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Archiving People. A Social History of Dutch Archives

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Preface

A social history of archives, as presented in this book, treats the influence of societal challenges, patterns, and norms on archiving practices, and vice versa: archiving that conditioned or facilitated societal practices. Such a social history of archives is important not only for the user of archives and the archivist but also for people who design archiving systems and policies and who will have to understand the duality of the archive in society (I use archive and archives mainly as synonyms). In order to understand the archive, historians and other users of the archive must 'comprehend the conceptual and cultural milieu in which their archival sources are created, structured, processed, appraised, discarded, and preserved'.[1] Indeed, archiving (in the broad sense as used in this book) is not limited to filing and preservation, but—as I will explain in the General Introduction—implies recordkeeping from the very decision to use documents for a transaction. This book, in exploring archiving practices in the past, tries to answer the question: what did 'archiving people' in the Netherlands do and why did they do it in various domains. These domains are each covered in a particular chapter: archiving people, churches, states, cities, polders and commons, property, trade and industry, monies, litigation, the East Indies, technologies and the professionalization of the archival endeavour. Furthermore, I will try to answer the question to what extent were these archiving practices typically Dutch?

This book does not cover the whole spectrum of archiving, but instead highlights people's dealings with basic types of records 'that may be called constants in record creation'.[2] These were, according to the pioneer of archival history Ernst Posner, records facilitating control over persons, records regarding real estate, financial and other accounting records, 'notarial' records safeguarding private business transactions, the laws of the land, and records created and retained as evidence of past administrative action.

Even if we cannot speak of constants, there are some recurring features across time and space in various domains of people's activities. However, research into the social history of

1   Francis X. Blouin and William Rosenberg, *Processing the past. Contesting authority in history and the archives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 210.

2   Ernst Posner, *Archives in the ancient world* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 3.

archives is neither meant to restore a real or imagined continuity nor to demonstrate that a past practice still exists in the present. As in Foucault's genealogical method, I rather want to 'record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality (…) not in order to trace the gradual curve of their evolution but to isolate the different scenes where they engaged in different roles'.[3] This genealogy is 'patiently documentary. It operates in a field of entangled and confused parchments, on documents that have been scratched over and recopied many times.'[4] It examines practices of archiving in the social context of activities of communities, organizations, and individuals in the various domains that have structured this book. In each chapter, I will present various practices of archiving through time and from different parts of the Netherlands as exemplars, not as a comprehensive and definitive history.

The book covers a time span from the Romans until today. The oldest archival documents date from the 1st century (1.1 and 8.1). At the other end of the timeline, glimpses of the 21st century digital age appear in 1.2.2, 4.11, 6.4.2, 8.2.7, 8.3.2, 9.7, and in chapters 11 and 12. A few sections deal with archiving in the Middle Ages (2.1, 2.2, 3.1, 4.1, 4.2), while most others cover archiving from the 17th century to the 20th century, although 'cover' is maybe not the right word for the slices I have cut, depending on the availability of sources, 'the singularity of events', and my own interests. The presentation in each chapter is not always in strict chronological order.

In this book 'Netherlands' refers to the northern Netherlands before the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt (1566-1572), to the Dutch Republic of the United Provinces, and from 1798 the unitary state which, in 1815, became the Kingdom of the Netherlands. I use 'Holland' only for the county of that name, which was one out of seven provinces that formed the United Provinces. Historically, the Netherlands extended beyond the current European territory. However, of the archiving people in other continents I focus on the officials of the United East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* – VOC), bypassing the Dutch in the Americas and the Caribbean—not because they were less important but due to restraints of time and the size of this book (1.4.1, 7.3.2, 8.2.4, and chapter 10).

3   Michel Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', transl. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, in *Language, counter-memory, practice. Selected essays and interviews by Michel Foucault*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaka NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), p. 139, repr. in *The Foucault reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), p. 76.

4   Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', p. 139.

Other areas which I have left unexplored include archiving in war (with the exception of conscription, see 1.4.2), the navy, diplomacy, criminality, transport and traffic, architecture, health care, agriculture, fishery, the arts, and education. From all industries (chapter 7) I have chosen two: the 'typically Dutch' making of paper and distilling of jenever.

My interest in archival history has led in the past 50 years to a number of publications, many of them containing material that I was able to use for this book. This (and of course the availability of sources) may explain why some issues have been dealt with more extensively or in a different mode than others.

In the research for this book, I used the archival literature in conjunction with research in the archives, both in the search room of various Dutch archival institutions and in digitized archives on the Internet. My findings were contextualised by reading widely what historians, political scientists, sociologists, and others have written about aspects of Dutch society.[5] From that literature I gleaned the information I needed to understand archiving people not only from within the archive, but also from the outside, taking different viewpoints of creators, record subjects, users, and other 'archivers'.

I have written this work in English, hoping that my book may be used in further comparative research by Dutch and foreign scholars. Translations from Dutch are mine unless indicated otherwise. For the translation and explanation of Dutch terms (in italics) standard and specialized dictionaries have been used.[6] Geographical names mentioned in a historical or a contemporary context are given as they were written at the time, respectively as they are written now. Therefore, for example, both Batavia and Jakarta are mentioned, depending on the context.

I am indebted to the members of the board of *Stichting Archiefpublicaties* (S@P) for their decision to publish this book and for their comments on the draft in an early stage. Chairman Daan Hertogs guided the practical and financial aspects of the project.

5   Some examples in English: *A financial history of The Netherlands,* ed. Marjolein 't Hart, Joost Jonker and Jan Luiten van Zanden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Peter Burke, *A social history of knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000); A.T. van Deursen, *Plain lives in a golden age. Popular culture, religion and society in seventeenth-century Holland,* transl. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); *Dutch culture in a European perspective*, 5 vols (Assen/Basingstoke: Royal Van Gorcum/Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its rise, greatness, and fall 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Joost Jonker and Keetie Sluyterman, *At home on the world markets: Dutch international trading companies from the 16th century until the present* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2001); Simon Schama, *The embarrassment of riches. An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987); *The Cambridge companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The first modern economy. Success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

6   *Archiefterminologie voor Nederland en Vlaanderen* ('s-Gravenhage, Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2003); Peter Beal, *A dictionary of English manuscript terminology 1450-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); *Dictionary of archival terminology*, second edition, ed. Peter Walne et al. (München: Saur, 1988); *Elsevier's Lexicon of archive terminology* (Amsterdam/London/New York: Elsevier, 1964); *Lexicon van Nederlandse archieftermen* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archief Publikaties, 1983).

His predecessor Hildo van Engen was my sparring partner throughout the genesis of the book, offering extremely valuable advice whenever I needed guidance and checking every text meticulously.

Structure and contents of the book benefitted from the extensive comments from my friends and colleagues Peter Horsman and Charles Jeurgens who read the entire manuscript. Theo Thomassen's critique led to improvements in several chapters. The invaluable contributions by other archivists and scholars are acknowledged in the footnotes. I have enjoyed the expertise of many professionals during my visits to search rooms—physical and digital—of archives, libraries and other institutions of learning.

As always, my wife Els Ketelaar-de Vries Reilingh was my first reader and critic, and she did nearly all the translation. The final copy-editing by Michael Karabinos enhanced the text considerably. I am grateful to Marc Meeuwissen (Absoluut Designers) for transforming my text into a magnificent e-book.

Prologue: Rembrandt's Archives

Archiving people traces people who are archiving themselves and other people, their churches, states, cities, polders and commons, property, trade and industry, monies, litigation, the East Indies, and technologies. Each of the following chapters deals with archiving in one of these specific contexts. But, most, if not all, of these converge in the day-to-day practices of individuals, families, communities, and institutions. Someone may be trading, administering properties, accounting for monies, guarding the polder, controlling the city, governing the state, caring for the church, being involved in litigation and using technologies. These all lead to archiving, distinguishable but concurring, mutually influencing, and sometimes overlapping. Therefore, to counter the decomposition of archiving in the various chapters of this book, let us start by looking at the way a person manages these various archiving practices comprehensively.

My protagonist is one of the greatest Dutchmen in history, the painter Rembrandt (1606-1669). Since the middle of the 19th century archivists, art historians, and other scholars have unearthed and published every scrap of paper concerning Rembrandt. Even since the last comprehensive publication, *The Rembrandt Documents* (1979)[1], new documents have been discovered leading to the publication in 2006 of a volume *New Rembrandt Documents* by Michiel Roscam Abbing.[2] He also published *The Treasures of Rembrandt* (2006), a handsomely illustrated book about Rembrandt, containing sleeves with fine facsimiles of some of these Rembrandt documents.[3] The most recent find was made in 2019 when the re-enrollment of Rembrandt at Leiden University in 1622 (two years after his matriculation) was discovered.[4]

The on-line database *RemDoc, The Rembrandt Documents Project* provides access to 1667 documents (including 691 printed publications).[5] Paradoxically, however, only very few of these documents are <u>by</u> Rembrandt. Apart from a few autograph inscriptions on drawings and etchings and in *alba amicorum*, and the letter painted in Marten Looten's portrait

1   W.L. Strauss and M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt documents* (New York: Abaris Books, 1979). See also S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, P. Schatborn, and E. Ornstein-Van Slooten. *Dossier Rembrandt. Documenten, tekeningen en prenten* (Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis/Gemeentearchief, 1987).

2   *Rembrandt 2006: II. New Rembrandt documents*, ed. Michiel Roscam Abbing (Leiden: Foleor Publishers, 2006).

3   Michiel Roscam Abbing, *The treasures of Rembrandt* (London: André Deutsch, 2006).

4   Jef Schaeps and Mart van Duijn, *Rembrandt en de Universiteit Leiden* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2019).

5   http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl, this URL and the following accessed 4 Dec. 2018.

(1632)[6], only seven original letters written by Rembrandt himself have been preserved, <u>none</u> addressed to Rembrandt. Numerous notarial deeds and other legal records exist <u>signed</u> by Rembrandt. However, there is no such thing as Rembrandt's archives, consisting—as the definition goes—of documents created or received by Rembrandt in the conduct of his affairs and preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information or as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator. Of course, Rembrandt's oeuvre, his paintings and engravings, are the primary evidence of what he created. But they contain little or no information about Rembrandt's business or his family matters.

Still, on the basis of *The Rembrandt Documents,* we can try to remedy 'the silence of the archive'[7] and reconstruct Rembrandt's archives by piecing together the documents that Rembrandt may have created or received in the conduct of his affairs. We may also try to find out why Rembrandt's records—as distinct from many records *about* Rembrandt—have not survived. Did he destroy everything? Did Rembrandt have an archival consciousness?

⌘

Archiving People (chapter 1) in Rembrandt's case would have begun with the registration of his baptism in Saint Peter's Church in Leiden. Unfortunately, there is no record of his baptism, since the baptismal registers of the church start in 1621. From other sources we have to infer his birth date as 15 July 1606. One of these sources is the matriculation register of Leiden University.[8] Here we find the registration on 20 May 1620 of 'Rembrandt Hermansz of Leiden, student of literature, aged 14 (in the 14th), residing with his parents'. This is literally the first time that Rembrandt appears in the archives. The second time is at his re-enrollment at the University in February 1622 at the age of 15. It is not impossible for Rembrandt to have shown a certificate of his baptism on enrolling. He would certainly have been required to have shown such a certificate when registering as a burgher (*poorter*) of Amsterdam. Since only Amsterdam burghers could join the painters' guild, Rembrandt must have bought burghership, delivered the *poorter* oath and shown evidence

6   http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4398.

7   David Thomas, Simon Fowler, and Valerie Johnson, *The silence of the archive* (London: Facet, 2017).

8   http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4379.

thereof (a *poorterceel*) to the guild. Unfortunately, the city's register D of 'bought *poorters'* 1620-1636 is lost, and there is no 17th-century registration of the members of St. Luke's painters' guild. However, evidence of Rembrandt's membership of the painters' guild does exist. Upon joining the guild, members received two tokens: a member's medal and a funeral token. The latter bearing Rembrandt's name and the year 1634 has miraculously been preserved.[9] This token had to be shown at a guild member's funeral which all members were obliged to attend, with the tokens being evidence of their attendance.

Just as Rembrandt had to keep his funeral token, he would have had to keep other documents used for archiving people, such as the certificate of his marriage to Saskia van Uylenburg (registered in the marriage register of Sint Annaparochie in Friesland on 22 June 1634, old style, which is 2 July 1634 in the Gregorian calendar introduced in Friesland in 1701),[10] which he will have needed when claiming Saskia's inheritance after her death in 1642.

Fig. I Rembrandt's funeral token. Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam.
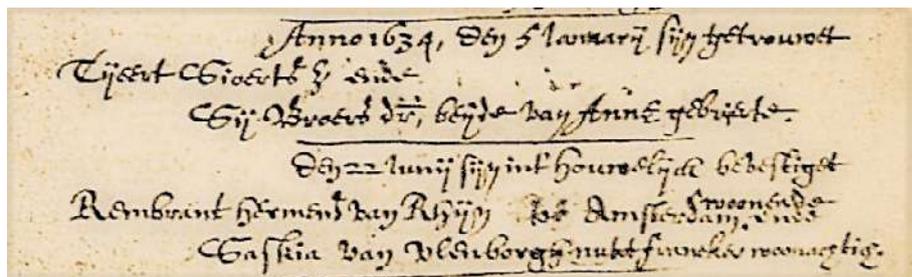
Fig. II The marriage of Rembrandt and Saskia (22 June/7 July 1634), church book of Sint Annaparochie. Tresoar, *DTB*, inv. nr. 120.

⁜

In chapter 2 *Archiving Churches* I will show the importance of the proceedings of the church council as a record of the maintenance of discipline in the Reformed church. Rembrandt himself was not a member of the Reformed church, but his mistress Hendrickje Stoffels was.

9   http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4419.

10 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4414.

She was accused of improper conduct and therefore summoned before the church council.[11] There she admitted that she lived with Rembrandt 'like a whore', for which she was seriously berated, admonished to penitence and banned from the Lord's Supper.

⁜

As with every burgher, Rembrandt was involved in *Archiving States and Cities* (chapters 3 and 4). For Rembrandt, the State was embodied in patrons like Johannes Wtenbogaert, receiver general of taxes, Stadholder Prince Frederick Henry, and his secretary Sir Constantijn Huygens. In 1665 Rembrandt's son, Titus, had to address the sovereign, the States of Holland, to apply for legal majority.

A few minutes' walk from Rembrandt's house was the City Hall on Dam square. This was an archiving centre, not only because of the clerks working for the city magistrate and the bench but also because the City Hall housed the Orphan Chamber (which Rembrandt visited several times), as well as the Chamber of Insolvent Estates and the Bank of Exchange (*Wisselbank*).[12] When the Hall caught fire in the night of 6 and 7 July 1652, a large crowd gathered not only to see the Hall burning down, but also to help save 'the City's soul', to quote the poet Vondel, meaning the city archives, the treasury, and the bank's gold and silver (see 4.7). The next morning Rembrandt drew the ruins of the City Hall. The City Hall was at the centre of an informational space in which Rembrandt and his contemporaries lived and worked. In one way or another, every burgher was involved in archiving people, trade, governance, and money, and Rembrandt must have shared their archival consciousness, though probably in the way he painted, with *lossigheydt* (looseness or nonchalance).[13]

⁜

Rembrandt was not directly involved in *Archiving the Polder* (chapter 5). However, several of his clients were investing their surplus in capital in the big reclamation projects in Noord-Holland at the time. Elias Trip owned 58 hectare in the Schermer polder (1635); Rembrandt portrayed his daughter around 1639 and Elias' brother in 1661.[14] In 1643 the

11 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4657. See Fig. 2.6.

12 The Orphan Chamber (*Weeskamer*) controlled the management of the estates of minor orphans (see 6.2.5). The Chamber of Insolvent Estates (*Desolate Boedelkamer*) was the equivalent to a bankruptcy court (see 6.3.1). On the Bank of Exchange see 8.4.1.

13 Ernst van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The painter at work* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997), pp. 162, 273.

14 Han van Zwet, *Lofwaerdighe dijckagies en miserabele polders. Een financiële analyse van landaanwinnings-projecten in Hollands Noorderkwartier, 1597-1643* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009).

Starnmeer was drained by a consortium of Amsterdam merchants including Willem van Ruytenburgh, one of the two protagonists of Rembrandt's 'The militia company of captain Frans Banning Cocq and lieutenant Willem van Ruytenburgh', also known as 'The Night Watch' (1642).

❊

Rembrandt was involved in *Archiving Property* (chapter 6) as well. He bought a plot of land near Leiden in 1631 and sold it in 1640.[15] He may have kept a copy of his mother's last will as evidence of the obligation of his brother Adriaen to recompense his siblings for their share in the estate. He certainly would have had a copy of the notarial deed of the final settlement of his mother's estate.[16]

A copy of the last will of Rembrandt and Saskia (known to us from the notary's archives[17]) would have been kept among Rembrandt's records. The bulk of the property records would have consisted of the records about Rembrandt's house on St. Antonies Breestraat, bought in 1639. A copy of the notarial deed of purchase must have been among Rembrandt's records. In 1658, when the house was sold, an explicit reference was made to the old deeds (see 6.2.3). There are some 20 more documents concerning Rembrandt's house which are preserved in notarial and other archives. Several of these have to do with the fact that Rembrandt, when he bought the house, paid only a quarter of the price and remained indebted to the seller for several years.

❊

Archiving Trade and Industry (chapter 7) consisted, for Rembrandt, in recording the commissions for portraits and other paintings he obtained, and accounting for receipts and expenses for his paintings. The only original letters preserved are the seven letters Rembrandt wrote to the Stadholder's secretary, Sir Constantijn Huygens, about the commissions of paintings by the Stadholder.[18] One of these letters (now in the British Library) shows Rembrandt's parsimony, for he used a piece of old paper which bears marks of having been folded around a copper plate before.[19] All seven letters are now dispersed over five repositories in Europe and the United States.

15 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4391; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4473.

16 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4487; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4412.

17 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4425;

18 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4428; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4429; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4458; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4459; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4460; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4461; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4462.

19 According to the *Times*' report of the sale of the Donnadieu collection of autographs in 1851: *Times* 2 August 1851, p. 5.
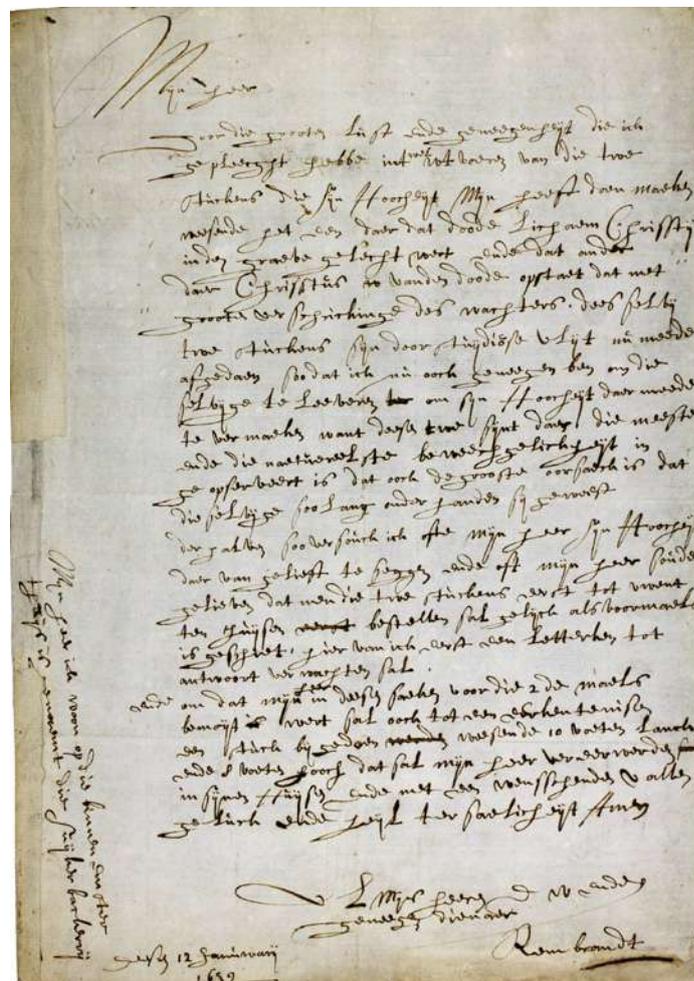
Fig. III. Letter from Rembrandt to Sir Constantijn Huygens, 12 January 1639. Koninklijke Verzamelingen, *archief Constantijn Huygens*, inv. nr. G1-18.

These letters mainly discuss the price of the paintings delivered to the Stadholder. We know of more cases where the price of a painting by Rembrandt led to a dispute with a customer. One concerned a portrait of Andries de Graeff of which arbitrators determined in 1642 that the latter had to pay Rembrandt 500 guilders.[20]

In 1658 Rembrandt's friend and patron Jan Six presented a claim (and Rembrandt a counterclaim) based on two deeds. One by the painter agreeing to sell Six a portrait of Saskia, and the second by Six, pertaining to two paintings, one of Simeon and the other of 'The Sermon of John'.[21] Six produced the former, whereas Rembrandt stated that he had mislaid his deed—a rare glimpse into Rembrandt's way of managing his records!

Several transactions were carried out only orally. An example from the Rembrandt documents is the sale of Rubens's painting 'Hero and Leander'.[22] Rembrandt bought it in 1637 and sold it some years later to art dealer Lodewijck van Ludick. In 1659 Lodewijck testified to a notary as to having bought the painting 'in about 1644, from Rembrant van Rijn, without recalling the exact date', for 'the sum of about 530 guilders in cash'. It is interesting to note that, apparently, Lodewijck van Ludick had neither a receipt nor another record of the sale, but that he had to rely on his memory. Did Rembrandt also rely on memory?

We catch sight of the way Rembrandt jotted down some of his financial data on the back of a painting or engraving, as he did on the back of the drawing 'Susanna at the Bath' where he noted the sale of some of his pupils' works:[23]

> [Sold] his standard bearer [for] 15 guilders
> Sold a 'Flora' 4. 6.-
> Sold a work of Ferdinand [Bol] and another of his
> The 'Abraham' and 'Flora'
> Sold Leendert [van Beyeren's/van der Cooghen's] 'Flora' 5.-.- [24]

20 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e12837.

21 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e12788 .

22 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4443; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e12713.

23 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e13493.

24 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e13493. Rembrandt scribbled a list of his prints, apparently drawn up in connection with the forced sale of his art in 1657-1658: http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e14738.

Rembrandt would have kept some form of administration about his pupils. This is demonstrated by six receipts Rembrandt wrote in 1630 and 1631 for the instruction in the art of painting he gave to Isaack de Jouderville.[25] The receipts have been preserved in the archives of the Orphan Chamber in Leiden. Rembrandt had many more pupils—40 to 50—but Isaack is the only one known from records written and signed by Rembrandt himself.

The Anglo-Dutch war of 1652-1654 caused a decline in the economic situation of the country. Rembrandt was also affected, though other causes of his distress were lavish spending on his collection of rare objects and works of art, and financial mismanagement. In 1655 he therefore organized an auction of paintings and valuables, but the proceeds were small. A year later he filed for *cessio bonorum* (cession of estate).[26] This meant the surrender of his estate as payment for all his debts and accepting full control by the Amsterdam Chamber of Insolvent Estates (*Desolate Boedelkamer*).

The petition for *cessio bonorum* (see 11.1.1 and Fig. 11.5) was discovered as late as 1913 in the archives of the Supreme Council (*Hoge Raad*) at the National Archives, among the thousands of comparable requests.[27] The petition—most likely written by an Amsterdam *procureur* (attorney dealing with court formalities), but signed by a solicitor at the Supreme Council[28]—states as justification that Rembrandt's insolvency is due 'to losses suffered in business, as well as damages and losses at sea'. This argument has puzzled many authors. Some of them suggest that this was just a standard formula, without particular meaning.[29] This suggestion must, however, be rejected. Reading hundreds of these petitions for *cessio bonorum*, one discovers that most of them use the standard formula taken from *The Parrot*, a famous legal formulary.[30] The particular standard formula is that the insolvency is due 'to misfortune and damages suffered'. This formula may be embellished and expanded, but only in a very few cases one does read something really specific for a particular applicant. Losses at sea are mentioned only three times in the fifty-odd petitions granted in 1656. This leads me to the conclusion that the formula of Rembrandt's petition was chosen intentionally, a conclusion I could not have

25 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e1654.

26 Paul Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's bankruptcy. The artist, his patrons, and the art market in seventeenth-century Netherlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Machiel Bosman, *Rembrandt's plan. De ware geschiedenis van zijn faillissement* (Amsterdam: Athenaeum, 2019).

27 National Archives, *Hoge Raad van Holland en Zeeland* (3.03.02), inv. nr. 60, 8 August 1656, available on http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4704; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e12732.

28 On 18 May 1656 Rembrandt had given power of attorney to the Amsterdam *procureur* Arnout Vingboons, http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4701. The petition for *cessio bonorum* is not by the hand of Vingboons (see Amsterdam City Archives, *Dolhuis* (342), inv. 926), but could have been written by a clerk under his supervision.

29 A.Th. van Deursen, 'Rembrandt en zijn tijd. Het leven van een Amsterdamse burgerman', in *Rembrandt. De meester & zijn werkplaats*, ed. Christopher Brown, Jan Kelch, and Pieter van Thiel (Amsterdam/Zwolle: Rijksmuseum/Waanders, 1991), p. 45; see Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's bankruptcy*, p. 38.

30 I used the second edition: W. van Alphen, *Nieuw verbeterde en vermeerderde papegay, ofte Formulier-boeck van alderhande requestē, mandamenten, conclusien &c, ghelijck die ghebruyckt ende gepractiseert werden voor de respectieve hoven van Iustitie in Hollandt ..* (s Graven-Hage: Iohannes Verhoeve, 1649). Later editions appeared in 1658, 1668, 1682 and 1740.

31 Strikingly, the exact formula of Rembrandt's petition was used one month earlier in the petition from a Sephardic merchant in Amsterdam Aaron Mendes. One might think of Aaron and Rembrandt employing the same *procureur*, who—since the handwriting is different—may have used two clerks; National Archives, *Hoge Raad van Holland en Zeeland* (3.03.02), inv. nr. 60, 4 June 1656. Rembrandt may have known Aaron. This Aaron Mendes is probably the merchant Aaron Mendes who had his banns read on 16 August 1656 while living in Verversstraat, 200 meters from Rembrandt's house.

32 In 1655 a few specific references are made to the Anglo-Dutch war and a few references to losses at sea generally.

33 John M. Montias, *Art at auction in 17th century Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), pp. 180-87.

34 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, 'Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669). Een veranderend schildersportret', in *Rembrandt. De meester & zijn werkplaats*, ed. Christopher Brown, Jan Kelch and Pieter van Thiel (Amsterdam/Zwolle: Rijksmuseum/Waanders, 1991), p. 60.

35 Gary Schwartz, *Rembrandt's universe. His art, his life, his world* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006), p. 134. See http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4393.

36 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4393.

37 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4392.

38 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4381.

39 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4554.

reached without going beyond the single document by browsing the Supreme Council's archives.[31]

But why did Rembrandt use this argument? There is no evidence of Rembrandt being engaged in shipping or commercial activity other than selling and buying paintings and antiquities. If, as is sometimes suggested, 'damages and losses at sea' refers to the aftermath of the Anglo-Dutch war, we would have found many more references among the petitions.[32] Montias supposes that Rembrandt participated in shipping ventures of the merchant and art dealer Marten van den Broeck.[33] Dudok van Heel suggests that the formula refers to Rembrandt losing works of arts shipped overseas.[34] We will probably never know.

Rembrandt's 'insolvency generated a slew of documents', as one of his biographers recently wrote.[35] Nearly all of them are in the archives of the Chamber of Insolvent Estates kept at the Amsterdam City Archives. In *Archiving Property* (chapter 6), section 6.4 is devoted to the archiving of the Chamber.

⸎

Archiving Monies (chapter 8) was essential, if only because Rembrandt lent money (for example to his employer Hendrick Uylenburch)[36], participated in an investment plan (tontine)[37] and borrowed money for which he generated IOU's and promissory notes made up before the magistrate or a notary. Rembrandt would have kept the correspondence with his creditors and some account to keep track of his loans and payments. Rembrandt was, of course, subjected to taxation. In fact, the first government record mentioning Rembrandt is the census for assessing the poll tax (*hoofdgeld*) in Leiden in 1622, which lists Rembrandt, his siblings, and his parents.[38] Rembrandt had to pay taxes on the inheritance of his father. The city of Leiden assessed the tax, but asked Amsterdam to enter the debt in its tax roll.[39]

⸎

Rembrandt was a litigious man, and much of his archives must have been the result of his *litigation* (chapter 9). For example, Rembrandt would have kept records of his case before the Court of Friesland concerning the estate of his in-laws, and of his libel case against Mayke and Albertus van Loo.[40] More documents would have been kept by Rembrandt with regard to his dispute with his mistress Geertje Dircx. When their affair ended in 1649, Geertje sued Rembrandt either to marry her or to pay her an alimony.[41] Her case before the commissioners of matrimonial affairs was duly registered in the commissioners' book of quarrels (*krakeel boek*). Rembrandt was sentenced to pay Geertje 200 guilders annually. The following year Rembrandt managed to have Geertje locked up in the women's house of correction in Gouda. That sordid affair, lasting at least seven years, was the origin of various documents, many of which must have been in Rembrandt's archives. Of the notarial deeds naming Rembrandt, many were instruments for non-judicial settlement of a legal dispute, others were wills, conveyances, or contracts.

⸎

On his way through Amsterdam Rembrandt would have often passed the East India House, the seat of the United East India Company (VOC), which was only a short distance from his home (chapter 10). Rembrandt profited from the goods brought in by the ships: among his possessions were some Asian ceramics, an Indian gun and even the costumes for an Indian man and woman. He will doubtlessly have had more Indian textiles. From India also came the drawings of Mughal rulers and noblemen that inspired Rembrandt for his Mughal paintings. And there was the elephant, a present for Prince Frederick Henry from the VOC, that Rembrandt drew in 1637. A year after Rembrandt's death his daughter Cornelia married and departed with her husband to Batavia (Jakarta), where she died in 1684.

⸎

We have already seen some of Rembrandt's *Archiving Technologies* (chapter 11): paper, pen, and ink (his inventory mentions a small marble ink stand). For his recordkeeping Rembrandt may have used the same medium he used for his drawings: a reusable tablet

40 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4448; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e13700.

41 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4578.

(*tafelet*), which was a booklet of erasable sheets on which one wrote with a metal stylus.[42] Ernst van de Wetering—the expert on Rembrandt's art—has shown that Rembrandt used these erasable supports for drawings, just as merchants and other people in his time used these *tafelettes* for scribbling notes, drafting letters, or making calculations.[43] In a Dutch comedy of 1617 the protagonists talk about a contested sum of money[44]:

Ritsert	Where is the specification?
Lecker	I have it in my *taf(e)let*.
Ritsert	Let me read it.
Lecker	As soon as I come home, I will make a fair copy of it.
Ritsert	I have other things to do, show it to me, why this shilly-shallying?
Lecker	I do not have the *tafelet* in my pocket any more.

Rembrandt may have used *tafelettes* not only for his drawings but also for other ephemeral uses like drafting accounts or letters.

We do not know which technologies Rembrandt used for storing and retrieving his records. As I will show in chapter 11, people in the 17th century usually stored their documents in boxes, chests, and cupboards. The extensive inventory of Rembrandt's estate (25-26 July 1656) (see 6.2.4) does not mention any specific archival container, and lists 'in the small office' only ten paintings by Rembrandt and a bedstead.[45]

⌗

Why have so very few of Rembrandt's records survived (incidentally a question which can be raised for many Dutch artists in the Golden Age)? There is no single answer. Let me first introduce the concept of 'counter-archivalization': the conscious or unconscious choice <u>not</u> to record, <u>not</u> to put things on paper (see the General Introduction). Not every record is meant to exist much longer than the transaction it attests, as is the case today. Rembrandt's records may have shared the fate of many of his drawings which disappeared in what Ernst van de Wetering called 'a black hole in art history'.[46] Not only his *tafelettes*,

42 Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery and Heather Wolfe, 'Hamlet's tables and the technologies of writing in Renaissance England', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55 (2004): 379-419; Roger Chartier, *Inscription and erasure* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 1-12; Ann Blair and Peter Stallybrass, 'Mediating information 1450-1800', in *This is Enlightenment*, ed. Clifford Siskin and William B. Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 139-63.

43 Van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The painter at work*, pp. XI, 46-73.

44 P.C. Hooft, *Gedichten*. Vol. 2, ed. P. Leendertz and F.A. Stoett (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1900), pp. 345-46.

45 http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e12713.

46 Van de Wetering, *Rembrandt. The painter at work*, p. 69.

but also records on other media may have been regarded as just transitory. Sometime after the loan was repaid, the sale done, or the commissioned portrait delivered, the receipt or the invoice may have been thrown away, recycled, or given away. I mentioned the deed of purchase of Rembrandt's house which was kept as long as he owned the house, but transferred when the house was sold to a new owner. Not every paper will be kept forever: archival history is largely a history of destruction and neglect. 'We know', said Jacques Derrida, 'that something in us, so to speak, something in the psychic apparatus, is driven to destroy the trace without any reminder. And that's where the archive fever comes from.'[47]

Archive fever may have led Rembrandt himself or his descendants to destroy the archives.[48] Rembrandt's financial records may have ended at the Chamber of Insolvent Estates. The Chamber's commissioners were required to inventory and seize all registers and papers of the bankrupt.[49] If this latter measure was indeed taken, it may explain the absence of any mention of records in the extensive inventory of Rembrandt's estate. Sometimes the records of a bankrupt person remained at the Chamber; most were destroyed at some stage.[50] But it remains speculation: it is not certain whether or not Rembrandt's records were seized by the Chamber.

What is certain is that only very few of the records created or received by Rembrandt dating either before or after his bankruptcy have been preserved. Recently Paul Crenshaw wrote that 'Rembrandt was not particularly organized or pristine in anything that he did.'[51] That may also apply to his recordkeeping. But nevertheless we may infer from the contextual history of Rembrandt's recordkeeping that he had an archival consciousness.

47 Jacques Derrida, 'Archive fever. A seminar...', in *Refiguring the archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer, 2002), p. 44. On the anarchiving destruction drive see Jacques Derrida, *Archive fever*, transl. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 10-12, 19, 94.

48 Titia (1669-1715), the daughter of Titus, Rembrandt's son, married François van Bijler (1666-1728). They had no children. Rembrandt's daughter Cornelia (1654-84) married the painter Cornelis Suijthof, with whom she had two sons, born in Batavia: Rembrandt Suijthof, b. 1673 and Hendric Suijthof, b. 1678. After the Suijthoffs had died, Rembrandt's next of kin was his cousin Cornelia, from whom all currently living posterity of Rembrandt trace their descent. From the inventory made after Rembrandt's death http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e13471 were excluded the contents of three rooms, among them were paintings and drawings. These rooms, which might have contained documents as well, were sealed by the notary at the request of Rembrandt's heirs.

49 Van Alphen, *Papegay*, p. 164. See also Van Deursen, 'Rembrandt en zijn tijd', p. 49.

50 Amsterdam City Archives , *Desolate Boedelkamer* (5072), inv. nr. 44 lists the contents of 26 chests with papers of estates. Several seized records are in the collection merchants' books (5060). See W.F.H. Oldewelt, *Amsterdamsche archiefvondsten* (Amsterdam: De Bussy, 1942), pp. 57-66.

51 Crenshaw, *Rembrandt's bankruptcy*, p. 74.

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ARCHIVING PEOPLE
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF
DUTCH ARCHIVES

General Introduction

Reading the Archives[1]

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1   To a large extent this introduction builds upon three
     of my papers:

     • 'Prolegomena to a social history of Dutch archives',
       in *A usable collection. Essays in honour of Jaap
       Kloosterman on collecting social history*, ed. Aad
       Blok, Jan Lucassen, and Huub Sanders (Amsterdam:
       Amsterdam University Press, 2014), pp. 40-55,
       https://web.archive.org/web/20190530101148/
       http://www.oapen.org/search?identifier=496214,
       archived 31 May 2019;

     • 'Foreword', in *Archives & information in the early
       modern world*, ed. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and
       Alexandra Walsham (Oxford: Oxford University
       Press, 2018), pp. xv-xviii;

     • 'A Dualidade do arquivar', in *Information and
       memory*, ed. Ricardo Pimenta, transl. Janaynne
       Carvalho do Amaral (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto
       Brasileiro de Informação em Ciência e Tecnologia)
       (forthcoming).

     Also, I included a paragraph from my 'Looking
     through the record into the rose garden', *Arkhiyyon.
     Reader in archives studies and documentation. Israel
     Archives Association* [Festschrift Paul Alsberg] 10-11
     (1999): xxvii-xlii. In that essay, I used the concept
     of the 'archiver' for the first time.

On the 12th of June 1820 the burgomaster of Maastricht takes up pen and paper to write a warrant.Before him is Josephine Albert, who declares that the baby she has in her arms was delivered the night before by an unknown person to Lenculenstraat foundling hospital of which she is the matron. As dictated by the civil code, the burgomaster describes the clothes of the two-month-old girl scrupulously. In the deed, he also includes the little poem, written on a small piece of paper that was attached to the foundling's clothes. He attaches this unsightly paper to the deed. In case the father or mother report themselves it may serve as evidence. The half of a playing card, the half of a coin, or other such tokens were also often used for this purpose. The poem is somewhat clumsy:

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Here I lie, very helpless
And Marianna is my name
My father does not want me
And my mother is dead
The only thing I can do is
pray to God for my daily bread.[2]

Fig. 0.1 Warrant concerning the foundling Maria Dicht, 12 June 1820. Regional Historical Centre Limburg, *Burgerlijke stand Maastricht* (12.059), inv. nr. 23, akte 479.

2   Regional Historical Centre Limburg, *Burgerlijke
     stand Maastricht* (12.059), inv. nr. 23, akte 479 and
     Provinciaal Tehuis voor vondelingen (20.129A), inv. nr.
     7398; J.H.J. Gulikers and M.K.J. Smeets, 'Vondelingen
     te Maastricht 1814-1823', in *Huldeblijk. Bundel
     opstellen aangeboden aan de genealoog Jan J.M.H.
     Verzijl bij gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag
     op 25 maart 1967 (*Roermond: Stichting Instituut voor
     Genealogie en Streekgeschiedenis, 1967), pp. 47-96;
     Jacques Klöters, *Voorwaarts leven, achterwaarts
     begrijpen. Mijn journaal* (Amsterdam: Singel
     Uitgeverijen, 2016).

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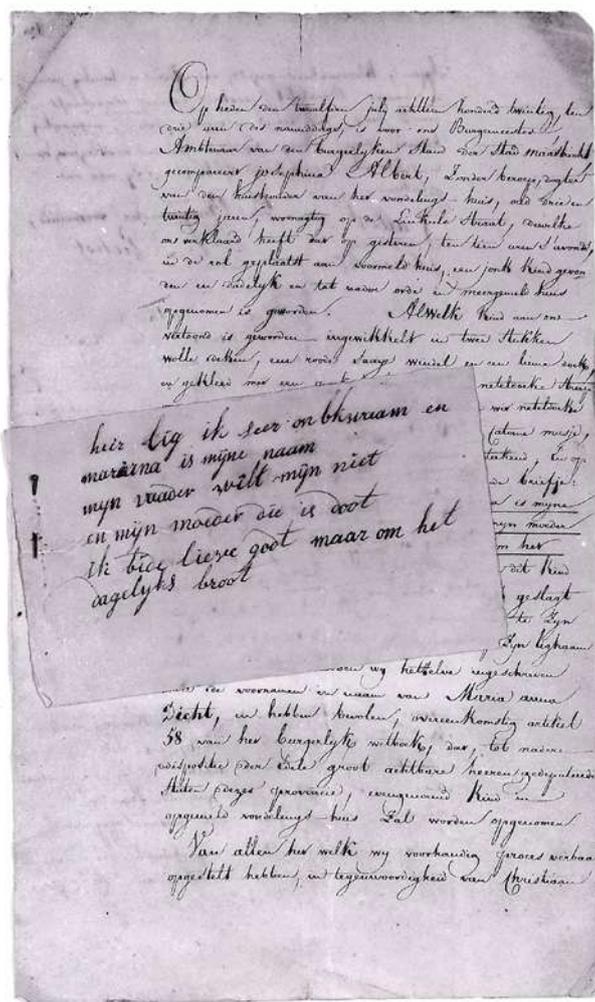
The foundling has to be given a surname and, with an eye to the poem, Miss Albert proposes: Maria Anna Dicht (Dutch for poem). If one now searches for this child, it becomes almost immediately clear that the little girl was a daughter of 34-year-old Anna Catharina Simons and a gunner from the Maastricht garrison and that she was named after her grandmother Maria Anna Woolhert. The mother died on the 11th of June 1820 and on the same day the widower Pieter Ketter abandons this child born out of wedlock. A month later she was to die, as we can see from the foundling hospital register and the death certificate drawn up by the burgomaster.

Archivers and Archiving

The writer of the note left on Maria started a chain of 'archivers': the matron of the foundling hospital, the burgomaster, and all those people who read, indexed, archived, and preserved the record or exhibited it, or used it in their historical research and published the case. And the foundling herself and her anonymous parents? Record subjects are the people named in registers and other records. They do not merely leave traces in their interaction with archiving systems: they are really co-creators because they provide input in and interact with these systems.[3]

In all archives we encounter archiving people: the record subjects, authors, clerks, registrars, antiquarians, record managers, keepers, systematizers, genealogists, and other users, and, finally, archivists. Up to the 20th century they were predominantly men, although we encounter here and there women as archiver; in the following chapters matron Josephine Albert will be joined by other women.

3   See my 'Archives as spaces of memory', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 29 (2008): 14-15. See also Chris Hurley, 'Parallel provenance: (1) What if anything is archival description?', *Archives and manuscripts* 33 (2005): 110-45; Sue McKemmish, 'Evidence of me ... in a digital world', in *I, digital. Personal collections in the digital era*, ed. Christopher A. Lee (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), pp. 115-48; Sue McKemmish and Michael Piggott, 'Toward the archival multiverse. Challenging the binary opposition of the personal and corporate archive in modern archival theory and practice', *Archivaria* 76 (2013): 111-44.

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Archiving by people, archiving of people, and archiving for people. Each of the archiving people acts in his or her own turn in cultural practices of creation, classification, filing, arrangement, appraisal, use and abuse, selection, and destruction of archives. Each archiver participates in the recursive production and mediation of the archive (I use the term 'the archive' both for the epistemological site and as a synonym for archives). The mediation involves not only definition, selection, organization, interpretation, representation, and presentation, but also concealment, displacement, and destruction.[4]

Within the archival profession, many distinguish between records (created and used in the course of business and kept as long as that business requires) and archives (records to be kept beyond their primary purpose). Many more, however, understand that this distinction has little relevance, especially in the digital age. Recorded information can be regarded as archival documents from the very beginning (in several languages the term archival document includes what elsewhere is set apart as current records) as the sediment of a specific activity or transaction. Archives are transactional and process-bound information. Consequently, we do not consider the record or document merely on its own, but within the context of the work process which created the document, and which gives each record its specific meaning within that context.

Archiving in the broad sense as used in this book, starts with the decision to use documents for a transaction. This is followed by what archival scholar Peter Horsman calls documenting: making and using documents in a business process. According to Horsman, documenting is followed by archiving: setting documents aside for possible future reference.[5] Unlike Horsman, I do not consider documenting as a phase separate from archiving but as embedded in archiving. 'Recordkeeping' would be the Australian term, where 'documentation of a transaction is archival from the time the record is created and the archival document retains evidential value for as long as it is in existence.'[6]

Archiving includes creating and linking a document to a transaction and to the other documents of that transaction by some form of physical or virtual filing. The 'archival

4   *Displaced archives*, ed. James Lowry (London/New York: Routledge, 2017).

5   Peter Horsman, *Abuysen ende desordiën. Archiefvorming en archivering in Dordrecht 1200-1920* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting archiefpublicaties, 2011), pp. 230-31; Peter Horsman and Eric Ketelaar, 'Archival history', in *Encyclopedia of archival science*, ed. Luciana Duranti and Patricia C. Franks (London etc.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), pp. 53-58.

6   Sue McKemmish and Frank Upward, 'The archival document. A submission to the inquiry into Australia as an information society', *Archives and manuscripts* 19 (1991): 19-20.

bond', or the interrelatedness between the records created and received in the course of a particular transaction, is an essential characteristic of archives. The poem attached to foundling Maria's body only makes sense in the context of the record written by the burgomaster (unfortunately, the website of the Regional-historical Centre Limburg in Maastricht presents the poem as a stand-alone document).[7] Suppose that all attachments to foundlings' records would have been removed: they might have become collectable items in a museum. Because the internal logic of such a collection is determined by the world-view of the collector and not by the recordkeeping process, the original meaning of the decontextualized attachments would be lost.

An archival document is recreated and transformed throughout the continuum of recordkeeping, getting another meaning time and again.[8] One document may exist in various states or versions: the rough draft, the fair copy, the copy sent to the addressee, the published version, and the final document once again taken from the file, annotated and used in a subsequent transaction. Archive formation happens through interactions, interventions, interrogations, and interpretations by creators, users, archivists; these are activations which co-determine the archive's meaning. The foundling's record was created by the burgomaster in a work process regulated by legal and social norms, as evidence to be used in the future. But after some time, the primary evidential quality of a record fades away or expires. Some records then get a new meaning as a historical source. Not one, but various meanings.[9] The foundling's record got a new meaning when in the 1960s a genealogist and an archivist discovered that in Maastricht between 1819 and 1822 many babies were declared foundling only for the mother to benefit from financial support by the government. This discovery changed the meaning of the record. This implies that the archive is not static, but that it is a dynamic process, even when it is seemingly frozen in time. That process is managed by individuals, businesses, churches, and private and public agencies in their social and cultural contexts. Through time these contexts are always being constructed and thus ever changing.

In every stage what is documented/archived and what is left out, and how the information is recorded, is influenced by seemingly innocent practices of classification, filing,

7   https://web.archive.org/web/20190530101234/https://www.rhcl.nl/nl/tentoonstellings-paginas/schatkamer/, archived 31 May 2019.

8   Randolph Head, *Making archives in early modern Europe. Proof, information and political recordkeeping, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 26 borrows the terms 'de-semiosis' and 're-semiosis' from the mediaevalist Thomas Hildbrand, who draws on the sociologist Niklaus Luhmann.

9   Eric Ketelaar, 'Tacit narratives. The meanings of archives', *Archival science* 1 (2001): 131-41; Eric Ketelaar, 'Cultivating archives', *Archival science* 12 (2012): 19-33.

registering, and, more importantly, by archivalization. In 1998 I proposed that term for the conscious or unconscious choice (determined by social and cultural factors) to consider something worth documenting and archiving.[10] These factors, in turn, are controlled by different societal powers: institutions like the State, business (that also controls the technologies of archiving), the Church, the press, but also by ideologies and socialized norms based on, amongst others, class, gender, or race. The archive reflects realities as perceived or constructed by the archivers. The foundling's record declared that the parents of Maria were unknown, but from other archival sources we know that the warden at the foundling hospital and the burgomaster knew exactly who the mother and father of the child were. The record was a true record, with a constructed (some may say: false) content. The reality we record, and the way in which we record, are determined by socio-cultural factors. Each influences the other. The life and death of foundling Maria are not fully recoverable from the records because not everything was recorded: facts like who cared for the baby after her mother's death, what happened to her father, where was she during the month between her registration as a foundling and her death (she did not die at the hospital but in a house on Hoenderstraat).

Archiving is a social practice, entailing a social logic.[11] That logic is conditioned by what Judith Pollmann calls the scripts available within a family, social group, or community; these scripts are included in Markus Friedrich's 'archival ideologies'.[12] Every community is a 'community of memory' embedded in its past and, consequently, cultivating specific *genres* (patterns of communication that conform to community norms[13]) through which that past is mediated. In that mediation records from the past are joined with records of the present, defining the community's identity.

Moreover, the archiving by a community extends beyond its boundaries, involving addressees, senders, and all other parties who are participating in the intertextual *genre system*. This concept was introduced by Charles Bazerman, who wrote that a genre system is a 'complex web of interrelated genres, where each participant makes a recognizable act or move in some recognizable genre, which then may be followed by a certain range of

10   Eric Ketelaar, 'Archivalisation and archiving', *Archives and manuscripts* 27 (1999): 54-61.

11   Joseph Morsel, 'Du texte aux archives. Le problème de la source', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, special issue nr. 2 (2008), https://web.archive.org/web/20190530101355/https://journals.openedition.org/cem/4132, archived 31 May 2019. See Eric Ketelaar, 'Archives, memories and identities', in *Archives and recordkeeping. Theory into practice*, ed. Caroline Brown (London: Facet, 2014), pp. 131-70.

12   Judith Pollmann, *Memory in early modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), ch. 1; Markus Friedrich, 'Epilogue. Archives and archiving across cultures—towards a matrix of analysis', in *Manuscripts and archives. Comparative views on record-keeping*, ed. Alessandro Bausi, Christian Brockmann, Michael Friedrich, and Sabine Kienitz (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), pp. 433-34. Friedrich adapted the term from 'graphic ideologies' as identified by Matthew Hull: 'sets of conceptions about graphic artifacts held by their users, including about what material qualities of an artefact are to count as signs, what sorts of agents are (or should be) involved in them, and what the roles of human intentions and material causation are'. Matthew S. Hull, *Government of paper. The materiality of bureaucracy in urban Pakistan* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2012), p. 14.

13   Gillian Oliver and Wendy M. Duff, 'Genre studies and archives. Introduction to the special issue', *Archival science* 12 (2012): 373.

appropriate generic responses by others'.[14] Bazerman demonstrated the concept in an analysis of the processes of applying for and granting a patent, which bear a striking resemblance to various processes in Dutch archival history as well. Patents (*octrooien*) for reclamation endeavours (see 5.3), or for establishing a mill (7.6) are genre systems in which various participants, each within his or her own set of genres, are acting together. Genres provide social codes of behaviour[15] and can initiate actions: people know how to respond to a particular genre. An application for a patent triggers a specific social action involving different participants and genres, a petition for a writ of summons triggers a sequence of genres created and used by lawyers, judges, and parties directly or indirectly involved in the litigation (9.1). Conceptualizing recordkeeping systems as genre systems brings 'the social' embedded in archiving to the foreground, emphasizes what Bazerman calls the 'multivocality' of the text and highlights the enabling (and constraining) power of archives and archiving.

Revisiting of archival concepts by postmodernist scholars (mainly, but not exclusively, since Derrida's *Archive Fever*) has led to a shift in archivistics from the actual archival document to its functional process or context of creation; from the archive as a product to archive as a process; from the physical artefact to the context in which that artefact is created. This new perspective (or, maybe, paradigm) proved to be essential in coping with digital-born and digitized archives. A document does not convey anything if we do not know in what context it was written, sent, or received. In the world of paper, the context can often be determined by the notes and stamps (registration codes) on a document, by other documents from the same file, and by its place in the file. For digital archives to be complete, the computer programme must ensure that the context data belonging to a document are made at all and then saved. From these context data the connection must be apparent between the different documents and between the documents and their use in the work process. If that connection is not clear we create information, but we do not form records with an archival bond.

This contextual approach is a powerful tool for any user to find, to use, and to interpret his or her sources properly. But this presupposes that the user is enabled by the archivist to

14 Charles Bazerman, 'Systems of genres and the enactment of social intentions', in *Genre and the new rhetoric*, ed. Aviva Freedman and Peter Medway (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), p. 97.

15 Fiorella Foscarini, 'Diplomatics and genre theory as complementary approaches', *Archival science* 12 (2012): 401.

answer the question: how does the original purpose of the record affect what may be done with it? One must look beyond the record to the record's contextual history, to discover the human being that acted as an archiver. It is looking for what Terry Cook named the 'creative act or authoring intent or functional context behind the record'.[16] One might call that a post-modernist approach of the so-called objectivity or neutrality of the record. But it is, in fact, the approach of traditional diplomatics, bringing one as close as possible to the writer of the document, close to his or her norms and beliefs.

The trend in archivistics to look beyond the archive-as-product to the archive-as-process coincided with the move in other disciplines from archives-as-sources to archives-as-subject, a move which anthropologist Ann Stoler was the first to call 'the archival turn'.[17] She shifted her attention from archives as sites of knowledge retrieval to archives as sites of knowledge production. Her move from extraction from the archive to an ethnography of the archive has been followed in research of documentary practices by anthropologists, psychologists, sociologists, and scholars of literary and media studies. They quite often bemuse the professional archivist whenever they stretch the concept of the archive(s) beyond what is customary in archival practice. However, the question is not 'what is an archive', but: how does a particular individual or group at a particular time and place perceive and understand an archive? Since an archival document can be in any medium, form, or format, why might not landscapes, oral tradition, and rituals qualify as archives? Some may, others may not. An archival document, in whatever form, is a persistent representation of activities and transactions. That representation is accessible through its 'contextual envelope' constituted by the uniqueness of the processes and functions that produced records and by the context of other documents created by the same activity over time.

This contextuality implies that archivalization and archiving experience change in society, but they also sustain changes in society. This is what I call the duality of the archive: by archiving we are being archived. In other words, we construct the archive and are constructed by the archive. As writer and curator Jorge Blasco Gallardo remarked:

16 Terry Cook, 'What is past is prologue. A history of archival ideas since 1898, and the future paradigm shift', *Archivaria* 43 (1997): 48.

17 Eric Ketelaar, 'Archival turns and returns. Studies of the archive', in *Research in the archival multiverse*, ed. Anne J. Gilliland, Sue McKemmish, and Andrew J. Lau (Clinton, Victoria: Monash University Press, 2016), pp. 228-68.

'archiving is the way we relate to the world'. And he adds 'By living we archive and we are archived.'[18] In my model of the archiving context[19] (Fig. 0.2) this duality is represented by arrows pointing to both ends. A mandate is an answer to societal challenges, while the mandate may cause societal concerns; a work process influences archiving, but archiving in turn influences work processes. As Peter Horsman found out in his study of archiving by the city officers of Dordrecht, most phenomena in archiving were caused by changes in documenting, and most changes in documenting were, in turn, caused by changes in work processes. These could be the result of, for example, new tasks, or the transfer of tasks to other bodies. These, in turn, were in many cases a reflection not just of changing organizational insights, but mainly of changing societal notions. In Horsman's research these were notions of the relationships between citizen and government, and between local and central government.

18 Jorge Blasco Gallardo, 'Ceci n'est pas une archive', in *Memorias y olvidos del archivo* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Lampreave, 2010), pp. 11-19, https://web.archive.org/web/20190530101501/https://revistafakta.wordpress.com/2013/12/17/ceci-nest-pas-une-archive-por-jorge-blasco-gallardo/, archived 30 May 2019.

19 I added 'Societal Challenges' to the model presented by Hans Hofman, 'The archive', in *Archives. Recordkeeping in society*, ed. Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed, and Frank Upward (Charles Sturt University: Wagga-Wagga, 2005), p. 138. Hofman's model was based on the modelling by Sue McKemmish et al., 'Describing records in context in the continuum. The Australian recordkeeping metadata schema', *Archivaria* 48 (1999): 12-13.
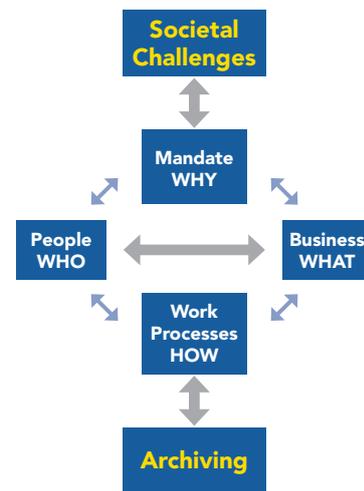
Fig. 0.2 Model of the archiving context.

Not all elements of the model are treated equally in this book. It is not a history of (the why, who, and what of) the Church, the State, the Cities, etc. Information on these elements is provided in the book whenever that is deemed essential for understanding societal challenges, archiving, and, in between, work processes. The focus is on archiving, both as a reflection of the why, who, what, and how of human endeavour, and as a reflection of societal challenges, patterns, and norms, and vice versa: archiving that conditions or facilitates societal practices.

Using the term reflection should not lead us to assume that what we see as archived is (or was) the real world. As Jorge Blasco Gallardo warns, archiving systems 'have been modelling ways of representing reality, looking at reality and, very often, have built and designed reality itself'.[20] The archive reflects a reality as perceived or constructed by the archivers. For example, judicial archives present the world as seen by each of the parties in a lawsuit (see 9.4), financial records serve to make reality calculable, and government records on people serve to make people legible as citizen and taxpayer (see 1.2.2, 8.3.2, and 8.5). When using archives, one has to know the why, who, what, and how in order to assess which reality may be reflected in the archives.

Historicizing Archives

The renewed interest in the contexts in which archival documents are created has led to a renewal of archival history. Of course, it has always been the task of the archivist to study the history of the creator of the records as a requisite for arrangement (restoring the original order) and description of the archive. But with the emphasis on archivalization before archiving, we also want 'to look beyond archive creation, as it were, and find out how the recorded information came about', as Charles Jeurgens, professor of archivistics at the University of Amsterdam, advocates.[21] In historicizing archives, we mainly use the archives themselves. That is the 'double bind', entailing a new way of reading the socially embedded archive as it was created by different agents (creators, users, archivists, and record subjects) in their interaction with institutions and technologies.[22] Such an approach

20 Gallardo, 'Ceci n'est pas une archive'.

21 Charles Jeurgens, 'Historians and archivists. Two disciplines working with the same papers', *Palimpsest* 1.1 (June-November 2009): 47, https://web.archive.org/web/20190530101755/https://www.academia.edu/3201993/Historians_and_Archivists_Two_Disciplines_Working_with_the_Same_Papers, archived 30 May 2019.

22 Horsman and Ketelaar, 'Archival history'.

23 Brien Brothman, 'Perfect present, perfect gift. Finding a place for archival consciousness in social theory', *Archival science* 10 (2010): 143. See also Markus Friedrich, 'The rise of archival consciousness in provincial France. French feudal records and eighteenth-century seigneurial society', *Past & present* 230, Suppl 11 (2016): 49-70; Markus Friedrich, 'Epilogue'.

24 Markus Friedrich, 'Being an archivist in provincial enlightened France. The case of Pierre Camille Le Moine (1723–1800)', *European history quarterly* 46 (2016): 569.

25 Friedrich, 'Epilogue', p. 426 uses the term counter-archival practices, which he borrowed from Konrad Hirschler, 'From archive to archival practices. Rethinking the preservation of Mamluk administrative documents', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136 (2016): 1-28. See also Michael Piggott, *Archives and societal provenance. Australian essays* (Oxford: Chandos, 2012), p. 3: 'the silences of non-creation', and p. 188: the 'infertile opposite' of record creation.

26 Carolyn Steedman, 'Something she called a fever. Michelet, Derrida, and Dust', *American historical review* 106 (2001): 1165; Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 18; Simon Fowler, 'Enforced silences', in David Thomas, Simon Fowler, and Valerie Johnson, *The silence of the archive* (London: Facet, 2017), pp. 1-39. On 'selective survival' see also Arnold Esch, 'Überlieferungs-Chance und Überlieferungs-Zufall als methodisches Problem des Historikers', *Historische Zeitschrift* 240 (1985): 529–70.

provides a view on the archive from the outside, probing society's 'archival consciousness' and its 'archival ideologies', in Brien Brothman's words:

> over the course of history, what kinds of purposes have animated individuals and societies to keep and preserve documentation in its many forms, and what kinds of social consequences have induced them to continue to do so, to stop doing so, or to change how they do so?[23]

This challenges any researcher of the social history of archives, as Markus Friedrich so acutely writes, to practice

> an approach to the history of archives that includes, but also transcends the well-established research questions about institutional development, orders of know-ledge and archival information-management by highlighting the additional questions of how, why and through which agents archives and archive-related practices became integrated within the everyday life of ordinary Europeans. A 'social history of archives' would focus on how society at large became acquainted, familiarized, and, indeed, thoroughly impregnated with archival activities. It would highlight the concepts and mentalities people relied on when conceiving their archives.[24]

When focusing on the interaction between 'ordinary' archiving people and institutions and technologies (rather than putting the institutions and technologies centre stage), one realizes that most of the certificates, licences, letters, and other documents people received from institutions have only rarely been preserved, mainly because the owners did not think them worth preserving or, perhaps, relied on the organizational memory of the institutions they dealt with. These institutions, in turn, decided at various moments to destroy or keep their records. May one attribute this to 'counter-archivalization'[25] or 'anti-archivalization': the economic, cultural, and political discouragement to capture and retain documents, or societal forces towards destruction? Counter-archivalization is as much part of the archival consciousness as constructive archivalization. Both are instrumental in determining archival silences and what is kept and ends up in the archives, the outcome being only the tiny flotsam of the great, slow-moving river of Everything, to use Carolyn Steedman's words.[26]

27 S. Muller, J.A. Feith, and R. Fruin, *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives. Translation of the second edition by Arthur H. Leavitt, with new introductions [...]* (Chicago: Society of American archivists, 2003), section 61. Muller had used the same words five years before, in the introduction of S. Muller, *Catalogus van het Archief. Eerste afdeeling 1122-1577* (Utrecht: Beijers, 1893), p. lxxxviii.

28 Eric Ketelaar, 'Dimensies van archiefgeschiedenis', in *Archiefambacht tussen geschiedenisbedrijf en erfgoedwinkel. Een balans bij het afscheid van vijf rijksarchivarissen [...]*, ed. Eddy Put and Chantal Vancoppenolle (Brussel: Algemeen rijksarchief, 2013), pp. 227-41.

29 Frank G. Burke, 'The future course of archival theory in the United States', *American archivist* 44 (1981): 42.

30 Tom Nesmith, 'Archives from the bottom up. Social history and archival scholarship', *Archivaria* 14 (Summer 1982): 6-7; repr. in *Canadian archival studies and the rediscovery of provenance*, ed. Tom Nesmith (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1993), p. 161. See also Tom Nesmith, 'Reopening archives. Bringing new contextualities into archival theory and practice', Archivaria 60 (Fall 2005): 259-74.

31 Barbara L. Craig, 'Outward visions, inward glance. Archives history and professional identity', *Archival issues* 17 (1992): 121.

32 Selections of the presented papers were published in *Archivaria*, *Archival science*, *Libraries & the cultural record*, and in *Engaging with records and archives.: Histories and theories*, ed. Fiorella Foscarini, et al. (London, Facet Publishing, 2016).

33 Barbara L. Craig, Philip B. Eppard, and Heather Macneil, 'Exploring perspectives and themes for histories of records and archives. The first International Conference on the History of Records and Archives (I-CHORA)', *Archivaria* 60 (2006): 7-8.

Archival Histories

Archivists as scholars of recordkeeping are the very people to practice archival history and to fathom 'the mechanisms of the old administration', as the Dutch *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives* (1898) already stated.[27] The usual practice for Dutch archival inventories is to provide in the introduction a 'history of the archives' with a view to their proper use.[28] An inventory aims to provide access, and this determines the limited scope of the introduction. Therefore, the introduction only rarely presents the archive as an object of historical study and within its societal context.

Since the 1980s the archival profession has been urged to broaden the scope of their archival histories. As early as 1980 American archival educator (and future Archivist of the United States) Frank Burke called for research into questions such as

> What is it within the nature of society that makes it create the records that it does? Is the impulse a purely practical one, or is there something in the human psyche that dictates the keeping of a record, and what is the motivation for that act?[29]

In 1982 Tom Nesmith argued for an 'archival scholarship grounded in the study of the nature and purposes of archival records and institutions', taking as a starting point the history of society.[30] His plea was repeated in 1992 by Barbara Craig who warned archivists that if they left archival history to others, their future would be at stake. She believed archival history is essential for the professional identity of the archivist in the modern age because it is an aid in understanding 'the contextual place of records in the world of affairs, of thought, and of information. In short, we would benefit greatly from a historical sociology of the record and a diplomatic of the document.'[31] At her invitation, the first International Conference on the History of Records and Archives (I-CHORA) met in 2003.[32] According to the hosts of the first I-CHORA, archival history is important because it 'holds the promise of providing a better understanding of human experience and human needs.'[33] Subsequent I-CHORA conferences were held in Amsterdam (2005 and 2015), Boston (2007), Perth (2008), London (2010), Austin (2012), and Melbourne (2018).

34 Randolph Head, 'Preface. Historical research in archive and knowledge cultures: an interdisciplinary wave', *Archival science* 10 (2010): 191.

35 M.T. Clanchy, *From memory to written record. England, 1066-1307*, 3rd ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 336. Earlier editions 1979 and 1993.

36 Clanchy, *From memory to written record*, pp. 336-43 (Postscript by the author); R. Britnell, *Pragmatic literacy, east and west 1200-1330* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997); Marco Mostert, 'De vroegste geschiedenis van de schriftcultuur in Holland', in *Datum et actum. Opstellen aangeboden aan Jaap Kruisheer (...)*, ed. D.P. Blok et al. (Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut, 1998), pp. 315-30.

37 Ann Blair and Jennifer Milligan, 'Introduction', *Archival science* 7 (2007): 291.

38 A fine overview of the status of the research is given by Alexandra Walsham, 'The social history of the archive. Record-keeping in early modern Europe', *Past & present*, 230, suppl. 11 (2016): 9-48, https://web.archive.org/web/20190530101943/https://academic.oup.com/past/article/230/suppl_11/9/2884268, archived 30 May 2019, and by Alexandra Walsham, Kate Peters, and Liesbeth Corens, 'Introduction. Archives and information in the early modern world', in *Archives & information in the early modern world*, ed. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters, and Alexandra Walsham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 1-25. See also Elizabeth Yale, 'The history of archives: the state of the discipline', *Book History* 18 (2015): 332-59. On the interdisciplinarity of archival history see Filippo de Vivo, Andrea Guidi, and Alessandro Silvestri, 'Introduzione a un percorso di studio', in *Archivi e archivisti in Italia tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Filippo de Vivo, Andrea Guidi, and Alessandro Silvestri (Roma: Viella, 2015), pp. 9-39.

I-CHORA attracted not only archivists but also historians and scholars in other disciplines. As explained before, in the past few decades many anthropologists, sociologists, scholars of cultural studies, and historians made the 'archival turn', considering not only the archives as places of research or a theoretical concept but first and foremost as a fascinating object of study in itself.[34] As early as 1979 Michael Clanchy, in his masterly book *From memory to written record*, made archival documents themselves the object of study, instead of viewing them merely as 'quarries of information'.[35] His approach was followed by researchers on orality and literacy, in particular pragmatic literacy, i.e. literacy and the culture of writing for pragmatic purposes.[36] Their archival histories show the numerous ways with which 'archival practice and archival knowledge shape subjects in history and subjects of history'.[37] Two collections of conference papers published as special issues of *Archival science*, epitomize this kind of archival history by historians: 'Toward a cultural history of archives', ed. Ann Blair and Jennifer Mulligan (2007) and 'Archival knowledge cultures in Europe, 1400-1900', ed. Randolph Head (2010). Most participants in these conferences were historians, who are leading in the history of archives before the modern era, as evidenced by books by Arndt Brendecke, Markus Friedrich, Ben Kafka, Jacob Soll, Filippo de Vivo, and others.[38] Together with Arndt Brendecke and Hilde de Weerdt, Randolph Head (whose comparative history of archives 'Making Archives in Early Modern Europe. Proof, Information and Political Recordkeeping, 1400-1700' was published recently) took the initiative to establish *The global archivalities network,* seeking to connect and recruit humanists in all disciplines interested in the comparative history of archives.[39] From 2012 to 2016 Filippo de Vivo conducted a large-scale collaborative investigation into the comparative history of archives in late medieval and early modern Italy, contextualizing the study of archives away from institutional history in a wider social and cultural context. One of the outcomes of the project was a special issue of *European History Quarterly*: 'Archival transformations in early modern Europe' (2016). In 2016 *Past and Present* published an issue 'The social history of the archive. Record-keeping in early modern Europe', containing papers arising from a conference held at the British Academy in 2014. Other papers from the same conference were published in 2018 in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* 'Archives and information in the early modern world'. A great deal

39 'Archivality is a comprehensive configurational term for characterizing the way different societies collect documents that record information about dominion, possessions, and power.': Head, *Making archives*, p. 37.

40 J.L. van der Gouw, 'Munimenta en monumenta', *Nederlands archievenblad* 84 (1980): 497-514; C.J. Zandvliet, *Mapping for money. Maps, plans and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1998), 2nd ed. 2002; Peter Horsman, *Abuysen ende desordiën. Archiefvorming en archivering in Dordrecht 1200-1920* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting archiefpublicaties, 2011); Theo Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht. De Staten-Generaal en hun archieven 1576-1796. Onderzoeksgids* (Den Haag: Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2015), https://web.archive.org/web/20170607054454/http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/instrumenten_macht/#page=0&accessor=toc&view=homePane, archived 7 June 2017.

41 E.C. Dijkhof, *Het oorkondewezen van enige kloosters en steden in Holland en Zeeland 1200-1325* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003); J.F. Benders, *Bestuursstructuur en schriftcultuur: een analyse van de bestuurlijke verschriftelijking in Deventer tot het eind van de 15de eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004); Geertrui van Synghel, *'Actum in camera scriptorum oppidi de Buscoducis'. De stedelijke secretarie van 's-Hertogenbosch tot ca. 1450* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007).

42 Tom Nesmith, 'Seeing archives. Postmodernism and the changing intellectual place of archives', *American archivist* 65 (2002): 35.

of this scholarship addresses the history of knowledge, which partly overlaps the history of pragmatic literacy and the history of transactional archives.

In the Netherlands archival histories have been written mainly by archivists. They have written extensive introductions to archive inventories, guides, and histories of archival institutions, archival policies, and the archival profession. They have also contributed to archival history with recent studies of the history of documenting and recordkeeping.[40] Scholarship in diplomatics has yielded studies of chanceries which are relevant for archival history.[41] Since 1982 Dutch archivists and historians have published a series of studies of genres of administrative records: *broncommentaren* (commentaries on sources).

Archivalization and archiving are practices situated within social, cultural, political, technological, and other contexts. Through time these contexts are ever changing and ever being constructed, shaping, as Tom Nesmith argues,

> the action of the people and institutions who made and maintained the records, the functions the records perform, the capacities of information technologies to capture and preserve information at a given time, and the custodial history of the records.[42]

Historicizing practices of record formation and archiving is important for the user of archives, the archivist, and the archival policy maker. We must understand the societies and the people who created and used the documents before we can really understand their value for research and other purposes. And vice versa: by exploring the social history of archives we may get a better understanding of archiving people in the past, present, and future.

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CHAPTER
1

ARCHIVING PEOPLE
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF
DUTCH ARCHIVES

Chapter 1

Archiving People

Fig. 1.0 Jurriaen Ovens, Regents of the Civic Orphanage (*Burgerweeshuis*) in Amsterdam, 1663. Amsterdam Museum, on loan from the Spirit Foundation, SB 4843.
The Children's Book is brought in for the regents to record the admission of the boy to the left and to render account to the other boy who is leaving the orphanage.

1.0 Introduction

Archiving of the people, by the people, and for the people. In this chapter archiving of people is treated (following the model of the archiving context, Fig. 0.2) as a business (what) and a work process (how), involving people (who) as agents, leading to archiving. Its history in what now constitutes the Netherlands begins with the oldest written traces from Roman times. The second oldest record found on Dutch soil is a military diploma for the son of the Batavian Gaverus dating from the year 98 CE (see 1.1). It is slightly more recent than the wax tablet dating from 29 CE about a loan to which a Batavian soldier was a witness (see 8.1).

Archiving people at a later date is treated from different angles in 1.2-1.7. The registration of people from cradle to grave (1.2) began in the early Middle Ages by registering baptism and marriage (1.2.1), both required by the Roman Catholic Church. These practices were adapted and extended after the Reformation. Henceforth, civic government regulated the registration and the validity of a marriage, while leaving the registration of baptism/birth and funeral to the churches.

Government in premodern times had only a limited interest in archiving people and concerned itself chiefly with people as taxpayers. This changed after the Batavian Revolution (1795), which not only defined the 'political citizen' (*staatsburger*) at a national level (the other person is not addressed as 'sir' anymore but as 'citizen') but also wanted to make him or her legible for the State. In the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2) this need for legibility is a societal challenge that has its effects on the other parts of the model (why, what, who, how) and ultimately on the archiving. After the annexation of the Netherlands by France (in stages between 1795 and 1810) this legibility is achieved primarily by the introduction of civic registration (see 1.2.2 and 1.2.3). The French also introduced compulsory military service. They could do so because they could depend on perfect archiving practices (see 1.4).

The next step in making the 19th-century citizen legible was the recording of data used to construe the 'average man' (see 1.2.4). With the transition from the 'Night Watch State' to the welfare state, nature and scope of archiving people are extended. The citizen became a 'paper man' who may be controlled and captured—often quite literally as the experiences during the German occupation (1940-1945) have demonstrated. Up till now, these experiences have dominated the public debate about the legal duty to identify oneself, ID-cards, access to civic registration, and data protection (1.2.5).

Section 1.3 deals with the way cities archived their citizens before the 19th century. The oldest citizens registers date from 1302. The oldest register of guild members in a Dutch city is from 1249. These registers have been preserved in official archives. The registered people received some form of certificate or licence. Once they had served their purpose, these documents were not considered worthy of preservation. Thus, the decision to throw away a document is as much part of archival politics as the decision to keep it. This issue returns in section 1.4, which deals with the archiving of sailors and soldiers by the United East India Company and by conscription in the 19th century. Both archiving systems were information-rich genre systems consisting of regulated practices and technologies. Those systems used to be paper-based, whereas, for example, today's 'migration machine' (1.5) is largely dependent on computers, scanners, cameras and other ICTs. However, the question is to what extent the record subject is involved in the construction and disposition of 'his' or 'her' file (1.6).

People who archive their own documents and memorabilia often do this in the context of their family. Family records are a combination of personal records, with the connection between the different components being the relation of the family members. Section 1.7 traces the archival consciousness of Dutch families since the 16th century and the adoption by the modern archival profession of the 'archiveness' of family archives which was none too easy.

1.1   Roman Veterans

The time from which no written traces have come down (the prehistory) ends with the arrival of the Romans. Between 58 and 49 BCE, Julius Caesar captured the whole of Gaul up to the river Rhine. A large part of the Netherlands of today—the area to the north of the Roman border—remained 'prehistoric' until the Christianization in the 8th century. The Romans came upon Batavians who lived in the east of the country and a people called the Cananefates in the west. These people were incorporated into the Roman empire as *socii* and the men were recruited for the Roman army. The Batavians served, for instance, in the imperial guards, and in Britain. The commander of the garrison in Vindolanda near Hadrian's wall (where the 9th cohort of the Batavians was encamped) was a distinguished Batavian.

At the Rhine border, near the Roman encampments, settlements arose where the original inhabitants traded with the Romans. The sociologist Michael Mann distinguishes four channels of Roman ideological power: the mosaic of villages, cities, tribes, and peoples upon whom the Romans imposed their rule; the authoritative, official, political communications channel of the empire; the army; and the trading networks of the empire.[1] Along these four channels messages and controls passed, mostly in written form.

We may assume that the Governor of the Roman province of Germania Inferior corresponded with Rome, as well as with the administrative centres of what now constitutes the Netherlands: Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum (Nijmegen) and Municipium Aelium Cananefatum (Voorburg). The emphasis of this correspondence will have been on military matters. These were noted down in *commentarii*, the official journals (sometimes split up in series), kept and archived by *commentarienses.* The military commanders would keep drafts and incoming letters, as we know for instance from Vindolanda, and they had records filed in the cohort archives (*in tabulario cohortis*). Unfortunately, hardly anything of what was done in this country was kept.

1   Michael Mann, *The sources of social power*, vol. I, *A history of power from the beginning to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 310-13.

For the Batavians and the Cananefates archiving people mainly meant archiving Roman military documents.[2] The proof is the aforementioned military diploma for the son of the Batavian Gavarus dating from the year 98, found in 1988 in Elst (Gelderland).

Fig. 1.1 Military diploma for the son of the Batavian Gavarus, 98 CE. Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen.

2   J.K. Haalebos, 'Traian und die Hilfstruppen am Niederrhein. Ein Militärdiplom des Jahres 98 n. Chr. aus Elst in der Over-Betuwe (Niederlande)', *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 50 (2000): pp. 31-72; Tom Buijtendorp, *Het jaar 117. Sporen van Trajanus en Hadrianus in de Lage Landen* (Utrecht: Omniboek, 2017).

The Cananefates and Batavians were free inhabitants, but they were not citizens of the Roman empire. When a Cananefate or a Batavian had served in the Roman army for 25 years or longer, he would receive the citizenship and his marriage would be legalized, his children thereby automatically becoming Roman citizens. A bronze plaque would have been struck in Rome and fastened to the wall of Minerva's temple. The veteran himself would receive an authentic summary of his deeds in a bronze diploma, sealed by seven witnesses. The word diploma is of Greek origin and means folded paper. The bronze diploma was made of two connected tablets, on one of which the text was inscribed, on the other the names of the witnesses. In Elst, only a fragment of the first tablet was found. But this was sufficient for scholars to determine that it is the notice of dismissal made up in 98, meant for a Batavian soldier, son of Gavarus, who had served with the horsemen of *Ala I Batavorum* and to ascertain that his Batavian wife and two children were mentioned in the document.

After 25 years of loyal service, the Batavian soldier returned to his native soil. He kept the diploma as evidence of his military service and his Roman citizenship. He may have kept it with other documents, such as the letters he wrote home during his long service. One of the consequences of the contacts with the Romans was the spread of literacy. Not for everyone, but there was a certain 'secondary literacy', as veterans from the army could function as readers, translators, and letter writers for family and other people from the village. 'At least one boy from almost every Batavian household was enlisted in the Roman army', says archaeologist Roymans. 'There he got acquainted with writing. He had to acquire this knowledge in one way or another to be able to perform his duties, to be promoted and to maintain contact with home.'[3]

3   Quoted in Hans de Molenaar, 'De indicatieve betekenis van Romeinse "militaria" in de Betuwe', *Graven tussen de rivieren* 5/7 (January 2005): 7; Ton Derks and Nico Roymans, 'Seal-boxes and the spread of Latin literacy in the Rhine delta', *Journal of Roman archaeology - Supplementary series* 48 (2002): 87-134.

1.2   From Cradle to Grave[4]

1.2.1   Church and Civic Registers

Starting around 250 the north of the Roman Empire was afflicted with invasions by the Franks and other Germanic groups. Shortly after 400, the Romans surrendered Germania. What we call the Netherlands today was then inhabited by the Frisians (in the northwest and along the coast) and by the Saxons in the east. The Frankish king Dagobert I captured Utrecht from the Frisians. In 630 he had a small church built as a missionary station for the Frisians who were gradually integrating into the Frankish Empire. The missionary bishop Willibrord was appointed in Utrecht in 695. It was only in 753 that Utrecht became a permanent bishopric (see 2.2). It was bounded in the east by the Bishopric of Münster and the Saxon territory. When eventually in 804 Charlemagne conquered the Saxons, all Low Countries were under Frankish control.

The oldest archives of the church of Utrecht regard goods and rights (see 2.1), including rights pertaining to people. An example is the 'men of the Church' in Dorestad, mentioned in a charter of Emperor Louis the Pious of 819, who were under the guardianship of the Church. Christianization made people conversant with the religion 'of the Book' and with the biblical concept of recording people's names in the heavenly Book of Life (Ps 139.16, Exodus 32, 30-34). The church rule (1215) to go to confession at least once a year at Easter led to the registration of the faithful whose confession was heard. Other registrations followed: *status animarum* (register of the souls) and lists of communicants. In order to discourage clandestine marriages, bigamy, and concubinage the Roman Catholic Church started archiving people's marriages. In 1563 the Council of Trent decided that an intended marriage had to be announced three times (banns) and that the priest had to make an entry of the blessing of the church in a book, mentioning the place, date, and the names of husband, spouse, and those of the witnesses. Already at an earlier date, the parish priest would take care of the registration of marriages, sometimes at the instruction of

4   R.F. Vulsma, *Geboekt van wieg tot graf. Burgerlijke stand, bevolkingsregister en dtb*, 3rd ed. ('s-Gravenhage: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 1983); J.G.J. van Booma, *Onderzoek in protestantse kerkelijke archieven in Nederland. Handleiding, tevens beknopte gegevens over de geschiedenis van de kerkelijke instellingen, over het kerkelijk archiefrecht en het kerkelijk archiefbeheer* ('s-Gravenhage: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 1994); *Voorouders in beeld. Stamboom en familiegeschiedenis*, ed. Rob van Drie (Utrecht/Den Haag: Teleac-NOT/ Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 1997); Valentin Groebner, *Who are you? Identification, deception, and surveillance in early modern Europe* (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2007); Henk Looijesteijn and Marco H.D. van Leeuwen, 'Establishing and registering identity in the Dutch Republic', in *Registration and recognition: Documenting the person in world history*, ed. Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Henk Boels, ' "De moeder aller registraties". Voorgeschiedenis en invoering van de burgerlijke stand in Nederland in 1811, gezien vanuit Gronings perspectief', *Pro memorie* 15, no. 1 (2013): 87-112.

a bishop. The oldest marriage books preserved in the Netherlands are those of St. Mary's Church in Deventer (1542-1575), the Jacobi Church in Utrecht (1559), and of the churches in Doesburg (1559) and Nederweert (1562). The Council of Trent also ordered registration of baptisms, containing the names of godfather and godmother.
The baptismal register of the Old Church in Amsterdam begins in 1564, the one of St. John in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1565.

The registrations of marriage and baptism continued after the Reformation (see 2.3). In 1574 the Reformed Synod ruled that each church had to make a baptismal register and registers of marriages and church members. The names of members that had died and for whom a grave had been dug had to be registered as well. The Roman Catholic Church used to have the authority to register marriages, but this changed and henceforth they were registered by the civic authorities. In 1575 the magistrates of Leiden and Delft ordered that for a marriage to be legal, the bride and groom had to have a licence of the registration of the intended marriage. These rules were introduced in the whole province of Holland in 1580. In part they were a continuation of the old rules regarding the banns and the registration of the marriage. From then on, the banns had to be published at the town hall. The marriage was either celebrated in the church by a Reformed minister, or at the town hall by the town magistrate.

Almost every province offered the choice between a church service and a civic one. The provinces of Zeeland, Drenthe, and Groningen were the exceptions. Here the people were only allowed to marry in the Reformed Church. In all the other provinces, the civic government began to register both banns and marriages. In 1575 the Leiden magistrate started a book of brides (*bruytbouc*) to register the banns published at the city hall. With a note from the city hall, a reformed couple could then have their marriage announced and confirmed in the church. People not belonging to the Reformed Church had to get married by a magistrate; for this category, a book of weddings (*troubouc*) was introduced in Leiden in 1592. Likewise, at the Amsterdam City Hall, two betrothal registers were kept from 1581: one for the banns in the church and one for the banns from the steps of the city hall.[5]

5   L. Hagoort, 'Inleiding op de collectie doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken te Amsterdam', *Archiefinventaris Archief van de Burgerlijke stand; Doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Gemeentearchief, 2010): 1-15, https://web.archive.org/web/20190531115455/https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/overzicht/5001.nl.html, archived 31 May 2019.

An extract from either of these was needed if the wedding was to take place in another town. Marriages in the church were registered by a sexton (see Fig. II in the Prologue), while a magistrate registered those in the town hall (for non-reformed people only).

Registers of births were not kept by the government; the local authorities did, however, concern themselves with the registration of baptisms in the churches. This was because the law correlated consequences to certain ages, an instance being the legal capacity to act on attaining one's majority. The Mennonites did not recognize infant baptism and therefore the community kept no registers. This led to some problems: when a Mennonite wanted to obtain citizenship, he had to show that his father was, in fact, his father. Therefore, the city of Amsterdam decided in 1714 that the Mennonites also had to make a register of births. The Portuguese and High German Jews in Amsterdam began to make birth registers in 1735 and 1739, respectively. As from 1785, the Amsterdam churches were required to submit a copy of the baptismal or birth registers to the City Hall every six months. There they were kept in the archives room (*charterkamer*).

Deaths were similarly not registered by the civic authorities. The churches, however, kept burial books. They were kept up to date by gravediggers appointed by the town. In Holland rates were imposed on marriage and burial from 1695, with the local secretary registering these.

Basically, proof of birth or age could only be given if a register with an entry of baptism could be shown. Yet other evidence was also occasionally accepted. Gerrid Langelaar went to the Court of Utrecht in 1711 to get a declaration of majority (*venia aetatis*). As a proof of his date of birth he handed over an extract from the notes in his own bible, made by his father, stating that he was born on 28 March 1692.[6]

Interested parties could obtain a copy from the registers of baptism, marriage, or burial. In Dutch there is an expression '*zijn doopceel lichten*' (*ceel* = cedula), literally meaning 'to bring out someone's certificate of baptism'. The phrase has come to mean that you tell

6   W.S., 'Familiebijbel als bewijsstuk', *Gens nostra* 49 (1994): 430.

all the ugly things you know about someone else. On several occasions official bodies could ask for a *doopceel*. Thus, in Rotterdam in 1764 a *doopceel* and a copy from the marriage book were used as proof to show that the name of the testator was spelt incorrectly in a testament.[7] Mistakes in registers could be corrected, as the following examples will show.

In 1761 Hendrik lmands and his wife Marijtge Verjuijst need a copy from the marriage book in Saint Peter's Church, Leiden, and a copy of their banns from the register of banns kept up to date by the magistrate of Leiden. To their astonishment they see that their surnames have been totally misspelt (*gantsch verkeerdelijk zijn gesteld en geschreeven)*: they were registered as Hendrik Goeman and Marijtge Torsue or Forsue. They turn to the city magistrate and show proof, including a statement from the guild of peat carriers. This said that between 1703 and 1721 no one of the name of Hendrik Goeman had been registered in their books, but the name 'Hendrik lmands' was indeed there. On 21 May 1751 the magistrate then orders both the church register and the civic register to be corrected. In 1705 Neeltge Jans has the name Hendrik Laurensz, member of the Leiden civic guard, registered at the baptism of her child Laurens. Hendrik, however, denies his paternity and takes the matter into court, because for him, 'petitioner, being a married man, it is of the greatest importance that his name as the father of the aforementioned child would be stricken off the register'. The court then orders the church council to remove Hendrik's name from the book.[8]

7   Rotterdam City Archives, *Oud-archief van de stad Rotterdam* (1-01), inv. nr. 1273.

8   F.C.J. Ketelaar, 'Verbetering van doop-, trouw- en begraafboeken', *Gens nostra* 25 (1970): 27-29, repr. in *Bij ons in de familie. Genealogische en heraldische bloemlezing uit Gens nostra, 1945-1976*, ed. N.A. Hamers, M.J. van 't Kruijs and R.F. Vulsma (Amsterdam: Nederlandse Genealogische Vereniging, 1979), pp. 15-17.

Here we see that correct archiving of people by church authorities as well as civic authorities is not only in the interest of the archive creator, but also in that of the archived people themselves.

1.2.2 The Legible Citizen

Between 1795 and 1810 the Netherlands became part of France in different phases. This had various consequences, one of which was the introduction of French law regarding civic registration (*burgerlijke stand*). The purpose was to make the citizen 'legible' for the State in his different capacities: as a subject, a draftee for military service, a taxpayer. The link between civic registration and, for example, conscription caused crowds in various places to retaliate against Napoleon's plans in 1813 by storming the town hall and destroying the registers that could be used for enlisting in the army.

The French civic registration comprised four registers: births, announcements of an intended marriage, marriages, and deaths. Annual and decennial indexes made the registers accessible. The registers were kept in duplicate: one copy was transferred to the local court, together with all documents submitted by people and other annexes. The civic registration was public: anyone could get an extract from the registers.

People were compelled to declare births and deaths to the burgomaster (*maire*) who also officiated and registered the civic marriage. The old civic and church registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials were confiscated by the State and had to be delivered at the *mairie*. These so-called *retroacta* (preceding acts) of the civic registration came into the care of the local registry office. In those municipalities where, later in the 19th century, a municipal archivist was appointed (see 4.8) he mostly assumed custody of these *retroacta*.

Around 1900 the *retroacta* of the civic registration became a bone of contention between state archivists and municipal archivists. After the foundation of the Association of

Archivists in the Netherlands in 1891 (see 12.4), the state archivists set the tone for decades: their position and professionalism were stronger than those of the municipal archivists who were mostly volunteers. In 1910, only five of the 31 municipal archivists had a decent salary. The state archivists were concerned about the quality of the care for the *retroacta* in the several hundreds of municipalities without an archivist. Preservation and access to these archives would be better ensured if they would be kept in the State Archives (the same card was played in the struggle for the judicial archives from before 1811: see 9.4). State Archivist Fruin argued in 1903 that because of their confiscation in the French period the *retroacta* of the civic registration had become State records, and therefore had to be kept in State Archives. Fruin admitted that this would contradict the principle of provenance as defended in the Dutch *Manual* by Muller, Feith, and Fruin himself (see 12.4). He believed that the necessity for improving the preservation of the *retroacta* by taking them out of the municipalities without an archivist should prevail over archival principles.

In 1919 the legislature compelled municipalities to transfer the old church registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials and the civic registers of marriages to the State Archives. However, a municipality could have these back as a deposit, provided it had a certificated archivist and an appropriate repository at its disposal. It was not before 1995 that a new Archives Act reversed the matter: the ownership of the deposited church registers was handed over to the municipalities—not to the churches that had made the registers in the first place. The civic registers of marriages were transferred to the municipalities at the same time. As in the past, the conditions were that the municipality should have a certificated archivist and a repository approved by the Provincial Executive. Currently, around 70 (out of 355) municipalities do not comply with the first condition, and thus their *retroacta* of the civic registration are still in the State Archives in the provincial capitals.

The old registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials were, and still are, an important source for genealogical research. Family historians form the largest group of users of archives. Between 1857 and 1886, 8.4 percent of researchers at the State Archives in

The Hague (now the National Archives) did genealogical research.[9] Their number quadrupled after the new building opened in 1903. In the period 1907-1913 the average percentage of genealogists was 17, with professional historians comprising 13 percent of all researchers. Later, non-professional researchers and genealogists were in the majority in the search room of the National Archives. In 2007, out of 19,725 total visits to the search room of the National Archives, 29 percent came from genealogists, 19 by scholars, eight by students or hobbyists, one by journalists, and 43 percent came for unspecified reasons.

As previously mentioned, the old church registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, and the civic registers of marriages had to be transferred to the State Archives after 1919. However, many registers were never handed over by the churches and stayed in the custody of the clergy. To make these registers accessible, Reverend F.S. Knipscheer of Zaltbommel started indexing, beginning in his province of Gelderland in 1921. The central government subsidized him, but for three years only. Knipscheer then founded a public limited company for the indexing of church archives (*N.V. tot het indiceeren van kerkelijke archivalia*). In 1932 the company was renamed Bureau for Historical Demography (*Bureau voor historische demografie*), moved to The Hague, and became managed by C.A. van Fenema. From 1934 the Bureau was situated in the National Archives. Around 20 people, among them some 'unemployed intellectuals', indexed the church registers which the churches had lent to the National Archives for that purpose. After van Fenema's death in 1937, his brother (later succeeded by his cousin) managed the indexing work. In 1945 the Bureau merged with the newly founded Central Bureau of Genealogy. It was until the 1970s that rows of card catalogue drawers filled with 'the Knipscheer indexes' (mostly pertaining to the Gelderland marriage registers) filled the hall of the Central Bureau. They were destroyed in 2013, as meanwhile the digitized marriage registers had been made accessible on the Internet. However, a sample of the collection has been preserved to show what the paper indexes were like.

9   F.C.J. Ketelaar, 'Het Rijksarchief op het breukvlak',
      Jaarboek 1998 Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe
      (1999): 140-61.

 In the 1970s the number of genealogists visiting archival institutions was growing, further necessitating measures such as the introduction of special search rooms for genealogists

and self-service of microfilms and xerocopies of genealogical material (see 11.2.3). In 1980, 75 percent of the researchers visiting all State Archives came out of interest in family history; in the municipal archives the average percentage was 51. Even in 2000 (the last year covered by the Central Bureau of Statistics) 52 percent of all users of all archives services were doing genealogical research (in the State Archives 67 percent, in the municipal archives 51 percent). However, the greater part of genealogical research has since moved to the Internet. A great number of archives services, together with the Central Bureau of Genealogy, maintain the website 'whowaswho' (*www.wiewaswie.nl/en/*) which now contains data from the civic registers of roughly 190 million people. The website was visited by 1.2 million unique users in 2017: a rise of 34 percent from 2016. Because so many genealogists now do their research online, it is no wonder that the Central Bureau of Genealogy closed the reference desk in its search room alltogether in 2018; several other archives are now opening their search room for a few days a week only.

Since the 1930s nearly all archives employed volunteers, students, and people in sheltered employment to index the registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths and other genealogical sources. At the Amsterdam City Archives, more than one thousand registers were indexed in approximately 15 years, resulting in millions of slips, including nearly one and a half million pertaining to the registers of marriages 1576-1811. All were then digitized, with the data entered into the national database *wiewaswie.nl*.

For the time being, digitization is the final phase in adapting the infrastructure of archives services for genealogical research both qualitatively and quantitatively. The adaptation happened through large-scale indexing projects, microfilming and xerocopying of genealogical material, furnishing special search rooms for genealogists, introducing self-service, and linking local indexes and digitized images through national databases and portals on the Internet. This illustrates what Markus Friederich stated:

> genealogy is a striking example of how socially embedded projects of data gathering relied on, and in turn changed the structure, function, and meaning of, key infrastructures of knowledge such as archives and libraries.[10]

10   Markus Friedrich, 'Genealogy as archive-driven research enterprise in early modern Europe', *Osiris* 32(1) (2017): 69.

1.2.3 Civic Registration

After the departure of the French in 1813-1814 the civic registration, which they introduced, was continued with some modifications. Local councils appointed a Registrar of Civil Status (*ambtenaar van de burgerlijke stand*) who kept four registers with certificates of birth, marriage (and divorce), death, and notice of marriage (and its publication). The last one was split in 1879 into a register of notices of marriage and a register of publications of these notices (banns); the latter was abolished in 1935, but the publication of notices of marriage stayed in use until 1987. Until 1913 the banns were proclaimed in front of the town hall, while later they were simply displayed there. Since 2015 the intention to be married may be declared via the Internet.

The bride and bridegroom had to submit many documents before the wedding ceremony. These included their birth certificates (until circa 1850 mostly extracts of the aforementioned *retroacta*), evidence of divorce of a previous marriage, or of the death of the previous spouse. Couples under 30 also had to submit proof of the consent of the parents (unless these were present at the wedding) or evidence of the death of their parents (sometimes even of grandparents). The certificate of the banns and evidence that the bridegroom had complied with the Act on the National Militia (see 1.4) had to be submitted as well. Assembling these papers took time and money, which is also true for their subsequent preservation. Nowadays these annexes to the marriage registers are a goldmine for family historians.

In the register of birth certificates, foundlings were registered as well (see the General Introduction). When, as was usual in the past, the foundling was accompanied by an anonymous note or a token, this was kept as an annexe to the certificate.

All registers are in duplicate: one stays with the Registrar (and ultimately ends up in the municipal archives), while an authentic copy originally went to the local court, though

since 1994 the copy goes to the central repository of the Ministry of Justice. There the copies are digitized if they are not yet in digital form. The paper copy is then destroyed. Ultimately, the copies are transferred to the State Archives in the provincial capitals.

A great number of archives services have made the old registers accessible on the website 'whowaswho' (*www.wiewaswie.nl/en/*) (see 1.2.2). Formerly the only finding aids were the annual and decennial indexes made by the Registrar.

Seemingly the certificates of the civic registration are static declarations of the fact of a birth, a marriage, or a death. However, they may be 'activated' by new inscriptions. For example, a divorce must be registered by adding a note to the marriage certificate, and a change of surname or given name, adoption, or naturalization cause supplements and changes in the birth certificate.

A stillborn child is inscribed in the register of deaths only, and it is therefore deemed to have never existed. Many people find this dismal: a petition to Parliament in 2016 for changing the law so that a stillborn child can be registered as a human being, received 82,000 signatures and the support of a parliamentary majority. The law was changed in 2019 to allow a stillborn child to be registered in the national digital Personal Records Database (BRP). Archiving or not archiving a stillborn child is thus determined by legal, and thus social, norms: the factors of archivalization (see the General Introduction) are now different from those in the past when the Civil Code was introduced (1838) and renovated (1970).

Shortly after the introduction of the civic registration, registers with pre-printed certificates became available. The Registrar had to fill these in by hand; it was only in 1970 that (following experiments since 1955) the Registrar was allowed to type the certificates on loose sheets which were bound later. The civic registration, which by nature is rather conservative, lagged behind the recordkeeping in business and at municipalities, where typewriters and loose-leaf systems were used ever since the first quarter of the 20th century (see chapter 11). Meanwhile, innovation has quickened: electronic civic

registration is now being introduced gradually, beginning with registration of a death and the declaration of an intended marriage.

However, not only do technical developments influence civic registration, societal challenges (see Fig. 0.2) cause changes in archiving as well, as became clear with the registration of stillborn children. Other examples are registered partnerships, introduced in 1997, that have the same legal value as a marriage. Since 1998 the birth certificate of the first child contains the choice of a surname (the father's or the mother's) for the new-born child and his or her siblings. In 2001 marriage or a registered partnership for people of the same gender was made possible. Already in 1985, it was allowed to change the gender as stated in the birth certificate, but only if it was certain that the person involved was incapable of procreating children or of giving birth to children. That condition was judged to be no longer proportionate or acceptable in the 21st century and was therefore dropped in 2014.

1.2.4 Capturing People

1.2.4.1 Introduction

Archiving people by civic and church authorities was not only in the interest of the archive creator but also in that of the people themselves. This became poignantly clear during the German occupation of the Netherlands (1940-1945). Because the Nazi Nuremberg laws declared everyone to be a full Jew who had four Jewish grandparents, a life could be saved if a person could prove that one of the grandparents was non-Jewish. During the German occupation, several archivists were involved in forging 17th and 18th-century registers of baptisms and marriages. They faked a Reformed or Catholic baptism of a forebear of a Jew, or a marriage between a forefather of a Jew with a Christian, thereby saving the lives of their descendants *wts*. After the war, these forged registers were replaced by the originals, which had been kept hidden—like the proverbial needle in a haystack—in the stacks, sometimes in the company of irreplaceable Jewish archives and Torah rolls.[11]

11   Eric Ketelaar, 'Recordkeeping and societal power', in *Archives: Recordkeeping in society*, ed. Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward (Wagga-Wagga: Charles Sturt University, 2005), p. 287.

Fig. 1.2 The Amsterdam population register after the attack by the Resistance on 27 March 1943. Amsterdam City Archives, *Gemeentepolitie* (5225), inv. nr. 7230, *Beeldbank* ANWD00676000004.

Thus, the records became instruments of salvation. In the same period, however, records were also used as instruments of deathly repression, provoking resistance. The population register consisting of person cards (*persoonskaarten*—introduced just before the Occupation) (see 1.2.4.3) became such an instrument of repression in the hands of the Nazis, who used it for the deportation of Jews and the selection of men for forced labour in Germany. To defuse that instrument, the Resistance attacked the Amsterdam population register on 27 March 1943. The person cards stored in 600 filing cabinets were thrown on big piles and set ablaze. Approximately 15 percent of the cards were burned either totally

or partially and the remainder was severely damaged because the fire brigade purposely used fire extinguishing water abundantly. It took more than nine months to reconstruct the population register.[12]

The attack in Amsterdam and comparable actions in Apeldoorn, Kampen, and elsewhere helped a (sometimes temporary) rescue of people whose person card had been burned. It also became easier for civil servants to tamper with the reconstructed population register. However, the Jewish population did not benefit from the attacks. The Resistance probably did not realize that separate Jewish card indexes existed. The Nazis had ordered the Jewish Council in Amsterdam to keep one of these indexes up to date. In May, June, and September 1943 the remaining 11,000 Jews in Amsterdam were rounded up and deported. Their 'departure to Germany' (but in fact mostly to Auschwitz or Sobibor) was meticulously registered both in the card index at the Jewish Council, as well as in the municipal registers. The deportation lists of the transit camps in Westerbork and Vught served as the weekly input for the municipal registers.[13] After the Liberation the deportation lists and the card index of the Jewish Council would constitute the nucleus of the archives of the Red Cross Information Bureau. This bureau was (and still is) not only active in tracing displaced people but especially in uncovering the fate of Jews and other Dutch people who were carried off and did not return, so that the date of their death can be ascertained as precisely as possible. This 'war archive' is still maintained by the Red Cross, serving particularly as a historical source for survivors and relatives.

1.2.4.2 People Registers

In 1849 it was ordained that the data which had been collected for the census of that year should be kept up to date by the municipalities beginning in 1850 in 'people registers' (*volksregister*s) or population registers.[14] It concerned 'such information concerning the population (…) as is deemed necessary and useful in a well-organized society', benefiting both government and other authorities as well as individual persons exerting their rights as citizens. This concerned in particular the right to vote, inscribed in the 1848

12 National Archives, *Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, Directie Binnenlands Bestuur* (2.04.87), inv. nr. 6845.

13 More details in Annemieke van Bockxmeer, *De oorlog verzameld. Het ontstaan van de collectie van het NIOD* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2014), pp. 239-87. See also Guus Luijters, Raymund Schütz and Marten Jongman, *De deportaties uit Nederland 1940-1945. Portretten uit de archieven* (Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam, 2017).

14 A.C. Meijer, 'De negentiende-eeuwse "papieren mensch". Een onderzoek naar het Amsterdams bevolkingsregister als bron voor historici', *Nederlands archievenblad* 87 (1983): 371-95; 'De gemeentelijke bevolkingsregisters, 1850-1920', ed. A. Knotter and A. C. Meijer, in *Broncommentaren*, vol. 2 (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995); Nico Randeraad, 'Negentiende-eeuwse bevolkingsregisters als statistische bron en middel tot sociale beheersing', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 21, no. 3 (1995): 319-42.

constitution and pending regulation in the Franchise Act, Provincial Act, and the Municipality Act. The other aim reflects the government's hunger for information about society and people, which had grown since the Batavian Revolution (1795) (see 3.4). It was to increase even further during the 19th century with the effort to capture, as expressed by the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet, 'the average man' (*l'homme moyen*), not only once, but in a lifetime at various stages and in various circumstances. As opposed to the civic registration (which in principle contains snapshots of legal facts of birth, marriage, and death only), the population register is a continuous record of the changes in a citizen's life. Following the example of the Belgian population register (established at the proposal of Quetelet), every Dutch municipality kept track of 20 data on an individual: personal data, the address, moving into and out of the municipality, religion, occupation, and other data. On the same double-page of the register were recorded the personal data of family members, servants, and other people residing at the same address.

The population register provided information for various ends: voting, military service, taxation, care for the poor, and general statistics. Amsterdam even had to employ an extra officer in 1870 in order to deal with all the requests for information from state agencies and from municipal authorities. The population register, according to the Dutch historian Nico Randeraad, developed into an abutment of the welfare state.

When people moved from one town to another, they needed a ticket issued by the former municipality to show when registering in their new place of residence. Municipalities also exchanged information about people changing places. After every decennial census, new registers were made. This entailed much copying by hand and led to many errors. The insertion of data and consultation of the hefty registers was both cumbersome and difficult, even with the help of alphabetical indexes. The registers were set up by neighbourhood, and then further divided by street and house number. Increasing government activities resulted in an even greater frequency of updating and consultation of the registers. Elsewhere within government and business, at the beginning of the 20th century, bound registers were replaced by more efficient card indexes (see chapter 11) and

the people register followed this trend. Some municipalities used a card index as early as 1880, and by 1921 most municipalities had introduced a population register in the form of a system of 'family cards'.

1.2.4.3 Paper Man

Registering the population was predominantly the task of municipalities. With the increasing involvement of the central government, a more comprehensive, uniform, and accurate registration was needed. A new population register was designed by Jacob Lentz, who had been working at the population registry of The Hague from the age of 19. In 1929 he was transferred to the State Inspectorate of the Population Registers (*Rijksinspectie van de bevolkingsregisters*) which had just been established. Lentz conceptualized the population registers as a 'centralized collection of paper people, representing natural people and able to provide government with the information it desired regarding these persons'. [15] Lentz's concept became the system of 'person cards' (persoonskaarten) that was introduced between 1936 and 1940, replacing the former 'family cards'.
For each person a card was made comprising 35 compartments (*vakken*) for the various data: surname and given name, date and place of birth of the person, his or her parents, spouse, and children. Nationality, occupation, religion, passport number, firearms licence, entitlement to a state pension, and royal decorations were registered as well. During the German occupation, both the provision of an ID-card (*persoonsbewijs*) and that of a ration card were recorded on the person card (see below).

The person cards were arranged alphabetically. A separate loose-leaf register showed who were (or had been) living at a certain address. When a person moved to another town, the person card was moved as well. After the death of a person, the card was sent to the Central Bureau of Statistics and from there to the archives of the State Inspectorate of the Population Registers (since 1949 the Central Bureau of Genealogy has been the custodian of the cards of the deceased). When someone moved abroad, the card was sent to the State Inspectorate. During the Occupation the Inspectorate received the person cards of

15 J.L. Lentz, *De bevolkingsboekhouding* ('s-Hertogenbosch: VUGA, 1936), p. 2.

people who had been deported to a concentration camp or who had to do forced labour in Germany.

On the back of the person card the cause of death was recorded. Between 1865 and 1927 the Registrar could only register a death if a death certificate existed, signed by a doctor. It had to specify the cause of death, which was subsequently reported to the Central Bureau of Statistics. Since doctors knew that the certificate would be read by registrars and others, they were cautious to declare the cause of death because this might be embarrassing for surviving relatives. In 1927 the system was changed. Henceforth, the doctor had to send in two declarations: the A-form (carrying a succinct description of the cause of death) that was submitted to the Registrar (who, as from 1938, entered the cause of death on the person card), and the B-form (with a more extensive description of the cause of death) that went to the Central Bureau of Statistics. This change meant that doctors could now provide sensitive medical data, as the B-form was not read by the local registrar. This led to a considerable increase of reported cases of death from syphilis, dementia paralytics, carcinoma, and suicide, while deaths from benignant tumours and the secondary diseases such as encephalitis and sepsis showed a decline. [16] This bears out Derrida's assumption that 'the mutation in technology changes not simply the archiving process, but what is archivable—that is, the content of what has to be archived is changed by the technology' (see 11.3).[17]

1.2.4.4 ID-cards

Lentz was of the opinion that his system of people registration, though efficient, was not perfect; he wanted a more comprehensive system in which the identity of every person could be established irrefutably. [18] A departmental committee including Lentz recommended the introduction of an identification card. In March 1940, Cabinet put the advice aside, however, because ID-cards conflicted with Dutch traditions. Lentz was very disappointed, but a few months later, after the country had been occupied by Germany, he grasped the opportunity to design an ID card *(persoonsbewijs)* that would become the basis for an identification system imposed by the Germans and introduced in 1941.

16 Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting things out. Classification and its consequences* (Cambridge Mass./London: MIT Press, 1999), p. 141.

17 Jacques Derrida, *Archive fever*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 17.

18 L. de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945*, vol. 7, part 2 ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976), pp. 703-14.

Lentz's design was based on the German *Kennkarte*, but it had a degree of perfection that surprised the Germans. The ID-card was made of a special type of cardboard, it carried a watermark, and was imprinted with a complicated background pattern. The ID-card carried a photo, a fingerprint in duplicate, and the signature of the holder. The ID-cards for Jews were imprinted twice with a large J. The population register 1938-1940 had already been transformed into a *Judenkartei*. Any person with one or more Jewish grandparents had already been required to declare his or her parentage. On the basis of that information, the person cards of Jews were marked with a special tab.

From 1944 every ID-card had to carry a stamp affixed at the issuance of the ration card (*distributiestamkaart*), which Lentz had also designed. The person card, the ID-card and the ration card together formed a nearly watertight system of *restlose Erfassung*. This German term means 'total registering', but it also has the connotation of all-embracing seizure.

A copy of both the appended photo and the fingerprint were also fixed onto the receipt that everyone had to sign. More than seven million receipts were kept by the State Inspectorate of the Population Registers in The Hague, for the first time in history constituting a national centralized population registry—the most important instrument of surveillance and control by both the Dutch and German authorities.[19] Strangely enough, the existence of this central register was not known to the majority of the public and it was not until December 1943 that the Dutch intelligence service in London received information about the shadow archive of ID-cards (or rather: of the receipts) from a secret agent who had been dropped in the Netherlands. On 11 April 1944 the RAF bombed the villa Kleykamp in The Hague, where the central population register was kept. Fifty-nine people died, and a great part of the ID-cards archive (estimations vary between 17 and 40 percent) was destroyed. Also destroyed were the registers of tens of thousands of skippers and caravan dwellers. As one of the underground newsletters said, Lentz's 'house of cards' has been blown away altogether. Lentz, who believed his life's work destroyed, was a mental wreck and left his job within two months.

19 De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk*, pp. 799-804.

The official historian of the Netherlands during the Second World War, L. de Jong, concluded that the bombardment of Kleykamp had been of considerable importance for those in hiding and for the people in the Resistance because it had facilitated the forging of ID-cards and ration cards.

What was left of the shadow archive of ID-cards was brought to safety in Nijmegen, in the east of the country. After the war the archive was deposited with the Central Bureau of Genealogy.[20] Occasionally the archive was used by public authorities; the fingerprints were used to identify victims after the North Sea flood disaster of 1953, for example. The sporadic use did not justify the costs of preserving 2,200 metres of shelving, however, and therefore, with the approval of the General State Archivist, the Ministry of the Interior decided in 1969 to destroy the collection. However, a sample of ten percent was taken and transferred to the universities of Leiden and Groningen for research into dactylography. These samples have vanished without leaving a trace.

Ever since the Occupation, the memory of the wartime identity card has been at the heart of debates about introducing a requirement for identification and an ID-card. Not until 1994 was a restricted identification requirement introduced in order to combat football vandalism, fraud, and money laundering. Ten years later the requirement was expanded. Every person from the age of 14 had to be able to show either a passport, a municipal ID-card, or a driver's licence when requested by an authorized civil servant. Each of these carries a photograph and the citizen service number. This number was introduced in 1988 as a registration number for tax authorities only. Later, other government agencies could use it as well. This unique personal number is allocated to everyone registered in the Personal Records Database (BRP). It is used in all contacts with government, health care, and education. The National Office for Identity Data (*Rijksdienst voor Identiteitsgegevens*) is responsible for the system of the citizen service number. Since 2009 fingerprints are taken when a passport is applied for. These fingerprints are embedded in the passport only; as yet there is no central database, pending application of European Union regulations.

20 National Archives, *Algemeen Rijksarchief: Vierde Afdeling, 1961-1969* (2.14.10), inv. nr. 63.

1.2.4.5 Safekeeping

After the Liberation in 1945, the wartime ID-card was maintained for a while as proof of identity, such as when voting, and to serve in the reconstruction of the population registers that had been either destroyed or were useless because they contained forged cards. The ration cards continued to be used until rationing was abolished in 1950. In 1951, at the start of the Cold War, the government decided to make a copy of all person cards so that, if in the event of an invasion of the country destruction of the person cards would be deemed necessary, the shadow archive could serve to reconstruct the data once the occupation would be over.[21] Eight hundred unemployed people were put to work throughout the country to type copies of over ten million 'archive cards'. These archive cards were copies retained by municipalities of the cards of people who had moved to another municipality, or who had died. This shadow archive was transported to Curaçao (Dutch Antilles). Curaçao was also the destination for the copies of the civil registers of births, marriages, and deaths. While the registers were returned to the Netherlands in 1975 (one month after the Helsinki Declaration confirmed the end of the Cold War), the shadow archive of person cards was disposed of in the 1960s by dumping it into the Caribbean Sea.

1.2.5 Data Protection and Automation

Certificates of the civic registration (*burgerlijke stand*) (see 1.2.3) are publicly accessible: anyone may get an extract (*uittreksel*). Before the 1990s it was also possible to receive a transcript (*afschrift*). Such a transcript could reveal a declaration of paternity or adoption. Because the opinion about illegitimate and adopted children had changed over the years, it was deemed inappropriate in 1987 to furnish a transcript of a birth certificate to anyone but the person concerned and those who could justify an interest. This restriction was expanded in 1994 to transcripts of any type of certificate from the civil registration.

21 https://web.archive.org/web/20161003230512/http://ingmarbladertenschrijft.blogspot.com/2016/02/schaduwarchieven-een-deel-van-akten.html, archived 31 May 2019; *Bijlagen Handelingen Tweede Kamer, 1952-1953,* nrs. 2896 and 2902.

The certificates are public, but the public is not allowed to see them. Only when the registers have been transferred to a State or municipal archive researchers are allowed to browse the documents. Such transfer happens in different stages: after 100 years for the registers of births, after 75 years for the registers of marriages and after 50 years for the registers of deaths. The older civic registers have been digitized and made accessible on the Internet www.wiewaswie.nl/en/.

The population register and the person cards were not open to the public for a long time; they were considered to be administrative documents for government use. Nevertheless, several institutions outside the public service were allowed to gather information from these documents.[22] Already in the 19th century, the churches could get access to update the registration of their members in order to use the information for their parish work. Therefore, the religion was stated on the person card. In the 1960s however, religion was thought to be such a personal data that it should be beyond the cognizance of the government.[23] However, the churches resisted deleting religion, as did the Central Bureau of Statistics. This changed drastically when it appeared that the mention of religion on the person cards was abused for delivering so-called 'non-Jew declarations'. These were required from personnel of Dutch firms doing business with some Arab countries. In 1977 the Minister of the Interior forbade any provision—even to the record subject himself or herself—of information concerning someone's membership of a church or a religious society. At the same time, the right of anyone to see his personal data as recorded on the person card was introduced. Since 1982 people can request the deletion from the person card of any mention of religious belief or ideology. All these measures testify to changing mentalities in society.

In 1970 the government was caught off guard by a large-scale protest against the decennial census. Recollections of the Occupation, fear of computers, and the growing trend since the 1960s to oppose authority led to massive resistance, causing the failure of the census. No census has ever been held since. An indirect consequence was the first act on personal data protection (1989).

22 Gerdy Seegers and M.C.C. Wens, *Persoonlijk gegeven. Grepen uit de geschiedenis van bevolkingsregistratie in Nederland* (Amersfoort: Bekking, 1993); Hanno de Vries, *Burgers te boek. Een institutioneel onderzoek naar het beleidsterrein Basisadministratie Persoonsgegevens en Reisdocumenten (BPR), 1945-2003* (Den Haag: Algemeen Rijksarchief/PIVOT, 2006): http://web.archive.org/web/20181219170012/ http://docplayer.nl/10167128-Burgers-te-boek-een-institutioneel-onderzoek-naar-het-beleidsterrein-basisadministratie-persoonsgegevens-en-reisdocumenten-bpr-1945-2003.html, archived 19 Dec. 2018.

23 National Archives, *Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, Directie Binnenlands Bestuur* (2.04.97), inv.nrs. 6603, 6605.

Debates in the 1980s about privacy and automation caused the government to abandon the project (started 20 years before) for the automated central registration of people. However, the 'paperless' registration and processing of personal data continued to be dreamt of. Finally, in 1984, the government proposed to establish a decentralized, automated municipal population administration (*geautomatiseerde gemeentelijke bevolkingsadministratie*—GBA). Ten years later the GBA came into force, replacing the person card by a digital person's file (*persoonslijst*). The files of deceased people are digitally transferred to the Central Bureau of Genealogy (an autonomous foundation established in the building of the National Archives); together with the paper person cards the digital files constitute the National Register of the Deceased, from which the Central Bureau provides extracts (annually 40,000 to 50,000).

In 2011 the government again opted for a central registration: the municipal GBA was to be replaced by one central Personal Records Database (*Basisregistratie Personen*—BRP), merging the GBA with the registrations of the Tax and Customs Administration and other government agencies. This project was stopped in 2017. Eight years of policymaking, design, and programming had not led to usable results, and completion was to take much longer, to cost more, and to have fewer benefits than expected.

1.3   Burghers and Residents[24]

From the Middle Ages, archiving citizens was a priority for cities. Good registration was necessary because citizens (*poorters* or *burgers)* had other rights and obligations than non-citizens (residents) and because the status of people played an important role in conflicts with or about people from other cities. Also, for fiscal and military reasons the magistrate had to know who were citizens and who were not. Finally, the fees for granting citizenship had to be accounted for.[25] This explains why new *poorters* were often registered in the town accounts. Over time, however, a separate citizens register (*poorterboek* of *burgerboek*) was made.

24 Erika Kuijpers and Maarten Prak, 'Burger, ingezetene, vreemdeling: burgerschap in Amsterdam in de 17e en 18e eeuw', in *Burger*, ed. Joost Kloek and Karin Tilmans (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), pp. 113-32; Looijestein and Van Leeuwen, 'Establishing and registering identity'; P.A.J. van den Berg, 'Inboorlingschap en ingezetenschap in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden, 1600-1795', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* 71 (2003): 125-53.

25 J.F. Benders, *Bestuursstructuur en schriftcultuur. Een analyse van de bestuurlijke verschriftelijking in Deventer tot het eind van de 15de eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), pp. 239-43.
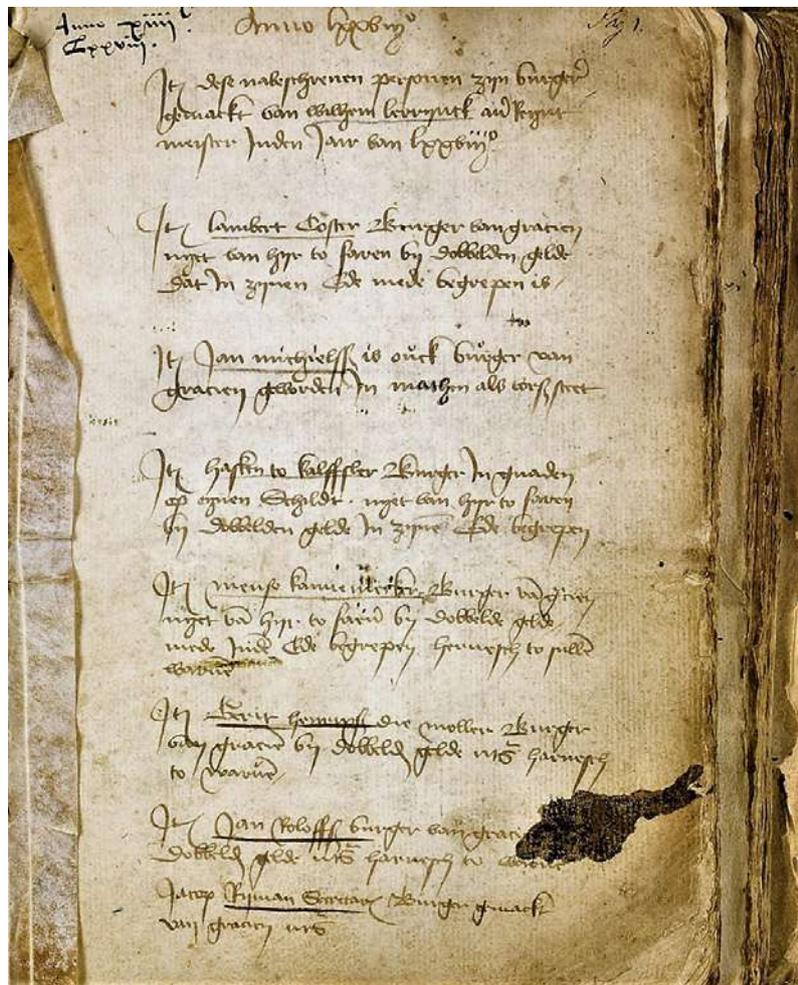
Fig. 1.3 Citizens register (*burgerboek*) of 1478. Regional Archives Zutphen, *Oud-archief Zutphen* (0001), inv. nr. 841.

The oldest citizens registers date from 1302 in Zierikzee (Zeeland) and Kampen on the river IJssel. Kampen had received the franchise around 1228. Between 1302 and 1310 city clerk Alexander Clericus built an administrative system, of which the citizens register was but the first step. It was followed by recording the transfer of houses and plots (see 6.2). From the neighbouring cities of Zwolle and Vollenhove lists of burgers have been preserved since 1336 and 1339, respectively. Deventer, another city on the river IJssel, started a citizens register as late as 1353. The oldest citizens register of Maastricht begins in 1314.

Not all newcomers bothered to claim citizenship and be registered. It cost money (50 guilders in Amsterdam from 1650) and involved duties, such as keeping guard and cutting ice in the canals. These new people were resident (*ingezetene*) and therefore they were only allowed to exercise occupations which were not regulated by the guilds. The thousands of workmen who came to the Dutch cities from the 15th century were not registered in the *poorter* books (see 1.5).

Once having been registered, and having paid the fee, the new citizen received a *poorterceel*, a certificate (on parchment or paper) confirming his status (Fig. 1.4).

A *poorterceel* could also be given to someone who was born a *poorter*, or to persons who had acquired citizenship by marrying the daughter or the widow of a *poorter*. If one lost one's *poorterceel*, one could request an extract from the citizens registers. On various occasions one had to show a *poorterceel*, for example when applying for membership of a guild (see below) or for admittance to the civic orphanage or a civic hospital which were accessible only to citizens and their children.

Apart from the *poorterceel* a baptismal certificate (*doopceel*) (see 1.2.1) had to be shown when placing an orphan in the Amsterdam Civic Orphanage (*Burgerweeshuis*), as evidence that the orphan was not yet 12 years old. All this information was recorded in the so-called Children's Book. A painting of 1663 shows the members of the board of the Orphanage

checking the documents (see Fig. 1.0).[26] The painting still hangs in the former boardroom, now part of the Amsterdam Museum.

At the table are six regents, behind them the bookkeeper who enters the room to hand over the Children's Book (still preserved in the Amsterdam City Archives). In the book the names of the children admitted to the Civic Orphanage were noted down. The names of the regents present at the placement of a child are in the Children's Book along with the names of the family members bringing the child. Mention is also made of brothers and sisters of the orphan who were not in the orphanage due to their age.

Fig. 1.4 Amsterdam Citizens certificate (*poorterceel*), 1771, submitted to gain citizenship of Rotterdam, 1778. Rotterdam City Archives, Oud-archief van de stad Rotterdam (1-01), inv. nrs. 933, 1005.

26 The following is a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'Accountability portrayed. Documents on regents' group portraits in the Dutch Golden Age', *Archival science* 14 (2014): 69-93.

In the painting we see that the regents also handle other documents. These may have concerned the administration of the goods and chattels the children brought in, or the property of the orphan's parents; all these had to be registered and administered. If the children received an inheritance while in the orphanage it was recorded in special registers. Boys were boarded out to learn a trade; this was also registered, as were the wages they earned. When an orphan enlisted on one of the ships of the United East India Company (VOC) or the West India Company (WIC), notes were made of the conditions and their pay, return, or death. Of course, the VOC and the WIC also registered these. The orphans were also registered by the municipal Orphan Chamber (see 6.3). The orphanage had to keep all records, safe and up to date, until the day the orphan was 18 and had to leave and find a place in society. Then, the archives of the orphanage had to yield all the information—often the original documents—relating to the estate to which the young man or woman was entitled.

An orphanage was not the only one to register its residents. All charitable institutions (almoners, relief boards, lepers' homes, hospitals) kept some form of registration of their inmates, clients, and patients. On a 1650 painting of the regents of the Amsterdam Women's House of Correction (*Spinhuis*), we see this illustrated: a huge ledger of inmates is brought in.

Citizenship was a prerequisite to joining a guild, and guild membership was required to exercise a great number of occupations. Each guild registered its brethren and sisters. An early example is the guild roll of the merchants' guild of Deventer, a rotulus of more than six metres in which members were inscribed between 1249 and 1387. From 1418 to 1764 the list of members was kept in a codex (*gildeboek*). Guild members were also archived in other registrations. For example, according to an ordinance of 1749, the Amsterdam bakers' guild had to keep various other registers apart for the main register: registers of new masters and servants, annual fees, certificates of accomplished training (*leerbrieven*), fines, sick or destitute brethren and sisters, and a journal of important affairs. Of the whole administration of this guild nearly nothing has been preserved. This is in

contrast with the archives of the Amsterdam brokers' guild which includes the registration of guild members from 1612-1854. These registers have been arranged alphabetically by given name, as was usual in most registrations and finding aids. Of the Leiden guild of felters (*voller*s), a pupils book of the period from 1507 to 1572 has been preserved. Most of the guild books of the other guilds in Leiden are from the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus, the archives of the painters' guild contain the registration of assistants to the masters and the results of the aptitude tests since 1625 (unfortunately the same year Rembrandt left Leiden for Amsterdam).

Leerbrieven are found occasionally in the archives of a guild or in a family archive. This certificate was important for the holder when he wanted to do the master's test for his own guild, or when he moved to another town and asked admission to a guild. Covenants to train a young man for the tests (*leercontracten*) can be found in the archives of notaries and orphanages. A surgeon's diploma is pictured on portraits of the headmen of the Amsterdam surgeons' guild (1731 and 1732). The paintings refer to one of their most important tasks: examining applicants and issuing these certificates. In 1630 the surgeons' guild began a register of all examinations since 1599 and one of all pupils admitted since 1597; both were continued until 1798.

Professionals and practitioners were also registered in other administrations than that of the guild. For example, every three months the innkeepers and tobacconists in Amsterdam had to collect a licence from the regents of the Women's House of Correction (*Spinhuis*) on penalty of losing the right to sell beer, wine, or tobacco. For the licence (*Spinhuis cedul)* they had to pay taxes. These constituted 30 to 40 percent of the income of the house. Therefore, the licences earned a place in the portraits of the regents of the Women's House of Correction. According to the 18th-century accounts of the House of Correction, 600 to 1,000 licences were printed every quarter. In the archives, however, I found only one of these licences, one out of the hundreds of thousands that were issued since the beginning of the 16th century. From two scraps that had been used as memoranda and were pinned to the pages of the minutes, I reconstructed another licence.

Apparently, none of the publicans, innkeepers, and tobacconists who presented themselves every three months at the *Spinhuis* to get their licence, considered it necessary to keep this forever. Each licence referred to the page of the register held by the regents. Only a few of these registers from between the 1740s and 1816 have been preserved. Neither the publicans nor the *Spinhuis* regents considered the licences and the registers worthy of preservation once they had served their primary purpose. The decision to throw a document away is as much part of archival politics as is the decision to keep it.

Another example of documents that were used for a short time only to be discarded later are the lepers' attestations of being contaminated. Since 1413, Saint James' Chapel in Haarlem was the only place in Holland and Zeeland where leprosy patients were examined. An attestation of being contaminated, a *vuylbrief* (*vuyl* = contaminated) with the Saint James' seal (Fig. 1.5), entitled the sufferer to be admitted to the leprosarium of his town.

Lepers were only allowed in public when they carried a *vuylbrief*. As soon as they had recovered and had received a *schoonbrief* (*schoon* = clean) as evidence, they burned all their clothes together with the *vuylbrief*. Therefore, only very few of these attestations have been preserved. As far as I know there are still only seven *vuylbrieven* dating from the 15th to the 17th century and very few *schoonbrieven*.
Even rarer are the licences for beggars. Beggars had to wear a badge. In Holland, starting in 1595, they were also required to have a written licence on them at all times. Tens of thousands of these licences must have been issued, but I know of only three copies of such a printed 'pass' (valid for three days between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m.), one in Amsterdam, and two in Leiden. In Delft, beggar tokens were issued and a beggars' book (*bedelaerbouck*) was kept from 1597 until 1610. Of the Amsterdam register of issued beggar licences the volumes A, B, and C have been lost; volume D 1597-1598 contains 1,742 entries of beggars, with their name, provenance, and abode. This is usual—the licences issued by an authority are destroyed, but the registration of the issued documents is kept in the archives of the authority.

Fig. 1.5 Certificate of leprosy (*vuylbrief*), 1645. The Hague City Archives, *Leprooshuis* (0401-01), inv. nr. 241.

1.4 Sailors and Soldiers

1.4.1 Sailing with the VOC

On 20 March 1602, the States General granted a charter to the United East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC).[27] The VOC obtained the monopoly of all navigation and trade to the east of the Cape of Good Hope and to the west of the Strait of Magellan (see chapter 10). It was a huge business: in the 18th century on average nearly 22,000 employees were working in the VOC trading area. Archiving these people was done by a sophisticated personnel administration which, although much was destroyed in the 19th century (see 3.6.1), still covers 245 metres of shelving (one-fifth of the total volume of the VOC archives in the Dutch National Archives).[28]

On 25 October 1735, VOC ship *Knappenhof* (650 tons, built in 1731) departs from the Dutch island Goeree for a journey to the Indies under the command of Arie van der Stolk.[29] Among the 195 people on board is Isaac Jijskoot, a sailor from Rotterdam. A few weeks before, he signed on in the office of the Rotterdam Chamber (one of the six VOC chambers) and received his 'earnest-money' (*handgeld*) of two months' wages. The bookkeeper records the payment in the ship's pay-ledger (*scheepssoldijboek*), in which all men on board the *Knappenhof* have an account.[30] The debit (*is schuldich*) side shows the employee's debts and the sums paid by the VOC to family members or proxies of the employee from his credit accrued during his appointment. After nearly nine months,

27 Femme Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company. Expansion and decline (*Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003).

28 Frank Lequin. *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de achttiende eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen*, 2nd ed. (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto/Repro-Holland, 2005); *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. The archives of the Dutch East India Company (1602-1795)*, ed. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, R. Raben, and H. Spijkerman ('s-Gravenhage: Sdu Uitgeverij Koninginnegracht, 1992), pp. 57-69: https://web.archive.org/web/20190531115715/ https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/sites/default/ files/afbeeldingen/toegangen/NL-HaNA_1.04.02_ introduction-VOC.pdf (in English), and https://web.archive.org/web/20190531115810/ https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/ archief/1.04.02?activeTab=index&searchTerm= 1.04.02 (in Dutch), both archived 31 May 2019.

29 This example was borrowed from Ton van Velzen, 'Uitgevaren voor de Kamers; 700.000 mensen overzee', in *Uitgevaren voor de Kamer Zeeland*, ed. Jan Parmentier (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2006), pp. 11-30; A.J.M. van Velzen, 'VOC opvarenden, voorheen uitgevaren voor de Kamers: 700.000 mensen overzee', *Genealogisch erfgoed magazine* (2012): 4-7.

30 National Archives, *VOC* (1.04.02), inv. nr. 14180, folio 117. Scan NL-HaNA_1.04.02_14180_0284.jpg: http://hdl.handle.net/10648/33ea3374-7671-f63e-5e7f-5a2d612a1fd8, accessed 6 March 2019.

Fig. 1.6 Account of Isaac Jijskoot in the pay-ledger of the *Knappenhof*. National Archives, *VOC* (1.04.02), inv. nr. 14180, folio 117.

on 13 July 1736, the *Knappenhof* arrives in Batavia (Jakarta). Isaac has by then earned 76 guilders and ten *stuivers* (a *stuiver* is 1/20 of a guilder). This income is balanced with his expenses, resulting in a deficit of 97 guilders and 14 *stuivers*. Isaac continues to work in Asia, sailing on the *'t Huijs ten Donk* and earning 47 guilders. He is in hospital in Batavia for nearly a year. He departs for the Cape on the *Everswaart*, arriving there in 1739 and he finally returns to Holland in 1740.

The rule was for common sailors to work in Asia for five years. Every year on the 31st of August, the wages a sailor had earned were registered at the pay office on the credit (*moet hebben*) side of his account in the ship's pay-ledger.

Each year the employee was given an extract from the ship's pay-ledger containing the balance of his account. At the end of his service, upon handing over all the pay-slips he had accrued, he received the last statement with the final balance. At the pay office in the Dutch Republic, he or his proxy or heirs were paid the amount stated on the account.

While the employee worked in Asia, dependents in the Netherlands had to be maintained. Many VOC employees (some 30 percent at the beginning of the 18th century) signed a month certificate (*maandbrief* or *maandceel*), an instruction to the VOC to pay two or three months' wages to wives, children, or parents annually. Isaac Jijskoot had entitled his mother Trijntje Buijs. If the wife and children received poor relief, the *maandbrief* was collected by the deacons or almoners. The annual payments were recorded on the certificate and debited on the account in the ship's pay-ledger.

Another form of financial assistance for the family at home was to contract a loan with one or more letters of debt (*schuldbrieven*). The bearer could collect the amount mentioned in the debenture (for a common sailor normally 150 guilders, or the equivalent of 14 to 19 months wages) at the pay office of the VOC, but only if the debtor's account showed a credit balance sufficient to pay both the monthly certificate and the letter of debt. Many sailors provided their wives with money in this way. But the letters of debt were predominantly held by *slaapbazen*: innkeepers and crimps who recruited manpower for the Company with 'wine, women, and singing', while charging the men heavily for the cost of lodging and the sailor's kit. They could transfer the letter of debt to debt dealers *(transportkopers)*— many of them wives or widows of VOC men!—who were nicknamed soul buyers (*zielkopers,* with *ziel,* soul, being a pun on *ceel*, certificate). On the account of Isaac Jijskoot we see a debenture of 150 guilders to innkeeper Jan Jansz. paid in four terms (ƒ 34-6, ƒ 50-14, ƒ 21-6, and ƒ 43-14). The final credit balance was 75 guilders 16 *stuivers* and 8 pennies.

Before a ship sailed for Batavia, the crew was enrolled. At the Amsterdam Chamber two bookkeepers wrote five muster-rolls: two for the administration in Amsterdam, and one to be taken aboard together with two extra copies for Batavia. After the enrollment, the personnel administration was in the hands of the pay office. All VOC employees on board were registered in two identical ship's pay-ledgers. The layout and maintenance of these ledgers were regulated in an extensive instruction of 1647, with models in which everything 'for the instruction of the novices is presented clearly and as if pointed out with the finger, word for word, just as these should be registered' (*tot onderwys der nieuwelingen, van woord tot woord, gelyk die geboekt moeten werden, duydelyk voorgestelt, ende als met den vinger aangewezen*).[31]

Upon arrival in Batavia, one copy of the ship's pay-ledger was then returned to the Chamber in the Republic which had outfitted the ship. The other remained in the pay office in Batavia. Most of the copies which were remitted to the Republic are now in the National Archives in The Hague: 2,991 volumes, mostly (93 percent) from the 18th century.

