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How big can a small, regional association dream? What were the goals, pursuits, consequences and methods for the projects and museum collection of the Overijssel Association for the Development of Provincial Prosperity between 1838-1852?

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How big can a small, regional association dream?

What were the goals, pursuits, consequences and methods for the projects and museum collection of the Overijssel Association for the Development of Provincial Prosperity between 1838-1852?



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Dr. M.E. Berger

Figure 1: The transfer of the photo collection of the provincial museum of Over municipal archive (Collectie Overijssel, 19308 FD015502, de Koning, 1982)

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Chapter 1: Method and Background

Introduction provenance study and collection

Currently, many anthropological and archaeological museum institutions are looking into their history, origin and the provenance of their collections. In general, most attention is given to objects which are deemed more important, primarily those that are on display. The majority of museum collections remain neatly labelled on shelves in the depot, away from people to look at, recognise and (re)think about (Byrne et al., 2011, p. 4). With this master thesis, I want to look at a collection that has received little attention, which was created by a small, regional association. The collection has in its time in the Netherlands alone, travelled a long journey, as will be discussed in section 1.1. This collection, currently stored in the Wereldmuseum Amsterdam depot and labelled as 'TM-1322', was generated in the 19th – 20th century, by the association: 'Overijsselsche Association for the Development of Provincial Prosperity' [Overijsselsche Vereeniging tot Ontwikkeling van Provinciale Welvaart] or 'OVOPW', as it will be called from now on. This shows, that in the development of collections from large, still existing institutions, smaller, past institutions have played a role. The collection from the OVOPW holds objects from all over the world, many from previous Dutch colonies. The objects were collected by the members and non-members of the OVOPW, who were at best amateur anthropologists and natural historians, but primarily eager Dutch elite with many ties and connections who wanted to bring prosperity to the province of Overijssel (Legêne, 2005, p. 133). The association had many aspiration and goals which influenced the creation of their collection. In order to research the development and provenance of larger, existing institutions, research needs to be done into these smaller, regional, no longer existing associations. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the OVOPW, and research the provenance of their collected items and more broadly, research their position within the social, political, academic and museum climate of the time. Through a number of questions, I hope to gain insight into the goals, projects, methods and motivations, specifically regarding the creation of their collection of this small, regional association, which could possibly, offer important insights and information for future and current research of Dutch, archaeological and anthropological museums, into their history, origin and collections provenance.

The research of this thesis will be based on the archives from the OVOPW. These include in and outgoing letters of the association, documents regarding their museum and the two catalogues written in 1852 and 1892. The number of objects increase per catalogue, the earliest, published in 1852 counted 278 items. These are too many to cover in one thesis, therefore the focus will here be

on the objects which were collected in the Americas, which are mainly from Suriname, until the first published catalogue, 1852. See table 1 for an overview of the number of items per catalogue. More on the OVOPW and type of data will follow in the section 1.1.

Catalogue	Total nr of items	Nr of items from the America's
OVOPW 1852	278	27
OVOPW 1892	353	58
NMVW (TM-1322)	426	74

Table 1: Overview of number of items per catalogue (NMVW, TM-1322, <https://collectie.wereldmuseum.nl/#/query/3fc2e18f-db7c-4d4e-b7e8-ac70c1b4c975>; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 84; Schmeltz, 1892, pp. 40-40).

To look into why the OVOPW existed, what their goals, pursuits and methods were, a general overview of the national developments of the time is needed. This will be discussed in section 1.2. Provenance studies are increasingly more important, and many archaeological and anthropological museums recognize their need for such studies in their own collections. Such as the National museum of world cultures, or NMVW, of which the Wereldmuseum of Amsterdam, which currently holds the collection of the OVOPW, is part of. They recently published multiple provenance reports, as part of the 'Pilot project Provenance Research on Objects of the Colonial Era', or 'PPROCE' (Mooren et al., 2022). With increasing recognition and active partaking in decolonising collections and restitution requests, the importance of provenance studies is only growing, as will be discussed in section 1.3. Many objects are missing the necessary contextual information, and often the only binding factor between the items of a collection, is the identity of the collector. Therefore, it is important to research the origin of the collector of the collection, or in this case, association. Why and how they collected these items, and with what goal will be researched here as well. Museums, anthropology and archaeology have lived through many different discourses which influenced the methods of collection. A short background of these different discourses and developments will be given in section 1.4 This will by far not cover all the nuances and developments, but hopefully will provide a framework to understand the archives, the descriptions and way of thinking.

1.1 Collection: Organisation and background and data

The association of the OVOPW, from which the researched objects originated was created on the 13th of February in 1838, by A. Sandberg, G. Luttenberg en D. van Schreven. It was at first called the 'Scientific Zwolle Society' ['Wetenschappelijk Genootschap te Zwolle']. Three weeks later, at the first members meeting, the association counted 107 members (Eijken, 1964). The original purpose of the association was to organise lectures on a variety of topics within history, geology, physics and natural history (Eijken, 1964). Within the next few years, both the name, aim and board members of the organisation would change. The new goal was broadened, as the new name suggested. It was formulated along the lines of: 'An association for the improvement of statistical knowledge of Overijssel, the dissemination of economic principles, the encouragement of industrial talents, and in general everything that may be important for the development of provincial prosperity' (Eijken, 1964; Legêne, 2005, p. 139).

The goal stated above was pursued by the association through many different endeavours, including digging out and canalising the IJssel to improve shipping, setting out salmon, shipping wood from Suriname to the Netherlands and much more (Eijken, 1834-1903). And while they built up quite a collection over the years, both ethnographical, geological and natural, this was not their primary goal. Many members were stationed in or involved with colonies, and they researched and collected what they could and wanted. This collecting, researching and 'trying out' was seen as a task for the public, and what they found was gifted or loaned to the association to be put on display (Legêne, 2005, p. 133). The people involved knew each other and the association, and were often part of the elite, which had entire build-up power dynamics behind them and their operations. Their vision did not remain within the province.

In 1845, the OVOPW created their museum, in the building 'the Reventer', this location was given to them on loan by the mayor of Zwolle (Eijken, 1964). In 1852 their first catalogues on ethnographical objects were published, followed by a second in 1892. These were very limited in their object description, which did not include much more than a categorical description, often in as little as 1 sentence, see appendix 1 for the description. In the catalogues of 1852 and 1892, the name of the collector was in some cases noted, but these are no longer in the NMVW database. Geological and cultural information only included the country, or sometimes only the continent. The museum might only officially have been created in 1846, the association had however, been collection for some time before this, and the catalogue of 1852 held, as stated before, numerous items (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 84).

The museum and its collection did not exist for a long time. From 1880 onwards, the organisation lost its prosperity and importance, and already in 1882, parts of the collection were gifted to the sister association called 'Practice of Overijsselsch Law and History' [tot Beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis] or 'VORG'. The museum of this association was officially named in 1904 as 'Drostehouse' in Zwolle, and here the entire ethnographical collection was added in 1903 (Eijken, 1964; Legêne, 2005, p. 148-9). The OVOPW officially ceased existing in 1906, and in 1907 the last of the archives were transferred to the VORG (Eijken, 1964). The objects and archives remained with the VORG until everything was handed over to the National archives, in 1983. Here, the objects reside to this day in the NMVW.

The archives remained in Zwolle, and most survived the many transfers, but multiple year's accounts are missing. However, the archive exists of many outgoing pieces, organised only by year, therefore it cannot be known for certain that these are complete. These archives will be the data source for this thesis, combined with literary reviews for additional context and understanding. As illustrated above, the collection underwent many moves, changes and was accompanied by little explanation. Given the large number of archives and objects, the focus here will be on the objects gathered and published in the first catalogues, in 1852.

The organisation gathered objects from all colonies and many areas around them. A master thesis cannot do justice to all these different objects, cultures and provenances. Therefore, the focus here will be on the objects obtained from the Western colonies, located in the America's. Objects primarily originated from Surinam, and there are some items from the Dutch Antilles. In the catalogue, they are all grouped under 'America' and 'Dutch Guijana' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 84; Schmeltz, 1892, pp. 40-6). The 1852 catalogue counted 27 objects, half of which are items from 'an Indian hut' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 84).

The first step will be to try and cross-correlate the objects from the 1852 catalogue, with the objects in the 1892 catalogue, and the current NMVW database. Hopefully, a connection between past descriptions, and current information, including pictures of objects can be made. Once this information is gathered, further archives will be consulted. There are in- and outgoing letters for each year since 1838, those until 1852 will be reviewed in search of mentioning's of objects donated, and names of known donors.

Sadly, there are no annual reports which can be reviewed of the years before 1852, but only those of 1853-5 and 1857 remain. Lastly, there are accounts concerning the museums, dating 1834-1895, these will be consulted to reconstruct the journey the objects made after their transfer to the Netherlands. Literature on museum development and the local and national colonial situation will

furthermore be consulted in order to create a context and framework in which to understand the objects.

The aim here is to create a biography of these objects, and hopefully trace their steps through their museum and collection process, back to their origin context. The latter seems difficult, based on the limited information the catalogues offer, but hopefully, the letters of the donors can be identified and offer more insight. The further research questions and their methods will be discussed in section 1.2.

1.2 Political situation and the collecting climate of the Netherlands

The Netherlands was in an interesting situation considering the collecting methods and museums climate compared to the surrounding European countries in the 19th and 20th century. From the 18th century onwards, many national museums were being created in surrounding counties (Jong, 2015, p. 78). However, because the Netherlands was governed as a republic from 1588-1795, and the government did not have a great interest in cultural heritage (Jong, 2015, p. 78), collections were not created nationally, but individually. Private collections were not uniquely Dutch, ever since the Renaissance, owning a collection was seen as a display of money and power (Nys, 2005, p. 454). These private collectors were often individuals, but there were collecting organisations as well.

One well known individual collection was created by the steward and his family of the Netherlands, who had a great interest in natural history. Pieters describes for example how Princess Anna van Hannover, mother of Willem V, had a great interest in natural history, and continued the collection of her late husband and the stewards before him (Pieters, 2002, p. 20). She passed this passion down to the young Willem V, for whom were already 'bought insects for the price of 70 guilder from the well-known historian and collector from the Hague, Mr. Pieter Lyonet' (Pieters, 2002, p. 20), this was in 1751 when the prince was only three years old.

Stewards were clearly not the only collectors, and the Netherlands possibly had the largest number of private collections in the 18th and 19th century (Kuranda, 1846, 271; Nys, 2005, 454).

Because of the lack of national, public museums, there were people and organisations who took it upon themselves to collect and preserve what they thought was important to the Dutch culture. It was for example practise to auction of collections in pieces when its owner died and they did not care for the collection (Roemer, 2004, p. 50). Some people were distraught by this, and would try to buy these collections to keep them together, for the Dutch nation (Jong, 2015, p. 78).

These individual collections were very diverse in content and size (Nys, 2005, p. 458) and (scientific) rules and organisation were often not present (Maas, 2024, p. 8). This was the way of collecting in Europe until the 18th century, when the enlightenment brought about the importance of systematic collecting (Maas, 2024, p. 5). The modern zoological system started specifically with the publishing of Linnaeus 'Systema naturae', in 1758 (Pieters, 2002, p. 35). National museums and cabinets took on these systems and changed from 'cabinets of curiosities', which had been popular since the 16th century (Maas, 2024, p. 4), into encyclopaedic collections which aimed for scientific accuracy, value and completeness (Gassó Miracle, 2008, p. 711). However, the Dutch, private collections, primarily remained cabinets of curiosity until well into the 19th century (Maas, 2024, p. 5; Pieters, 2002, p. 37-

8; Weber, 2019, p. 76). The collection method and national representation did change in the (early) 19th century, with the starting point of the France invasion of the Netherlands in 1795. While the steward and his family were able to flee to England, their possessions were left behind and soon the French army arranged the stewards 'productions des Sciences et des arts' to be moved to Paris and added to their 'Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle' (Pieters, 2002, p. 37). The whole collection was moved, a total of 150 boxes (Pieters, 2002, p. 37). The items remained in Paris until 1815, when king Willem I demanded them back. In those 20 years, many items were moved around, traded with other museums or lost. After a negotiation by Leiden professor S.J. Brugmans, the items, shipped in a total of 71 boxes, were send back to create the royal cabinet of curiosities in 1816 (Pieters, 2002, p. 40). This collection was the starting point for the National museum of natural history, currently Naturalis.

This was an important change, with the defeat of France and the congress of Vienna, the Northern and Southern Netherlands were united into a kingdom, under king Willem I. As a king, Willem I found it important to show the (economical) prosperity of the newly united Netherlands. One of the projects to show and further prosperity and modernisation, was the establishment of national museums, among which the National museum of natural history in 1820, in Leiden (Maas, 2024, p. 6). He furthermore sent out ships all over the world, to re-establish Dutch power overseas (Legêne, 1998, p. 25). The people traveling on these ships, often collected and brought back many items from all over the world for their own or the national collection (Legêne, 1998, p. 21). But not just amateur individuals were collecting, King Willem I established a natural commission of the Dutch East Indies. Seventeen people were hired for a large-scale surveying and collecting endeavour, which resulted in the uniquely large and variable Dutch collection of the Indonesian flora and fauna (Weber, 2019, p. 72-3). Willem I invested money, people and resources in modernising the National collection and scientific research, but the museum did not appear to have much influence on the already existing collecting methods and private collections (Maas, 2024, p. 6; Weber, 2019, p. 76).

