

## CHAPTER ONE

# Monarchy and empire in the age of mass photography: the Dutch colonial world during Queen Wilhelmina's reign, 1898–1948

Between 31 August and 6 September 1923, Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands marked her silver jubilee, the 25th anniversary of her inauguration. The week-long festivities united disparate populations across the globe, not just in the Netherlands but throughout its empire, which included Suriname and the West Indies in the Atlantic realm, and the East Indies in South-east Asia. The milestone also resonated across the Indian Ocean in places that had not been part of the Dutch colonial world for over a century, including Cape Town in southern Africa, an important former port of call for *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (United East India Company) ships on their way to the East Indies.<sup>1</sup> Throughout Wilhelmina's reign, from 1898 to 1948, the Dutch monarchy could therefore claim links to a global community of subjects that rivalled those of other European empires.

Among the many gifts Wilhelmina received from her subjects in the Netherlands and its colonies on this occasion was a photograph album from the King of Surakarta in the East Indies.<sup>2</sup> Pakubuwono X's title was *susuhunan*, Javanese for 'Axis of the Cosmos'. In reality, his kingdom was little more than a palace and its surrounds in the city of Solo, Central Java, where he was one among several royals, all of whom had been subjugated to Dutch rule at the end of the Java War in 1830. It was for this reason that the King of Surakarta was obliged to celebrate the regnal milestones of a Dutch queen – in his own *kraton* (palace), no less, and in concert with a commoner, the Resident, a Dutch civil servant with whom the *susuhunan* ceremonially shared his throne on official occasions.

Looking through the pages of the album, Queen Wilhelmina would have had an opportunity to see this for herself. A photograph of Pakubuwono X, the Dutch official J. J. van Helsdingen and their respective wives all enthroned on the *bale buko sri* came after a full-length portrait of the *susuhunan* and a photograph of the pavilion in



1.1 Album of Pakubuwono X, 'The decorated bust of Her Majesty the Queen in the Pendopo Sasono Sewoko', Surakarta (Central Java), 1923

the *kraton* where the ritual procession held in Wilhelmina's honour culminated. Following those photographs, the Dutch queen would suddenly have been confronted with an image of herself – or rather, a mounted bust, decorated with leaves and flowers and suffused in the glow of a chandelier's electric light (figure 1.1). An effigy was required for the king and official to look at because Queen Wilhelmina was not a guest of honour at the palace – not in 1923, and not ever, anywhere in the Dutch empire, even in the East Indies, at that time the largest, oldest and most lucrative of the Netherlands' colonies to remain after centuries of overseas expansion.

The natural light streaming in from between the pillars and emanating from the chandelier, which served both as crown and nimbus, symbolically bestowed regal and divine attributes on Wilhelmina. Despite her being a pious Christian, the queen might have been uncomfortable with the sacral implications of the nimbus, for heads of the House of

Orange had never ruled by divine right. The light effect was also meaningful in Javanese visual culture where, as Benedict Anderson has shown, the halo could be interpreted as the *tèja* (radiance) 'traditionally associated with the public visage of the ruler', a physical emanation of their divine radiance (*wahyu*).<sup>3</sup> Anthropologist Karen Strassler has identified the same effect in photographs of revered Indonesians in contemporary Javanese visual culture.<sup>4</sup> In Pakubuwono X's photograph, the halo belongs not to a male, Muslim Javanese but to a foreign monarch, a Christian and a woman, all of which makes it an unusual image in the history of Javanese photography.

This image eloquently captures how photography, a visual medium with global reach in the early twentieth century, drew upon Javanese visual practices in dialogue with European conventions. In this photograph we also encounter the major theme of this book: how the relations of a European, female king with her subjects were mediated through photography across a transnational realm that included overseas colonies. Pakubuwono X's photograph album is but one of many examples discussed throughout this book of how both elite and ordinary subjects of the Dutch queen in the East Indies, Indonesians as well as Europeans, used photographs to make subtle political communications with Wilhelmina and each other. These encounters included diplomatic exchanges, appeals to a powerful institution for recognition and negotiations of subjecthood. Pakubuwono X's photograph is also one among countless examples of visual associations made in colonial photography between electricity and Queen Wilhelmina's 'enlightened' rule. I argue in this book that looking at a Dutch monarch through the lenses of cameras in the East Indies sheds new light on Indonesian histories, Dutch histories and their entanglement with each other.

### *Monarchy and empire*

Why *this* queen, Wilhelmina, in particular? Her reign spanned the zenith and fall of Dutch rule in Indonesia. Her half-century as queen, from 1898 to 1948, remains the longest reign of any Dutch monarch to date. Her mother, Queen Emma, was regent in the 1890s, but it was Wilhelmina who became the first sovereign female king to lead the House of Orange. The origins of this dynasty stretched to William the Silent (1533–84), the first Prince of Orange, and coincided with the advent of Dutch overseas expansion under the aegis of the East and West India Companies. Wilhelmina had fewer constitutional powers in her colonies or at home than her nineteenth-century forebears, Kings Willem I, II and III,<sup>5</sup> yet she became the last monarch to preside over the modern Dutch empire in its most complete form, when it comprised

Suriname in South America, the six Caribbean islands of the Netherlands West Indies (Sint Maarten, Sint Eustatius, Saba, Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and the archipelago then known as the East Indies, now Indonesia. It was during Wilhelmina's reign that Dutch sovereignty in this archipelago expanded to the borders that her heir, Juliana, inherited in 1948, and then ceded to the Republic of Indonesia the following year.

Queen Wilhelmina was the figure who loomed large, if symbolically, in the colonial politics of her time. She was monarch when the first parties in favour of East Indies self-rule were founded: Budi Utomo in 1908, the Indische Partij and Sarekat Islam in 1912, and the Nationalist Party in 1927. She was queen when the first communist uprisings erupted in Java and Sumatra in 1926, only to be repressed by the colonial government. She was still on the throne, but exiled in London, when Japanese forces invaded the archipelago in 1942. She was back at the helm when they capitulated in 1945 and Soekarno and Hatta declared Indonesian independence. When the Indonesian National Revolution proceeded to defend this proclamation, Wilhelmina was revered by the Dutch and colonial forces who fought to retain the 'Indies'.

She was a recurring motif in the polemics of renowned Indonesians who lived in the twentieth century. Her regnal milestones marked time in the memoir of an Indonesian elected to the Council of the Indies (*Volksraad*), Achmad Djajadiningrat (1877–1943), who served on this advisory body to the governor-general in the early 1930s.<sup>6</sup> She was affected by the writings of Sutan Sjahrir (1909–66), Indonesia's first prime minister in the revolutionary government, who had been forced to celebrate her birthday when he was imprisoned on Banda in the mid-1930s.<sup>7</sup> She was encountered and fetishised – in the form of a mass-produced portrait, no less – by Minke, the fictional protagonist of Indonesia's most famous novelist, Pramoedya Ananta Toer.<sup>8</sup> And yet she is rarely remembered, except anecdotally, in histories of Indonesia.

Soon after Wilhelmina was inaugurated as queen in 1898, *kon-inginnedag* (Queen's Day) emerged in the East Indies as an important annual event for celebrating the colony as a Dutch possession and uniting it with other parts of the Dutch colonial world.<sup>9</sup> The rites of passage of leading members of the House of Orange had been celebrated sporadically here since the East India Company had become the primary agent of Dutch power in Asia.<sup>10</sup> However, Wilhelmina was the first monarch whose public birthday and inauguration celebrations became a regular fixture, aimed at unifying Dutch subjects under a common figurehead.<sup>11</sup> These practices commenced in the 1880s, in Wilhelmina's youth, as the fortunes of the House of Orange appeared to be in decline,

and in the context of widening political and religious rifts in Dutch society.