31 National Archives, *Radermacher* (1.10.69), inv. nrs. 375, 382A.

In these volumes, 655,000 men who sailed to Asia have been registered. Thirty percent were soldiers, mostly non-Dutch Europeans. It is obvious that the employees had an interest in the administration: many were married and had children who were dependent on the money the VOC pay office paid out according to the administrative information. Many VOC servants did not return (of the Dutch sailors and soldiers, 60.5 percent and 30.2 percent returned, respectively) and their inheritors had to rely on the administration. All establishments of the VOC between Cape of Good Hope and Japan kept the general pay office in Batavia informed of changes to be entered into the ship's pay-ledgers. Alterations in the current accounts of employees aboard the ships involved in the intra-Asian trade, were passed on to Batavia and registered in what were known as sleepers *(slapers)*: the originals of the ship's pay-ledgers. Testaments and estate inventories made aboard ship or in Asia were also entered in the ledger.

The information supply depended on safe and timely transport to and from the Indies. In October 1732 the *Heren XVII* (the board of the VOC) reminded the Governor-General and the Council in Batavia urgently to dispatch the ship's pay-ledgers on time. Duplicate ledgers were sent aboard another ship as ships were lost frequently. For example, in 1781 Jacob Certon, a VOC merchant in China, sent his pay-slips home in two sets, the originals on board of the *Middelburg*, and certified copies with the mail on board of the *Pearl* (*Paarl*). Near the Cape, both ships were seized by the English. The skipper of the *Middelburg* following the instructions set his ship on fire, the *Pearl*, however, was carried off as a prize. All documents on board were submitted to the High Court of Admiralty in London and ended up among the Prize Papers at the UK National Archives. There Creton's pay-slips, and those of his Chinese servant Tan Assoi, have been preserved.[32] They are extremely rare examples of a document genre that was normally destroyed upon final payment.

In 1746, a VOC ship went down with all mail, while the other ship carrying the duplicate ledgers arrived *in patria* only a year later. The *Heren XVII* wrote in 1750 that the VOC administration had been:

32 http://www.gekaaptebrieven.nl/tekst/brief/4097 http://www.gekaaptebrieven.nl/tekst/brief/4099 and 4071, 4073, 4075, 4079, 4085; https://www.huygens. knaw.nl/dutch-prize-papers/?lang=en, accessed 7 April 2019. In spite of the loss of their payslips, Certon and Tan Assoi were paid by the VOC, having provided security and with special authorization by a VOC Director.

set back for a whole year, both in the payment of the month certificates that most people in hardship are eagerly awaiting, as well as with regard to the transfers [of money] which have not been paid because the books were missing, and we were also hindered to pay the estates although the heirs showed proof that their relatives had died in the Indies already a long time ago.[33]

Thus, the VOC directors showed the importance of good archiving, not only for the VOC itself but also for personnel and their relatives.

## 1.4.2 Enlisting in the Army[34]
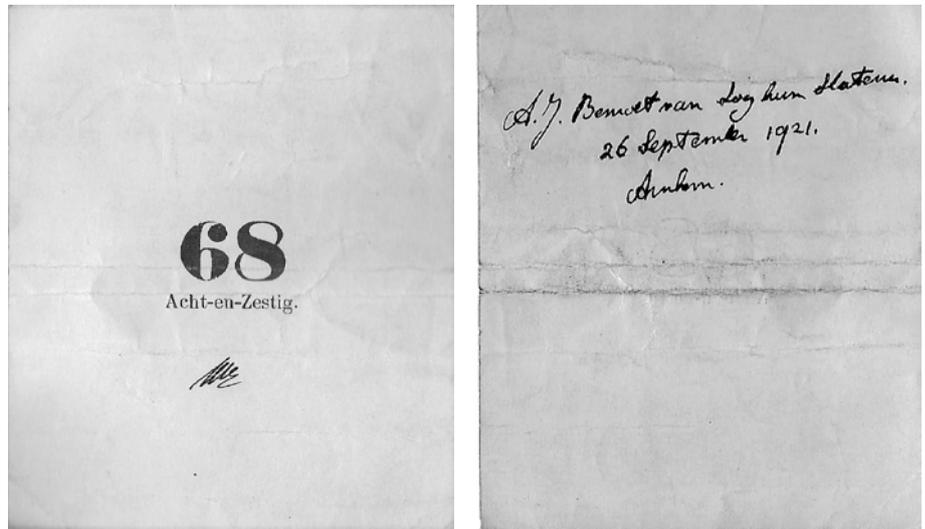
Fig. 1.7 Ticket in the draw for military service, 1921, front and back. Collection of the author.

33 Perry Moree, '"*Met vriend die God geleide." Het Nederlands-Aziatische postvervoer ten tijde van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*' (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1998), p. 55, note 83.

34 B. Koerhuis and W. van Mulken, *De militie-registers* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 1986) http://web.archive.org/web/20181220110931/http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/pdf/Broncommentaren/voorlopig/Broncommentaren_V-029_044.pdf, archived 20 Dec. 2018; Rob van Drie, 'Opkomen voor je nummer. Nationale militie in de negentiende eeuw', *Genealogie. Tijdschrift voor familiegeschiedenis. Kwartaalblad van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, 6, no 2 (2000): 36-41; private archives of Adrianus J. Bemolt van Loghum Slaterus (1902-1992) in the author's custody.

It is 26 September 1921. With both hands, 19-year-old Adriaan holds a document that will influence his whole life: a piece of paper, 8.5 by 10 centimetres, carrying a bold number 68. It is the ticket Adriaan has just drawn in the lottery for military service. Like his comrades he will make for the pub, all with their ticket pinned on their hat, some relieved to be exempted, others, like Adriaan, with mixed feelings about the impact military service will have on their lives and that of their family.

Being interested in history, Adriaan knows that the armies of the Republic formerly consisted wholly of professional soldiers, although the constitution (*Unie van Utrecht*) of 1579 allowed for conscription. Conscription, as it existed during the French domination, was continued after 1813 to supplement the regular army. Every year more than ten thousand (after 1901 nearly twice this number) men were needed. By drawing lots it was determined which boys were to be enlisted. Between 1815 and 1914 some three and a half million boys took part in these lotteries. Military service and the annual lottery caused an enormous intertextual paperwork involving not only various authorities but all young men and (because of exemptions for sole sons and younger brothers) their relatives. Registration also had effects outside the military sphere. Men were obliged to show a military certificate at their wedding. The military service registers were checked against the civic registers and the population register, while notarial and medical archives contain acts concerning exemptions.

For Adriaan the 'militia machine' had started a month prior, with the summons from the burgomaster to take part in the drawing. The machine was already working long before, however, participating in an extensive genre system (see the General Introduction). Every year the municipality made an enrolment register in which the parents of all boys who were 18 years old by 1 January had to register their sons. Newspapers advertised the names of those who had failed to register in time. The double sheets in the enrolment register (*inschrijvingsregister*) carried 12 columns for name, date, place of birth, and other data. Later, after the physical examination, more data such as height (accurate to a millimetre) and other physical particulars (*signalement*) were recorded. This register had to be sent to

the provincial capital to be checked by the Governor (*Gouverneur*/*Commissaris des Konings*). Upon return, the municipality made an alphabetical list. This list was checked again by the Governor and returned to the municipality that had to make it available for public consultation.

For the drawing, numbered tickets (as many as there were registered men) were used. In a session attended by all men who had been enrolled, these numbers were read aloud and put in a bottle. In the alphabetical order of the list, each man drew a ticket. Whoever got a number higher than the number of men needed for the military contingent of the district, was safeguarded against military service (he 'drew nil'), as opposed to the men who drew a low number ('a prize'). The latter were registered in the drawing register (lotingsregister) (in duplicate), their physical particulars were checked, and they were asked whether there would be any ground for exemption (being a sole son, having an older brother who had served, being disabled, etc.). The 17 columns of the *lotingsregister* contained nearly the same data as the enrolment register and the alphabetical list.

After the draw, the *lotingsregisters* were checked and signed by the militia commissioner (an army officer who presided over the lottery) and two members of the local council. The commissioner, having registered reasons for exemption and other objections, sent the registers to the Governor, who forwarded one copy to the militia council (*militieraad*). This council consisted of a member of the provincial assembly (*Provinciale Staten*), a member of a local council, and a superior army officer. It held four sessions and made a ruling on each of the men drafted into the army. After the third session, the register was sent back to the Governor, who copied the new data into the second copy of the register and sent the register back to the militia council to be used at the fourth and final session. Thereafter the register was closed and returned to the Governor. Any appeal to the Provincial Executive and its outcome would be registered, and the army unit into which the draftee was to be enlisted was also noted in the register.

In 1861 the paperwork was somewhat simplified, but nevertheless it continued to be extensive. Since then a large part of all the documents (especially from before the 1880s)

has been destroyed, but the most essential registers are kept by State and municipal archives. The registers of a number of municipalities are available on the Internet.

Adriaan kept the summons to the drawing and his number 68 ticket. His friend Jan—who was exempted because he had two older brothers who had served in the army—kept the certificate of exemption issued by the Governor. However, such documents are rarely kept in private archives. Just as the government destroyed many registers of the militia genre system because they had lost their administrative value, so, too, did most people—unlike Adriaan and Jan—destroy the papers of the enlisting process.

As a soldier, Adriaan was the subject of an extensive and detailed personnel administration, including the regimental entry books (*stamboeken*) which contained the service record of each soldier. Beginning in 1904 the books were gradually replaced by loose-leaf registers. Military service lasted five years, but already after one or one-and-a-half year men could take leave (*verlof*). This was registered in Adriaan's soldiers' service booklet (*militaire zakboekje*) which also contained his physical particulars, the account for his uniform and other supplies, and his regimental and company registration number (upon transfer to another company a new number was assigned). The passport with the leave permit had to be shown to the burgomaster within 30 days.

The militia machine involved Adriaan anew when seventeen years later, on 29 August 1939, a general mobilization was proclaimed. More than 150,000 men on military leave were called into service again—including the now 37-year-old Adriaan. He still had his soldiers' service booklet which mentioned the unit he was to report to in case of mobilization (for some time Adriaan had used the booklet to record his household expenses!). He now received a war booklet (*oorlogszakboekje*) containing pre-printed forms for a testament and four postcards addressed to the Red Cross (partly filled in by the regiment's clerk) to report in case he were wounded, captured as a prisoner of war, or in case of death. Adriaan survived and kept the booklet, together with the letters his wife sent him while he was under arms.

1.5 Migrants[35]

1.5.1 Strangers

In premodern times everyone born outside the city or the province was a stranger. During the 16th and 17th centuries, cities attracted many migrants. Half of the approximately 1.2 million migrants living in Dutch cities between 1600 and 1800 came from abroad: 150,000 refugees and 450,000 migrant workers. The universities enrolled many foreign students. Amsterdam had thousands of visitors, temporary immigrants, and many others who lived there permanently without being registered. This was part of a more or less conscious policy of the city government that tried to make the city as attractive as possible to migrants.

The object of registration of foreigners was to prevent them from becoming a burden on civic or church poor relief services in the first place. Occasionally, when the pest raged, the foreigner had to show an attestation of good health. Upon registration, a foreigner received a certificate of admission, but sometimes not before he had lived in the city for some time and had shown he could earn a living. Nearly all of these certificates have been destroyed, as happened with so many certificates (see 1.3). Still, various city archives have kept the admission registers. In Leiden, Haarlem, and The Hague the magistrate employed the wardens of the various neighbourhoods (*buurten*) as controllers and registrars of population movement in their districts. Around 1560, due to increasing social, political, and economic hardship, Leiden was threatened to be flooded by destitute strangers and other vagabonds.[36] Therefore, the magistrate ordained in 1564 that migrants had to show a certificate recording their state and behaviour and the last place of residence. The wardens of the neighbourhoods had to make a monthly report on newly arrived strangers. A few years later the war situation had changed, industry was expanding, and the need for workers from abroad was growing substantially. Therefore, restriction and registration of strangers could be dispensed with. This is an example of changing social, economic, and

35 Herman Obdeijn and Marlou Schrover, *Komen en gaan. Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008); *Gated communities? Regulating migration in early modern cities*, ed. Anne Winter and Bert de Munck (Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2012); Jan Lucassen, *Immigranten in Holland 1600-1800. Een kwantitatieve benadering* (Amsterdam: Centrum voor de geschiedenis van migranten, 2002) ; Looijesteijn and Van Leeuwen, 'Establishing and registering identity'.

36 Kees Walle. *Buurthouden. De geschiedenis van burengebruiken en buurtorganisaties in Leiden (14e-19e eeuw)* (Leiden: Ginkgo, 2005).

political conditions leading to changing factors of archivalization (see the General Introduction) and thereby to changes in registration and archiving.

The last quarter of the 17th century was a time of such changing conditions. The aftermath of the war (1672) and the deteriorating economy brought huge numbers of war refugees, beggars, and vagabonds into Dutch towns. Moreover, more poor German people came to prospering Holland. In 1682 the States of Holland (followed in 1687 by the States of Utrecht) ordained that a year after an immigrant had moved, he would no longer be dependent on the poor relief in his former place of dwelling, but in the new one. To evade the financial burden, public and church authorities began to require a warrant or surety *(acte van indemniteit, acte van cautie, ontlastbrief)* from the migrant: a certificate declaring that he could resort to the place or parish he had come from or to his family at all times (Fig. 1.8).[37]

When in 1741 Gijsbert de Bruijn moved with his family from the village of Jaarsveld to Benschop, he possessed a warrant issued by the local council of Jaarsveld. It was archived by Benschop council, because they might need the document in case de Bruijn would become impoverished. When Gijsbert departed for Lopik after five years, he received a copy of the warrant. His son Jan moved to Zegveld in 1757 and had to make do with an extract from the warrant, made by the local council of Lopik. This extract is still in the Zegveld municipal archives.[38]

37 Looijesteijn and Van Leeuwen, 'Establishing and registering identity', pp. 230-231.

38 R.J.F van Drie, 'Akten van indemniteit van Zegveld 1703-1811', *Heemtijdinghen. Orgaan van de Stichts-Hollandse Vereniging* 22, nr. 1 (1986): 48.

Fig. 1.8 Warrant or surety (*ontlastbrief*) of Joannes Vrindt, issued in The Hague in 1805, and submitted to gain admission to Rotterdam, 1806. Rotterdam City Archives, Oud-archief van de stad Rotterdam (1-01), inv. nrs. 1007, 1014.

Starting in 1682 people migrating from Leiden were given a warrant. Incoming strangers had to show their warrant at the city's registry, and from 1737 the registry forwarded all warrants every six months to the Poor Relief board *(Huiszittenhuis).* To improve access to the warrant certificates, they were bound and provided with an alphabetical list. By 1785 the situation had changed. Leiden, following the example of Amsterdam, decided not to issue (or demand) warrants any more. This would make it less attractive to move to another town, because there one was not welcome without a warrant.

In 1709 the States of Holland enacted that French (Huguenot) religious refugees taking up permanent residence in Holland were granted naturalization. The local magistrate had to register these new subjects. The States of Zeeland (1710) and the States General (1715) followed the example. Amsterdam, Leiden, and other cities have kept the registers of naturalized refugees.

1.5.2 The Migration Machine[39]

'All foreigners who either have sufficient means of subsistence or can obtain these by their industry, are admitted to the Netherlands.' Thus reads article 1 of the Aliens Act (*Vreemdelingenwe*t), published on 10 September 1849. Later that month Eduard Hofmann, a 24-year-old merchant from Germany, arrives in Amsterdam.[40] As all foreigners must do, he has to report to the police in order to get a passport. He hands over his German passport, issued by the *Justizamt* in Lieberstein. It is returned to him on 1 October, together with a Dutch pass. This is a declaration by the Amsterdam chief of police that Hofmann has been admitted to the kingdom and may travel freely and may stay in the country. The pass, containing Hofmann's physical particulars (*signalement*) and his signature, contains a reference to the register of passes kept by the police. There the aim of his stay ('to trade'), his *signalement,* and the address of his lodging have been registered. The Amsterdam City Archives still preserve these pass registers 1849-1922 (105 volumes). In 1923 the city adopted a new technology: a card index. In smaller towns the registration

39   Marlou Schrover, ed., *Bronnen betreffende de registratie van vreemdelingen in Nederland in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2002), http://web.archive.org/web/20181219165441/http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/pdf/Broncommentaren/voorlopig/Broncommentaren_5_Compleet.pdf, archived 19 Dec. 2018.

40   Amsterdam City Archives, *Gemeentepolitie* (5225), inv. nr. 872, repr. Schrover, *Bronnen betreffende de registratie van vreemdelingen*, pp. 43-46.

comprises a few volumes only, partly because the rule to issue a pass to those who had been admitted into the country, had fallen into abeyance in many towns, and because foreigners living in the Netherlands for some time were registered in the population register (see 1.2.4). When they were merchants or had another profession, they were also registered in the *patent* registers (see 8.3).

Eduard Hofmann became an object of what political scientists Huub Dijstelbloem and Albert Meijer have called the 'migration machine', comprising laws and policies, a large amount of technology, and people such as civil servants, border police, and the migrants themselves.[41] Nowadays technology is predominantly ICT. In the past it involved a large amount of paperwork: registers, card indexes, files, passports, certificates, and, since the end of the 19th century, photographs and fingerprints as well. Hofmann gets to see only a part of that machine during his visits to the police and when the documents based on the registration are handed out to him.

On Hofmann's arrival in Amsterdam, the Aliens Act of 1849 had just been enacted. The act was only to be replaced by a new one in 1965. In the meantime, the migration machine (and thus the archiving systems at national and local levels) had been frequently adapted to changing societal challenges (see Fig. 0.2). For example, the First World War caused heightened anxiety about deserters, revolutionaries, and refugees who might jeopardize the neutrality of the Netherlands in the war. This led to tightening border control (1914) and a new registration system: files of foreigners (1918). The obligatory passport (abolished in 1862 by the Netherlands and many other countries) was reintroduced. When the international situation stabilized, the migration machine was slightly adjusted; in 1922 compulsory reporting to the police and the complex system of two types of cards and passes were abolished. In some smaller municipalities registration of foreigners even vanished altogether. However, at the instigation of local ordinances, the police established new registration systems. Larger constabularies set up separate departments of foreigners or immigration police (*vreemdelingenpolitie*). They started to build files on various categories of foreigners that were separate from the official registration. This is an example

41 Huub Dijstelbloem, Albert Meijer and Michiel Besters, *Migration and the new technological borders of Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

of professionalization and specialization as factors of archivalization (see the General Introduction). It is also visible in the expansion of the registration, which comprises many more data than in the systems before 1921. The number of items to be registered rose from 15 to 28.

Again and again, societal challenges led to adapting the migration machine. For example, shortly after the Second World War, the registration included an assessment about the membership in German organizations of the foreign resident or his or her spouse and children. The foreigner also had to record (item by item and submitting written evidence) on what grounds he or she believed 'to be able to prove to be a true friend of the Dutch people'.

Apart from the files kept by the local (later: regional) immigration police, the central government held files on foreigners as well.[42] There was no specific legal requirement to do so, but the administration wanted to keep all correspondence regarding one person together in a file. In the beginning, a new file was opened on each application for a visa, but from 1948 all papers concerning one person were put together. With the growth of the number of agencies and organizations dealing with foreigners, more documents from various provenances were filed. This meant also that a file no longer contained mere standard information, but might hold documents of a very diverse nature: notices from legal departments; judgments; correspondence between government, guardians, and solicitors; and all the supporting material, like country reports made by refugee organizations; appeals by solicitors; letters from employers, family members, church members, neighbours, and classmates; and denunciations from other asylum seekers. Files became thicker (ten centimetres or more) if the case was problematic. What is judged to be problematic is not the same at all times. Shortly after the Second World War, there was much attention for pro-German people, later communists were seen as a threat which had to be contained by extensive reporting.

42 Tyco Walaardt, *Geruisloos inwilligen: argumentatie en speelruimte in de Nederlandse asielprocedure, 1945-1994* (Hilversum: Verloren. 2012).

A national aliens' department (*vreemdelingendienst*) existed since 1918. The aliens' departments in the 25 regional constabularies were merged with the national office when the Aliens' Act 1965 was revised in 1994; its current name is Immigration and Naturalization Service (*Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst*, IND).

Since 1994 asylum seekers are cared for by the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (*Centraal Orgaan Opvang Asielzoekers,* COA). Applications for asylum are vetted by the IND. When the IND does not issue a residence permit, the asylum seeker must leave the country, just as illegal immigrants. Since 2007 the Repatriation and Departure Service (*Dienst Terugkeer & Vertrek*, DT&V) is in charge of the expulsion of people from the country. DT&V, COA, and IND work together in what is called the aliens' chain (*vreemdelingenketen*). Within the aliens' chain, all information about a foreigner is digitally shared and all partners make use of the same data; a foreigner is photographed and fingerprinted only once, for example. Not yet fully digital is the exchange of information with authorities outside the chain: courts, municipalities, education, health care, and more. Lawyers and refugee organizations correspond with agencies in the aliens chain. The file held in the aliens' chain is accessible by the foreigner himself or herself and to his or her caseworkers and attorneys. The record subject has the right to correct inaccuracies.

The IND and its predecessors have created an enormous number of files. In 1955 the files were cleansed for the first time; of the 500,000 files from 1939-1956, 55,000 files on applications for a visa were destroyed. This was repeated in 1957. In 1978 there appeared to be more than a million files; large quantities were selected and destroyed in the 1970s and 1980s, but not always according to transparent criteria. At the end of the 1990s, it was proposed to preserve only those files which might show a deviation of standard policies.[43] According to the Archives Act, any draft appraisal schedule must be opened to public inspection by citizens. Scholars protested against the destruction of historical source material and migrants organizations resisted, because destruction would deprive immigrants and their descendants of a major source for researching their past.

43 C.K. Berghuis, W. Hoffstädt and W.D. Küller, *De toelating van vreemdelingen. Een institutioneel onderzoek naar het beleidsterrein toelating van vreemdelingen 1945-1993* (Den Haag: PIVOT, 1994); *Staatscourant* 2002, nr. 95.

Parliament also got involved in the debate. Under pressure of public opinion, the government reconsidered the proposal. The National Archives formulated a special criterion for appraisal of migrant files: they are important evidence of government actions regarding the admission of foreigners and thereby of the start and development of Dutch citizenship and the identity of foreigners and their descendants in relation to Dutch society. All files from before 1990 have been kept; after 1990 only digital copies of the files of people who legally stayed in the country were kept: asylum seekers and other migrants who were naturalized or received a residence permit of indefinite duration. All other files (including the files of people who were denied admission to the Netherlands) are destroyed, except for a random sample.

1.6   My Government, My File

The government's file, is it my file? Contacts between government and citizen are increasingly digital. Nearly all correspondence between the taxpayer and the Tax Administration is electronic (see 8.3). Using a DigiD (a username and a password) one can log in on websites of national, provincial, and local government, as well as hospitals, insurance companies, etc.

In 2017 13.5 million DigiDs were active. They gave access to 871 web services. The Tax Administration was accessed 60 million times via DigiD, the Public Employment Service (UWV) 54 million times. Since 2015 public authorities use an electronic messages box 'My Government' (*MijnOverheid*) to communicate with citizens. In 2017 341 agencies sent 75 million messages, 85 percent of which were sent by the Tax Administration. All messages are kept in the electronic mailbox until the citizen disposes of the mail. Via DigiD, a citizen may check his or her own data kept in the five 'basic' registers or databases (*basisregistraties*) pertaining to persons, the land registry, vehicles, the value of real estate, and income. The public consulted these registers six million times in 2017.

Stand 31-12-2017
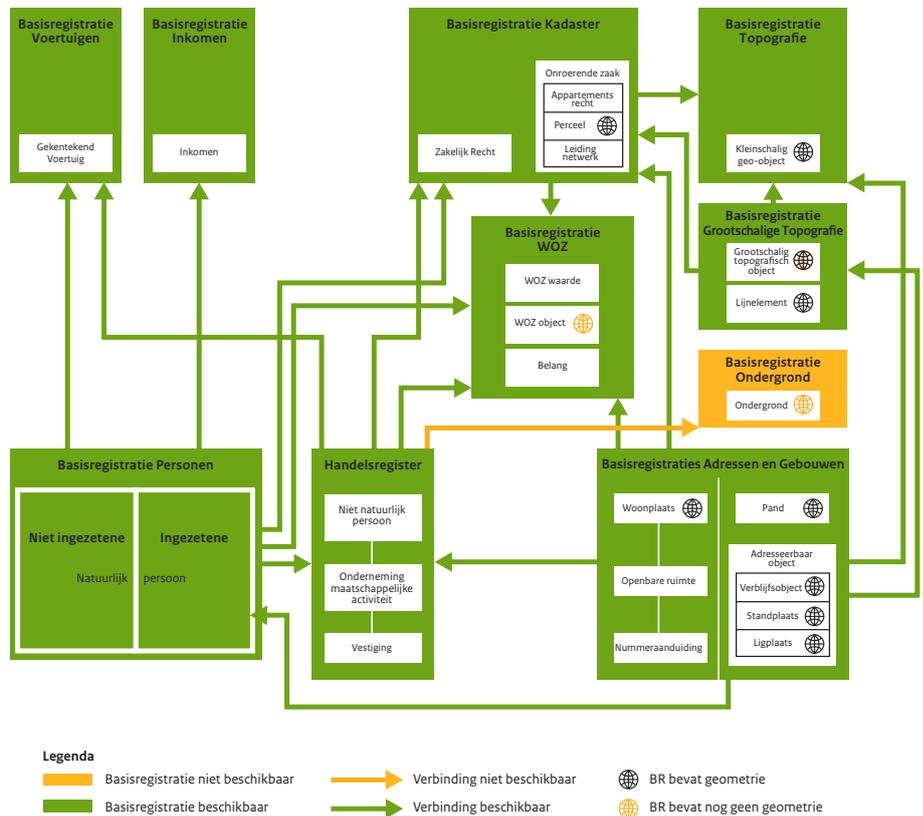

Fig. 1.9 The connections between the basic registers (*basisregistraties*)
https://www.digitaleoverheid.nl/overzicht-van-alle-onderwerpen/basisregistraties-en-afsprakenstelsels/inhoud-basisregistraties/stelselplaat/.

Public authorities are obliged to share data from any of these *basisregistraties*. They are linked to the register of companies (*handelsregister*), and the *basisregistraties* for addresses and buildings, via dozens of data pathways: a person with a certain income is linked to an address, to a house with a certain value, to a vehicle, etc. Every change in one of the registrations effects the total 'image' of the legible citizen who can be tracked through the joint registrations when he or she moves to a new house, takes another job, or buys another car.

1.7 Archiving Families[44]

1.7.1 Office Genealogies

Because there were not many noble families in the Republic of the United Netherlands, the archives of Dutch nobility are not on the scale of those of the English, French, and German noble families. However, Dutch regents were interested in keeping and maintaining their archives as well.

In 16th- and 17th-century Amsterdam 'For a man or his family, the successfully achieved social fiction of an unbroken line of a honourable, preferably patrilineal, descent was what counted in establishing enduring claims to politico-economic privilege', as Julia Adams wrote.[45] However, Amsterdam regents became interested in patrilineal descent only with the aristocratization of the city patriciate in the 17th century. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, kinship (*maagschap*) was more important as the basis for political and social status. There were strict rules to prevent a kinship in bodies governing the city that was too close. The regents kept a careful genealogical record of their own families and collected pedigrees of other families with a view towards lucrative marriage deals. The Backer family collected genealogies of 320 Amsterdam families, while the Bicker archives contain lists of family members and the offices they held, stretching back to the 1400s and continuing to 1772. Adams calls these records 'office genealogies'.

44 The following is for the greater part a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'The genealogical gaze. Family identities and family archives in the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries', *Libraries & the cultural record* 44, no. 1 (2009): 9-28. On family memory see also Judith Pollmann, *Memory in early modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), chapter 1.

45 Julia Adams, *The familial state. Ruling families and merchant capitalism in early modern Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 94.

Writing family chronicles and genealogies became popular among Dutch regents, beginning in the first half of the 17th century. An example is the volume with genealogical memoranda written by Pierre de Beaufort (1595-1611), a French merchant who emigrated to Zeeland. These were continued by his descendants until 1716 and have been preserved in the family archives that also contain an office almanac for 1681 in which his son Pieter noted down anniversaries and genealogical data of his ancestors. In those days, almanacs, like Bibles, were used for noting down family chronicles. Christoffel Doll used an almanac for the year 1623 to pen a chronicle 'as a memorial for my children'. As early as 1579 Jan van der Merct began a 'Book of births of our children' (*Geboortenboeck van onse kinderen*) with a reference to his father's book, where his birth date had been inscribed. In 1626, when Jan's daughter Catharina married Daniel Hochepied she took the book with her, and it was continued as a Hochepied family chronicle until 1708. The *album amicorum* that Nicolaas Simonsz van Zwieten started in 1590 was used from 1621 to 1684 by his descendants to chronicle the family history. The Stoop family of Dordrecht started a family chronicle in 1614 and continued it for almost a century. After his marriage in 1660, Dirk Heereman van Suydtwyck began a 'memorial', including copies of records on the family's estate and genealogical notes; after his death in 1678 his widow continued the book until her death in 1710.

As Luuc Kooijmans writes, merchants were preoccupied with risk and reputation and continuity from one generation to the next.[46] Therefore, Dutch regents wrote patrician pedagogic memoirs for their descendants celebrating the lineage and transmitting cautionary moral tales underlining the fragility of the family line. An example is the *Memorie* of 150 pages written by regent Paulus Teding van Berkhout (1609-1672). For him, the documents in the family archives were not only evidence of the administration of his estate, but they also served the aristocratic pretensions and the protection of family honour. He was the first in his family to stipulate that the family archives and portraits should pass to the eldest son. In the 17th century it became customary to leave the family portraits, the family Bible, the pedigree, and the family chronicle to the eldest son.

46   Luuc Kooijmans, 'Risk and reputation. On the mentality of merchants in the early modern period', in *Entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship in early modern times. Merchants and industrialists within the orbit of the Dutch staple market*, ed. C.M. Lesger and L. Noordegraaf (Den Haag: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1995), pp. 31-32. See on Teding van Berkhout also Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in everyday life: reading and writing in early modern Dutch diaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

In 1644 the antiquarian and genealogist Gerard Schaep cunningly managed to get hold of the Schaep family archives, which were in the hands of the eldest, but Roman Catholic branch of the family. Schaep exhorted his descendants to preserve the family archives properly 'in the service of our Race'. Schaep's genealogical passion and aristocratic ambitions were monumentalized in the family archives as well as in a gallery of family portraits, some of them fabricated. Family portraits, memory tablets in churches, and the family archives showed how ancient the family was. This was felt not only by patricians emulating nobility but also by the old aristocracy that wanted to distinguish itself from the *homines novi* by its ancient descent.

The Amsterdam regent Joan Huydecoper (1595-1661) was ennobled by both the Queen of Sweden and King Louis XIV of France. In 1640 he bought the manor of Maarsseveen. His part of the Huydecoper family archives consists of private letters, the two nobility patents, wills, and his private account-book with annotations about the history of his family and his city (on the Huydecopers see also 8.2.3).

1.7.2 A Treasury of Monuments

The urge to pass the social capital on to one's descendants placed private records in a new light, transfiguring the family archives into a patrimony to be preserved, expanded, and transferred to future generations. As Psalm 119:111 reads: 'Thy testimonies have I taken as a heritage for ever: for they are the rejoicing of my heart.'

In the 18th century, souvenirs and memorials began to join the legal and administrative records in Dutch family archives. This fact of monuments joining the muniments reflected a change in values, appropriations, processes, and media which was apparent in society at large, one where public archives regained their position as a treasury, not of monetary valuables, but of historical monuments, valued by antiquarians, diplomatists, and historians (see 4.8). Occasionally, interested outsiders got access to a family archive.

For example, in 1777 Baron van Wassenaer provided documents from his family archives to historians such as Bondam and Van Wijn (who was to become the first National Archivist in 1802—see 3.6.1) and the historiographer of the province of Zeeland. Van Wijn thanked the owner, expressing the wish that 'in most families at the top people be found as communicative as your Lordship. What would we then know of what is kept hidden presently?'[47]

In the course of time, many family archives were lost due to carelessness, but also because they were destroyed on purpose to prevent strangers from getting access to the family history. Thus, the executors of pensionary Pieter Steyn sorted the family papers in his archives according to his testament, packed them in chests, and deposited them in 1787 with the Orphan Chamber in Haarlem for a remuneration of 10,000 guilders. After 100 years all papers were to be destroyed. In 1887 the sealed chests were opened. Most of their contents were appraised as state papers which were then sent to the National Archives. However, all private papers were destroyed.[48]

Still, many family archives have been preserved, due to various factors. When several generations have lived in one place the chance of survival of the records is greater than with families who moved often. This is true not only with respect to families who lived in a castle or stately home but also for families of merchants and bankers such as the Kingma family (see 7.3.1). The biographer of the Kingma's mentions a second factor. A family archive exerts a certain 'coercion': people are following images and models from their family's past, and thus the family archives become more important.[49] Furthermore, a substantial family archive attracts even more archives: relatives deposit their archives with those of the main branch, women join their archival documents with their husband's family archives.

In that way, the voluminous archives of Van Eysinga-Vegelin van Claerbergen (60 metres of shelving) had been formed.[50] In 1692 the Frisian nobleman Philip Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen ordained in his testament that all his 'notable papers, diplomas (*bullen*) and

47 National Archives, *Familie Van Wassenaer van Duvenvoorde* (3.20.87), inv. nr. 1562.

48 W.E. de Boer-Meiboom, *Inventaris van het archief van Pieter Steyn, 1749-1772* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1979).

49 Henk Nicolai, 'De genealogie van het voorwerp: Dierbare voorwerpen en familiecultuur bij de Kingma's te Makkum', in *Cultuur en maatschappij in Nederland 1500-1800. Een historisch/anthropologisch perspectief*, ed. Peter te Boekhorst, Peter Burke and Willem Frijhoff (Meppel/Amsterdam/Heerlen: Boom/Open universiteit, 1992), pp. 285-318.

letters' should be described in an inventory and kept conscientiously by the eldest son. His son Hessel transferred the archives to Heremastate, his stately home in Joure where Hessel's son Philip Frederik assumed custodianship. After his death, his brother Johan took over the archives. He bequeathed the archives to his grandson Frans Julius Johan van Eysinga (1752-1828) and his cousin Pieter Benjamin Vegelin van Claerbergen (1734-1780). The former inherited 'all books, both printed and in manuscript, and further the collection of those of my bound papers which do not concern specific goods and securities'. Pieter received 'all papers and documents of my ancestors concerning the genealogy or those which only are of interest for the Vegelin family'. The part of the archives bequeathed to Frans van Eysinga was transferred to Osingastate, a stately home in Langweer which he had inherited from his grandfather and where the Van Eysinga archives came to be stored as well. But the Eysinga House in Leeuwarden housed archives as well. In 1858 it was discovered that the house contained the archives Van Eysinga-Vegelin van Claerbergen in their entirety. The owner became *jonkheer*[51] Idzerd Frans van Eysinga, Frans' youngest son who had succeeded his three older brothers. Idzerd had already inherited the family archives Humalda and Burmania which were kept in Burmania House in Leeuwarden. The inventory made after Idzerd's death (1870) described the archives as 'a batch of manuscripts' to which little value was attached. Some years later the eldest son Frans bought the shares in the archives of the other heirs for 500 guilders. In 1923 the entire archives were transferred to the State Archives (presently named Tresoar) in Leeuwarden. Several archivists worked to arrange and describe the archives, but it took until 2008 before the 'definitive' inventory (nearly 5,400 items) was published. The printed inventory contains an archival genealogy: a table showing more than 50 family archives which have been joined with the Van Eysinga archives in the course of five centuries (Fig. 1.10).

Another example of how the fate of a family archive is intertwined with the family's genealogy and linked to the places where the archive has been kept, is the archives of the Heshuysen family. They have been preserved because they were kept until 1958 in the attic of the *Rapenhofje*, a local Amsterdam almshouse founded in 1648 by Pieter Raep and managed by members of, among others, the families Raep, Bruyningh, and Heshuysen.

50 Barteld de Vries, *Het familiearchief Van Eysinga - Vegelin van Claerbergen* (Leeuwarden: Tresoar, 2008).

51 *Jonkheer* is a hereditary honorific title for the lowest rank within the nobility.
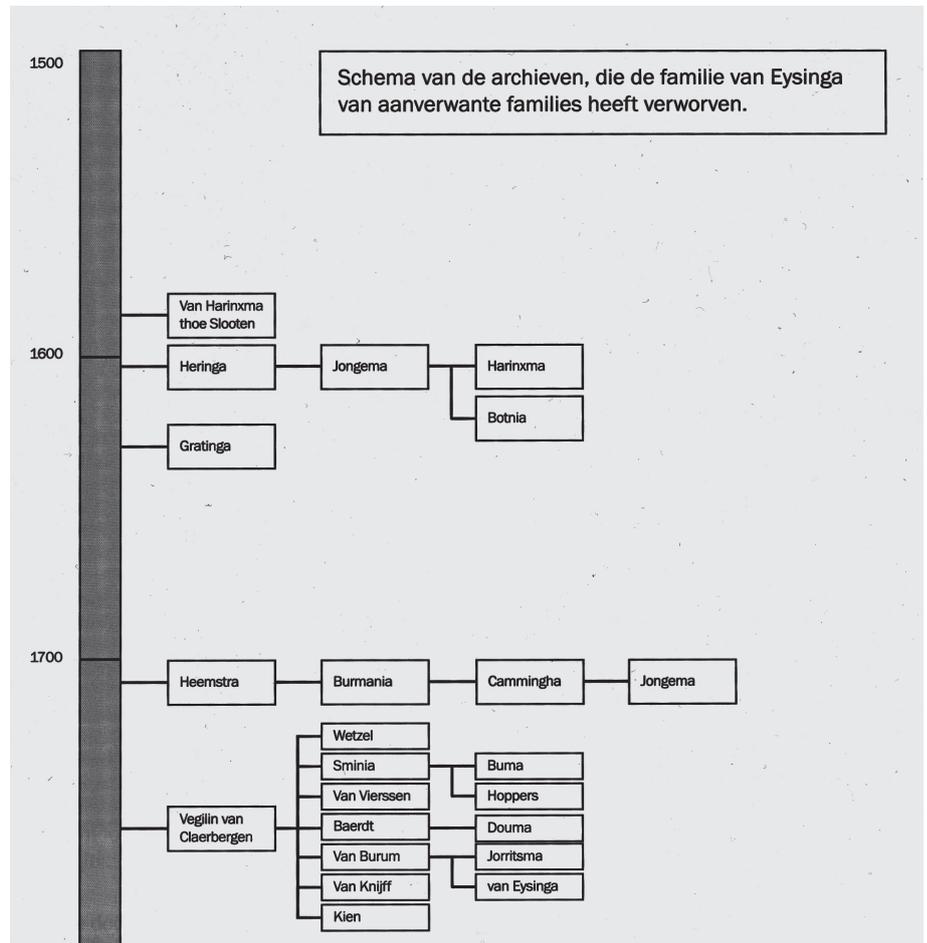
Fig. 1.10 Table of the archives acquired by the Van Esyinga family. From Barteld de Vries, *Het familiearchief Van Eysinga-Vegelin van Claerbergen* (Leeuwarden: Tresoar, 2008), p. 28.
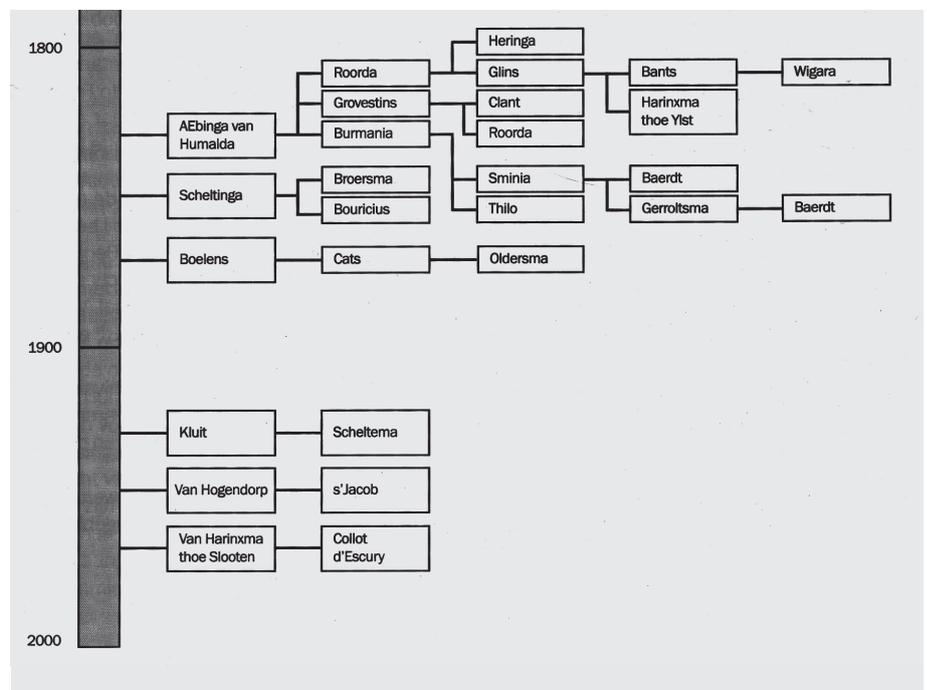
In 1826 Catharina Hooft married Adolf Jan Heshuysen. She was the only surviving child of Gerrit Hooft and Catharina Bruyningh. From her father she inherited the papers of his parents and grandparents, and from unmarried uncles and aunts of the Bruyningh family she inherited the Bruyningh family archives (including some papers of other families, Raep among them). All these papers now constitute the family archives Heshuysen, kept in the Amsterdam City Archives, where the administration of *Rapenhofje* and documents of the firm Adolf Jan Heshuysen and Comp. are kept as well.

Both the Van Eysinga-Vegelin van Claerbergen archives and the Heshuysen family archives are currently kept in public repositories (see 1.7.3). However, there are many owners who keep their archives themselves, sometimes even employing a professional archivist. Three examples are discussed below.

Since the 12th century, the Counts van den Bergh kept their archives in castle Bergh near Arnhem. In the 18th century, the castle and the estate came to the house of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. In 1912 the castle was bought by textile manufacturer and art collector Jan Herman van Heek. Nowadays the castle and the archives are owned by the foundation House Bergh. The Crown Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen paid a visit to Bergh in 1830. He was appalled by the disorder of the archives and instructed the administrator to have the archives put in order. By way of an advertisement in 1840, candidates for arranging and inventorying the archives were sought. The young Reinier Tadema, a judge in Zutphen (where he would become City Archivist in 1851), was hired. In just over a year he managed to inventory the total of 139 metres of archives. They were kept in the archive tower of the castle since 1842 (when the *Registratur Ordnung* for the stewards of the Hohenzollerns was introduced). Both archives (the old one and the post-1842 one) have been kept in the restored mint next to the castle since 1996. The archives of castle Bergh (managed by the Regional Archives Achterhoek & Liemers) are being digitized.

As Hans Hofman, former archivist of House Bergh, argues, because the owners did not live at the castle during the 18th and 19th centuries (and thus created their archives elsewhere),

the archives are not predominantly a family archives: 'The common element in defining this archive is the estate and properties and their administration.' [52]

This holds true to a large extent for the archives at Twickel Castle in Delden as well. The archives (250 metres) do not only comprise the archives of the families who owned the castle since the 15th century, and those of several related families, but also the archives created in the management of the vast estate (presently 6,500 hectares, the largest privately-owned estate in the country). In the courtyard, a special repository was built to house the archives. Since 1980 they are managed by a professional archivist who has put all the inventories on the Internet.

According to the Dutch archival terminology, the Bergh and Twickel archives are 'house archives' (*huisarchieven*): a combination of archives handed down by the people who have lived in the same house or on the same estate. The term *huisarchief* is also used for the archives of a House (dynasty) such as the House of Orange-Nassau. In 1825 King William I founded the Royal House Archives (*Koninklijk Huisarchief,* KHA) in The Hague. Among the archives deposited with the KHA were the private archives of William V, the last Stadholder and father to King William I. He took them into exile in England in 1795. The family archives which had been left behind in the Netherlands, were also deposited with the KHA. From Germany, many documents concerning the Nassau estate also came into the KHA. Management of the KHA was and is entrusted to court dignitaries; between 1982 and 2019 the director was a professional archivist (the current incumbent is an art historian). Between 1895 and 1899 a purpose-built and (at the time) modern archives-cum-library was established behind the Noordeinde Palace in The Hague. It was thoroughly renovated between 1996 and 1998. The KHA contains the personal papers of members of the Houses of Nassau and Orange-Nassau, the archives of royal estates and former estates in the Netherlands and abroad, those of the Royal Household, and some third-party archives. Upon request, the archives from before 1934 may be consulted for academic research purposes.

52   Hans Hofman, 'The archive', in *Archives: Recordkeeping in society*, ed. Sue McKemmish, Michael Piggott, Barbara Reed and Frank Upward (Wagga-Wagga: Charles Sturt University, 2005), pp. 149-150.

1.7.3 Collecting Family Archives[53]

Archivists in the 19th century did not show much interest in family archives. Although National Archivist Bakhuizen van den Brink (1854-1865) (see 3.6.2) acquired (through purchase or donation) many private collections, he was only interested in public or semi-public documents created and received by officials. In the case of the archives of admiral Ver Huell, he considered a large portion of interest for biographers, but they did not include the admiral's political activities and 'therefore I do not consider them as belonging to the State Archives'.[54] Ver Huell's correspondence with his family and the papers on his domestic life could be destroyed or returned to the family, according to Bakhuizen van den Brink, 'if there are family members who appreciate the details about the renowned man'. And thus, the private papers were given to the admiral's cousin and biographer (in 1930 and 1932 these papers came to the National Archives).

Bakhuizen van den Brink's ideas are echoed in the Dutch 'Manual for the arrangement and description of archives' by Muller, Feith, and Fruin (1898) (see 12.4). Although Muller had already recognized families as creators of archives in 1879 (see 4.9.2), he excluded 'so-called family archives' in 1893 and the latter opinion was codified in the 1898 *Manual*: family archives are 'a conglomerate of papers and documents', they 'do not form "a whole" (…) and lack the organic bond of an archive (…). The rules for ordinary archives, therefore, cannot be applied to family archives.' This did not prevent some State and municipal archivists from acquiring family archives. The State Archives in Friesland, for example, acquired many archives from the Frisian nobility: in 1900 the family archives Thoe Schwartzenberg en Hohenlansberg (32 metres), the year after those of the Van Beijma thoe Kingma family (19 metres), followed by the archives of the families Van Harinxma thoe Slooten (10 metres), Van Sminia (16 metres) and a great number of smaller family archives.

53 E.P. de Booy, 'Documentatiecentra, private archieven en het historisch motief', *Nederlands archievenblad* 78 (1974): 309-17; F.C.J. Ketelaar, 'Openbaar en bijzonder archiefwezen vroeger, nu en in de toekomst', *Jaarboek van het Katholiek Documentatie Centrum* 24 (1994): 48-56; Petra Links, 'Privépapieren in bewaring', in *Particuliere archieven. Fundamenten in beweging*, ed. Theo Vermeer, Petra Links and Justin Klein ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2013), pp. 31-43.

54 R. Fruin, *De gestie van dr. R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink als archivaris des rijks 1854-1865 hoofdzakelijk uit zijne ambtelijke correspondentie toegelicht* ('s-Gravenhage: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1926), p. 49.

However, Muller stuck to the traditional conception:

> Private archives ought not to be called proper archives; often they are collections of papers of a much-varied nature, without a certain organization, partly even without any connection; such things, in my opinion, are not really at home in a public archival repository.[55]

Archivists of the younger generation wanted to consider family and other private archives as archives, and they did not have any fundamental objections against taking private archives into custody in public repositories. Fruin, however, had mixed feelings. In 1917 (after he had become National Archivist) he explained to the State archivists (among them Muller) that, in general, a family archive is not at home in a public archival repository, partly because access to such an archive is restricted on the whole. Family archives containing official and semi-official documents and manorial records, however, should be kept in a public repository. Since, according to Fruin (*pace* the *Manual*), a family archives is an organic whole, these documents should not be separated from the rest, and thus the whole archive should be transferred into public custody. Fruin, however, preferred to see family archives acquired by a special privately managed repository.

Such a repository came about in 1925 when the pre-eminent association of genealogists *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* founded a department of family archives, literally next door to the National Archives in The Hague. Soon they kept almost 40 family archives, partly on loan from the neighbour who transferred those family archives 'which are of less interest to general history' (*die voor de algemeene geschiedenis van minder belang zijn*) to the association. From 1929 onwards, central government paid a senior archivist at the National Archives who worked part-time for *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*. The argument was that the association, by caring for family archives, relieved the State Archives from an important task. In 1984 *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* handed over the maintenance of the family archives to the Central Bureau of Genealogy (a private foundation established in the building of the National Archives).

55 S. Muller, 'Toespraak van den voorzitter', *Nederlandsch archievenblad* 24 (1915-1916): 14.

Since 1917 it is commonly acknowledged by Dutch archivists that family archives are indeed archives: a combination of personal archives in which the relation between the components is determined by family relations. In such a family archives official documents, (part of) a business archive, or documents concerning a manor may be found as well. 'The conglomerate untangled' is not accidentally the title of guidelines for inventorying family archives, published in 1984.

In 1964 the Central Register of Family Archives (*Centraal Register van familiearchieven*) was founded to register the whereabouts and contents of family archives, both those in public repositories as well as those kept by private people, often at their home. Later its task was expanded to associations, churches (see 2.4), and businesses. Therefore, in 1977, the name was changed into Central Register of Private Archives (*Centraal Register van particuliere archieven*, CRPA) as a department within the National Archives. The CRPA did not only register, it gave advice to people regarding the management of their archives and the choice of a repository that might be suitable for the depositing of their private archives. Towards the end of the 20th century the CRPA declined and closed down—the National Archives gave priority to public archives.

Yet in the 1970s government had formally accepted that several private archives belong

> to those cultural assets whose preservation is in the interest of the community; safeguarding that interest may be counted as a governmental responsibility if those who are primarily responsible appear not to be able to bear this responsibility sufficiently.[56]

However, no State subsidy was given for maintaining separate repositories of private archives; governmental support would be given, as in the past, by taking private archives into the custody of State and municipal archives. In 1985 the Minister of Culture reiterated this policy, making it quite clear that he declined to subsidize archival care by private owners of archives (see 7.8).

56 *Archiefraad. Verslag 1971* ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1972), p.52, see also *Archiefraad. Verslag 1972* ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1973), p. 16.

Nonetheless (or perhaps: consequently) special archives have spread beyond the public domain. The repository of *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* has already been mentioned. The Dutch Economic History Archives (1914) (see 7.7), which are older, occasionally accepted family archives important to economic history. In 1935-1936 the International Information Centre and Archives of the Women's Movement and the International Institute for Social History were founded. In 1969 the Catholic Documentation Centre was opened and in 1971 the Historical Documentation Centre of Dutch Protestantism followed. However, these special archives (with the exception of the last one), have no specific task of collecting family archives. This contrasts with the Central Bureau of Genealogy which keeps more than 600 family archives; that is to say: portions of family archives that contain documents of importance for genealogical research.

1.8 Conclusion

According to the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2), this chapter treated the business (what) of 'archiving people' by people (who) acting as agents involved in work processes (how). Institutions like church, state, city, business, and the family generally do not register people as an end, but as a means to know who their members, citizens, sailors, clients, and relatives are, how they behave, what they need and what they contribute. At the same time, such archiving draws boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. Archiving 'outsiders' such as migrants, vagabonds, and Jews is an instrument for surveillance, expulsion or worse. Thus, archiving people may serve both benign purposes or result in entrapment. Creation, use, and abuse of archives are subject to archivalization: the conscious or unconscious choice (determined by social and cultural factors) to consider something worth documenting and archiving. Examples of archivalization (and of societal challenges at the top of the model) in this chapter include the decision to register a still-born child, the refusal to deliver 'non-Jew certificates', the urge to construct family archives, and the changing views on privacy leading to changes in archiving.

In medieval and early modern times archiving people was mostly confined to the registering institution and only rarely shared with other entities (one of the exceptions being the warrants for people moving to another place of residence). This was partly due to the particularism that characterized government especially in the Republic of the United Netherlands. From the 1800s, however, the central state strived to make the citizen 'legible' by the use of multiple registers and by linking various registers to the extent that 'paper man' is archived in a networked 'total'—at times even totalitarian—system.

Archiving people by institutions could be of use to people as well, however. The citizen needed a citizen certificate, the VOC sailor his pay-slip, the tobacco seller his licence, according to the rules imposed within his or her community. But there were also forms of self-determined use of (and by) archiving people, for example in keeping diaries and private archives. Such archiving was similar to 'institutional' archiving because it dealt with continuity and evidence, but it differed because of a preoccupation with the memorial function of archiving people. In both the administrative and the memorial modes, archiving is a part (and an outcome) of a work process, but in the former the goal is creating evidence, in the latter creating 'touchstones' of memory.[57]

Archiving is a social practice because it is socially performed. Such performances were the meetings of boards and committees using documents to sustain and record their decisions. Examples in this chapter are the board of the Amsterdam Civic Orphanage, and the *militieraad.*

These practices can be illustrated with the archiving of migrants (1.5), an illustration which in many respects is representative of archiving people in other domains as well. From the end of the 16th century, an effort was made to curb the influx of war refugees and other migrants who were a burden on the system and to regulate the financial support of the poor by adapting the archiving and the technology in use (certificates, registers). The systems that were implemented in the 19th century for archiving migrants were repeatedly adapted because of changes in technology (passports with a photograph, card indexes,

[57] Laura Millar, 'Touchstones: considering the relationship between memory and archives', *Archivaria* 61 (2006): 105-26.

loose-leaf registers, and automation) and the changing societal challenges caused by new flows of migrants resulting from the World Wars and decolonization. These factors of archivalization influence appraisal and destruction of archives: just before the beginning of the 21st century, the increased compassion with asylum-seekers led to the adaptation of the criteria for selecting the files of foreigners. The archiving interests of migrants and their descendants are acknowledged. Increasingly the agency of the record subject as co-creator of his or her record is legitimized. As I wrote some ten years ago:

> This social and cultural phenomenon of co-creatorship entails a shift of the traditional paradigm of the organic nature of records and the principle of provenance. These records may be maintained on the organization's server, as in trust for the co-creators. More and more, government and business archives will contain records of parallel provenance from two or more entities each residing in a different context, even when they are involved in different kinds of action, for example creation and control. This will also allow us to reconsider the boundaries between public and private archives. Both are elements of a larger framework, private archives complementing and supporting public archives and *vice versa*.[58]

This co-creatorship by various agents happens in what we may call a genre system (see the General Introduction) 'where each participant makes a recognizable act or move in some recognizable genre, which then may be followed by a certain range of appropriate generic responses by others.'[59]

In the General Introduction, I introduced the concept of the duality of the archive. An example in this chapter is family archives embodying a 'script' to behave according to the images and values transferred by the archives. This continuum of giving new meanings is equally relevant for the changed and changing views of the archival profession on family and other private archives. In every file one notices the fingerprints left behind by the record subjects and other 'archivers' through their interactions and interventions, thereby co-determining and re-determining the meaning of the file. This continues when these

[58] Eric Ketelaar, 'Archives as spaces of memory', *Journal of the Society of archivists* 29 (2008): 14-15. See also Chris Hurley, 'Parallel provenance: (1) What if anything is archival description?', *Archives and manuscripts* 33 (2005): 110-45; Sue McKemmish, 'Evidence of me … in a digital world', in *I, digital. Personal collections in the digital era*, ed. Christopher A. Lee (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), pp. 115–48; Sue McKemmish and Michael Piggott, 'Toward the archival multiverse. Challenging the binary opposition of the personal and corporate archive in modern archival theory and practice', *Archivaria* 76 (2013): 111–44.

[59] Charles Bazerman, 'Systems of genres and the enactment of social intentions', in *Genre and the new rhetoric*, ed. Aviva Freedman and Peter Medway (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), p. 97.

files are acknowledged and being used by migrants, their descendants, and society at large as a historical (memorial) source. As in other circumstances 'people without papers' (*les sans-papiers*) are rarely totally undocumented. As I demonstrated in this chapter (see also the Prologue concerning the Rembrandt documents), people will leave traces in some archiving system or other that may become a source of reconstructing a life. In this case the archive is not used for its primary administrative purpose, but as a historical source. To understand that source, it is necessary to understand the social practices by which the archive was created and transferred through time.

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CHAPTER

2

ARCHIVING PEOPLE
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF
DUTCH ARCHIVES

Chapter 2

Archiving Churches

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Fig. 2.0 The oldest charter in the Netherlands
in the archives of the abbey of Thorn (Limburg):
King Otto I donates various rights to his vassal
Count Ansfried of Huy, 950. Regional historical
centre Limburg, *Vrije rijksheerlijkheid Thorn*
(01.187A), inv. nr. 1.

⌄
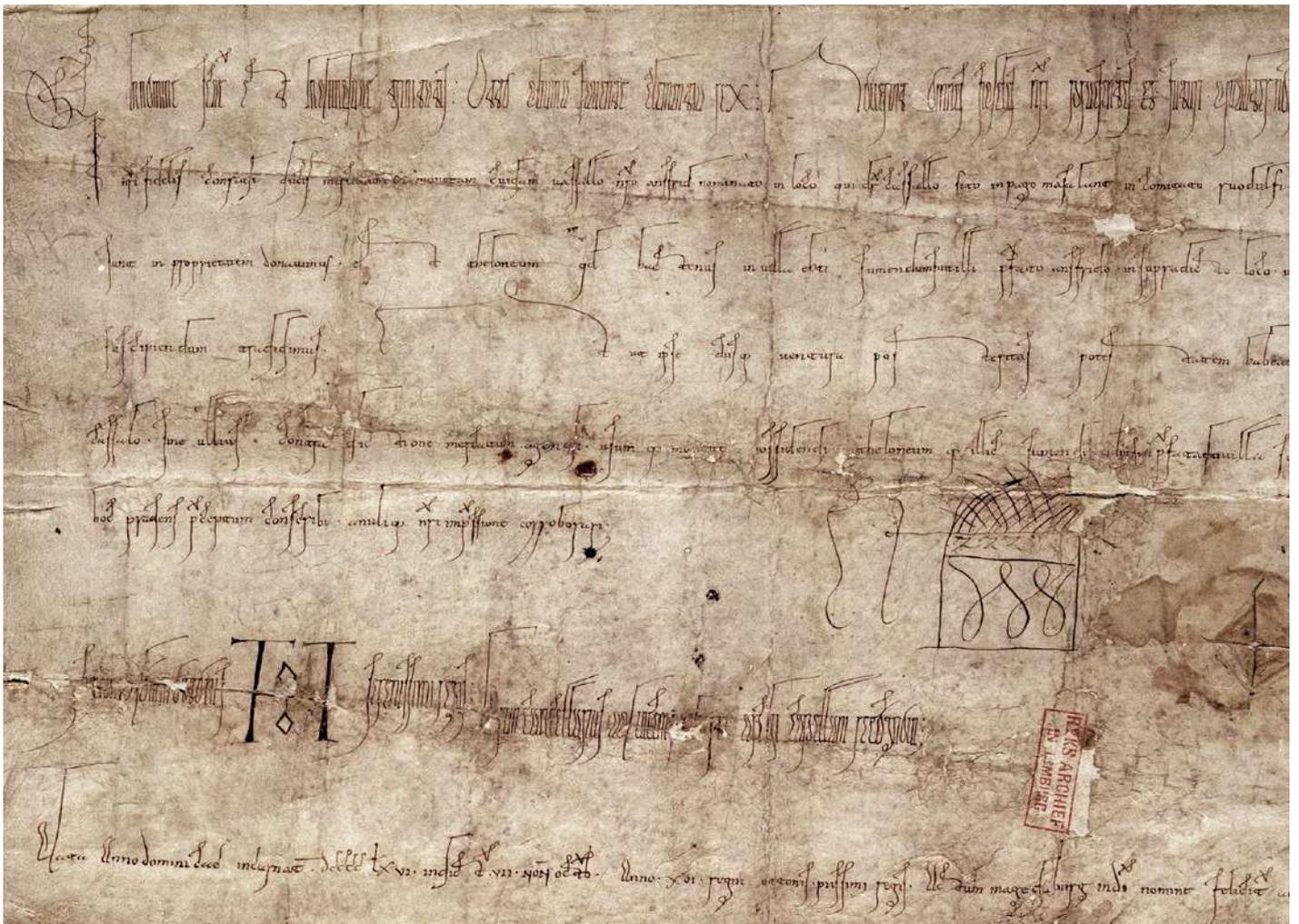
2.0 Introduction

Until recently, the Church was the centre of society—in the figurative sense and often also literally. This was the case since Christianization, but also after the Reformation in the 16th century. The Roman Catholic Church was a community of the book: in the first place the Bible, but also the liturgical books, the books registering the faithful, and the books recording the privileges and properties of the Church. The last three were interconnected: the faithful would donate properties, the proceeds of which were meant to pay for saying a mass on the anniversary of the benefactor. This would be recorded in the breviary used at the liturgy. Other parchment and paper documents had a comparable memory function: the charters, the accounts, the financial registers, etc.

The oldest administrative documents concern donations of properties to religious institutions that archived them carefully—often by making a copy of them in a cartulary (a register with transcripts of charters), or in a *liber traditionum* (a register making mention of donations and/or containing transcripts). Such giving of property to the Church is dealt with in 2.1.

A review could be written of archiving in every one of the Dutch religious institutions, but I will limit myself in section 2.2 to the Bishop and chapters of Utrecht who created the first archive within the present borders of the Netherlands.

The Dutch Revolt against the Spanish king began in 1566 with iconoclasts ransacking the churches and their archives (2.3.1). The Revolt led to the foundation of the Republic of the United Netherlands in 1588-1595. The States General of the Republic convened a Reformed synod and ordered a new translation of the Bible. Both were archived, and these archives became symbols of the balanced relationship between Church and State (2.3.2). The Reformed Church created a new genre system (see the General Introduction) around the *acta* of the church council (2.3.3). From archiving in the Reformed Church its members benefited as did poor relief (2.3.4).

According to Cees Dekker in his inaugural address as professor of archivistics at the University of Amsterdam in 1981, the formation of church archives nearly always happened spontaneously as a result from the administrative processes, with practical rather than religious motives being important.[1] Only in some of the smaller denominations does one notice idealistic concerns which codetermine archiving, especially when the community was still young. An example are the Mennonites, whose refusal to acknowledge ecclesiastical authority and their faith in Christ's return to Earth did not stimulate them to record affairs in the here and now. According to Dekker, the Moravian Church (Hernhutters) stood in sharp contrast to the Mennonites. They were a 'group with clear-cut ideas, firmly led from a central point (…) infused with a business-like mercantile spirit,' and they 'noted everything down (…) and exercised an extensive archives management'.

Archiving the Church has had great impact in the Netherlands. This is true not only for the churches themselves, but especially for society, both on people inside the Church and outside. The societal impact of church archives led to their preservation becoming of growing interest to public archival institutions since the late 19th century. For a long time, however, both government and the churches preferred the churches managing their archives. This changed in the 1980s, as will become clear in 2.4.

2.1 Giving to the Church

The Church was supported by emperors, kings, and nobility who donated land and rights, often on the occasion of the founding of a church or a monastery. In this way, the donors illustrated their power, gained influence in the Church, and secured their salvation. These properties had to be administered. In his capitulary *Brevium exempla ad describendas res ecclesiasticas et fiscales* Charlemagne himself provided examples of how to administer: *sic breviare debes*—this is how you should record. In the inventory of the resources of a landed estate the religious treasures, bibles, and liturgical books had to be

1 Cornelis Dekker, *Kerkelijke archieven. Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van buitengewoon hoogleraar in de archiefwetenschap alsmede de paleografie van de 14e tot en met de 17e eeuw aan de UIniversiteit van Amsterdam op 18 mei 1981* (s.l., 1981), repr. in *Nederlands archievenblad* 85 (1981): 126-48.

described first, then the homesteads, the properties held in usufruct, the holders of benefices, and finally all estates with their livestock, garden plants, and fruit trees. The basis for such an inventory were the charters whereby properties had been transferred.

Although these charters were kept carefully, much has been lost in the course of time and is known only from later copies. Nevertheless, some original deeds of donation have been preserved, among them the oldest original charter pertaining to Dutch territory: a gift in 864 by the King of West Francia to Saint Bavo's monastery in Ghent (Belgium) which included a marsh in Friesland. The document is kept at the State Archives in Ghent. Incidentally, the oldest original charter in the National Archives of the Netherlands is a papal bull (edict) of 5 November 1179 for the Benedictine abbey of Rijnsburg. One and a half centuries older is a deed of 1025 whereby the German King Conrad II donates a part of the county of Drenthe to the Bishop of Utrecht. Although only a fragment (a mere quarter) of the charter has survived, it is the oldest document in the Utrecht Archives.[2]

Still older is a charter, dated 7 October 950, whereby King Otto I donates various rights to his vassal Count Ansfried of Huy, including the market, the coinage, and the toll at Kessenich (province of Limburg) (Fig. 2.0).[3] Later, in 992, a cousin of Ansfried founded the abbey in Thorn (Limburg), to which the formerly donated rights were transferred. The deed of gift of 950 was kept in the archives of the abbey which are now in the possession of the Limburg State Archives. This document dating from around the middle of the 10th century is a forgery, or rather, a pseudo-original (*schijnbaar origineel*), because Otto never recorded his gift in a charter. The charter was made later and sealed with a faked royal seal, perhaps because the beneficiary did not want to rely on the witnesses at the oral donation ceremony but felt the need for a deed in writing. It could also be that people were not so much interested in the legal aspect of the charter, but rather saw it as a commemorative text, embodying a historical event.[4] It is somewhat painful that this fabricated charter is generally considered to be the oldest document in a Dutch public archival repository. We might prefer to bestow that title of honour to a document that is real in every respect, such as the Roman wax tablet from the year 29 (see chapter 8.1), although it is preserved in a museum, not in an archive.

2   *Perkament in stukken. Teruggevonden middeleeuwse handschriftfragmenten*, ed. Bart Jaski, Marco Mostert, and Kaj van Vliet (Hilversum: Verloren, 2018), pp.151-57.

3   A.D.A. Monna, *Zwerftocht met middeleeuwse heiligen* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), pp. 107-9, 125-33; Marco Mostert, 'Forgery and trust', in *Strategies of writing. Studies on text and trust in the middle ages*, ed. Petra Schulte, Marco Mostert and Irene van Renswoude (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 37-59.

4   Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance. Memory and oblivion at the end of the first millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), ch. 3.

From the 9th century onward religious institutions in the Carolingian Empire started creating cartularies: registers of integral copies of charters, deeds, and other records relating to the foundation, the properties, and legal rights of the institution. According to the medieval historian Patrick Geary, this often happened as part of an administrative programme of estate management, but also to record the history of the ecclesiastical properties for posterity. A third reason for cartularization was the desire to bring together copies of select documents which could serve the pursuit of specific legal claims.[5] We see this happening in the Netherlands as well. When Bishop Hunger of Utrecht had to flee from the Normans in 857, he took all the charters with him to the monastery of Sint-Odiliënberg (Limburg). One of his successors, Bishop Radbod (or Radboud)—still in exile but established in Deventer since circa 882—used these charters to make a cartulary: the oldest cartulary in the Bishopric of Utrecht.[6] We have knowledge of the cartulary from copies only, the oldest dating from the 11th century. This copy was acquired by the English antiquary Sir Robert Cotton in the 17th century. Together with the rest of his enormous collection (containing, for example, a copy of the Magna Carta and the text of *Beowulf*) the Utrecht cartulary came into the possession of the British Library. Around the middle of the 10th century, a few charters were copied in the cartulary in order to serve as confirmation by the King of the donations made by his predecessors. In the 12th century, the cartulary was copied once again in its entirety, whereby the texts were rearranged more or less in chronological order. This copy is the *Liber Donationum* that was kept in the muniment room of the cathedral (see Fig. 2.1) Currently the codex is in the Utrecht Archives.

Another copy of the Radbod cartulary served the monks of Egmond Abbey (province of Noord-Holland) around 1100 as a basis for their own cartulary. For these monks the deeds had no evidential or administrative value; they collected the copies in a codex with copies of other charters, the annals of their own monastery, and some other chronicles. The Utrecht muniments had become Egmond monuments. This often happened. Patrick Geary gives various examples of 9th-century cartularies which have not been established for an administrative or legal purpose, but rather to (re)collect 'the traditions about the church (…), its relics, its lands, its dependents, and its patrons'. The border

5   Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance*, pp. 87-98.

6   P.A. Henderikx, 'Het cartularium van Radbod', in *Datum et actum. Opstellen aangeboden aan Jaap Kruisheer...*, ed. D.P. Blok et al. (Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut, 1998), pp. 231-64.

7   Thomas N. Bisson, *The crisis of the twelfth century. Power, lordship, and the origins of European government* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 328.

8   R. Rau, *Briefe des Bonifatius [...]* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), nr. 109; C.J.C. Broer and M.W.J. de Bruijn, 'Bonifatius en de Utrechtse kerk', in *De kerk en de Nederlanden. Archieven, instellingen, samenleving. Aangeboden aan prof. dr. C. Dekker bij zijn afscheid als rijksarchivaris en als hoogleraar in de archiefwetenschap…*, ed. E.S.C. Erkelens-Buttinger et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), pp. 43-65

9   Most information on the archives of the chapters is drawn from S. Muller Fz., *Catalogus van het archief van het kapittel van St. Pieter* ('s-Gravenhage: Van Weelden en Mingelen, 1886); S. Muller Fz., *Catalogus van het archief der bisschoppen van Utrecht* (Utrecht: Breijer, 1906); K. Heeringa, *Inventaris van het archief van het kapittel van de Dom te Utrecht* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1929); Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, 'Registers en rekeningen: een voorbeeld van middeleeuwse administratie en verschriftelijking', in *De kerk en de Nederlanden*, pp. 168-88.
On the chapters of Saint John and Saint Saviour: E.N. Palmboom, *Het kapittel van Sint Jan te Utrecht. Een onderzoek naar verwerving, beheer en administratie van het oudste goederenbezit (elfde-veertiende eeuw)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995); A.J. van den Hoven van Genderen, *De heren van de kerk. De kanunniken van Oudmunster te Utrecht en hun kerkgebouw in de late middeleeuwen* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1997).
On the archiving by the regular (i.e. monastic) chapter of Saint Francis in Utrecht see Hildo van Engen, *De derde orde van Sint-Franciscus in het middeleeuwse bisdom Utrecht. Een bijdrage tot de institutionele geschiedenis van de Moderne Devotie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), pp. 379-90.

between administrative and memorial functions was very flexible. For example, an *obituarium* (or *necrologium*) was not only a record of the soul masses to be read daily, but also of the prebends out of which the masses and the canons were to be paid.

Because the charters had no administrative value, their archiving (originals and copies in cartularies) was not aimed at exploitation. In the early Middle Ages, most ecclesiastical and secular authorities considered their patrimonies as fixed assets.[7] Only gradually did they come to realize that archival documents could be used for a profitable exploitation of the domains. The archival genres that were developed for this new purpose, are the subject of section 6.2.3.1.

2.2   Chapters and Churches

From the 7th century missionaries brought about the Christianization of a large part of what is now the Netherlands. In 695 Utrecht became the seat of the missionary Bishop Willibrord. After his death Boniface defended the position of Utrecht as a permanent bishopric against the claims of the Bishopric of Cologne. He asked the support of Pope Stephanus II to furnish him with copies from the papal archives (*de scrinio aecclesiae vestrae*).[8] In the 10th and 11th centuries Utrecht saw the establishment of five secular (i.e. non-monastic) chapters (*kapittels*), each attached to a specific church: the Saint Martin's Cathedral chapter (*Domkapittel*), the chapter of Saint Saviour (*Oudmunster*), and Saint Peter's, Saint John's, and Saint Mary's chapters. The bishop and each of the chapters created archives.[9] Their current volume ranges from 96 charters (Saint John) to 7,359 charters (Saint Saviour), and from 45 shelf metres (Saint Peter) to 170 metres (*Domkapittel*). Of the more than 47,000 documents in the archives of the five chapters, almost 19,000 have been digitized as per 12 March 2019, resulting in 360,000 scans which are available on the Internet.

In 2.1 I wrote how Bishop Hunger of Utrecht and his successors took their charters with them into exile. In 918 the bishop returned to Utrecht. Initially, his archives were kept in the cathedral, in the archives of Saint Martin's chapter. But besides the repository in the

cathedral, the bishop had other repositories at his disposal elsewhere in the bishopric. From the end of the 14th century, the bishop established archival repositories in several of his castles, and in the middle of the 15th century a central repository was founded in the episcopal residence at Duurstede.

Initially, most attention was given to the charters and the accounts, but around the middle of the 14th century the chancery started making registers. The four most important series are the *registra feodalium* concerning the fiefs (*lenen*); the *diversoria* containing copies of various outgoing documents, mostly of a political nature; the *judicialia* with judgments; and the *libri officiatorum et recessuum computationum* in which appointments of officers and the balance of their accounts were registered.

The bishop did not only represent spiritual power, he was also a sovereign lord (*landsheer*) of large parts of the Netherlands: *Nedersticht* (the part of his lands around Utrecht) and *Oversticht*, the region on the other side of the river IJssel, roughly encompassing the current provinces of Overijssel, Drenthe, and Groningen.

When the bishop transferred his secular power to Charles V in 1528, all registers, cartularies, accounts, 'and other relevant writings, none excluded' had to be transferred as well. The ecclesiastical archives were not handed over. After the Old Catholic schism of 1723, the bishopric's archives fell to the Old Catholic Church of Utrecht.

Those archives that had been claimed by the Stadholder of Holland on behalf of the Emperor were for the greater part preserved in Holland and ended up in the National Archives in The Hague. The episcopal archives that were kept in the land's chest (*landskist*) in Deventer and the one in Utrecht went into the municipal archives in these cities. When at the end of the 19th century the renowned archivist Samuel Muller started to arrange the bishopric's archives, he managed to unite the archives kept in The Hague, Deventer, and Utrecht. Muller also separated the archives of the Old Catholic Church from those of Saint Martin's chapter and did the same by separating from several other collections those documents which he believed to belong to the bishopric's archives. In his inventory (1906)

the provenance of each item was recorded, however. Muller acknowledged that he had reconstructed the bishopric's archives and that some people would regard this with a wry smile. He wrote 'I admit that objections may be made, yet I feel no remorse about what I have done.'

Fig. 2.1 The muniment room of the cathedral in Utrecht with Samuel Muller inventorying the archives of Saint Martin's cathedral chapter which were kept in the presses to the right, 1901. Photo F. Reissig, Utrecht Archives, *Prentverzameling*, nr. 82951. See Fig. 11.10.

Twenty years before, Muller had inventoried the archives of the chapter of Saint Peter. The inventory, published in 1886, was judged by the Minister of the Interior to be a model to be followed by the other State archivists.[10] In the introduction Muller unfolded his ideas on archival arrangement, ideas which would be codified in 1898 in the *Manual* by Muller, Feith, and Fruin (see 12.4). Muller had introduced some of his conceptions previously in his 1879 annual report as city archivist. There Muller introduced the notion (later adopted in section 2 of the *Manual*) that an archive is 'an organic whole'.

In the Middle Ages, the charters of Saint Peter's chapter were well organized. They were kept in a press (cupboard) with eight sections (marked A-H), each counting ten drawers (marked I-X). Each drawer (or series of drawers) contained the documents concerning the chapter's lands in particular villages. The next lot consisted of five drawers with writings concerning the tithes, four drawers with annuities (*rentebrieven*), six drawers mainly with testaments, and finally four drawers with mixed documents (*concernentia*) about the Utrecht Bishopric. Its continuation were six boxes or chests, three of which (marked *Prima, Secunda* and *Tertia cista)* contained *concernentia* regarding the rights and statutes of the five chapters. When the drawers of the big press were nearly filled, a smaller press, the *Parva archiva,* was installed to keep less important documents in the same order as in the main press. In the middle of the 16th century, the contents of all drawers and boxes were described in an impressive inventory which can still be consulted.

In the archives of Saint Martin's chapter, one encounters the results of 14th-century archives management by the notary Henricus Boning. On the back of many charters Boning wrote a reference to the page of one of the archive registers. Unfortunately, these registers have not survived. Those dorsal annotations by Boning, however, point to the way the archives were ordered and kept. Boning hesitated about allocations 'concerning X' and 'file with X' (*pertinet ad* and *ponatur inter*). He formed sections for the documents of the bishop, the prelates, and other church officers, distinguishing these from the cathedral archives proper, which were divided in rubrics: *privilegia, statuta, testamenta, communes literae.* Boning distinguished between deeds of tenancy (*tijdpacht*) (*temporales*) and deeds

10   W.E. Goelema, 'De Handleiding: nieuwlichterij of codificatie ?', in *Respect voor de oude orde. Honderd jaar Vereniging van archivarissen in Nederland,* ed. P. Brood (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991), pp. 61-72.

of leasehold (*erfpacht*) (*perpetuas*) and assigned these to the competent administrative units (*kamers*). The documents were geographically stored under the name of the parish incorporating the land; the drawers or boxes for the various parishes were arranged in alphabetical order. There also existed the section 'useless' (*inutiles*) containing documents which will be of some use, but not at an early date. They might, however, have a real historical value, and are therefore kept *propter memoriam*. And Boning explains, 'the documents are to serve memory, and as a good model indeed to be used when a similar discord might happen (…) and they may be reserved for the future as information to be used when a similar case may happen, but for now they are put among the useless [papers].' (*servetur ad memoriam, ut si quandoquidem similis discordia eveniret, bonum esset exemplar, et alias non video ad quod valeat; reservetur pro tempore futuro, ut si similis casus continget, quod haberetur pro informatione, sed pro nunc ponetur inter inutiles.*)

Charters were often taken out to be presented as evidence in a court case, or other related purposes. The series of registers recording the lending of charters of Saint Martin's chapter starts in 1519. In the archives of the chapter of Saint Mary a register of lending charters from 1457 to 1464 has been preserved.

The canons of Saint Saviour reorganized their archives between 1348 and 1350. It took them four days to transfer all charters to a large new cupboard securely anchored in the vestry. The press was a new extraordinary piece of furniture: the bishop visited the chapter to admire the new *armarium*. The charters were not only rearranged to correspond to the shelves and boxes in the press, but they were also docketed (as the chapter of Saint John had been doing already since around 1180): the name of the tenant, the area of the land, and the term of the lease were inscribed on the back of each charter, plus a letter R meaning that the charter had been registered. A new register of all properties was made, largely in geographical order, replacing the old register kept since 1300. In the 1360s the chapter started to inscribe the charters with a letter and number code, referring to their place in the new *armarium*.

Fig. 2.2a and b Deed of permission given by Bishop Otto II of Lippe to build a church near the river Gein, separated from the parish of Eiteren (IJsselstein), 1217. Utrecht Archives, *Kapittel van Sint Marie* (221), inv. nr. 830. The document is a chirograph (see 7.3.2).

Between 1425 and 1428 the secretary of the chapter of Saint Saviour made a new cartulary (in three volumes), following the order of the shelves and boxes in the *armarium.* The secretary made a selection: not all charters were copied, and many leasehold contracts were summarized only. This different treatment may have been based on differences in administrative needs. Original charters were often destroyed when they had lost relevance, e.g. because the rent had been changed or terminated. Whenever the chapter needed evidence, it could use its accounts and rent rolls. Thus, not all documents were stored permanently and not all documents had to be copied fully, as the information was recorded in other document genres. This, in turn, may be linked to new challenges in the 14th and 15th centuries, leading to new choices in archiving (archivalization—see the General Introduction). According to Van den Hoven van Genderen these challenges included the administration of more and bigger estates, as well as the transition from quasi-perpetual leasehold to annual tenancy which caused regular changes of tenants and rent which had to be recorded.

The Utrecht chapters were enormously powerful, partly due to their vast estates. The chapter of Oudmunster, for example, owned at least 3,000 hectares of land, not including seignorial rights, churches, houses, annuities, tithes, and other such assets. All those properties were distributed in various funds and the income was earmarked—for example, to pay stipends for the canons, maintenance of the church, masses to commemorate the dead, and so forth. This necessitated an extensive administration of income and expenditure, managed in each chapter by different administrative units (chambers) led by a chamberlain (*kameraar*). Accounts of the chambers have been preserved: at the chapter of Oudmunster since the 13th century, at the other chapters since the 14th century.

The chapters assembled together in the general chapter (*kapittel-generaal*) to decide on spiritual as well as temporal matters. Apart from the Bishop or his deputy, the nobility, the city of Utrecht, and four of the smaller cities often participated as well. That assembly of the 'three estates' developed into the States of the *Nedersticht* (Utrecht). The chapters and the city of Utrecht preponderated over the other delegates in the States. After the Refor-

mation, the Bishop lost his membership in the States, while the chapters, the nobility, and the cities remained. Henceforth, nobility and cities together elected six to eight representatives (*geëligeerden*) of the chapters to serve in the States. Later, the appointment of the representatives of the chapters in the States passed into the hands of the Stadholder.

After the Reformation the chapters no longer had religious tasks, the churches having been transferred to the public authorities. The chapters continued to be large landowners, however. Just as before the Reformation, they had to pay prebends—now to about 140 canons, who had to be Protestant. Prominent families acquired these prebends. In 1746, for example, Hendrik Swellengrebel, Governor of the United East India Company at the Cape (with a fortune of one million guilders[11]), paid 6,000 guilders for a prebend at Saint John's for his son Johannes Willem.[12] He would not only enjoy the income from the prebend, but also fringe benefits from offices the chapter was entitled to assign, such as the stewardship of a regional water board. Johannes' brothers were given prebends at Saint Mary's and Saint Peter's, and his five sons became canons too. Until 1854 there was always a Swellengrebel member of one or two of the chapters.

A special type of archive at each chapter was the collection of relics.[13] Willibrord was the first to acquire relics for the bishopric, and later bishops and canons expanded the collection. Thus, the cathedral owned the so-called hammer of Saint Martin from ca. 1000. The object is now in a museum, just as, for example, a 14th century silver bust of the canonized 9th-century bishop, Frederick, formerly owned by the Saint Saviour's Church. That church also owned a large part of the undergarment (*albe*) of Saint Odulphus, whom Bishop Frederick had sent out as a missionary, and a bowl Odulphus is said to have drunk from. The treasures were regularly inventoried. Many were also recorded in the *ordinarius*, the register with instructions for celebrating mass, decorating the altars, and taking relics along in processions. After the Reformation, most relics were brought into safety. After much (well-documented) wandering, most of the relics came in the care of Petrus Codde in the 17th century. He was a priest of the Roman Catholic Saint Gertrude's Church in Utrecht. Codde became one of the leaders of the Utrecht schism: from 1695 until his death

11 Kees Zandvliet, *500. De rijksten van de Republiek. Rijkdom, geloof, macht & cultuur* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2018).

12 A. Hallema, 'De Utrechtsche kapittels tijdens en na de Hervorming', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht* 56 (1932): 129-342.

13 The following is a summary of Anique C. de Kruijf, *Stof zijt gij... Een deelinventarisatie van de reliekenschat van de Oud-Katholieke Sint-Gertrudiskathedraal te Utrecht* (Utrecht: Clavis, 2008); Anique C. de Kruijf, *Miraculeus bewaard. Middeleeuwse Utrechtse relieken op reis. De schat van de oud-katholieke Gertrudiskathedraal* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2011).

in 1710 he was Archbishop of Utrecht in the Old Catholic tradition. At present, the Old Catholic Saint Gertrude's Cathedral in Utrecht, dating from 1914, houses a treasure of about 1,700 relics, among them many originating from the Utrecht chapters. These relics are now kept in the base of the celebration altar and in three compartments in the main altar. About 60 percent of the relics have a *cedula*, a piece of paper or parchment identifying the relic. Besides relics, more than 70 textual documents, the majority pertaining to these relics, are stored in the main altar.

After the annexation by France (1810), all properties of the chapters were confiscated by the State. In 1826 the newly appointed custodian of the archives of the chapters, Gerrit Dedel, received an instruction (drafted by the deputy National Archivist J.C. de Jonge) for the inventorying of these archives, strictly prohibiting the mingling of the archives of one chapter with those of another chapter.[14] Dedel had to inventory the archives of each chapter 'on its own'. He was not allowed to distinguish between administrative and historically important documents, because otherwise the 'beautiful whole' (*schoon geheel*) of the chapters' archives would get lost, as De Jonge wrote. This was what later would be named *respect des fonds*—in France prescribed in a famous archival instruction of 1841. However, neither in 1826 nor in 1841, was the respect for original order based on any archival theory: it rather had a legal-administrative and pragmatic foundation.[15]

2.3 Archiving the Reformation
2.3.1 Iconoclasm and Archives

On 10 August 1566, the Iconoclasm (*Beeldenstorm*) began in Flanders and quickly expanded to the north. It was an expression of the resistance against the religious persecution by the Spanish authorities. Churches and monasteries were purified of images of saints and other signs of popery. The purged churches would henceforth be used for worship by the Reformed Church. Not only statues, paintings, and sacral objects suffered: the anger of the iconoclasts was directed to the papist archives as well. In Leiden, the

14 G.W.A. Panhuysen, 'De herziening van de Handleiding. De Nederlandse oorsprong van het "beginsel van herkomst"', *Nederlands archievenblad* 62 (1957/1958): 28-49.

15 P.J. Horsman, F.C.J. Ketelaar and T.H.P.M. Thomassen, *Tekst en context van de Handleiding voor het ordenen en beschrijven van archieven van 1898* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998), pp. LXXXVII-LXXXVIII.

Iconoclasm began on 25 August 1566. With the help of 'a few honest people' the canons of Saint Pancras tried to save their 'letters and muniments kept in the ark and in locked or open cupboards' in the chapterhouse by bringing them somewhere else. Still, it was not possible to bring everything into safety 'due not only to all the dragging away, but also to the limited time and the confusion'. The next day 'some evildoers' searched the boxes and cupboards, destroyed the drawers and caused so much damage that the floor was strewn with scraps of parchment and paper.[16]

The Iconoclasm was not only the signal for the revolt against the sovereign, the Spanish King Philip II, but also for the battle with the Inquisition and the Roman Catholic Church.[17] Starting in 1572, one town after the other joined the Revolt and adopted Calvinism, thereby reinforcing the reformed religion. The Reformed Church became the public church of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. People could practice another religion—but not in public—and only members of the Reformed Church (and of the Walloon Church) could hold important government functions. The population of the southern territories (today the provinces of Noord-Brabant and Limburg) remained largely Catholic and elsewhere in the Republic there were a few Catholic enclaves.

The Reformed Church had the protection of a secular government: the States General, the States of each of the provinces, the cities, and the seigniories. The properties of most Roman Catholic churches and monasteries were confiscated, the buildings appropriated for other purposes. The newly founded Leiden University (1575) occupied a former nunnery, and the income from the estates of Egmond monastery and of a few other monasteries was allocated to the university. In 4.4 I will explain that the archives of the monasteries were confiscated as well, as they were essential to the administration of the properties. However, many archives disappeared from sight: they were taken along by Catholics, found safety abroad, or were hidden, destroyed, sold as waste paper, or came to any number of other endings. Many of the manuscripts were acquired by antiquaries who used them in their publications. As Sandra Langereis argues, the Reformation was thereby instrumental in bringing about public accessibility of many religious archives.[18]

16 J.C. Overvoorde, *Archieven van de kerken* (Théonville: Leiden, 1915), pp. XLI-XLII.

17 A. T. van Deursen, *Plain lives in a golden age. Popular culture, religion and society in seventeenth-century Holland*, transl. by Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 62.

18 Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden Eeuw: Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Haarlem/Hilversum: Historische Vereniging Holland/Verloren, 2001), p. 165.

2.3.2 Archiving the New Bible

Fig. 2.3 Print by Theodoor Koning after a drawing by Daniël Kerkhoff, Monument for the Reformed Church of the Netherlands since 1566 (*Monument voor de Hervormde Kerk van Nederland sinds 1566*), 1780-1796. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1904-1085.

A print from the 18th century 'Monument for the Reformed Church of the Netherlands since 1566' (*Monument voor de Hervormde Kerk van Nederland vanaf 1566*) is a tribute to

one of the first protestant preachers, Jan Arentsz, who in 1566 spread Calvinism with his hedge sermons (*hagepreken*) all around the northern Netherlands.[19] The print pictures Jan Arentsz during his first sermons in Amsterdam, Hoorn, Leeuwarden, and Dordrecht. The centrepiece of the print shows the examination of the Church's synodal papers and the documents for the New Bible.

At the request of the States General, a national synod assembled in Dordrecht in 1618-1619 (Fig. 2.4). Its main purpose was to end the controversies between liberal and Calvinist protestants over the Church's creed. The synod determined both the church rules and the tenets of Calvinism. In 1625 the *acta* and other documents of the synod were inventoried and stored in a big chest with eight locks. One key was for the States General (kept by the registrar), the others for the seven provinces. Every three years 22 clergymen, representing the provincial Reformed synods and the Walloon synod gathered in The Hague to open the chest and to check whether the records were in good condition. In a second chest in Leiden the *autographa* of the Bible translation of 1635 were kept. These were the proofs with the corrections made by the theologians who had worked on the translation while residing in Leiden (partly at the expense of the city). The Bible, having been approved by the States General (hence the name: *Statenbijbel*), was printed in Leiden in 1637. Therefore, this second chest with the *autographa* was kept at Leiden City Hall.

How was the visitation of the records executed? The report of the 1692 visitation is a good example.[20] As was customary in the Republic, everything happened in a formal assembly: the meeting of the clergy representing the provincial synods. After the opening and the reading of the *acta* of the last meeting, a committee to visit the meeting room of the States General was appointed. There the committee asked for permission to inspect the synodal archives and requested the appointment of two delegates from the States General. Having returned to the waiting room, the committee waited for the announcement that they may return at four o'clock to inspect the chest in the ceremonial *Trêves* chamber (the room where, in 1608, negotiations for a truce, trêves, with the Spanish had been held). In the chamber the ministers joined the two deputies from the States General.

19   Print by Theodoor Koning after a drawing by Daniël Kerkhoff and published by Gerbrand Roos, c. 1796, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.407895, accessed 2 Dec. 2018.

20   J.P. van Dooren, *Kisten en kasten. 350 jaar kerkelijke archiefdienst* (Den Haag: Persbureau Ned. Herv. Kerk/Boekencentrum, 1976); Theo Thomassen, *Onderzoeksgids. Instrumenten van de macht. De Staten-Generaal en hun archieven 1576-1796* (Den Haag: Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2015), pp. 269-70, https://web.archive.org/web/20170607054454/http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/instrumenten_macht/#page=0&accessor=toc&view=homePane, archived 7 June 2017; A. Fris, *Inventaris van de archieven behorend tot het 'Oud Synodaal Archief' van de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, 1566-1816* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991), pp. XI-XVIII.

Fig. 2.4 François Schillemans, The Synod of Dordrecht, 1618-1619. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-77.278.

Fig. 2.5 Print by Theodoor Koning after a drawing by Daniël Kerkhoff, Visitation of the records of the Synod of Dordrecht. Monument for the Reformed Church of the Netherlands since 1566 (*Monument voor de Hervormde Kerk van Nederland sinds 1566*), 1780-1796. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1904-1085, detail.

To begin, all prayed to God that the documents may be in the same good condition as they were three years before. Then the documents, bound in 17 volumes, were taken from the chest piece by piece, examined closely, and then returned to the chest, which was then locked with eight keys. After thanking the Almighty, the clergy thanked the gentlemen from the States General who then announced that, in the meantime, the States General had sent a letter to the magistrate of Leiden and that the committee may board the yacht of the States General to sail to Leiden the next day at 7 a.m. Upon arrival in Leiden, the party was ceremoniously welcomed by two burgomasters and the city clerk who accompanied them to the City Hall. There they were awaited by two other burgomasters, the city's legal advisor (*pensionaris*), and the principal of the States' theological seminary (*Statencollege*). After the invocation of God's name, the Leiden chest was then opened by the city clerk and the principal, each with his own key. All 14 volumes of the *autographa* of the Bible were laid on the table to be examined and subsequently put back in the chest.

After this ceremony, the deputies from the States treated the whole party to a meal, at which the city honoured those at the table with eight pitchers of Rhine wine. Finally, all returned to The Hague to continue the meeting that was adjourned the day before. The two-days event was closed with a 'brotherly meal' and the signing of the *acta*.

This triennial visitation was, of course, a ritual, the records having become a fetish. Yet this is an expression of the special place occupied by the archives of the Dordrecht synod and the Bible translation. They even held a central place, as is shown in the allegorical print with which this section opened.

In 1800 both chests were placed in the assembly chamber of the synod of Zuid-Holland in Klooster Church in The Hague. The keys were transferred in 1816 to the general synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, the successor of the Reformed Church. Since 2012 the chests are kept in Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht and their contents in the Utrecht Archives, where the central archives of the Reformed Church are kept as well.

2.3.3 Disciplinary Acta

The Reformed Church attached great importance to the unity of doctrine, of management, and of discipline.[21] In order to implement and maintain church discipline, each parish needed a church council (consistory) consisting of the minister and the elders. The councils felt the need to note down 'diligently and truthfully' (*neerstelick ende getrouwelick*) 'all acts and everything expedient to the administration of the church'.[22] Both church books and separate registers of *acta* were used for these minutes. Many were lost, but those from Dordrecht and Naaldwijk beginning in 1572, the ones from Delft and Gorinchem from 1573, and those from Arnemuiden, Brielle, Delfshaven and Ridderkerk from 1574 still exist. It often happened that the secretary also noted down in the church book what had happened in the village, the town, or in the country, such as war, floods, and earthquakes.

Only those members of the church who were of blameless conduct could be admitted to the Lord's Supper. Sinners (like Rembrandt's mistress Hendrickje Stoffels (or Jaghers)—see the Prologue and Fig. 2.6) were summoned by the consistory to answer accusations of unorthodoxy, but also those of drunkenness, gossip, quarrels, fights, and the like.

When discipline had to be enforced, the first step usually was an interdiction to partake in the Lord's Supper. The sinner could only be reconciled with the congregation after a public admission of guilt. All details of the proceedings against sinners were written down in the *acta*, which thereby became narratives of deviance, contrition, and reconciliation.

21 A. Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldebarnevelt,* 3rd ed. (Franeker: Van Wijnen, 1998), pp. 196-217; Van Deursen, *Plain lives*, pp. 267-71; Manon van der Heijden, *Huwelijk in Holland. Stedelijke rechtspraak en kerkelijke tucht, 1550-1700* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 1998); Judith Pollmann, 'Off the record. Problems in the quantification of Calvinist church discipline', *The Sixteenth century journal*, 33 (2002): 423-38; Charles H. Parker, 'Reformed Protestantism', in *The Cambridge companion to the Dutch Golden Age,* ed. Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 194-7.

22 Th. W. Jensma, *Uw Rijk kome. Acta van de kerkeraad van de Nederduits Gereformeerde gemeente te Dordrecht 1573-1579* (Dordrecht: J.P. van den Tol, 1981).
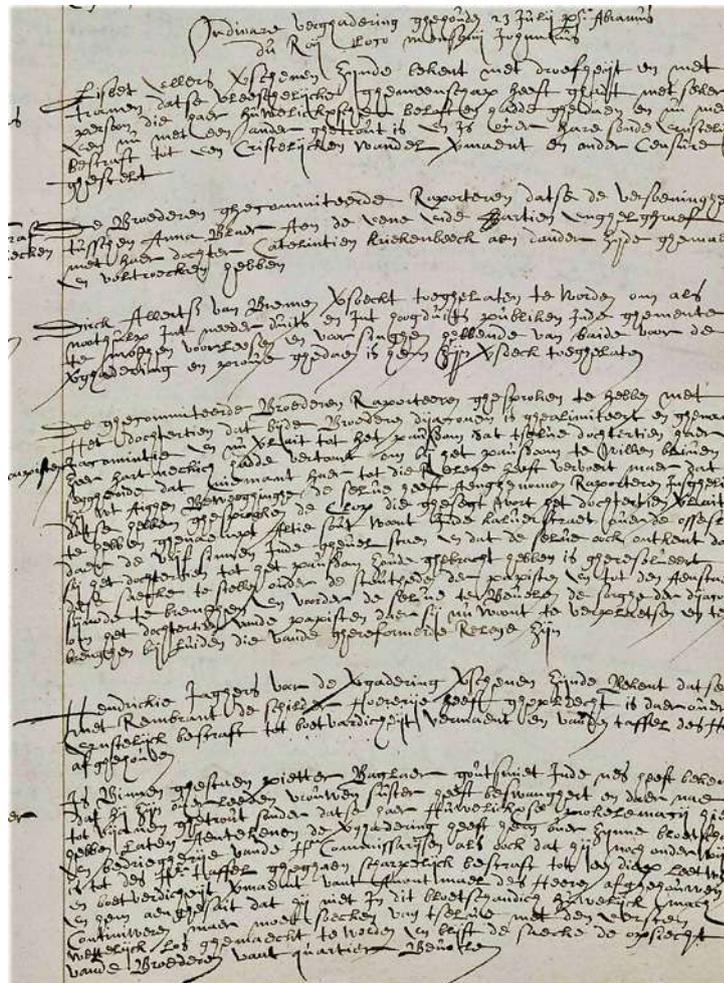
Fig. 2.6 Acta of the church council of the Old Church in Amsterdam, 23 July 1654. The second-last item reads in translation: 'Hendrickie Jaghers appeared before the assembly and has admitted that she lived with Rembrandt the painter like a whore, for which she has been seriously punished, admonished to penitence and banned from the Lord's table (the celebration of the Lord's Supper)'. Amsterdam City Archives, *Hervormde gemeente, Kerkenraad* (376), inv. nr. 9, fol. 55.

An example is the story of baker Pieter Joosten of Dordrecht. In 1575, he and his family strayed from the Church and Joosten had not yet had his children baptized. For the next three years, the church council tried hard to win Pieter back, but in December 1578 Pieter's mother was excommunicated. This is an exceptional measure, but it seems to have worked. Pieter appears before the church council on 4 January 1579 and confesses that he has recovered from doubt and the heresy of Anabaptism. He is longing for reconciliation with the community. The church council thanks God for his mercy and receives Pieter, on condition that he reconciles himself with the parish. The council also admonishes him to bring his children to be baptized as soon as possible. When this is done, the reconciliation can be effected on 21 March 1579, publicly in the church. In the intercessory prayer, Pieter's errors are named, and God is thanked for the return of the defector, without mentioning Pieter's name. Thus, 16 times in the course of three years, Pieter Joosten was mentioned in the *acta*, which thereby concern both himself, his family, and the community.

23 J.G.J. van Booma, *Onderzoek in protestantse kerkelijke archieven in Nederland: handleiding, tevens beknopte gegevens over de geschiedenis van de kerkelijke instellingen, over het kerkelijk archiefrecht en het kerkelijk archiefbeheer* (Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 1994); *Voorouders in beeld. Stamboom en familiegeschiedenis*, ed. Rob van Drie (Utrecht/Den Haag: Teleac-NOT/Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 1997), pp. 110-1; Charles Parker, 'Pilgrims' progress. Narratives of penitence and reconciliation in the Dutch Reformed Church', *Journal of early modern history* 5 (2001): 230-1.

Cases like this occupied the consistory for a long time, sometimes even for years. Accurate records were indispensable, and the need to keep track of all cases often led to making alphabetical indexes and other finding aids.[23] The recording in the *acta* was, as any recording, influenced by archivalization. The *acta* 'were the product of conscious decisions

of the consistory to enter or to omit particular items', historian Judith Pollmann writes.[24] Pollmann found that the Utrecht consistory tried to be discrete, not only by administering much of its disciplinary measures outside the council chamber, but also by keeping 'off the record' information that concerned members of Utrecht's elite (but that was recorded in a private diary). The *acta* were not accessible to members of the Church, and even succeeding members of the church council were not supposed to know everything.

If church members were in a state of animosity they could not attend the Lord's Supper together. Therefore, the church council tried to settle disputes between church members. In Amsterdam 22 percent of all cases submitted to the church council ended in a settlement, in Deventer this was 29 percent and in Sluis 30 percent.[25] The parties in the dispute, the council, and the *acta* participated in a genre system.

2.3.4 Church Members and Charity

The *acta* formally established whether people were qualified to attend the Lord's Supper and were in good standing with the congregation. That, in turn, was a condition for receiving a certificate in case of transfer to a church in another town. In such a certificate (letter of security or indemnity) the church council declared that it would maintain the departed member in case he or she was unexpectedly reduced to poverty or unable to earn a living. People in need of such a certificate had to appear before the church council. The letters, which had to serve as proof in case of poverty, were kept either by the town's poor relief board (see also 1.5.1) (see Fig. 1.8) or by the church poor relief board and registered in transfer registers or in the church book. In 1775 it became the rule in Drenthe that no one could let a house, a farm, or a room to a person from another province who had not delivered a letter of indemnity to the local relief board.[26] This was changed in 1818 when the national Poor Law was introduced.

Apart from the *acta*, the parish archives contained correspondence, financial records and various registers, including registers of baptisms, marriages and burials (see 1.2.1). Other

24 Pollmann, 'Off the record', p. 429.

25 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Calvinists and libertines: confession and community in Utrecht 1578-1620* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 36-37.

26 H. Gras, *Diaconiearchieven als bron. Een gids voor historisch onderzoek samengesteld op basis van archivalia en inventarissen van de hervormde gemeenten in Drenthe* (Assen: Rijksarchief in Drenthe, 1988).

components of the church genre system are letters of indemnity (see above), registers of church members (*lidmaten*), and records concerning poor relief.

In connection with the admission to the Lord's Supper, the Reformed Church registered its members in the church book or in a special members' register. The Dordrecht minister was instructed by the church council in 1576 to write down in alphabetical order the names of all parishioners since the establishment of the church in 1572. In 1578 the synod ordained that the Reformed churches must register all incoming and departing members.
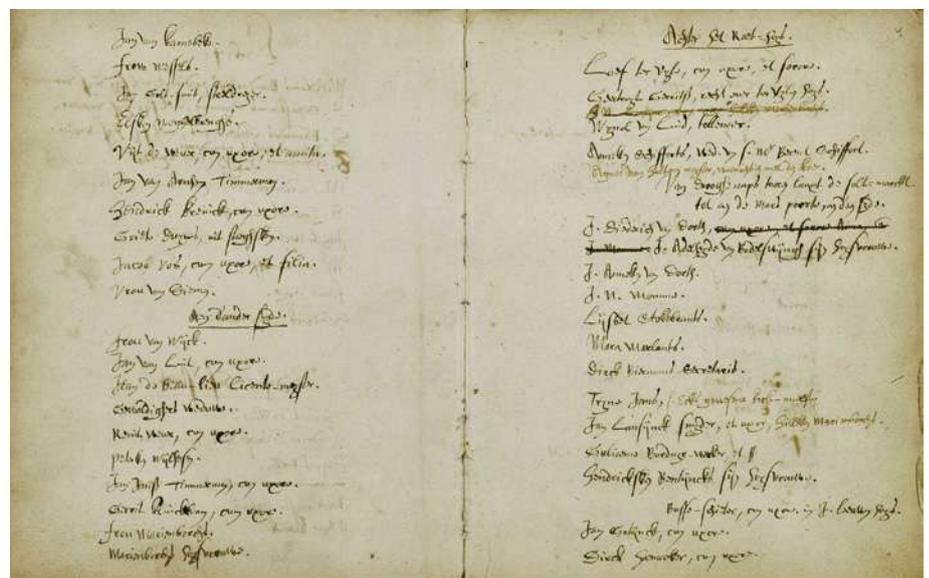

Fig. 2.7 Register of members of the Reformed Church in Zutphen, 1609. Regional Archives Zutphen, *Kerkenraad Hervormde gemeente Zutphen* (0063), inv. nr. 79.

Before the Reformation, there were hospitals, houses for the poor, and other foundations governed by wardens 'of the Holy Spirit' (*heilige geestmeesters* or *armenmeesters*) and supervised by the civil authorities. They continued after the Reformation. In the Reformed Church deacons (*diakenen*), elected by the church council (sometimes by the city magistrate), were given the task of taking care of poor and sick people, widows, and orphans. They administered the church properties and kept a record thereof. Already early on, diaconal accounts were preserved in Goes (1577), Hasselt (1578), Loosduinen (1579), Arnhem (1579), and The Hague (1583). The border between the diaconal and the civic care of the poor (the latter taking many different institutional forms) is not easy to determine, according to Van Deursen.[27] Sometimes the two were strictly separated, as in Amsterdam, sometimes the revenues flowed into one purse, as in Leiden.

In Delft, a Charity Board administering poor relief was founded in 1597. It was a joint venture between the city and the poor relief board of the Reformed Church.[28] Needy people had to report to the Board and received a number and an assistance note (*bedienbriefje)* pasted on a board in order to last longer. Twice a week the pauper (*bedeelde*) reappeared at the Board to receive bread, money, clothing, and other necessities. Two deacons and two of the city's 'masters of charity' checked the assistance notes and registered the provisions in their assistance book (*bedienboek*), one for the dispenses on Wednesday, another for Saturday. These registers have been preserved (1616-1825), but of the thousands of assistance notes, only a few have survived.

Of all church institutions the administration of the maintenance fund (*kerkfabriek*), was least affected by the Reformation. The *kerkfabriek* continued to be managed by the local magistrate or by churchwardens (*kerkmeesters*, or, following the Batavian Revolution: church guardians, *kerkvoogden*) appointed either by the magistrate or elected by the community. They were accountable to the civic authorities; their accounts, therefore, are to be found in the town archives.

27   Van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen*, p. 106.

28   I. van der Vlis, *Leven in armoede. Delftse bedeelden in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bakker, 2001).

2.4   Collecting Church Archives

At the end of the 19th century, the deplorable state of many church archives urged State Archivists to take an interest, and they assisted in particular with the inventorization of the archives. It was only incidentally that church archives were deposited with State Archives. The archives of the Reformed churches of Arnhem and Arnemuiden were deposited with the State Archives in Gelderland and Zeeland (1882, 1898) with special permission from the minister. Much depended on the efforts of the State Archivist and the readiness of the church council in these cases. They were often concerned about public access to the deposited archives. At the request of the conference of State Archivists, the Minister of the Interior sent a circular letter in 1900 to all churches in which he insisted on the safekeeping of their archives while stressing their importance for national history. The government did not want to interfere with the management of the archives, but it was prepared to take 'most kindly' into consideration 'all requests for assistance and help'. However, the Dutch Reformed Church largely held the management of its archives in its own hands. The Church appointed its own archivist in 1903 and issued regulations for church archives in 1919. The archivist was assisted by church members who were working at public repositories but acted part-time as a consultant for classes and parishes. The other Protestant churches had a similar organization.

In 1916 General State Archivist Fruin confirmed the point of view that the churches themselves were responsible for their archives. Only if a church would neglect its archives

> then the State has the moral obligation to care for these archives, if possible; he has to open his repositories, but only when the Church itself fails in this task.
> The archives of defunct Walloon churches are properly cared for at the *Bibliothèque Wallonne.* It would be foolish if the State or civic authorities would interfere.
> The State and the municipality only act in all these cases when the nearest interested party does not fulfil its duty.[29]

29   R. Fruin, 'Over de verzorging van private archieven', *Nederlandsch archievenblad* 25 (1916-1917): 24-29.

Little could Fruin have foreseen that 55 years later the *Bibliothèque Wallonne* would seek financial assistance from the State. It was this request for a subsidy in 1971 that led to a fundamental advice to the government from the Archives Council. Their advice, adopted by the government, has determined government policy about church archives and other private archives up to the present day. The Archives Council argued that several private archives belong

> to those cultural assets whose preservation is in the interest of the community. Caring for that interest may be reckoned to be the government's task when those who are primarily responsible appear not to be able to carry that responsibility sufficiently.[30]

The Council felt that salvaging private archives should be done by opening public archival repositories, not by subsidizing special institutions caring for private archives (like the *Bibliothèque Wallonne*).

The Protestant Churches collaborated since the 1970s in a national commission to register church archives. The aim was a system of registration of national, regional, and local ecclesiastical archives—those managed by the Church as well as those kept in a public repository. After much lobbying by the commission, in 1978 a new part-time staff member of the Central Register of Private Archives (CRPA) (see 1.7.3) was tasked with the registration of ecclesiastical archives. This was limited to Protestant churches and institutions. The Roman Catholic Church, the Old Catholic Church, and the Jewish communities stayed outside the registration. However, the first conference on church archives, organized by CRPA in 1981, was attended by the archivist of the Roman Catholic Bishopric of 's-Hertogenbosch. At the conference, representatives of the churches discussed the challenges for church archives with archivists and researchers: record keeping, preservation, access. In 1985 the Protestant Churches signed a contract with representatives of the State and local archives which was given the name of Church Archives Decree (*Kerkelijk Archiefbesluit*). This agreement (revised in 1995) expresses the principle that church archives when they are 25 years old, will be deposited in a

30 *Archiefraad Verslag 1971* ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1972), pp. 52-5; *Archiefraad Verslag 1972* ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1973), p. 16.

public archival repository within the remit of the Archives Act. It contains the further condition that public access is guaranteed, usually with a term of 30 years, occasionally 50 years or more. These principles are not only adhered to by the Protestant Churches and the Salvation Army but followed as well by the Catholic Churches who were not signatories to the agreement.

In choosing the public repository which will house the church archives, the rule is that archives of parishes go to local public archives, while archives of provincial and regional synods and classes (at district level) go to one of the State Archives. The pace of deposit of church archives into public repositories was accelerated at the end of the 20th century because so many churches began closing due to secularization and the merger of the three biggest Protestant Churches in 2004.

The archives of the *national* authorities of the Mennonite Society are kept by the Amsterdam City Archives, while those of the Protestant Church of the Netherlands (a merger of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church, the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands—the latter a 19th century split from the Dutch Reformed Church) are destined to go to the Utrecht Archives. The Utrecht Archives are in fact the main centre of church archives, since they keep not only the archives of the Protestant Church and its predecessors, but also the archives of the archbishoprics of the Roman Catholic and Old Catholic Churches, the archives of the Moravian Church in the Netherlands, and the archives of the Remonstrant Brotherhood.

Church-related archives are acquired not only by public archival institutions but also by some 'special archives' which are outside the scope of the Archives Act. In the 1970s the Catholic Documentation Centre and the Historical Documentation Centre for Dutch Protestantism were established. Both are departments of university libraries, keeping all sorts of documents concerning Catholic and Protestant life, respectively, in the Netherlands since 1800, including archives of organizations and individuals that have played an important role in Dutch society.

Currently, all churches have ordinances and guidelines concerning records management. In the Roman Catholic Church, these rules are based on the *Codex Iuris Canonici* which, among other things, prescribes that every

> diocesan bishop is to take care that the acts and documents of the archives of cathedral, collegiate, parochial, and other churches in his territory are also diligently preserved and that inventories or catalogues are made in duplicate, one of which is to be preserved in the archive of the church and the other in the diocesan archive.[31]

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter sketched the development of archival processing, using case studies of archiving by the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. Charters were registered and copied in cartularies, for different reasons. The cartulary could serve as a 'shadow archive' which could be easily transported. Often the purpose of a cartulary changed from an administrative or legal use into recording the history of the chapter or monastery. Such a change from muniments to monuments reflected a change in the 'business' (what) and work processes (how) (see Fig. 0.2). Likewise, individual charters could get a (new) meaning as commemorative text, like the royal charter bearing the date of 7 October 950. Even today that document has a symbolic significance as the oldest archival document in a Dutch public archival repository. The line between documents with an administrative function and those with a memorial function is not rigid and, moreover, may shift over time. This is a general phenomenon, as I wrote in the General Introduction: an archival document is recreated (and gets another meaning) throughout the continuum of recordkeeping. Such a new meaning may be symbolic and ritualistic, as was the case with the archives of the Synod of Dordrecht of 1618-1619 that decided on the tenets of Calvinism and the translation of the Bible.

The charters were often docketed with references on the back side, referring to the chests, boxes, and other containers where they were preserved. The arrangement of the charters

31 *Codex Iuris Canonici*, can. 491: https://web.archive.org/web/20181018084440/http://jgray.org/codes/cic83eng.html, archived 18 Oct. 2018.

was primarily according to form and function, with a secondary arrangement in geographical order. In the 13th century, awareness grew slowly that the findability of a charter would be best served if the order in the cartulary would mirror the order in the chest. This was related to the changing view of the usefulness of the charters which could be utilized for the exploitation of domains (see 6.2.3.1). The muniments were repurposed into management tools. Their arrangement and description were adapted to fit the new functionality. The use of documents for management was supported by new technologies, for example, new genres of registers, as well as finding aids like geographical and alphabetical tables. This repurposing and ensuing adaptation of systems are paradigmatic for what occurred in other domains, as we will see in other chapters. For the Utrecht chapters, new managerial challenges (caused, for example, by changes in leasehold) led to changes in archiving.

The archives of the Utrecht chapters equally deserve attention because they have a special place in the history of Dutch archivistics. The practice of arrangement of the chapters' archives that was prescribed in 1826 would later be acknowledged as *respect des fonds* and as a fundamental archival principle. The arrangement by Samuel Muller of the archives of the chapter of Saint Peter was an exercise in archival methodology that would be codified in the Dutch *Manual* in 1898.

'Archiving the Church' happened in a social context, it served the interests of the Church, but also of its members. Genre systems (see the General Introduction) overlapped. For example, the *acta* of the Reformed church councils (used as an account of the council's activities and legal proceedings) were also used as the basis for issuing a certificate to a church member who moved to another town. Large bodies of poor people were dependent on the extensive administration of the poor relief by the churches and the city. Much of that administration (such as the poor relief registers) has been preserved in institutional archives, not sharing the fate of the thousands of assistance notes and other documents which were issued to the poor. This incongruity between institutional and private archiving due to differing archival consciousness is a general phenomenon (see the

General Introduction). Both institutional and private archiving are influenced by factors of archivalization: what (and how) to record and what not; what (and how) to preserve and what not.

Government kept at arm's length from the church archives, except for the registers of baptisms and marriages (see 1.2.1). Nevertheless, assistance with inventorization was provided since the end of the 19th century. In some cases, a church archive was accepted as a deposit into a State or municipal public repository, but generally, government kept aloof, and the churches managed their archives by themselves. Only in the 1980s did registration of archives of Protestant churches and institutions begin, followed by agreements about depositing church archives in public repositories. Such agreements do not exist for other categories of private archives. This preferential treatment of church archives is remarkable, considering the diminishing or at least the changing importance of the church in society and the separation of church and state.
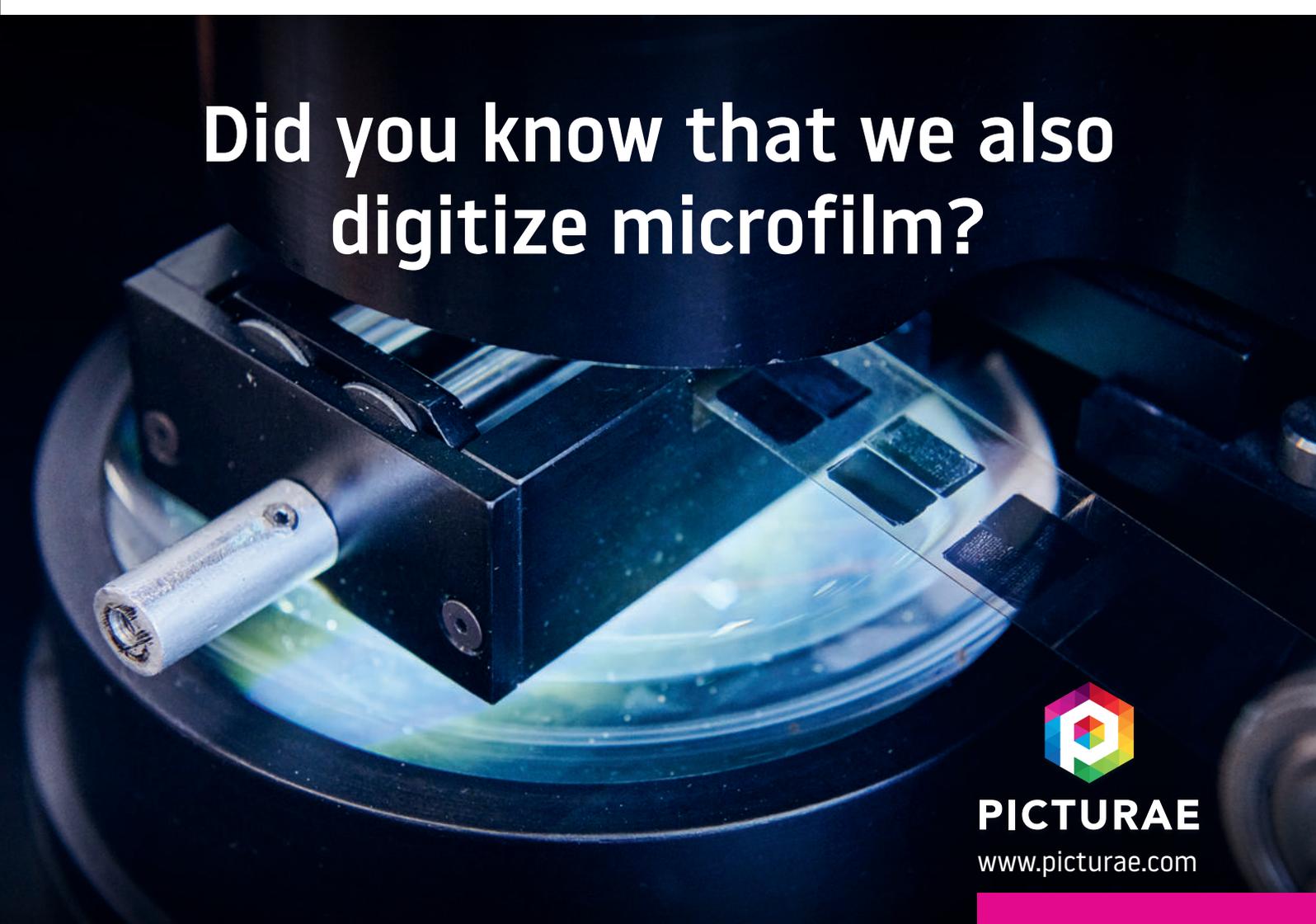
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CHAPTER
3

ARCHIVING PEOPLE
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF
DUTCH ARCHIVES

Chapter 3

Archiving States

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Fig. 3.0 Register of Philip the Good
(*Remissorium Philippi*), 1450. National
Archives, *Graven van Holland* (3.01.01),
inv. nr. 2149.

⌄

3.0 Introduction

In the Middle Ages, public governance in what is now the Netherlands was exercised by sovereign vassals of the German Emperor, among them the Duke of Gelre (Gelderland), the Count of Holland and Zeeland, and the Bishop of Utrecht, who as secular ruler governed Utrecht, Overijssel, Drenthe, and Groningen. Other parts of the present Netherlands belonged to the Duchies of Brabant and Limburg, the County of Flanders (Vlaanderen) and the Prince-Bishopric of Liège (Luik). Friesland was in fact an autonomous region until 1498 when the Duke of Saxony (Saksen) gained control.

Much has been written about the administration and archiving by these rulers, especially the chancery and the charters of the counts of Holland and Zeeland. Therefore, I focus in 3.1 on the archiving by these counts. Their greed for power (just as that of other and later rulers!) was accompanied by a 'hunger for information' that was appeased by increasing textualization (*verschriftelijking*).

Several of the aforementioned states came into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy. In 1482 his possessions went to the Habsburgs. Between 1524 and 1543 Charles V (Duke of Brabant, Count of Holland and Zeeland) acquired, among others, Friesland, Utrecht, Overijssel, Groningen, Drenthe, and Gelre.

In 1568 the Dutch Revolt against Charles' son Philip II broke out. Between 1588 and 1595 the Revolt led to the foundation of the Republic of the United Netherlands, consisting of seven sovereign states, in the traditional order (of duchies and counties): Gelre, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overijssel, Groningen, and the associated province of Drenthe. The 'Generality Lands' (*Generaliteitslanden*) in the present provinces of Zeeland, Noord-Brabant, Limburg, and Groningen were territories that were conquered later and administered by the States General.

Fig. 3.1 Map of the Republic of the United Netherlands. With permission copied from *The Cambridge companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

The highest authority in each of the eight provinces was vested in the provincial assembly or States of the Land (*Staten van den Lande)* (3.2). In addition, there were bodies of Delegated States (*Gedeputeerde Staten),* provincial courts (see chapter 9), courts of audit, and tax authorities (see chapter 8). They were assisted by a 'civil service' of officials who admittedly looked after public affairs, but often by using private means. The distinction between public and private archiving was not sharp. This is clear, for example, from the archiving by the Stadholders. Before the Revolt the overlord in each territory was represented by a governor (Stadholder, from the Dutch *stadhouder*) who in certain cases had to confer with the States. Starting in 1572 the provincial States appointed the Stadholder (an office held by members of the Orange-Nassau family, which became hereditary in 1747). Within the Stadholder's secretariat functioned a private secretariat that dealt with the prince's private matters. However, political papers were often marked 'secret' and archived by the private secretariat.

The Republic of the United Netherlands was a federal polity with limited powers for the central authority. The sovereignty was vested with each of the provinces. In the provincial States, the cities held the main power. They also tried to influence affairs of the Confederacy (*Generaliteit*) such as foreign policy and military defence. The assembly of the States General, where all provinces (except Drenthe) were represented, was dominated by Holland, as the richest and most powerful province, paying circa 58 percent of the Confederacy's expenditure. The States General exercised sovereignty in the *Generaliteits-landen* (Staats-Brabant, Staats-Vlaanderen, Westerwolde and parts of Limburg) that had been acquired during the war. Equally, foreign territories taken by the United East India Company (VOC) and the West India Company (WIC) were under the authority of the States General.

The archives of the States General have recently been the subject of a thorough study by Theo Thomassen. His book describes and analyses the archives of the States General within the context of their creation, their original use, and their remediation after 1796 by generations of archivists. It is a research guide, helping researchers in finding answers to

questions concerning the composition, structure, and content of the archives of the States General and the value and importance of these archives as a historical source. Thomassen enriches his discussion on the archiving by the States General by placing it in the broader context of archival theory. From what Thomassen has presented regarding the States General and their archiving in more than 800 pages, I made a choice (3.3) which will, I hope, inspire the reader to peruse Thomassen's book by himself or herself.

The Batavian Revolution (1795) led to the creation of a unitary state in 1798, with sovereignty transferred from the provinces to the central State. Apart from other factors, the 'information hunger' of the new State led to bureaucratization and textualization on an unprecedented scale, accompanied by new forms of archive creation and archive use (3.4).

In 1806 Napoleon granted the Netherlands a king—his brother Louis Napoleon. At the cessation of the Kingdom, the greater part of the Netherlands was incorporated into France in 1810; French legislation came into force in 1811. Previously, the present province of Limburg, a few enclaves in Brabant and today's Zeelandic Flanders had already been joined with France (1794-1795). The island of Walcheren was annexed in 1809, and Flushing (Vlissingen) had been incorporated the year before. The French left in 1813-1814 and the Netherlands once again became a kingdom, with William, Prince of Orange-Nassau, as king. Between 1815 and 1830 present Belgium was a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands as well.

Many institutions, measures and procedures from the Batavian-French period were taken over by the new Kingdom of the Netherlands, although slightly changed: public education, the judiciary, postal services, the State tax administration, the State agency of waterways and public works, the decimal system of weights and measures, and military service. Their archiving systems were either continued or adapted. However, the once abominated French specialization of administrative officers and the associated filing practices were abolished. To prevent the return of the specialized bureaucracy, one of its tools (ordering records *par ordre de matières*, or making subject files) was explicitly forbidden in 1823.

However, as I describe in 3.5, in time the changing role of the State in a changing society would lead to more modern archiving systems.

The late 19th-century emergence of a colonial state (Netherlands Indies, Surinam, Netherlands Antilles) is not dealt with in this chapter, but later in 10.7.

In 3.6 I select the most important episodes of the history of the State Archives: from 1802 to the middle of the 19th century (3.6.1), the new vigour of the State Archives (*Rijksarchief*) between 1851 and 1865 (3.6.2) and the development of a network of State Archives begun in 1875 (3.6.3)—a development which only recently reached a new phase with the mergers of the State Archives (with the exception of the National Archives) and municipal archives between 1998 and 2006.

3.1 The Chancery of the Counts of Holland[1]

Governance by using the written word was barely known in the County of Holland before the 13th century. When the count had to deliver a charter, he made use of either the *scriptorium* (writing centre) of Egmond Abbey or of the charter that had already been prepared by the addressee (*destinataris*). Only Count Dirk VII (1190-1203) had personnel at his disposal (among them his chaplain) who were able to make charters. Count William II (from 1247 elected emperor of Germany) mainly used the royal chancery. Part of the count's archives was transferred to Hainaut (Henegouwen) in 1299 at the order of John of Avesnes, Count of Hainaut who had inherited Holland (and the claims on Zeeland). John also had a 'shadow archive' made, in the form of a cartulary (a register with transcripts of charters) that he could take with him on his travels. To that end the archive (circa 350 charters and a few dozen letters) was inventoried, and a selection of 163 charters was copied into the cartulary following the order of the original documents. Each charter received a number and a short description

1   J.G. Kruisheer, 'De registers van Pieter van Leiden. Het papieren cartularium van de graven van Holland (1299) en het begin van de systematische registratie ter kanselarij (1316)', *Nederlands archievenblad* 72 (1968): 27-110; J.G. Kruisheer, *De oorkonden en de kanselarij van de graven van Holland tot 1299* ('s-Gravenhage/Haarlem: Historische Vereniging voor Zuid-Holland, 1971); J.C. Kort, *Het archief van de graven van Holland, 889-1581* ('s-Gravenhage: Rijksarchief in Zuid-Holland, 1981); Eef Dijkhof, 'Bewaren of weggooien; afschrijven of verplaatsen. Het papieren cartularium van de graven van Holland en Zeeland en de politieke en ambtelijke zorg voor het grafelijke archief in 1299', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire. Académie royale de Belgique* 176.2 (2010): 361-80; M.J. van Gent and M.-Ch. Le Bailly, *Gids voor de landsheerlijke archieven van Gelre, Holland, Zeeland en het Sticht* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2003).

(docket) on the back, both of which were copied into the cartulary. The table of contents (*ordinatio sive tabula litterarum sequentium per numerum*) therefore provided access to both the copies in the cartulary and the original charters (Fig. 3.2). The charters that had been selected pertained to matters of actual importance. Among the non-current charters that were destroyed were probably all documents concerning the relations with England and the English king, whose daughter was married to John I.

The inventorization and cartularization in 1299 only concerned the documents *received* by the count. The chancery did not normally keep a draft or a copy of the dispatched documents. This changed in the 14th century, a time when the Count, apart from attending to his patrimonial domains, had to involve himself and his officers diligently in the rule of the county. The chancery then began to register copies of documents received and sent. Probably they followed the example of the chancery of Hainaut which, as early as in 1297, started to register the issued charters, albeit not very systematically. It is also possible that the Holland chancery adopted the registration practice of the papal chancery or the chanceries of the French and German kings.

In the abbey of Egmond registration of both incoming and outgoing charters was already usual from the first quarter of the 13th century.[2] The Holland chancery was innovative in introducing geographical arrangement from 1316; different registers were created for the various parts of the county, as well as for the foreign rulers with whom the count interacted. This geographical arrangement would have corresponded with the order of the archives implemented in 1299. The registers were made in duplicate: one series in which the issued charters were copied day to day, and a series of duplicates. Some registers branched off as the count's activities expanded. Thus, separate registers concerning Amstelland and Woerden were set up. New registers for Germany and England were created as well. Thereby the number of registers rose from seven to 21 between 1304 and 1357. Through the Huygens Institute it is possible to access the electronic edition of 22 registers dating between 1299 and 1345, covering more than 3,500 charters and other texts.[3]

2   E.C. Dijkhof, *Het oorkondenwezen van enige kloosters en steden in Holland en Zeeland 1200-1325* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), pp. 393, 398.

3   http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/registershollandsegrafelijkheid, accessed 3 Dec. 2018.
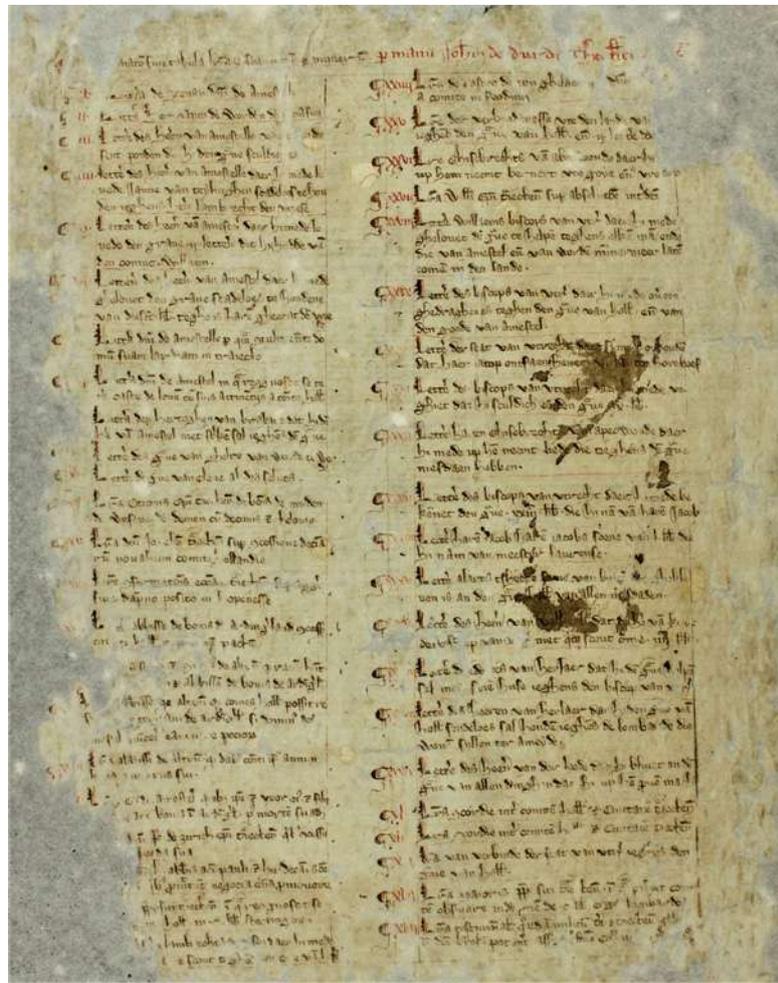
Fig. 3.2 Table of contents of the cartulary of the
Counts of Holland, 1299. National Archives,
Graven van Holland (3.01. 01), inv. nr. 2144.

The reorganization of the registers in 1316 had been put in place by Pieter van Leyden
and was continued from 1319 by his brother-in-law (and successor as head of chancery)
Gerard Alewijnsz. Because of the reorganization of the Holland muniment room, State
Archivist Bakhuizen van den Brink (see 3.6.2) praised Alewijnsz in 1854 as 'the progenitor
of all Dutch archivists'. Alewijnsz started by marking the charters with a capital R as a sign
of the registration. The same method had been followed for a long time already at the papal
chancery and the chancery of the German king. Alewijnsz (bearing the title of *memorialis*
of the count, meaning something like historiographer) retired from the chancery after the
death of Count William IV in 1345, which unleashed a battle for power between his sister
Margaretha and her son William of Bavaria. As a precaution, Alewijnsz took a copy of the
registers with him. In 1350 the strife between the factions of supporters of Margaretha
and William broke out. It is likely that Margaretha arranged for the registers in the
chancery to be shipped to a safe place in Hainaut. They turned out to have vanished when
William acceded in 1351: a count without archives! Luckily, old Gerard Alewijnsz came to
his assistance and presented the Count with the copies he had been hiding. Alewijnsz
organized the chancery anew and transferred the office in 1354 to his successor Philip van
Leyden. Both Alewijnsz and Van Leyden were wealthy distinguished citizens of Leiden.
Philip is still renowned for his book (written for William V) *De cura reipublicae et sorte
principantis* (On the care for society and the duty of the ruler). The book refers at various
places to archiving under Gerard and Philip. Under Philip's successor Dirk Foppenz
registration of charters became lax, notwithstanding his splendid title of *custos et
conservator archivi et custodiae privilegiorum, registrorum et litterarum Comitatis
Hollandiae et Zelandiae.*

From 1377 onwards documents of temporary importance were registered in special
registers, the so-called *memorialen*. Another series, that of feudal registers starts in 1417,
having been branched off the general registers in which the acts of fief had been copied
since 1316.

Archives were formed not only in the chancery but also in the treasury and in the count's household, called the inn (*herberg*). The accounts that were preserved date from the middle of the 14th century. Next to the treasurer there were various other accountable officers who, just as the treasurer, submitted their account to the count's council to be audited (*afhoren*). This was replaced in 1446 under Philip the Good by control by a court of audit (*rekenkamer*). The judicial functions of the council had already been transferred in 1428 to the Court of Holland and Zeeland that had just been established (see chapter 9). This was part of Philip's programme of professionalization. His wish for a more business-like administration even found expression in the appearance of the accounts that no longer showed decorated initials but plain letters. From 1428 the *memorialen* were kept by the Court. The tasks of the clerks of the register were restricted predominantly to feudal affairs, which later were entrusted to the Chamber of Fiefs and the Register (*Leen- en Registerkamer*), which also controlled the domains (abolished in 1728).

