

The Central Administration of the VOC Government and the Local Institutions of Batavia (1619-1811) – an Introduction

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I. Introduction

On 30 May 1619 the VOC conquered the Javanese port town of Jaccatra. This gave the VOC a permanent harbour and a repair dock for its ships, central warehouse facilities for trade, and a governmental and administrative centre. Jaccatra (now called Batavia) was the hub of the central administration of the VOC in Asia: the Governor-General and Councillors of the Indies (Asia), usually referred to as the High Government in the sources. The central administrative bodies and the dwellings of the Company officials – from high to low – were concentrated in the heavily guarded complex, Batavia Castle. The Castle was demolished under Governor-General Daendels (1808-1811). On 17 September 1811 his successor, Governor-General J.W. Janssens, signed the capitulation to the English in Salatiga. Hence this date marks the chronological cut-off point for this introduction.¹

Taking pride of place in this inventory are the archives which were kept in Batavia Castle in the VOC era. Although many of the Castle archives were thrown away under Daendels, much has still survived. This introduction gives a brief survey of the various administrative bodies and the urban boards.² In *Section II* the central institutions for government and justice in the Castle are examined:

1. The High Government (1609-1811);
2. The High Commission (1791- 1799);
3. The General Audit Office (1808-1811);
4. The Court of Justice (1620-1809).

In *Section III* attention shifts to the urban administrative bodies in Batavia. There were various urban boards which performed their duties taking their counterparts in the larger Dutch cities as their example. In the archives these bodies are usually referred to as *colleges*. The duties of these bodies were laid down in 1642 in a series of detailed regulations. These *Bataviase Statuten* were published in Volume I of the *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1602-1811*.³ The multitude of additions and changes made by

the High Government were finally set out in the *Nieuwe Bataviase Statuten* (New Batavian Statutes) (1766). Even though these new 1766 statutes were never formally put into effect, they still form the best introduction to the many procedures and regulations which had changed since 1642. Researchers who want to work in the archives of the Batavian *colleges* are advised to read the New Statutes of 1766 first.

In a logical order of succession directly after the urban boards come the notaries who were working in Batavia. After all, their records were largely compiled for the convenience of the urban institutions and boards. Consequently *Section III* is arranged as follows:

1. The College of Aldermen (1617-1811);
2. The Board of the Governors of the Orphan Chamber (1624-1885);
3. *College van Heemraden* (District Council) (1664-1809);
4. The Board of Matrimonial Affairs and Minor Court Cases (1656-1812);
5. The Board of Trustees for Deceased Estates of Chinese and Other Non-Christian Bereaved (1640-1885);
6. Notaries (1620-1822).

Officially the urban boards were subordinate to the High Government. Nevertheless, in their daily business they could perform their duties more or less independently. Unofficially the influence of the Governor-General was very palpable. His will was law. Formally, because of its right of nomination the High Government could exert direct influence on the appointment of new members of any institution. The decisions which the boards took were also subject to the approval of the High Government. Moreover, each year all the boards were financially accountable to the High Government. Despite this, as just said in their day-to-day activities the boards were free to act as they wanted, and the High Government could not possibly intervene in all sentences, marriages, legacies and the like.

All notaries who practised in Batavia also worked as independent businessmen. However, they required the permission of the High Government to pursue their profession and they were also scrutinized by the Court of Justice.

The records they have left which include many contracts between citizens bring us closer to private enterprise in the multi-ethnic colonial society.

In *Section IV* the ecclesiastical boards are discussed:

1. The Church Council of the Dutch-, Portuguese-, and Malay- language Reformed congregations in Batavia (1621);
2. The Poor Relief Board (1648);
3. The Board of Churchwardens (1655);
4. The Reformed Church Council of Semarang (1753);
5. The Church Council of the Lutheran Church in Batavia (1746).

Each of these ecclesiastical bodies built up its own archives. The church archive of Semarang was once in the possession of the still extant eighteenth-century church in Semarang. It is not known when these Semarang records were taken to Batavia. Officially, the Board of Churchwardens was not an ecclesiastical but a secular organization. The churchwardens were responsible for the management of church buildings and church property, the arrangement of funerals and supervision of cemeteries. These five institutions kept baptismal, marriage, and burial registers, which were later moved to the archive of the Civil Registry.

In *Section V* all the other institutions and persons are dealt with: the *Amfioen* Society and Directorate and the Batavian Loan-Bank and Deposit Bank; and finally the Engelhard Collection. This is the archive of Nicholaas Engelhard, a Governor of the North-East Coast of Java (1801-1808).

II. The Central Administration of the VOC in Batavia

1. The High Government (*De Hoge Regering*) 1609-1811

The High Government which was established in 1609 was composed of the Governor-General and a Council of the Indies (Asia) of which there were (from 1617 onwards) nine members.⁴ The task of these nine members was 'to assist [the Governor-General] in all such matters as the general management of trade, war, government, and in the administration of justice in all civil and criminal matters'.

Complying with the orders issued by the *Heren XVII* (Gentlemen Seventeen, the Directors of the VOC in the Netherlands), Jan Pietersz. Coen made Jaccatra the seat of the Netherlands Indies Government. Before this Governors-General had

resided mostly in Banten or Ternate. Immediately after the capture of Jaccatra on 30 May 1619, the High Government hastened to set itself up in its new land base. In its work it was assisted by the General Secretariat, which was headed by a secretary who attended the sessions of the Council of the Indies and wrote out the resolutions. His right-hand man was the chief clerk who held the rank of chief merchant, and it was also manned by regular clerks and extra-ordinary clerks. In the course of the years the number of clerks rose, from fourteen in 1660 to approximately seventy in 1799. Each of the regular clerks was given one or more specific sections of the administrative duties: keeping the *Daghregister van Batavia* (the daily journal kept at the Castle), copying the books of resolutions, copying resolutions or minutes, registering incoming letters, and compiling registers and indexes.

The amount of paperwork at the Castle was enormous. A few times a year, for example in the autumn when the return ships left for the Netherlands, the work piled up. Innumerable chests with letters had to be prepared ready to be sent to the Gentlemen Seventeen and the Chambers in the Netherlands.⁵ During this extremely busy time, extra-ordinary clerks were employed. This took an enormous workload off the shoulders of the permanent staff of the Secretariat. Not only did the administration of the High Government have to be kept up to date, it was also impossible to overlook the correspondence to the branch offices, the other administrative bodies in Batavia, and various Asian rulers. In order to keep its own organizations in Batavia, the Gentlemen Seventeen, the Chambers, the other factories in Asia, and the urban boards in Batavia informed of the decisions taken by the High Government, multiple copies had to be made of either whole documents or parts thereof and dispatched. In 1735, after a number of inconsistencies had been detected, responsibility for the archive of the High Government was handed over to an *archivaris* (archivist). Prior to this, this task had been just one extra job to be done by other employees of the Secretariat. The position of archivist was abolished in 1808 by the then incumbent Governor-General Daendels.

The High Government was heavily dependent on the work of a number of top functionaries and managers. Chief among them was the Director-General. He was in charge of logistics and transport, the trade in and shipping of everything connected with the business in Asia. In sessions of the High Government he had to discuss such important matters as the compilation

of a list of orders and money to be sent from the Netherlands. He was responsible for the warehouses, for the trade goods and victualling, the Pay Master General's Office and the cashier's office. He was assisted by two senior merchants from the Castle. The first of these attended to the administration of goods sent from the other Asian offices. The second kept a tally of the goods exported. They held joint responsibility for the personnel of the trading office, which employed a series of merchants, junior merchants, and bookkeepers.

Next in seniority was the Bookkeeper-General, an accountant who compiled the general journal and the general ledger from the trade books received from the other Asian offices. Copies of these documents were sent to the Amsterdam and Zeeland Chambers. The Bookkeeper-General also administered the ships' cargoes sent from the Netherlands and the 'return' goods sent to the Netherlands. The *bevindingen op eisen* (demands) were also compiled in the Bookkeeper-General's office. When ships were unloaded in Batavia, a check had to be made to discover whether the goods received tallied with the original orders placed by the High Government, and with the decision made by the Gentlemen Seventeen on these. During an inspection in Batavia it was noted which goods had been under- or over-supplied. The original orders plus the reports of under- and over-supplies were then sent to the Netherlands. These reports or *bevindingen* were dispatched from the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In the Netherlands the Board of Directors could investigate who was to blame for the discrepancies.⁶

The work of the Bookkeeper-General is irrevocable evidence that the central financial administration was done in Batavia. However, the system used there did not link up with the bookkeeping of the VOC Chambers in the Netherlands.⁷ As *factor* (office) for all the goods received from the Netherlands, the business in Asia was accountable to the VOC business in the Republic. In Batavia this business in the Republic was seen as a unitary whole, whereas in fact each of the Chambers of the VOC ran its business autonomously. The current account refers to the General East India Company. Therefore, on this current account all the goods and monies received from the Netherlands are noted in the credit column and all the return goods shipped to the Republic are noted in the debit column. Expenses incurred in the Indies were divided up into five entries: general expenses; wages; ships; fortifications; and *schenkagies* (gifts). In income, a distinction was made between income on trade

and the income derived from taxes and the like (known respectively as the *generale winsten* and *generale inkomsten*). In the eighteenth century, several entries were added to expenditure and income, but the system was never altered.

The *Generale Missiven* (see below) sent to the Gentlemen Seventeen by the High Government also contain financial data pertaining to the VOC business in Asia. These are called the *generale journalen*. The drawing up of these financial journals could be immensely time-consuming. Usually the bookkeepers gathered together the financial results of the various offices fairly quickly and drew up the statements of income and expenditure per office. These were then sent with the return fleet in December or February as part of the *Generale Missiven*. The 'true', rounded-off financial books arrived sometimes as much as a year later.

The Visitor-General, who was also a subordinate of the Director-General, was responsible for auditing the books and financial administration in Asia. He had to check the *consumptie-rekeningen*, by which after their arrival in Batavia skippers had to account for the provisions supplied to the ship's crew during the voyage.

The central role of Batavia in the business in Asia can be discerned not only in the financial administration, it is also abundantly revealed in the personnel's administration. The Pay Master-General's Office kept the personnel records of all the people employed by the VOC in Asia. In order to do so it was supplied with the information it required from the Asian offices. From 1689, each year a complete list of the Company personnel in Asia was drawn up. These *monsterrollen* (muster rolls) were sent to the Netherlands in duplicate.

To accommodate its shipping, Batavia was provided with all kinds of such facilities as docks, warehouses, and a craftsmen's quarter. Although no new ships were built in Batavia, maintenance and repair work was carried out on vessels there. Just off the coast of Batavia, on the small island of Onrust, a repair dock for ships was set up. The fleet-master supervised the activities on ships in the roads and on Onrust. He was present at the arrival and departure of the ships. When they sailed, he made a joint inspection of the muster rolls of the ship and checked the cargo accompanied by one of the *fiscals* (a judicial official, public prosecutor).

What has just been said covers the management of the VOC trade in Asia by the High Government, but in this short essay it is impossible to delve into the political role of this ruling body. Nevertheless, the most important

publications and sources should be mentioned. From 1882, when the old *Landsarchief* (National Archive) was more or less put in order by J.A. Chijs, important series from the archive of the High Government were published. Chief among these are the extensive *Generale Missiven* sent to the Gentlemen Seventeen by the High Government.⁸ These letters or missives (which can be consulted in the *Nationaal Archief* in The Hague) deal with the trade and politics in various Asian regions from the perspective of the High Government. It is important to use this information in conjunction with the various *besoignes* or dispatches to branch offices in the resolution books of the High Government. The indexes on the resolution books of the High Government, published as *Realia*,⁹ do touch upon these *besoignes*, but only very cursorily. Researchers who are studying a particular region have so far unjustifiably generally tended to overlook the resolution books of the High Government.

Various other sources from the archive of the High Government have also been published. First among these are the *Daghregisters van Batavia* (Daily Journals of Batavia), a chronicle-like daily registration of affairs relating to trade, politics, and military developments, and the city of Batavia.¹⁰

Then there is the *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek* which throws important light on the colonial administration of justice and the way colonial society was organized.¹¹ Policy towards Asian rulers and local rajas is enshrined in the *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, an extremely important collection of contracts between the VOC and indigenous rulers.¹²

2. The High Commission (*De Hoge Commissie*) 1791-1799

On 23 May 1791, the Gentlemen Seventeen and the Prince of Orange (the supreme governor of the VOC) appointed two special Commissioners-General for the Netherlands Indies. They were Sebastiaan Cornelis Nederburgh, the chief advocate of the Company in the Netherlands, and Captain Simon Hendrik Frijkenius of the Dutch Navy. In Batavia they were to form a special team – to be called the High Commission – whose job would be to investigate the various abuses in the administration and to find a way to resolve these. On 19 August of that same year they received detailed instructions setting out their mission.¹³ These gave them plenipotentiary powers to dismiss corrupt officials and subsequently to hand these over to justice or to send them back to the Netherlands. The High Commission was also given a wide-ranging mandate to make contracts

with rulers within the chartered territory of the VOC. In fact these special mandates had already been curtailed because as Commissioners-General the incumbent Governor-General, Willem Arnold Alting, and the Director-General, H. van Stockum, were already members of the High Commission.