As stated before, there were associations which created collections well before the creation of national museums, and this continued afterwards as well. One of these organisations is the focus of this thesis: the OVOPW. Their goal was the same as king Willem I, prosperity to the Netherlands, focussed on the province of Overijssel, by a range of projects, in both cases the creation of a natural history collection and museum. They were not the only one, in many provinces, similar collections or research were undertaken by a range of association. There was a nature society in Limburg which research the local flora and fauna in order to determine how to care for and maintain the nature (Graatsma, 1997). In Zeeland, the association of sciences was created in 1769, which had a similar

private collection (Maas, 2024, p. 3). This collection underwent the before mentioned transitions from cabinet to curiosity, to a 'scientific' and encyclopaedic collection with a focus on local flora and fauna. Where they first collected primarily curiosities in order to show the 'wisdom and grandeur of the creator' (Maas, 2024, p. 4), they later prioritized completeness above all. The religious aspect had disappeared, as did the emotional value and individual stories of each item. There was no more place for amazement, which had been the focus of the cabinet of curiosity (Maas, 2024, p. 4). The Zeeland association of science embraced the systematic, 'scientific' methods of the enlightenment a mere 100 years later than the surrounding countries (Maas, 2024, p. 5). This Zeeland association was not unique in that respect. In the first half of the 19th century, there were two, very different approaches to natural history existing side by side in the Netherlands. On the one hand, the cabinets of curiosity were still very prominent, but some made the transition to the rational collecting and cataloguing of the enlightenment (Maas, 2024, p. 6).

The development and transition of the Zeeland association are known, but where did the OVOPW stand in this collecting development? And what method of collecting did they employ and where did their priorities lay in the creating of their collection? Another question asked regarding the collection of the OVOPW is, as discussed before: Can we trace the provenance of the collected anthropological museum items through the archived letters and catalogues?

Further research questions, regarding the association and its goals, include: How far from Overijssel did the OVOPW pursue their goal of prosperity? Did any of the prosperity projects of the OVOPW involve the Western colonies? What range of endeavours did the OVOPW pursue in their goal for provincial prosperity? Why did the founders of the OVOPW feel the need to create their organization and collection? What position did the OVOPW have within the museum and academic situation on a national scale? And did the OVOPW operate isolated, or does their correspondence show cooperation with other associations, organisations and individuals?

Hopefully, by answering these questions, I will gain insight into what the associations position was within the social climate of its time. Many such associations existed in this period, clearly there was a need for them. And while this need and motivation may differ per associations, there will most likely be overarching themes. Why did the founders of the OVOPW feel the need to create their organization, and collection? Not much research has been done into these type of organisations, but they do stand at the creation of the Dutch national museums. Including the OVOPW, who's collection is now housed in the NMVW. If we want to understand these current institutions and their collections, we should research all that played a role in the creation of their collection.

1.3 Provenance studies and its importance

Provenance studies are more than retracing an object's steps, from where it is now to where it came from. It is about an object biography, often politically charged, and its identity, which changed throughout its journey, depending on its (social) context. (Colonial) provenance studies often walk around in a highly charged atmosphere, both politically, socially and painfully. It often plays a role in restitution and especially with colonial contexts shows us the pain and injustice that were inflicted in the past. Questions of whose objects they are, where they should be, and what they are and could have been, all play a role and demand an answer. Sometimes these answers are given, but not always. Sometimes they are witnesses to pain and joy, or they are uneventful. But even in those cases, the search for knowledge and the recreation of the biography and identity of an object should never be seen as 'done for nothing'. Humans pride themselves on their thirst for knowledge and provenance studies embrace that. So why has this only recently become so important? Why were these questions of biography and origin not asked when these objects were first acquired?

What we deemed as important information about an object, has changed through time. Provenance studies are one way to help fill in some of the missing information. This is especially important with colonial objects and here there are often loaded questions asked. From whom was it before it came to the museum? In what way did collectors obtain the object? How did it get to the museum? What was the original context and meaning? All these and many more questions arise when people think about provenance studies. Important to remember is that a provenance study is different from asking 'Who does it belong to?' (Bloembergen, 2022, p. 67). While provenance studies are a valuable tool in restitution research, the primary objective is to study and reconstruct the object's biography, including its (changing) social and political meaning (Stutje, 2022).

But why didn't museums ask these questions before acquiring objects with little information about them? How could they have such a passive stance towards the objects they collected and displayed? (Bloembergen, 2022, p. 67) In the recently published PPROCE report, Marieke Bloemberger asked the same question (2022). She came to three main motives:

Firstly, the sense of abundance without embarrassment, meaning that there was so much of it, why not take it? This idea of obtainability because of abundance is still present and used as a line of reasoning to explain the possession of some objects (Bloembergen, 2022, pp. 67-9).

Secondly, the idea that these cultures were decaying and that the collectors were 'saving the material witnesses of the disappearing cultures' (Bloembergen, 2022, p. 67). More on this salvage anthropology will be discussed in section 1.4.

The last motive Bloembergen mentioned, is the 'love' for objects, which could be called greed as well (2022, pp. 67-9). Love for objects is ever present in curators, but Marieke Bloembergen argues that this love is always also exclusive, and it reflects the specific curiosity of the curator (2022, p. 70). This can disconnect and alienate the object from the place it once came from, because it is put in a new light and point of view by the curator. So, to properly understand objects, we need to do more than just be curious.

The passive stance of museums, in which they did not ask but only accepted objects, has luckily changed. In 1970 UNESCO introduced the 'Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property' or 'UNESCO 1970 Agreement'. This resulted in many museums, galleries and auction houses in different countries adopting guidelines and policies to ensure and verify objects' histories and provenance, but primarily those obtained after 1970. So, while this was an important step, it did little for the objects obtained in colonial time and context (Kamardeen & Beurden, 2022, p. 192), and had no influence on the collection method of the OVOPW, which occurred before 1970.

This brings us to the current situation of Western, anthropological and archaeological museum's current situation. With the rising claims and aims at restitution and decolonialisation of museums, provenance studies are a tool to help accomplish this. This awareness shows that heritage does not lay in the past (Kamardeen & van Beurden, 2022). Even though it encompasses objects and people from the past, it is not a historical debate, but one still very much alive (Legêne, 2005, p. 141).

When we look at collections, sometimes the only binding factor between the put-together objects is that they were collected by the same person (Legêne, 2005, p. 137), or in this case association. This reflects not only the lack of information about objects but also the priority and hierarchy of information. Objects which come from many different places are somehow only organised by the one Western aspect of them: the collector. This is the current starting point for museums and scholars. Objects which have limited information, possibly obtained by illicit means, and present-day hurt and injustice that cling to everything that has the label 'colonial'. Objects that are on display are often part of the conversation, research and spotlight. But how about the objects gathering dust in the deposit? Indication of abundance and 'ordinary' does not and should not exclude these objects from the same journey that the more unique and well-known objects travel to reclaim their biographies. However, these researches based on archives, meet many challenges and the very real possibility that the necessary information is not present in those archives.

1.4 Collectors background and discourses

Knowing that provenance studies are important, leaves us with the question of why it is necessary to begin with. All current archaeologists, anthropologists and curators know the key importance of context. Without this, data is worth very little, and interpretations remain nothing more than guesses. Therefore, to understand an object, one looks for context, however, in many of these cases the context is missing or flawed. This is partly due to the fact that the opinion of what was important information to create an adequate context has changed considerably over time, and will most likely change again in the future. Different collectors, methods and perspectives have left their imprint on the current museum collections and catalogues, many of which we do not favour anymore, and museums would like to change.

The explanation of these different collector's perspectives throughout time deserves a thesis on its own. To create the necessary context here, a short overview will be given to create a general understanding of the developments which were present at the researched time. These developments of collection methods and perspectives whose presence can still be felt in current museums.

An important starting point for the creation and development of many anthropological and archaeological museums, is Napoleon. With his invasion of Egypt, he fuelled Europe's interest in both Egypt and Asia (Keurs, 2011, pp. 166-9). Many items he and his man collected, currently still remain in the British Museum and the Louvre (Keurs, 2011, p. 168). Napoleon used the scientific perspective popular at the time, rational enlightenment, to justify his invasion. According to this perspective, research and critical thinking would eventually better the world, and allow humans to uncover the natural laws, if humans could understand these universal laws, they could apply them to create a more prosperous society (Kant, 1785). This search for knowledge went past authoritative, cultural and social boundaries, because the importance of reason applied universally to all human beings (Kant, 1785). With this mindset, Europeans started to collect objects, both local as from other, often colonised, countries. The aim was to collect items that fit within existing categories and create a scientifically accurate and complete collection. The context of the maker's community was not deemed important, because Indigenous people were not seen as equal, and their thoughts were therefore 'unreliable and untrustworthy' (Turner, 2015, p. 665). Their 'feelings were of a low-grade culture' (Mason, 1875, p. 4), which were to be avoided because they did not further science, since 'Indigenous knowledge was inferior' to Western knowledge (Turner, 2015, p. 665). This resulted in an object 'context', written by and from a Western perspective, with the information limited to

which category it belonged, where something was collected, and by whom (not from whom) (Baird's, 1843-1881; Turner, 2015, p. 663).

Not everyone agreed with this idea of universalism, German philosopher Herder was intrigued by the diversity of cultures and started to look into the differences. Here, the aim was to find the objects that 'accurately' represented the lifestyle and culture of different people. Emotions, traditions, myths, individualism and languages were studied to explore the unique customs of these different cultures (Herder, 1773; Keurs, 2011, p. 166-9). This way of thinking, called the Romanticism perspective, led to collectors and museums searching for the most unique items, and resulted in salvage anthropology. This meant that researchers collected as much as possible, in order to preserve it before it was gone because soon all these 'primitive' cultures would disappear due to the Western influence the researchers themselves brought (Macneil, 2016, p. 28). This is known, as mentioned earlier by Bloembergen, as salvage anthropology. Sadly, this meant that gathering information about an object was often less important than obtaining that, and many other objects. Another issue of this perspective was that cultures were often oversimplified because they were seen as 'primitive' cultures. The idea of the 'noble savage', who lived in harmony with nature, untainted by civilisation, urged collectors to find objects to reflect this image (Rousseau, 1754). At the same time, it enforced the racial notion of the inferiority of these cultures, vs the superiority of the collectors, who came to preserve these cultures.

These and many more perspectives gave way to new and different ways of thinking, but they each helped build towards the current field of anthropology and archaeology. Enlightenment made great improvements in the importance and methods of scientific inquiry and reason. It encouraged people to question authority and think for themselves, based on knowledge and observation. Where romanticism embraced diversity and gave emotion and subjective experience importance. These different perspectives produced different output, information and context for the objects they collected. As is the problem with discourse, people rarely see that they are in one, and intentions and convictions are genuine. It is easy to look back and see the different ways of thinking for what it was, but much harder to dissect the perspective used from the provided information. How did the person who collected the object and wrote the content see the world? How should we now interpret the information that they provided? These are things one needs to keep in mind when conducting a provenance study, because aside from researching where something was from, it is important to look at what it is now and what it used to be. In order to do this, we need to keep in mind the broader outline of the 19th-century cultural and social landscape in which most museums came to be (Legêne, 2005, p. 139).

2. Results: The image that comes to light

What was this association doing?

When reading the over 750 achieved letters of the first dozen years (1839-1852) of this association, it becomes clear that the broad name of the organisation is indeed reflected within its actions. The men associated with the organisation viewed many subjects as important to the general welfare of the province, including but not limited to: Setting up a trade in furniture wood with the colony of Suriname; planting and donating fruit trees; creating a deeper waterway around Zwolle; collecting and displaying the provincial flora, fauna and minerals; building up correspondence with other collecting- and education institutions and museums; creating a reading association to further educate the agricultural sector; and coring for Bentheimer stone (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9-17; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). The main focus was improving the overall provincial welfare, and many endeavours were therefore economical in nature and related to trade. Furthermore, collecting, learning about and educating in the provincial flora, fauna and geology was similarly seen as important to the welfare. Education and research were seen as indispensable for development and welfare, and the gathering of knowledge in the form of collections was seen as an important tool to show influence, prestige, and development.

To stay within the focus of this research and to look into the posted research questions, the next chapter will look into the trade connections the organisation made with the Western colonies. There will furthermore be looked into the correspondence related to these colonies, as well as other collecting organisations in chapter four. In chapter five, the natural historic and geological collection will be discussed. This will include correspondence, general museum developments, goals and achievements and the associations position within the national museum and academic scene. In chapter six, the anthropological collection will be discussed. Unfortunately, the numerous letters and other archived items related to the museum, did not reveal anything regarding the provenance of anthropological items from the America's. However, the catalogues do offer some insights, as do some correspondences, primarily regarding the national historical collection.

Once this image of the organisation, its economical activities, correspondence and its collection aspiration and methods are created, the organisation position within the political and economic climate of its time will be given in chapter 7, the discussion. The general collecting and museum climate will similarly be discussed, to create the social image in which this association was founded, and developed itself in its first dozen years.

3. Colonial trading connections

The largest colonial endeavour of the association appears to be the establishment of a furniture wood trade between Suriname and Zwolle. The first inquiry for creating this trade was made in 1844, when the association wrote a letter to the Dutch ministry of colonies. The first corresponding letter is not in the archives, however, the second letter of the association to the ministry of colonies is present, dating November the 16th, 1844 (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). The first reply letter from the ministry is present and dates to the 21st of September, 1844 (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9). From these two letters it can be concluded that the association has expressed a desire to establish a direct trade between Suriname and Zwolle, with the additional possibility to create trade stops along the Capeverdian-, and Canary islands, the Orinoco river, and 'other points in Africa and America' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9). In order to do this, the association has requested the in-and outgoing trade records of Suriname of 1843, and of Curacao, St. Eustatius and St Martin from 1842. The minister replies that he is happy to oblige and declares to help where he can in this endeavour (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9). This is shortly thereafter emphasised when the ministry sends the association 14 Surinamese wood samples, along with a chair as an example of how the wood can be worked (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9).