Jacob Kort, who arranged and described the archives of the Counts of Holland (1981), calculated how much of the original archives remains. Nearly all the registers (93 percent) have been preserved, 48 percent of the charters and 31 percent of the accounts. This calculation is largely based on old inventories and indexes made since the end of the 14th century. Among these is the *Remissorium Philippi* made by the Count's master of the register (*registermeester*) Peter van Renesse van Beoostenzwene. It was presented to Philip the Good in 1450. The codex consists of two parts: a systematic catalogue (*repertorium*) of the registers, and an inventory of the original charters which were kept in 47 boxes or drawers. The presentation of the book by Peter van Renesse van Beoostenzwene was depicted in two of the images which decorate the *Remissorium* (Fig. 3.0).

3.2 States of the Land

In the Middle Ages, the regional estates (nobility, cities, and clergy) met for consultation—among themselves and with the lord of the land. Gradually the States developed into an

assembly of representatives of the estates. Archiving was restricted at first to the charters and the financial administration. With the growth of affairs of the States the need for accountability increased, leading to registration of the decisions (*resoluties*) beginning in the 16th century. They are not a full record of the proceedings (minutes), but the decisions only. Decisions were written in different stages, the records forming a genre system (see the General Introduction). During the meeting a 'rough draft' (*klad*) was drawn up. After the meeting a 'first draft' (*concept*) was made, but not yet approved. The adopted minute (*minuut*) is the document as it was confirmed by the meeting. The 'fair copy' (*net*) is a transcript of the minute intended to be kept by the board. Finally, extracts (*uittreksels*) and transcripts or copies (*afschriften*) were often made.

The States and the States General operated a so-called *resolutie* system (*resolutiestelsel*) by which the documents received and the fair copies of outgoing documents are arranged in separate series of annexes to the decisions.[4] The records are ordered according to the date they were read in the assembly (*lectum*), tabled (*exhibitum*), or enacted (*datum*). When one knows the date of the *resolutie*, one can find the annexes for that date. Next to the series of fair copies of decisions there may be series of rough drafts, first drafts, *minuten*, and transcripts (in manuscript or printed).

The term *resolutie* system was devised by 19th century archivists as a label for an 'ideal' recordkeeping system. In practice there was a gradual development of means to control loose papers by accommodating them in series made accessible by diverse finding aids. This development differed in the various provinces, notably because of differences in the size of the archives; an increase of archives necessitates stricter rules for archiving and a more sophisticated apparatus of indexes and other finding aids (*toegangen*) (see 10.5 on marginating *resoluties*).

Because it was difficult—even with good indexes—to find all documents on a particular case or subject in the *resolutie* system, secretaries started to form files, or *liassen*—literally by putting documents on a string (*filium*).[5] In the past this was called in English 'enfiling',

4   Peter J. Horsman, 'A French legacy. The transition from collegiate to bureaucratic record-keeping in a Dutch town, 1800-1900', *Archivaria* 60 (2005): 125-44.

5   Ann Blair and Peter Stallybrass, 'Mediating information 1450-1800', in *This is Enlightenment*, ed. Clifford Siskin and William B. Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 139-63; Heather Wolfe and Peter Stallybrass, 'The material culture of record-keeping in early modern England', in *Archives & information in the early modern world*, ed. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters and Alexandra Walsham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 179-208.

in Dutch practice *liasseren* (from French *lier*, binding together) or *enfileren* (also: *enfilaceren*). A *lias* (file) is a series of papers strung together on a string (see Fig. 7.0 and Fig. 8.0). Files could be stored in a cabinet with pigeonholes (*loketkast*) (see also chapter 11). Both files and pigeonholes were organized according to subject or class, and such systems (*rubriekenstelsels*) could very well exist separately from a *resolutie* system.

For the archives management, the clerks (*griffiers*) of the provincial States (and of the States General) had subordinate staff at their disposal. Some were paid by the clerk himself, and therefore the registers and indexes the staff created were considered to be the private property of the clerk (see 4.3). Demarcation between public and private records was also hampered by the fact that the clerks often held their office at home. Consequently, the archives of clerks such as those of the Fagel family[6] (States General), and pensionaries (*raadpensionarissen,* after the Stadholders the most influential officers of the States; in Utrecht called *secretarissen*) such as Van Ledenberch and Van Hilten (Utrecht), Heinsius (Holland), Van Citters (Zeeland), and others, contain much material from and about the governments they served. Besides, defining what exactly constitutes *the* archives of the States or the States General has been the work of 'archivers' throughout the centuries who constructed an archive that is at best an approximation of what the original creators regarded as the archives. This archival constructedness has been demonstrated convincingly by Theo Thomassen in his treatment of the ups and downs of the archives of the States General.

The manner of archiving by the States was closely connected with the States' mandate, business, and work processes (see Fig. 0.2). For example, the absence of an archive of provincial States in Gelderland is related to what Jonathan Israel calls the entrenched particularism of the three quarters forming the duchy that did not want to relinquish authority to the provincial States. In Friesland too, the quarters played a major role in the States which had consequences for decision-making and archiving. The fact that the States of Gelderland, and those of Overijssel, met alternately in the capitals of the quarters also affected the work processes and the archiving.

6   Theo Thomassen, '"To put in order"; how the greffiers Fagel documented themselves as men of politics, men of religion and men of the world', in *Frozen in time. The Fagel collection in the library of Trinity College Dublin*, ed. Timothy R. Jackson (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2016), pp. 21-46.

7   The following is for the greater part a summary of archive inventories, supplemented by some research by the author and information provided by S. van der Woude (Friesland), H. Nijkeuter (Drenthe) and P. Theeuwen (Gelderland): G.J. Mentink, 'Bijdrage tot de kennis van het formele besluitvormingsproces in de vergaderingen van de staten van Gelderland 1715-1794', *Verslag en bijdragen rijks archiefschool 1969-1970* (Utrecht 1971): 65-87; inventarissen van de Gelderse kwartiersarchieven door K.W.J. Peeneman (2007), www.geldersarchief.nl, accessed 3 Dec. 2018; W.E. Meiboom, *Inventaris van het archief van de Staten van Holland en West-Friesland, 1572-1795* (Den Haag: Rijksarchief in Zuid-Holland, 1990); K. Heeringa, *Het archief van de Staten van Zeeland en hunne Gecommitteerde Raden (1574) 1578-1795 (1799)* ('s-Gravenhage: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1922); S. Muller Fz., *Catalogus van het archief der Staten van Utrecht, 1375-1813* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1915); S.P. de Jong, J.A. Schuur and P.M. Peucker, *Inventaris van de archieven van gewestelijke bestuursinstellingen van Friesland* (Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy, 1998); A. Haga, 'Uit de geschiedenis der oude provinciale archieven in Overijssel', *Nederlands archievenblad* 38 (1931): 156-71; G.J. ter Kuile and J.H. Wigger, *Inventaris van de archieven van de Staten van Overijssel, Ridderschap en Steden, en van de op hen volgende colleges, 1580-1810*, www.historischcentrumoverijssel.nl, accessed 3 Dec. 2018; W.J. Formsma, *Inventaris van de archieven der Staten van Stad en Lande* ('s-Gravenhage, Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1958); W.J. Formsma, *Inventaris der Ommelander archieven* ('s-Gravenhage, Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1962); J.G.C. Joosting, *De archieven der elkander vóór 1814 opgevolgde gewestelijke besturen van Drenthe* (Leiden: Brill, 1909);

This is not the place for a complete treatment of the archiving by all eight States in the Republic (in the traditional order, starting with Gelderland and ending with Drenthe). Instead, I focus on what I consider to be a typically Dutch archiving practice (see chapter 13): the recording of collegiate decision-making (and, related to that, the treatment of papers received and draft copies of outgoing documents and the findability of the records). Other aspects of archiving are reviewed incidentally only.[7]

From 1581 the supreme body in **_Gelderland_** was the provincial convention (*Landdag*) representing the States of Gelre and Zutphen. The States were a joint assembly of the governing bodies of the three quarters of the province, each having its own States of cities and nobility. The *Landdag* met twice a year, alternately in the city hall of one of the quarter capitals: Nijmegen, Arnhem, and Zutphen. The meeting was attended by around 100 people, but the affairs were managed by six deputies from each quarter. They sat at the *Landschap* table, the other attendees mostly stood, keeping some distance from the table. The city clerk of the host capital acted as secretary. He kept a journal (*notulen*) recording the progress of the meeting, the tabling of documents, and the decisions. Important matters were nearly always 'taken over' (*overgenomen*) by the quarters for consultation, either during the *Landdag* meeting (each quarter retreating to a separate room), or upon their return home. The advice (*opening*) of the quarters was then tabled at the *Landdag* meeting. The secretary wrote the report (*reces*) of the meeting, copies of which were sent to the two other quarters. The *Landdag* did not form its own archives. In principle, the archives of each of the three States contain an identical series of documents (originals and copies). The *Landdag* papers received by each of the three cities are not annexes to the *recessen* (as elsewhere in a *resolutie* system), but annexes to the secretary's journal. Records from and about the *Landdag* have been preserved in the archives of the noblemen's assemblies or knighthoods (*ridderschappen*) of the three quarters (there was no overarching provincial knighthood assembly).

The Court of Gelre and Zutphen functioned as a general administrative body, apart from fulfilling judicial tasks (see 9.2). The Court had the authority to convene the *Landdag*,

to set its agenda, to correspond on behalf of the States, and to implement the decisions of the *Landdag*—all of which was the prerogative of the Delegated States in other provinces. Therefore, one finds the extensive correspondence of the *Landdag*, and the petitions to the States, in the archives of the Court. Originally the documents received were put on *liassen*, but a great deal was bound later.

The States of each quarter assembled in the capital of the quarter. Their decisions can be found in the *recessen* of the quarter, kept by the secretary of the capital city. Although the quarter records were mostly kept separate from those of the city, they were mixed up quite often. The municipal archivists of Nijmegen and Zutphen collaborated with the State Archives in the 1950s and 1960s to make a definitive separation between the papers of the city and those of the quarter. Their colleague at Arnhem, however, was of the opinion that such a separation would be contrary to archival principles. Since the merger of State and City Archives in 2002, the archives of the quarter Veluwe and those of Arnhem are kept in the same repository, with the result that separation between the documents of the city and the quarter documents is not a priority at all. The result, however, is that the inventory of the archives of the Veluwe States contains over 750 references to the archives of the city of Arnhem, since more than 40 percent of the quarter documents are there.

Around 1477 the charters of the States of **Holland and West-Friesland** (the official name; in 1297 West-Friesland had become part of the county of Holland) were kept in the muniment room of the city of Delft. The financial administration was archived at the monastery of the Dominicans of The Hague, the meeting place of the States. At first a big chest sufficed, but in 1560 a muniment room was built in the monastery to keep documents of 'perpetual interest'. The papers with a temporal value only stayed at the secretariat in the care of the pensionary. Shortly thereafter The Hague, lacking a fortification, was judged not to be safe enough and the muniment room was transferred to the monastery of Saint Agatha in Delft, where William of Orange had resided since the beginning of the Revolt. The iron door of the repository in The Hague was used in the new muniment room. Over the years the Delft collection was forgotten, until 1771 when the old archives room of the States was discovered during a renovation of the *Prinsenhof*

(the former monastery of Saint Agatha). The documents were inventoried and transferred to Delft City Hall. In 1827 the City offered the collection to the State Archivist, but it lasted until 1852 before the records arrived at the State Archives (*Rijksarchief*). Here the most important charters were stored in a special cabinet which had been made in the 18th century to house significant charters of the States of Holland. Even today, the collection is kept separately at the National Archives. While no longer in the cabinet, it is still kept under the old name of 'brown cabinet' (*bruine kastje*).

The States of Holland consisted of delegates of the nobility and the 18 voting (*stemhebbende*) cities. The series of their decisions (*resoluties*) starts in 1525. Apart from the series of ordinary and secret *resoluties*, the archives contain separate series concerning foreign affairs, the peace negotiations in Münster (Westphalia), the political relationship between Holland and Zeeland, and other subjects. The papers received were first transcribed in the *resoluties* and then stored on *liassen* in the *loketkast*. For the period 1653-1666 calendars (*agenda's*) of the documents tabled at the States' meetings have been preserved. Among the papers received was (as in other States and cities) an abundance of petitions (*rekesten*), for example petitions requesting an appointment to an office, a declaration of majority (*venia aetatis*), or a patent (see 5.3 and 7.6.0). In many instances, the original petition was edited and converted into a minute of the final decision. Many petitions were returned to the petitioner carrying the States' decision in the margin (apostil or postil from Latin *apostille*, meaning note), in other cases the petitioners received the decision in the form of an extract from the *resoluties*. The States kept draft copies (*minuten*) and registers of decisions on petitions (*appointementen*).

In the third quarter of the 18th century, the pensionary's clerk Johan Samuel Cassa made indexes on the decisions—not only of contemporary decisions, but also of those from the years 1525-1652. For this enormous work he was paid more than 7,000 guilders. Cassa indexed the *resoluties* of the Delegated States 1621-1756 as well. As he wrote, he thereby provided the States with a 'compass' to guide their governance. Later, in 1792, Cassa spent five months inventorying the documents in the muniment room of Holland.

Until the end of the 16th century, the States of *Zeeland* consisted of the nobles and representatives of the cities. Since 1578 the States were composed of the Prince of Orange as 'first nobleman' (*eerste edele*) and the cities of Middelburg, Zierikzee, Goes, Tholen, Flushing (Vlissingen), and Veere. In 1578 an office (*comptoir*) of the States was established in the former Norbertine Abbey of Our Lady in Middelburg, under the meeting room of the newly created Delegated States. Three years later, 21 guilders were spent to buy a large cupboard for storing the secret papers of the land. In 1664 a new room was furnished to house the papers and other muniments. They were arranged by the new pensionary, Pieter de Huybert. He had previously been secretary to the States, in which office he had been succeeded by his cousin Justus. The secretary had to care for the archives and write the minutes of the Delegated States, the pensionary did the same for the States, whose meetings he chaired. Both cousins not only reorganized the archives, they also reorganized the registry and ensured the copying of the older emissaries' reports (*verbalen*). Regarding the archives, the Delegated States ordained in 1664, among other things, that copies of documents could be taken out (upon a receipt), but that the originals should be kept in the *loketkast*, if possible, to minimize the risk of loss.

When the *comptoir* was furnished in 1578, pensionary Christoffel Roels started a register in which he did not only record the decisions (*resoluties*) of the States and the Delegated States, but also the various acts that were dealt with by the States, together with the decisions taken. Shortly thereafter, he created a *Collegiaalboek* in which he wrote down summaries of the matters dealt with during a meeting. Roels' successors had to make a rough draft of the decisions (*notulen van de resolutiën*) during the meeting, and to copy these into quires which were later bound. Based on these drafts, the clerks wrote a fair copy into the register which contained the agenda of the meeting and copies of the acts as well. Two series of decisions therefore exist: drafts and fair copies. During De Huybert's term (1664-1687) printing of *resoluties* was introduced, beginning with those of 1672. The series of fair copies runs up to and includes 1673; it is not clear whether De Huybert abolished writing fair copies or if the fair copy was sent to the printer's and got lost there.
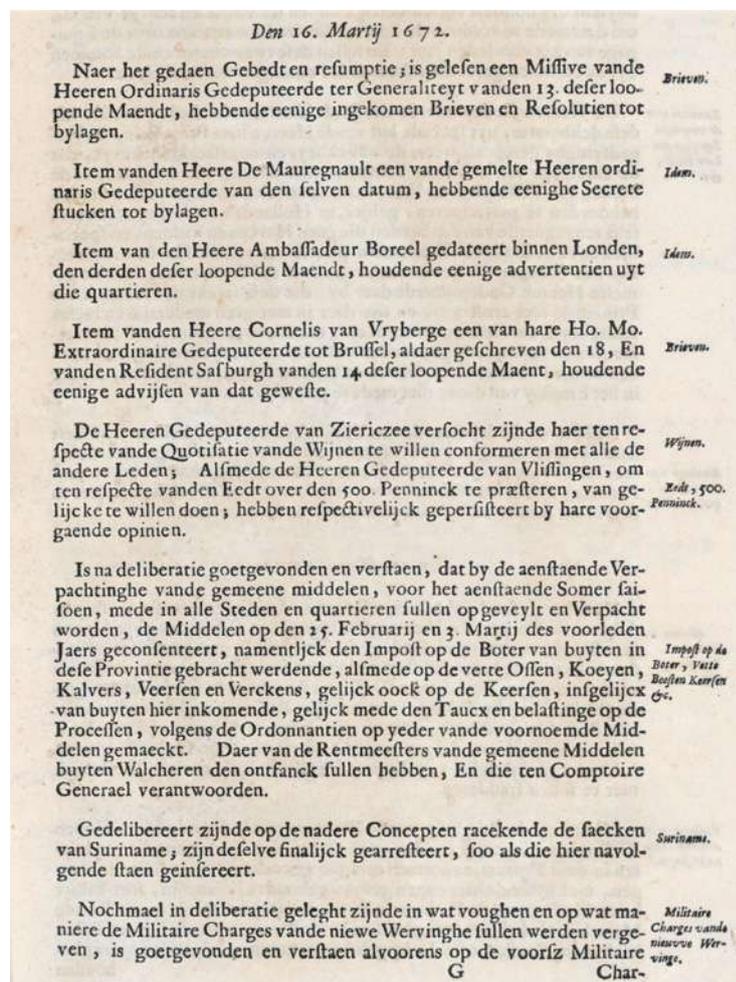
Fig. 3.3a *Resoluties* of the States of Zeeland, 16 March 1672, print version. Zeeuws Archief, *Staten van Zeeland* (2), inv. nr. 3388.
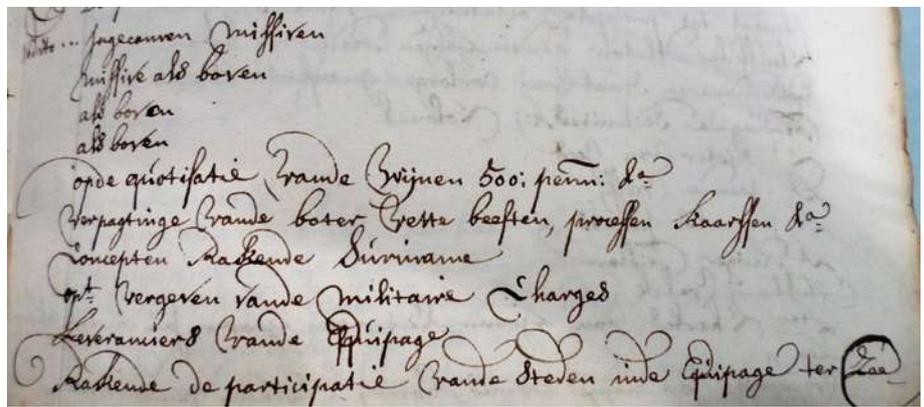
Fig. 3.3b *Resoluties* of the States of Zeeland, 16 March 1672, marginalia. Zeeuws Archief, *Staten van Zeeland* (2), inv. nr. 371.

Next to the series of *resoluties* there is a series of documents received, as annexes to the *notulen* (*relatieven tot de notulen*). In the 16th century these were probably filed on a string or a spike. The outgoing letters were transcribed in the *notulen*. At the *Statencomptoir* copies of the *resoluties* were written for all delegates and for the Audit Chamber. This lasted until printing became the norm, first in a run of 26 copies, and after 1720 in runs of 46 to 51 copies.

In 1799 the new Batavian government ordered a total inventorization of the archives of the former province of Zeeland to be made. Jacobus Cornelis te Water and Jacob Masson were commissioned with the work. The former had been the pensionary's clerk (1772-1793), the latter was clerk-recorder (*commies-notularis*). They now bore the titles of *chartermeester* and assistant to the *chartermeester*. Te Water and Masson were instructed to check all cupboards, compartments, drawers, and writing desks in the clerk's office (*griffie*) and in all other offices and repositories, in the tower and in adjacent rooms.

They had to take note 'of all archives, charters, books, minutes, annexes, official letters, memoranda, maps, and all other documents, in so far these may be deemed to be of any substance'. After the inventorization everything had to be put

> in an appropriate order and stored as much as possible (…) in cupboards, pigeonholes and other places in such a manner that those [documents] which are most often used (…) are kept near hand.

The documents stored in the secret cupboard had to be 'cleansed' of non-essential material and the remainder be kept in safekeeping. Furthermore, the chests, compartments, writing desks, and drawers had to be numbered. The numbers then had to be recorded in the inventory together with an indication of the place of the documents 'in order that everything is easy to find and can be relocated to its proper place, in the proper order'. Every month Te Water and Masson had to report in writing. Te Water and Masson produced in three years (1799-1802) 14 inventories and other finding aids. Nevertheless, their inventorization was not complete: in 1812 a mass of loose papers dating from before 1718 were discovered in the attic that Te Water and Masson had not seen.

In 1578 **Utrecht** chose the side with the Revolt. Previously, the States had encompassed the clergy (the five chapters, see 2.1), the nobility, and the cities. This was continued, although representatives of the (protestantized) chapters were elected by nobility and cities from 1582. Each of the roughly 60 noblemen could act individually in the States. The quarters which formed the province had a function in judicature, not in government. In 1593 the Delegated States received their first instruction.
The clerk's office (*griffie*) had a *loketkast* to store the greffier's subject files (more than 200 of these files have been preserved). It seems that the files were created ad hoc for a specific case and that only rarely documents were added to an existing file. This is in contrast to the practice at the registries of Holland and the States General where the rubrics of the *loketkast* (systematically arranged according to *respecten*, literally viewpoints) served to store documents for a longer period.

At first, clerks wrote the decisions on loose quires (which were bound later), but from 1588 the decisions were recorded in registers. There are various series: rough drafts (incomplete), *minuut* decisions, and a duplicate series of fair copies. One contains the original documents received (which were not, as in a pure *resolutie* system, kept as a series separate from the decisions) and the decisions, the other is a duplicate which refers to the first series by notes like *fiat insertio* (literally: let it be inserted). This system of referencing was replaced in 1639 by transcribing the documents received in the copy register.

Then there are registers holding the secret *resoluties* (since 1670): a series of fair copies and a series of draft copies (*minuten*). Alphabetical and systematic indexes provide access to these *resoluties.* The clerks also made abridgements (*compendieuse resoluties*) summarizing the most important decisions of each meeting. Quite a few copies of these compendia have been preserved. The fair copies of outgoing letters were kept at separate *liassen*, but since 1685 they were bound.

In a similar manner to Gelderland, quarters played an important role in the States of **Friesland.** Aside from the quarters Oostergo, Westergo, and Zevenwouden a fourth quarter was formed in 1578, comprising the 11 Frisian cities. However, the 82 delegates from these four quarters seldom assembled in a plenary session, only to hear the reading of the items on the agenda of the provincial convention (*Landdag*). After the reading, the delegates would return to the chamber of their quarter in the hall of the *Landschap.* The *Landdag* was prepared by the *Mindergetal*, an agenda-setting committee of eight members, two from each quarter (*mindergetal* literally means lesser number, i.e. less than the number of delegates in the plenary States). The members of the *Mindergetal* asked for advice from their quarters and tabled the advice of the quarter at the *Mindergetal*, The *Mindergetal* finally drafted the decisions of the States, which were sent to the quarters for approval. The draft, having been approved, was handed to the secretary who wrote the final version of the decision.

Fig. 3.4 The States of Friesland, from the print *Gouvernement des États des Sept Provinces Unies* by Henry Abraham Chatelain, 1721 (?). Museum Van Gijn, Dordrecht.

As in Gelderland, the quarters were separate archive creators. In contrast with Gelderland, however, the States (and the Delegated States) formed archives, including a series of *resoluties* from 1580-1795. The *Landdag* papers have been preserved from 1683 onwards and they may be considered to be the annexes to the resoluties. The *Mindergetal* formed archives as well, though only a few have been preserved. Examples are the fair copies of the *resoluties* sent to the four quarters for approval and the journals (1638-1795) containing lists of the representatives, the agendas of the *Landdag,* and the resolutions taken by the quarters on each point on the agenda. In the 18th century H.W. Baron van Plettenberg, who was the provincial secretary from 1770 to 1780, made a systematic catalogue (*repertorium*) of the journals.

The *resoluties* of the States have only been preserved from the period 1580-1605, together with the documents treated by the *Landdag* from 1683. Nearly all the documents received by the *Mindergetal* and the quarters are missing. All things considered, the makers of the inventory from 1998 conclude that archives management by the States of Friesland was inadequate.

Fig. 3.5 The States of Overijssel, from the print *Gouvernement des États des Sept Provinces Unies* by Henry Abraham Chatelain, 1721 (?). Museum Van Gijn, Dordrecht.

The States of **Overijssel** consisted of the three big cities of Deventer, Kampen, and Zwolle and the nobility from the three quarters of Vollenhove, Salland and Twenthe. Every nobleman could appear in the States' assembly in person, while the cities sent delegates. The States met alternately in the three cities. Formation of archives, including registration

of the decisions, started only with the secession from the Spanish in 1578. As was usual elsewhere, both fair copies and drafts (*minuten*) were kept. In the 18th century the States decided to have a copy made of the *resoluties* from 1578-1706. Somewhat later, the province's steward (*rentmeester*) D.E. van Voërst tot Averbergen made an alphabetical index on the *resoluties* 1578-1777.

Copies of incoming documents were inserted in the *resoluties*; the originals kept on *liassen* and in bundles. Before an assembly of the States, the three cities met and mostly agreed on a common position. The record of these preliminary meetings can be found in the city archives. Likewise, the nobility (*Ridderschap*) held preliminary meetings. In contrast with Gelderland, the *Ridderschap* was an autonomous body with its own archives, and the *ridderschappen* in the three quarters formed archives as well.

In 1593 the Delegated States took on a permanent character (the series of their *resoluties* starts in that year), but like the States they assembled alternately in the three cities. The archives travelled with the Delegated States, except for the chest with privileges that was kept in Deventer. Later on, the Delegated States left the old archives in Deventer, Kampen, and Zwolle, where they were often mixed with the city archives.

The States of **Stad Groningen en Ommelanden** (the official name from 1597, but in practice referred to as *Stad en Lande*) drew its members from two entities: the city (*stad*) of Groningen (represented in meetings by the full magistrate of 16 people) and the 'Surrounding Lands' (*Ommelanden*), represented by delegates (among them many noblemen) from the 144 parishes (*kerspelen*). However, spokesmen on behalf of the two entities were the two pensionaries (*syndici*) who based their speeches on what had been discussed in preliminary meetings. Since 1558 the *Ommelanden* held their own assemblies, they had their own governing bodies, their own treasury, and permanent officers. The *Ommelanden* were divided into three quarters: Hunsingo, Fivelingo, and Westerkwartier, with each quarter consisting of three sub-quarters. Any decision by the States or the *Ommelanden* required a majority of six sub-quarters.

Archiving by the States was limited at first. In the 16th century there was a common land's chest (*landskist*) containing mostly financial records jointly of *Stad en Ommelanden*. Both the city and the *Ommelanden* had their own archives. After the province joined the Confederacy in 1594 the joint archives appear to be kept by the *syndicus* Verrutius. The archives were stored in two chests, one bought for this purpose, the other being the former *landskist.*

The secretariat of the States was housed in the headquarters of the province since 1602. At first the secretariat had one secretary only, but from 1648 City and *Ommelanden* each appointed a secretary. According to his instruction, the secretary had to maintain an inventory of the archives; however, only a few inventories from the 17th and 18th centuries have been preserved. In 1770 people tried to bring the archives in order. An inventory of all papers at the secretariat was made. Officials had often taken papers home and did not return them. Delegated States therefore ordained that the day after the funeral of a secretary or other provincial office-bearer, a committee had to visit the house of the deceased to take away any provincial records (see also 9.3). Upon the death of a clerk, the secretaries had to execute the confiscation of papers. Whether or not these rules have been followed, is unknown.

Registration of the States' decisions began in 1595. Apart from a series of fair copies, volumes with rough drafts (mostly written during the meeting) and *minuten* from 1649-1689 and 1720-1741 have been preserved. Sometimes the documents received were integrated into these bound volumes, but most petitions (*rekesten*) and other documents received were put in separate series, as was the case with *minuten* of outgoing letters.

The region (*Landschap*) **Drenthe** was not an integral member of the Republic of the United Netherlands, but nevertheless subject to a certain control (suzerainty) by the States General. Drenthe paid the Confederacy for international and military protection. The States of Drenthe consisted of the nobility (with one vote) and delegates of the freeholders (*eigenerfden*) (two from each of the six districts or *dingspelen*), with jointly two votes.

It was only from about 1600 that the *resoluties* of the States were registered. Before, the secretary (*landschrijver*) (at the same time greffier of the provincial court) kept all papers at home. In 1607 the States claimed the archives the former secretary Heimrich van Rossum had kept at his house. However, Van Rossum refused to give them because he had paid for the books and papers out of his own pocket. Only in 1609, after Van Rossum's death, did the States succeed in taking over 'all papers (*pampieren*) which in any way bear upon the *Landschap*' from the heirs, in exchange for 200 guilders. Other claims by the States on provincial archives kept in private hands, were equally successful.

In 1627 the States commissioned a committee to inventory the provincial archives. The inventorization took three days. On the first day the committee inventoried a number of *liassen* hanging in the office of the secretary, papers lying on four shelves, two benches and a table, and the contents of a cabinet with nine compartments. The next day the committee checked the records in the meeting chamber of the Delegated States which were kept in a big chest, a coffer, and a small cabinet. The chest and the cabinet contained files (*liassen*), protocols, bundles, packets, and diverse papers. The coffer contained mostly records concerning the financial arrangement with the Confederacy. On the third day, five little chests and boxes with privileges and other important (mainly financial) documents were inventoried and stored in the newly manufactured land's chest (*landskist*).

As usual, there are two series of decisions: *minuten* from 1620 (ending in 1772) and fair copies from 1601 to 1794. Two registers exist from the period 1601-1618. To end a conflict between nobility and freeholders, it was decided in 1619 to cross out all decisions made between 1601 and 1603 and to make a new register which would omit any entry which might offend the parties in the conflict. Incoming and *minuten* of outgoing documents were put on a string (*lias*). There were files of all letters from a single authority, and files on a particular subject such as church affairs, domains, and captains.

3.3 States General of the Confederacy

As I explained in 3.0, most of what we know of the archiving by the States General—the highest governing body of the *Generaliteit*, the confederacy of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands—is based on the impressive study by Theo Thomassen, *Instruments of power. The States General and their archives 1576-1796*.[8] I have chosen a few aspects to be treated here, on the basis of Thomassen's work.

In 1464 Philip the Good convened representatives of all his territories to discuss his plan to launch a crusade. This meeting (in which delegates from, among others, Flanders, Hainaut, Holland, and Zeeland took part) is considered to mark the beginning of the States General: the assembly of representatives of sovereign territories. A turning point in the long development since 1464 came when in 1576 the representatives of the provinces rebelling against Spain (among them Brabant, Flanders, Hainaut, Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and the Groningen *Ommelanden*) assembled as States General, not as had been customary at the invitation by the lord of the land, but on their own authority. In 1576, archiving by the States General begins. At first hesitantly, with the clerks taking the records in boxes from one meeting place to another. Archiving became permanent in 1585 when the States General and their registry settled in the Binnenhof in The Hague.[9] Keeping the archive's inventory was the task of the *agent* who was also head of the household services and master of ceremonies. He also cared for the physical maintenance of the documents at the clerk's (greffier's) office. Later, keeping the archives was delegated to the bailiff (*deurwaarder*) attached to the clerk's office. The agent, the bailiff, and the greffier had a copy of the inventory each.[10]

The assembly of the States General comprised delegates of the States of the provinces. Each province had one vote, but the vote of the most powerful province, Holland, was in

most cases decisive. The States General met, took decisions, and governed. Thomassen groups their functions into five categories.[11] In the first place, the States General had to maintain the Confederacy, preserve the rights and freedoms of the Confederates, keep up the unity in the Confederacy, and appoint high functionaries of the Confederacy and military officers. The second category comprises the functions related to religion, foreign affairs, warfare, the control of the financial resources, and maintaining the national currency. The third category comprises the functions focusing on exercising the sovereignty of captured territories. This concerned the Generality Lands, areas in the south captured from the Spanish, conquered cities in Europe, and the conquered territories in Asia and the Americas. The fourth category comprised activities proceeding from incidental decisions by the Confederates to make a particular matter communal. This particularly concerned the care of economic affairs and water management. The fifth category comprised what Thomassen calls derivative functions: conferring offices, issuing and maintaining generally binding regulations, and taking decisions in matters concerning private people.

At first much of the work of the States General was carried out orally, but as the amount of work grew, managing affairs in writing became more usual. Written textuality served transparency as well, and it was to some extent a guarantee against political manipulation. In 1646 it was reconfirmed that requests and propositions had to be submitted in writing. These documents were read aloud by the greffier during the meeting.[12]

The archives of the States General are seen as the paragon of an archive arranged according to the *resolutie* system (see 3.2). Thomassen has defined the assembly of the States General as a 'decision taking machine'. Until the last meeting on 1 March 1796, the States General had archived half a million decisions (*resoluties)* and a multiplicity of drafts, fair copies, and transcripts chronologically arranged in more than 5,000 volumes, binders, and bundles. A large amount of that production can be found in numerous other archives in the form of copies and extracts.[13]

8   Th.H.P.M. Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht. De Staten-Generaal en hun archieven 1576-1796* (PhD thesis University of Amsterdam, 2009) http://hdl.handle.net/11245/1.319579; second edition: Theo Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht. De Staten-Generaal en hun archieven 1576-1796. Onderzoeksgids* (Den Haag: Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2015), https://web.archive.org/web/20170607054454/http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/instrumenten_macht/#page=0&accessor=toc&view=homePane, archived 7 June 2017. For reference the page numbers of the second edition are used. See also Theo Thomassen, 'The history of the archives of the States-General and its consequences for their cataloguing and editing', in *Unlocking government archives of the early modern period. Papers presented at the workshop held at the Institute of Netherlands History, The Hague, 17-18 November 1994*, ed. A.J. Veenendaal and J. Roelevink (The Hague: Institute of Netherlands History, 1995), pp. 84-93.

9   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 736.

10 Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 713; Th.H.F. van Riemsdijk, *De griffie van hare hoog mogenden. Bijdrage tot de kennis van het archief van de Staten-Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1885), pp. 38-9.

11 Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, pp. 220-21.

12 Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 461.

13 Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 475.

At first the clerks wrote multiple copies of the decisions for the benefit of the provinces, the Council of State, the cities, the Republic's emissaries abroad, and other authorities and people—all participants in one or more of the genre systems (see the General Introduction) of the States General. Beginning in 1669 documents which needed to be copied more than four times were printed—a measure 'unprecedented in any country and never to our knowledge followed elsewhere', as Pettegree and Der Weduwen write.[14] The printed *resoluties* were a selection especially for the foreign service, but as more people were receiving them, the selection got broader. From 1703 onward all *resoluties* were printed and indexed. The number of subscriptions to the printed *resoluties* increased gradually; in 1728 there were 111 subscriptions. However, because the printed *resoluties* were often not ready for months after the meeting, and because the provinces needed to know what had been resolved as soon as possible, handwritten copies of the *resoluties* continued to be important.

Often the text of a document received was inserted in the fair copy of the *resoluties*. The original documents received stayed with the *resoluties,* which otherwise would not be complete and therefore have less probative value. The letters that were not inserted and the drafts (*minuten*) of outgoing documents were put on a *lias* by the *agent*. In the registry of the States General, a *lias* was closed regularly and stored in a cupboard.[15] The oldest of the circa 20 series of *liassen* was the *lias 'lopende'* ('running', meaning active). Out of these *liassen* files were branched off over time, for example a *lias* for documents on the currency, another for the admiralties. In 1621 a *lias* was created concerning the foundation of the VOC, two years later the WIC got a separate *lias*.[16] The use of *liassen* continued until the middle of the 17th century. In 1646, 'when the chaos at the registry more than ever hampered the States General's grip on the political process',[17] it was decided that the letters received and sent were not only to be filed on a *lias*, but also transcribed into letter books. However, the petitions and applications (*rekesten)* continued to be filed only, presently forming 551 bundles from the years 1600-1796. Before, a petition had been returned to the petitioner with the decision annotated (*apostil*) (see 3.2), but from the 17th century onward the decision was communicated to the petitioner in the form of an extract from the *resoluties*; the original petitions stayed with the States General.[18]

14   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, pp. 599-602; Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The bookshop of the world. Making and trading books in the Dutch Golden Age* (Newhaven/London: Yale University Press, 2019) p. 196.

15   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 649.

16   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 653.

17   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 659.

18   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 658.

When a new registry was finished in 1655-1656, *agent* Cornelis de Heijde made an inventory of the archives. This inventory is quite efficient because it does not follow (as so often happened) the sequence of the rooms and cupboards where the archives were kept (still, De Heijde annotated the location of the documents). Instead it was systematically arranged according to the nature of the series of registers, *liassen,* and bundles.[19] De Heijde continued to work on the (re)arrangement of the archives (especially of the series of *resoluties*). He made a new inventory in 1677 when the archives were relocated following the order of the original inventory. This inventory kept up to date until 1729, served until 1962 (!) as the finding aid of the *Loketkas* (see below).

Indexes were essential for the findability of *resoluties* and the connected documents. The system of indexes grew gradually. In the 16th century, the greffier made his *resoluties* accessible by noting short summaries or keywords in the margin of the register.[20] Around 1600 the *agent* started to arrange the greffier's marginalia systematically in an index. After the death of *agent* De Heijde in 1678, indexing the regular (*ordinaris*) register was delegated to the bailiff attached to the greffier's office, and indexing the secret register to the clerk of the ciphers. The greffier was responsible for the accessibility of the registers of resolutions. This was in his own interest as well because he had to ensure an efficient decision-making process in which precedents played a major role. For this purpose, the index to the register, composed after year's end, was insufficient. Therefore, in the final quarter of the 17th century, the greffier started to endorse the drafts (*minuten*) by annotating the substance of the *resolutie* on the back. These endorsements were copied into an index, which he kept on a daily basis. In the 18th century, the greffier also composed general indexes covering a couple of years.[21] As was usual elsewhere (see 3.2 and 4.3), the indexes were made at the greffier's own expense and therefore they belonged to his private collection of manuscripts.

Apart from the *resoluties*, indexes, *liassen,* and the series of letters received and sent, there were records stored separately in the *Loketkas*, a large cupboard with pigeonholes (see also 4.5 and chapter 11) in use since 1605.[22] There existed also a *Secrete Kas* since 1621 to store

19   Van Riemsdijk, *De griffie*, pp. 128-29; Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, pp. 448-49.

20   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 611.

21   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, pp. 611-12.

22   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 703.

bonds, treaties, ratifications, secret documents, and other important papers. The *Secrete Kas,* containing 88 pigeonholes (*loketten*), has been preserved: the upper part stands in the National Archives; the lower part was transferred to the Rijksmuseum in 1950. The latter has a separate locker made in 1648 to house the red velvet box containing the ratification of the Peace of Münster (Westphalia) by the Spanish king. This is still considered to be the 'birth certificate' of the Republic. Later, the great seal of the Confederacy was kept in the same locker.[23]

Fig. 3.6 Lower part of the *Secrete Kas* of the States General. Rijksmuseum, BK-16464.

23   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 737.

A large proportion of the archives of the States General consists of *verbalen*. A *verbaal* (derived from Latin *verbale*, record) was a report, particularly the account of an envoy or commissioner, presented in a meeting of his principals and then filed as an annexe to the decision of discharge. *Verbalen* were submitted by emissaries, by representatives of the States General serving with the army in the field or sent on a mission outside The Hague. The *verbaal* contained the report with annexes, including the documents received and fair copies of letters sent, all together as it were the mission's archive.[24]

Thomassen concludes:

> The archives of the States General are both representations and instruments of power, not only of political power, the power to manage and control developments in society, but also of memory power, the power to determine how society is memorized. Order is a central instrument of power, not only because order is a prerequisite for control and monitoring, but also because order is the most characteristic expression of a culture.[25]

He warns that these instruments of power were not static but changed, not only during the time the States General were active (1576-1796), but also later, at different points in time:

> In the course of four centuries, the archives of the States General have constantly been adapted to changing ideas and needs. They do not merely represent the activities, power relations and attitudes of the records creators, but also those of keepers and users of more recent times. Clerks and archivists have frequently rearranged them, removing some documents and adding others.[26]

Thus, what we consider as the archives of the States General is largely a construct by 'archivers' who, as I wrote in the General Introduction, participated in the production and mediation of the archive.

24   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, pp. 679-80.

25   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 763.

26   Thomassen, *De instrumenten*, p. 761.

3.4 Archiving a Unitary State[27]

Kafka has written somewhere that every revolution evaporates and leaves behind only the slime of a new bureaucracy.[28] This certainly applies to the Batavian Revolution of 1795. In 1798 the constitution of the Batavian Republic created ministries (*agentschappen*) in The Hague. They counted 175 civil servants, and already in 1805, their number had doubled. At a national level the years after 1805 were 'a bureaucratic heyday', according to Simon Schama: 'Memoranda, reports, dossiers and laws, both enacted and projected, spewed from the bureaux in the Binnenhof and on the Plein with unremitting regularity.'[29] The number of civil servants tripled during the reign of King Louis Napoleon. Their activities led to an enormous archive production.

	Provincial government 1795-1813 (metres)	as a percentage of Provincial government before 1795
Friesland	175	52
Zeeland	105	24
Groningen	120 (1798-1814)	60 (before 1798)
Overijssel	71 (1811-1813)	20 (before 1810)

Table 3.1 Size of provincial government's archives in four provinces, 1795-1813, in metres of shelving and as a percentage of provincial government's archives before 1795.

One could regard these statistics as an indication of the low rate of survival of archives before 1795 compared to the later period. However, there certainly is a relation between archive production and the extensive textualization (*verschriftelijking*) of government.

An important factor for the textualization was that for the first time in history, public opinion and political influencing could be directed to a national parliament. The right of petition was the first civil right regulated by the new parliament, and it was used on a large scale. Citizens, civic bodies, and action groups sent petitions and appeared before Parliament. The executive (created in 1798) was flooded with letters and petitions as well. Under the former regime the provincial States, the courts, and the States General had dealt with numerous petitions, but the impression is that from 1798 the new relationship between government and citizens led to new and more correspondence.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1795) created a new right: the right to demand of every civil servant a rendering of accounts. This entailed documenting not only of decision-making at the highest political level but also of activities in administrative processes performed by individual officials at lower levels.

As in other times of crisis and reform, the Batavian Revolution led to disruptions of the normal pattern and thereby to an increased archive production. The defence, for example, entailed a bureaucracy which was more extensive than in a time of peace.

The textualization was partly the result of shifting tasks. Taxation, for example, was largely transferred from the local and provincial levels to the State (see 8.3).

Even so, the most important factor for the textualization was the 'hunger for information' of the new authorities. They felt, as Jeurgens and Klep argue, a pressing and persistent need for information regarding society.[30] The formation of the unitary state and the later centralization entailed that the top needed information which only the base could provide. Central government had totally different ambitions and responsibilities compared to the federal and provincial authorities in the past. Up until 1795 nearly everything fell under the authority of provincial government, the involvement at national level being limited to foreign affairs, army and navy, and the governance of the Confederacy territories (see 3.3). After the Batavian Revolution it was necessary to develop national policies and national legislation and to structure nationwide control of the latter. This was new, but just as new was the use of information as a basis for these policies, legislation, and implementation.

27 The following is a summary of F.C.J. Ketelaar, ' "Door eenheid tot orde en vastheid". Vernieuwing van de overheidsadministratie in de Bataafse tijd', *Nehalennia. Bulletin van de werkgroep Historie en archeologie van het Koninklijk Zeeuwsch genootschap der wetenschappen en de Zeeuwsche Vereeniging voor dialectonderzoek*, 109 (1996): 39-47. I also used H. Boels, *Binnenlandse Zaken. Ontstaan en ontwikkeling van een departement in de Bataafse tijd 1795-1806. Een reconstructie* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgeverij Koninginnegracht, 1993). For sections 3.4 and 3.5 I used F.J.M. Otten, *Gids voor de archieven van de ministeries en de hoge colleges van staat, 1813-1940* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2004); A.E.M. Ribberink, 'Verbaal van het verhandelde', *Nederlands archievenblad* 68 (1964): 64-70; A.E.M. Ribberink, *Registratuur en rijksadministratie in de 19e eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1968); H.A.J. van Schie, *Registratuur van de Nederlandse overheidsadministratie in de negentiende eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage: Rijksarchiefschool, 1992). See also Horsman, 'A French legacy': 135-36. I thank Henny van Schie for his comments on a draft of sections 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6.

28 C.H. Church, *Revolution and red tape. The French ministerial bureaucracy 1770-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. VII.

29 S. Schama, *Patriots and liberators. Revolution in the Netherlands 1780-1813* (New York: HarperCollins, 1977), p. 541.

30 Ch. Jeurgens and P.M.M. Klep, *Informatieprocessen van de Bataafs-Franse overheid 1795-1813* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995), p. 11.

Likewise new was that the information was collected and used on a national scale for regional and local comparison. Relatively new was the use of pre-printed tables and questionnaires meant to gather the information in a standardized format.

Information gathering was done by inspectors travelling the country or even abroad, and by writing. The introduction and perfection of the written survey as a means of information gathering in the Batavian-French period stimulated an increase in archiving, as becomes clear when one checks the database created by the Institute of Dutch History.[31]

Archiving in the Batavian period reached back to the practices before 1795. The backbone of the archiving system of the national Executive Administration (*Uitvoerend Bewind*) were the decisions (*resoluties*) taken during a meeting and stored in chronological order. Documents received and sent were mentioned in the decisions and formed into separate series. Indexes gave access to the decisions and the supporting documents.

The ministries used a *verbaal* system. In the days of the States General (see 3.3) a *verbaal* was the account of an envoy or commissioner, presented in a meeting of his principals. The ministers (*agenten*) of the Batavian Republic kept a daily account (*verbaal*) of their decisions taken on the letters and reports received. These accounts were arranged chronologically, and the incoming documents and drafts of outgoing letters were filed and registered according to the order of the *verbalen*.

Steven Dassevael, clerk at the State secretariat from 1798 until 1815, developed the *verbaal* system: to each *verbaal* were joined the documents received, the *verbalen* of one day were aggregated into a daily folder (*chemise*), and these folders were arranged according to the date of the decision. The most important difference between this *verbaal* system and the *resolutie* system of the States General (and most of the provincial States) was the storage of the incoming documents. In the *resolutie* system this was done in separate series and in the *verbaal* system in one series or folded into the double sheet of each decision. In Dassevael's system a range of annual indexes and other finding aids gave access to the files. The index

31 https://web.archive.org/web/20190522180842/http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bataafsfransebronnen, archived 22 May 2019 ; K.J.P.F.M. Jeurgens, 'Dutch sources from the Batavian-French period', in *Unlocking government archives*, pp. 94-104.

arranged the decisions mostly under a subject heading (*hoofd*) and mentioned for each decision all necessary data and numbers. All papers to be stored in the archives first passed the index maker.

It was only in 1806 that the Netherlands was ruled by a king, Louis Napoleon. The country soon got acquainted with his French-inspired administration. This was characterized by a distribution of the work of civil servants by portfolios, entailing decentralization of archiving. Such specialization and decentralization would have been unthinkable in the Republic of the United Netherlands, but they fitted the changed system of political and official accountability. Following the French, the job title of *archivist* came into use. The ministries and the provincial administrations were split into divisions (sometimes divided into bureaus), each with clearly defined tasks and a supervisor. Specialization and task distribution replaced an administration in one hand (the secretary's or greffier's). Each division or bureau kept its own archives, arranged according to the *verbaal* system or a subject files system.

Between 1794 and 1810 the Netherlands was incorporated into France (see 3.0). In the French one-man administration by prefects, under-prefects, and *maires,* the decision (*arrêté*) took centre stage.[32] The *arrêté* was inserted in the daily report (*proces-verbaal*), comparable to the aforementioned *verbaal*. The fair copy (*expeditie*) was merely an extract from the *proces-verbaal* and was copied into a correspondence register (*registre de correspondance*). Each division and each bureau kept its own *indicateur*: a diary (*agenda*) referring to the current place and status of the documents, making it possible to control the document flow and thereby the workflow (see 4.9.1). The divisions and bureaus maintained control of their own archives, which were arranged largely according to the supervisor's personal understanding (thus, not regulated centrally), and more or less systematically per subject. The *indicateur* referred to the pigeonholes in the cupboard or the cardboard-backed folders (*cartons*) in the division or bureau that kept the documents received (the outgoing documents were to be found in the *arrêtés* and the *registre de correspondance*).

32 P. Scherft, *De archieven der prefectuur van het departement der Monden van de Schelde (...)* (Rijswijk: Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk, 1968); W.H. Stein, *Französisches Verwaltungsschriftgut in Deutschland. Die Departementalverwaltungen in der Zeit der Französischen Revolution und des Empire* (Marburg: Archivschule Marburg Institut für Archivwissenschaft, 1996).

Fig. 3.7 *Indicateur*, 1810. Zeeuws Archief, *Prefectuur* (5), inv. nr. 8.

Ideally, the *indicateur* supports the control of the document flow and the workflow, as one prefect wrote 'in this general register one sees in a glance the process and the movement of all matters'.[33]

In practice, however, there were deviations. For example, the prefects of the departments of the Mouths of the IJssel (Overijssel) and the Upper IJssel (Gelderland) continued the Dutch *verbaal* system, which they had known previously when they had been regional

33 '….dans ce répertoire general on apperçoit d'un coup d'oeil la marche et le mouvement de toutes les affaires', Prefect of the Departement du Zuyderzée to the maire of Amsterdam, 28 May 1811, quoted by J.H. van den Hoek Ostende, 'De invoering en de ontwikkeling van het indicateurstelsel in Amsterdam', *Nederlands archievenblad* 68 (1994): 57.

commissioners (*landdrosten*) in the Kingdom of Holland. Elsewhere, Dutchmen managing an administration often adopted the former Dutch system (Audit Chamber, Finance, Water Management), whereas a French or a Belgian civil servant would introduce the French system (Interior, Navy, prefectures Mouths of the Scheldt and Mouths of the Meuse).

Fig. 3.8 *Registre de correspondance*, 1810. Zeeuws Archief, *Prefectuur* (5), inv. nr. 16.

3.5 Archiving Central Government 1813-1991

The first Dutch introduction of archivistics (1955) written by archival educator Jaap van der Gouw states 'How the Dutch administration made use of the possibilities handed down of old and those introduced in the French period, is shown at its best by the archives of the State secretariat formed under King William I'.[34] A first draft of a decision submitted to the King is written on a folded double sheet of paper serving as a folder for the documents that have led to the decision. This file is called a *verbaal*. When the King signs the first draft it becomes the final draft (*minuut*); an authenticated copy is dispatched as fair copy (*expeditie*). All royal decrees and other decisions are arranged by date; the decisions of a single day receive a consecutive number.

A subject index on the chronologically arranged *verbalen* is made. An alphabetical list (*klapper*) refers to the headings and the proper nouns in the index. At the State secretariat the documents received were put in the folder of the royal decision. In other administrations, the *verbaal* system comprised a chronological series of decisions next to a series of documents received, arranged in chronological order as well. On each of the documents (which at their reception were chronologically registered in a listing or *agenda*) the date and number of the decision are written.

The archiving system prescribed by Royal Decree of 4 September 1823 for all ministries (and later for provincial governments as well) consisted of one series of *verbalen* only: the documents received were kept with the *verbaal* in one folder. The decree explicitly forbade the French way of ordering documents according to subject, or to split the archives of a ministry into archives per division and bureau. In each ministry, the archivist and his staff had to keep the general index in the manner as practised by the States General of the former Republic (see 3.3).

34 J.L. van der Gouw, *Inleiding tot de archivistiek* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1955), p. 43.

Finding a document in the *verbaal* system entails a number of steps. Suppose one wants to find information in the archives of the Ministry of Justice on the expulsion of a group of gypsies (*zigeuners*) in 1870 (see Figs. 3.9a-d).[35]

Like most ministries, the Ministry of Justice kept two *verbaal* series: the ordinary and the secret *verbaal*. Checking the secret *verbaal*, one starts with the alphabetical list (a) which under *zigeuners* refers to the index heading 'administration of police—varia'. Under that heading one finds in the index (b) a reference to the decision of 28 July 1870 Nr. 30. That document (minute) will be found in the chronological series of *verbalen* (c) and it contains the preceding documents that started the decision-making process. The minute carries a reference to these received documents which were tabled (*exhibitum*) on 25 July 1870 Nrs. 13-25 (d). The agenda (d) refers to the decision of 30 July 1870 Nr. 30, while the agenda of 30 July refers at number 30 back to 25 July Nrs. 13-25. Normally the minute (c) would show the various amendments and annotations made by civil servants while the minute was moving through the bureaucratic hierarchy.

The *verbaal* system was an intertextual genre system (see the General Introduction) involving civil servants, ministers, petitioners, senders, addressees, and other parties. Each participant would make 'a recognizable act or move in some recognizable genre, which then may be followed by a certain range of appropriate generic responses by others'.[36] The *verbaal* system was an excellent tool for an administration focusing on taking decisions in specific cases (see 10.7).[37] Information retrieval concentrated on the date and number of the decision. Pulling a particular document from the chronological series, or all documents on different but related decisions taken on different dates, was possible with the help of the annual indexes and other finding aids. On the other hand, for an administration managing objects and policies over time, it was very cumbersome to extract the documents pertaining to, for example, a bridge or a canal, and to return them, after consultation, to their chronological place time and again.

35 The example comes from J.A.M.Y. Bos-Rops, M. Bruggeman, and F.C.J. Ketelaar, *Archiefwijzer. Handleiding voor het gebruik van archieven in Nederland* (Bussum: Coutinho, 2005), pp. 80-81.

36 Charles Bazerman, 'Systems of genres and the enactment of social intentions', in *Genre and the new rhetoric*, ed. Aviva Freedman and Peter Medway (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), p. 97.

37 This paragraph is for the greater part a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'Recordkeeping systems and office technology in Dutch public administration, 1823-1950', *Jahrbuch für europäische Verwaltungsgeschichte/ Yearbook of European administrative history* 9 (1997): 213-22.
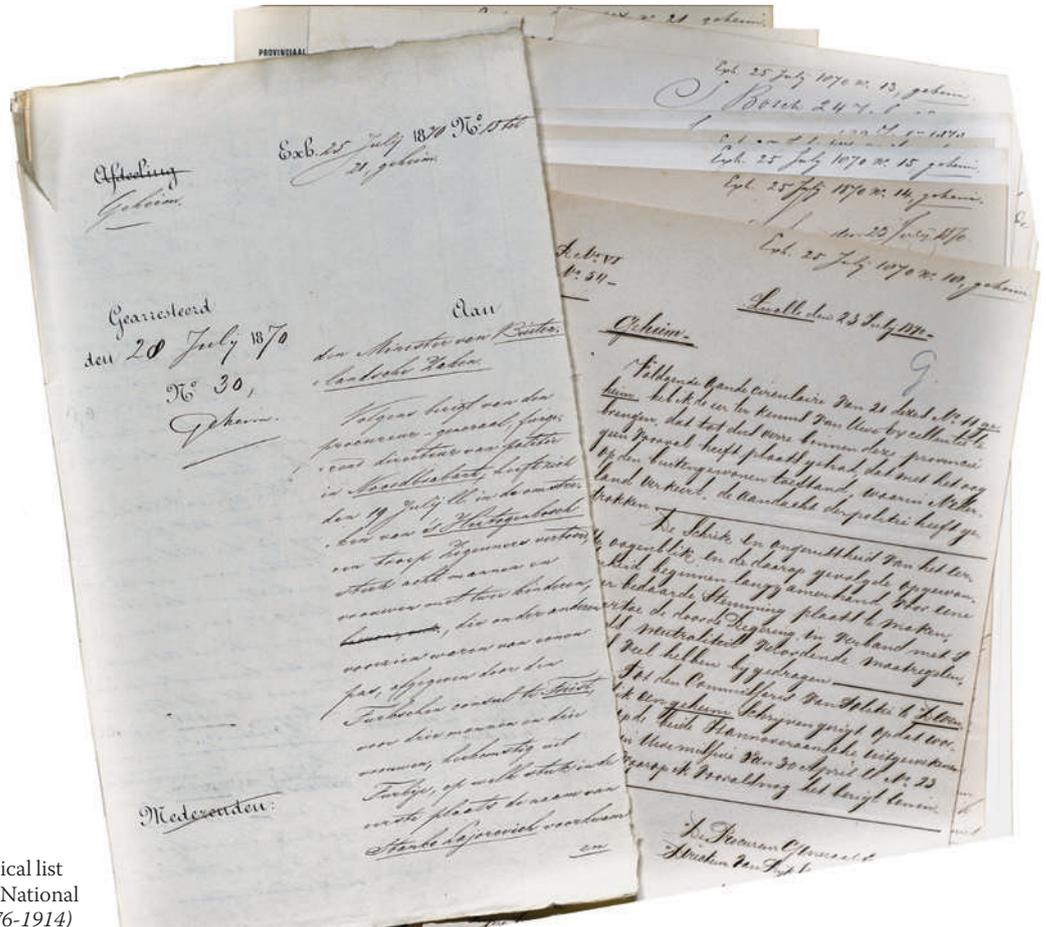
Fig. 3.9 The *verbaal* system: alphabetical list (a), index (b), minute (c), agenda (d). National Archives, *Ministerie van Justitie (1876-1914)* (2.09.05), inv. nrs. 6457 (exh. 30 July Nr. 30), 6590, 6599, 6609.

(c)

(a)

(b)

(d)

Notwithstanding the interdiction to arrange documents according to subject, this cumbersome practice led civil servants to create subject files with all the relevant documents for a longer period. This was done from 1829 at the Department of Public Works and Water Management. At the Ministry of Justice, 15 percent of the archives were kept as subject files, apart from the *verbaal* between 1813 and 1876. Special series of files were maintained separately, for example the files on each Act of Parliament tabled by the Minister of Justice; and files on each courthouse, prison, or other building for which the ministry was responsible; files on each association granted legal personality. Similar ways of creating files instead of integrating documents into the *verbaal* series were gradually developed at other ministries. In some ministries they split the central chronological series into different subseries, either for each division of the ministry (as the Ministry of the Interior had been doing since 1823, clearly contravening the Royal Decree of that year!) or for a broad subject specified in a classification table. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the first to do this (1863), followed by the State Real Estate Department within the Ministry of Finance in 1868.

During the 19th century, when the liberal 'Night Watch State' was gradually transforming into an actively steering government, the role of government changed from deciding about individual cases to steering development and preparing, implementing, and monitoring policies. These activities could no longer be supported adequately by the *verbaal* system. Therefore, the newly created Department for Commerce and Industry soon established a subject classification (1898), as did the Ministry for Agriculture in 1905, bringing the number of ministries diverging from the 1823 rules to four (out of nine).

Around the same time, municipalities began to change from chronological archiving to the subject files system propagated by Johan Zaalberg and his Records Management Bureau (*Registratuurbureau*) (see 4.10 and 12.6). In 1922 the Association of Dutch Municipalities (*Vereeniging van Nederlandsche Gemeenten*, VNG) took over the *Registratuurbureau*. In ten years the VNG managed to raise the number of contracts with municipalities from 52 to 312. In all these municipalities the traditional chronological series of documents were succeeded by subject files arranged according to the Universal Decimal Code (UDC)

classification. At the outbreak of the Second World War the VNG filing system was used in 657 (out of 1,054) municipalities. Remarkably, the records management movement in local government and business did not affect the ministries and central State agencies at all.

Immediately after the Liberation, in August 1945 the Cabinet decided to reorganize all ministries. Part of the reorganization concerned a more efficient records management. Abram Mey coordinated the overall reorganization and chaired an interdepartmental committee on records management. Mey was an accountant who had worked at the Board of Post, Telephony, and Telegraphy in the field of office management, information processing, and, generally, promotion of efficiency. In the second committee meeting, Lieutenant Colonel S.D. Duyverman from the Navy Ministry proposed to follow the VNG filing system. Petrus Noordenbos, director of the *Registratuurbureau*, was invited to join the committee. Some ministries (notably Agriculture, Social Affairs and some departments of the Interior) had already engaged Noordenbos to introduce the VNG subject files system. That system was prescribed in 1946 in general guidelines, but was shipwrecked, however, as a result of resistance in most ministries. Even the Ministry of Finance—that had taken the initiative for the efficiency drive—did not change its traditional *verbaal* system.

A year later the matter of filing ministerial records again received attention. This time the initiative came from the Ministry of the Interior. Louis Beel was Minister for the Interior, as well as Prime Minister. The story goes that before the war, when Beel was working at the town clerk's office in Eindhoven, he had learned to appreciate the VNG system and he wanted to use it (especially its document tracking component) to prevent civil servants from withholding sensitive documents. The official reason given by Beel was that the non-uniform application of the 1823 *verbaal* system had to be addressed. To draft a new decree, replacing the regulations of 1823, a new committee was set up in 1947. Like its chairman, Mey, most members had been on the first committee, including Duyverman and Noordenbos. This time a representative of the General State Archives, Sijbrand Fockema Andreae, also took part. Of the ten members, four were efficiency specialists,

while the others were experienced archivists and records managers. Following the committee's recommendations, a Royal Decree of 2 October 1950 (replacing the decree of 1823) prescribed the use of subject files and filing plans based on the UDC to all ministries and central State agencies. The decree also imposed document process control and tracking, regular destruction of records according to a retention schedule, the making of security copies, inspection of records management by the State Archivists, and transfer of archives after 40 years to the State Archives. This fixed term for transfer to the State Archives was new: the Archives Act of 1918 had only regulated that a Royal Decree was needed for any transfer of State archives created since 1813. Therefore (and because of lack of space), the State Archives hardly managed 'young' archives (i.e. archives after 1850) until well into the 1960s. The successive Archive Acts of 1962 and 1995 fixed the compulsory transfer period on 50 and then 20 years, respectively.

The regulations of 1950 were brought up to date in 1980 by a Royal Decree on registries of State agencies. The decree was rather conservative and did not allow much freedom to deal with new challenges, such as informatization of the office and decentralization and privatization of government policies and practices.[38] In 1995 the decree was revoked. Public authorities wrestled with automation of both work processes and the supporting operational processes, including records management. In 1991 the Court of Audit established that control by central government of its archiving of machine-readable records was insufficient (see 11.2.1). Since then it has become clear that modern information society offers new opportunities to government and society but, at the same time, also creates new demands related to decision making and accountability. Proper archiving is a major instrument to meet these demands (see 8.3.2).

Nowadays, ICT enables new modes of collaborative work, greater flexibility, interactivity, and control in organizations. In e-business and e-government records are more and more likely to be created in a network with different partners contributing to the record. I have treated aspects of these ICT developments elsewhere: see 1.2.5 (Data Protection and Automation), 1.5.2 (The Migration Machine), 6.3.2 (From Paper to e-Justice Portal), 8.3.2 (The Calculating State), and 11.2.1 (Archiving Technologies).

38   W.E. Goelema and A.J.M. den Teuling, 'Twintig jaar registratuur. Twee impressies', in *Voor burger en bestuur. Twintig jaar Nederlands archiefwezen 1968-1988*, ed. P. Brood (Hilversum: Verloren, 1988), p. 123.

3.6   State Archives[39]

3.6.1 A National *Archivarius*

In 1798, in the wake of the Batavian Revolution, the seven united provinces, along with Drenthe, Staats-Brabant, Staats-Vlaanderen, and parts of Limburg were reconstituted into a unitary republic. The Republic needed a real national history, stressed Henricus van Royen, a member of the new parliament, in 1800. Therefore, unhampered access to all historical material was necessary. In the past, Van Royen said, 'all charters and countless first-rate documents' were considered to be the jealously guarded property of different institutions that concealed them from others, and were 'proud of a useless, hidden, and dusty stock.' But now that stock had become 'the property of the entire nation', and, Van Royen claimed, 'would it not be the highest time to use it for the benefit of the nation?'[40] He proposed that all authentic charters and documents, kept by the different general, provincial, and regional executives and administrations, be brought together. An institution that could compare with the National Library (1798) and the National Art Museum (1800) should be established 'for the benefit of the Batavian people in general' and 'the lovers of our patriotic history' in particular, who would want to make 'an appropriate use' of all the old archives.

Netherlanders 'went in search of what bound them, what they had in common, in past and present.'[41] The 'imaginary fatherland' was founded in the patrimony of the young nation, including the archives. However, bringing the provincial archives together, as Van Royen had proposed, encountered resistance. Just as many people opposed the amalgamation of the provincial finances, they were also apprehensive of centralizing the archives. Van Royen's proposal was therefore only partially implemented. The task of the first *Archivarius* (archivist) of the Batavian Republic (1802), Hendrik van Wijn, was restricted; he had to inspect the material condition of the archives up to 1648 (the Peace of Westphalia) and to select and catalogue those documents that were the most important

39   This paragraph is a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'Muniments and monuments. The dawn of archives as cultural patrimony', *Archival science* 7 (2007): 343-57. See also T.H.P.M.Thomassen, 'De nationale collecties en het amalgaam der charters: het ontstaan van het Nederlandse archiefwezen', in *Het archiefwezen in Europa omstreeks 1800* (Brussel: Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1998), pp. 57-74.

40   National Archives, *Algemeen rijksarchief* (2.14.03), inv. nr. 1; W.J. Formsma and F.C.J. Ketelaar, *Gids voor de Nederlandse archieven*. 4th ed. (Weesp: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1985), pp. 32-3.

41   F. Grijzenhout and N.C.F. van Sas, *Denkbeeldig vaderland. Kunst en politiek in de Bataafs-Franse tijd 1795-1813* (Den Haag: Sdu uitgevers, 1995), p. 6.

for the study of public law, history, and literature. Van Wijn was explicitly forbidden to mix the archives of the former provinces or even to move them to another place. His instruction did not say anything about 'appropriate use' of the archives by 'lovers of our patriotic history' mentioned by Van Royen. On the contrary, Van Wijn had to take an oath of secrecy.[42]

There was therefore no question of centralization in a National Archives nor of access to archives by the public. Numerous institutions continued to keep their archives due to their administrative value, and not as material for historical research. This was the case, for example, with the archives of the Council of the Nassau Demesne (*Nassause Domeinraad*); upon confiscation of the domains by the State in 1798 the archives were transferred to the Ministry of Finance. There, all documents of no importance or those found to be illegible (!), were destroyed and what was kept, was used for the management of the domains. A comparable fate befell the archives of the United East India Company (VOC). In 1795 the VOC was brought under control of the new colonial administration that selected the documents of economic and financial importance to be stored separately. They were used for current business, included paying salaries and pensions to former VOC personnel and their heirs. Some 15,000 volumes of VOC archives (including nearly all 17th-century pay-ledgers) were judged to be of no importance any longer and were destroyed. Eventually State Archivist Bakhuizen van den Brink (see 3.6.2) achieved the transfer of the VOC archives—or rather what was left—to the *Rijksarchief* in 1856.

Although 1802 did not bring the proposed National Archives, but only a National Archivist, the appointment of Van Wijn in that year is considered to be the birth of the *Rijksarchief* in The Hague (rebaptized *Nationaal Archief* at its bicentenary). Indeed, in hindsight Van Wijn's appointment can be seen as the start of the development of Archives (with a capital A): Archives as an institution that is separate (but also detached) from the records creating administration and that manages archival documents for research by other people than the staff of the records creating agency.[43] Van Wijn was not only archivist of the Batavian Republic, he was also appointed keeper of the archives of the

Fig. 3.10 Hendrik van Wijn. Medal of the Royal Association of Archivists in the Netherlands, 1987. Collection of the author.

42 National Archives, *Algemeen rijksarchief* (2.14.03), inv. nr. 1.

43 B. Woelderink, 'De geschiedenis van het archiefwezen in Nederland in hoofdlijnen', in *Verslag en bijdragen rijks archiefschool 1972-1973/1973-1974* (Utrecht, Rijks archiefschool, 1975), pp. 61-90.

department Holland, as the former province was now called. Ever since 1802 the national State archives were managed jointly with the archives of the province of Holland (Zuid-Holland since the split of Holland into two provinces in 1840). Other departments (Gelderland 1802, Utrecht 1803), the cities of Leeuwarden (1802) and Utrecht (1803), and other towns (see 4.8) followed Holland's example by putting their historical archives in the hands of 'specialists', which, at the time, meant historians (see 12.2).

After the annexation by France, French archival legislation—including the regulations on the appraisal (*triage*) of records—was put into force, but only in one part of the present Netherlands, specifically in a part of Limburg that had been incorporated into France in 1795 (see 11.1.3). In Maastricht the archives of the department Lower Meuse were established. In 1812 Napoleon ordered the foundation of a colossal repository in Paris for the archives of the entire Empire. It was ordained that 'the treasure of archives under Monsieur van Win [Wijn] will be reunited with the Archives of the Empire'. French functionaries started to select the State archives to be sent to Paris, but the packers and movers stayed away. The fall of Napoleon ended the dream of the imperial archive.

In 1814 Van Wijn was restored to his function with the title of *'s Lands Archivarius*. The scope of his work was enlarged (and he was given a deputy, *jonkheer* Johannes Cornelis de Jonge) because the King decided that all State archives from before 1795 had to be brought together at the Binnenhof in The Hague. This was an important extension (from 1648 to 1795) of Van Wijn's responsibilities that became even larger in 1829 when the limit of 1795 was brought forward to 1813. The King's decision was especially important because centralization of the State archives was intended as a means of proper arrangement and preservation. However, there was hardly any question of the public using State archives for research. There was virtually no staff. Van Wijn's successor De Jonge had to work at home because at the Archives there was neither an office nor a search room (just one unheated cubicle with a table whereupon just one register could be consulted), and there were no finding aids. The only person who knew the way around the archives was De Jonge's assistant De Zwaan.

Since the annexation by France, the French law of 7 messidor an II (25 June 1794) was in force in the southern Netherlands (Limburg and present-day Belgium). This law entitled any citizen seeking legal evidence, access to the government's archives. The principle of public access to archives was recognized in the Netherlands only since 1829, when a ministerial regulation authorized 'the gentlemen archivists (…) entrusted with the care for State, provincial or local archives' to allow access to 'all trusted persons of their acquaintance who desire to conduct historical investigations in the general interest'. The new regulation led to the opening up of Archives, for example in Utrecht, where the provincial Archives were open to researchers for two hours a week. The institutionalization of Archives (with a capital A) was concluded by this regulation but, just as in France, it would take some decades before one could speak of a truly public archival system. As the famous State Archivist Reinier Bakhuizen van den Brink wrote upon his nomination in 1854: 'The century of secrecy has to be concluded with my appointment.'[44]

3.6.2 Life into the Country's Archives[45]

Upon the success of the movement for constitutional reform he had led, the liberal statesman Thorbecke became Prime Minister in 1849. Among his many projects for renewal of State and society was a reorganization of the archival system (*archiefwezen*). Thorbecke was dissatisfied with the narrow-minded lack of openness at the *Rijksarchief* in The Hague. He felt that the *Rijksarchief* should play a leading role in the country's archival system, in a close relationship with the provincial and municipal Archives (see 12.3). Thorbecke regarded Reinier Cornelis Bakhuizen van den Brink (a historian with ample experience in archival research in Vienna and Brussels) as a man who could implement what the minister had in mind: 'I want to bring more life into the Archives of our fatherland (…) and to have it radiating from the *Rijksarchief*.'[46] And Bakhuizen himself was convinced 'Once I arrive at the Archives, I must have the liberty to start a revolution there.'[47]

In 1851 the 41-year-old Bakhuizen was appointed at the *Rijksarchief* as assistant to State Archivist De Jonge. Bakhuizen started on 1 July and after three weeks he submitted an

44   'De Bakhuizen-correspondentie van Prosper Cuypers van Velthoven', ed. F.F.X. Cerutti and F.A. Brekelmans, *Nederlands archievenblad* 79 (1975): 57.

45   This paragraph is a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'In het archiefwezen meerder leven. De nationale archiefpolitiek van Bakhuizen van den Brink 1851-1865', in *Een vorstelijk archivaris. Opstellen voor Bernard Woelderink* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2003), pp. 190-96.

46   Letter from the Minister of the Interior to Bakhuizen van den Brink, 23 June 1851, University Library Leiden, BPL 1930.

47   Letter from Bakhuizen van den Brink to J. Bake, 21 February 1851, University Library Leiden, BPL 1892.

extensive report to De Jonge, who forwarded the report to the minister. 'Our archival system has to be created', Bakhuizen argued, and he formulated three conditions: public access (*openbaarheid*), consultability (*toegankelijkheid*), and management in accordance with the needs of scholarly research.[48] This programme could be implemented as soon as Bakhuizen was appointed State Archivist in 1854, after the death of De Jonge. Public access and consultability were regulated in a Royal Decree of 26 June 1856 and in new regulations for the *Rijksarchief*. Both were progress since the regulation of 1829 (see 3.6.1); now every inhabitant and even every foreigner—acquainted with the archivist or not—would have access to the archives, except people 'whose admission might be denied for substantial reasons'. At the *Rijksarchief* researchers no longer had to rely on human memory to find documents; Bakhuizen and his staff developed various finding aids, among these a comprehensive survey of the holdings and their history.

Apart from attaining public access and consultability, Bakhuizen worked hard to concentrate all ministerial archives up to 1814 in the *Rijksarchief*. Furthermore, he sought unity in the country's archival system and further improved the management of the provincial archives. In the past, some provincial archivists had been awarded an annual subsidy. The first was the archivist of Gelderland in 1826. Bakhuizen used the instrument of a subsidy to make provincial archives more dependent on the *Rijksarchief*. He also endeavoured adoption by provincial government of the liberal principles of the 1856 decree. Depositing State archives with provincial and municipal repositories was another means Bakhuizen used to strengthen the unity of the archival system.

On 15 July 1865 Bakhuizen van den Brink died. 'He woke up the archival system', his friend Carel Vosmaer wrote. And indeed, Bakhuizen van den Brink laid the foundation of a national archival policy based on public access, consultability, and unity. Building on that foundation was the challenge for another generation.

48   Access to archives, in Dutch archival terminology, covers two concepts: the availability of archival documents for consultation as a result of legal authorization (*openbaarheid*) and the consultability (*toegankelijkheid*): the intellectual control of archives by arrangement and description in such a way that a user can effectively consult the archives. See also 10.7.

3.6.3 A Network of State Archives

That challenge, in combination with institutionalization and professionalization, was met by *jonkheer* Victor de Stuers, who in 1875 became the powerful head of the Department for Arts and Sciences within the Ministry of the Interior. De Stuers did not only aim for a vigorous government policy regarding museums, monuments, arts, and science, but also 'effective measures to improve the dismal situation of our archives system (*archiefwezen*) in general'.[49] One of the issues De Stuers wanted to remedy was the control by provincial government of the provincial archives from before 1798. These archives, De Stuers argued, had devolved to the unitary State and the State should take control. Therefore, the State should establish State repositories, managed by a State archivist, in every province (except Zuid-Holland where, as mentioned before, since 1802 both the national archives and those of Holland had been kept in the *Rijksarchief*). Gelderland and Utrecht were the first two provinces where the provincial archivist was succeeded by a State Archivist (Van Riemsdijk in 1877 and Muller in 1879, respectively). The last province was Zeeland where, in 1890, Ermerins was appointed State Archivist (in 1894 he was succeeded by Fruin). Their instruction given by the Minister of the Interior ensured uniformity in methods and practices (see 12.4). Between 1879 and 1901 purpose-built State repositories were built in Gelderland, Noord-Brabant, Groningen, and Drenthe; in other provinces monumental buildings (such as a church, a city gate, or a wing of the Middelburg Abbey) were changed into archival repositories. The state-of-the-art *Rijksarchief* in The Hague, which opened to the public in 1903 (see Fig. 11.18), was the crown of De Stuers' building programme.[50]

Building and furnishing the *Rijksarchief* cost 650,000 guilders, the equivalent of more than eight million euro today.[51] The operational budgets were adapted to meet the requirements and possibilities of the new building. The annual material budget of 7,175 guilders in 1895 was raised ten years later to 25,000 guilders. The personnel budget of 17,050 guilders in 1895 doubled in ten years. The number of researchers quadrupled to an annual average between 1907 and 1913 of 206.

49   F.J. Duparc, *Een eeuw strijd voor Nederlands cultureel erfgoed. Ter herdenking van een eeuw rijksbeleid ten aanzien van musea, oudheidkundig bodemonderzoek en archieven 1875-1975* ('s-Gravenhage, Staatsuitgeverij, 1975), pp. 401, 409-12.

50   This paragraph is a summary of F.C.J. Ketelaar, 'Het Rijksarchief op het breukvlak', in *Jaarboek 1998 Geschiedkundige Vereniging Die Haghe* ('s-Gravenhage 1999), pp. 140-161.

51   In 1979 the General State Archives moved to the present building which in today's money would cost 29 million euros (30 million guilders in 1979).

In the 19th century, nearly all researchers came from the upper middle class, whereas between 1907 and 1916 their share was 50 percent. Interestingly, the occasional farmer, labourer, woodworker, or lithographer did not come for genealogical research (which made up 17 percent of the researchers; a doubling since the end of the 19th century), but as a citizen seeking legal evidence to be used, for example, in an inheritance case or to prove a right of way.

Fig. 3.11 Search room of the General State Archives (*algemeen rijksarchief*) in The Hague, 1922. The Hague City Archives, *Beeldbank*, nr. 5.07046.

At the instigation of De Stuers the State Archives in the 11 provincial capitals were institutionally centralized. Following the example of Belgium, the State Archivist in The Hague became General State Archivist (*algemeen rijksarchivaris*), having some control over the State Archivists. In the late 1960s, the State Archives Service (*rijksarchiefdienst*) was reorganized into a more hierarchically structured agency with the General State Archivist as its head. This reorganization was begun by *algemeen rijksarchivaris* Jaap van der Gouw (1966-1968) and was forcefully continued by his successors Ton Ribberink (1968-1988) and Eric Ketelaar (1989-1997).[52] When Ribberink took office as keeper of the General State Archives and head of the State Archives Service, these agencies, according to an investigation by the Archives Council, were not able to implement the Archives Act that had come into force in 1968 because of a deficient organization, lack of personnel, and unsuitable buildings.

During his time in office, Ribberink achieved an enormous reversal, with dedication and patience, sometimes by attacking the bureaucracy, and at other times by flattering, lobbying, and even engaging the press. The organization was streamlined: in each State Archives, departments were set up for inventorization, public services, and management. A central directorate handled personnel affairs, finance, automation, and the development of methods and standards for the whole organization. The assembly of State Archivists was to play an important role in the general coordination and policy making. Over the course of 20 years, staff increased from 135 to 288. New State repositories were built in Leeuwarden, Zwolle, Haarlem, Assen (partly newly built), and 's-Hertogenbosch. With great perseverance, Ribberink attained new premises for the General State Archives (*algemeen rijksarchief*) in The Hague (1979). These new buildings were urgently needed: between 1968 and 1988 total holdings increased from 84 kilometres to nearly 160 kilometres and the number of researchers grew (in the General State Archives from 8,000 to 27,000 annually). This was partly the result of promotional campaigns advertising Archives as the 'supermarkets of history'.[53]

52 This paragraph is a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'In memoriam A.E.M. Ribberink', *Informatieprofessional* (March 2013): 37. See also E.D. Eijken, 'De rijksarchiefdienst, 1968-1988', in *Voor burger en bestuur. Twintig jaar Nederlands archiefwezen 1968-1988*, ed. P. Brood (Hilversum: Verloren, 1988), pp. 20-47.

53 National Archives, *Centrale directie rijksarchiefdienst* (2.14.18), inv. nrs. 1710, 1717.

Fig. 3.12 Cover of the annual report of the State Archives Service, showing the State Archives in the provincial capitals, 1988. In 1992 a State Archives in the province of Flevoland was established.

Under *algemeen rijksarchivaris* Maarten van Boven (1997-2007) the name *Algemeen Rijksarchief* was changed to *Nationaal Archief*. The State Archives (with the exception of the National Archives) merged with the municipal archives (sometimes with other memory institutions as well) in the provincial capital, forming a regional historical centre (*regionaal historisch centrum*).[54] These regional historical centres are public bodies, with an executive board whose members are appointed by the Minister of Education, Culture, and Science and the municipality; they both provide the budget. The National Archives continue to be a state agency under the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science. The digital long-term preservation repository function (e-depot) at the National Archives is also utilized by the regional historical centres, thus joining the components of the former State Archives Service, not in a hierarchical structure, but in a professional and technical network, as is befitting the current network society.

3.7   Conclusion

Changes in recordkeeping are often the result of external political developments. An example is the succession by the Count of Hainaut in the counties of Holland and Zeeland in 1299 which led to the selection, arrangement, and cartularization of charters received by the counts of Holland and Zeeland. The table of contents of the cartulary provided access to the copies in the cartulary as well as to the original charters. The count's chancery was relatively early with this concordance between the physical arrangement of charters and their intellectual arrangement in a cartulary; elsewhere this became usual only in the course of the 13th century. The use of paper to make this cartulary was quite new. However, after a while the chancery reverted to parchment (see 11.1.1).

The inventorization and cartularization in 1299 only concerned the documents received by the count. It was not until the 14th century (which is rather late in the European context) that the count's chancery embarked on making registers of outgoing charters. Nevertheless, the geographical arrangement of the registers in Holland was quite

54 In Friesland the merger of the State Archives with the Provincial Library and the Frisian Literary Museum into an institution called Tresoar, does not include the Leeuwarden City Archives. The regional historical centre of Noord-Brabant (BHIC) does not include the 's-Hertogenbosch City Archives.

innovative for its time. Furthermore, the registers were made in duplicate and the registers branch off as the count's activities expand.

Arrangement of loose documents, cartularization, transcribing incoming and outgoing documents, and the use of new technologies (including paper and intellectual tools to enhance findability of documents)—all these archiving practices at the count's chancery are encountered elsewhere, in different institutions and at different times. This will become clear when we consider these practices as aggregation processes. Bringing parts together into a coherent whole is the major challenge for any recordkeeping system (see also 11.1.2).

Such aggregation was, in premodern and modern times, the main goal of each of the recordkeeping systems: the so-called *resolutie* system (16th-19th centuries), the *verbaal* system (19th-20th centuries), and the subject or case files system (20th century). The first system is typically Dutch, the second is Dutch but was highly influenced by the French, and the third was a German system adapted for use by Dutch municipal and other public bodies (see also chapter 13).

It is obvious that the different social, political, and technological contexts brought adaptations and changes with them. For example, the ambulatory assemblies in Gelderland and Overijssel did not create a single archive, but left archiving to the regional capitals. The transition of the 'Night Watch State' into an actively steering government caused the replacement of the *verbaal* system (ideal for supporting decisions in discrete cases) by a system of subject files which could serve mid-term and long-term policies in a better way. This chapter contains more examples of the way in which societal challenges influence mandate, business, and work processes and thereby impact on archiving (see Fig. 0.2): the formation of the unitary state (from 1795-1798 onwards) going hand in hand with new challenges to government, the French influence on archiving, the drive for more efficiency after the Second World War, and the impact of automation and privatization—they are all factors of archivalization (see the General Introduction).

While aggregation of parts into a whole may be the primary goal of a recordkeeping system, the accessibility or findability of the parts is crucial. Indexes, tables, marginal notes, inventories, and other finding aids provide intellectual control and access. Physical control and access are served by forming series and files (*liassen*) and ordering documents using pigeonholes (*loketkast*), boxes, and other containers. Both finding aids and physical arrangement are updated when competencies and tasks are extended and when work processes involving documents are changed, such as the formation at the States General of new *liassen* for the VOC and the WIC. Index terms are adapted, often because of changing societal circumstances (archivalization) in which certain terms are no longer regarded as appropriate (see 4.10).

In premodern times, making finding aids was often considered to be a private affair of the chancery personnel. Therefore, the indexes ended up in private archives, together with other documents which were conceived to be private. Later generations would judge many of these to be public archives, but that supposes a clear distinction between public and private which in premodern times was not always feasible. Still, there are many examples of the State recovering public archives from private hands.

The final section of this chapter (3.6) is an account of the main stages in the history of the Dutch State Archives *(rijksarchieven)*. A recurring issue is the quest for public access (*openbaarheid*) of government archives, first regulated in 1829, extended in 1856, inscribed in the Archives Act 1918, and further expanded in the 1960s by shortening the transfer period to 50 years and in the 1990s to 20 years. Another recurrent concern is the structure of the 'archival system' (*archiefwezen*) and particularly the organization of a network of State Archives. The evolvement from the days of De Stuers (1870s) to the recent merger of State Archives with municipal archives did not only entail the adaptation of structures but also meant further professionalization (see chapter 12).

Out of appreciation for professor Ketelaar's important contribution to the development of archival science.

Uit sympathie voor het belangrijke werk waarmee professor Ketelaar heeft bijgedragen aan de ontwikkeling van de archiefwetenschap.

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Chapter 4

Archiving Cities

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〃 Fig. 4.0 Portrait of the Deventer magistrate and its four secretaries by Gerard Ter Borch (1617-1681), 1667. Deventer City Hall.

⌄

4.0 Introduction

Around the year 1300, cities in the northern Netherlands were comparatively small: Dordrecht had a population of 5,000, Utrecht 5,500, and Groningen and Maastricht each 4,000. Remarkable is not so much the size of the cities' populations, but the level of urbanization of a relatively small country. By 1600, more than one in four Dutchmen lived in a town of over 10,000 people, and a century later the ratio had risen to one in three. Politically, Dutch cities were the building blocks of public governance of the provinces and at a national level. Originally, the States of the provinces were a body consulted by the lord of the land: the count or the duke (see 3.2). The States of Holland, for example, consisted of the nobility and of the delegates of the six most important cities. After the abjuration of the lord of the land Philip II (1581), the provincial States assumed sovereignty. In Holland the cities (their number was raised to 18) participated in the provincial government; the role of the nobility was restricted to one vote in the States. In other provinces both nobility and cities took part in governing the province. According to Streng, the cities were city-republics 'standing outside and above the States, but at the same time exercising co-governance.'[1] People were first and foremost burgher (*poorter*) of a city (or inhabitant of a village); second came the allegiance to one's province and then to the Republic of the United Netherlands. Since the 16th century *burger* became the preferred term for a citizen of a town or a city. In this chapter I use citizen, burgher, and *poorter* as synonyms.

Considering the important role of the cities in the Middle Ages and in premodern times, it is no wonder that archiving the city has attracted much interest from Dutch historians.[2] Much of their research since the mid-1990s was stimulated by the interest in pragmatic literacy, i.e. literacy and the culture of writing for pragmatic purposes. Often their research has its roots in diplomatics. The diplomatist Eef Dijkhof based his study of pragmatic literacy mainly on the charters of Middelburg, Dordrecht, Delft, and Haarlem between 1200 and 1325. Two examples with respect to individual cities are Jeroen Benders' study of the administrative structure and the use of writing in Deventer up to the end of the 15th century, and Geertrui van Synghel's diplomatic and palaeographical study of the city

1   J.C. Streng, *'Stemme in Staat'. De bestuurlijke elite in de stadsrepubliek Zwolle 1579-1795* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), p. 89.

2   E.C. Dijkhof, *Het oorkondewezen van enige kloosters en steden in Holland en Zeeland 1200-1325* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003); J.F. Benders, *Bestuursstructuur en schriftcultuur. Een analyse van de bestuurlijke verschriftelijking in Deventer tot het eind van de 15de eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004); Geertrui van Synghel, *'Actum in camera scriptorum oppidi de Buscoducis'. De stedelijke secretarie van 's-Hertogenbosch tot ca. 1450* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007); Johanna A. Kossmann-Putto, *Kamper schepenacten, 1316-1354* (Zwolle: Tijl, 1955); M.H.M. Spierings, *Het schepenprotocol van 's-Hertogenbosch, 1367-1400* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1984); Ernst Pitz, *Schrift- und Aktenwesen der städtischen Verwaltung im Spätmittelalter: Köln, Nürnberg, Lübeck: Beitrag zur vergleichenden Städteforschung und zur spätmittelalterlichen Aktenkunde (*Köln: Paul Neubner, 1959). See also Randolph C. Head, *Making archives in early modern Europe. Proof, information and political recordkeeping, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

secretariat of 's-Hertogenbosch before 1450. This research acknowledges the work of predecessors like Jo Kossmann-Putto (the city registers of Kampen 1316-1354), Mechelien Spierings (the aldermen's roll of 's-Hertogenbosch 1367-1400) and Ernst Pitz's *Schrift- und Aktenwesen der städtischen Verwaltung im Spätmittelalter* from 1959.

We possess the results of research on archiving of a few cities over a longer period. Rudi van Maanen and René Kunst inventoried the city archives of Leiden (1574-1929) and Leeuwarden (1426-1811), respectively; both dealt extensively with the history of archiving. Peter Horsman researched the Dordrecht city archives 1200-1920, with special attention to the contextual influences conditioning the behaviour of the recordkeeping system.[3] Changing societal notions of the relationships between citizen and government, and between local and central government, influence changes in governance, work processes, and archiving. Unearthing these contextual changes and their effect on archiving was central in my research and defined the choice of aspects of municipal archiving in different times and at different places to be treated.

In the first place, I focus on the textualization (*verschriftelijking;* today datafication) of municipal governance and management. I look at changes as well as continuity, refraining (as I wrote in the Preface), however, from trying to restore a real or imagined continuity of archiving practices. This restraint guides the treatment of the second main question as well: how did administrators and citizens use the city's archiving and how did such use influence the creation and findability of the archives?

Especially in the Middle Ages, but even long thereafter, the city charters (4.1) were the object of special care by the city council. The city privilege (franchise, or *stadsrecht*) established or confirmed the town as a juridical and economic entity, and specified the relationship between the city, its burghers, and the sovereign.

According to Peter Horsman, one of the dominant aspects of local archiving until well into the 19th century is the formation of series of registers beginning in the 14th century (4.2).

3   Peter Horsman, *Abuysen ende desordiën. Archiefvorming en archivering in Dordrecht 1200-1920* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting archiefpublicaties, 2011); Peter Horsman and Eric Ketelaar, 'Archival History', in *Encyclopedia of archival science*, ed. Luciana Duranti and Patricia C. Franks (London etc.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), pp. 53-58.

I demonstrate this by taking Jan van Hout as an example. He became city clerk of Leiden in 1564 and he not only thoroughly redesigned the municipal administration (4.3), but also reorganized archival management (4.4). There have been other innovative town clerks like Van Hout, but this Leiden clerk was truly exceptional.

In Leiden, as elsewhere, the preservation, arrangement, and findability of loose papers was a major challenge (4.5). One can measure the quality of a recordkeeping system by looking at the ways this challenge was met.

The communal archives were of service to government and citizen, but how was access provided? Section 4.6 deals with this aspect as a prelude to 4.7, which deals with the use of city archives for historical research and the symbolic importance of the archives for the citizen. In the 19th century City Archives (with a capital A) were created as separate institutions, caring not only for the records creating administration, but also for research by people other than the staff of the records creating agency (4.8).

The Batavian Revolution (1795) and the first national constitution (1798) created 'the Batavian People' consisting of citizens (*burgers*) loyal to the Batavian Republic. Towns and villages were constituted as components of the Republic and named municipalities (*gemeenten*). The municipal authorities had to meet the 'information hunger' of the new central government (see also 3.4). To some extent, archiving systems were influenced by French practices that endured after the liberation from the French in 1813-1814 (4.9.1). Decades before the Dutch *Manual* (1898) codified archival theory, methodology, and practice, archivists discussed the issue of provenance: is an archive created by a community or by its agencies? (4.9.2). Societal challenges led to new tasks and new organizational forms by the end of the 19th century (4.9.3) and, in accordance with the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2), to new archiving practices (4.10). More recent societal changes entail viewing archiving the city more and more as datafication of the city: the city and urban life captured and driven by data. This is leading to the development of the 'datapolis' (4.11).

Aspects of archiving cities are treated in other chapters as well, notably in Archiving People (chapter 1), Archiving Property (chapter 6), Archiving Trade and Industry (chapter 7), and Archiving Monies (chapter 8).

4.1   City Charters

Each city considered its founding charter (*stadsrecht*) to be one of its most precious documents. In the northern Netherlands the Emperor granted city rights to Utrecht in 1122. The Duke of Brabant granted 's-Hertogenbosch its franchise sometime between 1183 and 1204. Maastricht may have been given city rights by the Emperor and the Bishop of Liège (Luik) before 1204. Dordrecht was the first city in Holland to receive a charter from the Count of Holland (1220); Haarlem, Delft, and Leiden followed in 1245, 1246 and 1266. Brielle received *stadsrecht* in 1330 and a more elaborated charter in 1343, of which the city had a safety copy made in the form of a *vidimus*[4] by the Abbot of Middelburg as early as 1344. Anyone who wanted to base a claim on the city charter had to consult the safety copy, not the original.

Other privileges followed: the right to hold markets, exemption of tolls, staple rights, and more. These letters of patent were kept with special care in an archives' chest which often (as in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leiden, Nijmegen, 's-Hertogenbosch, Bergen op Zoom, and Haarlem; see 11.1.3) was kept in the church—the most important stone building providing also sacred protection. The documents in the chest were often put in boxes (see Fig. 11.8). In Groningen, for example, the chest contained 54 boxes, each box containing documents on a particular subject.[5] The chest had several keys and could therefore be opened only with the assistance of the whole council. This would not have happened frequently since the most important charters had been transcribed in a book of privileges (or ordinances). Keeping the charters in the chest and the distribution of the keys were both largely symbolic practices.

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4   Or *inspeximus*: a charter in which is declared that the author has examined an earlier charter, the text of which is quoted or summarized.

5   A.T. Schuitema Meijer, E. van Dijk, W.K. van der Veen, *Historie van het archief der stad Groningen* (Groningen: Gemeentearchief, 1977), p. 21.

In Dordrecht the keys to the charters were mentioned for the first time in 1383. At the beginning of the 15th century, the guilds received the keys so that the chest could only be opened with the cooperation of the guilds, who represented the community. The ceremony of opening the city chest (later a cupboard with six keys, standing behind bars locked with another six keys—one key for each of the most important guilds) was a memorable event, extensively recorded in 1649 and 1770.

Fig. 4.1a City chest of Dordrecht. Photo: Erfgoedhuis Zuid-Holland (Ad van der Zee).

Fig. 4.1b City chest of Dordrecht opened. Photo: Regional Archives Dordrecht (Sander van Bladel).

In 1649 the guilds demanded the chest be opened in order to check the guilds' privilege of 1367, the exact text of which had been a major cause of their insurrection that had been quelled by soldiers. The chest was opened again in 1770, at the request of the legal historian P.H. van de Wall, who wanted to consult the originals for his publication of the privileges. On that occasion the documents were aired and cleaned (some appeared to be writhed) and checked with the published inventory that had been made in 1649.

Documents were symbols of power themselves. In Zwolle, after a revolt of the guilds in 1416, the rebelling guilds were punished not only by beheading their masters, but also by the burning of their privileges. In the 1492 rebellion in Haarlem against taxes, the rebels vented their fury on the tax records and other documents of the tax collectors. In the city hall documents were torn to pieces, and the seals removed. The city charters embodied the privileges granted to the city and its citizens. The punishment inflicted in 1492 by Archduke Maximilian on Haarlem in response to the city's role in the rebellion was the forfeiture of most of the city's privileges, with the original charters being confiscated. Two councillors of the Court of Holland made a list of more than 100 of Haarlem's most precious documents, selected the privileges which were to be cancelled, and took the documents to The Hague. Several years later the city started a lawsuit at the Great Council of Mechelen (from the 15th century until the Revolt this served as the supreme court for Holland and Zeeland) to get the documents back, but the claim was rejected in 1505 (the judgment is written on a sheet of one and a half metres!).[6] Later the greater part of the documents was returned to the city archives of Haarlem; yet a few documents mentioned in the 1492 inventory are still in the archives of the Counts of Holland, now in the National Archives.

Documents were symbols, as was made clear in 1570 when the Duke of Alba, representing the King of Spain, confiscated the privileges of Utrecht in retaliation for the city's leniency towards the iconoclasts.[7] The Duke refused to be satisfied with copies, so after much resistance the city had to surrender the original archival documents. It took three years before the documents were returned to the city.

6   Noord-Hollands Archief, *Stadsbestuur Haarlem* (1573), inv. nr. 73; Henk van Nierop, *Treason in the Northern Quarter. War, terror, and the rule of law in the Dutch Revolt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 25; J. Scheurkogel, 'Het Kaas- en broodspel', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 94, no. 2 (1979): 189-211; Florence W.J. Koorn, *Inventaris van het stadsarchief van Haarlem 1245-1572* (Haarlem: Archiefdienst voor Kennemerland, 2002), annexe 2.

7   S. Muller, *Catalogus van het archief der gemeente Utrecht*, vol. 1 (Utrecht: Beijers, 1880), pp. xxvii-xxix.

The symbolic meaning of the city's charters was often enhanced by keeping them in a secret place. In 1579 the city council of Alkmaar commissioned three of its members to store the city's charters in a secret place and to keep that place secret.[8] In many Dutch cities the repository was referred to as 'the secret' (*het secreet*).

4.2   City Registers

In the first half of the 14th century textualization (*verschriftelijking*, which had slowly started in the 13th century) prevails in many cities. A city secretariat exists in Dordrecht, Haarlem, and Delft from the last quarter of the 13th century. According to Dijkhof, the main cause of creating a secretariat is the citizens' demand to have their legal acts be certified by the city magistrate. In Middelburg, most of the administration is carried out in writing since the 13th century; part of the textualization is the recording of citizens' legal acts in a city register. At the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century the authenticity of the magistrate's charters pertaining to the transfer of immovable property, testaments, etc., was ensured by storing them in the city chest in Arnhem and Kampen. It was replaced subsequently by recording the acts in the city register, from which special transfer registers were branched off later (see 6.2).

There were also other reasons to create and maintain registers. For example, in Deventer specialization of tasks among the aldermen (*schepenen*) led to new registrations. The people of Deventer also wanted insight into the city's finances, which led to compiling several partial administrations in a central bookkeeping: the city's account (*rekenboek*) (see 8.2.1). Also, political factors played a role: the increasing frequency of conflicts in Gelre and the Oversticht in the 1350s forced Deventer to begin registering the *oorveden* (pledges of peace from the losing party in a feud). At the same time (first half of the 14th century), an ordinance book (*keurboek*) is made in Kampen as well as one in Deventer. It is likely that the *keurboek* was open to the public, or at least that people could demand extracts from it. Later (in connection with the reinforcement of the influence of the *meente*, a body

8   Regional Archives Alkmaar, S*tadsarchief Alkmaar 1254-1815*, inv. nr. 39, fol. 145.

representing the burghers) the ordinances and by-laws (or part thereof) were annually recited aloud in public in Deventer, Kampen, Zutphen, Arnhem, and elsewhere.[9]

The Deventer ordinance book was referred to as *stadboek* (*liber civitatis*, city register), but this term was used for other registers as well. In other towns, the town register is an undifferentiated register of various matters, from which special registers are branched off later. An early example is the *Liber Vetus* in Kampen, started around 1310 and continued in 1318 with a register that was no longer undifferentiated but sorted by headings. A special citizens register existed in Kampen as early as 1302; in Deventer a city book for registering citizens was started in 1353 (see 1.3), and a special register of judgments (*clageboeck*) in 1423. The latter was created, according to the ordinance, for the aldermen to sentence similarly in similar cases.

In the Dordrecht *stadboek*, the city government recorded various acts, arranged under headings such as 'various letters', 'guild matters', and 'banishments', since 1383. Beginning in 1403, however, only banishments and other decisions are recorded that are promulgated in front of the City Hall after ringing a bell; hence the name toll book (*klepboek*; in nearby Gorinchem this was known as the bell book, *kloksboek*). The other matters are recorded in a new *stadboek*, from which the register of acts (*aktenboek*) and the aldermen's protocol are branched off (bifurcation) around the middle of the 16th century. Peter Horsman has thoroughly studied the registration and archiving in Dordrecht (see Fig. 4.3). Dordrecht notably started a citizens register as late as 1659, after having recorded applications for citizenship in the registers of petitions for a long time. We know however that, at least in 1450, a citizens register existed (see 1.3).

Dordrecht is equally late registering the (drafts of) deeds of transfer and mortgage of immovable property (see 6.2). The aldermen's (*schepenen*) register begins in 1543 and is split between 1593 and 1595 into six special registers for transfers, mortgages, and related documents.

9   Benders, *Bestuursstructuur*, p. 120; L.A.J.W. Sloet, 'Het kondichboek der stad Zutphen, *Nederlandsche Jaarboeken* 7 (1845): 423-580.
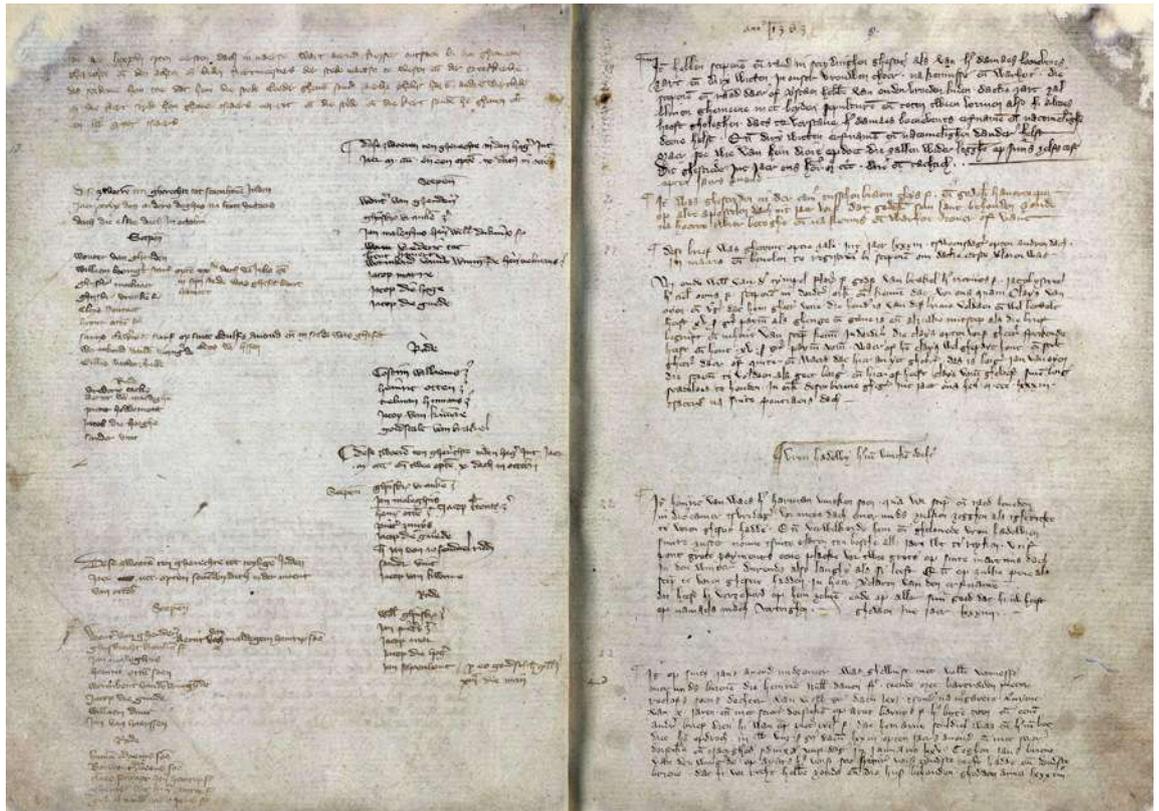
Fig. 4.2 City register (*stadboek*) of Dordrecht, 1383. Dordrecht City Archives,
*Stadsarchieven 1200-1572* (1), inv. nr. 4.
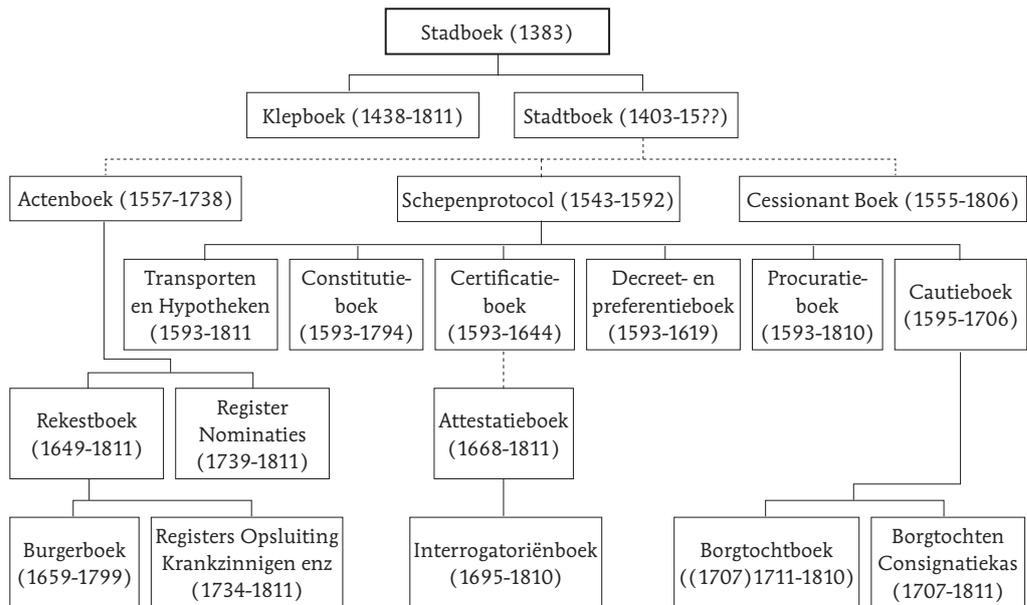
Fig. 4.3 Bifurcation of the *stadboek* in Dordrecht, from Peter Horsman.
Abuysen ende desordiën. Archiefvorming en archivering in Dordrecht 1200-1920
('s-Gravenhage: Stichting archiefpublicaties, 2011), p. 133.

Increasing volume and differentiation of government tasks made new and more demands on governance, work processes, and archiving, particularly in the registration of, and access to, the evidence of rights and duties of government and citizen. In Groningen (12,500 inhabitants in 1560, 16,600 in 1606), upon his appointment in 1553, city clerk Egbert Alting begins by opening various registers, among them a register (*protocol*) of outgoing letters, a register of ordinances, and a register of judgments. Until the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century, the Leiden administration, just as that in Dordrecht, did not require much registration in the city register, apart from a few specialized registers such as those of ordinances (*keurboek,* ca. 1360), burghers (*poorterboe*k, 1364), and atonements (*zoenboek,* 1370)—recording precisely those tasks and competences that characterized a city, namely the regulation and adjudication of burghers. Furthermore, documents were kept in the city chest (*stede scrien*). Specialization and differentiation continue. The general city register atrophies, while the amount of new registers increases. All those registers form an extensive intertextual genre system (see the General Introduction) in which one event (for example the admittance of a new burgher) is echoed in various registers. The findability of the registers is enhanced using new technologies such as foliation, tabs (*klavieren,* markers fixed to the fore-edge of a codex), and alphabetical tables—all, as Randolph Head argues, 'little tools of knowledge' developed by scholastic erudition and introduced into chanceries.[10]

The Leiden registers that existed around the middle of the 15th century served the city administration in managing affairs for another century. But after the middle of the 16th century registration expanded again, quantitatively and qualitatively, with one of the reasons being the increase of the population and the economy: in 1400 Leiden had 5,000 inhabitants, in 1581 12,000, and in 1600 25,000. Here Jan van Hout, city clerk since 1564, introduced registry management and records management, a prototype of the reforms at the end of the 16th century which have determined the image of the municipal administration during the *ancien régime.*

10   Head, *Making archives*, p. 60.

4.3   Jan van Hout, City Clerk[11]

In 1596 Leiden's *Gerecht* (sheriff, burgomasters, and aldermen) orders clerk Jan van Hout to specify his duties for which, according to his contract, he cannot request payment above his salary, and, on the other hand, the extra activities for which he may be paid. Van Hout begins his remonstrance with summarizing his career since he came into the city's employment as a scrivener (*klerk*) in 1562. From 1564 he has been the city clerk, with an interruption from 1569 to 1573 when Van Hout, as a supporter of William of Orange, was in exile abroad. Van Hout explains that recording in the books existing at the time of his appointment is covered by his salary. However, for the registration (*registratuer*: the oldest mention of this term in the Netherlands) in the books started by Van Hout, the city must pay him extra. Van Hout enumerates all 39 series kept at the secretariat. Of these, 25 were created while he was city clerk. In some cases, it sufficed to start registering what formerly were only loose documents. For example, the register of witness statements replaced the filing on a string (*lias*, see 3.3) as was the practice before 1581. In the same way the register of appointments of city officials (*Dienstboek*) was formed; they were kept as loose papers, but Van Hout started registering them. In the first volume he transcribed some appointments made previously.

Other new series were established when administrative efficiency demanded to split a special register from a general series. Thus, in 1590, the conditions of public auctions of immovable property (until then registered in the book of presentations, *inbrengboek,* jointly with the private sales) were recorded in a separate register (see also 6.6.1). In 1574 Van Hout began the 'Journal of all matters of the new burgomasters, the aldermen, and the city council'. In 1577 he separated the council's resolutions, and in 1587 he began with two series: the Burgomasters' Journal and the Justice (*Gerecht's*) Journal. In each, as he wrote, was 'registered everything that happens in the meeting and is concluded [there]'. It is likely that Van Hout adapted this form for a journal from the practice in the Reformed Church where the church council kept extensive *acta* (minutes) (see 2.3.3). Van Hout's journals

11   F.C.J. Ketelaar, 'Jan van Hout's "Registratuer"', *Nederlands archievenblad* 84 (1980): 400-12; R.C.J. van Maanen, *Inventaris van het Stadsarchief van Leiden (1253) 1574-1816 (1897)* (Leiden: Gemeentearchief, 1986), pp. xxx-xxxix; Rudi van Maanen, *Jan van Hout als stadssecretaris* (2009), https://web.archive.org/web/20190531122055/ https://oudleiden.nl/images/janvanhout/publicaties/ sym2_maanen.pdf, archived 31 May 2019; Karel Bostoen, *Jan van Houts nalatenschap: bronnen* (Leiden: Ginkgo, 2013).

also bear a resemblance to the *resoluties* kept since 1525 by the States of Holland (see 3.2). Randolph Head argues that Van Hout's 'two central journals, recording the business process of the most important urban authorities, reframed the operation of the entire system'; incoming documents and the decisions taken were linked in the record of a meeting, rather than filed according to subject matter. [12] This is, according to Head, one key shift that defines a registry (German: *Registratur*). In fact, Jan van Hout calls his system *registratuer in de boucken* as if to emphasize the importance of the codex as archiving tool.
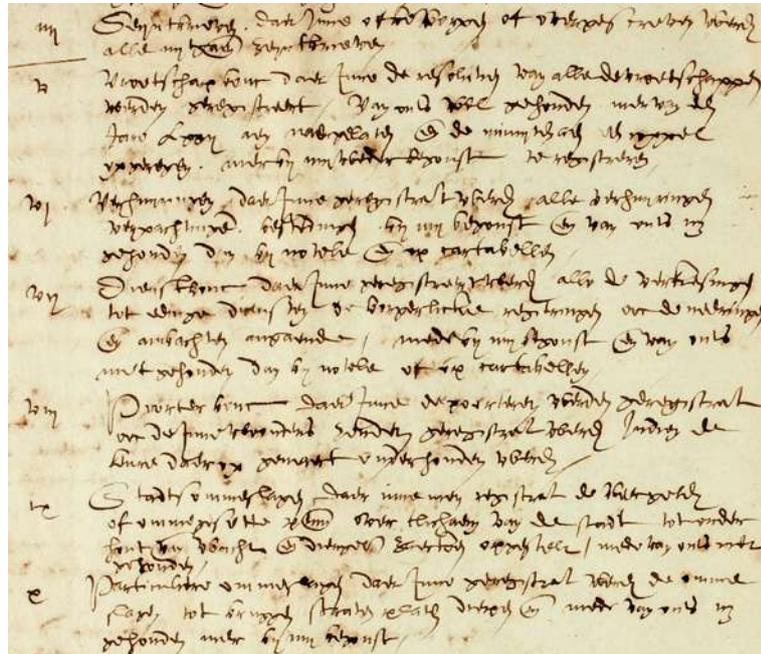
Fig. 4.4 Enumeration of the series of registers kept by Jan van Hout, 1596, detail. Erfgoed Leiden, *Stadsarchief van Leiden* (0501A), inv. nr. 1051.

12   Head, *Making archives*, p. 255.

New societal challenges (see Fig. 0.2) necessitated the creation of new registrations, what one might call originative registrations. An example is the Reformation, which led to new tasks for civic authorities with respect to marriages (see 1.2.1). In 1575 the magistrate began a book of brides (*Bruytbouc*) to register the banns of Reformed people and those belonging to other churches. With a note from the City Hall, the Reformed couples could then have their marriage announced and confirmed in the church. People belonging to a non-Reformed church had to get married by the magistrate; for them, a book of weddings (*Echtboeck*) was introduced in 1592.

The marriage registers and the other registers created by Van Hout served the interests of the city as well as those of the citizens. Very special was the Register Vetus, the register of mortgages set up by Van Hout at his own expense in 1585. In this register the data of parcels to be transferred were registered and verified. Citizens could check the register for details about a parcel, the owner, and the adjacencies (see 6.1.1).

Van Hout's career ended with his death in 1609. At that time, 61 series were kept at the City Hall, nearly three times more than when he began. The importance of Van Hout's record-making is evident when one realizes that of the 44 series he initiated, at least 31 were continued until or even beyond the French occupation (1810-1813).

In listing the series, each with a short explanation, Van Hout's remonstrance follows the 'Ordinance and instruction of the order or regularity which from now on will be maintained at the secretariat or writing room of this city Leiden and concerning the pay that will be required and paid there in these matters' (*Ordonnantie ende onderrichtinge van de ordre ofte geregeltheyt die van nu voortsaen ter secretarye of schrijfcamere dezer stadt Leyden zal werden onderhouden ende van tloon dat aldaer daervoren zal werden afgeeyscht ende betaelt*). It was printed at the City Hall in 1592 on the printing press which Van Hout had bought for the city. This booklet of 50 pages contained a detailed justified instruction for the clerks at the secretariat, pointing out which registers must be furnished with alphabetical tables 'to be relieved of the difficult unpleasantness of much searching'

(*om 'van moeyelicke quellagie van veel souckens verlost te werden'*). Van Hout's colleague and acquaintance in Dordrecht copied a few ideas from the Leiden instruction. At least six series, started in Dordrecht in 1593, seem to have been inspired by the Leiden example.

Two books are not mentioned in the remonstrance: the *waterboek* of 1583-1589 and the *stratenboek* 1588-1597, containing detailed maps of the width of canals and parcels, both made on the initiative of Jan van Hout. The maps formed the basis for assessing the contribution each homeowner had to pay for the maintenance of the lining (shoring) of the canals and the pavement of the streets.[13] Both codices, together with the *Register Vetus*, visualized and archived the city.

Jan van Hout was not only city clerk, but also a notary (see next section), secretary to the board of the Leiden University (founded in 1575), and secretary of the bailiwick (*baljuwschap*) of Rijnland, the regional court. In the last capacity he ensured the building (1580-1582) of an office with an archival repository in order to end the keeping of archives at home, which was a 'great inconvenience' for the Rijnland judges and litigants. The university's 'second memory' was the Journal (*Dachbouck*), in which Jan van Hout noted down everything that happened at the university. We read, for example, that in March 1595 the burgomasters and governors decided to have *pulpita* made for the 365 folio books in the university library and that—at the suggestion of Jan van Hout—these were to be fastened to the pulpits with chains. Anticipating an increase in the number of books, they had 407 brass chains made at a cost of 183 guilders. Among the first gifts presented to the new university library was the *Opera Omnia* by Philip van Leyden (see 3.1). The inscription in the book tells us that it was donated by Jan van Hout.

4.4 Jan van Hout, Archivist

'The first archivist of Leiden'—a title of honour Jan van Hout justly deserves. In 2009—at the commemoration of Van Hout's death four centuries prior—archivist Rudi van Maanen stated

13 P.J.M. de Baar, 'Jan van Hout en zijn Stratenboek en Grachtenboek', in *Ups en Downer. Bundel artikelen bij het afscheid van mr. W. Downer als gemeentearchivaris van Leiden* (s.l., 1985), pp. 5-18.

The far-reaching differentiation, but also the physical growth of the archives, caused Van Hout to think about the findability. Around 1590 he began numbering all series and files, both old and new ones, and marking them with a number. These numbers correspond with the keywords in an alphabetically arranged register. To prevent search problems, some archival documents have been put under more than one keyword. Some documents and files carry the same number, however. Essentially this comes down to subject indexing. The index served both the static and the dynamic archives.[14]

We can recognize something of the system of categorizing knowledge using *loci* (topics or commonplaces—Erasmus called them pigeonholes) that had been developed by the philosopher (and *secretarius* of the city of Groningen between 1480 and 1484) Rudolph Agricola.[15]

As elsewhere, the privileges and the other important charters were kept separately from the rest of the archives, in the *secreet* in the City Hall. When the burgomasters entered the *secreet* in 1577 they established that many documents were dampened and liable to be lost altogether. Jan van Hout had the documents cleaned and dried with warm towels; subsequently they were put in chronological order, inventoried, and stored in drawers.

After the Reformation, the estates of the churches and monasteries in and around Leiden were confiscated and put at the disposal of the city and the university (see 2.3.1). The archives were seized as well, as they were essential for managing the estates. Jan van Hout put the charters of the monasteries in the city's *secreet* and made an inventory (of 400 folios) of the archives. He also began to inventory the archives of the chapter of Saint Pancras' Church, but he was not able to finish the work. After his death, four drawers with charters of the chapter were found at his home. They were returned to the charter cupboard in City Hall.

14 Van Maanen, *Jan van Hout als stadssecretaris.*

15 Peter Burke, *A social history of knowledge. From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000), p. 95.
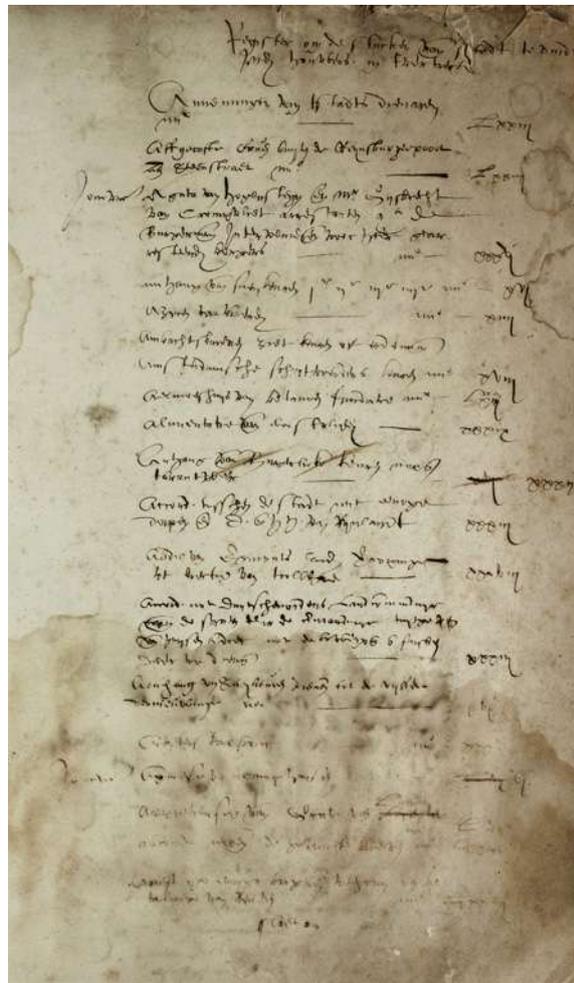
Fig. 4.5 Alphabetical index of the series and files at the Leiden city registry, made by Jan van Hout, 1590 and continued until around 1607. Erfgoed Leiden, *Stadsarchief van Leiden* (0501), inv. nr. 1.

Besides his work as clerk and secretary, Van Hout kept a scrivener's office where all sorts of writing were done for the city and other customers. Moreover, Van Hout acted as notary, agent, and mediator. Describing his papers in his testament, Van Hout distinguished four categories: documents of and for the city, notarial archives, documents pertaining to his family and his estate, and, finally, documents concerning third parties. This distinction proved not to be sharp enough when it came to inventorying the estate. The extensive inventory of all registers and papers lists 283 items, many comprising several documents. The heirs transferred roughly 100 items in the city documents category to the city. The notarial archives comprised a dozen documents, including *liassen* of draft-acts and the *protocol* from 1583 to 1609 of 206 pages. According to the testament, this archive was handed over to the youngest of the Leiden notaries. The third category (Van Hout's private archives) were kept in a big cupboard with more than 30 numbered pigeonholes containing hundreds of documents (described in the inventory as 92 items). On top of the cupboard were three maps, 16 genealogical tables, and five bundles with documents about church properties. Part of these were indeed private archives, but many papers were considered to belong to one of the other categories. Therefore, the city government judged it best not to leave part of the third and fourth categories in private hands, but to take them in public custody at City Hall. Those needing copies were to have them made by the city clerk. However, the documents in these categories had been bequeathed to the city greffier Joost van Swanenburch and from him on his brother Isaac, the deputy city clerk. In 1622 the latter transferred the archives to the city, which rewarded Isaac with a gift of 150 guilders.

4.5 Order

As we have seen, the privileges were regarded as the most important documents among the town archives. They were therefore treated with special care. The series of bound registers (codices) were kept separately at the secretariat. In addition, there was a bulk of loose papers, kept in boxes, bags, baskets, chests, cupboards, and as *liassen* (see 3.3).

At first the clerk and his staff would have had them close at hand. After some time, they were either destroyed or removed to attics and cellars. The need to improve the accessibility and findability by creating order in this mass was discussed sporadically by the city council.

This is shown in the example of Groningen.[16] After the city government had repeatedly expressed the wish for inventorization of the archives, a committee was finally entrusted in 1674 with the ordering of the documents kept at the secretariat, the audit chamber, and elsewhere. The contents of the city chest and another old chest were transferred to three new chests, each containing 15 drawers. It was decided not to maintain the old order of the documents, but to make a new arrangement. In March 1677 the work was done, and the keys of the chests and the inventory were handed over to the burgomasters. On comparing the old order in the city chest and the new one, the changes over one and a half centuries become apparent: formerly, the first drawer contained the 'privileges and freedoms granted by emperors, kings, lords, and republics'; now this category had been moved down in the classification. Groningen no longer handled its own foreign affairs or concluded treaties with foreign powers, as these now belonged to the prerogatives of the Republic of the United Provinces.

In 1693, Rotterdam appointed an archives committee of three council members that reported in 1697 on the 'appropriate order to find, consult, and use the charters and papers and the like'.[17] This triggered the city council to decide on a drastic improvement of archives management, but it took until 1704 before pensionary Isaac van Hoornbeek was instructed to reorganize the papers. He focused on the charters and other important documents and considered an alphabetical order (as for books). Finally, he chose an arrangement according to the subject of governance to replace the former order according to form (contracts, judgments, etc.). The documents and the pigeonholes where they were stored received a number. The inventories (one for each subject) refer to these numbers. The inventories were published in one volume.

16 Schuitema Meijer, *Historie,* pp. 82-86.

17 H.C. Hazewinkel, *Honderd jaar gemeentelijke archiefzorg MDCCCLVII-MCMLVII* (Rotterdam: Gemeentearchief, 1957); H. ten Boom and B. Woelderink, *Inventaris van het oud archief van de stad Rotterdam, 1340-1813,* 3 vols. (Rotterdam: Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, 1976).
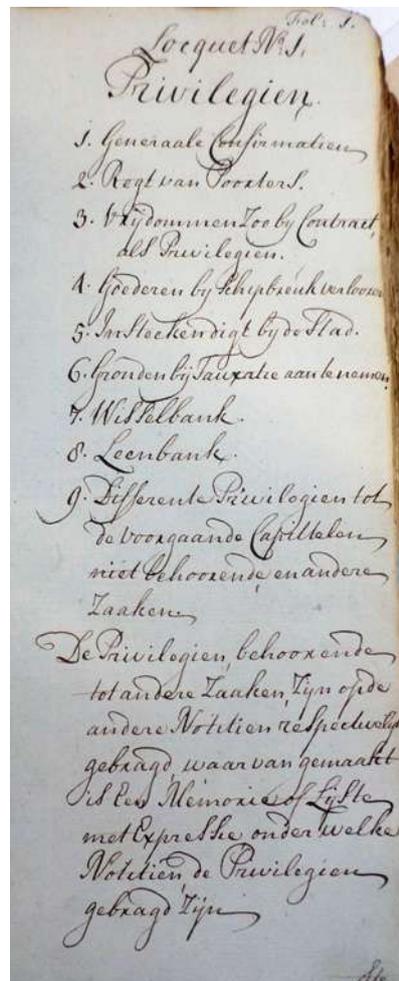
Fig. 4.6a and b Inventory of the *loketkast* of Rotterdam, 1704. Rotterdam City Archives, *Oud-archief stad Rotterdam* (1-01), inv. nr. 703.

Around the middle of the 18th century a shadow archive was made of the most important documents stored in a cabinet with pigeonholes (*loketkast*). Upon completion of this gigantic shadow archive (33 volumes) its maker, former city clerk Jacob van Belle, was presented with a silver tobacco box with a golden lid and a laudatory inscription 'for indefatigable labour rendered in collecting the public archives, brought to a fortunate end' (*ob indeffessum in conferendis publicis archivis laborem praestitum, et feliciter exantlatum*).

By 1765 the disorder in the *loketkast* had again grown to such an extent that a new campaign to create order was necessary. The pensionary and the two city clerks had to arrange the documents anew, select and 'extinguish the useless' (*het onnutte te extingueren*), and store the remains in such a way that the documents would easily be found. A year later, an inventory of the loose papers and the series was finished. An update of the 1704 inventory of the charters was then published, followed by a list of all the series (1776); of the 41 series on the list, 33 have been preserved—eight (totalling more than 300 volumes) got lost or were cleared out.

In Amsterdam, Jean René Gericot, 'charter clerk' at the City Hall since 1739, completed the inventorization of the books and papers in the rooms above the treasury in 1771. This inventory of 308 pages is known as the 'tearing up book' (*verscheurboek*) because Gericot indicated whether each document should be retained or destroyed.[18]

Inventories like these also exist elsewhere. They were often made on the occasion of ordering or reordering the archives, but in most cases inventories were restricted to those documents which were important for defending the rights and privileges of the city. They mainly consist of the parchment charters and 'the canonized papers', to use the term recently introduced by René Kunst in his inventory of the Leeuwarden city archives.[19] Around 1597 the Leeuwarden charters and papers were described in a register after the administration moved to a new City Hall. The old city chest was then replaced by a large cabinet which did not have the usual pigeonholes but drawers. The cabinet is still in the Leeuwarden City Archives along with its successor, a much larger cabinet made in 1842.

18 L. van Nierop, 'Verscheuren. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Amsterdamsche archief', *Jaarboek van het genootschap Amstelodamum* 22 (1925): 13-21.

19 René Kunst, *Inventaris van het archief van de stad Leeuwarden 1426-1811* (Leeuwarden: Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, 2012).

In other cities the *loketkast* was often systematically organized by headings (*rubrieken*). These were mostly geographical headings, but in Leeuwarden the documents were numbered at random, registered and put into the drawers. In 1729 the drawers were inspected, and a new list of the most important papers was made. That list was updated in 1794 by council member Gerard Voorda, who in 1803 became the first Dutch city *Archivarius* (see 4.8).

In 1654 the city council of Utrecht discussed the expediency of commissioning someone 'who could examine the city's archives once or several times a year, and who, for a better preservation of the city's charters and old papers, would bring order, both by reforming the catalogue or register, and by renewing the presses and drawers for keeping the records'.[20] This catalogue still exists in the Utrecht Archives. It was based on earlier inventorizations, the oldest possibly made by the city clerk in 1478. The archival interest of the Utrecht municipality was short-lived. When council member Cornelis Booth, a well-known antiquarian, died in 1678, there is no further mention of the city archives in the council minutes for over a century.

4.6 Access

The city archives served government and citizens. The city privileges were mostly kept secret, but copies were available in books of privileges. These were often in private hands. One could purchase an extract from various registers, as Jan van Hout's ordinance (see 4.3) shows. In 1.2 we saw that extracts from registers of births, marriages, and deaths were provided. Everywhere the registers of transfer of immovable property were publicly accessible (see 6.2). Public access occasionally led to disorder at the secretariat. In Delft, for example, the magistrate frequently had to prohibit people from going behind the partition into the clerk's office to look for and read the registers by themselves.[21]

20 Utrecht Archives, *archief van het Gemeentearchief*, inv. nrs. 330-333; S. Muller, *Catalogus van het Archief. Eerste afdeeling 1122-1577* (Utrecht: Beijers, 1893), pp. XXIX-XXXI; *Tentoonstelling Utrechtse archieven* (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 1953), p. 9.

21 Delft City Archives, *Stadsarchief 1246-1913*, inv. nr. 69, fol. 46.
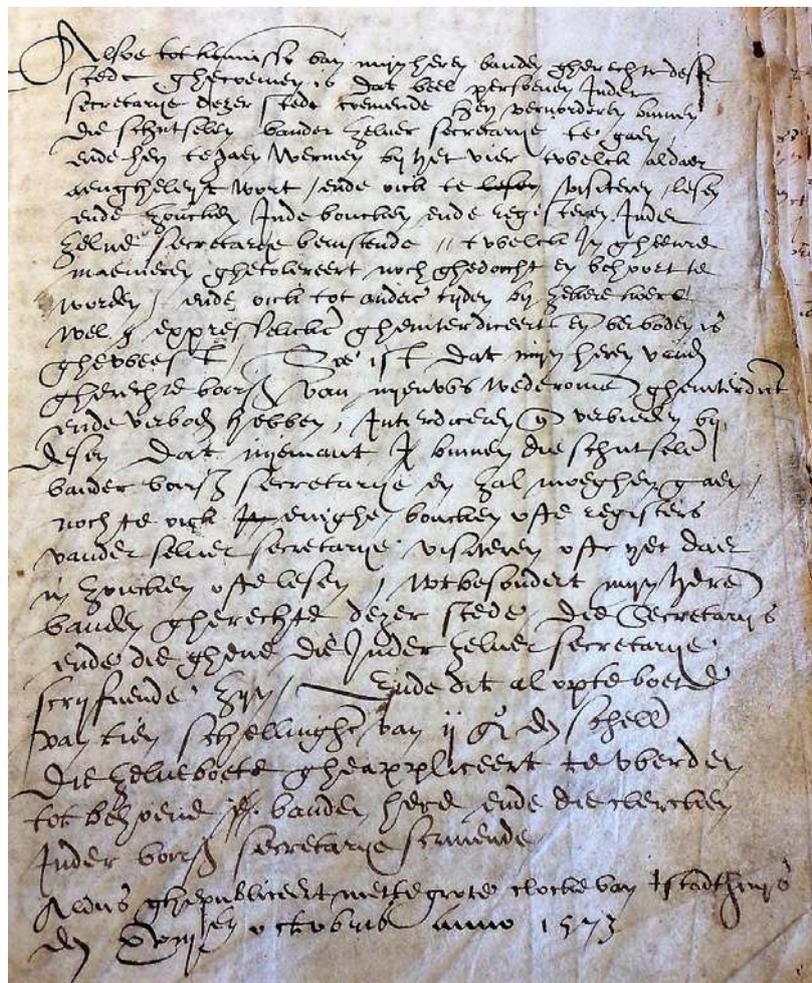
Fig. 4.7 Regulation on the Delft city registry, 1573. Delft City Archives, *Stadsbestuur*, inv. nr. 69.

22 Erfgoed Leiden, *Stadsarchief 1574-1816*, inv. nr. 89, fol. 108-108verso.

23 Erfgoed Leiden, *Stadsarchief 1574-1816*, inv. nr. 51, 198verso-199verso.

24 The following is a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'Muniments and monuments. The dawn of archives as cultural patrimony', *Archival science* 7 (2007): 343-57.

The secretariat was not the only municipal office to keep registers. For example, the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber of Desolate Estates were accessible to creditors and liquidators (see 6.4). The guilds kept registers and delivered extracts to members and non-members. In 1687 someone required an extract from the weigh book from the master of the weigh house in Leiden. This was permitted, but only with the consent of the magistrate.[22] At the Great Council of Mechelen (the supreme court) extracts from city registers, the register of the Audit Office in The Hague, and notarial registers were frequently used as evidence in court cases. However, in order to obtain an extract or copy, one had to prove a justified interest. The archives of the Orphan Chamber (see 6.3.5) were kept secret because it was decided that the value of an orphan's assets should not become public knowledge. Nevertheless, interested parties could get information and extracts, although the deficient order of the archives often made this difficult. In 1611, the Leiden Orphan Chamber moved to a new room at the City Hall, and at the same time the archives were ordered and a few finding aids were created 'to give anyone at all times, whenever necessary and on request only, proper satisfaction which formerly, due to the lack of order, could not happen'.[23] ('*omme des noot en verzocht zynde, t'allen tijden eenen yder goet geryff te mogen doen, 't welck voor desen, mits gebreecke van ordre, niet en heeft connen geschieden*'). Secretary Paulus Stock, who had done the job of improving the findability of the archives, was rewarded with 300 pounds (or 1,800 guilders).

4.7   The City's Soul[24]

In the archives repository (*in chartophylacio*) of the city of Groningen, the Dutch history writer Ubbo Emmius (1547-1625) spent days, even weeks, in research. Emmius was surprised to ascertain that the city was a curator and guardian of the memorials of Frisian history. Groningen City Hall, he wrote, could be regarded as the common archives of the whole of the Frisian territory stretching from the river Ems in the East to the Lauwers in the West. Emmius checked the reliability of chronicles by comparing them with 'what I found in the state records, reliable *monumenta* of what happened'. In the same spirit,

Arnold Buchelius (1565-1641) worked in Utrecht. In 1632, Buchelius sent his fellow antiquarian Miraeus several reproductions of charters to be used for practising diplomatics and palaeography, the tools for discriminating true and false *monumenta*. Both Emmius and Buchelius—and they were not the only ones—used the term *monumenta* for archival documents with historical value. The critical method of using original source material, which these Dutch antiquarians were developing, was to a large extent based on their familiarity with municipal recordkeeping.

