in Batavia and the archives of the *Hoge Raad van Justitie* (High Court) have been put into this same category of *Indische stukken*. It seems that only a small portion of these archives has survived: from several bodies, including the *Raad van Justitie*, much more is to be found in the copies sent annually to the Netherlands now in the VOC archives. The book-keeping registers of the chief accountant in Batavia were brought to the Netherlands last century to

replace the duplicates there which had been destroyed in the intervening period (they now constitute the archives of the chief accountant in Batavia in the General State Archives).

The division *gewestelijke stukken* (regional documents) in the old inventory of the *Landsarchief* is a combination of widely different documents, which shows no sign of the application of the principle of provenance. The first part, concerning Batavia, contains the archives of all sorts of local administrative bodies and officials like the town administration, the bench of aldermen, and the notarial archives. Some of these were not really VOC institutions. However, the second part, referring to the establishments outside Batavia, do indeed consist mainly of VOC archives. These are largely originals of documents received, an anthology of transcripts of which is present in the VOC archives in The Hague as *Batavia's ingekomen brievenboek* (Batavian letter-book of incoming documents) in the *Overgekomen brieven en papieren* (letters and papers received). In this series one would expect to come across the large quantity of documents which had been sent to Batavia from the *buitenkantoren*. This is not the case as can be checked by using the lists of each consignment of these documents, which are found for each establishment in the *Batavia's ingekomen brievenboek*. This is the greatest gap in the Jakarta archives. Only from establishments within Indonesian territory, and from these then only from the later VOC period, is there any respectable number of documents received preserved. This means that the *Batavia's ingekomen brievenboek* in the VOC archives in The Hague contains far and away the most complete series of letters received from the subordinate establishments in Asia.

2. ARCHIVES TRANSFERRED FROM BATAVIA KEPT IN THE GENERAL STATE ARCHIVES

I. Archives of the *Hoge Regering* or Supreme Government in Batavia

The archives of the *Hoge Regering* mainly concern areas outside Indonesia. It was transferred to the Netherlands from the *Landsarchief* in 1863. It is a heterogeneous collection of documents of widely disparate origin. Besides indexes compiled in Asia and other finding aids to important series, there are considerable sections of the correspondence of several factories and a number of *memories van overgave* (final reports) in this holding. It seems that the bulk of the collection derives from the series of *gewestelijke stukken* from the *Landsarchief*, which have been already mentioned. Furthermore, it is possible that there are also documents which originated from the archives of the Dutch establishments in India and which were later transferred to Batavia. The collection of documents of the former Dutch possessions in India, mentioned below, has been extracted from this holding (see Section 4). When this holding was split up this was done very carefully so that any dubious cases have been left in the collection of the *Hoge Regering*. There is a provisional inventory for the collection.²⁾

II. Archives of the *boekhouder-generaal* (chief accountant) in Batavia

The book-keeping records of the *boekhouder-generaal* in Batavia were brought to the Netherlands to replace those which had been destroyed there. These contain a series of general ledgers and journals and *negotiegrootboeken* (trade ledgers) and journals, nearly all of which date from the eighteenth century.³⁾

III. Archives of the *weeskamer* (orphan board) in Batavia

In 1863 a series of eighteenth century journals and ledgers from the *weeskamer* in Batavia were brought to the Netherlands.⁴⁾

IV. Archives of the *schepenbank* (bench of aldermen) in Batavia

The section from the archives of the bench of aldermen in Batavia, which was brought to the Netherlands in 1863, consists principally of financial records and case files dating from the eighteenth century.⁵⁾

3. ARCHIVES IN INDIA

After the cession of the remaining Dutch establishments in India to the English authorities in 1825, parts of the archives of these establishments (Coromandel, Surat and Bengal) were sent to Batavia, from where it was shipped to the Netherlands in 1863. It now forms the collection of the *Voormalige Nederlandse Bezittingen in Voor-Indië* (Former Dutch Possessions in India) in the General State Archives (see Section 4). The bulk of the Dutch archives which remained behind in India were taken over by the English administration. Many, if not most, records seem to have disappeared between that time and the present.⁶⁾ Several remnants were finally concentrated in the State Archives in Madras, while a few other holdings are still to be found elsewhere in India. The archives of the Dutch establishment at Cochin in Malabar were untouched by these operations and, since 1795, remained continuously in the hands of the English government in Madras, passing into the hands of the Indian government in 1947.

This means that by far the most Dutch archives in India are now housed in the State Archives of Tamil Nadu in Madras. The biggest section is formed by the archives of the Dutch establishment at Cochin. These are the only archives of a Dutch establishment in India which has been preserved relatively intact. There is a press list, a chronological shelflist, with remarks concerning some of the documents which are considered important in the Dutch records in Madras.⁷⁾ This list is no more than a primitive instrument. Moreover, the original structure of the archives has been lost because of the regrouping according to chronology. Nonetheless, it is possible to get a reasonable idea of the original structure. Most seventeenth century documents have been lost. The remaining archives consist mainly of letters to and from Batavia and the Republic, *resoluties*, annexes to the *resoluties*, correspondence exchanged with other Dutch establishments, and the diaries of diplomatic missions. There are only a very few fragments of the *dagregisters* of the establishment itself. Book-keeping and accounts for the later years are available but not as a complete series. There are also a number of documents from the *Raad van Justitie* and documents relating to the local Dutch establishment such as *protocollen van civiele akten* (protocols of civil deeds) and records from the local *weeskamer*.

Only a small portion of the archives of Bengal and Surat, which were transferred from Bombay and Calcutta in 1932, are present in Madras. These consist mainly of *protocollen van civiele akten*. Before they were handed over in 1932 the archives were described by J. van Kan. It is not certain that the holdings in Calcutta which he described are the same as those that were transferred from Calcutta to Madras in 1932.⁸⁾ The holding described by Van Kan is a miscellaneous collection of *weeskamer* archives, *protocollen van civiele akten*, a few church registers and fragments of administrative and judicial records. The list of the holdings transferred in 1932 does not seem to concur with Van Kan's list.

The documents from Bengal and Surat are not without interest for prosopographic studies of VOC personnel, but for any study of the Company administration one would be better advised to consult the papers available in the Netherlands. However, in Madras there are some documents concerning the local Dutch establishments in Bengal, Surat and Coromandel, including church registers, and judicial and notarial documents.

Furthermore, in the archives of the registrar-general in Madras there are a few church registers from Pulicat on the Coromandel coast.⁹⁾

4. ARCHIVES BROUGHT FROM INDIA IN THE GENERAL STATE ARCHIVES

When the Dutch possessions in India were ceded to the English, a number of documents remained in Dutch hands. These are mainly *resoluties* and correspondence with the Netherlands and Batavia dating from the last decades of the Company's administration. Mixed together with the documents from the *Hoge Regering* concerning the external establishments already mentioned, these were brought to the Netherlands in 1863. When an inventory of these was compiled in the General State Archives, the papers concerning the establishments in India were removed from the rest and housed in a separate archive, the archives of the *Voormalige Nederlandse Bezittingen in Voor-Indië*. Only documents of which there was no shadow of doubt that they had once pertained to archives of Dutch establishments in India were included in this. Any dubious cases remained behind among the papers of the *Hoge Regering*.¹⁰⁾

5. ARCHIVES IN SRI LANKA

The archives of the Dutch administration of Ceylon have been preserved in a fairly intact state. The bulk of these archives is made up of the documents of the administrative bodies of the capital Colombo. Only some smaller or larger fragments of the archives of the subordinate establishments have survived. The archives of the chief settlement in Colombo were described in an inventory compiled in 1943.¹¹⁾ Although not immediately apparent from the inventory, once again the archives in Colombo present the picture of typical establishment archives based on the correspondence with superiors in the Republic or in Batavia, with alongside them the *resoluties* with annexes and *dagregisters* of the local administration, and archives from the various subordinate establishments.

There is a large series of *resoluties* with annexes of the Governor and Council, with the companion series of secret *resoluties*, and the *resoluties* from special departments. Besides these, there are various series of incoming and outgoing letters (ordinary, secret and from the internal and military departments), which are divided up into the categories *patria* (fatherland) and Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, various subordinate establishments, and other establishments in the *octröoigebied*. What is remarkable is the absence of a series of *dagregisters* from Colombo. These must have existed, seeing that parts of them are enclosed in the *Overgekomen brieven en papieren* in the VOC archives in the Netherlands. One chapter in the inventory, 'internal affairs', besides including all sorts of series of documents referring to particular subjects, also contains *protocollen van civiele akten* and legislation. Another chapter, 'external affairs', not only contains correspondence with other VOC establishments (it is not clear why these were not put together with the other correspondence), but also includes treaties and correspondence with local authorities and representatives of other European powers. As well as the archives of the Governor and Council, there are also holdings from the *hoofdadministrateur* (head of trade) and from the *dessave* (district chief) of Colombo. The archives of the *dessave* contains a rich collection of *tombos* (sort of cadastral registers). There are also extensive archives of the *Raad van Justitie* relating to both civil and criminal actions, and of lower-ranking legal bodies such as the *landraad* (court of first instance) and the *civiele raad*. Among the records of temporary governmental committees and persons are the archives of the *Geheime Commissie* (Secret Committee responsible for the conduct of the war with Kandy 1762-1766), consisting of *resoluties* and correspondence, and those of a few special committees which were sent from the Netherlands.

Moreover, besides the state archives there are yet other documents of Dutch origin. The Wolvendaal Church in Colombo possesses the archives of the Dutch parish there.¹²⁾

Besides the archives of the chief establishment in Colombo, in the State Archives of Sri Lanka there are considerable holdings from the subordinate offices at Galle, Matara, Jaffna and Wanni. These holdings are particularly important because such subordinate offices had

fewer direct relations with the central authorities in Batavia and the Republic, so that there is less about them to be found in the VOC archives. There is a recent inventory of these holdings.¹³⁾

The Galle archives contain the usual series of *resoluties*, correspondence with the superiors in Colombo, Batavia and the Republic, registers of wills, *protocollen van civiele akten* of the secretaries, appointments registers, reports of diplomatic missions, registers containing instructions to local functionaries, *dagregisters*, auction books and land registers. Besides these, there are the archives of separate offices and committees such as those of the *negotieboekhouder* (trade accountant: which actually contains little about book-keeping but a lot of administrative documents), of the *tombo* committee (the main part of which is comprised of population lists), and of the school board. There are also large archives from the *Raad van Justitie* in Galle and of the *landraad* of the Galle district.

The archives of the district of Madurai, then subordinate to Galle now in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, which have been preserved, mainly date from the last period of the Company administration. These archives contain both the holdings of the *dessave* as well as that of the *landraad*. As far as their composition goes they are similar to the archives of Galle.

With the exception of a series of *tombos*, the Jaffna archives contain only a few fragments. The same is true for the archives of the district administration of Wannai, only a few fragments of which still remain.

6. ARCHIVES IN MELAKA

The archives of the Dutch administration in Melaka have been lost. However, a Dutch church register has been preserved, transcripts of which are to be found in the General State Archives.¹⁴⁾

7. ARCHIVES BROUGHT FROM CHINA IN THE GENERAL STATE ARCHIVES

The fairly large archives of the Dutch establishment in Canton are in the General State Archives, where they arrived in 1863 with the other holdings transferred from Asia. As far as their composition is concerned, they are of the same kind as the archives from the other establishments: *resoluties* and *dagregisters*, incoming and outgoing letters, *protocollen van civiele akten*, and miscellaneous documents. In Canton also the liquidation of the VOC did not cause a break in the archives. The documents cover the years up to 1826. There is a recent inventory.¹⁵⁾

8. ARCHIVES BROUGHT FROM JAPAN IN THE GENERAL STATE ARCHIVES

The archives of the Dutch factory in Japan have been very well preserved. They are now in the General State Archives. The holding covers the entire VOC period, and continues until 1860. The structure is the same as that of the archives of the other establishments. For the VOC period the archives consist of two sections: the archives of the *opperhoofd* (head of establishment) and council, and those of the *pakhuismeester* (head of the warehouses), book-keeper, and scribe. The latter holding contains *protocollen van civiele akten*. The archives of the *opperhoofd* and council consists of series of *resoluties*, *dagregisters*, letter-books, and book-keeping. The series of documents referring to book-keeping and trade are very intact compared to those from other establishments. Besides this, the archives display the typical lacunae which occur in many of the archives from establishments: correspondence with bodies other than the Governor-General and Council are only available in a very incomplete state, and there are only a few scant remains of the correspondence

with the local authorities. There is a modern inventory of the archives.¹⁶⁾

9. ARCHIVES IN CAPE TOWN

The archives in Cape Town are perhaps the best preserved of any administration in the *octrooigebied*. Because the Cape, like Ceylon, was an area where colonists settled, in their structure the archives there bear a strong resemblance to those in Colombo. They seem to be pretty well organized. The short inventory compiled by Graham Botha gives a good idea of the structure.¹⁷⁾ The archives of the Dutch administration consist of three separate blocks: the archives from the *Raad van Politie* (the Political Council), those from the *Raad van Justitie*, and those from the *weeskamer*. When the inventory was compiled in 1918, important Dutch collections were still housed in the *Hooggerechtshof* (High Court), to wit the civil rolls of the *Raad van Justitie*, or in the office of the Surveyor-General (the *landadministratie* or administration of land).

The archives of the *Raad van Politie* are the real government archives. These consist of a series of both ordinary and secret *resoluties* with series of annexes, series of incoming and outgoing letters, one series of *dagregisters*, a series of reports from diplomatic missions and expeditions and ship's logs, registers of commissions and instructions, muster-rolls, petitions, and various series of *protocollen van civiele akten* heard before the court. There are also a great many other series, most of which are characterized by either greater or smaller lacunae. The archives of the *Raad van Politie* also contain a number of miscellaneous volumes and documents concerning other establishments in the *octrooigebied*. Very little to do with the book-keeping has survived. A few miscellaneous remnants from the archives of other bodies have been added to the archives of the *Raad van Politie*.

The archives of the *Raad van Justitie* are very large. However, a number of the series contain fairly considerable gaps. The orphanage archives are also extensive.

10. PRIVATE ARCHIVES

Private archives often include great quantities of official documents or collections of professional documents.¹⁸⁾ Archives of officials like the Brugman Collection contain the *ex officio* correspondence and other documents relating to the work of the person who formed the archives, whereas the collections of documents originate from documentation collected as background material by VOC officials.

The documents of VOC employees in Asia, which are found in family archives, are usually typical batches of official documents. In contrast, the archives of the directors which were formed in the Netherlands, such as that of the Radermacher family, are typical collections of documentation to which the directors could refer for decisions affecting their policy. The smaller collections of documents often contain both a few official documents such as letters of appointment as well as other personal documents, which have been preserved more for their curiosity value or as memorabilia.

One interesting aspect of archives of officials in private archives collections is that they often present a picture that is only incompletely reflected in the archives of the VOC and its establishments. Some archives of employees show that, in reality, there was a much greater and more varied correspondence carried on than appears from the documents in the official VOC archives. Typical examples of these are the archives of Wollebrand Geleynssen de Jongh about Persia and Surat and of Vernet about Bengal.

I. In the General State Archives

The most important archives of functionaries are:

- Alting, W.A. (1724-1800), 1596-1796 (Governor-General) and Engelhard, N. (1761-1831), seventeenth century-1831 (various functions in Java) (partly in the *Tweede Afdeling* in the family archives Van Alphen and Engelhard); 19)
- Brugmans, P.A. and A., 1612-1870 (advocate of the Amsterdam Chamber; master of the equipage in Batavia); 20)
- Cnoll, Govert (1644-1710), 1678-1709 (various functions in Java); 21)
- Geleynssen de Jongh, Wollebrand (1594-1674), 1612-1648 (director in Surat and Persia); 22)
- Kal, Jacob van (1754-1829), 1781-1811 (various functions in Melaka, Riau and Batavia); 23)
- Nederburgh, S.C. (1762-1811) (advocate and *commissaris-generaal*) and family, eighteenth-twentieth century; 24)
- Sweers, Salomon; Jeremias van Vliet; Jacques Specx; and François Mannis, seventeenth century (many functions); 25)
- Vernet, G.L., 1746-1766 (director in Bengal); 26)
- Wttewaal, Jan, and Hendrik van Staveren, 1754-1888 (VOC employees in Celebes and Sumatra). 27)

Collections of documentation of directors and advocates:

- Stadhouderlijke secretarie* (Secretariat of the *Stadhouder*, 1747-1795; 28)
- Ghesel, Jacob van (1707-1773), 1638-1773 (advocate); 29)
- Groot, Hugo de (1538-1645), seventeenth century (advocate of the Amsterdam Chamber); 30)
- Hope, Thomas (1704-1779) and Jean, 1602-1784 (director); 31)
- Hudde, Johannes (1628-1704), 1602-1703 (director); 32)
- Meerman van der Goes, Daniël Adriaan (advocate) (1748-1805), 1755-1795; 33)
- Radermacher, family, 1595-1800 (directors); 34)
- Sweers, Specx, Van Vliet and Mannis, (directors) seventeenth century; 35)
- Vredenburg, Adriaan (1680-1759) and Gerard (1710-1784) van, 1647-1766 (directors of the Delft Chamber). 36)

Memorabilia of families:

- Goens, family Van, seventeenth to nineteenth century (Governor-General, Governors of Ceylon et al.); 37)
- Hoorn and Van Riebeeck, families Van, seventeenth-eighteenth century (Governors-General); 38)
- Polanen, Rogier Gerard van (1757-1833) (clerk to the *Raad van Justitie*). 39)

II. Elsewhere

Archives of functionaries:

Gijssels, Artus, (various functions in the Indonesian Archipelago) in the Badische Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe; 40)

Hoorn, J. van (Governor-General), in the Leiden University Library.

Directors' archives;

Van der Poorten, Josua, and Philip van der Ghiessen, 1750-1751 (representatives of the *Stadhouder*), in the Amsterdam Municipal Archives.

Family memorabilia:

Boudaen, Jan (director of the Amsterdam Chamber) and Pieter Nuyts (Governor of Taiwan), in the Huydecoper family archives in the State Archives of Utrecht.

11. COLLECTION *AANWINSTEN* (ACQUISITIONS) IN THE FIRST SECTION OF THE GENERAL STATE ARCHIVES

In the first place, the collection *Aanwinsten* in the First Section contains all sorts of miscellaneous documents which somebody at some time has thought interesting and have therefore been preserved. Besides these, there are both semi-private papers of people referring to the VOC as well as miscellaneous documents which formally speaking should belong in the VOC archives or in those of an establishment, but were kept aside by a director or an employee. Naturally these are often interesting and important documents. Furthermore, the collection contains a number of largish fragments of archives of VOC employees, of the same type as the fragments of archives of functionaries which one comes across in private archives. Meanwhile, some documents have been taken out of the collection and inventories have been made of them as separate archives. Examples of this are the collections of the Governors of Ceylon Hendrik Becker and Lubbert Jan van Eck.⁴¹) The following collections are still to be found in the collection Acquisitions, sometimes fairly scattered throughout the collection:

Documents of J.W. Falck (master of the equipage in Surat);

Documents of C. Chastelain (Governor of the Cape of Good Hope);

Documents of Hendrik Breton (Director-General in Batavia);

Documents of I.A. Rumpf (Governor of Ceylon);

Documents of A.E. van Braam Houckgeest (ambassador to China);

Documents of J.G. Loten (Governor of Ceylon). In the nineteenth century the extensive Van Loten archives fell into the hands of autograph collectors and, consequently have been scattered among various archive holdings. Besides the part in the collection Acquisitions, there are parts to be found in the Grothe van Schellach Collection in the Utrecht Municipal Archives and in the library of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Tilburg.

Notes

1. J.A. van der Chijs, Inventaris van 's Lands Archief te Batavia (1602-1816) (Batavia 1882).

2. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, Beschrijving van een collectie stukken, in 1862-63 uit Batavia naar Nederland verzonden, voornamelijk het bestuur der Hooge Regeering over de buitenkantoren betreffende, 1602-1827 (typescript; n.p. ['s-Gravenhage] n.d.).

3. Inventaris van de archieven van de weeskamer Batavia/boekhouder-generaal te Batavia/schepenbank te Batavia (typescript; 's-Gravenhage 1980).

4. Ibidem.

5. Ibidem.

6. J. van Kan, Compagniebescheiden en aanverwante archivalia in Britsch-Indië en op Ceylon (Batavia 1931) 19-23.

7. A.J.M. Heyligers, Press List of Ancient Dutch Records from 1657 to 1825 (n.p. n.d.)

8. An abbreviated list of this is Supplementary Catalogue of Dutch Records (Madras 1952). The documents from Surat which have been included in this are described more fully in Van Kan, Compagniebescheiden, 78-105. See for the documents concerning Bengal: *ibidem*, 59-74.

