



RESEARCH REPORT

Inventory and analyses of archival sources in the Dutch East India Company (VOC) archives in the Netherlands in order to contribute to possible locations and identification of VOC shipwrecks off the Western Australian Coast

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Foreword

The mutual heritage between Australia and the Netherlands goes back more than four hundred years. The maritime connections between both countries were established when the Dutch started to explore parts of the Australian coast in the early 17th century. Involuntary were the visits to the Unknown South Land by survivors of VOC ships that wrecked on the treacherous Western Australian coast, on their way from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia in the Dutch East Indies. Their fate remains a topic of debate and speculations up until today.

When artefacts from Dutch shipwrecks off the coast of Western Australia were first located at the Houtman Abrolhos in the 1960s, it was the start of extensive research into the unfortunate events that had led to the ships' stranding, the fate of the crews as well as the response of Dutch officials in Batavia. So far, researchers have confirmed the presence of four Dutch shipwrecks in the waters off Western Australia.

The collaboration between Australia and the Netherlands in locating these sites has proven unique and invaluable, since Australian archaeological knowledge about the wrecks, combined with the Dutch archival VOC knowledge led to many new insights. It is hoped that this combination, which proved to be so fruitful in the past, will now lead towards more insight in locating the site of the *Agtekerke*.

I got involved in the Australian-Dutch collaboration in the 1980's when I got in contact with Jeremy Green about the reconstruction of the '*New Batavia*' in Lelystad in the Netherlands. A long and successful cooperation as well as an inspiring friendship followed. I had the opportunity to work in Australia with the staff of the Western Australian Museum on exciting projects. The initiation of the plans for the reconstruction of the *Duyfken* and the work on the exhibition 'From Hartog to De Vlamingh' about the Dutch explorations in Australia were personal highlights of that cooperation in the 1990's. The return of the Dutch part of the ANCODS collection to Australia in 2010 was a real milestone in the maritime collaboration between the two countries so far. Finding a fifth wreck would certainly exceed this.

Thus, the tragic events that led to the wreckage of several VOC ships in Australian waters so long ago prove to be fertile ground for showing the surplus of a contemporary collaboration between historians and archaeologists, as well as setting an example for international collaboration.

Acknowledgements

CIE would like to thank former ambassador Willem Andreae who, together with director of WAM Alex Coles, stimulated the ongoing search for the fifth VOC ship and made this archival research possible. We would also like to thank Jeremy Green and Hugh Edwards as our Australian partners. Menno Leenstra conducted extensive archival research on VOC vessels lost between the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia. Dr Ruud Paesie furthermore researched the socio-economic context of 18th century VOC activities in Middelburg, Zeeland to provide more insight into Dutch society at the time of the ships' departure. Nicoline van Cann, Marta Laureanti and Sarah-Jayne Nogarede assisted with compiling this report.

Robert Parthesius
Director CIE-Centre for International Heritage Activities

1. Introduction

Currently we know of four VOC ships that stranded on the Western Australian coast, namely the *Batavia* (1629), the *Vergulde Draeck* (1656), the *Zuytdorp* (1712) and the *Zeewyk* (1727). For decades however, there have been rumours of a possible fifth VOC wreck. The main instigator for these rumours has been the fact that in 1728, the authorities in Batavia reported that survivors of the VOC ship *Zeewyk* had seen shipwreck material in the Houtman Abrolhos that did not belong to their own ship. Over the years many possibilities for these sightings have been suggested, the rumour mill having been fed by differing interpretations of both archaeological finds and the known archival material. Both the lost VOC ships *Fortuyn* and *Aagtekerke* are mentioned as possible candidates for the 'mythical fifth wreck', and it is especially the possibility that the *Aagtekerke* stranded off the Houtman Abrolhos and that its wreck can therefore be located in this area, that has been the main reason for drafting this research report.

This report was commissioned to the CIE-Centre for International Heritage Activities on behalf of the Western Australian Museum (WAM). Its purpose is to bring structure to the ongoing discussion and further (physical) research by means of collecting possible evidence about VOC ships lost on the Western Australian coast. In order to do so, the CIE has systematically reviewed and analyzed the relevant archival sources in the Dutch East India Company (VOC) archives in the Netherlands. In this report we present the results of that research.

The results are organized by means of multiple research questions that can give us more information to help determine the location of a possible fifth wreck off the Australian West Coast, or perhaps to rule out the possibility of such a wreck altogether. These questions concern for example the cargo that was aboard the different ships, and the routes they might have taken.

Besides this analysis of the different aspects of the VOC trade and shipping that might give us clues about which ships could have possibly stranded off the Western Australian coast, and where such a wreck site could be located, at the request of the WAM special attention is also given to the historical socio-economic context in which the ships were built, and what the consequences of the loss of those ships were for Zeeland society. This socio-economic framework is very relevant in light of the important role the VOC shipwrecks play in the cultural identity of Western Australia. Although the ships no longer play an essential part in the Dutch society, they formed one of its central elements at the time they were in use. The ships thus not only forge a connection between Australia and the Netherlands, but also between the present and the past. We therefore hope that the cooperation in this project will turn out to be a mere step in the longstanding and fruitful collaboration in the field of our shared heritage.

1.1 VOC ships off the Western Australian Coast

During the 200 year period between 1602 and 1795 when the Dutch East India Company (VOC) was in existence, 1850 VOC ships undertook 4800 journeys from the Netherlands to Asia. Nineteen of those ships were lost in the Indian Ocean during their outward journeys. Three of them were taken by enemy ships, one sank after a battle off the coast of Mozambique in 1606, and two burned down while at sea. Five ships stranded on the coast of East Africa, near Mauritius or at the Maldives, while they followed a northern route to Asia. Only eight ships were lost while they were most likely following the southern route that the VOC prescribed after ca. 1615 for the journey from the Cape of Good Hope to the Sunda Strait.

Four of these eight lost ships (*Batavia* 1629, *Vergulde Draeck* 1656, *Zuytdorp* 1712 and *Zeewyk* 1727) stranded on the Western Australian coast. Survivors from three of these ships reached Java, and as such the position of those wrecks was more or less known. In the 20th century these positions have been investigated by archaeologists both underwater and on land, and the artefacts found were attributed with great certainty to the *Batavia*, the *Vergulde Draeck* and the *Zeewyk*. For the *Zuytdorp* there are no contemporary written sources known that describe the place of the shipwreck, but the wreck site has been located by means of artefacts that have been found.¹

¹ Playford, P., 1996. *Carpet of Silver*. UWA Publishing

Of the other four ships lost in the southern Indian Ocean, one (the *Ceylon*, 1680) is assumed to have sunk at sea three weeks after leaving the Cape of Good Hope. A VOC ship that sailed together with the *Ceylon* reported that on the 14th of August 1680, it was seen in a sinking condition at about 37 degrees southern latitude and 101 degrees eastern longitude.² Considering the time and place in which this ship went missing, it is not included in this research.

The *Ridderschap van Holland*, the *Fortuyn* and the *Aagtekerke* were lost after leaving the Cape of Good Hope, respectively on January 5th 1694, January 18th 1724 and January 27th 1726.

It is possible that one or more of these ships sank off the Australian coast. In 1696 the *Vlamingh*, on its journey through the southern oceans, got the assignment to look for remains or survivors of the *Ridderschap van Holland* near the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam.³ The *Vlamingh* did not find any shipwrecks or survivors. On Rottneest Island and on the coast of Australia itself a few pieces of wood were found that in the journal of the voyage were recorded as being of Dutch origin.⁴ In the archives of the Dutch East India Company in Cape Town, South Africa, a document dated to 1699⁵ states that the *Ridderschap van Holland* was wrecked near Madagascar. The report refers to that location for the stranding as almost certain; the VOC, however, seems to have kept open the possibility of another final destination for the vessel for quite a long time. Concerning this ship no further archival research has been undertaken.

On January 18th 1724, the Amsterdam Company ship the *Fortuyn* raised its anchor and sailed from the Cape of Good Hope towards Batavia. It would never reach its destination. Two years later another Company ship, the *Aagtekerke*, equipped by the Zeeland chamber, disappeared somewhere in the Indian Ocean after leaving the Cape of Good Hope for Batavia on January 27th, 1726. Both ships were recorded as being 'lost between the Cape and Batavia' and are still missing.

The skipper of the flute the *'sGraveland* declared, upon arrival in Batavia on April 6th 1724, that on his journey from the Cape of Good Hope he had seen floating ship material near the Kokos Islands. In the daily register of Batavia the presumption that these belonged to the recently disappeared ship the *Fortuyn* is mentioned.

In 1728 the survivors of the *Zeewyk* reported in Batavia that they had seen wreck material in the Houtman Abrolhos. The authorities in Batavia reported that this perhaps could have belonged to the lost ships the *Fortuyn* or the *Aagtekerke*. Most of this report is dedicated to research that might provide clues to the final destiny of these ships.

1.2 Scope of this report

In order to assess reference material that may contribute to possible locations and identification of VOC shipwrecks off the Western Australia Coast, the present research report will include:

- I. Baseline of historical information as starting point of the systematic investigation of the VOC records available in the Netherlands.
- II. Recent research and transcripts of VOC documents related to ships lost on their way from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia (chapter 2).
- III. Research on the socio-economic context of 18th century VOC activities in Middelburg (chapter 3).

1.3 Starting point for the systematic investigation of the VOC records available in the Netherlands

From a documentary perspective, the discussion about a possible new wreck of a VOC-ship on the Houtman Abrolhos was sparked by the various interpretations of both the Dutch transcript of the text of the Adriaan van der Graaf's log and maps. This situation led to a debate that was restricted by

² In the former designation of longitudes. In our current maps this corresponds to a position of more than 80 degrees OL, somewhat east of Amsterdam Island.

³ van Dam ([1701] 1927) *Beschrijvinge dl. I, I*, p. 676; Schilder (1976) *Ontdekkingsreis de Vlamingh deel I*, p. 137.

⁴ Schilder (1976) *Ontdekkingsreis de Vlamingh deel I*, p. 210.

⁵ Leibbrandt (1896) *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, Letters received 1695-1708*, p. 228; *Rapport van de schipper van het jacht Tamboer*, CTAR C 366 (old C 424) No. 119, p. 631.

the lack of a complete and systematic inventory of the available documentary sources. This report intends to fill this gap and presents and analyses the available documentary information of the VOC in the Netherlands. The VOC administration -covering most of the 17th and 18th century- is one of the most extensive archives in the world. Searching for information on a possible other VOC ship wrecked on the Western Australian coast would be looking for a needle in a haystack without a clear definition of the research area and a starting premise of information currently known from the documents and the understanding of the operations of the VOC.

Starting point for the idea that another VOC ship could have been wrecked close to the wreck of the *Zeewyk* was a journal kept by Adriaan van der Graaf. It was clear that the logs and the maps do contain evidence of the finding of shipwreck material from another ship (or ships) than the *Zeewyk* in the surroundings of Gun Island in the Houtman Abrolhos. However, no convincing indications were found in this material that, or where, the *Aagtekerke* or the *Fortuyn* have been wrecked in this area. This did lead to the question whether other archival material that could provide new light on this was available in Dutch archives. No documentation was found in the Dutch sources to hint to the possibility of wrecks of non-VOC ships on the Australian coast in the first half of the 18th century. No research on this possibility has been done in foreign archives, nor are foreign archives (apart from that at the Cape of Good Hope) researched for data on Dutch East India ships.

On the journey back to the Netherlands, between the Sunda Strait and the Cape of Good Hope the VOC ships took a route that leads them far from the Australian coast. Described wrecking of VOC ships in the Indian Ocean on their way back to Holland took place near Mauritius, Madagascar or the East African coast. There is no reason to assume that VOC ships that were lost in the Indian Ocean during their homeward journey deviated so far from their route as to strand on the Australian coast. Only those few ships that, due to special circumstances, started their homeward journey through the Bali Strait might have navigated near to the Australian coast. In the 18th century, this alternative route was no longer used and thus far no data has been found implying that any VOC ships have been lost on this route.

The VOC expeditions to Australia are all well documented.⁶ They concern a limited number of ships sent to search for survivors and cargo of lost ships. In addition, some other ships, undertaking exploration journeys on behalf of the VOC, visited various parts of the Australian coast. None of the larger vessels participating in these expeditions were listed as stranded or missing.

However, a number of dinghies and their crews got in trouble or went missing near the Australian coast. In 1629 the launch of the *Sardam*, the ship by which Pelsaert returned to the *Batavia* wreck, disappeared at the Houtman Abrolhos⁷ with its five crewmembers. The launch of the *Vergulde Draeck*, shipwrecked in 1656, reached Batavia, after which two rescue operations were started for the other survivors that had stayed behind. During this operation, the *Wakende Boei* in 1658 left a boat on the coast of Australia. During the first expedition a boat of the vessel *Goede Hoop* was smashed ashore and her crew of eight men was lost; another three men did not return after an inland searching party⁸. During the second operation, the *Wakende Boei* in 1658 left a boat on the coast of Australia. This boat, with mate Leeman and some sailors, eventually reached Java, after a stay of some weeks on the Australian coast. It is possible that the crew of this boat left there some equipment or possessions⁹. The sloop of the *Zeewyk* set sail from the Houtman Abrolhos to Batavia in June 1727, but never reached its destination.¹⁰ This boat too may have been wrecked or beached on the Australian coast. It is possible that the survivors of the *Zuytwyk* or the remaining crew of the *Vergulde Draeck*, in the same way as that of the *Zeewyk* tried to reach Java with a self-made boat. However, any documentation on such voyages is lacking.

⁶ See the books of Leupe, Heeres, Sigmond & Zuiderbaan, Schilder in the historiography.

⁷ Roeper (1994) *Batavia*, p. 35, 173.

⁸ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 3991, fol 15 - 18v

⁹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 1225, fol. 229 – 252 (Verslag Leeman).

¹⁰ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 2082, fol. 13v.

Since the foundation of a permanent VOC establishment at the Cape of Good Hope, ships on regular basis performed journeys from Batavia to the Cape, and then back to Asia. Every year there were one or two ships to do so. Some of these ships returned via Mauritius or to Ceylon, but most of them took the Southern route back to Batavia. These journeys have not been documented in DAS. Through (copies of) documents that were sent to the Netherlands from the Cape and Batavia, these journeys can be retrieved. About 60 VOC ships were found to have made these kinds of journeys during the 18th century. No clues have yet been found for any of them having been lost on their way back to Batavia.

The voyages of VOC ships from the Netherlands to Asia and back again are well documented in the work of de Bruijn et. Al.¹¹ Although inaccuracies are present in details, partly because the sources are not always fully reliable and of the same tenor, it can be assumed that all the ships used by the VOC on the routes between Europe and Asia, or those used in Asia that came from the Netherlands, are included in this work and that the data on the ultimate fate of those ships is accurate. For a limited number of VOC ships, there is no record in DAS of where they ended up after their safe arrival in Asia. It could be possible that one or more of these ships were lost off the Australian coast during the remainder of their career. The chances on this actually having happened, however, are very small. Australia did not belong to the normal area of trade for the VOC. The area closest to this continent that was regularly visited by the VOC was Timor. For this area the VOC often used smaller vessels that were purchased, built or captured in Asia itself, and as such the documentation on vessels lost on these journeys is not very complete. One outward bound vessel is registered as first calling at Timor before arriving in Batavia.¹²

In light of all of the above, this report will focus on documentation on the *Fortuyn*, the *Aagtekerke* and necessarily the *Zeewyk*. The descriptions by crew of the *Zeewyk* are the only contemporary sources on the then encountered wreckage, and the *Zeewyk* itself is the most likely supplier of the artefacts that were later found at the site. Because both the *Aagtekerke* and the *Zeewyk* were equipped by the Zeeland Chamber of the VOC, besides the research in the Dutch National Archive specific research in the Zeeland archives was requested. Therefore, the impact of the loss of a number of ships during a relatively short period of time in the Netherlands and especially in the province of Zeeland was the subject of research as well.

¹¹ Bruijn, J. R., Gaastra, F. S. en Schoeffer, I. - Dutch Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries. 3 volumes, 1979 – 1987 . References to this book as 'DAS'.

¹² DAS 2312.1 – The Vrieswijk in 1718

2. Research and Transcripts

2.1 VOC archives in the Netherlands

2.1.1 National Archives in The Hague

After the liquidation of the VOC in 1795, the entire archive and administration of the Company went to the State of the Netherlands. For a long time Zeeland refused to hand over the archives of the Zeeland Chamber, but gave up its resistance in 1851.

More than six thousand kilos of archival material was transferred to Amsterdam, where it was added to the remaining company archives of the chambers of *Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn* and *Enkhuizen*.

This VOC archive was stored in a former slaughterhouse and was in a very bad condition. Part of the archive, consisting of nearly ten thousand volumes from the pay-office [betaalkantoor] of the Company, had already been put to auction in 1821/1822, and ten years later other thousands of volumes of the archives were discarded due to lack of space.

In 1856 the remaining archive, with the addition of the Zeeland volumes, was moved from Amsterdam to the National Archives in The Hague, where it is still managed today.

From the 14,933 numbered pieces in the inventory (nearly 1.3 kilometres long when lined up), 6,634, or nearly 45 percent, originate from the Zeeland Chamber.¹³ The VOC archive of the Zeeland Chamber has thus been relatively well preserved.

In the 19th century a part of the VOC-archive in Batavia [then part of Dutch East India] was transported to the Netherlands and stored in the National Archive. The documents of the office of the Boekhouder Generaal in Batavia¹⁴ contain very useful data on ship cargos and was used for this report.

In addition, a large number of family archives containing VOC documents is stored in the National Archives (former 'Rijksarchief') in The Hague. A part of these documents were written or collected by former directors of the Zeeland Chamber.

An important family archive, in which documents concerning the general directorate of the Company and that of the Zeeland Chamber can be found, is that of the Radermacher family.

By far the largest part (84 percent) of this family archive that consists of more than six hundred numbered pieces, concerns the East India Company.¹⁵

2.1.2 The Zeeland Archives in Middelburg

During the German bombing on May 17, 1940 a large part of the Middelburg inner city went up in flames. Almost the entire municipal archive, that had been stored in the City Hall, was lost. Part of the state archive, that was housed in the *Abdij* complex (the Abbey), fell prey to the fire as well. Zeeland thus lost a part of its collective memory.

The Zeeland Archives, located in Middelburg, manages the preserved documents of the state archives, as well as those of the municipal archive of the city of Veere. The archive currently holds 26 archival collections, consisting of family archives, manuscript collections and acquisitions, with documents relating to the VOC past.

These collections together count over 350 inventory numbers with archival documents of different sizes. In some cases there is only a short document. In other cases, they consist of complete books of hundreds of pages. The five inventory numbers that deal with the VOC from the family archive of *Recueils van Citters* for example, together take up about one meter.¹⁶

¹³ Meilink-Roelofs, *De archieven*. Toegangsnummer: 1.04.02.

¹⁴ inventory number: 1.04.18.02

¹⁵ Meilink-Roelofs, *Inventaris van het Archief van de familie Radermacher*. Toegangsnummer: 1.10.69.

¹⁶ Welings, *Inventaris van de verzameling Recueils van Citters*. Toegangsnummer: 105

By far the largest VOC collection in the Zeeland Archives is formed by the family archive of Mathias-Pous-Tak van Poortvliet. Of the 610 inventory numbers 240 are documents concerning the Company.¹⁷

When looking chronologically at the over 350 (VOC) inventory numbers in the Zeeland Archives, the following can be said: more than half of these documents deal with various issues, mostly administrative affairs of the Zeeland directors, during the second half of the 18th century. The other pieces date to the 17th century, the first half of the 18th century, or carry no date at all. Of the inventory numbers covering the first half of the 18th century, about 60 percent deals with company matters between 1730 and 1750. Only about thirty numbers deal with the first three decades of the 18th century, the period in which the *Zuytdorp*, *Aagtekerke* and *Zeewyk* stranded.

A closer look at these last-mentioned archival sources from the beginning of the 18th century reveals that they do contain four logs of Company ships. These are the daily-register from a journey made by the *Orion* from Japan to Batavia, 1714-1716; the travel reports of the *Raadhuis van Middelburg*, 1717-1719; the journal of the *Noordbeek* on its journey from Batavia to 'het Vlie' in 1718; and a fragment of the journal kept on the flute ship (*fluitschip*) *Samaritaan* during its journey from Gamron to Cochin in 1729.¹⁸

The other ship logs of VOC voyages now found in the Zeeland Archives date to later periods. This also applies to documents relating to the equipment and cargo of ships from Zeeland that could possibly give us some insights on the cargo of *Aagtekerke*. These documents date mainly to the last quarter of the 18th century. Concerning the archival study of documentation on stranding, shipwrecks and the reclaiming of goods and cargo, we must sadly come to the same conclusion as well.

Although there is a list of ships that have been wrecked between 1721 and 1741, ships that went missing are not included.¹⁹ Personal documents of seafarers on company ships have not been found. From our research we can conclude that the Zeeland Archives manages many VOC documents dealing with governance matters, and that there is a relatively large part relating to the so-called 'Contracts of Correspondence', the bestowal of attractive (administrative) functions within the organization.

2.1.3 The Zeeland Library and the Municipal Archive of Vlissingen

About the research in the Zeeland Library in Middelburg and in the Vlissingen Municipal Archives, the following can be said: part of the manuscript collection of the Royal Zeeland Society of Sciences ('Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen') is housed in the Zeeland library in Middelburg. This manuscript collection consists mainly of correspondence between directors dating to the late eighteenth century as well. In the municipal archive of Vlissingen, of which the largest part was lost during the British bombardment of the city in 1809, only a few indirect documents concerning the VOC have been preserved.

2.1.4 Conclusion

The Zeeland archives have been badly damaged over time, mainly due to war. Of some archives the largest part has even been lost. This research has shown that nowadays in the Zeeland archives no sources can be found that can shed new light on the outfitting, the journey, and the stranding of the *Aagtekerke*. Furthermore, no new or additional information regarding the stranding of the *Zuytdorp* or the *Zeewyk* was found during this investigation.

2.2 Chronology and content of the 'Zeewyk'-documents present in the VOC archives in the Netherlands

2.2.1 The series of the 'overgekomen brieven en papieren'²⁰

¹⁷ Welings, Inventaris van de verzameling Recueils van Citters. Toegangsnummer: 255

¹⁸ ZA, VH 183, Orion; Ibidem 184, Noordbeek; Ibidem 185, Samaritaan en ZA, VdF 7, Raadhuis van Middelburg.

¹⁹ ZA, MPTvP 263.

The first documents received in the Netherlands on the stranding of the *Zeewyk* and the experiences and observations of its survivors are to be found in the letters and papers that were sent with the large homeward fleet that left Batavia on November 1st, 1728.

Such homeward bound fleets usually carried multiple copies, and sometimes even originals, of a large number of documents. These (multiple copies of) documents were spread over different ships to minimize the risk of loss. In this case it is noted on the documents concerning the *Zeewyk* that they arrived in the Netherlands with the ships the *Westerbeek* and the *Valkenisse* on June 26th, 1729, respectively in *Texel* and at the roads of *Vlissingen*.

In the Netherlands, the documents were received and studied by various boards and distributed amongst the six Chambers where they were stored by each Chamber in its own specific way. Sometimes this was done by means of a new copy, made in the Netherlands.

Only a part of the documents thus received and stored has been preserved and is still known today. The archives of all the Chambers are now to be found together in The Hague as one VOC archive under the archive-number 1.04.02. The Amsterdam Chamber also kept documents concerning the Company as a whole and those of the *Heren XVII*. Only the documents originating from the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers now contain series of documents that were sent from Batavia. The Amsterdam Chamber collected the documents it received in one year in a number of books where the sequence was mostly determined by the date of arrival. The Zeeland Chamber preserved transcripts, concerning establishments in Asia in continued series dedicated to that specific establishment.²¹

2.2.2 Report on the arrival of the castaways and the stranding of the *Zeewyk*

Under the current inventory number 2082 in the VOC archives, in the series of documents received from Asia by the Amsterdam Chamber, we find book '*1729 TTTTTT, eerste boek Batavia, Part I*'. This book contains an original inventory of documents that were sent to the Netherlands on November 1st, 1728. In this inventory no mention is being made of a journal of the *Zeewyk* or any report of the crew. Only a copy of the short notes written by the skipper Steijns from Sunda Strait to Batavia were sent on this occasion. In these notes Steijns expresses his fear of being robbed off his possessions and the money salvaged from the wreck, but he does not mention anything about the discovery of other ship remains in the Houtman Abrolhos.

In a letter addressed to the *Heren XVII* dated October 31st, 1728, the document with which this archival piece starts, the Governor General and Council describe the arrival of the castaways in the Sunda Strait in their own words.

The events surrounding the possible embezzlement of Company money on board of the *Zeewyk* and the start of a process against skipper Steijns, as being guilty to the shipwreck, are also described in this letter. The shipwreck of the *Zeewyk* on the coast of Australia and its aftermath up to that moment (of the writing of the letter) are noted in short. In addition a list of names of the survivors that arrived is included in the documents that were sent, which of course was of importance for their relatives in the Netherlands.

Most part of this description provides a very interesting sketch about the way in which the castaways were received in Batavia, and about the fact that Jan Steijns, the skipper of the *Zeewyk*, was put to trial accused of being responsible for the stranding.

The letter of October 31st, 1728, by the Governor General and the Council in Batavia starts with the announcement that their previous letter was dated March 1728. That means that the shipment of documents discussed above was the first from Batavia after the arrival of the *Zeewyk* survivors. Older documents with descriptions of the shipwreck of the *Zeewyk* and the findings of shipwreck material of other ships, than those in NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02 inv. nr. 2082 will for that reason not be present in the official VOC-archive.

²⁰ The titles of the documents in the VOC inventory numbers with "overgekomen brieven en papieren" [the documents arrived from Asia] can be found and researched on-line via TANAP (www.tanap.nl)

²¹ For a detailed description of the VOC archives See Meilink-Roelofs (1992).

2.2.3 First mention of the *Aagtekerke*

Already before the arrival of the castaways of the *Zeewyk*, the authorities in Batavia had expressed their concern about fact that the *Fortuyn*, *Aagtekerke* and *Zeewyk* had not shown up in due time. A search party was sent to the Cocos Islands, where wreckage had been reported, after the failing to appear of the *Fortuyn*. A paragraph 2.4 of this report deals with the *Fortuyn* and discusses the details of this expedition. Before the arrival of the survivors of the *Zeewyk*, no search parties had been organized from Batavia to look for the *Aagtekerke* or *Zeewyk*. There were no indications about where to search.

In their letter to the Netherlands, dated October 31st, 1728, the Governor General and Councils wrote that, with regards to the testimonies of the survivors of the *Zeewyk*, the *Aagtekerke* or the *Fortuyn* might have stranded on the Houtman Abrolhos.²² This is the only mentioning of this possibility in the correspondence between Batavia and the Netherlands that has been found so far. In Batavia, in October 1728, the high authorities were apparently convinced that another Dutch ship had wrecked near the wreck site of the *Zeewyk*, and that the crew of that other ship had dug wells on the islands that later were visited by the *Zeewyk* castaways.

This information can only have come from the survivors of the *Zeewyk*. Remarkable is that in the journals known to us of skipper Steijns and mate Van der Graaf (see Appendix I), only the finds of pieces of wreckage and other items are mentioned, but that they give no explicit indication that these objects came from Dutch ships.

In the journals no evidence is found that the ‘wells’ that were found on the islands were manmade either. Both journals only describe the finding of wreckage and natural wells. The specific mention of the wreckage coming from Dutch ships, and the mentioning of other castaways than that of the *Zeewyk* thus only comes from a single secondary source. It is difficult to determine whether the Governor General and Council in Batavia wrote this on the basis of hard evidence or based on their own interpretation. It is unlikely that the VOC archives, besides the reports by van der Graaf and Steijns, do hold any other documents that contain information that was given by the *Zeewyk* crew itself. An explanation sent from Batavia to the Netherlands about why no search party for the money and possible survivors of the *Aagtekerke* was set up seems obvious, but has not been found.

2.2.4 Lost *Zeewyk* documents

²² NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 2082, fol. 13v

Because this is the only contemporary source that mentions the presumption of the stranding of the *Aagtekerke* on the coast of Australia, this part of the letter here follows in its entirety:

“..... de gestrektheid der Eijlanden Tegens welckers buitenste riff het schip *Zeewyk* is verongelukt, werd aangetoond bij een kaartje desen al mede versellende, deselve sijn gelegen buijten het gesigt van 't Zuidland en Tendeale begroeijd med eenige Strueelen eetbaar wilde groente & alwaar [fol 14] alwaar gevonden sijn niet alleen Sommige gegrave putten, maar ook Enige tekenen van Een nederlands Schip vermoedelijk Tegens het voorm: riff meede verbrijsseld, Twelcke soude konnen geweest sijn de *Fortuyn* of *Aagtekerke* waarvan de menschen door gebrek Souden konnen gestorven ofte op Zee vergaan sijn in hunne herwaarts komst gelijk dat ook Tedenken is van *Zeewyks* boot dewelcke onder den opperstuurman Pieter Langeweg kort na het stranden van dat schip met nog 11 gemeene zeevarenden en Scomp: papieren dit [fol 14v] dit heen vertrocken sijnde, om van dit soo beklaglijk geval kennisse Tegeven en adsientie te Vsoeken tot nog toe daar van iets is vernoomen”

[... The position of the Isles, against the outer reef of which the *Zeewyk* stranded, is shown on a map that goes with this [document]. They are located out of sight of the Southland, and are covered with some bushes with edible wild vegetables. Here they found not only some wells that were dug, but also some signs of a Dutch ship that has probably been shattered at the forementioned reef. This could have been the *fortuyn* or *aagtekerk*, the crew of which might have died of shortage [of food or water], or else at sea during their journey to this place. This is probably also the case for the boat of the *Zeewyk*, that under first mate *Pieter Langeweg*, shortly after the *Zeewijk* stranded, left with eleven common sailors and the Company's papers to communicate this so sad occurrence [the wrecking of the *Zeewyk*], and to ask for help, since nothing has been heard of it since.]

Important in the search for documents is furthermore the information that first mate *Langeweg*, when he left with the *Zeewyk* boat to get help, carried 'the Company's papers' with him. Van der Graaf writes in his version of the journal, on June 19th, that they were taken in a barrel first to the reef and then to the island. The boat with *Langeweg* never arrived. At least part of the papers that were aboard the *Zeewyk* must thus have already been lost back then.

At the end of his journal on the voyage to Batavia with the self-built vessel, *Steijns* writes that from Strait Sunda, besides a letter, he also sent the invoices of the *Zeewyk* with the ship that was going to Batavia to announce their arrival there. These documents were sent with that vessel on April 23rd and arrived in Batavia on April 26th. So what cargo was lost with the *Zeewyk* was certainly known in Batavia from that date, but most probably much earlier because copies of these invoices were also forwarded from the Netherlands to Batavia with other ships. These invoices have not been systematically preserved in the VOC archives, and no list has been found of the lost *Zeewyk* cargo. The amount of money in the Company's chests that arrived in Batavia however, is stated as in accordance with the amount sent from the Netherlands. For possible cargo of the *Zeewyk* and *Aagtekerke*, see paragraph 2.7.

2.2.5 Maps of the *Zeewyk* wreck site and the archipelago in the VOC archive

The Governor General and Council, in their letter to the Netherlands on November 1st, 1728, also mention a map of the wreck site that they have sent with the rest of the documents. The inventory of the documents despatched on that date²³ shows that there were actually even two maps. These maps, that are listed as No. 10 in this inventory, today are no longer present in the 2082 document, but are located elsewhere in the National Archives. It is known that archivist *Leupe* removed almost all maps from the VOC archives in the 19th century, to bring them together in a separate collection (4.VEL – Kaartcollectie *Leupe*).

In that collection, the two maps are still available as 4.VEL512. and 4.VEL513. These are the only documents concerning the area of the shipwreck, found in the letters and papers that were dispatched from Batavia to the Netherlands in the end of 1728 that came (almost) directly from the survivors. The drawings and captions are made by the same hand, but, as indicated on the maps, respectively according to "observations by skipper *Jan Styns*" (4.VEL512) and "observations by mate *Adrian d'Graaff*" (4.VEL513). Both maps contain similar descriptions concerning found pieces of wreckage of both their own and another ship or other ships, and the wells that were encountered. The location of the wreck and the island [Gun Island] are slightly different on both maps, as can be seen because a scale with latitudes is drawn on both maps (See Appendix II).

2.2.6 Documents concerning the *Zeewyk* shipwreck that were sent from Batavia in 1729 and later

In connection to the processes that were held in Batavia, copies of large numbers of documents that describe these processes and of documents that were used in those procedures were sent to the Netherlands in the following years. In the VOC archive the most comprehensive collection of documents relating to the Council of Justice in Batavia is located within the documents originating from the Zeeland Chamber. This Chamber kept the documents received from this Council of Justice separate from other pieces, while those sent to the Amsterdam Chamber are in between the other letters and papers that were received from Batavia. In the collection of copies of process documents from 1729, deriving from the Zeeland Chamber, we find two journals of the *Zeewyk* that were used in the trial against skipper *Jan Steijns*. Copies of some of these documents relating to the *Zeewyk* processes were also found among the transmitted documents kept by the Amsterdam Chamber, but they contain less information and no journals.

These journals were hitherto unknown and their origin and content, together with the data found in the other journals that were already studied in Australia and the Netherlands before, are analyzed in paragraph 2.3 ('The *Zeewyk* journals'). The documents of the Council of Justice contain many very interesting data on different subjects relating to the cause of the stranding, the stay of the survivors

²³ NL HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 2082, fol 1

on the island, and the money that was brought to Batavia. Sadly they do not contain information on the presence or location of another wreck than the *Zeewyk*, other than what was already known through the van der Graaf-journal.

2.2.7 Careers of the surviving crewmembers

The ongoing financial position of all VOC-employees in Asia was registered in the Netherlands in the ledgers of the ship with which they had left the Netherlands. These ledgers were first kept on board of the outgoing vessel and after arrival at Batavia a copy, or the original was send back to the Netherlands. In the description of the VOC archives, these documents that were preserved by the Chamber that had equipped the ship are '*scheepssoldijboeken*' [ship's payment books]. They contain the names of all the persons that sailed from the Netherlands on the specific ship, the debts they had at the time of their departure, their earned wages, imposed fines, proceeds from sold possessions of deceased etc. Payments in the Netherlands to relatives or to the employee himself after returning were also noted down in these books.

The majority of these ledgers for the 18th century have been preserved. For the *Fortuyn* and *Aagtekerke*, obviously no (copies of) kept ledgers were sent from Batavia to the Netherlands.

For the *Zeewyk* probably no ledger arrived in Batavia as well, and in any case there is no original or copy of it in the VOC archive.

2.2.7.1 Zeewyk

The pay office of the Zeeland Chamber has, by means of a copy of the muster roll of the *Zeewyk* that was made at its departure from the Cape and apparently from there sent to the Netherlands, made a ship's payment log, in which earned fees and payments to the employees mentioned in this muster roll were recorded.²⁴ An important item in this book is the fact that the crewmembers received their wages from the moment of departure of the *Zeewyk* from Vlissingen until May 4th 1728, or (if earlier) the time of their death. The *Heren XVII* had decided this in a resolution dated August 30, 1729.²⁵ Those of the crew that reached Batavia alive thus received their monthly wages for the entire period, up until the day they could start a new VOC-employment in Batavia. The news of the arrival of all the chests with the money may have caused this unusual generosity of the *Heren XVII*. Normally wages of the crew earned on lost ships were only paid up to the date of the shipwreck, or not at all.

From the moment the homeward bound fleet arrived in the Netherlands on June 26th, 1729, a list of the *Zeewyk* survivors that arrived in Batavia was available there (the Netherlands). The copy of the muster roll from the Cape will have arrived earlier in Zeeland.

From this ship's payment book of the *Zeewyk* it becomes clear that the payment office of the Zeeland Chamber as early as the beginning of 1731 also must have been in the possession of a journal in which the dates of the deaths of those that died on board between the Cape and Batavia, or on the reef and the island were recorded. This journal, described as (coming) from second mate Adriaan van der Graaf, is frequently mentioned in the constructed ledger. It is possible that this was a version of the journal of Adriaan van der Graaf that we know under the inventory number 11417. However, the page numbers of the journal, as mentioned in the ledger, do not match with the page number on which the same death is registered, in any of the journals now known from the VOC archives. The dates of death, which are indicated in the journals with a special mark and number, are generally consistent although administrative and clerical mistakes clearly occur.

The wages of crewmembers of the boat that left the island for Batavia on July 10th, and the commander of that boat, first mate Langewegt, were paid to their relatives up to that date. For this date of the termination of their payment the ledger refers to an extract from *the journal* (without further specification which one) 'Lease (bundle) 297 n^o 456'. Part of this same Lease (or liasse, bundle of documents) 297, as n^o 549, must have been an even more remarkable 'written statement of the schip= en bottelier' [skip(per) and steward], from which the ledger took the (according to the

²⁴ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 12856 (Zeewijk Grootboek en monsterrol 1726/27)

²⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr 119 (Resolutie H XVII , Dingsdag den 30=e Augustij 1729)

journals wrong) date of death of Corporal John Campe. The apparently around 1730 existing bundle of documents then registered in the payment office of the Zeeland Chamber as 'Lease 297' could not be retrieved in the now existing VOC archive, nor could such a numbering been found in older inventories of the archive.

Some additional information about the crew of the *Zeewyk* can be found in the so-called 'request books'.²⁶ Only a part of these books in the administration of the Zeeland Chamber has been preserved. In these books it was recorded whether the engaged crewmembers had any debts and to whom. The nice thing about these request books is that the requests were ratified with a personal signature, often a cross or a mark. We thus know which crewmembers of the *Zeewyk* could write their proper name and the handwritten signature of mate van der Graaf. The signature of Steijns is actually found in the request book of the *Barbesteijn*.²⁷ Originally he was employed as the commander of that ship, but because of the illness of the proposed skipper of the *Zeewyk* he was placed on that ship in the same function.²⁸ It is also here that we read that Steijns, at the time of his employment, was married to Liesbeth de Volder, to whom he had a debt of f300,- and who was to receive his wages.

2.2.7.2 Aagtekerke and Fortuyn

For the *Aagtekerke* too, the Zeeland Chamber kept some sort of ship's payment log, based on the copy of the muster roll of the ship at departure from the Cape.²⁹ In addition to the data from the muster roll, this inventory number only contains information about the people that left the *Aagtekerke* at the Cape of Good Hope.

