

Map Matters



Issue 35

Spring /November 2018

This is the Spring 2018 edition of *Map Matters*, the newsletter of the Australia on the Map Division of the Australasian Hydrographic Society.

Dear Readers,



Spring has sprung, and we are advancing into summer soon. That also means we are leading up to Christmas and summer holidays. Busy days followed by lazy, hot days. January is reading time. So, if you don't have time to read this Map Matters issue when you receive it, I am sure you will find time in January. We have some interesting articles for you. Last issue Trevor Lipscombe announced his *Cook's Legacy Mallacoota* event. This time we have the report of that first *Restoring Cook's Legacy* event. It was mentioned in the Sydney Morning Herald and received good participation.

Robert King contributed an article with interesting information about the visit of the First Fleet to Rio de Janeiro, when on its way to NSW. He reveals many facts about the previous engagements of Arthur Phillip in the region. A history that benefitted the First Fleet.

Peter Reynders writes about the Dutch politician who was the driving force behind the founding of the VOC. The 400th anniversary of his death is forthcoming, but not likely to be commemorated.

As always, contributions and suggestions are welcome. Please send material for Map Matters to me at the email address at the bottom of this newsletter, or post them to me at: #130, PWA Village, 58 Collingwood Rd, Birkdale Qld 4159.

Enjoy Reading.

Marianne Pietersen
Editor

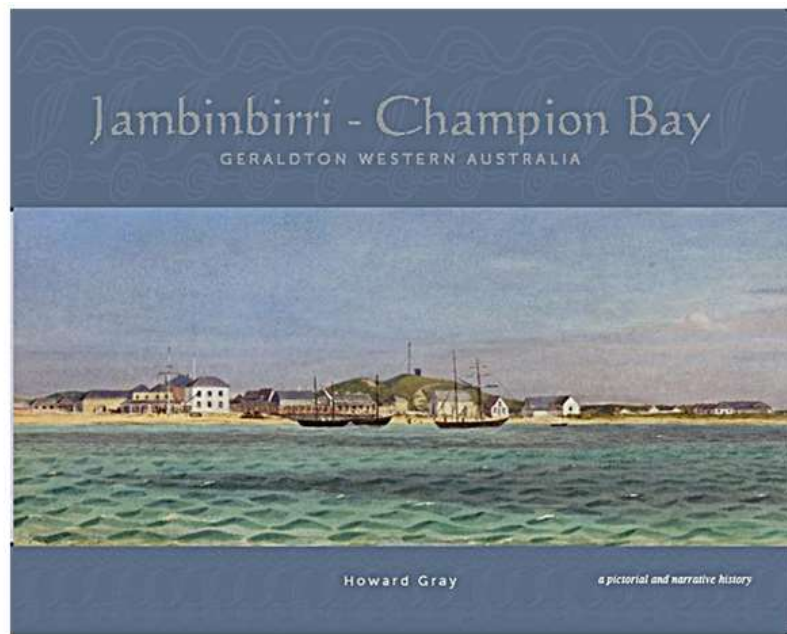
NEWS

A special invitation

to the launch of a stunning book that tells the fascinating history of Jambinbirri-Champion Bay. Award-winning maritime historian Howard Gray has brought together over 300 old charts, rare paintings, drawings and historical and modern photographs to superbly illustrate events on 'the Bay' from 400 years ago to the present.

6pm Wednesday 5th December 2018
at the Sunset Bar, Broadwater Resort Hotel
296 Chapman Road Geraldton
RSVP to westralianbooks@westnet.com.au
hosts, Scott and Margaret Cogar.

Why not book a table at the Broady for dinner afterwards?
08-99653776



Abel Tasman Portrait Loan

A portrait of Abel Tasman, his wife and daughter is on loan from the National Library of Australia to the Groninger Museum in Groningen, Netherlands. The work has been attributed to Jacob Cuyp in 1637. However, questions have been asked about the validity of these attributions, and the Groninger museum will try to establish if Cuyp did indeed paint it. The portrait is on display at the museum until 6 January 2019.



	<p>Old Map Matters Issues</p>
	<p>We are trying to find electronic copies of old Map Matters issues so we can complete the issues posted on the NLA's Trove.</p> <p>Issues we are missing are: Map Matters 1 through 7; Map Matters 12 and 13, Map Matters 18, 19 and 20.</p> <p>If you have a copy of any of these old issues, it would be much appreciated if you could email them to me at: mep@pcug.org.au.</p> <p>Editor</p>
	<p>Commemorative Activities for Quadracentenary of Discovery of SW Australia</p>
	<p>The 400th anniversary of the discovery of the south-west of WA by Frederik de Houtman will be in July 2019. I have previously sent some info out and plans are developing here in the west with a brilliant coordinator coming on board.</p> <p>Activities include installation of commemorative structures at Safety Bay, Geraldton, The Houtman Abrolhos Islands, and potentially Discoverer's Park in the ACT. We have a rather special piece in the works which I would love to see erected in the ACT, a good opportunity to have a commemorative event.</p> <p>Any feedback or suggestions are to be directed to: Dr Howard Gray, Instigator, Houtman 400 Celebrations, P.O. Box 1559, GERALDTON Western Australia 6530 hsgray@midwest.com.au 0427065060</p>

Articles

	<p>Report on the Commemoration of the 250th anniversary of Lt James Cook's Departure in <i>HMB Endeavour</i> from Plymouth UK on 25 August 1768, held at Mallacoota, Victoria , Australia, 25/26 August, 2018</p>
	<p style="text-align: right;">Trevor J Lipscombe</p> <p>Restoring Cook's Legacy 2020 is a project of Australia on the Map, the history and heritage Division of the Australasian Hydrographic Society. The Project aims to correct the record of the places Cook saw and named on the coasts of Victoria and New South Wales, several of which appear on today's maps in the wrong place. The commemoration at Mallacoota was initiated by the Project and organised in cooperation with U3A Mallacoota, Mallacoota Footmobiles, and the Mallacoota and District Historical Society.</p>

The event was probably the only one in Australia to directly commemorate Cook's departure, and possibly the only one in the world.

Why commemorate Cook's 1768 departure at Mallacoota? Shortly after Cook left Plymouth he recorded sighting Ram Head, Cornwall UK, a prominent point with a 'round hillick' at its end. When Cook arrived on the Australian coast, 20 months later in April 1770, the first land feature he named bore a remarkable resemblance to Ram Head, Cornwall, so he named it Ram Head. As a result of this remarkable topographical coincidence Cook's point of departure from UK is neatly linked with his point of arrival in Australia, and Ram Head, Victoria, is the first place in Australia to be named after a place in Britain. The nearest town to Cook's Australian Ram Head is Mallacoota.

