

**'What was going on there?' Dutch photo-collections of Curaçao 1900-2010:
Rediscovery, Kingdom reconfirmation and alienation**



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Introduction

‘White racism at Curaçao turned into black racism. The Dutch had set the example for this.’¹

This thesis presents an analysis of the photograph collections of Curaçao which are digitally available in several Dutch archives. Curaçao was a Dutch colony for more than three hundred years along with the Caribbean islands of St Maarten, Saba, St Eustatius, Aruba and Bonaire, and since its autonomy in 1954 Curaçao still belongs to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. History strongly binds Curaçao to the Netherlands but a large portion of the Dutch population remains uninformed of this element of Dutch history.² Scholars have recently reconstructed many aspects of the Dutch-Curaçaoan history, but it still is obscure and silence in the minds of many Dutch citizens. A Dutch politician once said: “Whatever once happened in Curaçao can never be of great importance”.³ The problem is that, apart from some facts about succession of governors, population numbers and trade figures, little is known about ‘what was going on’ in Curaçao.⁴ Therefore, this thesis endeavours to set up a sociohistorical account of Dutch-Curaçaoan history from the visual perspective of Dutch individuals and institutions involved with Curaçao between 1900 until 2010. The main sources in this study are photograph collections concerning Curaçao in this period, which are now maintained by several Dutch individuals and institutions.

The main question of this thesis is: ‘What was considered most telling about Curaçao according to different -mainly Dutch- photographers (individuals and institutions) and how did this change over the course of a hundred years? This question is inspired by Erving Goffman’s concept of ‘framing’ which according to him is basically a subjective account of ‘what is going on right now’?⁵ In this thesis, photographs are approached as ‘cut-offs of the stream of time and space’ arriving from the subjective involvement of the photographer.⁶

¹ Stanley Brown quote in: Dick Frayer, ‘Doden, gewonden en rellen: Willemstad stond 50 jaar geleden in brand’ (NOS binnenland, 30 mei 2019),

² Gert Oostindie, *Paradise Overseas, The Dutch Caribbean: Colonialism and its Transatlantic Legacies* (Warwick University Caribbean Studies 2005) 158.

³ *Ibidem*, 17.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 159.

⁵ Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Harpe colophon books, New York 1974) 8.

⁶ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on photography* (Hill and Wang New York 1941) 32-33; Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 10-11.

Thereby, photographs are ‘conveyors of the truth’ in the sense that they frame what they portray.⁷ Simultaneously photographs are indexical, and the objects they depict might be seen as icons of broader themes. In this regard photographs, like texts, are imbedded in discourse. By analysing the photograph collections regarding Curaçao, this thesis aims to disclose ‘key assumptions’ held by the photographers about Curaçao and its people, as documented in an ‘iconic complex’. By iconic complex, I refer to the accumulation of icons which were selected by different individuals or institutions to convey a visual description of Curaçao from 1900 to 2010. This study will also try to uncover whether the stakeholders involved in the production and maintenance of the photo archives had interests to frame Curaçao in a certain manner.

Nowadays, there are over a hundred thousand Curaçaoans who study or work in the Netherlands. On the other hand, many Dutch tourists seek their leisure in Curaçao. But this two-way traffic across the Atlantic has not resulted in a mutually shared sociocultural sphere. In the Netherlands, Curaçaoan people are not perceived as ‘us’, and Dutch tourists in Curaçao soon find out that it is hard to speak Dutch with the local, largely black population. Politically, the constellation of autonomy only provides Curaçao a semi-autonomous status, because foreign relations, defence and the assurance of ‘good governance’ fall under the Kingdom. Dutch mingling with local affairs and financial aid are seen as signs of recolonisation by the local population. In turn, since the 1980s the Dutch state perceives the Caribbean islands merely as a financial burden. The Dutch Caribbean islands however wish to stay part of the Kingdom: as vulnerable microstates they feel comfortable under the protection of a wealthy kingdom.

The system of slavery imposed by Dutch colonisation for several centuries has left severe scars on the self image of the Afro-Curaçaoan population who were perceived as the lowest stratum of society because of their skin colour. In fact, social stratification is currently still imbedded in perceptions of colour, whether they are from a ‘black’ or from a ‘white’ perspective. These contemporary problems require a sociocultural understanding of a communal past. Looking through a Dutch lens, this study aims to shed some light on the

⁷ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, 4th edition (SAGE London 2016) 190; Martin A. Berger, *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture* (Berkeley University Press, California 2005) 1; Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 2.

sociocultural aspects of this communal history, using photograph collections available in the Netherlands as the main information source, and concurrently taking micro-level (individual) macro-level (political) and meso-level (institutional) contexts into account.

The photographs studied in this thesis have been produced in different historical and social circumstances. It is important to learn as much as possible about the circumstances in which they were produced in order to understand what they portray and the content they carry (iconic content and symbolic meaning).⁸ In this regard, the 'things' that are visible in the photographs can be interpreted as 'evidence' of the qualities of the context of production.⁹ Apart from individual and institutional context, the historical and political context (macro-level context) provide 'ideas' (discursive opportunity structures, DOS) that are believed to be 'realistic' or 'legitimate' in the broader political culture (political opportunities).¹⁰

Hence, this thesis employs a three-layered structure: discussion of the historical/political context (macro-level), description of the applied methodology and discussion of the micro- and meso-level contexts of production. Firstly, the historical context (e.g. political opportunities) will be discussed in chapter one. For this purpose, I divided the timeframe between 1900 and 2010 in four distinct periods in which the relationship between Curaçao and the Netherlands went through a change. It is likely that the visual representations of Curaçao and Dutch individual and institutional involvement changed as well. These four periods will be discussed separately in chapters four, five, six and seven.

Secondly, chapter two focuses on the 'traits' of the photograph itself as a source for frame analysis. With respect to this, I have applied Foucauldian theory of discourse and Saïd's arguments about the production of colonial 'knowledge' in studying of the photograph collections. This resulted in a mosaic-like methodology consisting of content-analysis, discourse-analysis and frame-analysis.

Thirdly, chapter three discusses the meso-level context of production. Which institutions created the photographs and when? What were the possible agencies involved in collecting

⁸ Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (Doubleday Anchor Books, New York 1955) 40.

⁹ *Ibidem*, 56.

¹⁰ Myra Marx Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective* (Stanford University Press, California 2012) 11-12; Holy McCammon, 'Discursive Opportunity Structure' in: *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, January 14, 2013, abstract.

photographs of Curaçao? And how are the collections currently framed by the digital archives that maintain them?

As mentioned above, chapters four, five, six and seven discuss the visual content of photographs, which is the result of applying the methodology of chapter two to the four time periods of interest. Furthermore, if necessary these chapters also describe the micro-level production of the photographs for each period. Chapter four contains the period before industrialization (1900-1920), chapter 5 the period from industrialization until autonomy (1920-1954). Chapter 6 discusses the post-autonomy phase until the local riots of May 30th (1954-1969) and chapter 7 the period after the riots until the dismantling of the Caribbean islands into separate nations or municipalities (1969-2010).

Terminology

Many photographs that were analysed in this thesis contained depictions of the local population of Curaçao. Because this population is very diverse (see chapter 1) and its representations differed substantially in different periods, it is required to specify a terminology. First of all, I mentioned Afro-Curaçaoan locals as 'black locals' or as the local 'Afro-population' because this seemed the easiest denotation to describe this group. Secondly, when a local was of apparently mixed or of Venezuelan origins I referred to him/her as a 'coloured-local'. Finally, when white locals were visible, I called them the 'white local', or the 'local elite' specifically when they were plantation owners.

Chapter 1: Historical context

Curaçao under WIC

The meddling of the West Indian Company (WIC) into Caribbean affairs was foremost driven by the war against Spain.¹¹ In this context Curaçao was taken by the WIC in 1634. The WIC particularly considered the natural port of Curaçao (*Schottegat*) suitable for all kinds of trade and the mooring of ships.¹² There was no occasion for large plantations or mining. Dutch colonisation of Curaçao was therefore loose and negligible.¹³ It consisted mainly of WIC-driven trade and private investments of European individuals, who tried to make a profit.¹⁴ The European immigrants and the WIC imported enslaved Africans to work in their ventures. As a result, in time, the largest portion of the population consisted of 'enslaved' or 'freed' people from African descent. In this regard, the population of Curaçao was entirely made in response of the economic needs of Dutch trade and settlement.¹⁵

Due to plantation colonies, the demand for enslaved Africans increased significantly in the 17th century. The WIC quickly anticipated on this demand by maintaining and intensifying its own share in the trade of enslaved Africans.¹⁶ In Curaçao, two major slave 'entrepots' were established at the plantation of 'Zuurzak' and 'Sint Joris'.¹⁷ The enslaved Africans, who arrived in the port were sold on the slave-market or stayed behind and were put to work on the plantations (which were basically large farms), in the household, or they became craftsmen or sailors.¹⁸ Because there was not much work in Curaçao, the 'import' of enslaved people basically ended in 1780.¹⁹

¹¹ J. Hartog, *Curaçao: Van kolonie tot autonomie, deel I (voor 1816)* (Aruba 1961) 81; Cornelis Christiaan Goslinga, *Emancipatie en Emancipator: De geschiedenis van de slavernij op de Benedenwindse eilanden en van het werk der bevrijding* (Van Gorcum & Comp. N.V.- G. A. Hak & Dr. H. J. Prakke, Assen 1956) 12.

¹² Leo Dalhuisen, Ronald Donk ed., Rosemarijn Hoefft ed., *Geschiedenis van de Antillen* (Walburg Pers Zutphen 2009), 37-38; Hartog, *Curaçao: Van kolonie tot autonomie, deel I*, 173, 99.

¹³ Gert Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee: De Nederlandse Caraïben en Nederland* (Bert Bakker, Amsterdam 1998) 152.

¹⁴ Ibidem, 152.

¹⁵ Oostindie, *Paradise Overseas*, 20, 27; René Antonio Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen: constanten en varianten* (Walburg Pers, Zutphen 1978) 8.

¹⁶ Goslinga, *Emancipatie en Emancipator*, 12.

¹⁷ Ibidem, 12-13.

¹⁸ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 47,49.

¹⁹ Ibidem, 55.

Slavery in Curaçao differed from the surrounding Caribbean, where large plantations were the norm. On average, enslaved islanders enjoyed greater freedom, conducted less weighty labour, and had a greater chance to get manumission (setting a slave free) than elsewhere.²⁰ However, this did not mean that the system was fair or mild. Especially in Curaçao, a slave was seen as a prestigious commodity 'good', not as a human.²¹ The slave-owner (*shon*) could rely on rights that protected his 'property'.²² The relationship between the master and the slave meant that the slave was depended on the master for food, clothing and shelter. The master, in turn, needed slaves to gain in social status and for manual labour.²³ Moreover, slaves were not supposed to marry or to gather in public.²⁴ But manumission was a frequent practice as well. However, it was often granted because the slave owner did not have the means to support the slave or the slave was too old to work.²⁵

Apart from the large amount of enslaved Africans who arrived at the island yearly, the population of Curaçao consisted of Europeans and Sephardic-Jews: 'the white elite'. The 'Dutch' population, small in number and overly protestant, consisted mainly of WIC personnel. This group predominantly came from the Netherlands but the WIC also recruited other Europeans.²⁶ Sephardic Jews arrived at the island after the Dutch loss of Brazil in 1659.²⁷ This group of 'colonial Jews' took their trans-Atlantic trade networks with them, which was of vital importance for the development of the Curaçaoan harbour.²⁸ Accordingly, Jews were foremost active in trade. Eventually Jews and Protestants acquired plantations and gardens, where they kept livestock and cultivated crops for local use.²⁹ Due to the difficult soil of Curaçao, plantations were never very prosperous: they functioned more as status symbols than an actual source of income.³⁰ Next to white elites and slaves, there was also a growing group of free 'coloureds' (blacks and mulattos). This group was deeply connected to the group of enslaved islanders, because they had either

²⁰ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 47,49,51; Goslinga, *Emancipatie en Emancipator*, 35, 38; Oostindie, *Het paradijs over zee*, 32; Goslinga, *Emancipatie en Emancipator*, 24.

²¹ Goslinga, *Emancipatie en Emancipator*, 17.

²² *Ibidem*, 37.

²³ *Ibidem*, 35.

²⁴ A.F. Paula, *From objective to subjective social barriers; A historico-philosophical analysis of certain negative attitudes among the negroid population of Curaçao* (Dissertation Papal University of St. Thomas, Rome 1967) 35; Goslinga, *Emancipatie en Emancipator*, 25.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 35.

²⁶ Goslinga, *Emancipatie en Emancipator*, 8. Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek*, 12.

²⁷ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek*, 9.

²⁸ Oostindie, *Paradise Overseas*, 3.

²⁹ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 73.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 73.

been slaves themselves, they were descendants of enslaved islanders, or they had mixed parentage.³¹

The size of the different population groups varied immensely over time. For example in 1764, Curaçao counted 534 'slave owners' who kept approximately 5534 enslaved.³² So, on average, only 9.5 percent of the population consisted of the white slave-owning elite. The rest of the free population consisted of lower-class white workers or free coloureds and the overall majority was enslaved.³³ With the passing of years, the group of enslaved islanders shrunk drastically, while the group of free coloureds eventually became the largest group at the island. In 1815 approximately fifty percent of the Curaçaoan population consisted of enslaved people.³⁴ During emancipation in 1863, this number had fallen to one third of the total population, while the free coloureds counted more than fifty percent.³⁵ Due to their large number, the group of free coloureds were despised by the white upper-class.³⁶ Some authors even argue that white elites disdained the free coloureds more than the enslaved.³⁷ The elites feared that this group would try to rise on the social ladder, thereby threatening the division between white and coloured/black.³⁸

In Curaçao the separation between white and black, free and unfree, was static and definitive.³⁹ Social stratification was based on colour: the so-called colour line.⁴⁰ In this somatic order, the 'negro' was denoted as least civilized, while the 'mulatto' (coloured) was perceived as more civilized.⁴¹ According to the Curaçaoan historian Alejandro Felipe Paula, the norms of skin colour, as imposed by the white population, were entirely adopted by the black (slave) population.⁴² In this sense, subjective social barriers also became objective social barriers.⁴³ Due to this mechanism, the Afro-population affiliated its own race with a low status. Because somatic features were impossible to change possibilities for the entire Afro-population were restricted.

³¹ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 51.

³² Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek*, 11.

³³ Gert Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 56.

³⁴ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 54.

³⁵ Ibidem, 54, 56.

³⁶ Ibidem, 13.

³⁷ Ibidem, 57.

³⁸ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 57.

³⁹ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek*, 10 ; Gert Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 57.

⁴⁰ Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *Curaçao zonder/met Shell: Een bijdrage tot bestudering van demografische, economische en sociale processen in de periode 1900-1929* (De Walburg Pers, Zutphen 1982) 102, 119.

⁴¹ Ibidem, 30-31.

⁴² Paula, *From objective to subjective social barriers*, 30.

⁴³ Ibidem, 30, 32.

Due to the small size of Curaçao and the small plantations, multidirectional cultural processes occurred simultaneously with rigid social stratification.⁴⁴ Because the white elites were unwilling to educate the enslaved and interactions between them remained limited to the work field, the Afro-Curaçaoan community developed a Creolized culture under a surface of white domination. In this process, West-African and West-European elements were combined.⁴⁵ Especially the *'tambú'* was an important driver of this culture. This was an African-inspired dance in which special rhythms were combined with texts that referred to current predicaments.⁴⁶ Spiritual beliefs in forefathers also travelled from Africa.⁴⁷ In turn, the enslaved could not avoid Dutch or European culture and if possible absorbed Dutch-European habits and beliefs.⁴⁸

The white upper class kept aloof of local Creole culture, which they regarded as 'inferior'.⁴⁹ However, beyond the colour-line there was room for acculturation. More than on the large plantations elsewhere, the white elites owned smaller numbers of slaves. Slaves were in fact often working in or around the master's house, sharing the same spaces with their masters.⁵⁰ In effect different population groups mixed and established a group of '(free) coloureds'.⁵¹ Due to this daily contact, it is assumed that cultural input for acculturation came from both directions, although power imbalances and the social-psychological distance from the dominant European culture determined the process in favour of 'white' culture.⁵² Also Jewish traders had an impact on the occurring cultural fusion because they brought Southern European and South American cultural elements to the island. This resulted in a strong Latin input in the cultural life of Curaçao.⁵³ An example of all these processes is Papiamentu, that basically assumes a highly Latinized orientation and was spoken by all the different groups mentioned above. Today Papiamentu is still the official language of Curaçao, next to Dutch (and English).⁵⁴

⁴⁴ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 36, 57.

⁴⁵ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek*, 10; Oostindie, *Paradise Oversea*, 20.

⁴⁶ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek*, 11, 184-185; Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 130.

⁴⁷ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 53.

⁴⁸ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek*, 10; Paula, *From objective to subjective social barriers*, 31,33.

⁴⁹ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 80.

⁵⁰ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek* 11.

⁵¹ Gert Oostindie, *Paradijs Overzee*, 26.

⁵² Alex van Stipriaan, 'Creolization and the lesson of a Watergoddess in the Black Atlantic' in: *Book Sub-Sahara Africa: Multiculturalism, Power and Ethnicities* (Centro de Estudos Africanos 2001) 98.

⁵³ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 77.

⁵⁴ Gert Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 26.

Kingdom, abolition and mission

When the Dutch Kingdom was announced in 1815, the remaining colonies fell under the direct jurisdiction of the King and were structured according to new laws and regulations.⁵⁵ These reforms were specifically aimed at Indonesia (the 'East-Indies'). Curaçao, as part of the 'West-Indies', was of less value to the Netherlands. This would not change during the entire 19th century.

For Curaçao, kingdom regulations meant that it became the seat of 'Curaçao and subordinates', completed by the other five remaining Dutch Caribbean islands (Aruba, Bonaire, St Martin, St Eustatius, Saba).⁵⁶ A Dutch governor was stationed at Curaçao as the direct representative of the King.⁵⁷ The governor enjoyed juridical and executive power as well as the right to veto in the colonial council.⁵⁸ Hereby the colonial council, which consisted of representatives of the local elite, lost a considerable influence on insular affairs.⁵⁹

After the proclamation of the Kingdom, all colonial subjects, including the enslaved, were regarded as subjects of the king.⁶⁰ However there was little improvement realized for the enslaved populations.⁶¹ Also, the abolition debate remained suspiciously silent among Dutch elites.⁶² In the wake of English and French abolition the Dutch slowly adopted a more favourable attitude towards emancipation.⁶³ Financial reconsiderations, such as the question on how to compensate the 'slave owners', not the 'slaves', delayed the process.⁶⁴ Slavery was finally abolished in 1863. Although the king had no personal say in it, the abolition was presented as an order of the king.⁶⁵ By using the king as an unifying symbol, the expectation was that emancipation would lead to feelings of gratitude instead of friction for the formerly

⁵⁵ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 155; Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon: Het koningshuis en de koloniën* (De bezige bij, Amsterdam 2006) 23.

⁵⁶ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 15; Rose Mary Allen, 'The Complexity of National Identity Construction in Curaçao, Dutch Caribbean' in: *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 89 (October 2010) 117.

⁵⁷ Oostindie, *Knellende koninkrijksbanden*, 18.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, 18-19.

⁵⁹ Oostindie, *Knellende koninkrijksbanden*, 18.

⁶⁰ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 153.

⁶¹ Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, 30; Goslinga, *Emancipatie en Emancipator*, 68-69.

⁶² Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*; Oostindie, *Knellende koninkrijksbanden*, 16.

⁶³ Oostindie, *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden*, 16; Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, 29.

⁶⁴ Oostindie, *Knellende Koninkrijksbanden*, 16.

⁶⁵ Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, 31.

enslaved.⁶⁶

In Curaçao, the abolition of slavery and the Catholic mission were deeply intertwined. According to Kwame Nimako the Catholic Church played a crucial role in the pacification of the enslaved during abolition and in maintaining their loyalty after emancipation.⁶⁷ In contrast to other Dutch colonies, the white elite in Curaçao had traditionally tolerated the Catholic conversion of their slaves by priests who came from the Spanish-American mainland.⁶⁸ Because the elites generally were of Protestant or Jewish religions, dissemination of the Catholic faith under the black population could only reinforce the colour-line.⁶⁹ Besides, early records reveal that slave owners commanded Catholic priests to bring about obedience among their subjects.⁷⁰ In the run towards emancipation, this pacifying and civilizing role of the Catholic church was further emphasized.⁷¹ Official Dutch regulated missionary work begun with the arrival of the priest M. Niewindt in 1824.⁷² Shortly thereafter, an educational program was initiated to 'civilize and discipline' the enslaved population, in order to prepare them for 'the day when emancipation would come'.⁷³ In 1886, under supervision of the Dutch Dominicans (who conducted the mission in the Caribbean since 1870) the brothers of Tilburg were invited for the schooling of boys.⁷⁴ With their arrival the Catholic Church got a firm grip on education.⁷⁵ In the wake of the 20th century the Catholic Church had grown into the greatest safety net on the island, providing health care, poverty work, elderly care, orphanages and education.⁷⁶ As a force apart from but intertwined with the colonial government, these missionaries should be regarded as 'the colonisers among the colonised'.⁷⁷

By the time of abolition in 1863, 'only' a third of the population of Curaçao was formally enslaved while 86 percent of this group was Catholic.⁷⁸ As much as 6684 enslaved were set

⁶⁶ Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, 31.

⁶⁷ Nimako and Willemsen, *The Dutch Atlantic*, 79.

⁶⁸ Ibidem, 59.

⁶⁹ G. Oostindie, *Het Paradijs overzee*, 62.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, 61-62.

⁷¹ Goslinga, *Emancipatie en Emancipator*, 91.

⁷² Ibidem, 52-53.

⁷³ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 55.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, 123, 125.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, 125.

⁷⁶ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 126.

⁷⁷ M.J. Kruithof (Maryse), *Shouting in a desert: Dutch missionary encounters with Javanese Islam, 1850-1910* (Dissertation of Erasmus school of history, culture and communication 2014) 17.

⁷⁸ Oostindie, *Het Paradijs overzee*, 54, 63.

free but the situation on the island remained tranquil.⁷⁹ Although the plantation elite had lost their 'free labour', old contrasts were preserved due to the colour-line. This meant that even after 'emancipation' the black population could not easily gain in status.⁸⁰ In fact, often it occurred that former slaves were not able to make a living but to work the land of their former owners.⁸¹ Nevertheless, the colonial government leased so called 'pasture lands' for small scale farming, to great discomfort of the plantation-elite who wanted to bind laborers to their lands.⁸² This made a more independent status possible for the former enslaved population.

After slavery, most rural areas were inhabited by the 'darkest' population, descendants of the formerly enslaved.⁸³ These '*buitendistricten*' (outside districts) were divided in an eastern district (Band'Arriba) and a western district (Band'Abao).⁸⁴ The eastern district was situated near *Schottegat* and was partly urbanized.⁸⁵ The western district was entirely rural and was referred to as '*kunuku*'.⁸⁶ Here a 'semi-slavery' situation was maintained.⁸⁷ The main inhabitants of Willemstad were white elites and coloureds, but according to statistics also black islanders were found in the city. On average 45 percent of the total population resided in Willemstad. Because in the 19th century only 10 percent of the total population of Curaçao belonged to the white upper or lower classes, approximately 35 percent of the city's inhabitants were black or coloured.⁸⁸ The latter group presumably worked in the harbour, in the household or in small industries.⁸⁹

⁷⁹ Römer, *Mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen*, 14.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 80.

⁸¹ Paula, *From objective to subjective social barriers*, 45.

⁸² Dekker, *Curaçao zonder/met Shell*, 66-67.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, 97.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 19.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 19-20.

⁸⁶ Dekker, *Curaçao zonder/met Shell*, 19.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 94, 104.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, 97.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, 97.

Industrialization, Dutchification and autonomy 1900-2010

Period 1: 1900 until 1920

During the 19th century European colonialism became imbedded in the mechanics of imperial thinking. Imperialism is in this study understood as a deliberate and concrete manifestation of formal or informal power over another society.⁹⁰ Dutch imperialism was mainly conducted in Indonesia where the Dutch army explored and annexed non-colonised areas. Dutch informal colonial rule especially intensified after 1900, when the 'ethical policy' (*Ethische Politiek*) became the norm. This Dutch version of a 'white man's burden' was officially initiated in 1901 and advocated the moral responsibility of the Netherlands for its colonial citizens.⁹¹ It strongly reframed Dutch colonialism by propagating a highly depoliticized self-image of a morally supreme, colonial power; colonial matters were seen as the moral responsibility of European governments and peoples.⁹² For Curaçao, the ethical policy was mainly noticeable through the missionary activities of the Dutch Catholic church. At least until 1920, when industrialisation started to take shape in Curaçao, the Dutch government remained negligent of its Curaçaoan subjects.⁹³

Around 1900 Curaçao suffered severe poverty and unemployment. Trade had stagnated and many plantations were left abandoned.⁹⁴ There were not much prospects, especially not for the lower stratum of society. Because in Curaçao 'colour' meant 'status', and the darker the skin the lower the status, this latter group was very large. Around 1900 almost 90 to 95 percent of the Curaçaoan population had African origins.⁹⁵ However the economy contained

⁹⁰ Dr. M. Kuitenbrouwer, *De opkomst van het moderne imperialisme: Koloniën en buitenlandse politiek (1870-1902)* (Amsterdam 1982) 8.

