

COLONIES OF BENEVOLENCE

Assistance Process ICOMOS 2018-2019

Document 1

Kingdom of the Netherlands and Kingdom of Belgium

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Introduction

This document is document 1 in the exchange of documents in the Dialogue between ICOMOS and the Colonies of Benevolence in the period February - 31 July 2019.

In this document, the eleven questions submitted by ICOMOS to the member states of the Netherlands and Belgium on the subject of the Colonies of Benevolence have been answered. This was undertaken by the nomination team, supported by a specially for the ICOMOS Dialogue broadened Scientific Team affiliated to various universities, with expertise in the field of landscape history, historical geography, and socio-economic history of Europe.

At the request of ICOMOS, regular references are made in the document to the nomination file Colonies of Benevolence (January 2017), and to Supplements 1 (November 2017) and 2 (February 2018) with regard to information already known.

The maps accompanying the text have been included in a table with question 7. You can click on the desired map in the table to consult the underlying maps in the form of a pdf. This requires an internet connection.

As regards the maps with questions 7 and 8, we kindly draw your attention to the following.

- To question 7, we have added an overview of the historical evolution on the basis of historical maps. In addition, we have included a new schematic work chart, on the basis of the historical maps. In this chart we have specified the successive development phases of one of the Colonies, Ommerschans. We kindly request you to let us know if this provides an accurate picture of the changes and, consequently, if this answers your question. If the answer is positive, we can produce charts for the other Colonies as well according to this method. The underlying historical maps for all the Colonies have also been added.
- Question 8 also includes a work chart, showing the functional elements of the landscape cohesively: in the initial phase, in the period of (re)development, and up to the present-day situation. Here, too, Ommerschans has been taken as an example.

The source reference to the maps can be found in the diagram accompanying question 7. The source reference to other historical sources and scientific literature is to be found in the notes.

As Marcel Proust said, 'the **real** voyage of **discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes, but in having new eyes**'. Your invitation to have a closer look at these landscapes we cherish, has brought new insights and a deeper knowledge.

We look forward to your comments and feedback and welcome the exchange of ideas.

Nomination team Colonies of Benevolence

March 2019

Answering questions

1.
 - A. *More information is needed on the formation of Dutch Benevolent Society by Bosch and how this was linked to Prince Frederick and Royal support.*
 - B. *The original nomination dossier mentions 'progressive thinkers amongst the European elite and influence of Enlightenment thinking' on the formation of the Society of Benevolence. Who were these? Was its foundation influenced by ideas in the Netherlands, beyond the Netherlands or simply by Bosch's experience and views?*
 - C. *And could more details be provided on Bosch's view from this writings? What were the principles of the Society of Benevolence?*

A. *More information is needed on the formation of Dutch Benevolent Society by van den Bosch and how this was linked to Prince Frederick and Royal support.*

Reference to documentation

- Nomination dossier p. 135-143 and p. 159-160
- Supplement 2 p. 18

The Society of Benevolence, founded in 1818, was a private member-based organisation with a socio-economic objective. Every Dutch citizen could become a member upon payment of a contribution, but membership was subject to approval by the management.

The members of the Society of Benevolence were united in local departments, which were governed by so-called subcommittees of Benevolence. In these subcommittees local citizens participated, representing local government, the clergy, the high bourgeoisie and the military. In April 1819, there were 21.187 members, divided over 657 subcommittees.

Prince Frederick – second son of King William I – was chairman for life of the 12-person management of the Society of Benevolence. He effectively exercised this mandate from 1818 to 1856, and he played a very active role in the management. He had the same role in the Society of Benevolence of the Southern Provinces, the sister society established in 1821 with a view to enabling the establishment and the practical management of Wortel and Merksplas Colonies.¹

This meant that the initiative enjoyed direct royal protection, which is also evident from the recruitment of members at the founding, the correspondence, and the many Royal Decrees and Directives governing all kinds of administrative and financial problems of the Society, the name of the Colonies which referred to the royal family. The king also repeatedly visited the project.²

¹ P. 22. "Settlements are made for the establishment in the Southern Provinces of a Society similar to that which His Royal Highness Prince Frederick manages with such good results in the Northern Provinces." *Reports on the state of the Society, and from the Colonies*, in De Star (nr. 9, 1821): 721.

² "The tax burden strained the resources of the newly restored monarchy; in 1819, 22.704 people sought refuge in the poorhouses, at a cost of f 126 per person, 49 percent of which represented a state subsidy. The need to reduce this burden

In addition to frequent tax exemptions, the royal family itself also made investments until mid-19th century. The accounts showed that at the transfer of the unfree Colonies to the Dutch state, Prince Frederick had guaranteed a substantial loan to the Society, but had also himself advanced money. In the Southern Netherlands, too, Prince Frederick himself was the main investor in the Society of Benevolence.³

B. The original nomination dossier mentions ‘progressive thinkers amongst the European elite and influence of Enlightenment thinking’ on the formation of the Society of Benevolence. Who were these? Was its foundation influenced by ideas in the Netherlands, beyond the Netherlands or simply by Bosch’s experiences and views?

Ideas and sources on which the Society of Benevolence based its plans

Johannes van den Bosch himself indicated that he had brought together ideas that others had suggested before, and that he had incorporated those in a plan that could also be implemented effectively.⁴ This concerned mainly insights from economists and agronomists.

Van den Bosch’s interest in poverty relief can be tied to the serious study of economics that he had made on his first return to the Netherlands. He read widely in the classical literature on political economy, including the works of Adam Smith, J. B. Say, and the Dutch economist G. K. van Hogendorp, amongst others (Boerma 1927:212).

While the original impetus for this study may have been his Javanese entrepreneurial experiment, his attention rapidly shifted from political economy—the increasingly narrow study of the wealth of nations—to the more marginalized, administratively-derived literature on poverty. Key theorists of the time in what is now contrastively called social economy included Malthus and the French economist Sismondi. Van den Bosch’s shift in focus was no doubt the result of a widespread subsistence crisis in the Netherlands between 1816 and 1817, which resulted from a volcanic eruption in Java (Windt 1984:11).

Such poverty concerned Van den Bosch, a senior military officer, for whom the convulsions of the French Revolution served as a vivid example of what such economic crisis might induce. Van den Bosch turned to political economy for solutions, but found that the discourse on the “wealth of nations” failed to address this administrative problem. Ricardo and other classical authors of the field dismissed poor laws as indefensible constraints on the market, and hence provided no means for managing the poor: for them, “poverty must simply be eliminated; even if in reality, as we have seen, it is an integral part of the discourse on wealth” (Procacci 1991:155).

accounts for much of the support that Van den Bosch’s colonization scheme received from the House of Orange. The monarchy, however, was too weak to usurp the traditional rights of local religious elites to administer poor relief. Van den Bosch’s plan was thus administered through a private organization, the Benevolent Society, established on 5 March 1818, with Crown Prince Frederik as its chairman.” (Kloosterhuis 1981:13) quoted in Schrauwen: 307.

³ Kloosterhuis reports p. 241 following amounts:

converted loan	3.784.780 fl
loan guaranteed by Prince Frederick	822.000 fl
interest advanced by Prince Frederick up to 1 July 1858	116.520 fl
current debts	5.250.041 fl

⁴ “I am of the opinion that more than enough has already been said about this subject, and that the fate of the poor will not be improved, even if the number of books that have appeared on the subject were to be multiplied to a series of thick folio volumes. The truth is here, as it is in many other subjects of science and social importance: we have adequate knowledge of the means; it is only a matter of choosing the best of all those specified, and of testing those in practice.” Johannes van den Bosch, Discourse, 1818, p.6.

Van den Bosch was thus not an anti-liberal, but rather was concerned with a governmental problem which could not be resolved within existing economic discourses.^{5 6}

In his Discourse, Johannes van den Bosch refers to international sources of inspiration, such as the German agronomist A. **Thaer**⁷, *A treatise on indigence* by **Colquhoun**⁸, **Lawaetz**.

As his most important source he mentions the work of Jacob Carel Willem **Le Jeune**, who was a historian, a linguist and a polyglot, but at that time also an official at the Dutch Ministry of the Interior.⁹

*Indeed, frequently I have only relied on Mr. Le Jeune, whose recently published and favourably reviewed work entitled: Historical inquiries into the circumstances of the poor and the practice of begging, not only provides most of the facts which I required to support my Ideas, but also the names of most of the Writers who in a deliberate manner have dealt with related issues, and to whom one can refer, if required, for further clarification of one's ideas.*¹⁰

Through these Historical Explorations, a much wider network comes into view of international thinkers who influenced the establishment of the concept of the Colonies of Benevolence. In the annexes, Le Jeune translates and quotes works considered important by him, which provide new insights in poverty solutions. In appendix C, for example, he provides an extensive list of literature with Dutch and international works on poverty reduction¹¹, while in appendix E he explains how the ideas of Malthus complement and correct the thoughts of Smith and Say. In appendix F he addresses suggestions by **Keuchenius** – apart from this an unknown Dutch author – about the establishment of farming populations in undeveloped dune and heath regions.

The network of the Society of Benevolence

In addition to written sources, there was also a direct network of philanthropists and social reformers with whom Johannes van den Bosch and the Society of Benevolence maintained a correspondence. In doing this they were seeking new insights as well as support for their own initiative.

In that connection it is interesting to mention J.H. **Pestalozzi** and P.E. **von Fellenberg**: Kornelis Mulder, teacher at the first agricultural institute of the Colonies of Benevolence

⁵ Schrauwen, Albert. The "Benevolent" Colonies of Johannes van den Bosch: Continuities in the Administration of Poverty in The Netherlands and Indonesia. In Society for Comparative Study of Society and History. 2001, p. 302.

⁶ "Some distinguished authors (Adam Smith, Mr. Senateur Garnier, *Abrégé des principes de l'économie politique*, Mr. Say, *Traité de l'économie politique* t.I.p.391) had likewise addressed this subject, and contended that the population would always concentrate on articles of food, but had not taken any particular action in that respect and had not regarded the matter in its context from all sides, as had the English writer. Moreover, the main objective of Mr. H. Malthus, as the translator correctly points out, is 'to provide a sustainable basis for the happiness of human society, and in particular to enable the lower working classes to attain a 'happier' state than one generally tends to find in civilised peoples.'" Le Jeune, Historical Explorations, p. 163-164.

⁷ J.van den Bosch, op.cit., p. 81.

⁸ Colquhoun, P. A treatise on indigence. London. 1806.

⁹ As early as the beginning of the 19th century, in this ministry the names are to be found of persons who subsequently also made a crucial contribution to the establishment of the Society of Benevolence.

¹⁰ J.Van den Bosch, op.cit, p. XI.

¹¹ Lejeune, Historical Explorations, p. 143-145 (appendix C). including:

- Recueil de mémoires sur les établissemens d'humanité, traduits de l'Espagnol, de l'Allemand, de l'Anglais & c. et publiés par Duquesnoy, Paris, Agasse, An X 38 vol.8
- Friedländer, Entwurf einer Geschichte der Armen und Armenanstalten, nebst einer Nachricht von den jetzigen Zustände der Pariser Armenanstalten und Hospitäler, in November 1803, Leibz.Gochen 1804. 8°
- Comptes généraux des hospitaal, hospices-civils, enfans abandonnés, secours à domicile & direction des nourrices de la ville de Paris, An XI, Paris 1805, 4°
- Des moyens de détruire la mendicité en France. In de Mémoires de l'académie de Chalons sur marne 1777
- Specification of laws and regulations made up in England on the subject of Poverty – extracted from the work of Ruggles, with comments by Van Leyden van Westbarendrecht. Haarlem, Loosjes 1804, 8°
- Sir F. M. Eden. On the state of the poor
- Townsend, dissertation on the poor laws, 2nd edit, 1787
- Malthus, Essai sur le principe de population. Trad. de l'Anglais par Prévost. Genève 1809, 3 vol. 8°

- the institute that put their pedagogical insights into practice¹² - had been trained in Hofwil (in Switzerland).

With Robert **Owen** (New Lanark and New Harmony) there was also direct contact in the founding period. His son made a study trip to the Netherlands, where he visited Frederiksoord, Ommerschans and Veenhuizen.¹³

In April 1819, Owen sent articles to newspapers in which he demonstrated that his own plan for the establishment of colonies was not all that strange, not all that isolated as one might have thought: to serve as an example, he drew attention to the creation of the Society of Benevolence and to the similarities thereof to his own plans.¹⁴

Much later, Robert Owen went still further and claimed that his own concept had been at the basis of the Society of Benevolence, which was elaborately refuted by a number of authors, including Le Jeune.¹⁵

Lastly, a select group of international philanthropists and social reformers were also honorary members of the Society of Benevolence. They were selected on the basis of their ideas and prestigious contributions in areas considered important by the Society. For example, the aforementioned R.D. Owen, J.H. Pestalozzi and Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg were honorary members, but also the Duke of Bedford, Léopold de Bellaing, the duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, J.D. Lawaetz and the London Cooperative Society (M. Baldwin). These illustrious contemporaries of Johannes van den Bosch were very much obliged for this, as demonstrated by the subsequent correspondence.¹⁶

C. And could more details be provided on Bosch's view from his writings? What were the principles of the Society of Benevolence?

Van den Bosch was primarily implementer and promotor of a plan that was supported by a group of intellectuals and senior officials at the Ministry of the Interior, with considerable social support. The motivation for the indigenous agricultural colonies was based on at that time recent and new insights that explained the origins of poverty (exponential population growth, coupled with lack of employment and insufficient food production), and provided solutions to reduce the numbers of poor.

In addition, it was recognised that the old systems failed to remove the causes of poverty and that these systems were financially unsustainable – a strong motivator for a new concept.

Also, the realisation that poverty could be a breeding ground for social unrest and the fear of revolt – like at the end of the 18th century in France – among well-to-do citizens, entrepreneurs and policy makers, obviously played a role.

*Moreover, we have seen that this evil arises mainly from lack of employment in society. The most suitable remedy here will, as always, have to be sought in such means as will combat the cause itself, and consequently increase employment.*¹⁷

Because if the poverty of our times is, indeed, a consequence of our present social institutions, and must therefore be regarded as susceptible to an appreciable increase, as the youngest situation in England, and in parts of Germany and Switzerland, invariably seems to

¹² In 1819, D.J. van Ewijck (1786 - 1858), a philanthropist (and a later governor of Drenthe), enabled Kornelis Mulder, a pupil of the Groningen professor Van Swinderen, to follow a training in Hofwil (near Bern). There, on his father's estate, Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg (1771 - 1844) had started an agricultural institute. In 1821, general Johannes van den Bosch paid a visit to this institute and to his pupil.

¹³ Robert Dale Owen, *Travel to holland and New Harmony, 1825-1826*.

¹⁴ Quack, H.P.G. *De Socialisten, personen en stelsels*, Amsterdam, 1911, p. 268.

¹⁵ C. Lejeune, *Settlements on rough grounds*, in *De Navorser*, Amsterdam, 1860, p.126.

¹⁶ National Archives Brussels, T. 306 117, letters of thanks from honorary members after their appointment, 1824.

¹⁷ J. van den Bosch, *Discourse*, p. 107.

*prove - then it is also undeniably true that from this, consequences must eventually arise which are dangerous for societal security in general, as well as for the particular interest of the more affluent classes; and that the State, in this way, might become subject to civil unrest, all the more perilous as the numbers of its needy members would have increased, and the tendency, the drive, to help themselves by force to what they have been deprived of through the course of circumstances, should find a strong incentive in the magnitude of their misery.*¹⁸

The objective was ambitious: the initiators wanted to **reduce the poverty arising from lack of employment**, and preferably even completely eradicate it. The colony model had to fill a 'gap' in the existing instruments for poverty reduction.

*We do not feel it incumbent upon ourselves to deal with poverty in general, or with all its manifestations. However, those who are born connected with, or in a state of, defencelessness or outright inability to labour, must of course be and remain subject to local care of civil Government, of the existing charity institutions, or of such Councils for assistance to the poor as have been established for centuries by the various religious denominations, for the support of its impoverished fellow believers. That poverty alone, which springs from lack of employment while willing and able to perform labour, in my opinion demands and deserves our attention, to the extent that we are indivisible and participating citizens of a free State, because it is susceptible, through the collaboration of particular persons, to be positively combated, at times reduced, and perhaps once completely overcome, at least be contained within those limits where it will cease to be burdensome and even dangerous for society.*¹⁹

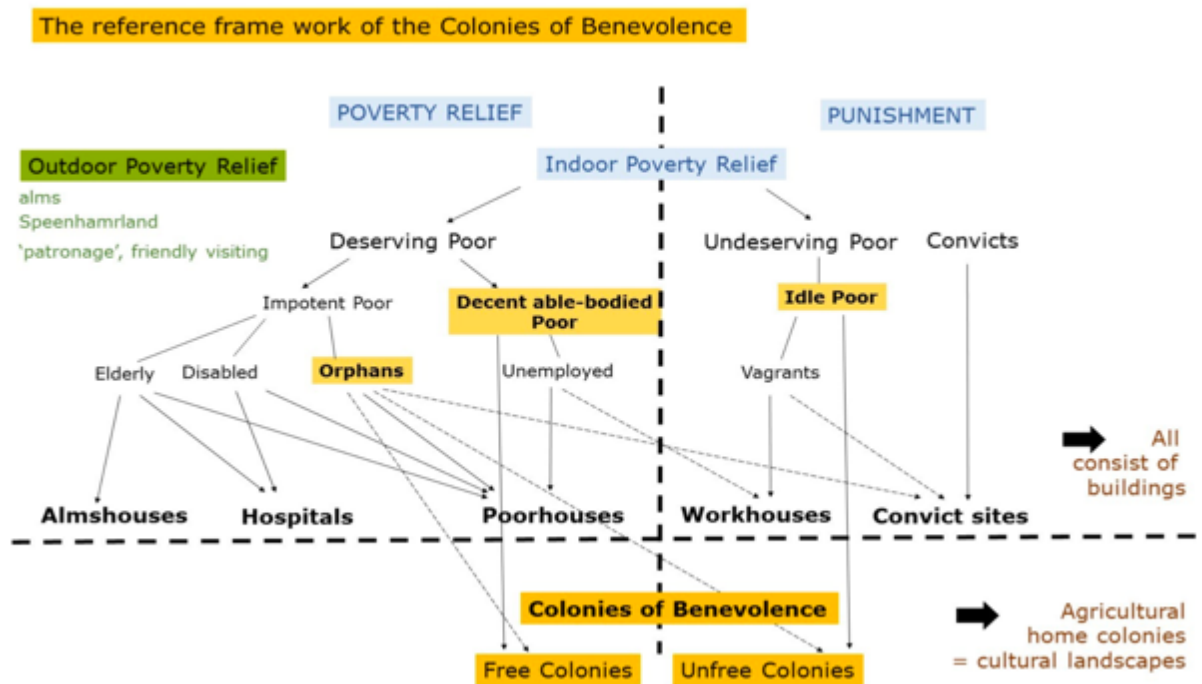
(After description of all kinds of initiatives for poverty reduction)

*I therefore consider it desirable (in order to bring together all that can serve to provide the needy classes with the improvement of their existence to which they are at all times susceptible, through the repelling of Poverty and Begging), that one should establish a relation between the Friendships and the Labour Institutions, and between the latter and the penitentiaries, like the former to the Hospitals and Institutions for powerless needy. In this way, the wide gap between the suffering unfortunate and the incorrigible liable to punishment can be filled. Society in its turn, fulfilling the duties of humanity, will be secured against the onslaughts of indiscriminate poverty and vice;*²⁰

¹⁸ J. van den Bosch, Discourse, p. 5.

¹⁹ J. van den Bosch, Discourse, p. 3 & 4.

²⁰ J.C. Lejeune, Historical Explorations, p. 133



The Colonies of Benevolence added a new model to the existing initiatives: agricultural home colonies for poverty relief. They situated themselves between indoor institutions for the impotent poor ('care institutions') and indoor institutions for the 'idle' poor, such as workhouses (institutions for punishment, to deter), by their combination of disciplining and educating the poor.

Principles of the Society of Benevolence

- Development perspective through agricultural labour

The Colonies of Benevolence were in line with the dominant 19th century liberal vision, whereby every citizen was supposed to be able to take care of himself.

The concept was legitimised on the basis of that ideal, and aimed to launch a civilisation offensive, from the underlying moral conviction that it was desirable to make poor people and unfertile land productive, and to involve them in a modern (capitalist) society.²¹

This fitted in perfectly with the words of John Locke in the 17th century.

"God gave the World to Men in Common...but it cannot be supposed he meant it should always remain common and uncultivated. He gave it to the use of the Industrious and Rational and Labour was to be his Title to it" (Locke, II: 475)²²

As Arneil, Schrauwers and other authors indicate, there is an unmistakable resemblance to the legitimisation also applied to overseas colonisation – both financial (the transformation of natural landscape and the introduction into a capitalist production system) and ethical (the 'civilising' – converting into citizens who fit within a modern society).

The Colonies of Benevolence indisputably fit within the optimism of progress and the development perspective, which at the beginning of the 19th century was considered to be 'progressive'. Along

²¹ "Van den Bosch's colonies were designed to create work for, govern, and reform potentially revolutionary paupers". Schrauwers, p. 323.

²² Arneil, B. Domestic Colonies in Canada: Rethinking the Definition of Colony. in: Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique 51:3 (September / septembre 2018) 497–519.

these lines they continued to build on the ideas of Locke and Smith and other Enlightened thinkers.

- **Social engineering: transformation of citizens to be 'industrious & rational'** ²³

'Labour' is not implemented as a punishment, but is a necessary condition for becoming a good citizen. Work ethic was an absolute core element of the concept. The creation of employment opportunities was regarded as a step in a general civilisation process. The new solution focused on all able-bodied poor. It was not a matter of numbing and repetitive work, but of 'productive' employment, which was to train the poor people concerned, but also generate added value for them as well as for society.

How noble and how effective are your attempts, oh laudable Society of Benevolence! to extend the hand of salvation, with generous self-sacrifice, to this profoundly abysmal, and without effective aid hopelessly lost part of the nation, and to put an end to the miserable fate of the thousands of your impoverished, poverty-stricken compatriots, by handing them precisely the two most important means for civil and moral recovery, i.e. employment, to suffice for their self-maintenance, and training, to acquire enlightenment, civilisation and a moral existence! ²⁴

Also, subsequent 19th century legislation on the subject of poverty, and more specifically legislation regarding begging and vagrancy, continued the pursuit of this ideal of the citizen who was eager to work. At the same time, the ideal perpetuated the criminalisation of non-working citizens, who were regarded as a potential social danger and as a threat to social order and stability. This process had already been started at the time of the *ancien régime* by criminalising vagrancy and begging – but it continued throughout the 19th century and resulted in new legislation, specifically aimed at re-educating vagrants and beggars to become active citizens, through compulsory employment in agriculture.²⁵

- **Rendering productive of rough grounds, of nature, cultivation as agricultural land**

The model provided a development perspective for infertile, 'empty' land²⁶. It supplied the financial basis of the model (through the increase in value of the land, in addition to the extra food production) and ensured social added value.

Very accurately, Mr. H. Malthus notes the distinct influence of the modes of support in the following words: "If I were to reduce to some extent the food of my household, and give the surplus to the lonely, I would only impose on myself and mine a deprivation, which to him is of sufficient service, whereas we might easily enough do without it. – If I were to cultivate undeveloped land and present the poor with its fruits, I would be doing a service not only to him but also to society, because everything he consumed

²³ Already in 'De subventionem pauperum' (1526), Juan Luis Vives put emphasis on the (negative) aspects of poverty for the whole of society. "Social utility" is at the core of his influential philosophy: people are judged by their contribution to society, and work is the gateway to moral uplift.

The Poor are divided into two categories:

- 'decent poor' who deserve relief, as they are 'impotent' (by age or disability) or just having bad luck (but willing to work)
- 'idle poor' or 'indecent poor' who don't deserve assistance yet as their attitude needs to be corrected. Willingness to work becomes a central element in the judgement of the poor: being poor while having all capabilities is seen as a social danger.

The same notion of "industriousness" is promoted by Enlightened philosophers such as John Locke, Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham.

²⁴ Man as a sociable being, destined for industriousness and morality; and his education to that end the greatest blessing one can offer him in the state of poverty, in De Star (1822, nr. 7): 493.

²⁵ Vercammen, Rik en Vanruysseveldt, Vicky, From central policy to local practice, the 'problem' of *vagrancy and begging in Belgium (1890-1910)*, in *Journal of Belgian History*, 45:1 (2015), pp. 121-161.

²⁶ Which was not 'empty' in reality, but used as common land by local communities for their flocks.

*will be returned to the General storehouse. But if I were to give money to those poor, and the number of products from the land does not increase, I merely enable him to buy a larger amount of those products than before. Now it will be evident that this increase reduces the share of all the others.*²⁷

- **Temporary segregation in a (domestic) controlled environment with order and regularity**

In addition to employment, the segregation in a tightly organised agricultural environment with supervision was the key to achieving the transformation of the poor people concerned. The Colonies of Benevolence presented a very specific plan or blueprint, that spanned the entire day to day life of the colonists. Landscape and regulations constituted one continuum, mutually reinforcing. This meant that every aspect, from what kinds of buildings were erected to how they were built in relation to each other to the crops to be grown to the daily schedule of those living within them, was to be detailed.

Therefore, the Colonies of Benevolence were closely aligned with the model of the panopticon, as described in 1791 by the British lawyer and social reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832)²⁸. For Bentham, it was not only a matter of an architectural model, but of a mechanism; it concerned social disciplining on the basis of an internalised awareness of being controlled, coming from within. The 'social engineering' as effectively carried out by the Society of Benevolence, adheres to this.

- **Progressive resources to facilitate the transformation into civilised citizens**

To support the colonists in their development, education was an essential part of the model, both basic education and vocational training. By providing education for both children and adults, and by launching innovative initiatives such as agricultural and forestry institutions, the Society of Benevolence anticipated subsequent state initiatives.

In addition, the model was essentially pluralistic. Religion was regarded as an important moral compass. Colonists were required to adhere to a religion and could choose to manifest themselves as Protestant, Catholic or Jewish. See also question 2.

- **Organisation for different categories of poor**

The model offered a coherent, systemic solution for different types/categories of able-bodied poor, See question 10.

- **Focus on self-sufficiency**

The proposed model focused on self-sufficiency and was therefore meant to be budgetary neutral. In this way, not only the cost for subsistence diminished. Due to the autarchic focus, competition with private (industrial) entrepreneurs was also avoided. Possible surplus in the agricultural production (which would enter the free market) was considered as a positive effect, as there was an overall lack of affordable food. This consideration was a justification from a merely societal perspective of guarantee of food supply.

- **Focus on society as a whole through a national system with an active role played by the government**

The Colonies of Benevolence presented a nationwide model with a very large capacity, intended to relieve local communities and authorities of the disadvantages and nuisance related to poverty.

²⁷ Lejeune, Historical Explorations, p. 179.

²⁸ J. Bentham, Panopticon or the inspection-house, London, 1791. See also the nomination file, page 164-166.

