

Colonial Collecting and its Motivations

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Introduction

Imperialism¹ in pre-WWII Europe was based on mutual respectability. A country such as the Netherlands could gain respect by having and taking care of colonies. A lot has been written about European imperialism. Many agree that the discourse² still influences today's cultures of both the colonizer³ and the colonized⁴. Susan Legêne set a standard on how to approach archive records regarding Dutch families prominent in the colonies on a more personal level with her book *De bagage van Blomhoff en van Breugel* from 1998. She claims that many authors who wrote about European imperialism also deliberately referred to its consequences in the present⁵. A well known example of such an author is Edward Wadie Said (1935-2003). His work *Orientalism* in 1978 showed a revealed different view on imperialism. Said tells the story of the colonized which is a history of humiliation and suppression. *Orientalism* is painful to read for anyone with an ancestry in Europe, or at least was so for me because it made me realize the unethical behaviour of Europeans in the past. This dark and very recent page of history was something left undiscussed by most. Said broadened our vision on the past. The idea that Europe had shared its power and knowledge responsibly and ethically, obvious propaganda but still present in European culture, was finally laid bare. The discourse on imperialism continued and continues to influence today's political affairs. Another term introduced by Michel Foucault (1926-1984), episteme or epistemology⁶, helped to better understand periods in our history such as imperialism. The actions and ideals of the past are not the same as the actions and ideas of today. The discourse on imperialism continues and survives such changes.

Nowadays much has been written about imperialism that can help to better understand the differences between the past and today, and it also shows us what is still the same.

¹ 'A policy or practice by which a country increases its power by gaining control over other areas of the world' or 'the effect that a powerful country or group of countries has in changing or influencing the way people live in other, poorer countries'. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/imperialism> (19-July 2015)

² A discourse is term created by the philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984). Stuart Mcphail Hall (1932-2014) provides a good explanation of the term discourse in his work *Representation*: 'a group of statements which provide a language for talking about - a way of representing the knowledge about - a particular topic at a particular historical moment.' The term discourse refers mostly to a particular academic area such as imperialism.

³ A country of imperialist Europe that has colonies.

⁴ A country that was seen as a colony by imperialist Europe.

⁵ Legêne 1998, p. 16.

⁶ The existence of epistèmès explains how discourses can change or disappear over time. An episteme can be seen as a combination of knowledge and time; certain ideas belong to certain times. Foucault recognized three epistèmès; renaissance (until 1650), classical (1650-1800) and modern (1800-now). Criticism has led to the term episteme today being used to explain ideas or actions that were common in history but seem uncommon or, for example, cruel today.

Colonial collecting is a relatively new discourse connected to imperialism or colonialism⁷. Works about colonial collecting are usually about a very specific topic such as a certain museum, a geographical region or a group of people that are somehow connected to each other and colonial collecting in general. A good example is *Royal cabinets and auxiliary branches* by Rudolf Effert from 2008 which explains the origin of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. This museum contains many objects that originated from colonial collections. Rainer F. Buschmann gives a good view on how Germany collected ethnographical or colonial objects in the book *Anthropology's Global Histories* from 2009. It is interesting to compare these two books because they illustrate how the same discourse in the same era can still be very different in the Netherlands and Germany. Another good example is *De kolonie en dekolonisatie* by Pieter J. Drooglever from 2006. This book provides a good image of the different Dutch policies in the Dutch East Indies⁸. The last book I would like to mention here is *Koloniale collecties, Nederlands aanzien* by Caroline Drieënhuizen from 2012. This work more or less continues in the style of Legêne by focusing on several Dutch prominent families in the Dutch East Indies. This book introduces the idea of respect gained through having a colonial collection. Drieënhuizen observes that those who became part of the European elite in the nineteenth and twentieth century, with the elite she indicates wealthy people with authority over others, often have a background in colonialism and colonial collecting in the Dutch East Indies. This book is refreshing in how personal information on colonial collectors can be used to comprehend the actions of people in a different era or episteme, that of imperial Europe.

This paper will outline the colonial collecting activities of a Dutch businessman, Cornelis George Vattier Kraane (1864-1954) who was a prominent figure in maritime trade in the Dutch East Indies. Vattier Kraane seems to be a person who is often overlooked when it comes to academic research concerning colonial collecting in the Dutch East Indies. He seems to be an excellent example of a Dutch colonial collector even so. Vattier Kraane lived in the beginning of the 20th century and was resourceful when it comes to exploiting the Dutch East Indies. Apart from being an excellent and much praised businessman, Vattier Kraane was known for his collection of Dutch art. He and his wife, Françoise Jacoba Daendels (1871-1950), also collected objects from Indonesia. These objects from Indonesia are their colonial collections that were on display together with the art collection of Vattier Kraane. This

⁷ 'Control by one country over another area and its people.' <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/colonialism> (19-juli 2015).

⁸ Indonesia was named the Dutch East Indies in the days in was a colony of the Netherlands.

information qualifies the couple as a possible subject for several different research questions. With this couple as a case study, I would like to research Dutch colonial collecting in the Dutch East Indies in more detail. The motivation behind colonial collecting is what I want to discover with this paper.

Why did colonialists collect objects from Indonesia? What was their motivation for doing this? Is it the result of a friendly relationship with the inhabitants or does the collection show us the so-called 'superiority' of such people over these inhabitants? Perhaps it does both at the same time? The subject of this paper are the motivations that led to colonial collecting. The afore mentioned literature already gives a few indications of what such a motivation could have been, but it has not been specified or actually researched in any of the works. I think that by understanding a single colonial collector, the majority can be understood better as well. Instead of analyzing the actions of a group of people, a single case study is analyzed. This prevents the automatic assumption of group behaviour in the conclusion of this paper. The lives and collections of Vattier Kraane and his wife are used as a case study. The majority of the sources used for this paper refer to Vattier Kraane and not to Daendels. The research question this paper will focus on is therefore: What motivated Vattier Kraane to collect cultural objects from Indonesia? This question raises a handful of related questions and a lot of ground has to be covered before all of these questions can be answered. In order to accomplish this, the paper is divided in four chapters that each explain a different related topic or question.

Chapter 1 explains the history of Dutch colonialism and emphasises the relationship between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. This chapter answers the simple and direct question: What was Dutch colonialism? This will also provide a good image of the imperial episteme, making it easier to understand and interpret the actions of Vattier Kraane. A term that will be used in the chapter is 'colonial cultures' and this deserves some explanation here. A colonial culture is the result of the collaboration between the colonizer and the colonized. A European culture can have a certain colonial culture that it applies to all colonies, but in practice a single country behaves differently in each of its colonies. A colonial culture can be seen as the way a colonizer keeps the colonies under control, which can also change over time. This mentality of the imperialist era or episteme is perfectly explained by Said's work *Orientalism*. This book explains that the term orientalism, or the orient, can be interpreted in three ways⁹. As for the first two, orientalism was an academic field and a style.

⁹ Said 1977, p. 3.

This style can be applied to a painting, a piece of furniture and even to clothing. The academic field studied both the countries and cultures associated with the orient. The third interpretation is a manner in which Europeans behave themselves towards non-Europeans. They dominate, restructure, educate and 'rightfully' have authority over non-Europeans. This third explanation is very recognizable in all of the colonial cultures and should be kept in mind while reading this paper.

The usage of the term tropics in the Netherlands is a good illustration of the Dutch colonial culture in Indonesia. Even nowadays the word tropics is still much in use. The Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam has the word tropics in its name and some Dutch proverbs or phrases contain this word. In the imperial era the word tropics was used in a way comparable to the word orient as explained by Said. The tropics indicated a geographical area with a tropical climate. Tropics could be applied to a certain style, even of writing. Writing in the *tropenstijl* indicated a aggressive style of writing in journalism, containing incriminations towards competitor journalists for example¹⁰. The tropics could also indicate an academic area of study, or a discourse. A certain image of these cultures, or a biased opinion so to say, was created by the people who used this term to indicate these tropical cultures. A tropical culture or country was expected to be less developed in technology than the Dutch culture. This could be explained to the hot, tropical, climate which would make the inhabitants slow. A tropical country or culture contains a lot of 'wild' nature, indicating that mankind has not yet tamed the surrounding. The resulting image is that a tropical country is a hazardous and (or adventurous) place inhabited by underdeveloped people. This refers to Said's third interpretation of the term orient because a less developed culture would be rightfully governed by a more developed culture (the Netherlands) in the eyes of the inhabitants of imperial Europe.

Chapter 2 explains what colonial collecting is and it will also discuss some examples in order to give an insight into its possible motivations. This chapter will focus on collecting practices in order to answer several other questions: What is colonial collecting and what motivated collectors to collect in the colonies? Naturally, some examples of colonial collectors will be given to illustrate these motivations. These will mostly be Dutch colonial collectors.

The 3rd chapter of this thesis describes the lives of Vattier Kraane and his wife. To take a closer look at the Dutch East Indies and see what motivated colonial collecting, Vattier

¹⁰ Drooglever 2006, p. 97.

Kraane is an excellent example. This man has been of great influence in both the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies as he was involved in the erection of several companies and agencies in both areas. Vattier Kraane was also known for his collection. This consisted of hundreds of objects such as books, paintings and applied arts. Only a small part of this collection contained objects that came from or were in some way connected to Indonesia. He collected ethnographical from the Dutch East Indies and these items are called the colonial collection in this paper. Collecting ethnographic items was made possible for Vattier Kraane due to his activities, for which he travelled much and spend a great deal of time in the Dutch East Indies. Françoise Jacoba Daendels also collected ethnographical objects. Vattier Kraane has led an interesting life filled with travel and trade. It will be interesting to take a closer look at his personal life. The end of his life coincided with the official ending of the colonial period, in this final period he was one of the last still alive to have seen the Netherlands as an empire. This chapter also contains some images or photographs of Vattier Kraane and his wife. These have been included in order to give a more accurate image of Vattier Kraane. Theories on 'meaning construction' and symbolism are used to explain these images. These will also be applied to the collections of Vattier Kraane and Daendels in the next chapter. Records and archives have been researched for this chapter. Some of the photographs are from internet databases but most of the archival research has been done in the National Archives in The Hague. The information found there provided the information needed for an accurate description of Vattier Kraane's life.

Chapter 4 will focus on the collections of Vattier Kraane and his wife more closely. In this chapter, some of the objects will be discussed in detail to illustrate the theories that have been mentioned before. Only a small portion of the collection is shown in this paper. The examples that have been chosen are those I found most representative for the entire collection. These collections do have a story to tell and the only way to indicate this is to show some of the objects it contained. This 'story' has to be explained because it can show us the intentions of the collectors. What their colonial collections meant to them and how they presented themselves can reveal what motivated the collectors in the first place.

In the conclusion, the main question 'What motivated Vattier Kraane to collect cultural objects from Indonesia?' shall be answered and all the information will be put together. I think that researching a single Dutch colonial collector can lead to new facts that are overlooked when researching a larger group, adding to the discourse instead of just confirming it. There is always more to be researched and even though colonial collecting as a subject is very specific and narrowed down, I think researching it shall continue for a long

time. Both colonialism and collecting in general are difficult terms to understand which makes the combination of the two even more difficult to comprehend. This paper not only seeks to answer the main question, but it also gives an insight in the past. Is imperialism a thing of the past or not? If writing about our colonial history explains contemporary events in politics, how can we claim that the age of imperialism is over?

Chapter 1: The Dutch Colonial Empire

From roughly 1600 to 1950, the European countries started to become colonial empires that together covered the known world. The Netherlands too, was shaped into an empire with dominion over many colonies. Table 1 shows how much land and people the Netherlands and other prominent European countries had acquired in 1939. The countries that are shown are those that can be considered as the major empires in this era. Other countries, such as Portugal, Spain, Belgium, Germany and America, have not been included because they are too remotely connected to the final subject of this paper.

Table 1. Britain, France and the Netherlands in 1939 ¹¹

	Britain	France	Netherlands
Area <i>(1000 km²)</i>	243.5	550.6	34.2
Population <i>(Millions)</i>	45.4	42	8.5
Area of colonies <i>(1000 km²)</i>	33929	11137	2046
Population of colonies <i>(Millions)</i>	470	65	66

When the Netherlands is looked at as an empire, some differences and prominent aspects are clearly visible, especially when compared to Britain and France. The numbers shown in the table above show that the amount of km² of the native country and the colonies is fewer in comparison to France and Britain. The colonies of the Netherlands were densely populated suggesting they would most likely earn the country more money¹². Also, a major part of the Dutch colonies had been obtained through warfare with other European countries. The Dutch Asian territories for example were taken from Portugal in an early stage of the

¹¹ MacQueen 2007, p. 26.

¹² A logical conclusion following the fact that most income produced in colonies in general was based and at least partly dependent upon the cheap manual labour of the native inhabitants.

colonial era¹³. Another aspect of the Dutch colonies becomes clear when table 1 is more closely studied. The people living in the colonies greatly outnumbered the inhabitants of the Netherlands itself, as was also the case with British empire. A large army was apparently not needed to keep the colonies in check. All of this information suggests the Netherlands were able to exploit their colonies more efficiently and less costly. Another difference is that some colonial areas of the Dutch empire do not meet the requirements of an actual colony. A good example is the isle of Decima in Japan. This is an unique example in the Dutch imperial history and it deserves some attention here because it shows an important aspect of the Dutch colonial culture.

