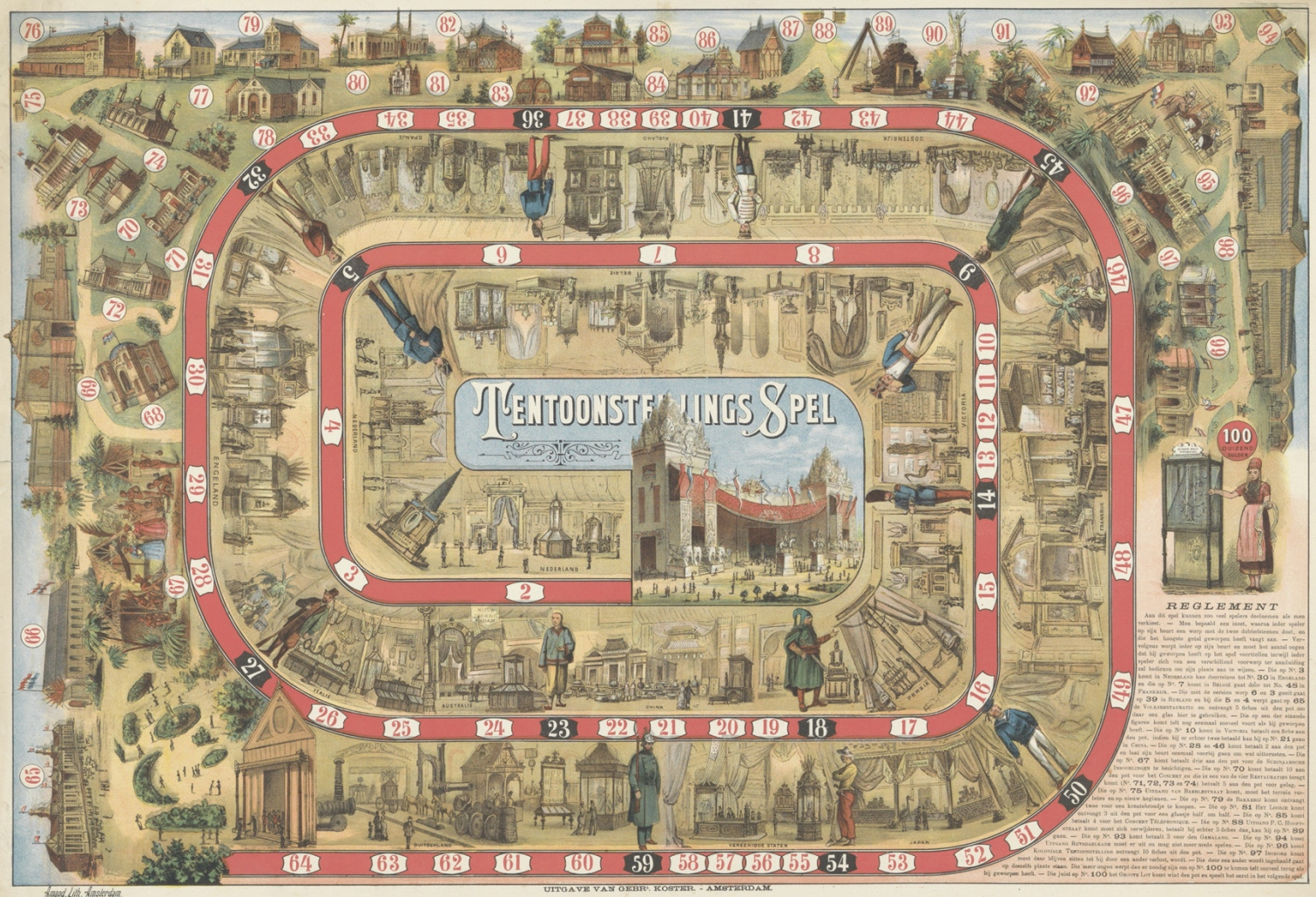


Roots of Colonial Aphasia in the Netherlands: Suriname at the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam

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Figure on Front Page: Board Game in Response to the 1883 International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in Amsterdam. Illustrations of the different attractions (including Suriname at number 67) can be seen around the board.

Rijksmuseum Collection, RP-P-OB-89.585

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List of Abbreviations

Original Term	Abbreviation
International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883, in Dutch: Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling	Colonial Exhibition
Dutch East India Company, in Dutch: Vereenigde Ooste-Indische Compagnie	VOC
Dutch West India Company, in Dutch: West-Indische Compagnie	WIC

Chapter 1: Introduction

The International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition (in Dutch: Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling) in 1883 commenced under the looming construction of the Rijksmuseum in the center of Amsterdam, this new institution serving as a visceral reminder of the growing power and wealth of the Netherlands. After visiting the Indonesian kampong, visitors might be inclined to head over to the portion of the exhibition offering another look at real, authentic people from the colonies in the Americas. A circus tent grabs the attention of visitors who had just encountered a recreated Javanese village only moments earlier. Upon entering the Surinamese exhibit, the external landscape is replaced by a canvas tent upon which tropical flora and Surinamese colonial architectural landscape is painted (Schuurmans 2013, 59). Within this circus tent a fence guides visitors along the parameter designating the correct format: viewer and the exotic collection before them. Twenty-eight Surinamese inhabitants were placed inside the fence line, complete with traditional musical instruments, houses, and other pieces as part of their culturally defined daily life (Schuurmans 2013, 59). Through careful curation, the Surinamese exhibit at the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition was regarded as a direct translation of life in the colonies and served as a portal into the exotic.

The International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in Amsterdam ran for six months beginning on May 1 until October 31, 1883 (Dujardin 2007, 20). World fairs and other similar types of exhibitions preceded this event, however their intention was to show craftsmanship and industry advancements with less of a focus on colonialism (Dujardin 2007, 17). The colonies were the prime subject for the Dutch at the end of the nineteenth century, and this exhibition was a means to highlight their expansive colonial exploits and its translation into economical wealth for the country (Schuurmans 2013, 58). The purpose was to introduce Western Europe, particularly the small nation of the Netherlands, to the colonies and far-away lands the Dutch colonizers had travelled and conquered (Schuurmans 2013, 58).

In the present thesis, I aim to answer the following research question: How did the curatorial decisions and notion of placement represent Suriname at the

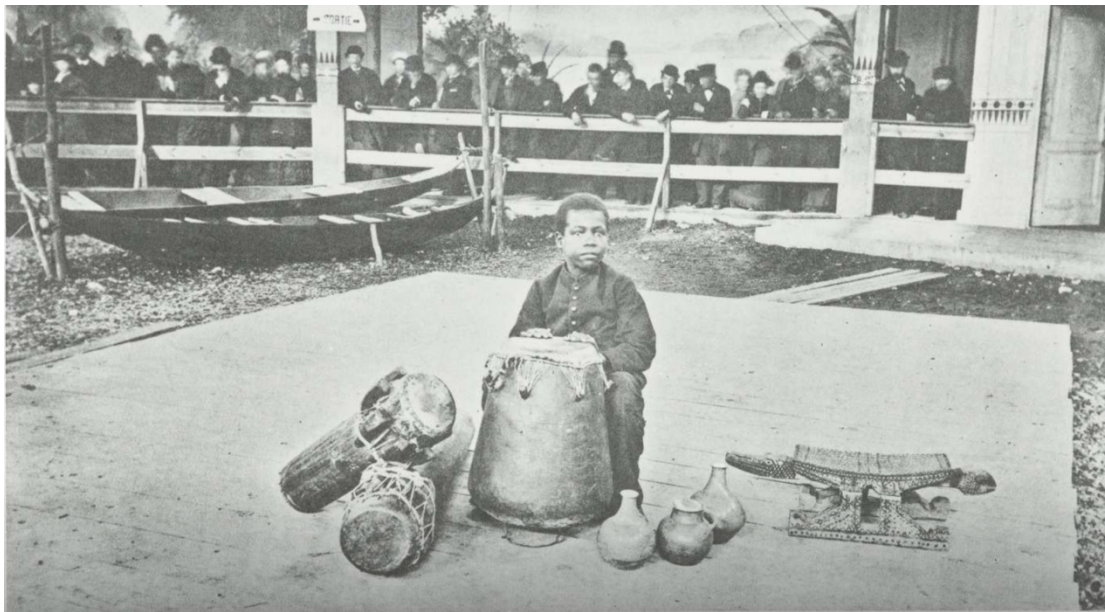


Figure 1: Photograph of Johannes Kojo by Friedrich Carel Hisgen, 1883, part of Roland Bonaparte's "Les habitants de Suriname. Notes recueillies à l'exposition coloniale d'Amsterdam en 1883". Rijksmuseum Collection, RP-F-1994-12-35.

International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 and reflect the Netherlands self-perception as a “small nation” and “colonial giant”, thus contributing to a distinctive construction of the colonies in the Dutch cultural archive (Wekker 2016; Mohr 2014; Schuurmans 2013; Stoler 2011; Maxwell 1999; Dujardin 2007; Bloembergen 2006)? How did the curatorial decisions at this exhibition contribute to the Dutch cultural archive and thus set the foundations for contemporary expressions of colonial aphasia? This thesis will also discuss the specific ways in which the Netherlands used the concept of the ‘spectacular’ and anthropological ‘other’ to justify and define their colonialism and to what extent these were different or similar to other “universal” exhibitions created by similar colonial powers at the time. Furthermore, this thesis aims to draw connections and to show how the Netherlands took the study of anthropology to amplify their representation of people from Suriname versus Indonesia at the exhibition, and its roots within Primitivism and Orientalism. This analysis will pay particular attention to some of the formal displays employed at the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883. It focusses, for example, on one image from the exhibition by Friedrich Carel Hisgen to strengthen my analysis and showcase the formation of ongoing forms of commodification and racial discourse within museums and colonial memory (Figure 1; Schuurmans 2013, 60; Dujardin 2007, 22; Rijksmuseum catalogue number RP-F-1994-12-35). The photograph is a black and white image of

Johannes Kojo, one of the six children from Suriname, on display in which one can clearly see the fabricated environment, the fence and canvas of the circus tent, and the gazing public (Schuermans 2013, 60). This was one of the photographs included in French Roland Napoleon Bonaparte's compilation *Les habitants de Suriname. Notes recueillies à l'exposition coloniale d'Amsterdam en 1883* (Schuermans 2013, 61). As will be discussed, Bonaparte had a large part in the interpretation of the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 from an academic standpoint (Dujardin 2007; Bloembergen 2006). I find the methods of display in the late nineteenth century established the presentation of the 'spectacular' in which people were able to adhere even subconscious perspectives onto the world outside of the Netherlands and Western Europe (Lidchi 2013, 167; Bloembergen 2006, 4). I will be using this image to compare the development of the 'other' with the popular Primitivism and how the two inspired an exhibition of the 'spectacular' (Lidchi 2013, 167). Using this image, I establish the characteristics of the 'primitive' versus Orientalism in the arts and the jetting off point for the power of aesthetics for the Netherlands in how they viewed each end of their colonies (Maxwell 1999; Fabian 1983; Bloembergen 2006). Through the categorization of people, the Dutch established their power over those in their colonies (Bloembergen 2006, 6; McIlwain and Caliendo 2011, xxiii). Through my analysis I will show how exercising this power before the exhibition by how it was advertised, the Dutch curators were able to discern who was gazing and who was the exhibit. There were many publications circulating about the romanticized and exoticized wonders one would see at the exhibition (Commissie tot organisatie eener algemeene koloniale en uitvoerhandel tentoonstelling, 1884). Using direct sources, I showcase how the distance begins before the exhibition with this rhetoric circulating through the masses. This cultural difference and gaze came from the manufactured experience the Dutch created in the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883. In a sense, the curators of the exhibition made living beings static; the curators placed these people in the past and presented them as the uncivilized primitive stuck in the past to succumb to the foreshadowing of Darwinism (Bloembergen 2006, 38). Using modern and contemporary framework for assessing the display of installations, I will be understanding the portrayal of Dutch colonies in the Netherlands, particularly with the case of the Surinamese.

For the sake of ease, I will shorten the International Colonial and Export Exhibition in 1883 to just the Colonial Exhibition. The exhibit of Suriname is referred to as both the circus tent and Rotunda, yet I will be using the latter as the term for the site and associative exhibitionary practices. In this work I am going to be using derogatory terms only while quoting historical works. This is for the sole intention of arguing for the racist rhetoric and perspectives of the past. They are used only as pieces of historicized reality of the behaviors of the Dutch and similar Western European gaze and demonstrate its persistence through time.

Theoretical framework will help guide my analysis of the Colonial Exhibition and the depiction of Suriname. I will be using Laura Ann Stoler's 2011 concept of colonial aphasia to describe the behavior of the Dutch social imaginary. Although Stoler develops her framework surrounding the French and their colonial presence in Algeria and the consequential social situation in France, I find her analysis an apt way to explain the phenomena taking place in the Netherlands. Pairing this with Gloria Wekker's 2016 *White Innocence*, I combine how the two acknowledge the lack of understanding of one's colonial history with societal behavior under a Dutch frame. I will be using the thoughts of Stuard Hall for my explanation of the cultural archive. Edward Said's *Orientalism* will guide my discussion on Orientalism versus the later Primitivism. Moreover, several sources such as Laetitia Dujardin's 2007 *Ethnics and Trade: Photography and the Colonial Exhibitions in Amsterdam, Antwerp and Brussels*, Marieke Bloembergen's 2006 *Colonial Spectacles*, and Paulien Schuurmans' 2013 *Framing Suriname* will help me describe the exhibition and historicize it, as well as offering framework in which to begin my analysis. The 1983 *Time and the Other* by Johannes Fabian will offer me help associating early anthropological study and 'othering' in the exhibition and early ethnographical. I am going to pull in other theoretical works concerning race and Western European colonial legacy. Paul Gilroy's 1993 *The Black Atlantic* and the 1995 *Art on My Mind* by bell hooks will be employed for this purpose. Although not all concerning the Netherlands, I am going to put all of these secondary sources in conversation with Dutch action.

In efforts to assess the methods of display, I use various works of analysis in nineteenth and twentieth century - particularly colonial - display. I use the 2014 *Displaying the Colonial* by Sonja Mohr to understand how the colonies were presented and perceived in museums in the Netherlands. Although her discussion

focuses on the display of Indonesia, she offers a look into the presentation of the 'other'. Moreover, this will aid me in comparing how the Surinamese were presented versus the other colonies at the Colonial Exhibition. To contemporize the process of decolonial work and study in-depth the lasting effects of presentation at the Colonial Exhibition, I will be using several theoretical works concerning curatorial practice. The important pieces by Linda Tuhiwai Smith in 1999 entitled *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous People* and Henrietta Lidchi's 2013 chapter "The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures" offers a look into the research being done concerning the critique of museums and their colonial past. I will be using Jennifer González's 2008 *Subject to Display* as her interpretation of contemporary installation art combats the deeply rooted colonial gaze I find established by world fairs and exhibitions during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The use of exhibitionary practices, as well as indicative advertisements, are seen to have pushed the Western audience to understand themselves in proximity to those displayed at the Colonial Exhibition in 1883.

The rhetoric and behavior about the colonies brought back to the Netherlands supplied these perspectives and thoughts about the 'other'. I use various direct sources to understand the perspectives and rhetoric of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Most importantly, I will be using Roland Bonaparte's *Les habitants de Suriname. Notes recueillies à l'exposition colonial d'Amsterdam en 1883* as this is evidence for the exotification and objectification of the people included in the Colonial Exhibition (Schuurmans 2013, 61). Bonaparte's compilation of photographs and notes are a result of the belief of the Colonial Exhibition to be a direct look at the lives of the colonies as if one were in these distant lands themselves (Dujardin 2007, 9). Although my other direct sources are written after these early perspectives in anthropology, they showcase the lasting effects of this early study of other cultures and people. I will be using the 1962 *The Middle Passage* journal by V.S. Naipaul to visualize the mindsets of ethnographical accounts within Dutch Guiana and its potential influence on their readers. Another primary source I will interpret is the 1931 work by Morton C. Kahn entitled *Djuka: The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana* as a further firsthand Western perspective of the 'other' and direct evidence of the phenomenon of innocence involved in their colonialism. Traveler accounts and colonial

photography is seen to have only supplied a more exoticized world outside of Europe, fueling the need for such world fairs and Exhibitions and visual proof of the ‘other’ (Dujardin 2007, 9; Smith 1999, 8). The Western European behavior to control, categorize, and compare the rest of the globe with themselves is cemented with activities such as these photographs and exhibitions (Maxwell 1999, 3; Dujardin 2007, 9; Bloembergen 2006, 5). Early anthropology stemming out of this early colonization concretes this pattern of organization and comparison, particularly in terms of time and framework of civilization and dominance (Fabian 1983, 16).

In the second chapter I begin by evaluating the conceptual framework in which I will construct my analysis. Here, the works by Stoler (2011) and Wekker (2016) will be reviewed to demonstrate their influence in my understanding of the curatorial practices of the Dutch with the Colonial Exhibition and beyond. The concept of colonial aphasia will be prioritized throughout this chapter, as well as the influence of movements such as Orientalism, Primitivism, the ‘other’, and the ‘spectacular’ all within the Dutch cultural archive. An overview of the curatorial theory will be employed to understand the tactful methodology of the curators of the Colonial Exhibition and earlier ethnographic displays will be discussed here. The third chapter will briefly outline Dutch history leading up to their colonialism in the Americas. During the century before becoming involved in the Americas, the Netherlands was ruled by the Spain (State 2008). This caused many rebellions, uprisings, and war of which I will highlight the most important to stress why the Netherlands understood themselves as bearing the worst of colonialism (State 2008). This would go on to contribute to the Dutch sense of colonial aphasia after their colonial exploits. It supplied them with the notion of small innocence while understanding the atrocities of colonialism, and influenced them not to want to impose the same on their subjects (Wekker 2016). The influences of the neighboring countries of Britain and France in the field of anthropology and exhibitionism will also be discussed in this third chapter, as the two have an effect on the social sphere of the nineteenth century in Western Europe. Furthermore, this chapter will establish the appeal of aesthetics within these exhibitions to support my analysis on the presentation of the Surinamese in the fourth chapter. Several traveler accounts and ethnographies will be interpreted in chapter four, as they are a direct indication of the rhetoric and perspectives of the colonies and

anthropological ‘other’ as it was translated back to Europe. My fifth chapter will discuss the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam and the Rotunda. There, I discuss the particularities of display used with the Surinamese. I compare how this differed from the exhibitionary practices in the other parts of the exhibition, as well as how the unique presentation showcased the Dutch perspective of people from the Americas due to aesthetics. Early anthropological study will guide my analysis, as well as the historical rhetoric surrounding the exhibition. Here, I demonstrate how the particular presentation, as seen through the image of Johannes Kojo, was the direct translation of how the Dutch viewed their colonial exploits. Overall, I will show how this early, historicised sense of colonial aphasia sets the Dutch apart from other countries in Western Europe, and how such a phenomenon can be seen through the construction of their Colonial Exhibition in 1883 and in particular their depiction of the Surinamese.

