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Preliminary Research: University of Amsterdam

History of slavery and colonialism

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Colophon

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1. Introduction

1. Introduction

Over the last decade, the University of Amsterdam (Universiteit van Amsterdam, UvA) has actively engaged in dialogue with various groups of stakeholders about its colonial history and legacies.¹ This preliminary research outlines how a historical follow-up study could be undertaken to continue these conversations while taking the plurality of the UvA community into account. Symbolically, the UvA's engagement began in March 2015, with the occupation of the Maagdenhuis, which called for attention to be paid to the colonial legacies of systems of higher education in the Netherlands. The University of Colour (UoC) was established during this event.² The UoC thereby took its place in a tradition of democratic university reforms, and in a longer history of engagement with colonialism at the UvA (1877-present) and its legal predecessor, the Athenaeum Illustre (1632-1876).³

Universities across the Netherlands and beyond are following in the footsteps of institutions such as city governments, central banks and Churches in commissioning reports into historical ties to, and the legacies of, colonialism and slavery.⁴ Although Amsterdam was the first Dutch city to become the subject of a separate study on its links to historical slavery, its educational landscape was not covered by the resulting book. Professor Gerard Vrolik (1796-1842)⁵ and his son, Professor Willem Vrolik (1831-1863), were mentioned in relation to their collection of human remains – used to develop a racist classification of human ‘races’ – but the impact of their lessons at the Athenaeum was left unaddressed.⁶

1 E. van Bijnen, et al, *Decolonial Dialogues@Humanities: Learnings, recommendations, scenarios* (2024). The Research Priority Area *Decolonial Futures* (2024-2029) aims to create new research collaborations, methods, dialogues and networks for thinking about what the ‘decolonial’ means – in transhistorical and interdisciplinary ways. Decolonial Futures Research Priority Area. (<https://decolonialfutures.uva.nl>).

2 N. Omarjee, *Reimagining the dream: Decolonising academia by putting the last first* (African Studies Centre Leiden 2019); M. de Ploeg and C. de Ploeg, ‘No democratisation without decolonisation’ *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* 20:3 (2017) 321-332.

3 Fr. de Jong Edz, *Macht en inspraak: de strijd om de democratisering van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Baarn 1981) 147-157.

4 R.M. Allen et al, *Dutch colonial slavery and its afterlives: 2025-2035: Research agenda* (2024) 26-29; L. Schulte Nordholt, ‘Ontregelen en onderzoeken, een historiografische verkenning van kolonialisme en universitaire geschiedenis’ *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 137:3 (2024) 410-424; L. Schulte Nordholt, ‘From colonial to international at Wageningen Agricultural College’, in: P. Bille Larsen and M. Křížová (eds.), *European university legacies. Problematic heritage and contemporary practice* (Edinburgh 2025) 52-66; L. Giay, ‘Aenbiedende onse vermogen tot dienst ende avantage van uwe Compagnie’: Explorative report on the colonial and slavery history of Leiden University (Leiden 2025); H. van Rinsum, *Universiteit Utrecht en koloniale kennis. Bestuderen, bemeten en beleren sinds 1636* (Zutphen 2023); A.H. Streefland, ‘Decolonising knowledge: TU Delft and the colonial history of the Dutch East Indies’, *Studium Generale*, 20 April 2021; H. Wels, ‘Trots, ‘eer’ en ‘medeplichtigheid’. De Vrije Universiteit en Zuid-Afrika’ *Proces* 93:6 (2014) 440-448. See for international comparisons: P. Gopal, ‘On decolonisation and the university’ *Textual Practice* 35:6 (2021) 873-899; L. Harris et al (eds.), *Slavery and the university: Histories and legacies* (Athens 2019); T. Miles, ‘Campus meets world: Introduction to universities studying slavery roundtable’ *The Public Historian* 42:4 (2020) 9-11; S. Mullen, ‘British universities and transatlantic slavery: The University of Glasgow case’ *History Workshop Journal* 91:1 (2021) 210-233; R.M. Herzig, ‘Trigger warning: On consent, trauma, and virtual life in the post-slavery university’ *The Minnesota Review* 102 (2024) 124-144.

5 Dates following a professor's name refer to the duration of the appointment at the Athenaeum or UvA.

6 P. Brandon et al (eds.), *De slavernij in Oost en West. Het Amsterdam onderzoek* (Amsterdam 2020).

This report is the result of a request from the Board of the UvA in July 2024, asking NIOD ‘to formulate a clear research assignment and frameworks for research into the relationship between the UvA, colonial history and the history of slavery since the university’s founding in 1632. It also asked [the institute] to explore the sources to be consulted. All this in preparation for the actual implementation of the research (phase 2).’⁷ In September 2024, NIOD embarked on phase 1, a preliminary six-month study conducted by Lauren Lauret, assisted by a NIOD steering group. In accordance with the UvA’s request, this report identifies six research questions that will be discussed successively in sections 1-6. For each research question we identify key themes, the most important available literature and sources, and potential research opportunities and challenges. In response to the request, this report also contains a section on definitions and an advisory plan for community involvement. In the introductory paragraphs below, we explain why the UvA’s colonial past should be brought into the discussion on the history of colonialism, and how we should approach its legacies.

Far too close

Since 2017, upon completing their degrees, students at the UvA have been presented with a copy of *A history of the University of Amsterdam*. In her foreword, the then rector magnificus Prof. Karen Maex wrote that ‘it’s good to know something about the history of your university. It’s often said that you should “know your history”: where you’re from, the family to which you belong. Knowing where you’re from can help you to determine where you’re going; and the university where you completed an essential part of your education is also part of your identity.’⁸ This identity-building capacity is a crucial reason why the colonial history of universities has entered the historiographic discussion on empire and its legacies. Knowledge was a colonial commodity in a dual sense; not only was indigenous knowledge extracted and appropriated for the benefit of Dutch metropolitan society, but knowledge in multiple forms could also be instrumentalised to maintain and legitimise the colonial project; and sometimes, too, to criticise and undermine it.

In 2021, UvA students highlighted a good example of the dual nature of knowledge in a (post) colonial context. Rather than learning from the institution about its history and thus becoming part of its identity as alumni, students asked the question how colonial history had contributed to the identity of their alma mater. VOX-Pop, the ‘creative space’ of the faculty of Humanities, commissioned four UvA (ex)students to produce the podcast ‘Far too close’. The makers interviewed academics, students and board members about the colonial past of six landmark buildings on the main campus.

The first episode discusses the Agnietenkapel, originally home to the Athenaeum Illustre and the location of the iconic inaugural lecture by professor of philosophy Caspar Barlaeus (1632-1648).

7 Secretaris van de Universiteit, ‘Opdrachtformulering onderzoek naar het koloniale slavernijverleden van de Universiteit van Amsterdam’, 2. ‘We zoeken een organisatie die ons kan helpen een heldere onderzoeksopdracht en -kaders te formuleren, ten behoeve van een onderzoek naar de relatie tussen de UvA, de koloniale geschiedenis en het slavernijverleden sinds de oprichting van de universiteit in 1632. Tevens wordt gevraagd een verkenning te doen naar de te raadplegen bronnen. Dit alles ter voorbereiding op daadwerkelijke uitvoering van het onderzoek (fase 2).’

8 P.J. Knegtmans, *A history of the University of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 2017).

On 9 January 1632, the latter gave a speech entitled ‘Mercator sapiens’ (The wise merchant). Attuned to his mercantile audience, Barlaeus explained that commerce itself could be a justifiable pursuit and that for a merchant, doing good could mean keeping the benefits for oneself rather than donating them.⁹ Moreover, according to Barlaeus, for a merchant planning ‘to visit the Arabs, the Persians, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Indians, and travel throughout the entire East’, it was ‘of the greatest importance to know Arabic.’¹⁰ Barlaeus’ inaugural speech quickly became a keystone in the foundation myth of the Athenaeum. Texts ranging from 18th-century commemorations to modern-day websites refer to ‘educating the wise merchant’ as a founding principal of the Athenaeum and its modern incarnation, the UvA (1877-present).¹¹ In 2022, for example, the UvA’s school of Economics and Business published *Honouring the past, delivering the future* to mark its centennial anniversary: ‘In the richly illustrated description of the history, founding and development of the faculty, *Mercator Sapiens* is discussed in the first part of this book as a source of inspiration for those who supported establishing an Economics faculty in Amsterdam.’¹² Commerce was never taught at the Athenaeum, however, and Arabic initially only in private classes, so we cannot presume that Amsterdam’s merchants invested their colonial profits in the establishment of a school fit for training their sons to join the (colonial) trade, as Craig S. Wilder has argued in relations to colleges on the East Coast of the US.¹³

The podcast also discussed Barlaeus’ later work, *The history of Brazil under the governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, 1636-1644*.¹⁴ The newly conquered colonies provided new opportunities for scholars to strengthen their profiles and financial situations. The recently returned governor of Brazil, Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, commissioned Barlaeus to write a history of his years in the country.¹⁵ Following common practice in Early Modern learned society, Barlaeus was expected to praise the governing qualities of his paying customer.¹⁶ *The history of Brazil* thus defended the use of enslaved Africans on the sugar plantations from an economic viewpoint, alongside moral, Christian

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- 9 H.J. Cook, *Matters of exchange: commerce, medicine, and science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven, Conn: 2007) 70. The other inaugural lecture was given by professor of history and politics Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577-1649). Vossius’ son Johannes was a failed student, who accrued debts. He married and started life anew in the Dutch East Indies, ‘where he did well’ until his early death aged 30 in 1636. Van Miert, *Humanism*, 53.
 - 10 Cited by D. van Miert, *Humanism in an age of science: the Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age, 1632-1704* (Leiden 2009) 217.
 - 11 Knegtmans, *A History*, 13; Van Miert, *Humanism*, 3-5.
 - 12 ‘The book of the century’, <https://www.uva.nl/en/about-the-uva/organisation/faculties/faculty-of-economics-and-business/about-eb/history/the-book-of-a-century.html> (consulted 30 November 2024).
 - 13 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 37; C.S. Wilder, *Ebony and ivy: race, slavery, and the troubled history of America’s universities* (New York, NY: 2013) 65-77.
 - 14 C. van Baerle and B. Berckel-Ebeling Koning, *The history of Brazil under the governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, 1636-1644* (Gainesville 2011). See also, P.J. Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad: het Athenaeum Illustre en de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1632-1960* (Amsterdam 2007) 46.
 - 15 Johan Maurits had played a significant role in slavery, the slave trade and slave-smuggling. C. Monteiro and E. Odegard, ‘Slavery at the Court of the ‘Humanist Prince’: Re-examining Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen and his role in slavery, slave trade and slave-smuggling in Dutch Brazil’ *Journal of Early American History* 10:1 (2020) 3-32.
 - 16 E. van den Boogaart, ‘A well-governed colony: Frans Post’s illustrations in Caspar Barlaeus’s History of Dutch Brazil’ *The Rijksmuseum bulletin* 59 (2011) 236-271, see 237.

objections to the use of slave labour. The students in the podcast rightly present this example as evidence that the Athenaeum in Amsterdam was closely involved with colonialism and slavery from its very inception. At the time of its publication, *The history of Brazil* contributed to the intellectual legitimisation and normalisation of the transatlantic slave trade, in addition to the legal framework created for the companies in the Dutch Republic involved in this trade.¹⁷

This preliminary research has identified similar key figures and moments in the history of the Athenaeum Illustre and UvA, and has analysed the elements of prestige at play when Amsterdam-based scholars engaged with the matter of the colonies, and when Amsterdam's wealthy merchants and/or entrepreneurs mobilised their colonial profits for the sake of the school, university and their own reputations. As educators of the future ruling elite, universities were responsible for nurturing a governmental mentality, were appreciative of commerce and the appropriation of knowledge, and were able to distance themselves from the violence and oppression inflicted upon colonised peoples.

The full-length history of the UvA and its legal predecessor fall within the scope of the research, but the focus should lie on the functioning of the university as an institute of higher education within the broader colonial context. The longevity of the historical period in question and the wide range of the curriculum mean that clear choices need to be made. This report presents six research questions and domains, discussing which of these questions merit further study in the follow-up project. In the interests of comprehensive research, we consider 1) financial ties, 2) curriculum, chairs and faculties 3) special collections, 4) campus buildings, 5) the community, and 6) self-image. Taking these aspects into consideration allows us to trace colonial ties systematically and in-depth, while simultaneously doing justice to their breadth and diversity. A logical endpoint is formed by the contributions made by the UvA-community to the scholarly study of colonialism and its legacies. (see section 5, The university community). Lying beyond the scope of this project is provenance research on the colonial objects held by institutions affiliated with the UvA. (see section 3, Colonial collections).

The research questions and domains are based on an institutional approach to the topic, whereby the Athenaeum and the UvA form the starting point for exploring possible ties to colonialism and slavery. It seems to us that the Athenaeum occupied an ambivalent position in Amsterdam's educational landscape. It was primarily used by Amsterdam's city councillors as a personal instrument for the *classical* education of their own children, whereas the powerful foundational myth of Barlaeus' *Mercator sapiens* might have led one to expect a more practical training for future merchants. As such, the Athenaeum differed from institutions in Leiden, Delft, Utrecht and Wageningen; institutions that, at a certain point in time, all had specific colonial training assignments. This makes it less obvious how we should trace the colonial connections of the UvA. The challenge for the follow-up research is to find out what made the colonial connections of the Athenaeum and the UvA distinct from their Dutch educational peers.

17 G. van Nifterik, 'Arguments related to slavery in seventeenth century Dutch legal theory' *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 89:1-2 (2021) 158-191; T. van Polanen, 'Snak, Claas and Bastiaan's struggle for freedom. Three Curaçaoan enslaved men and their court cases about the free soil principle in the Dutch Republic', *BMGN-LCHR* 136:1 (2021) 33-58; A. Weststeijn, 'State-sanctioned slavery: the States General from 1581 to 1796', in: R.M. Allen et al (eds.), *Slavery & the Dutch state. Dutch colonial slavery and its afterlives* (Leiden 2025) 329-338.

Because the inauguration of the UvA in 1877 coincided with the onset of modern imperialism in the Netherlands, we expect that most new insights will be gained from studying the colonial connections in this later period.

Taking an institutional approach to reconstructing the UvA's colonial connections runs the risk of reproducing the appropriation of knowledge, and the sense of a new beginning in 1877. Careful attention should thus be paid to the fact that indigenous voices were deliberately silenced to facilitate the transfer of knowledge between professors and students in Amsterdam. Although the institution itself changed significantly between 1632 and the present day, this project is an opportunity to identify continuity as well as change in its colonial involvement over almost four centuries. The selected research themes discussed below allow such continuity to be highlighted, whilst also respecting the specific nature of each period. Paying attention to (dis)continuities is especially important, because studies such as this one should deepen our understanding of how an educational system can play a role in training the subsequent generations to maintain – or criticise – the colonial project. Before the suggested research questions and domains are explained in more detail and some case studies are suggested, we first discuss the recommended definitions.



2. Definitions

2. Definitions

This study covers two educational institutions: the Athenaeum Illustre and the UvA. The **Athenaeum Illustre** was established by Amsterdam's city council in 1632. As the school was meant to prepare its exclusively male pupils for university training elsewhere, the professors did not hold *ius promovendi*. Prior to enrolling at the Athenaeum, its pupils had attended a Latin School and were generally aged between 15 and 18. The city council and the curators decided on the school's funding and the appointment of professors. In 1876, the University Act elevated the Athenaeum Illustre to the status of university, inaugurating the contemporary **University of Amsterdam**.¹⁸ The UvA was not granted the status of 'Rijks' university, meaning that its finances and professorial appointments were directly subject to the authority of the municipality of Amsterdam. Students were admitted on the basis of their prior schooling. Institutions closely affiliated with the teaching and research activities of both the Athenaeum and the UvA, such as the Hortus Botanicus, the Zoological Museum (Natura Artis Magistra) and the Colonial Institute (later the Tropenmuseum), are discussed in this report where relevant to colonial history, although the official relations changed over the years.

Given the nature of the Dutch colonial empire, specific definitions are required for the terms 'colonialism' and 'imperialism' used in this project. Unlike colonies under British or French rule, no Dutch colony developed into a long-lasting settler colony. In the Dutch context, **colonialism** began in the 16th century as a fusion between an emerging independent state and overseas conquest, pursued by the ruling elite mainly for commercial reasons.¹⁹ As Remco Raben explains, this gave Dutch colonialism its 'strong business-oriented and technocratic bent.'²⁰ This research on the historical links between an educational institute in Amsterdam and the colonies will therefore help to deepen our understanding of Dutch colonialism as an intellectual endeavour in support of – and/or in opposition to – the economic exploitation of overseas conquered territories.²¹

Throughout the colonial era, **slavery** was not the only way in which labour was mobilised in the overseas empire, nor was it the only form of labour based upon coercion.²² Dutch rule imposed most forms of forced labour in Asia and in the Atlantic territories. Developments in the Atlantic world played

18 The official name of the new university was Gemeentelijke Universiteit van Amsterdam (GU). The university became a legal entity in 1961, following the Wet op het Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (WWO). Since 1970, there have been no governmental ties between the university and the municipality of Amsterdam. For the purpose of clarity, this report uses the abbreviation UvA for the post-1877 period.

19 Internationally, 'colonialism' can refer to the (forceful) cultivation of domestic land and (re)population. The peaceful, domestic variant in the Dutch context is found in a University of Amsterdam dissertation on the Haarlemmermeer polder: H.N. ter Veen (1933-1934/1948), *De Haarlemmermeer als kolonisatiegebied. De Haarlemmermeer als kolonisatiegebied: proeve eener sociaal-geografische monographie* (Groningen 1925). Ter Veen argued for state-controlled land distribution. Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 354; W.F. Heinemeijer, 'Veen, Henri Nicolaas ter (1883-1949)', in: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*; H.J. Heeren, *Van sociografie tot sociologie: de Amsterdamse sociografische school en haar betekenis voor de Nederlandse sociologie* (Utrecht 1993).

20 R. Raben, 'A new Dutch imperial history?: Perambulations in a prospective field' *BMGN-LCHR* (2013) 5-30, see 9.

21 See for a recent discussion of the distinction between colonialism and imperialism more applicable to other colonial empires: B. Arneil, 'Colonialism versus imperialism' *Political Theory* 52:1 (2024) 146-176.

22 This definition is derived from: K. Fatah-Black, L. Lauret and J. van den Tol, *Serving the chain? De Nederlandsche Bank and the last decades of slavery, 1814-1863* (Leiden 2023).

a central role in the gradual legal eradication of all forms of slavery. For this reason, we recommend defining slavery as a legally circumvented institution in the form that was adopted and recognised by the government of the time. Formally, there had been no slavery in the Netherlands since the Late Middle Ages, and consequently there was no legal basis for its widespread introduction in the colonies in the early 17th century. Where Dutch law did not suffice, as in this case, administrators therefore fell back on Roman law, a subject taught at the Athenaeum from its inception. Given the nature of the Athenaeum as an educational institution, retrieving historical ties to colonial slavery is most useful when questioned for ramifications for the functioning and status of the Athenaeum as a school within the colonial commodity chain.

Imperialism refers to the upscaling of aggressive land expropriation, and the subjection and exploitation of colonised peoples and resources by European powers in the late 19th century, as symbolised by the Conference of Berlin (1884-1885), at which the African continent was divided between France, Britain, Portugal, Germany and Belgium. The Netherlands had relinquished its former strongholds in the transatlantic slave trade on the coast of West Africa in 1873. Nevertheless, in the remaining colonies of the Dutch East Indies, Suriname and the Caribbean the Netherlands more than matched other colonisers in deploying a new level of military aggression, administrative and technological interference, and economic exploitation characteristic of modern imperialism. The inauguration of the UvA in 1877, coincided with the apex of modern imperialism, and the preliminary research shows that the new university had the ambition to play an active part in this phase of the Dutch empire as well.

Due to the long timeframe of the project, it is also necessary to take the categories of anti-colonialism, decolonisation, post-colonialism and neocolonialism into account. **Anti-colonialism** relates to local critical responses to colonial rule.²³ By looking at how professors and students engaged with this criticism in their classes and publications, this project contributes to our understanding of anti-colonialism as intellectual history. In the 1920s, for example, students from Indonesia and Suriname voiced anti-colonial critiques.²⁴ Later on, the editors of the student periodical *Propria Cures* (1899-present), published a wide variety of opinions on the Indonesian War of Independence and reported on anti-colonial sentiment in Algeria and Angola.²⁵

In the Dutch empire, the process of formal **decolonisation** started after the proclamation of Indonesian independence by Sukarno and Hatta in 1945. Studying the impact of decolonisation on the university community will provide an important addition to the post-war perspective usually applied to the post-1945 period.²⁶ According to university historian Kneegmans, a dramatic decrease

23 Ch.J. Lee, 'Anti-colonialism: origins, practices, and historical legacies', in: M. Thomas and A.S. Thompson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire* (Oxford 2018) 436-452.

