Tourism and imperialism in the Dutch East Indies

Guidebooks of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer in the late colonial era (1908-1939)

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Sources

Cover: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*. Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1910, 37.

Page 1: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Beautiful Java*. Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1930s.

Abstract

This thesis analyzes tourism's capacity to reinforce imperialism in the context of the late colonial era in the Dutch East Indies (1900-1942). It examines how guidebooks of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, a semi-governmental tourism organization, were encoded with the values of imperialism and the conventions of modern tourism, and how they, as tourist literature, mediated imperial identities. The study of representations of the Dutch East Indies and tourism performances featured in nineteen guidebooks reveals tourism's potential to reproduce and sustain imperialism. The Vereeniging aimed to represent the Dutch East Indies in a positive light to the world, to attract visitors and stimulate the economy, but also to promote Dutch imperialism. To achieve these ends the Vereeniging mobilized the consumption habits, imaginaries and anticipations, aesthetic norms and travel conventions that characterized modern tourism. In the guidebooks, they constructed an imagined geography of the Dutch East Indies through a set of meanings, symbols and metropolitan discourses, which functioned in three significant ways. Firstly, the division between the metropolitan or colonial tourist, and the 'premodern' colonized population is affirmed by capitalizing on the tourist's quest for 'authenticity.' Marking the indigenous people and the environment of the Dutch East Indies as 'authentic' tourist sights – based on their tropical 'otherness' – reinforced tourists' modern consciousness, which substantiated imperial identities. Moreover, the conventional tourist relations between hosts and guests emphasized racial hierarchies of the colonial era, as the subordinate position of indigenous servants and locals is reproduced in tourist behavior outlined in the guidebooks. Secondly, the guidebooks render imperialism, and its hierarchies, as a natural order. Dutch imperial authority in the Indonesian Archipelago is never questioned, only affirmed through sanitized histories, sightseeing and unequal service relations. Thirdly, the guidebooks portray imperialism as a benevolent project. In the light of the *mission civilatrice* and the Dutch Ethical Policy, Dutch imperialism is rendered beneficial for both colonizer and colonized. As imperialism is presented as stable and just, the social unrest and the increasing resistance against Dutch rule in the late colonial era are obscured.

Contents

Introduction

> *'Meanwhile, to the aspiring tourist who wants to visit Sumatra, I would recommend: if you want to make this tour as well, hurry. Because just now, we have seen the last shadow of Minang-Kabau beauty and in five years, I suspect, this will all be gone, all these beautiful, matriarchal houses of painted and carved wood. Why I dare make this prediction? Simply because in recent years the roof of atap – filament or leaf covers – has been supplanted in certain places by galvanized iron roofs. This atrocity, this monstrosity comes to the surface between the holy coconut tree and bamboo! Even worse: in places near the ponds with holy fish (…) we were gratified by a nice little mosque, which was reflected in a square shaped pool, elsewhere we couldn't feel but shocked to despair by the (…) mosques made completely out of galvanized iron plates! The walls, the sideways pointing roof, it was one iron atrocity, very solid, I presume, and warm like an oven and so barbaric and hideous, which raised the question: could this not have been stopped?? Could the Local Administration, where we found this atrocity, not have exercised its influence so that the Minang Kabau people kept building in the traditional way, in which they had built for centuries? It seems not. The 'industry' has triumphed over the primitive way. Galvanized iron triumphs!'*[1]
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> Louis Couperus – *Oostwaarts* (1923)

The mourning of Louis Couperus (1863-1923), one of the most prolific Dutch novelists of his time, over the disappearance of the *atap* roofs and the 'old ways' of the Minang Kabau people in Sumatra reveals the ambivalence of the modern condition. For Couperus, the traditional world of the Minang Kabau people is an escape from the modern industrial society. It is this society, however, that destroyed the 'traditional' life of the Minang Kabau, as the unstoppable advance of modern technology had reached the inlands of Sumatra. To add to the irony, Couperus came to Sumatra in a steamship, a symbol of modern technology. It was modern industry that made it possible for him to lament the decline of traditional Minang Kabau architecture in the first place. Couperus mourns his own superiority over the past as he begs the colonial government – one of the driving forces of modernization and industrialization – to stop the future from happening in Sumatra. Modern tourists, like Couperus, often try to find, with harmless intentions, in 'premodern' indigenous cultures and long-gone histories a simplicity and authenticity they believe to be absent in their own, hurried lives.[2] This search makes tourism not only an act of leisure, but also an act of modern consciousness. In Couperus' case, this consciousness was shaped by the era he lived in: the era of imperialism. While travelling through the Dutch East Indies, Couperus negotiated his own modernity, in light of the imperial world he encountered.

[1] Louis Couperus, *Oostwaarts*, ed. H.T.M. van Vliet, J.B. Robert, and Gerard Nijenhuis (Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1992), 120–121, translation by author.
[2] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 3.

Only recently has tourism, amongst science, education, arts, literature and politics, been established by scholarly research as a way in which imperialism was culturally and commercially reproduced. The body of literature on the relation between tourism and empire is still small, despite the fact that the two phenomena are linked to each other.[3] Tourism historian Shelley Baranowski argues that 'empire has enabled the spread of tourism and tourism has extended and reinforced empire.'[4] The rise of tourism in the nineteenth century coincided with the 'golden age' of imperialism. The worldwide imperial transport network made it possible for travelers to experience their imagined empires, which they had encountered through world fairs and travel literature, in reality. Thomas Cook & Son organized packaged tours which explored the Nile, the guidebooks of Murray and Baedeker led the tourist through India, and French colonials regained their strength in the hill resorts of Indochina.[5]

This thesis addresses an underdeveloped field of research. Studies on tourism in the British and French empires have been instructive in understanding tourism in an imperial context. Other empires, such as the Dutch, have not received such attention, at least not in mainstream academia.[6] Furthermore, while the connection between travel writing and imperialism has been established in recent publications, the relation between imperialism and tourism is not thoroughly explored yet.[7] Therefore, this thesis acknowledges the argument put forward by tourism historians Ellen Furlough

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[3] Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, "Introduction," in *Being Elsewhere. Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, ed. Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 20.

[4] Shelley Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire," *Journal of Tourism History* 7, no. 1–2 (2015): 116.

[5] F .Robert Hunter, "Tourism and Empire: The Thomas Cook & Son Enterprise on the Nile, 1868–1914," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 5 (2004): 28–54; John M. MacKenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries," in *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict*, ed. John K. Walton (Clevedon: Channel View Productions, 2005), 19–38; Aline Demay, *Tourism and Colonization in Indochina (1898-1939)* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

[6] The only articles in English and Dutch on tourism in the Dutch East Indies are: Robert Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," *South East Asia Research* 3, no. 2 (1995): 193–204; Achmad Sunjayadi, "Indische Cultuurelementen in Het Toerime in Nederlands-Indië," in *Emput Puluh Tahun Studi Belanda Di Indonesia Veertig Jaar Studie Nederlands in Indonesië*, ed. Achmad Sunjayadi, Christina Suprihatin, and Kees Groeneboer (Depok: Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya Universitas Indonesia, 2011), 415–27; Achmad Sunjayadi, "Culturele Identiteit En de Bevordering van Het Nederlandsch-Indische Toerisme," *Neerlandica Wratislaviensia* 22 (2013): 27–39; Janianton Damanik and Destha T. Raharjana, "Tourism of the Javanese Monarchy during the Dutch Colonial Era," in *Tourism and Monarchy in Southeast Asia*, ed. Ploysri Porananond and Victor T. King (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016); Michel Picard, "'Cultural Tourism' in Bali: Cultural Performances as Tourist Attraction," *Indonesia* 49, no. 1 (1990): 37–74; Adrian Vickers, *Bali, Een Gecreëerd Paradijs* (Nieuwegein: Signature, 1997). Achmad Sunjayadi published several elaborate works in Indonesian on the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and tourism in the Dutch East Indies, most notably: Achmad Sunjayadi, *Vereeniging Toeristen Verkeer Batavia (1908-1942) : Awal Turisme Modern Di Hindia Belanda* (Depok: Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia, 2007). For more on travel writing and tourism in the Dutch East Indies, see: Rick Honings and Peter van Zonneveld, eds., *Een Tint van Het Indische Oosten. Reizen in Insulinde 1800-1950* (Hilversum: Hilversum Verloren, 2015); Jurrien van Goor, *Indische Avonturen. Opmerkelijke Ontmoetingen Met Een Andere Wereld* (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers, 2000).

[7] Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction," 20.

and Shelley Baranowski in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America,* as it will explore the nexus between imperialism and tourism, as concepts of analysis, in the Dutch East Indies.[8] This thesis focuses on guidebooks published by the Officieele Vereeniging voor Toeristenverkeer in Nederlandsch-Indië (The Official Tourist Bureau for Netherland India), a semi-governmental tourist association which was one of the most significant tourism bureaus in the Dutch East Indies during the late colonial era (1900-1942). The Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer was founded in 1908 to stimulate and promote international tourism in Java, and later, the other islands of the Dutch East Indies.[9] It published promotional material and tourist literature for worldwide circulation, and attracted visitors from Europe, America, Asia and Australia to the 'emerald Archipelago'. Furthermore, the Vereeniging curated guidebooks, which mapped out 'only the places which are of real interest to the Tourist.'[10]

The aim of this research is to reveal how imperial identities were encoded in the guidebooks of the Vereeniging, and mediated to its users. This thesis, by using an interdisciplinary framework, aims to understand how guidebooks convey an imperial 'us' through place representations, practical information and tourist performances featured in the guidebooks. The timeframe of this thesis overlaps largely with the late colonial era in the Dutch East Indies (1900-1942). It spans from 1908, the year the Vereeniging was founded, to 1939. In that year, the last currently accessible guidebook was published. Two years later, the Dutch East Indies were invaded by Japan, which ended the Vereeniging's activities. This thesis analyzes nineteen guidebooks published by the Vereeniging. Guidebooks by other companies are left out of consideration, as this project focuses on the Vereeniging and how they, as a semi-governmental enterprise, constructed imperial identities.