⁹¹ Maartje Jansen, 'Representing Distant Victims: The Emergence of an Ethical Movement in Dutch Colonial Politics, 1840-1880' in: *BMGN- Low Countries Historical Review*, Vol 128, 1 (2013) 54-55, 79.

⁹² Jansen, 'Representing Distant Victims', 53-57.

⁹³ Oostindie, *Paradise Overseas*, 164.

⁹⁴ Willem Cornelis Jozef Koot & Cliff, Rigot, *Retourmigratie van Curaçaoenaars en Arubanen: Bai Pa Bini Bek* (Ministerie van sociale zaken en werkgelegenheid 1986) 11.

⁹⁵ Margot Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm: de ontwikkeling van de Curaçaose samenleving, 1915-1973: van koloniaal en kerkelijk gezag naar zelfbestuur en burgerschap* (Dissertation Leiden University 2017) 16.

some small ventures which were doing reasonably well, for example hat-making or the phosphate mine at Santa Barbara.⁹⁶ However, in 1915 everything changed when a refinery of the Royal Shell opened its doors in Curaçao.⁹⁷ The refinery, situated at 'Schottegat', would take in raw oil from Venezuela. From 1915 until 1929 the Shell refinery went through an enormous expansion, leading to many developments in the economic, social and cultural sphere on the island.⁹⁸ Due to this phase of industrialization, political transformations followed soon.⁹⁹

Period 2: 1920-1954

Shell's refinery added an industrial segment to the commercial and agricultural economy of Curaçao. After 1920 Curaçao turned into a capitalist monoculture with growing secondary and tertiary sectors.¹⁰⁰ At this stage laborers were in shortage, so many migrants were attracted to work in the refinery. As a result, the population of Curaçao grew steadily due to a positive immigration rate.¹⁰¹ The population increased from 32.000 in 1920 to almost 120.000 in 1955.¹⁰² Most labour immigrants came from the surrounding Caribbean islands, Suriname and Venezuela.¹⁰³ For higher positions, however, Shell employed Dutch, Portuguese and Ashkenazi-Jewish personnel.¹⁰⁴ Once again, the social compilation of the island changed due to labour immigration. Around 1930 the Curaçaoan population counted 80 percent Afro-Curaçaoan inhabitants and 20 percent white inhabitants. The 'white' segment of the population thus grew with ten percent due to immigration.¹⁰⁵ During the 1940s and 1950s, the prosperity of Curaçao attracted a second wave of immigrants, coming from China, Syria and India.¹⁰⁶ In 1950, 28 percent of the population came from outside the Caribbean.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁶ Margot Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 74, 77.

⁹⁷ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 81.

⁹⁸ Dekker, *Curaçao met/zonder Shell*, 7.

⁹⁹ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek*, 19, 22.

¹⁰⁰ Dekker, *Curaçao met/zonder Shell* Ibidem, 89, 121

¹⁰¹ Ibidem, 22.

¹⁰² Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 122; Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 20.

¹⁰³ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 82-83.

¹⁰⁴ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 122.

¹⁰⁵ Dekker, *Curaçao met/zonder Shell*, 122.

¹⁰⁶ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 122.

¹⁰⁷ Koot, *Emigratie op de Nederlandse Antillen*, 54.

Most Shell labour immigrants settled in specially build neighbourhoods. As a result interrelations with the original island-population were limited.¹⁰⁸ Also the higher staff was housed separately. For them, the government built luxurious living quarters near the refinery, which were surrounded and secured by walls and guards.¹⁰⁹ Eventually the island would split-up into a 'Shell' part and a 'local' part.¹¹⁰ The contrast between urban and rural areas (*Willemstad/buitendistricten* versus *kunuku*) was intensified. The area around 'Schottegat' (*Band'Arriba*) was further urbanized and housing in Willemstad became extraordinary expensive.¹¹¹

Because Shell employed for foreign laborers, the local population of Curaçao benefitted marginally from the economic growth.¹¹² Shell adopted an immigration policy in order to keep its wages low.¹¹³ Besides, due to the attraction of foreign labour, vertical mobility was thwarted.¹¹⁴ The local Afro-population was especially marginalized, as the assumptions of the 'colour-line' prevailed in the selection dynamic of new laborers.¹¹⁵ Moreover, black employees were paid less than white employees for the same work.¹¹⁶ Only a small percentage of the black population was able to rise on the social ladder, which resulted in a process of differentiation within the Afro-community.¹¹⁷ The traditional elite lost part of its status and influence, particularly the plantation-class suffered from the economic changes initiated by the establishment of Shell's refinery.¹¹⁸

Shell was partly a Dutch company, so profit and market were largely oriented towards the Netherlands. This resulted in 'renewed' Dutch attention for Curaçao, politically, economically and culturally. The Kingdom injected the colonial government of Curaçao with predominantly Dutch officials.¹¹⁹ Modern policy was supported by the introduction of passive suffrage in 1936, whereby six percent of local men were made able to vote.¹²⁰

¹⁰⁸ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen*, 20; Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 83.

¹⁰⁹ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 82.

¹¹⁰ Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 20.

¹¹¹ Dekker, *Curaçao met/zonder Shell*, 66, 123.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, 119-123.

¹¹³ Dekker, *Curaçao met/zonder Shell*, 119.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 51, 118-119.

¹¹⁵ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen*, 21.

¹¹⁶ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 141.

¹¹⁷ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek*, 65.

¹¹⁸ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 81.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 81.

¹²⁰ Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 22.

Education and social services, beforehand basically the concern of the Catholics, went through a process of 'Dutchification'.¹²¹ Following the Dutch model, schools and hospitals were erected and staffed with mainly Dutch personnel.¹²² Dutch became main the language of instruction at all schools.¹²³ In this regard, education became highly estranged from the local context which was especially problematic for the lower classes who only spoke Papiamentu.¹²⁴ This phase of 'Dutchification' was a late attempt of colonisation from the Dutch state. In effect the Dutch government found itself highly dependent on the Catholic Church to reach to all strata of local society.¹²⁵

Period 3: 1954-1969

During the Second World War, the Dutch government in exile initiated a transformation of the colonial rule once the war would end. The idea of autonomy got shape in Queen Wilhelmina's famous radio speech in 1942, in which she promised greater freedom to the colonies.¹²⁶ For Curaçao this meant general suffrage in 1948 and the island became autonomous in 1954, as part of the constellation of the 'country' of the Dutch Antilles which consisted of Saba, St Martin, St Eustatius, Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao.¹²⁷ The Dutch Antilles remained part of the Dutch Kingdom and the charter (*Het Statuut*) was sealed by different Royal visits to the Antilles after 1954. The compilation of six different islands into one country was rather an unfortunate decision: there was barely a sense of a shared, 'Antillean' identity among the islands.¹²⁸

Negotiations concerning the autonomy charter of 1954 turned out to be difficult. According to Gert Oostindie, there was little Dutch interest, while at the same time there was a spirit to hold on to a 'colonial prestige', especially after the 'loss' of Indonesia.¹²⁹ In turn, the Netherlands had to come with a careful 'decolonisation model' because the Dutch

¹²¹ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen*, 31.

¹²² Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen*, 31; Dekker, *Curaçao met/zonder Shell*, 123; Oostindie, *Paradise overseas*, 161.

¹²³ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen*, 31; Dekker, *Curaçao met/zonder Shell*, 123

¹²⁴ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen*, 20.

¹²⁵ Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 16.

¹²⁶ Römer, *Cultureel Mozaïek van de Nederlandse Antillen*, 97.

¹²⁷ Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 20.

¹²⁸ Allen, 'The Complexity of National Identity', 118.

¹²⁹ Gert Oostindie & Inge Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean: Dutch Policies in a Comparative Perspective* (Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2003) 73.

geopolitical reputation was damaged after Dutch violence in Indonesia. The final charter of 1954 allowed minimal reciprocity, while it was based on 'mutual assistance'.¹³⁰ Although it guaranteed autonomy in internal affairs, so-called 'Kingdom matters' remained in the hands of a 'Kingdom government', which was controlled by the Dutch government. 'Kingdom matters' contained defence, foreign relations, Dutch nationality and the guarantee of human rights, legal security and 'virtuous governance'.¹³¹ This meant that when the former colonies would fail in the latter three parts, the Dutch government had the right to interfere with so-called 'good governance'.¹³² Vice versa Curaçao was not allowed to interfere in any Dutch policies.¹³³

After autonomy the Catholic church continued to send mainly Dutch priests to maintain itself as a social-political power. Even after the establishment of a local, Curaçaoan diocese in 1956, most priests had a Dutch and Dominican background.¹³⁴ Although officially the bishop stated that the church stood 'above' politics, in practise it had a strong say in the Catholic Peoples Party (KVP; *Katholieke Volkspartij*).¹³⁵ This interference caused frictions among the Catholic population who started to vote for other parties. which resulted in liquidation of the KVP in 1962.¹³⁶ Simultaneously, the local government adopted social policies which further diminished the power of the Church.¹³⁷

Period 4: 1969-2010

During the 1960s, the Curaçaoan oil industry suffered a relapse, and mechanisation and automatisisation reduced the demand for labour significantly.¹³⁸ The result was an enormous decline in wages and high numbers of unemployment.¹³⁹ In light of these economic problems major riots took place in Willemstad in May 1969. Protesters expressed grievances of the structures of inequality, which were based on the hierarchical contradictions and

¹³⁰ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 158-159.

¹³¹ Ibidem, 158-159.

¹³² Oostindie & Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean*, 86; Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 158.

¹³³ Oostindie & Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean*, 86.

¹³⁴ Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 162, 163.

¹³⁵ Ibidem, 166-167.

¹³⁶ Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 167, 169.

¹³⁷ Ibidem, 171.

¹³⁸ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 141.

¹³⁹ Ibidem, 141.

divisions of the colour-line.¹⁴⁰ Work and income had not improved for the Afro-Curaçaoan population after autonomy and they had the feeling they were not represented in politics.¹⁴¹ It were still predominantly the white or lighter skinned groups who enjoyed privileges, a racial hierarchy that had survived the times of slavery. Protesters blamed the government, the Netherlands and the church and demolished among other buildings the palace of the bishop, the school of St Martinus and Hotel Americano.¹⁴² In order to restore order, Curaçao asked for the assistance of the Dutch marine.¹⁴³ In the Netherlands this was seen as outer colonialism. It was argued that a 'progressive' nation like the Netherlands was not supposed to fix revolts overseas.¹⁴⁴ However, the charter insisted on mutual assistance, so the Netherlands did not really have another choice.

After the riots of 1969 the Netherlands seriously questioned the charter. In progressive political circles, it was argued that full decolonisation was the most logical 'historic' closure.¹⁴⁵ The Dutch responsibilities as documented in the charter were generally seen as a burden.¹⁴⁶ For Suriname, this new course led to fast independency in 1975, but the Caribbean islands refused to accept this 'gift' of independency.¹⁴⁷ As small microstates, they believed that an ongoing relation with a steady nation state such as the Kingdom of the Netherlands was highly beneficial.¹⁴⁸ In many aspects they were right: Antillean citizens could freely move to the Netherlands and the islands could expect financial assistance when this was necessary.¹⁴⁹ But instances of interference of the Netherlands for the sake of 'good governance' was often interpreted as 'recolonisation'.

The Dutch attitude towards the Caribbean changed once more in the 1980s. Finances, migration ('Antillean exodus') and 'irresponsible responsibility' were the main concerns in the continuation of the Kingdom's relations with the Antilles.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, the notion took prevalence that the Caribbean islands could only attain independence in the long run. In this

¹⁴⁰ Allen, 'The Complexity of National Identity' 122; Wim van den Doel, *Zo ver de wereld strekt: De geschiedenis van Nederland overzee vanaf 1800* (Bert Bakker, Amsterdam 2011) 408.

¹⁴¹ Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 15-16.

¹⁴² Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 15-16.

¹⁴³ Van den Doel, *Zo ver der wereld strekt*, 407, 408.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 408.

¹⁴⁵ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 164.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 162, 164.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 164.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 164

¹⁴⁹ Oostindie & Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean*, 116.

¹⁵⁰ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 163.

regard, the Netherlands feared the financial dependence of the Antilles on the Kingdom, maintaining Dutch 'responsibility' for the former colonies.¹⁵¹ The 'mutual assistance' as stated in the charter had remained particularly one-sided and it was not expected that this would change very soon.¹⁵² Besides, especially during the 1990s, the Netherlands despised its interference in Caribbean affairs. The Dutch public perception was that the problems in the Antilles were caused by local governments, and that they should solve those problems themselves, without the Kingdom's help.¹⁵³

The Dutch construction of one Antillean nation, which basically consisted of six different islands, finally broke down during the late-1980s. In 1986, after a long political struggle, Aruba signed its separate status. Surprisingly, the remaining islands voted for continuation of the Dutch Antilles. Separate autonomy was on the agenda again in 2006 offered by the Netherlands including the payment of the Antillean state debt in exchange of a 'solid, efficient and responsible' local government. All the islands, except for Curaçao, voted in favour of the dismantling of the Dutch Antilles. Curaçao complained of Dutch bribery, recolonisation and new forms of slavery but finally changed course in 2008.¹⁵⁴ From 2010 onwards, Curaçao, Aruba and Sint Maarten have become autonomous countries within the Kingdom. Bonaire, Saba and St-Eustatius are now Dutch municipalities.

¹⁵¹ Oostindie, *Het paradijs overzee*, 145.

¹⁵² Ibidem, 159.

¹⁵³ Ibidem, 163-164.

¹⁵⁴ Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Antillen*, 161.

Chapter 2: Theory and Methodology

'The nineteenth century began by believing that what was reasonable was true, and it wound up by believing that what it saw a photograph of, was true'¹⁵⁵

This chapter discusses theory and methodology for working with photographs of Curaçao in a colonial and post-colonial context. In the case of Curaçao, 'post-colonial' must be seen in a different light because, as mentioned in chapter 1, Curaçao remained part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. However, in the Dutch public sphere, colonial imperialism shaped the perceptible order until the 1950s, while the anti-colonial attitudes of the mid-1960s critically reinterpreted Dutch colonial discourse.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, this thesis will incorporate both ways of interpreting Dutch colonialism in the analysis of photograph collections of Curaçao ranging from 1900 to 2010. Due to the high amount of photographs and the research question stated in the introduction, this thesis utilizes a methodology that is able to compare changes in photographic representations of Curaçao by taking into account different political, historical and socioeconomic contexts as well as institutional backgrounds. To deal with these demands, frame analysis seems the most suitable methodology for comprehending changes in discourse during the four periods which are studied here (1900-1920, 1920-1954, 1954-1969 and 1969-2010). Besides, frame analysis allows reconstruction of the institutional influence (morals, practices) on the visual representations. The quantitative part of the analysis is tackled by using the methodology of content analysis.

Because of the practice of 'colonisation' between the seventeenth and nineteenth century, thinking about Curaçao from a 'Dutch perspective' is not a 'free' subject of thought.¹⁵⁷ The material reality of colonial history arguably caused mechanisms of selective attention and structural involvement that initiated a '*subworld*' which was 'real' in the attention and interests of the actors involved.¹⁵⁸ The colonial 'order of existence' allowed for

¹⁵⁵ Naomi Rosenblum, *A world history of photography* (Abeville press New York 1984) 155, quoted from William M. Irvin, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication*, (Cambridge Mass 1953) 94.

¹⁵⁶ Paul Bijl, *Emerging Memory: Photographs of Colonial Atrocity in Dutch Cultural Remembrance* (Amsterdam University Press 2015) 186.

¹⁵⁷ Raymond Corbey and Joep Leerssen, *Alterity, Identity, Image: Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship* (1991) 3.

¹⁵⁸ Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Harper colophon books, New York 1974) 2.

discursive interaction –‘a frame’- that leaned on a knowledge system which made the coloniser understand and legitimize its own practice of colonialism. In turn, during the post-autonomy phase discursive constellations demanded reconfiguration.

Discursive opportunities -potential ways of talking about something, arrive from imbedded structures of power.¹⁵⁹ In turn, structures of power are determined by political opportunities, i.e. who is able to ‘speak’ about Curaçao in the public sphere?¹⁶⁰ What is said, therefore, produces a knowledge system that (re)confirms the power of the social site of production.¹⁶¹ In this thesis, the social site consists of different Dutch institutions, Dutch archives and local and Dutch individual photographers.

In a colonial *status quo*, power structures are confirmed by Eurocentrism, which could be seen as a sense of superiority, and through a negative comparison with ‘the other’, namely the colonised.¹⁶² The negative comparison with the other will be illustrated by referring to the work of Edward Saïd in the course of this chapter. His work is important for this thesis, because it offers theoretical tools to reconfigure the colonisers’ imagination about the colonised and how this was related to more practical aims.

This chapter will firstly shed light on the colonial dimension and how it is researched with a ‘constructivist’ approach by applying discourse analysis. The basic theoretical question is how and why the coloniser produced certain key statements about the colonised land and its peoples? Secondly, because this study mainly works with photographs as sources, this chapter will provide insights into framing and discourse in the visual field. This thesis approaches images as ‘texts’ (discourse), but the ‘trait of the photograph’ in representing the truth requires a deeper understanding of the role of the photograph in such representations.¹⁶³

The ‘text’ of a photograph, i.e. what is ‘said’ by the photograph, differs from written language because it is highly deictic. It derives from the position of the photographer in space and time. In turn, the position of the ‘speaker’, i.e. photographer, is in this thesis

¹⁵⁹ Marx-Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism*, 12, 13-14.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, 11.

¹⁶¹ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 214.

¹⁶² Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africans and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (Yale University Press 1995) 35; Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 2.

¹⁶³ Jaques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting* (University of Chicago Press; 1987) 5.

institutionally grounded as the photographs are produced by and stored in institutional archives. This context will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.

Representation, discourse, imagination

The constructivist approach in social sciences considers human representation of 'reality' as mostly a (re-)construction of that reality, thus an 'imagination'.¹⁶⁴ It is asserted that the making of meaning leans on three processes: *representation*, *discourse* and *imagination*. In this three-tiered approach, perception is regarded as an active process of social construction (representation and imagination) by means of a language (discourse).¹⁶⁵ Stuart Hall describes this as follows: 'Representation is the production of meaning through language'.¹⁶⁶ Language in turn describes imbedded mental concepts, recognizable as signs. Social processes such as interactions and practices determine how these mental concepts are organized and categorized.¹⁶⁷ 'Objects' have a linguistic or visual denotation ((linguistic) signs), by which they can act and live in the mind of a person, without being tangibly present.¹⁶⁸ Therefore 'objects, actions or people' are perceptible by a community in static social and cultural assumptions.¹⁶⁹

A discourse is defined by the broader accumulation of linguistic signs and mental constructions that represents a certain theme/topic. Discursive representation of a topic is coherent and it is basically an accumulation of key assumptions, perhaps even clichés, about this topic that is constructed from a social, cultural and institutional context.¹⁷⁰ Due to the inevitable correlation between language and representation, a discourse is practically a language (*signs and codes*) which is used to talk about a certain theme/topic.¹⁷¹ In this regard, discourse, as a system of knowledge, is an overarching reflection of the way meaning is produced through language. It is a mental construction of a theme and therefore *imaginative*.

¹⁶⁴ Peter Burke, *Wat is cultuurgeschiedenis?* (Utrecht 2007) 113.

¹⁶⁵ Ibidem, 115.

¹⁶⁶ Stuart Hall ed., 'The work of representation' in: *Representation* (SAGE London 2013) 16.

¹⁶⁷ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials* (London 2016) 187.

¹⁶⁸ Hall, 'The work of representation', 17.

¹⁶⁹ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 187.

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem, 186.

¹⁷¹ Stuart Hall, 'The West and the rest' in: Stuart Hall, Bram Gieben, *Formations of Modernity* (Polity Press, Cambridge 1992) 201.

Within a discourse, there are clear limitations how a theme can be described.¹⁷² Only what is 'thinkable' or 'proper' defines discursive opportunity structures (DOS).¹⁷³ As a system of knowledge about a subject, discourse is confined within boundaries. Thus discursive opportunity structures repeatedly reconfirm the 'distribution of the perceptible', although variety within structural boundaries is possible. Discursive opportunities define which forms and places participate in a commonly shared world.¹⁷⁴ In other words, 'what is perceptible' derives from discourse and defines what is 'possible'.¹⁷⁵ In a sense, discursive statements, associations and 'knowledge' all claim to represent 'the truth'. With respect to photography, the depicted forms, people and places are directly involved in the creation of the 'possible', while the things that are not photographed are excluded from discursive formation. Discourses may change when political opportunities (and thus discursive opportunities) change.¹⁷⁶

Discursive opportunities (DOS) are put to work by practices in the confines of social life and due to the different institutions and speakers that try to realize their objectives.¹⁷⁷ Hence, what is perceptible of the objective, material world is derived from human construction of and involvement in that world, based on their interests. Therefore, discourse is always imbedded in power because knowledge is as well.¹⁷⁸ Foucault explains the correlation between knowledge and power as a 'regime of truth'.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, interests and motifs are not always necessarily clear, let alone follow a certain strategy.¹⁸⁰

This thesis will especially focus on the discursive practice in the production of photography based on Ferree's and Goffman's notion of 'framing' as discursive work in action. Ferree defines framing as an interaction in which different speakers with different agendas encounter discursive opportunities which derive from institutional practice, morals, laws, statements up to the individual level (photographers).¹⁸¹ Goffman defines a frame as

¹⁷² Stuart Hall, 'The west and the rest', 201.

¹⁷³ Marx Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism*, 12.

¹⁷⁴ Paul Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 34.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, 34.

¹⁷⁶ Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism*, 11-12.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 8.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 8.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 190.

¹⁸⁰ Hall, *The west and the rest*, 204.

¹⁸¹ Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism*, 13; Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 223.

discursive practice: the organization of experience which is subjectively defined by those involved.¹⁸²

The social location: Genres and speakers

A discourse can be seen as widely intertextual, because it arrives from discursive practice and formation. Intertextuality is basically understood as the combination of genres and voices (speakers) in a discourse.¹⁸³ An image or text in which a topic is treated, is understood by the image or text itself, and through other images or texts which perhaps arrive from different genres or speakers. The genres of visual/textual sources are especially linked to the institutional context in which the sources are produced. Genres are not primarily stylistic 'devices' but rather formal structures that work on a deeper level than a text itself.¹⁸⁴ Genres affect how a situation is perceived, which traits are illuminated and which interests are served.¹⁸⁵ This thesis intersects with photographic genres such as photojournalism, documentary photography, geographical photography ('geophotography'), social photography, ethnographic photography, governmental photography and travel photography.

Speakers basically refer to the community that is talking in the text or image. Whose story is told and to whom do the photographs belong? What is the role of the photographer?¹⁸⁶ These questions can be answered by closely inquiring who or which institution made the photograph. Some speakers might operate individually, but may still be linked to an institution, like for example a photographer who is 'allowed' to photograph the Royal family. Next to this photograph producing speaker, the 'voice' of the archive must also be taken into consideration (see chapter 3).

The social location of speakers and institutions can be derived from their context. In this thesis, the colonial and post-autonomy context play a decisive role, historically, culturally and socially. In a colonial context there are predominantly two perspectives to consider: the

¹⁸² Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 10-11.

¹⁸³ Savitri Gadavani, 'Intertextuality as Discourse Strategy: The Case of No-confidence Debates in Thailand' in: Nelson, D., *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics*, 9 (2002) 35.

¹⁸⁴ Karin Wagner, 'The personal versus the institutional voice in an open photographic archive' in: *Arch Sei*, 17 (Springer 2017) 250.

¹⁸⁵ Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 8-9.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 9.

perspective of the colonised and the perspective of the coloniser. The perspective of the coloniser community is central in this thesis because the photo-archives are predominantly produced and maintained by Dutch individuals and institutions. However, it is important to ask whether the voice of the colonised was included in the photographs at all. Furthermore, with regard to the post-autonomy context, this study will try to find out how colonial knowledge systems lived on in the memory of the former coloniser.

Discourse analysis in postcolonial studies can be found in the works of Edward Saïd. He maintained that through the construction of knowledge from a position of power, Europeans created a discourse for dealing with the subjected, colonised world. This imaginative knowledge made it possible to manage the colonised politically, sociologically, scientifically and ideologically, but it also served the purpose of depicting the surrogate and thereby the different other.¹⁸⁷ Applied to Saïd's field of study of *orientalism*, the orient became subjected to a highly imagined field of knowledge, dominated by perceptions of the antagonistic 'occident'. The 'occident' did not only look with an outsider's gaze, but also legitimized its power over the orient through the knowledge it collected, observed and created.¹⁸⁸ In this process, subjection and othering went hand in hand, because the legitimation of rule by the European was expressed through the 'inferior' otherness of the colonised.¹⁸⁹ This other was discursively constructed in negative comparison opposite the European imagination of the self.¹⁹⁰

Therefore, assumptions about the other are especially formed in monologue, because representing the other is an act of conveying the self. However, defining the other comes before accepting the self, because identifying the self is related to the question: what is the difference between us and them?¹⁹¹ How this mechanism is at work in the Dutch photographic collections of Curaçao is the main part of this research: Why and how was Curaçao imagined as the other? Which purposes did this serve? And did it change when political opportunities changed?

