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Philippine-Dutch social relations, 1600-2000


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Few historians have focused their research on Dutch-Philippine relations, and the few important exceptions – like N.A. Bootsma, Ruurdje Laarhoven, M.P.H. Roessingh and Fr. P. Schreurs, MSC – have confined themselves to small regions or periods. The recent commemoration of the first Dutch circumnavigation of the globe by Olivier van Noort demonstrated the lack of an up-to-date overview of the ups and downs in Dutch-Philippine relations in the course of the past four centuries. This may not seem surprising, considering the absence of a history of intense, continuous contact. The two sides started with a drawn-out contest, followed by nearly three centuries of little connection, and only fifty years of significant flows of trade, people, transport and information.

The year 1600 was a remarkable one for the emerging Dutch nation, which had been fighting for its independence from Spain since 1568. A major battle was won at Nieuwpoort, while in Asia two small fleets ventured beyond Java, then newly 'discovered' by Cornelis de Houtman (1595-96). The expedition of the Liefde (Love) resulted in long-lasting trade relations with Japan, with the Dutch obtaining an import and export monopoly through their factory at Deshima. Later in the same year, Dutch sailors under Olivier van Noort entered Philippine waters for the first time.

While Dutch-Japanese relations developed into centuries of peaceful exchange and trade, those in the Philippines were laden with enmity between the Dutch and the Spanish. Their violent conflict in Western Europe was fought partly in Asian waters. The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 ended a long period of bilateral attacks, which intensified the heavy exploitation of Filipinos by their colonizers, as well as by marauding Dutch fleets trying to harass the Spanish. After the mid-seventeenth century, the former European foes withdrew largely into their own separate Southeast Asian spheres of influence.

When the Spanish slowly opened their colony for trade by Western nationals in the early nineteenth century, the Dutch were hardly interested. At the beginning of the 20th century, less than a dozen Dutch nationals resided in the Philippines.
In the American period (1898-1946), economic and political connections between the Philippines and the Netherlands began to unfold, but rather slowly. A new geo-political situation developed in Asia after a succession of proclamations of independence in 1946 and following years, but there was little change in the relations between the Netherlands and the Philippines until the late 1960s. It is only in the past thirty years that more substantial bilateral trade and movement of persons have developed. The increase of trade and investment in the 1990s may even be called 'explosive'.

The two nations have recently become quite significant partners in the economic sphere. 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 will focus less on economic relations\(^1\) than on social aspects of the connections between the two nations. Whereas the first three centuries of contact may hardly be regarded as a time of regular and sustained interaction, the past century has shown a gradual increase in this regard. From a handful of Dutch nationals living in Manila around 1900, and no Filipinos in the Netherlands, members of the two nations are now involved in sustained contact and are settling permanently in growing numbers on the other side of the globe. In the last quarter of the 20th century thousands of Filipinos, mainly women, moved to the Netherlands, where hundreds settled permanently. Though smaller in magnitude, a comparable flow to the Philippines of Dutch traders, businessmen, priests, development workers and others has been developing throughout the 20th century.

\textit{A period of contest between Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Spanish fleets in Philippine waters, 1600-1648}

King Philip II of Spain unwittingly created the first direct Dutch-Philippine connections. By closing the Portuguese ports to Dutch salt and spice traders, he directly attacked their wealth. The banning of the Dutch was a strategic punishment for their rebellion against King Philip's style of governing and taxing the Low Countries.

The interruption of their usual trade routes by King Philip therefore forced the Dutch to search for an alternative access route to the origin of the spices, the East Indies. A later observer commented, 'What a plague did the

\(^1\) They were the subject of Van den Muijzenberg 2001, while Bootsma 1986 reviewed diplomatic relations for the period 1898-1942. For a recent update, see Van Yken 2000.
Spaniards bring upon themselves by sending the Dutch to look abroad for trade!' (Schurz 1959:342.)

Dozens of small companies of Dutch discoverers were hurriedly formed and financed by entrepreneurs who saw a possibility of making huge profits. Small fleets set sail in order to break the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly (since 1496) on the route to the Indies. Successive voyages around the North Cape and the Cape of Good Hope in the 1590s were followed by the most dangerous passage through the 'Spanish lake' via the westward route around Cape Horn. This first Dutch circumnavigation of the globe (1598-1601) brought Dutchmen to the Philippines for the first time.

After a long trip westward from Peru, 'General' Olivier van Noort and his two remaining ships, the Mauritius and the Eendracht, finally anchored in the Bay of Albay on 16th of October 1600. Posing as French and hoisting the Spanish flag, the Dutch were able to contact local Filipinos and two Spaniards. They replenished their victuals with water, pigs, poultry, fruit and rice, which were bought cheaply but had to be paid in silver:

They were hospitably received in this district, for our people supplied them with abundance of rice, with which to satisfy their need. They paid well for it, in order to relieve their necessity [...] assuring the natives that they had not come to harm them. (Blair and Robertson 1973:11, 154.)

Soon, however, a Spanish emissary found them out for what they were – Dutch, that is: enemies of the Spanish Crown (Van Noort 1999:137-8). Both parties immediately took hostages, which were released only after lengthy negotiations. Hiring Filipino pilots to guide the small Dutch fleet through the difficult waters, around eddies, along reefs and through squalls, as well as through windless spells, was not simple, either.

Finally landing at Capul Island, the Dutch found empty villages: the population had fled to the interior. The Filipino pilots ran away as well. The peaceful approach of the first days was then replaced by outright use of force and intimidation. Van Noort sent several punitive expeditions ashore. As a matter of course, his men set fire to the houses, constructed of light materials, after confiscating the food supplies. Late in October, Van Noort and his officers decided to sail on to the entrance of Manila Bay. Once there, a decision would be taken whether to enter that bay or the harbour of Manila, or not to enter at all (Van Noort 1999:141).

2 Recently, Roeper and Wildeman (1999) re-edited the travelogue of Van Noort, while Barreveeld (2001) recounted the trip around the world with a focus on the fleet's Philippine experiences.

3 The term Filipino was not used in the texts, but is used throughout this article instead of 'Indians', 'Indios' or 'Indianen' that were used at that time.
Without pilots and under bad weather conditions, the stretch from Capul Island to Corregidor at the mouth of Manila Bay took the Dutch nearly a month. They provisioned themselves by engaging in some trading but also by committing outright piracy, assaulting boats they encountered. Some of these were heading for Manila with their annual tribute in pigs and fowl.

Luck was with them in early November when they seized a Chinese sam-pan with seven Chinese aboard. The Chinese captain turned out to be an excellent informant on the situation in the Spanish city of Manila. He also told them about the annual trading by 'more than four hundred ships from the Chinese province of Chincheo, loaded with silk [...] coming to Manila between Christmas and Easter. They are paid in silver.' (Van Noort 1999:144-5.)