Wilhelmina was born into a late nineteenth-century Netherlands where mass political participation manifested as 'pillarisation' (*verzuiling*), with different political and confessional groups nurturing their own institutions to cultivate strong communal identities. From the 1870s liberals and conservatives were united in anxiety over the apparent lack of will towards national unity in the Netherlands.<sup>12</sup> For many, the monarchy seemed a politically neutral solution. *Princesjedag* (Princess's Day) was the initiative of municipal elites who cast the young Wilhelmina as a remedy for the tensions of the day, a common focus of loyalty for Dutch people of all faiths and creeds. Celebrations for her were henceforth organised locally and with mass participation.<sup>13</sup>

The festival was embraced by a monarchy facing a crisis of legitimacy. Wilhelmina's father, King Willem III (or 'King Gorilla', as he was unkindly termed by his detractors), was an unpopular monarch who had the additional misfortune of outliving all three of his (legitimate) male heirs.<sup>14</sup> Wilhelmina's mother, Emma, is generally credited with having grasped that the survival of the Dutch monarchy rested on nurturing its popular appeal. After Willem's death in 1890, it was Emma who organised a five-year tour of the Netherlands with her young daughter. It commenced in 1891 under the motto '*Wij zijn er nog!*' ('We are still here').<sup>15</sup> Emma's efforts to restore public faith in the Dutch monarchy resonated with a wider movement, initiated in Utrecht in 1885 but quickly spreading elsewhere, to celebrate the princess's birthday on 31 August.<sup>16</sup>

From its very inception during the 1880s, then, the week-long festival that came to mark Wilhelmina's birthday emerged as an occasion for the orchestration of unity among the Dutch monarchy's subjects. In the Netherlands' colonies, the potential for displaying the centripetal power of the monarchy was all the greater for the diversity of subjects that could be convened, nowhere more so perhaps than in the East Indies, with its thousands of islands and numerous ethnic, religious and language groups.

Only three book-length works have addressed the entanglement of Wilhelmina's reign with the last decades of Dutch rule in Indonesia. Rita Wassing-Visser used the Dutch Royal Collections to begin cataloguing the bonds forged by gifts between Indonesians and the House of Orange over some 350 years of Dutch colonialism.<sup>17</sup> Her book focused mainly on royal gifts from Indonesia, but it was the first work to demonstrate the extensive traffic of material exchanges for diplomatic purposes between the monarchs of the Netherlands and the East Indies. In 2002 the unpublished Masters dissertation of Pieter Eckhardt became

the first historical study to examine what he termed the Dutch monarchy's 'symbolic significance' in Indonesia, from the end of the First World War to just before the Japanese occupation (1918–40).<sup>18</sup> Using Indies and Dutch newspapers and the memoirs of colonial officials, Eckhardt established how Wilhelmina was invoked and addressed by political actors during the last two decades of Dutch rule. He argued that the monarchy functioned chiefly as a symbol of political unity and colonial continuity in the East Indies, and upheld the privileges of the Dutch elite. Finally, a recent book by Geert Oostindie conducted a fresh survey of the House of Orange and the Netherlands' colonies.<sup>19</sup> Responding to the assertion by an eminent biographer of Wilhelmina that 'the whole population, white and brown' threw themselves into celebrations for the Dutch monarchy in her colonies, Oostindie sought to evaluate the bases for '*oranjegevoel*' ('Orange-sentiment').<sup>20</sup> He concluded that, while the House of Orange is deeply imbricated in the Netherlands' colonial history, and royal celebrations became mass, orchestrated spectacles across the Dutch empire during Wilhelmina's reign, ultimately she appealed mainly to Western-educated elites, especially Dutch-born colonists and Indigenous royals such as Pakubuwono X, who preferred her only to the humiliating alternative of consorting with commoner officials.<sup>21</sup>

Oostindie's book skirted close to but ultimately did not address a major lacuna in recent studies of monarchy and empire that has prompted the writing of this book: namely, that we can only know what colonial authorities *intended* for the consumption of colonial populations at royal celebrations. Yet official sources such as news reports and festival programmes cannot reveal whether and for what purposes audiences in the colonies took a foreign, European monarch to heart. A focus on spectacles and their prescriptive meanings has, up until very recently, driven the historiography of European monarchs and their empires, largely as a result of David Cannadine's influential book *Ornamentalism* (2001).<sup>22</sup> Cannadine was concerned to refute the premise of Edward Said's germinal works, *Orientalism* (1979) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993). These had argued that colonial rule in the Middle East and North Africa was built on British and French notions of their fundamental racial difference from and superiority to Indigenous subjects.<sup>23</sup> Cannadine countered that the British ruled their empire by analogy, finding 'voluntary collaborators' – including among racial 'Others' – by supporting or constructing class hierarchies in their colonies.<sup>24</sup> In white settler contexts, British authorities bestowed royal honours where such titles did not previously exist. In India, most famously, they integrated Indigenous castes and dynasties into a global hierarchy of royals with the British monarchy at its apex. Cannadine was concerned to reconstruct



how the British 'saw' their empire, and thus gave due attention to how imperial authority was portrayed as spectacle through visual and material culture. In concentrating on representation, however, he provided little evidence as to how this ornamental structure was 'seen', or thoughtfully received and creatively responded to, by people in the colonies.<sup>25</sup>

Very recently, historians of empire have begun to research these important audiences whose views Cannadine was unable to account for. A number of books have examined European monarchies from colonial perspectives to explain how Indigenous people engaged with colonial authorities. Charles Reed's 2016 monograph on British royal tours to India, New Zealand and South Africa showed that encounters with British royals were important for Indigenous people, as opportunities to contest their social status and articulate rights and claims for belonging.<sup>26</sup> Further, through their participation at royal festivals, imperial subjects 'provincialised the British Isles, centring the colonies in their political and cultural constructions of empire, Britishness, citizenship, and loyalty'.<sup>27</sup> Local print cultures were essential to promoting these responses, especially in the absence of physical meetings between monarchs, Indigenous royals and colonial commoners.<sup>28</sup>

Two further essay collections also published in 2016, one edited by Robert Aldrich and Cindy McCreery, the other by Sarah Carter and Maria Nugent, have each confirmed and extended Reed's observations for the 'British world'. Nugent and Carter examined how Indigenous people in settler colonies included Queen Victoria 'in their lives and struggles' by 'incorporating her into their intellectual thought, political rhetoric, and narrative traditions'.<sup>29</sup> Victoria was thus a shared figure, claimed by settlers and Indigenous people alike, and 'embroidered into far-reaching debates and discourses on such crucial matters as rights and responsibilities, community and belonging, citizenship and non-citizenship, race and difference, and authority, sovereignty, and destiny'.<sup>30</sup> Aldrich and McCreery set a wider scope for their collection based on the observation that, well into the twentieth century, 'crowns and colonies' were often paired together. By contrast, republican governments *and* princedoms without empires formed a distinct minority in Asia, Africa and Oceania, not to mention Europe.<sup>31</sup> The modern British empire was thus by no means unique, and there was a whole world of monarchies and empires that needed to be integrated into studies of imperialism. Aldrich and McCreery followed up with a second essay collection in 2018, focusing on royal tours in the Dutch, German, French, Mughal, Japanese, Portuguese, Belgian and Italian empires, and importantly, on Indigenous royal visits to European courts.<sup>32</sup> Together, these collections have fundamentally reoriented the study of monarchy and empire to demonstrate the global and, simultaneously, highly localised importance

of both institutions to social life, culture and politics in the modern world.

*Photographic subjects* is, in part, the outcome of my involvement in some of these projects, as well as forays into other locales to historicise the encounters between Wilhelmina and her colonial subjects throughout the 'Dutch world', principally the East Indies, the Netherlands and southern Africa.<sup>33</sup> This book also builds on the shorter studies of Dutch scholars who have investigated, first, the dynamics of encounters between a female king and her European and colonial subjects, and second, the importance of visual and material cultures in enabling these encounters. It is, most importantly, the result of extensive archival research in colonial and royal collections that hold photographs and other primary sources generated not just by Europeans but also of and by Indonesians.

I often use the term 'female king' rather than 'queen' in this book, both as a literal translation of the Dutch *koningin* and to foreground how gender inflects kingship as a political institution in historical context.<sup>34</sup> To this day, female heads of state remain a rarity, and before the Second World War they were even more unusual. Hereditary queens were the exception to this global order, and yet Wilhelmina's cousin, Queen Victoria (r. 1837–1901), remains almost the only monarch whose gender is seriously incorporated into histories of modern empire. Dutch scholars Maria Grever, Berteke Waldijk and Susan Legêne are the only historians to have examined how Wilhelmina was invoked as a specifically female king by her subjects, particularly women, in the Netherlands and its colonies.<sup>35</sup> Legêne has additionally been instrumental to critically integrating the role of visual, material and museum cultures into understandings of Dutch colonialism in transnational context during Wilhelmina's reign.<sup>36</sup> Her discussion of a 1938 colonial exhibition at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam – at which a photograph was taken showing Wilhelmina's empty throne occupying a central, symbolic location – was a stimulus to my formulation of this book.<sup>37</sup> It got me thinking about the creative opportunities that an *absent* queen provided for subjects who were strewn across an empire and reflecting on their subject relations to Dutch authority. Particularly, it got me thinking about photographic subjects.