¹⁸⁷ Edward Saïd, *Orientalism* (Penguin Books, London 1978) 3-4.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, 2-3.

¹⁸⁹ Corbey and Leerssen, *Alterity, Identity, Image*, viii.

¹⁹⁰ Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black*, 35, 37.

¹⁹¹ Mineke Schipper, *De boomstam en de krokodil: Kwesties van ras, cultuur en wetenschap* (Amsterdam 1995) 11-14.

Discourse, framing and photography

'The important thing of reality, he implied, is our sense of its realness in contrast to our feeling that some things lack this quality. One can then ask under what conditions such a feeling is generated, and this question speaks to a small, manageable problem having to do with the camera and not what it is the camera takes pictures of.'¹⁹²

Three dimensions are of concern when working with photographs as sources. First of all, there is the domain of the photograph as a form of representation and a practice, the trait of the thing itself.¹⁹³ The trait of the photograph is that it assembles reality and therewith it demonstrates internalized beliefs of a perceptible order.¹⁹⁴ Secondly, the content of the photographs is important on the level of language, the 'reading' of photographs: What constitutes these photographs and how does this relate to signs, language and discourse? This thesis approaches a photograph as a documented experience, an arbitrarily slice of ongoing activity.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, a photograph cuts a 'surprising' situation from an ongoing stream of normative action.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, a photograph manifests a frame, an *imagined* organization of experience, based on different knowledge-systems (discourses). Thirdly, photographs, as part of a visual regime, resonate with accompanying photographs on the level of context, text and genre.

In contrast to language images are mute and this gives them the ability to represent non-verbal knowledge and experience.¹⁹⁷ Seeing comes before words, but what we see, we try to put in words.¹⁹⁸ An image is always an appearance of something in line with a way of seeing, a perceptible order.¹⁹⁹ In the case of photographs, this way of seeing directly evolves from the position of the photographer in space and time. The translation of photographs figuratively points to the 'that', 'there' or 'I/we/you/them' that is visible in the photo.²⁰⁰

¹⁹² Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 2.

¹⁹³ Jaques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting* (University of Chicago Press; 1987) 5.

¹⁹⁴ Berger, *Sight Unseen*, 1.

¹⁹⁵ Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 10-11.

¹⁹⁶ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 32-33.

¹⁹⁷ Peter Y. Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Reaktion Books, UK 2005) 9.

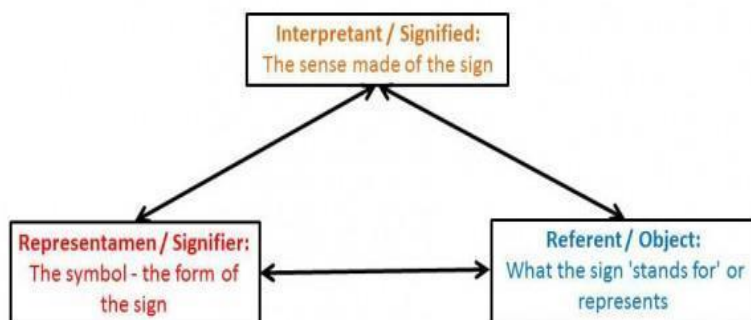
¹⁹⁸ Patricia Mohammed, *Imaging the Caribbean: Culture and Visual Translation* (Palgrave Macmillan, US 2010) 2-3; John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (Penguin Books, Great-Britain 2008) 7,9.

¹⁹⁹ Berger, *Ways of seeing*, 9-10; Mohammed, *Imagining the Caribbean*, 14.

²⁰⁰ Wagner, 'The personal versus the institutional voice' 251.

When we are reading photographs, Charles Sanders Peirce's semiotic triad of index-icon-symbol is a useful tool for understanding the processes at work. Firstly, photographs have an index, a summary of objects that were physically there when the photograph was taken.²⁰¹ Secondly, meaning arrives through the 'iconological': What do the indexical signs stand for in the broader temporal and cultural context? With other words, what kind of associations do depicted signs invite?²⁰² What do they connote? Departing from the assumption that photographs capture 'surprising' moments, depicted denotations can at the same time figure as connotations.²⁰³ Thirdly, the symbolic meaning of the photograph is arbitrary and determined by language. It is not solely based on the indices that are included in the photograph and does not summarize their iconological meaning, instead it focuses on form and interpretation. The symbolic meaning is given beyond the image, by the interpreter through language.²⁰⁴ Symbolism at work in a photograph captures the entire photograph.²⁰⁵

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²⁰¹ Paul Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 32,35.

²⁰² Ibidem, 32.

²⁰³ Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 32-33; Wagner, 'The personal versus the institutional voice' 251.

²⁰⁴ Clive Scott, *The Spoken Image: Photography and Language* (Reaktion Books, UK 1999) 41.

²⁰⁵ Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 32.

²⁰⁶ <https://www.decodedscience.org/charles-sanders-peirces-semiotics-the-triadic-model/22974/2> consulted at 11-02-2019.

Frame analysis in photography

As mentioned before, frame analysis seemed the most suitable method for this thesis because it enables the researcher to compare changes in representation. Moreover, frame analysis is also suited for this research as it allows for a broader gaze on the accumulative content of a group of photographs as well as a closer look at some 'iconic' images, because the framing of a photograph derives from the different knowledge systems at play. Thirdly, because frames emphasize the agency of the photographer through its subjective involvement in experience, the researcher can detect the interests and agencies involved.²⁰⁷

Erving Goffman describes a frame as a definition of a situation based on principles of organization and our subjective involvement in it.²⁰⁸ Framing includes a plot in interpretation and analysis because it produces an event, cut from the ongoing stream of time.²⁰⁹ To frame a situation is to ask oneself 'what is going on right now?'²¹⁰ The frame of a photograph thus firstly consists of the photograph itself and its confines. Secondly, it consists of the genre and culture the photograph correlates to, and thirdly, discourses are used in a frame as systems of knowledge.²¹¹

These three constituents are at play at the same time because a photograph is a cut from ongoing space and time, it captures a normative but 'surprising' situation understood through discourse and insinuated by the agency related to the genre and to the photographer who 'happens' to be in the same time and space.²¹² Thus the frame of a photograph is 'neither inside the work, nor outside the work', it 'disconcerts any opposition but does not remain indeterminate' and it 'gives rise to the work'.²¹³ Photographs are selective results of the cooperation between a frame and the framed, as they selectively define 'what is going on right here?' Supported by their reputation as replicas of real indices, their trait to 'truthfully' represent

²⁰⁷ Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism*, 13.

²⁰⁸ Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 10-11.

²⁰⁹ Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 30; Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 10.

²¹⁰ Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 8.

²¹¹ Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 30.

²¹² 'Surprising'; Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (Vintage Classics, London 2000) 33.

²¹³ Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, 9.

what is going on, photographs are considered by this thesis as a strong confirmation of discourse.

Methodology

In order to delve through the high amount of photographs and to attain insight into the discourses that were involved, the applied methodology was mosaic and circular. After constructing a historical overview focused on the contemporary relationship between the Netherlands and Curaçao (chapter 1) as well as an institutional overview (chapter 3), this thesis had to discover the thematic content and the chronological scope in the photographic archives of Curaçao.

To delve through the large amount of photographs I applied the quantitative methodology of content analysis which is focused on the 'repeatability' of content.²¹⁴ The practice of content analysis is simply 'tagging' the index of images to see which objects (*indices*) are most often depicted.²¹⁵ Simultaneously, I also 'timed' the photographs by noting their date of production. Due to time constraints, I was able to tag approximately 1480 photographs of the total amount of 10.167 photographs of Curaçao (see table 2.1). In the archive of the Brothers of Tilburg I skipped many photographs because this archive displayed constrained and one-sided content.

This (chronological) content analysis resulted in a selection of 647 photographs of Curaçao that maintained the most common tags and covered all periods. These photographs were stored at the digital photograph platform 'Flickr'.²¹⁶ As is generally known in the social research community, there are no hard criteria for the 'amount of data' with respect to content and frame analyses. But based on my intuition and the scope of this thesis, this amount of photographs was deemed to be sufficient in terms of feasibility, depth of analysis and 'representativeness'. Therefore, I decided to 'deepen' my analysis by focusing on the visual discourse in this set of photographs.

²¹⁴ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*,

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 86.

²¹⁶ See <https://www.flickr.com/photos/163166335@N07/albums/72157694193528755>, log in: thedutchcaribbean, password: dutchgaze

Table 2.1

Archive	Total	Tagged (approx.)
Atlas van Stolk	44	40
Museum of World Cultures	1389	700
Brothers of Tilburg	6604	200
The National Archive	1869	400
The Rijksmuseum	158	100
The Dutch Museum of Photography	103	40
Total	10.167	1480

For the reader's reference, I have selected 86 photographs to show in this thesis which seemed exemplary of the larger set of photographs. These images often were of great value and quality to my research question as they reflected several icons or perspectives, or even the relationship between icons and perspectives. After researching the content and time of production, I started with the analysis of 647 photographs within the chronological confines of the four periods mentioned above (chapters 4 to 7). The main question asked was: 'What was considered most telling about Curaçao according to different -mainly Dutch- photographers (individuals and institutions) and how did this change over the course of a hundred years? In short, 'what was going on' based on the subjective involvement of the photographers? To answer this question, I focused on the individual photographers, institutions and genres that arrived from the institutional contexts of each period. Hereafter I noted the main tags that were visible during this period by using the Flickr database. This resulted in a summary table at the start of the chapter. The next step was to analyse the main themes that were visible during each period by applying the triad of Peirce (index-icon-symbol). First, I tried to see which tags (index) could possibly function as icons. I assumed that icons represented broader associations (connotations) and could therefore stand for overarching themes. Each period forwarded 'an iconic complex' that revealed the main

themes with which Curaçao was described (discourse). Second, I attempted to reveal 'how themes were framed' by discussing the symbolic representation of a few selected photographs that maintained multiple icons. The questions asked were: What captured the entire photograph? What did this photograph stand for? And simultaneously I asked: 'What was going on there'? What was the apparent time plot and where did it 'all happen'? The time, subjects and spaces which were visible in the photographs determined how Curaçao was visually framed because these aspects reflected what was 'possible'.²¹⁷ Third, I made efforts to reconstruct the possible agencies maintained by the producers of the photographs by using the suggested time plots and the symbolic value (framing) of entire themes.

²¹⁷ Paul Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 69.

Chapter 3: The institutional context

‘Archives are not neutral; they embody the power inherent in accumulation, collection and hoarding as well as that power inherent in the command of the lexicon and rules of a language... any photography archive, no matter how small, appeals indirectly to these institutions for its authority.’²¹⁸

In a political field, institutions are arrangements of power and resources. Therefore over time, institutions will become routinized. The institutional field reflects material opportunities that come about from political opportunities.²¹⁹ This chapter will discuss the main institutions that were involved in the production of photograph collections concerning Curaçao which are now digitally available on the internet. The discussion also includes those institutions and private individuals that commissioned the photographs or produced photographic material themselves. It will mainly focus on the institutional site of production. In the following empirical chapters (chapters 4 to 7) the social site of production will be further discussed. It must be noted that not all the photographs in these archives are made by Dutch natives. Some belong to collections of the local Antillean elite or to local Curaçaoan or Surinamese photographers (for example Augusta Curiel (chapter 5), Soubllette & Fils (chapter 4)), but which eventually ended up in Dutch collections.

The approach of this chapter is twofold because, to use Koselleck’s argument, digital archives now contribute to the constellation of ‘future pasts’: the pasts that we construct today. On the other hand, the institutions that collected the photographs ‘back then’ envisioned a ‘future plot’ by actively picturing Curaçao.²²⁰ Due to the process of institutionalization in a nation’s political field, I follow the postmodern argument stated by Cook and Schwartz that archives are sites where dominant power structures are materialized.²²¹ In this regard, digital collections now can

²¹⁸ Alan Sekula, ‘The body and the archive’ in: R. Bolton ed., *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (MIT press London 1989) 155.

²¹⁹ Ferree, *Varieties of Feminism*, 12.

²²⁰ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Columbia 2004) 4, 262, 263.

²²¹ T. Cook and J.M. Schwartz, ‘Archives, Records and Power: From (postmodern) theory to (archival) performance’ in: *Archival Science*, 2 (3-4) (September 2002) 173; Quoted in: Mary Stevens, Andrew Flinn and Elizabeth Shepherd, ‘New frameworks for community engagement in the archive sector: From handing over to handing on’ in: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. Vol 16, no.1-2 (March 2010) 61.

different contexts and appeared to portray 'former futures': plots which were framed in time. I employed an institutional approach to gain deeper understanding of these aims and plots. First, I specifically examined which institutions or individuals were involved in the production of photographs. Then I examined the status of the different institutions by asking what their function was in the colonial/post-colonial era of the Netherlands and what possible motifs they could have to collect photographic material of Curaçao.

The National Archive (NA)

The Caribbean collection of the National Archive stored 1869 pictures, mostly taken by Dutch natives in Curaçao between 1935 and 1997. Most photographs were made between 1947 and 1975. These dates merged with the Dutch Caribbean autonomy negotiations (1947) and the independence of Suriname (1975). The official motive of this institute is to provide an accessible database of historical sources through which Dutch people can find their own related histories as well as the history of the Dutch community at large.²²⁶

Four different 'producing' collections concerning Curaçao were prominent in the National Archive. The largest collection was made between 1947 up to 1965 by 'court photographer' Willem van der Poll, who was also active in press photography (*Anefo*, *de Spiegel*) and in military photography in Java 1946 (*De Spiegel*, RVD).²²⁷ Van der Poll was a close friend of Prince Bernard and he maintained an optimistic approach towards Dutch colonialism in Indonesia and the Caribbean.²²⁸ In his documentation of colonial areas, he mostly sketched a favourable and humanitarian image of Dutch dominance.²²⁹ In his Antillean collections, he documented all royal visits to Curaçao after the Second World War (1947, 1955, 1965). The symbolic function of the Queen became important from 1947 onwards, when it was clear that the Dutch Antilles would become an equal partner within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. As a symbol of the Kingdom, visits of the Queen confirmed the affinity of the former colony with the Dutch community.²³⁰ The

²²⁶ <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/over-het-na/ons-verhaal> consulted by Madeleine Brozek 21-08-2018.

²²⁷ Ton de Jong & Jeroen Ketelaar, 'De Caraïbische fotocollectie van de fraters van Tilburg' in: *Oso*, 1 (2001) 136; Louis Zweers, *Willem van der Poll* (Terra, Amsterdam 2005) 5, 29.

²²⁸ Zweers, Van der Poll, 30, 32, 37.

²²⁹ *Ibidem*, 30-32.

²³⁰ Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, 48, 53, 102.

first collection Van der Poll made in 1947 ended up in his book 'The Dutch Antilles' (1950).²³¹ This collection had a strong documentary character as it captured many aspects of the island. The collection made in 1955 as well documented on much more than only the royal visit and was partly included in the reprint of 'The Dutch Antilles' (1960) and in the book 'Royal visit. The Dutch Antilles' (1955).²³²

The second major collections were foremost media-related and commissioned by *Elsevier* in the 1960s and 1970s and by ANP (*Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau*) in 1969. Elsevier was a right-wing magazine that disagreed with decolonisation. In their view this could only lead to 'social-economical problems' in the colonies.²³³ Their interest was possibly driven by their vision of the Netherlands as a (former) colonial empire. The ANP distributed press pictures of the riot in May 1969.

During the Second World War the Dutch government in exile and the Dutch military had created *Anefo* (*Algemeen Nederlands Fotopersbureau*).²³⁴ *Anefo* had the task to distribute photographs about social and economic themes after the war.²³⁵ Especially the devastation of the war had to be put on camera, but also the Dutch involvement with the allied forces.²³⁶ In the National Archive there were *Anefo* pictures which were made in Curaçao during the war. The Curaçaoan oil provision to the allied forces probably played a role in this documentation.²³⁷ Since the 1940s the Dutch government also maintained a photograph department that was situated inside the RVD (*Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst*). The RVD was an official governmental-body that 'informed' the Dutch government but also communicated Dutch policy, aims and 'morals' to foreign countries.²³⁸ The RVD nowadays figures as the spokesman of the Prime Minister, the cabinet and the royal house.²³⁹ The Dutch verb '*voorlichten*' means to inform and denotes a strong subjective interpretation of the information provided.²⁴⁰ The RVD photograph collection was meant to distribute photographs of the Netherlands, the Dutch royal family, the Dutch army

²³¹ Zweers, Willem van der Poll, 32, 37. The Dutch title of the of the book of 1955: *Koninklijk bezoek. De Nederlandse Antillen* (1955).

²³² Willem van der Poll, *De Nederlandse Antillen* (Van de Hoeve, 's Gravenhove 1960) 5-16.

²³³ Gerry van der List, *Meer dan een weekblad: de geschiedenis van Elsevier* (Bert Bakker, Amsterdam 2005) 89.

²³⁴ Erwin Eskes, *Het algemeen Nederlandsch Fotobureau in beeld*, Master Thesis Erasmus Universiteit (Rotterdam 2010) 21, 36.

²³⁵ *Ibidem*, 37, 66.

²³⁶ *Ibidem*, 66, 37, 30.

²³⁷ Van den Doel, *Zo ver de Wereld Strekt*, 327.

²³⁸ Eskes, *Anefo*, 42, 30.

²³⁹ <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/ministeries/ministerie-van-algemene-zaken/organisatie/organogram/rijksvoorlichtingsdienst>, Consulted at 24-05-2019.

²⁴⁰ Eskes, *Anefo*, 3.

or the Dutch government to foreign countries.²⁴¹ Moreover, the RVD wanted to create a national photographic archive for the sake of 'future' writing of history.²⁴² The RVD took pictures of Curaçao in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. It is not clear whether or when these photographs were made public.

The producing institutions of which the photographs were kept in the National Archive were mainly (right-wing) Dutch media, the Dutch royal house, the Dutch army and the Dutch government. The post-war and post-autonomy periods were specifically documented in these collections and the different-institutions involved were closely related. *Anefo* was created by the Dutch government and the Dutch military. The RVD made photographs concerning 'Dutch' themes such as political moral, political aims and the royal house. In turn, 'court photographer' Willem van der Poll was allowed to photograph the royal family while at the same time he also worked for *Anefo*.²⁴³ The plot of these productions correlated with the aims of the RVD that wanted to produce a Dutch photograph archive which contained Dutch war efforts, Dutch moral, Dutch history, Dutch aims in foreign relations, and Dutch politics in general.

The National Museum of World Cultures (NMVW)

The Caribbean archive of 'NMVW' (Dutch *Museum of World Cultures*) counted 1389 photographs of Curaçao.²⁴⁴ This archive was established in 2016 by the fusion of the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the World Museum in Rotterdam, the Africa Museum in Berg en Dal and the Museum of the Tropics in Amsterdam. Chronologically, this archive was vast with the first photographs made in 1889 and the latest around 2000. Currently, the Museum of World Cultures claims to tell the story of 'humans' and it relays a universal image of humans which goes beyond local differences.²⁴⁵ The four museums of NMVW had different historical motifs for collecting objects or images from 'other cultures'. The Museum of Ethnology of Leiden merely collected items from China, Indonesia and Japan and was therefore not relevant to this thesis.²⁴⁶ Also the archive of

²⁴¹ Eskes, *Anefo*, 3, 42, 30.

²⁴² *Ibidem*, 31.

²⁴³ *Ibidem*, 45.

²⁴⁴ Stated by Ingeborg Eggink, conservator photography museum for world cultures the Netherlands, 17 april 2018.

²⁴⁵ <http://museumovermensen.nl/> consulted at 01-02-2019.

²⁴⁶ <https://www.volkenkunde.nl/nl/themas/geschiedenis-museum-volkenkunde> consulted at 01-02-2019.

the Africa Museum was not consulted because it only contained African objects and photographs.²⁴⁷ The producing institutions of the Curaçaoan photographs were mainly the World Museum and the Museum of The Tropics.

The Museum of the Tropics, situated in Amsterdam, evolved from the 'Colonial Museum' in Haarlem which was founded in 1865.²⁴⁸ The mission of this museum was to collect artefacts and products from the Dutch colonies. Its orientation was strongly material: 'trade-products', colonial 'resources' and 'raw materials' were the most preferred objects.²⁴⁹ All the objects were donated by individuals that worked in or traded with the colonies, including; administrators, missionaries, scientists, military personnel or private investors.²⁵⁰ Especially private individuals and missionaries donated photographs.²⁵¹ In 1910 the museum moved to Amsterdam and became the Royal Colonial Institute.²⁵² This institute had three departments: trade (tropical products), tropical hygiene and anthropology.²⁵³ Its main purpose was to disperse economic, geographic and ethnographic knowledge about the colonies.²⁵⁴ After the loss of Indonesia (1946), the museum changed its name into the Museum of the Tropics and adopted a new policy that focused on the entire 'tropics' and specifically at the Antilles and Suriname.²⁵⁵ Besides, exhibitions became more 'theme' oriented instead of 'object' oriented.²⁵⁶ From the 1960s onwards the museum maintained employees that 'collected' artefacts and products in other continents.²⁵⁷ The museum also hired professional photographers for these efforts (Boy Lawson, chapter 6 and Jaap de Jonge, Frans Fontaine, chapter 7).²⁵⁸

The World Museum of Rotterdam evolved from the Royal Yacht Club of prince Hendrik which was established in 1851. Over time, members of the club donated foreign maritime and ethnographic objects to the club. In 1873 prince Hendrik turned the resulting collection into the 'Maritime Museum'. Because many objects came from other continents, the museum changed its name to Museum for Geography and Ethnography in 1885. According to the museum's website

²⁴⁷ <https://www.afrikamuseum.nl/nl/themas/geschiedenis-afrika-museum> consulted at 01-02-2019.

²⁴⁸ David van Duuren, *125 Jaar verzamelen: Tropenmuseum, koninklijk instituut voor de tropen* (Tropenmuseum Amsterdam 1990) 13.

²⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 15.

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, 21.

²⁵¹ *Ibidem*, 6.

²⁵² *Ibidem*, 23, 25.

²⁵³ *Ibidem*, 25.

²⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, 25.

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, 33.

²⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 7.

²⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 37.

²⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 6.

the entire collection of the World Museum has been collected and donated by private individuals from Rotterdam.²⁵⁹ It is not clear when the Museum changed its name to 'World Museum' and if the museum commissioned for photographs itself, apart from donations.

Before 1946 the Curaçaoan photographic archive stored in NMVW was mainly collected by individuals from an interest in the ethnography, geography and economy (trade, products) of the colonies. After 1946 the focus extended to the entire tropics and during the 1960s an anthropological orientation was adopted. In this archive a wide variety of 'local' photographers (Soubllette & Fils, Augsuta Curiel (Suriname), Anonymous elite) were traceable as well as Dutch ethnographers, photographers and geographers (Boy Lawson 1960s, Frans Fontaine 1980s, Jean Demmeni 1900s, Jaap de Jonge 1980s and Claudius de Goeje 1920s). Also KLM and Shell have donated photographs to the archive (1950s-1960s).

Atlas van Stolk (AS)

The collection of '*Atlas van Stolk*' was established in 1885 by the Rotterdam wood tradesman Abraham van Stolk due to his interest for Dutch history. Nowadays 'Dutch' history is the central theme of the collection.²⁶⁰ In this small archive the chronology within the Caribbean collection was quite wide as it stored photos from the 1900s until as late as 2014. It counts only 44 photographs of Curaçao.

The photo-producing institutions varied widely within this archive. I could find local postcard producers between 1890-1920, local Curaçaoan-Jewish photographers (Fred Fisher and others) and the Rotterdam photographer Vincent Menzel. The entire collection of Mentzel was kept by the archive for the sake of 'Rotterdam heritage'.²⁶¹ The other photographs (postcards, anonymous/local photographers) could also fit in this plot, as Rotterdam was and is a harbour city where many products arrive, including post cards. A plot of maritime, colonial and municipal history seemed to be detectable in these collections of Curaçaoan photographs.

²⁵⁹ <https://www.wereldmuseum.nl/nl/themas/geschiedenis-wereldmuseum> consulted at 02-02-2019.

²⁶⁰ 'Stichting Abraham van Stolk,' Atlas van Stolk, consulted by Madeleine Brozek 30 August 2018, http://www.atlasvanstolk.nl/sites/default/files/het-museum/stichting-abraham-van-stolk-2018_0.pdf. consulted at 12-09-2018.

²⁶¹ The Curaçaoan collection of Menzel is not consulted in this thesis because of its small size.

Rijksmuseum (RM)

The next archive consulted was stored at the Rijksmuseum. Its official motive is to conserve, research and display the 'most important' items of Dutch (art) history, European art and Asian art. The museum aims to provide a space for a multicultural, international audience.²⁶² This museum combines historical, artistic and educational purposes for collection and display. The photographs concerning Curaçao (total of 158) could be publicly consulted at the '*Rijksstudio*' which is a digital platform where private individuals can collect their own images under their individual profiles. Chronologically, the Rijksstudio stored pictures of Curaçao from 1900 to 2010.