Finally arriving at the entrance to Manila Bay, Van Noort and his officers decided to stay and cruise along the coast until February 1601. They hoped to intercept the two annual ships from Japan carrying iron and flour, as well as those big trading fleets from China with silk and other much-coveted goods.

During stormy weather on 14 December 1600, however, two Spanish ships suddenly emerged from Manila Bay, heading straight for Van Noort's flagship. Having been informed of the whereabouts of the Dutch after they had gone ashore in Albay, the Spanish were justifiably afraid that the Dutch would not only take over their important trade with China and Japan, but would most assuredly capture the silver galleon sailing from Acapulco, Mexico as well.

So preparations were made for a counterattack on the intruders. No less than Vice Governor Antonio de Morga took command of the Spanish fleet, even though he had no naval experience whatsoever. It consisted of the Philippine-built galleon San Diego 4 carrying more than 400 men, a smaller yacht San Bartolomé and a 'Portuguese patache' (Blair and Robertson 1973:11, 157). On board were most of the able-bodied Spanish in Manila as well as Filipino and Japanese soldiers and sailors. The Spanish were motivated by fear of the Dutch as well as religious zeal to destroy the heretical Protestant enemy.5

Both parties claim to have won the ensuing drawn-out sea battle off the coast of Batangas. However, Morga's flagship sunk after prolonged grappling with, and then disengaging from, the Mauritius. Most of the heavily armoured Spanish, as well as the Filipino sailors and soldiers and Japanese

4 Schurz (1959:344-5) calls the ship the San Antonio. Morga himself thinks it measured 200 tons (Blair and Robertson 1973:11, 175).
5 The Spanish had some difficulty distinguishing their enemies. Often the Dutch were thought to be English or even Irish (Blair and Robertson 1973:11, 149-51). Morga claims the tonnage of the San Bartolomé was equal to that of the San Diego (Blair and Robertson 1973:11, 175). The San Diego was requisitioned from a private individual, whereas the San Bartolomé was owned by the king (Blair and Robertson 1973:11, 229).
mercenaries – about 350 in all – drowned (Goddio 1994:42).  

The badly damaged *Mauritius* fled. The Dutch had lost seven men, with 26 wounded, of a total of 53. Morga’s vice admiral, Captain Juan de Alcega, for his part, had chased and captured the Dutch yacht *Eendracht*. All 19 of its Dutch crew were brought to Manila and the 13 adults among them were executed.  

On 27 August 1601, the *Mauritius* finally arrived in Rotterdam, having completed the first Dutch circumnavigation of the globe. The sole remaining vessel of the original four, it brought home only 45 men of the original 248 (Roeppe and Wildeman 1999:37).

Thus, the first contact between the Dutch and the Philippines started peacefully with trading but quickly developed into a violent encounter. Undoubtedly the Dutch initiators of the circumnavigation of the globe had envisaged this would be the case. Their orders as formulated by Prince Maurits van Nassau had been to mount an expedition to inflict as much damage as possible to the Spanish strategic and commercial position in the world (Roeppe and Wildeman 1999:19).

The struggle that started in 1600 ended in indecision around 1650, when the Dutch withdrew from Philippine waters and the Spanish from northwestern Europe. In the end, it was neither of these two contestants but the British who emerged as the first real hegemonic power in Asia and in the world. The Philippines were only part of the larger Asian theatre of war and commercial competition, where Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, English and several Asian kingdoms and principalities both fought and traded with each other. In the five decades of fierce contest, the Spanish and Filipinos were hard-pressed by dozens of recurring Dutch attacks. The Christianized Filipinos suffered at the same time from raids by Muslim sultans and their followers. The enormous cost of these wars to the Filipino population of the

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6 This may be an exaggeration, as the official report in Blair and Robertson (1973:11) counts 137 men killed ‘in total’. Morga (Blair and Robertson 1973:179) estimates that 200 of his men reached Fortuna Island by swimming. The report by the *Cabildo* of Manila, inimical to Morga, estimates the ‘killed and drowned’ to be more than 120 Spaniards, ‘without counting more than a hundred negroes and natives beside’ (Blair and Robertson 1973:11, 245). Sloos (1898:5) mentions 109 Spaniards drowned or killed and 150 Filipinos and ‘negroes’. The National Museum in Manila recently opened a marvelous permanent exposition of part of the contents of the *San Diego*, which were rescued a quarter mile off Fortuna Island opposite Nasugbu, Batangas, in 1991-1992 (Goddio 1994). Other parts of the cargo and cannon are on display in the Museo Naval in Madrid.

7 Van Noort (1999:159) mentions 24 or 25 men or boys. The report in Blair and Robertson (1973:11, 164), as well as Van Noort’s last editors, suggest there were 19 survivors on the *Eendracht*. 13 of them adults, who were garroted after conversion to Catholicism. The captain and opperkoopman Lambert Biesman refused to be baptized. Two of the six boys survived and finally made it back to Europe.
islands has received much less attention than the political-strategic aspects. The Filipinos were forced to provide corvée labour, or to work at less than survival wages, to fell and haul logs for shipbuilding, and to provide military manpower. Apart from labour services, the provincial populations were forced to supply foodstuffs at requisition prices or for no compensation at all. To top it all off, in many cases they were forced to destroy the same churches, convents and other fortified buildings that they had recently been forced to construct. The Spanish authorities ordered this destruction out of fear that invading Dutch forces might use them as strongholds (Schreurs 1989:165). It is no wonder that several anti-Spanish rebellions were sparked by the severe deprivation of Ilocanos, Pampangos, Tagalogs and several other ethnic groups (De la Costa 1961:343).

After dozens of expeditions, the decisive Dutch attack was planned for 1646. At first sight it looked easy. A heavy earthquake had just devastated the city of Manila in 1645 and the Dutch arrived with a large force in several squadrons. As usual, the aim was to intercept the junks from China, capture the Acapulco galleons at San Bernardino Street, and then attack Manila, for which a third force was held in abeyance. The Spanish panicked. In utter despair, Governor Fajardo sent two ancient galleons, the Encarnacion and the Rosario, the only ships available, to meet the Dutch forces.

Contrary to expectations, they were able to first chase the Dutch from Ilocos and finally to engage them victoriously at the customary battleground off Playa Honda (Zambales). The improbable outcome of the lengthy battle between two decrepit galleons and a large fleet of heavily armed adversaries was widely attributed to divine intervention. Manileños were convinced that they had been rescued by Our Lady of the Rosary, whose statue was henceforth carried around in an annual procession in Quiapo, Manila under the name Our Lady of La Naval. In this way the Dutch unwittingly contributed to the intensification of Filipino Catholic culture (Joaquin 1964). News about the peace negotiations in Westphalia ended the annual Dutch forays in Philippine waters.

The cessation of overt hostilities after the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) did not bring about complete isolation of the two nations in Southeast Asia, although it did inhibit them from trespassing on each other's territory. Obviously, the repeated blockades, piracy, ransacking and burning of coastal villages and towns had not endeared the Dutch to the Philippine population. One could even speak of a 'Dutch scare' along the coastlines of the archipelago. The Spanish were not exactly the most popular nation among the Dutch, either. Too many captured Dutch crews had been tortured

Similar subjection, this author says, was imposed on Bicol, Leyte and Samar.