24 K. Stutje, 'Indonesian identities abroad. International engagement of colonial students in the Netherlands, 1908-1931' *BMGN-LCHR* 128:1 (2013) 151-172; H.A. Poeze, et al, *In het land van de overheerser. Indonesiërs in Nederland 1600-1950* (Leiden 1986) 104-107; G. Oostindie and E. Maduro, *In het land van de overheerser II, Antillianen en Surinamers in Nederland 1634/1667-1954* (Dordrecht 1986) IX.

25 L. Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis van Propria Cures 1890-1990* (Amsterdam 1990) 11 and 161-163, 211-212.

26 P. Romijn, *De lange Tweede Wereldoorlog. Nederland 1940-1949* (Amsterdam 2020).

in student numbers in the Netherlands was anticipated as a result of the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies.²⁷ Other references to the impact of decolonisation are rare in Knegtmans' institutional histories, however, even though students formed part of the post-colonial migrations from Indonesia, Suriname and the Dutch Antilles.

Post-colonialism refers here to both the end of Dutch colonialism and to perspectives on overcoming the economical and psychological effects of colonialism, including the continuity in new forms of domination. This is noteworthy, for upon recognition of Indonesian sovereignty in September 1949, rector H.R. Hoetink stated in his annual address that, 'whoever like me is convinced of the resilience and strength of a centuries-old historical and cultural connection, trusts that this cannot be wholly undone by human effort in a matter of years. We dare to cherish good expectations of a continued spiritual connection of benefit to both parties.'²⁸ In short, institutions such as universities had to adapt to the formal end of empire as much as, for instance, the imperial business sector.²⁹ For example, the commemorative study of the faculty of Business Economics, *Honouring the past, delivering the future*, has a separate section on 'The reorientation of the "colonial" department', indicative of the need to re-set the close ties between the faculty and the colonies due to de-colonisation.³⁰

In academia, the result of this process of adaptation – or the search for ways to keep the relationship beneficial – has in some instances resulted in the imposition of **neocolonial** conditions on partners to protect the privileged position of Western scholars in formerly colonised regions.³¹ At the UvA, one response to the ruptured ties with Indonesia was academic collaborations between Amsterdam and Paramaribo, thanks the efforts of president-curator Hellinga. In 1949, the senate created a permanent committee for Suriname and the Antilles, for 'creating opportunities that the "East" seems unable to offer us anymore at the moment, and that could in this way be provided by the "West".'³² The ramifications of patents held by the UvA and its budget allocation for staff working with the Global South should therefore be investigated for exclusionary effects. Another element of

27 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 372.

28 'Wie als ik overtuigd is van de taaheid en kracht van een eeuwenlange historische en culturele verbondenheid vertrouwt dat deze door menselijk toedoen niet in luttel jaren geheel kan worden teniet gedaan. Wij durven goede verwachtingen koesteren van een voorgezette geestelijke aanraking waarbij beide partijen hun voordeel vinden'. *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1948-1949) 83.

29 Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff have already demonstrated that this constitutional change did not sever the ties between scholarly networks in the Netherlands and the former colony. M. Bloembergen and M. Eickhoff, *The politics of heritage in Indonesia. A cultural history* (Cambridge 2019); M. Bloembergen, 'The open ends of the Dutch empire and the Indonesian past: Sites, scholarly networks, and moral geographies of Greater India across decolonization', in: Thomas, *Handbook*, 391-414.

30 J. Hinrichs, R. Hartgers and J. Joor, *Honouring the past, delivering the future; In the footsteps of Barlaeus* (Amsterdam 2022) 84-86.

31 H. Pols, 'Decolonising science and medicine in Indonesia', in: A. Goss (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Science and Empire* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: 2021) 300-313.

32 '[...] die onder andere kan leiden tot de stichting van een *Wetenschappelijk Centrum onzer Universiteit in Suriname*. Scheppende mogelijkheden die de "Oost" ons op dit ogenblik weinig meer schijnt te bieden, zouden op deze wijze door de "West" kunnen worden verschaft.' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1949-1950) 73.

neocolonialism relates to the internal staff and student criticism on Shell – once the sole subsidiser of the Amsterdam University Society – as a multinational exploiting the resources of ‘developing countries’ to fund its philanthropic activities.³³

These definitions will serve to determine the scope of the follow-up project, and can be further discussed as the research progresses. In the following section, we present a number of research domains that were identified after discussions with relevant experts (see Appendix A) and consultation of the available literature on the history of the UvA, and about the impact of colonialism and slavery on Dutch society and its institutions in general.

33 R. Overman, *Een welkom academisch gezelschap: geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse Universiteits-Vereniging 1889-2007* (Amsterdam 2008) 240-245.



3. Financial foundations

3. Financial foundations

This domain focuses on the connection between colonial profits and the financial flows of the Athenaeum and UvA. In this respect, the involvement of a European institute of education is less visible than its counterparts in the US, some of which are located on former plantations endowed by (former) slave owners or on plots of land robbed from an indigenous population.³⁴ This section outlines how the financial links between the Athenaeum and the UvA can be uncovered.

Financial links - Athenaeum Illustre

The Athenaeum lay directly under the control of the municipality of Amsterdam. As Dirk van Miert explains, archival sources for the 17th-century school administration are scarce.³⁵ Key sources such as matriculation lists, minutes of the professorial senate or lists of curatorial decisions are all absent, as the Athenaeum did not keep such records until 1730. Older studies on the early years of the school were based on the Decrees of the College of Mayors and Former Mayors (*Raad van Burgemeester en Oud-Burgemeesteren*), the 'Great Memorial' or City Decrees Book (*Groot-Memoriael*), resolutions of the City Council (*Vroedschap*) and the abbreviated records from the treasury archive (*Rapiamus*). These documents contain information about the dates upon which professors were appointed, their salaries and their subjects.

The curators and governors of the Athenaeum were usually members of the College of Mayors and Former Mayors. Although we still lack a definitive list of curators, it appears that some curators of the Athenaeum also served as directors of the East and West India Companies (VOC and WIC) and/or Society of Suriname.³⁶ Existing studies have highlighted how Joan Huydecoper used his VOC directorship and commissionership of the botanical garden, for example, to supply the Company garden in the Cape of Good Hope.³⁷ It is important to note, however, that the city councillors largely used the school for personal benefit, to give children from wealthier families a better classical education *before* sending them to university. The appointment of Marcus Meiboom in 1668, for example, was made because the burgomasters were desperate for a private tutor to teach Greek to their children.³⁸

As Dirk van Miert has explained, it is difficult to trace 17th-century money flows, let alone whether money allocated to the Athenaeum had any link to slavery/colonialism.³⁹ It is unlikely that the Athenaeum owned any colonial properties (related to slavery). Whereas an institution such as the Admiralty received excise duties on colonial commodities, the city council tended to accrue its budget mainly through

34 See for example: D.W. Blight, *Yale and slavery: A history* (New Haven, Conn: 2024); T. Platt, *The scandal of Cal. Land grabs, white supremacy, and miseducation at UC Berkeley* (Berkeley 2023) and for a more general overview on the relationship between US universities and slavery: Wilder, *Ebony and ivy*.

35 Van Miert, *Humanism*.

36 J.E. Elias and W.R. Veder, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795* (Amsterdam 1963) contains some biographical data on Athenaeum curators. Other curators had double roles as scholars at the Latin Schools.

37 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 75; D.O. Wijnands et al, *Een sieraad voor de stad: de Amsterdamse Hortus Botanicus: 1638-1993* (Amsterdam 1994) 75; Z. Baber, 'The plants of empire: Botanic gardens, colonial power and botanical knowledge' *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46:4 (2016) 659-679.

38 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 198.

39 Conversation with Dirk van Miert, Spinhuis, 14 October 2024.

local taxes.⁴⁰ The financial situation at the Athenaeum directly reflected the vicissitudes of the ruling elite. Throughout its first half-century, large sums were spent to attract acclaimed professors of philosophy and history to the city, but in times of financial need, the city council chose to reduce its spending on the Athenaeum.⁴¹ The *Rapiamus* in the Amsterdam City Archive – the abbreviated version of the accounts – contains valuable information about professorial salaries; Van Miert suggests looking here for reconstruction bills that might indicate a windfall from colonial profits being transferred to the school.

Rather than looking for the Athenaeum's direct financial involvement in colonial affairs, another approach would be to consider the involvement of professors. The personal financial involvement of professors in colonial enterprises is recorded in the notarial deeds of the city of Amsterdam, and in the archives of the VOC, the WIC, the Society of Suriname, and the Society of Berbice. Existing studies mention Willem Röell (1755-1762) and Petrus Camper (1755-1758/1761) as professors who owned plantations.⁴² Röell, an expert in anatomy with a fascination for botany, was initially affiliated with the botanical garden and responsible for anatomy lessons at the Collegium Chirurgicum.⁴³ In Berbice he owned the St. Elisabeth and Alexandra plantations, which he actively managed from Amsterdam. In 1743, he unsuccessfully applied to enlarge the estates without paying taxes, despite his appointment as a WIC director the previous year, and in 1745 he purchased nine enslaved people.⁴⁴ The Society of Suriname appointed him as director in 1753, and also described him as 'Doctor Willem Röell, Professor Anatomia & Commissaris dezer Steede', indicating the prestige bestowed by scholarly expertise in this setting.⁴⁵ His professorship at the Athenaeum (1755) restored the direct tie between the botanical garden and the Athenaeum.⁴⁶ Moreover, in the same year the Athenaeum appointed another known slave-owner as his direct colleague. Knegtmans describes this professor of anatomy, Petrus Camper (1755-1761), as having been preoccupied with his financial interest in colonial slavery, including managing his plantations in Berbice, and his directorship of the WIC and Society of Suriname.⁴⁷ Taken together, these appointments indicate

40 See also: P. Brandon, 'Burgemeesters, belangen en staatsmacht', in: Idem, et al (eds.), *De slavernij in Oost en West. Het Amsterdam onderzoek* (Amsterdam 2020) 77-85.

41 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 58 and 63.

42 H. Brugmans et al, *Gedenboek van het Athenaeum en de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1632-1932* (Amsterdam 1932) 663; Elias, *De vroedschap*, 744.

43 Wijnans, *Een sieraad*, 103-106.

44 NL-NaHA, Sociëteit van Berbice, inv.nr. 15, scan 91, 12 December 1743; NL-NaHA, Sociëteit van Berbice, inv.nr. 33, scan 367, 26 November 1745.

45 NL-NaHA, Sociëteit van Suriname, inv.nr. 43, scan 374, 19 December 1753: 'tot mede Directeur deezer Sociëteit van wegens welgemelde West Indische Compagnie den Heere Doctor Willem Röell, Professor Anatomia & Commissaris dezer Steede, mitsgaders Bewindhebber van de West Indische Compagnie ter Camere alhier'. See also: NL-NaHA, Sociëteit van Berbice, inv.nr. 3, scan 229, 14 January 1762; inv.nr. 14, scan 94, 3 July 1738.

46 Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 103-106.

47 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 112. See also: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, archief P. Camper, BPL 247; University of Groningen Library, Archief Petrus Camper. His collection of *preparaten* is being examined and shown to the public (15 March – 21 September 2025): 'Entangled stories: Science and colonialism in the collection of Petrus Camper', <https://www.rug.nl/museum/exhibitions/2025/verstrengelde-verhalen?lang=en>.

that there was an interesting dynamic between the management of colonial plantation economies in Amsterdam and the personnel of the Athenaeum. In addition to these colonial archives, the index to the notarial archive of the City of Amsterdam should therefore be checked for other professors with financial stakes in colonial enterprises. During this preliminary study, no recipients of financial compensation for the abolition of slavery in 1860/1863 were identified, but the follow-up project should finalise the search based on the data provided by the Album Academicum.⁴⁸

There are three additional ways to explore whether professors had financial stakes in colonial affairs. First, some professors provided services to the chartered companies. Mathematician Alexander de Bie (1653-1690), for example, received f 582 from the WIC in 1677.⁴⁹ The payment was added to his 'emolumenten', which suggests he received a more regular income from the Company. De Bie was specifically identified as a mathematics professor at the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam suggesting that his scholarly capacity was relevant in the context of the payment. Other references concerning Athenaeum professors give a clearer indication of the tasks they performed for the chartered companies. The VOC appointed professor Casparus Commelin (1706-1731) as assistant to the 'Compagnies doctor' in 1707,⁵⁰ whereas his colleague Frederik Ruysch (1685-1731) examined candidates for medical professions in the service of the Society of Suriname.⁵¹ Professor of botany Nicolaas Laurens Burman (1769-1777/1793) served both the VOC and WIC, receiving an annual payment from the VOC⁵² and examining an aspiring physician for the post of surgeon major in Essequibo for the WIC.⁵³ Second, Amsterdam's city council called upon the rhetorical talents of Athenaeum professors (of history and rhetoric) during important events.⁵⁴ Alexander Morus (1653-1658), for example – nicknamed the 'Ethiopian' by Isaac Vossius, in allusion to his name – delivered an oration in the Athenaeum's auditorium on the occasion of a military victory over the Turks.⁵⁵ His colleague Robertus Keuchenius (1661-1666/7) dedicated a collection of occasional poems to Athenaeum curator and VOC director Simon van Hoorn.⁵⁶ Third, a few professors and lecturers have been identified who left the Athenaeum or university to continue their careers in the colonies.⁵⁷

48 Law professor Cornelis M.J. Willeumier's grandparents owned plantation shares. GAS, 30989 Archief van de Familie Willeumier, inv.nr. 1 and 2.

49 NL-NaHA, WIC, 1.05.01.02, inv.nr. 332, scan 144.

50 Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 85.

51 NL-HaNA, Sociëteit van Suriname, 1.05.03, inv.nr. 8, scan 384, 1 July 1716.

52 NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 10676, 1788; inv.nr. 10681, 1789; inv.nr. 10684, 1790.

53 NL-HaNA, WIC, 1.05.01.02, inv.nr. 891, scan 891, 6 May 1786; see letter of recommendation NL-HaNA, WIC, 1.05.01.02, inv.nr. 908, scan 281, 8 April 1786.

54 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 83.

55 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 82-83.

56 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 86.

57 Johannes Klenckius (Van Miert, *Humanism*, 68); Valencijn van de Lande (Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 165); Caspar George Carl Reinwardt (Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 251; Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 158-159 and 181); Everhardus Cornelis Godée Molsbergen (Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 589); Johannes Bernardus Tielrooy (1938-1942/1945-1953) S. Dresden, 'Johannes Bernardus Tielrooy', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1954-1955) 95-100; J. Tielrooy, *La Hollande et l'Indonesie* (Bruxelles 1948) overdruk uit *Le Flambeau*, 1948, no. 2.

Financial links - University of Amsterdam

The financial links between the UvA (1877-present) and colonialism are better known. Although the municipality of Amsterdam funded the university, the latter is known for its extensive collaborations with commercial companies.⁵⁸ The UvA publicly stated its aim to become the beneficiary of colonial profits. In 1902 rector P.K. Pel (1883-1919) lamented the lack of generosity in the Netherlands compared to the US and England: 'Especially from the New World, from America, we sometimes hear about gifts from men who have a heart for culture of the mind and of science, gifts that make our mouths water. In our country this habit has yet – alas! – to become fashionable.'⁵⁹ He hoped that his successor would be able to celebrate the first large donations. To serve as an encouragement, he concluded his plea with an example to emulate: 'The fact that a man like Cecil Rhodes' – the English mining magnate and former prime minister of the Cape Colony – 'donated a large share of his great fortune in the form of fellowships to various institutions of Higher Education', should, according to Pel, 'be abhorred by none.'⁶⁰ Although the rector would prefer future donors to his university to endow professorial chairs and laboratories rather than 'donating in the form of scholarships – the cherished form of Cecil Rhodes', this statement indicates the eagerness of the UvA to tap into the financial endowments and prestige provided by colonial entrepreneurs and governors.

Special attention should be paid to the links between the UvA and the Colonial Institute, because the latter was established by the colonial business sector during the period of ethical consensus.⁶¹ The university gained several new chairs and lectureships, such as Johan Ch. van Eerde's (1917-1926/1936) chair in ethnology, which alternated between the faculties of Humanities and Business Science-Economics.⁶² When in 1925 the colonial business sector wanted to establish another academic training programme for East Indies civil servants in Utrecht – in addition to the existing programme in Leiden – the phenomenon of colonial enterprises financing chairs provoked at least one UvA professor publicly to question the scholarly integrity of these professorships. Professor of state economics and statistics David van Embden (1905-1940/1946) combined his scholarly work with a seat in the Upper House for the Free Democratic Union (VDB), a role in which he opposed the new colonial study track in Utrecht. According to him, the exact sciences were not as exposed

58 P.J. Knegtmans, 'Onderwijs, wetenschap en particulier initiatief aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1920-1950', in: Idem and A.J. Kox (eds.), *Tot nut en eer van de stad. Wetenschappelijk onderzoek aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 2000) 79-106; GAS 279.A Archief van de Universiteit van Amsterdam; College van Curatoren: aanvulling, inv.nr. 2190, Stukken betreffende de regeling voor het aanvaarden van schenkingen en legaten aan de Universiteit, 1962-1971.

59 'Vooral van uit de Nieuwe Wereld, van uit Amerika, komen ons soms schenkingen van mannen, die een warm hart hebben voor cultuur van den geest en van de wetenschap, ter oore, die ons doen watertanden. Bij ons te lande is deze gewoonte, helaas! Nog niet in zwang. [...] Het feit, dat een man als Cecil Rhodes [...] een groot deel van zijn rijk fortuin in den vorm van studiebeurzen aan verschillende instellingen van Hooger Onderwijs vermaakte [...] zal, vertrouwd ik, niemand afschrikken. [...] de geliefkoosde vorm van Cecil Rhodes.' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1901-1902) p. 4.

60 Ibidem.

61 C.J.J. van Hall and C.J. Hassemlan, *Het Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam: wording, werking en toekomst* (Amsterdam 1941); M. Kuitenbrouwer, *Dutch scholarship in the age of empire and beyond* (Leiden 2014) 136.

62 GAS 279.A, College van Curatoren, inv.nr. 2593, Stukken betreffende de bijzondere leerstoelen vanwege het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 1966-1967; *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1910-1911) 125.

to the financial interests or insights of the group supporting the research, although he deplored the demoralising impact of capitalists such as Rockefeller in the US, who could dismiss critical professors at will. But, colonial civil servants, trained in the humanities and social sciences, and thus likely to adopt the ethical position of their sponsors, could all too easily expose the indigenous population to exploitation. 'Mr President! With chairs in these sciences, dependence on entrepreneurial benefits inevitably brings an undesirable, namely plutocratic aspect,' Van Embden asserted.⁶³ No fewer than 38 of his UvA colleagues agreed and submitted a petition along these lines.⁶⁴ Thus, although the UvA nurtured close financial relations with the colonial business sector in the first half of the 20th century, this development raised questions about the professional ethics of the chair-holders and their students.

The website of the Amsterdam University Fund (1889-present) suggests that 'the tradition of donating to science at the University of Amsterdam dates back to 1632, the year the Athenaeum Illustre was established.'⁶⁵ It would be worthwhile studying Royal Dutch Shell's annual financial donations (f15,000) to the UvA Alumni Association (AUV, 1899-present), over a thirty-year period between 1957-1987.⁶⁶ The AUV subsidised professorial study trips to the Dutch East Indies and to Congo (1960),⁶⁷ donated to the laboratory at Artis, and supported gifted students from South Africa. By far its largest ever financial contribution was made to the establishment of the Colonial Institute, which would significantly expand the prospective job market of alumni.⁶⁸ The reason for this donation was presented as self-evident. 'When it comes to the University of Amsterdam, no sacrifice is too great for us, so long as it falls within our means. We are always keen to see the university prosper! And nothing comes closer to promoting its growth than this "colonial" expansion.'⁶⁹

Johan P. Wibaut (1925-1956) and Friedrich Michels (1939-1956/1969) are best known as professors who obtained substantial commissions from companies with links to the colonies.⁷⁰ The university helped develop the chemical division of Royal Dutch Shell. Together with Delft University, Amsterdam

63 HEK 1924-1925, 17 March 1925, p. 586. 'Mijnheer de Voorzitter! Bij leerstoelen in deze wetenschappen levert de afhankelijkheid van ondernemersbijdragen onvermijdelijk een ongewenst, n.l. plutocratisch verband op.'

See also: Van Rinsum, *Koloniale kennis*, 235-260.

64 The petition can be sought here: NL-HaNA inv.nr. 1297, 1924-1925 (230-389) 5 Nov 1924 - 10 feb 1925; inv.nr. 1298, 1924-1925 (290-609) 10 Feb-10 March 1925; Fasseur, *Indologen*, 415-420.

65 'De traditie van geven voor de wetenschap gaat voor de Universiteit van Amsterdam terug tot 1632, het jaar waarin het Athenaeum Illustre wordt opgericht.' <https://www.auf.nl/over-het-fonds/historie/historie.html?cb> (consulted 18 September 2024).

66 In total, BPM/Shell donated f385,000 between 1957-1987.

67 Overman, *Een welkom academisch gezelschap*, 190-196.

68 Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 530; Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 282; Overman, *Een welkom academisch gezelschap*.

