

MAURICE BOND MEMORIAL LECTURE 2013

TRAVELS INTO AND OUT OF THE RECORD

BY ERIC KETELAAR¹

The paper discusses some features of journals and travel accounts. They are, as any record, a repository of meanings, some to be read in the record or inferred from the intertextuality that connects it to other documents. Other meanings have to be deduced from the context of the record's creation and use. Therefore, historicizing the social and cultural practice of archiving and understanding the archival consciousness of society are important.

Keywords: *journals, maps, archiving, Tasman, Dutch East India Company, William of Orange*

Introduction

Travels into and out of the record: please join me on my time travel to the 17th century, where we will meet travellers like William of Orange, the Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolaes Witsen, and the captains Willem de Vlamingh and Abel Tasman, who explored the coast of Australia. I will also present arm chair travellers like Melchisédech Thévenot and John Narborough. They all created, used, edited and published journals and travel accounts. I will discuss some features of this genre and the intertextuality with other records. Only a small amount of records ever created, have been preserved. Nevertheless, as I will argue, the decision to destroy a document is as much part of the archival consciousness as is the decision to keep it.

Archival consciousness can be observed through different lenses, as anthropologists, sociologists, scholars of cultural studies and historians have shown in the past few decades having made the 'archival turn', not only considering the archives to be places of research or a theoretical concept, but also and foremost as a fascinating object of study in itself.² Their archival histories show the numerous ways by which 'archival practice and archival knowledge shape subjects in history and subjects of history.'³ Historicizing the social and cultural practice of archiving – as I will do in this Maurice Bond Memorial lecture – is important because understanding records, one of the aims of the British Records Association, entails understanding,

what kinds of purposes have animated individuals and societies to keep and preserve documentation in its many forms, and what kinds of social consequences have induced them to continue to do so, to stop doing so, or to change how they do so?⁴

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² Randolph Head, 'Preface: Historical research in archive and knowledge cultures: an interdisciplinary wave' in *Archival Science*, x, 2010, p. 191.

³ Ann Blair and Jennifer Milligan, 'Introduction' in *Archival Science*, vii, 2007, p. 291.

⁴ Brien Brothman, 'Perfect present, perfect gift: finding a place for archival consciousness in social theory' in *Archival Science*, x, 2010, p. 143.

William of Orange's 1688 expedition

Having travelled from the Netherlands to Bedford, surely the first travellers to whom I have to pay respect, are the Russells. Edward Russell, nephew of the fifth earl (later first duke) of Bedford, travelled between England and Holland in 1687 and 1688.⁵ He was an intermediary between William of Orange and those Englishmen who were plotting to restore Protestantism and liberty.⁶ Edward was one of the 'immortal seven', who, in June 1688, invited William of Orange to come to England *pro religione et libertate* (for religion and liberty), as the motto on the campaign's banners read.

We have great satisfaction to find by 35 [Russell], and since by Monsieur Zuylestein⁷ that your Highness is so ready and willing to give us such assistances as they have related to us. We have great reason to believe we shall be every day in a worse condition than we are, and less able to defend ourselves, and therefore we do earnestly wish we might be so happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance. . . .

the people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded), and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom who are desirous of a change, and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising as would secure them from being destroyed before they could get to be in a posture able to defend themselves.⁸

Edward Russell took part in the invasion in 1688, landing at Torbay in Devon on the 15th of November (the 5th of November in old style). He acted as William's English secretary. One of the rewards Edward received from William and Mary was the appointment as *custos rotulorum* in both Cambridgeshire and Caernarfon, which makes him, as it were, a colleague archivist.

His Highness, departing with the infantry in the afternoon, ordered me to follow him, but as my horses had not yet been disembarked, because my grooms kept lingering, it was three or half past three before I could depart.⁹

Three hundred and twenty five years ago, William of Orange marched with his troops from Torbay to London.

⁵ 'The two Russells were here; I won't tell you what they have told me, because that is better done by mouth . . .', William III to Bentinck, 26 Sept. 1687; translated from French: *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck, eersten Graaf van Portland, 1e Gedeelte: Het archief van Welbeck Abbey*, vol. 1, ed. N. Japikse ('s-Gravenhage, 1927) (Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën. Kleine serie, vol. 23), 36, available at <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/willemmiii/#page=0&size=800&accessor=toc&source=1> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

⁶ The literature on the Glorious Revolution is abundant. I mainly used: *The Anglo-Dutch moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact*, ed. Jonathan Israel (Cambridge, 1991); Jonathan I. Israel, 'The Dutch role in the Glorious Revolution', in *The Anglo-Dutch moment. Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact*, Jonathan I. Israel (ed.), (Cambridge, 1991), 105-162; Wouter Troost, *William III the Stadholder-king: a political biography* (Aldershot, 2005); David Onnekink, *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite: The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649-1709)* (Aldershot, 2007); Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch. How England plundered Holland's glory* (2008).

⁷ William's cousin, William Henry van Nassau-Zuylestein, created earl of Rochford in 1695.

⁸ John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, App., I, pp. 228-231, 30 June 1688 <http://faculty.history.wisc.edu/sommerville/351/WIIIinvite.html> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

⁹ Translated from Dutch: Constantijn Huygens jr., *Journal van 21 oktober 1688 tot 2 september 1696*, vol. 1 (Utrecht, 1876), 14, online edn. http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/huyg007jour02_01/ (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

As yesterday, people – women, men and children – stood everywhere along the road, crying ‘God bless you’ and making a hundred good wishes.¹⁰

On the 2nd of December 1688, he arrived from Honiton in Axminster.

