The first Dutch shipping to the Indonesian archipelago 1595 - 1605

drs Dirk Teeuwen MSc, Holland

Most drawings and portraits, in black and white in this article, originate from contemporary publications. Contemporary publications which were the result from some of the original, 16/17th century Dutch voyage reports. My own knowledge, available sources, acknowledgements and consultancies are the basis of this article.

How to read my article.

This is an article about some of the first voyages of the Dutch to the Far East. The background of these operations can be found in section 1 Introduction: “The origin of the Kingdom of the Netherlands”.

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Then our visitor could get an idea about the successes and the troubles regarding a selection from what we know about the first Dutch shipments to the Far East (section 2 etc.).

I summarized my comments in italics at the end of each section continually. So that the reader can simply hop from one section to the next one in case he thinks that my comments are not so interesting. Which is not so; well, I mean, usually not so.

At the end of the article I placed a list of sources and acknowledgements as well as a complete survey of these first shipments. It was my endeavour to compose my article in a most readable way. That’s why I illustrated my work as richly as possible.

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1. Introduction
The origin of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

At the end of the 16th century The Netherlands were the only European civil confederation in those days. The Netherlands: often described as “Holland” for short. In fact Holland was – and is – only the most important member of this confederation of seven small states. Before 1581 The Netherlands were ruled by some members of the European royal House of Habsburg. The Habsburg Philip II ruled from 1555. Also he managed his governmental affairs, by his order, through a lot of aristocrats as well as civil types of administration: all of them playing a second fiddle of course. Philip II was King of Spain and Lord of The Netherlands 1). Maybe one could say that he was the head of a, sort of, double monarchy. Maybe comparable to a double monarchy like Austria-Hungary once was: same ruler but each country legal independent. The Habsburgs came into their Dutch possessions by legacy and marriages. Such was the consequence of the fact that the original dynasty, the House of Holland, had run out. The members of the House of Holland were the autochthonous rulers from circa 900 AC.

Misery in The Netherlands from about 1550 until 1580 - like crop failures, hunger, high taxes, unwanted Spanish influence, need for free trade, narrow-minded Catholicism, fat catholic clergy, as well as the catholic inquisition terror (all this misery and much more) ended in iconoclasm and revolt from 1560. Ultimately the Dutch abjured Philip II 2) in 1581. The revolt turned into a war which, more or less officially, started in 1568 and came to an end in 1648.

William of Orange 3) – from the aristocratic house of Dillenburg Nassau 4) - became the first, so called “Stadtholder” of The Netherlands, 1572 – 1584 5). This William the First, has been the founder of this nation. One could translate this word “Stadtholder” into the concept of governor or pro-consul. But the best translation is, maybe, “vice-roy”. A vice-roy, however, without royalty. I mean without a king.

A better explanation could be the following. The Stadtholder was the politically mightiest servant of the more powerful Dutch civil government and a mighty representative of - what was left of - the weak Dutch aristocratic administrative machinery.

Map on page 4
The northern part of the Netherlands circa 1300. Purple: principality Holland under the Lord (called – title - Graaf, translation lit.: independently ruling – title - Count) of Holland, this includes the double XI.

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(1.1) See page 3
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The Netherlands were known better in those days as the “United Provinces of The Netherlands” (1568-1798). These provinces were legally independent small states, but worked together as a confederation, from which Holland was the very most powerful one.

This form of government did not change much until a new written Dutch constitution was passed in 1798. Then a centralized Dutch government took over. The Dutch monarchy made a start in 1813 - 1815. William the First became King of the Netherlands in 1815 - 1840. Don’t mix him up with the Stadtholder mentioned before. King William the First meant a continuation of the influence of the House of Orange and meant a victory of ideas about, highly necessary, Dutch political centralization as well. Dutch “provinces” became real provinces now. The Dutch federation changed over to an unitary state definitely now: the Kingdom of The Netherlands.

1) He was “graaf” of Holland (the districts in the west of The Netherlands). Philip II ruled other parts of The Netherlands as well. So, he was the Duke of Gelderland, Friesland, etc. Lord of the Netherlands is an umbrella term for count, duke, baron and so on. Back to the “graaf” of Holland. ( Can you keep up?)