Chapter 2: Conceptual and Methodological Framework

The following work will be analysing the methods of display involved with the Rotunda at the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam. Through the usage of theoretical discourse, race theory, curatorial theory, and understanding the influence of anthropological thought a comprehensive discussion on the method of display in the Netherlands will be created. This conceptual framework will be the basis in which I will approach the display of the Surinamese in the Colonial. I will begin with a literature review to go over the kinds of works I will be prioritizing in this thesis. This section will give background and brief commentary on the texts useful in studying the Colonial Exhibition and its lasting impression on the Dutch cultural archive. The following subsection will delve into the theories of colonial aphasia further to explain its significance in decolonial studies. Moreover, the cultural archive, notions of the ‘other’ and the ‘spectacular’, as well as the concepts of Orientalism and Primitivism will be explained. As a whole, this chapter offers a better understanding of the framework in which this thesis will study the Colonial Exhibition, and in particular the representation of the Suriname at the Rotunda.

2.1: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Laura Ann Stoler’s 2011 article “Colonial Aphasia” and her theoretical framework will drive this study. In her piece, Stoler focuses on the colonial history in contemporary France, and how this affects the social sphere as it relates to the past. Stoler uses the term aphasia to mean the following: “a difficulty retrieving both conceptual and lexical vocabularies and, most important, a difficulty comprehending what is spoken” (Stoler 2001, 125). This is an alternative to amnesia which describes the lack of thorough historiography in the French collective memory and academics through a blatant disregard. Instead, through associating her concept of aphasia with colonial history, Stoler is describing the approach to the past as not “of ignorance or absence” but rather “a dismembering, a difficulty speaking, a difficulty generating a vocabulary that associates appropriate words and concepts with appropriate things” (Stoler 2011,

125). Although Stoler speaks on France and their colonial memory with Algeria, the concept of colonial aphasia is apt when speaking about the Dutch and their personal regard towards their own cultural archive. Examples of colonial aphasia are present in France just as they are in the Netherlands. As a whole, colonial aphasia represents a phenomenon where colonial history is disregarded in national history in a complex manner. Stoler identifies how regards- or rather disregards- to colonial history raises “unsettling questions about what it means to know and not know something simultaneously, about what is implicit because it goes without saying, or because it cannot be thought and is known but cannot be said” (Stoler 2011, 122). Understanding that the colonial past is actively present in the contemporary pushes her concept further, and I am curious to the participation of aphasia with the construction of major exhibitions in Western Europe. In my particular case, I am interested in the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 due to it being the first of its kind with colonialism as such an integral part of the construction. Colonial aphasia manifests in the careful articulation of information, or rather the lack of representation included in the display. The active lack of acknowledgement of details in history and the prioritization of particular narratives reveal colonial aphasia within a cultural archive, historiography, and museum display. A major piece of the Dutch colonial aphasia begins at the point of their liberation from Spain and consequential interest in colonialism. The location of this colonial aphasia in the public sphere through the Colonial Exhibition thus accelerated its relevance within the cultural archive of the Netherlands.

Colonial aphasia is illustrated in the means of producing colonial memory and its absorption by the contemporary social sphere as a result. The lack of comprehension, or rather a lack of acknowledgement, of the realities of the past demonstrate the minimal ownership of action taking place in the Dutch-and in Stoler’s case, French- claim to the past. The presence of colonialism in a nation’s history are simultaneously colonial aphasia and, “similarly, “colonial amnesia” and “historical amnesia” are often used pointedly to describe the public and historiographical low profile of colonial history” (Stoler 2011, 124). The concepts of amnesia and aphasia are overlapping in how they present themselves, the latter being more adept, however, to representing the active choice being made to dismiss the past. Aphasia, therefore, emphasizes “both loss of access and active

dissociation” (Stoler 2011, 123). Representing the behavior of historiography and the museum to actively turn a blind eye to a nation’s past, aphasia is an apt term to describe an active choice to ignore reality. In France, Stoler identifies this to take place in contemporary France where colonial histories are “muffled” and race is never muttered despite racialized sentiments and exclusionary behavior within France (Stoler 2011, 129). This phenomenon “reflects the conceptual processes, academic conventions, and affective practices that both elicit and elude recognition of how colonial histories matter and how colonial pasts become muffled or manifest in contemporary France” (Stoler 2011, 122). Present in the rhetoric, academics, and colonial memory as is presented in museums, France is guilty of Stoler’s theory. The Netherlands is similar to France in this manner, as the denial of racism within the Dutch cultural archive allows residents to remain innocent in their minds and history (Wekker 2016). As a whole colonial aphasia is a compelling perspective on the narrative of cultural archives and identity that considers internal aspects of the Dutch mind frame dependent on the glory of the Golden Age and economic prosperity from colonialism.

There is a contradiction within the term colonial aphasia I would like to address. Due to Stoler speaking on contemporary France, colonial aphasia can be difficult to translate historically. That being said, I am using the term aphasia as a “cultural disability, grounded in power relations, to talk about phenomena” historically in the Netherlands and looking at its roots historically to represent its presence within contemporary situations (Helsloot 2012, 3). In his 2012 piece, “*Zwarte Piet* and Cultural Aphasia in the Netherlands”, John Helsloot takes Stoler’s term to find the origin of this holiday figure. Manipulating the concept of colonial aphasia, Helsloot uses cultural aphasia to understand the roots and perpetual use of *Zwarte Piet* during Christmas celebrations in the Netherlands. I will be using this redirected cultural aphasia for my analysis on the Colonial Exhibition as it allows me to use the term aphasia historically considering it is a contemporary metaphor for modern practices and speech. That being said, the Dutch cultural archive is a construction of past events- like the Colonial Exhibition in 1883- that have contributed to the aphasia present in the Netherlands today. Colonialism was so ingrained in the identity and wealth of the Netherlands at the end of the nineteenth century- as will be described more later- that a rejection of reality was overlooked for the sake of justification.

I will be pulling much of my theoretical discourse from the thinking of Gloria Wekker, an academic who focuses on race discourse and colonialism, as well as closely on gender and sexuality studies. Her 2016 work *White Innocence* delves into the Dutch cultural archive and she concretizes the idea of the Netherlands and the extent to which they view themselves as a small, innocent nation devoid of racism and challenges (Wekker 2016). I am curious to the historical basis for this thinking, as well as the means of translation of this ideal to the public through the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam. Wekker's family migrated to the Netherlands from Paramaribo, Suriname in 1951, and throughout her life Wekker has been experiencing and observing the behavior and perspectives of the Dutch to people of color (Wekker 2016, 8). Through her research and in her words, "there is also a specificity to Dutch racism, which includes the Dutch inability so far to seriously work through and come to terms with the Dutch colonial past, its strong attachment to self-image that stresses being an innocent and just, small ethical nation, being a victim rather than a perpetrator of violence" (Wekker 2016, 49). Through several studies, Wekker does a phenomenal job outlining specific instances of how Dutch modernity can be linked to their colonial past and the inability to recognize action. I will be using her analysis to further push my conception of the Colonial Exhibition and the lasting impression it has on the Dutch cultural archive.

This concept of the Dutch cultural archive stems from the theoretical thinking of Edward Said and Stuart Hall in the construction of cultural identity (Said 1993; Hall 1989; Wekker 2016, 2). Used by Wekker, the Dutch cultural archive is a useful means of understanding the "deep reservoir" that has been "formed and fabricated" throughout the history of the Netherlands (Wekker 2016, 2). The usage of language and its deep implications in cultural identity allow "cultural configurations" and ideas of self-image to persist throughout time (Wekker 2016, 2). The perseverance of these identities, whether they be the imposed "othering" of Western Europe to the rest of the world or internal and small framed, the cultural archive is a depository of historical perspective (Wekker 2016, 2; Hall 1989). The cultural archive of a civilization is a result of contrasting cultural identities created in a reality where "language depends on difference" (Hall 1989, 229). The implied distance from said difference further establishes "fixed binaries" between Western Europe and the "other" all while

constantly shifting and changing throughout time (Hall 1989, 229). Hall identifies how this “production” of identity is “never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (Hall 1989, 222). As seen with many scholars, discussion about the cultural archive demonstrates the accumulation and amalgamation of perspective, belief, language, and more throughout time between civilizations (Hall 1989; Wekker 2016). I will be using the Dutch cultural archive to dig into the construction of self in the Netherlands, filled with colonial-and cultural-aphasia.

The lens with which I will examine the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 will be through a critical interpretation of early anthropological study in the establishment of the ‘other’ and its participation in national exploits. The anthropological ‘other’ is a fabrication coming out of Western European study combining biological anthropology, ethnology- ethnography’s older and broad based sibling- social Darwinism, and culture-historical archaeology (Fabian 1983; Maxwell 1999, 38). As will be discussed in the next chapter, the influence of the neighboring countries of the Netherlands extends to both the theoretical thought supplying justification of colonialism as well as the presentation of display (Maxwell 1999, 15). Arguably, the research constructed in France and Britain can be directly seen in the curatorial action of those who set up the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 (Fabian 1983, 27). One of the most critical terms defined was social Darwinism, which took Darwin’s theory of evolution from his 1859 *On the Origin of Species* and implemented it into the social sphere (Maxwell 1999, 40). Social Darwinism was coined in 1880, yet it manipulated this theory to fit the idea of progressive evolution and “society’s upward development” (Drouard 2015, 686; Maxwell 1999, 15). Creating a temporal hierarchy, Social Darwinism and the coinciding anthropology cemented the Western Europeans with a scientific basis in which to base their racial discrimination (Fabian 1983; Maxwell 1999, 40). As is well explained by Maxwell, Social Darwinists worked backwards rather than at the notion of all races starting at the same step in the evolutionary scale and instead “began with the present, seeing existing inequalities as proof that colonized races constituted a lower stage of human evolutionary development” (1999, 15). When ethnology and anthropology become developed disciplines with academic standing, so does the behavior of travelling to document the physical and cultural attributes of “what they believed were the world’s least evolved

racess” (Maxwell 1999, 38). Alongside these studies, Western Europeans also cemented the idea of civilization under their terms versus their ‘other’ uncivilized, ‘primitive’, overall racially inferior counterparts (Fabian 1983; Maxwell 1999; Bloembergen 2006; Mohr 2014; Wekker 2016; Dujardin 2007). This idealized concept of civilized society contributed to the idea of ‘other’ societies as static, thus stuck in the past and in need of saving-or at least documentation before extinction (Maxwell 1999, 15). Furthermore, traveler accounts further highlight the stories of savagery and adventures involved with the ‘other’ to create even more of a chasm between civilizations outside the Western hemisphere (Smith 1999, 8). In 1775, Johann Blumenbach wrote *On the Natural Variety of Mankind* and proposed classifying different races with skin color (Maxwell 1999, 39). In his work, Blumenbach described the following five noticeable races: Caucasian or white, Mongolian or yellow, Ethiopian or black, American or red, and Malayan or brown (Maxwell 1999, 39). The visible differences were further distinguishable in the Western gaze through the establishment of differences, mainly in civilized versus uncivilized societies and thus intellectual superiority over ‘primitive’ ‘savages’ (Fabian 1983, 30; Maxwell 1999, 3). The concept of progress inspired nineteenth century scholars to latch on to the theories of five racial categories and go so far as to rank those further in terms of civilization (Maxwell 1999, 54). The practice of saving another race and society before extinction would prove to be extremely influential in the continuation of colonialism, slavery, world fairs, colonial exhibitions, and museum collection and display (Maxwell 1999, 7).

The history of Orientalism and Primitivism has roots in anthropology and the manufacturing of aesthetic appeal regarding the exotic ‘other’ as it compared to the Western world. A portion of the history of Orientalism will be discussed, as it is a crucial factor in the presentation of the Southeast Asian colonies at the Colonial Exhibition and the different treatments and perspectives given versus the Americas or Africa. The term and concept created by Palestinian literary scholar Edward Said, Orientalism begins out of the Western imperialism in the East and thus grows out of eighteenth century rhetoric concerning the study of the area and its languages (Said 1978, 3; Bloembergen 2006, 5; Varisco 2015, 423). The mentality of the power relationship the West held over non-western cultures constructed Orientalism. An image of the weaker, inferior East including the Near East and Asia, in which case European culture must dominate all aspects of life

for the “Oriental” (Bloembergen 2006, 5; Said 1978, 36). As a whole, Orientalism is an “enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage- and even produce- the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period” (Said 1978, 3). Undeniably, Orientalism was another means to perpetrate European superiority (Said 1978, 7). In Said’s 1978 work *Orientalism*, he examines the particularities involved in the concept itself and its manufacturing throughout Western Europe. As a whole, in regards to Orientalism Said states “how can we treat the cultural, historical phenomenon of Orientalism as a kind of *willed human work*- not of mere unconditioned ratiocination-in all its historical complexity, detail, and worth without at the same time losing sight of the alliance between cultural work, political tendencies, the state and the specific realities of domination” (Author’s emphasis, Said 1978, 15). In a similar manner, Orientalism and Primitivism are imposed in situations of aphasia in that they are active choices to behave in such a way and produce discriminatory thoughts.

Although there is plenty of imagery falling under the derogatory, exoticized scope of Orientalism, one must acknowledge the “diverse historical motives and contexts” (Bloembergen 2006, 6) involved in each representation and address its “intertextuality” (Said 1978, 13). Orientalism is political imperialism that takes over intellectual conversations and the artistic field, and it is the product of imposing Western superiority over the Middle East and Asia (Said 1978, 14). Orientalism is exhibited in how Western Europe speaks of the East in literature, historiography, visual culture, and rhetoric. This concept presents itself in museum display as a mixture of the means of collection and the display of information (Smith 1999, 2). The perspective wound within Orientalism is the idea of an inferior “Orient” all the while simultaneously being a wondrous, exotic land filled with the unknown for Europeans to imagine and seek (Said 1978). Through the substantial reiteration of the West’s narrative for the East, the “Orient” becomes something imaginative and entirely constructed from personal view (Smith 1999, 2). Indonesia is presented at the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 with Orientalism as the frame of reference when curating the kampong. As is noticed by Bloembergen within the scope of Orientalism, the Dutch East Indies were the “showpieces and triumphs of the general Dutch entries to the world exhibitions of the period 1880-1931” (Bloembergen 2006, 6). The exotification of

this region is supplied further with how it contradicts any negative anthropological study through colonial pride and superiority (Bloembergen 2006, 162). Through an exotic ‘spectacular,’ the curators of the Indonesian kampong at the exhibition used this as “precisely a way of escaping from the rigid conceptual frameworks of evolutionism and colonial domination, which suggested a clarity belied by personal observation” (Bloembergen 2006, 163). Therefore, Bloembergen identifies that by “adopting this strategy, they absolved themselves of the obligation really to concern themselves with the ‘other’” (2006, 163). Undoubtedly, the purpose of the kampong was to display this “other” through its progress of civilization while demonstrating the variation of humans and their behavior (Bloembergen 2006, 162). I will be using this concept to further understand the encompassing methodology behind the construction of the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 as the Indonesian kampong greatly differs from the Surinamese Rotunda later in the work.

An important movement requiring explanation is the shift from the popular Orientalism to Primitivism and the coexistence of the two within the Western visual archive. As is similar to Orientalism, Primitivism grew out of the study of other cultures, though it appears later with the onset of anthropology as a stable discipline in France (Maxwell 1999, 16). As will be explained in detail in the following chapter, France was a leading factor in the study of physical anthropology and the display of people and physical morphology (Maxwell 1999, 16). With the popularization of anthropology in the mid to late nineteenth century in Western Europe, the concept of Primitivism begins to take hold on the perception of Africa, the Americas, Oceania, and Australia (Maxwell 1999, 16). Primitivism also gains power from the distinguishing of people, highlighting differences and “an incontestable priority over all other dimensions of their social and historical experience, cultures, and identities” (Gilroy 1993, 3). A unique phenomenon, Primitivism exists both as a noun and a verb in that it is “something that is done *to* someone or something” (Author’s emphasis; González 2008, 80). This established difference influences the construction and perception of the Colonial Exhibition, as well as how the public was directed to think about the people under colonial reign. Through the determination of races, the “white races stood for the liberated condition of civilization and the black, red and brown races were likened to the enthralled condition of nature, the ‘yellow’ races (a category

that included the Chinese and the Japanese) occupied an intermediate status” (Maxwell 1999, 59). The difference within Primitivism was the power imbalance from the assumed savagery, where Western Europeans held a position of moral, intellectual, cultural, and physical superiority over the ‘savage’ ‘other’ of Africa, the Americas, and Australia (Maxwell 1999, 55). That being said, both concepts of Orientalism and Primitivism assumed white, Western European superiority over the rest of the world, and the multitude of substantial means of perpetuating such an idea are limitless and extend into the contemporary through means of display, exotification, and relation to the human body (Maxwell 1999, 54; Lidchi 2013, 159).

2.2 Methodological Approach

Throughout this work I will be understanding the display of the Surinamese and other Dutch colonies as a manifestation of the ‘spectacular’ and ‘spectacle’ constructed by Western Europeans themselves through exotifying the ‘other’ and the aesthetics tied to outside cultures. This concept varies from the anthropological ‘other’ as it comes with differing connotations, less on researchability and more on enticement (Lidchi 2013, 167). The ‘spectacular’ has to do with the adherence of connotations onto the display and the perspective of the events themselves from a Western European public standpoint and the power of ‘proof’ of an evolutionary statement (Lidchi 2013, 167). The colonial ‘spectacle’ the result of providing visual proof of the racial differences of colonial subjects (Lidchi 2013, 167). One of the ways those involved with the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 took advantage of the enticing aspects of the ‘spectacular’ was embedded prior to the opening through its advertisement and the signage posted at the event. Overall, the concept of the ‘spectacular’ and colonial ‘spectacle’ grows out of temporal distancing and alongside the construction of the ‘other’ (Lidchi 2013, 168). Moreover these concepts clearly discern the Surinamese as different from Western civilization, making the portrayal of them in such a ‘natural’-albeit constructed- setting to be that much more elaborate and significant to witness. The Colonial Exhibition in 1883 and like events combined the respectability of anthropology with the captivation of fairgrounds to formulate an “‘elevated’ activity of museum-going” (Maxwell 1999, 9). On the same token, the curators of

the exhibitionary displays replaced “the concrete realities of colonialism with imaginary representations based on the dream of absolute control” (Maxwell 1999, 3). By creating definitions of the ‘other’ and the confines of the ‘spectacular’, the Dutch curators ingrained the idea of complete domination and control of the colonies and their inhabitants (Maxwell 1999, 3).