We marched at about half past 9 a.m. from Honiton to Axminster, a rather big open place, 7 miles from Honiton. It was raining heavily from the start of the march until one o’clock p.m., with an accompanying storm, which made marching very hard for the soldiers who had to go through deep mud and often through very deep water.¹¹

In Axminster he received the good news of the defection of John Churchill (later duke of Marlborough), and Henry FitzRoy, duke of Grafton, who joined William’s army with 400 horses. Grafton was the illegitimate son of King Charles II by Barbara Villiers, incidentally first cousin of Elizabeth Villiers, lady in waiting to Princess Mary Stuart and the mistress of William III. Elizabeth’s sister Anne was married to Hans Bentinck, William’s friend, right hand, informal prime minister and manager of the logistics of the Glorious Revolution. From Axminster,

His Highness detached M. Bentinck with 1200 horses and dragoons in order to march to Wincanton near to the king’s army in order to give occasion to those of our friends who were there to come and join us, but when he arrived the next day at Sherborne he learnt from many officers and horsemen that he met on the road coming from Salisbury, that the aforesaid army had marched out of there and from Warminster.¹²

William left Axminster on the 6th, arriving the next day in Sherborne:

A large crowd of noblemen met His Highness on the road, where Dorsetshire begins, at a certain bridge crossing a large stream. Among them was the Earl of Bristol . . . His Highness stayed at the house of Lord Bristol, standing in a park near the city of Exeter and extremely pleasantly situated. The town is reasonably big, but at that time dirty and slimy, just as all other places where we have been . . .¹³

Journals of the expedition

Did I, as they say, ‘travel out of the record’ (wander off from my main subject)? I confess having played a trick, by quoting not from Russell’s travel diary, but instead from the journals of Bentinck and Constantijn Huygens, the prince’s Dutch secretary. Constantijn kept a journal in which he recorded what happened during and after the invasion. We can follow him on horseback riding all the way to London, in horrible weather, being billeted with private people, sometimes in an inn, or even sharing a tent.¹⁴ Huygens noticed the fairness of women, the dirtiness of roads, the abundance in Devon and Dorset of creeks and rivers, the absence of forests, but nevertheless, as

¹⁰ Translated from Dutch: Huygens, *Journal*, 15.

¹¹ Translated from Dutch: Huygens, *Journal*, 26.

¹² Translated from French: Nottingham UL, Portland of Welbeck MSS, Pw A 2235 <http://mssweb.nottingham.ac.uk/elearning/view-text.asp?resource=Conflict&ref=pwa2235&theme=1&view=image&page=1> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013); printed in Japikse, ii. 628–629 available at <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/willemiii/#page=0&size=800&accessor=toc&source=1> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

¹³ Translated from Dutch: Huygens, *Journal*, 30.

¹⁴ Rudolf Dekker, *Family, culture and society in the diary of Constantijn Huygens Jr, secretary to Stadholder-King William of Orange* (Leiden, 2013).

he writes, many of the views over the heights and low lands were ‘very beautiful and picturesque’. In its description of people, places, and curiosities, the journal is not unlike the ones kept by young travellers on their grand tour – and indeed as a young man Constantijn had toured France and Italy (1649).

A record of travels is not different from any other record, when it comes to understanding it, to infer its meaning.¹⁵ Any researcher by travelling into and out of the record, assigns a meaning to the record, and will find uses that no creator, collector, or archivist ever imagined. Meaning is made, not found, again and again, now and in the future. That is why the records of the events of 1688/1689 are constantly being re-interpreted and given a new meaning. ‘Glorious Revolution’ on Google Scholar yields 26,800 hits!

A record seldom travels alone. One has to profit from its intertextuality, spreading out into a larger universe of texts and media, including printed material, prayers, pamphlets, newspapers, orally transmitted stories. Among the many Englishmen who sailed with William of Orange was Gilbert Burnet. Burnet, the Scottish theologian and historian, was not only William’s chaplain, he was what one could call his spin-doctor.¹⁶ He had edited and translated the prince’s *Declaration*,¹⁷ of which 60,000 copies had been printed for distribution in England and abroad, and even during the march to London Burnet was busy writing letters and proclamations. They – and the material produced by the Jacobite adversaries – form an essential part of the record’s intertextuality, as shown by David Onnekink, Bentinck’s biographer. He has recently proposed a new interpretation of the 1688 invasion on the basis of drafts and copies of the prince’s *Declaration* and other published and unpublished material preserved in the Nottingham University Library (the Portland of Welbeck manuscripts) and elsewhere.¹⁸

Bentinck too kept a journal of the march to London, or rather he reported frequently to Princess Mary in letters some of which were immediately published as part of the propaganda campaign. The princess had been left in the Netherlands: she joined her husband in London in February 1689, having in her company John Locke.¹⁹ By then, William’s entourage had been enlarged. The States General of the United Provinces had sent three envoys extraordinary, the Amsterdam burgomaster Nicolaes Witsen and the experienced diplomats Everard van Weede van Dijkveld, and Willem Adriaan count of Nassau, Lord of Odijk, second cousin to William III. Burgomaster Witsen had tried to be excused, but William had insisted on his coming to London, as representative of the Amsterdam elite. Witsen was among the very few who had been engaged in

¹⁵ Eric Ketelaar, ‘Cultivating Archives’ in *Archival Science*, xii, 2012, pp. 19–33.

¹⁶ Lois G. Schworer, ‘Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688–89’ in *American Historical Review*, lxxxii, 4, 1977, pp. 843–874; Jonathan Israel, ‘Propaganda in the making of the Glorious revolution’ in *Across the narrow seas: studies in the history and bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries presented to Anna EC Simoni . . .*, ed. Sue Roach (1991), 167–177; Jardine, pp. 27–47.

¹⁷ *The declaration of His Highnes William Henry, by the grace of God Prince of Orange, &c. of the reasons inducing him to appear in armes in the kingdome of England, for preserving of the Protestant religion, and for restoring the lawes and liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland* (The Hague, 1688). The declaration is signed ‘by his Highnesses special command’ by Constantijn Huygens who, however, did not see the declaration before it was printed: on 3 Nov. he saw ‘het manifest van S.H., daer mijn naem onder stond, als het gecontresigneert hebbende, hoewel het te voren nooyt gesien hadde.’ Huygens, *Journal*, 8. See also Tony Claydon, ‘William III’s Declaration of reasons and the Glorious Revolution’, *HJ*, xxxix, 1996, pp. 87–108.

¹⁸ David Onnekink, ‘The Revolution in Dutch foreign policy (1688)’, in *Pamphlets and politics in the Dutch Republic*, ed. Femke Deen, David Onnekink, and Michel Reinders (Leiden, 2011), 143–71.