Schreurs even entitles one of his chapters 'Help! The Dutch are coming!' (1989:164-76).
and put to death as heretics and corsairs, no quarter given.

The many armed conflicts in Philippine waters brought Dutch captives to Manila, starting with the crew of the *Eendracht* in 1600. A decade later, in 1611, an observer was struck by the presence of Dutch and Flemings among the many nationalities in the Philippine capital. Quoting Jesuit letters, De la Costa narrates:

Ninety [Dutch prisoners] altogether were taken at Playa Honda in 1609, twenty of whom were badly wounded. Fortunately one of the [Jesuit] college fathers, Andrés de la Cámara, had been born and lived as a child in Ghent, and hence spoke Dutch fluently. He [...] attend[ed] personally [...] to [...] the stretcher cases [...]. Those who were unhurt he strove to convert to Catholicism, and spent long hours replying as best as he could to their objections. [...] Spanish policy toward the Dutch captured in naval actions was ruthless; they were looked upon not as prisoners of war but as pirates and apostates, and hence summarily and without exception condemned to death. Even those who recovered from their wounds had to pay this penalty, nor did conversion to Catholicism avail them a reprieve. (De la Costa 1961:362.)

*Undercover trade and mutual diffidence, 1650-1800*

No sooner had the war ended than trading began.¹⁰ The ban on mutual entry did not prevent even a Spanish governor from privately engaging in trade between Manila and Batavia:

Between the 5th and the 15th of June of said year [1666] there called at the port of Manila a Batavia ship, its captain a Portuguese mestizo named Nicolás Mendoza, a citizen of Jakarta married to a Dutch national and reported to be so himself. This captain had come to Manila on business on several previous occasions in Batavia ships, and five months earlier, aided and abetted by the governor, Don Diego de Salcedo, and others, had purchased a good-sized ship or *sampan*, with which he made a voyage and returned with a cargo of Dutch merchandise and several Dutchmen...

Captain Juan de Ergueza also made a profitable trading voyage to Batavia, returning to Manila with oil, wine, cheese and other merchandise, besides several Dutchmen who are now in the service of the said governor. This Captain Juan de Ergueza has been trading with Batavia for more than five years now, exporting from Manila currency, gold and deerskins and importing large quantities of the merchandise described above; and along with the Dutchmen he brought with him, he also brought several slaves he had purchased from the Dutch. Nor are

¹⁰ Laarhoven and Wittermans (1985:504) have extensively documented this 'unmistakable shift from open hostility to tacit cooperation [...] [which consisted of] a mutually indispensable exchange with Spanish silver and Dutch spices as the main products'.
these Dutchmen the only ones Don Diego de Salcedo has in his employ; his head groom and barber are of the same nationality.' (De la Costa 1965:68-9; see also Laarhoven and Wittermans 1985:498.)

Salcedo's private trade annoyed his compatriots in Manila, however. Making use of the dual church-and-state power structure of the Spanish colonies, the disgruntled Manila citizens incited the representative of the Holy Office to arrest the governor and send him to Mexico for trial.11

There was undercover trade initiated from Batavia to Manila, as well. Sailing vessels under Asian flags was a common practice:

The Armenians and Moors of India started coming to Manila during the period when commerce with the European nations was forbidden. The English and French came to trade in any case, but called their ships by Moorish names, carried Moorish crews and flew a Moorish flag. When the shipmaster and supercargo came ashore they brought with them two or three Moors and told the governor that these were the owners of the ship and they were merely the interpreters. The governor knew very well that it was all play-acting, but the presents they gave [...] moved him to permit their cargo to be landed and sold. (De la Costa 1965:138.)

In fact, the Dutch participated in the so-called 'country trade' to Manila, often on ships of Siamese, Cambodian, Makassarese or Armenian registration, and continued to do so for almost two centuries (Roessingh 1968:493, 498).

Nardin quotes Le Gentil in his report of 1781 at the end of this period, where he characterized the situation as follows:

Batavia opens its doors to everyone, Manila closes it to every nation, except Portugal [...] China, the Moors and the Armenians. [...] It is true that the Dutch, French and British trade under the Moors' flag, passing themselves off as interpreters or passengers, and arming themselves with persuasive arguments, more or less pecuniary. (Nardin 1989:20.)

The most important products imported to Manila were still spices, which were in great demand in Spanish America. In return, the Dutch were very much in need of Spanish silver from Mexico for their trading operations throughout South, Southeast and particularly East Asia. Officially, the spices were supposed to have been imported to Manila by a lengthy detour via the

11 Salcedo died on the way to his trial in Mexico. Interestingly, Salcedo's mother was Flemish and he had grown up in Brussels, where he learned to speak Dutch (De la Costa 1965:68). The Dutch servants in his employ were 'probably hustled out again after his arrest by the Inquisition' (De la Costa 1965:76). See also Van Dijk 1862:262-4. Recently, Schreurs has investigated the 'Salcedo case' in all its ramifications with his Flemish Spanish background, factionalism in Spain, Mexico and Manila as well as competition between religious orders in the Philippines (Schreurs n.d.).
Netherlands and Spain, which substantially increased the prices.

As far as Dutch involvement was concerned, the 'undercover' trade in these products never became voluminous in comparison with the activity of the English, or was regarded as a significant part of the Netherlands' overall trading operations (Quiason 1966:88).

Roessingh has suggested, however, that the opposite was true for the involvement of Manila-based traders in the commerce with Batavia. He estimates that Manila trade made up around half of the total foreign trade of Batavia in 1734-1735, for which reason contemporaries considered it an 'important trade' (Roessingh 1968:500-1). Apart from the major spice, cinnamon, one special product from Batavia was so much in demand in the Philippines that, following the example of Salcedo, several Spanish governors repeatedly broke the conditions of the Westphalia peace treaty rather openly. Good iron anchors could not be made in Manila, while they could be bought in Batavia, for instance (Laarhoven and Wittermans 1985:501).

There is little available evidence of Dutchmen staying in the Philippines or Filipinos in the Indies. An example of the former was a Flemish deserter from the Dutch East India Company, Carel van der Hagen. He fled the Batavia prison on an Armenian ship in 1702. Thanks to his education and social skills he made friends with powerful Spaniards and finally became the engineer in charge of improving Manila's fortifications. His diary tells us about daily life in Manila's Intramuros in the early 18th century. Van der Hagen 'never lacks money because he is given quite some extras by the well-to-do who like him. He is given to drink, party-going, and amusing himself with his friends. He has a mestiza girlfriend and often gets invited by her family, where everyone is hopeful that one day he will marry her, which is why he is offered several fortunes of dowries.' (Laarhoven 1987b:30.)