In the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber no ledger, ship's payment log, request book or muster roll belonging to the *Fortuyn* has been found.

2.3 The *Zeewyk* journals

2.3.1 Introduction

The journals of the *Zeewyk* are the only direct contemporary sources on the presence of wreck material other than that of the *Zeewyk* in the area where this ship was wrecked. No other descriptions of the adventures of the shipwrecked crew have been discovered yet. The background of the existence of the journals and the way they ended up in the archives is rather confusing. The following paragraphs deal with some information about the origin of the several journals. This information might help in establishing the reliability of the various versions and the possibility of the existence of other related documents.

The information stated in the journal of the second mate Adriaan van der Graaf,³⁰ was until recently the main source that indicates the possibility of the shipwreck of another (VOC) ship in the area where the *Zeewyk* stranded. The only other contemporary mention of this possibility was found in an indirect source from 1729.³¹ Already in 1868, Leupe³² reported that a *Zeewyk* journal of schipper Steijns was present in the VOC archive. In the Dutch National Archive CIE archivists recently found more journals of the *Zeewyk*, both written by Steijns and by van der Graaf, that have not been studied before. No other journals or ego-documents on the shipwreck have been found.

2.3.2 Who could have written an eyewitness report?

²⁶ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 12257 (Verzoekboek *Zeewyk*)

²⁷ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 12257 (Verzoekboek *Barbesteijn*)

²⁸ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7257 (Res Kamer Zeeland, 5 september 1726)

²⁹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 12849 (Grootboek en monsterrol *Aagtekerke*, 1725-1726.)

³⁰ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417.

³¹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 2082, fol. 13v

³² Leupe (1868) *Zuidland*, p. 204.

Aboard the *Zeewyk*, at its departure from Zeeland, beside the skipper (schipper) Jan Steijns the following officers were present: the first mate Jan Langewegt; the second mates Adriaan van der Graaf and Cornelis Lagouche; the assistant mates Jan Poot and Joris Forkson. Each of these officers was (also) charged with navigation duties and therefore it might be expected that they kept a journal. Probably the junior merchant Jan Nebbens and the senior medical master Jan de Boot, who were also present aboard the *Zeewyk* will also have kept a kind of journal.

During the journey of the *Zeewyk* from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia in 1727, shortly before the ship stranded the assistant mate Jan Poot died on the 26th of May, followed by the second mate Cornelis Lagouche on June 5th. After the death of the second mate, Joris Forkson was provisionally appointed in this position. The first mate Langewegt departed the Houtman Abrolhos to go to Batavia with the boat of the *Zeewyk* on July 10th, 1727, in an attempt to call for help.

As stated in the journals he took the shipping documents and thus probably also his own journal or journals along. Nothing would ever be heard again of him and his crew. Joris Forkson died on April 13th, 1728 while travelling with the new made *sloop* from the Australian coast to Batavia. On April 30th of that same year,³³ besides skipper Jan Steijns and mate Adriaan van der Graaf, who should have kept journals, under merchant Jan Nebbens and senior medical master Jan de Boot of whom it could also be expected that they would have written a kind of report, arrived in Batavia with this small vessel as well.

On the day of the arrival of the castaways in Batavia, the Governor General and Council of India decided to start examining the journals of *Zeewyk*.³⁴ The master attendant of Batavia, Coenraad Mels, and a number of skippers were to establish whether the officers or crew could be held responsible for the shipwreck. On May 4th, the Governor General and Council decided that all the members of crew of the *Zeewyk* who had arrived in Batavia could be appointed again in some service of the VOC, with the exception of the skipper and the second mate, who first should be questioned on their responsibility for the events. On August 30th, 1728, it was decided that Van der Graaf was not guilty of the stranding either.

Adriaan van der Graaf left Batavia for the Netherlands on February 2nd, 1729, with the *Stadhuis van Vlissingen*. Because this ship severely made water it entered into the harbour of Plymouth on October 11th, 1729, but after repair it anchored at the *Vlaak*, near Vlissingen, on the 25th of November of that same year.³⁵ Apparently, Adriaan van der Graaf went directly ashore, because he signed off and was paid on January 11th, 1730, for his work on this ship up to the day of arrival. He received on the *Stadhuis van Vlissingen* the same monthly wage as he had earned on the *Zeewyk*, so most probably he was employed as a second mate again.

On their arrival in the Netherlands, normally all officers were required to submit their journals to the appropriate Chamber. The Zeeland Chamber will have at least also have wanted to hear from Adriaan van der Graaf what, according to his opinion, had been the cause of the stranding of the *Zeewyk*. Of any reports (oral or written) or journal handed in by him, no entry was found among the resolutions of that period,³⁶ or in the letters to the other chambers.³⁷

After the end of his trial, skipper Jan Steijns was embarked as an unpaid passenger on the *Wolphaartsdijk* with the first fleet that left Batavia for the Netherlands.³⁸ On May 24th, 1730, this ship

³³ NL-HaNA,VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 Journal van der Graaf

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr 2082, fol 348 ev

³⁴ For the various resolutions see:NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 744, Resolutions Batavia 2-1 to 28-12-1728.

³⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7296 (Letters sent by the Zeeland Chamber), 20-10-1729 and 25-11-1729 and NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7257 (Resolutions Zeeland Chamber). DAS states that this ship arrived at Rammekens on 9-10-1729 already, which is contradicted by the letters and resolutions, and the pay ledger of the *Zeewyk*

³⁶ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7257 Resolutions Zeeland Chamber 1722 Jan. 1 – 1729 Dec. 29.

³⁷ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7296 Letters sent by Zeeland Chamber, 1728 May 20 – 1730 Dec. 29.

³⁸ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 2111, p. 1554 e.v. Names of flag bearers, accountants and passengers on the return fleet.

arrived on the roadstead of Rammekens.³⁹ About the return and possible comments of the Zeeland Chamber on the arrival of such a notorious person, no documents were found either. Most of the other surviving officers and a lot of the other crewmembers of the *Zeewyk* returned to the Netherlands soon after their arrival in Batavia. Only the junior merchant Jan Nebbens remained in Asia until his death. The senior sail maker Dirk Stokman from den Briel had already returned in June 1729, and the senior medical master Jan de Boot from Middelburg arrived in September of that year. The boatswain Christiaan Radix from Vlissingen returned in May 1730, and the lay clergyman (krankenbezoeker/infirmary visitor) Leendert Vloo from Vere in 1731.⁴⁰ Furthermore, half of the adult seafarers and soldiers, some of which also repatriated within a few years, could write their own name, some of them in very fine handwriting.⁴¹

Thus, within a few years after the ship's stranding quite some literate people had returned to Zeeland who could possibly write down a story of the events. Although certainly in their hometowns the events around the shipwreck will have been discussed, up to now no traces have been found of written stories. The question is whether they would want to write down their adventures and whether the Company would allow them to publish such documents. No other descriptions of the shipwreck have been found than the documents mentioned hereafter.

2.3.3 Submitted journals

Submitting the journals in Batavia was apparently quite problematic, on which contradictory statements were later made during the trial against the skipper Steijns. The statements only match regarding the fact that after his arrival, Steijns asked Adriaan van der Graaf for his journal in order to get his own journal up to date. According to Steijns, he and the second mate van der Graaf consequently both handed their own personal journal to the Governor General. The trial documents state that Steijns delivered a journal after about four weeks. The public prosecutor stated in the indictment that Steijns was the only one to hand in both the journals. It was not until August 12th, 1728, that the committee of the master attendant and the skippers came with a report.⁴²

Apparently, they had already had both of the journals in their possession for a while, and in the meanwhile had undertaken some action. The report states that the two journals corresponded with each other almost word for word, which the committee found suspicious. They had therefore asked skipper Steijns whether he had not kept another journal, which he denied. According to the report, they assumed that after the arrival, Steijns asked the second mate van der Graaf for his journal and returned a counterfeit copy after a few weeks.

Apparently, the committee also asked the second mate Adriaan van der Graaf if he had not kept another journal. In their report, they write that Adriaan van der Graaf 'wrote his own journal which was in his possession from the moment he left the mother country' ('tgeene met den aanvangh van de rijse uijt het vaderland begind onder hem berustende had'). They studied this journal as well. The version of the *Zeewyk* journal we know from NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 11417 begins with the departure from the Netherlands. At the end of this version (the copy in the National Archive) it can be read that van der Graaf had completed this journal and subsequently signed it on August 13th, 1728.⁴³

That was one day after the committee submitted her report. However, we can still assume that this is a copy of the journal mentioned by the committee. In the journal as known to us, van der Graaf

³⁹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7296 Letter sent by Zeeland Chamber, 25-5-1730.

⁴⁰ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 12856 *Zeewyk* Grootboek (ledger) and monsterrol (muster roll) 1726/27.

⁴¹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 12257 Request book *Zeewyk*.

⁴² The report has been included in the trial documents that were sent to the Netherlands NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353, no folio numbering. It does not contain any data about wreckage findings or the possible presence of the stranded ship. The committee was only asked to do research into Jan Steijns' guilt in the stranding, not into what happened thereafter.

⁴³ The journal known to us is a copy of a later date, but the date that Van der Graaf signed the original has been included in this copy.

writes that he supplemented the original one that he had with him during the outward voyage with extra notes about the events after the stranding. According to the committee, the journal differed from the two others that were submitted to them where it came to the data concerning the estimated longitude of the *Zeewyk*.

It was suspected that Steijns had falsified the previously submitted journal of van der Graaf and had handed in that one and a fake one of himself to disguise the fact that the *Zeewyk* had continued to sail on an easterly course for far too long. On August 30th, 1728, the Council of India stated that Adriaan van der Graaf was not responsible for the stranding of the *Zeewyk* and could return to service. Because of the alleged falsifications, the consequent potentially severe punishment and the risk of escape, Steijns was placed under arrest on September 21st and it was decided by the Governor General and Council that the *advocaat fiscaal* (kind of public prosecutor in the governmental administration of the VOC) would have to prosecute against him.⁴⁴

2.3.4 Fake and original journals

In diverse documents concerning the process, the public prosecutor kept insisting that Steijns had handed over a falsified journal of van der Graaf, and had also written a fake journal himself. Steijns denied this and explained the similarity of the two journals by the fact that it is very normal that a skipper copies distances and positions determined by the mate, as long as he is convinced of his competence. He also stated that Adriaan van der Graaf, at the returning of his journal would have surely noticed that this was not his own, but a copy written and adjusted by someone else. The public prosecutor stated that Steijns had not returned the journal to van der Graaf at all, but submitted both journals himself.

Unfortunately, among the process documents that were sent from Batavia to the Netherlands no testimony of the second mate concerning this matter is found, and no mention of a hearing of Adriaan van der Graaf is made either. Such a hearing could have easily have been held in the period before the departure of the second mate to the Netherlands. According to the ship's pay ledger,⁴⁵ in the second half of 1728 he was employed on ships that were at the Batavia roadstead during those months.⁴⁶ Van der Graaf thus most probably did not leave Batavia prior to his departure for the Netherlands, and was as such present for the first phase of the process.

Both Steijns and his lawyer Overmeer, and the general public prosecutor Graafland – who, due to illness during the later stages of the process, was replaced by the city prosecutor Cruse, produced extensive apologies and counter-pleas at the end of 1728 and the beginning of 1729, all to be found in the documents send over to the Netherlands by the Court of Justice of Batavia.

On the 22nd of March 1729, both parties decided not to produce any more documents but to submit the case to the Council of Justice in anticipation of a verdict. As stated in the documents of the Council of Justice on this date the public prosecutor handed over two journals as evidence. In April the Council of Justice asked the prosecutor for two maps and the instruction for the voyage between the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia that had been on board during the ship's journey. These were handed over two days later. By the end of April, the Council gave the verdict. Steijns was declared guilty of both reckless sailing with the *Zeewyk* and falsifying the journals. Graafland died before the verdict was made public. Adriaan van der Graaf was by then already on his way to the Netherlands.

Steijns almost immediately asked for revision. New apologies and counter pleas were produced and in August the verdict was reconsidered. Again Steijns was declared guilty, although the sentence was somewhat subdued. He was, however, forever expelled from the service of the VOC and its territories. In September 1729, he was obliged to take the *Wolphaartsdijk* to the Netherlands. On the list of documents that were sent to the Netherlands with this ship are both verdicts regarding Steijns, they are listed as no 44. Copies of these verdicts are found in several places in the VOC archive.

⁴⁴ The data in this paragraph stem mostly from NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353, Trial documents Raad van Justitie Batavia 1729, dl 4, no folio numbering.

⁴⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02 inv.nr. 12856 (*Zeewyk* Grootboek (ledger) en monsterrol (muster roll) 1726/27)

⁴⁶ Daily Register Batavia 1728 [according to the extract by ANRI]

2.3.5 Journals that were sent to the Netherlands

Nothing has been found about the sending of *Zeewyk* journals to the Netherlands yet. However, this did happen. Since 1711 the *Heren XVII* in the Netherlands had tried to get a better understanding of the functioning of the Council of Justice in Batavia. Apparently this, in 1728, had resulted in the sending of not only the criminal roll and verdicts, as had been usual, but also copies of process documents. These are not (or no longer) to be found among the documents from the Amsterdam Chamber, but they are present in those of the Zeeland Chamber. Here the documents from the Council of Justice in Batavia were kept separately from the other documents that had come over from Batavia.

The copies of process documents from 1729 are to be found in the current inventory numbers NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02 inv.nrs. 9350-9354. The fourth part of these (9353) includes copies of documents used in the trial against Steijns. Among these are journals of both Jan Steijns and of Adriaan van der Graaf. It concerns three distinct journals of the skipper, namely that of the journey from the Cape of Good Hope up until the stranding, in this copy directly followed by that of the journey by sloop from the island to Batavia, and somewhat further on in this inventory number a journal of the intermediate period at the Houtman Abrolhos. Among the documents of the Court of Justice there are journals of the second mate of the voyage from the Cape of Good Hope up until the stranding and of the voyage with the sloop, but not of the period in between.

We must assume that this concerns the so-called fake journals. The documents that are available in the National Archive at The Hague are copies that have been checked for accuracy of the transcript on August 24th, 1729. Both journals of the voyage up until the stranding, as present in this copy dossier of the Council of Justice, are almost exact copies of each other, like the examining committee boarded by master attendant Mels had reported.

Besides these journals, the VOC archive of the Zeeland Chamber also contains the separate and quite different journal of van der Graaf, that encompasses the entire voyage from the Netherlands to Batavia. The copy of this journal that was sent to the Netherlands has not been authorised in Batavia until September 9th, 1729, after the process against Steijns was finished. It is curious that (a copy of) this original journal was not added to the process documents. Adriaan van der Graaf cannot have brought this version of the journal that is now in the National Archive to the Netherlands himself, because he left Batavia long before this copy was finished. A return fleet with Jan Steijns and Wouter Thomas van Dijk [see below] among others left Batavia at September 30th. As such it is possible that all these documents were sent to the Netherlands with that homeward bound fleet. However, a copy of the Steijns verdict is mentioned as being among the documents that were sent with this fleet, but not a journal. It has not been found out yet when or with what ship this copy has been brought to the Netherlands.

The copy that is now in the National Archives contains some clear mistakes made during the copying, mistakes that van der Graaf would never have made himself. Also there are some peculiar paragraphs that reveal the use of later made notes and additions by van der Graaf to this pretended day-to-day journal.

The WAM possesses a copy of this journal. In the pdf that was made of it, some pages are missing. Of a part of this journal, starting at the departure from the Cape, Mr. C. de Heer has made a good English translation. It is clear that he did have the complete copy to work from.

CIE archivists have compared that version to the original and added some notes that are to be found in the dossier. The English translation contains almost no mistakes, and certainly no faults that could affect the detection and identification of a 'fifth ship'.

Looking at the entries in the ship's payment ledger, the Zeeland Chamber must have also had access to another version of a journal by Adriaan van der Graaf. This journal could have also been sent later, but it is likely that at least one version was brought to the Netherlands by Adriaan van der Graaf himself, to hand in as he was obliged to do by the VOC.

A journal like that could have been kept separately by the Zeeland Chamber, to help with the payroll. Unlike for other ships that had arrived safely in Batavia, in this case there was no ledger or journal in which for example deaths of the crew were listed. On the other hand, and as such the *Zeewyk*

differed from the *Aagtekerke* and *Fortuyn*, many of the survivors were entitled to their salary. It was possible that heirs would come with pretensions to this salary at a much later time, and so it was important for the chamber to have a document with for example the dates of death of the crewmembers. These dates of death are recorded remarkably outspoken in all journal versions that are known to us.

2.3.6 Daily register kept at the island *Tortelduijff* by the *officieren* of the *Zeewyk*

Remarkably enough, outside of the VOC archives another description of the stay of the *Zeewyk* castaways at the wreck and the Houtman Abrolhos has been preserved. It is found in the Brussels Royal Library in Belgium, and is part of a book with diverse texts and drawings, that is present in the manuscript collection as inv. nr. II 2586. The book was bought by the Royal Library in 1900 from the collection of Thomas Phillips. It is not yet clear how this collector, owner of an enormous amount of books and manuscripts, got it in his possession. The only reference to the writer or editor of the book can be found on folio 71v, as a note on a drawing of St. Helena, which states 'where I in the year 1704 with the *Vosmeer* have been' (in old Dutch: *doen ik int jaar 1704 met vosmeer ben aengewest*). Skipper of the VOC ship the *Vosmeer* at that time was Wouter Thomasz. Van Dijk, who would make several voyages for the Company in the period up to 1730.

He arrived in Batavia on February 12th, 1729, on his sixth and as far as known also last voyage to Asia for the VOC. During the first stage of the process against Steijns he was thus not yet present in Batavia, and as such is not mentioned on the list of skippers that prepared the report on the journals with the master attendant. His name is found on some other reports that were drafted in Batavia in 1729, and that have no connection to the *Zeewyk*. Wouter Thomasz. van Dijk was one of the most experienced skippers present in Batavia during the revision of the trial against Steijns. His last VOC voyage that has been encountered is his return voyage as skipper on the *Stad Leiden* in 1729-30⁴⁷, as part of the same fleet with which Jan Steijns also went homeward. Wouter Thomasz. van Dijk can have had the opportunity to read and copy *Zeewyk* journals; it is even rather probable that in Batavia in 1729 he was asked to review them.

The book contains both copies of descriptions of drawings of coastal views and sailing instructions drawn up in the 17th century, as well as notes on events of the 18th century. Because it contains descriptions of the court journey to Japan in 1733-34, the book cannot have been compiled before 1734. For one of the 17th century descriptions of the Chinese coast and the route to Japan that are mentioned in the book, another version is known as well, also preserved outside of the VOC archive.⁴⁸ The diverse descriptions have not been written down in an already existing book, but the book has actually at a later time been composed out of multiple documents.⁴⁹

Comparison with the journals of Steijns and van der Graaf shows that this day-register is based on a version of a journal by Adriaan van der Graaf that we know as NL-HaNA, VOC, and 1.04.02 inv.nr. 11417. Some copying mistakes that are to be found in the version in the National Archive are not made in this version. However, a number of other clerical errors and sloppy mistakes concerning dates can be detected in this version. The book also contains a map of the area where the *Zeewyk* stranded, that is clearly related to maps of NL-HaNA, Maps Leupe, 4.VEL, inv. nr. 512 and 513. The latitudinal position of the wreck in this case seems to be based on the version of Steijns, rather than on that of van der Graaf. A copy of this part of the Brussels document, and an English translation of it by L. Zuiderbaan, are present at the WAM.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02 inv.nr. 2111, p. 1554 ev; No 60, and NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02 inv.nr. 5900 (Stad Leiden: Grootboek (ledger) en journaal, 1728 - 1729 1728 – 1729): Wouter Thomasz van Dijk - fol 2. Incorrect in DAS 6767.5 Schipper **Pieter** Thomas van Dijk.

⁴⁸ NL-HaNA, Aanw. 1e afd. ARA, 1.11.01.01, inv.nr. 553 .The original author was at the Chinese coast in 1665. The transcription is clearly of a later date.

⁴⁹ The current fol. 54 is put at the wrong place, and should be between fol. 68v and fol. 69.

⁵⁰ The scanned version as WAM Report No. 288 and the English translation as WAM Report No. 284 'Translation of Anon *Zeewyk* Journal'.

2.3.7 Analyses

Because all journals are copies it is not possible to look at the handwriting to discern whether Steijns submitted a re-written copy as the original of van der Graaf. It is clear, however, that according to both the (false?) journals, the position of the *Zeewyk* at the time of stranding was at about 121 degrees longitude, while this in the till now only known journal of van der Graaf (inv. nr. 11417) was about 127 degrees. According to the process documents this is a difference of over 65 then-used Dutch sea miles. Apart from these differences in the daily traveled distances and the positions that were calculated from them, the journals of the voyages are almost identical.

Steijns' version of the stay on the island clearly differs from that of van der Graaf and the version known through the Brussels Royal Library. In general, the account by Steijns is more concise than that of Van der Graaf. A more extensive comparison of the texts of the different journals, concerning paragraphs that might be of use in the attribution of artifacts to the *Zeewyk* or other ships, has been added as Appendix I. For this report it is not useful to literally translate all relevant old-Dutch texts to English. Concerning a possible other wreck than the *Zeewyk* from this period and in this area, no new insight can be found in the Steijns journal. It actually contains less information on this aspect than the earlier known versions do. The Steijns journal does only contain some new data concerning the artillery of the *Zeewyk* (see paragraph 2.7). The Steijns journal also provides some small bits of new information on the state of the wreck and on the new made vessel that is not known from the van der Graaf version.

2.4 Dossier Fortuyn

2.4.1 Shipbuilding

Concerning dimensions and equipment, the *Fortuyn* did not differ much from the *Zeewyk* and *Aagtekerke*. Although built at different wharfs, the ships should all have been constructed according to the same prescribed⁵¹ and controlled⁵² sizes. All three ships should have been 145ft long.⁵³ During construction the so-called second 'certer'⁵⁴ had to be followed. The exactly decreed dimensions of many components were documented in it in 1697.⁵⁵ The first signatory of these regulations was the master carpenter of the Amsterdam VOC-wharf, Gerrit Claes Pool, who also mentored Czaar Peter during this period. Dimensions of recovered artefacts could be compared to this information.

Despite all of the regulations and the close monitoring of them, the head carpenters clearly had their own ideas and executed them as well. In 1714 deviating ship widths that had become popular were sanctioned by the *Heren XVII*, and new *certers* for form, width and depth were established.⁵⁶ For dimensions of components of rigging and outfit new lists were compiled as well.⁵⁷ Concerning dimensions of components of the hull, no new regulations have been found for the new 1714 *certers* and thus we have to assume that for them the 1697 regulations stayed in use. Between 1714 and the building of the *Fortuyn*, *Aagtekerke* and *Zeewyk*, no new insights on dimensions of ships and their components are formulated in the resolutions of the *Heren XVII* and the Chambers. In its layout, the *Fortuyn* probably did differ from the other two ships. To 'simplify transportation of

⁵¹ van Dam ([1701] 1927) *Bechrijvinge dl I*, p. 476 (resolutie H XVII 4 april 1697) NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 117 (Resoluties Heren XVII) 30 September 1722.

⁵² B.v. NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 117 (Resoluties Heren XVII) 5 Julij 1723 en NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7295 (Uitgaande missiven Kamer Zeeland 1724-1728), Aen de Camer Delf 6 juni 1724.

⁵³ In Amsterdam feet of about 28 cm.

⁵⁴ A *certer* was a rather detailed prescription of ships dimensions, which was agreed upon between shipbuilders and their principals.

⁵⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7358 (Resoluties H XVII, copy Zeeland Chamber) 4 april 1697.

⁵⁶ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7363 (Resoluties H XVII, copy Zeeland Chamber) 4 en 10 juli en 29 sept 1714.

⁵⁷ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7364 (Resoluties H XVII, copy Zeeland Chamber) 23 sept 1715.

masts', as was stated, it was decided that in 1722 the Chamber in Amsterdam would build one or more 145ft ships not as 'pinas' but as 'hekboot'.⁵⁸

The Governor General and the Council in Batavia mention the *Fortuyn* as a 'masdschip' in their letter to the Netherlands of November 30th, 1724, in which they mention the loss of the ship as a near certainty.⁵⁹ It will be almost impossible to discern between a *pinas* and a *hekboot* by means of the artefacts that have been recovered thus far. Besides the possible difference in layout, for all three ships under concern the same regulations regarding construction and outfit were supposed to be followed.

The building of the *Fortuyn* started between September 1722 and the spring of 1723, still under supervision of the Amsterdam master carpenter Jan Pool, son of earlier mentioned Claes Gerrit Pool. Jan Pool was discharged by the Chamber on April 12th, 1723, because he was busy with too many other things. He had been warned before that his regular absence at the wharf was unwanted. A new master carpenter was not named until September of 1723, when the *Fortuyn* had already been finished.

2.4.2 Details on the voyage

On July 1st, 1723, the Chamber of Amsterdam decided to use the newly built ship the *Fortuyn* in the upcoming autumn equipage, together with the similar-sized *Hogenes* and the smaller '*sGraveland*.⁶⁰ At July 5th, the meeting of the *Heren XVII* approved this decision and decreed that the ship was to be manned with 225 heads, and would transport f200.000 in cash to Batavia.⁶¹ On September 15th, the sailing orders for the ships were approved,⁶² and on the 27th of September they went out to sea.⁶³ More precise information on either crew or cargo has not been found.

In a letter⁶⁴ from the Cape of Good Hope that was sent with the ship the *Noorderkwartier*, which was on its way to Batavia, the authorities there mention the arrival of the *Fortuyn*, the *Doornik*, *Hogenes*, *Anna Maria* and '*sGraveland* at the Cape of Good Hope on January 2nd and 4th of 1724, after a successful journey from the Netherlands. The ships did not need many refreshments or repair, and were thus set to leave the Cape as soon as possible. Only the '*sGraveland* would follow a little later, due to a big part of its cargo being meant for the Cape. The discharging of the load would needlessly delay the other ships, were they to wait. The *Noorderkwartier* had left the Netherlands much earlier than the other ships (May 3rd), but had not arrived at the Cape before December 24th. It was ready to set sail for Batavia in early January. The letter that was sent with it is dated January 8th, but the ship did not actually leave the Table Bay before the 12th of that month.⁶⁵

Only a few days later, on January 17th 1724, the *Fortuyn*, *Doornik*, *Hogenes* and *Anna Maria* jointly left the Cape. The ships must have lost contact along the way though, because the *Anna Maria* arrived in Batavia on April 1st, the *Doornik* on April 16th, and the *Hogenes* at the 21st of that same month. Not much later the '*sGraveland*, that had left the Cape on February 3rd, reached Batavia as well.⁶⁶ Both the *Noorderkwartier* and the *Fortuyn* had not yet arrived by that time. This was alarming,

⁵⁸ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7366 (Resoluties H XVII, copy Zeeland Chamber) 4 april en 24 juli 1621. The official translations of both ship type names are respectively pinnace and hagboot, but researchers are not sure about specific differences between the two types [See for instance Hoving 1994 (Nicolaas Witsen), chapter IV] Probably the stern of the hekboot was built out wider and had (a number of) wide raftports, whereas the pinas had only smaller portholes and a narrower stern

⁵⁹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 2002 (Overgekomen brieven en papieren 1725, tweede boek Batavia, tweede deel), fol 116v (Generale Missive 30-11-1724).

⁶⁰ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 252 (Resoluties Kamer Amsterdam) 1-7-1723.

⁶¹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 117 (Resoluties H XVII) 5 Julij 1723.

⁶² NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 252 (Resoluties H XVII) 15 September 1723.

⁶³ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 352 (Uitgaande missiven kamer Amsterdam), Missiven 13-9-1723 e.v.

⁶⁴ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9132 (Copie missiven van de Kaap naar Batavia 1723/1724), p. 191 ev.

⁶⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9132 (Copie missiven van de Kaap naar Batavia 1723/1724), p. 1.

⁶⁶ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7613 (Dagregister Batavia), p. 186 ev.

especially since *the 'sGraveland* had encountered flotsam along the way. On the 1st of May, it was decided in Batavia to send the frigate *Windhond* on a reconnaissance-mission.⁶⁷

In the daily-register of Batavia, the *Fortuyn* is mentioned more than once as the ship that is suspected to have possibly been wrecked. In the resolution on the employment of the *Windhond* on the other hand, it is decided to look for the *Noorderkwartier*. This can be explained as follows. On the 26th of May, the *Noorderkwartier* managed to reach Batavia at last. When the daily-registers that we know and used were carefully redrawn to be taken up in the official archives, this fact was already known. The wreck material could thus no longer be attributed to the *Noorderkwartier*. The resolution of May 1st however, was directly inscribed in the resolution book on the day that the decision to send the *Windhond* was made.

The *Windhond* returned to Batavia on July 27th, after its mission lead to no avail. Its expedition did lead to a better map of the Kokos Islands,⁶⁸ although no sign of shipwrecks or survivors were found there. The island of Moni,⁶⁹ where the ship had also been supposed to look for wreckage or survivors, had not been found.⁷⁰ In a letter to the Netherlands dated to September 26th, 1724, the Governor General and Council wrote that they had sent the *Windhond* because the failed appearance of the *Noorderkwartier* and *Fortuyn* worried them. In a letter dated November 30th, it is stated that loss of the *Fortuyn* was now a near certainty. No further clues on the possible site of the shipwreck are given.⁷¹

Undoubtedly the officers of the *Anna Maria*, *Doornik* and *Hogenes* have been questioned in Batavia about when and where they lost contact with the *Fortuyn*. No records on this subject however have been found in the VOC archive. The fact that in 1724 it was suspected that the *Fortuyn* had wrecked near the Kokos Islands, did not prevent the Governor General and the Council in Batavia in 1728 to point out that the wreck material seen in the Houtman Abrolhos by the *Zeewyk* survivors could possibly have been of this ship. Although no other VOC ships went missing in the south eastern parts of the Indian Ocean in or shortly before 1724, it is possible that the wreck material seen near the Kokos Islands did not belong to the *Fortuyn*. Although it is unlikely that its route took the ship near the Australian coast, there still is a small chance that it did wreck there.

2.4.3 Cargo

In the administration of the *Boekhouder Generaal* in Batavia only the total cargo discharged at the Cape from the *Fortuyn*, *'sGraveland* and *Hogenes* together is noted down.⁷² Considering the before-mentioned notes on the *'sGraveland* that had to stay in the bay longer than the other ships due to the landing of cargo, this probably concerns only goods that were transported with that ship. For this period, no mention is made in this administration as 'losses at sea', so lost cargo shipped from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia on the *Fortuyn* cannot be found in this way.

In 1624 elephant tusks were transported legally from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia by at least three VOC ships.⁷³ Apparently illegal trade in these tusks at the time that the *Fortuyn* was at the Cape of Good Hope took place as well. From a copy of the list of documents that were aboard the *Fortuyn* when it sailed from the Cape⁷⁴ that was brought to Batavia with another ship it is known that the *Fortuyn* carried a copy of the new regulation on the prohibition of private trade in elephant tusks at the Cape of Good Hope (see also paragraph 2.8). For possibilities on finding out possible cargo components of the *Fortuyn*, we refer to paragraph 2.7. When the assumption that the *Fortuyn* was

⁶⁷ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 740 (Resoluties GG en Raden), 1-5-1724.

⁶⁸ Ca. 12° S; 97° E

⁶⁹ Suposed to be modern Christmas Island on ca. 10° 30'S; 105° 30'E

⁷⁰ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7613 (Dagregister Batavia), p. 405ev.

⁷¹ Coolhaas 1979 (Generale Missiven Gouverneurs-generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII, dl VII), p. 742.

⁷² NL-HaNA, Boekhouder-Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02, inv.nr. 10763, p. 417

⁷³ NL-HaNA, Boekhouder-Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02, inv. nr. 10817 (Negotie grootboek Batavia 1723-24), p. 58, and inv. nr. 10763 (Generaal Journaal 1723-24), p. 431

⁷⁴ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9132 (Copie missiven van de Kaap naar Batavia 1723/1724), p. 7.

especially built for the transportation of masts is taken in consideration, large pieces of wood could have made part of the cargo. The question is whether they can be found as artefacts on a wreck site.

2.5 Dossier *Aagtekerke*

2.5.1 Shipbuilding and origin of name

On May 16th, 1724, the master carpenter of the Zeeland Chamber *Hendrik Raas* started building the *Aagtekerke* on the VOC wharf at Middelburg. Raas was master carpenter since 1721, the year he took over from *Pieter Sohier*, who had died shortly before. In the following years Raas started the building of 66 Company ships, amongst which also the *Zeewyk* that was launched in 1725 and stranded at the Australian West coast during her first journey that was supposed to bring her to Batavia.⁷⁵

The ship (*Aagtekerke*) was launched on November 2nd, 1724, and was finished and equipped for her first journey to Batavia in the following months. It was constructed according to the same center for the 145ft ships of the VOC as the *Fortuyn* and *Zeewyk*.

Considering the origin of the name of the ship, it is known that the nomination of the name of a newly built ship was one of the privileges of the directors of the chamber. Which director did so for the *Aagtekerke* is not mentioned. It is, however, likely that the name was suggested by *Hendrik Velters*, Lord of Aagtekerke. Velters, who came from an influential Zeeland family, was a delegate of the audit office of the province of Zeeland (1699-1719), and had been chosen as a director of the Zeeland Chamber of the VOC in 1719. He followed his stepfather *Alexander de Munck* (1655-1719), who had died shortly before. As director of the Chamber, Velters was working within the 'Department of the Equipage'. As such he was, together with three colleagues, responsible for the building, the maintenance, and the equipment of the ships. Because in the first part of the 18th century it was rather usual that ships were named after the country estates of the directors, it is very probable that Velters named the *Aagtekerke*.⁷⁶ The other Zeeland Company ship that went by the same name and left for sea in 1721, only to wreck near Plymouth in that same year, has probably been named by Velters as well.⁷⁷

2.5.2 Equipment

In the fall of 1724 the directors of the Zeeland Chamber decided that the *Aagtekerke*, which was still under construction, would be prepared for a journey to Asia on which it would be joined by the *Ravestein*, a ship of the same size and with the same kind of armament as the *Aagtekerke*. Both ships were armed with 36 pieces of artillery, mainly iron 'gotelingen' (casted guns, muzzle loaders) of different sizes. As far as we know, these were three, six, and twelve pounders. Four bronze 'bassen' (swivel guns, breech loaders) of a light caliber with a removable chamber were part of the ships' outfit as well.⁷⁸ Through an account book of the Zeeland Chamber it is learned that a merchant from Middelburg, *Jacobus Berdenis*, delivered the iron pieces of artillery to the VOC. One of his deliveries coincides with the final building phase of the *Aagtekerke*. 48 iron cannons and the matching cannonballs were sold to the Company. *Nicolaas Greve*, another merchant from Middelburg, was in those years the supplier of the bronze pieces of artillery and breech loaders. Just between the fall of 1724 and the spring of 1725 he sold scores of bronze cannons, breech loaders and their removable bronze chambers to the VOC.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ ZA, Rek. D 59781, collaterale Successie, 11 november 1721. Zie: Edwards, *The wreck*. Via Archieven.nl: ZA 511 Rekenkamer van Zeeland, 'Rekenkamer D', 59781 Acquitten behorende bij de 2e rekening over 1720

⁷⁶ Aagtekerke now is the name of a village on Walcheren, but in the 18th century the area with same name was a so-called 'ambachtsheerlijkheid', a kind of country estate owned by Hendrik Velters.

⁷⁷ Matthaeus, *Kort gevat*, 5-6, 15-17 en 24-25; Brijn (a.o.) *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping I*, 54-55. On *De Munck* and *Velters* see: Van der Bijl, *Idee en Interest*.

⁷⁸ These figures are in accordance with those mentioned for the *Zeewijk* (see chapter ...) which vessel however did carry 8 'bassen'.

⁷⁹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 13624, Kasboek kamer Zeeland, november 1724; Paesie, *Het VOC-retourschip*, 42-56

2.5.3 Cargo

In March of 1725 both ships were, through the *Havenkanaal* (canal connecting the city with the sea) of Middelburg, brought to the roadstead of Rammekens, where they were anchored. There the cargo was put aboard. The *Ravestein* contained cargo for Ceylon, whereas the cargo of the *Aagtekerke* was meant for Batavia. Both ships also contained a large amount of money. For the *Aagtekerke* this was about 23,750 Flemish pounds in bullion, or over 142,000 Dutch guilders.⁸⁰ It is also not to be excluded that the crew carried an unknown amount of precious metals to Asia as well.⁸¹ The rather large difference between the worth of silver in the Republic and in Asia leads to a widely spread and profitable private trade.⁸²

Lists of cargo are of great importance concerning the research on the origin of the artefacts found in the Houtman Abrolhos. For that reason a separate chapter is dedicated to the possibilities to retrieve these data although the detailed overviews of the exported products have been lost. Only the large archive of the Boekhouder Generaal in Batavia, with detailed descriptions of loads of the ships that arrived in Batavia, has been saved. Because these descriptions also make mention of the products that were unloaded at Cape of Good Hope, we know exactly which products we will not find at a possible *Aagtekerke* wreck site. Unless of course we are dealing with a shipped surplus-load. We are also informed about the products that were sent from the Cape of Good Hope to Batavia on the *Aagtekerke*. These products, in this case 214 pieces of elephant tusk of different sizes and weight, are things we could find at a possible *Aagtekerke* wreck site. (See Appendix III: mutations in cargo at the Cape of Good Hope, paragraph 2.8 deals with the ivory trade).

Based on two saved account books of the Zeeland Chamber concerning the period 1724-1728,⁸³ we can try and approach the former load of the *Aagtekerke*. This is because we know the load of all the Zeeland ships that arrived at their destination, and thus by means of elimination we could come to a relatively certain list of cargo of the *Aagtekerke*. There is, however, one problem. The *Aagtekerke* was not the only ship that was lost in this period. The *Ravestein*, with which the *Aagtekerke* set sail on the 27th of May, 1725, was lost as well. And then there is the *Zeewyk*, that wrecked one year later. There are thus multiple unknown variables, making the method of elimination less certain and trustworthy. The only thing about the load of the *Aagtekerke* that we can state with certainty is that 214 elephant tusks were aboard, of which 16 weighed over twenty pounds apiece.⁸⁴

2.5.4 Crew

In *DAS*, a 200 man strong crew is mentioned for the *Aagtekerke's* journey. This is the standard number of sailors and soldiers for ships of a 145ft length. In reality, though, there were more people aboard the *Aagtekerke*. Because the *Aagtekerke* did not arrive in Batavia the original pay ledger got lost. A copy was made up by the Zeeland Chamber, based on the muster roll of the ship which was sent home from the Cape.⁸⁵ According to this ledger, 220 men were supposed to be aboard the ship when it departed. The skipper *Jan Witboom* later mentioned having left Zeeland with 212 'eaters'. In his count he probably excluded some of the deserted sailors and soldiers.