In their next reply, the association goes into the research they have done so far into the furniture wood trade. A carpenter has looked at the wood samples and has declared that 'Dutch Guyana possesses a source of wealth in the form of furniture wood' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). After listing possible uses and characteristics, they propose a price list for what the different wood types would be worth in the Netherlands. They continue to calculate that it could be a providable trade, but that this depends on how much it would cost to get the wood to Zwolle. They predict that it could be profitable at 15 cents per Rhineland cubic feet, which is approximability 0.31 m³, from here on written as 'RL cub.' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). They furthermore discuss the possibility that there might be many more useful wood types, which are not recognized by the maroons [boschnegers], who collect the wood in Surinam (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). The list the colony provided regarding the value of different wood types, is, according to the OVOPW, wrong. Wood types which they have listed as 'without value', were actually considered 'highly valuable' by the carpenters in the Netherlands (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). For this the minister had already offered to acquire some more samples of different types, and the association happily takes the minister up on this offer and requests free samples of 11 different wood types, of at least nine el. One el is, depending on where you are from in the Netherlands, 58-68 centimetres (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

3.1 The first shipments and its challenges

One and a half year later, in between which the association has continued researching wood types by means of, for example, reports of the navy, they receive word of their first shipment (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). The governor of Suriname has sent two shipments of wood, 'of the required diameter and of different wood types' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). The first, consisting of 14 different wood types, with a total of 112 pieces, aboard the ship *Wilhelmina*, captained by J.N. Klint. This consists of a total of 788 $\frac{1}{4}$ RL cub. freight load (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). The minister of colonies, who functions as an in between correspondence for the association and the governor of Suriname, mentions the associations desire to receive this shipment for free. He informs them however, that the governor has charged one guilder/RL cub. of wood. Furthermore, the transportation of the wood has also been charged one guilder/RL cub., meaning that the first shipment alone costs f 1576,75. The letter informs of a second shipment of 33 different wood types, in 138 pieces, with a total of 525 $\frac{3}{4}$ RL cub., on board of the *Catharina* with captain J. Hillers (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). This will cost the association a total of f 2628 for the first two sample shipment of furniture wood from Suriname (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12).

3.1a The auction

The first shipment which signifies the start of the furniture wood trade, has been received, but what was anticipated to be a free shipment, turned into an expensive endeavour. The price of f 2628 is too high for the association to be paid, and they therefore suggest organising an auction to sell the wood in Zwolle (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). This way, they could pay (part) of the costs of the shipment, people in the Netherlands and possibly even further, would be introduced to the new, different types of woods and the establishing of these types could begin. In order to utilize this opportunity and earn as much as possible, the association plans on advertising the auction broadly, both in the Netherlands, as in Belgium and (German) Rhine cities (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). They offer the ability to pay in credit, rather than only cash, which is normally done in auctions in Amsterdam. This offers an opportunity for smaller carpenters to buy the wood as well. These carpenters often get their wood thirdhand, and the association wants to offer them equal opportunity, in order to support the smaller, local businesses, as is part of their general goal (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11-2; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

The auction is held between the end of September and mid-October, and the wood is sold for a total of f 1821,25 (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). This was overall considered a success, due to the condition off the wood. Because once the wood was received by the association, a number of problems

became apparent. First, many of the wood pieces were cracked, making them less, to not suitable at all anymore for the creation of furniture, for which large pieces are needed. This ties in to the second problem, which was that many of the pieces did not have the desired dimensions. Lastly, the most valuable wood types were not present, and some types that were sent over would only be useful as firewood (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). This might be possible, as they speculated before, because suppliers in Suriname do not know or recognize the best types, or simply have different standards and ideas as to what qualifies as furniture wood (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). Based on the less than desirable state of the wood, a carpenter had estimated the total value of the auctioned wood around f 1400. So, the outcome of the auction was indeed positive, with 30% more merit than expected (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

3.2 Big ambitions and further shipments

Based on the auction outcome, the association concluded that the trade in furniture wood was something they wanted to pursue, for 'the good of the fatherland and colonies' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 13). They think it could be profitable if the future wood met a number of requirements. For the setting up of the trade and communicating the requirements, the association once again asks the help of the ministry of colonies as intermediary. They list their requirements, along with suggestions for possible ways to ensure them. These include: the correct dimensions, with the length between 12-30 Rhineland feet, and as wide as possible. That the pieces should not be cracked, with ideas on how to prevent that, and the request that the wood be cut off the tree as low as possible. Lastly, the biggest issue to ensure that this trade is profitable, is the price for which the wood can be bought and brought to Zwolle. Concerning the purchase price, the association offers the option of sending the wood unfelled, which will take up more space, but save in labour cost. It furthermore expresses its incomprehension as to why all wood types are sold at the same price of one guilder/RL cub. They argue that this price is not based on anything. That it is too high, since wood in the colonies is an 'inexhaustible' resource, and that not all wood types are worth the same, with the additional problem that the opinion on what is suitable as furniture wood differs between the Surinam wood auctioneers and the Dutch carpenters. They therefore send their own list of desired wood types with prices they are willing to pay. Expert carpenters suggest these prices, and they ensure that 'they are not too low, and in some places even too high' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

Regarding the transport costs, many letters are found on this very issue. The association keeps emphasising that the freight costs of one guilder/ RL cub. is a dealbreaker, making the trade impossible. They make different suggestions for transport prices, ranging from 10 to 35 cent/ RL cub., inquire about options with national ships, and even 'politely' remind them that nothing is restricting them not to go to entirely different, non-Dutch companies (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12-3; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). They furthermore argue that, in the long run, a lower transport and purchase price would be more profitable for both parties, because they intent to order four shipments a year. And they keep empathising the importance of this trade to both the fatherland and the colonies. This last point is based on the creation of a new industry in a product of which Surinam has a lot, but does not have a trade in yet. But it is further based on the problem of limiting return freight, which is often a problem when ships return from Dutch Guinea. They use the example of a ship which, from what they heard, lay anchored for three months, waiting for enough return freight, and ended up filling part of their space by loading sand by lack of anything else. Why not transport wood for us then? they ask (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

In the end they manage to make a deal with the ministry, that national ships can transport the wood for 30cent/RL cub. However, this only works when they are in the position to, depending on space, timing, planned journey and whether there is wood ready to be shipped (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 13). The minister furthermore offers to order a shipment of wood for the organisation, paid by the ministry of colonies. The organisation happily accepts this proposal, and furthermore places an order themselves of 1000 guilder, paid by a communal fund from local tradesman from Zwolle.

After this shipment has reached Zwolle, and was to their likings, they place another order of f 13000 in 1848, if it can be shipped for free (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). f 13000 appears to be much too high for an organisation such as the OVOPW to order. It could be that the comma is not visible, and it concerns f 130, see figure 2, but this seems low after the first shipment of f 1000. However, the only letter after this new order regarding wood shipments (until 1853), is one from 1850, replying that the ordered shipment has been ready for some time, but by the lack of national transport ship, the shipment will be cancelled (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 15).

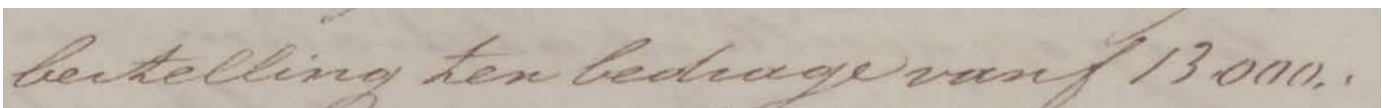


Figure 2: Written order of a 'shipment for the amount of f 13000' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

3.3 How far from Overijssel did the OVOPW pursue their goal of prosperity?

Did any of the prosperity projects of the OVOPW involve the Western colonies?

Aside from an inspiring story of a provincial organisation, which reaches out across the sea for new, niche, trade opportunities, what does this tell us about the organisations, its goals and the world around them? It is clear that the organisation looked beyond Overijssel to find its prosperity. While it searched for profitable opportunities far away, it does intent to bring the accompanied welfare close to home. Such is clear, for example from a letter from 1848 to the ministry of finance (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 13). Here they ask for a report from the national import of cigar boxes and planks. This is in order to estimate the amount of cedarwood used, which they could import from Surinam to a factory in Deventer, Overijssel. Their plan is to deliver cheaper cedarwood to the factory, and along with it, build a sawing machine that would improve the production process considerably. Cigars are increasingly popular, they write, because they are smoked in lower economical classes of society as well now (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). Since the boxes are used only once, and cedar wood is abundant in Surinam, they see a profitable opportunity. Willing to invest in the local factory and inquiring beforehand, shows multiple key characteristics from this organization: it is locally focussed on improving development; making profit is a priority; they have thirst for knowledge; and they use a well-connected correspondence in pursuing this desired knowledge and economical prosperity.

However, this was not their only attempt in which their thirst for knowledge and investigatory nature searched for new profitable endeavours. While the focus appears to be laid quickly on furniture wood, there were other, shorter lived trade inquiries as well. For example, in the first reply back to the ministry of colonies, the association mentions that, regarding the Capeverdian Islands, they see a possibility in trading rock salt, which could, in their opinion, be interesting for Zwolle, where the salt demand is growing (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). Not only might there be salt to trade in the Capeverdian Island, but there also appears to be a travel report from Baron van Sack, mentioning a 'salt mountain' in Surinam (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). The association proposed that, if that report turns out to be true, a new colony might be founded there to extract the salt. This could then be profitable for both the new colony, and for the Netherlands because a new return item is created (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). This idea, unlike the furniture wood, was not long lived, however. In their reply, the ministry of colonies request that the association does not trade in salt from Surinam or the Capeverdian islands, because the colonies of Curacao and Bonaire already supply salt, which, they inform the association, is of excellent quality (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9).

This shows that while the association's ambition is high, they are not experts on colonial trade, and their view is focussed, as is in the name of their association, on the prosperity of their province.

With both the wood and shorter lived salt idea, the association was searching for small, profitable return products to bring from Surinam to Zwolle, in order to improve the welfare of both the province, colony and therefor in extent the 'fatherland'. They further made inquiries in order to evaluate cavasa flower, as well as banana hemp (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 13; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). Another one of these products was gum copal, which is a tree resin, similar to amber (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). This is a product that was often exported, along with ivory from Eastern Africa. It was found, in smaller quantities, in Surinam as well. it was previously exported, but in the 18th century had mostly died out because it was supplied by the native population, who were less present in the 19th century (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). After the association had received a box of gum copal and had it examined, it concluded that it was of good quality, and could offer a nice, small retour product along with the wood (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). They offer advice in their letter to the wood auction masters, that they would make a profit if they put the woman, children and older enslaved to the task of collecting it (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). Once again, this shows the interest in both profit, and (niche) return product, along with the reality of the times.

The answer to these first two research questions can therefor be formulated as follows: The OVOPW went (at least) as far as creating a trade with Surinam to pursue their goal of prosperity, meaning that they did in fact had projects involving the Western colonies.

Next to revealing characteristics of the association, these letters show something about the economical and political climate at the time. The increasing nationalism of the time appears in both the association and its call for 'fatherland welfare', as well as in the government which supports these endeavours by as far as paying for a shipment to contribute to this developing trade (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12).

4. Correspondence

Did the OVOPW operate isolated, or does their correspondence show cooperation with other associations, organisations and individuals?

As is clear from the extensive number of letters send from and to the OVOPW in their first period of existence, they had a lively correspondence. The letters range from correspondence with members of the OVOPW, individual objects donors that had heard about the OVOPW, governmental institutions, other associations, and museum directors such as C.J. Temminck. Here follows a general correspondence overview. In the next chapter, I will discuss in more detail the contents of the letters regarding the OVOPW's collection and museum.

4.1 Government

It is evident from the wood trade correspondence, that the association had personal contact with different governmental ministries. They had close contact with the ministry of colonies regarding the wood trade, and with the ministry of finance to research certain (trade) endeavours. There are furthermore letters from the ministry of interior relations, including ones signed by Thorbecke (see figure 3, when he was minister of interior relations). The topic discussed in these correspondence differ from wood trade to, for example, requesting subsidy for expansion of the museum.

Correspondence with the kings thesaurus shows the kings approval for the creation of a nameless society, devoted to creating a better waterway in Zwolle, including a f 10 000 fund, signed by the kings own treasurer, see figure 4 (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9

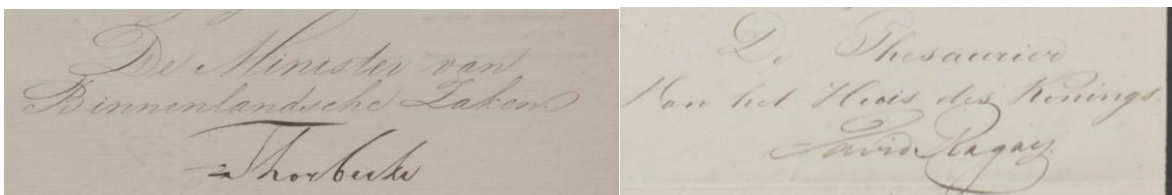


Figure 3: sign off from Thorbecke, minister of interior relations (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 16).

Figure 4: sign off from the treasurer of the king (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9).

In addition to contact with the national government, the association had contact with local municipality members including a large number of different mayors. These corresponds differ from thanking the accusation for send fruit trees, to discussing the allocation and expansion of the museum.

4.2 Other associations and organizations

Not only did the association correspond with government officials, but it was also in contact with many other organisations and associations. Many of which were due to their common interests, and in order to inquire if, and in what way they could be of aid to one another. Such was the case with the 'association of art practitioners', located in Zwolle. The OVOPW association was focussed on general prosperity, and this included art in their eyes as well. In 1847, the OVOPW first writes to the association of art participants, regarding a painting exhibition which is in their eyes joyful proof that painting is happily practiced in this city (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 47). Based on this exhibition, the association concludes that a larger stimulus is needed in this city for the arts. To do this, the OVOPW proposes to create a permanent exhibition of paintings which are available for sale from local artist in their room of natural history in the Reventer. This way, more people can view the art, and this will stimulate the market and artists (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 47). The OVOPW writes to the association of art participants, to ask for their opinion and permission for this idea. The art association quickly replies that they have no objections and approve of the plan. The OVOPW will therefor proceed, by inviting local artist through newspaper ads to send paintings which are available for sales, including the necessary information to the OVOPW. Sadly, no further letters or information is available in the archives in the years 1847-52. It is therefor not possible to determine based on the archives, whether or not this permanent exhibition ever took place.