Notwithstanding the praise of Ubbo Emmius for the Groningen city government and its records, the urban memory was not a memory meant for history writing, but first and foremost a memory for the defence of the city's interests. Due to the defence of these interests, Emmius was refused access to the archives of Leeuwarden in 1612 because 'he was regarded as an adversary of Friesland's honour, which he had attacked in his writings'.[25] And while Emmius was searching in the Groningen archives, he was being watched constantly by one of the burgomasters and a member of the city council. His colleague in Guelders, Joannes Pontanus, was given access to the municipal archives of Nijmegen in 1627 only on condition that he would preserve the city's splendour and reputation, as far as truth would allow. Like other cities, Nijmegen guarded its charters and privileges because they were the basis for its precedence among the cities of Guelders.

City archives primarily served an administrative purpose. The administrative value of records could well last for several decades, the archives serving as the institutional memory. However, we find indications of the notion that city archives might be preserved and transferred through time for reasons other than administrative purposes: as civic symbols and touchstones of collective memory. When, for example, Dirck van Bleyswijck in his history of Delft (1667), chronicles the burning of the City Hall in 1618, he laments that, notwithstanding the efforts of many burghers to save the 'city's books, papers, and muniments, paintings too, and everything which was to be kept', the fire had destroyed so much 'from which we might have got some enlightenment, which we now have been deprived of'. Some years before, in 1652, the City Hall of Amsterdam had burned down.

25 A.J. Rinzema, 'Ubbo Emmius als historicus', in *Ubbo Emmius. Een Oostfries geleerde in Groningen*, ed. W.J. Kuppers (Groningen/Leer: REGIO PRojekt/ Schuster, 1994), p. 56.

In verse the poet Joost van den Vondel admired the citizens who tried to save the archives:

> The most loyal people dash forward and hurry and save
> the Letters, Books, Money, Treasury, and Bank's hoard
> and preserve in that emergency the entire City's soul. [26]
>
> *De trouwste schieten toe: en reppen zich en redden*
> *De Brieven, Boeken, Gelt, Tresoor en Bankenschadt*
> *En bergen in dien noodt de ziel der gantsche Stadt.*

Especially in the 18th century, people start to value 'the genuine memorials' which, besides books by trustworthy writers, constitute the source for the historian, to paraphrase one of the most famous 18th-century Dutch historians, Jan Wagenaar. His portrait, painted around 1760-1761, shows Wagenaar—who worked as a clerk in Amsterdam City Hall— surrounded by documents from the city archives. Using the 'authentic documents' is part of the new standard for precision which in those days, in Anthony Grafton's words, 'gradually infected historical exposition (…). Historians (…) cherished a newer desire for critical discussion of the sources'.[27] In the Netherlands, legal and antiquarian arguments mainly stimulated governments and private people to search for historical documents and to publish them.[28] Still, city governments continued to be very cautious in admitting strangers to the archives.

In times of crisis, as in 1672 and in 1747-1748, civic movements claim public access to and publication of real or imagined privileges which might give them some influence over the city's authorities (see 8.3.1).[29] In the introduction to his edition of Van Mieris' 'Description of the city of Leiden' (1771), Daniel van Alphen, city clerk of Leiden, praises the city governors who granted Van Mieris access to 'the charters, privileges, and other archives of this city, which, being the citizenry's own property, have been entrusted to the government for loyal and careful custody'.[30] But the publication of archival documents was one thing, access to the archives themselves remained the prerogative of city officials.

26 https://web.archive.org/web/20190531122201/ https://onsamsterdam.nl/hier-gebeurde-het-dam-6- juli-1652, archived 31 May 2019.

27 Anthony Grafton, *The footnote. A curious history* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997), p. 221.

28 J. Roelevink, 'Bewezen met authenticque stukken. Juridisch-oudheidkundige drijfveren tot het uitgeven van teksten op het terrein van de vaderlandse geschiedenis in de achttiende eeuw', in *Bron en publikatie*, ed. K. Kooijmans et al. ('s-Gravenhage: Bureau der Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis, 1985), pp. 78-99.

29 J.J. Woltjer, 'Dutch privileges, real and imaginary', in *Some political mythologies*, ed. J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975), pp. 19-35; J.A.F. de Jongste, *Onrust aan het Spaarne. Haarlem in de jaren 1747-1751* (Den Haag 1984), p. 232; J. Roelevink, 'Perkamenten blindgangers? Patriotten, prinsgezinden en de archieven van hun overheden', in *De droom van de revolutie. Nieuwe benaderingen van het patriottisme*, ed. H. Bots en W.W. Mijnhardt (Amsterdam: Bataafsche Leeuw, 1988), pp. 76-77.

30 Frans van Mieris, *Beschryving der stad Leyden [...]*, vol. 2 (Leyden: Honkoop and Van Hoogeveen, 1771), preface.

4.8 City Archives with a capital A[31]

In the 18th century, awareness of the value of archives, not as muniments only, but as monuments to be used for historical research, was growing. After the Batavian Revolution (1795), the seven united provinces were reconstituted into a unitary republic. The new republic needed a real national history, as one of the members of the new parliament, Henricus van Royen, emphasized. As explained in 3.6.1, his proposal led to the appointment of the first *archivarius* (archivist) of the Batavian Republic, Hendrik van Wijn, in 1802. It took some time before cities followed the example of central and provincial governments to appoint an archivist (see 3.6.1). Leeuwarden was the first, with the appointment of Gerard Voorda as unpaid *archivarius* in 1802.[32] After his death (1805) it took some time before bookseller and historian Wopke Eekhoff became *archivarius* of Leeuwarden in 1838. At that date the Leeuwarden City Archives were the first local Archives (with a capital A): an institution, independent (and detached!) from the records creating administration, managing archival documents with a view to research by people other than the staff of the records creating agency.

The regulations of 1829 (see 3.6.1) had proclaimed a right of access to State, provincial, and local archives as an incentive for research in and editing of the sources of the Fatherland's (*vaderlandse*) history. The aim was clear: 'fostering patriotism, encouraging civic virtues and maintenance of the National Character' (*aankweeking van vaderlandsliefde, bevordering van burgerdeugd en instandhouding van het Nationaal Karakter*). These are the words of the Royal Decree of 23 December 1826, by which King William I announced a competition for a plan of Dutch history. At the same time the King instructed the Minister of the Interior to issue orders to the governors in the provinces 'to forthwith cause ordering and arranging all provincial and municipal archives and those of all corporations and furthermore to cause the making of accurate lists or registers thereof'.
From the reactions to the governors' orders it becomes clear that many local councils and managers of institutions were hardly aware of the value of their archives for history writing, let alone their value as cultural heritage. The city of Rotterdam answered the

31   The first part of this section is a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'Archieven. Munimenta en monumenta', in *Erfgoed. De geschiedenis van een begrip*, ed. Frans Grijzenhout (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), pp. 85-107.

32   Geart de Vries, 'The topicality of Wopke Eekhoff (1809-1880): an interpretation of the tasks of the first salaried town archivist of the Netherlands', in *Values in transition. Perspectives on the past, present and future of the archival profession*, ed. Hildo van Engen (The Hague: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2017), pp. 47-59.

Fig. 4.8 Broadsheet calling Rotterdam citizens and institutions to contribute archival documents to the newly established City Archives, 1858. From: H.C. Hazewinkel, *Honderd jaar gemeentelijke archiefzorg MDCCCLVII-MCMLVII* (Rotterdam: Gemeentearchief, 1957), p. 43.

33   Hazewinkel, *Honderd jaar*, p. 37.

governor, 'the archives of our city only contain such pieces and documents which nothing can contribute to the general history of the Fatherland'.[33] The city of Kampen replied 'our city is not in the possession of any archives of much interest'. Still, here and there the governors' summons led to (resumed) summary inventorization of city archives, for example in Deventer and Zwolle.

The example of Leeuwarden was followed by appointing a municipal archivist in 's-Hertogenbosch (1841), Kampen (1842), Amsterdam (1848), Zutphen (1850), Leiden (1855), and Rotterdam (1857).

In 1885 there were some 30 city archivists, most of them part-time (see also 12.3). They were generally housed at the town hall, where the archives were kept. The first two purpose-built municipal archival repositories were those in Leiden (1893) and Rotterdam (1899).

Following the separation of justice and government in 1811 (see 4.9.1), the borderline between 'old archive' and 'new archive' became fixed in most municipalities on the first of January 1812 (in some cases 1816 because of totally new regulations enacted in that year). In towns where a municipal archivist was appointed later, he was entrusted with the management of the 'old archive', while the 'new archive' was in the care of the town clerk, to whom the archivist was subordinated. This separation between old and new archives has had long-lasting effects on theory, methodology, and practice of Dutch archivists who generally did not care about 'the living archives' (see 12.6) and therefore were not involved in records management (see 4.10). This would change only after the Second World War, as we will see.

Of the 31 municipal archivists, only five had a decent salary in 1910 (plus three State archivists who doubled as city archivists, and four city archivists who also managed a museum or a library). Most of the others were part-time archivists, combining the office with other work, for example as teacher. The Archives Act of 1918 (see 12.5) placed the

municipal archivist on an equal footing with the town clerk, both being appointed by the municipal council (since 2006 by the burgomaster and aldermen).

From the 1930s municipal archives developed a distinctive profile.[34] In contrast to the State Archives that stuck to their classic legal mission as described in the Archives Act up to the 1970s, many municipal archives took up the challenge of developing into a centre of local history for the community. They made use of public and private archives, the city library, and collections of prints and drawings—often collected by the city and by private people since the 18th century. Local archives went beyond mere management of their holdings. They often worked to document the present by the means of photography, oral history (the Rotterdam City Archives established a sound archive in 1961), and other means. From the 1960s local archives began to provide educational and community services through intensive relations with schools and civic associations, organizing exhibitions, courses of palaeography, and research into local history.

The number of municipal archives grew steadily after the Second World War. In 1955 the first regional archives (*streekarchivariaat*) was founded in Noord-Brabant: a partnership of several municipalities sharing an archivist. At first, the archivist perambulated his district, later regional archives with a centrally located common repository, search room, and other facilities became the standard. By 1990 there were 27 regional archives serving 227 municipalities. Other forms of sharing archives staff and facilities were also introduced in municipalities and even by the water boards (regional water authorities).

By 1990, 38 municipal archives existed. Together with the 27 regional archives, this ensured professional archives management in 47 percent of all municipalities. This percentage increased as a result of the establishment of new municipal archives and new partnerships, but also of mergers of municipalities. In 1993 51 percent of the municipalities were served by professional archivists, in 2014 75 percent, and in 2018 81.5 percent. See the current map of all archives in the Netherlands.

34 R.A.D. Renting, 'De Vereniging van archivarissen in Nederland en de ontwikkeling van het gemeentelijk archiefwezen', in *Respect voor de oude orde. Honderd jaar Vereniging van archivarissen in Nederland*, ed. Paul Brood (Stichting archiefpublikaties/Verloren: Hilversum, 1991), pp. 27-60; R.A.D. Renting, 'Gemeentearchieven 1968-1988', in *Voor burger en bestuur. Twintig jaar Nederlands archiefwezen 1968-1988*, ed. P. Brood (Stichting archiefpublikaties/ Verloren: Hilversum 1988), pp. 48-76.

LEGENDA

★ State Archives

Municipal Archives 1968

Municipal Archives established 1968-1982

Regional Archives 1968

Regional Archives established 1968-1982
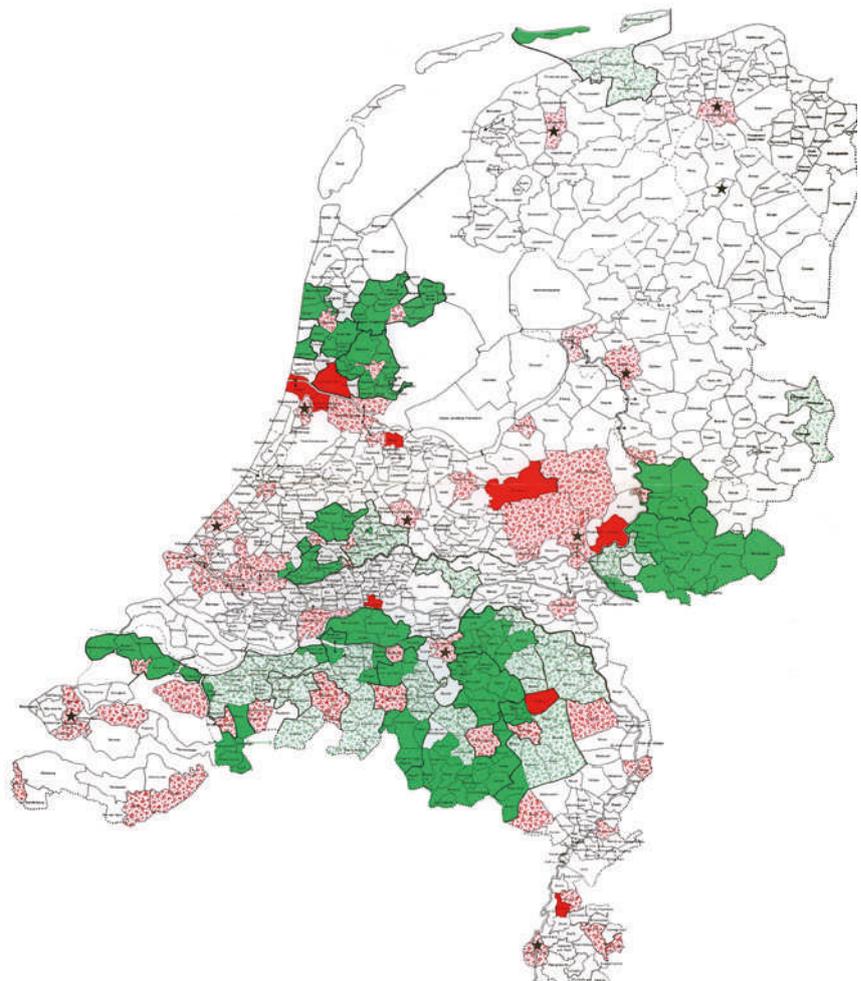
Fig. 4.9 Map of public archival services in the Netherlands, 1982. From *Discussienota archiefbeleid* ('s-Gravenhage etc.: Commissie Nota archiefbeleid, 1982).

The expansion of the local archives system and the increase of the holdings was accompanied by a strong increase in the number of researchers. In the 1970s an estimated 40 percent of all visits to search rooms (out of roughly 185,000 visits) was paid to State Archives, 25 percent to the city archives of Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht, and 35 percent to the other town archives. The latter figure rose to 51 percent in 1985, while the other shares dropped to 34 percent (State Archives) and 15 percent (the four largest city archives). In 1990 all local archives received 249,000 visits to their search rooms and all State Archives 122,000; five years later these numbers had risen to 295,000 and 128,000. More recently, visits to the search rooms are declining because of the expanding digitization of holdings. In 2018 the Amsterdam City Archives produced more than six million scans (15 terabytes), the equivalent of 1,200 metres of shelving. In Rotterdam, the number of visits to the search room of the City Archives declined in the decade between 2007 and 2017 by 27 percent, whereas the number of visits to the website doubled.

As I mentioned, the 'living' archive remained an unknown territory for many archivists (see 12.6). They believed that management of the 'dynamic' archive had to be left to the administration of the archive producing entity. Regular transfer to the town archives of records dating after 1813 was not prescribed; control (inspection) of the care for these recent archives was the duty of the Provincial Executive (*Gedeputeerde Staten*) and its provincial archives inspector (see Fig. 11.20). That office was generally held by the State archivist in the province. According to the Archives Act of 1918, the State archivists had to be involved in appraisal and destruction of local records. From 1950 the State archivists also had to inspect the records management by State agencies (see 3.5). Similarly, archivists of municipalities and water boards inspected the way records were managed by municipal and water board offices beginning in 1968. A few municipalities had already regulated inspection of records management by local ordinance, for example Amsterdam in 1954 and Rotterdam in 1960.

In the 1970s the State archivists and their local colleagues revisited (see 1.2, 9.4, and chapter 12) and debated the issue of the destination of certain categories of records created

by State agencies acting within a local community, such as courts and chambers of commerce. These were State property but held information that was essential to the local communities. The legal argument of Crown property prevailed over an interpretation of provenance that was more community-oriented (see 4.9.2). Those fonds stayed in the State repositories in the provincial capitals, and not in their places of origin.

A consequence of these debates was the creation of a National Council of Municipal and Regional Archivists (*Landelijke Kring van gemeente- en streekarchivarissen*, LKGS) in 1974. Until 2000, the LKGS provided services to its members, participated in consultations with authorities on their behalf, and lobbied for improvement of archival legislation regarding local archives. It then transferred its functions to a new national service organization for records management and archival institutions, *Documentaire informatieverzorging en archieven* (DIVA). DIVA in turn was absorbed by Cultural Heritage Netherlands (*Erfgoed Nederland*) in 2007. This organization was funded by the Ministry of Culture and served the whole sector of cultural heritage until its demise in 2012, when the ministry changed its way of funding projects for archives, monuments, museums, and archaeology. Some activities of *Erfgoed Nederland* were taken over by the Association of Archival Institutions (*Branchevereniging archiefinstellingen Nederland*, BRAIN), founded in 2007, others by the Royal Association of Archivists in the Netherlands (see 12.4).

4.9 The Modern Paper City

4.9.1 French Influences

The great societal and institutional changes between the Batavian Revolution (1795) and the Municipalities Act of 1851 had little effect on local archiving. As René Kunst remarks in his inventory of the city archives of Leeuwarden, this is 'an indication not only of the administrative organization conforming to its own patterns, but also for the slowness with

which it adapts to a changed context'.[35] Names and competencies changed, bureaucratic practices were introduced, and after the annexation by France (1810), French examples of registration of incoming and outgoing documents and filing were adopted in some places. The *indicateur* made its appearance (see 3.4 and Fig. 3.7) and continued to be used—in Amsterdam even until far into the 20th century—as a *Registratur* tool for controlling work processes and archiving.[36]

An important and lasting change in archives management came about during the Batavian-French period (1795-1813) as a result of the separation between judiciary and executive. In the *ancien regime*, government and administration of justice at local level were executed by one body, but after the Batavian Revolution separate courts administered justice. Anticipating the separation of 'police' and justice, in 1800 the Executive Administration (*Uitvoerend Bewind*) of the Batavian Republic ordered inventorization of the town archives by sorting and describing all papers concerning justice respectively administration.[37] In many places it was the first comprehensive inventorization of local archives ever. The registers and papers concerning the judiciary were turned over to the local courts established in 1802 (see 9.4). For some time most local institutions remained the same, while governmental and judicial tasks were separated. Only on 1 March 1811 did the separation of powers become definitive.

4.9.2 Communities of Archives[38]

Jonkheer Theodoor van Riemsdijk took office as city archivist of Zwolle, succeeding the first city archivist, Huberts, on 1 October 1875. Three months after his appointment Van Riemsdijk submitted a detailed report to the municipal council about the history and current state of the city archives and the measures that should be taken to improve their preservation and accessibility. With great energy, Van Riemsdijk brought an end to the 'appalling chaos' in only a year and a half (see 12.3). Utrecht archivist Samuel Muller wrote to his former assistant Van Riemsdijk that he was really astonished about what the latter was doing in the Zwolle archives: arranging these archives (that *rudis indigestaque moles*)

35 Kunst, *Inventaris*, pp. 70-71.

36 J.H. van den Hoek Ostende, 'De invoering en de ontwikkeling van het indicateurstelsel in Amsterdam', *Nederlands archievenblad* 68 (1994): 57-63; Peter J. Horsman, 'A French legacy. The transition from collegiate to bureaucratic record-keeping in a Dutch town, 1800–1900', *Archivaria* 60 (2005): 125-44.

37 Hazewinkel, *Honderd jaar*, p. 33; Schuitema Meijer, *Historie*, pp. 90-91.

38 Peter Horsman, Eric Ketelaar and Theo Thomassen, 'New respect for the old order. The context of the Dutch Manual', *American archivist* 66 (2003): 249-70.

'without any manual, according to your most excellent and precise method by which every document is kept in its original context'. This approach was to be codified in 1898 in the 'Manual for the arrangement and description of archives', a book that, translated into eight languages, would bring universal fame to Dutch archivistics (see 12.4). The definition of archives in the *Manual* concerns the whole body of documents officially received or produced by an administrative unit. At first, the definition mentioned 'the governing body of a community' (*het bestuur eener gemeenschap*). That was an invention by Van Riemsdijk, adopted by Muller (who changed his own definition from 1879 which referred to 'a corporation (…) respectively a family, a college, a province, etc.') and accepted by the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands in 1893. However, upon reflection, the authors of the *Manual* (Muller, Feith, and Fruin) argued 'The community itself has no archives': the archives are formed by the bodies (*organen*) of the community (see Fig. 12.0). Consequently, there are as many archives of a community as there are bodies. Van Riemsdijk (who had become General State archivist in 1887) (Fig. 12.2), however, wanted congruency between authorities and community. Much later archivists embraced the concept that a town, region or another community may be represented not only in government archives, but in private archives and collections as well (see 1.7.3 and 7.3), and one might consider this as an expression of Van Riemsdijk's ideas.

More recently American archival scholar Jeannette Bastian has proposed the concept of a *community of records*. Bastian imagines a community of records 'as the aggregate of records in all forms generated by multiple layers of actions and interactions between and among the people and institutions within a community'.[39] In a community of records 'all layers of society are participants in the making of records, and the entire community becomes the larger provenance of the records'. This view is a contribution to the debate among scholars of memory studies concerning the social frameworks of memory as well as to the debate among archivists concerning community archives.[40] 'The defining characteristic of community archives,' British scholars Flinn, Stevens, and Shepherd write, 'is the active participation of a community in documenting and making accessible the history of their particular group and/or locality on their own terms.'[41]

39 Jeannette A. Bastian, *Owning memory. How a Caribbean community lost its archives and found its history* (Westport Conn./London: Libraries Unlimited, 2003), pp. 5, 83. See also Eric Ketelaar, 'Sharing. Collected memories in communities of records', *Archives and manuscripts* 33 (2005): 44-61; Sue McKemmish, Anne Gilliland-Swetland, and Eric Ketelaar, '"Communities of memory". Pluralising archival research and education agendas,' *Archives and manuscripts 33 (2005):* 146-75.

40 See Eric Ketelaar, 'Archives, memories and identities', in *Archives and recordkeeping. Theory into practice*, ed. Caroline Brown (London: Facet, 2014), pp. 131-70.

41 Andrew Flinn, Mary Stevens and Elizabeth Shepherd, 'Whose memories, whose archives? Independent community archives, autonomy and the mainstream', *Archival science* 9 (2009): 75.

4.9.3 Departmentalization and Commercialization

Towards the end of the 19th century a new vision on the role of government developed: government of the 'Night Watch State' was gradually replaced by an actively steering government which takes responsibility for its citizens' well-being and therefore intervenes in social-economic life. This led to new tasks and organizational forms. Many municipalities started departmentalizing the town clerk's office. New departments (such as general affairs, population, and social housing) were created, each with its own superior reporting to the town clerk. New departments for bookkeeping and financial control were formed. In 1897 Dutch local councils were given permission to make a profit on utility companies. As a result, the number of new municipal telephone, gas, and electricity companies grew. This was further increased by the municipalization of former private concessions.

In accordance with the model of the archiving context presented in the General Introduction (Fig. 0.2), this resulted in new practices of documenting and archiving. The classical methods of organizing information were no longer sufficient for an enterprising and interventionist government.

4.10 The Code[42]

Johan Zaalberg, like Jan van Hout three centuries earlier, reorganized records management drastically. In 1890 Zaalberg became town secretary of Zaandam. He began by clearing the disorder of the chronologically arranged 19th-century records. For the future he envisaged a new filing system and he looked for examples. Zaalberg got hold of the German *Katechismus der Registratur- und Archivkunde* (1883) by Holtzinger, a manual that describes the *Sachaktenregistratur* used in Germany since the 18th century. Documents concerning one subject were bound together in one file; the different files were arranged

42   Based on Eric Ketelaar, 'Recordkeeping systems and office technology in Dutch public administration, 1823-1950', *Jahrbuch für europäische Verwaltungsgeschichte/Yearbook of European administrative history* 9 (1997): 213-22; and Eric Ketelaar, ' "Control through communication" in a comparative perspective', *Archivaria* 60 (2006): 71-89.

according to a systematic plan. To replace the traditional sewing of files, the German firm of Stolzenberg put on the market file covers with a mechanical binder (*Schnellhefter*). At least since 1898 these Stolzenberg files were imported into the Netherlands by the Amsterdam firm of F.W. Salomons. Around 1900 Zaalberg saw one of these Stolzenberg files and became interested. On the advice of Salomons, Zaalberg wrote to the towns of Colmar and Muhlhausen in the Alsace (at that time German territory) asking for information on the Stolzenberg filing system. Following the German example, the Zaandam records were rearranged. To connect the older archives with the new ones, Zaalberg pulled the documents that had been received since the Municipalities Act of 1851 out of the volumes in which they had been bound together. He had extracts typed from the council minutes and letter books and filed these into the new system. The archives from before 1850 were presented to the provincial council.

The newly created files were stored horizontally in drawers in filing cabinets manufactured by Stolzenberg. Drawers and files were accessible via a filing plan in the form of a card index. If necessary, an *indicateur* (listing all incoming and outgoing documents and the actions taken) in the form of a card index could be made.

Zaalberg's filing plan was not a German *Registraturplan*, but an *Aktenplan*. The former registers the result of actions; the latter is a 'forward-looking'[43] arrangement of functions and subjects preceding the actual filing. Zaalberg described his index as 'the classification table of all administrative subjects with which government is related'.[44] The form of the files was borrowed from the German *Sachaktenregistratur*. The form of the card index was derived from an idea of J.C. Beth, who worked at the National Archives in The Hague. Their function and structure, however, were inspired by Paul Otlet in Brussels.

In 1895, Paul Otlet, together with Henri Lafontaine, had founded the Institut international de bibliographie (IIB). The main goal was putting together a universal bibliographic repository: an enormous card index of abstracts (ultimately 15 million cards!) of all books and all journal articles published all over the world since the invention of the printing

43   Angelika Menne-Haritz, *Schlüsselbegriffe der Archivterminologie* (Marburg: Archivschule Marburg, 1992), p. 34.

44   J.A. Zaalberg, *Het nieuwe registratuur-stelsel bij de gemeente-administratiën* (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1908), p. 17.

press. This repertory would make accessible the whole of the scientific, literary, and artistic production of all times and in all countries. For the arrangement of the cards (on the standard format propagated in the United States by Melvil Dewey) the IIB used Dewey's decimal code, created between 1873 and 1876. Otlet and Lafontaine expanded Dewey's code with signs for the relations between concepts. Thus they developed the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC), the first edition being published between 1899 and 1905.

Otlet propagated this code not only for use in libraries but also for the classification of files. Within the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands, many archivists were sceptical, to say the least (see 12.6). Like Zaalberg, Otlet had been impressed by the German filing system and the American card indexes, while favouring vertical filing. At Otlet's request, Zaalberg engineered the foundation of the Dutch Record Management Bureau Association (*Vereeniging Nederlandsch Registratuur Bureau*, NRB) in 1909. Zaalberg and the NRB promoted the new filing system and stimulated a number of municipalities and companies that had joined the NRB to reorganize their records management. In the same year, Zaalberg established a joint venture with Blikman and Sartorius, a firm of importers and manufacturers of office equipment. The imports of this firm included Walker's loose-leaf books from England and the Leitz arch binders (*Stehordner*) from Germany. In 1907 they had already introduced the Fortuna card index and vertical filing system, the first system of this sort made in the Netherlands. The hardware, together with Zaalberg's case filing system and Otlet's decimal classification, was marketed in the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies.

The NRB was taken over by the Association of Dutch Municipalities (*Vereeniging van Nederlandsche* Gemeenten, VNG) in 1922 and a new records management bureau (*VNG Registratuurbureau*) was set up. Zaalberg, the idealistic and persistent promoter of case files and the UDC, had to hand over its management to his former associate, the practical and tactful P. Noordenbos. The *VNG Registratuurbureau* took over the NRB contracts with 52 municipalities and managed to raise the number to 312 in ten years. In all these municipalities the traditional chronological series of documents were succeeded by

subject files arranged according to the UDC classification. Often the older archives were rearranged retrospectively according to the new system. For example, in 1931 Utrecht switched over to subject filing and rearranged the chronological archives of the preceding 20 years. At the outbreak of the Second World War the VNG filing system was used in 657 (out of 1,054) municipalities. Cities like Leeuwarden and Amsterdam changed their records management systems as late as 1941 and 1945. The provincial government of Utrecht adopted subject filing as late as 1954, rearranging the archives retrospectively back to 1920.

Municipalities were regularly informed about changes and additions to the UDC filing plan. These reflected developments in the wider world. For example, immediately after the outbreak of the war in 1939, municipalities were instructed how to file 'correspondence about the detention of Dutchmen who might jeopardize the integrity of the territory' (file under 351.755), 'measures against deserters' (file under 351.756), and others. This continued during the German occupation, causing record managers to create a new category in the filing plan in rubric 08, Personnel: 'Forbidden positions', for records concerning 'preventing undesirable elements'. Apparently, everyone understood that this newspeak concerned the removal of Jews from the civil service.[45]

4.11 The Datapolis

As we have seen in 1.6, archiving people creates a 'legible citizen'. That citizen/customer/client is subject to the panoptical gaze of various governmental agencies and commercial parties. The 'datafication' of people happens through the continuous and mostly automated collection, organization, and combination of data concerning people's activities in society. Modern 'smart cities' are datafied cities; all activities, situations, incidents, conversations, and interactions are being turned into data. Political scientist Albert Meijer proposes the concept of the 'datapolis': a public governance perspective on the smart city

45 Johan Joor, *Niet de instructie, doch het inzicht bouwt een goed archief: tachtig jaar overheidsdocumentatie en administratieve organisatie* (…) (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 2011), p. 73.

understood as a complex set of interactions between private, public and civil society actors. They all have systems for collecting and processing data and they also exchange and use data from other actors. Governance of the smart city is not only about public structures but about influencing all these interactions in modern cities.[46]

The datapolis can be seen as a new phase in the development (mentioned in 4.9.3) of a government which profoundly intervenes in social life and, in doing so, increasingly needs more information. According to the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2), datafication is caused by changes in work processes due to changing societal notions of the role of government. The changes in work processes cause changes in documenting and archiving. Only the future can tell what the changes will be in the datapolis.

4.12 Conclusion

Archiving in 13th-century cities in the Netherlands focused on foundation charters, privileges, treaties, and other charters. These were transcribed into the city book, allowing the originals to be safely stored, most often in the local church. Another early documentary genre was the book of statutes. For writing these books and other documents, the city relied on religious institutions whose *clerici* acted as clerks to feudal lords and communes.

In the 14th century, textualization (*verschriftelijking*) prevailed in many cities, due to various social and cultural causes. The first was the rapid increase in population and the allied need of regulating social interaction. The city deemed accurate registration necessary because citizens had other rights and obligations than non-citizens (residents), and because the status of people played an important role in conflicts with or about people from other cities. Also, for fiscal and military reasons, the magistrate had to know who were citizens and who were not. Finally, the fees for granting citizenship had to be accounted for. At first, the names of new citizens appear in the accounts of the town, but sooner or later separate citizens registers were begun.

46 Albert Meijer, 'Datapolis: A public governance perspective on "smart cities"', *Perspectives on public management and governance*, 1 (3) (2018): 195-206.

Burghers wanted the town's management to be publicly accountable, and this wish led to financial control, accounting, and recording. Another factor for the 'scriptural revolution' was the extension of mercantile activities beyond the city. Trade and banking became international and much of the oral communication was replaced by writing.

Next to the cartularies (registers with transcripts of received documents), registers of outgoing charters began to be kept. Instead of the static keeping of charters, civic authorities developed practices of dynamic recordkeeping in the administration of executive, legislative, and judicial acts: registering new citizens, listing office-bearers, soldiers and guild members, keeping track of the exploitation of town assets, statutes, court proceedings, and judgments. To record all this, specialized registers were created, often in connection with the differentiation of city government through the establishment of specific offices. All these registers formed one intertextual genre system in which one event (for example the admittance of a new burgess) was recorded in several different registers. The citizen was made 'legible' in his or her different roles—in snapshots, and not with a panoptical gaze as the 19th-century State was to introduce.

The accessibility of the registers was enhanced using new technologies such as foliation, tabs (markers fixed to the fore-edge of a codex), and alphabetical tables. Further innovations in recordkeeping stretching into the modern period were the work of ingenious city clerks like Jan van Hout in Leiden and Johan Zaalberg in Zaandam.

Apart from the privileges and the series of bound registers, there was a mass of loose papers stored in boxes and chests and hung on *liassen*. At first, the documents stayed at the secretariat, but ultimately they were either destroyed or carried off to attics and cellars. Time and again, city councils stressed the need to create order in this mass. An attempt to reorder was made, but structurally little changed (see Amsterdam, Groningen, Leeuwarden, Rotterdam, and Utrecht). Structural records management was not introduced before the 20th century.

Every burgher could request a search of the registers or an extract from them. Urban records were communal texts often being read aloud and performed in public rituals. At different moments in history, town records gained a special value as civic symbols and touchstones of collective memory, making it possible to speak of a social 'community of records'. In the 19th century these communities founded Archives (with a capital A) as institutions, independent (and detached!) from the records creating administration, managing archival documents with a view to research by people other than the staff of the records creating agency. Only a few Dutch archivists had anything to do with the 'new' archives created since 1812-1816 that were in the custody of the town clerk. This was to change after the Second World War.

Consequently, it was a town clerk, Johan Zaalberg, who innovated the municipal *registratuur* in the early 20th century. This may be seen as an answer to the challenges that were the result of the city government becoming an enterprising and interventionist one. In terms of the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2); mandate and business changed. This entailed the need for different employees (people), other work processes, and practices of archiving coupled with mechanization and Taylorian efficiency. New instruments were shaped for an efficient records management that was becoming the domain of a new professional, the *registrator* (see 12.6).

In medieval and premodern times, much of the urban administration was left to the Church, the guilds, neighbourhood associations, and other agents. Strictly speaking, the documents they created were not government documents, but rather governance documents. The boundaries between the two were blurred. That is also the case today, as an effect of privatization and outsourcing of public functions and the growing impact business has on civic life. That public-private osmosis (or intrusion) is intensified by modern information and communication technologies. These technologies subject the 'legible' citizen/customer/client to the panoptical gaze of various governmental agencies and commercial parties. Modern 'smart cities' are cities in which all activities, situations, incidents, conversations, and interactions are turned into data.

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CHAPTER
5

ARCHIVING PEOPLE
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF
DUTCH ARCHIVES

Chapter 5

Archiving Polders and Commons

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〃 Fig. 5.0 Map of the Beemster by Pieter van der Keere, 1617-1622. Rijksmuseum KAN 3566:364.

⌄

5.0 Introduction

Man has continually struggled to safeguard his living environment. In the Netherlands this meant controlling water by building dikes against the sea, embanking rivers, and making *polders* by draining lakes and fenlands. A polder is, technically speaking, a composite of low-lying lands brought together by a need for better drainage. They are surrounded by a dike enabling the maintenance of a more or less constant water-level.[1] A polder is also a cooperative venture with its own rules, governance, and financial organization. These cooperatives were not the only actors in water management. There existed intricate relationships between regional and local authorities and officers of water boards (*waterschappen*) who all maintained archives to support their work processes. To what extent did their archiving practices differ from others, for example those in cities?

The first embankments were constructed in the early Middle Ages. According to an old saying 'he whom water may harm, must stem the flood' (*wie 't water deert die 't water keert*), owners and tenants of land in the polder had to contribute to the construction and maintenance of the dike. How were these obligations and the corresponding rights archived (5.1)?

Many polders in the western Netherlands were constructed by draining peat lakes, which had been formed by peat dredging. In 5.2 and 5.5 I will show how peat dredging was accompanied by archiving. Big reclamation projects in the 17th century were a profitable investment for rich burghers, but led also to the improvement of water management and an increase of productive agricultural land. These projects were paper-intensive (5.3).

The importance of archiving the polder was shown when the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands celebrated its centenary in 1991. Both the poster and the cover of the book accompanying the exhibition 'Archive Treasures' (*Archiefschatten*) showed the picture of a 17th-century painting of Count William II of Holland granting the foundation charter to the regional water board (*hoogheemraadschap*) of Rijnland in 1255. The painter had to use

1 Henk van der Linden, 'History of the reclamation of the western fenlands and of the organizations to keep them drained', *Proceedings of the symposium on peat lands…*, ed. H. de Bakker and M.W. van den Berg (Wageningen: International Institute for Land Reclamation and Improvement, 1982), pp. 42-73, repr. in *Land drainage and irrigation*, ed. Salvatore Ciriacono (Aldershot etc.: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 101-33.

his imagination, but the charter he painted is real: it is still preserved in the archives of Rijnland, which are the subject of section 5.4.

The western part of the country was (and is) predominantly the area of polders, whereas the eastern, north-eastern and southern parts were dominated by commons (*markegronden*, covered in 5.6). These were large sandy grounds and heathlands where the commoners exercised collective rights, such as logging, cutting sods, or grazing. Out of a total of nearly 1,000 commons that existed at one time, about 700 were in the current provinces of Drenthe, Gelderland, and Overijssel.

5.1 Visitation with the Dike Book[2]

The dike forced consensus and cooperation: 'he who refuses to maintain the dike must leave' (*wie niet wil dijken die moet wijken*). Maintenance of the dike was done in kind: everyone had to see to a parcel of the dike with his own labour and materials. Everyone's share (*hoefslag* or *dijkslag*: a homestead's share, a section of a dike, dam, or canal that is allotted to the owner of a parcel of land for maintenance) was recorded in a special register (the *hoefslag* book). This share was based on the area and the location (near to the dike or at some distance from it) of one's lot, and sometimes also on the quality of the soil. The more land one kept, the greater the dike parcel one had to maintain.

The condition of the dike was inspected a few times a year by the dike-reeve and the members of the polder board (*dijkgraaf en heemraden*) and by the sheriff and the members of the local council (*schout en ambachtsbewaarders*). A few weeks before the visitation (*schouw*), the dike-reeve and polder board proclaimed which improvements the landholders had to make. At the visitation, all landholders had to be present, each on the stretch of the dike for which he was responsible. Until far into the 16th century the procedure was largely verbal, with traditional legal formulas being recited by the dike-reeve and board members. The dike-reeve started the procedure by asking aloud all

2 M.H.V. van Amstel-Horák, 'De morgenboeken van Rijnland. Drie eeuwen ongeregeldheid', *Leids Jaarboekje* (1985): 150-79; M.H.V. van Amstel-Horák, 'De Rijnlandse morgenboeken, een unieke bron uit het pre-kadastrale tijdperk ', *Holland* 26 (1994): 87-111; J.L. van der Gouw, 'Morgen-morgensgelijk. Dijkplicht in Hendrik Ido-Ambacht en Schildmanskinderenambacht anno 1470', *Vereeniging tot uitgaaf der bronnen van het oud-vaderlandsche recht. Verslagen en Mededeelingen* 13 (1971): 491-522; J.L. van der Gouw, 'Het dijkcollege van de Zwijndrechtsche waard in 1568', *Stichting tot uitgaaf der bronnen van het oud-vaderlandse recht. Verslagen en Mededelingen. Nieuwe reeks* 3 (1982): 31-86; J.L. van der Gouw, 'Rechtsbronnen van Heukelum', *Stichting tot uitgaaf der bronnen van het oud-vaderlandse recht. Verslagen en Mededelingen. Nieuwe reeks* 4 (1984): 5-47; R.C. Hol, 'Malder-malderzaadsgelijk. Dijkplicht van de Baarbroekse dijk onder Angerlo, anno 1480', *Nederlands archievenblad* 84 (1980): 330-47; Milja van Tielhof and Petra J.E.M. van Dam, *Waterstaat in stedenland. Het hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland voor 1857* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 2006); Siger Zeischka, *Minerva in de polder. Waterstaat en techniek in het Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland 1500-1865* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007). See also the glossary and bibliography on https://web.archive.org/web/20190425205822/http://www.collective-action.info/, archived 25 April 2019.

present 'once, twice, three, and four times whether the time of the day was right to inspect the dike, according to the law of the land'. Each time the foreman of the polder board had to give his approval using the traditional formulas. The dike-reeve then proclaimed peace, forbidding unrest. Upon the pronouncement by the foreman of the board 'I say that you have levied the inspection according to the law of the land', the dike-reeve, with the *hoefslag* book in his hand, approached the first man standing on his dike parcel, asking him to confirm his name, the amount of land, and the size of the dike parcel. Then the foreman of the polder board would state whether he 'praises or blames' the dike. If he were to find fault with the upkeep of the dike, the dike-reeve would ask the board to inflict a fine. The gathering then moved to the second dike parcel and continued all along the dike. Finally, the visitation was closed, probably with drinks and a meal.

The *hoefslag* book was kept in the archive chest of the polder board but had to be present at the inspection of the dike, exposed to all weathers. No wonder that after a few years the book was in bad shape—soiled with moisture and mud, sometimes by liquor stains as well—and had to be replaced. When the register, because of all changes and additions such as in ownership and tenure, had become less usable over time, the book was replaced by a new one. Of the medieval *hoefslag* books, only a few have therefore been preserved. Moreover, the registers lost their value once the maintenance of the dike (and other facilities like sluices, bridges, and water mills) had been made common—that is, that maintenance was paid no longer in kind but in money. This monetization of a physical obligation happened in Holland and Zeeland in the 16th century, in Gelderland in the 17th, in Friesland as late as the 18th century. The last physical obligation of landholders was abolished as late as 1986: this was the duty to participate in the 'dike army' that had to serve in emergencies such as extremely high water and floating ice.

In the district of Rijnland (the area around Leiden) the monetary contributions were registered in a ledger (the word comes from Dutch *legger*) specifying the number (*tal*) of acres (*morgentalen;* one *morgen* equals approximately two acres). Quite often the *hoefslag* book was adapted and took on a second life as a ledger of *morgentalen.* In the 1530s

Rijnland's steward discovered major differences between the registered area and the real area in several polders. A new assessment was undertaken based on a survey made by sworn surveyors. When the surveyor started his work, the polder board and the landholders had to demonstrate the boundaries, the area, and to furnish the names and place of residency of owners and tenants with written evidence (*mit goeden bescheyde*). The surveyors' reports were textual maps. The Court of Holland established the new *morgentalen* in 1550; they were then registered in new ledgers, the *morgenboeken*, which were kept until the 1850s.

The ledgers were kept up to date. Therefore, every transfer of property, after having been registered by the local court of aldermen (*schepenen*, see 6.2.1), had to be registered again by the polder board. The ledger was taken out of the chest only to be opened when all members of the board were present; sometimes the sheriff had a key as well.

Each year the secretary of the polder board made a valuation list (*kohier*; in Zeeland known as *vergaarboek* or collecting book) from the ledger. This was topographically organized, listing the total amount of contributions for all properties for each landowner. Whereas the ledger was a hefty register, the valuation list was a small volume, easy for the collector to take along. In Rijnland the regional water board ordained that every leap year an extract from the ledger had to be submitted. In case the ledger got lost in a fire, flood, or war, a reconstruction could thus be based on the extract. Rijnland kept the administration of the larger water management structures and apportioned the maintenance costs among the local councils and polder boards. Rijnland also kept financial control: the polder boards had to hand in a copy of the annual accounts for auditing.

At the top of Fig. 5.2 is the situation as recorded in the 1540s: the original owner was Jacob van Noorden, the tenant (*huyrman*) was Claes Dircxz, and the area measured 7 *morgen* and 366 *roeden* (16 acres). The names that follow are the subsequent owners and users: Reynout van Oij, followed by Adriaen Taets van Amerongen, the husband of (Reynout's daughter) Margareta van Oij van Treslong (Treslong was her mother's name).

surveyor's assessment (2 copies)

polder board   *hoogheemraadschap*

Rijnland

ledger (*morgen* book)   every leap year:

extract from the ledger

valuation list
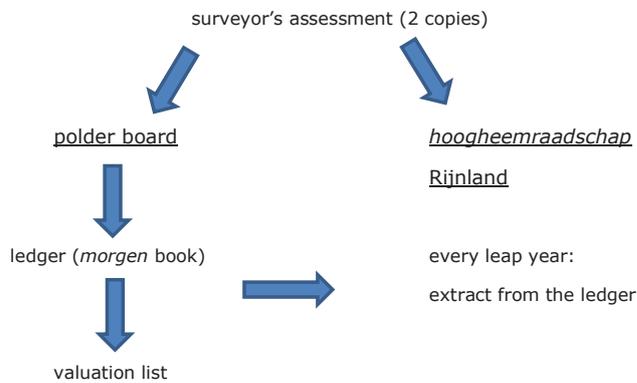
Fig. 5.1 The Rijnland *morgenboek* system, after M.H.V. van Amstel-Horák, 'De morgenboeken van Rijnland', in *Bronnen betreffende de registratie van onroerend goed in middeleeuwen en ancien régime*, ed. G.A.M. van Synghel (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis, 2001), p. 243.
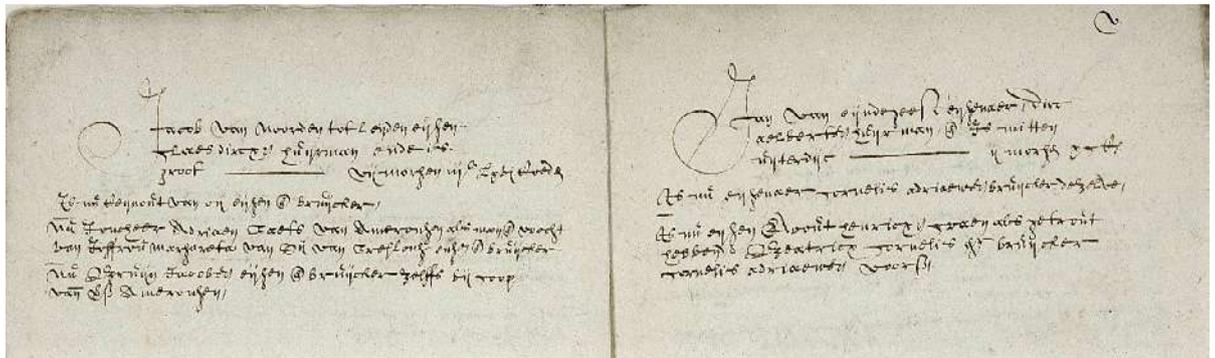

Fig. 5.2 *Morgenboek* of Koudekerk, 1628. *Hoogheemraadschap* van Rijnland, Leiden, *oud archief Rijnland (OAR)*, inv. nr. 5283a.

They sold the plot to the current owner, Bruijn Jacobsz (according to the register of conveyances of Koudekerk the purchase took place in 1621). This is an extract submitted in the leap year 1628 to the *hoogheemraadschap* Rijnland. The original *morgenboek* would have been updated regularly, often with the date of each transfer.

In the province of Zeeland, field books (*veldboeken*) had the same function as the registers of *morgentalen* in Rijnland. The books were also called perambulators (*overlopers* or *ommelopers*) because the surveyor recorded the data while walking a fixed route through the village. In Groningen they had sluice tax (*zijlschot*) ledgers; in the middle of the 18th century complaints about authorities tampering these ledgers played a role in the political agitation against abuse of power. Stadholder William IV intervened and gave the High Court of Groningen more authority to control the polder boards (in Groningen: *zijlvesten*). The polder boards were obliged to submit their ledgers to the court to do the accounting, and their ledgers were open to public inspection (1755) so that anyone could verify whether the ledgers had been tampered with.

Originally the *morgen* books only served to levy polder contributions. From the 16th century onwards, these registers served an added purpose in the district of Rijnland: the levy of land tax (*verponding*). Furthermore, separate assessment lists pertaining to buildings were made (see 8.3). It often happened that a registration which was originally set up for a particular use obtained another purpose after some time. In the above case, this even happened circuitously; after the introduction of a national fiscal system in 1806, the *morgen* books were no longer used for the levy of the land tax but continued to be used for their original purpose (assessing polder contributions) for another 40 years. All of Rijnland's *morgen* books were digitized and have been made available on the Internet.

The ledgers and registers constituted only part of the administration of the polder board, which was already fairly limited. Many affairs were handled orally, especially in the smaller polders. However, a written administration was often introduced in places where regents from the towns exercised great influence as lord of the manor and owner of vast areas of

polder land. These landowners lived outside the polder and had to be informed by writing. The need for written administration diminished in the 18th century when the urban elite retreated from the polders and rural landowners regained control.

Even so, archiving in Rijnland expanded, not only because the business of the *hoogheemraadschap* increased, but also because of changes in the nature of information needs and the way that information was collected. The engineers could be said to have brought about these new developments because they realized the value of systematically collecting information to underpin policies regarding water defence and water management. An example of the sort of information they wanted was the registration of temperature and weather conditions at Rijnland's office in Halfweg three times a day between 1735 and 1866.[3] These observations are among the oldest meteorological records in Europe.

5.2 Peat Dredging[4]

Peat was already produced on a commercial scale in the 14th century. In the 16th century the need for fuel for industrial and domestic use had grown to such an extent that cutting raised and dried bog peat (*hoogveen*) was no longer sufficient and was replaced by *slagturven*. This process required dredging fenland peat (*laagveen*) from below water level. In Utrecht and Holland roughly 200 hectares of land were turned into artificial lakes annually between 1600 and 1700, totalling approximately 61,000 hectares. A large part of this artificial lake system was later drained. Today there are extensive peat lakes such as the Loosdrecht and Vinkeveen lakes. In the north, in Drenthe, Groningen, Friesland, and Overijssel, peat was produced from around 42,000 hectares of fenland and 100,000 hectares of raised bog peat between 1617 and 1950, about a third of which was produced in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Permission (*consent*) for peat dredging was needed from the lord of the manor (*ambachtsheer*) and the regional water board. Consent was awarded after interested parties had been summoned by promulgation in church (*kerkgebod*) to voice any objection, and after an

3   Charles Jeurgens, 'Statistics as an instrument in the struggle against water 1790-1850', in: *The statistical mind in a pre-statistical era. The Netherlands 1750-1850*, ed. Paul M.M. Klep and Ida H. Stamhuis (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2002), p. 304.

4   M.A.W. Gerding, *Vier eeuwen turfwinning. De verveningen in Groningen, Friesland, Drenthe en Overijssel tussen 1550 en 1950* ('t Goy-Houten: HES, 1995); Arjan van 't Riet, *Meeten, boren en besien. Turfwinning in de buitenrijnse ambachten van het Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland 1680-1800* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005); Arjan van 't Riet, 'Turfwinning', in *Geschiedenis van het Groene Hart*, ed. Adrie de Boer et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2011), pp. 93-112; J.W. de Zeeuw, 'Peat and the Dutch Golden Age. The historical meaning of energy attainability', *AAG Bijdragen* 21 (1978): 3-31.

agreement had been reached. The consent specified that a sworn surveyor had to draw up a map in triplicate. One copy was for the local council, another copy for the regional water board, and a third one for the lord of the manor. The latter was compensated for the loss of tithes from the land that was turned into water. The *hoogheemraadschap* of Rijnland had to be compensated as well, as no taxes could be levied from land that had become water. This became an acute problem when owners abandoned the parcels that had been turned into water, thereby avoiding both taxes and the obligation to contribute to future drainage of the lakes. The dire war years around 1672 were especially problematic in this regard. In 1680 Rijnland therefore introduced the *stuiver* fee (*stuivergeld)* (1 *stuiver* is 1/20 of a guilder); this amounted to one or two *stuivers* per square *roede* (approximately 152 square feet) of peatland. A proper administration was important. In the so-called *stuiver* letter (*stuiverbrief*) the amount of peat produced from a particular plot and the paid *stuiver* fees were recorded annually. Each local council drew up an assessment list (*verveningskohier*, a copy of which went to Rijnland) recording the awarded licences and the amounts of peat. Every year, the local council transferred the *stuiver* fees to the regional water board, which invested the income in bonds. From the interest on the bonds, the taxes charged on the dredged parcels were paid. The local council received a proof (*renversaal*) of the bond, which had to be kept carefully because at the back the annual payment of the tax was recorded. As archivist Ludy Giebels writes, this cumbersome system required great 'endurance of the documents'; the recordings sometimes stretched over a century or more (see also 8.2.1).[5] When drainage was undertaken many years later, Rijnland could subsidize the project from the invested *stuiver* fees. The Rijnland system of *stuiver* fees was adopted elsewhere in Holland and Utrecht and practised until well into the 20th century.

The entrepreneurs in peat dredging often worked as a company (*compagnieschap*), recruiting seasonal workers, mainly from Germany. The peat was dredged, then dried, trod out by women using their feet, and cut into blocks. The peat could be transported fast and cheap, thanks to the famous Dutch network of natural waterways and canals. Upon arrival in town, sworn female peat packers (*turftonsters*) assessed the amount of peat (for taxing) and female and male peat carriers (*turfdragers*) carried the peat to the peat market.

5   L. Giebels, 'Het waarborgfonds van het Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland', *Holland* 21 (1989): 160-80.

5.3 Draining[6]

The draining of the Beemster lake 25 kilometres north of Amsterdam was completed in 1612, and the lake had become a polder (Fig. 5.0). In 1999 the Beemster was registered by UNESCO as a World Heritage site. Visitors then and now admire the almost architectural design of the polder and its rational ordering by a symmetric grid of canals and roads. Such a grid of squares had been promoted by engineer Simon Stevin for the layout of fortresses, cities, and houses. The grid indicated rational order, harmony, and legibility, Elizabeth Sutton writes. She argues that the rationalization of a space such as the Beemster reflected part of the increasing rationalization of Dutch society. Among the 15 originators of the Beemster reclamation were rich Amsterdam merchants such as Dirck and Hendrik van Os and Arent ten Grootenhuis, all of whom had been among the founders of the United East India Company (VOC) and its predecessors. They were familiar with Stevin's interest tables, his manuals on architecture and bookkeeping (see 8.2.3), and his *wiskonst* (Stevin's neologism for mathematics, but literally meaning the art of what is certain), a mathematics which considered the whole first before subdividing or parcelling.[7] The reclamation of the Beemster costed 1.6 million guilders (the equivalent of 54 million euro).

Reclamation projects like the Beemster one led to the improvement of water management and an increase of productive agricultural land. Rich burghers saw such a project as a profitable investment for their surplus capital. The total amount of money involved in land reclamation in Holland north of Amsterdam between 1598 and 1643 is estimated at between 9.5 and 13 million guilders, one and a half to two times the starting capital of the VOC in 1602. On a slightly smaller scale, merchants in the western Netherlands invested in peat production in the north of the country.

For each drainage project records were important, as such a project

> entailed extensive paperwork: information regarding the lake, patents, lawsuits, minutes, charts, correspondence, decrees, general announcements flowed in and

> from the board's office. Collecting data, making decisions, reporting back to the other stakeholders and filing all the paperwork was in fact a mercantile invention that made Amsterdam an important information and commercial exchange.[8]

We can identify the genre systems (see the General Introduction), using the model scenario of reclamation provided by Han van Zwet.

The originators (dikers, in Dutch *bedijkers*) were united by **contract** into a company (*sociëteit* or *compagnie*), a legal form in use in shipping and trade since the 15th century (see 7.2). They committed themselves to share the costs of preparation and drainage. Sworn surveyors made a **map** of the lake that was to be drained and valued the land. This led to a **budget plan**. Thereafter, interested people could **sign up** as a participant for a determined sum. The average participation in the Beemster was 11,000 guilders (in the VOC shareholders bought an average of 3,215 guilders in shares!). They were mostly very wealthy investors, but just as in the case of the VOC, there were also many smaller investors among them.

The costs of preparation and drainage were shared among the participants in phases, the company's treasurer serving an **assessment notice** (*aanslagbiljet*) on them each time. The dikers approached the States of Holland with a **petition** for **letters patent** (*octrooi*). Having received the advice of the Audit Office of the domains (*Rekenkamer der domeinen*), the States granted the letters patent. At the registry of the States the practice was to rework the petition and the advice from the Audit Office into a draft from which the letters patent were made and handed out to the petitioner. Letters patent (for diking, inventions, printed books, etc.) were granted with the restriction that the rights of third parties had to be considered. Therefore, third parties were **summoned** and engaged in negotiations. Owners of adjacent lands, towns, and other interested parties had to be compensated by compromise or in cash 'to their satisfaction' (*contentement*). The contentment clause protected the rights of third parties, but 'it also protected investors in drainage from litigation. If investors and those affected by drainage could not reach an agreement,

6 G.J. Borger, 'De Beemster—ideaal of compromis', in *Geordend landschap; 3000 jaar ruimtelijke ordening in Nederland*, ed. R.M. van Heeringen et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), pp. 75-102; Alette Fleischer, 'The Beemster Polder. Conservative invention and Holland's great pleasure garden', in *The mindful hand. Inquiry and invention from the late Renaissance to early industrialisation*, ed. Lissa Roberts, Simon Schaffer, and Peter Dear (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2007), pp. 145-66; Elizabeth A. Sutton, *Capitalism and cartography in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago/ London: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Han van Zwet, *Lofwaerdighe dijckagies en miserabele polders. Een financiële analyse van landaanwinningsprojecten in Hollands Noorderkwartier, 1597-1643* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009).

7 Wim Nijenhuis, 'Stevin's grid city and the Maurice conspiracy,', in *Early modern urbanism and the grid. Town planning in the Low Countries in international context. Exchanges in theory and practice 1550-1800*, ed. Piet Lombaerde and Charles van den Heuvel (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 45-62.

8 Fleischer, 'The Beemster Polder', p. 153.

members of the Court of Holland arbitrated.'[9] The negotiations (in which **maps** played an important role) and **agreements** involved a lot of paperwork, but sometimes assurances were made which one preferred not to put in writing. Similarly, the **advice from experts** in mill building and drainage was by no means always recorded in writing.

Land was **bought** or exchanged for the construction of the enclosing dike (*ringdijk*) and the ring canal. **Specifications** (*bestek*) were drawn, **advertised** and the drainage contracted out in subprojects.

Fig. 5.3 Specifications (*bestek*) for constructing a part of the Beemster dike, 1609. Waterland Archives, *Polder- en dorpsbestuur Beemster* (0205), inv. nr. 1186.

9   Piet van Cruyningen, 'Dealing with drainage. State regulation of drainage projects in the Dutch Republic, France, and England during the 16th and 17th centuries', *Economic history review* 68 (2015): 426.

The **contracts** with the contractors (who employed thousands of workers) were very detailed. Upon completion, surveyors were called in again. Subsequently, the ring dike had to be **inspected** by the regional water board. As soon as the ring dike was completed, pumping could start. Windmills for pumping were built by highly specialized mill builders and according to **specifications**. In the Beemster (7,100 hectares), 21 mills were needed for draining, plus 29 mills for regular water management in the polder. Many mill builders **proposed** new techniques and installations, from which the polder board had to choose.

When the draining of the Beemster lake was finished, the participants organized a festive meal in a tent in the middle of the polder on 4 July 1612, at which Stadholder Prince Maurice of Nassau and his half-brother Prince Frederick Henry were also present. After this party, the allotment of the polder followed according to the **allotment plan** (*verkavelingsplan*). Allotment ditches were dug, and exploitation started. The surveyor made a new **map** that was kept up to date regularly: a living document.

The works for roads, bridges, and sluices were **contracted** out and executed. The allotments were distributed among the participants according to the **allotment conditions** (*kavelcondities*) and surveyed again. Others who were not members of the company had the chance to buy allotments. The result was recorded in the **allotment register** (*kavelregister*). Every landholder received a **map** on which his property was recorded. The allotment register and the allotment conditions were almost always published (sometimes after a few years), joined by the letters patent and a map of the polder. This map was meant for promotion, unlike the preceding maps that were predominantly tools of work (although the first map was aimed at interesting prospective investors).

The dikers gained full ownership of the land in the polder. They formed the board of chief landholders (*hoofdingelanden*), to whom the dike-reeve and members of the polder board were accountable. *Hoofdingelanden* appointed the members of the polder board, as well as the treasurer and the secretary (the former earned three to five times more than the latter). The dike-reeve was appointed by the provincial States.

5.4 Caring for Water Board Archives

In 5.1 I pointed out that the administration of a polder was not very extensive. The polder archives were generally kept in a chest or cupboard in the meeting room of the polder house or the town hall (see 11.1.3). Until the 20th century, the polder archives were often stored in a cupboard at the inn where polder board and landholders met, or the secretary kept the archives at home. Much has been lost.

At regional level, systematic archiving by the regional water boards of Rijnland and Delfland began quite late only, in the 15th century, possibly in connection with the professionalization and bureaucratization introduced by the Burgundian dukes (see 3.1). At first, as we have seen in previous chapters, people were concerned mainly about the charters and other muniments. Those of Delfland water board were in the custody of the city magistrate of Delft, who kept them safely in the main church.[10] In 1449, when a conflict arose with the neighbouring water board of Schieland, Schieland was not satisfied with copies but insisted on seeing the original charters. Delfland therefore wanted to take its documents from their depository. The city magistrate refused, claiming that the custody of Delfland's charters had been granted to the City by the counts of Holland. Delfland took Delft to court. Pending judgment, the small coffer with Delfland's charters was deposited with the Court of Holland in The Hague. In 1453, however, the Great Council of Mechelen ordered that the coffer be returned to the church and that the keys should be given to the members of the Delfland water board (*heemraden*), who would be free to check the charters and to make copies. The Delft city aldermen had to be present when the *heemraden* wanted to take an original document out of the church for any time. Both parties gained in this power game; the *heemraden* acquired access, the city kept custody.

Rijnland began archiving its registers of ordinances and licences in 1434; the series of proceedings of the board starts in 1444.[11] The archive chest with muniments was kept at home by the oldest *heemraad*, and from 1535 by the clerk who then also began archiving

10 Th. F. J. A. Dolk, *Geschiedenis van het hoogheemraad-schap Delfland* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1939), pp. 28-42; *Rechtsbronnen der vier hoofdwaterschappen van het vasteland van Zuid-Holland: (Rijnland, Delfland, Schieland, Woerden)*, ed. S.J. Fockema Andreae (Utrecht: Kemink, 1951), pp. 59-76.

11 G. 't Hart, *Gids van Rijnlands archieven*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Hoogheemraadschap Rijnland, 1975).
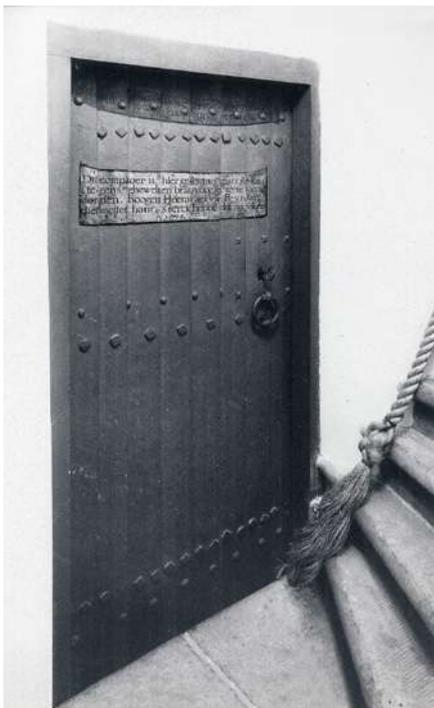
Fig. 5.4 Door of the iron office in Rijnland House, 1578, from G. 't Hart, *Rijnland's huis 1578-1978* (Leiden: Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland, 1979), fig. 5 (photo Van der Plas, Wassenaar).

the loose papers. Beginning in 1508 the annual accounts were stored in a chest at the Court of Holland, which audited the accounts. After 1545 Rijnland kept a copy of the accounts for its own use. In 1578 the board bought a mansion in Leiden to serve as its meeting chamber and as a home for the dike-reeve. After the acquisition, they immediately had a so-called iron office (*ijzeren comptoir*) built, a muniment room closed by a heavy ironclad door (Fig. 5.4). On the door it says:

> This office has been established here by a reasoned decision
> Against force and fire, for secret affairs
> By the high *heemraden* of Rijnland themselves
> Who have caused it to be made strong
>
> *Dit comptoer is hier geset met guet verstant*
> *Tegens ghewelt en brant voor secreete saecken*
> *Doer den hoogen heemraet van Rijnlant*
> *Die 't metterhant sterck hebben doen maecken.*

In this room a carpenter made a big cupboard, a muniments chest, and two large boards with pegs for hanging the files (*liassen*, see 3.2).

In 1610 it was ordained that even the reeve and the members of the board no longer had free access to the iron office. Only the clerk could enter freely. When the board needed any documents, the clerk provided copies. Those documents that were used frequently were kept in a large cupboard with compartments and drawers in the meeting chamber.

However, archives were stored as well in other places, in chests and cupboards, as evidenced by an inventory made between 1626 and 1631 and supplemented many times. That inventory was alphabetically arranged according to the names of the polders and local councils (*ambachten*). Numbers on the files and references to their place in the cupboards facilitated findability. In 1721 a muniment room was established in Rijnland House in

Leiden to store documents for which there was no storage space in the iron office. A year later the clerk was given an assistant whose work included the management of the archives. This appointment was probably related to the increase in tasks, particularly the administration of the *stuiver* fees and the bonds, mentioned in 5.2.

The 16th-century repository was used until 1933, when a new repository was built in the garden of Rijnland House. The new repository stayed in use until 2000, when Rijnland moved to an entirely new office building. However, the iron office can still be seen when visiting Rijnland House in Leiden.

The water boards at regional and local levels were public bodies, recognized in the first constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1814). They were responsible for their archives management, and this continued under the successive archives acts. The larger water boards appointed their own archivist (this was done in 1859 in Rijnland) and they often kept the archives of the smaller polders within their territory as well. Some decades ago the merger of water boards into larger units began. In 1950, the country numbered 2,500 water boards, today there are 21 (in the same period the number of municipalities decreased from 1,015 to 380). That amalgamation had consequences for the archives. For example, the Rivierenland water board (stretching across parts of four provinces) has 474 predecessors.[12] Their archives are kept in Tiel, Nijmegen, Heusden, and Gorinchem. However, they are accessible via one Internet portal. Six of the 21 water boards have their own archivist, the others operate in a joint venture with local or regional public archives.

5.5   Draining as a State Enterprise[13]

Interest in draining diminished considerably by the middle of the 17th century. Between 1665 and 1790 the reclaimed area (15,788 hectares) was less than half of what had been drained between 1540 and 1665 (32,666 hectares).[14] Rich burghers found other objects for investment, and only in the 18th century was their role in drainage taken over by public bodies such as local authorities. The latter limited themselves to the drainage proper and

12   https://web.archive.org/web/20190508223942/
https://regionaalarchiefrivierenland.nl/waterschap-rivierenland, archived 8 May 2019.

13   C. Jeurgens, *De Haarlemmermeer. Een studie in planning en beleid 1836-1858* (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1991); A.J. Thurkow, 'The draining of the lakes in the Netherlands (18th-19th centuries)', in *Eau et développement dans l'Europe moderne*, ed. Salvatore Ciriacono (Paris: Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2004), pp. 103-16.

14   Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The first modern economy. Success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), ch. 2.3.1.

left (following new economic ideas) the exploitation to private owners. For example, the city of Rotterdam and the province of Holland each drained several polders in the 18th century. For every project a special board of commissioners was established, each forming their own archives. After the draining, the new lands were sold. This practice was—with some exceptions—followed in other drainages (*droogmakerijen*). Drainage had become a government affair. After 1795 central government carried out big drainage projects, particularly at places were (as the poet Joost van den Vondel wrote in 1641) the 'water wolf' was threatening the safety of inhabitants. Drainage as a state enterprise knew other information flows and other archiving practices than in the past, as can be demonstrated with a case study of the draining of Lake Haarlem (Haarlemmermeer, 18,100 hectares).

The Haarlemmermeer had been formed out of peat lakes dating from the Middle Ages and the continuous erosion at the borders of the lake (Fig. 5.5). In the 18th century the lake was two and a half times bigger than the Beemster. Plans for draining (using 112 windmills) did not materialize, partly because of the opposition from the cities of Leiden and Haarlem, and partly because of external factors in the 1740s such as an agricultural crisis and the involvement of the Republic in the War of Austrian Succession. In 1837, King William I established a State commission charged with designing the draining of the Haarlemmermeer. The plan was reviewed by the ministers of the Interior and Finance, who, at the King's request, had two committees organize trials with steam engines. Finally, the plan had to be approved and enacted by Parliament. This happened in 1839. The drainage was entrusted to a 'committee of management and control' (*commissie van beheer en toezicht*) on which the King and the Minister of the Interior had great influence. Not before 1858, when the drainage and the allotment were finished, could the committee terminate its affairs.

In 1839 the committee (having among its members two engineers from the Department of Water Works) started making the specifications, budget plans, and drawings of the ring dike and the ring canal. These were contracted and carried out by contractors employing thousands of 'polder workmen'. Just as with the draining projects in the 17th century,

all sorts of people came forward with plans and inventions requesting a reaction from the committee. The committee members had trials done with machines and other equipment. They went to Cornwall to observe the use of steam to pump water out of the mines.
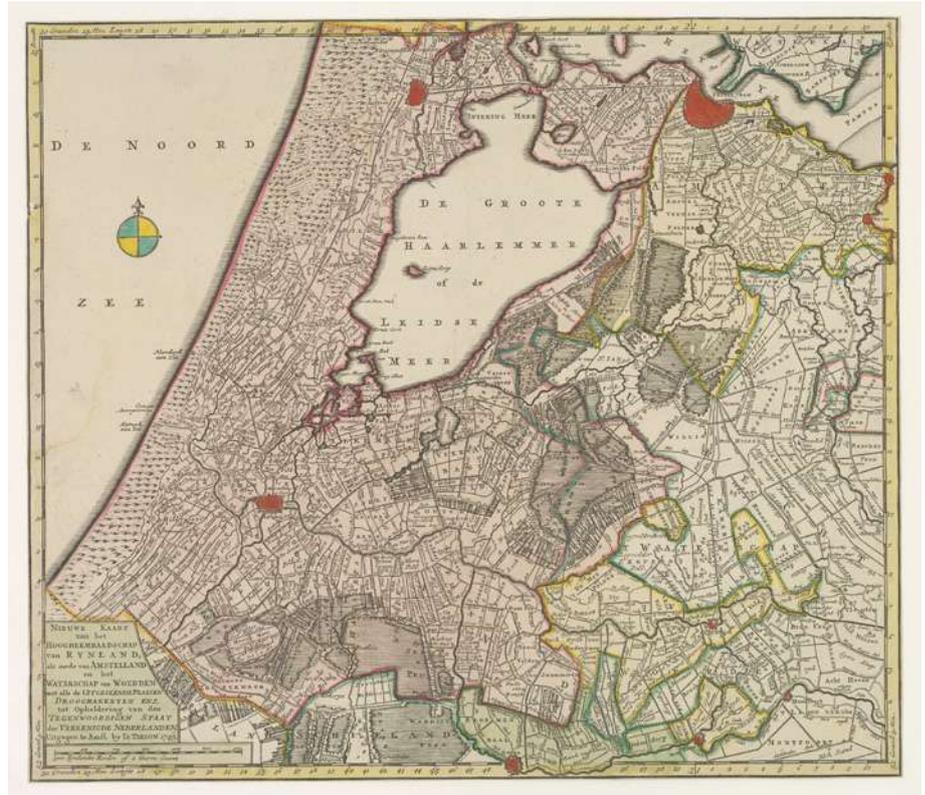

Fig. 5.5 Map of the water boards of Rijnland, Amstelland and Woerden, published by Isaac Tirion, 1745. Erfgoed Leiden, PV 70294.

Everything was reported in writing. The Ministry of Defence played a part in the information network; it should be possible to inundate the drained Haarlemmermeer quickly in times of war, in order to defend Amsterdam. This concern influenced the allotment plan of 1845. The Ministry of Finance was responsible for financing the whole project, in particular for issuing a loan of eight million guilders, in six portions between 1840 and 1849. Pumping started in 1848. In 1853 the first parcels of reclaimed land (3,150 hectares) were auctioned. The remainder (13,692 hectares) followed between 1854 and 1855. The committee ensured the construction of roads and two villages. The polder had its own polder board and municipal council.

According to Charles Jeurgens, who wrote his PhD thesis on the history of the Haarlemmermeer drainage, the committee of control was convinced that a plan could only come to fruition if all parties concerned were to be involved in the development. This project was indeed an almost literal example of what was later called 'the polder model' (see chapter 13). Such a 'sociocratic' working method implies more consultations, more exchange of information before decisions are reached, and more archiving.

In 1886 the Zuiderzee Association began lobbying for the draining of the Zuiderzee. The Zuiderzee Act of 1918 provided the basis for constructing the Afsluitdijk (turning the sea into a lake, the IJsselmeer), the reclamation of the Wieringermeer, and the formation of the Noordoostpolder, Oost-Flevoland, and Zuid-Flevoland. In the 1930s plans were made to establish a Zuiderzee archives to be deposited with the Nederlands Economisch-Historisch Archief (see 7.7). These archival plans (revived in the 1960s) came to nothing.[15] However, following the creation of the new province of Flevoland (1986), a State Archives was established in the provincial capital in 1992. The archives of the various institutions that had been involved in the Zuiderzee works since 1918 were transferred to the new State Archives (now the Flevoland Archives).

As mentioned before, since the 18th century drainage was largely considered a governmental responsibility. Still, draining by private parties was possible. These endeavours

15 Roxana Chandali, 'Het Zuiderzee-archief', *Nederlands archievenblad* 96 (1992): 22-7.

were governed by Napoleonic regulations dating from the years 1807 to 1811, which remained in force until their replacement by an Act of Parliament in 1904. Originators had to apply to the State for a concession. Together with the application, maps, drawings, and a budget plan had to be submitted. These were open to public inspection allowing interested parties to oppose the plan. The Provincial Executive advised the Crown and ensured that the drainage was carried out in accordance with the concession. The last time the act of 1904 was applied was in 2008 when the Port of Rotterdam Ltd. requested a concession for reclamation of land in order to expand the Maasvlakte (created in the 1960s). In 2009 the act was revoked; the Water Act is now in force.

5.6 Commons and Communities[16]

Control of the commons (*markegronden*), situated mostly in the east and north-east, was in the hands of the collectivity of commoners (*markegenoten*) or of a natural or legal person. Among the latter could be subsumed the *meenten* in the east and the *gemeynten* in the south.

The *markegenoten* assembled, usually once a year, constituting the *markegericht* or *holtink*, chaired by the justiciary of the commons (*markerichter*). The *markerichter* was elected. However, there were many commons where the office of justiciary was connected to a certain homestead (*erf*) or a noble house. The commons assembly had judicial authority (hence the name *markegericht*, or commons bench). Just as in the polders (see 5.1) the procedure was almost always oral, with traditional legal formulas being recited by the *markerichter* and the landowners. Most commons gradually changed over to writing down the rights and duties of the commoners in a commons book (*markeboek*). As early as 1300 the ordinances of the commons of Berkum (province Overijssel) were set out in writing. The *marke* Wesepe (Overijssel) decided in 1603 to make a new *markeboek* into which the old papers (*cedulen*) were copied; from now on the book would be used to record all.[17] Future landowners ,the book sets out, would not only be able to verify what their forefathers had decided for the common profit, but they could also read and accept as

16 Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'Chaloner memorial lecture. The paradox of the marks. The exploitation of commons in the Eastern Netherlands, 1250-1850', *The agricultural history review* (1999): 125-44; Peter Hoppenbrouwers, 'The use and management of commons in the Netherlands. An overview', in *The management of common land in north west Europe c. 1500-1850*, ed. Martina De Moor, Paul Warde, and Leigh Shaw-Taylor (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 87-112; René van Weeren and Tine de Moor, 'Controlling the commoners. Methods to prevent, detect, and punish free-riding on Dutch commons in the early modern period', *Agricultural history review* 62, no 2 (2014): 256-77.

17 J. de Graaf, *Markeregt van Wesepe* (Kampen: Zalsman, 1967), pp. 9-10.

binding the decisions from the past, just as if their ancestors had confirmed these with their signature. Thus, the *markeboek* was valued as memory and as evidence.

The *markeboek* contained the minutes of meetings, lists of shareholders, financial data, and by-laws concerning the organization of the commons and the use of the common lands. By-lawswhich in fact concerned the village community (*buurschap*—a *marke* could encompass several villages), were also implemented, for example those regarding the visitation of the dikes and the maintenance of waters and roads. In Drenthe, separate associations of commoners did not exist, and managing the commons was the task of the *buurschap*.
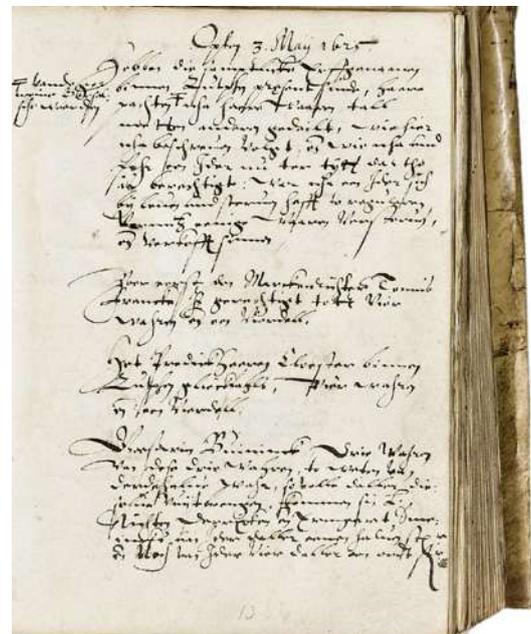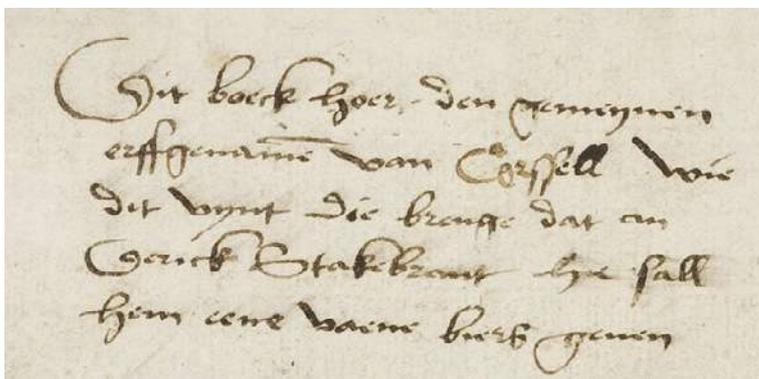

Fig. 5.6a en b Markeboek of Gorssel (Gelderland), 1560-1758. Regional Archives Zutphen, *Marke Gorssel* (5004), inv. nr. 1. On the first page is written 'This book belongs to the commoners of Gorssel. Whoever finds it, may bring it to Derick Stakebrant who will give him a *vaene* (3.5 litres) of beer.'

Sometimes special registers were branched off from the *markeboek*. For example, the people entitled to the common Speuld woods (near Ermelo, Gelderland) gathered on 27 March 1604 'under the beech tree on the commons', decided that transfers of shares which until then would be found dispersed through the commons book, were to be recorded in a separate register.[18]

The *markeboek* was kept in the commons chest. Thus the book of the Asselter woods commons (near Apeldoorn, Gelderland) was kept in a chest either in Saint Anthony's Chapel in the woods or in the church in Apeldoorn.[19] The commons chest was often fitted with several locks. The four keys of the chest in Woolde (near Hengelo, Overijssel) were held by the *markerichter*, the oldest landowner, the chapter of Oldenzaal, and at Twickel Castle. Today the archives at Twickel Castle contain a copy of the *markeboek* which was kept since 1482 (copied in 1757 and continued until 1832). These archives also contain the books of another eight commons which the lord of Twickel used in his function of *markerichter*.[20] Sometimes the *markeboek* was kept in duplicate: one copy for the *markerichter*, the other kept by the clerk. The States of Overijssel prescribed such duplicate archiving in 1758, but that requirement was not followed everywhere. In 1797 *marke* Borgel (near Deventer) had great difficulty in retrieving the books from clerk Arnold van Suchtelen after he was dismissed. It was only after a year that the *markerichter* received two *markeboeken* and some papers from Van Suchtelen's lawyer, but many documents were still missing and were only returned after repeated requests by the *marke*'s lawyer.[21] Elsewhere, *marke* archives were kept by the family that had the hereditary presidency of the commons, or by the municipality onto which the rights and duties of the commons had been transferred.

Commons could be partitioned (enclosure) wholly or partially, and under certain conditions. Between 1809 and 1810, when Holland was a Kingdom, regulations on enclosure were enacted to stimulate the exploitation of wastelands, but these had virtually no effect.[22] The commoners needed the wastelands for grazing sheep and cows that produced the manure for fertilizing the farmlands. Woods, thickets, and heather were all of use to the

18 J. J. S. Sloet, *Geldersche markerechten*, vol. 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1911), p. 428.

19 Sloet, *Geldersche markerechten*, pp. 104-05.

20 Twickel Castle (Delden), *Huisarchief Twickel*, inv. nr. 5114.

21 J. de Graaf, *Markeregt van Borgel* (Zwolle: Tijl, 1948), pp. VIII-IX.

22 F.C.J. Ketelaar, *Oude zakelijke rechten, vroeger, nu en in de toekomst* (Leiden/Zwolle: Universitaire Pers Leiden/W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1978); H.B. Demoed, *Mandegoed Schandegoed. De markeverdelingen in Oost Nederland in de 19e eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1987).

villagers, but they had little idea of the nature and size of their common lands. That changed with the introduction in 1832 of the cadastre (see 6.2.2): the boundaries and the monetary value of the commons and the rights of use became clear. In the 1830s and 1840s the provincial governments of Drenthe and Overijssel were actively involved in partitioning nearly all commons, underpinning this by issuing manuals for enclosure in 1837 and 1840. Between 1840 and 1879 the enclosures in Drenthe and Overijssel numbered 92 and 89, respectively. Other provinces, especially Gelderland, failed in their efforts to enclose land. After much lobbying by agricultural organizations, the government proposed an act to promote partitioning of common grounds in 1882. At the time there were still 39 commons in Gelderland, eight in Overijssel, three in Drenthe, and four in other provinces.

In 1885 the Enclosure Act (*Markenwet*) came into force and the act was never repealed. The procedure of the *Enclosure Act* includes various work processes, each with their own 'archiving moments' (most of them already described in the provincial manuals of 1837 and 1840), forming a genre system (see the General Introduction) with multiple agents and genres acting together.

According to the Enclosure Act, the Provincial Executive draws up a **list of commons** (*staat van markgronden*) in their province. When consensual partitioning of a *marke* is not feasible, any commoner is entitled to claim a judicial allotment. In that case, the court, in its **judgment to partition** (*vonnis tot verdeling*), appoints a supervisory judge, who in turn appoints a committee of three to five people, preferably from among the commoners, and a surveyor. The committee is to oversee the surveyor, who makes a **map of existing and future roads and waterways** (*kaart van bestaande en nieuw aan te leggen wegen en waterleidingen*). During a meeting of commoners and other interested parties (including tenants), a provisional and a final **list of rightful claimants** (*lijst van rechthebbenden*) is established. Opposition against the list can be brought to court. As soon as the list of rightful claimants is closed, the nature and extent of everyone's rights are definite. The committee and the supervisory judge then proceed to value the lands and determine

the compensation. This is recorded in the **allocation plan** (*plan van toedeling*). Appeal to the court concerning the proposed allotment or compensation is possible. Finally, a notary draws up the **deed of partition** (*akte van scheiding*) which is then entered into the land register.

The Enclosure Act served as a model for the Land Consolidation Act (*Ruilverkavelingswet*) of 1924 (revised 1938 and 1954), the subsequent Land Development Act (*Landinrichtingswet*), and the current Rural Areas Development Act (*Wet inrichting landelijk gebied*) of 2007.[23] The main difference is that today the list of rightful claimants and the allotment plan are integrated into one so-called **exchange plan** (*ruilplan*). The notarial deed of partition is now called the **deed of exhange** (*ruilakte*).

The *Enclosure Act* also regulated the fate of the archives of the defunct commons. The government judged these archives to be indispensable 'for the knowledge of the original state of land tenure and [as a source for] the associated legal history'.[24] The archives were therefore transferred to the State Archives in the provincial capitals (earlier, in 1859, the provincial government of Overijssel had opened its archival repository for depositing archives of defunct commons). Interested parties are entitled to copies or extracts. In spite of these regulations, many *marke* archives entered public repositories as part of the archives of families whose members were magistrates of the commons.

At the time of the enclosure of the commons, land that was not fit for farming was often not allotted and remained subject to the grazing rights of the former commoners. Some of the commons live on as a joint stock company or as a neighbourhood association, sometimes snippets remain common property.[25] An example is the commons of Berkum.[26] After the partitioning of the commons, some of the land remained undivided. This was sold over the years and the proceeds were invested. The commons as an institution remained in existence. In 1994, a member of the Sichterman family (who had provided the magistrate of the commons for generations) transferred the assets of the commons into a trust fund, for the benefit of nature and monument conservation and legal scholarship.

23 Margaret Rosso Grossman and Wim Brussaard, 'The land shuffle. Reallocation of agricultural land under the land development law in the Netherlands', *California Western International law journal*, 18/2 (1987-88): 209-89.

24 *Bijlagen Handelingen Tweede Kamer* (1881-1882), nr. 163/3, p. 9.

25 A.J. Mensema, *Inventaris van de archieven van de marken in de provincie Overijssel, 1300-1942* (Zwolle: Rijksarchief in Overijssel, 1978).

26 https://web.archive.org/web/20151017124951/http://www.collective-action.info/_CAS_COM_NET_Berkum, archived 17 October 2015.

In Brabant there were two special types of commons: *gemeynten* and *vroonten*.[27] In the eastern part of the current province of Noord-Brabant, the Duke of Brabant and other overlords issued charters entitling the use of the *gemeynt* (sometimes they donated the land) against payment of a lump sum and an annual fee. The *gemeynt* was transferred to a community, sometimes coinciding with a parish or village. A *gemeynt* covered a determined area, its use was regulated and there was some form of governance, usually established by the lord of the land. Parts of the *gemeynt* could be sold for the profit of the community (from 1629 this needed letters patent (*octrooi*), from the Council of State). Apart from the letters patent, the board of the *gemeynt* (consisting of jurors, or *gezworenen*) kept other important documents, such as ordinances pertaining to the use of the *gemeynt*, judicial files, appointments of officers to maintain law and order, series of sales documents, and licences for planting trees on the *gemeynt*. Judicial files are abundant. Disputes with neighbouring communities about the boundaries date from the 14th century. As Hein Vera states, every community in the eastern part of Noord-Brabant at some point had a conflict with its neighbours, often long-lived. Even after a sentence, a conflict could rekindle after a few decades. 'Apparently, collective memory was poor in these cases. This may have worsened by the fact that the sentence was seldom collected from the court, not only because of the fee but also because no right could be derived from it in the future'.[28] Archiving was not only done by the *gemeynt*, but also by the stewards of the overlord. After the capture of 's-Hertogenbosch by Prince Frederick Henry in 1629, the Duke's steward took the greater part of his administration to Antwerp, which had remained Spanish. After the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the Spanish Audit Chamber in Brussels expected the Dutch to come forward and claim the rentals (*cijnsboeken*), a claim they could not refuse according to the peace treaty. As a pre-emptive measure, the steward was to send his updated administration to Brussels and take counsel with the Audit Chamber as to see which records were to be conceded and which not. In 1649, part of the archives of the Spanish steward was relinquished to the steward of the States. However, some rentals and other records from before 1648 remained in Brussels (in the National Archives), while some 16th-century registers are still kept in the State Archives in 's-Hertogenbosch, together with the rentals made after 1629.

27 This paragraph is a summary of K.A.H.W. Leenders, 'Van gemeynten en vroonten', *Jaarboek De Oranjeboom* 40 (1987): 45-78; Henricus L.M. Vera, 'Gemene gronden', in *Noord-Brabant tijdens de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden, 1572-1795. Een institutionele handleiding*, ed. Jan Sanders and Willem van Ham (Hilversum: Verloren 1996), pp. 214-30; Hein Vera, *….dat men het goed van den ongeboornen niet mag verkoopen. Gemene gronden in de Meierij van Den Bosch tussen hertog en hertgang 1000-2000* (Oisterwijk: BOXPress, 2011).

28 Vera, *…. dat men het goed,* p. 404.

Regulating the *gemeynt* often developed into controlling the entire local administration. Gradually, the *gemeynte* as an institution developed into a municipality. In 1811 much common land became municipal property. It was not disposed of by the community, but by the municipal council. During the 19th century nearly all common land became private property as a result of partitioning and sale.

In the western part of Noord-Brabant most of the uncultivated land was called *vroonte,* meaning land of the lord. However, the villagers were entitled (on payment of an annual fee) to use the topsoil. Grazing and mowing were allowed but digging was forbidden or attached to rigorous conditions. The rights to use the land were in fact no different from those in the *gemeynten* in the east of the province. However, in contrast to the rules for *gemeynten*, selling parts of the *vroonte* was not allowed. On the whole, the *vroonte* did not become municipal property after 1800.

5.7   Conclusion

Diking polders and draining lakes necessitated cooperation and consensus. The typically Dutch practice of consensual decision-making is today still known as the *polder* model (see chapter 13). Much of the business of constructing and managing the smaller polders and the commons was done verbally, sometimes in ritual legal performances. Textualization (*verschriftelijking*) happened in polders where the land was no longer owned by people living in the polder; the absentee landlords had to be informed in writing and this led to archiving. Furthermore, monetization of the duty to contribute labour to the maintenance of polders and dikes led to extensive archiving. At least in Rijnland, the ledgers of maintenance debtors were also used for the assessment of the land tax—such a dual use or functional extension of ledgers is quite common.

From the 17th century onwards, diking and draining were document-intensive works, as is shown by the administration of peat dredging operations and the intricate paper trail of

the draining of the Beemster polder (17th century) and the Haarlemmermeer polder (19th century). Each of these drainage projects was an aggregate of various work processes leading to and supported by various document genres. These documents (of which surveyors' maps were an essential part) and the people who used them were participating in a genre system (see the General Introduction) by which responsibilities and relationships were defined. This applied to the *contentement* of injured parties and public bodies, but also to the partners in the *compagnieschap*—a temporary association of business partners as was usual in shipping and trading, in dredging, draining, and in manufacturing. Comparable considerations (and thus comparable genre systems) characterized the 19th-century enclosure of commons that served as a model for modern legislation concerning the development of rural areas. Both polders and commons may be seen as 'communities of records' (see 4.9.2), embracing landowners, tenants, investors, surveyors, public bodies, feudal lords, and families, all participating in genre systems.

Archiving by the oldest regional water boards in Holland initially focused on the privileges and other charters, analogous to early archiving by the Church, by feudal lords, and the cities. Registers and other new genres were introduced as elements of professionalization and (premodern) bureaucratization beginning in the 15th century. The Rijnland water board built an iron office to house its archives in 1578. Rijnland may have followed the example of the States of Holland, which had their muniment room built in 1560 (see 3.2). Rijnland's iron office was used until 1933. In the smaller polders the archives often did not contain much more than the polder book, which was kept in the polder chest. This is comparable to archiving in villages and commons. Some control of the archiving by polders and commons was exercised by higher authorities.

Chapter 6
Archiving Property

Fig. 6.0 Relief above the door to the Chamber of Desolate Estates in Amsterdam City Hall (now the Royal Palace) showing Icarus' Fall accompanied by rats nibbling moneyboxes, papers, and account books of insolvents. Sculpted by Artus Quellinus between 1650 and 1664. National Archives, *Fotocollectie RVD* (2.24.26), inv. nr. 012-1363.

6.0 Introduction

One of six basic types of records 'that may be called constants in record creation', according to Posner[1], are records regarding real estate. Indeed, in the archival history of what is now the Netherlands, archiving rights pertaining to immovable property is a constant. This explains why of all preserved public and private archives so much concerns real property. An important factor is that before the 19th century many rights on real property related to the juridical community to which the owner or tenant belonged. Examples are the specific rules that existed for property held in feudal tenure (which I do not deal with in this book) and for property in polders and commons (see 5.1 and 5.6).

The oldest documents concerning real property are records of donations of properties to religious institutions that carefully archived these muniments, as was shown in 2.1. In the present chapter, the main questions are: what role did archiving of property play in different contexts, as determined by differences in mandate, business, people, and work processes (see Fig. 0.2), and did this role differ in time and place? What was the involvement of government? These questions do not only concern real property, but also estates which encompass all assets and liabilities.

In 6.1 archiving the legal conveyance (*eigendomsoverdracht*) is discussed. Since the Middle Ages transfer of title to immovable property took place at the local court. This was recorded in a deed handed out to buyer and seller (sometimes the buyer only), but initially the court did not archive the transfer. Towns started to register such transfers in the town register (*stadboek*), and later in special registers of conveyances (see 4.2). Sometimes a register of real property (*cadastre*) was created which shows the history and legal status of every property. Both forms of local registration were centralized in the French period (1811). Since then, registration and archiving have developed and experienced various transformations. What was the influence of societal challenges and new technologies on these registrations?

1 Ernst Posner, *Archives in the ancient world* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 3.

The registrations treated in 6.1 provided snapshots of acts concerning property at a particular time. Whether this was sufficient for long-term asset management and exploitation of immovable property is the subject of 6.2. In 6.2.1 property management by the Abbey of Mariënweerd is presented as a case study of the ways the Church (like other owners of large estates) administered the exploitation of its properties. In 6.2.2 the archiving of Church assets confiscated after the Reformation is dealt with. In 6.2.3 estate management by burghers and civic institutions is discussed. In this case, the management concerned real property and other assets. This wider scope also applies to the treatment of archiving insolvency, a paper-intensive (and nowadays data-intensive) process (6.3). In that process, the focus has gradually shifted from government (bankruptcy court) to the trustee and the insolvent. Also of interest is the development of the publicity of insolvencies: from paper to digital and from local to national and international levels.

In the General Introduction I stressed the importance of the contextual history of the record. To know what archivers did since the creation of a record is essential for understanding the record. Part of that contextual history is the custodial history. Most archives have been subject to intricate adventures during and after the Second World War: dislocation, dispersion, confounding disarrangement, re-use of original documents in building new files, destruction of parts of an archival fonds, and restructuring of the remainder (see also 10.7). The result is not only bound to confuse and intimidate any researcher, but it has also made the evidential and historical value of many archives and records questionable, not to say void. I demonstrate this in 6.4 with a case study of the administrative history of the seizure of jewellery from Dutch Jews.

6.1 Transfer of Property

6.1.1 Transfer of Property before 1811[2]

On 5 January 1639 Rembrandt van Rijn appears before the Amsterdam notary Sebastiaen van der Piet.[3] He is accompanied by Christoffel Thijsz. Christoffel and his brother-in-law Pieter Beltens are the heirs of Pieter Beltens Senior, and they sell Rembrandt the house on Breestraat they inherited. The notary records the sale in a deed, which also mentions that the house is not mortgaged. However, for taxes and other charges the deed refers to older deeds which, as usual, will be handed over to the buyer. Rembrandt will take possession on May Day, when the parties will exchange the title deeds. The purchase price is 13,000 guilders, of which a quarter will be paid in instalments in 1639 and 1640. The remainder will be paid later in five or six years at an interest rate of five percent. The deed is signed by the notary, the sellers, and the buyer. The signed copy will remain in the notary's archives while copies are handed out to Rembrandt and Beltens' heirs. The latter copies have not been preserved, in contrast to the former which was bound into the notary's protocol and which, after the death of the notary, was transferred to the City Hall and hence to the Amsterdam City Archives.

As long as the purchase price was not paid in its entirety, transfer of ownership through conveyance before aldermen could not take place. Rembrandt defaulted for a long time: in 1653 only 6,000 of

2 C.L. Verkerk, 'De schepensignaten en protocollen van bezwaar te Arnhem', in *Bronnen betreffende de registratie van onroerend goed in middeleeuwen en ancien régime. Broncommentaren 4*, ed. G.A.M. van Synghel (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis, 2001), pp. 21-54; R.F.J. Paping and P. Brood, 'De protocollen van verzegelingen in de Groningse oud-rechterlijke archieven', in *Broncommentaren 4*, pp. 55-82; E.T. van der Vlist, 'De bonboeken te Leiden', in *Broncommentaren 4*, pp. 83-108.

3 S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, *Dossier Rembrandt. Documenten, tekeningen en prenten. The Rembrandt papers. Documents, drawings and prints* (Amsterdam: Museum Het Rembrandthuis, 1987).

the 13,000 guilders had been paid. Yet the conveyance took place on 8 January 1653 and was duly registered. However, the deed of conveyance made and sealed by the aldermen (in Amsterdam called quittance, or *kwijtschelding*) was given to Rembrandt only after he had delivered a debenture for the remaining debt.
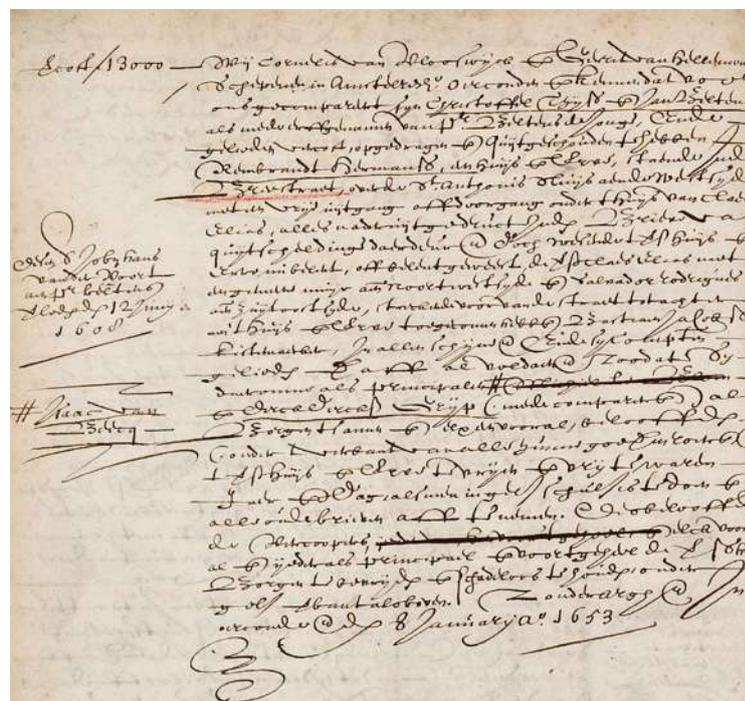
Fig. 6.1 Registration of the conveyance of Rembrandt's house, 8 January 1653. Amsterdam City Archives, *Schepenen: kwijtscheldingsregisters* (5062), inv. nr. 45, fol. 195 verso.

In the Middle Ages, transfer of title to immovable property happened in the presence of neighbours and family members as witnesses. Members of the local court could act as a witness as well. A deed with the seals of the court members had special evidential value. Already at an early time, this conveyance before aldermen or councillors (*schepenen*) became the rule. The oldest provision is found in the city privilege of Middelburg of 1217: 'No citizen can transfer ownership of land, unless [it is done] before the aldermen of Middelburg.'[4] Aldermen kept note of the conveyance in the city register (see 4.2); only later did the deliverance of a charter sealed by aldermen come into use. Elsewhere, the aldermen's deed could be stored in the aldermen's chest (*schepenkist*). This was the case in Arnhem, where 318 unsealed *schepenkist* charters from 1293 to 1334 have been preserved in the Arnhem city archives. Interested parties could get a copy of a *schepenkist* charter. Nearly everywhere else the deed, after sealing, was handed over to the buyer and the seller. At the beginning of the 14th century the Hanseatic city of Kampen started registering conveyances in the city register, into which other affairs are recorded as well. This way of registering legal transactions of citizens in the city register was followed by other towns in Overijssel, including the Hanseatic cities of Zwolle and Deventer.

In 's-Hertogenbosch registration of conveyances in a separate book (*protocol*) began in 1350. In Arnhem the practice of *schepenkistoorkonden* was replaced from the beginning of the 15th century by recording conveyances in special registers (*schepensignaten*). However, the towns mentioned are exceptions. In general, archiving of a conveyance was left to the buyer, while the town or village did not keep a record. It was therefore difficult for third parties—particularly for those who were living elsewhere—to ascertain the ownership of a plot, its boundaries and whether or not the parcel had been mortgaged. In an expanding economy in which much of the oral communication was gradually being replaced by writing, publicity of transactions alone provided insufficient legal security (*rechtszekerheid*). Therefore, governments started registration in the 16th century. The authorities in Groningen started recording copies of the issued deeds in so-called protocols of sealings (*protocollen van verzegelingen*) as late as during the 17th and 18th centuries.

4   A.C.F. Koch, *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland tot 1299*, vol. 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1970), nr. 386.
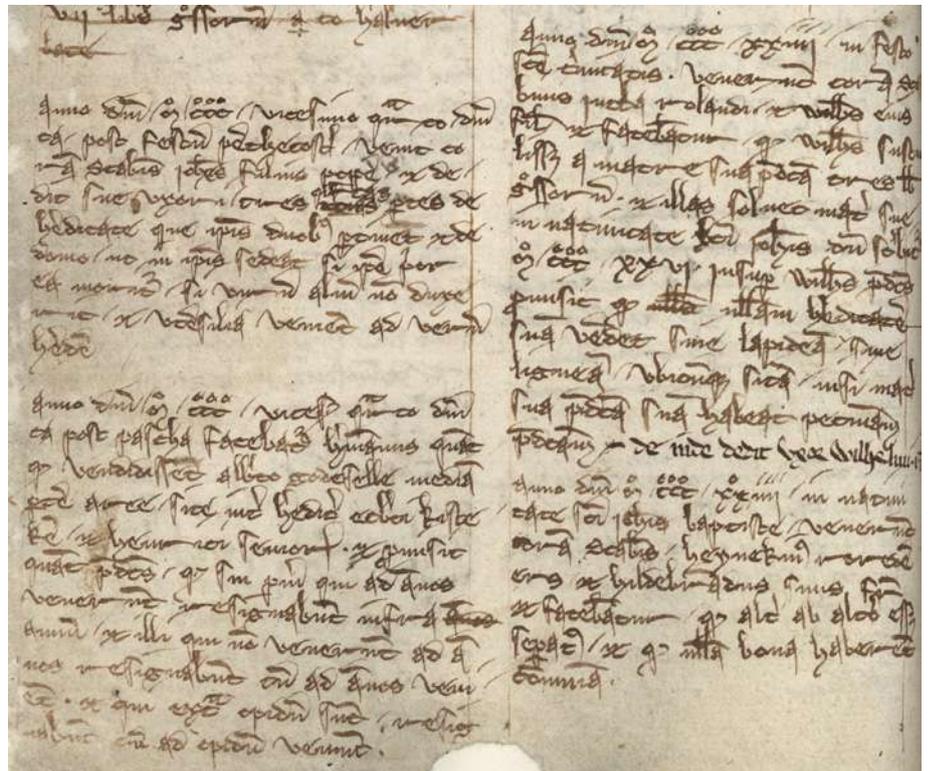
Fig. 6.2 City register (*Oudste Foliant*) of Kampen. Kampen City Archives, *Stadsbestuur* (00001), inv. nr. 3. On this part of folio x verso have been registered a grant of usufruct, a conveyance, a loan on collateral, and a division of estate in the presence of councillors (*coram scabinis*) in 1324.

How was the registration of transfers introduced? [5] Let us follow the bailiffs (*deurwaarders*) of the Court of Holland. One of them, Job Jansz, standing on a platform in front of the Leiden City Hall on 25 May 1560, reads aloud an ordinance (*plakaat*) enacted by King Philip II in Antwerp on 9 May prescribing that all secretaries and clerks of all towns and villages should hold an accurate register of all sales of real property. On the same day, the ordinance is proclaimed by another bailiff, now from the landing of the City Hall of Haarlem. A third bailiff reads the *plakaat* on 16 May in Muiden, Naarden, and Weesp consecutively, and yet another bailiff published the new law in Dordrecht on 30 May.

Each of the four bailiffs also visits other towns, Geertruidenberg and Zevenbergen being the last ones on 8 June. The ordinance has thus been promulgated, maybe not literally 'everywhere in Holland', but indeed, as the King prescribed, 'wherever it is proper'.

Following the example of an ordinance from 1545 for Utrecht by the father of the King, Charles V, the ordinance of 1560 commissions the secretaries and clerks everywhere in Holland to register henceforth all deeds of sale or mortgage of real property at a penalty of three guilders. For cities like Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and Schiedam, this was nothing new as they had been practising registration of conveyances already for some time. But in Schoonhoven, in 1560, the clerk began a *constitutieboek* to register transfers of title. His colleague in Leiden also started a new register, but this was an addition to an already existing registration of sales of real property. At least since 1420 sales in Leiden had to be confirmed before the aldermen. This was recorded in the city register, later in a separate *boeck van memorie*, another name for the book of presentations (*inbrengboek*). The presentation (*inbreng*) was a confirmation of the sale but did not result in the transfer of title. The new register begun in 1560 was a register of guarantees (*waarboek),* registering warrants that hitherto had been exchanged between parties but had not been registered. In a warrant (*waarbrief*), the seller guaranteed to compensate the buyer for any 'concealed' (not declared) claims on the plot, while the buyer promised to pay the purchase price. Both pledges were secured by collateral.

5   This paragraph and the next ten are a summary of F.C.J. Ketelaar, 'Van pertinent register en ordentelijk protocol. Overdracht van onroerend goed in de tijd van de Republiek', in *De levering van onroerend goed. Vijf opstellen over de overdracht van onroerend goed vanaf het Romeinse recht tot het Nieuw Burgerlijk Wetboek* (Amsterdam/Deventer: Stichting tot bevordering der notariële wetenschap/Kluwer, 1985), pp. 39-46 (Holland), pp. 46-56 (other provinces).

Fig. 6.3 Certificate issued by the city clerk of Amsterdam, having checked his registers for mortgage and other duties, 1784. Belasting-en Douanemuseum, Rotterdam, 45968.

6   Ketelaar, 'Van pertinent register', p. 42.

Twenty years after Philip's *plakaat* the States of Holland found it necessary to repeat the regulations once again in their Political Ordinance (*Politieke Ordonnantie*) of 1 April 1580. One of the reasons was that the earlier ordinance had not been implemented properly. Even in places where registers of conveyances had been kept, many had been destroyed or had disappeared in the aftermath of the wars in the 1560s and 1570s. The States ordained that the registers should be stored in a separate chest with two locks; one key to be kept by the bailiff, the sheriff, or the clerk, the other by the eldest alderman. Judges and their clerks were instructed to take care not to seal, sign, or hand out any deed of transfer or mortgage that had not been registered. Failing to observe the ordinance would cost the clerk a fine of six guilders and subject him to criminal charges.

The primary aim of the registration of transfers was to enhance legal security through publicity. The registers would allow 'anyone to acquaint himself with all sales and charges pertaining to real property', according to a Leiden ordinance of 1589.[6] Foreigners were impressed by this publicity. When, in 1668, Sir Josiah Child (later Governor of the English East India Company) enumerated the causes of the 'prodigious increase of the Netherlanders in their domestick and forreign Trade, Riches, and multitude of Shipping' (see 8.2.2), one of his 15 arguments was the Dutch 'keeping up PUBLICK REGISTERS of all Lands and Houses, Sould or Mortgaged, whereby many chargable law Suits are prevented, and the securities of Lands and Houses rendred indeed, such as we commonly call them, REAL SECURITIES'.

The transfer registers were accessible to the public and often supplied with alphabetical tables to facilitate research. Nevertheless, the registers did not provide the sort of publicity as the modern land registry does, particularly because there was no comprehensive registration of all charges burdening a specific plot. The city of Leiden is an exception because, in 1585, the unsurpassed city clerk Jan van Hout (see 4.3) established, at his own costs, a real land register. The *Register Vetus* was arranged not by name of buyers and sellers, but geographically, parcel by parcel. Burghers could check if there were a mortgage or any other charge on a house, the name of the owner, the names of the neighbours,
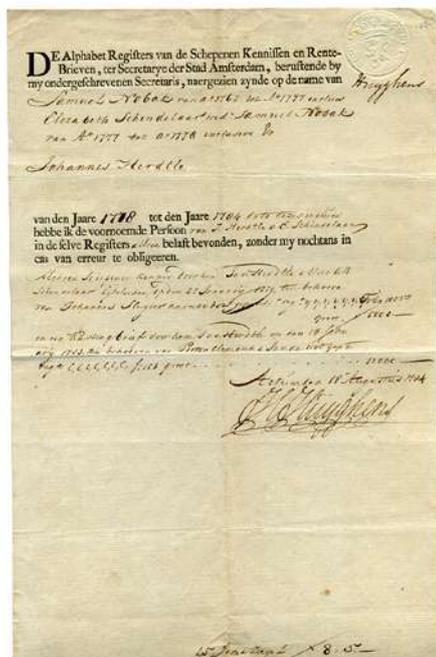
and other data. The register was kept up to date. In 1601 the inscriptions in the *Register Vetus* that were still valid were transferred to a new register with references to the former inscriptions. This so-called Second Register was kept until 1644. In 1642 the *Gerecht* (sheriff, burgomasters, and aldermen) decided to renew the registration. The new registers (later called *bonboeken* because they were partitioned according to the *bonnen*, or neighbourhoods) were ready in 1648. Comparable registers are those of encumbrances (*protocollen van bezwaar*) in Arnhem (since 1618), Nijmegen (since 1659), and elsewhere. They remain important sources for researchers; many registers have been digitized and are accessible on the Internet.

In 1569 the Middelburg city government decided to draft a regulation on registration of aldermen's deeds. It took until 1597 before an office of registration (*comptoir van registrature*) was established. At that office, all transfers, testaments, marriage settlements, mortgages on ships, and other deeds had to be registered.[7] Nine registers were filled with deeds dating from before 1597. Access was facilitated by alphabetical indexes and registers for each neighbourhood, indicating transfers and mortgages for each parcel. Anyone could get an extract from the registers. All registers kept up to 1811 were lost in the bombing of Middelburg on 17 May 1940. A similar disaster befell Delft in May 1536. A fire destroyed nearly all the city archives, including the registers of marriage settlements. Later, people came to the City Hall to have the deeds registered anew.

The secretary (*landschrijver*) of the Quarter of Veluwe and Veluwezoom in Gelderland began registering the deeds of transfer in 1538, probably because of the improvement of legal practices that had been ordained in a treaty. Registration was formally established by the Veluwe legal code (*Landrecht*) of 1593: if purchasers wanted they could ask the secretary to register the deed 'so that, in case the deeds get lost, they may have access to the *protocol*' (*updat, so hun dieselve brieven muchten affhendich warden, sy alsdan oehren thoganck moegen hebben tot het prothocol*).
Protocolling was made compulsory as late as 1632. It is significant that the land tax was introduced at the same time. In spite of the regulation that non-registered transfers would be null and void, registration did not work. In 1654. Arnoldt Penninck was appointed

7   M.H. van Visvliet and W.O. Swaving, *Inventaris der rechterlijke archieven van Middelburg door den vorigen archivaris dier gemeente* (Middelburg: Altorffer, 1906), pp. XXXI-XXXIV; *Resolutie tot ampliatie der ordonnantie op 't registreeren van transporten en verbintenissen ten comptoire van registrature binnen Middelburg* (Middelburg: Callenfels, 1781). Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Plakk Q308:3.

secretary to the quarter and two years later he proposed a reorganization of the registration following the example of the Quarter Nijmegen. It was only in 1675 that new regulations on protocolling came into force, undoubtedly in connection with the need to improve the levying of the land tax. This was necessary because the financial situation of the quarter had greatly deteriorated during the war. The ordinance of 1675 conceals any fiscal motive but emphasizes 'the service and security of the inhabitants'. The protocol was public; if requested, the protocol registrar had to check the register at a fee of six *stuivers* (1 *stuiver* is 1/20 of a guilder). An extract costed ten *stuivers*.
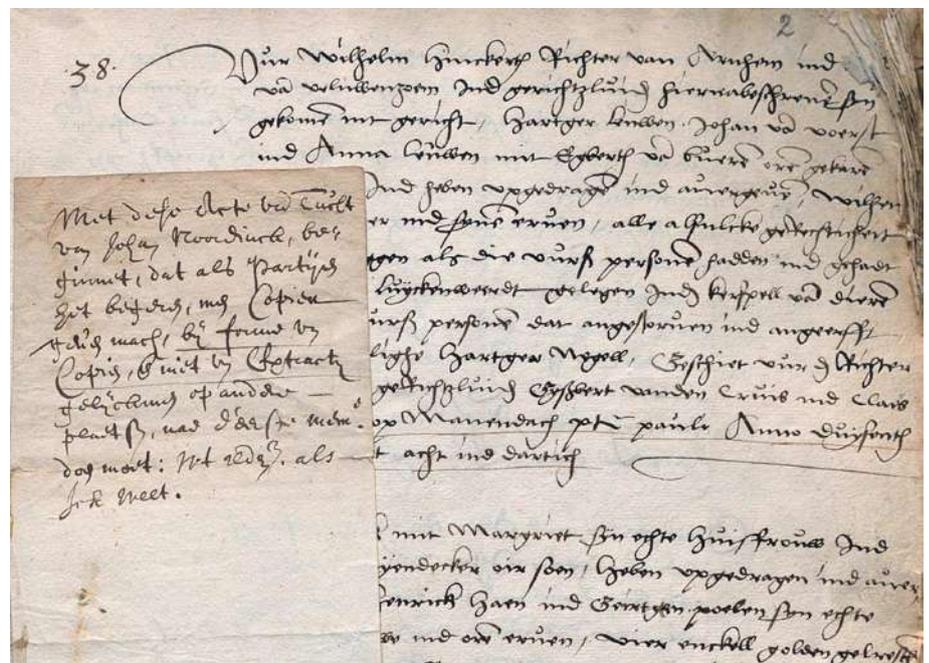
Fig. 6.4 First page of the register of deeds of transfer and bequest issued by the magistrate of Veluwezoom, 1538. Gelders Archief, *ORA Veluwe en Veluwezoom* (0203), inv. nr. 588, fol. 2. The little note states that from now on parties could request a copy of a deed, whereas in other places only extracts were given. The note, however, does not belong to the first page, since it refers to a deed registered in 1623 on folio 215verso.

The desired centralization of protocolling for the whole quarter failed, despite the appointment of deputies of the protocol registrar outside the capital of Arnhem. The death of registrar Ellard Brouwer in 1733 paved the way for a reorganization. Henceforth, each of the sheriffs in the 13 districts would hold a protocol. Defaulting the registration not only meant losing preference over other creditors but also entailed double taxation. This reveals the fiscality of the measure, which also obliged the registrars to report annually all registered acts for which land tax was due. The protocols had to be checked by the local courts.

Elsewhere the fiscal interest dominated as well, for example in Friesland, where registration of real property (*aanbrengregisters* or *floreenregisters*) was introduced in 1511 for the sake of taxation. In other provinces comparable registrations for levying the land tax (*verponding*) and other taxes on real property were set up (see 8.3). One of these charges was the tax on the transfer of property. In Holland extensive regulations came about in 1598: at the transfer, 2.5 percent of the value of the property was levied. Clerks were again and again instructed to keep meticulous registers and to ensure that the tax of the fortieth *penning* was paid before the transfer of real property had taken place. The registers were to be checked by the tax collectors. A transfer for which no tax was paid would be null and void.

At the end of the 18th century the transfer tax (over and above the land tax), which had to be shared between seller and buyer, was two percent in Groningen and the Gelderland quarters of Zutphen and Arnhem; two and a half percent in the Quarter of Nijmegen, Zeeland, and Friesland; 2¾ percent in Holland; three percent in Overijssel; and four percent in Utrecht. Collecting the transfer tax necessitated a scrupulous administration that served fiscal purposes and was not meant to secure legal protection for third parties or legal security of society generally (see 8.3).

6.1.2 Transfer of Property since 1811[8]

The registrations of real property discussed so far were local registrations with local and regional differences. All this was standardized country-wide after France had incorporated the Netherlands (1810-1811, though Limburg and Zeelandic Flanders had become part of France already in 1794-1796) through the introduction of French legislation with regard to the public registration of the quantity, value, and ownership of real property (*cadastre*) and the land register. This legislation remained in force after the liberation in 1813, but not without some modifications. The whole system experienced numerous changes over time due to societal challenges and technological factors.

In 1812 the government started measuring and mapping municipal boundaries and every parcel. This was done exactly according to the French directives and, wherever possible, with the assistance of landowners who were traced on the basis of the old tax registers. The revenues of each parcel were assessed. The work was carried out by surveyors and their assistants, appraisers, and cartographers, and supervised by the *prefect*. The result was a genre system (see the General Introduction) of measurements, maps, tables, ledgers, alphabetical lists, and the people who made and used these documents.

The core of the system was the draft map (*minuutplan*) and the cadastral ledger of each of more than 1,200 municipalities. The former was a map (scale 1:5,000 to 1:2,500) showing all parcels, each with a unique number. Each of the ten different colours on the map had a specific meaning: red for private buildings, cobalt blue for public buildings (which were exempted from land tax), brown for roads, blue for waters, etc. Twenty thousand *minuutplannen* were made. The cadastral ledger contained data of all parcels within a municipality. A separate index listed all owners, with reference to the parcels they owned. After years of preparatory work, the cadastre was implemented in 1832 (in the province of Limburg not before 1842).

8   F.J.M. Otten, 'De registers van overschrijving van akten van eigendomsovergang vanaf 1811', ín *Broncommentaren 3*, ed. G.A.M. van Synghel (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis, 1997), pp. 113-43; *Aan de slag in de kadastrale archieven. Een handleiding voor de particuliere onderzoeker* (Apeldoorn: Dienst voor het kadaster en de openbare registers, 2014).

Fig. 6.5a and b Draft map (*minuutplan*) and cadastral ledger (*oorspronkelijk aanwijzende tafel*) (detail) of Aalst (Noord-Brabant), 1832. Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, *Minuutplans en OAT's* (2104).

The *minuutplan* and cadastral ledger were snapshots. To process later changes, a second interlocking system was created. The input in this system—in principle still unchanged—is either a deed of sale drawn up by a notary and transcribed into the land register (see below), or a declaration of inheritance (*memorie van successie*) indicating which heir inherits which parcel. When necessary, new measurements were made by surveyors and recorded in 'fieldwork' (sketches made in the field) as a basis for updating the maps in the office. On 'auxiliary maps' one could see both the old and new situations. When the cadastre was implemented, every municipality and every water board received a full set of the cadastral documents. These could be used to make ledgers for municipal and water board taxes. Once a year these documents were returned to the office of the cadastre to be updated. Until around 1987 this was done by hand, with pen, ink, and colour paint, using drafting compasses, rulers, and set squares. After the introduction of photocopying around 1950, it was sufficient to provide municipalities annually with copies of what had been brought up to date.

Analogue methods of measuring and registering were later replaced by digital ones. The surveyors exchanged their measuring tapes for modern tachymeters and GPS-trackers. Only in 1974 was the book form of the cadastral ledger replaced by a loose-leaf system. Before that, a card index was introduced in two municipalities and in the village of Borculo, which had been severely damaged by a tornado in 1925, the time when many authorities and businesses embraced the card index as a technological innovation (see 11.2.2). Since the change to a loose-leaf system, the tables were no longer made by hand but inscribed with a typing machine. Since 1990 the system has been automated.

In 1811 the French land register was introduced as well. It was initially restricted to compulsory registration of mortgages, but in 1838 it was expanded to include transfers of real property. Yet, until 1992, the land registrar bore the title of keeper of mortgages (*hypotheekbewaarder*), forming an office together with the employees of the cadastre in each of the 34 court locations. In the land register (in fact consisting of more than five different registers with indexes) deeds of transfer of ownership (and other property rights)

were transcribed word for word. The land register was accessible if one knew the location of a parcel (the cadastral reference). A separate register, however, contained a summary of all transactions of each landowner referring to the land register. An alphabetical index provided access to this register. The register was replaced by a card index in 1929 and was automated in 1979.

Land register and cadastre contained mutual cross-references which made for a rather complex administration; ten to 12 tables and maps had to be kept up to date simultaneously, everything done by hand and in the two separate departments of the same office (land registry and cadastre). Transcribing was replaced in 1950 by inserting the copy, typed at the notary's office, into a loose-leaf binder, the outward appearance of the traditional registers thus being kept up. Since 1975 the registers are filmed annually, whereupon the originals are destroyed. Since 2006 it is permissible to submit electronic deeds and to provide information to the public online (from 1990 a great deal of the cadastre was automated). All 15 million deeds dating from after 1950 have been digitized.

There were, and still are, separate registers containing extracts of mortgage deeds. In 1878, and again in 1948, all registrations of existing mortgages were renewed and transferred to new registers. The old registers lost their value and were destroyed: the registers dating from 1838 to 1878 in 1949, and the registers dating from 1879 to 1948 in 1988 (the original mortgage deeds have been preserved in the notarial archives). The registers from 1838 to 1878 were never transferred to the State Archives, in contrast to the 20,000 volumes from the period between 1879 and 1948 transferred in 1969. The little interest researchers showed in these registers and the fact that they swallowed up much space were reasons to destroy these registers, except the journals (*dagregisters*) summarizing mortgages and referring to the notary who drew up the deed. Even so, the archives of mortgages and cadastre between 1811 and 1989 are extensive, an example being those in the State Archives in the province of Overijssel, covering around 825 metres of shelving.

The cadastral maps dating from 1811 to 1832 are kept by the National Archives and the regional historical centres (of which the State Archives form part, see 3.6.3). Accessible on

the Internet are more than 17,000 scans of the maps and more than 143,000 scans of the indexes.

Until the 1970s the aims and the organization of land registry and cadastre were (just as in 1832) primarily focused on levying the land tax. However, the system also served legal security in society; anyone could consult the public registers to assess the legal status of properties and the solvency of parties. Besides, the cadastral data form the basis for various acts concerning land usage and land development. Having been part of the Ministry of Finance for more than 140 years, the land register and cadastre were transferred to the Ministry of Public Housing and Spatial Planning in 1973. In 1989 they merged into one agency and this, in turn, merged with the Mapping Agency (comparable to the UK Ordnance Survey) in 2004.

6.2 Property Management
6.2.1 The Abbey's Cartularies and Rentals

In the 12th century ecclesiastical and temporal rulers across Europe developed new forms of administration, accounting, and archiving to improve exploitation of their estates. Abbot Suger of St. Denis (1122–1151), for example, used the abbey archives as a source for listing and recording assets to achieve a more efficient exploitation of the abbey's real property.[9] The same was done by Henry of Winchester, Abbot of Glastonbury (1126-1171) and, in the Netherlands, by Abbot Wouter of Egmond Abbey (1130-1161).[10] Upon his arrival in 1130, the latter started reforming the neglected management. He began a register (later called *urbarium*) of the proceeds in various places. This register is an early example of a rational and orderly administration. Abbot Wouter had gained his administrative experience previously as provost of a domain of Saint Peter's Abbey in Ghent. A contemporary celebrated him in a poem: while he was abbot of the happy brethren of Egmond, law blossomed, and revenues rose. One may interpret this different view on the archives as a

9   Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis. Church and state in early 12th-century France* (London/New York: Longman, 1998).

10   P.A. Meilink, *Het archief van de abdij van Egmond* ('s-Gravenhage: Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1951); J.W.J. Burgers, 'De abdij van Egmond en het begin van het Hollandse oorkondewezen', in *Het klooster Egmond: hortus conclusus*, ed. G.N.M. Vis (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008), pp. 71-101.

development (using Hagen Keller's expression) 'from holy book to bookkeeping'; 'people discovered that the venerable codices could also be used for quite commonplace purposes, as merchant's books'.[11]

Property management and archiving have been thoroughly researched by Bas van Bavel in a study of the Norbertine Abbey of Mariënweerd in Beesd (near Culemborg).[12] The abbey was founded in 1128-1129 by members of the influential Van Cuijk family who later on also presented the abbey with many donations. Between 1190 and 1265 the counts of Holland were great benefactors of Mariënweerd. From 1220 the Abbey also started buying property itself. In the first half of the 14th century the Abbey was in its heyday, receiving numerous smaller donations while being able to buy much property. The large increase in acquisitions had been made possible by Mariënweerd raising its income considerably by leasing its lands instead of exploiting them. All this led to an increase in the number of deeds (to around 550) so that the Abbey urgently needed a new cartulary (a register with transcripts of charters, see 2.1). This was set up in 1346, as a successor to a 13th-century cartulary (which we only have knowledge of through references in two charters). The new cartulary was geographically classified according to the location of the property. The transcribed charters bore no dorsal references which might have suggested a particular arrangement. However, they were probably stored in a geographically ordered cupboard with drawers. Some of the charters that are still preserved indeed bear a dorsal annotation, but these were made by later owners and not by Mariënweerd.

When properties were sold, donated, or inherited, it was customary to transfer the relevant muniments to the new owner. Thus, many old Mariënweerd charters came into the hands of Hendrik van Naaldwijk, to whom the Abbey sold its properties in the County of Holland in 1408. After the acquisition by Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau (son of William of Orange) of the properties in Naaldwijk in 1612, the charters came into the archives of the Council of the Nassau Demesne (*Nassause Domeinraad*).[13] The next year his half-brother Maurice acquired the Mariënweerd properties in the Land of Cuijk (today one of the titles of the Dutch King is Baron of Grave and the Land of Cuijk) and with them

11 Hagen Keller, 'Vom „heiligen Buch" zur Buchführung. Lebensfunktionen der Schrift im Mittelalter', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 26 (1992): 1-31.

12 The following is for the greater part a summary of B.J.P. van Bavel, *Goederenverwerving en goederenbeheer van de abdij Mariënweerd (1129-1592)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993).

13 M.C.J. van Hoof, E.A.T.M. Schreuder, and B.J. Slot, *De archieven van de Nassause Domeinraad 1581-1811* (Den Haag: Algemeen rijksarchief, 1997).

Fig. 6.6 Ledger (*manuaal*) of land rents of Mariënweerd Abbey. Gelders Archief, *Abdij Mariënweerd* (1170), inv. nr. 70, fol. 56. On this page, the rent for a plot in Beesd owed by Jan die Smit is recorded, as well as his annual payments between 1531 and 1535.

a large package of charters and other documents. He deposited these with the *Nassause Domeinraad*, which dedicated a separate drawer to the documents. In 1685 clerk Tollius made a comprehensive inventory of the documents as part of his inventorization of the entire archives of the council. The *Nassause Domeinraad* managed the domains of the Nassau and Orange families within the Netherlands and administered law.

The Mariënweerd archives suffered a great deal in the 15th and 16th centuries through plunder, fire, and theft, particularly during the troubles preceding the Reformation. Currently, the core of the Mariënweerd archives is kept at the Abbey of Berne founded by Mariënweerd, but they comprise a mere two and a half metres: roughly 50 charters, some accounts, and registers, including three 15th-century rentals. The aforementioned cartulary of 1346 is in the Royal Library of Belgium. Even so, this material and the many documents from and about Mariënweerd in other archives enabled Van Bavel to reconstruct the abbey's property management in the 15th and 16th centuries. The following exposé is based on that reconstruction.

The rentals formed the basis of the administration. Properties, tenants, terms, and the amount of the lease were registered in the rentals. Such ledgers indicating the fixed income to be received annually were called *blaffaards* (see the next section). However, they did not reveal how much was actually received. The difference between the nominal lease and the rent received was booked in the annual accounts as expenses, as was usual in the Middle Ages. Any arrears received in the next year were booked as extra income. As long as the tenants paid on time, the system worked, but as arrears increased the bookkeeping became largely fictitious and could not yield a real insight into the financial position of the Abbey. No wonder that Mariënweerd chose another system for its accounts between 1488 and 1492. Each year a new rental was made up, but in the accounts only the real income was shown.

The abbot himself kept the rentals up to date, but this took too much of his time, as hundreds of payments had to be booked annually. Therefore, a new function was created in
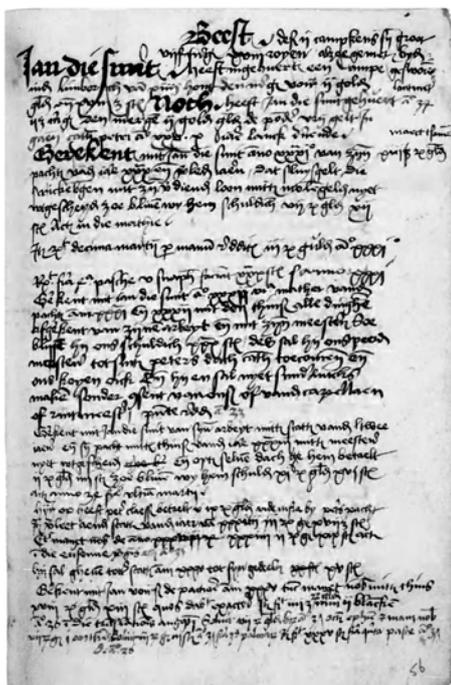
the 16th century, that of a chaplain, to act as the right hand of the abbot and be responsible for the control of the estate. Moreover, the Abbey permanently employed a highly paid lay-steward (*lekenrentmeester*). The estate (1,720 hectares) was divided into rent offices (*rentambten*), each with a local lay-steward who did not receive a fixed salary, but a percentage of the income. Managing a rent office was not a full-time job, and several stewards worked for other domain proprietors as well. Jan Pleunis, steward of Mariënweerd in Buren (from around 1555 to 1572), was simultaneously steward of the Count of Buren, Prince William of Orange. Pleunis recycled documents; a Mariënweerd account was bound into a cover made from two deeds of fief from William of Orange. The estates (*uithoven*) of Mill, Weert, and Kessel stayed separate from the rent offices as more or less autonomous centres with their own steward.

Van Bavel argues that the administration of the Abbey's income in the 16th century was divided according to several criteria. Firstly, geographically by *rentambten* and *uithoven*. Secondly, by office; the cellar master and the abbot kept their own administration, separate from that of the Abbey as a whole. Thirdly, by categories of income: within the central Abbey administration there were separate books for respectively leases, tithes, and sales of natural goods. Unfortunately, the central Abbey accounts are lacking, so that we cannot know how the results of the separate accounts were consolidated.

In 1567 Mariënweerd was plundered and destroyed. It was the beginning of the end. In 1580, after the Reformation, the States of Gelderland claimed the properties and used them for pious aims (see the next section) such as the livelihood of 24 students and the assistance of widows of ministers. However, much of the Mariënweerd estate was donated or sold at a very low price to, among other people, the sons of William of Orange, Prince Maurice and Prince Philip William of Nassau, Count of Buren. On the foundations of the former Abbey, the house of Mariënwaerdt was built in the 18th century. Since then the estate of Mariënwaerdt (900 hectares) has been handed down in a direct line to the present owners.

6.2.2 For Pious Uses

What happened to Mariënweerd also happened to other monasteries, churches, and Roman Catholic institutions and their estates: they were all confiscated after the Reformation. This was also the case with foundations for the livelihood of the priest, hospitals, and other properties of church and religious institutions. The money was spent *ad pios usus* (for pious uses), in particular for salaries of Protestant ministers, but also for scholarships and pensions for the remaining monastics. The war with the Catholic King of Spain was also considered a pious aim. It was used as an argument by the province of Groningen to finance its share in the West India Company (WIC) from the income yielded by the confiscated goods of the monasteries, as the WIC was fighting and pirating Spain. The universities of Leiden (founded in 1575), Franeker (1585), and Groningen (1614) were largely financed with the money from religious goods, and they used former monastic buildings. The Amsterdam *Athenaeum Illustre* (forerunner of the University of Amsterdam) transformed the chapel of the women's cloister of Saint Agnes into its first lecture hall in 1632.

All this 'meant that apart from the administration of traditional municipal income and expenses, a wholly new administration of the "diaconate goods" (*diakelijke goederen*) had to be introduced'[14] (in the Protestant church the deacons were responsible for the care of the poor). First, the goods had to be assessed. To that end, the monasteries and church institutions had to hand in their archives and administrators had to submit their registers and accounts.

In Leiden, for example, great numbers of archival documents from the churches and the monasteries within and around the city arrived at the City Hall. City clerk Jan van Hout (see 4.4) described and numbered all documents and made an extensive inventory in 1583. The charters of each monastery were stored together. Tables in the inventory refer to the places where the properties are located.

14 René Kunst, *Inventaris van het archief van de stad Leeuwarden 1426-1811* (Leeuwarden: Historisch Centrum Leeuwarden, 2012), p. 127.

For the management of the former Roman Catholic properties, the government appointed stewards (*rentmeesters*) accountable to the city or the States. Lodewijk van Treslong was appointed warden of the estate of the chapter of Saint Peter's Church in Leiden in 1573. He was a canon of the former chapter. After some time he left the administration to a substitute, notary Jacob van Tethrode, who would succeed Van Treslong in 1606. When Van Tethrode relinquished his office in 1627, a schedule of all his books and papers was drawn up. From this schedule and the preserved registers, we can determine which documentary genres were used by wardens like Van Tethrode in their administration and for their accountability. The most important were the *blaffaards* and rolls. A *blaffaard* indicates what fixed revenues and expenses are expected annually. When such a register also shows the real income and expenses it is called a *manuaal* or *staatboek* in Dutch archival terminology.

Blaffard in French means pale, and probably these registers originally had an ashen cover. In a *blaffaard* all debtors were registered with the amount of rent payable . All debtors in one village were listed under the same heading. Sometimes a reference was made to the original deed. Subsequently, in a separate column the sums received were noted. Usually, the institution would hand out a *blaffaard* (or ledger) to all accountable officers, this being a copy of the original in the archives. The officers then noted the monies received, whereby the copy was transformed into a *manuaal*. A *manuaal* is essentially a book which is kept on hand (from the Latin *manus*, hand; see Fig. 11.6), but in Dutch archival terminology, a *manuaal* is a register in which data concerning income and expenses are recorded under separate headings derived from the accounts.

