

international institute
of social history

am. *recherche de Postulys*

Introduction

The Friends' Day held on January 26, 2012, was dedicated to Women's Work, a major research project for which the Friends of the IISH appropriated the funds in February 2002. Ariadne Schmidt and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk presented an overview of the enormous amount of women's work that went into the project and the impressive results that have already been obtained. A brief summary appears in this issue. As usual, the Institute's recent acquisitions range broadly, from Essequibo to the Donets Basin, and from eighteenth-century Egypt to twentieth-century Prague.

Members of the Friends of the IISH pay annual dues of 100 or 500 euros or join with a lifetime donation of 1,500 euros or more. In return, members are invited to semi-annual sessions featuring presentations of IISH acquisitions and guest speakers. These guest speakers deliver lectures on their field of research, which need not be related to the IISH collection. The presentation and lecture are followed by a reception. In addition to these semi-annual gatherings, all Friends receive a 40 percent discount on IISH publications. Friends paying dues of 500 euros or more are also entitled to choose Institute publications from a broad selection offered at no charge. The board consults the Friends about allocation of the revenues from the dues and delivers an annual financial report in conjunction with the IISH administration.

*The IISH was founded by master collector N.W. Posthumus (1880-1960) in the 1930s. For the past two decades, two of the institutions established by this 'history entrepreneur' have operated from the same premises: the Netherlands Economic History Archive founded in 1914 and the International Institute of Social History, which is now 76 years old. Both institutes continue to collect, although the 'subsidiary' IISH has grown considerably larger than its 'parent' NEHA. Additional information about the Institute may be found in Jaap Kloosterman and Jan Lucassen, *Rebels with a Cause: Five Centuries of Social History Collected by the IISH* (Amsterdam 2010). For all information concerning the Friends, see socialhistory.org/en/friends.*

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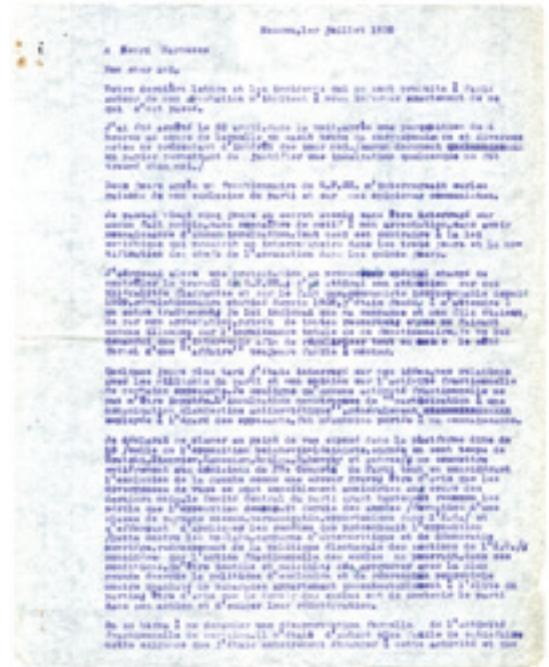
From All Nooks and Crannies

When members of our collection development staff retire, they often leave small legacies that may be hard to determine. One such item was an unsigned copy of a French letter dated July 1st, 1928, that was addressed to Henri Barbusse by someone who had obviously just left a prison of the GPU in Leningrad. The letter had been found by Leo van Rossum, responsible for Eastern Europe, in a book on Panaït Istrati. His colleague Tristan Haan, responsible for France, suggested that the letter might actually be by Istrati, who visited the Soviet Union in 1928. Since this was all part of the collection of the Italian anarchist Ugo Fedeli, the letter was then passed on, together with the book, to Rudolf de Jong, responsible for Anarchism. When he retired in 1994, it was ‘inherited’ by Kees Rodenburg, who – anticipating his own retirement next year – now took a closer look at this unsolved riddle.

Checking *Vers l'autre flamme*, Istrati's travelogue on the So-

viet Union, Kees decided the Rumanian was an unlikely author of the letter. Yet he also picked up a cue when he noted Istrati's involvement with the fate of Victor Serge (1890-1947), the cosmopolitan revolutionary, who in 1928 was expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union because of his links with the opposition against Stalin. Further investigation proved that Serge had in fact written three letters to Barbusse in 1928, which would be published on the pages of *les Humbles* (no 8-9) in 1937. Our letter was one of them.

As Kees noted, this long story should probably be seen against the background of a certain type of *akribeia*. Separating the letter from the book would destroy the context, but as long as it remained unidentified nothing definitive could be done with the book. Long responsible for Spain, Kees simply recalled the saying *las cosas de palacio van despacio* – something akin to the mills of God.



First page of Victor Serge's letter to Henri Barbusse, 1 July 1928 (IISH Ugo Fedeli)

Twenty-fourth Friends' Day, 26 January 2012

Presentation of recent acquisitions

Two Sides of a Coin

One of the latest acquisitions of the Netherlands Economic History Archive (NEHA) is a print depicting the *Plegtige Optogt der Begrafenis van Wijlen H.M. Frederika Louisa Wilhelmina, Koningin der Nederlanden, Geb. Prinses van Pruisen op den 26 October 1837* [Solemn funeral procession for the late H.M. Frederika Louisa Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, born Princess of Prussia, on 26 October 1837]. This seems

to be a very far cry indeed from economic history, and it is. The reason for the purchase was the print's reverse side, which features a manuscript of the *Staat der Negotiatie ten behoeven van planters te Essequibo en Demerary onder de directie van Jan van Rijnveld & Soonen in dato primo July 1785* [Account of the negotiation for planters in Essequibo and Demerara, supervised by Jan van Rijnveld & Sons, 1 July 1785] (NEHA BC 785). Two sides of a coin: royal mourning and blood money. Dutch ships processed about

five per cent of the Atlantic slave trade. The debate about the profitability of this enterprise is still in full swing (see, eg, the novel contribution from Karwan Fatah Black, University of Leiden, and Matthias van Rossum, IISH, in the *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis*). In addition, the Dutch colonies were the site of hundreds of slave plantations. Those in Suriname were the best known, but the adjacent Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice (British since 1796) was another infamous slave colony

(see *On the Waterfront* 8, p 3). Even though this industry was highly profitable, financing the slave plantations was complicated from the outset. At the start of the eighteenth century a sugar plantation with 50 slaves would have required an investment of Fl 23,000 (about € 225,000 today); sixty years later a sugar plantation with 119 slaves, no less than Fl 100,000 (close to € 1 million). In both cases, purchasing the slaves would have accounted for 55 per cent of the total price, also indicating that the cost of slaves rose substantially. Amsterdam brokers for the products cultivated on the plantations were the main financiers. At first, they operated on their own; later on, they set up financing firms. In 1751/53 the first “negotiation” for West-Indian plantations came about, a type of company issu-