Van der Hagen acts as a godfather for two newborn babies and observes that 'an excellent feast was prepared, but there were no whites other than myself and the three other friends [...] all the others were Indians, but friendly and decent people' (Laarhoven 1987b:73). Later on he describes a visit he pays with his 'dear Agnes' to her relatives: 'I was there very well received and regaled, although they were all Indians. I'd rather be with her than with the Specken (Spaniards).' (Laarhoven 1987b:89.)

Although Van der Hagen crosses the race barrier, which was exceptional, witness his reference to the absence of other whites at a Filipino party, and the fact that he looks down on Filipinos. Chronicling his escape with five friends from Manila to Japan in 1704, Van der Hagen also shows that deceit and violence against Filipinos were as normal and acceptable for him and his contemporaries as it had been to his ancestors in the early 17th century (Laarhoven 1987b:98, 105).

Earlier, we saw examples of Dutchmen working for Governor Salcedo.
Dutch prisoners, if they survived their capture, and undercover traders in the Philippines remained scarce, and seldom did they leave written evidence of their experiences behind, as Van der Hagen did. No signs of Filipinos staying in the Netherlands are available until far into the 20th century.

But there were small flows of people between the Indonesian and Philippine archipelagos under the aegis of Dutch and Spanish colonial dominance. There is evidence of Indonesians who transferred from the Moluccas to Luzon. A contemporary place name like Ternate in Cavite province alerts us to former links between Luzon and the Spice Islands. Vicente Rafael has explained how some 200 Christian Moluccans, speaking a particular kind of Creole Spanish, had accompanied the Spanish to Luzon when they retreated from the Moluccas in 1663. In recognition of their support in quelling revolts against the Spanish, they received some land in Maragondon, Cavite. Later, in the 19th century, this settlement was renamed Ternate after the origin of the ancestors (Rafael 1978:347-53). A generation after their arrival, Van der Hagen’s group of six escapees from Manila reported to the VOC that the Spanish still maintained a reserve company of Mardijker (freemen) soldiers belonging to this group of immigrants (Laarhoven 1987b:134).

Filipinos coming to the Indonesian archipelago were mentioned in Dutch sources very early in the 17th century. Pampangos in particular served as soldiers and sailors in Spanish efforts to maintain their foothold in the Moluccas in the 16th and 17th centuries. Several of them were taken prisoner by the Dutch. Others deserted to the VOC side. After serving the Company for a few years they were given their freedom and became members of local society, not only in the Moluccas but also in Batavia, where they were mentioned as early as 1633 (De Haan 1922-23, I:96, 479, 514). There they gained enough economic strength to be considered as potential renters or even buyers of newly reclaimed land in the Banda quarter of Batavia (De Haan 1922-23, I:96).

The Pampangos were later recruited by the VOC to set up a separate military corps of 'Papangers' in Batavia. Being Christians, they came to form part of a privileged group in Batavian colonial society called the Mardijkers (freemen, with merdeka, maharlika, and mardica as related words). As free burghers, they enjoyed a status equal to the Portuguese and their mixed descendants, as well as to liberated slaves and immigrants from the VOC settlements in India and Ceylon. In terms of rights they were superior to the Chinese and native Indonesians. In the 18th century, the Papangers were used in Timor to combat the 'black Portuguese or Toepasses' (ENI 1917-39, III:296). A special paramilitary corps of Papangers, Moors and Bengalese existed in Batavia until 1862, whereas their separate unit was abolished in Kupang (Timor) as late as 1877 (De Haan 1922-23, I:514-5; ENI 1917-39, III: 295-6). Little is known about links, if any, between these overseas Filipinos and their country of origin. Nor do we have evidence of continuing relations between the two hun-
dred Moluccans who settled in Ternate, Cavite and their island of origin.

In the Philippine archipelago, the Sulu and Maguindanao sultanates remained forces to be reckoned with far into the 19th century. Sulu was an emporium on the crossroads of several trading lanes connecting South and Southeast Asia with China and Japan. The Maguindanao sultanate, though somewhat less central in the international trading flows, formed a source of much-traded commodities and played an important role in the Philippine archipelago. As such, both were interesting potential allies for the Spanish as well as for the Dutch and their competitors, the English.

While the Spanish in vain tried to subdue the sultans until the mid-19th century, the Dutch tried to play upon Sulu and Maguindanao antagonism towards the Spaniards in the 17th. They did so with much success in the case of Maguindanao, even though Laarhoven argues that 'it was the Maguindanao rajas who basically controlled the events, manipulating the English-Dutch rivalry to their own political advantage' (Laarhoven 1987a:4). In the case of Sulu, coalitions of a shorter duration were concluded, as in 1616 and 1645, when the following occurred upon request of a highly placed delegation to Batavia in the preceding year:

In July 1645, a Dutch squadron appeared in Jolo. The Dutch landed some troops and bombarded the Spanish fort [at Jolo] by land and sea [...], helped along by the Sulus. Nevertheless, they failed to make the garrison surrender. Leaving the Christians to fight one another, the Sulus retired from the fighting but stayed on to watch. When they saw that the Dutch did not seem to make any headway, they even attempted to capture one of the artillery pieces which the Dutch had landed. After three days, the Dutch squadron sailed away, its mission unaccomplished. (Majul 1973:155.)

Both sultans switched alliances in the mid-1640s. Thus Dutch ambitions to conclude advantageous agreements were not fulfilled. The main reason for this failure at a later stage was competition by the English (Laarhoven 1987a:1989).

Majul mentions the interest of Dutch traders in buying slaves from Maguindanao, hoping to make up for the recent decimation of the population in the Spice Islands. The volume of such a slave trade is unknown, however (Majul 1973:125).

Few of these trading possibilities were realized, however, for reasons that went beyond diplomacy. The high command in Batavia decreed that engagements in Mindanao should not be too expensive. Strapped of means, the Dutch traders thus could not match the English "'public relations" display of gift-giving and trading oversell, thus outshining the stingy Dutch' (Laarhoven 1987a:4). Yet, after some time the English withdrew as well.

For a long time, the activities in the Indonesian archipelago that had ori-
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ginated in Sulu and Balangingi consisted of fleets of armed praos of seafaring groups moving along the coasts of Mindanao, southern Borneo, Ternate, Siao and many other Indonesian islands. A strong connection in what the Dutch claimed to be 'smuggling' and 'illegal trading' was to be found between the Bugis of Makassar and the Suluses (Majul 1973:249). Apart from conducting commodity trading, the Taosugs, Samals, Iranuns and Balangingi captured people to sell as slaves, and took victuals by force. Slaves were taken with the purpose of expanding the productive population as well as to give in exchange for rice.

Sulu became a prosperous sultanate in the second half of the 18th century. Slavery and slave raiding were fundamental to this state, which was desperately short of manpower, according to Warren (1985:253). He argues that Sulu's impressive trading power was based on the extensive use of slave labour. Several decades later, numerous acts of piracy in the Indonesian waters would become a hot issue for the Dutch colonial power, as we will see shortly. It may be evident that apart from some captives who had to be redeemed, opportunities for the development of lasting relations remained scarce in Maguindanao and Sulu.