Research on the guidebooks of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer is relevant for several academic discussions. Firstly, this thesis furthers academic understanding of the scarcely researched subjects of tourism in the Dutch empire and, in general, tourism in relation to empire.[11] Only recently, scholars have started debating on the relationship between tourism and imperialism and this thesis contributes to that discussion.[12] Secondly, this research project elucidates upon the relation between guidebooks as a cultural text and consumer product, and consumer identities. Thirdly, by analyzing representations of the Dutch East Indies constructed by the Vereeniging, this thesis contributes to the body of work on representations of Dutch imperialism. Representations of

[8] Ibid.
[9] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 195.
[10] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok* (Weltevreden: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1914), 9.
[11] Eric G. E. Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Kobo e-book (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), Chapter 6; Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction," 20–21.
[12] Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire."

Dutch colonies in world fairs, education, institutions and literature have been studied thoroughly already in Dutch, and this thesis adds tourism to this list.[13] Moreover, this thesis contributes to the debate on the nature and legacy of Dutch imperialism. Recently, academics and non-academics have brought discussions on the cultural, military and political fallout of the Dutch empire under mainstream attention, which for a long time, had been neglected, ignored or stifled.[14] The heated discussions on *Zwarte Piet* and the investigation into war crimes during the Indonesian independence war, which was ordered by the Dutch government in 2016, are the most notable examples of this trend. This thesis contributes to the public debate on Dutch imperial history by elaborating on how the Dutch presented their empire in tourism, and how imperial worldviews shaped the tourist industry. Lastly, imperial representations of the colonized 'other' have persisted in the post-colonial tourist industry. [15] Studying publications of the Vereeniging allows scholars to trace the roots of postcolonial (tourist) representations of Indonesia.

Tourism, guidebooks and identities

At the core of this thesis lies the notion that guidebooks construct and reproduce identities and worldviews. While the tourism industry, and its underlying political and economic agendas, do influence tourist practices, 'tourism and vacations have enabled a persistent quest for experiences of the self and its pleasures.'[16] Tourism is more than just consumption, as it also shapes collective and individual identities. Baranowski and Furlough argue that it has 'represented a quest by commercialized means for experiences and values not necessarily market-based – experiences of the "authentic" and liberated self, engagement with other cultures or with one's "own" culture, sociability and group belonging, and patriotism.'[17] One of the focal points of this quest is modernity. Tourists fit travel experiences in their modern consciousness, which is based on a totalizing contrast between the modern 'self,' and past or premodern 'others.'[18] This contrast was also encoded in

[13] Marieke Bloembergen, *De Koloniale Vertoning. Nederland En Indië Op de Wereld-Tentoonstellingen (1880-1931)* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 2002); Martin Bossenbroek, *Holland Op Zijn Breedst. Indie En Zuid-Afrika in de Nederlandse Cultuur Omstreeks 1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1996).
[14] Works that address this issue are: Lizzy van Leeuwen, *Ons Indisch Erfgoed* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2008); Ulbe Bosma, "Why Is There No Post-Colonial Debate in the Netherlands?," in *Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 193–212; Gloria Wekker, *White Innocence. Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); Elizabeth Buettner, *Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
[15] Uma Kothari, "Reworking Colonial Imaginaries in Post-Colonial Tourist Enclaves," *Tourist Studies* 15, no. 3 (2015): 248–66; Catherine A. Palmer, "Tourism and Colonialism. The Experience of the Bahamas," *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 4 (1994): 792–811.
[16] Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction," 10.
[17] Ibid., 11.
[18] MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 7-9.

imperialist worldviews; affirmed and continued by cultural production.[19] Edward Said, author of the influential works *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, argues that the principle of empire is sustained by:

> *'practice, theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory. (..) Neither imperialism nor colonialism is a simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that include notions that certain territories and people require and beseech domination.'*[20]

Scholars on imperialism have traced how these ideological formations were reproduced in arts, science, literature, and popular culture and, as political scientist Waleed Hazbun suggests, these can also be traced in tourism.[21] The academic configurations underlying these notions will be discussed in the following sections.

Defining tourism

Defining tourism is a tricky business, as it has proven to be difficult to point out the core features of this multi-faceted phenomenon. However, the elaborate academic discussion on this topic shall not be reviewed here. In its broadest sense, tourism can be understood as the act of voluntary travel with a leisure motive (although other motives could be in play), with the intention of returning home.[22] Modern tourism is diverse, as its character and configurations change according to the context it takes place in. It is defined by factors such as, but not limited to, historical context, reasons for travelling, destination, resources, and the nature of personal company.

Following American historian Eric Zuelow, tourism is a modern phenomenon that stems from, and shaped, the modern world. Zuelow defines modernity as a 'condition', rather than a value. According to him, the configurations of tourism arose from this modern condition over the nineteenth century. In other words, being a tourist was intrinsically linked to being modern.[23] He discerns 'modern tourism' from pre-1800s forms of leisure travel, as the scale and scope of leisure travel in the nineteenth century were significantly larger than before. The Industrial Revolution resulted in an expansion of the transportation network, while the emergence of a tourist industry

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[19] John M. MacKenzie, "Introduction," in *European Empires and the People. Popular Responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 1–18; John M. MacKenzie, "Introduction," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 1–16; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978).

[20] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), 9.

[21] Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire," 102.

[22] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 2; Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Introduction.

[23] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Introduction; MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*.

made leisure travel accessible to all layers of society in Europe and the Americas.[24] Furthermore, he argues that 'modern tourism is motivated by patterns of consumption, ideas about health, and notions of aesthetics that emerged after the middle of the eighteenth century.'[25] While tourism development was heavily dependent on local context, it was often a manifestation of these transnational configurations of modern tourism. [26] A significant influence on tourism was imperialism, which was a vector in the global spread of tourism.[27] Modern tourism took a sharp turn in the post-war era under the influence of globalization, turning tourism into one of the largest global industries.[28]

One of the ways in which the tourist industry has shaped tourism and influenced travel behavior, is by publishing tourist literature, such as brochures, commercials and guidebooks. Conceptualizing or defining guidebooks as a genre is a daunting exercise, as the term is used in academia for different sorts of tourism texts.[29] Recently, tourism scholars Valerie Peel and Anders Sørensen explored the possibilities of laying a conceptual groundwork for guidebooks. They argue that if the guidebook is conceptualized as a genre, not only the literary content of the guidebook, but also its use by consumers should be taken into account.[30] This makes the guidebook a text to be read and an object to be used. Elaborating on this, they outline five constituent factors that characterize guidebooks:[31]

- **Utility**: guidebooks are made to be used in the field and often contain practical information about locations and how to get there. As a text, they are discrete and self-contained entities that facilitate travelers.
- **Substance**: guidebooks contains selective representations of destinations. These descriptions are comprehensive, and focus on practical and place information.
- **Ephemerality**: guidebooks have a distinct non-local audience, as they primarily target transient visitors.
- **Authority**: guidebooks have a distinct sender identity, in the form of an author or publisher. The authority of the guidebook emerges from this authorship. By assembling information and giving advice on a destination, it tries to supersede other official information.

[24] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Introduction.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Eric G. E. Zuelow, "The Necessity of Touring Beyond the Nation: An Introduction," in *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European History*, ed. Eric G.E. Zuelow (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 7.
[27] Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire," 101.
[28] Ueli Gyr, "The History of Tourism: Structures on the Path to Modernity," *European History Online (EGO)*, 2010, 30, http://www.ieg-ego.eu/gyru-2010-en; Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, chapters 9 & 10.
[29] Victoria Peel and Anders Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks*, Kobo E-book (London: Channel View Publications, 2016), chapter 2.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.

- **Assistance**: guidebooks facilitate a selection of sites and routes. Unlike the itinerary of a package tour, the tourist can decide how he or she uses the outlined itineraries of a guidebook. Guidebooks also evaluate and asses the sites selected, not necessarily from an objective point of view, to assist tourists during their travels.

The relation between user and guidebook is not deterministic or prefixed. In the past, many academics, with Roland Barthes' scathing analysis of the Blue Guide series in *Mythologies* as a prominent example, assumed that guidebooks directly influence consumer understanding.[32] Barthes argued that the Blue Guide about Spain is an 'agent of blindness', as it projects bourgeois mythologies on Spain, and dictates its interpretation to the passive tourist.[33] While not necessarily dismissing Barthes' argument that the Blue Guides sustain a bourgeois myth, it must be noted that this view on the reception of guidebooks is deterministic. Peel and Sørensen observe that the limits and lack of research on the relation between guidebook and consumer do not warrant the conclusion that tourist understanding is determined by guidebooks and tourist literature.[34] Taking into account the influence of guidebooks, while still granting the user agency of interpretation, this thesis, following Deborah Bhattacharyya, defines guidebooks as mediators of tourist understanding.[35] In her analysis of *Lonely Planet India*, she dismantles the western discourse through which India is constructed in the guidebook. While not dismissing the impact this discourse can have on tourist experience, she argues that 'LP India is one of the several possible and potential resources which tourists use to mediate their experience of India. (…) Because of these other sources, and because of tourists' unique experiences within India itself, it is probably best to conceptualize readers as in dialogue with the book.'[36]

In explaining the relation between tourism, guidebooks and identity, it is insightful to contrast two seminal schools of thought in tourism studies: the notion of the 'tourist gaze' of British sociologist John Urry against the conception of the tourist as an active seeker of meaning, proposed by American sociologist Dean MacCannell. Urry uses Michel Foucault's concept of the 'gaze' to explain the way tourists interpret the world. He argues that the tourist gaze, the way tourists see sights, is socially and culturally constructed. It fixates on an opposition to daily life as 'the gaze in any historical period is constructed in relationship to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social

[32] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1991), 128; Peel and Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks*, chapter 4.
[33] Barthes, *Mythologies*, 76.
[34] Peel and Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks*, chapter 4. For more on guidebook use, see: Anette Therkelsen and Anders Sørensen, "Reading the Tourist Guidebook: Tourists, Ways of Reading and Relating to Guidebooks," *Journal of Tourism Studies* 16, no. 1 (2005): 48–60.
[35] Peel and Sørensen, *Exploring the Use and Impact of Travel Guidebooks*, chapter 4; Deborah P. Bhattacharyya, "Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook," *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 2 (1997): 372.
[36] Ibid., 372.

experience and consciousness.'[37] According to Urry, these constructions emerge from societal structures and are maintained by the tourist industry through commercials, brochures and guidebooks. The industry capitalizes on tourist imaginaries, which shape consumer anticipations. These imaginaries are stereotypical geographical images of destinations constructed by media, arts and education, and are reaffirmed through consumption.[38] As the gaze is constructed by the tourist industry, the tourist is rendered as an absent-minded consumer of fixed signals and signs.