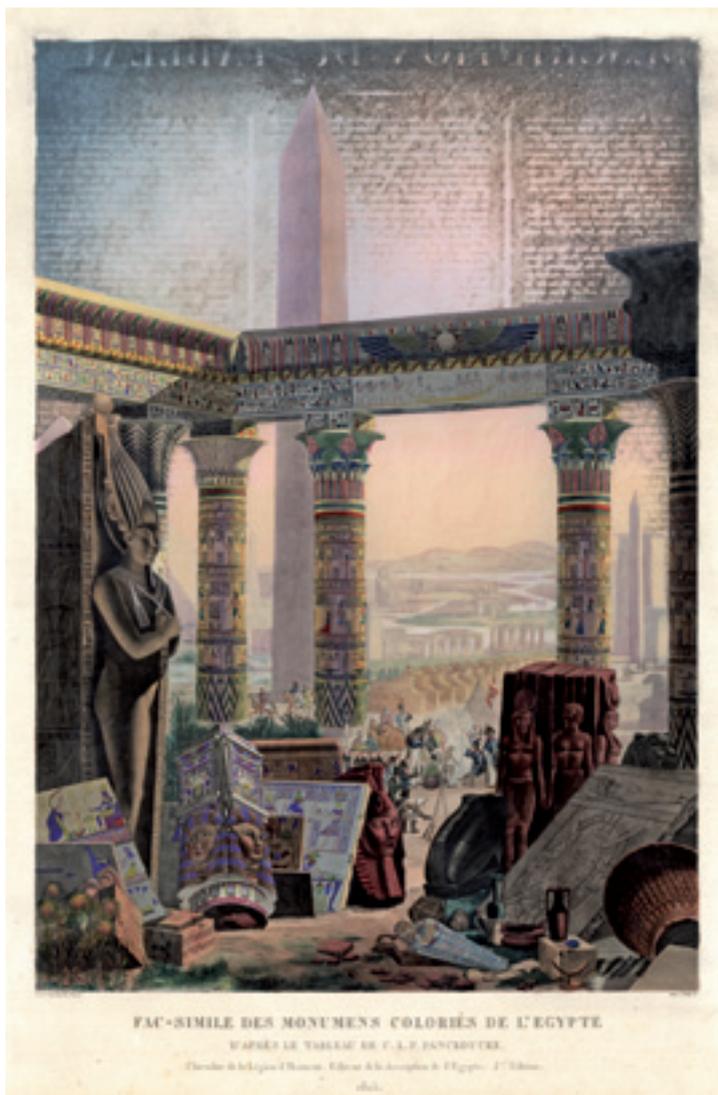
ing and managing monetary loans. Eligible plantations were assessed by certified appraisers (“*priseurs*”), after which up to 5/8 of the amount might be disbursed. These negotiations may be considered the precursor to investment funds. This case ushered in a trend, and from 1766 to 1775 in Amsterdam, Middelburg, and Utrecht negotiations totalling over 10 million guilders were issued for Essequibo and Demerara. One was the negotiation of Tulleken de Vos & Comp, founded in 1767 in Amsterdam and taken over by the firm Jan van Rijnen en Zoonen in 1771. Our new chart from this negotiation lists as its most important items the plantations and their owners and their estimated value and production (mainly cane sugar and coffee, as well as cotton). The NEHA already had a prospectus for this firm,

which listed the interest payments for 1777-1795 (NEHA BC 266). In the new item we now have an excerpt from the accounts from the middle of this period as well. At the time the negotiation concerned 36 plantations, whose main crop was coffee, although sugar and cotton were grown there as well. Their total value was estimated to exceed 4 million guilders, on which the consortium granted a maximum mortgage of 2.25 million guilders, of which 2.2 million was disbursed. The interest equalled nearly 10 per cent, suggesting an enormous risk. In return, the total output of course had to be provided to the consortium, which then auctioned off the products in Amsterdam.

Memory Loss

As our previous issue, with its note on Egyptian politics, was going to press (*On the Waterfront* 23, pp 10-11), the fire that engulfed the Egyptian Scientific Institute in Cairo made global headlines on December 17. The English-language edition of *al-Masry al-Youm* recalled that this institution had originally been established by Napoléon Bonaparte as the Institut de l’Egypte during his ill-fated campaign in the country. “Its library contains more than 200,000 books, including the original volumes of the *Description de l’Egypte* [...], begun in 1798 by French scientists in Egypt.” Photographs showed the *Description* lying on a heap of badly damaged books collected by students outside the building. Yet, even though the paper quoted the Minister of Culture as saying that two more copies were present in Cairo and another – incomplete – one in Asyut, there was almost universal mourning of an irrecoverable loss. The loss was indisputably enormous. In commercial terms, a very fine copy of the first edition’s 23 volumes, “in their original mahogany display case,” fetched over a million euros at Christie’s in Paris last year. With only slight hyperbole, the auction house called it “the most extravagant official publishing enterprise ever accomplished.” As is well known, when Bonaparte

Frontispiece to ‘Antiquités, nr 1’, in the Pancoucke edition of *Description de l’Egypte* (IISH ZF 00172.L)



FAC-SIMILE DES MONUMENS COLORES DE L'EGYPTE

VAPRES LE TABLEAU DE C. J. J. PANCOUCKE.

Desideri de la Haye & Comp. Editeur des Antiquités de l'Egypte. J. 1798.



“Shaft of the ‘Peter the Great’ rock salt mines near Bakhmut,” picture postcard issued by the firm Grilikhès in Bakhmut and sent from Stupki on 23 June 1902, with a note that the photograph was taken about 10 years before (Van den Muijzenberg-Kiessler archive, Album 0701, no 281).

sailed for the East in 1798, he took a large group of scientists with him. Upon his return to France in 1799, he left them behind with his army under the command of Jean-Baptiste Kléber (1753-1800), who in vain tried to extricate the French forces from a hopeless predicament. It was Kléber who first devised the idea of a unifying research publication. Once the *savants* had finally returned, the French state started to fund work on the *Description*, launched under the Consulate and continued through the Empire into the Bourbon Restoration. The first volume appeared in 1809. At a full meter when upright, some of the volumes of plates are among the largest books in existence. In addition to its scientific and scholarly value, after all, the publication had all the trappings of expensive state propaganda. As such, though certainly rare, it had sufficient panache to be included in quite a few library collections, among them that of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, which is kept by the IISH. The Academy, and consequently the Institute, also holds the second edition, published by Pancoucke, which started to appear even before the first one was completed.