### *Photography and empire*

Why photography, and not some other medium that fostered a more 'globalised' world in the early twentieth century? After all, a century ago Wilhelmina was able to avoid touring her colonies while still reaching her subjects there by a variety of means, all of them the result of technological innovations that we now take almost for granted. Her



voice, her image, the work of her hands, even a sight of her in the flesh were all accessible to people far from her palaces in the Netherlands by virtue of radio and film, mass print cultures, and expanding transport methods and networks.<sup>38</sup>

Contrary to Anglophone scholarship, George V was not the first European monarch to address his subjects by radio; it was Queen Wilhelmina, in a broadcast on 31 May 1927.<sup>39</sup> The people of Suriname and the West Indies first heard Wilhelmina's voice over the wireless the next day, and it was the turn of her East Indies subjects on 2 June. Wilhelmina's annual *koninginnedag* and Christmas broadcasts were heard in the Indies throughout the 1930s.<sup>40</sup> She addressed 'her people' in the colonies via radio when her husband, Prince Hendrik, died in 1934, and at her fortieth jubilee in 1938.<sup>41</sup> The wonders of synchronic experience that radio enabled were most spectacularly demonstrated during the wedding festivities for the Crown Princess Juliana. Her engagement was announced on radio in late 1936. On 28 December, the Paleis Noordeinde in The Hague, together with the Astana Mangkunegaran of Prince Mangkunegoro VII of Surakarta, co-hosted a remarkable celebration. A daughter of the prince, Gusti Raden Ajeng Siti Nurul Kusumowardhani, performed her part in a *serimpi* dance – which usually requires four women – before Princess Juliana at Noordeinde. The music, played by a gamelan orchestra, was broadcast live from the Mangkunegaran, where the other three dancers simultaneously performed their parts. So impressed was Juliana with this feat that she had it repeated at the gala ball after the wedding itself, on 7 January 1937. The marriage ceremony was also broadcast on radio.<sup>42</sup> Wilhelmina's Radio Oranje broadcasts, which she also used in 1942 to lament the Japanese occupation of the Indies, are largely responsible for her post-war reputation as arguably the best-loved Dutch monarch in history.<sup>43</sup>

Wilhelmina's subjects in the colonies could also see her and the royal family on the big screen. Indeed, the major milestones of her reign were captured on film.<sup>44</sup> Moving pictures had come to the East Indies in 1900. The first film shown in the capital, Batavia, included images of Wilhelmina and Hendrik in The Hague. Europeans in the audience were allegedly offended when 'native' viewers, who sat in a separate area of the cinema, chattered among themselves and looked away when the obligatory picture of the queen was shown before a screening.<sup>45</sup>

If they had the means and the inclination, people in the colonies who wished to see Wilhelmina from the streets in Amsterdam or The Hague could also travel to the Netherlands with increasing ease during her lifetime. Travel by steamship was faster than ever before. In 1900

the *Rotterdamsche-Lloyd* departed for Batavia every week, and the journey took just over three weeks.<sup>46</sup> The first flight from Amsterdam to Batavia departed in 1924. In 1932 the flight took nine days, in 1940, 55 hours. In 1938 fresh orchids from the East Indies were delivered by plane to Wilhelmina at the Olympic Stadium in Amsterdam for her fortieth regnal jubilee. It was an example of how aeroplanes were used less for people than for transporting mail, but nonetheless it was the beginning of mass air travel. Ulbe Bosma has estimated that in any given year in the 1930s, there were up to 30,000 East Indies people in the Netherlands.<sup>47</sup> Scholars of the Dutch world have demonstrated the cosmopolitan, transnational identities and social networks that elites who travelled the 'colonial migration circuit' between the Netherlands and its colonies were able to cultivate in this period.<sup>48</sup>

But it was the advent of mass photography, which coincided roughly with the beginning of Wilhelmina's reign, that enabled a wide variety of people throughout the Dutch empire to participate in and commemorate royal celebrations in ways that neither radio nor film permitted. Not until Queen Emma's regency in the 1890s were photographs of royal occasions widely published; before then, they were rare.<sup>49</sup> At the turn of the century, when Wilhelmina's reign commenced, it was mainly studio photographers who had the equipment and expertise to produce images of royal festivals. There had been a robust studio industry on Java since the 1860s, one that expanded rapidly throughout the archipelago in subsequent decades.<sup>50</sup> Skilled photographers were in high demand during this period, not just for taking portraits but for a more diverse range of tasks. Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821–1905), for example, had photographed Javanese antiquities and worked as a theatre designer before he was commissioned, in 1874, to work on a presentation album for King Willem III's silver jubilee.<sup>51</sup> The album contained views of Javanese urban and rural landscapes, as well as portraits of 'native types' and unnamed Javanese and Balinese elites. It was sent to Wilhelmina's father as a gift from the 'schoolchildren of the Netherlands Indies', ostensibly to provide him with a visual education about the distant lands and peoples whom he governed as part of a greater Kingdom of the Netherlands. Similarly, in 1890, when Wilhelmina turned ten, the 'children of Surabaya' sent her a boxed set of photographs mounted on large plates to mark the occasion. This time, along with views of the city, the album also contained photographs of how locals celebrated the princess's birthday, so that Wilhelmina could see for herself, if only in still pictures, how her Indies subjects honoured their future queen.<sup>52</sup>

Throughout her life, the most common format in which Wilhelmina herself was seen by her subjects was through photography. By 1880, the year Wilhelmina was born, significant advances in photographic

and print technologies were already under way that would lead, in the next two decades, to a greatly increased circulation of images, books and news media in the East Indies as well as in Europe. From the 1890s onwards, portraits of the princess were sold to the public at affordable prices in postcard, cabinet photo and *carte-de-visite* format.<sup>53</sup> By the time of her inauguration as an 18-year-old, Wilhelmina was already the most photographed Dutch monarch to have ever lived. All her subsequent rites of passage – her marriage in 1901, the birth of her only living heir in 1909, her silver jubilee in 1923, her fortieth jubilee in 1938, and her golden jubilee and abdication in 1948 – received exhaustive coverage, both in official and vernacular sources, to an extent that none of her predecessors had ever experienced.<sup>54</sup> It was common practice for children living in the large cities of Java to receive portraits of Wilhelmina as prizes or tokens at the *kinderfeest* (children's festival) that invariably formed part of the programme of royal celebrations.<sup>55</sup> Mass-produced photographs of the queen brought her colonial subjects into festivities as spectators and consumers who responded to poster advertisements of the queen exhorting people to attend royal celebrations, or who purchased postcards of the royal family, illustrated *gedenkboeken* (commemorative books) and special newspaper issues.<sup>56</sup> Most importantly, as I will argue in this book, with the rise of amateur photography in the early twentieth century, the camera actively involved people in the colonies in royal celebrations as makers of and subjects in images.

The family photograph album emerged in the late nineteenth century as a visual and material medium for commemorating the constitution of the bourgeois family. Albums in this period were collections of formal portraits commissioned from studio photographers, whose craft was a specialised skill unfamiliar to most of their clients, and whose creations offered a novel opportunity, formerly restricted to Europe's nobility, for middle-class families to compile archives of their own 'dynasties'.<sup>57</sup> By the early twentieth century, in Asia as well as in Europe, advances in camera, film and processing technologies had made photography progressively demystified and inexpensive, such that a growing number of enthusiasts could afford to pursue an amateur interest in the practice and assemble their own family albums.<sup>58</sup> In archival collections from the former East Indies, the proliferation of such albums from the 1920s onwards attests to the popularity of amateur photography among the colony's well-to-do. The families of Europeans and Indo-Europeans of the professional classes, of wealthy, often Western-educated Javanese, and of Chinese merchants and businessmen are all represented in early twentieth-century collections.<sup>59</sup>

During Wilhelmina's tenure, then, the proliferation of photographic illustrations in the print media, the development of hand-held cameras

and roll film, and the broader shift of photography from the hands of expert studio photographers into the realm of laypeople, enabled groups and individuals from a broad range of backgrounds to engage with, produce and manipulate images of the queen and royal celebrations in the colonies and the metropole – popular interventions that film and radio did not at that time permit.