Indifference between neighbours in the 19th century

From the mid-17th century until the beginning of the 19th there were few openly recognized contacts between the Dutch and the Philippines. Nevertheless, trading lines were kept open, and when in 1789 the Spanish opened the port of Manila to international trade, 'this meant little more than legalization of an existing situation' (Roessingh 1968:504). Still, a new era was approaching in which the world was to be radically transformed within the span of one century.

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 polities, economies and society, 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. But changes within the Philippines were comparatively slow.

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 did not prevent the British, the Americans and the French (Nardin 1989) from
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engaging in shipping, trade and even agricultural production in the Philippines in the first half of the 19th century. Foreign and Spanish merchants were granted the right to export manufactured cigars starting in 1830 and leaf tobacco in 1837. Tobacco available for export 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 (Salazar 1999).

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

The small number of Dutch trading vessels coming to Manila left 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 one of 39 foreigners to be killed or wounded 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. Boelen pays the standard visit\(^\text{12}\) to the tobacco monopoly's cigar factory in a former convent in Tondo, where the gender separation of the workers strikes him:

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 Harpocrates, 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.)\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{12}\) Willinck in Oosterling (1989:277) describes his visit a few years earlier to the same locality in more neutral terms.

\(^{13}\) See De Jesus (1980:103) for a picture illustrating this quote.
During this year the average number of foreign ships visiting Manila was still less than one a week, Boelen tells us. Therefore, the Governor could easily sustain his friendly habit of receiving all captains in audience, and often inviting them for a meal.

The few contacts between the Netherlands Indies and the Philippines in the 19th century are difficult to document, not in 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-19th century Manila imported carriages from the Dutch colony of Java for the wealthiest classes, including the foreigners (1965:151). It is tantalizing to assume that such an import from Java was the work of a Dutch merchant house in Manila under G. van Polanen Petel, to whom we will return later.

For the Dutch in Java, the Philippines was less a trading partner than the 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 now confronted with repeated undermining of what it considered its sovereignty. It lacked the means to effectively enforce its power by patrolling the coasts of the islands beyond Java and the Moluccas, however. Sulu 'pirates' were spotted as far south as the Java Sea. Sternly punitive expeditions to the heartland of Sulu and Balangingi were what was called for, according to the Dutch colonial authorities who finally mounted a full-fledged naval expedition against Sulu in 1848. Jolo, the capital, was bombarded without much effect however (Majul 1973:277-9), so that a second expedition was deemed necessary. This never happened, 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 1912:10-1).

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 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 J.Ph. 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,\textsuperscript{14} from Makassar with destination Macao arrived in a damaged state in Manila, was condemned and sold. (Wiselius 1876:99-100.)

\textit{A 'long century' of slowly increasing and accelerating bilateral contact: 1870-2000}

The economic relations between the Philippines and the Netherlands developed only under the American regime, 1899-1946, not gaining in substance until the last quarter of the 20th century. Consequently, social connections remained limited until about the same time. Given the negligible commercial contacts in the 19th 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, and was upgraded to a full-time diplomatic function only in the 1930s. The trader-consuls remained virtually the sole Dutch residents until 1900.

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 to Java in 1869 (Bootsma 1986:25-6).

In many ways the Petels were an interesting family. They are often referred to as French citizens, although Legarda makes note of the 'Flemish name' (Legarda 1999:271). Nardin refers to a Frenchman named Petel, who in 1842 had 'a serious French firm' in Manila, in partnership with Lagravère.\textsuperscript{15} It went bankrupt in 1846. This Petel then shifted his interests to agriculture (Nardin 1889:73). 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 \textit{Guías de Foresteros}, on the other hand, Van Polanen Petel's trading house is listed only from 1859 onwards, again under the French houses.

British consul W.L. Farren considered the trading house of Van Polanen Petel Dutch, and by implication Protestant, as early as 1850. Petel signed a petition to the Governor that year to allot a certain plot of land in Manila as

\textsuperscript{14} From Hens' report in CVB (1875) we know this was the Colima.
\textsuperscript{15} The name may have been spelled Lagravère.
a Protestant Cemetery (Salazar, personal communication). 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 as well, 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). 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).

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 in 1874. Although Wiselius and Bootsma have voiced some doubts about the way Hens fulfilled his duties, he submitted elaborate annual reports in French, printed in the Consulaire Verslagen en Berichten (Consular Reports and News), 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, hailed from a tobacco trading family in Rotterdam. 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 wet season of 1884 he decided to go south to the Netherlands Indies and pay a visit to the tobacco plantations in Deli on Sumatra. It appears that life in the Philippines

16 Several Van Polanen Petels and Petels are mentioned in the Indisch Familie Archief (www.igf.nl), 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 on a group photo in Snoek (1990:390). His second husband was Charles Emile du Perron (http://home.uws.nl/~riper/ged/dat2.htm).

17 Jean Philippe Hens was also the consul of Belgium in the Philippines. His official appointment as Dutch consul came only in 1878 (Bootsma 1986:26).

18 No reports from Manila are to be found in the CVB for the years 1882-1886, however.

19 ARA, Handelsregister van de Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken Rotterdam, dossier 56287. The firm P. Meerkamp van Embden & Sons, sworn brokers in tobacco, was established 1 January 1850.
attracted Meerkamp, because after half a year in Rotterdam he left again for Manila early in 1886. His photographs and scrapbooks\textsuperscript{20} 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. Hens succumbed to the cholera in 1889, forcing Meerkamp to continue the business as well as his consular work.

Meerkamp submitted his first report (1889) at the end of February 1890. He claimed to be the only Dutchman in Manila and therefore the right person to be appointed as the new honorary consul, which he remained for more than three and a half decades.\textsuperscript{21} The tobacco agency and managing firm, or 'trading house',\textsuperscript{22} in Manila, which had been started by the Petels, was renamed 'Meerkamp'.\textsuperscript{23}

As manager first of a cigar factory started by Hens, La Hensiana, later of the La Maria Cristina factory, Meerkamp became involved in the first labour strike in the cigar factories of Manila in 1902, which resulted in a victory for the labourers. The employers were divided. 'It is remarkable that the strike was restricted to the male labourers, whereas women (around 6,000) undoubtedly could more justly claim a wage increase', he observes (CVB 1903: 958).\textsuperscript{24}

The medium-sized factory La Maria Cristina employed about 300 workers in 1895, which increased to 444 in 1918. By then it was among the top ten of thirty factories listed in a petition by the Manila Tobacco Association to the Senate President Manuel L. Quezon (Salazar, personal communication). The largest factory at the time, La Flor de Isabela of the Tabacalera firm, employed 2,018. Meerkamp may have been one of the first labour brokers for

\textsuperscript{20} Special thanks are due here to Mr K. Meerkamp van Embden for allowing the author the use of his grandfather's papers.