The weekend's events commenced on Saturday afternoon with an illustrated talk, attended by more than 60 people, 'Lt James Cook on the coast of Victoria 1770 – a Comedy of Errors'. It was given by Trevor Lipscombe who has researched and had published a number of articles on the three Cook place names on this coast. Trevor explained that the first name that Cook gave, Point Hicks, was not a land feature at all but was attached to a cloudbank out at sea, a common illusion experienced on by many mariners in the area, including Mathew Flinders who had left Point Hicks off of this charts. While several hydrographers since 1907 have independently arrived at the same understanding, historians, led by Ernest Scott more than a century ago, came to the conclusion that Cape Everard was in fact Point Hicks. They persuaded the Federal Government in 1924 to place a plaque on the Cape claiming it was Point Hicks. The plaque is still there. Despite protests by hydrographers, when the bicentenary of Cook's voyage came round in 1970, historians persuaded the Government of Victoria to rename Cape Everard as Point Hicks, a name it still bears.

Since Cook's Point Hicks does not exist as a land feature, Ram Head assumes a new importance as the first land feature on the Australian coast named by Cook. Today most people believe it is at today's Rame Head, 20 kms west of Little Rame Head. However the point that Cook named is in fact Little Rame Head. Again, this location has been independently arrived at by a number of surveyors and hydrographers using Cook's primary data, the ship's log, Cook's journal and his chart. A proposal was submitted to Office of Geographic Names, Victoria, in April 2018 requesting that Little Rame Head be renamed as Ram Head as Cook intended nearly 250 years ago. No response has yet been received.

Trevor also explained why Telegraph Point near Gabo Island was not Cook's Cape Howe. A number of reputable sources claim this to be the case on the basis of an article in Victorian Historical Magazine in 1971.

Mallacoota based poet and historian Leanne Wicks then read her poem specially written for the occasion:

'The Tortoise with a Blue Coat', a poem to Captain James Cook

You've always been in my life, Captain.
I have treasured
this 1970 fifty-cent coin, bestowed upon me at birth.
The image of you haloed with the east coast of Australia;
Land that faces the dawn.
A shape ingrained in my heart
as familiar as my own hand
yet drawn by your hand
in waves of coastline font
pressed into parchment.

White picket fence schooling
taught that you discovered this Great South Land
but Plato knew it was here somewhere.
The Peoples you saw in this land
unaware that your modern endeavours
would soon tear at ancient shores.

The Fleets chased your charts
dumping my ancestors' hearts in Sydney town.
Your grey statue in Hyde Park,
gesturing to the sky,
seemed to ask what I was going to achieve.

But I've never cared about the distance from the earth to the sun
or following Venus until eternity's won.
I won't seek over the prow 'til smudges become land
or judge the readings of compasses and men.

A geography textbook had you on the cover.
That determined gaze from
days of relentless sea.
I could see it in your face,
reflected in that blue coat.
Cerulean waters of the world
sit so well on your shoulders,
rolling lapis and cobalt along azure arms.
Your head held just so,
about to tell me some pearl of wisdom.

Waves of knowledge flowed from that image.
I wanted a desk like yours.
Solid, confident, brown like our eyes,
with room enough for a spectacular hat.

And as I grew, I mused the logistics.
How did you make it in that tiny collier?

Nine metres wide
with nearly a century crew.
New flora and fauna to fit inside.
Fresh food, mirrors, beads.
fruit, parrot pies,
plenty of lashes

and a tortoise . . .
They told me that a large tortoise
at Taronga had sailed with you.
I touched it's wizened shell
thinking you may have done so, too.

II

Were you afraid of
the krakens,
or the heartbeats of colourful cultures,
the white shrouds of so many dead sailors?
Was the burden of being the
bright blue bead of His Majesty's abacus
beyond bearing?
Did you find God in the vastness of
this Great South Land of the Holy Spirit?
Whitsundays, Trinity Bay,
Pentecost Islands:
are these simply named after
entries in the prayer book
your wife gave you?

I'm sure Elizabeth prayed for your return
to help her bury children
who suckled whilst your career sparkled;
Was family life your mariner's albatross?

III

Some think you deserved
the spear in your back.
Some have sprayed offence.
Others would say you were a man of your time.

Had you have known that
a tarred piece of your ship
would fly to the stars
in the second Endeavour,
I think you would have swapped places.

Leanne Wicks

Peter Reynders, Executive Officer of Australia on the Map, then introduced the session “A Sea Shanty sung by Cook’s sailors”. Peter explained that he had chosen this particular shanty because it referred to several coastal places including Ram Head (Cornwall, UK). Its title, Spanish Ladies, was a lament for the women that the sailors had left behind when they returned to England. When British sailors reached Australia, they brought these songs with them and the tunes were reused and the lyrics reworded. Spanish Ladies became Brisbane Ladies and the sailors became drovers. Peter then led the audience in singing the shanty, accompanied by him on his electronic keyboard.

Sue Brown, U3A Mallacoota, Liz Mackay, Mallacoota Footmobiles, and Leanne Wicks, poet and historian, were each then presented with a Captain Cook bottlebrush shrub in appreciation of their community spirit and their work to make the occasion possible.

The audience enjoyed refreshments provided by U3A Mallacoota, a display of books and other Cook memorabilia, along with press cuttings relating to Cook’s 1768 Departure from Plymouth and the Restoring Cook’s Legacy 2020 Project. There was also an opportunity to meet and talk with the presenters. There was considerable discussion about mounting events in Mallacoota to commemorate the 250th anniversary of Cook’s arrival on the Australian coast. The Restoring Cook’s Legacy 2020 Project and Captain Cook Society, Australia, promised to give support and assistance to any such initiative.

On Sunday morning about 20 people took the potholed road 15 kms south to Shipwreck Creek. A short stroll onto a headland brought us to a view of Little Rame Head, Cook’s Ram Head, about 6 kms to the south west. A toast was drunk to Lt James Cook and his comrades on *Endeavour* to commemorate the 250th anniversary of their departure from Plymouth.



A smaller party of nine then set off for the 7 kms walk to Cook's Ram Head on a sunny late winter day. This is a wonderfully scenic walk through a pristine wilderness area of heath and forest. Wattles and heathland wildflowers lined the path. On the ascent to Cook's 'round hillick' walkers enjoyed fine views to the west, the direction of Cook's approach. A further toast was drunk here, and the party reflected on the beginning of Cook's voyage which would bring him to this point 20 months later having sailed over halfway round the world in the tiny ex collier. While Ram Head UK has an ancient chapel on its summit, its Australian namesake sports a modern solar powered navigation light.



Great views to Gabo Island and Cape Howe to the east, and of the wilderness coast towards Cook's first Australian landfall to the west



Later in the afternoon six Cook enthusiasts took to the skies in a tiny aircraft to view and photograph Cook's Ram Head from his direction of approach. The photo demonstrates that, from Cook's position when he observed Ram Head, it would have been at the end of the coast in view, making it the 'remarkable point' which Cook recorded, and a fine landmark to guide future mariners.