¹⁹ Japikse, iii, 104 available at <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/willemiij/#page=0&size=800&accessor=toc&source=1> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

the secret preparations of the invasion.²⁰ Amsterdam was essential for the campaign, contributing funds and fitting out more than half of the men-of-war of the armada.²¹

Nicolaes Witsen: travelling and collecting

In London Witsen had more to do than diplomacy. He had brought several copies of a huge map of Tartary which he had made in 1687 on the basis of twenty years of research, using an extensive network of informers, and the experience gained on a trip as envoy to Moscow.²² The Royal Society was impressed, invited Witsen (and Huygens) to attend its weekly meetings and made Witsen a member. When the final version of the map was published, in 1690, Witsen's explanatory letter was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. To this the president Sir Robert Southwell responded with the words 'I have lately had a great Effect of your Bounty in the Maps of Tartary. This is Columbus like, the Discovery of a New World; at least Tydings of those Parts, which from the beginning have layn in the Dark . . . you need think no more of Fame, but only pray for Humility'.²³

Between 1682 and 1706 Witsen was 13 times burgomaster of Amsterdam. Since 1693 he had also been director of the Dutch East India Company, the VOC (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie). This position gave Witsen ample opportunity to pursue his scholarly interests, as geographer, cartographer, antiquarian, and collector. Recently Marion Peters published a biography of Nicolaes Witsen of more than 500 pages.²⁴ I want to focus on Witsen as a traveller and on the records which he used for his theories of the dispersion of people since Adam, and the global variation in people's features, customs, and technologies like the use of fire.

In 1696 Witsen was the main initiator of an expedition to the Southland, or Nova Hollandia, now Australia.²⁵ Its main goal was to search for a VOC ship and its crew who might have been shipwrecked on the western coast of the Southland. The *schipper* Willem de Vlamingh was instructed to chart the coast and to make contact with the indigenous people. Together with detailed instructions, De Vlamingh received extensive information about earlier expeditions to the Southland, in the form of copies of reports and maps from the VOC archives.²⁶ We know a lot about De Vlamingh's voyage, not only from his journal,²⁷ but also from the journals kept by the surgeons

²⁰ Israel, 'The Dutch role', 115-120; Troost, *Journaal*, 193-194; Marion Peters, *Het wereldwijde onderzoek van Nicolaes Witsen (1641-1717), burgemeester en VOC-bewindhebber van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 2010), 65-69. Available at <http://mhpeters.home.xs4all.nl/2b.html> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

²¹ <http://commercial840.piczo.com/williamsmilitarybuildup?cr=3&linkvar=000044> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

²² Peters, *De wijze koopman*, 78-82.

²³ *Philosophical Transactions*, xvi, 1686-92, pp. 492-4, available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/101920> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013). Witsen published the letter in his *Noord en Oost Tartarye, ofte bondig ontwerp van eenige dier landen en volken, welke voormaels bekend zijn geweest: beneffens verscheide tot noch toe onbekende, en meest nooit voorheen beschreve Tartarsche en naaburige gewesten, landstreeken, steden, rivieren, en plaetzen, etc.* (Amsterdam, 1705, 1st ed 1692), 4-5; Peters, *De wijze koopman*, 176.

²⁴ Marion Peters, *De wijze koopman. Het wereldwijde onderzoek van Nicolaes Witsen (1641-1717), burgemeester en VOC-bewindhebber van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 2010). Available at <http://mhpeters.home.xs4all.nl/2b.html> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

²⁵ Peters, *De wijze koopman*, 87-92; Günter Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land. Willem de Vlamingh 1696-1697* (Sydney, 1985) [transl. C. de Heer of the Dutch, first published 1976]; P.J.A.N. Rietbergen, 'Witsen's World. Nicolaas Witsen between the Dutch East India Company and the Republic of Letters', in *All of one company: the VOC in biographical perspective: essays in honour of prof. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs*, ed. J. van Goor (Utrecht, 1986) 121-134. What follows is mainly from my 'Exploration of the Archived World - from De Vlamingh's plate to digital realities', in *Archives and manuscripts*, xxxvi (2), 2008, pp. 13-33.

²⁶ Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, 14-15, 58.

²⁷ National Archives, The Hague, VOC, inv. nr. 5060. Digital copy on http://gahetna.nl/collectie/archief/inventaris/gahetnascans/eaidid/1.04.02/inventarisnr/5060/level/file/foto/NL-HaNA_1.04.02_5060_26/fotouuid/5a9fd2d0-510a-7c13-40d8-0a55984ae0b9/scan-index/26/scans-inventarispagina/1 (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

on board, letters and other documents in the VOC archives, paintings made during the expedition, etc. In 1705 Nicolaes Witsen published an account of the voyage in his book on Tartary and neighbouring regions.²⁸ That account is a narrative using data from various sources, including one or more journals kept on board of the ships of De Vlamingh.²⁹

After an eight months' voyage De Vlamingh landed on Rottnest Island on 31 December 1696, near today's Perth. De Vlamingh and his crew spent seven weeks in the region, exploring and charting the coast, describing flora and fauna, and trying to get into contact with the inhabitants. De Vlamingh collected various specimens: scented wood, from which some oil was distilled in Batavia (modern day Jakarta) and sent to Amsterdam, 'together with a small chest containing shells collected on the beaches, fruits, plants, etc., but', as his superiors remarked, 'which are of little importance and may be found elsewhere in the Indies of a much better quality. So that in general in this region of the South Land which they have properly observed and along which they have sailed in conformity with their instruction, it has proved to be nothing but a barren, dry waste land.'³⁰ The VOC board was disappointed, and Nicolaas Witsen especially so. He had hoped for the expedition to bring back a Southlander and other curiosities.³¹ Collections like the one Witsen made, were set up and their descriptions were made, not with the colonizer's gaze, nor with the interest in nature shown in the Age of Enlightenment by, for example, Joseph Banks. Witsen – like other merchants and diplomats – acted out of a genuine curiosity in the natural world. 'From careful investigation and reporting they wished to create enduring knowledge that could be handed down to others,' as Harold Cook argues, in his recent book on commerce, medicine and science in the Dutch Golden Age.³² What these seventeenth-century Dutch burghers did in the way of recording and collecting may be regarded as the start to what was to become modernity's quest for ordering and knowledge.