It seems that Witboom, who was born in Batavia, was on familiar terms with the Zeeland part of the Witboom family that delivered successive numbers of master attendants for the VOC.⁸⁶ We know of

⁸⁰ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 13624, Kasboek kamer Zeeland, mei 1725

⁸¹ The crew of the *Zeewyk* certainly did transport private money as is shown by the documents of the Court of Justice in Batavia [NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nrs. 9350 – 9355]

⁸² For money transport by the VOC see: Poll, *Tot Gerieff*.

⁸³ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 13624 and 13625

⁸⁴ SA-CaNA 1/1 (Council of Policy) C 2446 (Attestation 1725), p. 319

⁸⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 12849 (ledger and munster roll *Aagtekerke*, 1725-1726).

⁸⁶ Laurens Witboom was master attendant of the Zeeland Chamber between 1679 and 1695. He was succeeded by Jacob Witboom, who kept this office up to 1720. A few years later Jan Hurgronje took over as master attendant; he was married with Maria Witboom. Some of the later attendants like Michiel Landsheer and Cornelis Braams also had family ties with the Witbooms. NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11336, Notulen equipage kamer Zeeland, 1698-1795; Schilfgaarde, '*Witboom*', 192-196; Paesie, *Zeeuwse kaarten*, 59, 61 en 68.

several sea voyages of Jan Witboom, mostly on Company ships of the Zeeland Chamber. In 1708 already he signed up as a sailor on the *Waarde*, with which he left for Asia. After that he became gunner's mate, then assistant mate, and in 1723 he was named first mate at the outward bound Zeeland VOC ship '*Vaderland Getrouw*'. During the return journey on the *Spiering*, the skipper died and Witboom took over command. Upon arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, the political council there judged Witboom to be a very good and qualified skipper, but named the first mate *Erasmus Schuijt* of the ship the *Castricum* the new skipper. Witboom was apparently only surpassed by him because of Schuijt's seniority.⁸⁷ Back in Zeeland he was named skipper of the *Aagtekerke*. The question of whether or not the inexperience of the skipper played a role in the *Aagtekerke's* wrecking is not easily answered. It probably did not though. First of all, all the Company mates had to submit to an examination before they were appointed as such on one of the ships.⁸⁸ Witboom thus must have passed this examination with good results. Secondly, as we have just seen, Witboom already had quite some experience on the sea routes to Asia.

Most of the officers, petty officers, and craftsmen came from Zeeland or other places within the Republic. Amongst the sailors and soldiers on the other hand, we find many foreigners. We can see this at the *Aagtekerke* as well. From the 220 crewmembers mentioned in the ledger, 45 belong to the first category. Fifteen of these (33 percent) came from outside of the Republic. Of the 108 sailors more than half (56 percent) were foreign, and amongst the soldiers this number was as high as 67 percent.⁸⁹

2.5.5 The voyage

On May 27th, 1725, both Company ships were put to sea. Strong and continuing adverse winds caused much delay and obliged the skippers to lead their ships to the English shore. Once there, several crewmembers of the *Aagtekerke* deserted. Contact between both ships was maintained until they had passed the Canary Islands. After that, the ships lost sight of each other. From later reports we know that the *Aagtekerke* did not further follow the route it was instructed to take, and ended up somewhere in the Gulf of Guinea. Via Cape Capendo on the Angolan coast, where another number of crewmembers deserted, the *Aagtekerke* arrived at Cape of Good Hope on January 3rd, 1726. This was almost one month later than the arrival of the *Ravestein*.⁹⁰

During the first leg of the journey to Asia, 16 of the crew had died, whereas 45 more were transferred to the Company hospital at Cape of Good Hope. The number of sick, deserted and dead crewmembers as reported by Witboom slightly differs from those numbers as recorded in the ledger. Witboom stated on January 15th, 1726, during a meeting of the political council of Cape of Good Hope, that his ship was provided with fresh food as usual, and that he had 144 healthy men still aboard. With this, he said, he could in 'full confidence' run his ship out to sea.⁹¹ According to the ledger, however, this number is 146. If we take Witboom's account, the *Aagtekerke* counted 144 men when it sailed on the 27th of January 1726. The Zeeland ship left the Cape together with the yacht the *Westvriesland*. It took the *Westvriesland* four months to reach Batavia, which was (much) longer than was usual.

In the letters that were sent from Batavia to the Republic (*patria*) at the end of 1726 it is only being mentioned that the *Aagtekerke* did not reach Batavia, and was probably wrecked. As was standard, the officers of the *Westvriesland* will have handed in journals, but journals like this are entirely

⁸⁷ SA-CaNA, 1/1 Council of Policy, inv. nr. C 70, (Resolutions of the Council of 23 and 24 march 1724).

⁸⁸ Davids, *Zeewezen en wetenschap*, 294-295; Paesie, *Zeeuwse kaarten*, 68-69. Between 1720 and 1750. Abraham Anias was the examiner of those who aspired the function of mate on the ships of the Zeeland Chamber of the VOC.

⁸⁹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 12849 (grootboek en monsterrol *Aagtekerke*, 1725-1726)

⁹⁰ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 4101 (Letters and papers from the Cape, arrived 1727) fol 804ev (Cape daily register) 3-1-1726

⁹¹ Both statements are standard declarations asked by the authorities of the Cape to prevent later accusations of neglegation of their tasks

missing from the VOC archives. It is probable that they were only sent back to the Republic in special cases, as with the *Zeewyk*. In the correspondence with Holland, no mention is being made of the long journey of the *Westvriesland*, and in this stadium of the correspondence there is no speculation on the reason or place of the wrecking of the *Aagtekerke*.

2.5.6 Conclusion

Based on documents, we can expect to find (fragments of) elephant tusks at the place where the *Aagtekerke* stranded. What can also be found are coins or possibly ingots ('baren') of precious metals. Most of the coins will probably carry the mark of the Zeeland Mint. Considering load and equipment, we can expect lead ingots with cut marks ('inslagen'), and iron and bronze cannons. The cannons will probably bear the monogram of the Zeeland Chamber. Since the *Aagtekerke* unloaded a big load of stones and other materials, ballast will probably also have been taken in. This could consist of written off or damaged pieces of artillery. Several large anchors, glass and tin objects, earthenware, pottery, different sorts of ironware, and copper products or fragment of all of these can be expected to be found at the possible wreck site as well.

From the ledger the names of the people who left the Cape of Good Hope on the *Aagtekerke* are known. If artefacts are found that trace back to specific individuals, there is thus a (very small) chance to document the stranding location of the *Aagtekerke*.

2.6 Dossier Zeewyk

2.6.1 Shipbuilding

In 1725 the Zeeland Chamber built the *Zeewyk* on her own wharf, according to the same certer from 1714 that was used with the *Aagtekerke* one year before. At the end of April construction had progressed far enough to ask the Rotterdam Chamber to send their master carpenter on May 9th, to check whether the ship met the regulations concerning dimensions.⁹² The name of the vessel again originates from a country estate (Zeewijk, near Middelburg).

2.6.2 Crew

On August 12th, 1726, under the chairmanship of Lord Velters of Aagtekerke, it was decided that the *Zeewyk*, together with the *Ravesteijn*, would leave in the beginning of October. In the following days, *Jan Boogaard van Middelburg* was nominated as skipper, whilst *Pieter Langeweg van 't Nieuwland* became first mate. During the remainder of August some officers, amongst which *Adriaan van der Graaf van Zierikzee*, were registered as well.⁹³ Because of an illness, on September 5th *Jan Boogaard* was replaced with *Jan Steijns*, who was supposed to have sailed as skipper on the *Barbesteijn*.⁹⁴

The mustering of the crew of the *Zeewyk* was done on September 30th, and it was decided that the treasurers would take 'two times one hundred and fifty thousand guilders' for this ship, and bring it aboard at a convenient time.⁹⁵ The administration of the Zeeland Chamber registers a number of 42111 cash realen gone out of the treasury to the *Zeewyk* and another 200 given to the skipper for expenditure on the outward voyage in October 1726.⁹⁶ On October 3rd it was decided that *Adriaan Boots* would be hired as pilot, but it was not until early November that the ship went out to sea. The

⁹² NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7295 (Uitgaande missiven Kamer Zeeland 1724-1728)Aen de Camer Rotterdam 23 april 1725.

⁹³ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7257 (Resoluties Kamer Zeeland) Resoluties augustus 1726.

⁹⁴ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 12257 (Verzoekboek Barbesteijn) probable entry on 5 september, under J J of this 'verzoekboek'.

⁹⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7257 (Resoluties Kamer Zeeland) Resolution Sep 26 1726. It is curious that it was decided to 'take three times hundred thousand guilders' for the Barbesteijn.

⁹⁶ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 13625 under October 1726

weather then made it necessary for the ship to stay at Duins between the 13th and 23rd of November.⁹⁷

Three sailors were noted as absent already when the ship was still anchored near Vlissingen, but as opposed to many other ships there is no mention of deserting crewmembers in England. A few men died on board before the ship even left the roadstead of *Vlissingen*, and thirty more died during the voyage before the *Zeewyk* arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on March 26th, 1727. Another 35 men had to be hospitalised at the Cape, of which 4 died shortly after. Most of the others recovered there and took other ships to get either on to Batavia, or back to the Netherlands. The four month duration of the journey until the Cape was not very remarkable, but the number of deaths and sick people was above average.

The above-mentioned numbers are taken from the muster roll that was adjusted to the new situation before the ship left the Cape of Good Hope, and of which a copy was sent to the Netherlands. This muster roll served as the basis for the salary-administration of the Zeeland Chamber, because no original ledger that had been sent back from Batavia could be used.⁹⁸

The *Zeewyk* in her turn took on some recovered sick of earlier arrived ships. Skipper Steijns and second mate Van der Graaf both kept records of deaths during the rest of the journey in their journals, so we know that of the 153 men on board when the ship left the Cape on April 21st, before the stranding of the ship on June 9th another 16 had died. When the ship stranded, 137 living crewmembers were aboard. Of those, 88 eventually set sail for Batavia⁹⁹ from the Abrolhos in their self-built boat. Another six of those would die before the vessel arrived in Batavia.

2.6.3 At the Cape of Good Hope

Some of the *Zeewyk's* cargo was destined for the Cape, and had thus been unloaded there.¹⁰⁰ According to the journal of Adriaan van der Graaf, together with the sick, a donkey was brought to land, directly after the ship's arrival. Another donkey had, according to the correspondence of the Cape, died aboard. Accounts show that 4 donkeys, both male and female, had been shipped to the Cape on the *Zeewyk* and *Barbesteijn*.¹⁰¹ The other things that were listed as cargo for the Cape on the accounts of both ships can be found in the administration of the Boekhouder Generaal in Batavia as well. Unknown, however, is which part of it was shipped on the *Zeewyk*, and which on the *Barbesteijn*. Van der Graaf mentions the unloading of cargo on several days. Amongst the non-specified equipment goods that form the largest expense on the account, we can surely put the two heavy cables that according to his journal were brought ashore on the 30th of March. Van der Graaf only mentions the reloading of water, but nothing about taking on board any other goods. Under general loses in the accounts of the Boekhouder Generaal for the wrecking of the *Zeewyk*, we only find 100 pounds of 'caro cidoniorum'¹⁰² with a worth of 100 guilders as being loaded by this ship at the Cape of Good Hope.

2.6.4 Equipment

⁹⁷ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 4104 (overgekomen brieven Kaap de Goede Hoop 1727/28), fol 139v.

⁹⁸ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 12856 .

⁹⁹ N NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (Criminele Processen Batavia 1729 4e deel), no folio numbering. After this journal about his stay on the Houtmans Abrolhos, Steijns gives a list with numbers of deceased.

¹⁰⁰ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (journaal van der Graaf), 27 maart 1627.

¹⁰¹ NL-HaNA, Boekhouder-Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02, inv. nr. 10765 (Generaal Journaal 1726 - 1727), p. 332
A payment of £55.12. by the Chamber Zeeland for purchased donkeys is recorded in NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 13624 (Thesaurier Generaal Zeeland), in November 1726, as post 58. Localising the purchase data of this known cargo shows that data for other (unknown) cargo on board the *Zeewyk* might also be found in this administration. The fact that the payment was made after the ships left also shows the problems of this method to determine the cargo.

¹⁰² Between 1703 and 1730 this commodity was rather regularly shipped in this amount from the Cape to Batavia. Although it is sometimes interpreted as cumin, it is more probable that it is marmalade of quinces (cydonia)

The standard armament for a second rate vessel as being 36 cannons, is confirmed in the journal of second mate van der Graaf.¹⁰³ Skipper Steijns is more specific. He mentions 10 cannons of 12 #,¹⁰⁴ 20 of 6 #, 6 of 3 #, and 8 'bassen'.¹⁰⁵ According to his journal the starboard-side artillery was thrown overboard on June 15th, 1727, because the crew was afraid that the ship would capsize. The wreck turned into another position a few hours later. On October 27th some 'kamers van bassen'¹⁰⁶ were taken from the wreck and on December 4th the same was done with two 'bassen met kamers'. These small cannons were moved to the island, and will have been destined to be used on the self-made vessel.

According to VOC prescription, a 145ft ship was supposed to have 8 anchors of 3000, 2900, 2800, 2700, 750, 700, and 160 #.¹⁰⁷ On November 28th a kedger of about 900 # was taken from the wreck to the reef and later relocated to the island. Again, this was probably done to be used on the voyage to Batavia.

Every now and then, in both the Dutch administration as in that of Batavia, anchors are being mentioned as cargo on ships that sailed from Holland to Batavia. The discovery of more than the 8 anchors¹⁰⁸ that were standard for a VOC-ship, therefore, does not necessarily mean that there was a fifth wreck. The same goes for artillery. Artillery that had become useless was sometimes used as ballast. When the Zeeland ship *Borsele* arrived at Batavia in 1726, it carried twelve pieces of useless artillery as ballast, which were not registered in the invoices or the bills of cargo.¹⁰⁹

2.7 Cargo and equipment

2.7.1 Introduction

A specific chapter is dedicated to the archival documents on cargo, that might indicate what cargo each of the three researched ships had on board. Where the ships were rather similar in build and equipment, specific cargo components might give a clue to ascribe certain artefacts to a specific ship. Only a relatively small quantity of trading goods was sent from Holland to Asia in the period under discussion. The ships were mainly loaded with necessities for their own journey and for the ships and establishments of the VOC in Asia. For the Company, the worth of the employed ships was, besides the investment in men and material, mainly to be found in the sums of money that were sent along. The Zeeland Chamber for example, for the period around 1725, yearly sent about 200 to 350 thousand Flemish pounds¹¹⁰ with the approximately ten ships it yearly employed. The value of the merchandise that was yearly sent from Zeeland to Asia in this period however, rarely reached above 10,000 Flemish pounds that of the necessities for India was of about the same worth.¹¹¹ All other

¹⁰³ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (journal van der Graaf), no folio numbering (in the opening words of his journal).

¹⁰⁴ The #-sign is used here as the symbol of 'pound', that was often used in 17th and 18th century manuscripts. The pound as it was known then was only a few grams lighter than the modern pound of 500 grams.

¹⁰⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02 inv. nr. 9353 (Criminele Processen Batavia 1729 4e deel), no folio numbering (in the opening words of his journal)

¹⁰⁶ "Bassen" were a rather small kind of cannon which were loaded with powder by means of a removable breech (kamer). A possibly nearly adequate translation for this kind of small cannon is 'breech loading swivel gun'

¹⁰⁷ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (Criminele Processen Batavia 1729 4e deel), no folio numbering – in de aanhef van het journaal, bij vertrek van.

¹⁰⁸ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7364, no folio numbering (Bijlage bij resoluties H XVII september 715)

¹⁰⁹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02 inv. nr. 2036, fol 574v (Bevinding lading aangekomen schepen)

¹¹⁰ Although at the establishment of the VOC it had been determined that the administration would be done in guilders, the Zeeland Chamber continued to note all amounts in Flemish pounds. Le Moine de L'Espine & Le Long (1727) *Koophandel Amsterdam*, I;147 ev: The "Flemish Pound" is not a minted coin, but an administrative unit, divided in 20 "schellingen" and each schelling in 6 "stuyvers", or 12 "groten" One pound was the equivalent of 6 guilders.

¹¹¹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 13763 (Register inkomsten en uitgaven kamer Zeeland 1720 - 1796).

amounts of money that are mentioned in the bill of lading concern the bullion that was sent with the ships. The register of the worth of these bills of lading that have partly been saved is very brief, and per ship makes mention only of the entire amount of sent merchandise and the amount of bullion. Minted coins would be very reliable dating and possibly identifying artefacts, as the *Zeewyk* is supposed to have left hardly any coins at the shipwreck site,¹¹² whereas of both other ships not a single coin arrived in Batavia.

The outfit and the (packing of the) large amounts of food and goods that were sent to Asia will in certain cases have been bearing clear marks of their origin and chamber. It is important that the artefacts are screened for this. Marks of certain chambers that are found on pieces of artillery can be helpful, though not decisive since the chambers and the ships exchanged artillery (cannons) on a regular basis. The figurehead of another ship that was encountered by the survivors of the *Zeewyk* at the Houtman Abrolhos was, according to them, a female figure.¹¹³ This would sooner correspond to the *Fortuyn* (symbolized by the goddess Fortuna), than to the *Aagtekerke* (name of a country estate). No specified cargo descriptions have been found for ships leaving the Netherlands for Asia in this period in both the archives of the Chamber of Zeeland and the Chamber of Amsterdam, although multiple copies must have been available in the past. The Zeeland Chamber in her correspondence with the other chambers makes mention of the dates her ships had set sail. Normally in these letters it is stated that the related cargo lists had or would be sent to the other chambers as well.¹¹⁴ Because of the absence in the archives of those specific cargo descriptions per employed ship, we are in need of a different approach when it comes to the identification of artefacts. This approach will be elaborated upon in the following paragraphs.

2.7.2 Administration in the Netherlands

For both the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers we find rather brief, though for the period under discussion considerably complete administrations of the expenses concerning equipment in the VOC archives. The administration of the Zeeland Chamber (that employed both the *Aagtekerke* and *Zeewyk*) has been saved over a long period of time were its specified expenditures are concerned. The sailing of both mentioned ships falls within this period.¹¹⁵ Sadly the data are seldom specified per ship, but only according to dates of payment and acquisition. Because the VOC was not always exactly quick with its payments, uncertainties will remain concerning when and with what ship acquired goods were shipped. The few times that specific expenditures are mentioned for a specific ship only trivial expenses are concerned, ones that are generally mentioned for the other ships as well. The expenditures for merchandise, food and outfit contain the same kind of articles over a long period of time. So using this administration, it will be nearly impossible to find out whether or not a specific artefact belonged to the *Aagtekerke* or that it should be attributed to the *Zeewyk*. Quantity and dimensions of the acquired goods cannot be deducted from the mentioned accounts, they do, however, give us suppliers and cost-prices.

The rather unspecified expenditures of the Amsterdam Chamber for the outfits are known for this period.¹¹⁶ The arrangement of this administration differs from that of Zeeland. The administration of the Amsterdam Chamber is not only organised in outfit per group of a few (almost) simultaneously employed ships, but also in the kind of products for which expenditures were made, like beer, lead, ironware, etc. No systematic differences with the expenditures of the Zeeland Chamber for the same

¹¹² See the journal of Steijns (specially NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (ongefolieerd) for September 10) and the documents on the lawsuits against the crew of the *Zeewyk* NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv. nr. 9350 e.v.

¹¹³ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417, ongefolieerd, *Journal van der Graaf*, 28 augustus 1627.

¹¹⁴ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7295 en 7296 (Uitgaande brieven kamer Zeeland, 1724 - 1730).

¹¹⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 13624 and 13625 (Kasboek van de thesauriers van de kamer Zeeland), resp. 16 mei 1724 – 15 juni 1726 and 16 Juni 1626 – 15 mei 1728.

¹¹⁶ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7175 *Grootboek boekhouder Amsterdam 1720 – 1740* with data for the 118th equipment, of which the *Fortuyn* was a part of. A summary of the joint expenditure for several ships of the 118th equipment, including the *Fortuyn*, is available in Dutch. See Appendix V.

period could be discerned. However, a remarkable category of expenditures of the Amsterdam Chamber for the 118th equipage, to which the *Fortuyn* belonged, was that of small fire engines ('brandpsuitjes')¹¹⁷ destined to be used in Asia.

Broadly speaking we can state that it is rather unlikely that we can attribute specific artefacts to specific chambers with any certainty while basing us on data from these Dutch VOC archives, and it is even less likely that we will be able to attribute these artefacts to specific ships. Unless, of course, the artefact bears clear markings.

2.7.3 Administration of the *Boekhouder Generaal* in Batavia

A comprehensive archive of the General Accountancy of the VOC in Batavia has been transferred to the Netherlands in the 19th century, when Indonesia still was a part of Dutch East India.¹¹⁸ It contains for the 18th century very extensive lists of products that arrived in or left from Batavia. A part of this administration was set up to balance the financial position of the diverse VOC offices in Asia and Africa. Therefore it contains data on ships cargo, specified per ship and the date of departure or arrival. In this archive we can find all the cargo that came to Batavia from the Netherlands and the Cape of Good Hope as well. Sadly, the for this research so important year of 1724-1725 is missing.¹¹⁹ This can only partly be compensated for by the fact that all mutations in the stores in Batavia were separately administrated as well. In that part of the administration it was registered which ship these goods were brought in or shipped off on. This administration is incomplete as well, several years are missing amongst which unfortunately again 1724-1725.¹²⁰ This administration, originally kept in Batavia and thus not forming a part of the Dutch VOC archive, is much more detailed than the previously mentioned documents on cargo in the Dutch VOC archive.

We are dealing with a very large overview, but exactly the cargoes of the ships that came from the Netherlands but did not reach their destination are not mentioned in this administration. An extensive analysis of the data though, might possibly bring to light systematic differences between cargoes that were brought in from Texel (1723), Zeeland (1726), and Zeeland (1727), and could thus perhaps also make possible or probable the attribution of recovered artefacts to respectively the *Fortuyn*, *Aagtekerke*, or the *Zeewyk*. At first sight, there does not seem to be a clear difference between both Chambers and different years when looking at the cargoes that did reach their destination. The combining of these data with the information from the accounts in the Netherlands, and confrontation with the data from the recovered artefacts might give greater importance to the little differences that do exist. However, an analysis like that is beyond the scope of this report.

The documents have been researched for this report on the available microfilms of this archive. After the completion of the report a part of the data from this archive was made accessible online.¹²¹ Elaborate search functions are included in this site so that the analysis of cargo components has become a lot easier, although not all data available in this archive can be found online.

2.7.4 Cargoes from the Cape of Good Hope

From another part of the administration of the *Boekhouder Generaal* it is possible to gain insight into the cargo that was embarked at the Cape, even that of ships that got lost. The General Accountancy

¹¹⁷ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7175 Ledger accountant Amsterdam 1720 – 1740 expenditure for the 118th equipment under "Verscheijde behoeften voor Indien". [divers necessities for Asia]

¹¹⁸ NL-HaNA, Boekhouder-Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02.

¹¹⁹ Available for the period under consideration in NL-HaNA, Boekhouder-Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02, are the inventory numbers: 10761 (Generaal Journaal 1721 - 1722); 10762 (Generaal Journaal 1722 - 1723); 10763 (Generaal Journaal 1723-1724); 10764 (Generaal Journaal 1725-1726); 10765 (Generaal Journaal 1726-1727).

¹²⁰ Available for the period under consideration in NL-HaNA, Boekhouder-Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02 are the inventory numbers: 10816 (Negotie grootboek 1721-1722); 10817 (Negotie grootboek 1723-1724); 10819 (Negotie grootboek 1726-1727); 11840 (Negotie journaal 1721-1722); 11841 (Negotie journaal 1722-1723); 11842 (Negotie journaal 1729-1730).

¹²¹ <http://bgb.huygens.knaw.nl/>

in Batavia happened to also keep track of all the payments between offices outside of the Netherlands.¹²² The specified amounts of the commodities that were loaded in ships departing from the Cape was administrated and their value booked to the advance of the account of that office by means of the sent (duplicate of) the bill of lading. This happened independently of whether or not the ship reached its destination. When the ship did arrive at its destination that value of the cargo was written off from the account of the office where the goods were unloaded. Usually some corrections were made to both bookings at a later time, due to goods that were found to be damaged, or amounts that differed from what was stated in the bill. When the ship did not reach its destination, the losses were charged to the 'comptoir general'. This often did not happen until the next financial year, to be sure that the ship would not still arrive at a later time. In this way it was still possible to trace the cargo for Batavia that was loaded onto the *Zeewijk* at the Cape of Good Hope.¹²³ In this same way, the cargo that the *Aagtekerke* took on at the Cape can be traced, even though both ships never reached their destination. Because this cargo consisted of elephant tusks, of which quite some have been found in the Houtman Abrolhos, a specific chapter of this report has been dedicated to this commodity (see paragraph 2.8). What the *Aagtekerke* unloaded at the Cape is known through this administration as well (see file in Appendix III).

No lost cargo that was shipped at the Cape of Good Hope in the *Fortuyn* was found in this administration. This is not strange: of the 30 to 40 ships that called at the Cape every year on their outward voyage, only between 5 and 10 took in commodities at this port. The archive contains information on commodities shipped from the Cape for Batavia that were embarked at de *Strijkebolle* (departure 6-12-1623) and the *Goudriaan* (departure 28-2-1624),¹²⁴ but nothing for the period in between (the *Fortuyn* departed at January 18th, 1724). Goods that were possibly unloaded from the *Fortuyn* at the Cape are to be found in these accounts in a combined list of the cargo that three Amsterdam ships unloaded at the Cape.¹²⁵ In the light of earlier mentioned correspondence from the Cape about the departure of the ships, this will have mostly concerned cargo from the 'sGraveland.

2.7.5 Coins

A very important aspect to keep in mind for the identification of the origin of artefacts are the coins. If one or more 18th century treasure chests, parts of them or even considerable numbers of coins should be found at or near the wreck site of the *Zeewyk*, this points directly to the probability (or even certainty) of the wreckage of another ship. All treasure chests of the *Zeewyk* were recovered from the wreck and have arrived, as the Governor General and Council state, without loss in Batavia.¹²⁶ The attempts to break open the Company chests, apparently remained unsuccessful as Steijns¹²⁷ describes in his journal.¹²⁸ Seeing that Steijns also mentions that all private chests had been opened, and how during the processes in Batavia it became obvious that the survivors had a lot of money from these chests at their disposal,¹²⁹ the chance that any privately-owned money remained at the wreck site is rather small. If any of this was to be found, it might thus also lead to the conclusion that another ship than the *Zeewyk* wrecked at this site.

The accounts of the Zeeland Chamber are very detailed concerning cash coins. The amount of money that was being sent with each ship was written down, just as the 'cash flow' of coinage in the

¹²² Unfortunately no account was kept in this administration concerning cargo shipped between the Netherlands and Asian ports.

¹²³ NL-HaNA, Boekhouder Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02, inv.nr. 10765, p. 343: 1 barrel of carocidionium, f100,-.

¹²⁴ NL-HaNA, Boekhouder-Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02, inv.nr. 10763, p. 51

¹²⁵ NL-HaNA, Boekhouder-Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02, inv.nr. 10763 (Generaal Journaal 1723 - 1724), p. 417

¹²⁶ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 2082, (Missive GG en Raden 31-10-1728), fol. 11

¹²⁷ Adriaan van der Graaf who was not present when the boat arrived at the wreck for the first time was apparently not informed, or left this out of his journal.

¹²⁸ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353, ongefolieerd, Journaal Steijns 20 september 1727.

¹²⁹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nrs. 9350 - 9355

treasury of the Chamber. Through this, certain specific details about these coins can be found, just like it was done for the *Zuytdorp*.¹³⁰ Remarkable with regard to this subject is that shortly before the departure of the *Zeewyk*, an amount of silver, recovered from the wreck of the *Slot ter Hoghe* that had sunk near Madeira, was brought back to Zeeland.¹³¹ It is thus possible that part of the silver that the survivors of the *Zeewyk* brought to Batavia had sunk twice, but still reached its destination.

2.8 Elephant tusks

The first, and also very distinctive artefacts found under water in the area were the *Zeewyk* has stranded were elephant tusks.¹³² There is a lot of archival information on the transport of this commodity between the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia. For this reason, special research has been done on the possible presence of elephant tusks in the *Fortuyn*, *Aagtekerke* and the *Zeewyk*.

From the administration of the stock of ivory in the warehouses in Batavia,¹³³ it is obvious that between 1720 and 1730 no elephant tusks were imported from the Netherlands. Some Asian VOC factories (especially Siam) however, did send relatively large numbers of elephant tusks that had been bought by the VOC to Batavia. A few were bestowed upon the VOC by local rulers. A large part of the stock of elephant tusks that was present in Batavia, however, came from the Cape of Good Hope. In this period, each year between two and five ships from the Cape sailed to Batavia with elephant tusks. This can be concluded by combining data from the archive of the Boekhouder Generaal in Batavia with those from the VOC archive kept in the National Archive of Cape Town, South Africa, and the letters sent from that VOC factory to Batavia and the Netherlands in the VOC archive in The Hague.¹³⁴

Between 1721 and 1729 the VOC had a short-lived establishment at *Rio dela Goa*, the present Maputo at Mozambique. It was characterized by its many problems and was short-lived, as were most of the VOC employees who went there and the slaves that were brought from this place to the Cape of Good Hope. Almost all of the elephant tusks that were legally shipped from the Cape came from *Rio dela Goa*. Nearly all the data on numbers and weights of elephant tusks as mentioned in the archive of the Boekhouder Generaal in Batavia can be found in the correspondence with *Rio dela Goa* that was kept at the Cape.¹³⁵ Copies of most of this correspondence have been saved, both in the VOC archives at Cape Town, as at the archives in The Hague.

From the entirety of this archival material, it is obvious that from the three before-mentioned ships only the *Aagtekerke* was carrying elephant tusks that were officially registered by the VOC.¹³⁶ The number and total weight of them is known. As a happy coincidence, the individual weight of each of the sixteen heaviest tusks could also be found in the VOC archives at the Cape.¹³⁷ The tusks there are divided in the ones that weigh twenty pounds or more, and the smaller pieces. The price per pound was quite a bit higher for the heavier tusks than was the case for the smaller ones. For a specified list, see Appendix III.

Lighter tusks, and at some times larger ones as well, were at times being offered to the VOC authorities at the Cape of Good Hope by local residents. The private trade in elephant tusks was

¹³⁰ P. Layford (1996) *Carpet of Silver*, p. 67-69.

¹³¹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 13763

¹³² Edwards (1988) *Het wrak op het Halve Maan's Rif*, Hst 1

¹³³ NL-HaNA, Boekhouder Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02, inv.nrs. 10816 (Negotie grootboek 1721-1722); 10817 (Negotie grootboek 1723-1724); 10819 (Negotie grootboek 1726-1727); 1840 (Negotie journaal 1721-1722); 11841 (Negotie journaal 1722-1723); 11842 (Negotie journaal 1729-1730).

¹³⁴ NL-HaNA, Boekhouder-Generaal Batavia, 1.04.18.02, inv.nrs. 10761 (Generaal Journaal 1721 - 1722); 10762 (Generaal Journaal 1722 - 1723); 10763 (Generaal Journaal 1723 - 1724); 10764 (Generaal Journaal 1725-1726); 10765 (Generaal Journaal 1726 - 1727). Also: SA-CaNA 1/1 Resolutions Council of Policy, C 57 p. 62-64; C. 70, pp. 50-54; C. 83, pp. 42-48; C. 85, pp. 130-139. NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 1932, p. 19.

¹³⁵ Sleigh (1993) *Buitepost*, p. 711 gives a nearly complete list compiled from the South African VOC archive.

¹³⁶ Paesie (1999) *Ravesteijn*, p. 108, already published this information.

¹³⁷ SA-CaNA, 1/1 (Council of Policy,) C 2446 (Attestation 1725), p. 319.

prohibited, but was still presumed and contested by the VOC. Both the supply of tusks over land from areas near the VOC establishment at the Cape, as smuggle with ships that belonged either to the VOC itself or to other nations that came by the Cape, was most probably happening. A clear sign for it is the fact that an earlier prohibition of the trade in elephant tusks was published again in 1724 with the threat of confiscation and punishment. The VOC at the same time offered the possibility for citizens who had elephant tusks in their possession to sell them to the Company for the then valid nominal value for which they were accounted when shipped to Batavia. The cost of the tusks in the exchange-circuit at *Rio dela Goa* was much lower than this value.

The smuggle of tusks from *Rio dela Goa* to Cape Town was thus most certainly lucrative, and smuggle from the Cape to Batavia could still be profitable as well. The differences between the nominal values of tusks from the Cape and Asian tusks, and the profits that could be gained in India clearly testify this. The cost price at *Rio dela Goa* was so low that it was almost negligible (when converted to the cost of exchanged goods as beads or copper-ware). The nominal value at the Cape varied somewhere between 6 to 14 nickels ('*stuivers*') per pound, dependant on the size of the tusks. At Batavia Asian tusks were booked for 1 to 2 guilders (920 to 40 nickels) per pound. When they were sold a light profit was normally being made over this price. For tusks from the Cape of Good Hope, the profit when sold in Suratte in India, which was the standard selling place for almost all VOC ivory, was frequently over 100 percent.¹³⁸ This means that for a monthly salary of a sailor several pounds of ivory had to be smuggled. Since we know that the VOC took steps in 1724 to prevent this smuggling,¹³⁹ it was an illegal activity that was most certainly undertaken in the period that the ships under consideration left the Cape. Presence of elephant tusks in one of the ships under discussion, even when no mention of it is being made in VOC archives, is thus not to be excluded. In terms of numbers and dimensions, very little can be said with certainty about this illegal cargo.

2.9 Routes

2.9.1 Introduction

When the Dutch around 1600 started undertaking voyages to Asia, they first followed the same track as the Portuguese had done in the century before. They went around the southern tip of Africa, along Mozambique and Madagascar to the coast of India, Malacca or Sumatra. Soon however for a number of reasons that are outside the scope of this research, outward voyages of VOC ships used a route through the southern Indian Ocean between the Cape and Sunda Strait. On this route more favourable winds were met and the climate was healthier. The voyage however still met with some serious problems, both caused by the fact that geographical longitude could not be determined with certainty. Over a period of about two months, the longitude had to be computed by adding the estimated daily sailed distances, with as a single point of reference the islands St. Paul and Amsterdam. The presence of these islands could also be guessed without seeing them by the observation of the changing of the magnetically variation or by seeing floating seaweed. By multiple observations of these islands they were placed more or less correct on the Company's maps. Somewhere between these islands and the Australian coast the ships had to turn north from their voyage along the 37 or 38 degree parallel to arrive at Sunda Strait. Turning north to early brought the ships in an area with uncertain winds and on the coast of Sumatra from where in the east monsoon it was nearly impossible to sail to Sunda Strait. Turning north to late could lead to shipwreck on the Australian Coast.

The navigational experts of the VOC soon recognized both risks. Ships arriving in the west monsoon on the coast of Sumatra had no problem to sail to Sunda Strait. So when their arrival on that coast would be expected to be before mid-April, when the east monsoon started, they had to turn north-east after they had seen the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam or estimated to be past that longitude. At the latitude of 30 degrees they had to change their heading to north-north-east. This

¹³⁸ All these data on the prizes can be deducted from the accounts of the Boekhouder Generaal in Batavia.

¹³⁹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9132, p. 214 (Copia placcaat op 6 Januarij 1724).

would prevent shipwreck on the Australian coast or arriving on the coast of Java in the wrong (western) monsoon. This route leads roughly between the Kokos Islands and Christmas Island to Sunda Strait.

On the other hand if they arrived on the estimated longitude of St. Paul and Amsterdam Island after mid-March, they had to sail on in an east-north-easterly direction until they met with the Australian coast. They were supposed to do so at the latitude of 26° 30' or still more northerly, where no dangerous reefs were to be found far outside of the continent. After surveying this coast they could turn north safely, avoiding the Trial Rocks and being sure to arrive on the coast of Java in the then favourable east monsoon. The distinction between the instructed routes during both monsoon seasons has first been made in 1627,¹⁴⁰ and has since been included and formulated ever more detailed in all VOC instructions for the journey between the Cape of Good Hope and the Sunda Strait. The islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam could be reached from the Cape of Good Hope in about four weeks. About three weeks more (a bit less on the western route, a bit more on the eastern) were needed to arrive at the entrance of Sunda Strait. Here the ships normally were met by other (VOC) vessels with refreshments. The passage through the Strait could take quite a considerable number of days. Although some VOC vessels arrived in Batavia within two months after their departure from the Cape, normal travelling time was between two and three months.

For the navigators of VOC ships in the period between 1720 and 1730 the shipwrecks of the *Batavia* (1629) and the *Vergulde Draeck* (1656), will have been vaguely remembered disasters of a period long ago. As the place where the *Zuytwyk* had been lost was not known, no recent indication of the dangers of the Australian shore was available to them. They will have been much more concerned with problem of struggling for weeks with a scorbout infested crew to reach the entrance of Sunda Strait. The sailing instructions also were more dedicated to the avoiding of that problem than to pointing at the risk of shipwreck on the Houtman Abrolhos.

2.9.2 Route of the *Fortuyn*

The *Fortuyn* left the Cape of Good Hope for Batavia in the second half of January 1724. Normally the VOC ships arrived at the longitude of St. Paul and Amsterdam Islands within four weeks after leaving the Cape,¹⁴¹ so it should be expected that the *Fortuyn* followed the instructions for the west monsoon and as such never came near the Australian Coast. The *'sGraveland* left the Cape on February 4th of the same year, and thus most probably followed the same route. The arrival date in Batavia (April 27th) and the position in which this ship reported to have seen floating parts of a probably sunken ship give rise to doubt. The position of the flotsam seen on April 6th (which was thought to be sprung from the *Fortuyn*) is given as 13° 20' S. and 124° 51'E.¹⁴² This longitude, which of course could only be a guess, is about the same as that of Sunda Strait in the sea maps of that period, which is more east than the ship would have been expected following the indicated route for the west monsoon. The arrival of the *'sGraveland* near Sunda Strait was however already in the period the monsoon was expected to change and so she may have followed a more easterly course. The same may have been true for the *Fortuyn* if it had been delayed for some reason. The *Windhond* was designated to search for a perished ship both near or at the Kokos Islands and the much more easterly *Moni* (Christmas Island). In the instruction that the officers of this vessel received concerning the wreckage it is only noted that it was seen at a 13° 20' S., the approximate latitude of both *Moni* and the Kokos Islands. The Kokos Islands, however, are positioned at the longitude of 118° in the Company's maps of that period and more or less on the route supposed to be taken in the west-monsoon period. Christmas Island lays a bit east from Strait Sunda in a position supposed to be in between both routes.