The concept of colonial aphasia can be witnessed in the curatorial practices at play in the Colonial Exhibition and the museum exhibits to follow. The display of the ‘other’ under a ‘spectacular’ gaze is one built off of the idea of temporal, spatial, and visual difference and distance (Fabian 1983, 16; Maxwell 1999, 3). As will be explained in the following chapter, the depiction of the Surinamese was already a bias grown out of a superiority of difference. Through the eyes of theorist Rasheed Araeen of later postcolonial cultural hybridity in the visual arts:

“the moment when a non-Western culture *enters* Western culture while maintaining its identity as one of *difference*. The Western paradigm, in other words, still maintains its cultural dominance” (Author’s emphasis, González 2008, 31).

Indeed, the large dichotomy between the exhibited and the visitors begins at the moment of placement. I do not mean only physically established, but the placement of ideas, concepts, rhetoric, discourse, and perspectives associated with early anthropology cements the spark of racial difference (Fabian 1983; Maxwell 1999). The study involved in early anthropology in particular grows out of “historically established relations of power and domination between the anthropologist’s society and the one he studies” (Fabian 1983, 28). Within this difference one finds power imbalance rooted in superiority. The methods of advertisement circulating about the Colonial Exhibition along with the curatorial decisions imposes the differences between the gazer and the gazed upon. In a much more casual way, the visitors of the Colonial Exhibition are interpreting the exotic curiosities from all over the globe and getting a look at the proof of the evolution of their species (Lidchi 2013, 167).

In efforts to discuss the curatorial decisions of the Colonial Exhibition in 1883, I will cross analyse the historical exhibitionary methods with decolonial study. To do so, I will be understanding the display of the Surinamese as tactical,

in that it physically embedded distance with the people inside the exhibits, forcing them to become commodities of the ‘spectacular’ and as a result authentic proof of anthropological study (Lidchi 2013, 168). The theoretical framework I will be using to understand the methodology behind the entire Colonial Exhibition, in particular the Rotunda, will be involved in the history of the construction of ethnographic display, as well as the concepts of modern curatorial theory. The very mention of ‘ethnographic’ in the display of artifacts of other cultures adheres to it the authority of anthropology and its collection of curiosities, and thus the power of such display is one of inherent truth (Lidchi 2013, 127). Curatorial theory includes delving into the means, pattern, attributes, wording, and more that are involved with the display of information in a museum setting (Lidchi 2013, 129). The embodiment of truth and power given to an object or standpoint when it is adhered to the wall and how a level of distance is created between the displayed and the observer, as well as the authoritative standpoint institutions like the museum held over the general public (Lidchi 2013, 129). The granting of power to objects in possession by the museum is implicit of the institution themselves, and their meaning and value is directly dependent on what the object is given (Lidchi 2013, 129). In other words, by displaying an object on their walls, a museum is embedding it with meaning justified by their own established authoritative word (Lidchi 2013, 129). Described by Lidchi, “it is clear that objects do not ‘spirit’ themselves into museum collections: they are collected” (Lidchi 2013, 129). That being said, much theoretical framework about curating other cultures has to do with a museum’s manipulation of its archive to exhibit the narrative they prefer, the same was done to the people exhibited at the Colonial Exhibition if one understands them through the guise of Orientalist and Primitive objects under colonial control.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the theoretical framework to be used in this thesis to explain the idiosyncrasy of the Netherlands and their colonialism. Overall, I will be using this conceptual framework to understand the presentation of the Surinamese at the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 and the lasting implications of colonial aphasia within the Dutch cultural archive. A close look at

the curatorial decisions of the display at the Colonial Exhibition will show how the Netherlands differed from the rest of Western Europe through this type of aphasia. Using all of the concepts of the 'other', the 'spectacular', Orientalism, and Primitivism in conversation with the theory of colonial aphasia in the Dutch cultural archive, the Netherlands and their display at the Colonial Exhibition will showcase its uniqueness compared to other social spheres in the Western Hemisphere (Stoler 2011; Wekker 2016; Hall 1989; Said 1978).

Chapter 3: History of the Netherlands, their Colonialism and Early Anthropology in Western Europe

The following chapter outlines the construction of aesthetics and perspectives of the Netherlands through a close look at the Spanish Habsburg rule and the resulting Dutch colonialism. The root cause for the Dutch perspective on their colonization comes from their history as a nation. I will be focusing on the history of the Netherlands during the period of Spanish occupation from 1568-1648 as it has direct translation into the cultural archive and colonial aphasia witnessed today (Kennedy 2017, XV). Their ill relationship with Spain resulted in the Netherlands approaching colonialism differently, and the means of portrayal will be seen to have had to be that much more ‘spectacular’ to relay the substantial colonial power of such a small, innocent nation. In the second subsection, Dutch colonialism in the Americas will be described along with the demographic specific to Suriname. The third subsection in this chapter will discuss the evolution of anthropology and exhibitionism in France and Britain. As epicenters of this kind of study and display, France and Britain offer examples of influence for the Netherlands with their Colonial Exhibition. A history of anthropology is necessary for a discussion of colonialism as the two go hand in hand. Moreover, studying these two countries also offers a point of comparison in which to understand the choices of the Dutch curatorially and in how they regarded their colonization. As a whole, this chapter aims to map out the historical basis for the Dutch colonial aphasia present in their cultural archive and the influences behind the means of display at the Colonial Exhibition.

3.1: History of the Netherlands and their Colonial Enterprise

The story of how the Netherlands fell under Spanish rule begins in 1477 when Mary married Maximilian of Habsburg after the death of her father, Charles the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy (Kennedy 2017, 93). This marriage and the following family line establishes the Habsburg name in the Netherlands, leading to the eventual rule of Spain over the Low Countries (Kennedy 2017, 93). When Philip II came into power in 1555, the people of the Netherlands were upset with

both his behavior and background (Kossman 1975, 2). Educated in Spain, the garishness of this new ruler was multiplied by Philip II not being of German background (Kassman 1975, 3). The Revolt of the Netherlands broke out in the southern portion of the Low Countries in 1566 and led to thousands of deaths and the displacement of about one hundred thousand people (Steen 2017, 298). This revolt in the south is linked to the rebellious civilians who engaged in a civil war against Philip II of Spain for the heavy taxation to pay for his unsolicited wars within Europe, the attack on Protestantism, and his overall lack of relationship with the Dutch (Steen 2017, 300; Kennedy 2017, 115). Following an increase in taxation, Philip II also began a campaign throughout the whole of the Netherlands to establish the Catholic Church (Kennedy 2017, 116). This was threatening to the previous means of religious life in the Low Countries, and the introduction of the new church and Archbishops was threatening to those living under the old ecclesiastical patronage where the clergy could secure the offices for their own sons (Kennedy 2017, 116). As a whole, this new system took away local voices from the Church for both the Protestants and Catholics in the Netherlands (Kennedy 2017, 116-117).

The Dutch Wars of Independence, or more commonly referred to as the Eighty Years War, truly began in the 1560s “as a scattered revolt against Spanish and local oligarchic rule connected to a wish for greater tolerance in religion, reduced taxation and the defense of local privileges” and would develop into a civil war by the 1570s (‘T Hart 2014, 2-3). After fighting with the Spanish in the Low Countries for over thirty years, the two sides became mentally and fiscally exhausted (T’ Hart 2014, 25). This led to a ceasefire in 1609 known as the Twelve Years Truce (‘T Hart 2014, 25). Despite this agreement for Europe, the fighting was to be resumed in the Far East and the Americas, specifically in the Caribbean (‘T Hart 2014, 25). As will be discussed later in accordance with the Dutch West India Company, the Netherlands took to the Spanish colonies to further fight for their independence and power within the trading sphere (Mohr 2014, 17; Kouwenberg 2015, 87; Kubátová 2016, 159). The colonial exploits of the Netherlands were also to challenge the colonial giants of Western Europe as the Dutch themselves became independent from their own colonization. Along with their challenged relationship with the Spanish during this time, the Low Countries developed the Dutch East India Company (in Dutch: Vereenigde Oost-Indische

Compagnie), the VOC, in 1602 as spice trade retaliation against Portugal and Spain (Mohr 2014, 17). Referred to as the “heroic governor-general” of the VOC, Jan Pieterszoon Coen will go on to be a symbol referring back to this imperialism at the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 (Kuitenbrouwer 1991, 19; Bloembergen 2006, 50). More on this will be analyzed in the following chapter, particularly how the history of the Netherlands was connected to the methodology and objects on display at the Colonial Exhibition.

The Netherlands had a colonial enterprise spanning three and a half centuries and extending all over the globe (Bosma 2014, 153). The Dutch had colonies in East Asia, Africa, and the Americas. The most notable and lucrative colony for the Dutch economy was Java, Indonesia (Bosma 2014, 157). The Dutch and their VOC were in charge of their colonization in the southern tip of Africa and east and southeast Asia (Postma 1992, 15). The Dutch East Indies had trading stations in India, Japan, Taiwan, and Sri Lanka, however their most prized possession was Indonesia (Postma 1992, 15). Their colonies on the West Coast of Africa were included in what was defined as the Dutch Atlantic along with their colonies in North America, Brazil, Guyana and the Caribbean (Bosma 2014, 154). The Dutch West India Company (in Dutch: West-Indische Compagnie, abbreviated WIC) managed this region of their colonial possessions, however it could never stand up to the “tremendous financial success” of the VOC and so plays a minimal role in Dutch historiography comparatively (Postma 1992, 15). As a whole, the Netherlands viewed their colonialism in a similar manner as other European powers overseas, as something beneficial to their subjects. This thinking coincides with the later ideas of anthropology to further justify actions of colonial powers.

Aphasia begins in the Netherlands’ colonial policy and the rhetoric surrounding it (Kuitenbrouwer 1991; Wesseling 1988). Some scholars have gone so far to refer to the Dutch as only a ‘sub-imperial’ power compared Britain and France (Kuitenbrouwer 1991, 18). Not only is size a factor, but the historical evidence of colonial aphasia within the Dutch Ethical Policy (in Dutch: Ethische Politiek) over the East Indies contributes to this definition (Kuitenbrouwer 1991, 19; Mohr 2014, 19). This policy was established because the Dutch believed the borders of the East Indies were defined prior to their arrival, and “within these borders the Dutch government was bringing order, welfare and civilization”

(Kuitenbrouwer 1991, 19). Overall, the Netherlands minimized themselves in European politics to be assumed as an innocent, small nation back in Europe (Wesseling 1988, 69). This brings to light the comment by Dutch historian and former professor of Leiden University, Dr. H.L. Wesseling, “this makes the position of the Netherlands unique: it was a colonial giant but a political dwarf” (Wesseling 1988, 69; universititleiden.nl). This comment is not out of the ordinary when speaking of Dutch colonialism, as several sources mention the distinction of the Dutch being a “small and peaceful nation cultivating a policy of neutrality, mutual respect and the promotion of trade and progress” (Wesseling 1988, 60; Kuitenbrouwer 1991; Bloembergen 2006). A distinctive representation of the behavior of the Dutch towards their colonialism can be seen in the Cultivation System (in Dutch: Cultuurstelsel) established in 1830, several years after the liquidation of the VOC in 1800 (Bloembergen 2006, 28; Mohr 2014, 17; Bosma 2014, 158). This system is the result of Western superiority over colonized subjects where the Netherlands took advantage of their political power in Java to exploit labor, land, and energy from its inhabitants.

The Cultivation System is evidence of racial categories existing as early as the seventeenth century. This policy was most concentrated in Java and flourished from 1830 to 1870, yet it would not dismantle entirely until 1915 (Bloembergen 2006, 28; Wesseling 1988, 61). Bringing back more financial prosperity for the Netherlands, this system made Java the most lucrative portion of their Dutch East Indies enterprise (Wesseling 1988, 61). The Cultivation System “required every village to grow export crops on a part of its land (at first 20 percent, later 33 percent) and then sold to the Dutch colonial government at a fixed price in place of a land tax” (Mohr 2014, 18; Bloembergen 2006, 28). This system yielded results for the Dutch, and it allowed the government to pursue infrastructural projects without having to tax in the Netherlands (Bloembergen 2006, 28). Although this was momentarily beneficial for the Dutch treasury, the exporting of crops reduced the availability of food in the villages of Java (Bloembergen 2006, 28; Mohr 2014, 18). The Cultivation System gained criticism due to humanitarian interests and the voices of state monopolies (Bloembergen 2006, 28). Despite the concern of the Dutch public for the well-being of the Indonesian population, this system can still be linked to racial categorization and the result of this kind of discourse (Mohr 2014, 18). The means in which Europeans distinguished

themselves from the Indonesians was through religion and a belief of a dichotomy between the white race and the “brown one” (Mohr 2014, 19). During the earlier period of the VOC, classifications were primarily made regarding religion, identifying people as part of the Dutch Reformed Church (in Dutch: Hervormde Kerk), Muslims, or Pagans (Mohr 2014, 18). Once coming into the nineteenth century, classifications based on racial categories begin to take hold (Mohr 2014, 18). As was discussed briefly in chapter one and will be discussed further in the following paragraphs, these classifications regarding racial categories fall under early anthropology popular during the 1800s. The population was divided into categories, including the Europeans- consisting of the Dutch, other Western Europeans and people of Indonesian and European descent, “*Inlanders*”- the indigenous Indonesian population, and the “*Vreemde Oosterlingen*”- other Asian people, primarily Chinese and Arab people (Mohr 2014, 18). The Cultivation System led to employing a few hundred governor-generals for the supervision of at least 12 or 13 million people in Indonesia in 1865 (Bloembergen 2006, 29). The obvious power imbalance following this distinction of authority mimicked the racial category rhetoric coming out of Western Europe during this same moment. Coinciding with the Cultivation System in Java, the Western hemisphere was developing their field of anthropology. In anthropology, a means to understand difference entered a more scientific sphere which allowed it to gain more validity in academics and institutions. This will be explained better later in this chapter with a discussion on anthropology growing out of Britain and France in subsection 3.3. What is crucial to understand however, is how colonization drew from anthropology to justify Western superiority through several different means. This differentiation can be based on “language, colour, religion, morals, origin, historical memories” and it paved the way of understanding how it was “the moral and intellectual superiority of the white race over others” (Mohr 2014, 19). This is a moment in which the work of early anthropology defines colonial enterprise, or rather vice versa. This categorization led to a hierarchical perspective influencing the Dutch to behave similarly to their imperial neighbors. The Cultivation System was another means for the Netherlands to employ power over the colonized.

3.2 Dutch Colonial Administration and Categories in Suriname

Another important, and arguably crucial part of this overall discussion, is the history of the Netherlands in Suriname. The involvement of the Netherlands in South America is less obvious in literature concerning Dutch colonialism (Kubátová 2016, 158). Much of this also has to do with the fact portions of the colonies were ceded to the English in the early nineteenth century (Kouwenberg 2015, 71). The Netherlands became involved in the Americas following Spaniard conquests in the late 1500s with their explorations beginning in 1580 into the Guianas and the Amazon (Kouwenberg 2015, 87). Although settlements began this early, colonization of the area by the Dutch did not begin entirely until the early seventeenth century (Kouwenberg 2015, 71). Therefore, the period spanning from 1621 to 1675 represents the lifespan of the first WIC (Kouwenberg 2015, 71; rijksmuseum.nl). The Eighty Years War with Spain resulted in an embargo on the Netherlands, limiting their commercial trade on salt (Kubátová 2016, 159). The Netherlands then went about attacking Spanish settlements and cargo fleets during the 1620s as part of their continued war against Spain despite the Twelve Years Truce (Kubátová 2016, 159; rijksmuseum.nl; 'T Hart 2014). The WIC was different from other colonial organizations by being the result of retaliation rather than just economic benefits. The Dutch were inclined to invade the Caribbean because Spanish ships were constantly going through the area carrying silver (Goslinga 2017, 54). The Spanish silver fleets could then be spotted and raided by Dutch vessels (Goslinga 2017, 54). This is critical in the history of the WIC, as it was “by this moment, the foundation of the WIC as a war ‘machine’ against the Spanish Empire and the official Dutch arrival in the America (s) were just a question of time” (Kubátová 2016, 159). In this respect the WIC grew out of the war with Spain and this will prove to be a primary reason for their distinctive behavior in the Americas as a different kind of colonial power (Rijksmuseum.nl). This disdain towards Spain is arguably a point where the Netherlands did not see themselves as colonizers due to their history as colonized subjects themselves. Believing they understood what it was like to be colonized, the Dutch were inclined to be something better and not impose the same treatment in their colonies (Kubátová 2016, 159). Nevertheless, the colonization of the Dutch mimicked other colonial powers, contributing to their misconception and resulting

colonial aphasia (Kubátová 2016, 159; Stoler 2011). Although other European nations like Britain and France believed their colonization was beneficial to the people experiencing it, the Netherlands is different because they added a national innocence to their narrative. The Netherlands believed the tyranny they experienced under the Habsburg rule meant they were inclined to understand the experiences of the colonized and could therefore not impose the same.

The Dutch East India Company existed for two centuries as the world's first multinational corporation (Sgourev 2014, 936). Alternatively, the first Dutch West India Company assumed a different and shorter role (Sgourev 2014, 936). The most defining factor of the WIC was its involvement in the war with Spain (Kubátová 2016, 162; 'T Hart 2014, 25). The founding of the WIC involved the concept of privateering, a type of "piracy" where the holding of a "letter of marque" gave permission to seize vessels- in this particular case, Spanish ones (Kubátová 2016, 162). Unlike the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Dutch in the beginning had less interest in cultural colonization in the New World through introduction of language, culture, and religion (Kubátová 2016, 160). The Netherlands was only concerned with commerce and was thus built on navel, commercial and administrative enterprises (Kubátová 2016, 161). The Dutch established trade with the Indigenous Americans along what was referred to as the "Wild Coast" of the Guianas (Kouwenberg 2015, 72). During the time it took for their colonies to become plantations, the Dutch continued to trade for dyes, woods, oil and balsam (Kouwenberg 2015, 72). These early trades are what inspired merchants from the province of Zeeland in the Netherlands to colonize the Guianas and get their hands on the commercial goods (Kouwenberg 2015, 72). For this reason, the merchants then influenced the WIC to issue land to private individuals in Berbice and Essequibo- neighbors to Suriname- under the supervision of appointed governors (Kouwenberg 2015, 72). Unlike the relative stability at the VOC, multiple policy, management, and financial shifts at the WIC contributed to its constant change in territory and provision of inhabitants (Kouwenberg 2015, 73). Moreover, the introduction of sugar cane in the 1650s led to the English invading Dutch colonies in South America to get in on this popular export (Kouwenberg 2015, 73). The Treaty of Breda was drawn up between the Dutch and English in 1667, granting the Dutch with the plantation colony of Suriname in exchange for their North American trading post New

Amsterdam (today: New York City) (Books LLC, 194). This is a significant exchange because it demonstrates how the Dutch viewed their colonies compared to the English. The Netherlands was less concerned with a cultural colonisation over the inhabitants, but rather were focused on the economic benefits coming out of exports. The Dutch were not interested in planting roots and instead viewed the colonies in South America as economic engines. It prompted them to view this area as a commodity which would in turn be projected onto the people as will be discussed.