Mapping for money

Discovery and exploration led to recording. The VOC instructed the captains to keep a careful record or daily journal so 'that we may get full information of all your doings and experiences, and the Company obtain due and perfect knowledge of the situation and natural features of these regions, in return for the heavy expenses to which she is put by this expedition.'³³ The VOC clearly regarded recorded information as a substantial trade-off. Exploring foreign lands was primarily done to discover faster and safer sailing routes and to find new possibilities for trading, for making money.³⁴ *Mapping for Money* is the appropriate title of the authoritative book on VOC mapmaking by Kees Zandvliet. The great powers in the New World defined their economic interests

²⁸ Nicolaes Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (Amsterdam 1692; second edn 1705).

²⁹ In 1701 the journal of the chief surgeon of De Vlamingh was published.

³⁰ Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, 211.

³¹ Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, 4. On Witsen's collections: Peters, *De wijze koopman*, 365–431 (about the Southland: 380, 426, 428); Rebecca Parker Brienen, 'Nicolas Witsen and his circle: globalization, art patronage, and collecting in Amsterdam circa 1700', in *Contingent lives. Social identity and material culture in the VOC world*, ed. Nigel Worden (Cape Town, 2007), 439–449.

³² Harold J. Cook, *Matters of Exchange. Commerce, medicine, and science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven and London, 2007), 225.

³³ J.E. Heeres, *Abel Janszoon Tasman's journal of his discovery of Van Diemens Land and New Zealand in 1642 . . .* (Amsterdam, 1898), 20.

³⁴ 'The Dutch had, of course, only been interested in Australia in so far as it might have something of mercantile value to offer them. Taking possession of newfound territories for the fatherland was never of concern to them . . .': Bruce Donaldson, 'The Dutch contribution to the European discovery of Australia', in *The Dutch down under, 1606–2006*, ed. Nonja Peters (Crawley, W.A., 2006), 23.

differently: taxing land (the English), or taxing people (the Spanish), or trading goods (the Dutch). This led to the creation of different types of records: the English kept survey maps, the Spanish censuses, the Dutch commercial data.³⁵

The knowledge system of the VOC concerned seafaring routes, countries, people, goods. The nodes in the information network stretching from South East Asia to Amsterdam were the trading posts.³⁶ But each of the 8,000 ships which in the 17th and 18th centuries went out and returned for the VOC was a record creating entity in itself. The *schipper*, the three steersmen, the supercargo, and the surgeon all kept a journal.³⁷ Charts and drawings were made. Propositions to the ship's council were recorded, its meetings minuted. Letters were written, testaments and inventories drawn up, sentences meted out and registered, bookkeepers and assistants kept the cargo book, the muster roll and the ship's pay ledger up to date. Everything was transformed into what Bruno Latour calls 'a flat surface of paper that can be archived, pinned on a wall and combined with others'.³⁸ This echoes the inscription on the general map of the Dutch discoveries in Australia, dating from around 1666, which reads: 'Here are projected on a flat surface . . . all the sailing routes, and newly found lands, observed and sailed . . . under the direction and command of Commander Abel Janssen Tasman . . .'. For more information, the map refers to Tasman's journal.³⁹

Publishing Abel Tasman's explorations

But how could people get access to Tasman's journal of his exploration of Tasmania, the west coast of New Zealand, the Fiji and Tonga islands in 1642–43? As journals and maps were part of the knowledge base of the VOC, they formed part of the VOC's assets, to be kept secret from competitors, especially the British and the French. Even so, VOC records found their way abroad or into private hands.⁴⁰ VOC Directors, for instance, had copies of journals and maps made for private use.⁴¹ Of the journal of Abel Tasman's voyage⁴² there are only private copies preserved: one in the National Archives of The Netherlands, another ('a very faulty one'⁴³) in the British Library (acquired in the eighteenth century by Joseph Banks, one of Cook's captains) and a third one in the Mitchell Library in Sydney. The latter was made for Salomon Sweers, a member

³⁵ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge, 1995), 188–9.

³⁶ Nico Vriend, *Het informatiesysteem en –netwerk van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. Master's thesis Universiteit Leiden 2011, at <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/18501> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013). See a summary of the thesis: Nico Vriend, 'An unbelievable amount of paper': the information system and network of the Dutch East India Company, in *Colonial Legacy in South East Asia. The Dutch archives. Jaarboek 11 Stichting Archiefpublicaties*, ed. Charles Jeurgens et al ('s-Gravenhage, 2012) 67–95.

³⁷ C.A. Davids, *Zeewezen en wetenschap. De wetenschap en de ontwikkeling van de navigatietechniek in Nederland tussen 1585 en 1815* (Amsterdam, 1986), 299–300; J.R. Bruijn, *Observaties onderweg* (Leiden, 2003), available at <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/5278/OR046.pdf?sequence=1> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

³⁸ Bruno Latour, *Science in action. How to follow scientists and engineers through society* (Cambridge Mass., 1987) 227.

³⁹ F.C. Wieder, *Monumenta cartographica*, (The Hague, 1932) iv. 138 and plate 95

⁴⁰ B.J. Slot, *Abel Tasman and the discovery of New Zealand* (Amsterdam, 1992), 96; C.J. Zandvliet, *Mapping for money: maps, plans and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Amsterdam, 1998, 2nd edn. 2002).

⁴¹ B.J. Slot, 'Other Archives of VOC Institutions and Officials', in M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs et al., *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (1602–1795)* ('s-Gravenhage, 1992) 78. Available at http://www.gahetna.nl/sites/default/files/afbeeldingen/toegangen/NL-HaNA_1.04.02_introduction-VOC.pdf (accessed 10 Dec. 2013). Dutch edition at http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/archief/pdf/NL-HaNA_1.04.02.ead.pdf (accessed 10 Dec. 2013).

⁴² Günter Schilder, *Australia unveiled: the share of the Dutch navigators in the discovery of Australia* (Amsterdam, 1976), 139–157.