A roll (*rol*) is generally a list of cases to be dealt with in a court session, recording processual acts during the session (see 9.1). It is therefore a combination of an agenda and a report. The term roll was also used in property management. For example, the roll of leases in Westland was made by Van Tethrode in view of the five-year-long leases. It indicated the name of the last tenant and the amount of rent. During the public session in which the steward renewed the leases in the presence of witnesses, he noted down the

name of the new tenant. The tenant then signed the entry in the roll and would receive the lease agreement (*huurcedul*) later.

To record expenses, Van Tethrode used a *blaffaard*. Herein the expected annual expenses for the allowances of the (former) canons and the salaries of ministers were noted, with space to record the actual amount spent. The final pages of the *blaffaard* contained a register of expenses for which there was no annual budget, for example the travel costs of ministers and members of the church council.

Over time, the separate administration for the former Roman Catholic properties merged with that of the domains of the city and the States.

6.2.3 Of Riches and Regents[15]

Nearly every family archive contains documents concerning property management. An example is the archive of the De Jonge van Ellemeet family, presently to be found at the Zeeuws Archief in Middelburg. The largest part has been bequeathed by Cornelis de Jonge van Ellemeet (1646-1721). His bookkeeping was the subject of a thesis by Bernard de Muinck in 1965.[16] From 1674 to 1707 Cornelis was Receiver General of the Republic. Around 1710 his fortune was one and a half to two million guilders (130 to 170 million euro in today's money), enough to rank him fifth on the list of the richest people in the Golden Age.[17]

Land and legal rights connected with land were sought after as objects of investment, but also because of the status the ownership of a seigniory bestowed on the lord of the manor. Cornelis de Jonge was four years old when he inherited the seigniory of Ellemeet and a portion in that of Elkerzee from his father. In 1691 Cornelis bought the seigniories of Schipluiden, Hodenpijl, and St. Maartensrecht, and later the seigniories of Dalem and Poortvliet. He furthermore acquired a stately home in Rijswijk and the Duinrell estate in

15 The title is borrowed from J.G. van Dillen, *Van rijkdom en regenten. Handboek tot de economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland tijdens de Republiek* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970).

16 Bernard de Muinck, *Een regentenhuishouding omstreeks 1700* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1965). See also Simon Schama, *The embarassment of riches. An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), pp. 320-322.

17 Kees Zandvliet, *500. De rijksten van de Republiek. Rijkdom, geloof, macht & cultuur* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2018).

Wassenaar where he had a new house built. He owned several houses in The Hague, including his home on Lange Vijverberg, where he also had his office. In Rotterdam he had a second home built for 128,000 guilders. All in all, De Jonge owned real property worth 709,000 guilders in 1710. As Receiver General he earned 35,000 guilders annually between 1700 and 1704, but his private annual income amounted to 56,000 guilders. He had acquired it, as was customary in Holland, by investing a large part of his income in bonds and real property. De Jonge's total income after tax was (in that period) 81,654 guilders (713,000 euro today), of which he reserved three quarters for investment.

According to De Muinck, Cornelis was successful in his function of Receiver General because of his exactitude in managing public finance. He showed this quality also in the management of his private fortune. His wife Maria noted down income and expenses just as conscientiously. Apart from overseeing the housekeeping, she controlled the maintenance of the houses, including those put out to lease. After her husband's death, she continued the bookkeeping until her own death in 1732.

De Jonge structured his own bookkeeping in a similar way as the one he maintained as Receiver General (on accounting practices, see 8.2). Income and expenses were recorded in waste books (*journalen*). In the *groot journaal* De Jonge also accounted for his income as Receiver General, including his salary, compensation of office costs and fees for his brokering of foreign loans. In *blaffaards* (see the preceding section) Cornelis rearranged the items from the waste books per category of assets, such as lands, houses, bonds, and shares. He noted acquisitions (*conquesten*) such as assets acquired by inheritance or sale in the grand ledger.

Part of the lands and houses were not managed by Cornelis and Maria themselves. The properties at some distance from The Hague and Rotterdam were managed by stewards. From their accounts, only the balance was booked.

The emphasis of his estate was on real property, but De Jonge had a considerable securities portfolio. He speculated as well, but rather cautiously. For example, he participated in the

1720 bubble (*windhandel*, or trade in winds) by buying shares in the Insurance Company of Rotterdam (*Maatschappij van Assurantie*) for 20,000 guilders. On the first day of trading (21 June), subscriptions rose as high as 12 million guilders. De Jonge sold his shares quickly at 28 or 29 percent. Some weeks later the shares increased to 900 percent, but in September the bubble suddenly collapsed. At that time De Jonge had earned a moderate profit of 5,700 guilders.

De Jonge's bookkeeping reflected his investment policy against the background of the societal, economic, and political macro level, as shown by two other examples. His securities portfolio decreased once the War of the Spanish Succession ended in 1713, ending the issuance of war loans as well. For three small houses and a coach house in The Hague De Jonge did not charge rent, as they were inhabited by Huguenots who had fled from France.

Apart from the bookkeeping, the family archives contain many more documents concerning asset management. These include testaments, divisions of estate (*boedel-scheidingen*), and conveyances (see 1.7). The archivist who processed the De Jonge archives in 1914-1915 had to make some choices. For example, testaments and documents concerning inheritances are classified as 'originating from or concerning' the testator, and not as documents received by the heir. Strictly speaking, this is not right. A testament is a property deed for the heir, not for the deceased, and thus its archival provenance is the heir. It is possible that De Jonge ordered the documents in this way. He and his descendants would have kept the bookkeeping apart, and they would also have kept the documents concerning the seigniories separate and not divided them among the archives of Cornelis de Jonge, his son, and the latter's daughter. A family archive is a combination of personal archives (see 1.7.3), but it often contains a common core which is difficult, if not impossible, to allocate to individual family members.

A family archive inherits, as was the case with the De Jonge archive. With the death of Cornelis' granddaughter in 1747, the family lineage had died out. When her husband had

died as well, the seigniories came into other hands. The family archive came in the possession of the Van Rechteren family, who deposited it with the State Archives in Zeeland in 1914. However, several documents from the De Jonge archives ended up in other archives. For example, the deeds of feoffment (*leenakten*) (conveyances of a fief) of the Poortvliet seigniory ended up in the archives of the Tak family (who bought Poortvliet in the 1840s and amended their name to Tak van Poortvliet).

Fig. 6.7 Two pairs of transfixed deeds of feoffment (*leenakten*) of the Poortvliet seigniory, 1704-1788. Zeeuws Archief, *Mathias-Pous-Tak van Poortvliet* (255), inv. nr. 471/12 and 13.

Eight of the 17 deeds are physically connected by the tag of the seal hanging on each charter that was pierced through that of the previous charter. This is called a *transfix*. The usual practice was to hand over to the buyer the former deeds as *retroacta* (preceding acts). That practice was codified in 1838 and, even today, the seller is obliged to hand over the deeds (if available) and other documents pertaining to the property, either as originals or as copies.

6.2.4 Estate Inventories

On 25 July 1656 clerks of the Amsterdam Chamber of Desolate Estates (*Kamer van de desolate boedels*, see 6.3.1) knocked on the door of Rembrandt's house on Breestraat.[18]

The painter had requested cession of estate (*cessio bonorum*). This meant the surrender of his estate as payment for all his debts and accepting full control by the commissioners of the Chamber of Desolate Estates. They would sell everything and use the yield to pay the creditors. Therefore, on 25 and 26 July 1656 an inventory was made of all paintings, furniture, and other household effects. The Chamber's clerks walked from room to room, noting down everything. They started in the entrance hall:

A small piece by Ad. Brouwer, representing a pastry cook
One ditto of players by the same Brouwer
One ditto of a woman with a little child by Rembrandt van Rijn
A painter's studio by the same Brouwer

18   Dudok van Heel, *Dossier Rembrandt*; Walter L. Strauss and Marjon van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt documents* (New York, NY: Abaris Books, 1979), nr. 1656/12, http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4706, accessed 29 Nov. 2018. See also the Prologue and 11.1.1.3.

A lavish kitchen piece by the same Brouwer
A plaster head
Two plasters of naked children
A plaster of a sleeping child
A shabby shoe
A small landscape by Rembrandt
Another landscape by the same
A small standing figure by the same
A candlelight scene by Jan Lievensz
(…)

The inventorization ended in the hallway:

9 white bowls
2 earthenware dishes
Linen said to be at the bleaching field
3 men's shirts
6 handkerchiefs
12 napkins
3 tablecloths
A few collars and cuffs

The inventory does not mention easels, brushes, or paint. Equipment, necessary to continue working in one's occupation, was not liable for confiscation benefitting creditors.

Inventories of a person's movable and immovable properties marked important moments in life.[19] They were drawn up after death (particularly when the deceased's heirs were minors), before marriage, in bankruptcy, upon admittance to a charitable institution, and other similar occasions. The number and nature of the inventories that have been preserved differ considerably from province to province and from era to era, though in general hardly any inventories from before the 16th century are left. Thera Wijsenbeek, the expert on the history of this genre of documents, suggests that, apparently, people previously felt no need to keep the estate papers for a longer period. The significant increase in the number of inventories since the 16th century may have been related to the extension of the notarial practice (see 9.5), as well as a change of mentality. Appreciation, respect, and a penchant for material goods became stronger in the 17th and 18th centuries. This was partly due to the increase of personal affluence which was expressed in luxury goods.

In several cases, inventorization of an estate was required by law. In the first place to protect heirs under age. The widow or widower or another guardian had to make an inventory and submit it to the magistrate who was considered the 'superior guardian' (*oppervoogd*) of *personae miserabiles* such as widows and orphans and the poor, sick, and destitute. In some towns a separate orphan chamber was established to implement this guardianship, whereas elsewhere burgomasters or aldermen acted as orphans' trustees (see the next section).

The law made it mandatory for the executor appointed by testament to inventory the estate. In case someone on board a ship of the United East India Company or the West India Company died, it was the captain who had to draw up an inventory. In cases of bankruptcy, an inventory was compulsory, just as when the deceased did not leave direct heirs. Not required, but usual, was the inventorization of an estate either when a prenuptial agreement was made or when someone had died and the heirs wanted an inventory to be made. Furthermore, an inventory was made as the basis for a division of estate (*boedelscheiding*), such as after death, during a marriage, or after a divorce. Although the legal

19 Th.F. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 'Boedelinventarissen', in *Broncommentaren 2* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis, 1995), pp. 1-74.

basis was different, the inventories made by notaries from the 17th century show a striking uniformity through adherence to the notarial 'style' as codified in the manuals (see 9.5).[20] They are easily recognizable because the head of the deed is written in the right-hand column of the first page. Then the enumeration (and valuation) of the goods follows, usually mentioning the real property first. The description of the movable goods generally follows the layout of the house where the notary or clerk walked from room to room, as in Rembrandt's case. A separate list was made of business assets and merchandise. This was followed by an inventory of the liabilities: first the expenses for medical care and the funeral, then the other debts, including interest payable.

Drawing up an inventory would often take a few days and was therefore fairly expensive. An illustration is the cost of the inventory of 87 pages of the estate of a Doesburg burgomaster which amounted to 75 guilders in 1669.[21]

Estate inventories are to be found in family archives and in notarial archives (see 9.6). Around 1640 the flow of inventories in notarial archives started. According to Thera Wijsenbeek, the notarial archives of Delft from 1602 to 1620 only comprise 43 inventories, but between 1640 and 1649 they number 443. In the entire 17th century the number of inventories in Delft is around 4,500. As of January 2019, the team which is processing the notarial archives of Amsterdam had identified 4,746 inventories of which 2,425 are from before 1737.

The notary archived the final draft (*minuut*) of the inventory after it was signed by witnesses and parties; the latter received an authentic copy each. That is why so many inventories are found in family archives. The archives of orphan chambers, courts, and orphanages contain many inventories as well. Other charitable institutions, such as hospitals, very often destroyed the inventories made by or on behalf of their patients. They mostly listed only a few belongings. What was still left of these inventories became the object of massive cleansing to save space in the 19th century.

20 A.F. Gehlen, *Notariële akten uit de 17e en 18e eeuw. Handleiding voor gebruikers* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1986), pp. 54-55.

21 Hester Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit. Materiële cultuur in Doesburg en Maassluis 1650-1800* (Nijmegen: SUN, 2001), p. 29.

6.2.5 Orphan Chambers[22]

Orphan chambers (*weeskamers*) existed since the 14th century, predominantly in Holland and Zeeland. Utrecht, Noord-Brabant, Gelderland and the cities of Kampen and Groningen also had orphan chambers. Other provinces and towns did not have separate orphan masters (*weesmeesters*), instead magistrates handled cases of guardianship and orphans' estates.
The Orphan Chamber mostly consisted of two or three *weesmeesters* who were appointed by the magistrate. They were in session two to four times a week to hear and decide disputes about guardianship and estate management.

Orphans and their estates stayed under the control of the Chamber until their majority at 25 years, or until they married. The Chamber appointed the guardians (trustees), preferably family members of the orphan. They had to submit an estate inventory within four weeks. This inventory was usually drawn up by a notary, with the assistance of sworn male and female appraisers.

The clerk of the Chamber recorded all acts of trustees and *weesmeesters*. This was not only in the interests of the orphans but also of the accountability of guardians and *weesmeesters*. The oldest register of guardianship is the one of Montfoort (1382); the series of divisions of estate (*boedelscheidingen*) begins in 1417. The oldest orphans' register of Rotterdam begins in 1444, that of Amsterdam dates from 1468. When the Amsterdam City Hall burned down (see the Prologue), some burghers dared to venture into the flames to salvage books and papers. As the 18th-century city historian Jan Wagenaar wrote:

> Among them was someone who went to the Orphan Chamber that was in flames and who tried to get hold of every book and register to throw them out of the windows where they were picked up and salvaged, whereupon he came down by a rope because the stairs he had ascended had already burnt down. [23]

22 L. de Gou, *De weeskamer van 's-Gravenhage* ('s-Gravenhage: Trio, 1943); W.F.H. Oldewelt, *Amsterdamsche archiefvondsten* (Amsterdam: De Bussy, 1942), pp. 123-27; L.P.E. Kretzschmar, *Archief van de Weeskamer en Commissie van liquidatie der zaken van de voormalige Weeskamer* [in Amsterdam]: https://web.archive.org/web/20190531122843/https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/printversie/5073.nl.pdf, archived 31 May 2019.

23 Jan Wagenaar, quoted by Marius van Melle and Niels Wisman, 'Hier gebeurde het… Dam, 6 juli 1652', *Ons Amsterdam* (2007), https://web.archive.org/web/20190531122201/https://onsamsterdam.nl/hier-gebeurde-het-dam-6-juli-1652, archived 31 May 2019.
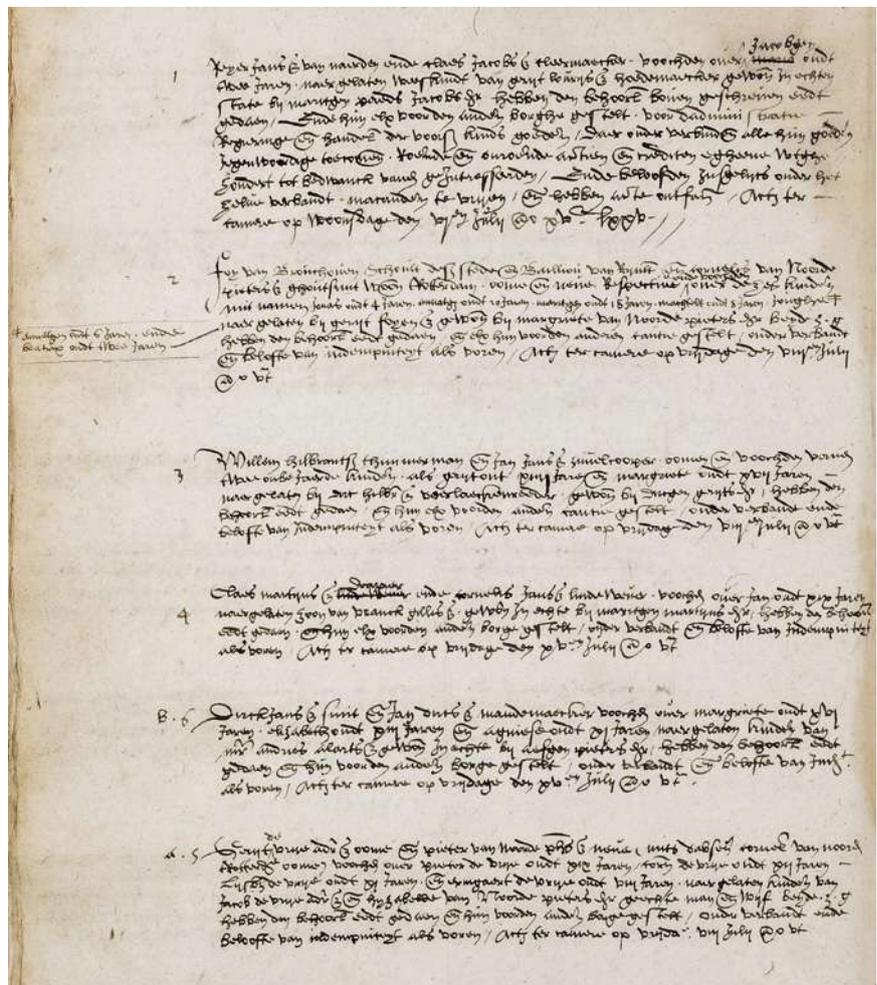
Fig. 6.8 First register of guardians (*voogden*) in Leiden, 1575. Erfgoed Leiden, *Weeskamer Leiden* (0518), inv. nr. 241.

Of the Chamber's archives only the 22nd *inbrengboek* (1633-1636) was lost in the fire; after the fire, it was reconstructed from data that were still available.

In Amsterdam the municipal gravediggers had to report to the Chamber whether those just buried had left infants behind.[24] At the Chamber this was noted down in so-called death registers (*doodboeken*). The orphans were also registered by the municipal orphanage, or one of the orphanages of the Reformed, Catholic, Mennonite, or Walloon churches. The orphanage took over the administration of their possessions. It had to keep all records safe and up-to-date until the day the orphan was allowed to leave and find a place in society. Then, the archives of the orphanage had to provide the information—often the original documents—relating to the estate to which the young man or woman was entitled (see 1.3 and Fig. 1.0).

The Orphan Chamber registered the trustees. For each estate (*boedel*) an account recording income and expenses was opened in the register of receipts (*inbrengregister,* though elsewhere known as *administratieregister,* or *staatboek*). The funds of the orphans were invested, from the 17th century onwards this was mostly in bonds. The Chamber managed the funds and securities belonging to an estate. The Chamber's cautious investment policy was not always to the liking of the family of the orphan. This was one of the reasons why (particularly from the 18th century onwards) testators often excluded the Orphan Chamber from involvement in the heritage.

Weesmeesters had to give permission for any transaction between an orphan and third parties which could affect the orphan's financial position. Permission was also required if the surviving parent wanted to remarry. In such a case the Chamber's permit had to be shown to the commissioners of marriages. Testaments containing a clause of exclusion of the Orphan Chamber had to be shown to the *weesmeesters*. In Amsterdam these affairs were written up in the register of memoranda (*register van de memoriën*). Sales of houses and estates were noted down in special registers to which the public had access. All these documents (including minutes of the meetings of the Chamber) were written by clerks

24 Henk Looijesteijn and Marco H.D. van Leeuwen, 'Establishing and registering identity in the Dutch Republic', in *Registration and recognition. Documenting the person in world history*, ed. Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 226-27.

of the Chamber. The Chamber also received many documents. The trustees submitted documents such as inventories, accounts, and deeds of division of estate. Generally, all papers created outside the Chamber and concerning the estate had to be delivered at the Chamber. These estate papers had to be handed to the family upon termination of the control by the Chamber, but often they remained there. Theoretically, these papers, not being created by the Chamber, do not belong to its archives and are therefore mostly described in an annexe to the inventory (see 9.1 for a comparable practice regarding files submitted to the court).

In many town halls, the *weesmeesters* had a separate room. In Enkhuizen they had tapestries made in 1710 for three of the four walls of the Orphan Chamber, showing allegorical pictures of Charity and Mercy. Guardianship is pictured with an account book (*schultboek*) to point out that fairness and accountability are duties of trustees managing an orphan's estate.[25] In the Amsterdam Orphan Chamber in the City Hall (now the Royal Palace), dating from 1655, guardianship is also pictured with an account book. Along the walls were cupboards with 800 to 900 drawers. They contained estate papers, securities, money, jewellery, and other trinkets. Many of these drawers are still preserved at the Amsterdam City Archives.

French legislation introduced in 1811 included new rules for guardianship of minors, controlled by the local courts. The orphan chamber did not figure in the new legislation. The chambers and the estates were only liquidated by 1852. The chambers' archives had to be transferred to a national committee charged with the liquidation. When the committee was dissolved in 1880, municipalities were allowed to have the archives of their orphan chamber back. If the municipality showed no interest, the archives went to the Ministry of Finance. The archives of the Amsterdam Orphan Chamber arrived in 1880 packed in 70 large chests (over 235 shelf metres). Elsewhere, the papers of the chamber had been left among the magistrate's judicial archives. As had been the case with the old registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths (see 1.2.2), the archives of the orphan chambers became the subject of archival policy. In other words, they became the subject of a conflict between

25 Jan Baptist Bedaux, Agnes Groot, and Aernout Hagen, 'Allegorieën van goed bestuur; het decoratieprogramma van het stadhuis van Enkhuizen (1687-1710)', *Jaarboek Monumentenzorg* (1992): 142-80.

State Archivists and municipal archivists. At the recommendation of the former, the government proposed an amendment to the Archives Act in 1927, which was to require the transfer of all archives of orphan chambers (considered to be judicial archives and therefore State archives) to the State Archives. That touched a tender spot with the municipal archivists. After opposition within and outside Parliament, a new proposal was tabled. Transfer of archives of orphan chambers to the State Archives was to be restricted to cases where the municipality did not have a professional archivist nor an efficient repository. Once a municipality could meet both quality standards it was allowed to receive the archives, but only as a deposit (according to the same treatment as judicial archives, see 9.4). In 1995, a new Archives Act reversed this. On the condition that the municipality had a professional archivist and an appropriate repository, deposits were changed into a transfer of ownership. There are still a few municipalities that do not comply with these requirements, with the result that the archives of their orphan chamber remain in the State Archives.

6.3 Insolvent Estates[26]

6.3.1 The Chamber of Desolate Estates

One of the duties of the aldermen of a city was to protect commerce by controlling insolvency. If someone could no longer pay his debts, his 'forlorn estate' (*desolate boedel*) was seized by the aldermen who would then manage the estate and pay the creditors. The increase in work of aldermen led to specialization or branching off of tasks. In Dordrecht, for example, three aldermen were specially entrusted with winding up insolvency affairs beginning in 1668. In Amsterdam a separate Chamber of Desolate Estates (*Kamer van desolate boedels*, hereafter: the Chamber) was established in 1643. It consisted of five, and later seven, commissioners. The Chamber was equivalent to a bankruptcy court and it took over the authority of the magistrate in these matters, as happened before with the jurisdiction in matrimonial affairs, guardianship, insurance, and maritime affairs.

26 Goswin Moll, *De Desolate Boedelskamer te Amsterdam. Bijdrage tot de kennis van het oud-Hollandsch failliten-recht* (Amsterdam: De Roever-Kröber-Bakels, 1879); Arnoud J. Noordam, *Schuldsanering en goede trouw*, LLD thesis Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2007; the introduction of the inventory of the archives of the Chamber of Desolate Estates in Amsterdam (Commissarissen van de Desolate Boedelkamer). I thank Hans Ernst (retired from the Amsterdam City Archives) for his comments on a draft of this section.

The register, kept by aldermen since 1617, and recording the appointment of trustees (*curators*) and composition agreements (*akkoorden*), was taken over by the Chamber and continued as its own registration from 1644. In Dordrecht the ordinance of 1668 did not imply a break: the three aldermen who were in charge of estate affairs continued the registers held by the plenary.

The Chamber was the main actor in a paper-intensive genre system (see the General Introduction). Agents in the Chamber were the commissioners, the clerk and his deputy, three bookkeepers, and three scriveners. They dealt with external agents such as debtors and creditors, sequesters and trustees, lawyers and notaries, burgomasters, aldermen, the Orphan Chamber, the Bank of Exchange, and other institutions. Their interests differed, but all realized—as the Chamber itself knew—that legal security and their own accountability were dependent on archiving. To demonstrate the paper trail of the insolvency process, I take the procedure in Amsterdam as a point of departure.

PS • Process Step
    I/O **Archival Input/Output**

PS • The insolvency procedure was triggered by a petition submitted to the *Desolate Boedelkamer* by the debtor or a creditor.
    I/O **Insolvency petition.**

PS • The Chamber appointed two of its members to seal the estate, to seize the books and papers of the insolvent, to draw up an inventory, and appoint trustees (*curators*).
    I/O **Inventories of movable properties, mostly furniture and household effects, sometimes merchandise from the shop.**
    I/O **Registers of inventories.**
    I/O **Registers of insolvencies.**
    I/O **Archival material originating from estates.**

PS • Sometimes, the books and papers of an insolvent have remained at the Chamber. They are partly in the archives of the Chamber and partly in a separate collection of merchant's books which was formed in the 20th century.

PS • In the case of cession of estate (*cessio bonorum*; allowing the debtor to waive the estate) a separate inventory was drawn up (see 6.2.4).

PS • The balance of the account of the insolvent with the Bank of Exchange was requested.
    I/O **Extract from the account.**

PS • The Chamber's bookkeeper drew a balance from the books of the insolvent, which was copied by the scriveners into the capital register (*kapitaalboek*) of the trustee.
    I/O **Capital registers (*kapitaalboeken*), in which each insolvent had an account.**

PS • Creditors could check the balance and eventually challenge it at the Chamber.

PS • The Chamber appointed sequestrators (*sequesters*) to control the estate since 1777; if the estate became insolvent, the sequestrators became trustees.
    I/O **Registers of sequestered estates.**

PS • Commissioners of the Chamber held daily sessions (later this was done twice a week).
    I/O **Minutes (*notulen*).**

PS • All acts concerning the estate were recorded in a *verbaal*. In 1958 the *verbalen* were numbered according to the registers of sequestered estates.
    I/O ***Verbalen.***

PS • The estate was liquidated by selling all assets and cashing debts.
    I/O **Registers of sequestered estates. Write-off (or assignation) registers (*afschrijf-* or *assignatieboeken*)**
    I/O **Final balance (or debtors) registers (*uittocht-* or *debiteurenboeken*).**

PS • Creditors were publicly summoned by advertisements to lodge their claims and…
- I/O **List of creditors.**
- I/O **Registers of summons concerning preferences (*weetbrieven op praeferentiën*).**
- I/O **Registers of summons and edictal citations (*insinuatiën en edictale citaties*).**
- I/O **Registers of advertisements (*advertentiën*).**

PS • …to participate in a meeting to try and reach an agreement with the debtor.
- I/O **Registers of agreements (*akkoorden*).**
- I/O **Registers of 'unsigned creditors' (*ongetekende crediteuren*) who have not signed the agreement.**

PS • The agreement was made available for public inspection…

PS • …and, after a meeting of the creditors at the Chamber…

PS • …the agreement was ratified by the Chamber, thereby liberating the estate from the sequestration. The agreements (1,654 files) were ordered alphabetically but were rearranged in chronological order in 1892. The agreements were numbered in 1958.

PS • If no agreement was achieved, the insolvency was proclaimed…

PS • …and the Chamber appointed two trustees (*curateuren*)…
- I/O **Registers of trustees.**
- I/O **Registers of insolvent estates and trustees.**

PS • …who had to manage and liquidate the estate.
- I/O ***Verbalen.***

PS • Creditors were publicly summoned to lodge their claims.
- I/O **Lists of creditors.**

- I/O **Registers of summons and edictal citations (*insinuatiën en edictale citaties*).**
- I/O **Registers of advertisements (*advertentiën*).**

PS • Contestation of a claim and other disputes were adjudicated or settled after a lawsuit before commissioners of the Chamber.
- I/O **Agendas (lists of cases with the Chamber's decision) (*rollen*).**
- I/O **Agendas of cases in disputes about preferences (*preferentierollen*).**
- I/O **Agendas of petty cases (*rollen van kleine zaken*).**
- I/O **Registers of filed papers (*dingtalen*).**
- I/O **Agendas of pleadings (*pleitrollen*).**
- I/O **Agendas of justification of claims by creditors on oath (*justificatierollen*).**

PS • Trustees had to account monthly at the Chamber.

PS • All acts concerning the estate were recorded in a file for every estate.
- I/O **Accounts.**
- I/O ***Verbalen.***

PS • Monies received were managed and recorded.
- I/O **Cash books, journals, grand ledgers, and annual balances.**
- I/O **Registers of accounts with the Bank of Exchange (*Wisselbank*) and with sequestrators and trustees.**

PS • After liquidation of the estate, by public or private sale…
Final balance (or debtors) registers (*uittocht- of debiteurenboeken*).

PS • …the Chamber received an account of the sold goods…
- I/O **Registers of sales.**

PS • …and trustees could proceed to partition the balance among the creditors.
- I/O **Registers of partitioning (*repartitie*).**
- I/O **Registers of discharges (*kwitantieboeken*).**

PS • The Chamber ensured payment…
  I/O **Registers of payment to preferential creditors.**
  I/O **Registers of payables (*restantenboeken*).**

PS • …and the final statement, ending the insolvency.

PS • An insolvent could be rehabilitated based on a certificate of his good faith, issued by the majority of the creditors.
  I/O **Registers of rehabilitation deeds.**

27 *Gedenkzuil der noodlottige koopjaaren, of Verzaame-ling van plannen [...] die, ter gelegenheid [...] van de droevige commercie-tuimels [...] het licht hebben gezien* (Amsteldam: G. Bom, 1773); W.P. Sautijn Kluit, *De Amsterdamsche beurs in 1763 en 1773. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van den handel* (Amsterdam: W.H. Zeelt, 1865), pp. 98-99, 128.

28 *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaerboeken* 12 (1777): 289-335.

29 Ann M. Carlos, Edward Kosack, and Luis Castro Penarrieta, *Bankruptcy discharge and the emergence of debtor rights in 18th century England* (2015), http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2607585, accessed 29 Nov. 2018.

The procedure in Amsterdam was regulated in an ordinance from 1643, which was replaced in 1659. However, in the 18th century the 'changes of times and circumstances' demanded other provisions to protect creditors and debtors. The cost of managing estates by the Chamber and the length of settling insolvency caused people to avoid the Chamber, if possible. Creditors preferred the certainty of a rapid settlement with a lower pay-out over 'coming to the Chamber' which was 'usually always a costly and protracted' affair.[27] After the outbreak of a financial crisis in December 1772, when the survival of the Clifford bank and many other firms was at risk, a great number of bankers and merchants proposed codification of the informal (and conflicting with the ordinance of 1659) practice of sequestration. A new ordinance was drafted in 1777 with input from experienced merchants and top lawyers, including the renowned Nicolaas Bondt, who had been the legal advisor to one of the bankers.[28] The ordinance regulated that the estate of a merchant who could no longer pay his debts would not become insolvent, but merely 'deranged'. His estate would be sequestrated. Sequestrators together with the debtor were to manage and liquidate the estate, supervised by the Chamber. Insolvency would only follow if no agreement with the creditors could be achieved. The authors of this ordinance had looked at regulations in other cities and in England. From the English Bankrupts Acts 1706 and 1707 the possibility of discharge from bankruptcy prior to full repayment of all debts was adopted. To this end, a certificate of good faith of the debtor signed by the trustees and the majority of the creditors was needed.[29]

Another important innovation was the greater publicity. The ordinance of 1659 provided for the summoning of creditors and posting of advertisements. These advertisements were registered by the Chamber. The customary calling out of insolvencies at the Exchange (*Beurs*) was codified in 1777. An advertisement had to be inserted in three newspapers and placarded at the Exchange. This took place when the draft agreement with the creditors was made available for public inspection. When an estate was declared insolvent and trustees were appointed, a notice would be published in three newspapers and posted at the City Hall. In later phases of the insolvency procedure, advertisements were also dictated, for example to give notice when the balance and the books of the debtor were available for public inspection and before any repartitioning among creditors. The ordinance prescribed nothing less than 32 advertisements! The cost of advertising meant less benefit to the creditors. This, in turn, led to a preference for an adverse settlement over pursuing until the insolvency phase with the associated publicity.

Greater publicity was also achieved by improving the accessibility of the registers. From 1777 the registers of filed claims and judgments on preferences (*dingtalen*) were accurately indexed. The report (*verbaal*) kept by the commissioners was accessible for debtors and creditors. From 1777 onwards 4,425 *verbalen* have been preserved. Creditors also had access to the settlement, the balance, and the books and papers of the debtor. All were preserved at the Chamber. When a claim was contested, a lawsuit had to be tabled in writing at the commissioners, who then acted in their judicial capacity. Parties had access to the filed papers. The archives of the Chamber were accessible as well. The cost of searching the registers amounted to six *stuivers*, while extraordinary services were charged separately.

In the 18th century the Chamber tried to improve efficiency by introducing pre-printed forms for various deeds and registers. The paper 'flood' filled the 'books room' and other storage areas.[30] In 1720 the registers from the establishment of the Chamber up to and including 1684 were sold as waste paper 'as a heap, not measured and just as it is in whatever condition' (*voetstoots en bij de hoop*) for 2,200 guilders. It is not clear which criteria for selection were used. In 1756 the archives from 1684 to 1714, stored in the

30 Amsterdam City Archives, *Desolate boedelkamer* (5072), inv. nr. 59, fol. 37-38, 102verso, 106, 160.

Chamber's warehouse and in the attic of the Amsterdam City Hall, were sorted and largely disposed of: sixty-seven bales for which a waste paper trader from Krommenie paid 517 guilders. In 1773 the archives from 1714 to 1735 followed. This time the papers were destroyed in a paper mill, in the presence of a servant of the Chamber.

6.3.2 From Paper to e-Justice Portal

The French *Code de Commerce*, introduced in 1811, gave the responsibility of handling insolvency (*faillissement*) cases to the commercial courts. This was the end of estate management by aldermen and chambers of desolate estates. The French Code was replaced by the Dutch Code of Commerce in 1838. Its regulations on insolvency derived from the French Code, but also from the Amsterdam ordinances of 1659 and 1777. The difference between sequestration and insolvency disappeared. Any merchant who ceased to pay was sentenced by the court to be insolvent (*failliet*) after a submission by either the debtor or one or more creditors. The whole procedure, beginning with the submission, was mainly done on paper, but less so than before 1811, because the bureaucracy was much less than in the days of the former Chamber. The old Chamber kept around 40 series of registers and papers, and from 1838 each of the courts kept around 15 series.

After submission and inscription of the case in the agenda, the court passed sentence. Arising from the judgment the debtor lost disposal of his estate. The judgment included the appointment of a supervisory judge and one or more trustees. Trustees and court archived the various phases of the insolvency, which means that the documents (if not destroyed) may be found in court archives and in the estate administration kept by the trustee. The trustee also kept the books and papers of the insolvent. The insolvency was terminated upon reaching an agreement (*akkoord*) with the creditors; the court then sentenced the rehabilitation of the insolvent. If no agreement could be reached, the estate was declared insolvent and had to be settled by the trustees. They therefore had to placard an extract from the judgment at the town hall, the court, and the stock exchange. This extract had to be published in a newspaper as well. The same publicity was prescribed for

summoning the creditors to a meeting in which the claims would be verified (the known creditors received the convocation by mail). As soon as the trustees had classified and ranked the claims, the ranking (*rangregeling*) was made available for public inspection at the court and was advertised. The insolvency was not terminated with the final account by the trustees and their discharge, but with the rehabilitation by the court.

The regulation of insolvency in the Commercial Code remained in force until 1896, when a separate insolvency act was introduced.[31] For years people had pressed for a new law. The system introduced in 1811-1838, which partly reproduced former ordinances, no longer satisfied. This was exacerbated by the substantial increase in the number of insolvencies. Between 1875 and 1879 they amounted to an average of 473 annually, and between 1880 and 1884 the average was 780. Critics pointed to the high cost—court registry duties, stamp duties, and registration duties—and the large amount of mandatory formalities.

The new act modernized the publicity by replacing posting at the town hall and the stock exchange by publication in one or more newspapers which had become 'the quintessential medium for publicity'. The act furthermore introduced publication in the Official Gazette (*Staatscourant*) to make any insolvency throughout the country findable. Moreover, each court had to keep a register of insolvencies accessible to anyone. A few members of Parliament were in favour of a national register, but government preferred the registers to be near the citizens.

It took more than a century and an explosive increase in the number of insolvencies (annually 3,625 between 2006 and 2008 and 4,721 during 2010 and 2011) before a national register was set up. Technology (the Internet) made it feasible to centralize the registration while at the same time keeping it close to the citizen. Advertising in newspapers was abolished due to the high cost. However, publication in the Official Gazette (digital since 2009) was continued, as were the paper registers kept by the courts. They provide the input for the nationwide system. The two are, however, not identical. For example, a request for debt rescheduling for private individuals (*schuldsaneringsregeling voor particulieren*) is

31   G.W. van der Feltz, *Geschiedenis van de Wet op het faillissement* (…), 2 vols. (Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1896-1897).

not entered into the public register at the court's registry, but in the nationwide register only, as the latter is linked to a database of financial data and background information about the origin of the debts. This database is used for managing debt rescheduling.

Digitization made the insolvency process more transparent. The trustee's reports (*insolventieverslagen*) are accessible via the Internet, provided the trustee has submitted them to the court both on paper and in digital form. Such a publicly accessible quarterly report was required since 1977 after Parliament had urged the necessity of greater transparency in 1969. Today there are digital models for these reports that follow guidelines drafted by the consultative bodies of insolvency judges and the Bar. These guidelines also comprise other rules for archiving.

As in the past, much archival material can be found in public archives, in this case the archives of the bankruptcy courts. Gradually, however, the focus in archiving has shifted to the trustee and the insolvent. Together with the request for insolvency, the debtor must submit a binder with information of which part will be reproduced in the public registers. In the next phase the trustee will require even more documents:[32]

- List of debts and receivables
- Description of the cause of the insolvency
- Identification
- Extract from the company register (not older than one month)
- Articles of association (authenticated copy)
- Register of shareholders
- Minutes of the shareholders' assembly which decided to apply for insolvency
- Approval of that decision by the Board of Directors
- Most recent annual account
- A recent balance
- Information about the number of staff
- Insurance policies, lease contracts, and rent contracts
- List of current orders and commissions
- and, of course, the bookkeeping, usually in digital form

32 Manon van der Voort, *Het F-woord. Handboek bij faillissement* (Amersfoort: BBNC Uitgevers, 2012), pp. 99-100.

The trustee starts working with these documents, adding the documents he archives for his own accountability: the quarterly insolvency reports (already mentioned) and much more.

The development of publicity of insolvencies—from local to national, from paper to digital—is still ongoing. Within the European Union, a regulation on trans-border insolvencies has applied since 2002. In 2017 the regulation was revised. Any judgment opening insolvency proceedings handed down by a court of an EU member state is recognised in all other member states. States are required to publish relevant information in cross-border insolvency cases in a publicly accessible electronic register. If required by national law, that information may be registered in the land register (*kadaster*) and the company register (*handelsregister*). The EU regulation provides interconnection of the insolvency registers via the European e-Justice Portal that will serve as a central public electronic access point. The minimum amount of information to be published in the insolvency registers is regulated. The information in the registers is publicly available.

6.4 Holocaust Assets[33]

The complexity of Holocaust-era archives is aggravated by the intricacies of the administrative organizations, agencies, and institutions that created, processed, used, and maintained the records—both during and after the war. Let me present as an example the fate of diamonds belonging to Dutch Jews. In 1942, Jews had to hand in all jewellery and other valuables to the bank of Lippmann Rosenthal & Co. (Liro) on Sarphatistraat in Amsterdam, who also received all or most goods confiscated by the Germans on deportation. Diamonds were used by Jews as payment to get a temporary exemption from deportation. Diamonds deposited by Jews with the Amsterdamsche Bank were confiscated by the Foreign Exchange Protection Commando (*Devisenschutzkommando Niederlande*) and sent to Berlin in January 1945. *Reichskommissar* Seyss-Inquart personally took the diamonds to Berlin which had been 'safeguarded' by the State Bureau for Diamonds and

33 The following is for the greater part a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'Understanding archives of the people, by the people, and for the people', in *Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets Proceedings*, ed. J.D. Bindenagel (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1999), pp. 749-61.

looted by the Germans in September 1944. A third shipment to Berlin consisted of the diamonds of Jewish diamond cutters and dealers, requisitioned by the leader of the *Devisenschutzkommando* and sent by him to Berlin in March 1945.

After the war, restitution and reparations payment with regard to diamonds were dealt with by different agencies and organizations: the Liquidators of Liro (LVVS), the Recuperation Bureau of the Ministry of Finance, the Jewellery-Committee Foundation (*Stichting Sieraden-Comité*), the Recuperated Diamonds Foundation (*Stichting Teruggevoerde Diamant*), the Commissioner General for Netherlands Economic Recuperation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands Military Mission at the Allied Control Council, the Restitution Control Council of OMGGUS (Office of Military Government, United States), the Reparation, Deliveries, and Restitution Division of the UK, and the German restitutions offices (*Wiedergutmachungsämter*).

To discover the fate of a particular set of diamonds, before actually searching the archives, one has to get acquainted with the different 'missions' of both looting and restituting agencies and organizations. Then one must check to which competency the looting, restitution, and reparation of that type of diamond might have belonged. Furthermore, one must study the administrative histories of the institutions and the vicissitudes of their archives and to ascertain where one has to search within the archival remains of an individual agency. All this pertains to the contextual and custodial history of the records.

Serving as an itinerary in the Netherlands is a guide of actions and actors involved in the looting of assets (1940-1945), their recuperation (1945-1950), restoration of legal rights and restitution (1945-1971) and compensation (1950-1987).[34] It is a 364-page guide of 75 agencies, both public and private, Dutch and German, and their archives (ranging from one file to more than 2,500 metres of shelving). The guide also lists finding aids which may guide the searcher to document level. Sometimes a particular *fonds* is enriched by lists and indexes with names. In other cases, the files may be arranged physically according to names. The guide explains the meaning of the various signs, symbols, stamps, and

34 J.M.L. van Boxmeer, P.C.A. Lamboo, and H.A.J. van Schie, *Archieven Joodse oorlogsgetroffenen. Overzicht van archieven met gegevens over roof, recuperatie, rechtsherstel en schadevergoeding van vermogens van Joden in Nederland in de periode 1940-1987, vervaardigd in opdracht van de Commissie van Onderzoek Liro-archieven* (Den Haag: Algemeen rijksarchief, 1998).

references on the Liro index cards like 'H.R.' (presumably for *Hausrat*, or household effects). These cards, numbered between 1 and 23,015, were created by Liro and, after the war, used by various recuperation, restoration, and restitution agencies who often added information to the original cards. German and Dutch bureaucrats maintained their files, card indexes, and ledgers so meticulously that, once one understands the administrative and recordkeeping history, their detailed accounts can be checked as if their creators are still working at their desks.

Fig. 6.9 A Liro card, used in 1943 and in 1953. From Henny van Schie, 'Joodse tegoeden en archieven. Context in de praktijk', in *Context. Interpretatiekaders in de archivistiek*, ed. P.J. Horsman, F.C.J. Ketelaar, and T.H.P.M. Thomassen ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2000), p. 262.

Files and card indexes created during the war which account for the looting were re-used for the post-war recuperation, restoration, and compensation. These re-activations added new meaning to the records (see the General Introduction). After the final payment, only some 3,100 cards which did not serve as a basis for any claim were preserved, the rest were destroyed. Those 3,100 'useless' cards sitting in a few drawers were discovered by chance in 1997 when the premises of the Amsterdam subsidiary of the Ministry of Finance were vacated. When this became known, it provoked a public outcry that increased when it became clear that the files related to these cards had been destroyed as late as 1984, with the authorization of the General State Archivist, because the records no longer had any administrative or historical value. What the archivists had underestimated was the symbolic value of those cards for survivors of the Holocaust.[35] Someone once said to me: 'I know the golden watch looted from my grandfather cannot be returned, neither will he himself ever return—but could I hold that little card for a moment, to connect with my grandfather?' Because of their emotional and symbolic value, the 'useless' cards were transferred to the National Archives.

6.5   Conclusion

Through the ages the need for archiving property, particularly archiving real estate, was felt. Private people and institutions recorded their properties, used administrative tools for managing their properties, and controlled the destiny of these properties and the associated administration after marriage or death. Government also had an interest in efficient archiving of properties, on the one hand to protect the legal security (*rechtszekerheid*) of transactions between their subjects, and on the other hand with regard to taxation. Archiving property was therefore done by different parties and with different aims (see Fig. 0.2), which by no means always overlapped.

Archiving property was done with a multiplicity of documentary genres that were dealt with in this chapter (see for example 6.2.1 and 6.3.1). They may present a static and

35   Theo Thomassen, *Archiefwetenschap, erfgoed en politisering* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers, 2010).

unchanging situation (for example a cartulary), or they may provide a picture of a changing situation dynamically, such as the regularly updated land register. One of these static genres is the estate inventory—a snapshot—like the inventory drawn up after Rembrandt's insolvency in 1656. Not everything was included in such an inventory, or in any of the other document genres. Sometimes properties were hidden or were legally exempted from inventorization and registration.

Legal security was a condition for social order, but also for security in trading. Both arguments (together with the accountability of government) played a role in the archiving by orphan chambers, the Chamber of Desolate Estates, and comparable institutions in modern times. Their work processes were paper-intensive—though nowadays mostly digital. The sequential steps in the insolvency (*faillissement*) procedure were triggered by documents which steered the process and the activities of participants acting together in this genre system (see the General Introduction).

Legal security necessarily meant publicity, not only of the transfer and mortgage of real property but also of insolvencies and the guardianship of the assets of minors. The need for publicity entailed accessibility of registers and files. The limits of the publicity shifted over time from local to national and international levels due to archivalization factors such as changing views of insolvency and the geographical extension of legal relations. To make the registrations accessible, different technologies were used. First, annual alphabetical indexes of the registers of conveyances, then more sophisticated indexes of local premodern land registers. This became even more comprehensive and standardized throughout the country in 1832. Technologies continued to evolve with the land register and *cadastre* since 1832, their mechanization, computerization, and digitization. Technology enabled the linking of registrations. From the beginning of the 19th century, land register and *cadastre* were complex interlocking genre systems, supported by tens of thousands of maps and various registers. They now form a component of the national system of basic registers (*basisregistraties*, see 1.6).

We often owe innovations in archiving systems to individuals such as the 12th-century abbot Wouter in Egmond, the 16th-century Leiden city clerk Jan van Hout, and the 18th-century lawyer Nicolaas Bondt.

Archiving property frequently entailed a layered administration, as in the 16th-century administration of the Abbey of Mariënweerd which was split up geographically, by *rentambten* and *uithoven*, secondly by office, and thirdly by categories of income. Each category was accounted for in separate books. Such a 'cascade' of records (see 10.5) is also encountered elsewhere, for example in double-entry bookkeeping (see 8.2). Important was the distinction between collectable revenues and those actually collected. The former were registered (mostly annually) in a rental or *blaffaard*, while the actual income was booked in a *manuaal*. In a roll one may find both quota and actual monies, parcels to be rented out, as well as the actual tenants. As in other domains, records of properties could be re-used and expanded over time, each activation adding meaning to the record, as is shown in the example of the registration of Jewish assets during and after the Second World War. The stages of such continuous use and *re-semiosis* have to be documented carefully in order to fully understand the contexts and contents of the multi-faceted record.

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Chapter 7

Archiving Trade and Industry

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〰 Fig. 7.0 Antoon van Welie, The Executive Committee of the Netherland Oversea Trust Company (NOT), 1922-1924. On the table to the left a NOT certificate (see Fig. 13.6). Rijksmuseum SK-A-4698.

⌄
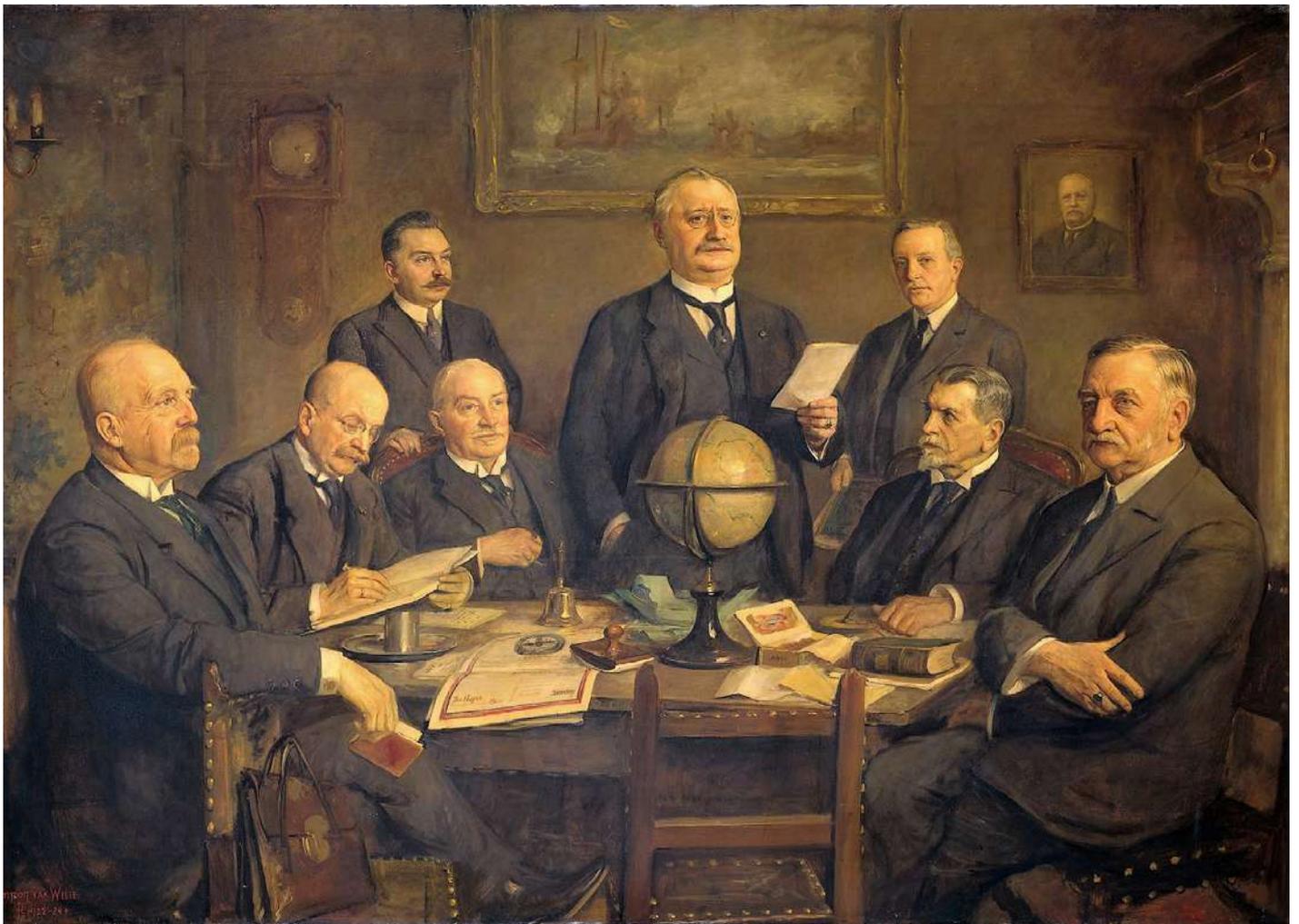
7.0 Introduction

For centuries the Dutch have excelled in shipping and trading. As Sir William Temple, English Ambassador to the Dutch Republic, wrote in 1672:

> no Countrey can be found either in this present Age, or upon Record of any Story, where so vast a Trade has been managed, as in the narrow compass of the Four Maritime Provinces of this Commonwealth.[1]

How did people deal with this disparity between the limited area within the boundaries of the Republic and the vastness of its trade? And how did archiving bridge the difference of space, suggested by Sir William, which also entailed a difference in time between the local and the global?

From the vantage point of reconciling differences in space and time, this chapter investigates how Dutch merchants recorded information, how they used and archived their records, and the fate of their archives. 'A merchant should always have his hands stained with ink', the Italian humanist Leon Battista Alberti wrote in the 15th century.[2] Textualization (*verschriftelijking*) of the merchant's business had begun even earlier. In north-western Europe it occurred in 14th-century Lübeck. This shift meant a revolution in management. The merchant could stay in his office at home and send his representatives to foreign markets while keeping contact continuously. To this end, records were indispensable.

Sections 1 to 5 follow each other in chronological order, from the 16th to the 20th century. The 'nerve of commerce' were business letters (7.1) which bridge space and time. Apart from correspondence, the merchant kept the books to account for his dealings over time (on bookkeeping see 8.2). Trading and shipping were often conducted in partnership (*compagnie*) of several merchants and skippers, entailing specific requirements for

1   George Clark, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands by William Temple* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), ch. VI.

2   Leon Battista Alberti, *I libri della famiglia*, ed. R. Romano and A. Tenenti (Torino: Einaudi, 1994), p. 218.

archiving (7.2). The merchant's office (and its extension, the ship's office) was a junction of various techniques for the production, reproduction, and keeping of records (7.3). These practices are dependent on mastering time and distance by using communication and information technologies (7.4). The First World War confined the neutral Netherlands to a 'narrow compass' with only limited means to continue its vast trade overseas. What were the consequences for archiving trade and shipping (7.5)?

No great merchant's archives from the Middle Ages, like those of Francesco Datini, the merchant of Prato (1363-1410), have been preserved in the Netherlands. However, we possess merchant's archives from the 16th century—those of Claes Adriaensz van Adrichem and of Daniel van der Meulen—and we have the archives of the United East India Company (VOC, see 1.4 and chapter 10) from the 17th and 18th centuries. From the 18th and 19th centuries, the archives of merchant bankers like Hope & Co and Van Eeghen (and Kingma, see 8.4) have come down. The archives of the Netherland Oversea Trust Company (7.5) came about as a consequence of the First World War. A concern for endangered archives of businesses and trade unions emerged in the 20th century (7.7), while on the other hand, a debate began about the appraisal of trade and industry records: what to keep, and what to destroy (7.8).

Archiving industrial business (7.6) is treated in two case studies of typically Dutch sectors that may be considered examples of early modern industrialization: paper manufacturing and the production of Dutch gin (*jenever*). Following my model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2), I propose to show how in these industries archiving was interconnected with people, business, and work processes. In fact, neither business could start or function if it did not follow an extensive paper trail. Another question is to what extent archiving these industries was influenced by societal challenges, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries?

7.1　Business Letters[3]

Claes Adriaensz van Adrichem (1538-1607), merchant, shipowner, and burgomaster, lived in Delft, but the centre of his trade was Amsterdam.[4] His business was characterized by the efficient combination of shipping, trading, and distributing wares. This was a new way of doing business. In Antwerp they stuck to traditional practices of trading, such as trading at the periodic fairs. This difference was also expressed in the forms of recordkeeping. To react quickly to price differences between different markets, regular and fast trade information was of vital importance to the Dutch merchant. This aim was served by the constant flow of commercial letters, as 'the nerve of commerce is the business letter.'[5] Van Adrichem received his information about the Amsterdam market from his agent (*factor*) there, Hendrick Hubertsz. The core of his market reports was the list of prices of various goods. Later, around 1585, such lists were printed and developed into the weekly Amsterdam price-currents.

Commercial letters were information assets for merchants like Claes van Adrichem and Daniel van der Meulen, a merchant from Antwerp who established himself in Leiden in 1591. They also served a larger public because information was shared on the Exchange (*Beurs*), in the tavern, after church, and in meetings and committees. Commercial letters, price-currents, and manuscript newsletters which were to develop into printed newspapers, were instruments of this information supply. Amsterdam was an information exchange.[6] As historian Clé Lesger writes: 'Key to the exceptional position of Amsterdam in international trade was not holding buffer stocks, but the availability of information. The city was more important as a centre of information exchange than as a staple market for goods.'[7] In Amsterdam various genre systems (see the General Introduction) overlapped. Information from all corners of the world was collected, exchanged and compiled, stored and analysed, new information was created, and, finally, information was disseminated from the city.

3　Aksel Erhardt Christensen, *Dutch trade to the Baltic about 1600. Studies in the Sound Toll Register and Dutch shipping records* (Copenhagen/The Hague: Einar Munksgaard/Martinus Nijhoff, 1941). A few paragraphs of this section were taken from Eric Ketelaar, 'The Dutch comptoir as information centre', *Archival science* 18 (2018): 333-41.

4　P.H. Winkelman, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Oostzeehandel in de zeventiende eeuw III. Acten uit de notariële archieven van Amsterdam en het Noorderkwartier van Holland 1585-1600. Het koopmansarchief van Claes van Adrichem 1585-1597* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1981). See also Oscar Gelderblom, 'The governance of early modern trade. The case of Hans Thijs, 1556–1611', *Enterprise and society* 4, no. 4 (2003): 606-39.

5　Christensen, *Dutch trade*, p. 179; See also Clé Lesger, *The rise of the Amsterdam market and information exchange. Merchants, commercial expansion and change in the spatial economy of the Low Countries c. 1550-1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

6　Woodruff D. Smith, 'The function of commercial centers in the modernization of European capitalism. Amsterdam as an information exchange in the 17th century', *The journal of economic history* 44, no. 4 (1984): 985-1005; Peter Burke, *A Social history of knowledge. From Gutenberg to Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), pp. 168-9.

7　Lesger, *The rise*, pp. 183, 214-57.

Van Adrichem kept a regular correspondence with Aper Jansz, his *factor* in Danzig (now Gdansk, Poland), but also with the agents of companies where Van Adrichem functioned as a bookkeeper (but in fact, as business manager, see the next section). Aper Jansz numbered each letter so that Van Adrichem could ascertain that the correspondence was complete, just as Van Adrichem numbered his letters to Jansz. The many letters from Danzig were 'enfiled', meaning collected on a string, forming a *lias* (see 3.2 and Fig. 7.6). Many of the records still show a small hole, sometimes even with a part of the string attached. Putting loose documents on a string (Italian *filza*) or assembling them in bundles was the standard business practice among Italian merchants and codified in Pacioli's *Tractatus de computis et scripturis* (1494). This book did not only treat bookkeeping (see 8.2.2), but also archiving. In the English edition of Jan Impyn's adaptation of Pacioli (1547) the merchant is advised:

> ye shall gather together euery moneth all suche letters as are written vnto you and bynde them vp in a bondell, and write vpon them the moneth and the yere when ye bynd them vp: And at the yeres ende ye shall bynd all the twelfe bondelles that ye had in the twelfe monethes in one bondell, and writyng likewise vpon them the date and yere, that thei maie be redy whensoeuer ye shall fortune to haue any thyng to do with them.[8]

The bundles were often arranged geographically and stored on *liassen* or in pigeonholes. Thus, the archives of Daniel van der Meulen contain different series of letters and bills from Italy, Bremen, Antwerp, Cologne, London, and other places. We know this way of arranging from the inventory that was made after Van der Meulen's death in Leiden in 1600 by notary and city clerk Jan van Hout (see 4.4). He relied on Van der Meulen's assistant Abraham Berrewijns, who collected and bundled the business records after his master's death.

8　P. de Waal, 'De Engelsche vertaling van Jan Ympyn's Nieuwe Instructie', *Economisch-historisch jaarboek* 18 (1934): 49; repr. In *Selected classics in the history of bookkeeping,* series III, 2 (Osaka: Nihon Shoseki, 1977).
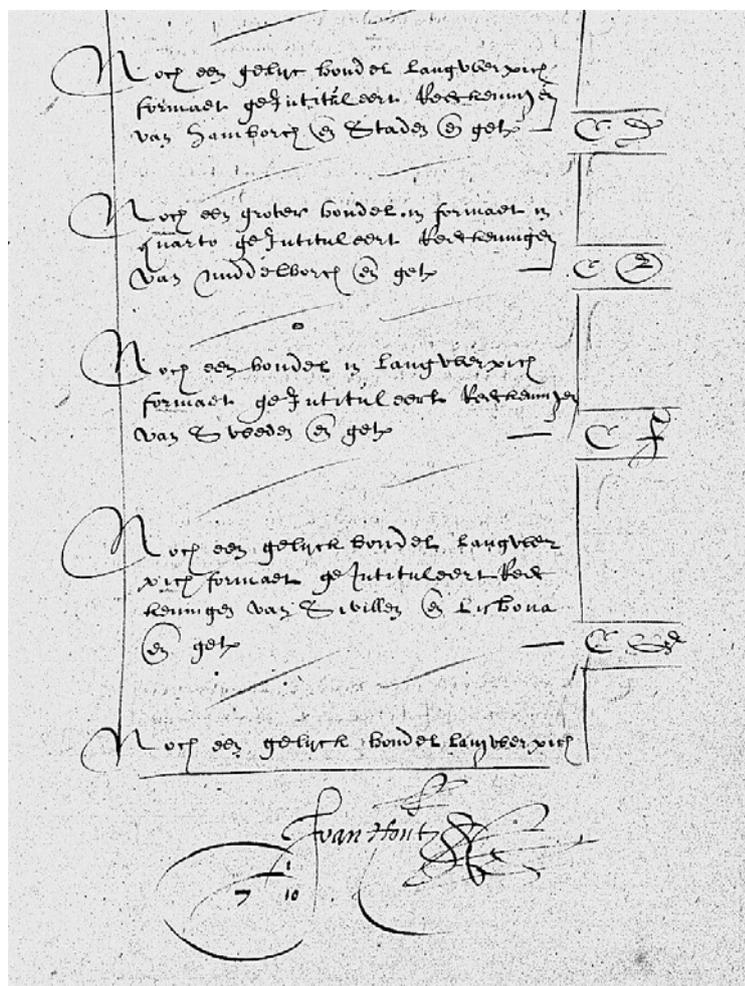
Fig. 7.1a Inventory of Daniel van der Meulen's archives, drawn up by notary Jan van Hout, 1600, with references to the marks on the bundles of papers. The third item is: 'Another bundle of an oblong format, entitled Accounts from Sweden, and marked CF'. Erfgoed Leiden, *Daniel van der Meulen and Hester de la Faille* (096), inv. nr. 68, fol. 80verso.
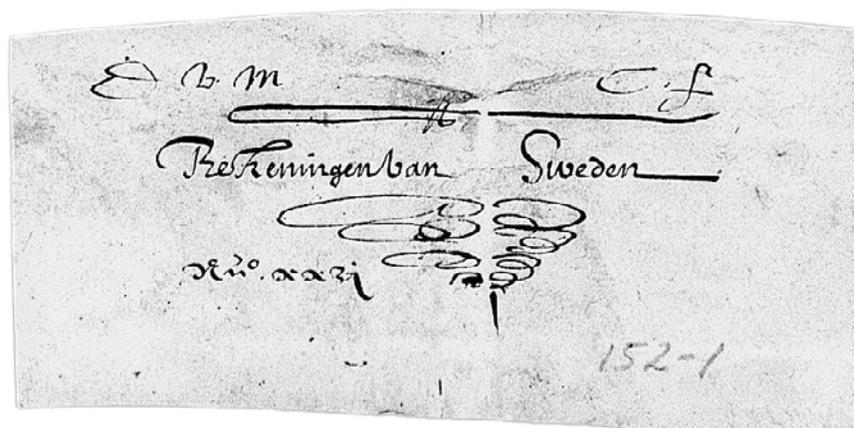
Fig. 7.1b Label of a bundle of papers in Daniel van der Meulen's archives, 1600: 'Accounts from Sweden', and the mark CF referring to the inventory. Erfgoed Leiden, *Daniel van der Meulen and Hester de la Faille* (096), inv. nr. 152.

In the Van der Meulen archives (12,000 documents), preserved in the Leiden municipal archives (digital copies of which are available on the Internet), traces of the original way of geographical arrangement can still be recognised.

Van Adrichem copied his letters to Aper Jansz and many others in his letter book between 1589 and 1597. Most of them are fair copies, but there are also some drafts. Van Adrichem wrote the letter book himself, unlike the Italian merchants, of whom Impyn writes that they left the job to their servants. Such letter books were prescribed, as supplementary to the main bookkeeping registers, in merchants' manuals as late as the middle of the 19th century (see 8.2.7 and 8.4.2). This, however, primarily related to the outgoing letters

(or, at the very least, for the most important outgoing letters), 'to be able at all times to check from it [the letter book] what we have written to them'.[9] As regards the incoming letters, the way of endorsing or docketing that Impyn had already advised, remained in use:

> And when ye receiue suche letters ye shal write the daie of the moneth that ye receiue theim, vpon the letter and the name of the party and the place that it commeth from. And when suche a letter commeth that requireth answere, ye shall then write likewise vpon thesame letter the daie that ye answered thesame in fewe words.

Apart from regularly reporting on the market prices, Van Adrichem's *factor* Hubertsz spent considerable time and effort in negotiating the ever-increasing stream of bills of exchange.

A bill of exchange (*wisselbrief*) is a written order to one party to pay a sum of money to another party. An example: Aper Jansz in Danzig owes money to Hendrick de Hase in Amsterdam. Aper pays money in Danzig currency to his fellow townsman Andries Fagel (the drawer), who signs a bill of exchange on 14 March 1598, ordering Vincent Vlamingh in Amsterdam (the drawee) to pay 210 pounds in Amsterdam currency. The bill of exchange is sent to Hase (the payee or beneficiary), who presents it to Vlamingh to get paid. But it turns out that Vlamingh is insolvent, and his wife, upon being presented with the bill of exchange, refuses to accept. Hase goes to Jan Franssen Bruyningh, a well-known notary public in Amsterdam (he drew up the register of Amsterdam shareholders of the United

9 Abraham de Graaf, *Instructie van het Italiaans boekhouden, met een memoriaal toegepast op de negotie, particulier, in commissie, en in compagnie* (Amsterdam: weduwe Gysbert de Groot, 1710), p. 106.

East India Company in 1602), to lodge a formal protest (*wissel-protest*). That protest is sent to Aper who will claim his money from Fagel, who guarantees acceptance and payment.

7.2 Partners in Trading and Shipping

The companies in which Claes van Adrichem participated were partnerships of the owners of either a ship or the cargo. The accounts of the shipping company (*rederij*) were kept by one of the owners who acted as bookkeeper. In Van Adrichem's archives there are many accounts drawn up either by him as a bookkeeper (predominantly in the 1570s and 1580s) or by someone else and subsequently submitted to Van Adrichem as co-owner to be checked in a meeting of the shipowners. The bookkeeper was more than a simple accountant, he was a managing owner who represented the collectivity of owners, gave instructions, and corresponded on behalf of the owners.

In Van Adrichem's archives (in the National Archives), one can distinguish different genre systems: the documents he made and kept for himself and those he maintained as bookkeeper and manager of various companies. The former documents contain several specialized registers, including a register of properties (1561) and a journal of purchase and sale of wheat (*graan*). The subsequent second journal (1565-1571) is arranged fairly systematically and provided with an index on the names of debtors and tabs fixed to each of the pages where a new heading (*rubriek*) begins. Accounts of journeys to Danzig and Riga date from 1569 and 1570. Registration of a new activity starts in 1570: buying of shares in ships. The archives thus reflect the development of Van Adrichem's business from trading to shipping, as Danish scholar Aksel Christensen, who studied the archives

and the business of Van Adrichem thoroughly, concludes. Nearly all registers show Claes' trademark of a Lorraine double-barred cross. At the back of each ledger, Van Adrichem inscribed genealogical notes over the period 1561-1579. In the register of properties (1561-1578) the shares in ships are recorded amongst the other properties. However, in the next volume (1579-1583) the ship's shares are recorded under a special heading. This indicates slightly more sophisticated bookkeeping. The bookkeeping manuals pay considerable attention to the bookkeeping of a company, following the example of Impyn's instructions on how to keep the accounts of 'a compaignie and parteners or felowship'.

Between 1579 and 1583 Van Adrichem recorded shares in 23 different companies. The size of the shares varied, but on the average, a ship was owned by nine people including the shipmaster. Besides the shipmasters, Van Adrichem's partners were mostly family members. Only a third of all shares were held by other merchants. These Delft shipping companies were genuine family businesses.

In other towns, such companies of family members were also customary. For example, the company founded by the brothers Archibald and Thomas Hope in Amsterdam (since 1762 known as Hope & Co), was almost continuously in the hands of descendants and relatives of the Labouchere, Sillem, Borski, and Van Loon families. This firm—in the 18th century the undisputed leader of trading firms in the Republic[10]—continued as an autonomous family company for 200 years, until the merger with Rotterdam-based family company Mees in 1962.[11] After 1762 the firm (with a capital of more than four million guilders) added a new venture to trading: financing commercial transactions and brokering loans by foreign governments and owners of plantations in the Danish, Dutch, and British West Indies. Banking became by far the most important activity of Hope & Co (see 8.4.2), but the firm continued as merchant bankers. They continued trading in money, wheat, colonial produce, tea, wine—anything, including slaves, that could be sold at a profit.

Several of the trading firms with widespread networks founded in the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, continued for a century or more. One even still exists today,

10 Joost Jonker and Keetie Sluyterman, *At home on the world markets. Dutch international trading companies from the 16th century until the present*, transl. Diederik van Werven (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers, 2000), p. 119.

11 The following is for the greater part a summary of A.M. Bendien and J.C.A. Blom, *Archief van de firma Hope & Co. met verwante archiefvormers*, https://web.archive.org/web/20190531123216/https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/printversie/735.nl.pdf, archived 31 May 2019, and M.G. Buist, *At spes non fracta: Hope & Co. 1770-1815. Merchant bankers and diplomats at work* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974).
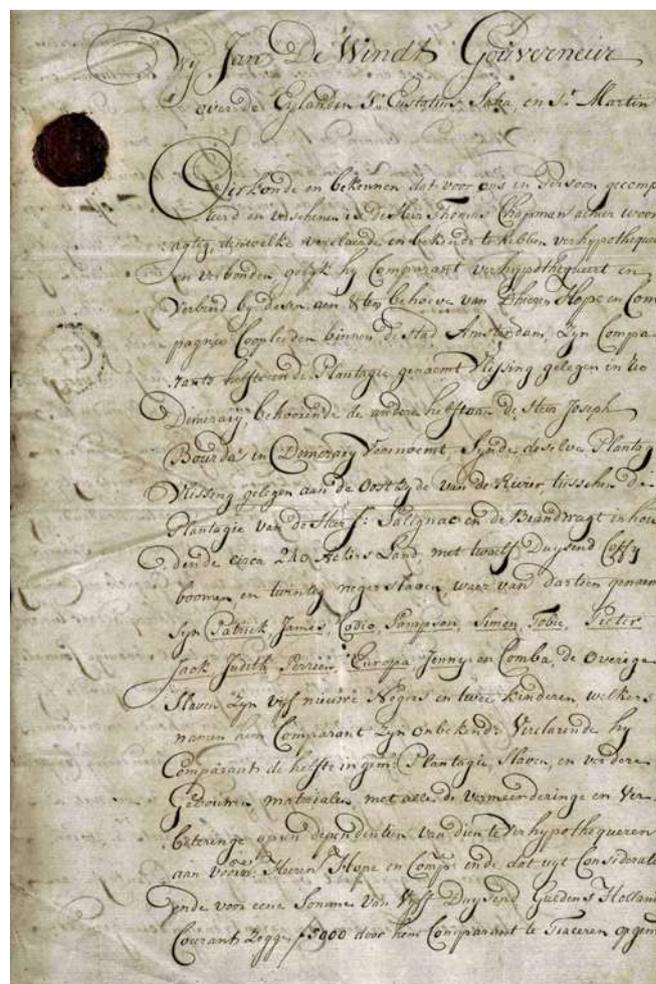
Fig. 7.2 Conveyance by mortgage of half of the plantation Vlissingen, including 20 enslaved people, in Demerary, modern-day Guyana, as security for a loan by Hope & Co, 1772. Amsterdam City Archives, *Hope & Co* (735), inv. nr. 1852.

Van Eeghen, which was established in 1662, worth 1.7 million guilders in 1798, and now managed by a member of the 15th generation. Van Eeghen has resided at Herengracht 462, Amsterdam, since 1850, when the oldest partner moved into the house. Seven clerks, seated on high stools at sloping desks, worked at the back of the house. The office of the partners looked out onto the Herengracht.[12]

7.3 Office Archives

7.3.1 The Merchant's Comptoir[13]

A businessman dealing with his paperwork is a well-known theme in 16th- and 17th-century portraiture. However, the merchant is not often shown in his *comptoir*, surrounded by his books and papers, as he is in the 17th-century doll's house that was built for Petronella Delacourt (1624-1707), or in Jan Luyken's etching (1694) of an emblematic Dutch merchant (*koopman*). Originally a *comptoir* was a counting table (related to counter), but this word, just as the names bureau and cabinet began as a piece of furniture, came to denote a particular space: in Dutch one uses the word *kantoor* when talking about an office. In Luyken's image, the merchant is giving instructions to his clerks who are surrounded by *liassen* (some of them marked: England, France, Spain, etc.), registers, and other records. As the comedy writer Gerbrand Bredero wrote mockingly in 1617 about a merchant:

> He was always in his office, with his nose in the books;
> His little cap on his head, in his oversleeves to prevent wear of his suit
> For he was always busy writing this that and the other:
> He would either be drawing up a balance sheet or counting cash,
> Yes, he had so much to do that it was a miracle!
> For his head is filled with nooks and cupboards
> And pigeonholes and drawers and dozens of files
> Full of money orders, full of debentures, full of bottomry [deeds].

Fig. 7.3 Jan Luyken, The merchant (*De koopman*), 1694. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-44.553.

12 Jonker and Sluyterman, *At home*, p. 201.

13 Based on Ketelaar, 'The Dutch comptoir'.

The *comptoir* did not only house business papers, but also personal and family records, as well as documents pertaining to the public offices held by the merchant and members of his family. This is known, for example, from the *comptoir* of Johannes Hudde, who died in 1704. Hudde was burgomaster of Amsterdam for 21 years, director of the VOC, lord of the manor of Waveren, and in his day he was also a famous mathematician. He was one of those experienced office-holders, typical of the *regenten* of the 17th and early 18th century, described by Harold Cook as being:

> comfortable in the daily routines of committee meetings, negotiations, memos and reports, and sorting, filing and recollecting information. Indeed, this was a golden age of archives and libraries. Magistrates and merchants alike found it necessary, for the sake of good administration, to assemble vast repositories of books and records.[14]

The inventory made after his death consists of nearly 100 pages and begins with a 36-page inventory of the office at his house on Singel 284.[15]

There were three cupboards (*cassen*), two lecterns, a table, a cupboard with pigeonholes, and shelves and even more pigeonholes on the wall. Papers were all over the place, even in front of the window papers were piled up, as well as letters and handwritten books. Yet there was some order. One of the cupboards contained papers about Hudde's public functions in town, in Holland, and in the United East India Company. They were separated from the mathematical writings that were kept in another cupboard next to even more papers and manuscript books. Records regarding his wife Deborah Blaauw's estate were stored separately in a paper cupboard. The bonds and annuities were found together in a sealed inner cupboard. The cupboard with pigeonholes, mostly filled with receipts and bills that had been paid, also showed some kind of ordering. One of the pigeonholes contained the receipts regarding the Waveren estate, the other property tax statements, and two more were filled with papers regarding two estates of relations by marriage. One of the shelves on the wall had pigeonholes containing papers about Waveren, but also

14 Harold Cook, *Assessing the truth. Correspondence and information at the end of the Golden Age* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2013), p. 15.

15 Amsterdam City Archives, *Notarissen* (5075), notaris Casper IJpelaer, inv. nr. 5336B, pp. 1547-1643; notaris Wilhelmus Sijlvius, inv. nr. 4935, pp. 59-71; *Dedel* (728) inv. nr. 37; *Stichting Hudde-fonds* (not yet inventoried); *Handschriften* (5059), inv. nrs. 47-49, https://web.archive.org/web/20190506202717/https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/inventaris/5059.nl.html, archived 6 May 2019 ; *Bicker* (195), inv. nrs. 827; National Archives, *Hudde* (1.10.48).
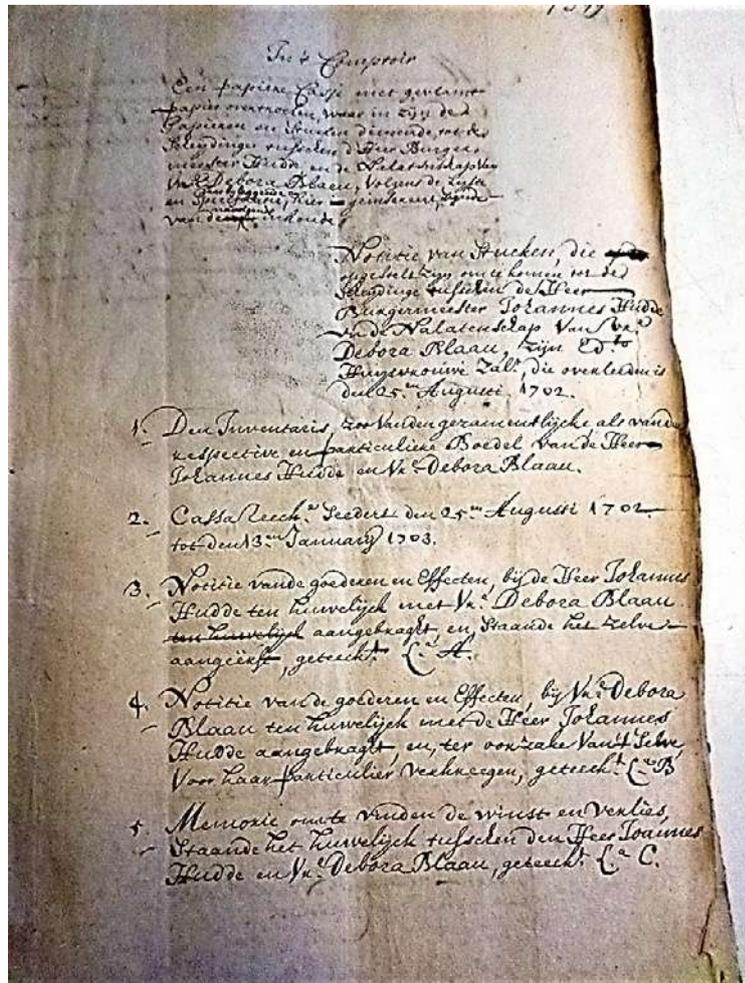
Fig. 7.4 Inventory of the contents of Johan Hudde's *comptoir*, here the contents of a paper cupboard (*papiere casje*) with papers concerning the estate of Hudde's wife, Deborah Blaauw. Amsterdam City Archives, *Notarissen* (5075), notaris Casper IJpelaer, inv. nr. 5336B, pp. 1547-1643.

about polders around Amsterdam. On the shelf beneath were account books and tubes containing maps. More maps were kept in other places in the office.

Hudde had bequeathed all his papers (apart from his mathematical writings) to his cousin by marriage, city secretary Willem Dedel. However, Dedel died before the Hudde estate was divided. The Hudde archive was put into temporary storage for some years, then disappeared, as did the mathematical papers. Only the documents pertaining to Hudde's public offices were saved. He had bequeathed them to Dedel under the condition that any confidential document had to be transferred to the city office, the treasury, or the *charterkamer*, the city's muniment room. Confidential papers regarding the VOC had to go to the VOC lawyer. The Dedel family kept the documents, however; in 1871 they were given to the Amsterdam City Archives and the General State Archives.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the expansion of business and of the want of more privacy at home, often necessitated moving the office elsewhere. An example is the Leiden cloth merchant and art collector Allard de la Court (1688-1755), whose house on Rapenburg canal was situated across from Van der Meulen's. De la Court had a *comptoir*-cum-warehouse built behind his house. Allard may have known the doll's house of his great-aunt Petronella, which contains a merchant's office. Like the Van Eeghen family (see the preceding section), the Hopes had their office at home and from 1758 onwards in an office building in the garden of the partners on Keizersgracht 444-448 in Amsterdam. A visitor reported there were 26 staff working in the office in 1759. In 1821 the firm moved to another building on Keizersgracht. This was converted into a modern office in 1899.

7.3.2 On Board

Archives were also kept on board the ships to Danzig and other places freighted by Claes van Adrichem. On each ship were offices filled with paper (see also 10.2) making the ship into a component of a genre system. Among the documents were the muster roll and the

Fig. 7.5 Bill of lading (*tzarter* = charter) whereby Hans Strateken and Claes Wyes commission skipper Jan Claesz from Kampen to sail to the Bay [of Bourgneuf] to take in salt, which he will then bring to Reval and deliver to Herman Vogelsanck and Gherwen Borneman, merchants of the German Hanse, 1461. Kampen City Archives, *Stadsbestuur Kampen* (00001), inv. nr. 294.

sea-letter (*zeebrief*), a certificate of identity of ship and master that was issued by the municipality of the home town. Then there were the certificates of the cargo, carrying the names and places of the freighters and the addressees. Such a bill of lading (or waybill) is often called a *charte-partie*.

A bill of lading was written in duplicate on a single sheet of parchment or paper. Between the two texts some letters (A, B, C), a motto, or a word were written. The sheet was divided (indented) along a zigzag line and each of the parties received a copy. In case of contestation, their authenticity could be proven by putting together the two deeds. Such an indenture (*chirograaf* or *carta bipartita*) was quite common and one encounters written indentures well into the 19th century (see Fig. 13.4).

Both the sea-letter and the bills of lading had to be shown to customs on the way to Danzig at the Sound toll at Elsinore (Denmark), who registered the data. The accounts of the duties paid for ship and goods were kept from 1497 to 1857. The custom house officers provided the shipmaster with a receipt, the cocket (*tollteyken*), on both the outward and return trip. Of these cockets only a few have been preserved in the whole of Europe. As was usual, Van Adrichem probably destroyed them after he had audited the shipmaster's account. The same fate befell other annexes to the accounts, including the receipts for registration duties (*schrijfgeld*) and beacon duties (*vuurtorengeld*). Amongst the records of Van Adrichem there are no specific references to these sorts of documents in the shipmaster's accounts. Other accounts do refer to annexes, for instance the account of the herring fishery (1593) referring to the notes (*celen*) submitted by the shipmaster which has been preserved together with some certificates of herring inspection. A settlement by Claes van Adrichem and his brother is joined with the file (*lias*) of annexes. At the bottom, a label describes the content of the *lias*: 'requisites serving to verify my expenses'. The label would have been visible when the file was hung, exactly as shown on the famous painting of a merchant by Jan Gossaert (Fig. 7.6).
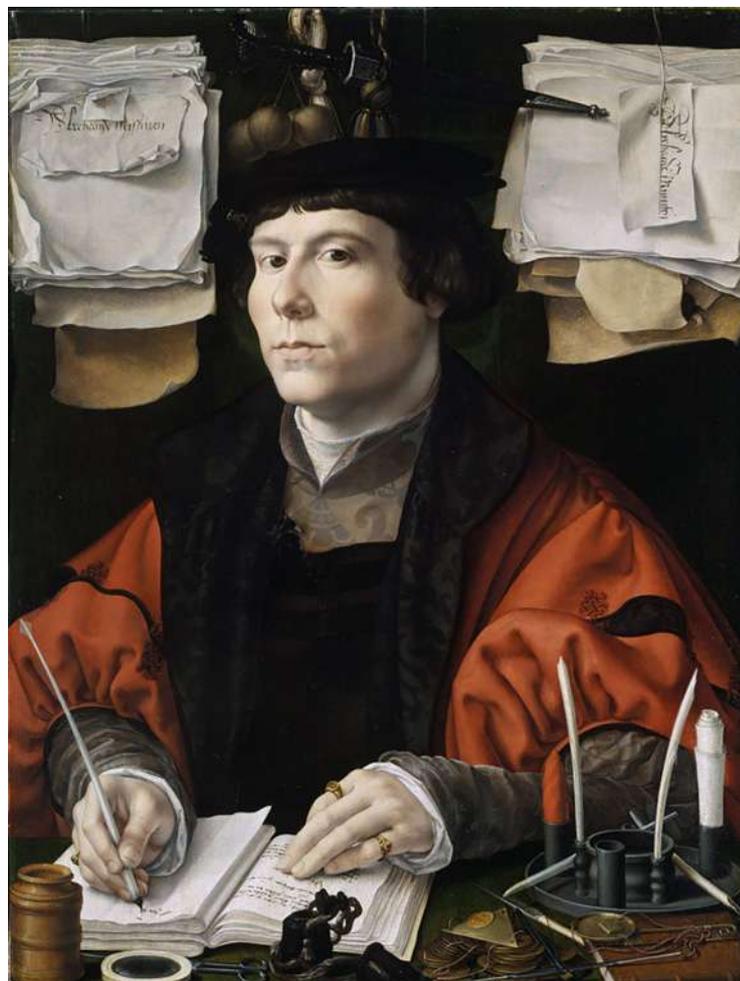
Fig. 7.6 Portrait of Jan Jacobsz Snoeck by Jan Gossaert (ca. 1530). National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

7.3.3 The Office as a Memory Centre[16]

The office could develop into the centre of the business, but also into the memory centre of a family and its business, as the history of Kingmahuis in Makkum (Friesland) shows.

The sons of skipper Jan Martens (1671-1737) founded the firm of Hylke, Gerben, and Gorrit Jans in Makkum. At first it was a freighting office, the brothers being also active in trading. Bookkeeping for the Baltic Sea traders was done on board. In Makkum the spouses maintained the correspondence with freighters and traders. Around 1740 the sons focussed on trade and decided to control shipping from home. Hylke Jans assumed the surname Kingma and bought a house in Makkum in which a room on the ground floor was furnished as an office. In 1785 the office was moved next door to the house built for his son Marten Hylkes Kingma (1746-1825). This would become the centre of control for the M.H. Kingma firm until 1932. Besides trade and shipping, the Kingma family became active in industry, for example manufacturing pottery, shipbuilding, and oil milling. The various businesses run by the firm did not create separate archives. Instead, a central administration was kept at the firm's office. Most registers carried a mark to distinguish the bookkeeping of the various businesses from each other. When the business was continued from the account of another partner, a new mark was introduced. In 1799, 1825, and 1875, each time after the death of the sole owner of the firm, the bookkeeping was continued for a while for the benefit of the heirs. The new owner would establish a new administration, sometimes using the old books if they held enough blank pages.

Around 1900 the office was transferred from Kingmahuis to the adjacent warehouse. There the papers concerning the private life and the fortunes of the members of the Kingma family were kept as well. These family archives were kept separate from the business archives. Kingmahuis and the neighbouring buildings became the common space for re-enacting the histories of the family and the business. The first to record his memories and to care for the preservation of important papers was Marten Hylkes.

16 The following is for the greater part a summary of D.P. de Vries, *Inventaris van de archieven van de bewoners van het huis annex kantoor van de firma M.H. Kingma te Makkum 1726-1932 en van archieven van familieleden 1694-1973, alsmede van archieven die in het kantoor van de firma waren achtergebleven 1750 - begin 20ste eeuw* (Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy, 1989) and of Henk Nicolai, *De Kingma-kroniek of: Hoe een familiegeheugen meer dan tweehonderdvijftig jaar intact bleef* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997).

Archiving was a basic need for many in the Kingma family, according to Henk Nicolai. He wrote a book on the family's memory that was cultivated for 250 years. When visiting Tjeerd Herre Kingma (1915-2000) Nicolai notes: 'People died, the archive remained. All those generations turned to dust, but they left their essence in the many boxes and cupboards he [Tjeerd Herre] had used to store this inheritance.'[17]

The Kingma business archives have not been handed down completely. Many papers concerning their trade have been lost. In 1847, part of the papers received, the cash books, and accounts were recycled to form the base for a new wallpaper in the living room! The businesses exploited by the firm regularly transmitted data to the main office, but only those data with relevance for the partners were kept, the rest were destroyed. During the inventorization of the archives at the State Archives of Friesland in the 1980s, some series of annexes to registers of purchases and sales were also destroyed.

The Kingma family and business archives (more than 22 metres) are kept in Tresoar, the merger of State Archives, Provincial Library, and the Frisian Literary Documentation Centre in Leeuwarden. They have been treated as estate archives (*huisarchief*, literally house archives): a combination of archives handed down by the families who lived in the same house or on the same estate. The term is usually used for archives of castles and noble homes (see 1.7.2). But in this case, it is also used for the archives of the Kingma family who worked and lived in Kingmahuis. The house has been sold, but the archives continue to serve the family memory.

7.4 **Mastering Time and Distance**[18]

Dutch merchants used to trade for their own account until around 1650-1675. They met their fellow traders and merchants when a bargain was closed. From the last quarter of the 17th century, they started contracting out the work. Instead of the merchant himself, commercial agents, brokers, firm directors, or insurance agents and other specialists met

17 Nicolai, *De Kingma-kroniek*, p. 292.

18 Partly based on Jonker and Sluyterman, *At home*, pp. 194-96. See also 10.7.

their opposite numbers. The merchant could now run his business, whether small or large, from his office at home. He was only partly involved in the transaction and depended on written communication. Communication by writing had always been important but became even more important when the activities of large trading firms extended, and the size of the firms increased accordingly. Moreover, the owners were no longer trading for themselves, but in commission for other parties. Beginning in the late 17th century, contacts between the agent on the one hand and suppliers and customers on the other, were largely by correspondence.

Around the middle of the 19th century, according to economic historians Joost Jonker and Keetie Sluyterman, international trade accelerated rapidly. The Industrial Revolution spread from country to country, and at the same time, new and faster means of transport and communication were introduced. At the end of the 18th century, a voyage from Holland to Asia took approximately 212 days; in 1830 this was only 121 days. Shortly thereafter the fastest ships could make the trip in 85 days. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the journey from Amsterdam to Batavia (Jakarta) took only 40 to 50 days.

The telegraph accelerated the exchange of messages, and the first connection between Europe and Asia was established in 1865. In 1870, on average 35 telegrams were exchanged with the Dutch East Indies daily. At the turn of the century, the average daily number had already increased to 270. The reduction of the time lag between sender and receiver, between seller and buyer, and between the head office in the Netherlands and the agent overseas, further advanced forward trading. It also gradually changed the nature of the relations within government, businesses, and even the lives of ordinary people. The reduction of the time lag between sender and receiver is a form of what Anthony Giddens calls distanciation of time and space involving modes of power and control.[19] The knowledge that a telephone call (or today's email) may immediately determine a situation influences the power relations in decision-making and accountability. Submission of a plan (and waiting for comments in writing) was replaced by a telephone call, thereby changing the content of the communication. Indeed, distanciation also influences the content of

19 Anthony Giddens, *A contemporary critique of historical materialism,* 2nd ed. (Houndmills and London: Macmillan Press, 1995), pp. 90-108.

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what is communicated. Derrida is right in assuming (as I quoted already in 1.2.4) that 'the mutation in technology changes not simply the archiving process, but what is archivable— that is, the content of what has to be archived is changed by the technology.'[20]

7.5 Trading and Shipping in the First World War[21]

In many countries the First World War (1914-1918) led to an explosive growth of archives, caused by mobilization, rationing, and war industry. The Netherlands stayed neutral during the war, but even here the war led to new and more comprehensive archiving practices. After the outbreak of the war, Dutch trade, shipping, industry, and agriculture were in great difficulties. The Allied Powers seized Dutch ships and their cargo to prevent the import of goods from the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies into Germany and its allies. The situation changed radically after the foundation of the Netherland Oversea Trust Company (NOT), based in The Hague. Officially, the NOT was a private company financed and run by a small group of Dutch bankers and shipping companies, but it acted, in fact, as an extension of government. The NOT served as a clearinghouse for overseas contraband imports. To that end the NOT concluded agreements with the Allies guaranteeing that all goods consigned to the NOT would not be transited or exported to the enemy. The NOT had to get comparable warrants from the buyers of these goods. This entailed closing comprehensive agreements with businesses and thus allowing the NOT to strictly control all traffic of goods. Satisfied with these controls, the Allies allowed goods imported via the NOT a free pass through the North Sea blockade.

The genre system of the NOT was very record-intensive. The NOT was 'running' on forms—more than 2,500 different forms were printed. A trader who wanted to import goods had to submit two forms at the contracts department of the NOT: a request to be allowed to consign goods to the NOT and an application for a *consent*, a certificate

20 Eric Ketelaar, 'Tacit narratives. The meanings of archives', *Archival science* 1 (2001): 134-35, referring to Jacques Derrida, *Archive fever*, transl. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 17.

21 Based on National Archives, *Crisisinstellingen* (2.06.079), inv. nrs. 1711, 1729, 1731-33, 1743, 1745, 1749, 1754, 1756A and a summary of M.W.M.M. Gruythuysen, H.A.J. van Schie and A.M. Tempelaars, *Inventaris van de archieven van crisisinstellingen in verband met de eerste wereldoorlog, 1914-1926* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 1993), https://web.archive.org/web/20190531123423/https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.06.079, archived 31 May 2019; Samuël Kruizinga, *Overleg-economie in oorlogstijd. De Nederlandsche Overzee Trustmaatschappij en de Eerste Wereldoorlog* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2012).

declaring that the NOT had granted its intermediary for the consignment of goods from overseas (see Fig. 13.6). In the first few months, the NOT received 3,000 applications every week. As soon as the Executive Committee of the NOT (Fig. 7.0) had approved the application, the importer received a contract to be signed. On signing the contract (to be stored in the NOT archives) the importer received the consent. He sent the certificate on to the shipmaster who had to hang the black-and-white striped NOT cone on the mast, clearly visible to all.

The importer had to provide a security, such as a bank guarantee or a deposit. Upon arrival of the goods in a Dutch port the NOT received the bill of lading (*cognossement*) for endorsement. Staff of the Department of *Cognossementen* used the bill of lading and supporting documents to check whether the goods matched the descriptions in the contract, the invoice, and the guarantee.

In March 1915 the NOT was authorized to supply certificates of provenance (*certificaten van oorsprong*) for those goods for which the NOT had made an agreement with the English. A separate Department of Inspection tracked down unauthorised transactions and fraud. This department was staffed by men 'who can read a merchant's books as an ordinary man reads a newspaper or a novel'.

The administrative body of the NOT increased in a short time to more than 900 staff, working in more than 15 buildings in The Hague. In 1917 the activities diminished after submarine warfare caused stagnation of the overseas trade. The number of staff decreased to 673 in July 1918. After the war, the agreements with the Allies were terminated in 1919. The NOT started preparing its liquidation by setting up an archive and appointing the former chief of the administrative department as the archivist. Many members of staff were transferred to the new department, predominantly 'old people and handicapped for whom it was difficult to find another job immediately'. A group of 11 to 15 people started to arrange the archives and 14 to 17 staff, assisted by evening workers, collected various statistical data which were to be used for the official history of the NOT (it was not until 1935 before the eight volumes of the history were published). Forty-four archives of departments and committees were transferred from the many offices. At first, they were

collected in three different buildings, but from 1925 they were held in a large townhouse on Nassaulaan in The Hague.

The NOT went into liquidation on 1 January 1920. Two days before, the Archives of the Netherland Oversea Trust Company Foundation (*Stichting Archieven der Nederlandse Overzee Trustmaatschappij*) was founded. This foundation had to ensure publication of the official history and maintenance of the archives. To achieve this, the NOT endowed the foundation with staff, two houses in The Hague, storage equipment, and a large capital. When the foundation was dissolved in 1937 it still had five staff. The NOT archives were very voluminous. They comprised more than 10,500 items, or 646 metres, even after more than 58,000 kilograms had been destroyed during the years 1920-1937! A destination for these archives had to be found. They were donated to the State, together with the house at Nassaulaan 18 where the archives were stored, as compensation. The house came in handy, as there was no empty space in the General State Archives. One of the conditions of the donation was that any income from leasing or selling the house would benefit the State Archives. This arrangement is applicable even today. The NOT fund, administered by the National Archivist, subsidizes projects and publications of the National Archives and the State Archives (now merged into regional historical centres).

The house at Nassaulaan 18 was requisitioned in June 1945, following the Liberation, causing a huddled move to a former school on Bleijenburg opposite the General State Archives. This building was soon requisitioned for the General Staff of the Army and the NOT archives had to be stowed away in the corridors. In 1952 the archives (the size of which had been reduced by appraisal and destruction from 646 to 86 metres) were transferred to an auxiliary repository in Schaarsbergen, a building that had been provided to the State Archives the year before. It was a bunker built by the Germans in 1942-1943 and that had served as a command centre for air defence by the *Luftwaffe*. Upon completion of the new building of the General State Archives (1979), the NOT archives returned to The Hague. They were inventoried again between 1989 and 1993, jointly with those of other temporary agencies active during the First World War and its aftermath.

7.6 Dutch Paper and Dutch Gin

7.6.0 Land of the Windmills

Foreign visitors reported a thousand, no, two thousand windmills in the area around Zaandam, on the river Zaan, to the north of Amsterdam, in the 18th century. In reality, there were far fewer mills (more than 600 around 1725)[22], but all these spinning mills made a visit to the Zaan district a must. Between 1575 and 1875 approximately 1,100 mills were built. Today around 13 industrial windmills are left, apart from the watermills driven by wind and used for drainage of the polders (see chapter 5). Various industries used mills in the 18th century. About 40 percent of the mills along the Zaan were sawmills, 22 percent were oil mills, nine percent were hull (peeling) mills, and six percent were papermills.[23]

The origin of the sawmill was the invention of the crankshaft to transfer the rotary movement of the mill sails to an up-and-down motion of the saw blades. In 1593 Cornelis Corneliz van Uitgeest was awarded a patent (*octrooi*) for this invention, and a patent for an oil mill to press seeds. Many other improvements in the milling business were protected by an *octrooi* from the States of Holland. Their minutes (*resoluties*) often contain extensive descriptions and drawings of the patented invention.[24]

The wood sawyers' guild in Amsterdam, who sawed by hand, resisted the putting up of sawmills in or near the city. This further encouraged the sawmilling business in the Zaan region, which was not organized as a guild (on the registration by guilds see 1.3).[25] In 1630 there were already 53 sawmills along the Zaan. The Amsterdam wood sawyers felt defeated and their guild was liquidated. Fairly soon after sawmills appeared in the city.

The Zaan sawmilling trade was of special importance for the shipbuilding industry in the area. Around 1650 there were more than 25 shipbuilding yards along the river. Timber was imported from Germany and auctioned in Zaandam or Amsterdam. This is reflected in the 118 volumes of Zaandam auction books (*veilboeken*) from 1655-1811.

22 H. Voorn, *De papiermolens in de provincie Noord-Holland* (Haarlem: De Papierwereld, 1960); Ron Couwenhoven, *1100 Zaanse molens* (Wormer: Stichting Uitgeverij Noord-Holland, 2015).

23 Herman Kaptein, *Nijverheid op windkracht. Energietransitie in Nederland 1500-1800* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2017).

24 Jan de Vries and Ad van der Woude, *The first modern economy. Success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 301, 345; *Uitvinders in Nederland. Vier eeuwen octrooien* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 2009); H. Bonke et al., *Cornelis Corneliszoon van Uitgeest. Uitvinder aan de basis van de Gouden Eeuw*, 2nd ed. (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2004).

25 D. Aten, 'Amsterdamse gilden en regenten contra de Zaanse nijverheid', in *Ondernemers & bestuurders. Economie en politiek in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de late middeleeuwen en vroegmoderne tijd*, ed. C.M. Lesger and Leo Noordegraaf (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1999), pp. 61-76.

Windmills were not only essential for wood milling and shipbuilding. Windmills had already been used for decades to grind grain into flour for the bakers, but also for making the popular Dutch jenever. More is to be written about the latter, but first I will focus on paper manufacturing.

7.6.1 Making Paper[26]

This section is about the paper industry; using paper for archiving is dealt with in chapter 11. The technology of papermaking was probably imported by technicians from the southern Netherlands during the last quarter of the 16th century. Wind papermills were used in the Zaan region. Elsewhere in the Netherlands (especially in the Veluwe area) watermills were used. The oldest Zaan papermill was The Goose (*De Gans*) mill in Zaandijk (1601).

7.6.1.1 Starting a Papermill

Archiving the paper industry started with a contract of the founders who exploited the mill in partnership (*partenrederij* or *compagnie*). Each had a share in the cost and in the revenue. The shares could be bequeathed and sold. Since the 15th century, such partnerships became common in shipping and trade (see 7.2), and later in large drainage projects (see 5.3) as well. They were common in capital intensive industries. The partners (called *reders*, which in fact is the term for shipowners) were often connected by family relations, but also by relations with partners in other businesses. In many family archives the industrial activities are reflected.

The *compagnie* had to own enough land to build the mill and the sheds for drying and packing. To build such a mill some 140,000 to 180,000 square metres (the equivalent of three football fields) were needed. The company had to acquire a 'wind letter' (*windbrief*), or letters patent from the sovereign who of old had disposed of water and wind (Fig. 13.5).

26 Jane de Iongh, *Van Gelder Zonen 1784-1934* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1934); B.W. de Vries, *De Nederlandse papiernijverheid in de negentiende eeuw* ('s-Graven-hage: Nijhoff, 1957); O. de Wit, 'Papier', in *Geschiedenis van de techniek in Nederland. De wording van een moderne samenleving*, 2, ed. H.W. Lintsen et al. (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1993), pp. 199-221; Bram Bouwens, *Op papier gesteld. De geschiedenis van de Nederlandse papier- en kartonindustrie in de twintigste eeuw* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2004).

An application for a wind letter triggered a specific social action involving different participants and genres (see the General Introduction). In Holland, the wind letters were issued by the Audit Office (*Rekenkamer*) in The Hague upon the advice of the steward (*rentmeester*) of the domains (*demesne*). Normally the steward would check whether anyone might be disturbed by the mill. The right of the wind entailed that tall trees and buildings were not allowed around the mill. The purchaser of the *windbrief* had to fence in the mill to protect man and animal. In case of an accident, the miller was liable. A *windbrief* may exist in different versions: in the purchaser's archives, in the archives of the Audit Office (both among the petitions and in the register of decisions), and sometimes in the archives of the local council. The mill owner had to pay an annual lease for the *windrecht* to the steward of the domains, who recorded the income in his accounts. As a guarantee for the payment of the fee (the amount being determined by the size of the mill business) the mill had to be mortgaged and the mortgage registered by the local magistrate. In Westzaan the magistrate kept special registers of mortgages held on mills. Elsewhere, mortgages were registered among the other deeds. The mortgage deed had to be submitted to the Audit Office. The steward had to be notified of any change of ownership.

Having acquired the contract of partnership, the deeds to the land, the *windbrief*, and the deed of mortgage, contracting the building of the mill could start. In the Zaan region there were dozens of mill builders. Between 1650 and 1700 seven or eight mills were built annually in the area but mill builders from the Zaan were also active elsewhere in the Netherlands and abroad. Constructing a mill needed real craftsmanship. As in shipbuilding, the secrets of the craft were transferred orally. The specification (sometimes containing as many as 60 clauses), including the contract price, was signed by the mill builder in the presence of witnesses. A lot of paperwork was therefore involved before even one sheet of paper had been produced!

Then the equipment had to be ordered: tubs for grinding and screening the pulp, presses, moulds, and a glue kettle. The inventory (called *lading* = cargo) would cost approximately 60,000 guilders (in 1817), including the supply of rags—the primary raw material for making paper. Contracts were signed with traders in rags who were active all over Europe.

Each mill had dozens of highly skilled workmen working on a contract with the company. Sorting rags was done by women and children skilled in sorting the various kinds of rags. In 1801 papermaker Van Gelder employed 23 men, 13 women, nine children between 12 and 18 years old, and 15 children younger than 12. They were paid weekly. The men five guilders each, the women and the older children two and a half to three and a half guilders, and the younger children one half to two guilders each.

The mill had to be insured against fire. To this end, the papermakers united in the Papermakers' Contract (*Papiermakerscontract*), a mutual fire insurance company founded in 1733 to insure 72 mills (not only papermills) with a combined value of 224,200 guilders. The Contract functioned until 1903. The participants met regularly to decide on the insurance premium, the general meetings fostering cooperation, and sharing knowledge concerning innovations in business and technology. However, the concentration of business (several mills in one family and under one management) meant that only a few people were cooperating and sharing knowledge. Because these people met frequently, they had little need to put new ideas and concepts on paper.

The Zaan region counted 42 papermills in 1731, employing several hundreds of workers. The business was led by the manager (*directeur*), also known as *gaandehouder* (i.e. the one 'who keeps things going'), while the day-to-day management was entrusted to the foreman. The manager, who often was the most important participant and an experienced papermaker himself, was mainly responsible for the commercial activities of buying rags and selling paper to the paper traders in Amsterdam and the Zaan region.

Two or three times a week he went to the Amsterdam Exchange. The *directeur* kept the books and accounted annually to the general meeting of shareholders. Shares became smaller over time due to inheritance. There were shares of 7/72 or even 6/567. Owners of such small shares had to join forces to allow their representative a vote for a 1/16 or 1/32 part in the shareholders meeting. The managers of the papermills were in regular contact, not only because of their family ties and religious background (most of them were Mennonites), but also to promote the common interests of the Zaan paper industry.

They lobbied the government for, amongst other things, tax benefits, regulation of import, and export of rags. From time to time the papermakers formed a cartel, just as the paper traders who occasionally made price agreements.

All these activities, and the taxation and control by government, led to archiving by the companies, the families of the papermakers, and government. Relatively little of this has been preserved from the 17th and 18th centuries. This is to change in the 19th century.
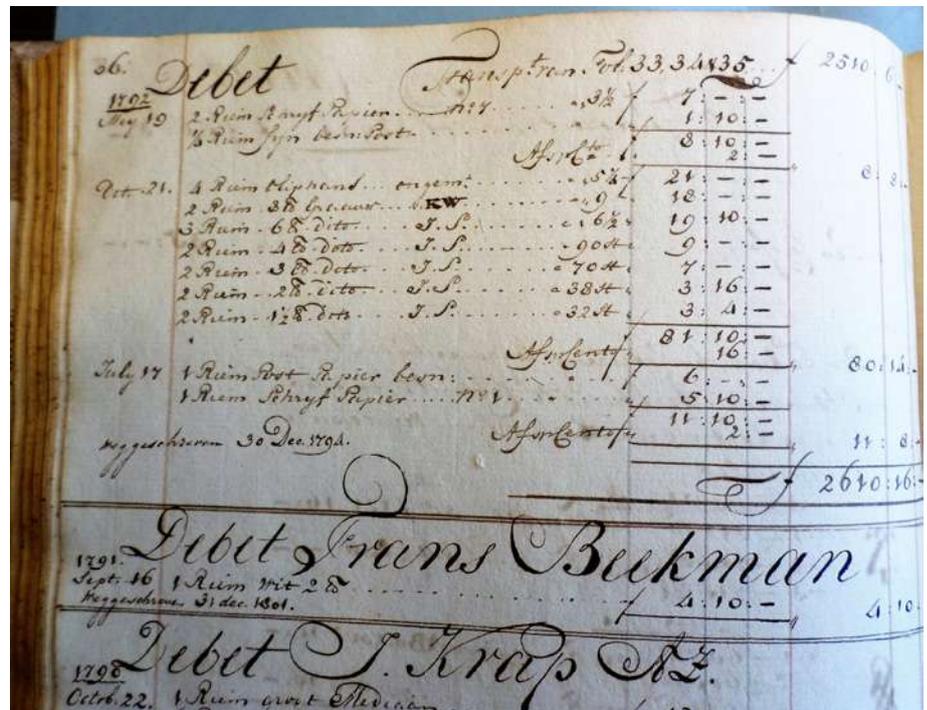
Fig. 7.7 'Lazaret': register kept by the paper factory of Van Gelder of doubtful debts, which are written off (*weggeschreven*), late 18th century. Noord-Hollands Archief, *Van Gelder* (457), inv. nr. 185.0

7.6.1.2 Getting up Steam

Major changes in the paper industry were the result of the introduction of the paper machine and the steam engine. The paper machine, driven by steam, replaced wind-driven machinery for the shredding of rags and the grinding of the paper pulp. No longer were the mills dependent on the wind and the paper production increased accordingly. This opened new markets and changed technical and operational management.

The introduction of the steam engine was retarded due to safety concerns and the fear of nuisance or damage to third parties. By two Royal Decrees from 1824 it was laid down that for the establishment of a factory or workshop a licence from the Provincial Executive was needed, and that for working with steam power a licence from the minister was needed. This is an example of societal concerns leading to licensing and archiving. Both licences were part of genre systems involving different participants and genres,

In 1838 the Van Gelder brothers asked permission from the Executive of the Province of Noord-Holland to convert their papermill, The Fortune (*Het Fortuin*), in Zaandijk into a paper machine factory with steam power. From the reports by the burgomasters of Zaandijk and Koog aan de Zaan it appeared that at the consultation of neighbours required by law, objections had been made by the owners of neighbouring papermills. The neighbours were afraid that soot from the chimney of *Het Fortuin* would soil the paper sheets that were drying on their mill sites. Therefore, the licence was granted under the condition of burning peat instead of coal. The Van Gelder firm complained that this would reduce the efficiency of the steam engine considerably. To make it even worse, the steam engine purchased in England was defective and had to be taken out of production in 1844. Only a small four-horsepower steam engine for the paper machine was in working order. The shredding of raw materials was done with wind power, as before.

The next Van Gelder generation tried to use steam power again in 1846. The Unity (*De Eendragt*) mill in Wormer was converted and fitted with two steam engines for powering

the paper machine and the grinding tubs.[27] The factory flourished and was renovated and extended between 1851 and 1852.

The demand for paper increased considerably due to cultural factors such as growing textualization (*verschriftelijking*) and administration, increasing mail traffic, and an expanding book and newspaper production. The number of letters and cards sent by mail increased from five million in 1850 to 120 million in 1900, and to 346 million in 1930. Paper consumption per capita was around three kilograms in 1850. It rose to ten kilograms in 1890 and 31.3 kilograms in 1937. Greater demand necessitated further mechanization, the use of different raw materials (wood and cellulose instead of rags), and expansion of the business.[28] Van Gelder also expanded by trading paper manufactured elsewhere. From 1857 this was done from a warehouse-cum-office in Amsterdam. In 1913 Van Gelder ranked six in the top 100 (according to the total balance) of Dutch companies.

The increase in business was reflected in the number of factory, technical, and support staff. Clerks and bookkeepers had taken over the administrative work of the factory owners. Thirty-two people worked at the office of Van Gelder in Amsterdam by 1919, including nine in bookkeeping.[29] Van Gelder employed 2,750 workers, plus 300 technical and administrative staff in 1934. The conversion of the family business into a public limited company (1913) and the foundation by Van Gelder of new branch offices and factories meant an increase in communication, reporting, and administration.

The increase in administration had other causes as well. Introduction of 'scientific management' and new methods for calculating cost and profit was another. These changes were underpinned by manuals for administrative organization. One of these, a manual of 1909, contained a model administration for an iron foundry which could only function efficiently if it had 24 registers and seven card indexes.[30] No wonder that within the service industries the share of administrative personnel rose from 0.5 percent in 1849 to 3.9 in 1899 and 5.4 in 1909.[31] Increasing regulation by government, in response to societal challenges (see Fig. 0.2), also meant more paperwork. I described earlier how much

27 De Iongh, *Van Gelder*, p. 115; Noord-Hollands Archief, *Van Gelder*, inv. nr. 1150.

28 De Iongh, *Van Gelder*, pp. 126-41.

29 Noord-Hollands Archief, *Van Gelder*, inv. nr. 1533.

30 K.G. Simon, *Kostprijsberekening en administratieve fabrieksorganisatie* (Rotterdam: Delwel, 1909).

31 J.P. Smits, 'The size and structure of the Dutch service sector in international perspective, 1850-1914', *Economic and social history in the Netherlands* 2 (1990): 81-89.

paperwork was involved in setting up a papermill and introducing steam power. Every change or expansion necessitated new licences according to the decrees of 1824, later replaced by the Nuisance Act (*Hinderwet*). This act, along with the Safety Act (*Veiligheids-wet*) of 1897, dealt with the risks a factory could cause; the former with hazards inside, the latter with risks outside the factory. The steam engines had to be controlled on a regular basis, and this was supervised by the Steam Equipment Service (*Dienst voor het stoomwezen*). The 1901 Housing Act (*Woningwet*) required a building permit from the municipality whenever a new building was to be put up or renovation was needed. All these acts had their own regime of licences, surveys, reports, and inspections, the effect of which can be found in various archives.

This was also true for the Labour Act (*Arbeidswet*) of 1890. This was a milestone in social legislation. Every business had to keep labour cards (*arbeidskaarten*) of all juvenile workers, a labour list showing the times for work and for repose, and a labour register with the names of all workers. In 1911 a government licence for overtime was made compulsory. The Industrial Accidents Act (*Ongevallenwe*t) of 1901 regulated compulsory insurance for the financial consequences of disability through an industrial accident. Workers who lost income because of other illnesses or disabilities could rely on compulsory disability insurance, enacted in 1919. For both insurances, the employer had to pay the premium. Here, too, did societal concerns lead to new mandates (as instruments of the welfare state) and to new requirements for administration and archiving.

Factory owners could benefit from the counselling and support of their branch association, the Association of Dutch Paper Factories (*Vereeniging van Nederlandsche papierfabrie-ken*), for the execution of the social legislation. Founded in 1904, its importance grew especially after the First World War through advocacy, consultation, and counselling about tax reform, international trade agreements, and social legislation. The paper industry had known many forms of consultation, cooperation, and cartels. Much of it was informal and 'within the family' and, as I already mentioned, did not lead to the creation of substantial archives. After the Second World War, the Alliance of Paper Industries (*Verbond van*

papierindustrieën) was established in 1949; it had a major role in the implementation of social legislation across the sector.

7.6.1.3 **Rationing**[32]

At the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, government was forced to ration the supply and production of raw materials. For various business sectors State bureaus (*rijksbureaus*) were set up. Without a licence from the State Bureau for Paper it was forbidden to buy, stock, process, sell, or transport the raw materials for paper. After the Germans had occupied the country in 1940, the ban was extended to the finished product as well. The State Bureau further prescribed the composition of each kind of paper. It controlled production, trade, consumption, and prices. The office had 115 staff in 1943 when it merged with the State Bureau for the Printing Industry; after the merger, the staff increased to 242. A year later the number had grown to 291, including 31 typists, seven people who worked in the archives, and seven in the mail room. While the staff of the State Bureau grew, that of the paper industry declined from 6,910 workers in 1940 to 4,166 in 1944, and 3,990 in 1945.

Rationing caused an avalanche of official paper, or, to use the terms of the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2), new societal challenges led to new and more archiving and to the establishment of new genre systems. In 1943 the pile of circular letters annually sent by the State Bureau, had grown to more than five centimetres. The paper factories had to fill in a monthly survey with detailed statistics of the number of staff, the amount of paper produced and processed, and the amount of raw materials. For each transport (except between different branches of one business), purchase of raw materials, and price increase a licence was needed. A great number of inspectors came to verify the factory administration. All this resulted in an enormous archive at the State Bureau. Paradoxically, the extensive control measures did not prevent the Resistance from obtaining paper for the underground press via contacts at the State Bureau and Van Gelder.

32 H. Voorn, *Papier in den oorlog* (Amsterdam, 1946) (typoscript). Koninklijke Bibliotheek PC ALG07Voo06; Bouwens, *Op papier*; National Archives, *Rijksbureau voor papier* (2.06.076.11), introduction and inv. nrs. 1, 32, 35, 193.

Fig. 7.8 Organization chart of the State Bureau for Paper, 1943. National Archives, *Rijksbureau voor Papier* (2.06.076.11), inv. nr. 35.

Also paradoxical were the large-scale campaigns to collect waste paper to serve as raw material for making new paper. In September 1942, a national campaign was started to stimulate children to collect paper and cardboard and deliver these at school (Fig. 7.9).[33]

Fig. 7.9 'We participate. Do you?'. Poster of the national campaign to stimulate schoolchildren to collect waste paper, 1942. National Archives, *Ministerie van Economische Zaken: Persdienst* (2.06.085) inv. nr. 281.

33 National Archives, *Rijksbureau oude materialen en afvalstoffen* (2.06.076.10) inv. nr. 34; *Ministerie van Economische Zaken: Persdienst* (2.06.085) inv. nr. 281; *Tubantia* 2 september 1942.

By November 1942 people were already obliged to hand in used paper, but that did not yield enough raw material. In 1943 newspapers carried the warning that keepers of private and public archives should check carefully which papers they could make available for the compulsory collection of waste paper—if not, then 'drastic measures' (coercion on keepers of archives) would be taken.[34] The danger that waste paper campaigns would lead to the indiscriminate destruction of important business archives was countered by the Dutch Economic History Archives (see 7.7), an association that distributed guidelines for a judicious selection of business archives among 1,500 businesses (1943).

In the first seven months of 1944 various organizations, including State bureaus, the Military Archives (*Weermachtarchief*), and the Dutch Labour Front (a Nazi trade union) handed in many thousands of kilograms of waste paper; the association of employers in the coal mining industry contributed single-handedly 78,356 kilograms! Exempt from the requirements of waste paper collection were documents that should be preserved due to legal requirements or documents to 'which a certain historical value can be assigned with a view to the history of the business itself, its location, or the economic history of our country'. Nevertheless, many archives were lost as a result of the waste paper campaigns.[35]

Apart from the State Bureau for Paper, there was also a Business Group for Paper and the Paper Manufacturing Industry (*Bedrijfsgroep Papier en papier verwerkende industrie*) since 1942. It was part of the new corporative structure for business, initiated by the Germans but reaching back to former corporative structures that existed since the chambers of labour of the 1890s. As Michael Wintle writes, by the time of the Second World War 'there was a general consensus (which included even most of the entre-preneurial interest) that the country should be run in that consultative consensual way.'[36] After the war, this would develop into what is now called the polder model (see 13.3).

The Association of Dutch Paper Factories was abolished but resurrected after the Liberation in 1945. The Business Group existed until the 1950s, just as the State Bureau for Paper that was to settle the war damage (predominantly because of the seizure of machinery). Rationing of paper for newspapers lasted until 1950.

34 *Arnhemsche Courant* 5 maart 1943; *De Nieuwe Koerier* 8 maart 1943; National Archives, *Ministerie van Economische Zaken: Persdienst* (2.06.085), inv. nrs. 279-80.

35 But also in the past: since 1874 the Roman Catholic association 'Charity "Waste Paper"' (*Liefdewerk 'Oud Papier'*) supported Catholic organizations with the proceeds of collecting and selling waste paper. The association was dissolved in 1969, but its name lives on in the expression *'liefdewerk oud papier'*, referring to providing unpaid services. See also National Archives, *Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, afdeling Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (2.04.13), inv. nr. 2513.

36 Michael Wintle, *An economic and social history of the Netherlands, 1800-1920. Demographic, economic and social transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 278.

7.6.1.4 Automation

Just like other businesses, Van Gelder mechanized and (from the late 1960s) automated its bookkeeping, reporting, and archiving (see also chapter 11). Detailed manuals standardized the exchange of information between the factories and the headquarters. The joint venture with the American paper business Crown Zellerbach (1961) led to an exchange of knowledge of industrial accounting, management information systems, and office automation.[37] The cooperation was primarily aimed at the foundation of a new factory to produce tabulating card paper. IBM was the most important customer for that kind of paper. However, after a few years punchcard equipment was replaced everywhere by electronic computers, and thus the demand for punchcards dwindled. Crown Van Gelder (the name after the merger of 1968) replaced its punchcard-driven IBM 1401 for a (rented) IBM 360. In 1971 Crown Zellerbach took an interest of 50 percent in Van Gelder. American managers came to reinforce management. After years of disappointing results, the business went bankrupt in 1981. In 1983, however, a new start was made. Some of the ties with the past were continued or revived, for example CVG still purchases the pulp from a subsidiary in Zaandam which uses the name of the old papermill De *Eendragt*.

7.6.2 Dutch Courage[38]

7.6.2.1 Malting, Roasting, and Distilling

Another old industry where mills play a role was—and is—the production of Dutch gin (*jenever*). In the past, the city of Schiedam had over 30 mills, six of which are left. One of these is The New Palm Tree (*De Nieuwe Palmboom*), which grinds rye and barley as it used to do in former days. The mill is a copy of the *Palmboom*, which was established by a company of distillers in 1781 and burned down in 1901. Malt (germinated barley) is roasted and made into a mash together with rye flour, water, and yeast. The mash is distilled in pot stills in three cycles producing a malt of 48 percent alcohol. After storage in oak vats for at least a year, the percentage of alcohol is reduced to 40 percent. Malt wine

37 Noord-Hollands Archief, *Van Gelder*, inv. nrs. 309, 641, 840, 868, 891; Bram Bouwens, 'Familie Smidt van Gelder', in *Nederlandse ondernemers 1850-1950. Noord-Holland en Zuid-Holland*, ed. Joop Visser, Matthijs Dicke and Annelies van der Zouwen (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2013), pp. 122-31.

38 J. van Riemsdijk. *Het brandersbedrijf te Schiedam in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Schiedam: Roelants, 1916); P.J. Dobbelaar, *De branderijen in Holland tot het begin der negentiende eeuw* (Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1930); Coen Kramers, *De moutwijnindustrie te Schiedam* (Amsterdam: Lieverlee, 1946); De Vries and Van der Woude, *The first modern economy*, pp. 323-24; Keetie E. Sluyterman and Huib H. Vleesenbeek, *Three centuries of De Kuyper. A history of geneva and liqueurs 1695-1995* (Schiedam: De Kuyper, 1995); Hans van der Sloot, *Herman Jansen, a spirited maltwine-distiller 1859-1935* (Schiedam: Stichting Musis, 2015); http://www.jenevermuseum.nl, accessed 2 Dec. 2018.

or malt liquor, produced by the roaster (*brander*), is processed by the distiller (*stoker*), who continues distilling and adds an elixir of juniper berry and other ingredients, according to a secret recipe.[39] This results in the real Schiedam malt spirit jenever.

Around 1900 manufacturers of jenever began to replace malt wine with pure grain alcohol. This new kind of jenever was called young (*jonge*) jenever, the traditional malt liquor jenever thereby becoming old (*oude*) jenever. The names *jong* and *oud* therefore have nothing to do with the ageing process, but with a difference in recipe and method of distilling.

Jenever production began in Schiedam around 1600. There were 12 distilleries at the time. This was less than in Weesp, the centre of the industry at that point. Schiedam quickly took over as the main producer. In 1700 there were 30 distilleries in Schiedam, in 1736 124, in 1795 188. Of all these businesses only three survived: Nolet (1691), Wenneker (1693), and De Kuyper (1695/1752).

Schiedam owed its growth as a jenever distilling town to its favourable location on the river Maas, facilitating both the import of malt from East Anglia and the export of the final product. In the 18th century, 85 percent of the jenever was exported, especially to colonies in the Americas for consumption at the slave plantations. Seventy-five percent of England's heavily subsidized malt and barley exports went to Holland.[40] De Vries and Van der Woude write, 'Jenever, a type of gin, stood out as one of the very few success stories of the 18th-century Dutch economy.'[41] The second period of growth lasted from 1850 to the end of the 19th century. At that time Schiedam had 364 distilleries. These included three steam-driven distilleries (the first of which was founded in 1875), with a total production equal to that of 23 businesses using traditional methods.

A licence from the city government was needed to establish a mill on the city rampart. The licence included both the grant of a parcel and the right of the wind Schiedam had received from the sovereign (see 7.6.1). Just as with the papermills, the Schiedam barley malt mills

39 Malt distillers (*branders*) were distinguished from jenever distillers (*distillateur*s). Here, I use the term distiller for both.

40 David Ormrod, *The rise of commercial empires (...)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 220.

41 De Vries and Van der Woude, *The first modern economy*, p. 324.

were exploited by companies, in this case of distillers. The shares in the mill were marketable. Each of the partners could have his barley ground in the mill according to a fixed schedule. They also contributed to a fund out of which repairs were paid. Every three months the bookkeeper gave an account to the general assembly of partners.

The distillers in Schiedam were united in a guild since 1690. Distillers' widows could join the guild as well. The guild's ordinance (*gildebrief*) regulated the relations between the members and the workmen. The annual contribution (twelve *stuivers*, plus one—later 12—*stuiver* for each pot still) was recorded in the collecting book (*gaarboek*). The guild members were obliged to participate in the daily exchange of cereals, malt liquor, and jenever since 1718. When someone sold outside the Exchange he had to pay a substantial fine. Sales at the Exchange were recorded in the exchange book (*beursboek*), kept by the owner of the tavern nearest to the Exchange. After 1774 this was done by the bookkeeper of the guild. In 1783 a few distillers addressed the city government because their request to inspect the exchange book had been refused by the guild. They wrote that the book was their 'compass' needed for calculating prices. They used the opportunity to ask for an inspection or copy of the municipal by-laws (at the time there were widespread civic movements claiming access to and publication of privileges and by-laws, see 4.7). The Schiedam city governors referred them to the dean and captains of the guild. A copy of the guild's ordinance could be obtained by paying the secretary of the guild, whereas copies of the by-laws could be provided by the city clerk at the usual fee.

The distilleries were subjected to a great deal of regulation by government. Societal challenges were translated in new mandates, leading to new and more archiving and new genre systems. The States of Holland prohibited distilleries in rural areas because it was easier to control whether taxes on wines and milling had been paid in the towns. Publicans and innkeepers had to pay taxes to the tax collector. Undoubtedly, they included the tax in their charge to the customer. Controlling production was necessary as well. Each distiller had to report weekly to the tax collector how much he had produced. Furthermore, a certificate had to be submitted to the tax collector for each bag of flour delivered at the mill. Distillers, millers, and tax collectors therefore had much administrative work to do.

They also archived all the documents resulting from regulations issued by the city government and the guild concerning fire prevention, environmental protection (vapour, smoke, and stench), registration and insurance of staff, and competition restriction. The distillers joined a fire insurance contract in 1777 and invited other Schiedam industries to participate as well in 1782.[42]

Distilling was prohibited in times of grain scarcity. The States General, at the initiative of the States of Holland, prohibited distilling and grain milling in 1698. To ensure compliance, the distillers not only had to take an oath, but they also had to deliver the helmets (covering domes) of their pot stills to the burgomasters, thereby making distilling impossible.

The distillers of Schiedam regularly consulted with their colleagues in other towns in Holland. Together they presented a petition to lift the ban on distilling to the States of Holland and the States General in 1699. They succeeded in September 1700 following much lobbying and many meetings in the cities, the States of Holland, and the States General.

Among the personnel of a distillery, the foreman occupied the first place. His salary was high: eight to ten guilders a week (in 1794-1798). Membership of the 'workmen's box' (founded in 1718), a cooperative insurance for a distillery's workmen, was compulsory. For two *stuivers* a week an employee was entitled to medical treatment and a weekly old-age pension of one and a half guilders. Three of the four captains of the guild kept the books of the insurance; they were accountable to the city magistrate. The workmen's box was ended in 1838.

7.6.2.2 Taxation

As I mentioned before, distilleries were subjected to much regulation, especially regarding taxes. From the beginning of the 19th century, the excise on spirits was 'the cork on which the State finances floated'.[43] Between 1880 and 1900 the excise on spirits constituted a

42 Schiedam City Archives, *Verzameling handschriften* (326), inv. nr. 244.

43 *Handelingen Tweede Kamer* (1914-1915), p. 333, 15 Dec. 1914.

quarter of the total income of the State.[44] Distillates were most heavily taxed and particularly susceptible to fraud.[45] Sharp control of raw materials, production process, and sale were necessary. Under King Louis Napoleon already existing regulations were extended and tightened (1808). King William I adopted these regulations in 1813 and extended them further in 1822. Later, in 1862, regulations became even more detailed when virtually every detail of the production process, the equipment, and the raw materials was regulated. A manual from 1873 lists more than 200 offences distillers could commit. This is an example of external societal concerns (namely fiscality) having consequences for the work processes and on archiving (see Fig. 0.2).

Although compliance with the regulations was mainly controlled by tax inspectors visiting the distillery, a huge amount of paperwork was involved in the control. The genre system included people and paper. Upon starting a distillery all equipment had to be specified on paper. Any addition to or change of pot stills, pipes, or cauldrons had to be reported as well. All equipment in the distillery had to be measured and calibrated by the tax officers. The distiller had to announce, well in advance and in writing, when he would take in barley and malt, how much, when distilling would begin, and when the final product would be delivered in the presence of a tax officer. Meticulous bookkeeping served to prove how much spirits had been produced and how much had been delivered at any time. The tax officers could enter the distillery to measure the contents of every pot still and to check the bookkeeping and the licences. The tax office kept an account for every distillery, recording every increase and decrease of raw materials and distilled product. The paperwork underpinned taxation: the excise was debited at the distiller's and credited when the customer had paid the excise.

Most of the specialized forms and registrations kept by distillers and tax authorities over two centuries were destroyed. Sometimes excise books, measurement (*peil*) books, measurement certificates, transport licences, casks books, or bottles books are still found in distillers' archives, which also include the documents used in managing the business and its financial bookkeeping. The excise paperwork can only be reconstructed via other

44 https://www.cbs.nl/-/media/imported/documents/2002/18/index1253.pdf, accessed 2 Dec. 2018.

45 Tom Pfeil, *Van tollenaar tot poortwachter. Geschiedenis van de douane, de oudste rijksdienst van Nederland* (Rotterdam: Trichis, 2012), pp. 195, 202-05.

papers. A summary of all forms used by the tax authorities printed in 1901 and covering 314 pages, lists more than 30 forms concerning the distilling process and more than 70 for the assessment and collection of excises.[46]

7.6.2.3 Associating

Distillers seem to have been tireless participants of meetings (see also chapter 13). During the ancien regime, there were, of course, the meetings of the guild and of the companies exploiting the mills. In the 19th and 20th centuries, distillers met in numerous associations and committees, over and above meeting in the municipal council, church councils, or in charities. In 1879 the Malt Distillers Association (*Branders-Moutwijn Vereeniging*) was established. At the time various 'yeast contracts' were made. These were cartels of yeast producers and traders, joined by groups of distillers. Traders in spent grains (*spoeling*) entered into this sort of cartel contracts and formed associations as well.

In 1891 a new malt distillers' association (*Brandersbond*) was founded in Schiedam. It fought the high excises by presenting petitions to Parliament and government, but also via publications in the press. The *Brandersbond* succeeded in obtaining a municipal ordinance (1901) that protected the 'authentic' Schiedam jenever made from malt wine, against the 'new' jenever made from pure grain alcohol, which many distillers considered to be inferior. If they accepted quality control by the city, they obtained the right for their product to bear the seal 'real Schiedam jenever'.[47] Quality control also implied registration and the obligation to open books and papers for municipal inspectors. The city label was an addition to the labelling of jenever with a brand name and trademarks, both of which came into use from the middle of the 19th century.

At the end of the 19th century, a Chamber of Labour (*Kamer van Arbeid*) was introduced for various industry sectors. The distilling industry was one of them. These chambers consisted of employers and representatives of workers and they had to investigate local labour conditions and to advise local and national government about labour matters.

46 National Archives, *Ministerie van Financiën: agenda's en toegangen op de verbalen* (2.08.05.01), inv. nr. 1557.

47 Schiedam City Archives, *Gemeentebestuur* (346), inv. nrs. 7742, 7758; Van der Sloot, *Herman Jansen*, pp. 105-17.

The chambers were the first to institutionalize the 'polder model' (see chapter 13). They were abolished in 1923. As Michael Wintle writes: 'In spite of their limited success they were essential as a prototype of the state-sponsored negotiating apparatus which was to grow into a great corporatist machine between the wars and in the post-war period.'[48] By 1933 every business of a certain size had a business council consisting of representatives of associations of employers and workers who discussed, advised management, and settled disputes.

During the First World War the Association of Distillers in the Netherlands (*Bond van Distillateurs in Nederland*, founded in 1900) decided to ration spirits and malt wine and to set maximum prices for distilled beverages.[49] The United Distillers (*De Vereenigde Distillateurs*), a price cartel, was formed in 1926. In the same year the *Bond* went bankrupt. The *Vereenigde Distillateurs* maintained regulations on minimum prices and quota settlement until rationing was introduced in April 1941.

As mentioned in 7.6.1.2, at the outbreak of the Second World War, different State bureaus for rationing of raw materials were set up. For the distilling business, this was the Spirits Section, which from 1940 formed part of the State Bureau for Food Supply in War Time. Implementation of the detailed regulations for allocating distilled beverages to wholesale traders, catering businesses, and liquor stores was carried out by the Rationing Bureau for Distilled Beverages and its successor (1944), the Business Organization Distilled Beverages (*Vakorganisatie Gedistilleerde Dranken*, or VGD). This was a component of the new corporatist organization of business inspired by the Germans; it replaced private organizations in business sectors by organizations under public law.

This business organization under public law was continued after the war. The VGD was succeeded by the Product Board for Spirits (*Productschap voor Gedistilleerde Dranken*, or PGD), located in Schiedam. Control by the PGD extended to the entire downstream business column, just as had been the case under the VGD, from producers to liquor stores and catering businesses selling spirits to the public. The PGD was authorized to regulate any aspect of business,and to inspect equipment, stocks and archives.

48 Wintle, *An economic and social history*, p. 278.

49 The following is for the greater part a summary of P. Zwaal, *Inventaris van het archief van het Rantsoeneringsbureau voor Gedistilleerde Dranken (RGD), de Vakorganisatie Gedistilleerde Dranken (VGD), het Productschap voor Gedistilleerde Dranken (PGD) en de Commissie Gedistilleerd van het Productschap Dranken (CG/PD) alsmede van verwante publiek- en privaatrechtelijke organisaties, 1917 (1941–2014)* ('s-Gravenhage, 2014), https://web.archive.org/web/20190116194611/http://peterzwaal.nl/inventaris-van-het-productschap-dranken/, archived 16 Jan. 2019 An updated version (with a much shorter introduction) is available at the website of the National Archives https://web.archive.org/web/20190531123929/https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.25.101, archived 31 May 2019.

Fig. 7.10 Report of violation of the regulations of the Business Organization Distilled Beverages (*Vakorganisatie Gedistilleerde Dranken*), drawn up by one of its investigating officers, 1951. National Archives, *Rantsoeneringsbureau/Vakorganisatie/Productschap Gedistilleerde Dranken* (2.25.101), inv. nr. 138.