The Dutch colonies were used for growing tobacco, coffee, and cocoa, and the most important export: sugar cane (Kouwenberg 2015, 82). The establishment of sugar cane plantations in the seventeenth century began to fuel the need for an increased labor force (Kouwenberg 2015, 82). Due to not being settler colonies, the Dutch found themselves with a very small European population in the Guianas (Kouwenberg 2015, 76). In need of a workforce, the Dutch turned to the Indigenous American population (Kouwenberg 2015, 76). At this point, the Indigenous Americans were used to European presence due to the high volume of Spanish, Portuguese, and more European powers colonizing the Americas (Kouwenberg 2015, 74). As a result, the Indigenous population was “not always welcoming” to the Dutch colonizers due to these past experiences (Kouwenberg 2015, 74). The Dutch managed to keep up a lot of their trade with the Indigenous Americans, however they also enslaved a large percentage for their colonial work (Kouwenberg 2015, 75). Once the sugar cane plantations came into effect the Dutch needed an even bigger labor force (Kouwenberg 2015, 76). The resulting Dutch Trans-Atlantic slave trade began in the seventeenth century to import slaves from the west coast of Africa to work on sugar cane plantations in Suriname (Kouwenberg 2015, 76). Although having this early beginning, lack of documentation makes it difficult to track how many slaves exactly were brought to the Americas via the Dutch Trans-Atlantic slave trade during this time (Kouwenberg 2015, 77). There is minimal information available in both historical records and contemporary discourse. This can arguably be a case of denial of the Dutch and their participation in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade as some shareholders of the WIC did not actually condone slavery (Postma 1992, 11). Calvinists believed slavery was justified due to the “curse of Ham” theory where black people represented the offspring of Ham, “the biblical son of Noah who had

dishonored his father and thereby drew the curse of God that condemned his offspring to perpetual servitude” (Postma 1992, 11). It is then likely that WIC directors were more inclined to select Calvinist advisors who advocated for slavery as it brought about economic benefits (Postma 1992, 11). The lack of documentation on Dutch participation in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade can be interpreted as both intentional and representative of how Netherlands viewed their colonization in the Atlantic (Postma 1992, 12). Although documents could have been lost or undiscovered at this point, the Dutch are recorded to have been involved in the slave trade sporadically even when the WIC did not wish to participate at first (Postma 1992, 12). It is assumed the WIC got involved in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade to such an extent due to being forced into the practice due to their location in the Atlantic, the influence of other European powers, and the need for labor on their plantations (Postma 1992, 12). Nevertheless, their participation cannot be seen as forced and situational. The WIC held a monopoly over the Trans-Atlantic slave trade during the 1620s, and at times transported more slaves than did France and Spain between the years 1651-1700 (slavevoyages.org). Contemporary numbers have calculated a total of 554,336 people were transported by the Netherlands in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade between the years 1576 and 1850 (slavevoyages.org). Overall, the lack of acknowledgement of Dutch participation can be a result of denial and intentional distancing as is demonstrated by this energy given to their historiography in the Atlantic.

The population size of the Dutch colonies in the Guianas remained relatively small because of the high interest in trade rather than settlement (Kouwenberg 2015, 79). With the high economic prosperity occurring in the Netherlands at the time of colonialism, there was little interest to migrate to the Caribbean colonies (Kouwenberg 2015, 79). Moreover, the WIC operated the most lucrative and labor-demanding sugar plantations, while other crops remained under private trade (Kouwenberg 2015, 81). Unlike English colonies, the Dutch could not rely on indentured servants and the populations were mostly small, white, and male resulting in high mortality and low birth rates (Kouwenberg 2015, 80). Participation in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was deemed necessary by the Dutch to supply their plantations with labor (Kouwenberg 2015, 80; Books LLC). Due to horrible conditions and treatment on plantations by owners, African

slaves would often escape with the aid of the Indigenous American populations living in the surrounding rain forests (Books LLC 2010, 194). The runaway slaves and the Indigenous population developed their own culture that would become widely known throughout the Guiana's and back in Western Europe (Books LLC 2010, 194). In English, this mixed culture would be referred to as Maroons, and in Dutch as "Bosnegers," which directly translated to English is "bush negroes" (Books LLC 2010, 194). These Maroons established several tribes among them and would raid nearby plantations to aid in freeing slaves and acquire goods (Books LLC 2010, 194). Within this Maroon population included the Saramaka, Ndyuka/Aukaners, Paramaka, Aluku (Boni), Matawai and Kwinti (Price 2002, 81; Kambel 2006, 10). A consensus done in 2004 shows a total of 171-186 Maroon communities in Suriname (Kambel 2006, 10). The variation in heritage within these communities was not acknowledged in the Colonial Exhibition in 1883, and instead a mass generalization was made regarding the diversity of Suriname. As will be discussed, the people of Suriname were lumped into the same exhibit, the Rotunda which diminished the cultural variability of the region.

The treatment of slaves in Suriname by the Dutch was not unlike other regions. Forms of torture and executions would be carried out as penalty for running away (Davis 2011, 927). Both slave owners and the colonial government practiced unfair treatment for the sake of keeping up their plantation economy. The people brought through the Middle Passage through the Trans-Atlantic slave trade were, on average, between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five (Davis 2011, 930). On the ships themselves sometimes referred to as "portable prisons", African people experienced pain and mortality (Davis 2011, 939). If they did not fall ill, these people could be subjected to "severe flogging and other punishment, and any attempt at mutiny was met with death" (Davis 2011, 939). Once landing in Suriname, the survivors were "cleaned and oiled for the auction block" to be purchased and branded by the owner of the plantation (Davis 2011, 940). According to Natalie Zeemon Davis, Professor of History at the University of Toronto, Canada, "Suriname was known throughout the Caribbean for the extravagant cruelty of plantation punishment" (Davis 2011, 942). What is of note in seventeenth to eighteenth century descriptions of plantation behavior towards slaves was the excess use of beatings, floggings, and whippings (Davis 2011, 943-

945). The harsh treatment of slaves prompted their attempts to escape and the development of Maroon communities.

In the eighteenth century the Surinamese Maroons would be a militant offense, forcing treaties to be made with several tribes to ensure “official recognition Maroon autonomy” (Snelders 2017, 24). Throughout their colonization of Suriname, the Netherlands would experience attacks by Maroon communities for the liberation of slaves (Books LLC 2010, 194). The Netherlands would not abolish slavery in Suriname specifically until 1863, however it took a 10-year transitional period where slaves in Suriname were required to work with minimal pay until 1873 (Books LLC 2010, 194). Although slavery was abolished and the newly free people moved to the capital city of Paramaribo, Suriname remained a plantation colony (Books LLC 2010, 194). The Netherlands chose to bring laborers from their Dutch East Indies, India, and eventually China and the Middle East to fulfill their need for workers on their plantations (Books LLC 2010, 195). Although Suriname has a small population, it is very diverse as is the case with other countries that were previously European colonies. This diversity is the result of the diaspora created by Dutch colonialism and their plantation economy (Books LLC 2010, 195).

Although there are several other colonies in South America held by the Dutch, I will be focusing on Suriname as their Rotunda at the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 as the topic of this thesis. Suriname remained under Dutch rule until their independence in 1975 (Books LLC 2010, 195). The Netherlands has continued to influence Suriname particularly through language. Dutch is the only official language, making Suriname the only Dutch-speaking country in South America (Books LLC 2010, 198). Several groups inhabit Suriname, including Surinamese Creoles who are the descendants of West African slaves and Europeans, however they are considered mostly Dutch in their ancestry (Books LLC 2010, 197). Another demographic are the Surinamese Maroons who, as previously mentioned, are the descendants of escaped West African slaves and the Indigenous American population (Books LLC 2010, 197). Through a consensus done in 2004, the location of each Maroon community has been recognized: The Saramaka inhabit the area near the Upper-Suriname River, the Ndyuka/Aukaners occupy the area by the Tapanahony and Cottica River, the Paramaka live by the Marowijne River, the Aluku (Boni) can be found by the Lawa River, the Matawai live by the Upper-

Saramaka River, and the Kwinti occupy the area by the Coppename River (Kambel 2006, 10). This demographic is interchangeably referred to as “bush negroes” from the start of Dutch colonialism to the end of the twentieth century (Books LLC 2010, 194; Naipaul 1962). Examples of the existence of this term and its generalizing tone will be demonstrated through the traveler accounts in the following chapter. Lastly, I would like to make note of a small yet existing part of the population, the Indigenous Americans, who are made up of several tribes (Books LLC 2010, 197). The Indigenous peoples who live in the coast/savannah belt include the Kali’na (Carib), the Lokono (Arawak), and a mixed community of the Kali’na/Lokono (Kambel 2006, 10). In the south of Suriname, the Indigenous communities include the Trio (Tiriyo), the Wayana, and a mixed community of Trio/Wayana (Kambel 2006, 10). Although the diverse demographic within Suriname led to the mixing of people and allowed Europeans to find new ways to categorize people, there still were sweeping generalizations back in the Western hemisphere. As will be discussed in the next subsection, traveler accounts offer first-hand perspectives on the different groups inhabiting Suriname. The Colonial Exhibition made no effort to demonstrate the diversity of Suriname outside of the Maroons and Arawaks as two groups to represent the whole of these communities. It is also important to note Suriname is referred to as part of Dutch Guiana in historic and more recent academic literature, suggesting the colonial presence and implied ownership remains past Suriname’s independence. The pride the Netherlands has over their Dutch Guiana is therefore best understood through the articulation of their colonialism, in that it is itself a “small and peaceful nation cultivating a policy of neutrality, mutual respect and the promotion of trade and progress” their actions logically distinguishable from the other colonial powers (Wesseling 1988, 60). This is seemingly not true, as their colonialism was as dehumanizing and disruptive as other European powers.

Due to a historical identity crisis, the Netherlands assumed power outside of Western Europe as retaliation against the Spanish. With this in mind, their colonial exploits can be seen as a means to legitimize themselves politically and benefit the Netherlands economically. A great amount of wealth was gained through colonial exploits, and this presented itself back home in the flourishing of the country artistically and the rapid modernization of the Netherlands. It is imperative to mark what was occurring at the same time as their colonialism, the

popular Dutch Golden Age in arts and culture that is definitive to the Netherlands today. The Golden Age grew out of this newfound wealth and is characterized in historiography disassociated with the resulting horrors of colonialism (Helmers and Janssen 2018, 10). The Dutch Golden Age is observed to start from the seventeenth century, and coinciding under the Habsburg rule of the Spanish in the Netherlands (Helmers and Janssen 2018, 1). It distinguishes a time of painting, particularly the noteworthy names of Rembrandt and Vermeer, while also referring to the economic prosperity from the trade and colonial empire (Helmers and Janssen 2018, 1). Referred to as the “Dutch miracle” and representative of “national greatness”, the Golden Age contributes to the identity and cultural archive of the Netherlands (Helmers and Janssen 2018, 1-2). Nevertheless, as is often overlooked or separated in historiography is the Dutch Golden Age and the colonialism that made it possible (Helmers and Janssen 2018, 10). Helmers and Janssen identify how “the violent enterprise that brought about the slave trade and the human suffering required to sustain prosperity in the neat Dutch cities is conveniently replaced by a deserving personification of purity” (Helmers and Janssen 2018, 6). Truly, the Golden Age can serve as justification for the colonialism and add to the disillusion of history and resulting cultural archive (Helmers and Janssen 2018, 10).

3.3: Early Anthropology and Exhibitionary History in France and Britain

As Western Europe was coming into and living through the 1800s, critical concepts and theories regarding development of mankind and human diversity took hold of the academic, social, and political discourse. Early anthropology and exhibitionary practice coincide with rising nationalism within the countries of the Netherlands, Britain, and France. Most importantly, and where a lot of this begins, the coexistence of Darwinian theory with early anthropological study from France in the nineteenth century pushed racial discourse further into the social sphere. Alluding back to the discourse in the previous chapter, the intellectual sphere of Western Europe had greatly to do with Darwinian theory and advancements in the study of man and his role in the universe. Coinciding with the growth of anthropology, the imposition of comparing the Western ‘race’ with the rest of the world became institutionalized and publicized throughout Europe. The influence

of France on this factor is exponential, and their contribution to the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam has a clear route from the early exhibitions in Paris and London.

France is noteworthy for its involvement in the construction of anthropology as the study of other people from a critical gaze. In the 1800s physicians and naturalists recorded physical variability and established the idea of races (Conklin 2013, 19). The collection of species-most notably people-and artefacts allowed the construction of the field of anthropology to develop as a science of the humanities (Conklin 2013, 19). By the 1870's, France was at the forefront of studying the "human species in all its aspects: biological, linguistic, and civilizational" (Conklin 2013, 20). The Colonial Exhibition in 1883 lands at a pivotal period for the study of anthropology. This new field was gaining traction, yet it did not enter the university sphere until the twentieth century (Conklin 2013, 20). Exhibitions such as the one that is the topic of this work, as well as plenty of others across Western Europe, represent the mixing of the economic gain through colonialism and nationalistic construction through the division of the 'other'. It is at this moment in the late nineteenth early twentieth centuries where the "anthropological profession had naturalized the hierarchical model of evolution that sustained European imperialism" (Maxwell 1999, 54). Anthropology justified colonial exploits and the economic benefits of colonialism encouraged European powers into their territories.

One of the most influential people during this period was Paul Broca who established the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris and continued to take part in the study and display of humans. Arguably, Broca's physical anthropology and his "more fragmented science of ethnography" allowed for the establishment of racism to enter the academic sphere, or rather the other way around (Conklin 2013, 17). His anthropological institute was world famous in the 1860s and 1870s, and his physical anthropology took racial classification one step further from chromometrics to the study of anthropometry (Conklin 2013, 21; Maxwell 1999, 40). Broca and his peers believed the behavior (read, civilized nature) of an individual is directly proportional to the size of their craniums (Conklin 2013, 23). Broca's definition of race was studied more 'scientifically' than seen previously, allowing it to gain popularity by the public in which to place political belief (Conklin 2013, 6). Through taking measurements and conducting anthropological

photographs, Broca and like-minded intellectuals managed to fabricate racial difference for their superiority (Maxwell 1999, 40). Overall, Broca's "greatest glory" was his establishment of the Société d'Anthropologie for the purpose of studying humans from all angles, such as archaeology, anatomy, ethnology, and more (H.F.C. Ten Kate 1880, 293; Conklin 2013, 25). Along with his society, Broca led several publications concerning the study of mankind and the link between morphology and intelligence all for the sake of distinguishing where each race existed on the evolutionary timeline from Darwinian theory (Conklin 2013, 27; Maxwell 1999, 40). Broca's views were unique by not coinciding directly to the laws of Darwin's thinking, instead he believed the races to be more like species with the inability of surviving alongside or past the "white race" (Maxwell 1999, 46). The study of craniums would advance to individuals holding entire collections of specimens and artefacts from travels across the globe (Conklin 2013, 34). This would fill the need for ethnographic museums to show and hold the collections, while world fairs would serve the purpose of showcasing the ethnographic study of the French intellectual elite (Conklin 2013, 34).

Another simultaneous French academic figure in the early study of anthropology is naturalist-trained Armand de Quatrefages who in 1855 was appointed as the chair of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris (Conklin 2013, 29). Similar to Broca, Quatrefages classified human intelligence via the size of the cranium, however he viewed the environment as an acting force behind variation (Conklin 2013, 30). In order to study the topic more holistically, Quatrefages "encouraged naturalists to bring back as many skulls as possible from their expeditions in order to extend and complete the cranial series necessary for the racial identification of different human types" (Conklin 2013, 31). Along with his pupil Ernest-Théodore Hamy, Quatrefages supported the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle to present man-made artifacts alongside their osteological counterparts (Conklin 2013, 31). Establishing the Société d'Ethnographie de Paris against Broca's, Quatrefages further normalized the act of racial categorization and "scientific racism" within the French academic sphere (Conklin 2013, 1 and 32). Hamy would later establish and curate the Musée d'Ethnographie to mimic other countries in Europe and the United States, where the study of humanity and all its facts could be put on display with a dash of the 'spectacular' (Conklin 2013, 35).

Following Broca's death in 1880, anthropology became more influenced by political thought and the careful 'science' of his study was gone (Conklin 2013, 44). Through a linear evolutionary perspective, one where Europeans were leading in progress while 'others' fell behind, people were sorted according to the three races of "black", "yellow", and "white" (Conklin 2013, 46). The French were particular in the minuscule ways to prove their superiority, and displaying to the public allowed for this placement of ideas. For some, "the material forms of vanishing peoples were of particular interest because they were seen as missing links, or survivals, that could shed light on the long-term development of apes into 'Europeans'" (Conklin 2013, 38). Photography and museum displays allowed for the presentation and circulation of these studies, however these methods remained limited. Curators then devised another means of displaying information, one that combined the science with the enticement of the 'spectacular'. This is the moment world fairs and great exhibitions develop in Europe, and the period in which anthropology shifts interest from Orientalism to Primitivism (Maxwell 1999, 16).