This archive especially possessed photograph albums from Dutch individuals who had stayed at Curaçao as tourist, expat or official (Andries Augustus Boom (1910), Hendrik ter Keurs (1940), Polidorus Ego (1920) and Eva Pennink (1960)) or Dutch photographers who had travelled there to document Curaçao (Diepraam 1970s and Frech 2010). These albums were donated to the Rijksmuseum by the respective photographers or their descendants.²⁶³ This archive therefore maintained individual Dutch images of Curaçao, the outsiders gaze, and was not particularly bound to an institution. Because the photographers resided temporarily at the island during different periods and for different reasons, this archive preserved insights into the frames of 'the tourist' (Pennink), the 'expat' (Keurs), the 'official' (Ego, Boom), the Dutch left (Diepraam) as well as the frame of artistic photography (Fresch).

²⁶² 'Visie en missie,' Rijksmuseum, consulted by Madeleine Brozek 29 August 2018, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/organisatie/visie-en-missie>.

²⁶³ See for example the photo-albums of Andries Augustus Boom, donated by one of his descendants: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?q=Andries+Augustus+Boom&p=1&ps=12&st=Objects&ii=5#/NG-2009-124-30-1,5> consulted at 02-05-2019.

The Brothers of Tilburg (CFT)

The fourth photographic archive which was analysed was stored in the archive of the 'Brothers of Tilburg' (*Collectie Fraters van Tilburg*), but digitally accessible through the regional archive of Brabant. This archive stored around 6604 photographs of Curaçao taken between 1886 and 1995.²⁶⁴ According to the regional archive of Brabant, the photographs were 'Caribbean heritage' and unveiled the ideas the Brothers of Tilburg had about the 'local' population.²⁶⁵

The producing institution of this archive mainly consisted of the missionary brothers themselves, who took photographs when they lived in Curaçao. But also professional photographers (Van der Poll, Fischer) and local studios (Soubllette & Fils) donated to the brothers' archive.²⁶⁶ As the 'colonisers among the colonised', the Brothers of Tilburg stayed for a longer time on the island than other Dutch visitors. Besides, the brothers often resided in the rural districts (*buitendistricten*) and were in daily contact with the Afro-Curaçaoan population. Collecting photographs must have served different functions. Firstly, it preserved personal and social memories of the brothers on mission in Curaçao. These photographs 'accidentally' ended up in the archive in Tilburg.²⁶⁷ Secondly, it documented the brothers mission in the Caribbean, in this case in Curaçao. This assumes that these photographs were deliberately made for the archive.²⁶⁸ Thirdly, it preserved Dutch 'Catholic' heritage and therewith Dutch Catholic identity and history. Finally, because the brothers of Tilburg were part of Curaçaoan Catholic daily life, this archive also contains Curaçaoan heritage.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ De Jong & Ketelaar, 'De Caraïbische fotocollectie van de fraters van Tilburg', 134.

²⁶⁵ <http://www.caribischerfgoed.nl/> consulted by Madeleine Brozek 22-08-2018.

²⁶⁶ De Jong & Ketelaar, 'De caraïbische fotocollectie van de fraters van Tilburg', 136.

²⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, 137.

²⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, 137.

²⁶⁹ Restated by Rien Vissers, archivist of the archive of the brothers of Tilburg, quoted in: De Jong & Ketelaar, 'De Caraïbische collective van de fraters van Tilburg', 135.

The Dutch Museum of Photography (DFM)

Finally, I consulted the archive of the Dutch Museum of Photography. This museum aims to broadcast photography in all its facets, as something artistic, experimental but also as something documentary and historic.²⁷⁰ The pictures taken in Curaçao (103) that could be found in the archive ranged between 1880 and 1979.

About sixty photographs in the Curaçaoan collection of the Museum of Photography actually came from the collection of the World Museum Rotterdam (62%). The photographers were not mentioned (anonymous). This was remarkably looking at the high quality of the photographs. It was noticeable that the Dutch Museum of Photography also contained many postcards that came from the World Museum. These often carried Spanish and English captions. It is therefore assumable that these postcards were taken from Curaçao to the Netherlands by travellers from Rotterdam (who donated them to the World Museum), but that they were initially made by local producers. Generally, apart from the postcards, the aims for collection by the producers were the same as in the archive of the Museum of World Cultures. Later on, in adopting material from the NMWC, the Dutch Museum of Photography museum probably selected for photographic quality.

²⁷⁰ 'Over het museum,' Nederlands Fotomuseum, consulted by Madeleine Brozek 29 August 2018, <https://www.nederlandsfotomuseum.nl/over-het-museum/>.

Chapter 4: The imperial period and ethical policy, 1900-1920

This chapter discusses the analysis of Dutch photo collections concerning Curaçao from the period 1900 until 1920. This chapter shall explore the iconic complex pertaining to Curaçao in this period (what was going on there?) and shall explore the social site of the production of the photographs (who made them?). It will especially pay attention whether imperialism or ethical policy played a role in framing.

All the observations are summarized in table 4.1 which will be discussed below.

Table 4.1²⁷¹

Collection 1900-1920	Genres	Photographers	Index (tags)	Themes (Iconic Complex)
Brothers of Tilburg	Social photography Leisure photography Landscape photography	The missionary-self (brother)	Brothers Children Schools Family Locals House Hut Veranda Women Landscape Harbour Plantation Monastery Church	Poverty The tropical The colonised The self The mission
Museum of World Cultures	Ethnographic photography Landscape photography Social photography Geophotography	Local photo studio of Soublette & Fils Dutch photographer (anonymous) Local photographer (anonymous)	Small industries Harbour Willemstad Plantation Landscape The local elitist self Locals	Geography Sea trade Economy Dutch colonialism Discovery Labour

²⁷¹ The National Archive did not contain photographs from this period.

Atlas van Stolk	Postcards: Landscape photography, Geophotography Travel photography	Local photo- studios Dutch visitor or traveller	Colonial government Dutch flag Colonial fort Plantation	Dutch colonialism Discovery
Rijksmuseum	-Social photography -Landscape photography	The Dutch official Andries Augustus Boom	Harbour Willemstad Cactus Landscape Local The self	Geography Dutch colonialism The tropical Slavery
Dutch Museum of Photography	-Ethnologic photography -Geophotography	Local photographer (anonymous) Local photo studio of Soubllette & Fils Dutch photographer (anonymous)	Small industries Harbour Market Locals	Sea trade Geography Economy

Dutch visitors and local photographers

Because of the financial means needed to buy and maintain a camera in the beginning of the twentieth century, it is likely that the main producers of the collections were Dutch officials, others with a Dutch background living or working in Curaçao or the local (colonial) elite (see table 4.1).²⁷² This assumption is supported by the depictions of the ‘Dutch self’ in the collection of the Rijksmuseum (Dutch official Andries Augustus Boom) and the ‘local, elitist self’ in the collection of the Museum of World Cultures (see image 4.1 for the local elitist self, and images 4.3 and 4.4 for the Dutch self).

Unfortunately, many photographs in the digital archive of the Museum of World Cultures were donated anonymously. It is therefore difficult to trace the exact origins of these

²⁷² Paul Bijl, *Emerging Memory*, 30-31.

images, but there is circumstantial evidence that suggests that both Dutch photographers (see the photographs of Jean Demmeni) and local, elitist photographers were involved. A large amount of photographs in the archive of the Museum of World Cultures were produced by the local photo studio Soubllette & Fils. Although the Soubllette family originally belonged to the white middle-class, they were the 'court photographers' since 1906, meaning de facto that they were part of the local elite. This explains the presence of the 'local, elitist self' in a part of the collection of the Museum of World Cultures. Steven Wachlin, an authority on Caribbean photography, mentions that about thirty professional photographers worked in Curaçao around 1900.²⁷³ There is a good chance that local, elitist photographers, inspired by Soubllette & Fils, produced photographic material specifically for the Dutch market, therefore anticipating a Dutch audience.

Dutch missionaries have also produced photographic material of Curaçao between 1900-1920. The collection of the brothers of Tilburg's photographs mainly represented the perspectives of the missionaries, but photographs of Soubllette & Fils were present in this archive as well. The 'archives' voice' was included in some captions and descriptions of photographs. In the latter part of this chapter the missionary archive shall be discussed separately.

The photographic collections in the period 1900-1920 also included a commercial genre of postcards that are now stored in the archive of Atlas van Stolk. The producers of these postcards were probably locals. According to Steven Wachlin, most local photographers at Curaçao, including Soubllette & Fils, were involved in the post-card business.²⁷⁴ As Curaçao had an important harbour, the demand for postcards was high.²⁷⁵ These postcards were designed for a wider, international audience and thus were often bilingual.

²⁷³ Jacob Adriaan Schiltkamp red., *Soubllette et Fils: Photography in Curaçao around 1900* (Willemstad 1999) 8, 142-143.

²⁷⁴ Schiltkamp red., *Soubllette et Fils*, 142-143, 36-37.

²⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, 37.



4.1: Anonymous, 'A plantation owner next to a great Agave plant' (1905).



4.2: Andries Augustus Boom, 'Ernita en Maria de Vries', (1912).



4.3: Andries A. Boom, 'Cactuses at Curaçao' (1905).



4.4: Jean Demmeni, 'Willemstad-Curaçao: Sight at Harbour' (1913).

Imperial gaze?

The local photographers and the Dutch 'visitors' predominantly photographed objects such as ships, landscapes, industries, the harbour, plantations, and Willemstad which 'iconically' referred to broader themes as economy, trade, colonialism and geography (see table 4.1). I mention geography here both as a theme and a genre, because space and place seemed to be basic traits of many photographs (Geophotography, see table 4.1). In this thesis, Geography is defined as the study of place and space and how people make use of it.²⁷⁶ Both photographs of landscapes and of industries fitted in this theme. Moreover, it could be argued that the European discipline of geography served the Western search for usable (tropical) land to enrich and enlarge the 'empire'. When photographed by Dutch visitors, the portrayed geography in the collections partly reflected an 'outsider's gaze'. This outsider's gaze looked to be based on power imbalances originating from the colonial situation. Therefore, this thesis conceives geography as Edward Saïd's concept of 'imaginative geography': 'Consequently, the study of 'barbarian lands' was a geographical survey of a place and a people that was poetically distanced from the progressive, European standard'.²⁷⁷

In the Dutch and local-elitist gaze the local landscape was often pictured from a high angle position. This position of an overseer arbitrarily appeared to symbolize topographic 'knowledge' but also control of the landscapes pictured. For example, image 4.4 was used in Dutch schools to educate pupils about the colonies. The photographer, Jean Demmeni, worked as photographer in expeditions but he was also a topographer.²⁷⁸ The photograph exhibits the gaze from uphill, looking over the harbour entrance of Willemstad. The depiction of Dutch-style architecture and the Dutch flag was likely used to strengthen the frame of 'ownership' of Curaçao: the faraway harbour seems to be branded and claimed as being Dutch.

When picturing geography Dutch photographs appeared to specifically use 'tropical icons' as palm trees and cactuses to poetically frame the landscape as being exotic. This frame seemed to be further stressed by illuminating the stark contrast between 'civil' and

²⁷⁶ Edward Saïd, *Orientalism*, 54, 215-216.

²⁷⁷ Saïd, *Orientalism*, 54, 55.

²⁷⁸ <https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/#/query/82a3a82c-10f3-46da-8b3f-793479b8cd06>, consulted at 03-05-2019.

‘wild’ through negative comparison.²⁷⁹ In image 4.3, for example, the tropical is emphasized by the civilized family posing in front of the exotic objects such as cactuses and rocks.

When picturing local people apart from the local elite, especially black locals were photographed. The Dutch official Andries Augustus Boom barely made photos of black local people outside of the household, and in this regard it could be argued that the ‘other’ was part of the ‘self’. For instance, in image 4.2, the ‘*jaja*’ (nanny) is quietly standing between the two girls, but she does not seem to be posing, and in this sense her individuality appears to be ignored.²⁸⁰ She could be seen as an icon of servitude and the girls icons of the civilized coloniser with servants under command. Her ‘function’ in the household as nanny of two white children is the main meaning of her depiction. This is emphasized by the photograph’s caption which mentions the names of the small girls, recognizing their individuality. Generally speaking, the profession of ‘*jaja*’ enjoyed a high status in Curaçao because the nanny took care of the children of local elites and Dutch residents.²⁸¹ This makes it even more remarkable that she is not mentioned by name in this photograph. The local appears to be ‘owned’ by the self (i.e. it is part of the self) and it therefore could be argued that the photograph symbolizes the superiority of the white class.

In the other photographs, black locals were also not mentioned by name. The local lens captured the Afro-Curaçaoan population apparently busy with everyday life, often working or just walking by (see image 4.5). In this gaze black locals remained anonymous and were photographed as though ‘mute’ bystanders of the (imagined) geography or economy. In image 4.5, for instance, the workers do not look to be the eye-catchers of the photograph. Indeed, the ship seems to be the punctum of the image, and along with the large pile of salt at the right, it reflects the main icons of sea trade, discovery and the ‘exotic’ (salt was a typical Caribbean product). The entire photograph implies colonial trade in tropical products: the people in the image are mainly black, representing the former slaves, and they appear to be working hard, suggesting a ‘lively’ local economy. The local lens mainly photographed scenes of the economy (hat-making, peeling of fruits).

²⁷⁹ Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black*, 11.

²⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 35.

²⁸¹ Henny E. Coomans, Maritza Coomans-Eustatia & Johan van ’t Leven, *Veranderend Curaçao: Collectie essays opgedragen aan Lionel Capriles ter gelegenheid van zijn 45-jarig jubileum bij de Maduro & Curiels bank N.V.* (Stichting Libri Antilliani, Bloemendaal 1999) 33.



4.5: Soubllette & Fils, 'Salt is packed in bags from the salt-hill towards the ship' (1890-1910).



4.6: Anonymous, 'Government House' (around 1900).



4.7: Anonymous, 'Família de Negros, Curaçao' (undated).



4.8: Anonymous, 'Rest after a walk' (1920).

As table 4.1 suggests, the postcards in the archive of Atlas van Stolk embodied the 'commercial perspective'. These postcards often appeared to reduce Curaçao into a Dutch colonial harbour. They often explicitly demonstrated icons of Dutch colonialism such as the Dutch flag, Dutch colonial buildings and forts. For example, the trilingual postcard in image 4.6 creates a strong impression of 'a visit to a Dutch colony' by showing a view from the sea on a 'Government House' bolstering Dutch flags, both icons of colonialism and the Dutch nation.

Apart from Dutch colonialism, 'imperialism' seemed to be a theme in the depiction of 'black locals' and 'colonial architecture' through all archives. Colonial buildings probably figured as icons of European progress and Dutch colonialism. The depiction of black locals appeared to represent the colonised, exotic/inferior others. In image 4.7, for instance, black locals are described as 'a family of negroes', and because only women and children are portrayed they strike one as being icons of dependence and vulnerability.²⁸² Imaging of local children revealed patterns of paternalism and patronage.²⁸³ They are sitting in front of their native huts that sharply contrast European architecture. Because they are all well dressed, the photograph suggests that they are integrated into the culture of the coloniser and that they are 'taken care off'.

The Catholic perspective

The last perspective discussed here is that of the missionary 'speaker' as represented by the collection of the brothers of Tilburg. The institutional and social context of the brothers formed a case apart. In contrast to Dutch visitors, missionaries often resided for long periods of time on the island and they were in daily contact with the local population. As the 'colonisers among the colonised', these brothers were culturally part of the colonial Dutch elite, but religiously they were motivated to 'educate' and support the local population. Socially and religiously they were a distinct group, partly because they lived in their monastery communities, and partly because in the Dutch-Protestant context Catholics were seen as second-class citizens in the Netherlands.²⁸⁴

Many photographs in the brothers' collection were labelled with captions. These captions were both descriptive and interpretative, but they appeared to quite clearly accumulate to the 'archive', because throughout the collection the subtexts followed the same trends. These captions are also discussed in the following section because they frame

²⁸² Orsolya Endrody-Nagy, 'Images and iconography in cross-cultural context' in: *Research Gate* (Bulgaria 2017) 68.

²⁸³ Nederveen Pieterse, *White on black*, 233.

²⁸⁴ Dr. A.F. Paula, *From Objective to Subjective Social Barriers: a Historico-philosophical analysis of certain negative attitudes among the negroid population of Curaçao* (De Curacaosche courant 1972) 3; De Jong & Ketelaar, 'De Caraïbische fotocollectie van de fraters van Tilburg' 146.

in a distinctive way and thereby determine a way of looking.

As shown in table 4.1 the missionaries appeared to especially photograph 'the self', often occurring in the genre of social photography. The self was many times depicted in front of a class, in group portraits or in leisure activities, always with seemingly good manners and dignity. In image 4.8, for example, the brothers are resting in nature. The one on top seems to reflect on something in silence, while the other two appear to be in a peaceful conversation. Because they are sitting uphill, they could be associated with symbols of superiority and power. Picturing the self as icon of devoted Catholic may have been caused by the mission itself and the fact that financial support was needed.²⁸⁵ Especially the genres of social photography, travel photography and landscape photography appeared to correspond with the imaging of the missionary self.



4.9: Anonymous, 'St Thomas college and grateful boys' (1904).

The missionary self was also often depicted with the local, black population. This frequently seem to occur with the self in a hegemonic position opposite the other. Typical

²⁸⁵ Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 55.

for this genre of missionary activity, the self looked to be an icon of European supremacy and righteousness. Moreover, the self most frequently appeared to be depicted as the 'bringer of good', extensively framed in the subtext which mentioned the 'gratitude' of the local boys/population (see image 4.9 and subtext). In the captions the archive's voice seemed to primarily frame the photographs as advertisers of the mission and associated ethical policy. Nevertheless, as 'colonisers among the colonised' the brothers appeared to be genuinely looking for contact with the local black population. For example, in image 4.10 a brother lays his arm on the shoulder of what seems to be an old local servant. The caption states that a brother said farewell to a house-servant, symbolically referring to care and friendship. This explanation perceived the local men as 'servant' and the brother as a kind 'master'. This perception correlated with the social structures of slavery, but it was apparently framed as missionary charity. In totality, this photograph seemed to stand for Catholic care of the needy.

'The other' was especially represented by the local black population. Most frequently the brothers portrayed black locals earnestly posing in front of their house or hut with their entire family. These family shots mainly showed females and children who could be seen as icons of vulnerability and dependency.²⁸⁶ But sometimes males were also photographed as 'fathers'. As can be seen in images 4.11 and 4.6, many times photographers purported that black locals had many children. In this regard, similarities with Dutch-Catholic life were drawn as these families seemed to be symbolically represented as the 'Catholic, rural poor'. The other was part of the self. However, European visualizations of Africa seemed to be emphasized by picturing these locals sitting on the ground or flocked by their 'huts' (see images 4.10 and 4.11). In this regard, the other looked to be very different than the self.

The brothers arguably perceived black locals more as a group than as individual human beings: captions under the photographs described individuals as 'negro' and their houses as 'negro huts'. Frequently captions described the 'negroes' as 'poor' and as a 'project group'. This framing was probably aimed to incite sympathy for the mission 'at home' by broadcasting poverty and 'barbarian' living conditions.²⁸⁷ The mission needed some propaganda in order to receive enough funding.²⁸⁸ Indeed, the photographs looked to be

²⁸⁶ Endrody-Nagy, 'Images and iconography in cross-cultural context', 68.

²⁸⁷ Margot Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 56.

²⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, 55.

advertising the effect of the mission, and to evoke sympathy from the viewer locals seemed to be mostly depicted as obedient and tranquil.²⁸⁹ Generally, it can be argued that the missionary perceived the other as ‘project of the self’ and thereby a projection of the self in negative comparison. The ‘negro’ needed help but did not resemble the Dutchmen that helped him. However, the missionary gaze seemed to presume that in due time the ‘grateful’ black local could become a ‘quiet replica’ of the self.



4.10: Anonymous, ‘Brother says goodbye to house servant’ (1919).

²⁸⁹ Margot Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 55, 56, 25, 28, 30.



4.11: Anonymous, 'Negro-house under construction' (1919).



4.12: Anonymous, 'Land-road' (1919).

What was going on there? The possible and the unseen

During the period of 'ethical policy and imperialism', running from 1900 up to 1920, the imperial or ethical frame was not explicitly visible. The photographs of Dutch officials or anonymous Dutch photographers seemed to specifically articulate the temporality of their

stay at a tropical location (tropical icons and the self). Due to the absence of political icons, they also did not suggest involvement of the Netherlands in future affairs of Curaçao. Besides, the local inhabitant seemed to be specifically framed as a mute and anonymous servant in the household, as part of the self, but on a distance. However, colonial architecture and the supreme self versus the 'exotic' local conveyed a sense of white superiority.

In contrast, the missionary gaze was suggestive of both markers of ethical policy and imperialism. With the apparent depiction of the missionary self as the bringer of good and the local as the 'poor' project, a future of Catholic responsibility seemed to be sketched. The Catholics probably wanted to propagate their ethical mission in Curaçao to a Dutch audience. Local photographers highlighted the economic prospects of the island, which was possibly an attempt to maintain Dutch interest in Curaçao.

The local photographer looked to be focusing on 'economic potential' of the landscapes by using icons of trade/economy (ships, harbour) and labour (locals). Locals appeared to be portrayed as 'mute' workers of local industries such as shipping or the peeling of oranges (see image 4.13). In this regard, the local could be perceived as part of the economy but not part of the self. Because mostly economic 'places' were photographed, there was not clearly a time plot visible in the gaze of the local photographer. Photographs seemed to mainly deal with the current economic situation.

The Afro-Creole culture did not appear to be part of any perspective. The Afro-population was solely pictured dressed in European clothing or attending a Catholic school or European household. Black locals seemed to be solely portrayed as servants, laborers or missionary pupils and never in a position of status. Also Jewish life or Protestant life was not explicitly visible. In this regard, Curaçao appeared to be framed as a culturally distant place. This was further confirmed by the absence of 'political icons'. Moreover, there were no photographs of interiors of buildings or houses, except in the collection of the missionaries. This suggested that Dutch residence in Curaçao was only meant temporally and a certain 'distance' should be kept to the island: there was 'no time' to look beyond the exterior because there was no (political/colonial) future implied.



4.13: Anonymous, 'The peeling of oranges at plantation Cas Cora' (1900).

Chapter 5: Industrialization, 'rediscovery' and recolonisation: 1920-1954

'Photography is geography made easy'.²⁹⁰

This section discusses the production of the Dutch photograph collections that have been made between approximately 1920 until 1954. During this period Dutch political, social and economic attention for the colony of Curaçao started to grow as the oil industry settled down.²⁹¹

Nevertheless, during the Second World War the Netherlands started to aim for a different, more autonomous position of its colonies. This eventually resulted in the Charter of 1954. In less than forty years Curaçao and its relationship with the Netherlands changed severely. This chapter will especially focus whether the Dutch photographic imagination of Curaçao changed during this period and what could be the reasons for this in light of the institutional, personal or socio-political/historical context. During the aforementioned period photography became more widely used because cameras became cheaper, smaller and more manageable. Not only the elite but also the middle-classes could afford to purchase a camera. Also media-photography was on the rise.²⁹² In effect a steady grow of different producing institutions and individuals was noticeable in this period.

All the observations are summarized in table 5.1 which will be discussed below.

²⁹⁰ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the visualization of the British Empire* (Reaktion Books, London 1997) 21.

²⁹¹ Oostindie & Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean*, 60; Dalhuisen, *Geschiedenis van de Antillen*, 31.

²⁹² Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*, 515, 602-603.

Table 5.1²⁹³

Collection 1920-1954	Genres	Social site of production: Photographers or institutions	Tags and icons	Themes (iconic complex)
Rijksmuseum	Social photography Travel photography 'Geophotography' Landscape photography Ethnological photography	Dutch official Polidorus Ego (police) Dutch Shell expat Hendrik ter Keurs Anonymous photographer	Police Bay Quay Willemstad Street view Governor's house Harbour Statue queen Rocks Palm Ships Beach Oil-refinery Dutch flag Locals Car Cactus Nanny Local women	'Tropical' Industry Sea-trade Dutch colonialism 'Antillean'
Museum of World Cultures	'Geophotography' Ethnological photography Landscape photography Documentary photography	Dutch photographers Dutch 'expat' Local elite: Industrial elite (photographs of 'personnel') 'Caribbean elite': Augusta Curiel (59 photos in 1927-1928) Dutch geographer De Goeje	Fort Dutch flag 'Landhuis' (manor house) Willemstad Bridge Airport Shops (Black) locals Local women Industry (Phosphate and petroleum) Colonial buildings Governor Catholic priests/brothers Nature Beach	Industry and progress Geography Dutch Colonialism Nature Coastline Sea trade The other Social elite life The exotic

²⁹³ The Dutch Museum of Photography was not consulted for this period, because all photographs that were available in this archive initially came from the World Museum Rotterdam. Atlas van Stolk was also not consulted because this archive did not contain photographs between 1920 until 1954.

