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## **A Short History of Social Connections between the Philippines and the Netherlands**

**Otto van den Muijzenberg**

*Social connections between the Philippines and the Netherlands began largely in the form of fifty years of conflict in the seventeenth century. Connections of cooperation developed only in the twentieth century. This article traces the history of an array of activities of Dutch citizens in the Philippines, and of Filipinos in Dutch territories, starting in the late nineteenth century. In the past thirty years, thousands of Filipinas and Filipinos came to work, study, marry, or reunite with a family member in the Netherlands, and many of them settled there. In the same period, hundreds of Dutch arrived in the Philippines, mainly as sojourners.*

**KEYWORDS:** *social history, social connectivity, migration, integration, service occupations, international education*

The historiography of Dutch-Filipino relations is an underdeveloped field. In contrast to Dutch-Indonesian relations, there is indeed no history of intense, continuous contact between the two countries since their first encounter in the year 1600. The two sides started with a drawn-out contest of nearly five decades, followed by almost three centuries of sparse and intermittent connections. Only in the past fifty years have significant flows of trade, people, transport, and information developed.

The year 1600 was the remarkable beginning of fifty years of contact in the form of recurring contests between Dutch adventurers and traders and the Spanish Philippines. Olivier van Noort entered Philippine waters in the course of his westward circumnavigation of the globe, with the explicit official instruction to injure the Spanish enemy of the Netherlands as much as possible in his overseas possessions.

After an arduous trip from Luzon's east coast to Manila Bay, he fought the famous battle off the Batangas coast with Antonio de Morga in that year.<sup>1</sup> After him, dozens of Dutch East India Company (VOC) expeditions started from the Indonesian archipelago in order to chase the Spaniards out of their colony and obtain control of the valuable trade with China. Understandably, their attacks did little to make the Dutch popular in the Philippine islands and among the Indios,<sup>2</sup> who had been recruited to serve the Spaniards as sailors, soldiers, rowers, or boat builders. It is of course only in hindsight that one may observe that both the Dutch and the Indios were engaged in a struggle against the same colonial power, the Spanish Habsburgs.

The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 ended this long period of bilateral attacks. After the mid-seventeenth century, the former European enemies withdrew largely into their own separate Southeast Asian spheres of influence.<sup>3</sup>

When the Spanish slowly opened their colony to trade with western nationals in the early nineteenth century, the Dutch were hardly interested, unlike entrepreneurs from other European nations. At the beginning of the twentieth century, only a handful of Dutch nationals were residing in the Philippines.

In the American period (1898–1946), economic and political connections between the Philippines and the Netherlands began to unfold, be it rather slowly. A new geo-political situation developed in Asia after the declaration of independence in 1946, but there was little change in the relations between the Netherlands and the Philippines until the late 1960s.

It was only after Philippine independence, and particularly in the past thirty years, that more substantial bilateral trade and movement of persons developed. The growth of trade and investment in the 1990s may even be called "explosive." The Netherlands is a major export destination for the Philippines (first of copra and coconut oil, but in the last few decades, predominantly of electronics), while the Netherlands has become a major investor in the Philippines.

This article considers economic relations<sup>4</sup> only as a background for the social aspects of the connections between the two nations as they developed from the mid-nineteenth century. From a handful of Dutch

nationals living in Manila in around 1900, and no Filipinos in the Netherlands, thousands of members of the two nations are now involved in sustained contact and are settling in growing numbers on the other side of the globe. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, thousands of Filipinos, mainly women, moved to the Netherlands, where many of them settled permanently. Although smaller in magnitude, a counterflow to the Philippines of Dutch traders, businessmen, priests, development workers, and others developed during this period.

### **Opening Up of the Spanish Philippines and Dutch Lukewarm Interest (1800–1870)**

From the mid-seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth, there were few openly recognized contacts between the Dutch and the Philippines. Nevertheless, some trading lines were kept open, and when in 1789 the Spanish opened the port of Manila to international trade it “meant little more than legalization of an existing situation” (Roessingh 1968, 504).

Remarkable changes around the turn of the century, such as the French Revolution, the Napoleonic conquest of much of Europe, and the Industrial Revolution, ushered in a large-scale transformation of politics, economies, and societies, not only in Europe but also in Southeast Asia. Under rather different forms, the various colonies were converted into commodity-producing economies, linked to their markets by increasingly large and rapid shipping after mid-century. As stated earlier, the opening of the port of Manila, permission for foreign trading houses to establish themselves (1809), and the termination of the monopolistic galleon trade somewhat later (1815) should not be seen as a radical departure from earlier practices. Various protectionist measures had not prevented British, Americans, and French (Nardin 1989) from engaging in shipping, trade, and even agricultural production in the Philippines in the first half of the nineteenth century. Foreign and Spanish merchants were granted the right to export manufactured cigars starting in 1830 and leaf tobacco in 1837. Available for export, tobacco was sold at government auction, but supply was irregular, primarily because the colony was obliged to ship a fixed amount of leaf

tobacco to Spain. As tobacco was sold in large portions, the auction system was inaccessible to firms with inadequate access to capital (Legarda 1999; Salazar 1999).

The Dutch were too engaged in their own colonial experiment under the "cultivation system" of Java to show much interest in trade with Indonesia's northern neighbor.<sup>5</sup> Still, in 1823–1825, the Dutch corvette *Lynx*, by order of King William I (nicknamed the "King-Trader"), made a reconnaissance trip to the newly independent states of Latin America under commander I. P. M. Willinck. Heading for the Moluccas, the ship entered Philippine waters by accident. It dropped anchor at Palanan Bay on the Pacific coast of Luzon and, searching for provisions, moved south via Mauban and west all the way to Manila. With one or two exceptions, the crew was well received. The *Lynx* remained in Philippine waters from 16 July to early December 1824 (Oosterling 1989).

The small number of Dutch trading vessels coming to Manila left a few traces. J. Boelen, commander of the merchantman *Wilhelmina en Maria*, describes his visit to Manila in mid-1827. His purpose was to load rice for Lintin in the Pearl River delta in China. He lodged at a boarding house run by a German, Mr. Hantelmann, who had been attacked and wounded, along with 38 other foreigners, on the suspicion of having caused the cholera epidemic in Manila in 1820 (Nardin 1989, 47, 123). Boelen turns out to be a gifted storyteller. As in most travelogues of that period, his picture of the city of Manila and its suburbs is rather flattering. He paid the standard visit to the tobacco monopoly's cigar factory in a former convent in Tondo, where he found the gender separation of the workers striking:

In one of those very big localities only women are working, some four thousand at least, who make the *Manila* cigar. Most are working family-wise and are under the supervision of what one calls *manduresses* in Java, and who are appointed to maintain order and silence. To exert their authority these ladies floated around the spacious factory halls, without pause and with a mien of real Discords, to silence a person now here, then there. But whatever the zeal of these female Harpocratesses, voices were continuously to be heard, which forces us to utter the remark that a large number of this sex is not easily silenced. (Boelen 1835–36, III, 317)<sup>6</sup>

During this year, less than one foreign ship visited Manila on the average per week, Boelen tells us. Therefore, the governor could easily sustain his friendly habit of receiving all captains in audience, often inviting them for a meal.

The few contacts between the Netherlands Indies and the Philippines in most of the nineteenth century are difficult to document, not at the least, because whatever flows of commodities and persons took place were often indirect, mainly through Singapore and later on via Cochin-China, Macao, and Hong Kong.