The translation of the title “graaf” in English is “count”, but this title meant in Holland much more. The “Graaf of Holland” behaved like an independent ruler. He (sometimes a “she”) had a lot of reasons to behave so. These “counts” did not bother about anything. So it is better to speak about the “Lords of Holland”. Officially, Holland was a fief (feudal benefice) of an early mediaeval sort of emperor of “Germany”. We are nosing around circa 1.000 AC. But these lamed ducks, these so-called emperors I mean, were in daily life the weak results of a catholic mediaeval invention by some pope with too much imagination.

But, oh mother! In 1018 AC a large “imperial” army, made up of troops supplied by the various bishops of regions east from Holland, headed for the strongholds of the Lord of Holland Dirk III at Vlaardingen (nowadays near Rotterdam), a small stronghold in the delta of the river Rhine. Such because Dirk misbehaved too much. Well, the “emperor” thought so. The ensuing Battle of Vlaardingen was a disaster for the imperial army and a tremendous victory for the Lord of Holland (western part of The Netherlands) Dirk III. Many of the “imperial” commanders and papal catholic clergymen drowned, perished in the swamps of the local Dutch muddy waters, cut into pieces. Or were simply beaten to death by Dirk personally with pleasure. Also many of Dirk’s friends shared this joy with him by dealing a couple of blows on the heads of the enemy’s warriors.

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I feel happy to say that the chief of the invaders, one Duke Godfrey, was captured by Dirk himself. Dirk was not averse to ransoms. After this victory Dirk III was permitted to keep his possessions. In the humble opinion of Dirk the “emperor” might go to the devil and Dirk did as he pleased to do. Like he always did before.

So, as an example, he continued levying the, disputable, tolls along the waterways in the Dutch delta. Dirk lived some happy years after and died in peace, a phenomenon remarkable from its rarity in early mediaeval Holland. I mean that most of the members of the House of Holland died from smashed brains.

Later on, Dirk III also managed to acquire more land east of his previous domains at the expense of the Bishop of Utrecht. After the death of the feudal (weak) “German” Emperor Henry II in 1024, Dirk supported Conrad II for the succession to the emperorship. Why should he do so? I don’t know why, really! Well, maybe this support placed him in an even more powerful position. OK, enough about Dirk!!

2) Because Philip II, in fact his House of Habsburg, was the successor of the then died out House of Holland. One could say that he, Philip, was the last (partly autochthonous) ruler from the House of Holland in the Netherlands.

Then the conclusion could be that the House of Holland ruled from circa 900 until 1581 when the Dutch abjured Philip II.

3) Orange was a principality in France. One of William’s properties.

4) The community Dillenburg is located a bit east from The (Southern) Netherlands – now this is Belgium-border, in what is now Germany. But, in those olden days, within the sphere of influence of The Netherlands. Such sphere stretched out 200 maybe 300 km from the present Dutch-Belgian border with Germany.

The Dutch, regrettably, never took advantage of their superiority in the west of present Germany, because trade and profits always were their first interests: narrow minded and very regrettable.

5) Stadtholder William I was murdered by Balthasar Gerards, a Frenchman from Besançon, in 1584. Because of that, the latter was executed in the Dutch town of Delft in the same year. The murderer was still alive when the executioner cut his heart out. Balthasar was allowed to have a short smell at it. The executioner was known in Delft and vicinity because of his practical jokes.

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2. First Dutch voyages to the Far East 1595
Preparations

The aforesaid misery in the sixteenth century in The Netherlands, see page 4, caused the Dutch-Spanish war, from 1568 until 1648. This war of independence made the Dutch travel mania to the Far East, circa 1595 and after, understandable.

The war started long before the abjuration of the Habsburgs in 1581. The Dutch - politically, military as well as economically superior - fought successfully. With Dutch independency as a result. The Dutch took down the Spanish and Portuguese empires. The influence of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy in the so-called Low Countries, The Netherlands, was gone forever. The fifth Dutch Stadtholder, William the Third 1), 1672-1702, conquered Great Britain and became King of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

The first Dutch fleet, four ships under the command of Cornelis de Houtman, set out to the Indonesian Archipelago April 2nd 1595 with a crew of 249 members. After some time scurvy broke out on these ships and when the island of Madagascar was reached in October 1595 seventy men of the crew had died. They buried many of the dead on this island. Until today one can visit this Dutch cemetery there.