⁴³ According to G.C. Woide, who translated the journal for Sir Joseph Banks in 1776: original draft in Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, MS-2119, fair draft in BL, Add. 8947.

of the Council of the Indies.⁴⁴ Nicolaes Witsen too must have had access to Tasman's journal: in his book on Tartary and neighbouring regions he quotes extensively from the journal, and reproduces some of the illustrations made by the supercargo Isaac Gilsemans, a skilled draughtsman.⁴⁵

When Witsen's publication reached the public in 1705, it was not the first time they had heard about Tasman's expedition in the 1640s. Maps had already been published showing the cartographic outcome of Tasman's voyage. The official VOC mapmaker – between 1633 and 1705 always a member of the Blaeu family – used the charts and logs of the VOC captains and first mates to correct maps and seaman's guides for use during subsequent voyages.⁴⁶ But the Blaeu family also used this information in their private business, selling hand-drawn and engraved maps on the open market. It is therefore no wonder that the cartographic data from Tasman's voyage were included in two of Blaeu's world maps and a Blaeu globe between 1645 and 1648.⁴⁷ The maps made during Tasman's voyage (together with maps of earlier discoveries of the north coast of Australia) were copied around 1670 together with other VOC maps,⁴⁸ and ended up in the collection of the seventeenth-century Amsterdam lawyer, Laurens van der Hem.⁴⁹

Like Van der Hem, wealthy merchants started to collect maps and curiosities from abroad, to have the world, so to say, in their hands. And below their feet! In the large *Burgerzaal* – the heart of the city hall of Amsterdam built in 1656 – a world map and a celestial hemisphere were inlaid in the floor in marble and copper. By going through the hall, the Amsterdam burghers were literally walking on heaven and earth.⁵⁰ The world map on the floor was drawn from Blaeu's world map of 1648 which showed Tasman's charting of Tasmania. The French *savant* Melchisédech Thévenot asserted that he had used the floor map to draw his own map of Australia⁵¹, published in his *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (1663).⁵² From the Thévenot map the eighteenth-century English map engraver Bowen drew *A Complete Map of the Southern Continent survey'd by Capt. Abel Tasman & depicted by order of the East India Company in Holland in the Stadt House at Amsterdam* (1744). By then Tasman's travels had become public knowledge, not only

⁴⁴ Paul Brunton, 'Abel Janszoon Tasman – Australian voyages, missing journals and perplexing charts', Paper presented at a conference organised by the Australian National Maritime Museum in Sydney and Fremantle, May 2006.

⁴⁵ Grahame Anderson, *The Merchant of The Zeehaen. Isaac Gilsemans and the voyages of Abel Tasman* (Wellington, 2001).

⁴⁶ Zandvliet, *Mapping for money*; C.J. Zandvliet, 'VOC maps and drawings', in: Meilink-Roelofs, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (1602–1795)*, 83–99.

⁴⁷ Schilder, *Australia unveiled*, 364–373.

⁴⁸ Often referred to as 'the Secret Atlas of the VOC'; this term was invented in the early 20th century by F.C. Wieder, *Tasman's kaart van zijn Australische ontdekkingen 1644 'de Bonaparte-kaart' . . .* ('s-Gravenhage, 1942), 100.

⁴⁹ His entire collection of 46 volumes of maps was bought at auction by Prince Eugene of Savoy. His heir sold the maps to the Imperial Library in Vienna where the maps were discovered in the 1920s: Erlend P.J.M. de Groot, *De Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem. De verzamelde wereld van een 17de-eeuwse liefhebber* ('t Goy-Houten, 2001; *The Atlas Blaeu-van der Hem of the Austrian National Library*, ed. Günter Schilder, Bernard Aikema, Peter van der Krogt, 8 vols. ('t Goy-Houten, 1996–2011).

⁵⁰ Schilder, *Australia unveiled*, 374–377. In 1746 the maps were replaced by new ones, which now also showed New Zealand.

⁵¹ In fact it was an almost exact copy of another Blaeu map, included in the huge atlas presented to the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm by his friend, the Dutch general and connoisseur John Maurice, Prince of Nassau-Siegen: *Australia in Maps: Great Maps in Australia's History from the National Library's Collection*, ed. John Clark (Canberra, 2007), 32; Schilder, *Australia unveiled*, 402; Kees Zandvliet, 'Golden Opportunities in Geopolitics: Cartography and the Dutch East India Company during the Lifetime of Abel Tasman', in William Eisler and Bernard Smith, *Terra Australis: The Furthest Shore* (Sydney, 1988), 80.

⁵² Melchisédech Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées ou qui ont esté traduites d'Hachuyt, de Purchas, et d'autres voyageurs Anglois, Hollandais, Portugais, Allemands, Espagnols, et quelques Persans, Arabes et autres orientaux* (Paris, 1663). See Nicholas Dew, 'Reading travels in the culture of curiosity: Thévenot's collection of voyages' in *Journal of early modern history* x, 2006, pp. 39–59, repr. in *Bringing the world to early modern Europe. Travel accounts and their audiences*, ed. Peter Mancall (Leiden, 2007), 39–59.

through the maps, but because abstracts and adaptations of Tasman's journal and related material had been published.⁵³ In 1671 an extract from the private diary of Tasman's surgeon had been published (an English abstract appeared in the same year). Three years later Dirk Rembrandtsz van Nierop published an edited abstract of Tasman's account, which was translated into English and published in the *Philosophical Collections* of the Royal Society in March 1682, and reprinted in John Narborough's *An Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries* (1694). This text came from other sources than those used by Nicolaas Witsen, who published selected episodes of Tasman's voyage in the 1705 edition of his book about Tartary.

Thévenot and Witsen knew each other quite well. In 1668 Thévenot visited Amsterdam and received from Witsen an annotated copy of the journal of his journey to Moscow, to be published by Thévenot with another manuscript from Witsen's collection. One may assume that Witsen was impressed by Thévenot's 1663 map of Australia, and that he and Thévenot discussed the availability of information on VOC voyages. At that time Thévenot already owned extracts of Tasman's journal which were published shortly after Thévenot's death in 1692,⁵⁴ therefore well before Witsen's own publication of 1705.