Salty Adventures

Families and family archives come in all shapes and sizes: small, large, well-organized or utterly confused, interesting or uninteresting (although this is rare). The archive of the Van den Muijzenberg-Kiessler family that the Institute received last summer is both large and well-organized and is above all fascinating beyond belief. Since 2005 the eponymous foundation has even issued the journal *Piepende in de steppe*, referring to the South-Russian steppe northeast of the Sea of Azov.

In 1885, on the Ilyinovka estate there in Stupki (near Bakhmut, now Artemivsk, in the Donets Basin) some Dutchmen decided to open a salt mine and named it Pyotr Veliki (Peter the Great). The initiators of the *Hollandische Maatschappij tot Zoutexploitatie in Rusland* included the Rotterdam freemason Dirk van der Made, already experienced in the Tsarist Empire with building gas factories (for

another Dutch businessman in Russia, see *On the Waterfront* 6, pp 3-4). He jokingly invited his nephew from Hellevoetsluis to come along. The small boy, all of eight back then, agreed and accompanied Uncle Dirk to the train in Rotterdam. Although he was pried out of the train, with considerable difficulty, Leendert Willem van den Muijzenberg (1869-1947) nonetheless travelled to join his



Propaganda postcard designed by S.F. Sokolov, quoting a resolution of the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1930) on the revolutionary events in China (Van den Muijzenberg-Kiessler archive, Album 0705, no 308).



over three decades – even photographs of the staff. Especially important items are the countless letters from Russia, as well as from Warsaw (where the firm had its sales office, and where most of the children were born), but the hundreds of photographs and picture postcards are indeed a treasure trove for social and economic historians.

As the large offspring grew up, some entered the construction industry, as well as various other occupations, including teaching agriculture and dancing. They frequently corresponded with each other, presumably a good habit acquired during their residence abroad. All these letters seem to have been preserved, although some show signs of being chewed by ... yes, indeed: mice (the family name translates as ‘mountain of mice’). Soest’s infestation by mice in September 1943 is documented in one of these same letters.

The correspondence reveals a strong sense of social commitment, which the parents had exhibited as well. All conceivable social movements and political affiliations are mentioned. Alternative healing methods, the International Organization of Good Templars, vegetarians, Theosophists, as well as communists, socialists, and even the fascist Black Front. The communist sympathies of children who had been expelled from Russia are certainly remarkable. In 1932 the architect Diederik Bernardus (Dick) actually returned at age 29 on a research visit, tracking down some relatives in the process. A fine series of picture postcards and propaganda material remains from his journey. He was still a member of the Dutch Communist Party in 1956, when he travelled to Hungary. To offset this, we’ll conclude with his younger brother, Theodor Joseph Ludwig, born in Stupki in 1910. He and his wife performed as a professional dance couple in the German Reich until well into the war. They adopted the stage names Tschernoff and Tschernova, no doubt deriving from the engineer Chernov, who in 1882/84 was the first to

An “illustrated souvenir” of the opening of the so-called “Oosterlijn” from Pretoria to Lourenço Marques, 1895 (IISH L 11/608)

uncle ten years later. Leendert met Olga Lily Mary Kiessler, born there to Leendert’s older co-worker, the machinery manager Erwin Woldemar Botho Kiessler, from Gera in the Harz, and his British wife. The couple was married in 1898 before the Dutch consul in the Lutheran Church, and had a total of nine children, of whom one died in infancy. Johannes Cornelis van den Muyzenberg (1881-1964) later followed his older brother Leendert Willem as well. At first, Leendert Willem’s Russian enterprise was very successful. The firm generated good profits, up to 25 per cent

as late as 1917, and operated as part of a French-Russian-Dutch salt syndicate. This lasted until 1920, when the Reds celebrated their final victory against the White Russians under General Anton Denikin, and the mine was nationalized. After a long and eventful journey, in which he lost everything, Leendert eventually escaped to the Netherlands. By then he was 51 years old and had rapidly turned from an affluent director into a destitute repatriate, who was subsequently sacked from his equally destitute firm. A great deal remains from this Russian exercise that spanned

mine salt in the place where Theo was born.

Trains for the Boers

On two previous occasions, we wrote about members of the Van der Goot family, whose history is in various ways intertwined with that of the Institute (*On the Waterfront* 22, pp 10-11; 23, pp 6-7). This was in part triggered by the donation by Claire Posthumus of her personal papers, which comprised several memorabilia from her mother, Willemijn van der Goot (1897-1989), the second wife of IISH founder Nicolaas Posthumus. They include albums of photographs related to Willemijn's youth in Pretoria, where she was born as the first child of Fiepko van der Goot (1868-1940) and Elisabeth Marijna Castens (1875-1929).

In 1896 Fiepko, a communications engineer from the Polytechnic School of Delft, moved to South Africa in the service of the Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij (NZASM). He was one of many hundreds of Dutchmen to do so, as the company, founded a decade previously, tried to solve a problem ensuing from the Anglo-Boer War of 1880-1881. The Boers, who were concentrated in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, hoped to arrange free passage outside the British-controlled areas to the south by constructing an eastbound railway through Portuguese territory to Lourenço Marques (present-day Maputo) on the Delagoa Bay. The line was formally opened in 1895 and is still in use. The NZASM, however, was rendered non-operational by the new war that broke out in 1899 and led to the expulsion of large numbers of Dutch railway staff. Many years later, the company's history was written by P.J. van Winter (*Onder Krugers Hollanders*, 1937), a Board member of the NEHA, which had been founded by Posthumus in 1914 and is now integrated in the IISH. In 1940 the NEHA

“Travelling on the Oosterlijn” at the end of the 1890s, from a Van der Goot family album (Claire Posthumus Papers).



received the NZASM records but transferred them to the present Nationaal Archief in 1974. Yet the NEHA still retains substantial documentation files in its Special Collections (BC 493).

The Van der Goot albums constitute an interesting addendum. While many photographs are of course family snapshots, there are also pictures of stations and railroad tracks, along wonderful vacant stretches of countryside. And some snap-

shots tell their own story, such as the one showing little Lilly in Lourenço Marques on January 20, 1900, after the Van der Goots had travelled over ‘their’ railway to the ship that would take them back to Holland.