The crew misbehaved themselves against the Madagascar population in such a manner that the population took a threatening attitude and compelled the ships to leave. The four Dutch ships proceeded on and reached Sumatra and later Java.

The vessels were owned by a shipping company in Amsterdam by name of “Compagnie van Verre” (“Far Travel Trade Partnership”). This first Dutch voyage to East-India, Indonesia, was based on the experiences of many Dutch sailors and tradesmen in the employ of Spanish and Portuguese merchants. Some of these sailors published useful information about the possibilities for the Dutch to open trade routes to the Far East. One the informers was Dirck Gerritsz Pomp 2), nicknamed Dirk China (1544-1608) a Dutch explorer. Once, from 1555 until 1590 he travelled in Portuguese service and on Portuguese ships through Asia. He was, probably, the first Dutchman visiting China and Japan. After his return in Holland, on the strength of his experiences and instructions, navigation charts were designed.

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More important, maybe, was the Dutchman Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563-1611) who lived in Spain and also lived in Portuguese Goa (India) for a long time.

After his return to Holland he published a book in Dutch, about his experiences and his knowledge, called “Reysgeschrift” 3) in 1595. This book was later published for a second time, but then “Reysgeschrift” became better known as “Itinerario” 3) in 1596. This Reysgeschrift provided a large collection of Portuguese sailing directions. Itinerario or Reysgeschrift, three volumes, was translated in English and German. This was done so within rather short time in those days. Many useful data in Linschoten’s publications were smuggled from Lisbon, and from other naval ports, to Amsterdam.

1) Stadtholders from 1572 until 1702: William I, Maurits, Frederik Hendrik, William II, William III. Maurits and Frederik Hendrik were brothers, sons of William I. William II was a son of Frederik Hendrik. Maurits never married and, officially, he had no children. But, unofficially, ten or so. So far we know. He was a womaniser. Women were meat and drink to him. However, he was an excellent Stadtholder. (I emphasize this last statement, excellent he was!!) 2) From> Ruit, Arie van de: Boeggolven en radiogolven; internet 2013 3) Itinerario (or in Dutch (old) linguistic usage): “Reysgeschrift”. Which means “Voyage Notes”.

2.1 Cornelis de Houtman 1565-1599
2.2 Frederik de Houtman 1571-1621
(2.3) Amsterdam, detail of the inner harbour circa 1600

(2.4) Profile of Amsterdam circa 1600

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3. First Dutch voyage, 1595-1597
The “first expedition of fleets” sailing via the Cape of Good Hope

In our previous section we have seen that four Dutch ships - the first (Dutch) fleet under command of De Houtman sailing to the Far East - reached Sumatra in 1596 after a voyage of fourteen months. In the same year this sailing was continued and the four Dutch ships reached the port of Banten, a port along the northwestern coast of Java, June 23rd 1596.

From Holland the so-called southern route via the African western coast was chosen. The Dutch avoided Portuguese strongholds such as Goa (now part of India) and Malacca (now in independent Malaysia). So they, the Dutch, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed straight into the Straits of Sunda.

Dignitaries of the Sultan of Banten invited the Dutch to trade in Banten, the capital town of the Sultanate of the same name. The Javanese, from their angle, looked at them as passers-by only.

After arrival the Dutch, to their surprise, saw the decks of their ships transformed into market places in no time. Market places, on board, with local traders such as Javanese, Chinese. Everything was going perfect in June 1596. Nothing was stolen from the ships, but a lot was wrong with the Dutch themselves.

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3.1 Pasar besar (international trade market) Banten, Java circa 1600

3.2 The Governor of Banten (subordinate to the Sultan) consults the first (highest in rank) Muslim clergyman, Java circa 1600

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3.3 The Royal Council of Banten, Java circa 1600

3.4 The ships under command of Cornelis de Houtman in battle with locals from Sedayu Lawa, north-east coast of Java 1596 (A fight without a good reason. The intentions of the Javanese were friendly.)