Cook's Ram Head from the west. The white dot is the navigation light on the 'round hillick', the steep slope of which can be seen on the landward side.

TL

Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet at Rio de Janeiro

Robert J. King

The *Gazeta de Lisboa* of 21 December 1787 carried a report from Rio de Janeiro saying that on the previous 6 August an English fleet had called there, commanded by Commodore “Artur Filippe”, on its way with colonists to populate Botany Bay. “All the English Officers”, it said, “received the greatest gifts from the Viceroy and most distinguished persons of that city”.

LISBOA 21 de Dezembro.
Do Rio de Janeiro escrevem que a 6 d'Agosto passado aportára alli huma frota Inglesa, commandada pelo Comodoro Artur Filippe, e composta de huma fragata, huma chalupa, e nove navios de transporte, os quaes conduzião os novos Colonos que vão povoar a Bahia Botanica, situada na parte Oriental da Nova Hollanda. Todos os Officiaes Ingleses receberão alli os maiores obsequios da parte do Vice-Rei, e mais pessoas distintas daquella cidade. A dita frota se tornou a fazer á vela a 4 de Setembro.

This was confirmed by an unnamed officer of the fleet, who said in a letter published in *The Whitehall Evening Post* of 29 January 1788 that, “the Portuguese have shewn us every proof of the most friendly regard and attention. His Excellency the Viceroy has condescended to express the highest approbation of the plan, and to add his warmest wishes, for its success; the inhabitants, indeed, at large, interest themselves more in our favour than we had a right to expect: perhaps it is not forgotten here, nor should it be unremembered in England, that this flourishing and important colony was originally settled and peopled, on a plan exactly similar to that which is the object of the present expedition”.



‘City of St. Sebastião, Rio de Janeiro: Sirius & Convoy at Anchor. 1787’, William Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales, December 1786 - May 1792*; compiled 1802. Mitchell library, State Library of New South Wales, at:

http://digital.sl.nsw.gov.au/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?embedded=true&toolbar=false&dps_pid=IE1113857&ga=2.232934937.626560135.1540877544-1699827091.1540877544

Arthur Phillip was held in high regard in Portugal and Brazil from the significant contribution he made to the defence of Brazil during his period of service in the Portuguese navy from 1775 to 1778. The supplies his fleet received at Rio de Janeiro in 1787 were essential for the successful founding of the new colony in New South Wales, and their provision was greatly facilitated by Phillip's good reputation. Watkin Tench, a Captain of Marines, observed: "Some part, indeed, of the numerous indulgences we experienced during our stay here must doubtless be attributed to the high respect in which the Portuguese held Governor Phillip, who was for many years a captain in their navy and commanded a ship of war on this station, in consequence of which many privileges were extended to us, very unusual to be granted to strangers".¹

Phillip was recruited in January 1775 to the small fleet commanded by Robert McDouall, an officer on secondment from the British Navy, which had been formed to defend Brazil's maritime frontier by Martinho de Mello e Castro, Portugal's Minister for the Colonies and the Navy. Phillip had attained the rank of lieutenant in the British Navy during the Seven Years War, and on entering the Portuguese service was given the rank of *capitão de mar e guerra*. Upon arrival in Rio de Janeiro he was given command of a 26-gun frigate, the *Nossa Senhora do Pilar* and in September 1775 was sent to the frontier settlement of Colônia do Sacramento on the Rio de la Plata.² Colônia was then under close blockade by Spanish forces, although Spain and Portugal had been formally at peace since the end of the Seven Years War in 1763. Colônia had been captured by Spanish forces in October 1762 but, although a Portuguese attempt to re-take it in January 1763 had been rebuffed, diplomatic considerations had caused it to be restored to Portugal under the peace treaty. On his voyage there, Phillip in the *Pilar* transported a consignment of *degradados* (convicts sentenced to forced labour) and some troops. During the voyage a severe epidemic of sickness broke out, and Phillip was forced to call upon the *degradados* for help to save the ship, the troops having refused assistance. In return, he promised to recommend an alleviation of their sentences, which was done after the *Pilar* arrived safely at Colônia. This was later reported in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* of 3 April 1787:

It is said that this Officer [Commodore Philips], while he was in the service of Portugal, was at one time charged with the transport of convicts who had been exiled to the States of Brazil. During the voyage there was so much sickness on board the ship that almost all the crew became ill. There being no-one to man the ship, Mr. Philips picked the most intelligent of his prisoners to make up the deficiency, and knew that with such a strong spur as the hope of reward, and by his own resolution, that they would work the ship until she reached America, as well as making their fellows behave with due moderation. The Commander spoke in recommendation of them in the country to which he had brought them, and when he returned to Lisbon obtained for them their liberty, and in addition they were granted portions of land in Brazil, where they settled.

From mid-December 1775 until his recall to Rio de Janeiro in November 1776, except for the period from the beginning of January to mid-April 1776 when he was sent to cruise off the Rio de la Plata estuary, Phillip remained on station at Colônia as commodore, for most of that time with only his own ship to command. Phillip advised the Viceroy, the Marquis de Lavradio, in a despatch dated 18 November 1776, that the *praça* badly needed provisions and armed corvettes, stating that his ship was the only war vessel there. He added, "I do not speak to Yr.Excy. of the danger to the ships which come to this *praça* from the Spanish Guarda Costas, which are always going around, nor of the force which would be needed in this River if War breaks out, which Yr.Excy. knows better than I can say."³

The Spanish had fitted out a number of sloops as *guarda costas*, to harry and capture Brazilian fishing and trading vessels sailing to Colônia. Phillip saw it as his duty to act vigorously to keep off the *guarda costas*, even though the Governor of the *praça*, Francisco José da Rocha, feared that this might provoke the Spanish land forces to attack in retaliation. Phillip, however, did not hesitate to fire on the Spanish vessels when they refused to salute the Portuguese flag, and the risk paid off as the *guarda costas* were from then on more circumspect toward the Portuguese shipping, causing some easing of the blockade.⁴ Phillip's conduct at Colônia was praised by Lavradio, in a report on the officers of the fleet written on 22 October 1777: "When at Colônia, with only his own Frigate, he made the Spanish respect that Praça as they ought to".⁵

The war of which Phillip spoke broke out in earnest as a result of Portugal's re-capture of the *vila* of Rio Grande in April 1776 from the Spanish forces which had captured it during the Seven Years War. An aroused Spain organized a fleet of over 100 ships under the command of Admiral Casa Tilly, to convey an army of 10,000 men under the command of Pedro de Cevallos from Cadiz, with the object of capturing the island of Santa Catarina and all the coast south of it to the Rio de la Plata. The captured territory was to be added to the territory ruled from Buenos Aires, and Cevallos was appointed first Viceroy of the enlarged province. To meet this threat, Lavradio ordered McDouall to concentrate his fleet of nine warships, including Phillip's *Pilar*, to defend Santa Catarina.