¹⁴⁰ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 313 Copieboek uitgaande missiven en instructies H XVII, p. 649ev. (instructie september 1627).

¹⁴¹ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 4952. Instructions and sailing instructions 2nd half 18th century, p. 14ev.)

¹⁴² NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, 7613 (Dagregister Batavia 1724), p. 220.

2.9.3 Route of the *Aagtekerke*

The *Aagtekerke* left the Cape on January 27th, 1726, and can be expected to have reached the longitude of St. Paul and Amsterdam Islands before mid-March, and thus to have followed the westerly route as well. If the *Aagtekerke* had already been delayed for at least two weeks before her arrival at this longitude, or if the officers had neglected the instructions for some other reason, the choice for the easterly route could have been made. It cannot be completely excluded that this did happen. After all, the *Aagtekerke* had already deviated from the prescribed route in the Atlantic Ocean.¹⁴³ The reason for that detour has not been found, but there are no indications that there were problems with the ship or the crew in the Atlantic Ocean, nor when they left the Cape of Good Hope.

The *Westvriesland*, that left the Cape together with the *Aagtekerke*, took an abnormally long time to reach Batavia. According to DAS, the ship did not arrive until May 27th, 1726, so in the period that the east monsoon was blowing in the Sunda Strait area for some time already. It is possible that both vessels were delayed during the first part of their journey, or feared that they would be (for example due to damage of the rigging). The officers might thus not have expected to reach the entrance of the Sunda Strait before the start of the east monsoon. For that reason, the route along the Australian coast could have been chosen. For this speculative assumption, however, no evidence was found in the sources.

2.9.4 Route of the *Zeewyk*

The *Zeewyk* left the Cape on April 21st, 1727. Amsterdam Island was seen on May 17th, so within 4 weeks after departure and obviously long after mid-March. It was thus clear that the instructions for ships arriving at Sunda Strait during the east monsoon had to be followed. However, there was already an error in the calculation of longitude at that point.

According to the estimated navigation data (the ‘dead reckoning’, a specific navigation technique), on May 17th the ship was already at 100 degrees longitude in the then-used reference-system. In that system, and thus on the maps that were on board, the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam were on the longitude of 95 to 96 degrees. They should have therefore already been encountered some days earlier.

An error in longitude calculation was rather normal on this section, but this one was rather large. The instructions also contain warnings that the calculated reached longitude often is guessed too far west, where in this case it was too far east. Nowhere in the journals is it mentioned, however, that an intensified watch was being kept. Furthermore, the estimates of the longitude in both known journals¹⁴⁴ are exactly the same up to this point, which is unlikely in the case of independent observations. It is also not mentioned that the mates and skipper compared their data on the navigation as was custom in such cases. The position was just put back to that of Amsterdam Island in the maps and both Steijns and van der Graaf started estimating the ships position (by means of ‘dead reckoning’) from there again.

Aboard the *Zeewyk*, on May 21st, two days after seeing Amsterdam Island, it was decided to sail an east-north-eastern route. This decision is, in almost equal phrasing, noted in both journals. According to both writers the change of course was decided to by the entire ship’s council. This decision was not against the orders of the VOC, but literally followed the sailing instructions. It was probably not accidental that Steijns used exact the same terms as used there (in the sailing instructions) in his (fake?) journal.

From this point onwards the journals differ in estimating the covered distance and hence the calculated new positions. Steijns systematically estimated the speed lower and thus the ships position more to the west than Van der Graaf. According to the instructions, this east-north-east

¹⁴³ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02 inv.nr. 4102 (*Dagregister Caap 1726*) p 804 ev under jan 3. The ship had been in the Gulf of Guinea, where VOC-ships were only allowed to arrive in case of distress.

¹⁴⁴ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 [van der Graaf] NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353, ongefolieerd, [Steijns]

course should be followed until the ship reached 29-30 degrees southern latitude, where the ship would then be at about 113-115 degrees longitude in the then-used reference system. In that system, the Australian coast was in the surroundings of the Houtman Abrolhos, at about 130 degrees eastern longitude. The sailing instructions suggested that from there it should be tried to get sight of the Australian coast at 26 ½ degrees southern latitude, or north of that.

Although the latter seems dangerous, there was a good nautical reason to do so. Getting a view of the Australian coast made that it was granted that with a northerly course the ship would arrive at the coast of Java, east of Sunda Strait, which was necessary in order to be able to sail to that Strait during the east monsoon. If this northerly course was sailed without having established the longitude by means of the reconnaissance of the Australian coast, there was a risk of ending up too far west. If, during the east Monsoon, a ship ended up west of the Sunda Strait this could delay the journey for months, with all its consequences (high mortality by scurvy). An extra advantage of this reconnaissance of longitude was the certain avoidance of the dangerous Tryall Rocks. In the later instructions ships sailing this eastern route were warned that because of prevailing winds it could be difficult to reach the coast of Australia when they did not go far enough east in time (on high southern latitude).

The other VOC ships that certainly shipwrecked on the coast of Australia left the Cape of Good Hope at March 12th (the *Vergulde Draak*), and on April 22nd (both the *Batavia* and the *Zuytwyk*), and must have thus reached the longitude of Amsterdam and St. Paulo after mid-March. So the VOC sailing instructions directed them to call on the Australian coast. Just as for the *Zeewyk*, this proved to be fatal to them in the end.

2.9.5 Cause of the stranding of the *Zeewyk*

The real problem with the *Zeewyk* did not originate from the proposed change of route, which was, as we have seen in accordance with the instructions. The problem was that the east-north-east course which was decided upon regularly could not be steered because of the direction of the wind. From the journals we can see that often a much more easterly direction than east-north-east was sailed, while only rarely a more northerly course was taken.

When the *Zeewyk* arrived at the latitude of 29 or 30 degrees south, mentioned in the instructions, the estimated longitude according to Van der Graaf¹⁴⁵ in his private journal was 127 degrees, and thus already close to the location of the Australian coast as in the Company's maps. According to the instructions they should not have been more east than 113 to 115 degrees.

In the likely false journals of Steijns and Van der Graaf¹⁴⁶ found in the documents of the Court of Justice, the estimated longitudinal position is only 121 degrees; still too far east but not yet fatal. Whether Steijns during the voyage really was convinced that the ship was in a more westerly position or that he made up this later is hardly possible to find out. All known journals indicate that Steijns had said that he intended to tack the ship at nightfall of June 9th, had the stranding not occurred. Although it is not written down in the journals, during the process it was stated that (some) mates had urged Steijns to tack earlier, but Steijns himself denied that. Testimonies of the only one who could clarify this, Adriaan van der Graaf, the only surviving mate that arrived in Batavia, are remarkably nowhere to be found.

Steijns or the mates cannot be held accountable for steering too much east. All journals agree that because of the wind direction it was often not possible to sail a more northerly course. What they can be charged with is to have kept sailing this easterly course for too long, instead of literally bringing the ship around (changing tack). Another error was the lack of seamanship in calculating the distance covered eastward. This error resulting from wrong estimation of the ship's velocity apparently was made also during the previous leg of the voyage between the Cape of Good Hope and Amsterdam Island.

¹⁴⁵ NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417, on 9 June 1726

¹⁴⁶ In NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353.

In his defence,¹⁴⁷ Steijns also claimed that the Company's maps placed the Houtman Abrolhos and the island Tortelduijf much closer to the coast than was experienced after the stranding. He brought forward that it was practice to sail on, as long as the coast of Australia was not in sight. Only when it was estimated to have reached the longitude of the coast, the ship had to heave to or tack away from that coast at night, as he had planned to do. The Council of Justice asked for both the instructions and the nautical charts. We have seen that the *Zeewyk* changed course according to those instructions. The maps from that period at least partly seem to justify Steijns as well. On these maps ('*overzeilers*') the island Tortelduijf and the Houtman Abrolhos are shown right in front of, respectively at, the coast.¹⁴⁸ A new map that placed these islands farther offshore seems to have only been made on the basis of the information from those aboard the *Zeewyk*. On it, the island Tortelduijf is still located close to the coast, but the wrecksite of the *Zeewyk* is placed further away (from the island). The map, attributed to Anias, shows the Houtman Abrolhos well away from the coast, with a form largely similar to the known maps from Steijns and Van der Graaf, and with a reference to the stranding of the *Zeewyk*.¹⁴⁹

The sailing instructions issued at the end of the 18th century curiously enough do not mention the *Zeewyk*, but the *Oostrust* (this ship made outward journeys between 1722 and 1737) as the ship that had observed the Houtman Abrolhos at 28 degrees, out of sight of the main land of the continent. In the subsequent instructions, the warning not to get stranded here is immediately followed by the remark that after passing St. Paul and Amsterdam Islands, the ships had to 'make enough east' to be able to spot the Australian coast.

2.10 Conclusions and prospects

There are no new indications found for the presence or location of a fifth wreck. The clues from both of the already known versions of the account of the stay at the Houtman Abrolhos are being confirmed by the journals that have been recently found in the archives. No new indications on the wrecking of the *Aagtekerke* or another ship were found in these journals.

Next to the accounts of the people that survived the *Zeewyk*'s wreckage, no contemporaneous observations on location or presence of a fifth wreck are to be expected. It is very unlikely that another description than those of Steijns and Van der Graaf is present in the archives in the Netherlands. The reasons why the VOC officials in Batavia and the Netherlands did not consider sending a research or rescuing expedition could be interesting. Accounts on this subject have not been found in the obvious places in the VOC archives, but could be present elsewhere.

Complete cargo lists of the *Fortuyn*, *Zeewyk* and/or the *Aagtekerke* have not been found. The chances that such cargo descriptions can be found in a Dutch archive are very small.

A large amount of archival material concerning the ship's cargoes between the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia is described in the report. Data on observed or recovered artefacts can be confronted and interpreted with these archival data. To be able to do this, a better systematic and searchable description of what has been found or observed than is now available is needed.

The description of throwing overboard parts of the artillery, which we so far have only come across in the newly found journal of Steijns, is a new factor in the interpretation of artillery sites at the outer side of the reef.

The now detailed knowledge of the presence of elephant tusks aboard the *Aagtekerke* can be compared to the number and dimensions of artefacts found in the Houtman Abrolhos.

¹⁴⁷ Also included in the document NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353.

¹⁴⁸ Schilder & Kok (2010) *Sailing for the East*. 5.14 de Graaf 1728 Amsterdam, Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum A 0145 (127) [0005] 5.15 de Graaf 1730. Amsterdam, Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum A 0145 (127) [0006] 5.16 de Graaf 1735. Canbarra, National Library of Australia, MAP RM 4332

¹⁴⁹ Schilder & Kok (2010) *Sailing for the East*.

5.22 Anias ca 1730. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection, 54-09-001.

If the *Fortuyn* and *Aagtekerke* did follow the instructions they received from the VOC for their voyage between the Cape of Good Hope and Sunda Strait, they will not have sailed near to the Australian Coast. Further research into the routes the ships actually took, and the differences between them depending on the season (the monsoon) are useful. As no (new) data has been found originating from the ships that sailed together with the *Fortuyn* and the *Aagtekerke*, this research will have to cover a longer period.

Genealogical research into the further life of the crewmembers of the *Zeewyk* that returned to Zeeland, with specific attention to both Jan Steijns and Adriaan van der Graaf, could give the story of the *Zeewyk* more depth. However, no results that could help locate or identify the fifth wreck are to be expected of such research. The exact date of the return and the city of origin of most returning crewmembers are now known as is the name of the wife of Steijns.

Using documents of the Council of Justice of Batavia and some other sources mentioned in this report, the story of the *Zeewyk* can be told in much more detail than has earlier been done by Hugh Edwards. Hugh's description, even in light of newly discovered sources, contains very little inaccuracies and as such does not need to be corrected, but can be added to. The relative richness of some of the survivors, and the financial disaster Steijns had to deal with deserve extra attention. The presence of these sums of money and the process documents give us a better and more detailed insight into the practice of private trade, of which up to now we only had a mere presumption.

3. A socio-economic analysis of Zeeland, 1600-1740

3.1 Introduction

Between 1710 and 1730 at least two and probably three ships equipped by the Zeeland chamber of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) stranded at the west coast of Australia.¹⁵⁰ These shipwrecks not only were a human tragedy, but also caused extensive material losses. Actually how big the impact on the Zeeland economy was is difficult to establish. In order to try to formulate an answer, it is necessary to investigate and explain the maritime economic position of the Zeeland province in the early 18th century in its historic context.

In early modern times the region consisted mainly of islands and tidal sand-banks in the large Schelde delta. Walcheren, with the port cities of Vlissingen, Middelburg and Veere, was in both economic and administrative aspect the main island in the estuary. The colonial merchant shipping of Zeeland was almost entirely concentrated there. Occasionally a ship may have left Zierikzee, located on the island Schouwen, for the West African coast or the Caribbean Sea, but this harbour had no substantial share in the Zeeland merchant shipping outside of Europe.¹⁵¹ So, when in the following socio-economic analysis, the Zeeland colonial merchant shipping in general, and the Asian sea trade in particular, are mentioned, this concerns the shipping organizations based on the island Walcheren.

The maritime economic development of Walcheren will be discussed on the basis of two branches. First the Asian trade and the role of the Zeeland Chamber of the VOC in it will be described. Then the other maritime trading activities will be discussed. These mainly consisted of the legal and illegal Atlantic trade and privateering.

From the point of view of the participants this distinction is factually incorrect, since the same merchants on Walcheren had shares in the VOC, the West India Company (WIC), and other shipping companies. Nevertheless, this two-way approach will be used here to provide an easy understanding of the maritime development of Walcheren.

3.2 Middelburg

The development of Middelburg as a trading city, with its large VOC shipyard, cannot be seen apart from two major 16th century events. The first was the construction of the new port channel (Nieuwe Havenkanaal) and the Welsingen Channel (Kanaal van Welsingen), to shorten and replace the winding and shallow river Arne. In 1530, Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) granted permission for these works, and after completion of the new infrastructure shipping traffic to Middelburg rapidly increased. Its competitive position relative to other port cities was seriously strengthened. The second major event was the fall of Antwerp in 1585. Many wealthy merchants and artisans left the city at the Schelde to move to the Northern Netherlands. The city of Middelburg, which had about seven thousand inhabitants in 1576, gained more than 3,500 souls at the end of the 16th century. That was an even larger number of immigrants than came to Amsterdam. These newcomers brought knowledge and capital with them. Between 1585 and 1598 several enlargements of the urban area were required to accommodate the necessary extra houses and workspaces. The surface of the city tripled, and the port was greatly expanded and improved as well. In addition, a dock was completed in 1600. This made Middelburg the first seaport in the Republic (of the Seven Provinces) with tidal-free facilities.¹⁵² Here, a few years later, a shipyard was built by the VOC and near to it the East India House where the directors of the Company had their meetings.

The population of Middelburg would further rise in the following years, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century consisted of approximately 18,000 inhabitants. It was by far the largest city in

¹⁵⁰ The *Zuiddorp* in 1711 and the *Zeewijk* in 1727. In 1726 the *Aagtekerke* was lost between the Cape and Batavia.

¹⁵¹ Paesie, *Lorrendrayen*, Appendix I; Paesie, 'Heshuijsen & De Jonge' 11-13.

¹⁵² Unger, *Geschiedenis* 48-51; Paesie, 'De Stadsdocke van Middelburgh' 1-4. For the development of Middelburg, Vlissingen and Veere, see: Sigmond, *Nederlandse havensteden* and Enthoven, *Zeeland en de opkomst*.

Zeeland, and even took a place among the ten largest cities of the Republic. Concerning the number of people that lived in Middelburg at the beginning of the 18th century, the estimates differ. Some researchers calculate that it could have amounted to 25,000, while others believe the number to have been much lower and that the population stagnated around 17,000 people.¹⁵³

3.3 VOC and Asian trade

On March 20th, 1602, the VOC was established. It was a partnership between several trading cities from Holland and Zeeland. In previous years quite a number of expeditions to Asia had been equipped from these cities.¹⁵⁴ The States-General granted the VOC a 21 year monopoly, in which numerous conditions concerning navigation and governance in both the Republic and Asia were documented. Six chambers were formed: Amsterdam, Zeeland, Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. The distribution of the activities was recorded in detail. Amsterdam took half of the work (and the revenues!) on its behalf, Zeeland with its Middelburg office a quarter and the four other chambers together the remaining quarter. The official recording of this specific distribution was especially important for Zeeland, because it feared that Amsterdam would outflank the other chambers in the distribution of activities on the basis of the investment of capital. A legitimate concern, considering the fact that more than half of the total capital of the VOC was deposited at the Amsterdam Chamber. In transferable shares in the Company an amount of 6,4 million guilders was laid as starting capital. Only 1,3 million guilders deposited at the Zeeland Chamber, which was way less than a quarter of the total capital.

The shareholders register shows that the Zeeland participants came from broad layers of the society, and that the deposits ranged from a few dozen up to more than 50,000 guilders. About 30 percent of the Zeeland shareholders deposited less than a thousand guilders.¹⁵⁵ The VOC and its predecessors were the pioneers of the modern joint-stock companies.¹⁵⁶ Shareholders who had invested at least six thousands guilders were registered as main participants (hoofdparticipanten). New directors of the chambers could only be chosen from these main participants. These main shareholders also exercised some control concerning the VOC policy. Furthermore nine participants were chosen from the six chambers, of which two from the Zeeland Chamber, which held a seat and had an advisory vote at all the important VOC meetings.

While the Amsterdam Chamber was governed by twenty directors (bewindhebbers), the Zeeland Chamber was governed by twelve, of which two seats were reserved for Vlissingen and Veere. In the four remaining chambers, the board of directors consisted of seven persons. The central policy of the Company was determined in meetings of seventeen directors (Heren XVII), of which eight came from Amsterdam, four from Zeeland, and one each from the smaller remaining chambers. The seventeenth member was alternately designated by one of the chambers other than Amsterdam, to prevent an Amsterdam majority in this decision-taking college. These meetings of the Heren XVII, were held in Amsterdam for six consecutive years and then in Middelburg for two years. All important decisions concerning the construction and equipment of ships, overseas administrative appointments, money and goods to be sent to Asia and many other things had to be approved in these meetings. The Heren XVII also had to oversee that the decided division of expenditure and revenues over the chambers was maintained.¹⁵⁷

The responsibilities of the twelve directors of the Zeeland Chamber were distributed over three departments. The department of the “thesaurie” took care of the financial management. Another group of directors was charged with the buying and selling of the merchandize. The third department

¹⁵³ Fokker, ‘Iets over de bevolking’ 95; Cruyningen, ‘bevolking en sociale verhoudingen’ 104-109.

¹⁵⁴ For the expeditions of the so called ‘voorcompagnieën’, see: Unger, *De oudste reizen* and Gaastra, *Geschiedenis* 11-21.

¹⁵⁵ Unger, ‘Het inschrijvingsregister’ 1-33.

¹⁵⁶ For Dutch joint stock companies with limited liability, see: Frentrop, *Corporate Governance* 55-121; Den Heijer, *De geöctrooieerde Compagnie*.

¹⁵⁷ Gaastra, *Bewind en beleid* 22-32.

was that of the “equipage”, and the responsible directors were in charge of the construction, equipment and maintenance of the ships. On the basis of the earlier mentioned distribution of the activities over the Chambers, Zeeland was responsible for the construction and equipment of a quarter of all Company ships. Although Middelburg was not located directly at sea, the city did have the shortest and best connection to the North Sea among all six VOC offices. The route through the afore-mentioned Channel of Welsingen to the entrance of the Sloe at sea fort Rammekens was only seven kilometres long. Moreover, a tow path ran along the canal, which made that the ships could be pulled by horses. At the Zeeland shore the depth of the sea channels, which limited the draft of the VOC ships, was larger than on any other place on the Dutch coast and they also had the advantage of hardly ever being frozen.¹⁵⁸

3.4 Financial politics of the VOC

The purpose of the VOC was to sell Asian products in Europe. First, however, these products had to be obtained in Asia. To finance these acquisitions the Company had three possibilities: Revenues of the intra-Asiatic trade, the sale of European products, or the sending of coins or bullion. With the profits of the intra-Asiatic trade the VOC tried to pay for the business costs in Asia and the purchase of Asian products. The profits of the intra-Asiatic trade alone, however, turned out to be insufficient to fulfil the Company’s demand for Asian products. The second funding opportunity also did fall short, because most European products were unwanted or too expensive for the Asian market. European products exported by the VOC were mainly intended for European consumers in Asia.¹⁵⁹

In order to have available sufficient capital to buy the desired Asian products, the VOC had to transfer capital from Europe to Asia. Not all the money had to be sent physically to Asia. Company staff and other people could deposit cash money in Batavia, in return for bills of exchange, which could be cashed in the Netherlands. But next to that the Company had to ship precious metal to Asia. In the course of years the VOC transported a wide variety of coins to Asia, and the minting of coins for Asia would become an important export industry in the Republic. In Zeeland this minting took place at the Mint in Middelburg.

As indicated, the VOC in Batavia received cash money in return for bills of exchange, as a supplement to the shipments of coins and bullion from the Republic. There existed, however a difference in the exchange rate for silver coins of 25 percent between Asia and the Netherlands. For that reason it was profitable to deposit silver coins in Batavia and cash the exchange bills in the Republic. Thus a vibrant private trade in silver money by VOC sailors came about. They transported the coins for themselves or for wealthy clients in their cargo chests. Around 1720, export of silver coins had taken on such enormous proportions, that there were hardly any left in the Republic. This gave the directors great concern, and the trade had to be restricted. They did not succeed in doing so, however, and the export of especially ducats reached its peak in the two subsequent decades.

That ducats indeed were transported in large amounts by crew members became clear when the *Zeewijk* stranded at the Western Australian Coast in 1727. After the castaways reached Batavia in their self-constructed boat, nearly all of them were found to have ducats hidden in their clothing and footwear. The silver coins were confiscated by the Company because it was feared that money was stolen from the Company chests. When afterwards it became clear that all the Companies money sent with the *Zeewijk* had arrived safely in Batavia, the authorities had to admit that there was no juridical base for the confiscation and that the money had to be returned to the crewmembers.¹⁶⁰

In order to finance the Company, the directors did not only draw from the capital deposited by the shareholders, they also appealed to the capital market by writing out debenture loans. Besides these long term debentures the VOC knew another form of credit bonds: the ‘anticipation’ loans

¹⁵⁸ Roos, *Zeeuwen en de VOC* 31-71.

¹⁵⁹ De Korte, *De jaarlijkse* 27-28; Gaastra, *Geschiedenis* 144.

¹⁶⁰ NA, VOC 2082, 9294, 9350-9355; Van der Wiel, ‘De scheepjesschellingen’ 48; Enthoven, ‘Veel vertier’ 70-73.

(anticipatiepenningen). These were transition loans, anticipating on the profits of the next auctions of Asian products. The lenders received interest and a possible preferential treatment at the purchase of spices at the auctions. These thus were short-term loans. Because the Company had ever greater problems to redeem the long-term loans during the 17th century and creditors thus no longer provided these loans, during the 18th century the Company depended completely on these short term 'anticipation' loans. The directors determined each year the number of ships that should sail to Asia and how many ships had to return to each of the Chambers in the Netherlands. The expected profits could be estimated to a reasonable extent, thus the height of the transition loans could be calculated. Unexpected events, such as an increased loss of ships due to war, piracy or shipwreck, obviously had a negative affect on this balance.¹⁶¹ During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) the Company lost fifteen ships to French privateers and warships. A storm destroyed six company ships anchored in the Table Bay on June 15th, 1722. The Zeeland Chamber lost three ships during the mentioned war activities and three chartered vessels during the 1722 storm.¹⁶² So the share of this Chamber was proportionally high.

Between 1720 and 1760 the amount of the anticipation loans of the Zeeland Chamber was steadily rising. This fact, however, cannot solely be explained by the loss of ships. All chambers saw an increase in these loans and the Zeeland Chamber actually lent less than its share of 25 percent.¹⁶³ The loss of Zeeland Company ships in the twenties of the 18th century will be further discussed later.

3.5 Personnel and employment of the VOC

The Company did grow into a large multinational and because the Zeeland Chamber stuck to the allocation of one quarter of all activities, it grew accordingly. The peak of the trade activities took place in the period 1720-1740, as can be clearly seen in the graph below (*Table 1. Outward-bound voyages Chamber Zeeland per decade*). At that time nearly ten company ships were equipped at Middelburg each year, and over a thousand people worked at the VOC shipyard, ropewalk, office and warehouses. A significant part of the Middelburg labour force was thus employed directly by the VOC. Numerous craftsmen, such as coopers, glassblowers, gunsmiths, pharmacists and toolmakers provided products for the Company as well. In the two surviving account books of the Zeeland Chamber concerning the period between 1724-1728, almost 500 different suppliers are listed, all of whom in turn employed many workers and servants.¹⁶⁴ A large range of supplies and equipment was bought by the Company, not only for the ships, but also for the settlements in Asia.

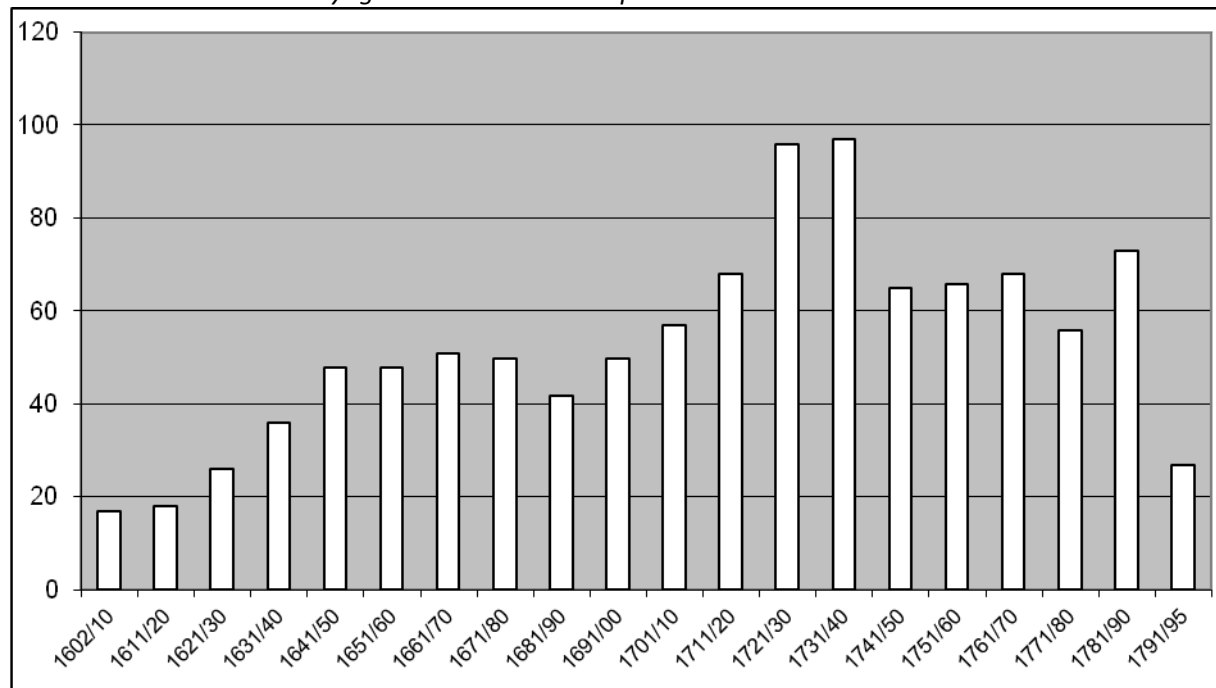
¹⁶¹ Enthoven, 'Veel vertier' 70-80; Gaastra, *Geschiedenis* 24-27.

¹⁶² Bruijn (a.o), *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping*, Captured: 1855, 1893, 1897, 1961, 1990, 1992, 2006, 2015, 2036, 2043, 2061, 2063, 2133, 2135 and 2148. Lost: 2413, 2475, 2485, 2492, 2494 and 2495.

¹⁶³ Enthoven, 'Veel vertier' 79-80, 106, Appendix III.

¹⁶⁴ NA, VOC 13624-13625; Poll, *Tot gerieff* 91-94; Enthoven, 'Veel vertier' 91-93; Cheyns, *Zeeuwse schepen* 55-107.

Table 1. Outward-bound voyages Chamber Zeeland per decade



Source: Bruijn (a.o.) *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping, volume II*.

As a shipping company the VOC of course employed many sailors and as a governmental power in Asia clerks and soldiers. During the 18th century, the Company yearly needed five to eight thousand men and boys for sailing and military tasks. These people were excluded from the labour market for a long time, because most of them by signing on agreed to stay in Asia for several years. Each chamber took care of the recruitment for her own ships but also for her share in the employees in Asia. In the beginning about half of all those sailing to the East for the Zeeland Chamber came from Middelburg. In addition, seamen from Vlissingen and Veere signed on as well. During the Company's existence in average about a thousand inhabitants from Walcheren were away from home in Company service. Yet the Zeeland Company ships were for the larger part manned by people who did not come from Zeeland. Many foreigners looking for a job tried their luck in Dutch port cities and signed on with the VOC. Most of them were Germans and Scandinavians. In Zeeland especially, however, many Flemings came in search of a job, and in the course of the 18th century people from the Southern-Netherlands took a larger part in the VOC work force than the people from Zeeland itself.

The crew of the VOC ships can be broadly divided into three categories. First of all there were the officers (officieren) and petty officers (onderofficieren). These mainly came from Zeeland or other places in the Republic. A second category was formed by the seafaring men in the lower ranks.¹⁶⁵ The last group consisted of soldiers. They were only incidentally used for naval military actions, but were intended for the garrisons in Asia. On board of the larger ships normally also a number of artisans and clerks intended for employment in the Company's settlements travelled to Asia. The growing demand for personnel quickly increased the number of foreigners on the company ships. Especially during the period of 1720-1740, many foreigners could be found among the two lowest paid categories on board

¹⁶⁵ In the 18th century they were administrated by the VOC as "bosschieter" (the more experienced sailors who were also able to operate the cannon) , "matroos" (ordinary sailor) , "hooploper" (also spelled "oploper", youngers, who where not able to full fill all tasks of a sailor and "jongen" – boys; the last category normally only did simple cleaning and serving jobs, but the Company hoped that during their term of service of 10 years they might grow into capable (sea)men.

of the ships. During that period about two thousand sailors and soldiers left for the East on ships of the Zeeland Chamber every year.¹⁶⁶

Because recruitment of especially the lower staff took place throughout the year, and because the period between the recruitment and the actual time of departure was often long, intermediaries were used. These crimps, often enjoying a bad reputation, tried to attract as many job seekers as possible by offering food and lodging. This was often organized by women who sometimes hosted more than ten prospective seafarers. The accommodation, food and drink obviously were not without cost. The advance of two months' pay received by the men at their enrolment usually disappeared directly into the pockets of these crimps. Before their departure the crew members could also submit a request to the VOC to pay a part of their earned salary in the Netherlands. These requests, which were registered by the Chambers, could be of two distinctive kinds. The so-called 'maandbrief' was specified to a named person, and was as such not transferable or tradable. It was used for the payment of a part of the wages to the families of the sailors. In contrast, a debenture was an admission of guilt and thus transferable. The allowed height of these debentures depended on rank, but could amount to 300 guilders. Parts of that sum were written off from the account of the employee when the message arrived in the Netherlands that he had earned a specific amount of money. Sailors often issued these debentures to the crimps to repay their debt. In order to quickly collect money they in their turn sold the debentures to long-term investors for a part of their nominal value.¹⁶⁷ The request book of the *Ravenstein* shows that of the 211 sailors that signed on, 129 sailors passed a debenture to the VOC. That was over 60 percent. On the *Zeewijk* that percentage was even 70 percent. In addition to contracts with labour brokers and the activities of their own recruitment officers, the VOC also had contracts with orphanages in Walcheren. Dozens of Zeeland boys set sail for the Company in this way.¹⁶⁸

3.6 VOC Shipwrecks 1721-1730

During her existence, on all the outward-bound voyages the VOC lost a total of 105 ships (2,2 percent) due to shipwreck. For the homeward-bound voyages, this number was 141 (4,2 percent).¹⁶⁹ In the graph below the outward-bound voyages of the Zeeland Chamber and that of the other chambers for the three decades between 1711 and 1740 are shown together. Remarkable is the great number of shipwrecks in the twenties of the 18th century. Between 1721 and 1730 the VOC lost no less than 24 outward-bound ships, of which 11 were equipped by the Zeeland Chamber. With a percentage of 11 percent, this was extraordinary high.

Table 2. Outward-bound voyages VOC, 1711-1740

	Zeeland		Other Chambers			Total		
	voyages wrecked	%	voyages wrecked	%	voyages wrecked	%		
1711-1720	68	1	241	5	309	6	1.9%	
1721-1730	96	11	300	13	396	24	6.1%	
1731-1740	97	3	275	6	372	9	2.4%	

Source: Bruijn (a.o.), *Dutch Asiatic-Shipping*, volume II.

¹⁶⁶ Van der Doe and Wiggers, 'Varen voor de kamer Zeeland' 213-221; Enthoven, 'Veel vertier' 100-105; Delahaye, 'De Vlaeminck en de Zeeuw' 47-87; Bruijn, *Schippers* 11-12, 47-50.

¹⁶⁷ Van Velzen, 'Uitgevaren voor de kamers' 15-16.

¹⁶⁸ NA, VOC 12257; Enthoven, 'Veel vertier' 98-100; Paesie, *Het VOC-retourschip* 63.

¹⁶⁹ Bruijn (a.o.), *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping*, I 76-77, 90-92.

A part of these shipwrecks can be explained by weather conditions, like the earlier mentioned storm of June 1722, in which the Zeeland Chamber lost three ships that were anchored in Table Bay. Of the other eight accidents, five ships stranded during the Atlantic leg of their journey, mostly in the waters around Great Britain. The remaining three ships of the Zeeland Chamber were lost during the Asian part of their journey. Although the backgrounds of these shipwrecks are unknown, we may assume that both the limited knowledge of navigation at that time and human errors have played a part. Especially the defective determination of the longitudinal position will have played an important role in the stranding on the Australian West coast. Whether or not the quality of the mates of the Zeeland officers played a part in it is unclear.¹⁷⁰ Mates that wanted to be employed by the VOC first had to go up for an examination. These examinations of their navigational capability had to be passed before experts that were contracted by the VOC. From 1720, the 26 year old Abraham Anias (1694-1750) examined the mates for the Zeeland Chamber. After the death of his stepfather Johan Roggeveen in 1723, he also became the Zeeland map maker for the Company. Although young and inexperienced, he was held in high esteem by his colleagues. The Amsterdam map maker Johannes van der Keulen even dedicated an important chart to him. Whether or not the inexperience of Anias played a role in his assessment of mates is not known. It is known, however, that during his later years he often declined aspiring mates.¹⁷¹

3.7 Zeeland privateering and Atlantic trade

Although the shipping and trade of Walcheren could very well compete with that of Holland at the end of the 16th century, and Middelburg even was the second trade city of the young Republic at around 1600 with an important VOC Chamber within its city boundaries, the first signals of economic stagnation could already be observed.¹⁷² At first the economic decline could be partially delayed by means of war-related activities. The blockade of the Flemish coast by war ships of the State (The Republic of the Seven (northern) Provinces), equipped by the Admiralties, for example made sure that all trade to the Southern Netherlands went through the Schelde. Vlissingen and Middelburg profited from this.¹⁷³ Besides this, an important economic factor during the Revolt (1568-1648) was formed by the revenues of naval action against the enemy by non-state ships. These activities were only allowed to ships commissioned¹⁷⁴ to this task by the stadholder¹⁷⁵ and the Staten Generaal.¹⁷⁶ Most of these ships had Vlissingen as their home port. In 1622 this privateering was enhanced considerably when an advantageous new rule concerning remittance came into use. It stated that shipping companies no longer needed to hand over 30, but only 18 percent of the auctioned price yields to the stadholder

¹⁷⁰ In the early 1720's the VOC faced a lack of skilled mates and the *Heren XVII* decided that on all the larger outgoing ships and yachts of the Company two second mates (*onderstuurlieden*) and two assistant mates (*derde waken*) had to be appointed in order "to grow" as skilled mates. These additional mates did not have to meet the same strict requisites of experience normally required for these positions. NA, VOC 7366, Resolutions, 30 September 1722 and first of March 1723.

¹⁷¹ Davids, *Zeewezen en wetenschap* 294-296, Appendix 2; Paesie, *Zeeuwse kaarten* 65-78.

¹⁷² Unger en Westendorp Boerma, 'De steden van Zeeland' 53.

¹⁷³ Enthoven, *Zeeland en de opkomst* 161-163, 228-239.

¹⁷⁴ Hence the name "commissievaart" for these kind of privateering activities

¹⁷⁵ Normally the license for privateering on the enemy was issued by the sovereign of the state at war. The Seven United Provinces however had abolished the Spanish King and the highest authority in the country were the "Staten Generaal", an assembly of representatives of the seven provinces. This situation was however not fully understood or accepted elsewhere. For that reason the letters of commission were signed by the stadholder. This position was held in this period by the Prince of Orange who at the same time was admiral-general of the fleet. In that position a share of the revenues of privateering was allotted to him. Another percentage had to be paid over to the state. The Admiralties controlled, administrated and cashed the revenues from the privateering of ships with their home port in their region and as such the Admiralty of Zeeland had great interests in this activity.

¹⁷⁶ Van Loo, 'Organising and Financing' 67; Van Vliet, 'Privateering' 48-55.

and the country.¹⁷⁷ This measure certainly had the effect it aimed at, and the Zeeland 'commissievaart' saw an increasing number of participants during the following years. It grew to be a major company that made millions. Yearly dozens of prizes were brought in and publicly auctioned.¹⁷⁸ The in 1621 established WIC, that was structured into chambers like the VOC, also played an important role at Walcheren. The Company had broad social support there, with many small shareholders. The deposited capital at the Zeeland Chamber of 1,379,775 guilders was even higher than that of the VOC. Just as her big sister company the VOC, the WIC also got a patent from the State, guaranteeing a monopoly on the Atlantic trade. In organization and structure of governance there were many similarities between the two companies as well. The Zeeland Chamber owned 2/9 of the shares, and as such was the second largest branch within the Atlantic trading company, right after the Amsterdam Chamber. The main activity of the WIC during the first years of her existence was privateering. The Company did not develop many trade settlement along the Atlantic coasts. For that reason some of her rich main stakeholders from Vlissingen were privately allowed to establish colonies in America.