In this social and technological context, photographic images of the queen emerged as the most ubiquitous proxy for her absent self in the colonies. Her physical remove from the East Indies ought not, then, to be seen as a deficiency (relative to, for example, the personal tours of royals throughout the British empire) – a silence in the colonial record of the Dutch monarchy and its empire. Rather, by virtue of presiding over the advent of mass photography, the absent Queen Wilhelmina stimulated a rich variety of creative photographic encounters with her colonial subjects, in the ordinary and vernacular as well as the elite and official realms, in ways that extend our understanding of how photographic subjects were made in imperial settings.

*Monarchy, photography and the Netherlands East Indies*

Queen Wilhelmina was by no means alone in never personally touring her colonies. Queen Victoria also preferred to stay at home. Nevertheless, royal tours were increasingly common in these queens' lifetimes: the Belgian Prince (later King) Albert travelled to Congo in 1909; the Italian King Vittorio Emanuele III visited Somalia in 1934 and Libya in 1938; no fewer than eleven British royals toured Ceylon, from the 1860s to 1947.<sup>60</sup> In this context, Queen Wilhelmina was under pressure from lobbyists in the East Indies to undertake a royal tour herself. She twice rejected petitions, one in 1909 and another in 1919, led by no less than the governor-general, J. P. van Limburg Stirum.<sup>61</sup> The executive committee steering this petition comprised senior figures from the Java Bank, the Batavian Petroleum Company and the Royal Shipping Company; the chief administrator of a major tea estate; and a Sundanese scholar-official (the only Indonesian on the panel) specialised in Islamic law.<sup>62</sup> Also listed, in calligraphic script, were the names of more or less the entire multi-ethnic Indies establishment. The Indigenous aristocracy and government officials were represented by the sultans of the Outer Provinces and the regents of Java and Madura. The residents and other high Dutch officials of the *Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (Interior Administration) covered the European arm of the civil service. The captains, majors and lieutenants of various Chinese communities were also signatories. The president of the Deli Planters' Society on Sumatra put his name to the petition, as did the commanders of the colonial

army. Priests, directors of hospitals and orphanages, editors of major European newspapers and the presidents of various political parties represented pillars of the East Indies community.

These men were responsible for an elaborate illuminated address (*oorkonde*) to the queen, a large paper scroll illustrated with colour pencil drawings of Javanese antiquities and a likeness of Jan Peterszoon Coen (1587–1629), the Indies' first governor-general and founder of the capital, Batavia, three centuries earlier. Coen's portrait was encircled by a medallion bearing an abridged version of his famous refrain, 'Despair not, as something great can be accomplished in the Indies' (*dispereert niet, want daer can in Indië wat groots verricht worden*), a phrase first penned in a letter to the directors of the East India Company in 1618. These words were often repeated in triumphalist works by supporters of Dutch colonialism in the Indies well into the twentieth century.<sup>63</sup> Finally, accompanying the hundreds of names put to the *oorkonde* was the outcome of 'The Queen to the Indies' campaign: a petition that purportedly gathered one and a quarter million signatures from across the Indonesian archipelago.<sup>64</sup>

I say 'purportedly' because, while the 1919 *oorkonde* is today held in the Royal Collections (*Koninklijk Huisarchief*) at the Paleis Noordeinde in The Hague, the petition bearing the million-plus signatures is not. It was allegedly 'misaid' at the palace – a symptom but probably not the cause of the campaign's failure.<sup>65</sup> Many reasons were offered as to why Wilhelmina could not greet her subjects in the East Indies. Some were political and constitutional: the queen was unable to take a 'sabbatical' from her reign, particularly as her heir was not yet old enough to act as regent in her absence (Juliana was only ten). At a time when the Netherlands was embroiled in a border dispute with Belgium, these concerns were especially pertinent.<sup>66</sup> In addition, as Pieter Eckhardt has shown, letters between Van Limburg Stirum and the Minister for the Colonies, A. C. D. de Graeff (a future governor-general himself), reveal concerns in The Hague about the precise scope of Wilhelmina's authority in the Indies.<sup>67</sup> Numerous non-Dutch royals had been received by Indies dignitaries, but some observers doubted whether appropriate company and facilities could be offered to the queen. Finally, there were apprehensions about her health and safety; whether she could withstand the climate of the tropics, the kinds of diseases that were endemic in the Indies and the political turmoil of recent times.<sup>68</sup> When push came to shove, then, monarchists in the Netherlands doubted whether it was feasible for Queen Wilhelmina to reign anywhere else but from afar.

Significantly, journalists and political elites in both the Indies and the Netherlands expressed concern that a personal visit from the queen

would underwhelm her Asian subjects, who were deemed accustomed to a pomp and splendour from their rulers that was simply not *de rigueur* at the Dutch court. In 1919 the Java newspaper *De Locomotief* held that if Wilhelmina was not prepared to appear as an eastern empress – ‘Baginda Maharadja Wilhimina’, as she was usually referred to in Malay – then locals would be disappointed.<sup>69</sup> A letter from De Graeff to Van Limburg Stirum similarly queried the prudence of an in-person visit from the queen:

because H.M., with respect to the Indies people, should lose her *halo* if She were to present herself ... as an ordinary person of flesh and blood, the Queen must remain before the native unveiled in a *nimbus* of sublime mystery or mysterious sublimity.<sup>70</sup> [my emphasis]

As we can see in the photograph from Pakubuwono X’s album gift (figure 1.1), a divine glow about the Queen of the Netherlands could be more readily manufactured by other means: with electric lights, an effigy and a camera. Indeed, this book reveals the many modes in which Indies people creatively engaged with the absent queen through photography, both as a stand-in for the physical monarch in colonial rituals, and as a practice for articulating nuanced social and political relations within a transnational, colonial context.

Chapter 2 of this book departs from precisely this point, examining closely what it meant to behold the queen in her absence, through images used at royal celebrations. Scholars have noted, in passing, that portraits of Wilhelmina were ubiquitous at public and official venues throughout the East Indies.<sup>71</sup> This chapter uses photographs taken at public rituals for the Dutch monarchy to bring portraits of Wilhelmina out from the backdrops they are assumed to have occupied. In attending to the materiality of these portraits – their status as objects as well as images – the chapter demonstrates how images of the queen actively constituted social relations in different registers, depending on the context in which she was invoked.<sup>72</sup> Certainly, state portraits, often in painted form, hung behind Dutch authorities at official occasions, but a diverse array of effigies made of composite paintings or photographs were used in pageants at provincial celebrations where the participation of local communities was central to festivities. Adaptations to the form and function of her portrait were thus tailored by Wilhelmina’s audience, and according to their particular needs and conventions. Photographic sources made by spectators enable the reconstruction of these interactions between colonial authorities, representations of the monarch and live audiences, and in the process show how the monarchy was made in the colonies by many hands and multiple gazes. Visual reworkings of her image in the East Indies also express one of



Wilhelmina's fundamental visual functions in the Dutch empire, as explored throughout this book: to represent the Dutch colonial regime's ability to accommodate difference, diversity and the discontiguity of people and territories across the Dutch colonial world. Indeed, analysing how the queen was localised through visual practices at royal celebrations throughout the East Indies provides new historical evidence of monarchy's broader imperial functions: as an institution that bestowed subjecthood upon peoples with differing political rights in modes that nation-states, with their claims for demographic homogeneity and territorial unity, struggled to replicate.