The island was not a colony but rather a trading post, something completely different. Japan was closed off for the rest of the world, except for the Dutch who were allowed on a camp called Decima. It was a tiny location measuring 125 meters on one side and 75 meters on the other. The few people that were allowed on Decima lived under supervision and had to follow strict rules. This situation lasted until Japan was forced to open its borders in 1853. Decima has often been compared to a dungeon by those who lived there¹⁴. The fact that the Dutch were the only people with access to Japanese objects gave the Dutch a monopoly on these items. Such a position was considered worth the price of the often humiliating circumstances of Decima. It is especially important to understand the difference between this situation and the manner in which the actual colonies were interacted with. Batavia, now Jakarta, was a more standard colonized area. There was no humiliation there for the Dutch, instead they ruled with a colonial culture that must have been severe for its inhabitants. While Decima meant humiliation for the Netherlands, simultaneously, ships filled with soldiers were sent to Batavia¹⁵. This diversity within a single colonial culture shows how the Dutch adapted to the local situations abroad: where they could colonize, they colonized; where they couldn't they tried to establish trading relations. This chapter explores how the Netherlands had become such an adaptive colonizer in the 20th century. Dutch colonialism started several hundred years before but this chapter will begin in the early 19th century when the Netherlands were occupied by Napoleon Bonaparte.

1.1 The 19th century

¹³ MacQueen 2007, p. 10.

¹⁴ Legêne 1998, p. 42-45.

¹⁵ Legêne 1998, p. 51.

Willem Frederik, Prince of Orange-Nassau (1772-1843) was exiled but used his status to secure his future throne. When the war was over and his position of King of the Netherlands was confirmed, he decided to forgive the Dutch for intermingling with the French oppressors¹⁶. This act seems to illustrate an important aspect of the ruling of the man who would be known from 1813 onwards as King William I. This man has played a vital role in how the Netherlands interacted with its colonies. The period of King William I's reign, from 1815 to 1840, was filled with many political affairs and decisions, both abroad and within the Netherlands itself. Many things that had been changed in the Netherlands due, to the rule of Napoleon, had to be reorganized during the reign of William I. He was not necessarily a very forgiving or merciful ruler, but rather a very practical and analytical king. He was above all known as the 'Merchant King', both during his life and still to this day¹⁷. This reflects upon his desire to make money during his reign and he has been known to keep this money for himself with the intent of having a treasury that can be used for investing in his kingdom, including the colonies. This gave William I a great amount of power and influence.

One of such investments was the *Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* or Dutch Trading-Company that was founded and funded in 1824 by William I but not instigated by him. This company was established by Herman Muntinghe (1773-1827) who was commissioned by the King to research the decline in trade between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies. This company is only one of many examples that confirm William I's influence on the Netherlands and its colonies. Muntinghe knew the Dutch East Indies well because of his position in the *Raad van Indië*, the Council of India that governed this colony. William I trusted him and decided to invest money from his treasury.

The colonial rule was put to the test in 1823¹⁸, when the governor general¹⁹ of the Dutch East Indies, Godert Alexander Gerard Philip van der Capellen (1778-1848)²⁰, came up with a rule that directly affected the income of Javanese²¹ royalty. This angered the already upset local prince Diponegoro, who convinced the native population to rebel against the Dutch rule. Not only did he openly defy the Dutch; he acted as a Islamic messiah who could lead his people in a religious conquest. This started what was called the Java-war, which caused several armed conflicts between those who followed Diponegoro on one side, and the

¹⁶ Aletrino 1959, p. 52.

¹⁷ Aletrino 1959, p. 56.

¹⁸ Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 109.

¹⁹ A governor general of the Dutch East Indies ruled the colony and the direct area's surrounding the Dutch East Indies in the name of Dutch royal house. Usually a governor general is appointed for several years.

²⁰ Godert van der Capellen was governor general from 1816 until 1826.

²¹ Java is one of the more populated islands of Indonesia and the Dutch colonial city Batavia, now known as Jakarta, was established there.

European, though mostly Dutch, military forces on the other side. The Java-war lasted until the 'arrest' of Diponegoro in 1830²². He was arrested while negotiating with Dutch authorities, an act that was usually considered dishonourable, but was now excusable. Most likely because it concerned the leader of a rebellion in a colony. Apparently, the people living in a colony were seen as lesser human beings, either less important or 'not as evolved as Europeans'.

This way of thinking has been written down by Charles Darwin (1809-1882) in 1871 in his legendary work 'The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex'. Darwin compares the natives he encounters with wild animals²³. The fact that Darwin considered himself to be better because he was born and raised in a culturally further evolved society, namely in Europe, later spawned theories that can now be labelled as social Darwinism²⁴. It is safe to assume that this image was already on everyone's mind in 1830 since it could explain why Diponegoro and those who followed him were treated without respect. The rebels were struck down violently and the consequences of the Java-war also caused many innocent inhabitants to die. The Dutch rule was re-established by an overpowering military force which made the hierarchy in the Dutch East Indies clear to all who lived there. The colonial culture of the Netherlands in this period can be seen as military oppression in order to secure the possession of the colony itself.

William I was succeeded by his son Willem Frederik George Lodewijk (1792-1849), King William II in 1840²⁵. Even though William I's successors had a less direct influence on Dutch colonial culture, their rule still affected the Dutch colonial culture. William II was reputedly very gentlemanlike; he also became known for his military achievements. He participated in the Battle of Waterloo with the English army in 1815, where he had been wounded by a gunshot to the shoulder which only served to complete his image as a war-hero. Concerning his colonial rule; a few years after his ascension, it became clear that the Dutch colonies had not been as profitable as had been expected. Before 1843 a lot of money had been invested in the colonies; this money had been used to pay off the Dutch national debt, causing the colonies to have a debt of 134 million guilders²⁶. This financial problem was solved in an unusual way, which included donations by the Dutch peoples. An act that would

²² Driehuisen 2012, p. 113.

²³ "These men were absolutely naked and bedaubed with paint, their long hair was tangled, their mouths frothed with excitement, and their expression was wild, startled, and distrustful." A quote of Darwin from: Connelly 1995, p. 15.

²⁴ Social Darwinism is the belief that any culture evolves, just as an animal would. Eventually all cultures, either technological or morally, into a culture comparable to that of European countries.

²⁵ Aletrino 1959, p. 85.

²⁶ Aletrino 1959, p. 136.

most likely not have been executed as such by William I. This made the Dutch people aware of the financial situation, giving them the opportunity to invest and interfere.

The most important act of William II is the change in the Dutch constitution of 1848 that allowed the Netherlands to become a constitutional monarchy. The social revolutions that were happening in Europe made the power of royalty a very difficult subject and changes had to be made in more countries than just the Netherlands. The royal house now had to share its power with the States-General and new laws would now have to be approved by a majority of its ministers. In theory, the King was still the supreme commander of the Dutch armies and also kept the reign over the colonies²⁷. In practice, both the army and the reign over the colonies were now in the hands of the States-General. Ever since this change in the constitution, the rule in the colonies was not solely decided by the Dutch royal house. William II deceased a year later and was succeeded by his son Willem Alexander Paul Frederik Lodewijk (1817-1890), King William III in 1849. William III was not as popular as his predecessor and is mostly remembered as the king that solidified the constitutional monarchy by his long rule of 41 years²⁸.

In the second half of the 19th century, there was a growing concern that the Dutch army would not be able to protect the Dutch East Indies.²⁹ Very little was done about this problem by the States-General which led to the discontentment of the inhabitants of the Indonesia; no one wanted another Java-war. An early example of this was ventilated by a member of the Lower House or *Tweede Kamer*, Wolter Robert van Hoëvell (1812-1879). Van Hoëvell had been a preacher in Batavia and asked William III what he had done to improve the lives of the local people in the Dutch East Indies³⁰. By asking this question directly to the King, Van Hoëvell implied that the Indonesian people were discontent with their lives; a fact that started a long discussion involving not only politicians in the Netherlands but also its civilians. The novel *Max Havelaar* written by Eduard Douwes Dekker (1820-1887), published in 1860, attests to this and it is not surprising that Dekker and Van Hoëvell are known to have been friends.

In the Dutch East Indies, a new reign called the *economische politiek* or economical policy started in 1870. This policy was initiated in order to reduce the amount of military forces needed to keep other countries at bay who also wanted to exploit the resources of the

²⁷ Aletrino, p. 144.

²⁸ Aletrino, p. 228.

²⁹ Drooglever 2006, p. 57-58.

³⁰ Aletrino 1959, p. 191. The exact words Van Hoëvell said were: 'Wat hebt gij gedaan tot bevordering van het materiële en morele geluk van het Indische volk?'

Dutch East Indies. Companies from all over the world, European, Asian and American, were allowed in the Dutch East Indies. This made the colony prosper in a way that was very profitable for the Netherlands. Because of the already existing trade relations between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies, and the fact that the Dutch still ruled over the colony, the Dutch had a serious economical advantage over the other countries. The only downside of this economical policy was that the Indonesian labourers, known as the koelies, were expected to work in greater numbers. The koelies³¹ were more or less treated and thought of as slaves by the European companies. The penal sanctions are proof of this. A penal sanction was a punishment that was meant to keep the labourers working properly. These were mostly physical punishments and now such acts are recognized as abominable or inhumanely cruel. For the koelies and the companies they worked for, these penal sanctions were not unusual at all. Later in the 19th century this form of punishment was carried out less and less, and also mostly in areas that were known to be rebellious or insurgent. One of such areas was Sumatra where the Dutch army waged a war against the Aceh sultanate that started in the second half of the 19th century and lasted several decades. During this period, the inhabitants of the Netherlands slowly became aware of these troubling issues in the Dutch East Indies. These sentiments were more influential in the 20th century when the so-called ethical policy came into existence.

1.2 The early 20th century

In the Dutch East Indies, the 20th century began pretty much the same as the 19th had ended. The Dutch army still fought in the regions around Aceh; therefore, the Dutch colonial culture in Indonesia was still branded as warlike and oppressive. The Dutch royal house was represented by the young Queen Wilhelmina (1880-1962), who is not remembered for her efforts concerning the colonies, but rather as the Queen who supported the Netherlands during the WWII. However, in the Queen's speech of 1901, she did make very clear that the Netherlands were morally, or ethically, indebted to the Dutch East Indies³². The Queen expressed what had been on many people's minds at that time: the colonial culture the Dutch displayed in Indonesia had to change, and the Dutch would have to atone for their violent and oppressive actions. Wilhelmina officially announced what would later be called the ethical

³¹ The use of the term koelies in this paper is not meant as an offense to the Indonesian labourer but merely as an indication.

³² Drooglever 2006, p. 60.

policy, or *ethische politiek*, which slowly seeped into the colony and became clear to its inhabitants.

This ethical policy can be recognized in the growing number of non-European newspapers in Indonesia. Dutch newspapers had been present there ever since the second half of the 19th century. Most of these magazines or newspapers were written in Dutch, meant for Dutch readers and the property of Dutch companies or agencies. Competition existed amongst the publishers and writers of such papers, and the distribution of the copies themselves was difficult due to the colony's size and infrastructure³³. In the 20th century some of these newspapers were also published for non-Europeans, giving them with at least a degree of Dutch censorship, a way to share and compare opinions publicly. This made the Indonesians more aware of their rights, forcing the government of the Dutch East Indies to bear in mind more and more the wishes and demands of the Indonesian people. Education for children and adults was established in the early 20th century. The colonizer was expected to educate the colonized in order to prepare them for the future in which the Dutch East Indies were expected to, some day, operate independently of the Netherlands³⁴.

This situation gave the Indonesian people more and more insight in the world politics in which they were but a pawn. It became even more clear during the first world war and it should come as no surprise that an Indonesian folk council was established in 1918. The council was given more competencies by the governor-general Johan Paul count of Limburg Stirum (1873-1948) in that year. The common belief was that the Dutch should realize a relationship with the Indonesian people that had to be based on loyalty and mutual respectability³⁵. These changes made the Dutch East Indies as a colony more and more unstable and its inhabitants, both European and Indonesian, nervous. Many people feared that if the Dutch East Indies were to be left on their own, other colonial powers or upcoming military powers (such as Japan) would soon invade it. In the Netherlands some politicians or influential people, including the governor-generals, either supported this increasing independence or actively opposed it. This created a political tension that would last for several decades. To label the antagonists of the independence of the Dutch East Indies as immoral or to condemn them by saying their actions are unfair or inhumane is wrong³⁶. In fact, a lot can

³³ Drooglever 2006, p. 95-96.

³⁴ Drooglever 2006, p. 62.

³⁵ Drooglever 2006, p. 66.

³⁶ It is in fact an anachronism. Based on the theory that these decisions were made in a different episteme, those who opposed Indonesia's freedom might even have seen themselves as humane; considering that they thought Indonesia would fall into disarray as soon as the Dutch would stop governing it.

be said about their arguments and concerns for an independent Indonesia; was the country, or the world for that matter, ready for it?

Circumstances in the Dutch East Indies were at the end of WWI more humane than they had been in the hundred years before. Slave trade had been abolished long ago; penal sanctions were more and more regarded as a thing of the past; the Indonesian folk council gave its inhabitants a certain amount of freedom already and military actions had become rare in the last decade. The protagonist of Indonesia's independence were seen as hyper ethics or hypocrites³⁷. It was impossible to just leave the colony for what it was, without taking responsibility for the negative consequences this would have had on the native Indonesians. As a result indistinct (or hypocritical) measures were undertaken by the Dutch government. For example; in 1922 Dutch constitutional law was changed in order to grant Indonesia more freedom. The Dutch East Indies were no longer recognized as a possession of the Netherlands. This can be seen as a step towards an autonomous Indonesia, but in practice it meant that the Indonesian folk council was now expected to take care of internal affairs while the country was still being regarded as a colony. In effect, this meant a continuation of Dutch rule, but on terms that were more profitable for the Netherlands. It seems that the Dutch authorities were not ready to leave its colony.