On 5 November 1791, Nederburgh and Frijkenius, accompanied by a secretary, boarded the naval frigate *De Amazone*.¹⁴ Having been forced to drift around in the Channel, the ship only put in at the Cape on 12 June 1792. There they did their best to solve conflicts between the colonists and the Company officials about the export of such produce as wine. During the longish time they spent there, rather more than a year, the two Commissioners-General personally introduced various changes.¹⁵ On 2 September 1793 they departed for Batavia, where they arrived in the middle of November. On 15 November 1793 Nederburgh and Frijkenius were ceremonially welcomed at the Castle. As Van Stockum had died, the Governor-General did his best to push through the nomination of his son-in-law, Siberg, as fourth commissioner. Siberg who had been made the provisional successor to Van Stockum, was appointed an interim member pending the arrival of Willem Jacob van der Graaff, the Governor of Ceylon. Van der Graaff had already been appointed Director-General and member of the High Commission by the Gentlemen Seventeen.

Van der Graaff arrived in Batavia to claim his rightful position as Director-General at the end of 1794. The High Commission denied him his office by a majority vote, as he was thought to be insufficiently well-informed about administrative affairs in the Indies. Only in December 1795 did the High Government actually request the High Commission to appoint Van der Graaff Director-General. It also suggested appointing Frijkenius and Van der Graaff as a commission responsible for the defence of Batavia. Although Nederburgh voted against, the High Commission acquiesced in this proposal. Both Alting and Siberg felt that they had been pressured by the revolutionary developments in the Netherlands (the French occupation), which was winning increasing sympathy in Batavia. When a group of citizens presented an address demanding more influence in the administration, Nederburgh left the meeting in high dudgeon. A few days later, he proposed that all important matters should be handled in joint sessions of the High Government and the High Commission.¹⁶ This ensured Nederburgh of the requisite political support and from 10 December he chaired the combined sessions. With the assent

of the majority of the joint session, Nederburgh dismissed Van der Graaff, after which Siberg was eased into the position.

On 17 February 1797, Alting was succeeded as Governor-General and Commissioner-General by Pieter Gerardus van Overstraten. Frijkenius died on 6 June of the same year and was not replaced. Nederburgh himself submitted his resignation to the Committee for Matters Pertaining to the East Indian Trade and Possessions (*Comité tot de zaken van de Oost-Indisch handel en bezittingen*) on 10 July and 10 November 1797. However he was only allowed to step down in 1799, after the High Commission had been formally disbanded on 23 September of that year. Nederburgh returned to the Netherlands where he was finally granted an honourable discharge by the Council for the Asian Possessions (*Raad der Aziatische Bezittingen*) on 17 November 1803.

The administrative influence of the High Commission was seriously diminished by the French invasion of the Netherlands and the English take-over of a great number of the branch offices. Nevertheless, the letters from the High Commission to the Gentlemen Seventeen reveal that it saw through a large number of decrees and reforms.

On 14 January 1795, the High Commission wrote to the Gentlemen Seventeen saying that the High Government was overwhelmed with work and relied continually on the limited perspective of five persons. The indexes on the extremely long letters which the High Commission wrote to the Gentlemen Seventeen show that the High Commission intervened intensively in the Court of Justice, the *Amfioen* Society and the *Amfioen* Directorate, the Deposit Bank and the Loan-Bank (see below), various civil and urban affairs, the reforming of such administrative services as the trade and wage books, the stimulation of private trade in a Batavia which was fast falling into a decline and countless other matters.¹⁷

3. The General Audit Office (*Algemene Rekenkamer*) 1808-1811

On 19 December 1808 the High Government under the direction of Governor-General H.W. Daendels founded the *Algemene Rekenkamer van Indië* (General Audit office for the Indies). Within the framework of a complete reorganization of the financial administration, the purpose was to obtain a better idea of the income and expenditure of the Netherlands Indies State. The General Audit Office replaced the General Visitation Office and the General Office. The new Audit Office had to check the entire income and expenditure of all

the administrative bodies in the Indies, including those at the local level. The Office consisted of a president, four members, and a secretary.

Daendels himself drew up the directive for the General Audit Office, which was approved by the High Government on 19 December 1808. On 23 December, the former office of the Visitor-General was abolished and the salaries of the new members and personnel were fixed. Twice a year (in June and December), the General Audit Office was expected to submit a general report of its transactions to the High Government, with detailed financial statements as enclosures. These reports, which replaced those of the Visitor-General, have unfortunately not survived. Nevertheless, the financial administration of the North-East Coast of Java (Semarang) and Surabaya were processed by the Audit Office. The archive of the General Audit Office should be studied in conjunction with the financial reports and administration of the Director-General, to whom the Visitor-General was subordinate.¹⁸ The General Audit Office was dissolved in 1811.

4. The Court of Justice (*Raad van Justitie*) 1620-1809

The seat of the highest judicial body in Asia, the Court of Justice, was Batavia. This institution was inaugurated in 1620 under the title *Ordinaris liijden van den Gerechte in't fort ofte Casteel* (Judicial Persons of the Court in the Fort or Castle). This was changed by decree of the High Government on 10 September 1626 to *Ordinaris Raet van Justitie binnen het Casteel Batavia* (Court of Justice in Batavia Castle). The *advocaat-fiscaal van Indië* (the Advocate-Prosecutor for the Indies/Asia) occupied the position of public prosecutor on the council. The council heard cases in which VOC officials were involved. Moreover, it also adjudicated civil cases which were appealed from the College of Aldermen, and (later) cases in appeal from the law courts outside Batavia. Finally it also sat on cases in which law courts had been responsible for a miscarriage of justice and reviewed sentences handed down in civil cases by the council itself. In the last instance, the composition of the council was adapted on an *ad hoc* basis by the appointment of persons known as *adjunct-reviseurs* (assistant-reviewers). As time passed, the number of cases to be heard increased tremendously. This meant that minor cases were first looked at and partly dealt with by the *Commissarissen uit den Raad van Justitie voor kleine zaken* (Commissioners for Minor Cases from the Court of Justice).

The Batavian Court of Justice – which after 1661 at least consisted of nine members

– sat in the Castle and was composed entirely of Company officials. The president was a member of the Council of the Indies. In the seventeenth century, the members of the Court of Justice were appointed and dismissed by the High Government. In the 1620s and 1630s, the Council was still made up almost entirely of non-professional people who sometimes conducted their business arbitrarily. The appointment of non-professional people and dependence on the High Government in important court cases often compromised the independent course of justice. Therefore, in 1690 the Gentlemen Seventeen decided to appropriate the right of dismissal, and then in 1697 also the right of appointment.¹⁹ The result of these changes was the appointment of more qualified lawyers and the subsequent professionalizing of the Court of Justice. Indubitably, the alterations in the nomination and dismissal procedures limited the influence of the High Government, but it still retained the right to peruse all the legal documents. Should for some reason the Court of Justice be incomplete, the High Government could appoint an extra-ordinary (temporary) member. The decisions and sentences handed down by the Council had to be put into effect without let or hindrance. The Governor-General and Councillors were forbidden to grant a pardon, to rescind the sentences and intervene in legal proceedings, or to in any way obstruct the execution of these.

Only in the case of the death sentence could the High Government grant clemency. For this reason, both the Court of Justice and the College of Aldermen had to submit the dossiers of those condemned to the Governor-General and Councillors, ‘who, having perused these, could sanction, mitigate, or alter the sentence, after having taken due cognizance of the case’.²⁰

In the course of both the seventeenth and the eighteenth century, the High Government still often made its influence felt in the organization of the Court of Justice. After all the settlement of fines and the confiscation of money directly affected the financial administration of the VOC. The High Government (and above all: the Governors-General) frequently intervened informally in the judgements passed on Company officials who were guilty of private trade or other misdeeds which incurred such sentences as monetary fines, deductions from monthly salary, or confiscation of goods. Officially, the High Government oversaw that the administration of such judgements was properly registered in the *sententieboecken* (sentence books), and that the fines were communicated to the merchant in charge of the pay office. In view of the fact that the law

officers (the prosecutor, the bailiff, the sheriff) were entitled to a share of the fines, the secretary to the Court of Justice was obliged to give the accounts of the sentences and confiscations to the officers every three or four months. The High Government also had the right to decide how the fines imposed and the confiscated goods were to be divided up between the council, the officers, the poor, the receiver, and the *licentmeester* (licence master).²¹

The Batavian Court of Justice was authorized to deal exclusively in cases affecting the Company or its officials, and to do this throughout the whole of the chartered territory. Cases which could not be resolved by the Court of Justice in the various Governments were passed on to Batavia. In most cases the members of a Government (commonly called the Political Council) also formed the local Court of Justice. This dual function often led to conflicts of interest and disagreements. When the course of justice became blurred, complicated cases were referred to the Batavian Court of Justice. The archive still contains large amounts of correspondence with the Political Councils in various branch offices.

The small remnant of the archive of the Batavian Court of Justice which is still preserved in ANRI can in no way be compared to the enormous number of the in-coming documents sent to the Gentlemen Seventeen and the Zeeland Chamber by the Court of Justice. These are now kept in the *Nationaal Archief* in The Hague. Among them are copies of the civil and criminal rolls and the sentences for crimes, all from 1637.²²

As stated earlier, all cases, whether civil or criminal, in which Company servants were involved had to be heard by the Batavian Court of Justice. When the case concerned a citizen or an Asian (*vreemdeling*) and a Company official, this also fell within the jurisdiction of the Council. When Asians had disagreements between themselves, they could choose between the Court of Justice and College of Aldermen. Other powers exercised by the Council can be consulted in the Batavian Statutes of 1642. These concern a compilation of those placards/edicts and laws which were drawn up in the initial decades after Batavia was founded and can be considered to be the basis for VOC law and jurisprudence.²³

In 1798 the Council began to call itself the High Council (*Hooge Raad*). The Court of Justice was abolished by Daendels on 15 August 1809 and was replaced by the *Hoogen Raad van Justitie van Hollandsch Indië* (High Council for Justice in the Netherlands Indies). A new set of instructions consisting of forty-seven articles was drawn up in the hope of preventing a recrudescence of

the abuses of the old judicial system – such as the appointment of family members and the acceptance of gifts.²⁴

III. The Urban Boards of Batavia

1. The College of Aldermen (*College van Schepenen*) 1620-1809

The urban or civil boards of Batavia were not independent bodies. They fell under the authority of the High Government and therefore under that of the VOC. The most important of the urban boards was the College of Aldermen, also known as the Bench of Aldermen or the Magistracy. On 24 June 1620 two Company officials and three free citizens or burghers were appointed to the first College of Aldermen. The Chinese Captain was also attached to this college as an extra-ordinary member. The instructions for the College of Aldermen of 1625 laid down that the College had to deal with 'all civil and criminal cases affecting the free burghers of this city and foreigners'.²⁵ From 1625 the College of Aldermen consisted of seven members, supplemented by two Chinese.²⁶ The foreigners mentioned in these 1625 instructions were the Asians living in Batavia. This is an immediate clue that the archive of the College of Aldermen is an important source for the Asian population of Batavia.

Usually the College of Aldermen was chaired by a member of the High Government. Until 1690 it was composed of two or three Company officials and three to four free burghers. Every year the College of Aldermen was *geëligeerd* (chosen) by the High Government. A few days before 30 May (the day on which the conquest of Jaccatra was celebrated), the aldermen presented the Governor-General with a list of the names of the serving aldermen. Alongside this, they put forward nominations for the election of new members. The first task of the High Government was to fill the chairmanship by appointing a member of the Council of the Indies and then it selected a few new aldermen from the list of candidates submitted. In the late seventeenth century, the High Government had a choice from eight citizens, six Company officials, and four Chinese. By majority vote, four citizens, three Company officials, and two Chinese were selected. After 1690, the composition was changed to five citizens and four Company officials. Sitting members were frequently re-elected. The president or chairman of the College of Alderman was always a Company official with the rank of Councillor of the Indies or Extra-ordinary Councillor of the Indies. It was he who kept and used the city seal,

with which all deeds, letters and the like had to be confirmed. He was paid one piece-of-eight for each sealing.

After the appointments, the former members were summoned to the Governor's audience hall in the Castle and thanked for their services. This was the day on which the Conquest, the commemoration of the taking of Jaccatra, was celebrated with crescendo of festive gun salutes. When this had been done, the new members entered. Those members who were continuing to sit in the College took the oath of integrity, while the newly chosen members swore their oath as aldermen.

The College of Aldermen was financially dependent on the High Government. The aldermen had no say in the income derived from the town of Batavia. The town income from the textile market, the vegetable and fish markets and the like, as well as the money collected from the Chinese residence permits was paid directly into the Company treasury. The members of the College of Aldermen were paid a salary by the High Government, namely 100 *reals* every six months. Moreover, those members who were also employees of the Company were paid a 13 *real* monthly salary. Upon their taking office, each member was also given 50 *reals mantelgeld* (cloak money) with which to buy the cloak which was the official uniform to be worn during meetings at the town hall.

The College of Aldermen was responsible for choosing the members of the other urban boards. A few days after 30 May, the new college passed on the nominations for elections for the 'civic boards of this town'. The sitting or new members of the various boards were chosen from the lists of candidates: seven governors of the Orphan Chamber (including a member of the Council of the Indies as chairman); five commissioners for matrimonial and minor legal matters; four trustees for the Chinese and other 'alien' or 'non-Christian' (Asian) bereaved (two Dutchmen, two Chinese, and in the eighteenth century also two Muslims). In addition, two external governors of the female house of correction and two external governors of the leper hospital were selected.