9. Van Kan, Compagniebescheiden, 198-199.

10. W.J.M. Buch, Inventaris van bescheiden der voormalige Nederlandsche bezittingen in Voor-Indië (typescript; 's-Gravenhage 1936)
11. M.W. Jurriaanse, Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon 1640-1796 (Colombo 1943).
12. J. van Kan, Compagniebescheiden, 222-228.
13. M.E. van Opstall ed., Inventory of the Archives of the Dutch Government in the Divisions of Galle (Matara) and Jaffnapatanam 1640-1796 by S.A.W. Mottau. With a List of Reconstructed 17th century Tombos by J.S. Wigboldus and Addenda to the Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon (The Hague 1975).
14. Collection *Aanwinsten Eerste Afdeling*, inv. nr. 1920 XXXIV 1.
15. Julianti L. Parani, Inventaris van het archief van de Nederlandse factorij te Canton 1742-1826 (typescript; 's-Gravenhage 1972).
16. M.P.H. Roessingh, Het archief van de Nederlandse factorij in Japan/The archive of the Dutch factory in Japan 1609-1860 (typescript; 's-Gravenhage 1964).
17. Graham Botha, A Brief Guide to the Various Classes of Documents in the Cape Archives for the Period 1652-1806 (Cape Town 1918).
18. A survey is given in M.P.H. Roessingh ed., Sources of the History of Asia and Oceania in the Netherlands I. Sources up to 1796 (München 1982). See also J.A.M.Y. Bos Rops et al. eds., De archieven in het Algemeen Rijksarchief. Surveys of the archives and collections in public archives depositories in the Netherlands 9 (Alphen aan de Rijn 1982).
19. Inventories: Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven (hereafter: VROA) 23 (1900) 29-57; VROA 19 (1896) 112; J. de Hullu, 'Beschrijving eener verzameling stukken, afkomstig van Nicolaus Engelhard', VROA 42 (1919) II, 347-366.
20. Inventory: J. de Hullu, 'Beschrijving eener verzameling stukken, voor het meerendeel afkomstig van mr. Pibo Anthony Brugmans en van diens zoon mr. Anthonius Brugmans', VROA 42 (1919) II, 347-366.
21. Inventory: H.A. Trapman, 'Inventaris van het archief van Govert Cnoll (1644-1710)' in: Vijf ambtenaren van de VOC en de regering in Indië. Inventories of the Becker, Cnoll, Van Kal, Van Polanen and Valckenier archives (typescript; 's-Gravnehage 1985) 27-54. An earlier inventory had appeared in VROA 24 (1901) 38-41.
22. Inventory: J. de Hullu, 'Beschrijving eener verzameling stukken, afkomstig van Wollebrand Geleyntsen de Jongh', VROA 35 (1912) 94-135; VROA 36 (1913) I, 96-104.
23. Inventory: Theo Thomassen, 'Inventory van het archief van Jacob van Kal (1754-1829)' in: Vijf ambtenaren, 55-85.
24. Inventory: R. de Vries and M.E. van Opstall, Inventaris van het archief S.C. Nederburgh/Inventaris van het familiearchief Nederburgh (typescript; 's-Gravnehage 1987).
25. Inventory: R. Bijlsma, 'Beschrijving eener verzameling stukken van Salomon Sweers, Jeremias van Vliet, Jacques Specx en François Mannis, gemerkt C.S.', Inventarissen van

rijks-en andere archieven van rijkswege uitgegeven, voor zoover zij niet afzonderlijk zijn afgedrukt (hereafter: IRA) I (1928) 3-37.

26. Inventory: Vernet Collection (typescript; n.p. n.y.).

27. Inventory: J. de Hullu, 'Beschrijving eener verzameling stukken afkomstig van Jan Wttewaal en Hendrik van Staveren', VROA 42 (1919) I, 195-204.

28. Inventory: [Stadhouderlijke Secretarie, 1747-1795] (2 volumes; typescript; n.p. n.y.)

29. Inventory: Beschrijving van een collectie papieren, afkomstig van Mr. Jacob van Ghesel, bewindhebber van de Vereeningde Oost-Indische Compagnie ter kamer Amsterdam van 1757 tot 1773 (typescript; n.p. n.y.)

30. Inventories: VROA 34 (1911) 64-68 and W.E. Smelt, 'Beschrijving eener verzameling papieren, afkomstig van Hugo de Groot', IRA 1 (1928) 73-105.

31. Inventory; Verzameling Hope (manuscript; n.p. n.y.). Part of the archives of Thomas Hope can be found in the J.C. Baud archives in the Second Section of the General State Archives; inventory: J. de Hullu, 'Beschrijving eener verzameling stukken afkomstig van Jean Chretien baron Baud', VROA 40 (1917) I, 497-621.

32. Inventory: V.I. van de Wall, 'Beschrijving eener verzameling stukken afkomstig van Johannes Hudde', VROA 49 (1926) I, 225-232.

33. Inventory: Soemartini, Het archief Meerman van der Goes (typescript; 's-Gravenhage 1968).

34. Inventory: M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, Inventaris archief Radermacher (typescript; n.p. n.y.)

35. See Note 26.

36. Part of the documents of Adriaan and Gerard van Vredenburg is included in the VOC archives of the Delft Chamber (inv. nrs. 13868-13875). Another part is in the collection *Aanwinsten van de Eerste Afdeling* (handwritten inventory) and in the State Archives in Zuid-Holland.

37. Inventory: A.E.M. Ribberink, Inventaris familiepapieren Van Goens (typescript; n.p. 1960).

38. Inventory: Collectie Van Hoorn-Van Riebeeck (typescript; n.p. n.y.).

39. Inventory: W.D. Post, 'Inventaris van het archief van Rogier Gerard van Polanen (1757-1833)' in : *Vijf ambtenaren*, 87-158.

40. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, 'The Private papers of Artus Gijssels as a Source for the History of East Asia', Journal of Southeast Asian History 10 (1969) 540-559.

41. Inventories: Y.M. Sitompul, 'Inventaris van het archief van Hendrik Becker (1661-1722)' in: *Vijf ambtenaren*, 11-24; Albert Vrugt, Inventaris van het archief van Lubbert Jan, baron van Eck (1719-1765) (Den Haag 1991).

CHAPTER 5. VOC MAPS AND DRAWINGS

C.J. Zandvliet

The bulk of the maps and drawings of the VOC which are now in the General State Archives originally belonged to the archives of the Heren XVII (board of directors) and the Amsterdam Chamber. Smaller but by no means insignificant sections originally pertained to the other chambers, especially that of Zeeland. The Amsterdam Chamber had the lion's share of VOC operations. The administration of the navigation as well as the knowledge of overseas topography and property were concentrated there. The directors received maps and drawings of places and regions in the octrooigebied (area under charter to the Company) either from or via Batavia, and sometimes directly from the subordinate establishments themselves. The maps and drawings sent back like this make up the main component of the maps and drawings archives of the VOC. Besides these, many maps were also made in the Republic itself, especially the charts which were produced in Amsterdam and elsewhere for the outward bound ships.

1. THE MAKING OF MAPS AND DRAWINGS

Suppliers of charts

Reliable cartographic information was needed both for the voyage to and trade within Asia when the VOC was established in 1602. By the end of the sixteenth century the Republic already had access to navigational information from Portuguese sources. This had been made public through the publications of several Dutch travellers and scientists like Dirck Gerritz. Pomp, alias Dik China, and Jan Huygen van Linschoten. The work of Van Linschoten in particular includes maps and other illustrations, in combination with descriptions of routes and of landfalls. Besides this, Petrus Plancius edited the hand-drawn charts of the Portuguese Bartolomeo de Lasso, wrote several memoranda with navigational directions and instructed stuurlieden (navigation officers) for the voyages on the high seas.

When the VOC ships were fitted out in the Republic, the stuurlieden and the captains were supplied with stuurmansgereedschappen (navigational instruments), such as compasses, signal flags, quadrants and charts. Each chamber of the Company had an equipagemeester (master of the equipage) responsible for the fitting out of the ships which were to sail to Asia. Charts were drawn or bought under his direction. As with other equipment pertaining to the equipage, the charts were obtained from a limited number of suppliers. In the harbour cities of the Republic there were several mapmakers who had specialized in the making of parchment charts. Private shipowners and captains placed orders with them, as did the VOC after 1602. Augustijn Robaert of Amsterdam was a prominent supplier of hand-drawn charts, who included the VOC among his clients.¹⁾ Very few of the charts which were used on the VOC ships in the initial years have survived.

In 1617 there was a change in the way in which cartographic information was procured, when the Heren XVII appointed Hessel Gerritz. as their exclusive mapmaker. It was his task to provide charts for all ships of the VOC which sailed from the Republic, including those from chambers other than Amsterdam. The appointment of purveyor of charts to the VOC, commissioned and furnished with an instruction, continued until 1795. The mapmakers engaged in this task were respectively:

1617 - 1632	Hessel Gerritz.
1633 - 1705	The Blaeu Family (who were also examiners van de stuurlieden or examiners of the navigating officers) ²⁾
1705 - 1743	Isaac de Graaff
1743 - 1795	The Van Keulen Family ³⁾

Throughout the period 1617-1795 the position of the mapmakers had an ambivalent character. Their situation was different to that of most of the other VOC employees. They worked from home and did not receive a salary but were paid on a piece-work basis for the charts they supplied.⁴⁾ Moreover, the official mapmakers could contract out the drawing of the charts to other, independently established, draftsmen.⁵⁾ Nor was the VOC the mapmakers' only source of income. With the possible exception of De Graaff, besides producing hand-drawn charts for the VOC, they offered engraved and hand-drawn charts on the open market. This latter factor is the most important difference with the position of, for instance, the shipbuilder and the examiner van de stuurlieden, who, during the eighteenth century, were forbidden to be in receipt of any income other than that from the VOC.⁶⁾ The position of the VOC mapmaker lay between that of his Spanish and Portuguese colleagues (salaried mapmakers/government officials) and of his English colleagues (independent suppliers).⁷⁾

The VOC undertook to make use of the services of the official mapmaker for more or less fixed prices. In the production and management of the charts the mapmaker was subject to the supervision of the directors or of their deputies. Furthermore, just as other Company employees, he was sworn to secrecy. However, in practice, the mapmaker to the VOC carried out the production and correction of charts fairly independently. The obligation to secrecy was at odds with his production for the free market.⁸⁾

In accordance with their conditions of appointment captains and stuurlieden were obliged to use Company charts. It was also their professional duty to make notes and sketches of unknown coasts, reefs and other relevant features.⁹⁾ Returning captains and stuurlieden handed over the charts they had used and corrected, and the logs they had kept, to the mapmaker so that he could use these to correct maps and seaman's guides. The mapmaker in Amsterdam undertook this work in collaboration with the examiner van de stuurlieden. During the eighteenth century the mapmaker's activities increasingly fell under the supervision of the examiner van de stuurlieden¹⁰⁾

In order to ensure the durability the charts, the VOC had them drawn on parchment. The way in which they were produced was simple: a model, which was called a legger (templet), was used repeatedly for the making of new charts.¹¹⁾ The coastlines were pricked out at regular intervals with a needle on the model chart. When a new chart was made, the model map was laid on top of a blank sheet of parchment, and the coastlines on the model chart were then strewn from a small bag of soot. The soot which percolated through the holes in the model then yielded a pattern of dots on the blank sheet. Once the model map had been carefully removed from the parchment, the coastlines could be drawn in by joining up the specks of soot. When this had been done, the new map was ready in outline.¹²⁾

Although there had been talk of the printing of a seaman's guide about 1655 and of the printing of loose charts in 1684, it was 1753 and about 1775 respectively before this was achieved. At this point it should be mentioned that in a certain sense the seaman's guide the English Pilot Third Book by John Thornton, printed in 1703, can be considered to be a VOC seaman's guide avant-la-lettre. This rutter for the Asian trade, containing thirty-five charts, was compiled with the help of VOC charts.¹³⁾

The mapmaker was not only responsible for the production and supervision of charts. On the basis of his geographical expertise, he was probably asked for advice during the fitting out of expeditions. In the course of the eighteenth century, the role of examiner van de stuurlieden grew steadily in the field of supervision and advice.

The firm of Van Keulen

Johannes van Keulen was appointed mapmaker to the VOC in 1743. The firm was to retain its position as mapmaker until the liquidation of the Company. Even before 1743, the firm of Van Keulen had supplied the VOC with navigational instruments and maps: since 1728 seaman's guides had been regularly purchased there as part of the equipage.¹⁴⁾ From the beginning of the eighteenth century the firm of Van Keulen had possessed hand-drawn, large-scale maps of the VOC area from which hand-drawn copies were supplied.¹⁵⁾ However, there are no

indications that copies were ever produced from these models at the behest of or at the expense of the VOC. It is possible that the VOC captains and stuurlieden undertook this at their own expense.

No business archives of any of the mapmakers from before the Van Keulen era have survived. It is possible that some of the archives of its predecessors were absorbed into Van Keulen archives. When the firm was liquidated in 1885, the archives of the business was auctioned off. Parts of them can be traced (See Section 5).

Mapbooks

At the request of either the Heren XVII or of the Amsterdam Chamber, and indeed sometimes on their own initiative, the mapmakers in Amsterdam compiled mapbooks or series of maps of the octrooigebied from time to time. These deserve a separate mention because many maps and drawings are now only found as copies in these mapbooks or map series. It can be assumed that this copying was an important factor in the loss of the originals: once they had been copied the information was readily available in a manageable and uniform package. The following are only works which cover the whole of the octrooigebied :

1622	Mapbook of Hessel Gerritsz.
1660-1670	Atlas of Johan Vingboons and Joan Blaeu
ca. 1670	Atlas of Laurens van der Hem ¹⁶⁾
ca. 1695	Mapbook of Isaac de Graaff, known as 'Atlas Amsterdam' ¹⁷⁾
[1703	English Pilot Third Book]
1715-1726	Chart Series Gerard van Keulen ¹⁸⁾
1753	Seaman's Guide Johannes van Keulen and Jan de Marre ¹⁹⁾

The status of the publications mentioned above differs. The works of Gerritsz., De Graaff and Van Keulen were produced on the orders of the VOC. The atlases of Vingboons/Blaeu and Van der Hem/Blaeu admittedly did have some connection with the VOC -in the 1760s there had been some discussion within the VOC about the compilation of a printed seaman's guide- but they stand as it were with one foot in the VOC camp and the other foot in the free market. The series of manuscript charts of Gerard van Keulen have even less connection with the VOC, but probably a record made by a VOC captain or stuurman (navigating officer) served as the model for a number of his maps. Unfortunately the work of Hessel Gerritsz. has been lost. The publication of Van Keulen and the examiner van de stuurlieden, De Marre, was only intended for use on the Company's ships, and was therefore more limited in its scope.

The mapbook of Isaac de Graaff, which was compiled at the end of the seventeenth century, occupies a special place because it offers a great variety of cartographic material: both large and small-scale maps of land areas; charts; and plans and views from throughout the whole of the octrooigebied. The duplicate maps in this work date back to 1602. This so -called Atlas Amsterdam was taken apart in the nineteenth century and dispersed throughout the collection of foreign maps (VEL) in the General State Archives. De Graaff's mapbook can be seen as the companion to Pieter van Dam's *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie* (Description of the East India Company). Throughout the whole of the eighteenth century this mapbook was the principal source of cartographic information for the directors.

Supervision of buildings and premises in the Republic

In the Republic the VOC was the proprietor of premises which included premises such as warehouses, shipyards, office buildings and ropewalks. However, the number of drawings of these in the General State Archives is very small. Many drawings have probably succumbed to wear and tear or were thrown away after use. Others have been abstracted from the archives and found their way into private collections. Moreover, the services of the stadsfabriek (municipal architect) were often called upon for the production of the drawings. Therefore the collection policy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is also a reason that what little that has been preserved of the plans and drawings of property in the Republic is now mainly to be

found in municipal archives services or in museums.

After the liquidation of the VOC its premises and buildings passed into the hands of the state. This explains why maps and drawings from after 1799 are available in the General State Archives among the (drawings) archives of various government departments.

Ship plans and models

Some parts of the Company's archives have been almost completely lost. This is also true of the archives of ship plans and models from the shipyard. The ship plans were an aid to the development and building of the VOC ships. In 1742, for instance, when a new plan was being developed for a new type of VOC ship, the final decision was taken on the basis of plans and models.²⁰⁾

There are only a few surviving drawings, which have been dispersed throughout various collections in the Netherlands. The loss and dispersion can be explained by the changes in types of ship and the shift to private trade after 1795. These made the plans and models of VOC ships obsolete: either they ended up in the rubbish bin or, by happy chance, in a museum. For research into shipbuilding, apart from material sources and a few plans, the investigator is mainly dependent on the written archives.

The Smaller Chambers

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the VOC chambers, other than Amsterdam, purchased charts from various suppliers.²¹⁾ Augustijn Robaert, who had established himself in Amsterdam, succeeded in attracting an important share in the supply of charts both to the Amsterdam Chamber and to the other chambers as well.²²⁾ The appointment of Hessel Gerritsz. introduced structural changes. In principle, all ships were supposed to use only those charts which had been supplied by the mapmaker to the Amsterdam Chamber. This stipulation was reiterated in the course of the years.²³⁾

Nonetheless, several chambers continued to procure charts from local suppliers. In 1669 it was reported in the Haags Besogne (preparatory meeting of the Heren XVII in August) that the Hoorn Chamber and the Zeeland Chamber commissioned their charts locally.²⁴⁾ Although it was pointed out in 1669 that the production of charts was the prerogative of the mapmaker in Amsterdam, the Zeeland Chamber continued to take their business to the local mapmakers Joost van Breen and Arent Roggeveen. Eventually, people grew resigned to the situation. In 1684 when a discussion blew up about the quality of the charts, the Zeeland Chamber were not even reminded that they were expected to make use of the services of the Amsterdam mapmaker.²⁵⁾ Even during the eighteenth century it was still their practice to call upon local mapmakers.²⁶⁾

Batavia and the subordinate establishments

At one time or another, many of the maps now in the General State Archives were forwarded to the Republic from establishments in Asia. One of the reasons that the The Hague collection is so important is that so many of the maps and drawings of the local administrations in the establishment archives themselves have disappeared.

The Governor-General and Council in Batavia were the information repository for the subordinate establishments. Part of this information consisted of maps and drawings. In the subordinate establishments there were either permanent (for example, the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon) or temporary military engineers, fabriecken (architects), surveyors and mapmakers, who were employed in the administration of land, the building of roads and waterways, architecture and fortifications.

The following remarks concern the organization and administration in Batavia. In part, they are also relevant to the subordinate establishments.

Initially, the territory of the VOC in Java was extremely restricted; it was virtually limited to the city of Batavia. Under such circumstances it was sufficient to employ an engineer who worked both as surveyor and architect, in the latter function both on civil works (usually called *fabriek*) and on fortifications (usually called *ingenieur*). In 1627 a surveyor and a *rooimeester*

(clerk of works) were appointed under the authority of the aldermen of Batavia. The clerk of works carried out checks to see that the building regulations were observed in the city. One of the consequences of the expansion of the urban area in 1664 was that a college van heemraden (drainage board) was appointed (comparable to a polder board in the Republic), which was responsible for the management of land outside the city, including supervision of boundaries. When this board was reorganized in 1679-1680, it was decided to make a cadastral map.²⁷) The board was given permission to appoint surveyors for this task.

Therefore, in the late seventeenth and during the eighteenth century, surveyors worked under the authority of both the aldermen and the college van heemraden. As far as registration is concerned, the divided administration of the real estate inside and outside the city was brought to an end in 1778, the year in which the landmeterscomptoir (surveyor's office) was made responsible for the supervision and updating of all maps.

The stadslandmeter (municipal surveyor), who fell under the jurisdiction of the aldermen, was under the direct authority of the fabriek. The fabriek was in charge of the ambachtquartier (craftsmen's quarter). He was responsible for the supervision of the Company buildings and their contents; in principle with the exception of goods to do with the fleet, which were in the charge of the equipagemeester. Many surveyors made their careers by rising to the rank of fabriek. The fabriek was also involved in the supervision, design and building of military engineering works.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards there are references to military engineers in the service of the VOC in the East. They were mainly employed for siegeworks and the building of new forts. However, in the seventeenth century, their presence was less permanent than that of the surveyors and fabrieken. The latter were then still mainly responsible for the maintenance and supervision of forts and buildings. As the need arose gunners, or an engineer who was attached to the artillery, served with the fabriek as architects for military engineering works.²⁸)

This situation changed in 1717 when the Heren XVII sent a director of fortifications and two assistant engineers to Asia. This was, however, a temporary measure. It was only in the second half of the eighteenth century that the position of the fabriek was gradually undermined. As was also the case in the Republic, the architects and surveyors were either partially elbowed out or replaced entirely by military engineers. In 1793 this trend was confirmed in Batavia by the appointment of a military engineer to the post of director of fortifications, buildings and waterworks. A director of fortifications and artillery had already been appointed in the Cape of Good Hope in 1778. The new director in Batavia was put in charge of the management of the entire archives of maps and drawings. All the engineers and surveyors employed by the Company in the East were under his authority.