That the WIC was of great importance to Walcheren was evidenced by in conflicts on trade-policy. When merchants from Holland in the thirties of the 17th century succeeded in negotiating a free market for themselves in part of the WIC patent area, it were mostly Zeeland merchants that tried to oppose this. They were afraid that Amsterdam would take over the entire West-Indian trade by itself. The preservation of the WIC was very important for the Zeeland trade, which is why the merchants insisted on the continuation of the patent.

Zeeland did not approve of the peace-negotiations with Spain that started in 1642. The Zeeland merchants feared that after removal of the blockade of the Schelde, the transit trade that was so important for Walcheren would sharply decline. In addition, they wanted to continue the war overseas in order to allow the further development of the WIC, which now indeed had conquered settlements on both sides of the Atlantic from the Iberians.¹⁷⁹

Table 3: Investments VOC (1602) and WIC (1621) in guilders.

Chamber VOC	Capital	Chamber WIC	Capital
Amsterdam	3.679.915	Amsterdam	2.846.582
Zeeland	1.300.405	Zeeland	1.379.775
Delft	469.400	Maze	1.039.202
Rotterdam	173.000	Stad en Lande	836.975
Hoorn	266.868	Noorderkwartier	505.627
Enkhuizen	540.000	Staten-Generaal	500.000
Total:	6.429.588		7.108.161

Sources: De Korte, *De jaarlijkse 2; Schneeloch, Aktionäre 26.*

3.8 Decline and shift to risky shipping ventures

The fear in Zeeland was not without cause. After the Peace of Munster (1648), the Zeeland ship-owners had to switch from privateering to the normal trade shipping, which led to a stagnation of the Zeeland economy. The trade with Brabant and the Southern Netherlands, Zeeland's natural hinterlands, however remained in existence. Especially colonial products found their way to the

¹⁷⁷ Cau (a.o.), *Groot Placaet-Boeck*, I -972, first of april 1622.

¹⁷⁸ Van Loo, 'Profijt voor Daniël?' 39.

¹⁷⁹ Van Grol, *De grondpolitiek 261-265*; Den Heijer, *De geschiedenis 13-34*; Kluiver, *De Souvereine 95, 181-195, 255-257*; Roos, *Zeeuwen en de Westindische Compagnie 23-43.*

Flemish markets, from where linen again was exported to Middelburg. The Zeeland port cities also acted as transit ports for agrarian products. Via the Scottish staple market (stapelmarkt) in Veere for example, wool had been imported and sold again.¹⁸⁰ But because part of this trade now migrated to Flemish harbor cities this stagnation was much harder felt in Zeeland than it was in Holland.

It were the rivals from Holland however that most of the time kept prevailing over the traders from Zeeland. Import from the Baltic, Asia and the America's was directed to Amsterdam and trade in these products mostly concentrated in that city. As a result, the outer regions of the Republic became the margin of the Dutch economy. The Zeeland merchants were left the trade to England and Southwest Europe only, but even there the increasing competition of Holland became a problem. In 1660 the wine market of Middelburg, once one of the major economic pillars of the city, shifted to Holland. The WIC did not prosper either. The military adventures in Brazil had substantially weakened the Company financially, and in 1674 the organization was dissolved, although in that same year a new WIC was established.¹⁸¹ The only exception to the declining Zeeland trade in the second half of the 17th century was the shipping activity of the VOC.

To turn the tide, a gradual shift took place in the economy of Walcheren. In the second half of the 17th century more and more Zeeland merchants were participating in the privateering. As soon as the peace was made, the old profitable 'commissievaart' ceased to exist. The same ship-owners switched to the forbidden trade with the Spanish colonies. In addition, they also increasingly started to evade the trade monopoly of the WIC and sent ships to West Africa for the illegal trade in merchandize and slaves. The original Zeeland attitude towards the WIC patent had thus dramatically changed. Both the privateering and illicit trade were speculative enterprises that could gain its investors great profits, but grand losses as well.

Since the 15th century already, in the regular searade, the system of segmented shipping companies¹⁸² was used in order to spread the risks over several persons. In this model financing and organization were the responsibility of several people. The investors were united in so-called shared or segmented shipping companies in which every shareholder brought in part of the needed capital. Within this system, the segments of ships could be sold or bequeathed. When the ship returned or the activities ended in another way, the ship-owners shared the profit or loss of the company according to the proportion of the money each had invested. Its power was thus in the restricted responsibility and the free will of each shareholder concerning his deposit. This system of segmented shipping companies was very suitable to the high risk activities of the Zeeland shipping in this period.¹⁸³

3.9 Zeeland privateering after 1648

The Peace of Munster did not only mean the end of the Dutch Revolt. With it, the Republic was also internationally acknowledged as a sovereign state. In the following years, the Northern Netherlands tried to follow a policy of neutrality and to stay away from international conflicts. Merchants from the Republic traded with all countries, and privateering could no longer be tolerated, as long as peace lasted. This trade policy, however, was only short-lived. Dutch merchant ships were increasingly targeted by English privateers. When the English parliament in addition accepted the 'Act of Navigation' in 1651, with which foreign shipping and freight transport to England and her overseas colonies was subjected to strict rules, the trade conflict was driven on edge. It resulted in the First

¹⁸⁰ Heyning, 'Kostelycke waren' 5-30; Brusse, *Gevallen stad*, 57-60. From medieval times the privilege of "stapel" had been granted by overlords to specific cities, which stated that no transit traffic of a specific good was allowed, but that these goods had to be bought, stored and sold in that city. In the 17th century these activities were left to the free market, but central market places for certain goods in a specific region still were named "stapelmarkten"

¹⁸¹ Den Heijer, *Goud, ivoor en slaven* 11-85; Francke, *Utiliteyt* 1-373.

¹⁸² The Dutch term is *partenrederijen*.

¹⁸³ Paesie, 'In belang', 29-32.

Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654), with disastrous results for the Republic. English warships and privateers delivered a heavy blow to the fishery and merchant fleet of the Northern Netherlands.¹⁸⁴ Our knowledge of the activities of North-Netherland privateers during this First Anglo-Dutch War is incomplete due to a fire in the Naval Department in The Hague in 1844, which destroyed parts of the archives of the Admiralties, which were stored there. We are better informed about the later trade wars with England and France. Apparently privateering did stay important during 17th century warfare. When in the fall and winter the war fleet was laid off in ordinary and trade or whaling at Northern European destinations was not possible, privateering was an available mode of employment for sailors. Thanks to that activity, ship-owners could put their ships to use, and they increasingly did so.¹⁸⁵

The Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674) was the first international conflict in which English privateers captured fewer ships than their Northern-Dutch rivals. A total of 680 English ships was captured by the Dutch privateers. This success was mainly due to the Zeeland commission shipping. Over three quarters of all the captured ships were brought in by them.¹⁸⁶ In the following wars the part that Zeeland took in the privateering even continued to grow, and it was by then almost entirely organized from Walcheren. It also turned into a full-time enterprise: privateers sailed in both summer and winter, and the area of activity was broadened to the Mediterranean Sea, where the Zeeland privateers were very successful. At the end of the century this had an additional effect on commercial shipping. Because French privateers formed a threat to merchant ships from the Northern-Netherlands during the Nine Years' War (The War of the Palatine Succession, 1688-1697), the latter stayed clear of the Mediterranean Sea. After 1693 all Holland trade to the Levant totally was abandoned when the Smyrna-convoy was captured by the French. Only the Zeeland privateers still hazarded themselves into the area. Some of their captains got the order to combine privateering with trade, and thus took over the Levantine trade from Holland without consciously setting out to do so. To further stimulate this trade, and to prevent the Holland merchants from restoring their former trade position after the war, the forces in Zeeland were joined. Imitating Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Dordrecht, on September 15th, 1696, in Middelburg the Directie van de Levantse Handel (DHL) was established, a trading company specifically for shipping to the eastern part of the Mediterranean area. The results of this company were quite hopeful at the start. However, during the following period of peace, which lasted until the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the Amsterdam merchants regained control of the Levantine trade.¹⁸⁷ It is not known to what extent the Middelburg Direction retook control during the War of the Spanish Succession, when the Zeeland privateers were cruising in the area of the Mediterranean Sea again. A further study will be necessary to clarify this.

That the Zeeland privateering was very profitable, is clear from its yields. At the Zeeland auctions, where over six hundred merchants were active, for over thirteen million worth of prizes and captured goods were auctioned during the Nine Years' War. The Zeeland profits during the War of the Spanish Succession surpassed even the highest expectation, with an amount of no less than 23 million guilders. Honesty ordains to admit here that about a quarter of these yields consisted of bonuses paid by the States General for capturing enemy ships. The fact that Zeeland played an important part in the Dutch privateering is shown in table 4. Over 95 percent of all prize yields of the Republic came from Zeeland-base privateering. It had become a full-grown branch of commercial enterprise.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Groenveld, 'Nadelen van neutraliteit' 265-294; Enthoven, 'Mars en Mercurius' 53-60.

¹⁸⁵ Bruijn, 'Kaapvaart' 411-412, 421-429; Van Vliet, 'Privateering' 51-52.

¹⁸⁶ Bruijn, 'Kaapvaart' table II; Korteweg, *Kaperbloed* 201; R. Paesie, 'Op een Avontuertje' 31.

¹⁸⁷ Van Eessen, 'Vlaamse en Zeeuwse kaapvaart', 27, 35; Francke, 'Leven en werk', 100-104.

¹⁸⁸ Verhees-van Meer, *De Zeeuwse kaapvaart*, 132-145; Francke, *Utiliteyt*, I 335-337, 359-364.

Table 4. Privateering Returns in Zeeland and Holland, 1665-1713 (guilders)

Conflict	Zeeland	Holland	Total (100%)
Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667)	2.661.000 (62%)	1.655.700 (38%)	4.316.700
Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674)	4.545.164 (72%)	1.803.000 (28%)	6.348.164
Nine Years War (1688-1697)	13.142.803 (96%)	478.848 (4%)	13.621.651
War of Spanish Succession (1702-1713)	22.747.762 (96%)	952.238 (4%)	23.700.000

Sources: Van Vliet, 'Privateering' table 3; Verhees-van Meer, *De Zeeuwse kaapvaart*, 138-140, 161.

3.10 Zeeland illicit trade after 1648

In the conditions of the Munster Peace, which ended the independency war with Spain, it was, among others, stated that merchants from Spain and the Republic were not allowed to trade with the colonies of the former enemy.¹⁸⁹ Trade and shipping to large parts of the America's was thus not allowed for ships sailing under Dutch colors. With the signing of the peace treaty Spain however also acknowledged the Northern-Netherlands government of several Caribbean islands. Especially the strategically located island of Curacao for these reasons could become an important place for transit trade in the following decade. African slaves for instance were transported to this island and found their way from there to the Spanish colonies. Next to this indirect trade via the Caribbean islands, from 1670 onwards Dutch ships would directly set sail from the Republic to the Spanish colonies. This form of illicit trade was organized mainly from Zeeland, where heavily armed frigates were equipped especially for this goal. This was obviously not agreeable to the Spanish crown which gave priority to the prevention of this trade. Spanish cruisers started to patrol the Southern-American coast more often, and even privateers were used. Some Zeeland ships were captured by them.¹⁹⁰

Besides the illicit trade to the Spanish colonies, the so-called 'lorrendraaiers' (interlopers) trespassed the WIC monopoly and equipped ships to West Africa for the illegal trade in merchandize and slaves. From the second half of the 17th century onwards Zeeland merchants were heavily involved in this trade as well. This private trade to West-Africa was forbidden, and offenders of the WIC-patent risked not only confiscation of their ship, but even death penalty. For the preservation of its patent at sea, the WIC also equipped cruisers to intercept the interlopers. Even so, most of these smugglers stayed out of the hands of the Company by using quick and maneuverable frigates to sail to the West-African coast. Because these illicit traders did not have any costs as the WIC had, for instance for the maintaining of forts and garrisons, they were able to offer their products for a much lower price than the WIC, and as such were important competitors of the Company.

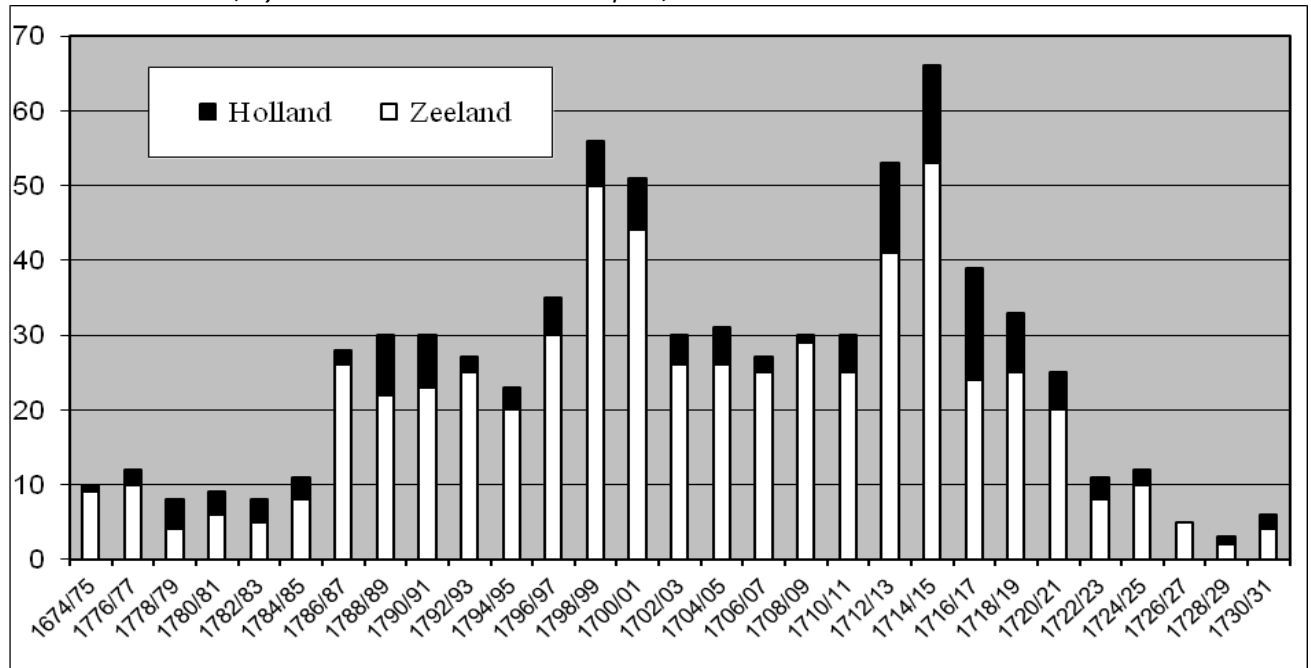
Initially the interlopers focused mostly on the illegal trade in merchandize, but as in America the demand for slaves went up, they increasingly switched to the system of triangular trade. Within this system, exported goods from the Republic were traded against slaves in West-Africa that were then again traded for cash or West-Indian products in America. Between 1674 and 1730, a number of 740 illicit voyages of this kind to West-Africa have been traced. It is estimated that the actual number of these voyages was over 800, of which, over 80 percent were equipped from Zeeland.¹⁹¹ See the graph below.

¹⁸⁹ Cau, *Groot Placaet-Boeck*, I-84: Tractaet van vrede, 30 january 1648, article VI.

¹⁹⁰ Klooster, *Illicit Riches* 41-85, 105-110, 141-147; Den Heijer, *Goud, ivoor en slaven* 147-156; Paesie 'In belang' 35-36.

¹⁹¹ Paesie, *Lorrendrayen* 32-86, Appendix I. During research till 2008 a number of 725 Dutch interlopers were traced. Afterwards another fifteen were traced.

Table 5. Illicit Trade, by Zeeland and Holland Interlopers, 1674-1731



Source: <http://www.paesie.nl/pdf/Ruud.Paesie.getraceerde.lorrendraaiers.1674-1730.pdf>.

When we put these numbers in perspective compared to the legal shipping activities of the new WIC, the size is remarkable. That Company equipped about 660 ships in the same period, of which about 150 were equipped by the Zeeland Chamber. In addition, about 90 other shipping voyages took place, mostly homeward-bound journeys from the Atlantic area towards the Republic, concerning captured interlopers. When we add these numbers, we come to a total amount of 750 shipping voyages. The estimated number of illegal voyages in the Atlantic area thus is higher than that of the patented Company.

After continuing pressure of especially Zeeland, in 1730 the trade monopoly of the WIC was stripped down. Four years later it was definitely abolished. From that moment on, all Dutch shipping companies were allowed to equip ships for the trade to West-Africa, as long as they paid the Company a fee (the so-called *recognitiepenningen*) depending on the size of the ships.

Because the Company slave trade suffered increasing losses and the competition increased due to the permitting of private trade, the WIC ceased its own trade shipping after 1740. After that year its task only was to maintain the Dutch possessions at the West-African coast, and the brokering of slave trade. With this, the WIC had been transformed from an active trade company into a management organization.¹⁹²

3.11 The Middelburg Commerce Company

The end of the War of the Spanish Succession meant the start of a long period of neutrality for the Republic. Privateering did not fit into that policy.¹⁹³ Also the illicit trade to West-Africa almost disappeared after 1720 on account of a number of reasons. One of these was that the WIC enforced the naval maintenance of its patent quite successfully, and captured many trespassers. These confiscations had a strong impact on the Zeeland economy, and some merchants and insurers were bankrupted.¹⁹⁴ The illicit trade to the Spanish colonies in America may have flourished, but even there misfortunes were present. After the end of the War on the Spanish Succession the control of the

¹⁹² Den Heijer, *Goud, ivoor en slaven* 362-373, Appendix I; Den Heijer, 'The Dutch West India Company' 108, table 4.8.

¹⁹³ Korteweg, *Kaperbloed*, 219-220.

¹⁹⁴ GV, Sa 5574, J.J. Brasser, *Beschrijvinge der stad Vlissinge* 618; Paesie, 'In belang' 25-26.

illegal trade got high priority and Spanish cruisers successfully patrolled de Southern-American coast.¹⁹⁵

To stimulate the deteriorated Middelburg trade and shipping, in 1720 the Middelburg Commerce Company (MCC) was established. Just as with the VOC and WIC, which served as examples for the establishment of the MCC, this trade organization was financed by shareholders. Together they deposited more than five million guilders. The directors were chosen from the main participants, which mostly had earned their capital by the previously described forms of high-risk trade.

The general assignment of the board of the MCC was to stimulate the *Middelburg* trade and shipping. In practice, this turned out to be rather problematic. According to the charters of the VOC and WIC, a large part of the overseas trade areas was out of order for the MCC. Only the trade shipping to the Spanish colonies in the West offered some perspective.

In this light, from 1723 plans were made to organize a South sea-expedition. Goal was the South-American West coast: a coastal area with rich silver mines, that was under Spanish rule and not open to legal Dutch shipping. The equipment of three Middelburg frigates that went out to sea in August of 1724 had cost about one million guilders. This was a huge investment at that time. Near Cape Horn, the ships got into trouble. Two ships returned to Brazil, where they were later taken by the Portuguese. The third frigate got around the Cape, but ended up in the hands of the Spanish. Although the ships were insured, the insurers initially refused to pay. Only after years of negotiations part of the money was finally paid.

This was a huge loss for the MCC that brought the organization in severe financial problems. After 1730, the MCC mostly focused on the African trade of which slave trade was an important part. The Middelburg trade company would eventually grow to be the biggest slave transporting company of the Republic.¹⁹⁶

3.12 Risk-spreading and insurance

Next to the spread in risk in the form of the shared parts in shipping companies, several kinds of marine insurances existed in the beginning of the 18th century. A possibility was the so-called bottomry 'bodemerij' by which money was borrowed for a specified term by the owner of a ship for its use and equipment. This was a kind of loan where the provider of the capital took the risk of the voyage. Only after the safe return of the ship the provided sum was paid back to the creditor, augmented by a previously accorded interest. This kind of loan was mostly contracted by charterers who did not possess enough capital to buy the merchandize on their own account. Another possibility was the insurance of parts of the ship or the cargo by private insurers.

After 1720 insurance companies were established with capital that was deposited by shareholders. These large companies were able to insure extensive risks at rather low contributions. Although these contributions were less than the costs of the loans in case of bottomry they still could amount to considerable sums. They depended not only on ships dimensions, the cargo, the destination and the duration of the voyage, but could also vary in case of special circumstances as war or high risk of piracy or privateering.¹⁹⁷ The level of the contribution for assurances also depended on the character of the enterprise. It was much higher for risky shipping expeditions than for the regular trade. The interlopers for instance that were equipped for the illegal trade to West-Africa paid 18 percent. The owners of ships fitted out for the illicit trade in Spanish America even were charged with 25 percent.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Klooster, *Illicit Riches* 105-110, 141-147; Den Heijer, *Goud, ivoor en slaven* 147-156.

¹⁹⁶ Reinders Folmer-van Prooijen, *Van goederenhandel* 11-35; Paesie, *Voor zilver* 23-59.

¹⁹⁷ Verwer, *Nederlants See-Rechten* 149-201; Vergouwen, *De geschiedenis* 48, 58-59; Den Heijer, *De geöctrooieerde Compagnie* 137.

¹⁹⁸ Paesie, *Lorrendrayen* 161-162.

In the first years of her existence the VOC also insured her shipping. After prescribed sailing routes and time schedules were developed during the 17th century, the Company less used this method. To spread the risks, the large sums of coins and bullion were divided over several ships and the richly laden returning ships were sailing together in large fleets. In wartime sailing under convoy of Admiralty ships was usual. It was also questionable whether and when the ensured sum was paid after the occurrence of loss or damage. Time-consuming procedures were usual, resulting in high costs for lawyers. When ships were missing without clear evidence of shipwreck, the negotiations normally would drag along for many years, without much result.

Because the directors of the VOC were calculating merchants, they scrupulously controlled the costs and profits of these assurances. As a large Company they could use 'The law of the large numbers' in which risks over a long period could be analyzed. Apparently the total amount of losses on account of damage and shipwreck, calculated over the long term, was less than the total amount of the insurance contributions. After 1700 the Company hardly ever insured her own vessels. Only in a few special cases, as for instance when ships were rented, the directors used insurance to cover the risks.¹⁹⁹

3.13 Conclusion

At the start of the 17th century Middelburg was still one of the leading trade cities of the Republic. Hundred years later, this was no longer the case. Increasing competition from especially merchants from Holland meant that the Zeeland trade had become defensive, and economically marginalised. This had not gone unnoticed by the Zeeland merchants, and to turn the tide they increasingly specialised in risky shipping expeditions. In times of war, they would mostly fitted out privateers. As soon as peace was made, these same companies would turn to illegal shipping to West-Africa and the Spanish colonies in America. This risky undertaking reached its peak at the start of the 18th century.

However, the end of the War of the Spanish Succession and the successful maritime maintenance of its charter by the WIC changed all this. Middelburg merchants were forced to organise themselves, and established the MCC in 1720. This organisation was never very successful and only stayed in business by continuation of the trade to the Spanish colonies and the trade of merchandise and slaves to West-Africa and America.

Zeeland, in the early 18th century still had chambers of the two patented Dutch trading companies as well. Both boards resided in Middelburg. For the smallest, the WIC, business did not prosper. Although the Atlantic trade organisation started again after its initial bankruptcy in 1674, this did not prevent the end of its trade monopoly in 1734. Not much later its trade activities came to an end. What was left was an organisation with a management function concerning colonial property, and the consequences of this transformation must have been felt in Middelburg as well.

Exceptions to this downward spiral were the transit trade in agrarian products with the Zeeland hinterland and the trade activities of the VOC. The Zeeland Chamber, with its big office, wharf and warehouses was the most important employer in Middelburg. The many Zeeland subcontractors of products and services could also only exist because of the VOC. As a result of the set allocation clause, the Zeeland Chamber grew with the other VOC Chambers, and thus stayed the 'economic giant' of the city in the 18th century. It is true that the Chamber had to deal with the loss of a relative large number of ships in the twenties of the 18th century. Although this loss was first written off in the business administration of the Zeeland Chamber it was later processed in the general balance sheets of the Company and shared by all Chambers. As such, these shipwrecks were of limited consequence to the Zeeland economy. Return cargoes were partly relocated by the Batavia authorities, but the Zeeland directors will probably have had more problems to get enough cash by means of the so called *anticipatiepenningen*. However, these shipping disasters did have financial victims. These were mainly private persons, or individuals. The sailors, also those that survived the wrecking, lost the goods that they brought aboard. Among these were especially investments in silver

¹⁹⁹ Van Dam, *Beschryvinge* I-207-209, II-402; Spooner, *Risks at Sea* 142-144; Dillo, *De nadagen* 60-61; Gaastra, *Geschiedenis* 23.

coins that were taken for themselves or third parties. Only some *Zeewijk* crewmembers came back with more money than they left, but that was at the cost of others who had lost life and goods. The loss of a large number of seamen, mostly originating from Zeeland will have been felt by their families on Walcheren but also by the crimps and the '*ziel- of ceelverkopers*' who had taken over the debentures. The VOC itself only lost the advance payments, but the other debts left by the sailors could not be redeemed, and a number of Zeeland inhabitants thus lost quite some money. The rates at which these debts were booked however were based already on a calculation of a rather high risk of premature death.

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4. Appendices

4.1 Appendix I: Comparison of the texts in the four known versions of the Zeewijk-journal, as far as relevant for the location and identification of a potential 5th ship.

Only NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 contains a journal which covers the period between the departure of the Zeewijk from the Netherlands to the arrival in Batavia, on 30 April, 1728. The document of Brussels Royal Library Manuscript II 2586, starts with the stranding of the Zeewijk on 9 June, 1727 and ends on 21 April, 1728, with a brief description of what happened after that date until the arrival of the survivors in Batavia, which is given as 28 April, 1728. NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 contains three journals, all coming from the skipper Jan Steijns. The first describes the voyage from the departure from the Cape on 19 April, 1727 to the stranding on 9 June 1727 and is immediately followed by a second journal about the journey made on a built vessel from the Western Australian coast to Batavia between 26 March, 1728 and 30 April, 1728. Separately, later in this document, a third journal exists about the events on the wreck, the reef and the islands from 10 June, 1727 to 24, March, 1728. In inv. nr. 9353 no record coming from Adriaan van der Graaf has been found about the period between 9, June 1727 and 26 March, 1728 Two journals coming from him covering both the other periods are preceding those of Steijns in the document and are very similar to those journals.

[Note that the description “coming from” is used because the journals are copies of the original documents used in the process, not the originals written by van der Graaf or Steijns themselves]

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (no folio numbering) preamble

Jornael of dagh Register
gehouden in't Ed: Comp: schip Zeewijk
gecommandeert door schipper Jan steijns
bemant met 208. copen diepgaende agter
19 3/4 voeten en voren 17 ½ voeten in comp:
met het Ed: Comp: schip barbesteijn ge=
commandeert door schipper Joris vermouw
als Commandeur of Wimpel voerder
God verleent on een voor=
spoedige reijs a.o 1726
door mij adriaen van der graeff
onderstuurman

The other versions (inv. nr. 9353) do not contain information about the dimensions of the Zeewijk and the number of passengers departing from the Netherlands. Also the following data are known only through the 11417 version:

27 maart [1627 na aankomst aan de Kaap]

March 27, upon arrival at the Cape:

impotenten afgescheept naar het hospitaal en een levendige esel voor de Caap meegebracht

the sick shipped ashore to the hospital and a living donkey brought for the Cape

28 maart: nog enige impotenten naar het hospitaal

March 28: some more sick to the hospital

29 maart: ruim open gebroken en reeds enige lading uitgescheept.

March 29 : opining up of the hold and already some cargo taken out

30 maart: Lossen twee zware kabels voor andere schepen

March 30 : unloaded two heavy cables for other ships
Ook op 31 maart en 1 april, 3 april, 5 april: lossen enige goederen
Also on March 31 and April 1, 3 and 5 : unloaded some goods
4 april: beginnen vers water te vullen
April 4 : started to fill fresh water
5 april : 12 nieuwe opvarenden, waaronder een jongen
April 5 : 12 new crewmembers, including one boy
Ook op 6 april nog lading gelost en op 7 april de laatste voor de Kaap bestemde lading
Also some cargo was unloaded on April 6 and the last cargo for the Cape unloaded on April 7
16 april [1727 aan de Kaap] monsterring, bevonden 158 koppen sterk
April 16 [1727!] mustering, found 158 people

There is no mention of a new cargo or ballast in inv. nr. 11417. From the 16th of April, the journals in inv. nr. 9353 are also available. The number of people on board departing from the Cape differs here from the above quoted in 11417, most probably because at the last moment some people did not embark.

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering) preamble Van der Graaf-journal

Journal gehouden in 's Comp.s
schip Zeewijk gemonteert met 10
stukken Canon à 12 # 20 à 6 # 6 à
3 # en 8. Bassen, bemand met 153 kop=
pen, zoo zeevarende als militairen
personen, zijlende van de Kabo De
Goede Hoop naar batavia, door mij
gehouden Adriaen van De graaff onderstuurman

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering) preamble Steijns-journal

Anno 1727
Journal Gehouden In 's Comp.s
schip Zeewijk gemonteert
metio [!] stukken canon à 12 #
20 à 6 # 6 à 3 # en 8 bassen
bemand met 153 coppen zoo
zeevarende als militairen
personen zijlende van de
Kabo de god hoop naer
Batavia door mij gehou
den schipper Jan Steijns
God verleen ons een Behoude Rijse

Both the (possibly forged) versions above inv. nr. 9353 contain (the same) specific information about the guns in their preamble, which do not appear in the preamble of inv. nr. 11417. In both versions after the preamble there is a description of the departure from the Cape, meanwhile inv. nr. 11417 the preamble is followed by the departure from the Netherlands.

The Brussels II 2586 preamble begins with the salutation and contains no mention of guns or crew:

Daghregister gehouden op 't
ijlant de tortelduijff door de officieren
vant schip Zeewijk A=0 1727

The information given in the 9353 text on June 15 contains some new information not found in 11417, which might be important for the location of artefacts:

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering) Sunday 15th morning

, dewyl de branding soo sterk aen
liep dat wij vreesden alle oogeblicken
het schip door de selve zoude aen stucken gesla=
lij geschut oV boort gen werden wierpen ons Lij geschut
over boort dewijl 't schip over stuurboort
of de lij komt [!] soodanig begon te setten dat
wij vreesden ongeslagen zoude werden

.....

dese nagt wand het schip
't schip door de
wierd door de branding op geset en met
branding opgeset
grootte force stootende over stuurboord omge
set zoo dat wij die te vooren met de steven
W t Z geseten hadden saten te middernagt
W t N ½ N aen

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (no folio numbering) Sunday 15th

Vnemen ook dat't wrack sig selven immer om
meer op sijn dsijde[!] begint te leggen te dier
halven bang t selve om soude geslagen soude
werden
[verder niets over overbood werpen geschut]
..... in de voornacht.....

.... 't wrack
gestadig geheel opgeligt worde en met
grootte forsije stootende en over stuurboort
geset wordende sodat wij ontrent de
middernaght bevonden daer het wrack
te voren met de Cop ZW. t. Z. geseten hadde nu
w n w ½ w te sitten

Brussels Royal Library Manuscript II 2586

In the Brussels version, the denomination and the numbering of the days contains some errors, but it should be noticed that this version doesn't mention the discarding of guns, or the turning of the wreck, mentioned instead in the above document NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417, NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353. Although the new orientation of the wreck in the two versions 9353 and 11417 seems to be different, in reality only the description of the direction differs (in modern annotation both about 287 degrees). Only Steijns mentions that before the ship turned, half of the guns was thrown overboard.

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417, (no folio numbering.) Monday 16th

namen
doen 4 trossen op den anker[!] om te sien of wij
setten de dan een peerdelijn of cabeltouw aen de vleet
bood uit vast konden krijgen
.....
de bood en phont op het riff

bij de vleet zoo hoog op haalden als zij konden
alwaer zij ook vinden een gevolve hand gra=
naad ook out touw en raawe huid zijnde
van schip of scheepen die mede dit noodlot
alhier getroffen hebben

Brussels Royal Library Manuscript II 2586, fol. 77v, Sunday [!] 16

.... vierden deselve met een tros af

....

haelden

vinden een honds
geraemte

de boodt en schouw opt riff, alwaer zij ook
vinden een gevolve honds geraemte en een
stuk van een rauwe huid aent touw

[geen verwijzing naar andere schepen; honds geraemte in plaats van handgranaat]

[no references to other ships; canine skeleton instead of grenade]

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering) Steijns-journaal , continuation of the 16th

namen 4

trossen op malkanderen met een paerdelij
daer aen om te sien of t selve aen de vleet
konden vast krijgen

....

Sij vinden hier op't riff een gevolve hand
granaet oud touw werk een stuk van een huid
van een schip zoo dat persumeeren hier meer
scheepenen moet gebleven zijn

The reference about 4 ropes attached to the anchor, in inv. nr. 11417, is thus corrected with 4 ropes attached to each other in inv. nr. 9353. The fact that 4 ropes [anchor cables of about 100 fathoms and a "paerdelij" – a lighter rope – were attached to each other gives an indication about the distance (about 700 meter) between the wreck and the place on the reef with the rigging. De Graaf himself would not have written down that they attached ropes to the anchor to be able to reach the reef, so here clearly is a copying error in 11417 (as I predicted before I knew 9353 com: ML).

Inv. nr. 9353 mentions also the filled hand grenade as 11417 does, but contrary to the dogs skeleton in the Brussel document, instead of the raw skin (rauwe huid) as in both previous versions (inv. nr. 11417; Brussels II 2586) 9353 mentions ship skin, which makes more sense. Both 9353 and 11417 agree that another ship (or ships) might have remained on the same location. This conclusion is not found in the Brussels version.

The reference to details of this find in the various journals on this date is remarkable. Steijns and van der Graaf both remained on the wreck on the 16th and some days after, and they can have only heard these details later. A possible reason to still include this observation they did not make themselves may be the likelihood of more shipwrecks in this place.

The various journals are similar with regard to the departure for the reef by some persons on board, the launching of the boat and the successful crossing of the first mate and the subsequent failed attempt in which eight men drowned.

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (no folio numbering.) Wednesday 18th

ontrent 3.

mijlen [!] gaet ons schipp: en ondercoopman met
en nog 4 ander persoonen met een vlodt gemaekt

van de zonnetent en't riff toe die daer ook
gelukkig zijn aengekoomen

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering); Steijns-journaal

sien dat de boot weder
na het Eijlant vaert en quam ten 11 uren
weder aen't riff hadden opt Eijlant
een parthij volk gelaten na middag voer
ik schipper en ondercoopman nevens nog
4 personen met een vlotje van een stuk
van de sonnetent aen de wal

Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel II 2586, fol. 78 Wednesday 18th

dinsdag [!] 18
sagen ons volk heen en weer varen
naert ijlant ent riff na de middagh te 3 uren
gaet de schipper seur en 4 man op een vlodt
naert riff

The copyist of inv. nr. 11417 very poorly drafted and states instead of 3 hours the nonsensical time!
of 3 miles. The junior merchant (onderkoopman) is mentioned in the Brussels text as seur.

The CIE archivist Menno Leenstra found this description / title "seur" for the administrator also in
the journal of the Geelvink [Schilder 1976, p. 169 suggest that this may be a shorthand for
"monsieur"] .

The various descriptions correspond in mentioning the arrival to the reef on the 19th of the second
mate (onderstuurman), the boatswain (bootsman) and a large group of people by means of two
rafts. Van der Graaf mentions an unwilling group waiting at the wreck.

Steijns wrote that on the 19th, about 50 people arrived on the reef and about 20 remained on the
wreck. All the journals mention the safe transfer on this day, the 19th, of the box with ship's papers.
On the 20th people were safely transferred from the reef to the island. On the 21st, 96 people were
counted that had left the wreck. In the subsequent period, people still exchanged the wreck for the
reef on a regular basis on small rafts and most of them would subsequently arrive from the reef on
the island.

It may be suggested, by combining the various lists and mentioning of people leaving the wreck at a
later stage, that 25 people were still on the wreck on the 21st of June. The names of most of the
eight people drowned on the 16th in an attempt to reach the reef can be figured out. In September,
10 people were still on the wreck.

The disorders on account of the manning of the boat on July 1 are only described in 11417. Those at
the distribution of food on 11 July are mentioned in all the journals.

Furthermore the three journals contain the same information about this period. People on the reef
could not reach the wreck and had to rely on victuals and drink being thrown overboard by those
who were still present on the wreck. There was still enough water on the island for the time being
and seals were caught on neighboring islands. On 10 July, 12 men left for Batavia in the boat.

Following the riots of 11 July, on the 12th it was mentioned for the first time (inv. nr. 11417) that also
on another island (located at about 2. Miles South East [!] of us) water was found. It was decided to
relocate some of the fighters to that island, where they could keep themselves alive. However, this
plan was eventually not carried out. On August 4, it is stated that there was no more fresh water. For
the first time in the journal, a well is mentioned :

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (no folio numbering)

..... geen
versch water meer op 't eijland te vinden

....

waer op wij de water put die wij
hier in den beginne gevonden hebben schoon maeken
en vinden in deselve 7. levendige crabben

Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel II 2586, fol. 82

baden god
om reegen want hier op't eijlant was geen
water meer., maeckten de pudt schoon

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)

vernamen geen vars water
meer op't eylant dewyl in lang geen regen
gekregen hadde, beden god almagtig van herten
om de zelve de waterput ledig gemaekt heb=
bende vinden daerin 7. Levendige Crabben

None of the journals mention that this well was men-made.

In de hier op volgende dagen is er regelmatig weer opstand onder het volk over verdeling van water en voedsel. Zij nemen dit zelf in handen. Van der Graaf beschrijft dit als een punt van grote brutaliteit, Steijns doet alsof het met wederzijdse instemming gebeurde.

Wanneer er weer enige regen valt scheidt men dat met een lepel uit de putties die overal in de clippen zijn (alleen in 11417).

Again in the following days, there are regular revolts among the people, concerning the distribution of water and food. They take matters into their own hands. Van der Graaf describes this as great brutality, Steijns pretends it happens with mutual consent.