After the High Government had officially affirmed these appointments in the meeting, the retiring members of the boards were summoned to the Governor's audience hall in the Castle and thanked for their services. When this had been done, the new members were ushered in to swear the oath of allegiance; with the exception of the governors of the house of correction and the leper hospital.²⁷

Besides its right to nominate the candidates

for the various urban institutions, each year in June the College of Aldermen also had the right to propose the new civilian officers of the urban militias. However, the companies from the Castle, the tradesmen's quarter, and the dry dock were chosen directly by the High Government.

The president of the College of Aldermen enjoyed great power. He represented the authority of the Council of the Indies and could summon the college to meet. If there was an even vote, his vote counted double. On Tuesdays he checked the books, and on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, he presided over the regular meetings from 7 to 11 o'clock in the morning.

These meetings were held in the aldermen's chamber in the council or town hall (now the Museum Fatahillah). The president and the secretary (a qualified lawyer) always had to make an early start for these sessions. They made preparations for the meetings and supervised the reporting and writing of the minutes in the resolution books. It was they who were responsible for keeping the civil and criminal rolls up-to-date. In the eighteenth century, to an increasing extent the College of Aldermen found itself having to deal with public works (infrastructure and bridges) and other urban affairs, including the supervision of weights and measures; the meat market; the fish and vegetable markets; the boat houses; the place where the fish was dried; the lime kilns; fire fighting; bakers' licences; the inspectors of bread and meat; the town midwives; counterfeit coining; supervision of the hirers of food stalls and wagons; marriage ceremonies and funerals; civilian officials; the civil militias; the civilian prison; surgeons and medical practitioners; the *toptafels* or Chinese gambling dens; yards and houses; inns; the detainment of the insane; the leper hospital; and the town lottery. After the annual elections of the wardens of the quarters, the alderman devoted a great deal of time to collecting money from the citizens with which the dredging of the canals and waterways could be paid. Clerks of works supervised the open spaces in the town.

Police work was the responsibility of the bailiff who was appointed and paid by the High Government. His jurisdiction covered both inside and outside the town and he could arrest people, fine them, issue them with a summons, and take legal action against them. He could take people into custody for disturbance of the peace, brawling, theft, prostitution and adultery, rape, murder and manslaughter. He was also in charge of cleaning the streets, collecting the garbage, and public law and order.²⁸ Until 1651, his territory was restricted to the town proper, the *Zuidervoorstad* (now Glodok), and the town moats. After that

year, the bailiff had police supervision of the *Ommelanden* (the district surrounding Batavia). The bailiff and the sheriff, later there were two of them (one for the eastern and one for the western sides of the city), had *kaffers* (African assistants)²⁹ to assist them in their work: from 1681 eight for the bailiff, eight for the sheriff of the western side, and six for his counterpart on the eastern side.

The bailiff and sheriffs were supported in their duties by the wardens of the city quarters, who shared the responsibility for keeping order, fighting fires, and the registration of the citizens in their quarters. Every year the wardens handed in surveys of the inhabitants in their areas to the aldermen, who used these to compile the survey of the total population to be presented to the High Government.

In civil matters especially, the College of Aldermen was allowed room to manoeuvre. Around 1630 the college handled approximately 250 civil cases a year. Most of the incidents still involved Dutch people, for instance people who refused to pay their debts. Marital disputes, adultery, slander, *drossen* (the running away of slaves), opium abuse, and gambling are the sorts of cases which regularly appear in the civil rolls. Conspicuous in the criminal rolls is the high incidence of murder, violence, the absconding of slaves, and theft. In the case of judgements to be handed down in serious criminal felonies, the approval of the High Government had to be sought. In the seventeenth century in particular, the resolution books of the High Government record many criminal trials. Therefore it is advisable to consult this source alongside the criminal rolls of the aldermen.

All death sentences had to be approved by the High Government. It could overrule a criminal verdict by granting clemency. When a new Governor-General was installed, it was customary to release a number of the members of the chain gang and other felons, over the heads of the aldermen. This emptied out the dungeons under the town hall (*stadsboeien*) to some extent. When Governor-General Cornelis Speelman took office in 1681, no less than thirty-nine Dutch chain-gang convicts were released, and the female house of correction was relieved of four Dutch and four Asian women. Five persons, among them Imam Coeningh, were recalled from their exile at the Cape.³⁰

In the 1650s and 1660s the work of the College of Aldermen in Batavia which involved minor offences and minor court cases mounted steadily. These were usually handed over to two delegated alderman and a commissioner for matrimonial affairs. In 1673 the High Government decided

to relieve the court of these matters once and for all. Thereafter all minor cases were heard by the commissioners of matrimonial affairs; this board was then expanded by one extra member (see below).³¹

In 1697, acquiescing in a request from the aldermen, the High Government decided to raise the number of members of the College of Aldermen from seven to nine 'for the well-being and government of this city and its district (*Ommelanden*)'.³² Keeping an eye on the inhabitants of the *Ommelanden* and the supervision of the work on the new ring canal especially demanded extra manpower. In view of the fact that shortly afterwards the aldermen refused to have anything to do with the ring canal, a separate board, the *College van Heenraden*, a sort of District or Shire Council but literally a Water Authority based on an ancient Dutch body, was founded. Naturally, in the same year the number of alderman was reduced again from nine to seven.³³

One other important task of the College of Aldermen was the registration of the transfer of real estate and slaves. In Batavia it was forbidden to transfer real estate without a deed issued by the College of Aldermen. Nevertheless, there were instances in which real estate was transferred by notarial deed, which meant that the 10 per cent of the conveyancing tax was evaded. This was equally true of the buying and selling of slaves, in which the intervention of notaries was also often sought. What might and might not be done, and what the actual practice was requires an enormous amount of research. Finally, the aldermen were presented with new Instructions by Daendels on 13 March 1809.³⁴

2. The Board of Governors of the Orphan Chamber (*Het College van Weesmeesters, Weeskamer*) 1624-1885

On 1 October 1624, the High Government appointed four governors of orphans and trustees to settle the estates of deceased Company officials and citizens.³⁵ This marked the establishment of the first Board of Governors of the Orphan Chamber. A code or regulation consisting of forty-nine articles was promulgated by decree the following year, 1625, on 16 June.³⁶ Initially this board was made up of three or four members, a few of whom were burghers. Every year, after the election of the College of Aldermen, the new aldermen were presented with the names of several candidates to be governors of the Orphan Chamber. From this list, the High Government chose five suitable persons: two Company officials

and three burghers. On 6 June 1670 the board was expanded to seven members: a Councillor or Extra-ordinary Councillor of the Indies as president, two Company officials, and four citizens.³⁷

The duties of the Board of Governors of the Orphan Chamber included: the protection of the interests of full orphans or of minors without either a father or a mother (half orphans) and the management of the unclaimed estates of Europeans who died without heirs.³⁸ Remarriage was a frequent occurrence in the tropics, and the Orphan Chamber bore the responsibility for seeing that children did not lose their rightful portion of the capital which had been built up during the former marriage of their father or mother. It nursed the capital until the boy or girl either married or attained the age of majority.

When a death occurred, before the funeral the grave-digger (sexton) was obliged to inform the Governors of the Orphan Chamber (or its secretary) about who had died and if there was a will. The secretary then noted the name of the deceased in the death register. For the notification and registration, the grave-digger and the secretary were each paid six stivers. Afterwards, the beadle had to summon the bereaved husband or wife to the Orphan Chamber. Within six weeks, the surviving mother or father had to grant access to the capital so that it could be registered in the orphan book. The Orphan Chamber was then responsible for managing the capital until the children reached the age of majority.³⁹

If both father and mother were deceased, it was the duty of the next-of-kin or neighbours to come to the town hall. The legacy was then sold at public auction by the town auctioneer: household goods and chattels; clothes; jewellery; slaves and the like (see the archive of the *Vendukantoor*). The beneficiaries of the proceeds of this public sale were the orphaned children. Usually the capital raised was lent to the Company by the Orphan Chamber at a fixed rate of interest. The Orphan Chamber had to take charge of the housing, clothing, and upbringing of the orphans or half-orphans.

In a place as far away as Batavia, it was a regular occurrence that there were no heirs to make a claim to the inheritance after a death. Under these circumstances, the Orphan Chamber retained this capital under its trusteeship. If the orphans had reached the age of majority, the money was only paid out to them when it had been ascertained that they resided in such VOC settlements as Batavia, Malacca, Banda, Colombo and so on. Even in these cases, the Orphan Chamber kept the capital under its aegis until

the status and the location of the heirs had been unequivocally established. In such an uncertain situation, the heirs were known as *onbekende weesen* (unknown orphans). As this was not an uncommon occurrence, the capital managed by the Orphan Chamber steadily accumulated. In 1692 the reserves of the Orphan Chamber already stood at 1,594,459 rix-dollars, of which 76,891.38 was in the account of the unknown orphans.⁴⁰

At the end of the seventeenth century, it was becoming increasingly customary to exclude the Orphan Chamber from the management of the capital bequeathed in a will. Despite this exclusion, the Orphan Chamber was still an essential provision for overseas Europeans. It was a guarantee that testamentary depositions and legacies would be settled. As did such other institutions as the Court of Justice and the Church Council, the Batavian Orphan Chamber acted as a central point from which the interests of minors could be properly arranged. The Orphan Chamber corresponded with various similar Dutch institutions in such VOC towns as Amsterdam, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Middelburg, Vlissingen, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, and Delft. Other towns such as Utrecht, Arnhem, Zutphen also appear in the administration.

The Batavian Orphan Chamber was important to the whole of the chartered territory of the VOC. The Orphan Governors in Ceylon (Colombo, Galle, Jaffnapatnam) and India (Cochin on the Malabar Coast, Houghly in Bengal, and Nagapatnam on the Coromandel Coast), all kept contact with their counterpart in Batavia. For instance, they forwarded copies of their financial administration to Batavia. The administration of the legacies left by Europeans who died in other VOC factories was registered in Batavia in the Malacca Orphan Books, the Ambon Orphan Books and the like.

The virtually unstudied archive of the Orphan Chamber sheds light on family names, as well as on the legacies and possessions of the overseas European population group. Hence it is a rewarding source for genealogists, as it was also kept consistently until in the late nineteenth century. Under Daendels, the Orphan and Estate Chambers (for Asians, see below) in various places were merged in 1808, but those in Batavia continued to run independently. In 1818 after the restoration of Dutch authority, by decree of 23 October 1818 new Instructions for the Orphan Chamber were drawn up. Most of the old procedures laid down in the Batavian Statutes of 1642 (renewed in 1766) remained in force. Another new set of Instructions was drawn up in 1828. Finally, it is interesting to note that

the Chambers of the Governors of the Orphan Chamber and of the Deceased Estate Chamber still continued to exist individually until 1835, and only then were they merged.⁴¹

3. The District Council (*College van Heemraden*) 1664-1809

On 19 September 1664, a District Council known as the *College van Heemraden* was established 'according to the fashion customary in the fatherland'. For quite some time the Councillors of the Indies had been aware that the sheriff had too much work on his plate supervising the *Ommelanden* (the outlying area of Batavia) and the private estates. Not only were there frequent squabbles between the land-owners, the landed properties and estates were also too widely scattered for them to be scrupulously supervised and registered. In the year of its foundation, the council consisted of the sheriff and three members of the High Government: Pieter Anthonisz Overtwater, Pieter van Hoorn, and Joan Thuysz. At least as head of the Company stables, the last-mentioned, must have been acquainted with the *Ommenlanden*.⁴²

The precise remit of this council is unknown. From the fact that the High Government decided to reinforce the District Council with three extra members in 1672, it can be deduced that it was still operating. Interestingly, one of these three was Lieutenant Frederick Müller, an experienced but rough and ready customer who spoke Javanese. On this occasion, the sheriff was also given a deputy and four servants to add to the six he already had.⁴³ Possibly this was primarily connected with keeping the peace in the *Ommelanden*, and apparently supervision of public works was left, as it always had been, to the College of Aldermen.

This assumption is confirmed by the refusal of the aldermen to be any longer responsible for the supervision of the excavation of the new ring drainage canal in 1679. After 'various differences of opinion', which may only be surmised, the High Government decided that from that time on 'a special and separate council of Company officials and citizens' should be appointed to supervise such public works. The regular councillor Dirk Blom was appointed president, and a merchant and three citizens made up the rest of the members. The new council was entitled *President en Heemraden van Batavia's Ommelanden* (President and Members of the District Council/Water Authority of the District of Batavia), but initially had no duties other than the supervision of the excavation of the ring canal.⁴⁴

On 21 May 1680, Councillors Anthonio Hurdt

and Dirk Blom, as presidents of the College of Aldermen and of the District Council respectively, were ordered to draw up draft regulations for the district councillors, 'for the care and well-being and improvement of the general estates [...] and [to assess] how much could and might be produced and distributed in and around these by the College of Aldermen and the district councillors'. The draft regulations were discussed and approved in the meeting of 23 July, and five days later proclaimed in an edict, after which they were included in the Batavian Statutes.⁴⁵

After the first members had been appointed and sworn in,⁴⁶ it was decided that in future the nomination of new members would be done by the council itself, and that they 'should not be up for any other nominations or elections to any of the other civil boards of this town'. The council was also granted a permanent secretary and a beadle.⁴⁷ This was an easy way for the High Government to retain control of the estates, the granting of land, and the improvement of the infrastructure. As the president of the District Council was invariably a member of the Council of the Indies, direct communication about innumerable matters to do with the *Ommelanden* could take place through him.