One may come across unexpected examples of trade, however. De la Costa relates that in the mid-nineteenth century, Manila imported carriages from the Dutch colony of Java for the wealthier classes, including foreigners (1965, 151). It is tempting to assume that such an import from Java was the work of a Dutch merchant house in Manila under George van Polanen Petel, to whom we will return later.

For the Dutch in Java, the islands to the north were less a trading partner than a source of depredations in the Indonesian islands, in other words, "piracy" from the Sulu archipelago (*Berigten* 1858, 350–78; Brumund 1853; Jansen 1857; de Sturler 1881). The Dutch colonial state was encountering heavy resistance to its gradual expansion within the Indonesian archipelago, and was already confronted with repeated undermining of what it considered its sovereignty. However, it lacked the means to effectively enforce its power by patrolling the coasts of the islands beyond Java and the Moluccas. Sulu "pirates" were spotted as far south as the Java Sea. Sternly punitive expeditions to the heartland of Sulu and Balangingi were called for, according to the Dutch colonial authorities that finally mounted a full-fledged naval expedition against Sulu in 1848. Jolo, the capital, was bombarded without much effect (Majul 1973, 277–79), so that a second expedition was deemed necessary. This never took place because the Spanish had resumed their own efforts to bring the southern archipelago under their sway, both by diplomacy and by force. Repeated Dutch interference would have caused diplomatic confrontations between Madrid and The Hague, so the Dutch abstained from further action (Muller 1912, 10–11).

In 1875, comptroller J. A. B. Wiselius was sent to Manila by the Netherlands Indies government. He chided the Spanish for their passive

attitude with regard to foreign trade, but did not rate his own compatriots as any more active. With cane sugar as a major product of Java, it was understandable, he argues, that Dutch traders would show no interest in sugar from the Philippines. But they could have been much more active in the tobacco and Manila hemp sectors, he reasons. Wiselius met the acting consul for the Netherlands, the Belgian Jean Philippe Hens, who in his last report had written:

The Netherlands appears not to participate actively in the trade. One sees only small quantities of paper, gin, cheese and ordinary glasswork and ceramics of Dutch origin. Exports named are cigars and in particular a good deal of the publicly auctioned leaf tobacco, which has been bought on account of Netherlands Indies traders. The Dutch flag appears seldom in the Philippine archipelago. The official listings of 1874 mention only three Dutch vessels, which loaded sugar and hemp in Cebu and Iloilo, after having arrived in ballast from China, or with a load of coal from New-Castle (Australia). Only one ship under Dutch flag, coming from Makassar with destination Macao, arrived in a damaged state in Manila, where it was condemned and sold. (Wiselius 1876, 99–100)

### **Tobacco and General Merchandise Traders: The Consuls of the Netherlands (1870–1930)**

Given the negligible commercial contacts in the nineteenth century, it may seem amazing that the Kingdom of the Netherlands maintained a consulate in Manila from 1866 onward. This was an honorary position, however, which was upgraded to a full-time diplomatic function only in the 1930s. The trader-consuls remained virtually the sole Dutch residents until 1900. Who were they?

Businessman George van Polanen Petel was the first to be charged with the function of Dutch consul in Manila (1866), soon to be succeeded by his cousin, George Petel, upon van Polanen Petel's departure for Java in 1869 (Bootsma 1986, 25–26). Although there were no signs of any consular activity on their part, in many ways the Petels were an interesting family. They were often referred to as French citizens, although Legarda makes note of the "Flemish name" (1999, 271).

Nardin refers to a Frenchman named Petel, who in 1842 had "a serious French firm" in Manila, in partnership with Lagravère. It went bankrupt in 1846. This Petel then shifted his interests to agriculture (Nardin 1989, 73). Diaz Arenas mentions van Polanen Petel as a partner of one Augusto in a French trading house in 1850 without discussing his nationality (Corpuz 1997, 176; MacMicking 1967, 167). In the contemporary guide *Guías de Forasteros*, van Polanen Petel's trading house is listed only from 1859 onward, again under the French houses.

British Consul W. L. Farren considered the trading house of van Polanen Petel as Dutch, and by implication as Protestant, as early as 1850. Petel then signed a petition to the governor that year to allot a certain plot of land in Manila as a Protestant cemetery.<sup>7</sup> As Farren must have known Petel socially, his judgment should be taken seriously.

Petel's subsequent emigration to Dutch Java may point circumstantially to Dutch citizenship, even though many European and Indo-European families in Java claimed French ancestry. In fact, the same George van Polanen Petel turns out to have been the manager of a large tea estate in Garut, West Java, after 1869. His son, Jules, was born in 1856 in Manila, and became the first husband of the mother of the famous Dutch writer Eduard du Perron (1886).<sup>8</sup>

The Belgian J. Ph. Hens, a junior partner in the Petels' trading business that went under the name E. Boustead, Jr., G. Petel, and J. Hens, became the next consul of the Netherlands in 1874.<sup>9</sup> Although Wiselius and Bootsma have voiced some doubts about the way Hens fulfilled his duties, he submitted elaborate annual reports in French to the official *Consulaire Verslagen en Berichten* (Consular Reports and News; CVB), from 1875 to 1889. Thanks to those printed reports, which followed a set pattern until the mid-1930s, the early Dutch and Netherlands Indies relations with the Philippines can be reconstructed, even though they tell us little about political and social affairs.

The longest-serving consul, P. K. A. Meerkamp van Embden, was the tenth child in a tobacco trading family in Rotterdam.<sup>10</sup> At age 21, he was sent to the Philippines to investigate trading possibilities after the abolition of the tobacco monopoly. He quickly became a member of a group of expatriates that included Belgians, Germans, and a few Britons who lived in the newly expanding "suburbs" of Paco and



Ermita. Young Meerkamp made extensive trips through the provinces surrounding Manila. He also stayed for a few months with some German tobacco planters in the Cagayan Valley. During the rainy season of 1884, he decided to go south to the Netherlands Indies and pay a visit to the tobacco plantations in Deli, Sumatra. It appears that life in the Philippines attracted Meerkamp. After half a year in Rotterdam, he left again for Manila in early 1886. His photographs and scrapbooks show a socially active bachelor who quickly became a partner in the trading firm started by van Polanen Petel, where Hens and another Belgian, Nyssens, had become the senior partners.<sup>11</sup> Hens succumbed to cholera in 1889, forcing Meerkamp to continue the business as well as his consular work.

In his first report on the year 1889 written at the end of February 1890, Meerkamp claimed to be the only Dutchman in Manila and, therefore, the right person to be appointed as the new honorary consul, a position which he held for more than three and a half decades.<sup>12</sup> The tobacco agency and managing firm, or "trading house" in Manila, which had been started by the Petels, was renamed "Meerkamp & Co."<sup>13</sup>

As manager first of a cigar factory started by Hens, La Hensiana, and later of the La Maria Cristina factory, Meerkamp became involved in the first labor strike in the cigar factories of Manila in 1902, which resulted in a victory for the laborers. The employers were divided. Meerkamp seemed to give the strikers the benefit of the doubt and voluntarily increased the workers' wages. "It is remarkable that the strike was restricted to the male laborers, whereas women (around 6,000) undoubtedly could more justly claim a wage increase," he observes (*CVB* 1903, 958). Melinda Tria Kerkvliet (1992, 29) suggests another factor: "they assumed that workers there belonged to the Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas."

The size of La Hensiana is unknown, but La Maria Cristina belonged to the category of a medium-sized factory, employing about 300 workers in 1895, which had increased to 444 by 1918. By then, it was just below the top ten of thirty factories listed in a petition by the Manila Tobacco Association to Senate President Manuel L. Quezon (Salazar 2000, 203). The largest factory at the time, La Flor de Isabela of the Tabacalera firm, employed 2,018 people.

