Die sogenannten „Sozial-Museen“.

[Museen für Arbeiterwohlfahrt und Sozialpolitik und das Pariser „Musée social“ als Vorbild.]

Von

Leopold Katscher.

1. Tausend.

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LEIPZIG
FELIX DIETRICH
1904.
Introduction

This 21th issue pays special attention to Willem Drees (1886-1988), the post-ww ii Dutch prime minister, whose name has become synonymous with social security for the elderly in the Netherlands. Piet Hagen, the author of a recently published biography of another great Labour leader, Pieter Jelles Troelstra (1860-1930), interviewed two of Dree's biographers, Hans Daalder and Jelle Gaemers. In addition, readers will find the usual presentation of new accessions, made slightly less usual because of the Institute's 75th anniversary at the end of this year.

During the General Friends’ Meeting on 24 June 2010 (of which a report will be published in the next issue) it was announced that Ger Verrips has stepped down as member of the Board of the Friends. He has served as member of the Board from its inception in 2001. The Friends thank him for his many efforts over the years on their behalf. Wim Berkelaar is welcomed as new member of the Board.

Members of the Friends of the iish pay annual dues of one or five hundred euros or join with a lifetime donation of one thousand five hundred euros or more. In return, members are invited to semi-annual sessions featuring presentations of iish acquisitions and by guest speakers. These guest speakers deliver lectures on their field of research, which does not necessarily concern the iish collection. The presentation and lecture are followed by a reception. In addition to these semi-annual gatherings, all Friends receive a forty-percent discount on iish publications. Friends paying dues of five hundred 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 Nicolaas Posthumus (1880-1960) in the 1930s. For the past two decades, two of the institutes established by this ‘history entrepreneur’ have operated from the same premises: the NEHA (Netherlands Economic History Archive) since 1914 and the International Institute of Social History, which is now 75 years old. Both institutes continue to collect, although the subsidiary iish has grown far larger than the ‘parent’ NEHA. Detailed information about the iish appears in: Jaap Kloosterman, Jan Lucassen, Rebels with a Cause. Five centuries of social history collected by the iish (Amsterdam 2010). For all information concerning the Friends, see http://www.iisg.nl/friends/.
From all nooks and corners

This photograph shows the 9 mm Browning M1910 (no 1, at the top) used by Gavrilo Princip to assassinate the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, thus triggering World War I and the fall of the German, Russian, Habsburg and Ottoman empires. The picture was published in a book entitled Der Prozess gegen die Attentäter von Sarajewo, edited by a certain Professor Pharos and published in Berlin in 1918. It turned out to be in the Institute’s library as Bro 1295/2 fol.

The trial of the gunmen started in October 1914, when the war was in full swing. Since Princip was still a month away from his 20th birthday, he could not be killed by an execution squad but instead died a slow death in prison, where his life ended in April 1918. He had been a member of Young Bosnia, a secret society that has often been confused, sometimes deliberately, with the (Serbian) association Unification or Death! better known as the Black Hand. Yet many Austrians were convinced that he was a pawn of the Serbian secret service. If our book is to be believed, however, behind all this was the Grand Orient de France, the centre of French Freemasonry, which had of course already been held responsible for the French Revolution. It later became clear that the editor of the book had slightly misrepresented the actual course of the proceedings. The true identity of Professor Pharos was suspected to have been Anton Puntigam (1859-1926), a prominent Jesuit from Sarajevo, who had administered the last rites to the Archduke; but there was no real proof of his authorship.

Princip’s Browning disappeared – until one day in June 2004 the Societas Jesu in Austria offered it to the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum in Vienna. After the 1914 trial the weapon turned out to have been given to Father Puntigam, who wanted to establish a museum for Franz Ferdinand. After his death, it passed to his Order. This finally proved that Puntigam was Pharos, who had been unable to resist exhibiting the evidence.

Twenty-first Friends’ Day, 24 June 2010

PRESENTATION OF THE ACQUISITIONS

América’s Hardest Working River

The Industrial Revolution almost automatically brings to mind textile factories in England, especially steam-powered ones. This impression, though correct, does not convey the full picture. What about the Industrial Revolution in the United States? And what about hydro-powered mills that kept machines running? The oldest such factories were along the Blackstone River, a fast-running river only 80 km long and comprising several waterfalls, extending through Massachusetts and Rhode Island and entering the ocean at Pawtucket and Providence. In 1790 the first hydro-powered textile factory of the United States was built there. More soon followed, and the Blackstone River became known as ‘America’s hardest working river’.

West of Boston at the upper reaches of this river is the town of Sutton, which had at least four
hydro-powered cotton mills in the nineteenth century. From 1828 until 1838 a certain Robert Rose diligently filled a school notebook with calculations, written accounts, and drawings of the wheel of a watermill. The presence of the watermill in the Blackstone River Valley is no surprise, nor is the fact that the calculations are mostly conversions of New England currency into federal U.S. dollars. Around that time, the market was saturated with bank notes issued by the different New England states, by local banks that were solvent to varying degrees, and by counterfeiters. Federally minted coins were in great demand but very scarce.

This is a fine example of a lesson in accounting and commercial arithmetic, but there is undoubtedly more of interest to us here. What type of young man was Robert Rose? He was probably born around the British-American War of 1812-1814. And in what line of work did he apply what he learned? Most of the editorial sums relate to textiles, and some are wage payments. Still, more specific information would require additional research.

The notebook reached the Netherlands Economic-History Archive (NEHA) in an unusual manner. In September 2009 it turned up among the antiquarian remainders of Gysbers and Van Loon (Arnhem) at an auction in Deventer, described as a “19th century manuscript, written in black on 33 lvs, estimate Euro 30-50”. We thought that the volume, provided the price was reasonable, would nicely complement our collection on the history of accounting and commercial arithmetic, longstanding areas of emphasis at the NEHA. It was indeed attractively priced and met our other expectations as well, but we had no idea that it would take us into the heart of the American industrial revolution – and consequently teach us about social as well as economic history.