On 23 March 1685, the High Government decided to expand the number of members on the District Council by two, making nine in all. As a new member, the Senior Merchant and Clerk of Public Works Adriaan de Man was given the specific task of keeping a check on the bridges which normally required a great many repairs. In that year, Extra-Ordinary Councillor of the Indies Joan van Hoorn was president and Sheriff Vincent van Mook was vice-president. The captains commanding the outer forts on the east and west sides of the city also had *ex-officio* places in the council.⁴⁸ During meetings, the Company officials and the citizens sat alternately next to each other around the table.⁴⁹

In view of the fact that members of the High Government often could not make sufficient time available to be president of the District Council, this position was often given to an ex-governor of one of the outlying territories.⁵⁰ The position of vice-president was filled by the sheriff. The nine members of the council divided up their duties as follows: two members were chief wardens of the quarters in the west; two of those in the south; and two of those in the east; responsible for thirty-three quarters in all. One member was put in charge of receiving one-tenth of the sheaths of rice (*padie*) harvested from the estates which had not been apportioned (*onuitgegeven*), in other words

Company land. One of the members held the office of *Gecommitteerde voor de saaken der Inlander* (Commissioner in Charge of Native Affairs). In the initial years his main job was to try to combat the illegal settlement of Javanese in the *Ommelanden*.⁵¹

Usually the elections for the new District Council were held in tandem with the new apportionment of the new wardens of the city quarters. Each year first the wardens of the Eastern Area and then a week later those of the Western Area were summoned to the board room of the District Council. One week previously, the wardens had been warned by the beadle that this would happen. New members were appointed to take the place of those who had died or moved. This was done using a list of names which had been compiled by the wardens. After 'examination and investigation', as was the custom, the district councillors chose the replacements from this list of names. This choice had to be ratified by the High Government.⁵²

The District Council and the city wardens were jointly responsible for the registration of the population in the *Ommelanden*. In December, the beadle reminded the wardens and the heads of the constituent neighbourhoods that at the end of the month they would be obliged to deliver their *wijkrollen*, their registers of inhabitants, and their ward books. In 1706 it was decided to move this event to August in future as the west monsoon often hindered an accurate registration.⁵³ Even after that the wardens still often fiddled the records. The members of the District Council then had to compile these separate lists into a general district roll for the *Ommelanden*, which was annually forwarded to the Netherlands with the general district roll (compiled by the College of Aldermen).

The administration of the District Council was entrusted to the hands of a secretary. The Council employed a secretary, a beadle, and one or more surveyors and junior surveyors who measured the land and made maps. The District Council office also employed two clerks. Every time a new secretary was appointed, he had all the collected and indexed archives and papers transferred to him. He was also the custodian of the maps old and new. In the *padie* roll (register), he kept a tally of how many sheaths of rice had been delivered to the Company grain silo by the rice-growing tenants on the Company land. It is likely that the secretary also took care of this administration prior to 1664. Among these papers there are estate records for the years 1634-1639 and an estate letter book from 1661-1697.⁵⁴

The office of the District Council was located in premises outside the town proper on the

eastern side. The office was surrounded by a beautiful garden and an orchard in which what was known as ‘the mango feast’ was organized for the orphans by the Poor Relief Board every year. The sheriffs were obliged to attend the meetings of the District Council. People who had trespassed against decrees on keeping roads clean and the maintenance of bridges, not to mention illegally closing the sluices, could be summoned to the office. This was citing the law of *assurante ingelanden*. The district councillors had the authority to collect fines, but could not impose corporal punishment.

It was the District Council which supervised the licensing of the sugar mills, brick- and tile- works, and the lime kilns. It also bore the responsibility for keeping an eye on the estates and woods belonging to the Company. It was usual for 10 per cent of the rice produced on the estates to be handed over. The district councillors were accountable for the conservation of the Company woods, felling permits, and the illegal removal of firewood. Some of the Company estates as well as a number of the fish ponds were rented out. The inhabitants of a number of *kampong* which were situated on Company land also had to pay lease money. It was also the duty of the councillors to collect the vehicle tax. Lists of the names of those owning a vehicle are recorded in the resolution books of the council.

Although the archive of the District Council is not very extensive, it remains the most important source for the history of the *Ommelanden* of Batavia. It contains data on the development of the agricultural economy, water management, ‘Indonesian’ groups (ethnically mixed to become ‘orang Betawi’, the Asian Batavian group), Chinese, land reclamation and ownership, and old place names.

At the suggestion of Governor-General Daendels, the District Council was abolished on 7 February 1809. The members were thanked for their services and discharged from their duties, and the College of Aldermen was ordered to assume all the tasks they had previously performed.⁵⁵ It fell to the Commissioner for Native Affairs to settle all civil and domestic matters and quarrels occurring in the jurisdiction of the sheriff. The chance was seized to alter the administrative division of the *Ommelanden*. Thereafter, these were divided up into four *Schoutambachten* (shires), each under its own sheriff and deputy-sheriff who were accommodated in special official residences in their own areas.⁵⁶ The number of native commanders was reduced from thirteen to seven.⁵⁷

4. The Board of Commissioners for Marital Affairs and Minor Court Cases (*College van Huwelijke en Kleine Gerechtszaken*) 1656-1812

In 1632 the High Government decided that the aldermen should also act as commissioners in marital affairs. The upshot is that the early archive of the Bench of Aldermen also contains various marriage certificates drawn up by the aldermen in this capacity. From 1 July 1641, the Commissioners for Marital Affairs were accorded their own office – following the example of Amsterdam – and their own president or chairman. The name was changed on 3 June 1656 to the Board of (Commissioners for) Marital and Minor Affairs (Court Cases). On that date, the High Government decreed that two or three members of the College of Alderman would be seconded every month to sit on minor court cases (petty sessions), for which they would be joined by a member likewise seconded from the Board of Matrimonial Affairs. These were actually matters which fell with the job description of the aldermen but carried a penalty of a fine not exceeding 100 *reals*, ‘all civil actions of slander, brawling, fighting and the like’.

In 1673 the two aldermen delegated from the College were relieved of dealing with the minor cases and the settlement of such matters was handed over entirely to the Board for Matrimonial Affairs, which from then on was known definitively as the Board for Matrimonial Affairs and Minor Cases. Given that in future this board would be able to hear minor cases without the assistance of the delegated aldermen, in fact a new board was created.⁵⁸ Two members handled matrimonial affairs, and two members occupied themselves with the minor court cases. This board was presided over by a Company official with the rank of Chief Merchant, or by an ex-Governor, as was also the case with the District Council. In 1812 this board was abolished and its authority passed to the Magistracy of Batavia.⁵⁹

The office of secretary or secret clerk to the Board of Commissioners for Matrimonial Affairs could coincide with that of the notary public. At least, when secretary (and free burgher) Nicholaes de With died in 1660, his office as ‘a local notary public’ fell vacant. Various free burghers volunteered to fill the vacancy. Anthony Huysman was appointed the new secretary by the High Government and Philip Kanselaer became the new notary public.⁶⁰ Besides holding his position as secretary, Huysman continued to work as a notary public. He had been articulated as notary by the Supreme Court in the Netherlands (*Hof*

van Holland) and worked in Batavia as a notary from 1646-1673, as well as being secretary to the Board of Matrimonial Affairs from 1660. He left a voluminous archive. Nothing is known about Van Kanselaer, and his example shows that there were more notaries than those in the list cited in the inventory.

After 1656, the Commissioners for Matrimonial Affairs were responsible for registering the banns in registers known as the banns books. The marriage banns were announced in one of the churchyards on three consecutive Sundays: for Dutch people in that of the Nederduitse town church; for *Mardijkers* (see IV.1) in that of the Inner and Outer Portuguese Churches; and for Malay speakers in that of the Malay church. If the ministers were not presented with any objections as to why the proposed marriage should not take place, they informed the commissioners of this. They also noted the names in the register of marriage announcements. It was the duty of the commissioners to ensure that there were not legal hindrances to a marriage. This involved being mindful of the fact that the Batavian Statutes decreed that the following categories of citizens were not allowed to marry each other 'Christians with non-Christians, heathens, or Moors (Indian Muslims)'. Slaves were forbidden to marry free women, and in principle slaves belonging to different owners should not marry each other. Company officials could only marry with the permission of the Governor-General.⁶¹

The administration of marriages by the churches and by the Commissioners for Matrimonial Affairs were both later included in the archives of the Civil Registry.

5. The Trustees for the Deceased Estates of Chinese and other non-Christian Bereaved (*College van Boedelmeesters van Chinese en andere Onchristen Sterfhuizen, Boedelkamer*) 1640-1885

On 26 May 1640, the High Government appointed a Board of Trustees for Chinese Deceased Estates, usually referred to as the Deceased Estates Chamber.⁶² In houses where people had died, there was regular talk of fraud and embezzlement pertaining to the estates. In order to combat this, the High Government wanted a stricter regulation of problems related to deceased estates among the Chinese. From that year two Dutchmen and two Chinese formed the Deceased Estates Chamber for the Chinese and later for other Asian deceased estates.

In its initial years the leaders of the Chinese community had to struggle to accept this

institution. They considered the colonial intervention in Chinese deceased estates to be an infringement of their rights. Some Chinese even moved from Batavia in order to evade the clutches of the Deceased Estates Chamber. After many Chinese protests, the High Government agreed to dissolve the chamber in 1648. However, at the end of 1655 the Deceased Estates Chamber was resurrected for precisely the same reasons as before.⁶³ With the passing of time, it no longer dealt only with Chinese deceased estates, and a few Javanese were admitted to the administration. In 1752, for instance, besides the four Dutchmen (a chief merchant, a citizen, a junior merchant, and another citizen), four Asians were also members: Soeta Wangsa as Captain of the Eastern (side) Javanese alongside the Chinese Tan Souko; Bakti the Captain of the Javanese of the Western Side of the City alongside the Chinese Que Hoko.⁶⁴ The archives reveal that the Deceased Estates Chamber also regularly dealt with the wills of people from the Moorish or Arab communities. In fact, in principle its remit encompassed – as the name indicates – all the non-Christian population groups.

The archive of the Deceased Estates Trustees closely resembles that of the Orphan Chamber. The warrant for the Deceased Estates Chamber (1642) was – with the exception of a few amendments and later changes – copied from that of the Orphan Chamber. Just as the archive of the Orphan Chamber, that of the Deceased Estates Chamber also contains notifications of the Trustees and copies of wills (collated in the Chinese Hospital), auction catalogues (held in the presence of the Deceased Estates Trustees), ledgers and journals of capital and suchlike. What still remains of this archive is therefore also important to the history of the overseas Asians (especially the Chinese) in Batavia. Unfortunately, the bulk of this archive has disappeared.

The Trustees of the Chinese Asian Deceased Estates Chamber were nominated annually by the College of Aldermen and selected by the High Government. When a Chinese person died, the widow or widower, family members, neighbours, even the slaves had the duty to inform the president of the Deceased Estates Office of the event 'straightaway and at once'. Any negligence in doing so incurred an immediate fine of 25 *reals*, if necessary, supplemented by corporal punishment. When a Chinese from Batavia died at sea, the captain of the ship had to make an inventory of the papers of the deceased in the presence of witnesses and then take custody of them until the ship arrived in Batavia. After having been informed of this, a few delegates from the

Deceased Estates Chamber immediately drew up a list of the assets and liabilities of the deceased, and of his goods and chattels. If the legal heirs were still minors, absent, or insolvent, the goods were sold to the highest bidder at a public auction, and the creditors paid. Minors were supported using the monthly interest accruing on the capital. And, just as was done with the European orphans, the Chinese orphans were 'put out to board with good people and taken care of and raised according to their circumstances'.⁶⁵

The Deceased Estates Trustees also ran the Chinese hospital. They were authorized to collect a tax on funerals, weddings, and the theatre (Chinese shadow theatre). The tax money was used to support the sick and needy in the Chinese community.⁶⁶

The influence exerted by the High Government and the College of Aldermen on the Deceased Estates Chamber was great. Just as the other boards in Batavia, the Deceased Estates Chamber had to present an annual financial statement to the High Government and the College of Aldermen. The surviving dossiers with extract resolutions of this, and incidentally also other urban boards, indicate that the Chinese Deceased Estates Chamber was well entrenched among all the other urban institutions. Although the number of Asians in Batavia was far higher than that of the Europeans or Christians, in comparison to the Orphanage Chamber, in the seventeenth century the Deceased Estates Chamber was poor. In 1680 the Trustees complained to the High Government that they had to resort to litigation on a daily basis to salvage the deceased estates left by the Chinese. In view of the fact that the costs involved were subtracted from the estates, often not much of any value remained. The estates were 'generally in a very impoverished and bad condition' and could not bear the brunt of any high costs. However, the request made by the Deceased Estates Trustees to be able to appeal directly to the Court of Justice, bypassing any intervention by the College of Aldermen, was rejected by the High Government.⁶⁷