The public-private cooperation was necessary to start the initiative and also to continue it over time – both for funding and organisation.²⁹

To get used to labour, to attach some benefit to labour, is the first thing a management should and can take upon itself. This has been set in motion. We do not want, the State has said to these useless creatures, we do not want the option to remain for you is to die of hunger; we want even less that you drag forth your existence from place to place, like snails do, along a contagious track; that you, in carelessness and laziness, were to live a more enjoyable life than your diligent fellow inhabitant by the sweat of his brow. Choose only between labour by invitation or coercion ()*
() That a Government, as a natural consequence of the tacit social treaty, exercises a right in this connection, is obvious.*³⁰

- **Culture of best practice: experimental set-up**

J. van den Bosch was fully aware of the difficulty of the experiment – but thought that ‘trial & error’ was the best method to make progress. He saw three major challenges:

- the training of the poor to become laborious colonists,
- the acquisition of the required area of rough ground
- and the attraction of sufficient capital.³¹

No assurance could be given regarding the success: “the experience, and that alone, can be decisive in this respect.”³²

The certainty that the design will be successful will probably be the first requirement here to be able to count on a mild contribution. However, this can in our opinion never be fully assured in advance, not even by the best discourse: the experience, and that alone, can be decisive in this respect.

He regarded his written instructions as guiding principles. He understood that these would repeatedly have to be adjusted according to the concrete situation.

*“As the construction of a Colony requires a series of measures, all of which will have to be adjusted according to the spirit of the people to be controlled and to the nature of the land to be cultivated, it follows from this that as one can frequently expect considerable differences between preceding and following undertakings, experience gained cannot be considered adequate and as a basis for measuring matters to be subsequently carried out. Therefore, it will be superfluous to go into further details on this subject, as these would only contain repetitions of what has appeared in public print, and in particular in De Star, and all the more because this discourse can never be considered otherwise than as a scheme that must remain susceptible to the necessary changes due to local circumstances.”*³³

This flexibility was an inherent aspect of the undertaking, but very specifically in the case of agriculture, where tests were permanently being carried out and also being documented. (see supplement 1, part agricultural innovation).

²⁹ From the beginning, Van den Bosch was concerned with a governmental problem, which originated in the workings of an economic system whose liberal principles he could not attack; he did not seek to reform capitalism so much as to protect the state from the political threat of the poor. Schrauwen: p. 311.

³⁰ Lejeune, p. 111.

³¹ Dorgelo. 1964: p. 8.

³² J. van den Bosch, Discourse. 1818, p. 174.

³³ Copy of letter from JvdB to the King, undated, but prior to 1821. National Archives Belgium.

2. *In particular it would be helpful to understand the role of religion. Arneil states that Bosch 'rooted his colonies in the Protestant faith', while the original nomination dossier says that 'The Society of Benevolence took a neutral stance with regard to religion'. Can this difference be clarified? Did the colonies reflect a liberal Protestant ideology?*

The Colonies of Benevolence do not reflect a liberal Protestant ideology; they deliberately took a neutral stance on religion.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the United Kingdom of the Netherlands was highly diverse in the field of religion. In the Northern Netherlands (roughly the present Netherlands), under the influence of the Enlightenment, the separation of Church and State had been implemented in 1797, so prior to the Napoleonic era and prior to the founding of the United Kingdom.

- The North was mainly Protestant, with a large Catholic and a smaller Jewish minority. At that time, this region had a tradition of religious tolerance.
- The South was predominantly Catholic – after the Reconquista, only very small numbers of Protestants and Jews were left.

Although the Society of Benevolence in the Northern Netherlands was founded by and with the support of people who were mainly, but not exclusively, Protestant, the Society itself was strictly religiously neutral, because it wanted to reach all groups of the population.³⁴ It attached great importance to 'faith' or 'religion' as a basis for moral education, but did not itself choose a specific religion. It did not matter what faith you adhered to, as long as colonists were not atheists³⁵. Consequently, in the North colonists had a choice between the Roman-Catholic religion, Protestantism and Judaism. In the South of the United Netherlands, there was no demand for religions other than Catholicism.

Also, after the redevelopment by the respective Central Governments in the Netherlands and Belgium, in the second half of the 19th century, religion and faith retained a permanent place in the agricultural colonies.

Consequently, the Colonies of Benevolence cannot be described as merely reflecting a liberal Protestant ideology.

*In the Christian sphere of influence labour was in actual fact generally regarded as a religious duty, a means to glorify God. Hence, it was not specifically a matter for Protestants.*³⁶

³⁴ Mavor J. Labor Colonies and the Unemployed., in Journal of Political Economy. Vol. 2, n.1, (Dec. 1893), p. 37. claims "The colony is not established upon a religious basis".

³⁵ It goes without saying that a foundation to which all kinds of members of society are called, and in which we thus hope to find members of all the different Religious denominations, should not be connected to any one prevalent ecclesiastical doctrine, nor to its teaching; pure morality, based on the high principle of love for God and neighbour, as embraced by all denominations, should serve here as a foundation. All members must be free to provide themselves with an education in any Religious doctrine of choice. Johannes van den Bosch, Discourse, p.188-189.

³⁶ Lis, C. & Soly, H., Poverty and capitalism in pre-industrial Europe, 1980 (Dutch version), p. 104. "Labour, the curse of man after the Fall, was a religious duty, a means to glorify God. Similar ideas gained ground in Catholic countries. In France, for example, labour was increasingly regarded as a form of asceticism, as a spiritual exercise, even as a prayer. A Lyon catechism gave three reasons for the duty of labour: to earn one's keep and avoid laziness, but also to 'do penance and earn heaven'. This mysticism of labour was certainly not a new phenomenon. As early as the sixteenth century, religious reformers had sharply condemned idleness and sanctified labour as such. However, in the course of the seventeenth century, the exaltation of labour in both protestant and catholic countries assumed hitherto unprecedented proportions, and this moralising attitude became as characteristic of laity as of clergy. The English science reformer Samuel Hardib and the French merchant J. Albo fully agreed that the labour of the poor was in line with God's law.

3. *It is understood that there were intended to be links between the domestic colonies and the external colonies with people from the former being transferred to the later – thus expressing links in ideas between the two types. Could more details be provided on this aspect?*

First of all, transferring people from the domestic colonies to overseas colonies was not part of the philosophy of the Colonies of Benevolence, nor part of the 'social engineering principles' of the Society of Benevolence or the subsequent State institutions. Contemporary sources do not suggest such a practice or intention. Mavor, cited by Arneil says something about children of settlers ³⁷

Mayor's assertion should be interpreted as follows: children of settlers had a good, often technical education in agricultural or horticultural schools. But the regulations prohibited children from living in the colony when they became adults³⁸. Many of them found work in the army or in the overseas colonies, which was a usual career for educated working class citizens. But there was no active missionary policy, as Mavor claims in his analysis³⁹.

Secondly, there was no transfer of the Colonies-of-benevolence-model to overseas territories. Granted, there was a small-scale experiment of a free colony in Suriname. And a highly adapted system was introduced in the East-Indies (current Indonesia), that served a fundamentally different goal. It is, therefore, incorrect to suggest that similar models were realized in external colonies.

Still, there are obvious links between the Colonies and Benevolence and the overseas colonies of the Kingdom of the Netherlands at the beginning of the 19th century⁴⁰.

Before the establishment of the Colonies of Benevolence, Johannes van den Bosch spent quite some time in the former Dutch East Indies, where he ran a plantation himself. After his experience with the Colonies of Benevolence, the King would send him back overseas to reform the colony as governor general. He then introduced the Cultivation System. (in the nomination file the Cultivation System is referred to as Culture System, see page 133).

The civic elite in both areas was unmistakably intertwined and they shared ideas about colonization, the abolition of slavery and poverty reduction. Although research is scarce on the latter, existing publications and a closer look at primary sources can provide a better understanding of the context.

A separate Society of Benevolence was established in Suriname in 1827, but with a different goal: it was a charitable institution, without any aims for large-scale land reclamation. A Society of Benevolence was never established in the Dutch East-Indies (Indonesia). Subcommittees of the original Society of Benevolence were established in numerous Dutch colonies and overseas territories.

It is evident that the Society of Benevolence in the Netherlands and the Cultivation System in the Dutch East-Indies have some similarities, as both are products of Johannes van den Bosch's mind and they share a technique of colonisation.

Schrauwers made a comparison between the Benevolent Colonies and the Cultivation System and did research on the background of principles used by Van den Bosch. He suggests Van den Bosch was inspired during his first stay in the Dutch East-Indies and involved indigenous people to develop his estate near Batavia.⁴¹ Other sources mention that farming skills in a colony of Chinese emigrants in

³⁷ "A leading feature of the Dutch system is the securing of situations for the children of colonists when they attain the age of 20 or 22. Many are sent to the Dutch East Indies and enter the service of planters. Some of the females leave the colony and afterwards return as the wives of new entrants. A few marry in and remain in the colony." Mavor, J. Labor Colonies and the Unemployed., in *Journal of Political Economy*. Vol. 2, n.1, (Dec. 1893), p. 36.

³⁸ J. van den Bosch. *Verhandeling*. 1818:117.

³⁹ Arneil, 2017: 39-40; Mavor, 1893: 36-37.

⁴⁰ Belgium's overseas colony of Congo (1908-1960) and its predecessor the Congo Free State (personal colony of Belgian King Leopold, 1885-1908), present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo, emerged in a later period.

⁴¹ Schrauwers, A., The "Benevolent" Colonies of Johannes van den Bosch: Continuities in the Administration of Poverty in the Netherlands and Indonesia., in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol. 43, No. 2 (April, 2001), pp. 298-328.

the Dutch East-Indies were of great value to him.⁴² Whatever the source of inspiration, his first period in the Dutch East-Indies certainly influenced his ideas for domestic colonies for poverty reduction and government control, which Van den Bosch subsequently implemented in the Society of Benevolence.

The Cultivation system was implemented by the colonial government from 1830 onwards. Indigenous farmers were forced to cultivate products for the European market: indigo, tea, sugar and coffee. Indonesian historians refer to it as Sistem Tanam Paksa (Enforced Cultivation System).

The Cultivation system was an economic success for the government but turned out to be a disaster for the indigenous population.

Schrauwers focusses on similarities between the Colonies of Benevolence and the Cultivation System from a socio-economic and cultural point of view. At the same time he acknowledges fundamental differences. For example, when it comes to the purpose of both initiatives: the Colonies of Benevolence were primarily initiated to solve a social problem, the Cultivation System was primarily initiated to solve an economic problem (as maximizing profits from the East-Indies was Van den Bosch's main assignment).

From a cultural-historical perspective we must conclude that Schrauwers comparison does not take the physical implementation into account. The Cultivation System was incorporated into an existing feudal agricultural community and expanded the existing cultural landscape with new elements. The Society of Benevolence on the other hand, created completely new settlements and, as a result, a new type of cultural landscape.

⁴² British Almanac and Encyclopaedia Americana in the period 1820s-1840s.

4. *The first colonies were precisely laid out to reflect their purpose and the principles of the Society of Benevolence. It is therefore crucial to understand the original layouts for all the nominated colonies. Could sketch plans/maps be provided on the basis of physical, archaeological and historical evidence to show the original layout of all the colonies?*

Reference to documentation

- Nomination dossier, p. 47-77 and p. 167-173
- Supplements 1 and 2

Principles behind design and implementation

There was no pre-defined plan for building the 7 Colonies. It was an experiment that started on the basis of the *Discourse* (manifesto) and a set of rules, with an organisation to carry it out in concrete terms. Very quickly (in seven years' time) and on a large scale (7 Colonies) the Colonies were implemented on this basis.

The design was well thought out, because it had to facilitate the function as an agricultural colony for poverty reduction.

The concept thus resulted in design principles that took into account the functional requirements, organisational considerations and financial constraints of the project. Johannes van den Bosch himself called it a 'scheme'⁴³. The design therefore consists of an idea and sometimes representation by the Society of Benevolence in their communication (as the only left sketches dating from before the start of the realisation for Wortel and Merksplas show, for example.).



Design of the plot division in Wortel, forwarded by director Benjamin van den Bosch to the Permanent Committee, 1822.



⁴³ 'Since the construction of a colony requires a series of measures, all of which must be modified according to the spirit of the people to be administered and according to the nature of the land to be cultivated, it follows from this that there is a considerable difference to be expected between the previous and the subsequent enterprises, that an experience already obtained cannot be regarded as satisfactory and then the things that will have to be done can be measured. It will therefore be superfluous to go into further details on this subject, as they would only contain the repetitions of what has already been made public in public print and in particular in the *Star*, all the more so as this discourse can only be considered as a schedule which, due to local circumstances, must remain subject to the necessary changes.' - Copy of a letter from JvdB to the King, undated, but in the Algemeen rijksarchief België before 1821.

- The agricultural colonies were set up in wild moors and peatlands where, in principle, there was nothing apart from a few roads, watercourses or limited construction. The already existing roads/water structures and buildings were the most determining 'coincidences' or 'arbitrary design elements' that had to be considered in the construction of a Colony.
- Affordable, quickly achievable:
 - It implied simple design, with local materials (without expensive transportation cost)
 - Repetition of basic shapes
 - Reuse and integration of existing structures – roads, water structures and buildings alike
 - Focus on self-sufficiency
- The landscape itself was part of the disciplining method used:
 - Firstly, from the idea that people function better if there is permanent supervision and the creation of the so-called internalised sense of power (concept of the panopticon). People who adapt their behaviour based on the idea that someone can see them. There were clear, recognizable boundaries around areas of high visibility.
 - Secondly, order and regularity in the landscape were the complement of order and regularity in the daily schedule. They supported the disciplining.
- The design had to enable efficient management.
 Direct connections and short roads ensured greater visibility and prevented loss of time. For the same reasons, the common facilities were placed centrally. The plots were laid out according to the desired self-sufficiency and the number of people who were actually responsible for working the terrain.
 - free – family farms in the middle of the parcels to be worked, connected by paths and roads
 - unfree – large plots (worked in groups) around central institutions
- The organisation also followed the concrete target groups, the organisational structure and the form of supervision:
 - In the **free Colonies**, the intention was that families under supervision and according to strict instructions would run small, mixed farms on their own. As each family had to follow the same specifications, it was obvious that the farms and the plots had to be the same size. Moreover, the size of the farm had to be able to support a family of 6 to 8 people. There were also communal facilities (e.g., church, school, additional workshops). The results of the business operations, behaviour, order and cleanliness were subject to control, but not permanent supervision.
 - In **unfree Colonies**, the living regime was completely collective, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Everything was done as a group and under permanent supervision. Living was done in a closed central institution. Working was done on collective farms around this central foundation. Straight paths connected the Institution with the farms. Because of the size of the group and the distances, it was practical to concentrate living in a single foundation, with several work areas that were directly connected to the surrounding farmland.

The principles of spatial planning were thus motivated by functionality and efficiency and were directly in line with the main lines of the concept:

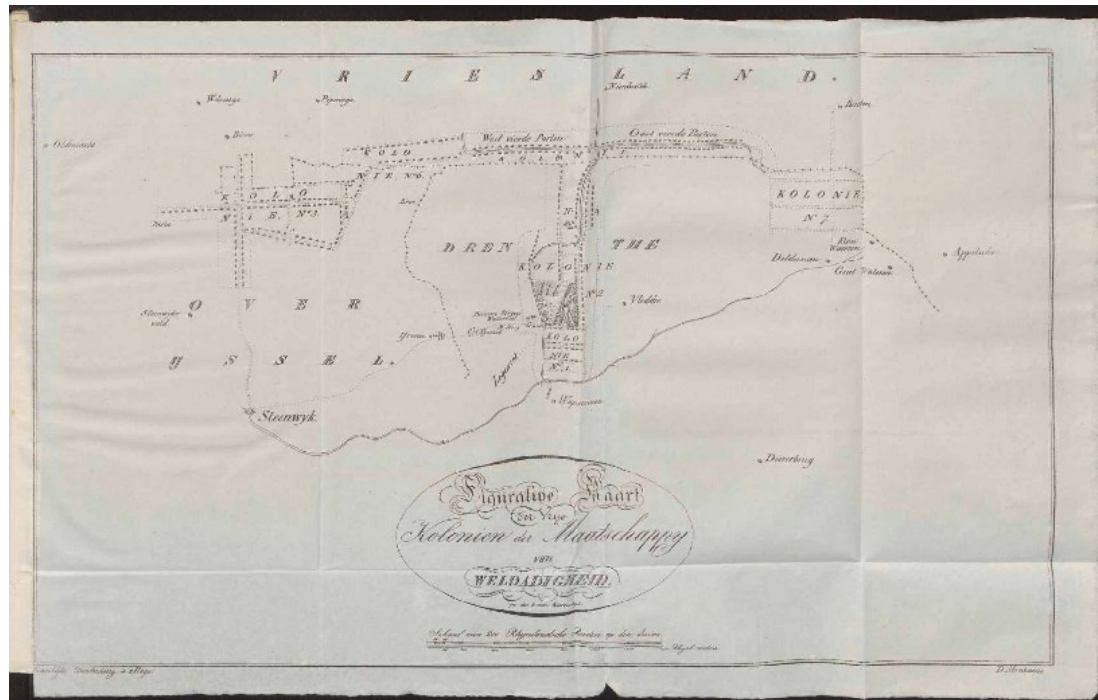
- **ORDER AND REGULARITY**
 Regularity in the planning of roads, water infrastructure, buildings and planting (especially along the lanes).
- **REPETITION**
 Consistent repetition of identical types and arrangement patterns.
- **SYMMETRY**
 Symmetry in the arrangement of buildings and planting and in the architecture of buildings.
- **CONCENTRATION OF FACILITIES**
 Communal facilities were given a central place in the area.

The consistent application of this method resulted in an orthogonal landscape rhythm with a specific pattern depending on whether it was a Colony for groups or families.

The implementation (initial layout) was the translation of the idea into a concrete physical location. The evidence for the initial layout consists of topographical maps (usually based on land registry maps), archaeology, reports and descriptions by contemporaries, and inventories.

The maps in the scheme in question 7 concerning phase 1, initial design, give a good view of the original layouts of all the nominated Colonies.

An additional map of the Colonies - Frederiksoord - Wilhelminaoord and Willemsoord that shows this, was published in the Star, vol. 5, 1823.



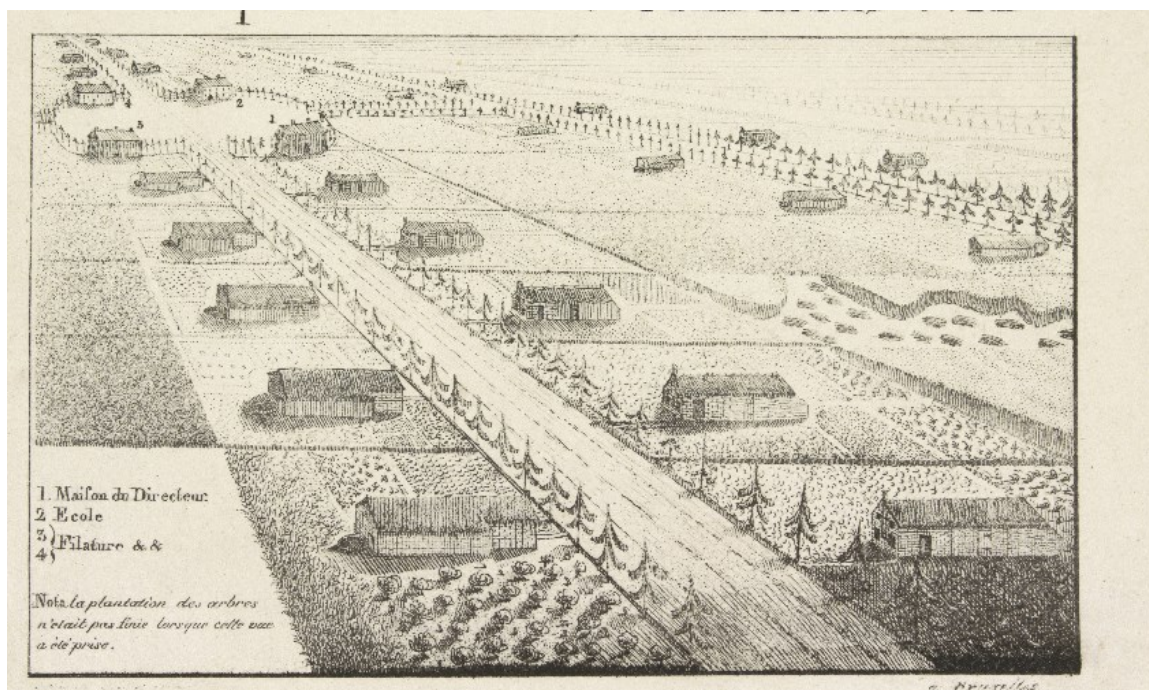
5. *In particular, it would be helpful to understand the essential components of the colonies – houses fields, roads, waterways, woodland and institutional buildings – as parts of a functional whole, and what design principle and aesthetic considerations were employed, as there is much attention paid in the original nomination dossier to vistas.*

By 'vistas' we mean the planted avenues, waterways and straight lines in the landscape that determine the orthogonal pattern of the Colonies of Benevolence. We also mean the views along the long, straight lines in the landscape that have a function in facilitating an overview (see also question 4).

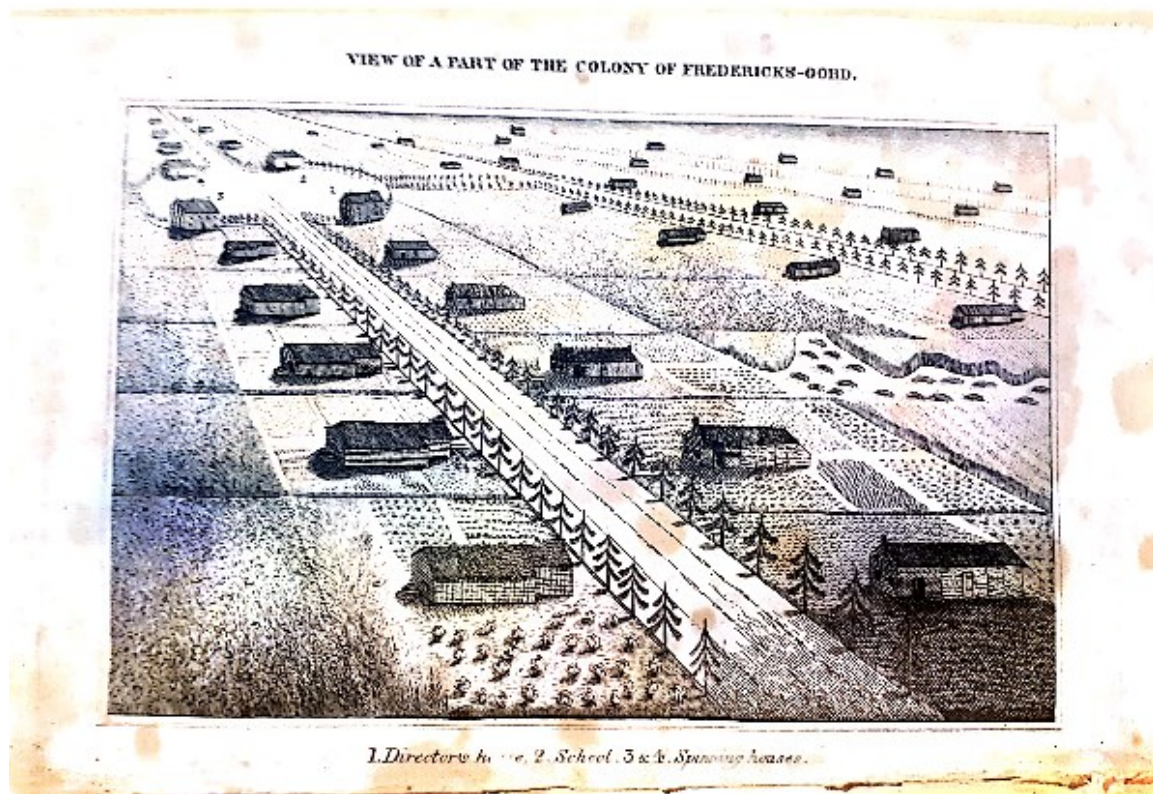
It cannot be emphasised enough that the design principles of this orthogonal pattern were mainly functional – not aesthetic. The aesthetics of the long lines in the landscape is a direct result of these functions, maintaining an overview and control, but not an end in itself. That is, the vistas were strictly an instrument of control, and not primarily an aesthetic element of landscape design. The colonists were not free; they were detained in an area, not a building.

At the same time, it appears that the orderly and harmonious landscape was consciously cultivated by the Society of Benevolence in order to steer the Colonies' public image. It was information for supporters on the backbench – the subcommittees and members of the national and international public – that was meant to show how much had been achieved.