In the 1930s, the threat of war was not only present in Europe, but also in its colonies. In the beginning of this decade, Japan was considered to be the most influential economical force in Asia. When Japan started to spend its money more and more on military forces and it became apparent that the country was willing to use this force in order to expand its borders, an outcry for a stronger and larger army was made by the folk council in the Dutch East Indies³⁸. This caused a discussion instead of an immediate response amongst the Dutch ministers. The general opinion was that a Dutch army or fleet in the Dutch East Indies was meant to secure the area as a colony of the Netherlands, not to protect it in times of war. To expand this army would be costly, and it was unclear whether the Netherlands or Indonesia³⁹ was going to pay for these costs. In the end, the Netherlands would not agree to support an army that consisted of non-Europeans and a blind eye was turned towards the shortcomings⁴⁰. Japan occupied the Indonesia for several years. After the WWII, the Netherlands tried to re-establish control to no avail and another speech by Queen Wilhelmina in 1949 announced the

³⁷ Drooglever 2006, p. 67.

³⁸ Drooglever 2006, p. 76-77.

³⁹ Which was in accordance with the increasing independence of the Dutch East Indies.

⁴⁰ Drooglever 2006, p. 87-92.

sovereignty of Indonesia. Wilhelmina mentioned a national regret and hoped that both countries would be able to treat each other respectfully⁴¹.

1.3 Changing colonial culture

The 19th century can be seen as a time wherein the Netherlands established itself as an empire. King William I included the colonies in his policy and treated them as more important than just a colony. The Dutch East Indies were seen as an important part of the Netherlands that had to remain under control and which could be used to present the Netherlands as an empire⁴². In the 20th century, political instability in Europe and Dutch national feelings of guilt towards the Dutch East Indies would slowly lead to Indonesia's independence. The Dutch East Indies might have turned into an independent country over several decades, but this process was sped up sincerely due to the occupation of Japan and the lack of Dutch control over its colonies. As can be seen, the colonial culture in the Dutch East Indies and the Dutch colonial rule had changed profoundly. When the 19th and 20th century Dutch imperialism is looked at as an episteme⁴³, it becomes clear that this too changes and that the same habits and practices could not be continued for very long. According to Foucault an episteme and its discourses would cumulate in an abrupt ending of the old episteme and beginning of a new one⁴⁴. Perhaps the imperialist episteme was also building up to such a change in order to change abruptly and bring new ideas. The actual independence of Indonesia was set in motion by WWII, but the increasingly unstable political situation in Indonesia and the aversive attitude of its inhabitants towards the Dutch would have lead to its independence one way or another.

⁴¹ Jans 1980, p. 95.

⁴² Legêne 1989, p. 14.

⁴³ According to Foucault's strict philosophy, the imperialist era cannot be labelled as an episteme. The imperial era does have some properties of an episteme and I think, as have many critics on Foucault, that proper usage of his terminology include the adaptation to one's own ideas or theories. Criticism on Michel Foucault is not uncommon, as can be read in Sean Burke's work *The Death and Return of the Author* of 1992, which criticizes Foucault's infinitesimal role of the individual. Adaptation is not uncommon either as can be read by Bernard van Huffel and Paul Sambre's *Michel Foucault: Een voortdurend Proces* of 2012.

⁴⁴ Foucault 1966, p. 21.

Chapter 2: Dutch Colonial Collecting

The Dutch colonial history described in chapter one is filled with colonial collecting. The collecting of objects such as art, naturalia or artificialia had been known throughout Europe for several hundred years. Collecting foreign objects had also been a part of this. In the 19th century, the collecting of exotic objects that originated from a colony became more and more popular. Many objects were brought home by the people who travelled to these colonies and several agencies such as museums were instigated in this century in order to house these objects. This chapter explains how colonial collecting could be motivated by several different factors. The advancement of knowledge seems to have been the most widespread motivation for colonial collecting, but there have only been a few collectors who collected purely for scientific reasons. There have been many other motivations as well as will be made clear in this chapter. The motivations described in this chapter are not what can only be described as personal motivations. Such motivations imply sentiments towards the culture that is collected from and presumably everyone who collected had some personal connection to what was collected. This chapter seeks to describe what type of motivations there have been besides these personal motivations. One motivation does not exclude the other and it seems a collector often had several motivations to collect. To determine which was most prominent for Vattier Kraane and his wife, it is necessary to research other collectors in the 19th and 20th century to see why they collected and what happened with their collections.

2.1 The advancement of knowledge

The possession of ethnographical objects was widely recognized as being a key element when studying the cultures of the colonies in the 19th and early 20th century. The idea that such objects were needed to stimulate science which in turn supported a countries welfare, grew in more countries than just the Netherlands. Prestige due to ethnographic knowledge amongst the European countries and its rulers⁴⁵ can also be seen as a motivation. This made ethnographic objects valuable. William I took a personal interest and bought many objects from several collectors. An early example of such a collector is Philip Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796-1866). Von Siebold was born in Germany, but eventually ended up as doctor in

⁴⁵ Effert 2008, p. 26.

Japan working for the Dutch government⁴⁶. When he arrived in Batavia in 1822, he was soon offered a position as a doctor in Decima. Van der Capellen, the governor general of the Dutch East Indies, even allowed Von Siebold to purchase what he needed to research the Japanese culture, and he was allowed some freedom of movement in Japan⁴⁷. He soon gained the reputation as a legendary doctor⁴⁸ and he also gained many students and friends during the time he spent in Japan. He used his contacts to acquire a great many ethnographical objects and books⁴⁹. In 1829, Japanese officials heard of Siebold's collection. When they found out it contained several items deemed forbidden to leave Japan, Siebold was exiled. Nevertheless, his perseverance and good reputation made it possible to take most of his objects back to the Netherlands.

In 1830, William I agreed to buy his ethnographical collection for 60,000 guilders and he was offered an advance payment of 12,000 guilders⁵⁰. In comparison: a doctor in Decima in 1818 would earn 4000 guilders per year⁵¹. The ethnographical part of this collection consisted of approximately 5000 objects. It also contained thousands of animals and samples of plants from Japan. The ethnographical collection was eventually purchased in 1837 for 58,500 guilders. The collection was to be put on display in Leiden in several buildings and led to the establishment of the *Rijks Ethnographisch Museum* or the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden in 1864⁵². Von Siebold's collection was seen as an excellent collection which could be extensively researched⁵³. The advancement of knowledge must have been an very important motivation for Von Siebold. What also becomes clear is that a lot of money was involved in these matters.

Academic interest in the cultures of the Dutch East Indies was set in motion by Thomas Stamford Raffles(1781-1826) who started to publish works on its history and culture⁵⁴. Willem I responded to this new interest by setting up the *Koninklijke Kabinet der Zeldzaamheden* or the Royal Cabinet of Rarities in 1816 in The Hague. Initially, this cabinet contained what was left of the collection of Stadtholder William V (1748-1806), but the majority of the collection was formed later and eventually contained a lot of different objects;

⁴⁶ Kouwenhoven 2000, p. 13.

⁴⁷ Effert 2000, p. 120.

⁴⁸ This was mostly because his medicinal knowledge had been more detailed in some area's than that of his Japanese colleagues.

⁴⁹ Kouwenhoven 2000, p 26.

⁵⁰ Kouwenhoven 2000, p. 48 & Effert 2008, p. 128.

⁵¹ Effert 2008, p. 91.

⁵² Kouwenhoven 2000, p. 102.

⁵³ Effert 2008, p. 133.

⁵⁴ Sir Thomas Raffles was the English governor general who was in charge of the Dutch East Indies at the beginning of the 19th century when the Netherlands were occupied.

among them a great many ethnographic objects. The first director of this cabinet, R.P. van de Kastelee (unknown), encouraged the collecting of ethnographic objects in colonies⁵⁵. This was especially stressed to Van der Capellen in 1819 because the cabinet contained very few objects that hailed from the Dutch East Indies.⁵⁶

By funding several projects or museums, William I also promoted the development of collections and academic fields based on them. During his reign, he spent 312,000 guilders on the acquisition of ethnographic collections alone, this is comparable to an amount of money between 3 or 4 million euro⁵⁷. The Royal Cabinet of Rarities seemed to have lost its scientific or academic character over the years of its existence. An inventory of the objects in the collection meant as a visitor's guide was deemed sub-standard and very un-academic in 1876 and has even been publicly ridiculed⁵⁸. The Cabinet of Rarities was disbanded in 1883 and its objects were dispersed among several museums or institutions. William I had inspired the Dutch to purchase more objects abroad but it seems that the Royal Cabinet of Rarities eventually ended up as an attraction that amused the masses, which failed to add either to financial or academic improvement. The ethnographic objects were given to the National Museum of Ethnography in Leiden. This museum was founded in 1838.

2.2 Commercialism

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines commercialism as "the attitude or actions of people who are influenced too strongly by the desire to earn money or buy goods rather than by any other values"⁵⁹. The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as either "Emphasis on the maximizing of profit" or "Concern with the making of profit at the expense of artistic or other value"⁶⁰. With commercialism as a motivation for colonial collecting an ambiguity in the motivation for collecting is suggested. Improving trade relations by getting to know the colonies cultures may seem like academic research, but it was often done in order to make more money. The same can be said about those that collected and sold their collection afterwards; this was done in the name of science but in practice the goal was to make money. In the Netherlands there are some agencies that have commercialism as primary motivation for being involved with the Dutch East Indies.

⁵⁵ Effert 2008, p. 4-11.

⁵⁶ Effert 2008, p. 34.

⁵⁷ Effert 2008, p. 29.

⁵⁸ Effert 2008, p. 47.

⁵⁹ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/commercialism> (29 March 2015).

⁶⁰ <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/commercialism> (29 March 2015).

It seems that William I was prepared to spend more money on such collections than the Dutch government wanted to spend later. He also bought many collections comparable to that of Von Siebold such as the collections of Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779-1853) and Jan Frederik van Overmeer Fisscher (1800-1848). Collections from the Dutch East Indies were usually smaller than Von Siebold's Japanese collection. Later in the 19th and especially in the 20th century, it became generally accepted that such collections should be donated or sold more cheaply. For example, the collection of Salomon Müller (1804-1863) contained 574 ethnographic objects and was sold for 4000 guilders to the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*⁶¹ or the Royal Institute for Anthropology, Linguistics and Social Sciences in approximately 1860⁶². The 4000 guilders paid for Müller's collection were considered to be a very fair price for those objects.

The *Koninklijke Hollandsche Maatschappij der Wetenschappen* or the Royal Dutch Company of Sciences situated in Haarlem was erected to research the culture of the Dutch East Indies. This company started to take an interest in what was called the tropics in 1833. This company published a magazine in which the tropics were increasingly mentioned from 1833 and onwards. Frederik Willem van Eeden (1829-1901) worked for this company in 1864, he realized that many Dutch people in the Netherlands had a small collection of tropical or colonial objects which became less and less important over time and Van Eeden proposed that these objects should be housed in a museum, and Van Eeden was allowed to house this collection in pavilion Welgelegen in Haarlem. Van Eeden relied on donations, mostly consisting of objects but also monetary. Eventually he collected many items on which he spend very little money. These items were put on display in what was first called the *Koloniaal Museum*. In the 20th century, this colonial museum was moved to Amsterdam, renamed the *Tropenmuseum* and was also closely related to the *Koninklijke Instituut voor de Tropen* or the Royal Tropical Institute. This institute plays a major role regarding colonial collecting in the 20th century⁶³.

The ethical policy forced many people and agencies to either recognize the importance of Indonesia's independence or ignore it. Trade flourished at the end of the 19th century, but the times were changing in the 20th. In Leiden for example many advocated the future independence of the Dutch East Indies. The colonial museum in Haarlem was still mostly concerned with improving the trade relations by researching the objects of industry, such as

⁶¹ This institute prepared and educated people who were going to the colonies.

⁶² Effert 2008, p. 180.

⁶³ Jans 1980, p. 12-16.

textile, and testing its quality. Exhibitions were organized where these results and new ideas concerning the use of imported objects were presented⁶⁴. The political point of view regarding Indonesia's independence of this museum, or its governing institute for that matter, became clear in 1913 when the museum was renamed the *handelsmuseum* or trademuseum⁶⁵. The museum was mostly interested in promoting trade which more or less meant that they had to be opponents of the independence of the Dutch East Indies⁶⁶. However, the colonial institute governing this museum did also invest in the Dutch East Indies.

Commercialism has been a very important motivation for these agencies or collectors, but once again it is difficult to declare this had been the only reason. Commercialism is an ambiguous motivation because it implies that making money is the primary goal. Selling collections for large sums of money became unusual in the 20th century and agencies such as museums or institutes were expected to move with the times as well. The ethical policy made commercialism as a motivation for colonial collecting look bad; the Dutch involved would be stereotyped as heartless businessmen⁶⁷. Commercialism seems to have overshadowed academic research for many collectors. This is illustrated by Conrad Leemans (1809-1894) who was commissioned to evaluate and gather collections for the ethnographic museum in Leiden⁶⁸. Leemans made a constant effort to remind the collectors of the importance of the scientific character of the items they collected⁶⁹. His perseverance suggests that many collectors were mostly in it for the money or perhaps for another ulterior motive, but not for the advancement of knowledge.