			Landscape Leisure	
National Archive	'Geophotography' Landscape photography Air photography Journalistic photography Documentary photography	Dutch government (RVD) Dutch media (Elsevier) Dutch military (RVD/ <i>Anefo</i>) 'Local' photographer: Fred Fischer Dutch photographers: Willem van der Poll Hugo Wilmar	Harbour Ship Industry Willemstad Bridges Landscape Colonial Buildings 'National festivity' Governor Dutch flag Catholic priest/bishop Bay Beach Local women	Dutch colonialism Sea trade Industry Economy Geography Dutch nation The other Feminity
Brothers of Tilburg	Social photography Travel photography Portrait photography	Dutch missionaries Dutch photographers	School Children Boys Women Orphanage Brothers Sisters Willemstad Industry Ship	The mission Education Leisure

Geographers, photographers, officials and missionaries

During the Second World War (1940-1945) only the photograph bureaus of the Dutch military and the Dutch government (later known as *Anefo*) were allowed to produce and distribute photographs pertaining to the Netherlands and its colonies. As these photographs arrive from a short-lived but explicit censorship, I did not include them in this analysis. In this chapter the pre-war and post-war periods are discussed separately.

The Museum of World Cultures possessed photographs made between 1927 until the late 1940s. This collection was put together through donations by different individuals from Dutch, local or Surinamese descent. A large collection dated in 1927-1928 was made by the

Surinamese photographer Augusta Curiel. Curiel's mother was a child of a mixed marriage between a former enslaved woman, Elisabeth Nar, and a Sephardic-Jew, Mozes Curiel.²⁹⁴ Augusta Curiel belonged to the Surinamese elite (Curiel was an elitist Sephardic-Jewish name) and made photographs for Dutch magazines as 'The West' and 'Tropical Netherlands'.²⁹⁵ For this collection, she worked for the Dutch geographer Claudius de Goeje who was involved in different expeditions in Suriname.²⁹⁶ Because Curiel's photo studio was well known and stood in high regard with Dutch officials and scientists - in 1929 she would become a 'court photographer' (*hofleverancier*) - it is not surprising that de Goeje used her expertise in Curaçao.²⁹⁷ 'Curiel' was also a common name in Curaçao and the wife of the Curaçaoan photographer Robert Soublette was as well a 'coloured' descendant of a Curiel,²⁹⁸ but there is no indication that Augusta had relations in Curaçao.

The photographic material of the National Archive dated from 1935 until 1954. Especially right-wing media sources (such as Elsevier) and the government (RVD, *Anefo*) were marked as the 'makers' of the photographs. There were also photographs of individual photographers such as Fred Fischer who was Austrian-Jewish but initially stayed at Curaçao, Hugo Wilmar (Dutch) and Willem van der Poll (Dutch).²⁹⁹ Van der Poll made his photographs in 1947 for his book 'The Dutch Antilles' (1950).³⁰⁰

The Rijksmuseum stored three main collections which were respectively made in 1925, between 1931-1934 and between 1936-1937. The latter two collections were personal collections produced by Polidorus Ego, a Dutch official who worked for the police, and Hendrik ter Keurs, a Dutch Shell employee.³⁰¹ Unfortunately the collection of 1925 was anonymous.

The collection of the Brothers of Tilburg contained photographs between 1920 and 1954.

²⁹⁴ <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Curiel> consulted at 11-01-2019

²⁹⁵ <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/Curiel> ; L. van Putten, *Augusta Curiel: Fotografe in Suriname, 1904-1937* (Tropenmuseum, KIT publishers and Stichting Surinaams Museum, Amsterdam 2007) 10.

²⁹⁶ <https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/#/query/672b6ad5-2434-43e9-a39f-c29884d5e36d> consulted at 20-05-2019.

²⁹⁷ Putten, *Augusta Curiel*, 10,18,19.

²⁹⁸ Jacob Adriaan Schiltkamp, *Soublette & Fils*, 18.

²⁹⁹ <https://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/en/geheugen/pages/collectie/Fotografen+De+Spaarnestad/Buitendienst:+Hugo+Wilmar> consulted at 11-01-2019.

³⁰⁰ Louis Zweers, *Willem van der Poll*, 32.

³⁰¹ <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/NG-2007-49-9> consulted at 01-02-2019.

Many of the photographs in this archive were undated and I had to guess the period in which they were made. From the 1930s onwards the quality of the photographs became much better. Therefore I especially analysed photographs which I could with reasonable certainty mark as being made in the 1930s or later. Just as in the previous period, it seemed that this archive also contained photographs of Dutch or local photographers.

In opposition to the former period (chapter 4) the amount of photographs was considerably higher and the iconic complex extended because there were more subjects depicted. This wide variety of subjects must have stemmed from an increased Dutch interest for the island, both economically and politically. The places depicted displayed regularity in different collections, which I denoted as a 'repertoire of places'.

During this timeframe the Dutch perspective especially came to dominate, while it seemed that photographs made by the local elite gradually disappeared to the background. However, this was a slow process: Until the Second World War there were photographs available depicting the local, elitist self (see image 5.1) or depicting 'complex' content that must have arrived from an 'insiders gaze'. For example in image 5.2, one could argue that the gathering of these women posing in front of the camera may have been derived from a social proximity to the women themselves. Generally, Dutch residents, except brothers or priests, did not reside long enough on the Island for this kind of proximity to arise.



5.1: Anonymous, 'Group portrait of A.D. Jonckheer, N.M. Chumaceiro, R.C. Henriquez en Jac V.d.Linde, the redaction of the 'schoolrevue' (1925).



5.2: Anonymous, 'Group portrait of Women at Curaçao' (1930).



5.3: Augusta Curiel, 'Group-portrait of marine-officers with the governor of Curaçao near the cave of Hato' (1927).

1920-1940

The earlier period (1920-1940) was particularly visible in the collections of the Rijksmuseum and the Museum of World Cultures. In these archives there were several coherent collections detectable that displayed an extended iconic complex as well as a 'repertoire of places'. The collection of Augusta Curiel (1927) consisted of fifty-eight photographs and represented a body of subjects and places that I also found in earlier collections between 1900-1920 (Boom, postcards) and in later collections (Van der Poll, Ter Keurs). In this regard, Augusta Curiel seemed to know how to 'look', probably because she produced for the Dutch market. Moreover, during her trip to Curaçao, she worked for the Dutch geographer Claudius de Goeje, so her collection represents more or less the perspective of the Dutch visitor. Further evidence was the fact that Curiel often photographed the Dutch, 'official self', namely marine officials, the governor and Catholic brothers (see image 5.3).



5.4: Curiel: 'Bullenbaai at the West coast' (1927).



5.5: Curiel: 'The harbour Schottegat seen from fort Nassau' (1927).



5.6: Curiel: 'HR.Mrs Hendrik Hertog arrives in the harbor of Willemstad at Curaçao' (1927).

The repertoire sketched by Augusta Curiel and De Goeje particularly consisted of a broad range of 'places' depicted as a 'tour' around the island, as though they made an inventory of the Curaçaoan geography looking from the sea. The fact that De Goeje was a geographer in Dutch service makes this assumption highly plausible. Twelve out of fifty eight photographs were taken from the sea and displayed different 'corners' of the island (see image 5.4). The places which Curiel and De Goeje depicted on the island were also visible in other collections: *Schottegat* (Soubllette, Van der Poll, Brothers, RVD), Governors Square (Van der Poll, Ter Keurs, Soubllette, Brothers, Lawson, RVD) the Bay of Caracas (Boom, Van der Poll, RVD) and *Waaigat* (Soubllette, Van der Poll).

Photographs of 'places' by the coloniser reflect power imbalances in the acquisition of 'knowledge' pertaining to a space. Saïd argued that as a 'science', geography as practiced by the coloniser was highly imaginative and constructed upon an agency of power legislation and a sense of European superiority. The geographic knowledge was framed as poetically different and backward, giving a clear meaning to the presence of the colonial power.³⁰² This thesis further argues that the practice of geography in Curaçao, i.e. seeing, collecting, travelling, mapping, representing and narrating, resonates with the emblem of 'discovery' on a phenomenological level.³⁰³ The praxis of discovery constructs an inscribed knowledge of an 'empty' place, an imagined geography, while rhetorically, discovery is a fluid mental concept that manages the 'distribution of the perceptible'.³⁰⁴ In the colonial context, the discoverer is in the epistemological, 'superior' position to produce knowledge through 'eye-witness' accounts.³⁰⁵ In this research, the Dutch camera, with its emphasis on the spatial dimension, is assumed to operate in the footsteps of the discoverer.

The places visible in the repertoire of Augusta Curiel and De Goeje were the harbour, the coastline, landscapes, nature and Willemstad. Also, some plantations, which could be regarded as icons of colonialism, passed by. Pictures of the harbour in *Schottegat* were

³⁰² Saïd, *Orientalism*, 54, 55.

³⁰³ Oxford Dictionary,

[\(2015\) Consulted on: 22-04-2018](http://www.oxfordreference.com.eur.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/acref/9780199680856.001.0001/acref-9780199680856-e-1357?rskey=SnA9cF&result=1)

³⁰⁴ Jyotsna, G. Singh, *Colonial Narratives/ Cultural Dialogues: 'Discoveries' of India in the Language of Colonialism* (Taylor & Routledge, London 1996) 3.

³⁰⁵ Innes M. Keighren and Charles W.J. Whitters, 'Questions of Inscription and Epistemology in British traveler's Accounts of Early Nineteenth-century Central America, in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 101 (6) (Taylor & Francis USA 2011) 1332; Ricardo Roque and Kim A. Wagner, *Engaging Colonial Knowledge: Reading European Archives in World History* (Palgrave Macmillan U.K. 2012) 4-5.

mainly filled with (Dutch) ships and the petroleum industry, and they were mostly taken from the sea (see image 5.6). 'Iconologically', ships and industry seemed to represent sea trade and economy, while apparently Dutch ships looked to particular refer to the colonial history of Curaçao. Moreover, the arbitrary perspective from the sea appeared to symbolize the 'discoverer's gaze'. 'Schottegat', for example, was captured from the sea and in a high angle position from Fort Nassau (see image 5.5). Especially this latter position, where the harbour is looked upon from a colonial fort, purported the idea of Dutch colonial control. The rest of the coastline was also portrayed from the sea and the images seem to carry the connotation of Dutch 'discovery'. Also the depiction of Fort Nassau, an icon of Dutch colonial history, looked to be a symbol of 'discovery' (see image 5.7).



5.7: 'Fort Nassau'.



5.8: 'Rock at Bay of Caracas, southern Curaçao'.



5.9: 'Landscape with Cactus'.



5.10: 'Landscape at Curaçao, in the back the mountain of St Christoffel'.

Occasionally the coastline was pictured from a position on the island. In this case rock formations and the beach were the main subjects of concern, arguably reflecting icons of an exotic and almost 'prehistoric' place, far away from the Netherlands (see image 5.8). Photographs of landscapes and nature included subjects such as cactuses, mountains, 'tropical' trees, plantations and sometimes local black people (see images 5.9 and 5.10). Plantations seem to be icons of colonialism and 'wealth', while cactuses and palm trees implied the 'exotic'. In a sense, the landscape appears to be framed as the colonised and

tropical elsewhere.

When Curiel and De Goeje pictured Willemstad, they predominantly showed the harbour, street views and the house of the governor, emphasizing the role of Willemstad as a colonial harbour city (see images 5.11 and 5.12). Again, the harbour looked to be an icon of sea trade. Street views displayed city life, modern shops and cars, possibly reflecting icons of European wealth. Interesting to note here is that the photographs of the governor's square with the Protestant Fort-church (potential icon of Dutch power) and the *Herenstraat* (potential icon of prosperity) were taken from a low angle position. Consequently the house and the street seemed 'larger', which consequently appeared to symbolise Dutch, Protestant power and prosperity.



5.11: 'Sight at herenstraat'.



5.12: 'Governor's square'.



5.13: ' Floating market at waaigat'.



5.14:' Women selling products in Otrabanda'.

Curiel and De Goeje depicted the Afro-Curaçaoan local but this was not at the centre of their attention. Only eight photos out of fifty eight contained the local black population while white (Protestant, Jewish, Venezuelan) locals were barely visible. Within these photographs two 'types' of black locals looked to be recognizable. Firstly, an 'African' local looked to be visible because these locals were black skinned and appeared predominantly barefoot in wider landscape images (5.10, 5.13). Picturing black locals in wider exotic landscapes situated this 'other' in an imaginative tropical elsewhere. Moreover, the viewer was, figuratively speaking, 'taken to Africa' with the portrayal of the 'typical' African habit of carrying baggage on the head (See 5.13).³⁰⁶ Another remarkable thing about these photographs was that 'African' locals were mainly represented by images of women,

³⁰⁶ Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black*, 93, 35.

seemingly framing the African population in 'negative comparison' with the Dutch self who appeared to be specifically framed as male, urban and well-dressed. Looking at the fact that most depicted African locals were women, the photographs seemed to attach qualities of dependence and harmlessness to locals of African descent. In general, the local Afro-population looked to be portrayed as 'mute', 'exotic' and female 'extra's' in the Curaçaoan landscape.³⁰⁷ They only appeared in a remote public sphere, apparently sealed off of any Dutch involvement, as though a second and invisible layer of social reality. In this sense, individualization of the African locals was neglected by Curiel and De Goeje.³⁰⁸

The second type of black local appeared as icon of the 'westernized local' or 'urban local' because these persons were dressed elegantly and portrayed walking around in Willemstad (see image 5.9).³⁰⁹ In comparison to the 'African' local, this local appeared to be able to play a role in the Dutch public sphere, albeit quite 'silently'. The urban local also did not pose and names were never mentioned. In one photograph (image 5.14), both type of locals looked to be combined: the women standing at the right is elegantly dressed while the other woman seemed to be working wearing less fashionable clothing (see image 5.14). Because Curiel herself came from the Surinamese elite and was of 'mixed' parentage, her gaze was perhaps more focused on 'class' instead of 'race'.

Curiel and De Goeje also made a photograph that combined the 'urban local' and Dutch marine officers (see image 5.15). This mixed photograph seemed to purport a colonial context of white dominance over colonised others. The two officers appear to be consciously 'placed' in the picture because they look at the camera, emphasizing their individuality. The local population, in contrast, seem unaware of the picture being taken and looked to be 'mutely' walking by as though not relevant as individuals. Two 'separate worlds' appear to be visible as the officers are only in contact with each other and have no eye for the locals passing by. The same could be argued for image 5.16 which shows the loading of coal, a potential icon of economic activity. A white man is apparently in a position of power as he coordinates the labour, while local black men do the heavy work; again, two social spheres caught in one visual instance. This latter image appears to symbolize black labour which refers to the history of slavery.

³⁰⁷ Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black*, 67; Endrody-Nagy, 'Images and iconography' 68.

³⁰⁸ Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black*, 11.

³⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, 233.



5.15 'Street along the water'.



5.16: 'Loading of coal from Maduro's firm at the shore'



5.17 From family-album P. Ego, 'untitled' (1931-1934).



5.18: Hendrik ter Keurs, 'Curaçao' (1936-1937).

In two other collections, which contained material made between 1920 and 1940, the perspectives of the Dutch official and the Dutch 'expat' were particularly visible. These were the collections of Polidoris Ego (1931-1932) and Hendrik ter Keurs (1936-1937). The genre of geography played a minor role in these photographs. Nevertheless, these collections displayed the same repertoire of places as pictured in the collections of Augusta Curiel and De Goeje: Willemstad, exotic landscapes and nature, the coast, the harbour and the industry were shot on film. These images also seemed to reflect an identical iconic complex as visible in the collection of Curiel and De Goeje. Exotic icons like cactuses and palm trees were inherently part of landscapes, while rock formations such as those at Caracas were often depicted as well. See for example image 5.17 that seems to symbolize European presence in an exotic foreign place. Pictures of Willemstad included the harbour 'Schottegat' and its oil industry (potential icons of sea trade and economy), street life (potential icons of progress and modernity) and the house of the governor (potential icon of colonialism) (see image 5.18).

Polidorus Ego's collection in like manner as Curiel and De Goeje contained pictures of two 'types' of black locals. There were apparently dark local 'African-like' women visible that carried baggage on their head or 'modern' coloured/black locals in Western clothes (see image 5.19). Locals were never mentioned by name, even not 'the nanny' (*jaja*) (see image 5.20). Making photographs of locals working for the family was part of the framing which could be seen in the previous period (1900-1920), the other appeared to be part of the self. In contrast, locals who looked to be portrayed as icons of 'Africanism' seemed to be the opposite of the self: the other far away from the self.

As these collections especially displayed the perspective of the Dutch official and the Dutch expat, the symbolic content seemed to be different than in the visual discourse of Curiel and De Goeje. Firstly, the Dutch self was many times depicted in front of purportedly 'exotic' icons. This appeared to reflect the genres of social photography and travel photography because it symbolically situated the self temporarily in a different and exotic landscape. On the other hand, it looked as if the Dutch official and the Dutch expat referred more explicitly to Dutch icons. Dutch flags were often part of their photographs and the statue of the Dutch Queen passed by as well. The fact that the name of the nanny was not

mentioned in the subtext, gives the impression that Dutch officials imagined themselves temporarily in a tropical elsewhere controlled by the Netherlands.



5.19: P.Ego 'Antillean people'.



5.20: P.Ego, 'Visits in Curaçao'.

1940-1954

For this period I consulted the National Archive, the Museum of World Cultures and the archive of the Brothers of Tilburg. Especially the 'Dutch gaze' was present in this period because most photographs were produced by individuals of Dutch origin and photographers of 'Anefo'. These later collections displayed similarities and differences with the collections discussed previously. The 'repertoire' of places remained roughly the same, but some new places looked to be added to this repertoire. Also icons were added to the iconic complex. More places, different people and more subjects seemed to be visible, and thus 'possible'. The underlying content of photographs appeared to engage with a sense of 'modernity' and 'progress' but also 'Dutchness'. Also a sense of 'rediscovery' remained visible in the collection of Van der Poll (1947) because he photographed new places and content alongside the repertoire of places as depicted by Curiel.

The main stage of modernity appeared to be Willemstad, and it was here that 'new' places and subjects were photographed along with the 'older' subjects, such as the house of the governor and Schottegat. For example, the 'pontoon bridge', the 'new post office', and the Hato airport were added to the repertoire, arguably icons of progress and modernity (see image 5.20). The coastline seemed to be 'updated' as well with beaches visible, purporting the subjects of leisure and luxury (see image 5.21). But icons of the 'tropics' like rocks and palm trees remained visible. Moreover, plantations and their owners were photographed extensively by Van der Poll. As can be seen in image 5.23, the plantation owner (Van der Linde) looked to be portrayed in a position of power because of the upward perspective. However, he is not so much posing proudly or actively but looks rather vulnerable. With this gaze, Van der Poll seems to explicitly display an insiders' view of a plantation in decay, suggesting solidarity between the photographer and the farmer.



5.21: Willem van der Poll, 'Queen Emma bridge' (1947).



5.22: Willem van der Poll, 'Piscadera Bay' (1947).



5.23: Poll, 'Farmer van der Linde at Savonet' (1947).



5.24: Anefo, 'Dutch marine officers in Curaçao (1953).

A sense of 'Dutchness' was visible in photographs capturing mariners and 'the mariner self', and by Dutch festivities such as Queen's day, or memorials (see images 5.23). In addition, forts, Dutch flags and the governor himself were more frequently depicted from the 1940s onwards. As image 5.24 displays, some of these photographs shared multiple icons and carried a rather loaded symbolic content: the reconfirmation of Dutch power after the Second World War. In this photograph Dutch marine-officers guard the 'Waterfort' at the entrance of the harbour', while it seems that the canons are locked and loaded. The mariners (icons of Dutch control) and the cannons and guns (icons of warfare) symbolize

'real' power. Furthermore the Dutch flag in the corner confirms Dutch power while the palm trees and the mountain in the back reveal the 'tropical' location.

Equally during this time period the black local was depicted. Striking was the given that from the mid-1930s onwards the 'African-like' local was not visible any more. Instead dark-skinned locals predominantly appeared as women with children often wearing bandana-like headgear (5.27, 5.28). This framed the local as feminine, 'Caribbean' but also harmless, motherly and even natural. 'Caribbean' icons as the sea, cactuses and beaches accompanied these 'Caribbean mothers' (see image 5.27). This symbolically incorporated the local as 'part of the landscape'. The 'new' Caribbean identity visible can be explained by what Patricia Mohammed denotes as 'Caribbean sensibility'. She explains Caribbean sensibility as an overwriting of culture by a discursive space that is continually reshaped due to geography, political chronology, history and economy that defined a space.³¹⁰ The marinated mix that occurred was also reconfigured in Willem Van der Poll's 'Caribbean mothers'. In this framing of the Caribbean other individualization was acknowledged because some of them were actively posing.³¹¹ Because the women appeared heavily exotic, they were beautiful 'from afar' and seemed not available as 'partners', also due to the fact that they were surrounded by children.³¹² However proximity was suggested by their presence in a public space (beach). This local was part of the local, the other as part of the other, and no longer a mute object as part of the Dutch self. However also in this period names of locals depicted were not mentioned.

³¹⁰ Patricia Mohammed, *Imaging the Caribbean*, 4-5.

³¹¹ Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black*, 181.

³¹² *Ibidem*, 182-183.



5.25: Anonymous, 'A war ship is welcomed by the military at the Waterfort' (1930-1950).



5.26: Hugo Wilmar, 'The kunuku-landscape with cactuses' (1949).



5.27: Willem van der Poll, 'Women and child at bay of Saint Michel, south of Curaçao (1947).



5.28: Elsevier, 'People of Curaçao' (1950).

The Catholic perspective

Finally this chapter will discuss the missionary perspective. Again, the collection of the Brothers of Tilburg displayed many photographs of the self during this period. The self, however, appeared to be framed differently. For example, the self was more often depicted with potential icons of colonialism and of industry. Image 5.29, for example, situates the missionary self on a boat, potential icon of discovery, in front of the oil-refinery, potential icon of economy and Dutch presence. The brothers are wearing sun-protective helmets that perhaps refer to the visual culture of imperialism, as the coloniser 'on expedition' was often photographed with this particular helmet that protected against exotic climate. Equally, potential 'exotic' icons were increasingly rendered visible, more so than before the missionary imagined himself in a different place. In this regard it looked as if the brothers pictured themselves as a part of colonial power.

In the same period an institutionalization of the missionary-system can be seen because many more educational and social venues are set on camera. This had severe impact on how 'the local' was framed because slowly on, the collection mainly displays the local inside the classroom, in the orphanage or in the hospital. Consequently for the most part local children were seen in the pictures. Therefore the local appeared as a subjectable and dependent other, but nevertheless a part of the self. The theme of the 'rural poor', as seen in the previous chapter, disappeared from the 1930s on. Interestingly during this timeframe the missionary 'self' became visible in the other collections as well (see image 5.30). The missionary appeared rendered as an internal component of public island-life through the perspective of Dutch photographers or officials. In these photographs, the Catholic seemed to function as a potential icon of Dutch power but especially Dutch presence at the island.



5.29: Anonymous, 'Schottegat' (1940).



5.30: Anefo, 'Bishop ordination' (1949).

What was going on there? The possible and the unseen

In the period of 'industrialization and Dutchification' (1920-1954), the perspective of the Dutch visitor suggest Dutch interest in future colonisation of the island. This could be seen in the articulation of a geographical interest in a repertoire of places 'rediscovered' on camera. Also the political or military Dutch self was depicted, alongside the 'Fort church', an icon of the Protestant religion and colonialism. Besides, from the 1920s onwards Dutch photographers pictured economic icons and therewith underlined the economic prospect of the island.

In the late 1940s a phenomenological undertone of 'rediscovery' seemed apparent in the documentary photographs of Van der Poll as well. After the Second World War modern icons and places were added to the repertoire. Colonial icons (the Dutch flag, Dutch military, Fort Amsterdam) alongside modern icons (new post-office, pontoon-bridge, Juliana-village) were likely used to convey an optimistic, 'colonial' tone of progress and prosperity for the Dutch nation. This was especially visible in the collections of the National Archive which maintained photographs since 1947, the year of the first negotiations concerning autonomy. Perhaps the Netherlands wanted to hold on to their colonial prestige, but at the same time display that, in contrast to Indonesia, they were doing things 'right' in the Caribbean.

Simultaneously, the 'otherness' of Curaçao looked to be a main theme. During this period the local population looked to be dichotomously framed as 'the other as part of the self' when working in a Dutch household or as 'the other as part of the other'. The latter form of othering went hand in hand with different stereotypes underlining the 'African' or 'Caribbean' character, albeit most locals in Van der Poll's photographs were women or children, most likely as icons of harmlessness and vulnerability. It may be that a harmless and feminine imagination of the local erased the memory of harsh colonial warfare in Indonesia, or perhaps the memory of the history of slavery. The women or child as local as well suggested that the Dutch viewer (unconsciously) interpreted the local as inferior or 'childlike'.

The missionary collection of 1920-1954 appeared to display the other as 'project of the self' in the form of children in schools or orphanages. During this period it seemed that the Catholic self was gradually perceived as an institutionalized part of colonial control.

During this period, Jewish people were unseen but a few photographs showed the

synagogue. Protestantism was only visible by the Fort-church, which was also a potential icon of colonial rule. This was perhaps invoked by a Dutch rejection of Jewish, local power, or simply due to cultural/language differences. Local poverty, as depicted by the Brothers of Tilburg in the previous period (1900-1920), seemed to be absent in photographs of this period. A reason for this could be that the Dutch nation wanted to legitimize its colonial rule by showing the prosperity of the local population. Finally, apart from the depiction of 'Caribbean women', local culture was not portrayed in this period and therefore also not acknowledged.