\textsuperscript{21} The annual reports were submitted dutifully in February or March of each year under Meerkamp’s name or that of his vice consuls, Crebas (several times between 1896-1908) and Bremer (between 1910-1926). From 1923 onwards the Netherlands employed honorary vice consuls in Cebu and, from 1926, Iloilo (CVB; Bootsma 1986:27). From the 1920s onwards the Netherlands consulate general in Washington also published intermittent reports on the Philippines in CVB.

\textsuperscript{22} Such ‘agency houses’ operated all over Asia handling goods on commission, although they also came in time to operate as merchant bankers, shippers, insurance brokers, speculators in produce, importers of machinery, investors in agricultural processing, and general “boosters” of such innovations as better mail service, customs reform, and the telegraph’ (Owen 1984:62).

\textsuperscript{23} In the course of the partnerships in the firm shifted as indicated above. In the 1880s, Hens, Meerkamp and another Belgian, 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.

\textsuperscript{24} Melinda Tria Kerkvliet refers to La Maria Cristina as one of three factories that voluntarily increased workers’ wages ‘because they assumed that workers there belonged to the Union de Tabaqueros de Filipinas’ (Tria Kerkvliet 1992:29).
Overseas Filipino Workers.

In the late 1880s, it was not only leaf tobacco and cigars that were exported from Manila to Java, but also cigar-making skills.

A Dutch firm in Semarang started an experiment with Manila cigar-makers. One of the directors came and made a contract with about 70 female labourers to make cigars in Semarang. This experiment worked well, and soon a similar number of those women will go to Semarang. The first batch returned recently and most of them were prepared to renew their contract. (CVB 1890:5.)

Cigar trader 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* 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 1898:233-4.)

In 1892 the Semarang entrepreneur continued his recruitment. A few clippings from *Oceania* (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 a réal, eggs a quarter, fruits, Osus Maria Osé! are much nicer, above all the mangosteens and pineapples. But the mango is much less good [...] 'Five of the 69 [labourers] 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 [...]. (Oceania 1890.)

Still, although several groups of *cigarreras* followed the first, the flow of skilled cigar labour to Java did not go on much longer than a few years.26 Cigar makers in Holland now objected strongly to the importation of cheap

25 Thanks are due to Dr Theo Stevens for this and other references regarding the Semarang factory.
26 The annual report of the Semarang Chamber of Commerce of 1902 states that occasionally a group of labourers is still recruited from Manila to teach Javanese workers new skills (Samarang Kamer van Koophandel en Nijverheid 1903:66).
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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 USA pressured Batavia into reducing taxes again, resulting in the resurgence of Manila cigar and tobacco imports to the Indies, but no more labour 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 Buitenzorg (Bogor) and Leiden, as well as to museums in Rotterdam and Leiden. Various ethnographic objects like a lantaka (Philippine cannon), a sungkahan (wood block with holes for shells, for playing the sungka game) and models of Tagalog houses arrived in the Netherlands with the compliments of the sender. One of the most remarkable shipments were three skeletons of Bubalus mindorensis Heude, or tamaraw, the Philippine dwarf buffalo: a male, a female and a calf shot in the foothills of Mount Halcon, at the Dulayan river (Jentink 1894:199).

In his attempt to propagate knowledge on the Philippines in the Netherlands Meerkamp also approached Professor Hendrik Kern of Leiden University, offering 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 a peak in such activities in the 1890s. For his contributions to knowledge on the Philippines in the Netherlands, Queen Regent Emma awarded him a gold medal of distinction in 1894. In the meantime he had married the daughter of another Rotterdam tobacco trader, who arrived with him in the Philippines in 1891 to start a family.

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).

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. 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
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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 inside the Philippines as well. In the pictures in which persons are featured it is striking how homogeneously 'white' his company was. Filipinos seldom appear, and when they do it is mainly in the form of servants, porters, drivers. His reports show little appreciation for the Filipinos as tobacco producers, and like others he lobbied for the importation of Chinese labourers to improve the product. In other words, 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 tried to negotiate the release of Spanish prisoners of war by the Filipino forces, but to no avail. In the first few years of American rule his perspective on the potential for an increased Dutch role in the development of the Philippine economy was pessimistic. His expectations of a rapid Americanization of the Philippines' foreign trade were generally well-founded. The Philippines became very much an American colony in the economic sense, even though the colonial set-up was very different from that of its predecessor. On the one hand rapid Filipinization of the administration and stress on education brought many Filipinos to high positions. On the other, society was 'opened up' not only by education, but by better transportation and mass communication.

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 1952:98-9). 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 at Cebu, Iloilo and Zamboanga. The JCJL found her activities reason enough to open an office at Escolta, Manila in 1927, which also served as an agency for the other Dutch shipping lines.

Of the few Dutch entrepreneurs apart from Meerkamp and his group, one stood out as very successful. 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 eventu-
ally became an American citizen (Nellist 1931). The firm still exists. Investments by partly Dutch multinationals such as Unilever, Shell and Philips in the interbellum period probably brought some Dutch employees as well to Manila, but little evidence of their presence could be found.

While Manila had counted only three Dutch citizens in 1897, 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, 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, although these were not mostly businessmen but ‘mainly priests, spread all over the colony’. Those priests mainly belonged to two orders, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC), and the Society of the Divine Word (SVD). The former order sent priests to Surigao to replace Spanish priests (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 (SVD) started sending priests to Abra Province in 1908. Some of the missionaries were of German nationality, some were Dutch. The motherhouse of the order is in Steyl, Limburg, 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. Like their Spanish predecessors, most of the Dutch missionary priests were sent to rather inaccessible parishes, where they often were the only non-Filipinos present. Learning the local language was mandatory. Several of them became scholars and published linguistic or historical studies. Vatican II (1962-1965) was especially effective in stimulating many foreign members of the clergy to work for conscientization in their parishes and even mobilization of the poor for social change. In several cases, conflicts with the locally powerful resulted in their transfer. Serious conflicts in the north and the south with leaders...
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and followers of the Aglipayan national church had erupted from the very arrival of the Dutch priests and emerged time and again. Sometimes such conflicts involved nationalistic local authorities as well. As related by one of the MSC fathers, the historian Peter Schreurs, it came to the point that 'most municipal presidents of Surigao sign a joint petition that the Dutchmen be sent back to Holland' (Schreurs 1989:436; see also Derix 1981:458). Conflicts also accompanied the erection of several schools and in particular the Social Communication Centre, a multimedia-institution designed by Father Cornelio Lagerweij that ran from the 1960s onward and grew to the considerable size of 200 employees.

The two missionary orders began sending Filipino novices to the Netherlands to be trained for the priesthood beginning in the 1920s. After independence the stream of Dutch missionaries gradually dried up, and 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 seldom came out in the open. Many of the priests decided to retire in the Philippines.