2.3 Expanding the ethnographic frontier

Military expeditions or battles between the Dutch and the inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies have been executed or fought on many occasions in the years that Indonesia was a Dutch colony. Many objects have also been collected or looted by soldiers who wanted to bring back a momentum or souvenir. The same can be said about those who led these expeditions; some of them have collected extensively. Academics often asked military leaders to donate objects that originated from unknown territories and cultures, which again suggests that these people collected for the advancement of knowledge. The phrase 'expanding the ethnographic

⁶⁴ Jans 1980, p. 33.

⁶⁵ Jans 1980, p. 48.

⁶⁶ Making the Dutch East Indies independent can be seen as a costly matter all in itself. Furthermore, trade relations could be expected to deteriorate.

⁶⁷ The case study of this paper, Vattier Kraane, might be seen as a heartless businessman by some. I hope that this paper shows that such stereotyping is an anachronism.

⁶⁸ <http://www.dwc.knaw.nl/DL/levensberichten/PE00001509.pdf> (29 march 2015).

⁶⁹ Effert 2008, p. 187.

frontier⁷⁰ was often used to indicate such examples where the military could support academic research. As it turns out, academic research could also be used to support military expeditions. This gives an entirely different view of military leaders that collected ethnographic objects in the Dutch East Indies; the information they gathered could be used to better know their enemy which might help them win their battles. A military motivation should therefore also be recognized and described in this chapter.

From 1899 until 1904, the governor general of the Dutch East Indies was Willem Rooseboom (1843-1920). During his governorship, two military expeditions were sent to Gayo and Alas which lie in the Aceh region. These expeditions were led by C.G.E. van Daalen (1863-1930), who was known to take an interest in the Indonesian culture, which made him fit to lead this military expedition. Van Daalen was known as an honourable man when it came to warfare and collecting items. He forbade the looting of corpses and made an effort to obtain his collection in a respectful manner. The same thing cannot be said about most military collections since many of the objects were stolen, looted or simply confiscated⁷¹. Apparently, it was expected of him to collect ethnographical objects ethically while striking down the Acehnese guerrilla forces, another example of the aforementioned hypocrisy or rather the duality of governing colonies in the European imperialist era. The belief that his knowledge of Aceh would help him in his counter-guerrilla military mission was also a reason to send Van Daalen as a military leader. Van Daalen, due to his ethnological background, would be able to fight the Acehnese more effectively. He knew which ethnographical objects were worthwhile and he was also expanding the borders of the colony. He encountered forces that fought him with a devotion he found admirable and nearly 3000 Acehnese lost their lives during these military expeditions⁷². Van Daalen collected several hundred items that were later divided and donated to the ethnological museum in Leiden, the military academy in Breda and the ethnological museum in Rotterdam which was founded in 1883.

2.4 Elitism

In this paper elitism is the desire or strive to become and remain a part of the elite and the term elite is interpreted as those who lead others and have authority over others⁷³. Elitism can be recognized as a motivation for colonial collecting as well. As has already been described,

⁷⁰ Buschmann 2009, p. 5.

⁷¹ Ter Keurs 2007, p. 145.

⁷² Ter Keurs 2007, p. 115-117.

⁷³ Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 10.

this could also be true for royalty such as William I who funded and stimulated collecting and academic research not in the least to impress royalty of other countries. Elitism was at least one of his motivations.

Collecting in the Dutch East Indies was an activity that almost all colonizers participated in during the history described in this paper. These people were mostly Dutch, but they identified themselves as European⁷⁴. A European was expected to retain his European character and personality, even though he or she spend several years in the colony. Taking over too much of the local cultures was seen as dangerous; no one wanted to be accused of becoming too much like an Indonesian because this meant losing the European identity. In the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, it became more and more difficult for the Europeans in Indonesia to feel at ease⁷⁵. This must have been connected to the political difficulties that arose in Indonesia at that time, making the Europeans more and more aware of their unfair and often cruel colonial culture. Also, there seems to have been some sort of rivalry amongst Europeans in the Dutch East Indies. This resulted in a condition that was labelled as nervousness which seemingly was more common amongst women. The remedy for this nervousness was to visit the native country for a short time as a sort of vacation, or to just return home.

The Europeans in the Dutch East Indies were known to meet regularly in several clubs or societies such as the Batavian Society of Arts and Science. By being prominent in these clubs, social mobility had become easier for the Europeans in the Dutch East Indies than it had been at home⁷⁶. In other words, Europeans who lived in the Dutch East Indies had a better chance of becoming part of the elite than they would have had in Europe itself.

Elitism as a motivation can also be applied to the collectors who have already been described. For Von Siebold, elitism seems to have been a factor as well. In 1831, Von Siebold was knighted in the order of the Dutch Lion⁷⁷, this can be seen as a mere formality, but it should not be disregarded. To be knighted was to be recognized as an important person, as part of the elite. Von Siebold had also used his newly gained political influence later in his life to advise the Dutch royal house in political affairs regarding Japan. He even managed to gain access to Japan again in 1859 and remained there until 1862. During this time he collected again and was forced to leave Japan for a second time⁷⁸.

⁷⁴ Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 182.

⁷⁶ Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 24.

⁷⁷ Effert 2008, p. 128. Von Siebold was knighted because he introduced the tea plant in Java.

⁷⁸ Kouwenhoven 2000, p. 92.

2.5 Colonial collecting or colonialism in general?

A motivation for a colonial collector or an agency that collects colonial items can be hard to determine. This chapter makes clear that several motivations can be discerned in most cases. The advancement of knowledge or academic research is often mentioned and it seems to be that usually those who claim to collect for this reason often have another motivation as well. Commercialism, elitism or military reasons; there are a lot of different motivations possible for a colonial collector. What can also be concluded is that the motivations for colonial collecting echo the motivations for colonialism a European country could have. This brings forth the question how much difference there is, or was, between colonial collecting and colonialism in general. The main subject of this paper is Vattier Kraane and it will be interesting to see his motivations to collect in the Dutch East Indies.

Chapter 3: Cornelis George Vattier Kraane (1864-1954); Colonial Collector in the Dutch East Indies

The source material used to research the life and collecting activities of Cornelis George Vattier Kraane in this chapter is diverse. Some biographical information from the website of the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam has been used to illustrate an overview of both Vattier Kraane's and Daendels' lives. Other source materials include an annual account of the Royal Tropical Institute, an overview of the *Nederlandsch-Indische Steenkolen Handel Maatschappij* (NISHM) or the Dutch East Indies Black Coal Trading Company. The overview of the NISHM was written by Vattier Kraane himself, but is a very 'businesslike' report of what the company has done. It is difficult to call this an autobiographical source, even though some personal feelings are ventilated in the book. Other sources include what was present in the *Nationaal Archief* or National Archive in The Hague. Especially these files are diverse in nature. Some are articles in a newspaper that mention Vattier Kraane or even include an interview with him. Other sources were letters written by him or regulations for a company that he was involved in. These sources again show his businesslike attitude and writing style. Many photographs, portraits and other images have been found of Vattier Kraane and his wife. These are taken from the above mentioned archive and also from other archives such as the archive of Amsterdam and the *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie* or the Netherlands Institute for Art History.

The source material is used to give an adequate image of his activities as a colonial collector, but also to provide information on his personal life. In the previous chapter, such personal information regarding the lives of colonial collectors has intentionally been avoided. Not much has been written or published about Vattier Kraane directly, which makes it interesting and more or less necessary to write about his personal life. It is difficult to determine his motivations to collect without digging into this. The source material provides an admirable image of Vattier Kraane's life and hopefully this chapter will provide an accurate image.

3.1 A short biography

Cornelis George Vattier Kraane was born in Harderwijk on the 24th of September in 1864. In the 1880s, after completing a technical education in Rotterdam, he worked for the Holland

America Line⁷⁹ and the *Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland* or the Dutch Steamship Company⁸⁰ as a mechanical engineer. Working for these companies had much influence on his future career since maritime trade and commerce in general would always be the keywords in Vattier Kraane's line of work. He worked for several other maritime companies such as the black coal station at the Sabang bay in Aceh and was appointed director of the *Vriesseveem*⁸¹ in 1907. This activity in the maritime trade led him to organize the *Eerste Nederlandsche Tentoonstelling op Scheepvaartgebied* (the ENTOS) or the First Dutch Exhibition on Shipping in 1913. He also participated in a similar exhibition for aviation and he was a founding member of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam. He was known as a collector and dealer in paintings and artworks and moved to live in Amsterdam in 1907. He was married twice. First to the American E.C.J.R. Briebach (unknown-before 1902) in 1891, and he married again, after his first wife deceased, with Françoise Jacoba Daendels (1871-1950)⁸². There have been some tragedies in his life. He survived his second wife as well and also lost a daughter, Jacoba Georgine Vattier Kraane (1906-1935)⁸³. If anything, it seems to have strengthened him. This suggest an energetic and optimistic character.

Françoise Jacoba Daendels was born in Semarang, Java, and married Vattier Kraane in 1902, when he was working for the black coal station in Sabang⁸⁴. She was related to the governor general Herman Willem Daendels (1762-1818), who was her great uncle⁸⁵. Herman Willem was governor general from 1808-1811⁸⁶ and had been a supporter of Napoleon Bonaparte. As a governor general during this time he had to share his authority in the Dutch East Indies with Thomas Raffles, which might have been a reason for him to reorganize the management in the Dutch East Indies. As said before, King William I would not hold grudges against those who sided with the French at that time. The Daendels family has been active in the military in the Dutch East Indies and can be counted amongst the more important people, or the elite, in the Dutch East Indies.

⁷⁹ The Holland America Line is a company that regulates maritime shipping between Rotterdam and New York since 1871. The company regulated commerce but gradually became known as a company that provided holiday-trips by cruise ship.

⁸⁰ The Dutch Steamship Company regulated maritime shipping between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies from 1870-1970.

⁸¹ The *Vriesseveem* was a storehouse for food which also housed shipments to and from the Dutch East Indies. Vattier Kraane would remain its director until 1929.

⁸² Heijbroek 1999, p. 290-291 & <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/default.aspx?ccid=P3602&lang=> (29 march 2015).

⁸³ <http://gw.geneanet.org/hoffman?lang=nl;p=cornelis+george;n=vattier+kraane> (29 March 2015).

⁸⁴ <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/default.aspx?ccid=P3840&lang=> (29 march 2015).

⁸⁵ <http://gw.geneanet.org/hoffman?lang=nl;p=herman+willem;n=daendels;oc=1> (29 march 2015) &

<http://gw.geneanet.org/hoffman?lang=nl;p=francoise+jacoba;n=daendels> (29 march 2015) &

<http://gw.geneanet.org/hoffman?lang=nl;p=egbert+anthony;n=daendels> (29 march 2015).

⁸⁶ Legêne 1998, p. 52.

In 1938, Vattier Kraane was a physical anthropologist and he has been known for participation in several royalist committees. He has been decorated many times in his life and he was a well known person. He collected fervently and his collection consisted mostly of Dutch paintings which could be visited by appointment. His activities in these many committees and organizations has been perfectly and humorously illustrated in fig. 25. This figure is a drawing in a menu for a dinner that commemorated Vattier Kraane's 70th birthday on the 29th of September 1934. It must have been meant as a comical way to honour him. The fact that such a drawing has been made about him indicates the popularity of Vattier Kraane in 1934. During his life he became known as a busy man who knew how commissions would be operated and how to make money with them. He was invited in many companies and committees due to his experience and he must have been a very skilled organizer. He also showed enthusiasm for charity as he has participated in several committees that served a charitable cause.

3.2 Vattier Kraane the businessman

The cover of the book *25 jaar N.I.S.H.M.: 1914-1939* is a very telling image (fig. 1). It is a drawing of koelies, the Indonesian labourers, wearing coloured skirts and carrying baskets of black coal on their heads while walking towards a Dutch steamship. Five persons are looking at them, two of them black and three of them white. The white people also wear a white suit. What is shown is the bunkering of a ship, which is filling the cargo holds of a ship with fuel (black coal). This could be used as fuel, but also as merchandise. This scene is described in the introduction of the book by M.C. Koning (1873- after 1948⁸⁷) a member of the NISHM at the time of writing. Koning describes the situation on the docks in Indonesia before 1914 when the NISHM was established. Koelies, whom he describes as a lazy folk, would manually carry black coals on ships in the docks at Java. Loading several tons would take a lot of time, especially when more and more ships were in need of bunkering this slow process could cause a congestion at the Javanese docks⁸⁸. Another image from this book (fig. 2) is a photograph that perfectly illustrates this. It was a situation that could most definitely be improved and Vattier Kraane was closely involved in this process.

Koning describes Vattier Kraane as a man with experience in the Dutch East Indies, someone who knows his way around the stock market and above all someone who is accustomed to working with ships. After securing financial support from both the Dutch

⁸⁷ <http://www.kpm1888.nl/Uitlaat/PDF/1948/1948-20.pdf> (29 march 2015).

⁸⁸ Vattier Kraane 1939, p. 7-8.