Other examples of corresponding organisations are the society of physics, from which the OVOPW borrowed agricultural tools to pursue their 'prosperity endeavours', and the agricultural reading association. This was a sister association founded by the OVOPW in order to stimulate education and prosperity in the agricultural sector. In their opinion, this was a sector in which great strides could be made in order to increase efficiency and prosperity, but this was lacking due to limited knowledge (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). By creating this association, they hoped to make available this needed knowledge, and stimulate the agricultural workers to read up on this and apply it in their practice (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

Regarding organisations, the OVOPW was in contact with many other collecting institutions, including the national museum of natural history and the national museum of antiquity, both located in Leiden. These two museums still exist, and have most likely some items in their possession, first collected by the OVOPW. The Rijksmuseum of natural museum was founded in 1820 by royal decree of King Willem II, where multiple private collections were combined together. The primary collection derived from C.J. Temmick, who became the first museums director and saw the museum as a

research institute and a part of the university of Leiden (Holthuis, 1968). They aimed to create an as complete as possible natural collection for research, but were open to the public on Sundays. After two centuries of change, allocation, merging and diverging and a name change, the museum collection, be it much more extensive, now still exists as the museum of Naturalis.

The association corresponded with the College of Utrecht and their curators of natural history and geology as well. The correspondence with these collecting organisations often revolved around the question whether the organisation had 'duplicates' in their collection which they could donate to the collection of the OVOPW. Items were on occasions donated, exchanged or bought. The correspondence with these organisations will be discussed in chapter five.

4.3 Individual collectors

Lastly, there were numerous correspondences between individual people, some of whom offered the OVOPW their private collections. This was often paired and donated with entire, neatly recorded catalogues. The motivation behind these donations was diverse, but primarily revolved around two: the owner did not have space for it anymore or wanted to aid the 'noble cause' of the association to create a collection on the Overijssel flora and fauna. Pride presumably played a large role as well. These were often niche collections, created from an interest of and pride for their province, on which the person had spend much time in collecting, prepping and displaying it. The chance to have it displayed in a proper museum must have been a dream of many (Nys, 2005, p. 458).

But the private collectors were not only local, there were letters and catalogues in German, French and Italian among the correspondence as well. In the case of the French gentlemen, there appears to have been a close (family) relationship, because the author asks the receiver to give their parents his best regards. This letter further speaks of a donation of shells to the OVOPW, and asks the association for various geological items in return (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 13).

The German correspondence does not suggest to be based on a personal collecting, but appears to be an entomologist, offering collections of insects and various other natural items. Lastly, the only Italian correspondence found is a catalogue, without an attached letter. From whom this catalogue is, and whether it was an inquiry or an acquisition, is unknown.

To answer the question posed at the beginning of this chapter, more detailed information will be given in the next chapter. However, it can so far be concluded, that the OVOPW did not stand isolated in its goals. Many different people, associations and organisations corresponded with the OVOPW, offering or asking for help. These included national institutions and government, as well as small scale associations such as the local association of art practitioners and enthusiastic individuals.

5. The museum collection, growing beyond expectations

The first mentioning of the associations intention to create a collection of nature historical and geological objects, is in a newspaper article from the 25th of February 1842 (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 7). In this article, it mentions the aspirations of the associations to create such a collection, and that they have already acquired some natural and geological objects from their own, numerous members. They furthermore mention the ambition that, when there is opportunity and space, they intent to create a collection of physics instruments (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 7). Within the first 10 years of their short existence, the association had already set the goal for and started their collection of anthropological and natural historical objects. The OVOPW itself explains their goal in a letter from 1843, to the mayor of Goor. Here they state that the OVOPW 'since its founding has had the intention of collecting rarities from the soil of the history of Overijssel which are scattered and bring them together. Scattered, these items have no value, but when brought together in a public collection for scientific practices, it will gain a scientific value. For this purpose, we have received many donations, from both members and non-members' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). This letter was sent to the mayor with inquiry regarding a rumour, that the city hall of Goor possesses some fossilised bones, and they ask whether they could have these for their collection (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9). Unfortunately, the city no longer has these fossilised bones, but does promise to donate any future findings from their city to the OVOPW's collection (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9). This correspondence shows the active attitude of the association, pursuing possible donations besides the more passive receival of donations, and thereby gaining a new possible donor.

While they were already collecting from at least 1842 onwards, the OVOPW did not have an official cabinet or museum until 26th of June, 1845. On that date, the mayor of Zwolle gives the association a permit for the creation of a 'cabinet of natural objects, antiquities and other rare objects' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 10). He furthermore gives permission to the association to use two upper rooms of the city building 'the Reventer', to deposit and exhibit their collection.

From that moment onwards, the collection has become a cabinet and functions as a museum. Donations keep flowing in, and the collection kept growing. There were different types of donors. Many were one time donors, with a variety of motivations. For example, in 1849, a gentleman in Zwolle left his butterfly and beetles collections to his heirs, who donated it to the museum (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 14). Another gentlemen from Zwolle, donated his butterfly collection, of 250 items, to the museum as well, but because he wanted to 'contribute to the already very remarkable museum collections' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11).

There were, however, also people who donated multiple times, and went out in search of natural and geological items specifically for the museum. Mr. H. Frantsen donated a variety of teeth, shells, and stones on four occasions to the OVOPW museum during the years 1845-46. The stones were found in a hill in Markelo to which he returned multiple times, specifically in search of stones to donate to the museum (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 10-11; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

He was not the only one that went out of their way to specifically collect for the museum. In 1847, a Mr. Mumich from Vilstenen, wrote to the museum that the whole summer, a squirrel with a remarkably coloured fur has been held up in his garden, and after 'a lot of effort', his son managed to shoot it. Due to its colour, Mr Mumich argues that this squirrel is a rarity and therefore worthy of a spot in the OVOPW museum (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12). The OVOPW evidently agrees, because a day later they send a letter and the squirrel to a taxidermist in Amsterdam to have it preserved and mounted for the museum (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

While most private, amateur collectors appear to be quite happy with the associations initiative and gladly donate in order to see their collected items displayed in a museum, not everyone appeared happy. In a letter from 1845 from Steenwijk, a man explains that he has been collecting stones for a long time, and that many people know this, and often bring him remarkable stones which he buys of them (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 10). However, he writes, yesterday a young boy came to me with a remarkable stone of which I had never seen one before, but when I offered him one guilder, he answered 'No, then I rather bring it to Zwolle and their cabinet'. He asks the OVOPW, what he is supposed to do now? (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 10). If the association answers, it has unfortunately not been preserved.

As before mentioned, there were many different correspondences, which included topics such as donating fruit trees, and asking for item donations for the OVOPW's collection. In some cases, these appeared to have related. Such is the case in 1851, when the association writes to Mr. Franssen in Haaksbergen. He is not the mayor, but does appear to be a man of influence, because to him they write that they have donated 50 fruit trees to the municipality of Haaksbergen (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). In addition, they write to ask if the municipality can keep sending finds for the cabinet of antiquities, and that they would love to receive the Roman penny that Franssen wrote about in his last (unfortunately not preserved) letter. The associations further asks whether Franssen is in the position to 'persuade some residents of your municipality to become members with us, because this would help us financially' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). This indicates that not only mayors were influential in municipalities and that the fruit trees were used both as 'thank you' and to increase future opportunities of donations.

5.1 Associations and trading duplicates

Not only private individuals, but associations corresponded and donated to the cabinet of Zwolle as well. Many of these correspondences were initiated by the OVOPW, who wrote to multiple well known (educational) institutions with cabinets of their own in the hope to the opportunity for a two way donation stream. Many letters were written with the request whether an institution had any duplicate items in their collection which they would be able to send to the OVOPW's cabinet. Often, they offered to send a collection of Overijssel minerals back, which, given that these institutions were not in Overijssel and often not provincial but nationally or globally orientated, was often greatly appreciated. Most prominent of these institutions were the College of Utrecht [hogeschool van Utrecht], and the national museum of natural history.

5.1.a College of Utrecht

The correspondence with the curators of the cabinet of natural history of the College of Utrecht was initiated by the OVOPW on the 10th of June 1846 (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). In this letter, they explain their motivation as to why they have started creating their collection. This is because natural history is not (yet) a part of the national educational program. They find this important subjects and, if it were up to them, this should and would be a part of the education offered in schools. They therefor want to offer schools in their province, and later even possibly outside of their province, a collection of natural historical items, so this subjects can be taught (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). While their attempt at creating a collection of natural history has developed well, and the geology collection even exceed their expectations, they are not yet done (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). They therefor ask whether the collection of the College possess any duplicate items from different nature domains, from which, in their words, 'science' has little to no advantage. They proceed by 'taking the liberty to ask whether the College could give some of these duplicates to our collections' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). They further declare that they would be happy to supply the College of Utrecht with a complete collection of Overijssel minerals and stones, which would be indispensable in the research of the geology of the fatherland (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). They finish their letter by saying that their 'request may only have a local and personal scope but is in the name of science, and with this proposal, the College of Utrecht would broaden itself and increase her influence' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

This letter demonstrates, again, the active stance of the OVOPW. It recognizes their superiors, it is clear from the letter that the College of Utrecht has a higher authority on collecting and scientific

approach, but it does put the collection and goal of the OVOPW within the same category as that of the College.

This first letter is met positively, but not yet with any promises. The curators of the College of Utrecht reply that they will have to ask and discuss the possibilities of donating duplicates, and if this is possible, it could only come from the general mineral collection. They are, however, 'pleased to promote science elsewhere' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). And write that the offered Overijssel minerals would be much appreciated, since those are not present in their collection (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11).

In the continuing correspondence between 1846-1847, the curators and the director of the mineral collection from the College of Utrecht sends the OVOPW a collection of 263 minerals (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 12), and the OVOPW promises to send Utrecht a collection of Overijssel minerals. More requests are made, such as duplicates of shells and horns, but Utrecht does not have enough of these, but refers the association to the collection in Leiden (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 12). Between 1848 and 1852, there is no more correspondence, the receipt of the present duplicates appears to have been sufficient for the OVOPW.

5.1.b The National museum of natural histories, Leiden

The correspondence with the National museum of natural histories was initiated by the OVOPW on the 4th of January 1846. This letter starts, similarly to the one to Utrecht, with an explanation of the association's goal. However, it is considerably more extensive, given that the letter itself is twice as long. The goal here is described as improving the material interests of the province. To achieve this, they argue that they need to improve the scientific practices of the region, because 'no company can function well today without the help of various sciences' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). Here as well, they mention that the science of natural history and geology in particular is being neglected. As a start to improve this, the association has put out the assignment to research and map the geology of Overijssel. However, they argue, 'to awaken the true lust for natural history and geology, we judge it absolutely necessary to create a collection of various nature domains and geological in Zwolle' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). They continue to explain how the collection started, including the aid they received from the city which provided them with space and monetary aid in creating the necessary cabinets, and the many item donations they have received. When their collection can speak of any 'completeness', they intend to offer it to high schools and possibly even primary school to allow for education in these subjects (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). Reaching this completeness is difficult however, due to the limited funds available. While they do use the trade connections in other parts

of the world from their fellow members and citizens, it is a slow process (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). They therefore ask the director of the National museum, if they happen to have duplicate items, and if they could send such items to Zwolle from time to time (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). Here they accentuate as they did in their letter to the College of Utrecht, that with this, the influence of the museum would increase in neighbouring regions, and that it would increase the general interest (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

The reply from Mr Temminck, the director of the museum comes the 31st of January and is very positive and enthusiastic. He stands behind the associations goal and would love to aid them. It is his opinion that 'Especially regarding the physical science of art and industry, attempts are needed to open the eyes of the nation to show them how far behind they are compared to neighbouring countries' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). He applauds the associations attempt and thinks they have taken the right path towards their goal. Temminck does wonder, whether or not it would be more in accordance with their goal and resources, to focus on completing their inland fauna collection first (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). This would be easily done and highly useful. When the association does want to include foreign items, Temminck advised to limit themselves to one representative item per category. However, Temminck promises to send any foreign duplicates available because, sadly, inland duplicates will be more difficult. He does, however, know of an affordable, beautiful, almost complete inland bird collection, which is accordingly labeled per species. He ends his letter with 'the hope that this proposal reflects his genuine interest, and that he would love to accept a collection of Overijssel minerals at a later date' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11).

In the following correspondence, Temminck again urges the OVOPW to buy the inland bird collection, in order to have a complete and impressive collection at the time of the museums opening. In his words, 'I do not need to explain to you, how important a first impression is, especially with the less civilized class' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). With this, he sends the list of birds and the correspondence regarding the bird collection is from then onwards with Mr J.A. Sussana, the administrator of the national museum of natural history and owner of the inland bird collection (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). With him a contract is signed, and the inland birds are sent to Zwolle as soon as possible. In addition, the OVOPW has asked Mr. Temminck if it is possible to receive some colourful, tropical birds, and Mr Sussana informs that he has started a search. The boxes with the bird collection are delivered in Zwolle on the 13th of May, on time for the opening of the museum, the 1st of June, 1846. Before the end of May, two more boxes of duplicate items, mammals and birds are sent to Zwolle, and some tropical birds are expected to be sent over soon (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). Of this delivery, no letter of receipt is found in the archive.