Although the tourist gaze offers fruitful insights into the tourist industry, it is deterministic and does not do justice to the tourist's agency. MacCannell, on the other hand, characterizes the tourist as an 'active (…) seeker of knowledge and experience.'[39] According to him, tourists do not passively consume prefixed meanings, but search for 'meaning beyond the marketplace' in an ever-changing modern world.[40] This search for meaning is an active quest for authenticity and knowledge, rather than shallow entertainment. In contrast to Urry's tourist gaze, German historian Rudy Koshar proposes the notion of the 'optics of tourism,' to describe the way in which tourists actively engage with sights, and attribute meaning.[41] He argues that the promotion of national identity is one of the ways in which tourism has meaning 'beyond the marketplace,' as nationalism, which like tourism is an opposite of daily life, was found in the authenticity and knowledge that the guidebooks provide.[42] Extending Koshar's argument to Stuart Hall's notion of identity construction through cultural consumption, engagement with one's own or other cultures through tourism can lead to redefinition or affirmation of identities and worldviews of the tourist.[43]

While not denying Urry's argument that the tourist industry is an important shaper of sights and experiences, with regards to the agency of the tourist it is insightful to follow Koshar's argument that there is a dynamic relation between consumer and the tourist industry.[44] Koshar argues that the optics of tourism are 'both a product of modern consumerism and an attempt to circumvent or even

[37] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, 1–2.
[38] Noel B. Salazar, "Tourism Imaginaries: A Conceptual Approach," *Annals of Tourism Research* 39, no. 2 (2011): 863–82.
[39] Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction," 3; MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*.
[40] Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction," 3; Rudy Koshar, "'What Ought to Be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (1998): 325; MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 13.
[41] Koshar, "'What Ought to Be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," 325.
[42] Ibid., 325–26.
[43] Stuart Hall, "Introduction," in *Representation. Second Edition*, ed. Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans, and Sean Nixon (London: Sage, 2013); Maya Mazor-Tregerman, Yoel Mansfeld, and Ouzi Elyada, "Travel Guidebooks and the Construction of Tourist Identity," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 15, no. 1 (2017): 80–98.
[44] Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction," 3–4.

challenge the tendency to reduce everything to a commodity.'[45] This makes tourism a laboratory 'of modern life in the industrial world,' in which identities are negotiated.[46] The tourist industry plays into desires of modern tourists for authenticity and meaning.[47] Tapping from tourist imaginaries and conceptions of 'self' and 'other', the guidebooks 'pointed to a set of meaning and symbols that transcended the everyday life of commodification and consumption,' and substantiated identities.[48] Modernity gives meaning to confrontations with other cultures and peoples, which leads to a negotiation of the tourist's self-perception. Through experience of 'Otherness', the modern 'self' becomes more delineated.[49]

Tourism and Imperial Identities

While Koshar focuses on national identities, this thesis equips the optics of tourism to distill the imperial worldviews and identities identifiable within the guidebooks of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer. This thesis argues that there is no such thing as one singular imperial identity, as each empire had its own style of imperialism, depending on its historical context and the relation between metropole and colonies. Furthermore, imperialism was countered by many dissenting voices, both from the metropole and the Periphery. However, a few characteristics are central in most conceptions of European imperialism. Firstly, a distinction between the modern metropolitan 'self' and the premodern, colonized 'other.'[50] While identities, such as 'European' and 'indigenous', were not singular, especially in the colonies, a divide between those two informed imperial consciousness.[51] Categories like race, modernity, gender, class and disability were central in the construction of this gap, which substantiated the superiority of colonizer over colonized. This superiority informed a second characteristic, namely the notion that imperialism was a natural order.[52] Imperialism had its fair share of critics during the early twentieth century, but for many metropolitans and colonials, it was a natural system of hierarchy, which implicitly underscored the superiority of the west. The third characteristic is a legitimization of this natural order and the European presence and expansion in the colonies, namely the idea that imperialism was a beneficial

[45] Koshar, "'What Ought to Be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," 325.
[46] Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction," 21.
[47] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Chapter 5.
[48] Koshar, "'What Ought to Be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," 339.
[49] MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*.
[50] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1978), 3; Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xxv; MacKenzie, "Introduction," 2011, 7. Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton Univeristy Press, 2010), 288.
[51] Ann Laura Stoler has shed light on the complexity of identities such as 'European' in the colonies. Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
[52] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 9.

project for both colonizer and colonized. This notion crystallized in the late nineteenth century in the *mission civilatrice*, which became the rationale of several Western empires.[53] The *mission civilatrice*, also known as the white man's burden, revolved around the idea that the colonizer had the moral responsibility to 'uplift' or 'civilize' their inferior colonial subjects. Each empire has its own conception of the *mission civilatrice*. Together, these three characteristics form the nucleus of the concept of 'imperial identities' described in this thesis.

In 'Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries' British historian John MacKenzie offers a vantage point for this thesis, as he discusses how imperialism was encoded in British guidebooks on India. MacKenzie adds the guidebook to Benedict Anderson's 'institutions of power' (censuses, maps and museums), which 'profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion' and established their empire.[54] He argues that British guidebooks about non-western regions were written for a global 'white imperial "imagined community"' and describes the guidebooks as examples of 'print capitalism' and vital objects of British imperial propaganda.[55]

> *'Travellers' handbooks and guide-books are an extremely rewarding source. They represent a significant element in the imperial taxonomy, a listing of place within a wider pre-modernist and sometimes threatening space. Such places abound with historical, modernising and economic significance, while the regions around offer both an ethnographic and a zoological nature to be penetrated in brief forays. Their objective is clearly the charting of progress, the development of the processes of imperial modernisation. (…) In the period when imperial ideology, and the entire developmental philosophy, is reaching its apogee at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, they acted as significant sites of propaganda.'*[56]

Furthermore, guidebooks and tourism are able to reproduce worldviews and hierarchies that support imperialism. The pioneering works of Said and other postcolonial scholars have elucidated how metropolitan cultural production reiterated Oriental stereotypes that substantiated imperialism. As Said's notion of the oriental 'other' does not reflect the variations inherent within the western view of its Asian colonies, the concept of 'tropicality' will be utilized to analyze the imperial representations of the Dutch East Indies. Tropicality entails western conceptions of tropical regions, which revolve around the notion of the tropics as 'a distinct assemblage of natural and human

[53] Remco Raben and Marieke Bloembergen, "Wegen Naar Het Nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950," in *Het Koloniale Beschavingsoffensief*, ed. Remco Raben and Marieke Bloembergen (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 2009), 7.
[54] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 163, 164; MacKenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries," 21.
[55] Mackenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries," 21.
[56] Ibid., 35.

relations', which acts as an environmental opposite to the temperate European environment.[57] Felix Driver and Luciana Martins argue that 'whether represented positively (as in fantasies of the tropical sublime) or negatively (as a pathological space of degeneration), tropicality has frequently served as a foil to temperate nature, to all that is modest, civilized, cultivated.'[58] This negative conception of the tropics fueled colonials anxiety of 'going native.' However, the tropicality of the Archipelago also made it an exciting attraction for tourists, as they could experience their imperial fantasies and encounter the unfamiliar.

Ethnic tourism often reproduces an unequal relation between host and guest, as wealth and power disparity defines the nature of their relationship.[59] Baranowski argues that 'empires are about the projection and maintenance of power, and thus it is not surprising that metropolitan tourists reinforce hierarchies of difference. (..) tourism has 'become synonymous with un-invited visiting', creating inequality between "hosts" and "guests."'[60] In imperial contexts, the asymmetrical relation between tourists and locals – who act as servants, or willingly or unwillingly function as tourist sights – intertwines with racial and social hierarchies. It must be noted that, regardless of whether the guidebooks construct locals as passive, servile or consumable tourist objects, they still have agency. It would be a stretch to assume that they always passively satisfied tourist desires, or if they did, would not have ulterior motives to do so.[61]

Lastly, guidebooks mediate the modern consciousness of the imperial era tourist. For metropolitans, the modern condition had a Eurocentric character, which rendered Western forms of progress superior.[62] Leisure travel was a way to come to terms with the ambivalence that arose from this modern self-conception. The paradox of modernity, as evinced in Couperus' observation of the Minang Kabau houses, is that modern progress leads to a feeling of increased inauthenticity.[63] Tourism allows tourists to escape their superficial and consumerist modern condition, and to experience 'authentic' and 'real' life. MacCannell argues that:

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[57] Luciana Martins and Felix Driver, "Views and Visions of the Tropical World," in *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire*, ed. Luciana Martins and Felix Driver (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 3–23.
[58] Ibid., 3; Susie Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011).
[59] Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Tourism and the Ethnic Division of Labor," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, no. 2 (1992): 235.
[60] Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire," 117.
[61] For recent research that sheds light on host agency in a historical context, see: Raymond Rast, "The Cultural Politics of Tourism in San Francisco's Chinatown , 1882 – 1917," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 1 (2011): 29–60; Richard E. Morris, "Hosts and Guests in Early Cuba Tourism," *Journal of Tourism History* 1838, no. March (2016).
[62] Adrian Vickers, "Modernity and Being 'Moderen': An Introduction," in *Being Modern in Bali. Image and Change*, ed. Adrian Vickers (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1996), 2–3.
[63] MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 3.

> *'For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles. In other words, the concern of moderns for "naturalness," their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely casual and somewhat decadent, though harmless, attachments to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity – the grounds of unifying consciousness.'*[64]

As guidebooks counsel tourists in their search for authenticity, they lead them to what are perceived as 'premodern' cultures of non-western indigenous people, who supposedly are still untarnished by Western progress. In other words, what makes these indigenous people authentic, is what renders them premodern to the tourist. This leads to an affirmation of the tourist's modern consciousness which, as a result, affirms the superiority of the tourist.