In the eighteenth century the capital of the Deceased Estates Chamber gradually mounted. Although Daendels merged the Orphan and Deceased Estates Chambers in other places, in Batavia they remained separate institutions. It was only by Decree of 27 January 1885 that the Board of Deceased Estates Trustees was transferred to the Batavian Orphanage Chamber. In that year the Orphanage Chamber was extended by one European member, one Chinese member, and two native members. One interesting point, in the nineteenth century the income and expenditure of

the Deceased Estates Chamber was comparable to that of the Orphanage Chamber, even though the Deceased Estates Chamber had to support more wards for the same money.⁶⁸

6. Notaries 1620-1822

The first notary to be appointed in Jaccatra (Batavia) on 27 August 1620 was Melchior Kerchem.⁶⁹ At that time he was also the secretary to the College of Alderman, but in November of that same year this office was separated from that of notary public. The remit of Van Kerchem, who only held office until 12 November,⁷⁰ was to practise as a notary within the jurisdiction of Jaccatra by drawing up deeds and contracts for the community. The first set of regulations for notaries dates from 1625 and these were supplemented with prescriptions and rules which were laid down in the Batavian Statutes of 1642, and again in the New Batavian Statutes of 1766.⁷¹

The office of notary should be seen as a supplementary provision to the work of the secretary of the Court of Justice and his counterpart for the College of Aldermen. In both these legal organizations, their secretaries drew up deeds in the presence of witnesses, each assisted by an articulated clerk who were available to speak to the citizens at counters open to the public. Until 1650 there were always two notaries public working in the town, thereafter this number was raised to three or four. As the city expanded and grew in complexity, the notaries executed an increasing number of legal documents for people who were unknown to them personally. Should any conflict arise, various people could be asked fairly arbitrarily to act as a witness. In Batavia, when quarrels erupted it was the custom to have witness statements (affidavits) or *attestaties* taken down at the office of a notary. When this happened, it became increasingly usual for random passers-by or acquaintances to be asked to act as witness. In 1668, the High Government decided to put an end to this use of unknown witnesses, and to this end had all the notaries summoned to the Court of Justice. In the presence of the Council, Article Nine from an old decree of Emperor Charles V was read out, and sanctions were threatened. This decree stated that notaries were obliged to keep a register and record of all contracts, wills and other deeds which they executed. They were forbidden to draw up any bonds, promissory notes or contracts, wills or other legal documents for persons unknown to them. Furthermore, the place or city of residence of the persons for whom the deed was executed had to be noted in the document itself.⁷²

Although they were examined and their activities were scrutinized by the Court of Justice, a notary was an independent businessman and not a public servant. He was also obliged to grant his services to whoever requested them, 'both poor and rich, if need be free or by the grace of God'.⁷³ This rule made sure that in practice a notary had to lend assistance to even the most indigent European or Asian, as the case may be slaves. The disadvantage was that it was impossible to grow rich from this sort of client. Therefore, initially the notaries did not enjoy a very high status, and the only public body they were allowed to join was the civil militia. It was only in 1682 that they became eligible for nomination to one of the urban boards.⁷⁴

Despite this, the office of notary was attractive enough for it to be inherited from father to son. Johannes Mauris trained his son Johannes Mauris de Jonge from an early age, but the latter was only permitted to take over his father's office, not to strike out for himself. Johannes will have inherited his father's clients, just as a new notary sometimes took over the deeds of his predecessor. For instance, in 1669 Pieter van Leeuwen petitioned the High Government to take over the practice of the late Meyndert Houmes, for which permission was granted.⁷⁵

The origins of the notaries were very disparate. Sometimes lawyers came to Batavia for the express purpose of opening a practice as a notary. One example is Jan van Henk who arrived in Banten on the decommissioned English warship the *Constantinople Marchand* in September 1670, without any prospective position. He lost no time settling himself in Batavia as a free burgher, but had to wait for a year before he could practise as a notary.⁷⁶ Another, Almoner Adriaen Steerlinx, had practised as a notary from an earlier age and had had his articles sworn before by the Supreme Court in the Netherlands. Once articulated, he had worked as a notary in Amsterdam for several years. When the notary Jacob Overheul died in 1675, Steerlinx took over his practice.⁷⁷ Until he was granted permission to open a practice, David Dispontijn worked as a bookkeeper.⁷⁸ Just as Steerlinx had been, Frederik Michault was already admitted by the Supreme Court and had worked as a notary on Banda, before he was admitted in Batavia.⁷⁹ In that same year, Assistant David Reguleth from Solor (a Mestizo) was appointed to replace Jan Keyzers of Breda, who had been given permission to return home. Before this, Reguleth had worked in Batavia for long years as a clerk.⁸⁰

All these examples show that there were plenty of people interested in a notary's practice and

that they were prepared to wait for their turn for a place. However, it was in the interests of the established notaries to see that the number of practices did not proliferate. In 1685, when the notary Reynoldus Brouwerius died, his confrères came to the Castle to complain that five was too many notaries in Batavia, and three or four would be quite sufficient. Their complaint fell on deaf ears, and the High Government decided 'on mature reflection' to stimulate the notaries to greater diligence. Consequently, after an examination by the Court of Justice, the bookkeeper Christoffel van Outers was appointed a new notary.⁸¹

Later, the fifth notary was abolished, only to be introduced again in 1718. Two years later, four notaries were once again enough to handle the needs of the town, but in 1731 there were again six. That they kept a keen eye on their finances can be deduced from the fact that in 1751 four of the five notaries lived in the cheaper western part of the city, and none on the eastern side. The newly appointed Gouset was obliged to open an office there on the expensive Tijgersgracht.

Again in the eighteenth century, accuracy sometimes had to be sacrificed to the urge to have a good turnover, especially where witnesses were concerned. The notaries were obliged to retake their oath and the parties involved had to sign the documents to be executed. On 24 August 1762, all the orders and regulations pertaining to the notaries were 'revised, extended, and decreed' by the High Government and the Court of Justice was advised to collect these regulations in a compendium, which it should have read out to the notaries once a year. Nevertheless, even after this it was still a not uncommon occurrence for faulty deeds to be drawn up and the High Government was constantly recommending new rules, especially relating to the executing of the wills of Company officials.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the population of Batavia dropped. This downswing affected the notaries' practices as there was less work to be done. On 14 May 1773, the number of notaries within the town was reduced to three or four, and outside the city proper to one, and on 13 July 1792 only three might practise in the town.⁸² Around 1789, notaries were also permitted to execute deeds outside Batavia and some were specially appointed for the *Ommelanden*. In 1822 the notary became a civil servant and a new regulation was drawn up.⁸³

Of all the Batavian archives, it is that of the notaries which brings us closest to the multi-ethnic society. This is because Asians frequently visited notaries' offices. As was mentioned earlier, the

1625 regulation prescribed that notaries had to be at the disposal of ‘all who seek for it [their services]’. The poor even had to be helped without recompense. Right from the outset, notarial services to the Asian population seem to have run smoothly. In 1642, the Chinese were obliged to have their deeds executed by a notary or secretary, and they were not longer allowed to arrange such matters among themselves. From that time, the notaries were not permitted to execute a deed unless this had first been read out and signed in the presence of the parties concerned and witnesses. The upshot was that many Asians visited notaries’ offices to act as witnesses. This means that the archive of the Batavian notaries is the most important for the history of the weal and woe of the Asian population of Batavia.

IV. The Ecclesiastical Boards of Batavia

1. The Reformed Church Council (*Kerkenraad*) 1621

On 21 January 1621 the first session of the Batavian Reformed (Protestant) Church Council, which had been provisionally established at the insistence of J.P. Coen, was held. Under the aegis of this provisional church council, the first Lord’s Supper was celebrated by approximately forty committed Calvinists on 3 January 1621. The need felt for such a celebration had been the direct reason for the founding of this ecclesiastical institution.

The Batavian Church Council (1621) and the Poor Relief Board (1648) were responsible for the Dutch-, Malay-, and Portuguese-language church congregations, which all had their own premises. The Malay-speaking Christians attended what was known as the Malay or Hospital Church (1678). The Portuguese-speaking congregation even had as many as three churches: the Portuguese Inner Church (1672), situated within the town walls; the Portuguese Outer Church (1695) outside the walls (now *Gereja Sion*), and the church at Tugu. The important minute books of the Batavian Church Council have been published up to the year 1629 by J. Mooij.⁸⁴

The Poor Relief Board also looked after all these congregations, and just as the Church Council consisted of European members. The archives of both institutions are largely concerned with the community of slaves and free people who were converted to Protestantism in the seventeenth century, the majority of them of Indian descent. The free men among them, called *Mardijkers* (a collective noun for Asian and not legitimized Indo-European Christians) tended to shrink in

the eighteenth century, when the church assumed a more European or Indo-European character. Exercises in ecclesiastical discipline and poor relief were very important in the traditional Reformed churches. These had turned out to be important instruments in the Christianizing and disciplining of the various population groups.⁸⁵

The Batavian Church Council was autonomous and administratively did not fall under any other organization. Nevertheless, the ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters were paid by the VOC. The resolution books of the High Government mention innumerable ecclesiastical matters, especially of a personal nature. It also maintained a close relationship with various Dutch Classes, especially in the VOC Chamber towns Amsterdam, Middelburg, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen, as well as with the synods of North and South Holland and Zeeland. These Dutch ecclesiastical organizations took care of the recruiting, examining, and dispatching of ministers and almoners. It was the custom of the synods to send their reports to the various church councils in Asia. These reports are still to be found in the archive of the Batavian Church Council. Every year, the Batavian Church Council dispatched general reports to the classes and synods in Holland and Zeeland, recounting the state of the churches and schools within the chartered territory of the VOC. These are known as the *Generale Kerkstaten*. There was also informal correspondence with the Netherlands, carried on in private letters and oral reports. In comparison to the details found in the VOC reports, the information in the formal exchange of letters is often rather scrappy.

The Batavian Church Council received the information for the compilation of the *Generale Kerkstaten* from other church councils in Asia, which were also autonomous. The ecclesiastical archive contains bundles of letters received from such places as Ambon, Banda, Ternate, Makassar, Timor and the like. Until not very long ago, this correspondence was unknown, because these bundles of letters had been put away in the various provincial archives. The Church Council archive is very important to the study of the history of the oldest Protestant church in Asia, the Christianization of Eastern Indonesia, and the relationship between Christianity and Islam.⁸⁶

The Church Council, which was composed of ministers and elders, supervised the preaching engagements, the administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper, the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, poor relief (until 1648), pastoral care by visitors of the sick, catechism instruction by catechists, the work of the schoolmasters, the training of catechists

and schoolmasters, the translation of catechism materials and the Bible; the dispatching of ministers to other Asian congregations; and the correspondence with various congregations and ecclesiastical bodies in the Netherlands. This probably meant that this Church Council was busier than any similar random body in a Dutch town.

Until 1669, the Batavian Church Council had to make do with only six ministers. The number of elders, which was originally also six, was raised to eight upon the election of a new Church Council on 10 January 1673.⁸⁷ Five years later the Church Council requested this be raised to ten, not just because the congregation had grown markedly but also because in the meantime those elders who were Company officials had sometimes been suddenly posted to other places by the Company.⁸⁸ The expansion of the number of ministers reached its highest point in 1749 when it reached twelve. Although in most cases the Church Council was free to tread its own path, its sessions were often attended by a Political Commissioner. He was a Councillor of the Indies who had to pay attention to church affairs which also impinged on the administration. For instance, he acquainted himself with the contents of the church correspondence which was sent off to the Netherlands, and had a say in the sending of the ministers and almoners to other Protestant congregations in Asia under the VOC.

2. The Poor Relief Board (*College van Diakenen, Diaconie*)

The Protestant Poor Relief Board was the only form of welfare for the poor of the Batavia organized by the Dutch. The first two deacons were chosen in 1621. According to the church orders of 1624, their duties consisted of collecting alms, paying out doles, and making a declaration of their accounts to the Church Council. Until 1648, the deacons were members of the Church Council, after that they formed their own council. The documents reveal that even before that year the deacons had kept their own administration: a cash book for the capital; books of collection money; and the monthly accounts of the poor houses and the orphanage.⁸⁹

From 1648, an independent Council of Deacons which consisted of five members assumed these duties. The following year this Council was increased to six, in 1669 to eight, in 1671 to ten, and 1682 to twelve. As did the Church Council, the deacons of the Poor Relief Board met in the Consistory Chamber of the Nederduitse Church. Nevertheless, the Poor Relief Board operated

virtually independently of the Church Council. The administration of the Poor Relief Board was very copious and fortunately much of the original archive has survived. The administrations of the orphanage and the poor house have been lost. The most important resolution books of the Poor Relief Board have been preserved from 1700.

In the eighteenth century, the Poor Relief Board met twice monthly. At the beginning of February, the deacons gathered to appoint new members. Each year, half of the board resigned, so that any member could not sit on it longer than two years. After the appointment of the new members, the following functions were divided up:

- two external governors of the orphanage
- two external trustees of the poor house
- two visitors to the *buitenarmen* (those poor people who were not institutionalized but lived at home)
- two *procesbezorgers* and *legaatbezorgers* (servers of summonses and bequests – responsible for collecting fines from such bodies as the Court of Justice, and the collection of gifts, legacies, money from the poor boxes and suchlike)
- a bookkeeper for the current monthly accounts
- a *grootkassier* (chief cashier for the general administration)
- a *kleinkassier* (junior cashier for the payments to the poor)
- a scribe or keeper of the resolutions who kept the resolution books up-to-date.