**Precious Memories**

In the autumn of 2009 Ulbe Bosma, a specialist in the history of colonial migrations and a member of the iish research department staff, published the book *Indiegangers: verhalen van Nederlands die naar Indie trokken*. This realized a longstanding desire in Dutch nineteenth-century emigration history. After all, we already knew a lot about migration to the United States but lacked information about two equally large migration waves, to Germany and the Dutch East Indies, respectively. While emigration to Germany remains a *terra incognita*, we now have an excellent account of the trek toward the largest Dutch colony in Asia – one that in turn gave rise to the *Indo’s* (persons of mixed Dutch and Indonesian origin).

The book is based on two very different sources. On the one hand, it relies heavily on a quantitative study of emigrants, thanks especially to a random sample from the Historical Sample of the Netherlands (under the aegis of Kees Mandemakers, who recently received the DANS Data Award 2010 from the president of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences). On the other hand, Ulbe has tried to elucidate the motives and experiences of those anonymous statistical migrants based on certain individuals about whom ample data are available. The correspondence between Aletta Reyden and the Javanese Princess Kaida, for example, has been mentioned in a previous issue of this newsletter (see *On the Waterfront*, 9, pp 4-5).

Another case discussed by Ulbe also involves two correspondents. The younger of the two was Johanna Margaretha (Margot) de Jonge van Zwijnsbergen (1819-1850), who corresponded from 1836 until her death with her friend Maria Johanna (Marie) Bichon Visch (1817-1888). Both ladies maintained a – new – aristocracy and wrote each other in French. Margot lived with her husband in Buitenzorg at Batavia from 1847 onward, while Marie lived in The Hague. In the 1850s Marie lovingly copied her cherished letters and had the manuscript covered with a fine red leather binding featuring the inscription “Augusta List” on the front and “Souvenir précieux” on the spine. This captured the essence perfectly, as Augusta Ernestine Frederica Graswinkel-List (1839-1916) was Margot’s daughter, who was only eleven when her parents died shortly after one another in 1850.
and had been sent to The Hague for her schooling in 1849.

While writing his book, Ulbe discovered these letters, which the owners kindly donated to the iish. A treasure trove amid the already extensive collections on migration history.

Lévi-Strauss as a Socialist

Thanks to a visitor request, the Institute was made aware that it has six letters from the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009) to the Belgian socialist Hendrik De Man (1885-1953). The letters are from 1927. De Man – known primarily for the Plan van de Arbeid (the so-called Plan De Man) he devised in the 1930s as a strategy against fascism – was employed teaching social psychology in Germany at the time, where he had just published his book *Zur Psychologie des Sozialismus*. Lévi-Strauss (age 19), as the secretary to the Groupe d’Études socialistes des Ecoles Normales Supérieures, invited him to elaborate on his ideas in Paris. The contact was established by Georges Lefranc (1904-1985), who instigated the tendance ‘Révolution constructive’ within the sfio and later became a historian of French syndicalism. His archive is at the Hoover Institute.

Lévi-Strauss was an active socialist. Possibly in keeping with his nature, he was not an ordinary party member but aimed to evolve into the philosophe du Parti socialiste (as Vincent Chambarlhac recalled in the *Cahiers d’Histoire* in 2007). This development ended upon his departure for Brazil in 1935. He later wrote about it in *Tristes tropiques* (1955), which led him to be admitted as the first foreign member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1956.

His contacts with De Man were fruitful. De Man came to Paris and on 23 January 1928 delivered a lecture printed as *Socialisme et marxisme* (Brussels: L’Eglantine, 1928). In the end, however, Lévi-Strauss was unable to attend the event, although he wrote De Man about the impact he had achieved: “The communists attack you sharply. This will, I suppose, neither surprise nor distress you. By contrast, the fascists (Georges Valois and Gustave Hervé) shower you with praise!” [“Les communistes vous attaquent vivement. Cela ne sera pas, je pense, pour vous surprendre ni pour vous émouvoir. Par contre les fascistes (Georges Valois et Gustave Hervé) vous couvrent d’éloges”]

From South Africa and Back

During World War II *Het Volk*, the social-democratic labour party daily founded in 1900, was forced to proclaim the views of the occupying forces, but in the resistance a new newspaper was launched: *Het Vrije Volk*, which first appeared in 1945 – in Eindhoven, in the liberated South. From 1945 to 1960 it was the largest and most popular newspaper in the Netherlands. Thanks to its origins in the resistance and the popularity of Prime Minister Drees in Dutch compartmentalized society, its readership grew larger than ever (350,000 subscribers in 1947 and 315,000 in 1961), there were 42 regional editions, and profits soared. From the 1960s the paper gradually declined, and in 1991 it folded. *Het Volk* and *Het Vrije Volk* figured in the maze of printers, publishers (including De Arbeiderspers) and other outfits affiliated with the SDAP.

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**letter of Claude Lévi-Strauss to Hendrik De Man, 31 January 1928 (iish, Hendrik De Man Papers, 253)**

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Sabine Aarts and Job Schouten recently published two inventories of the archives acquired by the iish over the years, spanning nearly 100 metres of shelf space. This material will fascinate aficionados of corporate history, press history, cultural history, and labour history – labour history not only because the newspaper and publishing companies catered to the working class but also because of the wealth of documentation on human resources policy and employee representation. The cultural history acquisitions feature an impressive array of well-known journalists and authors: Simon Carmiggelt, Annie M.G. Schmidt, Jan Blokker, Klaas Voskuil (father of Han Voskuil), Meijer Sluijser, Herman Wigbold, Louis Velleman, Rinus Ferdinandus, and Martin Ros.

After *Het Vrije Volk* ceased publication in 1991, the iish received 55,000 photographs. While this may seem like a lot, it is only 5 per cent of the approximately one million specimens that the collection comprised twenty years ago. A report from May 1991 lists 450,000 photographs of persons, 482,000 general ones, 55,000 of cities and regions, and nearly 100,000 negatives. In addition, there were motion pictures and works of art, three of which are now on display in the lobby of the iish: 1940-1945 by Nic Jonk from 1955, a bust of Wibaut, and the series of sculptures by Rudolf Belling. A small, primarily recent selection of the photographs was sent to the *Rotterdams Dagblad*, the local newspaper that took over the remaining subscribers. Many photographs were undoubtedly lost during the bankruptcy of the Arbeiderspers and in the course of the move out of Amsterdam in 1971. The bulk probably ended up in Amsterdam and Rotterdam’s municipal archives, where only a small share was made accessible – indeed a pity, because these were the negatives of the newspaper’s staff photographers.