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The voyage of about fourteen months had lasted nearly the double necessary time. Aboard of the Dutch ships there had been an almost continuous quarrelling between everybody. Of the 247 crew members 138 died. The hoofdcommisses (chief merchant, commercial director) of this Dutch fleet, commander Cornelis de Houtman 1), was an experienced tradesman, but also he was a boaster and his behaviour was extremely rude. Because of this behaviour as well as the impertinent, preposterous, rough conduct of his crew the Banten ruler forced the Dutch to leave his territory.

De Houtman and his fleet sailed to the east and visited the town of Jakatra (Sunda Kelapa, Java coast east from Banten). Jakatra was ruled by a Banten prince, a so-called pangaran. More than twenty years later in 1619, Batavia was founded here. Batavia became Jakarta after World War II.

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But back to 1596. Pirates attacked the ships of De Houtman near Surabaya. Now the loss of crew had become too much, one ship was abandoned. They burnt the vessel. After that they sailed to Madura and met friendly local fishermen. They had nothing to do with the earlier piracy. Nevertheless, without good reason, the Dutch used violence against them.

Then the beauty of Bali appealed to these European visitors. Specially the beauty of the Balinese women. Although female beauty is skin-deep only sometimes (on Bali also), two Dutch sailors deserted and did not return to their ships. I admit, I feel completely sympathetic. I have been visiting Bali circa fifteen times. And I must say that gorgeous is the only word to describe Balinese womanly charm! One goes out of one’s mind. Well, before lovely emotions will overpower me, it seems to be wise to pick up the thread of my story again.

From Bali the ships sailed back to Europe in 1597. After their arrival in Amsterdam thre was great rejoicing in Holland, but profits were small. Out of the 249 crewmembers only 87 returned. The survivors were too weak to moor their ships themselves.

After the Dutch left Banten in 1596, the Portuguese under Don Lourenzo tried to pay the sultan of Banten a lesson for the fact that he, the sultan, tried to receive Dutch tradesmen peacefully and because he was trying frequently to play the Europeans off against each other. So, Don Lourenzo attacked the harbour of Banten in 1596.

The ruler of Banten had bad experiences with European foreigners from time to time: De Houtman, Don Lourenzo and the Englishman James Lancaster in 1593 with his rough, aggressive men.

But now the Sultan captured two of the Portuguese ships and the defeated Don Lourenzo fled with his remaining fleet to Portuguese Malacca.

1) Cornelis de Houtman (April 2nd 1565 – September 1st 1599), brother of Frederik de Houtman, was a well-informed Dutch explorer who discovered a new sea route from Holland to the Indonesian archipelago. He managed to make a start with Dutch – Indonesian spice trade. At the time, the Portuguese held a monopoly on spice trade. The voyage of De Houtman was a symbolic victory for the Dutch, even though the voyage itself was a disaster.

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4. Voyages from Holland to the Far East from 1598 until 1601
The “second expedition of fleets” sailing via the Cape of Good Hope 1598

4.1 See p. 13

4.1 Some of the Dutch voyages over the world: De Houtman 1595 and 1598, Van Noort 1598, Mahu and Cordes 1598, Schouten and Lemaire 1616 and Hudson 1608.

After De Houtman’s return to Holland, Amsterdam merchants equipped a fleet of eight ships under the command of admiral Van Neck and vice-admiral Van Waerwijck. Such organized and financed by a new partnership of merchants “Oude Compagnie”.

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4.2 Voyage of De Houtman 1595-1597

"To" means to Indonesia
"From" (which goes without saying) means to Holland
Explanation different routes: meteorological seasons, ocean currents, wind.

Van Neck arrived at Banten on November 28th 1598 after a voyage of seven months. At that time Banten was in war with the Portuguese again. Van Neck behaved as an efficient diplomat should do and was able to send home three ships with full cargo. Pepper for the greater part.

The other four ships had sailed to the Moluccas after dropping anchors at Jakatra, Tuban, Japara – Gresik: places on the northern coast of Java. Relationship with the Indonesians were excellent, but there were no native commodities on hand. Van Neck sailed to Banda and was able to send home another two ships with spices. He left behind on Banda twenty men to arrange for the storing of products. The remaining two ships sailed to the island of Ternate, a Sultanate, and established a trading post there. These remaining two ships arrived in Amsterdam in September 1600.

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The profit of “the second fleet” was 400%. Which stimulated the spirit of Dutch enterprise very much.