Research Question

This thesis revolves around the following question: *how are practices and worldviews of modern tourism and imperialism encoded in the representations of the Dutch East Indies and tourist performances constructed in the guidebooks of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer (1908-1939), and how do these representations and performances inform imperial identities?* Answering this question reveals the imperial and modern world that lurks below the surface of the itineraries, descriptions and photographs of the Vereeniging's guidebooks, and sheds light on the capacity of tourism to reproduce imperialism. Three sub-questions help deconstruct this issue:

- How was tourism organized in the late colonial era in the Dutch East Indies and what was the role of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer in this?
- What representations of the Dutch East Indies, its inhabitants (both European colonials and colonized people), and landscapes and nature are constructed in the guidebooks of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer?
- What kind of tourist performances, tourist spaces and contacts zones are constructed in the guidebooks?

Understanding the role of the Vereeniging in the late colonial state sheds light on the relationship between imperialism and tourism in the context of the Dutch East Indies, which helps to analyze the intentions and configurations behind the content of the guidebooks. Discussing the representations and tourist performances contained within the guidebooks reveals the ways in which these publications have the capacity to mediate imperial identities.

[64] Ibid.

Representations

This thesis focuses on three ways in which guidebooks create representations of a destination: place selection, place description and place interpretation.[65] By selecting accommodations and tourist sights, guidebooks create representations of destinations, in which some elements are highlighted and some ignored.[66] Although it is not likely that guidebook users will blindly follow itineraries and avoid non-mentioned accommodations and sights, they still are influenced by the selection in their choices. Following Bhattacharyya, three kinds of 'authentic' sights can be identified: Natural, historical and social.[67] Seen from a heritage studies perspective, these 'authentic' tourist sights inform identities of the local 'other' (as 'authentic' representations of life of a place or culture)[68] and of the 'self' and, in the imperial context, the European colonizer. Urban and rural interventions and monuments orchestrated by the Dutch could serve as *lieux de memoire* avant-la-lettre, as symbols of the superiority of the modern European colonizer.[69] Assessing the selection of sights and accommodations in the guidebooks is key in understanding what kind of representations of the Dutch East Indies are constructed in the guidebooks.

The second and third ways in which guidebooks create representations are site information and interpretation. Site information entails practical and 'interesting' background information given on sights, while site interpretation entails evaluation and an authoritative assessment of the sight.[70] The tourist industry uses recognizable signs and symbols to give meaning to destinations and sights.[71] Tracking the signs and discourses from imperial imaginaries of the tropics that constitute these place representations in the guidebooks illuminates their imperial context and the identities they mediate. Three aspects of the representation of the Dutch East Indies will be analyzed in this thesis: the representations of the colonizer, the colonized and the landscape

Guidebooks as 'directors' of tourist performances

The concepts of the 'tourist space' and 'contact zone' form a useful vantage point for analyzing how the guidebooks mediate imperialism through tourist performances. Following MacCannell's conception of the tourist as an 'active seeker of experiences', tourism can be conceptualized as a performance. Cultural geographer Tim Edensor argues that tourism entails both reflexive and

[65] Bhattacharyya, "Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook," 378.
[66] Ibid., 379.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Sharon MacDonald, "A People's Story: Heritage, Identity and Authenticity," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, ed. John Urry and Chris Rojek (London: Routledge, 1997), 155–57.
[69] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History : Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 7–24.
[70] Bhattacharyya, "Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook," 381.
[71] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, 3; Noel B. Salazar, "Imagineering Otherness: Anthropological Legacies in Contemporary Tourism," *Anthropological Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (2013): 3.

unreflexive performances of travelers. These performances stem from tourism conventions and habits, and take place in spatial contexts, so-called 'tourist spaces.'[72] Guidebooks are made to direct tourist performances - and therefore tourist spaces - as they select and describe sights, facilities and routes.[73] While one cannot be sure if the tourist acts upon these directions, one can define guidebooks as directors of tourist performances.

When connecting the tourist space with Pratt's concept of the contact zone, the directions given by the guidebook can be studied in an imperial perspective. In *Imperial Eyes,* Pratt outlines how travel literature has 'produced "the rest of the world" for European readerships.'[74] She uses the concept of a 'contact zone' to understand the interactive and improvisational character of colonial encounters. Pratt defines the contact zone as 'the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.'[75] In tourism, contact zones emerge when tourists meet locals, servants and middlemen. By elucidating how the guidebooks give instructions for performances and social intercourse in the contact zone, the imperial hierarchies encoded in the guidebooks become identifiable. In other words, not only directions on tourist performances, but also imperial performances can be distinguished. While these tourist contact zones do not necessarily feature conflict, inequality is an important aspect with regards to this research project.

Methodology

As indicated, the main primary sources used for this thesis are guidebooks published by the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, written in Dutch and English. Nineteen have been incorporated into this research project (figure 1). These guidebooks differ in focus area, content and style, but all satisfy the conceptualization of Sørensen and Peel outlined earlier. To the authors knowledge, these guidebooks are representative, as they make up the majority of the body of available guidebooks in Dutch public libraries and archives (German and French guidebooks were omitted). Given the lists of publications that are featured in several issues of the Vereeniging, this body is quite substantial and is representative of the chronological and topical span of the guidebooks. The guidebooks incorporated in this research focus on Java, Sumatra, Bali and, to a lesser extent, Lombok. These islands were the center of tourism in the Dutch East Indies, while in contrast, few guidebooks were dedicated to 'outer districts' (such as the Moluccas and Celebes). Moreover, these are unattainable and are therefore not included in this thesis.

[72] Tim Edensor, "Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism," *Tourist Studies* 1, no. 1 (2001): 59–63.
[73] Ibid., 73.
[74] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 5.
[75] Ibid., 6.

The structure of this thesis is based on Bhattacharyya's analysis of *Lonely Planet India*. Unlike *Mediating India*, however, this thesis is not grounded in semiotics. The multidisciplinary framework which has been elaborated on above forms the basis of the analysis. In each analytical chapter, one or several case studies will be utilized to illustrate the argument, which will be complemented by examples from other sources. The first chapter relates to the history of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, in the context of the transnational tourism industry and (Dutch) imperialism. The second chapter discusses the representations of the colonizers, while the third chapter analyzes representations of the colonized population. The fourth chapter elucidates on representations of the landscape and nature of the Dutch East Indies. The fifth chapter addresses tourist performances, tourist spaces and contact zones set up by the guidebooks. In the conclusion, all of this will be tied together in order to understand what kind of imperial identities the guidebooks mediated to their international audience.

Chapter 1 – Tourism, imperialism, and the Dutch East Indies

In 1934, the Royal Dutch Mail tried to lure tourists to the Dutch East Indies by placing an advertisement in the magazine *Tourism in Netherland India* (figure 2).[76] The magazine was distributed all over the world by the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and thousands of curious eyes must have gazed over the advertisement wondering what a vacation to the Dutch East Indies must be like. [77] The advertisement promises good service, palm tree beaches and exotic cultures. In doing so, it exposes two features of the modern era: tourism and imperialism. The early twentieth century saw the global rise of modern tourism continue, as leisure time increasingly defined life in the metropole, transport innovations made the world smaller, and tourist infrastructure emerged everywhere. Moreover, the Royal Dutch Mail was an important enterprise in the Dutch imperial project. As European empires expanded over the world, so did the steam liners and railways that connected the metropole to its colonies. The Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer was established in this era of imperialism and tourism.

Before the guidebooks of the Vereeniging are discussed, it is important to be aware of the context in which it came into existence. This chapter locates the history of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer in the vortex of modern tourism and (Dutch) imperialism in the late colonial era. In doing so, the historical stage is set for the following chapters. The story of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer is the story of how the Dutch imperial powers, colonial government and entrepreneurs, mobilized tourism for the Dutch imperial project. Therefore, the history of the Vereeniging is approached as 'tourism in an imperial context', rather than 'imperial tourism.'[78] This prevents that the understanding of the Vereeniging is overdetermined by imperialism. The tourist industry in the Dutch East Indies did not develop in an isolated context, but capitalized on modern configurations of tourism and was encoded with the worldviews of the imperial world it emerged from.

Tourism as a prism on the modern world

Long before the Vereeniging was established in 1908, tourism had become one of the most popular leisure activities of the metropolitan population. Alongside Couperus, many other Europeans and Americans engaged in national and international tourism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. While practices of leisure travel resembling tourism can be discerned in history from Greek antiquity on, it is in the modern era, and the Western 'condition of modernity,' that the

[76] "Borobudur Number," *Tourism in Netherland India* X, no. 5 (1935).
[77] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *23ste Jaarverslag Der Officieele Vereeniging Voor Toeristenverkeer in Nederlandsch-Indie over Het Jaar 1930* (Weltevreden: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1931), 8.
[78] The formulation 'tourism in an imperial context' is borrowed from: Demay, *Tourism and Colonization in Indochina (1898-1939)*, 3.

configurations of tourism came into being.[79] Tourism became a prism for people to engage with the modern world around them. This prism was shaped by cultural sensibilities, consumption habits and technological advancements of the modern era.[80] As it spread over the world, it changed politics, culture, economics and the environment in the process.