Rather than mourning what we do not have, let us rejoice at what is here: a respectable number of photographs selected at the time by Thea Duiker and Mies Campfens by subject: 30,000 from abroad (arranged by country, including a small number of persons and ‘monarchies’) and 25,000 from the Netherlands. Because of the football world championship in South Africa, we are featuring a selection of the 195 photographs from that country present in the eight *Vrije Volk* archive files. Nearly all are accurately dated and bear captions from press agencies or the newspaper in which they appeared. One of the photographs presented here reveals an ingenious new invention for ladies venturing onto an unsafe street: a teargas spray. The caption to another photograph reads: ”Refugees from Apartheid barred: John Williams, a South African carpenter, hated apartheid so much that he saved more than a thousand pounds and sold his home to bring his wife and five sons to England. But they were refused permission to land when they arrived on the Edinburgh Castle at Southampton yesterday – for they had not arranged for a work permit. And within ten hours they were on their way back to South Africa aboard the Pendennis Castle. Photo shows: On their way back to South Africa yesterday, Mr and Mrs Williams and their five sons, Mattheo, Pablo, Bernardo, Gerardo, and Pedro (28-03-1964).”

Another recent small acquisition also addresses the migration waves from and to post-war South Africa: the correspondence from E. (‘Bózsi’) Erdélyi to her girlfriend Iet Vos, a schoolteacher living in Amsterdam. The fifteen extensive letters reveal that the writer was born in February 1912, probably in Hungary. She might have arrived in the Netherlands as a war orphan following World War I. Raised as a Dutch Calvinist in the Verschoor household, she was well educated (and was already proficient in English at the start of her journey). Prior to her emigration she worked at the offices of the diesel engine manu-
facturer Werkspoor Amsterdam.
In early 1949 Erdélyi travelled from Amsterdam via Harwich and London to Southampton, where she boarded the English steamer Arundel Castle bound for South Africa via Madeira. Upon her arrival she worked for Sieling, a produce and horticulture firm (the founder and owner had emigrated from the Netherlands to South Africa in 1910), first at the office of their 'plantation' or 'farm' in Hartebeespoort, 80 km from Johannesburg (where "120 kaffers [blacks] and 5 white people" were employed), transferring soon afterwards to their head office in Johannesburg, which relocated to the Johannesburg suburb of Braamfontein in 1950. The firm, which cultivated rose bushes, flowers, and fruit, had other 'farms' as well, for example in Natal, 400 miles away from Johannesburg. In 1951 Erdélyi started working for a Dutch firm building a vinegar factory in Johannesburg. Throughout the period of this correspondence, she was unmarried. Nothing is known about her life after 1953. The letters are lengthy and filled with details about working and living in South Africa in general and about other Dutch immigrants in particular, especially in Johannesburg.

Militant Scholar
Walter Kendall (1926–2003), whose personal papers spanning 25 metres arrived recently at the IISH, "was unusual in that he combined over the course of his lifetime both a high and sustained profile as an activist and a serious academic standing" (Ian Bullock in History Workshop Journal, 2004). He achieved international acclaim as the author of The Revolutionary Movement in Britain 1900–21: The origins of British communism (1969), in which he argued that the merge of the many different British revolutionary movements with Communism had reduced the diversity of the leftist movement. He also worked tirelessly to promote 'workers' control' and was interested in the work of Bruno Rizzi (1901–1977). He was among the few members of the Labour Party to support teaming up with Europe in the 1970s.

Although his papers have yet to be arranged, the list available reveals that in addition to correspondence and documents from several campaigns in which Kendall participated, they comprise manuscripts from his hundreds of articles, as well as an enormous unpublished work about 'The World Revolution, the Russian Revolution and the Communist International 1898–1935' (copies are present at the British Library and Nuffield College, Oxford). He also owned several posters, including the anti-election poster depicted here of the Syndicalist Workers Federation, an anarcho-syndicalist organization founded in 1950 and of which the archive is at the IISH.

Languïmages
Last year the Institute received an accession to the already rather large personal papers of Aimé van Santen (1917–1988), better known by his pseudonym (derived from his mother's maiden name) Jan Molitor. This artist was a brother of Joop van Santen, who represented the Dutch Communist Party in the Senate from 1946 until 1952. At times this caused political problems for Aimé, even though the brothers had fallen out with each other. Aimé specialized in Slavic Studies at the University of Leiden, became friends with Paul Rodenko, and wrote for periodicals such as Podium. His friend Daisy Wolthers (1922–2008) said the following in a speech at the University of Groningen in February 1994:

"[...] from the autumn of 1947 until the spring of 1951 Aimé was back in Czechoslovakia, where he studied thanks to a grant from the Dutch Ministry of Education and lectured on Dutch language and literature at the University of Olomouc in Moravia. In this period he published contributions on Dutch literature in Czech and Slovak literary journals, as well as his translation of Karl Čapek's Apocryphal Tales and his mono-
overwrought and in 1938 went to Dr. J.H. Plokker for a sleeping cure, returning very much relieved after fourteen days. He started drawing and organized ten exhibitions between 1963 and 1979. In 1964 the bkr (Beeldende Kunstenares Regeling, visual artists plan) started buying his work, purchasing 74 pieces over the course of twelve years. In 1965 he entered the Disability Act, finally receiving a steady income that enabled him to live decently in his home on the Noordereriland in Rotterdam.

In 1972 he founded the Noodfaculteit [Emergency Faculty], initially out of anger at the exorbitant tuition rates. It soon turned into a centre of conviviality and entertainment. During this period he drew and wrote his visual texts, which he also referred to as ‘image texts’ or ‘languïmages.’ One of them, half text, half drawing, opens as follows: ‘Der Satz ohne Worte schläucht mitleiderregend’ [The sentence without words sobbed pitiously]. This made even those who had never heard of Bolzano’s ‘der Satz an sich’ [the sentence in its own right] start laughing.