McDouall's squadron sailed from Rio de Janeiro on 1 April 1777 with the object of cutting the Spanish supply lines between Santa Catarina and the Rio de la Plata. On 19 April, the *San Agustin*, a Spanish line-of-battle ship of 70 guns coming from Montevideo, ran into McDouall's ships off Santa Catarina. José de Mello e Brayner in the *Prazeres* and Arthur Phillip in the *Pilar* led the attack on the *San Agustin*, despite the superior armament of the Spanish ship, and both were able to score hits. After an all-night chase, the *San Agustin* at dawn ran into McDouall with all his ships and after a short action struck her colours.⁶ The action was reported in the English press:

Madrid, Aug. 28. Letters from Lisbon bring the following Account from Rio Janeiro: That the St. Augustine, of 70 Guns, having being separated from the Squadron of M. Casa Tilly, was attacked by two Portuguese Ships, against which they defended themselves for a Day and a Night, but being next Day surrounded by the Portuguese Fleet, was obliged to surrender.⁷

Lavradio was impressed with Phillip's audacity in attacking a 70-gun warship with his 26 gun frigate, as he recorded in a despatch of 2 June 1777 to Mello e Castro: "Captain Arthur Phillips came up with his Frigate, and was allowed by the enemy to get close, because they thought this vessel was one of their own, as they were unable to convince themselves that a vessel so small and so weak in artillery would venture to attack a 70-gun Ship. It was only when Captain Arthur gave them a broadside that they became aware that the Frigate was ours."⁸ The *San Augustin* was commissioned into the Portuguese Navy as the *Santo Agostinho*, and command of her was given to Phillip.

The war came to an end in August 1777, when news reached Brazil that the courts of Portugal and Spain had agreed on a truce, which on 1 October was converted into peace by the Treaty of San Ildefonso. The Treaty declared a comprehensive settlement of all territorial disputes between the two monarchies, in both the western and eastern hemispheres. Santa Catarina was returned to Portugal, Portuguese possession of Rio Grande was recognized, and Portugal resigned the claim to Colônia. In

order to remove every cause of discord, "even with respect to the dominions in Asia," Portugal ceded to Spain all rights to the Philippines, Marianas and adjacent islands which might have been claimed under the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas or the 1529 Treaty of Zaragoza.⁹

Spain was prepared to be generous to Portugal because of the prospect of war with Britain. Britain's North American colonies had declared their independence on 4 July 1776, and were already receiving aid from Spain and France: "It is no more a secret," wrote a correspondent to *The Morning Chronicle* of 21 August 1776, "that the Americans have not a single piece of cannon but what is sent to them from France and Spain". France declared war on Britain in support of the Americans in July 1778. Phillip learned of this upon his arrival back in Lisbon in August (he had been assigned to the escort of a convoy from Rio de Janeiro), and decided to leave the Portuguese service and return to the British Navy. On 24 August he resigned his commission and a month later took passage for England. He carried a letter from Mello e Castro praising his service, stating that the Queen had been unable to refuse his "admirable resolve" to serve his country, and conveying her wish that he find promotion in the British Navy.¹⁰ The British Ambassador in Lisbon, Robert Walpole, advised his government in a despatch dated 19 September 1778:

Monsieur de Mello has desired that I would acquaint Your Lordship, that this Court is extremely satisfied with the conduct of this Gentleman, & that he has served in the Brasils with great Zeal & Honour, that from the Representation that the Vice-Roy of the Brasils has made of Mr. Phillip's Service & Capacity, this Court was very desirous of continuing him in their Employ, but the present Circumstances of the War with France, having engaged Mr. Phillip to desire his dismissal in order that he may return to the Service of his Country, Her Most Faithful Majesty has with great reluctance granted it to him.¹¹

Phillip's confidence for his future in the Royal Navy would have been increased by his consciousness that besides the letter of recommendation from Mello e Castro he carried with him items of more concrete value. These were the charts of the coasts and ports of Brazil and the Rio de la Plata which he had made or copied during his period of service. The coasts and ports of Brazil were little known in England at that time, and information concerning them could prove useful for Britain. Spain's entry into the war against Britain in June 1779 opened opportunities for Phillip to put his knowledge of South America to advantage as the British Government took up plans to attack Spain's possessions in that part of the world.

Phillip wrote on 19 July 1780 to the Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, offering his services.¹² Sandwich responded positively, for Phillip had the information Sandwich needed to assist in planning a naval expedition under the command of George Johnstone to capture the Spanish treasure fleet assembling at Buenos Aires. Phillip was thus drawn into contact with the highest ministers of state, for the task of Sandwich and the Admiralty was to assist the Secretary of State for Home and American Affairs, Lord Germain, who had overall responsibility for conduct of the war against the American rebels and their European allies. Germain, Sandwich and Johnstone also consulted Phillip's former commander in Brazil, Robert McDouall, who had also resigned from the Portuguese service.¹³ A letter from Phillip to Sandwich of 17 January 1781 records Phillip's loan to Sandwich of his charts of the Rio de la Plata and Brazilian coasts for use in organising the expedition. The expedition sailed on 12 March 1781, with the additional object of first attempting the capture of Cape Town from the Dutch, who had now joined the war against Britain. However, on the way to the Cape the fleet was mauled at the Azores by a French squadron under Admiral de Suffren, which then sailed on to reinforce the Dutch at Cape Town. Suffren's

action blocked the expedition from achieving its objectives.¹⁴ Despite this setback, the strategy of making naval attacks on Spain's American empire remained attractive to the British Government.

Robert McDouall had sailed with the expedition, but had been detached from it to sail to Rio de Janeiro in the *Shark* sloop, where he had obtained information on Spanish defences from Captain William Robarts, one of his former subordinates still serving in the Portuguese Navy.¹⁵ The information obtained by McDouall was used in planning the next expedition against Spanish America, which Lord Shelburne, who had succeeded Germain as Secretary of State for Home and American Affairs in a change of government, was determined to proceed with. In July 1782, in a change of government, Germain was in turn succeeded by Thomas Townshend, who therewith assumed responsibility for organising an expedition against Spanish America. Like his predecessor, Germain, he turned for advice to Arthur Phillip.¹⁶ Phillip's plan was for a squadron of three ships of the line and a frigate to mount a raid on Buenos Aires and Monte Video, thence to proceed to the coasts of Chile, Peru and Mexico to maraud, and ultimately to cross the Pacific to join Admiral Hughes' East Indian squadron for an attack on Manila. The expedition, consisting of the *Grafton*, 70 guns, *Elizabeth*, 74 guns, *Europe*, 64 guns, and the *Iphigenia* frigate, sailed on 16 January 1783, under the command of Commodore Robert Kingsmill.¹⁷ Phillip was given command of the *Europe*.¹⁸ Shortly after sailing, an armistice was concluded between Great Britain and Spain. Phillip learnt of this in April when he put in for storm repairs at Rio de Janeiro. Rather than return immediately to England to be paid off, he decided to sail on to India by the Cape of Good Hope to join Admiral Hughes at Madras.