Trading Company and the Dutch Steamship Company, he was quickly appointed director of the NISHM. This company had the following objectives written in its regulations; It processed, stored and traded black coals, briquettes and water, managed the loading and offloading of ships and also traded or rented ships⁸⁹. In *25 Jaar N.I.S.H.M.: 1914-1939* Vattier Kraane provides an overview of this period with detailed information regarding for example the amount of coal that had been shipped or the amount of ships that were bought. His detailed knowledge of this company suggests he had been in the Dutch East Indies several times from 1914 until 1939. What is of interest here is the company's role as *prauwbedrijf* because it implies a more direct relationship between the NISHM and the Indonesian workers. A prauw is a small Indonesian ship and a *prauwbedrijf* is a company that used such prauws to support the bunkering or loading of their ships. These prauws had been of help to the NISHM in more economically challenging times⁹⁰. Business for the NISHM had not always been steady, especially in the beginning of the 1920s and 1930s a decline can be spotted⁹¹. In such times the company could count on the prauws to help them manage unforeseen and large orders. The NISHM seems to have been depending on the co-operation of the local population in more than one way. The koelies and the prauws were more or less taken for granted. They were willing to work, but were not offered any insight regarding how long this work would be available or how much of it was needed. The NISHM was a very profitable company in 1938. The most recent figures shown in this book are from this year and its value in the stock market had doubled since 1935.

Another maritime trading company or activity that Vattier Kraane was involved in is the establishment of a Dutch trading post in Dantzig, Poland⁹². In a letter from 1926 to Joost Adriaan van Hamel (1880-1964), who was at that time a member of the League of Nations⁹³, Vattier Kraane asks if he is willing to aid him with his project. Vattier Kraane disclosed a twenty-three pages long report with this letter. In the following letter, Van Hamel agrees with this. The report describes various details about Dantzig. The history of the city is described, as well as its inhabitants, economy, politics, maritime traffic, railroads, contact with prominent Polish people and already active and comparable companies in Dantzig. The rapport ends with a positive conclusion. Vattier Kraane had travelled to Dantzig with a friend and they had both concluded that a Dutch trading company would be very profitable there. The country

⁸⁹ Vattier Kraane 1939, p. 16.

⁹⁰ Vattier Kraane 1939, p. 66.

⁹¹ Vattier Kraane 1939, p. 76.

⁹² Nationaal Archief, The Hague: *Collectie 179 J.A. van Hamel, nummer toegang 2.21. 081, bestanddeelnummer 52*. A letter written by Vattier Kraane to J.A. Van Hamel in 1926.

⁹³ The League of Nations was a precursor of the United Nations which replaced it in 1946.

Poland and the city Dantzig had been approached and evaluated as if they were part of a colony or in some way inferior to the Netherlands. It is described as a country where a Dutch company could make a lot of money. They expected to overcome any competition there and even a monopoly on maritime trade in Dantzig is discussed in the account. Also, in the final lines of the conclusion, the small amount of money needed and the almost guaranteed profit in the near future is a bit off-putting. It does show Vattier Kraane's businesslike and calculating character.

In an issue of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, a newspaper that focused on trade, in 1929 Vattier Kraane was interviewed because he had been the director of the Vriesseveem for 25 years⁹⁴. He is praised in this article for his accomplishments, some of his decorations are mentioned and there is a lot of emphasis on his resourcefulness. The accomplishments mentioned here are the ENTOS, his work in the Dutch East Indies and the NISHM, his participation in a committee that celebrated Wilhelmina and also his donations and humane activities during World War I. The article announces that he will no longer be the director of Vriesseveem and will most likely return to the Dutch East Indies to inspect the NISHM. It is a very interesting article and it portrays Vattier Kraane as a very popular and massively occupied person. This image and excellent reputation must have been very beneficial to him as a businessman and also in his personal life.

Another example of Vattier Kraane's excellent business-like character is from 1936⁹⁵. At that time he also worked for the Dutch Fokker factory for airplanes. He was the president and commissary of this company and the letters from and to Vattier Kraane concern some changes in its regulations. Some of the company's history is also discussed in these papers, and in 1935 and 1936, it appears twenty-two airplanes had been sold to 'the colonies'; nine of which are described as military models such as bomber or reconnaissance planes. Maybe these airplanes had been sent to the Dutch East Indies as a response to its demands to improve the military forces.

There is another letter written by Vattier Kraane that is noteworthy and an example of him as a businessman. This letter was written on the 25th of march in 1918 and was addressed to Jacob Theodoor Cremer (1847-1923) who in 1918 was the former Dutch minister of the colonies and former president of the Dutch Trading Company. Vattier Kraane writes him he is

⁹⁴ Nationaal Archief, The Hague: *Collectie 535 Laman Trip, nummer toegang 2.21.270, bestanddeelnnummer 197*. Nieuwe Amsterdamse Courant: *Algemeen Handelsblad*, issue of 14 december, 1929.

⁹⁵ Nationaal Archief, The Hague: *Financiën / Dossierarchief, nummer toegang 2.08.41, bestanddeelnnummer 4109*. Several letters together counting several hundred pages, some from Vattier Kraane, and concerning the regulations of the Fokker factory for airplanes.

worried about the consequences WWI, which at the time of writing was still being fought, might have on the Dutch control over the colonies. He reports that German boats had been welcomed in the Dutch East Indies which would make the colony a target for the Allied Powers. The Dutch neutrality during this war could be an excuse for an act of war. He warns that the colonies, referring mostly to the Dutch East Indies, would be taken over by the Allied Forces. Then it would most likely be appropriated by the English, whom Vattier Kraane seems to mistrust fiercely. He asks Cremer for his opinion of the matter and writes that he thinks the current governor-general of the Dutch East Indies and the minister of the colonies are not able to prevent the Allied Powers from annexing the Dutch colony. He concludes the letter by advising that these people should be replaced by an energetic and lively person who knows Indonesia through and through, has a lot of experience and the willingness to take the right actions in order to keep the Dutch East Indies under Dutch control⁹⁶. Vattier Kraane fails to mention who this could be, and it seems therefore that he considers himself to be a perfect candidate. Not in the least because he meets all the requirements and qualities he described such a candidate would need. Unfortunately, the answer to this letter or any further mention of this conversation or any like it is not present amongst the archives in The Hague. This letter does again show his ambition. If he were given the chance, he would definitely have accepted the position of governor-general or minister of the colonies. Maybe it has, at least at some point of his life, been his goal or dream to have such a position of leadership in the Dutch East Indies.

3.3 Vattier Kraane the collector

Not much information about the collecting practices of Vattier Kraane is available, but there are some interesting facts worth mentioning about him and his collection. When researching Vattier Kraane's activities as a colonial collector it is important to know that the colonial or ethnographic objects are relatively few. Compared to his 'total' collection, or rather all the objects that were sold after he died, the part that can be considered colonial or ethnographic is maybe one tenth of the collection. It is therefore wrong to compare Vattier Kraane to, for example, Von Siebold who collected thousands of ethnographical objects. A closer look at

⁹⁶ '(...)nu(...) is het m.i. gebiedende noodzaak, dat bedoelde functionarissen ten spoedigste worden vervangen door krachtige persoonlijkheden, die Indië door en door kennen, en in hun loopbaan hebben bewezen, dat zij in staat zullen zijn onder deze buitengewoon moeilijke omstandigheden de maatregelen te nemen, die moeten worden getroffen, en daarvoor ook de volle verantwoordelijkheid te aanvaarden.'. Nationaal Archief, The Hague: *Financiën / Dossierarchief, nummer toegang 2.08.41, bestanddeelnummer 4109.*

him as a collector in general has to be taken before any comparisons can be made or any theories can be applied.

After his death, the objects he collected were auctioned and most information about the contents and value of his collection are to be found among these sources. Unfortunately, at least for the accuracy of the information regarding the contents of his colonial collection, the ethnographical (mostly Indonesian) objects had at this point already been donated to the Tropenmuseum. His collection was sold from the 22nd until the 29th of march in 1955 by the auctioneers establishment Frederik Muller & Co⁹⁷. A newspaper from 1955, it is unclear what date exactly, but it must have been before the auction, announces that the collection contains mostly paintings, aquarelles, antiquities and valuable silverware. The catalogue by Frederik Muller & Co. proves it contained many more different types of objects, but the collection of Vattier Kraane had developed a reputation for consisting mostly of Dutch paintings⁹⁸. An article in the Elsevier of 1922 confirms this image and mentions several Dutch painters such as Jozef Israëls, Jacob Maris, Willem Maris, Breitner, Witsen and many more painters from the Hague school and also representatives of the Amsterdam school. The collection is praised in this article, but also advertised since it is mentioned that it can be visited. The collection was put on display at the Keizersgracht 726⁹⁹ and the Elsevier advised readers to visit it in 1922 meaning that Vattier Kraane had build up a reputation as a collector. The catalogue by Frederik Muller & Co. of the objects on display during the auction mentions 732 items. Most of these objects are paintings, but among them are also books, sculptures, clocks, furniture, porcelain and tapestries. Perhaps all his household articles had been sold in the auction and it is plausible that a part of his collection was not sold, but this is unclear. Also of interest are the several books about the Dutch East Indies and some paintings that are described as oriental or tropical because one can imagine this would have been fitting in a collection that also contained some Indonesian ethnographical objects. Another article after the auction mentions some prices that had been paid for these artworks which shows how valuable this collection was. One painting from Breitner was sold for 24,500 guilders and most other paintings mentioned in this article were sold for several thousand guilders. The results of the auction in this article suggest that at the very least the collection was worth a hundred thousand guilders and that many had shown up to participate or just witness the auction. This

⁹⁷ Nationaal Archief, The Hague: *Collectie 535 Laman Trip, nummer toegang 2.21.270, bestanddeelnummer 197*. This archive contains a catalogue of the auctioning and several articles from newspapers at that time with the auction or Vattier Kraane as a subject.

⁹⁸Jeltes 1922, p. 72-76.

⁹⁹ Heijbroek 1999, p. 291.

also confirms that the collection was well known in the Netherlands. Vattier Kraane seems to have been at least as successful a businessman as a collector.

According to Caroline Drieënhuizen there are three certainties regarding people who collected in the Dutch East Indies¹⁰⁰ and these should be mentioned here. First of all collecting costs time and money which only the most prominent in the society had. Secondly, those who contributed to Dutch museums had been a member of the *Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* or the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Science. Finally, those who had collected later obtained leading positions in either the Netherlands or the Dutch East Indies. Collecting is a prestigious activity and it seems that Vattier Kraane also wanted to attract attention with his collection. People would visit this, perhaps compare it to their own collection and converse. Vattier Kraane must have been a person that would enjoy such attention, he was someone who knew many people which must have meant he was a sociable man. When this aspect is combined with his quality as a tradesman, it is very likely that Vattier Kraane would have employed his collection for corporate activities, such as receiving and entertaining business relations. This shifts the attention of this paper to another important aspect of Vattier Kraane's life; his life as a part of the Dutch 'elite'.

3.4 Vattier Kraane the elitist

Elitism and the elite have already been explained in the previous chapter. Vattier Kraane was to be counted amongst this elite. This makes him an elitist: someone who makes an effort to become and remain accepted by the elite. He is known to have been a member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Science¹⁰¹ which draws attention to his social mobility in the Dutch East Indies. His life seems to have a lot aspects that can be associated with elitism. We shall now take a closer look at his life as an elitist.

Vattier Kraane left for Sabang in 1896 to work as a mechanical engineer and returned to the Netherlands in 1906 married to a Daendels, and he was soon asked as a director for the Vriesseveem. He had used the social mobility in the Dutch East Indies to his benefit and would use this position to climb even further in the Netherlands. To stay part of the elite once returned to the Netherlands had been a problem for some other collectors or people that had business in the Dutch East Indies¹⁰². A letter from 1947 indicates that he also has had some

¹⁰⁰ Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 7 & Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 436.

¹⁰² Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 44.

trouble maintaining his position¹⁰³. At this point, Vattier Kraane writes to the minister of arts and science to ask whether it is possible to avoid having to pay a capital levy over the part of his capital that consists of paintings and aquarelles. This collection was worth a considerable amount of money as has already been concluded. The letter also explains that his financial situation is not very strong. Apparently a lot of his capital had been invested in Indonesian stocks which were practically worthless in 1947. Vattier Kraane hopes for the ministers sympathy and also suggests his paintings can be used for the common good because the artworks had been evaluated by the director of the Rijksmuseum and could be used for an exposition. The minister answers this letter approvingly, but it is unclear whether or not the capital levy would be partially retracted. It indicates that Vattier Kraane was facing financial problems at this point in his life. The devaluation of his stocks is probably caused by the changes in Indonesia due to World War II. The fact that his entire collection and also the house he lived in had been sold after his death¹⁰⁴, suggests that he has not been (fully) successful in solving these financial issues. This letter and its positive response show that Vattier Kraane was treated with respect even at an old age even so.

A problem he did not seem to have is the estrangement of Europe that would have been caused due to his stay in the Dutch East Indies. He seems to have had no problems in engaging the local culture and being accepted as a true European at the same time. The idea that the Indonesian culture is contiguous and that direct contact with Indonesians should be avoided is something that was dying out due to the ethical policy and people were beginning to see the racist connotations of such ideas. It is not known whether Vattier Kraane was partial to emotions or thoughts that nowadays can be interpreted as racist. His career and position in the Dutch East Indies make it very well possible that he was. A direct clue to this is the introduction of *25 Jaar N.I.S.H.M: 1914-1939*. The book is written by Vattier Kraane but the rather confronting introduction claiming koelies are a lazy folk, most definitely a racist remark even when put in perspective, was written by M.C. Koning. It would also seem he travelled a lot between Indonesia and the Netherlands, but unfortunately the exact whereabouts of Vattier Kraane are not known. He would not have been considered a decent European if he had stayed for too long in Indonesia¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰³ Nationaal Archief, The Hague: *Ministerie van Onderwijs en Wetenschappen: Afdeling Oudheidkunde en Natuurbescherming en taakvoorgangers, nummer toegang 2.14.73, bestanddeelnummer 919*. The archive contains letter written to and from the minister of arts and science.