When some rain falls again, spoons are used to take this from the "Putties" (shallow holes) that are anywhere on the rocks (only in inv. nr 11417).

Some castaways regularly sailed without permission and supervision of the officers to the reef and tried to steal some of the goods thrown from the wreck. Van der Graaf mentions several attempts to steal food and at 12-8 he mentions the names of three persons who were engaged in this. Later, two of them appear to possess large sums of money in Batavia.

Steijns does not mention this. All sources indicate that on 18th August, a flagpole was setup. All the sources state that on the 19th, a flat-bottomed boat left in search of possible resources on what was believed to be mainland. This boat came back on the 27th with the news that what was thought to be the mainland was in reality an island. The barge, which had drifted away shortly after the stranding was found there. At this point, the next (remember the quote from June 16) mentioning of the possibility of another stranded ship can be found in the journals.

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (no folio numbering.) [van der Graaf]

Wednesday the 26th [August 27 should be [scan p 86]

vinden ook aen de
w. Comt[!] van het selve eijlant een stuck van
Een schip of vrack sitten envinden het beelt
van de scheg onder een klip leggende konnende daer
zoo veel van bekennen dat t een vrouwe
beelt was geweest

Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel II 2586, fol. 84

Maandagh 26 [datering nog steeds onjuist]

en aen de w=t kant vant eijland een stuk van
een schip sitten ent beeldt vant schegh zijnde
een vrouwe beeldt onder een klip leggen

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering) woensdag den 27 [Steijns]

aan de west kand van't Eijland een stuk of
wrak van een schip sittende

Both Steijns and van der Graaf cite indirectly in the text above. They acquired this information from the people that visited the other island for the first time and found the barge there. Steijns does not mention here the find of a female figure head, as both other journals do. Despite opposition of many castaways (only reported by van der Graaf), Steijns himself went to visit this other island on September 30, with both the flat-bottomed boats and 17 men, to retrieve the barge while van der Graaf refused to come. The information below is therefore from Steijns as a personal witness, and from Adriaan van der Graaf as heard from the skipper.

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (no folio numbering.) [van der Graaf]

[onder woensdag den 3. september]
hebbende aldaar op dat eijland daar op den 27. pasado
breder van gesproken is oV de 4 etmael geweest
en is door den schipp: aldaar gevonden volgens
dat hij mijn op zijn aankomst gesegt heeft een
vrak gel:- op den 27 pasado aangeteijkend is vinden
aldaar ook onse schuijt en 2 vloten met een halve
sonnethent van ons gewesene schip die zij sloopten
...
op dit eijland vonden zij
nog een stuk roosterwerk ende boven ste
schoorsteen en eenige lidige vaten een nagthuijs
eenig blok werk een wiel van een roupeert [!]
en meer andere kleinigheden alle versch en dien
volgende van ons gewesenen schip

Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel II 2586, fol. 84v

[onder woensdag 3]

en de schipper
zijde daar een vrak van een schip gesien te hebben
en vinden daar ook twee vloten van onze
sonnetent

.....

vonden ook nogh
op dat ijland een rooster een schoorsteen enige
leedige vaaten een nagt huys blokwerk en
eenige andere kleijnigheden nog vers soo dat
't van ons schip moets zijn

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering) Steijns-journaal

woensdag den 3 [alle dateringen lopen hier weer synchroon]

wij hadden daar

vinden een partij houd van een wrak nevens wat goet van ons schuijs[!]	gevonden een partij houtwerken van een wrak van een schip een nagthuijs, een schoorsteen eenige ledige vaten een rooster werk twee vloten de halve Zonnetend Zijnde dit goedje altemaal nog nieuw dierhalven van ons gebleven schip
---	--

All 3 sources mention the discovery of pieces of wood from a wreck, implicitly indicating the presence of a shipwreck other than the Zeewijk as well as stranded material from the Zeewijk itself. Unfortunately Steijns, who would have personally witnessed the remains of other wrecks did not give more details in his report than the ones van der Graaf heard him mention.

Hereafter the journals start to diverge because Steijns returned with the barge to the wreck and Van der Graaf remained on the island.

The following information about the situation on the wreck was only found in Steijns report.

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)
[September]

woensdag den 10=en vaar ik met de schuijt en 2 pon= ten aan't rif komen met de schuijt aan't wrak vonden kisten en kassen & open geldkist gekapt geboort en 2, geboort brengen een dreg uijt	Smorgens en voordemiddag de wind ZO bramsz coelte goed weer, vaar ik met de schuijt en bijde de ponten na het rif met voornemen Indien mo= gelijk was aan het wrak te komen, door de bran= ding 't welke met godts hulpe op de middag ook gelukte, en scheepten de schuijt weder af na't rif met victualij ik bleef aan boort met nog 10=en mannen, en hadden desen 10 mannen op't wrak gevonden Jan Campen corporaal Jan stroobinder Zoldaat Frederik stroomiger d=o balten gillis matroos cornelis kelder jonge dirk delmerhorst matroos pieter deklerk d=o Joost Jansz zoldaat pieter hage d=o Frans wigman matroos bevonden alle vaten, kisten en kassen daar maar bij te komen was opengeslagen, van 'Scomp:s geld kisten inde Cajuijt vond ik een gekapt, en twee dog Conden niet bemerken daar iets uijt genomen was ik ondervroeg in presentie van degen die met mij aan boort gekomen waren de bovengem: 10. maats wie of aande geld kisten hadde geweest maar Ider Vontschuldigde met te zeggen daar niet van te weten, ik hadde met de schuijt eer bij [hij] met provisie na't rif voer een dreg met een ijser tros na het rif laten brengen om met de schuijt daarbij af en aan te halen
--	--

Only 5 of the 10 people mentioned above that Steijns found on the wreck would arrive in Batavia. These people, who would have had the opportunity for several months to plunder the boxes, did not have a striking amount of money on them upon arrival in Batavia. Steijns describes the unsuccessful attempts of the people that had remained on board of the money chests, and the removal of these chest with the barge, done in two trips. Van der Graaf describes the arrival of the chests on the reef, and consequently on the island. After that the weather prevented to reach the wreck again from the island. Steijns and the people who had remained with him on the wreck made a raft to possibly be able to save themselves.

Despite the distress, no vessel would arrive on the wreck. The people on board therefore refused to throw more victuals overboard. On 4 October Steijns and 6 other men went to the island with the raft. At that date, 14 men were still on the wreck.

From the personnel administration of the Zeewijk crew at the pay-office of the chamber Zeeland [HaNA 1.04.02, VOC, inv nr. 12856 (grootboek Zeewijk 1726)] it is obvious that they had in *Middelburg* in their possession at least from the beginning of 1731 of a document with the data of decease of those that died between the Cape and Batavia, or on the island. It is mentioned in this administration as the "journaal van Adriaan van der Graaf". De folio numbering mentioned in this administration, however matches with none of the logs known to us now.

The men that left for Batavia by boat on July 10th, with the first mate Langeweg, had their wages paid to that date. For the date of their departure from the island the ledger always refers to an extract from the journal (without further specifying which one) 'Lease 297 n=0 456.

Part of this same Lease (or Liasse, bundle) 297, as n=0 549, is an even more remarkable 'written statement of the 'skip[per] and steward', from which the general ledger took the date of death of corporal Jan Campe.

Steijns also described the condition of the wreck on 12 September 1727:

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)

Vrijdag den 12=en ... bevonden naar wij merkten het schip in de lengte geborsten te wesen
sien de vissen in t ruijm swemmen

This observation (that the ship was broken lengthwise and that fishes were swimming in the hold) has been not found in other journals. Van der Graaf writes in his journal why it was impossible at this time to pick the people up from the wreck. A signed statement with regards to this is even drafted and signed by everyone on the island.

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (no folio numbering)

26 September van der Graaf receives the news about water on another island
dat zij op een
Eijland leggende een mijl O.Z.O. van ons
Enig versch water bevonden hadden

And on 29 September
gaat de
derde waek Joris forkson met de boots=
man Christiaan radis met de schuijt
na de andere Eijlanden om aldaer te
zoeken of zij ergens enig versch water
konden vinden want wij hier geen raed
weten wegens den dorst

on 30 September water was found

op een eiland
gelegen in't o z o van ons ontrent een mijl

dit water staet wel 7 a 8 voet
onder de klippen dit hol is onder wijd
en ruijm maer boven is maer een kleijn
gaetie

because the opening of the well was small they try to widen up this opening with explosives
gaet de ondercoopman Jan Nebbens met de
derde waak Joris forkson...
om zoo 't mogelijk is de clippen van boven te doen
springen om des te beter bij 't water te
konnen komen

but that did not succeed
in October Van der Graaf 2 writes

dat die voorn
Clip zijnde over 't versch water niet conde
gesprongen werden

Steijns remained on the wreck during this period and did not have any means of communication, but he later wrote in his journal on 30 September:

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)

vaart de ondercoopman
en derde waek na't water Eijland namen wat
kruijt mede om een klip te doen springen die
over de waterput hangende was dog konde zulx
niet gelucken
en op 8 november[!] ons derde pont was dagelijx besig
met water van't ander Eijland te halen
die sij aen een klip gevonden hadde terwijl
ik nog aan boort was

So all descriptions of the wells found in this period indicate that they were natural wells. No mentioning of men made wells in the logs.

On 6 October, van der Graaf also mentions that the skipper arrived back on the island with 6 men. In the period prior, some deaths are only mentioned in one of the two journals. It is remarkable that in this period, van der Graaf mentions almost daily:

De Brussels version only contains

Bird catching

but contains the same information during this period as we can find in van der Graaf 11417.

From the 10th of October, the roles were reversed, van der Graaf was on the wreck and sent all kinds of food and materials, and Steijns stayed on the island.

eergisteravond ten 10 uren den leeuw en scheg was afgeslagen

According to Van der Graaf, on the 16th of October *den Leeuw* (lion figurehead) and the knee of the head were broken lose from the bow.

Steijns mentions on the 19th of that month that he has received a letter stating:

Yesterday in the evening the lion (figure head) and the knee of the head were thrown of

These quite vulnerable parts therefore remained intact for months after the stranding . These entries also make clear once again that the figurehead previously found was certainly not from the Zeewijk itself.

Likely the building of a new vessel already started in early October, because people then began transferring all sorts of useful material from the wreck to the island. On his first day on the wreck (10 October) van der Graaf mentions that a box of carpentry tools was sent from the wreck and on 12 October a “wang” **[Note The official translation of this piece of wood is according to the nautical lexicon : “side piece”. It is a long piece of wood, being taken with the ship to reinforce masts if necessary]**

On the 12th Steijns confirms in his journal the arrival of this piece of wood on the island, but does not specifically mention that they had started building until the 23rd of October. He also states on that day that they used this piece of wood to make the keel for a vessel with a length of 51 feet, with which they intended to sail to Batavia:

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)

	heden begonnen
	van de wang die wij hadde een kiel te maeken
maken een kiel	tot opbouwung van een vaertuijg L:k 51 voeten
van een vaertuijg	om daar mede onder godes Zegen met ons over=
	gebleven manschap, na batavia te navigeren

Van der Graaf en consorten maakten ook weer zelf een vlot en verlieten op 27 oktober het wrak. Volgens zijn journaal verloor hij daarbij zijn aantekeningen gemaakt over de periode die hij op het wrak zat.

Het is merkwaardig dat hij toch in staat was van dag tot dag precies te vermelden welke goederen hij had afgescheept van het wrak naar het rif. Pas op 29 oktober slaagde hij er in van het rif op het eiland te komen.

Van der Graaf vermeldt op 30 oktober de start van de bouw van het vaartuig; afmetingen daarvan staat niet in 11417.

Van der Graaf and his associates also made themselves a raft and left the wreck on 27 October. According to his journal, he lost the notes that he made during the period that he was on the wreck during this trip. It is remarkable that he was still capable to specifically mention from day to day which goods had been transferred from the wreck to the reef. It was only on October 29 that he arrived from the reef on the island. On 30 October van der Graaf mentions that the construction of the vessel had started, no measurements are specified in inv. nr. 11417. From 1st November Joris Forkson (forquason) stayed on the wreck and Steijns calls him *stuurman* (mate), van der Graaf still uses his old rank: *derde waak*. Forkson stayed on the wreck until 7 December.

The progress of building the vessel is occasionally mentioned in the journals.

The formulation on 28th November provides some insight into the different formulations of the similar occasion:

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)

reghten heden
de spannings van het te maken vaartuijg op
deelden wijn aan't volk uijt

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (no folio numbering)

dese dag
werd een aam wijn op de Ciel geleght
voor't regen van steven en spannings

Both Steijns and van der Graaf also mention on this date [28-11] a failed attempt to transfer an anchor of 909 pounds from the reef to the island.

All journals mention on 29th January the successful transportation of this anchor from the reef to the island.

De journalen vermelden nergens het verlies van een schuit of pont met lading tussen het rif en het eiland. Geschut, olifantstanden en andere artefacten die in dat gebied zijn gevonden moeten daar dus op een andere manier terecht zijn gekomen. Het enige gesignaleerde verlies is dat van een dreg van de schuit op 6 februari 1728.

It will have undoubtedly been used for the self-built vessel. A “werpancker”, like this anchor is mentioned several times is a light stocked anchor. It would have been the lightest of that kind available on board.

The journals do not mention the loss of a barge or boat with cargo between the reef and the island anywhere. Guns, ivory and other artifacts that were found in that area therefore should have ended up there in a different manner. The only identified loss is that of a grapnel of the barge on February 6, 1728.

In early December the sodomy scandal takes place. The Brussels journal does not mention this, though the two other journals do. These events deserve separate treatment, which is beyond the scope of this report.

The two boys were on board the barge with Adriaan van der Graaf:

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417, (no folio numbering)

ijder op een bij
zonder eijland gelegen in't n.o. van ons
ontrent 6 mijlen

When he came back after having left each of the boys separate on an island he did find another side piece. It was used as the keelson for the vessel they made [The Dutch word “zaathout”, which translates in English as “keelson”, a heavy piece of wood covering the inside of the keel, was the only specific old Dutch word which de Heer did not know.] Steins does not mention these details.

On December 16, a well is mentioned again. It is found on the big island, just as the other well. The formulations are:

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417, (no folio numbering)

nog een ander waterput op t selve eijland gevonden

Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel II 2586, fol. 90v

opt selve ijland nogh een putd gevonden

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)

nog een waterput aan't Zelve Eijland gevonden

Even on 8 March, a new well on another island was found

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417 (no folio numbering)

dat ontrent in de midden
wege tusschen ons Eijland en't groote eijland
daar wij water halen legt een water op put
gevonden hebbe

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)

aen een Eijland tusschen
ons en 't water eijland gelegen hadden aenge=
weest en daer een water put gevonden

All the journals' descriptions of "wells" are included in the citations in this report. The letter written later to the Netherlands from Governor General and Councils refers to:

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 2082, fol 14

alwaar gevonden sijn niet alleen Sommige gegrave putten

The addition "dug" (gegrave) implies that other people had been digging wells on the islands but this assumption has not been found anywhere in the journals. In the case of the "pit" where they tried to increase the entrance with explosives it is even clear that this was definitely not a pit dug by people. If the notification is accurate in inv.nr. 2082, it comes from written sources other than the journals that we know now, or oral communication.

In January people regularly stayed on the wreck to acquire timber for the construction of the vessel. For this purpose, the sloop and the flat-bottomed barges regularly navigated to the reef and sometimes even to the wreck itself.

In addition, trips were made to the islands in search of water and arched timber. The steward returned from a trip to an island on January 28:

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)

hadde op 't water Eijland een verroeste schaar gevonden

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417, (no folio numbering)

en hebben
op 't groote Eijland gevonden een linne
schaar die nog niet volkomen vergaen
was dog na onse presumatie te lang
gelegen om van ons schip te komen

Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussel II 2586, fol. 92

hebbende op't groot ijland een
schaar gevonden die nogh niet ten volle was
vergaen dogh naer onse gedagten te oudt om

van ons schip te zijn

Both writers use different names for this island, but both names are used interchangeably in the journals. Unfortunately, the newly found statement by Steijns contains less detail than the two already known descriptions. It is the third reference to another stranded ship and the only concrete one with regards to the possibility that other people visited the Houtman Abrolhos shortly before the sinking of the Zeewijk.

On February 10, it was once again impossible to take people off the wreck with a vessel. Led by the merchant, 7 arrived on the reef with a raft. Four men were at that date still on the wreck and only arrived on the 13th on the reef with a raft.

In February, people were still looking for suitable timber, rudder pintles and gudgeons on the wreck and on the reef.

People remained behind on the wreck until almost the last moment and were able to perform signal shots from there. The last men left the wreck on March 2 with a small raft. On 28 February 1728, the self-built vessel was ready to be launched.

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 9353 (no folio numbering)

Vervolg van den 28=en vaertuijgh is lang over steven 58. voeten wijt
17. voeten, hol 8. voeten de schorting 4 ½ voet 2 voet
op't dek de mats [!] en steng met zijn top 46 voeten
hoekers tuijg de groote rhaa lang 34. voeten
dik 10. duijmen marsz: rhaa L=te 21. voeten dik
6. duijmen de klijfhout lang 44. voeten hoope
dat god almagtig ons verder zijn zeegen daar
mede zal verleenen

The self-made vessel of which Steijns already stated that the keel was 51 feet long, was 58 feet over all, wide 17 feet, and 8 feet deep under deck. It had a “hoeker”-riggen with two square sails above each other on a mast of 46 feet long and a very long (44 feet) jib boom.

Such a specification is not mentioned in NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 11417.

Both journals do mention at the beginning of the journey from the island to Batavia that the draft was 5 feet at the front and 6 feet at the rear.

4. 2 Appendix II: The translation of the text on the three contemporary maps of the *Houtman Abrolhos*

4.VEL512

Dit is den Opgaaff van de
Schipper Jan Styns
volgens Sijn Observatie

This is the statement of
Skipper Jan Styns
according to his observations

There is a scale of latitude on the map
The wreck itself is situated at about 28° 35' à 36'
On the map is drawn a scale of "Dutch Miles 15 in a Grade]

Hier door Zijn wij Zee geseijlt
moesten onse schuijt hier
laten slippen

Through this we sailed in Sea
had to let go out boat here

hier de sloep gemaakt

here made the sloop

alhier vonden wij een stuk
van onse sonnetent en
repareerden onse schuijt daer mee

here we found a part
of our awning and
did repair our boat with it

Hier langs steen . klip . kraal en Zand Grondt

Along here rock, coral and sand

met dese schouwen sogte wij ons Eeten
op de ander Eijlanden
vande Zeehonden

with these scows* we sought our food
at the other Islands
of the Seals

2 dekbalken gevonden

found two beams [joists]

alhier Een
put gevonden

in this place
found a well

hier een schaar gevonden

here found a pair of scissors

hier balken gevonden
en stukken van
planken v. een schip

hier found beams
and parts of
plancks of a ship

hier binnen coraal en bosjes

inside here coral and shrubs

kappen hier kromhout

here cut arched timbers

kappen hier kromhout

here cut arched timbers

hier 1 drucker v. een
kraan balk Een houten
schoen v. een pomp en Een
wiel van een rampaard
gevonden

here a knee of a
cathead a wooden
shoe of a pump an a
wheel of a gun carriage
found

hier vonden wij vogels en Eijeren

here we found birds and eggs

Balken v. Een schip gevonden
met bouten daar in

found beams of a schip
with bolts in it

hier vonden wij onse schuijt in de klippen
sitten aan stucken te syn 2 maanden rond
na het blijven van ons schip

here we found our boat in the cliffs
brocken apart a full 2 months after
our shipwreck

* the "schouws" made by the crew after the shipwreck mentioned in the documents and drawn on the map, are flat bottomed small vessel. The name schouw is still in use in the Netherlands for this type of ship. The description "phont" also used describes the ship type maybe better. I think it will have consisted of 1 broad planck as a bottom only, and 4 plancks more or less perpendicular nailed at the 4 sides of this planck. The so-constructed vessel may have been able to carry some persons or cargo on flat water, but will have been hardly of any use in the surf.

4.VEL513

Dit is d'Opgaaff van de Stuurman Adriaan d'Graaff

This is the statement of mate

Adriaan d'Graaff

volgens syn Observatie

according to his observations

There is a scale of latitude and a scale of 'Dutch miles 15 for a Grade]
The wreck is situated at 28° 55' à 56'

dese Eylanden
gesien maer niet
op geweest
2 x

these islands
been seen, but
not set foor on
[twice mentioned in the north east part of the map]

alhier ons
vaarthuygh
gemaakt

here our
vessel
made

alhier een wang gevonden
van een schip

here found a cheek
of a ship

alhier een balk met
een bout daar in gevonden

her a beam
with a bolt in it found

alhier een Put gevonden
en Een schaar

here found a well
and a pair of scissors

alhier vonden wy onse schuijt
in de klippen

here we found our boat
on the rock

Text on the Brussels map

Teksten bij het kaartje	
Aftekening vand eijlanden genae[mt]	Drawing of the islands named
tortelduijff daer 't schip Zeewijk	tortelduijff where the ship Zeewijk
int jaer 1727 op verongelukt is	in the year 1727 was wrecked
Lijdt op de z b ^r = van 29 gr tot 28 gr	lies on the S latitude of 29 to 28 degrees
20 m ^t =	20 minutes

There is a latitude scale from 29 degrees to 28 degrees 17 minutes
Between the minutes 18 to 23 a deviation is made with written $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ etc apparently of miles
The wreck is drawn at the latitude of 28° 35']

Hierdoor in Zee gezijlt	Through here sailed into sea
Liten onse schuijt slippen	let our boat go
hierd: sloep gemaect	Here made the sloop
vonden hier	here found
een stuk van een	a part of an
sonne tent	awning
vonden	found
balken en	beams and
plancken	plancks
2 balken	2 beams
een schaer	a pair of scissors
gevonden	found
kappen hout	cut wood
kappe hout	cut wood
hout van een schip	wood of a ship
hier vonden	here found
onse schuijt	our boat
korael	coral
landt	land
vonden hier	found here
balke van een	a beam of a
schip met bouts	ship with bolts

Conclusion:

On the maps there is no mentioning of man made wells.

4.3. Appendix III: mutations in cargo at the Cape of Good Hope

NA 1.04.18.02 (Boekhouder Generaal Batavia) 10764 (Generaal Journaal 1725 -1726),

p. 343

[Ontfangen] van Zeeland [aan de Caeb] : met twee kielen: teweten met Aagtekerk den 3.n Januarij deser Jaars ; als

10000. - . p.s geele klinkersteen	f 77.5.-
42500. - . # ²⁰⁰ ijser	„ 5496.-
4. - . p.s moolen steenen	„ 144. 3.8
3632. - . # koper ins.r [in soorten]	„ 3636. 3.8
50. - . p.s ijsere potten	„ 106.16.-
100. - . bladen enkele bliken	„ 19.13.-
100. - . grossen kopere roks knoopen	„ 1242. -.-
875. - . stx. glase ruijten	„ 1245.12.8
18. - . „ muschovis Jugten	„ 272.14.-
250. - . # ruw garen	„ 346.17.8
150. - . @ [ellen] nederlants Linnen	„ 303. 9. -
1500. - . # buskruijt	„ 632. 9.8
diverse boeken en schijftuijg	„ 531. 9.8
„ equipage goederen	„ 387. 5.8
„ wagen houten	„ 2092. 4.-
„ arbeids gereetsch	„ 1287. 4.8
„ Cramerijen	„ 53.18.-
„ ammonitie goederen	„ 56. 7.-
„ wapenkamers d.o	„ 33. 5.-
	f 17964.17.-

[Het bovenstaande is wat volgens de factuur geleverd had moeten zijn
Hier onder is gadministreerd wat daaraan ontbrak]

p. 353

Het tekort aangebrachte uyt het vaderland aan de Caeb van Zeeland met het schip Aagtekerke, namentlijk

700 # ijser in soort

2 stx ijsere potten

270 „ ??

1338 „ meusel steenen

Gezien de grote hoeveelheid geloste lading zal de Aagtekerke zeer waarschijnlijk ballast hebben moeten laden aan de Kaap.

Daarvan is echter geen vermelding gevonden in de bronnen.

Als enige ingenomen lading aan de Kaap wordt voor dit schip gevonden:

NA 1.18.04.02 (Boekhouder Generaal te Batavia) 10764 (Generaal Journaal 1725 - 1726), p. 353

5. Pr Batavia 't Hooft Comptoir nieuwe Reeck....zoo veele

monteert de nabesz: eliphantstanden, den 20 januarij deses jaers met

het schip Aagetekerke na dese hooft plaats versonden en afgevaardigt welkens

facture ... ten beswaringe van het generaal

gebragt afget- en vereffent zijn ; te weeten nu Eerstelijck

²⁰⁰ [# staat voor lb. (Amsterdamse ponden) van iets minder dan 500 gram

Wegens het versondene voormelt bestaande Eenlijk in
214 p.s Eliphants tanden wegende 2930 # f 561.19.-

Het vermelden van de term "Eenlijk" betekent dat geen andere aan de Kaap in de Aagtekerke geladen goederen op de factuur stonden.
In deze post werden nog wel andere zaken verrekend die niet van belang zijn voor de Aagtekerke, maar de Tekstwat ingewikkeld maken en daarom zijn weggelaten

Een specificatie van de gezonden olifantstanden kan gevonden worden via de vermelding van de aangebrachte lading uit Rio dela Goa met de Feynoord op 26-10-1725

Capetown Archive 1/1 (Council of Policy) C 2446 (Attestatien 1725), p. 319

Aangekomen met de briganteyn Feynoord 2941 # Eliphantstanden bestaande in 214 stukken, als 860 # in 16 stukken te weeten

No. 1 weeg:	45 #
2	20
3	27
4	81
5	22
6	84
7	49
8	64
9	35
10	60
11	42
12	73
13	50
14	75
15	108
16	25

2081 # in 198 p.s weeg: onder 20 # ongenombreert

.Geen van de overige, wel in Batavia aangekomen schepen, die tussen 26-10-1725 en 3-1-1726 van de Kaap vertrokken, vervoerden volgens de administratie van de Boekhouder Generaal olifantstanden. Gezien het corresponderende aantal en het bijna corresponderende gewicht zijn dus de bovengenoemde gespecificeerde olifantstanden in de Aagtekerke gescheept. Kennelijk is bij nawegen aan de Kaap een kleine correctie op het gewicht aangebracht.

Ontscheepte lading Zeewijk aan de Kaap

Anno 1727 Het Ontvangene van Zeelant aan de Caab de Goede Hoop met 7 bodems te weeten met de scheepen barbestijn En Zeewijk , den 26:en maart 1727. ; als

40.-. hoeden Smeekolen	f 566.10.-.
4.-. P.s Ezels En Ezelinnen	453.3.-.
3000.-. # buskruijt	„ 1293.19.-.
27000.-. P.s grauwe moppen	„ 365.-.-.
24.-. Slijpsteen	„ 59.4.8
250.-. # loot wit	„ 45.5.-
diVse timmerhout	„ 2257.12.8

„ arbeids gereetsch-	„ 492.9.-
„ Equipage goederen	„ 9974.7.8
	f15507.10.8 ²⁰¹

Er is dus uit deze administratie niet op te maken welk gedeelte van de genoemde goederen van de Zeewijk afkomstig was en welk gedeelte van de Barbesteijn

In de brief naar Nederland vermelden de autoriteiten van de Kaap dat zij bij de aanvoer van de goederen uit Zeeland met de Zeewijk op de factura zijn tekort gekomen:

4089 grauwe moppen

1 ezel op de reyse gestorven²⁰²

Adriaan van der Graaf vermeldt in zijn journaal het uitladen van een ezel (op 27 maart) en twee zware kabels (op 30 maart). Deze kabels maakten deel uit van de genoemde geloste equipage goederen. Ook voor een aantal andere dagen vermeldt hij het lossen van goederen voor de Kaap, maar zonder te specificeren welke. Over inladen van ballastgoederen aan de Kaap staat niets dit het journaal. Via de administratie van de Boekhouder Generaal weten we alleen

Generale verliesen ter Zee door het verongelucken En veroveren van scheepen gl 166,2,- , zijnde het bedragen van de ondervolgende goederen als op den laatsten april deses jaars met het schip Zeewijk van cabo de goede hoop na batavia Vsonden zijn doch dewijle dien bodem op zijn hierwaarts reijse Vongeluckt is met dezelve goederen zoo wert mitsdesen het voorgen bedragen ten belastinge deser reeck-: afgesch- bestaande in

100---# carocidonionum	f 100.--
en 2--- vaaten theer	f 66.2.- ²⁰³

De beide vaten teer staan hier slechts om administratieve redenen op. De Kaap produceerde geen teer. Deze vaten waren bestemd voor de Kaap, ze zullen onder de equipagegoederen vermeld zijn geweest. Men had ze aan de Kaap echter niet gevonden. Men verzocht nu om het daarvoor vermelde bedrag van de factura van de Kaap af te trekken en bij die van Batavia op te tellen omdat men vermoedde dat de vaten nog wel ergens aan boord zouden worden gevonden. Er waren overigens vrijwel zeker veel meer vaten teer aan boord toen de Zeewijk verging. Vrijwel alle schepen die naar Batavia voeren hadden in deze periode 10, 20 of 30 vaten teer en een gelijke hoeveelheid pek aan boord.

²⁰¹ 10765 (Generaal Journaal 1726- 1727), p. 332

²⁰² NA 1.04.02 (VOC) 4104, fol 38v

²⁰³ 10765 (Generaal Journaal 1726- 1727), p. 343

4.4 Appendix IV General Book keepers Journal

NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 7175

Grootboek boekhouder Amsterdam 1720 – 1740

Betreft de 115 tot de 118^e equipage

Bevat:

Inkomsten van afnemers van producten, op naam

Uitgaven per equipage, per categorie onkosten of goederen

De Fortuin behoorde tot eerste schepen van de 118^e equipage

Hiervoor werden o. a. voor de volgende categorieën uitgaven geboekt:

Bier

Rotterdammer, Haantjes, Mol

Bier tot Koopmanschap

Swaentjes, Haentjes, Delfs, Jopen, Mom

Contante Penningen

Cargasoengelt

Geschut en Ammunitie van Oorlogh

ijser en metael canon, (metale) bassen als kamers

buskruit, kurck , talck

kogels, bouts, kneppels, bomben

cardoesen, stampers, wisschervellen

snaphanen, pistolen, degens, houwers, pieken, drielingen, spietsen

patroontassen, portepees

trommels, brantemmers

Iserwerk

staal, ijser, banden,

(Luijxe en inlandse) spijkers

staven (orgronts) ijser , duijtse roeden

sloten, slootplaten, ijserwerk

aambeelden, bankschroeven, hantmortieren

ankers en dreggen

Loot

(rollen) loot en vergietloon

hosen, dalen, bakkenpijpwerk , solder(en)

stukken loot

Scheepsgeld 30 sept voor diverse schepen

Seyldoek

de gekochte soorten zijn Hollands doek, (wit, smal) Everdoek, (graeu) Hennipdoek,

Jachtdoek en Hangmattendoek

Verscheyde Behoeften

o.a. bladkoper en brandspuitjes (30-06-1723)

Verscheyde Materialen

o.a. Teer en smeeholen (30-04-1723) waagelden en impost hiervoor (15-5)

pannen, klinkert, moppen (31-8-1723)

4.5 Appendix V: Archive Book Keeper General

NA 1.04.18.02

Archief van de boekhouder-generaal te Batavia (1699-1801)

Bevat generaal journaal vanaf 1700 voor vrijwel elk jaar
Daarnaast Negotie grootboek [ontbreekt 1725-1726] en negotie journaal

10761 (Generael Journaal 1721 - 1722) [op film 2173-1]

Begint met de ontvangsten van het hoofd comptoir Batavia
p. 3 tot p. 37 gespecificeerd per schip en gegroepeerd per kamer de ontvangsten uit Nederland
van Amsterdam met vier en twintigh schepen conform ...
het batavia negotie journaal onder de pag.s 30. 34. 38. 40. 79. 81. 110. 235....
502. 504. 510. 515. 516. 520. 557. en 560. ten voordeele van het generael In ..
verantwoordt zijn, namentlijk. -

met het schip Midlo den 2:ⁿ September anno 1721. te ...

inh-	7786.4.-. bhaar silver	f 249188.7.2
	100.- p. ^s Snaphanen	1645. -.-
	30.- hoeden Smitskoolen... Swaar gelt	f 375.-.-
	93444.-. # diverse touwen Swaar	, 18633.16.-
	30.-. vaten pick	, 810.-.-.
	30.-. „ harpuijs	, 275.17.-.
	30.-. „ theer	, 630.-.-.
	91.-. p= ^s witte lijcken	, 3458.4.-.
	350.- „ legger schooven	, 2000.-.-.
	144.-. roll- Zeijldoek	, 3504.-.-.
	283.-. p= ^s bomben van 10. d= ^m diameter	, 1094.3.-.
	16434.-. „ baskogels in Zoorte	, 631.6.-.
	6.-. „ metaal canon van 24. # bals	, 21491.4.-.
	1400.-. kippen lont	, 806.4.-.
	60.-. vaten Speck	, 6120.-.-.
	50.-. „ vriese booter	, 5400.-.-.
	Comt aan Swaar gelt	f 65287.14.-.
	ofte in ligt gelt	, 81609.12.4

met het schip Amstelveen, den 4:n van bovengen-. maand; als...

p. 4

Hopwijk 8 idem

Coning Carel 10 idem

Westerdyxhoorn 10-10-1721

p. 5

Amsterdam idem

Margaretha 7-11

Stryckebolle idem

Hillegonde 28-1- [scheur moet zijn 1722]

p. 7

Heesburgh 30 idem

p. 8

Haarlem idem

Stadwijk 15-[scheur]

p. 9

d'theodora 21-5

d'Elisabeth 11-7

p. 10

Stad Leyden idem

p. 11

Ligtenburg 20 idem

p. 12

d'Johanna idem

Commerlust idem

Schoonenberg idem

Pr..tenburgh 21 idem

p. 13

Noordbeeck 30 idem

Loenderveen 6-8

Barneveld 12 idem

p. 14

Van Zeeland 9 schepem

Ravestijn 2-9-1721

Nieuwvliet 15 idem

p. 15

Samson 14-10

Meyenbergh 13-12

p. 16

met het jachtje d'uno; den 26:e januarij anno 1722 namentlijk .-

24.-. sald.s smeekoolen	f 360.-.-.
39.-. vat:- pick en theer	, 1300.-.-.
12.-. rollen zeijldoek	, 2415.-.-.
15296.-. # touwerck	, 3728.3.-.
7750.-. p= ^s mortier granaten	, 2462.15.-
voor 3.p: cento slants regt	, 220.2.-

10489...

met het schip 't Raadhuijs v: vliissingen den 15:e maart anno als boven, als

400.-. mc- marck realen	f 17100.-.-.
20750.- rds ned.r lands paijment	, 62250.-.-
23.-. stx- laken...	, 8414.17.-.
7.-. „ laken rassen	, 1166.5.-.
2.-. „ fluweelen	, 593.18.-.
38.-. „ muskovische jugten	, 642.10.-.
12.-. keld= ^s brandewijn	, 276.2.-.
2.-. # goud draat	, 115.17.8.
759.-. „ loot in kassen	, 110.17.-.
aan rariteijten	, 48.18.8.
„ kramereijen	, 592.2.-.
50.-.stx:- pack naalden	, 9.10.-.
36.-. # kopere spijckers	, 95. 11.-.
30.-. sald= ^s smee koolen	Sw-: gelt f 330.-.-.
24.-. vat pi[ck]	, 576.-.-
74.-. „ thee[r]	, 1295.-.-.
150.-. roll:- holl- zeijldoek	, 4100.-.-.

120.-. „ breet Iverdoek	, 8340.-.-.
49647.-. # : div[ers] touwercken	, 9789.3.8
400.-. p= ^s Ze[ijl] naalden	, 21.-.-.

.....

p. 17
heinekenssant 19-4
p.18
Steenhoven 2-7
Valkenisse 23 idem
p.19
van Delft...

Vrijwel elk schip heeft 20 tot 60 vaten teer en een gelijke hoeveelheid pek aan boord. De opgegeven inkoopwaarde daarvan is niet helemaal constant.

p. 29
Buiten factura aangebracht
b.v
p. 30
Zeekaarten
p. 31 ev
Wissels
p. 37
Afgeleyde schepen Corsloot en Generale vrede
opbrengst openbare vendutie

Aangekomen ladingen met schepen uit diverse comptoiren

p. 50
uit Siam aangekomen 26-12-1721 de schepen Limburgh en Beverwaard met o.a.:
11664 # Eliphants tanden f 19065.6.-
en 17-2-1722 met Westhoven
1082 # Eliphants tanden f 1731.12.8.

p. 56 [zie foto]
Aangebracht van de Caab de goede Hoop
met het schip Barbesteijn den 24 januarij 1722 A.o 1722; als eenelijck
2 last tarwe f 280
met het scheepie d'uno den laatsten february daar aan volgende; als
5497 # eliphants tanden f 912.16
494 „ zeekoe tanden , 59.14
662 „ Renosters hoorns , 82.-.-
met het schip Ravestijn den 16 Maij anno gemelt te weten
90 p=s greene deelen
50 # fol lauri
200 lasten tarwe
1 Do rogge
65 # thuyne zaaden
met het schip Astrea den 28 juny anno voor- namentl:
100 # caro cedonium f 100
26 „ herbs? Sonder steelen
21 last tarwe

1 Do rogge
10 ½ # thuyt zaaden
met het schip Prattenburg den 23 Julij des gem- jaars eenel:
34 last tarwe
met het schip Valkenisse datum als boven mede eemelijk
17 ½ mudde rogge
met het schip Barnevelt den 12 aug:- deses jaars ook maar eeneli:
12 last tarw'

p. 61
Bedurven aangebracht of te min bevonden

p. 64
Confiscatien, Schenkagien

p. 69
Verzonden van Batavia naar patria
eerst weer naar Amsterdam

p. 77
naar Zeeland

p. 94 ev
Verzonden naar diverse comptoiren

p. 102
Naar Souratte 14 augusto deses jaar met de schepen Haarlem, Ravesteyn en Zuijderbeek
o.a.
18476 # Eliphants tanden f 21906

144
Verzonden van Batavia naar de Kaap
met Purmerlust den 19 september A.o 1721
20 4/5 # Zij worm eientjes
125 stx geconfyte nooten
lijnen uit het schip blijenberg geligt
met het schip Ravestein den 30^e october a.o gemelt
veel soorten textiel
diverse soorten specerijen
suiker
chinees porcelijn
200 last rijst
350 last padij

145
Enigszins onduidelijk
verzondene en aangerekende Cabo de Goede Hoop
met Amstelveen den 29 november
ijser uit de welke aldaar uit de lading van het jagtje d Uno geligt zijn

155ev
Boekhouding diverse kantoren
Daarin
231
Souratse belasting

Ruwe winsten en verliesen
78 op? 10276 # Eliphants tanden f 135.6.-

bij den opneem tekort, bedurven Etc= bevonden
25 15/64 # Eliphants tanden f 44.4.-

p. 336 -352

Caab de goede hoop

p. 347

Verzonden van de Caab naar Amsterdam

Met Purmerlust 10-1-1722

950 # Eliphants tanden f 148.9.-

160 # reijnosterhoorns en zeekoe tanden f 20.-

348

Te kort bevonden bij aankomst uit patria

p. 349

Batavia 't hooft Comptoir Nieuwe Reeck- gl.s 2173.18.- zijnde het
bedrage van d'onderten... tarw' en Eliphants tanden onder dato 5 Junij
anno 1722 met het schip de samaritaan van deese hoofdplaats Vsonden ende gecon
signeert aan den hoog Ed heere Zwaardekroon gouverneur generaal ende
Ed=. heeren raaden van den lande Indias waar van de facture met en benevens het
aangemerckte p=r memorie bij de Caabse negotieboeken ten belastinge van
het generaal afgesch:- en Veffent is;
wegens het versondene ... bestaande in

10.-. last:- tarwe	f 1120.-.-	
625.-. #: Eliphants tanden	97.13.-.	f 1217.13.-

352

Vanaf hier Generale onkosten, zoals bv

354

Generale verliezen door 't verongelucken van schepen
onder vermelding van comptoir Mallabar

10762 (Generaal Journaal 1722 - 1723) [op film 2173-2]

56

Batavias Belasting P.r Transport f ...