Van Neck’s voyage was of great importance. He laid the foundations of Dutch friendly relationships in the Indonesian archipelago, specially with Banten and the Spice-Islands namely Moluccas, Ternate and the Banda Archipelago.

Now the reader is missing one ship! Eight minus three minus two minus two is one. Let me help you. One ship was lost already near Dover, England: only 150 km away from Amsterdam. (Well, things does not run smoothly in life all the time.)

I try to keep this story short. Until 1599 22 ships had sailed out from The Netherlands. Only twelve returned home. Some of the cargoes were rich, sometimes there was no profit at all. I shall describe some essentials.

5. Cornelis de Houtman, once more in 1598
   Fatal imprudence

One of the expeditions from 1598, two ships, leaving Holland in that year was equipped under Cornelis de Houtman and his brother Frederic. The ships reached Aceh on north-west Sumatra, June 1599, where the Portuguese soon succeeded in setting the Sultan against them. Cornelis de Houtman was killed. His imprudence was fatal to himself now.

His brother Frederic, together some of the crew, was retained as a prisoner in Aceh from 1599 until 2001. They were in continuous danger to be murdered. Yet Frederic found the opportunity to compose a Malayan-Dutch dictionary and a Malayan translation of Christian-Protestant prayers. He also made astronomical observations.

In 1603, after his return in Holland, Frederick published his Malayan-Dutch dictionary with grammar to match. He also published his stellar observations in an appendix to this dictionary and grammar.

The two ships, departure 1598, reached home again almost without crew and cargo in 1600 and without the De Houtman brothers.

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6. Voyage to the Indonesian Archipelago
Rounding Cape Horn and sailing through the Straits of Magellan

In 1598 two voyages were made trying to reach the Indonesian Archipelago through the Straits of Magellan and failed. One, under command of Dutchman from The Southern Netherlands (Belgium now) Mahu and Cordes, sailed from Rotterdam. After some time they lost four ships out of five. The one remaining ship, called “De Liefde” (which means “Love”), arrived in Japan and was detained there. Which, nevertheless, led to commercial relations later.

Olivier van Noort (1558 – 1627) was the first Dutchman, after Drake, to circumnavigate the world. Sir Francis Drake was an Englishman who circumnavigated the our earth from 1577 up to and including 1580. Drake left Plymouth with six ships and crews of 164 and returned with one ship and a crew of 56 sailors only in 1580.

Olivier van Noort was born in 1558 in Utrecht. He left Rotterdam on 2 July 1598 with four ships. And with a plan to attack Spanish possessions in the Pacific and to trade with China and the Spice Islands as well. His ships were poorly equipped, especially in the way of armament and the crews were unruly. Nonetheless, Van Noort sailed through the Straits of Magellan and captured a number of Spanish ships in the Pacific. He lost two ships on the way due to a storm and one was lost in an engagement with the Spanish near the Manilla Bay in the Philippines.

In the Philippines the Spanish lost their flagship. This galleon San Diego was captured by Van Noort. The wreck of the flagship was found in 1992 and yielded a treasure in porcelain and gold. One ship only, under command of Van Noort, reached Indonesia January 1601. Remember, he set sail in Rotterdam September 13th 1598! One ship was captured by the Spaniards, one captured by the Portuguese and one was set on fire and abandoned. Olivier van Noort arrived at Borneo first and later at Japara (Gresik) on Central Java, near the island of Madura.

Van Noort returned to Rotterdam via the Cape of Good Hope on August 26th 1601 with his last ship, the Mauritius, and 45 of originally 248 men. The venture barely broke even, but became the inspiration for more such expeditions.

All the expeditions in those days sailing to the west, rounding Cape Horn, caused the ship owners losses and this fact was one of the reasons to bring the old partnerships together in the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (the United Dutch East-India Company, V.O.C.) in 1602.

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6.1 Ships in the roads of Japara, Java circa 1600

6.2 Fortress bastion on a hill near Japara, Java 1955

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7. More Dutch voyages

The “third expedition of fleets” sailing via the Cape of Good Hope

In April 1599 a fleet of the merchant partnership “Oude Compagnie” sailed out with three ships under Steven van der Hagen and reached Banten after eleven months. Van der Hagen reached the Moluccas a week later. The population of Lei Timor (on Amboina) invoked help against the Portuguese. Which was rendered on condition that a delivery-contract for spices should be concluded. The Dutch built a stronghold “Kasteel van Verre” (“Our Castle Far Away”) and left behind a small garrison.