The diverging of interests from the "Orient" to "primitive" and "savage" cultures of Africa, the Americas, Oceania, and Australia is all a result of the acceptance of anthropology (Maxwell 1999, 16). The fusing of anthropology, Primitivism, and entertainment through the 'spectacular', major exhibitions and world fairs began to be erected in France. The first French international exhibition was the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867 where people from the French North African territories were the main attractions (Maxwell 1999, 16). Used as laborers, these North African foreigners aided in the building of the fair as well as vendors and waiters for the restaurants and shops (Maxwell 1999, 16). The fair was constructed through several exhibits, an Egyptian bazaar and Tunisian barber's shop, where visitors could gaze upon the workers as well as their objects (Maxwell 1999, 16). Another like venue was the Jardin d'Acclimation which, established earlier in 1859, was made for the presentation of botany and zoology (Maxwell 1999, 16). This changed in 1872, when the Jardin included humans into their display (Maxwell 1999, 16). People from Nubia, Eskimos, and more were brought from all over the world to be depicted alongside animals and nature in a plot surrounded by the city (Maxwell 1999, 16). Thanks to such 'spectacle' attributes as novelties of distant lands, the entertainment value of the Jardin increased exponentially. The positive feedback from the inclusion of humans in

nature-scapes in metropolitan areas encouraged this collection and display to become more concentrated. Financial difficulties forced the Jardin to move from private sponsors who encouraged the mixing of science and entertainment to the public who looked for interesting ‘spectacles’ (Maxwell 1999, 17). It was during the 1880s that the Jardin bears resemblance to a zoo, where a distinction between object and viewer was solidified by fences and railings (Maxwell 1999, 17). On the same note, the humans included in the Jardin were the mere construction of the narrative curators wanted them to fulfill. In other words, the representation was purely imaginative with less attention given to an objective science (Maxwell 1999, 17). The placement of people in such a setting was for entertainment and awe brought to the public through a detachment of humanity as was supported through Social Darwinism and concentrated racial science.

The actions of the British mirrored those in France, however with a bit less care given towards racial categorization and more for the relay of cultural information (Maxwell 1999, 26). The 1851 Crystal Palace Great Exhibition in Britain showcased the best of the technology and arts industries, all housed in a fine Crystal Palace erected specifically for the occasion (Bloembergen 2006, 11). In the six months it was running, over six million people visited the Great Exhibition in London to see the wealth of the nation economically and globally (Bloembergen 2006, 11). The beginning purpose of this exhibition was to admire the craftsmanship coming out of the colonies in India and Asia, but the extra cost of managing foreign territories in the 1800s caused the purpose to shift (Maxwell 1999, 26). The coinciding Royal Institute of Anthropology of England and Ireland were also inspired by Broca’s studies, and in the 1860s went about documenting Broca’s scientific racial categorization through photography (Maxwell 1999, 40). This institute had two motives, to make anthropology a more scientific field and “satisfy the Colonial Office’s request for a method of taking photographs that would assist imperial management” (Maxwell 1999, 40). Similar to France during this period, exhibitions and institutions began to reflect beliefs about race and the inferiority of colonized people all under the guise of the ‘spectacular’ (Maxwell 1999, 27). Up until the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam, the size and allure of mass exhibitions continued to increase and inspire each other throughout Europe (Bloembergen 2006, 11). The economic exploits were influenced by the qualities of Social Darwinism for imperialists and curators alike due to existing in

“an era when notions of race, environment, culture, history, and evolution remained deeply entangled” where curators could order “objects in each civilization according to the same overarching categories” (Conklin 2013, 38). The objects on display included people who were equated to artifacts, brought from lands the public learned about from ‘spectacular’ traveler accounts and exhibitions. The exhibitions brought literature, academics, traveler accounts, ethnography, and aesthetics together and marketed it for the public to enjoy as an event. Combining commercial markets, industrialization, globalization and European involvement in civilizing and aiding the ‘primitive’ ‘other’, these major exhibitions curated together the perspectives and ambitions of the Western hemisphere against the rest of the world (Bloembergen 2006, 11).

It is through the normalization of establishing “scientific racism” pushing anthropology’s contribution to colonialism that inspired the need to display such thoughts for the public (Conklin 2013, 1). In early ethnographic museums, the placement of artifacts and osteological remains alongside information concerning the evolution of humans with the inclusion of real, contemporary people allowed naturalists to solidify and convince a racialized perspective of the world. Through the method of display, curators, naturalists, and imperialists were able to construct “discourses of ‘self’ and ‘other’ which produced a division between geographically distanced cultures (Lidchi 2013, 163). Through the difference assumed by the gazer and those on display, the sense of superiority could be marketed to the public as it was told to be beneficial for the sake of humankind, history, economics, and the nation.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to acknowledge the roots of colonial aphasia within the Dutch cultural archive by a close look at their history, colonialism, and neighboring countries. Throughout this chapter I have highlighted the root influences that would translate to the presentation of the Surinamese at the Colonial Exhibition in 1883. By looking at their history under the reign of Spain, the identity of the Netherlands grew out of their own oppression and thus their colonial justification was built out of a nonexistent issue. The Netherlands considered themselves to be colonized and therefore went

about their colonization with the belief it was not like their European counterparts, instead being a pure extension of the benefits growing out of the “white man’s burden” to civilize the world while participating in global trade networks (Maxwell 1999, 86). Inspired to colonize the Americas as a direct way to attack Spain, the Netherlands then had a different approach to their Atlantic than they did to their East Indies. The resulting colonial aphasia within the Netherlands, and their façade as a just, small, and innocent nation ventured to the perspectives of the rest of Western Europe about the Netherlands and their colonial enterprise. Through a close look at the exhibition history of France and Britain, I was able to show not only the incentive for Amsterdam to hold its Colonial Exhibition in 1883, but also the source of inspiration that prompted the Netherlands to be different. As was demonstrated through 3.1, colonialism became synonymous with culture and identity. This is because colonialism began when the Netherlands became independent from Habsburg rule, and the resulting undertaking brought about economic prosperity allowing for the noteworthy Dutch Golden Age. Simultaneously, anthropology was becoming a merited discipline to further justify colonial exploits. France and Britain were using their wealth and anthropology to then journey into the means of display for the public. This is where the idea of the ‘spectacular’ of the anthropological ‘other’ comes into the Western social sphere, tinged with Orientalist and Primitivist principles.

Chapter 4: Establishment of the ‘Spectacle’ through an Analysis of Traveler Accounts

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate how the history of the Netherlands and early anthropology influenced the perspective of the colonies. Traveler accounts and early ethnographies are the result of combining anthropology with colonialism. They are critical means of information, as they are the embodiment of the idea of Western superiority and the ‘other’ disguised as a ‘spectacle’. The views on each part of the Dutch colonies differ widely, particularly due to the established perspectives of Orientalism and Primitivism as well as the factors of early physical anthropology and development of hierarchical societies. Unfortunately, the early years of Dutch colonialism are not well documented, and the Dutch West India Company has consistently been given less attention than its larger counterpart (Kouwenberg 2015, 71). This is the primary reason I am pulling from later works following the abolition of slavery in the area due to their persistence of Western superiority over the anthropological ‘other’ and the influences of Primitivism versus Orientalism. The first subsection analyzes the earliest of these accounts, William Gifford Palgrave’s 1876 *Dutch Guiana*. Written by an Orientalist, this subsection will demonstrate the interesting take on Primitivism when speaking of Suriname and the concept of the ‘spectacle’ and its influence on establishing distance. As will be demonstrated in the second subsection, later works by Morton C. Kahn and V.S. Naipaul, all construct the idea of the ‘other’ and the ‘spectacular’ and show its persistence through time. The purpose of studying these works is to present the reality in which the colonies and their inhabitants were viewed even long after their liberation. This same perspective is present in the presentation of the Surinamese and others at the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 when the idea of the ‘spectacle’ had to become even bigger. Although this diction is typical of the time period and was repeated throughout the Western Hemisphere and the Americas, it is important to understand it as a basis for aphasia within the current Dutch cultural archive. The reiteration of this language allowed for perpetuation of aphasic thinking that displays itself in colonial memory

4.1: William Gifford Palgrave, *Dutch Guiana*

The first traveler account to be analyzed is the work of William Gifford Palgrave and his 1876 published account of Dutch Guiana or modern-day Suriname (Cambridge Library Collection). Palgrave, an Orientalist working for the British foreign service, was a renowned traveler while also working temporarily as a Catholic missionary (Cambridge Library Collection). Palgrave's 1876 *Dutch Guiana* offers a perspective into the nineteenth century world leading up to the Colonial Exhibition in 1883, while simultaneously showcasing how Dutch colonialism was viewed by the British, Palgrave's account comes at an interesting time in the history of Suriname just three years after the official release of slaves in 1873 (Books LLC 2010, 194). His work is laid out in chapters based on geographical location and demographics, but I am mainly interested in the fashion in which he wrote about the population of the area. Through his diction, Palgrave's work exhibits the construction of race within the categories from a Western European outlook to set the stage for later discriminatory action and writing.

Palgrave's work on Suriname demonstrates the behavior of traveler accounts and their participation to the colonial gaze, a mixture of the concepts of Orientalism, Primitivism and Western civilized superiority. To explain this, I am looking at particular quotes within Palgrave's book, most of which demonstrate the dichotomy of agency and power within the Dutch colonies in Suriname. A noteworthy phenomenon is the acknowledgement of people inhabiting the land prior to European arrival, yet the ownership lies with the Netherlands. To demonstrate this, Palgrave describes daily life in Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, as a place "for the negro element, a noisy one, predominates over all, even within the capital itself; the Dutch, though rulers of the land, are few, and other Europeans fewer still" (Palgrave 1876, 54). Palgrave understands Dutch influence to be what gives Paramaribo "its twofold character, at once European and tropical, Dutch and Creole- a blending of opposites" yet the "discipline of Dutch rule" has "trained the African native into the Surinam creole" (Palgrave 1876, 36, 259). The concept of Dutch rule over people in Suriname is observed to be fact as representative by the clear difference between those written about and those doing the writing. To demonstrate this, Palgrave states confidently that

“color-antagonism, does not exist in Surinam, because it has never been summoned by opportunity into existence” (Palgrave 1876, 236). This clear decision to not accept colonial action is a direct result of how the Western Hemisphere viewed their colonialism overseas. The idea of superiority is incredibly clear in the diction and means of explanation to describe the action employed in Suriname. In other words, the idea of colonialism is displayed as one of good nature for the benefit of all involved when in reality it produced economic stability and racial superiority for the Netherlands. This is demonstrated further by Palgrave’s means of talking about the people in Suriname versus his readers or Western audience. When speaking to the audience, Palgrave cordially states “my intelligent European friend,” a drastically different treatment than given to the “natives of the land” (Palgrave 1876, 214, 48). Through this distinction between the civilized reader, Palgrave’s intention of producing such a work becomes clear. By alluding to the ways of the “Wild Coast” of Dutch Guiana, Palgrave is producing a traveler account on “our Dutch friends,” while cementing the condescending yet spectacularized view of the anthropological ‘other’ developed at the same time back in the Western Hemisphere (Kouwenberg 2015, 70; Palgrave 1876, 60).

Although his tone is descriptive and observational of the environment, there remains an underlying indication of civilized over the uncivilized, Palgrave and readers belonging to the former. For example, in his Chapter V titled “Bush Negroes” Palgrave is clearly attempting to commend a group while simultaneously pushing them down alongside other demographics (Palgrave 1876, 164). The whole of his work can be represented by this a tone in which the connotations applied to different races hold power over perspective. In his own words, Palgrave distinguishes Dutch integration as “the extremest rays of civilization blend with the dark margin of savage or, at any rate, non-civilized existence beyond” (Palgrave 1876, 138). Noting the use of “dark” in association with the idea of savagery in this comment, as this mirrors his consistent use of the word alongside “black” to distinguish the people of Suriname with the Dutch. He has applied this connotation of inferiority onto these phrases, encouraging readers to associate the terms “dark” or “black” with uncivilized savagery (Palgrave 1876, 138). To further clarify, by discerning different groups of people compared to

Westerners, Palgrave is continuing to cement the idea of distance in both the physical and mental spheres.

Within this work, Palgrave is establishing the differences within the demographics of Suriname. His work is defining the factors that allow certain identities within a racial category to portray a better representation of humanity while simultaneously using demeaning jargon. For example, when Palgrave begins to describe appearance he writes “in form and stature the Bush negroes of Surinam may rank among the best specimens of the Ethiopian type” and that men and women are physically both “worthy of their mates” (Palgrave 1876, 169). Not only does this statement demonstrate the perception of beauty to the Western gaze, but the particular rhetoric he is using implies a detached scientific, almost inhuman, aspect to the subject matter. Through this established distance between the author and people of Suriname, one begins to witness the conceptual view upon the world outside of the Western Hemisphere. His language also continues to connote demeaning attributes, such as their “curious and uncouth” language that although is better than their counterparts, remains “half or three-quarters savagery” owing this to their colonization (Palgrave 1876, 171). Looking at the survivability of different races, Palgrave’s mention of the question “whether negroes should exist on the earth at all for a few generations longer” showcases the influence of salvage anthropology and the pursuit of Western European forces to document the world around them. (Palgrave 1876, 206). Palgrave contorts the contribution of Dutch colonialism on the livelihood and behavior of the people making up Suriname, and in his words “contact with Europeans never fails to produce, where negroes are concerned, first imitation, then assimilation” (Palgrave 1876, 172). Furthermore, Palgrave acknowledges the work done by the Dutch in their colonization over others in Suriname, “that he had learnt from his white masters lessons of steadiness, of order, of self-respect, of quiet industry, of kindness even, not indeed alien from his own native character, but too often unpractised elsewhere” (Palgrave 1876, 62). The beginnings of a historical aphasia, Palgrave looks upon colonialism as an act of saving troubled lands and their inhabitants and those experiencing it thankful for the help in civilizing their savage ways. Colonial aphasia grows out of such biased history recorded with lack of objectivity, leaving narratives and truths from being documented (Stoler 2011, 123). It is through the aloofness brooding from such minimal

documentation that allows for Suriname to be “Dutch Guiana”, a land of savages, a “Wild Coast” and a representation of the successful Dutch enterprise. The act of overlooking Suriname in the greater scope of Dutch colonial exploits is a reason for their colonial aphasia.

Although Palgrave himself is English, his noting of the particularities of Dutch colonialism demonstrates how the Netherlands was able to market their form of colonialism against the larger powers. This can be seen through his comment “the negroes are Dutch trained, and have no idea of straight lines and orderly rows by no means African” (Palgrave 1876, 95). This concept of historicized aphasia and difference in Dutch colonialism can be further be understood through his perspective of the Dutch granting “special privileges”, including no taxation or internal autonomy, as something to be enjoyed (Palgrave 1876, 172). On the same note, he writes “they are fully aware of the greater advantages and enjoyments of a more settled and civilized form of life than their own” (Palgrave 1876, 172). This fashion of describing colonization in such a way demonstrates the lack of acknowledgement given to the action of the Dutch in the disruption of life and destruction of identity, instead focusing only on their national morale and colonial justification.

4.2: Later Works and the Persistence of Rhetoric

The second earliest of traveler accounts I will be pulling from is a work by Dr. Morton C. Kahn published in 1930. Kahn’s work *Djuka, The Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana* offers an interesting account of “scientific” anthropological work in Suriname conducted in the twentieth century (Kahn 1930; Rivers 1934, 203). Kahn, a member of Cornell University Medical College administration in New York City, published various works concerning what was still commonly referred to as Dutch Guiana (Kahn 1930, xx). Some of the titles include *Notes on the Saramaccaner bush negroes of Dutch Guiana* published in 1929, *Art of the Dutch Guiana bush negro* from 1931, and a photographic compilation called *Ndjuka* from 1928 serving as a human study of Suriname (worldcat.org). Although he was American, his works demonstrate the far-reaching perspective of the colonial enterprise of the Netherlands and the associative perspectives of the Western world’s hierarchical civilization. Focusing on his 1930 *Djuka* book, W. Napoleon

Rivers gave a review of the work in 1934, four years after its publication. The most notable of his views are reflected within the beginning of the review, including the phrases “ought to be welcomed as good flint to set fire to and destroy the volumes of trashy and falsified studies of primitive Negroes” and “treating with clearness their history, customs (family and community life), linguistics, and art” (Rivers 1934, 203). But despite this step in the ‘scientific’ direction, Kahn’s interpretation still assumes the role of Western hierarchy over people of color. Kahn repeatedly refers to these people as primitive, an obvious assertion on the lower evolutionary and cultural scale of people of African descent as to be read by a Western or American through previous demonstrations of anthropological ranking. The constant referral to their primitiveness, Kahn’s work implies the Djuka “*have fought the white man with his own weapons and defeated him, forcing him to sue for peace*” (Author’s emphasis; Kahn 1930, 4). Although attempting to give this demographic merit for defeating the “white man” successfully while aware of the harmful characteristics of early anthropological study, Kahn still researches and regards the Djukas as primitive civilizations below those of Western Europe (Rivers 1934, 203). For instance, Kahn still refers to what will eventually “be a vanished people, their culture gone, their habits and life forgotten” once the “encroachments of industrial civilization will wipe out the last remnants of primitive West African culture in the New World” (Kahn 1930, xvii). This is alluding to the concepts of salvage anthropology, where because of their similarities to early forms of the human species in their behavior and attributes, were doomed to die out through the teachings of Darwinian theory (Maxwell 1999, 46). It was then the responsibility of Western powers to step in to save, or at least a catalogue, the vanishing race before it disappears from the earth forever (Maxwell 1999, 46).

The words of Kahn represent a historical case of Stoler’s colonial aphasia, and I find this to be a result of recurring displays in institutions and major exhibitions such as the Colonial Exhibition in 1883. Although he intended this piece to be beneficial and admirable to the Djuka, Kahn continues to partake in Western superiority and their implication of the “white mans’ burden” to fix and save the uncivilized races from extinction and their own savagery (Maxwell 1999, 46 and 86). Through terminology such as “wild and tame,” “primitive mind,” and “primitive art” to refer to these people and their culture, Kahn continues to portray

them less as human beings and more animalistic anthropomorphs throughout his entire work (Kahn 1930, 12, 116-117, 193). Furthermore, the establishment of Dutch colonial dismissal is wildly present throughout this study regardless of the authors' American background. Kahn uses the statements "the Dutch make very humane colonists" in regards to their behavior as a whole and "the Dutch have never tried to exploit the natives by imposing anything like the infamous hut-tax. For this they certainly deserve high praise" in regards to their jurisdiction and exploitation in Suriname specifically (Kahn 1930, 116-117). This terminology and admiration given to the Dutch discerns them from other colonial powers in the area, such as France and Britain, and grants validity in their colonial action. Later in the text, Kahn recognizes the history of the Netherlands and their influence to pursue a 'different' kind of colonization by stating "the Dutch, having won their freedom from the yoke of Spain, looked with envy upon the prosperous slave trade" (Kahn 1930, 175). This sentence demonstrates the façade the Dutch managed to portray to Western powers regarding their colonization; the factors of their small, innocence as a nation who lived through colonialism shining through to demonstrate the concept of aphasia.