Chapter 6: Reconfiguring colonialism and reconfirming Kingdom: 1954-1969

‘Time and again it turned out that one still wanted to keep a very strong say in all kinds of decisions concerning the overseas countries, with which one began to lose sight of the fact that the future relations need to be based on trust in the first place.’³¹³

This chapter discusses the period after Curaçao was granted autonomy (1954) until the riots of May 1969. The main difference between this period and the previous one is that the political context changed considerably. The previous chapter argued that a repertoire of places was created and that the iconic complex was further extended, which supported a tendency of rediscovery and later of recolonisation. In this chapter a comparison is required to see whether this representation changed in the wake of autonomy. It is also needed to determine whether the symbolic value of ‘colonial icons’ and the framing of ‘the other’ have altered.

After the Second World War, economic prosperity and long-time peace in the world attributed to the flourishing of photography in all layers of society.³¹⁴ Especially from the 1950s onwards, photography was used by people worldwide for pictorial representations: picture magazines, photograph galleries and personal/amateur photography blossomed.³¹⁵ Photography also became subject of critical debate. The notion that photographs represent a universal truth became highly controversial.³¹⁶ Instead, in the 1960s the ‘snapshot aesthetic’ became popular due to its casual style, and focus on ‘neutrality’ and ‘emblems of contemporary culture’ such as cars, stores and urban life.³¹⁷

All the observations are summarized in table 6.1 which will be discussed below.

³¹³ Oostindie & Klinkers, *Decolonising the Caribbean*, 81.

³¹⁴ Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*, 540.

³¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 515.

³¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 517.

³¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 540, 518, 523.

Table 6.1³¹⁸

Collection 1954-1969	Genres	Photographers	Tags and icons	Themes (iconic complex)
Rijksmuseum	Social photography Travel photography	The Dutch tourist in the Pennink album (1966)	<i>Landhuis</i> (manor) Coast: -Beach - North coast - Rocks Cactus Anonymous local Housekeeper Interior The self Goats Floating market Local women Airport	Vacation Tropics Black servitude
National Archive	Press photography 'Documentary' photography Governmental photography	Dutch media (Elsevier, ANP) The Royal family (Poll) The Dutch government (RVD)	<i>Landhuis</i> Hotel The Royal family Royal visits The Dutch self Local children <i>Kunuku</i> house Dutch Flag Ship Marine Monument for autonomy Cactus Palm Pool Harbour Airport Shell-village Bay of St Anne Governor's square Bredestraat Synagogue Jewish cemetery Shops Local women Leisure	Dutch Kingdom Colonialism Black servitude Modernity Oil Trade Economy Dutch identity Local culture

³¹⁸ In this period I consulted all the archives except Atlas van Stolk.

			Local dance Workers Post-office School (van Stuyvesant) Cars Post office	
Museum of World Cultures	Documentary photography (Boy Lawson) Geophotography (KLM, Fischer and unknown)	Former colonial elite KLM Local elite (Fischer) Royal Shell Group	Shell refinery (also air) Schottegat (air) Post office St Thomascollege P.I. Verriet institute Water cleaning installation Polyclinic Brion square Local women Fort Amsterdam Church Jewish cemetery <i>Landhuizen</i> (manors) Herenstraat Rocks Fishing Airport DOK Curaçao Plants (Aloe, ananas, cactus) Exotic trees Coast Slave-house <i>Kunuku</i> house Phosphate mine Scouting kids Cars Barber village Pontoon-bridge	Economy Social institutes Slavery Progress Religion Jewish Colonial history
Brothers of Tilburg	Social photography	The former missionary	The missionary self Altar Leisure School Church	The Catholic church-identity
The Dutch Museum of Photography	-	Dutch photographer	Local musicians	Local

KLM, Shell, Boy Lawson and Van der Poll

The Museum of World Cultures possessed photographs made by KLM (Royal Dutch Airways), Royal Dutch Shell, anonymous photographers and ‘staff photographer’ Boy Lawson (see table 6.1). The collections were made between 1950 until 1980. The collection of photographer Boy Lawson was entirely made in 1964. Boy Lawson was born in 1925 in Buitenzorg, by then still the Dutch Indies.³¹⁹ As a photographer, Lawson was the head of the photography department of the Royal Institute for the Tropics in Amsterdam (precursor of the Museum of the Tropics). He visited many parts of the world where he maintained an anthropological gaze by photographing ‘daily life’. His photographs were displayed in exhibitions and in the children’s magazine ‘*Samsam*’.³²⁰

In the National Archive were collections stored of the *Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst* (RVD), Willem van der Poll (1955) and Elsevier (1958-1960 and 1965). Most RVD photographs were undated, but the depiction of Hotel Continental, which was built in Curaçao in 1957 as well as differences in the use of black & white and colour photography both gave insights into the dating of photographs. It seemed that the RVD made photographs around 1956, 1965-1970 and 1975. I only used the series of 1956 because I assumed that the RVD made photographs in times of political change, i.e. after 1954 (autonomy), after 1969 (the riot) and after 1975 (Surinamese independence), which means that the two later collections were made after this period. The collection of Willem van der Poll made in 1955 mainly documented the royal visit to Curaçao in that year and the photographic material was published as ‘Royal Visit: The Dutch Antilles’ in the same year.³²¹

The touristic perspective was visible in the album of Eva Charlotte Pennink stored at the Rijksmuseum (see table 6.1). Pennink was a fashion editor for the newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad*. She was also a photographer and made several montages as well as exhibitions.³²² The collection she made in Curaçao documented a family vacation in

³¹⁹ <https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/#/query/161cb1cf-bf40-4130-bce6-0ff93afb2c72> Consulted at 05-03-2019.

³²⁰ [file://vuw/Personal\$/Homes/S/stipriaanaavan1/Downloads/1524562651_wikimedia-nederland.compressed%20(1).pdf] consulted at 25-05-2019.

³²¹ Zweers, *Willem van der Poll*, 37.

³²² <https://cdn.atria.nl/search/collection/arch/show/IIAV00000211> consulted at 20-05-2019.

December 1966.

Finally, I consulted the archive of the Brothers of Tilburg. Again, these photographs were mainly undated. As in the previous chapters, I made an inventory of 'style' and 'technique' to recognise the period. It seemed that the 1960s were marked by 'an internal gaze', because photographs were mainly taken inside of the monastery or the church. Indeed, in the genre of social photography, the 'missionary self' became more dominant during this period.

As table 6.1 demonstrates, the content of the collections diverged more than in the previous periods (1900-1920 and 1920-1954). A reason for this could be that different political circles coped differently with the post-colonial status quo. Especially the National Archive seemed to contain a 'right-wing' perception: The Van der Poll collection had an outspoken Dutch and arguably 'colonial' tone, and Elsevier continued with this gaze throughout the 1960s. The other archives appeared to reveal a 'touristic' undertone (Rijksmuseum, Museum of World Cultures) or an 'anthropological gaze' (Museum of World Cultures). The differences in perspectives visible in the photograph collections archives will be discussed separately, but first this chapter will focus on the communal icons and places which seemed to be present in photographs of Curaçao after 1954 until 1969.

Expanding iconic complex

The associating repertoire of places and iconic complex was maintained and further expanded in the photographic material that was analysed for this chapter. The main places and icons that remained visible were particularly ones with purportedly 'colonial', 'economic', 'modern' or 'tropical' contents. Also, the black local received more attention during this period. However, the division of the public sphere into a 'hidden black' part and a visible 'white expat/official' part, ceased to exist.

The governor's palace, Fort Amsterdam and Fort Nassau, all potential icons of Dutch colonialism, were still depicted regularly, but were all together less frequently photographed than in previous periods. After 1954, potential icons of colonialism appeared less confirming but instead connoted 'colonial history'. Photographs of the governor's palace frequently showed modern city life (see image 6.1) which made it appear as an icon of colonial *history*.

The same could be argued for the depiction of the historical lanterns and canons in front of the palace (see image 6.2).

‘Plantations’ seemed to be framed as non-economic and historic as the subtexts of these photographs mentioned the term *‘landhuis’*, which means manor house. The photographs made by Boy Lawson alluded to the history of slavery in their subtexts: images were accompanied by words such as ‘slave house’ or house of the ‘slave supervisor’. This trend could arguably be seen as a ‘new’ linguistic expression in an ‘old’ frame: The voice of the former coloniser now talking explicitly about the slavery past (see image 6.3). The manor houses which were pictured seemed to be ‘unused’ or recovered ‘monuments’. In this regard, these buildings appeared to function as icons of a colonial and economical past which was no longer present (see image 6.4).



6.1: Boy Lawson, ‘Sight at Fort Amsterdam’ (1964).



6.2: Elsevier, 'Entrance of Fort Amsterdam, Curaçao' (1960).



6.3: Lawson, 'House at manor Savonet, former house of a slave-supervisor' (1964).

Within this period alleged icons of the tropics and economic activity were perceived in photographs as well. Just as in the previous periods, cactuses and rock-formations were the main 'tropical' objects in landscape photographs (see image 6.5), and in this sense photographers continued to poetically sketch an 'exotic' elsewhere.

‘Economic’ content was visible in the photographs of Schottegat, the Shell refinery and the mines. For the first time, industry was not pictured ‘geographically’, i.e. from the ‘outside’ as part of wider landscape images, but from ‘the inside’ as interiors of industries became prevalent in several collections. Especially the album of Shell in the Museum of World Cultures contained detailed photographs of the interiors of the refinery (see image 6.6). But also up-close images of the phosphate mine and the new water purification system could be found in different collections. Machinery looked to be the main objects in these photographs, potential icons of progress and technical skills within the Kingdom. This internal gaze appeared to substitute the economic gaze seen in chapter 5, which solely pictured industries from the exterior as though demonstrating colonial revenues.

Apart from colonial, industrial, historical and exotic places, this period added two remarkable places to the repertoire: Brion square and the village of Barber. Brion square was named after Louis Brion who was born in Curaçao in 1782 and was an important admiral in the army of Simon Bolivar.³²³ Although Brion fought for Venezuelan independence, he maintained supporting Dutch colonial rule in Curaçao.³²⁴ This combination of freedom versus loyalty resonated with the autonomy construction of 1954 in which Curaçao became free but still bound to the Kingdom. This can be a reason for the sudden rise of Dutch interest in this particular square after 1954. In this regard, Louis Brion could figure as potential icon of Curaçaoan autonomy.

The emphasis on local ‘identity’ was also visible in photographs of the town Barber. Pictures of Barber seemed to converge with an emphasis of the Dutch camera on local traditions and culture (see image 6.7, 6.8, 6.9 and 6.10). It must be mentioned that solely Van der Poll photographed Barber, but the iconic meaning, i.e. ‘local culture’, seemed to be present in other collections as well. Other photographic collections showed ‘the *kunuku*’, the rural areas of Curaçao, instead of Barber. In contrast to a ‘place of poverty’, which was visible in chapter 4 (1900-1920), in later photographs the *kunuku* looked to be more positively framed as ‘traditional’ and ‘natural’. As a novelty, Dutch photographers appeared to pay more attention to the ‘traditional’ and the ‘black local’ as part of the public sphere in Curaçao. Although showing these icons in the public sphere can be interpreted as an

³²³ P. A. Eeuwens, ‘Admiraal Pedro Louis Brion, 1821-27 september-1921’ in: *De Westindische Gids*, 3e jaargang (1921) 290-300.

³²⁴ Ibidem, 293-300.

attempt to acknowledge them, the photographers at the same instance purported stereotypical ideas of the local population and traditions. As seen in the previous two chapters, 'the coloniser's gaze' did not allude to local culture, which appeared to remain hidden in an inaccessible 'private sphere'. The depiction of the local as part of the public sphere by the 'former coloniser' (Dutch photographers/institutions) seemed to be both a further estrangement of the other (the other as part of the other) as well as an open acknowledgement of local culture. The collections of Van der Poll appeared to portray local culture and traditions in a particularly 'exotic' way. For example, in image 6.7, which shows a royal visit to Barber, the cactuses in the foreground and the open constellation with a straw roof in which Queen Juliana sits appear to the viewer to a 'primitive' and 'natural' place. But this place is officially acknowledged as equal to the Netherlands by the visitation of the Queen. The reason behind this kind of imagery was probably well-intended (paying respect to local traditions and culture), but due to the post-colonial situation these photographs appeared to symbolize, a post-colonial relationship between a 'civilized' kingdom and a 'primitive' former colony as well.



6.4: Van der Poll, 'Habaai manor' (1955).



6.5: Lawson, 'Landscape' (1964).



6.6: Anonymous, 'Oil refinery Shell Shottgat' (1957).



6.7: Van der Poll, 'Barber' (1955).



6.8: Poll, 'Kunuku-man' (1955).³²⁵



6.9: Lawson, 'Kunuku-house at Sint-Michiel' (1964).

³²⁵ This man is probably engaged in the local harvest march of 'Sue'.



6.10: Friars, 'Young watchmen in the knoek' (1954).

Next to an eye for the traditional '*kunuku*', the black local appeared to more and more perceived as an integral part of the public sphere. The black local no longer appeared as the other as part of the self, but arguably became predominantly an icon for the 'typical' and 'traditional'. Local culture such as the Tambú dance and music were set on camera (see images 6.11 and 6.12). The depiction of black or coloured women selling/carrying exotic fruit and youngsters residing in tropical nature also added to imagination of a local, exotic culture (see images 6.10, 6.13, 6.14). The freshly defined view of the black local seemed to be accompanied by colonial (6.13) or 'tropical' icons. But this development could also be seen as an emancipation of the local culture, which was, for the first time, taken more seriously, albeit stereotypically.



6.11: Fischer, 'Untitled' (1957).



6.12: Van der Poll, 'Dance' (1955).



6.13: Anonymous, 'Native fruit girl' (undated).



6.14: Lawson, 'Antillean woman with food at market (1964).



6.15: Van der Poll, 'Post-office' (1955).



6.16: Anonymous, 'Van Stuyvesant-college' (1950-1960).

Apart from 'local' places, people and icons, modern places were added to the iconic complex with pictures of modern, institutional buildings. This was a trend that already had started during the 1950s (see chapter 5). The Hato airport, the post office and the central office building of Royal Shell were put on camera as well as new schools and hospitals. In the wake of autonomy these icons could have symbolized a Dutch perception of 'civilization and progress', now that the island was an equal partner of the Kingdom. When photographed, these buildings were only pictured from the outside, in a panoramic gaze which seemed to symbolize their function in the Curaçaoan society (see image 6.15). Because traditionally in this Dutch gaze mostly white/ Dutch-made buildings were photographed (plantations, forts, the governor's palace, Catholic buildings) these modern buildings appeared as 'Dutch'. Image 6.16 especially seemed to confirm the perspective that these buildings were 'Dutch gifts' to the island as it shows the statue of the Dutch 'founder' of Curaçao Van Stuyvesant in front of a modern school which was named after him.

Lastly, this section should mention the visibility of 'Protestant' and 'Jewish' places. After 1954 a clear shift is visible in which especially the Jewish cemetery becomes a substantive part of the perceptible order of the Dutch outsider. Perhaps an eye for Jewish culture was influenced by the Holocaust and Dutch feelings of guilt towards 'their' Jewish population.³²⁶

³²⁶ Stated by prof. Alex van Stipriaan at 04-04-2019.

In turn, Catholic subjects that possibly figured as icons of colonial control and the mission were less frequently photographed.

The National Archive: Royal visits and black servitude

The National Archive's photograph collections demand a separate discussion due to the strong royalist and nationalist orientation which were seemingly visible. Especially Elsevier and Van der Poll produced photographs using this frame. Before the Second World War Dutch royals had never set foot on Curaçao.³²⁷ This changed when Curaçao became autonomous. Royal visits were mainly depicted as crowded public events with Dutch flags and 'colonial' buildings visible, potential icons of Dutch colonial power. It appeared that these royal visits symbolized a reconfirmation of the Dutch Kingdom and Dutch power, the visibility of Dutch marines and officers further emphasized this notion. In image 6.17, for example, a Dutch soldier and a Dutch flag are pictured during a royal parade from low angle. This position symbolically portrays the Dutch marine in a position of power. It seemed that photographs of royal parades showed that Curaçao was perceived as an autonomous state, worthy of a royal audience, but at the same time it was claimed as Dutch property. This dichotomous approach perhaps arrived from a possible awkwardness to deal with the legacies of colonialism and simultaneously recognizing Curaçao as a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

In reports of royal audiences black locals seemed to be predominantly portrayed as 'traditional', 'child-like' or sometimes even 'handicapped' which stood in contrast to Dutch presence in the formation of the Queen and her followers. Images 6.18 and 6.19, for instance, show the Dutch Queen and princess in the punctum, encircled by an entourage of political or military bystanders. Opposite to the Queen and princess are black children visible with faces turning away from the camera. One could argue that the photographer attempted to symbolize a young autonomous Curaçao in an official encounter with its caring royal counterpart. In this sense, young Curaçao is represented by the (shy) child, a potential icon of innocence, immaturity and dependence, poetically confirmed by the caring and

³²⁷ Oostindie, *De Parels en de Kroon*, 108.

‘supreme mother nation’ which is represented by the Queen and princess.³²⁸ It is possible that the child and the Queen symbolized a mother-daughter relation in the future. Although it is framed optimistically this imaging becomes problematic in the light of the legacies of Dutch colonialism.

Moreover, photographs of Van der Poll and Elsevier displayed local preparations for the Royal visit and Dutch journalists and other bystanders who were involved in these events. Racial segregation appeared to be quite bluntly present in these images. The black local was depicted working ‘in servitude’ what seemed to allude to the status they had during slavery.³²⁹ In this sense, the black local functioned as icon of servitude, Dutch colonialism and, in some way, icon of slavery. Once again, the black other looked to be framed as the other for the self (see images 6.20 and 6.21).



6.17: Van der Poll, ‘Officer during royal visits at CPIM’ (1955).

³²⁸ Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black*, 233.

³²⁹ *Ibidem*, 131.



6.18: Anefo, 'Royal visits, children, handicapped, Curaçao' (1965).



6.19: Elsevier, 'Untitles'(1957).



6.20: Van der Poll, 'Banquet' (1955).



6.21: Van der Poll, 'Maiden' (1955).

The 1960s and the touristic frame

During the 1960s, it seemed that an explicit touristic frame arose which mainly portrayed Curaçao as a modern touristic destination. The private album of Eva Pennink, made in the late 1960s, provided a direct look into the touristic, Dutch perspective, but also other archives showed hotels and leisure activities of predominantly white people. The touristic

gaze appeared to emphasize 'tropical' icons such as cactuses, palms, rocks and beaches, but overall the repertoire of places it photographed was very limited, restricted to the hotel or the beach. The tourist, white self was particular central and figured as potential icon of leisure, modernity and prosperity (see image 6.23 and 6.24). The tourist perspective barely included potential icons of colonialism and looked to be framing the island as non-colonial, non-historic and also explicitly as non-Dutch. The tourist seemed to portray the black -local as the gentle black servant; the other for the self (see image 6.22).



6.22: Eva Pennink, 'Stay at Curaçao and Aruba' (1966).



6.23: Pennink, 'Stay at Curaçao and Aruba' (1966-1967). 6.24: Poll, 'Man goes into water' (1955).

The Catholic perspective

From autonomy onwards, the Dutch Dominicans who were stationed at Curaçao lost much of their power. As discussed in chapter 1 and 5, the position of the church grew simultaneously with colonial control during the 1930s, and early 1950s the church was still involved in politics, social welfare and schooling. This outreach became highly contested once autonomy was announced. The church had to change its outspoken colonial and missionary character, but in the background the bishop held on to his power until the 1960s.

In the photographs after autonomy brothers appeared as members of a church which is focused inwards. At least, it seemed that this is how they wanted to perceive themselves, although in reality their socio-political grip on society remained firm.³³⁰ The Catholic self in the monastery and the Church interior are mainly visible in their photographs. This shift

³³⁰ Groenewoud, *Nou koest, nou kalm*, 163, 168; Stated by prof. Alex van Stipriaan 01-04-2019.

from an external gaze to an internal gaze can be compared to the photographs of the Shell refinery. This internal gaze substituted the previous, colonial-missionary gaze that seemed to portray 'the mission' externally, as though a demonstration of colonial control. Taking the camera to the altar framed the church as a strict religious service, separated from more 'mundane' matters.



6.24: Friars of Tilburg, 'Fr. Canutus Zebregs, Fr. Ewaldus v.Hoog, Fr. Juliano v. Gijzel, Fr. Gijsbert Hamers, Fr. Walterus Jozen, N.N.' (undated).

What was going on there? The possible and the unseen

During the period between 1954 and 1969, the photographic material seemed to put forward that the phase of 'colonialism' was over in Curaçao. However, basic attitudes of superiority, racial segregation, Dutch power and imaginations of 'the exotic' looked to be visible as well, especially in the National Archive. In those collections, potential icons of nationalism, modernism, Kingdom, power and progress appeared to be used to describe the new role of the Dutch in Kingdom relations, while Curaçao was merely represented by icons of the tropics, the traditional and the child. Although outspoken colonial icons were absent, by this unbalanced representation of the Dutch-Curaçaoan relations, the legacy of slavery and colonialism appeared to be reflected in the framing of the autonomous constellation.

The dichotomous presence of discourses of modern politics, progress and Kingdom along with discourses of black servitude and stereotypes of 'the other culture' revealed that

the 'colonial mindset' was not easy to disband. In this regard, the time plot that was sketched purported a break with the colonial past, while simultaneously the future of Curaçao seemed to be one under the power of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In contrast, the tourist perspective was ignorant of either colonial history or Dutch Kingdom affiliations and mainly manifested the exotic frame.

Also part of this late-colonial confusion was the more pervasive look into Curaçaoan life, less from the outside, more from the inside. This look into Curaçaoan daily life was perhaps a manifestation of its new status as an equal partner of the Dutch Kingdom. It could also have been an attempt to parade the local perspective. The Catholics possibly tried to 'de-politicise' their role in Curaçao by taking the internal gaze.

Unseen during this period were local Jews and labour-migrants that were not black or coloured. Perhaps Dutch photographers wanted to present themselves as the white, elitist superiors affiliated with Protestant farmers versus the black local, therewith invoking colonial connotations. Same as in the previous period, local poverty was not visible. This perhaps arrived from the wish to radiate a positive, prosperous image of Dutch post-colonialism. An attempt was made to portray local culture, but the Dutch photographer was not engaging with this culture, nor were black locals seen as 'us'.

Chapter 7: Decolonisation, continuation or alienation: 1969-2010

This chapter aims to evaluate the perceptible order as seen in Dutch photographic collections of Curaçao that were made between 1969 and 2010. First, it will discuss the documentation of the riot of 1969. Then it will focus on images of Curaçao during the Suriname independence in 1975. Finally, the political fluctuations between 1980 and 2010 will be considered: Did Dutch photographers or institutes frame Curaçao as dependent? Or did the tourist gaze prevail? And how was Curaçao framed in later collections such as those made by Ilse Frech (2010)?

All the observations are summarized in table 7.1 which will be discussed below.

Table 7.1³³¹

Collection 1969-2010	Genres	Photographers	Icons	Themes (iconic complex)
The Rijksmuseum	Documentary photography (Diepraam and Frech)	The Dutch left The Dutch photographer	The local: Women (15) Men (9) Children (4) Men and women (3) Industry Rocks Worker (3) Manor Elderly home Road Tourist Willemstad Jewish cemetery Brothel	Global culture (Frech) Nightlife (Frech) Caribbean culture (Frech) Colonialism (Fresch) Local women (Frech) Dry landscape Girlpower (Frech) Poverty (Diepraam) Decay (Diepraam).
National Archive	Governmental photography	RVD Elsevier	Riots Locals Dutch marine	Shock (riots)

³³¹ For this period I did not consult the Dutch Museum of Photography because the archive contained only two photographs of 'Papa Godett', one of the leaders of the riots in 1969, visiting the Netherlands. I also neglected Atlas van Stolk because this archive contained only three photographs of Curaçao in this period.

	Photojournalism		Willemstad Beaches Houses Hotels Locals Workers Industry Harbour Fort Donkey Local women Infrastructure	RVD: Geography Infrastructure Demography Economy Prospects (Economy, demography, infrastructure, autonomy) Colonialism (Forts) Tourism (hotels)
Museum of World Cultures	Geophotography Anthropological photography	Dutch photographers	Market Ship Jewish cemetery Dancers Musicians Local children Manor <i>Kunuku</i> house Forts 'Land of Maal' Schottegat Tourists Sick man	The exotic Local culture Dependence (the child) Criminality (Land of Maal) Poverty (leper)
Brothers of Tilburg	Social photography Travel photography Tourism photography	The Catholic voice The touristic voice	Brothers Juliana bridge Children President of Venezuela Festivities Women Altar	Global Catholicism Tourism

As mentioned in chapter 6, the National Archive contained right-wing media photographs concerning Curaçao. This attention for Curaçao was nihil after 1969. Perhaps after the riot of 1969 right-wing magazines and photographers had lost their 'optimistic', arguably colonial view of Curaçao.³³² In contrast, the collection made by the Dutch government (*Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst, RVD*) seemed to mostly maintain photographs which were taken in the late 1960s and the mid-1970s. I assumed that the small amount of coloured photographs in this collection, were made around the Suriname independence in 1975.