In Chapter 3, the analysis of photographs taken at royal celebrations in the East Indies during Wilhelmina's reign reminds us how local and even family loyalties often ran deeper than national identities in the age of empire.<sup>73</sup> This chapter shows that the rise of mass photography, particularly amateur forms such as 'family' photography, shaped the development of a popular, imperial monarchy in the Dutch colonial world. It demonstrates how snapshot photography, and practices of exchanging photographs of royal celebrations in the East Indies between friends and family across the Dutch world, enhanced imperial networks and articulated membership of a transnational community. This chapter also reveals how the participation of amateur photographers in commemorating royal festivals coincided with, and plausibly influenced, the emergence of the 'ordinary' royalty that has become the hallmark of modern, secular, parliamentary monarchies.<sup>74</sup> For the Dutch world, the consolidation of mass photography in the 1930s was crucial in this regard. Colonial archives show that it was in this period that amateur photography was booming. It was also in the 1930s that Crown Princess Juliana, Wilhelmina's heir, started her own branch of the House of Orange. Female kingship constituted an unusual amalgamation of roles that were more often divided between a king and his female consort. Being capable of both reigning and reproducing a dynasty enhanced the appeal of twentieth-century Dutch queens, who could be both sovereigns and child-bearers. Significantly, Juliana encouraged court photographers to publish 'family' photographs foregrounding her position as wife and mother. This chapter thus identifies the early reproductive years of Wilhelmina's daughter, and the international, colonial context in which Juliana's marriage and child-bearing were publicised, as the origin of the Dutch monarchy's popularisation in what was to become a 'long century' of reigning female kings, beginning with Queen Regent Emma in 1890 and ending with Queen Beatrix in 2013.<sup>75</sup> In the East Indies, amateur photographers collected images of the 'ordinary' Juliana in printed sources such as postcards and newspaper clippings, while taking snapshots of their own participation in local festivals. Chapter 3

therefore reveals the framework of a visual economy in which amateur colonial photographers articulated monarchist loyalties through their consumption as well as production of photographs, in practices that reinforced Dutch monarchs beginning to represent themselves accessibly to their subjects.

Chapter 4 extends the methodology of examining amateur snapshots together with commercial photographs and published commemorative books, this time to investigate how a liberal reformist interpretation of Wilhelmina's reign was embedded in the visual motif of electric illuminations at royal celebrations in both the East Indies and the Netherlands. The queen became synonymous with the Ethical Policy in 1901 when she outlined new terms of reference for colonial rule in her annual address to parliament, the *troonrede* or 'speech from the throne'.<sup>76</sup> Illuminations had long been part of royal celebrations in the Netherlands and the East Indies, but Wilhelmina's reign coincided with the electrification of the colonies, and thus with their modernisation under Dutch rule. This chapter reveals the changing historical circumstances in which photographs of illuminations became imbricated with discourses of the queen's benevolent, 'ethical' reign over her empire. I demonstrate how a visual rhetoric entangled in textual narratives of Wilhelmina's enlightened kingship spread across the Dutch colonial world, with the timing of its emergence contingent on local factors. In the Netherlands, it was not until the 1930s that commemorative books of royal celebrations seized on the spectacle of electrical illuminations, whereas in the East Indies, the motif appears already in the 1920s. Here, the rise of communist, nationalist and other anti-colonial movements prompted a retreat from the Ethical Policy, including its more radical promise of 'Association': the idea of Dutch officials sharing power with Indigenous elites. In this tense political context, Dutch officials focused on the visible outcomes of their less contested acts of governance, such as infrastructure improvements, including electrification programmes. European writers and photographers represented the small areas under Indigenous authority as backward slums, and in the process arrogated the implementation of modernisation for Dutch rule alone. The place of traditional Indigenous elites in these official visual narratives was, literally, in the dark.

This is not to argue that power and modernity was only linked in the photographs of Dutch authorities. On the contrary, Chapter 4 demonstrates how electrification was also meaningful to Indigenous photographers, who commemorated illuminations at royal celebrations for their own purposes *and* as gifts for Queen Wilhelmina. Indeed, photographs sent from the Indies to the queen that showed nocturnal light displays in modern colonial cities intersected with seemingly

unrelated offerings, such as group portraits of Indies Chinese associations. I argue that, together, such photographic gifts portrayed a modern Indies to Wilhelmina, representing bids from her subjects for recognition as members of a colonial society where workable alternatives to juridical citizenship existed. Social status and opportunities were entrenched by institutions (including a legal system) that could extend 'European equivalence' to groups and individuals able to demonstrate their civility and modernity.<sup>77</sup> Photographs by Indigenous spectators and participants at royal celebrations thus provide new evidence for the selective cultural and political practices of Indonesia's emerging middle classes, and particularly, the wide range of opportunities they took to style themselves as international 'moderns' rather than nascent nationalists or, indeed, colonial loyalists.<sup>78</sup> Indonesians who photographed electric illuminations at royal celebrations espoused cosmopolitan tastes and interests in ways that resonated with other aspirational city-dwellers across colonial South-east Asia in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>79</sup>

Chapter 5 looks further at Indigenous perspectives of royal celebrations, this time in the guise of photographic gifts from Central Java's kings and princes to the Dutch monarchy. Wilhelmina and Juliana's abiding absence from the East Indies was reciprocated by the vast majority of Indigenous royals, who numbered in the hundreds in the late colonial period, and who mostly refused to attend her court in the Netherlands.<sup>80</sup> Three royals from Central Java – *susuhunan* Pakubuwono X (whom we have already encountered), Sultan Hamengku Buwono VIII and Prince Pakualam VII – were among the repeat abstainers. Significantly, they also sent Wilhelmina some of the most remarkable photograph albums in the Royal Collections. These instances of 'snapshot diplomacy', as I term them, have all but escaped notice as sources on Dutch–Indonesian relations in the early twentieth century. I show how the absence of Central Java's royals from Wilhelmina's court was, most fundamentally, a refusal to accept an encounter on the Dutch queen's terms. Instead, snapshot diplomacy restored some agency to the modes of these men's self-representation. An analysis of the material qualities of the albums, and elements of dress and comportment in portraits of the kings and prince themselves, shows how Central Java's royals combined assertions of their own power with deferrals to the Dutch monarchy. To position themselves in photographs as hereditary elites with venerable courts gave them access to an international fellowship of royalty that few could share. It was also politic, however, to show themselves as contemporary, cosmopolitan, competent leaders on their own soil. The photograph albums thus provide new historical understandings of Indonesian royal courts responding to multiple pressures: from the colonial government, a foreign monarchy and mounting

challenges to their dwindling powers from emerging Indonesian political parties.

Chapter 6 returns to the spectacle of royal celebrations. It constitutes the first study of folk and ethnic 'types' in photographs from royal celebrations, in the context of the heyday of folklore studies (*volkskunde*) in the Netherlands and ethnography (*volkenkunde*) in the East Indies. In the process, the imperial functions of the Dutch monarchy in the early twentieth century emerge more clearly, as an institution invoked to impose unity across diverse subjects constituting the multi-ethnic, territorially discontinuous Kingdom of the Netherlands. This chapter analyses the gendered dimensions of how Wilhelmina and Juliana were expected to represent their relations with this complex body politic. Once again, photographs both of these women and of royal celebrations held in their honour offer fresh perspectives on the institution of Dutch kingship in colonial context, and on aspects of Indonesian history that are entangled with the House of Orange. As female kings, Wilhelmina and Juliana were expected to look upon their polities in the Netherlands and the East Indies very differently. Both women were photographed wearing the folk costumes of regional Dutch women, who were in turn displayed for them at mass royal celebrations in the Netherlands. The diverse ethnic groups of the Indonesian archipelago were likewise encouraged to participate in royal pageants, in modes that allowed them to be differentiated according to costume, material culture and customs such as dance. Wilhelmina was not, however, expected to embody her colonial subjects. Instead, she received miniature replicas of them in the form of dolls and models, and patronised ethnographic exhibitions in the metropole. The queen's gaze and recognition thus sufficed for her subjects in the East Indies. Underpinning this dynamic of oversight (from the monarch) and spectacle (provided by her subjects) were governing imperatives that were imbricated with ethnographic concerns.<sup>81</sup> The personal photographs taken by Dutch authorities at royal celebrations in the East Indies most clearly demonstrate how an intellectual interest in ethnography could be combined with acts of governance, but recent scholarship on the rise of folk studies in interwar Europe suggests important parallels. The symbolic role of imperial monarchy in this historical context was to integrate diversity within nations and empires. Photographic practices that arose with the popularisation of folk studies and ethnography in the early twentieth century, and that assisted with the visual identification and classification of groups of people, were readily extended to representing harmonious differences at royal celebrations.

Chapter 7 brings us to the end of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia, the close of Wilhelmina's half-century as queen of the Dutch imperium

and the contested period of decolonisation that coincided with Juliana's reign. This chapter examines the commemoration of Queen's Day celebrations in the personal photographs of Dutch soldiers who were deployed to Indonesia during the counter-insurgent 'military actions' of 1945–49, a period known in Indonesian histories as the National Revolution. Indonesia was one of the first countries in South-east Asia to achieve independence from a European colonial power, and it did so through a violent, protracted civil and anti-colonial war. This conflict has been the recent subject of scholarship that revises the nature and extent of the atrocities committed on both the Dutch and Indonesian sides of the conflict.<sup>82</sup> While the uses of photography in the war have begun to enter these historical debates,<sup>83</sup> this chapter is the first study to use Dutch authorities' photographs to examine continuity and change at the end of empire in Indonesia.