Family History

Thanks to the good offices of our colleagues at the State Social-Political Library in Moscow, we received the typescript of a novel about

“On the way to Europe”, little Willemijn van der Goot with (probably) her mother, from a Van der Goot family album (Claire Posthumus Papers).



Alexander Parvus (1867-1924) written by his granddaughter, Tatyana Evgenevna Gnedina (*1924). Novelesque indeed: Parvus, whose real name was Izrail' Lazarevich Gel'fand (or Helphand), was one of several adventurers who traversed Europe in the decades preceding and following the First World War, leaving occasional traces that raise more questions than they answer. Descended from a Jewish family living near Minsk and raised in Odessa, Parvus left for Switzerland in 1887 and graduated from the University of Basel. He then became involved in the German social-democratic movement and is sometimes credited with designing (or re-designing, after Karl Marx) the theory of 'permanent revolution,' usually associated with Lev Trotsky. Like Trotsky, he was sent to Siberia after taking

part in the revolutionary events in St Petersburg in 1905, and, also like Trotsky, he escaped. Parvus remained active in politics, including in the Ottoman Empire, earned considerable money in the arms trade during the Balkan wars, and was said to have ties with more than one intelligence service. Perhaps his most renowned feat is his alleged involvement in Vladimir Lenin's clandestine trip from Switzerland to Russia in 1917. After the war he led an inconspicuous but active life near Berlin. Tatyana Gnedina is the daughter of Parvus's son, Evgeny Gnedin (1898-1983), who took his mother's surname in the 1920s. Evgeny had by then long since moved from Germany to Russia, where he rose in the ranks of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and became a privileged observer of the run-

up to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. In 1939 he was arrested and began a spell of some fifteen years in the GULAG. After his return to Moscow he became increasingly involved in the dissident movement in the 1970s. A volume of memoirs, *Katastrofa i vtoroe rozhdenie* (Disaster and Rebirth, 1977) was published in Amsterdam by the Alexander Herzen Foundation, of which the records are now at the IISH. Another volume, *Vykhod iz labirinta* (Exit from the Labyrinth), appeared in New York in 1982 and, in an expanded version, with Memorial in Moscow in 1994. The Institute holds what is possibly a rare portrait of Evgeny as a youngster, found among the papers of Karl Kautsky. Whether he was in fact a son of Parvus's was still questioned by Zbyněk Zeman and Anthony Bohuslav in a biography that revived interest in his father's activities in the mid-1960s (*Freibeuter der Revolution, The Merchant of Revolution*). The book was critically reviewed by Leo van Rossum, then head of our East European Department. Boris Sapir, one of the IISH's first staff members, had a copy of the German edition in his private library, which was donated to the Institute in 2001. According to his notes in the margin, he was struck by the authors' observation – missing from the English version – that Parvus, though "shapeless" and "of an almost subtle ugliness," easily won women's hearts. How his granddaughter treated this topic can now be studied in her manuscript.

Government Anarchist

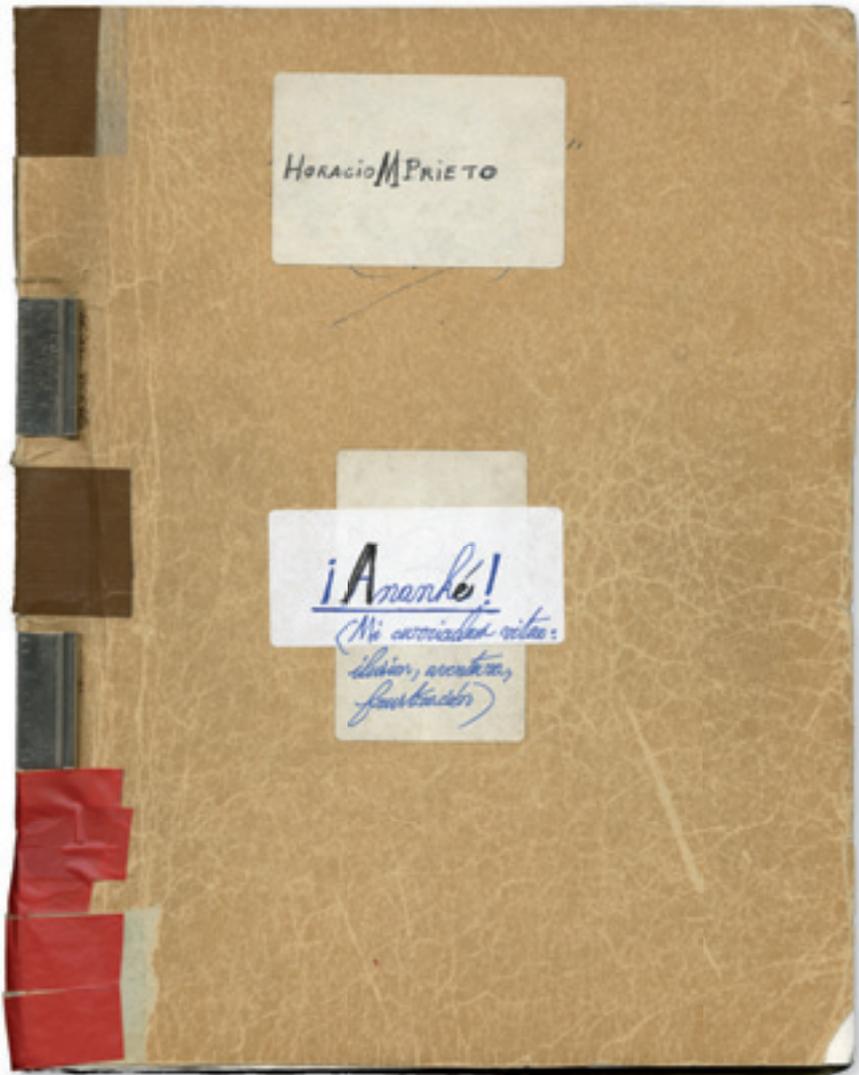
By contrast, there was nothing subtle about the ugliness of Federica Montseny – if we are to believe Horacio Martínez Prieto (1902-1985), who was the secretary of the National Committee of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), when the Spanish Civil War erupted in July 1936. He wrote a thoroughly antipathetic sketch of one of the most celebrated women of Iberian anarchism as part of a series entitled *Utopistas*. Together with his memoirs (*¡Ananké!*), a book of reflections on the Civil War

"Sohn of Parvus", Evgeny Gel'fand-Gnedin, a photograph from the Karl Kautsky Papers (IISH BG A6/147).



and the leaders of the Republic (*Señoritos*), a volume of essays (*Vaniloquios*), and other papers, they constitute his largely unpublished, typewritten legacy, which was deposited at the Institute by his son, César Lorenzo.