In the Banda Islands the factories left there by Van Neck (see my section 4) were threatened at that time by a Javanese fleet which was sent at the instigation of the Portuguese in order to dislodge the Dutch. The Javanese boats were driven away and rich cargo was taken in. Van der Hagen sailed back to Amsterdam.

At the end of 1599 two fleets of four ships each sailed to the Far East. The one under Wilkens, the other under Van Caerden. The first reached Banten, loaded two ships and then with the remaining two sailed to Aceh. Here they get trouble with the Portuguese, matters went wrong so that the ships sailed to Amboina. They freighted the ships with spices and went home via Bali and Banten.

Van Aerden had bad results in Banten as well as in Aceh and went home after hostilities with the Portuguese.

In 1600 the “Oude Compagnie” partnership sent out another fleet under Van Neck who was not so fortunate this time (see section 4). In Banten no cargo was found. Van Neck sailed to the Moluccas. In Ternate he found everything in good order, but in Tidore he was thwarted by the Spaniards and by the Portuguese. Van Neck defeated them but yielded no material profits. Spices were out of stock. Then Van Neck sailed to China. It so happened that he landed near Macao. A number of his men fell into the hands of the Portuguese and were hanged. Van Neck reached the east coast of Malacca, near Patani, and after that he sailed to Banten. Here he met some of his ships which he directed to China. He himself returned to Amsterdam. The flotilla to China had only little success and arrived in Amsterdam in 1604.

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7.1 Jacob Cornelisz. Van Neck, 1564-1638
7.1 a Jacob van Heemskerck, 1567-1607

7.2 The Dutch admiral Wolphert Harmensz has the Portuguese admiral Mendoza and his fleet for breakfast December 27th 1601
Dirk Teeuwen MSc, Holland
In 1600 and 1601 fleets were sent to Aceh, where they were kindly received. The Sultan needed allies against the Portuguese. Frederic de Houtman was set at liberty and the Sultan sent a deputy to the Dutch Stadtholder Prince Maurits.

Another two voyages were made in 1601: one under – the Arctic explorer – Van Heemskerk, the other under Wolphert Harmensz learned that some Portuguese ships, under the command of Andrea Furtado Mendoza, blockaded Banten. Harmensz commanded only five, little armed, ships. Mendoza commanded twenty eight ships. The Dutch were in minority by far. However Harmensz resolved to attack his much stronger adversary.

After three days the Portuguese were defeated and then pursued. Harmesz sailed to the Moluccas and obtained cargo. After that he went home.

Van Heemskerk reached Banten. Two wholly freighted ships were sent home. With the remaining one he ranged along the coast of north Java. Due to hostilities with the Javanese he lost members of his crew. Near Macao he captured a richly laden Spanish ship carrying 17 guns and 700 men.

Dutch victories spread their fame in the Asiatic waters, a basis to their future power.

The last voyage (the last from what we call “first Dutch shipments to the Far East”, many other shipments followed of course) sailed out in 1601, under the command of Van Spilberghen. He sailed along the coast of Africa to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and then to Aceh. In Ceylon Van Spilberghen was able to obtain the favour of the King of Kandy. In the waters of Aceh he captured a Portuguese ship. A merchant, Cornelis Specx, was left behind in Aceh to promote commercial intercourse between Aceh and The Netherlands. Van Spilberghen himself went home with only one of his ships.
8. Conclusion

1. *Dutch naval supremacy 1595-1602 was the foundation of their colonial empire.*

2. *Founding the V. O. C.:* monopoly, cooperation and teamwork were necessary to consolidate (relative) successes and to stimulate growth.
   In January 1602 all old partnerships of merchants sailing via the Cape of Good Hope to the Far East v.v. were united in one company: the V.O.C., the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (the United Dutch East-India Company), V. O. C.