De Caab de Goede Hoop 't Comptoir gl:- 300011.1.18 wegens de natemeldene
granen, thuijm zaaden en wes? meer, op de ondertenoemene datums
met de volgende schepen van daar in desen hoofplaats overgebracht, waarin?
van de factuuren, met en benevens 'tgeene ten faveure van dit
Comptoir ... vervolgens nog staat overgenoomen te werden bij 't
meer geciteerde Journael onder de pag.s 89. 113. 226. 240. 243. 276. 383
393. 429. 497. 529. 530. 533. 674. 683. en 687. ten voordeel vant generaal ingez-
zijn, te weten nu Eerst ...

wegens 'taangebragte navolgens Factuur, als
met het schip Midlo den 8.e Junij anno 1723. namentlijk

1.-. p.s heele schepel	f	7.12.8
166.-. # diversche medicinale kruiden	,	166.-.-.
250.-. lasten tarw'	,	35202.13.-
3.-. D.os rogge	,	367.10.-

16.- #. diVse thuijn zaaden , 286.9.1
f 36040.1.-

[Het meezenden van de schepel waarmee de tarwe gemeten is word in de missive vermeld]
met het schip Meijnden den 19:- der gem- maand ...

200.- # coro cidomorium f 200.-.-
2.-. , diverse thuijn Zaden , 8.-.-
, 208.-
f 36248....

Volgt een lijst van goederen geborgen uit aan de Kaap gestrande schepen.

116

Naar Souratte verzonden

9494 # Eliphants tanden f 12223.7.-

159

Onder Ceijlons Belasting

27. a: De Caab de Goede Hoop 't Comptoir gl: 1650.10.-. wegens tbedragen
der tarw, rogge & aldaer in het schip de koning Carel afgescheept
die daar mede na Ceijlon gesonden en op de Laatsten augustus a.o 1723.

tot Colombo aangekomen is, bestaande in

[tarwe, rogge, turkse boonen, thuijnzaaden, medicinale droguen, olij refamarine

172

Van Batavia verzonden naar de Caab

Midlo 4-10-1722

Jacoba 19-1-1723

180

Verliesen ter see

Chialoup Rembang overrompelt met thin en eliphantst tanden by pulo tioman

296

Souratte Ruwe winsten

Op Indische Coopmanschappen

12563.- # Eliphants tanden Siams f 20727.5.8 f 24645.-.- 18 29/64 f 3917.14.8

5309 d.o d.o Caabs 899.4.- 4741.4.- 427 15/64 3842.-.-

423

Caab de Goede Hoop

Uit patria ontvangen

430

432

Dit jaar verloren

14 ps lijfeijgenen desen jare overleden f 412.10.-

339 runder beesten 2034.-.-

11 paarden 220.-.-

1 Esel 24.3.-

433

De onkosten aan de Traankokers op Dassen eiland staan gespecificeerd vermeld

435

Caabs ontlasting

27- Pr D'Ondervolgende aan de Cabo de Goede Hoop tcomptoir
gl- 1139743.17.8. zoo veel bedragen de na te melden onderscheidene parthijen dewelke
navolgens voorS handelboeken nog ten Ontlastinge van dit Comptoir gebragt
moeten werden, en zulcx boven en behalven een somma van fl 307731.18.8.
waar voor het selve in deisen onder de belastinge van de Comptoiren
batavia en Ceijlon voorwaarts op pag- 56. en 195. specificce te sien
bereets voor af op reek-, gecrediteert is, bestaende in het tekort en
onbequaam aangebragte uijt het vaderland, de terug Schrijving vant
gerekende opgelt op het Ontfangene pajement, het Vsondene en aange=
=reekende na d'Indische hoofdplaats, de gesupporteerde vaste lasten
en ongelden sedert p.mo September a.o 1722: tot ult: Augustus 1723.
diverse gedane afschrijvingen en posten van nadeel ten Veffeninge oV
de voorjarige reek-, en Eijndelijk na de reele Effecten en ten
agterenstaande reekningen die met het sluijten van voormelde
boeken

436

27 .. Caab de goede hoop comptoir gl 2056.12. wegens
navermeldene goederen desen jare met de ondervolgende twee schepen
van daar te deser hoofdplaatse aangebragt en confom de daarneffens
bekoome factuuren bij 't meergeciteerde journaal onder den
pag -

437

Batavia int Casteel Anno 1723

Caabs ontlasting P.r Transport 2815.9.8

P.s Batavia t'hoofd Comptoirs Nieuwe Reek; gl 1137.2.- zijnde het
bedragen van ondervolgende Eliphantstanden etc: onder dato 7 augt anno 1723 met
de scheepen Schooterroog en thoff niet altijt Somer na dese hoofd plaats versonden ; tgene
met en benevens het verstrekte aan den aldaar gebannen pangorang Loering
Passier bij de Cabse negotie boeken ter beswaaringe van't generaal afges- is te weten
wegens het versondene voormelt bestaende in

407.- #. Elifants tanden	f 63.12.-
5.- p.s schoven in soorten	, 43.15.3
944.- ,, spaaken	, 73.15.3

f

181.3.-

En voor het bedragen der verstrekte Contanten ter onderhoudinge vanden
aldaar gebannen pangeran Loering passier...

p. 439

4 p.s metale mortieren

34 ,, metaal Canons daar onder 11 st ongeschat

95 ,, ijser canon

69 ,, ankers

553 ,, lijfeijgenen

908 ,, rund en koe...

135 ,, paerden
36 Esels
52826 # buskruijt

voor de ten achteren gestaan hebbende Saldos der ondervolgende reek- bij
... boeken afsonderlijk van de restanten onder .. ten
nadeelen van 't Generael vereffend wesende omme bij de nieuw te
formerene do=s weder ingevoerd te werden, en dierhalven zoo werd
het bedragen van dien alhier oop appart overgenomen nu voortgedragen
als

den Handel van rio deLagoa	f 75599.. 8
de nieuwe grut en gort ros moolen	f 3668.11.-
't nieuwe Equipage maguasijn en ambachtsquartiere	f 1022.10.-
de nieuwe Batterij	f 6060.7.8

En over het bedragen van 1517 # loot in Zeugen en schuijten welke
mineraal aan dese uijthoek uijt de lading vant schip Westen
dijxhorn geligt en dirhalven bij de bataviase negotie boeken ten
Lasten van't generaal afgeschreven mitsgaders hier vooren
onder ... 173 ter benadeeling van dit Comptoir overgenomen
is, met

f 121.18

p. 442
[post] 42
Verliesen ter zee f 22002.17.-
zie pag 180

10763 (Generaal Journaal 1723 - 1724) [op film 2173-3]

p. 5

Het Ontfangene Van Amsterdam

Met het schip de Berbice den 21.e maart a.o voorß:- als

7145.- mq- 6. penn: 16 gr:- bhaar silver	f 237322.5.-
2400.- ,, mark realen	71258.5.-
22500.- rd.s nederlands pajement	67500.-.-
61 stx Lakenen	16980.5.-
4 ,, goude en silvere Lakenen	
18 ,, laken rassen	
11 ,, croonrassen	
24 ,, perpetuaen	
22 ,, mhoiren diverse	
23 ,, grijnen	
6 ,, fluwelen	
90 ,, lamphen crips	
5 ,, goude – silvere en zijde gemaakte kleederen	
30 ,, goude – silvere ,, ,, stoffen	
1 ,, balance	
6 ,, spiegels	
200,, brillen	
924 # vermiljoen	
3100 # loot in kassen	

100 p.s kopere laatpriemen
 9 kassen met diverse medicamenten
 Aan rariteiten
 „ kramerijen
 [Vanaf hier de waarde in swaer gelt]
 6 p.s sware ankers
 24 hoeden smeeholen
 8 p.s werp ankers
 12 p.s dregen
 20 vaten pik
 20 „ theer
 123816 # touwerk insoorten
 204 rollen zeijldoek
 500 #zeijlgaren
 60 p.s handlantaarns
 53 „ slonsen
 50 „ nagthuijs Lampen
 150,, ronde hang d.os
 68 „ ronde kompassen van 5.7.7.9 4n 10 d.m
 2 .. kompas drillen met bijtels
 12 „ pijl kompassen
 150 „ halvuurs glazen
 100 „ ronde compas d.o
 40 „ vierkant d.os
 40 „ compas drucken [?] tot pijl en paralel rosen
 100 „ d.o d.o met schuivende rosen
 30 # koperdraat tot haekjes
 2 p.s affbreekboots van 34 en 36 v
 100 riemen van 24 voeten
 2 p.s extra sware bewerkte magneet steenen
 3 wetsteentjes
 90 legger schoeven
 2 diamantjes om glas te snijden
 100 vellen gelinieerd perkament
 10 vellen rood Leer
 10500 p.s bandeliers maten
 2500 „ corporaals D.o
 150 „ patroontassen met Lopen
 40 „ stamper schaven
 50 bossen tromvellen
 500 p.s seemleere porte Epees
 20 fijne Enkelde gladde snaphanen
 70 paar ruijter pistoolen
 30 p.s D.o karabijns
 500 „ piek spitsen

 6
 50 gemeene Snaphaan slooten
 25 fijne D.o D.o
 50 kopere monteering tot fijne snaphaanen
 6 moolen krucken weg:- 6112 #
 50 huijden flarig [?] leer

3 p.s fijn buijdeldoek
 120 vaten spek
 48 legg.s Zecq wijn
 30000 # vierkant ijser
 3000.- # genff staal
 200 bossen fijne duijtsche glas roeden
 8 p.s aambeelden
 48730 # spijkers Insoorten
 40 p.s dommekragten
 40 „ bankschroeven
 Voor eenige kassen en vaten
 3 p.r C:to “s Lands regt

Met het schip Hogenes den 21.n april a.o voornoemt
 [o.a.]

6 swaare ankers
 7718 # dubb:- spijkers

Met het schip ‘Sgraveland den 28.en van Evengem:- maande
 [alleen geld]

Met het schip Stadwijk den 7.en Junij deses Jaars
 [alleen geld en stoffen]

p.7
 Van Zeeland in Batavia 10 schepen

Voorbeelden overgebrachte hoeveelheden pek en teer (op vrijwel elk schip aanwezig)

teer	10	25	20	25	20	40	25	20	30	30	vaten
bedrag	140	425	460	425	380	560	575	460	510	510	gulden
pek	20	25	40	50	20	30	25	-	20	20	vaten
bedrag	380	600		1200	380	570	750	-	480	480	gulden

p. 51

27. a

De Caab de goede hoop 't Comptoir gl- 89299.11.8 dus veele monteeren
 de nabes- graanen &- met de temeldene bodems op d'onderstaande datums
 van daar succesieve alhier aangebragt en Conform de factuuren, met en
 benevens het bedragen van zodanige grauwe moppen, als in uijt het vaderland
 voor 't Caabs gouvernement affgescheept en alhier ontfangen zijn, bij het meer
 geciteerde batavias handelboek onder depag-. 101. 104. 246. 449. 481. 506. 589. en 740.
 ten voordeele van het generaal Ingenomen, tweten en Eerstelijk

Wegens 'Taangebragte navolgens factuur namentlijk

met het schip 'tCasteel van woerden den 11.e September a.o 1723 Eenelijk

639.-. inq:- Bhaar silver f 16618.13.-.

met het schip Schoteroog den 14. der gem- maand meer Eenelijk

646.-. inq- 10. pen-: 16. gu-. Bhaar silver , 18721.17.1

met het schip strijkebolle den 6. december a.o verS- ook maar Eenelijk

646.-. inq- 10. pen- : 16 gu-. Bhaarsilver , 18721.17.8

met het schip Goudriaen den Laasten feb:- 1724. almede Eenelijk

19800.-. stx- . graauwe moppen , 204.4.-.

met het schip Petronella alida den 16: april a.o als boven Enelijk			
2.-. stx- . vogell struijsen			75.-.-.
met het schip de herstelling den 29 mej daaraanvolgende nament!:-			
2445.-. # Eliphants tanden	f	1690.10.-.	
300.-. diverse droguen	,	300.-.-.	
200.-. lasten tarw'		, 29727.17.-.	
	f	31721.7.-.	f 54341.12
p. 52			
Batavias Belasing P. Transport			f
17690223.3.6			
Het ontfangene van de Caab de goede hoop P.	f	31722.7.-.	f 54341.12.-.
1.-. last rogge	,	129.10.-.	
408.-. ton-: traan	,	56.-.-.	
176.-. # diverse thuijnzaden	,	494.-.-.	
			, 32400.17.-.
met het schip Langeroode dan 10: Julij anno			
voorS : tweeten			
4360.-. # Eliphants tanden	f	2461.2.8.	
4.-. ,, thuijnZaaden	,	16.-.-.	
			, 2477.2.8
Het ontfangene Conform de Facture bedraagt			f 89219.11.8
En over het bedragen van 8000.-. stx.- grauwe moppen dewelke ter kamer Zeland int schip demiddelaar voor 't Caabse gouvernement afgescheept en p.r dien Bodem alhier aangebragt, mitsgaders bij den boekjes van het ambagts quartier ter verantwoordinge ingenomen zijn met			80.-.-.
De Caab de Goede hoop ten goeden			,
89299.11.8			
Vervolgens de Generale winsten [van het hoofd Comptoir]			
106			
Van Batavia naar Souratte 11 augustus			
17620 # Eliphants tanden	f	20608.-.8	
166			
Van Batavia verzonden naar de Caap			
textiel, specerijen, rijst, arak			
21-9-1723 met Herstelling			
11-1-1724 met Stabroek			
269			
Generale winsten Souratte			
Op Indische Coopmanschappen			
9182 # Eliphants tanden	f	12056.7.8	18721.13.- [geen perc] 6664.15.8
[Geen uitspltsing naa Caapse en Siamse Eliphants tanden]			
417 Caab de Goede Hoop			
Ontvangen uit Amsterdam			

met de scheepen 'sgraveland, de fortuijn en hogenes den

2: januarij a.o 1724 als

3000 # buskruijt	1080.-
24.-. hoeden smeekeolen	360.-

p. 418

20000.-. p.s roode pannen	300.-
diverse timmerhouten	2265.15

van Zeeland met drie bodems, namentlijk

met het schip Wolphertsdijk, den 6en September 1723 als

23000 p.s roode pannen	f 488.12.-
50000 ,, klinker steennen	f 386.5.-
10000 ,, grauwe moppen	f 128.15

1003.12

met het schip den adelaar den 17en october daarvolgende
te weten

38 ps karveel plancken	f 293.11.-
26000 ,, grauwe moppen	f 534.15.-

628.6.-

met het schip 'traad huijs van Vlissingen den

7.n november des gem- jaars namentlijk

diverse timmerwerken	f 478.8.-
,, wapenkamers goederen	f 366.1.8
,, ammonitie	f 103.15.-
,, Cramerijen	f 50.7.8
,, arbeids gereets-	f 758.109.8
10000 p.s kopere spijkers	f 487.16.-
200 ,, greene balken	f 339.18.-
16000 ,, rode pannen	f 339.18.-
14000 ,, grauwe moppen	f 80.5.-
diverse wagen houten	f 8.4
,, Equipage goederen	f 79.-.8

4425.3

van Zeelant

6057.1.-

431

Batavia int Casteel anno 1624

5. P.r Batavia 't hooft Comptoirs Nieuwe Reck- : gl : 10091.9.- dus veele
beloopen de granen eliphants tanden en wes meer, desen jare met d'ondervolgenden
Scheepen na dese hooft plaets versonden en afgevaardigt, geconsigneert wesende aan
Zijn Ed.le den hoogagt- heere Henric Zwaardecroon, gouverneur generaal en d'Ed
heeren raden van nederlands India, welkens factuiringen met en benevens het
per memorie aangeteekende, onder dato ult.o Aug a.o stantij wegens het
verstreckte aan den aldaar gebannene pangerang Zoering passier bij de
caebse handel boeken ter beswaringe van het generaal gebracht, afges: - ...
vereffend zijn; namentlijk in eersten
Wegens het versonden voormelt, daar van
met het Schip de Stad Leijden den 24n Januarij [1724] Eeneljk

[NB deze vertrekdatum moet volgens DAS 1-7 zijn]

3 halve amen olijven olij	f 130.17.2
met descheepen Commerlust, Bentveld en barbesteijn den 29.n Junij als	
407 mudde tarwe	f 3295.-
551 # Eliphants tanden	f 421.2.8
100 ,, coroci doniozem	f 100.-.-
met descheepen Heijkenzand en Noordbeek ult-o Julij Eenelijck	
222 mudde tarwe	f 1788.4.-
met descheepen valkenisse en hillegonda den 10 aug.t mede Eenel-	
296 mudde tarwe	f 2387.10.-
Aan Carguazoenen	f 8122.14.-

En wegens het bedragen der verstreckte Contanten, ter onderhouding van den aldaar gebannene javaans pangerang ...

45 // Ceijlon 't Comptoir
 29 Junij met de Theodora ende Jacoba van de Kaap naar ceylon ...
 18 ½ mudde rogge
 92 d.o tarwe
 7 d.o boonen
 118 ¾ # gesorteerde thuijsaden
 175.- ,, medicinale drogues
 - ½ ,, olij rosemarini

432
 Van Batavia aan de Caap aangebraght
 met herstelling o.a. ijzer

433
 Van ceylon aan de Kaap met
 Wapen van Kockengen, Midlo, Ravestein en Nieuwvliet
 Cocosoly

Aan de Caab waren bij sluiting van de rekening 165 # Eliphantstanden in de packhuijsen ter waarde van f 83.5.-

434
 [In voorraad]
 54061 # buscruyt
 4 stx metale mortieren
 34 metale canon
 98 ijsere
 560 lijfeijgenen
 132 paarden
 36 Esels
 872 runderbeesten
 76 ankers

[Voortschrijdende kosten]
 Nieuwe Batterij f 6208.12.8

den handel van Rio delaGoa	f 86042.16.-
de nieuwe grut en gort rosmolen	f 3713.11
de nieuwe equipage maguasijn en ambagtskwartieren	f 3266.1.8
Inlandsen handel	f 18.11.8

In dit deel zijn geen verliezen ter zee gevonden

10764 (Generaal Journaal 1725 - 1726) [Op film 2173-4 tot p. 133, daarna op film 2174-1]

13

Batavia Int casteel Anno 1726

van Zeeland met 8. bodems navolgens derselven
aangebragte factuuren, sodanig die bij de voorengemelte
bataviase negotie Journaal onder de pagina's 127, 150, 345
349, 370, 452, 454 en 481, ingeschreven staan nemelijk
met het schip Rijksdorff, den 16.n november a.o 1725 te deser
[Rijksdorp en Nieuwvliet waren de beide laatste schepen die voor de Aagtekerke van Zeeland
uitvoeren]

rheede gearriveert; te weten

4200. mg- mark realen	Sw.r gelt	98962.10
4000. P goude dukaten		21100.-
3455. mg-: 6. pen: 16. gr- bhaar silver		81978.12.-
12. p Lakenen		3174.28
5. ,, grijnen		480.4.8
5. ,, polemitenen		471.4.8
6. ,, fluweelen hollants		1253.1.3
20. ellen jugts muschowis		237.1.8
10 kassen amptglas		
5 korven schijvglas		
7 p.s spiegels		
24752 # loot in seugen en schuijten		1567.17
514 .. loot in kassen		64.5
3 p ankers en p.s dreggen		
25 vaten theer		
30 d.o harpuijs		
180 rollen hollands zeijldoeck		
13 p.s swaare touwen		6649
200 grote tonnetjes swartzel		
25 p.s slonsjes		
1000 ,, lantaarnhoorns		
150 ,, heele en halve leggers schooven		
25 riemen Cardos papier		
20 p.s blicke handlantaarns		
45 vaten vriese booter		
50 d.o spek		
13 leggers zcq wijnen		
213 vaten delvs bier insoort		
9 aamen lijnolij		
2 p.s loode pompen en 20 d.o pijpen		
700 # varkkens borstels		
60000 ,, gemeen lang ligt platijser		6600

100 p.s houte holle schoppen voor een kas ,, 3 p.r C slands regt komt aan Swaargelt		253516.4.8
	of in ligt gelt	315645.5.8

Met het schip Nieuvliet den 23 van gem- maand; als bhaer silver	40989	
3600 mark realen		84825
4000 goude ducaten		21100
488 rd.s nederlants pajement		11729
1000 # vermiljoen		
300 ps hoeden		
10 kalfs amp....		
25 P Laken rassen		
14 ,, Croon rassen		
29 ,, verpelianen?		
10 ,, ...		
1255 # Loot in cassen		
1 sware touwen		
180 rollen holl= Zeyldock		
15 d.o wit Carel doeck		
.. leggers Schooven		
... mombier		
....		
[nog 3 op de scan onleesbare posten]		

14

20 p.s blicke handlantaarns
5 riemen groot mediaan papier
10 d.o
300 bladen bort papier
32000 p.s ganse schagten
50 vellen hoorn pargamenten
4000 # lootwit
1200 ,, koperrood
500 ,, Spaans groen
700 ,, menie
500 ,, geelen ocker
500 ,, bruynen d.o
41 vaten ...
13 leggers Zelwijn
225 vaten Delfs bier in soorten
8 aamen lijnsaat olij
52000 # ligt lang plat ijser
10 p.s bar...
8 oog ijsers
2 aambeelden
2 lood winden
voor 1 kas
// 3 pr C slands regt

met het schip den Adelaar den 23 April 1726 namentlijk
[De Adelaar, Borsel en 's Heer Arendkerke waren de eerste schepen die voor de kamer Zeeland na de
Aagtekerke uitvoeren]

8677 mg- 9 pen: 8 gr bhaar silver	Sw. geltf 225188	
4200 mark realen		98647
10000 dukatons		32062
62 Lakenen		18362
58 grijnen		
41 polemiten		
20 ras damanico		
2 goude en silver stoffen		
6 fluweelen hollands		
100 ellen jughten muschovis		
24 korven schijvglas		
7000 # plat loot		
1514 ,, koper in platen en bodems		
3038 ,, loot in kassen		
4000 halve leggers banden		
169 diverse touwen		
30 vaten pek		
50 d.o theer		
15 stx poortlaken		
1075 # zeijlgaren		
312 rollen holl. doeck		
36 d.o grau w hennip doek		
36 d.o wit karl doek		
520 P Schooven? in soorten		
20 ,, dubb draaij peesen		
30 vaten harpuijs		
20 riemen Cardoes papier		
964 # vierdraats lont		
20 bossen Lunks?		
165 riemen groot mediaan papier		
100 d.o .. formaat ..		
40 vaten vleesch		
20 leggers Zecqwijn		
20 leggers fransche d.o		
64 heele aamen olijven olij		
2 d.o d.o Jopenbier		
70000 p.s klinkertsteenen		
12 vaten Zant		
2543 # krijt		
34500 # ligt lang platijser		
6415 ,, spijckers in soorten		
voor 3 perCento slands regt		

aan Sw.r geld 449540.12
ofte in ligt 561925.15

15

Met het Schip 'S Heeren arendskerk den 26n van gemelte maand te weten

3944 mg- 5 par- 8 gr bhaar silver	Sw.r gelt	102308
3600 mark realen		70462
5800 p. dukatons		18596
300 goude dukaten		15900
52 Lakenen		16198
12 korven schijfglas		
1746 # loot in kassen		
65 vaten theer		
20 d.o pik		
15562 # Harpuijs		
72 rollen Zeijldoek holl.		
36 d.o wit karl doek		
36 d.o grauw hennip d.o		
5 P poortlaken		
164 diverse touwerken		
270 Schoven in soorten		
240 rollen wit hol. Zeijldoek		
4 p metaal ... lopend kanon		
20 riemen Cardoes papier		
964 # lont		
75 riemen groot mediaan papier		
100 d.o .. formaat		
70000 p.s klinkertsteenen		
2957 # krijt		
7652 „ scharp Znt		
20 vaten vleesch		
24 leggers Z..eese Zecq		
26 aamen olijven olij		
40000 # ligt lang dun plat ijser		
3151 „ spijckers		
voor 3. p.r C.to slandt regt		
	Comt aan swaar gelt	270140.10.8
	ofte in Ligt gelt	337675.1

met het Schip Borsselen den 22 mej deselvigen jaars; als

11147 mg- bhaar silver	f 289264	
1200 „ mark realen		28285
6000 p.s goude dukaten		31800
24 „ Lakenen	6733	
62 „ laken rassen		
36 „ kroon rassn		
50 „ plapetuanen		
12 „ serges		
6 „ fluweelen		
125 vellen Jught muschovis		
24 korven schijvglas		
6850 # plat loot		
5685 „ koper in platen en bodems		
3069 „ loot in kassen		
400 p.s halve aams banden		
32583 # diverse touwerken		14906.19

30 vaten harpuijs
 60 d.o theer
 30 d.o pik
 1556 # groene Zeep
 2476 ,, roet
 420 rollen holl. Zeijlboek
 36 d.o karl boek
 36 d.o grau hennip boek
 350 p.s schooven in soorten
 10 regt lopende metale asjes 1795.4
 2500 ysere bas kogels
 1200 ledige hand granaten
 500
 500 ...
 200.....
 100 riemen ... mediaan papier
 ... d.o ... formaat d.o

16

10000 P ondersteenen
 10000 ,, klinkersteenen
 75 ,, houte mouden
 12 ,, huijden muschovis jugtleer
 40 vaten vleesch 4800.-
 13 leggers Zecq
 20 aamen olijven olij
 42000 # plat ijser
 voor 1 kas
 // 3. p.s C.to slants regt
 Comt aan Swaar Gelt 434401.11.8
 ofte in Ligt gelt 543001.19.8

p. 50

27. A de Caab de goede hoop tComptoir gl:- 2056.12.-. wegens de
 natemeldene goederen, desen jaar met d'ondervolgende twee schepen
 van daar te desen hoeft plaatse aangebragt, en conform de daar neffens
 bekomene factuuren bij t meergeciteerde journaal onder de
 pag-

51

pagina's 377. en 452. ten voordeele vant Genereal ingeboekt namentlijk
 Met het schip Wendela den 27n may te weten

2856.- # eliphants tanden	f 600. 3.-.
400.- # diverse medicinale droguen	400.-.-.
2.-. halve leggers traan	56.6.8
249 ½ # diverse thuijn zaden	900.2.8
	1956.12.-.

Met het schip Berkenroode den 30en Julij eenelijck

100.-. #. corocidoniorum	100.-.-.
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De Caab de goede hoop valideerende f 2056.12

p. 99

Bij de van Batavia naar Souratte gezonden goederen geen Eliphantstanden gevonden

10764 (Generaal Journaal 1725 -1726), vanaf p. 132 [op film 2174-1]

p. 146

Hier opnieuw de lading van de Wendela
Van Batavia naar de Kaap 22-10-1725
specerijen, textiel, rijst

166

Op Ceylon van de Caep ontvangen
Midlo 29-1
Haarlem 9-8

p. 197

Ladingen van Ceylon naar de Caab
Slecht leesbaar, eventueel te oncijferen

p. 251

Souratte winsten

6922 # Eliphants tanden Caabse	4130.2.-	8050.10.-	94 15/16	3920.18.-
10024 # d.o d.o Siamse	16000.17.-	19481.14.-	24-	3380.17.-

Vanaf p. 341 Boekhouding Kaap

341

De Caab de Goede Hoop 't Comptoir aan de Naartemeldene
gl- 436780.16.8 dus veele beloopden d'ondervolgende differente partijen dewelke navolgens
de handel boeken deses gouvernements onder het bestier vanden opperkoopman
en gesaghebber Jan dela Fontaine begonnen met den eersten september 1725
en afgesloten den laasten augustus a^o 1726 nog ten belasinge van dit comptoir
gebragt moeten werden : en hier boven in behalve een bedrage van g 13562.-.-
waer voor het selve onder de ontlasting van de comptoiren Batavia en
Ceylon voorwaerts in desen op de pag .146. en 197. specificce te sien bereijts vooraff
op reek: gedebiteert is; bestaende in verscheijde ontfangen carguasoenen uyt
het vaderlant, dewelcke met en benevens diverse andere partijen en gelden

p. 342

der generale Compie ... staen overgenomen te werden

Volgen de ontvangsten aan de Kaap

vanuit Amsterdam met 15 met name (en aankomst datum) genoemde schepen gespecificceerd per
aankomstdatum (soms van meerdere schepen tegelijk) per artikel

Met de scheepen Heesburg, velserbeek, de susanna
westerdijxhorn, Linschooten, beekvliet, steenhoven
en klarabeek den 18en feb- 1726 te weeten
8 kassen met diverse wolle scheepskleederen
11.000 # buskruijt
156000 ps. metsel steenen
60 vaten boote
12374 # tabak

20 hoeden smeeholen

16 p.s slijpsteen

400 boeken kardoes papieren

10433 # koralen

50000 # ijser in soorten

diverse timmerhouten, wagens, equipage goederen, ammonitiegoederen, wapenkamers goederen
medicamenten, schrijftuijg en boeken , koperwerk

343

[Ontfangen] van Zeeland [aan de Caeb] : met twee kielen: teweten
met Aagtekerk den 3.n Januarij deser Jaars ; als

10000. - . p.s geele klinkersteen		f
77.5.-		
42500. - . # ijser [# staat voor lb. (Amsterdamse ponden) van iets minder dan 500 gram]		„
5496.-.-		
4. - . p.s moolen steenen		„
144. 3.8		
3632. - . # koper ins.r [in soorten]		„
3636. 3.8		
50. - . p.s ijsere potten		„
106.16.-		
100. - . bladen enkele bliken	„	19.13.-
100. - . grossen kopere roks knopen		„
1242. -.-		
875. - . stx. glase ruijten		„
1245.12.8		
18. - . „ muschovis Jugten	„	272.14.-
250. - . # ruw garen	„	346.17.8
150. - . @ [ellen] nederlants Linnen	„	303. 9. -
1500. - . # buskruijt		„
632. 9.8		
diverse boeken en schijftuijg		„
531. 9.8		
„ equipage goederen	„	387. 5.8
„ wagen houten		„
2092. 4.-		
„ arbeids gereetsch		„
1287. 4.8		
„ Cramerijen		„
53.18.-		
„ ammonitie goederen		„
56. 7.-		
„ wapenkamers d.o		„
33. 5.-		
		f
17964.17.-		
Met het schip Heijnekensant den 28.n april a.o 1726. namentl-		
200 P Juffers van 30 a 36 voet	643.15	
203 „ greene balken ins.r	627.5	

1271

[De andere schepen van Zeeland hebben kennelijk geen goederen aan de Kaap gelost]
van Delft eenlijk:

met het schip de herstelling den 13en April 1726
En van Hoorn met twee bodems te weeten

p. 344

Van Rotterdam nog met het schip Groenswaart buyten factura
Aldus tesamen in de tijt van een geheel jaar uit 't Patria ontfangen

[het lijkt alsof er niets van de Kaap naar Batavia is gezonden, behalve dan misschien met de Aagtekerke]

Volgen gelden op wissel

p. 345

De getelde gelden op wissel

p. 346

Aan Wissels [totaal]

Uit nalatenschappen

p. 347

Nalatenschappen

In cassa getelde gelden

Komt aan getelde gelden om in patria weder te ..

Nog een onduidelijke categorie in casse getelde gelden

Komt ten voordele der generale Compagnie

Volgen de generale Winsten

p. 348

Ruwe winsten op Vaderlandse Coopmanschappen

op Indische Coopmanschappen

op Vaderlantsche provisien

op Indische provisien

op diversche kleenigheden

p. 349

Totaal aan ruwe winsten

Daarvan moeten de volgende onkosten worden gesubstraheert

Nb onder deze onkosten vallen ook de overleden

Lijfeijgenen

Runderbeesten

Paarden

Esel

Bocken

Rest aan zuivere winsten

p. 350

Generale inkomsten

Aan pagten

daarvan aftrekken afschrijvingen

zoals op de dag van de verpagting gconsumeert

Aan de traanbranders op t Dassen Eylant verstrekt

bv spijkers, buskruit, booter

p. 351

Komt zuivere Caabse inkomsten

Generale scheepsvrachten

Voorjarige en toevallige voor en nadelige partijen

p. 352

Over het bedragen van 't stoffgoud, amber, aloewe en kopere ringe met d' onderstaande scheepen na het vaderland versonden en affgevaardigt

....

met het schip Berkenroode den 25e februarij a.o 1726 namentlijk

1.- once stoff gout f 5.1.1

2 7/8 # amber 10.1.-

met de schepen de Kockengen en Haarlem den 8^e Junij

desselvigen jaars te weeten

35 ¾ # aloewe africanum f 11.15.-

130 vatjes inhoudende diverse kopere ringen 34619.17.-

Bevonden tekorten op uit Amsterdam verzonden goederen

p. 353

Het tekort aangebrachte uyt het vaderland aan de Caeb van Zeeland met het schip Aagtekerke, namentlijk

700 # ijsere in soort

2 stx ijsere potten

270 „

1338 „ meusel steenen

Nog een ontbrekende brandspuitslang in Castricum

5. Pr Batavia 't Hooft Comptoir nieuwe Reeck- fl 2537.14.- zoo veele monteert de nabesz: eliphantstanden, den 20 januarij deses jaers met het schip Aagetekerke na dese hooft plaats versonden en afgevaardigt welkens facture met en benevens het p.r memorie aangekende onder dato ult^o aug^t ao stantij, wegens Vstrecktye aan den aladaer gebannene javaanse pangerang Lolaring passier bij de caabse handelboeken ten beswaringe van het generaal gebragt afget- en vereffent zijn ; te weeten nu Eerstelijck

Wegens het versondene voormelt bestaende Eenlijck in

214.-. p.s Eliphants tanden wegende 2930 # f 568.19.-

Wegens het verstrekte aan de pangerang....

Generale Onkosten

Kostgelden en rantsoenen

Generale confiscatien

p. 354

Vaste Lasten en Ongelden

Generale Fortificatien

Generale Lantsoldijen

Generale Scheeps soldijen

Generale Scheeps Onkosten
Onkosten van scheepen
Onkosten van chaloupen en mindere vaartuijgen

Voorjarige en toevallige voor en nadelige Partijen

p. 355

Caab de Goede Hoop 't Comptoirs Nieuwe Rekening

356

Aan Indische coopmanschappen is aan de Kaap op een total bedrag van f 65609 voor f 128 aan 265 #

Eliphants tanden

er zijn aan de Kaap

664 lijfeijgenen

147 paarden

34 Esels en eselinnen

907 runderbeesten

De kosten van de handel op Rio dela Goa zijn opgelopen tot 131436

Dit boek eindigt met p. 369

10765 (Generaal Journaal 1726- 1727) [Op film 2174-2]

p. 11

Met het schip Barbesteijn, den 8en Julij 1727; [aangevoerd uit Zeeland]

1353 realen goud bij gewigt swaar gelt f 51582.7.-

7888 ma-ff: 10 penn: 16 gr bhaar Zilver 205505.10

2200 ma-: mark realen 52250.-

95 P lakenen

37 „ grijnen

60 „ polemitanen

10 „ ras demas...