The collection inland birds are the only bought items in the period from the start of the collection, until 1852. All other items are donated and only possibly made expenses are paid by the association. This acquisition is bought with payments in five instalments of f130 per year, coming to a total of f650. The collection has a total of 350 items, ranging from different sizes (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 17). When the second instalment is paid a year later in May 1847, the correspondence, that has been quiet since the end of May 1846, picks up again. Mr Sussana expresses his and Mr Temminck's delight at the successful expansion of the collection in Zwolle, and offers another shipment of duplicate items (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12). This shipment, due to unforeseen delays and sickness, does not reach Zwolle until May 1848 (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 13). In return, the OVOPW sends a list of their duplicate Overijssel minerals to Leiden. The reply to this offer is that 'this collection is very important to us, and would be an excellent addition to the geological knowledge of our country. Possessing such a complete collection is lacking in our mineral room, so we therefor gladly accept' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12). Two weeks later, July 9th 1847 a collection of 178 minerals is send to Leiden (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12). Further correspondence promises another delivery of duplicates to Zwolle on the 22nd of March 1851, this delivery is sent the 9th of December (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 16). No correspondence is found from the year 1852.

5.2 Finances

While donations kept flowing in, the association did struggle with financing their collection, restricting them in buying specific collections or creating proper displays. In reply to a manufacturer from Enschede, who is offering his tropical birds for sale, the association voices its financial situation as: 'Unfortunately, our desire to expand our collection as soon as possible, is not equal to our funds, which your asking price currently exceeds' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). The associations only annual income comes from the membership contributions (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). Luckily, this was not the only form of income available to the OVOPW. Multiple subsidies were given to the OVOPW between its founding and 1852, see table 2.

From whom	How much	When	For what
City of Zwolle	f 400	27 th of December 1845	For the making of cabinets and desks for the museum, with the condition that the museum remains within Zwolle.
Ministry for internal affairs, paid from the Kings treasury	f 800	6 th of March, 1852	For the expansion of the museum, incl. creating more cabinets and desks
City of Zwolle	Annual f 50, covering of the expenses of the expansion and carpentry of the museum	3 rd of July 1852	Annual subsidy for the museum.

Table 2: Subsidies given to the OVOPW to fund their museum (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 10; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 17; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

Furthermore, the OVOPW were given the use of rooms in the Reventer by the city of Zwolle, free of charge to create their museum in (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 10). When the museum grew bigger, more room was made available (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 17) and the cost for expending and addition furniture were covered by subsidies, as shown in table 2.

5.3 Further developments and goals museum

What range of endeavours were pursued in order to improve the provincial prosperity?

The museum itself appears to run better than expected, based on the accounts from the OVOPW themselves. In a letter from 1846 to the ministry of internal affairs, the association reports to have had 800 visitors that year (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). In 1847, they report to have had 3000 visitors in total, since the opening of the museum, 'including many strangers' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49).

The association had many goals that would, in their mind, further the provincial development. Goals that have something to do with furthering knowledge, in order to further the development, include creating an agricultural tools museum; mapping the geology of Overijssel; and, as discussed before, the supporting of local artist and their art (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49).

5.3.a Agricultural tool museum

The interest in creating an agricultural tool museum was already present in the early days of the association. In the same news article that announced their aspiration to create a natural historic collection from 1842, the OVOPW report to have already collected numerous geological, natural historical and scientific tools (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 7). With this, the OVOPW declares, that they intent to not only create a cabinet of natural history and geology, but a museum of agricultural tools

as well, as soon as a suitable location is found for this (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 7). However, not until 1850 is this goal mentioned again in a letter to the mayor of Zwolle. Here they inform the mayor that they have the aspiration to create an agricultural tool museum, for which there is, in their opinion, a dire need in the agricultural sector. If the city could provide a suitable space, preferably in close proximity to the current museum, the second museum could be created in a relatively short period of time (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). However, no further information is found within the letters, in the following two years.

5.3.b Geological mapping

The association invested early on into the mapping of the geological situation of Overijssel. In 1846, they wrote to Temminck that they have 'instructed Mr. Staring to carry out a geological survey of Overijssel' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). Throughout the years, many letters with reports are sent to the OVOPW, including those of the research into coring for Bentheimer (sand)stone. The interest in mapping out the geological situation went beyond Overijssel. In 1847, the association contacted the governor of Guinea, because they had heard that there would be a geological study there. In this letter they praise this initiative and predict that it will have important scientific implications for 'the fatherland' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). They furthermore ask for a mineral collection for the museum, if and when that is possible (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). In the letters to Temminck, their interest in furthering geological knowledge in and outside of Overijssel is shown clearly. Here the association voices their concern that their investment into mapping out the geological situation of Overijssel, might have been better used spend on research into the geological situation of the colonies (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 16). While Temminck is inclined to agree, he replies, that only time will tell. He furthermore informs the associations of his hopes that the recent interest in the house of representatives could lead to the interest and urge for geological knowledge among the civil servants (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 16).

5.4 Education and becoming 'one of the academic cities'

What position did the OVOPW have within the museum and academic situation on a national scale?

Regarding the position of the OVOPW and their museum, within the larger view of academic Netherlands and the museums it had at the time, the correspondence between the OVOPW and Mr. Temminck sheds some light. In their first letter, the OVOPW expresses some of their views and opinions on the current academic situation in the Netherlands. It is their opinion that 'the light of science is concentration only within the academic world, which has resulted in the knowledge of nature not having been transpired onto the common people, nor even to the decent classes' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). 'If we want to improve upon this, then not only the academic cities, but the population of every populous city should have access to a natural historic collection, in which Zwolle wishes to be the example' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49).

Temminck replies to this letter in full agreement, and talks about his point of view on this matter, and his assessment regarding the attempts of the OVOPW to improve upon this. He replies that 'now, more than ever, there should be attempts made to try and open the eyes of the nation, and show them how far behind we are to our neighbouring countries' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 11). 'We should open their eyes and educate them in the ways of science because, do not be fooled, even in the academic cities, people are lagging behind. People in the city are no longer scientifically advanced, in spite of all the available resources and they are no more naturalist than anywhere else in the country' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 11). Temminck complains that many academics travel all over the country, but 'where do the fruits of these labours remain? Where can one notice the influence of their skills upon general civilisation?' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 11). He argues that the cause of this 'dire' situation is the fact that the population either does not have the time, the desire, or more often than not, both, to occupy themselves with scientific endeavours, and, 'in all their restless striving, they overlook the means which might effectively contribute to their desires to obtain monetary gain and benefits' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 11). 'While the practice of science is the main goal within the academic world, only a few feel a calling to towards this (...) In my opinion, the OVOPW has taken the right path to open the publics eyes for these useful studies, in addition to promoting its main goal: To spread a higher general civilization among people of all classes' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 11). Temminck wishes that all the attempts of the OVOPW may exceed their expectations and inspire the flourishing and development of the prosperity in Overijssel and initiate similar developments in all other regions of our fatherland (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 11). The OVOPW

thanks Temminck for his support throughout the years, because 'the board expected to come across many narrow-mindedness and indifference to their goals' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 11).

Based on this correspondence, one of the OVOPW's goal can be formulated as: Becoming one of the academic cities, by promoting science and natural history outside of the big cities. Some pride appears to be involved, in trying to make Zwolle as influential as these academic cities, and their museum appears to be their means to this goal. Their many correspondences discussed in this chapter, can be seen as efforts to establish the OVOPW, Zwolle, and their museum within this museum and academic national scene. And while they themselves recognise that their organisation and its museum are not yet at the same level as, for example, museums in Leiden and Utrecht, it is possible that they did feel that they played a role in these affairs and categorized their associations within the same social space as these superior institutions. Therefore, the OVOPW's position within the national museum and academic situation could be described as: 'A developing association and museum, aiming to become part of the national academic and museum scene, by using the aid of already established institutions and hoping to become an example for future (local) organizations and museums.'

6. Can we trace the provenance of the collected anthropological museum items through the archived letters and catalogues?

The OVOPW's museum items were arguably collected by one common 'method': donation. Both through members and non-members of the association, as well as by established (national) institutions and museums. However, how these individual donors collected these items, little is known from the archives. The natural historical items are often accompanied by correspondence letters of the donating collector, including names, dates and sometimes catalogues. Occasionally contextual information is given, such as Mr. Frantsen, who gave the location of his collected stones. This is not the case for anthropological items. No corresponding letters have been found from people who donated anthropological items, therefore lacking even the most basic information. The only archived correspondence that discusses anthropological items, is that between the OVOPW and Mr. L.J.F. Janssen, conservator of the National museum of antiquities in Leiden, which will be discussed in section 6.1. All there is known, regarding the collected anthropological items, from the archives, comes from the catalogues', which will be discussed in section 6.2.

6.1 National museum of antiquities

A case study of Javanese statues

While no clear provenance of any items from the Western colonies, or any anthropological items, can be found, there was one correspondence that specifically discusses Javanese items. The correspondence between the OVOPW and Mr. L.J.F. Janssen, conservator of the National museum of antiquities in Leiden, revolved around four Javanese statues. These were situated in the museum of Zwolle, and the national museum of antiquities wanted to loan or if possible, acquire these. From the letters, it appears that Mr. Janssen was in the museum of the OVOPW one evening, to research and investigate the Germanic items present in the museum (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). He saw the Javanese statues and showed an interest in them. Based on this, the OVOPW writes that if Mr. Jansen would like, the OVOPW would gladly offer a statue to him and his museum. They write that 'the managing board has strong obligations towards the board of the museum(s) in Leiden, it would therefore be nothing but a pleasure, to offer one of these statues as evidence of our gratitude. We only need written confirmation as to which statue Mr. Jansen would prefer' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr.

49). In his reply, Jansen thanks the generosity of the OVOPW to offer a Javanees statue, but reminds the association that 'while the national museum of antiquities is a similar national institution, managed by similar liberal principles, the associations obligations are to the national museum of natural history, and not antiquities, and he would not want to lean onto those.' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). As proof of this, Jansen offers the OVOPW Roman bricks, dug up by himself near Hellendoorn in 1845-6, as a trade offer (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). The problem, however, is that he only shortly observed the statues, which makes it hard to chose one. He remembers only two, 'one sitting girl, with in one hand a bird, and in the other a fan, and a standing person, biggest of all and whiter of colour' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). Because he does not think the museum of antiquities holds similar statues in their considerable Javanees collection, he deems these two statues as important (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). Choosing between the two is not possible with the limited time he has seen them; he therefor hopes that it could be possible that the OVOPW would give them both. Where this not possible, he requests that both statues get send over, so he can inspect them, and then chose one (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11).

In their reply, the OVOPW writes that it would gladly give both statues. However, they cannot give more then they have themselves because they are only the depositors of these statues. It seems unlikely however, that these statues will be asked back, and the owners have given permission that they transfer to the depositors of the museum of antiquities (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

Less than two weeks later, the 1st of October 1846, Jansen informs that the statues are at the museum of antiquities, with inventories number Z.1 and Z.2 (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). He includes a description of the statues. 'Z.1, the sitting Ganesh statue, made of trachyte, is 0.385 high and 0.195 wide' and 'Z.2 is the sitting girl statue with a bird in one, and a fan in the other hand, made of trachyte as well, 0.46 high and 0.30 wide' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11).

However, he writes as well, that he had requested not the Ganesh statue, but a large, standing figure. He wonders if this is on purpose, that the other one might be considered too valuable, in which case it would be no problem. But in the case that it is a mistake, he would like to exchange them (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 11). One week later, a reply by the OVOPW follows, in which they explain that they do not have the rights to send that statue and the owner is particular fond of this statue due to a memory that is attached to it. This is that 'when the Portugues arrived at Java, they mistook the statue as a statue of the virgin Mary, and prayed to it' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49). Because the owner is currently still in Eastern Indonesia, they could not acquire permission and send it to Mr. Janssen.

The inventory numbers provided by Mr. Janssen, do not exist in the current National museum of antiquities. When searching the characteristics of these statues, no items in the catalogue match. Who originally donated the statues to the OVOPW, and how they acquired them, sadly remains unknown as well. However, in this case, there is one reference made regarding the owner and their identity. In a letter of the OVOPW, to Mr. Janssen, they state the following: 'The owner of the mentioned Java statue has explicitly requested us, not to mention his name on any catalogue or anywhere else, and that we keep his name and donations only between us. Therefore, the name of Mr. Tobias was created, which we have now already destroyed because we are completely satisfied with our donation to Mr. Jansen. There are no intentions of the owner to ask his deposits back, nor is it our intention to do so from the National museum of Leiden. We hope this explanation will be sufficient for you' (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). If the intention of this owner were a general norm, this would explain the lack of letters from donors. Either the donors wish was made face to face, or the responsible letter must have been kept out of the archives on purpose. This shows the problem of the limitations of a research based on archived letters: It remains uncertain whether the archived record is complete, and even if it is, it does not include verbal communication. What we are missing, remains unknown.

The correspondence regarding the tall, standing figure, reveals some of its the collecting method. While it remains unknown where, how or by whom it was collected, it does reveal what information was deemed important. The anecdotal story of Portuguese sailors mistakenly praying to a Java, reveals nothing of the original context or meaning of the statue, nor any systematic data collecting. This does relate to the romanticism collecting method, in where anecdotal stories and feelings are often essential.

6.2 Catalogues

The document present in the archives that can, however, give some information regarding the collected items, are the catalogues. These only offer information about the items, after they have been acquired by the OVOPW. In total, there are two published catalogues', and the current, online database of the NMVW, in which the collection of the OVOPW is categories under one collection name, 'TM-1322' (<https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl>). These three catalogues each vary in size and description, appendix 1 shows an overview table of all the objects, listed under 'TM-1322' in the NMVW catalogue. The first column shows pictures present in the NMVW database, the second column shows the items and their descriptions that are present in the first catalogues from 1852, and in the next rows the descriptions of those same objects in the other catalogues, from 1892 and

the current NMVW database. Due to the limitations in size and time of this thesis, and the before taken premisses of focussing on the Americas, primarily the West colonies of the Netherlands, the research regarding the catalogues' through time, will only focus on the Americas.

With such limited information regarding the context of the items, the collection methods, or even the identity of the collector, it is not possible to retrace provenance of the anthropological items.