By this time, mid-1783, Lord Sandwich, together with the President of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Banks, was advocating establishment of a British colony in New South Wales.¹⁹ A colony in that part of the world would be of great assistance to the Royal Navy in facilitating attacks on the Spanish possessions in Chile and Peru, as Banks's collaborators, James Matra, Captain Sir George Young and Sir John Call pointed out in written proposals on the subject. Banks had great influence on government policy through his position as trusted adviser to the Home Office and Admiralty and Matra's proposal had been drawn up under his direction.

After his return to England from India in April 1784, Phillip remained in close contact with Townshend, now Lord Sydney, and the Home Office Under-Secretary, Evan Nepean. From October 1784 to September 1786 he was employed by Nepean, who was in charge of the Secret Service relating to France and Spain, to spy on the French naval arsenals at Toulon and other ports. In mid-1786, a renewal of war with Spain, France and Holland appeared imminent as a result of civil war in Holland, and the British Government took the decision to found a colony at Botany Bay in New South Wales. Sydney, as Secretary of State for the Home Office, was the minister in charge of this undertaking, and in September 1786 he appointed Phillip commodore of the fleet which was to transport the convicts and soldiers who were to be the new settlers to Botany Bay. A subsidiary colony was to be founded on Norfolk Island, to take advantage for naval purposes of that island's New Zealand Flax and timber. Phillip's fleet sailed from Portsmouth in May 1787. The fleet called at Rio de Janeiro to obtain essential supplies for the new colony, which were willingly provided.

Phillip was always remembered in Brazil, and both when he called at Rio de Janeiro in August 1787 as commodore of the fleet going to colonize New South Wales and during his return to England in February 1793 he was honoured with extraordinary attention. The *Gazeta de Lisboa* of 27 July 1793 carried a report from Rio de Janeiro that on 6 February the *Atlantic*, Captain Bowen, had arrived there from Port

Jackson, carrying "Arthur Philippe", first governor of the colony of New South Wales, whom it described as "this famous Officer, well known for his service in the Portuguese Navy". The article noted that, "among many curiosities, animals and collections of natural productions, he brought with him as well two men who came from that new Country [Bennelong and Yemmerrawanne] ... who had great ease in pronouncing Portuguese".²⁰

The basis for good relations laid by Phillip remained effective and Rio de Janeiro continued to be a vital port of call for British ships supplying the New South Wales colony until well into the nineteenth century.²¹

Robert J. King

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1. Watkin Tench, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*, London, Debrett, 1789, p.26.
 2. Marques de Lavradio to Phillip, 18 July 1775, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, codex 70/8; Lavradio to Pombal, 13 December 1775, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, codex 10624, ff.98-103; cited in Frost, *Arthur Phillip*, pp.70, 74. Lavradio to Bohm, 15 July 1775, "Correspondencia passiva do Tte.Gal. João Henrique de Bohm", *Boletim do Centro Rio-Grandense de Estudos Históricos*, Rio Grande, 1(62), out.1939.
 3. "Eu não fallo a V. Ex. do perigo q. correm as embarcações q. vem para esta praça com os Guarda Costas Castelhanos, q. sempre andão girando: nem da força q. pode ser preciza nesta Rio, se a Guerra se principiar, V. Ex. o sabe melhor do q. eu o posso dizer." Phillip to Lavradio, 18 November 1776, *Colecção de Senhor Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça*, maço 31, f.41; quoted in Dauril Alden, *Royal Government in Colonial Brazil*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968, p.221.
 4. Nicolas Garcia to Orduy, 16 December, Orduy to Vertiz, 16 and 17 December, Vertiz to Orduy, 18 December Orduy to Vertiz, 25 December, Orduy to Rocha, 26 December, Rocha to Orduy, 27 December, Vertiz to Orduy, 30 December 1775, all enclosed with Vertiz to Arriaga, 3 January 1776, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, *Buenos Aires caja* 56.486; cited in Frost, *Arthur Phillip*, pp.77-83, 283-4.
 5. "No tempo emq̄ esteve na Colonia sò com asua Fragata, fes conter os Castelhanos na quelle respto que elles devião ter à quella Praça." "Mappa dos Officiaes e Embarcacoes de Guerra, que servem na Esquadra", 22 October 1777, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, *Rio de Janeiro caixa* 108, f.76; cited in Frost, *Arthur Phillip*, pp.81, 284; published in Kenneth Gordon McIntyre, *The Rebello Transcripts*, p.232.
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The VOC's founder executed 400 years ago

Peter Reynders

Johan van Oldenbarnevelt was beheaded 13 May, 1619, aged 71. The event was watched by a crowd at the 'Binnenhof' in The Hague, Netherlands. He had been the 'Land's Advocate' and key representative of the most powerful Dutch province, Holland, on the States-General, the then National Government of the small sea faring nation, 'The Republic of the Seven United Provinces'. Johan was a member of the States-General from 1580 and can be considered the founder of the Dutch "United East-India Company", the VOC, although legally it was the States-General which resolved to grant its Charter. Van Oldenbarnevelt is still considered the most brilliant Dutch politician ever.

Maritime personnel of the VOC were the first to chart enough of what is now Australia, so evidence of the existence of a small continent down here was accumulating. It was initially confused with, and only a fraction of, the size of a gigantic theoretical southern continent. Its very history of being slowly unveiled to the world as far as this, was a Dutch or VOC effort (1) and can be considered as providing a vicarious connection between Oldenbarnevelt and our continent. Not that Oldenbarnevelt will have known, as only in the year of his death an early VOC mariner to visit here, Frederik de Houtman, found and reported to company management that the stretch of west coast, that transport skipper Dirk Hartog had chanced upon three years earlier, extended further south.

The politician

Oldenbarnevelt was a Dutch government appointee operating as a politician. He long dominated the States-General. He chaired it, set the agendas of all its meetings, formulated all draft resolutions and documented all decisions. This included, as is not uncommon in such jobs, that he did not neglect to look after himself, even though at the end of his life he arguably didn't. He is not considered to have been corrupt.