4 „ Zattijnen holl-

2 „ plagels

100 „ hoeden

20 „ Jugten muschovisch

4029 # Loot in kassen

p. 12

2000 stx heele aamen banden

15 vaten harpuijs

50 „ traan

50 „ pik

300 rollen swaar holl= doek

63358 # diversche touwerck

4 Ps poortlaken

1 „ afbraak boot

1 „ d.o schuijt

415 stx schooven in Zoort

73 riemen vierdraats Lont

10 „ Cardoes papier

626 P.s leedige hand granaten		
1000 „ baskoogels		
2 riemen Imperiaal papier		
100 „ klein formaat		
68200 P. geele klinckersteen		
100 vaten vleesch		
40 „ speck		
9 heele leggers franse wijn		
7 „ D.os hareese? Zecque		
3 heele aamen wijn tint		
2 „ D.os Jopenbier		
12764 # spijkers in Zoort		
voor eenige kassen		
„ 3 P.r c=to slants regt		
	komt aan swaar gelt	401960.18
	ofte in Ligt gelt	502451.2.8

Met het schip Hogenes, den 15:en D=o te weten		
16200 P:s ducaton	swaar gelt	f 182298.15
12000 „ gouden ducaton		63900
43 „ Laken rassen		
43 „ kroon rassen		
48 „ Perpetuanen		
100 „ hoeden		
40 „ Jugten muskovisch		
1834 # loot in kassen		
37722 „ diversche touwercken		
12 P.s ankers		
92 rollen grauw hennip doek		
222 „ holl:s Zeijldoek		
100 P.s theer quasten		
5 „ nagthuijs Compassen		
48 „ halv mu. glasen		
10 boekjes goelij		
12 # koperen rabat spijkertgens		
2 P.s doosjes		-16
625 # Zeijlgaaren		
9 stucken poortlaken		
20 vaten harpuijs		
4250 # Inlants roet		
180 P.s schooven in Zoort		
10 riemen blauw klad papie		
240 bladen bont papier		
2000 # loodwit in brooden		
900 „ geele ooker		
800 „ koperrood		

p. 13

200 # manganum?	
500 „ menij	
200 „ ombre	

100 ,, bruijnen oker
 200 ,, spans groen in brooden
 11000 P.s roode meussels
 2500 ,, vriesen klinckert
 500 # varckens borstls
 500 ,, Engels lijm
 5000 ,, krijt
 56 heele aamen olijven olij
 26 P.s aamen Lijn olij
 8025 # spijckers in Zoort
 voor een kas
 ,, 3. p:r C=to 's lands regt
 Aan swaar gelt

f 283448.4

met gemelte bodem voor' tgouvernement Ceijlon

300 rollen holl- Zeijldoek
 75 vaten theer
 25 ,, pick
 250 tonnekens swartsel
 1000 # Zeijlgaren
 75 @ poortlaken
 125 p.s theer quasten met stockiens
 125 ,, D=os Zonder
 1500 # Inlands roet
 900 ,, diversh fijne pl...
 150 ,, spaans groen
 100 ,, koperrood
 10 P.s Schrijf steentjes
 1438 # koehaar
 2000 ,, geraffineerde Swavel
 570 ,, krijt
 voor enige vaten en kassen
 ,, 3 p:r c.to 's Lants regt
 Comt aan swaar gelt
 oft in Ligt gelt

f 296326.14
370408.7.8

met het schip Everswaart onder dat voorn.y als

5522 mg-ff 2 penn- 16 gr- bhaar Zilver; swaar gelt

f 143353. 17

1800 ma- marq realen

42758

7500 Rd.s nederlants payment

18000

13654 @ plat Loot
 36 P.s mast houten in oort
 30 Zakken? smeekool...
 34 P.s Spiralen?
 14 ,, dreggen
 25 vaten harpuijs
 30 ,, theer
 50 P.s heele Leggers schooven
 30 riemen vierdraats Lont
 21 bossen kurcken
 13000 stucx vriese klinckertsteenen
 12500 ,, vlaamsen D=os

25	„ slijpsteen in Zoort	
50	heele aamen olijven olij	
545	staven gemeen plat ijsen	
7564	# drijling Spijcker	
	voor 3 P=r C=to S Lants regt	
	Comt aan swaar gelt	f 225283.2.2
	ofte in Ligt gelt	231633.18

[Barbestein, Everswaart en Hogenes waren de laate drie Zeeuwse schepen die voor de Zeewijk vertrokken; Noordbeek (Samaritaan) en Zoetlingskerke de eerste drie er na]

p. 14

	met het schip Noordbeek, den 9=en augustus daaraan te weten	
12500	rd;s nederlants pajment swaar gelt	f 30000.-
12500	ma- mark realen	48425
4733	„ ff: 4 penn- bhaar Zilver	123540
5250	# koper in platen en bodems	
20	Zakder? Smeekoolen	
16	P.s cabels	
240	rollen holl.- Zeijlboek	
6	kleene scheeps Ligters	
100	heele Leggers schooven	
400	P.s verw quasten	
200	„ pencelen in Zoort	
2600	grauwe moppen	
28	# schoenmakers gaaren	
70	vaten vleesch	
30	„ speck	
60	„ booter	
200	„ delfs halve maans bier	
15	„ mom	
100	P.s vijlen in Zoort	
20	„ smits voorhamers	
50	„ ijsere mookers	
1750	„ vijlen in Zoort	
100	„ moolen Zaagers	
130	„ hand D=os met ...	
	voor een kas en Een vat	
	„ 3 P=r C=o 'S Lants regt	
	Comt aan swaar gelt	f 246794.2
	oft in Ligt gelt	308492.2.8

	met het schip Soetelingskerke onder dato als voornmt; als	
22500	rd:s nederlants pajment , swaar gelt	f 54000.-
4200	mg- mark realen	101692.10
3944	„ ff 5 penn- 8 gr: bhaar Zilver	102949.19
200	P: glazen drijvertjes Etc	
200	„ glaswercken in Zoort	
10	„ spiegels	
20	„ Jugten muschovis	
100	„ broodmessen met ijvoore hegten	
22	kelders brandewijn	
4609	# plat Loot	

6650 „ koper in platen en bodem
50 schoenmakers messen
4 koperen neurenburger trompetten
24 Zakder smeekool
1000 halve Leggers banden
13 P.s dreggen
4 „ cabel touwen
278 rollen holl:- dock in Zoort
50 botteliers pompen
96 P.s blicken hand Lanthaarns
24 „ D=o slonsjes
500 bladen blick Enckeld
150 P.s schooven in Zoort
1 „ afbreeckboot
1 „ D.o schuijt
364 schuijftangen in Zoort
2 metalen bassen
200 # ijsere straatarm En micken
100 P=s Lontstocken

p. 15

250 P.s patroon tassen
500 „ steekingen tot snaphanen
100 # ijser draat
74 P.s trom vellen
36 „ Enckelde bossen tromlijnen
12 „ trombanden met franjens
18 bossen trom snaaren
1250 P.s oorijzers tot dragers en houters
500 „ naelden
110 „ vijlen in Zoort
12 bossen Spaan tot scheeden
24 P.s haije vellen
1000 „ ijsanc? pieckdoppens
12 „ Tromvaten met hoepen
500 # amaril
8000 P.s vuursteen
21880 „ dubbelde roodbandse schagten
100 vellen pergament
4 P.s hand pressen
40 „ boeckbinders messen
3 „ schaaren
20 „ ijvooren vouwbeentjes
12 „ koperen Linialen Pennen
500 „ naaldens
12 # boeckbinders garen
12 „ fernamboekhout
30 P.s Elssen
10 „ brassen
40 # Zeegels gaaren
295 stux diverse gedruckte boeken

10 huijden muschovis Jugtleer
85 vaten vleesch
30 „ speck
400 „ bieren in Zoort
3 Leggers bordeauxe azijn
48500 # ijser
4500 „ slootplaten in Zoort
18004 „ spijckers
325 P.s schaven met bijtels in Zoort
voor Eenige vaten En kassen
„ 3 P=r C=to 'S Lnts regt
Comt in swaer gelt f 321572.15.2
oft in licht gelt 401965.19.9
Van Zeelandt 2263303.11

[De Samaritaan kwan iets later aan dan de andere beide en valt kennelijk onder de administratie van de volgende periode, maar is tot nu toe nog niet gevonden]

p. 48

De Caaab De Goede Hoop 't Comptoir gl: 7360.9.8 dat beloop
de natemelden Eliphants tanden Etc dewelck succesiven van daar met d'onder
volgende Scheepen op de nabeschreven datums alhier aangebragt , en bij 't
batavische Journaal, benevens het alhier in Cass getelde door den wel edelen
heer Wijbrand Blom, onder de Paginas 196, 258, 462, 487, 491, 494, 540, 542 & 544
aan het generaal Verantwoord zijn namentlijck

Wegens Het Sangebragte Navolgens Factuur Te weeten
met het schip Noordwaddingsveen den 20=en december a=o 1726; als
6027.-. # Eliphants tanden f 1444.19.2
86 & marken gewassen stoff goud en zilver fliqh? 172.18
1617.9.8

p. 49

?? Batavias Belasting P.r Transport f
Ontfangen Van De Caab De Goede Hoop Pr Idem
1617.9.2
met het schip meerhuijsen den 22:en Junij a.o 1727. namentlijck
267 r?/r? marken gewassen groff goud en Zilver Sligh f 1194.6.-.
3440.-. # Eliphants tanden 673.10.-.
650.-. „ diVse medicinale droguen 652.14.-.
816.-. „ traan 114.9.2
230.½ . „ thuijn Zaden 1014.7.-.

3649.9.2

met het schip Barbesteijn den 8=n Julij daar aan; Eenlijck
100.-. # Caro Cidonior....
100.-.-.

met het schip Hogenes den 15=en D=o mede Eenelijck
500.-. # Zeijlgaaren
266.5.-.

met het schip Castricum den 15=en der selven maand; ook Eenelijck
25.-. riemen groot mediaan papier
408.8.-.

met het schip Noordbeekden 9^{en} aug:s des ged Jaars Insgelijk Eenelijk
 924.-. # spijckers „
 127.17.2

met het schip soetelingskerk data voorsch- te weten
 24.-. P.s green deelen 55.12.8
 250.-. # krijt 13.8

69.-.2 „
 met het schip Meijnden den 11:en de selven maand; Eenlijk
 23250.-. P.s geele klinckersteenen „
 152.12.-.

Het Ontfangene Conform De Factuiren Bedraagt f
 6391.2.-.

En wegens het in 'sComp Cassa getelde door den weledelen Heer
 Wijbrant Blom, raad ordinaris van nederlants Indien voor
 drie opontbodenen slaven, welcke Ertijds door Zijn Ed=len naar
 derwaarts gzonden zijn, omme aldaar volgens resolutie van
 haar hoog Edelens den dato 13^{en} Januarij 1727 aan de Eijgenaars der
 selven weder uijtgekeert te werden met R 323 1/8 of „
 969.7.8

ten Goede van De Caab de Goede Hoop
 7360.9.8
 Vanaf 330 Caabse boekhouding

332
 Anno 1727 Het Ontvangene van Zeelant aan de Caab de Goede Hoop
 met 7 bodems te weeten
 met de scheepen barbestijn En Zeewijk , den 26:en maart 1727. ; als

40.-. hoeden Smeekolen	f	566.10.-.	
4.-. P.s Ezels En Ezelinnen		453.3.-.	
3000.-. # buskruijt	„	1293.19.-.	
27000.-. P.s grauwe moppen	„	365.-.-.	
24.-. Slijpsteenen	„	59.4.8	
250.-. # loot wit	„	45.5.-	
diVse timmerhout	„	2257.12.8	
„ arbeijs gereetsch-	„	492.9.-	
„ Equipage goederen	„	9974.7.8	
			f15507.10.8

met de schepen Hogenes en Everswaart den 18^e april 1727. als
 ... o.a nogmaals 4 Ezels en Ezelinnen
 met de schepen noordbeek soetelingskerck en
 den samaritaan den 18en maj 1727.als
o.a. nogmaals 4 Ezels

p.338

16 P.s slaven kinderen desen Jaare geboren f--
 29 „ paarden „ „ aangeteeld 580

145 „ runderbeesten	„	„	„	852
1 Ezel	„	„	„	27.5

p. 343

Het Versondene Na en het te kort Aangebracht uijt het Vaderlant Aan De Caab en van Zeelandt namentlijk

met de schepen barbesteijn en Zeewijk als

4.-. P.s greene balken in soorten

1.-. rolle goutenshaineskleet

4098.-. P.s grauwen mopsteen

Ook de andere schepen uit Zeeland hadden tekorten op het aangebrachte.

Voor alle 7 schepen geamenlijk bedroeg dit tekort f 979.16

Batavia t hoofd comptoir nieuwe reekening gl 625.6.8 dus

vele beloopende de ondervolgende goederen deses jaars met de naartenoemene scheepen na dese hoofdplaats versonden

....

met het schip Oostrust den 16^e Julij anno 1727 als

diverse boekbinders gereetschappen en schagten en pennemessen

met het schip Boekenroode (sic) den laasten aug 1727 teweeten

10.-. ps greene deelen van 1 ½ dm

1.-. vat met medicamenten

En wegens het bedragen der verstrekte contanten ter onderhouding

vanden aldaar gebannen javaanse pangerang ...

Batavia ter Belastinge

Generale verliesen ter Zee door het verongelucken En veroveren van

scheepen gl 166,2,- , zijnde het bedragen van de ondervolgende goederen als op den laatsten

april deses jaars met het schip Zeewijk van cabo de goede hoop na batavia Vsonden zijn doch

dewijle dien bodem op zijn hierwaarts reijse Vongeluckt is met dezelve goederen zoo wert

mistdesen het voorgen bedragen ten belastinge deser reeck-: afgesch- bestaende in

100---# carocidonionum	f 100.--
en 2--- vaaten theer	f 66.2.-

p. 345

van 'tgene op 3440 # eliphantstanden bij versending batavia te min angerekent f 200

Wegens de restanten voormelt die als gesegt op het slot van gemelte negotieboeken [ult aug 1727] aldaar in weesen verbleven zijn

...

Indische Coopmansch-

900 # Eliphantstanden f 369.-.-

....

695 P.s lijfeijgenen 17380.14.8

169 „ paarden 3380.-

45 „ Ezels en Ezelinnen 2387.5.-

1325 „ runderbeesten

2 „ schapen en boeken

Over de ten agteren gestaan hebbende Zaldos
de handel van Rio dela Goa 177849.16

Ontbreekt Generaal Journaal 1727 - 1728

10766 (Generaal Journaal 1728 - 1729) [op film 2174-3]

p. 19

Uit Zeeland aangebracht begint met Slot ter Hoge 1? 7ber- anno 1728

p. 93

27. a De Caeb de Goede Hoop 't Comptoir gl 50177.11.8 dus
veel monteren de onders- graanen Etc met de natemelden en bodems
op d'onderstaande datums van daar succesieve aangebragt en
conform d'ontfangen factuuren bij gemelte bataviaase
handelsboeken onder den pag- 149. 154. 294. 317. 318. 319. 320.
368. 370. 413. 422. 427 en 511. ten voordele vant generaal
.... namentlijk

met het schip 't Wapen van Hoorn den 12 xber a.o 1728, eenelijk
3294 # Eliphantstanden f 1151:4:8

p. 94

Batavia in 't Casteel anno 1729

Batavias Belasting P.r transport

f 12401136.10.-

Caabse Carguasoen P.r Idem

f 1151.4.8

met het Schip Den Spiering den 24 xber- anno voorS tweeten

28 p.s waakrocken gr:-

27 „ D.o D.o kleene

55 „ buffelgies

55 „ broeken

76 paaren kousen

met het Schip Berkenroode den 17 april 1729 eenelijk

63 mengelen raap olij

met het schip Duinbeek den 16 majj voorn-

24 Lasten tarwe

1 D.o rogge

met het Schip de Sluijs dato als vooren

30 lasten tarwe

met het schip Steenhove den 18 d.o D.o te weeten

5800 # Eliphantstanden

f 1735.8.8

30Lasten [veel inktvraat in dit gedeelte]

met het schip ...selen den 19en D.o D.o namelijk

816 kannen traan

20 lasten tarwe

met tschip Castricum den 13 Junij voorts als

30 lasten tarwe

300 # tuijn zaaden in soort

met tschip Langeroode als vooren

325 # diVse droguen

15 lasten tarwe

met het schip suzanne den 7 Julij voorw eenelijk

22 Lasten tarwe

met het schip het huys te vlotter den 14 D.o D.o eenlijk
12 lasten tarwe
met het schip de Pallas den 29 D.o D.o teweeten
202 # droguen
2166 ½ mudde tarwe met d'ongelden

[Volgen de kosten van de pangeran]

462 ev
Caab de Goede Hoop

465
Van Zeeland ontvangen
[eventueel deze nog afschrijven]
466
vervolg van Zeelant ontvangen

476
Tekort aan uit Zeeland ontvangen
Komt aan te kort bedurven .. aangebragte Goederen tesamen
Aldus komt de generale Comp:s Reeck ter Belastinge

5. P.r Batavia 't hooft Comptoirs Nieuwe Reek: gl: 532.9.-. dus veele belopen
1406 # eliphants tanden ↑ deeser met 't schip Schuijtwijk na deese hoofdplaats versonden ge=
consigneert weesende aan sijn Edelheijt den hoogagtb- heere Mattheus De haan Gou=
verneur generaal en de edele heren raden van nederlands Indie, welkers factuurtje
onder dato 18 Junij bij de Caabse handelboeken ter beswaringe van het generaal gebragt
en vereffent is met f 532.9.-

45. Ceijlon 's Comptoirs Nieuwe Reek:- gl:- 4067.6.3. soo veele monteeren
d' onder volgende goederen onder d:o 3 aug.- deeses Jaars met de schepen Assenburg en thoff
niet altijd winter na dit gouVnement afgevaardigt ende beschreven aan den Edelen
heer ms: Artus Suijst raad ordinair van Nederlands Indie mitsgaders gouverneur
en directeur benevens den raad tot colombo, waarvan het factuurtje bij voorm:- caabse
handelboeken ter belastinge vann het genraal afgeschreven is, bstaande in als
volgt, te weten

370 mudden of 20 Lasten tarwe
9 ¼ ,, ,, ½ ,, ,, rogge
260 # thuijn saden in soort
1 bos Javaase rotting
6 p.s dongrijs
12 gonij sacken
50 # herb:- ronsmarmi
½ , # rorismaryn
½ anker ingessoute roosen

478
Generale Verliesen ter Zee door het verongelukken en veroveren
van schepen ten laste strekkende ook maar eenelijk
wegens het cargasoen vant schip Saxenburg den 9en januarij 1728 op
't rif d'auguilas verongelukt soo wert het bedrag van dien

volgens resolutie van haar hoogedelen den d.o 24 8ber- 1730 op dese reek- afgeschreven met

47457.15-

479

Op de balans van de Caab staan nog als indische coopmanschappen
381 # Oliphants tanden f 193.10

480

De Engelse geldzoekers [hebben gekost] 5485.11
de handel van Rio dela Goa 240881.9

10767 (generaal Journaal 1730-1731) [Op film 2174-4]

10810 (Negotie grootboek 1703-1704) [Op film 2187-1]

p. 90 (l) Eliphants Tandem Debent

12^e Julij 707 â tcompt.r gen.l: p- Sultan echt na Persia # 168
1704 ul=o augustij 880 schenkagie door sultan ratoe tot palembang 168-- 268 f 100
10

p. 90 (r) Eliphants Tandem Credunt
12^e Julij 707 p=r tcompt:r gen:l p:r nichtevecht na persia 168- 4
100.10.-

10811 (Negotie grootboek 1704-1705) [Op film 2187-2]

p. 175 (l) Elifants Tandem Deb=nt

1705 5^e April 517 â tCompt:r Gen:l p:r de Zion van Ziam # 17982 3
f 18162.16.-

ult.o aug 921 Schenkagie gedaen door Siltan ratou van palmb= 445 245
333.15.-

„ D=o 925 t Compt:r Gen:l p:r tgeschonken in 6/m van Jambi 50 5
37.10.-

„ D=o 1005 D=o D=o tehoge versending na Souratta -
63.12.-

Somma # 18477.-
f 18597.13.-

p. 175 (r) Elifants Tandem Cred=t
1705 9e aug- 754 p.r tCompt:r Gen:l p:r d'Lieffde na persia # 7202- 4
7153.5.-

D=0 759 D=o D=o reijgersdael D=o 6635-
- 6704.5.-

D=0 760 D=o D=o Wasenaar D=o 4477-
- 4641.11.-

ult D=o 971 winst en verlies p.r d' Zion uyt Ziam tekort 63 256 63.12.-
D=o 1051 'tComptoir generaal over restant 50 5 37.10.-

Somma #18477
18597.13.-

10812 (Negotie grootboek 1708-1709) [Op film 2188-1]

p. 53 (l)

Batavia In't Casteel A.0 1708							
Eliphants Tanden Debent							
P-mo Septemb-	7	't Compt-r gen-rl	p-r rest der afgelegde boeken #	12262.-	1		
f	12769.7.8						
28-en septemb-	144	D.o	D.o uijt Siam	23648.-		
2	27884.14.-						
1709 p-mo maart	343	D.o	D.o	Sinjaarslant, als boven	12528.-	3	
	13957.-8						
ult=mo aug	357	D=o	d=o	wegens Lackagie in 6/m	306.-	4	
	343.2.8						
				Somma	#	48755	
f	54954.4.8						

p. 53 (r)

Batavia In't Casteel A.o 1708							
Eliphants Tanden Credunt							
26.e September	45	p.r 'tComptoir gen-rl	p.r twee scheepen na Suratta	#	12123.-		
1	12619.7.8						
20.e septemb-	137	D.oD.o	de haringthuijn, als boven	140.-	2		
	150.-						
ult- february	234	winst en verlies tekort aangebragt		23		
257	27.2.8						
5.e aug.o	338	'tCompt - gen-rlde	Kivit naar Souratte	15000.-	4		
	17344.10.-						
d.o d.o	344	D.o D.o	de prasien	3000	-		
	3480.-						
ult.o D=o	365	winst en verlies	Sirjandsland tekort aangebragt	7257			
	8.-						
„ D=o	425	D=o	d=o	bij den opneem te kort	123.-		
	135.11.-						
„ D=o	450	'tComptoir general	over restant	18389.-	5		
	21189.13.8						
				Somma	#	48755	
f	54954.4.8						

10813 (Negotie grootboek 1713-1714) [op film 2188-2]

p. 57 (l)

Eliphants tanden Debent							
1714 21 Januarij	224	'tCompt=r gener:l	p=r nieuweburg uijt Ziam	#	10976.-		
2	f 19103.4.8						
19 februarij	272	D=o	D=o oegstgeest „ D=o	2276.-	-		
	3793.1.8						
ult august-	566	D:o	D:o d=o twee jambijse grooten geschonken	88.-			
5	93.-						
- D=o	568	schenkagie tgeschonken	d=o ... tot palembang	300.-	261		
	325.10.-						
				Somma	#	13460	
f	23314.16.-						

p. 57 (r)

27 Julij	463 p.r	'tCompt=r gener:l p=r twebodems na persien	#	5000.-	4
f 8757.16.-					
14 aug.o	507.-.	D=o D=o ,, twee d=os ,, Zouratta	8292.-.	-	
14322.10.-					
ult D.o	576.-.	winst en verlies.... te kort bevonden			80.-.
262	141.10.-				
- D.o	675.-.	'tCompt=r gener:l over restant		88.-.	5
93.-.					
		Somma	#	13460.-.	
f 23324.16.-					

10814 (Negotie grootboek 1715-1716) [op film 2189-1]

p. 54l Eliphants Tanden debent

ult feb	302	schenkagie in 6/m ontfangen			#
330.-	260 f 316.17.8				
- aug	564	t Compt gener.l pangeran diepa ... gechonken			
58.-	4 55.10.-				
		Somma			#
388.-	f 372.7.8				

p. 54r Eliphants Tanden Credunt

7. aug.	494	p.r t compt generl hoedekenskerk na souratta			# 388
4 f 372.7.8					

10815 (Negotie grootboek 1718-1719) [op film 2198-2]

p. 55l Eliphants Tanden Debent

1718 p ^{mo} 7ber:	14	a t Compt gen.l per rest der afgelegde boeken			
# 120	1 f 95.14.8				
,, 12 ^e . 9ber:	149	,, D ^o . D ^o . ,, velderhooft .. mallacca			
105 - ,	205.12.8				
1719 3e. januarij	319	,, D ^o . D ^o . ,, korstand? uyt siam			
19398 2 ,	36300.12.8				
,, 5e feb:	376	,, D ^o . D ^o . ,, Pattemo? van mallaca			
17 ½ 3 ,	12.17.-				
,, ult. D ^o .	456	,, D ^o . D ^o 6/m geschenken			276 -
, 192.7.8					
		Somma			#
19916 ½ f	36807.4.-				

p. 55r Eliphants Tanden Credunt

1719 ult. febr:	460	p.r winst en Vlies in 6/m tekort aangeb.t			#
59 258 f	110.8.8				

„ 22.e aug.s	720	„ t Compt. gen. p.r drie bodems na Souratta	„
19767 5	, 36511.7.-		
„ ult. D°.	881	„ winst en verlies bij de pakh- tekort bevonden	„ 90 ½
258,	185.8.8		

		Somma	#
19916 ½	f 36807.4.-		

10816 (Negotie grootboek 1721-1722) [op film 2189-3, tot p. 108, vervolg op film 2190-1]
NB de grootboeken van 1719-1720 en 1720 -1721 ontbreken dus

p. 49l Eliphants Tanden Debent

1721 25 9ber	216 a	t Compt. gen. pr averwaard van siam	#
11664 2	f 19065.6.-		
1722 17 febr.	303	„ D°. D°. pr westhoven uyt Siam	
1023 -	1731.12.8		
„ ult D°.	328	„ D°. D°. wegens schenckage in	
190 -	183.5.-		
„ - D°.	363	„ D°. D°. in de uno van de Caab	
5497 3	912.16.-		
„ - D°.	642	„ D°. D°. weg.s schenckage in ...	80 4
	79.10.-		
„ - D°.	699	„ D°. D°. „ te hoge Vsending	
..... 6	-- .7.-		

		Somma	#
18516	f 21971.16.8		

p. 49r Eliphants Tanden Credunt

1722 ult: februar-	356	pr winst en Vlies in 6/m pr ... uijt siam tekort aangebr-	#
40 261 f	65.5.8		
„ 14.e aug.s-	566	pr t Compt. gen. pr drie bodems na Souratta	
18467 4	21906.11.-		

		Somma	
# 18516	f 21971.16.8		

10817 (Negotie grootboek 1723-1724) [op film 2190-2]
[NB ontbreekt dus 1722-1723]

Beginnt met Alphabeth ; Eliphantstanden 58
Vrijwel achteraan is een rubriek T ijser Maguazijn
Vervolgens eerst een chronolgisch overzicht van de ingekomen en uitgaande goederen en kapitalen
o.a.

p. 1			
8ber 14 104 met Sloteroogh Eliphantstanden 407 # van de Caeb [fol]58		f 63.12	
	diverse idem	f 1672.1	
november 23 114 Hoff niet altijd zomer van Zeelant		f 178797	

				van de Caeb	f 117.11	
28	124	Noteboom van Zeeland			f 229718	
p.58 (l) Eliphants Tanden Debet						
1723	14 8ber	104	a t compt gen pr	Schoteroogh van de Caab		#
407	1 f	63.12.-				
	, 15 9ber	155	, D°. D°.	abbekerk van mallacca		132 -
		173.9.-				
1724	5 Junij	293	, D°. D°.	, drie bodems uijt Siam		
10000	2	15978.19.8				
	29 may	507	, D°. pr D°.	deherstelling van de Caab		
2445	3	1693.1.-				
	10 july	589	, D°. D°.	Langeroode D°.		
4360	-	2461.2.8	ult aug	683	Scheckagie wegens dontfangen in	
	geschencken in 6/m	276	264	237.15.-		

Somma #

17620 f 20608.8.-

p. 58 (r) Eliphants Tanden Credunt

1724	11 augt	639	p.r tCompt. gen:per drie bodems na Souratta			#
17620	4 f	20608.-.8				
	ult D°.	775	, D°. D°.	wegens te lage Vsending		
	5	7.8				

Somma #

17620 20608.8.-

p. 240 Tijser Maguazijn Debet

1723 56000 # ligt lang plat ijser
6 domme kragten
44000 # ijser in soort

p. 241 Tijser Maguazijn Debet

1724	21 maart	455	à tCompt. Gen voor diverse p.r de berbice van amsterdam			
	2					
v:- Zeeland	p.mo april	478	D.o D.o v:r 5480 # ses duijms spijkers p:r d'anna maria			
	-					
	14 D.o	480	,, ,, ,, diverse per petronella alida van Enkhuisen			
	-					
Zeeland	17 D.o	483	,, ,, ,, 9108 # vijf duijms spijkers per doornik v:-			
	-					
	21 D.o	484	,, ,, ,, diverse per Hogenes van Amsterdam			
	-					
	26 majij	505	,, ,, ,, Idem .. Noorderquartier van Hoorn			
	3.					
	7 Junij	550	,, ,, ,, Idem ,, Stadwijk van amsterdam			
	-					

10818 (Negotie grootboek 1724-1725) [op film 2190-3 tot p.182, vervolg op film 2191-1]

p. 60 (l)	Eliphants Tanden Debet			
1724 27 7ber	67 a t compt. gen. pr	Commerlust van de Caab		#
551 1 f 421.2.8				
19. december	327 D°. D°.	drie bodems uyt siam	7682	2
12139.4.6				
1725 20. January	356 D°. D°.	vijverdaal D°.	2626	-
8962.16.-				
21. D°.	373 D°. D°.	Lugtenburg van de Caab		
5821 - 992.7.6				
ult february	539 D°. D°.	wegens t onfangene in geschenk in 6 maanden	175	3
168.-.-				
24. Junij	676 D°. D°.	p. Oostrust van de Caab		
4772 4 640				
30. July	726 D°. D°.	Voorburg D°.	1395	-
986				
ult aug:	866	Schenkagie wegens t geschonken in 6 maanden		
98 74 79.7.6				
		Somma		#
22915 f 19178.19.-				

p. 60 (r)	Eliphants tanden Credit			
1725 ult aug	975 apr tCompt.r gener.l over restanten			#
22915 5 f 19178.19.-				

p. ??	Tijser magauzijn Debet			
1724 7 7ber 79 ,,	D.o D.o	52000 # ligt lang en dun platijser p.r de samaritaan van Zeeland		
29 D.o	94 ,, D.o D.o	25000 ,, vierkant ijser		..
heijnekensand ,, ,,				

10819 (Negotie grootboek 1726-1727) [op film 2191-2]

NB hier ontbreekt dus 1725-1726

p. 65 (l)	Batavia in't Casteel Anno 1726 en 1727			
	Cardamom Javaans Debet			

....

Eliphants Tanden Debent				
1726 pm- septemb.r	5. a t Compt. gener.l p.r rest der afgelegde boeken			#
28987 1 f 21389.1.-				
, 20. december	298.	Idem noordwaddincxveen van de Caep		
6027 2 1444.14.8				
1727 5. februarij	295.	Idem velserschooft uijt Siam	11643	3
18135.11.8				
, ult. D°.	359	Schenkagie voor het geschonkene in 6 maanden	25	272
24.-.-				

, 22. Junij 463 a t Compt gener.l pr meerhuysen van de caep 3440 4
673.13.-
, ult. aug. 627 schenkagie wegens het geschonkene in 6 maanden
233 272 209.5.-

Somma # 50355 f
41876:5.-

p. 65 (r) Eliphants Tanden Credhint
1726 14e septemb- 45. pr compt- gener- pr hoedekenskerk na Souratte #
28987 1 f 21389.-
1727 ult: februarij 344 pr de wapenkamer voor t verstreckte in 6 maanden
8 211 , 1.18.8
16.e aug- 552 pt 't Compt gener per drie bodems na Souratta
19459 5 , 17692.17.-
ult: D^o: 691 Idem. wegens te lage versending
298 , --.8
- D^o: 718 Idem over restant
1901 - , 2792.9.-

Somma # 50355 f
41876:5.-

10820 (Negotie grootboek 1727-1728) [tot p. 218 op film 2191-3, vervolg op film 2192-1]

p. 67 (l) Eliphantstanden Debent
1727 pr september 6. pr t Compt gen per rest der afgelegde 19..
1 f 2972.9.-
129 pr Wassenaer van Siam 13397. 2
21018.7.8..
- herstelde leuw D^o: 11814 -
18534.10.8
1728 7 januarij 2.. pr pr Kockenge Caab 3825
1111.14.-
D.o 246 pr Idem.. pr amsterdam D^o: 900
369.-
D.o 218 hoedekenskerk Siam 10444
17258.2
22. julij 425. Idem gertruijd de Caab 1051
494.10.-
13. aug. 463. Idem lagepolder D^o: 3532
1020.-
ult: D^o: 544. Idem wegens tgeslonken in 6 maenden 148
159.16

Somma # 47012
62758.13.-.

p. 67 (r) Eliphants Tanden Credit
1728 ult: februarij 294 pr de wapenkamer voor ... in 6 maenden # 17.

17. aug. 468 pr t Compt gen- per drie bodems na Souratta
 24029 30593
 ult D°: 621 pr idem over restanten
 22966 32138

[het document is hier tamelijk beschadigd en slecht leesbaar] # 47012 f
 62758

10821 (Negotie grootboek 1730-1731) [op film 2192-2]

De bladzijde 76 waarop volgens het alfabet de Eliphants tanden staan ontbreekt op de microfilm
 De opsomming in het begin heeft wel datums en namen van aangekomen schepen, en totaal
 bedragen, maar geen aangevoede goederen

10822 (Negotie grootboek 1732- 1733) [op film 2192-3]

p. 72 (l) Eliphants Tanden Debet

1732 p: ^{mo} 7ber:	5 a tCompt: gen: per rest der afgelegde	#
32561 1 f	44980.-.-	
„ 10. november	140 , Idem petronella allida van d'caab	
1205 2	1072.17.8	
„ 26. december	186 , Idem boekenroode [sic] „ Siam	
12121 -	18511.-.-	
1733 15. januarij	206 , Idem hofwegen „ d'caab	
2049 -	1746.7.8	
30. D°:	209 , Idem noorderquartier „ Siam	
9620 -	14890.1.9	
ult: febr:	301 „ Schenkagie in 6/m van palembang bekomen	
298 - 284	307.7.8	
- D°:	319 , winstenverlies voors winst neg: bk op reeck-	288
	431.17.8	
16. april	350 , 't compt gen.r per hopvogel van Ceijlon	
154- 3	80.12.-	
1. Junij	394 „ Idem „ berkenroode „ cabode goede hoop	8480:- 4
7076.5.6		
4. D°:	398 „ Idem „ Langeroode „ D°:	2526.- -
2026.-.-		
1. Julij	430 „ Idem „ flora „ D°:	1462.- 5
1301.12.6		
31 D°:	440 , Idem „ Soetelelingskerk „ D°:	9646.- -
8514.7.8		
	Somma	#
80125	f 101990.13.-	

p 72 (r) Eliphants Tanden Credit

2. 30. 7ber: 62. p:s 't Compt: gen: r' per 'twapenvanhoorn na Souratte	# 32061 1 f
44976.16.8	
3. ult: febr: 318 , Scheeps soldije voort belaste op reeck- van te laden op twee bodems	654
288 1295.12.8	
29 aug: 479 „ t Compt: gen: per twee bodems na Souratte	46136 6
55013.15.-	

ult: D^o: 519 ,, winst en verlies in 6/m tekort ontvangen
774 282 690.3 8

ult: D^o: 568 ,, 't compt: gen: voorde telage afschrijving in gelden
7.5.8

6

Somma # 80125 f

101990:13.-

Negotie journaal

bevat van dag tot dag de ingekomen en uitgaande goederen, maar ook de schepen worden geboekt

11840 (Negotie journaal 1721-1722)

Begint op film 2209 bij fol 430 Ult May 1722

566 14 Augusti 1722

Eliphants tanden met de 3 schepen Haarlem, Ravesteyn en Zuiderbeek naar Souratte

18476 # f 21906

11841 (Negotie journaal 1722-1723)

Bij voorraden per 1 september geen Eliphants tanden gevonden

[Zal allemaal op 22-8 daaraan voorafgaand zijn verzonden]

wel

52 Schildpadshoorn

p. 182 In't Casteel batavia adij 24 November A.o 1722

58. [!] Eliphants tanden met Samaritaan van de Cabo de Goede Hoop

56 # 625 f 97.13

11842 (Negotie journaal 1729-1730) [op film 2210]

Het negotie-journaal begint met een uitgebreide opsomming van aanwezige voorraden in Batavia op 1-9-1729

p. 7

73. Eliphants tanden 16772 f 27334.18.-

{Eliphants tanden worden dus (dit boekjaar) verwerkt in de rubriek 73. en kunnen op die manier wat gemakkelijker worden terug gevonden in de uitvoerige opsommingen in het negotie-journaal. We zien later [p. 53] in deze rubriek ook Schildpadshoorn vallen}

p. 51 9 September 1729

73. P.r Eliphants tanden aant Comptoir Generaal f 532.9

voor 1406 # met Schuijtwijck van Cabo de goede hoop ontvangen

p. 160 Int Casteel Batavia adij 22: november a.o1729

73./2 Pr Eliphants Tandens aant Comptoir Generaal f 193.10.- voor 384 #

van dat gebeente aan 81. stx met voorvermelte bodem goudriaan dato deses van cabo de goede hoop ontvangen volgens.... factuur....

den 3: julij? deses jaars getekent door de schipper dorp en

assistent # 384. - f 193.10.-

niet leesbaar pagina nummer 17 January 1730

73. Eliphants tanden met Kockengen uit Siam : 8000 # f 12928.13.-

Dit inventarisnummer wordt ult feb afgesloten met een uitgebreide invenatris

Op de film begint vervolgens een nieuw inventarisnummer 1729-1730, beginnend vanaf 2 maart[1730!]

p. 453 Ult may 1730

73. P.r Eliphants tanden geschoncken door de Coning van Palembang

42 15 1/8 [Rijksdaalders ?] f 45.7

p. 582

Naar Souratta

p. 583 In't Casteel Batavia adij 21 Augusti A.o 1730

....

73. à Eliphants tanden Duijnbeek # 17505 f 28965.11.8

tstadh.s van delft ,, 10009 f 16058.17.8

27514 f

45024.90.-

p. 621 Ult augusti

...

73.1 Eliphants tanden f 348.7.8 of rd:s 116 ½ voor

328. #. aan 10 stx: Dito van

198 # aan 6 p:s door den Coning van Palembang: teweten

141. #: aan 4 p:s aan de hooge regering

47 ,, ,, 2 ,, aan den directeur generaal

198. # gewaardeerd ? rd.s 69 ¾

130. ,, aan 4 p.s door den Coning van Jamby aan haar hoog Ed.s49 ¾

328. #. tesamen waardig gestelt op 116 ¼ 348.7.8

p. 653 [ult aug winst en verlies]

73.1 Eliphants tanden f 240.16.4 voor 149. #. of 15/23 pr cento minderwigt

bevonden op 31989. #. bij den aff... ?? 149.- 240.16.8

p. 734 In't Casteel Batavia adij ult: aug: A.o 1730

inkoop verkoop p.cento winst

....

72.1 Vogelnestjes # 490 294.-.- 1924.2.8. 554 ½ 1630.2.8

73.1 Eliphants tanden ,, 42 37.14..8 45.7.8 20 5/16 7.13-

189.1 thin Bankas ,, 64642 ½ 143324.10.- 247170.4.- 42 5/8 73845.14.-

p. 756 [Voorraden per ult aug?]

73. Schildpadshoorn # 720.- f 884.2.8

73. Eliphants tanden ,, 1069 1129.19.-

11844 Batavia's Negotie Journaal 1730/1731

76. [!] Eliphantstanden # 1069 f 1129.19.-
[dus Eliphants tanden heeft niet ieder boekjaar het zelfde nummer]