Prieto was a construction worker from Bilbao who spent years in prison as a militant anarchist. In 1936 he became an outspoken proponent of a strategy that would involve the libertarian movement in the exercise of state power up to the highest echelons. As such, he was one of the architects of anarchist participation, first in the Generality of Catalonia and later in the national government of Francisco Largo Caballero. These steps were highly controversial inside the movement, of which the revolutionary credentials were closely linked to the classical anti-state theory of such thinkers as Mikhail Bakunin and Pyotr Kropotkin. In the situation ensuing from the military coup, many among the anarcho-syndicalists of the powerful CNT and the *grupos de afinidad* of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI) sensed the possibility of a social revolution that would abolish capitalism once and for all. In Prieto's view, however, these forces were not strong enough even to win in Spain, let alone to defend the country from foreign intervention. He therefore sought to adapt both theory and practice to circumstances in which they would have to stand alongside other groups not under their control. The members of Caballero's cabinet had included Federica Montseny, the daughter of Federico Urales (Juan Montseny) and Soledad Gustavo (Teresa Mañé), perhaps the most prestigious couple in Spanish anarchism. A great many people were highly perplexed when she took up the post of Minister of Health. After stepping down in May 1937, however, Montseny resumed her original anti-government position and became sharply critical of Prieto. Later, in the often acerbic polemics among Spanish exiles, little space remained for impartial discussion of the Civil War and the lessons to be learned



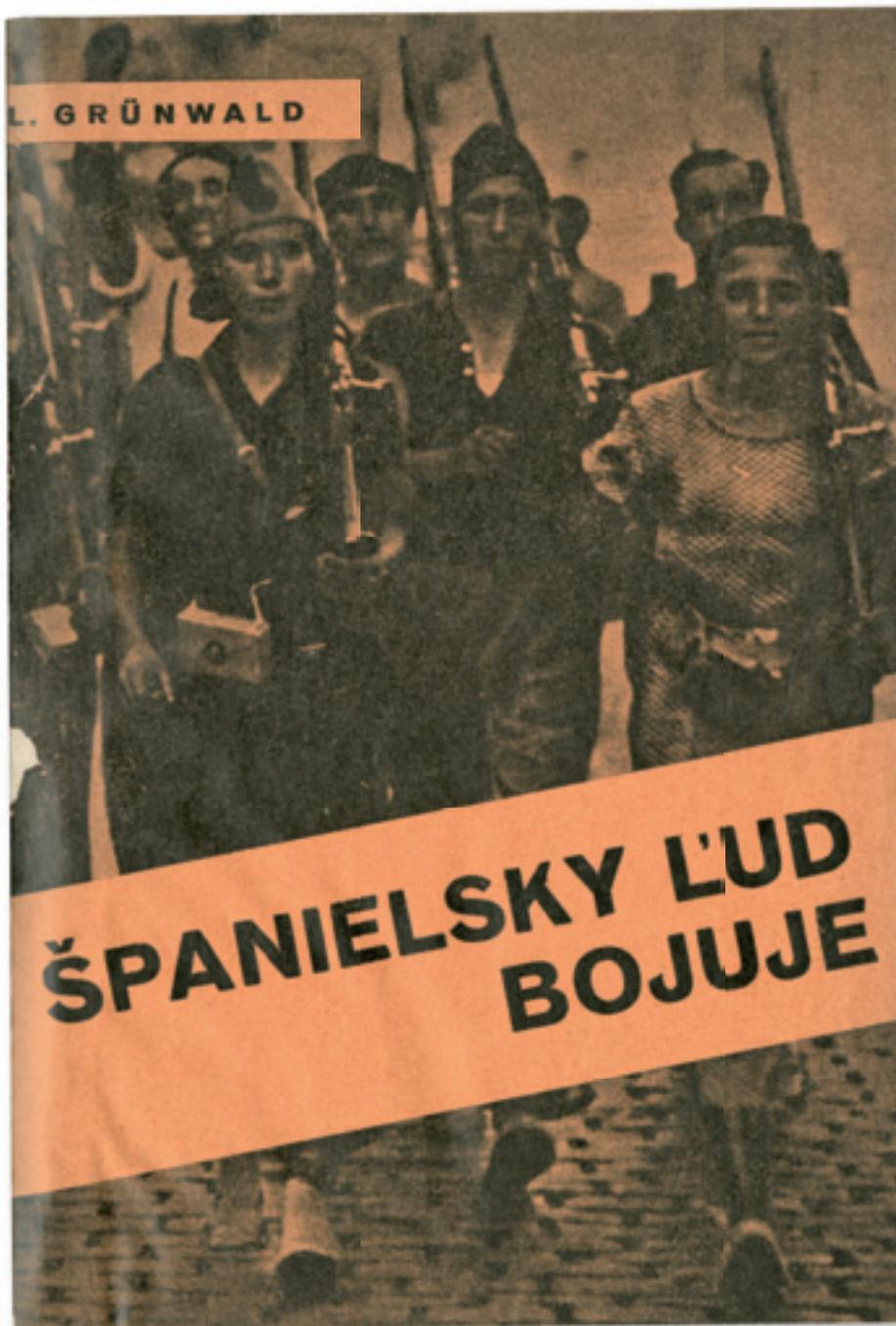
from anarchist defeat. When César Lorenzo published *Les Anarchistes espagnols et le pouvoir* in 1969, based in part on the documents now in Amsterdam, his book instigated the same sort of outrage his father had met. Yet, however these old battles are replayed, Horacio Prieto was an interesting man in his own right, as his writings – now available for all to read – attest.

Sudeten Communist

Through Hazel Elfriede Rosenstrauch, whose own small collection we obtained a few years ago, we received a manuscript written by Leopold Grünwald (1901-1992) with the title *An der Schwelle des XXI. Jahrhunderts: Reflexionen 100 Jahre nach Karl Marx*. A German-Jewish native of Sudetenland, Grünwald deplored the Treaty of Saint-Germain, which confirmed the sentiment

of the Entente by denying self-determination to the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia. He joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, of which the membership was one-fifth German. He was also an active freethinker, wrote *Marxismu a náboženství* (Marxism and Religion, 1932) and figured in the International of Proletarian Freethinkers, which split at a congress held in the Sudeten town of Tetschen, the present Děčín, in that same year. During WW II, he worked at the Sudeten German radio station in Moscow. After the war he settled in Austria. He left the communist party in 1969 after the suppression of the Prague Spring but remained interested in Euro-communism, as his manuscript makes clear. Grünwald is best known as the historian of those Germans from the Sudetenland who defy

The unpublished memoirs of Horacio Prieto, undated typescript (Horacio Martínez Prieto Papers).



tended for private consumption (on which no more than 5 ares, equalling 500 m² of potatoes, were planted), maintained both by farmers and by non-farmers in the Netherlands during the Second World War covered about 60,000 hectares, i.e. 2.5 per cent of the cultivation land and 5 per cent of the land available for farming and market gardening. Potatoes, which accounted for 13 to 14 per cent of private consumption, were grown on 25,000 hectares of this area.