The last direct source I am going to pull from is *The Middle Passage* by V.S. Naipaul first published in 1962. Naipaul was born in Trinidad in 1932 to Hindu parents from India who moved to the area as indentured laborers (britannica.com). Educated at the University of Oxford, Naipaul produced a multitude of works of both fiction and nonfiction and received the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2001 (britannica.com). His *The Middle Passage* work is useful for demonstrating the continuation of racial classification and its survival over time as well as the perspective of Dutch colonialism. Broken up into six chapters, Naipaul speaks about his journey through the Middle Passage and the societies in Trinidad, British Guiana, Suriname, Martinique, and Jamaica. I am most interested in his chapters on British Guiana and Suriname. Overall, Naipaul's wording demonstrates the hierarchies developed within racial categories as they are viewed from the Western hemisphere. For example, Naipaul writes "The bush-Negroes are interesting and in some respects admirable, but between these forest-dwellers and the sophisticated Continental Surinamer there can be no deep sympathy" (Naipaul 1962, 179). Naipaul is concretizing the differences within the demographics as seen from a Western European perspective. Although Naipaul is

commenting on the acts of colonialism in Suriname, he still refers to the west as the “white mother country” (Naipaul 1962, 179). The use of the word “mother” is tactfully placed to assert leadership and dominance of the “white” countries of Europe over the New World. This Eurocentrism appears throughout his writing, and Naipaul’s entire work illustrates the result of constant reiteration of racial and social superiority, a gaze often applied over the Americas and Africa. The mindset continues from early colonialism to later occupation to be aiding in the lives of people through necessary “colonial conditioning” (Naipaul 1962, 156). This perspective is also made clear by his comments such as “Beside the rivers the bush-Negroes have maintained their racial purity, their African arts of carving, singing, and dancing, and, above all, their pride. Rediscovery was not hard” (Naipaul 1962, 170). Furthermore, Naipaul is lacking comprehension of the disruption colonialism has caused Suriname lifestyle, seeing the brown star in their flag and quoting its representative as “a successful experiment, the harmonious blending of many races into a people; the main stay of the population of Surinam” (Naipaul 1962, 166). This lack of acknowledgement for colonial reality is assisted by the persistence of language that is tinged with Primitivist and Orientalist outlooks. Statements such as these occur throughout the book and it validates the existing levels of Primitivism extending into the twentieth century.

Conclusions

The sole purpose of this chapter was to demonstrate the use of rhetoric and idea of the ‘spectacular’ on the view of the colonies. As was presented in the earliest of the traveler accounts, Palgrave demonstrated the British perspective of the Dutch colonies as it led up to the Colonial Exhibition in 1883. His rhetoric demonstrates the melding of Orientalism and Primitivism while depicting the influence of Dutch colonial belief as it translated to other countries. His account indicated the foundation of perspective in which the Colonial Exhibition was constructed. The following accounts represent the lineage of rhetoric and diction persisting over time because of its reiteration in display at major events like the Colonial Exhibition. As explained earlier in subsection 3.3, pushing anthropology into the public sphere through display further exoticized and dehumanized the colonies. Their elaborate construction to fulfill the ‘spectacle’ of human racial

variation and colonial power further justified the actions that fed the concept of Western European superiority. I find it is through these placements the interpretation of the Surinamese become one of ethnographic, yet racially driven, in the Colonial Exhibition of 1883. The lasting effects of such interpretation is shown to extend for years following the exhibition, as can be seen in these continuously ‘spectacular’ traveler accounts of the “Wild Coast” of the Dutch Guiana. Despite their later creation date, Kahn’s and Naipaul’s works demonstrate the pursuit of rhetoric and perspective through reiteration through articulation and consistent exhibition display during the late 1800s in Europe. Overall, the works of writers made rhetoric and perspectives of the colonized world concrete (Smith 1999, 8). Their transferral into the public sphere, that is through display and major exhibitions, spatially placed theoretical and psychological ideas in front of a crowd.

Chapter 5: The Colonial Exhibition and its Rotunda

The purpose of the following chapter is to analyze the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 under the earlier defined concepts. The Netherlands was less involved in anthropology and race than Britain and France in the nineteenth century. As a result of this, the Netherlands was the first nation to put on a major exhibition in which the colonies were the main focus rather than anthropology. Nevertheless as is exhibited above, the ideas within anthropology and colonialism go hand in hand. Through the commodification of the people alongside traded goods, the Netherlands was one of the first to make a connection between people and products in one location rather than just arts and crafts. The International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam was the first event with the purpose of demonstrating the colonial wealth of the Netherlands (Dujardin 2007, 17). As the height of the Dutch Golden Age diminished at the end of the seventeenth century, a new means of displaying the wealth of the Netherlands was necessary to establish their position among other European powers. The hope was to display the colonial wealth and extensiveness of the Netherlands for other imperial powers to see, as well as to “increase economic interest in the colonies in the minds of ordinary individuals” and to pull as much economic yield from the colonies through a resurgence of interest (Dujardin 2007, 17). For these reasons, the Netherlands put on the Colonial Exhibition in the rapidly advancing city of Amsterdam. This event was different from the world fairs in London and Paris whose curators were more interested in displaying craftsmanship from around the world (Dujardin 2007, 17). This is a scenario where the contradiction within colonial aphasia can be understood. With the colonies the prime focus of the exhibition, it can be difficult to understand it as representative of colonial aphasia. That being said, I am understanding the Colonial Exhibition itself to be the result of a cultural aphasia, where details regarding colonialism- something so tied into the identity and cultural archive of the Netherlands - were actively overlooked. Thus, through the combination of the ‘spectacle’ with racial variation from the study of anthropology, the Colonial Exhibition was a representation of power of the Netherlands to position itself among other European nations in the nineteenth century with disregard for the realities of colonialism. Through an overview of the

details of the exhibition, and in particular the Rotunda, I will show how this major ‘spectacle’ contributed to the aphasia involved in the Dutch cultural archive in relation to the colonies in Suriname and around the world.

5.1: The Idea for a Major Exhibition

The idea for the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition was formulated in 1880 when a Frenchman brought the idea to King William III (Bloembergen 2006, 55). This man, named Edouard Agostini, believed the rapidly modernizing Netherlands would be the prime locations to represent international trade (Bloembergen 2006, 55-56). Previous world fairs and trade exhibitions only highlighted their respective countries, but Agostini believed the “straightforwardness” and “fair-mindedness” of the Dutch would put on an event to commend international trade and Western nations (Bloembergen 2006, 55-56). Agostini believed the Netherlands had to prove their power and modernity to the rest of Europe, prompting them to produce an exhibition never seen before (Dujardin 2007, 19). King William III was receptive to this idea because the Netherlands, regarded as a small nation, had this inherent need to prove themselves among the large powers in Europe, such as France and Britain (Bloembergen 2006, 56; Wesseling 1988, 60). Up until this point, Amsterdam had been advancing toward becoming a modern, wealthy, industrial city just like the big cities of London and Paris (Bloembergen 2006, 55). The headquarters for the Netherlands Trading Company (NHM) was established in 1824 and was flourishing because of the Cultivation System in the Dutch East Indies (Bloembergen 2006, 54). The city of Amsterdam had also seen the construction of their own Palace of Industry in 1864, modelled after the Crystal Palace in London (Bloembergen 2006, 53). Following this in 1875, the Rijksmuseum was to be built for the purpose of housing the wealth of the Golden Age and present the culture of the Netherlands to the world (Bloembergen 2006, 53). All of these constructions are the result of the economic boom of the Netherlands from the trade associated with their colonies, and the purpose of a major exhibition would combine the aspects of colonial wealth with the ‘spectacle’ entertainment value of a world fair (Bloembergen 2006, 56; Dujardin 2007, 14). To further push their ranking among other imperialist countries, the Netherlands was interested in planning an event

that “focused on trade and industry, in the context of colonialism” (Bloembergen 2006, 56). This combination of progress through the process of colonialism distinguishes the Colonial Exhibitions from like events in the nineteenth century in that it represents the melding of aesthetics and anthropology with the perspective of expansion. Along with its colonial implications, the Colonial Exhibition had the purpose of translating cultural relativism and anthropology from the academic sphere to the public.

5.2 Dutch Colonialism in the Colonial Exhibition

Setting off on May 1, 1883, the Colonial Exhibition was erected in the grounds behind the Rijksmuseum, known today as the Museumplein (Bloembergen 2006, 50). The Colonial Exhibition was made up of different groups to express the trade goods, craftsmanship, artifacts, and people from around the world all in one place. The exhibition was split into three groups depending on the type of object on display and 38 classes all split into subcategories (Bloembergen 2006, 61). Group I was the natural world of the Dutch colonies, focusing on flora and fauna (Bloembergen 2006, 61). The creation of Group II was dedicated to the indigenous populations in all of the Dutch colonies including their behaviors (Bloembergen 2006, 61). Group III was all about Dutch colonial power and the intricacies of their imposed systems (Bloembergen 2006, 61). All of these groups stress a line of thinking behind the creation of colonial thought and this exhibition, which to quote Bloembergen went as follows: “the territories’ natural riches and surpluses (Group I) and the exotic primitiveness of the local population (Group II) called for modernising and civilising entrepreneurship of the Dutch government and private individuals (Group III)” (Bloembergen 2006, 61).

Trade Mark

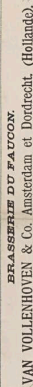
VAN VOLLENHOVEN & Co. fabriciren seit ein paar Jahren einen ausgezeichneten Stout, der dem besten Englischen in Qualität gleichkommt, aber bedeutend niedrige in Preis ist. Dieser Stout ist ausnahmsweise reich an Nährstoffe, enthält dagegen wenig Alkohol, und wird daher von vielen hervorragenden Aerzten empfohlen für Kranke, Blutmare, etc.

VAN VOLLENHOVEN & Co. führen ihren Stout seit einiger Zeit mit dem besten Erfolg in Deutschland ein.

ALE und andere obergährigen Biere in verschiedenen Qualitäten.

PLAN.

PLAN.



The layout of the Colonial Exhibition included both exhibits with humans, but also buildings housing artifacts, art, and representations of other European cultures. Figure 2 represents a layout of the Colonial Exhibition. Some of the buildings include a main building, a building specifically on the Dutch colonies, space for the fine arts, exhibition space on agricultural machinery, a theater, a royal pavilion, restaurants and cafés and music kiosks (Officieele Courant 1882-

1884). Note the legend in the right corner of Figure 2 written in Dutch and French. The large building, number 1 on the Officieele Courant legend, was exhibition space for other major colonial powers to display arts and crafts from their associated colonies (Bloembergen 2006, 67; Officieele Courant 1882-1884). Called the Palace of Industry, several European countries entered to be included in the event, including but not limited to, Belgium, France, England, Germany, Spain and Portugal (Bloembergen 2006, 67; Figure 2, RP-P-OB-89.770). The Netherlands was given their own building, the Colonial Palace, situated to the left of the Palace of Industry. Identified as number 2 in the Officieele Courant, the Colonial Palace was dedicated solely to Dutch colonialism. This building housed a variety of objects belonging to Groups I, II, and III (Bloembergen 2006, 74).

The Dutch Colonial Palace was intended to have as much grandeur in the exhibition as the Crystal Palace did at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 (Bloembergen 2006, 76). The outside was decorated in a Moorish style of architecture, and on the inside objects from the Dutch East Indies covered every inch (Bloembergen 2006, 77). Groups I and III filled the walls and display cases on the left and right sides of the building (Bloembergen 2006, 74). In the middle, the ethnographic collection of Group II was exhibited in a like manner (Bloembergen 2006, 74). Through her close study of the curatorial decisions of this Colonial Palace, Bloembergen acknowledges “the urge for completeness underlying the collecting policy was also expressed in the profusion of items that characterized late nineteenth century exhibitions” (2006, 74). Indeed, the display cases were stuffed with objects while the walls were completely covered in a manner typical of the time period coming out of centuries of cabinets of curiosities (Bloembergen 2006, 74). This was because the Dutch East Indies were the pride and glory of the Netherlands and their colonialism and so the Colonial Palace intended to show the extent of the colony bringing about economic prosperity for the country. The means of exhibiting the weaponry, artifacts, cultural objects, and examples of tropical agriculture all in the same space deflated their individual meaning and power. The curatorial decisions at play within the Colonial Palace, and throughout the entire Colonial Exhibition, commodified all of the objects on display. This objectification can be attributed to the placement of Western Europe as the exhibitor holding information and truth, and the exhibits reflecting such power, interaction, and civilization taking place

overseas. Disguising power dynamics through the notion of the ‘spectacle’, the curators of the Colonial Exhibition managed to translate this hierarchical perspective to the public.

The curators of the exhibition used the notion of the ‘spectacle’ to market to Colonial Exhibition to the public. Prior to entering the exhibition visitors would have to pass through the arched passageway of the Rijksmuseum, as if they took a portal into the colonies themselves (Bloembergen 2006, 50). The entrance of the Colonial Exhibition was momentous: a red curtain and marble elephants welcomed visitors to the grounds (Bloembergen 2006, 50). It is notable to mention the red curtain and marble elephants were an illusion, as the curtain was constructed by painted canvas and the elephants made of wood covered in a marble imitation (Bloembergen 2006, 50). Nevertheless, this towering welcome scene would set the stage for the colonial ‘spectacle’ visitors were entering. Within the exhibition grounds, visitors would also see a large plaster statue of the founder of the Dutch colonial empire, Jan Pieterszoon Coen standing in front of the Dutch Colonial Palace (Bloembergen 2006, 50). This statue standing in front of the exhibition catalogue, along with the name International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition, the connection between colonialism and Dutch wealth was made apparent (Bloembergen 2006, 50, 71; Dujardin 2007, 17). Across from the Coen statue was a statue of a Dutch virgin, standing tall as a representation of peace and unity, alluding to the innocence involved in this early aphasia (Schuurmans 2013, 59). The layout of the Colonial Exhibition was an architectural reminder of the wealth and power of the Netherlands. As mentioned, the Rijksmuseum was constructed to house the glories of the past Golden Age and document the artistic mastery of the Netherlands. The construction itself is a representation of the newfound wealth the Netherlands gained through colonialism and trade, and thus the power of the building and its contents is linked to the wealth and modernity of the country. Having to walk under the passageway of the Rijksmuseum, the visitors figuratively enter under the reign of the Netherlands. As is the case with many European museums, “the symbolic messages of Western superiority and triumphant progress are embedded in the blueprints” (Levitt 2015, 7). This implication goes further into the Museumplein exhibition space where the colonies presented are owned by the Dutch.

The entirety of the exhibition was an elaborate ‘spectacle’ in which to paint colonialism and the control of people. By highlighting the consumerist aspect of the event, the creators imposed the notion of objectivity onto the indigenous people who had to take part in the exhibition. The curators placed objects and people into the same exhibition space and displayed them as artifacts from the colonies, thus objectifying these people further. Through a lack of documentation, it is difficult to locate the Surinamese Rotunda on the map of the exhibition grounds. This will be touched upon later in the chapter, however it can elude to the lack of care and attention given to the Dutch West Indies at the Colonial Exhibition due to concepts within Primitivism. This phenomenon will show itself more so with the later discussion on the Suriname Rotunda. For now it is crucial to identify although this exhibition intended to portray the colonies, there was an extreme focus instead on Western powers in the colonies and the direct relationship between the two (Smith 1999, 88).

5.3 Orientalism and Primitivism within the Spectacle of the Colonial Exhibition

To better explain the approach given to the display of the people of Suriname I will be explaining briefly the action taken for representing the colonies in Indonesia. The Dutch East Indies were portrayed in a distinctly noticeable manner compared to the ethnological collections and Suriname. The main reason for this is an individual named Daniël Veth, who believed a recreation of a village in Java would “fascinate” the public more than the current ethnographical collection of artifacts and cultural objects (Bloembergen 2006, 63). Veth thus set about recreating the colonial landscape in the Dutch East Indies, combining several different kinds of houses and buildings to construct a makeshift village for the thirty-eight people forced to inhabit it referred to as the kampong (Bloembergen 2006, 64). This portion of the exhibition was an elaborate construction to convey the architectural landscape of Java as it compared to that of Amsterdam (Bloembergen 2006, 103). Becoming a portion of the exhibit itself, these people were also regrouped into Group I as part of the natural world in which anthropology was included (Bloembergen 2006, 64). Veth’s inclusion of the indigenous population was to depict daily life in the Dutch East Indies as well

as demonstrate a racial category to the public that was visually stimulating (Bloembergen 2006, 65). He accomplished just this, as the kampong both “introduced modern Western civilisation to the colonial wilderness, and showed the colonial wilderness to the modern civilised public in Amsterdam” (Bloembergen 2006, 60). The placement of inferred difference went through the means of specticality to get its point across. As will be demonstrated by the Rotunda, what was more influential was the notion of distance between the viewer and object- which in this case, the objects were humans.

The curatorial decisions to emphasize the nature of the subjects involved in the Colonial Exhibition existed prior and outside the exhibition grounds through written documents. The publication and circulation of advertisements concerning what the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam would entail placed what lens the visitors were meant to approach the event. These published depictions travelled as far as France, such as an advertisement in the front page of *Paris Illustré* in 1883 (Bloembergen 2006, 52). An example of advertisements of the event comes from the Official Journal of the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition (In Dutch: *Officieele cours internationale koloniale en uitvoerhandel tentoonstelling*) published between the years 1882-1884. This work was written in Dutch and French, further demonstrating the influence France had on this exhibition. One of the sections was about the display of people from Suriname at this event titled “With the Surinam Natives” (*Officieele Courant* 1882-1884). This section tells a story about a Catholic clergyman who once was in Suriname (*Officieele Courant* 1882-1884). According to this, the Surinamers rejoiced and exclaimed thankful words towards the return of their Father (*Officieele Courant* 1882-1884). Demonstrating the benefits of anthropology and colonial action to civilize the indigenous population in South America, this story served as propaganda to further justify Dutch action. Concurrently, the *Officiale Wegwijzer* as mentioned in chapter one was also circulated during this time. The passage of “De Negers” demonstrates rhetoric to inspire the interpretation of people at the Colonial Exhibition. The diction used implies a difference and distance encouraged to be associated with the people from Suriname. Not only this, but this section groups together all of the people of Suriname into one, generalized ‘primitive’ category despite belonging to different European categories for race. Right away, the *Officiale Wegwijzer* states about

the Indigenous population of Suriname: “These are people who behave differently, with completely peculiar ways, that our people will see as weird”¹ (Officiale Wegwijzer 1882-1884, 33). The use of “our” indicates a collective dissociation with these people and thus demonstrates where distance is applied to the visitors and people on display. Moreover, the signpost also mentions how “cross-bred breeds can also be seen at the exhibition”² (Officiale Wegwijzer 1882-1884, 34). A sense of detachment is indicated through the dehumanization of the people on display by referring to them as “cross-bred breeds” as if they are animals. This pattern of equating people with animals corresponds to perspectives under Primitivism and hierarchical ranking in anthropology. It was assumed that people on a lower evolutionary scale inhabit more animalistic behavior than the more civilized, Western peoples (Maxwell 1999; Fabian 1983). The people of Suriname are therefore viewed at a distance from humanity, and this means of advertisement- like the traveler accounts- adhered to the concept of wildness of the population. This ‘othering’ of people removes them from Western civilization and as a result removes the human-ness of the people on display (Fabian 1983). This predisposed thought process encouraged visitors to view the indigenous people as part of the landscape under Dutch control and commodities to attach meaning to -that is through anthropology, Orientalism, or Primitivism. This advertisement has as much influence as an accompanying text panel at the event. Associated text allows the object to be understood in the manner it does to the curator (Lidchi 2013, 132). In other words, the perspective of those putting the object on display have direct influence on how spectators are supposed to read and perceive the ethnographic information in front of them (Lidchi 2013, 132). With this rhetoric circulating prior to the event, visitors are likely to enter the Colonial Exhibition with a predisposed view on how to understand the display in front of them. With the terminology extracted above, an implied distance and difference is imposed, as well as the concept of downgrading the human-ness of the people on display. Referring to the Surinamese on display with a sense of detachment is inferred and the idea of animalistic behavior is underlying on the

¹ Original Dutch: “Wij vernemen dat di teen zonderling volkje is, met geheel eigenaardige manieren, die men hier lomp zal vinden”. Translated to English with Google Translate and Dutch native speaker feedback by Jesper Boekkooi.