¹⁰⁴ Nationaal Archief, The Hague: *Collectie 535 Laman Trip, nummer toegang 2.21.270, bestanddeelnummer 197*. The archive contains a article or advertisement about Vattier Kraane's house being for sale.

¹⁰⁵ Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 182.

An important aspect of Vattier Kraane as an elitist are his decorations. He had been decorated seven times;

1. Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau
2. Knight in the Order of the Dutch Lion
3. Commander in the Order of the House of Orange
4. Commander in the Order of the Belgian Crown
5. Grand officer in the Order of the Romanian Crown
6. Knight in the Royal Order of Vasa
7. Bequeathed the golden medal of the city of Amsterdam

Of all these decorations, only the justification of one has been found in the archives. He was named Officer in the Order of Orange-Nassau due to his chairmanship in the ENTOS¹⁰⁶. The other awards were given to him for similar reasons. The second decoration is most likely awarded to him due to his entrepreneurship¹⁰⁷. The Order of the House of Orange had been established by Queen Wilhelmina¹⁰⁸ and was probably awarded to him because of his participation in a committee to honour the Queen. The fourth decoration is given to people of exceptional activity in the colonies by the Belgian royal house¹⁰⁹. The same can be said about the Order of the Romanian Crown and Vasa in regard to Romania¹¹⁰ and Sweden¹¹¹. The golden medal of Amsterdam is awarded to former mayors of the city or inhabitants that are internationally renowned and valuable to Amsterdam¹¹². That he was known as a prominent citizen in Amsterdam is also confirmed in the article of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* mentioned before. The writer of this article is surprised Vattier Kraane was not born in Amsterdam and still had done so much for the city. It is self evident that for Vattier Kraane these decorations served as a proof that he had been recognized as an exceptional person, a part of the elite. In order to finish this chapter, some photographs and a portrait of Vattier Kraane will be discussed.

¹⁰⁶ Nationaal Archief, The Hague: *LNH / Kabinet, nummer toegang 2.11.36.01, Bijlagen -> 1*. This archive contains the minutes of decree's made in the name of the Dutch royal house.

¹⁰⁷ <http://lintjes.nl/onderscheidingen/de-orde-van-de-nederlandse-leeuw/ridder> (29 March 2015).

¹⁰⁸ <http://lintjes.nl/onderscheidingen/andere-onderscheidingen/huisorde-van-oranje> (29 March 2015).

¹⁰⁹ http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kroonorde_%28Belgi%C3%AB%29 (29 March 2015).

¹¹⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Order_of_the_Crown_%28Romania%29 (29 March 2015).

¹¹¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Order_of_Vasa (29 March 2015).

¹¹² <http://www.onderscheidingen.nl/nl/medailles/gemeente/amsterdam.html> (29 March 2015).

3.5 Vattier Kraane, framed

Photographic images can often be misleading because a photograph is usually taken to transfer a certain idea or statement to the viewer. These photographs have clearly been made with a certain image or meaning in mind. The construction of meaning through photography is a much debated subject and when a photograph is a sign with the ability to confer information to its viewer, some theory has to be included¹¹³. As soon as a photograph is seen as a sign or a symbol, the subject it signifies can only be explained by terms such as culture and language. The image is the signifier and the culture the signified. In other words; photographs have the ability to communicate with the viewer. The prerequisite of correctly interpreting the message is that the one who views the image is also familiar with the language (the culture) it speaks. The same goes for words written in a certain language. Someone who wants to understand a written word, must be familiar with both the word and the meaning of the word, that which it signifies. Without meaning the symbol is useless. Combined with the afore mentioned theory of discourses and epistemology, the term discourse can be interpreted as language. An academic article relies on literary sources (the discourse) the same way an image relies on culture and words rely on language. Words have no meaning without language, images no meaning without culture and academic articles no meaning without a literary discourse. To properly understand languages, cultures or discourses, research is needed. To explain this further, continuing the example can help: words written hundreds of years ago can refer to something else nowadays, old images can communicate another cultural aspect to a contemporary viewer than was intended and in order to understand a discourse from another era, the sources that were available to the writer, need to be studied as well. This is where the term episteme enters this discussion.

Knowing the episteme helps when researching a discourse, it also helps when researching language or culture. The previous chapters have illustrated the imperial episteme, the Dutch culture in the 19th and early 20th century, and have also revealed information about the Indonesian culture in these centuries, though not as detailed. Therefore these photographs are treated as the last source in defining who Vattier Kraane was. Six photographs and one portrait will be discussed. These images will be approached as symbols, or signifiers, that have (or might have) a specific meaning constructed by either Vattier Kraane or the

¹¹³ The source for this theory is the first chapter of *Representation: Second Edition* from 2013, written by Stuart Hall. This chapter contains theories of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), Roland Barthes (1915-1980), Michel Foucault (1926-1984) and Paul du Gay (unknown-) amongst others. Hall explains these theories and provides the reader with his own findings about them as well. *Representation* 2013, p. 1-47.

photographer. Besides these seven images, more photographs of Vattier Kraane and Daendels are available. The selection is based on the first impression these images made and in order to prevent these images being too repetitive, no two pictures with the same location and date have been chosen. By analyzing the pictures as symbols, I hope to deconstruct the cultural message, their meaning or that which is signified by them.

The earliest photograph of him that has been found is taken in 1916 (fig. 3). Vattier Kraane is standing at the left side of the door in the back of the room. This photograph shows a lunch that was organized to celebrate the opening of the new building of the *Industriële Club* or the Industrial Club in Amsterdam. The building had been finished on the 8th of January in 1916 and it is still in use by the club to this day¹¹⁴. According to its website, the Industrial Club is a meeting place for kindred spirits who work in the business world. The fact that Vattier Kraane is present here shows his involvement in this club, which is another pointer towards his prominent position within the Dutch society. In this photograph Vattier Kraane is portrayed clearly as a member of the group. All of them are men wearing a black suit and the table is obviously laid for a luxurious lunch. The meaning of this picture is that these men are wealthy Europeans.

The next photograph (fig. 4) is taken in 1924 in Indonesia. From left to right, Vattier Kraane is the second person sitting in a chair. This photograph shows the committee that was established at that time to commemorate the recently deceased J.B. van Heutsz (1851-1924) who had been the governor-general of the Dutch East Indies from 1904 until 1909. The other persons on this photograph are prominent people who worked in or for the Dutch East Indies. Another former governor-general and the Dutch minister of the colonies are also present for example. This photograph has a lot in common with fig. 3. The people portrayed are also all men wearing black suits. Their formal posture and the absence of an object suggesting any other social occupation than looking at the camera, suggests a strong unity and devotion as a group or committee. The meaning this photograph confers, is that of importance and authority rather than wealth.

The next photograph (fig. 5) is taken in 1932 in Sumatra. Images 5, 6 and 7 are taken during a single holiday or a business trip. The newspaper article from 1929¹¹⁵ suggested he would make a trip to the Dutch East Indies. This would both be an inspection and a sort of retrospective holiday. As the director of the NISHM, he would most likely have visited the

¹¹⁴ http://www.igc.nl/nl/over_de_club/geschiedenis (29 March 2015).

¹¹⁵ Nationaal Archief, The Hague: *Collectie 535 Laman Trip, nummer toegang 2.21.270, bestanddeelnummer 197*. Nieuwe Amsterdamse Courant: Algemeen Handelsblad, issue of 14 december, 1929.

several docks this company worked with and the photographs suggest he also had some leisure time during this trip. Vattier Kraane is looking at the docks of Sumatra from a balcony in this photograph. He is clothed in a fashion that was deemed normal for a European in the Dutch East Indies. It indicates that he is a European and a prominent man. This photograph is a reference to his history in Sumatra, he had spent some time working there and had meant much for the development of these docks. The photograph seems to portray him as an archetype colonizer; owner of the land and master of its people. The image also has a deeper meaning. The fact that this man, dressed as a figure of authority in Dutch East Indies, looking out over these docks is Vattier Kraane, someone with a history there, conveys a melodramatic or melancholic meaning to this image. It is as if this photograph not only shows the viewer Vattier Kraane; he seems to be thinking, maybe casting his mind back to his own past. The meaning of this staged picture is that Vattier Kraane is a colonizer, a European, who cares about the Dutch East Indies and has a history there.

Another photograph (fig. 6) is also from 1932 and has been taken in Jakarta. Vattier Kraane is sitting in a chair and reading. The photograph was taken in the former Hotel des Indes in Batavia. Vattier Kraane is again clothed in white and portrayed as an influential European. There is also some attention in this photograph to its composition. Palm leaves or exotic trees are to be seen in the background; the emphasis on the photograph is that it is taken in the Dutch East Indies. Vattier Kraane is depicted as a person who is reading and drinking tea while obviously lost in thought. The constructed meaning of this photograph is that Vattier Kraane is in The Dutch Indies but remains civilized and calm nonetheless. He has not lost his European identity and behaves like a European, even when in a colony.

The next photograph (fig. 7) is also taken in 1932 near Sabang. On this photograph Vattier Kraane is sitting in the right corner, his wife, Françoise Jacoba Daendels, is sitting in the left corner. They are shown sitting on the deck of a cruise ship in the company of two others. In this photograph, Vattier Kraane, not wholly dressed in white this time, is looking out over the sea or possible a coastline while the others are looking at the camera. Vattier Kraane is portrayed as grave or occupied while the others are in a lighter mood. This photograph signifies several things. Vattier Kraane doesn't seem to be at ease in such a lush situation, it is as if he would rather be doing something else or as if he is thinking about more important matters. Vattier Kraane's businesslike character and his devotion to committees and companies are shown to the viewer.

The next photograph (fig. 8) is taken in 1937 and shows Vattier Kraane standing next to the Dutch royal house during the royal visit in Amsterdam at palace the Loo. Standing

directly next to him on the left is Queen Wilhelmina. This photograph displays him as a true royalist and his presence proves that he was appreciated by the royal house.

The last photograph (fig. 9) is from 1938 and has been taken in Amsterdam. It also shows Vattier Kraane fulfilling his role as a royalist. Two daughters of the sultan of Langkat are shown giving flowers to Queen Wilhelmina and Prince Bernhard. Vattier Kraane is standing on the left and is described as the secretary of the committee that organizes the homage to the Queen. This photograph signifies Vattier Kraane as a royalist and also as a person involved with foreign or Indonesian cultures, even in old age.

Fig. 24 is a portrait of Vattier Kraane made by the artist Johanna Elisabeth Westendorp-Osieck (1880-1968)¹¹⁶. Westendorp-Osieck made several portraits such as this one. Many professors, doctors, directors and other prominent figures from Amsterdam have been drawn by her. The portrait shows Vattier Kraane neatly dressed and staring downwards as if he is lost in thought. This drawing shows his serious and occupied character. This image is a drawing instead of a photograph and the act of drawing is a signifier in this case as well. The artist was specialized in drawing figures of importance meaning that someone drawn by her was a part of the elite. Also we see Vattier Kraane once more looking away from the viewer, again as if lost in thought. This reoccurring aspect of Vattier Kraane in a drawing suggests that he is a person who often has deep thoughts. He is depicted as an intelligent man.

3.6 Summary chapter 3

George Cornelis Vattier Kraane was a man who could be relied on. A solid businesslike personality and a man that knew how to make money. He was constantly involved in the establishment of companies, institutes or committees and is known to have done this until very late in his life. However, he is a difficult man to frame, and to call him businesslike alone and ignore everything else, would be wrong. Even though he has always been a wealthy man, his investments in Indonesia eventually turned on him and seem to have left him with fewer money. It is interesting to see him become more and more accepted into the Dutch social elite, and it is safe to assume he used the wealth and contacts from his time in the Dutch East Indies to achieve this position. The same can be said about his collection. This prestigious activity was proof for all to see that he knew and cared about Dutch art and the Dutch East Indies. Furthermore, it must have made him a more interesting man to visit and most likely proved those who doubted his intellect wrong. The photographs discussed about him signify and

¹¹⁶ <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/record?query=Osieck&start=0> (13 May 2015).

confirm aspects of his life and personality, making them a very important source. Before we can determine the motivation for collecting in the Dutch East Indies, however, it is time to take a closer look at some of the objects he collected during his time there.