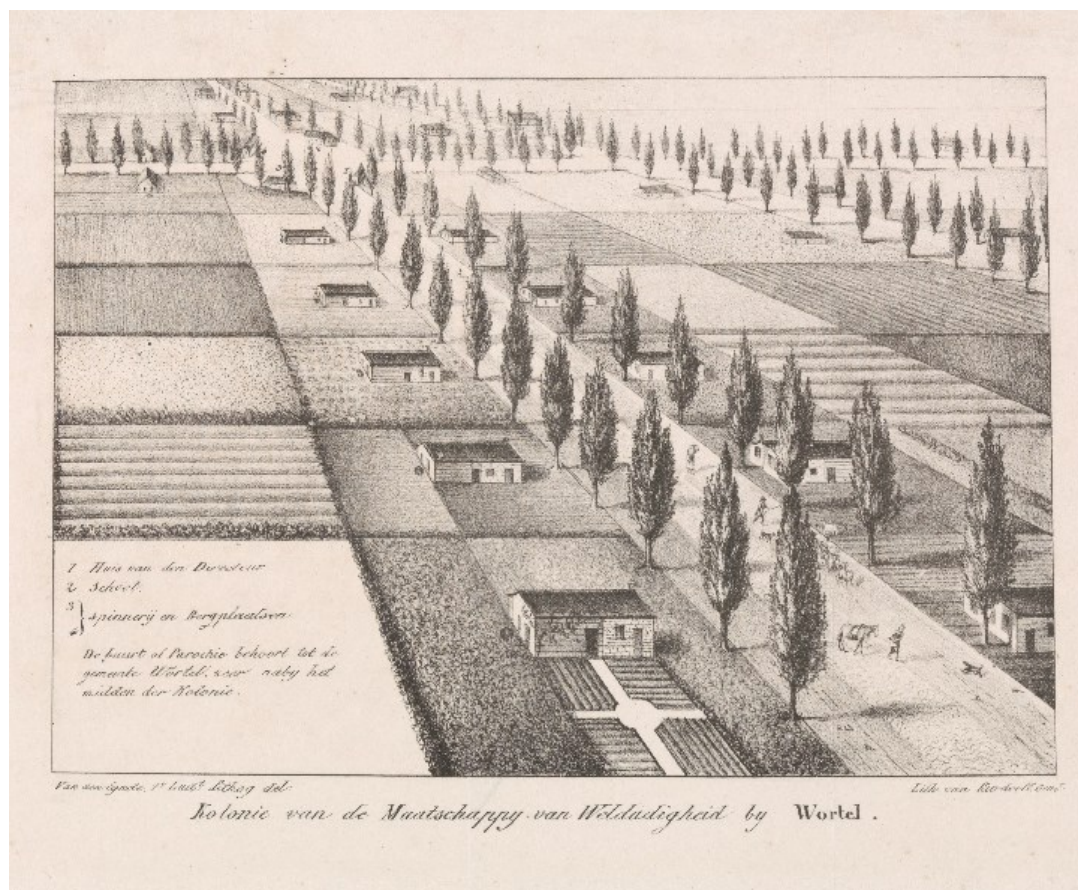
The first print was included in an extensive French publication on the ideas of the Benevolent Society and published in simplified form in an English report (see nomination dossier, p. 142-143).⁴⁴



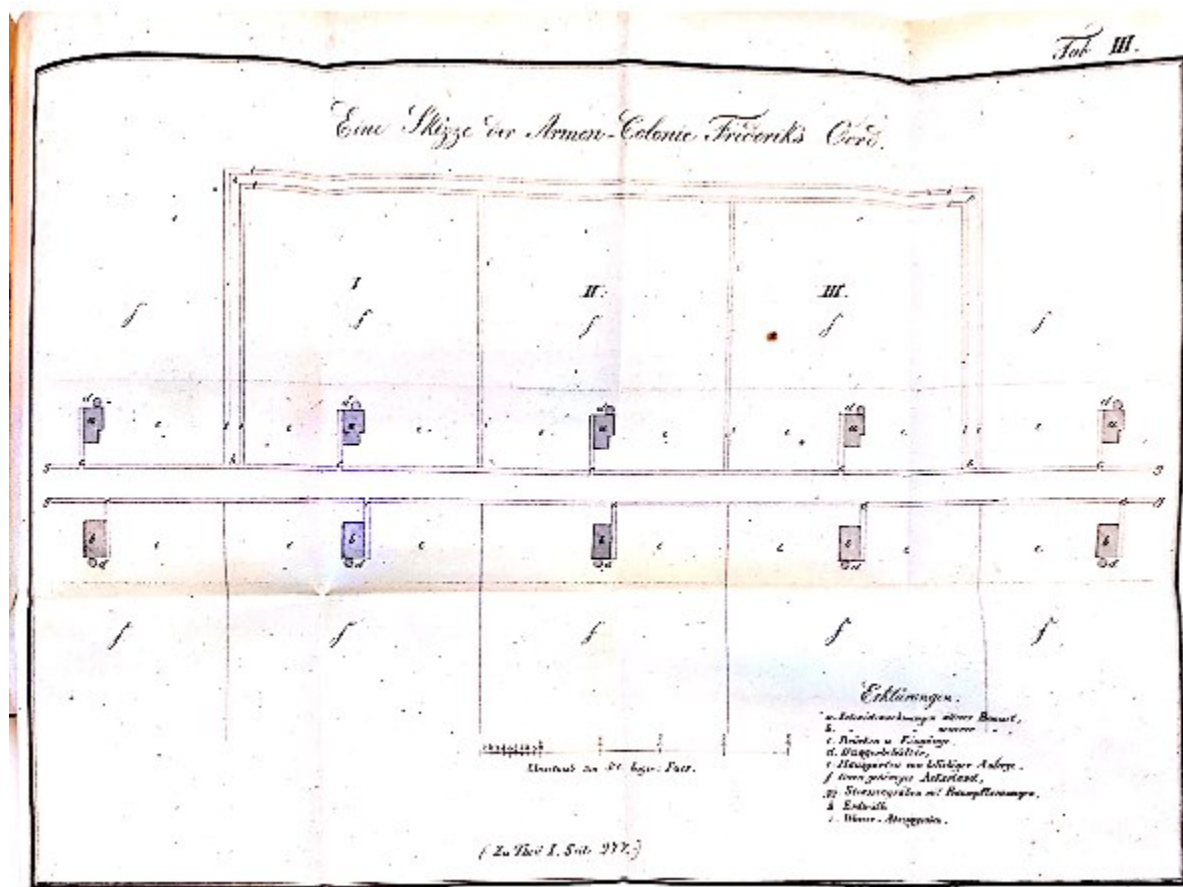
⁴⁴ *De la colonie de Frederiks-oord et des moyens de subvenir aux besoins de l'indigence par le défrichement des terres vagues et incultes, traduction d'un manuscrit du général-major Van den Bosch avec une préface du traducteur*, Ghent, 1821, p. 54 (see nomination dossier, p. 142/143/) This print was also published in simplified form in *An account of the poor-colonies and agricultural workhouses of the Benevolent Society of Holland* (1828)



A lithograph of Wortel served the same purpose.



The linear design, emphasised by long, parallel avenues and waterways with parallel, rhythmically ordered planting, was reinforced by the placement of the buildings at regular intervals. The rectangular agricultural parcels share this uniformity. This print is published in *Beschreibung einer Reise durch das Königreich der Niederlande von Grouner* (1826).

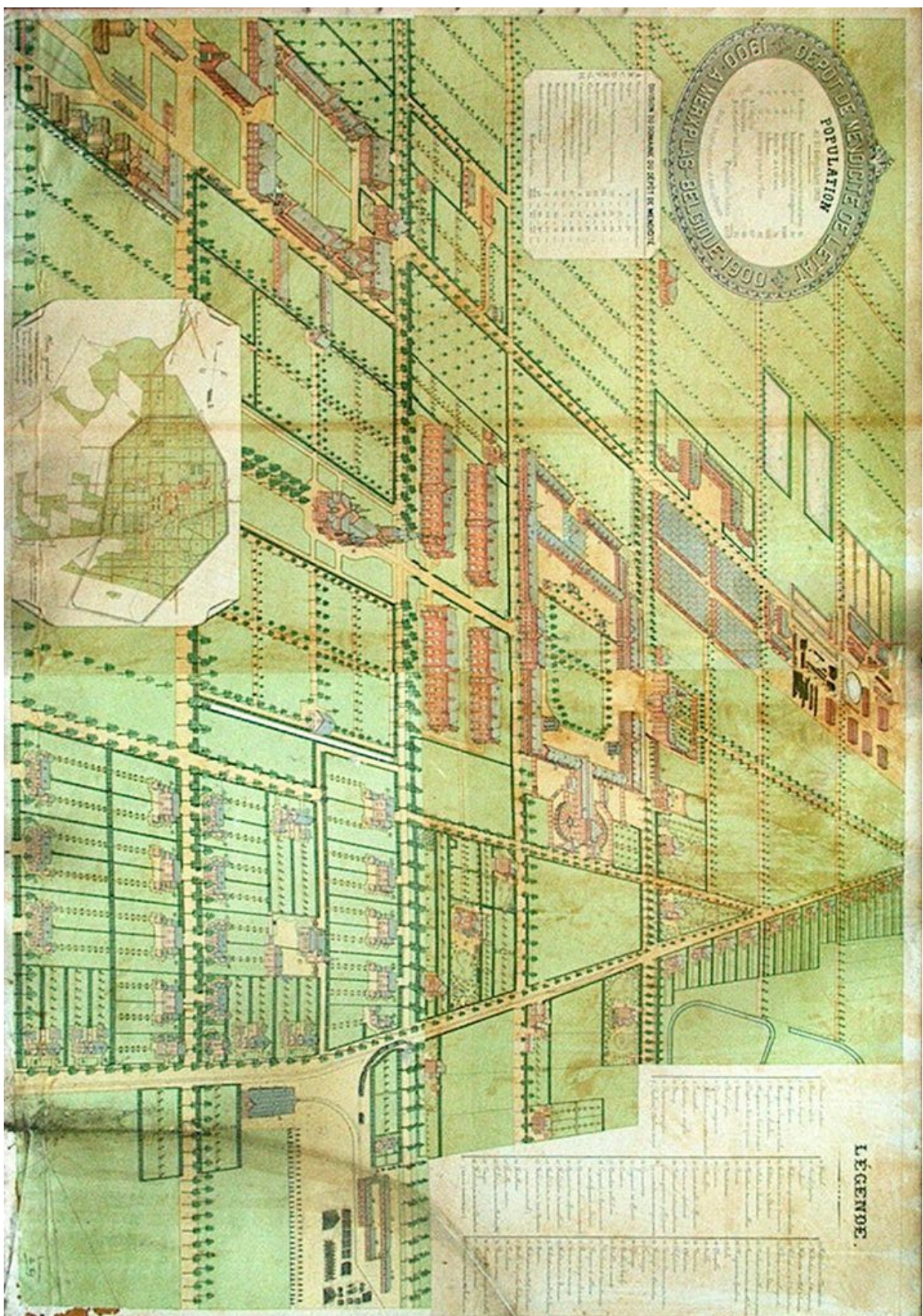


Functionality and design principles (cf. question 4) continued to be the starting point for later development, but in contrast to the initial phase, it was no longer the work of surveyors and contractors, but rather of architects and urbanists⁴⁵. They reinforced the existing landscape structures and emphasised the hierarchy between the axes. In addition, they were also able to use new materials and semi-industrial techniques. The later development is quite symbolic: it shows the prestige of the State in carefully worked out volumes and details.

Order, unity and coherence are further reinforced by the materials used, architectural styles, repetition of basic types, use of colour and systematic planting, and are still recognisable today.

The perspective prints of Frederiksoord/ Wilhelminaoord (from 1870) and of Wortel and Merksplas (both from 1904) show clearly how the orthogonal principles of the layout were reinforced by further development.

⁴⁵ Victor Besme was also an urbanist from Brussels working at the orders the king.



Essential components as parts of a functional whole

Functionally, the agricultural colony combines living (in individual farms or institutes), work (on land and in workshops), social services (medical care, training) in a context of permanent supervision ('a total institution/panopticon') and self-sufficiency.

An essential characteristic is that in the Colony, landscape and buildings are functionally intertwined – and that the area is open within the boundaries of the agricultural Colony.

Free and unfree Colonies have a characteristic and highly similar ground pattern that reflects the rational disposition and functioning of the Colony:

- a development axis that connects to the water structure (transport and drainage)
- a functional unit based on the target group (family or individual) and the organisation of work: a family farm or a foundation with work farms
- an orthogonal system of straight roads and waterways connecting functional components
- sizing of individual agricultural parcels that reflects work organisation
- clear boundaries and entrances
- common facilities that support the functioning of a closed, self-sufficient agricultural colony – e.g., chapels, cemeteries, workshops, schools, medical infrastructure

Description of functional coherence

- In the **free Colonies**, the intention was that families under supervision and according to a strict regime would run small, self-sufficient farms autonomously. The standard farm size was calculated for the maintenance of a family of 6 to 8 persons. In particular, the specifications gave instructions on which crops should be grown (in what quantities), which rotation schedule should be followed and how manure treatment should be carried out.

As each family had to follow the same specifications, it was obvious that the farms and the plots had to be the same size. The plot layout was fixed (see illustration), with the farm in the centre.

Every 10 Colony farms or so, there was a small farm of the same type for a district warden, who kept an eye on things and supervised the families. The results of the business operations, behaviour, order and cleanliness were subject to control, but not permanent supervision.

Business was based on a combination of arable farming, horticulture, limited husbandry and forestry (spruce), with cottage industry (spinning and weaving) in each 'unit'. The model for this was based on pre-existing practice in Waasland, with high productivity on small plots.

Livestock was limited to what was necessary for personal livelihood and kept in stables.

Fodder was grown in the fields, but meadows were not provided.

The basis for this was known as 'spade husbandry'; no beasts of burden were provided (such as draught horses and oxen).

The houses had to be simple but offer better living conditions than the people in the city were used to. Each house combined a living area with stables and was equipped with a privy.

The farms were connected by straight paths that were in turn connected to a larger grid of roads. The distances between the farms were such as to promote 'moral behaviour'. This made supervision easy. Except for the central access roads, all roads stopped at the boundaries of the Colony.

The areas had a canal system for drainage adapted to the subsoil – in wet peat lands (Veenhuizen and Ommerschans) the system was much more extensive than on sand (all other Colonies).

Supplies were brought in by road and/or by barges along canals and waterways.

In the centre were common facilities (a church, a school, a home for the director and a warehouse/additional workshop).

- In **unfree Colonies**, the living regime was completely collective, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Everything was done as a group and under permanent supervision.

Colonists lived in a closed central foundation, where the guards, director and other personnel (e.g., teacher, medical staff) also lived. There was a vegetable garden on the inside. There were two entrances/exits opposite one another

Women and men lived separately in groups of about 40 people per room. They slept in hammocks that were stowed away during the day. For every two halls there was one block with latrines, and there were also several central kitchens. The homes for the supervisors and their families were located between the halls and at the corners of the square foundation. From their homes, small windows gave them a clear view of two halls. Veenhuizen was slightly different in that the guards lived on the outside of the foundation, the colonists on the inside.

The other facilities (school, infirmary, church, spinning room, weaving room, etc.) were also in the building.

Work was done as a group on collective farms around the central foundation under the watchful eye of a supervisor. Straight paths connected the Foundation with the farms. Because of the size of the group and the distances, it was practical to concentrate living in a single foundation, with several work areas that were directly connected to the surrounding farmland.

At strategic points along the boundaries of the Colony, there were guardhouses and barracks for the military police/soldiers who kept watch.

It is understood that the plans used for new colonies evolved over time.

6.

The original nomination dossier states that: 'The landscaping of each Colony was not predefined, but was created through trial and error. At the construction of each new Colony, the model was adapted in an organic way to changing target groups, site conditions, social criticism, new agricultural insights or operational reforms. Consequently, the series of seven Colony landscapes reflects the evolution of the organisational model'.

Furthermore it is stated that: 'The free Colonies have a pattern consisting of long ribbons with small farms, whereas the unfree Colonies have a pattern consisting of a central institution surrounded by large farms'.

More detailed plans/maps are needed to understand how the layout of new colonies changed over time. Such plans could also provide an understanding of what elements persisted over time and thus what characterizes the layout of Dutch colonies.

Reference to documentation

- Nomination dossier, diagram p. 243

In a way, this question touches on three different aspects of the history of the individual colonies:

- 1) The second paragraph touches on the fact that the colonies-of-benevolence-model was finetuned during its implementation between 1818 and 1825. As a result, even in 1825, not one of the seven colonies that were established was identical to another.
- 2) The third paragraph refers to functional and design differences between free and unfree colonies. This topic was discussed in the previous question.
- 3) Finally, the question notes that the new colonies changed over time. It was an ongoing process, which will be discussed in question 7.

Point 1) will be discussed here.

During the creation phase, Van den Bosch's 'scheme' was fine-tuned and adapted to local conditions and lessons learned along the way.

- The ground plan was adapted **to the specific form of the area purchased and the uncultivated land to be developed.**
- **Existing infrastructure** that could be reused was **integrated** into the plan. For example:
 - Frederiksoord: Westerbeekslot, hotel, road
 - Wilhelminaord: Westerbeekslot and road
 - Willemsoord: road
 - Ommerschans: redoubt
 - Veenhuizen: individual remote farms, water structure

- Wortel: meres
- Merksplas: chaussee, meres
- The grid took the subsurface into account:
 - the axis of development was grafted onto the orientation of the drainage system
 - the landscaped water structure created was more or less dominant, depending on whether it was peat soil or sandy soil.
- The **plot size** took into account the way the agricultural plots were cultivated (by a family or by a group of people). In his treatise, JVDB assumes 1 *morgen* of land (= approximately 0,85 hectare) to feed one family, provided that the soil is fertile, and enough manure is available. He assumes that neither of these conditions will be met in the colony to begin with, that it might be necessary to leave the land fallow, so he proposes 2 *morgens* (= 1.7 ha) with a third *morgen* of spruce forest. Moreover, calculations should not be too tight ... given that harvests do not always succeed equally well. ⁴⁶
 In actual practice, the trial colony in Frederiksoord started with farms of 2.4 ha. The operating results showed that this was far too small; therefore, starting in 1821, the plot size in subsequent free colonies was increased until it reached 3.5 *morgens* (3 ha)⁴⁷. The second treatise shows that neither the fallow system nor forestry was introduced. ⁴⁸
- The **number of farms at the central foundation** is adapted to the size of the plot and to the type of business operations
- Ommerschans: 1 central foundation, with 24 farms (of which 19 realised) of 42 *morgens* (35 ha). These were to be run by promoted colonists from Frederiksoord. The colonists in the foundation worked on these farms under the supervision of a district master.
- The farms are larger than the Colony houses.
- Veenhuizen: 3 institutions with 8 farms each
- Merksplas: 1 central institutions with 4 farms (and 4 sheepfolds)

The accompanying maps illustrate what the site looked like before the construction of the Colony and what was first constructed in each colony, based on J. van den Bosch's scheme.

See row 1 and 2 of the scheme in question 7.

Apart from Wortel and Merksplas Colony, there are no design maps before the construction.

⁴⁶ J. van den Bosch, *Discourse*. 1818: 144-145 and 210-211; see also Dorgelo. The colonies of the Society of Benevolence, an agricultural and socio-economic experiment. 1964, p. 3.

⁴⁷ Dorgelo, 1964:44. J. van den Bosch, *de la Colonie*, Annex 2 .1820 p. 93.

⁴⁸ J. van den Bosch, *de la Colonie*, Annex 2 .1820 pp. 12 ff and 37.

7. *Colonies once built were later adapted over time. Maps/plans need to be provided for each colony to demonstrate physical changes and to allow an understanding of the sequence of change over time as well as to show how what exists now on the ground relates to the colony as built.*

Reference to documentation

- Nomination dossier, sequence of change, p. 243
- Nomination dossier, maps M3 serie in H3 (what exists now related to the Colony)

As indicated in question 1, the Colonies of Benevolence were a trial, an experiment that grew and was continually adjusted during the long period in which they functioned. The basic plan was systematically enriched with new infrastructure after the redevelopment in 1859, which allowed it to function as an agricultural colony and at the same time:

1. Remain economically viable (efficient scale of farms)
2. Accommodate more people (increase in capacity)
3. Follow changes in legislation that secured changing social standards and scientific insights, for example:
 - o separate institutions for young people
 - o separate institutions for men and women
 - o separation of accommodation for staff and colonists
 - o separation of living and working for colonists
4. Provision of appropriate care for specific groups of poor people

Specifically, for Merkpplas Colony, it should be noted that at the time of the construction phase after the new law of 1866, the buildings had been vacant for more than 25 years. In Wortel Colony, most of the colony farms had already been demolished, due to recuperation of the building material by local residents.

The landscape structure was maintained during further development and its basic form remained recognisable. The functional interweaving of buildings and surrounding agricultural land was retained.

The most important physical changes do not apply to the grid, but to several buildings that also allowed to finetune the model (e.g. extra buildings for care and education) – see also supplement 1, p. 9-10 for a more generic overview.

- Frederiksoord: increase in scale by addition of collective farms, addition of vocational schools
- Wilhelminaoord: increase in scale by addition collective farms, addition of schools and rest areas
- Willemsoord: consolidated after privatisation
- Ommerschans: addition of Veldzicht, guard houses and demolition of Ommerschans, replacement of farms.

- Wortel: transformation from free to unfree Colony, increase in scale to a single collective farm, addition of staff housing – several staff houses were demolished after WWII due to war damage
- Veenhuizen: Metzelaar's building programme with the addition of staff houses, First and Second institutions receive a new residential building, demolition of the third Institute, old institutions remain in use for accommodation of colonists and work, addition of a system of locks, addition of a club building.
- Merksplas: Besme's building programme, scaling-up to a single collective farm, addition of workshops and staff housing, construction of moat — after 1955 removal of roof dormitories and central building, after 1993 addition of gatehouse and demolition of several buildings.

Attached you will find the historical maps illustrating the changes (see overview in the table).







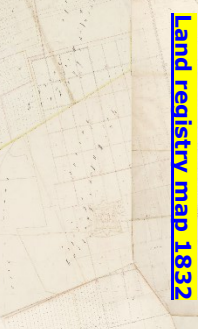

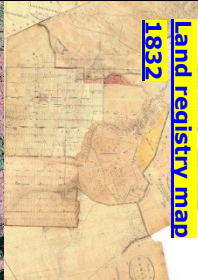














In addition, you will find an example of sequence maps that show the most important changes for Ommerschans Colony. They are based on the historical maps but highlight the most important changes – both to the physical environment and in use. It is possible to create more such maps for all the Colonies, if this is what you meant by the question.

Table with Historical Maps

Historical development - spatial changes

The maps accompanying the text have been included in a table. You can click on the desired map in the table to consult it in the form of a pdf. This requires an internet connection.

INSTRUCTION: Simultaneously press CTRL button + CLICK to see each map, accept via OK, zoom in if you want.

	Colony I, II & III Frederikssoord & Wilhelminaoord (b) Willemsoord (a)	Colony IV Ommereschans	Colony V Wortel	Colony VI Veenhuizen	Colony VII Merkspias
Phase 0 <i>Pre-colony landscape</i>	French map 1812 	French map 1812 	Ownership map 1821 	French map 1812 	Ownership map 1823 
Phase 1 <i>Initial design</i>	Land registry map 1832 (a) 	Land registry map 1832 	Minute map 1855 	Land registry map 1832 	Minute map 1855 
	Land registry map 1832 (b) 				
Phase 2 <i>(Re-)development</i>	Bonne map 1910 (a) 	Bonne map 1908 	Minute map 1909 	Bonne map 1910 	Minute map 1909 
	Bonne map 1910 (b) 				
Phase 3 <i>Recent changes</i>	Topographic map (a) 	Topographic map 	Topographic map 	Topographic map 	Topographic map 
	Topographic map (b) 				

Open this link for the full Storymap of Ommerschans (CTRL + CLICK):

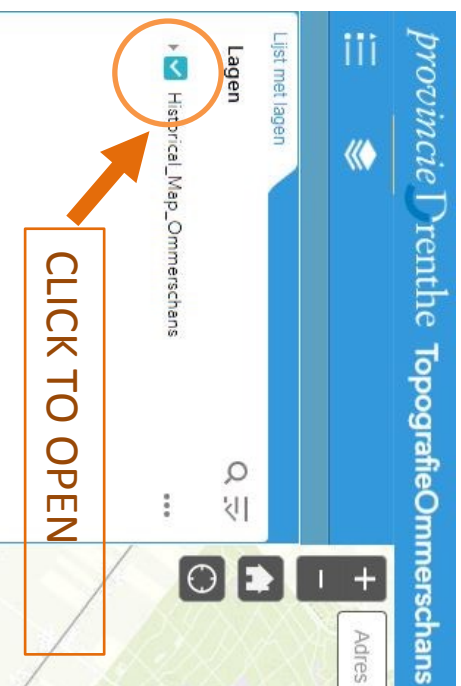
<https://provdrenthe.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=ee781954f96e48bcafe126ef3d83e242>

INSTRUCTION FOR USE OF VIEWER:

Step 1:



Step 2:



Step 3:



8. *For each of the colonies clear details also need to be provided to show how their use changed over time. At what point in time did the use of the colonies change from primarily being for poverty deduction? And at what point did the landscape cease to provide agricultural work and food for the colonists?*

Reference to documentation

- Nomination dossier, p. 179 -180 and Supplement 2, p. 18
- Nomination dossier, p. 128-231

Agricultural use continues to this day. There is still social employment in all the Colonies, but the latter is no longer the main objective.

In the free colonies, the influx of new poor families gradually decreased after WW I. These areas evolved into ordinary villages – which was also the initial intention of J. van den Bosch. Gradually, more and more farmers became tenants of independent farmers and former Colonists. This process is most clearly visible in Willemsoord. The new tenant farmers no longer produced food exclusively for the Colonies. After 1934, no new poor families came to live in Frederiksoord and Wilhelminaord.

Ommerschans changed its target group and transformed itself into a re-education institution for boys, who were trained as farmers at the institute and on its farms. From 1933 it became an institution for male persons declared of unsound mind, with limited agricultural activity that continues today. The link with the surrounding farms was gradually broken; the farms were also sold.

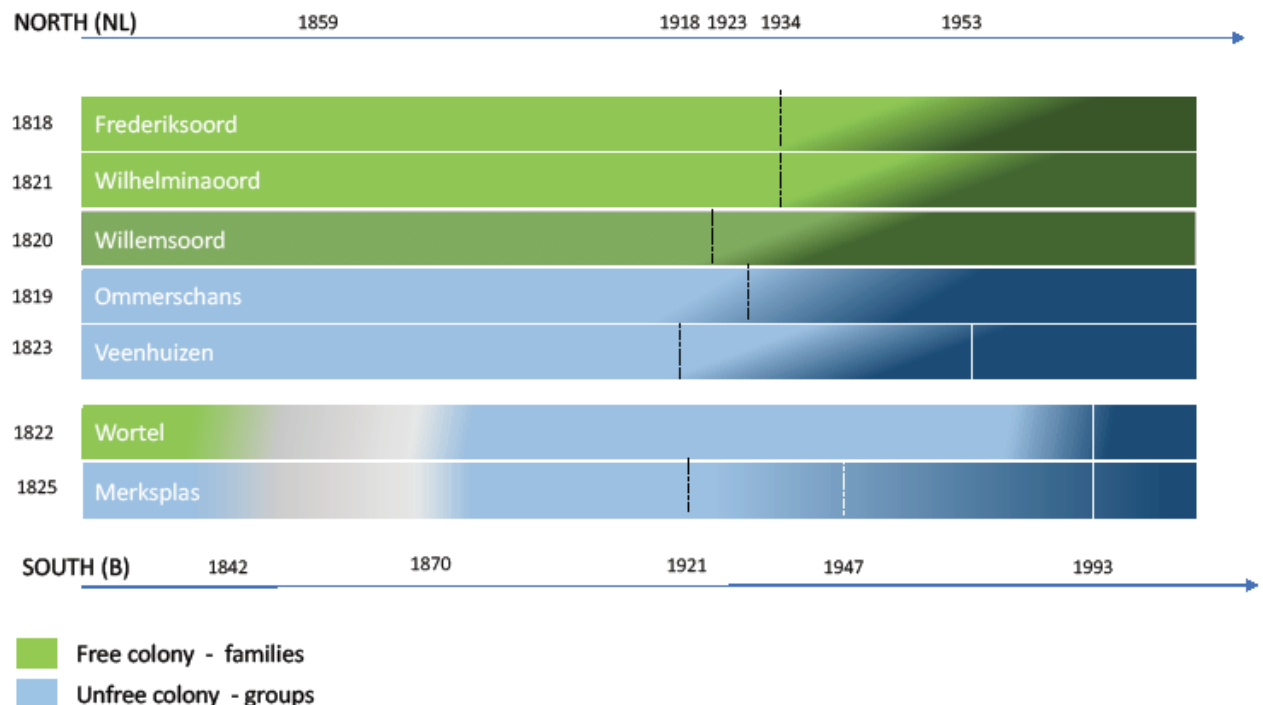
In the other unfree Colonies, the influx of new residents also decreased after 1918; any free space in the buildings was systematically taken by penal institutions. In Wortel and Merksplas Colony, the farm produced with and for the colonists until 1993. Up to then, people still lived in both Colonies on account of vagrancy.