Meerkamp may have been one of the first labor brokers for overseas Filipino workers. In the late 1880s, it was not only leaf tobacco and cigars that were exported from Manila to Java, but also skilled cigar-makers.

As Manila cigars were popular in the Netherlands Indies, a Dutch firm based in Semarang started an experiment with Manila cigar-makers who were hired to roll the cigars there. One of the directors visited Manila and contracted about 70 female laborers to make cigars in Semarang. This experiment worked well, and the next year a similar number of those women went to Semarang. Meerkamp wrote in 1890 that the first batch returned recently and most of them were prepared to renew their contracts (*CVB* 1890, 5).

Dutch cigar trader and popular writer Justus van Maurik visited the Glaser factory in Semarang, with a Mr. Tausig as managing director. Van Maurik was full of admiration for the company. In comments written in the lightly cynical style that appealed very much to the *Indisch* (Indo-European) audience a century ago, he says the factory contradicts

. . . the still general saying in this country, that Manila cigars are being rolled by grimy black damsels on their naked thighs. On the contrary, the factory is being kept very clean and the Manila women who taught cigar making to the Javanese workers and still collaborate with them, look anything but unappetizing, on Sundays—they are Catholics—even very picturesque, when they go to church in their national dress. (van Maurik 1898, 233–34)

In 1892, the Semarang entrepreneur continued his recruitment. A few clippings from *Océania* (1890 and 1891) show that the women returned with quite positive views on their experience in Java, as expressed in an interview:

In that country, everything is much cheaper . . . chicken cost only one *real*, eggs a quarter, fruits, *Osus Maria Os!* are much nicer, above all the mangosteens and pineapples. But the mango is much less good . . .

Five of the 69 [laborers] did not return . . . but they were looked after by a real European doctor, received medicines and much care; . . . cutters earned 25 pesos per month, while we cigar makers could make 15 to 20, depending on what we produced. . . .

Would you return? Oh no Sir, Why? Life is very dreary there: there are no fiestas, nor music, nor processions, no nothing. Manila, where our people live, is much better . . . (*Océania* 1890; author's translation from Spanish)

Still, although several groups of *cigarreras* followed the first, the flow of skilled cigar labor to Java did not go on much longer than a few years.<sup>14</sup> Cigar-makers in Holland objected strongly to the importation of cheap Philippine leaf tobacco, the mainstay of the Semarang factory's cigar production, which they regarded as unfair competition. They finally got their way when the colonial government increased the import tax. Manila thus lost her market for some time—but not for long, as the new American colonial administration in the Philippines pressured Batavia into reducing taxes again, resulting in the resurgence of Manila cigar and tobacco exports to the Indies, but no more labor migration.

As shown in many pictures, Meerkamp hunted and collected specimens of Philippine animals and plants unknown in the Netherlands or in Java and sent them to such institutions as the Botanical Gardens in Leiden and Buitenzorg (Bogor), and to museums in Rotterdam and Leiden. Various ethnographic objects, like the *lantaka* (Philippine cannon), *sungkahan* (wooden block with holes for shells; used for playing the *sungka* game), and models of Tagalog houses, arrived in the Netherlands with compliments of the sender. One of the most remarkable shipments contained three skeletons of *Bubalus mindorensis* Heude, or *tamaraw*, the Philippine dwarf buffalo: a male, a female, and a calf shot on the foothills of Mount Halcon, at the Dulayan River (Jentink 1894, 199).

In his attempt to propagate knowledge of the Philippines in the Netherlands, Meerkamp also approached Professor Hendrik Kern of Leiden University, offering him to collect words in Philippine languages. Kern responded with enthusiasm, happy to have found interest in his own investigations on Philippine languages and society. The Meerkamp papers show heightened activities in the 1890s. For his contributions to knowledge of the Philippines in the Netherlands, Queen Regent Emma awarded him a gold medal of distinction in 1894.

As time went on, Meerkamp himself became one of the leading expatriate businessmen of Manila, especially after the Americans had taken over the Philippines. This is attested to by scores of invitations

to parties and clubs, newspaper reports, and pictures in his books, as well as his being portrayed as one of the 36 "representative businessmen of Manila" in the *Manila Times Settlers Edition* of 1910 (*Manila Times*, 10 February 1910). The consul and his wife—they married in 1891 during his European leave—appeared regularly in the society pages of Manila newspapers as party hosts or organizers of bridge drives and children's parties.

Aware of the many similarities between the Philippines and the Netherlands Indies, Meerkamp also lobbied for scientific, cultural, and political connections between the two colonies, with some success, as we have already seen in the case of the *cigarreras*. He prepared for the visits by Philippine Governors General Francis B. Harrison and Leonard Wood to Java in 1916 and 1923, respectively, and for the return visit by Governor General Fock to Manila the following year. In 1927, Meerkamp retired to the Netherlands for reasons of health.

Looking at the many pictures in the Meerkamp collection and going through his scrapbooks, one is struck by the cosmopolitan interests of the consul. He collected pictures and postcards from the many countries he visited during his trips back and forth to the Netherlands. He thoroughly documented his trips within the Philippines as well.

Cosmopolitanism insofar as social contacts were concerned pertained mainly to the foreign, in particular the "white" population of the Philippines. Only a few pictures show Indios/Filipinos, and when they do, they are portrayed mainly as servants, porters, and drivers. No individual Chinese is ever mentioned as a business, let alone social, contact. The consular reports show little appreciation for Filipinos as tobacco producers, and like others in the early American period, Meerkamp lobbied for the importation of Chinese laborers to improve the product. One may conclude, in other words, that Meerkamp was very much a member of the turn-of-the-century expatriate community.

Meerkamp and the few other Dutch employees of his firm were witness to the momentous changes in the late 1890s, when the Spanish were ousted from the Philippines by Filipino revolutionaries and American troops (1896–1899). As consul of a neutral state, Meerkamp was involved in negotiations for the release of Spanish prisoners of war by the Filipino forces of President Emilio Aguinaldo, but to no avail.

When the Americans had established themselves, Meerkamp expected the rapid Americanization of foreign trade in the Philippines, which indeed took place. This left little space for increased Dutch activity, which did not materialize for a long time to come.

The First World War brought an opening for increased Dutch shipping as American overseas trade shifted from the submarine-infested Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The Dutch Java-China-Japan-Line (JCJL) opened a connection from Batavia and other Indonesian ports via Manila, Hong Kong, and Japan to San Francisco (de Boer et al. 1994, 30; Brugmans 1952, 98–99). The number of Dutch ships calling at Manila immediately jumped from 11 in 1915 to 29 in 1916, rising to an average of fifty vessels in the early 1920s at Manila's port, while a few dozen ships anchored in Cebu, Iloilo, and Zamboanga. The JCJL found her activities reason enough to open an office in Escolta, Manila, in 1927, which also served as an agency for other Dutch shipping lines. Whether these direct shipping links from Java led to Dutch tourism to the Philippines remains to be investigated.

Of the few Dutch entrepreneurs, one stood out as very successful, apart from Meerkamp and his group. Chemical engineer Jan Hendrik Marsman arrived in the Philippines as a representative of the Norit Corporation of the Netherlands. After selling the Norit (activated carbon) process for refining sugar to the Malabon Sugar Company, he was hired to be its vice president and manager in 1919. In the mid-1920s, Marsman broadened his enterprise by investing in gold claims in Baguio, and went into transportation and building construction as well. After marrying a Manila American, he eventually became an American citizen (Nellist 1931). The firm still exists.<sup>15</sup> Investments by partly Dutch multinationals, such as Unilever, Shell, and Philips, in the interbellum period probably also brought some Dutch employees to Manila, but there is little evidence of their presence and activities.