² Original Dutch: “Ook zullen gekruiste rassen op de tentoonstelling te zien zijn”. Translated to English with Google Translate and Dutch native speaker feedback by Jesper Boekkooi.

subject matter. The things published after the event such as the Commissie tot organisatie eener algemeene koloniale en uitvoerhandel tentoonstelling, 1884 documented this rhetoric and view. It encapsulated the action of objectification and exotification the curators and visitors of the Colonial Exhibition put in place.

The point of the exhibition was to “present a comparative study of the different systems of colonisation, tropical agriculture, and the development of mineral resources” (Bloembergen 2006, 58). Despite this aim, the inclusion and equation of people as pieces of the empire only further commodified them as objects as if part of the natural landscape in the Dutch colonies (Bloembergen 2006, 64). Through its articulation and its subject matter, this major spectacle stressed colonialism and its associated wealth all under Dutch ownership. The placement of people at the Colonial Exhibition translates further the point of reference for visitors in which to view the exhibits before them.

5.4: The Rotunda and the Representation of Suriname

What must be discussed is the care taken to reconstruct the landscape of Suriname as it was wildly different from the methods used for the Dutch East Indies. The twenty-eight Surinamese were presented alongside their weapons, tools, fishing equipment, typical huts and furniture including their hammocks (Dujardin 2007, 20). The following figure is an image presented in the beginning of this thesis of Johannes Kojo (Figure 3). Kojo, identified as one of the Maroons is seated by drums and pottery. Behind him, one can see a docked boat used to represent the Caribbean’s close relationship with the sea. Further behind is the fence to distinguish the objects from the viewers. The white audience gazes upon this child who represents a feature of early human civilization. His ‘primitive’ nature is determined through the color of his skin, his behavior and arts, and clothing he bears. The paintings of the Surinamese landscape of the circus tent canvas further transports visitors to the “Wild Coast” of the Dutch Guiana. This is different from the kampong in that the Rotunda serves as more of a vessel in which to transport visitors to the jungle to see the anthropological ‘other’ in its natural habitat. Moreover, “in the eyes of the organizers, there was evidently very little of interest about these peoples to display, except of course the people themselves as ethnographic curiosities” (Dujardin 2007, 23). It is for this reason

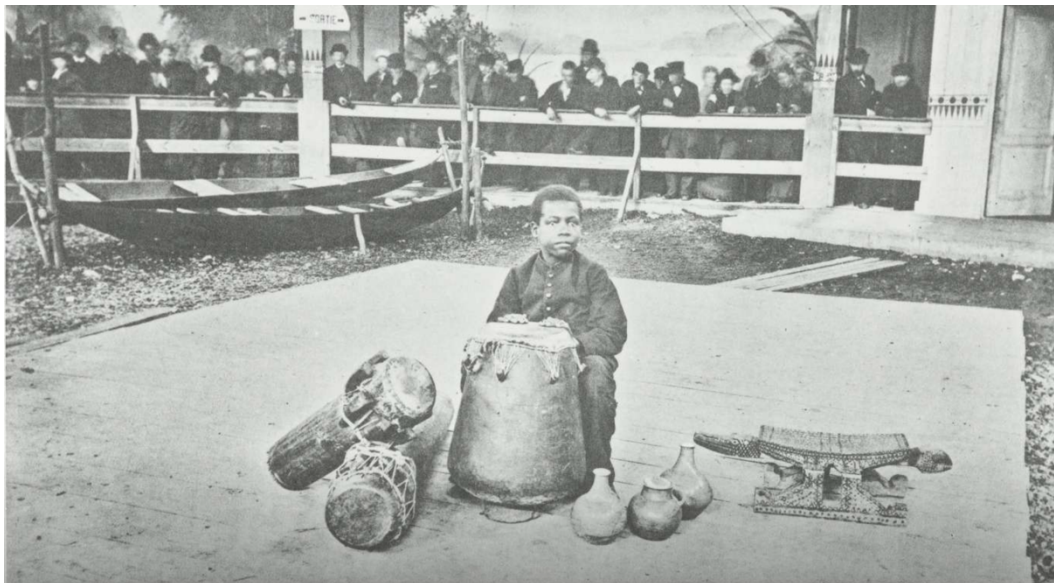


Figure 3: Repeat of Figure 1. Photograph of Johannes Kojo by Friedrich Carel Hisgen, 1883, part of Roland Bonaparte's "Les habitants de Suriname. Notes recueillies à l'exposition colonial d'Amsterdam en 1883". Rijksmuseum Collection, RP-F-1994-12-35.

the people were the ‘spectacle’ of the Rotunda, and the comparison between different “primitives” was its attraction (Schuurmans 2013, 62). No elaborate coating was needed because witnessing such races and early civilization was enough of an awe. The audience is seen leaning on the railing, casually engaging with objectivity of this presentation. Their behavior in relation to the subject matter is what is of note in this image.

Although indigenous people and villages were part of big exhibitions since the Paris World Fair in 1878, the inclusion of people in the Colonial Exhibition took it one step further (Schuurmans 2013, 62). The point of showcasing people from the different colonies was to demonstrate racial variability and relay the justification through the “white man’s burden” (Schuurmans 2013, 62). Therefore, these ““authentic”” inhabitants comprised of thirteen people from the Caribbean including a Hindustani, two people from the Arawak tribal band, four Maroons (also identified as “bush negroes”), and nine Creole people (Schuurmans 2013, 61). These people collectively made up the population of Suriname, and seven of which were children (Schuurmans 2013, 61). Schuurmans recognizes the Surinamese were a “curiosity” in Europe as they were the first black people the public has witnessed (Schuurmans 2013, 61). Their presentation is even more noteworthy considering this fact because the only mention of their existence in Europe was what had been shared through the traveler accounts, early ethnography- as seen in chapter three- and photography. The use of the camera in

association with the body will be discussed later along with the participation of another Frenchman in the Colonial Exhibition, Roland Bonaparte.

A pupil of Paul Broca, Roland Bonaparte was a student of anthropology following the end of his military career after the arrest of his great-uncle Emperor Napoleon III (Maxwell 1999, 42). Around the time of colonial and anthropological photography, Bonaparte was tasked with an assignment to catalogue the indigenous community of Suriname who were to be presented at the Colonial Exhibition (Maxwell 1999, 42). Rather than have to travel the long distance to the coast of Dutch Guiana, Bonaparte was able to journey a short distance to the Netherlands to see these people in their recreated natural habitat (Maxwell 1999, 44). When at the exhibition, Bonaparte learned of the photographer Friedrich Carel Hisgen who specialized in colonial photography differing from the norm at the time (Maxwell 1999, 44). Bonaparte collaborated with Hisgen to develop what would be published as *Les habitants de Suriname à Amsterdam*, the book of which the photograph of Johannes Kojo was included (Maxwell 1999, 44; Figure 4). Additionally, his book had the statement “anthropological collection of Prince Roland Bonaparte” which further reduced his subjects to “objects of study” under his ownership (Dujardin 2007, 26). His book was separated into two parts, the first for the indigenous American population and a second with the African population of Suriname (Maxwell 1999, 44). Before going into details about the morphology of these people, Bonaparte gives a description of the colony despite never stepping foot there, so he turns to traveler accounts for information (Schuurmans 2013, 65). The means of documenting the Indigenous American population was much more in line with anthropometric imaging, where these people had to pose in very little clothing in front and side views to stress their defining racial characteristics (Maxwell 1999, 44). Despite this manner of documenting the population, Bonaparte did believe the Indigenous Americans represented a “higher evolutionary stage than other indigenous groups” (Maxwell 1999, 45). Descriptions mirrored his photographs,



Figure 4: “*Les Habitants de Suriname à Amsterdam*” by Roland Bonaparte was compiled in 1883 after he visited the Colonial Exhibition. Note the imperial eagle on the cover suggesting authority. Rijksmuseum Collection RP-F-19994-12.

documenting the race, age, height, and color of his subjects (Dujardin 2007, 27). Nevertheless, a coinciding thought was the belief the Indigenous American population was going to disappear soon as a result of European contact (Dujardin 2007, 20). The photographs of Suriname’s African population were similarly dehumanizing, however Hisgen took less of a purely racial approach. An interesting phenomenon occurred going against the usual guises of Primitivism. Bonaparte chose to bestow traits of “civility” to his subjects through granting personality (Maxwell 1999, 44). Through giving them more identity through clothing and poses, Bonaparte and Hisgen documented the African population with more character than the anthropologically objective depiction of the Indigenous Americans (Maxwell 1999, 44). As a whole however, Bonaparte’s work concretizes the European perspective on colonial subjects and indigenous

populations. Bonaparte's work demonstrates the "white man's burden", where the progression of civilization and the fated disappearance of races must be catalogued through photography (Dujardin 2007, 23; Maxwell 1999, 86). It is crucial to remember the purpose of this compilation was to document the applied difference associated with races through the outlook of the Western hemisphere. In these images, as well as their depiction in the Colonial Exhibition, represent a definition for people of color created by the very people who placed them there. A sense of detachment is evident with how Bonaparte compiled his research, as well as how the curators developed the Colonial Exhibition and Rotunda (Dujardin 2007, 30).

The image of Kojo (Figure 3) and his place within Bonaparte's compilation demonstrates the commodification of the body through its embodiment of racial categorization alongside the notions of Primitivism. There was an obvious cultural relativism aesthetically between how the Dutch perceived their East Indies versus their Guiana (Bloembergen 2006, 91). While the Dutch East Indies held a level of artistic talent and craftsmanship-albeit through the Orientalist gaze- the Dutch West Indies were seen to only offer trade exports for the Dutch economy. Moreover, the people of Suriname were 'spectacles' in and of themselves. The distance between Kojo and the European onlookers is divided by a fence distinguishing intangible display from those viewing. The distance applied between Kojo and the onlookers also comes from the sense of 'spectacular' coming from witnessing people of African origin. Kojo was thus susceptible to the downgrading judgement coming from being an anthropological 'other'. As a whole, this child represents the "doomed-race theory" justifying colonial expansion and his display in Amsterdam (Maxwell 1999, 49). The naivety of the curators and visitors who believed they were not only saving this race from extinction through civilization, their display of the Surinamese here further imprinted the action done by the Dutch overseas and the racial hierarchy. Undoubtedly, the view of indigenous people at the Colonial Exhibition and in the colonies was "consistent with the version of Darwinian theory that held that certain races were incapable of progress because their development had been arrested when they were separated from the human gene pool that gave rise to Europeans" (Maxwell 1999, 51). Through this placement as an exhibit, Kojo embodies this line of thinking. His 'spectacular' aspects comes from his origins

under the interpretation from anthropology, and he becomes a means in which to translate thought and belief concerning the superiority of the European hemisphere. The clear disparity granted between onlookers and people like Kojo allowed for those “untrained in scientific concepts” concerning anthropological study to easily understand institutional musings (Maxwell 1999, 55). This image is two-dimensional as a photograph but three-dimensional as the historical reality of something that happened in real-time. As a holding in an archive and part of Bonaparte’s compilation, this photograph documents the perception of people like Kojo and the means of how it could be circulated. Additionally, as evidence of the past, this photograph represents the historical phenomenon of “providing consumers with an outlet for their exotic fantasies and affording them a heightened sense of their own worth as a distinctive racial and cultural ideal for the rest of the world to emulate” (Maxwell 1999, 59). This image of Kojo is more than just a documentation of the Rotunda of the Colonial Exhibition, but rather representative of the ways the Surinamese were viewed, treated, and remembered by Europeans.

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, the Rotunda display was not only dehumanizing, but it objectified these people through their ‘spectacular’ nature. By presenting these people in such a way, the Dutch were capable of planting the ideas of Primitivism and racial hierarchies within anthropology as it compared to the concept of Orientalism. The construction of the Rotunda alludes to a transportation vessel to the Dutch colonies, and although it has less to do with an elaborate construction like with the kampong, it continued to stretch the idea of the ‘spectacular’. The placement of a circus tent amidst the kampong village or the buildings housing ethnographic materials immediately arranges the perspectives of the visitors to view the people of Suriname as less elaborate. The canvas of the tent downgrades those housed inside, leaving visitors predisposed to believe what they are going to view will not be interesting aesthetically, but rather physically through their conception of race at this time. Once inside, the fence distinguishes the difference between the object and viewer and its shape mirrored the roundness of the tent. Never giving the people of Suriname privacy, the round fence forced them to be viewed at all times and angles equating them even more an artifact in a display case.

It is crucial to simultaneously connect the display of people and the advertisements circulated at this time. The information provided on the exhibition further supplied it with specticality, eluding to the excitement the visitors would get to experience through attending. As González has recognized, “all museums *speak in tongues* to a target audience, guaranteeing that group as the museum’s privileged addressee” (Author’s emphasis, González 2008, 97). The curators of the Colonial Exhibition intended for the visitors to perceive their racial eliteness through the placement of the exhibits, arranging for visitors to understand the distance between them and the objects on display. Moreover, this is supplemented by the idea that “attempts to ‘civilize’ the various peoples of Surinam had failed probably also explains why materials for display were so hard to come by” and people became the objects for interpretation (Dujardin 2007, 25). Overall, this exhibition was telling the public it was okay to exoticize, to fantasize, and to commodify these people. Anthropology was a justification for colonialism, but it also was a justification for the behavior back in Europe. In a like manner, the curators of the Colonial Exhibition combined this belief with the Dutch colonial agenda. In other words, the demonstration of power of the Netherlands was integrated into the display of people coated in the desire to justify and unacknowledge the damage done through this treatment and portrayal.

5.5 Colonial Aphasia within the Rotunda and Display at the Colonial Exhibition

The Colonial Exhibition entailed a visual justification for the Dutch colonial empire, and the lack of acknowledgement for the harmful behavior of imperialist action. In other words, I find this representative of the aphasia established at the start of the Dutch colonial enterprise and persistent through the cultural archive. Through their previous justification and clarification of their different type of colonization, the Netherlands also advanced their rationalization to include anthropology and the neighboring behavior in France and Britain. Their later colonial aphasia is thus amplified in this Colonial Exhibition as the colonies themselves are put forth as vital to the construction of the Dutch industrial and cultural identity. This subsection sets out to analyze the particular curatorial decisions that portray such perspective and belief through the Rotunda.

The purpose of display is to relay information. The Rotunda set out to recreate the landscape of Suriname and its inhabitants to aid the public in visualizing the “Wild Coast” of Dutch Guiana alongside Palgrave’s account. Throughout the exhibition there are artifacts in display cases, a recreated Javanese village under an Orientalist gaze, and stalls for the artifacts and crafts of the colonies from other Western powers. People were used as objects to relay information about the daily life and behavior of the colonies for European visitors to see and human variation in which to compare themselves. The collections housed at this exhibition were the result of salvage anthropology along with a desire to own artifacts from around the world. As people began to enter the exhibitions a dehumanization process took place, and as “forms of commodity production and consumption, participate[d] in the construction of race discourse by supporting processes of subjection” (González 2008, 5). These people were taken as if they were part of the natural landscape of the colonies, thus a distance was applied in the Western gaze’s detachment from their possessions. Once part of a collection, these people were subjected to display in the fashion the curators viewed their objects. Lidchi recognizes in her study of exhibiting other cultures from a decolonial perspective, “discourses systematically formed the objects of which they spoke in accordance with newly emerging relationships of power which sought not to control violently but to discipline in institutional settings, most usually through the emphasis of the body” (Lidchi 2013, 159). Putting a collection on display also includes the thoughts of the collectors and curators. The translated beliefs are then exhibited alongside the objects, and this treatment becomes “fundamental cognitive and aesthetic markers” of which the public can recognize (Gilroy 1993, 9). The messages relayed are from anthropology, a field which in the nineteenth century was dominated with Social Darwinism and race categories where those in the Western hemisphere represent the highest form of civility. The rhetoric, as is portrayed in the direct sources in the previous chapter along with the advertisement for the Colonial Exhibition, all coerce a certain perspective in which to view the objects on display. In this context, humans become objects, yet the body articulates much more information for the public than do artifacts. This view is inspired by the overarching theme of Primitivism and Orientalism: the idea of an ‘other’ lesser than Western Europe scientifically, socially, culturally, and historically. The use of race can thus be used as “a form

of domination that operates through cultural institutions that collect, preserve, and exhibit objects or material culture” (González 2008, 82). It is through the definition of display objects become artifacts, even if the objects are human, and with it begin to embody a whole scope of perspective given by the curator.

Museums and academic institutions during this period demonstrate with their collections a desire to categorize and, as a result, objectify people. As was previously mentioned, during the nineteenth century anthropology used anthropometry, photography, and more studies of the body to understand human variation. The understanding of the body as a vestibule to assign meaning is present in this anthropology. González’s states “the body is the site where race discourse is seen to play out because it is where race is presumed to reside. As an artifact of cultural framing, the human body is the object that must always display its signs” (González 2008, 4). The holistic display within the Rotunda- the painted canvas tent, the circular fencing, the dwellings, and the generalized demographic- all influenced how the people of Suriname were viewed within the context of economic colonialism. This form of display translates how the Surinamese were not important to the greater scope of the Dutch colonial enterprise. These people represented a work force bringing economic prosperity with the added enticement of depicting racial categories most Western Europeans had not seen in person before. Overall, there was a lack of attention and care given to the Rotunda when compared to the Indonesian kampong. Much of this has to do with the difference between Orientalism and Primitivism and how the two are articulated visually.