In Veenhuizen the influx of beggars and vagrants had already stopped earlier, because the article in criminal law was no longer enforced. After WW I, the institutes in Veenhuizen gradually changed from institutions for vagrants into penal institutions until in 1953 the reception of vagrants stopped. In 1954 the farms and land were transferred to the State Property Department (Dienst der Domeinen) and the link with food production ended.

	Not primarily for poverty deduction as of	Landscape ceases to provide agricultural work and food for colonists
Frederiksoord	1934 - privatisation, evolution towards village	1934
Wilhelminaoord	1934 - privatisation, evolution towards village	1934
Willemsoord	1923 - privatisation, evolution towards village	1923
Ommerschans	1933 - institution for people declared of unsound mind	1933
Wortel	1993 - transition phase, partly re-use for prison	1993
Veenhuizen	1918 – 1953 transition phase poverty reduction – partly re-use for prison	1953
Merksplas	1921- transition phase, introduction of penal institution for prisoners with special needs in part of the colony 1947 - introduction of regular penal institution in part of the colony	1993

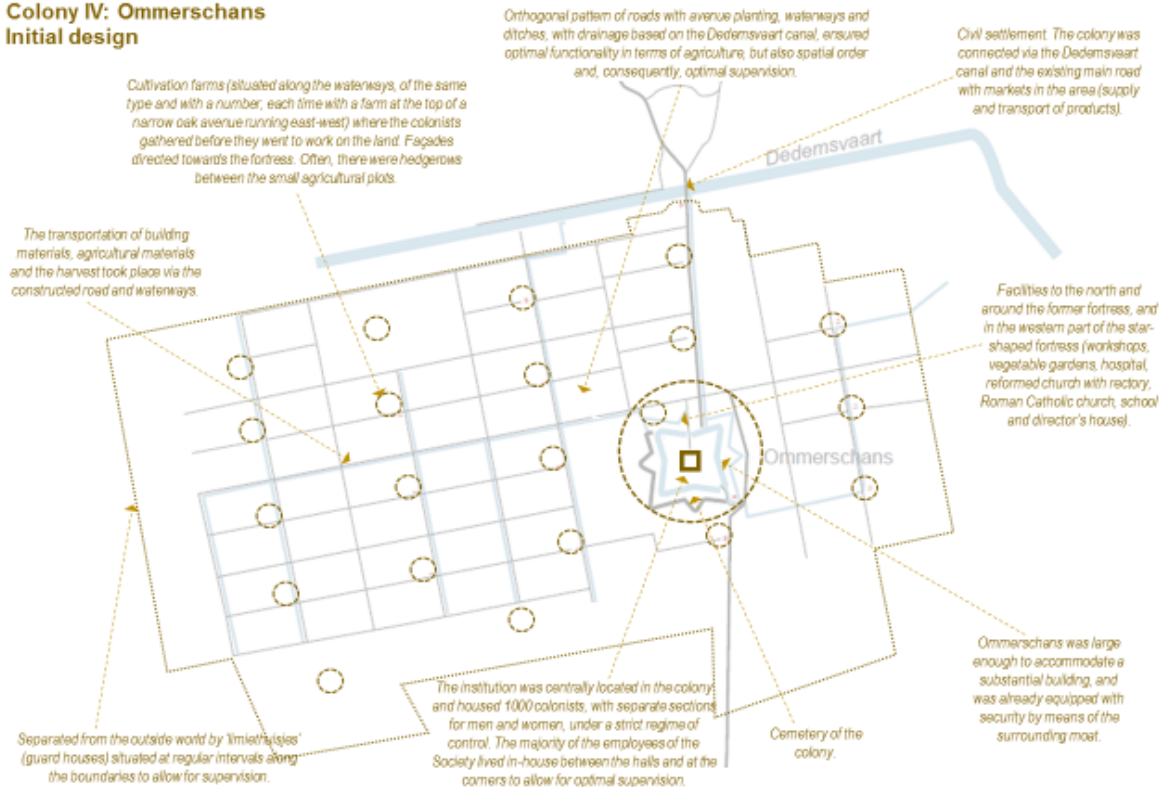
Agricultural colony

Agricultural landscape
with
Village and/or
Penal institution



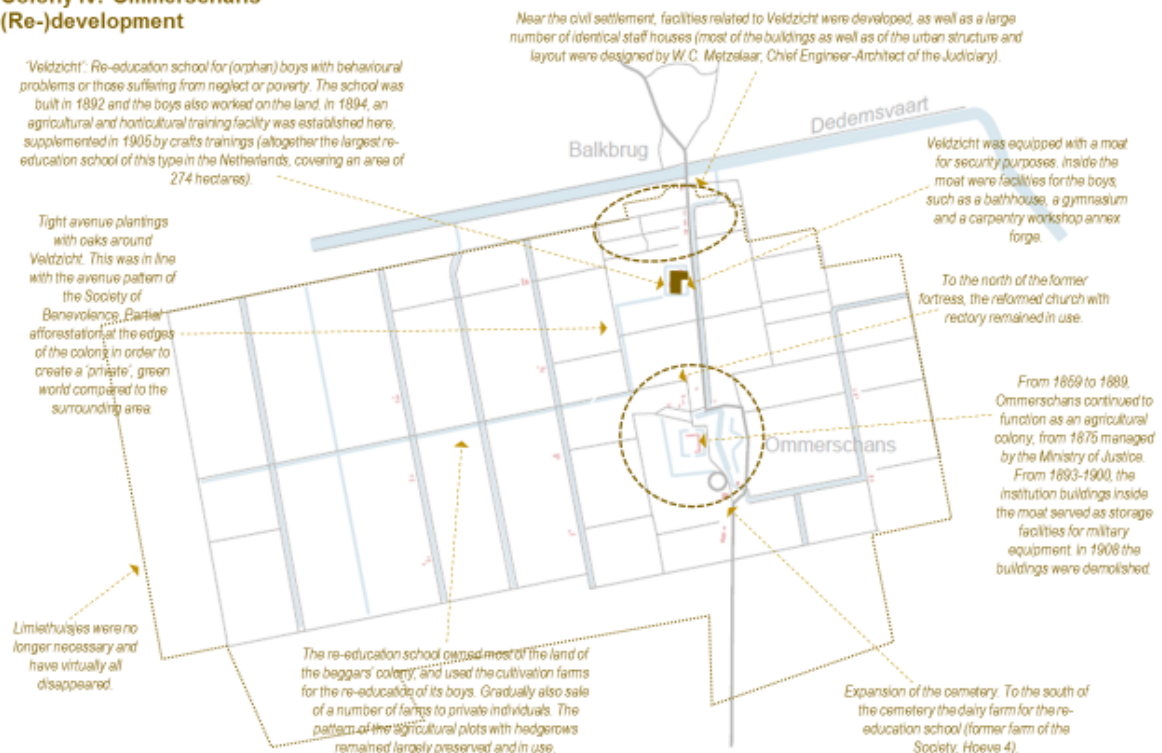
Colony IV: Ommerschans

Initial design



Colony IV: Ommerschans

(Re-)development



Colony IV: Ommerschans Present-day situation

In 1933, Veldzicht became the first State Asylum for psychopaths. Since 2016 Centre for Transcultural Psychiatry (psychiatric treatment for people with a non-Western background). Of the historic complex the main building, the park-like forecourt, the concept of a moat, the avenue planting and surrounding forest plots all remain. Extensions fit into the landscape grid.

On this spot, along the former boundary of the colony, a former liniehuise is still to be found.

Housing: complex of characteristic staff houses related to Veldzicht. Subsequently new construction added of the same structure and set-up.

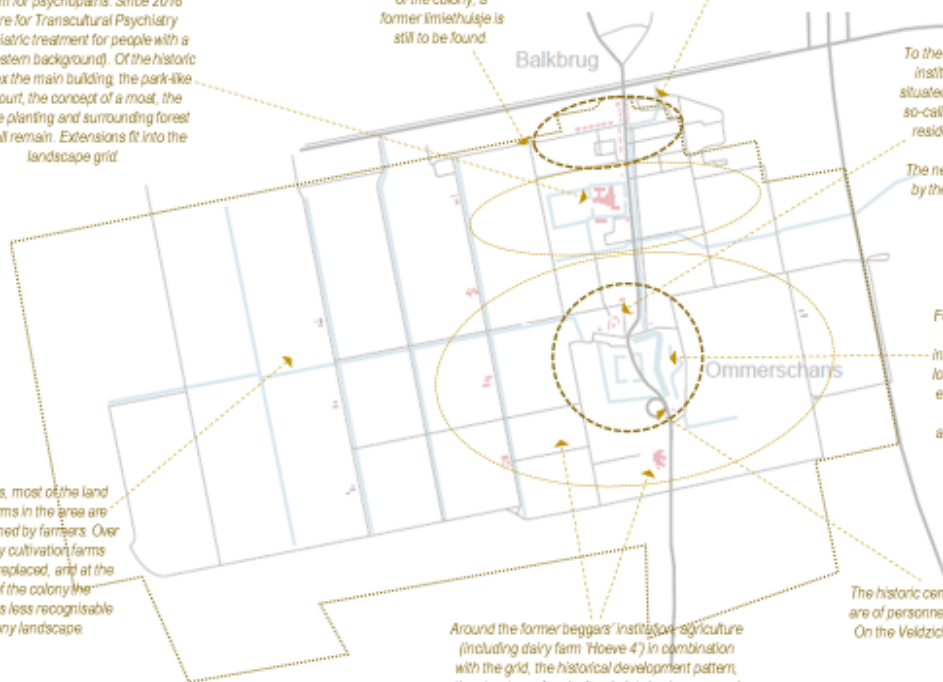
To the north of the former beggars' institution the historic church is situated, now private property, and a so-called Thomashuis (small-scale residential unit for people with a mental disability). The nearby Veldzicht farm is used by the Veldzicht state institution.

Following the demolition of the buildings of the beggars' institution, the main road at the location was straightened. The entire area of the fortress is at present designated as archeologically valuable area.

These days, most of the land and the farms in the area are privately owned by farmers. Over time, many cultivation farms have been replaced, and at the edges of the colony the landscape is less recognisable as colony landscape.

Around the former beggars' institution agriculture (including dairy farm 'Hoeve 4') in combination with the grid, the historical development pattern, the structure of agricultural plots hedgerows and avenue planting, remained the best preserved.

The historic cemetery. The graves at the front are of personnel, the rear part of the colonists. On the Veldzicht graves, white crosses have been placed.



9. *In order to understand the specificities of the Dutch system, it would also be helpful to set out what were the similarities and differences between the Dutch and the English and French systems of poverty alleviation – in terms of their aims, aspirations and what was constructed? (It is appreciated that these other systems came later.) And how far did the Dutch system have influence elsewhere?*

Reference to documentation

- Other, simultaneous systems of poverty reduction: Supplement 1 p. 18-23 and Supplement 2 p. 28-30
- International influence: Nomination dossier, p. 215-220 and Supplement 2, p. 40-43, p. 48

Other, simultaneous systems of poverty reduction

Arneil has shown in her research that in the 19th century, domestic home colonies were considered an alternative solution to various social needs – by thinkers of differing ideological convictions⁴⁹.

Specifically, for poverty reduction, domestic colonization (conceived as improving the poor through compulsory agricultural labour) was defended as a better solution than alms (pure charity) or prisons (punishment), as neither ‘improved’ the poor, since neither ‘improved’ the poor⁵⁰. The goal was not only to create obedient citizens (as with disciplining) but above all productive citizens⁵¹.

The model introduced by the Colonies of Benevolence was new and struck a balance between the (more charitable) poverty relief and duty to help, on the one hand, and on the other hand the more (punitive) penal institutions with the obligation to work.

Lis and Soly describe in detail the underlying mechanisms of social transformation that were responsible for the exponential growth of impoverishment from the second half of the 18th century onwards: agricultural progress and farm consolidation (scaling up) – coupled with mercantile capitalism – drove small landowners and smallholders from the countryside and forced them to make the shift from subsistence agriculture to wage labour and often also to move to an urban environment⁵². The enormous population growth created additional pressure on food prices in the face of stagnating wages and hence also on existing welfare systems. The Industrial Revolution, which had already started at that time – particularly in the UK and the Southern Netherlands – initially provided

⁴⁹ Justifying settler colonisation in the Americas and domestic colonization in Europe, I have argued, was a common ideology of colonialism, rooted in Lockean principles, through which dispossession and assimilation of indigenous peoples, as well as the transformation of the mentally ill, disabled, idle poor, and minorities was defended, based on the principles of segregation, cultivation of ‘empty’ land, and improvement of both people (rather than conquest or punishment) and soil (in order to create rather than drain wealth from the state). The ideology of domestic colonialism was combined with a variety of ideologies and beliefs – including republicanism, socialism, liberalism, anarchism and/or Christianity – to create specific colonies for particular populations. Arneil. B. Domestic Colonies, the turn inward to colony. Oxford. 2017, p. 221.

⁵⁰ Arneil. 2017: 71

⁵¹ Arneil. 2017:155

⁵² Finally, the absolute impoverishment of the lower classes can be deduced from the growing size and intensity of migration movements. Certainly, leaving one’s birthplace in hope of finding means of subsistence elsewhere was not a new phenomenon in European history. Since the late Middle Ages, the number of needy people looking for work had increased steadily. In the course of the 18th century, however, physical mobility became the fate of large masses whose last resources were exhausted. Migration could take three different forms: mere seasonal movement, in which the pauper only left his home for a few months a year; temporary displacement, in which he left for several years and then returned to his home parish; and permanent emigration, usually from the countryside to the city, but also to foreign countries and even to another continent. Lis & Soly, p. 160.

additional employment for the impoverished masses, but at the same time destroyed existing rural systems of agriculture combined with cottage industries (such as textiles).

At that time, phenomena directly related to poverty, such as begging and vagrancy, were largely 'criminalised' throughout the western world. Across Europe, institutions were created in the second half of the 18th century in the form of urban disciplinary institutions, *hôpitaux généraux*, *workhouses*. They were in part houses of correction, in part places of centralised craft production which had as its goal the separation of criminalised groups from society, disciplining them through strict precepts of work and morality⁵³.

The policy on poverty only changed fundamentally under pressure from circumstances, especially when ideas could be 'translated' into economic or political terms; i.e., whenever the trinity of charity-control-labour regulation coincided with the real or perceived interests of employers and authorities⁵⁴. As for private charity, the elite's mercy was limited almost exclusively to the 'decent poor': namely, children, the elderly, the sick and the handicapped. They rarely recognised the misery of wage-earners, or they attributed it to laziness and other personal shortcomings⁵⁵.

In this sense it is not surprising that the Colonies of Benevolence originated in the Northern Netherlands at precisely that moment – the increase in the number of poor people was so enormous and the public authorities were so burdened with war debts that the problem threatened to disrupt society.

England

At the time, England was the region with the most extensive poverty regulations, which had been enshrined in law for centuries in the so-called Poor Laws. It was a generic arrangement, paid with local taxes and implemented locally in parishes. An important fact in the matter was that since the end of the 17th century, poverty reduction was coupled with a person's place of origin through the 'Act of settlement and removal'. This place was required to take charge of the poor person in case of emergency. It was legislation that was tailored to the needs of large landowners, but it strongly prevented labour migration. Parishes often provided assistance at home or had a workhouse, but the latter was not a legal obligation. At the time of the establishment of the Colonies of Benevolence, the discussion on the amendment of the Poor Law had been going on for some time under pressure from the interests of industrial entrepreneurs looking for workers.

In England, too, the number of people depending on assistance had risen sharply and there was a desire to reduce its cost. Large-scale labour mobility was now even considered necessary, as spending on poverty alleviation reached unprecedented levels in many parishes, while several industrial centres suffered from a shortage of workers⁵⁶.

The new law that finally came into being in 1834, the New Poor Law, largely abolished the Act of Settlement, forced parishes to work together in a union (to be less local), and introduced the Workhouse as the only possible form of poverty reduction. The underlying motivation was that assistance should be 'less eligible': it should not be more attractive to enjoy assistance than to work – so that the least number of poor people would actually opt for assistance. Labour in the Workhouses also had to be monotonous and extremely unattractive; Workhouses were to be a deterrent, they were 'deliberately harsh' (see description in the comparative analysis in supplement 2)⁵⁷.

⁵³ Lis, C. & Soly, H. 1980: 106

⁵⁴ The initiative of J. van den Bosch was no exception; see his biography by Susan Legêne:

'The policy of Van den Bosch in the Netherlands, Suriname and the Dutch East Indies had a direct impact on the living conditions of the most vulnerable groups of the population: from paupers in Dutch cities, slaves on Surinamese plantations and farmers in the Javanese *desas*. He was not so much concerned with the improvement of individual circumstances as with the interests of these nameless masses in relation to private economic initiative and the interests of the state. At the height of his career, the latter were more important to him than the interests of farm workers and slaves.' Legêne, S. in BWSA 8 (2001), pp. 12-17; see <http://hdl.handle.net/10622/63CE05F8-72C1-4C2A-95CF-CC0D493A4497>

⁵⁶ Lis, C. & Soly, H., 1980: 168

⁵⁷ Lis, C. & Soly, H., 1980: 141 "Our intention," one official said, "is to furnish the workhouses as much as possible as prisons";

Workhouses locked poor people away in their own communities and did not engage in land reclamation and agriculture⁵⁸.

France

Until the Revolution, social policy in eighteenth-century France was characterised by decentralisation, discontinuity and extreme diversity. Private foundations and voluntary alms were the cornerstones of the support system. Although the State tried to intervene by issuing numerous regulations, which ordered the imprisonment of beggars, the employment of the valid poor and the punishment of recidivists, successive governments failed to have these measures implemented by all local authorities⁵⁹.

The French Revolution changed this by introducing national rules on poverty alleviation that were binding and for which funds were entered in the state budget. Nationalisation and the sale of goods from charitable institutions and the monastic orders were to secure these principles.

At the time of the foundation of the Colonies of Benevolence, the innovative regulations introduced by the French Revolution regarding poverty alleviation had long since been reversed. In 1796, public support was again provided only locally, through the municipality, and the rights of the poor were thoroughly restricted.

International influence

Because of the perceived position of domestic colonies between poverty alleviation and prisons, the example of the Colonies of Benevolence frequently came up for review when legislation on poverty reduction or penal policy would be revised, often after economic or food crises (top down), but also from the bottom up (utopian social activism).

In the United Kingdom, the Colonies of Benevolence were studied extensively in the run-up to the review of the English poor laws (UK) – 1834⁶⁰, at the orders of parliament but also on the initiative of individual parliamentarians or reformers. But domestic colonies were not introduced as a policy solution, because Britain opted for a tougher approach.

There were several experiments by early utopian socialist reformers at approximately the same time as the Colonies of Benevolence. Arneil situates these initiatives against the background of overseas colonialism, which was often used in England as a release valve for solving social problems.

Home colonisation was considered more cost-effective and easier to realise than overseas colonies for the poor and refers specifically to the Colonies of Benevolence⁶¹. Rowland Hill and William Atkinson also supporters⁶². They echoed in part what J. Bentham already suggested at the end of the 18th century⁶³. Several initiatives were realised, such as the colony in Lindfield, Sussex, and the Cooperative Society of John Gurdon⁶⁴, but they were small-scale initiatives by individual philanthropists that did not function for long and did not leave behind any lasting heritage.

and another, "our aim is to establish in them a discipline so strict and repulsive that it acts as a terror to the poor and prevents them from entering". This policy was meant to convince the needy to accept any job at any place for any pay.'

⁵⁸ It should be noted that agricultural production in England had been generating surpluses since the 18th century – hence there was no comparable food shortage as in the Northern Netherlands.

⁵⁹ Lis, C & Soly, H, 1980: 173: 'Certainly, by the second quarter of the eighteenth century, all French centres of more than 5,000 inhabitants had their own *hôpital général*. However, the vast majority of these institutions had very limited admission capacity – a city of about 50,000 inhabitants rarely had more than 1,500 hospital beds. Even more: the population housed in the *hôpitaux généraux* consisted mainly of the elderly, the sick, the mentally ill and orphans. In other words, the institutions functioned almost exclusively as asylums.'

⁶⁰ Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for the inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor laws. Appendix to report (F). Foreign Communications. Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed. London. 1834.

⁶¹ John Burn, *Familiar letters on population, Emigration and Home colonisation*, 1832, pp. 111-112.

⁶² Arneil 2017: 53.

⁶³ J. Bentham, *Panopticon or the inspection-house*, London, 1791. See also the nomination file, page 164-166,

⁶⁴ Arneil 2017: 54.

In 1840, together with W. Galpin and F. Bate, Owen founded a Home Colonization Society, which engaged in fundraising and published material to convince others of the usefulness of this type of colony. The model he published for this purpose in 1841 was also based on segregation and agricultural labour as well as voluntary entry of idle poor. But he assumed a system of collective ownership of the members. Arneil indicates that Owen had many supporters who helped him financially or morally – but the plan was not implemented.

Finally, at the end of the 19th, beginning of the 20th century, several agricultural colonies were established specifically for the unemployed by socially critical organisations.

Some of them were of Protestant origin. They were permeated by a Christian revival mentality that was in fact pan-European and called for a fight against ‘anti-Christian’ socialism and the restoration of Christian values. Agricultural colonies were one of the initiatives they included this context. William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, was one of their most famous defenders. He proposed closed home colonies to reform people through labour, just like earlier examples. The agricultural colony Hadleigh was founded by him, to offer employment to unemployed man. See also the comparative analysis in supplement 2.

Arneil indicates that there were also more socialist-inspired champions, such as Charles Booth, James Mavor and others. The latter advocated a voluntary, open system, as introduced in Germany at the end of the 1860s (Arbeiter-Kolonien) – they considered it to be a healthy method of assistance (with a fixed rhythm and in the open air) and favoured a non-religious initiative. They also felt that it should primarily be a temporary ‘training facility’, with no emphasis on generating revenue for the government.

In France and Belgium, the focus on home colonies first arose from the desired reform of penal institutions for young people and ex-prisoners. A. de Toqueville drew attention to them in his report he wrote together with Gustave de Beaumont, in 1831, and included a description of the Colonies of Benevolence in the appendix⁶⁵. He saw them as a milder form of imprisonment that moreover promised a positive power of reform. It was in line with a general social trend of resistance to imprisoning young people together with adult offenders. This was more likely to have a negative impact than result in improvement.

De Tocqueville was one of the directors of the youth institution Mettray – a domestic colony for young convicts. It was a private institution, founded by A. Demetz, who was very religious, through his organisation La Société Paternelle pour l’éducation morale et professionnelle des jeunes. Demetz knew the example of the Colonies of Benevolence⁶⁶, but had also visited the institution ‘Rauhe Haus’ and was charmed by the family atmosphere. The young people who ended up in Mettray were sent there by the judge or placed there by their own family.

Mettray was in a way a modified unfree colony. Young people lived in smaller groups, in a setting that was meant to evoke a family context (but with guards). Life was strictly regulated and collective. The residents wore a uniform. They were trained in a craft or horticulture and worked on the land. There was a strong emphasis on moral education through religion and compulsory silence during work. They stayed there until they reached the age of majority.

The uniform buildings were placed around a square with a central church. As in later horticultural schools, there was a park-like educational garden surrounded by fields – not laid out according to a systematic pattern. Mettray still exists and is now a care facility for young people.

Mettray has been widely imitated throughout France and greater Europe – similar colonies were established by various private organisations as well as urban or provincial governments. In France, the law of 1850 on the education and the guidance of young prisoners, tried to generalise the use of privately run agricultural colonies such as Mettray, inspite the negative advise of two of the inspectors

⁶⁵Arneil 2017: 41.

⁶⁶ Pierre, E. La Colonie de Mettray: exemplaire, mais unique. In Eduquer et punir. Rennes, 2005.

of the Ministry of Justice.⁶⁷ Their judgement concerned the high price for poor results in transforming youngsters into farmers. In addition, the department of Justice preferred more repressive state-run institutions for reasons of control.⁶⁸

In 1850, 16 colonies were up and running⁶⁹, but none had the same kind of support of the Administration. By 1897, most had already disappeared, by lack of money.

In Belgium, the Ruiselede colony was built in 1851 as a reform school for young people – mainly imprisoned for vagrancy. The institution was established following a report by E. Ducpétiaux to the Minister of Justice⁷⁰. that maps the phenomenon of agricultural colonies in detail, including the failure of the Colonies of Benevolence in Wortel and Merksplas, which Ducpétiaux had followed up officially until 1842.

Ruiselede was started as a state institute for boys (and is still a closed institution for young people). The institution consists of a symmetrical building complex, with a large farm and associated arable and horticultural land and a church. Like Mettray, Ruiselede is also characterised by smaller groups.

Arneil defines the German Arbeiter-Kolonien of the end of the 19th century as a social employment programme offering temporary agricultural work, but not inspired by the revival concept. However, pastor Bodelschwing, founder of the institutions in Bielefeld, was also at the basis of the entire series of 25 colonies, which were operational throughout Germany by 1893. He drew inspiration from Merksplas Colony at the end of the 1870s⁷¹.

Educational institutions for foundlings and orphans (*asiles agricoles*) – Switzerland, were schools modelled on Fellenberg/Pestalozzi/Wehrli, already described in the comparative analysis. They were conceived on a small scale, based on local initiatives and set up as orphanages with gardens and small-scale agricultural activity for educational purposes. There was no umbrella organisation.

Summary of the differences

As indicated by Arneil – domestic colonies present a very wide variety in characteristics and serve different purposes and target groups, but share the ambition of transformation by agricultural labor:

- transformation of people vs transformation of system (radically challenging/reforming system vs. acting as guardian of social order)
- collective property vs. private property
- voluntary vs. involuntary/closed vs. open
- religious vs. non-religious
- private/ public-private / governmental
- landscaped environment part of approach vs. didactic value of 'farm labour in itself'
- education at the core or secondary
- scale of the operations: from very small (a house with a garden) unto the scale of the Colonies of Benevolence

⁶⁷ De Lurieu, G & Romand, H. *Etudes sur les colonies agricoles de mendiants, jeunes détenus, orphelins et enfants trouvés. Hollande-Suisse-Belgique-France*. Paris. 1851.

⁶⁸ Pierre, E. La Colonie de Mettray: exemplaire, mais unique. In *Eduquer et punir*. Rennes, 2005. Par.13

⁶⁹ from 1838 to 1850, 12 private colonies for young criminals are created, next to 4 public colonies (...): PRADE, Catherine.

Les colonies pénitentiaires au XIX^e siècle : de la genèse au déclin In : *Éduquer et punir : La colonie agricole et pénitentiaire de Mettray (1839-1937)* Rennes :, 2005, par. 16 & 17

⁷⁰ Ducpétiaux, E. *Colonies agricoles, écoles rurales et écoles de réforme pour les indigents, les mendiants et les vagabonds. Rapport adressé à M. Tesch, ministre de la justice*. Brussels. 1851.