Differently from the VGD, the board of the PGD was composed of representatives of both employers and workers. All product boards under public law were abolished in 2014.

After the war, the Spirits Section became part of the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food supply. It was not until 1951 that production and trade of spirits and malt wine were left free and the Section was abolished. Its archives were destroyed because of the shortage of waste paper as raw material for the paper industry (see 7.6.1.2)! The archives of many of the distillers' associations did not survive either. Nevertheless, in 2009, 230 metres archives of various private and public organizations in the distilling business were still kept in Schiedam. After appraisal, 46 metres remained, which were then transferred to the National Archives.

7.7 Collecting Trade and Industry Archives[50]

In the previous sections I scrutinized archive creators in trade and industry who kept their archives in more or less the original shape. But they are exceptions. Many businesses did not preserve their archives, but rather relinquished them on purpose, neglected, or destroyed them. It was rather late that historians became aware of the value of business archives as sources for economic history. Following German examples, the Dutch Economic History Archives Association (*Vereeniging Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief*, or NEHA) was founded in 1914—the first 'collecting archives' ('a repository that collects materials from individuals, families, and organizations other than the parent organization'[51]) in the Netherlands. In the first year 196 members joined the association, and by 1930 there were 850 members. This association provided a home for endangered archives of businesses and trade unions, and it collected (and published) important sources for economic history, mainly in the Netherlands and its colonies. Professor G.W. Kernkamp, professor N.W. Posthumus, the accountant H.G.A. Elink

50 E.J. Fischer, J.L.J.M. van Gerwen, and J.J. Seegers, *De Vereeniging het Nederlandsch Economisch Historisch Archief, 1914-1989* (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1989); R.A.D. Renting, 'De Vereniging van archivarissen in Nederland en de ontwikkeling van het gemeentelijk archiefwezen', in *Respect voor de oude orde*, ed. Paul Brood (Hilversum: Stichting Archiefpublicaties/Verloren, 1991), pp. 55-7; C.O.A. Schimmelpenninck van der Oije, 'Particuliere archieven. Kapen, kopen, koesteren?' in *Voor burger en bestuur*, ed. Paul Brood (Hilversum: Stichting Archiefpublicaties/Verloren, 1988), pp. 151-9; Jacques van Gerwen and Co Seegers, 'To promote and facilitate. The NEHA 1914-2014', *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 11/2 (2014): 21-44.

51 Richard Pearce-Moses, *A glossary of archival and records terminology* (Chicago: Society of Americvan archivists, 2005), p. 76; online at https://www2.archivists.org/glossary, accessed 14 Jan. 2020.

Schuurman, The Hague municipal archivist H.E. van Gelder, the Utrecht State and City Archivist S. Muller Fz. (who was chairman of the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands), and the Amsterdam merchant banker C.P. van Eeghen formed the first executive committee. Academia and archives were represented on the advisory board as well by history professors H. Brugmans and J. Huizinga and the General State Archivist R. Fruin. The Ministry of Industry and Trade was also represented. Governance in the NEHA annual members' meeting and its executive and advisory boards had many characteristics of the polder model (see chapter 13), especially in the use of a network of members forming links with science, business (industry, trade, transport, and banking), and the archival world.

A few months after the foundation, Muller explained in the members' meeting of the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands (VAN) that he expected many benefits from NEHA. Rotterdam city archivist E. Wiersum, on the other hand, opposed centralization of business archives and believed these should be transferred to the local municipal archives. Muller, however, considered transfer of business archives to public repositories fundamentally wrong. In his opinion a public archives repository is not a collecting institution or a library, but 'a component of the State's machinery' intended for government archives. Both points of view and, more generally, the acquisition of private archives, were extensively debated in the annual members' meetings (see also 1.7.3). The VAN finally accepted in 1917 that one of the duties of an archivist was to try to acquire 'private archives relating to the area which he is serving which are historically important but insufficiently cared for by their owners or being insufficiently accessible for scholarly research'. The VAN requested NEHA to consult with the local Archives before accepting a business archive.

Between 1914 and 1935 NEHA acquired 140 archives, most of them through donations. These were not only business archives but also those of trade unions and of institutions in the field of economics, as well as numerous smaller collections and loose documents. At first NEHA was housed in the The Hague municipal archives, but the association moved to

its own premises in The Hague in 1936. In 1970 it housed over 300 archives, totalling 14 kilometres of shelving. The maintenance costs were heavy and therefore nearly all archives were transferred to State and municipal archives between 1971 and 1974. NEHA, with its imposing library, moved to the building of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam in 1989 and the institute took over NEHA's executive functions. Between 1989 and 1993 the association published a series of catalogues of business archives—both those still being kept by their creator and those preserved in State and municipal Archives. The catalogues were the result of a survey to which nearly 1,500 businesses replied. The response rate in the different sectors was 12 to 13 percent. However, 59 percent of public utilities and communication businesses and 47 percent of insurance companies responded, probably a reflection of an early awareness of the value of archives. Only a few businesses reported that they did not have business archives or that their old archives were lost by fire.

An inventorization in 1979 revealed that nearly 1,200 business archives were kept in State and municipal archives repositories. Among these are the 16th-century merchants' archives of Claes Adriaensz van Adrichem in the National Archives (see 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3.2) and Daniel van der Meulen in the Leiden City Archives (see 7.1). The archives of the United East India Company (see chapter 10), the West India Company, and the *Middelburg Commercie Compagnie* begin in the 17th century, but most trade archives date from the 19th and 20th centuries. There are only a few from the 18th century, such as the papers of a plaster and timber business in IJlst (43 metres between 1757-1969) and the previously mentioned Kingma archives (see 7.3.3). The archives of the Amsterdam-based Brants family (Amsterdam City Archives) include the 18th-century business archives of the iron trade company Quirijn Brants and Son and the linen commerce of Jan Isaak de Neufville and Company. The archive of the Netherlands Trading Company (*Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij*, NHM), founded in 1824 to restore trade with the East Indies, begins in the 19th century. NHM developed into a merchant bank, which ultimately became ABN-AMRO bank. The latter deposited the NHM archives with the National Archives. Since 2007 the former NHM office in Amsterdam (1926) houses the Amsterdam City Archives.

7.8   What to Keep?

NEHA's main aim was to safeguard endangered business archives. A policy of systematic acquisition did not exist. The mission of State and municipal archives included acquiring 'historically important' private archives, but it did not make explicit what was considered as such and what not (see also 1.7.3). This began to change in the 1980s. In 1985 the Minister of Culture laid down some criteria for the acquisition of private archives by public Archives if they are expected to constitute an addition to government archives because they:

> throw light on parts of society that are not or hardly addressed in government archives, or because they raise aspects which are vanishing from society.[52]

Acquisition plans were drafted in the 1990s to facilitate an active acquisition of archives meeting these criteria. These plans were partly in connection with macroappraisal developed for government archives: 'appraisal that assesses the value of records based on the role of the record creators (…) rather than content'.[53] NEHA designed a method for appraisal especially for business archives (1994) by using the data from its survey of business archives.[54] The authors (Fischer, Van Gerwen, and Reudink) tested the method on the Dutch textile industry. Based on statistical data of the population working in various sectors of the textile industry and in different provinces in 1889, 1930, and 1963, the test focused on the cotton industry in Overijssel. Based on qualitative criteria derived from the functions of companies and the specific history of the cotton industry, it was determined that for that province the ideal would be to preserve the archives of 12 different types of businesses in the four broad categories of single spinners, medium weaving mills, large weaving mills, and bleaching works/finishing companies. The next step brought the appraisal from the macro level to the micro level, checking the completeness of archives to see whether the different aspects of corporate operation were reflected accurately in the available archives. Fischer, Van Gerwen, and Reudink listed 15 categories of documents including minutes, annual reports, documents concerning properties, staff, financial

52 *Bijlagen Tweede Kamer* 1984-1985, 19 068, nr. 2, p. 13.

53 Pearce-Moses, *A glossary*, p. 237.

54 Eric Fischer, Jacques van Gerwen and Georg Reudink, *The battle of the bulk. A method for macro-selection of business archives* (Amsterdam: Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief, 1998).

matters, purchasing, production, and sales. It is only rarely that such an ideal archive has been preserved. The NEHA test included an assessment of the categories of material available and dating from the 19th and 20th centuries. These data were plotted on a graph giving an impression of the completeness of each of the 55 preserved archives. Based on these graphs the result of the test could be determined; it identified 13 Overijssel textile industry archives of national importance.

7.9 Conclusion

As Peter Burke writes in *A Social history of knowledge*, 'Trade routes were paper routes and trade flows depended on information flows.'[55] The trade routes bridge distance, information flows bridge time. Archiving trade therefore has to do with bridging space and time within genre systems in which various participants, each within his or her own set of genres, are acting together. The business letters exchanged between Claes Adriaensz van Adrichem and his *factor* Aper Jansz bridged the distance between Delft and Danzig, while Claes' regular bookkeeping bridged time, in his own days, but also stretching to our times.

The merchant's office (*comptoir*) is a space where time is arrested in the cupboards, files, and pigeonholes of people like Johannes Hudde and the Kingma family. The VOC set an example for Dutch merchants about the use of records to condition and control events, places, and people from a distance (see 10.5). Although originating in an office, records could span space and time and perform outside the office and in the future. Specific documents used in trade (such as the bill of exchange and double entry bookkeeping) are often conservative; they have not changed very much over the centuries. Some genres cross the boundaries to other domains, such as the shares in partnerships (*partenrederij* or *compagnie*) in trade and shipping (7.2), milling (7.6.1.1), and draining (5.3). Another crossover practice is the consultation of neighbours and other interested parties which was obligatory before a steam engine could be established (7.6.1.2), and which was modelled on the condition of diking patents (see 5.3) to achieve contentment to landowners and cities.

55   Burke, *A social history of knowledge*, p. 155.

Other factors of archivalization influencing archiving trade and industry were the increasing regulation by government (which itself was a consequence of various societal concerns, including the desire to protect the environment and the safety and health of workers), the intense growth of trade since the middle of the 19th century, and the introduction of 'scientific management' and new methods for calculating cost and profit.

Trade and shipping thrive from what the Dutch jurist Grotius termed *Mare Liberum* (the Freedom of the Seas). When that freedom is blocked, both paper routes and information flows are blocked as well. In the First World War this blockade was countered by an extensive archiving system maintained by the Netherland Oversea Trust Company (7.5). As in other times of crisis and change, war disrupts normal patterns. This results in an increase in archive production in the military as well as for civilians, as we have seen in the example of rationing (7.6.1.2 and 7.6.2.3). Once peace has been resumed, 'normal patterns' of creation and management of trade and industry archiving return. Beyond the primary reasons for keeping archives, business archives have a societal research value (7.7). However, not all archives can be kept forever, so one has to decide what to keep and what to preserve (7.8).

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CHAPTER
8

ARCHIVING PEOPLE
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF
DUTCH ARCHIVES

Chapter 8

Archiving Monies

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Fig. 8.0 Cornelis Brisé, Files of the Treasury of the city of Amsterdam, 1656. Amsterdam Museum, SA 3024.

⌄

8.0 Introduction

Financial and other accounting records are one of the basic types of records 'that may be called constants in record creation', according to Ernst Posner.[1] However, the constancy of the genre as such should not be regarded as an axiom because the definition of genre (a pattern of communication that conforms to community norms) implies that the patterns may change with changing community norms. Therefore, a question in this chapter is: to what extent did community norms (in the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2) subsumed under societal challenges) affect the continuity of financial recordkeeping? One must consider that archiving monies operates as an intertextual genre system (see the General Introduction) involving the tax administration and other public authorities, businesses, banks, and individuals.

The oldest archival document in the Netherlands (dating from 29 CE) is about money (8.1). It is a wax tablet recording a loan of money. No earlier handwritten Latin text than this one has been found in northern Europe—it is even older than the tablets found in British Vindolanda. This tablet not only records the loan but could also be used for payment to anyone. It is comparable to credit instruments which were developed much later, like bills of exchange.

Tablets have been used for archiving monies for millennia. The oldest script, from between 3300 and 3100 BCE, was the script by bookkeepers: signs engraved in a clay tablet, ordered in tables. They created cuneiform records not as a source of history, but to record as a memory aid and for accounting. These aims continued to guide the keeping of books by governments, merchants, accountants, and bankers in later times (8.2). A special category of financial administration concerned ownership and tenure of land, which for a long time was the most important asset. That administration is dealt with in another chapter (see 6.2).

Accounts were drawn up for various audiences—literary, because in the past accounts were audited, that is: heard by the lord of the land (see also 3.1), the States, the city (8.2.1 and

1   Ernst Posner, *Archives in the ancient world* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 3.

8.2.5), the village (8.3.1), the trading company (8.2.2 and 8.2.4), etc. Accounting, however, is more than recording income and expenses, assets and liabilities. Accounting is a cultural practice reflecting and reinforcing social, political, and economic relationships (8.2.3).[2] No wonder that society, as much as the individual merchant or banker, has an interest in accounting practices and technologies (see 8.2.8). The gradual recognition of the public character of accounting is accompanied by public access to accounts.

In a social history of archives, taxation must feature prominently (8.3). Taxation involves a massive production and management of records. Every citizen and every business are affected by taxation and the ensuing recordkeeping by both the tax authorities and the taxpayer. The tax system 'breathes in tandem with external impulses', as the editor of a volume with papers about the history of Dutch taxation beautifully expressed.[3] Among these external impulses are economic and technological factors, but especially social and political developments which gradually turn a predominantly static society into a more changeable one.

The Republic of the United Netherlands was fiscally a strongly decentralized state, with a multitude of systems resulting in a confusing fiscal administration, as De Vries and Van der Woude write.[4] They add that these fiscal regimes have left relatively few records. However, Dutch archives, especially the provincial and municipal archives, abound with tax records, and there is virtually no family archive from the early modern period without many traces of taxes paid or contested. Section 8.3.1 describes the decentralized collection of taxes, excise, and duties, and their archiving in the Republic. After the foundation of the unitary state, the tax system was centralized as well (8.3.2). This happened between 1805 and 1806. Implementing the national tax system became the task of a national tax administration. Afterwards, national standards directed the assessment, collection and archiving. Increasingly, the tax system confronted the citizen with the calculating state which engages mechanization and computerization to connect the 'archiving spheres' of the tax administration and the taxpayer.[5]

2   Robert A. Bryer, 'The late 19th-century revolution in financial reporting. Accounting for the rise of investor or managerial capitalism?', *Accounting, organizations and society* 16 (1993): 649; *Accounting as social and institutional practice*, ed. Anthony G. Hopwood and Peter Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

3   *Tweehonderd jaar Rijksbelastingen*, ed. Henk Vording (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 2015), pp. 10, 41.

4   Jan de Vries and Ad Van der Woude, *The first modern economy. Success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 91.

5   Rex Arendsen, *Eenvoudig belasting heffen, tussen droom en daad* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 2016), p. 48.

Merchants everywhere in Europe had an account with the Amsterdam Bank of Exchange (*Wisselbank*) which they used for payment of trade transactions and other financial transactions. The archives of the Bank kept at the Amsterdam City Archives, comprise 550 metres of shelving (8.4.1).

In 8.4.2 I treat archiving by bankers, based on the archives of Hope & Co in Amsterdam, established in the 1720s. The firm financed trade transactions and brokered loans by foreign governments (in 1804 Hope & Co co-financed the Louisiana Purchase). They also loaned money to owners of plantations in the West Indies. However, they continued to be merchant bankers. That is, they continued trading.

8.1   The Oldest Archival Document[6]

The oldest archival document on (or rather, in) Dutch soil dates from 29 CE: a part of a Roman wax tablet, a writing tablet found in a mound at Tolsum near Franeker (Friesland) in 1914. It was examined with digital imaging techniques at the University of Oxford in 2009. The wax layer had disappeared, but the letters imprinted with a stylus are vaguely visible. For a long time, the document was believed to be a deed of the sale of an ox. Recently, however, it was discovered that the reading of *bovem* (ox) should be changed into *quem* (whom or whomsoever). Instead of concerning an ox, it is about a loan of money by Carus (or perhaps Andecarus), slave of Iulia (?) Secunda, possibly the wife of a tribune of the Fifth Legion, and a Batavian soldier acting as a witness. This is interesting because it points to the Roman legion that, reinforced with Batavian auxiliary troops, quelled the Frisian rebellion. Tacitus dates this rebellion to the year 28 and writes that the Romans withdrew from Friesland, but this tablet from Tolsum proves that in the year 29 Roman and Batavian military were still in the neighbourhood. The oldest archival document in the Netherlands thus gives rise to rewriting a small part of the history of the Roman occupation. This was evidently never the purpose of making this deed. In fact, almost all archival documents made in the past can be used as a historical source although that was hardly ever the primary aim of making the document.

6   A.K. Bowman and R.S.O. Tomlin, "'The Frisian ox sale". A writing-tablet from Tolsum', *It Beaken* 71 (2009): 211-36; A.K. Bowman, R.S.O. Tomlin, and K.A. Worp, 'Emptio Bovis Frisica: the "Frisian Ox Sale" reconsidered', *Journal of Roman studies* 99 (2009): 156-70; Marjan C. Galestin, 'Terug naar Tolsum', *It Beaken* 71 (2009): 247-78; W.J. Zwalve, 'De akte van Tolsum en het Romeinse recht', *It Beaken* 71 (2009): 237-46.

Fig. 8.1 Writing tablet found in Tolsum, 29 CE. Fries Museum.

No earlier handwritten Latin text than this *Tabula Tolsummiana* has been found in northern Europe—it is even older than the tablets found in British Vindolanda that date from the end of the first century CE and older than the Roman tablets found elsewhere in the Netherlands. At the place of the Roman *castellum* Fectio (Vechten, province of Utrecht) a whole archive of around 100 (fragments of) writing tablets has been found, probably dating from the first half of the first century. However, since only a few fragments have been deciphered, archaeologists do not yet know whether these are private archives of individual soldiers, the archives of the army base, or a combination of both.

How did the tablet come to Tolsum, some 200 kilometres north of the Roman *limes*? It is possible that the tablet originates from the contacts between local people and Roman soldiers who were camped in nearby Winsum. However, this does not mean that the deed was drawn up in Friesland. A Roman may have taken the document along, for example from the military headquarters in Xanten (Germany) or elsewhere in the Roman Empire. Anyway, the Dutch connection is formed by one of the witnesses, Miunnio, a soldier of a unit of Batavians (*miles Batavorum*) probably raised as local militias.

The document is a part of a *cautio* or *chirographum,* a deed of loan. The deed stipulates that the debtor had to reimburse the loan to the creditor 'or to whomsoever this matter pertains' (*ad quem ea res pertinet*). This made cession of the claim possible. A *chirographum* was a bill of exchange that could be traded. It is the oldest example in the Netherlands of this genre (see 7.1).

The writing tablet from Tolsum is our oldest archival document. However, in archival literature another document is presented as the oldest one. This is a charter from the middle of the 10th century, whereby Emperor Otto I donates various rights to his vassal, Count Ansfried of Huy, including the market, the coinage, and the toll at Kessenich, Limburg (see 2.1). The Tolsum tablet has been handled since its discovery in 1914 not as an archival document, but as a museum object. It is kept at the Fries Museum, not at the regional Frisian archives Tresoar. This distinction between archives and museums (and between archives and libraries) is a result of the different trajectories of professionalization in the 19th century (see chapter 12).

8.2 Keeping the Books

8.2.1 Municipal Accounts[7]

The backbone of a town's financial administration is the series of municipal accounts, according to Peter Horsman.[8] The oldest municipal accounts in the northern Netherlands

7   Manon van der Heijden, 'Stadsrekeningen, stedelijke financiën en historisch onderzoek'', *NEHA Bulletin* 13 (1999): 129-66.

8   Peter Horsman, *Abuysen ende desordiën. Archiefvorming en archivering in Dordrecht 1200-1920* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting archiefpublicaties, 2011), p. 172.

are those of Dordrecht (1284-1285). They are even older than the oldest ducal accounts from Gelre (1294-1295). Elsewhere, city accounts start in the 14th century: Deventer 1337, Venlo 1349, Arnhem 1353, Middelburg 1365, Utrecht 1380, Zutphen 1381, Leiden 1390. The earliest accounting for income and expenses of the city would have been done orally before the city council, though sometimes before the citizens assembly (*gemeente*) as well. Later the financial administration was included in the city register, such as the oldest *Foliant* of Kampen 1318-1350 (see 4.2). Although income and expenses were not yet systematically recorded, sub-administrations from which the city register derived its data, can be distinguished. Examples are the administrations of citizen's fees, fines, excise, duties, sale and rent of town properties, or expenses for fortifications. Consolidation of these administrations into one central bookkeeping, such as in Deventer around 1330, became necessary when the increasing responsibilities of the city government resulted in new and more expenses which had to be covered by new sources of income. The answer to the complexity, as Jeroen Benders calls it, of the municipal finances were the consolidated city accounts, drawn up by special functionaries known as the *cameraars* or treasurers (*tresoriers*).[9]

An important task of the treasurers was the management of the public works. In Dordrecht this was the task of one of the two treasurers. However, when Dordrecht found itself in need of money in 1693, the city government wanted better financial control and redistributed the tasks of the two treasurers. Now, one kept a record of the income, while the other recorded the expenses. Apart from their accounts, there was a third account by the collector of the land tax and other income earmarked for the province.

The town accounts were fed with data from various sources, such as rental registers (see 6.2), registration of citizens (see 1.3), tax assessments, registration of loans, and life annuities (see below). For Dordrecht, Horsman provided a complete survey of the 15 or so special accounts from which only the balance ended up in the city accounts. Categories of income and expenses were booked in different administrations, preventing a complete overview of the financial situation. This was not the main reason for a financial

9   Jeroen F. Benders, 'Urban administrative literacy in the northeastern Low Countries. A comparison of Groningen, Kampen, Deventer, and Zutphen, twelfth-fifteenth centuries', in *Writing and the administration of medieval towns. Medieval urban literacy I*, ed. Marco Mostert and Anna Adamska (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 97-121.

administration, which primarily served the accountability of various officers to the city government. Nevertheless, there are examples where the accounts were used for other purposes. Around 1489, the Deventer city clerk consulted the old accounts to discover what the exchange rate of the Brabant mark had been 100 or 150 years before.[10]

Each of the accountable officers kept his own archives comprising bookkeeping, quittances, deeds, and other evidence. What such an archive looked like can be seen on a painting made by Cornelis Brisé in 1656 for the Treasury office in the new City Hall of Amsterdam (now the Royal Palace, where it still hangs, Fig. 8.0). The painting shows eight files (*liassen*) with labels including travels, lawsuits, public works, salaries, and excise. The painter probably painted existing files. The lias 'Buying plots' (*Copinge van de Erven*, second row, second from the right) contains a map which is still preserved in the map book of the Treasury. This map was drawn in 1656 by the city surveyor, Cornelis Danckertsz de Rij, after the purchase of a strip of land by the city.[11]

Originally the painting stood on a table, enhancing the deceptive effect, as the bags with money seem to be laying on a table. Brisé's painting is a very early example of a *trompe l'oeil*. That explains why it was so popular, as alluded to in travel guides of the time. However, the painting has a deeper meaning as well, a meaning which one discovers through the verses the poet Vondel dedicated to the painting.[12] He referred to the threat of paper shortage resulting from the embargo on the importation of cheap French paper, but, as Vondel wrote,

> *Do not let yourself be bothered, Amsterdam's Treasurer stated*
> *Once Brisé begins to paint, he will provide paper*
> *Look at this scene, what do you see up high?*
> *Papers, act, and letter: or appearance deceives our eye.*

Thus, the Treasury did not need to worry about a shortage of paper, because Brisé provided it. Moreover, according to Frans-Willem Korsten, the painting demonstrates the power of paper in shaping reality.

10 J.F. Benders, *Bestuursstructuur en schriftcultuur. Een analyse van de bestuurlijke verschriftelijking in Deventer tot het eind van de 15de eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), pp. 226-9.

11 Source: S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, https://web.archive.org/web/20170808205612/https://www.coret.org/cc/res/cornelisbrise.php, archived 8 Aug. 2017.

12 Frans-Willem Korsten, *A Dutch republican baroque. Theatricality, dramatization, moment, and event* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 24-5. The translation of the verses is by Korsten.

Peter Horsman has reconstructed which ledgers, journals, and other records may have been kept by the treasurers of Dordrecht as sources for the city accounts. Cash books (*manualen*) and ledgers (*blaffaards*, see 6.2.2) have not been preserved in Dordrecht. The Leiden City Archives, however, keep 375 volumes of ledgers covering the years 1623 to 1811 and cash books 1745-1811. Of the bookkeeping of the city of Rotterdam, several series of ledgers and journals from the 17th century have been preserved. In Amsterdam, 93 volumes of the *memoriaal* (called *rapiamus*, meaning 'let us grasp', i.e. the income and expenses) 1570-1663 have been preserved, together with the other books of the double entry bookkeeping introduced in Amsterdam in 1663 (see 8.2.5).

Structure and layout of town accounts hardly changed between the Middle Ages and the 18th century, which shows the constancy of financial records. The accounts were systematically structured. *Rekenen* (counting) and reckoning have the same original meaning: ordering. Already in the 14th century the accounts of Middelburg begin with the income under various headings, such as excise, fees, rents, letting out stalls in the pelt halls and cloth halls. The expenses are also recorded under headings including amenities for receptions at the city hall, costs of the city wall and gates, peat and firewood, and life annuities. In Amsterdam these headings were called *grossa's*.

The excise taxes (see 8.3) yielded the most important income. The second source of income were loans, resulting predominantly from selling life annuities and perpetual annuities (*erfrenten*). Such a sale was recorded in a deed (*rentebrief*) handed over to the creditor. The treasury kept registers of the annual payments due by the city. Archiving of the annuities embodied continuity. The archive had to be kept and trusted until the redemption after tens, even hundreds of years. For example, Yale University still receives interest from an annuity that was sold by the Dutch water board Lekdijk Bovendams in 1648.[13] Yale bought the parchment deed for its collection in 2003 for 23,000 euro. In 1648 the bond cost thousand guilders, at an annual interest that is in today's money 11.35 euro. The interest payments were recorded directly on the bond, while naturally the water board booked the paid interest as well.

13 https://web.archive.org/web/20190330075440/https://news.yale.edu/2015/09/22/living-artifact-dutch-golden-age-yale-s-367-year-old-water-bond-still-pays-interest, archived 30 March 2019. See the document on https://web.archive.org/web/20190403161543/https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3435647, archived 3 April 2019.

Apart from the treasury various officials, including the sheriff (*schout*) and the burgomasters, public bodies and charitable institutions also kept their own administration, from which sometimes the balance was transferred to the general city accounts. The Amsterdam burgomasters prescribed a common format for the accounts of the churchwardens and the charitable institutions in 1682 to increase transparency.

8.2.2 Merchants' Books

In chapter 7 I referred to Jan Impyn, who in 1543 published a Flemish adaptation of Pacioli's *Tractatus de computis et scripturis* (1494).[14] His instructions on bookkeeping were directed mainly to merchants, but also to notaries, renters, farmers, receivers, and all people who by 'the kepyng of a fewe bokes thei maie bothe write al their affayres without confusion, and also at their pleasures easely and lightly fund [find] them'. However, the examples and models of the 'Italian' or double-entry bookkeeping were mainly meant for merchants. But Impyn wanted his book to be used by schoolmasters 'that exercise the practise of Ciffres, to teache children how to kepe bokes of accomptes and rekonnynges'. Indeed, by the 16th century, teaching at school included bookkeeping, and many schoolmasters doubled as counting master and accountant, sometimes also as surveyor. They taught navigation practice as well. Most manuals for bookkeeping from the 16th to the 19th century were written by counting masters, beginning with Valentin Mennher (Antwerp 1550) and Claes Pietersz (Amsterdam 1576).[15]

Not only boys were taught bookkeeping, girls and women also developed financial literacy. Foreigners found the role of Dutch women in business remarkable: 'if the husband be the merchant, the wife is the book-keeper', wrote Stephen Monteage in his 1675 bookkeeping manual.[16] When, in 1668, Sir Josiah Child (later Governor of the East India Company) enumerated the causes of the 'prodigious increase of the Netherlanders in their domestick and foreign trade, riches, and multitude of shipping', one of his 15 arguments was the education of daughters and sons in Holland who learned 'to write perfect good hands,

14 P. de Waal, 'De Engelsche vertaling van Jan Ympyn's Nieuwe Instructie', *Economisch-historisch jaarboek* 18 (1934): 1-58; repr. in *Selected classics in the history of bookkeeping,* series III, 2 (Osaka: Nihon Shoseki, 1977).

15 Karel Davids, 'The bookkeeper's tale. Learning merchant skills in the Northern Netherlands in the 16th century', in *Education and learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600*, ed. Koen Goudriaan, Jaap van Moolenbroek, and Ad Tervoort (Leiden: Brill. 2004), pp. 235-52.

16 Rebecca Elisabeth Connor, *Women, accounting, and narrative. Keeping books in eighteenth-century England* (London/New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 54.

and to have the full knowledge and use of Arithmetick and Merchants Accompts' and who had 'a strong aptitude, love, and delight' in commerce. In Holland, women were legally competent if they were active in their own business. Because Dutch women were 'as knowing therein as the men, it doth incourage their Husbands to hold on in their Trades to their dying days, knowing the capacity of their Wives to get in their Estates, and carry on their Trades after their Deaths'. [17] Of this high regard for the financial literacy of Dutch women, Defoe's *Roxana, the fortunate mistress* is the fictional translation.[18]

The oldest Dutch merchant's book dates from 1460; it was kept by a textile merchant in Hoorn. The oldest merchant's book concerning the Baltic Sea trade starts in 1485 and was kept until 1490[19] by the Amsterdam partners Reyer Dircsz and his uncle, Symon Reyersz. From time to time they lived in Danzig. They traded rye, salt, linen, and other goods on the markets of Amsterdam and Danzig. Their merchant's book is not a total account of the company because it does not include the Amsterdam transactions. Moreover, not all transactions were booked. Often the receipt of an article was recorded but not its sale. The bookkeeping is therefore rather simple, but it is rare and therefore its publication in facsimile by the famous 20th-century Dutch economic historian Posthumus is fully justified. The book (or rather booklet) has been preserved by chance, hidden in the archives of the Amsterdam Civic Orphanage. We do not know how it came to be there. In other government archives later merchant's books have been included, often because books and papers had to be handed over to the government when someone was declared bankrupt (see 6.3.1).

The core of bookkeeping was the journal or *memoriaal*. According to Impyn's instruction the merchant had to record in the 'memoriall boke'

> all maner of thynges that daily doth happen, ether by biynges, sellynges, payments, receptes, deliuerances of billes, assignacions, wages, laborers, cariage, fraight and so furth, and all that belongeth or toucheth to marchandise.[20]

17 Joshua Child, *Brief observations concerning trade and interest of money* (London: Elizabeth Calvert/ Henry Mortlock, 1668), https://web.archive.org/web/20181011092033/http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/trade.asp, archived 11 Oct. 2018. Child's praise reappeared well into the 18th century in all editions of his *A New Discourse of trade.*

18 D. Christopher Gabbard, 'The Dutch wives' good husbandry. Defoe's "Roxana" and financial literacy', *18th-century studies*, 37. no. 2 (2004): 237-51.

19 N.W. Posthumus, *De Oosterse handel te Amsterdam. Het oudst bewaarde koopmansboek van een Amsterdamse vennootschap betreffende de handel op de Oostzee 1485-1490* (Leiden: Brill, 1953).

20 De Waal, 'De Engelsche vertaling': 20.

Fig. 8.2 Pieter Serwouter, Title page of Hendrik Waningen, *'t Recht gebruyck van 't Italiaens boeck-houden...* (Amsterdam: Marcus Doornick, 1672), detail.

21 Oscar Gelderblom, 'The resolution of commercial conflicts in Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam, 1250-1650', in *Law and long-term economic change. A Eurasian perspective*, ed. Debin Ma and Jan Luiten van Zanden (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), pp. 244-76.

Bookkeeping thus started with recording 'things', which in subsequent books were rendered into money. Bookkeeping is a technology to describe the real world, even to consider the record *as* the world, as the legal maxim states: *quod non est in actis, non est in mundo*—what is not kept in records does not exist.

Which functions the various books had and how they were to be named was evidently a puzzle for the Delft merchant Claes Adriaensz van Adrichem (1538-1607) (see about him 7.2 and 7.3.2). Corrections on the title pages of his registers show that he hesitated over what to call the books. His journal of sundry income and expenses (1578-1579) was at first named *dagelicxe cladde* (daily waste book), later corrected into *memoriaelboeck* (memorial). Both these terms appear in the bookkeeping manuals. For the register of properties, he hesitated between register and *blaffert* (rental); another book, a ledger of receipts from lands rented out and annuities (1579-1582) was labelled *maenboeck* (claims book), having considered (and rejected) terms like *blaffert* or *ontfangboeck* (book of receipts) or *memoriael*. This makes clear that for Van Adrichem bookkeeping did not only concern monies received and spent, but also receivables and claims.

In double-entry bookkeeping, as described by Impyn and many other writers, the transactions in the memorial are transferred to the journal and from there into the general ledger (*grootboek* or *schuldboek*). In the general ledger each item is entered twice—debited in one account (on the left side or on a left page), credited in another (on the right). The journal and the general ledger may be split into various special journals (a cash daybook, a sales daybook, a purchases daybook) and subsidiary ledgers (accounts payable/receivable ledger, inventory ledger). This system of books expands over time; it may encompass (as Impyn had already advised) the letter book (letters sent), a bankbook, and a 'month book' (monthly receivables), amongst others.

By the 17th century not just any bookkeeping, but only a merchant's account in double-entry (and reinforced by a solemn oath) had probative value in court.[21] The double-entry system was propagated, taught, adapted, and refined in plenty of bookkeeping manuals that were reprinted, reworked, and translated numerous times. Many manuals pay

22 Sybil M. Jack, 'An historical defence of single entry book-keeping', *Abacus* 2.2 (1966): 137-58; Warwick Funnell and Jeffrey Robertson, 'Capitalist accounting in 16th century Holland. Hanseatic influences and the Sombart thesis', *Accounting, auditing & accountability journal* 24 (2011): 560-86.

23 Kees Zandvliet, *500. De rijksten van de Republiek. Rijkdom, geloof, macht & cultuur* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2018).

24 Amsterdam City Archives, *Familie Deutz* (234), inv. nrs. 275, 276, 281, 284, 289.

attention to 'common', or simple entry, bookkeeping as well. It demanded less of the ability of the bookkeeper, but provided fewer opportunities for error checking, though apparently many merchants and other people considered it sufficient.[22] Big merchants (like Elisabeth Coymans in Amsterdam, widow of Jean Deutz and the richest woman in the Golden Age with a fortune of 1.3 million guilders[23]), however, employed one or more professional accountants (*boekhouders*) to keep their double-entry bookkeeping. The narrative in Elizabeth's books is in the first person even after her death on 14 February 1653, but it was written by her accountant Antonii Martens, who continued keeping the books for her sons.[24]
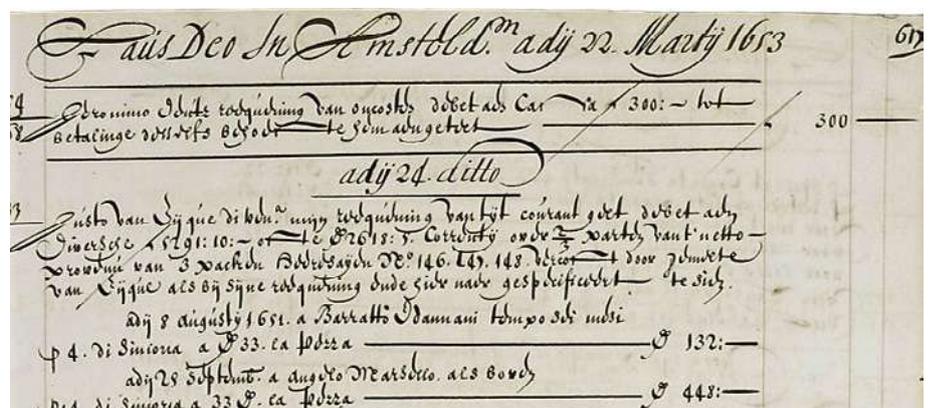
Fig. 8.3 Journal of Elisabeth Coymans, 22-24 March 1653. Amsterdam City Archives, *Deutz* (234), inv. nr. 275, detail.

8.2.3 The Bookkeeping Mindset

The 'bookkeeping mindset' influenced other genres of recordkeeping as well. The Amsterdam regent Joan Huydecoper (1595-1661; number 73 on the ranking of the 250 richest people in the Golden Age, who probably commissioned his neighbour Cornelis Brisé to paint the Treasury, Fig. 8.0) interspersed his account-book with annotations about the history of his family and his city (see 1.7.1).[25] His son Joan (1625-1704) held a more organized diary, which he started when he was 23 and continued until shortly before his death.[26] In this diary he transcribed daily notes (including a mark for having sex with his wife, with monthly and annual totals). He copied all outgoing letters and noted the gifts he received or presented, by whom and to whom. When Huydecoper had helped someone to find a job he marked this in his diary with a special sign, expecting a service in return. These registers were, so to speak, his ledger with a credit and debit side—not in the financial, but in the social sense. Luuc Kooijmans writes:

> The daily registers and the copies of letters were the evidence he owed his descendants of his social administration, the counterpart of his financial administration. The daily registers also contained elements to make up a moral balance sheet, weighing virtue against vice.[27]

Governments and semi-public institutions did not usually apply a double-entry system but used simple cash books, though a few exceptions will be presented later. The engineer, architect, and mathematician Simon Stevin, whom I introduced in 5.3, wanted to change this. He was the tutor of Stadholder Prince Maurice of Nassau (in 1618 Maurice became Prince of Orange).[28] Stevin proposed to set up the bookkeeping of the princely domains and of the costs of warfare, the latter of which were considered to be extraordinary finances, according to the 'Italian' or double-entry system. This would give the Prince, who possessed a considerable fortune[29], a better insight into his estate than the usual cash books of the stewards of the domains. Stevin designed models for the journal and grand ledger in 1603 at the request of the Prince. They are still kept in the archives of the Council

25 Utrecht Archives, *Huydecoper* (67), inv. nr. 30.

26 Utrecht Archives, *Huydecoper* (67), inv. nrs. 53-65.

27 Luuc Kooijmans, *Vriendschap en de kunst van het overleven in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2016), p. 160.

28 Jacob Soll, 'Accounting for government. Holland and the rise of political economy in 17th-century Europe', *Journal of interdisciplinary history* 40 (2009): 223-24.

29 Zandvliet, *500: De rijksten*, p. 130.

of the Nassau Demesne (*Nassause Domeinraad*) in the National Archives. In 1607 Stevin published his 'Princely bookkeeping of domains and extraordinary finances in the Italian style' (*Vorstelicke Bouckhouding op de Italiaensche wijse in Domeine en Finance Extraordinaire*). It contains both an extensive handbook of mercantile bookkeeping, and instructions for the princely bookkeeping. Whether an Italian bookkeeping has ever been kept for the Prince remains to be seen.[30] Very soon after 1607 Stevin must have reached the conclusion that the proposed bookkeeping was not suited to the financial administration of the domains, as he confirms in the introduction to his new system 'Accounting for domains using a counter-roll' (*Verrechting van Domeine mette contrerolle*), published post-humously in 1649. Whether that system was effectively used deserves further investigation.

8.2.4 Accounting by the VOC[31]

Precisely at the time Prince Maurice was initiated in bookkeeping by Stevin, the United East India Company (VOC) was reorganizing its bookkeeping. Each of the six chambers of the VOC (in Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Enkhuizen, and Hoorn) kept its own books. In February 1606 a regular inspection of all bookkeeping was introduced 'so that everything will be accounted on an equal footing and in good order, to the honour and security of the Company.'[32] In 1608 the VOC appointed the experienced accountant of the Amsterdam Chamber, Barend Lampe, as general accountant of the entire company. Every month he received a copy of the journal from each chamber. It appeared to be necessary to improve both the general bookkeeping and the bookkeeping of the chambers. However, genuine double-entry bookkeeping was not introduced generally, except for capital accounting (see below). Only the Zeeland Chamber in Middelburg (probably influenced by the commercial practices of nearby Flanders) used a double-entry system, but only from 1602 to 1607.

The accounting system implemented in Asia in 1613–1614 by the general accountant Jan Pietersz Coen—who, as a 13-year-old apprentice to a Flemish merchant in Rome, had

30 J.B. Geijsbeek, *Ancient double-entry bookkeeping* (Houston: Scholars Book Company, 1914), pp. 11-13 and 118 is absolutely wrong in assuming that Prince Maurice installed double-entry bookkeeping 'throughout his territory, thus practically putting municipal government accounting on the double-entry system'. The bookkeeping of the princely domains had little or nothing to do with municipal bookkeeping. Geijsbeek also writes that Stevin, as a consultant or accountant, installed double-entry systems in all departments of government, in mercantile houses, royal households, and municipalities. This is, I believe, meant to show Stevin's wide experience in Flanders as a merchant's bookkeeper and as a clerk at the taxation office of the Bruges viscounty. The plural 'all departments', 'royal households, and municipalities' suggests more than can be reconstructed from the sources.

31 J.P. de Korte, *De jaarlijkse financiële verantwoording in de VOC, Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Leiden: Nijhoff, 1984); L.D. Westera, 'Boekhouding en management bij de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie', *Economisch- en sociaal-historisch jaarboek* 55 (1992): 75-104; Jeffrey Robertson and Warwick Funnell, 'The Dutch East-India Company and accounting for social capital at the dawn of modern capitalism 1602–1623', *Accounting, organizations and society* 37.5 (2012): 342-60.

32 Westera, 'Boekhouding', p. 84.

learned double-entry bookkeeping—was based on double-entry bookkeeping. Several of the Asian establishments used it too, but it was never integrated with the domestic bookkeeping. Around 1626 the efforts to centralize and standardize bookkeeping were abandoned. The attempts to improve the financial administration of the Company, undertaken by mathematician and VOC director Johannes Hudde (see 7.3.1) between 1686 and 1700 with the assistance of three accountants of the Amsterdam Chamber, did not succeed.[33]

As Bert Westera writes in his study on the VOC bookkeeping, it is nevertheless clear that the relatively simple bookkeeping did not prevent efficient management:

> Improvement of administrative control, restriction and monitoring costs in the Netherlands, expansion of the business in Asia, redeeming debts, restraint in the payment of dividends—no sector escaped the attention of the Lords XVII.[34]

However, as Westera concludes, 'bookkeeping played a much more limited role as a policymaking instrument or means of control than is usual nowadays. With basic, but rapidly available information they tried to guide the business.'[35]

There was gradually more detailed business information available than the data from the journals, grand ledgers, and annual balance sheets. Recording of costs for outfitting ships was done in great detail by each chamber. In 1740 extensive regulations were issued to make a comparison between the chambers easier, but the chambers resisted this. Export and import of goods to and from Asia were meticulously administered by the accountant-general in Batavia; a copy of his bookkeeping was sent to the Netherlands. Those copies have been destroyed, but in 1862 the books which were left behind in Batavia were sent to the Netherlands. They are kept in the National Archives and have recently been made accessible via a database on the Internet. It concerns all goods shipped during 55 years of the 18th century—250,000 references to 3,000 different products, with a total value of 328 million Dutch guilders. Merchants in Asia (see 10.6) sometimes kept their books

33 F.S. Gaastra, *Bewind en beleid bij de VOC. De financiële en commerciële politiek van de bewindhebbers, 1672-1702* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1989), pp. 221-36; Jacob Soll, *The reckoning. Financial accountability and the rise and fall of nations* (New York: Basic books, 2014), pp. 82-4

34 Westera, 'Boekhouding', p. 89.

35 Westera, 'Boekhouding', p. 100. See also the concurring opinion of Gaastra, *Bewind en beleid bij de VOC*, pp. 245-46 and Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company. Expansion and decline* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003), pp. 155-59.

according to the double-entry system; however, as an expert wrote at the beginning of the 18th century, knowledge of the system in the East Indies remained weak.[36]

Another important component of the VOC administration was the personnel and salaries administration in the pay-ledgers of the ships (*scheepssoldijboeken*). They show elements of double-entry bookkeeping (see 1.4.1).

Separate from the accounts for operations and trading, the Amsterdam Chamber used a supplementary capital bookkeeping. Jeffrey Robertson and Warwick Funnell explain the capital bookkeeping of the Amsterdam Chamber as follows. It had a subscription register, a capital journal, and a capital ledger. The VOC shares were registered in the subscription register or, more precisely, the registration of a subscriber established his legal obligation to settle the capital sum subscribed for. The few printed VOC 'shares' that have been preserved are in fact receipts for payment of the capital sum of the share (see 13.5 and Fig. 13.3). The registrations led to entries kept in the capital journal and the capital ledger.

8.2.5 Double-Entry Bookkeeping by Government

The economic historian Joost Jonker has suggested that the lack of double-entry bookkeeping by governmental authorities was owing to the fact

> that for governments to keep a grand ledger is not aimed at acquiring insight in the development of its capital, but at monitoring the cash flow, thus to the extent in which liabilities have been paid.[37]

However, there are two exceptions: the Finance Office of Southern Holland (*Financie van Holland*) and the city of Amsterdam (aside from double-entry bookkeeping by private people who held a public office; see 6.2.3 and 8.2.3).

36 According to Cornelis Bezuyen, director at Surat 1707-1709, formerly first clerk at the secret writing office of the Governor-General. Long after his death in 1710 appeared his *Instructie dienende tot grondige onderwijzing in de reken-konst, en het boekhouden* (Amsterdam, 1746), voorrede.

37 Cited by R. Liesker and W. Fritschy, *Gewestelijke financiën ten tijde van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden, vol. 4, Holland (1572-1795)* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2004), p. 70 and note 278.

According to his instruction of 1625, the accountant of the Finance Office of Southern Holland had to be thoroughly familiar with 'Italian bookkeeping' and he had to be able to draw up balances and keep accurate and accessible accounts.[38] Early in the year 1625 a son of a member of the Audit Office was put forward as an accountant, but when it turned out that he had no sense of Italian bookkeeping his appointment was cancelled immediately. The administration of the Finance Office showed features of double-entry bookkeeping beginning in 1624.[39] The Office kept a journal, a general ledger, and various special journals and subsidiary ledgers. However, whether a regular balance sheet was drawn up is not clear.

The Amsterdam Bank of Exchange (*Wisselbank*), founded in 1609, kept a double-entry bookkeeping which was expanded with a duplicate bookkeeping (*contraboekhouding*) in 1683 (see 8.4.1). Amsterdam was the only city to switch to double-entry bookkeeping when it made the change in 1663.[40] At the same time the two municipal poor relief agencies did the same.[41] As a result of the large extension of the city between 1658 and 1663, affairs at the treasury of the city (also responsible for public works) had increased considerably and with it the need to improve control. Therefore, an accountant-general was appointed to safeguard accurate bookkeeping in order for efficient assessment of the finances and public works of the city to be possible. The new accountant started by transferring the entries from the old memorial into a new journal and from there into the grand ledger. This ledger (665 pages) served for 17 years; at its closure a balance of assets and liabilities was made up. The bookkeeper made a trial balance that was submitted to the burgomasters and the treasurers annually. It is likely that the first balance per 31 January 1680 and the trial balances were drawn up at the instruction of Johannes Hudde who also used his mathematical expertise in his offices of treasurer and burgomaster (see 7.3.1). He also caused an annual estimate of the income and expenses of the city to be made, based on the books of the years 1663 to 1679. Furthermore, Hudde was also a director of the VOC where, as we have seen (8.2.4), he tried to improve the financial information management between 1686 and 1700.

38 National Archives, *Staten van Holland* (3.01.04.01), inv. nr. 1617, fol. 219-26.

39 Liesker and Fritschy, *Gewestelijke financiën*, p. 66 assume that the *Financie* of Holland started double-entry bookkeeping in 1621. They base their opinion on the *Staet van de Provintie van Hollandt ende Westvrieslandt van de jaeren 1621, 1622, 1623* (National Archives, *Stadhouderlijke Secretarie* (1.01.50), inv. nr. 732). However, these surveys were made in January 1624. They show some features of double-entry bookkeeping, using Arabic numbers, in contrast to the other surveys in the same file (probably used as source for the *Staet*) which are in cameral style and use Roman numbers.

40 W.F.H. Oldewelt, 'De boekhouding van Amsterdam', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum 63* (1971): 11-29.

41 W.F.H. Oldewelt, *Inventaris van de archieven tot 1808 van de colleges van regenten over het Oudezijdshuis-zittenhuis en over het Nieuwezijdshuiszittenhuis ...* (Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkerij, 1929), pp. 13-14.

Fig. 8.4 Jost Amman, The Aigentliche Abbildung desz gantzen Gewerbs der Kauffmanschafft (1585), detail.

42 The following is for the greater part a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'Accountability portrayed. Documents on regents' group portraits in the Dutch Golden Age', *Archival science* 14 (2014): 69-93.

43 Basil S. Yamey, *Art and accounting* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 115-22.

44 Soll, *The reckoning*, p. 75.

Together with the ledger that was introduced in 1663, the memorials (175 volumes) and journals (22 volumes) have also been preserved. Of the special journals only the registers of salaries (*weddeboeken*) have been preserved for the whole period between 1664 and 1810. In 1811, under the French occupation, double-entry bookkeeping was replaced by simple bookkeeping prescribed by the French. However, some municipal agencies (like the Orphan Chamber and the municipal pawnshop, or *Bank van lening*) continued the double-entry bookkeeping they had started at the end of the 18th century.

8.2.6 Accountability Portrayed[42]

Amman's large copper engraving, the *Aigentliche Abbildung desz gantzen Gewerbs der Kauffmanschafft* (1585), is an allegory to commerce dedicated to the glory of Antwerp, but it is also an eulogy in image and text to double-entry bookkeeping.[43] One sees merchants at work on street benches, at the weigh-house, and in offices. Jacob Soll writes that the image shows 'a public consciousness that commercial success depended on double entry. Even more, the woodcut explained how to keep books.'[44]

These books were the memorial, the journal, and the grand ledger. Each page of the journal carried the message *Laus Deo*—Praise to God. Man rendering his account on Earth mirrored the bookkeeping in Heaven, as the 17th-century Dutch statesman and poet Jacob Cats wrote. Everyone must account for his life on Earth on the Day of Last Judgment, when (in the words of *Dies Irae*) 'The written book shall be brought, in which all is contained whereby the world shall be judged.' Dirck Jacobsz's portrait of an Amsterdam merchant and his wife (1541) shows the account book as a symbol of the account the merchant would have to give to the judge of the living and the dead (1 Peter 4:5). When a merchant had himself pictured with his books, either in an individual portrait or in that of a group, he anticipated the day of reckoning, when—in the words of a 17th-century treatise—his works for the poor and the crippled would be judged.

This is the background for a remarkable genre of group paintings, developed in Amsterdam from the beginning of the 16th century. In 1617 and 1618, Cornelis van der Voort portrayed the boards of three Amsterdam institutions: Saint Peter's or Inner Hospital, the Old People's Home and the Men's House of Correction. These and other charitable institutions were administered by boards of prominent citizens called *regenten*. They handled the financial and goods administration that had become increasingly complex after the Reformation, involving more managerial work. They were volunteers who felt the need to show that they conducted their tasks in a precise and conscientious way 'going by the book'. In each of the three portraits, the regents are sitting or standing around a table, as if in a board meeting. The clerk or the warden has also been portrayed. He is allowed in, hat in one hand, a letter in the other. Most of the regents have been pictured with a document in their hands or within reach. On the table are registers, a charter, and other documents.

In the portrait of the regents of the Old People's Home (Fig. 8.5) one of the regents is about to take one of three registers off the shelf. As is clear from the inscription on the edge, these registers are the *Huurboeck*, the *Loterijboeck* 1600 and the *Loterijboeck* 1614—the registers of rents, and of the lotteries that were held in 1600 and 1614, respectively. From the proceeds of the lottery in 1600, a new house for 100 old people had been built. Within a few years, more working capital was needed, and a second lottery was held, for which permission was given in 1614. Thus, the registers that were pictured were not randomly chosen but were expressly shown to the painter with the instruction to portray these registers that were so important to the home. However, Van der Voort was left free as to the manner of picturing the registers. This is clear from the rental register (*Huurboeck*) in the painting which is not identical with the *Huurboeck* 1582-1628 preserved in the archives. On the portrait of the regents of Saint Peter's Hospital the register shown lying on the table is not there by accident. From the letters that Van der Voort painted legibly on the register, it appears to be a rental register of the houses on Nes and Warmoesstraat belonging to the Hospital.

Fig. 8.5 Cornelis van der Voort, Regents of the Amsterdam Old People's Home, 1618. Amsterdam Museum, SA 7436.

The documents in the paintings are representations of, or references to, actual records which the regents used in the management of their institutions. According to art historian Sheila Muller, the paintings created an image of the regents as 'professionals' who, because of their wealth (the regents received no remuneration) and social position, could afford to administer a charity in a Christian and humanist manner.[45] What these paintings also

45 Sheila D. Muller, *Charity in the Dutch Republic. Pictures of rich and poor for charitable institutions* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).

show is that management was a collegiate business, characteristic of public and private institutions in the Netherlands (see 13.3).

With his paintings Van der Voort created a model for portraits of groups of regents. On all but one of the 52 Amsterdam regents group portraits between 1617 and 1756, regents and lady governors have been depicted with the instruments of governance and administration on the table. They stand and sit among registers and other archival documents, some of them identifiable. Van der Voort's format was followed not only in Amsterdam, but in Haarlem, Leiden, and elsewhere. The paintings hung in the boardrooms of the charitable institutions which were open to the public. Visitors could see the paintings that presented an image of regents as professional administrators, keeping the books of the institution in the way they kept their own mercantile administration.

8.2.7 Mechanizing and Computerizing the Books[46]

Bookkeeping was basically a manual practice. This changed during the 19th century. With the expansion of markets, the one-man shop and the small family business made way for big business. Businesses expanded, in size and geographically, necessitating new instruments of communication and control (see also 7.4). New and higher standards of administration and reporting were required, while the volume of incoming and outgoing information was steadily increasing because of industrial expansion. Various new office techniques for the production, reproduction, and keeping of records and for data production were widely introduced (see 11.2).

Analogous to old Dutch law, the commercial code (1838) required the merchant to keep a journal, to keep the letters received, to make a copybook (*kopijboek*) of outgoing mail, and to make an inventory and balance sheet at the end of each year. Such merchant's books could be used as legal evidence. The law mentioned books of a merchant and that was

46   The following is a summary of Eric Ketelaar, '"Control through communication" in a comparative perspective', *Archivaria* 60 (2006): 71-89.

taken literally. Therefore, loose-leaf systems which came into use since the second half of the 19th century had to look like bound volumes. Opposition against the regulations of the commercial code concerning the way of administering was encouraged by chambers of commerce and by businesses selling loose-leaf systems and accounting machines (see 11.2). The Association of Commercial Law (*Vereeniging Handelsrecht*), founded in 1918, argued in favour of deleting the regulations altogether. In 1922 the law was changed to read 'Each merchant is obliged to record his financial position and everything regarding his business in such a manner that at all times his rights and obligations can be known from that record.' The term of retention was set on 30 years for the merchant's books and the related papers and ten years for the correspondence. The restriction to bound books was abolished. Pegboard (or 'one-write') systems came into use; posting an item on the card of a grand ledger account was carbon copied onto the underlying journal sheet, with both kept into place with pegs. Carbon paper was also used in mechanized systems for simultaneously recording data in different documents, each with its own function.

In 1926, the Exhibition of Public and Private Business Administration in Amsterdam (*Tentoonstelling op het gebied van de openbare en particuliere bedrijfsadministratie*, TOPA for short) brought together government agencies, municipalities, and some 30 companies that showed how they had improved their efficiency by better information management. TOPA is paradigmatic for the strength of the network of Dutch 'systematizers' in information processing, both in business and in government. One of the stands showed the mechanization at the Amsterdam branch of the *Rotterdamsche Bank Vereeniging* (Robaver), the undisputed leader in office mechanization in the 1920s.[47] As a Robaver promotional movie of 1922 made clear, mechanization of the bank's activities was carried out with the motto 'do not let human beings do what machines can do'. This slogan, however, was ambivalent. By mechanization they hoped to achieve more efficiency on the one hand and to reduce the dependency on personnel on the other hand. Indeed, the business costs decreased from 8.5 million guilders in 1921 to 5.5 million in 1923, but at the same time 300 staff, predominantly women, lost their jobs. The introduction by Robaver of new technologies was accompanied by a radical reorganization of work processes and

47   Nachoem M. Wijnberg, Jan van den Ende, and Onno de Wit, 'Decision making at different levels of the organization and the impact of new information technology. Two cases from the financial sector', *Group & organization management* 27 (2002): 408-29.

administrative activities and the introduction of new management techniques. In terms of the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2) work processes were reorganized in tandem with archiving (and technology, which in the model is inextricably included in archiving; see 11.3). Bookkeeping was extended to the effective processing of financial and non-financial data. At the TOPA, Robaver exhibited a large diagram showing the flow of letters and monies moving through the bank (with the archives as its core!), the resulting accounting operations, and the necessary machinery: punchcard machines (Hollerith, Powers), printers, writing adding machines, and Elliot-Fisher book typewriters (which evolved into Elliot-Fisher's Universal Accounting Machine). The diagram showed the insight of bank management 'into the fact that its internal and external products were the result of the systematic processing of data and information through the whole organization'.[48]

Many years later it turned out that mechanization of its bookkeeping had neither prevented the Rotterdam bank from coming into trouble regarding its liquidity, nor had it shown that figures had been manipulated and that the bank had bought its own shares and had secretly sold them. In 1924 the bank had to be sustained with a secret emergency loan from the Netherlands Central Bank (*Nederlandsche Bank*).

Mechanization of bookkeeping changed into computerization in the 1960s. An IBM 650 installed in 1957 by the Dutch Land Cultivation Company (*Nederlandse Heidemaat-schappij*) was the first computer in the Netherlands specifically used for office automation. Gradually, punchcard departments were transformed into central computing departments (see also 8.3.2). Legislation lagged behind, as usual. It was not before 2002 that the law made 'data storage media' equivalent to 'documents'. Rules for keeping administration that formerly applied to businesses only, are now applicable to anyone who pursues a business or a professional practice. The retention term for retaining records which are important for the tax authorities has been reduced to seven years. One may transfer data from one storage medium to another, provided that the transfer results in a correct and complete reproduction of the information and that this information is available and can be made readable throughout the entire retention period within a reasonable time.

48 Wijnberg, Van den Ende, De Wit, 'Decision making', p. 418.

8.3 Taxation[49]

8.3.1 Taxes, Excises, Duties, and Rates at all Levels of Government

Of the 24 chapters of the excellent inventory of the city archives of Leiden 1574-1816, the longest is the one listing the records concerning provincial and national taxes. Elsewhere in the inventory the excises and duties of the city are dealt with. This dichotomy reflects the tax system of the Republic, where the introduction of taxes, their assessment, and collection were decentralized to provincial, district, town, and village levels. At each level government was resourceful in introducing new taxes leading to new registrations or adaptation of existing ones.

At the federal level only customs duties were levied, the *convooien en licenten*, originally duties for naval protection of merchant ships and licences to trade with the Southern Netherlands. From 1648, however, *convooien en licenten* were duties on import and export, levied on behalf of the States General by the five boards of admiralty.

Each province had its own fiscal system managed by the provincial executive council and a fiscal office. The provincial tax revenues were composed of excise taxes, land taxes (*verponding*), 'extraordinary' taxes on wealth and income, and a whole array of duties and rates.[50] In addition, the cities levied their own excises, plus a surcharge on the provincial taxes, market rates, street and lantern duties, while the water boards levied land taxes for the upkeep of dikes, mills, and sluices.

Indirect taxes are those not levied directly from a person, but rather charged upon the production, importation, or consumption of articles of use: excise (the word comes from Dutch *exsijs* or *accijs*) taxes. The right of the city of Haarlem to levy more than 15 excise

49 M. 't Hart, 'The merits of a financial revolution. Public finance, 1550–1700', in *A financial history of the Netherlands*, ed. Joost Jonker and Jan Luiten van Zanden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 11-36; N.J.P.M. Bos and R.C.J. van Maanen, *Fiscale bronnen.: Structuur en onderzoeksmogelijk-heden* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1993); *Bronnen betreffende de registratie van onroerend goed in Middeleeuwen en Ancien Régime. Broncommentaren 4*, ed. G.A.M. van Synghel (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis, 2001); Wantje Fritschy, 'The efficiency of taxation in Holland', in *The political economy of the Dutch Republic*, ed. Oscar Gelderblom (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 55-84.

50 De Vries and Van der Woude, *The first modern economy*, p. 106.

taxes on beer, wine, grains, cloth, pelt, butter, and other commodities was confirmed as early as in 1274. Fifty years later the city of Middelburg collected 27 excise taxes on a variety of consumer goods.[51] The excise weighed heavily. The English ambassador in the Netherlands Sir William Temple wrote in 1673 about the Dutch excise, 'When in a tavern a certain dish of fish is eaten with the usual sauce, about 30 several excises are paid.'[52]

The excise was normally paid by the seller. Collecting indirect taxes was farmed out; in the province of Holland the 40 separate excise taxes divided into 17 districts produced 680 tax farms, sold at semi-annual public auctions. The tax farmers, who were generally men of moderate means and entrepreneurs, speculated on collecting at least the amount they had paid at auction, preferably more and thus gaining a profit. The tax farmers were allowed to inspect the premises of the wine and beer sellers and those other businessmen who had to pay their excises. This inspection included that of their books.[53] The tax farmers must have kept an efficient fiscal administration, but next to nothing has been preserved. In the years 1747 and 1748 people in Groningen, Friesland, and Holland revolted violently against the tax farmers and this led to the abolishment of tax farming in the greater part of the country, though not in Zeeland, Gelderland, and Drenthe. The other provincial governments then started to collect the taxes.

In 1680, 16 excise taxes in Holland were replaced by a tax on wealth and a tax on employing servants, collected directly from the taxable person according to assessment lists (*kohieren*). This was therefore the replacement of an indirect imposition by a direct one. Such registers of evaluation/assessment described all taxable people and assessed the value of the land, house or estate. These taxes were called 'described means' (*beschreven middelen*) and they needed quite extensive recordkeeping. Examples are the land tax (*verponding*) and the various taxes on wealth and income. The *verponding* registers were often based on older registers, such as the *morgenboeken* in Rijnland (see 5.1), *floreenkohieren* in Friesland, or the *schatregisters* in Groningen. In 1584, after the beginning of the Revolt, new *verpondingskohieren* were drawn up in Holland. They were revised between 1627 and 1632 and kept in use until 1734. The assessment was not

51 Wim Derksen, 'Stedelijke heffingen Middelburg', in *Steden en dorpen in last. Historische aspecten van lokale belastingen en financiën*, ed. Tom Pfeil et al. (Amsterdam: NEHA, 1999), pp. 11-39.

52 William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, 8th ed. (Edinburgh: G. Hamilton and J. Balfour, 1747), p. 172.

53 Paul Brood, *Belastingheffing in Drenthe, 1600-1822* (Meppel: Boom, 1991), p. 112.

changed during all those years, but the land tax was frequently increased by an extra levy to pay for the costs of warfare. Since 1632 the tax amounted to 12.5 percent of the rental value of houses and 20 percent of the value of lands after the deduction of mill, dike, and sluice duties. A new taxation was carried out a century later, one on buildings. The renewed assessment lists came into force in 1734. Since then the tax on buildings was 8.5 percent of the rental value.

The general renewal of the registers in Holland started in 1730. After consultation with the burgomasters, special commissioners of the States appointed prominent city residents to do the assessment and registration in the various city quarters. In rural areas the assessment was done by either sheriff and aldermen (*schout en schepenen*) or members of the local council (*ambachtsbewaarders*), members of the polder board (*heemraden*), or polder officers (*poldermeesters*).

The format of the assessment lists had been designed in advance. The valuator received printed title pages and sheets from which to make the assessment lists. As had been done for centuries (see 3.1), the valuator followed a fixed itinerary through a neighbourhood to register the buildings, their owners and users, and the rent (paid or valued). For each building, both the old and the new tax were recorded. The assessment registers were made available for inspection for three months to enable taxpayers to lodge objections. Next, two clerks of the provincial Finance Office were put to work and had to draw up two collection registers (*gaderboeken*), one for the local council on behalf of the tax collectors and the duplicate for the Finance Office.

Arthur Groen has described how tax collecting worked.[54] In Uitgeest (a village south of Alkmaar that had roughly 2,000 inhabitants in the 17th century of whom around 800 were taxable) collection (*garing*, or gathering) of the land tax (*verponding*) was done at the end of the 17th century by six collectors (*gaarders* or *pondvangers*).

54 Arthur Groen, 'Verpondingen op het Hollandse platteland. Bron voor de lokale en regionale sociaal-economische geschiedenis. Het voorbeeld van Uitgeest (1690-1788)', *Historisch Tijdschrift Holland* 26 (1996): 63-81.

Fig. 8.6 Assessment list (*kohier*) of the land tax (*verponding*) in Uitgeest, 1609-1724. Noord-Hollands Archief, *Ambachtsbestuur Uitgeest* (1052), inv. nr. 1283.[55]

55 Transcription on https://web.archive.org/web/20190531124430/http://www.ouduitgeest.nl/teksten/inhoud/bronnen_pdf/legger_100ste_penning_1690-1724.pdf, archived 31 May 2019.

Around 1715 the number of inhabitants as well as that of the collectors had decreased; at the end of the century there were only three collectors left. Collectors were appointed by the village council, and since collectors had to be wealthy, it is not surprising that the council normally chose collectors from among their number.

To arrive at the right assessment, the *gaarders* needed data on the taxable assets. Registering lands and buildings in special ledgers was, therefore, an important task of the *gaarders*. If necessary, they saw to the renewal of these ledgers. Based on the ledgers the *gaarders* drew up the annual assessment list (*kohier*). The collection took place at sessions organized by the collectors on dates determined by the village council. The village messenger was instructed to proclaim the dates throughout the village. When the *garing* was finished, the *gaarders* accounted before the sheriff, aldermen, burgomasters, and councillors. The *gaarders* were remunerated by the council.

In the ledgers the taxable people were registered per street (or, if living outside Uitgeest, per place of residence), each with his or her immovable taxable properties (Fig. 8.6). Location, nature, and surface of lands were specified. For each item the payable tax was registered. Changes were recorded by crossing out or adding data. The ledger was kept in use for a few decades before it was deemed necessary to make a new one. The format of the *kohieren* was identical to that of the ledgers. When for whatever reason someone was

no longer taxable, his or her name was crossed out and sometimes replaced by the name of a succeeding buyer or heir (see also Fig. 5.2).

Jan Vroon joint account
[formerly] Mr.Maerten Vroon

For his homestead or garden	24 roeden	0.4.10
t' Jochgel with the small lands	1489 roeden	13.6.2
The house of Dirck Jacobsen Vennen		0.10.0
The homestead	49 roeden	0.8.12
1/2 Begijne land	433,5 roeden	3.17.8
3 farm lands of Cuipper, one of Aris Bruyne and one of Corn Miese Blaau		
[Total]	1864 roeden	16.13.2
[6.5 acre]	[16 guilders, 13 stuivers and 2 pennies]	

In the province of Utrecht, the ledgers of the land tax (*oudschildgeld*) of 1539, revised in 1599, continued to be the basis for the assessment until the end of the 18th century.[56] A copy of the ledger was submitted to the provincial government, while a duplicate was stored in the village chest; taxable people had access to the latter. The assessment notices that were handed out mentioned the current owner or tenant, as well as the original owner in 1599 (see also Fig. 5.2).

56 Arend Pietersma, Ronald Rommes and Wybren Verstegen, *Lusten en lasten. Gids voor fiscaal-historisch onderzoek naar inkomen en vermogen in de provincie Utrecht* (Utrecht: Utrecht Archives, 2006).

In Holland the land tax was collected by collectors (*gaarders*) in rural areas and by receivers (*ontvangers*) in the 18 principal cities. Amsterdam and Rotterdam had special treasurers (*thesauriers*) for the provincial taxes besides the *thesaurieren ordinaris* who collected the city taxes. The tax collectors paid the revenues to the provincial Receiver General. This officer was accountable to the Executive Council. In the southern part of Holland, the Executive Council had a finance office, the *Financie van Holland* (see 8.2.5).[57] This Finance Office kept a duplicate bookkeeping (*contraboekhouding*) of the annuities, bonds, lotteries, duties, and land taxes. Every month the collectors had to report their income and expenses. The administration at the Finance Office was done by two chief clerks (*commiezen*), an accountant (*boekhouder*), and some ten scriveners (*klerken*). After the abolishment of tax farming in 1748, the staff was increased with another ten scriveners, an accountant, and a chief clerk. Their production was tremendous.

Currently, the archive of the Finance Office of Holland, in the National Archives since 1859, is 81 metres. It could have been much larger, but—as so often—much has been destroyed, either systematically or by accident. One such accident was a fire at the Binnenhof in The Hague in 1635 which damaged the archives of the Finance Office. However, soldiers of the bodyguard of Prince Frederick Henry and his architect Pieter Post were able to save several books and papers.

Apart from the control by the Finance Office, there was a regular check by auditing (*afhoren*) of the accounts of the receivers. These were made in duplicate: one for the receiver himself (called the *rendant*, the person rendering the account), the other for the provincial Audit Office (*Rekenkamer*). Copies for the *rendant* have often been preserved in family archives. However, when tax collection was in the hands of a city, the city government accounted before the provincial Audit Office and kept the copies for the *rendant* in the city archives.

As mentioned before, the collection of the provincial land tax was a duty of the local authorities. This was not without risk for the local officers.

57 National Archives, *Financie van Holland* (3.01.29), inventory by J. Smit (1947).

An example is the village of Ter Aar, not far from Leiden.[58] Since the 1670s Ter Aar had been getting into debt, and the village was frequently overdue in collecting and paying the land tax. One of the most important creditors was the Receiver General, Cornelis van Aerssen. In 1710 Van Aerssen bought the seigniory (*heerlijkheid*) Voshol, including Ter Aar, and began by demanding to see the financial records. These confirmed his suspicion that the village was in 'sheer disorder'. To restore order, the records had to be put straight. Van Aerssen gave the instruction to make a new ledger, as the current one was unfit for use due to a decrease in taxable areas caused by peat dredging (see 5.2). The new book was to provide more complete and up-to-date information. The new lord of the seigniory requested to see all accounts since 1694, in order to check them item by item and, if necessary, correct the data. Van Aerssen took part of the archives to his home in The Hague to put them in order. Some registers were rebound, and the old peat book was replaced by a new one. This shows how much Van Aerssen—an experienced administrator—valued good recordkeeping as a prerequisite for good management. Upon termination of all the work, he presented the updated and consolidated registers to the village council in 1720. After having reviewed the books, the council expressed its satisfaction and delight, noting that all debts had been paid and the village had been saved from ruin.

58 The following is for the greater part a summary of Arjan van 't Riet, 'Sij wilden gereddet sijn, maer sij wilden wel meester blijven. De ambachtsheer Cornelis van Aerssen en de redding van Ter Aar', in *De cirkel doorbroken. Met nieuwe ideeën terug naar de bronnen. Opstellen over de Republiek. Aangeboden aan Simon Groenveld …*, ed. Maurits Ebben and Pieter Wagenaar (Leiden: Instituut voor geschiedenis, 2006), pp. 56-70.

This was in great contrast with Zwammerdam, another village belonging to the seigniory Voshol, where the council was continuously in difficulties with the lord of the seigniory, especially about access to the archives.[59] Van Aerssen had the archive chest sealed in 1720 so that the members of the local council could not function for a while. And this was not the last time the Zwammerdam archive chest was a bone of contention.

As I mentioned earlier, opposition arose in large parts of the Republic during 1747 and 1748 against malpractices of the elite, specifically regarding the financial management by regents (see also 4.7). People demanded means for better control of government, including publication of tax registers and, more generally, publicity of privileges, ordinances, and other documents. As inhabitants of Leiden argued: the people are entitled to see the privileges of their city and state, to understand them, to act accordingly, and, if necessary, to use them.[60] The people of Zwammerdam also asked for more openness, accountability, and access to the archives. This led to a court case before the Court of Holland in 1748. It ended in 1760 when the village council pledged it would allow access to the archive chest and provide copies of documents. A year later a new conflict erupted over access to the archive chest, which was kept in the village inn. All three keys were in the hands of the councillors, who took some papers out of the chest to have them copied. The lord of the seigniory, Cornelis van Aerssen's son Albrecht, angrily stipulated that only the secretary was entitled to deliver copies. Van Aerssen furnished the chest with a special lock that could only be opened by the sheriff.

Archiving at provincial level was always intertwined with archiving on local levels. The tax offices in the cities collected both the provincial excises and a surcharge for the city. Apart from excise, land tax, and taxes on wealth and income, there were more levies, usually collected by the local secretary. At the transfer of real estate, a transfer tax had to be paid (see 6.1.1). Inheritances were taxed, and since 1695 in Holland and Zeeland, there was a tax on marriages and one on burials. Stamp duties (a Dutch invention of 1624, introduced in England in 1694) had to be paid for the paper used for petitions and other official documents. This stamped paper was bought from the provincial tax office by the local receivers who resold it to notaries, lawyers, secretaries, bailiffs, and the general public.

59 W. van Tuyl, *Het ambacht Zwammerdam…* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1996), pp. 142-4.

60 *Nasporing van de beswaarnissen [...] welke [...] de burgers [...] der stadt Leyden vermeinen te hebben* (Leiden, 1746).

But there were even more duties. For most licences one had to pay a fee. These fees often greatly contributed to the income the city had granted to its charitable institutions. In 1.3 I gave the example of the licences of innkeepers and tobacconists in Amsterdam, the fees of which were paid to the House of Correction.

Archiving taxes in the Republic stands out not only because of the interconnectedness between provincial and local tax administration but also because of the continuity and durability. Administrations were used for a very long time, more or less unchanged, despite all changes in society. Precisely because of its being local, the Dutch tax system could react flexibly to new opportunities for taxation, including transforming old taxes into new ones or increasing or lowering tariffs, all while retaining the often hopelessly obsolete assessment registers.

Increasingly, more detailed regulations governed the bookkeeping and maintenance of the various ledgers by the tax collectors. Of this extensive administration little has been preserved. This is especially the case for the archiving by the collectors in rural areas, probably because the data aggregated at a higher level were considered more important. This argument may have applied also to the administration of the excise duties that was almost totally destroyed. On the other hand, the registers of the land tax, the death duties, and the taxes on marriages and burials have been preserved fairly well, possibly because these registers had a value not only for the tax administration but also for private people who needed evidence of a transaction, a marriage, or a burial.

8.3.2 The Calculating State[61]

The tax system designed by Finance Minister Gogel and introduced in 1806 was maintained after 1813. The tax burden was not equally distributed, mainly because of the differences of local taxes and excises levied by the municipalities: the annual tax burden per capita in 1850 ranged from seven guilders and 90 cents in Noord-Holland to a mere

61 The following is for the greater part a summary of Tom Pfeil, *Op gelijke voet. De geschiedenis van de Belastingdienst* (Deventer: Kluwer 2009, 2nd. ed. 2013).

90 cents in Limburg.[62] Both the land tax and the excises necessitated an immense administration at national, provincial, and local levels. Citizens and businesses were encumbered with administrative obligations as well. Collecting the excises on soap, milling, and spirits, for example, was based on forms and bookkeeping kept by businesses (see 7.6.2.2). Because of this interconnectedness, the taxation records formed a genre system (see the General Introduction). Opposition against the excises, as well as against the administrative workload, resulted in the abolishment of nearly all excises between 1852 and 1885. At the same time, however, the excise on jenever and other spirits was maintained; it was the 'milk cow' of the tax system.[63]

Assessment of the national land tax necessitated reliable bookkeeping according to national standards; the various local registrations were insufficient in the new State. Under Gogel the establishment of a public registration of real property (*cadastre*) had begun during 1807 and 1808, but the French occupation had impeded its completion.[64] Between 1812 and 1832 the whole country was surveyed and measured. The value of each parcel (*perceel*) was assessed as the basis for the land tax. The maps and registers that were made served the registration of ownership and other rights on real estate properties beginning in 1838 (see 6.1.2).

Another duty adopted from the French was the licence duty (*patentrecht*). This was a rate for the annual licence (*patent*) to exercise an occupation or business, though farmers were exempt.[65]

Only after the introduction of the income tax in the years 1892 and 1893, was the *patentrecht* abolished. Assessment and collection of this business rate were very record intensive. It started with the tax return form, which was delivered at home and had to be filled in and returned within eight days. In every municipality a board of assessors, chaired by the burgomaster, checked the returns. The members of this board were appointed for four years. They were also involved in the assessment for the land tax and the so-called personal tax, a property tax based on the number of servants, horses, doors, windows, and fireplaces.

62 Michael Wintle, *An economic and social history of the Netherlands, 1800–1920. Demographic, economic and social transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 161.

63 Wintle, *An economic and social history,* p. 143.

64 A. Scheffer, 'Het "Hollandse kadaster"', *Nederlands archievenblad* 82 (1976): 25-40.

65 P.M.M. Klep, A. Lansink and W.F.M. Terwisscha van Scheltinga, *Broncommentaren II. De registers van patentplichtigen, 1805-1893* (Nijmegen: Vereniging van archivarissen in Nederland, 1985).

Fig. 8.7 Business licence (*patent*) for a coppersmith, 1844. Belasting- en Douane Museum Rotterdam, 44028.

The assessors determined the tax class and the amount of tax for all taxable people. This was registered in the ledger of *patent* taxable people. After control by the tax supervisor, this ledger was used as a basis for the tax collector to make his assessment register and the notices of assessment. Tax payment was recorded on the notice and accounted for in the journal of the collector. The taxpayer then received the *patent*, signed by the burgomaster and the taxpayer. In every workshop, factory, or store a register of workers had to be kept up to date in case of inspection of the actual size of the business—the size was one of the factors of the *patent* tax. In private archives one occasionally finds notices of assessment and *patent* tax deeds. Much of the registers of the patent tax have been destroyed, only a few are kept in municipal archives.

The total assessment in the *patent* tax, the land tax, and the personal tax determined the suffrage. In 1848 direct election of members of the Lower House of Parliament, the Provincial States, and municipal councils was introduced. Data gathered by the tax collector were the starting point for the electoral roll. Only male adults who paid a certain amount of tax had the right to vote. Even after extension of the franchise in the 19th century, tax continued to be the most important criterion for inclusion in the electoral roll. In 1910, 88 percent of male voters were 'tax voters'. For the remaining 12 percent the suffrage was based on wages, renting a house, owning savings, or having passed a particular exam. It is clear that these 'markers of suitability and societal prosperity' were mainly financial. The evidence required entailed much paperwork for the taxable people and various institutions. For example, when a man wanted to apply for suffrage based on his wages or because he was paying rent, he had to submit a declaration form every year. In 1917 universal suffrage for men was introduced and in 1919 for women as well. The criteria of suitability and societal prosperity were abolished.

The implementation of the national tax system was the task of the National Tax Administration (*Rijksbelastingdienst*), founded in 1805. This internal revenue agency formed part of the Ministry of Finance and consisted of two departments (*dienstvakken*): one for the direct taxes, import and export duties, and excises, the other for the control

of State domains and registration. Registration, introduced by the French in 1812, meant official registration of various deeds drawn up by notaries and courts, but also of diplomas and certificates made in the private sector.

Both departments were hierarchically organized, with functionaries at national, provincial, and district (*arrondissement*) levels. Within each district there were controllers and collectors; at the bottom of the pyramid were the people in the *stationnementen*, the field staff who had to assess the flows of goods. Much of the work was done physically on site by measuring, counting, weighing, and sampling in factories, mills, slaughterhouses, and ships and by inspection of goods and transport documents. These documents travelled with the goods from taxable person to the tax office and back. Although control and assessment were mainly physical activities, a lot of paper was involved as well. Everything was recorded and reported, and the documents went from the level of the controller (*verificateur*) to the next level, that of the collector, who in turn was supervised by inspectors, whose reports went higher up. Downstream went a cascade of circular letters, instructions, models, and decisions.

Around 1850 the department of direct taxes comprised 3,500 civil servants, while the department of domains and registration had 385. Dispersed over the country were hundreds of collecting offices. By 1825 they numbered nearly 1,200. There was a tax collector in almost every municipality. In 1833 the number of collectors had decreased to 800, and in 1870 to 544.[66] This dense network (even denser than the judicial one, which comprised 150 local courts, or *kantongerechten*) made the office of the collector easily accessible for the taxable people who came to pay taxes in person. It was not until 1871 before payment by money order (*postwissel*) was made possible.

The paperwork at the Tax Administration was voluminous. In 1819 the department of direct taxes used 79 standard forms for the verification of income and expenses only. There was much duplication in archiving between the two departments, and exchange of information between them was difficult. Therefore, an important component of the

66 National Archives, *Departement van Ontvangsten, Verbalen G* (2.08.01.07), inv. nr. 1773; *Jaarboekje voor de ambtenaren der directe belastingen, in- en uitgaande regten en accijnsen in Nederland* 1 (1833) and 9 (1841).

Fig. 8.8 Notice of assessment in the personal tax, 1894. The assessment is based on (1) rent value, (2) number of doors and windows, (3) fireplaces, and (4) furniture. Noord-Hollands Archief, *Van Gelder* (457), inv. nr. 1201.

Fig. 8.9 Louis Raemaekers, The Tax Administration (*De Fiscus*), *De Telegraaf*, 15 May1914.

67   Pfeil, *Op gelijke voet*, pp. 307, 314-15, 326; National Archives, *Ministerie van Financiën: dossierarchief* (2.08.41), inv. nr. 4419, and *Ingenieursbureau Van Gogh* (2.18.19), inv. nr. 9, dossier 3, inv. nr. 11, dossier 9.

68   'De grondslag van alles', according to P.J.A. Adriani, quoted by Pfeil, *Op gelijke voet*, p. 307.

69   J. de Zeeuw, *Informatiegaring door de fiscus. Privacybescherming bij derdenonderzoeken* ('s-Gravenhage: Registratiekamer, 1998), https://autoriteitpersoonsgegevens.nl/sites/default/files/downloads/av/av08.pdf, accessed 18 Nov. 2018.

reorganization proposals of 1927 was the formation of one joint archive to connect the various officers.[67] In 1928 and 1929 Van Gogh and Hijmans (who founded the first Dutch organization consultancy firm) prepared an 'archives test' (*archiefproef*) twice, but they were not carried out because of resistance by staff. The proposal for a joint archive was repeated in 1948. It ultimately led to the formation of one archive for the two departments at each of the eight regional directorates. However, the dream of one comprehensive archive for the entire agency ('the basis for everything')[68] became reality only after the mechanization and computerization of the Tax Administration (see below).

Much of the information in the archives of the Tax Administration comes from outside. The file of a tax paper comprises, apart from the tax returns and the assessment, so-called *renseignementen*. This term (adopted from the French administrative practice around 1800) is used for the information obtained *about* but not *from* a taxpayer.[69] This information may have been collected by the Tax Administration itself or provided by third parties. Even newspaper clippings, and nowadays information from the Internet, may contain relevant data. Moreover, the Tax Administration is entitled to inspect the bookkeeping of any taxpayer. That authority was introduced in 1914 when the income tax was implemented. On request, the taxpayer has 'to provide access to books or other documents that may serve as evidence for the tax return of his further statements'. In a cartoon from 1914 a merchant complains of the Tax Administration (*fiscus*): 'With his hand in my safe and now also with his nose in my books'.

Examination of the books—auditing—was essential for the collection of the new sales tax (1934), the payroll tax (1940), and the dividend tax (1941). These taxes are retention taxes (*afdrachtbelastingen*), in contrast with the income tax and the capital tax which are collected upon assessment. Thus, the shopkeeper withholds the sales tax, the employer withholds the payroll tax, the bank withholds the dividend tax—and they all must pay the Tax Administration the amount of taxes they have calculated. There are various forms of control. To check, for example, whether an employer has remitted the right sum of the payroll tax, he must keep a record for each employee and permit inspection of the payroll

administration and other documents which may be relevant. By obliging shopkeepers, employers, and banks to keep these administrations, the archiving spheres of the Tax Administration and taxpayer become interconnected, according to tax historian Arendsen.[70]

According to the current Tax Act, every taxpayer is bound to keep books and records of his or her financial position and of *all facts* pertaining to the business, independent profession, or occupation according to the requirements of that business, independent profession, or occupation in such a way that they clearly show, at any moment in time, one's rights and obligations, as well as any data which are otherwise of importance to the levying of taxes. These records must be retained for seven years. Of the records of the Tax Administration, only policy documents are preserved, while nearly all of the routine records created in the implementation of the tax legislation are destroyed.

Information about taxpayers (*renseignementen*) is obtained from businesses, government agencies, and taxpayers themselves. This information was recorded at first in ledgers, and since the 1930s in files.[71] Today it is mostly in digital form. Banks and pension funds are required to cooperate in the amassing of information by the Tax Administration. The taxpayer, however, does not know what information the Tax Administration has collected. This has a preventive, even panoptical effect (see 4.11); the records exert their power not by being used, but simply by being there—not unlike the intimidating effect of that early example of a tax record, the Domesday Book.

Furthermore, the Tax Administration carries out special information-gathering actions, like the operation 'foam head' (*schuimkraag*) in 1979 and 1980—the control of the books of 24,000 catering businesses—and operation 'golden tooth' (*goudtand*)—the control of 1,800 dental surgeons. Through informatization and linking of databases the opportunities of collecting information about the taxpayer has increased substantially, as the following graph shows.

70 Arendsen, *Eenvoudig belasting heffen*, p. 48.

71 *Verzameling van voorschriften voor de ambtenaren der directe belastingen, invoerrechten en accijnzen*, nr. 4625: National Archives, *Ministerie van Financiën: agenda's en toegangen op de verbalen* (2.08.05.01), inv. nr. 1566.

Fig. 8.10 Data sources of the Tax Administration, 2015.

Mechanization of the Tax Administration started rather late. From the middle of the 1920s cash registers at the collectors' offices and counting and bookkeeping machinery in five 'machine centres' came into use.[72] The introduction of machines was supervised by Van Gogh and Hijmans. They had designed time studies to test the efficiency of working with the machines. These were based on the methods of scientific management that Taylor and others had introduced in the United States. The Tax Administration started using addressing machines in 1942. They had been in use in business for quite some time already (see 8.2.7). In 1947 a punchcards centre was established, and in 1954 an IBM 604 was rented to process these cards. The progress of automation is now a question of years. A separate department for automation was founded in 1967; it employed more than 2,000 people by 1980. At that time the Tax Administration used more than 650 different applications to consult and update the various files. Between 1984 and 1993 every tax officer got his or her own PC. Thus, the ideal of all 'officers clustered around a joint archive' was realized. Starting in 1987 the paper tax returns were fed into the computer, and in 1995 people were allowed to submit their income tax return on a floppy disk. The number of computer applications at the Tax Administration had risen to more than 1,505 in 2015.[73] No wonder that the Tax Administration is often the victim of failures of its ICT systems.

Computerization was introduced in the department of domains and registration much later than at the Tax Administration. Since 2014 the registration of notarial deeds is done digitally by entering electronic copies into a 'Central Digital Repertory' kept by the Royal Dutch Association of Civil-law Notaries.

In 2015 the Act on electronic exchange of messages with the Tax Administration came into force. The aim is to finally digitize the exchange of messages between the Tax Administration and the citizen. Currently nearly 100 percent of the annual 12 million tax returns are submitted digitally. However, downstream traffic is not yet digitized equally, as only 6.9 million people have activated the electronic letter box to receive tax assessments electronically. Therefore the 'blue envelope' in which tax assessments have been sent since 1916, is still used. They will not disappear completely. After much opposition in the media

72 National Archives, *Ingenieursbureau Van Gogh* (2.18.19), inv. nr. 9, dossier 2, inv. nr. 10, dossier 2; *Ministerie van Financiën: dossierarchief* (2.08.41), inv. nr. 4422.

73 https://web.archive.org/web/20190428170430/ https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/ rapporten/2017/10/25/rapport-data-stream-investigation, archived 28 April 2019.

and in Parliament, government promised that the blue envelope will not be abolished totally, and people who make known that they have difficulties with digital communication may still use paper. In 2017 this applied to 72,000 taxpayers.

To paraphrase Arendsen's conclusion: the administration concerning taxes has developed through the ages into the current network of public and private data collections and archives. Varying administrative-technical opportunities and the societal desirability of using these, influence the quality, reliability, and usability of the tax archives.[74]

8.4 Banking

8.4.1 Banks of Exchange[75]

In 1609 the City Council of Amsterdam established the Bank of Exchange (*Wisselbank*). It was not an issuing bank. Instead, the Bank exchanged gold, silver, and non-current coins; sold precious metal to goldsmiths and silversmiths; received money on deposit; and managed a giro system transferring funds between accounts. All bills of exchange of over 600 guilders (changed to 300 in 1643) had to be paid through the Bank. The number of accounts reflected the economic trend: a rapid increase from 739 in 1609 to 2,102 in 1661. Then the number slowed down, but it reached a new peak in 1721 with a total number of 2,918 account holders. Merchants—including many foreigners—maintained a current account with the Bank. The record of each account was kept on one or more pages in the grand ledger. The series of grand ledgers is not complete; it comprises 636 volumes. Initially there were two volumes per year, but from 1683 there were four volumes per year, and from 1715 six volumes per year. Indexes, in 285 volumes, provide access to the ledgers. Ledgers and indexes have been digitized and are available on the Internet.

Although formally not allowed, the Bank lent money on interest. In the beginning this was done for institutions and people like the States of Holland or the Count of East Friesland,

74 Arendsen, *Eenvoudig belasting heffen*, p. 25.

75 J.G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der wisselbanken (Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam),* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1925); J.G. van Dillen, 'De Amsterdamsche Wisselbank in de zeventiende eeuw', *De Economist* 77 (1928): 239-59, 349-73; Pit Dehing and Marjolein 't Hart, 'Linking the fortunes. Currency and banking, 1550-1800', in *A financial history of The Netherlands*, ed. Marjolein 't Hart, Joost Jonker and Jan Luiten van Zanden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 45-51; Soll, 'Accounting for government'; Pit Dehing, *Geld in Amsterdam : wisselbank en wisselkoersen, 1650-1725* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012).

but later lending was limited to only the United East India Company (VOC) and the Treasury of the city of Amsterdam. The annual profits of the Bank (from interest and the surplus of the money exchange) accumulated and were kept as a reserve fund for the city; in 1685 this fund amounted to more than 2.3 million guilders.

The Bank of Exchange was managed by three commissioners chosen by the City Council, who controlled the bookkeepers, cashiers, and the assayer. The Bank had its offices and vaults in the City Hall. Each of the four bookkeepers had a specific task. The first received the banker's orders (*assignaties* or *bankbriefjes,* modelled after the Venetian *assegni in banco*), the printed forms requesting the Bank to pay a sum of money from the debtor's account to the creditor's account. The bookkeeper noted the account number and handed the order to the second bookkeeper who checked the accounts of debtor and creditor in the balance book. The next bookkeeper copied everything in the journal—though this was abolished in 1625—and forwarded the order to his colleague who debited and credited the accounts in the grand ledger. When a merchant wanted to draw money from his account, he asked one of the bookkeepers for a printed banker's order addressed to the cashiers. However, as the historians of banking Pit Dehing and Marjolein 't Hart observed, instead of demanding money from an account in hard cash, it was cheaper to buy a *recepis* on the bourse. A *recepis*, introduced in 1683, was a receipt in bank money under commission charge which could be prolonged or negotiated at extremely low interest (see 13.5).[76]

After the Bank in Amsterdam other exchange banks were established in Middelburg (1616), Delft (1621-1635), and Rotterdam (1635). The Amsterdam Bank got into financial difficulties around 1790, partly because of the bankruptcy looming over the VOC, whose main creditor was the Bank of Exchange. This only became known to the public after the Batavian Revolution in 1795. Trust in the Bank diminished fast—in 1796 there were still 1,543 accounts, in 1811 only 740. In 1820 the Bank was liquidated.

76 *A history of European banking*, ed. H. van der Wee and G. Kurgan-van Hentenryk (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 2000), p. 215 shows a picture of what is called a certificate of deposit, but which in fact is a certificate of forward sale of a share in the West India Company.

8.4.2 Merchant Bankers

In the 18th century the undisputed leader of the trading houses in the Republic was the company founded by the brothers Archibald and Thomas Hope, known from 1762 as Hope & Co in Amsterdam (see 7.2). It would remain independent until the merger in 1996 with Mees, a Rotterdam bank established in 1733.[77] After 1762 the firm (with a capital of more than four million guilders) ventured on financing trade transactions and brokering loans by foreign governments and owners of plantations in the Danish, Dutch, and British West Indies. Although banking became by far the most important activity of Hope & Co, they remained merchant bankers. That is, they continued trading in money, grain, colonial produce, tea, wine—anything that could be sold at a profit, including slaves.[78]

Both in banking and in trade, reliability and solvency were of the utmost importance. Hope received hundreds of requests (mainly from abroad) to provide information about the trustworthiness of businesses, just as Hope itself collected such information in the Republic and abroad.

The loans brokered by Hope & Co provided foreign governments with money. An example are the 12 loans brokered on behalf of Sweden between 1767 and 1787 and totalling 14.5 million guilders. The firm did not provide the money all by itself but brokered between the lender and the market of investors who bought bonds in the loan (*negotiatie*).[79] Hope & Co worked as 'banquiers' as they called themselves and managed the whole affair for a commission of four to seven percent (and two loans made for an exceptional nine and a half percent). Among the securities for the first of these loans to Sweden were 40 promissory notes of 10,000 rix-dollars (*rijksdaalders*) each. These were to remain in Hope's possession until the final payment against the loan had been made. They were put in a tin box, sealed by John Hope, an Amsterdam notary, and the burgomasters of Amsterdam and deposited at the Amsterdam Exchange Bank. On another occasion, the Swedish securities were deposited in an iron chest at the Amsterdam notary's office.

77 The following is for the greater part a summary of A.M. Bendien and J.C.A. Blom, *Archief van de Firma Hope & Co. met verwante archiefvormers*, Amsterdam City Archives, finding aid nr. 735; Joost Jonker and Keetie Sluyterman, *At home on the world markets. Dutch international trading companies from the 18th century until the present*, transl. Diederik van Werven (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers, 2000), pp. 119-24; Wim Wennekes, *Eeuwenoud. De lange levens van zeven Nederlandse bedrijven [...]* (Amsterdam: Rap, 1989).

78 Marten G. Buist, *At spes non fracta. Hope & Co. 1770-1815. Merchant bankers and diplomats at work* (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), p. 33.

79 Buist, *At spes non fracta*, p. 20.

Plantation owners received loans with their plantation serving as security (Fig. 7.2). The interest and principal were paid from the products of the plantation sold by the lender, Hope & Co, or a joint-stock company represented by Hope & Co.

The imminent danger of a French invasion caused the Hopes (who entertained close relations with the Stadholder's family) to move to England in 1794. The affairs in Amsterdam were entrusted to agents led by Pierre César Labouchere. The Hope heirs withdrew from the Amsterdam firm in 1813-1814 and transferred their shares to Alexander Baring in London, a former employee of Hope & Co and Labouchere's brother in law. Although none of the partners belonged to the Hope family any longer, continuity was ensured by marriages and by associations with relatives like Sillem, Borski, and Van Loon.

In 1794 a survey of the archives was made, with a reference to the rooms and boxes.[80] The survey was kept until 1812. Marginal notes like 'sent to Asd' (Amsterdam) reveal that the lists were drawn up in London. Lists of destroyed documents were made in 1852, 1875-1876, and 1899. The documents that were destroyed were mainly paid coupons (in 1899 more than 130 chests), redeemed bonds, and similar records. The list of 1875 states what had to be done with the archives ('all more or less damaged by leakages, rats, and mice'): destruction 'both by tearing at the Koster Bros., as by burning at the iron foundry The Atlas'.
In 1899 a great number of papers that could be disposed of was collected from the attics and various 'book rooms'. Everything from before 1899 went to Van Gelder paper factory to be pulped. A few series on the list (including grand ledgers and journals) have been preserved nevertheless.

The archives of Hope & Co were deposited with the Amsterdam City Archives in 1977. From the inventory (comprising nearly 4,200 items) one can infer the variety of activities of the bank and the documentary genres resulting from these activities—in the terms of the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2) the 'what' and 'how' leading to archiving. The business ('what') was broadly merchandise trade, trading bills of exchange, credit lending,

80   Amsterdam City Archives, *Hope* (735), inv.nr. 1768, pp. 179-219; inv. nrs. 557, 559.

management of private estates, and administration of securities. The last category includes the *negotiaties* and syndicates in which Hope & Co participated. The Hope archives also comprise many smaller archives of acquired and affiliated businesses.

Bookkeeping forms the core of the Hope archives: 800 items, including balances (127 volumes), grand ledgers 1770-1944 (162 volumes, plus 98 volumes of indexes), and journals 1770-1935 (139 volumes). As usual, the auxiliary books (memorials, invoice books, cash books) were destroyed. However, there is much more financial administration than bookkeeping only, related to the activities mentioned before.

The way in which archiving of correspondence was done by Hope & Co was researched by Jan Blom, who inventoried the Hope archives.[81] It struck him that the way Hope handled the letters received did not much differ from what one traditionally finds in other merchants' archives. Impyn (see 7.1 and 8.2.2) had published an instruction for archiving letters in the 16th century and later writers followed his example. The influential 18th-century manual *La science des négocians et teneurs de livres*[82] by Matthieu de La Porte (born around 1660 in Nijmegen to a family of originally French merchants) prescribed folding each letter received along the length, noting on one of the ends the date and that it was answered, and on the other end, having dealt with the matter, place, date, and name of the sender. Every month the letters received from one sender were bundled and put in a parcel inscribed with the month and the year. At year's end, the twelve parcels were put in a bag labelled 'Letters' and the year. This bag was shelved at the office.

The letters received were not easily accessible. At Hope & Co the papers could be consulted, but only if staff could identify the place where the documents were stored. This, as Blom suggests, did not matter very much because for evidential purposes one had recourse in many cases to the outgoing letters. They were indexed and often referred to a letter received. Around 1890, however, it seems that nearly all documents received by Hope & Co were arranged according to subject; the chronological series and the series arranged by sender were terminated.

81   J.C.A. Blom, 'Het beheer van de handelscorrespondentie tot circa 1900', *Nederlands archievenblad* 92 (1988): 116-27.

82   The full title is 'La science des négocians et teneurs de livres, ou Instruction générale pour tout ce qui se pratique dans les comptoirs des négocians, tant pour les affaires de banque, que pour les marchandises, & chez les financiers pour les comptes.'

The outgoing letters were copied into registers. Each copybook (*brievenboek*) contained an alphabetical index of addressees. According to the bookkeeping manuals, these copybooks were part of the bookkeeping (see also 7.1). Apart from copybooks containing the general correspondence, there were registers of letters to specific relations or concerning a specific subject, for example Spanish or American loans.

8.5 Conclusion

Financial records are maintained by government, business, and citizen to control income and expenditure. However, they can also serve to make reality calculable, as tax historian Rex Arendsen argues.[83] This calculable reality is not always the same as the observable material reality. What counts is a formal administrative reality, recorded in bookkeeping, assessment lists, collection registers, tax returns, and other financial records. They reflect a reality as perceived or constructed by the 'archivers'. What Mary Poovey detected concerning double-entry bookkeeping holds true for all these financial records: the formal arithmetic *precision* of the entries was meant as a guarantee for the *accuracy* of the recorded details.[84] Therefore people did not bother very much about the accuracy of assessment registers and bookkeeping, as long as they supported the fiction of congruity between the material reality and the formal reality (8.2.3, 8.2.4, 8.3.1). In the hands of tax authorities, businesses, and banks these records support controlling finance and thereby controlling people. Accounting is a tool for exercising social power within and without organizations,[85] such as in determining franchise based on tax assessment (8.3.2).

A national tax administration did not exist before 1806. Assessment and collection were done by various agents on local and provincial levels. Taxation processes that have to underpin the assessment are intensive and extensive information processes. This results in vast amounts of paper (and nowadays digital data), a complex web of interrelated genres maintained by various actors (genre system). Much of the financial records from the past were destroyed, both by government (8.3) and by private people and businesses (8.4.2).

83   Arendsen, *Eenvoudig belasting heffen*, pp. 18-24.

84   Mary Poovey, *A history of the modern fact. Problems of knowledge in the sciences of wealth and society* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 30, 64.

85   Anthony G. Hopwood, 'The archaeology of accounting systems', *Accounting, organizations and society*, 12, no.3 (1987): 213.

Still, we can ascertain that many genres of financial records showed a remarkable continuity. Memorial, journal, grand ledger, balance, copybook, business letters, bills of exchange, and shares were created and kept over the centuries show great constancy in form and usage, although the technologies changed (see chapter 11). The records used for tax assessment and collection show comparable endurance over time.

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CHAPTER
9

ARCHIVING PEOPLE
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF
DUTCH ARCHIVES

Chapter 9

Archiving Litigation

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〻 Fig. 9.0 The Court of Friesland: Johan van den
Sande, *Rerum in Suprema Frisiorum Curia
Iudicatarum libri V* (Leovardiae: Jan Jansen de
Fries, 1635).

⌄

9.0 Introduction[1]

The judicial organization in the Netherlands in the Middle Ages and early modern times had many forms. Different historically grown systems existed not only for different provinces but also for different locations, as National Archivist Maarten van Boven writes.[2] One of his predecessors, Robert Fruin, lectured at the Archives School in the 1920s on the history of the judicial organization before 1795. He reworked his lectures into an article (1934), that I used when I taught the same subject at the Archives School half a century later. Van Boven summarizes:

> Fruin assumed that one general model existed in most provinces at the end of the 18th century. At the local level there were aldermen's courts (*schepenbanken*), often consisting of a sheriff (*schout*) as chairman and aldermen (*schepenen*) who decided civil and petty criminal cases. In a larger area there were the courts of bailiff (*baljuw*) and vassals (*leenmannen*), who administered justice in criminal cases and in certain civil cases. They also acted as courts of appeal for decisions of local courts. Finally, there were the provincial courts. These were formed in Burgundian times and they decided on behalf of the sovereign. These courts heard appeals from decisions of the lower courts. They also played a central role in criminal matters in several provinces and functioned as *forum privilegiatum*.[3] This model applied exactly to Holland, but also fitted the other provinces, although the composition and denomination of judicial bodies and officers might differ.

Apart from the judiciary described in this model, there were numerous special courts of law which are not treated in this chapter. Examples are the water boards (5.1), the tax law tribunals, the military courts, and the university courts.[4] The guilds and the Churches exercised jurisdiction, as did the benches of commons (*markegerichten*, see 5.6). Separate from the local courts, but still accountable to them, were the orphan chambers (see 6.2.5) and others including the chambers for insurance and maritime cases, insolvencies (see the Prologue and 6.3.1), and matrimonial affairs (see the Prologue).

1   I thank Constant Barbas for improving the English legal terminology in sections 9.0 through 9.2.

2   Maarten W. van Boven, *De rechterlijke instellingen ter discussie. De geschiedenis van de wetgeving op de rechterlijke organisatie in de periode 1795-1811. Een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de rechtsgeleerdheid* (Nijmegen: Gerard Noodt Instituut, 1990), p. 5. He adds: 'With the result that any coarsening and generalizing summary sketch has to be incomplete, even for one province, and especially for the lower judicial colleges and therefore cannot present an entirely reliable picture.'
Nevertheless, Van Boven provides in some 30 pages a remarkable and as yet unrivalled exposé of the juridical organization before 1811.

3   Noblemen, officers of the sovereign, widows, orphans, etc. were entitled to use the Court as first instance (*EK*).

4   Van Boven, *De rechterlijke instellingen*, pp. 37-38, 118-19.

Both civil and criminal cases proceeded for the greater part in writing. What was the documentary outcome of the procedural *acta* of the parties and the judges? What was the relationship between work processes and archiving (see the model of the archiving context, Fig. 0.2)? I try to answer these questions regarding civil judicature by following the stages of a civil case dealt with by the Court of Holland in the 18th century (9.1). Section 9.2 shows archiving by the provincial courts of Holland (with Zeeland), Friesland, Utrecht, and Gelderland.

Other provincial courts were the Council of Brabant in The Hague (established 1591) and the Council of Flanders in Middelburg (established 1599) that administered justice in the 'Generality Lands' (*Generaliteitslanden*). These territories (Staats-Brabant, Staats-Flanders, Westerwolde, and parts of Limburg) were acquired in the war with Spain. The *Etstoel* of Drenthe was replaced by a Court of Justice in 1791. The provincial court of Groningen, the Chamber of Captains (*Hoofdmannenkamer*), became the High Chamber of Justice (*Hoge Justitiekamer*) in 1749. The highest court in Overijssel was the Clearing (*Klaring*). The Supreme Council (*Hoge Raad*) of Holland and Zeeland was established in 1581 as a court of appeal for both these provinces.

Under the auspices of the Society for Publication of the Sources of Dutch Legal History (*Stichting tot uitgaaf der bronnen van het oud-vaderlands recht*), guides on the organization of the courts and the procedure in civil cases were published since 2000.

The extensive archiving by the courts raises the question: how did judges, attorneys, and litigants use these archives (9.3)? The same question arises for contemporary researchers, of course (9.4).

French judiciary and legislation were introduced in 1811. Previously, the present province of Limburg, a few enclaves in Brabant, and Zeelandic Flanders had already been united with France (1794-1795). What happened to the judicial archives and how did the State Archives and municipal archives acquire them (9.4)?

Besides judicature there were many forms of non-judicial administration of justice in the Republic. Neighbourhood committees, for example, fined people and settled disputes and fights among neighbours. Very rarely this was recorded in the neighbourhood book. The most important institutions for non-judicial settlement of (legal) disputes were the notaries; how did they perform this function and what was the archival outcome (9.5)?

The same questions (what, who, how, outcome; see Fig. 0.2) concern other notarial functions. People went to the notary mainly to have a notarial document made such as a testament, a premarital agreement, a transfer of title to a house (6.2.1), or an estate inventory (6.2.4). Charter contracts, IOUs, and insurance policies were also drafted by a notary. How did this work, what happened with the notarial archives, and who had access to these archives (9.6)?

Given the paper-intensive character of judicature, it is not surprising that an urgent need is felt to reduce the paper mountain. What strategies and practices are used to meet this challenge (9.7)?

9.1 'Administering Justice in the Name and on Behalf of the High Government'

By the 16th century the following stages could generally be distinguished in civil cases: summons, claim, response, further statements of claim and of response, formal submission of documents, and judgment. Archiving happened in each phase, both by the court and by the litigants, as the following case will show.[5]

Prelude and Summons
On 2 September 1716 the local court at Woudrichem orders Lambert Michielsz Donckersloot, responding to the claim by Cornelis Jansz Nederveen, to pay one and a half

guilders per year for maintenance and education of the child of Cornelis' daughter Cornelia that Lambert has fathered. At the bottom of the registered judgment is a note stating that Lambert's *procureur* (an attorney dealing with court formalities) filed an appeal at the Court of Holland in The Hague (hereafter the Court).

Zeger Thierens and Abraham van Neck, Lambert's solicitor (*advocaat*) and *procureur* respectively, file a petition (*rekest*) at the Court on 9 September, attaching a copy of the local sentence. Every day, except Saturday and Sunday, two judges and a secretary of the Court meet in the '*rekest* chamber' to receive and decide petitions. The secretary annotates the petition with 'he may petition' (*fiat ut petitur*). The petition then is the basis for the writ (*mandement*) (Fig. 9.1a and b) that one of the clerks must write. This writ is an authorization by the Court for a bailiff to formally give notice to the respondent. But before the writ can be implemented, Donckersloot has to deposit 40 guilders. This sum is returned if the sentence is reversed, but if it is confirmed, the deposit is forfeited. The deposit is recorded on the *mandement* and in a special register of the accounting system of the Court.

The *mandement* with the Court's seal is now ready for collection; the petition remains in the archives. Lambert's *procureur* looks for a bailiff (*deurwaarder*) who can formally notify Nederveen, and commissions Martinus Mekern in Gorinchem. Armed with his staff of office Mekern goes to Nederveen's house and leaves a copy of the writ, with a short notice of the formal notification thereof and of the day appointed for the hearing. The bailiff then goes to Woudrichem town hall to notify the local court that, if so desired, it may accompany the defendant to court. Mekern drafts an account (Fig. 9.1c) that is annexed to the *mandement* and has to be delivered to Donckersloot's *procureur*. The latter must show both documents during the hearing in court.

Claim
The case must now be presented at the cause-list or docket session. The plaintiff's *procureur* submits a note to the registry with the data of the case. A clerk transcribes these

Fig. 9.1 a and b Writ (*mandement*) by the Court of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland, 9 September 1716. The seal of the Court is lost. National Archives, *Hof van Holland* (3.03.01.01), inv. nr. 10371.

Fig. 9.1 c Confirmation (*relaas*) by the bailiff of the formal notification to the defendant, 19 September 1716. National Archives, *Hof van Holland* (3.03.01.01), inv. nr. 10371.
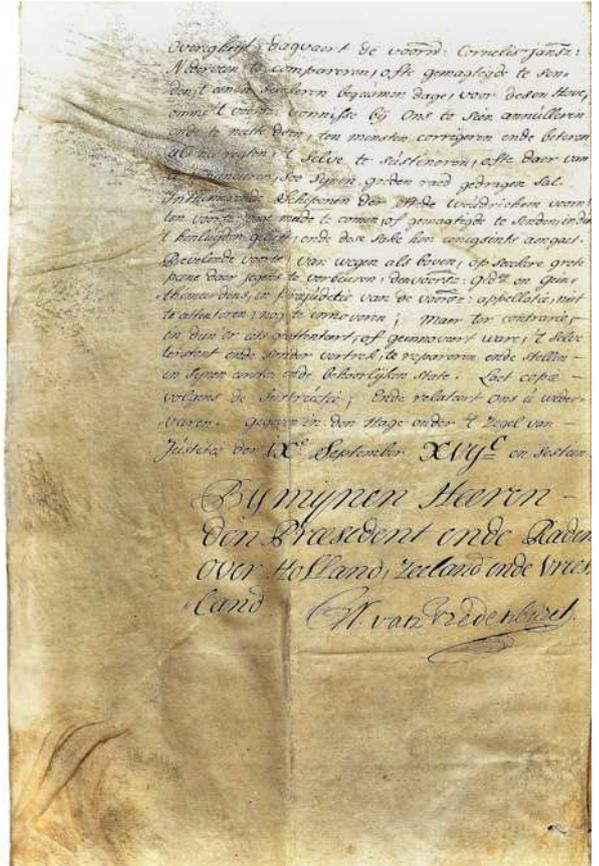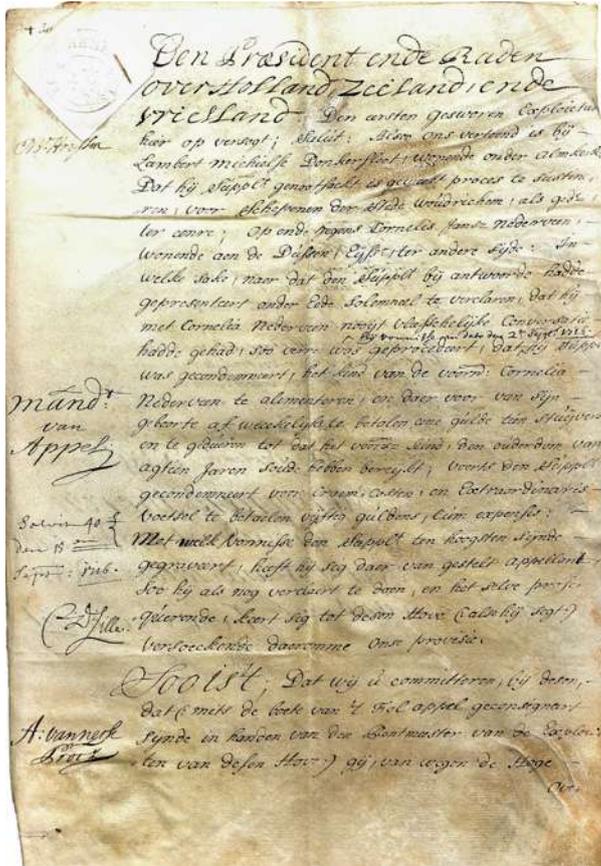
in the cause-list (*rol*): no longer a real scroll (though in the 17th century the cause-lists at the Court of Gelre were still scrolls of parchment), but a few folio sheets of paper folded into a quire, listing the cases to be heard on a particular day. Every Monday the *procureurs* assemble in the '*rol* chamber', where a deputy registrar in the presence of two judges calls the cases one by one. The *procureurs* react when their case is announced, and their reactions are noted in the cause-list.

On the day of the hearing, 6 October, when the case of Donckersloot versus Nederveen is called, *procureur* Van Neck rises and dictates to the secretary: Van Neck presents claim and concludes 'as in writing'. He submits the written claim that solicitor Thierens has drafted (elsewhere this is called a *libel*, from *libellus* or booklet) to the secretary, and hands a copy to Nederveen's *procureur*. The latter, Van Brakel, dictates: Van Brakel prays day, meaning that he wants to be allowed 14 days for consultation. The claim is registered by the Court in the register of filed papers (*dingtalen*). The secretary issues an official report (*proces-verbaal*) of having submitted the claim to the *procureur*. Van Neck must file that report at a later stage.

Response, Further Statements of Claim and of Response

In the *rol* session 14 days later, Van Brakel files his response (*conclusie van antwoord*). The case has now been completely presented (*voldongen*) as the basis for further preparatory steps. Because the conflict concerns facts (and not legal issues) the *procureurs* propose to handle the case in writing only, waiving oral pleadings. The Court's decision on that proposal is recorded in another *proces-verbaal*. In further sessions both *procureurs* exchange their claim and response substantiated extensively in the documents exchanged. Van Neck also files a written replication (*repliek*), whereupon Van Brakel by way of rejoinder 'persists' in his defence. These acts are recorded in the minutes (*proces-verbaal*).

Submission of Documents

In the next session, on 25 November, it is decided to 'deliver deeds and muniments' (*te dienen van acten en munimenten*). That is, each of the litigants must deliver at the

registry his linen bag with documents (*proceszak*), provided with a calendar (*inventaris*). Van Brakel furnishes his file (again recorded in a *proces-verbaal*), but Van Neck fails to appear. After waiting for some time, Van Brakel finally causes the Court to issue an order on 25 January 1717 which will be formally notified to Van Neck by a bailiff. If Van Neck does not comply, the Court will decide on the basis of the documents available. This threat is not carried out, as Van Neck's default is counteracted by Van Brakel adding on 17 February a new document (a witness statement) to his file. On 19 March Van Neck finally submits his bag. Later, more witness statements are added to the file. The two parties exchange copies of their files. Then the claimant submits a brief (*advertissement van rechten*) of some 20 pages containing all the legal arguments. Only the Court receives a copy; the brief is not disclosed to the other party.

Now all papers of the case furnished to the Court are transferred from the 'furnishing chamber' (*furneerkamer*) to the 'working stock' of files on 15 October 1717. In December, President of the Court Adriaan Pieter de Hinojosa requests the papers, and on 17 January 1718 he passes them onto Judge Gerard Thierens (no direct relative of the solicitor), whom he has appointed as reporter in the case. The registry keeps track of the movement of the files by registering each transfer in two registers, one on the names of rapporteurs, the other on the names of *procureurs*. The reporting judge studies the papers at home (therefore, upon the death of a judge, the Court immediately sends staff to the house of the deceased to retrieve the Court papers).

Judgment

After some time, the rapporteur reports in a meeting to the full Court. The registrar notes the opinions of the judges (many judges keep notes themselves) on a piece of paper. These are his personal notes and they are not meant for the archives. After deliberation, the sentence is decided according to the plurality. The draft sentence is registered in the so-called *quaetclappen*. A rough draft was referred to in Dutch as a *quaetclap*, a pun because the verb *quaetclappen* meant to slander or to gossip. It appears from the administration at the registry that the case was declared finalized (*afgedaan*) on 11 March
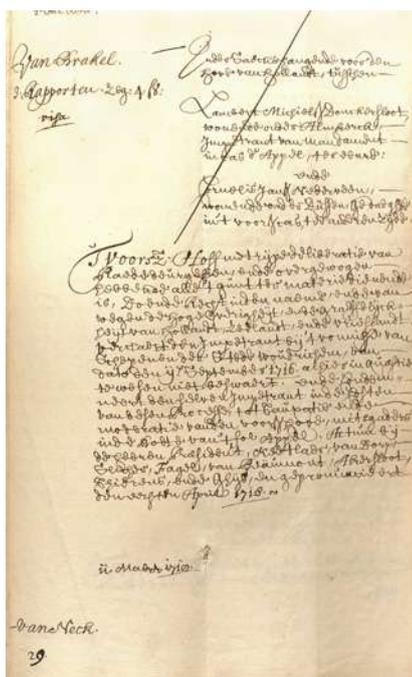
Fig. 9.2 Litigation bag (*proceszak*). National Archives, *Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer* (3.01.27.01), inv. nr. 916.

1718. However, the first clerk at the registry still has to make a final draft of the judgment. This is then checked and finally decided by the Court. The judgment 'Administering Justice in the Name and on Behalf of the High Government' is registered and read aloud in a *rol* session on 1 April 1718. The whole judgment is not read, but only the *dictum*, the actual ruling. Donckersloot's appeal against the judgment of the local court at Woudrichem is rejected and he is ordered to pay the expenses of the lawsuit. The Court assesses these costs at 118 guilders and seven *stuivers*, based on the detailed invoices submitted by Nederveen's solicitor and *procureur*; the Court keeps a separate register of these invoices. The *procureurs* receive a copy of the *dictum*, the *procureur* of Nederveen also receives the whole extended judgment (*geëxtendeerde sententie*). In this document the *dictum* is preceded by an extensive exposé of the arguments of the litigants based on the documents they submitted. However, it does not contain a motivation of the decision. The extended judgment, with the seal of the Court, provides the winner with the basis for enforcement of the judgment.

Completion

The bags are returned to the *furneer* chamber; this is noted in a separate register. There is a cupboard in the chamber with pigeonholes, one for every *procureur*. The bags must be retrieved by the *procureurs*, but this is often neglected, as in the case of Donckersloot versus Nederveen. They were left behind at the Court (see 6.2.5 for a comparable practice regarding estate papers submitted to the Orphan Chamber). In the National Archives around 2,800 of these bags are preserved. In the second half of the 19th century the collection was reordered. The bags are ranked in order of the name of one of the litigants and not (as they were originally) of the names of the *procureurs* of the plaintiffs.

They are files created by the litigants, not by the Court. Of course, the last document in these files is neither the *dictum* nor the extended judgment, but the brief (*advertissement van rechten*). Copies of most of the documents in the files were submitted to the Court and they may therefore be found in the archives of the Court (see Table 9.1). But instead of the registry taking care of the retrieval of the documents to be used in drafting the judgment, it

Fig. 9.3 Judgment (*dictum*), 1 April 1718. The date at the bottom of 11 March 1718 refers to the minutes (*quaetclap*). National Archives, *Hof van Holland* (3.03.01.01), inv. nr. 1228.

was much easier to order the litigants to provide the bags with their files. However, anyone who now wants to consult a judgment must search the archives of the Court and not the documents from the bags. The judgment and other papers may also have been preserved in the personal archives of the winner (or sometimes the other party).

Fig. 9.4 Empty litigation bags in the archives of the Court of Holland and Zeeland, kept separately from their original contents. National Archives, *Hof van Holland* (3.03.01.01), inv. nr. 14026.

The lawsuit between Donckersloot and Nederveen led to a paper mountain of documents both with the litigants and at the Court (see Table 9.1). The same is true for the other high

courts in the Netherlands that all followed roughly the same procedure in civil cases, predominantly based on documents. There were special practices, and here follow some examples. At the Supreme Council of Holland and Zeeland (court of appeal from judgments by the Court of Holland and Zeeland) no bags with files have been preserved. The Council kept decisions (*resoluties*) leading to judgments that reveal the opinions of judges. This is extraordinary because nearly everywhere the deliberations of the judges were kept secret.

If one wanted to file an appeal in Friesland, that person needed a notification from the tribunal to the Court. These were called *apostelen*. The word comes from *apostils*; an *apostil* (from the Latin *apostilla*, or note) is a note (confirming a decision), in most cases in the margin of a document but in some cases written on a separate sheet of paper (see also 3.2).[6] At the Court of Friesland *procureurs* had to submit to the registry all the documents they had exchanged. There the documents were transcribed by engrossers (*grossanten*) and their transcripts were collated by the attorneys. Judges at the Court of Friesland voted in the chamber in writing; the messenger collected the notes in a little box that he handed to the president who subsequently announced the contents of the notes. As in Holland the registrar drafted the *dictum*, according to the majority of votes, in the *quaclappen* (the equivalent of the *quaetclappen* in Holland).

6   B.S. Hempenius-van Dijk, *Procesgids Hof van Friesland. De hoofdlijnen van het procederen in civiele zaken voor het Hof van Friesland zowel in eerste instantie als in appel* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004).

Table 9.1 Stages in the lawsuit Donckersloot versus Nederveen at the Court of Holland, with their presence in available archives, 1716-1718.

		In the Donckersloot bag	In the Nederveen bag	In the Court archives
2 September 1716	Sentence local court at Woudrichem	x		x
	Appeal to the Court of Holland			
	Power of attorney by Donckersloot for Van Neck	x		
	Power of attorney by Nederveen for Van Brakel		x	
9 September 1716	Petition for a writ of summons			x
9 September 1716	Writ of summons	x		
	Written confirmation of formal notification of the writ	x		
6 October 1716	Hearing (*rol*)			x
	Claim			
	Papers filed (*dingtalen*)			x
	Statement of claim (*acte judicieel van eis*)	x		
	Response			
21 October 1716	Hearing (*rol*)			x
	Statement of response (*acte judicieel van antwoord*)		x	
	Specification of the basis for the claim (*eis met middelen*)	x		
	Specification of the basis for the response (*antwoord met middelen*)		x	
13 November 1716	Hearing (*rol*)			x
	Answer and specification of its basis (*repliek met middelen*)	x		
20 November 1716	Hearing (*rol*)			x
	Rejoinder specifying its basis (*dupliek met middelen*)		x	
	Submission of files (*dienen van acten en munimenten; furneren der stukken*)			
25 November 1716	Hearing (*rol*)			x
	Record of submission of documents (*acte van gediend*)		x	
	Inventory		x	
	Witness statements		x	
28 January 1717	Notification requiring submission of documents (*insinuatie om te dienen*)		x	
	Additional calendar		x	
	Witness statements and interrogations		x	
19 March 1717	Hearing (rol)			x

Date	Document			
	Inventory	x		
	Brief (*advertissement van rechten*) Donckersloot	x		
	Brief (*advertissement van rechten*) Nederveen		x	
	Report			
15 October 1717	Register of files transferred from the *furneer* chamber to the Court			x
19 October 1717	Declaration of costs			x
December 1717	Notebook of bags requested from the registry to be provided to the judges designated by the President			x
10 January 1718	Register of assigned cases (*gedistribueerde processen*)			x
	Judgment			
11 March 1718	Minutes (*quaetclap*)			x
29 March 1718	Assessment of costs			x
1 April 1718	Judgment (*dictum*)	*)	**)	x
	Extended judgment		**)	x
5 August 1718	Register of terminated cases (*getermineerde processen*) when bags are returned to the furneer chamber			x

*) Would have been kept in the private archives of Donckersloot.

**) Would have been kept in the private archives of Nederveen.

9.2 Court Archives

In the 15th century the Court of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland (this was the official title, Court of Holland and Zeeland for short) originated from the Count's council which had both governing and judicial tasks. The first legally trained president was appointed in 1445. A registrar (*griffier*) was assigned to keep the judicial registers that were transferred from the Count's chancery. At the registry the day-to-day administration was kept, while papers not needed for current business were stored in various spaces at the Binnenhof in The Hague. Inventories indicating the location of all registers, books, muniments, and papers since 1428 were drawn up in 1619, 1701, and 1725. Since the middle of the 19th century the archives of the Court of Holland and Zeeland are kept in the National Archives (see below), one of the largest and most completely preserved archives, comprising 593 metres. Inventorization of documents started in 1899 and at intervals occupied a few generations of archivists. Finally, the inventory was completed in 2008. The following paragraph is adapted from the extensive introduction to the inventory.[7]

The backbone of the archives (11,798 items) are the *memorialen* since 1428 (the older *memorialen* from 1376 are part of the archives of the Count's council, see 3.1). Over time other series were branched off, for example the registers of judgments and the registers of filed papers (*dingtalen*) in 1447. Out of the latter other series originated. This was not only the result of organizational and political reforms but also of increasing professionalism and more bureaucracy. Registers of the attorney-general (1467), *quaetclappen* (1480), and case lists (*presentatieboeken*, 1484) developed from them. In the 16th century new series were created, including the registers of acknowledged acts (*residentieboeken*, 1517), official letters (*missiven*, 1557), and petitions (*rekesten*,1588) and later registers of decisions (*resolutieboeken*, 1602), reports (*verbalen*, 1630), and *advices* to the States of Holland and other authorities (1647).

7   M.C. Le Bailly, P.J.M. van den Heuvel, J.A.M.Y. Bos-Rops, R. Huijbrecht, J. de Vreugd and B.M. de Vries, *Inventaris van het archief van het Hof van Holland, 1428-1811* (Den Haag: Nationaal Archief, 2008), https://web.archive.org/web/20190906073458/ https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/ archief/3.03.01.01?activeTab=index& searchTerm 3.03.01.01, archived 6 Sept. 2019. Zie ook M.J. van Gent and M.-Ch. Le Bailly, *Gids voor de landsheerlijke archieven van Gelre, Holland, Zeeland en het Sticht* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2003).

Much of the archives of the Court of Friesland (founded in 1515) was lost; of the registers of civil judgments from the 16th century only three volumes have been preserved. Of the series *quaclappen* (comprising the *dicta*, started in 1527) all papers from 1620 to 1765 are missing. The registry of the Court of Friesland made files of the documents submitted by litigants, adding the judgment to the file (unlike the practice elsewhere where the documents submitted to the court were transcribed into registers, as at the Court of Holland). The files that were preserved date mainly from the 18th century.

When Charles V became sovereign of Utrecht, the Duchy of Gelderland, and of the annexed county of Zutphen, he established two courts: the Court of Utrecht in 1530 and the Court of Gelre and Zutphen in 1544. Sentences by these courts (and by the courts in Brabant, Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe) were a final judgment (*arrest*), meaning that appeal was not allowed. This was in contrast to Holland and Zeeland where the Supreme Council was the highest court of appeal.

However, outside Holland and Zeeland, a revision of the judgment of the Court could be requested from the States. These appointed revisors were often judges from other provincial courts (in Groningen revision was commissioned to another court). The revision, according to the practice in Utrecht, was done *ex iisdem actis* and was therefore based on the documents of the lawsuit before the court.[8] Therefore, the litigation bags of the former instance were *geëvangeliseerd* and sealed. By this term (derived from French judicial procedure where an *evangile* was the note accompanying a file when sent to another court) one designated the formal closing of the bags. In case of revision, *evangeliseren* was done by one of the judges and the registrar in the presence of the litigants. The revisors studied the documents, discussed the case in a few meetings, and drafted a judgment (*dictum*). The *dictum* was included and motivated in a *recueil* addressed to the Delegated States (*Gedeputeerde Staten*) which decided accordingly. The *dictum* (without the motivation!) could subsequently be included in an extended judgment provided with the grand seal of the States.

8   J.M. Milo and E.G.D. van Dongen, *Hof van Utrecht. Hoofdlijnen van het procederen in civiele zaken* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2018), paragraph 5.8; Utrecht Archives, *Hof van Utrecht* (239-1), inv. nrs. 342-a-1, 357.

The provincial court of Gelre (Gelderland) and Zutphen was founded in 1544, but it began forming regular series as late as in the final decades of the 16th century. The registers of judgments start in 1561 and the books of pleadings in which the registrar kept a record of the acts of litigants (including the pleadings) begins in 1576, while the oldest civil case list (*rol*) dates from 1635.

When Gelre joined the Revolt in 1579, the quarter of Roermond stayed loyal to the Spanish King and became part of the Southern Netherlands as Spanish Gelre. A second Court of Gelre was established in Roermond, while in nearby Venlo (administered by the States General) the Court of Upper Gelre existed from 1717 to 1795. The archives of the Roermond Court became subject of a real archives war in the 19th century. The 'Roermond Archives Issue' (*Roermondse archiefkwestie*) arose in 1899 when central government ordered the transfer of the Roermond archives to the State Archives in the provincial capital of Maastricht. The municipal council of Roermond resisted vehemently. Neither judicial interventions nor appeal to Parliament and the Queen helped Roermond in its endeavours to keep the archives. When the Queen and her mother visited the province in 1895, they ignored Roermond—as a punishment? It was only in 1901 that Roermond and the State settled the issue and the archives were transferred to Maastricht.

9.3   The Court's Memory

What purpose was served by the archives of the Court of Holland and Zeeland? Various components of the archives served various purposes in various times. The *memorialen*—as the term indicates—primarily served organizational memory, just as the registers of *resoluties*, the series of letters, and the *verbalen* (recording acts in the presence of judges delegated by the Court). Eighteenth-century historians like Wagenaar, Kluit, and De Riemer made use of the *memorialen*. The Court registered privileges, and sometimes copies of these were furnished upon payment of a fee.[9] Transcripts and extracts were delivered from other registers as well, for example to a former litigant who wanted to have

9   Marie-Charlotte Le Bailly, *Recht voor de raad. Rechtspraak voor het Hof van Holland, Zeeland en West-Friesland in het midden van de vijftiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), pp. 111-53.

a (new) copy of the judgment passed in his case. In the 16th century the charge would have been three *stuivers* (roughly the daily wage of an unskilled labourer), unless the document was very extensive, in which case the Court determined the fee. The *memorialen*, the registers of filed papers (*dingtalen*), and the registers of judgments were provided with various indexes in the 17th and 18th centuries—an indication of the need for efficient access by the staff of the registry and perhaps by the judges as well.

Nevertheless, time and again there were complaints about the arrangement and accessibility of the archives. Often, for example, the Council (*Raad*) of Brabant (the court of appeal for Staats-Brabant) tried to counteract the disorder in the archives by new regulations and repeated assignments to committees of judges of the Council to order the archives.[10] In 1702 a lending register was established in which judges had to note which registers, charters, or papers they had borrowed.[11] Remarkable is the frequency with which a register of resolutions was borrowed. They were used as reference books to gain a better insight in the law-making process and the judicature of the Council.

In 1721 it became necessary to restore order in the Council's *furneer* chamber. The motivation to do this was typical: because many cases could not be found, the Council remained ignorant about the past and this might harm its prerogatives and privileges considerably.[12] A committee was appointed to clear the disorder which had 'crept in'. All documents had to be arranged by year and by case and noted in a register. Furthermore, it was ordained that immediately after the death of a judge or a registrar the papers in his house had to be claimed. Comparable regulations existed elsewhere, for example in Holland (see the preceding section) and Utrecht (see Figs 9.5a and b). Part of the archives of the Court of Utrecht are still arranged by the name of the judge in whose house the documents were collected after his death.

In spite of its efforts, the Council of Brabant did not succeed in managing its archives more efficiently during the 18th century. This came to light painfully when the Council of State requested certain documents from the Council of Brabant in 1794—they could not be found.

10 Franca W.M. de Koning-Klaassen, 'De bibliotheek van de Staatse Raad van Brabant', in *De Staatse Raad van Brabant en Landen van Overmaze in tweede termijn*, ed. Th.E.A. Bosman, J.P.A. Coopmans and B.C.M. Jacobs (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1989), pp. 66-67; E.J.M.F.C Broers and B.C.M. Jacobs, *Procesgids Staatse Raad van Brabant* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000).

11 Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, *Raad van Brabant* (19), inv. nr. 1102. See also the section 'Resoluties' in the introduction to the inventory by W.M. Lindemann (1984).

12 Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, *Raad van Brabant* (19), inv. nr. 14, p. 461.
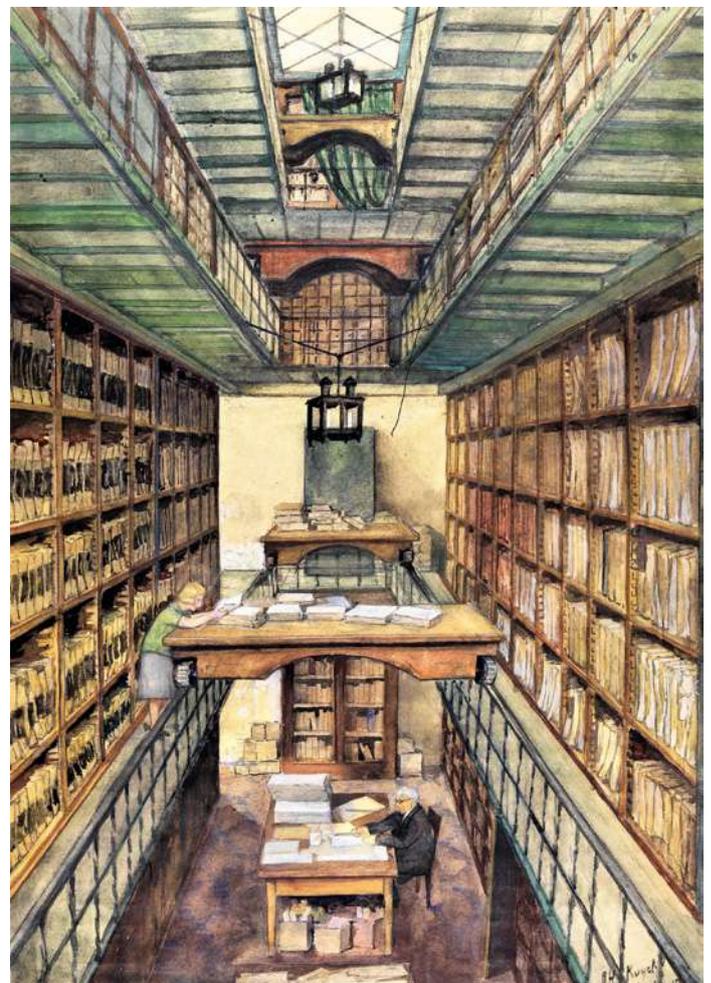
Fig. 9.5a and b A large part of the archives of the Court of Utrecht are still arranged according to the names of judges who had kept Court papers at home. Before the Utrecht State Archives moved to a new building in 1968 this arrangement was clearly visible in the repository. 5a: Photo by Rijksarchief Utrecht, circa 1968. Collection of the author.
5b: watercolour by Otto H. Kuyck, 1968. Utrecht Archives, *Prentverzameling*, nr. 33108.