He usually had a ‘words box’ nearby. The iish has collected 39 documents, including the price coutants, directly from the widow and at the auction.

Everything had happened in great haste, with consequences probably unforeseen at the time for the NEHA, which was in fact restricted to collecting material about the Netherlands and its colonies. Posthumus had now acquired international source material of immense value to European economic history, as became clear a few years later, when William Henry Beveridge (1879-1963), director of the London School of Economics, and Edwin E. Gay of Harvard decided in 1928 to form an International Scientific Committee on Price History. Funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, this Committee organized its first conferences in Paris in 1929 and in London in 1930. Aside from the two initiators, the most important participants were the Frenchman Henri Hauser, assisted by François Simiand, the German Moritz Elsas, and the Austrian Alfred Pribram, assisted by Karl Helleiner, all internationally renowned economic and social historians. Upon applying for membership in 1931, Posthumus received a warm welcome. In retrospect, this was when he became one of the very few Dutch international historians in his day.

Posthumus contributed to the publications issued by (or under the auspices of) the committee. His Nederlandsche Prijsgeschiedenis was published in two volumes (Volume i in Dutch in 1943, followed by an English edition in 1946, and Volume II posthumously in 1964 in both languages). These were not simple series of numbers but were carefully constructed compilations, from which Posthumus derived well-considered conclusions. Following in the footsteps of Van Gelderen, De Wolff, Konradieff, and Wagemann, he elaborated in these works on the ideas about economic cycles that had already preoccupied him in his history of Leiden’s cloth industry. But the establishment of the iish in 1935, the State Institute for War Documentation, and the ‘Sev-
enth Faculty’ of the University of Amsterdam after World War II, his work as director of Brill publishers, and the launch of the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, which began appearing in 1958, probably left him little time to continue gathering price history sources. Although he continued working on his book, it was thanks to the Utrecht medievalist Frans Ketner that the second volume was eventually published in 1964.

In the past decade, Co Seegers obtained some accessions to the old collection thanks to major efforts. In addition, Jan Luinen van Zanden has recently resumed Posthumus’s work. Together with colleagues in the Netherlands and abroad, he launched the popular *IISH List of Datasets of Historical Prices and Wages* (www.iisg.nl/hpw) a few years ago. This website has once again raised scholarly interest in the work of Posthumus as a collector. It also led the well-known Belgian historian Herman van der Wee to tell Van Zanden he had an interesting contribution for the *Historical Prices and Wages*. Where Posthumus had sampled monthly prices for a great many commodities, Van der Wee turned out to have weekly prices from the eighteenth century. Better yet, these data filled gaps in the original Amsterdam price courants in the NEHA collection. Van der Wee donated the manuscript with these data to the NEHA, where they are now being entered.

Question arose, however, about the origin of Van der Wee’s data. They were traced to the Kress Collection, one of the two well-known NEHA sister institutes. (The other one, the Goldsmiths’ Library of Economic Literature of the University of London, like the Kress Collection presently located in the Baker Library at Harvard University, was established by Herbert Somerton Foxwell (1849-1936), a friend of and London successor to the famous economist Stanley Jevons.) In August 1968 Van der Wee discovered a box at Harvard containing six handwritten volumes of Amsterdam prices for the period 1708 to 1795. He quickly saw how valuable these were and thought of a sequel to the two volumes by Posthumus. He obtained permission to copy the manuscripts and started working on an edited version, which will soon become available to researchers.

But what are the origins of those unique volumes at Harvard? In tracing them, Van Zanden and his assistant Mikolaj Malinowski discovered that the Baker Library had been offered the volumes in 1966 by the Amsterdam antiquarian Menno Hertzberger. Upon purchasing them, the library learned that the material was “from the collection of Professor Dr N.W. Posthumus who had had them for a couple of years."
His widow sold them to us just a couple of weeks before you visited us.” This news was entirely unexpected! The sale must have taken place in June 1966. Posthumus had died in 1960; his widow was Willemien Hendrika van der Goot (1897-1989), one of the founders of the International Archive for the Women’s Movement, a sister institution of the NISH and established contemporaneously.

The copies of the covers and first few pages received from the Kress Collection suggest that the different volumes are highly uniform and conceivably derive from one entity from the late eighteenth century. This might mean that they were assembled for scholarly rather than commercial reasons. After all, how could a merchant or banker profit from knowledge of weekly price fluctuations of dozens of commodities over the previous century? If this assumption is correct, we should look for a scholar who was interested in such matters, which pins us to economists from around 1800. One was Jan Ackersdijck, professor of statistics in Liège from 1825 to 1830 and in Utrecht from 1831 to 1861, and very prominent in the Vereeniging voor de Statistiek (1837). In 1855 the NISH purchased notes from his lectures ‘Excerpt der Oeconomia Politica van prof Ackersdijck’ (IX and 142 pp.) and ‘Statistiek der Neder- landen’ (114 pp.). If the six volumes relate to these works, the acquisition date might explain why these data did not appear in Volume 11 of the Nederlandsche Prijsgeschiedenis: Posthumus was already 75 at the time and simply had not managed to include them anymore.

The above is speculation, and many other questions remain as well. In any case, it is a nice occasion to present some of the abundance of NISH material, including the oldest remaining price gazette from 1785-1786, listing, for example, the contemporary price of Veneetsche Sijde [Venetian silk].

Useful Knowledge

Because the NISH is celebrating its 75th anniversary this year and is organizing an exhibition of its collection development in honour of this occasion, we are presenting some documents this afternoon from the history of ‘our type’ of collecting. The start is usually attributed to the appeal from August Bebel encouraged by older socialists such as Johann Philipp Becker in the Vorwärts of 20 February 1878. This led to the establishment of a public party library, at first in exile because of Bismarck’s anti-socialist laws, but from 1899 openly in Berlin. It became so popular that a similar one soon opened in Stockholm, even giving rise to a Scandinavian model, in which the social democratic party and the trade unions set up and maintained a joint archive and library institution.