Accumulation of knowledge

'It was because of the need for the accumulation of experiential knowledge that Thévenot set himself the task of collecting and translating travel accounts, mainly from English and Dutch long-distance voyages.'⁵⁵ His *Relations de divers voyages curieux qui n'ont point été publiées, et qu'on a traduit or tiré des originaux des voyageurs françois, espagnols, allemands, portugais, anglois, hollandois, persans, arabes & autres orientaux*⁵⁶ were printed in a series of 55 instalments (fascicules), separately paginated, and bundled into four parts in two volumes. The first part – with the map of Australia – appeared in 1663, the fourth in 1672. Several fascicules – including 4 pages on the Tasman discoveries – were printed for a projected fifth part – incomplete at Thévenot's death – and were therefore added to the re-issue of 1696.⁵⁷ Thévenot's *Relations* are a bibliographer's nightmare. One of the first people to experience this was none less than the first national archivist of France, Armand-Gaston Camus. In 1802 Camus published a bibliography of itineraries and journals, including Thévenot's *Rélations*, but also listing editions of Tasman's journal published elsewhere.⁵⁸

⁵³ Heeres, *Abel Janszoon Tasman's journal*, 81–7; Schilder, *Australia unveiled*, 139–57; Slot, *Abel Tasman*, 96–100.

⁵⁴ In the table of contents of vol. 1 of the 1663 edition of the *Relations* (see note 52) the editor lists among the not yet published *Relations*, the 'Route d'Abel Tasman autour de Terre Australe avec la découverte de la Nouvelle Zelande et de la terre de Diemens.' The catalogue of Thévenot's library made after his death (*Bibliotheca Thevenotiana*, Paris, 1694, p. 243) mentions a manuscript 'Découverte de la Terre Australe en 1642'. See also Peters, *De wijze koopman*, 208.

⁵⁵ Dew, 'Reading travels', 48.

⁵⁶ Title of the second edition, Paris, 1696.

⁵⁷ Dew, 'Reading travels', 56: each fascicule was printed separately, and could be distributed privately. A set of the fragments had to be arranged by the owner before being bound; as a result, the make-up of surviving copies is always slightly different, either because some fragments are missing, or because they are differently ordered. The Tasman fascicule (4 pages) was 'un supplement fort rare que Melchisedech [*sic*] Thévenot préparoit pour faire une cinquième partie de son recueil': Charles de Brosses, *Histoire des navigations aux terres Australes*, (Paris, 1766), i. 456–463. I found the Tasman text in a copy of vol. ii of the re-issue 1696 of the *Relations* (see note 52): Royal Library, The Hague, KW 62 C 6. The copies of that volume mentioned in the catalogues of the BL, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and the National Library of Australia also contain the Tasman text. De Brosses published another version of the Tasman summary, based on a French translation (1722), following in the footsteps of Abbé Prévost who had published that translation in his *Histoire générale des voyages* (15 vols., Paris, 1746–1759).

⁵⁸ Armand-Gaston Camus, *Mémoire sur la collection des Grands et Petits Voyages, et sur la collection des voyages de Melchisedech Thévenot* (Paris, 1802). On Tasman's journal: 292, 334.

The books by Witsen, Van Nierop, Thévenot, the Englishmen Narborough (1694) and Harris (1704), and others, using the Tasman narrative and pictorial material, were part of a rich tradition of presenting, marketing, and using itineraries, descriptions of foreign lands and people, and journals of discoveries and voyages.⁵⁹

Journals: a true record?

A journal, or any other document speaks not out of itself, it speaks in dialogue with the reader/viewer, who may be outside the visible text, but never outside its invisible narrative.⁶⁰ This is especially true for a journal like Tasman's. We do not have the original ship's log, kept up to date day after day, but 'a consecutive narrative, which was most likely digested from the regular ship's journal in the course of the voyage.'⁶¹ After Tasman's arrival in Batavia he must have edited the logbook of his ship *Heemskerck*, inserting extracts from the proceedings (*resoluties*) of the ships' council (which had been registered separately *in triplo*) and adding the illustrations made on board of the other ship, *Zeehaen*. The final version was written by two VOC clerks, checked by Tasman and signed by him. This account was sent to Amsterdam, with five more copies, in December 1643, more than five months after Tasman's return to Batavia.⁶² Tasman, in editing the journal, must have taken into account its reception by the VOC directors. Evidence of Tasman's editing (some would say: falsification) is the change he made in the chart of New Zealand, effacing the entrance to what now is Cook Strait.⁶³ As any other record, it was

designed – implicitly or explicitly – to produce an effect in some kind of audience, which itself actively uses records to interpret events.⁶⁴

Of course, an archival document has an authorial meaning given by the author, although this often is not a statement of what happened, but a statement of what the author or his superiors 'would like to have others think had happened.'⁶⁵ This makes a record a repository of meanings, some to be read in the record or inferred from the intertextuality that connects it to other documents. Other meanings have to be deduced from the context of the record's creation and use.

Two examples of such 'travelling into and out of the record'. Tasman's journal relates that, after the first sighting of Māori, the guns on the upper deck were '*affgeblasen ende weder opgereijt*.' What did the author mean? Heeres' edition (1898) and nearly all

⁵⁹ Marijke Louise Barend-van Haeften, *Oost-Indië gespiegeld: Nicolaas de Graaff, een schrijvend chirurgijn in dienst van de VOC* (Zutphen, 1992) 57-86; Roelof van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur. Duitsers in dienst van de VOC (1600–1800)* (Nijmegen, 1997) 71-101, available on http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/geld028oost01_01/geld028oost01_01_0006.php (accessed 10 Dec. 2013). German edition: Roelof van Gelder, *Das ostindische Abenteuer: Deutsche in Diensten der Vereinigten Ostindischen Kompanie der Niederlande (VOC) 1600–1800* (Hamburg, 2004).

⁶⁰ Ketelaar, 'Exploration of the Archived World'.

⁶¹ Heeres, *Abel Janszoon Tasman's journal*, 61.

⁶² On 22 Dec. 1643 the Governor General in Batavia sent a short report to the Lords XVII in Amsterdam, announcing that the journals of Tasman and Visscher would be sent later: National Archives, The Hague, VOC (1.04.02), inv. nr. 1142, ff. 7v-8r, 92-93r, published (with translation) by Heeres, *Abel Janszoon Tasman's journal*, 144.

⁶³ Slot, *Abel Tasman*, 64-65; Anderson, *The Merchant of The Zeehaen*, 100.

⁶⁴ John Van Maanen and Brian T. Pentland, 'Cops and Auditors: The Rhetoric of Records', in *The Legalistic Organization*, ed. Sim B. Sitkin and Robert J. Bies (Thousand Oaks, 1994) 53; see also Ciaran B. Trace, 'What is Recorded is Never Simply 'What Happened': Record Keeping in Modern Organizational Culture' in *Archival Science*, ii, 2002, pp. 137-159.