Not only maps of land areas were produced in Batavia but charts as well. Although it was the task of the mapmaker in Amsterdam to provide all ships with charts, the necessity for having a mapmaker in Batavia for the shipping in Asian waters made itself felt. In contrast to the situation in Amsterdam, right from the outset the mapmaking in Batavia was completely under the authority of the VOC; the mapmakers worked exclusively for the Company. There was a chart office in the shipyard in Batavia. The baaskaartenmaker (master mapmaker) worked there under the aegis of the equipagemeester. Besides producing maps, just as his Amsterdam colleague the mapmaker was involved in the compilation and the keeping up to date of the seaman's guides, in consultation with the equipagemeester and his assistants (ex-captains or retired stuurlieden).

Until about half way through the eighteenth century, an ever-growing number of assistants worked under the master mapmaker. They copied leggerkaarten (model maps) which had been improved and corrected on the basis of information supplied by captains and stuurlieden.. We should not hold too exaggerated an opinion of these cartographers. The production of a map, at least as far as the assistants were concerned, demanded nothing more than tracing and copying.

After the practice of the engraving of charts instead of drawing them by hand increased, the Hydrografisch Bureau (Office of Hydrography) in Batavia declined in importance and it was

decided to streamline it. Just as it had once been the fate of the fabriek, now it was the turn of the traditional master mapmaker to be displaced, in his case by a naval officer. The order issued to the examiner van de stuurlieden and instructor, P.H. Ohdem, in 1753, to supervise the master mapmaker and the quality of the charts, is the first sign of a change in attitude to the mapmakers' office.²⁹) The importance of the office in Batavia was diminished even more a few decades later as the result of the hydrographic activities of the naval school in Semarang (1782-1812). After 1782 all hydrographic mapping in Asia was carried out by teachers and pupils of the naval school.

2. MANAGEMENT OF THE ARCHIVES OF MAPS AND DRAWINGS

During the Company period (1602-1795)

A central archives for the maps and drawings of the VOC in the Republic was never established. Each chamber possessed its own collection. Seeing that the Amsterdam Chamber had the greatest share in the Company's operations, and that it for the greater part of the time was the administrative seat of the Heren XVII, the most important collections of maps and drawings were formed in Amsterdam.

In order to facilitate decision-making and for the convenience of the administration, the maps and drawings of the Amsterdam Chamber were on hand either actually in or in the immediate vicinity of the boardroom. Framed maps hung on the walls of the boardroom of the Oostindisch Huis in the Hoogstraat.³⁰) Besides these wall-maps, after 1622 the mapbook of Hessel Gerritsz. also became available. After ca. 1695, the mapbook of the clerk and mapmaker Isaac de Graaff was also on hand, as were several atlases and other printed geographical works.

From an extract of the Company advocate, E. Scott, it appears that the directors had several specific finding aids to maps and drawings. The first finding aid provided directions to the maps and drawings which had been bound in with the series Overgekomen brieven en papieren (letters and papers received from Asia). A second finding aid describes the kaarten die niet ingebonden zijn (maps that are not bound).³¹) Both series of maps and drawings were probably kept in the charterkamer (records room) of the Oostindisch Huis, in the care of the librarian.

In the seventeenth century the ships' logs were also stored in the Oostindisch Huis.³²) The leggerkaarten were kept at the mapmaker's; he, of course, worked at home. It is likely that at least one copy of every type of chart was kept in the stuurmanskamer (navigation room) in the Oostindisch Huis as a model.³³) It was here that all the logs and corrected charts handed in by the return ships were kept until the end of the eighteenth century. The stuurmanskamer was placed under the supervision of a book-keeper, who in turn was responsible to the examiner van de stuurlieden. The mapmaker had access to the stuurmanskamer where he could borrow maps and logs which, after signing a receipt, he could take home for a while so that he could make corrections to the leggerkaarten and to the seaman's guides.

Therefore, there were two places where charts were to be found as archivalia: firstly at the home of the mapmaker, consisting mainly of the leggerkaarten and cartographic material supplied by captains and stuurlieden; and secondly in the stuurmanskamer in the Oostindisch Huis, consisting of logs and cartographic material from ships which had returned, and prototypes of the various charts.

All sorts of equipment needed for the outfitting of outward-bound ships was stored in the Oostindisch Huis, in the warehouses and at the shipyard. This included maps and navigational instruments. The outfitting of the ships was carried out on the basis of checklists which were regularly updated. They record the numbers and types of charts to be supplied per ship, with a note of their book value.³⁴) These charts cannot be considered as cartographic archivalia of the Company. They are only mentioned here because in part their administration ran parallel to the holdings mentioned above and because remnants from these supplies have probably been preserved in the present collections (the so-called duplicates).

The supply of charts was produced by the mapmaker. In the seventeenth century it is not clear whether he delivered his charts directly to the ships or to the equipagemeester, or whether the maps were always taken first to the Oostindisch Huis. From the instructions of Joan Blaeu in 1638 it is clear that there was space in the Oostindisch Huis for the storage of charts.³⁵⁾ It was one of the duties of the mapmaker to provide a regular inventory/stocklist of them.³⁶⁾

In the eighteenth century at least part of the stock was housed in the stuurmanskamer and also perhaps in a warehouse, and probably another part was to be found in the workplace or the shop of the mapmaker.³⁷⁾ It is likely that the used charts, which had been handed in by captains and stuurlieden on their return, were kept in stock by the Company to be used for the next equipage. Presumably, the newly produced charts were kept at home by the mapmaker; then they were then delivered to the Company for each equipage on more or less fixed dates.³⁸⁾

In general terms the procedure in the Amsterdam Chamber was the same in the other chambers. Boardrooms were furnished with framed maps and prints for the use of the directors and representation. The directors also had geographical works and atlases at their disposal.³⁹⁾ At the end of the eighteenth century the Zeeland Chamber kept a separate register of the maps and drawings which had been received from establishments in Asia.⁴⁰⁾ The chambers formed their own collections of charts, which were provided by their own suppliers and mapmakers, or which had been handed in by captains and stuurlieden upon their return home. These charts from the stocks were used again for the outfitting of ships due to sail.

The Batavian and French periods (1796-1813)

In 1796 the stuurmanskamer in Amsterdam contained a supply of charts which were still in use and an archives of both hand-drawn and printed maps and seaman's guides. At this time it was still under the supervision of the examiner van de stuurlieden. When he resigned in 1796, because 'the books, charts and instruments pertaining to the navigation office are so voluminous', his successor was authorized by the Oostindisch Comité (East India Committee) to take over only the most valuable. The remainder were handed over to the second examiner, Engelberts.⁴¹⁾ By valuable charts the Committee probably meant the charts that could still be used as part of the equipage: recent charts.

A second holding -of maps and charts, plans and mapbooks- made up part of the collection in the charterkamer in the Oostindisch Huis. In 1800 the archivist there was given instructions to keep the '... atlases, loose maps and drawings now available or those that the council might acquire from time to time...in a separate cupboard ...', with the exception of the charts, which were in fact 'stored in what is known as the stuurmanskamer'.⁴²⁾ In the period 1800-1806 this separate collection was indeed assembled in the charterkamer and described.⁴³⁾

The national administrative changes that came into force after 1806 had repercussions for the internal structure of the holdings of maps and drawings of the VOC. In all the inventorizations which have taken place since then, it has always been the exception rather than the rule that the maps and drawings have been directly associated with the written archive material. Even though in most instances the maps and drawings were either put in order or handed over at the same time as the written material.⁴⁴⁾

In 1806 the administration of the colonies was centralized. By Royal Decree of the 18th July, 1806, a Depot-Generaal van Oorlog (General Depot for War), on the French model, was set up by King Louis Napoleon. The task of this depot was to take charge of the maps and drawings pertaining to the realm, the making of maps, and the compilation of reports relevant to policy and historiography. A great deal of attention was to be paid both to war history and statistics. Attached to the Depot-Generaal were a naval depot and a colonial depot, 'where all the maps, plans and memoranda relating to the colonies are to be stored. This Bureau shall be a part of the Ministry of Commerce and Colonies, nonetheless it shall be under the command of the Director of the Depot-Generaal van Oorlog.'⁴⁵⁾ The job of the naval and colonial depots, like that of the general depot, was to consist of (statistical) descriptions and historiography.⁴⁶⁾ The director of the depot was C.R.Th. Kraijenhoff; his cousin, M.J. de Man, was the deputy-director

in charge of the daily running of the depot.⁴⁷⁾

In August 1806, this depot assumed control of the VOC charts and plans kept in the charterkamer in Amsterdam from the Aziatische Raad (Asiatic Council). A list of the holdings of the charterkamer in June 1806 has survived.⁴⁸⁾ Hundreds of items are described in it. A table of contents from the mapbook of Isaac de Graaff has been added. The list is not exhaustive. It does not include the holdings in the stuurmanskamer . We may assume that the attention being paid to actual problems meant that a portion of the older maps and drawings were not described.

The foundation for a central collection of maps and drawings relating to the colonies was laid in 1806. Between 1806 and 1810 the maps and drawings were administered and listed by A. Ampt Cz., and after him by the director of colonial maps, Brunsveld van Hulten.⁴⁹⁾ The inventory from this period has not been preserved in its entirety, but excerpts from it give an impression: archive maps and map collections, largely printed, were mixed up together in a system based on geographical classification.⁵⁰⁾

In 1808 Ampt proposed that the colonial section in the Depot-Generaal be expanded by the addition of the Romswinkel Collection (bought by Louis Napoleon) and with what was available for the Depot-Generaal van Oorlog.⁵¹⁾ In 1809 he sketched the history of the collection 'of the geographical, topographical and hydrographical section of the colonies' as follows: 'The original stock in this assemblage consisted of a considerable collection which were entrusted to the undersigned ...by the erstwhile Americaanschen Raad (American Council); other documents bought as supplementary material, as well as those from the Asiatic Council ... were added by me'. Ampt thought that 'the memoranda and other papers concerning the defence of the colonies and the expansion of cultivation, serving as an explanation of the plans and drawings' were complementary to the collection.⁵²⁾ The emphasis on defence and cultivation reflects the policy preoccupations of the period.

This plan of the collection of maps and memoranda is preserved in the General State Archives. It is a French inspired classification, expounded upon in publications like the *Instruction pour le Directeur du Dépôt des Colonies*.⁵³⁾ The starting point of this instruction is to form series according to the type of document: charts; building plans of ships; plans of establishments; topographical maps; and so forth. Each of these series has an individual index in which maps can be traced chronologically with the aid of the geographically classified sections which are arranged alphabetically.⁵⁴⁾

Traces of Ampt's work remain on some of the maps and drawings preserved in The Hague. Usually they have a blue label pasted on the back. On this label is a note of in which index, in which section, and under which folio number the map in question is described. Ampt, who was himself a mapmaker, described the maps and drawings of the whole ministry, thereby also including the West India region and waters. It is evident from the stamps and other classificatory marks, to say nothing of the blue paper which has been pasted on, that after 1806 Ampt included the current charts which were available in the stuurmanskamer in Amsterdam in his inventory.

In the autumn of 1808 the Depot-Generaal was moved from The Hague to Amsterdam. The various collections could be housed there in the newly appointed premises in the Oude Turfmarkt. This meant that the goal of centralization had been accomplished in a material sense. When the map collections of the ministries of the navy and the colonies were combined in 1806, part of the chart holdings of the former VOC, in particular the eighteenth century charts which were considered to be important for the production of new maps, went to the naval depot.⁵⁵⁾

In 1810 the colonial map holdings were described in twenty-seven registers: twelve of these contain descriptions of maps which either wholly or in part could have originated from the VOC. The mapbook of Isaac de Graaff is not described in the registers, but is mentioned separately in a packing list.⁵⁶⁾

Unfortunately these registers have not been preserved in their entirety; this makes it difficult to make an estimate of the number of sheets which had come from the VOC collections. The total, excluding the 188 pages in De Graaff's mapbook, will not have been less

than 400.57)

In the summer of 1810 the plans to annex the kingdom of Holland to the French Empire prompted the French to take measures to transfer a selection of the maps and drawings from the collections of the navy and colonies to the French Dépôt de la Marine as quickly as possible. Napoleon sent his chamberlain, Auguste-Dieudonné-Emmanuel Comte de Las Cases, to Amsterdam in July 1810 to make preparations for the transfer.⁵⁸⁾ Although considerations of strategic importance were undoubtedly uppermost in Napoleon's mind, which meant that recent material relating to the colonies and the navy will have been given priority, historical interest also played a role. There is absolutely no doubt about how liberally the Emperor interpreted the selection. 'L'Empereur veut que le Dépôt Impérial de la Marine à Paris recueille de cette mission tous les avantages qu'elle pourra lui procurer', reported the Minister for the Navy, Decrès in a letter to the director of the French Dépôt.⁵⁹⁾

In a report of the 13th July 1810, the director of the French Dépôt, De Rosily-Mesros, gave abundant information about how important the maps in The Netherlands were: '...non seulement des cartes et plans hydrographiques mais encore des cartes géographiques et topographiques de toutes les côtes et îles où les Hollandais ont eu des établissements. Outre les cartes des colonies Hollandaises qui sont en général les meilleurs qu'il y a ainsi faites, il doit y avoir dans les Dépôts de Hollande des plans des ports et rades des différentes parties du monde qui étaient fréquentées par les vaisseaux Hollandais et la collection de ces plans serait une acquisition très importante pour le Dépôt Général [...] Monsieur le Baron [De las Cases] jugera sans doute qu'il vaut mieux conserver plus que moins: c'est le moyen le plus sûr de ne pas perdre des connaissances précieuses.'⁶⁰⁾

Decrès introduced De Las Cases' mission to the prince-governor, Lebrun, who had been appointed shortly before in these words: 'L'objet de sa mission est de s'occuper autant qu'il aura bien, du recueillage des cartes et plans des possessions d'outre mer de la Hollande, et de l'état des objets de cette nature dont doit s'enrichir le Dépôt Impérial'.⁶¹⁾ In Amsterdam the inventories of the depots of the navy and the colonies were made available.⁶²⁾ De las Cases sent the catalogues to Paris for advice. On the basis of the catalogues only a very small number of maps and drawings were exempted from requisition: only duplicates of those maps that were already in the possession of the French Dépôt. ⁶³⁾ Of the maps and drawings in the so-called 'VOC registers', only a paltry eight sheets were not to be sent to Paris.⁶⁴⁾ Meanwhile the experts in the French Dépôt had also set their sights on as yet uncatalogued cartographic material in other locations: "Les deux inventaires qui ont été envoyés à Son Excellence [Decrès] indiquent qu'une petite partie des cartes que la Hollande devait posséder. On ne trouve aucune des reconnaissances que les Hollandais ont faites des Mers de l'Archipel Indien, de la Nouvelle Guinée et de la Nouvelle Hollande, on n'y trouve rien sur les Molucques, sur Bornéo et sur Malaca et Sumatra. Il n'y a que très peu de chose sur la géographie de la colonie du Cap de Bonne Espérance et celle de la Côte de Guinée. Il est probable qu'il y a encore d'autres Dépôts en Hollande dont on recevra sans doute les inventaires. La Compagnie des Indes doit en avoir un qui peut-être fort précieux.'⁶⁵⁾ It is clear what the French experts were looking for: the former, extensive collection of the stuurmanskamer which had been handed over to the second examiner, Engelberts, in 1796.

The order for the formal transference of the Dutch Depot-Generaal was issued in a decree of Napoleon dated 18th August 1810. On the same day the Royal House of Louis Napoleon and the kingdom of Holland were abrogated. In a letter dated the 21st August Minister Decrès once again delicately reminded Lebrun that only that which was explicitly mentioned in the Imperial Decree was to remain behind in Holland 'et l'apport à Paris de tout ce qui n'est pas désigné à l'état précité'.⁶⁶⁾

On the 27th August 1810 the Dutch Minister for the Navy, Paulus van der Heim, gave orders to the Dutch escort officers to take everything to Paris. The transportation of the five chests and one package took place first by ship from Rotterdam to Antwerp. From Antwerp they were carried by road. In Paris on the 13th September charge of the documents were taken over from Brunsveld van Hulten by Jean-Nicolas Buache de Neuville and Charles-François Beautemps Beaupré. Everything was deposited in the Dépôt de la Marine, situated in Maison d'Egmont-

Pignatelli in the Rue Louis-le-Grand 11, not far from the Place Vendôme.⁶⁷⁾

In contrast to the written archives of the VOC therefore, the maps and drawings archives were transferred to Paris almost entirely intact -at least, the holdings of the charterkamer and a major part of the holdings of the stuurmanskamer in Amsterdam-, including maps and drawings of which, as yet, no inventory had been made by the Depot-Generaal. The Dutch Depot of the Navy and the Colonies was abolished by decree of the 28th December 1810.⁶⁸⁾ At the same time it was decided to transfer the maps which had been left in Amsterdam to Paris. In May 1811 the maritime prefect of Antwerp forwarded a further thirteen chests and one iron box containing archives and maps to Paris.⁶⁹⁾ It is not clear whether this consignment actually reached Paris. A receipt dated November 1815 states in so many words that the maps that were exempted from transfer by Napoleon's decree of the 18th August 1810, were never deposited in Paris.⁷⁰⁾ As far as the VOC maps are concerned, this was only a matter of eight sheets.

With the exception of a stamp, the maps in the General State Archives which were returned from the Dépôt de la Marine bear no other French classificatory marks. In Paris between 1810 and 1814 there had not been enough time to integrate them into French collections. This is perhaps understandable: the youngest of the three archivists was 72 and the oldest was 80.⁷¹⁾

Post 1813

Directly after the regaining of independence in 1813, efforts were begun to retrieve the archives, paintings and other objects which had been taken away to Paris. The return of archives was stipulated in the peace treaty which was concluded in Paris on the 30th May 1814 (Article 31). The responsibility for the maps and drawings claimed by the Netherlands was entrusted to the former deputy-director of the Depot-Generaal van Oorlog, M.J. de Man, in July 1815.⁷²⁾

At the end of November 1815, De Man reported that he 'exceptionally successful notwithstanding all opposition' in his tracking down of the colonial maps.⁷³⁾ Besides the resistance he had encountered in Paris, he had been faced with practical problems. De Man had had to feel his way in an occupied city. A lot of his time was spent in visiting allied commanders and French authorities. The French delayed his work, possibly because they wanted to quickly make copies of the maps to be returned. The plan of Batavia by Tency, the original of which is now in the General State Archives, remained behind in the collection of the Dépôt de la Marine as a tracing. Even printed maps were traced, for example the map of the Malabar coast by Van Keulen. This same map of Malabar is proof that this was a rush job on the part of the French. The printed map itself turned up in a corner of the Dépôt de la Marine.⁷⁴⁾

On the 26th October 1815 De Man got the French minister for the navy to issue a restitution order to De Rosily-Mesros at the Dépôt de la Marine. De Rosily-Mesros had to hand over the maps on the basis of the catalogues which had been made by the Dutch Depot at the time of transfer, 'qui pourra servir à leur vérification'.⁷⁵⁾ This is an interesting phrase. In 1810 eight sheets from the VOC holdings, which had been explicitly exempted in the Imperial Decree on the basis of the transport inventories, could be kept in Amsterdam. All the rest, thus including those which were not described in the inventory, had to be taken to Paris. In 1815 the maps were returned on the basis of the inventory. This meant that the former collection from the stuurmanskamer and other maps which had not been catalogued were lost to De Man's sight. A few of the maps which had indeed been inventorized could not be found in 1815. There were not many according to a catalogue of them compiled by De Man.⁷⁶⁾

Due to De Man's efforts during the winter of 1815/1816 two chests with maps and drawings relating to the colonies were brought back to the Netherlands and deposited in the charterkamer of the ministry of colonies in The Hague.⁷⁷⁾ When he sent the maps and drawings, De Man reported on the 15th November 1815, that: 'herewith I enclose, as far as the Department of the Colonies is concerned, the original catalogue of maps and plans which were transported hither from Holland and in which all those documents I have retrieved have been indicated with red stripes, those marked with an o (according to a Royal Decree of Napoleon 18th August 1810) remained behind in Holland and are to be found in the Department

of Colonies.'78) There is no known copy of this annotated catalogue of Ampt and Brunsveld van Hulten. The holdings are described in the packing list as follows: 26 packets, each of which contains the maps of one register (Asia etc.); the mapbook of De Graaff in two volumes; 7 packages of memoranda and letters; 13 maps on linen or rolled up, described in register 27; 8 rolled maps not described in the catalogue (separately specified: maps of the West); and 14 cartons (papers of H.W. Daendels). The chests arrived in the Netherlands on the 8th December 1815. The reclaimed paintings of the House of Orange had been returned not long before. De Man had also played a role in this: helped by Prussian soldiers, he himself had taken the Bull by Potter from the wall of the Louvre and borne this and others paintings to a place of safety under escort which he led with drawn sword.⁷⁹⁾

In the Netherlands the collection of the VOC maps and drawings which had been brought back from Paris in 1815 were housed in the charterkamer of the ministry in the Binnenhof in The Hague. Other parts were still stored in warehouses with the written archives: one section was in Amsterdam and the rest in Middelburg and other cities where the VOC had had chambers. After 1815 the various archives dating from the VOC period were collected together in Amsterdam in the Westindisch Slachthuis by the Ministry of Colonies.