⁷¹ See nomination file

10. *The crucial differences between the free and unfree colonies needs further elaboration. What is needed is a clear understanding of how and why unfree colonies were developed, and whether they related to the principles of the society of Benevolence or were a purely pragmatic approach. At what point did the operation of each of the colonies move away from being altruistic in terms of reflecting Enlightenment ideals?*

See also question 1 for the general explanation of the philosophy justifying both free and unfree Colonies. The latter are not accidental, pragmatic extensions of the system, but are in line with the same basic idea – the conviction that people can be made, are makeable, and that work was the key to being a good citizen.

That people could change was an Enlightenment idea – but it would be historically incorrect to call the Colonies of Benevolence altruistic, as they served very clear social interests.

The ambition of the Society of Benevolence was to offer a sustainable solution **for** all able-bodied, employable poor people. In doing so they employed the age-old dual distinction between the 'unemployable' and 'employable' poor, and among the latter between the 'willing to work' and the 'lazy'⁷².

According to the Society of Benevolence, the cause of their poverty lies in lack of work, and the socially correct solution was therefore to offer them work – even under duress^{73 74}.

Johannes van den Bosch saw poverty not only as an obstacle to the overall prosperity of the nation, but also as a breeding ground for social unrest. In that sense it was logical that he also had an eye for beggars and vagrants, since they had been regarded as a 'social danger' for centuries.

The project was thus a lever for the development of citizens and the prosperity of the country, but also a way of combatting social nuisance and social unrest⁷⁵.

Even before the concrete implementation of the project, Johannes Van den Bosch indicated in his treatise that he would probably have to establish unfree Colonies as well, with stricter management and more supervision⁷⁶ – namely, for the so-called 'lazy' poor (idle poor). The behaviour of the 'lazy' poor – vagrants and beggars – was considered the result of corrupt morals, which were also

⁷² 'To this end we first divide the whole mass of poor into two main sorts, that is, in those, who are unable to work, and in those who possess the prerequisites. To the first belong the old, the sick, the blind, the deaf, cripples or mentally ill, the helpless or abandoned children, orphans, foundlings, the mad and poor women in the childbed. To the other class we count, firstly, the ones, who lack neither fitness nor the will to work; secondly, the vagrants and beggars who are able to work; and, thirdly, the accidental poor, who only during a limited time, by extraordinary circumstances, have been excluded from the possibility of sustaining themselves through their work' J. van den Bosch, *Discourse*, pp. 94-95.

⁷³ 'Making them habituated to work, attaching some advantage to it, is the first thing management can and must do. This is what they have started to do. We do not want, the State has said to these useless creatures, we do not want you to have the choice of dying from hunger; we no longer want your existence, which is like that of a snail, to drag its contagious trail from place to place; that you should enjoy all your carelessness and laziness more than your diligent fellow resident should enjoy the sweat of his brow. Choose only between the invitation and the compulsion to work (*).

(*) That a Government, as a natural consequence of an unspoken social contract, has the right to do so, needs no further argument' – Lejeune, p. 111.

⁷⁴ 'The beggars themselves must be divided into two cases, that is, those who ask Society's help of their own free will, and those, who must be forced to do so, once the City Authorities assemble the means to effectively prevent begging.' *De Star* (no. 1; 1819): 68.

⁷⁵ 'Because, as indeed the poverty of our times is a consequence of our present social institutions, and must therefore be considered susceptible to a considerable increase, as the most recent circumstances of England, and part of Germany and Switzerland, seem to prove – then it is undeniably also true that this must finally have consequences, dangerous as much for the security of society in general, as for the special interest of the more affluent classes; and that the State, by extension, could be subjected to disturbances by others, the more harrowing as the number of its needy members would have grown, and the tendency, the urge, to provide themselves by force with what they have been denied by the course of circumstances, would find stronger encouragement in the greatness of their misery'. J. van den Bosch, *Discourse*, 1818, p. 5.

⁷⁶ Johannes van den Bosch, *Verhandeling* ('Discourse on the opportunity, the best way of introduction and the important benefits of a General Institution for the Poor in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, through the establishment of a colony practising agriculture in the Northern part thereof'), Amsterdam, 1818, p. 209.

considered 'contagious' – they had to be separated from the 'deserving poor' and subjected to different regulations.

Johannes van den Bosch started with a 'free' test colony to investigate the best form (in terms of design and regulations) for an agricultural colony. The test was followed by several free colonies – with adjustments based on concrete experiences⁷⁷.

Almost immediately (after a year) the construction of the first non-free colony was also started as a trial with the same goal: to let the poor earn their own living and train them to become self-sufficient citizens⁷⁸.

Both types of agricultural colony fit within the same goal of general employment and the transformation of the able-bodied poor – but differ in functional design, supervision and autonomy.

- In free Colonies, families initially ran small farms autonomously. However, there were strict specifications for the concrete business operations and extensive supervision and control – of financial matters as well as commitment, behaviour, order and tidiness. In a later phase, families still lived on their small farms, but in several cases the work was organised more collectively on a larger working farm that combined agricultural plots.
- In unfree Colonies the daily regime was wholly collective: the entire group participated in all activities and under permanent supervision. The infrastructure was aimed at housing groups of people and group employment.

In both cases, the personal lives of the poor were subject to interference – from the complex social goal of making the poor self-reliant while at the same time subjecting them to discipline.

It is an anachronism to filter the unfree Colonies out of the project of the Colonies of Benevolence, making an abstraction of the ambition to control the poor (social control) and reducing the project to an altruistic goal of transformation.

Those who took the initiative, the managers and contemporaries who reported on the experiment viewed the group of free and unfree Colonies as a single system – which met operational needs that proceeded from receiving various groups of the able-bodied poor⁷⁹.

This is clear from:

- The **chronology of the group's creation**, with permanent alternation of free and unfree Colonies (and not first only free and then unfree Colonies):
1818 Frederiksoord I free north
1819 Ommerschans IV unfree north

⁷⁷ 'The primary goal of our Society consists mainly therein, in bringing over the needy who are willing and able to work (*), on the as yet uncultivated land of our Fatherland, enabling them to make their own living by means of labour, and in, initially through a trial institution, investigating the appropriate form of such an institution. (*) The vagrants must, according to the design of Society, be left to the local or general Police, in order, if possible, to be formed in time into a separate Colony (...) We must therefore, not allow the needy, who although they have received alms have not yet fallen to the depths of vagrant beggars, to mingle with the latter. A separate Colony should be established for each sort, and the household arrangements of each sort must needs be changed according to the nature of the objects that will be taken in for colonisation.' *Verhandeling van den Generaal-Majoor J. van den Bosch, Tweeden Assessor der Kommissie van de Weldadigheid, over den werkelijken staat der Kolonie Frederiks-oord – de proefondervindelijk bewezene uitvoerbaarheid van het Kolonisatiestelsel op de aangenomene grondbeginselen, – en de middelen, om aan dat stelsel verders eene spoedige en aanzienlijke uitbreiding te geven*, in *De Star* (no. 1, 1819): 18-20.

⁷⁸ 'I dare trust that they will in this way make evident the discovery, that sufficient means are to hand, for making this sort of poor earn their own bread, and without noticeable difficulty training them as farmers, after which they, leaving the State's peat lands to others, will live on equal footing with the free Colonists, like those in Frederiks-oord. A favourable opportunity for making such a test presents itself. One of the abandoned Forts of the Government contains nearly all the buildings needed.' *De Star* (no. 1, 1819): 73.

⁷⁹ See also quote on page 4, footnote 9.

1820 Willemsoord III free north
 1821 Wilhelminaoord II free north
 1822 Wortel V free/unfree south
 1823 Veenhuizen VI unfree north
 1825 Merksplas VII unfree south

- Joint management. Free and unfree Colonies were managed together under a **single administrative system of governance**, and had the same management committees, shared personnel (the general director, for example⁸⁰).
- **The mobility of colonists between free and unfree colonies** (see supplement 2, pp. 21–22.)
- The **extensive historical literature**, in which contemporaries point out the project to their readers and position the free and unfree Colonies as two manifestations of the same project with the same ambition^{81 82 83 84 85 86}

In later developments, compulsory labour continued to be a fundamental pillar – a stay in the agricultural Colony was meant to transform the colonist, give him a new work ethic and the baggage needed for a new start in society. At the same time, combating social nuisance and protecting the status quo in society also continued to be a priority.

Barbara Arneil states that it is difficult to make the voluntary–involuntary distinction for all domestic colonies.

While utopian colonies share some characteristics in common with labour and farm colonies, some might argue they differ from them in one very significant way – while labour colonies and farm colonies were largely involuntary, utopian colonies were voluntary. This difference is real, and it speaks to the relative power of each group in comparison to others (...) and the radical nature of such colonies. But, in reality, there is no simple binary of voluntary/involuntary that can be applied to one kind of domestic colony over another because all of them involved varying degrees of choice and force. So, rather than a binary between voluntary utopian and involuntary labour and farmer colonies – it is probably best to conceptualize them as lying along a scale that stretches from voluntary to involuntary – and most domestic colonies lie somewhere in between the two ends⁸⁷.

⁸⁰ On p. 115, Lurieu describes how the director visits Ommerschans in week 1, Veenhuizen in week 2 and the free colonies in week 3.

⁸¹ Lurieu, op. cit., p. 116, 'ceci et tout un système', p. 134 'Au lieu de dire au colon libre; voici une ferme, exploitez-la; et au colon forcé: travaillez, vous aurez tel salaire'.

⁸² Rowland Hill. *Home colonies. Sketch of a plan for the gradual extinction of pauperism, and for the diminution of crime*. London, 1832, p. 15

⁸³ De Villeneuve de Bargemont, pp. 568, 570, 579.

⁸⁴ *An account of the poor colonies*, 1828, p. 101.

⁸⁵ De Toqueville A. & de Beaumont G. *Système pénitentiaire aux Etats-Unis et de son application en France*. 1845, pp. 276-278.

⁸⁶ De Monglave, E. *Des Colonies de Bienfaisance dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas*, 1830, pp. 9-10.

⁸⁷ Arneil 2017: 181.

- 11.** *In the original nomination dossier, the justification for OUV for the colonies was related to the way they reflected an early social experiment in poverty reduction, they operated at a national scale, they were places where agriculture was meant to provide work and food for the colonists and they reflected the ideals of the Enlightenment. In order to understand how each of the colonies reflects these parameters, please could details be set out to allow an understanding of the timespan within which all were satisfied, as this relates to both authenticity and integrity.*

Reference to documentation

- The adjusted proposed OUV, as developed in Supplement 2 (February 2018), and the answers to the previous questions have been our compass to answer this question.

The Colonies of Benevolence were an early social experiment in poverty reduction.

They reacted to disruptive societal changes (shift from ancient regime to capitalist free market system) and differed from existing systems of poor relief in their aim not only to cure the symptoms of poverty (homelessness, lack of food and care), but also remediate the causes of poverty, e.g. lack of **work and education**.

The method they introduced was novel at the time: a domestic agricultural colony, which focused on the power of **‘productive labour’** to transform both able-bodied poor people into self-reliant citizens and poor soil into productive land. A single system with two types of colonies was laid out. In both types, guidance and education, but also force and control were used to achieve that societal goal. History has shown the contrast between the aim of upheaval and the restriction of personal freedom in both types.

The Colonies of Benevolence were “early” in the sense that they were a precocious attempt to correct the negative effects of the free market economy on employment and in their ambition to get people out of poverty – by using this method. The initiative anticipated social employment as it was developed in the course of the 20^e century by states and social organizations.

The system of the Colonies of Benevolence was adaptive from the very beginning. It adapted to the societal environment (legal, scientific, economic, religious) whilst continuing to function as agricultural colonies for different types of poor (homeless – unemployed).

As long as the alternative of a distributive social security system was not in place, all colonies have been a place where the homeless and unemployed poor found shelter and a job, as shown in question 8.

The timespan of each Colony of Benevolence functioning as a domestic agricultural colony is variable, but exceeds a minimum of 100 years. Only after the introduction of social security laws - mainly after 1918 – did the system gradually lose its societal and political relevance.

As shown in 8, the gradual and long process of the privatization of grounds and buildings in Willemsoord started in 1923, while this began in Frederiksoord and Wilhelminaoord in 1934. Ommerschans became an institution for patients declared of unsound mind in 1933. After WW I, the institutes in Veenhuizen gradually changed from institutions for vagrants into penal institutions until in 1953 the reception of vagrants stopped. and prisoners with special needs were sent to Merksplas (in

collective schemes) from 1923. The first 'regular' prisons were created there after WWII but the large farm continued to be operated by colonists until 1993, as was Wortel-Colony.

Merksplas and Wortel were the final colonies to stop their function as domestic colonies for poverty relief altogether, in 1993.

They operated at a national scale

As mentioned before, The Colonies of Benevolence were a nationwide and national initiative in the way they were managed, financed and organized.

As shown in reply to question 1, the Society of Benevolence was a private organization with local branches and citizen-members all over the country – extensively supported by the royal family, both in their functioning in the State's policy and privately. The members represented local civilian elites of all kinds and from all religions.

Despite their private origin, the Colonies of Benevolence were gradually embedded in the respective national legal systems – with a very clear 'shift' from the involvement of the Dutch royal family to the role of the State in all the unfree colonies and Wortel-Colony.

From the very beginning and up to the end of its functioning as a domestic colony for poverty relief, the initiative was on a national scale: poor people from all over the country were transported to these colonies. The status of the unfree colonies as national sites/assemblies was confirmed in social legislation which was approved at the end of the 19th century.

By sustaining the initiative, national authorities recognized that, in the context of a free market, paid work is an important precondition when protecting people from poverty.

Their enormous scale (800 km² and 7 colonies), variation in the series (different target groups, 2 basic lay-out types with various adaptations, long functioning period (more than 100 year) and role as a precursor, the Colonies of Benevolence are an archetype of a domestic agricultural colony for a social goal of 'improvement'.

Until 1918, they were seen as a powerful method to combat poverty. For a century, they were studied and followed in worldwide initiatives for target groups to 'discipline' or 'transform'. See question 9.

They were places meant to provide food and work for the colonists.

The focus on agriculture served a goal for self-sufficiency, intended to have a beneficial effect on the cost of the system itself. Possible surplus production (which would enter the free market) was considered as a positive, as there was an overall lack of affordable food. This consideration for a guarantee of food supply was a justification from a purely societal perspective.

As shown in several answers (see maps also) – agriculture is, even to this day, the most important function in these areas. They continue to play a role in local food supply.

Gradually the Colonies moved away from their goal to provide 'productive' work for the poor. People still live and work in these areas – but there is no overall goal of personal transformation and poverty alleviation anymore as mentioned before. Still, there are small scale social employment and care schemes in most of the colonies which reflect the initial scope.

They reflected the ideals of the Enlightenment

As shown in 1, the Colonies of Benevolence took their ideas on citizenship and state economy from Enlightened philosophers and economists, such as Malthus and A. Smith. Their starting point was a

societal ideal of “productive” citizens and productive land. They demonstrate a typical 19th century ‘civilization’ effort, which put into practice the Enlightened ideas of ‘transformable’ man and land.

As long as they functioned as ‘agricultural colony for poverty alleviation’ there was a continuous belief in the make-ability of man and land and permanent research how productivity could be raised. Proof is found in the descriptions of methods and processes, the social guidance and the individual files of all colonists during the whole period as a working colony.

COLONY I: FREDERIKSOORD

MAPS:

MAP 1 - PHASE 0, BEFORE 1818, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 2 - PHASE 1, 1818 - 1859, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 3 - PHASE 1, 1818 - 1859, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

MAP 4 - PHASE 2, 1860 - 1918, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 5 - PHASE 2, 1860 - 1918, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

MAP 6 - PHASE 3, 1919 - 1934, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

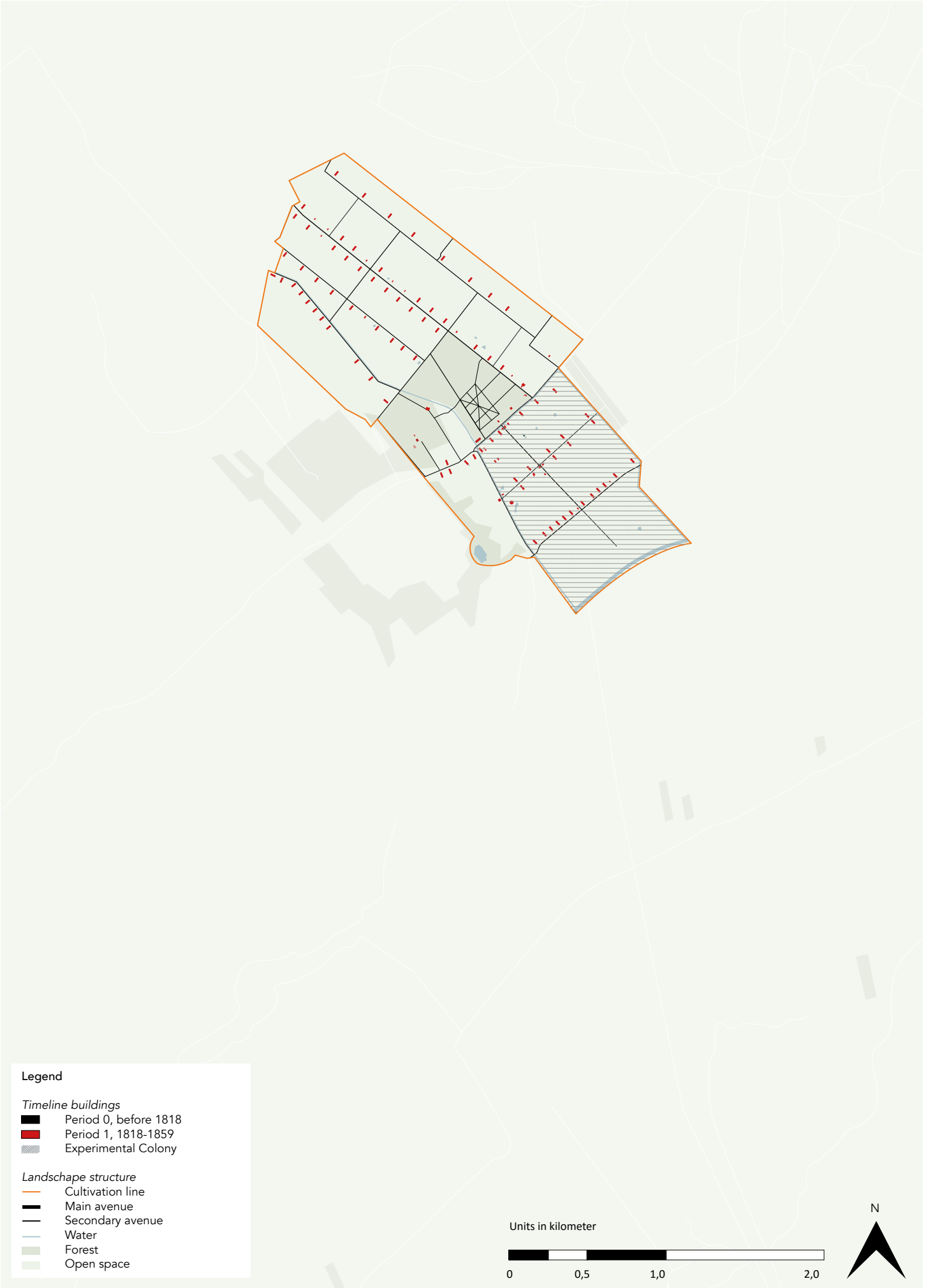
MAP 7 - PHASE 3, 1919 - 1934, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

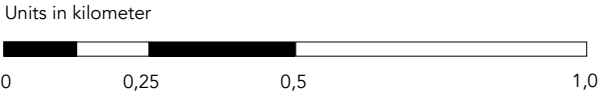
MAP 8 - PHASE 4, 1935 - PRESENT, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 9 - PHASE 4, 1935 - PRESENT, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

MAP 10 - PRESENT DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION WITH FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES



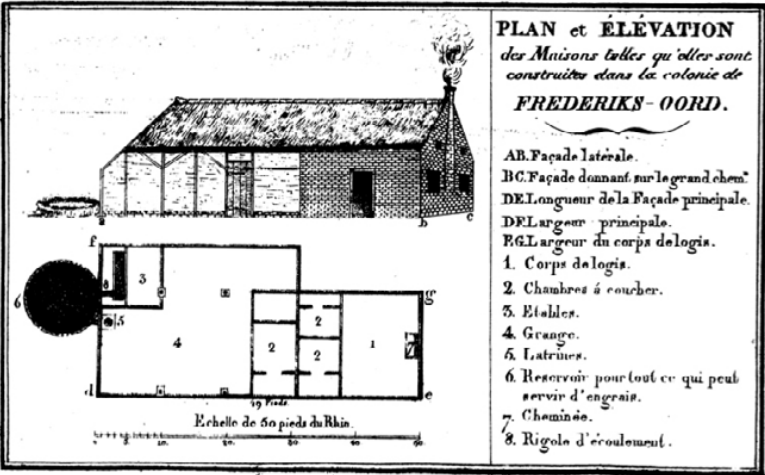




Ref. Nr.	Historical Use	Building Year
5	Colony House	1819
6	Colony House	1819
7	Colony House	1819
8	Workshop	1819
9	Colony House	1819
16	Central Facility	1766/1769
17	Directors House	1780
18	Staff House	1819
19	Staff House	1819
20	Staff House	1819
27	Colony House	1850
35	Colony House	1825
42	Colony House	1818
54	Colony House	1850
62	Colony House	1818
85	Central Facility	1818

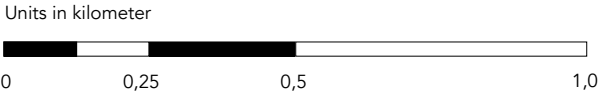
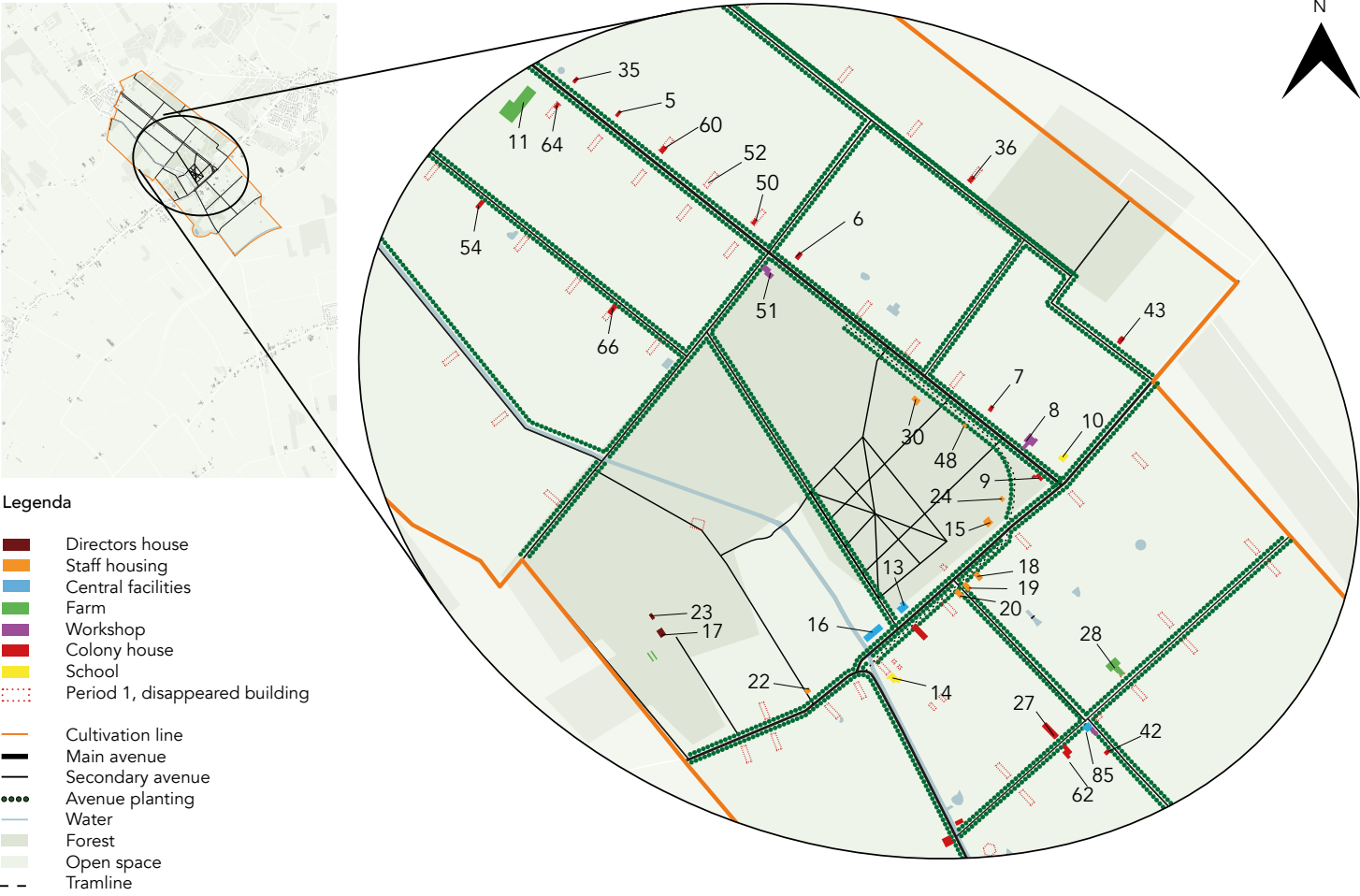