The Rijksmuseum maintained documentary collections made by two Dutch photographers, namely Willem Diepraam (1975-1977) and Ilse Frech (2010). Willem Diepraam was an 'activist' photographer and his main goal was to capture structures of power.³³³ Diepraam was also connected to the leftist magazine '*Vrij Nederland*'.³³⁴ For his aim to address the 'guilt' felt by the Dutch population, Diepraam resided several years in the Dutch Caribbean to make a book that would reveal the legacies of colonialism. However during his travels through the Caribbean, Diepraam changed course and wanted to make individualistic, 'true' photographs of situations that he wanted to 'see again'. In the end he was convinced that 'photographs prove nothing'.³³⁵

The documentary collection of Ilse Frech (2010) was sponsored by the Rijksmuseum and was part of the project 'Documenting the Netherlands' in the wake of the dismantling of the Antilles.³³⁶ Ilse Frech especially tried to intuitively grasp on the 'soul' of the Dutch Antilles: an archetypical sense of an 'invisible' past. She tried to reveal this invisible past by 'roaming around' and talking to people. Her photographs especially focused on landscape but she

³³² Van den Doel, *Zo ver de wereld strekt*, 407.

³³³ <http://www.willemdiepraam.nl/willem-diepraam/biography> consulted at 01-03-2019.

³³⁴ *Ibidem*, consulted at 01-03-2019.

³³⁵ *Ibidem*, consulted at 01-03-2019; See this specific note of Diepraam about his Caribbean book: 'Geen uitzichtloze ellende meer voor een schuldbeladen westers publiek, maar: 'De specifieke herinneringen van één persoon voor wie de split-second van elke foto, een zeer subjectieve, vaak zeer intense ervaring was. Dit boek is dus geen poging tot definitie of volledige documentatie van het Nederlands Caraïbisch gebied. Het is slechts een verzameling beelden die ik selecteerde omdat ik ze terug wilde zien. Fotografie bewijst in laatste instantie niets', Translation: No documentation of misery for a guilty feeling [leftist] public but: The specific memories of one person for who the split-second of every single photograph means a very subjective, and often intense, experience. This book is not an attempt to define or fully document the Dutch Caribbean. It is merely a collection of images which I selected because I wanted to see these images again. In the end, photography proves nothing. Quoted from the biography at www.willemdiepraam.nl.

³³⁶ <http://www.ilsefrech.com/info/biography/> consulted at 02-03-2019.

remained 'sensitive to the history of slavery'.³³⁷

The Museum of World Cultures and the Brothers of Tilburg respectively contributed the perspective of Dutch photographers/tourists. The Museum of World Cultures maintained anthropological and geographical collections that portrayed people, geography and industry until 2000. The archive of the Brothers of Tilburg further revealed the same content and framing as in the previous period (inward gaze) with solely an attachment of a sense of 'global Catholicism' by picturing the state visit of the Venezuelan president.

In contrast to the previous periods (chapters 4-6), this period seemed to be represented by explicit individual or institutional perspectives. Analogous to the previous chapters, these perspectives will be discussed according to the period in which they appeared as well as the iconic complex they seemed to convey.

Upside-down decolonisation 1969-1975

The first episode, which started after the riots of 1969 until the Surinamese independence in 1975, was mainly represented by the collections of RVD, the Museum of World Cultures and Diepraam in the Rijksmuseum. The apparent Dutch 'sentiment' in this period appeared to aim for total decolonisation and independence of Curaçao.

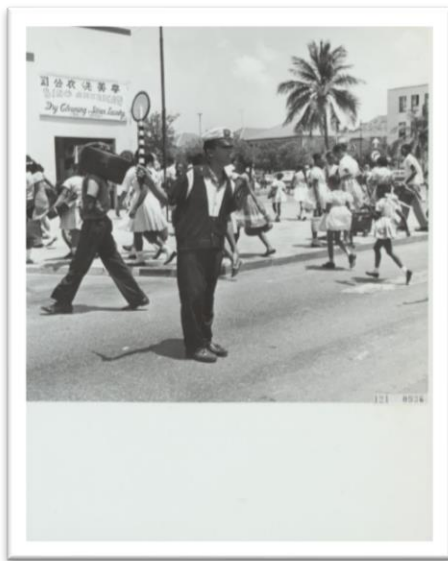
In photographs of the 1969 riots the Dutch press seemed more concerned with the involvement of 'their men' than with the actual causes and consequences of the riots: Two thirds of the visual material comprised of images of Dutch mariners. The demolition of shops, and 'royal monuments' were central in the photos, while in reality the protesters had also attacked Hotel Americano, the palace of the bishop and Fort Amsterdam. In this sense, the riot was pictured as a merely violence against capitalism and the Kingdom, instead of pro-labour violence against a powerful and unfair white 'establishment'. It is possible that the Dutch media was not aware of the colour line, the daily reality of local politics and the economic problems.

The RVD collection was mostly undated but there was evidence that it contained photographs of the late 1960s and 1970s. Firstly, the RVD mainly pictured Willemstad from an apparently favorable position, displaying maintained buildings and thriving local life. Poverty and images of 'the suburbs' were absent. Secondly, the economy and industry looked to be important themes in

³³⁷ <http://www.ilsefrech.com/projects/zjeitu/> consulted at 02-03-2019.

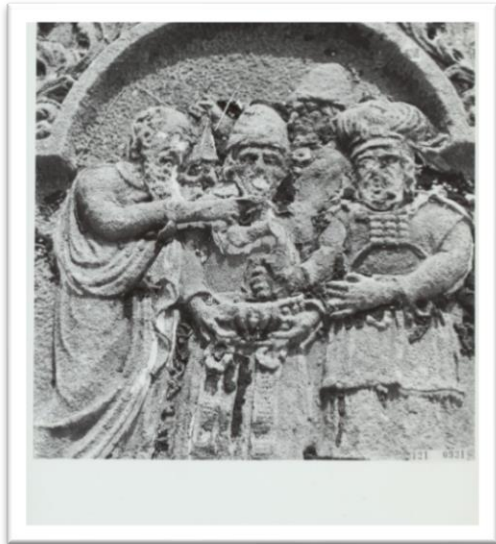
the RVD collections due to the depiction of Schottegat, the Curaçao shipping company and the phosphate mine. Both white and black locals were pictured working in these places. Thirdly, the RVD extensively photographed the Jewish cemetery at Schottegat. Finally, official institutional buildings such as the governor's palace and the post office, analogous to the previous chapter, were also visible.

In general it seemed that the RVD photographs tried to symbolize order and progress in the post-colonial 'elsewhere' because they systematically photographed well-maintained places with well-dressed and hardworking locals accompanied by tropical icons (see images 7.2-7.3).³³⁸ The Jewish cemetery and historic, colonial buildings, appeared to display a 'history of white residence' and Dutch colonialism (see image 7.4). Displaying Curaçao as a place where black people live prosperous lives among historical 'white' monuments, might have been connected to the tendency to state that an old colony was now able to function independently. The portrayal of the Jewish cemetery could also be seen as an 'official' effort to pay respect to the Jewish population of the Netherlands after the War.



7.1 and 7.2: RVD, 'Untitled' (undated).

³³⁸ In a post-colonial status quo 'the elsewhere' can figure as both a spatial elsewhere, as well as a temporal and disciplinary elsewhere; the colonial itself is removed from the 'body politic' and decoupled of national histories, it simply refers to 'not here' and therefore it can be forgotten. See: Elizabeth Edwards, 'The colonial archival imaginaire at home' in: *Social Anthropology*, Vol 24, Issue 2 (February 2016) 54.



7.3 and 7.4: RVD, 'Untitled' (undated).

The Museum of World Cultures contained a collection that looked to display touristic content in the 1970s. The images appeared to display an interesting stereotype of 'the local': Image 7.5, for example, apparently showed locals at the Avila Beach Hotel as traditional dancers and musicians, picturing them with a smile as though they have a 'sunny' character. As the band performed in the hotel, it could be argued that this 'mix' of South American and Creole culture was an amusing display for tourists. From the 1960s onwards, this particular, touristic gaze seemed to be present in the collection of the Brothers of Tilburg as well. For instance, image 7.6 displays a 'Mexican' type of musical spectacle next to a *kunuku* house. Although as entertainers, for the first time 'Venezuelan' and other Caribbean locals appear visible in this mixture of cultures. Here the local seemed to play the role of 'the other for the entertainment of the self'.

Simultaneously, as mentioned in previous chapters, the touristic gaze had no eye for colonial history. The places that were depicted were mostly restricted to hotels, beaches or Willemstad. This perspective could be arguably caused by the idea that the tourist is concerned with the entertainment of the self. With this mind set, sociocultural, sociohistorical and socio-political themes appeared to be put aside in favour of leisure of the

self in a 'tropical elsewhere'.



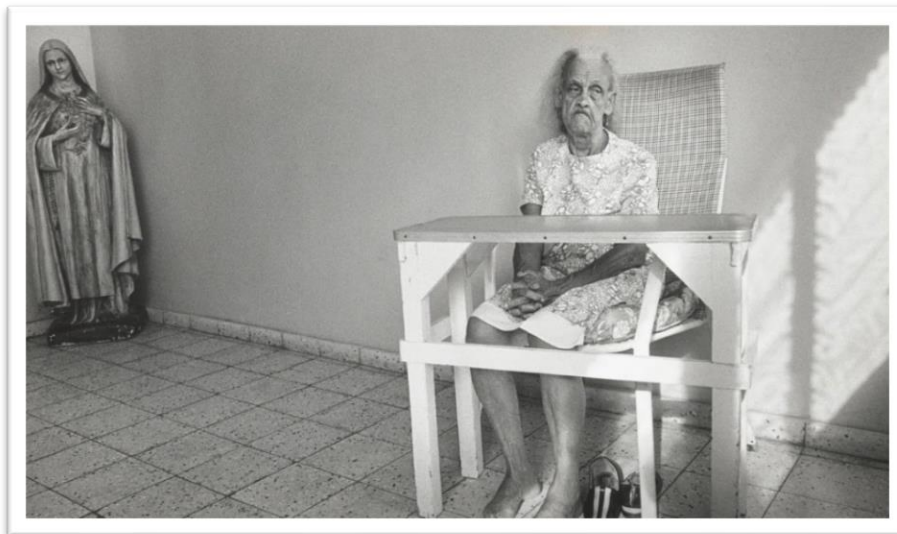
7.5: Anonymous, 'Dancers and musicians at Avila Beach Hotel' (1970).



7.6: Anonymous, 'Typical countryside setting with straw roofed native dwelling and local music group in foreground' (undated).

In stark contrast with the collections of RVD and the Brothers of Tilburg, Diepraam displayed the local as poor, labouring or old-aged. Image 7.7, for example, shows an old, local woman in an elderly home, alone and apparently quite unhappy. The Madonna in the corner could figure as potential icon of Catholicism and 'white supremacy'. The entire

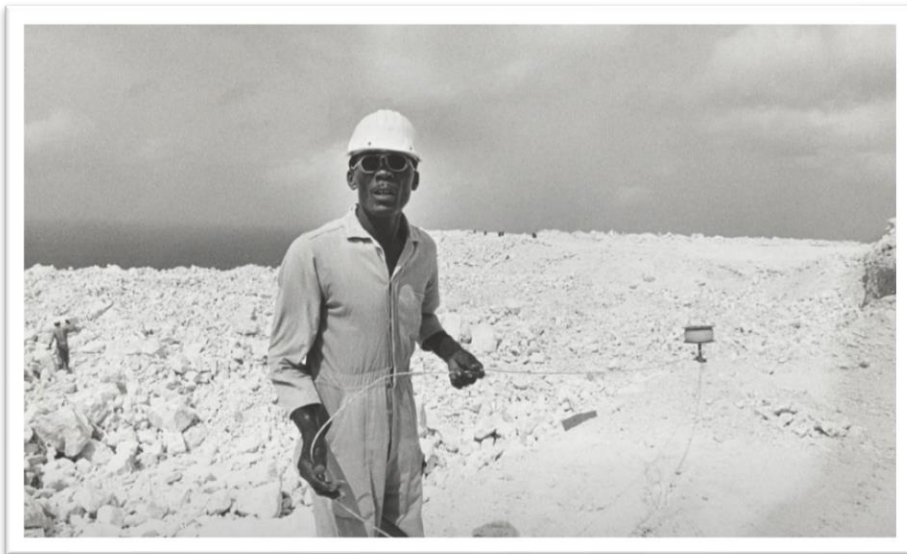
photograph appears to symbolise a confrontation with a dystopian 'reality'. A second example is image 7.9 that shows a black local man in the dust of industry, possibly portraying the worker as a 'victim' of capitalism. Both type of locals, i.e. the old person and the labourer, looked to be in a dystopian environment, making them appear as victims of a 'larger system'. In this regard, Diepraam continues to symbolize the local as 'disabled' or poor, but not necessarily as dependent. In displaying street views in Willemstad or other landscapes, Diepraam continued to capture apparent despair and demolation. Accordingly, his tourist gaze alluded to a dystopian atmosphere: image 7.8, for instance, appears to display the unawareness and naivety of a female tourist who tries to operate a camera: what is she picturing for herself? By deliberately photographing poverty, apparent despair and the contrast between the tourist gaze and local reality, Diepraam arguably moves beyond the earlier 'optimism' of amongst others Van der Poll, although his portrayal of Curaçao seemed to be a rather one-sided, negative representation.



7.7: Willem Diepraam, 'Curaçao elderly home' (1977).



7.8: Diepraam, 'Curaçao' (1977).



7.9: Diepraam, 'Fosfaatberg' (1977).

The 1980s and 1990s

This episode was represented by two collections in the Museum of World Cultures which contained visual material made between 1980 and 1990. One of the photographers, Jaap de Jonge worked for the Museum of the Tropics in Amsterdam and he produced photographic material between 1980 and 1983.³³⁹ In this collection, the repertoire of places (e.g. Willemstad, Schottegat, the countryside) were again visible. The collection also seemed to converge with the iconic complex described in the previous chapters by displaying ‘colonial’ icons, ‘modern’ icons, ‘traditional’ icons and ‘exotic’ icons.

This collection mainly portrayed the black local population, following the trends as described in the previous chapters. The black local, either appeared as part of an exotic landscape (‘African local’) or as modern city-dweller (‘urban local’). The lens captured mostly children, old people and also men suffering from leprosy, alluding to possible icons of ‘the dependent’, ‘the innocent’ and ‘the vulnerable’ (see image 7.10). The visibility of leprosy seemed to also convey the ‘otherness’ of Curaçao, because this disease was often associated with Third World countries and the tropics.³⁴⁰

The presence of ‘Dutch power’ seemed to be reconfirmed by icons alluding to colonialism (e.g. the palace of the governor and several forts) which appeared regularly accompanied by national symbols such as the Dutch flag. Moreover, mansions and the palace of the governor were shot from a low angle position, which again seemed to symbolically confirm power and status (see image 7.12).

This collection displayed a sharp contrast between ‘countryside’ (*kunuku*), which seemed to be perceived as traditional, and Willemstad, which appeared to be framed as modern city. In the portrayal of Willemstad, potential icons of modernity could be seen, like for example the Juliana Bridge and modern cars. Photographs of the ‘*kunuku*’ mainly showed uphill manor houses and forts against the backdrop of Curaçaoan landscapes. The locals depicted in the countryside were either quite young or old-aged and ‘sickly’. One photograph displayed a young boy holding a date plant, seemingly framing him as ‘a child of the rural lands’ (image 7.11) Another image displayed an old lady making a hat and

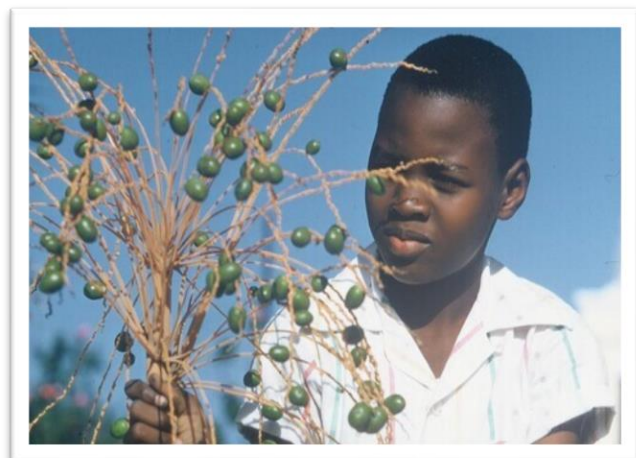
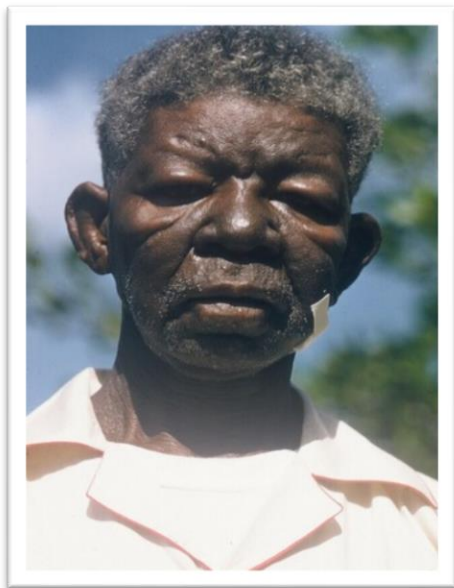
³³⁹ <https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/#/query/a1862b2a-371d-46e4-9f84-aa11ac396e03>, consulted at 10-03-2019.

³⁴⁰ <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/28258667> consulted at 24-06-2019; <https://www.leprastichting.nl/> consulted at 28-06-2019.

romantically purported the *kunuku* as being ‘traditional’.

A new place added to the repertoire was the ‘land of Maal’ which was a nickname of a cocaine trading zone in Curaçao. In this regard, for the first time, the iconic complex revealed an icon of (global) criminality (image 7.13). Finally, this collection contained many images of car wrecks, which could be possibly allude to icons of ‘despair’ and the ‘Third World’.

The portrayal of Willemstad as a modern Dutch city and the *kunuku* as the traditional and ‘former colonial’ countryside appeared to frame Curaçao as a post-colonial ‘elsewhere’ which survived because of Dutch aid. Visual imagery of the local population as ‘sickly’ and ‘child-like’ and depiction of places of criminal activity appeared to further emphasise dependence of Curaçao on the Netherlands. The absence of potential economic icons and the romantic visualisation of a ‘historic’ countryside further confirmed that Jaap de Jonge probably perceived Curaçao as a nation that needed and deserved to receive aid from the self.



7.10: De Jonge, ‘Leper at lepercolony Zaquito’ (1980-1983).

7.11: De Jonge, ‘Boy with riping date plant’ (1980-1983).



7.12: De Jonge, 'Courtyard of Fort Amsterdam with the fort Church' (1980-1983).



7.13: De Jonge, 'The land of Maal' (1980-1983).

The second collection in the Museum of World Cultures was anonymous and dated by the museum as 'before 1990'. In this collection, economic, tropical and modern icons appeared repeatedly visible (Willemstad, the Juliana Bridge, shopping districts, the refinery, Schottegat, cactuses, rocks and the 'kunuku'). In depictions of Willemstad, locals were shown in colourful houses and at markets, alluding to icons of 'the elsewhere'. The portrayal of landscapes added to the sense of the elsewhere by including tropical icons, but in contrast to material of Jaap de Jonge, icons of colonialism and 'Dutchness' appeared to be absent.

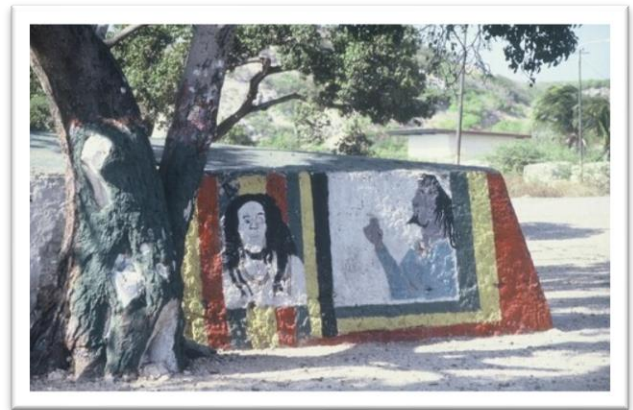
'Caribbean icons' were seemingly present in the second collection of Museum of World Cultures. In contrast to earlier imagery (see chapter 5 and 6), these photographs attempted to display a sense of 'Caribbeanness' by showing 'local' house interiors, street art and the carnival. The images of street art revealed colourful assemblages of different cultures and themes, and reflected upon things like the 'Rasta culture' and the fusion of tropical, Latin-

American, Creole and European icons (Caribbean sensibility) (see images 7.14 and 7.15). Carnival was represented by photographs well-dressed local women, covered in colours and feathers, which referred to a perception of ‘local’ traditions being greatly influenced by Latin-American culture (see image 7.16). The colourful and tropical house interiors also seemed to purport the idea of Curaçaoan culture as ‘Caribbean’ and ‘Latin-American’ (see image 7.17). On the other hand, the photographer seemed to be also aware of themes like ‘globalism’ and ‘tourism’ because cruise ships, a local McDonald’s and a gambling shop named ‘The Kennedys’ were also part of the visual imagery in this collection. In this regard it can be said that the photographer was able to grasp on the sensible mix of the local culture.

This collection seemed to focus on black and coloured locals. Most photographs of locals contained images of men and boys hanging out on the streets. Men were photographed playing ‘Domino’, a common game in Curaçao, or just sitting in front of a shop.³⁴¹ Boys were mainly photographed playing outside or wandering around on the streets of Willemstad. The male figure as icon of ‘the local’ seemed now to replace the previous, more feminine portrayal of the local population. By depicting local masculinity, it looked as if the photographer ascribed power to the local instead of vulnerability.



7.14: Anonymous, ‘Wall painting of probably a Kunuku House (before 1990).

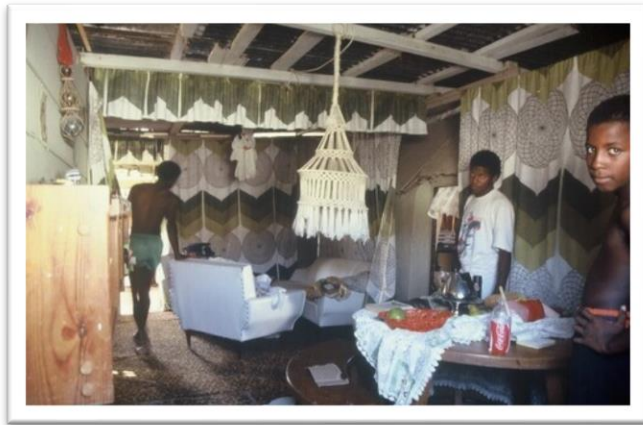


7.15: Anonymous, ‘Rasta wall painting’ (before 1990).

³⁴¹ Frank Martinus Arion, *Dubbelspel* (Nederland Leest, Amsterdam 2006) 32-33.



7.16: Anonymous, 'Carnival procession' (before 1990).



7.17: Anonymous, 'Interior of a house' (before 1990).

2000-2010

The final section of this chapter will evaluate the collections of Ilse Frech made in 2010 and anthropologist Frans Fontaine (2000). These collection consisted of twenty seven photographs which dealt with the Curaçaoan museum 'Kura Hulanda', but also contained 'general' images of the island. In these photographs, three objects could be seen, namely 'exotic' landscapes, the manor house 'Knip' and the local harvest feast 'Sué (which was mentioned for the first time), alluding respectively to the tropical, colonial history and local culture. In the depiction of Sué, mainly children and women were captured on film. This was perhaps caused by the (sub-conscious) belief that local culture was backwards and below the 'European' culture. Once again, the local population seemed to be displayed as icons of the

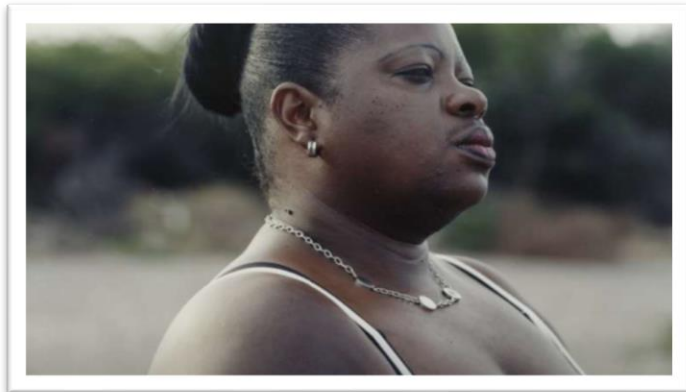
traditional, the harmless and the dependent and the island itself looked to be framed as tropical and (post-) colonial. Quite awkwardly and probably by chance, this collection reached back to colonial ways of seeing the island.

In 2010 Ilse Frech made a series of the Dutch Antilles after the dismantling of the Antilles into different countries and municipalities within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Her work predominantly dealt with humans as a main theme, but she also made photographs of roads (landscapes), former plantation areas (landscapes), clubs, hot-dog stands, Willemstad and billboards (for example 'Campo Alegre'). The humans she portrayed were mostly black women and girls.