The administration of archives under the Ministry of Colonies was not particularly conducive to the preservation of documents. Quite a lot was destroyed in the Westindisch Slachthuis. In 1821 the minster gave permission for all the duplicates in archives in Amsterdam as well as those documents which, for instance, had been irretrievably damaged by water to be sold as waste paper. Included in this clean up was a 'chest of old, useless charts'.⁸⁰⁾ In their springclean the administrators adopted the principle: what is no longer of use for the present administration, will be the first to go. In a number of cases this led to the destruction of historically important documents. One of the people whose indignation was roused by this was the government archivist, R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink. In 1856 this prompted him to comment on the custom of using parchment maps to bind papers.⁸¹⁾ This was a time-honoured custom: outdated parchment maps retained their material value and in the seventeenth century they had already been used to bind letters and papers. Victor de Stuers, well known advocate for the preservation of the Dutch heritage, was indignant about the abuses in the management of archives. Referring to the views of the East Indies from the boardroom of the Heren XVII (now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam) he wrote: 'These works, partially reduced to shreds, have recently been found in a peat store.'⁸²⁾

During the first half of the 19th century, the collection of maps and drawings in Amsterdam was added to with items which came to light in other places. About 1850 the archives of the former VOC in Amsterdam were inspected. The report only makes a general mention of the existence of 'maps, plans, illustrations of forts'.⁸³⁾ (See Appendix 14 for a diagram of the VOC map holdings.)

3. TRANSFER TO AND ARRANGEMENT IN THE GENERAL STATE ARCHIVES

The removal of the state archives from the Binnenhof to the Plein (in The Hague) in 1854 was used by the Ministry of Colonies to urge for the handing over of the colonial archives dating from before 1813. This transfer was accomplished in the summer of 1856. According to the official report, on this occasion four chests and one package with maps and drawings were transported from Amsterdam.⁸⁴⁾

Besides the collections from the storehouses of the ministry of colonies, in 1860 the General State Archives possessed (a small number) of maps and drawings of the East which had belonged to the archives of the States General and the States of Holland and to several private archives. All these holdings were brought together in the collection 'foreign maps'. In 1863 Bakhuizen van den Brink appointed the retired naval officer, P.A. Leupe, to make an inventory of them.⁸⁵⁾ Leupe added miscellaneous acquisitions and gifts of charts and maps of the colonies to the collected holdings, so that the most recent maps in his catalogue date from the middle of the nineteenth century. Between 1863 and 1866 the maps and drawings which had

been bound in with the Overgekomen brieven en papieren in the VOC and the WIC archives were detached from their volumes and added to the collection of foreign maps. This detaching was unfortunately carried out with only somewhat summary references to the place of origin.

In 1866, the minister of foreign affairs gave permission for the publication of Leupe's catalogue.⁸⁶⁾ This was the first printed finding aid to a holding in the possession of the General State Archives. A supplement to Leupe's catalogue appeared nearly fifty years later.⁸⁷⁾ Because of the merging of the map collections of the ministries of the navy and of the colonies during the Batavian Republic and the French occupation, in the 19th century part of the VOC maps ended up in the Ministry of the Navy. The collections deposited and formed there were also described by Leupe.⁸⁸⁾ This collection can also be consulted in the General State Archives.

4. MAPS AND DRAWINGS DEPOSITED ELSEWHERE AND GONE ASTRAY

In some cases maps and drawings of premises and buildings of the VOC at home in the Netherlands have strayed into local archives and museums. Likewise, some of the maps and drawings in the General State Archives relating to possessions in and the trade with Asia have also become detached from their original archival context. Some of them were abstracted from their original place during the VOC era, for instance for the making of copies in mapbooks or series of maps. Furthermore, the disregard for archive management in the first half of the nineteenth century was also a factor in the mislaying of maps. Antiquarian interest likewise played a role. The antiquarian Frederik Muller took a portfolio of maps, which he later deposited in the General State Archives, from the collections of the West Indian Company in Middelburg. Less honest examples can also be posited: maps and drawings were also abstracted from the archives and sold. In this fashion some maps have found their way into the General State Archives by way of a detour, but others have ended up in other places.⁸⁹⁾

A large number of VOC maps are now in Paris. The confused situation there in 1814/1815 was a contributory factor in not all the Dutch holdings from the Dépôt de la Marine being returned. Besides the loose VOC maps and drawings which were mislaid, the former collection in the stuurmanskamer in Amsterdam is important. This collection, which consists largely of hand-drawn charts, roughly estimated at 400 sheets (perhaps even a few hundred more), was absorbed into the collection of the Dépôt de la Marine. Nearly the entire collection of old maps and plans from this Dépôt, the name of which was changed to Service Hydrographique de la Marine, was handed over to the Département des Cartes et Plans of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in three stages. Other sections of the old collections, in a remarkable manoeuvre of the respect des fonds, were deposited in the Archives Nationales and the military collections in the Chateau of Vincennes in Paris and the Service Hydrographique in Brest.⁹⁰⁾

Besides maps from the VOC archives, in the holdings of the Service Hydrographique, there are also maps of the VOC octrooigebied which originally came from the archives and collections of the stadhouder, William V, which were confiscated in 1796.⁹¹⁾ There are no printed finding aids to the maps and drawings collections of the Service Hydrographique which contains more than just charts. A photocopy of the inventory of the collections of the Service Hydrographique is available in the maps and drawings reading room of the General States Archives.⁹²⁾

Another important collection is that of the models of VOC ships. In the Ministry of the Navy these have been added to the models of admiralty and naval ships. This collection was described in the middle of the nineteenth century.⁹³⁾ Through the good offices of Victor de Stuers this collection was handed over to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam in its entirety.⁹⁴⁾ The ship plans which belong to the model collection are preserved in the General State Archives (code MTSH), but as far as is known these do not include any plans of VOC ships.

5. THE ARCHIVES OF HULST VAN KEULEN AND OF ESTABLISHMENTS IN ASIA

Hulst van Keulen

As far as the maps of the octrooigebied of the VOC are concerned, the archives of Hulst van Keulen can be considered semi-private. During the nineteenth century the firm of Van Keulen had connections with the navy.⁹⁵⁾ A large part of its archives was destroyed even before its liquidation in 1885. Frederik Muller mentions a large-scale clearance of 'an enormous quantity of hand-drawn and printed charts and maps' by the new head.⁹⁶⁾ Presumably he was referring to J. Staats Boonen, who became head of the business in 1823. After the business was closed down, in 1885 its map holdings were auctioned. The remaining maps were probably included among the maps of the ministry of the navy, which are now in the General State Archives and was described by Leupe.⁹⁷⁾

Establishments in Asia and the Cape of Good Hope

Maps which were produced or administered in former VOC establishments in Asia have, in principle, been preserved in those places themselves. However, a great deal has been lost. Largest collections of maps were those of the VOC administrations in the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon.⁹⁸⁾ In Colombo, for instance, an important part of the administration of land has been preserved in both written and cartographic form.⁹⁹⁾

The most important collection was naturally that formed in Batavia. In 1811 T.S. Raffles appointed a commission whose task it was to make 'a general record and collection of all archives, official documents, maps and plans, which had pertained to the various departments and offices under the former French government'. Amongst other things this commission produced 'registers of maps and plans, which had belonged to the Department of Engineering, under the former French Government' (ca. 1812).¹⁰⁰⁾ Probably all the maps and drawings then available in Batavia were described in the registers mentioned: Daendels had followed the example of the Batavian Depot-Generaal and assembled all the maps and drawings made by the military engineers. Nonetheless, the same Daendels also gave orders to destroy old papers which had no value. This undoubtedly had enormous consequences for the maps and drawings.

Those which escaped destruction were described by the government archivist, F. de Haan. In his catalogue, in which more than 1100 maps and drawings from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century are described (the number of sheets from the VOC period is much less than 1100), there are no sheets referring to the areas outside Indonesia.¹⁰¹⁾ This collection is now in the Arsip Nasional in Jakarta. A small number of the VOC maps and drawings in the Arsip Nasional has been photographed and can be consulted in the General State Archives.

6. DIRECTIONS FOR THE USE OF MAPS AND DRAWINGS IN THE GENERAL STATE ARCHIVES

VOC maps and drawings are contained in the collections with the following letter codes: MCAL, VEL and VELH. The catalogues of these collections are divided into a main classification of charts, on the one hand, and maps and plans, on the other. These two main categories are subdivided geographically. In many instances both categories will have to be consulted because of the fairly arbitrary division between charts and maps. The catalogues are provided with indexes of personal names and geographical names. It should be borne in mind that much less material can be found with the help of the index than by means of the geographical classification.

The maps and drawings in the collections VEL and VELH are available on micro-fiches. It is advisable to consult the material first with the help of these fiches. This is quicker; one can make a selection of what one then wishes to see in the original. The mapbook of Isaac de Graaff -during the whole of the eighteenth century the standard cartographic work of the Heren XVII - and several other cartographic works of the VOC are available in the map and drawings reading room in the form of photo atlases and facsimile editions.

In the collection VEL especially, there are descriptions of many maps and drawings which were detached from the series of Overgekomen brieven en papieren during the 19th century.

This is sometimes mentioned in the column Aanmerkingen (remarks), for example Overgekomen, 1655 (Received, 1655). If one knows or assumes that a drawing belongs with a letter or a report in the series of Overgekomen brieven en papieren, one should consult the back of the drawing. Often there is there an indication of origin written in pen, for instance, Ceylon, 1722, 3e deel (Ceylon, 1722, third part). Using this indication one can easily look up the chronological tables of contents of the Overgekomen brieven en papieren, and then relate the map or drawing and the written document to each other.

Notes

1. Robaert (died before or in 1617) supplied paskaarten (sea charts) in 1600 for the fitting out of Van Neck's fleet: J.K.J. de Jonge, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië I* ('s-Gravenhage 1862) 183.
2. C.A. Davids, *Zeewezen en wetenschap. De wetenschap en de ontwikkeling van de navigatietechniek in Nederland tussen 1585 and 1815* (Amsterdam en Dieren 1985) 398.
3. For De Graaff and Van Keulen: M. Kok, *Ontwikkelingen in de Nederlandse maritieme kartografie in de achttiende eeuw (1730-1815)* (typescript; Utrecht 1980) 48 and 51. The letter of appointment for De Graaff in 1705 is almost identical with that of Willem Jansz. Blaeu in 1633.
4. At least this was the practice in the eighteenth century. In 1633 upon his appointment Willem Jansz. Blaeu was awarded a fixed yearly salary of 300 guilders, over and above his piece wages.: Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie* first volume, part 1. F.W. Stapel ed. *Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, grote serie 63* ('s-Gravenhage 1927) 404.
5. Ibidem, 415.
6. On 1st July 1723 the shipwright Brouwer was asked either to lease his shipyard or to sell it; VOC, inv. nr. 251, Resolutions of the Amsterdam Chamber. The examiner van de stuurlieden, Mattheus Soetens, was not permitted to run his own school for navigational skills after his appointment; VOC, inv. nr. 360, instructions of the Amsterdam Chamber for its employees. See also K. Zandvliet, *Joan Blaeu's Boeck vol kaerten en beschrijvingen van de Oostindisch Compagnie [...]* in: J.E. Huysen and F. Lammertse eds., *Het kunstbedrijf van de familie Vingboons. Schilders, architecten en kaartmakers in de gouden eeuw* (Maarssen etc. 1989) 59-95.
7. J. Publido-Rubio, *El piloto mayor de la Casa de Contracion de Sevilla...* (n.p. 1950); A. Cortesao and A. Teixeira de Mota, *Monumenta Portugaliae Cartographica I* (Lisboa 1960) 19-21 and III, 41-49 and 87-89, and IV, 4 and 79; N.J.W. Thrower ed., *The compleat Plattmaker. Essays on Chart, Map and Globe Making in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Berkeley etc. 1978) 45-100.
8. Zandvliet, 'Joan Blaeu's Boeck', 75. Compare G. Schilder, 'Organization and Evolution of the Dutch East India Company's Hydrographic Office in the Seventeenth Century', *Imago Mundi* 28 (1976) 61-78, and G. Schilder, 'Het cartografisch bedrijf van de VOC' in: Patrick van Mil and Mieke Scharloo eds., *De VOC in de kaart gekeken. Cartografie en navigatie van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie 1602-1799* ('s-Gravenhage 1988) 17-45.
9. Amongst other things the artikelbrief (terms of appointment) of 2nd March 1634, 12th item, Article 110, in J.A. van der Chijs ed., *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek I* (Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1885) 339. This condition is repeated in later terms of appointment.

10. Supervision is stipulated in eighteenth century instructions to examiners van de stuurlieden ; VOC, inv. nr. 255, Resolution of the Amsterdam Chamber, 11 December 1731, Instruction Cornelis Stuurman. This was in response to a request of the 28th March 1731 from the Heren XVII. It is in character that the compilation of the seaman's guide for the East, the sixth part of the Zee-fakkel, was produced by the examiner, Jan de Marre.
11. Besides legger, the terms origineele and slaper were used; Van der Chijs ed., Plakaatboek VI, 15 January 1753.
12. J.W. Heydt, Allerneuester Geographisch- und Topographischer Schau-Platz von Africa und Ost-Indien... (Wilhermsdorff 1744) 44.
13. Facsimile edition with an introduction by C. Verner and R.A. Skelton (London 1970).
14. VOC, inv. nr. 164, Resolution Heren XVII, 14 March 1729.
15. Kok, 'Cartografie van de firma Van Keulen', 34.
16. For the atlases of Vingboons and Van der Hem, see F.C. Wieder ed., Monumenta Cartographica. Reproductions of Unique and Rare Maps, Plans and Views... (6 volumes; 's-Gravenhage 1925-1933); Schilder, 'Organization and evolution'; J.Th.W. van Bracht ed., Atlas van kaarten en aanzichten van de VOC en WIC, genoemd Vingboonsatlas in het Algemeen Rijksarchief te 's-Gravenhage (Haarlem 1982) and Zandvliet, 'Joan Blaeu's Boeck'
17. Table of contents dating from the time before the mapbook had been taken apart: Archives of the Raad der Aziatische Bezittingen en Etablissements (Council for the Asian Possessions and Establishments) (hereafter: Archives of Aziatische Raad), inv. nr. 21, annex 112 by Resolution 27 June 1806; Archives of the Ministerie van Koloniën (Ministry of Colonies) supplement 1850-1952, inv. nr. 49.
18. M. Kok, 'Cartografie van de firma Van Keulen' in: E.O. van Keulen et al. eds., 'In de Gekroonde Lootsman'. Het kaarten-, boekuitgevers en instrumentenmakershuis Van Keulen te Amsterdam 1680-1885 (Utrecht 1989).
19. For the map series of Gerard van Keulen and the seaman's guide of Van Keulen and De Marre: Ibidem, 34 and 36. Facsimile edition: C. Koeman ed., De Nieuwe Groote Ligtende Zee-fakkel (Amsterdam 1969).
20. Hans H. van Rooij and Jerzy Gawronski, VOC-schip Amsterdam (Haarlem 1989). In 1727 explicit instructions were given by the Admiralty to deposit plans and models in the archives: ARA, Fagel Collection, inv. nr. 1099. Grateful thanks to B. Kist.
21. Zeeland Chamber: VOC, inv. nr. 14336, account for the outfitting of the ships the Amsterdam and the Zon, 1606, f. 12, Barend Langenes.
22. The Amsterdam Chamber paid more than 1447 pounds to Robaert for paskaarten (sea charts) for the equipage of the five ships which sailed in 1616. Some of these charts were sent to and charged to the Chambers of Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen; VOC, inv. nr. 14338, account for the ninth equipage of the Amsterdam Chamber, 1616, f. 19v.
23. 'Kaarten sullen voor alle de cameren werden gemaakt bij Hessel Gerrits' (Maps will be made for all chambers by Hessel Gerritsz.), 11 September 1628: VOC, inv. nr. 13790, Equipage Ledger; Van Dam, Beschryvinge first book, Part I, 403 (cites the Resolution of the

Heren XVII of 11th July 1628). A confirmation of the stipulation: 6 June 1669 VOC, inv. nr. 4456, report of the Haags Besogne .

24. VOC, inv. nrs. 4456, report of the Haags Besogne, and 4601, report of the conferences of the Heren XVII committee for inspecting the books, 4 June 1669. The reason for the discussion was the excessive bill which the mapmaker Joan Blaeu presented for the year 1668: 21,135 guilders, 9 guilders per parchment map.

25. P.A. Leupe, Inventaris der verzameling kaarten berustende in het Rijks archief. Ie gedeelte ('s-Gravenhage 1867) v-vi, Resolutions Heren XVII, 23rd October 1666 and 19 and 21 October 1684.

26. It is possible that after 1747 Hoorn and Enkhuizen once again began to purchase their maps from local suppliers: Kok, 'Cartografie van de firma Van Keulen', 38. For the Zeeland Chamber see: Schilder, 'Cartografisch bedrijf', 34.

27. The numbers VEL 1184 to 1187 can be seen as a version of this pre-cadastral map (revised until 1706).

28. For the instructions for military engineers, see: Van de Chijs ed., Plakaatboek.

29. Ibidem VI, 15th January 1753, appointment Pieter Hermannus Ohdem, and 6th March 1753. In the latter decree the salary of the examiner was raised.

30. A number of these painted views and maps of the Company's establishments is preserved in the Rijksmuseum: P.J.J. van Thiel et al. , Alle schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam (Amsterdam and Haarlem 1976) 105 (A19), 509-510 (A4481 and A4482) and 664 (A4471 to 4476).

31. VOC, inv. nr. 4639, lists of maps received from Asia. In the 1814 inventory of the charters and a register of maps which have been bound into books and bundles is again mentioned.

32. Van Dam, Beschryvinge first book, part I, 403.

33. Ibidem, 415 (1633) and in Van Keulen's letter of appointment (1786). It is true that in the case of Van Keulen 'the leggers lodged with the Company' are mentioned, but perhaps we should take this to refer to the models which have been mentioned earlier. If this is the case, the Company kept authorized copies of every map and navigational instrument in the stuurmanskamer.

34. Most of these lists have been published: Schilder, 'Organization and Evolution', 64-68 and Kok, Ontwikkelingen, enclosures I.1 to I.6.

35. VOC, inv. nr. 232, Resolutie Amsterdam Chamber, 22nd November 1638.

36. Van Dam, Beschryvinge first book, part I, 414. Therefore management of the maps and drawings collections (the archives) was not one of the duties of the mapmaker.

37. VOC, inv. nr. 4597, balance sheet for 1781. In the invoice of commodities and supplies assembled in the warehouse of the Amsterdam Chamber, 300 charts and 150 blank charts with the compass lines printed are mentioned. In Van Keulen's instruction (1786), it is stated that in the event of his resignation or death the maps would be resumed for the prices mentioned in the approved list. This phraseology indicates that there was a stock of charts in Van Keulen's shop.