How come that there are so many letters with natural historic item donations, but no with anthropological donations? Is there a discourse that could shed some light onto the underlying (thought) process' which caused these differences? At the beginning of the 19th century, 'accuracy and rigor in science' were simply not common practices (Gassó Miracle, 2008, p. 711). This was still the time in which amateur collectors were primarily active, and they created encyclopaedic natural history collections (Gassó Miracle, 2008, p. 711). Many of the natural historic item donators, worked in this way. From the letters it is clear that they often started the collection as a curiosity and hobby. They recognized a 'scientific' institution in the museum of the OVOPW, and thought their collections belonged there more than in their own living rooms. This is part of the transitional phase, starting in that time, towards scientific research and sub disciplines. While many people and organisations, such as the OVOPW, influenced by the rational enlightenment, acclaimed to work in 'the name of science' and according to its rules, these 'rules' and the meaning of science were not yet established (Maas, 2024, p. 8). Science functioned both as the means and as the end, and often it was enough to simply say that you did it to further science.

The OVOPW ambition to create an accurate and complete natural historic museum, as well as an anthropological collection to show other parts of the world, fits in nicely with this frame of thought. Their many natural historic items, catalogues, labels and correspondence show their idea of scientific representation and importance. While the lack of contextual or any other information shows the lack of clear scientific definition.

7. Discussion: How big did the OVOPW dream? And what was their position within the social climate of its time?

7.1 Why did the founders of the OVOPW feel the need to create their association and collection?

The association was founded in a transitional time period for museums, collections and academia in general. It was founded in 1838, less than 20 years after the foundation of the National museum of natural history in 1820. The previous century was characterized by the lack of national institutions, and therefore the need for private collections by individuals and (local) organizations. In the 18th and 19th centuries, many countries in Europe started to create national museums, and these became part of the establishment of power, wealth and influence. The Netherlands, as Temminck states regrettably, lags behind here in comparison to the surrounding countries, which was arguably due to the until recently lack of a royal family and the disinterest of the Dutch government to create a national collection. King Willem I, wanted to change this and set up many projects to improve the Dutch economy and make a political statement (Holthuis, 1995, p. 17; Weber, 2019, p.76). Among these projects, was the establishing of national museums, such as the national museum of natural history. One other purpose of these museums was to create and shape a national, Dutch identity (Legêne, 1998, p. 27). However, because the Netherlands had been a Republic of seven united Netherlands for a long time, a strong sense of (region) identity existed within those regions. These were voiced, for example, in the form of regional associations, some of which with (natural historic) collections. One of the needs that the OVOPW fulfilled, was this need to hold on to this regional identity, and show and develop their knowledge, power, wealth and influence.

Another possible motivator for why the OVOPW created their organization and collection, can be found in the correspondence with Temminck. The OVOPW expresses their concern for the lack of (academic) knowledge on the most basic of nature in 'not even the decent classes' of society (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). In order to improve upon this, they argue for the need of a natural collections, not only in academic cities, but in all populous cities (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). In this, the OVOPW wants to become the example with their collection in Zwolle as stated before in the chapter 'Education and becoming one of the academic cities'. Temminck voices similar concerns but contradicts the difference between academic cities and the rest of the country (NL-ZICO, 0163.1,

inv.nr 11). This does not mean that the noble goal of the OVOPW with their collection is in vain. As stated before, Temminck applauds the OVOPW attempt and thinks it is the best way to opening the populations eyes to useful studies, as well as gaining (material) prosperity. This indicates that the creation of the collection stems from the desire to become an academic voice, and make of Zwolle an 'academic' city.

This motivation does, however, not stop there. The underlying motivation originates back to the OVOPW main goal: 'To create greater prosperity for the province of Overijssel'. Creating collections has been a display of power and wealth for many centuries before the founding of the OVOPW. The mere possession of an impressive and extensive natural historic collection could have aided in the prosperity of the city of Zwolle, the OVOPW and Overijssel. The showing of off wealth, prestige and connections must have helped in the improvement of economical prosperity and their pursuits.

7.2 Where did the OVOPW stand in the transitioning collection climate?

The transitioning collecting climate concerns the shift from a cabinet of curiosity, often showing the wonders of creation in which the rarer an item was, the better. To a systematic collection in which the level of representation became more important and the goal was to have something of everything. The more complete, the more valuable the collection. This showed a shift from considering a rare, antique relic most valuable, to it becoming 'less important than an inland beetle' (Maas, 2024, p. 4). Both these collection methods continued side by side some time in the 18th and 19th centuries in the Netherlands, and many (private) collections underwent a shift sooner or later from the one to the other. Where did the OVOPW collection stand in this transition? Their clear desire to create an accurate and complete natural historic and geological collection of their regional flora and fauna, shows a clear presence of the systematic approach. They attached great importance to the presence of labels, and the possession of a complete collection. However, their interest went beyond regional flora and fauna. In the correspondence with Temminck, they ask repeatedly for some specimens of 'colourful, tropical birds'. This appears to be primarily for their (exotic), pleasurable sight. And while they do value to know which species it would be since they send a list of preferred species, they are happy to accept any Temminck can offer them (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr 49). They furthermore have a collection of anthropological items, primarily from the colonies. In the correspondence, little to nothing is written about how they acquired these items or from whom. From the catalogue, many items appear to be everyday use. However, the descriptions and contextual information are limited, and of a desire to have a 'complete' collection, or what that would entail, nothing is written. From the catalogues, it does not appear to be a cabinet of curiosity,

nor does it appear to have had the necessary attention needed for the 'method of science', that the natural historic items had for the systematic collection.

7.2.a And what method of collecting did they employ and where did their priorities lay in the creating of their collection?

The method of collecting appears to be primarily donations, and acquisition through trading doubles, both through correspondence. In most cases, the association was contacted regarding items, but it did proactively search contact with other collecting organisations and museums, as explained in detail in previous chapters. The association held many members, many of whom offered items for the collection. These could either have been the result from a lifetime of collecting, or someone stumbling upon it by accident. The museum did not appear to have a policy on what to take based on collecting method. On the local natural historic and geological items, many detailed letters are found in the archives. In some cases, entire catalogues were sent to the association, with the question whether the museum would have use for them. Many amateur, private collections of the region clearly happily donated to the museum, and many of them had adopted a systematic collection approach. Not all donors were (systematic) collectors, sometimes, just one item was offered which was rare or significant to the donor, such as the squirrel with its unique colour (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 12). The museum accepted these items similarly to the entire, systematic, detailed collections. The main denominator for accepting items into the museum collection, appeared to have been price. Only one collection was bought, and for any other items, often only expenses were paid (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

Further priorities in what items to include in the collection, especially in the local flora, fauna and geology, are representativity and completeness. It is, among others, shown in their corresponding with other collecting associations. Here they ask for trading in doubles, but offer a complete geological collection of Overijssel. This shows their pride in and importance of the fact that it is a complete, representative collection, of their region. The anthropological collection seems to be lacking a system. Here, the policy appears to be more, 'get what you can get', the more the better, with or without accompanying information. Which one of Bloembergen's motivations were behind the collection, remains difficult to determine. Given that most items were common, every day use items, and the lack of information, a sense of abundance without embarrassment seems the most logic motivator (Bloembergen, 2022, pp. 67-9).

7.3 The limitations of provenance studies based on archival research?

Regarding anthropological objects, the catalogue is the primary, and relatively only source of information regarding their meaning, origin and method of collecting present in the archives. While donors are in some cases mentioned, not much more is known than their name. The information about the objects themselves are limited in the OVOPW catalogues (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 84; Schmeltz, 1892), the more recent NMVW catalogue has more detailed object descriptions, but, due to the limitations of the earlier catalogues, does not have detailed, contextual descriptions. It has become clear from the preserved letters, that many others are missing. In the case of the furniture wood trade, the first letter is for example missing. It is only partly possible to reconstruct the content of this letter, based on the further correspondences. However, many more letters or entire correspondences appear to be missing, in which case it is not possible to reconstruct their contents. Whether the anthropological donations were made verbally or indeed through written word, nothing of this is preserved in the archives. Questions arise regarding their contents, as well as the general question: How much is missing? And why is it missing? What was the motivation behind the donation of these items, and the lack of recording contextual information regarding this donation and the items themselves. To further the attempt to reconstruct the provenance and contextual information of these items, there will have to be looked at other sources than the archives of the OVOPW. Individual research per item, to find similar items and determine their origin, culture and meaning, could aid in reconstructing their context. Research into the individual members of the OVOPW who had connections with the Western colonies could possibly identify some of the items collectors, and through there, the location from which they were collected. Regarding which collecting method was used for these items, it remains unknown.

8. Conclusion

8.1 How far from Overijssel did the OVOPW pursue their goal of prosperity? And what range of endeavours were pursued in order to improve the provincial prosperity?

Did any of the prosperity projects of the OVOPW involve the (Western) colonies?

The archives show, that the OVOPW honoured their broad name, and the endeavours they pursued in order to improve the general welfare of Overijssel were numerous and diverse. These included for example: Setting up a trade in furniture wood with the colony of Suriname; planting and donating fruit trees; creating a deeper waterway around Zwolle; collecting and displaying the provincial flora, fauna and minerals; building up correspondence with other collecting- and education institutions and museums; creating a reading association to further educate the agricultural sector; coring for Bentheimer stone; and even attempting to set up a provincial colonial trading company to expand the trading market (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 9- 17; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 49).

The best example of an ambitious endeavour, far from home which included the Western colonies, is of course, the furniture wood trade endeavour with Surinam. The goal here was clear: economical gain and prosperity for Overijssel and the Netherlands at large.

8. 2 Did the OVOPW operate isolated, or does their correspondence show cooperation with other associations?

The correspondence of the OVOPW reach far beyond the borders of Overijssel. Correspondence from the museum already reached France and Germany, and the catalogues show a clear presence of objects from many different countries. The catalogues overview only shows the items of the West colonies, but all three catalogues include objects from: East Indies, China, Japan, Australia, Afrika, and European antiquities and medieval objects (NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 84; NL-ZICO, 0163.1, inv.nr. 84; Schmeltz, 1892). The OVOPW were in contact with many different people, institutions and organizations, including national museums, multiple government institutions and local individuals and mayors. From these correspondences it is clear that the OVOPW did not operate in isolation in their many different goals. The OVOPW acquired items for their collection through donations of people who contacted them, as through active correspondence from the OVOPW themselves.

Endeavours such as the furniture wood trade, operated with the aid of the minister of colonies as an intermediary.

8.3 Can we trace the provenance of the collected anthropological museum items through the archived letters and catalogues?

Unfortunately, the answer here is not a positive one. The provenance of the collected items is not traceable through the archived letters, and only to some degree through the catalogues. No letters, aside from the short correspondence concerning the Javanees statues, in which the donors name remains anonymous by specific request, are found regarding the donated items. Therefore, no contextual information is present which can help tracing their provenance. The insights the catalogues offer are limited to when an item was collected, before or after the publishing of the three catalogues. The periods in which items could have been collected are therefore: before 1852, between 1852-1892 or after 1892. In some cases, the names of individual donors or donating organisations are mentioned in the catalogue, but these do not offer more insights within the archives regarding the items, their provenance or context.

8.4 Where did the OVOPW stand in the collecting development of that time ?

And what method of collecting did they employ and where did their priorities lay in the creating of their collection?

The OVOPW showed a clear desire to create an accurate and complete local natural historic and geological collection, according to an, in their eyes, systematic method. Their correspondence shows their desire to collect as much as possible, by, for example, requesting any available doublets, and their pride in accomplishing a complete geological collection of Overijssel. They accentuate the importance of labels, and explain that their long term goal for their collection is to further education and science.

The anthropological collection is limited in both information of the items, as their collection and display method. It does not correspond with a cabinet of curiosity, because the items primarily contain everyday objects. However, there can not be spoken of a true systematic method either. The collection does not appear to focus on any subject or culture in particular, and looks like a collection of any items they could get, possibly motivated by a sense of abundance (Bloembergen, 2022, pp.

67-9). They represent many different culture and parts of the world, and might have had as primary function to show the connection, influence and wealth of the OVOPW.

8.5 Why did the founders of the OVOPW feel the need to create their association and collection?

The reasons why the OVOPW felt the need to find their association and collections, appears to be threefold. Firstly, the association aimed strengthening the regional identity, which had been important for a long time during the Republic. This could be seen as the regional process to the increasing efforts made on a national level by the Dutch government and the King to create a Dutch, national identity through, among others, the creating of national museums.

The creating of a collection furthermore aided the associations main goal of improving the provincial prosperity, knowledge, power and wealth, since collections had been used to display power and wealth for many centuries.

Lastly, the creating of the association and collection seems to be motivated by the desire to become an academic voice, and make of Zwolle an 'academic' city.

8.6 What position did the OVOPW have within the museum and academic situation on a national scale?

From the correspondence with Mr. Temminck from the national museum of natural history and with the curators of the cabinet of the College of Utrecht, the ways of thinking, goals and academic ideas of the OVOPW became clear. It can be argued that the OVOPW can be seen as a developing organization and museum, aiming to become part of the national scene, by using the aid of already established institutions and hoping to become an example for future (local) organizations and museums.

8.7 Future research and questions

This thesis has gained insights into the goals, projects, methods and motivations of the small, regional organization, the OVOPW. However, many questions are only partially answered or only speculated about. Throughout this research, it has become clear, that necessary context is missing. We know that there is information missing, some letters are clearly absent, but their contents can be deduced based on other letters preserved in the correspondence. In other cases, it be deduced information be missing, because the items must have been donated by someone, with at the least

the information of the collectors identify present. Why certain information is missing, what this could imply and simply, how much information is missing, is not possible to determine with certainty.

Because of a lack of research in organizations such as these, there is no good comparison possible, making it difficult to estimate how much information is missing or if this was normal for the time.