Adding the fruit to the vegetables reveals that produce from private gardens, in both the countryside and the city, was indeed essential, especially in times of scarcity. And this despite the low productivity of such gardens. Gerard Trienekens, an authority on the subject, estimates it at less than half that achieved by the professionals, due in part to extensive fragmentation, less continuous use of the area, and lack of expertise.

These are all macro data, but the micro data, i.e. the actual proceeds of real gardens, continue to mystify historians. We were therefore delighted to obtain the booklets of house-keeping accounts from the De Waal-Schotsman family (НЕНА ВС 784) covering the period 1912-1969. These booklets also comprise 'garden accounts' for the years 1926-1948, thus including the war. The family leased a garden plot of 200 m² next to the Vliegenbos in Amsterdam North. The table on page 11 summarizes the contents of this booklet.

This table of course concerns the surpluses, after the family's needs had been met. Commercial market gardening by an urban proletarian family is remarkable in and of itself. After all, this practice ensured that the surplus that all amateur gardeners inevitably had was put to good use. During some Depression years, the 'business' was loss-making, at least if personal consumption is not counted.

During the war, the production listed for 1943 is impressive. Apparently, demand was high from neighbours and others who previously had purchased

The Spanish People is Fighting (Prague: Zupka, ca 1937), a pamphlet by Leopold Grünwald (IISH, 45/648).

the stereotype of fifth-column Hitlerites. He had opposed the Sudeten German Party of Konrad Henlein, comparing him to Francisco Franco. Many years later, he brought to light in several books the mostly forgotten opposition against the Nazis, who entered the region in early October 1938, following the Munich Agreement. The fate of many Sudeten-German socialists and communists who resisted the occupation has been largely obscured by the abominable reputation of their more prominent compatriots. According to Grünwald, tens

of thousands of people tried to flee, only to be stopped and turned back by Czech officials. In the end, some 7,000 political and 30,000 Jewish refugees managed to leave.

Thrift and Industry

During the Second World War in the Netherlands fully 45 per cent of the vegetables came from private gardens. This accounted for over 402,500 tons of domestic consumption (not counting that of the Wehrmacht), which equalled 890,000 tons in 1942-3 and over 1 million tons in 1943-4. Gardens in-

on the market or from shops. During the years of severe scarcity in 1944 and 1945, this effect is no longer noticeable. In 1946-1948, the widow appears to have focused on growing strawberries, achieving a record harvest surplus of 35.5 lbs in 1946.

Putting the data in perspective (cf the journal *De Volkstuin*, of which we hold issues from 1920 onward) requires relating the results to those of the housekeeping accounts, where, unfortunately, they are not listed. Unlike the expenditures, income is not indicated, nor are weekly credit and deficit balances. The person donating this archive, Niek de Waal from Hilversum, now 85, has since provided us with a lot of information conducive to a clearer interpretation, although many questions remain unanswered. The metal turner Pieter de Waal (1888-1931) worked in the shipbuilding yard De Kromhout in Amsterdam and married Geertje Schotsman (1891-1973), the daughter of a schoolteacher, in October 1913. In 1914 their son Thomas was born; Gerard Nicolaas, who donated this little archive, was born 12 years later. So Niek knew his father only briefly. The widow received assistance from family members and is likely to have had a widow's pension as well. The oldest son was a ship's electrician and started to work for the municipal telephone service in 1939. Until he left home in December 1945, he presumably gave a large share of his income to his mother. The youngest son would have been able to start helping his mother in 1942, when he took his first office job at age 16. He paid 5 to 10 guilders toward room and board from his monthly wages of 25 guilders. In 1951 he married and together with his wife Tilly rented part of his parental home for 15 guilders. In 1954 they moved elsewhere, after which their rooms were taken over by a cousin, who later married the well-known liberal politician Henk Vonhoff. The widow did not remain alone, as a continuous stream of nephews and nieces coming to Amsterdam as students boarded there.

This family's housekeeping booklets are kept with dozens of similar accounts throughout the NEHA and IISH collections (see also *On the Waterfront* 4, pp 4-5, 9).

Health and Heathens

The decolonization of Indonesia was fraught with difficulties, to put it mildly (see *On the Waterfront* 5, pp 6-7; 9, pp 10-11). This held true not only for Dutch government civil servants and corporate industry but also for the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, who had expected to remain unaffected because of the philanthropic duties they had taken upon themselves. Much of their work consisted of healthcare (on care provided by the colonial authorities, see *On the Waterfront* 12, pp 4-5). As an example, the Dutch Calvinist Churches of the three northern provinces (Groningen, Friesland, and Drenthe) had started a mission on the island of Sumba, where they opened medical clinics and hospitals as well. The operation was run from Groningen by the 'Sumba-deputaten' formed by these three churches.

Jan Pieter Kuiper (1922-1985)

was from the Drenthe village of Norg. He studied medicine in Groningen and served with the Medical Troops as a conscript. In 1950, together with his wife, five years his senior, and two children, he shipped off for the Sumba-deputaten as a missionary doctor to the newly independent Indonesia. The IISH has acquired his personal papers, which largely concern his years in Indonesia until 1958, a period rife with tensions between the mission and the Indonesian government and between the mission and its Indonesian staff. Kuiper wrote reports (in Dutch and Bahasa, which later became compulsory) to his principals in Groningen and letters to the home front providing extensive detail about his daily medical practice, thus yielding an exceptional source about medical conditions during those years in rural Indonesia.