Modern tourism's most influential precursor was the Grand Tour, undertaken by young European nobles, mostly from Britain, from the sixteenth century on.[81] The Grand Tour focused on cultural and aristocratic highlights of the European mainland: classical Italian sites such as Rome, and large European cities such as Munich, Paris and Vienna. It had an important social function, as it marked the traveler's transition to manhood, made the young aristocrat familiar with the history, etiquette and culture of the European elite, and made him (and in later periods, her) an educated person.[82] The Grand Tour lost its significance and prestige in the early nineteenth century, but its conventions, destinations and the idea of self-improvement through travel lived on in tourism.[83]

Landscape and nature became major assets of leisure travel in the eighteenth century. As humankind became able to control nature through science and technology, it became a place to be explored, rather than feared.[84] Furthermore, arts and philosophy inspired new ways to appreciate the landscape. Aesthetic notions, such as the 'picturesque' and the 'sublime', a sense of being overpowered yet exhilarated by natural phenomena, shaped sightseeing activities from the seventeenth century onwards.[85] The mountains and the sea, which used to be avoided out of fear, became tourist hot beds in the nineteenth century. Besides subliminal landscapes, these places offered healthy surroundings. The Industrial Revolution and the rapid urbanization of Europe had turned cities into unhealthy spaces. Pristine spas, luxurious beach resorts and idyllic mountain retreats offered the tourist a healthy refuge from the cities, and substantiated the idea that travel was not only mental self-improvement, but also beneficial to one's physical state.[86]

Initially, tourism was an upper-class phenomenon, as only elites had the time and money to travel. In the nineteenth century, the middle classes followed in their footsteps. A growing amount of labor days and rising incomes allowed the middle class to undertake day trips, while the elites,

[79] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Introduction.
[80] Ibid.
[81] For more on the Grand Tour see: Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1992); Roger Hudson, ed., *The Grand Tour 1592-1796* (London: Folio Society, 1993).
[82] Gyr, "The History of Tourism: Structures on the Path to Modernity," 9.
[83] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Chapter 1.
[84] Ibid., chapter 2.
[85] Ibid., Chapter 2; Orval Löfgren, *On Holiday. A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, n.d.), 19, 27.
[86] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Chapter 2.

anxious of the influx of lower classes, fled to exclusive resorts.[87] The working classes also got the opportunity to travel, as British travel agencies such as Thomas Cook & Son organized packaged tours, focused on self-improvement.[88] Tourism became a way in which class and national identities were established, both by tourist promoters and by the tourists themselves.[89]

Meanwhile, the rapid extension of the European and American transport network in 'the age of steam' facilitated the growth of tourism, as further away places could be reached quicker, and for lower prices.[90] The popularity of leisure travel led to the emergence of a tourist industry over the nineteenth century. Travel agencies organized group trips and promoted vacations, and the hospitality industry in popular tourist destinations catered to their guests every need. While the packaged tours gave tourism a collective character, the emergence of the guidebook in the nineteenth century led to an individualization of travel. Guidebooks contributed to self-improvement, as they pointed out the essential cultural and natural elements of an area to tourists so they could better understand the world around them.[91] Publications by Baedeker and Murray were considered the 'holy books' of tourism, and had a significant impact of the construction of sights.[92] On the other hand, while guidebooks allowed individual travelers (especially women) to explore destinations by themselves, guidebook users were often ridiculed as they only followed the guidebooks and never left 'the beaten track.'[93]

Leisure travel offered a way for bourgeois tourists to make sense of their everchanging world. It is therefore not a coincidence that tourism became enmeshed with imperialism, as the colonies captured the imagination of many metropolitans. World fairs brought the exotic cultures of the colonies close to home, while stories of friends and family in colonial service, news reports and imaginative novels made Europe dream of far-away lands.[94] The global transport network enabled tourists to experience this 'exoticism' in reality. While metropolitans started travelling to the colonies, the colonials themselves did not want to miss out on the leisure travel they were used to when living in Europe, and therefore, domestic colonial tourist infrastructures were established.

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[87] Ibid., Chapter 4.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction," 10–11; Jan Palmowski, "Travels with Baedeker - The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian England," in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002).
[90] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Chapter 3.
[91] Ibid., Chapter 5.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*; Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire"; Bloembergen, *De Koloniale Vertoning. Nederland En Indië Op de Wereld-Tentoonstellingen (1880-1931)*; Angela Schwartz, "'Come to the Fair'" : Transgressing Boundaries in World's Fair Tourism," in *Touring Beyond the Nation. A Transnational Approach to European Tourism History*, 2011, 79–100.

All of this led to the emergence of 'empires of tourism' in the colonies. Thomas Cook & Son organized packaged trips to Egypt from the 1870s on, while tours in Australia, India and other countries followed suit.[95] India, Burma and Ceylon could be explored in the late nineteenth century with guidebooks of John Murray.[96] After 1900, Safari tourism became popular in Kenya, as both metropolitan and colonial British elites indulged in big game hunting, although the guns were slowly replaced by cameras.[97] Furthermore, Caribbean islands, such as Jamaica and Cuba, emerged as 'tropical tourist paradises' in the late colonial era. [98] Tourism in colonial Asia was mainly shaped by health concerns. In India and Indochina, hill stations had emerged in the nineteenth century. European colonials recuperated from the tropical heat in these stations, which were located in the cool climates of the mountainous hinterlands.[99] Tourism also took off in the Dutch and American empires, and to a lesser extent (as far as is known at the moment) in the Belgian and Italian empires.[100] Imperialism also had an impact on tourism in the metropole, and was mobilized as propaganda by dictatorships and (informal) empires on all sides of the political spectrum.[101] The configurations of tourism in the colonies was not that different from tourism in Europe and the US. Health considerations, self-improvement, authenticity, sightseeing and relaxation were also main factors in tourism in the colonies. These tourist practices often reaffirmed and legitimized imperialism, or extended its reach.[102]

[95] Hunter, "Tourism and Empire: The Thomas Cook & Son Enterprise on the Nile, 1868–1914."
[96] MacKenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries."
[97] Angela Thompsell, *Hunting Africa. British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015); Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire," 107–9.
[98] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Chapter 6; Christine Skwiot, *The Purpose of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: University of Pennslyvania Press, 2010).
[99] Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains. Hill Stations and the British Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Demay, *Tourism and Colonization in Indochina (1898-1939)*; J.E. Spencer and W.L. Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," *Geographical Review* 38, no. 4 (1948): 637–51; Eric T. Jennings, *Imperial Heights: Dalat and the Making and Undoing of French Indochina* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
[100] Andrew Wigley, "Against the Wind: The Role of Belgian Colonial Tourism Marketing in Resisting Pressure to Decolonise from Africa," *Journal of Tourism History* 7, no. 3 (2015): 193–209; Libbie Freed, "Every European Becomes a Chief. Travel Guides to Colonial Equatorial Africa, 1900-1958," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 11, no. 2 (2011); Stephanie Malia Hom, "Empires of Tourism: Travel and Rhetoric in Italian Colonial Libya and Albania, 1911–1943," *Journal of Tourism History* 4, no. 3 (2012): 281–300; Skwiot, *The Purpose of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i*.
[101] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, chapter 8; Shelley Baranowski, *Strength through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Raphael Costa, "The 'great Façade of Nationality': Some Considerations on Portuguese Tourism and the Multiple Meanings of Estado Novo Portugal in Travel Literature," *Journal of Tourism History* 5, no. 1 (2013); David Gilbert, "«London in All Its Glory—or How to Enjoy London»: Guidebook Representations of Imperial London," *Journal of Historical Geography* 25, no. 3 (1999): 279–97; Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire."
[102] Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire."

The late colonial era in the Dutch East Indies (1900-1942)

Unlike the British and the French, the Dutch initially were reluctant to open their colonies for tourists. Until 1902, they restricted access for foreigners to the Dutch East Indies.[103] This changed with the advent of the late colonial era, as the colonial government got involved in the tourist industry by supporting the establishment of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer. The Dutch took pride in their colonial possessions in the Indonesian archipelago, and were ready to show this to the world. They saw their policy as 'ethical' and efficient, and revolving around profit and consolidation rather than expansion.[104] However, like other European empires, Dutch imperialism had an expansionist character and, sometimes rather violently, exploited the indigenous population.[105] The late colonial society of the Dutch East Indies was characterized by this paradoxical self-perception. In this context, the Vereeniging emerged.

The Dutch East Indies were a relic from the global Dutch trading empire of the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Companie* (VOC) and the *West-Indische Compagnie* (WIC). Both enterprises immersed themselves forcefully in world trade in the sixteenth century, and established a trading empire, with posts and strongholds in North America, the Caribbean, Brazil, West Africa, Southeast Asia, India and Japan. After the bankruptcy of the VOC and WIC, and the Napoleonic era, the Dutch empire was reduced to Surinam, the Dutch Antilles and the Dutch possessions in the Indonesian archipelago. These possessions became the core of the Dutch East Indies (*Nederlands Indië*), a colonial state under the rule of king Willem I in 1816. Batavia, former headquarters of the VOC and the only Dutch city on Java, became the capital of the state. Over the nineteenth century, the Dutch established themselves as the main imperial power in the Archipelago through cunning political deals and aggressive expansionist warfare. The Dutch defined their policy as 'non-interventionist', but from the 1830s on, they undertook military expeditions in the 'outer possessions', such as Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes. It was in the 1870s that 'the Dutch venture into full-blown empire building began.'[106] They waged expansionist wars in the 'outer possessions' which proved to be strenuous, and at times painstaking campaigns. In Aceh, it took the Dutch thirty years of guerilla warfare to subdue the

[103] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 194.
[104] Frances Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 42.
[105] For more on the debate on the nature of Dutch imperialism, see: Maarten Kuitenbrouwer, "Het Imperialisme-Debat in de Nederlandse Geschiedschrijving," *Bijdragen En Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis Der Nederlanden* 113, no. 1986 (1998): 56–73; Maarten Kuitenbrouwer, *Netherlands and the Rise of Modern Imperialism* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1992); Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten; Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken En Doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942* (Utrecht: HES, 1981); Raben and Bloembergen, "Wegen Naar Het Nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950."
[106] Adrian Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 10. H.W. van den Doel, *Het Rijk van Insulinde. Opkomst En Ondergang van Een Nederlandse Kolonie* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 1996), 61.

sultanate and secure the natural resources of the region.[107] During the Aceh War (1873-1904), the Acehnese guerilla tactics drove the Dutch army to desperation, and the frustrated soldiers retaliated on the local people by 'levelling villages and killing women and children.'[108] On Lombok and Bali the Dutch met great resistance, which in the case of the latter resulted in a series of violent interventions.[109] By 1909, after Bali was subdued, the Dutch had carved out an integrated territory in the Archipelago under military rule (figure 3).[110] Besides territorial expansion, economic exploitation was a central element of Dutch imperialism. From 1816 on, policy dictated that the Dutch East Indies were to be a profitable colony (*wingewest*) above anything else. The Cultivation System (*Cultuurstelsel*), which forced Javanese farmers to produce cash crops for the European market, generated large profits but was a heavy burden on the Javanese population.[111] In 1870, the Cultivation System was dismantled, partly because of growing resentment of the exploitation of farmers, but also for economic reasons, to open the market for European entrepreneurs.