The Poor Relief Board was also in charge of the care of orphans and from 1683, when adoption was better regulated, it played a greater role in the care of illegitimate children. Many Indo-European children found a home in the orphanage or were placed with private people. In the seventeenth century the Board also looked after the many poor Asian people who lived scattered throughout the city. After a drastic reorganization of poor relief to individual poor people, the poor house had become the most important refuge for the sick, the poor, and the insane by 1684. As the number of lepers in the city was steadily growing, a leper hospital was built in the vicinity of the redoubt Anké in 1666. Because of the danger of contagion, in 1681 a leper hospital was built on the island of Purmerent and the lepers were transferred there. Although this leper hospital did not fall officially under the aegis of the Poor Relief Board, from 1690 its income was derived from church collections. Just as the Poor Relief Board and the churchwardens (see below), the two external trustees of the leper hospital had to account for their annual financial statements (the annual accounts). They did this in the assembly room of the Board for Matrimonial Affairs and Minor Court Cases.

3. The Board of Churchwardens (*College van Kerkmeesters*) 1655

In 1655, the High Government appointed two churchwardens whose duty it was to supervise and care for church property. Included in the category church property were such items as church buildings, churchyards, and moveable property in the churches (pews, chairs, lamps, vessels for the Lord's Supper). Even the Church Council had no say in these material matters. The High Government – as did a magistrate in a Dutch city – fulfilled the function of churchwarden-in-chief. In the resolution books of the High Government, the annual accounts of the churchwardens approved by the Governor-General and Councillors are to be found each year.

Initially there were only two churchwardens for the Nederduitse City Church. In 1665, the Portuguese Inner Church had its own two churchwardens. The income of this church, as was that of the Nederduitse Church, was derived from funeral fees, the sale of graves, the hire of palls, and interest on saved capital. The annual accounts are the most important source about the income and expenditure of the churchwardens. For the seventeenth century they are pretty much the only sources.

The Nederduitse Church, the Portuguese Inner Church, and the Portuguese Outer Church all had their own grave-diggers (sextons) by the end of the seventeenth century. Those citizens of Batavia who attended the City Church were buried in the in the 'Hollands' churchyard. The grave-diggers kept the burial books (the *doodgraverrollen*) and were accountable to the churchwardens for this work. The sale and hire of graves and the hiring of funeral paraphernalia were also recorded. Moreover, the churchwardens were also responsible for the registers of the deaths of people who died in the Company hospital (the *hospitaalsdoodrol*), and those who were laid to rest in the slaves' burial ground. What has been preserved of the death registers of the Dutch churchyard, the Inner Portuguese and the Outer Portuguese churchyards, the slave burial ground in the Westerveld and that in the Oosterveld has been absorbed into the archive of the Civil Registry.

4. The Semarang Church Council (1753)

In the early eighteenth century the minister of Batavia began to make regular visits to other places in Java where VOC garrisons were stationed and consequently there was a need for pastoral care, and where baptisms and the

Lord's Supper had to be celebrated.⁹⁰ In 1712, the Reverend Abraham Feylingius handed the Council of Batavian Churches the report of his visitation and visits to Rembang, Semarang, Tegal, and Cirebon. In all these places the Protestant community was still very marginal. For instance, in Cirebon the minister had celebrated the Lord's Supper for only one person: Resident Jongbloet. The reports of the Reverends Anthoni Hoyer (1716), Philip Capelle (1719), Jacobus Canter Visscher (1729), and Johannes Wagardus (1738) all paint a similar picture, namely the activities of the Batavian ministers in Java were restricted to the Christians among the Europeans.

In the wake of the Chinese Uprising of 1741-1743 and the signing of a new contract with the *Susuhunan* of Mataram, the position of the VOC in Java became more entrenched. As a Lutheran, Governor-General Van Imhoff, who took office in 1743, was sympathetic to the idea of proselytizing Christianity in Java. He was convinced that religious zeal and good statesmanship were two sides of the one coin. During his visit to the court of Kartasura in 1746, Van Imhoff discussed the posting of two ministers: one in Semarang and one in Surabaya. The minister in Semarang would also be expected to visit Surakarta (as Kartasura had become), Tegal, Cirebon, Jepara, and Rembang every three months.

It was only in 1753 that the Batavian Church Council was in a position to send a few ministers to Semarang. The Reverend Johannes Wilhelmus Swemmelaar settled permanently in Semarang, and established a church council. In a detailed report in 1756, he wrote about the small groups of Christians to the west (Pekalongan, Tegal) and to the east (Kuala Demak, Jepara, Juwana, Rembang Gresik, Surabaya, Pasuruan, Bangkalan, and Sumenep in Madura) of Semarang. In the inland to the south there were also Christians in Ungaran, Salatiga, Bogo, and Yogyakarta.

It is striking that Lutherans and Roman Catholics composed a large proportion of the Christian communities in these places. Lutherans regularly participated in the Reformed celebration of the Lord's Supper. In Tegal, the Lutheran Resident, Carel Gustaef Falk, built the first church, as did the Lutheran Resident of Surabaya, Abraham Christoffel Coertsz, in 1759.

No archives of any of these churches have survived. However, the Church Council of Semarang acted as a central council from which ministers made regular visitations to neighbouring places to baptize and to preach.

The minutes of the Church Council of the Nederduitse Reformed Congregation in Semarang have been preserved from the foundation of the

first permanent council by the Reverend J.W. Swemmelaer in November 1753. As has already been indicated, these records are of importance not just to Semarang but also to the various Christian communities in other places along the north-east coast of Java.

5. The Lutheran Church Council 1746

In his *Considerations on the present state of the Netherlands East-Indies Company* in 1741, Baron G.W. van Imhoff – among innumerable other important matters – suggested officially permitting the Lutheran religion to be observed in Batavia and the Cape.⁹¹ On 3 April 1742 the Gentlemen Seventeen agreed to allow the observance of Lutheranism in the colonies. On 8 October 1743, after Van Imhoff had been officially inaugurated as Governor-General in Batavia, the High Government granted the Lutheran congregation permission to build a church. The ministers of the Nederduitse Reformed Church reacted very hostilely to this decision. After the first Lutheran pastor, Christoffel Miechels, arrived in July 1746, various conflicts flared up with the Reformed ministers about the right of the Lutheran Church to collect for its own poor, to conduct marriages, to baptize, and to bury its dead in its own churchyard. The Reformed Church wanted to retain its monopoly.

The inauguration of the new Lutheran Church took place on 28 September 1749. The Lutheran congregation underwent a modest growth in member numbers, but nevertheless Lutheranism was able to win itself a pertinent if unassuming position in the colonial society. After all, in the late eighteenth century, the difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed congregations was quite small, and this was the case in the other VOC settlements as well. In Semarang and other towns on the north-east coast of Java, it was then the custom for the Roman Catholics and Lutherans to have their children baptized by the Reformed minister. In fact, the congregations in Java were ecumenical in character.

After the British Interregnum which lasted until 1816, many people were of the opinion that it would be better for the two congregations to merge. Especially King William I, who was supreme governor of the colonies, was a protagonist of more church unity in the Netherlands Indies. In the Royal Decree of 11 December 1835, he let it be known that all Protestants were to form one church community.⁹² Five years later a *reglement* was approved which laid down the way the united church was to be administrated, and in 1844 the

Kerkbestuur (Board) of the Protestant Church in the Netherlands Indies started functioning. This Board replaced the Batavian Church Council as the central organ which looked after the interests of all the Protestant congregations in the Netherlands Indies. A member of the Council of the Indies or another high-ranking official acted as president. All Batavian ministers and three local dignitaries were appointed members. The board was not obliged to resign periodically. When a position fell vacant, the board proposed three members, from among whom the Governor-General chose one (*Reglement*, art. 6). As for the local congregations in Batavia, in 1821 the Lutheran congregation had informed the Reformed ministers that they wished to celebrate the Lord's Supper jointly with the Reformed community. Nevertheless, the actual merger of the two congregations only took place in 1854. Until the end of the colonial era the Protestant Church was by far the largest protestant community in the Netherlands Indies. Among its members Indonesians were in the majority. The minutes of the *Kerkbestuur*, which have been preserved only in part (1844-1897, 1926 and 1928-1948) and are kept in ANRI, are an important source for the history of both European and Indonesian Protestant Christianity in Indonesia, especially Eastern Indonesia.

V. Other Institutions and Persons

1. The Amfioen Society and Amfioen Directorate (*Amfioen Sociëteit* and *Amfioen Directie*) 1745-1794 en 1794-1808

Amfioen, opium, or *madat* (Malay) was a familiar product in Java. In 1628 it was counted among the incoming Javanese products on which a toll was collected. Around 1670, the burghers of Batavia began to mix opium with their tobacco, a strongly addictive combination which paved the way for addiction and criminality. Despite these problems, the VOC imported large quantities of Bengal opium which was offered for public sale by hundreds of *kanasters* or chests in the local market.⁹³

Traditionally it was Chinese middlemen who resold opium in Java. But private citizens were also increasingly beginning to earn money by selling opium which they purchased in the Straits of Malacca from English or Indian merchants. In 1743, the High Government sent special commissioners to Malacca to investigate the involvement of former Governor De Laver and of the prosecutor and the harbour master of Malacca in the opium trade.⁹⁴ The report which this commission sent to the High Government

sometime in the middle of 1745 revealed that the illegal private opium trade in Malacca had been experiencing a growth spurt since 1738 and that 'locally it had become run-of-the-mill'. Tin, pepper, and sugar were also smuggled but, alongside Moluccan spices, opium was the most important trading commodity for the VOC. Hence, the illegal trade in this product was highly damaging to the Company.

Against the background of the increasing contraband trade pursued by the inhabitants of Malacca and Batavia, in the middle of the eighteenth century questions began to be asked about whether or not the opium trade should be opened up to free burghers. It was suggested that more freedom of trade might be a means to counteract the visible economic decline of Batavia, where various private residences and trading company premises were literally teetering on the verge of collapse. Nor was the opium trade plain sailing for the Company, because it was a trade subject to enormously fluctuating prices. Yet another disadvantage was that the consignments of opium which had already been sold were often left lying around in warehouses for a very long time. The buyers only came to collect the chests when they had actually managed to resell the opium. By keeping the chests in warehouses at the cost of the Company, the (Chinese) traders first created a shortage on the market, before disposing of the product.

In order to solve these sorts of problems, Governor-General Van Imhoff, with the support of the Gentlemen Seventeen,⁹⁵ opted for a regulated, private trading company, financed by the sale of shares, the *Amfioen Sociëteit* (Opium Society). The VOC supplied this private company with opium, and assumed the responsibility of transporting the chests of opium to Semarang, Surabaya, Makassar and other destinations. In this way, the VOC retained a share in the trade, those shareholders in the Republic who wanted to maintain the trade monopoly were satisfied, and the Company officials and private citizens could also enjoy the profits.

On 24 September 1745, Van Imhoff discussed his plans for an opium society in the meeting of the High Government.⁹⁶ His argument can be summed up as a society would guarantee the Company a stable market (expected profit one million guilders per annum), the shareholders would have a safe, well-distributed investment, and Batavia would benefit from a better circulation of money and more life would be breathed into its trade, 'for the benefit of the whole colony'. That very day the High Government decided to give the project its approval and the society

was granted a charter for a period of five years, commencing on 1 September 1745.⁹⁷ Consequently this date should be taken as the foundation of the *Amfioen* Society. Subscriptions were opened on 1 October, and only a few weeks later all 300 shares at 2000 rix-dollars per share had been subscribed. The placard with the text of all forty-two articles of the *Amfioen* Society was proclaimed on 30 November.⁹⁸

As was laid down in its articles, the *Amfioen* Society was composed of a director, two principal shareholders (from the Batavian citizenry), a cashier, and a bookkeeper who acted as secretary. This five-man executive committee met regularly. In the initial years, the principal shareholders (who owned more than ten shares) met very frequently, sometimes more than once a month. Governor-General Van Imhoff (as chief executive) and Director-General Jacob Mossel (as director) attended these meetings personally to discuss the dispatch of the chests of opium to the branch offices.