His correspondence reflects the inner conflicts he experienced as a Dutch Calvinist missionary doctor between professional medicine and missionary work, between being Dutch and working in Indonesia, between Christianity and 'heathendom' (his term for Islam), and be-

	Income	Expenditures	Balance	Remarks
1926	53.35	45.87	+7.48	Rent 4x6 = fl 24; youngest son Piet is born
1927	45.67	31.05	+14.62	
1928	50.29	48.94	+1.35	
1929	58.60	67.02	-8.42	Rebuilding or new construction at fl 24,35; rent fl 32
1930	48.89	37.22	+11.67	
1931	37.09	34.00	+3.09	Pieter de Waal (1888-1931) dies at age 43
1932	22.19	30.00	-7.81	
1933	12.44	16.10	-3.66	Rent reduced to fl 16
1934	7.22	19.54	-12.32	
1935	19.28	19.00	+0.28	
1936-1941				No data
1942	?	?		Only in kind (84 lbs of brown beans, 25 lbs of green beans, 50 lbs kale, 4 lbs of gooseberries)
1943	69.00	?	?	
1944	6.60	?	?	
1945	5.30	?	?	
1946	35.00	?	?	Only strawberries: 35.5 pounds on 6 July
1947	8.55	?	?	Ibid: 8 pounds from Sat. 13 – Wed. 24 June
1948	8,35	?	?	Ibid: 10 pounds

tween Protestant politics and socialism. Time and again, he noted that the Indonesians were grateful for the medical care provided but did not become more receptive to Christian salvation, let alone to conversion. One of his annual reports reads, "Over 1,600 people were admitted in 1955, 1,600 people that God sent down our path for help, to treat their wounds, to nurse them, to provide them with medicine and in some cases to operate on them, to treat them with Christian brotherly love, and to proclaim the Gospel to them." Each time, however, he concedes that proclaiming the Gospel was a daunting task ("But

can we also say that practising medicine on Sumba derives from the Christian Church as a manifestation of compassion and a way of proclaiming the Gospel? I cannot entirely deny this."). He also worried about the conduct of Christian Indonesians. He was very aware of the 'threat' of state socialism, which he encountered when the hospital staff organized in socialist trade unions and made demands. After returning to the Netherlands, Kuiper worked for the labour inspectorate in Breda (1959-1964) and Voorburg (1964-1972). In 1968, he obtained his PhD degree. He concluded his career as a professor of social

medicine at the Free University in Amsterdam (1972-1985), where he was able to impart much of his experience working in tropical regions.

Drawing with Scissors

The Netherlands Press Museum, which is housed at the IISH, acquired material concerning the artist Wim Berthauer (1918-1956). Born and bred in Amsterdam, Berthauer was the son of a tram driver. He received his training at the Rijksakademie van Beeldende Kunsten [State academy of visual arts] in Amsterdam and lived in the city's Indische Buurt. He was employed for some time at the advertising studio of Wilm Pätz along the Rokin in Amsterdam, and subsequently opened his own business.

Berthauer designed book jackets for De Arbeiderspers, the socialist publishing house, and covers and illustrations for periodicals such as the daily *Het Parool* and the journal *Ariadne*. His covers for *Mandril: maandblad voor mensen*, a satirical monthly that appeared from 1948 till 1953, are particularly colourful. Berthauer designed covers for the early issues in a style resembling that of his contemporaries Jan Bons (*1918), Dick Elffers (1910-1990), and Otto Treumann (1919-2001). Fiep Westendorp contributed illustrations to *Mandril* as well, and Annie M.G. Schmidt wrote texts that were published there.

Berthauer also produced so-called 'paper plastics.' Whether they have actually been preserved remains unknown, but they are depicted on photographs. Cut-up portraits of Mme de Sévigné and Girolamo Benzoni were printed in the CPN youth journal *Uilenspiegel* of 18 October 1952, accompanying the article 'Wim Berthauer tekent met de schaar' [Wim Berthauer draws with scissors]. Another portrait produced from cuttings may represent the illustrator Eppo Doeve. The collection also includes photographs of still-life depictions cut and pasted by Berthauer for the *Advertentiejaarboek*. Additional research revealed that the IISH and Dutch Press Museum archives contain other materials by Berthauer, eg,

Cover designed by Wim Berthauer for an issue of *Mandril* (Netherlands Press Museum).





among the records of the Nederlandse Federatie van Beroepsverenigingen van Kunstenaars [Dutch federation of artists' occupational associations] (no 322). The intriguing collection features the modest and all but forgotten oeuvre that this designer produced in his short lifetime.

Remembering Prague

At the end of 2010, the IISH received an envelope from Jef Helmer containing dozens of photographs relating to the Czechoslovakian dissident scene in the 1980s, as well as a special Samizdat edition. This material complemented the archive of the Stichting Informatie over Charta '77, previously received from Helmer in 1991. Helmer was active in the KEN (Kommunistiese Eenheidsbeweging Nederland), a typical Maoist organization of those years, and became involved in Czechoslovakia because of a 1978 KEN campaign called 'Denk aan Praag 68' [Remember Prague '68]. He founded and chaired the Charta '77 information foundation. The

death in December 2011 of former Czechoslovakian president Václav Havel was a proper occasion to highlight this material. The archive of the Stichting Informatie over Charta '77 has now been arranged, and the photograph collection has been described.

The archive reveals information about the dissidents and about journeys to Prague by representatives of Dutch political parties and churches. It also provides an impression of solidarity campaigns organized in the Netherlands. It includes an interesting typescript by Maarten van Traa, who visited Prague in 1984. He writes about the sociologist Rudolf Battek, imprisoned since 1980, comparing his predicament to that of party leader Gustav Husak, who was also incarcerated from 1951 until 1963. On 4 November 1984, a manifestation at De Balie in Amsterdam addressed the birthday and fate of Battek, who was released in 1985. Similarly remarkable is a letter dated 22 March 1989 from the writer A.F.Th. van der Heijden to the ambassador of Czecho-

slovakia in The Hague, urging that all dissidents currently in detention be released and recalling the self-inflicted death of Jan Palach in January 1969. In addition to the paper archive, the photographs, some taken by Helmer himself, offer interesting glimpses of the dissident scene. Included are photographs of heavily attended gatherings at Havel's home in the countryside, illegal art manifestations, depictions of the John Lennon Wall in Prague, and many snapshots of Havel and other well-known and lesser known dissidents. Besides the archive and the photographs, the IISH received a special Samizdat edition, the fifth issue in a series with a circulation not exceeding 100 copies. This publication comprises writings by Havel, lyrics by the underground rock group The Plastic People of the Universe and by Ivan Jirous, its manager, who has been compared to Andy Warhol. The original and bewildering pictures by different photographers that have been pasted in the issue are special as well.