38. In the stuurmanskamer of the VOC there was a buffer stock of sets of charts available. An equipage list of 1788 states which persons were responsible for the supply of goods, victuals and so forth: 'moet worden ingevuld door den equipagemeester, opzigter van de stuurmanskamer, opzigter van het slagthuis, opzigter van de wapenkamer' (must be entered by the master of the equipage, the supervisor of the stuurmanskamer, the overseer of the abattoirs, by the overseer of the arsenal); VOC, inv. nr. 4964. The accounts of the VOC gives the impression that large amounts of maps were regularly supplied and paid for: Isaac de Graaff received 1381 guilders on 31st October 1721 (VOC, inv. nr. 7148, journal of the chief accountant of the Amsterdam Chamber, f. 276); the widow of Johannes van Keulen received 2985 guilders on 31st October 1772 (VOC, inv. nr. 7163, journal of the chief accountant of the Amsterdam Chamber, f. 54).

39. In the directors' boardroom in Hoorn in 1796 there were thirteen framed old maps and prints; Archives of the Comité tot de Oost-Indische handel en bezittingen (hereafter: Archives Oostindisch Comité), inv. nr. 159.

40. VOC, inv. nr. 13866.

41. Archives Oostindisch Comité (East India Committee), inv. nr. 28, minutes of Equipage Department, 30th September and 7th October 1796.

42. Archives Aziatische Raad, inv. nr. 28, Instruction of 28th September 1800. As far as can be investigated, this list has not survived.

43. By decree of 27th June 1806, no. 112, Kraijenhoff was sent a copy of the 'inventory of maps, plans and memoranda concerning the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope'; Archives Aziatische Raad, inv. nr. 37. It is possible that this was the same inventory used in August 1806 for the delivery of Ampt's maps.

44. See the inventories of written archivalia: VOC, inv. nrs. 13862-13865 and 14924-14926, 'generaal register van alle de Compagnie's boeken welke uit Indien naar Patria werden gezonden' (general register of all the Company's books which were sent from Asia to the Netherlands), 1612-1794; February 1807 (Delft Chamber), f. 40; Inventory of Marine en Koloniën (Inventory of Navy and Colonies), 1814, f. 91 no. 128, f. 98 no. 191, f. 109 kist 8, f. 118 kist 13 no. 64; 28 August 1816; VOC, inv. nr. 14931, inventory of the East Indian Archives in the Westindisch Magazijn in Amsterdam compiled by De Munnick, 1828.

45. Archives of the Ministerie van Koophandel en Koloniën (Ministry for Commerce and the Colonies) (hereafter: Archives Min. K. & K.), inv. nr. 2, enclosure report gen. dir., July-December 1806 no. 27, Art. 7 of the Royal Decree.

46. See the instruction to the director (Arts. 3 and 4), Archives of Depot-Generaal van Oorlog (General Depot for War) 1806-1811 (hereafter: Archives Dep.-Gen. Oorlog), inv. nr. 21. Some doubts could be raised about how much historiography was written at that period. This was the case in Paris. Archives Min. K. & K., inv. nr. 79 (index Oost), 31st wijnmaand 1810 (October) no. 21.

47. M.D. Lammerts, 'Het depot-generaal van Oorlog', *Ons Leger* 26 (1940) 321-325. See also H.A.J. van Schie, *Inventaris van de archieven van het Comité tot de algemene zaken van het bondgenootschap te Lande ...* ('s-Gravenhage 1979) introduction.

48. The 'staat en inventaris van Koophandel en Koloniën (balance sheet and inventory) of 1814, f. 6, mentions the inventory of the books and papers from the charterkamer of the former VOC 'waarbij de lijst der kaarten en plans' (including the list of maps and plans), delivery on 15th August 1806. The list, which has been preserved, is dated 27th June 1806:

Archives Aziatische Raad, inv. nr. 21, annex 112 to Resolution of 27th June 1806.

49. Archives of the Ministerie van Marine en Koloniën (Ministry of the Navy and Colonies) 1795-1813 (hereafter: Archives Min. M. & K.), exh. 17th December 1808 no. 5.

50. Archives of the Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Ministry for Foreign Affairs) (hereafter: Archives Min. BZ), Legatie Frankrijk (French Legation), inv. nr. 80.

51. Archives Dep.-Gen. Oorlog, inv. nr. 9, letters of Ampt, 26th March 1808 and 5th April 1808: 'from which division I foresee a fine acquisition for the field of the colonies...'

52. Archives of the Departement van Marine (Naval Department) 1798-1810, inv. nr. 212, letters received, 6th February 1810.

53. The instruction is composed in line with the Royal Decree of 1st March 1807, Art. 8253. The text of the instruction can be found in: Archives Dep.-Gen. Oorlog, inv. nr. 21.

54. See J.A.M.Y. Bos-Rops et al. eds., *De archieven in het Algemeen Rijksarchief. Overzichten van de archieven en verzamelingen in de openbare archiefbewaarplaatsen in Nederland IX* (Alphen aan de Rijn 1982) 471-473. Ampt expatiated on the method of inventorization in a memorandum of 31st December 1807; Archives Dep.-Gen., inv. nr. 29. Ampt's memo is a further development of the system of arrangement stipulated in the instruction (see note 53). The working methods of the Depot-Generaal were still very renowned in the middle of the nineteenth century and perhaps exercised some influence on Leupe: J.J.F. Noordziek, *Archiefwezen 1826-1852. Met eene korte opgave van den inhoud van eenige boekerijen* ('s-Gravenhage 1853) 62-64.

55. VOC charts are mentioned in an enclosure to De Man's missive of 15th November 1815 to the Minister for the Navy in which he specifies details about the transfer of maps and so forth to the department of the former. They include: 4 maps of the Coromandel coast; 6 maps of the island of Ceylon; 4 maps of Ceylon and the Maldives; 4 maps of the Malabar coast.

56. The following registers refer to the VOC: nr. 1 Asia; nrs. 2 and 3 Java; nrs. 4 and 5 Ceylon; nr. 6 East Indies; nr. 7 Africa; nr. 8 Guinea coast; nrs. 9 to 11 Cape of Good Hope; and nr. 27 framed maps (probably taken from the boardroom). 'Extraits des catalogues des cartes, plans...', 16th August 1810, and an packing list of 1815; Archives Min. BZ, Legatie Frankrijk, inv. nr. 80. Also in the Archives of Oorlog en Topografisch Bureau (War and Topographical Bureau), inv. nr. 15.

57. From Register nr. 12 America in 1810 a, nr. 85, was singled out as the highest number. The drawing of the spice mill in Colombo (VEL 982) was described, according to the caption, in the fifth Register, part 1, folio 25. Therefore the register may well have consisted of two parts, each containing at least 25 pages. I assume that each register could contain (Register nr. 12, America contained at least 85 numbers) about 100 descriptions. In view of the fact that the division into numbers of registers will have been based partly on the cartographic and drawing material available, it seems to me that the estimate of 400 sheets for the VOC is more likely to be too low than too high.

58. E.A.D. Comte de Las Cases, *Mémoires [...] communiqués par lui-même [...]* (Bruxelles 1818) 31-32.

59. Paris, Archives Nationales, Marine (hereafter: Arch. Nat. Marine), BB2, inv. nr. 122. letter from the Minister of the Navy and Colonies to the French Dépôt-Général/Impérial, 12th July 1810.

60. Arch. Nat. Marine, BB3, inv. nr. 350, letter from De Rosily to the Minister of the Navy and the Colonies, Decrès.
61. Archives of the Prins Stedehouder, inv. nr. 10, letter from the French Minister for the Navy, Decrès, to the Prins Stedehouder, 10th July 1810.
62. Archives Dep.-Gen. Oorlog, inv. nr. 5, order from the ministers of War and the Navy, 15th July 1810.
63. This is specified in an extract catalogue of 17th August 1810. Both the extract catalogue and the complete catalogues of the holdings of the navy and the colonies were sent to the Prins Stedehouder in Amsterdam on 21st August 1810 by the French Minister for the Navy and the Colonies, Decrès: Archives Prins Stedehouder, inv. nr. 10. Leadership of the operation in Amsterdam remained in the hands of De Las Cases. See also: Archives Dep.-Gen. Oorlog, inv. nr. 9, 16th July 1810.
64. Copy Imperial Decree of 18th August 1810, with a specification of the numbers exempted, described in the extract catalogue of 16th August 1810: Archives Min. BZ, Legatie Frankrijk, inv. nr. 80. Also in Archives Prins Stedehouder, inv. nr. 8
65. Arch. Nat. Marine, BB3, inv. nr. 350, letter from Buache (seen by Rosily) to the Minister of the Navy and the Colonies, 7th August 1810.
66. Arch. Nat. Marine 1JJ, inv. nr. 51, duplicate letter from the Minister of the Navy and the Colonies to Lebrun, 21st August 1810.
67. Archives Dep.-Gen. Oorlog, inv. nr. 9, commission of Van der Heim.
68. Archives Min. M. & K., inv. nr. 79, exh. 28th December 1810.
69. Archives of the Hollandse Divisie (Dutch Division) of the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies in Paris, 1810-1814, inv. nr. 6, letter from the maritime prefect to the Minister of the Navy and the Colonies, Decrès, in Paris, 22nd May 1811.
70. Reçu De Man of 22nd November 1815: Arch. Nat. Marine, 1JJ, inv. nr. 52.
71. G.A. Covillault, Histoire des archives et de la bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique de la Marine (Paris 1979) 18-19.
72. Royal Decree 13th July 1815 no. 21, on the recommendation of Goldberg, staatsraad Koophandel en Koloniën (state councillor for Commerce and the Colonies) exh. 10th July 1815 no. 644. Follow up to Koophandel en Koloniën, 16th November 1814 no. 419 and 17th December 1814 no. 26. There is an explicit reference to the mapbook of Isaac de Graaff in the Royal Decree concerned.
73. Archives Min. BZ, Legatie Frankrijk, letter from De Man to Fagel, 24th October 1815, and from De Man to the Minister for War, 15th November 1815 no. 59 (quotation).
74. Map of Batavia: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Service Hydrographique 193/5/6; ARA, VEL 1192 (with the marks of Ampt's inventorization: Reg. 2, part 1 f. 5). Map of Malabar: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coll. Serv. Hydr. 206/2/23; ARA, MCAL nr. 4198.
75. Arch. Nat. Marine, 1JJ, inv. nr. 52.

76. Lists of 22nd November 1815 in: Arch. Nat. Marine 1JJ, inv. nr. 52. This also includes a statement by De Man in which he declares which of the maps, drawings and models which appear in the catalogue of 1810 can no longer be found.

77. On 16th February 1816 the senior clerk, Zimmerman, was authorized (exh. Minister of Colonies no. 966) to take charge of the documents and to keep them in the charterkamer of the ministry; Archives of the Ministerie van Koloniën (Ministry of Colonies), 1814-1848 (hereafter Archives Min. Kol.), inv. nr. 117, annex to report 8th December 1815 no. 3767 and Archives of Oorlog en Topografisch Bureau, inv. nr. 15. Signed receipt: Idem, inv. nr. 15.

78. Archives Min. BZ, Legatie Frankrijk, inv. nr. 80. The state councillor for Commerce and the Colonies, Goldberg, confirmed receipt of the original catalogue on 21st November 1815, ARA, private archive De Man.

79. Th.L. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'De Stadhoudelijke verzamelingen' in: 150 jaar Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Koninklijk Penningkabinet ('s-Gravenhage 1967) 9-50, especially 38-39.

80. According to the clerk, C. Bras, in a note of 2nd October 1821 about goods he had come across in the 'former shipyard'. This note ties in with the decrees of the Ministry of Colonies of 26th January 1821 and 27th November 1821 no. 26/1.

81. R. Fruin, De gestie van dr. R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink als archivaris des rijks 1854-1865 [...] ('s-Gravenhage 1926) 74.

82. V. de Stuers, Holland op zijn smalst [...] (Bussum 1975) 69; originally appeared as an article in De Gids (1873).

83. Noordziek, Archiefwezen, 68.

84. Archives Min. Kol., inv. nr. 541, exh. 15th September 1856 A19.

85. Fruin, Gestie, 193.

86. P.A. Leupe, Inventaris der verzameling kaarten berustende in het Rijksarchief. Eerste gedeelte ('s-Gravenhage 1867). Code: VEL.

87. S.P. l'Honoré Naber, Inventaris der verzameling kaarten berustende in het Algemeen Rijksarchief. Eerste supplement ('s-Gravenhage 1914). Code: VELH.

88. P.A. Leupe, Catalogus der verzameling van kaarten van het Ministerie van Marine ('s-Gravenhage 1872). Code: MCAL.

89. For maps and drawings in other collections see: M.P.H. Roessingh, Sources to the history of Asia and Oceania in the Netherlands I. Sources up to 1796 (München 1982) and Wieder, Monumenta Cartographica.

90. For a survey see: Sources de l'Histoire de l'Asie et de l'Océanie dans les Archives et Bibliothèques françaises II. Bibliothèque Nationale (München etc. 1981) 249-261. One part of the VOC maps in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the hand-drawn charts on parchment from before 1700, has been included in a bibliography: M. Dèstombes, Catalogue des cartes nautiques manuscrites sur parchemin 1300-1700. Cartes hollandaises. La cartographie de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales 1593-1743 (Saigon 1941). More recent, but with the same limited scope, is M. Foncin, M. Dèstombes and M. de la Roncière, Catalogue des cartes nautiques sur vélin

conservées au Département des Cartes et Plans (Paris 1963).

91. M. Pastoureau, 'Histoire de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Géographie et cartographie à la BN pendant la Révolution: un rendez-vous manqué', *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 32 (1989) 65 and 67.

92. Inventaire sommaires des portefeuilles du Service Hydrographique de la Marine (typescript).

93. J.M. Obreen, *Catalogus der verzameling van modellen van het Departement van Marine* ('s-Gravenhage 1858).

94. De Stuers, *Holland op zijn smalst*, 70.

95. *Verhandelingen en Berigten betreffende het Zeewezen* 5 (Amsterdam 1845). See also: W.C. Crama and A.C.J. Vermeulen, 'Van zeevaartkundig etablissement tot koffiehuis' in: Van Keulen et al. eds., 'In de Gekroonde Lootsman' 72-83. They write that, when the business was closed down in 1885, the charts were sold en masse to Seijffardt's bookshop. It seems to me this refers to the stock.

96. G.D. Bom HGz., *Bijdragen tot eene geshiedenis van het geslacht 'Van Keulen'* (Amsterdam 1885) 23-25.

97. *Verzameling van kaarten van het Ministerie van Marine* (code MCAL).

98. For South Africa: *List of Archivalia in South African Archives Depots* (4th impression; Pretoria 1987) 66.

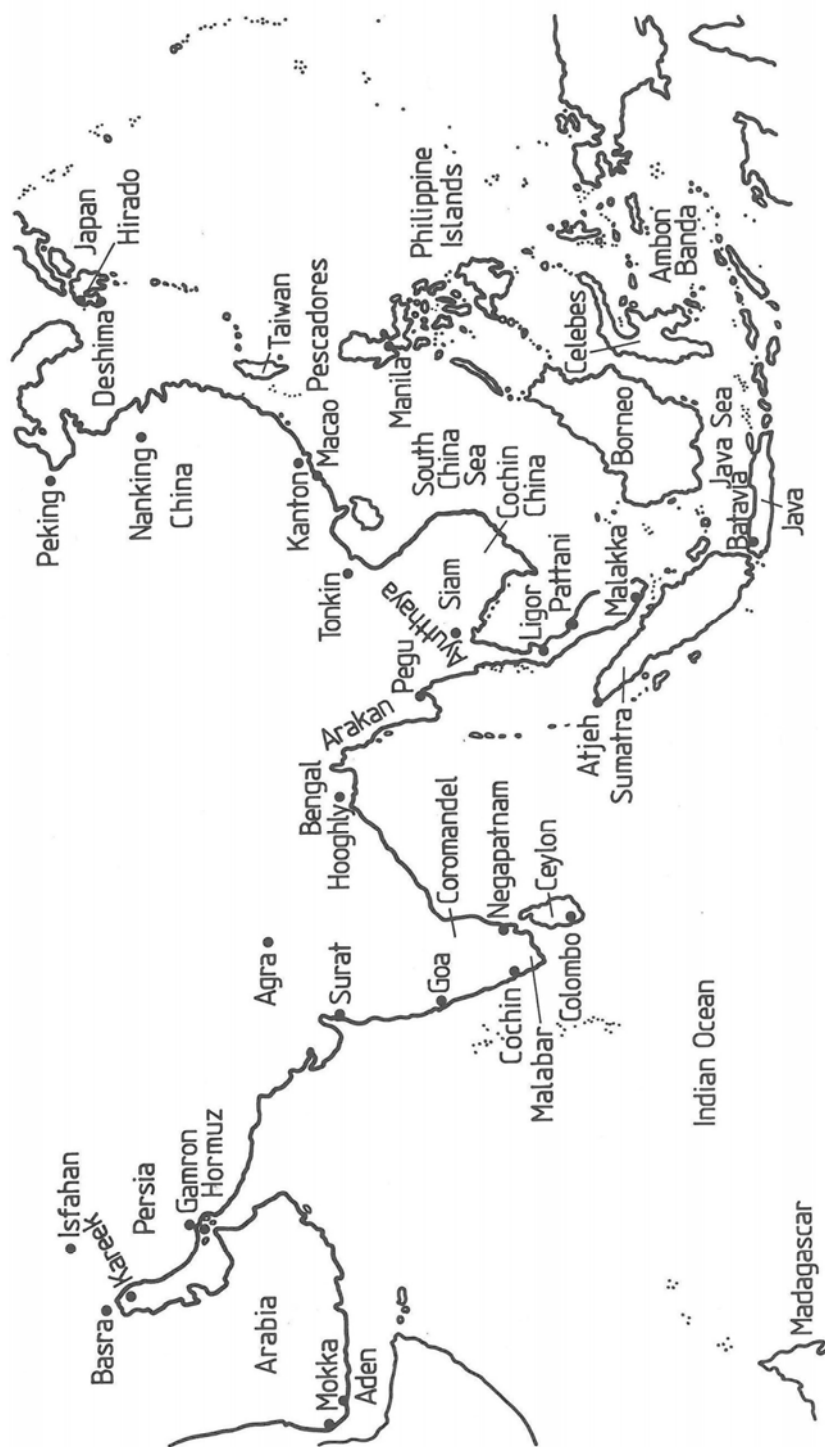
99. J. van Kan, *Compagniesbescheiden en aanverwante archivalia in Britsch-Indië en op Ceylon* (Batavia 1931) 211 and 214; J.L. Brohier and J.H.O. Paulusz., *Land, Maps and Surveys: Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Maps in the Surveyor General's Office II* (Colombo 1951); S.A.W. Mottau, 'Archival Collections for Studies of the Dutch in Ceylon', *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon* 60 (1982) 67-80.

100. J.A. van der Chijs, *Inventaris van 's Lands Archief te Batavia, 1602-1816* (Batavia 1882) vi and 325.

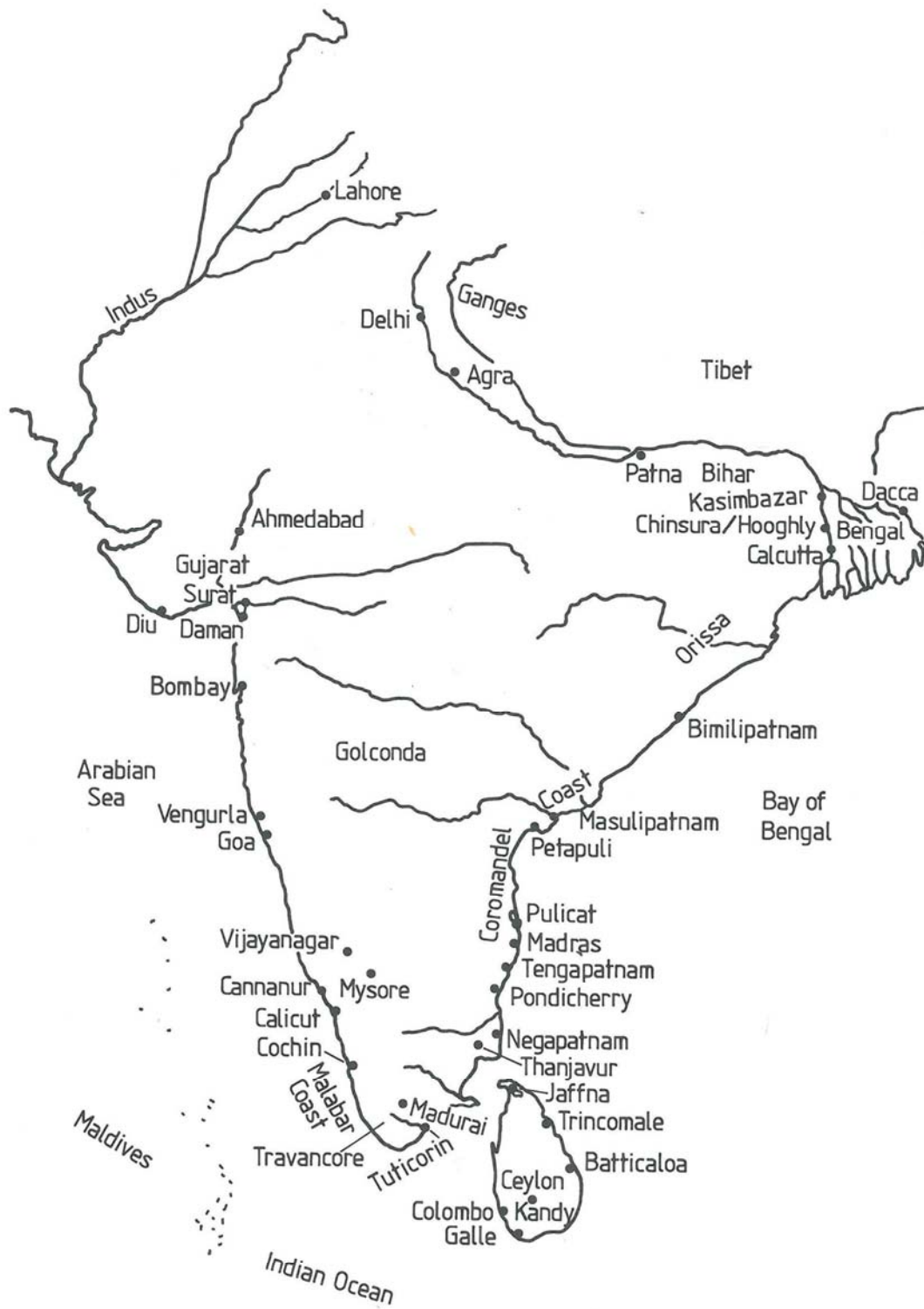
101. This catalogue has been published: *Inventory of Cartographic Manuscripts of the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Jakarta 1986). See also: *Guides to the Sources of Asian History IV. Indonesia* (Jakarta 1989) 49.