The articles stipulated that the society should purchase 1200 chests of opium from the Company at a price of 450 rix-dollars per chest. In half a year, the society had already sold 708 chests. After five years the net profit was roughly 150,000 rix-dollars per annum, and the society was buying 1800 chests a year.⁹⁹ Even though the *Amfioen* Society was making money hand over fist, as a private trading colony Batavia benefited very little from it. High-ranking Company officials – or their heirs – profited hugely, even after they had returned home. In 1769, 172 of the 300 shares were already circulating outside the Netherlands Indies. At the end of 1789 this was as many as 230, and in 1801, even though the society had long been in liquidation, there were still only fifty-six in Batavia, so that Batavian burghers did not benefit from the distribution of dividends and consequently the society totally missed its noble aim.¹⁰⁰

The charter of the society was reissued several times, and the articles adapted, but this did not prevent that, at the request of the *Heren XVII*, first a *Preparatoir Besogne* (a preparatory committee) and then a High Commission subjected the society to a critical investigation. In their report to the Gentlemen Seventeen of 15 January 1795, Nederburgh and Frijkenius wrote that, after taking the initial steps towards dissolving the society, they had sent the text of a placard to the High Government on 15 March 1794. That same day, the High Government had issued the proclamation by which the *Amfioen* Society was formally dissolved.¹⁰¹

All the activities of the former *Amfioen* Society

were placed under the supervision of an *Amfioen* Directorate 'for the dissolution of the society'. This provisional directorate was changed by the High Government to an *Amfioen* Directorate 'responsible to the Company'. One of the most important duties of the *Amfioen* Directorate was the indemnification of the shareholders of the society. The money from the dissolved society was sent to the shareholders, the majority of whom were in Europe, by the Company Paymaster General's office, often only after protracted delays. At the same time, this *Amfioen* Directorate was expected to continue the trade and make a profit. The director was a member of the High Government. Besides huge emoluments, the members of the new directorate received a small percentage of the net profit annual turnover. This provided the Governor-General and the Director-General with the chance 'to improve the modest incomes of their illustrious offices'. The opium was sold at a public auction, and, according to the calculations of the High Commission, if the Company were to sell 950 chest annually, 'under the aegis of the new direction, [it] would make more profit than it had [...] enjoyed benefits in the last ten years'. Simultaneously with the reorganization of the society, a number of decrees condemning *morshandel* (smuggling) were seriously examined. In view of the fact that the judicial officials, as the seizers of the contraband goods, received a portion of the profits from their sale, for years they had been benefiting greatly from the smuggling.¹⁰² On 17 September 1808, the *Amfioen* Directorate was abolished by Governor-General Daendels.

2. The Batavian Loan-Bank (Bataviase Bank van Lening, 1746-1752); the Deposit Bank and the Loan-Bank (Bank-Courant en Bank van Lening, 1752-1794); Loan Bank (Bank van Lening, 1794-1818)

In 1746 Governor-General Baron Van Imhoff and his councillors often discussed plans by which the local economy of Batavia could be improved. The malaria epidemic of 1733 and the Chinese murder of 1740 had been disastrous for trade. Van Imhoff sought a solution in setting up bodies which would 'improve and facilitate the free trade and commerce of this city'. One such measure was the regulation of brokerage, which made it imperative that in future brokers in businesses, exchanges, insurances, shares, credits and suchlike would have to be authorized to do so and take an oath. As 'Commissioners for Commercial Matters', Councillor of the Indies Jacob van Mossel and Extra-Ordinary Councillor Nicholaas Crul had to prepare some initiatives and they produced

two more proposals: Number One was a Board of Commissioners for Shipping and Commercial Matters to adjudicate in disputes between ship-owners, sailors, and merchants. This would be a body which would resolve conflicts about trade and shipping between burghers. As was forbidden the Commissioners in Minor Court Cases, the commissioners were not empowered to pass sentence in the name of the States-General, 'because both of them are inferior courts'.¹⁰³ The archives of this board, which was abolished again in 1755 in the wake of restrictions on merchantile shipping, have been absorbed into those of the College of Aldermen.¹⁰⁴

A third essential initiative was a loan-bank. On 23 August a draft regulation for both a new post office and a loan-bank were discussed, but the definitive decrees were only laid down on 26 August. The influence of the High Government on the management of the loan-bank was very important. The proposal was that the Commissioners for Commerce would act simultaneously as Commissioners of the Loan-Bank. The president had to be a member of the Council of the Indies and he was assisted by six commissioners: four Company officials and two civilians. When places on the board, which had to meet at least once a month, fell vacant, the High Government chose who was to fill them.¹⁰⁵

In the meantime, the eyes of Van Imhoff, who actually directly managed the loan-bank himself, had fallen on premises on the eastern side of the Tijgergracht, diagonally across from the town hall, which would be suitable for the loan-bank.¹⁰⁶ It was opened on 1 December 1746. The bank advanced loans to private traders who provided 'gold, silver, jewellery, businesses, linen, household goods of little or almost no value and other such things' as surety. The bank also provided mortgages for houses.

The bank (the oldest western bank in South and South-East Asia) speedily attracted several hundred shareholders. In January 1758 the bank capital was already worth 1,351,190 rix-dollars from 197, exclusively European, participants. This sum was used to raise money on somewhat more than 800 premises for a total sum of 248,360 rix-dollars. However, the bulk of the sum, 750,000 rix-dollars, was deposited with the Company for the fixed interest of 4½ per cent per annum. At that moment the bank had 314,627 rix-dollars in cash, and 23,781 auction funds outstanding *vendupenningen*.¹⁰⁷ Consequently the bank earned most on the interest received from the money it had lent the Company and from interest on mortgages. The interest on the pawned linen cloth was also not insignificant, especially for Asian businessmen.

On 2 June 1752, (Van Imhoff had died in the meantime), the High Government met to talk about the conditions for an exchange bank or what was actually a *Bank-courant* (Deposit Bank) which would come into service as a deposit and circulation bank on 1 September. From 5 September, this bank was fused with the Loan-Bank under the name *Bank-courant en Bank van Lening*. This was yet another attempt to make financial affairs easier for civilian businessmen.

This Deposit Bank issued bank certificates to citizens who were no longer happy with keeping large amounts of money in their houses. Many merchants had their own cashier at home whose job it was to keep an eagle eye on the money chest. The Deposit Bank was a facility for those who made a large turnover and therefore were involved in many cash transactions. They could take all manner of coins to the bank, which would then issue promissory notes for 1000, 500, or 100 rix-dollars, which were written on half a large-sized page, half a small-sized page, and a quarter of a small-sized page, to all of which the seal was affixed.¹⁰⁸ These certificates or bank promissory notes were issued by name and could be transferred to another person or presented at the bank to be paid out in cash.

Insidiously the Deposit Bank was contaminated by corruption. In a letter dated 22 December 1791, the Gentlemen Seventeen requested the newly appointed High Commission to launch an investigation into 63,000 rix-dollars which had gone missing from the bank's funds under the cashier E.M. de Roth. The High Commission, when it commenced an examination of this matter in November 1793, checked the cash books personally in order to find out if it was possible to discover when the amounts had been debited. It could only guess at the reasons why. A commission was appointed on 8 June 1794 and it presented a satisfactory report, after which the missing sum was deducted from De Roth's property.¹⁰⁹

On 4 December 1793, partly in response to a request by Siberg, the High Commission tackled the question of how the bank could be placed on a more solid footing, and if this produced no results, the abolition of the Deposit Bank. As it was such an important matter, advice was anticipated from the High Government. On 12 March 1794 (the bank had already been closed for weeks), a recommendation came from a commission which thought that the abolition of the Deposit Bank was a foregone conclusion. The purpose for which the bank had been founded in 1752 had lost its validity because of 'the increasing decline in the inhabitants of Batavia'. For years the bank had existed only in name 'as for a number of years

this bank has had no real value to endorse the bank certificates which it put into circulation'. An arbitrarily large number of bank notes for which there was no cover had been issued by an irresponsible board of directors.¹¹⁰ On 5 April 1794, the High Commission decided to close down the worthless Deposit Bank, and the High Government was authorized to collect all the bank notes still circulating among the citizens and have them burned. Simultaneously, 600,000 rix-dollars' worth of letters of credit were written. The citizens of Batavia were given two months in which to hand in their bank notes to exchange them.

The Loan-Bank still survived, but it had to wrestle with the problem of dilapidated premises which had consequently been reduced in value. The High Commission not only recommended the refurbishment of its ramshackle properties, it was convinced that 'the total management and running of the Bank should be handed over to and vouched for by the Company'. Also in this bank there had been raised eye-brows as a consequence of its 'arrogant management, especially in the lending of money which had been incompatible with the rules set for this'. The High Commission wanted to put the bank under the direct control of the Company, yet not exclude citizens from managerial responsibility. A member of the High Government was appointed director, assisted by four commissioners (two Company officials and two citizens), a cashier, a bookkeeper who was also secretary and caretaker of the premises, a surveyor, a beadle and auctioneer, two clerks, and an office assistant. Their permanent salaries were paid via the trade ledgers, but were drawn from the bank interest. The bank was also authorized to organize auctions, even though this duty had formerly been that of the city auctioneers.¹¹¹

On 21 May 1794, the High Commission decided that the bank commissioners should also be caretakers of the premises in view of the fact that they represented various repositories for money and the chance that some of the money might simply disappear loomed large. Although the bank had long been in a state of decline because of the obstructions in the trade with Europe, in 1799 the High Commission still did not want to leave the vacancies for bank commissioners unfilled.¹¹² On 28 March 1809, Daendels decided to instigate a critical investigation into the money owed the bank and the auction office.¹¹³ The director and the two commissioners still sitting were dismissed on 14 July 1809. A new bank was established under the same name; the secretary and the clerks could continue to do their work. In a new set of instructions it was laid down that the

bank would be under the management of two commissioners and a secretary, who would also be cashier, bookkeeper, and caretaker of premises. He was assisted by a surveyor, four clerks, and a *rapportganger* (messenger).

As a consequence of Article Seven of the supplementary convention concluded with England on 24 June 1817, the Loan-Bank (Lombard Bank) with all its assets and liabilities was taken over by the Dutch Government. The Government set 18 June 1818 as the date up to which it was possible to hand in any bank notes which were still in circulation. After that date the notes issued would be worthless and the bank itself would no longer exist. Many decades later its place was taken by the Javasche Bank.

3. The Engelhard Collection

Nicolaus (Nicolaas) Engelhard was born in Arnhem around 1 December 1761, the son of Nicolaus Engelhard and Maria Altŕing. In 1777 he left for the Indies as an Assistant. On 12 January 1780, he was promoted to Junior Merchant, and subsequently became administrator of the warehouses at the Water Gate (Waterpoort) in 1781, Second Administrator of the warehouses on the island of Onrust on 17 August 1784, promoted to Merchant on 14 July 1785, Principal Administrator of the warehouses on the island of Onrust on 23 February 1787, *syahbandar* (Harbour Master) and Licence Master, with the rank of Senior Merchant on 4 August 1789, Commissioner for Native Affairs on 4 October 1791, and also member of the District Council and External Governor of the hospitals in that year, President of the District Council in 1800, Extra-Ordinary Councillor of the Indies in April 1801. He was dismissed by Daendels on 8 April 1808. Later he acted as president of the Commission for the Taking Over of the Moluccas (1817-1818) and as member of the High Commission for the installation of the Sultan of Yogyakarta 1826. He died at Buitenzorg on 31 May 1831.

Most of the official documents in this collection date from the period in which he was Governor of the North-East Coast of Java (1801-1808). Also contained in the collection is his correspondence with various people during his period as a citizen without any official position (from 1808), especially the years 1816-1831. This contains copious data about land ownership in the *Ommelanden* of Batavia and Priangan (Sukabumi). F. de Haan has written about the origins of the archive documents in the Engelhard Collection.¹¹⁴

Notes

¹ For literature about Batavia: E. Ebing and Youetta de Jager eds, *Batavia – Jakarta 1600-2000. A bibliography* (Leiden 2000).

² The literature mentioned in the notes is not exhaustive. Only that actually consulted has been mentioned.

³ J.A. van der Chijs ed., *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1602-1811* (17 vol.; Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1885-1900).

⁴ Pieter van Dam, *Beschryving van de Oostindische Compagnie*. F.W. Stapel en C.W.Th. van Boetzelaer eds. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën 63, 68, 74, 76, 83, 87, 96 (7 vol.; 's-Gravenhage 1927-1954), derde boek, 41. This section was written with the co-operation of Femme Gaastra, Frans van Dijk, Louisa Balk and Diederick Kortlang.

⁵ The documents sent to the Netherlands were called the '*Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren*'. These can be consulted in in het *Nationaal Archief* inventories via www.tanap.net.

⁶ An incomplete series of these 'bevindingen op de eischen' can still be found in the archive of the Chamber of Zeeland; NA, VOC 13472-13508.

⁷ See for the bookkeeping system: J.P. de Korte, *De Jaarlijkse financiële verantwoording in de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. Werken uitgegeven door de vereeniging Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief 17 (Leiden 1984) and F.S. Gaastra, *Bewind en beleid bij de VOC. De financiële en commerciële politiek van de bewindhebbers 1672-1702* (Zutphen 1989).

⁸ W.Ph. Coolhaas en J. van Goor eds, *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, grote serie 104, 112, 125, 134, 150, 159, 164, 193, 205, 232, 250, 257 en 258 (13 vol.; 's-Gravenhage 1960-2007).

⁹ J.A. van der Chijs ed., *Realia. Register op de generale resolutiën van het Kasteel Batavia, 1632-1805* (3 vol.; Den Haag and Batavia 1882-1885).

¹⁰ J.A. van der Chijs et al. eds., *Daghregisters gehouden int Casteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlands-India* (31 vol.; Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1888-1931).

¹¹ Van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek* (henceforth: N.I.P.).

¹² J.E. Heeres en F.W. Stapel eds, *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum. Verzameling van politieke contracten en verdere verdragen door de Nederlanders in het Oosten gesloten*. Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 57, 87, 91, 93 en 96 ('s-Gravenhage 1907-1955).