69 'Voor de Universiteit van Amsterdam mag geen offer ons te veel zijn, als het binnen ons bereik valt. Wanneer slechts de Universiteit bloeit! Zeggen wij altijd. En wat kan haren bloei zoo bevorderen als deze "koloniale" uitbreiding?'

Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam (1910-1911) 124-125.

70 P.J. Knegtmans, 'Onderwijs, wetenschap en particulier initiatief aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1920-1950', in: Idem, *Tot nut en eer van de stad*, 79-106, see 83-90 and 94-97; A. Bobbette, *The pulse of the earth: political geology in Java* (Durham 2023); A. Bobbette et al, 'Decolonizing Geology: A discussion' *GeoHumanities* 7:2 (2021) 647-655.

researched the potential for selling the residue of oil refining as pesticides or fertiliser.⁷¹ The Batavian Petroleum Company (BPM), a division of Shell, funded Wibaut's chemistry lab. In 1964, two professors fell out over accusations of sharing too much information from the sub-faculty with Shell.⁷² Friedrich Michels' research in experimental and technical physics received financial support from Imperial Chemical Industries. In addition, the international teaching activities of two medical professors were supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, and the *Jaarboek* lists other occasional donations from the Rockefellers.⁷³ The archives of the Geology faculty contain documents relating to its collaboration with the Billiton Corporation in its research on tin mines in the Dutch East Indies and Malaysia.⁷⁴ In the 1960s, professor Jacobus J. Hermes (1963-1984) was involved in explorations for oil in Dutch New Guinea and soil examination on Curaçao.⁷⁵

Professors by special appointment indicate ties between the trading city and the university: professor of economic geology and mineralogy, J. Versluys (1932-1935), was also an advisor to the production department of BPM (1927-1935).⁷⁶ Like their predecessors at the Athenaeum, UvA professors were consulted ad hoc for their expertise on colonial matters relating to the colonies. Law professor Tobias M.C. Asser (1862-1893) was a member of the Dutch delegation to the Congo conference (1884/1885) and the Suez conference (1885), whereas professor Van Eerde tutored Princess Juliana on 'Knowledge of the colonies'.⁷⁷ During the postcolonial period, the Dutch government asked professor August D. Belinfante (1959-1965/1983) for advice on the possibility of prosecuting military officer Raymond Westerling for the excessive violence and summary executions he had committed on Celebes during the Indonesian War of Independence.⁷⁸

71 J. Koch, *De Kesslers. Een familiegeschiedenis in olie en staal* (Amsterdam 2023) 236.

72 GAS 279 College van Curatoren, inv.nr. 391, Stukken betreffende een conflict tussen twee hoogleraren in de scheikunde, 1964-1976.

73 Isidore Snapper (1919-1920/1940) and Cornelius Ubbo Ariëns Kappers (1928-1946); Annet Mooij, 'Snapper, Isidore (1889-1973)', in: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*; L.A. Zeidman and J. Cohen, 'Walking a fine scientific line: The extraordinary deeds of Dutch neuroscientist C.U. Ariëns Kappers before and during World War II' *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences* 23 (2014) 252-275 <doi:10.1080/0964704X.2013.835109>. (Rockefeller donations) *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1948-1949) 83.

74 GAS 30612 Archief van de Universiteit van Amsterdam; Geologisch Instituut en Subfaculteit Geologie en Geofysica, inv.nr. 222, Stukken betreffende geologisch onderzoek naar tinmijnen in Nederlands-Indië en in Maleisië in samenwerking met de Billiton Maatschappij, met onderzoeksverslagen, afkomstig van dr J.W.H. Adam. 1925-1926.

75 W.A. Visser and J.J. Hermes, *Geological results of the exploration for oil in Netherlands New Guinea* ('s-Gravenhage 1962); J.J. Hermes, 'Planctonic foraminifera from the Seroe Mainsji formation of Curaçao' *Geologie & mijnbouw: orgaan voor de officiële mededeelingen van het Geologisch-Mijnbouwkundig Genootschap voor Nederland en Koloniën* 47 (1968) 280-290.

76 Knechtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 258; Gb 1877 afd. 1, 175; afd. 2, 373; *Amigoe di Curaçao: weekblad voor de Curaçaosche eilanden*, 30 March 1935.

77 C.G. Roelofsen, 'Asser, Tobias Michel Karel (1838-1913)', in: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. W. Westenberg, 'Tobias Michael Carel Asser (1838-1913). Een pragmatisch jurist', in: J.C.H. Blom et al (eds.), *Een brandpunt van geleerdheid in de hoofdstad. De Universiteit van Amsterdam rond 1900 in 15 portretten* (Hilversum/Amsterdam 1992) 53-76, see 65; <https://www.dbnl.org/auteurs/auteur.php?id=eerdo03>; (Van Eerde) Brugmans, *Gedenktekenboek*, 581.

78 G. van der Wal, *In plaats van woede. Het leven van Guus Belinfante* (Amsterdam/Antwerpen 2023).

Honorary doctorates are a useful category for analysing ties between a university and colonial money, at least according to one critical pamphlet published on the occasion of the UvA's third centenary in 1932. Delft University had granted honorary doctorates to former 'petrol-capitalists' from the East Indies Henri Deterding and Hendrikus Colijn: 'What are their merits? That they accrued wealth [...] that they helped ransack colonial populations, that they became something from nothing, exclusively due to a lack of moral objections? These titles are *purchased with money*, not paid for with knowledge.'⁷⁹ According to this pamphlet, 300 years after Barlaeus' *Mercator Sapiens* lecture, scrupulous self-enrichment in the colonies was unworthy of academic accolade. Yet in 1932, the UvA followed Delft's example and awarded 35 honorary doctorates. Among the laureates was the entrepreneur Ernst Heldring, who as director of the Nederlandsche-Stoomboot-Maatschappij had played a key role in connecting the various parts of the Dutch empire. Indeed, in 1939 he would become the president of the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij. The pamphlet was critical of this celebration of unbridled colonial capitalism by the university, whilst the 'Javanese suffers from hunger.'⁸⁰ Heldring himself, however, was no 'admirer of stimulation of the study of so-called trade sciences' either.⁸¹ He nevertheless accepted a seat on the advisory board of the faculty of Business Economics to increase contact between the latter and the trade sector, even though he believed 'that the faculty does not train merchants and theory grows to terrifying proportions.'⁸² Heldring's diary provides an invaluable – if brief – insight into the workings of the advisory board. His honorary doctorate was the last time the Economics faculty would award such an accolade to an entrepreneur, suggesting that the university's leadership took the criticism on honorary doctorates for (colonial) entrepreneurs seriously.⁸³

Several examples indicate ways in which students were made aware of these connections between their university and colonial companies. BPM and Unilever used the *Jaarboek* to advertise traineeships to Amsterdam students between 1955-1960, and sent out brochures about job opportunities for university graduates on request (Figure 1).⁸⁴ Perhaps in recognition of this long-term collaboration between the university and (former colonial) chemical companies, in 1969 both Shell and Unilever

79 'Waarin ligt hun verdienste? Dat ze rijkdommen vergaarden [...] dat ze koloniale volkeren hielpen leegplunderen, dat ze van niet tot iets werden, uitsluitend dank zij het gebrek aan gewetensbezwaren? Deze titels zijn *gekocht met geld*, en niet met kennis betaald.' GAS 279 College van Curatoren, inv.nr. 387. *Stukken betreffende het derde eeuwfeest van de universiteit in 1932, 1932*, A. Elsée, *De universiteit jubileert* (Amsterdam: Alarmgroep 1932) 3-6 and 16.

80 GAS 279 College van Curatoren, inv.nr. 387.

81 'In al deze misère heeft men mij plotseling – ter gelegenheid van het 300-jarig bestaan der Universiteit – doctor honoris causa in de handelswetenschappen gemaakt. Het gekke van het geval is, dat ik nooit een bewonderaar van het opdrijven van de studie der zg. handelswetenschappen geweest ben en dit ook niet verborgen heb'. E. Heldring and J. de Vries (ed.), *Herinneringen en dagboek van Ernst Heldring (1871-1954)* (Utrecht 1970) 3 May 1932, p. 971.

82 'Hoewel ik van meening ben, dat aan de faculteit geen kooplieden gekweekt worden en de theorie er angstwekkende afmetingen aanneemt, heb ik dit verzoek niet aanstonds afgewezen'. Heldring, *Herinneringen en dagboek*, 4 February 1932, p. 962.

83 J. de Vries, 'Heldring, Ernst (1871-1954)', in: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. See also the honorary doctorate for Queen Juliana in 1938 and the combined report on the ceremony at the UvA and celebrations in Batavia in *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 January 1938.

84 (Unilever) *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1955-1956) 98, 138, 220; (BPM cartoon) *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1961-1962) 144.

instigated thesis awards at the faculty of Chemistry that ran until 1993 and 2000, respectively.⁸⁵ Some students opposed using money from Shell to stock university libraries from the 1970s onwards, and the annual donation to the University Fund ended in 1987.⁸⁶

All in all, we can conclude that even though it will be challenging to reconstruct financial flows and other economic ties with the Athenaeum, and later the UvA, these links can be examined in a number of ways. Some of these links have been explored incidentally up to date, but we lack a systematic overview. Such an overview would tell us more about the financial entanglement of the Amsterdam elite with the colonies, but for this study in particular it would be more interesting to corroborate the financial links with an assessment of the relationship between the curriculum and the institution.

85 GAS, 30224 Archief van de Universiteit van Amsterdam; Faculteit Scheikunde, 348 Stukken betreffende de toekenning van de Koninklijke/Shell Studiereisprijs. Met een kritische notitie van de subfaculteitsraad (1978). Met jaarlijkse nominaties. 1969-1993; 349 Stukken betreffende de toekenning van de Unilever Researchprijs (tot 1985 Unilever Chemieprijs genoemd). Met een kritische notitie van de subfaculteitsraad (1980). Met jaarlijkse nominaties. 1969-2000. See also: GAS 1020 Faculteit Wiskunde, Informatica, Natuurkunde en Sterrenkunde en rechtsvoorgangers, inv.nr. 281, Stukken betreffende voordrachten voor de jaarlijkse subsidie die Koninklijke/Shell geeft voor buitenlandse studiereizen; GAS 30843 Zoölogisch Museum en het Instituut voor Systematiek & Populatiebiologie, inv.nr. 4426, Stukken betreffende het Conidae-project [...] en de financiering daarvan door Shell Tankers BV.

86 GAS 279.A, College van Curatoren, aanvulling, inv.nr. 2188 Shell Nederland NV, 1968; inv.nr. 2184 NV Bataafse Internationale Petroleum Maatschappij, 1967; Overman, *Een welkom academisch gezelschap*, 197-199 and 309-310.

„... Behalve aan verhoging der verwerkingscapaciteit, wordt voortdurend gewerkt aan uitbreiding en modernisering der installaties, opdat aan de vraag naar produkten van nog hogere kwaliteit kan worden voldaan ...”
(uit het jaarverslag der „Koninklijke”)



Bijzonderheden over uw mogelijkheden als Academicus bij de Koninklijke/Shell Groep vindt u in het boekje "Careers for University Graduates", dat op aanvraag gaarne wordt toegezonden.



Bataafse Internationale Petroleum Maatschappij N.V.
Postbus 162, 's-Gravenhage.

C3

Figure 1. Advert from BPM in the *Jaarboek* from 1961-1962.



4. Institutional links - Curriculum, chairs and faculties

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The ‘imperial turn’ in the history of science has resulted in a rich literature on how ‘neither science nor empire could have existed without each other.’⁸⁷ Amsterdam seems the logical focal point for knowledge production about the Dutch empire, and the dissemination of this knowledge to the next generation of entrepreneurs and governors. The following section highlights how colonial knowledge only gradually became part of the Athenaeum’s and UvA’s teaching remits, and how it was spread between various disciplines. We deliberately chose to analyse colonial research, teaching and application practices in an integrated way, as this reflects the close proximity of these aspects of academic life in the context of the colonies.

University historian Jan Knegtmans notes that little is known about any discussion on the use of the Athenaeum for a trade city like Amsterdam.⁸⁸ Van Miert and Frijhoff have stated that a school such as the Athenaeum would have been of minor economic value to the city, especially a commercial centre such as Amsterdam.⁸⁹ Yet other scholars have stressed the links between the rise of European states, the Dutch Republic in particular, as prominent player in global trade and the New Sciences taught at their universities.⁹⁰

In short, the role played by the Athenaeum/University professors, as educators and scholars, in supporting the colonial endeavours of the Dutch Republic/the Netherlands requires closer scrutiny. In what ways were the professors involved with colonialism and slave-based activities? And how did knowledge production at the Athenaeum Illustre and the UvA contribute to maintaining/reproducing colonial paradigms and Eurocentric knowledge/power structures, including in the colonies?

The Athenaeum: curriculum and institution

From the outset, the organisation of teaching activities at the Athenaeum facilitated trade. Public lectures took place in the early morning so that older attendees could also visit the Amsterdam stock market, which was open between 10 a.m. and noon.⁹¹ The Athenaeum initially offered a classical curriculum taught in Latin.⁹² From 1686, the school had a complete system of faculties, comprising the teaching of physics, metaphysics, philosophy, medicine, theology and law, although not all subjects had dedicated chairs or professors. Indeed, the professor of oriental languages, Stephanus Morinus, only taught Semitic languages. Japanese, Chinese and Indian languages were

87 A. Goss (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Science and Empire* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: 2021) 1. See for a pioneering study: R. MacLeod, *Nature and empire: Science and the colonial enterprise* (Ithaca, NY 2000).

88 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 61.

89 W.T.M. Frijhoff, ‘Hoger onderwijs als inzet van stedelijke naijver in de vroegmoderne tijd’, in: P.B.M. Blaas and J. van Herwaarden (eds.), *Stedelijke naijver. De betekenis van interstedelijke conflicten in de geschiedenis. Enige beschouwingen en case-studies* (’s-Gravenhage 1986) 82-127, see 89; Van Miert, *Humanism*, 28.

90 Cook, *Matters of exchange*; Wilder, *Ebony and ivy*, 6.

91 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 43; L. Petram, *De bakermat van de beurs: hoe in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam de moderne aandelenhandel ontstond* (Amsterdam 2011).

92 C.A. Davids, ‘Universiteiten, illustre scholen en de verspreiding van technische kennis in Nederland, einde 16e-begin 19e eeuw’ *Batavia Academica* 7:1 (1990) 3-34; Idem, ‘Ondernemers in kennis. Het zeevaartkundig onderwijs in de Republiek gedurende de zeventiende eeuw’ *De zeventiende eeuw* 7:1 (1991) 37-48.

admittedly more useful for merchants and travellers to those regions, as Barlaeus had noted in his inaugural lecture, but studying Eastern languages was intended to enhance understanding of the Scriptures, not commerce.⁹³ Professor of mathematics Martinus Hortensius (1634-1639) also used his inaugural lecture to stress the importance of his discipline to a seafaring city like Amsterdam, since ships would be lost at sea without navigation skills, but this practical utility was of secondary importance in his teaching practice.⁹⁴ These two examples indicate that early Athenaeum professors may have had certain reservations about the practical use of their work in furthering the commercial endeavours of Amsterdam's merchant elite.

One example of two (presumed) Athenaeum graduates and benefactors applying their mathematical and botanical expertise to benefit the colonies has been well-studied. In histories of the university, two powerful mayors of Amsterdam, Nicolaas Witsen and Johannes Hudde, are usually credited for installing chairs in theology and Hebrew at the Athenaeum in 1686, and restoring its relations with the botanical garden.⁹⁵ Historians Theo de Jong and Huib Zuidervaart have convincingly argued that the scholarly and political actions of Hudde and Witsen should be seen in a different light. Hudde is likely to have studied mathematics at the Athenaeum before becoming a celebrated mathematician, mayor and director of the VOC. Frustrated with the inefficient way in which VOC ships were loaded, he calculated how to maximise a ship's capacity for several colonial commodities. Hudde's fellow mayor Nicolaas Witsen, a former pupil of Athenaeum professor of mathematics Alexander de Bie, used these calculations for his manual on ship construction, *Aeloude Scheepsbouw*.⁹⁶ Other historians, of the botanical garden, explain how Witsen also exploited his connections to the East Indies and botanists in Amsterdam to improve the profitability of the colonies in the West Indies. The directors of the Society of Suriname were keen to introduce coffee plantations, but initial attempts had failed. Witsen ordered coffee plants from Java to be planted in Amsterdam, and within a few years the first coffee trees could be sold (1711-1724).⁹⁷ These plants were then introduced in Suriname, as the history of the botanical garden rather proudly states – omitting to note that this so-called 'booming' new industry was sustained by enslaved labourers until 1790.⁹⁸

In order to research the professors' teaching activities, Van Miert has drawn on their scholarly correspondence, student disputations, professorial orations and (prefaces of) their published works (mostly all in Latin).⁹⁹ These types of sources are recommended for use in the follow-up study when 'college

93 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 217.

94 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 251; Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 604-605.

95 Knechtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 68.

96 T.M.A.M. de Jong and H.J. Zuidervaart, "Philosophus et Mathematicus': Johannes Hudde (1628-1704), de Verlichte burgemeester van Amsterdam' *Studium: tijdschrift voor wetenschaps- en universiteitsgeschiedenis* 11:1 (2018) 26-54, see 28 and 45-46.

97 Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 89.

98 Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 89; NL-HaNA, Sociëteit van Suriname, 1.05.03, inv.nr. 95, f. 30 (letter 16 December 1718; letter including beans 2 September 1718); A. van Stipriaan, *Surinaams contrast: Surinaams contrast: Roefbouw en overleven in een Caraïbische plantagekolonie, 1750-1863* (Leiden 1993) 146-161.

99 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 5-6.

dictaten' are absent.¹⁰⁰ In 1665, pupil Thomas Bolwerck, for example, argued that Christianity does not forbid slavery, and set out guidelines for the treatment of slaves.¹⁰¹ In a section of his disputation that rejected Plato's argument for collective property in 1658, fellow student Gisbertus Kriex argued that a 'white' woman is indisputably allowed to marry a Black man.¹⁰² Roman law was taught in the context of classical society, but it would be worth looking into whether the formulation of Roman Dutch law for the colonies had any impact on the topics discussed by professors and their students. Disputations dealing with Hugo Grotius' *Mare Liberum* might be particularly interesting in this regard, and this might also allow one to find out how largely unknown professors contributed to this phenomenon.¹⁰³ A better-known example, but a good illustration of how the Athenaeum's teaching could shape later scientific theories of racism, is that of the teaching practices of Petrus Camper. Miriam Claude Meijer has argued that Camper accepted his post as professor of anatomy at the Athenaeum because it allowed him to perform judicial autopsies, increasing the source material for his lessons. In a city such as Amsterdam, Camper had the opportunity to observe and draw foreign people, witness slave ships and obtain deceased monkeys. Camper's public dissection of the body of an 11-year-old boy of colour in the anatomical theatre of the Athenaeum would be key to his infamous facial angle treatise: Camper used the boy's skull measurements for the 'African representation'.¹⁰⁴ As the developer of a calculation method for facial angles, the 'Campers Hoek', his name and work are associated with the foundation of racial science in Europe.¹⁰⁵

By the late 18th century, the public debate on colonial societies had gained momentum, and Amsterdam professors played their part by giving public lectures or issuing publications. The activities of two Athenaeum professors offer insight into the colonial issues discussed in the latter part of the century, and how this could shape the curriculum. First, law professor Hendrik C. Cras gave a public speech opposing slavery and the slave trade at Felix Merites (1793), and his students defended disputations on the topic.¹⁰⁶ Almost simultaneously, however, Cras became a spokesperson for VOC shareholders,

100 For the later period, college notes will be an important source to study how colonial knowledge was transferred to students. Collectie collegedictaten, UBA458, Allard Pierson; Collectie B.A. van Doorn, UBA478, Allard Pierson (1829) delfstofkunde and botany; Collectie J.A.J. de Wilde, UBA468, Allard Pierson, (1908-1925), maths and geology; Collectie J.E. Scholtens, UBA476, Allard Pierson, (1922-1927), law; Collectie A.A. Konijn, UBA473, Allard Pierson, (1922-1927) economics, (social) geography, law; Collectie W.J. van Hoboken, UBA472, Allard Pierson (1926-1933) history, ethnology, sociography, pedagogy, palaeography, geology, geography, i.e. H. Brugmans, S.R. Steinmetz, N.W. Posthumus, J.S.G. Scheltema, W. van Bemmelen.

101 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 281.

102 Van Miert, *Humanism*, 280; Gisbertus Kriex, *Spicilegium variarum positionum ex agro philosophico passim collectarum*, dd. 09 06 1660, sig. [A5]r: theses 5, 7, 10, 11 and 13.

103 I am grateful to Dirk van Miert, Dinah Wouters and Arthur Weststeijn for their suggestions regarding this topic.

104 M.C. Meijer, *Race and aesthetics in the anthropology of Petrus Camper (1722-1789)* (Boston, Mass: 1999) 17 and 74. See also footnote 46.

105 P.W. Mitchell and J. Kennaway, 'Campers gelaatshoek: schedels, huid en het meten van verschillen' *De Boekenwereld* 40:3 (2024) 20-27.