It is surprising that such limited research is done to organization such as the OVOPW. Within the current climate in which many provenance questions are being asked and the interest to the origin of museums is clearly present, these organizations are an indispensable link and influence. In the case of the OVOPW, it was already known that their collection had been incorporated into the collection of the NMVW. However, now it has become clear that that collection included items from the national museum of natural history (now Naturalis), the cabinet of natural history of the College of Utrecht and the national museum of antiquities. These institutions in turn, hold items which were originally from the OVOPW. These still existing institutions are currently researching their own origin, history and provenance, all of which appears to have been influenced by and involved with the OVOPW. It is not a leap to assume that other, similar organizations must have been involved with these institutions. Can these large, national institutions properly study their history and provenance without taking these organizations, their development, reason for collecting and their method of operations into account? Not only did such organizations influence other collections, the reason why these organizations felt a need to exist and create collections, says something about the place these larger, national institutions held in the museum situation, as well as the political climate of the time. Most items from current collections in which provenance is now discussed, were collected in the 19th century. Understanding the national museum and collecting climate at the time is crucial to research these collected items provenance. It has become clear from the research of this thesis, that not only the large collecting institution played a role in this, but these small, regional organizations as well.

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Abstract

The establishment of the OVOPW (Overijsselsche Vereeniging tot Ontwikkeling van Provinciale Welvaart) in 1838 emerged during a transitional period for museums and collections in the Netherlands, from private collections to the foundation of national institutions. This reflected the broader European trend of using museums to create a national identity and establish power. The OVOPW, sought to preserve and promote regional identity, power, economical wealth and knowledge. The OVOPW had multiple motivations and goals during their first dozen years of existence, (1838-1852, researched here). They aimed to enhance the prosperity and prestige of the province of Overijssel by establishing a natural history, geological and anthropological collection. This collection not only represented the region's flora and fauna but also served as a tool for education and a symbol of regional pride. They had the desire to make Zwolle one of the academic cities, to create the opportunity to educate and further the knowledge regarding natural history and geology outside of the already established academic cities. At the time, natural history and geology were not part of the educational system, and the OVOPW aimed to create an accurate collection, which could be used for local school to start teaching these subjects. The collection of the OVOPW aimed for a systematic scientific approaches, to create a complete and representative collection, but their method of acquisition was mainly donations, and economical restrictions appeared to have been more important than the collection methods of the donors. The collection therefore acclaimed to be 'scientific', but due to the lack of definition, science became the means and the end. This resulted in limited information regarding collected items, specifically anthropological items, which were anonymously donated with very limited, to no contextual data. Here, the archival records reveal significant gaps, particularly concerning the provenance of anthropological items in the collection, raising questions about the completeness and context of the OVOPW's records. Natural historical and geological items were accompanied by more information. These were most often donated by the amateur, individual donors, who had created the collection as a hobby. The OVOPW were in contact with other, established institutions as well, and these often exchanged duplicate items when possible.

The OVOPW also engaged in broader economic and social projects, such as initiating a trade in furniture wood with Suriname and collaborating with various national and international institutions. These efforts underscore the association's broad ambitions and its integration into wider networks of knowledge and commerce, despite its regional focus.

The OVOPW's collection practices and its place within the national museum landscape of the 19th century offer valuable insights into the dynamics of regional and national identity formation, the development of museum practices, and the interplay between local and national institutions. This case study highlights the importance of small regional organizations in shaping the museum and academic landscapes of their time, suggesting the need for further research into similar organizations to fully understand the provenance and context of museum collections today.

Appendix 1

An overview of the items collected from the Americas by the OVOPW, and their descriptions in the three existing catalogues (NMVW, TM-1322, <https://collectie.wereldmuseum.nl/#/query/3fc2e18f-db7c-4d4e-b7e8-ac70c1b4c975>; *NL-ZICO*, 0163.1, inv.nr. 84; Schmeltz, 1892, pp. 40-4).

Picture database NMVW.	Inventory nr and description catalogue 1852.	Inventory nr and description catalogue 1892.	Inventory nr and description NVMW
	<p>109</p> <p>Indian cabin with belongings (109.1-13).</p> <p>The roof is from 'Troeloe', just like their inhabited houses. The rope with which the hammock is attached is made of bromeliad, made by themselves. The hammock is made of cotton, but the one they usually use is made of bromeliad.</p>	<p>227</p> <p>Aroewakenhut (model), with models of cassava presses (see nr. 16/96 above), sieves, water jugs, pots, jugs, knitting baskets, a canoe with straps, benches, a cotton hammock containing lying natives, reed flutes (possibly Nr. 25), bows and arrows.</p>	<p>TM-1322-297</p> <p>Culture: Lokono</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892.</p> <p>Model of a Surinamese Arawak hut with models of cassava presses, sieves, water jugs, pots, jugs, a knitting basket, a canoe, a bench, a cotton hammock with a reclining man in it, reed flutes (possibly nr TM-1322-311), bows and arrows. Such dioramas were normally the trademark of Gerrit Schouten's. However, his were much nicer than the present one. He made his dioramas with scenes from the plantation colony on behalf of colonials who wanted to bring a memento back to the Netherlands (Medendorp, 1997:23).</p> <p>Manufacture: The inside of the cabinet is covered with paper painted with gouache.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
	<p>109.1</p> <p>Two Matapis'. These are used to carry the grated bitter cassava, from which the Indians prepare a kind of cake.</p>	<p>227</p>	<p>Possible:</p> <p>TM-1322-433</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1939.</p> <p>Approx. 36cm.</p>

The cassava press is a cylindrical tube, braided from strips of the stem bark of the warimbo and rope, with a loop at both ends. With this press, the toxic hydrocyanic acid can be squeezed out of cassava, so that the latter is suitable for consumption. When compressed, the press is filled with cassava. It is then hung vertically on a loop, while a stick is inserted through the other loop. By adding weight to the stick, for example by sitting on it, the press stretches and the moisture, which contains the hydrocyanic acid, is squeezed out of the cassava.

TM-1322-434

Culture: Surinamese

Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname


Before 1939.

Approx. 32.5cm.



The cassava press is a cylindrical tube, braided from strips of the stem bark of the warimbo and rope, with a loop at both ends. With this press, the toxic hydrocyanic acid can be squeezed out of cassava, so that the latter is suitable for consumption. When compressed, the press is filled with cassava. It is then hung vertically on a loop, while a stick is inserted through the other loop. By adding weight to the stick, for example by sitting on it, the press stretches and the moisture, which contains the hydrocyanic acid, is squeezed out of the cassava

Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23



	109.2 Three water jugs. These are somewhat spongy and serve to keep the water cool.	227	
	109.3 Eight Prappis. These are used for different ends, but chiefly for cooking food.	227	
	109.4 A water pot. Mainly used to store water.	227	
	109.5 A canoe. Their everyday vehicle. This one is made of mokko mokko wood, but the ones they use are made of better quality wood.	227	
	109.6 Two benches, for everyday use.	227	
	109.7 A bow with three arrows. These are used by them for hunting and fishing and are made of resilient wood	227	
	109.8 Two oars, which they use with their canoes while sailing.	227	
	109.9 An Indian in his hammock. In their daily lives, they lie in their hammocks over a smoking fire, on which their wives cook a pot at the same time.	227	



	109.10 Two jugs. In it they make Zakula, a kind of liquor made from bananas.	227	
	109.11 Two menaris. These are used for sifting.	227	
	109.12 Two zakkas. Their musical instrument, for dances, or other joyful occasions.	227	
	109.13 Two knitting baskets. In this they bring their spun cotton, bromeliad, etc.		
	110 A negro dance in Suriname. Donated by Mr. A. v.d. Brandhoff	Aroewakkenhut in the forest (model in glass case), with a canoe in front of it and a dance party. Donated by Mr. A. v.d. Brandhoff	TM-1322-298 Culture: European/Maroons Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Approx. 27 x 36 x 18cm. There is a dance party going on at the houses. In front of it is a canoe. The people are dressed in their best cloths. The women wear clothes similar to kotomisi; a man wears a Dutch official costume. During these annual festivals, called du, plantation owners were regularly ridiculed. People danced and performed imitations. There was also heavy drinking involved. Sometimes a du lasted several days. Enslaved people from other plantations could also attend du's. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23



	<p>111 Native American rattle. Donated by the Dowager Lewe van Nijenstein, b. Alberda van Bloemersma.</p>	<p>Rattle, woven from strips; square with a round stem. Donated by the Dowager Lewe van Nijenstein, b. Alberda van Bloemersma.</p>	<p>TM-1322-307 Culture: Lokono Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before ca. 1892 Approx. 34 x 7cm. Rattle made of wicker. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23 Note: There are four more rattles in this collection</p>
	<p>112 A large Native American water bowl, made from baked earth.</p>		
	<p>113 Two Native American water jugs, made from baked earth.</p>		
	<p>114 A small Indian water jug.</p>		
	<p>115 10 pieces of napping, used by the negroes in Suriname. Donated by Mr. A. v.d. Brandhoff.</p>		
	<p>116 A knitting basket of an Indian woman. Donated by the Dowager Lewe van Nyenstein, b. Alberda van Bloemersma.</p>	<p>67. Basket, rectangular wickerwork of narrow strips. The bottom is square, with protruding corners, the top edge is round with hoops in- and outside.</p>	<p>TM-1322-294 Culture: Indigenous Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Round basket with square bottom Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>



		Donated by the Dowager <i>Lewe van Nyenstein, b. Alberda van Bloemersma.</i>	
	117 Bromelia hemp. Donated by Mr. W.H. Lans		
	118 Bromeliad rope. Donated by Mr. W.H. Lans		
	119 A native American bow with three arrows. Donated by Mr. A. v.d. Brandhoff	Possible: 340. Bow similar to Nr. 342, but smaller and the middle is covered with white cotton cords. Donated by Mr. A. VAN DEN BRANDHOFF Possible: Arrows under nr 334-339	TM-1322-304 Possible: Arrow TM-1322-305 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Wooden bow with string Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
	120 A matapi, to carry the cassava. Donated by the Dowager <i>Lewe van Nyenstein, b. Alberda van Bloemersma.</i>	96 Cassava press, <i>matapi</i> (model), woven from reed strips. Donated by the Dowager <i>Lewe van Nyenstein, b. Alberda van Bloemersma.</i>	TM-1322-280 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Approx. 42cm The cassava press is a cylindrical tube, braided from strips of the stem bark of the warimbo and rope, with a loop at both ends. With this press, the toxic hydrocyanic acid can be squeezed out of cassava, so that the latter is suitable for consumption. When compressed, the press is filled with cassava. It is then hung vertically on a loop, while a stick is inserted through the other loop. By adding weight to the stick, for example by sitting on it, the press stretches and the

			<p>moisture, which contains the hydrocyanic acid, is squeezed out of the cassava</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
	<p>121</p> <p>Two so-called 'greenstones' or 'thunder chisels' from the forests in the Upper Saramacca. Noted as: <i>Remarkable.</i></p> <p>Donated by Mr. A. v.d. Brandhoff</p>	<p>MAYBE:</p> <p>237. Grey stone axe blade with concave edge, right upper edge and a deep incision on both sides, at some distance from the upper end. Fromm the bank of the Saramaca River.</p> <p>Donated by Mr. A. VAN DEN BRANDHOFE.</p>	<p>TM-1322-301</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname / Suriname: regional / Saramacca (river)</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Approx. 8 x 11cm</p> <p>Stone axeblade</p> <p>TM-1322-300</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname / Suriname: regional / Saramacca (river)</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Approx. 9 x 14cm (3 9/16 x 5 1/2in.)</p> <p>Stone axe blade</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
	<p>122</p> <p>97 different types of wood from Suriname.</p> <p>Donated by the Ministry of the Colonies and Mr. Engineer Bake.</p>		
	<p>123</p> <p>Rattling necklaces of the Indians.</p> <p>Donated by the Dowager Lewe van Nyenstein, b. Alberda van Bloemersma.</p>		






		<p>91</p> <p>Large pot with wide belly and wide erect rim around the opening; of light red baked earth, decorated with dark-coloured ornaments.</p>	<p>TM-1322-256</p> <p>Culture: Kari'na</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before: 1892</p> <p>Approx. 36.8cm</p> <p>Crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape using the spiral technique. In this technique, long cylinders are rolled and laid on top of each other in a spiral fashion, after which the resulting walls can be smoothed out with a spatula. The piece can then be dried and baked.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>100. Pitcher of baked earth with a neck and wide belly, decorated with black line drawings on light red ground.</p> <p>Possible: a jug from nr 109.2</p>	<p>TM-1322-259</p> <p>Culture: Kari'na</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Approx. 27.5cm</p> <p>Crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape using the spiral technique. In this technique, long cylinders are rolled and laid on top of each other in a spiral fashion, after which the resulting walls can be smoothed out with a spatula. The piece can then be dried and baked.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>


		<p>103. Water jug such as nr. 100, with a wide belly and stopper.</p> <p>Possible: a jug from nr. 109.2</p>	<p>TM-1322-257</p> <p>Culture: Kari'na</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Approx. 20cm</p> <p>Crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape using the spiral technique. In this technique, long cylinders are rolled and laid on top of each other in a spiral fashion, after which the resulting walls can be smoothed out with a spatula. The piece can then be dried and baked.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>104. Water jug such as nr. 100, the belly with light spots marbled.</p> <p>Possible: a jug of 109.2</p>	<p>TM-1322-258</p> <p>Culture: Kari'na</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Approx. 33cm</p> <p>Crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape using the spiral technique. In this technique, long cylinders are rolled and laid on top of each other in a spiral fashion, after which the resulting walls can be smoothed out with a spatula. The piece can then be dried and baked.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>