Still, the general idea dates back much further. An annex to Francis Bacon’s Novum Organum (1620) already mentions the need for a ‘natural history’ of labour, and soon afterwards Samuel Hartlib and other members of the Royal Society considered implementing the idea in practice. The renowned Encyclopédie of Diderot and d’Alembert addressed it in detail as well and greatly contributed to a reassessment of manual labour. In the nineteenth century, modern collecting entered its heyday. One of the driving forces, which we will review briefly here, was the growing interest in ‘useful knowledge’ and its extension, industrial progress, and concern about working conditions. From the middle of the century, this interest gave rise to a series of exhibitions about many different fields, which in turn instigated a desire for ‘permanent’ exhibitions. This spurred several – primarily – social liberals to action.

One case in point was Thomas Twining III (1806-1895), a scion from the well-known family of tea merchants and high-ranking officials in British India. As a young man, he was already partially blind and disabled but was greatly interested in technical education and more generally in applying modern science to benefit workers, their health, and their quality of life. He elaborated ideas about what he described as bionomy or ‘everyday science’ and in 1855 wrote the brochure Special Museums for the Working Classes. He convinced Napoleon III to dedicate a section of the Paris World Exposition that year to economics but already advocated more permanent educational collections for a broad public, “so that one might not only see the things to be adopted or eschewed, but learn at the same time the reason why” (Science for the People, 1870). In 1860 on his estate in Twickenham near London he opened the Museum of Domestic and Sanitary Economy, known as the Economic Museum, of which the book catalogue (part of the Kashnor Collection at the NISH) is featured here, although unfortunately the museum burned down in 1871.

The Paris World Exposition of 1889 (the one with the Eiffel Tower) gave rise to the establishment of the Musée Social in 1895. This museum served to “make available to the public, through information and consultation, the documents, models, plans, updates, etc. of social institutions and organizations dedicated to achieving improvements in the material and moral circumstances of workers” (“de mettre à la disposition du public, avec informations et consultations, les documents, modèles, plans, statuts, etc. des institutions et organisations sociales qui ont pour objet et pour résultat d’améliorer la situation matérielle et morale des travailleurs”) (while “refraining from any political or religious debates” “[il s’interdit toutes discussions politiques et religieuses]”). It was financed by the fortune of Count Aldebert de Chambrun (1821-1899), more specifically that of his wife, heiress to the Baccarat crystal factory. The couple had decided to spend their wealth on “God and the indigent” (“pour Dieu et pour les pauvres”). The Musée was patronized by the elite of the Third Republic and is now the oldest existing institution collecting in the field of social history. From the outset, the museum had an international aura.
as the leaflet by Leopold Katscher reveals (see cover image). One of the consequences, for example, was the foundation in 1906 of the Zentralstelle für soziale Literatur in der Schweiz, now the Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv, by the non-conformist social-democratic Reverend Paul Pfliiger, who had visited the new World Exposition in Paris in 1900. And in the Netherlands, the Musée gave rise to the Centraal Bureau voor Sociale Adviezen, founded in 1899 and involved in similar endeavours. The board comprised representatives from all factions in Dutch society, except the Catholics. The socialists were represented by Dirk Hudig Jr (1872-1934), known for his book about trade unions and for many years the driving force behind the Bureau, for which he drafted a recommendation about housing associations.

A slightly different trend that led to similar consequences was the Gewerbehygienisches Museum in Vienna, founded in 1890 at the initiative of Franz Migerka, the first Austrian central factory inspector. This museum’s broad international influence extended to the Netherlands as well. In 1893 in Amsterdam the Museum van Voorwerpen ter Voorkoming van Ongelukken en Ziekten in Fabrieken en Werkplaatsen [Museum of objects to prevent accidents and diseases at factories and workplaces], later renamed the Veiligheidsmuseum [Safety museum], was established. It was located at first on the Groenburgwal and afterwards on the Hobbemastraat. The Museum looked explicitly to its Vienna counterpart for information and exhibition subjects: a scrapbook contains descriptions (often featuring illustrations) of objects on display there; it was assembled in April 1893. The Veiligheidsmuseum later also became a repository for the material gathered by Herman Heijenbrok (1871-1948), who painted Dutch industrial scenes, for an exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum in 1922. In 1923 this led to the establishment of the ‘Museum van den Arbeid’ [Labour museum] foundation, which opened a museum along the Rozengracht in 1929; the contents were later transferred to NINT and afterwards to NEMO. The library and posters of the Veiligheidsmuseum – like the material from the Centraal Bureau van Sociale Adviezen – were entrusted to the iiSh.

Soviet Intelligence (1)

The Paris branch of the iiSh, run by the Russian Menshevik and historian Boris Nikolayevsky (1887-1966), was broken into in the night of 6 to 7 November 1936. The target of the burglary was immediately clear: the papers that Lev Sedov (1906-1938), the son of Lev Trotsky and Natalya Sedova, had recently deposited there. The exact contents of those papers never really became clear. Trotsky had lived in Norway since 1935, and the letters that his son wrote him about the theft (which Fred Schrader published for the iiSh) reflect very few details. They may have included Trotsky’s extensive correspondence with Andrés Nin; at any rate, the letters from the leader of the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista were never seen again.

Of course Stalin’s intelligence service, the nkvd, was suspected of being involved, but since only four people were aware that the papers had been placed at the iiSh branch on the rue Michelet, the actual course of events remained a mystery. The archive of the Nederlands Revolutionair-Socialistische Partij, which long had amicable ties with Trotsky, contains a file revealing that Anneke Welcker, head of the Institute’s Dutch cabinet, was still trying to learn more about the incident in 1967. The file reflects pre-war attempts to clarify the role of Mark Zborowski (1908-1990), alias Etienne, who served as Sedov’s right-hand man for years...
and after the latter's untimely death basically ran Trotsky's Paris organization. Vague suspicions that arose about Zborowski grew more pronounced after Aleksandr Orlov, a high-ranking NKVD officer who defected (and later wrote The Secret History of Stalin's Crimes), notified Trotsky that there was a mole in Paris; Trotsky assumed, however, that this was simply a case of Stalinist deception. The same, Zborowski later arranged indirectly for Ramón Mercader to gain access to Trotsky's home in Mexico to assassinate him there in 1940.