Chapter 7 reveals that, after the disruption of the Japanese occupation, Dutch soldiers readily revived traditions for commemorating Wilhelmina as part of their attempted reconquest of Indonesia. Colonial photographic practices were also extended to Juliana's brief period of reign as queen of Dutch New Guinea in the 1950s. In both settings, Dutch authorities recorded their role in royal celebrations by making 'family' albums, observed the use of images of the queen as objects in ritual, and photographed local participation in celebrations to portray *rust en orde* (peace and order) and unity in diversity under Dutch rule. In wartime, these rituals had new meaning. Indeed, I argue that heavily militarised Queen's Day parades were strategic displays of conventional fighting power and a material part of counter-insurgency strategies that celebrated the (re-)claiming of Dutch territorial sovereignty. Further, Dutch soldiers actively revived the association of their monarchy with benevolent colonial rule during the conflict. Amateur and propaganda photography were recruited to the battle for civilian hearts and minds, as soldiers captured royal festivals' transformation into occasions for food distribution and tending to civilian populations shattered first by the Japanese occupation and then by civil and colonial war. In portraying the monarchy as (still) benevolent, and their own soldiering as a humanitarian effort, Dutch combatants invoked the monarchy as a legitimising agent of Dutch sovereignty in Indonesia, even as the empire in the 'East' disintegrated.

### Notes

- 1 Although the Cape Colony was formally ceded to the British in 1814, Dutch settlers and their descendants there and throughout southern Africa demonstrated their continuing affection for the House of Orange by joining many of the major celebrations

- held for Wilhelmina during her reign: S. Protschky, 'Orangists in a red empire: salutations from a Dutch queen's supporters in a British South Africa', in R. Aldrich and C. McCreery (eds), *Crowns and Colonies: Monarchies and Empires* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 97–118.
- 2 Royal Collections, The Netherlands (henceforth KHA), FA/0772.
- 3 B. Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 31.
- 4 K. Strassler, *Refracted Visions: Popular Photography and National Modernity in Java* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 283–4.
- 5 These kings reigned 1815–40, 1840–49 and 1849–90, respectively. J. Koch, *Koning Willem I 1772–1843* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2013); J. van Zanten, *Koning Willem II 1792–1849* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2013); D. van der Meulen, *Koning Willem III 1817–1890* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2013).
- 6 Most poignantly, his account of an audience with Wilhelmina at her court in 1929 is full of regret at the Sundanese protocols he was not permitted to observe in her presence: A. Djajadiningrat, *Herinneringen van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat* (Amsterdam and Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., 1936), p. 19.
- 7 The text in question was Sutan Sjahrir, *Indonesische overpeinzingen* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1945). Cees Fasseur shows that Wilhelmina wrote to Juliana about this collection in 1946: C. Fasseur, *Wilhelmina; Krijgshaftig in een vormeloze jas* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2001), pp. 521–2.
- 8 P. A. Toer, *This Earth of Mankind*, trans. M. Lane (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1982), pp. 4, 6. First published as *Bumi Manusia* (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1980). Minke's infatuation with the image of Wilhelmina is also mentioned by Strassler, *Refracted Visions*, pp. xiv–v.
- 9 J. van Osta, *Het theater van de staat; Oranje, Windsor en de moderne monarchie* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1998), pp. 105, 137, 233, 235; P. Eckhardt, "'Wij zullen handhaven!'" Oranje feesten in Indië (1918–1940)', *Indische Letteren; Feesten in Indië*, 21.1 (2006): 31–44.
- 10 A. Zuiderweg, 'Vuurwerk, illuminaties en wijnsputende fonteinen; VOC-feestvreugde in Batavia', *Indische Letteren; Feesten in Indië*, 21.1 (2006): 81–94. In the VOC period, celebrations were for the Princes of Orange. The House of Oranje-Nassau became a monarchy in 1813.
- 11 H. te Velde, *Gemeenschapszin en plichtsbefef; Liberalisme en nationalisme in Nederland, 1870–1918* (The Hague: SDU, 1992), pp. 123, 132; G. van Schoonhoven, "'Houd Oranje boven in de troep eronder": De geschiedenis van de nationale feestdag Koninginnedag', in R. Meijer and H. J. Schoo (eds), *De monarchie; Staatsrecht, volksgunst en het huis van Oranje* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2002), pp. 137–68, at pp. 139–47; G. Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon; Het koningshuis en de koloniën* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2006), pp. 75, 78; J. van Osta, 'The emperor's new clothes: the reappearance of the performing monarchy in Europe, c. 1870–1914', in H. te Velde (ed.), *Mystifying the Monarch: Studies on Discourse, Power, and History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), pp. 181–92, at p. 187.
- 12 S. Stuurman, *Wacht op onze daden; Het liberalisme en de vernieuwing van de Nederlandse staat* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1992); Te Velde, *Gemeenschapszin en plichtsbefef*.
- 13 Van Osta, 'The emperor's new clothes', p. 187; Van Osta, *Het theater van de Staat*, pp. 91, 116, 126–8, 137; Te Velde, *Gemeenschapszin en plichtsbefef*, pp. 122–3, 130.
- 14 Te Velde, *Gemeenschapszin en plichtsbefef*, pp. 16, 121–2, 130–4, 140–1, 268–70; P. Drooglever, 'De monarchie in Indië', *Ex Tempore*, 17 (1998): 221–36, at p. 123.
- 15 Van Osta, *Het theater van de Staat*, p. 87.
- 16 Most scholars contend that socialists were the only significant group to oppose the monarchy: Te Velde, *Gemeenschapszin en plichtsbefef*, pp. 123, 130–3; Van Osta, *Het theatre van de Staat*, pp. 115–17, 125–7, 135. One holds that there were also socialists in favour of the monarchy: N. Wilterdink, 'The monarchy contested: anti-monarchism in the Netherlands', *The Netherlands' Journal of Social Sciences*, 26.2 (1990): 3–16, at p. 8.



- 17 R. Wassing-Visser, *Koninklijke geschenken uit Indonesië; Historische banden met het huis Oranje-Nassau (1600–1938)* (Den Haag/Zwolle: Stichting Historische Verzamelingen van het Huis Oranje-Nassau/Waanders, 1995). There is also an English translation: R. Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia: Historical Bonds with the House of Orange-Nassau (1600–1938)* (The Hague/Zwolle: House of Orange-Nassau Historic Collections Trust/Waanders, 1995).
- 18 P. Eckhardt, 'Wij zullen handhaven! De symbolische betekenis van de Nederlandse monarchie in Nederlands-Indië 1918–1940', MA dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2002.
- 19 Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*.
- 20 The biographer was Cees Fasseur: Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, p. 95.
- 21 Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, pp. 88, 91, 92, 95, 138.
- 22 D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2001). Oostindie did not cite this work of Cannadine's, so he did not engage with this problem directly.
- 23 E. W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); E. W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Random House, 1993).
- 24 Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 124.
- 25 Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 111: 'By these interconnected pageants and mutually reinforcing ceremonials, the British Empire put itself on display, and represented itself to itself, more frequently, more splendidly, more ostentatiously and more globally than any other realm.' Cannadine did not address the Dutch empire in his brief overview of other European monarchies and their empires (p. 71). Oddly, given the scopic concerns of the book, Cannadine also paid no attention to photography.
- 26 C. V. Reed, *Royal Tourists, Colonial Subjects and the Making of a British World, 1860–1911* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), p. xxvi.
- 27 Reed, *Royal Tourists*, pp. xix–xx; see also pp. 80, 125.
- 28 Reed, *Royal Tourists*, p. 82.
- 29 M. Nugent and S. Carter, 'Introduction: Indigenous histories, settler colonies and Queen Victoria', in M. Nugent and S. Carter (eds), *Mistress of Everything: Queen Victoria in Indigenous Worlds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 1–24, at p. 1.
- 30 Carter and Nugent, 'Introduction', p. 5.
- 31 R. Aldrich and C. McCreery, 'European sovereigns and their empires "beyond the seas"', in R. Aldrich and C. McCreery (eds), *Crowns and Colonies: European Monarchies and Overseas Empires* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 1–26, at p. 6.
- 32 R. Aldrich and C. McCreery, 'Empire tours: royal travel between colonies and metropolises', in R. Aldrich and C. McCreery (eds), *Royals on Tour: Politics, Pageantry and Colonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), pp. 1–22.
- 33 For my publications in this field, see the Bibliography.
- 34 Following W. Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe, 1300–1800* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).
- 35 M. Grever, 'Vorstin voor heel het vaderland? Orangisme en feminisme in het laatste kwart van de negentiende eeuw', *De Negentiende Eeuw*, 23.1 (1999): 76–88; M. Grever, 'Koningin Wilhelmina en het feminisme of de ogenschijnlijke onverenigbaarheid van karakters', *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies*, 2.3 (1999): 4–19; M. Grever, 'Colonial queens: imperialism, gender and the body politic during the reign of Victoria and Wilhelmina', *Dutch Crossing: A Journal of Low Countries Studies*, 26.1 (2002): 99–114; M. Grever and B. Waaldijk (eds), *Transforming the Public Sphere: The Dutch National Exhibition of Women's Labor in 1898* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); M. Grever and B. Waaldijk, 'Women's labor at display: feminist claims to Dutch citizenship and colonial politics around 1901', *Journal of Women's History*, 15.4 (2004): 11–18; M. Grever, 'Staging modern monarchs: royalty at the World Exhibitions of 1851 and 1867', in H. te Velde (ed.), *Mystifying the Monarch: Studies on Discourse, Power, and History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), pp. 161–79; S. Legêne and B. Waaldijk, 'Mission interrupted: gender, history and the