### **Gradual Growth and Diversification of the Dutch Community in the Philippines**

While Manila counted only three Dutch citizens in 1897,<sup>16</sup> after 1900 the number of managerial staff in Meerkamp's firm increased. The

Tabacalera firm, the biggest private enterprise in the tobacco and cigar sector, also employed several Dutch experts in the Philippines (Muller 1912, 73). At the time of Hendrik Muller's visit in 1909, about forty Dutch people were registered at the consul's office. Most of them were not businessmen, but "mainly priests, spread all over the colony."<sup>17</sup>

Most of those priests belonged to two orders, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC), and the Society of the Divine Word (SVD). The MSC order sent priests to Surigao to replace Spanish priests starting in 1908. The "province of Surigao was provided with personnel as intensively as possible, so much so that 34 priests and 15 brothers were working there already by the outbreak of World War I" (de Gier 1962). After the Second World War, this number reached a peak of around ninety Dutch missionaries.

The Society of the Divine Word started sending priests to Abra Province in the same year (1908). Some of the missionaries were of German nationality, while others were Dutch. The motherhouse of the order was in Steyl, Limburg, in the Netherlands, near the German border. By 1925, 24 foreign SVD priests and brothers were working in the Philippines, a number that mushroomed to 156 in 1950 (SVD 1950, 177). Both orders gradually expanded their mission fields within the Philippines and started schools, seminaries, and universities. Most of the Dutch missionary priests were sent to rather inaccessible parishes, where they often were the only non-Filipinos. Learning the local language was mandatory. Several of them, like Antoon Postma (SVD), Peter Schreurs (MSC), and Eugene Verstraelen (SVD), became scholars and published linguistic and historical studies.

In several cases, conflicts with the locally powerful resulted in the transfer of priests by their superiors. Serious conflicts in the north and south with leaders and followers of the Aglipayan national church erupted upon the very arrival of the Dutch priests, and conflicts emerged time and again. Sometimes, such conflicts involved nationalistic local authorities as well. As narrated by one of the MSC fathers, the historian Peter Schreurs, the point was reached when "most municipal presidents of Surigao sign[ed] a joint petition that the Dutchmen be sent back to Holland" (Schreurs 1989, 436; see also Derix 1981, 458). Conflicts further accompanied the erection of several schools and, in

particular, the Social Communication Center, a multimedia institution designed by Fr. Cornelio Lagerweij that ran from the 1960s onward and grew to the considerable size of 200 employees. Vatican II (1962–1965) was especially effective in stimulating many foreign religious to work for conscientization in their parishes and even mobilization of the poor for social change, often to the chagrin of more conservative Filipinos in their localities.

After independence, the stream of Dutch missionaries gradually dried up. As more Filipino priests were ordained within these orders, the transformation from mission field to Philippine province, run by Filipinos, inevitably occurred in the 1970s. Like in the secular world, transfer of power did not always go smoothly, even though this fact seldom came out in the open. Many of the priests decided to retire in the Philippines.

### **Visiting Students and Scholars in the Philippines and the Netherlands**

Filipino novices leaving for a MSC seminary in Holland from 1929 onward were the pioneers in a flow of students, which in a very diversified form is still continuing. An earlier sign of educational relations with the Netherlands Indies can be found in a consular report of 1919. A “Filipino student from the Agricultural School in Los Baños has started to learn Dutch in preparation for a further study in the Netherlands Indies,” it says, but it seems that not much came of it after all (CVB 1918–19, 302). More effective was a counterflow of Indonesian students to the Philippines. However, later on, in the 1930s, sending Indonesian students to Philippine universities, as well as to international sports events in the Philippines, was discouraged by the Dutch consul general for fear of their exposure to dangerous nationalist ideas (Bootsma 1986, 82).

In the interbellum period, scientific exchanges and early forms of scientific cooperation made for a constant shuttling of researchers between the two colonies. This pertained mainly to the fields of agriculture (sugar), forestry, public health, education, and the study of law (van den Muijzenberg 1992, 4). An example of early collaboration was the mission by a later professor of customary law (*adatrecht*) at Leiden

University. F. D. Holleman, LLD, was asked by the American Council of Learned Societies to visit the Philippines from Batavia and give advice about promoting the study of customary law in the Philippines. Another aim of his four-month visit in 1931 was to coproduce an edition of Philippine customary law materials with the American professor of anthropology at the University of the Philippines, Dr. H. Otley Beyer. Holleman's diary shows how complicated such a project could become, however. While he had friendly contacts with Filipino scholars, like Rafael Palma and Conrado Benitez, as well as with American professors, such as Joseph Ralston Hayden, working with Beyer turned out to be quite a challenge (Holleman 1991).

Since Dutch activities in the Philippines were still limited during the interbellum period, the number of Dutch nationals residing in the country remained small—witness the 138 who were present in the country in 1942 only to be interned by the Japanese. Seventy-five of them were religious personnel (Muij-Fleurke cited in van IJken 2000, 34).

### Filipino Diaspora in the Netherlands

In quantitative terms, undoubtedly the most important flow of people between the two countries was formed by the postwar migration of Filipino workers to the Netherlands. A total of at least ten thousand Filipinos have come to the Netherlands since the 1960s. There are no complete and reliable figures on their number, however. In comparison to other nationalities, the number of Filipino citizens entering the Netherlands since the mid-1960s was too small to warrant separate mention. Until recently, official statistics subsumed them under "Asian nationalities."

The awareness of unregistered residents, in addition to those officially recorded, sometimes leads to wild speculations. In 1987, a survey of Filipino laborers in Europe estimated their number in the Netherlands at seven hundred (CIIR 1987, 75), a far cry from the figure of some eight thousand for the Benelux, including undocumented persons, that was mentioned only a few years later (Co 1991–92, 14). Seven years later, the Dutch weekly *Vrij Nederland* (The Free Netherlands) placed the number at about ten thousand (Drayer 1998). Equally unsubstantiated



guesses by members of the Filipino community reach as high as fifteen thousand (Arcinas 1993, 20; Ojeda in Gonzales 1998, 12).<sup>18</sup>

Official figures are substantially lower. At the national level, 2,398 Filipino nationals were registered by the Central Bureau of Statistics in the Netherlands on 1 January 1999. Three out of every four of them were women, mainly young adults aged 20–44 years (CBS 1999, 47).

Filipinos are concentrated in the three urbanized Randstad provinces in the western part of the country. Among its more than 735,000 inhabitants, the city of Amsterdam, the only one with detailed data, counted 604 Filipino nationals as of January 2002. It should be noted that a substantial number of Filipinos in the Netherlands have acquired dual or naturalized citizenship and dropped their original nationality. In Amsterdam, for instance, as many as 43 percent of the registered Filipinos were Dutch citizens as well. The Filipino “ethnic group,” including locally born children with at least one Filipino parent, was much larger—1,635 persons in January 2002.<sup>19</sup>

Fragmented data on annual migration between the two countries confirm the heavy overrepresentation of women in the early 1970s. After a gradual overall decline in Filipino immigration into the Netherlands by the mid-1970s, a more or less continuous increase occurred between 1978 and 1993, with a peak of 801 in 1991. The number has stabilized at around 650 per year since then.