After the Nazis invaded France, Zborowski fled to the United States, where he became an anthropologist at Harvard thanks to assistance from Margaret Mead. In 1952 he published Life Is with People (together with Elizabeth Herzog), a study about Jewish shetls in Eastern Europe. The work was reprinted several times and was translated into French and German as recently as the 1990s. In 1955, however, he was exposed as a Soviet agent and testified before the U.S. Senate's Subcommittee on Internal Security the following year. In Part 5 of the hearings, Zborowski admitted that he had informed his superiors that Sedov's papers were at the Institute but denied being involved in the break-in. Because he could not have been prosecuted in the United States for such a theft anyway, his statement may have been true; yet this merely shifted the question about the perpetrators.

Since the 1990s much has been disclosed via different channels about the operations of the NKVD and its successor organizations, including the incident on the rue Michelet. The new sources consist of the British-American Venona Project, recently accessible Russian archives and the memoirs or documents of some 'defectors,' especially Pavel Sudoplatov and Vasily Mitrokhin. As a result, a second NKVD agent in addition to Zborowski has surfaced in the intrigue. Yakov Serebryansky (1892-1956), the leader of a Special Group (sgon) of the Soviet intelligence service. The account in Mitrokhin's book reads as follows: "In the autumn of 1936 Zborowski warned the Centre [NKVD headquarters] that, because of his financial problems, Trotsky was selling part of his archive (formerly among the papers entrusted by Sedov to Zborowski for safekeeping) to the Paris branch of the International Institute of Social History based in Amsterdam. Serebryansky was ordered to set up a task force to recover it, codenamed the HENRY group. He began by renting the flat immediately above the institute in the rue Michelet in order to keep it under surveillance. On Serebryansky's instructions, Zborowski, then working as a service engineer at a Paris telephone exchange, was ordered to cause a fault on the Institute's telephone line in order to give him a chance to reconnoitre the exact location of the Trotsky papers and examine the locks. When the Institute reported the fault on its line, however, one of Zborowski's colleagues was sent to mend the fault instead. Zborowski promptly put the Institute's phone out of action once again and on this occasion was called to make the repair himself. As he left the Institute, having mended the fault and closely inspected the locks to the front and back doors, he was given a five franc tip by the director, Boris Nikolayevsky, a prominent Menshevik émigré classed by the NKVD as an 'enemy of the people.'

Serebryansky fixed the time for the burglary for two o'clock on the morning of November 7, 1936, and ordered it to be completed by 5 a.m. at the latest. Since his agents were unable to find keys to the Institute's locks, he decided to cut them out with a drill powered by an electric transformer concealed in a box filled with sawdust and cotton wool to deaden the sound. The burglars broke in unobserved and left with Trotsky's papers. Both Sedov and the Paris police immediately suspected the NKVD because of both the professionalism of the burglary and the fact that money and valuables in the Institute had been left untouched. Sedov assured the police that his assistant 'Etienne' Zborowski was completely above suspicion, and in any case kept the main archive, which had not been stolen, at his home address. Ironically, Sedov suggested that the NKVD might have learned of the transfer of a part of the archive as the result of an indiscretion by the Institute director, Nikolayevsky.

The extraordinary importance attached by the Centre to the theft of the papers was demonstrated by the award of the Order of the Red Banner to the HENRY group. The operation, however, was as pointless as it was professional. The papers stolen from the Institute (many of them press cuttings) were of no operational significance whatever and of far less historical importance than the Trotsky archive which remained in Zborowski's hands and later ended up at Harvard University." (Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, The Sword and the Shield: the Mitrokhin archive and the secret history of the KGB, New York: Basic Books, 1999, pp. 70-71). This final assessment of the
importance of what was stolen, however, is not based on new archive material and in fact doubtful, so that some questions remain unanswered.

Soviet Intelligence (ii) In 2009 the Friends allocated funds toward publishing the history of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism commissioned by the ISHI from Vladimir Mosolov. During the final years of the Soviet Union, the IML was known primarily for supplying suitable quotations from Marx and Lenin’s works for speeches by party executives but also owned a magnificent collection on the history of the labour movement. It arose in 1931 from the merge of the Marx-Engels Institute established in 1921 with the Lenin Institute founded in 1924, which had both for a long time collected material from all over the world without any significant competition and had been generously funded. The fruits of the efforts by David Ryazanov (1870-1938) at the Marx-Engels Institute were particularly impressive.

The ISHI has a long and complex relationship with the IMI, its predecessors, and its successors. In several respects Ryazanov’s institution served as an organizational role model when the ISHI was founded in 1935, and a great many specialists worked for the Moscow and Amsterdam institutes alike during the Interbellum. In the 1970s, when the IMI started a new Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe, for which the ISHI archive was indispensable, remote cooperation got under way and grew closer as the Soviet Union was crumbling and the mega in need of rescue. In the 1990s preserving the valuable Russian collections was paramount to the ISHI, and ample support was provided to the disintegrated sections of the IMI...

Mosolov’s book discloses another episode in this relationship. Even in the 1950s, Moscow was fascinated by what was happening in Amsterdam. This was in part because Giangiacomo Feltrinelli (1926-1972), heir to an Italian industrial fortune, started to use his wealth to set up an historical institution of his own and even hoped to acquire the papers of Marx and Engels from the ISHI. Feltrinelli visited Amsterdam and moreover used the services of the renowned Marx connoisseur Bert Andréas (1914-1984), who frequently came to the Institute. He checked on the materials being made accessible at the ISHI and the – alleged – political views of the Institute staff. He found this sufficiently important to report to Moscow; and the IMI in turn found this information worth conveying to Khrushchev in person...