He neither invested any of his own money in the 16th and 17th century Dutch maritime exploration ventures that he encouraged hands on, nor in the very profitable VOC. His own occasional investment was in rural land and its development. His salary was 1200 guilders a year, not too jubilant for the politically most senior and influential person of a nation. At the time a skilled tradesman earned about 200.

The Dutch Republic was fighting its war of independence from the King of Spain, Philip II, who was also then the King of Portugal. Philip II was not 'King' of the Low countries, but had inherited a bundle of titles: Count of one province, Duke of another, something else of a district, something else of a town etc., and had monarchical powers over all of them. He was often referred to as 'Lord of the Netherlands'.

Oldenbarnevelt saw the potential Dutch trade on the Indies not just as a possible broadening of the republic's economic base, but also as another cog in the war machine. The war could then not just be fought at home, but also in their enemies' colonies and anywhere in between at sea. He was of the view that it should be funded by private enterprise.



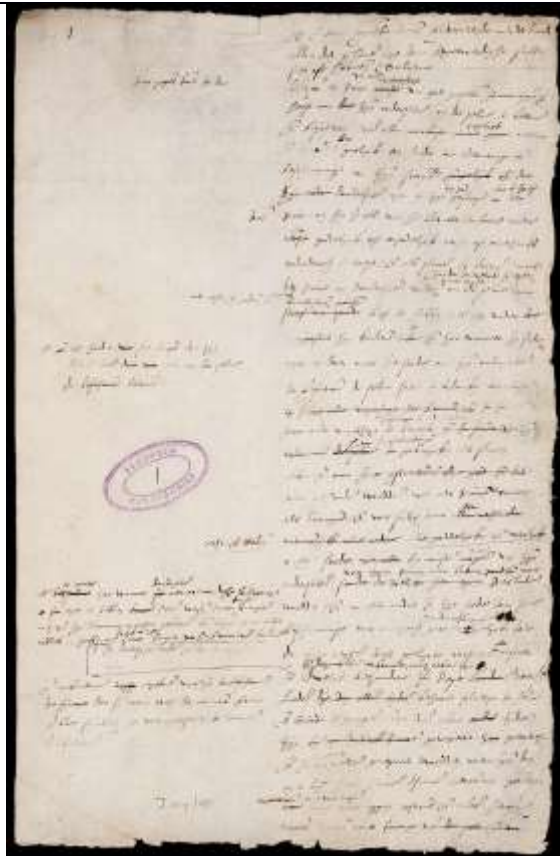
Johan van Oldenbarnevelt about 1616

Oldenbarnevelt's legendary influence was not just derived from his position as 'lands-advocate' of Holland but also from his demonstrated experience to complete difficult political assignments, his acquired personal authority and experience, his ability to win people for his plans and ideas and his ability to improvise. Once plans had been adopted, he implemented them in a manner that today we would call a control freak. The joint rebel towns, initially not much resembling a nation, were still operating under different local regulatory systems dating from the middle ages with a leadership unexperienced in foreign diplomacy. Oldenbarnevelt, a highly-educated lawyer, helped fix those gaps substantially. He was the consummate politician.

The republic only slowly developed a comprehensive national legal system. The 1579 'Union of Utrecht' was a confederate treaty of the northern towns to jointly fight the Spanish and to fund that fight. It can be viewed as an inadequate forerunner of a constitution. The States-General met in The Hague and for a long time had to go and 'beg' the towns constantly for financial contributions for national affairs and the war effort, as a taxation collection system as we know it did not yet exist.

The war would take 80 years to conclude, in 1648, with the independence of the Dutch nation formally recognised by all relevant European countries of that time (2). Spain lost, partly because of Dutch determination and creative initiatives such as those of Oldenbarnevelt and partly because of imperial overreach by the Spanish Empire. The 'begging' the towns for money and collecting it was precisely Oldenbarnevelt's assignment by the States-General early in his career and he gained a reputation as a nagging negotiator. He simply talked on and on until he had a result. He thereby ensured the republic's soldiers could be paid. In the process, he learned what the towns' attitudes were and what they would do to avoid paying or to oppose The Hague. It was a job of endless travelling on horseback, where making political enemies was an occupational hazard. He made a very important domestic adversary already then: Amsterdam.

After the start of the rebellion, Oldenbarnevelt's original employer, the early rebel leader of the fledgling republic, Prince William "the Silent" of Orange, was assassinated in 1584, compliments of the Spanish King. Following that, the would-be nation was apparently uncomfortable being independent without a monarch or aristocratic leader, even though their independence war aimed at getting rid of one. The rebellion was mainly caused by the King of Spain's decision to eradicate the protestant reformation from his territories. His raising of what were considered exorbitant taxes and centralising much decision making with himself were additional reasons.



First page of the "Act of Abjuration" 1581

It was substantially a religious war, not one to become a republic, but to lose a Catholic monarch. In the 'Act of Abjuration' (*Plakaat van Verlatinghe*) of 1581, the Republic adopted a novel legal and ideological justification for rejecting what they believed was a God installed King. It was in fact a declaration of independence. Its preamble bears a striking resemblance to that of the later American Declaration of Independence. There was initially a search on for a powerful and more suitable aristocrat to become their monarch, including the brother of the king of France, Anjou, who then staged a disastrous coup on the city of Antwerp. The Earl of Leicester was 'borrowed' as "Governor", from Queen Elizabeth I of England, as it turned out for just a couple of years, as his troops and local fight against the Spanish was a costly disaster and Oldenbarnevelt sent him home. After failing to find a suitable aristocrat willing to become their monarch, for various reasons, they became a republic in 1588.

Consequently, Oldenbarnevelt cannot be considered a "republican" in the modern sense of the word. He looked initially diligently for another monarch, was a great admirer of Prince William the Silent and had successfully recommended the Prince's 18-year son, Maurits, as Stadtholder and Admiral-General, even though these positions were not hereditary yet. He was clearly *prinsgezind*, i.e. an Orangist. However, later Dutch republican movements have erroneously misinterpreted his views and 'used' him symbolically as their poster republican ideologue.



Maurits, Prince of Orange, about 1612
Painting by Michiel Jansz van Mierevelt

As a result, a public sculpture recognizing him as a key historical Dutch figure only appeared after world War II, in The Hague. (4) The 400-year jubilee in 2002 of the founding of the VOC was a massive multi-locational festival in The Netherlands. Its Program of Activities (January 2002) acknowledges Oldenbarnevelt as having carried out “important preparatory work in the months preceding the founding”. It also states that “He managed to bring the different East-Indies companies together under one flag. That bundling of forces, the placing of the U (of united) before the OC, that we will now celebrate”.

Hence the nation actually still celebrated a feat of Oldenbarnevelt’s political genius 400 years afterwards. Their organising committee’s report afterwards (December 2002) states that the VOC “was the beginning of the global orientation of the Netherlands”.