The predominance of women in the immigration flow to the Netherlands is consistent with the various occupational roles the migrants have fulfilled in Dutch society. The proportion of work-related migrants relative to those who arrived for studies may be estimated at four to one. Although it is difficult to measure the various “waves” of Filipino immigration with any accuracy, there is less doubt about the economic activities of Filipino immigrants. They are largely service workers. Tentatively, we may classify their main occupations as professionals, midwives, nurses, seamstresses, artists, entertainers, and *au pairs*.

Filipinos, or rather Filipinas, may be said to be relatively invisible in Dutch society. Many of them have assimilated into Dutch life and speak Dutch and, over the years, several of them have married Dutch citizens. Seldom do they hit the headlines, as in 1974, when a group of textile workers protested against its forced return to Manila, wishing

instead to proceed to Canada. Once in a while, a press report on labor problems involving Filipino seafarers at the port of Rotterdam, or on Filipina *au pairs* in well-to-do families, appears.

After the first recorded Filipina settler, an opera singer who married a Dutchman in 1947, and some classical musicians in the 1960s who stayed for only a few years (Arcinas 1993), labor migration of some size began with small groups of nurses moving to Rotterdam and Leiden in 1964. The idea to recruit Filipinas on a broader scale was reputedly suggested by then Crown Princess Beatrix, who had traveled to Southeast Asia and paid an official visit to the Philippines in November 1962. The first experiment failed because the trained staff nurses recruited by the Wilhelmina Gasthuis (hospital) in Amsterdam considered the cleaning and nursing work—which their Dutch colleagues were routinely doing—not fitting for their function as professionals.

A new start was made using an idea borrowed from Germany, where Sister Felicitas from one of the Catholic hospitals in Amsterdam had visited hospitals employing Filipina midwives as “practical nurses.”<sup>20</sup> The group that went to Amsterdam in 1967 consisted of eighty young women. They were recruited in Manila by Catholic Travel Center and were personally brought to Holland by the director and two female vice directors of the hospitals. From 1967 to 1972, more midwives arrived and worked on three-year contracts in hospitals in Amsterdam, Eindhoven, Bussum, Heerenveen, Haarlem, Apeldoorn, Utrecht, and other cities, totaling around 400 (Drayer 1998, 38). By 1973, about 200 women were said to be working in Dutch hospitals (*de Telegraaf*, 20 April 1973).

Generally positive, if rather paternalistic, stories were published in the Dutch press, even though irritation about task assignments and differences in salaries remained latent among the Filipinas. Several labor conflicts occurred, yet many of these migrants renewed their contracts and some, after marrying Dutchmen, continued to contribute their appreciated care to the Dutch health sector (Reijmers 1971, 24–28).<sup>21</sup>

Almost thirty years later, with the dearth of hospital personnel a burning problem again in the Netherlands, one of the Dutch weekly magazines took a cue from the past. It asked several nurses who had

stayed on to reflect on their experiences as young migrants a generation ago. They appeared to look back rather positively on the way their hospital and Dutch society received them, even though they also remembered hard work, their feeling of homesickness, and differences in salary scale compared with Dutch colleagues (Drayer 1998, 38–42). Other papers followed, and new hiring schemes were announced in the press. Little came of such plans, however, because a major recruitment agency went bankrupt, and the investment in hiring foreign personnel was considered as prohibitive by several hospital managers.

Parallel to the flow of medical personnel, ten groups of young Filipinas arrived to work in Amsterdam, Ulft, Wehl, and Gendringen in the Berghaus ready-made textile factories. It so happened that the personnel manager, H. M. Verius Croonen (Derix 1981), had a brother who was a missionary in Guimba, Nueva Ecija in Luzon (Fr. Jos Croonen, MSC). Selection in Manila was handled by the Social Communication Center. The first group of sixty-two women came to the Berghaus factory in 1966 (*Manila Times*, 3 October 1968).

By early 1973, some 300 “girls” were working for this firm. The Dutch press became aware of their presence after a televised BBC documentary that portrayed Filipinas as slaves in Britain, Germany, and Italy. The Dutch media were quick to highlight the good employment conditions and personal guidance prevailing in the Dutch textile and hospital sectors, as opposed to those in the neighboring countries (*de Telegraaf*, 20 April 1973; *Volkskrant*, 19 April 1973). A year later, a politically laden conflict arose in a departing group of textile workers. After their three-year contract elapsed in February 1974, forty-eight “Berghaus girls” were about to be sent back to their country, as required by the Philippine government, then under martial law, but they did not wish to do so. They staged a strike and sit-in in the Mozes en Aäron (M&A) church in Amsterdam to achieve their goal. Their action was successful, and 48 of them were permitted to leave for Montreal, Canada. Twenty-five others returned to the Philippines, two married in the Netherlands, and five obtained visas for the United States (author’s interview at the M&A church; *Volkskrant*, 18 February 1974).

In the past decade, a few hundred Filipinas have entered Holland under the so-called *au pair* arrangement. More and more highly edu-

cated young Dutch couples have paid employment but no grandma next door to look after their children. The institutional development of childcare centers in the Netherlands has lagged behind that of neighboring countries, so the recruitment of a private nanny seems the obvious solution for couples who can afford it.

The *au pair* arrangement originated in Europe among middle- and upper-class families who decided to send their daughters abroad to develop a broader view of the world by following part-time courses and living as a member of a similar family. Hospitality was compensated with light domestic work, including looking after young children. In the 1980s, creative entrepreneurs adapted this formula to circumvent the increasingly restrictive immigration rules and compensate for the lack of domestic servants in the postwar Netherlands.

The conservative weekly magazine *Elsevier* launched a public discussion in April 1993 on what it called the misuse of a "maze in the law." Less aloof was one of the most famous Dutch comedians, Youp van 't Hek, who launched a campaign against the arrogant quasi-elite yuppie families who employed, and sometimes exploited, their Filipina nannies. Under the title "Amah hoela," he defined the "new plaything of the elite," the *amah*, as

a lady from the Third World with a big appetite and few financial demands, who at the rate of something like five hundred guilders a month "does" the children, the laundry, the cooking, the ironing and baby-sits three evenings a week for the same amount. Often they are Filipinas . . . (who at forty hours a week earn) three guilders an hour. Impressive! . . . and for ten guilders they baby-sit for another five hours, in order to make a bit more to send home. (van 't Hek 1993)

A year later, the quality newspaper where he wrote his column published a less sarcastic feature article containing similar information. It mentioned an allowance of 600 guilders, no social premiums to be paid by the employer, and a 50- to 60-hour working week. In comparison, a Dutch domestic worker—if available at all—would cost 4,000 guilders, partly because of the high social premiums, while the working week would stop at 40 hours. The paper estimated that a total of 1,500 Filipina *au pairs* were then working in the country.

Thus, a lot of negative publicity surrounded the phenomenon of the Filipina nanny in the first half of the 1990s,<sup>22</sup> only to fade away in the second, probably because the focus of the public debate shifted to the major minority groups in what some called the Dutch multicultural society.

In the meantime, this form of labor had caused the emergence of specialized recruitment agencies, both in the Philippines and the Netherlands. Often, the agents were Filipinas themselves, or Dutchmen married to Filipinas (Luyendijk 1995). Alerted by reports on exploitation and misuse, the Philippine government proclaimed a ban on the emigration of *au pairs*, but the Filipinas in the Netherlands strongly protested against this measure. The monthly journal *Munting Nayon, Monthly News and Views of the Filipino Community*, continues to carry advertisements of *au pair* agencies and regularly reports on the *au pair* phenomenon (*Munting Nayon* 1999).