An exhibition and concert at Václav Havel's home in the 1980s. (IISH BG A 64/829)

Ten Years of Women's Work

Overview of the research project *Women and work in the early modern Northern Netherlands, ca 1550-1800*

In February 2002 the research project *Women's work in the early modern northern Netherlands* started. Precisely ten years later, on 26 January 2012, Ariadne Schmidt and Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk gave a presentation to the Friends of the IISH about the making of, the results, and the spin-off of the project. The research project was initiated and financed by the Friends of the IISH and received extensions thanks to subsidies from the Stichting Professor Van Winterfonds and the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). The primary objective of the *Women's Work* research project

tion of women on the labour market. Until recently, however, little was known about how the two were related. Two opposing hypotheses could be formulated.

Initially, historians assumed that female labour market participation was lower in the Dutch Republic than in neighbouring countries. Because of the economic prosperity and the high standard of living, many Dutch women could afford not to work and withdrew from the labour market as early as the seventeenth century. Moreover, the early separation of the industrial activities from the home was conducive to the

women contributed to the rise in income and the standard of living, i.e. to the economic success of the Dutch Republic. To test these two hypotheses, we split the labour market and examined women's work in four separate projects: (1) women's work in the textile industry (Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk); (2) production and trade of beverages (Marjolein van Dekken); (3) trade (Danielle van den Heuvel); and (4) the non-economic service sector (Ariadne Schmidt).

The project was based on comparative research. In each of the projects several cities and rural areas were selected, enabling regional differences to receive consideration, as well as the influence of the economic structure of local labour markets on women's work. We examined women's work in different economic sectors as well as changes over time. Many of the research results have already been published in three dissertations written by Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk (*De draad in eigen handen*, 2007), Danielle van den Heuvel (*Women and entrepreneurship*, 2007) and Marjolein van Dekken (*Brouwen, branden en bedienen*, 2009), and in many articles published by the project members, both individually and jointly, in academic journals as well as in periodicals catering to a broader readership. The synthesizing monograph by Ariadne Schmidt will summarize the research results and place them in an international context to assess whether the position of Dutch women was indeed as remarkable as is often presumed.

The research results were not only published in various ways but also presented by the project members at conferences. In the fall of 2003, we organized a workshop at the IISH, where, in addition to presenting our project, colleagues from the Netherlands and Flanders talked about their own research on women's work. This resulted in the publication of the first special issue on early modern women's work in the *Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* (TSEG) in 2005. The next event was the session



Presenting Women's Work: clockwise, from top left: Ariadne Schmidt, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, Danielle van den Heuvel, and Marjolein van Dekken.

was to assess the relationship between the economic success of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century and the position of working women. We therefore needed to provide missing qualitative and quantitative information and to understand more specifically Dutch women's work in the early modern period. It seemed rational that the economic success of the Dutch Republic would be reflected in the posi-

realization of the ideal of domesticity. The second hypothesis, which is diametrically opposed to the first, suggests that female labour participation rates in the Dutch Republic were higher than elsewhere. Dutch gender norms were relatively permissive, and high demand for labour in the early capitalist economy encouraged women to perform paid work in massive numbers. As a result,

dedicated to the project at the *European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC)* in Berlin in 2004. This was memorable not only because attendance was so massive that some participants had to sit on the floor, but also for the opportunity it gave us to meet experts on the history of women's work from the United Kingdom, Sweden, and elsewhere. It marked the start of fruitful international cooperation with colleagues abroad. In addition to the session 'The Role of Gender in Economic and Social Development,' two sessions on 'Partners in Business' were organized at the next ESSHC, held two years later in Amsterdam. Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk and Danielle van den Heuvel edited a special issue on this subject that was published in *Continuity and Change*. In 2007 during the conference *Gender and Work in the Early Modern Northern European World: Institutions and economic performances in international comparative perspective*, organized by Ariadne Schmidt and Maria Agren in Uppsala, we had the opportunity to compare our results with the preliminary ones from the Swedish research project *Work and Gender* directed by Maria Agren. This comparative perspective was further extended during meetings in Cambridge (2010) and at the session 'Industrious Women and Children of the World? Jan de Vries' "industrious revolution" as a conceptual tool for researching women's and children's work in an international perspective' at the *World Economic History Conference* (2009), organized in cooperation with Jane Humphries. After having participated in two ESF workshops on the subject in Barcelona (2008, 2010) Elise and Ariadne will remain part of the network of researchers from England, France, Sweden, and Spain, working to develop methodologies and reconstruct female labour force participation rates in the European past between 1600 and 1900. That the rates of Dutch women participating in the labour market in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not as low as the hypothesis on the develop-

ment of the bourgeois model of domesticity suggested was very clearly demonstrated in the paper Van Nederveen and Schmidt presented at the end of the meeting on January 26. Women's labour force participation in the Netherlands was no lower, indeed perhaps even higher than elsewhere in the pre-1800 period. Like in other Western European countries, the decline of women's labour force participation (especially among married women) started in the nineteenth century, although it was probably faster here than elsewhere. Further details appear in the article co-authored by Van Nederveen Meerkerk and Schmidt to be published in *Feminist Economics* (2012) and in the monograph on Dutch women's work by Schmidt.

These and other publications will not be the end of the research project on Dutch women's work. Van Nederveen Meerkerk has developed a research project on Dutch women's work in the nineteenth century and its manifestations in the Dutch East Indies. She and Schmidt will continue to contribute to the IISH's Global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations, both by providing data on work in the early modern Netherlands and by sharing their expertise. The aspirations of the project members have extended beyond publishing results in academic journals and monographs. We have helped place women's work back on the academic agenda. To ensure on-going consideration for the subject after all research results have been published, the network we have built over the last ten years needs to be maintained. We have therefore established a LinkedIn site for historians interested in women

and work in the early modern period. In addition, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk has teamed up with Jenneke Quast and Sanne van de Voort to develop web pages devoted to Women and Work worldwide for the new IISH website, available at socialhistory.org/en/col



lections/women-at-work-collection-guide. The Women at Work Collection Guide provides information about the history of working women worldwide. Throughout history, women have worked at various trades, from bakers, typists, weavers to butchers, from industrialists to road-sweepers. Over the past thirty years women's history has evolved as a historical discipline. Projects about women and work are expanding. This guide reflects the broader areas of interest to the field of women's history. The International Institute of Social History has many archival resources about the work of women, but the documents are scattered over all the collections. The guide structures all these documents and collections about working women, both Dutch and International. The website contains links to archives, images, researchers, and research projects on women at work, as well as to other interesting sites about the history of women at work worldwide and to ViVa, the bibliography of women's and gender history in historical and women's studies journals. Ariadne Schmidt

The three dissertations, resulting from the project.



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