¹³ For the commission and its instructions see: S.C. Nederburgh, *Echte stukken betreffende het volbragt onderzoek der verrichtingen van de Generale Commissie in den jare 1791 benoemd over de O.I. bezittingen van den Staat en de Kaab de Goede hoop, benevens den finalen uitslag van hetzelfde* ('s-Gravenhage 1803).

¹⁴ The first meeting was held on 3 December 1791 in the Texel roads; see ANRI, Archief Hoge Commissie (henceforth: Archief HC), inv. nr 1, fol. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, the first volume of notes is completely devoted to the activities pursued by the Commissioners-General at the Cape.

¹⁶ For the minutes and resolutions of these combined sessions, see the inventory of the Archief Hoge Regering

(voortaan: Archief HR), de series minuut-generale notulen (inv. nrs 206 ff), net-generale notulen (inv. nrs 379 ff), minuut-generale resoluties (inv. nrs 765 ff.), net-generale resoluties (inv. nrs 1135 ff.) en bijlagen generale resoluties (inv. nr 4532). Zie ook inv. nr 9 van het Archief HC.

¹⁷ ANRI, Archief HC inv. nr 84, “Verslag van de Hoge Commissie aan de Heren XVII 14 januari 1795”.

¹⁸ See Archief HR, hoofdstuk ‘Bijzondere onderwerpen’, section ‘Financiën’.

¹⁹ See Archief HR, hoofdstuk ‘Bijzondere onderwerpen’, section ‘Financiën’.

²⁰ Van Dam, *Beschryvinge*, derde boek, 83.

²¹ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 877 fols. 343-356, res. HR 3 Aug. 1668; “instructie voor de opperkooplieden van het Kasteel, de koopman van het soldijkantoor, en de secretaris van de Raad van Justitie inzake het belasten en ontlasten der confiscatiën, boeten, bezwaarde goederen etc. voor de Raad van Justitie vallende”.

²² M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs. et al eds, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (1602-1795)* ('s-Gravenhage 1992), 324-329.

²³ N.I.P. I, 472-594.

²⁴ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 1179, fol. 261-275, res. HR 15 Aug. 1809.

²⁵ N.I.P. I, 127-132.

²⁶ More particulars in: La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*, 108-132.

²⁷ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 891, fol. 239-244, res. 4 June 1679; idem 1001, fol. 239-240, res. HR 28 May 1745; fol. 245 (30 May) en fol. 251-255 (4 June).

²⁸ N.I.P. I, 133-137.

²⁹ Slaves or former slaves, mostly imported from Mombasa (Kenya).

³⁰ NA, VOC inv. nr 697 res. HR 12 December 1681.

³¹ NA, VOC inv. nr 688 res. HR 31 May 1673.

³² ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 891, fol. 228-229, res. HR 26 May 1679.

³³ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 892, fol. 351-353, res. HR 29 May 1680.

³⁴ N.I.P. XV (1808-1809), 552.

³⁵ J.K.J. de Jonge, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag over Java*, 2nd vol. ('s-Gravenhage/Amsterdam 1870), 56.

³⁶ N.I.P. I, 173-187. Cf. this text in the Bataviase Statuten; idem, 513-525.

³⁷ A.A. Buyskes, *Academisch proefschrift over de Weeskamer en het Collegie van Boedelmeesteren te Batavia* (Leiden 1861), 10.

³⁸ Van Dam, *Beschryvinge*, derde boek, 115-116.

³⁹ See for the complete procedures and the duties of the Orphan Chamber see the Batavian Statutes in N.I.P. I,

513-520. On 525-530 for that of the Chamber for Deceased Estates.

⁴⁰ *Gedenkschrift samengesteld door de weeskamer te Batavia naar aanleiding van haar 300-jarig bestaan op 1 oktober 1924* (Weltevreden 1924), Chapter I ‘De tijd vóór 1818’, by E.C. Godée Molsbergen, 10.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, Chapter II ‘Van 1818 tot heden’, 24.

⁴² ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 876, fol. 389, res. HR 19 September 1664.

⁴³ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 884, fol. 245, res. HR 19 August 1672.

⁴⁴ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 891 (ongefol.), res. HR 13 October 1679.

⁴⁵ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 892, fol. 522-524, res. HR 23 July 1680. Vgl. Van Dam, *Beschryvinge*, derde boek, 117 noot 1; N.I.P. II, 52 et seq.

⁴⁶ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 892, fol. 531, res. HR 28 July 1680.

⁴⁷ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 892, fol. 533-534, res. HR 30 July 1680.

⁴⁸ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 899, fol. 124-125, res. HR 23 March 1685.

⁴⁹ ANRI, Archief Heemraden, resolutieboek 1716-1717, fol. 246, 16 Jan. 1717. Reference is made to the resolutions of the High Government of 23 March 1685 and 16 March 1700.

⁵⁰ For instance, on 30 October 1682, the Ex-Governor of Ambon Robbert de Vicq was elected president, and on 27 February 1700 the Ex-Governor of Ternate Cornelis van der Duyn. ANRI, Archief Heemraden, resolutieboek 1696-1702, fol. 249, 27 Febr. 1700.

⁵¹ ANRI, Archief Heemraden, resolutieboek 1718-1722, fol. 464, 26 October 1720. This refers to Reijkert Heer who resigned in September 1727 as he had been appointed Chief Merchant in Banten. For a survey of people who were commissioner: F. de Haan, *Priangan: De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch bestuur tot 1811*, 4 vol. (Batavia and 's-Gravenhage 1910), first vol., II, 1 ff.

⁵² ANRI, Archief Heemraden, resolutieboek 1718-1722, fol. 408, 3 Aug. 1720.

⁵³ ANRI, Archief Heemraden, resolutieboek 1705-1707, fol. 301, 11 Dec. 1706.

⁵⁴ J.A. van der Chijs, *Inventaris van 's lands archief te Batavia (1602-1816)* (Batavia 1882), 131.

⁵⁵ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 1177, fol. 138-139, res. HR 7 Febr. 1809.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 460-461, res. HR 28 March 1809.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 500, res. HR 28 March 1809.

⁵⁸ For more details see La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*, 136-137.

⁵⁹ F. de Haan, *Oud Batavia* (Batavia 1922), 2nd vol., 313-314 footnote 1; N.I.P. III, 140 ff.; Van Dam, *Beschryvinge*, derde boek, 119-121.

- ⁶⁰ NA, VOC inv. nr 678, res. HR 27 Febr. 1660.
- ⁶¹ La Bree, *De rechterlijke organisatie*, 133-134.
- ⁶² N.I.P. I, 438-445. In the Bataviase Statuten 1642 the name of this board is given as: 'Boedelmeesters der Chineesche als andere vreemde sterfhuysen op Batavia'; *ibid.*, 525.
- ⁶³ H.E. Niemeijer, *Batavia. Een koloniale samenleving in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2005), 78-79.
- ⁶⁴ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 1009, fol. 525, res. HR 2 June 1752.
- ⁶⁵ Van Dam, *Beschryvinge*, derde boek, 121-122.
- ⁶⁶ N.I.P. I, 454-456.
- ⁶⁷ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 892, fol. 605-611, res. HR 30 Aug. 1680.
- ⁶⁸ *Gedenkschrift samengesteld door de weeskamer te Batavia*, 60-63 gives financial surveys from the nineteenth century.
- ⁶⁹ Not mentioned by F. Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indiën* (Dordrecht 1724-1726), IV/A, 391. None of Van Kerchem's records have been preserved.
- ⁷⁰ Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indiën*, IV/A, 409.
- ⁷¹ N.I.P. I, 486; IX, 103.
- ⁷² ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 812, fols. 253-254, res. HR 2 Nov. 1668.
- ⁷³ N.I.P. I, 486, Bataviase Statuten.
- ⁷⁴ N.I.P. III, 93, 9 June 1682.
- ⁷⁵ NA, VOC inv. nr 684, res. HR 24 Sept. 1669.
- ⁷⁶ NA, VOC inv. nr 686, res. HR 11 Aug. 1671.
- ⁷⁷ NA, VOC inv. nr 690, res. HR 14 July 1675.
- ⁷⁸ NA, VOC inv. nr 687, res. HR 1 April 1672.
- ⁷⁹ NA, VOC inv. nr 697, res. HR 30 Jan. 1682.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, res. HR 20 en 25 Febr. 1682.
- ⁸¹ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 892, fols. 441-442, res. HR 18 June 1680.
- ⁸² In reality four; the fourth worked outside the bounds of the city proper.
- ⁸³ Staatsblad 1822 no. 11.
- ⁸⁴ J. Mooij ed., *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 3 vol. (Batavia 1927-1931).
- ⁸⁵ H.E. Niemeijer, *Calvinisme en koloniale stadscultuur. Batavia 1619-1725* (Diss. VU, Amsterdam 1996).
- ⁸⁶ A publication containing the letters and reports of the Church Councils of Ambon, Banda and Ternate by H.E. Niemeijer is in preparation.
- ⁸⁷ NA, VOC inv. nr 687, res. HR 6 en 10 Jan. 1673.
- ⁸⁸ NA, VOC inv. nr 693, res. HR 9 Jan. 1678.
- ⁸⁹ Niemeijer, *Calvinisme*, 275-295.
- ⁹⁰ This section is based on: H. E. Niemeijer, 'The first Protestant Churches on Java's Northeast Coast: a Church Report from Rev. J.W. Swemmelaar', in: *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken*, 5^e jaargang nr. 2 (1998), 53-63.
- ⁹¹ This section is based on: M. de Bruijn, 'The Lutheran congregation at Batavia, 1743-1800', in: *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken*, 2^e jaargang nr. 1 (1995), 1-26.
- ⁹² This is dealt with extensively in: C.W.Th. van Boetzelaer, *De Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsch Indië, haar ontwikkeling van 1620-1939* ('s-Gravenhage 1947).
- ⁹³ Niemeijer, *Batavia*, 104.
- ⁹⁴ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 1001 fols. 487-492, res. HR 16 November 1745; 'extra-ord. vergadering belegd om het rapport te bespreken van commissarissen Cluysenaar en Jongmsma nopens hun verrichtingen in en omtrent het gouvernement Malakka'.
- ⁹⁵ See also J.E. Heeres, 'De "consideratiën van Van Imhoff"', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (BKI), 66 (1912), 441-621, esp. 499-500; J.C. Baud, 'Proeve van eene geschiedenis van den handel en het verbruik van opium in Nederlandsch-Indië', BKI 1 (1853), 79-220; E. van Vugt, *Wettig opium: 350 jaar Nederlandse opiumhandel in de Indische archipel* (Haarlem 1985).
- ⁹⁶ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 1001 fols. 487-492, res. HR 24 September 1745. N.I.P. V, 276-280.
- ⁹⁷ On the following 19 October, the High Government decided to grant the society a charter for ten years, from 1 September 1745 to 1 September 1755.
- ⁹⁸ See for the text: Baud, 'Proeve', 200-210.
- ⁹⁹ ANRI, Archief Amfioen Sociëteit inv. nr 1, fol. 27, res. Amfioen Sociëteit 1 April 1747.
- ¹⁰⁰ For an analysis of the profits and financial beneficiaries of the Amfioen Society: F.S. Gaastra. 'De Amfioen Sociëteit. Een gepriviliegeerde handelsmaatschappij onder de vleugels van de VOC, 1745-1794', in: M.A. Ebben en F.P. Wagenaar eds, *De cirkel doorbroken. Met nieuwe ideeën terug naar de bronnen. Opstellen over de Republiek*, Leidse Historische Studiën 10 (Leiden 2006), 101-115.
- ¹⁰¹ ANRI, Archief Hoge Commissie inv. nr 84, fol. 108-123, report to *Heren XVII*.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰³ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 1002, fol. 709, res. HR 29 Nov. 1746.
- ¹⁰⁴ The regulations for this board were approved by the High Government on 14 November 1746. Cf. N.I.P. V, 423 where on 15 November 1746 only the wording of the oath for the beadle or *waterschout* (harbour police officer) of the Commissioners for Shipping and Commercial Matters is mentioned.
- ¹⁰⁵ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 1002, fol. 376-377, res. HR 12 Aug. 1746; fol. 398-399, 23 Aug.; fol. 433-439 26 Aug.

¹⁰⁶ N.P. van den Berg, *De Bataviasche Bank-Courant en Bank van Leening, 1746-1794*, Amsterdam 1870. Van den Berg had actually not located the archive of this bank when he wrote the book.

¹⁰⁷ ANRI, Archief Bank van Leening inv. nr 7, fol. 196-198.

¹⁰⁸ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 1009, fol. 525-539, res. 2 June 1752.

¹⁰⁹ ANRI, Archief HC inv. nr 84, fol. 124-174, verslag HC aan de Heren XVII 15 Jan. 1795. De Roth had died two years before.

¹¹⁰ See also F. de Haan, *Oud Batavia*, vol. II, 373-375.

¹¹¹ See note 105

¹¹² ANRI, Archief HC inv. nr 13, res. HC 14 Febr. 1799.

¹¹³ ANRI, Archief HR inv. nr 1177, fol. 479, res. HR 28 March 1809.

¹¹⁴ F. de Haan, 'De Historie van een oudgast', in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, volume XLII (1901), 195 ff. See also F. de Haan, *Priangan*, first vol., I, 77 ff. (esp. 83-84).