106 G.J. Schutte, *De Nederlandse Patriotten en de koloniën. Een onderzoek naar hun denkbeelden en optreden, 1770-1800* (Groningen 1974) 146, and note 24 uses the word 'promoveerden'; Knechtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 139; A. Sens, 'Slavernij en vrijheid in Nederland rond 1800' *OSO. Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde, letterkunde en geschiedenis* 21 (2002) 261-275, see 271; H.C. Cras, 'Verhandeling over de slavernij en Afrikaanschen slavenhandel, in: Idem, *Nagelaten verhandelingen en redevoeringen*, vol. II (Amsterdam 1822) 181-232.

and an active contributor to the public debate on how to legally deal with the dissolution of the Company after 1795.¹⁰⁷ Both sides of Cras' public profile should be discussed and be related back to his teaching at the Athenaeum.¹⁰⁸ Second, Athenaeum theologian Jacob Nuys Klinkenberg (1783-1817), highlights the links between the school's theology classes and the colonies. Nuys Klinkenberg had won a silver medal for his answer to the question raised by the *Hollandsche Maatschappij van Wetenschappen* (1775) on the best way to evangelise in the colonies. As a professor, Nuys Klinkenberg turned the Athenaeum into a school for training ministers for the city, country and colonies, and some of his alumni were sent to the East Indies.¹⁰⁹

The curriculum gradually expanded to include subjects, taught in public and in Dutch, that were directly applicable to the colonial project.¹¹⁰ The five 18th-century lecturers in nautical sciences, who combined teaching at the Athenaeum with examining new employees for the VOC, WIC and Society of Suriname, offer a promising case study.¹¹¹ Historian Karel Davids has shown that lector Mattheus Soeten (1711-1733) had regular contact with the VOC about examining helmsmen.¹¹² The follow-up study could examine some of his successors' multiple roles, including for the Society of Suriname. Declarations by lecturer Pybo Steenstra (1763-1788) submitted to the Society of Suriname give further insight into this practice of examination by Athenaeum professors, and indicate that it was not limited to services to the VOC. According to Steenstra, Johan Conrad Ketwich showed 'sufficient experience and knowledge in the theory and practice of the science to measure lands, to map them appropriately, and so to perform as surveyor' in Suriname or elsewhere.¹¹³ And Steenstra deemed Laurens Robatel

107 (Dissolution VOC and WIC) Schutte, *De Nederlandse patriotten*, 112-114, 146, 185-187; (general) C.J.H. Jansen, 'H.C. Cras (1739-1820). Hoogleraar en natuurrechtsgeleerde in hart en nieren', in: E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier et al (eds.), *Athenaeum Illustre. Elf studies over de Amsterdamse Doorluchtige School, 1632-1877* (Amsterdam 1997) 287-309.

108 For his teaching documents: Collectie H.C. Cras, UBA298, Allard Pierson.

109 In 1815 he joined the state committee for the Protestant church 'in East and West'. E. van der Wall, *Verlicht christendom of verijndheidendom?: Jacob van Nuys Klinkenberg (1744-1817) en de Verlichting* (Leiden 1994); Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 141; NL-HaNA, VOC, 1.04.02, inv.nr. 4360, 28 August 1793; NL-HaNA, Cie. Protestantse Kerken Oost- en West-Indië, 2.10.12, inv.nr. 1, Notulen 1815-1821.

110 An anonymous call for a faculty of trade sciences, sent to the Amsterdam councillors, was unsuccessful in 1750. *Project, om de Stads Doorluchtige Schoole, 't Amsterdam bij wijze van vrywillige Inschryving in activiteyt te herstellen (...)*. Th. Jorissen, *Het verleden van de Universiteit van Amsterdam: feestrede bij het 250-jarig bestaan van de instelling van Hooger Onderwijs in de hoofdstad* (Amsterdam 1882) 60-75; Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 111; vgl. P. Boomgaard (ed.), *Empire and science in the making: Dutch colonial scholarship in comparative perspective, 1760-1830* (New York, NY: 2013); B. Siegert, 'Longitude and simultaneity in philosophy, physics, and empires' *Configurations* (Baltimore, Md) 23:2 (2015) 145-163.

111 Mattheus Soeten (1711-1733), Martinus Martens (1743-1762), Pybo Steenstra (1763-1788), Pieter Nieuwland (1789-1793), Hendrik de Hartog (1793-1838). Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 125-127.

112 C.A. Davids, *Zeewezen en wetenschap: de wetenschap en de ontwikkeling van de navigatietechniek in Nederland tussen 1581-1815* (Amsterdam 1986) 326, 399, 437; Idem, 'Universiteiten, illustre scholen', 9-12, 22; Idem, 'Het navigatieonderwijs aan personeel van de VOC', in: P. van Mil (ed.), *De VOC in de kaart gekeken. Cartografie en navigatie van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie 1602-1799* (Enkhuizen 1988) 65-74.

113 '[...] blijken heeft gegeven van genoegsame ervarentheid en kundigheid in het Theoretische en practicale der wetenschap om en te kunnen meten, behoorlijk in kaart te brengen, en dus voor landmeter te fungeren.' (Ketwich) NL-NaHA, Sociëteit van Suriname, 1.05.03, inv.nr. 62, scan 297, 29 December 1772; inv.nr. 67, scan 103, 21 May 1777.

knowledgeable in mathematics and fortification-building after the young man had given ‘rather pertinent and clear’ answers during his oral exam.¹¹⁴ The last lecturer, Hendrik de Hartog (1793-1838), commissioned his own portrait upon his appointment as helmsman examiner for the VOC in 1790. As a member of the *Raad van Aziatische Bezittingen* De Hartog, like Nuys Klinkenberg, was closely involved in the transformation of colonial rule after the dissolution of the chartered companies and restoration of the Netherlands in 1815.¹¹⁵

A royal proclamation by the new king William I, recognised the Athenaeum as an institute of higher education, but not as a university. The king had grand economic plans for the colonies, an ambition that aligned with the research interests of some Athenaeum professors. In the field of science, the *Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij* (1824) assumed the VOC’s role as a carrier of exotic plants between the various botanical gardens, allowing the garden in Amsterdam to continue its support of colonial agriculture.¹¹⁶ The garden dispatched palm oil trees (reputedly from Mauritius) to its counterpart in Buitenzorg. These trees formed the base for multi-million refinery industries in the early 20th century.¹¹⁷ Botanist and pharmacist W.H. de Vriese (1834-1842/1843/1845) took a keen interest in the economic use of plants, and was involved with the cultivation of vanilla and kina in the Dutch East Indies.¹¹⁸ He continued his career at Leiden University, where he spoke openly about the relationship between colonial agriculture and economic prosperity: ‘[O]ur prosperity has the closest relation with those beautiful possessions in the Indies archipelago, which have been a source of wealth for our country for centuries, and with [...] the fertile colony Suriname.’¹¹⁹ De Vriese’s successor at the Athenaeum, Friedrich A.W. Miquel (1846-1859), was an expert on Surinamese flora, and published the first ‘complete’ flora of the Indonesian archipelago whilst at the Athenaeum, but these topics did not draw many students to his lectures.¹²⁰

114 NL-NaHA, Sociëteit van Suriname, inv.nr. 67, scan 103, 21 May 1777.

115 A similar combination of teaching/developing navigation skills and involvement with colonial rule can be further explored in the career of professor of mathematics and physics J.H. van Swinden (1785-1823). The Amsterdam Admiralty commissioned Van Swinden to improve locating techniques at sea and existing maps. Between 1800 and 1801, he was responsible for the colonies as Director of the Navy in the Executive Board (*Uitvoerend Bewind*). M. van Hoorn, ‘De ‘gemeenebestgezindheid’ van Jan Hendrik van Swinden (1746-1823). Een schets van zijn politieke bedrijvigheid in de jaren 1795-1796 en 1800-1801’, in: Haitsma Mulier, *Athenaeum*, 227-249; Schutte, *De Nederlandse patriotten*.

116 Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 172.

117 Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 174-175. See also: A. Luthfi, *Cultivating power: Buitenzorg botanic garden and empire-building in the Netherlands East Indies, 1745-1917* (dissertation Evanston, Illinois 2020).

118 Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 269. See for later teaching programme about ‘kina’ in pharmacy: Collectie farmacie van de Universiteit van Amsterdam (Allard Pierson), UBA339, ‘onderwijsdial: C. Kina: geschiedenis ontdekking kinaboom, groeiplaatsen kinaboom, habitus der plant, het oogsten en bewerken op de tuinen, handel in Indië, handel in Nederland, laboratoria en fabrieken in Indië, chinologen, malaria, oorzaak en bestrijding, malaria en Indië, malaria in Algiers, in Saloniki, in Nederland en Italië, in Griekenland, in Britsch-Indië en de Philippijnen, algemeen.

119 Cited by Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 154.

120 Knechtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 219; Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 156-157; *Stirpes Surinamenses selectae* (L.B. 1850); *Flora van Nederlandsch Indië* (4 vols. Amsterdam 1855); M.J. Sirks, *Indisch natuuronderzoek* (Amsterdam 1915) 187-188. See also: Van Rinsum, *Koloniale kennis*, 81-84.

It is difficult to reconstruct student interest in ‘oriental languages’ other than Hebrew. Two Athenaeum professors were known specialists in Javanese and Malay, but both left the school for positions fully dedicated to the study of the East Indies. At the new academy for East Indies civil servants in Delft, former Athenaeum professor of oriental languages T. Roorda (1827-1842) professionalised the scholarly study of Javanese in the Netherlands.¹²¹ Athenaeum students complained about Roorda’s successor, Pieter J. Veth (1842-1864), for being preoccupied with his pioneering publications on the ethnology and linguistics of the Dutch East Indies. Veth’s activities in this field took time away from his work on Syrian grammar and the history of Israel.¹²² Veth had previously taught Malay at the military academy in Breda, and in 1864 he would leave the Athenaeum for a position in Leiden dedicated to the ethnology and linguistics of the Dutch East Indies.¹²³ These examples indicate that professors left their positions at the Athenaeum for institutes in Delft and Leiden specialising in the teaching of subjects related to the Dutch colony in Southeast Asia.

Low and decreasing student numbers were another worry for the Athenaeum’s curators throughout the first half of the 19th century. New professors, a call to be granted the status of university and a new location could not reverse the downward trend.¹²⁴ It was a favourable change in medical legislation – centralising the medical schools and courses – that strengthened the Athenaeum’s student uptake. The major influx came after the Utrecht academy for military medics closed in 1868.¹²⁵ Its students could only enrol at the Athenaeum, as they lacked the qualifications to attend one of the universities. In Amsterdam, the so-called ‘pills’ outnumbered all the other Athenaeum students; in 1874, for example, there were 208 military medical students and 198 others. The almanacs published by its corps, *Mavors Medicator*, contain interesting discussions on the institution’s role in training and recruiting doctors for medical military service in the East Indies. According to the students, radical reform of the terms and conditions was needed to increase the number of students opting for service in the colony. For example, ‘why should the young people destined for the Indies take the difficult path of the State Examinations and not follow the much easier old one?’¹²⁶ They appealed to the government to increase the pay, rank and promotion prospects for military medics in the East Indies, because only then would the number of students interested in this career increase.¹²⁷ One particularly successful medical alumnus was Christiaan Eijkman, who would become director of STOVIA (1888-1896), the designated school for training indigenous doctors in Batavia. As shown by Fenneke Sysling, many of the collectors sending human remains to the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam were medical officers working at STOVIA, so it would be worth investigating whether they were alumni.¹²⁸

121 Th. Veen, ‘Een leeftijd later: enkele aantekeningen ter inleiding, aanvulling en verantwoording’, in: Haitsma Mulier, *Athenaeum Illustre*, 11-36, see 28.

122 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 228-229.

123 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 241; C. Fasseur, *De indologen: ambtenaren voor de Oost 1825-1950* (Amsterdam 1994).

124 Ph.J. Idenburg et al, *Van Athenaeum tot Universiteit: geschiedenis van het Atheneum illustre in de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1927) 43-99.

125 A. Mooij, *De polsslag van de stad: 350 jaar academische geneeskunde in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1999) 245-248.

126 ‘[...] waarom moeten de jongelui voor Indië bestemd, den moeielijken weg der Staats-Examina bewandelen en niet den veel makkelijkeren ouden volgen?’ *Almanak Mavors Medicator* (1871) 44.

127 ‘[...] de positie van den Militairen Arts in Indië niet veel aanlokkelijks aanbiedt’ *Almanak Mayors Medicator*, 148.

128 (Eijkman) Van Rinsum, *Koloniale kennis*, 168-172; (military officers as collectors) F. Sysling, *Racial science and human diversity in colonial Indonesia* (Singapore 2016) 28-32, 40-42.

This brief overview of the development of the curriculum at the Athenaeum in relation to colonisation has shown that it would be worthwhile looking into how – including within the classical curriculum – professors and pupils related their studies to the colonies, and how alumni applied these lessons in a colonial context. Considering how the Athenaeum functioned as a school from a colonial perspective highlights activities in periods usually associated with declining student numbers and loss of prestige for the school, especially in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. With the onset of professionalisation in higher education and colonial science, the scholarly landscape in the Netherlands changed in the second half of the 19th century. The arrival of the military medical students turned the Athenaeum into an influential school producing future medical officers for the colony. As it still lacked the status of university, however, it was difficult for the Athenaeum to retain its professors specialising in fields directly relevant to the colonies. Experts were lured away from the Athenaeum in Amsterdam by the special colonial track at Leiden University and the newly established academy in Delft.

The University of Amsterdam: curriculum and institution

The new University Act of 1876 elevated the Athenaeum Illustre to the status of university.¹²⁹ Yet only one university would be granted the role of training colonial lawyers and civil servants, especially those employed in the East Indies. Traditionally, these subjects had been taught at Leiden University. Amsterdam's emeritus professor in Theology, Johannes Tideman (1855-1873), believed that the time had come for change: compared to the other university cities, Amsterdam undoubtedly had the most 'direct and active relations with our East and West Indies'.¹³⁰ Moreover, granting Amsterdam the colonial courses would automatically ensure that the subjects would include more of the West Indies than the Act itself stipulated. Professor De Bosch Kemper agreed with Tideman, but told the *Orde van Hoogleraren* (30 Sept 1876) to let the matter rest for the time being, and to establish the university first and expand the curriculum later.¹³¹ Although Tideman's plea was unsuccessful, it is an important indicator of the hitherto underexplored ties between the Dutch empire and higher education in Amsterdam. The following section contains a brief overview of how the curriculum and faculties evolved in relation to knowledge production on the colonies.

The lobbying of the Geographical Society (*Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*)¹³² resulted in the addition of the linguistics, geography and ethnology of the colonies, as well as Muhammadan law, constitutional law and the institutions of the colonies, to Amsterdam's curriculum as part of 17 subjects in addition

129 The official name of the new university was the Gemeentelijke Universiteit van Amsterdam (GU). The university became a legal entity in 1961, following the Wet op het Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (WVO). Since 1970, there have been no governmental ties between the university and municipality of Amsterdam.

130 'En nu is Amsterdam wel zonder twijfel de plaats, die 't allermeest, die althans even veel, als de andere universiteits steden weinig of niet, in rechtstreeksche en levende betrekking staat met onze O.- en W. Indiën. Uit den aard der zaak is dus Amsterdam voor dit onderwijs als aangewezen.' J. Tideman, *De Amsterdamsche Universiteit: twee opmerkingen omtrent hare inrichting* (Amsterdam 1876) 13-15. See also: J. Pinner, *Beschouwingen over het Athenaeum Illustre en het onderwijs in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1861) 22-24.

131 Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 355.

132 Het Utrechts Archief, 74 Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap 1873-1966; Collectie van het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (KNAG), UBA56. Allard Pierson.

to obligatory courses.¹³³ Cornelius Marius Kan (1877-1907) became the first professor of the political and physiological geography of the East Indies Archipelago in the Netherlands.¹³⁴ University chronicler and professor Hajo Brugmans (1903-1938) believed that ‘the Netherlands was extremely backward in this domain, for a colonial people of such magnitude’; not least because ‘this people has probably contributed its share of the knowledge of the earth’s surface and its inhabitants, although its contribution has long consisted more of deeds of navigation and colonisation than scientific research.’¹³⁵ In short, Brugmans captured a picture of a university that was lagging behind somewhat in developing its colonial curriculum.

Geology had been part of Amsterdam’s teaching remit since 1878, and would become a standalone subject with strong ties to the colonies over the following decades.¹³⁶ When G.A.F. Molengraaff was appointed as private tutor in geology in 1887, his experiences from an expedition to the West Indies, and to St. Martin, St. Eustatius and Saba in particular, would enrich the curriculum: ‘Thus the teaching of our colleague Kan can be expanded, in a way much desired by himself, in a direction that makes the geographer better suited to scientific expeditions, yet one in which he can hardly be trained without the cooperation of a special expert.’¹³⁷ As a new university, the UvA derived prestige from appointing professors in emerging research domains, such as the palaeontologist known as the ‘discoverer’ of the Java Man.¹³⁸ One student recalled how Dubois’ classes on general geology were boring, but when ‘Dubois spoke of his own research in the Indies [...] then we got an interesting lecture.’¹³⁹ The promotion in 1921 of geology to the status of a full academic subject, worthy of its own faculty, saw an influx of educators with significant first-hand colonial experience.¹⁴⁰ Louis van Vuuren (1921-1927) was born in Banjarmasin on the island of

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- 133 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 256. Colonial law was added in 1877 with the appointment of J. de Louter (by special app.), but he left for Utrecht in 1879. P. Kleintjes became the first full professor in colonial law at the UvA in 1921.
- 134 Kan’s classes drew some students from Leiden, but no merchants. Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 272 and note 81; C.M. Kan, ‘Henry Moreland Stanley’ *Mannen van beteekenis in onze dagen* 9:6 (1878) 183-220; Idem, *Het internationaal onderzoek der Afrikaansche binnenlanden* (Utrecht 1877).
- 135 ‘Nederland was op dit gebied zeer achterlijk, voor een koloniaal volk van zoo groote beteekenis wel wonderlijk, des te meer, daar dit het volk waarlijk zijn deel heeft bijgedragen tot de kennis van het aardoppervlak en zijner bewoners, trouwens heel lang meer met daden van zeevaart en kolonisatie dan met wetenschappelijk onderzoek’. Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 342.
- 136 <https://sgia.nl/content/een-geologisch-verleden> (consulted 19 December 2024).
- 137 ‘Alzoo wordt aan het onderwijs van onzen ambtgenoot Kan eene door hem zelve zeer gewenschte uitbreiding gegeven in eene richting, die den geograaf ook voor wetenschappelijke onderzoeksreizen meer geschikt maakt, doch waarin deze moeilijk zonder de medewerking van een speciaal deskundige kon worden opgeleid.’ *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1887-1888) 12.
- 138 M.E.F.T. Dubois (1898-1907/1929). Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 281 and 290-292; Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, [PDF 1043]; C. Drieënhuizen and F. Sysling, ‘Java Man and the politics of natural history. An object biography’ *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 177 (2021) 290-311.
- 139 ‘Als Dubois sprak over zijn eigen onderzoek in Indië [...] dan kregen wij een boeiend betoog.’ D. Brongersma, <https://sgia.nl/content/een-geologisch-verleden> (consulted 19 December 2024).
- 140 Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 665; Collectie van het Geologisch Instituut van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, UBA369, Allard Pierson; GAS 30612, Archief van de Universiteit van Amsterdam; Geologisch Instituut en Subfaculteit Geologie en Geofysica.

Borneo, and became a lecturer in colonial surveying in recognition of the specialist knowledge and experience required to teach this subject.¹⁴¹ The purpose of teaching geology was perhaps most apparent in the professorship by special appointment of Eduard C. Abendanon, who was born in Patti, Java. His teaching remit was entitled 'The presence and economic significance of minerals in the East and West Indian colonies'.¹⁴² Other professors organised expeditions to the colonies, such as Theodoor J. Stomps (1910/1911/1919-1946) and Hendrik A. Brouwer (1928-1957).¹⁴³ In 1939, Brouwer took a group of doctoral students to Timor, enabling them to do field-work to complete their dissertations (Figure 2).¹⁴⁴



Figure 2. Graduate students with their professor H.A. Brouwer on expedition in the Netherlands East Indies. *De Standaard*, 10 May 1939.

- 141 L. van Vuuren, *Voordracht over Celebes uit een oogpunt van landbouw en nijverheid* (Amsterdam 1921); H.J. van Lummel and L. van Vuuren, *Het koloniale werk en de wereldomvattende handel van Nederlands gouden eeuw in 12 platen voorgesteld* (Amsterdam 1931); Van Rinsum, *Koloniale kennis*, 136-137, 253, 255.
- 142 Voorkomen en de economische betekenis van mineralen in de Oost- en Westindische koloniën.
- 143 Archief van Theo J. Stomps, UBA307, Allard Pierson. Travelled to the US, Netherlands-Indies and Algeria.
- 144 *De Standaard*, 10 May 1939.