3. *For easy reference a survey of the first Dutch shipments to the Far East follows here.*

   a. 1595 *De Houtman and Keyser*
      Company: Compagnie van Verre, Amsterdam
      Arrivals: Banten June 23 1596

   b. *Van Neck*
      Company: Oude Compagnie, Amsterdam
      Arrivals: Banten Nov. 25 1598 (Van Neck), Dec. 31 1598 (Van Warwijkstra
      Ambonina Moluccas March 3 1599 (Van Warwijkstra) anda March 15th
      1599 (Heemskerck), Ternate May 22 1599

   c. 1598 *Ships* *Leeuw and Leeuwin*
      Company: Veersche Compagnie, Veere Holland
      Arrivals: Aceh July 1 1599

   d. 1598 *Ships* *Zon, Maan, Lange Bark*
      Company: Midelburgsche Compagnie, Middelburg Holland
      Arrivals: Banten (ship Zon) Febr 26 1599 (Lange Bark) March 3
      1599

   e. 1598 *Mahu and De Cordes*
      Company: Compagnie der Zuid Nederlanders, Rotterdam
      Arrivals: Tidore (Ship De Trouw) January 3 1601

   f. 1598 *Olivier van Noort*
      Company: Magalaensche Compagnie, Rotterdam
      Arrivals: Ternate (ship Hendrik Frederik) Jan. 3 1601

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g. 1599 Van der Hagen
Company: Oude Compagnie, Amsterdam
Arrivals: Banten March 13 1600 Amboina Moluccas (ship De Zon) May 2 1600
Banten (ship De Maan as well as Morgenster) Sept. 18 1600
Banda (ships De Maan en Morgenster) May 9 1600,

h. 1599 Jacob Wilkens
Company: Oude Compagnie, Amsterdam
Arrivals: Aceh July 31 1600, Banten Sept 1 1600, Amboina Moluccas
1601 under Cornelis van Eemskerck

i. 1599 Pieter Both and Paulus van Caerden
Company: Brabantsche Compagnie, Middelburg Holland
Arrivals: Aceh 1600 Van Cearden, Banten Aug. 6 1600

k. 1600 Van Neck
Company: Oude Compagnie, Amsterdam
Arrivals: Banten March 29 1601 Van Neck with three ships Aug. 9 1601
Cornelis van Foreest with three ships, Ternate June 3 1601
Van Neck with ships Amsterdam and Gouda, Patani Nov. 7 1601
Van Neck with ships Amsterdam and Gouda, Patani Dec. 1602 Van Groesbergen with ships Haarlem and Leiden

l. 1600 (two ships) Zwarte Arend Witte Arend
Company: Brabantsche Compagnie, Middelburg Holland
Arrivals: Banten Sept 1601

m. 1601 (four ships Zeeland, Middelburg, Zon and Lange Bark)
Company: Zeeuwsche Compagnie, Middelburg
Arrivals: Aceh Aug 23 1601, Banten (two ships Middelburg and Zon) Nov. 6 1602, Amboina Moluccas (ships Middelburg and Zon) Jan. 1602, Patani (ships Middelburg and Zon) May 26 1602

n. 1601 Wolphert Harmensz
Company: Oude Compagnie, Amsterdam
Arrivals: Banten Jan 3 1602, Banda 1602 ships Zeeland and Utrecht under command of Hans Brouwer and March 14 1602
Wolphert Harmensz with three ships, Ternate Febr. 17 Wolphert Harmensz with three ships and later 1602 the ships Utrecht and Wachter
**o. 1601 Jacob van Heemskerck**  
Company: Vereenigde Amsterdamsche Compagnie, Amsterdam  
Arrivals: Aceh Dec. 15 1601 Ship De Zwarte Leeuw under command of Jean Garnier, Banten Febr. 22 Heemskerck with six ships and April 4 1602 Jan Garnier with ship De Zwarte Leeuw, Patani Aug 20 1602 Heemskerck with ships Alkmaar and Witte Leeuw

**p. 1601 (ships) Schaap, Ram and Lam**  
Company: De Moucheron, Middelburg  
Arrivals: Ceylon / Sri Lanka May 31 1602 Van Spilbergen with ship Schaap and July 3 1602 Guyon Lefort with ship Ram, Aceh Sept 16 1602 Van Spilbergen with ships Schaap and Ram (ships Lam was taken by the English), Banten April 1603 Van Spilbergen with ship Schaap

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**9. Illustrations**  
Literature, sources, acknowledgements

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