Artists, both male and female, formed another category. The majority of those who came after the early pioneers were entertainers in popular music and dance. A separate circuit of nightclub musicians and dancers was studied in 1983 and 1992 by Philippine sociologist Fe Arcinas. She concluded that, from the perspective of the artists, Europe formed an attractive working area for Filipinos. The Netherlands functioned as a point of entry from which contracts in other countries could be arranged. Even though occasional economic and sexual exploitation was found, the career of an entertainer was felt to be promising throughout the 1980s and early 1990s (Arcinas 1993). The Asian cast of the musical "Miss Saigon," which ran for several successful years in the Netherlands, consisted mostly of Philippine artists. One of the lead actors, Linda Wagenmakers, represents the second generation of Filipino-Dutch, and reached the much-coveted position of Dutch contestant in the Eurovision Song Festival 2000.

The ever-larger vessels of Dutch and multinational shipping firms came to be manned in the past quarter of the twentieth century by substantial and still increasing numbers of Filipino seafarers. Around 3,000 Filipino seamen and 300 officers presently work on vessels belonging to Dutch companies, in some cases with a purely Filipino crew. The Filipino seamen have an excellent reputation. Dutch employers

have therefore recently announced plans to support some nautical schools in the Philippines in order to guarantee a regular supply of officers for the Dutch fleet.

With an increasing presence of Filipinos in the Netherlands, one might expect a rise in what has been called "ethnic entrepreneurship." We do see some signs of this trend, be it at a limited scale. The growth of remittances being sent to the Philippines made it interesting for the Philippine National Bank to open an office in Amsterdam in 1979. The Bank was forced to close in 1986 due to the crisis in the Philippines, but reopened in March 1991. Other Filipino businesses also focus primarily on catering to the needs of their compatriots, such as combined transfer service providers who handle the transport of *balikbayan* boxes, remittances, insurance, travel arrangements, and mediation in finding Dutch families for Filipina *au pairs*. A few restaurants in the major cities have survived the stiff competition for the non-western cuisine market. Commercial catering for parties is done on a broad scale wherever there is a concentration of Filipinos, while Amsterdam has a Filipino store. A few professionals (doctors, dentists) are known to attract a Filipino clientele.

A substantial portion of the Filipino community in the Netherlands is made up of students. More than 2,000 fellows from the Philippines have availed themselves of scholarships for postgraduate studies in the Netherlands. The Institute of Social Studies (ISS), the International Training Center for Aerospace Surveys (ITC), the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, the Maastricht School of Management (RVB), and several Dutch universities have brought students to the Netherlands, mainly from Philippine government and state academic institutions but, since 1986, also from nongovernment organizations (NGOs). In all these cases, an education in the Netherlands is expected to have an immediate impact on the student's performance back home. Returned fellows from these diverse training programs have been united in an alumni organization, the Netherlands Fellows Foundation of the Philippines, Inc. (NFFPI).

During the Marcos years, a number of Filipino exiles were granted political asylum by the Netherlands government. After the "People Power Revolution" in February 1986, several members of the National

Democratic Front and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) sought refuge in the Netherlands, including the founder of the CPP, José Maria Sison, who opted to stay and apply for political refugee status in 1988. Although this status was denied in a series of appeal procedures, the Dutch authorities, under pressure of public opinion, tolerated his staying on in Utrecht. Before 2001, the Netherlands government, then of a center-left composition, tried to mediate in the negotiations between the Philippine revolutionary left and the Philippine state, but without noticeable results. Recently, under a center-right cabinet acting upon international—United Nations and the European Union—anti-terrorism legislation, the Dutch state froze Sison's bank account in September 2002 and excluded him from minimal social security benefits, which are normally granted even to "illegal" residents. The local government of the city of Utrecht at first complied with the national directives, but, under pressure from parties on the left, Philippine support groups, and legal action on the part of Mr. Sison, changed its position quite rapidly. In November 2002, Sison was removed from the Dutch list of "terrorists" because this was not a national but a supranational, i.e., European Union, matter.

### **Dutch Sojourners in the Philippines**

The flow of immigrants from the Netherlands to the Philippines has always been much smaller than the Philippines-Netherlands stream. It also differs in its composition. It has consistently remained male-dominated, partly because of the large proportion of Roman Catholic priests among the immigrants. Some, like Msgrs. P. Vrakking, Charles van den Ouwelant, and Cornelius de Wit, even became bishops in Surigao, Agusan, and Antique, respectively. Since the 1960s, their number has dwindled, however, and the Netherlands even attracted a few Filipino priests to fill vacancies. Employees of a dozen Dutch companies reside in the Philippines, while a substantial proportion of the Dutch community may be characterized as "development workers." After the Second World War, development cooperation between the two countries initially took the form of mainly private assistance through NGOs. Based on a long experience of educational work, Dutch missionaries initiated

projects in the media and in the economic and health fields. Later, the so-called cofinancing organizations, such as Cordaid, Interchurch Organization for Development Co-operation (ICCO), and Nederlandse Organisatie voor Internationale Bijstand (Netherlands Organisation for International Assistance; NOVIB), created linkages with counterpart organizations in the Philippines. In line with ecumenical developments as well as with a growing homogeneity in thinking about development problems, these originally ideologically based organizations have coordinated their activities substantially in recent years. Their name—cofinancing organization—has to do with the fact that the Netherlands government adds a sum to each guilder collected by the organizations from the Dutch public. Over the years, many of these, as well as smaller organizations without the cofinancing arrangement, have developed tight and effective partnerships with Philippine NGOs and people's organizations (POs).<sup>23</sup>

Aside from being active in sectors covered by official development aid, like rural development, environmental care, health, emancipation and protection of women and children, technical training, and governance, these organizations have supported human rights advocacy, awareness building, and popular participation efforts in Philippine society. Over the past decade, a trend toward the promotion of sustainability and livelihood security programs has intensified. Since the late 1960s, the Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers (Dutch Volunteers Foundation; SNV) has sent about 250 volunteers to the Philippines (van Beurden 1999). Like the missionaries, volunteers engage in intensive daily contact with the Filipino communities in which they are stationed. In most cases, volunteers learn the local language. In their work, they link up with NGOs, both Philippine and Dutch. At a personal level, a substantial number have married Filipino partners.

Collaboration in the field of higher education saw roughly two major streams. One was focused on fundamental research. This yielded a community of Dutch scholars with Philippine specialization in a broad range of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, which is partly presenting itself in this issue of *Philippine Studies*.<sup>24</sup> The other was more applied and often linked to the development efforts of the Dutch government. One of the first Netherlands-Philippines collabora-



tive education programs in the Philippines was the Red-White-Blue project of training in small-scale industry development (1966–1969). The Institute of Small-Scale Industries of the University of the Philippines (UP-ISSI) developed from this program, and has expanded its function into a regional Asian training center which provides consultancy services to small and medium enterprises in the Philippines and abroad.

In the 1980s, bilateral government-to-government relations in the field of development cooperation were strengthened mainly after the People Power Revolution of February 1986. In the field of institutional capacity building in higher education, a sizeable number of university-to-university programs were undertaken. Examples are connections between the Wageningen Agricultural University and the University of the Philippines at Los Baños, and the University of Amsterdam with the University of the Philippines at Diliman. Similarly, Leiden University teamed up with Isabela State University, and both the Free University Amsterdam and the Technical University Delft with San Carlos University in Cebu. Most of the programs were carried out through the Netherlands University Foundation for International Co-operation (NUFFIC).