Appendix 1

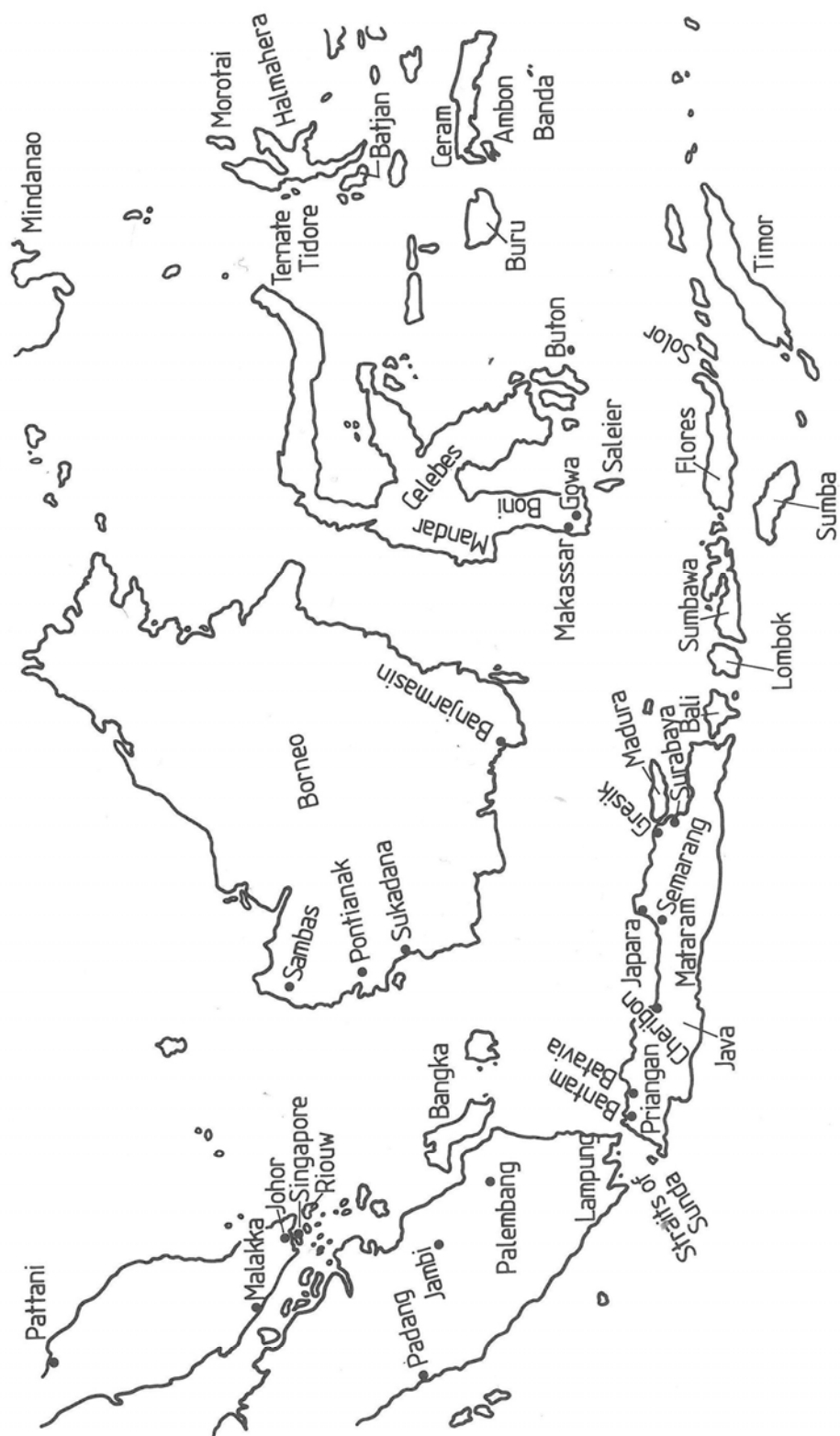
Map of the *octrooigebied*



Appendix 2
Map of South Asia



Map of the Indonesian Archipelago



Appendix 4

List of Charters of the voc

Duration of the charter	Date of issue by States General
1602 March 20 – 1622 December 31	1602 March 20
1623 January 1 – 1642 December 31	1622 December 22
1623 March 13: 'Further amplification and interpretation'	
1644 January 1 – 1646 December 31: many short-term extensions	
1647 January 1 – 1671 December 31	1647 June 22
1672 January 1 – 1700 December 31	1665 February 17
1701 January 1 – 1740 December 31	1696 March 5
1741 January 1 – 1741 December 31	1740 December 22
1742 January 1 – 1742 December 31	1741 December 25
1743 January 1 – 1754 December 31	1742 December 31
1755 January 1 – 1774 December 31	1748 September 19
1775 January 1 – 1776 December 31	1774 December 5
1777 January 1 – 1796 December 31	1776 December 12
1797 January 1 – 1798 December 31	1795 November 26
1799 January 1 – 1799 December 31	1798 January 26

Appendix 5

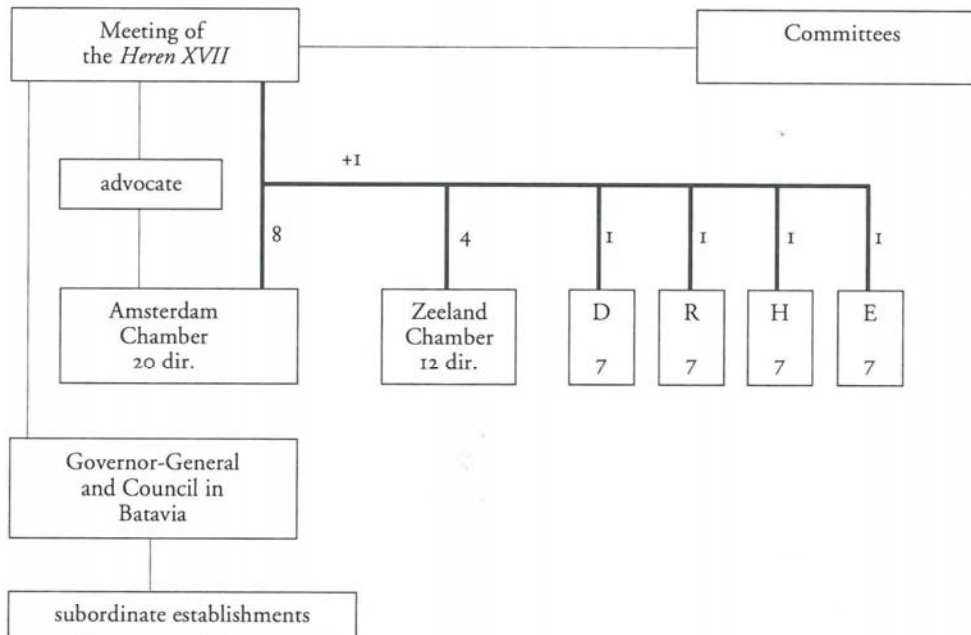
Composition of the Boards of Directors of the Chambers of the VOC in 1700

Chamber	Directors
Amsterdam	20 ordinary directors, of whom after 1648 1 from Haarlem and 1 from Leiden; 5 extraordinary directors: Utrecht (1613), Gelderland (1613), Friesland (1614), Dordrecht (1614) and Gouda (1665).
Zeeland	12 ordinary directors, of whom 9 from Middelburg, 2 from Vlissingen and 1 from Veere; 1 extraordinary director: Stad en Lande (1647).
Delft	7 ordinary directors; 1 extraordinary director: Overijssel (1647).
Rotterdam	7 ordinary directors; 1 extraordinary director: Dordrecht (1647).
N.B.: Delft/Rotterdam	1 ordinary director representing the Ridderschap of Holland. This director took alternate place in one of the two chambers, according to where a place fell vacant as the result of a death. He thus occupied one of the 7 ordinary places.
Hoorn	7 ordinary directors.
Enkhuizen	7 ordinary directors.
N.B.: Hoorn/Enkhuizen	1 ordinary director representing the Ridderschap of Holland (changing chamber every three years); 1 extraordinary director representing Alkmaar. This director had an alternate place in one of the two chambers, according to where a place fell vacant as the result of a death. He therefore occupied one of the ordinary places.

Source: Femme Simon Gaastra, *Bewind en beleid bij de VOC. De financiële en commerciële politiek van de bewindhebbers, 1672-1702* (Zutphen 1989) 32.

Appendix 6

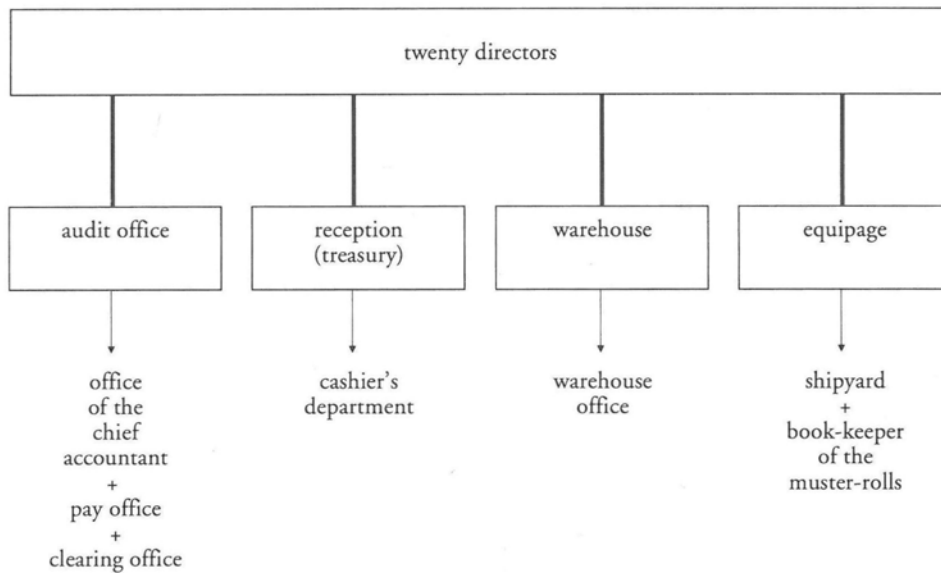
Schematic Diagram of the Organization of the VOC – General



Source: Adapted from Femme S. Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC* (2nd edition; Zutphen 1991) 150.

Appendix 7

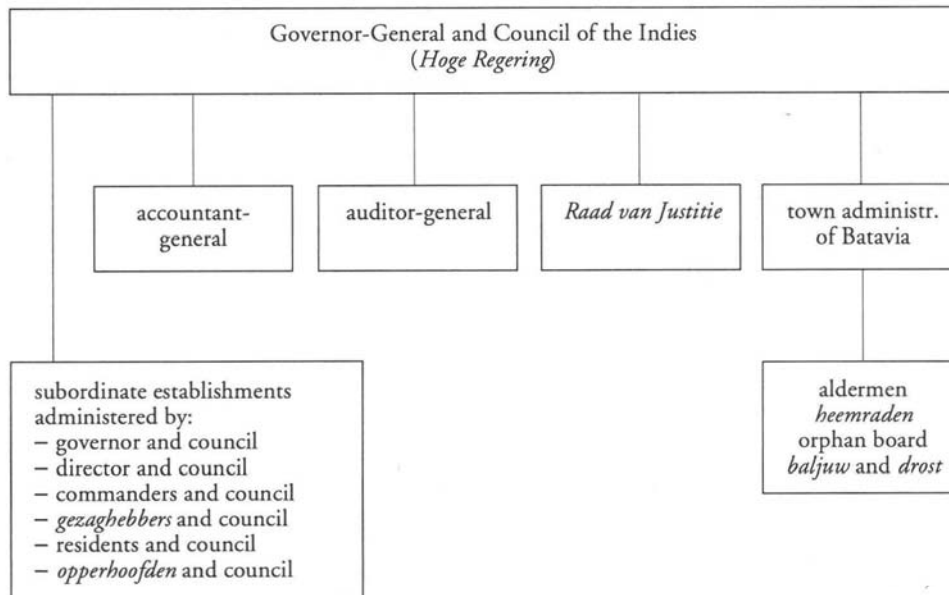
Schematic Diagram of the Organization of the Amsterdam Chamber



Source: Femme S. Gaasstra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC* (2nd edition; Zutphen 1991) 160.

Appendix 8

Schematic Diagram of the Organization of the VOC in Asia



Appendix 9

Lay-Out of a Page of the General Land and Sea Muster-Rolls in the Chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland, 1700-1789

left hand page					right hand page					
1	2	3	first name and family name	birthplace or place of origin	4	5	6	7	8	9

Explanation:

1. 'Grand total' of the employees of all establishments mentioned in the roll / 'grand total' of the crew members on ships mentioned in the roll.
2. Total of employees in the establishment concerned / total of crew members on the ship concerned.
3. Total of employees in one professional category in the establishment concerned / total of employees in one professional category on the ship concerned.
4. Rank of the employee concerned in the year to which the roll refers (*presente qualiteyt*).
5. Monthly wage for the rank mentioned in column 4; the amounts are added up per establishment/ship.
6. Total of the amounts owed per month in wages by the VOC to the employees in all the establishments and ships included in the roll.
7. Name of the ship on which the employee arrived in Asia. When the VOC employee was transferred to another ship at the Cape or Good Hope, then the ship's pay-ledger of the ship referred to in the muster-roll indicates the name of the ship upon which the employee sailed from the Republic. The ship's pay-ledger of that ship contains the information about the career of the VOC employee.
Sometimes instead of a ship's name 'in service' is noted. This means that that particular employee was born in Asia or arrived in Asia in otherwise than VOC employment.
8. Year of arrival in Asia.
9. Rank upon entering VOC employment.
10. VOC chamber in the service of which employment was taken.

Source: F. Lequin, *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de achttiende eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen* (2 volumes; Leiden 1982) 339.

Appendix 10

Survey of the VOC Establishments Mentioned in the Tables of Contents of the Series of General Land Muster-Rolls in the Chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland, 1700 [1720]-1791

Explanation:

An 'x' indicates the total personnel registered in the land muster-roll for that particular establishment per ultimo June of that year. The place names in brackets also occur in the tables of contents. For practical reasons they have not been included separately in the list.

1. Ambon
2. Banda
3. Banjarmasin
4. Bantam
5. Batavia (incl. Mount Parang in the years 1727, 1730 and 1731)
6. Bengal
7. Ceylon
8. Cheribon
9. Coromandel
10. Japan (Nagasaki)
11. North coast of Java
12. Cape of Good Hope
13. Canton
14. Makassar
15. Malabar
16. Melaka
17. Mokka
18. Palembang*
19. Persia (Basra, Gamron, Kareek, Isfahan)
20. Rio Delagoa
21. Siam (and Ligor)
22. West coast of Sumatra (Jambi)
23. Surat
24. Ternate
25. Timor
26. Pontianak

* The registration for Palembang and Jambi for the period 1700-1719 have been combined under Palembang or Jambi.

Source: F. Lequin, Toegang op, en systematisch overzicht van de getalsmatig ontlede en in kaart gebrachte gegevens uit 126 banden generale land- en zeemonsterrollen van de VOC 1700-1791 (typescript; Leiden 1978) 4-7.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1700	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	
01	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x		x		x								x
02	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x				x		x	x	
03	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
04	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	
05	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x		x		x	x			x		x	x	
06	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x		x		x				x		x	x	
07																										
08	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x		x		x				x		x	x	
09	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
1710	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x		x		
11	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
12	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
13	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
14	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
15	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
16	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
17	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
18	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
19	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
1720	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
21	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
22	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
23	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
24	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
25	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
26	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
27	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
28	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
29	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
1730	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	
31	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
32	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
33	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
34	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
35	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
36	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
37	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
38	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
39	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
1740	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
41	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
42	x			x	x	x	x		x	x		x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
43	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x				x		x	x	
44	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
45	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
46	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
47	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x		x		x	x	x		x	x			x		x	x	
48	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
49	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x		x	x	

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1750	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x		x				x	x		x	
51		x		x	x	x	x		x	x		x			x	x		x				x	x		x	
52	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
53	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
54	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
55	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
56	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
57	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
58	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	
59	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x		x	
1760	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x			x			x	x	x	x	
61	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
62		x		x	x																x					
63	x	x				x	x		x		x	x		x	x	x			x			x	x	x		
64	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x	x	
65	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x	x	
66	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	
67	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
68	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x		x		
69	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
1770	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
71	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
72	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
73	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
74	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
75	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
76	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
77	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
78	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		
79	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		x
1780	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x		x
81	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x					x	x	x	
82	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x		x	x	x		x					x	x	x	
83	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x						x	x	
84	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x						x	x	
85	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x					x	x	x	
86	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x				x	x	x	x	
87	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x				x	x	x	x	
88	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x				x	x	x	x	
89	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x		x				x	x	x	x	
1790	x	x		x	x			x						x				x						x	x	
91				x	x			x																	x	

Appendix II

Lay-Out of a Page of the Ship's Pay-Ledgers of the Six Chambers of the VOC, 1700-1795

left hand side		right hand side	
In the ship ... in the year ...		for chamber...	
first name; family name; place of origin; rank upon entering service; wage; mention of will or <i>maandceel</i>		first name; family name; date of departure	
a)	1) f 2) f 3) f + f	c)	6) f 7) f - f
b)	4) f 5) f	e)	8) f + place of employment
		f)	

Explanation:

- Date of departure of ship.
 - Dates of any payments by the VOC in the Republic.
 - Date of arrival of ship.
 - Column with folio numbers which indicate administrative books which have been lost.
 - Dates of entries of amounts credited.
 - Date of death, of departure from Asia or of arrival in the Republic, or last place of employment (end of career unknown).
- Two months' wage cash in hand to the employee.
 - The kit to be paid for by the employee himself, if necessary with money borrowed from the VOC.
 - Should the case arise, any other debts incurred by the employee (*vaderlandse schuld*).
 - One or more amounts of payments by the VOC in the Republic from wages credited to the employee made to family members or proxies, while the employee was in Asia.
 - The final payment made by the VOC in the Republic after the close of the career in Asia, after repatriation (to the employee) or after death (to the proxy).
 - The payment, either wholly or partially credited by the VOC, for the wage earned during the voyage to Batavia.
 - Any debt from the left hand page.
 - Amounts which were credited to the wage of the employee by the VOC for a whole or partial financial year (1st September – 31st August), with mention of the place of employment.

Source: F. Lequin, *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de achttiende eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen* (2 volumes; Leiden 1982) 340.