Frech purported a society ruled by strong single mothers, which was perhaps an attempt to give them a 'voice'. The women were portrayed clubbing, shopping or being at home. Remarkably, none of them were photographed working. Nevertheless, picturing the local as a single, unemployed woman gave the impression of a 'vulnerable' and stagnated society. The dry landscapes visible alluded to a sense of despair and a lack of prospects while dry 'plantations' seemed to refer to colonial history. This was further emphasized by the lack of economic icons and the picturing of the Campo Alegre billboard. Picturing the billboard from a low angle and straight in the middle of the photograph made the brothel look as something that marked the entire island. Meanwhile, the clubs and hot dog stands appeared to reveal a strong Afro-American influence. In summary, by mainly picturing woman and decay, Frech appeared to sketch a vulnerable and pessimistic portrait of a 'parched' former colony. Although one-sided, this imaging gave local women a voice and revealed the legacies of slavery and colonialism by emphasising disturbed marital patterns (during slavery slaves were not allowed to marry) and the desiccation of the land (due to the refinery). Frech still seemed to portray the local as the 'other', but much more as the 'other as part of the other' than the 'other as part of the self'.



7.18: Frech, 'Club Highway, Salina, Curaçao (2010).



7.19: Frech, 'Portrait of woman near the former plantation Daniel (2010).



7.20: Frech, 'Tiffarah Anguin with friend' (2010).



7.21: Frech, 'Campo Alegre, the biggest brothel in the Caribbean (2010).

What was going on there? The possible and the unseen

This chapter focused on the 'visual relationship' between the Netherlands and Curaçao, starting with the aftermath of the riots of 30 May 1969 and ending in 2010. As a novelty, the leftist photographer Diepraam seemed to make a strong case for the 'anti-colonial' perspective in the 1970s. This was shown by contrasting Dutch power/ the tourist gaze with apparent despair and poverty in Curaçao. The Dutch government (RVD) looked to present local progress instead, which perhaps derived from the Dutch wish to fully decolonize Curaçao after 1969. The Catholic perspective remained orientated inward but alluded to a sense of 'global Catholicism'.

During the 1980s and 1990s, colonial icons looked to be back on display, suggesting a future of Dutch aid to 'take care' of Curaçao. This seemed to be further confirmed by the depiction of local children (dependency), poverty and 'lepers', which was commonly seen as a Third World disease. This frame could have reflected the Dutch belief that complete independence of Curaçao would be a long term plan.

Alongside visualization of dependence and despair, photographers attempted to display local Caribbean culture, which seemed to be framed in two ways. Either the photographer applied the Dutch iconic complex, particularly picturing local children/women imbedded alongside tropical icons, or the photographer tried to see Curaçao through a global perspective, depicting 'Caribbeanness' or 'Afro-Americanism'. By doing so local culture was acknowledged although seen as 'another' culture and put on distance of the Dutch self.

In this time period, poverty was visible again since the 1910s, particularly in the collections of Diepraam. Catholic and Jewish religions were also visible. Nevertheless, this multi-religious approach did not display Protestantism, which suggested Dutch absence. Economic icons were for the first time missing since 1969. Also, the Dutch self (marine, Queen, journalists) appeared disappearing in the photographs after 1969. The absence of economic icons in combination with sick, poor or old-aged locals framed Curaçao as a mere development area, often dependent on the Netherlands which was represented by colonial and national icons. Socio-cultural alienation between the Netherlands and Curaçao seemed to be invoked by the absence of the Dutch self and the visibility of the 'Caribbean', 'Afro-American' or 'traditional' local. This alienation was especially seen in the latest collection of Frech, who was not interested in capturing Dutch icons on her camera.

Conclusion

The Dutch iconic complex

In this thesis I have tried to articulate a socio-historic perspective on Dutch-Curaçaoan history by analysing 'Dutch-made' photographs taken in Curaçao between 1900 and 2010. In this conclusion I will answer the main question, namely: What was considered most telling about Curaçao according to different -mainly Dutch- photographers (individuals and institutions) and how and why did this change over the course of a hundred years? This question was inspired by Goffman's description of 'framing' as a subjective account of 'what is going on right now'? To answer the main question I have tried to reconstruct the 'Dutch iconic complex' meaning the iconic complex used by Dutch or Dutch oriented photographers to portray Curaçao between 1900 and 2010. To provide an empirical outline of the iconic complex this study attempted to learn as much as possible about the circumstances under which the photographs were produced. This meant that if needed the producers and 'keepers' (archives) of the photographs were checked down to the individual level and that different historical periods and photographic genres were taken into consideration. This resulted in separate frame analyses for four time periods: 1900 until 1920, 1920 until 1954, 1954 until 1969 and 1969 until 2010.

The Dutch iconic complex between 1900 and 2010 showed continuities and changes. Iconic continuities consisted of six main themes, namely 'economy', 'colonialism', 'the exotic/tropical', 'modernism', 'Dutch nationalism' and local 'vulnerability/harmlessness'.

Between 1900 and 1920 Dutch officials seemed to be mainly portraying tropical icons, colonial icons and the Dutch self. The absence of economic icons and political icons manifested a frame of 'temporal residence in a tropical, non-prosperous colony' without a reference to the future of Curaçao. This probably arrived from the notion that Curaçao had not much to offer to the Netherland economically. In this gaze locals appeared to be working for the 'self' as though a mute part of the self: icons of Afro-Curaçaoan culture could not be found. Probably Dutch people remained largely ignorant of local culture, economy and trade. The missionary gaze seemed to underline the theme of poverty as their collections apparently revealed the other as 'project' of the self, and therewith suggested a Catholic-led future, which is a basic tendency in missionary work.

Between 1920 and 1954 Dutch photographers or Dutch oriented photographers (Curiel) became the dominant producers of visual material. Tropical and colonial icons looked to remain visible in their 'geographic landscape' photography that carried an undertone of rediscovery. From the 1930s onwards the iconic complex seemed to be extended by icons of harmlessness/vulnerability through the depiction of mainly local women and children, either as part of the self (working for the self) or as part of the other (urban locals, African-like locals). After the Second World War, apparent icons of the Dutch nation (military, flags) and modernity (modern buildings) became visible. This modern and 'Dutch' extension of the iconic complex that came after a phase of rediscovery suggested a Dutch, colonial infiltration into Curaçaoan daily life. This probably arrived from the economic prosperity of Curaçao as a consequence of industrialisation, which was beneficial to the Dutch state and to a post-war attempt to hold on to a certain colonial prestige. Apparent indications of Catholic, normalized power and images of harmless 'Caribbean mothers' seemed to further emphasise continued Dutch involvement with Curaçao.

After 1954 up to 1969, which was the phase after autonomy, the iconic complex appeared to continue with themes such as economy, the tropical, modernity, harmlessness/vulnerability and nationalism, and it was arguably further extended with icons related to the Kingdom of the Netherlands (the 'royal visits'). Colonial icons appeared to remain visible but seemed to be framed as 'something in the past'. During this period since Autonomy local culture was seriously photographed, albeit stereotypically what seemed to arise from Dutch ignorance of Curaçaoan population and traditions. An insider's gaze was depicted in Shell and the church, which seemed to be an attempt to 'decolonize' the perspective. The black local appeared to be depicted in servitude or in the formation of the child (shy, handicapped), especially in photographs of the Dutch Queen. Hereby Dutch power (Queen, military) appeared to be emphasised opposite the local 'child' (the young Curaçaoan nation) and a future of Dutch leadership seemed to be sketched. Progress remained visible with the depiction of modern buildings which seemed to be often framed as 'Dutch'. The dichotomous discourses of progress, colonial history and kingdom relations, along with discourses of black servitude, stereotypes of 'the other culture' and 'the local child' seemed to relay the notion that it was not easy to reconfigure the post-colonial status quo without colonial patterns of representation.

From 1969 onwards, the Dutch self seemed to be absent in images of Curaçao, which

suggested that Dutch infiltration was over. Perhaps this derived from the Dutch aim for decolonisation after the riots of 1969. From 1969 until 2010, the iconic complex seemed to mainly contain icons of the tropical, the traditional, dependence, poverty, Afro-Americanism and Caribbean (Rastafari). The visual representations changed quickly. During the 1970s, the leftist gaze looked to be emphasizing icons of poverty dependence and decay in its descriptions of the island; this perhaps derived from a wish to victimize post-colonial areas. The RVD maintained an optimistic tone, showing potential icons of progress, the tropics, modernity and economy; this was probably to prove that full decolonisation was possible. In the 1980s icons of dependence (sickly, old locals) and colonial history, as well as the absence of economic icons, seemed to emphasize necessary and some may have even argued mandatory, Dutch aid for Curaçao. During the 1990s and 2000s, local culture appeared to be the main theme, either displayed in line with the colonial complex, thus as unequal to Dutch culture (feminine, childish), or in a global context as 'Caribbean' and influenced by Afro-Americanism. Economic, colonial and Dutch national icons disappeared from the 1990's onwards, revealing that the Dutch camera felt a strong alienation towards its former colony. Which might have been stressing the leftist and right wing Dutch wish to get rid of these colonies.

The unseen

This thesis interpreted subjects, places or people which were not depicted in the photograph collections of Curaçao ('the unseen') as an instance of what the Dutch 'imagination' would deem as 'not possible'. It is probable that the unseen reflected other aims than those pursued by most (Dutch) photographers whose work was analysed in this study. This had several implications.

Firstly, it became apparent that the photographers did not portray Jewish locals. As members of the local elite, they were possibly perceived as rivals in power manifestation at the island or it could be that the socio-cultural gap between Dutch visitors and Jewish locals was too large to be bridged. It is also possible that Jewish locals made themselves invisible to

outsiders. Only after the Second World War, a Jewish element was depicted in the form of the Jewish cemetery, which was perhaps caused by the atrocities of that war. Protestant locals only marginally appeared on camera and they seemed to be framed as poor and modest in photographs after the war. This reconfirms the assumption that local elites were seen as powerful rivals, because Dutch recolonisation was at its peak during the economic prosperity between 1930 and 1956.

Secondly, it became clear that poverty, which is still a substantial problem in Curaçao, was barely shown in the photographs that were studied. Apart from the missionary collection and some later photographs (Diepraam, 1980s-1990s, Frech) local life appeared to be depicted as reasonably prosperous. Perhaps Dutch photographers wanted to display that the Netherlands took good care of its colonies (1920-1950) or that Curaçao could survive on its own (after the 1970s).

Thirdly, the perception arose that most collections showed mainly black locals or white outsiders, but due to Shell's employment regime, a large number of labour immigrants who were not 'black' came to Curaçao: Venezuelans, Portuguese, and from 1950s onwards also Chinese, Syrians and Pakistanis. Besides, a substantial part of the local population was of 'mixed' descent. These 'white' or light coloured local peoples were to a lesser extent visible in the Dutch archives. This observation gives rise to the notion that the white Dutch visitor imagined him-/herself accompanied by merely black locals. In this sense, the black population of Curaçao was perhaps seen as the 'non-Dutch other'. This dynamic may pertain to the legacy of Dutch slavery: the other as 'possession' of the self and therefore part of the self.

Overall, this thesis argues that the Dutch social-cultural mechanism of 'distancing' the colony as 'the elsewhere' and its peoples as 'the other' is difficult to abandon in a post-colonial geopolitical order. Most photographic collections that were studied in this thesis did not reveal a genuine Dutch engagement with the black local; a dynamic which still continues today. Afro-Curaçaoans are either perceived as the foreigner or as the distant local in the tropical elsewhere. A sense of them and us remains, which could refer to the legacy of the colour-line, colonialism and slavery. The same applies to Curaçao as a state: it is still perceived as a foreign country instead of an integral part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Reflections and recommendations for further research

During this research, it became clear that the institutional context had a large influence on the content of the collections as well as on the reasons for collecting photographs.

Unfortunately, it was outside of the scope of this study to learn extensively about the circumstances of production of the photograph collections. Hence, further research should specifically focus on the distinct institutional context of the photograph collections pertaining to Curaçao to acquire deeper understanding of the interests and aims of different stakeholders. The same can be argued with respect to each period that was analysed. Especially the period after autonomy revealed drastic changes. A special focus on this period can perhaps contribute to a better understanding of contemporary opinions about Curaçao maintained by the Dutch population and tourists.

Furthermore this thesis has been written from a personal interest in the lack of knowledge that many Dutch people have about Curaçao and other Dutch Caribbean islands. A study from a communications perspective could help disseminate the results of studies like this thesis to the Dutch and Caribbean public. This could be done through e.g. (social) media and exhibitions of photographs in museums and tourist agencies.

A fourth recommendation for further study lays in the 'dialogue' with local Curaçaoans. What do they see in the photographs? What do they think icons represent? And more importantly: does Curaçao have photograph collections itself? Can we compare the outsider's gaze with the insider's gaze? How did local Curaçaoans depict Dutch visitors or missionaries? What was going on there according to their perspectives? Only by starting this dialogue, the communal history can perhaps finally become a communal memory experienced by the entire Dutch community, including the Dutch-Caribbean community.

Finally, it is required to nuance the results of this thesis by reflecting on the influence of my own social background on my interpretations of the photographs. Cultural differences, inclusion/exclusion and stereotyping have always captured my attention, perhaps because I am a child of a Czech refugee father and a native Dutch mother. As a result I made many friends with foreign or mixed backgrounds. Eventually I also became friends with students who came from Curaçao. Because of this friendship, and also because I visited Curaçao myself, I was confused by the 'ignorance' of Dutch tourists and that in the Netherlands dark

skinned people from the Dutch Caribbean were not included in society as 'us'. These observations have partly influenced my research, but because I was aware of my opinion, I have tried to keep my results as neutral as possible. The fact is that there is no 'right' or 'wrong' or an explicit 'white' or 'black' perspective; there is merely context, time and individual involvement. In the end, these qualities determine the way we look and portray certain instances.

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<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/rijksstudio>

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<https://www.nationaalarchief.nl>

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Appendix photographs

Cover photo: : Anefo, 'Dutch marine officers in Curaçao' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.01.03, number: 905-7904 (Curaçao 1953).

Chapter 4

4.1: Anonymous, 'A plantation owner next to a great Agave plant' in: NMVW, code: TM-10028973 (Curaçao 1905-1910).

4.2: Andries Augustus Boom, 'Ernita en Maria de Vries' in: RM, code: NG-2009-124-46-1 (Curaçao 1912).

4.3 Andries A. Boom, 'Cactuses at Curaçao' in: RM, code: NG-2009-124-33-3 (Curaçao 1910).

4.4: Jean Demmeni, 'Willemstad-Curaçao: Sight at Harbour' in: NMVW, code: RV-A5-3-75 (Curaçao 1913).

4.5: Soubllette & Fils, 'Salt is packed in bags from the salt-hill towards the ship' in among others NMVW, code: TM-10021681 (Curaçao1900).

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4.8: Anonymous, 'Rest after a walk' in: CFT, number: 412447 (Curaçao 1920).

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4.12: Anonymous, 'Land-road' in: CFT, number: 4128996 (Curaçao 1919).

4.13: Anonymous, 'The peeling of oranges at plantation Cas Cora' in: NMVW, code: TM-10021655 (Curaçao 1900).

Chapter 5

5.1: Anonymous, Group portrait of A.D. Jonckheer, N.M. Chumaceiro, R.C. Henriquez en Jac V.d.Linde, the redaction of the 'schoolrevue' in: NMVW, code: TM-60061748 (Curaçao 1925).

5.2: Anonymous, 'Group portrait of Women at Curaçao' in: NMVW, code: TM-10028965, (Curaçao 1930).

5.3: Augusta Curiel, 'Group-portrait of marine-officers with the governor of Curaçao near the cave of Hato' in: NMWC, code: RV-A115-1-70 (Curaçao 1927).

5.4: Augusta Curiel: 'Bullenbaai at the westcoast' in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-42 (Curaçao 1927).

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5.7: Augusta Curiel, 'Sight at fort Nassau at Curaçao' in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-35 (Curaçao 1927).

5.8: Augusta Curiel, 'Rock at the bay of Caracas in the southern part of Curaçao, in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-47 (Curaçao 1927).

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5.10: Augusta Curiel, 'Landscape at Curaçao, in the back the mountain of St Christoffel' in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-72 (Curaçao 1927).

5.11: Augusta Curiel, 'Sight at Herenstraat in Willemstad, Curaçao' in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-61 (Curaçao 1927).

5.12: Augusta Curiel, 'Governor's square in Willemstad, Curaçao'in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-60 (Curaçao 1927).

5.13: Augusta Curiel, 'The floating market at Waaigat, Willemstad, Curaçao' in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-32 (Curaçao 1927).

5.14: 'Women selling products in Otrabanda, Willemstad, Curaçao' in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-57 (Curaçao 1927).

- 5.15: Augusta Curiel, 'Street along the water, Willemstad' in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-54 (Curaçao 1927).
- 5.16: Augusta Curiel, 'Loading of coal from Maduro's firm at the shore', in: NMVW, code: RV-A115-1-49 (Curaçao 1927).
- 5.17: Polidoris Ego, 'Family trips in Curaçao' in: RM, code: NG-2007-49-15 (Curaçao 1931-1934).
- 5.18: Hendrik ter Keurs, 'Curaçao' in: RM, code: RP-F-2011-58-67 (Curaçao 1936-1937).
- 5.19: Polidoris Ego, 'Antillean people' in: RM, code: NG-2007-49-35 (Curaçao 1931-1934).
- 5.20: Polidoris Ego, 'Visits in Curaçao' in: RM, code: NG-2007-49-20 (Curaçao 1931-1934).
- 5.21: Willem van der Poll, 'Queen Emma bridge' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.14.02, number: 252-7238 (Curaçao 1947).
- 5.22: Willem van der Poll, 'Piscadera Bay' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.14.02, number: 252-7333 (Curaçao 1947).
- 5.23: Willem van der Poll, 'Farmer van der Linde at manor Savonet' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.14.02, number: 272-7389 (Curaçao 1947).
- 5.24: Anefo, 'Dutch marine officers in Curaçao' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.01.03, number: 905-7904 (Curaçao 1953).
- 5.25: Anonymous, 'A war ship is welcomed by the military at the Waterfort' in: NMVW, code: TM-60060895 (Curaçao 1930-1950).
- 5.26: Hugo Wilmar, 'The knoekoe landscape with cactuses' in: NA, <http://proxy.handle.net/10648/6b2b0e06-1ad9-102f-a76c-003048944028>, (Curaçao 1949).
- 5.27: Willem van der Poll, 'Women and child at bay of Saint Michel, south of Curaçao;; in: NA, archive code: 2.24.14.02, number: 252-7509 (Curaçao 1947).
- 5.28: Elsevier, 'People of Curaçao' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.05.02, number: 073-1240 (Curaçao 1951).
- 5.29: Anonymous, 'Schottegat' in: CFT, number: 404807 (Curaçao 1940).
- 5.30: Anefo distributor, Fred Fisher photographer, 'Bishop ordination' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.01.04, number: 903-1773 (Curaçao 1949).

Chapter 6

- 6.1: Boy Lawson, 'Sight at Fort Amsterdam', in: NMVW, code TM-20029783 (Curaçao 1964).
- 6.2: Elsevier, 'Entrance Fort Amsterdam Curaçao' in: NA, Archive code: 2.24.05.02, number 141-0215 (Curaçao 1960).
- 6.3: Boy Lawson, 'House at manor Savonet, former house of a slave supervisor', in: NMVW, code TM-20029908 (Curaçao 1964).
- 6.4: Willem van der Poll, 'Habaai Manor' in: NA, Archive code: 2.24.14.02, number: 252-3250 (Curaçao 1955).
- 6.5: Boy Lawson, 'Landscape' in: NMVW, code TM-20029872 (Curaçao 1964).
- 6.6: Anonymous, 'Oil Refinery Schottegat' in: NMVW, code: TM-60032008 (Curaçao 1957).
- 6.7: Willem van der Poll, 'Barber' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.14.02, number: 252-3757 (Curaçao 1955).
- 6.8: Willem van der Poll: 'Kunuku man' in: NA, archive code 2.24.14.02, number: 252-3719 (Curaçao 1955).
- 6.9: Boy Lawson, 'Kunuku house at St Michiel' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029786 (Curaçao 1964).
- 6.10: Anonymous, 'Young watchmen in the Knoek' in: CFT, number: 407977 (Curaçao undated).
- 6.11: Fred Fischer, 'Untitled' in: NFM, code: FER-507 (Curaçao 1957).
- 6.12: Willem van der Poll, 'Dance' in: NA, archive code 2.24.14.02, number: 252-3456 (Curaçao 1955).
- 6.13: Anonymous, 'Native fruit girl' in: NFM, code: WMR-430537 (Curaçao undated).
- 6.14: Boy Lawson, 'Antillean woman with food at market' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029778 (Curaçao 1964).
- 6.15: Willem van der Poll, 'Post office' in: NA, archive code 2.24.14.02, number: 252-3047 (Curaçao 1955).
- 6.16: Anonymous 'Van Stuyvesant college' in: NMVW, code: TM-60033993 (Curaçao 1950-1955).
- 6.17: Willem van der Poll, 'An officer during the royal visit at CPIM' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.10.02, number: 252-3770 (Curaçao 1955).
- 6.18: Anefo, 'Visits, children, handicapped' in: NA, archive code 2.24.05.02, number: 017-0036 (1965).
- 6.19: Elsevier, 'Untitled' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.05.02, number: 017-0334 (Curaçao 1957).

- 6.20: Willem van der Poll, 'Banquet' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.14.02, number: 252-3801 (Curaçao 1955).
- 6.21: Willem van der Poll, 'Maiden' in: NA, archive code 2.24.14.02, number: 252-2786 (Curaçao 1955).
- 6.22: Eva Charlotte Pennink, 'Stay at Curaçao and Aruba' in: RM, code: RP-F-2009-34-24 (Curaçao 1966).
- 6.23: Eva Charlotte Pennink, 'Stay at Curaçao and Aruba' in: RM, code: RP-F-2009-34-25 (Curaçao 1966).
- 6.24: Willem van der Poll, 'Man goes into water, woman is watching' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.14.02, number: 252-3165 (Curaçao 1955).
- 6.25: Anonymous, 'Fr. Canutus Zebregs, Fr. Ewaldus v.Hoog, Fr. Juliano v. Gijzel, Fr. Gijsbert Hamers, Fr. Walterus Jozen, N.N.' in: CFT, number: 407246 (Curaçao undated).

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- 7.1: RVD, 'untitled' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.10.02, number: 121-0936 (Curaçao undated).
- 7.2: RVD, 'untitled' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.10.02, number: 121-0963 (Curaçao undated).
- 7.3: RVD, 'untitled' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.10.02, number: 121-0931 (Curaçao undated).
- 7.4: RVD, 'untitled' in: NA, archive code: 2.24.10.02, number: 121-0962 (Curaçao undated).
- 7.5: Anonymous, 'Dancers and musicians at Avila Beach Hotel' in: NMWC, code: TM-20006206 (Curaçao 1970).
- 7.6: Anonymous, 'Typical countryside setting with straw roofed native dwelling and local music group in foreground' in: CFT, number: 440829 (Curaçao circa 1960-1970).
- 7.7: Willem Diepraam, 'Elderly Home, Curaçao' in: RM, code: RP-F-2016-47-76 (Curaçao 1977).
- 7.8: Willem Diepraam, 'Curaçao' in: RM, code: RP-F-2016-47-95 (Curaçao 1977).
- 7.9: Willem Diepraam, 'Fosfaatberg' in: RM, code: RP-F-2016-47-61 (Curaçao 1977).
- 7.10: Jaap de Jonge, 'Leper at lepercolony Zaquito' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029177 (Curaçao 1980-1983).
- 7.11: Jaap de Jonge, 'Boy with riping date plant' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029179 (Curaçao 1980-1983).
- 7.12: Jaap de Jonge, 'Courtyard of Fort Amsterdam with the fort Church' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029197 (Curaçao 1980-1983).
- 7.13: Jaap de Jonge, 'The land of Maal' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029204 (Curaçao 1980-1983).
- 7.14: Anonymous, 'Wall painting of probably a Kunuku house' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029264 (Curaçao before 1990).

- 7.15: Anonymous, 'Rasta wall painting' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029260 (Curaçao before 1990).
- 7.16: Anonymous, 'Carnival procession' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029247 (Curaçao before 1990).
- 7.17: Anonymous, 'Interior of a house' in: NMVW, code: TM-20029214 (Curaçao before 1990).
- 7.18: Ilse Frech, "Club Highway, Curaçao" in: RM, code: NG-2011-6-29 (Curaçao 2010).
- 7.19: Ilse Frech, 'Portrait of a woman near the former plantation Daniel in: RM, code: NG-2011-6-12 (Curaçao 2010).
- 7.20: Ilse Frech, 'Tiffarah Anguin with friend' in: RM, code: NG-2011-6-17 (Curaçao 2010).
- 7.21: Ilse Frech, 'Campo Alegre, the biggest brothel in the Caribbean' in: RM, code: NG-2011-6-22 (Curaçao 2010).