The levels and orientation of development assistance from the Netherlands to the Philippines have varied considerably over the years. In the 1990s, sectors like environment, health (including reproductive health and HIV/AIDS), social as well as economic development, and higher education were targeted. Within the framework of a major reorientation of overall Dutch development policy in 1998, the Philippines is now eligible for bilateral assistance only with regard to the environment sector.

Growing Dutch-owned businesses have brought staff to the Philippines, but only to a limited extent. Many firms prefer to work with Filipino personnel, and send Dutch only on short-term missions.

To implement such activities as mentioned above, Dutch-born citizens migrated to the Philippines. Until the early 1980s, the total number of immigrants from the Netherlands to the Philippines seldom reached 100 per year. But, in the 1990s, it suddenly started to increase, attaining a level of around 250 toward the end of the decade. At the same time, the gender composition of the flow changed. Up to the 1980s,

twice as many men immigrated to the Philippines as women. Since 1993, more women have been migrating to the Philippines than men. The return of Filipina workers who became Dutch citizens and immigrated back to their country of origin to retire appears to change the whole picture. Still, the absolute number of Dutch citizens in the Philippines at the turn of the twenty-first century was small, at around 600.

### Assessment

Looking back, the first fifty years of the seventeenth century did little to bring Dutch and Filipinos into contact. Whatever interaction took place was conflict-ridden and involved Spaniards rather than Filipinos as Philippine actors. After 1650, more than 250 years elapsed of little more than incidental interactions. It was only in the twentieth century that more systematic and continuous links developed. Still, during most of that century, the two countries and their peoples remained quite unknown to each other.

During the past few decades, the situation has changed substantially. The Netherlands has developed into an important economic partner for the Philippines, both in the export trade and in investments. It became a major destination for Philippine exports, first in the "traditional" and more recently in the "non-traditional" product sectors. Dutch exports to the Philippines have multiplied as well, and Dutch enterprises in the Philippines have increased their investments considerably. The Netherlands has attracted many Filipino immigrants as workers, students, and spouses, while Filipino seafarers now form the largest single foreign nationality in the Dutch commercial fleet.

Even if such economic data<sup>25</sup> place the Netherlands on the list of leading partner countries of the Philippines, this fact may not be reflected as clearly in the public mind on both sides.

It was remarked earlier that the more than ten thousand Filipinos and Filipinas who have at various times worked in the Netherlands since the 1960s have not been very conspicuous. Their number remains small compared with other immigrant groups from Surinam, Turkey, the Netherlands Antilles, Morocco, and other African and Middle

Eastern countries. The Dutch public may mistake Filipinos for Indonesians, who are better known because of the old colonial ties. Furthermore, because of their religion, they appear to fit quite smoothly in Dutch Catholic communities. In other words, they can hardly be regarded as one of the obvious "non-native" communities. This is not to deny the existence of quite an active social life of "the Filipino community in the Netherlands," as revealed by special monthly masses, local organizations, parties, presentations, and the journal *Munting Nayon*.

Among Dutch citizens with interest in the Philippines, the Dordrecht-based Filippijnen Informatie en Documentatie Centrum (Center for Information and Documentation on the Philippines; FIDOC) and the Utrecht-based Filippijnen Groep Nederland (Philippines Group Netherlands; FGN) are sources of information. Both groups have links to the National Democratic Front and jointly publish the information bulletin *Tambuli*. Little of these reach the general media, however.

The same may be said of the Dutch in the Philippines. An even smaller number in both absolute and relative terms, they are seen as part of the Caucasian "expatriate" community, where distinctions as to nationality seem quite irrelevant to Filipinos. Dutch companies are seldom recognized as specifically Dutch because of their own policies to present themselves as multinationals, or because of their English-sounding name. Many of them are actually run by Filipino personnel, and only those familiar with company details know their "Dutchness."

Therefore, the overall picture might be interpreted as an image of mutual irrelevance rather than tight interconnections. At second sight, a different picture emerges. The economic flows that have only been hinted at here but discussed elsewhere (van den Muijzenberg 2001a) are evidence of rather close interdependence. At the level of individual experiences, too, the two countries and nations are much more familiar with each other than first appearances might indicate.

There are few places in the Philippines where a Dutchman will not encounter some familiarity with the Netherlands. Dutch Boy Paint, Dutch Baby Milk, Dutch Cleanser, or, among youngsters, the proverbial "Dutch treat" are by now complemented by detailed accounts of personal visits to the Netherlands, or those of some relative or neighbor. Alternatively, experiences of training in a school in the Netherlands,

or a school run by Dutch priests, volunteers, or other personnel in the Philippines itself, or the presence of a Dutch priest or nun, are mentioned. The widespread activity of Philippine NGOs and POs has engendered familiarity with Dutch counterpart NGOs and government development cooperation projects.

Similarly, within the Netherlands, thousands of Dutch people have worked with Filipina colleagues in Dutch hospitals. Many more Dutch people fondly remember the care of Filipina nurses when they, or some relative, were hospitalized. The example can be multiplied for the entertainment sector, *au pair* care, shipping, air traffic, tourism, and several other sectors.

Among the scores of linkages existing between the Netherlands and the Philippines, we can only briefly mention the various support groups and parish-to-parish or city-to-city twinning arrangements that have arisen over the past twenty-five years. Several local Philippine-Dutch groups are active in various political and humanitarian causes and increasingly use the Internet to advertise their work. Often, the foundation for developing such ties lay initially in concern about human rights offenses, but gradually the scope has widened to poverty reduction strategies. In some cases, the media momentarily played a role. When José Maria Sison was denied basic social security provisions, as indicated above, some national papers brought the item on their Foreign Affairs pages. Institutional linkages are often built upon person-to-person contacts between people from both nationalities, including intermarriage. The latter may have originated from a long-term stay in either country, shorter visits, including tourism, or even "pen pal" contacts.

Given the recent trend of growth of economic relations, with a parallel in both official connections and private linkages, one may easily predict future intensification. Can we indeed expect this trend to continue, and lead to ever-growing bilateral export, investment, and official and private relationships?

The answer must be ambiguous. On the one hand, the global slowdown has reduced the economic linkages. The new economy that seems to be spreading over the globe, unhampered for more than a decade, is subject to stagnation, which puts the future of bilateral trade in electronics (now forming its mainstay) in doubt. However, trade in

services, although much harder to measure than trade in commodities and capital investment, may still grow.

On the other hand, it will be less and less clear that the flows of people, goods, services, and capital are specifically linking the Netherlands to the Philippines. The Netherlands is rapidly integrating economically into the European Union while increasingly linking its political strategies to those formulated at the European level. Many exports from the Philippines to Dutch main ports are in fact not intended for the Dutch economy but have a final destination elsewhere in Europe. The introduction of the Euro facilitates economic relationships considerably while leading to a less obvious identification of persons and goods as "Dutch."

At the level of the people involved in all these flows, it does not mean that Dutch identity will disappear, although it may become more difficult for Filipinos to recognize a European as a Dutch, German, French, or Spanish citizen.

In retrospect, the developments of the late twentieth century may have effaced the problem that brought the Dutch to the Philippines four centuries ago: the intra-European conflict between Spain and the Netherlands. At the same time, the decolonization on both sides means that Dutch as well as Filipinos are involved in bilateral relations on their own terms, not as colonial subjects. In that sense, the intensification of bilateral economic, political, and sociocultural relationships provides the two peoples with a chance to further develop authentic partnerships.