Appendix 12

Lay-Out of a Page of the Rolls of Qualified Civil and Military Employees in the Chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland, 1701-1787

a. Rolls of the qualified civil servants

left hand page

right hand page

I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

b. Rolls of the qualified military servants

left hand page

right hand page

I	2	11	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Explanation:

1. First name and family name.
2. Birthplace or place of origin.
3. Name of the ship on which the employee arrived in Asia (see also Appendix 9, explanation at point 7).
4. Year of arrival in Asia.
5. Rank upon entering VOC employment.
6. Monthly wage pertaining to the rank mentioned in column 5.
7. Year of promotion (*verbeterd*) or of new employment.
8. The rank to which the qualified employee concerned is promoted or in which rank he is reappointed.
9. Wage pertaining to the rank mentioned in column 8.
10. Name of the person by whom the qualified employee concerned is promoted or reappointed.
11. Rank in the year of registration in the roll concerned (*presente qualiteyt*).

Source: F. Lequin, *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de achttiende eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen* (2 volumes; Leiden 1982) 341.

Appendix 13

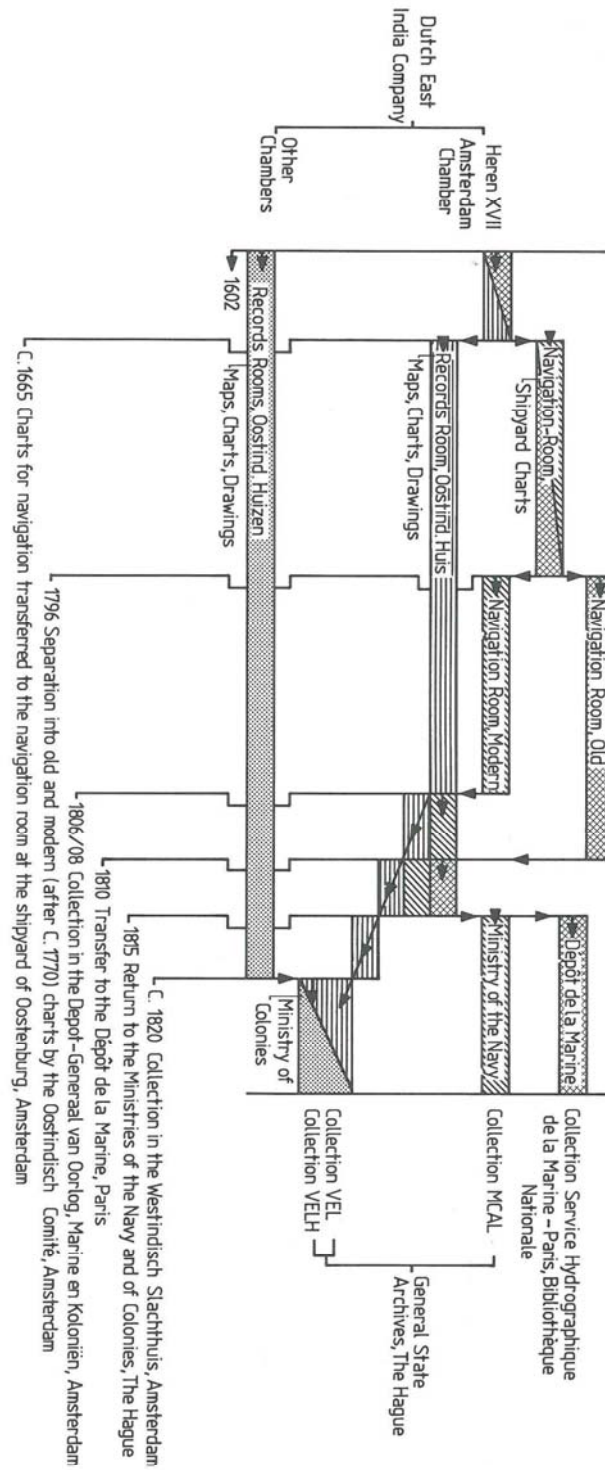
Comparative Survey of the Data in the General Land and Sea Muster-Rolls, the Ship's Pay-Ledgers and the Rolls of Qualified Civil and Military Employees

muster-rolls	ship's pay-ledgers	rolls of qualified empls.
entire land and sea personnel	entire personnel, with the exception of <i>in dienst</i> cases	land personnel: qualified
(first) name	(first) name	(first) name
birthplace	birthplace	birthplace
year and name of ship on which he arrived in Asia	name of ship on which he left the Republic	name of ship on which he arrived in Asia
rank at time of departure	rank at time of departure and wage	rank at time of departure and wage
review of the total wage owed by the voc	—	—
rank in year of registration; wage and place of work	—	rank in year of registration; wage and place of work; previous qualified ranks, with wages and years of promotion; by whom promoted
voc chamber in which service was taken	voc chamber in which service was taken	voc chamber in which service was taken
employment strength of all establishments	—	—
—	course of career according to place of work; no ranks	course of career omitting place of work, except for most recent rank
—	whether or not a will made	—
—	(incidental) information about civil status and (family) relations of the employee	—
—	end of career; death in Asia; final settlement in the Republic; (sometimes) information about literacy	—

Source: F. Lequin, *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de achttiende eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen* (2 volumes; Leiden 1982) 342.

Appendix 14

Review of Maps and Drawings Collections of the VOC



CHAPTER 7. LITERATURE

The quantity of literature about the history of the VOC is very large and still continues to grow. The bibliography below in no way pretends to be complete. The aim has been to provide the reader with a survey of the most important literature.

The literature has been divided into categories. Naturally this has its limitations, as overlapping of the categories is inevitable. Nonetheless, it has been considered to be the most useful form of presentation. The division of the categories is obvious:

- A. VOC - General
- B. Source publications
- C. Archives
- D. Maps

Literature pertaining to the history of the VOC has been placed in Category A. A relatively large place has been assumed by works about the VOC enterprise in the Republic (Category A III). By contrast, literature about the business in Asia (Category A IV) has been kept to a bare minimum. The selection here was strictest. This category only contains the most important introductory works, mostly monographies. They have been divided up according to region. Literature dealing with Asian and African history, in as far as this is connected to Dutch expansion, has been omitted.

The lists of the source publications (Category B) has also been restricted. Only large continuous series have been included. Published travel journals and reports have been left out. On the vicissitudes of the VOC archives in the Netherlands and in the places where archives have been preserved in Asia and South Africa (Category C), the bibliography is fairly extensive, but not exhaustive. For the cartography and maps of the VOC the bibliography is only very selective (Category D).

More extensive approaches are mentioned in the Category Bibliographies. Good annotated bibliographical introductions are moreover to be found in Overzee, Nederlandse koloniale geschiedenis 1590-1975 (Haarlem 1982), and in the Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden; as well as in Eberharhard Schmitt, Thomas Schleich and Thomas Beck eds., Kaufleute als Kolonialherren: die Handelswelt der Niederländer vom Kap der Guten Hoffnung bis Nagasaki 1600-1800. Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Bamberg 6. Exhibition Catalogue (Bamberg 1988); and in Femme S. Gaastra, De geschiedenis van de VOC (2nd revised edition; Zutphen 1991).

A. VOC - General

I. Bibliographies

Coolhaas, W.Ph., and G.J. Schutte, A Critical Survey of Studies on Dutch Colonial History (2nd edition; Den Haag 1980)

Hartmann, A., Repertorium op de literatuur betreffende de Nederlandsche kolonieën, voor zoover zij verspreid is in tijdschriften en mengelwerken I. Oost-Indië 1866-1893 ('s-Gravenhage 1895) and 1e-8e vervolg 1894-1932 ('s-Gravenhage 1901-1934)

Hooykaas, J.C., Repertorium op de koloniale literatuur, of systematische inhoudsopgaaf van hetgeen voorkomt over de koloniën, (beoosten de Kaap) in mengelwerken en tijdschriften, van 1595 tot 1865 uitgegeven in Nederland en zijne overzeesche bezittingen (2 volumes; Amsterdam 1877-1880)

Itinerario. Current Annotated Bibliography of Dutch Expansion Studies (annual)

Krogt, P. van der, and J. Landwehr, A Bibliography of Publications Relating to the Dutch East India Company: 1600-1800 (Utrecht 1991)

Looyenga, A.J., Overzicht van Nederlandse studies over de geschiedenis der Europese expansie, verschenen sinds 1945 / A survey of Dutch studies on the history of European expansion, published since 1945. Nieuwsbrief werkgroep geschiedenis Europese expansie 2, 1 (Leiden 1976)

Tijdschrift voor Zeegeschiedenis (annual bibliography)

II. General Literature Concerning Trade Companies and the European and Dutch Expansion

General

Blussé, L., and F.S. Gaastra eds., Companies and Trade. Essays on Overseas Trading Companies during the Ancien Régime (The Hague 1981)

Chaudhuri, K.N., The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760 (Cambridge 1978)

Furber, Holden, Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800 (Minneapolis 1976)

Furber, H., 'The History of East India Companies: General Problems' in: M. Mollat ed., Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Oues et dans l'Océan Indien (Paris 1970) 415-418

Furber, H., 'The History of East India Companies: General Problems', The Indian Ocean Review 1 (1988) 2-16

Mauro, Frédéric, L'expansion européenne (1600-1870). Nouvelle Clio 27 (1964; 3e revised edition; Paris 1988)

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., 'Een vergelijkend onderzoek van bestuur en handel der Nederlandse en Engelse handelscompagnieën op Azië in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw', Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden 91 (1976) 196-217

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., 'The Structures of Trade in Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Niels Steensgaard's "Carracks, Caravans and Companies". A Critical Reappraisal', Mare Luso-Indicum 4 (1980) 1-43

Mollat, Michel, ed., Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'Océan Indien (Paris 1970)

Reinhard, W., Geschichte der europäischen Expansion I. Die alte Welt bis 1818 (Stuttgart 1983)

Scammell, G.V., The First Imperial Age. European Expansion ca. 1400-1715 (London 1989)

Smith, W., 'The European-Asian Trade of the Seventeenth Century and the Modernisation of Commercial Capitalism', Itinerario 6, 2 (1982) 68-90

Steensgaard, N., The Asian Trade Revolution of the Seventeenth Century. The East India Companies and the Decline of the Caravan Trade (Chicago and London 1974), 2nd edition of Carracks, Caravans and Companies (Copenhagen 1973)

Wake, C.H.H., 'The Changing Pattern of Europe's Pepper and Spice Imports, ca. 1400-1700', The Journal of European Economic History 8 (1979) 361-403

Netherlands

Asaert, G., et al. eds., Maritieme geschiedenis der Nederlanden (4 volumes; Bussum 1976-1978)

Aymard, Maurice, ed., Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism/Capitalisme hollandais et capitalisme mondial (Cambridge and Paris 1982)

Boxer, J.R., The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800 (London 1965), in Dutch translation: Het profijt van de macht. De republiek en haar overzeese expansie 1600-1800 (Amsterdam 1988)

Brakel, S. van, De Hollandsche handelscompagnieën der zeventiende eeuw. Hunne ontstaan, hunne inrichting (Den Haag 1908)

Bruijn, J.R., 'Productivity, Profitability and Costs of Private and Corporate Dutch Shipping: Some 17th and 18th Century Aspects' in: J. Tracy ed., Rise of Merchant Empires (Cambridge and New York 1989)

Colenbrander, H.T., Koloniale geschiedenis (3 volumes; 's-Gravenhage 1925-1926)

Coolhaas, W.Ph., 'Overzeese geschiedenis 1648-1795' in: Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden VIII (Haarlem 1955)

Glamann, K., Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740 (Copenhagen and 's-Gravenhage 1958; reprint 's-Gravenhage 1980)

Haan, Hans de, Moedernegotie en grote vaart. Een studie over de expansie van het Hollandse handelskapitaal in de 16e en 17e eeuw (Amsterdam 1977)

Israel, J.I., Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740 (Oxford 1989), in Dutch translation: Nederland als centrum van de wereldhandel, 1585-1740 (Franeker 1991)

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., et al. eds., Dutch Authors on Asian History. A Selection of Dutch Historiography on the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. Translation series Koninklijk instituut voor taal-, land- en volkenkunde 22 (Dordrecht 1988)

Overzee. Nederlandse koloniale geschiedenis 1590-1975 (Haarlem 1982)

Schutte, G.J., De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën. Een onderzoek naar hun denkbeelden en optreden, 1770-1800 (Groningen 1974)

III. Literature Concerning the VOC Enterprise in the Republic

Berg, N.P. van den, Uit de dagen der Compagnie (Haarlem 1904)

Boxer, J.R., Jan Compagnie in War and Peace 1602-1799 (Hongkong etc. 1979), in Dutch translation: Jan Compagnie in oorlog en vrede. Beknopte geschiedenis van de VOC (Bussum 1977)

Brugmans, I.J., 'De Oost-Indische Compagnie en de welvaart in de Republiek' in: Welvaart en historie. Tien studiën (1950 z.p.)

Bruijn, J.R., 'De personeelsbehoefte van de VOC overzee en aan boord, gezien in Aziatisch en Nederlands perspectief', Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden 91, 2 (1976) 218-248

Bruijn, J.R., 'The Dutch East India Company as Shipowner, 1602-1796', The American Neptune 47, 4 (1987) 240-248

Bruijn, J.R., F.S. Gaastra and I. Schöffner, Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën 165-167 (3 volumes; Den Haag 1979 and 1987)

Bruijn, J.R., and E.S. van Eyck van Heslinga, Muiterij. Oproer en berechting op schepen van de VOC (Bussum 1980)

Chijs, J.A. van der, De stichting der Vereenigde O.I. Compagnie en de maatregelen der Nederlandsche regering betreffende de vaart op Oost-Indië welke haar voorafgingen (Leiden 1856); Idem, De geschiedenis der stichting van de VOC (2nd edition; Leiden 1857)

Daalder, R., and F. Scholte eds., Rotterdam en de VOC. Bulletin Historisch Museum Rotterdam 2 (Rotterdam 1988)

Dillen, J.G. van, Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie. Werken uitgegeven door de vereniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief 14 ('s-Gravenhage 1958)

Doe, E. van der, and A. Wiggers, 'De Kamer Zeeland van de VOC als werkgeefster: enige opmerkingen over haar personeel aan de wal in de tweede helft van de 18e eeuw', Zeeuws tijdschrift 37, 3 (1987) 107-113

Eyck van Heslinga, E.S. van, Van Compagnie naar koopvaardij. De scheepvaartverbinding van de Bataafse Republiek met de koloniën in Azië 1795-1806 (Amsterdam and 's-Gravenhage 1988)

Gaastra, F.S., De geschiedenis van de VOC (Haarlem 1982; 2nd edition Zutphen 1991)

Gaastra, Femme Simon, Bewind en beleid bij de VOC. De financiële en commerciële politiek van de bewindhebbers, 1672-1702 (Zutphen 1989)

Gaastra, F.S., 'De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in de 17e en 18e eeuw: de groei van een bedrijf. Geld tegen goederen. Een structurele verandering in het Nederlands-Aziatisch handelsverkeer', Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden 91, 2 (1976) 249-272

Gaastra, F.S., 'Leiden en de VOC' in: D.E.H. de Boer ed., Leidse facetten: tien studies over Leidse geschiedenis (Zwolle 1982)

Gaastra, F.S., 'The Exports of Precious Metal from Europe to Asia by the Dutch East India Company, 1602-1795' in: J.F. Richards ed., Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern World (Durham 1983) 447-476

Gelder, Roelof van, and Lodewijk Wagenaar, Sporen van de Compagnie: de VOC in Nederland (Amsterdam 1988)

Heer, C. de, Bijdrage tot de financieele geschiedenis der Oost-Indische Compagnie ('s-Gravenhage 1929)

Heeres, J.E., 'De Oost Indische Compagnie' in: Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië I (2nd edition; 's-Gravenhage and Leiden 1917)

Horst, W.A., 'De peperhandel van de Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie', Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde 8e reeks, 111 (1942) 95-103

Houtzager, H.L., et al. eds., Delft en de Oostindische Compagnie (Amsterdam 1987)

Hullu, J. de, Op de schepen der Oost-Indische Compagnie. Vijf artikelen van J. de Hullu. J.R. Bruijn and J. Lucassen eds. (Groningen 1980)

Hullu, J. de, 'De instelling van de Commissie voor de Handel der O.I.C. op China in 1756', Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië 79 (1923) 523-545

Hullu, J. de, 'Over de Chinasche handel der Oost Indische Compagnie in de eerste dertig jaar van de 18de eeuw', Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië 73 (1917) 32-151

In dienst van de VOC. Themanummer Leidschrift 4, 2 (1987-1988)

Iongh, D. de, Het krijgswezen onder de Oostindische Compagnie ('s-Gravenhage 1950)

Jörg, C.J.A., Porselein als handelswaar. De porseleinhandel als onderdeel van de Chinahandel van de VOC 1729-1794 (Groningen 1978), in English translation: Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade (The Hague 1982)

Kan, J. van, De rechtstitels der Compagnie. Mededelingen Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen N.R. 5/8, afd. Letterkunde (Amsterdam 1942)

Kan, J. van, Uit de rechtsgeschiedenis der Compagnie (Batavia and Bandoeng 1930-1935)

Kist, J.B., et al. eds., Van VOC tot werkspoor. Het Amsterdamse industrieterrein Oostenburg (Utrecht 1986)

Kist, J.B. and J.H.G. Gawronski eds., Prijs der zee. Vondsten uit wrakken van Oostindiëvaarders. Exhibition Catalogue Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Amsterdam 1980)

Klerk de Reus, G.C., Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der administrativen, rechtlichen und finanziellen Entwicklung der Niederländisch-Ostindischen Compagnie. Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen 47 (Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1894)

Korte, J.P. de, De jaarlijkse financiële verantwoording in de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. Werken uitgegeven door de vereeniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief 17 (Leiden 1984)

Lequin, F., 'A New Approach to the History of the Dutch Expansion in Asia: The Personnel of the Dutch East India Company in the Eighteenth Century', Journal of European economic history 8 (1979) 431-437

Mansvelt, W.M.F., Rechtsvorm en geldelijk beheer bij de Oost-Indische Compagnie (Amsterdam 1922)

Marsden, P., De laatste reis van de Amsterdam (Bussum 1974), in English translation: The wreck of the Amsterdam (London 1974)

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., 'Hoe rationeel was de organisatie van de Nederlandse Oost-Indische Compagnie?', Economisch en sociaal-historisch jaarboek 44 (1982) 170-190

Overvoorde, J.C. and P. de Roo de la Faille eds., De gebouwen van de Oost-Indische Compagnie en van de West-Indische Compagnie in Nederland (Utrecht 1928)

Pol, A., 'Tot gerieff van India: geldexport door de VOC en de muntproductie in Nederland 1720-1740', Jaarboek voor munt- en penningkunde 72 (1985) 65-195

Roey, J. van, 'Enkele Antwerpse aantekeningen bij het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie', Liber Amicorum Van Valkenburg, 251-154

Rooij, Hans H. van and Jerzy Gawronski, VOC-schip Amsterdam (Haarlem 1989)

Roos, D., Zeeuwen en de VOC (Middelburg 1987)

Schmitt, Eberhard, Thomas Schleich and Thomas Beck eds., Kaufleute als Kolonialherren: die Handelswelt der Niederländer vom Kap der Guten Hoffnung bis Nagasaki 1600-1800. Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Bamberg 6. Exhibition Catalogue (Bamberg 1988)

Scholten, C., De munten van de Nederlandsche gebiedsdeelen overzee 1601-1948 (Amsterdam 1951)

Schouwenburg, K.L., 'Het personeel op de schepen van de Kamer Delft der VOC in de eerste helft der 18e eeuw', Tijdschrift voor zeegechiedenis 7, 1 (1988) 76-93

Stapel, F.W., 'Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der rechtspraak bij de Oostindische Compagnie', Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië 89 and 90 (1932 and 1933)

Stapel, F.W., 'Johannes Hudde over de balansen van de Oostindische Compagnie', Economisch-historisch jaarboek 13 (1927) 215-239

Stapel, F.W., De VOC in de groote oorlogen der 17e eeuw (Groningen 1932)

Stapel, F.W., De gouverneurs-generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië in beeld en woord ('s-Gravenhage 1941)

Stapel, F.W., 'Aandeelbewijzen der Oost-Indische Compagnie', Economisch-historisch jaarboek 13 (1927) 240-246

Stapel, F.W., 'Het aantal bewindhebbers der Oostindische Compagnie in 1602', Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde (1928)

Stapel, F.W. and E.L.G. den Dooren de Jong, 'De zeeverzekering der Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie', Het verzekerings-archief 9,4. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der zeeverzekering I ('s-Gravenhage 1928)

Steensgaard, N., 'The Dutch East India Company as an Institutional Innovation' in: M. Aymard ed., Dutch Capitalism and World Capitalism (Cambridge and Paris 1982) 235-257