Chapter 4: The Colonial Collections

Colonialism and the collecting of objects in a colony often has a negative connotation. As has been explained in the previous chapters, colonial collecting was encouraged by the several agencies that had interest in the objects. These could be used to examine the culture of origin, but as it turned out, many people collected these objects for other reasons as well. Another negative aspect of colonial collecting is that a lot of the objects had some sort of special meaning to the people they were taken from and that they often have been obtained in a way that is seen as unfair today. This was not necessarily interpreted as unfair at the time of collecting. In a lot of cases, these items were obtained in unbalanced situations caused by war or famine. The power balance between the Europeans and the Indonesians was in favour of the Europeans, which influenced the collecting practices. The obtaining of special, religious or ceremonial items is nowadays interpreted as a display of this unbalanced situation¹¹⁷ and it turns out that at least some collectors deliberately removed important items from the colonies in order to display their power over the colonies¹¹⁸. These are extreme cases however, most collectors did not deliberately try to offend but instead tried to make contact with the people living in the colonies. This was most likely not always in order to help them, but can be seen as a way of connecting and of showing interest. Because so many collections exist it is safe to assume this has also been done emphatically and perhaps even amicably¹¹⁹. To label colonial collecting as thievery, or to simply claim that all these collections had been collected unethically, is therefore irrational. This chapter discusses the collecting practices and policies of Vattier Kraane and Vattier Kraane-Daendels. There is not much information on this subject, and therefore some items from these collections will be discussed as well.

The objects that will be described are dated as 'before 1954' for Vattier Kraane's collection and 'before 1948' for Vattier Kraane-Daendels' collection. It is unknown when these objects were acquired exactly or when they were made. Instead, the year when the Tropenmuseum attained these objects is mentioned. It would be logical that these items had been in the possession of the collectors for some time before they were donated to the museum. The latest possible date for when these objects had been acquired is presumably 1933 and the earliest date (for Vattier Kraane) is 1896. A vivid image of the collections is needed to discern the motivations for collecting in the colonies. The reason for collecting a single object can reveal what motivated Vattier Kraane to collect in the colony. The meaning

¹¹⁷ Drieënhuizen 2012, p. 18 & Ter Keurs 2007, p. 47.

¹¹⁸ Ter Keurs 2007, p. 49.

¹¹⁹ Ter Keurs 2007, p. 225.

of a single object in a collection can also provide some interesting information. Can a collection transfer a message to its visitor, just as a word to a reader or a photograph to a viewer?

4.1 Collecting practices

Considering the behaviour of Vattier Kraane and Vattier Kraane-Daendels towards the people they collected from, a quote from the article *Enlightenment, Empathy, Retreat* by Susan Legêne helps to understand the situation; 'When we try to understand collecting during the years of the Ethical Policy, however, we have to consider that, for many colonial collectors, their own ambivalent role in colonial society caused them to shuttle between empathy and aloofness [...].'¹²⁰. This must have been true for them as well since their collection was formed during the years of the ethical policy. This empathy and aloofness is in a way even recognizable in the photographs that have been taken of Vattier Kraane discussed earlier. The couple might have had some more personal relations with the inhabitants of Indonesia as well.

When the colonial collection of Vattier Kraane is examined, the matter of how these are obtained comes to mind immediately. Has he stolen these items, are some of them gifts and where did he buy them? The same can be asked about the collection of Vattier Kraane-Daendels. Her ancestry even makes it possible and plausible that some of the items she had, were obtained in a colonial conflict and were later given to her. These questions or issues are unfortunately unanswerable for almost all colonial collections and the most that can be done is to approach the answers as much as possible. There have been several periods in the lives of Vattier Kraane and his wife when they would have had the opportunity to obtain items directly in the Dutch East Indies. For Vattier Kraane three of these periods can be discerned.

The first period is from 1896 until 1906, when he worked for several maritime companies in Sabang. It has already been concluded that he was a very active and social man and at this time he must have come into contact with many Europeans that also collected ethnographical objects. It is likely he started collecting in this period and took objects with him to the Netherlands in 1906. The second period is in 1924. Fig. 4 shows him in Indonesia at this time. He is surrounded by people that would also have an interest in collecting and it is self-evident that they spend some time collecting while in Indonesia or would at least be appreciative to someone that collected. The third period is in 1932 during his voyage to Indonesia shown in fig. 5, 6 and 7. It is unknown how long he had been in Indonesia during

¹²⁰ Ter Keurs 2007, p. 224.

these periods exactly, but it is likely he spend several months there at a time in the very least. It is very well possible that he had gone to the Dutch East Indies more often but other moments have not been found.

Françoise Jacoba Daendels was born in 1871 in Sabang and it is not known whether she would stay in the Dutch East Indies until 1906 or that she regularly visited the Netherlands in her youth. She must have had plenty of opportunities to collect items in Indonesia either way. She is also shown on the photographs of 1932 and 1933, and it is safe to assume she could have spent time collecting during that journey as well. The possibility of her inheriting or receiving a part of the colonial collection of her family or other acquaintances in the Dutch East Indies should also be kept in mind when evaluating her collection. The couple might also have expanded their collections while in the Netherlands, for it was common to sell items from the colonies.

Finally, the question where these objects came from or who made them remains. This is not clear, at least not for all of the objects. The exact origin of an object was not deemed very important at that time; not due to a lack of interest for these items, but rather because its significance in an academic discourse was not yet fully recognized. Another sign that Vattier Kraane and his wife thought according another episteme than we do nowadays. Some objects from both collections shall be discussed. Most of these images and the information on them have been taken from the website of the Tropenmuseum. The images picked will give an overview of the type of objects that have been collected. The selection is based on both personal preferences and the fact that the items chosen seem to confer a certain idea or meaning to a theoretical visitor of the collection. After both colonial collections have been discussed, conclusions and comparisons will be made.

4.2 Examples from the colonial collection of Vattier Kraane

The first object that will be discussed is an adze (fig. 10). An adze is a tool that can be used to chop, carve and decorate wood. The adze was most probably used in the several docks where Vattier Kraane worked by the koelies that worked there. The tool could be used to craft or repair simple wooden ships such as a prauw. This specific adze is skilfully decorated which might have been the reason it has been collected. As an object in a larger collection, the adze signifies Vattier Kraane's interest in manual labour of the Indonesian.

Another example is a box made of pandanleaves and decorated with nassashells (fig. 11) from the Mulaku Islands in Indonesia. This box is skilfully decorated with both animal

and plant motives and its measurements are 50 by 88 by 59 cm. The decoration is what distinguishes it from other boxes and was presumably the reason for collecting this item.

The next object is a template from limestone (fig. 12). The template can be used to cast a figure of a naga: an Indonesian snakelike fantastical being. It is made in southern Sumatra. This object is explicitly a utensil; it is not made to be displayed in a museum. It seems that this item was collected to illustrate how the Indonesians crafted metal sculptures. The fact that this object is amongst the collection indicates that Vattier Kraane took an interest in how the local population crafted such figurines.

The next image shows an ornamental wooden panel (fig. 13). The ornament is an abstract flower of a banana tree. The panel is 61 by 59 by 2.2 cm. and comes from Pasemah in Indonesia. Vattier Kraane had several of these panels in his collection, each decorated differently. These panels have presumably been displayed in 1922 in Amsterdam¹²¹. This panel is interesting because it clearly shows what an Indonesian woodcarver was capable of. Perhaps they had been collected with an exhibition in mind; or perhaps these panels were just meant to show future visitors how skilful Indonesian woodcarvers were.

Vattier Kraane's interest in craftsmanship is also recognizable in the next object (fig. 14). This is a shield made out of rattan, a palm tree. It is 27 by 27 cm. The iron coins secure ropes on the inner side of the shield that can be used to strap it to someone's arm. This shield is obviously made by an excellent craftsman, but it is not remarkably decorated. Many collectors had brought a rattan shield with them and most of these had been more strikingly decorated. Many of these shields can still be found in the museums that display colonial collections which could also be a reason to collect it.

Another example is a wired bag also from Sumatra (fig. 15). It is 34 by 25 cm. and has been decorated with fluent and geometrical patterns. This item is an article of everyday use and it does not appear to be exclusively fabricated. It is a bag that seems to be very common and it shows Vattier Kraane's interest in the everyday life of the Indonesian.

The next object is a kupiah (fig. 16). A kupiah is meant to be worn on one's head on important occasions. This type of kupiah was in the 19th and 20th century worn by prominent Indonesian men. This kupiah is made in Aceh in Indonesia and is 16 by 18 by 18 cm. Perhaps such items became available during the Aceh-war when more of such culturally significant items suddenly lost importance. This item is one of the few in Vattier Kraane's collection that can be seen as ceremonial and therefore culturally important.

¹²¹ <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/default.aspx?ccid=P3602&lang=> (29 March 2015).

The last example of this collection is a pair of wooden sandals (fig. 17). These sandals come from Aceh. The straps are made of leather and there is a subtle decorative carving on the soles of the shoes. These type of sandals were worn by women on special occasions. The presence of this type of items in the collection once again shows Vattier Kraane's interest in the life of the Indonesian.

The examples given above are meant to give an impression of his collection, which consisted of many more items. The exact number is not known but the numeration of the objects suggest that it contained over a hundred items. The collection is rather typical, because most of the known objects are not made of precious materials. Also, most of them are practical items of everyday use, such as utensils or tools, and only a few of the objects have an aesthetic value or purpose. The collection of Vattier Kraane-Daendels does have aesthetic items made of valuable materials, which might be the reason they have been left out in this collection.

4.3 Examples from the colonial collection of Françoise Jacoba Vattier Kraane-Daendels (1871-1950)

The first example is a gold-plated silver sirih box from Aceh (fig. 18). It is 7 by 5,2 by 9,5 cm. Sirih is an Indonesian plant called the betel vine. Its seed, a small and tough nut, and its leaves can be chewed on; this causes a relaxing effect and its usage is comparable to smoking. Presumably, many Indonesians carried sirih boxes with them, which were probably made out of less costly material. It seems Vattier Kraane-Daendels had a preference for costly objects.

The next object is a golden *Teurapan Bajee* or a brides necklace from Aceh in Indonesia (fig. 19). It is decorated with enamelled stones. This is an excellent example of Indonesian jewellery; it has been on display for several years in the Tropenmuseum and it still is today.

The next item is a golden keris from Aceh which is 34,4 cm long (fig. 20). A keris or kris is a ceremonial dagger usually carried by politically important figures such as sultans, princes or people related to them, it also is a highly collectable item. The fact that this keris came from Aceh, raises the matter of how this item had become available for sale: did its owner die in a battle or had it been sold to solve financial problems? It is not known. This is not the only keris in the collection, the others are not made from gold. The Europeans had often ridiculed the religious and ceremonial function of these daggers and misinterpreted the

semi-magical properties as silly superstitions¹²². Another important fact about items such as a keris is that the Europeans of that time realized they conferred political power to an Indonesian that possessed it¹²³. A keris can certainly be seen as a conversational piece and a showpiece within a collection.

The next object is a cloth from Palembang in Indonesia, it is 202 by 88 cm (fig. 21). This silk cloth is meant to be worn over the shoulder and it is decorated with gold coloured threads. The images in the centre of the cloth are birds that form a decorative pattern. Vattier Kraane-Daendels had many of such cloths in her collection and they have even been part of an exhibition in the Tropenmuseum in 1948¹²⁴.

Another example is a messing candle stand with lion figures at its base (fig. 22). It is made in Palembang in Indonesia, but is also labelled as European. It was most likely a reproduction of an already existing European candle stand. The difference between the two collections discussed in this chapter is perhaps the most obvious by the inclusion of the template in the collection of Vattier Kraane, and the inclusion of a product of such a template in this one.

The last example of this collection is a lance (fig. 23). It is made in Nias, Indonesia, and is 196 cm long. The shaft is made from wood and the iron spearhead is leaf shaped. Such spears and lances were still being used by Indonesians because their access to modern and European weapons was very limited.

These six objects give a good impression of the total collection which, according to the numeration, also contains over a hundred objects. This collection contains what is to be expected from a collection that was formed in Indonesia. A lot of jewellery or objects made from valuable materials are included, like weapons and beautiful cloths. The items are impressive, some of them are highly collectible or rare.

4.4 Collections and character

What has to be kept in mind is the presentation of these colonial collections. It is to be expected that these objects were presented next to each other; both colonial collections were most likely put on display together in the same building. Vattier Kraane's collection of Dutch art was put on display. This explains the difference that can be seen between the two colonial collections. It could very well be that Vattier-Kraane and his wife collected together and that

¹²² Ter Keurs 2007, p. 47.

¹²³ Ter Keurs 2007, p. 49.

¹²⁴ <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/default.aspx?ccid=T137&lang=> (29 March 2015).

they adjusted their colonial collections to each other. It is also possible to see a connection between the items in the colonial collection of Vattier Kraane and his personal life. A collection can be expected to reflect one's interests and also what the collector would think of as important. If this is true, it would seem that Vattier Kraane took an interest in manual labour, tools and practical items; items that he encountered when interacting with Indonesian labourers. The absence of valuable or culturally sensitive items in his colonial collection can be explained by the abundance of them in the colonial collection of his wife, but it can also indicate he respected the Indonesian people and did not want to insult them by taking away their cultural heritage. The colonial collection of Vattier Kraane-Daendels also seems to reflect her personal interests. She grew up in Indonesia and was born to an important European family in the Dutch East Indies with a military background. She could be expected to take a closer interest in the religious and political aspect of the Indonesian culture and most likely appreciated its extravagant objects more because she knew them very well from her youth.