In 1902, the rector and professor of medicine, P.K. Pel (1883-1919), had made a passionate plea for closer ties between the colonies and the university's curriculum: 'In the powerful Amsterdam, why should the training of East Indies civil servants remain an unfulfilled desire? Closer ties between our university and our colonies can only benefit both parties.'¹⁴⁵ Pel suggested that a chair in South African law would be worth considering, and he capitalised on Amsterdam's role as a training ground for merchants: '[W]ould not Amsterdam, due to its traditions, also be the designated place to serve the higher interests of future merchants by establishing a chair for commerce education, so that the training and development of the *Mercator sapiens* can be accomplished?'¹⁴⁶ This statement is important, as it shows that Pel, himself a medical man, envisioned that Amsterdam could offer colonial tracks in law and economics.

The UvA's contribution to the development of tropical medicine is well-documented.¹⁴⁷ Private lecturer in parasitology N.H. Swellengrebel (1909-1921/1962) and professor of medicine R.H. Saltet (1885-1896/1923) were actively involved in the discussion at the Netherlands Association for Tropical Medicine (NVTG) about whether such a track should be established in Amsterdam or Leiden. In 1909, the UvA opened a department of tropical medicine and appointed Swellengrebel as a private lecturer in protozoology. This appointment coincided with the negotiations to house the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam. When the institute opened in 1911, Saltet argued that it should also cover tropical medicine and hygiene. From a practical perspective, the follow-up study should look into what this new study track meant for the training of medical officers destined for a career in the colonies.¹⁴⁸ The UvA's contribution to this subfield of medicine should be included in the follow-up study, as it was an important pillar in legitimising notions of superiority towards people of colour in the colonies, by providing so-called scientific proof of how they differed from 'white' people and their presumed under-development.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ 'Waarom zou ook in het machtige Amsterdam de opleiding van Oost-Indische Ambtenaren tot de *pia vota* moeten blijven behooeren? Een inniger verband tusschen onze Hoogeschool en onze koloniën kan beide partijen slechts tot voordeel strekken.' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1901-1902) 20.

¹⁴⁶ 'Misschien verdient ook de vestiging van een leerstoel voor Zuid-Afrikaansch recht aan onze Universiteit onder de tegenwoordige omstandigheden bijzondere overweging. [...] En zou Amsterdam ook niet door zijne tradities de aangewezen plaats zijn om de hoogere belangen der aanstaande kooplieden, door de stichting van een leerstoel voor handelonderwijs, te behartigen, opdat zoodoende de vorming en ontwikkeling van den *Mercator sapiens* in de hand worde gewerkt?' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1901-1902) 20.

¹⁴⁷ L. van Bergen, *Van koloniale geneeskunde tot internationale gezondheidszorg. Een geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Vereniging voor Tropische Geneeskunde* (Amsterdam 2007) 45-68. Sysling, *Racial science*, passim. More generally: J. Kortenray, A. Rijnen, P.P. de Baar, *325 jaar academische geneeskunde in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1994); A. de Geus, *Bruggebouwers: tropische geneeskunde in Amsterdam* (Dordrecht 1990); Mooij, *De polsslag van de stad*; M. van Lieburg, *De Amsterdamse Internistenschool 1828-2008: de traditie van de inwendige geneeskunde aan het Athenaeum en de Universiteit van Amsterdam weerspiegeld in de academische redes van hoogleraren en lectoren* (Rotterdam 2008).

¹⁴⁸ The course in Amsterdam focused on training prospective doctors in the newly built laboratory setting, whereas the programme in Leiden – started in 1914 – stressed clinical practice. Amsterdam and Leiden initially behaved as competitors in this field of research and training but it gradually became clear that only collaborative coexistence could lead to significant contributions to the scientific field.

¹⁴⁹ Vgl. B. Harris and E. Waltraud (eds.), *Race, science, and medicine, 1700-1960* (London 1999). See also: H. Pols and W. Anderson, 'The Mestizos of Kisar: An insular racial laboratory in the Malay Archipelago' *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 49:3 (2018) 445-463.

The activities of three UvA professors highlight the UvA's contribution to pseudo-scientific racism.¹⁵⁰ First, the ties between the UvA and the Colonial Institute were further strengthened by the appointment of physical anthropologist J.P. Kleiweg de Zwaan (1919/1924-1939) as affiliate professor of the anthropology and indigenous medicine of the Dutch colonies in 1919. As shown by Fenneke Sysling, Kleiweg de Zwaan became one of the most important figures in legitimising racialism in the archipelago.¹⁵¹ Second, Swellengrebel and his future UvA doctoral student from Paramaribo, Edwin van der Kuyp (1913-1995), published their report on *Health of white settlers in Surinam* (1941), written for the International Jewish Colonisation Society (IJCS). Established in 1938, the society supported the emigration of Jewish refugees, particularly to Palestine, but also to other parts of the world. Based on notions of 'racial hygiene', Swellengrebel's report studied the health risks to Jewish settlers in Suriname.¹⁵² Third, Swellengrebel's colleague C.U. Ariëns Kappers (1928-1946), professor of comparative anatomy, was a board member of the IJCS and used racist anthropological methods to save roughly 300 Jews from deportation.¹⁵³ As shown by Zeidman and Cohen, Ariëns Kappers used his status as an internationally acclaimed scientist – partially funded by the Rockefeller Foundation – to help falsify reports. The anthropological evaluation in these reports consisted of bodily measurements, such as those of the skull and nose, and a cephalic and blood index, in support of a certificate stating the applicant was not 'racially' Jewish.¹⁵⁴ These scholars can be studied in relation to Petrus Camper's classes and publications to demonstrate the long-lasting contribution to racialised medical science made by professors affiliated with the UvA and its predecessor.¹⁵⁵

With the establishment of the new faculty of Commerce two decades after Pel's plea in 1922, several professors with a 'colonial' teaching remit were (partially) transferred to this faculty's 'colonial department'.¹⁵⁶ The Commerce faculty will therefore play a key part in the follow-up research, as it fulfilled a crucial role in Amsterdam's ambitions in colonial education, as a means to distinguish itself from what the other commerce programmes taught. During discussions on amending the university's statute in 1938, the faculty argued that this 'colonial dimension of the

150 Until the rise of the National Socialist Party in Germany, there was little critique of the academic debate on presumed measurable differences between races. Van Bergen, *Van koloniale geneeskunde*, 81-82; P. Knegtmans, *Een kwetsbaar centrum van de geest. De Universiteit van Amsterdam tussen 1935-1950* (Amsterdam 1998).

151 Sysling, *Racial science*, chapter 5.

152 Cited by Van Bergen, *Van koloniale geneeskunde*, 83.

153 In 1909, Ariëns Kappers was elected as the first director of the newly founded *Centraal Instituut voor Hersenonderzoek* (Central Institute for Brain Research) in Amsterdam. P.J. Knegtmans, 'Kappers, Cornelius Ubbo Ariens (1877-1946)', in: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*. See also: Sysling, *Racial science*, 138-139.

154 Zeidman, 'Walking a fine scientific line'.

155 Vgl. N. Saakawa-Mante, 'Western medicine and racial constitutions: surgeon John Atkins' theory of polygenism and sleepy distemper in the 1730s', in: Harris, *Race, science and medicine*, 29-57, see 48; H.F. Augstein, 'From the land of the Bible to the Caucasus and beyond. The shifting ideas of the geographical origin of humankind', in: Harris, *Race, science and medicine*, 58-79, see 74.

156 J. Joor, 'The Sixth Faculty', in: Duynstee, *Honouring the past*, 50-51.

study of Economics is of paramount importance to our faculty': it meant that Amsterdam offered something different from the other two Business faculties in Rotterdam and Tilburg.¹⁵⁷

The Economics faculty established a placement bureau to help alumni find a first job after their graduation. Forms submitted to the bureau by particularly successful students, offer revealing details about their job prospects and how the bureau tried to help them.¹⁵⁸ None of them answered 'yes' to the question 'Would you like to go to the East Indies?', a clear indication that this option was held in higher regard by the bureau than the students. One student even specified his preference for a post abroad, or at least one with the possibility of foreign secondment, but 'not: East Indies.' During the Indonesian War of Independence, Jan Willem de Pous simply answered 'We refer to Indonesia nowadays', signalling the critical engagement of the Amsterdam student population, in addition to the reluctance of these Economics alumni to take up a post in the colony. The member lists of an alumni association did have a 'Colonies and abroad' category among places of residence, suggesting it would be worthwhile investigating which alumni were based there, and why others were so reluctant to be stationed in the East Indies.¹⁵⁹

At the Law faculty, the colonies were integrated into the curriculum in several ways. An interesting case study would be that of professor Paul Scholten and his special appointment to establish a law school in Batavia in 1924.¹⁶⁰ Hendrik Richard Hoetink (1935-1942/1945-1956/1963) taught civil law at this school before he became professor of Roman law and its history at the UvA. He published extensively in *Indisch Tijdschrift voor het Recht*.¹⁶¹ Professor of international and colonial criminal law

157 'Dank zij de traditie, die zich op dit gebied reeds gevormd heeft, dank zij mede de aanwezigheid van het Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam, waarmede niet alleen de gemeente Amsterdam, maar ook onze Universiteit en in het bijzonder onze faculteit reeds tal van jaren op gelukkige wijze samenwerkt, bestaat er voor onze faculteit de mogelijkheid – een mogelijkheid, die de faculteit als een bijzondere taak en roeping beschouwt – om haren studenten de gelegenheid te geven zich in de *koloniale richting* te specialiseeren. Deze koloniale richting in de economische studie is een punt, dat door onze faculteit van het meest wezenlijk belang wordt geacht. Daarom dringt zij er ten eerste op aan dat het vak "Koloniale landbeschrijving en volkenkunde" uitdrukkelijk als keuzevak in paragraaf 93 gehandhaafd blijft, omdat zij niet kan inzien hoe vruchtbare beoefening van b.v. "koloniale economie" zonder kennis van koloniale landbeschrijving en volkenkunde mogelijk is. Voor haar toch is het typische van "koloniale landbeschrijving en volkenkunde" in tegenstelling met volkenkunde o.m. daarin gelegen, dat eerstgenoemde wetenschap niet maar behelst de kennis der in de koloniën levende oorspronkelijke volken, maar vooral de kennis van de onder invloed van de koloniale verhouding door die volken ondergane wijzigingen en van de aanrakingen dier oorspronkelijke met de koloniseerende volken, en als zoodanig als een onmisbare grondslag voor de beide andere vakken, de koloniale economie en de beginselen van het koloniaal recht te beschouwen is.' Cited by Joor, 'The Sixth Faculty', 52. See for memorandum quoted there: SAA 30114, inv.nr. 1, 3 June 1938 [scan 129].

<https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/30114/1.1.1.2/start/120/limit/10/highlight/9>

158 GAS, 30144 Uva: Faculteit der Economische Wetenschappen, inv.nr. 441, Inschrijvingsformulieren van het Plaatsingsbureau met studievoortganggegevens en latere loopbaan, van studenten die later politicus, wetenschapper of hoge ambtenaar zijn geworden, door de Faculteit bewaard uit historisch oogpunt, 1927-1975.

159 Joor, 'Despair and resurgence', in: *Honouring the past*, 59.

160 Kneegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 280; R. Chorus, *Om recht en gerechtigheid: Paul Scholten (1875-1946): een biografie* (Zutphen 2022); NL-HaNA, Scholten, P., 2.21.319, inv.nr. 62-79.

161 J.A. Ankum, 'Hoetink, Hendrik Richard (1900-1963)', in: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*.

Philip Kleintjes (1921-1926/1935/1938) authored standard works for students and colleagues alike in his field of expertise.¹⁶² Military criminal law was taught by Louis Marie Rollin Couquerque (1916-1939), a former government secretary and interim governor of Suriname.

The former Dutch colony of South Africa received substantial attention from various Amsterdam scholars and faculties amidst rising international tensions over British interventions in the Cape Colony and the consecutive Boer Wars at the turn of the 20th century.¹⁶³ Amsterdam professor of the history of philosophy Cornelis Bellaar Spruyt co-founded and led the *Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaansche Vereniging* (NZAV, 1881), a learned society aimed at nurturing close cultural, educational and scholarly ties between the Netherlands and South Africa.¹⁶⁴ The Higher Education Act, however, stipulated entry requirements based on forms only obtainable in the Netherlands; this excluded foreign students, among them 'the sons of our fellow tribesmen in South Africa.'¹⁶⁵ During the visit of a deputation from Transvaal to the Netherlands in 1883, the UvA had lobbied to remove the exclusionary entry requirements that were pushing South African students towards English or Scottish universities. After the amended Act of 1885, the number of students from South Africa enrolling in Amsterdam increased, and several appointments showed attempts to stabilise and increase the influx of these prospective students. After all 'would they not come in even greater numbers if they knew that South African law and the history of South Africa, which are so closely related to our *Oud-vaderlandsch* law and our own history, are also taught here?'¹⁶⁶ Everhardus C. Godée Molsbergen (1913-1916) lectured on colonial and South African history, and the Law faculty had a short-lived chair in South African Law (1912-1919).¹⁶⁷ From the jubilee of 1932, the university had a chair by special appointment in South African literary studies, operating from the *Zuid Afrika Huis*.¹⁶⁸ Several professors were on exchange to the country between 1967 and 1972.¹⁶⁹

162 N.P. van den Berg, 'Philip Kleintjes (11637-1938). De Japanse wortels van een Amsterdamse hoogleraar koloniaal staatsrecht' *Pro Memorie* (1999) 41-56; L. Sicking, 'Philip Kleintjes, Het staatsrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië, 1903' *Pro Memorie* 21:2 (2020) 144-147.

163 V. Kuitenbrouwer, *War of words: Dutch pro-Boer propaganda and the South African War (1899-1902)* (Amsterdam 2012) 49, 90, 279, 294.

164 Kuitenbrouwer, *War of Words*, 43, 72-73, 77, 94, 194; Archief van Cornelis Bellaar Spruyt, UBA301, Allard Pierson.

165 'Deze uitsluiting trof ook de zonen onzer stamverwanten in Zuid-Afrika, en het was tijdens het bezoek der Transvaalsche deputatie in 1883, dat de Amsterdamsche Universiteit, deelende in de algemeene sympathie, zich tegenover haar verbond, om er toe mede te werken, dat de stroom van Zuid-Afrikaansche studenten, die onder de vroegere wetgeving in aanzienlijken getale naar Nederland kwamen maar sedert hunner schreden naar Engeland en Schotland richtten, weder in de oude bedding terugkeerde.' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1887-1888) 17.

166 'Maar zouden zij hier niet in nog grooter aantal komen, als zij wisten dat ook Zuidafrikaansch recht en Geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika, die zoo nauw met ons Oud-vaderlandsch recht en onze eigen geschiedenis samenhangen, hier werden onderwezen?' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1910-1911) 18.

167 Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 589; Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 296.

168 GAS 281 Archief van de Universiteit van Amsterdam; Rector en Assessoren, 2.8.2. Zuid-Afrikaanse leerstoel, inv.nr. 268-269; Overman, *Een welkom academisch gezelschap*, 109-110.

169 GAS 279A. College van Curatoren, inv.nr. 2708, Zuid Afrika, 1967-1972.

The youngest faculty, of Politics and Social Sciences (established in 1948), combined the older discipline of sociography/sociology with the newer discipline of political science to promote the academic study of societal issues. The research and teaching programmes at this faculty made significant (methodological) contributions to the field of 'Asian Studies', development studies (Suriname), and to the study of postcolonial migrants in the Netherlands.¹⁷⁰ One illustration of the faculty's critical engagement with (legacies of) colonialism is the opening paragraph of its fiftieth anniversary study: alumnus Sediono M.P. Tjondronegoro's personal recollection of the years he spent at this faculty in Amsterdam, after being active in the anti-colonial resistance during the Indonesian War of Independence. The follow-up research will consider the activities at this faculty as part of the long-term contributions of the UvA as a whole to the colonial project and its legacies, and in relation to how other disciplines have reflected on their colonial history and legacies. Since then, for example, Humanities and Anthropology, have also actively contributed to processes of decolonisation.

This brief overview of curriculum developments at the UvA suggests that there was a noticeable difference between the university and its predecessor, the Athenaeum: from 1877 onwards, the university expressed a clear ambition to incorporate the colonies into its curriculum. The gradual implementation of this ambition – the expansion of the curriculum – resulted in a variety of faculties engaging with colonial science. The follow-up study should assess the full extent of this engagement and what it meant for the UvA's position vis-à-vis its peers in the Netherlands and beyond. Drawing on research at other Dutch universities on their colonial past will allow one to determine whether the UvA's teaching of certain subjects differed from other universities, or whether the colonial knowledge taught at Amsterdam was distinct from that in courses taught at Leiden, Utrecht or Wageningen, for example.

170 A. Gevers (ed.), *Uit de zevende: vijftig jaar politieke en sociaal-culturele wetenschappen* (Amsterdam 1998) passim; Onderzoekproject sociale ontwikkelingsstrategie Suriname 1969 (Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam, Sociografisch Instituut FSW 1974). See for example: A. Rijsdijk en Universiteit van Amsterdam. Subfaculteit Opvoedkunde., *Repatriëring en opvang van Indische Nederlanders: departementaal beleid, 1945-1958* (Amsterdam: Subfaculteit der Algemene Politieke en Sociale Wetenschappen, Afd. Studiezaken 1985).



5. Colonial collections

5. Colonial collections

In 2023, the Dutch Foundation for Academic Heritage (Stichting Academisch Erfgoed) published important recommendations on how universities should deal with the colonial heritage in their special collections.¹⁷¹ The follow-up project should liaise with the Allard Pierson Museum, the Museum Vrolik and the Zoological Museum (Natura Artis Magistra) about possible dovetailing with provenance research on their collections.¹⁷² This element of collaboration can also be extended to colleagues at Naturalis.¹⁷³ This section focuses on how colonial connections contributed to the special collections assembled by – and teaching practices at – the Athenaeum Illustre and the UvA.

For the Athenaeum period, the learned correspondence of professors should be searched for references to collecting colonial objects. As Dirk van Miert has explained, the chartered companies played a key role in enabling the professors to start building special collections.¹⁷⁴ Until 1800, the main aim of these collections was to increase understanding of the situation in the newly colonised territories. Professor of anatomy and botany Frederik Ruysch (1666-1731), for example, dispatched flasks of alcohol to Curaçao (1700) and Suriname (1717/1733), to be returned with specimens for his anatomical collection.¹⁷⁵ Maps of newly conquered territory and plantations also formed part of this data-collection phase. The fact that early professors felt no need to justify their activities needs further explanation. Learned correspondence sheds light on how indigenous knowledge was appropriated in the process of extracting objects from the colonies and, upon arrival in the Republic, would be associated with the collecting professor/institution.

The anatomical collection, for example, is preserved and researched by Museum Vrolik.¹⁷⁶ Although the museum is currently affiliated with the Amsterdam Medical Centre, it is named after two prominent collectors and Athenaeum professors, Gerard and Willem Vrolik. UvA Curators discussed donations to the anatomical collection well into the 20th century.¹⁷⁷ Current museum director Laurens de

171 E. Boeles, *Verzameld in naam van de wetenschap. Omgang met universitaire collecties uit een koloniale context* (2023).

172 Conversation with Esther Boeles, 11 December 2024;

<https://allardpierson.nl/en/collecties/provenance-research-into-the-archaeological-collections/>.

See for previous studies on its collection: J. Daniëls, *Bijzondere collecties: monumenten bewaard in een monument* (AUP 2007).

173 In the 1970s, the College of Curators discussed the donation of some of its archeological collections to the 'Rijksmuseum voor Geologie en Mineralogie' – modern-day Naturalis – in Leiden. GAS 279.A, College van Curatoren, inv.nr. 2215, Stukken betreffende de schenking van archeologische collecties aan het Rijksmuseum voor Geologie en Mineralogie te Leiden, 1971-1972; Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 175-176. See for an older, brief overview of the special collections: H. Wiering, *Sieraden van Minerva: een keuze uit de verzamelingen van de Universiteit van Amsterdam*. Historische Commissie der Universiteit van Amsterdam (1982).

174 See also: S. Huigen, J.L. de Jong and E. Kolfin (2010), *The Dutch trading companies as knowledge networks* (Leiden 2010).

175 Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 88; Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 78; L. Kooijmans, *Death defied: the anatomy lessons of Frederik Ruysch* (Leiden: Brill 2010) 292-296, 302 and 311; F. Ruysch and J. Ebenstein (ed.), *Frederik Ruysch and his thesaurus anatomicus: a morbid guide* (Cambridge, Mass: 2022); O.P. Bleker and J.J. Driessen-Van het Reve (eds.), *Geloof alleen je eigen ogen: een actuele kijk op de anatomische preparaten van Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731)* (Hilversum 2017).

176 The inventory of the Athenaeum's anatomical museum listed a category of skulls under 'Various Human Races' [Verschillende mensenrassen] with four skulls from Java, Sourabaya, Makassar (and Guinea) given by W. Vrolik, and nine casts from skulls. GAS 278, inv.nr. 56, Catalogus van het Anatomisch Museum. See also: Sysling, *Racial science*, 32, 40, 96-97.

177 GAS 279.A, College van Curatoren, inv.nr. 2195, Stukken betreffende de geschonken schedelcollectie door prof.dr. J.A.C. Duijzings, 1971.