⁶⁵ Paul Hasluck, 'Problems of research on contemporary official records' in *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, v, 1951, pp. 1-13, repr in *Debates and discourses. Selected Australian writings on archival theory 1951-1960*, ed. Peter Biskup et al. (Canberra, 1995), 23.

his followers have translated this as ‘cleaned the guns . . . and placed them again.’⁶⁶ However, in Dutch ‘*afblazen*’ of a cannon means: cleaning the cannon by firing a shot with loose gunpowder.⁶⁷ The literal meaning being established – into the record – it is up to the reader to infer – out of the record – what the statement meant and what it means, leading to, for example, the conclusion that the Māori indeed had cause to be alarmed by the firing from Tasman’s ships which might explain their fiendish behaviour the next day.⁶⁸

About the Māori the Tasman journal relates ‘they wore black hair right upon the top of their heads, tied fast in the manner and fashion of the Japanese at the back of their heads . . .’ To uncover the writer’s meaning one has to understand what a seventeenth-century Dutchman meant by ‘the manner and fashion of the Japanese’. Such exegesis is provided by the intertextuality between the journal and other texts, for example images of Japanese men in the seventeenth century.

The subjects of the record

In the journals of De Vlamingh and Tasman ordinary sailors and soldiers remain anonymous,⁶⁹ even the four victims of the assault by Māori in Murderers’ Bay haven’t been given their names by Tasman. This was not normal practice: when a crew member died, his name was noted in the ship’s journal. Moreover, the death was recorded in the ship’s muster roll and in the pay-ledger where each member of the crew had his own account.⁷⁰ Upon arrival in Batavia, one of the two copies of the pay-ledger was sent back to the Republic, the other remained in the pay office in Batavia. Once a year Batavia informed the pay office in the Netherlands of any changes in the accounts so that the other copy of the pay-ledger could be updated.⁷¹ Most of the copies which were remitted to the Republic are now in the National Archives in The Hague: 2,991 volumes, mostly (93%) from the eighteenth century. In these volumes, 655,000 men who sailed to and from Asia in the eighteenth century have been registered.

VOC employees were paid their wages upon submission of all pay slips showing the balance of their account at different times in the employee’s service. If he had lost one or more of these statements, he had to wait until the copy of the pay-ledger had been returned from Batavia to the VOC pay office at home. Time and again the VOC directors had to press for the timely transfer of the pay-ledgers and their duplicates

⁶⁶ The translation was by J. de Hoop Scheffer and C. Stoffel. G.C. Woide’s translation (see note 43) has ‘cleaned the guns on deck and put them again in their place’. *Historical records of New Zealand*, ed. R. McNab, (Wellington, 1914), ii, 22: ‘cleaned the guns’.

⁶⁷ Andrew Sharp’s ‘blown off the guns’ (Andrew Sharp, *Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman* (Oxford, 1968)), is much closer to the Dutch. The recent edition of the journal in modern Dutch correctly translates: ‘afgeschoten en weer gereedgemaakt’: Vibeke Roeper and Diederick Wildeman, *Het journaal van Abel Tasman, 1642–1643* (Den Haag/Zwolle, 2006), 94.

⁶⁸ Sharp, p. 121, followed by R. Jenkins, *Strangers in Mohua: Abel Tasman’s exploration of New Zealand . . .* (Tanaka, 2000), 25.

⁶⁹ Exceptionally Tasman’s journal mentions by name a wounded sailor Joris Claesen (12 Sept. 1642) and the steward’s mate Jan Pietersz, charged with harassing a cabin boy (the journal only mentions: ‘certain things he was suspected of’), who jumped overboard and swam to the shore at Buton, 5 June 1643: Roeper and Wildeman, *Het journaal van Abel Tasman*, 27, 55, 193.

⁷⁰ The personnel administration (a total of about 245 metres) takes up one-fifth of the total volume of the VOC archives in the Dutch National Archives. See B.J. Slot, M.C.J.C. van Hoof and F. Lequin, ‘Notes on the use of the VOC archives’ in Meilink-Roelofs, *De archieven van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie. The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (1602–1795)*, 57–69.

⁷¹ Slot, van Hoof and Lequin, ‘Notes on the use of the VOC archives’, 58.

(which, for safety reasons, were sent back by separate ships).⁷² Not only the Company itself had an interest in the pay-ledgers, the records were vital for the employees and their relatives. The latter were, as the directors argued, often destitute and yearning for payment; even when they could prove that a husband or father had died in the Indies, they were not allowed payment unless the updated ledger had arrived from Batavia. Recordkeeping was an enormous task for the VOC. In Batavia, in the 18th century, some 95 clerks worked at the general secretariat and a further 42 men were engaged in the administration at the general pay office, the pay auditing office and the keeping of the muster-rolls.⁷³ The Amsterdam chamber employed an administrative staff of 180,⁷⁴ among them 26 clerks. Even a small chamber like the Delft one, had five clerks. They did the archiving work primarily for the benefit of the VOC, its directors and shareholders. But, as we have seen, the circle of stakeholders was greater, involving the employees as record subjects, their wives and next of kin, their heirs and creditors⁷⁵ – they all had an interest in reliable recordkeeping by the Company.

Destroying records

Once the account was closed upon final payment of the balance, the pay office destroyed the pay slips because they had lost their administrative value. There must have been several millions of pay slips. What did they look like? Is it possible to find any pay slip that was not submitted to the pay office but kept by the VOC employee? I found some copies, not in the Netherlands, nor in Asia, but . . . in London in the National Archives. There, the archives of the High Court of Admiralty contain tens of thousands of ‘prize papers’ captured from Dutch ships seized during the four naval wars with the English.⁷⁶ The documents never reached their destination, and so these pay slips did not experience the fate of all those other pay slips which were torn up after use.