In Australia, the founding of this European company that first charted many shores of our continent was not publicly commemorated, although it was proposed to the ANMM (Australian National Maritime Museum). However, the Fremantle-built replica vessel *Duyfken* was hired to be part of the celebrations overseas, which also paid attention to the ‘shadow-side’ of the VOC, the thousands that perished on the voyages and the still remaining adverse effects of the ensuing colonialism.

Commemoration here of the coming anniversary of the rather grim death of the VOC’s founder is even less likely.

Was Oldenbarnevelt the 'VOC's founder'?

The start of most trading companies, including mergers of existing ones, is usually a business initiative by one or more commercial operators, who then apply for the required registration by Government. In the VOC's case Oldenbarnevelt took the proposal to the States-General after having endlessly cajoled representatives of different companies to amalgamate under his very political terms. A more detailed explanation why we should accept that he was in fact the VOC's founder can be found in the book "De Man en zijn Staat" (the man and his state), by historian Prof. Dr. B. Knapen.

The historical Dutch march to the Far East was unbridled, with Oldenbarnevelt playing a key role from the start. To be listened to by ship owners, investors, traders and senior mariners, he used his status as the politician who could ensure tangible Government support. Already in 1593, he held a meeting with some prominent merchants and shipowners at his own home, in The Hague's Spuistraat, about an expedition of maritime exploration to the Indies around the north of Asia. (3)

More of those meetings would take place. He considered that the risk factor of such expeditions of discovery should not rest with government, but with private investors.

At the same time there was a war to be fought. He took the view that the ships should be armed and their Masters should have instructions to act as Military of the Republic when the situation arose. He knew that war increases the normal trade risks and if the route to the origin of profitable spices and the like would be found, many would profit from it in the home country.

Because the war was with the King of Spain who also ruled Portugal, there was a constant threat of boycott of Dutch ships in Portuguese harbours, where they long bought Asian products for distribution in Europe. Obtaining them in Asia themselves would bypass that step and that risk. Efforts of finding a route to Asia, preferably one different from the one used by the Iberian countries, would justify some support by the Republic. Such were Oldenbarnevelt's reasons for involving himself (3).

All three expeditions to find a route around the north with Captain Willem Barentz, became fiascos. (A much later one in 1609 with Henry Hudson for the VOC failed as well). But the search for an alternate route went on. (A trajectory different from the Portuguese route was later found and adopted still in Oldenbarnevelt's lifetime, the so called "Brouwer Route": it led to the first charting of the Australian West coast).

As Oldenbarnevelt had no expertise in cartography, he asked Maurits, to talk to the traveller and writer Jan Huygen van Linschoten, and report back what he had to offer, because Oldenbarnevelt should ultimately be able to explain such matters in the States-General. Linschoten had travelled to the Indies via the Cape of Good Hope with the Portuguese and had documented what was long classified Portuguese information on the route and spice trade. The first Dutch expedition using the Portuguese route left spring 1595. Oldenbarnevelt had insisted the Amsterdam ships' owners unite in a formal company and

that the Captains get military instructions from Maurits. The squadron was to take 100 cannon on board from Maurits and use Linschoten's maps and knowledge. (4)



Jan Huygens van Linschoten

Apparently Oldenbarnevelt did not raise the idea of a company monopoly, as giving this to a firm in one town would exclude and enrage others in the united provinces, particularly those with shipping economies, most of them located in Holland and Zeeland. Yet, the 'Estado Português da Índia', the Portuguese Crown's trading company and colonial realm in Asia, then was a shipping monopoly model which was vaguely known in Europe.

This Dutch mission of four vessels under commander Cornelis de Houtman, with his brother the above-mentioned Frederik as a navigator, "succeeded" although many things went wrong. It reached Java and returned with some spices. Only three of the four ships returned with only 87 from the 240 men who had departed. There was no profit, but the route had been successfully negotiated and they learned what not to do.



Cornelis de Houtman



Frederik de Houtman

Ships' owners immediately knocked on Oldenbarnevelt's door for support for a second expedition. He subsequently argued their case enthusiastically to the States-General as a seasoned political manipulator, carrying Asian presents for the members, with the knowledge the Dutch were able to do what the Spanish and the Portuguese had done for long: sail to the Indies. A second fleet sailed in 1598 and returned in 1600, with "ships so richly loaded as have never arrived in Holland before". (5)

Meanwhile politically even more complicated situations arose that are neither detailed in popular Dutch history books nor taught in schools.

Problems with the early Dutch companies

Shipowners from Middleburg and Veere in Zeeland and Rotterdam and Delft in Holland now also wanted an appointment with Oldenbarnevelt, to secure subsidies and cannon to equip a trade voyage to the Far East. Giving it to one, but not to another town's firm would be controversial and it could become very expensive for the States-General to keep giving it to all of them. Oldenbarnevelt managed again to get support for all of these but with a message: no more after that. He thereby merely postponed internal strife. The various companies set themselves up in competition with each other, which led to higher wholesale prices in the east and hostilities against each other, instead of against their common enemy, Spain, and not only in the Indies. There even was a case reported where a ship from Venice (a 'real' republic at the time) was hijacked by one of the Dutch companies. Oldenbarnevelt was greatly worried about that incident as he, unsurprisingly, did not want more enemies than Holland already had.

There appeared to be no rules or effective authority to prevent this. A number of Amsterdam shipowners set up what they called "The Old Company", and asked the States-General for a national monopoly. This was again politically out of the question, which made Oldenbarnevelt even less popular in Amsterdam than he already was. Consulting all shipowners and even town councils, Oldenbarnevelt searched for compromises and an agreement to a code of behaviour, which in the commercial excitement of the day did not come. A further company was established by 'migrants' hailing from Brabant, also in Amsterdam.

Stories that the French and the English were bundling resources to haul in the Asian produce themselves made Oldenbarnevelt again put the situation on the agenda of the States-General in 1600, where nothing happened bar the appointment of a commission, leading to precious little. The Amsterdam and the Brabant company then merged and asked again for a monopoly, but only for Holland. Oldenbarnevelt opposed this also, as it could mean war with Zeeland in the east and at sea, whereby he rubbed Amsterdam the wrong way again. He then invited the owners of all companies to the Hague. After a few sessions of Oldenbarnevelt's nagging speeches, they began to understand that some kind of cooperation was required. As it happened, news from a just returned fleet came in that prices of spices in Java had skyrocketed.

Oldenbarnevelt and Maurits decided to ride together on diplomatic missions in their own country, visiting the relevant harbour towns in Holland and Zeeland.