Placing the people of Suriname under Primitivism attached implicit meaning to them. This entailed the Surinamese were to be downgraded, and viewed as all of the notions within Primitivism- the ‘savagery’ and unevolved placeholders on Darwin’s evolutionism. Their Rotunda held less of a ‘spectacular’ edge as the elaborate Indonesian kampong, demonstrating this influence of Primitivism. The true ‘spectacle’ of the Rotunda were the inhabitants, like Johannes Kojo, who embodied something so far from Western civility. Through its simple construction, the Rotunda’s form translated simplicity. This simplicity coincides within Primitivism, and this in turn embodied the people who had to reside inside. The articulation of the body thus becomes something larger than the individual level, but something more involved with the visual politics of the Colonial Exhibition (hooks, 1995, XVI). All of these curatorial means were way

to transform the body of the ‘other’ into the embodiment of savagery juxtaposed with the modern civility of Europe and place this outlook in front of the public.

All of the factors outlined here are representative of an active disassociation where reality is fixed for the Western gaze and, hence evidence of early colonial aphasia. Bringing back the definition of aphasia by Stoler, “Aphasia is a dismembering, a difficulty speaking, a difficulty generating a vocabulary that associates appropriate words and concepts with appropriate things” (Stoler 2011, 125). Through this understanding, aphasia represents a “cognitive deficit” of information and, in this context, of the realities of colonialism. The Colonial Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam had the purpose of relaying life in the colonies for the Western audience who had only seen the economic benefits and the “Wild Coast” described in traveler accounts. The display of Suriname was a translation of life in said plantation colony through the eyes of the Dutch colonizers. In other words, Suriname was not realistically portrayed, but instead took with it applied ideas from Primitivism, anthropology and Social Darwinism in the minds of the curators. The entire format of the Colonial Exhibition was intended to relay the power of European nations overseas and, in particular, the Netherlands. One must understand the “metonymic relations between artifacts and the larger world they signify, as well as a sophisticated understanding of the rhetorical use of architectural spaces in the construction of ideologies of inclusion and exclusion” (González 2008, 119). Indeed, carrying out a major exhibition in the Museumplein alongside the construction of the Rijksmuseum to hold the greatness of the Golden Age within the rapidly modernizing city of Amsterdam, the Colonial Exhibition can be considered an entire entity to display the greatness of involvement in the colonies, glossing over the harsh realities present within the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, plantation life, the resulting diaspora, and more. This can be argued as beginnings of aphasia, and it extends itself into the Dutch cultural archive due to the aforementioned connection between Dutch nationalism and their colonialism. The method of display at the Colonial Exhibition is representative of the “aesthetic paradigms of those who produce them,” and in the context of the Rotunda it demonstrates the perspective of Suriname by the curators of the event (González 2008, 96). This adheres well to Wekker’s understanding of how the cultural archive has been passed down “often below a level of consciousness” (2016, 20). Similarly, aphasia describes this “active

dissociation” from fact in favor of a more “fixed reality” for viewers (Stoler 2011, 125; González 2008, 72). As a whole, “objects are incorporated and constructed by the articulation of pre-existing discourses,” and it was representative at the Colonial Exhibition that this small, innocent nation adamant about not being a typical colonial power constructed their perspective of reality (Lidchi 2013, 170).

Conclusions

Using the Rotunda and image of Johannes Kojo to drive the discussion on the depiction of Suriname at the Colonial Exhibition, the colonial aphasia and its translation into the Dutch cultural archive has been acknowledged. Through careful set up of the event, the Colonial Exhibition was able to portray the colonies and Western European powers who owned them. The Indonesian kampong visually represented the idea of Orientalism, especially when compared to the use of Primitivism in the Surinamese Rotunda. Although both displays objectified the people from their respective colonies, the Rotunda also demonstrated the human ‘spectacle’ under anthropology. Bonaparte’s compilation only furthered this reading of the Rotunda as representative of the natural landscape in Suriname. As the image of Kojo shows, the Surinamese were subjected to commodities in which meaning could be placed and made implicit. The twenty-eight people presented in the Rotunda denoted the ‘spectacular’ ‘other’, where terms of racial variation can be applied and seen for the first time by many of the visitors. This means of display resulted in an active departure from reality-that is, early aphasia- in which the curators of the Colonial Exhibition were able to manipulate authenticity to narrate their cultural archive to then be translated into contemporary rhetoric and display.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The second chapter of this thesis set out to describe the theoretical framework for the discussion on the presentation of Suriname and colonial memory at play in Amsterdam's 1883 Colonial Exhibition. Stoler's theory of colonial aphasia was used throughout the work to understand how reality was perceived, or rather, ill-perceived, in the construction of the Dutch cultural archive. Wekker's understanding of the Netherlands and its perception of historiography in the construction of self within society corresponds with colonial aphasia. The contradiction within the use of colonial aphasia in this thesis is present in the attempt to understand the cultural disability in a colonial setting. The active disassociation made by the Netherlands in regard to their history, colonialism, and curatorial decisions at the Colonial Exhibition represents aphasia. Moreover, the Netherlands was influenced to portray their Dutch East Indies under the premise of Orientalism while Suriname was subjected to the later Primitivism. Edward Said's Orientalism is the outlook of Western Europe on the East and Asia relying on exotification, feminization, and inferiority (1978). Similar, but also different, Primitivism stems from hierarchical thinking coming out of Social Darwinism and anthropology. The concept adheres the idea of a lower level of civility, comprehension, and 'savagery' to people deemed 'primitive' compared to the Western world, mainly including people from Africa, the Americas, Oceania, and Australia. The idea of the 'spectacular' was also explained here, as it has much to do with the understanding of the anthropological 'other' and the notions of Orientalism and Primitivism. The enticing aspects of a 'spectacle' were used to advertise the Colonial Exhibition and like exhibitions around the Western Hemisphere. Adhered to it is the distance- all of these concepts and theories are in conversation with each other in nineteenth century Western Europe- and I use them in the context of the Netherlands and their Colonial Exhibition in 1883.

Chapter three was dedicated to understanding the roots of colonial aphasia within the Dutch cultural archive through a close look at their historiography and colonial enterprise. Mapping the construction of identity coming out of their liberation from Spanish Habsburg rule, the small nation of the Netherlands

believed they experienced colonialism. I argue here the colonial aphasia originates from the Netherlands' history under Spanish rule, and it went on to categorize their behavior in their colonialism. Through demonstrating the historical implications of this aphasia because of the Eighty Years War, the Netherlands continued to believe their colonial exploits to be justified and not harmful. There was a detachment from their colonialism, where the VOC and WIC were prized for bringing economic prosperity while the reality in the colonies was ignored. As mentioned, the treatment of slaves in Suriname was violent. Moreover, the resulting diaspora because of the Dutch involvement with the Trans-Atlantic slave trade altered the demographic within the country seen today. Overall, this chapter set out with the intent to showcase the beginnings of aphasia within the Netherlands and its influence on how they managed and referred to their colonial enterprise. The resulting perspective, that the Netherlands was a small, innocent nation who had experienced colonialism and therefore set out to not impose the same treatment to their subjects is representative of their aphasia. As this chapter demonstrates, the Netherlands did not follow this idea and instead behaved and treated their colonies in the same manner as other great Western European powers.

Following the history of the Netherlands and an overview of their colonialism, chapter four was intended to demonstrate the persistence of rhetoric and aphasia within traveler accounts. These texts are crucial in understanding how colonialism was regarded as well as understanding the rooted concept of the 'spectacular' in the gaze given to lands overseas. Although representing the language of the time, these works still demonstrate how colonialism was regarded- or rather, actively disregarded- in these tales. The point of this chapter was to highlight how Suriname was viewed from a Western perspective, bringing Primitivism to aid in the explanation. Palgrave's early 1876 account is an example of the perspective of Suriname in the years preceding the 1883 Colonial Exhibition in Amsterdam. By pointing out specific terminology and tone, this work demonstrates how Suriname and its inhabitants were viewed during the nineteenth century. The following traveler accounts and texts offered a look at the lifespan of such rhetoric. These showed how it has persisted through time, even into the twentieth century. The purpose of this chapter was to isolate the terms in which Suriname and the Americas were regarded, as this has much to do with the

curatorial decisions at the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam and like events to follow.

The Colonial Exhibition was described and analyzed in the fifth chapter of this thesis. After explaining the concepts in chapter two, and the historical perspectives in three and four, a lengthy discussion could finally be made about the exhibition in Amsterdam. As was demonstrated, the Colonial Exhibition in 1883 was different than those proceeding it in France and Britain. It combined the glory of colonialism with the newly composed scientific practices of anthropology. The Colonial Exhibition layout is discussed to highlight the omnipresent Western European colonial superiority. The overarching presence of European power through the Colonial Palace and decoration around the exhibition, ownership was planted around the visitors. Both the Indonesian kampong and the Surinamese Rotunda are described through the concepts of Orientalism and Primitivism, respectively. Much of this difference has to do with the established distinctions between Orientalism and Primitivism, and the perspectives attached to their associative races as defined by Western Europe. The placement of the people of Suriname within the Rotunda versus the Indonesian kampong is the manifestation of the perspective of these supposedly 'primitive' uncivilized communities. The cultures found in the Americas were viewed as nothing special to the Dutch and other Western European mindsets, but the overarching view was on its primitive nature. The coexistence of an ethnographical artifact collection and the containment of people from Suriname, the Colonial Exhibition was able to highlight the connection between the two. Viewing the artifacts and people alongside each other, in similar display methods, an objectifying perspective was encouraged and further distance between observer and those observed was implied. In this, the curators placed the ideas associated with Primitivism and the 'other' under the enticement of a 'spectacle'. The image of Kojo and his part in Bonaparte's compilation shows how the Rotunda was assumed to be an accurate depiction of the landscape of Suriname with people included as the natural environment. The photograph used in this discussion not only offers a real look into the Rotunda at the exhibition in 1883, but it also reveals how Suriname and its inhabitants were viewed and interpreted. Encouraged by its 'scientific' backing, this display placed the idea that it was okay to objectify, commodify, exotify, and distance oneself from the people

within the fence. As a whole, this Colonial Exhibition displayed an intentional narrative of the Dutch colonial enterprise falling short of reality.

The decisions made regarding the presentation of the Surinamese at the Colonial Exhibition was a consequence of influences from Primitivism, Social Darwinism, and a result of the colonial aphasia present in the Dutch cultural archive (Bloembergen 2006; Maxwell 1999; Dujardin 2007; Wekker 2016; Stoler 2011). As a whole, the Colonial Exhibition was the first to combine both the ‘spectacle’ of the anthropological ‘other’, the “white man’s burden” in relation to the ‘primitive’ ‘savages’ in colonial territories, and the rapidly modernizing city of Amsterdam. This exhibition was “the best way for the Netherlands to project its distinct identity, as a modern and enterprising colonial power” (Bloembergen 2006, 60). The aphasic behavior along with the distinct placement of information at the Colonial Exhibition all translate the Netherlands’ colonial memory. This has great implications in the historiography of the nation, as well as the perspective of colonialism in the Dutch West Indies. The dichotomy created between the visitors and the people on display existed prior, during, outside, inside, and long after the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883, and this can be witnessed in the persistence of distance within the Dutch cultural archive.

6.1 Difficulties Faced

The lack of documentation regarding Dutch colonialism in the Americas posed difficult while constructing this thesis. As mentioned previously, the inadequate documentation of their colonial exploits has led to crucial information being lost. This can be due partially to the little preservation or simple loss of documents and materials because of environmental or situational factors. This can also be because there was an active absence of documenting realities as a result of the views on Suriname specifically, participation in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, and interpretation of their colonialism as a whole. As a whole, there is significantly less study and information regarding Dutch colonialism in the Americas and instead most literature is on their East Indies activity. Although the work of Marieke Bloembergen, Sonja Mohr, and more academics have produced works discussing the implications of Dutch colonialism on their subjects and back

in the Netherlands, more work is necessary to discuss the whole scope of the Dutch colonial enterprise.

6.2 Questions for the Future

As a whole- and as indicated through this thesis- colonial memory is the result of the accumulation of ideas building upon each other for centuries. The specific use of rhetoric surrounding the colonies, or the specific curatorial decisions of the Colonial Exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883, further places this thinking into the public sphere and perpetuates its existence. Linda Tuhiwai Smith identifies how “this collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous people was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized” (1999, 1). This phenomenon is not new, and perspectives from the past have been generated into the contemporary. For instance, too often than not the depiction of people of color, particularly in seventeenth century art, is representing them as servants or “exotic cosmopolitans” (Gonzalez 2008, 112). The Dutch Golden Age and the subsequent years do little to include the contribution of people outside of Western Europe, and the curatorial practices of museums as institutions of information are contributing to such miscommunication. As bell hooks understands the consequence of such display, “representation is a crucial location of struggle for any exploited and oppressed people asserting subjectivity and decolonization of the mind” (1995, 3).

It should be acknowledged how plenty of institutions throughout the Netherlands and Western Hemisphere are producing more truthful exhibitions and relay of colonial history. For example, the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam has a permanent exhibition, *Afterlives of Slavery*, where “visitors are confronted with today’s legacy of slavery and colonialism in the Netherlands” (tropenmuseum.nl). Another museum in Amsterdam, the Rijksmuseum, has an expected exhibit titled *Slavery* to be on display in 2021, where the museum sets out to “testify to the fact that slavery is an integral part of our history, not a dark page that can simply be turned and forgotten about” (rijksmuseum.nl). To combat the whitewashing of the Dutch Golden Age, the Rembrandthuis in Amsterdam is exhibiting *Black in*

Rembrandt's Time until September 2020 (rembrandthuis.nl). This exhibit displays works of art to combat the stereotype of black people holding subordinate parts in art, instead showcasing examples of Afro-Amsterdammers as the “subjects of the works of art” (rembrandthuis.nl). This is an inconclusive list, and exhibitions are popping up throughout the Netherlands to display the multivocality involved in the history of the nation.

Nevertheless, questions remain in decolonial study. These include, but are not limited to: Is intersectionality and multivocality being prioritized in curatorial settings and exhibitions to ensure an inclusive display of information? How can the history of colonialism be better portrayed as to not fall susceptible to a Eurocentric display of history? To what extent has the museum in the Netherlands hid information in archives to construct a biased history of the Netherlands? Can the contemporary Dutch cultural archive be mended, or will it always hold the views and rhetoric of the generations preceding it? As these questions can continue, it is important to remember a crucial part behind decolonial methodology. The history of misconception-whether argued through ‘scientific’ anthropology, written in traveler accounts of ‘exotic’ lands, or perpetuated through ‘spectacular’ exhibitions- must be acknowledged to understand the gravity in which oppression manifests itself in contemporary cultural archives and institutions relaying colonial memory.

Abstract

The display of Suriname at the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam can be identified as a root cause to the aphasia and cultural archive of the Netherlands. Laura Ann Stoler's 2011 colonial aphasia is reframed to mean cultural aphasia, and this theory paired with Gloria Wekker's Dutch cultural archive will drive the discussion in this thesis. Through the concepts of Orientalism, Primitivism, the 'spectacular', and the 'other', this thesis will examine the means of display used in the exhibition. This thesis begins with a look at the history of the Netherlands highlights the root causes of this aphasia, and through its persistence the Netherlands viewed itself a small, innocent nation when compared to other European powers. This view of themselves led to a lack of acknowledgement of the realities of colonialism. Following decades under the rule of Habsburg Spain, the Netherlands believed they had experienced colonialism themselves and set out not to do the same abroad. Nevertheless, this was not the case, and the Netherlands would become a large colonial power. This active disassociation with reality further translates itself in the writing and major exhibitions during the nineteenth century. These traveler accounts offer a direct look at the perspectives of the Dutch West Indies from several perspectives. A thorough explanation of early anthropology and major exhibitions proceeding the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 are given to provide its inspiration. The economic prosperity from colonies allowed for the rapid modernization of Amsterdam, and a large event was wanted to display such wealth. This exhibition was unique because the colonies were the main topic while earlier events cared more for demonstrating cultural and racial variation. Anthropology coincides with colonialism, and its participation in this particular exhibition goes further to objectify the colonies and their inhabitants. A close look at several traveler accounts also demonstrates the persistence of rhetoric and perspective in the Western Hemisphere about the colonies. A comprehensive analysis of the International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in 1883 in Amsterdam will be done to showcase the melding of aphasia and anthropology in the Netherlands. The 1883 black and white image of Johannes Kojo by Friedrich Carol Hisgen, part of Roland Bonaparte's study of the Surinamese at the exhibition, will be used to understand the display of Suriname in their Rotunda

circus tent. Understanding the notion of placement will be used to study the exhibition and its curatorial decisions. The whole of the exhibition is explained along with a description of how the Indonesian kampong was constructed under the guise of Orientalism. The differing Primitivism will demonstrate to be the driving force behind the curatorial decisions of the Rotunda. With how Suriname was presented, ideas of Western superiority fueled by anthropology were placed within the Rotunda itself to translate to the public the power and wealth of the Netherlands. As a whole, this thesis will demonstrate how the Netherlands was different in its construction of its cultural archive through a dominating eventual aphasia, and its implications into contemporary colonial memory.

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List of Figures

Figure on Front Page: Board Game in Response to the 1883 International Colonial and Export Trade Exhibition in Amsterdam. Illustrations of the different attractions (including Suriname at number 67) can be seen on the board.

Rijksmuseum Collection, RP-P-OB-89.585

Figure 1: Photograph of Johannes Kojo by Carel Hisgen, 1883, part of Roland Bonaparte's

"Les habitants de Suriname. Notes recueillies à l'exposition colonial d'Amsterdam en

1883". Rijksmuseum Collection, RP-F-1994-12-35.

Figure 2: Page from the *Officiele Courant* depicting the layout of the Colonial Exhibition in 1883. The Palace of Industry is located in the middle of the map, and the Colonial Palace is adjacent on the left. Rijksmuseum Collection, RP-P-OB-89.583.

Figure 3: "Les Habitants de Suriname a Amsterdam" by Roland Bonaparte was compiled in 1883 after he visited the Colonial Exhibition. Note the imperial eagle on the cover suggesting authority. Rijksmuseum Collection RP-F-19994-12.

Figure 4: Repeat of Figure 1. Photograph of Johannes Kojo by Carel Hisgen, 1883, part of Roland Bonaparte's "Les habitants de Suriname. Notes recueillies à l'exposition colonial d'Amsterdam en 1883". Rijksmuseum Collection, RP-F-1994-12-35.