Did the judges make use of the archives? They seldom referred to precedents—not in their judgments anyway. They adhered to the rule in Roman law that obliged the judge to sentence not according to precedents, but to follow the law (*non exemplis, sed legibus*).[13] However, it appears from private notes taken by judges that they did take former decisions into account. Even so, they relied on their private notes rather than on the archives in the registry for their jurisprudence. Quite often solicitors and *procureurs* referred to earlier judgments. Their sources were collections of jurisprudence either published or preserved as a manuscript by lawyers since the 16th century.

It is understandable that *procureur* Johannes Jacobus van Reenen was pleased when it appeared that the President of the Court of Holland Adriaan Pieter de Hinojosa had bequeathed him with 42 volumes of *annotata et collecta* kept since 1697 until his death in 1741.[14] Unfortunately, the government seized the papers because it suspected that some papers belonged to the registry. Van Reenen addressed the States of Holland in 1742. They ordered the inventorization of the papers and wanted them to be divided between private notes and official documents. The States were particularly concerned about the secrecy of the documents of the Court. The committee for judicial affairs of the States advised the Court to see to it that judges should carefully handle their notes and copies from the registry. The Court agreed but submitted an extensive memorandum concerning the secrecy of judicial matters. It stated as a first principle that members of any council had to have access to the secretariat or registry to gain knowledge of legal affairs in past and present or to discover something new. But not everything could be public. Records of the opinions of judges, the decisions, or correspondence with the States had to be kept secret. Equally all internal affairs of a council, such as the organization and the finances of the registry and the correspondence with the magistrate of The Hague, should remain confidential. Public access was considered to be indecent and, moreover, it was believed the public would not benefit.

On the other hand, secrecy should not impede judges driven by interest in the law to make notes on cases heard by the Court and generally on matters of history, government, and

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13 Willem Zwalve and Corjo Jansen, *Publiciteit van jurisprudentie* (Deventer: Kluwer, 2013); Wouter Druwé, *Transregional normativity in learned legal practice. Loans and credit in consilia and decisiones in the northern and southern Low Countries (c.1500-1680)*, PhD thesis (Leuven, 2018).

14 L. van Poelgeest, 'Mr. Johan van Bleiswijk en zijn "Observationes Tumultuariae"', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* 117 (1987): 117-22; National Archives, *Stadhouderlijke Secretarie* (1.01.50), inv. nr. 707.

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law. In so far as the collection of De Hinojosa was restricted to these matters, the Court saw no objection. However, as the memorandum continued, transcribing entire registers and copying all documents in a case would be beyond the office of a judge. Above all, judges should continue their studies and scholarly publications provided these did not harm the respect for the Court or the honour of families and individuals.

All this was to no avail: the States of Holland kept all papers of De Hinojosa. Later they were transferred to the Stadholder and shelved in the Stadholder's library that was to become the Royal (National) Library in the 19th century, where they are still preserved.

9.4   Judicial Archives after 1811

The Netherlands was annexed by France in different phases between 1795 and 1810 (see 3.0). When the French judicial organization was introduced (1811), the old judicial archives at local and provincial levels were confiscated by the State. They had to be sealed and transferred to the newly established courts. Just as in 1802 (see 4.9.1) administrative documents had to be separated from the judicial papers. The former had to be transferred to the prefect or returned to the local councils, the latter were to remain at the courts because of their interest 'to the service of justice and the well-being of the inhabitants'. The value of archives for historical research was not even mentioned.

In Friesland a third category of documents was distinguished: documents 'which indeed are of no value for the present, but that eventually might be of some benefit for the judiciary in cases of rare occurrence'. These documents were stored in the attic of the Leeuwarden house of correction. In 1817 the judicial archives that were still kept by the burgomasters in Friesland were transferred to the Chancery (*Kanselarij*; until 1811 the seat of the Court of Friesland), and in 1824 from there to the former hall of the States, which had become the seat of the Court. Cupboards for storing the archives were not installed until 1835. Only then was it possible to order and inventory the archives. On this occasion

'a mass of loose papers, partly in good order, partly decayed' was torn up and sold as waste paper. Judges and archives moved to the newly built 'Palace of Justice' in 1850. In 1897 the archives went back to the *Kanselarij*, which had been restored to house the State Archives and the provincial library. This was fairly late: already in 1879, a Royal Decree had ordered the transfer to the State Archives of the judicial archives up to 1811.

The National Archivist Bakhuizen van den Brink (see 3.6.2) and his deputy (and successor) Laurens Ph. C. van den Bergh had repeatedly requested transfer of these 'treasures' in the 1850s. A.J. Enschedé (since 1857 city archivist of Haarlem) insisted in 1874 on measures for the preservation of the old judicial archives.[15] He reported on the conditions of the archives: rats had eaten their way through the archives to make their nests, the archives from 1470 to 1680 had disappeared, and the state of more recent archives was just as dismal. Enschedé joked: 'The former papers have been put temporarily under the supervision of Chief Inspector H.O.U.S.E. Rat and the deputy nibblers Mouse, Louse, Van der Worm, Snail, Fly, Slater, and Chimney Sweep, who have all been provided with free lodging, fire, and light as well.' After some discussion, the Minister of the Interior (responsible for the State Archives) and the Minister of Justice agreed that it would be advisable to transfer the judicial archives from before 1811 to archival repositories. However, government had to create space first. The State built new and up-to-date State Archives repositories (the first two in Arnhem in 1879 and 's-Hertogenbosch in 1880) and adapted existing buildings (see 3.6.3).

The decree of 1879 provided the possibility to deposit old judicial archives with a municipality. Enschedé and his colleague Muller in Utrecht had insisted on this possibility, which only met the rightful wish of municipalities halfway. They wanted the return of their judicial archives that had been confiscated in 1811. For a long time Enschedé even made a stand against the transfer of the Haarlem archives to the State. Muller wrote in 1893 that to tear the judicial archives from the administrative archives was against the newly acquired insight 'that each archive is an inviolable whole by itself'.[16] That insight was indeed new. It was lively discussed in the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands (founded in 1891)

15   F.C.J. Ketelaar, 'Haarlem. Bakermat van de Vereniging van Archivarissen in Nederland', in *Hart voor Haarlem. Liber amicorum voor Jaap Temminck*, ed. Hans Brokken, Florence Koorn and Ab van der Steur (Haarlem: Schuyt, 1996), pp. 255-61.

16   S. Muller, 'Inleiding', in R. Fruin, *Catalogus van de archieven der collegiën, die vóór 1811 binnen de tegenwoordige provincie Utrecht rechterlijke functiën uitgeoefend hebben* (Utrecht: Breijer, 1893), p. xxxii.

and it was to be canonized in 1898 in the *Manual* by Muller, Feith, and Fruin (see 12.4). However, since the State possessed the judicial archives of towns and villages, Muller did not think it desirable to return them to the local councils because of the risk of neglect. Therefore, the State made conditions for depositing: a professional municipal archivist, an appropriate repository, and extensive access by the public. By 1910, 16 of the 31 municipalities that had an archivist of their own were keeping the judicial archives from before 1811 as a deposit from the State. Since the Archives Act of 1995, the deposit may be transformed into ownership, thus reversing the confiscation of 1811.

That judicial archives might be sources for all sorts of historical research was recognized rather late. In 1854 deputy *rijksarchivaris* Van den Bergh believed that scholars of legal history (of which he was one) would be the most frequent users of the old judicial archives. However, he did not rule out others, 'even' historians. This limited view also became apparent in 1868 when Parliament argued in favour of public access to the judicial archives 'in the interest of practising the history of our judiciary'. Research in these archives in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries was mainly concerned with the functioning of the judiciary as an institution and the application of old Dutch law. However, judicial archives are a source of knowledge for many other aspects of society, as archivists and researchers discovered only gradually. This has at least two reasons—and they are not only true for judicial archives.

Firstly, the insufficient findability of judgments and the other chronological series discussed before. If there were indexes, they were on names and not on subjects. This situation gradually improved in the late 1990s through the automation of indexing of some judicial archives (the indexing in the 1970s of the Leiden criminal sentences 1533-1811, computerized in the 1990s, was an early example).

A second reason is that it is methodologically nearly impossible, as legal historian Chris Coppens warned

to learn for sure from courts' archives about the political, social, cultural, economic, and mentality history with any certainty, if that knowledge is not supplemented by a cross-check or a double cross-check from other sources, and even then it often remains to guess at the accuracy of the juridical information. The juridical material is too teleological to do so, aiming too much at achieving a particular goal, realizing a particular interest to allow a conclusion other than that of one or more hypotheses.[17]

Even if one studies a single case or a few cases, instead of following developments diachronically, one will realize that judicial archives offer a view of daily life in the past, but that this view is filtered and coloured, according to historical anthropologist Florike Egmond:

> In the first place because the judicial context—that is legal norms and rules—often has modelled both the form and the content of these texts. Secondly, because of the simple fact that all textual representations of a so-called historical reality in this type of sources are always part of the presentation of a standpoint of one of the parties concerned. For that very reason, judicial archives do not provide a neutral and factual representation of a historical reality—if such a thing exists at all.[18]

Actually, this holds true for all archives (and might therefore have been mentioned in every chapter). 'Even when straight from the dusty archive,' writes Alan Munslow, 'the evidence always pre-exists within narrative structures and is freighted with cultural meanings—who put the archive together, why, and what did they include or exclude?'[19] Therefore, as I wrote in the General Introduction, when using archives, one has to know the why, who, what, and how in order to assess which reality may be reflected in the archives. One must look through the record to its contextual history to discover the human being that acted as 'archiver', bringing one as close as possible to the writer of the document, close to his or her norms and beliefs.

17 Chris Coppens, 'Is echtgescheiden ook echt geschied?', *Pro memorie* 4 (2002): 371.

18 Florike Egmond, 'Eer in het geding in het 16e-eeuwse Holland', *Pro memorie* 4 (2002): 294.

19 Alan Munslow, *Deconstructing history*, 2nd. ed (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 7.

9.5   Notaries

Fig. 9.6 A notary in his office, attributed to Job Berckheyde, 1672. Collection art dealer Richard Green, London.

20 Aries van Meeteren, *Op hoop van akkoord. Instrumenteel forumgebruik bij geschilbeslechting in Leiden in de zeventiende eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006).

21 H.K. de Raaf and H.M.A. Schadee, *Tweehonderd jaar notariaat en zeezaken. Gedenkschrift van het kantoor der notarissen Schadee en hunner associé's, Rotterdam 1724-1924* (Rotterdam: Koninklijke Boek- en Lichtdrukkerij, 1924), pp. 47-8.

22 Simon van Leeuwen, *Notarius publicus…* (Dordrecht: Abraham Andriessz, 1657), p.1.

Recently Aries van Meeteren broke new ground by including notaries in his research on conflict settlement in Leiden in the 17th century.[20] However, the notary was not only involved in the non-judicial settlement of legal disputes. People went to the notary to have, for example, a testament made or a premarital agreement, a transfer of ownership of a house (6.2.1), or an estate inventory (6.2.4). Contracts, IOUs, and insurance policies were also drawn up by a notary. For drafting a deed, the Rotterdam notary Schadee charged almost two guilders in 1733; he charged three guilders for handing out two authentic copies (*grossen*), plus three more guilders for the witnesses and the stamp duty.[21] Each of the two parties paid half.

Notaries have existed in the Netherlands since the 13th century. At first, they were working for the bishop's judiciary only, but more and more they provided a service for civil parties as well. Their deeds (*akten*) were authentic documents endowed with public credibility constituting full proof in a lawsuit. As a 17th-century manual states: the notary's office is 'a general service that renders in writing various cases and actions by people in such a way that it constitutes complete evidence and eternal remembrance of what has happened and was done'.[22]

In the 16th century the notary's office was regulated by ordinances of the sovereign Charles V, and later by the States. Additional regulations were issued by provincial courts and cities. However, form and content of the notarial deeds were mainly determined by notarial manuals. In the 17th and 18th centuries the much used manual *Practyk Notariael* by Gerard van Wassenaer included more than 160 exemplars of deeds, with an extensive explanation. These models formed a standard from which most notaries did not dare to deviate. Peril in deviation (Fig. 9.7) is the warning to secretaries and notaries expressed in Roemer Visscher's emblem, although the primary message is to follow the truth in a straightforward way (rectilinearly) and not to deviate to either side.

Many researchers have been misled by the formulas in a deed, taking them for a representation of reality. For example, in a testament the testator is invariably described as 'having a healthy body and being sound in his five senses, memory, and mind', but this does not say anything about the real situation. Even today notarial deeds include archaic flourishes which can only be understood in a historical context, like: 'to tolerate or to endure' (*te gehengen of te gedogen*), 'attached by natural or artificial means' (*aard- en nagelvast*), 'as a heap, not measured and just as it is [in whatever condition]' (*bij de hoop, zonder maat en voetstoots*).

Before 1811 a notary had to pass an exam at the provincial court and had to get a licence from the government. Nevertheless, he was not a government functionary. In the eastern and north-eastern parts of the Republic there were hardly any notaries. In those areas the local magistrate drew up the testaments, deeds of transfer of property, debt instruments, and similar documents.

The notary could contribute in settling a conflict by drawing up an attestation, a notification (*insinuatie*), an interrogation, or a deed of reconciliation. An attestation was a deposition by witnesses, often used in a lawsuit but, as Van Meeteren found, primarily meant as a warning to keep the conflict out of court and to prevent a lengthy and costly lawsuit. Anyone who found witnesses willing to make an attestation that eventually could be repeated under oath had a strong position and could force the other party (if he or she was not able to disprove the attestation) to compliance or indemnity or a lawsuit.

By an *insinuatie* a party was admonished to keep a commitment. The deed often included a *protestation,* holding the other party responsible for all costs, damages and interests, as in the following example.

Fig. 9.7 Peril in deviation. Emblem by Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen* (Amsterdam: W. Jansz, 1614), p. 117.

'Today, 23 February 1654, I, Adriaen Lock, notary public, and the witnesses mentioned below, upon the request of Mr. Diego d'Andrada, a Portuguese merchant here, transported myself near and next to the person of Mr. Rembrandt van Rijn, painter, and notified and announced to him the following:

The aforementioned claimant asserts that some time ago he asked you, the respondent, to paint a portrait of a certain young girl, for which he gave you an advance of 75 guilders, the remainder being payable upon completion of the painting.

And because the claimant is of the opinion that the aforementioned painting or portrait shows no resemblance at all to the appearance or face [image of the head] of the aforementioned young girl, and because the same young girl will be departing at the first opportunity to Hamburg, therefore the claimant advises through me, the notary, his request that you are to alter and retouch the aforementioned painting or portrait, before the departure of the mentioned young girl, and so that it will be her proper likeness,

and that, in case you fail to do so, he, the claimant, will have you to keep the aforementioned painting, as it is no use to him, but requests you, the respondent, to reimburse the amount paid in advance, protesting that he had given you sufficient warning

beforehand, and furthermore will claim from you all the costs, damages and interests due, which he already has incurred and suffered, and will yet have, do, and suffer, and will recover from you and your possessions, as much as he, the claimant, believes to be reasonable.

All this having been read to the respondent in its entirety, he stated that he would not touch the piece of painting again nor finish it unless the claimant pays him the balance due or guarantees full payment by giving a security.

And that after he has finished the painting, he will leave it to the judgment of the board of the St. Lucas' Guild whether the painting is a likeness of the girl or not. And if they decide that there is no resemblance, he will change it. And if the claimant should still be displeased, he will then finish the painting at some time, and whenever he has an auction of his painting[s], he will include it in the sale.

All sincerely done in Amsterdam, in the presence of Jan Hebdon and Arnoud Raard, as witnesses.

(signed) J. Hebdon
Arnout Raard
which I testify on request

A. Lock, notary public.' [23]

23   Translation by W.L. Strauss and M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt documents* (New York: Abaris Books, 1979), nr. 1654/4; document/remdoc/e1661, accessed 2 Dec. 2018.

As in this example, an *insinuatie* usually records what the *geïnsinueerde* has answered. Such responses are also recorded in interrogations that included the answers to questions that had been given to the notary. Only rarely do these contain the exact words as spoken by the interrogated party; they are words noted down by the notary. When the parties composed, this could be recorded in a deed of reconciliation.

All these documentary genres are preserved in the notarial archives. In the sample taken by Van Meeteren from four Leiden notarial archives from 1664 to 1668, 709 deeds concerned semi-judicial matters, including 615 *attestaties* (12.5 percent of all deeds). Around 1650 in the cities of Utrecht and Amersfoort half of all notarial deeds pertained to judicial or semi-judicial matters. A century later the number of *procuraties* and *attestaties* of notaries in Amersfoort had decreased to 12 percent, but the percentage of contracts had increased enormously to 51.5.[24] This points to a shift in the notarial practice which may have been the result of a societal trend to regulate more in contracts and to be less inclined to resort to judicial settlement. This is a factor of archivalization (see the General Introduction). Another trend was that marriage became commodified in the 17th century. This expressed itself in increasing regulation of the financial aspects of marriage in detailed deeds of a prenuptial agreement.[25]

9.6   Notarial Records

Notarial attestations and *insinuaties* catch a glimpse of daily life in the past, but all the deeds form a unique source for research in a variety of domains. Users of these records may benefit from insight in the notarial work processes (see also 9.5) and the archiving of notarial records. The notary wrote the drafts (*minuten*) of deeds (*akten*) either in a *protocol* or he bound the loose minutes to form a codex. The minute was signed by the notary, witnesses, and the parties. The latter received an engrossed copy (*grosse*), thus named because of the larger letters. If the *grosse* got lost, an interested party could get a new copy of the minute kept by the notary.

24   W.B. Heins, 'Het Utrechtse notariaat in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (1981): 224-43.

25   Annette de Vries, *Ingelijst werk. De verbeelding van arbeid en beroep in de vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004), p. 76; Donald Haks, *Huwelijk en gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw. Processtukken en moralisten over aspecten van het laat 17de- en 18de-eeuwse gezinsleven*, 2nd ed. (Utrecht: Hes, 1985), p. 137.
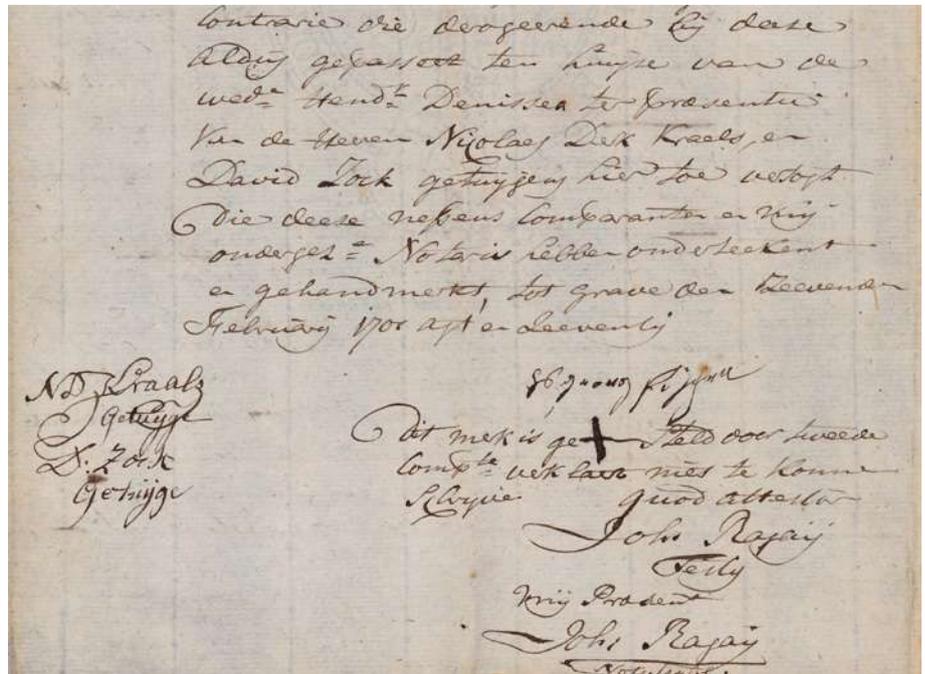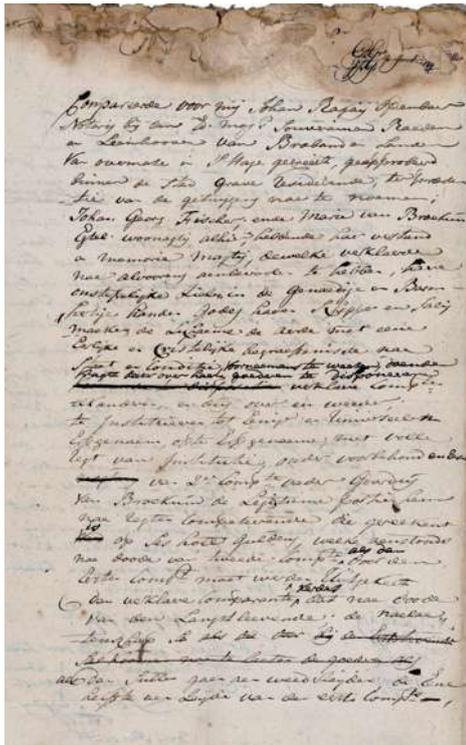
Fig. 9.8a and b Minute (*minuut*) of a will, first page and conclusion, 1778. Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, *Notarissen in Grave* (7128), inv. nr. 102.
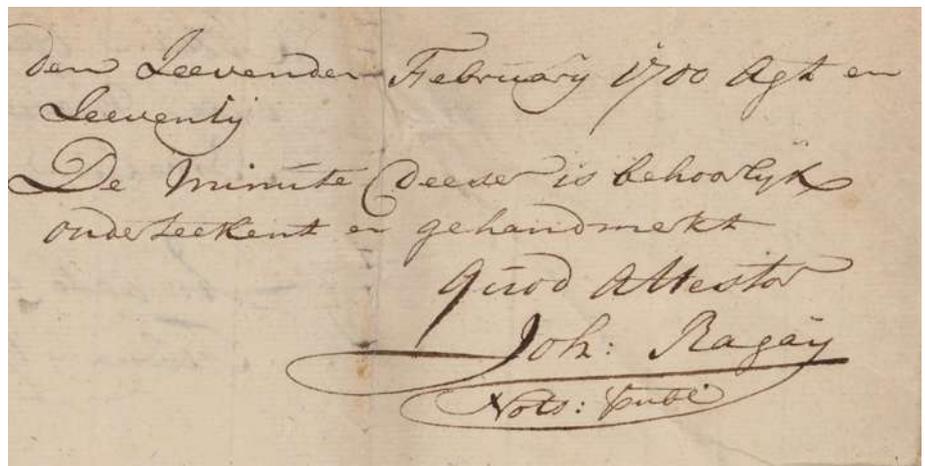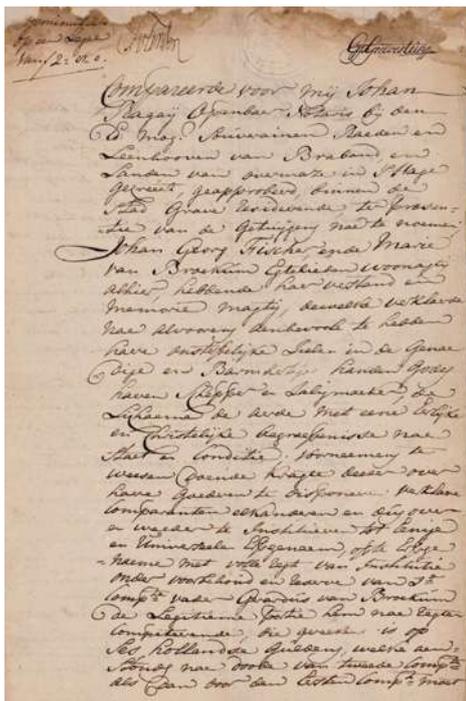
Fig. 9.8c and d Engrossed copy (*grosse*) of a will, first page and conclusion, 1778. Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum, *Notarissen in Grave* (7128), inv. nr. 113.

26 A.I. Bosma, *Repertorium van notarissen residerende in Amsterdam, Amstelland, ambachtsheerlijkheden en geannexeerde gemeenten, 1524-1810* (1998), https://assets.amsterdam.nl/publish/pages/753536/repertoriumnotarissen1998_5.pdf, accessed 2 Dec. 2018.

The notary preserved his registers or bequeathed them to his heirs or successors, as we have seen in the case of Jan van Hout (4.4). In 1606, however, the States of Utrecht ordained that the protocols of deceased notaries should be transferred to the City Hall of Utrecht or (regarding notaries outside the city) to the provincial court. If a relative continued the notary's practice, he could receive the registers on loan. Anyone could get access to the registers and get extracts upon payment. Half of the fee was for the custodian (the secretary of the local court or the registrar of the Court of Utrecht), and the other half was for the heirs of the notary. Comparable ordinances were in force in Amsterdam (1656), the Generality Lands (*Generaliteitslanden*) (1665), and Holland (1670).[26]

To find testaments and other deeds more easily the notary had to provide the protocol with an alphabetical index, according to an Amsterdam ordinance. In 1672 a fire broke out in the notarial repository in the Amsterdam City Hall. When the fire had been extinguished, a team of ten people started drying and ordering the registers. As to the most damaged minutes it was decided after about a year 'to help them out of this world in the most convenient way'. Part was thrown into the river IJ, and the remainder was incinerated. The less damaged records were kept, but they were no longer accessible. Only recently were 901 items (entire protocols or parts) that were only lightly damaged made accessible. However, 852 items cannot be used because of their scorched condition. It is hoped that special digitization techniques may make the scorched deeds accessible.

In 2017 the 'Archive of the Amsterdam Notaries 1578-1915' (30,000 volumes, covering 3.5 kilometres in length) was included in UNESCO's 'Memory of the World' register. The City Archives want to make this archive fully available online within ten years. Every day 15,000 scans are made; students and 'the crowd' are stimulated to collaborate with the indexing. As per 1 February 2019 5,953,339 pages had been scanned, while 687 people were participating in the indexing.[27] Previously (since 1953), students and volunteers already produced two million index cards containing information regarding the contents of the deeds. However, this index covers but eight percent of the archives.

In 1811, after the annexation by France, the French legislation concerning notaries was introduced. The French system did not know central preservation of protocols but assumed that the successor of a deceased notary would take over the protocols. French legislation was replaced in 1842 by an act that declared the protocols to be State property. At each district court (*rechtbank*) a repository was established for notarial protocols. Old archives from before 1811 kept at town halls and courts were transferred to the new repositories, as were all protocols that were more than 30 years old. According to the act of 1842, only immediately interested parties, their heirs, and successors in title were entitled to consult the notarial archives. Access for historical research was not possible. There were various unsuccessful attempts to change this. One of these was a petition to government in 1885 from both the Historical Society and a group of 31 archivists. Among the signatories

27 https://web.archive.org/web/20190518020239/http://www.alleamsterdamseakten.nl/overhetproject/, archived 18 May 2019).

were the ten men who were to found the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands six years later (see 12.4). Finally, the act on notaries was changed in 1904, prescribing that all notarial archives from before 1811 should be transferred to the State Archives where they would be accessible to everyone. In 1919 the limit moved up to 1842. Municipalities could receive notarial archives on deposit (just as the judicial archives, see 9.4) on condition of having a certificated archivist and a repository approved by the Provincial Executive. Nowadays the transfer period of notarial protocols to an archival repository (where they are accessible to the public) is not 20 years, as for other public records, but 75 years (and 100 years for testaments).

9.7 Less Paper: Sampling Judicial Records and Digitizing the Judicial Process [28]

Given the paper-intensive character of judicature, it is no wonder that the urge to reduce the paper mountain is felt particularly in this domain. In principle there are three ways of reducing the volume of records: destruction (after appraisal), transfer to other media needing less space than paper, and upstream digitization of work processes.

As early as 1878 a circular letter from the Ministry of Justice allowed the judiciary to destroy papers concerning criminal cases after 40 years, except for documents that might have a permanent value from a scholarly point of view. This vague criterion was replaced in 1936 when a schedule for the disposition of papers regarding criminal cases was issued. The schedule was applicable in all five courts of appeal (*gerechtshoven*), 19 district courts (*arrondissementsrechtbanken*), and 62 sub-district or local courts (*kantongerechten*). Initially the Ministry wanted to exempt from destruction 'files of the most important criminal cases', but after intervention by National Archivist Roelof Bijlsma the exemption was extended to include all files of cases in which a prison sentence of a year or longer had

28 https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/sites/default/files/field-file/selectielijsten/driehoeksverslag_rechterlijkemacht_2011_versie_terinzage.pdf, accessed 2 Dec. 2018; National Archives, *Rijksarchiefdienst, afdeling Rijksarchiefinspectie, archiefblok 60* (2.14.10), inv. nr. 123; *Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen, afdeling Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (2.14.45), inv. nr. 628.

been required by the prosecution or sentenced by the court. According to Bijlsma, these files would allow sufficient possibility for research by historians as well as criminologists. Appraisal of records in other cases than criminal ones, was not regulated but left to the discretion of the National Archivist. He gave permission mainly for the destruction of administrative records that concerned the finances of the judiciary.

In 1975 the Archives Council (established in 1968) considered introducing a new policy for appraisal of juridical archives.[29] The Council adopted sampling (later called the museum approach): in each of the five jurisdictions of courts of appeal, the archives from before 1985 of only one local court were to be preserved in its entirety, while only the core data of the other local courts would be kept. The museum approach was abandoned in 1999 when another sampling mode was introduced for all courts (except for the Supreme Council): from each year just one file for each of the various punishable acts would be preserved. Also exempted from destruction should be records 'judged to be of special political, cultural, societal, or scientific interest'. The choice, underpinned by central guidelines, was left to the archivists of the district courts. At the same time a comparable sampling method was introduced for civil cases.

Since 2002, primarily those records which allow reconstruction of a court case are preserved: the judgment and the summons or petition which started the lawsuit. The registrations (and thus the core data of each case) are always preserved. The other papers are destroyed, with two exceptions. Once in a decade (or every five years for criminal cases) one file for each type of case is preserved integrally. Secondly, exempted from destruction are files that are of extreme value either from a historical point of view or for the citizen seeking justice and evidence. This indeed is a rather elastic criterion. The examples mentioned are files of cases that cause a lot of commotion in society, files of cases that were of great influence on jurisprudence and formed a precedent, or files containing genealogical records. At each district court a special committee is instructed to elaborate the criteria for exemption and to supervise the implementation of the appraisal. These committees consist of archivists, representatives of the judiciary and the prosecution, and historians.

29 Frits Hoorweg, 'Een inhaaloperatie', *Pro memorie* 4 (2002): 437-47.

Another way of reducing the volume of archives is substitution: transferring records to a medium which takes up less space and subsequently destroying the originals. As part of the PIVOT project of the State Archives (see 11.2.3), an experiment with substitution of judicial archives with microfilms was carried out between 1991 and 1995. At a cost of 1.75 million guilders, 848 metres of archives were filmed. One of the conclusions of the experiment was that substitution filming is relatively expensive and only cost-effective if the stocks are very large, of a great uniformity, and in good shape.

A more promising strategy focuses on solutions upstream (*bij de bron*). By redesigning work processes, and particularly by using digital documents as much as possible, the physical volume of archives can be restrained drastically. This, however, is not the primary aim of the Judicial Documentation Service (*Justid*) nor of the introduction of digital procedures in civil and criminal cases. *Justid* (founded in 2006) is the agency of the Ministry of Justice that provides information services to all partners in the 'chain of criminal law' (*strafrechtketen*), such as police, prosecution, judiciary, or probation. *Justid* also manages the common services for exchange and archiving of digital files of the judicature.

Digitization of procedural law is being introduced in phases. Since 2014 simple criminal cases are managed digitally, resulting in around three million digital documents annually.[30] Digital litigation in asylum and insolvency cases has been introduced, and in pilot projects at two district courts civil cases are handled digitally. Whether digitization of litigation will influence the appraisal of records is to be seen. Although a digital archive will require less space, guaranteeing its long-term integrity, durability, and accessibility will not be cheap. The costs of digital preservation may necessitate reducing the volume of the terabytes and therefore not diminish the need for appraisal (see 11.2.3).

30 https://www.rechtspraak.nl/ SiteCollectionDocuments/2018-01-09- voortgangsrapportage-kei.pdf, accessed 31 May 2019.

9.8 Conclusion

Litigation is primarily exchanging and assessing documents, hence the narrow relationship between judicial work processes and archiving. Each of the phases of a civil lawsuit leads to a written outcome, from the petition for a writ of summons to the judgment, and everything in between (9.1, 9.2). The Dutch term for a lawsuit is *proces*, and indeed the *proces* documents are process bound, steering the process and the activities of participants acting together in this genre system (see the General Introduction) in which 'each participant makes a recognizable act or move in some recognizable genre, which then may be followed by a certain range of appropriate generic responses by others'.[31] The documentary outcome can be found in the archives of tribunals and courts, as well as in those of the parties in a lawsuit. In both categories of archives much has been destroyed (9.7). What is striking is that in premodern time judges and attorneys made little use of the archives of the registry (9.3), probably because precedents had less influence than in modern times.

Juridical archives are important sources for research in a variety of domains (9.4). The researcher, however, must be aware of the fact that archives do not present a neutral reflection or representation of a historical reality. In the judicial and notarial archives, one hears the voice of the authorities. Even when parties are quoted in interrogations and attestations, these were recorded by a clerk, a judge, or a notary who may have translated the colloquial statements into legalese (9.5, 9.6, see also the final paragraph of 9.4). Notaries were important intermediaries, not only in the non-judicial settlement of (legal) disputes but mainly in drawing up and preserving the authentic outcome of legal acts at the request of parties (9.5). Quite early government realized that notarial records (9.6) had to be safely transferred through time so that interested parties could rely on what they or their predecessors had done in the past.

Modern judicial archives are subject to destruction, to substitution by another medium, or to digitization because of digitization of the primary work process (9.7). These processes

31 Charles Bazerman, 'Systems of genres and the enactment of social intentions', in *Genre and the new rhetoric*, ed. Aviva Freedman and Peter Medway (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), p. 97.

(all involving a form of appraisal, that is, assigning value) are paradigmatic for selection, substitution, and digitization in other domains than the judicature.

Chapter 10

Archiving the East Indies

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〆 Fig. 10.0 Jan de Baen, The directors (and
standing, the bookkeeper) of the Hoorn
Chamber Chamber of the VOC, 1682,
Westfries Museum, Hoorn.
On the table symbols of the riches of the VOC:
the *Banckboek* (recording the current account
of the Chamber with the Amsterdam Exchange
Bank) and a map of Cochin (now Kochi, India),
where the VOC had a monopoly in pepper and
cinnamon.

⌄

10.0 Introduction

The Dutch explored, traded, warred, and colonized in various continents around the globe. In this chapter I will treat archiving the East Indies only, restricting myself further by leaving out the archiving within the Castle of Batavia (now Jakarta), for example. Much of my research and writing since I became affiliated to Monash University in Melbourne dealt with the Dutch-Australian connections, in particular the Dutch explorations of the coasts of Australia and New Zealand. This laid the basis for one third of this chapter.[1]

In 1602 the States General granted a charter to the United East India Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, VOC).[2] The VOC obtained the monopoly of all navigation and trade in Asia. It was a trading company, but it was authorized to enter into treaties with princes and rulers in the name of the States General, to appoint governors, keep armed forces, keep the establishments in good order, and ensure enforcement of justice.

The shareholders raised a capital of 6.4 million guilders.[3] The average dividend (until 1645 often paid in nutmeg, pepper, or cloves) amounted to 19 to 21 percent per annum. During the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780-1784) the Company incurred serious financial problems that it could not overcome. The debts increased in ten years (1780-1790) from 22 million to 91 million guilders. Moreover, the VOC lost its establishments in India, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), the Cape of Good Hope, and the East Indies that were captured by the English (a total value of 11 million guilders). The Batavian Republic nationalized the bankrupt estate of the VOC in 1796 and in 1800 the curtain fell. The VOC was liquidated, and the State took over all assets and the debt of 219 million guilders (one third of the total national debt!).

The history of the VOC and its influence in Asia and the Netherlands has been and is still fascinating researchers with different interests, not least in post-colonial historiography. The archiving by the VOC has been treated in various studies and from different viewpoints as well. Earlier (1.4) I treated the personnel administration of the VOC,

1   Sections 10.1-10.5 are largely a reworking of Eric Ketelaar, 'Exploration of the archived world. From De Vlamingh's Plate to digital realities', *Archives and manuscripts* 36, no. 2 (2008) 13-33; idem, 'Mapping for memory', *Queensland History journal* 22 (2013): 26-39; idem, 'Travels into and out of the record', *Archives. The Journal of the British Records Association* 39/127 (2013): 17-29.

2   Femme S. Gaastra, *The Dutch East India Company. Expansion and decline*, trans. Peter Daniels (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003).

3   On the VOC shares and the stockmarket see 13.5 and J.G. van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1958); Lodewijk Petram, *The world's first stock exchange*, trans. Lynne Richards (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

which in its time was quite unique. Equally unique were the VOC shares, to be discussed in 13.5. Accounting by the VOC was dealt with in 8.2.4.

In this chapter I first follow the VOC skippers and merchants who had to find new seafaring routes and territories and had to map them (10.1). Exploration was the work process reflected in the archiving. After exploration (and conquest!) came trading. In contrast to the English East India Company, that always concentrated on the direct traffic between England and Asia, the VOC developed a network of intra-Asian trade routes. For instance, in Indonesia spices were bought with Indian textiles, and Indian textiles were bought with Ceylonese cinnamon and Japanese copper, the copper was bought with raw silk from Bengal.

In all its work processes, the VOC was dependent on information concerning seafaring routes, countries, people, and goods. That information had to be kept secret from competitors. Even so, VOC maps and journals found their way abroad or into private hands and much became public knowledge (10.2). To understand those maps and journals fully, insight is necessary in their creation, but also in their transmission and mediation to the present day. This is illustrated with Abel Tasman's journal of 1642-1643 (10.3).

Long before Tasman sailed south of Australia, VOC skippers had charted the west coast. Australia's oldest written record of European exploration is a pewter plate left on the western shore by a VOC shipmaster in 1616 (10.4).

The VOC is a perfect example of what Bruno Latour has described as 'centres of calculation' (10.5). Such a centre conditions and controls events, places, and people from a distance. The nodes in the VOC's information network stretching from South East Asia to Amsterdam were the trading posts, led by a director or senior merchant in association with the council of the establishment (a single-headed authority did not exist anywhere in the VOC).[4] I will trace the archiving practices and the informational relations in the network of one of the directors, Wollebrant Geleynssen de Jongh (1594-1674) (10.6).

4   M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, 'Hoe rationeel was de organisatie van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie?', *Economisch- en sociaal-historisch jaarboek* 44 (1982): 180; Nico Vriend, *Het informatiesysteem en –netwerk van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. Master's thesis Universiteit Leiden, 2011, https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/18501, accessed 27 Nov. 2018. See a summary of the thesis: Nico Vriend, '"An unbelievable amount of paper". The information system and network of the Dutch East India Company', in *Colonial legacy in South East Asia. The Dutch archives. Jaarboek 11 Stichting Archiefpublicaties*, ed. Charles Jeurgens et al. ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2012), pp. 67-95.

5   Ann L. Stoler, 'Colonial archives and the arts of
      governance', *Archival science* 2 (2002): 100.

6   Jan Ernst Heeres, *The part borne by the Dutch in the
      discovery of Australia, 1606-1765* (London: Luzac,
      1899), https://web.archive.org/web/20181008134634/
      http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0501231h.html,
      archived 8 Oct. 2018); Günter Schilder, *Australia
      unveiled. The share of the Dutch navigators in the
      discovery of Australia (*Amsterdam: Theatrum
      Orbis Terrarum, 1976); Peter Sigmond and Lous
      H. Zuiderbaan, *Dutch discoveries of Australia.
      Shipwrecks, treasures, and early voyages off the west
      coast* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1979).

7   F.C. Wieder, *Tasman's kaart van zijn Australische
      ontdekkingen 1644 'de Bonaparte-kaart'…*
      ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1942); F.C. Wieder,
      Monumenta cartographica, vol. 5 (The Hague: Nijhoff,
      1933), p. 177.

Just as the VOC, its successor, the Dutch State (as it was formed after the Batavian Revolution of 1795) was, as any colonial state, an 'information-hungry machine'.[5] That machine was controlled by the Ministry of Colonial Affairs. Section 10.7 deals with its archiving between 1814 and the 1950s and discusses what became of the colonial archives after the independence of Indonesia in 1945.

10.1 Exploring for Trade

The rationale of the VOC was trading and making a profit by buying and selling gold, silver, tin, iron, lead, copper, textiles, nutmegs, cloves, and pepper. Exploring foreign lands was primarily done to discover faster and safer sailing routes and to find new possibilities for trading—for making money.

The first expedition to explore new trading potentials was the voyage of the Dove (*Duyfken*), which sailed from Java on 18 November 1605.[6] The crew did not notice the opening we now call Torres Strait, believing that they were still sailing along the New Guinea coast while, in fact, they had encountered the Queensland coast, on the west side of Cape York Peninsula at the Pennefather River. Commanding the ship were captain Willem Jansz and the supercargo (the chief merchant) Jan Lodewijksz van Rosingeyn. They recorded the journey in the logbook of the ship, in charts, and in their report to the directors of the VOC in Amsterdam and their representative in the East Indies. These records have not survived but left references in later reports and sailing instructions. The cartographer of the VOC in Amsterdam drew the discoveries of the *Duyfken* on his maps.

In 1623 another VOC skipper, Jan Carstensz, sailed with the *Pera* along the Queensland coast. He evidently had a copy of the report of the *Duyfken* on board. As late as 1644, when Abel Tasman received his instructions to explore the South-land, they contained references to the *Duyfken* expedition of 1605-1606 and the chart made of that voyage.[7]

8   B.J. Slot, *Abel Tasman and the discovery of New
      Zealand* (Amsterdam: Otto Cramwinckel, 1992),
      p. 96; Paul Brunton, 'Abel Janszoon Tasman—
      Australian voyages, missing journals and perplexing
      charts', Paper presented at a conference organised by
      the Australian National Maritime Museum in Sydney
      and Fremantle, May 2006; Grahame Anderson,
      *The merchant of the Zeehaen. Isaac Gilsemans and the
      voyages of Abel Tasman* (Wellington, Te Papa Press,
      2001).

9   Schilder, *Australia unveiled*, pp. 148, 354, echoing
      Wieder, *Tasman's kaart*, p. 62. Phyllis Mander-
      Jones, *The Tasman map of 1644. Historical note and
      description of the manuscript map in the Mitchell
      Library, Sydney* (Sydney: Trustees of the Public Library
      of New South Wales, 1948).

10   Slot, *Abel Tasman*, p. 96; C.J. Zandvliet, *Mapping for
      money. Maps, plans and topographic paintings and
      their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the
      16th and 17th centuries* (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion
      International, 1998, 2nd ed. 2002); Peter Burke,
      *A social history of knowledge. From Gutenberg to
      Diderot* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 157-58.

11   C.A. Davids, *Zeewezen en wetenschap. De wetenschap
      en de ontwikkeling van de navigatietechniek in Neder-
      land tussen 1585 en 1815* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche
      Leeuw, 1986), pp. 299-300; J.R. Bruijn, *Observaties
      onderweg* (Leiden, 2003); Herman Ketting, *Leven,
      werk en rebellie aan boord van Oost-Indiëvaarders
      (1595-±1650)* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2002), pp. 101-03;
      Jaap R. Bruijn, *Schippers van de VOC in de achttiende
      eeuw aan de wal en op zee* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche
      Leeuw, 2008), pp. 176-77.

12   Bruno Latour, *Science in action. How to follow
      scientists and engineers through society* (Cambridge
      Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 227.

Tasman charted the whole of the Gulf of Carpentaria and the remainder of the northeast coast of what is now Australia's Northern Territory. No journal of this expedition has survived. However, there are some maps which are clearly based on Tasman's records. One of these is the so-called Bonaparte map in the Mitchell Library in Sydney, both in its original form and reproduced in marble on the floor of the entrance hall. Recent research suggests that the Bonaparte map was compiled in Batavia under the direction of Isaac Gilsemans, the merchant travelling with Tasman, and completed before early 1647.[8] It is a copy of 'one of the most famous and most beautiful maps ever executed by a Dutch cartographer'.[9]

10.2 Making VOC Knowledge Available[10]

Each of the 8,000 ships which in the 17th and 18th centuries went out and returned for the VOC was a record-creating entity in itself (see also 7.3.2).[11] Around 1790 the ship's box kept in the shipmaster's cabin contained more than 80 instructions and regulations issued by the board of directors, known as the Lords XVII (*Heren XVII*). The captain, the three steersmen, the supercargo, and the surgeon all kept a journal. Most skippers also held an archive of copies of their journals of earlier voyages, sometimes even from other skippers. Charts and drawings were made. Propositions to the ship's council were recorded, its meetings minuted. Letters were written, testaments and inventories were drawn up, sentences meted out and registered, bookkeepers and assistants kept the cargo book, the muster roll, and the ship's pay-ledger up to date (see 1.4). The crew and the passengers were participants of a genre system (see the General Introduction), acting together but each within his or her own set of genres. Everything was transformed into what Bruno Latour calls 'a flat surface of paper that can be archived, pinned on a wall and combined with others'.[12] This echoes the inscription on the general map of the Dutch discoveries in Australia, dating from around 1666, which reads: 'Here are projected on a flat surface (…) all the sailing routes, and newly found lands, observed

and sailed (…) under the direction and command of Commander Abel Janssen Tasman (…).' For more information, the map referred to Tasman's journal.[13]

But how could people get access to Tasman's journal of his exploration of Tasmania, the west coast of New Zealand, and the Fiji and Tonga islands in 1642-1643? As journals and maps were part of the knowledge base of the VOC, they formed part of the VOC's assets, to be kept secret. However, directors, for instance, had copies of journals and maps made for private use.[14] Of the journal of Abel Tasman's voyage only private copies exist: one in the National Archives of the Netherlands, another ('a very faulty one'[15]) in the British Library (acquired in the 18th century by Joseph Banks, one of Cook's captains), and a third one in the Mitchell Library in the State Library of New South Wales in Sydney. The latter was made for Salomon Sweers, a member of the Council of the Indies. VOC director Nicolaes Witsen must have had access to Tasman's journal as well; in his book on Tartary and neighbouring regions he quotes extensively from the journal and reproduces some of the illustrations made by the supercargo Isaac Gilsemans, a skilled draughtsman.

When Witsen's publication reached the public in 1705 it was not the first time they heard of Tasman's expedition in the 1640s. Maps had already been published showing the cartographic outcome of Tasman's voyage. The official VOC mapmaker—between 1633 and 1705 always a member of the Blaeu family—used the charts and logbooks of the VOC captains and steersmen to correct maps and seamen's guides for use during subsequent voyages.[16] On arrival of a ship from the East Indies, the mapmaker was the first to see the logbooks. He had to transfer the logs and maps to the VOC headquarters. But the Blaeu family also used this information in their private business, selling hand-drawn and engraved maps on the open market. It is therefore no wonder that the cartographic data from Tasman's voyage in 1642-1643 were included in two of Blaeu's world maps and a Blaeu globe between 1645 and 1648. The maps made during Tasman's voyage (together with maps of earlier discoveries of the north coast of Australia) were copied around 1670 together with other VOC maps[17] and ended up in the collection of the 17th-century Amsterdam lawyer Laurens van der Hem (now in the National Library in Vienna).[18]

13 F.C. Wieder, *Monumenta cartographica*, vol. 4 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1932), p. 138 and plate 95.

14 B.J. Slot, 'Other archives of VOC institutions and officials', in M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz et al., *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (1602-1795)* ('s-Gravenhage: Sdu uitgeverij Koninginnegracht, 1992), p. 78, https://web.archive.org/web/20190531115715/https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/sites/default/files/afbeeldingen/toegangen/NL-HaNA_1.04.02_introduction-VOC.pdf, archived 31 May 2019.

15 According to G.C. Woide, who translated the journal for Sir Joseph Banks in 1776: original draft in Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MS-2119, fair draft in British Library, Add. Ms. 8947.

16 Zandvliet, *Mapping for money*; C.J. Zandvliet, 'VOC maps and drawings', in Meilink-Roelofsz, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, pp. 83-99.

17 Often referred to as 'the Secret Atlas of the VOC'; this term was invented in the early 20th century by Wieder, *Tasman's kaart*, p. 100.

18 Erlend P.J.M. de Groot, *De Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem. De verzamelde wereld van een 17de-eeuwse liefhebber* ('t Goy-Houten: HES & De Graaf Publishers, 2001); *The Atlas Blaeu-van der Hem of the Austrian National Library*, ed. Günter Schilder, Bernard Aikema, and Peter van der Krogt, 8 vols. ('t Goy-Houten: HES & De Graaf Publishers, 1996-2011).

Like Van der Hem, wealthy merchants started to collect maps and curiosities from abroad to have the world, so to say, in their hands—and below their feet! In the large *Burgerzaal* (the heart of the City Hall of Amsterdam built in 1656) a world map and a celestial hemisphere were inlaid in the floor in marble and copper. By going through the hall, the Amsterdam burghers were literally walking on heaven and earth.[19] The world map on the floor was drawn from Blaeu's world map of 1648 which showed Tasman's charting of Tasmania. The French *savant* Melchisédech Thévenot asserted to have drawn his map of Australia[20] (published in 1663) from the example on the floor of the Amsterdam City Hall. From the Thévenot map the 18th-century English map engraver Bowen drew *A Complete Map of the Southern Continent survey'd by Capt. Abel Tasman & depicted by order of the East India Company in Holland in the Stadt House at Amsterdam* (1744). By then Tasman's travels had become public knowledge, not only through the maps, but also because abstracts and adaptations of Tasman's journal and related material had been published.[21]

10.3 Mediating Tasman's Journals

A journal or any other document speaks not out of itself, it speaks in dialogue with the reader/viewer, who may be outside the visible text, but never outside its invisible narrative. This is especially true for a journal like Tasman's.

We do not have the original ship's log, kept up to date day after day, but 'a consecutive narrative, which was most likely digested from the regular ship's journal in the course of the voyage'.[22] After Tasman's arrival in Batavia, he must have edited the logbook of his ship, *Heemskerck*, inserting extracts from the proceedings (*resoluties*) of the ships' council (which had been registered separately in three copies) and adding the illustrations made on board of the other ship, *Zeehaen*. The final version was written by two VOC clerks, then checked by Tasman and signed by him. This account was sent to Amsterdam, with five more copies, in December 1643, more than five months after Tasman's return to Batavia.[23] Tasman, in editing the journal, must have considered its reception by the VOC directors.

19 Schilder, *Australia unveiled*, pp. 374-77. In 1746 the maps were replaced by new ones, which now also showed New Zealand.

20 In fact, it was an almost exact copy of another Blaeu map (1659), included in the huge atlas (now in Berlin) presented to the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm by his friend, the Dutch general and connoisseur John Maurice, Prince of Nassau-Siegen: *Australia in maps. Great maps in Australia's history from the National Library's collection*, ed. John Clark (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2007), p. 32; Schilder, *Australia unveiled*, p. 402; Kees Zandvliet, 'Golden opportunities in geopolitics. Cartography and the Dutch East India Company during the lifetime of Abel Tasman', in *Terra Australis. The furthest shore*, ed. William Eisler and Bernard Smith (Sydney: International Cultural Corporation of Australia, 1988), p. 80.

21 Heeres, *Abel Janszoon Tasman's journal*, pp. 81-7; Schilder, *Australia unveiled*, pp. 139-57; Slot, *Abel Tasman*, pp. 96-100.

22 Heeres, *Abel Janszoon Tasman's journal*, p. 61.

23 On 22 December 1643 the Governor-General in Batavia sent a short report to the *Heren XVII* in Amsterdam announcing that the journals of Tasman and Visscher would be sent later: National Archives, *VOC* (1.04.02), inv. nr. 1142, fol. 7verso-8, 92-93, published (with translation) by Heeres, *Abel Janszoon Tasman's journal*, p. 144.

Fig. 10.1 Journal of Abel Tasman, 1642-1643, first page. National Archives, *Aanwinsten 1e afd. ARA* (1.11.01.01), inv.nr. 121.

24 Slot, *Abel Tasman*, pp. 64-5; Anderson, *The merchant of the Zeehaen*, p. 100.

25 *The legalistic organization*, ed. Sim B. Sitkin and Robert J. Bies (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994), p. 53.

Evidence of Tasman's editing (some would say falsification) is the change he made in the chart of New Zealand, effacing the entrance to what now is Cook Strait.[24] Like any other record, it was 'designed—implicitly or explicitly—to produce an effect in some kind of audience, which itself actively uses records to interpret events'.[25]
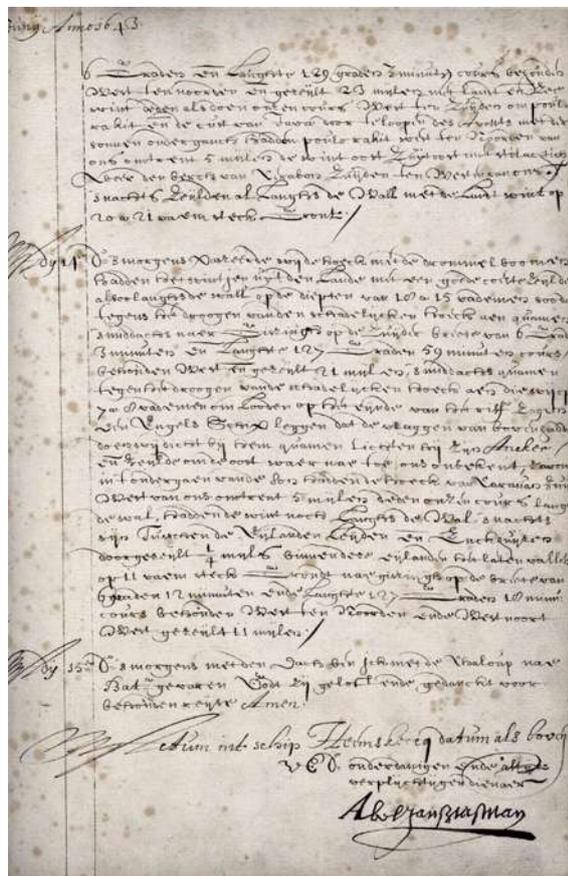
Fig. 10.2 Journal of Abel Tasman, 1642-1643, last page.
National Archives, *Aanwinsten 1e afd. ARA* (1.11.01.01), inv.nr. 121.

I mentioned the three copies of Tasman's journal: the one in the Mitchell Library, the Banks' copy in the British Library, and the copy in the National Archives of the Netherlands in The Hague. The latter, signed by Tasman himself, contains numerous charts, outlines of the coasts, and illustrations, most of which are missing from the copy in the Mitchell Library. That one, the so-called Huydecoper copy, has many more details in latitude and longitude calculations. Moreover, it contains the first accurate mapping of the entrance of Cook Street. The Tasman journal, acquired by the National Archives in 1867, is considered not to be one of the six originals that were sent from Batavia to the Amsterdam VOC office in December 1643. Therefore, puristic archivists do not consider it to be part of the VOC archives.

Today, Tasman's journal is mediated in various ways by archivists and manuscript curators. The Tasman journal in the State Library in Sydney has been digitized and is available on the website of the State Library. The catalogue entry is very detailed, providing much contextual information (and a link to an English translation of the journal) which may assist the reader in his or her use of the journal in any of its versions.[26] The catalogue entry mentions the existence of the copy in The Hague, but does not provide a link to either the National Archives or to the 1898 edition by Heeres containing an English translation (which has been digitized for Gutenberg Australia and put on the web) and a facsimile of the Dutch original in The Hague. The catalogue entries for the original journal and the edition by Heeres are not cross-referenced.

Looking for 'Tasman' on the English version of the website of the National Archives of the Netherlands yields a list of 26 archives. The last one is cryptically labelled (*1.11.01.01 Aanwinsten Eerste Afdeling*) and appears to include a link to the digitized Tasman journal and the page-by-page transcription made by a researcher.[27] The website does not contain any contextual information relating to the journal, nor to any of the other versions and translations. The description in the VOC inventory on the website of the National Archives does not link to the digital scans elsewhere on that website.

26 http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=423571, accessed 7 March 2019.

27 https://web.archive.org/web/20190909095631/https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/1.11.01.01/inventaris?inventarisnr=121&activeTab=gahetnascan&afbeelding=NL-HaNA_1.11.01.01_121_0001, archived 9 Sept. 2019.

10.4 Pewter Records[28]

In 1616 Dirck Hartog, shipmaster of the Unity (*Eendracht*), was the first European to set foot on the shore of Western Australia, near today's Perth. He left a pewter plate on the shore nailed to a pole with the date of his arrival and departure and the names of the supercargo (the chief merchant), the shipmaster, the under-merchant, and the upper-steersman (first mate).

28 J.P. Sigmond, 'Two pewter plates', in *In het kielzog. Maritiem-historische studies aangeboden aan Jaap R. Bruijn bij zijn vertrek als hoogleraar zeegeschiedenis aan de Universiteit Leiden*, ed. Leo Akveld et al. (Amsterdam: De Bataafse Leeuw, 2003), pp. 245-56; Peter Sigmond, 'Cultural heritage on a piece of pewter', in *Dutch Connections 2006. 400 Years of Australian-Dutch maritime links 1606-2006* (Perth: Australian National Maritime Museum, 2006), pp. 72-85; Ketelaar, 'Exploration of the archived world'; Wendy van Duivenvoorde, 'Dirk Hartog was here! His 1616 inscription plate and Dutch ship communications', in *A Touch of Dutch. Maritime, military, migration and mercantile connections on the Western Third 1616-2016*, ed. Nonja Peters (Subiaco, Western Australia: Carina Hoang Communications, 2016), pp. 14-37.

Fig. 10.3a Pewter plate left by VOC shipmaster Dirck Hartog on the shore of Western Australia in 1616. Rijksmuseum NG-NM-825.

Fig. 10.3b Transcription of the Hartog plate. Australian National Maritime Museum, Sydney.

In 1697 the plate was discovered by Willem de Vlamingh's steersman and sent to VOC headquarters in Amsterdam. This plate, together with other VOC artefacts, became State property in 1799 and is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. De Vlamingh replaced the Hartog plate with a new pewter plate, recording both Hartog's and his own landing. On his voyage De Vlamingh had left wooden tablets recording his arrival on Saint Paul Island and on Amsterdam Island. Peter Sigmond of the Rijksmuseum looks upon these as letters, as messages for the first reader to come ashore and—once read—becoming more or less meaningless. But on Hartog Island, De Vlamingh did not use wood, but pewter, the same material Hartog had used earlier. De Vlamingh's plate, with his inscription and the text of his predecessor, may be interpreted as a letter, but it can also be seen as a memorial tablet meant to remain as a monument in honour of Hartog. The Hartog plate and the Vlamingh one are 'at first sight, identical objects but because of their contexts and contents they are very different in meaning and significance,' Sigmond concludes.

In 1818 the De Vlamingh plate of 1697 was taken to Paris by a French expedition and finally, in 1947, presented to the government of Australia and transferred to the Western Australia Museum. It is the country's oldest written record of European exploration. Older yet is the 1616 Hartog plate, of which the museum displays a replica of the original in Amsterdam. The replica is a gift from the Dutch government (1966). However, supposing the internationally agreed rules for solving archival claims were to be applied, one may wonder if the original Hartog plate should not be returned to its provenance, the territory where the record was created. In any case, the Hartog plate is a joint heritage (see 10.7) shared by the Dutch and the Australians.

10.5 The VOC Archives[29]

The VOC was managed by the Lords XVII (*Heren XVII*), a federal board of directors representing the six Chambers in Amsterdam, Middelburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Enkhuizen, and Hoorn (see Fig. 10.0).

29   J.C.M. Pennings, 'Origin and administration of the VOC archives', in Meilink-Roelofsz, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie,* pp. 30-46, and B.J. Slot, M.C.J.C. van Hoof and F. Lequin, 'Notes on the Use of the VOC Archives', ibidem, pp. 47-69. Available at https://web.archive.org/web/20190423121814/http://www.tanap.net/content/voc/history/history_managevoc.htm, archived 23 April 2019 and https://web.archive.org/web/20190530102116/http://www.tanap.net/content/voc/archnl/archnl_intro.htm, archived 30 May 2019; Meilink-Roelofsz, 'Hoe rationeel was de organisatie van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie?', ; J. Gawronski, *De equipagie van de Hollandia en de Amsterdam. VOC-bedrijvigheid in 18de-eeuws Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1996); Adrien Delmas, 'From travelling to history. An outline of the VOC writing system during the 17th century', in *Written culture in a colonial context. Africa and the Americas, 1500-1900*, ed. Adrien Delmas and Nigel Penn (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 2013), pp. 95-122.

They decided on the sale of the goods from Asia, the number of ships and men to be sent, the nature and quantity of the cargo, the appointment of the Governors-General and governors, and the composition of the Council in Batavia. The accounts had to be examined and approved. The General Letter (*Generale Missive*), a survey of the economic and political situation in Asia, made up in Batavia from the reports from offices in the different regions, had to be discussed. All these activities resulted in an extensive administration and, consequently, in a large number of records, both in the Netherlands and the VOC offices at the Cape and in Asia.

The VOC instructed its captains to keep a careful record or daily journal so

> that we may get full information of all your doings and experiences, and the Company obtain due and perfect knowledge of the situation and natural features of these regions, in return for the heavy expenses to which she is put by this expedition.[30]

The captains also had to furnish 'fresh material for the correction of the charts now in use, and perhaps also of the courses to be kept'.[31] Drawings, journals, maps, and charts were essential tools for the VOC, both for the skippers and the directors. Each ship was supplied with four sets (for the captain, upper-steersman, under-steersman, and the third mate) of 30 to 50 parchment maps, with globes and navigation instructions, totalling around 200 to 300 guilders per ship. Over 4,700 ships were equipped by the VOC during its existence. It is estimated that the VOC mapmakers drew around 70,000 parchment maps between 1602 and 1753 (when printed maps were introduced). Many maps were destroyed by the VOC because they were obsolete. Sometimes a parchment map was re-used, for example as a book cover.[32] After each journey logs and maps had to be delivered at East India House in Amsterdam. There, in the navigation room, all the maps for the ships were inventoried, updated, and kept ready for another journey. Furthermore, large maps and globes decorated the committee rooms of the directors to facilitate decision-making. The ships' logs and the maps that formed part of the reports from Asia were kept in the records room.

30   Heeres, *The part borne by the Dutch*, p. 20.

31   Heeres, *The part borne by the Dutch*, p. 74.

32   Ruud Paesi, 'Op perkament getekend. Productie en omvang van het hydrografische bedrijf van de VOC', *Caert Thresoor* 29, no.1 (2010): 1-8.

The maps and other records were a tool for knowledge management, enlarging and enhancing the knowledge base of the Company. This knowledge base was one of the VOC assets, to be kept secret from competitors, especially the British and the French. However, VOC records found their way abroad or into private hands, and foreign agents acquired valuable information, profiting from the open information society that was the Dutch Republic.[33]

In 10.0 I called the VOC a 'centre of calculation'. This concept was proposed by Bruno Latour, who argued that long-distance operations are made possible by somehow 'bringing home' events, places, and people by making them *mobile* while keeping them *stable* (allowing to move them to and fro without deforming them) and making them *combinable.* Latour uses the term 'immutable and combinable mobiles', which can 'be cumulated, aggregated, or shuffled like a pack of cards'.[34] The centres of calculation condense the incoming primary information into secondary, which is then aggregated to new information of the third order and so forth: a never-ending 'cascade of the fourth, fifth and *nth* order inscription'.[35] Each aggregation adds value and provides new insight.

Latour's point is proven by the VOC. The information which the VOC mapmaker distilled from the logs and charts enabled the Company to do more than was possible on board the ships. In their turn, the draughtsmen on board could observe more (and from a different perspective) than the indigenous people on the coast. Aggregation of information is characteristic for the VOC; the trading posts in different places all over Asia sent their reports and copies of correspondence to Batavia, where they were copied into a register of incoming letters but also recapitulated and summarized in one single *Generale Missive*, the annual general letter, an aggregation of the second order, reporting on everything the VOC was interested in, using a fixed classification.[36] In Amsterdam these reports were integrated into the 'Letters and papers received' (*Overgekomen brieven en papieren*): many volumes for one year, totalling 2,942 volumes between 1614 and 1794. Through combining those letters and papers, both copies and originals, and by using an established classification and several indexes, the information was reformatted, recontextualized, and aggregated. This enormous archive constituted the basis for knowledge, control, and power.

33   Clé Lesger, *The rise of the Amsterdam market and information exchange. Merchants, commercial expansion and change in the spatial economy of the Low Countries, c.1550-1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Harold J. Cook, *Matters of exchange. Commerce, medicine, and science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 58-69.

34   Latour, *Science in action*, p. 223.

35   Latour, *Science in action*, p. 234.

36   https://web.archive.org/web/20161028025451/http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vocgeneralemissiven/index_html_en, archived 28 Oct. 2016.

The secretary (*advocaat*) of the VOC was responsible for the archives. He held office in East India House in Amsterdam. Assisted by two deputies, he prepared the meeting of the Amsterdam directors and the meeting of the *Heren XVII*, he wrote the proceedings, managed the correspondence, and kept the archives which were stored partly at East India House and partly in the warehouse at the VOC shipyard. Some dozens of clerks worked in the VOC writing office (*schrijfcomptoir*).

The proceedings (*resoluties*) were the outcome of collegiate decision-making and, just as in other collegiate bodies (see 3.2), they formed the backbone of the archives (see 13.4). The *resoluties* of the *Heren XVII* were made in draft (*minuut*) from which a fair copy was written. All people present signed this at the end of the meeting. Each chamber received a copy. The *resoluties* were made accessible by *marginalia* and *realia*.[37] Marginalia were the short notes in the margin characterizing the contents of each *resolutie*. Marginating (*marginaleren*) was the usual way of making *resoluties* accessible throughout the Republic (see Fig. 3.3). In the VOC a marginalist copied the marginalia in chronological order to make a table of contents that was bound in front of the *resoluties* book.

The increasing number of *resoluties* in the 18th century necessitated a new finding aid. This was known as the *realia*, an alphabetical index of subjects with a short description of the *resoluties* regarding each subject. Other *realia* were also made from the outgoing letter books of the *Heren XVII*. Not all *resoluties* were made accessible by *realia*: the *realist* made a selection. The keywords remained more or less the same over time. The Zeeland and Amsterdam Chambers (who shared the presidency) made indexes on the *resoluties* of the *Heren XVII* for their own use, but they lent them for comparison and copying.

In 1737 the Zeeland Chamber appointed Thomas Cunningham as librarian-archivist (*bibliothecaris-chartermeester*) and instructed him (Fig. 10.4) to make 'a so-called index'—apparently the index was not yet widely known—on all minutes of the *Heren XVII* (at least as from 1700) and to keep this index up to date.

37   Vriend, *Het informatiesysteem*; Vriend, "'An unbelievable amount of paper'".
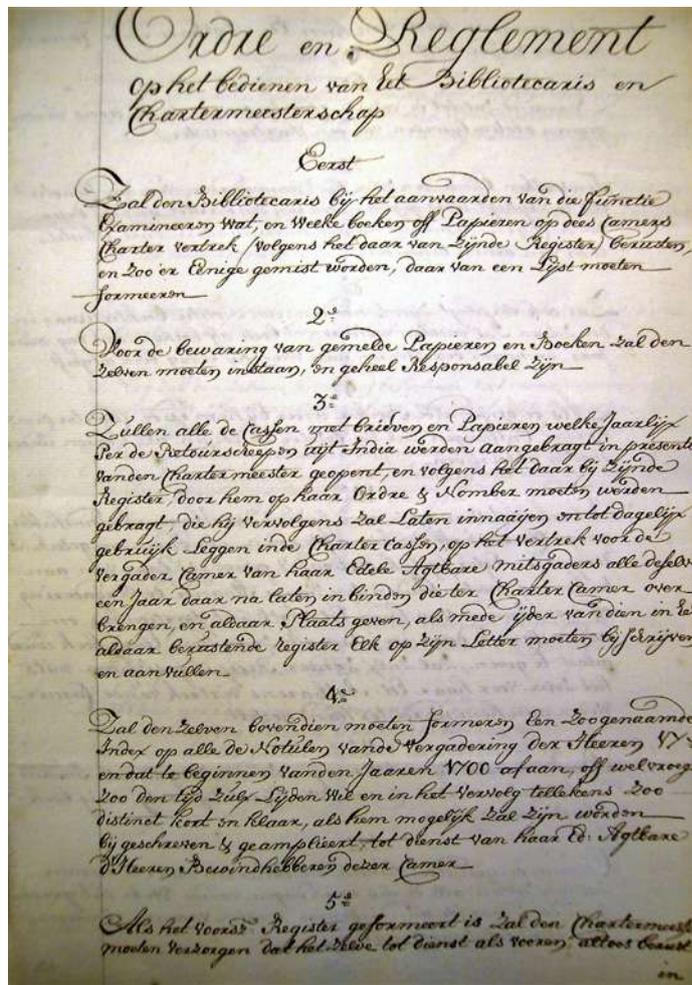
Fig. 10.4 Instruction for the librarian-archivist (*bibliothecaris-chartermeester*) of the Zeeland Chamber of the VOC, 1737. National Archives, *Radermacher* (1.10.69), inv. nr. 354.
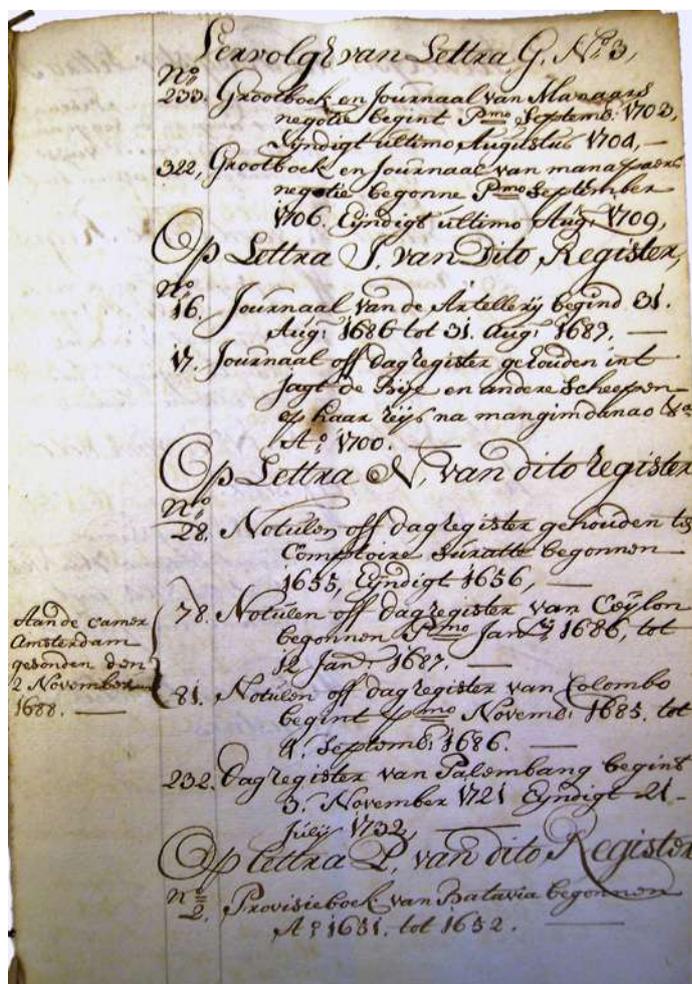
Fig. 10.5 Inventory of the archives of the Zeeland Chamber of the VOC made by librarian-archivist (*bibliothecaris-chartermeester*) Thomas Cunningham, 1737. National Archives, *Radermacher* (1.10.69), inv. nr. 354.

On 22 January 1743, the first two volumes covering the years 1602 to 1742, were handed to the directors of the Zeeland Chamber. They are still in the archives, with the successive volumes until 1796. In this repertory the *resoluties* are set out alphabetically according to the initial letter of each subject. The *resoluties* are listed chronologically under each letter.

Cunningham checked the contents of the two muniment rooms shortly after his appointment. For this, he used two existing catalogues in which the books and papers were described under alphabetically ordered headings: deeds (*acten*) under A, letters (*brieven*) under B, etc. The items under each heading were numbered. Heading B, for example, comprised around 700 items. At the time of Cunningham's check only 65 items were missing. In the inventory he made (Fig. 10.5), he noted that the journals of Ceylon 1686-1687 and Colombo 1685-1686 had been sent to the Amsterdam Chamber in 1688—apparently, they had never been returned.

The Zeeland Chamber was fairly late in appointing an archivist when Cunningham joined in 1737. In 1695 the Amsterdam Chamber established a muniment room (*charterkamer*) because 'the books and papers, received from Asia from time to time, have already grown to such a quantity, which will but increase in the years to come'.[38] In 1699 the function of bibliothecarius was created.[39] His task was 'to supervise the charters and papers of the Company and to keep them in good order and register them satisfactorily'. Pieter van Rijn was appointed, although he already had the function of a bookkeeper. His deputy as an archivist was Pieter Weseman, who continued his work as a clerk. Both received an extra salary of 200 guilders and 50 guilders respectively, on top of the salary for their main function. The measures taken in 1695 and 1699 were possibly related to the assignment given in 1693 to VOC *advocaat* Pieter van Dam to describe the 'constitution, governance, and trade' of the VOC in a comprehensive way. Van Dam had to do much research in the archives. After the death of Pieter van Rijn in 1726 it took 16 years for a new archivist to be appointed, an indication that the archives did not have high priority at the time.

The chests with letters and papers that arrived with the ships from the Indies had to be brought to East India House as quickly as possible. When the chests were opened at the

38   Pennings, 'Origin', p. 33.

39   National Archives, *VOC* (1.04.02), inv. nr. 245, 6 July 1699.

Zeeland Chamber, the archivist had to be present, according to his instruction.[40] He had to order the documents and had them bound and stored in the cupboards in the room adjacent to the meeting room of the directors. The archivist had to keep an inventory of all documents.

The *Generale Missive* formed part of the annual batch of papers sent home to be read and summarized by the Hague Committee (*Haags Besogne*). This committee of 14 members had to read all the papers that had arrived from the East. They had to draft the reply that was to be sent by the *Heren XVII* to the Indies. Over a course of seven to ten weeks, the *Besogne* met in The Hague, in the permanent lodging of the VOC on Bleijenburg. Every day (except Wednesday afternoon, Saturday afternoon, and Sunday) work continued from 9 to 12 p.m. and from 3.30 to 5.30 p.m.[41]

Reading the letters and reports was difficult when they were not much to the point or when they were poorly structured or badly written. In such cases the gentlemen of the *Besogne* could only

> run through it without reading distinctly (…) particularly because of the uselessly small letters etc. which, in combination with the awkward way of writing (…) seem to be used continuously to pull the wool over our eyes in order so that it would take a lot of effort for us to read much, but not comprehend it all.[42]

The Amsterdam Chamber arranged the *Overgekomen brieven en papieren* chronologically at first, then according to their nature and, finally, geographically. The Zeeland Chamber, however, arranged the documents differently: first the letters from the Governor-General and Council and then the papers from each of the various offices in geographical order. The Zeeland arrangement seems to have been more in agreement with the system by which the documents were created. The division of tasks in both the Council of the Indies in Batavia and in the *Haags Besogne* was based on a division of the correspondence according to the various offices.[43]

40   National Archives, *Radermacher* (1.10.69), inv. nr. 354.

41   National Archives, *Radermacher* (1.10.69), inv. nr. 50.

42   Vriend, *Het informatiesysteem*, p. 85 quoting a letter from the *Heren XVII* of 10 September 1738: National Archives, *VOC* (1.04.02), inv. nr. 329.

43   Louisa Balk and Frans van Dijk, *Inventaris van het archief van de gouverneur-generaal en raden van Indië (Hoge Regering) van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie en taakopvolgers, 1612-1812* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2002) p. 26.

Fig. 10.6 The flow of documents in the VOC network 1737-1750, from Nico Vriend, *Het informatiesysteem en –netwerk van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie.* Master's thesis Universiteit Leiden, 2011.

The *Overgekomen brieven en papieren* received in 1687, for example, consist of 13 volumes. Three were volumes of Batavia's letter-book of incoming documents (*Batavia's ingekomen brievenboek*) and the other ten volumes were reports and other documents: two containing the *Generale missive* and reports on the conduct of business in Asia, especially in Batavia; four volumes from Bengal and Coromandel (these had been sent directly to the Republic, not via Batavia); two on Ceylon and Banda; one on Ambon, Makassar, Timor, and Malacca (now Melaka, Malaysia); and one (sent overland via Basra, modern-day Iraq, and Aleppo, modern-day Syria) from Malabar and Surat (India) and Persia (now Iran).

Moreover, there were another two volumes with letters and papers sent directly from Cape of Good Hope, and copies of the *resoluties* and letters sent by the Governor-General and Council in Batavia. In the 18th century, papers from China also went directly to the Republic. The number of volumes of *Overgekomen brieven en papieren* rose to more than 20, 30, or even 40 volumes annually in the 18th century.

What is left of the immense VOC archives, created between 1602 and its dissolution in 1800? The bulk was destroyed in the early 19th century (see 3.6.1). What we have in the Netherlands, in the National Archives, are some 1,300 metres, including nearly 3,000 volumes of incoming documents from Asia to the Amsterdam Chamber and another 2,991 volumes of the pay-ledgers from the 18th century.

VOC records and 'VOC-adjacent' records[44] can, however, also be found in Jakarta, Cape Town, Chennai (Madras), Colombo, Kuala Lumpur, London (records from Malacca), and Paris (several hundred VOC maps), totalling 2.5 kilometres (3.2 kilometres if one counts all archives from the Dutch period).[45] These records often fill the gaps in the Dutch archives. The instructions for Willem de Vlamingh, for example, cannot be found in the Netherlands, but fortunately a copy has been preserved in the VOC archives in Cape Town.[46] The records kept in the Netherlands, on the other hand, form a unique source for the study of the history of the countries in the large area navigated and controlled by the VOC: they often contain information that cannot be found in the countries concerned. The VOC archives are a joint heritage. The concept of joint heritage was developed by the International Council on Archives and accepted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1978 as one of the basic principles which should guide the solution of conflicting archival claims.[47] The concept of joint heritage is advisable where archives

> form part of the national heritages of two or more States but cannot be divided without destroying its juridical, administrative, and historical value (…). The practical result of the application of this concept is that the archives group is left physically intact in one of the countries concerned, where it is treated as part of

44 Michael Karabinos in a conversation with the author proposed this term for records that are, strictly speaking, not created *by* the VOC but that could not have been created without the VOC, for example the records of the churches in the VOC establishments.

45 In the annexe to the application for Memory of the World status https://web.archive.org/web/20190531131521/http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/mow/nomination_forms/netherlands+voc+archives.pdf, archived 31 May 2019, the numbers are: Cape Town 325 metres, Colombo 310, Chennai 64, Jakarta 1,800, total: 2,499 metres. According to *The archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the local institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)* (Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2007), p. 177 the VOC holdings in Jakarta are 2,500 metres and 450 metres in Cape Town.

46 Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, p. 73, endnote 1.

47 Hervé Bastien, 'Reference dossier on archival claims', *Janus. Special issue: Proceedings of the twentynineth,thirtieth and thirty-first International Conference of the Round Table on Archives* (1998), pp. 209-68, available on https://web.archive.org/web/20180611143959/https://www.ica.org/en/reference-dossier-archival-claims, archived 11 June 2018.

the national archival heritage, with all the responsibilities with respect to security and handling implied thereby for the State acting as owner and custodian of that heritage. The States sharing this joint heritage should then be given rights equal to those of the custodial State.[48]

UNESCO has registered the VOC archives as Memory of the World, on a joint nomination by five countries. A large project is underway to preserve all the VOC archives in the world, to connect and to describe all components of the VOC archives in a detailed 'super inventory' accessible on the Internet. Moreover, the National Archives of the Netherlands, within the framework of the government's Shared Cultural Heritage Programme, supports training of professionals and digitization projects in countries where the VOC or its sister the West India Company (WIC) were active: Australia, Brasil, India, Indonesia, Japan, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Surinam, and the United States.

10.6 A VOC Merchant's Archive[49]

In the back office of the Alkmaar City Archives stands a large cedar chest. Oral tradition has identified it as the archive chest of Wollebrant Geleynssen de Jongh (1594-1674), kept during his more than 35 years as an employee of the VOC. However, since the lockplate shows the coat of arms of the Wildeman family, it is unlikely that the chest was actually Geleynssen's. Nevertheless, we know that Geleynssen owned a large archive, probably stored in the 'Indian' chest mentioned in the inventory drawn up after his death. In the late 19th century the archive was transferred to the city archives from the main church, the *Grote Kerk*, where the archive had been preserved since 1824. In that year the estate of Geleynssen was divided, according to Geleynssen's will that had instituted an entail (*fideicommis*) for 150 years. Geleynssen's papers had been part of the entail and therefore they were scrupulously preserved by the executors together with the records of their trusteeship. In 1824 the 26 heirs (including the Church) proposed to the executive of the city to join the papers with the city archives as a memorial to Geleynssen.[50] As it took

48 Bastien, 'Reference dossier'; *Displaced archives*, ed. James Lowry (London/New York: Routledge, 2017).

49 H.W. van Santen, *VOC-dienaar in India. Geleynssen de Jongh in het land van de Groot-Mogol* (Franeker: Van Wijnen, 2001).

another 75 years for Alkmaar to appoint a city archivist, in the meantime the archive was entrusted to the sexton of the *Grote Kerk*.

In 1912 Geleynssen's archives were divided. The archives created by Geleynssen in the service of the VOC were lent to the National Archives, while his personal papers and the administration of the executors remained in the Alkmaar City Archives. Geleynssen's archives offer a unique insight into the administration of the VOC establishments in the 17th century. As the introduction to the inventory of the VOC archives states, private archives of officials, like Geleynssen, often present a picture that is only incompletely reflected in the archives of the VOC and its establishments. Moreover, they show 'that a much greater and more varied correspondence was carried on than appears from the documents in the official VOC archives'.[51]

Geleynssen started his career as an assistant merchant in Banda, part of modern-day Indonesia. Having risen to the rank of merchant, he moved to Halmaheira in the Moluccas (Maluku Islands). After a leave of absence in Holland, he was chief factor in Broothsia (Bharuch) on the west coast of India (subordinated to the directorate of Surat) for seven years. After a second period of leave, he held various positions in Batavia, Borneo, India, and Persia, including those of member of the Council of the Indies and director of commerce in Persia, where he resided in Gamron (today's Bandar-Abbas, Iran). In 1648 he left the Indies as *commandeur* of the return fleet of 12 ships. He returned to his native town of Alkmaar, where he lived as a bachelor of independent means until his death in 1674, leaving an entailed estate of 70,000 guilders.

The inventory of his estate mentions the gold medal bestowed on him by the *Heren XVII*, his portrait, and the painting of the return fleet at Batavia (all three now in the Municipal Museum of Alkmaar). On the portrait (1674) Geleynssen is accompanied by two black servants, one holding a ceremonial parasol (*pajong*), the other his master's cape, hat, and sabre. Black servants appear in many 17th- and 18th-century Dutch portraits, often fictitious and not depicting a real person. However, the portrait should remind us that the Dutch in the greater Indies took over pre-existing systems of slavery and slave trade.

50 Alkmaar City Archives, *Geleynssen*, inv. nrs. 100, 115.

51 Slot, 'Other archives', p. 78.

The VOC, unlike the West India Company, did not trade in enslaved people as a commodity but bought them to work in the mines, on plantations, or on the shipyards in Batavia. The majority were domestic servants. In Batavia, half of the population in the 1670s were enslaved people, originating from the west coast of India, Ceylon, Madagascar, Bali, Makassar, and other places.[52]

Archiving and accounting were indispensable for the VOC. At each post, a number of bookkeepers and clerks were employed, and the merchants and assistant merchants kept records too, controlled by the senior merchant. The books had to be sent to Batavia by ship, though sometimes directly from India or Persia over land to Amsterdam. To minimize the risk of loss at sea, the books had to be copied three or four times and sent by three or four different ships (see also 1.4.1). Correspondence, reports, and price lists were also copied before sending them abroad. In Batavia, these documents were copied and discussed in the Council of the Indies, which led to reports and letters that were sent back to the establishments. As explained before, the documents received and sent were recapitulated and summarized in one single 'general letter' (*Generale Missive*) with numerous annexes, both copies and originals. In Amsterdam and Middelburg these annexes to the *Generale Missive* were integrated into the 'Letters and papers received' (*Overgekomen brieven en papieren*). Because those papers were ordered by establishment (the eastern islands of Indonesia first, then the east coast of Asia, Siam, China, Japan, followed by Malacca, Sumatra, India, Persia), one can make a virtual reconstruction of the archives of any establishment.[53] The major restriction is that such a reconstruction only includes documents that were sent either with the 'Letters and papers received' or directly to the chambers in Holland and Zeeland. Many records were never sent abroad and were destroyed or left behind or taken along by repatriating VOC personnel, like Wollebrant Geleynssen de Jongh. By comparing Geleynssen's archives with the reconstructions of the archives of the posts where he served the VOC, one gets a fairly correct picture of what the management of a VOC establishment in Asia entailed in terms of archiving.

52 Markus Vink, '"The world's oldest trade". Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian ocean in the 17th century', *Journal of world history*, 14, no.2 (June 2003): 131-77. On the archiving practices involving enslaved people in Batavia: H.E. Niemeijer, *Batavia. Een koloniale samenleving in de zeventiende eeuw* (Balans: Amsterdam, 2005), pp. 50-64.

53 See the reconstructions on https://web.archive.org/web/20190423121805/http://databases.tanap.net/vocrecords/, archived 6 June 2019.
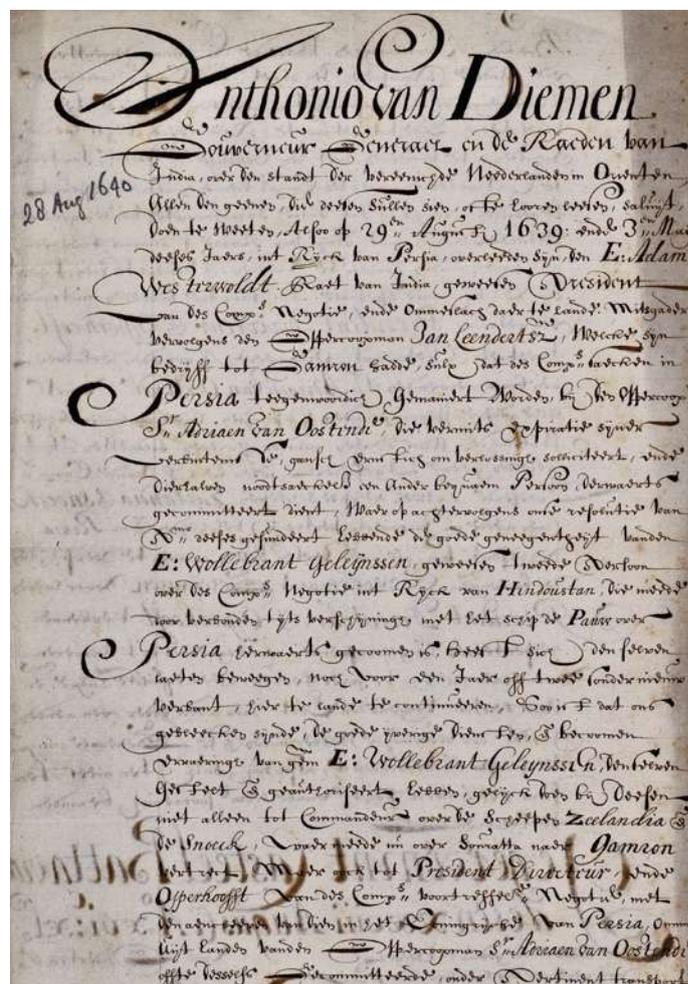
Fig. 10.7 Instruction for Wollebrant Geleynssen de Jongh from Governor-General Ant(h)onio van Diemen, 1640. National Archives, *Geleynssen* (1.10.30), inv. nr. 138A.

In Geleynssen's commission as director of Persia, signed by Governor-General Ant(h)onio van Diemen, he was instructed to take over from his predecessor 'all Company's books, accounts, privileges and other papers concerning the state of the Company'. Thus, the inventory made on 20 April 1641 (copies of which are in Geleynssen's archives and in the VOC archives)[54] lists the official privileges from the Persian rulers (*commandamenten*), contracts and treaties (*capitulaties*), letters, bonds, and other documents. In the margin is indicated whether the records are kept at the head office in Gamron or in the subordinate post in Spahan (Isfahan). The archives also included some 'useless papers' (*ondienstige pampiere*n), three sets of trading books (*negotieboeken*), and two sets of factory books (*logieboeken*), being the administration by Adriaen van Ostende and his predecessors Jan Leendertsz van der Grift and Nicolaes Overschie. These books were still in the archives when Geleynssen left Persia in 1643. Overschie's tenure (1633-1638) had been severely criticized by the Governor-General and had become the subject of a trial. Van der Grift had died in 1640 leaving his papers in total confusion (*geheel ongereddert*) and apparently Van Ostende had not succeeded in ordering them; therefore, Geleynssen had been commissioned to cautiously check the accounts of Van der Grift.

Apart from these old books, Geleynssen transferred his own administration to his successor. However, Geleynssen kept copies of his bookkeeping together with some supporting registers and documents. Several are originals, others are copies. An example is the receipt of a jewel Geleynssen had entrusted in 1640 to his colleague at Surat and that he kept among his papers, while two copies of the receipt ended up in Amsterdam among the 'Letters and papers received'.[55]
He also took with him a handful of invoices and bills of lading (*cognossementen*) and most of his correspondence, either originals or copied into several letter books. Some books are clearly copies for Geleynssen's private use (there are several books carrying his initials stamped in gold). So, for example, there are two registers of merchandise privately kept by Geleynssen before, during, and after his employment in Gamron from 1640 to 1643. The same applies to a copy of his journal (*dagregister*) which covers not only his time at Gamron, but also his journey back to Batavia 1643-1644.[56]

54 National Archives, *VOC* (1.04.02), inv. nr. 1135, p. 727; *Geleynssen* (1.10.30), inv. nr. 140A.

55 National Archives, *Geleynssen* (1.10.30), inv. nr. 249; *VOC* (1.04.02), inv. nr. 1135, pp. 703 and 771.

56 National Archives, *Geleynssen* (1.10.30), inv. nr. 142.

He also kept, of course, his commission and the extensive instructions given by the Governor-General in Council. Moreover, his archives contain various documents that will have belonged to the archives of one of his predecessors Adam Westerwoldt (who had died in Persia in 1639).

All this copying and private archiving—his 'methodical urge for preservation' (*methodische bewaarzucht*) as it has been called by his biographer[57]—may have been to collect information that might be useful both for Geleynssen at other posts and in the event that his administration would be challenged by his superiors who were especially concerned about the faulty management by some of Geleynssen's predecessors in India and Persia. To minimize the risk of embezzlement, the bookkeeping in Gamron was divided over three people. Geleynssen had been instructed to keep the memorial himself, while the second merchant at Gamron was to keep the journal, and the third one the grand ledger. However, they did not write the record with their own hand, but employed clerks who did the bookkeeping under their supervision (in 8.2.2 I referred to Elisabeth Coymans, the widow of Jean Deutz—her books were written by her bookkeeper, but the narrative in the books is in the first person). In fact, Geleynssen's own hand is very rare in the records. Even his personal letters to his family in Holland were often written by a clerk, though probably he dictated what the clerks (many of them indigenous people) wrote. Sometimes a VOC official complained about all the writing and copying:'I loathe the sight of a pen'.[58]
All bookkeeping, reporting, and archiving were considered to be essential tools, and it had consequences for society in Asia, and probably also in *patria*. As VOC specialist Remco Raben remarks:

> A society in which every brick finds its way into the ledgers of the Company, where the life of every slave is represented by a sum in the books, and where every soul should be deployed to allow the Company machine to run efficiently and economically, is a *tense* society.[59]

57 Van Santen, *VOC-dienaar*, p. 29.

58 Frank Lequin. *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de achttiende eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen*, 2nd ed. (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto/Repro-Holland, 2005), p. 154, citing Titsingh in 1790.

59 Remco Raben, *Batavia and Colombo. The ethnic and spatial order of two colonial cities*, PhD thesis Leiden, 1996, pp. 161-62, https://web.archive.org/web/20190531131728/https://www.academia.edu/715645/Batavia_and_Colombo._The_Ethnic_and_Spatial_Order_of_Two_Colonial_Cities_1600-1800_Ph.D._thesis_Leiden_1996, archived 31 May 2019.

The genre system maintained at a VOC establishment (and forming part of the global VOC genre system) included people and paper acting together:

- Each merchant had to keep a journal, one of them being the main factory's journal (*dagregister*) recording 'the most notable things in the country of residence'.
- Decisions by the chief factor and his council were recorded in *resoluties*.
- The letters, reports, and instructions received from and sent to the Netherlands, Batavia and establishments.
- Agreements with foreign rulers (like the *commandamenten* and *capitulaties* mentioned earlier) which were kept separate.
- Judicial documents of the Council of Justice in Batavia formed separate series of petitions, sentences, and *resoluties.*
- All personnel were registered in the muster rolls.
- Trade documents including bills, price lists, and 'demands' (*eisen*), being requests to ship specific goods.
- Of course, there was the substantial bookkeeping, such as memorials, journals, and grand ledgers.
- Among the documents concerning ships and equipage were the books of expenses, bills of lading, and ship's journals.

There are only a few more or less complete archives of a trading post (*factorij*) left. Some portions are preserved in the Tamil Nadu State Archives in Chennai, India, and in the National Archives of Sri Lanka in Colombo. In the 1860s the archives of the factories in Japan (Hirado, Deshima, 1609-1842, some 1,600 items) and in China (Canton, now Guangzhou, 1742-1826, 386 items) were sent from Batavia to the Dutch National Archives. Some of the gaps in the Japan *factorij* archives were filled by documents created or received by the Governor-General and Council—an infringement of the principle of provenance that was not corrected when the archives were inventoried in the 1960s.

10.7 Colonial Affairs[60]

In 1796 the newly created Batavian Republic took over all assets and liabilities of the VOC. Most of the establishments in Asia had fallen into British hands in 1795, with Java following in 1811. After the Napoleonic wars, England returned most of these establishments in Asia to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1814 the Ministry of Colonial Affairs was established. Its task was restricted, in the first place because the authority in the East Indies was limited mainly to the islands of Java and Madura, and because trade with Asia was the domain of the Netherlands Trading Company (*Nederlandsche Handelmaatschappij*, NHM), founded in 1824 at the initiative of King William I.

The constitutions of 1840 and 1848 involved Parliament with colonial policy; government submitted the colonial budget and a colonial report annually to Parliament. In the 1860s governmental involvement with the East Indies increased. Between 1864 and 1866 both the Ministry and the General Secretariat in Batavia were reorganized, mirroring each other. Not only governance in the mother country and the East but also the archives systems were mirrors of each other. This happened outside the public sector as well. For example, Billiton, a Dutch company mining in the Indies, set up a filing system for their Netherlands East Indies' office which was a mirror of the system of their headquarters in The Hague.

The Hague, as well as Batavia, used the *verbaal* system prescribed in 1823 (see 3.4). While most ministries changed their records management in due time, the Ministry of Colonial Affairs and the Governor-General's administration in the Indies (as in other matters much stricter and more categorical than the mother country) obeyed to the letter and kept the *verbaal* system until 1953.

60 Rob Kramer and A.M. Tempelaars, *Inventaris van het archief van de Algemene Secretarie (1816) 1819-1942 [...]* (Jakarta : Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 1990); F.J.M. Otten, *Gids voor de archieven van de ministeries en de hoge colleges van staat, 1813-1940* (Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2004), http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/archiefgids_overheid/, accessed 14 Jan. 2020; Bob de Graaff, *'Kalm temidden van woedende golven'. Het ministerie van Koloniën en zijn taakomgeving, 1912-1940* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 1997); Charles Jeurgens, 'Networks of information: The Dutch East Indies', in *Exploring the Dutch Empire. Agents, networks and institutions, 1600-2000*, ed. Jos J.L. Gommans and Cátia Antunes (Bloomsbury Academic: London, 2015), pp. 95-130.

The weekly 'mail reports of interesting occurrences' (*mailrapporten van wetenswaardige bijzonderheden*) remained outside the *verbaal*. They were introduced in 1869 to improve the supply of information to the Minister of Colonial Affairs.[61] Not only the contents of the information were improved, but the logistics were upgraded as well. A few months later in the same year, the Suez Canal was opened, shortening (see 7.4) the time lag between sending and receiving letters between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies from 80 days to 40 or 50 days. Archivist Frank Otten describes the *mailrapport* as a list of summaries of messages, often with extensive annexes. Thus, the mail reports remind one of the *Generale Missiven* and the 'Incoming letters and papers' in the times of the VOC. Among the annexes to the mail reports were the statements of transfer (*memories van overgave*), introduced in 1849, but going back to the reports used by the VOC. The *memorie van overgave* was the report of a resigning Dutch regional government official meant to inform his successor about the economic, social, and political state of affairs in the district.

Within the official correspondence was a distinction between public and secret documents, each with special rules on access and archiving. Aside from all this, the Minister and the Governor-General exchanged secret 'private' letters. These were not strictly private nor informal, but less formal than the official secret letters. They were not meant for the successor in office but were considered the private property of the correspondents. This threefold division (public, secret, and private letters) had been adapted from the diplomatic practice by civil and military officials, such as the Stadholders and the greffiers and clerks of the States.[62]

The public archives of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs were kept by the General Secretariat (*Algemene Secretarie*), while the secret and private documents were handled by the Minister's cabinet. The General Secretariat had a staff of 20 to 25 people, generally of a very low rank. It was a 'transit station' (*doorloopstationnetje*) for newcomers. However, as in other ministries, the clerks who kept the *index* to the *verbaal* (see below) and who were thus thoroughly familiar with the archives, were relatively well paid.

61   W.R. Hugenholtz, 'An East Indian serial. Mailrapporten (1869-1940)', *Itinerario* 4, no. 2 (1980): 71-4; Jeurgens, 'Networks'.

62   G. de Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad. De geheimhouding van staatszaken ten tijde van de Republiek (1600-1750)* ('s-Gravenhage: SDU, 1991), pp. 319-23.

The Ministry of Colonial Affairs was notorious for its cumbersome and precedent-focused handling of affairs. The first step in dealing with an issue was requesting the earlier documents in the case (the *retroacta*) or in a comparable case from the archives; the archivist had to retrieve the papers from the chronological *verbaal* with the help of the index and other finding aids.
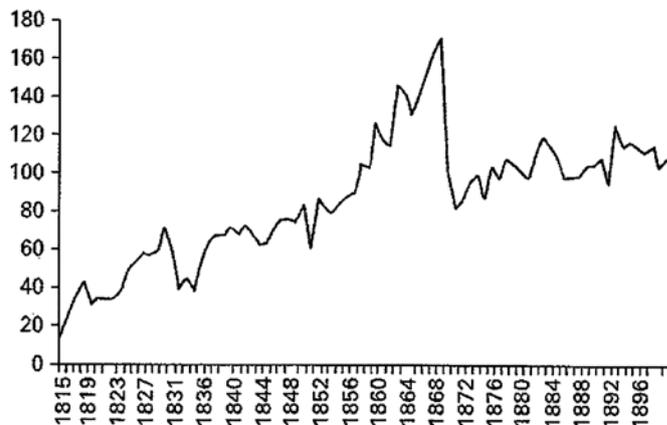
Fig. 10.8 Annual volume of *verbalen* in the archive of the Ministry of Colonies, 1815-1899. From Charles Jeurgens, 'Networks of information: The Dutch East Indies', in *Exploring the Dutch Empire. Agents, networks and institutions, 1600-2000*, ed. Jos J.L. Gommans and Cátia Antunes (Bloomsbury Academic: London, 2015), pp. 95-130.

The *index* to the *verbaal* listed under each heading (subject or task) summaries of documents with a reference to the chronological file. Indexes (*klappers*) on names of people and places provided access to the *index* and thereby to the *verbaal* (see Fig. 3.9).

The headings reflected the world view of the civil service.[63] For example, the heading 'colonization' included emigration, coolies, and the factory inspectorate (*landverhuizing, koelies, arbeidsinspectie*). Slavery and piracy were in the same rubric. 'Worship' was divided into 'Non-Muslims' and 'Muslims and pilgrimage'. Such categorization reinforced what I have called the duality of the archive (see the General Introduction): shaped by people and shaping people. The anthropologist and historian Ann Stoler looked for information on the relations between white children and their indigenous nursemaids in the archives of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs.[64] She found it in numerous reports (classified secret) concerning the political situation in the Netherlands Indies.[65] At the time, government officials believed the colonial order to be threatened by what they labelled the 'danger' of contact between white children and their nursemaids. Thus, the archivers (the record creating civil servants and the colonial archivists) labelled and shaped contents and context of the archival documents, while at the same time labelling and shaping the relationship between children and their nursemaids. To understand the archive, one must decode its various aspects. This requires, in Stoler's forcible expression, reading 'along the archival grain', accepting even unethical, forbidden, illegal, evil, or irrational recordkeeping.

The Dutch venture into full-blown empire-building began with the war with Aceh (1873-1903) and the conquest (and plunder) of Lombok (1894), as Adrian Vickers writes.[66] Gradually other territories came under Dutch governance that stretched over the whole archipelago around 1910, and in 1920 western New Guinea was added to the Dutch East Indies. The expansion of the colonial dominion led to a growth of bureaucracy, in Batavia as well as in The Hague. The Ministry of Colonial Affairs expanded from 52 civil servants in 1887 to 140 in 1910. By that time, it was the largest ministry, bigger than either Finance and War, with their 106 and 111 staff members, respectively. To this number of civil servants, one must add the number of scriveners (*schrijvers*). In the 1920s there were 61 scriveners and 12 typists in the Ministry of Colonial Affairs, who did not form part of the civil service.

63 M.G.H.A. de Graaff, *Gids voor onderzoek in het archief van het ministerie van Koloniën in beheer bij het Nationaal Archief 1814-1951* (Den Haag 2015) p. 16, https://web.archive.org/web/20190531131835/http://www.heindegraaff.nl/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/10-Gids-Kolonien.pdf, archived 31 May 2019.

64 Ann L. Stoler, *Carnal knowledge and imperial power. Race and the intimate in colonial rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 112-39.

65 Stoler, 'Colonial archives': 108.

66 Adrian Vickers, *A history of modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 10.

In 1945 the Republik Indonesia was proclaimed, but only in 1949 did the Netherlands recognize Indonesian sovereignty. The Dutch selected a large amount of archive material which was shipped in 48 chests to the Netherlands in 1951 and 1952. They included not only secret archives (such as those of the intelligence service), but also archives captured from Indonesian politicians such as Soekarno (the first president of Indonesia) and private people between 1945 and 1949. Still, a substantial quantity remained, including the archives of the General Secretariat. For example, the archives of the General Secretariat kept in the Arsip Nasional (National Archives of Indonesia) in Jakarta comprise 5,600 metres, while the Netherlands keep 52 metres.

After some hesitation, the Netherlands accepted the internationally adopted principle that archives created by administrations responsible solely for the affairs of a given non-sovereign political entity (such as the Dutch Governor-General's administration) form part of the heritage of the successor to that political entity concerned (in this case Indonesia), and not of the state (The Netherlands) which was exercising sovereignty at the time the archives were created. Some Dutch officials and politicians hesitated, but not so archivists such as National Archivist Ton Ribberink. He actively fought for the return to Indonesia of its archival heritage. Ribberink was supported by his Indonesian colleague Soemartini, who had been trained at the Dutch Archives School in 1968-1969. In 1970 Indonesia and the Netherlands concluded an archival agreement which, apart from promising bilateral assistance in training archivists and inventorying archives in The Hague and in Jakarta, also provided for the return of the so-called Djogdja documents. These were Indonesian records seized by the Dutch military intelligence service between 1947 and 1949 in Yogyakarta, then the capital of the Republic.

Together with other intelligence records, these documents were shipped to the Netherlands in 1949, leaving port four days before the transfer of sovereignty. In the Netherlands, the documents were entrusted to different ministries and sometimes mixed up with other collections. Therefore, it took a considerable effort to identify the Djogdja documents which were returned in the 1970s.[67] Even so (as Michael Karabinos' assiduous research has

67 When Surinam, another Dutch colony, became independent in 1975, the archives of the Dutch Governor (1951-1975) and other colonial archives were transferred to the Netherlands. Shipments of archives from Surinam had occurred since the 1920s. All archives were returned to the Republic of Surinam in 2017 after everything had been restored and digitized (more than 5.5 million scans).

Fig. 10.9 Dutch military questioning an Indonesian official, probably the resident of Buitenzorg (Bogor) who was accused of burning documents, 1948. National Archives, *Dienst Legercontacten Indonesië* (2.24.04.03), inv. nr. 119-5-5.

Fig. 10.10 Nefis routing slip attached to a poster seized on the market in Ardja (Arjasari), 1947. National Archives, *Netherland Forces Intelligence Service* (2.10.62), inv.nr. 5458. Photo Ding Ren.
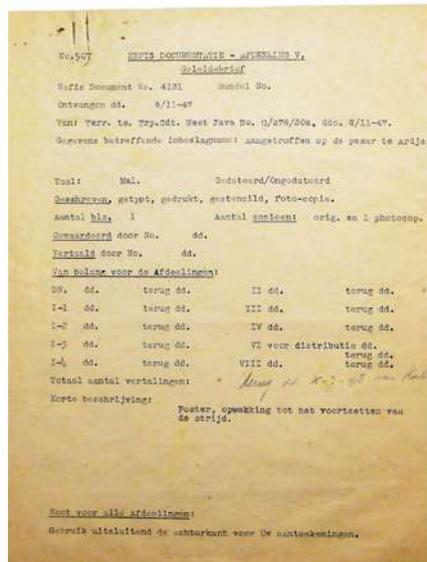
recently brought to light), many records seized from Indonesian public and private archive creators are hidden in the intelligence archives and other fonds in the National Archives in The Hague.[68]

Most of the Indonesian documents in the Dutch National Archives are public (*openbaar*), meaning that they are available for consultation as a result of legal authorization. But many are not accessible (*toegankelijk*); that is, being under intellectual control by arrangement and description in such a way that a user can effectively consult the archives. Accessibility has five aspects: archives should be findable (through appropriate finding aids), available, perceivable, intelligible (can, for example, the user understands the Dutch palaeography and language), and contextualizable—can one reconstruct the context in which the archives were generated, used, and managed.[69] The seized documents belong to Indonesia. They are not (as the VOC archives) a joint heritage shared by the two countries. To restore Indonesia's archival heritage all seized documents should be returned, but also made *toegankelijk*.

10.8 Conclusion

The archiving systems and practices presented in this chapter were all related to the Dutch precolonial and colonial endeavours in Asia, New Holland (Australia), and New Zealand. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) was, in Bruno Latour's terms, a centre of calculation where incoming and outgoing information was combined, reordered, and aggregated, with each aggregation adding value. Archiving is mainly aggregating, bringing parts into a coherent whole: a document into a file, files into a series, series forming a *fonds*, different *fonds* brought together in one repository or conceptualized as a joint archival heritage.

Other forms of aggregation are the constant updating of the VOC's charts and maps on the basis of new information brought to Amsterdam, or marginating chronologically

68 Michael J. Karabinos, *The shadow continuum. Testing the records continuum model through the Djogdja Documenten and the migrated archives.* PhD thesis Leiden University, 2015, http://hdl.handle.net/1887/33293, accessed 29 Nov. 2018; Michael Karabinos, 'Indonesian national revolution records in the National Archives of the Netherlands', in *Displaced archives*, ed. James Lowry (London/New York: Routledge, 2017), pp. 60-73.

69 Geert-Jan van Bussel, 'The theoretical framework for the "Archive-As-Is". An organization oriented view on archives. Part II. An exploration of the "Archive-As-Is" framework', in *Archives in liquid times*, ed. Frans Smit, Arnoud Glaudemans, and Rienk Jonker ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2017), pp. 55-6.

recorded proceedings and creating an index out of these marginal notes. Assembling maps, journals, price lists, letters, and reports (such as in the VOC's *Generale Missive*) is a way of aggregating information as well. Such an assemblage may be a continuum, each time—as if it were seen through a kaleidoscope—offering a different view of the parts and the whole. Both the individual documents and their aggregations are intertextually linked in a genre system, these links providing yet another meaning to the archive. Examples in this chapter are the VOC ships as record creating entities, the archives of each VOC establishment, the cascading of records in the knowledge system of the VOC, the linkage between the VOC archives and the archives of individual VOC officials, and the reading 'along the archival grain' of colonial archives. The intertextuality of the records at different places and times was enhanced by the constant copying and by the mirroring of the archives in the colony and those in *patria*.

Only rarely were indigenous archiving practices in the East adopted by the Dutch, one of the exceptions being the tombo's (land registers) in Ceylon, which went back to the registration of land rights by the Sinhalese kings, subsequently adapted by the Portuguese and perfected by the Dutch.

Another issue raised in this chapter is secrecy. In the VOC, captains, map makers, directors, and other officials were obliged to keep the knowledge system secret. However, much information from the system came into private hands, even on the market. In the archives of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs a distinction was made between secret and non-secret documents. Separate from these was the 'private' correspondence with the Governor-General in Batavia. Who decided on labelling information secret, and why?[70]

The VOC archives are a joint heritage, shared by the Netherlands and other countries. The concept of joint heritage also applies to the archives of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs in The Hague and the archives of the Dutch colonial administration in Indonesia. However, Indonesian archives seized by the Dutch and mixed with state archives in the Netherlands are 'displaced archives'. They should be returned, and made accessible to the public.

70 These questions are currently being investigated at the University of Amsterdam in a project 'Hide and Leak. Secrecy and Openness in Overseas Companies in the Dutch Golden Age', https://web.archive.org/web/20190531131933/https://www.uva.nl/profiel/n/e/d.h.vannetten/d.h.vannetten.html, archived 31 May 2019.

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CHAPTER
11

ARCHIVING PEOPLE
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF
DUTCH ARCHIVES

Chapter 11

Archiving Technologies

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Fig. 11.0 Marinus van Reymerswale, The lawyer's office, 1545. New Orleans Museum of Art.

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11.0 Introduction

Practices of archiving are carried out by people, but people are not the sole agents in archiving. Archiving people need extensions of their mind and body: intellectual devices like methods, skills, and scripts plus material tools like equipment, implements, and machines. These 'intellectual technologies' (to use Bruno Latour's phrase[1]) do not only include 'programmes' and conventions for making, using, arranging, and preserving (or destroying) archives, but also encompass artefacts like parchment and quills, paper, boxes, furniture, card indexes, and computers.[2] They are 'not the mere infrastructure of practice; they help constitute practice itself and are also shaped by the way people use them'.[3] These technologies are 'talking objects'. Their voice should be heard when one recaptures a social practice from the immediate or even further past. This entails what Peter Burke called an archaeology of archives, which reveals the materiality of archiving.[4]

We have to realize that for a long time the written word was regarded merely as a support for a memory trained in processing oral information. A document and its seal were considered to be memory-retaining objects (see 2.1). Only gradually from the 9th century onwards did documents become records, providing evidence of events and transactions (see 2.1 and 3.1). The 12th century settled the change 'from memory to written record' (the title of Michael Clanchy's classic book) in a large part of Europe. This did not mean the disappearance of orality, however. Even after the dissemination of writing, people were used to hearing and seeing a symbolic ritual of traditional gestures, stylized formulas, and objects, as at the visitation of the dikes (which happened orally well into the 16th century, see 5.1) or at the promulgation of ordinances as described in 6.6.1. Even today, oral promulgation of an Act of Parliament is presumed at the beginning of each act in which the King addresses 'all who shall see or hear these'.

1 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the social. An introduction to actor-network-theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 76.

2 On digital materiality see Eric Ketelaar, 'Archiving technologies', *Comma* (2016/1-2): 25-34.

3 Clare Humphries and Aaron C. T. Smith, 'Talking objects. Towards a postsocial research framework for exploring object narratives', *Organization* 21 (2014): 477–94.

4 Peter Burke, 'Commentary', *Archival science* 7 (2007): 392.

Fig. 11.1 Tally (*kerfstok*), 1649. Gelders Archief, Hof van Gelre (0124), inv. nr. 5253.

11.1 Before 1800

11.1.1 Making and Using

11.1.1.1 Material

There are only a few documents in the Netherlands from Roman times, and they are bronze diplomas and wax tablets (1.1 and 8.1). Even rarer are rune inscriptions on bone, stone, and wood. A dozen or so of these inscriptions, dating from between the early 6th and the end of the 9th century, have been found in the northern part of the country. Writing tablets continued to be used in the Middle Ages and even (see the Prologue) in premodern times. In *scriptoria* and chanceries the text on a wax tablet often served as a draft, the fair copy being made on parchment. Examining the parchment may reveal the value of the document, as calf skin (*vellum*) was used for the most important documents. Sheepskin was less expensive and had the advantage that erasures were more easily detectable than on vellum. Parchment documents were sealed with wax seals. The material, shape, and colour of the seal and the way the seal was attached had specific meanings. For example, papal edicts were always sealed with a leaden seal, attached with either a silk string if it was a licence or with a hemp string for a mandate or commission.

Next to wax tablets and parchment, wooden tallies (*kerfstokken*) were used, though perhaps not by the millions, as in medieval and early modern England. Tallies of wood on which the sum to be paid was indicated by notches were accepted as evidence, particularly for debts accrued in the marketplace and in the inn.

Parchment used in medieval chanceries was gradually replaced by paper. Paper was made in Spain since the 12th century and in Italy since the 13th century. The paper used for making the cartulary in the chancery of the Count of Holland in 1299 (see 3.1) must have been imported from Italy. It is one of the oldest paper records in the Netherlands.

Eef Dijkhof has the idea that for some time during the 13th and 14th century, people connected with the Count of Holland 'experimented with this novel writing material. It looks as if, in the end, the use of paper fell short of their expectations because after a few years the clerks revert to parchment for accounts and registers.'[5] For the city register of Kampen (1316) Italian paper was used, but in nearby Deventer the earliest accounts (from 1337) are on parchment, although paper was used as well. One sheet of the roll for enrolment (1249-1387) of members of the Deventer merchants' guild is made of paper (1334-1337), all the others are parchment membranes.[6] In 1339 the city paid *pro quaternis papireis* and some slips of paper (possibly from this lot) have been preserved, folded in the accounts from 1349-1350. Since the 1360s the Deventer city clerk used paper regularly; parchment continued to be used for books of ordinances and other records of special value. It is striking that in Deventer the consolidated general account continued to be written on parchment until 1680, while the special accounts consolidated into the general account, were made of paper. Parchment records were often recycled and used as a cover or reinforcement of the spine of a codex.[7] Even in 18th-century registers one finds fragments of recycled parchment documents.

In the end, paper almost superseded parchment as a material for administrative purposes. It was easier to handle than parchment and it was cheaper as well. This must have been an important consideration with an ever-increasing administration. Parchment was still used though, not only for nautical charts for the VOC (see 10.5), but also for treaties, nobility patents, doctoral diplomas, and writs, among others. They were written with a quill pen or a reed pen.

Archives, however, do not consist of manuscript documents only. The printing press came to be used for the formation of archives early. Printed forms were filled in by hand. Examples are the 15th and early 16th-century indulgencies (*aflaatbrieven*),[8] leprosy attestations (Fig. 1.5), *poortercelen* and licences mentioned in chapter 1.3 (Fig. 1.4), letters of debt of VOC sailors (1.4.1), the receipts for payment of shares in the VOC (8.2.4 and 13.5), notices of tax assessment and bills of lading (Fig. 11.2).

5   Eef Dijkhof, 'Bewaren of weggooien; afschrijven of verplaatsen. Het papieren cartularium van de graven van Holland en Zeeland en de politieke en ambtelijke zorg voor het grafelijke archief in 1299', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire. Académie royale de Belgique* 176.2 (2010): 361-80.

6   J.F. Benders, *Bestuursstructuur en schriftcultuur. Een analyse van de bestuurlijke verschriftelijking in Deventer tot het eind van de 15de eeuw* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), appendix 8.

7   *Perkament in stukken. Teruggevonden middeleeuwse handschriftfragmenten*, ed. Bart Jaski, Marco Mostert, and Kaj van Vliet (Hilversum: Verloren, 2018).

8   https://web.archive.org/web/20190531132033/ https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/beleven/onderwijs/ bronnenbox/weg-met-je-zonden-1500, archived 31 May 2019.

Fig. 11.2 Bill of lading (*cognossement*), 1690. National Archives, *Hof van Holland* (3.03.01.01), inv. nr. 10370.

Print was also used for distributing copies of resolutions (see 3.3), ordinances, and official announcements.[9] Beginning at the end of the 18th century, government used printed schedules to gather and structure information (see 3.4).

Often we find three-dimensional objects among paper records as evidence in a court file (Fig. 11.3), as a token in an orphan's file (see the General Introduction), or as a sample attached to a business record, such as pieces of textile, coffee beans, or tin nuggets to be manufactured. The objects (as I argued in the General Introduction) only make sense in the context of the recorded transaction. These objects are often considered as mere annexes to a record, but objects may be seen as records themselves.[10]

9   Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The bookshop of the world. Making and trading books in the Dutch Golden Age* (Newhaven/London: Yale University Press, 2019), ch. 8.

10   See F.C.J. Ketelaar, *Voorwerp van archiefwetenschap […]* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Bohn Stafleu Van Loghum, 1993), repr. in *Spreken is goud. Oraties en colleges van hoogleraren…en de archivistiek. Jaarboek 2008 Stichting Archiefpublicaties*, ed. Hans Waalwijk and Jorien Weterings ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2009), pp. 107-22.

Fig. 11.3 Court files (*proceszakken*), Court of Holland. National Archives, *Hof van Holland* (3.03.01.01), inv. nr. 14026.

11.1.1.2 Language and Script

Apart from the rune inscriptions, documents from the Roman period were in Latin. Glimpses of the early Dutch vernacular are found not only in those rune inscriptions, but also in a parchment list from 900 of *kirica endi kiricland* (church and church land) near the Zuiderzee, belonging to the Abbey of Werden, and in a 10th-century book of psalms. In Latin charters we encounter Dutch place names. In the 12th century registries on the European continent switched from Latin to the vernacular. The oldest charter in Dutch issued in the county of Holland and Zeeland is the city privilege for Middelburg from 1254. However, local ordinances of that city were drawn up in Dutch as early as the end of the 12th century. In the following years, the number of documents in Dutch gradually increases, as medievalist Jan Burgers concludes on the basis of a large-scale investigation of the archive production in Holland and Zeeland in the 13th century.[11] In the final two decades of the 13th century the number of official documents in the vernacular explodes. In the 1280s more than half of all documents are in Dutch, in the 1290s more than three quarters.

At first Latin and Dutch (and French) are used side by side. Latin is eventually superseded nearly totally by Dutch, as at the clerks' office of the city of Dordrecht at the end of the 13th century. Still, Latin continued to be used in foreign affairs. The States General received letters from foreign courts in Latin, French, German, Japanese, and the Ottoman language. For their translation, official translators (including professors at Leiden University) were employed who also translated the replies.

In the development of pragmatic literacy, script plays an important role.[12] Scriveners were expensive and the growth of administrative documents necessitated acceleration of the production and consequently an increase of the writing speed. To that end an easier script had to be developed. The 'Gothic' minuscule or *littera textualis*, which was mainly used for writing books, was replaced by a cursive script, the *littera cursiva* from the 13th century onwards. This script was developed in various versions, including a hybrid of *cursiva* and

11 J.W.J. Burgers, 'De invoering van het Nederlands in de dertiende-eeuwse documentaire bronnen in Holland en Zeeland', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal-en letterkunde* 112 (1996): 129-46.

12 P.J. Horsman, Th.J. Poelstra, and J.P. Sigmond, *Schriftspiegel. Nederlandse paleografische teksten van de 13de tot de 18de eeuw* (Zutphen: Terra, 1984).

Fig. 11.4 Silver medal on the interception and publication of documents exchanged between the French ambassador and the city of Amsterdam, 1684. Private collection.

13 Karl de Leeuw, *Cryptology and statecraft in the Dutch Republic* (thesis University of Amsterdam, 2000), pp. 21-2; Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen [...]* vol. 3 ('s-Gravenhage: Christiaan van Lom etc., 1728), pp. 307-8; Amsterdam City Archives, *Burgemeesters* (5028), inv. nr. 498.

textualis, that was called *bastarda.* In the eastern part of the Netherlands a German cursive script (*Kurrente*) was used. In the 16th century the humanistic script emerged. It drew upon the Carolingian minuscule and was used in a cursive version as well. From the beginning of the 17th century writing masters taught different scripts. Merchants and other people 'in haste' would write an easy cursive script, while lawyers, diplomats, and other officials would alternate between a cursive and a more formal script, often using the former for the draft and the latter for the outgoing letter.

Increasing the writing speed was also possible by using stenography. In England, stenography, or *characterie* or brachygraphy, was used since the end of the 16th century. Some of the English manuals must have been known in Holland. In 1673 Johan Reyner, an Englishman living in Rotterdam, received a patent from the States of Holland for teaching and publishing the stenography (*kortschrift*) he claimed to have invented (but in fact had adapted from English sources). It seems that stenography was mainly used to write down sermons and university lectures.

Cryptology was used in public and private correspondence and journals. Already in the 16th century William of Orange used a cipher in his letters. By the 17th century coding, decoding, and decryption of correspondence with Dutch diplomats and others was routinely done by clerks of the States General and by officials at the Stadholder's court. Encrypted letters from and to foreign diplomats were regularly but secretly intercepted and decrypted. A notorious case in 1684 was the interception of a letter from the French ambassador D'Avaux concerning his dealings with the Amsterdam city council which was intercepted, decrypted (possibly by Sir Constantijn Huygens), and used by Stadholder William III in his accusation of high treason committed by Amsterdam regents. Pending the investigations, the papers found in the quarters in The Hague of the Amsterdam delegates to the States of Holland and the States General were sealed up. A silver medal was struck to celebrate (or mock) the affair. It shows the intercepted D'Avaux letter and some of the Amsterdam documents hanging on a clothes line.[13]

14 M.T. Clanchy, *From memory to written record. England, 1066-1307*, 3rd ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 137.

15 Daniël Mostaert, *Nederduytse secretaris oft zendbrieffschryver* (Amstelredam: Dirk Pietersz, 1635); *Amsterdamsche secretarije bestaende in alderhande formulieren …* (Amsterdam: J.H. Boom, 1664); *Le nouveau et parfait secrétaire en hollandois et francois* (Amsterdam: Ratelband and Uytwerf, 1732; from the second edition on: *De nieuwe volmaakte Hollandsche en Fransche secretaris [...]* (Amsterdam: Van Gerrevink and Ratelband, 1747).

11.1.1.3 Form

What Clanchy stated about England in the 12th century applies to the Netherlands for the beginning of the 14th century: it was 'the period when many forms of business documents "took shape", shapes they would retain into the 16th century and beyond'.[14] By 'form', current Dutch archival terminology understands both the physical shape of a document (external form: *uiterlijke vorm*) and the style, the way in which the formal characteristics and the contents of a document have been arranged (editorial form: *redactionele vorm*). Often the term for the external form has been extended metaphorically to an editorial form. For instance, a list of cases coming before a court is still called a *rol* in Dutch (see 9.1), even though it is no longer a scroll (at the Court of Gelre the 17th century case-lists were still scrolls of parchment membranes).

I will discuss editorial form first. From the very beginning of the spread of literacy, scribes used formulas and exemplars. Letter writing was practised at school, guided by Erasmus' manual *De conscribendis epistolis* (1522). Later, printed manuals provided clerks with exemplars of various documents. In the Prologue I referred to *The Parrot*, a famous 17th century legal formulary. In those days the *Dutch Secretary* by Daniel Mostart, city clerk of Amsterdam, was also very popular. In the 18th century the various editions of *The Amsterdam Secretary* and *The Perfect Secretary*, both containing plenty of models for requests, petitions, and other official documents, were in great demand.[15]

Every chancery maintained its own formulars, dozens of which have been preserved in government archives and among the private papers of clerks, regents, and officials. We know several formulars that were used in the episcopal chancery from the 15th and 16th centuries, including the *Diversorium, formulae et presentaciones temporis Davidis episcopi Traiectensis* (1450-1496). Formulars were important in a society where politics and jurisdictions adhered to (and were often obsessed by) precedent and formality (see also 9.5). Moreover, the editorial form of a document (whether a request, proposition, or petition) determined the way of treating and archiving the document—not only by the

States General and other bodies, but more generally. Letters, receipts, accounts, rentals, and wills were handled and classified according to form and only secondarily by content. Take for example Rembrandt's petition for *cessio bonorum* (cession of estate), mentioned in the Prologue.[16]

Fig. 11.5 Rembrandt's petition for *cessio bonorum*. National Archives, *Hoge Raad van Holland en Zeeland* (3.03.02), inv. nr. 60, 8 August 1656.

16 National Archives, *Hoge Raad van Holland en Zeeland* (3.03.02), inv. nr. 60, 8 August 1656, available on http://proxy.handle.net/10648/76aeb313-d7f0-73c9-06ad-375ed7a3928e; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e4704; http://remdoc.huygens.knaw.nl/#/document/remdoc/e12732, all accessed 2 Dec. 2018.

The text followed the model presented in *The Parrot*. It was written on the upper third of a folio sheet, as all petitions for *cessio bonorum* were, and it started with the address in large script 'To the High Administration' (*Aen de Hooghe Overicheijt*). These conventional forms made it clear at first sight to the chancery that the document contained a petition for *cessio bonorum* and nothing else. In the margin the Supreme Council's clerk Iman Cau noted the court's disposition:

> *Fiat* [to be sent for] advice to burgomasters and magistrates of Amsterdam. Enacted by the Supreme Council of Holland, this 14 July 1656 [signed] Iman Cau.

Upon receipt of the advice from Amsterdam, the clerk wrote another apostil (see 3.2 and 3.3):

> Having seen the reply, *fiat* [granted] writ of *cessio* with transfer of the jurisdiction to the magistrate of Amsterdam. Enacted by the Supreme Council of Holland, this 8 August 1656 [signed] Iman Cau.

Thus, the petition had been changed into an instruction to the chancery to send the petition for advice to Amsterdam and subsequently into a record of the decision of the Supreme Council's decision and an instruction to the chancery to prepare the writ (*mandement*, see 9.1) of *cessio*.

Thus, a document could move through stages, each leading to a metamorphosis of the document before reaching a definitive form. In the margin of a citizen's petition the decision to send it for advice to another body would be recorded, in Rembrandt's case the burgomasters and magistrates of Amsterdam. But in case of a request to the States for a patent, it would be sent for advice to the Audit Office. The document with the apostil by the Audit Office would be returned to the States' registry. There they would edit the petition into a minute from which the fair copy of the patent would be made. In some processes the petition with the apostil(s) would be returned to the petitioner, with the

final decision written in the margin. The decision might include the order to the treasury to pay the petitioner, or the receipt might be recorded in an apostil. In the case of the latter, the petition, having become a receipt, would be archived at the treasury. In the former case the petition, having become a final draft (*minuut*), would be kept by the registry.

Special formulars gave instructions as to the proper way of addressing authorities. When a petition or a letter was not properly addressed, it would be either returned to the sender or left unanswered. The archives of the States General contain 11 title books, listing the ceremonious forms of address of each authority in the country and abroad with whom the High and Mighty Lords (*Hoog Mogende Heren*) corresponded.

There were epistolary conventions on the amount of space between the opening and the body of the text (e.g. when addressing a high authority one third of the page should be left blank) and the way of folding, among others.[17]

The physical shape of parchment documents (external form) was to some extent dependent on the size and shape of the sheep's or calf's skin. Large membranes were more expensive than small ones. The higher the authority issuing the charter or the more important the matter, the larger the sheet of parchment would be. Parchment sheets stitched together would form rolls (*rotuli*), but this form was used much less often than in, for example, England.

The book (codex) form was first used for cartularies, but by the 14th century it was also used for recording other administrative and legal matters (see 3.1 and 4.2). The oldest codices were made by gathering together in a binding quires (gatherings) or single documents that had been written (see 4.3). Later, office books were made consisting of blank pages or pages with pre-printed headings or forms to be filled in. In Dutch archival terminology the former is called a *band* (binding), while the latter is a *deel* (volume) or protocol.

17 James Daybell, *The material letter in early modern England. Manuscript letters and the culture and practices of letter-writing, 1512-1635* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
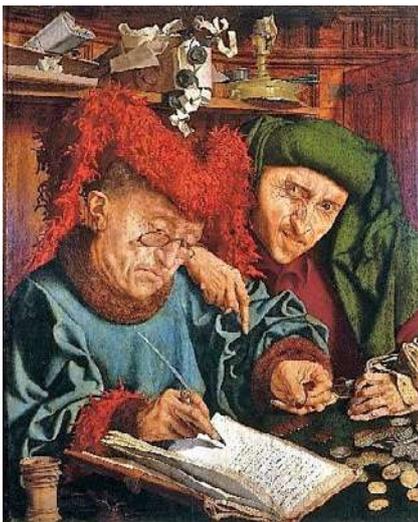
Fig. 11.6 Marinus van Reymerswale, The tax collector and the counter bookkeeper, c. 1533. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw.

The exterior of a codex may already disclose something of its function. A book with a limp parchment binding of which the extended back cover encloses the fore-edge (and fastened with a hook or lace) was clearly meant to be taken along, for example on a tour of inspection.[18] A narrow book with a width of less than half its height (e.g. 125 x 310 millimetres) was mainly used for accounts and other financial operations (Fig. 11.6). According to the instruction by Jan Impyn from 1543-1547 (see 7.1), the merchant had to keep, apart from the grand ledger ('the great boke') and supporting books, 'a little long boke to write in the charges of houshold', a 'square boke' for the copies of letters, and another long book to record all small expenses of merchandise.

Sometimes the binding or the fore-edge of a codex was painted or otherwise adorned to facilitate locating it on a shelf (Fig. 11.7). We know of several hairy (*ruyghe*) registers showing the hair on the cow's skin used for binding the codex.[19] The first dozen registers of the Audit Office of the demesne of Holland (*Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer*) in The Hague, beginning in 1445, are: the red register A, the first yellow register, the green register, the pale spotted register, the black spotted register, the white hairy register, the white register with the red rose, the register with the red lion, and so on.

Fig. 11.7 Grand ledger of the Amsterdam Civic Orphanage, c. 1630. Amsterdam City Archives, *Burgerweeshuis* (367.A), inv. nr. 192.

18 Erik Kwakkel, *Books before print* (Croydon: Arc Humanities Press, 2018), pp. 22-3, 143-4.

19 Kwakkel, *Books before print*, pp. 77-8; http://proxy. handle.net/10648/63645dda-ad74-99fd-81d3-82de2bf10c00, accessed 10 Sept. 2019.

20   Theo H.P.M. Thomassen, 'Introductie', in *Archieven van Nederlandse gezanten en consuls tot 1813*, vol. 1, ed. J.C.M. Pennings and Theo H.P.M. Thomassen (Den Haag: Algemeen rijksarchief, 1994), p. 54; Daybell, *The material letter*, 100-1.

21   For example: Constantijn Huygens to Amalia van Solms, 18 juli 1635, Koninklijke Verzamelingen, *Amalia van Solms*, inv. nr. A14a-XIII-18c-1; https://web.archive.org/web/20160107155857/ http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/ briefwisselingconstantijnhuygens/brief/nr/1172, archived 7 Jan. 2016 ; Judith Pollmann, *Memory in early modern Europe. 1500-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 107.

22   Heather Wolfe and Peter Stallybrass, 'The material culture of record-keeping in early modern England', in *Archives & information in the early modern world*, ed. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters and Alexandra Walsham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 179-99.

23   Markus Friedrich, 'How to make an archival inventory in early modern Europe. Carrying documents, gluing paper and transforming archival chaos into well-ordered knowledge', *Manuscript cultures* 10 (2017): 162-63.

24   Terry Eastwood, 'Putting the parts of the whole together. Systematic arrangement of archives', *Archivaria* 50 (2000): 93-116; Jennifer Meehan, 'Making the leap from parts to whole. Evidence and inference in archival arrangement and description', *American archivist* 72 (2009): 72-90; Frank Upward, Barbara Reed, Gillian Oliver, and Joanne Evans, *Recordkeeping informatics for a networked age* (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing, 2018), pp. 8, 13.

Since the 16th century most single administrative documents on paper were written on the first page of a folded folio sheet. Informal letters would be written on a quarto sheet.[20] Of course, other paper formats were used as well, including informal notes on a small piece of paper (*kattebel*, a corruption of *cartable*, derived from Italian *cartabello*), notes sent by pigeons from and into a besieged city, or smuggled hidden in the stick or the boots of a messenger, as Sir Constantijn Huygens did in the 1630s with his notes from the battlefield to Princess Amalia, wife of the Stadholder.[21]

An important genre of documents was (and is) maps. Owners of landed estates commissioned surveyors to map their properties, often resulting in atlases (*kaartboeken*) showing all the properties of a single owner. The production and use of maps in dredging and draining is dealt with in 5.2, 5.3, and 5.5. Mapping was an important element of the enclosure of common land (5.6), and mapping is and was essential in the cadastral and land register administration (6.1.2). Finally, maps were part of the knowledge system of the Dutch East India Company (chapter 10, especially 10.5).