Steur, J.J., Herstel of ondergang. De voorstellen tot redres van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie 1740-1795 (Utrecht 1984)

Stols, E., 'De Zuidelijke Nederlanden en de oprichting van de Oost- en Westindische Compagnieën', Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden 88 (1973) 1-18

Unger, W.S., 'Het inschrijvingsregister van de Kamer Zeeland der Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie', Economisch-historisch jaarboek 24 (1950) 1-33

Vaz Diaz, A.M., 'De deelname der Marranen in het oprichtingskapitaal der Oost-Indische Compagnie', Jaarboek Amstelodamum 33 (1936)

Wieringa, F.M. ed., De Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie in Amsterdam; verslag van een werkgroep (Amsterdam 1982)

Willemsen, R., Enkhuizen tijdens de Republiek. Een economisch-historisch onderzoek naar stad en samenleving van de 16e tot de 19e eeuw (Hilversum 1988)

IV. Literature Concerning the VOC in Asia

General:

All of One Company: the VOC in Biographical Perspective (Utrecht 1986)

Arasaratnam, S., 'Monopoly and Free Trade in Dutch Asian Commercial Policy: Debate and Controversy within the VOC', Journal of Southeast Asian studies 4, 1 (1973) 1-15

Boxer, C.R., Dutch Merchants and Mariners in Asia 1602-1795 (London 1988)

Lequin, F., Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de achttiende eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen (2 volumes; Leiden 1982)

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., et al., De VOC in Azië (Bussum 1976)

Rhede van der Kloot, M.A. van, De gouverneurs-generaal en commissarissen-generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië 1610-1888, historisch-genealogisch beschreven ('s-Gravenhage 1891). Supplemented by W.Ph. Coolhaas in De Nederlandsche Leeuw 73 (1956) 1-34

Wijnaendts van Resandt, W., De gezaghebbers der Oost-Indische Compagnie op hare buiten-

comptoirs in Azië. Genealogische bibliotheek 2 (Amsterdam 1944)

Batavia:

Abeyasekere, Susan, Jakarta. A History (Singapore etc. 1987)

Blussé, Leonard, Strange Company. Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 122 (Dordrecht and Riverton 1986)

Breuning, H.A., Het voormalige Batavia. Een Hollandse stedestichting in de tropen. Anno 1619 (1952) (2nd edition; Utrecht 1981)

Haan, F. de, Oud Batavia (2 volumes; Batavia 1922)

Taylor, Jean Gelman, The Social World of Batavia. European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia (Madison and London 1983)

Java:

Haan, F. de, Priangan. De Preanger-regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch bestuur tot 1811 (4 volumes; Batavia 1910-1912)

Nagtegaal, L., Rijden op een Hollandse tijger: de Noordoostkust van Java en de VOC, 1680-1740 (diss. Utrecht 1988)

Ambon:

Graaff, H.J. de, De geschiedenis van Ambon en de Zuid-Molukken (Franeker 1977)

Knaap, G.J., Kruidnagelen en christenen. De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie en de bevolking van Ambon 1656-1696. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 125 (Dordrecht and Providence 1987)

Banda:

Chijs, J.A. van der, De vestiging van het Nederlandsche gezag over de Banda-eilanden (1599-1621) (Batavia 1886)

Japan:

Boxer, C.R., Jan Compagnie in Japan 1600-1850 (Den Haag 1950)

Goodman, Grant K., Japan: the Dutch Experience (Leiden 1967)

Mulder, W.Z., Hollanders in Hirado 1597-1641 (Weesp 1985)

Nachod, Oskar, Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompanie zu Japan im siebzehnten Jahrhundert (Leipzig 1897)

China:

Wills Jr., J.E., Pepper, Guns and Parleys: the Dutch East India Company and China, 1662-1681 (Cambridge Mass. 1974)

Blussé, Leonard, Tribuut aan China. Vier eeuwen Nederlands-Chinese betrekkingen (Amsterdam 1988)

Indochina:

Buch, W.J.M., De Oost-Indische Compagnie en Quinam; de betrekkingen der Nederlanders met Annam in de XVIIe eeuw (Amsterdam 1929)

Terpstra, H., De factorij der VOC te Patani ('s-Gravenhage 1938)

Thailand:

Brummelhuis, Han ten, Merchant, Courtier and Diplomat: A History of the Contacts between The Netherlands and Thailand (Lochem and Gent 1987)

India

Arasaratnam, S., Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740 (Delhi 1986)

Prakash, Om, The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal 1630-1720 (Princeton 1985)

Raychaudhuri, Tapan, Jan Company in Coromandel 1605-1690. A Study in the Interrelations of European Commerce and Traditional Economies. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 38 ('s-Gravenhage 1962)

Roelofs, M.A.P., De vestiging der Nederlanders ter kust Malabar. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 4 ('s-Gravenhage 1943)

Santen, H.W. van, De Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie in Gujarat en Hindustan, 1620-1660 (Meppel 1982)

Terpstra, H., De Nederlanders in Voor-Indië (Amsterdam 1947)

Terpstra, H., De vestiging van de Nederlanders aan de kust van Koromandel (Groningen 1911)

George D. Winus and Marcus P.M. Vink, The Merchant-Warrior Pacified. The VOC (Dutch East India Company) and its Changing Political Economy in India (Delhi etc. 1991)

Ceylon:

Arasaratnam, Dutch Power in Ceylon 1658-1687 (Amsterdam 1958)

Goonewardena, K.W., The Foundation of Dutch Power in Ceylon 1638-1658 (Amsterdam 1958)

Goor, J. van, Jan Kompenie as Schoolmaster. Dutch Education in Ceylon 1690-1795 (Groningen 1978)

Pieris, P.E., Ceylon and the Hollanders (2nd edition; Tellippalai 1924)

Persia and Arabia:

Brouwer, C.G., Cauwa ende Comptanten: De Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie in Jemen / Cowha and Cash: The Dutch East India Company in Yemen 1614-1655 (Amsterdam 1988)

Terpstra, H., De opkomst der Westerkwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie (Suratte, Arabië, Perzië) ('s-Gravenhage 1918)

Cape of Good Hope:

Elphick, R., and Hermann Giliomee eds., The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820 (Cape Town and London 1979)

B. Source publications

Blussé, J.L., et al. eds., De dagregisters van het Kasteel Zeelandia, Taiwan, 1629-1662 I. 1629-1641. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, grote serie 195 ('s-Gravenhage 198.)

Chijs, J.A. van der, ed., Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1602-1811 (17 volumes; Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1885-1900)

Chijs, J.A. van der, et al. eds., Daghregisters gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India (31 volumes; Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1888-1931)

Chijs, J.A. van der, ed., Realia. Register op de generale resolutiën van het Kasteel Batavia, 1632-1805 (3 volumes; Den Haag and Batavia 1882-1885)

Colenbrander, H.T. and W.Ph. Coolhaas eds., Jan Pietersz. Coen, bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indië (7 volumes; 's-Gravenhage 1919-1953)

Coolhaas, W.Ph., and J. van Goor eds., Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, grote serie 104, 112, 125, 134, 150, 159, 164, 193 and 205 (9 volumes; 's-Gravenhage 1960-1988)

Dam, Pieter van, Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie. F.W. Stapel and C.W.Th. van Boetzelaer eds. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën 63, 68, 74, 76, 83, 87, 96 (7 volumes; 's-Gravenhage 1927-1954)

Davies, D.W., A primer of Dutch seventeenth century overseas trade ('s-Gravenhage 1961)

Heeres, J.E., and F.W. Stapel eds., Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum. Verzameling van politieke contracten en verdere verdragen door de Nederlanders in het Oosten gesloten. Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 57, 87, 91, 93 and 96 ('s-Gravenhage 1907-1955)

Hovy, L., Ceylonees Plakkaatboek. Plakkaten en andere wetten uitgevaardigd door het Nederlandse bestuur op Ceylon, 1638-1796 (2 volumes; Hilversum 1991)

Jonge, J.K.J., et al. eds., De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië (15 volumes; 's-Gravenhage 1862-1909)

Knaap, G.J. ed., Memories van overgave van gouverneurs van Ambon in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, kleine serie 62 ('s-Gravenhage 1987)

C. Archives

I. General

Jaquet, F.G.P., ed., Sources of the History of Asia and Oceania in the Netherlands II. 1796-1949 (München 1983)

Roessingh, M.A.P., ed., Sources of the History of Asia and Oceania in the Netherlands I. Sources up to 1796 (München 1982)

Bos-Rops, J.A.M.Y., et al. eds., De archieven in het Algemeen Rijksarchief. Overzichten van de archieven en verzamelingen in de openbare archiefbewaarplaatsen in Nederland 9 (Alphen aan den Rijn 1982)

II. VOC-archieven

Arasaratnam, S., 'The Use of Dutch Material for South-East Asian Historical Writing', Journal of Southeast Asian history 3 (1962) 95-105

Baretta, Ch.F.A., 'Een kijkje in Indische Archieven', Nederlandse Archievenblad 27 (1918-1919) 56

Berg, N.P. van den, 'Nota over de beteekenis van het oud archief ter Algemeene Secretarie te Batavia in vergelyk met de verzameling Indische stukken in 's Rijks Archief te 's-Gravenhage',

Notulen der vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen 20 (1882) 43

Brouwer, C.G., 'Holländische Archivquellen zur ökonomischen Geschichte Jemens im frühen 17. Jahrhundert' in: H. Becker and H. Kopp eds., Resultate aktueller Jemen-Forschung. Ein Zwischenbilanz (Bamberg 1978)

Itinerario 4, 2 (1980) special issue The new Algemeen Rijksarchief

Klerk de Reus, G.C., 'Kritisch overzicht van "Dagh-Register gehouden in Casteel Batavia ..."', Indische Gids (1888) 616-625

Lach de Bére, Ph., 'Indische archieven', Maandblad Genealogisch Heraldisch Genootschap 'De Nederlandsche Leeuw' 35 (1917) 272

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., 'Sources in the General State Archives in The Hague Relating to the History of East Asia between c.1600 and c.1800', Felicitations volumes of Southeast-Asian studies 1 (1965) 167-184

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., Van geheim tot openbaar. Een historiografische verkenning (Leiden 1970)

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., 'Memories van overgave van bestuursambtenaren in het voormalige Nederlands-Indië', Nederlands Archiefblad 72 (1968) 14-18

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P., 'The Private Papers of Artus Gijsels, a Source for the History of East-Asia', Journal of Southeast Asian history 10 (1969) 540-559

'Reminiscences of a Scholar-Archivist; Interview with Prof. dr. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs', Itinerario 2, 2 (1977) 15-28

Moreland, W.H., 'Dutch Sources for Indian History: 1590 to 1650', Journal of Indian history 2 (1923) 222-232

Muller, F., 'Ervaringen in Nederlandsche archieven, meer in 't bijzonder wat de koloniale archieven betreft', De Nederlandsche Spectator (1874) no. 28

Overzicht van de inventarissen der oude Rijksarchieven in Nederland ('s-Gravenhage 1884)

Quarles van Ufford, J.K.W., 'Beschouwingen over den toestand van het Indische archiefwezen', De economist (1891) 51-52

Veth, P.J., 'Openbaarheid in koloniale aangelegenheden', De Gids (1848) no. 2

Vreede, G.W., 'L.C.D. van Dijk' in: L.C.D. van Dijk, Neêrland's vroegste betrekkingen met Borneo, den Solo-archipel, Cambodja, Siam en Cochinchina (Amsterdam 1862) 1-14

III. Other Archives in the General State Archives

Bijlsma, R., De archieven van de compagnieën op Oost-Indië, 1594-1603 (Den Haag 1927)

Buch, W.J.M., Inventaris van bescheiden der voormalige Nederlandsche bezittingen in Voor-Indië (typescript; n.p.['s-Gravenhage] 1936)

Inventaris van de archieven van de weeskamer Batavia, boekhouder-generaal te Batavia, schepbank te Batavia ('s-Gravenhage 1980)

Parani, Julianti L., Inventaris van het archief van de Nederlandse factorij te Canton 1742-1826 (typescript; n.p.['s-Gravenhage] 1972)

Roelofs, M.A.P., Bescheiden van een collectie stukken, in 1862-'63 uit Batavia naar Nederland verzonden, voornamelijk het bestuur der Hooze Regeering over de buitenkantoren betreffende, 1602-1827 (typescript; n.p.['s-Gravenhage] n.d.)

Roessingh, M.P.H., Het archief van de Nederlandse factorij in Japan/The archive of the Dutch factory in Japan 1609-1860 (typescript; 's-Gravenhage n.d.[1964])

IV. Jakarta

Alphen, van, 'Mededeelingen en opmerkingen betreffende den toestand der Gouvernements Archieven te Batavia dd. Batavia, Julij 1841', Tijdschrift voor Neerlandsch Indië 4, 1 (Batavia 1842) 86

Berg, N.P. van den, 'Het archiefwezen in Indië', Indische Gids (1882) no. 2, 369-371

Blois van Treslong Prins, P.C., 'Het Landsarchief te Batavia', Navorscher (1928) 275, (1929) 123, (1930) 128, 188, 213, 253, (1931)

Blois van Treslong, P.C., 'Het Oud-Archief te Weltevreden (Batavia)', Maandblad Genealogisch Heraldisch Genootschap 'De Nederlandsche Leeuw' 35 (1917) 122 and 270

Blussé, Leonard, 'The Arsip Nasional of Jakarta', Itinerario 3, 1 (1979) 36-41

Chijs, J.A. van der, Inventaris van 's lands archief te Batavia, 1602-1816 (Batavia 1882)

Coolhaas, W.Ph., 'Het Landsarchief te Batavia', Historia 14 (1949) 12-23

Drooglever, P.J., 'Onaangeboorde bronnen in de Oost. De betekenis van de in Indonesië bewaard gebleven Indische archieven voor de geschiedwetenschap' in: K. Kooijmans et al. eds., Bron en publikatie ('s-Gravenhage 1985)

Godée Molsbergen, E.C., 'Geschiedenis van het Landsarchief tot 1816', Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde 76, 1 (1936)

Graaff, M.G.H.A. de, Verslag van een bezoek aan het Staatsarchief van Indonesië in het kader van de overeenkomst tot uitwisseling van microfilms, maart-april 1974 (Algemeen Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage 1974)

Guide to the Sources of Asian History IV. Indonesia vol. 1. National Archives (Jakarta 1989)

Haga, A., 'Het oude archief te Batavia', Indische Gids (1882) no. 2, 724-725

Hollander, J.J. de, 'Het oud archief te Batavia', De Indische Gids (1882) no. 2, 557

Scheltema de Heere, G.A.N., 'Over de Oostindische landsarchieven', Indische Gids (1923) no. 2, 860

Verhoeven, F.R.J., 'Geschiedenis van het Indische Archiefwezen van 1816-1854', Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen 80, 4 (1940) 461-529

Verhoeven, F.R.J., Het landsarchief te Batava 1854-1942 (typescript; n.p. n.d.)

Verhoeven, F.R.J., Het Landsarchief van Nederlandsch-Indië 1892-1942 (Batavia 1942)

Wall, V.I. van de, Het lands-archief te Batavia

Wijnaendts van Resandt, W., 'Het Oud-Archief te Weltevreden (Batavia)', Maanblad Genealogisch Heraldisch Genootschap 'De Nederlandsche Ieeuw' (June 1917)

Wijnmalen, Th.C.L., 'Het beheer der gouvernementsarchieven in Nederlandsch-Indië', De Nederlandsche Spectator (1871) no. 39

Wijnmalen, Th.C.L., 'Nog een woord over de archieven in Indië', De Nederlandsche Spectator (1871) no. 47

V. Sri Lanka, India and Malaysia

Anthonisz, R.G., Report on the Dutch Records in the Government Archives at Colombo (Colombo 1907)

Bijlsma, R., 'De aan Nederland gebleven bescheiden van de etablissementen in Voor-Indië', Nederlandsch Archievenblad 3/4 (1931-1932)

Heyligers, A.J.M., Press List of Ancient Dutch Records from 1657 to 1825. Beschrijvende catalogus van de hele Hollandsche massa te Madras (Madras z.d.)

s'Jakob, H.K., ed., De Nederlanders in Kerala 1663-1701. De memories en instructies betreffende het commandement Malabar van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, kleine serie 43 ('s-Gravenhage 1976)

Jurriaanse, M.W., Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon, 1640-1796 (Colombo 1943)

Kan, J. van, Compagniesbescheiden en aanverwante archivalia in Britsch-Indië en op Ceylon (Batavia 1931)

Kemp, P.H. van der, 'De Nederlandsche factorijen in Voor-Indië in den aanvang der 19e eeuw', Bijdragen tot de taal- land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië (1901)

Kemp, P.H. van der, Het Nederlandsch-Indisch bestuur in het midden van 1817 ('s-Gravenhage 1915)

Kemp, P.H. van der, 'De jaren 1817-1825 der Nederlandsche factorijen in Hindostans oostkust', Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië (1918) no. 1-2

List of Volumes of Dutch and Danish Records Preserved in the Madras Record Office (Madras 1916)

Low, D.A., J.C. Iltis and M.D. Wainwright, Government Archives in South Asia. A Guide to National and State Archives in Ceylon, India and Pakistan (Cambridge 1969)

Mottau, S.A.W., Inventory of the Archives of the Dutch Government in the Division of Galle (Mataru) and Jaffnapatnam 1640-1796; with a List of Reconstructed 17th Century Tombos by J.S. Wigboldus and Addenda to the Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon 1640-1796 by M.W. Jurriaanse. M.E. van Opstall ed. (The Hague 1975)

Supplementary Catalogue of Dutch Records (Madras 1952)

Verhoeven, F.R.J., 'The Lost Archives of Dutch Malacca, 1641-1824', Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 37 (1964) no. 2, 11-28

VI. Cape Town

Botha, Graham, A Brief Guide to the Various Classes of Documents in the Cape Archives for the Period 1652-1806 (Kaapstad 1918)

D. Kaarten van de VOC

Bijlsma, R., 'Het oudste kaartboek van een scheepvaart der VOC', Nederlandsch Archievenblad 33 (1925-1926) 137-141

Bracht, J.Th.W. van, ed., Atlas van kaarten en aanzichten van de VOC en WIC, genoemd Vingboonsatlas in het Algemeen Rijksarchief te 's-Gravenhage (Haarlem 1982)

Dauids, C.A., Zeewezen en wetenschap. De wetenschap en de ontwikkeling van de navigatietechniek in Nederland tussen 1585 en 1815 (Amsterdam and Dieren 1985)

L'Honore-Naber, S.P., Inventaris der verzameling van kaarten berustende in het Algemeen Rijksarchief. Eerste supplement ('s-Gravenhage 1914)

Keuning, J., 'Hessel Gerritsz', Imago Mundi 6 (1949) 49-66

Kok, M., Ontwikkelingen in de Nederlandse maritieme kartografie in de achttiende eeuw (1730-1815) (typescript; Utrecht 1980)

Kok, M., 'Cartografie van de firma Van Keulen' in: E.O. van Keulen et al. eds., 'In de Gekroonde Lootsman'. Het kaarten-, boekuitgevers en instrumentmakershuis Van Keulen te Amsterdam 1680-1885 (Utrecht 1989)

Leupe, P.A., Inventaris der verzameling kaarten berustende in het Rijksarchief. Eerste gedeelte ('s-Gravenhage 1867)

Mil, Patrick van, and Mieke Scharloo eds., De VOC in de kaart gekeken: cartografie en navigatie van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, 1602-1799 ('s-Gravenhage 1988)

Noordziek, J.J.F., Archiefwezen 1826-1852; met eene korte opgave van den inhoud van eenige boekerijen ('s-Gravenhage 1853)

Schilder, G., 'Organization and Evolution of the Dutch East India Company's Hydrographic

Office in the Seventeenth Century', Imago Mundi 28 (1976) 61-78

Wieder, F.C., ed., Monumenta Cartographica. Reproductions of Unique and Rare Maps, Plans, and Views... (6 volumes; 's-Gravenhage 1925-1933)

Zandvliet, K., 'Golden Opportunities in Geopolitics, Cartography and the Dutch East India Company during the Lifetime of Abel Tasman' in: W. Eisler and B. Smith eds., Terra Australis/The Furthest Shore (Sydney 1988) 67-82

Zandvliet, K., 'Joan Blaeu's Boeck vol kaerten en beschrijvingen van de Oostindische Compagnie ...' in: J.E. Huiskens and F. Lammertse eds., Het kunstbedrijf van de familie Vingboons. Schilders, architecten en kaartmakers in de gouden eeuw (Maarssen etc. 1989) 59-95