## Notes

1. Recently, Roeper and Wildeman (1999) reedited the travelogue of van Noort, while Barreveld (2001) recounted the trip around the world with a focus on the fleet's Philippine experiences. Other, mostly limited, periods of common Dutch-Filipino experiences have been studied by a small number of historians, like N. A. Bootsma, Ruurdje Laarhoven, M. P. H. Roessingh, and Fr. P. Schreurs, MSC (for titles, see van den Muijzenberg 1992).

2. *Indio* is the Spanish term for native Filipinos. The term *Filipino* had long been used to refer to a Philippine-born Spaniard, and got its present meaning only by the end of the nineteenth century. To indicate the fear of the Dutch expeditions, Schreurs entitled one of his chapters "Help! The Dutch are coming!" (1989, 164–76).

3. On the contest-ridden social relations between the Dutch in Indonesia and the Spanish Philippines from 1600 to 1650 and the following two centuries of mutual diffidence and undercover trading relations, see van den Muijzenberg 2001b, 472–83. For a more detailed discussion of the rivalry between the two European contestants in the Moluccan context, see Andaya 1993, 152 ff.

4. Van den Muijzenberg (2001a) focuses on the economic relations from 1600 to 2000, while Bootsma (1986) reviews diplomatic relations for the period 1898–1942. For a recent update on diplomacy, see van IJken 2000.

5. The Spanish ambassador to The Hague tried to convince Madrid of the aptness of the forced cultivation model of Java for the Philippines, to no avail, however (Aguilar 1998, 83–84).

6. Willinck in Oosterling (1989, 277) describes his visit a few years earlier to the same locality in more neutral terms.

7. Thanks are due to Wigan Salazar for a personal communication dated 23 May 2000 about UK Foreign Office doc. FO 72/1042.

8. Jules van Polanen Petel thus was the father of the latter's half-brother Oscar ("Otto" in Du Perron's novel *Het Land van Herkomst*) (Snoek 1990, 28). Several van Polanen Petels and Petels are mentioned in the *Indisch Familie Archief* ([www.igv.nl](http://www.igv.nl)), or Indo-European Family Archive, which lists tens of thousands of European families who resided in the Netherlands Indies. The family was indeed Protestant, as proven by the baptismal records of Cheribon and Semarang. Oscar van Polanen Petel is portrayed in a group photo in Snoek (1990, 390). His and Charles Eduard du Perron's mother was Maria Mina Madeleine Bédier de Prairie, born in Penang (1864), who married Jules van Polanen Petel in Batavia in 1886, and remarried in 1898, also in Batavia. Her second husband was Charles Emile du Perron (<http://home.wxs.nl/~riper/ged/dat2.htm>).

9. J. Ph. Hens was also the consul of Belgium in the Philippines. His official appointment as Dutch consul came only in 1878 (Bootsma 1986, 26).

10. *Nationaal Archief, Handelsregister van de Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken Rotterdam*, dossier 56287 (National Archives, Register of the Chamber of Commerce and Industries Rotterdam). The firm P. Meerkamp van Embden & Sons, sworn brokers in tobacco, was established on 1 January 1850.

11. Special thanks are due to Mr. K. Meerkamp van Embden for allowing the author the use of his grandfather's papers.

12. The annual reports (*CVB*) were submitted dutifully in February or March of each year under Meerkamp's name or that of his vice consuls Crebas (several times between 1896 and 1908) and Bremer (between 1910 and 1926). From 1923 onward, the Netherlands employed honorary vice consuls in Cebu and, from 1926 onward, in Iloilo (*CVB*; Bootsma 1986, 27). From the 1920s onward, the Netherlands consulate general in Washington also published intermittent reports on the Philippines in *CVB*.

13. In the course of time, partnerships in the firm shifted, as indicated above. In the 1880s, Hens, Meerkamp, and Nyssens were the partners, but after the latter's demise, the Englishman F. E. de Tweenbrook Glazebrook became a partner in 1894. After Meerkamp's retirement in 1927, G. P. Datema and T. Bremer appeared as president and vice president, respectively. It is not known when the firm ceased to exist.

14. Based on the annual report of the Semarang Chamber of Commerce of 1902, occasionally a group of laborers was still recruited from Manila to teach Javanese workers new skills (*Samarang Kamer van Koophandel en Nijverheid* 1903, 66). I thank Dr. Theo Stevens for this and other references regarding the Semarang factory.

15. See <http://www.marsmandrysdale.net>.

16. The Dutch navy ship *H. M. Koningin Wilhelmina der Nederlanden* (H. M. Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands) flew the Dutch flag in Manila from 4 to 10 May 1897. One of the officers reported extensively about the visit in *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* (Batavia Newspaper) of 26 May 1897, mentioning those three persons as a small proportion of the "more than 300,000 inhabitants, among whom 7,000 Spaniards and about 300 Europeans."

17. It is interesting to note that the Germans were very active in the tobacco and cigar-making business as early as the 1880s, as shown by Salazar, and diversified to several other branches as well. If Meerkamp was right in claiming that he was the only Dutchman in Manila in 1889, his figure compares with 109 Germans and 176 Englishmen in 1887 (Salazar 1997; 2000).

18. A recent "country profile" (<http://www.philsol.nl/of/country-profiles.htm>) refers to an "official number" of 5,462 Filipinos in January 1996. This pertains to the category of "non-native persons," including Dutch citizens with one parent born abroad. Still, the relevant digital table under [www.statline.cbs.nl](http://www.statline.cbs.nl) quotes 7,740 such persons as being first- or second-generation Filipinos. That number had increased to 9,855 by 1 January 2000. For the evolution of a much lower number based on nationality, see van den Muijzenberg 2001a, figure 29.

19. Data from *Amsterdam in cijfers*, Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Municipality of Amsterdam ([www.onstat.amsterdam.nl](http://www.onstat.amsterdam.nl)). In 1992, 1,138 Filipinos as an "ethnic group" were registered; in 2002, the figure was 1,635.

20. The term was introduced by Dr J. C. Hattinga Verschure, then director of the Onze Lieve Vrouwen Gasthuis (Drayer 1998, 38–42).

21. In 1974, conflict arose in the provincial town of Bussum, where the director of the hospital had committed himself to sending the Filipinas back to the Philippines, which was then under Martial Law, "because the Philippine Embassy insisted on their returning. Continuation of their employment was not attractive because the Dutch medical labor market had improved, and the Filipinas had become more expensive because of their annual salary increases" (*Gooi- en Eemlander*, 8 November 1974).

22. Such as "Filipina au pairs in the Netherlands" by Lolita Villareal (1995), who interviewed sixteen *au pairs*. Most of them claimed to perform domestic work for 12 to 13 hours a day, and only three were able to follow some course of study (as quoted by Luijendijk 1995).

23. It is difficult to measure the relative contributions to bilateral development cooperation made by these many public and private organizations. Official development aid amounted to around 10 million guilders (nearly Euro 4.5 million) annually in the 1990s. An organization like ICCO estimates to have spent about 150 million guilders (or Euro 67 million) in the Philippines since the 1970s. In 2000, it had an annual budget of Hfl. 7 million (slightly over Euro 3 million) for the Philippines. Cordaid, with a budget of around 10 million guilders (Euro 4.5 million) for its Philippine activities focusing on the fields outlined above, devotes special attention to the urban poor and urban sustainability.

24. See the Introduction to this issue; for publications up to 1992, see van den Muijzenberg 1992.

25. The Philippines-Netherlands bilateral trade and capital flows in the twentieth century are documented more extensively in van den Muijzenberg 2001a, 57–91.

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