The dawn of the new century marked a new phase of Dutch imperialism. The late colonial era (1900-1942) was characterized by the ongoing issue of how to shape the Dutch East Indies in the light of the modern world.[112] The colonial state expanded, a great number of Europeans migrated to the colony and technological and cultural modernizations impacted the Dutch East Indies.[113] As a result, colonial policy and society were dominated by the tension between ideas of development and modernization of the colony and its inhabitants on the one hand, and cultural conservation and reactionary repression of the indigenous people on the other hand.[114] This tension came to the fore in the 'Ethical Policy' (*Ethische Politiek*), which in name was the doctrine of Dutch colonial policy in the late colonial era.[115] In reality, it was a discursive façade that obscured the multifaceted nature of colonial rule and society. The Ethical Policy can be seen as the Dutch equivalent of the idea of the *mission civilatrice*, the responsibility of the colonizer to uplift the colonized population, which had become an important feature of international imperialism.[116] As criticism on the Dutch exploitation

[107] Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 10–11.
[108] Ibid., 11.
[109] Henk Schulte Nordholt, *The Spell of Power. A History of Balinese Politics* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996), 191–216.
[110] Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 14.
[111] van den Doel, *Het Rijk van Insulinde. Opkomst En Ondergang van Een Nederlandse Kolonie*, 56.
[112] Raben and Bloembergen, "Wegen Naar Het Nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950," 21.
[113] Remco Raben and Ulbe Bosma, *De Oude Indische Wereld 1500-1920* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2003); Raben and Bloembergen, "Wegen Naar Het Nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950"; Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*.
[114] Raben and Bloembergen, "Wegen Naar Het Nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950," 9, 21.
[115] Ibid., 9; Bloembergen, *De Koloniale Vertoning. Nederland En Indië Op de Wereld-Tentoonstellingen (1880-1931)*, 224.
[116] For more on the national specifics of the *mission civilatrice*, see: Alice L. Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize. The Repulican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Tine Fischer, Harald Mann, and Michael Mann, eds., *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission; Cultural Ideology in British*

of the indigenous people grew in the Netherlands and in the colonies, a sense of duty (*ereschuld*) towards the indigenous people grew in Dutch politics. This led to the announcement of the Ethical Policy. In 1900, the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina proclaimed that colonial policy would not only focus on economic development, but also on the progress and prosperity of the colonized people. Frances Gouda, author of *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942* argued, 'Rather than viewing the colonies only as patrimony and a profitable cash cow, the Ethical Policy implied a novel dedication on the part of the Dutch colonial administration to the development of schools and medical services, transportation, and other infrastructural improvements for the native population.'[117]

The Dutch colonial administration reflected this paternalistic self-conception. The central idea in Dutch colonial policy was that power should be exercised with respect to local law and customs (*adat*).[118] Gouda argues that 'Dutch colonial administrators could not rely on crude power or brute force. Instead, many of them saw their primary role as one of governing their districts with more anthropological learning, greater cultural sensitivity, and better political skills than any other imperial power in Asia.'[119] With the help of anthropologists and *adat* scholars, colonial officials studied indigenous cultures and communities, after which *adat* systems (often reinvented by Dutch scholars) were incorporated in colonial administration. In this system, the Dutch hoped to combine the systematic insights of the West with indigenous institutions, which were viewed as the essence of indigenous life.[120] The Dutch colonial government enjoyed a good reputation. Foreign observers praised it as efficient and profitable, while envious and admiring European empires studied the colony thoroughly.[121]

The Ethical Policy gave colonial officials a sense of mission, and infrastructural, educational, and political reforms were carried through.[122] However, the reality was more ambivalent than the name of the doctrine suggests. Firstly, the Ethical Policy downplayed the expansionist character of Dutch imperialism, but as Dutch historian Elsbeth Locher-Scholten argues, military expansion was

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India (London: Wimbledon Publishing company, 2004); Miguel Bandeira Jerinomo, *The "Civilising Mission" of Portuguese Colonialism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015); Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten; Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken En Doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942*; Meg Wesling, *Empire's Proxy : American Literature and U.S. Imperialism in the Philippines* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

[117] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 24.

[118] Ibid., 51.

[119] Ibid., 41.

[120] Ibid., 51.

[121] Ibid., 45–46.

[122] Ibid., 25; Jan Kop and Wim Ravesteijn, "Gewinzucht En Roeping. De Infrastructuur van Het Nederlands Kolonialisme in Indonesië," in *Bouwen in de Archipel. Burgerlijke Openbare Werken in Nederlands-Indië En Indonesië 1800-2000*, ed. Wim Ravesteijn and Jan Kop (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2004), 20,22.

integral to the Ethical Policy. Expansion of state authority, through the 'pacification' of the outer districts, was seen as a requirement for implementation of uplifting ethical policies.[123] Moreover, it obscured the fact that not only indigenous people, but the Dutch themselves as well profited of the infrastructural and political reforms.[124] Secondly, ethical policies in the late colonial era were not consistent, as ideas on progress, civilization and citizenship changed over the years.[125] The notion that the indigenous elites could be lifted up through 'association' with the colonizer, while their cultures should be respected, dominated colonial policy over the 1910s. This entailed that indigenous elites were offered western education, enabling them to participate in government.[126] However, from the 1920s on, the Ethical Policy took a conservative turn. Indonesian elites started to question Dutch rule and nationalist, communist and Islamic movements gained a foothold in Indonesian society, leading to communist revolts in Java and Sumatra in 1926 and 1927.[127] The Dutch government repressed these cries for independence as it came down hard on Indonesian political movements. The Dutch government now took a conservative approach to the modernization of indigenous elites and restrained education for the elites. The respect for indigenous culture in colonial policy turned into loftiness, and the idea that the cultural core of the indigenous people should be conserved, rather than modernized, became apparent in colonial policy.[128] Thirdly, the Ethical Policy reproduced the idea of indigenous people as 'childlike' and in need of western tutelage, which reaffirmed the gap between modern Europeans and 'premodern' Indonesians.[129] Despite these paradoxes, the Dutch perceived and presented their colonial project as efficient, ethical and natural, and the Ethical Policy justified Dutch presence in the Archipelago.

As previously stated, the late colonial society was characterized by tensions of modernity. The influx of European immigrants to the Indonesian archipelago in the late colonial era changed the nature of the colonial society. Initially, elite colonial society consisted mostly of (Indo-) European colonials whose families had lived in the Indies for generations and had developed a distinct creole

[123] Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten; Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken En Doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942*, 198–99. This was also the case in Civilizing Missions in other empires: Raben and Bloembergen, "Wegen Naar Het Nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950," 7.
[124] Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten; Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken En Doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942*, 200.
[125] Raben and Bloembergen, "Wegen Naar Het Nieuwe Indië, 1890-1950," 9.
[126] Bloembergen, *De Koloniale Vertoning. Nederland En Indië Op de Wereld-Tentoonstellingen (1880-1931)*, 56–57.
[127] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 26–27; Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 79.
[128] Bloembergen, *De Koloniale Vertoning. Nederland En Indië Op de Wereld-Tentoonstellingen (1880-1931)*, 57; Locher-Scholten, *Ethiek in Fragmenten; Vijf Studies over Koloniaal Denken En Doen van Nederlanders in de Indonesische Archipel 1877-1942*, 203.
[129] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 25.

society.[130] By the end of the nineteenth century, the European immigrants dominated this society, which led to a changing perception of European identities.[131] As Vickers argues, 'the Dutchman's whiteness started to solidify,' and race became a primary marker of identity.[132] This influx, the deeper penetration of the state in society, the dissemination of Dutch culture through press and education, and the social and political mobilization of the population enlarged the divide between Europeans and Indonesians.[133] This resulted in a racial hierarchy and classification, which was institutionalized in law, and reproduced in social relations and education.[134] As calls for Indonesian independence grew, the Dutch colonizer anxiously amplified the relationship between metropole and colony, but the racial divide between the two simultaneously widened.

Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer

It was on the wings of imperialism that tourism spread to the Archipelago. However, until 1902, colonial government concealed the Dutch East Indies from international tourism. Access to the colony was heavily restricted for foreigners, which made travelling beyond the cities of Java a bureaucratic affair for foreign tourists.[135] There is evidence of small scale tourism before 1900. Travel literature, both of Dutch and international authorship, show that the Archipelago was explored by some for leisure ends.[136] Furthermore, domestic health tourism had taken off before 1900, with the emergence of hill stations. Military stations in the hills and mountains, which because of their cool climate were seen as 'European-like environments,' offered the soldiers a refuge to the heat of the lowlands and the cities.[137] European colonials discovered the hill stations as well, and sanatoria, summer retreats and resorts emerged. J.E. Spencer is not clear in dating the civilian patronage of hill resorts, but argues it started in the early nineteenth century.[138] In any case, the hill stations were well established by the early 1900s.[139]

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[130] Raben and Bosma, *De Oude Indische Wereld 1500-1920*.
[131] Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 27.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Raben and Bosma, *De Oude Indische Wereld 1500-1920*, 13; Susie Protschky, "The Colonial Table: Food, Culture and Dutch Identity in Colonial Indonesia," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54, no. 3 (2008): 356.
[134] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 20.
[135] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 194.
[136] For an overview of Dutch travel literature, see: Honings and van Zonneveld, *Een Tint van Het Indische Oosten. Reizen in Insulinde 1800-1950*. Two travel reports that are often cited in VTV literature and contemporary academic literature, are: Eliza Scidmore, *Java, the Garden of the East* (New York: The Century Co., 1898); Augusta de Wit, *Java: Feiten En Fantasieën* ('s Gravenhage: Van Stockum, 1905).
[137] Spencer and Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," 640; Ann Laura Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures," in *Imperial Monkey Business: Racial Supremacy in Social Darwinist Theory and Colonial Practice*, ed. Jan Breman (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1990), 646.
[138] Spencer and Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," 640.
[139] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 202.