The colonial collections described here reflect the character, personal interests and experiences of the collectors. When these collections are compared to the total collection of Vattier Kraane, they also seem to fit in nicely. These items would really give a personal flavour to the collection. It is very likely that the presentation would be accompanied by photographs, perhaps even some of the photographs that have been shown in the previous chapter. A visitor would be able to imagine how Vattier Kraane and his wife had lived and worked in the Dutch East Indies, and undoubtedly some stories could be told about certain items or images. The non-colonial part of his collection also contained furniture, sculptures and ceramics. The Indonesian objects from these colonial collections could be used to show an Indonesian alternative of the already present items. Some objects also show how Indonesian figurines were made and what tools were used. These techniques could be compared and the presence of these explanatory and illustrative items regarding Indonesian craftsmanship in his colonial collection implies Vattier Kraane enjoyed talking about these topics with visitors of the collection. Collectors talking about collections with visitors is an interesting phenomenon and it brings to mind the *kunst und wunderkammer* from the renaissance era of Europe. These princely collections contained thousands of items which made executing scientific research and academic research possible there. This made them, for the renaissance episteme at least, a place where a discourse could be discussed or augmented. For now it is safe to conclude that these colonial collections were obtained in a cooperative manner, that they have been displayed together in the building at the Keizersgracht, and that

they reflect the personal interests of their collectors. This means that a collection can transfer a meaning or constructed meaning to a visitor.

Chapter 5: Conclusion, truly motivated

Several different motivations for colonial collecting have been mentioned in chapter two. Now that Vattier Kraane's life, collection and collecting practices have been researched, we can return to the main question; What motivated Vattier Kraane to collect cultural objects from Indonesia?

The advancement of knowledge has been a motivation for many collectors, but it seems that for Vattier Kraane (nor for his wife) this was not a very important factor. Academic research does come up in other aspects of Vattier Kraane's life. His position as physical anthropologist at the Tropenmuseum and his involvement with the Tropical Institute in general, indicate an interest in academic research, but as has been mentioned already; the Tropical Institute itself was mostly interested in promoting trade with the colonies. It cannot be denied that Vattier Kraane must also have collected to come into contact with the cultures he had business with during his time in Indonesia. However, to claim he actually researched these cultures for the advancement of knowledge is a very bold statement. No sources have been found to back up any theories that he did any form of research at all. His interest in the Indonesian cultures and his collecting practices do have some common ground with academic research even so. The fact that both his ethnographic collection and that of his wife have been donated to the Tropenmuseum suggests that they were aware of the scientific value of their collections as well. Vattier Kraane's collection also contains items that have seemingly been collected to explain how Indonesian people crafted items and what inhabitants of Indonesia wear in their daily lives. The advancement of knowledge was in the end a side issue for Vattier Kraane and his wife. They did not collect in the Dutch East Indies to stimulate academic research and even though their lives and collections have an added value when researching Dutch colonial collecting, it was not their primary motivation. I do not think Vattier Kraane collected objects in the Dutch East Indies because he was motivated to help the advancement of knowledge, but I cannot fully exclude it either. The advancement of knowledge as a motivation to collect in the Dutch East Indies is an inferior motivation for Vattier Kraane, if it has motivated him at all.

Is commercialism the main motivation to collect in the Dutch East Indies for Vattier Kraane? His businesslike character is something that keeps coming back in almost every source there is available about him and therefore the fact that him being a proponent of the Dutch East Indies remaining a colony of the Netherlands should be interpreted mostly as a financial argument. The anachronistic conclusion that all who participated with the Netherlands as colonizers (its proponents during the ethical policy) are unethical, should be

made carefully. Most of the actions and decisions made by either the States-General or the Dutch royal house regarding the Dutch East Indies can be traced back to the desire to keep Indonesia as a colony, which in turn can most definitely be called commercialism. The Dutch colonial attitude in the Dutch East Indies has changed during the 20th century, and a decline in commercialism as a major factor can be seen in these changes during the ethical policy. But other actions contradict this such as the discussion of the Dutch army in Indonesia. The Dutch army had been there for one reason only: to keep the Indonesian citizens under Dutch control, not to protect them from invaders. This commercialism does seep through any sort of activity that is related to colonialism; ethnography and the dispersion of ethnographic objects have been stimulated by the prospect of profit. In the 19th century, bringing home and selling colonial collections had earned several people a very decent amount of money. In the early 19th century King William I offered amounts of money for such collections comparable to several hundred thousand euros today. Later in this century, other agencies would offer such rewards for colonial collections. What can be concluded from this information is that colonial collecting has its roots in commercialism; it most likely would not have flourished if large amounts of money had not been paid for these collections.

This information in general brings forth commercialism as a motivation for involvement with the colony in general. This is a fact for Vattier Kraane as well: if he had not been able to make large amounts of money in the Dutch East Indies, he would most likely not have been in the colony at all. Collecting ethnographic items is something else entirely. Vattier Kraane did not collect in the Dutch East Indies so he could sell these objects for profit, nor did he use his collection to earn money directly. Commercialism has not directly motivated Vattier Kraane to collect items in the Dutch East Indies.

Expanding the ethnographic frontier does not have much to do with Vattier Kraane as a collector at a first glance. According to the consulted sources he has not been directly or indirectly involved in any military activities in the Dutch East Indies. His possible ambition to become the governor general of Indonesia is actually the only argument that supports any theories that indicate the expansion of the ethnographic frontier as a motivation for collecting in the Dutch East Indies. He might have been preparing himself for such a politically and also military important position which required him to know the local culture through and through by collecting ethnographic items in the Dutch East Indies. There are not enough sources to back this up, but I do think that this has been a motivation for Vattier Kraane. He did not achieve a position with military authority and therefore this motivation remains theoretical.

As has already been pointed out, elitism, just as commercialism, has been a very important motivation for Vattier Kraane to be involved with the Dutch East Indies in general. Was it also a motivation for him to collect in the Dutch East Indies? His talent as an image builder, or a meaning constructor, should also be mentioned here. When his life is viewed with this in mind, it almost seems he was without flaws. He had an excellent history; he was an excellent businessman, a prestigious collector and he was even loved by the Dutch royal house. The absence of any negative publication about his person shows his talent as image builder. His collection, both his Dutch and his colonial collection, adds to this aspect of him as well. His colonial collection, especially, creates an image of him as someone who cares about the colonies. The story it told its visitors is one of profit, trade and success and not one of a man that achieved this by sacrificing cultural or artistic values. His collection, as well as the photographs of himself, reveal some of his self-image. In order to become part of the elite, he needed this perfect image, and it is only logical to conclude he used his collection to become accepted by the elite as well. Vattier Kraane collected during the ethical policy and it seems that colonial collecting had become an activity one was expected to carry out. If he had not collected anything during his visits in the Dutch East Indies, his colleagues and friends would have thought lesser of him. This might even had caused those people to think he was making some sort of statement against the practice of collecting items in the colonies. Perhaps he had also used his collection to, in a way, display his position of superiority to the inhabitants of Indonesia.

Elitism has been a very important motivation for collecting in the Dutch East Indies for Vattier Kraane. This conclusion supports already existing theories about colonial collecting but the importance of other motivations such as commercialism are often overlooked . To climb the social ladder and to earn money are two motivations that are unmistakably intertwined. The desire to better know the cultures of Indonesia is inferior to elitism and commercialism as motivations for colonial collecting. This lays bare aspects of both (European) colonialism and collecting general. Commercialism has been a very important motivation for colonialism and elitism has been a major motivation for collecting. The combination of colonialism and collecting also combines their general aspects, which are perfectly illustrated by the collections of Vattier Kraane and his wife. Elitism can be seen as the primary motivation when it comes being involved as a businessman in the Dutch East Indies as well. When a collection is seen as a tool to construct an image of oneself, some other interesting conclusions can be made.

Almost all Dutch businessmen, politicians, soldiers, generals and researchers in the Dutch East Indies showed an interest in colonial collecting or started collecting themselves. Did these people also use their collection of colonial objects to present themselves as Vattier Kraane did? His collection and the photographs that were taken of him while in the Dutch East Indies confer a comforting and trustworthy image of him. There is not even a hint of him abusing his status as a European. His colonial collection *as it was presented at home*, including photographs, the collection of Vattier Kraane-Daendels and his collection of Dutch art, would reassure those members of the Dutch elite who did not have a history in the colonies. The stories of cruelty and abuse must have been worrying information for Dutch officials in the Netherlands, making those who owed their money and status to activity in the Dutch East Indies possibly responsible for such actions. Vattier Kraane could have easily convinced visitors to his collections that he had been fair and reasonable to the Indonesian inhabitants. Even if the visitors would remark the cultural sensitivity of some objects, such as a keris, these objects were part of the collection of his wife who was herself born in Indonesia! Is it possible that for other colonial collectors their collection could be used as a sign that they too had not behaved unethically in the colonies?

This is a theory that at this moment remains unverified, but I think it is very well possible that more Dutch colonial collectors had collected for the same reasons and with the same motivations as Vattier Kraane did. Researching the collection of a single colonial collector, or a couple in this case, instead of an entire group turns out some interesting results for colonial collecting in the Dutch East Indies in general. Vattier Kraane collected for commercialist and elitist reasons in the colonies and a colonial collection is a sign for others to see that the collector is a trustworthy person.

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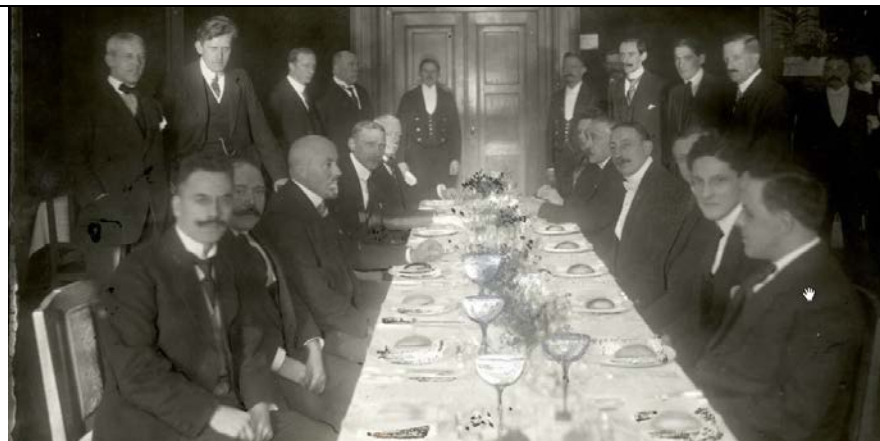


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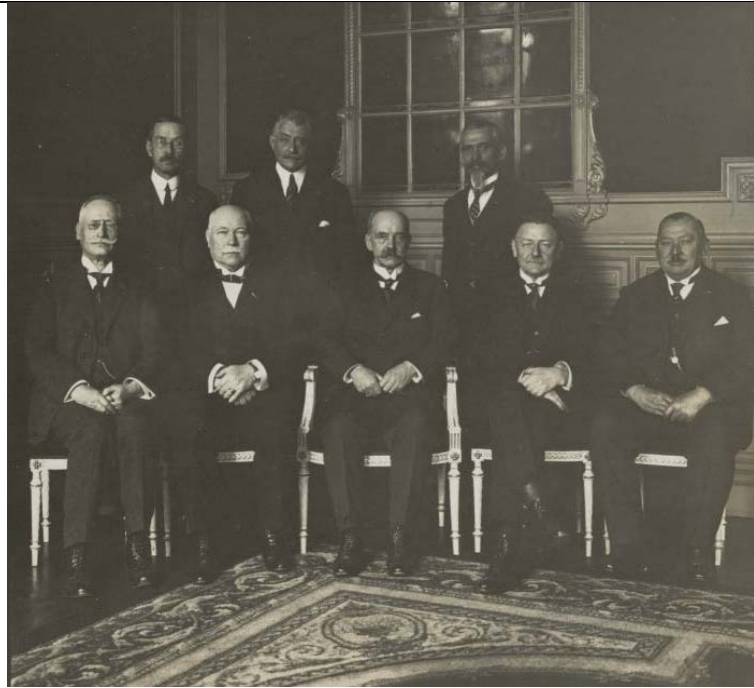


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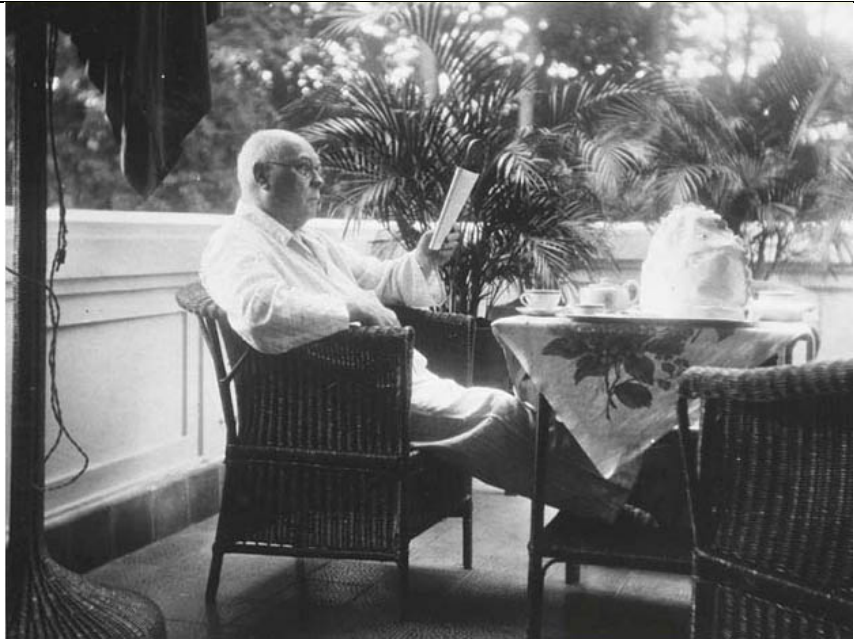


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