Not all records in premodern times were on parchment or paper. In the Prologue I referred to Rembrandt's guild token (1634) and in chapter 10.4 to the pewter records left on the western Australian coast by Hartog and De Vlamingh (1616, 1679).

11.1.2 Arranging[22]

Epistemic organization of archives rested upon spatial organization: physically moving and placing archival documents in boxes, bags, cupboards with pigeonholes, putting them on files (see the next section), or using tools and objects like slips of paper for labelling and enfolding documents and needles and thread to tie documents together.[23] Such physical operations are aggregation processes, bringing parts into a coherent whole.[24] Registers, indexes, and other intellectual tools have the same purpose.

Fig. 11.8a Archive chest of the *Collatie* fraternity (Brethren of the Common Life) in Gouda, containing chip boxes for storing the documents. The contents of each box are described on the lid. Regional Archives Midden-Holland, Gouda.

25   Randolph Head, *Making archives in early modern Europe. Proof, information and political recordkeeping, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 60-71.

Common practice among merchants and secretaries was to arrange documents in chronological order, making bundles and storing these (see 7.1). Keeping a chronological order at the top level, the documents could subsequently be arranged according to correspondent or subject matter; in both cases pigeonholes or boxes were used (see 7.3.1 and 8.4.2 for examples). In chanceries the chronological bundles would be either put on files or bound and then arranged in series (see 4.3).

Marking the spines of the volumes with the dates or numbers and/or letters (for example A-Z, AA-ZZ, AAA-ZZZ) facilitated findability. New physical as well as intellectual technologies that improved the accessibility of archives came into use: tabs (markers fixed to the fore-edge of a codex, in Dutch *klavieren*), foliation, page headings, marginating (see 10.5), and alphabetical tables. All, as Randolph Head argues, little tools of knowledge developed by scholastic erudition and introduced into chanceries.[25]
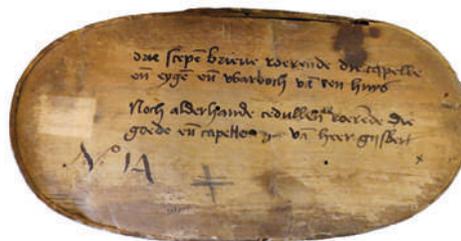
Fig. 11.8b Box from the archive chest of the *Collatie* fraternity (Brethren of the Common Life) in Gouda.

Boxes, bags, and pigeonholes were marked as well, and a geographical order was often used reflecting the order in a cartulary (see 2.1). When a *resolutie* system (see 3.2) was used, the documents were arranged according to the date on which they were read in the meeting (*lectum*), tabled (*exhibitum*), or issued (*datum*).

For a general overview, inventories had to be made. More often than not they were merely stocktaking, consisting only of a summing up of the series and their storage place. As Randolph Head argues, these 'architectural clues' were essential. An inventory to the papers of the States General from 1677, used by archivists well into the 20th century, is an instance. It was an

> Index or Inventory of the books, papers, documents and muniments stored in the two rooms above the gallery, also in the passage under the roof, and the little attic above the pavilion from which one goes from the assembly room of their High and Mighty Lords to the assembly of Holland.[26]

And one of the descriptions in this inventory explains that certain registers could be found 'in the first room above the gallery, in a case upon which is posted the letter E'. The inventory, however, did more than just refer to physical spaces. It reflected the order of the *loketkast* (Fig. 3.6) of the States General (containing pigeonholes for the documents concerning the Republic's domestic and foreign interests) so that the inventory represented 'the order of the larger world that both the documents and the inventory pertained to', in the words Randolph Head uses to define the 'ideal-topographic classification' originally proposed by Peter Rück.[27]

Other advanced administrations developed their own classifications and subject-based inventories. An early example was the late 16th-century arrangement by Jan van Hout, who developed a classification in which one may recognize the topical categorizing of knowledge by humanists such as Rudolph Agricola and Erasmus (see 4.4). Another example is the arrangement by the Rotterdam city advocate Isaac van Hoornbeek (1704), who replaced the arrangement by form of the documents by one according to the subject of municipal government (see 4.5). Van Hoornbeek did not copy an existing library classification but invented a classification as a representation of the work processes of the city government. So, too, did the Fagels, the greffiers of the States General from 1670 to 1795 (see 3.3).

26 Head, *Making archives*, p. 146; National Archives, *Staten-Generaal* (1.01.02), inv. nr. 12673.

27 Head, *Making archives*, p. 193.

11.1.3 Preserving[28]

Institutions and people had different options for preserving their records: they could use sacks, boxes, chests, and cupboards, placed either in specially designated areas or in any suitable place. When in documents before 1800 a *cas* or *casse* is mentioned, it may refer to a box, a chest, a coffer, or (especially after 1550) a cupboard.

Linen sacks were specially used for the storage of records (Figs. 9.6 and 11.3). Attorneys and notaries used to hang the sacks on the wall of their office. Boxes were mostly chip boxes, oval or rectangular in shape (Fig. 11.8a and 8b); starting in the 19th century they were made of cardboard.

In 1428 Haarlem had boxes made for the municipal privileges. They were stored in the city chest in the vestry of St Bavo's Church (where it can still be seen). A few years later the boxes were replaced by four oak drawers that were filled with some 300 charters in the course of time.

The use of a chest (box, coffer, cabinet, or shrine—from the Latin *scrinium*—in the south of the Netherlands often *comme*) for the storage of records, money, and other valuables was widely spread. In 1372 the Lady of Voorne had 'a wooden coffer with iron mounting containing many Walloon letters'. The *arca* (chest) of the Utrecht Cathedral chapter (Fig. 11.10) could only be opened with four keys, as is stated in a book of law dating from 1342. The *arca* was placed in the treasury, the *thesaurarius* having the key to the room.

Accounts have been preserved of other Utrecht chapters from the 14th century, from which we can reconstruct the usual procedure.[29] Two notaries and witnesses, together with the key holders go to the treasury, which is opened by the *thesaurarius*. When they have entered the room and the door has been locked behind them, the chest is opened and the cartulary with the text to be copied is taken out. The notaries transcribe the text there

28 Wolfe and Stallybrass, 'The material culture', pp. 199-208.

29 Cornelis Dekker, *Kerkelijke archieven. Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van buitengewoon hoogleraar in de archiefwetenschap alsmede de paleografie van de 14e tot en met de 17e eeuw aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam op 18 mei 1981* (s.l., 1981), repr. in *Nederlands archievenblad* 85 (1981): 137.

Fig. 11.9 Charter cupboard of the city Amsterdam, 15th century. Amsterdam City of Archives.

30 *Van blok vol rechten tot arsenaal vol wetenswaardigheden* (Nijmegen: Gemeentearchief, 1979); J.C. Overvoorde and J.W. Verburgt, *Archief der secretarie van de stad Leiden, 1253-1575. Inventaris en regesten* (Leiden: J.J. Groen en zoon, 1937), p. xxii.

31 *De merkwaardigste stukken uit de oudste archieven van Amsterdam […]* (Amsterdam: Pieper & Ipenbuur, 1821), pp. 2-48; A.P.J. Miltenburg, *Naar de gesteldheid dier tyden* […] (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991), pp. 43-45.

and then. When they are ready, the cartulary is replaced, and the chest is locked. The company leaves the room which has been unlocked by the *thesaurarius*.

Comparable procedures for the opening of an archive that needed the cooperation of several officials (see 4.1) occurred in other places as well.[30] In 1422 the city of Nijmegen ordered to manufacture 'a *schreyne* in which one will store our privileges in the city *kyst*'. The chest (*kist*) was placed in the sacristy of Saint Stephen's Church. The church would have been chosen because it was a holy place, and because it was fire-proof. In 1560 a *block*, a cupboard with 12 drawers, was made and placed in the church as well. The chest (and the room where it stood) were called the city's *archivum* in 1647. In Leiden, too, the city chest stood in the church until 1512, when it was moved to the City Hall. It had eight locks and each of the eight aldermen had a key. When the chest had to be opened and one of the aldermen was not present, his lock was cut off and replaced at his expense. To attend the opening of the chest the city council (*vroedschap*) was also invited. This college of former magistrates represented the citizenry; their participation in the ritual of opening the chest may be regarded as an expression of the *polder model* (see chapter 13.3). In other places we also see that the community (*gemeente*) had the keys to the town chest literally in its hands. The Nijmegen Saint Nicolas' guild had one of the keys to the city chest, while in Roermond the 'Six Men' (*Zesmannen*, a college of six artisans which controlled taxation and the city's expenses) possessed one of the three keys to the city chest. In Dordrecht all six keys to the city chest were in the hands of the guilds since the 15th century (see 4.1 and Figs. 4.1a and 1b).

The city of Amsterdam had a special charter chest (or cupboard) made in the 15th century (Fig. 11.9).[31] The chest (locked with three keys) contained 45 drawers, each provided with a number and a label specifying the contents. The charters had been transcribed in the register of privileges at the secretariat of the city, with marginal references to the drawer containing the original. The chest was kept in the Old Church, in a space five metres above the floor, thus ensuring that the important documents were kept, as the Dutch would say, 'high and dry'.

Fig. 11.10 Archives cupboard, 16th century, from the archives room of Saint Martin's Cathedral chapter in Utrecht (see also Fig. 2.1). Rijksmuseum BK-NM-125.

The space was called 'the iron chapel' because it was closed with an iron door, with two locks, protecting a heavy wooden bolted door. The iron chapel was opened very rarely, but that changed in the 18th century. The city's historian Jan Wagenaar was granted access in 1761.

The Royal Institute of Sciences (*Koninklijk Instituut van Wetenschappen*), founded by King Louis Napoleon in 1808, appointed a committee to inspect the iron chapel and the contents of the charter chest. It published an extensive report in 1821, including facsimiles of charters (including the oldest privilege of 1275). The first thing the city *archivarius* Scheltema did when he was appointed in 1848 was to make an inventory of the documents in the iron chapel. That inventory described the documents in chronological order (see 11.2.2). Scheltema considered this to be more efficient than reconstructing the original arrangement following the labels on the drawers. The charter chest was moved to the City Archives in 1892; it is now on permanent display there in the exhibition area.

Storage in an archive chest (Fig. 11.8) remained usual for governing bodies and private people (see chapter 5 on the polder chest and the commons' chest, 8.3.1 on the struggle for access to the village chest, 7.3.1 and 10.6 on merchants' archive chests), even in our time.

Apart from chests, special cupboards were used as well. The oldest dated archives cupboard in the Netherlands is from 1550. Such a cupboard was an *armoire* (see 7.3.1). The term *armarium* was, as we have seen, also used for 'the archive'. Archives cupboards contained drawers, lockers, or pigeonholes (*loketten)* (see 3.2). The doors of such a *loketkast* could be locked, and sometimes there were lockers within the cupboard. The cupboard could also be built into a wall, like the one in the house of VOC director Johan Adriaan van de Perre in Middelburg (built in 1765 and today serving as the home of the *Zeeuws Archief*). (Fig. 11.11). From Van de Perre's archives one can reconstruct what the pigeonholes contained. Van de Perre kept a voluminous correspondence, including letters and reports to the Stadholder while he was his representative in the Zeeland States; 23 boxes of these are preserved in the Royal Archives.

Fig. 11.11 Built-in *loketkast* in the Van de Perre house (1765) in Middelburg (nowadays *Zeeuws Archief*). Photo Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed.

Storing of documents in appropriate containers, chests, and cupboards, placed in a church or another place (for example a repository like the 'iron office' of Rijnland, see 4.4), was judged to be sufficient to keep them safe. The need for conservation or restoration of documents is very seldom mentioned. Copying and binding documents received more attention. The widow C.A. Vieweg was commissioned by the village of Tilburg in 1786 not only to print 500 copies of the fire regulations, but also for rebinding 43 registers which had lost their covers. For this conservation work (and for supplying six new protocols for Tilburg and Goirle communities) she received 131 guilders and 17 *stuivers*.[32]

Archives affected by moisture or other causes were aired and dried (see 4.4 and 9.6), but old papers were often so damaged and made illegible by bad storage, fire, mice, or rats, that they were simply destroyed. In the General Introduction I suggested that decisions to destroy archives are—just as decisions to keep archives—influenced by economic, cultural, and other external factors. Archivalization is joined by 'counter-archivalization'. In the preceding chapters many examples were given of destruction of documents (see 3.6.1, 4.5, 6.2.5, 6.3.1). In most cases it was lack of space in offices and repositories that stimulated decisions to get rid of archives. Arguments revealing a policy of appraisal (what to keep, what to destroy) were rare; disposable documents were either judged to be of no use after having served their administrative purpose or too damaged to be usable.

Probably the first time that an appraisal policy was implemented consciously was in the years between 1798 and 1803 in what is now the province of Limburg.[33] There the French archives acts of 1794 and 1796 were in force since the annexation by France. These acts proclaimed free access to the State archives and ordained the establishment of a publicly accessible archival repository in the capital of each department. They also regulated the selection of archives of institutions whose assets had been confiscated by the State. To manage these assets, the titles and the administration of the past 30 years were needed. They had to be selected from the archives. Papers of interest for the judicature, for history, or the development of the arts also had to be selected. From the last category, according to the instruction of departmental commissioners for the appraisal (*les préposés au triage*)

32   Ronald Peeters, 'Zeldzame boekjes over Tilburg uit de 18e eeuw', *Tilburg* 1, no.1 (1983): 21.

33   J.M. Lemmens, 'Archiefselectie in de Franse tijd. Het "bureau du triage des titres et papiers" in het departement van de Nedermaas 1798-1803', *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg* 142 (2006), pp. 253-86.

of 1798, all papal bulls, princely decisions, peace treaties, charters, and cartularies had to be sent to Paris. The remainder could be destroyed, that is, auctioned as waste paper. The instruction sent from Paris contained an extensive enumeration of what was to be destroyed and what should be preserved. Jac Lemmens has recently investigated how much of the archives of each of the more than 70 religious institutions and 36 judicial bodies in Limburg were destroyed. Of the extensive archives of the Maastricht chapters of Our Lady and Saint Servatius, for example, more than three quarters were judged to be of no value. They could therefore be destroyed. A part (bulls, royal charters, cartularies) was sent in 14 packets to Paris. There the documents can still be found in the National Library.

The commissioners did not catch everything, however. Warned by what had happened in France, many religious institutions and many families had brought their archives to a place of safety; the chapter of Our Lady also sent many to be hidden in safety. Moreover, the appraisers did not finish their job. They did not get around to appraising the archives of around 115 judicial institutions. Altogether, Lemmens concludes that the confiscation and destruction of archives in Limburg were restrained. The commissioners executed their task scrupulously and intelligently. They abided by their instruction which ordered them to find a balance (*un juste milieu*) between barbaric vandalism which strives to destroy everything, to the detriment of the Republic, and a minute mania (*manie minutieuse*) to preserve everything.

11.2 Since 1800

11.2.0 Introduction[34]

34 This section is to a large extent a summary of Eric Ketelaar, '"Control through communication" in a comparative perspective', *Archivaria* 60 (2006): 71-89. See also JoAnne Yates, *Control through communication. The rise of system in American management* (Baltimore/ London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Onno de Wit, Jan van den Ende, Johan Schot, and Ellen van Oost, 'Innovation junctions. Office technologies in the Netherlands, 1880-1980', *Technology and culture* 43 (2002): 50-72.

From the middle of the 19th century increasing industrial activity, trade expansion, and enlargement of the scope of operations of banks and insurance companies with its attendant larger scale of activity led to what James Beniger has described as a *control revolution* in which information and communication systems were drastically reorganized

(see also 8.2.7). Formalization, specialization, and depersonalization pulverize the organizational memory, a memory once shared. That is why a new organizational memory had to be created in the form of an easily accessible archive, manuals, rules, and procedures. The expansion could concern the structure of the organizational memory, but also its geographical spread.

Department stores and banks had their branches. A company such as mining company Billiton, with several subsidiaries in the Netherlands Indies, felt the need for a central archive including records regarding management matters of these subsidiaries. Innovation in office management often started in the public sector, before being taken over by private enterprise. Hollerith's punchcards were first used by governmental census bureaus, both in the US and in the Netherlands (1916), before insurance and railroad companies discovered them.
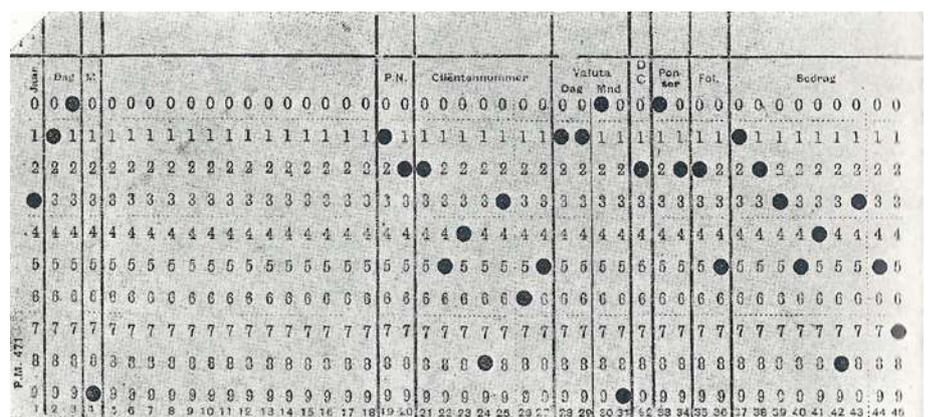
Fig. 11.12 Hollerith punchcard. From R.G. ter Haak, *Kantoormachines en administratieve systemen [...]* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1927), p. 308.

When Hendrikus Colijn became managing director of the Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij (an operating company of Royal Dutch and Shell) in 1914, he introduced methods for information processing with which he had been familiar as a civil servant in the Dutch East Indies and as a cabinet minister. Such transfer of innovation between public and private sectors was stimulated by the osmosis of public and private interests, actions, and management systems.

By 1897 it was possible for Dutch municipalities to own utility companies and to make a profit by selling gas, electricity, or telephony. Many new companies came on stream and even private concessions changed hands. The Dutch State owned one of the railroad companies since 1860. State owned inter-urban telephony followed (1897), as did coal mining (1901). For an enterprising government the classical methods of organizing information, accounting, and controlling were not adequate enough. The solution was thought to be Taylorian scientific management. Municipal and state companies proudly showed their innovations in information management at national exhibitions. The first one was organized in 1896 by the Dutch Association for Municipal Interests, a second one in 1906 by the Dutch Association of Municipal Civil Servants. At the 1906 exhibition, typewriters were the main attraction. The importer of the Hammond typewriter advertised that the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam had already bought 18 typewriters. The city of 's-Hertogenbosch had eight Adler typing machines. Twelve other municipalities possessed the more expensive Oliver typewriter; Utrecht even had two of these.

To support the management of a company, new genres of communication and new technologies were invented. As in the US, Dutch railroads were leading-edge where innovation of recordkeeping was concerned. JoAnne Yates points to the physical characteristics of railway companies and their consequences for management and communication. To attune activities that are coupled in time and distance, specific management instruments are needed. Oral instruction is not sufficient to encourage safe working practices and, moreover, it is not possible because of the long distances. Other transport companies and multinationals, such as the Royal Packet Navigation Co. (*Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij*), Billiton, and Royal Dutch/Shell, were to experience this as well.

11.2.1 Making and Using

11.2.1.1 Material

Traditional wooden tallies were still in use in the 19th century at the bakers and butchers. The last time a Dutch court had to decide on the admissibility of tallies was in 1860.[35]

Even today parchment continues to be used for very special documents. The deed of abdication by Queen Beatrix (2013) (Fig. 11.13), for example, was written on parchment, just as the abdication documents of her mother (1980) and grandmother (1948). The text was written by a calligrapher and then screen-printed on vellum. To sign the deed, the Queen, the new King, and the witnesses were each given a Parker fountain pen. The charter was the last one to be sealed with the Queen's grand seal; her son King Willem-Alexander uses his own seal.

As I explained in 7.6.1.2, the demand for paper strongly increased after the 1850s, partly owing to the growth in written documents and increasing postal traffic. The demand could be met by using wood pulp as a raw material for paper making, a cheaper alternative to rags, which were in short supply and therefore more expensive. The durability of paper was considered to be rather limited, and therefore the ministries were advised regularly between 1848 and 1879 to use hand-made paper only.[36] A Paper Decree containing standards for different types of paper was in force between 1925 to 1977. The Minister of the Interior prescribed municipalities in 1928 which documents had to be written on quality paper. Civic registers of births, marriages, and deaths had to be made of 'registry paper' of the highest quality (Normal 1). The second-best paper (Normal 2) was to be used for the archive copy of ordinances and minutes (with annexes) of the municipal council, the executive, and committees. The cards of the population register had to be made of a special type of cardboard. All other documents could be written on paper Normal 3. Records appraised for destruction could be on paper of an even lower quality. The Paper Decree was revoked in 1977 and setting quality standards was left to the market.

35 *Magazijn van handelsregt* 9 (1867): 38-39.

36 Herman Kaptein, *Nijverheid op windkracht. Energietransitie in Nederland 1500-1800* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2017), p. 411.
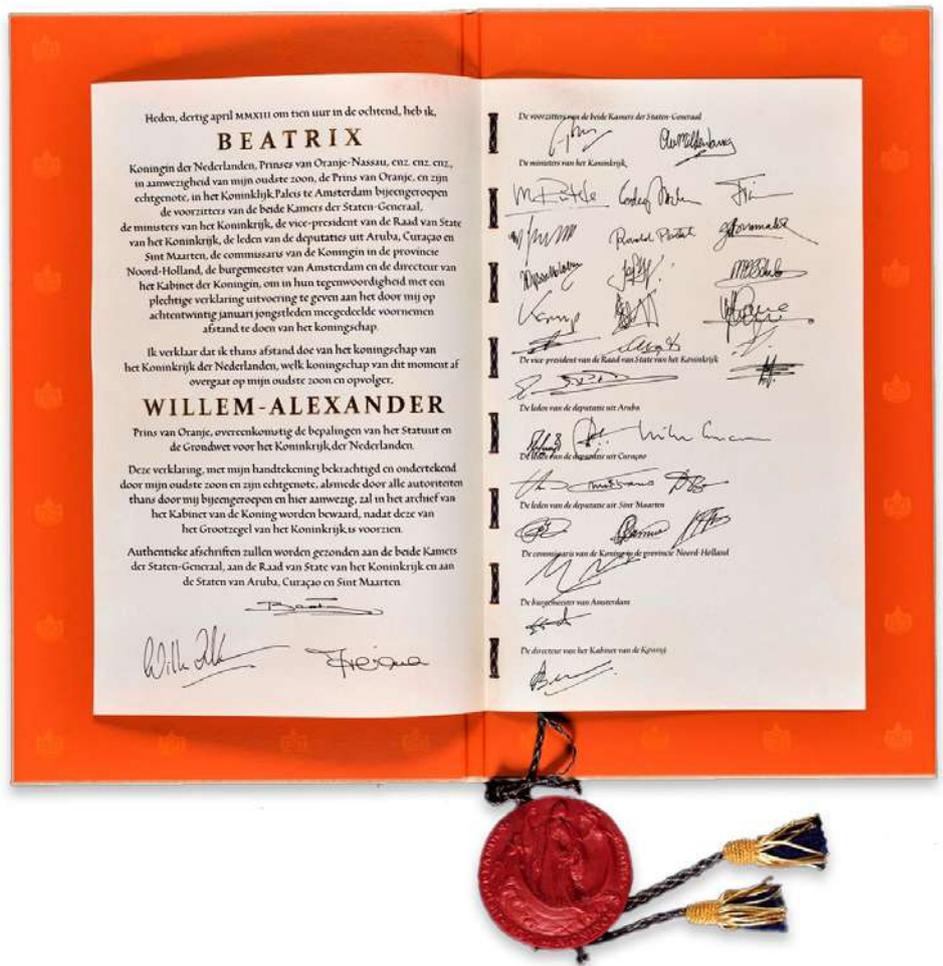
Fig. 11.13 Deed of abdication of Queen Beatrix,
2013. National Archives, *Kabinet der Koningin:
Verbaalarchief* (2.02.30), inv. nr. 19196A.

The Archives Act of 1962 prescribed public authorities to keep their archives in good condition and properly arranged. The new Archives Act and the Archives Decree of 1995 took one step further by obliging public authorities to ensure that their records (insofar not selected for destruction) show no sign of 'significant deterioration' after at least 100 years. Further regulations included quality requirements such as those for paper, writing and printing materials, and photographs. Records must be transferred to another medium if they are threatened either with loss of information or with illegibility. These can be the result of ageing of materials, obsolescence of media, or the software used to make digital documents legible and usable (see 11.2.1.3).

The use of pre-printed documents increased substantially beginning in the French period. Cadastral ledgers and other registers were printed with blank spaces to be filled in (Fig. 6.5b). Thereby standardization and consistency at different levels of government was achieved. An important instrument was the Municipal Act of 1851, which reorganized municipal administration uniformly throughout the country and opened new possibilities for standardization through printed forms (see below 11.2.1.3).

No longer is paper the main substrate. The digital age in Dutch archiving began in 1991 with a report by the Court of Audit (*Algemene Rekenkamer*) on machine-readable data (*machine-leesbare gegevensbestanden*, or MLG).[37] The report led to various projects initiated by the National Archives and the municipal archives of Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht, resulting in the report *Beyond the paper era. A policy for a digital memory of our society* (*Het papieren tijdperk voorbij. Beleid voor een digitaal geheugen van onze samenleving*, 1995). This was followed by a programme 'Digital Longevity' (*Digitale Duurzaamheid*) of the State Archives agency and the Ministry of the Interior. The new Archives Act of 1995 acknowledges its applicability to paper and digital records. However, a record is no longer a tangible document or file in a logical and partly physical context that can be arranged and described, used, and preserved as in the paper world. The object is the archive-process rather than the archive-product.[38]

37   For the history of the archivists' involvement with digital records see Hans Hofman, 'Een wereld van verschil? Van MLG's naar duurzame toegankelijkheid', in *Preservering. Stappen zetten in een nieuw vakgebied*, ed. Margriet van Gorsel et al. ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2018), pp. 18-35.

38   Eric Ketelaar, 'Writing on archiving machines', in *Sign here! Handwriting in the age of new media*, ed. Sonja Neef, José van Dijck and Eric Ketelaar (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), p. 190.

Digital documents do not have their content, structure, and form in or on a physical medium. They are embedded in a digital representation that serves as a generator for various ways in which the document can be made visible. Digital documents are potential documents, coming into existence only by virtue of software that understands how to access and display them. The software sooner or later becomes obsolete, necessitating 'refreshing' the documents through migration or other techniques. Moreover, a digital document may contain links to other documents; it is variable and changeable, fluid and unstable. The document resides in the cloud or in a third-party back-up service, out of control of its creator(s). Thus, ensuring access to digital documents through time is an enormous challenge.

Government authorities are obliged to adhere to the Archive Regulation of 2009 (based on the Archives Act) which includes many standards for materials, media, quality of information, and archival storerooms. The requirements apply to all records that are to be stored permanently and that qualify for transfer to the National Archives or other repositories. The Regulation prescribes:

> Digital archive records must be stored in a fully documented file format that can be validated and that is compliant with an open standard no later than at the time of transfer, unless this cannot reasonably be asked from the custodian. In that case the administrator of the depository designated for transfer will be consulted about an alternative file format.[39]

Conversion, migration, or emulation of digital records is prescribed whenever, as a result of changes in (or obsolescence of) operating or application software, there is a fair chance that the accessible and orderly condition of the records can no longer be guaranteed.

11.2.1.2 Script, Sound, and Images

Quill pens were popular well into the 19th century, but they were gradually replaced by crown pens. American and British fountain pens were imported by the late 1870s, but it

39 https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/sites/default/files/field-file/National%20Archives%20of%20the%20Netherlands%20preferred%20and%20acceptable%20formats.pdf, accessed 1 Dec. 2018.

took 30 to 40 years before they were in general use. In the meantime, the typewriter made its appearance in the Netherlands. The first (of an unknown make) was on show in The Hague in 1875. The Remington typewriter was imported in 1883, and other makes followed rapidly (see 11.2.0). We know that before 1900 only four Dutch ministries (Justice, Interior, War, and Commerce) used typewriters—only occasionally in the 1880s and early 1890s, increasingly after 1899. With the typewriter, women entered public administration, not as civil servants, but as paid workers. Around 1900 the price of a typewriter equalled a quarter of the annual salary of an experienced male clerk in a ministry. Female typists were cheaper. This is one of the causes of the so-called feminization of office work; the number of female clerks rose from 410 in 1899 to 36,825 in 1920 (24 percent of all office clerks).

The typewriter was followed by a host of other office machines. Recording images and sound was introduced. In the new office of life insurance company Utrecht (1902) a special room was made to photograph documents, probably with a German Kontophot. It was only in 1921 that the central bank (*Nederlandsche Bank*) ordered such a machine. Much earlier, photography was used in government agencies such as the Labour Inspectorate (for recording working conditions in factories) and the Waterways and Public Works Service (*Rijkswaterstaat*), which was obliged to make photographs of the construction of important waterways structures in 1869.

In offices other machines followed, including dictating machines. At the 1911 International Exhibition of Modern Office Equipment and Administration in Amsterdam, the Edison Business Phonograph (1904) was demonstrated. Other brands that came onto the Dutch market before the First World War were the German Parlograph and the French Roneophone. A film produced by the Rotterdam Bank (*Rotterdamsche Bankvereeniging* or Robaver) in 1922 (see 8.2.7) shows how a voice text recorded on a dictaphone is printed out by an automatic typewriter, thus executing Edison's advertising slogan 'from brain to type'.

The Robaver film made propaganda for the modern office, and in particular for the mechanization at Robaver, but even before this film moving images had been employed for propaganda. In 1917 Willy Mullens made the film 'Holland Neutral' (also known as the 'army and navy film'). It was commissioned by government to 'show the Dutch people (…) and those abroad that our defence can bear any comparison with foreign forces'. This was the first company film, the second being Mullens' film 'Glass Industry in Leerdam' released in 1918.
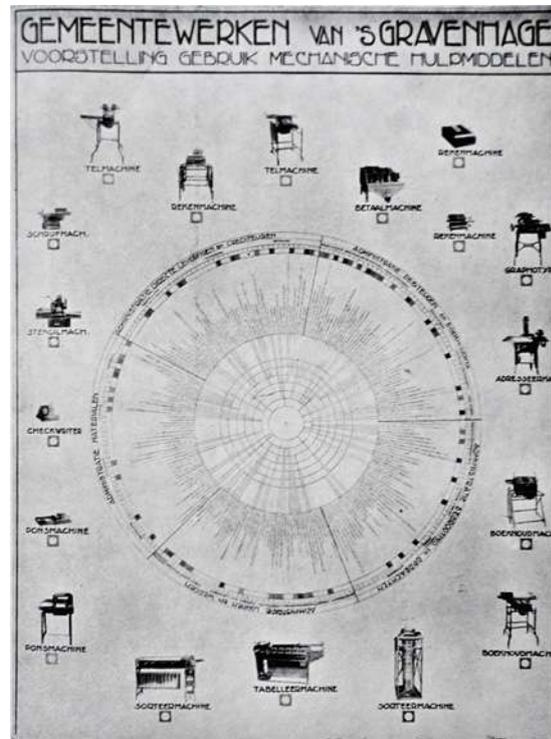
Fig. 11.14 Mechanization at the The Hague Public Works, showing 18 different office machines encircling dozens of administrative processes, 1926. From *Tentoonstelling op het gebied van de openbare en particuliere bedrijfsadministratie T.O.P.A.*, vol. 3 (Purmerend: Muusses, 1926), pp. 80-81.

A catalogue from 1927 lists 20 different types of office machinery, including machines for addressing, calculating, writing checks, duplicating, dictating, printing, tabulating, and time recording. All these technologies for writing were used together, more or less in tune with each other (see Fig. 11.14). Mechanization of the office was followed by computerization in the 1960s. Firstly (see 8.2.7) for bookkeeping, financial services, and statistics; later (particularly after the introduction of IBM's personal computer in 1981) for word processing.

In Dutch a typewriter is called a *schrijfmachine*: a writing machine. The modern writing machines are computers, mobile phones, and tablets. They all follow certain conventions of the typewriter era, for example the layout of the keyboard, such as the use of 'cc' for a carbon copy or the icon for filing being a vertical file. Script is no longer different from print, except for applications imitating handwriting. Such pseudo-handwriting can be reproduced from the device's memory, but only because the impressions on the keyboard or on the screen have been translated by software into bits, which the machine can 'read', store, retrieve, and re-translate into handwriting. The immediacy of writing on a screen is an illusion, as is its corporeality.[40]

11.2.1.3 Form

Many of the premodern epistolary conventions endured well into the 19th century,[41] albeit influenced by French-inspired administrative practices that were introduced in the years between 1795 and 1813 (see 3.4). One of the French innovations was the printed letterhead, adorned by patriotic symbols and the phrase 'Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity'. French official letters also indicated the division, bureau, and the registry number. Government departments continued this way of referencing well into the 20th century. The French practice augmented the use of standardized printed registers, tables, and other document types to be filled in by the administration as well as the citizen for, amongst other uses, civic registration, conscription, cadastre, and taxation. Some printers were specialized in printing these blank forms, called job printing (*smoutwerk*).[42]

40 Ketelaar, 'Writing on archiving machines'.

41 Willemijn Ruberg, *Conventional correspondence. Epistolary culture of the Dutch elite, 1770-1850*, transl. by Maria Sherwood-Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

42 Lisa Gitelman, *Paper knowledge. Toward a media history of documents* (Durham/London, Duke University Press, 2014), pp. 21-52.

In 1882 Nicolaas Samsom, municipal clerk of Alphen aan den Rijn, established a printing and publishing business of 'reliably composed models on durable paper': printed letters, announcements, registers, returns, and other *imprimés* with fixed data which the municipal officers only had to supplement. Every month Samsom distributed a checklist (being an order form as well!) of all acts each municipality had to execute in that month and the appropriate *imprimés*. 'Samsom Forms and Filing Systems' still exists. They make more than 300 different forms for government and business, and various filing systems which, according to their website, make it easier 'to streamline your information management'. However, this is one side of the matter. Government and other bureaucracies use the printed (nowadays digital) form to be filled in by the citizen or client as a powerful instrument of surveillance and control. These forms, according to media historian Lisa Gitelman, help to determine the self in relation to authority.

With the introduction of scientific management in the beginning of the 20th century, new forms of managing information appear. The *memo* is born. The reader must be able to quickly scan the text, which therefore is produced in standardized forms, graphs and diagrams, organization charts, and flow charts. The *Eerste Nederlandsche Verzekeringmaatschappij*, an insurance firm, invented a system of 'moving letters': forms indicating in a flow chart all actions to be taken regarding one insurance policy and all documents to be checked. These forms moved through the office from department to department, from desk to desk.

A major change in the physical form of documents was the introduction of letter press copying. The letter press (*kopieerpers*) for making facsimile copies of letters was already known in the 18th century (George Washington received one from Holland in 1782), but it is only in the middle of the 19th century that the letter press is commonly used. Letter books (containing handwritten transcripts of letters) and letter press books could be used simultaneously in an office, as is shown in the case of Fijenoord shipyard in Rotterdam. From 1855 they used press books for labour-intensive work such as budgets and quotes, next to handwritten copybooks. All books have a chronological order. Series are made

when books are split off. The mechanical engineering division had a copybook of its own and there were separate copybooks for special clients like the Ministry of Colonial Affairs and the Ministry of Naval Affairs. Thus, the company circumvented a disadvantage of the bound record system: the fact that only one person at a time could use a volume.

The introduction of the typewriter since the 1880s did not immediately lead to the abolition of the letter press book. For some time, handwritten copies and typewritten ones are found in one and the same letter press book. But the chronological order in these books was like a straitjacket; it severely restricted their use. Outgoing letters could not be traced quickly for one thing. The need to make files necessitated the reproduction of copies that had been bound into a book. One of the answers was the mechanization of the letter press book method by the roller copying press. Carbon copies offered even more possibilities. The carbon copy and the ribbon copy were made at the same time, cutting out the need to copy a letter at a later stage. Carbon paper had been used for a long time already (in 1806 Ralph Wedgwood patented his Stylographic writing machine), but its use became widespread only after the introduction of the typewriter.

In the 1920s the Elliott-Fisher book typewriter was imported into the Netherlands. It typed on a page of a bound ledger that lay flat when opened. Book typewriters were also used to type letters while simultaneously printing carbon copies in a bound copybook.

The mechanization of the office (see 8.2.7 and 8.3.2) led to changes in the form of documents, not so much of the final outgoing document, but mainly in the preparatory phases. Office machinery used punchcards and tapes, dictating, addressing, tabulating, and other technologies for writing to produce output which largely had the form of the traditional documents. This changed when mechanization was succeeded by computerization, especially after the introduction of the personal computer (PC), the personal digital assistant (PDA), and other mobile devices. An email, text message, or a tweet have another form than a letter or memo on paper. This is true for the editorial form (see 11.1.1.3) as well as for the 'physical' form. In a digital environment the traditional notion of the physicality

Fig. 11.15 Elliot-Fisher book typewriter. From R.G. ter Haak, *Kantoormachines en administratieve systemen [...]* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1927), p. 100.

of a document is replaced by a new sense of materiality, both of the file format (PDF, EML, WAV, SQL, etc.) and the hardware and software that created the document.[43]

11.2.2 Arranging

Large-scale (re)arrangement of archives at the local level was the result of the separation of executive and judicial powers according to the 1798 constitution (see 4.9.1). Archives were split up. Moreover, lack of space in town halls, court houses, and offices was often remedied by abandoning old archives to attics, basements, and other unsuitable places with little or no concern about maintaining the old archive structures. Maps form a category where disturbance of the original context often leads to a serious loss of meaning. A famous example is the map of the three Schie rivers from 1512 (in the National Archives) on which (contrary to the real situation) the Delfshaven Schie is drawn as a robust straight-lined canal and the Rotterdam Schie as a tiny meandering stream (Fig. 11.16).
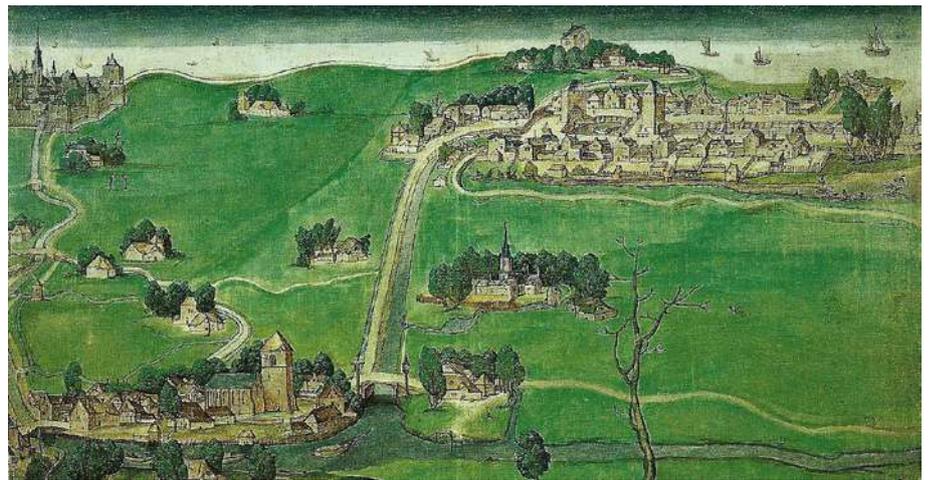
Fig. 11.16 Map of the three Schie rivers, 1512. National Archives, *4.AANW.*, inv. nr. 686.

43 Ketelaar, 'Archiving technologies'.

By reconstructing the original context of the map, we become aware of the fact that the map was submitted by the city of Delft in a lawsuit against Rotterdam. Only then can we ascertain its true meaning: Delft's interest was to present the Delfshaven Schie as a more spacious fairway than the Rotterdam Schie. Just as this map, hundreds of maps in Dutch archives have become separated from their original context, not only because of neglect or insecure storage conditions, but also because archivists assumed that it would be good practice to keep maps as individual items separate from the textual archives.

However, there were instances in the 19th century where archivers showed an understanding of the historically determined order of archives (which later would be called *respect des fonds*), for example in the arrangement of the archives of the Utrecht Chapters (see 2.2). These and other historical archives were entrusted to members of the emerging profession of archivist in the first half of the 19th century.[44] They were rooted in the legal-antiquarian tradition of publishing historical documents in so-called charter books and city histories. In these publications, documents were presented in a chronological order, and archivists therefore started to arrange the charters from the various collections in their care in strictly chronological order. That way of arranging archives came under attack from a new generation of archivists since the 1870s as being 'non-scientific'. Their methodology was to be codified in the *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives*, published by the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands in 1898 (see 12.4).

For filing loose papers, the traditional *liassering* (see 3.2) was gradually replaced by putting documents in a file cover (binder). The Shannon arch file held papers onto a board which was stored horizontally, with the holes at the top of the documents.

Fig. 11.17 Shannon arch file, from around 1892 marketed in the Netherlands as 'Shannon Registrator', *Tilburgse Courant* 5 March 1893.

44 Peter Horsman, Eric Ketelaar and Theo Thomassen, 'New respect for the old order. The context of the Dutch Manual', *American archivist* 66 (2003): 249-70.

This inspired a German, Louis Leitz, to make his Leitz *Ordner*, an arch file, standing vertically as a book, with the holes in the left-hand margin of the documents. In 1896 Leitz invented the lever at the outer side of the arches, and in 1904 he produced the first punch. As early as the 1880s, the Leitz and the Soennecken *Stehordners* were imported into the Netherlands.

From around 1889 the American Library Bureau, led by Melvil Dewey, succeeded in selling its index system methods, designed for library catalogues, to insurance companies and other firms. As in the US, insurance companies in the Netherlands were the first to use index systems on a large scale. Since 1900 the journal *Handelsstudie* published numerous case studies of the use of card indexes in trade and industry in the Netherlands, as well as in the Netherlands East Indies. Government agencies followed somewhat later (see 1.2.4 and 6.2.1). Most of these early 19th-century card index systems were imported from England and Germany.

Elaborating on its index cards system, the Library Bureau designed the vertical file (1893), replacing flat files that used to be stored horizontally in cabinets. Largely inspired by Dewey, Johan Zaalberg innovated filing in the Netherlands in the early 20th century (see 4.10). Zaalberg's filing system used what we would now call software and hardware: the instructions, the Universal Decimal Classification, card indexes, cupboards, and filing devices.[45] They were all marketed since 1909 in the Netherlands and the Netherlands East Indies by a joint venture of Zaalberg and Blikman and Sartorius, a firm of importers and manufacturers of office equipment. In 1907 the firm had already introduced the Fortuna card index and vertical filing system, the first system of this sort made in the Netherlands.

More 'software' in the form of guidelines and rules were to follow. For example, in 1949 the Minister of the Interior promulgated general rules for the management of municipal archives since 1813. They included extensive guidelines (based on the 1898 *Manual*) for ordering archives and a schema for municipal archives since 1813. The rules ended by reminding the reader of section 361 of the criminal code. That section currently states:

> A civil servant or any other person charged, either on a permanent or temporary basis with any public duties, who intentionally misappropriates, destroys, damages, or renders unusable any things intended to serve the competent authorities as evidence or proof, or instruments, documents, or registers which have been entrusted to him by virtue of his office, or allows another person to dispose of,

45   Charles van den Heuvel, 'The decimal office. Authority as a science in the Netherlands in the first decades of the twentieth century', *Library trends* 62 (2013): 329-45.

> destroy, or damage such or to render such unusable or assists that other person in such act as an accomplice, shall be liable to a term of imprisonment not exceeding four years and six months or a fine of the fifth category.

However, apart from threatening with punishment and regulating the quality of paper, more is needed to preserve archives.

11.2.3 Preserving

Storing archives in chests, boxes, and cupboards remained a customary practice even in our times. Pigeonholes in cupboards and writing desks are still popular for filing papers. In the second half of the 19th century box files, shaped like the copybooks and letter press books, came into use. The American Amberg firm introduced cabinets for horizontally filing and the firm of Stolzenberg (Germany) manufactured similar cabinets for the European market (see 4.10). Later, filing cabinets (made of wood or steel) with drawers for storing file covers vertically became the standard.

The first purpose-built archival repository was the State Archives in Arnhem (Gelderland) (1879), followed by the State Archives in Groningen (1882) and Noord-Brabant (1883), the City Archives of Leiden (1893) and Rotterdam (1899), the State Archives in Drenthe (1901), and the National Archives in The Hague (1903; see also 3.6.3).[46]

To a large extent these buildings followed a common model: separation of repository and administrative and public space, iron racks, and grid floors (see Fig. 11.18b). The building for the State and City Archives in Groningen in 1921 (replacing the one of 1882) was the first to have concrete floors. It was only in the 1960s that new State Archives were built in Arnhem and Middelburg, replacing the buildings that were severely damaged in the Second World War.

46   https://web.archive.org/web/20190504022807/https://ilibrariana.wordpress.com/2015/01/03/nederlandse-archiefgebouwen-in-verleden-en-heden/, archived 4 May 2019.
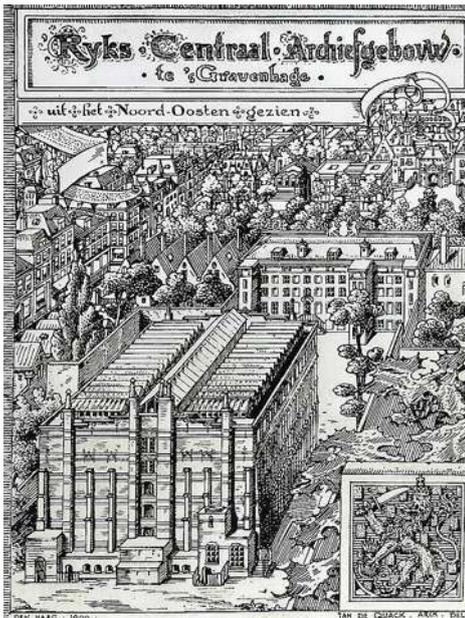
Fig. 11.18a The repository of the National Archives (*Rijksarchief*) in The Hague, built in 1899. Drawing by Jan de Quack, 1900. In 1902 the office building of the Rijksarchief was built in front of the repository.
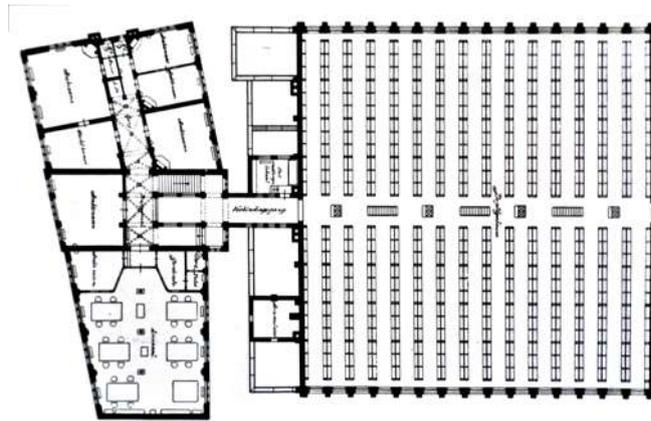
Fig. 11.18b Plan of the first floor of the *Rijksarchief* in The Hague. To the left is the search room (*leeszaal*) (see Fig. 3.11).

Fig. 11.19 State Archives in Arnhem: to the right the repository of 1879; to the left the building of 1967 that was in use until 2013. Gelders Archief.

In 1929 the Archives Act of 1918 was amended to oblige municipalities and water boards to have their plans concerning furnishing their repositories approved by the Provincial Executive. However, these regulations only applied to storage of records after their transfer to an archival repository (*archiefbewaarplaats*). It was not until 1995 that the Archives Act provided the possibility to impose quality requirements to storage areas (*archiefruimten*) intended or designated for the storage of records pending their transfer (or destruction).

At an early date some Dutch archivists realized the importance of preserving films as historical sources. The Hague city archivist H.E. van Gelder, General State Archivist R. Fruin, and amateur historian D.S. van Zuiden founded the Association Dutch Central Film Archive (*Vereeniging Nederlandsch Centraal Filmarchief*, NCF) in 1919.[47] The film archive soon acquired a variety of films, such as the film 'Sunbeam' (*Zonnestraal*, which was part fiction, part documentary) commissioned by the union of diamond cutters. The NCF also acquired some of the oldest Dutch films (1900-1902): the arrival of Paul Kruger in Amsterdam, the wedding of Queen Wilhelmina, the opening of the States General by the Queen, and eight more. Filmmaker Mullens (who became advisor to the NCF) donated dozens of 'city movies' which he produced on behalf of municipalities. Van Gelder and Fruin preferred the negatives over positive film, as being the most original sources. The Association was dissolved in 1933, but the collection of nearly 800 titles remained in the General State Archives. In 1952 the collection was taken over by the Netherlands Film Museum (now known as Eye).

Archiving sound was the mission of the *Algemeen Nederlandsch Archief voor Taal en andere Uitingsbewegingen* (after the Second World War it was renamed into Image and Sound Archives, *Beeld- en Klankarchief*), founded in 1938 at the initiative of Posthumus, director of the International Institute of Social History (see 1.7.3 and 7.7).[48] The Archives collected gramophone records, films, and photographs recording bodily motion, in particular speech. This collection, together with the film and sound archives of the public broadcasting companies and the audio-visual collection of the Netherlands Government Information Service, finally went to the Netherlands Audio-visual Archives (1997),

47 https://web.archive.org/web/20190418071733/ https://www.eyefilm.nl/en/collection/film-history/ article/the-dutch-central-film-archive, archived 18 April 2019.

48 Bert Hogenkamp, '"Van groot belang voor de wetenschap van den mensch". Het Algemeen Nederlandsch Archief voor Taal en andere Uitingsbewegingen […]', *Jaarboek Stichting Film en wetenschap—Audiovisueel archief* 4 (1994): 7-39.

currently known as Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision (*Nederlands Instituut voor Beeld en Geluid*).[49] Since the 1950s municipal archives also collected audio-visual materials. Since the 1990s there are regional audio-visual archives, often linked to the regional historical centre in the provincial capital.

The professionalization of the archivist (see chapter 12) brought greater interest in conservation and restoration of archives in its wake. Archivists had to invent methods for storing and restoring documents (including maps). Chemicals for treatment of charters, maps, and other records were tested (sometimes with disastrous effects only visible many years later). However, much was left to the skills of bookbinders and photographers employed by a few archival institutions. In the late 1960s bookbinders were trained to become professional archives restorers.

At its foundation in 1969, the Association of Restorers of Ancient Archives had 42 members, half of them working in municipal archives. New methods, techniques, and equipment (for example for leaf casting, deacidification, and preservation of maps and charters) were either adopted from abroad or developed by members of the association. They could rely on the Central Research Laboratory for Objects of Art and Science in Amsterdam, founded by the State in 1963. The laboratory merged in 1997 to form the Institute Collection Netherlands (ICN). The Association promoted education and training of restorers, and the first specialization course in archive restoration was given in 1969. In 1978 a full-time higher vocational education of restorers started, which was supplemented after a few years with a specialized education for restorers of books and papers.

The restorers became true professionals in their field, and the archivists realized they had not paid enough attention to issues of conservation and restoration. This changed, resulting in renewed interest in the storage of charters and maps in the late 1960s and 1970s, for example. Utrecht State Archivist M.P. van Buytenen invented a method for storing charters vertically in hanging polyester envelopes (Fig. 11.20); other archivists favoured horizontal storage of charters and maps in specially made shallow drawers with a polyester or polycarbonate bottom.[50]

49 For the kaleidoscopic (pre)history of *Beeld en Geluid* see Piet van Wijk, 'Een kwestie van kiezen. Acquisitie en selectie van de nationale audiovisuele collectie', *Tijdschrift voor mediageschiedenis* 3 (2) (2000): 7-34; Mieke Lauwers and Bert Hogenkamp, 'Van emancipatie tot professionalisering. De ontwikkelingen in de audiovisuele archivering sinds 1997', *Audiovisueel. Van emancipatie tot professionalisering*, ed. Mieke Lauwers and Bert Hogenkamp ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting archiefpublicaties, 2006), pp.11-22.

50 Liv Tubeeckx, *Charterberging. Een toekomst voor het verleden.* Master's thesis Hogeschool Antwerpen, 2004, https://web.archive.org/web/20190531132243/https://www.scriptiebank.be/sites/default/files/e5b9f786f1ba0856b5e2f507a9b5c5c4.pdf, archived 31 May 2019.

In the 1970s the deterioration of paper caused alarm. Experts from libraries and archives discovered that the acidity of paper (especially paper produced in the 1870s and between 1940 and 1950) and unsuitable environmental storage conditions are major causes for the decay of paper documents, but even more damage is the result of inappropriate or too frequent handling of documents. Some records were worn away, having been handled too often (literally 'read to pieces', *stuk gelezen*) by users. To prevent further damage, the most heavily used documents were taken out of circulation and replaced by copies (xerox, photographs, microfilms, and later digitized copies). These were generally provided to users in self-service. This led to a strong decrease of the number of documents consulted in the search rooms in the 1980s. That number is further decreasing because of digitization and the Internet. In the City Archives of Rotterdam, for example, the number of on-site consultations decreased from 10,863 in 2007 to 8,300 in 2017, whereas the number of visits to the website in the same period increased from 348,679 to 709,882.

In 1989, the National Library and the National Archives founded the Coordinating Office for national preservation policy (*Coördinatiepunt Nationaal Conserveringsbeleid*, CNC) to enable country-wide communication and policymaking regarding conservation of information on paper. Among other things, CNC did research on deacidification and leaf casting and stimulated repackaging programmes to substitute the acid boxes and folders in which archives had been kept traditionally. Together with a commercial paper merchant, the Amsterdam City Archives developed an 'acid-free' archival box (1982) which can be assembled without using corrosive fasteners; this 'Amsterdam box' is now generally used in the Netherlands.

Many of the conservation projects were part of a more general effort to improve the preservation of the cultural heritage in museums, archives, and libraries. In the so-called national Delta Plan Cultural Conservation (named after the Delta Works, a gigantic project consisting of a series of construction works to defend the south-western part of the country against the sea), the government subsidized many projects with tens of millions of guilders between 1990 and 1998. The Delta Plan also included the improvement of

Fig. 11.20 Vertical storage of charters in polyester envelopes, Van Buytenen method. Photo Utrecht Archives (Rijksarchief Utrecht), 1985.

buildings and climate control systems, development of quality requirements for packing, and other materials and research.

Since 2005 the National Library and the National Archives collaborate in the national conservation programme Metamorfoze. The programme started in 1997 for libraries but was later extended to archives. Financed by the Ministry of Culture, Metamorfoze is funding the conservation and digitization of collections of national importance. When applying for funding, the archival institution has to demonstrate that the collection belongs to the top ten priorities for conservation and digitization, and it must submit a conservation plan for the totality of its collections.

For the preservation of digital records, the National Archives developed an e-depot. This is a 'combination of equipment, software, procedures, methods, knowledge and skills to ensure the ingest, management, preservation and provision of digital objects and metadata in the long term'.[51] This e-depot primarily holds digital-born records, but digitized records are taken in as well. As of December 2018, all regional historical centres in the provincial capitals (see 3.6.3) are connected to the e-depot of the National Archives. Elsewhere municipal archives are developing their own e-depot or beginning to share e-depot facilities.

One might think that in the digital age appraisal of records (what to keep, what to destroy) is no longer necessary because of the unlimited storage capacity and searchability of digital media. That is, however, a myth. Permanent storage and permanent access require enormous resources: buildings, staff, power, constant upgrading, and migration of software and hardware, to name just a few. Every terabyte less as a result of appraisal is a saving in the annually recurring costs. In fact, the appraisal process already begins with the design of the recordkeeping system—the moment one determines which documents are captured, that is, accepted by the system, and thus becoming records. Moreover, digital records cannot be left on the shelves for years, waiting to be appraised. Therefore, one must decide at the front-end which records have to be kept in the system, and which

51 https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/sites/default/files/field-file/National%20Archives%20of%20the%20Netherlands%20preferred%20and%20acceptable%20formats.pdf, accessed 1 Dec. 2018. Ingest is the technical term for accessioning of data files, their verification, and preparation for archival storage.

records can be disposed of later, either through destruction or by transferring them to another system. 'Archiving by design' implies that the sustainability of the information from the work processes is taken into account in the design of information systems. Organizational and societal requirements also play a role in assessing the function and value of records for accountability, evidence, and memory. This applies to digital as well as to paper records.

In the 19th century lack of space was the most important incentive to destroy documents that were no longer considered to be of administrative value. Thus, masses of VOC archives and other documents were sold off as waste paper or destroyed (see 3.6.1 and 10.5). However, in some cases the value of archives as a historical source was explicitly considered. When in 1841 the Minister of the Interior was authorized by the King to dispose of papers that had no administrative importance, National Archivist De Jonge intervened. He offered to advise on their value for the national history.[52] One of the institutions that may have accepted De Jonge's advice was the Court of Audit (*Algemene Rekenkamer*). In 1846 it drew up an extensive list of papers to be disposed of immediately or in the near future. In making the list the Court explicitly took into account the value of the papers, not only for the financial history and for the national treasury, but for the individual citizen who might have a claim as well.

The Association of Archivists (see chapter 12) petitioned the government in 1905. It was concerned that, especially in small municipalities, appraisal would not be carried out carefully, and that archives abandoned in the attic would be disposed of as useless rubbish. As an instrument for a careful selection the Association drafted a list of documents that could be disposed of, and their terms of preservation. With some amendments the Minister of the Interior adopted the list in 1908 and distributed copies among the municipalities. The Archives Act of 1918 instructed provinces, municipalities, and water boards to use such an appraisal schedule; in 1929 the instruction was extended to ministries and agencies of the central government. The system of appraisal schedules decided on by the minister still exists. The minister must consider not only the three

52 H.J. van Meerendonk, *Handleiding voor selektie en vernietiging van archiefbescheiden* ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archief Publikaties, 1985).

interests acknowledged in 1846 (historical research, serving government, and ensuring citizen's rights) but also and more generally the value of archives as cultural heritage.

For a long time, archivists and records managers have been discussing the question of how to determine the value of archives. Society at large was involved in that discussion only recently. That discussion became particularly fierce in the 1990's when the National Archives introduced macroappraisal instead of file-by-file appraisal of records of the central government. In the so-called PIVOT methodology, government functions rather than the resulting records were appraised, resulting in retention schedules listing functions instead of categories of records.[53] General appraisal criteria were: to keep records resulting from preparation, determination, and evaluation of government policies and accounting for such policies, (re) structuring of policy bodies, and the main lines of implementation of policies. Historians criticized the PIVOT methodology and criteria, arguing that they neglect the informational value of records (especially operational files) and that they are too government-centred. To meet the criticism, the National Archives involved the Royal Netherlands Historical Society in the process of drafting schedules and commissioned historical analyses of contemporary Dutch society to balance the analysis of government functions. Such a societal analysis is the basis of the current selection policy, developed in the beginning of the 21st century, after the PIVOT project was terminated. Nowadays, the connection between records management and primary work processes (a weak point of PIVOT) is taken into account much more seriously in appraisal, as are risk management and the impact of values and issues in contemporary society on governmental recordkeeping. The functional macroappraisal of PIVOT led to a more meticulous selection than before, but turned out to be very labour intensive. Therefore, one of the principal aims of PIVOT (acceleration of the selection of central government records created between 1945 and 1975) was not achieved. A less intensive procedure was followed between 2006 and 2008, and 75 kilometres of shelving were processed with the result that 17 percent could be transferred to the State Archives, and the rest be destroyed.

53 R.C. Hol and A.G.de Vries, 'Pivot down under. A report', *Archives and manuscripts* 26 (1998): 79-101; Agnes E.M. Jonker, 'Macroappraisal in the Netherlands. The first ten years, 1991–2001, and beyond', *Archival science* 5 (2005): 203–18. PIVOT was the acronym of the *Project Invoering Verkorting Overbrengings Termijn* (Project to Implement the Reduction of the Transfer Period).

Fig. 11.21 Model of the archiving context including technology.

54 Jacques Derrida, *Archive fever*, transl. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 17.

55 Wanda J. Orlikowski, 'The duality of technology. Rethinking the concept of technology in organizations', *Organization science* 3 (1992): 406.

11.3 Conclusion

People use archiving technologies for making and using, arranging, preserving, and selecting archives. These technologies not only influence the material, the language, the script, the form, the arrangement, and preservation of the documents created and archived, they also influence the content. This is especially apparent when technologies change. An example is the change from handwriting, via typewriting and other mechanical processes, to digital word processing (either on a PC or laptop or mobile device). When one texts a message on a mobile phone, form and content of the message will be different from a message sent by e-mail or a message conveyed in a handwritten or a typewritten letter. The difference is due to the technology in a complex interplay with social and cultural norms governing what and how to text. In Derrida's words (already quoted in 1.2.4 and 7.4) 'the mutation in technology changes not simply the archiving process, but what is archivable—that is, the content of what has to be archived is changed by the technology'.[54] But not only archiving is dependent on technology; technology influences the other elements in the model of the archiving context, and all the entities are within technology's ring (Fig. 11.21).

The arrow to and from 'technology' pointing to both ends, represents the duality of technology. As Wanda Orlikowski argues, 'technology is physically constructed by actors working in a given social context, and technology is socially constructed by actors through the different meanings they attach to it and the various features they emphasize and use'.[55] People in a particular social context (embracing all entities within the ring of the model) are influenced by technology, and on the other hand technology is socially constructed through people using it. For example, the first typewriters were designed to be used by court reporters, but very soon other people discovered and employed the machine for other uses. More recent examples are text messaging and the world wide web technology, both developed for particular uses and with particular features, but eventually enacted and adapted by people in ways the designers could not have foreseen.
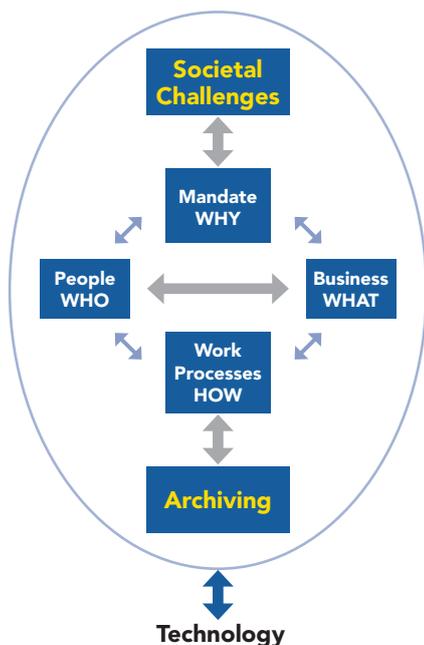
The rationalization, mechanization, and subsequent computerization of office work demanded and facilitated standardization of input and output. The memo, the layout of the typewriter's keyboard, the number of columns on a punchcard, and the textual interfaces of early computing, all affected the content of what must be archived.

The content of a document has a meaning, but the technology used has a meaning (or several meanings) as well. The use of either sheepskin or vellum, the way the seal is attached to a charter, the editorial form of a document, or the quality of the paper, all have a meaning. That meaning may or may not be compatible with the original intent of the writer. Often the latter is obscured by the former, as when people, instead of writing freely, adhere to epistolary conventions or use formulas or when they are forced to just fill in a standard form. The materiality of documents is also important; the little holes in documents, for example, indicate that they were filed together on a string, thus revealing a connection which at first sight was not recognized. The intellectual and physical arrangement of documents tells something about the ideas of archiving people with respect to governance (in the city, the country, business, the family) and the categorizing of knowledge. Even the boxes and chests serving as storage for records may serve as sources of information themselves. Different keys in several hands to open a chest point to a distribution of power.

Archiving technologies in the hands of archiving people construct the archive. This is especially true with respect to appraising what has continuing value and should be kept and what is useless and may be destroyed. The archive after appraisal is not the same as the archive before appraisal. By using these technologies, people archive and are being archived. That is what I call the duality of the archive.[56] Or, to borrow from Anthony Giddens' duality of structure: structural (or structuring) properties of archiving technologies are produced and reproduced in what people do; they are the medium and the outcome of activities of actors.[57]

56   Ketelaar, 'Archiving technologies'; Eric Ketelaar, A dualidade do arquivar', in *Information and memory*, ed. Ricardo Pimenta, transl. Janaynne Carvalho do Amaral (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Informação em Ciência e Tecnologia, 2019) (forthcoming).

57   Anthony Giddens, *The constitution of society. Outline of the theory of structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984), p. 191.

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CHAPTER
12

ARCHIVING PEOPLE
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF
DUTCH ARCHIVES

Chapter 12

Archiving Professionals

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〟 Fig. 12.0 Draft of section 1 of the *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives*, 1898. National Archives, *Koninklijke Vereniging van Archivarissen in Nederland* (2.19.021), inv. nr. 287.

⌄

12.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapters we have encountered archiving people. I consider them all to be *archivers* acting in practices of creation, classification, filing, arrangement, appraisal, use and abuse, selection, and destruction of archives. In what way did archivists differ from the other archivers? This question raises another question: what was or is a professional archivist? How did the archival profession in the Netherlands develop?[1]

A profession is, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, 'an occupation in which a professed knowledge of some subject, field, or science is applied; a vocation or career, especially one that involves prolonged training and a formal qualification'. Sociologist Albert Mok[2] distinguishes four partly overlapping phases in professionalization: differentiation, specialization, institutionalization, and legitimization. By differentiation a certain activity is branched off from the whole of the division of labour (12.1). Professionals develop expert knowledge and skills providing them with a monopoly in a given domain (12.2 and 12.3). Fixed structures and patterns arise, such as special training, jargon, work methods, learning, and skills. Institutionalization protects the individual professional and ensures continuity of the professional practice. Professional associations play a major role in institutionalization (12.4). A fourth process in the development of a profession is its legitimization by society and the share of the profession in the division of labour (12.5). A job may be called a profession if these four criteria have been met. Where the Dutch archival profession is concerned, these processes were accomplished in 1918-1919.[3] A profession is not static, however. It adapts itself to changing circumstances in society (12.6 and 12.7).

1 *Archivaris, professie, professional, professionaliteit, professionalisering*, ed. Erika Hokke and Thijs Laeven ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2010), https://kvan.courant.nu/periodicals/JB/2010, accessed 2 Dec. 2018.

2 Quoted by Erika Hokke, '"Er is een arbeidsverdeeling gekomen". De ontwikkeling van het beroep archivaris in de 19e en 20e eeuw', in *Archivaris, professie, professional, professionaliteit, professionalisering*, ed. Erika Hokke and Thijs Laeven ('s-Gravenhage: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2010), pp. 21-38 https://kvan.courant.nu/periodicals/JB/2010, accessed 12 Dec. 2018.

3 See also Theo Thomassen, 'Archivists between knowledge and power—on the independence and autonomy of archival science and the archival profession', *Arhivski vjesnik* 42 (2000): 149-67, https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/16227, accessed 2 Dec. 2018.

12.1 Archivers and Archivists

Archivers participating in the production and mediation of the archive (see the General Introduction) are record subjects, authors, clerks, registrars, antiquarians, record managers, keepers, systematizers, genealogists and other users, and, finally, archivists:

record subjects	*authors*	*clerks*	*antiquarians*
foundling Maria (General Introduction) and VOC sailor Isaac Jijskoot (1.4.1)	merchants Claes Adriaensz van Adrichem (7.1) and Wollebrant Geleynssen de Jongh (10.6)	Jan van Hout (4.3) and Steven Dassevael (3.4)	Ubbo Emmius and Jan Wagenaar (4.7)
record managers	*keepers*	*systematizers*	*genealogists and other users*
Johan Zaalberg (4.10) and Petrus Noordenbos (3.5)	Gerrit Dedel (2.2) and 'charter clerk' Jean René Gericot (4.5)	Simon Stevin (5.3 and 8.2.3) and Van Gogh and Hijmans (8.3.2)	F.S. Knipscheer (1.2.2), Gerard Schaep (1.7.1) and survivors of the Holocaust (6.4)

<div align="center">

archivists

Hendrik van Wijn (3.6.1); R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink (3.6.2); Samuel Muller, Johan Feith, and Robert Fruin (7.7)

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What about Gerard Alewijnsz, head of the chancery of the Counts of Holland (3.1), who is praised as the progenitor of all Dutch archivists? Or Jan van Hout, not only city clerk of Leiden, but regarded as the first archivist of Leiden (4.4)? Shouldn't they be in the same category as the archivists Van Wijn, Bakhuizen van den Brink, Muller, Feith, and Fruin? Or in any other category?

Since the Middle Ages, individuals have been charged with the keeping of charters and other documents created and received by the institution they worked for. This was not the main task for these clerks, registrars, and heads of chancery. Although they developed expertise in keeping archives, there was no question of differentiation and specialization in archives management. They did not get their identity from archiving but from their knowledge and skills as clerks. They did their work in a professional way even though there was no archivists' profession, no institutionalization, or societal legitimization. This does not prevent us from considering Gerard Alewijnsz, Jan van Hout, and all the others who made order out of chaos in the archives before the 19th century, as forerunners of the profession.

12.2 Enters the *Archivarius*

In the 18th century and in the first decades of the 19th century, various institutions began to call the person keeping the archives *chartermeester* (see 10.5), *archivist*, or *archivarius*, which suggests a certain specialization. In 1802, Hendrik van Wijn became the first *archivarius* of the Batavian Republic (see 3.6.1, Fig. 3.10). His remit was restricted to inspecting and cataloguing the most important documents up to 1648. In 1814, Van Wijn's assignment was broadened and included centralizing the archives of the Republic up to 1795 at the Binnenhof in The Hague. However, only after the regulation of public access to government archives (1829) can one speak of Archives (with a capital A): an institution, independent (and detached!) from the records creating administration, managing archival documents with a view to research by people other than the staff of the records creating agency. As described in 4.8, the Leeuwarden City Archives (established in 1838) were the first Archives to meet these criteria at local level. Leeuwarden was followed by other towns and most of the provinces in the 1840s. Managing these Archives was mostly a part-time job for one man, most of them being antiquarians and historians with an academic degree in the humanities or the law. They were recognized to be in a different league by their fellow antiquarians and historians who worked with them in local and provincial associations.

After 1829 the average *archivarius* occupied himself primarily with collecting and publishing documents. Charter books and other publications were substitutes for access to the archives.[4] To prepare these publications, they inventoried archives focusing on compiling a chronological register: a calendar of all documents (mostly charters) in chronological order in a repository. Isaac Nijhoff, provincial archivist of Gelderland from 1817 until his death in 1863, developed a model for such a chronological register. However, his model was applied by only a few of his colleagues. One of them was Pieter Scheltema, the archivist of Amsterdam and the province of Noord-Holland (see 11.1.3). That does not alter the fact that Nijhoff was the first Dutch archivist to propagate standardization of archival methods, a first step in the institutionalization of the profession.

12.3 Scientific Archiving

The liberal bourgeoisie that came into power in 1848 wanted transparency and organic coherence of governance. These were the pillars of the reorganization of the archival system under Bakhuizen van den Brink in the 1850s (see 3.6.2). Bakhuizen stimulated the development of local and provincial Archives by giving archival documents out of the *Rijksarchief* on a large scale. These were mostly duplicates, but there were also original records that thus returned into 'the very centre of the facts and events to which they are related' and where they would 'have the most advantageous influence practising specific and local history'.[5] Public access and consultability were the conditions he always imposed. Besides, Bakhuizen's policy only concerned archives from before 1813.[6]

Thus, in the 1860s, collecting and describing archives and providing access to the public to archives from before 1813 were acknowledged to be the particular domain of archivists. There had been attempts to form a body of common expert knowledge, but there was no question of institutionalization and legitimization. That changed from the 1870s, at first slowly, but rapidly since the 1890s.[7]

4   Peter Horsman, Eric Ketelaar, and Theo Thomassen, 'Introduction to the 2003 Reissue', in S. *Muller, J.A. Feith and R. Fruin, Manual for the arrangement and description of archives. Translation of the second edition by Arthur H. Leavitt, with new introductions…* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2003), pp. V-XXXIIII; repr. as 'New respect for the old order. The context of the Dutch Manual', *American archivist* 66 (2003): 249-270. See also Eric Ketelaar, 'S. Muller, J.A. Feith, and R. Fruin', in *Encyclopedia of archival writers, 1515-2015*, ed. Luciana Duranti and Patricia C. Franks (Lanham etc.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), pp. 411-13.

5   R. Fruin, *De gestie van dr. R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink als archivaris des rijks 1854-1865 hoofdzakelijk uit zijne ambtelijke correspondentie toegelicht* (Algemeene Landsdrukerij: 's-Gravenhage, 1926), pp. 129, 211.

6   Fruin, *De gestie*, p. 158.

7   The following is a summary of Eric Ketelaar, 'Muller, Feith and Fruin', *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique /Archief- en bibliotheekwezen in België* 57 (1986): 255-68, and Eric Ketelaar, 'Archival theory and the Dutch Manual', *Archivaria* 41 (1996): 31-40; both repr. in Eric Ketelaar, *The archival image. Collected essays* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), pp. 43-65.

In 1874, 26-year-old Samuel Muller Fz. (son of Frederik, to distinguish him from his cousin, the historian Samuel Muller Hzn.) started his career as City Archivist of Utrecht (from 1879 he was State Archivist in the province of Utrecht as well). To prepare himself for the job, he had attended a few lectures at the Paris *École des Chartes* in 1873. As Muller remembered later, 'the professor who taught the organization of archives never tired of preaching the *respect des fonds*.' During a few months in 1874 and 1875 Muller had an assistant, *jonkheer* Theodoor van Riemsdijk, who moved to Zwolle in 1875 to become City Archivist; from there he went to Arnhem in 1877 as State Aarchivist in the province of Gelderland (see 4.9.2). Van Riemsdijk and Muller both had to discover how to arrange the archives (most of them dating back from before 1800) that lay piled up in the repositories. They were each active in a field as yet unknown to them, each keeping in close touch with the other, exchanging views and experiences by correspondence and in meetings. They started by developing an archival theory: an analysis of ideas about what archives are, their essential characteristics, and their common properties. They rejected a subject-based or chronological arrangement of archives as being not scientific (*wetenschappelijk*). One may assume that 'scientific' was understood to be 'the application of scientific methods in fields of study previously considered open only to theories based on subjective, historical, or undemonstrable abstract criteria' (Oxford English Dictionary). However, in this context the term must be understood as according to the theory, principles (like the principle of the *respect des fonds*), and methods which constitute a specific domain, specific for archivistics. They agreed on a definition of an archive:

> An archive is the whole of the written documents, drawings, and printed matter, received or sent by the administrative body of a community or one of the community's officials *ex officio*, in so far as these documents are intended to remain in their custody.

This definition was to be adopted by the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands (*Vereeniging van archivarissen in Nederland*, VAN) in 1893, but in the *Manual* it would be amended (see 4.9.2; on Fig. 12.0, the amendments are in Muller's handwriting).

A friend and patron of Muller and Van Riemsdijk was *jonkheer* Victor de Stuers, since 1875 head of the department for Arts and Sciences within the Ministry of the Interior (see 3.6.3). He completely reorganized the archival system. The repositories in the provincial capitals were gradually taken over by the State. In his instruction for State archivists, De Stuers prescribed a 'scientific' inventorization according to a plan which had to be approved by the Minister. The only State archivists who understood what he meant by 'scientific inventorization' were Muller and Van Riemsdijk. Both opposed the then prevailing opinion that there were no firm principles for the arrangement and description of archives because each fonds is different. Instead, Van Riemsdijk and Muller were convinced that generally applicable rules for the arrangement and description of archives were necessary. Before those rules could be implemented, further steps in the process of institutionalization of the profession were necessary.

Fig. 12.1 Samuel Muller Fz. (1848-1922), by Jan Veth, 1895. Utrecht Archives, 31747.

Fig. 12.2 *Jonkheer* Theodoor van Riemsdijk (1849-1923), by Philip Alexius de László, 1909. National Archives.

Fig. 12.3 *Jonkheer* Victor de Stuers (1843-1916), by Hendrik Johannes Haverman, 1896.

In 1887 Van Riemsdijk became General State Archivist. Three years later he convened the first annual conference for all State archivists. The municipal archivists felt left out, although they had met occasionally at the Historical Association (*Historisch Genootschap*) or the Society of Dutch Literature (*Maatschappij van Nederlandsche Letterkunde*).

The first time the archivists came together for a professional cause was in 1885, when 31 of them, mainly municipal archivists, led by A.J. Enschedé, the City Archivist of Haarlem, signed a petition to government requesting the transfer of the old notarial archives and their access (see 9.6).[8]

12.4 The Association of Archivists in the Netherlands[9]

Five years later, five young archivists (all in their thirties) met to discuss the foundation of a national professional association. They were the city archivists of Amsterdam and Leiden (De Roever and Dozy) joined by three colleagues from the State Archives in Groningen (Feith), Drenthe (Gratama), and Noord-Brabant (Bondam). These three men were friends and former students at the University of Groningen. The five invited the 'grand old man' Enschedé (Haarlem) to join their initiative. In a letter to 40 colleagues, the initiators wrote that they would like to meet to discuss matters of common interest such as the system of arrangement, neglect of private archives, the use of archives by the public, and regulation by law of the position of the city archivist.[10] They proposed to form an association of heads of Archives and 'scientific' archivists (*archivarissen en wetenschappelijke archiefambtenaren*) at Dutch State, provincial, and municipal Archives. Such an association could promote proper archiving, reinforce the mutual friendly relations, and lobby for a general regulation of the archives sector (*archiefwezen*).

Thirty-two archivists came to a meeting in Haarlem on 17 June 1891, when the Association of Archivists in the Netherlands (VAN) was founded. Its constitution stated promoting the interests of the Netherlands archives sector as its mission. The six initiators were appointed to be the first executive committee. Within two years the VAN had 38 members; among them were 18 of the 22 municipal archivists, the keeper of the Royal Archives, and 19 of the 22 archivists employed by the 12 State Archives. A proposal in 1892 from

8   See Eric Ketelaar, 'Haarlem. Bakermat van de Vereniging van Archivarissen in Nederland', in *Hart voor Haarlem. Liber amicorum voor Jaap Temminck*, ed. Hans Brokken, Florence Koorn and Ab van der Steur (Schuyt: Haarlem, 1996), pp. 255-61.

9   *Respect voor de oude orde. Honderd jaar Vereniging van archivarissen in Nederland*, ed. Paul Brood (Hilversum: Stichting archiefpublicaties/Verloren, 1991); Erika Hokke, 'Not a dilettante, but a professional', in *Values in transition. Perspectives on the past, present and future of the archival profession*, ed. Hildo van Engen (The Hague: Stichting Archiefpublicaties, 2017), pp. 13-28.

10 National Archives, *Vereniging van archivarissen in Nederland* (2.19.021), inv. nrs. 1, 5, 10.

librarians at the Royal Library and the university libraries to establish a joint association (with two sections), was rejected as being not only against the VAN's constitution, but also 'incompatible with the goal and the essential nature of our association'.

In the annual meetings of the Association in 1893 and 1894, and in the Association's journal *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, Gratama, Muller and his pupil Fruin, and others discussed principles and practices of arranging and describing archives. In 1895 the VAN commissioned Muller, Feith, and Fruin to write a manual, taking into account both the discussions in the VAN and the ministerial directive, issued in 1897 as an outcome of discussions in the meetings of the State archivists and containing rules on arranging archives in a State archives repository.

Fig. 12.4 The first issue of *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*.

Fig. 12.5 Johan Adriaan Feith (1858-1913), by F.H. Bach, 1904. Groningen Archives.
In 1905 Feith was ennobled with the title *jonkheer*.

As Peter Horsman, Theo Thomassen, and I wrote, the pioneering contribution of the *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives* of 1898.

> lies in defining the archival fonds, in the formulation of the connection between the archive and the functions of those who create it, and in making archivists aware that the boundaries and structure of an archive need to be respected and that the components of which an archive consists can only be comprehended within their original context. (…) Taken separately, these ideas were not really new in 1898, nor innovative. (…) What was new and innovative was the combination of these ideas, the integrated application of them to historical records. This signified such an advance in archival science that these ideas were able to spread throughout the world.[11]

The *Manual* did not offer an archivistics theory, but a methodology, developed according to a phenomenological approach that is scholarly justified.[12] The methodology was formulated in 100 rules, which, according to Muller, Feith, and Fruin, might be deviated from if well-motivated, the motivation to be subjected to a discussion by colleagues. In practice, however, the rules were seen as inviolable dogmas and what was meant to be an instrument became a bible for archivists; the methodology became a doctrine. The *Manual* itself writes about (section 24) 'the requirements of the new archival doctrine' (*archiefleer*). In the French edition of 1910 this was translated as 'the requirements of the new archival science'. But a doctrine is not science. A doctrine does not permit another vision; it is fundamentalist, not critical; it stimulates exegesis, but it does not encourage free independent research. Yet the doctrine had a role in the process of the professionalization of the archivist. And that role the Dutch *Manual* certainly has had, not only in the Netherlands, but also in many other places around the world, as is shown by the many translations, even until today. Codification, normalization, and regulation of the archival practice are important for the professionalization of archivists, literally when they are being trained or 'disciplined', the archival discipline being a branch of learning. The discipline or professionalization has more aspects; a specific professional language, a specific training, a specific ethical code, and many more elements.

Fig. 12.6 Robert Fruin (1857-1935), c. 1896. National Archives, *Collectie Fruin* (2.21.222), inv. nr. 253.

11 Horsman, Ketelaar, and Thomassen, 'New respect': 258.
12 This paragraph is taken from Eric Ketelaar, 'The future contained in time past. Archival science in the 21st century', *Journal of the Japan Society for archival science* 1 (2004): 20-35.

During the first ten years of the VAN, its membership was for men only. In 1901 the first woman was admitted: dr Hermine Moquette, deputy City Archivist of Rotterdam.

A year before, the VAN had refused to admit miss Rinskje Visscher, City Archivist of Leeuwarden, not because of her gender, but because the *archivaresse* (the female form of *archivaris* was in 1900 introduced into the Dutch language by the secretary of the VAN) was a subordinate of the city clerk, a situation the VAN considered to be incompatible with the professional independence of the archivist. Miss Visscher became a member of the VAN in 1909. More women followed, but in the first 20 years their number was very small: six, two of whom were working at the National Archives. The others worked at municipal archives. In 1946 only 17 women had joined the VAN, among them the city archivists of Haarlem and Zutphen.

Fig. 12.7 Hermine Moquette (1869-1945).

Fig. 12.8 Members of the VAN at the annual meeting on 2 July 1913 standing in front of the State Archives (formerly the butchers' hall) in Haarlem. The only woman is Miss Catharina Bruining, deputy City Archivist of Alkmaar. On her right side Gonnet (State Archivist in Noord-Holland), Fruin (General State Archivist), and Muller (City and State Archivist in Utrecht and president of the VAN). From *Nederlandsch Archievenblad* 48 (1949-1941): 128.

The foundation of the VAN (1891), its journal (1893), and the *Manual* (1898) were decisive steps in the process of institutionalization, with its own professional association, its own work methods, professional knowledge and know-how, and its own jargon.

The VAN was the first professional association of archivists in the whole world. It was considered 'the model of a modern archival special and professional association', as the chairman of the German *Verein deutscher Archivare* and initiator of the section of professional archival associations (SPA) of the International Council on Archives (ICA) wrote in 1976. Since SPA's foundation, the VAN has always been represented on the board of the section. Dutch archivists played a significant role at the first international congress on archives, in 1910 in Brussels (when the Dutch version of the principle of provenance was adopted as an international standard) and in the ICA since its foundation in 1948. Dutch is one of the languages of the ICA's glossaries published in 1964 and 1984 (see 13.1).

12.5 The Archives Act of 1918

One more step, however, had to be taken: the establishment of a specific professional education for archivists. Between 1896 and 1910 the requirements for a *wetenschappelijk archivaris* were discussed in the VAN and in the meetings of the State archivists. *Wetenschappelijk* (scientific) must be understood in this context to mean acting as a professional according to the principles (like the principle of provenance), the theory, and the methodology accepted within the profession. The main conclusion (based on a report by Muller, Feith, and Fruin) was that archivists with a PhD in law or history had to pass a special exam in 'essentially archival subjects': *archiveconomie* (arrangement and description of archives), diplomatics, palaeography, and chronology. This conclusion was codified in a Royal Decree in 1919 as part of the implementation of the Archives Act of 1918. The Act prescribed that at least one professional archivist should be attached to each State repository and that, when a municipality or water board wanted to appoint an archivist, he or she should be a professional one. Alternatively, municipalities and water boards could also decide to entrust their old archives to their clerk.

The Decree of 1919 established two classes of professional archivists: first-class archivists holding a PhD in law or humanities and second-class archivists without a PhD. Archivists in either class had to pass an exam and complete a secondment of one year (first class) or six months (second class). The Decree required 21 towns to nominate a person with a first-class diploma if they wanted to appoint a municipal archivist. All State archivists had to have a first-class diploma.

An *Archiefschool* attached to the National Archives was set up as a training institute, with General State Archivist Fruin as director and chairman of the board of examiners. The school started in January 1920, with three students for the first-class exam, 13 future second-class archivists and nine non-degree seeking attendees. The *Archiefschool* was 'temporarily' closed in 1924 due to budget cuts. The regulations for exams and appointments of first-class and second-class archivists remained in force, but students had to prepare themselves for the exam relying on tutoring by trained archivists.

Examen Archiefschool.

,s GRAVENHAGE. Geslaagd voor archiefambtenaar 1e kl. jhr. mr. W. G. Feith, Den Haag; voor archiefambtenaar 2e kl. de heer L. Kruijff, Den Haag.

Fig. 12.9 *Jonkheer* W.G. Feith and L. Kruijff passed the exam at the *Archiefschool*, the newspaper *De Tijd* announced, 8 July 1920. Wolter Gocko Feith (1889-1924) was the son of Johan Adriaan Feith (1858-1913, Fig. 12.5), whose father and grandfather had been provincial archivists in Groningen. Although there are more examples of sons and daughters of an archivist choosing the profession of their father or mother, the Feith line of four generations since 1832 is exceptional.

Following the Archives Act, the VAN changed its constitution in 1920 to restrict membership (with some exceptions) to first-class and second-class archivists. The amended constitution also broadened the mission (promoting the interests of the Netherlands archives sector) with 'and of the civil servants (*ambtenaren*) working in that sector'. Strictly speaking, this excluded professionals who had to work as *volontair*, i.e. without salary, because there were so few posts available. Within the VAN two sections of civil servants working at State archives and municipal archives were set up to promote the material interests (such as salaries and job classification) and to keep contact with trade unions. The two sections merged in 1961 into one association that continued the trade union activities until 1975. In 1974 a new association of heads of local archives was founded, the National Council of Municipal and Regional Archivists (*Landelijke Kring van gemeente- en streekarchivarissen*, see 4.8).

12.6 New Archives and New Professionals

The institutionalization of the profession by determining the requirements for education and professional skills (1918-1919) went hand in hand with the legitimation of the profession by society, expressed in the Archives Act of 1918. The act, by focusing on public archives created since 1813, limited the archival profession to managing the 'historical' archives, just as the *Manual* of 1898 had only very limited applicability to 'modern' archives. However, the care of the records of the municipalities and water boards was subjected to inspection by first-class archivists, either the State archivist in the province or his deputy, or a provincial inspector appointed by the Provincial Executive. Through the inspection, archivists were to some extent involved in the management of 'new' archives. This was also true for appraisal. Destruction of State records was only allowed after consultation with the General State Archivist or the State archivist in the province where the State agency was located. Nevertheless, management of current and semi-current records was outside the scope of the professional archivist, and the clerks and other

people involved in the management of these records were considered not to belong to the archival profession.

Only a few archivists were interested in 'new' archives. This led to clashes; for example in 1907 when the Association adopted a motion (drafted by Fruin) declaring the case filing system with decimal classification, propagated by Zaalberg (see 4.10), to contravene with the 'organic nature' of archives. In 1915 Muller repented and even endorsed the filing system of Zaalberg's *Registratuurbureau*. Fruin, however, continued to be against the new filing system and warned Muller not to meddle with the new archives. Nevertheless, five years later the VAN accepted extensive guidelines for case filing systems, including the recommendation to involve an archivist in setting up the filing system and to consult him or her about the transfer of files to the Archives.

Meanwhile, the profession of records manager was developing. From German practice Zaalberg introduced the term *registrator* for a records manager. The term was broadly used since around 1915. On 24 December 1924, 47 *registratoren* were present at a meeting for the foundation of the Study Club for Municipal Documentation (*Studieclub voor gemeentelijke documentatie*).[13] The *Studieclub* was closely affiliated with the *Registratuurbureau*.

Fig. 12.10 The *Registratuurbureau* and the *Studieclub voor gemeentelijke documentatie* published a joint newsletter since 1936.

13 Johan Joor, *Niet de instructie, doch het inzicht bouwt een goed archief. Tachtig jaar overheidsdocumentatie en administratieve organisatie. De geschiedenis van de Vereniging voor Documentaire Informatievoorziening en Administratieve Organisatie (SOD) en haar voorgangers, Studiekring voor Overheidsdocumentatie (S.O.D.) en Studieclub voor Gemeentelijke Documentatie (S.G.D.) (1931-2011)* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 2011).

Its focus was the municipal administrative organization, but in the late 1930s membership was broadened to include *registratoren* at provincial and State agencies.

In 1939 the *Studieclub* started a training course for municipal records management. In this course teaching the subject of 'old archives' was entrusted to the city archivist of The Hague. Another archivist (at the provincial inspectorate of Noord-Brabant) was a member of the board of examiners. The first certificates were issued in 1940.

12.7 Hercules at the Crossroads

Around 1919 the professionalization of the Dutch archivist was achieved, as Erika Hokke in her study of the professionalization concludes. However, the involvement of the archivist in records management continued to be an issue, debated in the 1930s and, after the war, in the 1950s. At the diamond jubilee of the VAN in 1951, the General State Archivist *jonkheer* Dirk Graswinckel delivered an address 'Hercules at the crossroads' in which he asked his fellow archivists which road they would take: the trodden path leading to the joy of being immersed in the old archives or the other, leading to the virtue of dealing with the modern archives. He believed that both roads should be taken because only then could the archives sector keep up with society.

Graswinckel's lecture had been drafted by his assistant at the National Archives, Jaap van der Gouw. Van der Gouw (who was to become General State Archivist in 1966), together with Carel Bloemen, had started a training course both for the unofficial diploma business archivist and for the State diploma of second-class archivist. This dual course was supported by the executive of the VAN. Having passed the exam, business archivists could be admitted as members of the VAN, by special consent of the members' meeting. The private training courses of Bloemen and Van der Gouw existed for only a few years. At the initiative of General State Archivist Hardenberg, the State *archiefschool* was re-established in 1955. The school was limited to training for the exams for first-class and

Fig. 12.11 *Jonkheer* Dirk P.M. Graswinckel, General State Archivist 1946-1953. Painting by Bob Bruyn, 1953, detail. National Archives.

second-class archivists; training of business archivists was provided by courses sponsored by the Dutch Association of Business Archivists.

The change of direction of the professional archivist which Graswinckel initiated found supporters and opponents, both within the VAN and among records managers. The new Archives Act that came into force on 1 May 1968 brought *registrator* and archivist closer because of the reduced period of transfer of modern records (50 years, and in 1995 shortened to 20 years) and the new role given to town archivists to inspect records management in their municipalities. Nevertheless, the two professions remained separate, as were their associations, education, and certification.

Professional differentiation and specialization continued to preoccupy Dutch archivists in the 20th century and continue to do so today. Within and outside the VAN (since its centenary in 1991, *Royal* Association of Archivists in the Netherlands, KVAN) the question of 'what or who is an archivist' was raised time and again—explicitly when discussing changes in education and training or debating ethical issues, implicitly when discussing, for example, the archivist's involvement in private archives, audio-visual archives, collecting ephemera, ICT, or social media. These discussions resulted in changes in education, legislation, and the societal role and identity of the archivist.

In 2007 the Association of Archival Institutions (*Branchevereniging Archiefinstellingen in Nederland,* BRAIN) was founded. BRAIN provides services to institutions which keep archives and related collections as part of the publicly accessible cultural heritage. While the KVAN focuses on the individual professional, BRAIN promotes the interests of the institutions and their management. KVAN and BRAIN jointly look after the interests of the Dutch archives sector, stimulate and support collaboration in the sector, and further the expertise of archive professionals. A merger has been discussed, but many archivists believe that the professional autonomy is guarded better by the KVAN than by BRAIN, whose members are dependent on their political masters. However, in 2018 a personal union of the two executives was established to align policies and practices of the two

associations. KVAN, BRAIN, and the National Archives jointly manage the Knowledge Network Information and Archives (*Kennisnetwerk Informatie en Archief,* KIA), where archivists, records managers, and other professionals exchange information and collaborate, both virtually and face to face.

12.8 Conclusion

Beginning in the late 19th century, the Dutch archival profession was formed in stages: differentiation, specialization, institutionalization, and legitimization. In 1918-1919 this process was concluded. Legally established requirements for educating archivists were in place and there was a professional association for archivists with a State diploma. Since those days the profession has redefined itself time and again, adapting to a society that is changed by cultural, political, and technological challenges.

Erika Hokke closes her essay on professionalization by suggesting that the dilemma as identified by Graswinckel in his 'Hercules at the crossroads' (12.7) is not about choosing either old or new archives, or either a governmental or a cultural function of the archivist (and one may add: either a paper-based or a digital endeavour). The real question, Hokke writes, is 'whether archivists want to renew or rather leave everything as it is'.[14]

14   Hokke, 'Er is een arbeidsverdeeling gekomen', p. 38.

Chapter 13

The Dutchness of Dutch Archives

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Fig. 13.0 The magistrate of The Hague deliberating the rebuilding of the *Sebastiaansdoelen* with the officers of the St. Sebastian militia, by Jan van Ravesteyn, 1636. Haags Historisch Museum.

13.0 Introduction

As Jacques Derrida proposed 'Let us not begin at the beginning, nor even at the archive. But rather at the word 'archive'—and with the archive of so familiar a word.'[1] The Dutch *archief* in the original Dutch version of the *Manual for the arrangement and description of archives* (1898, see 12.4) was rendered in English as 'archival collection' because the translator Arthur Leavitt argued (in a footnote to section 1) that the singular 'archive' had not come into general use in the English language.[2] The Oxford English Dictionary still prefers the plural 'archives', notwithstanding the fact that in the past 20 years the singular 'archive' has been adopted widely—not so much among archivists, but by scholars in the humanities and social sciences and not least by contributors to the Internet. However, the two glossaries compiled under the aegis of the International Council on Archives (1964 and 1984) recognized 'archive' in English as synonym for 'archives'.

The Dutchness of Dutch art was the title of a lecture by art historian Christopher Brown, delivered in 2002 at the Amsterdam Centre for Golden Age Studies.[3] Brown's questions were 'To what degree does Dutch art of the Golden Age differ both in style and subject-matter from that produced in Western Europe at the same time? And if it does differ, why does it differ?' Analogous questions, while extending the time frame beyond the Dutch Golden Age, can be asked of Dutch archiving as it has been presented in the previous chapters: what is the Dutchness of Dutch Archives?

13.1 Typically Dutch

The Dutch *Manual* of 1898 was, according to the Italian translators (1908), not written solely for the Netherlands, but for all countries ('per tutti i paesi'). The Italian edition was a translation of the German edition (1905). The translation into another language and into another archival tradition led to many, especially terminological, questions, with which the German translator Hans Kaiser and the authors of the *Manual* struggled.

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1   Jacques Derrida, *Archive fever*, transl. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 1.

2   Peter Horsman, Eric Ketelaar, and Theo Thomassen, 'Introduction to the 2003 Reissue', in S. *Muller, J.A. Feith and R. Fruin, Manual for the arrangement and description of archives. Translation of the second edition by Arthur H. Leavitt, with new introductions...* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2003), pp. xxix-xxx; repr. as 'New respect for the old order. The context of the Dutch Manual', *American archivist* 66 (2003): 267-68.

3   Christopher Brown, *The Dutchness of Dutch art* (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Centrum voor de studie van de Gouden Eeuw, Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2002).

Terms that were particularly problematic were those that did not exist in German, for example *blaffaard*, charter, and dossier.[4] Many of these terms remained untranslated, for others adequate translations were very difficult to find. And what was to be done with the examples drawn from Dutch archive history, should these not be replaced with German examples? Not at all, was the opinion of Wilhelm Wiegand in his foreword to the German edition, in which he defends the fact that the book was based on Dutch conditions, Dutch government structures, and Dutch archival history.

This has led many foreign readers of the *Manual* (in any of the eight translations) to believe that the *Manual* was a typically Dutch product:

> The idiosyncrasies of Dutch institutional history had left their stamp on the sheer volume, the structure, and the composition of the archives of the ancien régime; on the organization and the management of the historical archives; on the application of diplomatics; and on the development of methods of arranging and describing. Archives were scattered after the upheavals during the years 1795 to 1813, but they were not divided, mixed, or destroyed to any great extent. As a result, the principle of respect for the original structure of the archive was much easier to put into operation than elsewhere. This also meant that the central question of archival science—how can one evaluate and use an archive from various perspectives without losing the form, the structure, and the context as the framework for interpretation? —could also be given a typically Dutch response.[5]

Acknowledging a typically Dutch approach to fundamental questions of archivistics is not the same as identifying a typically Dutch way of archiving in the broad sense as used in this book. Of course, a complete answer to the question of the Dutchness of Dutch archives can be given only when Dutch archiving is discussed in a comparative framework. I will return to comparative archival history at the end of this chapter (13.8), but first let me try to give some examples which may lend themselves to a discussion in a comparative framework.

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4   In the English edition of the *Manual* Leavitt explained *blaffaard* as: lists of tithes and other revenues from the land (see chapter 6.2.2). *Dossier* was kept untranslated in the English edition as well, whereas file would have been a good equivalent, but Leavitt used 'file' as a translation of the Dutch *lias*.

5   Horsman, Ketelaar, and Thomassen, 'Introduction', p. xxxii; Horsman, Ketelaar, and Thomassen, 'New respect': 270.

13.2 Inspiration from Abroad

Various Dutch archiving practices are known to have been imported from abroad or inspired by foreign examples. In section 3.1 I referred to the chancery of the Count of Holland which, in the 14th century, started to transcribe copies of documents received and sent, probably following the example of the chancery of Hainaut, of the papal chancery or those of the French and German kings.

Another example of the adoption and adaptation of non-indigenous practices is the practice of enfiling or forming *liassen*—literally by putting documents on a string (*filium*, see 3.2). Such files are not typically Dutch, one encounters files (or the little holes the string left in a document) in England, the Southern Netherlands, and Italy as well.[6] This way of filing was mentioned by Pacioli in his manual for merchants as early as 1494 (see 7.1) and was presumably imported elsewhere in Europe by Italian merchants who had branch offices and agents in different parts of Europe. However, investigating terminologies only is not enough; sometimes the *term* will not refer to documents *on* a string (or spike), but (as in French and Belgian archival terminology) to any bundle of documents *tied* together by a string or a tape.[7]

At the beginning of the 20th century, Johan Zaalberg (see 4.10) designed his filing system following the example of the case filing system (*Sachaktenregistratur*) that had been used in Germany since the 18th century. However, Zaalberg augmented the system by using the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC) for arranging the files. The UDC had been developed in Belgium by Otlet and Lafontaine primarily as a bibliographic tool, but Otlet was convinced that the UDC could be used for *documentation administrative* (the French term Otlet used for what the Germans called *Registraturwesen*) as well. Otlet envisaged a filing system, to which two card indexes provided access, one in the alphabetic order of the headings and the other in the order of the UDC. Zaalberg's innovation went further because he labelled the files themselves with the UDC codes and arranged them accordingly.

Notwithstanding its foreign roots, the Zaalberg system may be considered to be essentially Dutch. In the 1950s, the Dutch records manager Johan Pieterse was head of the registry and archives of UNESCO. There, and at the European High Administration for Coal and Steel, one of the predecessors of the European Union, he introduced the Dutch UDC-based filing system.[8] The archives of the European Commission were arranged per directorate according to a UDC-based filing plan. This order is maintained at the EU Historical Archives in Florence, notwithstanding the fact that some archivists believe that it obscures to some extent a holistic view of the organization that produced the archives.

13.3 Conditioning Factors[9]

Recently, the Australian archivist Michael Piggott proposed searching for the 'conditioning factors' shaping the patterns of record creation, demise, preservation, management, and multiple uses in Australia.[10] As a major 'conditioning factor' in Dutch society (past and present) I propose its particular mode of consensual governance, the *polder model*. The *polder model* (an expression coined in the 1990s) is described in a recent book by historians Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden as a manner of living together in which different societal groups always join forces and political decision-making leaves room for mutual concessions and modifications resulting from negotiations among these groups.[11] On Wikipedia it is called 'consensus decision-making' and described with phrases like 'a pragmatic recognition of pluriformity' and 'cooperation despite differences.'[12] Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, in their analysis of 17th-century Dutch 'discussion culture', argued that the essence of social culture in the 17th century was 'the fundamental obligation and often eagerness as well to participate in discussion, to take note of another person's opinion before making a decision; and the need to weigh all the pros and cons, from whatever quarter they might come, when forming opinions in every area of life and culture.'[13] Helmer Helmers has recently warned against overemphasizing the social harmony in the discussion culture, since public debate in the Republic was often accompanied by bigotry, violence, and repression.[14] Still, one can follow Prak and

6   Heather Wolfe and Peter Stallybrass, 'The material culture of record-keeping in early modern England', in *Archives & information in the early modern world*, ed. Liesbeth Corens, Kate Peters and Alexandra Walsham (Proceedings of the British Academy, 212) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 179-208; *Elsevier's Lexicon of archive terminology* (Amsterdam etc.: Elsevier Publishing Company, 1964), nr. 6.

7   In the French edition of the *Manual* by Muller, Feith, and Fruin (1910) the translators remark in a footnote to section 86: 'Although the term 'filiasse' has fallen into disuse, we think that French archivists would do well to make use of it to translate the Dutch word 'lias', which the French term 'liasse' renders only imperfectly.'

8   Jean-Marie Palayret, 'Quelle filiation historique pour les archives historiques de l'Union européenne', *Gazette des archives* 192 (2001) : 69-70.

9   This section is mainly taken from Eric Ketelaar, 'Prolegomena to a social history of Dutch archives', in *A usable collection. Essays in honour of Jaap Kloosterman on collecting social history*, ed. Aad Blok, Jan Lucassen, and Huub Sanders (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014), pp. 40-55, https://web.archive.org/web/20190218001929/https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/2181409/156667_ketelaar_prolegomena.pdf, archived 18 Feb. 2019.

10   Michael Piggott, *Archives and societal provenance. Australian essays* (Oxford, etc.: Chandos Publishing, 2012).

11   Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zanden, *Nederland en het poldermodel* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2013), p. 12.

12   In the reading room of the National Library of the Netherlands, subsection 53 (within division 5 'The Republic') is labeled 'consultation culture' (*overlegcultuur*); it is divided into categories such as government, urbanization, economy, church and religion.

13   Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650. Hard-won unity*, transl. Myra Heerspink Scholz (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004), p. 221.

14   Helmer J. Helmers, 'Popular participation and public debate', in *The Cambridge companion to the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 145.

Van Zanden, who label Dutch society as one that through structured conversation—through discussions, eventually followed by a vote—endeavours to find answers to societal challenges.
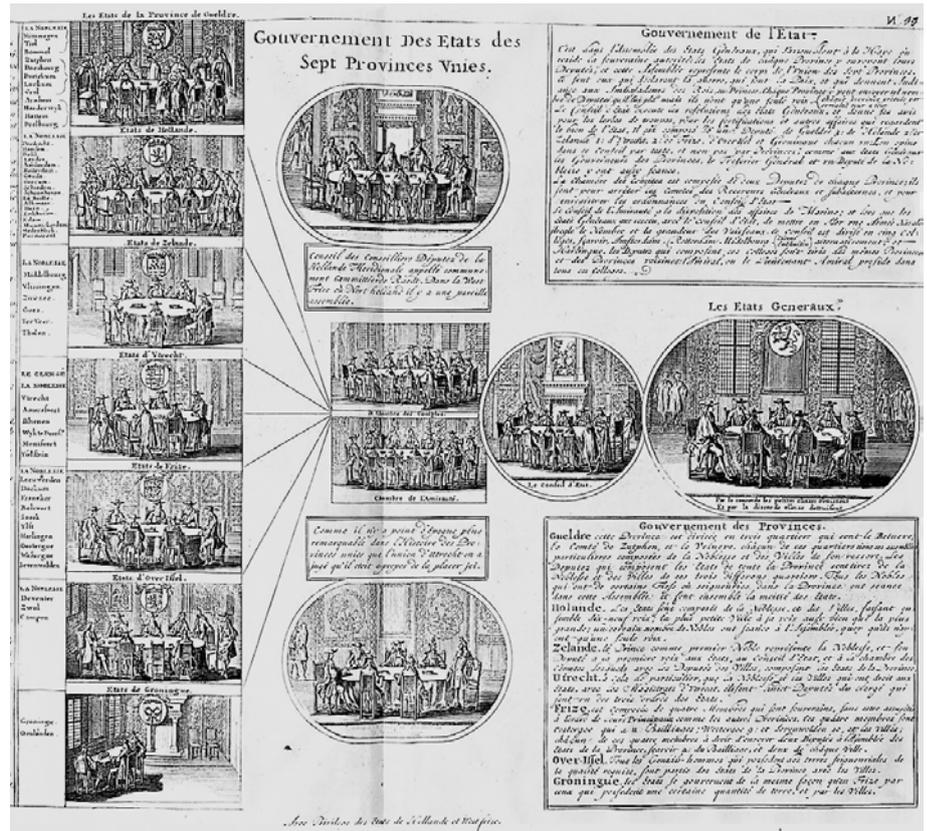
Fig. 13.1 *Gouvernement des États des Sept Provinces Unies*, by Henry Abraham Chatelain, 1721 (?). Museum Van Gijn, Dordrecht. See also Figs. 3.4 and 3.5.

In different shapes this has always been a characteristic of Dutch society since the Middle Ages.[15] It has made the Netherlands into a *vergaderland*,[16] a country of *vergaderen* (meaning originally gathering, later also: meeting). People come together in councils, boards, and committees, either in public or behind the scenes, to reach a compromise by persuading, governing through more or less ritualized meetings, the minutes of which are carefully drawn up and reported to the body's constituents. In the Republic of the United Netherlands (1581-1796/1798) this happened in a federal polity in which real differences in power were embedded in and covered by the formal equality of the participants in the decision-making process. The Dutch pragmatic consensus was achieved in 'a process in which communal action depended not on a simple majority vote but on a common consent achieved by negotiation and cooperation.'[17]

Consensus could be enforced, as was the case in drainage projects. The letters patent (see 5.3) imposed the dikers to provide *contentement* of landowners and cities, which was often achieved as a compromise (see below).

Boards and committees of *regenten* governed the Dutch Republic at national, regional, and local levels. They also controlled the Dutch East and West India Companies, the universities, charitable institutions, and more. Commanders of the army and the navy had to comply with the instructions of the deputies of the States General and the provincial States who participated in each war campaign. The trading posts of the United East India Company (VOC) were led by a director or senior merchant, together with the council of the establishment; a single-headed authority did not exist anywhere in the VOC. Even on board a VOC ship (see 7.3.2 and 10.2) the captain had to consult the ships' council, whose members were seated (and cast their vote) according to rank. The Reformed Church was governed by a synod, and each parish had a church council. Many of these councils, boards, and committees continued their work even during the reign of King Louis Napoleon (1806-1810), during the occupation by the French (1810-1813), and after the establishment of the Kingdom of The Netherlands in 1814-1815.

15 Dennis Bos, Maurits Ebben, and Henk te Velde (eds.), *Harmonie in Holland. Het poldermodel van 1500 tot nu* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008).

16 Wilbert van Vree, *Meetings, manners and civilization. The development of modern meeting behavior,* transl. Kathleen Bell (London etc.: Leicester University Press, 1999).

17 Jeffrey Robertson and Warwick Funnell, 'The Dutch East-India Company and accounting for social capital at the dawn of modern capitalism 1602-1623', *Accounting, organizations and society* 37, no.5 (2012): 347.

Of course, the unitary constitution of 1798 brought a centralized national government with it, but that did not mark an end to the 'meeting regime' or *habitus* of discussing, deliberating, and collegiate decision-making. In 1848 a new constitution granted more power to Parliament and more autonomy to provincial and local assemblies and executive committees. From the 1870s trade unions, political parties, social movements, and religious organizations became more and more important. From the 1890s the developing welfare state brought employers, workers, and the state together in corporatist arrangements (see 7.6.2.3). Corporatism appealed to social liberals, Protestants, Catholics, and socialists alike, each relating it to a different socio-political world view and embracing its accompanying consultative consensual practices.[18] These practices also characterized the specifically Dutch denominational segregation, known as 'pillarization' (*verzuiling*). Until the 1960s the Netherlands were divided up in a Catholic, a Protestant, a socialist, and a neutral (liberal) segment, the *zuilen* (pillars). Each *zuil* had its own trade unions, schools, mass media, hospitals, sports clubs, and consumers' associations. They all gathered in their own circle, deliberating, controlling, and making extensive minutes of their council and board meetings.

Verzuiling no longer dominates Dutch life, but Dutch people still show a 'seemingly insatiable need in the workplace to hold meetings, including meetings whose purpose is to schedule further meetings.'[19] And not only in the workplace; *vergaderen* is the lifeblood of every civic, cultural, political, or religious organization in the Netherlands—and often also abroad where immigrated Dutch people make their new fatherland into another *vergaderland.*

13.4 Archiving in the Polder Model

Dutch archiving systems reflect governance according to the Dutch consensual *polder model.* For centuries the backbone of these systems were the *resoluties*, decisions taken in a meeting (see 3.2, 3.3, and 10.5). Decision-making by councils and boards and minuting

18 Michael Wintle, *An economic and social history of the Netherlands, 1800–1920. Demographic, economic and social transition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 278.

19 Russell Shorto, *Amsterdam. A history of the world's most liberal city* (London: Little, Brown, 2013), p. 15.

their proceedings are not Dutch inventions. However, in complexity, the Dutch system surpassed any of the *Kollegialsysteme* in Germany and Austria.[20] Moreover, these Germanic systems lack the Dutch trait of ritualized consensus and reaching compromise.

The *Manual* by Muller, Feith, and Fruin stated that the volumes with *resoluties* usually are the main series of an archive, constituting, together with the protocols and accounts, 'the skeleton of the archive.'[21] In his foreword to the German edition of the *Manual*, Wilhelm Wiegand acknowledged that the collegial decision-making habits of the Republic of the United Netherlands did not exist in the same form in Germany, and that therefore it had taken him some time before the significance of the *resoluties* had become apparent.

In the *resolutie* system incoming and outgoing letters were arranged as annexes to the *resoluties*, forming one or more series. The *resoluties* were made accessible through indexes which referred to the *resoluties* and thereby to the annexes. In the course of time there have been different variants and innovations, but up to the present day the emphasis in archiving has been on collegiate decision-making, reflected in the *acta* or proceedings (*handelingen* or *notulen*).[22] Two stipulations are necessary. Even before the first constitution of 1798 introduced ministers (*agenten*) as heads of departments, there were officials who acted not as a member of a board or committee, but individually, for example the Stadholder, diplomats, and commissioners. Even so, their archiving resembled in many ways the *resolutie* system. Secondly, apart from the *resolutie* system and the *verbaal* system, there were other ways of arranging and aggregating documents which continued to be used and adapted into the 21st century: arrangement under subject headings (*rubrieken*) as in pigeonholes, or as subject files (as in the Zaalberg system). In these systems, however, generally a link or reference to a *resolutie* (or minutes of a meeting, a decision, or a decree) was maintained.

An archiving system still practiced widely in Dutch *vergaderland* is the 'meeting agenda system' (*vergaderagendastelsel*).[23] In this system the minutes and decisions do not form the backbone (as in the *resolutie* system) but are annexes to the agenda of the next meeting,

20 Michael Hochedlinger, *Aktenkunde. Urkunden- und Aktenlehre der Neuzeit* (Wien/ München: Böhlau Verlag/Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), p. 56

21 Paragraph 20 as amended by Muller, Feith and Fruin in 1905. See Horsman, Ketelaar, and Thomassen, 'Introduction', p. xxx; Horsman, Ketelaar, and Thomassen, 'New respect': 268.

22 My letter of appointment and the notice of my resignation are formally extracts from the register of proceedings of the board of the University of Amsterdam, although such a register is no longer used.

23 H.A.J. van Schie, *Registratuur van de Nederlandse overheidsadministratie in de negentiende eeuw* ('s-Gravenhage: Rijksarchiefschool, 1992), pp. 32-34.

together with other documents that are to be brought forward for consideration at the meeting. Even today, people assume that no business can be done in a meeting before the formal adoption of the agenda and the minutes of the previous meeting have been agreed (and before coffee has been served to mark the start of the meeting). The minutes and other documents are ordered per item on the agenda and kept together for each meeting. Indexes of names and subjects refer to the date of a meeting and to the appropriate point on the meeting agenda. There may be two chronological series of documents referring to the agenda, one of the minutes, another of the documents, drafts, and reports received and sent which have been discussed (or taken note of) at the meetings.

Fig. 13.2 Document marks used in the meeting agenda system (*vergaderagendastelsel*) of the Conference (*Convent*) of State Archivists since the 1980s. National Archives, *Algemeen Rijksarchief, Tweede Afdeling* (2.14.04), inv. nr. 263.

The meeting agenda system became popular by the end of the 19th century, once mechanical copying made it easy to copy the meeting documents and distribute the copies among the members of the meeting. It is used by all sorts of public and private committees, councils, and boards. Each member keeps his or her meeting documents. The secretary of the committee keeps the primary chronological series of agendas, minutes, and meeting documents, as well as the originals of letters received and sent, which may be formed into files. Sometimes meeting documents kept at a secretariat are destroyed because their content is preserved in the originals, but this makes it difficult to reconstruct the decision-making process because the bond between agenda, meeting, and meeting documents has been destroyed. The set of documents of a member may be destroyed if the secretary's archives are kept. Sometimes it is preserved due to the value of the annotations the committee member has made on the documents.

Even though the meeting agenda system may be found elsewhere in the world, it is so ingrained in the Dutch meeting culture as to warrant the characterization of a typically Dutch archiving practice.

13.5 VOC Shares

To identify other typically Dutch archiving practices one should obviously look for typically Dutch institutions. The United East India Company (VOC), founded in 1602, was the first company in history to sell shares to the public.[24] The VOC had to invent a system to archive the buying and selling of shares, or rather to adapt the way other joint ventures in shipping, trading, drainage, or milling (see 7.2, 7.6.1, 7.6.2, and 8.2.4) had registered their participants. The VOC was a merger of six smaller trading companies (*voorcompagnieën*), but the main difference between these partnerships and the VOC was that participants in the VOC registered their shares not with any of the participants, but with the company as such, and not for just one journey, but for a period of ten years. The VOC started to register the participants: one register in each of the six cities that had participated in the trade with

24 On the VOC shares and the sharemarket see J.G. van Dillen, *Het oudste aandeelhoudersregister van de Kamer Amsterdam der Oost-Indische Compagnie* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1958); Lodewijk Petram, *The world's first stock exchange*, transl. Lynne Richards (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

the Indies before 1602. Each participant (the term shareholder was not used) registered his or her (there were a small number of women taking a share in the company) promise to pay a specific sum into the stock. Upon payment of that sum or part thereof, the shareholder received a pre-printed quittance (*recepis*). For example, in 1602 Pieter Harmensz, city messenger (*stadsbode*) for the city of Enkhuizen, took a share (called an *actie*) in the VOC of 150 guilders, to be paid in instalments. In 1606 he paid the last instalment, for which he was issued a final quittance (Fig. 13.3).

These Dutch quittances were not share certificates that could be sold.[25] When a shareholder wanted to sell his share (or part thereof), he had to appear before the VOC Chamber which originally had registered the participation. The pre-printed deed of transfer had to be signed by the seller and one or two directors of the VOC. The chief accountant of the VOC would enter the sale in the register of transfers. In the grand ledger of shareholders each had a current account, with entries of the debts and claims which resulted from changes in a shareholder's portfolio. Forward selling was practiced as well: promising to sell and buy a share at some date in the future for a fixed price. This was laid down in a formal contract (Fig. 13.4). Forward selling was not new; it had been practiced for a long time in the grain trade, from which the indentured (see 7.3.2) form of the contract may have been adopted. Pre-printed forms for a forward contract could be bought at booksellers like Dirk Schouten (after his death in 1718 his widow continued the business), conveniently located on the Dam very near the Exchange.

Another quintessentially Dutch derivate was the negotiable certificate of deposit (*recepis*) introduced by the Amsterdam Exchange Bank in 1683 (see 8.4.1). When one deposited coins, gold, or silver with the bank, one received a receipt for the equivalent in bank money. This *recepis* could be traded, either as a whole or in parts. *Recepissen*, according to Pit Dehing, were very popular, especially with foreign merchants, not only because they enabled depositing precious metals temporarily at low cost, but also because one could speculate with a *recepis* at relatively low risk.[26]

25 John P. Shelton, 'The first printed share certificate. An important link in financial history', *Business history review* 39 (1965): 391-402; Oscar Gelderblom and Joost Jonker, 'Amsterdam as the cradle of modern futures and options trading, 1550-1650', in *The origins of value. The financial innovations that created modern capital markets*, ed. William N. Goetzmann and K. Geert Rouwenhorst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 189-205; Petram, *The world's first stock exchange*.

26 Pit Dehing, *Geld in Amsterdam. Wisselbank en wisselkoersen, 1650-1725* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2012), p. 271.
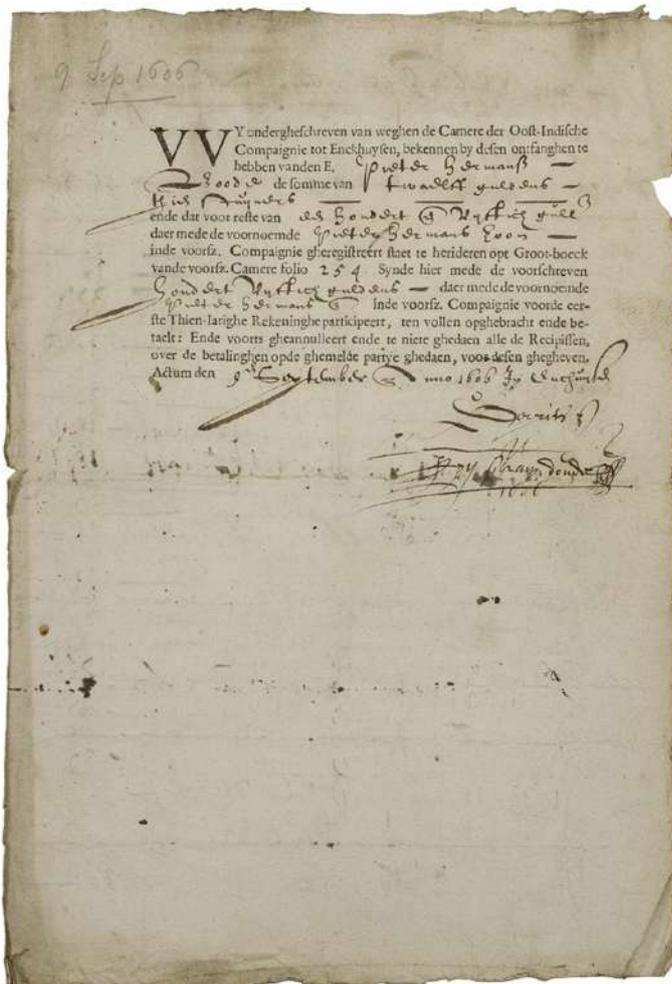
Fig. 13.3 Quittance for Pieter Harmensz issued by the Enkhuizen Chamber of the VOC, 1606. Westfries Archief, *Oud archief stad Enkhuizen* (0120), inv. nr. 1587a. This is the oldest of the five quittances which are preserved world-wide.
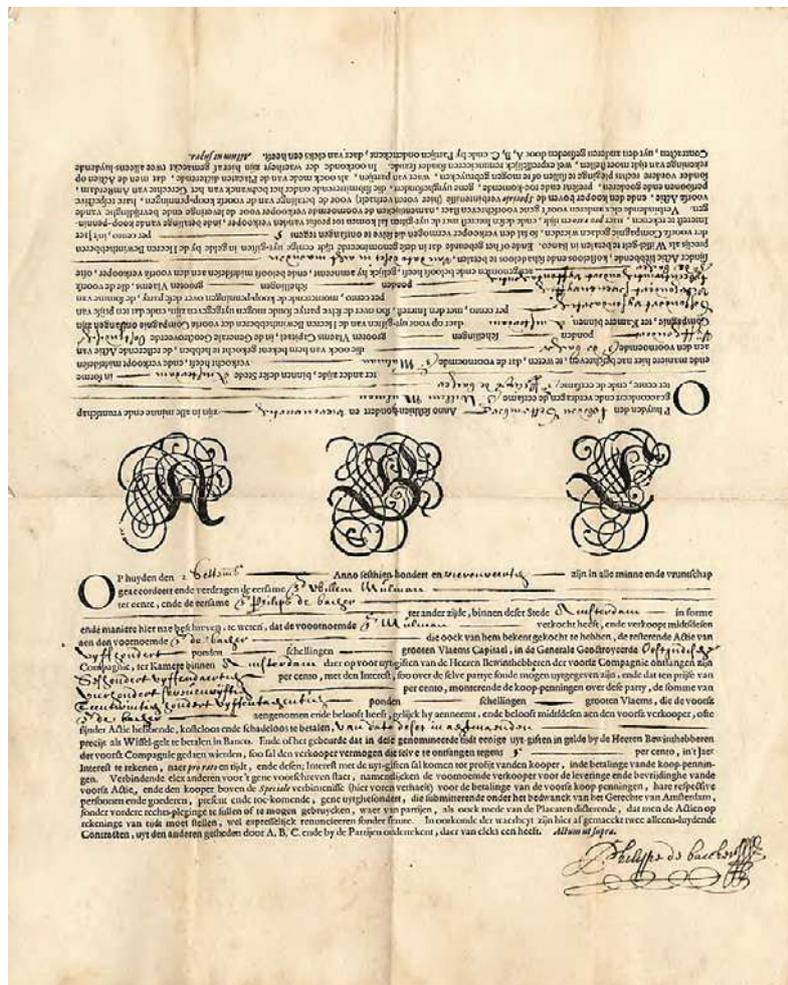
Fig. 13.4 Draft forward contract between Willem Muijlman and Philips de Baccher, 2 September 1644. National Archives, *Hof van Holland* (3.03.01.01), inv. nr. 10270. Upon concluding the contract, the sheet would be cut into two indentures.

The governance of the VOC followed the 'meeting regime' described earlier. The company was managed by a federal board of directors representing the six chambers, while each chamber had its own board of directors (see 10.5 and Fig. 10.0). One of the regular points on the agenda was a discussion of the annual *Generale Missive* and the directors' reply to be sent to the Governor-General and his council in Batavia. This was prepared by the Hague Committee (*Haags Besogne*), consisting of 14 members who met for seven to ten weeks daily for eight hours. Their work was strictly regulated:

> Firstly, the letters written by each quarter or office to the [Governor-] General and Councillors are read, generally starting with Ambon; then the responses to these letters by the General and Councillors, and then likewise from place to place and from office to office, following the order observed in the General Letter from the General and Councillors to the meeting of the [Lords] XVII.[27]

This strictly geographical classification (see 10.5) facilitated access and use of the papers from overseas. This, together with the reformatting and aggregation of the information, made the *Generale Missive* and the integrated *Overgekomen brieven en papieren* two special Dutch documentary genres.

13.6 Draining the Polder[28]

The term *polder model* refers to that particular Dutch institution the *polder*, made by diking and draining lakes and fenlands (see chapter 5). Dutch polders were articles of export. Since the late Middle Ages, experts in drainage from Holland, Zeeland, and Brabant were called in to manage projects abroad. In English early-modern drainage projects, for example, 'much of the technical expertise, design, organization, labor, and the system of financing for such ventures were all imported from the Low Countries before the civil war period.'[29] The system of financing and executing Dutch drainage implied a paper trail (see 5.3). The Dutch financers of the drainage of Hatfield Chase in England

27 Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, vol. 1, ed. F.W. Stapel ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1927), p. 313.

28 L.E. Harris, V*ermuyden and the Fens. A study of Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and the Great Level* (London: Cleaver-Hume Press, 1953); J. Korthals Altes, *Sir Cornelius Vermuyden. The lifework of a great Anglo-Dutchman in land-reclamation and drainage …* (Arno Press: New York, 1977); Piet van Cruyningen, 'Dealing with drainage. State regulation of drainage projects in the Dutch Republic, France, and England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Economic History Review* 68 (2015): 420-40.

29 Eric H. Ash, 'Reclaiming a new world. Fen drainage, improvement, and projectors in seventeenth-century England', *Early science and medicine* 21 (2016): 447.

(1626) were mostly rich Amsterdam merchants. They were shareholders of the VOC, but in contrast with many other VOC participants they had not been involved in the drainage of the Beemster lake (1612). It may be that they wanted to compensate for this missed opportunity by involving themselves in this English project. While that may be, they were undoubtedly informed of what a drainage entailed in terms of paperwork. Some of the documentary genres, such as surveys and estimates, were not typically Dutch, although technical knowledge was needed to draft these documents. In the beginning of the 17th century only Dutch dikers, mill builders, and other experts had this knowledge. The *compagnie* contract was new in England. Not before 1631 does one find a comparable form of collaboration and distribution of gains and expenses. Then the Earl of Bedford, together with 13 partners (who later formed the Bedford Level Company or the Society of Adventurers), began the drainage of the Great Level (the Fens of East Central England).

Also typically Dutch are the letters patent (*octrooi*) with the clause of *contentement*, obliging the investors to compromise with the owners of neighbouring land and other interested parties. In the agreement to drain Hatfield Chase it was left to the King to accord with the commoners and other parties. The entrepreneur, the Dutchman Cornelis Vermuyden, however, started drainage before such a settlement had been reached, resulting in fierce opposition by the commoners, bloody fights with the workmen, and litigation. If only Vermuyden had followed the *contentement* clause in Dutch letters patent!

Dutch letters patent for drainage were used in 1652 by Duke Frederick III of Schleswig-Holstein as a model for his contract with four Dutchmen to drain the isle of Nordstrand.[30] However, the *Oktroi-Vertrag* (in Dutch!) simply expropriated the landowners and did not contain the *contentement* and arbitration clauses which in Holland had facilitated the smooth course of the drainage projects.

This goes to show that the two documents needed to start a Dutch draining project (the *compagnie* contract and the letters of patent) were also used abroad, although not quite with the same effect they would have had in the Dutch consensus society.

30   Karl Kuenz, *Nordstrand nach 1634. Die wiedereingedeichte nordfriesische Insel* (Singen am Hohentwiel: Im Selbstverlag, 1978).

One of the rights granted by Duke Frederick to the participants in the drainage project was the right of the wind. In Holland one needed letters patent (a 'wind letter' or *windbrief*) from the sovereign to exploit a mill (Fig. 13.5; see also 7.6.1.1). In the process of granting the *windbrief* the rights and interests of third parties were considered expressly, just as was usual when granting letters patent for a drainage project. The *windbrief* and other components of the drainage genre system are typically Dutch.

Fig. 13.5 Wind letter (*windbrief*) granted by the Audit Office of Holland to Claes and Isbrant Claesz for the purpose of exploiting an oil mill in West Zaandam, 1623. City Archives Zaandam, *Gemeentebestuur Oost-Zaandam, West-Zaandam, Zaandam* (OA-0053), inv. nr. 325.

13.7 Trading and Rationing during the First World War

During the First World War the Netherlands was a neutral state. To regulate and control Dutch trade and shipping during wartime, the Netherland Oversea Trust Company (NOT) was established in 1914 (see 7.5). The NOT was a company with limited liability, but in fact an extension of government. It was governed by a Board of Governors, consisting of representatives of banking, trade, and shipping. From among its members the Board appointed an Executive Committee, which established three sub-committees. Their secretaries functioned as directors of the NOT, charged with implementing the decisions of the Board and the Executive Committee. In accordance with the 'meeting regime', the minutes of the meetings of these bodies form the backbone of the NOT archives. However, the NOT worked with more than 2,500 different specially designed forms. Many of these forms drew on well-known administrative practices, but some were invented by the NOT. Examples of the former are the bill of lading (waybill) and the certificate of origin, an example of the latter is the NOT certificate (fig. 13.6).

Besides the NOT there were a great number of State bureaus, committees, and other bodies to meet the economic crisis resulting from the war. All these institutions (and the municipalities as well) devised their own forms, registers, and certificates, for example the ration books and ration cards, introduced well before the United Kingdom instituted ration books. Much of the bureaucratic recordkeeping for rationing during the First World War was introduced again during the Second World War (see 7.6.1.2 and 7.6.2.3), and anew during the oil crisis of 1973.

Fig. 13.6 NOT-certificate, 1915, design Cato Berlage. National Archives, *Crisisinstellingen* (2.06.079), inv. nr. 1711.

13.8 Comparative Archival History

Each of the examples presented thus far would lend itself as a starting point for research in social, cultural, and political contexts outside the Netherlands. The Dutchness of Dutch archives may therefore be regarded as a hypothesis to work from. Whenever we find commonalities, we must ask whether these are accidental or due to conscious adoption from abroad (13.2). More research is needed into the transfer of archival knowledge between agents in different countries.

The *resolutie* system is believed to be typical for the Dutch *vergaderland* and its collegiate consensual decision-making (13.3 and 13.4). It is an example of the influence of cultural (and mostly tacit) norms on archiving. Current research focusing on information culture and recordkeeping may benefit from a historical analysis spanning national boundaries.[31]

The Dutch East India Company (VOC) had to invent a system to archive the buying and selling of shares (13.5). The large drainage projects necessitated archiving in new forms as well (13.6). The Netherland Oversea Trust Company (NOT) had to establish archiving systems from scratch and without precedent (13.7). Undoubtedly there were more cases of newly established institutions that had to find solutions for archiving of new activities. Did they search for examples that could be adapted, just as the VOC must have been inspired by the archiving of joint ventures in shipping, trading, drainage, and milling? Which factors determined the choices? To what extent, for example, were the archiving elements of the rationing systems set up in various countries in the First World War and the Second World War (13.7) 'original' or 'import'? Comparative research of these questions in the past may lead to a better insight in comparable challenges in the present.

The aim of such comparative research should be to try to answer questions like 'Why does a particular archival system or strategy or methodology work well in a particular social and cultural and economic environment, and not well in others?'[32] One might put it differently

31   Gillian Oliver and Fiorella Foscarini, *Records management and information culture. Tackling the people problem* (London: Facet, 2014). See also Eric Ketelaar, 'The difference best postponed? Cultures and comparative archival science', *Archivaria* 44 (1997): 142-48.

32   Ketelaar, 'Difference best postponed': 147.

by referring to the model of the archiving context (Fig. 0.2). What were the archivalization (and other) factors steering archiving (or non-archiving)? These factors are a reflection not only of the 'why, who, what, and how' of human endeavour, but also of societal challenges, patterns, and norms and vice versa: archiving that conditions or facilitates societal practices.

I am convinced that continuing comparative research in archival history should look beyond archives as-a-product and try to uncover factors of archivalization. As Randolph Head argues, 'Considerable additional research is needed before we will fully understand how changes in archival practice were connected to changes in political institutions and culture, and to broader cultural transformations.'[33] This additional research will benefit from analyses of archiving in the social context of activities (work processes) of communities, organizations, and individuals in different domains and in different times. My book is one such an analysis, for a specific country, that may be used in further comparative research by Dutch and foreign scholars.

33   Randolph C. Head, 'Historical case studies of pre-modern European archives. A comparative approach, in Research in the archival multiverse, ed. Anne J. Gilliland, Sue McKemmish and Andrew J. Lau (Clayton: Monash University Press, 2016), pp. 451-2.

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About the Author

Eric Ketelaar (1944) is Emeritus Professor at the University of Amsterdam. From 1997 to 2009 he was Professor of Archivistics in the Department of Media Studies of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Amsterdam. Educated as a lawyer and legal historian, he received his LLM (1967) and LLD (cum laude) degrees from Leiden University. He was Assistant Lecturer of Legal History at Leiden University, Secretary of the Archives Council, Director of the Dutch State School of Archivists, and Assistant to the General State Archivist. In 1980 he was appointed Deputy General State Archivist. Four years later he moved to Groningen to become State Archivist of that province. He was General State Archivist (National Archivist) of The Netherlands from 1989-1997.

From 1992-2002 he held the chair of archivistics in the Department of History of the Leiden University. In 2000/2001 he was The Netherlands Visiting Professor at the University of Michigan (School of Information), and from 2003 to 2008 he was Honorary Professor at Monash University, Melbourne where he until 2018 continued to be involved as an Adjunct Senior Research Fellow in the Faculty of Information Technology.

He has served the Royal Association of Archivists in the Netherlands as Vice President, and President, and was Chairman of the Steering Committee on Automation. In 1987 the Society awarded him with the first Hendrik van Wijn medal for his work as editor of the series of thirteen guides to the archival repositories in the Netherlands. In 2009 he was elected an honorary member of the Society.

He was Secretary for Standardization of the International Council on Archives (ICA) from 1980-1984. The following eight years he was Secretary of the International Conference of the Round Table on Archives. From 1996-2000 he was Chairman of the Program Management Commission of ICA, Vice-President and (1998-2000) Acting President of ICA. In September 2000 he was appointed Honorary President of ICA.

His keynote address Exploitation of new archival materials at the 1984 International Congress on Archives was translated into six languages. He has presented papers at conferences and seminars in several countries, including lecture tours in Australia and South Africa, and on a wide range of subjects: archival training, legislation, professional ethics, standards, access, appraisal, electronic records.

He wrote some 450 articles and wrote or co-authored several books, including two general introductions on archival research and a handbook on Dutch archives and records management law. From the foundation in 2001 of Archival Science, he was one of the editors-in-chief. Since 2014 he is a member of the Editorial Board.

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