The government position on international tourism changed with the advent of the late colonial era. From 1902 until 1916, travel restrictions were gradually lifted and foreigners became able to travel in Java and the outer districts. Cribb argues that the colonial archives do not reveal why this happened, but links this development to the Ethical Policy, as its doctrine took away reasons for the Dutch to hide conditions in the colony from the international eye.[140] Furthermore, tourism 'offered a welcome injection of money into the colonial economy,' which was necessary given the expensive development plans of the Ethical Policy.[141] Around 1900, circumstances were ideal for tourism to develop in the Archipelago. The Dutch East Indies were connected to the major ports of Asia, Australia and Europe by steam liners, and tourist agencies like Thomas Cook and Son had become active in Southeast Asia.[142] In the Archipelago, travelling had become easier, as railways and roads connected significant places on the islands.[143] The colonial government recognized this potential and got involved by helping to establish the first international tourist bureau on Java, the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer. In 1907 J.M. Gantvoort, owner of the Hotel des Indes in Batavia, had discussed the possibilities of establishing an organization for the promotion of foreign travel with J.G. Pott, governmental Director of Education, Religion and Local Industry.[144] Governor-General Joannes Van Heutsz, a former general and national hero of the Aceh war, supported the idea.[145] In 1908, he appointed a committee which laid the groundwork for the foundation of the Vereeniging, and offered a subsidy of 25,000 guilders.[146] In March 1908, the Vereeniging was founded and started its activities.[147] The Vereeniging first held office in a pavilion on Rijswijk, in Weltevreden (figure 4).[148] In 1924, the Vereeniging moved to a larger facility, which was offered to them by the government.[149] In 1933, they moved back to Rijswijk, to a new office (figure 5).

Combining Sunjayadi's and Cribb's insights, the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer can be classified as a nonprofit association under government supervision, consisting of state and private businesses, which all had a stake in travel or tourism.[150] Its aim was to promote the Dutch East Indies

[140] Ibid., 195.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Eerste Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1908* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1909), 9–10.
[143] Damanik and Raharjana, "Tourism of the Javanese Monarchy during the Dutch Colonial Era," 188.
[144] Achmad Sunjayadi. Interviewed by Hans Meulendijks. E-Mail. June 27 2017, 3.
[145] Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 13; "Interview Achmad Sunjayadi," 3.
[146] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Eerste Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1908*, 3.
[147] Ibid., 3–4.
[148] Ibid., 4.
[149] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Zeventiende Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1924* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1925), 5.
[150] "Interview Achmad Sunjayadi," 3; Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 195.

as an international tourist destination.[151] They did so through the publication and global circulation of promotion brochures, posters and magazines, and by approaching international tour agencies, operators and tourist offices.[152] The bureau also facilitated tourism in the Dutch Indies, as they published guidebooks and maps, ran a tourist information bureau in Batavia, and lobbied at governmental and non-governmental institutions to improve tourist infrastructure and make travel easier for tourists.[153]

The Vereeniging was deeply embedded in the Dutch imperial project. Stimulating tourism had potential benefits for the colonial government and private businesses, both of which were major stakeholders in the association. Pott argued that a cooperation between government and an association for the stimulation of tourism, not only would lead to more visitors in the 'beautiful regions' of Java, but would also improve the infrastructure in these areas.[154] In addition, he stated that the establishment of such an association would be another way in which Governor-General Van Heutsz would stimulate the colony.[155] Following Cribb's observation that tourism was a new source of profit, an influx of tourist money would benefit the state, and as the Vereeniging notes, indigenous industry.[156] Moreover, a journalist of *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* speculated that the government wanted to use tourism to show the world its benevolent and efficient colony.[157] The journalist points out the propagandist benefits of tourism promotion for the government, which undoubtedly played a role in the involvement of the colonial government in tourism. These considerations presupposed the deep involvement of the government in the Vereeniging. From 1908 to 1942, a government delegate seated in the board, and the tourist bureau received an annual government subsidy of 10,000 guilders.[158] In the 1930s, the Vereeniging coordinated visits of foreign dignitaries to the Dutch East Indies, such as the Governor-General of the British Straits settlements, the Governor of the Philippines and the French Minister of the Colonies.[159] These visits illustrate how the government capitalized on the propagandist potential of the Vereeniging, as they used the association to provide a positive representation to other colonial powers.

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[151] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Eerste Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1908*, 5–6; Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 195.
[152] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Eerste Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1908*, 9, 13–14.
[153] Ibid.
[154] "Bevordering van Het Vreemdelingenverkeer," *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, March 25, 1908.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 195; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 3.
[157] "Bevordering van Het Vreemdelingenverkeer."
[158] "Interview Achmad Sunjayadi," 3; Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 196.
[159] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *23ste Jaarverslag Der Officieele Vereeniging Voor Toeristenverkeer in Nederlandsch-Indie over Het Jaar 1930*, 11; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *24ste Jaarverslag Der Officieele Vereeniging Voor Toeristenverkeer in Nederlandsch-Indie over Het Jaar 1931* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1932), 8–9.

The board of the Vereeniging also consisted of officials of private and state businesses.[160] Officials of the state railways, and shipping firms such as the *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij*, were prominent in the Vereeniging's leadership. Board members were also drawn from the hospitality industry, banks, shipping agencies, shops and private railway companies.[161] Besides the organizations, the membership of the Vereeniging consisted of local governments, travel agencies and trading companies.[162] Attracting international tourists to the Dutch East Indies was in the interest of these organizations, as this would mean more guests in hotels and more travelers on their shipping lines and trains.

Initially, the Vereeniging focused on stimulating and promoting tourism in Java, and to a lesser extent, the Padang Highlands of Sumatra.[163] For international promotion, they build an elaborate international network of representatives. By 1916, information on tourism in the Dutch East Indies could be obtained from representatives in the Netherlands, Great Britain, Germany, United States, British India and Ceylon, the British Strait Settlements, Thailand, the Philippines, Hong Kong, China, Australia, Japan and Hawaii.[164] In the brochures and the guidebooks, the Vereeniging carefully constructed a destination image of Java which was centered on its natural beauty.[165] The introduction of the guidebook *Come to Java* (1916) is illustrative (figure 6):

> *'JAVA: THE BEAUTIFUL TROPICAL ISLAND.*
>
> *Famous Hindu Ruins. – Many Active Volcanoes.*
>
> *Splendid Motoring. – Grand Scenery.*
>
> *Renowned Botanical Garden.*
>
> *Excellent Steamer- and Railway Services.*
>
> *Good Modern Hotels.'*[166]

While European cities, Hindu ruins, and palaces of the sultans were significant sights, the tourist promotion focused on volcanic and tropical landscapes.[167] The Javanese landscape satisfied tourist desires, with both picturesque (idyllic rice fields) and subliminally terrifying (volcanoes and craters)

[160] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 195.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *23ste Jaarverslag Der Officieele Vereeniging Voor Toeristenverkeer in Nederlandsch-Indie over Het Jaar 1930*, 12–13.
[163] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 196.
[164] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1st ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1916), 9.
[165] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 202.
[166] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916, 5.
[167] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 197–98.

characteristics, and offered much that was unfamiliar to the European tourist.[168] This focus on nature was not only to please tourists, as it was also convenient for the Vereeniging to promote environmental tourism because in the mountains, tourist infrastructure was already in place.[169] Furthermore, Cribb argues that landscapes had an important place in colonial settler identities. Besides the propagandist intentions, it is plausible that the compilers of the guidebooks simply wanted to show what they were proud of.[170] The focus on mountainous landscapes tied into the global interest in alpine tourism, which is best exemplified by the Vereeniging's promotion of the mountainous Preanger Regencies as the 'Switzerland of Java.'[171] In its promotion of hill resorts, the Vereeniging played into the trend of colonial health tourism in Asia. They contacted doctors in Asia, hoping they would recommend a trip to the island to European clients.[172]

Come to Java also mentions the 'Good Modern Hotels' of the island, as the Vereeniging relied on the European tourism infrastructure of its member organizations. In these hotels, indigenous servants catered to the needs of the tourists. They could also be hired as chauffeurs, luggage boys, guides or sedan chair carriers. Despite this, the tourist infrastructure of the Archipelago was not always well received. The Vereeniging received complaints about poor service in hotels, struggled with the fact that there were not enough tourist accommodations in Java, and had to deal with the still developing infrastructure outside of Java.[173] Nevertheless, the activities of the Vereeniging to promote Java as a tourist destination seem to have been successful.[174] The number of international visitors (not necessarily tourists) grew quickly, from 208 in 1908 to 5,579 in 1913 (figure 7). In 1914, these foreign visitors were mainly British (which also included British colonials), American and Australian, followed by the French, Germans and Dutch.[175] This shows that the tourists were not only metropolitans, but also European colonials in Asia who wanted to see other colonies. These tourists were of higher social classes, as international travel still was expensive.

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[168] Ibid., 202; Victor R. Savage, *Western Impressions of Nature and Landscape in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1984), 188–89; Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*.
[169] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 202.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1913), 24; Laurent Tissot, "From Alpine Tourism to the 'Alpinization' of Tourism," in *Touring Beyond the Nation: A Transnational Approach to European History*, ed. Eric G. E. Zuelow (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 59–78.
[172] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Eerste Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1908*, 9.
[173] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 203; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Twaalfde Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1919* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1920), 4; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1914), 10.
[174] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 196.
[175] "Toeristenverkeer Te Batavia," *De Kampioen*, April 1914, 342.

The First World War led to a decrease in visitors. Tourism recovered slowly after the war and pre-war levels were not reached at least until 1925 (figure 7). Statistics show that the level of visitors acquiring for information at the tourist office stagnated until 1924 (figure 8). Cribb argues that this stagnation could be a result of the focus on landscape in tourist promotion, as the volcanoes could not persuade tourists to come to Java anymore.[176] Furthermore, Java was increasingly visited by cruise ships. The groups on these cruises slept on their ships and barely made inland trips, contributing little to the tourist industry.[177]

Over the 1920s, indigenous culture and history, especially from Bali took the place of Javanese landscape as the central focus of tourism in the Dutch East Indies.[178] Cribb sees this as a reaction to the stagnating visitor levels.[179] This switch did not mean that landscape or Java disappeared from tourist itineraries. It marks the rise of Bali as a tourist destination. *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok* (1914) was the first guidebook of the Vereeniging on Bali. It already paid a lot of attention to the 'many interesting customs of the population', but it marked Bali as suitable only for tourists who 'do not mind "roughing it a little,"' as facilities were limited.[180] These facilities improved over the 1920s and Bali's reputation as an exotic paradise increasingly attracted tourists.[181] The culture of the Balinese was appealing to tourists, as it was marketed as untouched by modernity. The First World War had led to a rejection of modern western society and the peaceful and artistic Balinese society offered an antidote to the war-torn state of Europe.[182] There could be another cause for this shift to culture, as it coincided with the conservative turn of the colonial policy in the 1920s. The colonial government started to undertake efforts to conserve indigenous cultures, and a stronger focus on the indigenous character of the inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies in tourism would fit in this conservationist policy.[183] However, this claim needs to be further researched in the colonial archives.