Rooij has published important work on the museum's extensive skull collection and its use in racist scientific theories.¹⁷⁸ The follow-up research should therefore pay attention to the colonial dimension of this and other collections intended to benefit the Athenaeum and UvA and its teaching practices. The *Jaarboek* of 1905-1906, for example, commemorated a donation from the Deli Corporation consisting of anatomical objects related to tropical diseases, collected by Prof. dr. Dürck in the Dutch East Indies: 'It is not just the value of this gift that makes it meaningful; we see and value it no less as a sign that our University, is drawing increasing attentions from citizens, and can therefore expect cooperation from them too.'¹⁷⁹ This is a clear indication that the donation of colonial objects to scholarly collections boosted the status of the Athenaeum and UvA, as perceived by the wider community.

A speech by the namesake of the UvA's special collections, Allard Pierson, in his capacity as university rector in 1884, gives another clear indication of the prospect, cherished by the academic community, of collecting new antiquities in the wake of England's violent military campaigns in Egypt and Afghanistan: 'Our historical and philological methodology is ready to receive them, is capable of understanding and repairing them. The eighteenth century would not have known what to do with them; the nineteenth century will be replete with newly discovered treasures.'¹⁸⁰ Pierson could not have expressed more explicitly the entitlement felt by academics that they could legitimately and innocently expand their collections of antiquities by robbing communities of their heritage and, by extension, their knowledge.¹⁸¹ More generally, it would be worthwhile finding out how items held by the Allard Pierson, such as botanical maps, were once used as teaching materials in lecture rooms.¹⁸²

University chronicler Hajo Brugmans has written a useful overview of how the collection of the Zoological Museum (Artis) came into being. The collecting activities of professor Max W.C. Weber (1883-1884/1898/1922) are recommended for further study, as he 'was full of plans to merge and expand the zoological collections in Amsterdam.'¹⁸³ In particular, Weber's expeditions 'to the East

178 T. Nespoli, L. de Rooij and P. den Hollander, *De collectie Vrolik: van voor het leven tot na de dood*, Zoölogisch Museum, Universiteit van Amsterdam (1999); L. de Rooy, 'The shelf life of skulls: Anthropology and 'race' in the Vrolik craniological collection' *Journal of the History of Biology* 56:2 (2023) 309-337.

179 'Het is niet alleen de waarde van dit geschenk, die het van betekenis maakt; wij zien en waardeeren er niet minder een teeken in, dat onze Universiteit en daarmee het wetenschappelijk onderzoek, zich meer en meer een plaats veroverd in de aandacht van de burgers, en ook van hen medewerking te verwachten heeft.' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1905-1906) 10.

180 'Onze historische en filologische methode is bereid het te ontvangen, is in staat het te begrijpen en te herstellen. De achttiende eeuw zou niet geweten hebben, wat er mede aan te vangen; de negentiende eeuw is gemaakt om te woekeren met de schatten, die zij heeft ontdekt.' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1885) p. 100. The Allard Pierson also holds the collections of the former Institute for South Asian Archaeology (Instituut voor Zuid-Aziatische Archeologie): UBA406, Collectie J.J.H.C. Houboult; UBA407, Collectie J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.

181 E. Boeles, *Verzameld in naam van de wetenschap. Omgang met universitaire collecties uit een koloniale context* (2023).

182 Collectie botanische wandplaten van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, UBA338, Allard Pierson.

183 Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 276. See also: Collectie anatomisch-zoölogische preparaten van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, UBA363, Allard Pierson; Sysling, *Racial science*, 40 and 112.

Indies and South Africa, and above all the Siboga expedition, which included vast materials from the seas of the Malay Archipelago' added to the university's zoological collection. The UvA was grateful to have a professor in its ranks whose activities contributed to science, yet colleagues who covered Weber's classes during his absence were of equal importance.¹⁸⁴ From the university's perspective, the classes came first and the contribution to science second. For the follow-up research, Weber's correspondence and college notes could be used to study whether he drew on any knowledge from his expeditions in his classes.¹⁸⁵ By focusing on how the collecting activities of professors impacted their teaching practice, the follow-up study will add to the growing body of knowledge about the meaning of colonial heritage in the university's special collections.

Both the Allard Pierson collection and the Zoological Museum in Artis have kept items belonging to the former museum collection of the Geological Institute.¹⁸⁶ In 1988, the Geological Institute split its museum collection into several sub-collections and divided it over various institutions. The Zoological Museum received the items of museum value, only to transfer these to Naturalis in Leiden a few years later. Some of the items of a scientific nature have been transferred to collections in Indonesia. The photo archive of the Geological Institute is still kept by the university's special collections at the Allard Pierson Museum and could therefore be prioritised for analyses in the follow-up study. VU Amsterdam holds the library collection on a long-term lease.

¹⁸⁴ *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1888-1889) 19.

¹⁸⁵ 'Eerst door de latere expedities, vooral die van Max Weber naar het hooge noorden, naar Oost-Indië en Zuid-Afrika, en bovenal door de Siboga-expeditie, welke een ontzaglijk materiaal uit de zeeën van den Maleischen Archipel omvatte, kwam de gemeente in het bezit van omvangrijke verzamelingen op dierkundig gebied'. Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 509; GAS, 30843 Archief van de Universiteit van Amsterdam; Zoölogisch Museum en het Instituut voor Systematiek & Populatiebiologie, inv.nr. 37-39, 61-65. See also section 2.2.3. for 'Onderwijs (afdelingoverstijgend)', inv.nr. 546-553.

¹⁸⁶ <https://archief.amsterdam/inventarissen/details/30612> (consulted 11 January 2025).



6. The colonial campus

6. The colonial campus

Thanks to the growing body of studies on the visible traces of cities' colonial pasts, we know that many buildings in Amsterdam have a colonial history.¹⁸⁷ This section focuses on which buildings used by the Athenaeum Illustre and the UvA have links to the history of slavery and colonialism.

The discussion about the UvA's colonial history was in part sparked by the existence of the reconstructed VOC room, located in the former East Indies House turned faculty of Humanities, that sparked a discussion about the institute's colonial history. The podcast 'Far too close' has done invaluable work in explaining which buildings in the university quarter have links to the colonial past. Strikingly, most of the buildings were linked to the colonial activities of their former occupants. None of these former owners with strong colonial ties had left their building to the Athenaeum or university. Although further research may reveal otherwise, the housing strategy of the Athenaeum and UvA differs from the pattern revealed in studies on the colonial ties of Anglo-American universities and their campuses.¹⁸⁸ Although the Athenaeum repurposed existing buildings rather than built offices or lecture theatres from scratch, it was usually the municipality of Amsterdam that decided which buildings to make available to the school. In 1864, for example, the library moved to a building on Herengracht that had belonged to the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij, despite the fact that the curators disapproved of its location.¹⁸⁹ Two years earlier, the school itself had been moved to the 'Garnalendoelen' on Singel, so that classes no longer had to take place at professors' residences. Singel 423 had originally been built as an ammunition storage depot, thereby creating space in the Bushuis for the offices of the VOC.¹⁹⁰ In 1885, the city council also allocated the 'Oudemanhuispoort' to the growing UvA. The same year saw the opening of the Rijksmuseum, and the city council moved the art collection housed in the 'Oudemanhuispoort' – bequeathed to the city by banker Adriaan van der Hoop, the only son of a director of the Society of Suriname – from the Oudemanhuispoort to the new museum, creating space for the UvA in the process.

For all its merits in uncovering the colonial histories of certain buildings, applying this 'reverse-engineering' approach to the current UvA campus runs the risk of losing sight of the object of study – the colonial history of the university – as it would become necessary to explain colonial relations of former owners/users such as Bunge & Co (Bungehuis), De Nederlandsche Bank (Allard Pierson Museum) and the VOC (Bushuis/Oost-Indisch Huis).¹⁹¹ We therefore recommend that the follow-up study focus primarily on how the use or decoration of buildings by the Athenaeum and UvA was linked to the colonies.

The oldest portraits in the university collection were donated to the Athenaeum by Gerard van Papenbroeck (1673-1743), a merchant and collector of art and manuscripts.¹⁹² His grandfather of

187 G. Oostindie, *Postkoloniale beeldenstormen. Daendelslezing 2018* (Nijmegen 2018) 24.

188 See for example: S. Mullen and S. Newman, 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow. Report and recommendations of the University of Glasgow History of Slavery Steering Committee' (September 2018) 57-75.

189 Idenburg, *Van Athenaeum tot Universiteit* (Amsterdam 1927) 97-99; Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 77-78.

190 Petram, *Bakermat van de beurs*, 25.

191 Fatah-Black, *Dienstbaar aan de keten?*, 88-89, 140, 153.

192 Collectie Gerardus van Papenbroeck, UBA2. Allard Pierson.

the same name was a VOC director (1658), thus it is highly likely that further research finds that the collector Van Papenbroeck built his collection thanks to inherited wealth partially accumulated through VOC shares.¹⁹³ Other decorative elements associated with the colonies can be found in the *Jaarboek*. In 1886, for example, the senate added a statue of Petrus Camper – the 18th-century plantation owner and professor of anatomy – to its meeting room.¹⁹⁴ Regarding the actual use of buildings, more recent buildings need to be analysed. For instance, in 1913 UvA ethnologist Johan Ch. van Eerde advised the Colonial Institute on how to furnish and lay out the museum relating to his subject.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, the Colonial Institute decided to house its department of Tropical Hygiene ‘in one building with the new Laboratory for Medicine of the Municipal University of Amsterdam’ to allow for easy access to its students and professors.¹⁹⁶ The exceptions to the policy of repurposing existing buildings in Amsterdam were laboratories and the new building of the Geology faculty (Nieuwe Prinsengracht 130). In 1856, a laboratory for physiology and pathology was added to the ‘Binnengasthuis’ after a petition by professor Willem Vrolik, among others.¹⁹⁷ This building (Turfdraagsterpad 15-17) is now home to Art History. The Geology faculty’s building is of particular interest due to its decorative masonry, and the possibility that BPM helped to pay for its completion amidst the economic crisis of the 1930s.¹⁹⁸ Applying a spatial analysis to these new campus additions and their proximity to industries/companies could enhance our understanding of the ties between the educational institute and colonial enterprises.

The ‘Bushuis/Oost-Indisch Huis’ deserves special attention in this respect, since its reconstructed VOC room has already played a significant role in facilitating the conversation about the UvA’s colonial past, for example through the *Decolonial Dialogues@Humanities* project (2022-2024). The building acquired by the UvA in the first half of the 1960s was a refurbished neogothic structure, designed to be used by tax officials in the 1890s. One contemporary commentator remarked that the building’s decorative interior was similar to that of the VOC offices it had replaced:

Although almost completely renovated, the building’s interior decoration, such as the carvings on the marble mantelpieces, the blue and white tiles in the hallways, the heavy interior doors,

193 Elias, *De vroedschap*, vol. I, 267-268; I.Q. van Regteren Altena and P.J.J. van Thiel, *De portretgalerij van de Universiteit van Amsterdam en haar stichter Gerard van Papenbroeck, 1673-1743* (Amsterdam 1964). B. Sur, *Keeping corruption at bay: a study of the VOC’s administrative encounter with the Mughals in seventeenth-century Bengal* (dissertation Leiden University 2019) 100.

194 *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1885-1886) p. 71-72; https://uvaerfgoed.nl/viewer/image/11245_3_1178/.

195 NL-HaNA, KIT Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 2.20.69, inv.nr. 1403, Boekwerkje ‘Inrichting en bouw van het museum afdeling Volkenkunde’ door J.C. van Eerde betreffende de bestudering van musea ter voorbereiding van de bouw en inrichting van de afdeling Volkenkunde, gedrukt. 1913 1 deel.

196 ‘Een innige samenwerking met de geheele medische wetenschap werd tot stand gebracht door de afdeeling Tropische Hygiëne onder te brengen in één gebouw met het nieuwe Laboratorium voor de Gezondheidsleer van de Gemeentelijke Universiteit van Amsterdam’. Van Hall, *Het Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam*, 29-31; Van Bergen, *Van koloniale geneeskunde*, 60.

197 Brugmans, *Gedenkboek*, 75.

198 GAS 30612 Geologisch Instituut, inv.nr. 140, Bouwtekeningen en bestek van het Geologisch Instituut aan de Plantage Muidergracht, met stadsplattegrond, 1931; inv.nr. 141, 1935-1961 (stukken betreffende het beheer en de beveiliging van het gebouw van het Geologisch Instituut, met stukken betreffende het universitaire huisvestingsbeleid). See also: <https://www.folia.nl/actueel/160246/uva-gebouwen-gebouw-g-een-oude-bakstenen-parel-in-nevelen-gehuld>.

*the hard-stone pumps with copper frames and the elegant old-fashioned ironwork on the hallway lanterns, is reminiscent of the days of the great days of the East India Company, after which it is still named.*¹⁹⁹

In other words, the UvA moved into a pastiche of the former headquarters of the VOC in 1965. For the follow-up project, two matters require closer scrutiny. First, did the history of the building play a role in the acquisition process, or was its central location the main motivation? In the same period, the university also purchased – among quite a few other buildings – Doelensteeg 16-18, now home to the university theatre, Spui 21 (the ‘Maagdenhuis’), and several other historical canal houses on Herengracht, Keizersgracht, Singel and Prinsengracht. A number of archival documents covering the acquisition have been digitised, likely thanks to the work done on the historic site of the Bushuis by *Folia* correspondents.²⁰⁰

Second, the recreation of the VOC room in 1997 underlined the colonial past of the building’s interior. Historian Lodewijk Wagenaar advised the faculty on how to decorate the room. He remembers how the faculty of Politics and Social Cultural Sciences wanted to have a room suitable for meetings and tours with special guests, just like the VOC directors: ‘[T]hat world of the directors – very nice to boast about to visitors in the 17th and 18th centuries – “Look, that is our world!” Well, that world of the VOC, of the directors, is what the faculty also wanted to show centuries later. [...] Now the question is, what kind of mentality was that in 1997, and do we want to continue with it?’²⁰¹ Since the *Decolonial Dialogues@Humanities* report details possible future scenarios for this room, the follow-up study should focus on reconstructing the mentality identified by Wagenaar. As the report argues, it is important to explain why the room was recreated, and part of the explanation should examine ‘the opposing views and voices back in 1997.’²⁰² In order to analyse these opposing voices, documentation relating to the decision to reconstruct the VOC-room should be requested from the UvA.²⁰³

199 ‘Ofschoon alzoog nagenoeg geheel vernieuwd, herinnert toch het gebouw door zijn inwendige sieraden, als het beeldwerk aan de marmeren schoorsteenmantels, de blauwe en witte tegels der gangen, de zware binnendeuren, de hardsteen pompen met koperen montuur en het sierlijk ouderwetsche smeewerk der ganglantaars aan de dagen der grootheid van de Oostindische Compagnie, waarnaar het nog altijd zijn naam draagt.’ ‘Het Oostindisch Huis te Amsterdam’ *De Nieuwe Belgische Illustratie* 16 (1899) 56-57.

200 GAS 279.A College van Curatoren, inv.nr. 2108, Stukken betreffende het aankoopbeleid van panden en terreinen, 1963; inv.nr. 2907, Kloveniersburgwal 58-64; inv.nr. 1830, Stukken betreffende de uitbreiding en verplaatsing van de telefooncentrale Oudemanhuispoort naar de Kloveniersburgwal 76, 1969; A. Huntjens, ‘UvA-geheimen. Wat heeft de VOC-zaal in het Bushuis met de VOC te maken?’ *Folia* 27 May 2019.

<https://www.folia.nl/actueel/129917/uva-geheimen-wat-heeft-de-voc-zaal-in-het-bushuis-met-de-voc-te-maken> (consulted 31 January 2025); Y. Sint Nicolaas, ‘Bordjes zijn niet genoeg; de UvA moet de VOC-zaal onder handen nemen’ *Folia* 15 June 2022.

201 ‘[...] die wereld van de bewindhebbers – heel mooi om tegen bezoekers over op te scheppen in de 17e, 18e eeuw – ‘Kijk eens, dat is onze wereld! – Nou die wereld van de VOC, van de bewindhebbers, die wilde de Faculteit eeuwen daarna ook laten zien. [...] Nu is de vraag welke mentaliteit was dat in 1997 en willen we daarmee verder?’

202 *Decolonial Dialogues*, 57 note 18.

203 Collectie bouwtekeningen van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, UBA204, Allard Pierson; Topografische collectie van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, UBA202, Allard Pierson.



7. The university community

7. The university community

The UvA community is societally engaged. Historicising the engagement of staff and students from the Athenaeum/UvA community will help contextualise questions/issues raised during the Decolonial Dialogues project. In short, how were – and are – the links to colonialism and slavery reflected by the academic community of the Athenaeum Illustre and the UvA?

Quantitative ties

The obvious starting point, when examining quantitative links between the academic community and the colonies, is to look at birthplaces of students and staff. For the earlier phase of the Athenaeum – during which student lists omit a place of birth or are lacking all together – Dirk van Miert has suggested looking at the toponyms added to the names of Athenaeum pupils in their disputations, to see whether any of them had ties to the colonies.²⁰⁴ It is unlikely, however, that a boy sent to the Netherlands for his education would have enrolled at the ‘unnecessary’ Athenaeum when he could have enrolled directly at Leiden or Utrecht University.²⁰⁵

Existing studies have examined the colonial heritage of students in the Netherlands and at the UvA. A statistical booklet about the UvA between 1877-1927 specified a ‘colonial’ category for students originating from overseas.²⁰⁶ The two edited volumes on the experiences of (formerly) colonised people in the Netherlands contain brief sections on the student population. For the period 1876-1914, a total of 49 students and three doctoral students from Suriname were counted at the UvA, and 17 from the Dutch Antilles for the period between 1876-1955.²⁰⁷ The fact that the *Jaarboek* listed three ‘contact professors’ for students from Indonesia (W.F. Wertheim), Suriname (J.P. Bakker), and the Antilles (J.A. van Praag) suggests that the organisation catered for these students’ specific questions.²⁰⁸ It would be worthwhile investigating any evolution in the enrolment process for students from (former) colonies.²⁰⁹ For example, UvA professor P.A.M. van Philips (1967-1988) came from Suriname and had to enrol at a Dutch secondary school before being allowed to continue his studies at the UvA.²¹⁰

For a comprehensive quantitative analysis of colonial heritage within the academic community, the researchers need to collaborate closely with the team managing the data stored in the Album

204 Van Miert, *Humanism*, Tables 1 and 2; Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 196.

205 We do know one case of a debt-ridden pupil, Jan P.Th. Huydecoper, who left for Guinea in the service of the WIC in 1757. Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 149.

206 *De Universiteit van Amsterdam 1877-1927: statistisch beschouwd in vergelijking met de andere Nederlandsche Universiteiten* (Amsterdam 1927) 18-19.

207 Oostindie, *In het land van de overheerser*, 29-30 and 172. See newspaper adverts notifying the community of successful students. Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser*, 221.

208 *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1957-1958), p. 36-37.

209 GAS 279.A, College van Curatoren, inv.nr. Stukken betreffende de erkenning middels ministeriele beschikking van de academische examens op grond van de in de Overzeese Rijksdelen of in het buitenland afgegeven getuigschriften, 1969-1970; inv.nr. 2409, Stukken betreffende de erkenning van diploma's en graden voor afgestudeerden van specialistisch onderwijs ten behoeve van ontwikkelingslanden, 1966.

210 Oostindie, *In het land van de overheerser*, 39.

Academicum. The online searchability of this dataset is limited, and it takes a significant amount of time to have data delivered in a workable format. The table below gives a simple numerical overview of staff and doctoral students born in a (former) colony. Please note that these numbers relate to the historical student population, due to privacy restrictions on more recent and current personal information.²¹¹ Furthermore, these data only reveal partial ‘colonial’ heritage of staff members, doctoral students and honorary doctorates. It does not show, for example, that even the first rector of the university, C.A.J.A. Oudemans (1859-1896), spent six years in the Dutch East Indies as a child.²¹²

TABLE 1: Record search, Album Academicum.

<u>Country of birth</u>	<u>Professors</u>	<u>Doctoral students</u>	<u>Honorary doctors</u>	<u>Total records</u>
Indonesia	77	564	6	1119
Suriname	9	132	1	209
Dutch Antilles	1	55	0	81
South Africa	13	112	3	149
India	5	114	3	121

Qualitative ties – staff members

A qualitative analysis will give further insight into how the academic community engaged with slavery and colonialism and their legacies. Regarding staff members, this domain can focus on their contributions to the study of the colonies.²¹³ Dissertations are a useful starting point, such as Willem Zwier’s study on the tract of 1766 between the VOC and the Prince of Kandi, supervised by history professor Hajo Brugmans in 1927. Historian and sociologist Willem F. Wertheim (1946-1955/1965/1973) received requests for advice on the historical value of the archives of the Colonial Affairs ministry.²¹⁴ His colleague

²¹¹ See for studies of the recent student population:

<https://www.uva.nl/en/content/news/news/2024/02/new-figures-shed-light-on-diversity-of-student-population.html>.

²¹² Wijnands, *Een sieraad*, 159.