The Filipino novices leaving for an MSC seminary in Holland from 1929 onward were the pioneers in a flow of students that is still continuing. In 1919, an early sign of educational relations with the Netherlands Indies is to be found in a consular report. 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). 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 becoming exposed 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. This 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 co-produce 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. He had friendly contacts with Filipino scholars like Rafael Palma and Conrado Benitez as well as American professors such as Joseph
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Ralston Hayden, whereas working with Beyer turned out to be quite a challenge (Holleman 1991).

Since Dutch activities in the Philippines remained limited during the interbellum period, the number of Dutch nationals residing in the country was 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 (De Muij-Fleurke, as cited by Van Yken 2000:34).

Filipino diaspora in the Netherlands

In quantitative terms, undoubtedly the most important flow of people between the two countries remains 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 with other nationalities, the number of Filipino citizens entering the Netherlands since the mid-1960s was too small to warrant separate mention, so for many years published official statistics subsumed them under 'Asian nationalities'.

The awareness of unregistered residents in addition to those officially recorded sometimes leads to wild speculations about their number. In 1987, a survey of Filipino labourers 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 put 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).

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-quarters 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 700,000 inhabitants the City of Amsterdam counted 591...

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30 A recent 'country profile' http://www.philsol.nl/of/country-profiles.htm probably refers to an 'official number' by January 1996 of 5,462 Filipinos. This refers 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 quotes 7,740 such persons as being first or second generation Filipinos. That number increased to 9,855 by 1 January 2000. For the evolution of a much lower number based on nationality see Van den Muijzenberg (2001:figure 29).
Filipino nationals as of January 2000. It should be noted that a substantial proportion of the Filipinos in the Netherlands have acquired dual citizenship. 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 one Filipino parent, is much larger – 1537 persons at the same date.\footnote{Data from \textit{Amsterdam in cijfers}, Bureau of Research and Statistics of the Municipality of Amsterdam (www.onstat.amsterdam.nl). In 1992, 1,138 Filipinos of the ‘ethnic group’ were registered; in 2000 that figure was 1,537.}

Fragmented data on annual migration between the two countries confirm the heavy over-representation of women in the early 1970s. They show a gradual overall decline in Filipino immigration into the Netherlands by the mid-1970s. This lasted only for a few years, however, and 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 in the past few years.

The predominance of women in the flow of immigration 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 to be 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 in the Netherlands. 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 their forced return to Manila, wishing to proceed to Canada. Once in a while, there has been a press report on labour problems involving Filipino seafarers in the port of Rotterdam or Filipina au pairs in well-to-do families.

The first recorded Filipina settler was an opera singer who married a Dutchman in 1947. She was followed by a number of classical musicians in the 1960s (Arcinas 1993). Labour migration began with small groups of nurses coming 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. But the first experiment failed because the trained staff nurses recruited by the Wilhelmina Gasthuis in Amsterdam considered the cleaning and nursing work their Dutch colleagues did as a matter of rou-
tine not fitting for their function as professionals.

A new start was made using an idea borrowed from Germany, where Sister Felicitas of one of the Catholic hospitals in Amsterdam had visited hospitals employing Filipina midwives as practical nurses. The group coming to Amsterdam in 1967 consisted of eighty young women. They were recruited in Manila by Catholic Travel Centre 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. By 1973 about two hundred women were said to be working in Dutch hospitals (De Telegraaf 1973).

Generally positive, if rather paternalistic, stories were published in the Dutch press, even though irritation about task assignments and differential salaries remained latent among the Filipinas. Several labour conflicts occurred, but many of these migrants renewed their contracts and some, after marrying Dutch men, continued to contribute their appreciated care to the Dutch health sector up to the present day (Reijnders 1971:24-8).

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 (Drayer 1998:38-42). Other papers followed and new hiring schemes were announced in the press.

Parallel with the flow of medical personnel, ten groups of young Filipinas arrived to work in Amsterdam, Ulf, 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 on Luzon (Father Jos Croonen, MSC). Selection in Manila was handled by the Social Communication Centre. The first group of 62 women came to the Berghaus factory in 1966 (Manila Times 1968).

By early 1973 some 300 'girls' were working for Berghaus. The Dutch press became aware of their presence after the showing of a BBC documentary that portrayed Filipinas as slaves in Britain, Germany and Italy.

32 Term used by Dr J.C. Hattinga Verschure, then director of the Onze Lieve Vrouwen Gasthuis (Drayer 1998:38-42).
33 In 1974 a 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 labour market had improved, and the Filipinas had become more expensive because of their annual salary increases (Gooi- en Eemlander 1974.)
34 His widow thanks the 'Berghaus girls' for their condolences in Munting Nayon (1999) upon his passing away.
Dutch media, on the contrary, highlighted the good employment conditions and personal guidance prevailing in the Dutch textile and hospital sectors as opposed to the neighbouring countries (Telegraaf 1973; Volkskrant 1973). A year later, a politically laden conflict arose for a departing group of textile workers. After their three-year contract had elapsed in February 1974, 48 'Berghaus girls' were permitted to leave for Montreal in Canada instead of going back to the Philippines as required by the Philippine government, then under martial law. They had staged a strike in the Mozes en Aäron church in Amsterdam to achieve their goal (Volkskrant 18 February 1974). Twenty-five others returned to the Philippines, two married in the Netherlands and five obtained a visa for the USA (personal research).

In the past decade, a few hundred Filipinas have come to Holland under the au pair arrangement. More and more highly educated young Dutch couples both have paid employment but no grandma next door to look after the children. The institutional development of childcare centers in the Netherlands has lagged behind that of neighbouring countries, so the recruitment of a private nanny seems the obvious solution.

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, compensating the hospitality shown with light domestic work, including looking after young children. In the 1980s this formula was adapted by creative entrepreneurs to circumvent the increasingly restrictive immigration rules and compensate for the lack of domestic servants in the post-war 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 detached 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 babysits 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 babysit for another five hours, in order to make a bit more to send home.'(Van 't Hek 1993)

A year later the same quality newspaper, NRC Handelsblad, published a less sarcastic feature article with more or less the same data. An allowance of 600 guilders, no social premiums to be paid by the employer, working 50- to 60-
hour weeks, where a Dutch domestic worker – if available at all – would cost 4000 guilders, partly because of the high social premiums, and work 40 hours. The paper estimates that a total of 1500 Filipina au pairs are presently working in the country.

Thus a lot of negative publicity surrounded the phenomenon of the Filipina nanny in the first half of the 1990s, only to fade away in the second. In the meantime this form of labour had caused the emergence of specialized recruitment agencies, both in the Philippines and the Netherlands. Often the agents are Filipinas themselves, or Dutchmen married to Filipinas (Luyendijk 1995). Alerted by reports on exploitation and misuse, the Philippine government proclaimed a ban on emigration of au pairs, but the Filipinas in the Netherlands reacted against this. *Munting Nayon, Monthly News and Views of the Filipino Community* carries advertisements of au pair agencies and regularly reports on the au pair phenomenon (*Munting Nayon* 1999).