- colonial canon', in S. Stuurman and M. Grever (eds), *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 188–204. See also Protschky, 'Orangists in a red empire'. Historians of the early modern House of Orange have comprehensively integrated gender into their analysis of this dynasty's ruling strategies: S. Broomhall and J. van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism: Gender, Materiality and the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (London: Routledge, 2016); S. Broomhall and J. van Gent, *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (London: Routledge, 2016).
- 36 S. Legène, 'Enlightenment, empathy, retreat: the cultural heritage of the *Ethische Politiek*', in P. ter Keurs (ed.), *Colonial Collections Revisited* (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007), pp. 220–45; S. Legène, 'Flatirons and the folds of history: on archives, cultural heritage and colonial legacies', in S. W. Wieringa (ed.), *Traveling Heritages: New Perspective on Collecting, Preserving and Sharing Women's History* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2008), pp. 47–64; S. Legène, 'Dwinegeri: multiculturalism and the colonial past (or: the culture borders of being Dutch)', in B. Kaplan, M. Carlson and L. Cruz (eds), *Boundaries and their Meanings in the History of the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 223–42; S. Legène, *Spiegelreflex; Culturele sporen van de koloniale ervaring* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010).
  - 37 Legène, 'Dwinegeri', p. 240.
  - 38 By the work of her hands, I refer to Wilhelmina's painting career. An exhibition of her works travelled the Dutch colonies in 1933, including the East Indies: E. van Heuven-van Nes, '"Een aandachtige bezichting ten volle waard": De tentoonstelling van het werk van koningin Wilhelmina', in M.E. Spliethoff, E. van Heuven-van Nes, M. Jansen and P. Rem, *Koningin Wilhelmina; Schilderijen en tekeningen* (Zwolle: Waanders and Stichting Paleis Het Loo, 2006), pp. 37–56, at pp. 43–5.
  - 39 J. Schaap, *Het recht om te waarschuwen; Over de Radio Oranje-toespraken van koningin Wilhelmina* (Amsterdam: Anthos, 2007), pp. 79, 81.
  - 40 Eckhardt, 'Wij zullen handhaven!', pp. 46–8. On radio and also film in the East Indies, see V. Kuitenbrouwer, 'Songs of an imperial underdog: imperialism and popular culture in the Netherlands, 1870–1960', in J. M. MacKenzie (ed.), *European Empires and the People: Popular Responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 90–123, at pp. 112–13.
  - 41 P. de Zeeuw (ed.), *Vorstin en Volk; Woorden van H.M. Koningin Wilhelmina* (Baarn: Hollandia, 1945), pp. 65, 89.
  - 42 Wassing-Visser, *Koninklijke geschenken uit Indonesië*, pp. 219–20; H. Beunders, 'Regina vivat! Regie vivat? In de publicitaire monarchy is de liefde tussen volk en vorst als het leven zelf', in R. Meijer and H. J. Schoo (eds), *De monarchie; Staatsrecht, volksgunst en het huis van Oranje* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2002), pp. 101–36, at p. 112.
  - 43 Fasseur, *Wilhelmina; Krijgshaftig in een vormeloze jas*, pp. 336, 486–8; Schaap, *Het recht om te waarschuwen*, p. 25; B. van der Boom, 'Orangisme en de bezetting', in H. te Velde and D. Haks (eds), *Oranje onder; Populair Orangisme van Willem van Oranje tot nu* (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 2014), pp. 221–42, at pp. 221–3, 232–3; De Zeeuw (ed.), *Vorstin en volk*, pp. 142–3, 155–6.
  - 44 Van Osta, *Het theater van de Staat*, pp. 100–1; Schaap, *Het recht om te waarschuwen*, p. 45.
  - 45 R. Mrázek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 110–11. On film in the Indies, see also J. G. Taylor, 'Ethical policies in moving pictures: the films of J. C. Lamster', in S. Protschky (ed.), *Photography, Modernity and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), pp. 41–70.
  - 46 U. Bosma, *Indiëgangsters; Verhalen van Nederlanders die naar Indië trokken* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010), pp. 112–13, 192.
  - 47 Bosma, *Indiëgangsters*, pp. 215, 217.
  - 48 On 'cultural citizenship' in the Dutch colonial world, see M. Bloembergen and R. Raben, 'Wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890–1950', in M. Bloembergen and R. Raben

- (eds), *Het koloniale beschavingsoffensief; Wegen naar het nieuwe Indië, 1890–1950* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009), pp. 7–24; C. Drieënhuizen, 'Social careers across imperial spaces: an empire family in the Dutch-British world, 1811–1933', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 44.3 (2016): 397–422; Legêne, 'Dwinegeri', pp. 223–42. On the colonial migration circuit, see Bosma, *Indiëgangers*, pp. 26–8, 42–3, 106, 110, 193–4; U. Bosma and R. Raben, *Being 'Dutch' in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500–1920*, trans. W. Shaffer (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2008), p. 57. On modes of citizenship in the British colonial world, see D. Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); Reed, *Royal Tourists*, pp. xviii, xxiv, 5, 125–9.
- 49 M. Jansen, 'Moeder en dochter in het Koninklijk Huisarchief', *Fotografisch Geheugen*, 79 (2013): 7–9, at p. 7.
  - 50 *Toekang Potret: 100 Years of Photography in the Dutch East Indies 1839–1939*, trans. M. Gibbs (Rotterdam/Leiden: Fragment/Museum voor Volkenkunde, 1989); S. Wachlin, *Woodbury & Page: Photographers Java* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994); L. Ouweland, *Herinneringen in beeld; Fotoalbums uit Nederlands-Indië* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009).
  - 51 KHA FA/0719. On Kinsbergen, see G. Theuns-de Boer and S. Assa (with contributions by S. Wachlin), *Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821–1905): Photo Pioneer and Theatre Maker in the Dutch East Indies* (Zaltbommel, Leiden and Amsterdam: Aprilis and KITLV Press, 2005), pp. 276–8.
  - 52 KHA Album FA/1002. The photographer in this instance is unknown.
  - 53 M. Jansen, 'De nationale gedaante', in *Oranje in de nationale streekdrachten* (Apeldoorn: Nationaal Museum, Paleis Het Loo, 2012), pp. 8–17, at pp. 10–11.
  - 54 Van Osta, *Het theater van de staat*, pp. 10, 15; Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, p. 52.
  - 55 One of the earliest examples is described on a programme for the 'Nationaal Kinderfest' held in Surabaya in 1890 to celebrate Wilhelmina's tenth birthday. The first prize of the raffle was 'a large pastel portrait' of the princess. Children who attended were given a voucher to redeem for a small portrait: KHA FA/1002.
  - 56 Eckhardt, 'Wij zullen handhaven!', p. 25.
  - 57 On the middle-class family archive and its development in the nineteenth century, see A. Baggerman, 'Autobiography and family memory in the nineteenth century', in R. Dekker (ed.), *Egdocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing and its Social Context since the Middle Ages* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), pp. 161–74, at p. 163. On family photographs and dynasty, see G. Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* (Amsterdam/New York: Van Gogh Museum/Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), p. 10.
  - 58 R. C. Morris, 'Introduction. Photographies east: the camera and its histories in East and Southeast Asia', in R. C. Morris (ed.), *Photographies East: The Camera and its Histories in East and Southeast Asia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), pp. 1–28, at p. 21; S. Protschky, 'Tea cups, cameras and family life: picturing domesticity in elite European and Javanese family photographs from the Netherlands Indies, c. 1900–1942', *History of Photography*, 36.1 (2012): 44–65.
  - 59 See particularly the Special Collections of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (henceforth KITLV), Leiden; the photographic collections of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam; and also some collections outside the Netherlands, such as the Dutch East Indies collection at the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.
  - 60 Aldrich and McCreery, 'European sovereigns and their empires "beyond the seas"', pp. 11, 19.
  - 61 The first petition was launched in January 1909 by the *Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond* (General Dutch Alliance). Since Wilhelmina was about to give birth to Juliana, it was directed at getting her husband, Prince Hendrik, to the Indies: KHA A50 XVI 1b; see also Th. Colenbrander, 'De Koningin naar Indië', *De Gids*, 83 (1919): 162–3, at p. 162. The 1919 petition, launched by the governor-general in the context of rebellions organised by Sarekat Islam, is discussed in Eckhardt, 'Wij zullen