²¹³ See also: Kuitenbrouwer, *Dutch scholarship*, 157-158, 274-275. In the 1960s the Curators received requests from the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences to supply a list of names and institutes dealing with the social sciences in relation to Asia. GAS 279.A, College van Curatoren, inv.nr. Stukken betreffende het verzoek van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie voor Wetenschappen, ‘KNAW’ voor een opgave van personen en instituten, die zich bezighouden met onderzoek op het gebied van de sociale wetenschappen met betrekking tot Azië, 1962-1963; inv.nr. 2686, Stukken betreffende Nederlandse instellingen van het wetenschappelijk onderwijs, welke werkzaam zijn op het gebied van de problematiek der ontwikkelingslanden, 1965.

²¹⁴ GAS 279.A Archief van de Universiteit van Amsterdam; College van Curatoren: aanvulling, inv.nr. 1821, Stukken betreffende het verzoek tot wetenschappelijke bewerking van het archief van het voormalig ministerie van Koloniën door prof. Wertheim, in verband met de historische waarde, 1961-1962; J. Breman, ‘W.F. Wertheim, een tegendraadse kroniekschrijver van maatschappelijke omwenteling’ *Sociologie* 12:3 (2016) 321-350.

J.Th. de Smidt (1956-1965/1989), professor of Old Dutch law, played a key role in the publication of sources relating to historical legislation in the Netherlands and its colonies, in particular the West Indies. His personal archive contains promising sources on his lectures relating to this topic.²¹⁵ Other professors actively participated in the public debate about (post)colonial policy. Professor of colonial economy George L. Gonggrijp (born Njalindoeng, West Java), for example, was an active publicist under the pseudonym 'Abolitionist' (Opheffer), and historian J. Presser's (1949/1959-1969) nomination to become full professor sparked protests due to his criticism of Dutch policy regarding Indonesia.²¹⁶

Qualitative ties - students

For students, serenades were a popular way of making an impression and honouring the city's dignitaries, such as professors, curators and mayors. It would be interesting to see whether any serenades paid particular attention to colonial matters.²¹⁷ Various student associations have archives, allowing for a reconstruction of their activities.²¹⁸ Besides archival records, the *Amsterdamsche Studenten-almanak* is an important source to study possible activities relating to the public debate about colonial issues prior to 1877. For example, two former Athenaeum pupils, H.J. Koenen and J. de Neufville Azn, were president and secretary, respectively of the Amsterdam branch of the *Nederlands Jongenlingen Genootschap ter Afschaffing van de Slavernij* in 1854.²¹⁹ Unlike other student almanacs, however, the Amsterdam version is not digitally accessible.

The first Indonesian students enrolled at the faculty of Medicine (1904-1908). They joined the 'Corps' and were represented at meetings of the *Raad van Negen*. One student society was devoted to the conversion of Indonesian students to Catholicism.²²⁰ In 1908, Indonesian students

215 NL-HaNA, Smidt, de, 2.21.342, inv.nr. 8, Correspondentie met de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek over de financiering van zijn werk aan de samenstelling van het West Indisch Plakkaatboek. 1964-1976; inv.nr. 89-90 Aantekeningen voor zijn colleges, 1956-1980; inv.nr. 96, Onderwijsmateriaal betreffende plakkaatboeken, 1965-1966; inv.nr. 111-114, Scripties van de hand van studenten van prof. De Smidt. z.j.

216 (Gonggrijp) Opheffer, *Honderd brieven van Opheffer aan de redactie van het Bataviaasch handelsblad* (Batavia 1913); Opheffer, *Crisis: een ernstig woord van waarschuwing aan het Nederlandsche volk* (Amsterdam 1933); G.L. Gonggrijp, 'Indië onder deflatiedruk' *Tijdschrift van de Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor waardevast geld* 1:5 (1935) 57-61; (Presser) M.E.H.N. Mout, 'Presser, Jacob (1899-1970)', in: *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*.

217 Knegtmans, *A history of student life in Amsterdam*, 18-20. See for later period: GAS 1215 Archief van het Amsterdams Studenten Corps, inv.nr. 51, Stukken betreffende de organisatie van verschillende serenades, 1825-1850.

218 Collectie Amsterdams Studenten Corps/Amsterdamse Vrouwelijke Studentenvereniging (ASC/AVSV), UBA31, Allard Pierson; Archief van de Amsterdamsche Studenten Bond, UBA51, Allard Pierson; Archief van Unitas Studiosorum Amstelodamensium, UBA50, Allard Pierson.

219 HUA 48-1 Zeister Zendingsgenootschap van de Evangelische Broedergemeente 1793-1962, inv.nr. 1209, Bescheiden F.J. Moquette. See also: M. Janse, *De afschaffers. Publieke opinie, organisatie en politiek in Nederland 1840-1880* (Amsterdam 2007) 57, 95, 113-114.

220 Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser*, 149; Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 339 and 379.

also established the 'Indische Vereeniging', a student union aimed for all students from Indonesia in the Netherlands.²²¹ The journal published by the Vereeniging, *Hindia Poetra* (1918-1922), contains reports (in Dutch) of gatherings throughout the Netherlands. At a meeting in Wageningen in 1918, J.M.M. van Asch van Wijck argued that 'despite the Colonial Institute' in Amsterdam, learning about the East Indies was core business in Leiden alone, 'elsewhere it is a side issue.'²²² Nevertheless, from the 1910s onwards, the number of students from the colonies started to grow. Although the consecutive attempts of several universities to gather the Dutch academic community for the 'Academic Indies Week' were short-lived, it would be interesting to explore why the 'colonial' academic community failed to materialise, despite the UvA's best efforts.²²³ Special attention should be paid to UvA alumni who went on to play key roles in the development of cultural nationalism, such as Wie Eegie Sanie for Suriname, and Gerungan S.S.J. Ratulangie for Indonesia.²²⁴

More generally, the student press is a key source for analysing how this part of the academic community engaged with colonialism.²²⁵ The issues that mattered to students were covered in publications of the student corporations, such as the periodical *Propria Cures* (PC, 1890-present) and the official university paper *Folia Civitatis* (1948-present).²²⁶ For this preliminary research, *Propria Cures* has been analysed in overview to give an impression of the variety of (post)colonial topics discussed by the (student) editors, recommended for in-depth analysis. Given the irony and satire characterising student writing, a careful consideration of this historical material is required.

PC started out as a typical student periodical: it was transformed from being a 'Corps' publication into a general student weekly, and since the 1950s it has been a literary-satirical weekly for the cultural 'in-crowd' in the Netherlands, paying less and less attention to day-to-day student issues in Amsterdam.²²⁷

221 Poeze, *In het land van de overheerser*, 55, 57, 68-71. See also: GAS 1215 Archief van het Amsterdams Studenten Corps, inv.nr. 837, Verhouding tot Nederlandsch-Indonesisch Verbond van jongeren organisaties; inv.nr. 1272, Stukken betreffende de lezingcommissie, met tekst van de lezing 'Twee aspecten van de Indonesische kwestie', door G.J. Ligthart, 1946-1947.

222 '[...] ook ondanks Koloniaal Instituut en Volksuniversiteit nog ontzettend veel te wenschen; en onder de scholen hier te lande is het Lyceum te Amsterdam van Dr. C.P. Gunning de eenigste, die op haar leerprogram een afzonderlijk vak "Indië" kent. Daarna schetst hij in korte trekken de plaats, die de kennis van Indië inneemt bij het vakonderwijs, en komt tot de conclusie, dat alleen te Leiden, waar inderdaad uitsluitend voor een Indischen werkkring wordt opgeleid, deze kennis hoofdzaak is; elders is zij van bijkomstig belang, en weinig belovend gehalte.' *Hindia Poetra*, 23 Nov 1918, p. 46; K.H. Dewantara, a.o., *Hindia poetra: orgaan van het Indonesisch Verbond van Studeerenden* (Utrecht: Indonesisch Verbond van Studeerenden 1918).

223 Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 335; *Het Koloniaal Weekblad*, 17 April 1919; *De Amsterdammer*, 14 June 1919.

224 Oostindie, *In het land van de overheerser*, 82; Poeze, *In het land van der overheerser*, 104; K. Stutje, *Campaigning in Europe for a free Indonesia: Indonesian nationalists and the worldwide anticolonial movement, 1917-1931* (Copenhagen 2019) 17-38.

225 Vgl. Ch. Engberts, 'Leuvense studentenpers tussen universiteit, kerk, staat en kolonie', in: A. Flipse, et al (eds.), *De stem van de universiteit. Universitaire pers sinds de late negentiende eeuw* (Hilversum 2024) 80-96.

226 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*; B. Polak, *Het gezicht van Propria Cures 1890-2015* (Amsterdam 2015) 82; Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 389.

227 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 9-10 and 267-268.

Analysing this and other publications will offer insight into a wide range of student activities, such as the propositions discussed at the Amsterdam Student Debating Club, the plays performed by the student theatre companies (Figure 3), and how students regarded professors with racist ideas (Figure 4).²²⁸

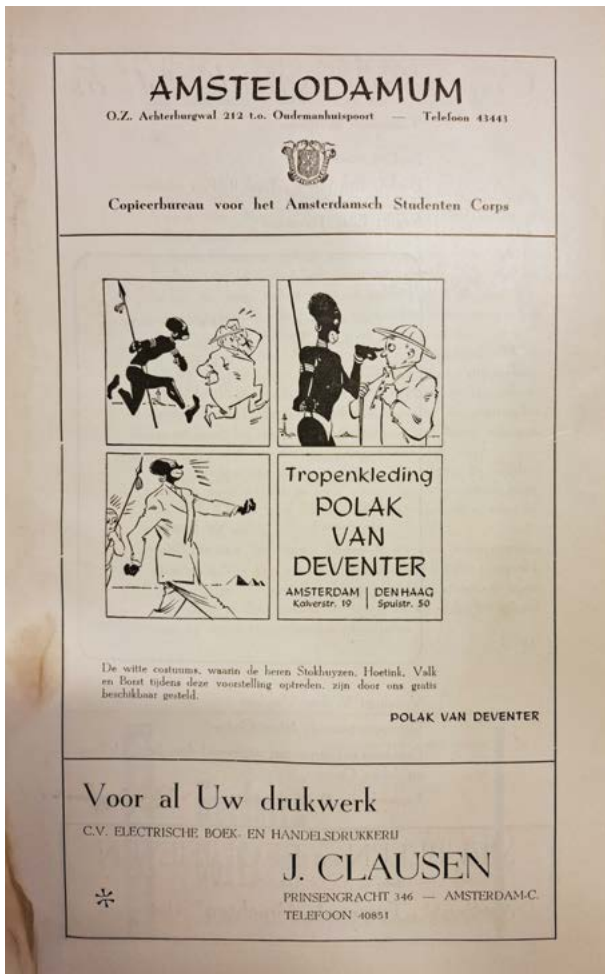


Figure 3. Advert from programme leaflet. De Theatercollectie, Bijzondere Collecties/TIN.



Figure 4. Cartoon of Prof. Kleiweg de Zwaan. Collectie spotprenten van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, UBA203, 023 167.

²²⁸ Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 53. Less serious, according to Knegtmans, were the 'leftish motions' proposed during meetings at the Studenten Sociëteit Olofspoort, such as the one stating that Ambon should be free. Knegtmans, *Professoren van de stad*, 401.

The Boer Wars, which were among the first major colonial issues to be discussed in *PC*, triggered all sorts of student activities, such as fundraisers, singing the Transvaal anthem, dressing up as Krüger, publishing poems in Afrikaans, and three students joining the army in South Africa.²²⁹ Moreover, *PC* editors Piet Meyer, P.J. Nienaber and Marie Botha were South African.²³⁰ At the debating society, future professor of sociology and criminology Willem Bonger defended the proposition that ‘from a societal perspective it is desirable that England win the Anglo-Transvaal war.’²³¹ By contrast, in later years apartheid policies in South Africa were criticised in *PC*, as was racism in general in the period 1955-1960.²³² In November 1959, an editor triggered coverage in national newspapers after his sharp critique of separatist ‘white’ South Africans, following the appearance of South African students at a ‘Grootnederlands Studentencongres’.²³³ *PC* supported the anti-apartheid boycott of South African products (April 1964), but the Netherlands’ stubborn perseverance on the New Guinea question caused the editors to become less critical of South Africa (October 1966).²³⁴

Zionism and the emerging state of Israel in the (former) British mandate of Palestine divided opinion among students. This element of modern imperialism and its legacy, and UvA students’ engagement with it, provides helpful context for current protests regarding the war in Gaza. Shortly after the Balfour declaration of 1917, one student wrote that: ‘The Zionist aspiration does not give any Dutchman the right to judge the Jew who works for his [race] in Poland, nor those who out of the innermost conviction prefer the hills of Jerusalem to Jodenbreestraat.’ (October 1918).²³⁵ Shortly after the Second World War, some *PC* editors were active in the ‘Nederlandse Zionistische Studentenorganisatie’.²³⁶ On the other hand, student Verhagen lamented the expression of views in which ‘the “small brave” Israel defends itself once more against the Arabs, eighty million of them known for their laziness, sunbathing during the day, harem-bathing at night, unless incited by “their leaders”’.²³⁷ This student clearly identified the entrenched ‘imperial’ mindset that informed public debate about the colonisation of Palestine by the State of Israel. From the 1970s onwards, *PC* developed a critical stance on Israel. Interestingly, one editor compared the discrimination faced by Jews in the Netherlands with that faced by post-colonial migrants: ‘For the time being, I believe that labour migrants, Surinamese and Moluccans are facing much worse discrimination than Jews.’²³⁸

229 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 34, 55, (poems) 75 and 99.

230 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 114.

231 ‘Vanuit een maatschappelijk oogpunt is het wenselijk, dat Engeland in de Transvaals-Engels oorlog wint.’ Cited by Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 55.

232 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 192.

233 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 187.

234 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 246.

235 ‘Het Zionistisch streven geeft geen enkele Nederlander het recht de Jood te veroordelen, die werkt voor zijn rasgenoten in Polen, noch hem die uit de innigste gemoedsbewegingen de heuvelen van Jeruzalem verkiest boven de Jodenbreestraat.’ Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 96.

236 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 169.

237 ‘[...] het “kleine dappere” Israël verdedigt zich weer eens tegen de Arabieren, die wij kennen als tachtig million leucistische luiaards, overdag zonne-, ‘s nachts harembadend, tenzij door “hun leiders” opgehitst.’ Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 189.

238 ‘Vooralsnog geloof ik dat gastarbeiders, Surinamers en Molukkers in veel heviger mate aan discriminatie bloot staan dan Joden.’ (October 1979) Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 276 and 323.

Colonial issues within the local student community seem to have received less coverage, even though the public debate on the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia was closely followed by *PC*. For instance, readers were highly critical of an article discussing the poor living conditions of Indonesian students in the Netherlands (February 1929). In the following decade, *PC* published more politically charged material. The violent and fatal end to the mutiny on the Dutch vessel *De Zeven Provinciën* off the coast of Sumatra triggered an interesting debate between students who would later become prominent politicians, including G.M. Nederhorst (PvdA leader) and J. Luns (Foreign Affairs, NATO) (February 1933).²³⁹ Their contributions offer evidence that the university was the place where the future elite responsible for decolonisation sharpened their minds. The fierce discussions about whether the Dutch colony should be maintained continued during the first 'Police Action', making *PC* one of the few places where such debate was possible, according to one participating student.²⁴⁰ In 1947, *PC* published a manifesto by rector Harting stating that all students, due to their academic training, were obliged to take an interest in future relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia, Suriname and 'Curaçao' (February 1947).²⁴¹

Two issues related to Indonesia stand out as potential case studies. First, in April 1956 former KNIL sergeant Jan Eijkelboom published a critique of the general 'apologetic' tone of most national newspapers regarding the prosecution of a Dutch colonial intelligence officer by the Sukarno regime.²⁴² *PC* refrained, however, from publishing evidence of war crimes committed by Dutch soldiers during the 'Police Actions', submitted to the journal by future whistleblower Joop Hueting, out of fear for potentially severe legal pushback.²⁴³ The second issue concerns the New Guinea Question, which received extensive coverage in *PC*, provoking the claim that 'they are doing politics'.²⁴⁴ In September 1961, Amsterdam's mayor Gijs van Hall forbade the female student corporation AVSV to perform J. Slauerhoff's play *Jan Pietersz Coen* (1931), on the grounds that its criticism of Dutch colonialism was untimely.²⁴⁵ Editors discussed Joseph Luns' article on *De Zeven Provinciën* twice in order to interpret his actions as Minister of Foreign Affairs (April 1962)²⁴⁶ and his appointment as Secretary General of NATO.²⁴⁷ Student engagement was manifested with a teach-in on the situation in Indonesia in 1970. The UvA curators archived the event as 'disruption'.²⁴⁸ On 8 November 1971, *PC* sent a petition to the States General for a parliamentary inquiry into Dutch policy regarding New Guinea. Although the States General did not act upon it, this is clear evidence of the criticism voiced by *PC* of (post)colonial issues, and the various ways in which UvA students were informed and could engage.²⁴⁹

239 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 109.

240 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 162.

241 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 159.

242 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 189-190.

243 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 191.

244 'Ze doen aan politiek' (September 1960 (light-hearted); November 1960). Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 209.

245 Only one performance behind closed doors took place. Actors: Boudewijn Chabot (grew up in Makassar, Celebes) and Paul Rutgers van der Loeff. Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 212.

<https://www.theaterkrant.nl/nieuws/jan-pietersz-coen-verboden-toneelstuk-slauerhoff/>

246 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 213.

247 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 323.

248 GAS 279.A, College van Curatoren, inv.nr. 2390, Stukken betreffende de 'Teach-in' over de situatie in Indonesië, 1970.

249 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 273.

The Surinamese independence in 1975 was covered in several articles. Chantal van Dam highlighted the scepticism surrounding the issue: 'Big chance that this contribution will remain unread, because the topic is clearly stated at the top and people dislike Suriname' (October 1975).²⁵⁰ Indeed, Ligtenberg and Polak, the editors of the *PC* overview study, note that there was hardly any 'programmatic' discussion on 'race' during the politically charged period of the journal, although Anton de Kom's *Wij slaven van Suriname* was positively received (June 1934).²⁵¹ The follow-up study should therefore pay attention to the occasional remarks providing evidence of racial stereotypes about people of colour in the Netherlands.²⁵² Anti-Catholic sentiment, for example, was mixed with racialised stereotypes: 'It's easy to tell someone's a Negro. And that's even more true of Catholics.'²⁵³ Between 1970-1975, the light-hearted tone of *PC* further lifted the taboo on discrimination and racist statements when discussing post-colonial migrants (or homosexuals).²⁵⁴ This is evident in Van Dam's entry on the arrival of tens of thousands of Surinamese in the Netherlands. She compared the situation to that of the postcolonial migration from Indonesia: 'It won't be long before they become just as assimilated here as the people who once came from the Indies, who were often turned away by boarding-house owners because of the penetrating stench that clung stubbornly to their food, sticking to curtains and stair carpets.'²⁵⁵ In this hostile atmosphere, there was little empathy in the Netherlands for predicament of Suriname after the violent junta in the 1980s. Cartoons by AnoNe (Martin Simek) captured racist indifference in the Netherlands to events in the former colony.²⁵⁶ The collection of cartoons kept by the Allard Pierson Museum also includes examples of racist stereotypes that await further contextualisation (Figure 5).²⁵⁷

250 'Grote kans dat deze bijdrage ongelezen blijft, want het onderwerp staat er duidelijk boven en aan Suriname hebben de mensen een hekel.' Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 274.

251 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 109.

252 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 75.

253 'Aan een neger kan men zien dat hij dat is. Dit geldt in sterker mate voor de katholieken.' Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 287.

254 Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 285. Poem Gerard van het Reve (287) 'Voor eigen erf.' – Onze kassiers op de wegen beroofd;/ aan ouden van dagen op klaarlichte dag/hun beursje met spaargeld ontruikt;/ onze roomblanke dochters onteerd./ Waarheen, mijn Vaderland? /O, Nederland, ontwaak!/ Gooi al dat zwarte tuig er uit:/ Ons land voor ons!/ Op, naar de Blanke Macht' (August 1974); Gerard Reve cartoon: 'Die vuile nicht moet niet denken dat hij ook nog een racist kan worden.' (AnoNe Jan-Feb 1983).

255 'Het zal niet lang duren of ze zijn hier net zo ingeburgerd als de mensen die indertijd uit Indië aan kwamen waaien, toen trouwens vaak geweerd door pensionhouders vanwege de doordringende en zich meedogenloos aan gordijnen en traplopers hechtende stank die aan hun eten kleefde.' Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 274.

256 'Vijftien man zijn lekgeschoten en opeens worden we overstelpt met privé-gegevens over tot dan toe totaal onbekende mensen.' Ligtenberg, *Een geschiedenis*, 317.

257 Collectie spotprenten van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, UBA203, Allard Pierson, (1862-present).



lym

68% + 91.3%

Figure 5. Cartoon of internationalisation in higher education. Collectie spotprenten van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, UBA203, Allard Pierson, (1862-present), 023 750.