Every discussion with shipowners and councils had its own complications, but Oldenbarnevelt's views, delivered in long raves, indicated his increased and constant pressure on the companies and were reflected upon after they left. Oldenbarnevelt now did some hard design work on company form and structure, on the issue of shares and on the authority of a monopoly-company. On New Year's Eve 1601, the ship's owners were together again, this time in the town of Brielle; in the largest pub cum inn. The most recent and confronting news then, was that Zeelanders had confiscated a returning Amsterdam fleet, which had sought refuge from a gale on the river Scheldt. They offered an excuse, but it was plain piracy. (6)

Oldenbarnevelt's VOC charter

The company representatives did indeed come out of their impasse in Brielle, after Oldenbarnevelt's lengthy oration. He was able to present a compromise-proposal he had designed, for the uniting of all companies into one. This resulted in an agreed draft statute for the States-General a few weeks later, and Oldenbarnevelt immediately called a States-General meeting with the draft on the agenda. On 20 March, 1620, it adopted the now famous VOC Charter for the merger of companies. The limited liability 'United East-India Company' (VOC) was granted a national monopoly of 21 years for all trade east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Strait of Magellan. The cost to the VOC was 27,000 guilders. It was allowed to pay the States-General in shares.

The Charter is page by page pure Oldenbarnevelt politics. (An English version of the original 1602 Charter is on the AOTM website) (7). There is no original Dutch transcript on the net (presumably because virtually nobody would be able to read it, as the language has changed substantially since), but a restructured translation to 18th century Dutch by the VOC historian François Valentijn, is.

The VOC becomes a modern corporation

There was provision in the Charter that after 10 years, i.e. in 1612, the investment had to be paid back to the shareholders, after liquidation of the company. All fleets of the earlier companies were funded separately and sold with their cargoes upon their return and crews dismissed. So, the shareholders, then seen as 'partners' were given their money back plus profit. It was a custom still based on long ingrained Roman law principles. An investment was seen as a loan, shareholders were partners, who must be given their money back. So even getting one's money back only after 10 years was novel. It was most radical not to give it back at all.

It was again Oldenbarnevelt, who acted after being made aware of the concerns of some of the company's directors when 1612 approached. He understood that it would be madness after building a company for a decade to sell all its ships, warehouses, real estate, and

everything built, bought or conquered in Asia such as Portuguese forts, distribute then all returns to shareholders and then call for new investment and start from scratch. He called for an expert report on the consequences of the clause and had the States General resolve that the clause be removed to the effect that money invested in shares would not be returned. Shareholders could try and get their money back on the stock exchange instead. Voilà, the first joint stock corporation model in the world: the VOC from 1612, Oldenbarnevelt style, the model that does not return share investment. The world was slow to follow. Now it is the most common model. (8)

It may now be appreciated that Johan van Oldenbarnevelt is the person who can be considered more than just the founder of the VOC. He also stimulated the earlier companies to be formed, and introduced the world to the modern corporate model of not returning share investment.

Why the 1619 beheading?

It was a complicated situation, but put briefly, it went as follows. Maurits, the stadtholder, legally 'just' an employee of the States-General, did for long not have any issue with the growing power of Oldenbarnevelt. He was interested in military affairs, his job. He was good at it. This division of roles worked very well for a considerable time, until Oldenbarnevelt had his States-General take some measures that went against the advice of the Stadtholder.

A key example was a military expedition into Flanders, i.e. the Southern Netherlands, then under Spanish control, to take some towns there. Oldenbarnevelt proposed it, the States-General resolved it and Maurits had opposed it. Deep into Flemish territory, Maurits' army was rather suddenly attacked by a Spanish force as Maurits had feared, and the Battle of Nieuwpoort of the year 1600 ensued. Although Maurits won the battle, about 2000 of his personally trained soldiers lost their lives. As a result, the expedition failed.

Subsequently more differences in opinion developed, particularly about and during the 12-year truce with Spain (1609-1621). This included that the two men chose different sides when the dominant Protestants of the small nation became divided into two different versions of Calvinism: Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants. When Oldenbarnevelt started to take measures that undermined Maurits' domestic military power, Maurits reacted with a coup d'état. To eliminate his domestic political adversary, he had Oldenbarnevelt arrested on the suspicion of treason. Did he realise the truce was ending and wanted to ensure the local bickering should stop, so a united nation could fight the enemy again? If so, he wanted it this time under his political control without Oldenbarnevelt interfering with his plans? Treason was a charge, which did not make much sense for a man who so effectively had dedicated his life to the Republic and its war of independence.



Artist: Simon Fokke 1749, Rijksmuseum


From: <https://gevangenpoort.nl/en/story/johan-van-oldenbarnevelt-beheaded>

A kangaroo court consisting of people on Maurits' side of that religious divide, some from Amsterdam, sentenced Oldenbarnevelt to death. At that time, Maurits' stepmother and fourth wife of William the Silent, Louise de Coligny (1555 –1620), was a wise 63-year old lady who had seen a lot of politics in her family and beyond. She visited Maurits late at night, and explained to him why he should pronounce a pardon for Oldenbarnevelt. (9) Others did the same. Maurits refused to pardon the old man. Oldenbarnevelt, had refused to request it. He felt asking for a pardon would suggest he was guilty.

Poem

The most famous poem by the most famous Dutch poet and playwright, Joost van den Vondel (1587 – 1679) from the most famous century in Dutch history, is called 'Het Stockske van Oldenbarnevelt'. It tells about 'The Walking Stick of Oldenbarnevelt' that assisted him walking onto the scaffold to his sword wielding executioner. The poem is still taught in schools in the Netherlands, generation after generation. To enable students to understand the poem and its context, the above events (10) are taught as well, including Maurits' cruel blunder, expressed in the most poetic terms.

His decision is still embarrassing for members of the House of Orange-Nassau today. That too may be a stumbling block preventing publicly commemorating this grim quadricentennial

	<p>jubilee in the Netherlands. The attention paid to it in Australia just happened: you having read this.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Peter Reynders</p> <p>-----</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) http://www.australiaonthemap.org.au/landings-list. (2) See identity of the signatories on the original <i>Peace of Münster</i> document, exhibited in the Town Hall of the German city of Münster. (3) Knapen, Prof. Dr. B., <i>De Man en zijn Staat: Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, 1547-1619</i>, Bert Bakker, Amsterdam, 2005, pp 192-193. (4) Knapen, op. cit., p 194. (5) Gaastra F.S., <i>The Geschiedenis van de VOC</i>, Walburg Pers, Zutphen 1991, pp 17-18, quoting a 1601 report. (6) Knapen, op. cit., p 196. (7) http://www.australiaonthemap.org.au/voc-charter. (8) Reynders, P., <i>The VOC and the Genesis of the Corporation</i>, Map Matters, January 2015, pp 1-5. (9) Knapen, op. cit., p 324. (10) https://gevangenpoort.nl/en/story/johan-van-oldenbarnevelt-beheaded.
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