- handhaven!', pp. 27–35; and B. de Graaff and E. Locher-Scholten, *J.P. Graaf van Limburg Stirum; Tegendraads landvoogd en diplomaat* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2007), pp. 212–13, 249–50.
- 62 KHA A50 XVI 23. The executive committee comprised E. A. Zeilinga, president and director of the Java Bank; W. F. van Beuningen, secretary of the *Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (BPM); K. A. R. Bosscha, chief administrator of the Malabar tea estate; C. van der Linden and Mr W. de Bruyn Kops, respectively, president-director and secretary of the *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij*; and Raden Dr Hoesein Djajadiningrat (1886–1960) of the famous Serang Regency. Hoesein and his brother, Achmad Djajadiningrat (who sat on the Council of the Indies), were Dutch-educated, and Hoesein was a well-known official and scholar of Islam: see G. Pijper, 'Professor Dr. Pangeran Ario Hoesein Djajadiningrat. 8 December 1886–12 November 1960', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 117.4 (1961): 401–9.
  - 63 KHA A50 XVI 23. Indeed, a facsimile of Coen's letter appears in the chapter on 'The Dutch in the East Indies' by J. C. Kielstra in *Gedenckboek van het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond* (Dordrecht and Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1923), pp. 279–300, at p. 281.
  - 64 The figures are mentioned in the text of the *oorkonde*: KHA A50 XVI 23. At least some of these signatures were obtained under duress. In Medan, for example, police intimidated villagers into signing: De Graaff and Locher-Scholten, *J.P. Graaf van Limburg Stirum*, p. 251.
  - 65 Discussed in Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, pp. 105–7.
  - 66 It should be noted that in 1922, the Dutch constitution was amended to allow Wilhelmina to take leave for a period in order to travel abroad: Fasseur, *Wilhelmina; Krijgshaftig in een vormeloze jas*, p. 160.
  - 67 Eckhardt, 'Wij zullen handhaven!', pp. 30–1.
  - 68 S. Kalff, 'Indië en het Oranjehuis', *Het Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, 8 (1919): 1351–71, at pp. 1369–70; Fasseur, *Wilhelmina; Krijgshaftig in een vormeloze jas*, pp. 78–9, 161.
  - 69 Eckhardt, citing *De Locomotief*, in 'Wij zullen handhaven!', pp. 32–3.
  - 70 Cited from letters dated 12 September 1919 in Eckhardt, 'Wij zullen handhaven!', p. 35.
  - 71 Eckhardt, 'Wij zullen handhaven!', pp. 28–9; Oostindie, *De parels en de kroon*, p. 52.
  - 72 E. Edwards and J. Hart, 'Introduction: photographs as objects', in E. Edwards and J. Hart (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 1–15, at pp. 1, 4.
  - 73 Bosma, *Indiëgangers*, p. 49; C. Drieënhuizen, 'Objects, nostalgia and the Dutch colonial elite in times of transition, ca. 1900–1970', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 170 (2014): 504–29; Drieënhuizen, 'Social careers across imperial spaces'.
  - 74 M. Billig, *Talking of the Royal Family* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 203; L. Phillips, 'Media discourse and the Danish monarchy: reconciling egalitarianism and royalism', *Media, Culture & Society*, 21 (1999): 221–45, esp. pp. 225–6.
  - 75 Regarding Emma, it is worth noting that regents did not rule as sovereigns. Instead, they 'exercised formal authority on an interim basis': Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe*, p. xvi.
  - 76 Only a few sentences of the oration referred to the East Indies, but they included the pillars of what would define the policy: an inquiry into the 'diminished welfare' (*mindere welvaart*) of the Javanese, decentralisation of the colonial administration, and further 'pacification' of north Sumatra in the so-called 'Outer Provinces' (*Buitengewesten*): Queen Wilhelmina, 'Troonrede van 17 September 1901', in *Troonredes, Openingsredes, Inhuldingsredes 1814–1963*, introduced and annotated by E. van Raalte ('s-Gravenhage: Staatsuitgeverij, 1964), pp. 193–4, at p. 194.
  - 77 B. W. Luttikhuis, 'Beyond race: constructions of "Europeanness" in late-colonial legal practice in the Dutch East Indies', *European Review of History*, 20.6 (2013): 539–58. With a different conclusion, focusing more on the importance of race in Indies social hierarchies, see A. L. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*

- (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002). For an overview of the debates about race and other factors intersecting to determine social mobility in the East Indies, see S. Protschky, 'Race, class and gender: debates over the character of social hierarchies in the Netherlands Indies, circa 1600–1942', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 167.4 (2011): 543–56.
- 78 H. Schulte Nordholt, 'Modernity and middle classes in the Netherlands Indies: cultivating cultural citizenship', in S. Protschky (ed.), *Photography, Modernity and the Governed in Late-Colonial Indonesia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), pp. 223–54; T. Hoogervorst and H. Schulte Nordholt, 'Urban middle classes in colonial Java (1900–1942): images and language', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 173 (2017): 442–74.
  - 79 S. L. Lewis, *Cities in Motion: Urban Life and Cosmopolitanism in Southeast Asia, 1920–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); S. Protschky, 'Modern times in Southeast Asia, 1920s–1970s', in S. Protschky and T. van den Berge (eds), *Modern Times in Southeast Asia, 1920s–1970s* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 1–14.
  - 80 On some of the Indonesian royals who *did* attend Wilhelmina's court, see S. Protschky, 'Strained encounters: royal Indonesian visits to the Dutch court in the early twentieth century', in R. Aldrich and C. McCreery (eds), *Royals on Tour: Politics, Pageantry and Colonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), pp. 233–49.
  - 81 As also noted by Legêne, *Spiegelreflex*, p. 96.
  - 82 B. Luttikhuis and D. Moses (eds), *Colonial Counterinsurgency and Mass Violence: The Dutch Empire in Indonesia* (London: Routledge, 2014); G. Oostindie, in cooperation with I. Hoogenboom and J. Verwey, *Soldaat in Indonesië 1945–1950; Getuigenis van een oorlog aan de verkeerde kant van de geschiedenis* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2015); R. Limpach, *De brandende kampongs van Generaal Spoor* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2016).
  - 83 L. Zweers, *De gecensureerde oorlog; Militairen versus media in Nederlands-Indië 1945–1949* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2013); R. Kok, E. Somers and L. Zweers, *Koloniale oorlog 1945–1949; Van Indië naar Indonesië* (Amsterdam: Carrera, 2015); S. Protschky, 'Soldiers as humanitarians: photographing war in Indonesia (1945–49)', in J. Lydon (ed.), *Visualising Human Rights* (Perth: UWA Publishing, 2018), pp. 39–62.