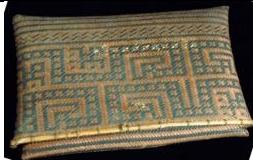
		<p>106. Water jug as nr. 103, the belly near the bottom with a constriction and wavy line drawings Decorated. Possible: a jug from nr. 109.2</p>	<p>TM-1322-260 Culture: Kari'na Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Approx. 31cm Crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape using the spiral technique. In this technique, long cylinders are rolled and laid on top of each other in a spiral fashion, after which the resulting walls can be smoothed out with a spatula. The piece can then be dried and baked. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>105. Water jug such as nr. 106, the belly with two constrictions. and decorated with black zigzag lines. Possible: a jug from nr 109.2</p>	<p>TM-1322-261 Culture: Kari'na Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Approx. 25cm Crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape using the spiral technique. In this technique, long cylinders are rolled and laid on top of each other in a spiral fashion, after which the resulting walls can be smoothed out with a spatula. The piece can then be dried and baked. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>





		<p>101. Bottle-shaped pitcher with a wide neck, an annular spine around the middle of the neck and just above the belly. Possible: a jug of 109.2</p>	<p>TM-1322-262 Culture: Kari'na Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Approx. 23cm. Crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape using the spiral technique. In this technique, long cylinders are rolled and laid on top of each other in a spiral fashion, after which the resulting walls can be smoothed out with a spatula. The piece can then be dried and baked. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>102. Water jug with a short wide neckline and looped handle; the belly with a constriction around the middle and with black line marks on a light red ground. Possible: a jug from nr. 109.2</p>	<p>TM-1322-384 Culture: Kari'na Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1939 Approx. 16.5 x 11cm Crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape using the spiral technique. In this technique, long cylinders are rolled and laid on top of each other in a spiral fashion, after which the resulting walls can be smoothed out with a spatula. The piece can then be dried and baked. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>


		<p>254. Spoon made of cut gourd.</p>	<p>TM-1322-72 Culture: Antillean Origin: Central and South America / Caribbean / Dutch Caribbean / Netherlands Antilles / Leeward Islands / Curaçao Before 1939 Approx. 6.5 x 9.5cm A bowl made of coconut shell, which is part of a spoon. Carved and with notched ornament. Inscriptions: "Curaçao" Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23 HOWEVER: Made from coconut and from Curacao (incl. inscription)</p>
		<p>268. Spoon such as nr. 254, coloured yellow on the inside, light brown on the outside, on which a red flower with green, white veined leaves is drawn.</p>	<p>TM-1322-265 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Spoon made from a gourd shell Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>260 10 Hemispherical containers made from cut gourd.</p>	<p>TM-1322-266 to TM-1322-275 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 'Cup' made from gourd shells Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>

		<p>275. Tray as nr. 260, red on the outside and with drawings of yellow, green and black leaves, black on the inside.</p>	<p>TM-1322-276</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Decorative cup, made from a painted gourd shell.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>259. Tray as nr. 260, grey green on the outside; with drawings of yellow, red and black leaves, the inside is coloured yellow.</p>	<p>TM-1322-277</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Decorative cup, made from a painted gourd shell.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>264. Shallow, spherical bowl made of gourd, with round narrow opening.</p>	<p>TM-1322-278</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Cup, made from a painted gourd shell.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>295. Jug-shaped gourd, decorated with inscribed letters and lines.</p>	<p>TM-1322-279</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Gourd bowl jar decorated with letters and lines.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>75. Cigar case, oblong square with sliding lid; woven from reed strips. Two pieces, one plain</p>	<p>TM-1322-281</p> <p>Culture: Indigenous Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p>

		<p>blue, the other yellow and blue in a checker pattern.</p>	<p>Before 1892 approx. 10.5 x 5.5cm (4 1/8 x 2 3/16in.) The tube is woven from strips of the stem bark of the warimbo</p> <p>TM-1322-282</p> <p>Culture: Indigenous Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Approx. 11 x 5.5cm</p> <p>The tube is woven from strips of the stem bark of the warimbo</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>135. Head ornament in the form of a wide band; consisting of sets of yellow, red and black cords attached to white cotton cords.</p>	
		<p>140. Forehead ornament such as nr. 135; made of red, yellow and blue feathers.</p>	
		<p>170. Headpiece, wicker ring with red feathers attached.</p>	
		<p>148. Apron woven of white cotton threads, the outside covered with red, yellow and blue feathers, in.</p>	
		<p>18. Apron of multi-coloured beads, strung on strings, through which yellow and blue lined, diamond-shaped figures</p>	




		are worked on a white background; the bottom has short cotton fringe.	
		31. Apron such as nr. 18, with blue, red and white star-shaped figures on a green background; the bottom has red fringe.	
		134. Apron such as nr. 18, with blue and yellow diamonds flower-shaped figures are made on a white background; the bottom has blue beads strung on short strings.	
		36. Leather doll, representation of an Arawak woman.	
		37. Leather doll possibly depicting an Arawak.	
		38. Leather doll, possibly representing a Bush Negro woman.	
		39. Leather doll, possibly depicting a wood negro.	
		87. Large square box, with sliding lid; used for the storage of goods. Braided of brown and black reed stripes, according to a meander-shaped pattern.	
		71. Letter bag, oblong square; consisting of two flat tubes that slide into each other; Made by rectangular plaiting of	<p>TM-1322-295</p> <p>Culture: Indigenous Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p>




		black and yellow-brown strips in a meander-shaped pattern.	Rectangular woven letter bag with sliding lid. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		261. Box with a lid, made of an apple-shaped gourd.	TM-1322-296 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Spherical box with a lid, made of gourd. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		249. Broom, flower shaft of a palm tree. Origin uncertain.	
		297. A longboat (model), of baked earth decorated with line ornaments	TM-1322-299 Culture: European Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname - Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Approx. 16cm A dugout//logboat//monoxylon model made from earthenware Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		198. Flat, palmwood bow, with string twisted from fibres; the middle is covered with white cotton fibres. Possibly from Suriname or Rio Negro.	TM-1322-303 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Wooden bow with string. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		342. Brown wood, polished bow; hemispherical in cross-section.	TM-1322-302 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892

			Wooden bow with string. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		334. Arrow as nr. 339; with iron rod attached to a wooden rod connected to the shaft.	
		335. Arrow as nr. 339, with lanceolate, iron tip.	TM-1322-305 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Arrow with lanceolate point. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		336. Arrow as nr. 339, with leaf-shaped, iron tip.	
		337. Arrow such as nr. 339, with a pointed bone, which is connected to the shaft by a wooden rod.	
		338. Arrow such as nr. 339; with lanceolate, bamboo tip, which is connected to the shaft by a wooden rod.	
		339. Arrow, barbed with a wooden tip on a reed shaft on the lower end, with handlebar feathers attached.	A total of two arrows in collection, one with broken tip. TM-1322-306 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		25. Reed flute, with port- shaped opening in the middle of its length, and with inscribed decoration.	TM-1322-311 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname





			<p>Before 1939</p> <p>Approx. 48 x 4cm</p> <p>Flute made of bamboo</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>353. Axe with an anchor-shaped, grey stone blade, half of the cutting part is missing; attached to the knee of the yellow-brown wooden stem, covered with reed strips, with an oval cross section, on the lower end of which a shell is inserted.</p> <p>Origin: Brazil.</p> <p><i>This object has been part of the Historical Overijssel Museum for some time and has, according to an attached wooden sign in Deventer, served as a weapon during the Patriot unrest. Both sides of the sign contain the following inscriptions: 1) " Arma tenebrarum, inventa A. 1787 formi- dolosi temporis patriotissime reliquia " 2) " This weaponry of darkness - used by evil wiles shows what supposed liberty is where light and duties lacked A ° 1787 "</i></p>	<p>TM-1322-312</p> <p>Culture: Brazilian</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Brazil</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Approx. 57 x 18cm</p> <p>Axe with anchor-shaped grey stone blade and a rattan-covered handle. There is a shell at the bottom of the stem. A sign with text is attached with a chain. The text reads on one side: <i>"This object has been part of the Historical Overijssel Museum for some time and has, according to an attached wooden sign in Deventer, served as a weapon during the Patriot unrest. Both sides of the sign contain the following inscriptions: 1) " Arma tenebrarum, inventa A. 1787 formi- dolosi temporis patriotissime reliquia " 2) " This weaponry of darkness - used by evil wiles shows what supposed liberty is where light and duties lacked A ° 1787 "</i> (Schmeltz, 1892:44/45). The axe is said to have been used as a weapon in the so-called "axe". Patriot revolt in Deventer in 1787.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>



		<p>136. Pointed cap; consisting of the weave- like brown flower sheath of a palm tree. Possibly from Brazil</p>	<p>TM-1322-313 Culture: Brazilian Origin: Central and South America / South America / Brazil Before 1892 Approx. 47 x 24cm Hat, made from the flower spathe of a palm tree. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>233. Necklace, made from grey and red fruit stones strung on a string. Origin: South America.</p>	<p>TM-1322-314 Culture: South American Origin: Central and South America / South America Before 1892 Approx. 56cm Necklace, made from fruit pits and beads. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>257. Arm-ornament, made from fruit shells (Sapinda) strung on a string, which produces a rattling sound. Possibly an ornament used for dancing Origin: South America Donated by the Dowager LEWE VAN Nyenstein, b. ALBERDA VAN BLOEMERSMA</p>	<p>TM-1322-315 Culture: South American Origin: Central and South America / South America Before 1892 The fruit shells used here are from the Sapinda. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
		<p>323. Ankle ornament; brown fruit shells attached to a braided cord. Similar to nr. 257 Origin: South America. Donated by the Dowager LEWE VAN Nyenstein, b.</p>	<p>TM-1322-316 Culture: South American Origin: Central and South America / South America Before 1892 Approx. 15 x 15cm</p>

		ALBERDA VAN BLOEMERSMA	The fruit shells used here are from the Sapinda. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		77. Fish Basket: rectangular wickerwork of reed strips, jug-shaped with an inwardly curved bottom. Origin: Possibly Rio Negro	TM-1322-317 Culture: Brazilian Origin: Central and South America / South America / Brazil / Amazonas (Brazil, state) / Negro (river) Before 1892 Approx. 19 x 13cm Fish basket, made of braided reed Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		344. Tube for blowpipe darts; braided with red strips, smeared with resin and provided with a casement lid of monkey skin. Origin: Rio Negro.	TM-1322-429 Culture: Brazilian Origin: Central and South America / South America / Brazil / Amazonas (Brazil, state) / Negro (river) Before 1939 Approx. 31 x 7cm Braided quiver with blow arrows Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23
		314. Wooden, poisoned blowpipe darts, needle-shaped, in a bundle. Each dart is inserted between the loops of two cords running parallel to each other, the ends of which are fastened to a rod, at the top end of which a small wooden wheel is placed, and around which the whole bundle is twisted. Origin: Rio Negro.	TM-1322-319 Culture: Brazilian Origin: Central and South America / South America / Brazil / Amazonas (Brazil, state) / Negro (river) Before circa 1892 Bundle of wooden poisonous blow darts Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23

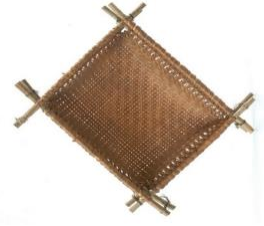


		<p>42. Canoe, Kayak (model): made of sealskin and worked very precisely> In the canoe are: a dressed doll, an oar and fishing work, etc. Origin: Eskimos.</p>	
		<p>40. Canoe (model): made of birch bark, decorated with coloured porcupine quills. Origin: Canada.</p>	
			<p>TM-1322-323 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Approx. 9 x 16cm Box of the godo fruit (papagodo), decorated with inscribed motifs. These types of boxes are used for storing sugar. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-351 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1939 Box of grey coix seeds or Job's tears Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-308 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1892 Approx 20 x 5cm</p>

			<p>Rattle made of reed Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-309 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1939 Approx. 19 x 4cm Rattle made of reed Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-310 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1939 Approx. 25.5 x 3.5cm Rattle made of reed Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-352 Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1939 Box with red seeds. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-356a Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname Before 1939 Blue, polished stone. Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-356B Culture: Surinamese Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p>

			<p>Before 1939</p> <p>Brown polished stone</p> <p>Acquisition: 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-357</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Braided fire fan.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-360</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Set of six pear-shaped cups, made from gourd.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-368</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Approx. 24 x 6cm</p> <p>The shape of the skeleton of this catfish (the so-called Holy Fish, or Christ or Crucifix fish) is reminiscent of the image of Christ on the cross and the outstretched arms of a blessing priest.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-382</p> <p>Culture: Kari'na</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Approx. 19.5 x 28cm</p>

			<p>A twin jar, or Ase-munu-si (which literally means "of the same blood") consists of two jars connected by a horizontal and arc-shaped connection. Made from crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree which is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape, using the spiral technique (incl. explanation of technique).</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-263</p> <p>Culture: Kari'na</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1892</p> <p>Approx. 19.5cm</p> <p>Made from crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape using the spiral technique (incl. explanation of technique).</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-417</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Approx. 7cm</p> <p>Made from crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with the clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape. The piece can then be dried and baked.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>

			<p>TM-1322-418</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Approx. 7cm</p> <p>Made from crushed charred bark of the kwepi tree is mixed with clay as a binding agent in a ratio of 1:1, after which the whole is brought into the right shape. The piece can then be dried and baked.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-437</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Approx. 28cm</p> <p>Jug made of gourd</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-441</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Approx. 13.5cm</p> <p>A sieve, braided from strips of warimbo</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-442</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Approx. 14.5cm</p> <p>A sieve, braided from strips of warimbo</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>

			<p>TM-1322-443</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Approx. 20.5cm</p> <p>A sieve, braided from strips of warimbo</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-445</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Fruit pits</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>
			<p>TM-1322-350</p> <p>Culture: Surinamese</p> <p>Origin: Central and South America / South America / Suriname</p> <p>Before 1939</p> <p>Necklace of seeds.</p> <p>Acquisition: Donated, 1983-06-23</p>