The decision to destroy a document is as much part of the archival consciousness as is the decision to keep it. What is recorded and archived, what is left out, what is destroyed, is determined by what I have named archivalisation, meaning the conscious or unconscious choice (determined by social and cultural factors) to consider something worth archiving – or not.⁷⁷ As early as 1980, American archival educator (and future Archivist of the United States) Frank Burke instigated research of questions like

⁷² See the instruction for VOC merchants and administrators of 1617, art. 28: Pieter van Dam, *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. F.W. Stapel, (1927, 's-Gravenhage, 1927), i. 595, available at <http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/vandam/#page=0&size=800&accessor=toc&source=1> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013)

⁷³ F. Lequin, *Het personeel van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Azië in de achttiende eeuw, meer in het bijzonder in de vestiging Bengalen* (Leiden, 1982), 76-77.

⁷⁴ Jan Lucassen, ‘A multinational and its labor force: The Dutch East India Company, 1595-1795’ in *International Labor and Working-Class History*, lxvi, 2004, p. 19; L.L.M. Eekhout, ‘Een bedrijf in bedrijf: organisatie en werkverdeling van de kamer Delft’ in *Delft en de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. H.L. Houtzager et al (Amsterdam, 1987), 13-35.

⁷⁵ Manon van der Heijden and Danielle van den Heuvel, ‘Sailors’ families and the urban institutional framework in early modern Holland’ in *The History of the Family*, xii:4, 2007, pp. 296-309; Christiaan van Bochove and Ton van Velzen, *Loans for Salaried Employees: The Case of the Dutch East India Company, 1602-1795* (2011), available at <http://eh.net/eha/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/VanBochoveVanVelzen.pdf> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013)

⁷⁶ <http://hum.leiden.edu/research/letters-as-loot/project/>; <http://www.gekaaptebrieven.nl/tekst> (accessed 10 Dec. 2013); Roelof van Gelder, *Sailing letters : verslag van een inventariserend onderzoek naar Nederlandse brieven in het archief van het High Court of Admiralty in The National Archives in Kew, Groot-Brittannië* (Den Haag, 2006); *De gekaapte kaper: brieven en scheepspapieren uit de Europese handelsvaart*, ed. Erik van der Doe, Perry Moree, Dirk J. Tang (Zutphen, 2011).

⁷⁷ Eric Ketelaar, ‘Archivalisation and Archiving’ in *Archives and manuscripts*, xxvii, 1999, pp. 54-61; Eric Ketelaar, ‘Archivalistics Research Saving the Profession’ in *American Archivist*, lxiii, 2000, pp. 322-340, here 328-329; Eric Ketelaar, ‘Writing on Archiving Machines’ in *Sign here! Handwriting in the Age of New Media*, ed. Sonja Neef, José van Dijk, and Eric Ketelaar (Amsterdam, 2006), 188.

What is it within the nature of society that makes it create the records that it does? Is the impulse a purely practical one, or is there something in the human psyche that dictates the keeping of a record, and what is the motivation for that act?⁷⁸

In the opinion of Burke, the merit of asking and answering these questions was not only the enhancement of the theoretical basis of the archival endeavour: there might be also possible practical outcomes. He suggested that, by determining the motivation for record formation and researching its sociological aspects, one might be able to 'devise practices that will satisfy a basic human need.'⁷⁹ This surely must appeal to your association. The British Records Association, according to Maurice Bond's account of its history, was founded 'to remedy official inaction', speaking 'directly and effectively to the public', for example in 1939 by widely distributing large notices 'printed in red and black with a remarkable variety of type' warning for the 'indiscriminate destruction' of what the public might consider to be waste paper but what might be irreplaceable manuscripts and records.⁸⁰ Rescuing documents in danger of loss or destruction is still BRA's aim. But doesn't that entail trying to *understand* archivalisation, understanding *why* most people – record subjects, their heirs and trustees – have other concerns than the members of your association? Could we, by looking *up* from the record, by traveling with the record to uncharted territories of archivalisation, past and present, contribute to the enhancement of the social and cultural practices of archiving?

⁷⁸ Frank G. Burke, 'The future course of archival theory in the United States' in *American Archivist*, xlv, 1981, p. 42.

⁷⁹ Burke, 'The future course', 42.

⁸⁰ Maurice F. Bond, 'The British Records Association and the modern archive movement' in *Essays in memory of sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. Albert E.J. Hollaender (Chichester, 1962), 71-90.

1. Good evening. It is an honour to have been asked to deliver this year's JUSTICE Tom Sargent Memorial Lecture. I have taken as my subject Justice in an Age of Austerity. It is a topic which is as unoriginal as it is important and topical, but I make no apologies for its unoriginality because it is so important and topical. I wish to thank John Sorabji for all his considerable help in preparing this lecture.

1. protection against abuses or excesses of the state, or a right against another citizen, is enforceable, it might as well not exist. Mr Stefano Domenicali, Scuderia Ferrari Team Principal, delivered the 39th Maurice Lubbock Memorial Lecture on 15th May. The Department's two main lecture theatres were full to hear the lecture titled "Ferrari", with over 300 representatives from industry, the University's alumni community, government, and schools from Oxfordshire. Stefano Domenicali steered his presentation from the influence of early Italian culture on the design, engineering and team spirit of Scuderia Ferrari (Ferrari's Formula 1 racing team) to the "magnetism" of Ferrari today under the leadership of Luca di Montezemolo, Chairman of Ferrari.

Monsignor Pdraig de Brun Annual Commemorative Lecture 2013 NUI Galway 25 February 2013 Maurice Hayes To Hell or Croke " Whither the Irish Public Service? What indeed is the future of the public service between those who would consign it to perdition, on the one hand, and those who would insulate it from the cold winds of reality and change in the comfort blanket of the Croke Park Agreement? at with crude philistinism by the Chair of the Public Accounts Committee, dismissed contemptuously as "Corinthian", as irrelevant in a world which requires the more realistic values of the market place, the banks, the bond-market and the counting-house. © 2013-2020 studylib.net all other trademarks and copyrights are the property of their respective owners. DMCA Terms Privacy. These lectures form the core argument of the present work, which has occupied me steadily since that time. A substantial amount of scholarship in anthropology, history, and area studies has developed arguments I put forward in OriiiiJiJm, which was limited to the Middle East. The argument of this book was first presented in various lecture series given at universities in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada from 1985 to 1988. For these extended opportunities, I am greatly indebted to faculty and students at the University of Kent, Cornell University, the University of Western Ontario; the University of Toronto, the University of Essex; and, in a considerably earlier version of the argument, the University of Chicago.