Hans Daalder and Jelle Gaemers about the ‘Red Father of the Fatherland’ Willem Drees

REPORT BY WIM BERKELAAR

At the 21st meeting of the Friends of the ISHI on 24 June 2010, journalist Piet Hagen interviewed Hans Daalder and Jelle Gaemers, biographers of Willem Drees (1886-1988), who during his early years was an alderman for the Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiders Partij (Social-Democratic Workers Party, SDA) in The Hague, and Dutch prime minister for the Partij van de Arbeid (Labour Party, PvdA) from 1948 until 1958. Piet Hagen was an obvious choice for interviewing the Drees biographers. This year he completed his widely acclaimed biography of Pieter Jelles Troelstra, Drees’s predecessor as the leader of the social democrats. In his voluminous study, Hagen has contained Troelstra’s turbulent life in a single volume. Hans Daalder, a retired professor of Political Science from the University of Leiden, and the historian Jelle Gaemers have filled multiple volumes documenting the history of Drees, the former Dutch prime minister, whose life spanned more than a century.
Three volumes of the biography have been published, as well as a ‘digression’ by Hans Daalder, who has described the infamous 1950s crisis in the monarchy in his book Drees en Soestdijk.

The origins of this special biography, very similar in length to the multi-volume biography by the British historian Martin Gilbert about Winston Churchill, date back to 1965, when Hans Daalder interviewed the comfortably retired statesman about his role in the resistance newspaper Het Parool and also became involved in the inventory of the vast archive. Drees appears to have been so impressed with Daalder that he asked him to write his biography a few years later (in 1973).

Wasn’t that a great challenge, asked Hagen. How did Daalder view his relationship with Drees? Daalder reported that he did not blindly admire Drees. The volumes published thus far did not conceal judgement errors by Drees. Especially during the Indonesian question, the shortcomings of Drees as a political leader and prime minister became clear, and these have been noted with care in the biography. Daalder emphasized, moreover, that his primary intention was to render a scholarly account of Drees as a political ‘operator’ rather than as an individual. Journalistic biographical portraits, such as the classic Dree, wethouder van Nederlaand (1980) by John Jansen van Galen and Herman Vuijsje, had already described him as a person.

Daalder faced several issues when he started writing the biography. Until 1993, his duties as a university professor left him little time to work on the biography. In addition, Drees’s papers had been entrusted to the National Archive by then but had yet to be arranged. Drees’s stenography was another formidable obstacle to providing access to these papers. Born in The Hague, Drees was a self-taught stenographer. While he benefited greatly from this skill, it presented major problems for future generations (i.e. Daalder). For all these reasons, the historian Jelle Gaemers entered the scene: he made the papers accessible, learned steno, and wrote a PhD thesis about the first half of Drees’s life, focusing mainly on his service as an alderman and his rise in politics. According to Gaemers, Drees’s personal life ended in 1913: from then on he was so consumed by his work as an alderman for The Hague that public life was all that remained. Daalder adds: Drees had no hobby aside from politics. This became all the more apparent after he resigned from active politics. During his final decades in retirement, he continued to devote himself almost entirely to politics.

**MISCONCEPTION**

Politics was Drees’s passion. Hagen inquired whether Drees was able to impart this to others. After all, Drees is celebrated for his integrity, sense of duty, general knowledge, and common sense. Few remember him delivering fiery diatribes or compelling speeches in and outside the Dutch House of Representatives. Still, Daalder argued that ‘oratory excitement’ did indeed resound in Drees’s speeches. His lectures about socialism, for example, broadcast by the VARA socialist radio network between 1960 and 1962, exuded such passion.

With this observation, the biographers addressed another misconception about Drees. Traditionally known for transcending party politics as a ‘Father of the Fatherland,’ Drees was in fact “as red as a lobster,” explained Daalder. Gaemers, in turn, attributed this misconception to Drees’s emphasis on governance, which at times obscured his socialist convictions from public view. Though a thoroughbred democrat, Drees was forced to compromise with his political adversaries, rendering many of his victories unrecognizable as such to his supporters.

Daalder: “Drees visualized the tension between the old socialist ideals and acceptance of plural society, dominated in his day by the sectarian parties.” Drees has been described as the last SDAP man in the Partij van de Arbeid. This ‘red’ democrat Drees suffered the tragedy of the ‘New Left’ following his years of glory as prime minister. After 1966, this movement within the PVDA aimed to launch a broad, progressive people’s party, which was to comprise the Christian-Democratic PPR in addition to D66. The liberal D66 opposed basing such a progressive people’s party on socialist principles. This position was unacceptable to Drees, who even though he did not advocate a radical leftist programme was unwilling to abandon socialist principles.

He also objected to the decision-making process and the authoritarian treatment of the people by the ‘New Left.’ In 1971 Drees resigned from the PVDA, unleashing a torrent of publicity in his wake. “If I could have made a quiet exit, I would have,” observed Drees. “That was tragic for him,” notes Daalder. Drees suffered personal attacks from various prominent party members, including his old foe Marinus van der Goes van Naters, VARA figure-head Herman Wighold, and ‘New Leftist’ Marcel van Dam. But the true nadir in his life came earlier, suspects Piet Hagen: the Indonesian question. Following the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945, the largest Dutch colony struggled to become independent. Two colonial wars (euphemistically referred to as ‘politieke acties,’ a designation intended to convey ‘domestic turmoil’ rather than a war of independence) were waged before Indonesia was able to accede to the international community as an independent state. Was Drees in control during this period? Daalder believes that Drees felt responsible for the fate of the colony. He did not trust the Indonesian leader Sukarno and was deeply concerned about the people of mixed Dutch and Indonesian origin, who remained interned in prison camps there until 1947. In addition, the PVDA was deeply divided, and many members were not yet ready to give up Indonesia. Nonetheless, Drees is believed to have strenuously resisted Roman Catholic KVP politicians in the Council of
Ministers, such as Romme, Beel, and Sassen, who schemed behind his back to keep Indonesia within the Kingdom at all costs.

**ACRIMONY**

Drees harboured some acrimony. His predecessor and fellow party member Willem Schermerhorn, the first post-war prime minister of the Netherlands, received far more favourable coverage in historiography about the Indonesian struggle for independence: he is said to have been far more inclined to accept Indonesian independence. In 1969 Drees told his biographer Daalder, however, that during the Indonesian struggle for independence Schermerhorn had called for “extermination of the plague in Indonesia,” referring to the excessive violence on the part of the freedom fighters. His statement was in response to the broadcast by the VARA current events show *Achter het nieuws* that year of the controversial interview with former soldier Joop Hueting, who revealed the atrocities by the Dutch forces. Drees’s stab at Schermerhorn suggests that many years later the damage to his reputation in the Indonesian question still bothered him. He seemed to be trying to say that he was not the only one back then who had no idea how to address the Indonesian struggle for independence.