8. Self-image

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Throughout their long histories, institutes of higher education have played an important role in the status economy. Establishing the Athenaeum boosted the respectability of the merchant elite in Amsterdam, because they could now give their children an internationally recognised classical education. The Athenaeum's promotion to the status of university enhanced Amsterdam's profile relative to other university cities and attracted more students to the capital. Colonial science and education helped the Athenaeum and the UvA to stand out from their peers. How did the Athenaeum Illustre and the UvA instrumentalise their colonial connections to enhance their public profile?

For this domain, we recommend analysing the commemorative studies published with remarkable frequency – due to the two foundational moments of 1632 and 1877 – and the archival documentation on the celebrations surrounding these anniversaries.²⁵⁸ These were occasions on which the UvA 'brand' was made explicit and disseminated through the press. On its first centenary in 1732, professor of literature and rector Jacob d'Orville (1730-1751) celebrated the earliest professors and provided the first history of the Athenaeum, but he also warned that the school was in severe decline in terms of pupils and staff numbers. His speech was instrumental in creating the foundational myth of the wise merchant. It formed important inspiration for the 19th-century curator's secretary Jacob van Lennep, who published d'Orville's speech with an extensive commentary upon the school's bi-centenary.²⁵⁹ The tri-centenary celebrations in 1932 are especially valuable, as they involved every part of the university community and took place just before the onset of decolonisation.²⁶⁰

Anniversaries were not necessarily occasions on which the foundational myth of the wise merchant was reinforced without question. In 1927, for example, the Colonial Institute hosted the celebrations surrounding the fiftieth anniversary of the UvA. Rector Hajo Brugmans criticised his predecessors, who had unequivocally celebrated the early modern merchants of Amsterdam as guardians of scholarship:

Van Baerle's 'wise merchant' was also wrongly presented as a scholar, or at least as a worshipper and protector of science, by more than one of my predecessors. Nevertheless, the act of the

258 *Kort geschiedkundig overzicht, van het Athenaeum Illustre of de Doorluchtige School te Amsterdam: hare grondvesting; het gevierde jubel-feest in den jare zeventien honderd twee en dertig; en het twee honderd jarig bestaan met vele plegtigheden gevierd, op den tienden, elfden en twaalfden Januarij, achttien honderd twee en dertig* (Amsterdam 1832); *Het Amsterdamsch Athenaeum: toestand, hervorming, adressen* (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller & Co 1876); I.H. van Eeghen, a.o., *Het illustre begin van het athenaeum* (Amsterdam 1957); Haitsma Mulier, *Athenaeum Illustre*; H. van Galen, P.W.M. de Meijer and Universiteit van Amsterdam Groep Institutionele Ontwikkeling, *Dagschrift: 365 jaar Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1997). See amongst others the commemorative lectures: H. Beyerman, *Feestrede ter gelegenheid van het 225 jarig bestaan van het Athenaeum Illustre te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1857); J.C.G. Boot, *Toespraak bij gelegenheid van den verjaardag van het Athenaeum te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1867).

259 J. van Lennep, *Gedenkboek der plechtige viering van het tweehonderdjarig bestaan der Doorluchtige School te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1832).

260 H. Brugmans and H. Scholte, *Verslag van de herdenking van het derde eeuwfeest van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1933).

*merchant city, which founded a school for higher education, arose from the same broad spirit that inspired our trade in the first half of the seventeenth century and made Amsterdam a strong fortress of freedom and liberalism.*²⁶¹

In a sense, Brugmans believed that Amsterdam's merchants did not deserve credit for protecting and promoting science by establishing and financing the Athenaeum. Yet, despite criticising his colleagues for misrepresenting Barlaeus' 'wise merchant' as a patron of scholarship, Brugmans acknowledged that Amsterdam's colonial trade had contributed to the free spirit that had led to the founding of the Athenaeum: 'On the coast of the New World her name was reborn. Her shipbuilders made the ships of the East and West India Companies', helping to broaden the mental horizon of Amsterdam's merchants.²⁶² Formal and occasional speeches such as this one offer an insight into the image that the UvA wanted to project to its peers, as its immediate audience largely consisted of representatives of other (international) universities.

Another valuable source for analysing self-image is the speech given by the rector when handing his office to his successor, published in the *Jaarboek*. Some rectors explicitly stated their views on the relationship between the UvA and the (former) colonies. One telling example is the valediction given by H.W. Bakhuis Roozeboom on 19 September 1904. The rector reflected on representing the university during the tribute paid to lieutenant general J.B. van Heutsz, 'the formidable commander in chief and statesman', who had succeeded – in what for years had seemed a hopeless task – 'in confirming Dutch authority in Aceh and having it recognised' by the local population.²⁶³ Bakhuis Roozeboom assumed his audience would agree that the university should be represented during that particular homage, celebrating the end of one of the most violent conflicts in the Dutch East Indies: 'For when the task of the warrior has ended and that of the statesman comes to the fore, the significance of the university for our colonies also comes into play.'²⁶⁴ With this rhetorical flourish Bakhuis Roozeboom touched upon a core element of the contributions that universities made to the empire, namely the *notion* that their task in the colonial system was peaceful rather than violent. According to its rector, at least, the UvA excelled in training the personnel required for colonial rule after the army had done its duty on the battlefield:

261 'Ten onrechte ook is door meer dan een mijner voorgangers Van Baerle's "wijze koopman" ten tooneele gevoerd als geleerde, althans als vereerder en beschermer der wetenschap. Niettemin is de daad der koopstad, die een school voor Hooger Onderwijs stichtte, ontsproten aan den zelfden ruimen geest, die in de eerste helft der zeventiende eeuw onzen handel bezielde en Amsterdam heeft gemaakt tot een vaste burcht van vrijheid en vrijzinnigheid.' Idenburg, *Van Athenaeum tot Universiteit*, 144-145.

262 'Aan de kust der Nieuwe Wereld werd haar naam herboren. Haar scheepmakers bouwden de met beeldhouwwerk rijk versierde schepen der Oost- en West-Indische Compagnieën.' Idenburg, *Van Athenaeum tot Universiteit*, 144-145.

263 'Z.Ex. den Luitenant-Generaal J.B. van Heutsz, den voortreffelijken bevelvoerder en staatsman, wien het gelukt was – wat lange jaren eene hopelooze taak had geschenen – in Atjeh het Nederlandsche gezag te bevestigen en te doen erkennen.' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1903-1904) 2-3.

264 'Immers, naarmate de taak van den krijgsman ten einde loopt en die van den staatsman op den voorgrond treedt, komt ook de beteekenis van de Universiteit voor onze Koloniën in aanmerking.' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1903-1904) 2-3.

*Does [the university] not deliver a significant number of governing and judicial civil servants, teachers and researchers, who fulfil a role of utmost importance for peaceful government, for the spiritual and material development of our colonies? Has not Amsterdam University seen many capable students in recent years take up important positions in scientific research at 's Rijks Plantentuin, in agriculture and in industry, and can it not identify several members of the faculty of Maths and Physics who have recently been working as pioneering researchers to open up new ways for the development of the wealth of our colonies, and for promoting the prosperity of industry and trade?*²⁶⁵

Superficially, at least, this address shows that the UvA actively participated in the discourse of the 'Ethical Policy' launched at the turn of the 20th century.²⁶⁶ But it also indicates where we can identify deeper colonial ties between the university and the colonies, and the UvA's motivation for nurturing them. UvA alumni supported colonial society in the Dutch East Indies in every possible way, and had learned their trade as students of law, theology, languages, botany, mathematics, physics and so forth. In short, a number of UvA faculties were involved in training the specialists needed in the early 20th-century colonial society.

While studying this aspect of the university's self-image, it is important to acknowledge the critical and anti-colonial responses within the UvA community and in the colonies. Disciplines such as the Humanities and Anthropology are known for being critical of colonial ties of their fields, but the breadth of colonial involvement indicated above suggests that critical voices will be found in other fields of study as well.²⁶⁷ A speech such as Roozenboom's was also intended to differentiate the UvA's position vis-à-vis its Dutch peers, such as the universities in Leiden, Utrecht, Groningen and later Wageningen. Uncovering the university's colonial connections over the course of almost four centuries will therefore involve studying 1) how the UvA perceived its ties to colonial rule over time, and 2) how that involvement compares to the findings of parallel studies on neighbouring academic institutes in the Netherlands and beyond.

265 'Levert zij niet een belangrijk aantal bestuurs- en rechterlijke ambtenaren, onderwijskrachten en onderzoekers, die voor vredig bestuur, voor de geestelijke en stoffelijke ontwikkeling onzer Koloniën eene uiterst gewichtige rol vervullen? Heeft niet bijzonder de Amsterdamsche Universiteit in de latere jaren tal van bekwame leerlingen belangrijke posities zien innemen bij het wetenschappelijk onderzoek aan 's Rijks Plantentuin, bij de cultures en bij de industrie, en kan zij niet wijzen op meerdere harer Wis- en Natuurkundige Faculteit, die in de laatste tijden als baanbrekende onderzoekers werkzaam geweest zijn om nieuwe wegen te openen voor de ontwikkeling van de welvaart onzer Koloniën en voor de bevordering van den bloei van industrie en handel?' *Jaarboek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* (1903-1904) 2-3.

266 E. Locher-Scholten, 'Dutch expansion in the Indonesian archipelago around 1900 and the imperialism debate' *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 25:1 (1994) 91-111.

267 Vgl. Gopal, 'On decolonisation'.



9. Advice regarding the involvement of the UvA community

9. Advice regarding the involvement of the UvA community

This part of the preliminary research contains an advice on how to involve the UvA community during Phase 2. We discuss a number of guiding questions that are designed to structure the preliminary discussion on meaningful community participation. The questions are derived from the report *Recognition & repair: Exploring historical harm and institutional responses*, written by Peter Gordon (University College London), for which the present author provided input.²⁶⁸ The following three general principles should be taken into account while reading this section, as they apply to all of the questions that follow:

1. This is an advice, to be discussed further after the publication of the report.
2. It is the UvA's responsibility to facilitate community participation, while the research team focuses on conducting the study itself. The researchers can actively engage with the community as well, of course, but organising this interaction is a labour-intensive and costly affair that falls under the responsibility of the UvA.
3. Community involvement plays a part in each phase for the remainder of the follow-up project. Invitations to participate should be carefully timed and directed in each phase.

Who needs to be involved for this process to be effective, credible and ethically sound?

It is important to present the follow-up study as a project that matters to all of the faculties of the UvA.²⁶⁹ The presentation of the next steps in the process should preferably be held in a general location, such as the Aula, rather than a specific faculty building. It should be clear that everyone affiliated with the university is in principle invited to any events linked to the follow-up research, and will be duly notified about opportunities to provide input regarding research questions and topics, and discussions on results and implications.

How can we demonstrate a commitment to transparency?

In the context of this project, transparency ensures 1) the integrity of the research process and the publication of its results, and 2) that it is clear when a phase is suited to community participation and when it is not. Public notifications issued by the UvA about the timeline of the follow-up research are key to demonstrating commitment to transparency. Once the investigation is underway, the organisation itself should be transparent. Although most primary sources are publicly available, the UvA should cooperate with any additional requests for information made by the researchers.

In line with the *Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research Integrity*, the independence of the researchers must be guaranteed in the design, conduct and reporting of the research.²⁷⁰ It is up to the researchers to choose the method and assess the data, but the research questions and topics can be discussed with stakeholders. The researchers will take their responsibility into account by

²⁶⁸ P. Gordon, *Recognition & repair: Exploring historical harm and institutional responses* (University College London 2024).

²⁶⁹ *Decolonial Dialogues*, 7.

²⁷⁰ *Netherlands code of conduct for research integrity* (KNAW 2018) 13.

considering – within reasonable limits – the legitimate interests of the UvA, as the commissioning party, and the community it represents. During the project the researchers should be transparent about their progress, for example by discussing preliminary findings with representatives of the university board and the Advisory Committee.²⁷¹

The final results should be published in a durable Open Access format, preferably in Dutch as well as English. Making the results public in an Open Access book in Dutch will help to inform the broader community about the results, whereas a book in English will be of interest to the international academic community. Public events can be held to present the findings to the wider university community, and discuss the implications for the organisation.

Whom do we consider our organisations' primary constituency?

The recommendations of the *Decolonial Dialogues* are helpful guidelines here, as is the distinction between the various types of primary constituencies depending on the perspective taken. From an institutional perspective, the UvA staff and students are obvious members of the primary constituency. In-house expertise (based on academic research as well as lived experience) relevant to the topic can be instrumentalised to generate involvement among this part of the constituency.²⁷² From a scholarly perspective, there is a wider academic constituency to be taken into account. For instance, involving scholars from former colonies is essential, as outlined in the *Decolonial Dialogues* report,²⁷³ and the same is true for peers in the Netherlands and Europe working on similar topics. At this time, there is a unique opportunity to collaborate closely with (inter)national peers, so that they can together form a major contribution to a historiographical understanding of the relationship between higher education and colonial empire and its legacy. Finally, from a societal perspective, it is important to include the wider community of the city of Amsterdam in the colonial history of this university, as it plays a significant part in the cultural fabric of the capital. The contacts established during *Decolonial Dialogues* provide a good starting point for finding out who belongs to this wider community. While acknowledging the oversaturated event/content market at the UvA, we should heed programmer Phaedra Haringsma's advice to involve collectives of people from outside the UvA, preferably 'people who bring their own network [...] to avoid that only the "usual suspects" show up' at public events.²⁷⁴

What 'qualifies' someone to participate in this process (e.g. staff position, professional expertise, life experience, something else)?

The trifold approach to the UvA's constituency can be used to determine what qualifies someone to participate in different stages of this decolonisation process. Distinguishing various stages also helps to manage participation-related expectations within various parts of the community. Being a member

271 See for a suggestion of potential members: M. Keestra, Project proposal 'Exploring the colonial and slavery past of the University of Amsterdam', 6.

272 For example, the Research Priority Area Decolonial Futures (2024-2029) could be one of the partners.

273 *Decolonial Dialogues*, 51.

274 *Decolonial Dialogues*, 44.

of staff or a student qualifies someone to be informed about the progress of the follow-up project, and to participate in the discussion about what the UvA as an institution should do to deal with the legacies of its colonial past. Professional expertise qualifies someone to participate in conducting the research itself. It is important to allow the researchers to do their work and to reflect on the ramifications of their findings before sharing them with the wider community. Life experience can assist the researchers when dealing with contemporary and legacy elements of the project. While the investigation is under way, expectations about wider involvement should be managed carefully, for presenting preliminary findings at a premature stage can cause unnecessary harm to all involved.

How can we demonstrate respect for the people affected by historical harm?

Making careful decisions about the timing of the process, which elements are made public and which phases are conducted internally, and when to include which part of the community, will allow one to show consideration when dealing with the UvA's involvement in inflicting historical harm. Producing a thorough scholarly study of the UvA's own colonial past will have a longer-term impact, as it will become part of the historiographical discussion beyond its publication date. How to explore additional institutional responses to this study is outlined in Figure 8.

What can we do to encourage everyone to participate in the discussion?

Practical guidelines help structure the discussion, in addition to the recommendations above about the timing and direction of messaging about the follow-up project. A clear set of working assumptions explains both what it means to participate in this process and how to strike the right conversational tone. A schematic overview of such a list, as given in the *Recognition & repair* report, is set out below (Figure 7).

Proposed working assumptions

Setting the right tone for discussion is critical. A constructive starting point can include negotiation of a set of 'working assumptions and commitments', such as those in the following box. These are aspirational and can help establish an atmosphere of respect, willingness to listen and commitment to understand other points of view beyond one's own.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Everyone here deserves to be treated with respect. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• We are all here because we have relevant experience or interest in the issue under discussion. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• It is ok to disagree with what others say. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Both feelings and thoughts affect the ways in which we express ourselves. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Everyone has the right to speak here. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Before you disagree, make sure you have understood what has been said. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• It can be validating and constructive simply to acknowledge another person's feelings. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Everyone has a responsibility to listen deeply, especially to options with which you disagree. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• People can be clumsy and struggle to express themselves clearly. Giving the benefit of the doubt (rather than assuming a negative intent) can encourage them to articulate themselves more clearly. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Words are powerful: choose them carefully, avoid exaggeration, offensive language and personalisation. | | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• We can make mistakes here and get it wrong: it's not the end of the world. |

Figure 7: Working assumptions for participating in the discussion. Gordon, *Recognition & repair*.

Questions to guide preliminary discussions

<u>Meaningful participation</u>	<u>Defining harm</u>	<u>Implications for our institution</u>
Who needs to be involved for this process to be effective, credible and ethically sound?	How will we define 'harm'?	How can we ensure that the process has the support and commitment of senior management?
How can we demonstrate a commitment to transparency?	How will we determine the impact of historical harm?	How can we continue to secure deeper 'buy-in' to the idea?
What 'qualifies' someone to participate in this process (e.g., staff position, life experience, professional expertise, something else)?		In what ways could this process advance the mission of our organisation?
How can we demonstrate respect for the people affected by historical harm?		Are we committed to the process of investigation and discovery, even if it makes us, or others, feel uncomfortable?
Who do we consider as our organisation's primary 'constituency'?		What are we, as individuals, willing to 'lose' (position, status, control) so the organisation can 'win' (e.g., giving up positions of authority to make way for others)?
What can we do to encourage everyone to participate in the discussion?		What, if any, unintended consequences might result? (e.g., for researchers, participants, the organisation and its reputation, its beneficiaries or wider, affected communities)?
		What steps can we take to mitigate these?

Figure 8: Institutional responses. Gordon, *Recognition & repair*.



10. Recommendations

10. Recommendations

The Recommendations follow the elements outlined in the NIOD research proposal for Phase 1. Based on the preliminary research, the following recommendations have been formulated for Phase 2.

1. Research assignment

- a. Phase 2 would preferably be conducted by a research team with specialisation in Early Modern history of knowledge and science (knowledge of Neo-Latin is a requirement) and the history of colonialism and modern imperialism.
- b. We recommend the following main research questions for further analysis in phase 2:
 - I. What was the connection between colonial profits and the financial foundation of the Athenaeum Illustre and University of Amsterdam? (See section 1, Financial foundations)
 - II. In what ways were the chair(s)(holders)/faculties of the Athenaeum Illustre and UvA involved with slave-based activities and colonialism, and how did this affect the content of the curriculum in terms of (re)producing/criticising colonial paradigms? (See section 2, Colonial curriculum)
 - III. How did colonial connections contribute to the special collections assembled by the Athenaeum Illustre and UvA, and used by its staff for teaching purposes? (See section 3, Colonial collections)
 - IV. How has slavery and colonialism impacted the use of buildings by the Athenaeum and UvA? (See section 4, Colonial campus)
 - V. How were/are the links to colonialism and slavery (and their legacies) reflected by the academic community associated with the Athenaeum Illustre and UvA? (See section 5, University community)
 - VI. How have the Athenaeum Illustre and UvA instrumentalised their colonial connections to enhance their public profile? (See section 6, Self-image)

2. Scope

- a. The entire history of the UvA and its legal predecessor fall within the scope of the research, but the focus should lie on the functioning of the university as an institute of higher education within the larger colonial context.
- b. A logical endpoint will emerge by including the contributions made by the UvA community to the scholarly study of colonialism and its legacies (see section 5, University community).
- c. Provenance research on the colonial objects held by institutions affiliated with the UvA lies beyond the scope of this project (see section 3, Colonial collections).

3. Definitions

- a. This report contains definitions of 'Athenaeum Illustre', 'University of Amsterdam', 'colonialism', 'imperialism', 'slavery', 'anti-colonialism', 'decolonisation', 'post-colonialism' and 'neocolonialism'.

4. Source material

- a. The extensive footnotes in the preliminary research (Phase 1) reflect the recommended archival source material of interest that researchers can start working with in Phase 2. Care should be taken to ensure that more relevant archival material can be located, based on the initial round of consultation.
- b. As the archival material is held by various institutions, enough time should be allocated to collect and consult the material.
- c. The UvA should allocate sufficient resources to support the team with additional requests for information held by the Album Academicum or in the in-house storage systems.

5. Guidelines

- a. The KNAW *Netherlands Code of Conduct for Research Integrity* applies also to Phase 2.

6. Advice on the involvement of the UvA community

- a. See section 7, 'Involvement of UvA community' for an advice and guidelines to achieve meaningful participation by the UvA community during Phase 2.



11. Appendix A - Experts consulted for Phase 1

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Jasper Bedaux, Anna Leeftang, Teun Dijkstra (University of Amsterdam) – September 2024

Dirk van Miert (Huygengs ING) – 14 October 2024

Ligia Giay (Leiden University) – 14 October 2024

Joris van den Tol (Radboud University Nijmegen) – 29 October 2024

Karwan Fatah-Black (Leiden University/KITLV) – 30 October 2024

Larissa Schulte Nordholt (Wageningen University) – 19 November 2024

Machiel Kestra (University of Amsterdam) – 21 November 2024

Chris Engberts (Leuven University) – 27 November 2024

Esther Boeles (Allard Pierson, Amsterdam) – 11 December 2024

Laurens de Rooy (Museum Vrolik, Amsterdam) – 16 December 2024

Dinah Wouters and Arthur Weststeijn (Utrecht University) – 21 January 2025



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