Colony house



Site plan and perspective of a colony house in Frederiksoord



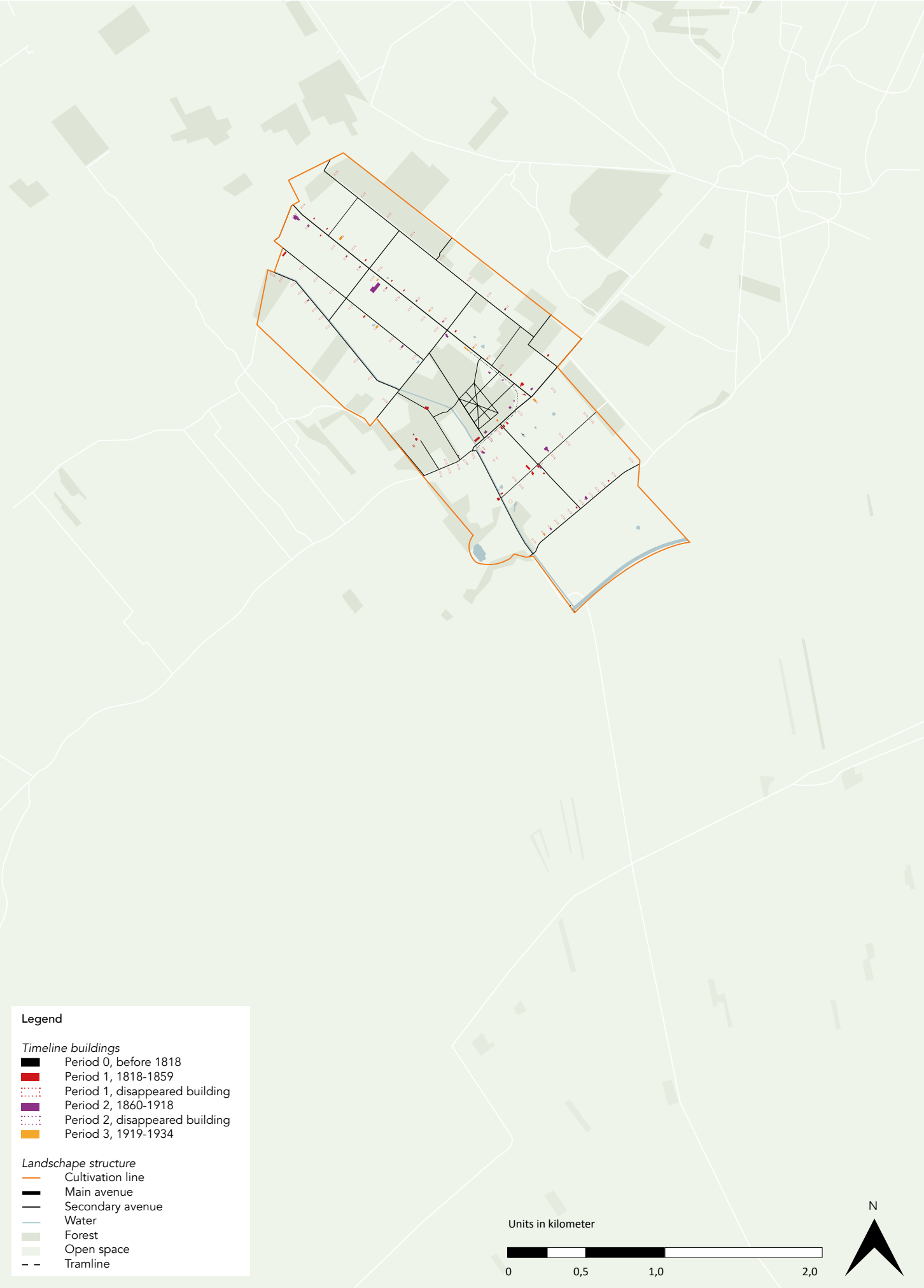


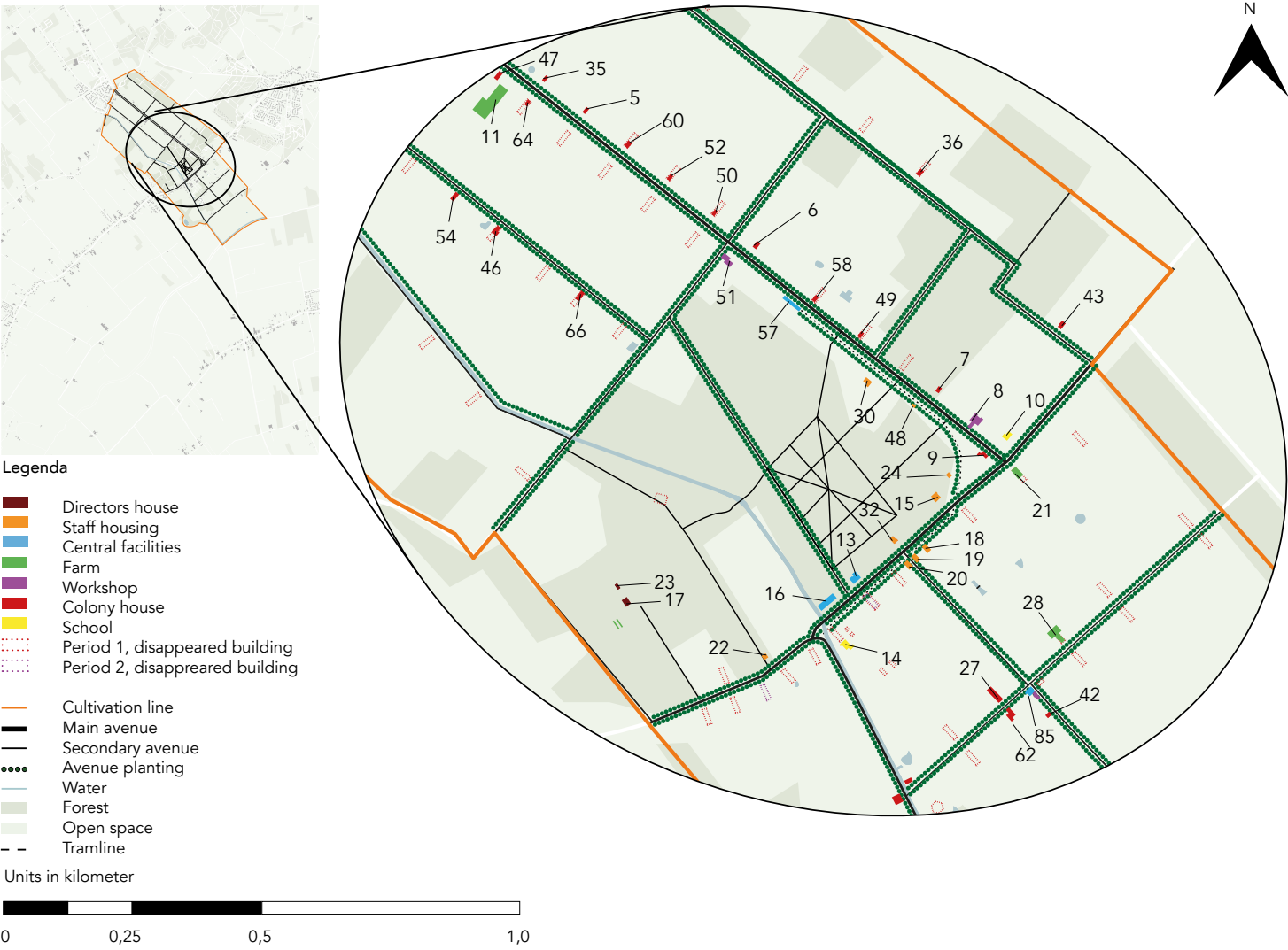
Ref. Nr.	Historical Use	Building Year
5	Colony House	1819
6	Colony House	1819
7	Colony House	1819
8	Workshop	1819
9	Colony House	1819
10	School	1887
11	Farm	1865
13	Central Facility	ca. 1900
14	School	1884
15	Staff House	1910/1915
16	Central Facility	1766/1769
17	Directors House	1780
18	Staff House	1819
19	Staff House	1819
20	Staff House	1819
22	Staff House	1925
23	Directors House	1875
24	Staff House	1915
27	Colony House	1850
28	Farm	1912
30	Staff House	1859
35	Colony House	1825
36	Colony House	1910
42	Colony House	1818
43	Colony House	1910
48	Staff House	1902
50	Colony House	1910
51	Workshop	1910
52	Colony House	1920
54	Colony House	1850
60	Colony house	1910
62	Colony House	1818
64	Colony House	1910
66	Colony House	1910
85	Central Facility	1818



Huis Westerbeek





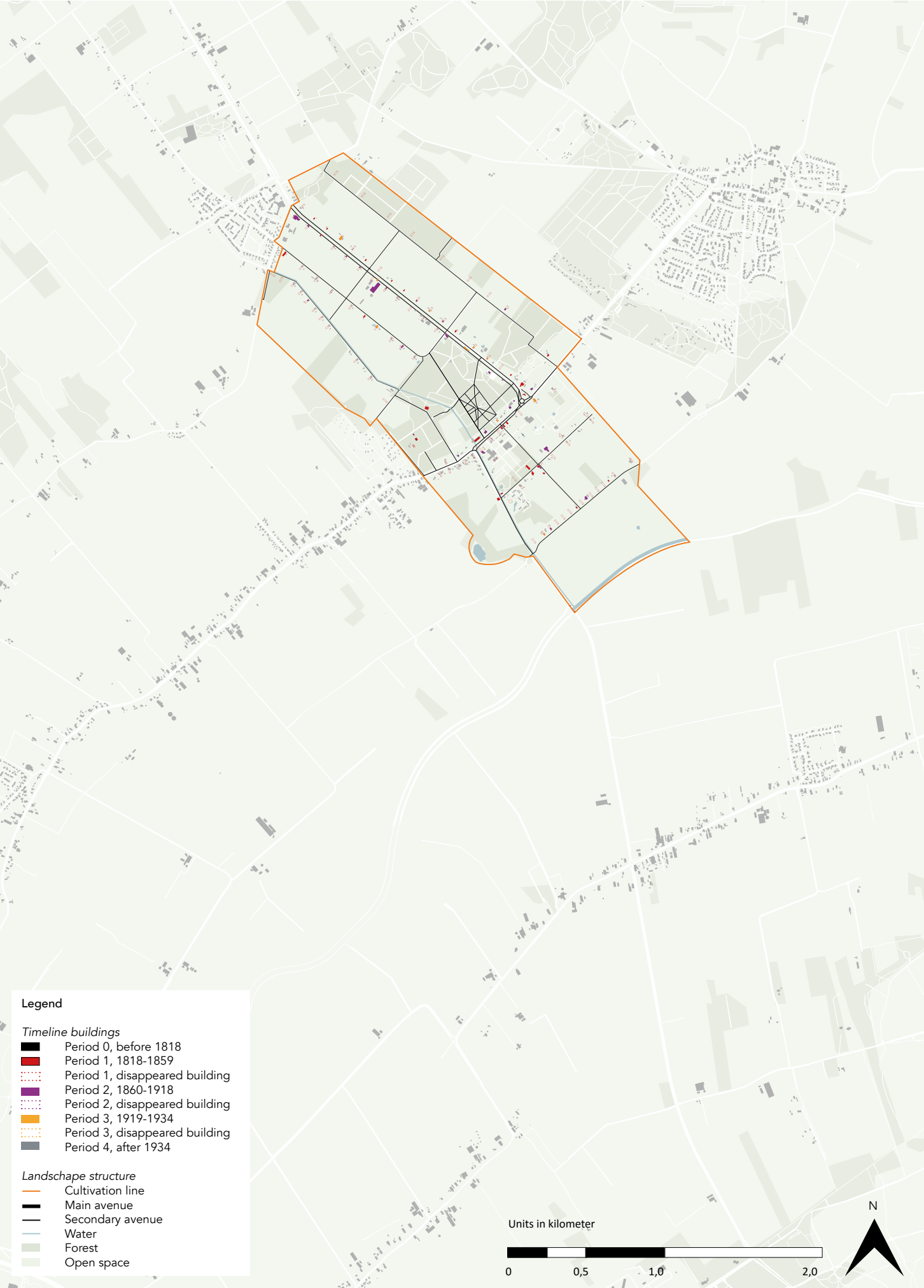


Ref. Nr.	Historical Use	Building Year
5	Colony House	1819
6	Colony House	1819
7	Colony House	1819
8	Workshop	1819
9	Colony House	1819
10	School	1887
11	Farm	1865
13	Central Facility	ca. 1900
14	School	1884
15	Staff House	1910/1915
16	Central Facility	1766/1769
17	Directors House	1780
18	Staff House	1819
19	Staff House	1819
20	Staff House	1819
21	Farm	1929
22	Staff House	1925
23	Directors House	1875
24	Staff House	1915
27	Colony House	1850
28	Farm	1912
30	Staff House	1859
32	Staff House	1930
35	Colony House	1825
36	Colony House	1910
42	Colony House	1818
43	Colony House	1910
46	Colony House	1930
47	Colony House	1920
48	Staff House	1902
49	Colony House	1920
50	Colony House	1910

51	Workshop	1885
52	Colony House	1920
54	Colony House	1850
57	Central Facility	1920
58	Colony House	1920
60	Colony House	1910
62	Colony House	1818
64	Colony House	1910
66	Colony House	1910
85	Central Facility	1818

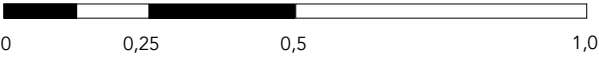


Frederiksoord, colonists around 1900





Units in kilometer

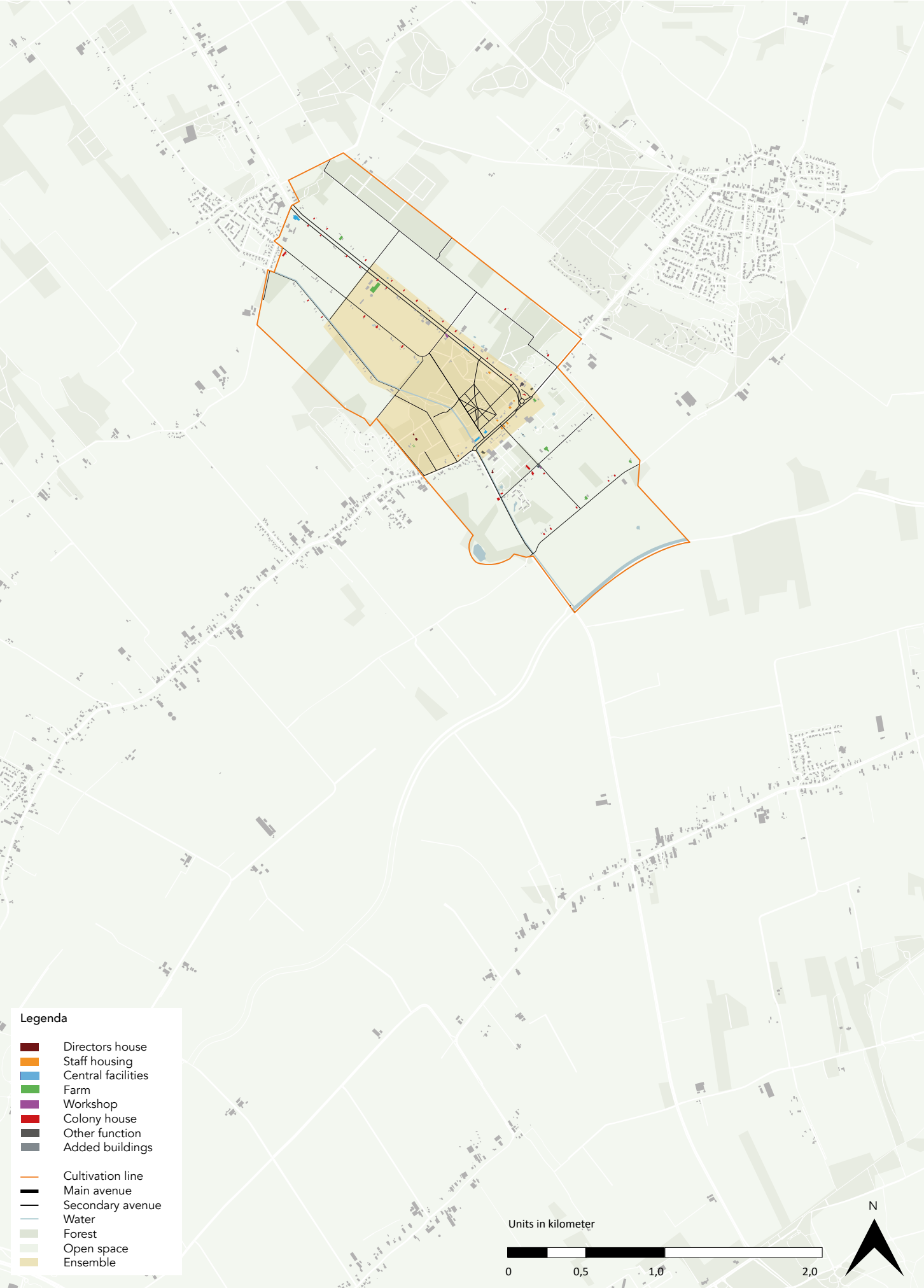


Ref. Nr.	Historical Use	Building Year
5	Colony House	1819
6	Colony House	1819
7	Colony House	1819
8	Workshop	1819
9	Colony House	1819
10	School	1887
11	Farm	1865
13	Central Facility	ca. 1900
14	School	1884
15	Staff House	1910/1915
16	Central Facility	1766/1769
17	Directors House	1780
18	Staff House	1819
19	Staff House	1819
20	Staff House	1819
21	Farm	1929
22	Staff House	1925
23	Directors House	1875
24	Staff House	1915
27	Colony House	1850
28	Farm	1912
30	Staff House	1859
32	Staff House	1930
35	Colony House	1825
36	Colony House	1910
42	Colony House	1818
43	Colony House	1910
46	Colony House	1930
47	Colony House	1920
48	Staff House	1902
49	Colony House	1920
50	Colony House	1910

51	Workshop	1885
52	Colony House	1920
54	Colony House	1850
56	Directors House	1948
57	Central Facility	1920
58	Colony House	1920
60	Colony House	1910
62	Colony House	1818
64	Colony House	1910
66	Colony House	1910
85	Central Facility	1818



Frederiksoord, colony houses



Frederiksoord

Ref. Nr.	Building Year	Historical use
5	1819	colony houses
6	1819	colony houses
7	1819	colony houses
8	1819	workshop
9	1819	colony houses
10	1887	school
11	1865	farm
13	1900	central facilities
14	1884	school
15	1910-1915	staff housing
16	1766-1769	central facilities
17	1780	directors house
18	1819	colony houses
19	1819	colony houses
20	1819	colony houses
21	1929	farm
23	1875	staff housing
24	1915	staff housing
27	1850	colony houses
28	1912	farm
30	1895	staff housing
32	1930	staff housing
35	1825	colony houses
36	1910	colony houses
42	1818	colony houses
43	1910	colony houses
46	1930	colony houses
47	1920	colony houses
48	1902	staff housing
49	1920	staff housing
50	1910	colony houses
51	1885	workshop
52	1920	colony houses
54	1850	colony houses
56	1948	staff housing
57	1920	central facilities
58	1920	colony houses
60	1910	colony houses
62	1818	colony houses
64	1910	colony houses
66	1910	colony houses
85	1818	central facilities

COLONY II: WILHELMINA OORD

MAPS:

MAP 1 - PHASE 0, BEFORE 1820, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 2 - PHASE 1, 1821 - 1859, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 3 - PHASE 1, 1821 - 1859, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

MAP 4 - PHASE 2, 1860 - 1918, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 5 - PHASE 2, 1860 - 1918, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

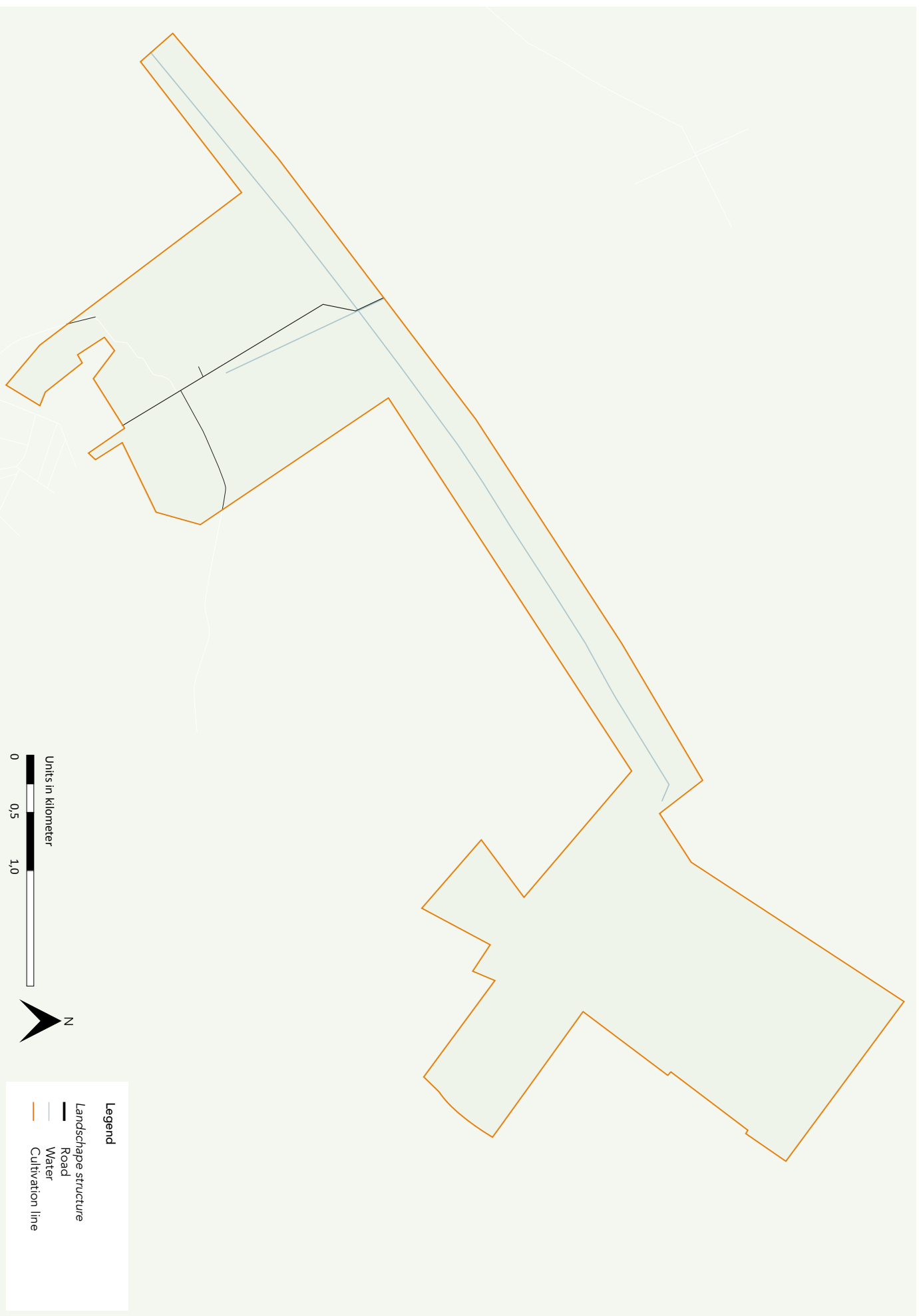
MAP 6 - PHASE 3, 1919 - 1933, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

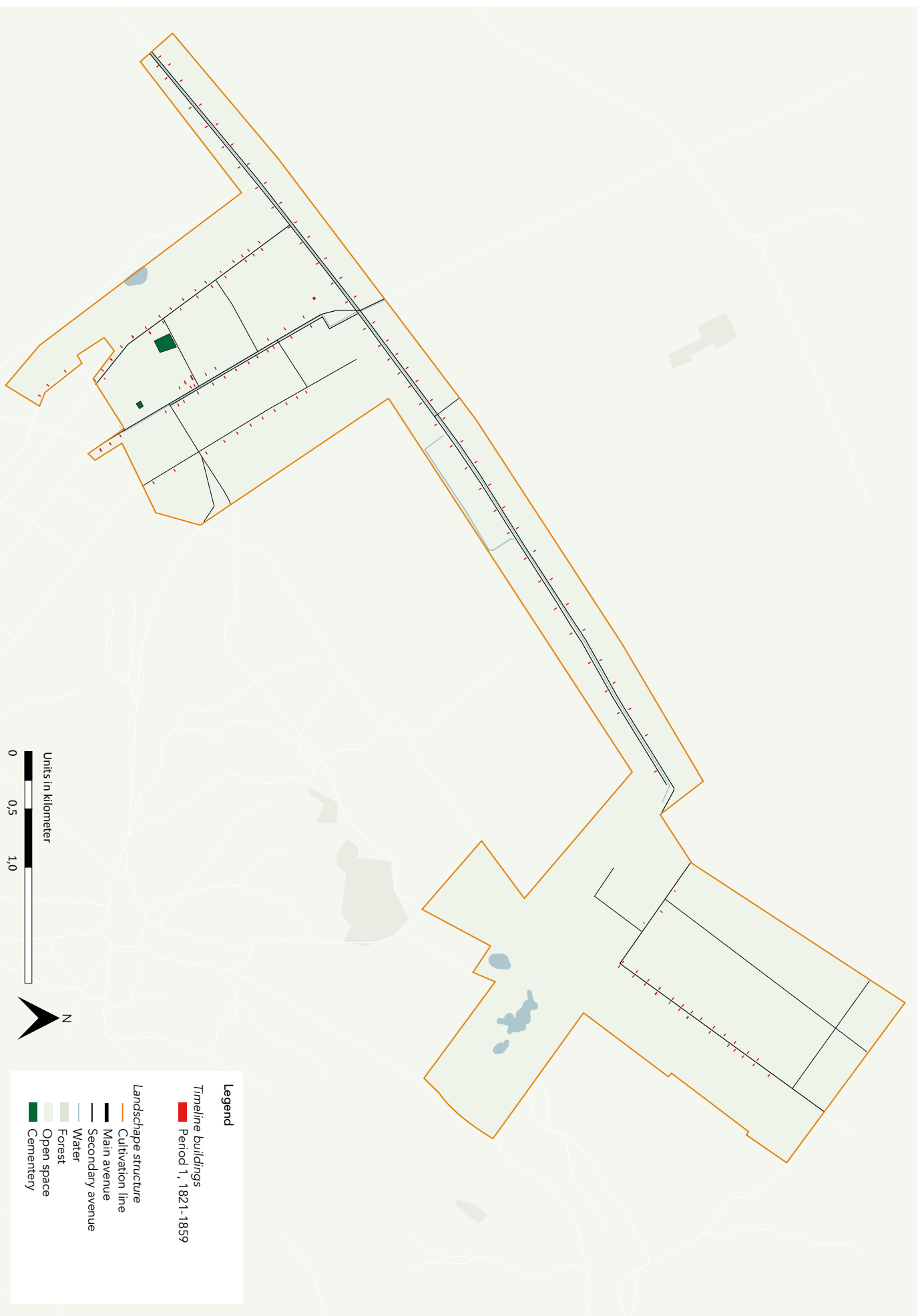
MAP 7 - PHASE 3, 1919 - 1933, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