Compared with the Indonesian tragedy, the problems between Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard was trivial. Here, too, Drees needed all his leadership skills to stop the marital crisis from escalating into a constitutional one. According to Daalder, the 1956 crisis, when Bernhard informed the German weekly *Der Spiegel* about his marital problems, and the monarchy was on the verge of collapse, was not the worst one. That happened back in 1952, when Queen Juliana delivered a pacifist speech to the U.S. Congress, in which she opposed the Drees government’s highly NATO-oriented policy. In those days another question was whether to execute war criminal Willy Lages, who headed the Sicherheitsdienst in Amsterdam during World War. The Drees government was in favour, but Juliana was against the execution. In the resulting impasse, the following dialogue ensued. Drees: “Surely, we cannot resign?” Juliana responded: “Well, then why don’t I abdicate?” The die was cast, and Lages’s sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In 1966 he was released for medical reasons and sent to Germany, where he died five years later.

Hagen asked what Drees’s reasons had been for giving in to Juliana. Did he fear that the monarchy might otherwise collapse? Daalder and Gaemers provided the surprising answer: No, he feared that the Netherlands would become more conservative, if progressive Juliana abdicated. Once again, Drees’s position proves how red he really was, even though he has since become known as a second ‘Father of the Fatherland,’ respected by friend and foe alike. A conservative liberal such as Frits Bolkestein admired Drees just as much as the anti-revolutionary (Calvinist) economist Jelle Zijlstra, who served as minister of Economic Affairs in his government from 1952 until 1958.

What were his greatest successes? According to Jelle Gaemers, after 1945, when much of the Netherlands was in ruins, Drees realized a substantial share of his social agenda and was a major force in constructing the widely celebrated Dutch welfare state. Daalder also mentioned that given Drees’s achievements, he was surprised that in 2002 the Dutch House of Representatives passed over Drees and declared the liberal Cort van der Linden (prime minister from 1913 until 1918) the best prime minister of the twentieth century. While the biographers may not be blinded by their admiration for Drees, they were certainly impressed by him.
Jaap Kloosterman and Jan Lucassen
Rebels with a Cause
Five centuries of social history collected by the IISH
isbn 978 90 5260 389 6, 240 pp., € 29,95

Revolutionaries, anarchists, socialists, peace activists, sexual reformers, fundamentalists... ‘rebels with a cause’ have featured in every age. The collections of the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam are full of them. The IISH is the world’s largest documentation centre in the field of social history and emancipation movements. The collections for which the Institute is renowned occupy some 50 kilometres of shelf space filled with books, archives, posters, banners and photographs. This book is published on the occasion of the Institute’s 75th anniversary in 2010. It looks back on three quarters of a century of collection development in an international context. Yet it also tells a new history of creative ideas and people who fought for radical change. ‘Rebels with a cause’ constitute the thread through this story built from over two hundred original documents. From Karl Marx to Aung San Suu Kyi, from the French Revolution to the Chinese student revolt of 1989, from the early modern world explorers to today’s anti-globalists.

Jan Breman
Koloniaal profijt van onvrije arbeid
Het Preanger stelsel van gedwongen koffieeet op Java
isbn 978 90 8964 264 6, 456 pp., € 37,50

Jan Breman duikt in een van de zwarte bladzijdes van de Nederlandse geschiedenis en laat zien hoe de VOC zijn sporen heeft achtergelaten op het agrarische bestel van Java. In Koloniaal profijt van onvrije arbeid behandelt hij de invoering en uitbreiding van koffieeet in de Preanger Hooglanden van Java onder koloniale heerschappij. Toen koffiebonen lucratieve handelswaar bleken, verplichtten de kooplieden van de Compagnie de boeren tot de teelt van dit uitheemse gewas. Het verzamelen van heffeningen werd lange tijd overgelaten aan de volkshoofden in de regio. Hierdoor ontstond een opsplitsing van de boerenbevolking in klassen van grondbezitters en landlozen. Dit legde de grondslag voor een agrarisch bestel dat tot na de onafhankelijkheid van Indonesië zou blijven bestaan.

Deze studie kan beschouwd worden als een herziening van de geschiedschrijving én als een sociaalwetenschappelijke verhandeling van Multatuli’s werk. Tevens zijn er enkele zeldzame afbeeldingen uit de vroegkoloniale tijd in opgenomen.

Myriam Everard, Ulla Jansz (red.)
De minotaurus onzer zeden
Multatuli als heraut van het feminisme
isbn 978 90 5260 376 6, 176 pp., € 22,90

‘Minotaurus! ‘t Is ’n veelslachtig wezen met ’n muil als een statenbijbel, en ’n reusachtige breikous tot achterlyf dat uitloopt in ’n borduurnaald.’ Tegen dit monster, symbool voor de christelijke zeden en gewoonten van zijn tijd, nam Multatuli het hartstochtelijk op. Ten behoeve van vrouwen, want aan de ‘minotaurus onzer zeden’ werden alleen vrouwen geofferd. En tot aansporing van vrouwen, want vrouwen moesten het monster vooral ook zelf te lijf gaan. Tijdens Multatuli’s leven, maar ook nog lang nadien, zijn er vrouwen én mannen geweest die zijn ideeën daadwerkelijk als aansporing hebben gelezen. In de strijd van multatulianse feministen als Mina Kruseman, Jan Verslyus, Titia van der Tuuk, Wilhelmina Drucker, Raden Adjeng Kartini en Carel Victor Gerritsen is menige statenbijbel en borduurnaald gesneuveld. Maar daar kwamen wel meer rechten en grotere autonomie van vrouwen voor in de plaats!

De bundel bevat bijdragen van Tom Böhm, Marianne Braun, Myriam Everard, Ulla Jansz, Annet Mooij, Jean Gelman Taylor en Inge de Wilde.