Another category were the artists, both male and female. The majority of those who came later were entertainers in popular music and dance. A separate circuit of mainly 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 forms an attractive working area for Filipinos. The Netherlands functions 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). Most of the Asian cast of the musical 'Miss Saigon', which ran for several successful years in the Netherlands, were artists from the Philippines. 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 multi-national shipping firms came to be manned in the past quarter of the 20th century by substantial and still increasing numbers of Filipino seafarers. Around 3000 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

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35 Such as 'Filipina Au pairs in the Netherlands' by Lolita Villareal (1995), who interviewed 16 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).
some signs of this, 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 again 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 in the stiff competition for the non-Western cuisine market. Commercial catering for parties is done on a broad scale wherever a concentration of Filipinos is to be found, 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 availed themselves of scholarships for postgraduate study in the Netherlands. The Institute of Social Studies, the International Training Centre for Aerospace Surveys, the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, the Academy for Administrative Sciences RHB, and several Dutch universities have brought students to the Netherlands, mainly from Philippine government and state academic institutions but also from NGOs since 1986. 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 programmes have been united in an alumni organization, the Netherlands Fellows Foundation of the Philippines, Inc. (NFFPI).

In the field of institutional capacity-building in higher education, a sizable number of university-to-university programmes 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, the Leiden University teamed up with Isabela State University, and both the Free University Amsterdam as well as the Technical University Delft with San Carlos University in Cebu. Most of the programmes were carried out through the Netherlands University Foundation for International Cooperation, NUFFIC.

During the Marcos regime a number of exiles were granted political asylum by the Netherlands government. After that era, several members of the National Democratic Front sought refuge in the Netherlands as well, including the founder of the National Democratic Front, José Maria Sison.
The stream of immigrants from the Netherlands to the Philippines has always been much smaller. It differed from the Philippine-Netherlands stream in that it was male dominated. This was partly a consequence of the large proportion of Roman Catholic priests among the immigrants. Some, like Monseigneur P. Vrakking, Monseigneur Charles van den Ouwelant, Monseigneur Cornelius de Wit even became bishops in Surigao/Aguisan 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'.

Still, the absolute number of Dutch citizens in the Philippines at the turn of the 21st century is still small, at around six hundred. A substantial proportion of them may be characterized as 'development workers'.

After the Second World War development cooperation between both countries initially took the form of mainly private assistance through non-governmental organizations. 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 co-financing organizations such as Cordaid, Interchurch Organization for Development Cooperation (ICCO) and Nederlandse Organisatie voor Internationale Bijstand (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 – co-financing 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 co-financing arrangement, have developed tight and effective partnerships with Philippine non-governmental and people's organizations.

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 also supported human rights advocacy, awareness-building and popular participation efforts in Philippine society. Over the past decade a trend towards the promotion of sustainability and livelihood security programmes has intensified.36 Over the past three decades, the Stichting

36 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
Nederlandse Vrijwilligers (SNV) 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, this entails learning the local language. In their work, the volunteers are linking up with the NGOs, both Philippine and Dutch. At a more personal level, a substantial number have married local partners.

Collaboration in the field of higher education was initially part of the development effort. One of the first Netherlands-Filipino collaborative education programmes situated 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 programme 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 EDSA revolution of February 1986. The levels and orientation of development assistance from the Netherlands to the Philippines 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 the overall Dutch development policy in 1998, the Philippines is now eligible for bilateral assistance only with regard to the environment sector.

Connected with the abovementioned activities, Dutch-born citizens migrated to the Philippines. Until the early 1980s the total number of immigrants from the Netherlands entering the Philippines seldom reached 100 per year, but in the past decade the number has suddenly started to increase, reaching a level of around 250 in the late 1990s. 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 immigrate back to their country of origin to retire, appears to change the whole picture.

Around 10 million guilders annually in the 1990s. An organization like ICCO estimates to have spent about 150 million guilders in the Philippines since the 1970s. It presently has an annual budget of Hfl. 7 million for the Philippines. Cordaid, with a budget of around 10 million guilders for its Philippine activities focusing on the fields outlined above, devotes special attention to the urban poor and urban sustainability.
Assessment

Looking back, the first fifty years of the 17th century did little to bring Dutch and Filipinos into contact. Whatever interaction took place was conflictory 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 20th century that more systematic links developed. Still, during most of that century the two countries and their peoples remained quite unknown to each other.

During the past quarter of a century, this 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 place the Netherlands on the leading list of partner countries for the Philippines, this 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 in comparison with other immigrant groups from Surinam, Turkey, the Netherlands Antilles, Morocco and other African and Middle Eastern countries. The Dutch public may take them to be Indonesians, who are better known because of the old colonial ties. Furthermore, because of their religion they fit quite smoothly in Dutch Catholic communities. In other words, they can hardly be regarded as one of the 'non-native' communities. This is not to deny the existence of quite an active social life of 'the Filipino community in the Netherlands', testified by frequent parties, presentations and the journal *Munting Nayon*. Little of this reaches the general media, however.

The same may be said for 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 for Filipinos. Dutch companies are seldom recognized as specifically Dutch, because of their own policies to present themselves as multinationals, or because of an English-sounding name. Many of them are

37 Philippines-Netherlands bilateral trade and capital flows in the twentieth century have been documented more extensively in Van den Muijzenberg 2001:57-91.
actually run by Filipino personnel and their 'Dutchness' is known only to those familiar with company details. If one were to interview prospective labour immigrants, similarly, they would more often than not indicate 'Europe' as their destination, not the Netherlands specifically.

Therefore, the initial overall picture might resemble an image of mutual irrelevance rather than tight interconnections. A second look will show a different picture. The economic flows that have been discussed elsewhere (Van den Muijzenberg 2001) are evidence of a close relationship. 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 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 neighbour. 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 governmental 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 and 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 25 years. Often the foundation for developing such ties lay initially in concern about human rights offences, but gradually the scope was widened to poverty reduction strategies. In many cases, the media have played an important role here, but one should not underrate the person-to-person contacts either, including intermarriage. The latter may develop 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, leading to ever-growing bilateral export, investment, official and private relationships?

The answer must be ambiguous. On the one hand, as this article goes to press, a global slowdown, if not recession, is apparent. The new economy that seemed 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. Trade in services, although much harder to measure than trade in commodities and capital investment, may still grow, however.

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 with the Philippines. The Netherlands is rapidly integrating economically into the European Union while increasingly linking its political strategies with 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 may facilitate economic relationships considerably, while at the same time leading to a less obvious identification of persons and goods as 'Dutch'.

At the level of the people involved in all these flows, this does not mean that the 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 20th 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 the Dutch as well as the Filipinos are involved in bilateral relations on their own terms, not as colonial subjects. In that sense, the intensification of bilateral economic, political and socio-cultural relationships provides the two peoples with a chance to further develop authentic partnerships.

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