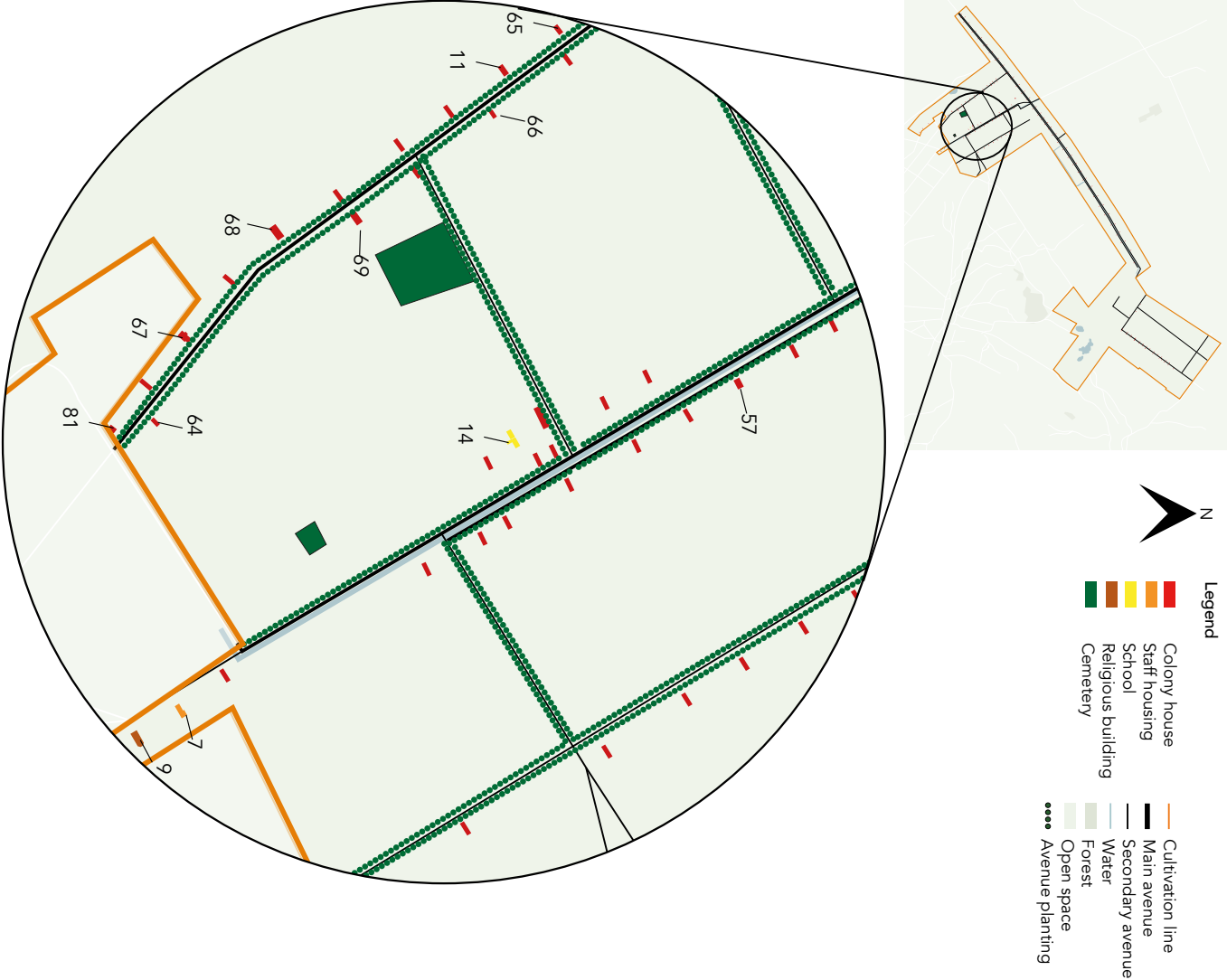
MAP 8 - PHASE 4, 1934 - PRESENT, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 9 - PHASE 4, 1934 - PRESENT, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

MAP 10 - PRESENT DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION WITH FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES







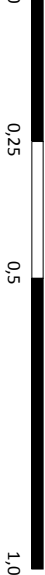
Cemetery

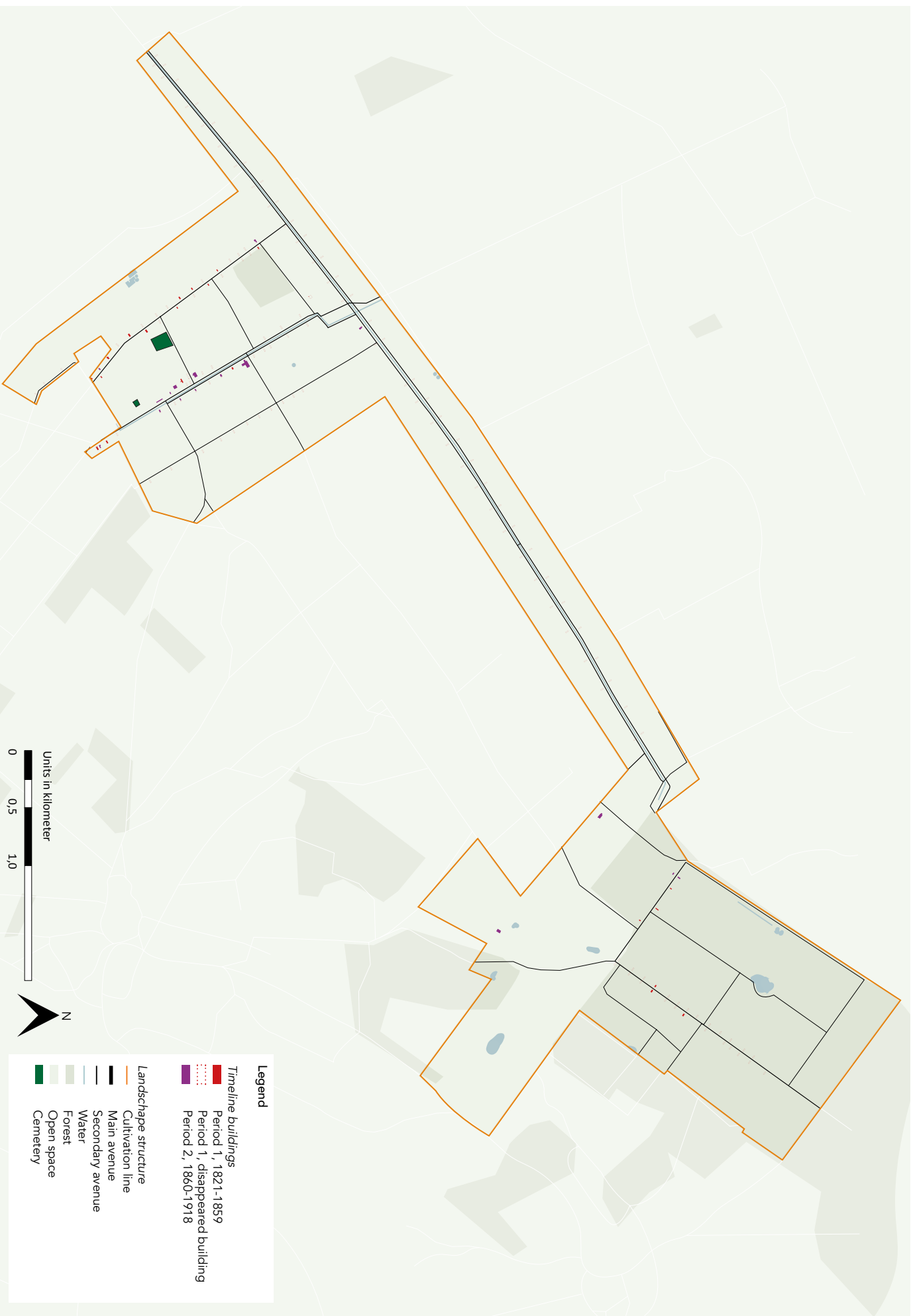


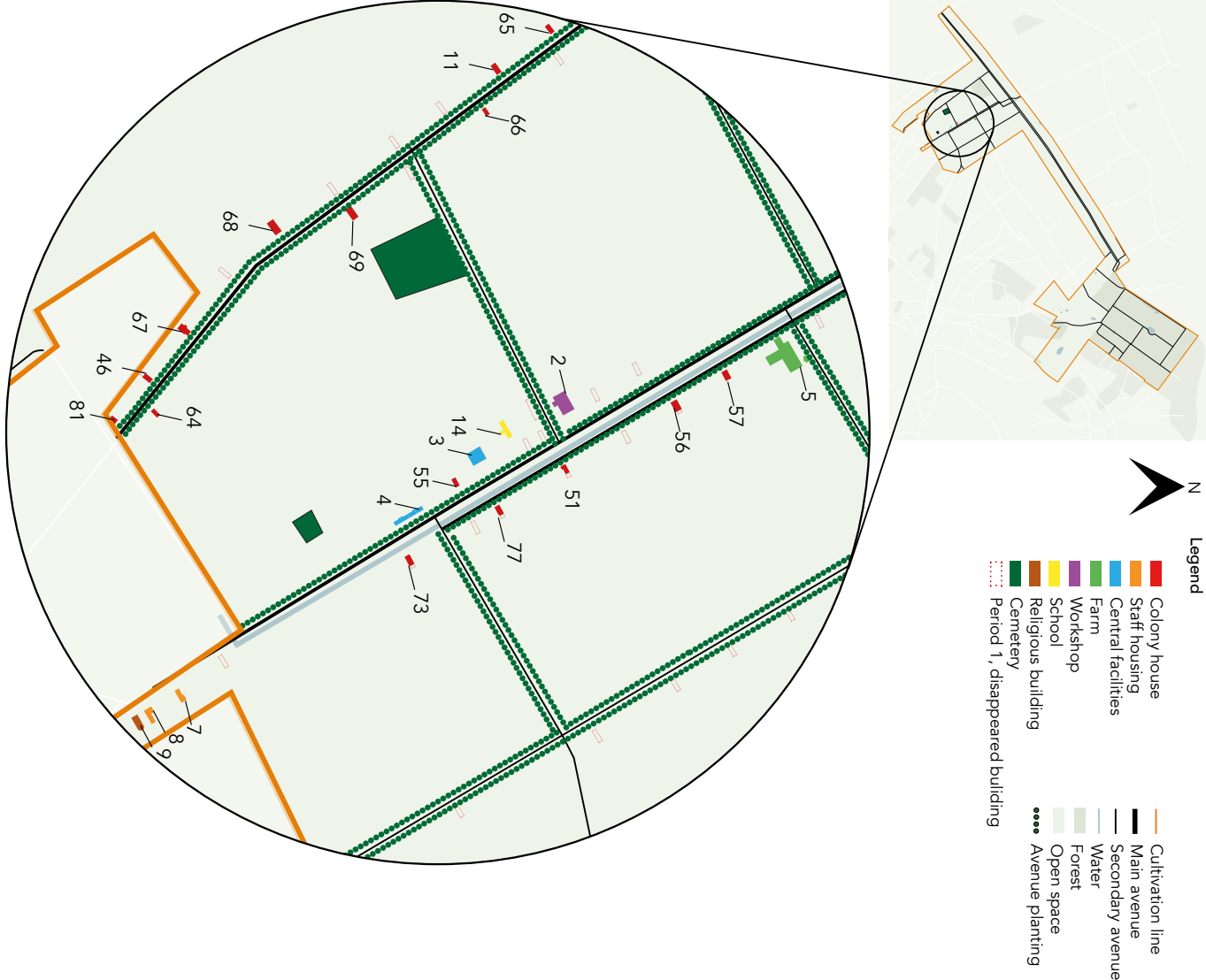
14. School

Ref. Nr.	Historical use	Building Year	Ref. Nr.	Historical use	Building Year
7	Staff housing	1819	65	Colony houses	1850
9	Religious building	1851	66	Colony houses	1850
11	Colony houses	1819	67	Colony houses	1850
14	School	1910	68	Colony houses	1823
57	Colony houses	1850	69	Colony houses	1850
64	Colony houses	1850	81	Colony houses	1850

Units in kilometer





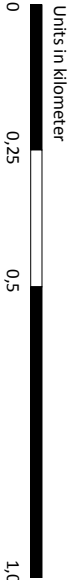


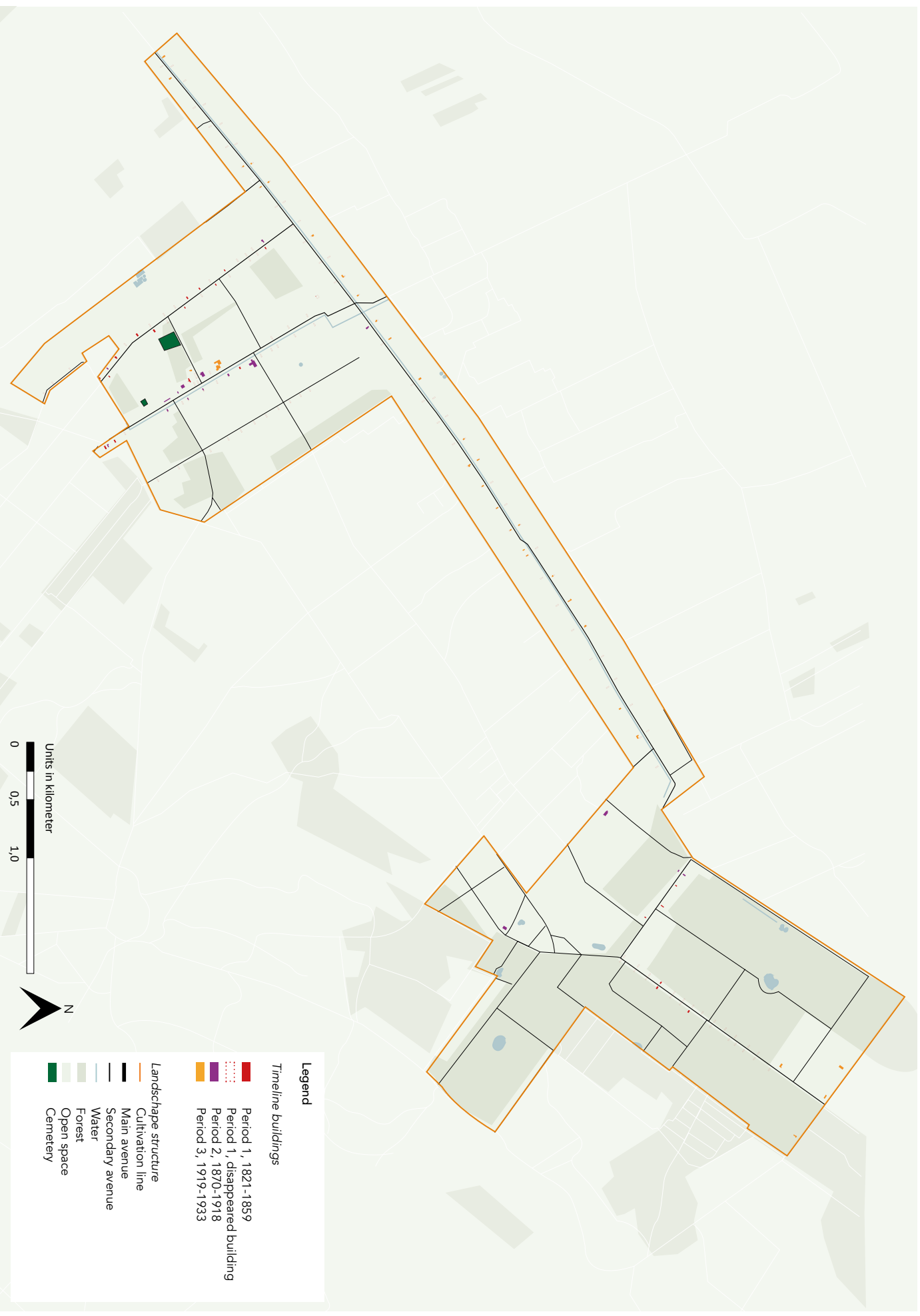
2. Workshop

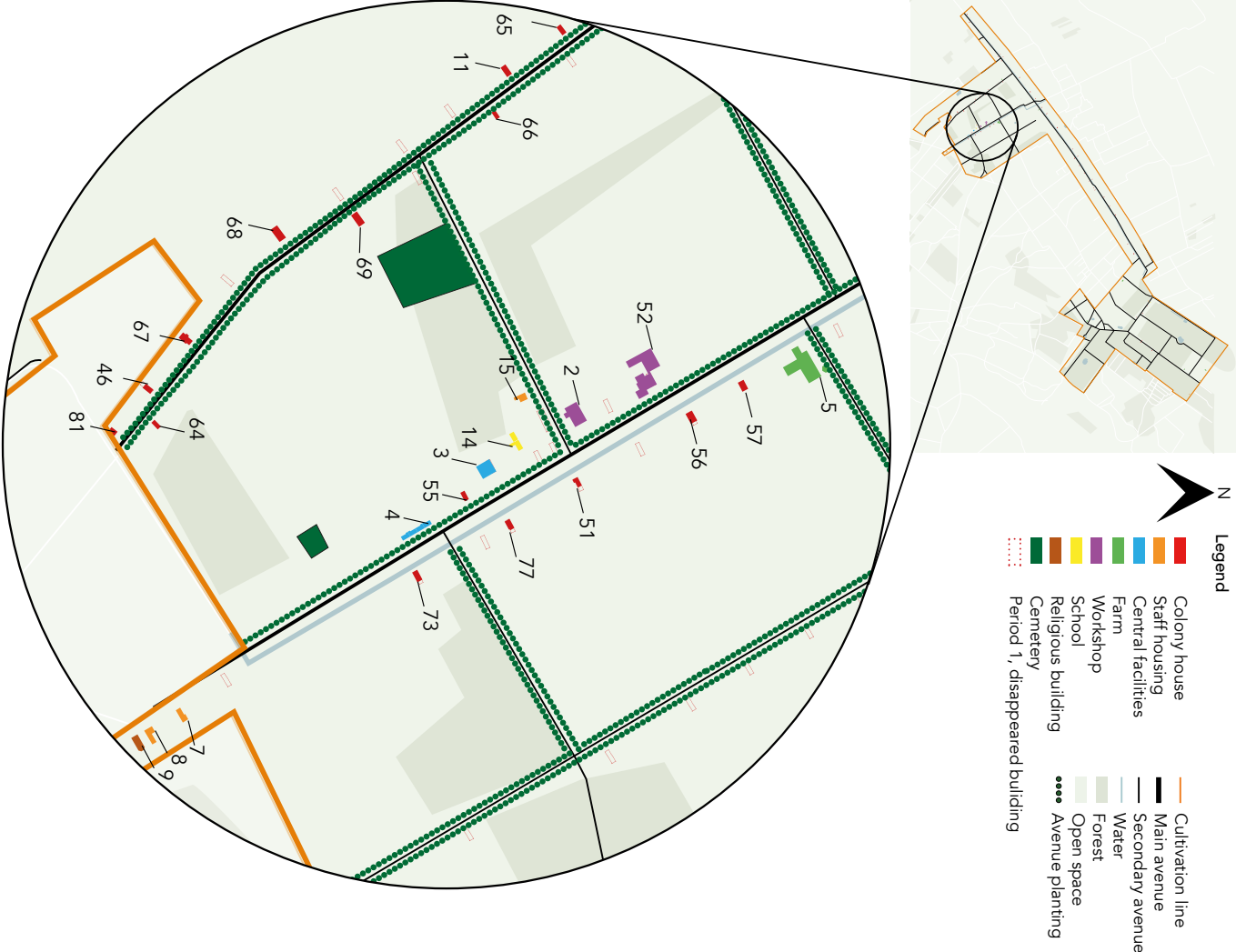


5. Farm Prinses Marianne

Ref. Nr.	Function	Building Year	Ref. Nr.	Function	Building Year
2	Workshop	1904	55	Colony houses	1910
3	Central facilities	1910	56	Colony houses	1910
4	Central facilities	1893-1895	57	Colony houses	1850
5	Farm	1910	64	Colony houses	1850
7	Staff housing	1819	65	Colony houses	1850
8	Staff housing	1913	66	Colony houses	1850
9	Religious building	1851	67	Colony houses	1850
11	Colony houses	1819	68	Colony houses	1823
14	School	1910	69	Colony houses	1850
46	Colony houses	1910	73	Colony houses	1910
51	Colony houses	1910	77	Colony houses	1910
			81	Colony houses	1850

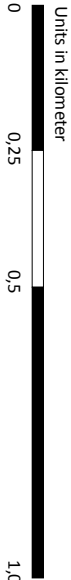


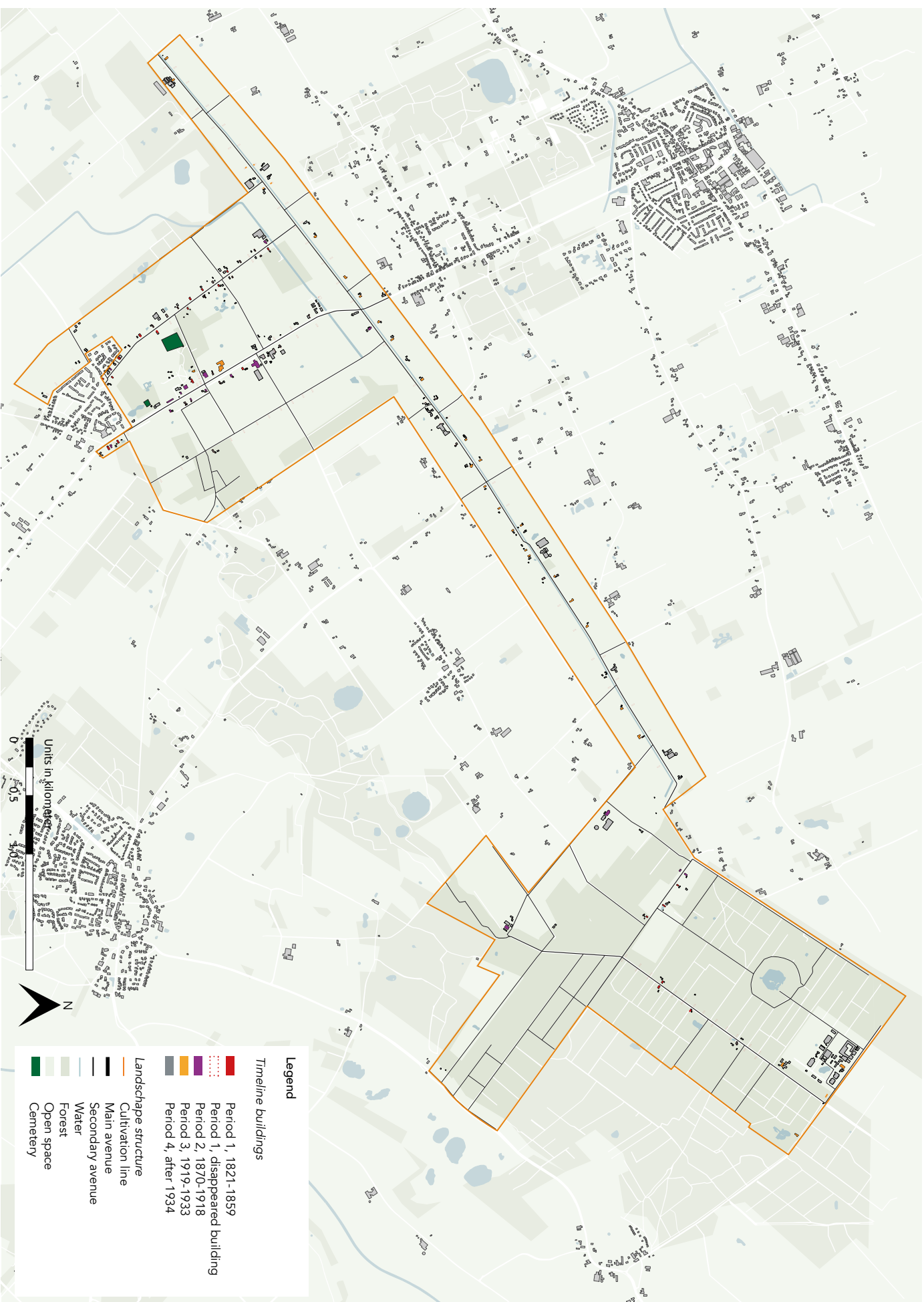


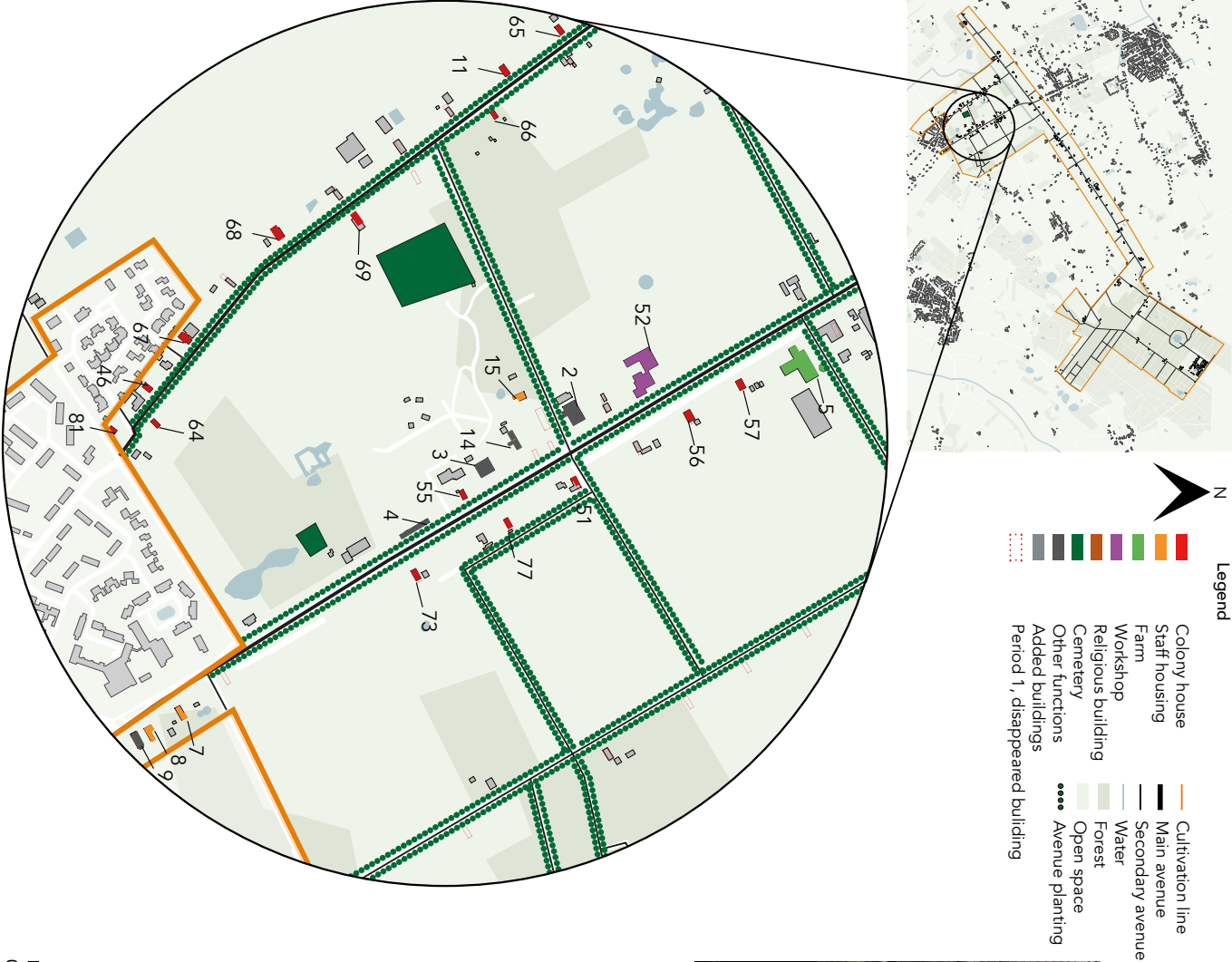


8 & 9. Staff housing and church

Ref. Nr.	Historical use	Building Year	Ref. Nr.	Historical use	Building Year
2	Workshop	1904	55	Colony houses	1910
3	Central facilities	1910	56	Colony houses	1910
4	Central facilities	1893-1895	57	Colony houses	1850
5	Farm	1910	64	Colony houses	1850
7	Staff housing	1819	65	Colony houses	1850
8	Staff housing	1913	66	Colony houses	1850
9	Religious building	1851	67	Colony houses	1850
11	Colony houses	1819	68	Colony houses	1823
14	School	1910	69	Colony houses	1850
15	Staff housing	1920	73	Colony houses	1910
46	Colony houses	1910	77	Colony houses	1910
51	Colony houses	1910	81	Colony houses	1850
52	Workshop	1920			

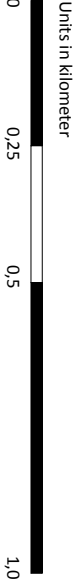


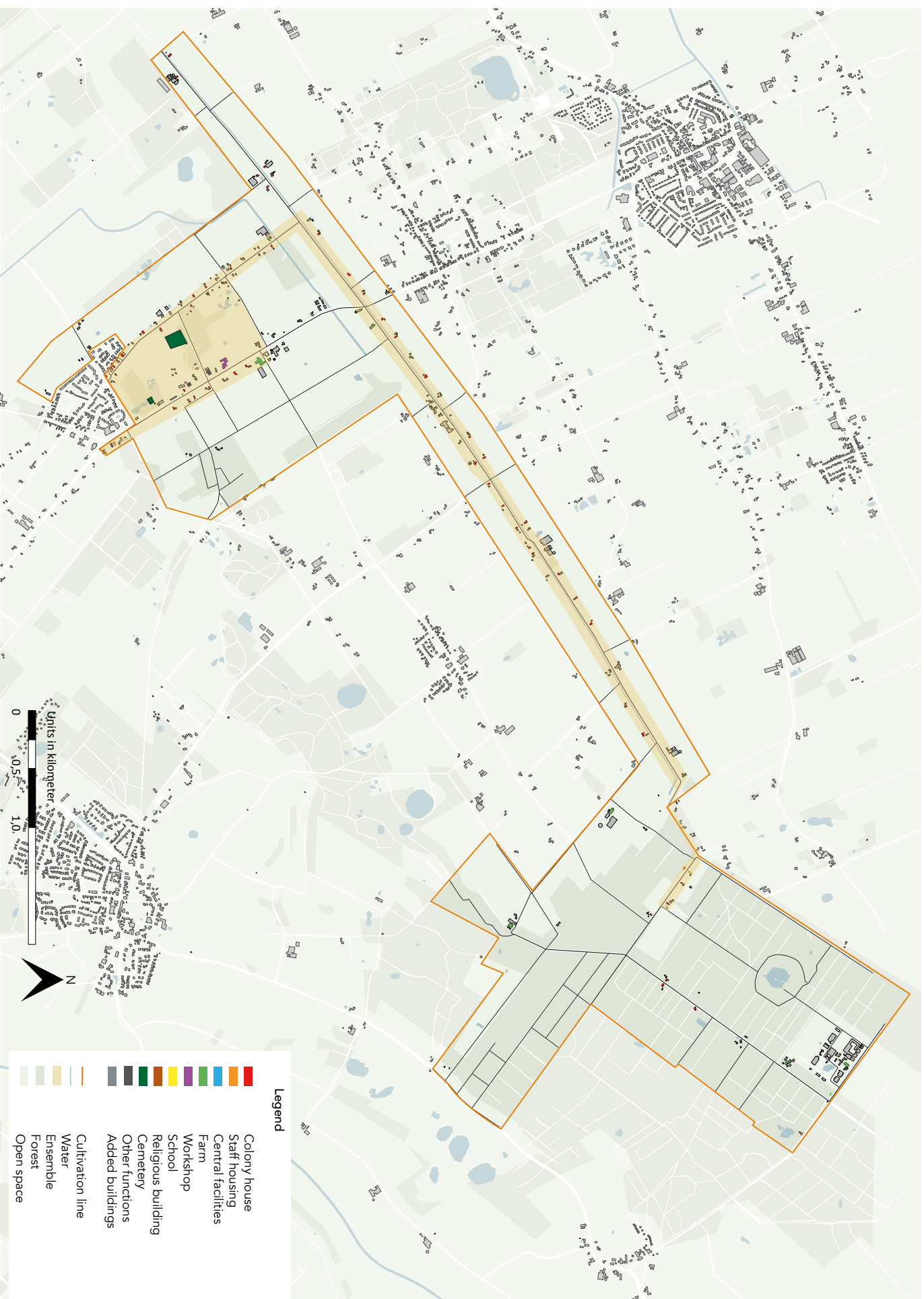




12. Colony house

Ref. Nr.	Historical use	Building Year	Ref. Nr.	Historical use	Building Year
2	Other function	1904	55	Colony houses	1910
3	Other function	1910	56	Colony houses	1910
4	Other function	1893-1895	57	Colony houses	1850
5	Farm	1910	64	Colony houses	1850
7	Staff housing	1819	65	Colony houses	1850
8	Staff housing	1913	66	Colony houses	1850
9	Other function	1851	67	Colony houses	1850
11	Colony house	1819	68	Colony houses	1823
14	Other function	1910	69	Colony houses	1850
15	Staff housing	1920	73	Colony houses	1910
46	Colony houses	1910	77	Colony houses	1910
51	Colony houses	1910	81	Colony houses	1850
52	Workshop	1920			





Wilhelminaoord

Ref. Nr.	Building Year	Historical use
2	1904	workshop
3	1910	central facilities
4	1893-1895	central facilities
5	1910	farm
7	1819	colony houses
8	1913	staff housing
9	1851	religious building
11	1819	colony houses
14	1910	school
15	1920	staff housing
46	1910	colony houses
51	1910	colony houses
52	1920	workshop
55	1910	colony houses
56	1910	colony houses
57	1850	colony houses
64	1850	colony houses
65	1850	colony houses
66	1850	colony houses
67	1850	colony houses
68	1823	colony houses
69	1850	colony houses
73	1910	colony houses
77	1910	colony houses
81	1850	colony houses

COLONY III: WILLEMSOORD

MAPS:

MAP 1 - PHASE 0, BEFORE 1820, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 2 - PHASE 1, 1820 - 1859, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 3 - PHASE 1, 1820 - 1859, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

MAP 4 - PHASE 2, 1860 - 1918, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 5 - PHASE 2, 1860 - 1918, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

MAP 6 - PHASE 3, 1919 - 1923, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

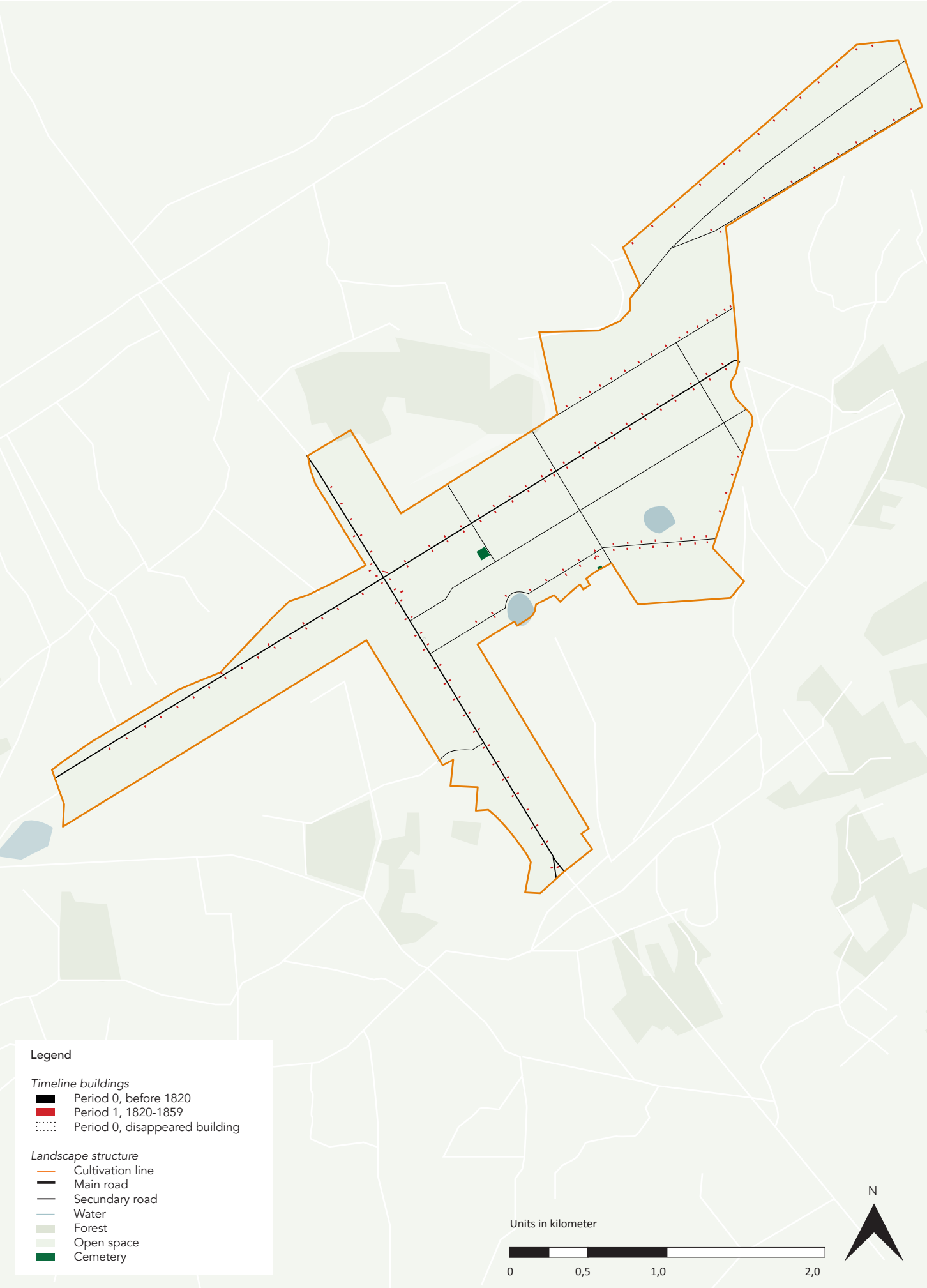
MAP 7 - PHASE 3, 1919 - 1923, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

MAP 8 - PHASE 4, 1924 - PRESENT, DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION

MAP 9 - PHASE 4, 1924 - PRESENT, FUNCTIONAL EVOLUTION

MAP 10 - PRESENT DEVELOPMENT EVOLUTION WITH FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES



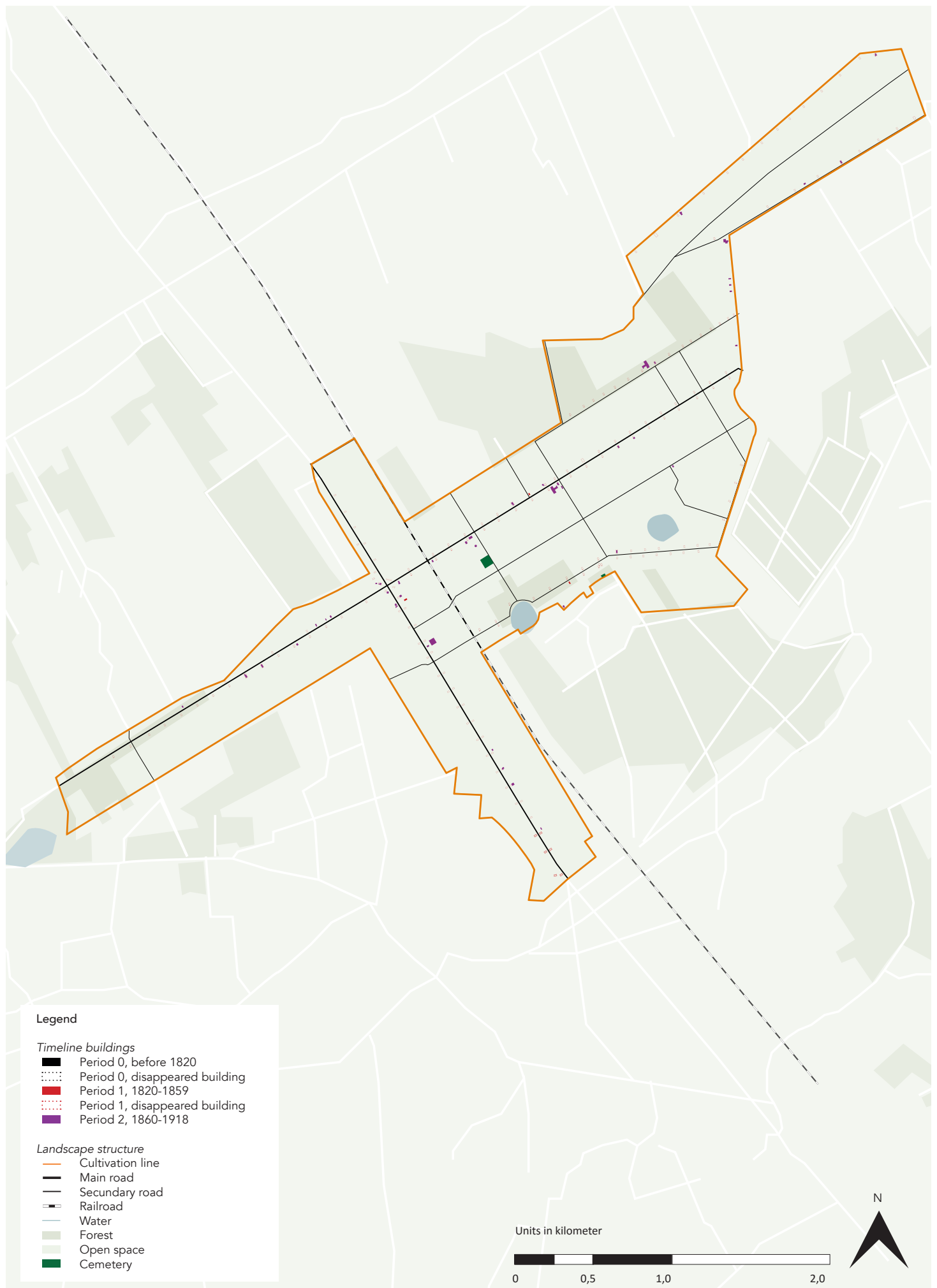




Ref. Nr.	Function	Building Year
1	Religious building	1851



1. Church and rectory





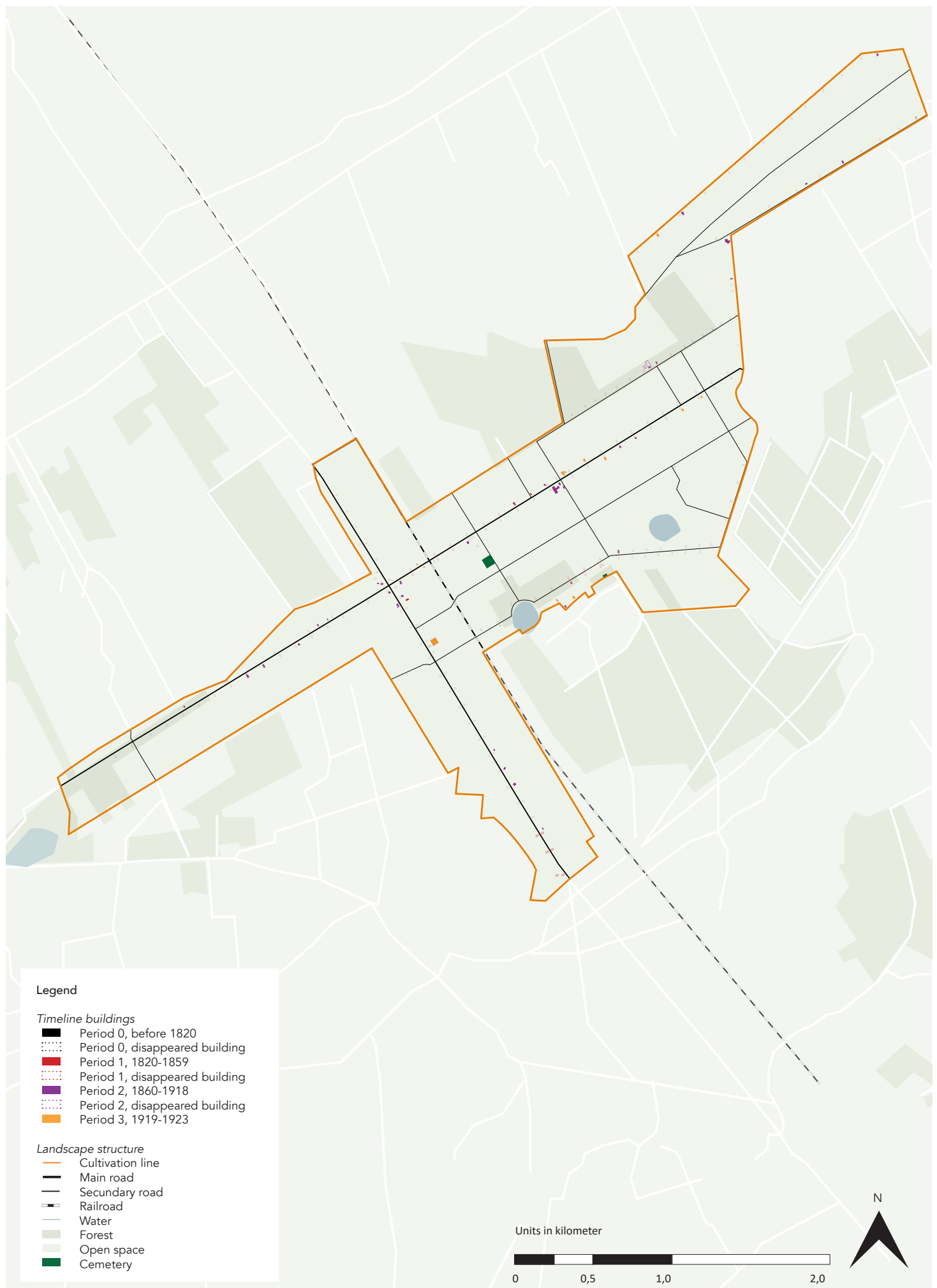
Ref. Nr.	Function	Building Year
1	Religious building	1851
5	Staff housing	1868
7	Staff housing	1910
8	Staff housing	1910
140	Central function	1910
141	Staff housing	1899
143	Central function	1909



7. Staff housing



7. Staff housing





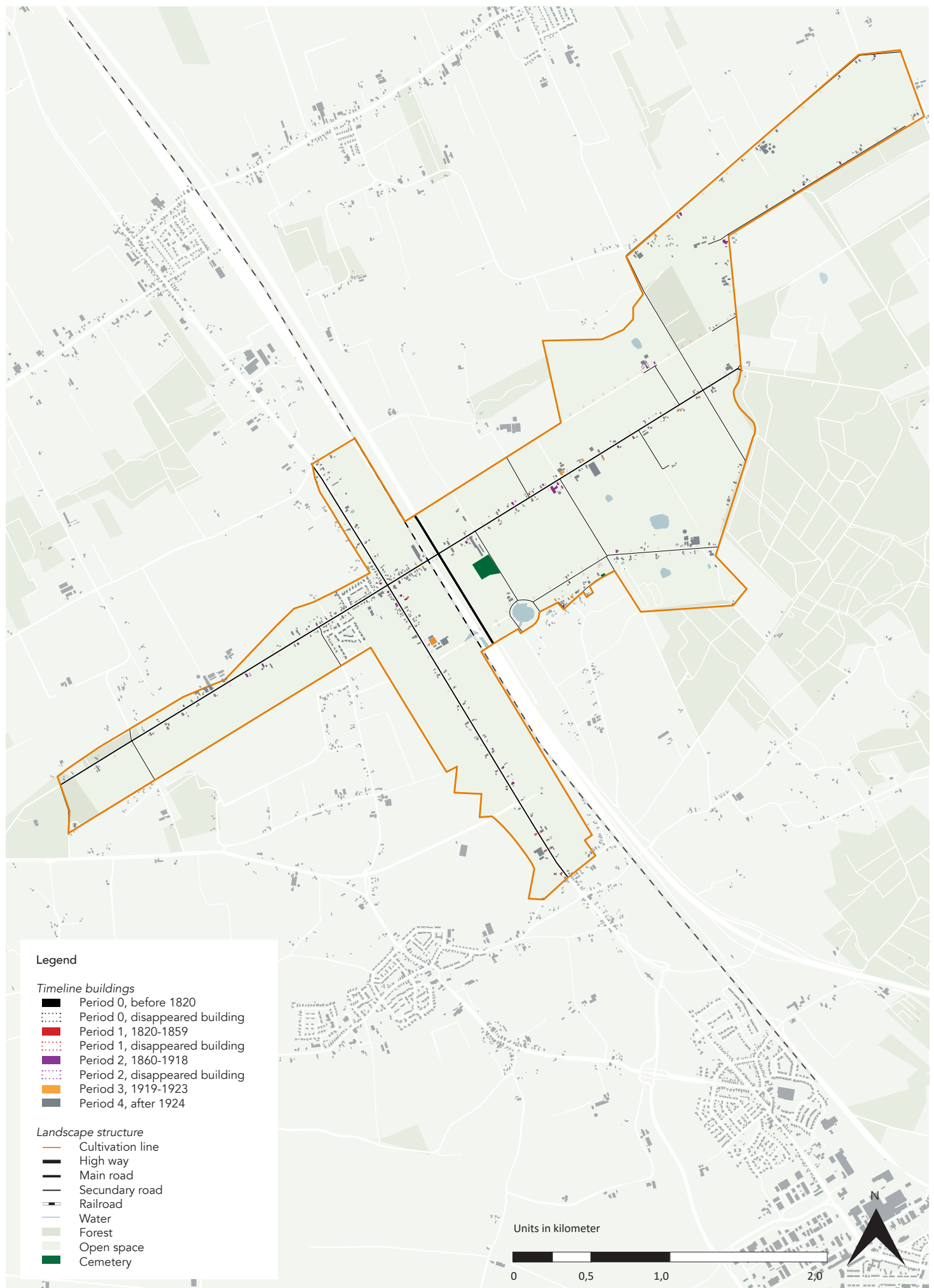
Ref. Nr.	Function	Building Year
1	Religious building	1851
2	Farm	Ca. 1923
5	Staff housing	1868
7	Staff housing	1910
8	Staff housing	1910
140	Central function	1910
141	Staff housing	1899
142	Central function	Ca. 1920
143	Central function	1909
144	Farm	Ca. 1920



2. Farm Generaal van den Bosch



142. Central function



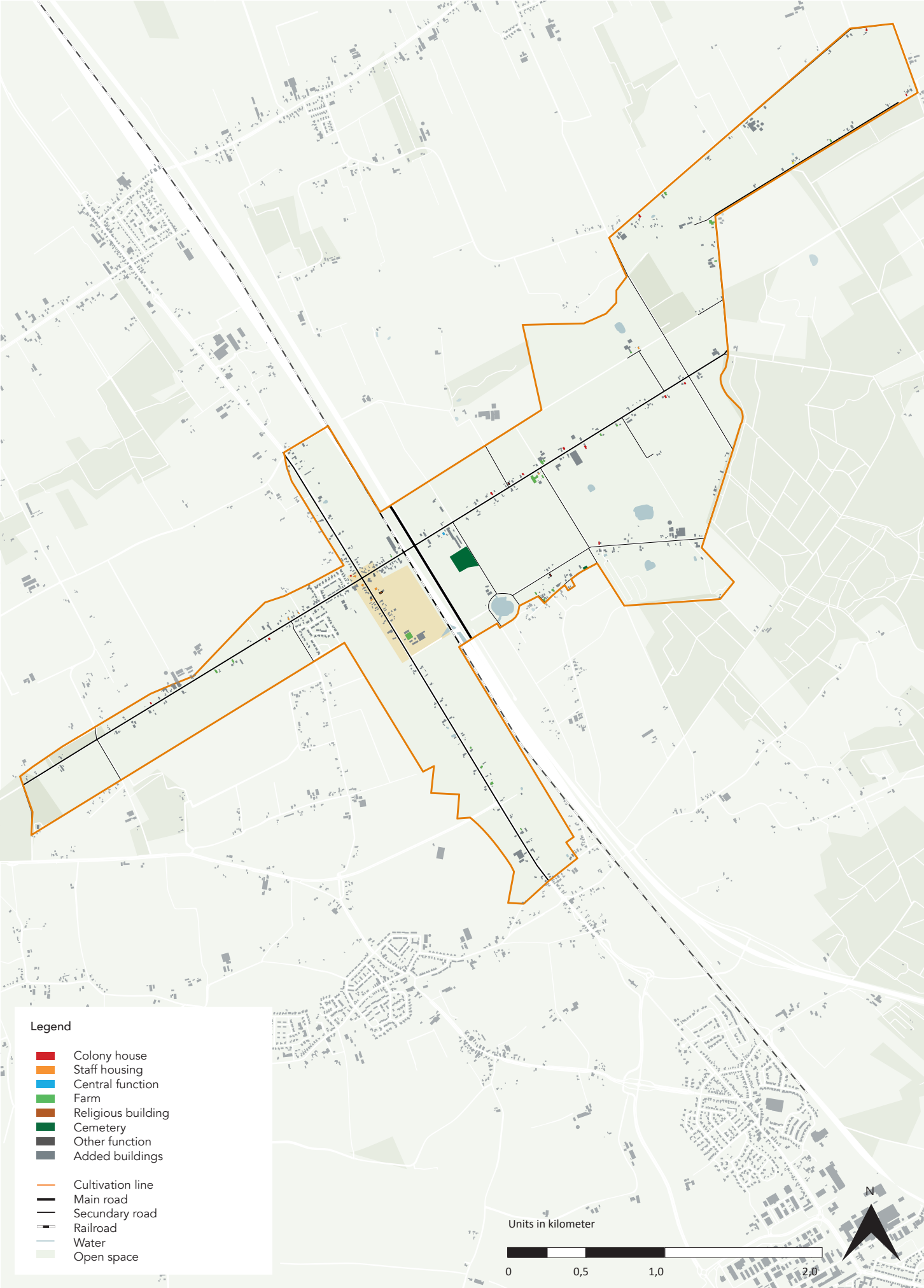


Former school transformed into housing at Westvierderparten 7 and 9

Ref. Nr.	Function	Building Year
1	Religious building	1851
2	Farm	Ca. 1923
5	Staff housing	1868
7	Staff housing	1910
8	Staff housing	1910
140	Other function	1910
141	Staff housing	1899
142	Other function	Ca. 1920
143	Other function	1909
144	Farm	Ca. 1920



Jewish cemetery



Willemssoord

Ref. Nr.	Building Year	Historical use
1	1851	religious building
2	ca. 1923	farm
5	1868	staff housing
7	1910	staff housing
8	1910	school
140	1910	central facility
141	1899	staff housing
142	ca. 1920	central facility
143	1909	central facility
144	1920	farm