Over the 1930s, the yearly levels of tourists in Bali increased, from 927 in 1928, to 3,776 in 1938 (figure 9). Most of them had a Dutch, American, British or Australian nationality. Besides Bali, Sumatra was increasingly integrated in the tourist itineraries, but tourism developed slower in other islands. The Vereeniging published literature on the Moluccas, and it was possible to undertake a tour of the islands with the *Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij*, but otherwise the Moluccas barely

[176] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 203.
[177] Ibid., 204; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Dertiende Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1920* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1921), 4.
[178] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 204.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914, 125–26.
[181] Vickers, *Bali, Een Gecreëerd Paradijs*, 137–40.
[182] Ibid., 182.
[183] Bloembergen, *De Koloniale Vertoning. Nederland En Indië Op de Wereld-Tentoonstellingen (1880-1931)*, 57.

featured in publications of the Vereeniging.[184] Lombok, the lesser Sunda islands, Celebes and Borneo are discussed in issues of the magazine *Tourism in Netherland India*, but these islands had limited tourist facilities and did not feature in the publications of the Vereeniging (with the exception of Lombok).[185]

At the end of the late colonial era, the Dutch East Indies received more visitors than ever before. In 1937, a total of 16,918 foreign visitors came to the Dutch East Indies, many of which were tourists.[186] Besides the colonials and international tourists, a small number of Javanese elites participated in 'European' tourist activities in the 1920ss.[187] They did this for leisure, but travel was also a way to show political influence and status.[188] The invasion of the Dutch East Indies by the Japanese in 1942 marked the end of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer. In March 1942, the Japanese disbanded all organizations in the Dutch East Indies, which included the Vereeniging.[189]

Through the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, the colonial government and businesses mobilized the conventions of modern tourism for the benefit of the Dutch colonial state. This made tourism in the Archipelago an extension of the Dutch imperial project. The international visitors stimulated the economy, while tourism also proved a powerful way to promote the Dutch colonial state. The Vereeniging crafted an idealized tourist representation of the Dutch East Indies, which offered visitors an exciting holiday and propagandized the Dutch East Indies to the world. In doing so, the Vereeniging set the stage for an encounter between the metropole and the colony. In this unequal meeting of worlds, categories of the self and the stranger were reaffirmed or unsettled. The next chapter analyzes how the imperial 'self' was constructed by the Vereeniging as representations of the Dutch colonizer and imperialism.

[184] "The Moluccas," *Tourism in Netherland-India*, 1931, 13.
[185] "Interview Achmad Sunjayadi," 6.
[186] Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek van het Departement van Economische Zaken, *Indisch Verslag - II. Statistisch Jaaroverzicht van Nederlandsch-Indië over Het Jaar 1938* ('s Gravenhage: Rijksuitgeverij, 1939), 306.
[187] Damanik and Raharjana, "Tourism of the Javanese Monarchy during the Dutch Colonial Era," 191.
[188] Ibid., 194.
[189] "Interview Achmad Sunjayadi," 2.

Chapter 2 – Representations of the Dutch colonizer

Through the selection, description and interpretation of sites, guidebooks create a destination image, an 'imagined geography.'[190] As cultural theorist David Michalski argues, guidebooks serve as 'an important lens through which to view the play of images and human geographies.'[191] A guidebook outlines 'what ought to be seen', to make sure that tourists do not miss the 'important' sights. However, the sights 'which ought to be seen' do not necessarily give a complete representation of the destination. Guidebooks select a limited number of sites, which clearly makes the representation of the destination incomplete. The selections and descriptions of the author depend on the intended audience of the guidebook, their worldviews, interests and anticipations.[192] Therefore, guidebook content reveals more about the reader, author and the tourist industry, than about the destination itself. Sunjayadi points out that elements of Dutch and indigenous cultures were used in promotion of the Dutch East Indies, while Cribb argues that landscape was also an important feature of Indies tourism.[193] The following chapters will expand these observations to the guidebooks of the Vereeniging by analyzing 'what ought to be seen' in the Dutch East Indies, and how imperialism is encoded in this representation. This chapter will consider representations of the Dutch colonizer, chapter three turns to representations of the colonized people, and chapter four analyzes representations of landscape and nature.

Representations of the Dutch colonizer

The Dutch East Indies were the crown jewel of the Dutch empire, a living reminder of the grandeur of the Dutch Golden Age.[194] The Dutch were proud of their 'ethical' and 'benevolent' imperial project.[195] The positive perception of Dutch imperialism, kindled by the Dutch and corroborated by international observes, is evident in the representation of the Dutch colonizer in the guidebooks. The Vereeniging engages in the rhetoric of the Ethical Policy and the *mission civilatrice*. In doing so, they create a representation of the Dutch colonizer as a modern, efficient, ingenious and well-meaning custodian of the indigenous people. Moreover, the discourse encoded in the guidebooks

[190] Bhattacharyya, "Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook," 378.
[191] David Michalski, "Portals to Metropolis: 19th Century Guidebooks and the Assemblage of Urban Experience," *Tourist Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004): 187.
[192] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, chapter 5.
[193] Sunjayadi, "Indische Cultuurelementen in Het Toerime in Nederlands-Indië"; Sunjayadi, "Culturele Identiteit En de Bevordering van Het Nederlandsch-Indische Toerisme"; Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930."
[194] The Dutch Golden Age (*Gouden Eeuw*) is a period roughly spanning the seventeenth century, in which the Netherlands controlled a global trading empire and was one of the major political powers in Europe. The Dutch Golden Age was, and still is, an important feature of Dutch nationalism.
[195] Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, "Songs of an Imperial Underdog: Imperialism and Popular Culture in the Netherlands, 1870-1960," in *European Empires and the People. Popular Responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy*, 2011, 90–123; Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*.

substantiates the idea that imperialism is a legitimate and benevolent exercise, with the Dutch case as an example. This representation of the Dutch colonizer reveals the propagandist qualities of the guidebooks, and corroborates the argument that the colonial government and private business employed tourism for promotion of the Dutch imperial project. Tourists get ample opportunity to marvel at the European cities, luxurious hotels and booming industry that the Dutch brought to the Archipelago. All of this contributes to a representation of the Dutch colonizer that legitimizes imperialism and the *mission civilatrice*, and reaffirms imperial hierarchies.

Two guidebooks will be used to illustrate these arguments. *Come to Java* (1926) was one of the most popular publications of the Vereeniging, as different versions had been in print since 1916.[196] The book was popular enough to run at least three editions, so it clearly influenced a significant amount of tourists in Java. *Come to Java* spans the whole island and an extensive range of sites. It contains mostly practical information and its interpretations and descriptions are denser than in other guidebooks. *Sumatra,* which was published in 1939, is written in Dutch and English, and covers the entire island. Compared to other guidebooks, it focuses heavily on economics, transport and agriculture.[197]

Hotels, villas and clubs

Most European sites selected in the guidebooks are accommodations and infrastructural sites, as authentic European tourist sights are outnumbered by indigenous and natural sights. The recommended accommodations are predominantly European. The hotels in the cities and hill stations aimed to satisfy European standards of comfort and luxury, while in smaller villages, this was not always possible. For expeditions, the guidebooks recommended *passangrahans,* rest houses for government officials, which were made available for tourists. The selected entertainment venues, such as clubs, theaters and music halls, were also predominantly European. Prominent historical and social sights are the 'European' neighborhoods of large cities, which were praised for their well-planned character, monuments, industrial sites and government buildings. Several elements of Dutch *Indisch* society were incorporated in tourism, such as bathing and *rijsttafel*, the colonial adaptation of indigenous food.[198] The elite colonial society barely features in the guidebooks. This can be explained by the fact that they were not of interest to the bourgeois tourists, whose life seemed similar to that of the colonials. The Indo-Europeans of this society, who by uniformed tourists might be labelled as indigenous, are also absent from the guidebooks, probably for the same reason, as they did not actively cultivate an indigenous or Indonesian identity.

[196] The first version was published in 1916: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916.
[197] The page numbers refer to the English part of the book, unless noted otherwise.
[198] Sunjayadi, "Indische Cultuurelementen in Het Toerime in Nederlands-Indië," 419–26.

Imperial authority

The guidebooks present the authority and legitimacy of Dutch rule in the Indonesian archipelago as self-evident. The European imperial authority goes unquestioned and the Dutch rule supreme in the world created in the guidebooks. The authority of the colonial state is underscored in various manners, such as site selection. Most guidebooks select military and political buildings, and monuments commemorating milestones of Dutch imperialism as sights.[199] These government buildings and monuments are strong *lieux de memoires* of Dutch imperial authority, even though they are not as numerous as non-European sights. As *lieux de memoires,* these sights mark the monarchy and military, symbols of Dutch colonial authority, as vital parts of the identity of the Dutch East Indies. [200] In Batavia for example, the monument for the Aceh War, the monument for general Michiels[201], the statue of Jan Pieterszoon Coen[202], the palace of Governor-General, and the skull of Peter Erberfeld, a 'traitor' who unsuccessfully conspired against the Dutch in 1722, serve as reminders of Dutch power (figures 10.1, 10.2, 11.1 and 11.2).[203] The monuments for the Aceh War and general Michiels, and the skull of Erberfeld establish Dutch military dominance over the indigenous people. The statue of Coen – acting as 'founding father' of the colony – and the palace of the Governor-General, as a residence of the highest colonial authority, symbolize the legitimacy of Dutch presence in the Archipelago. An illustrative example of a Dutch imperial *lieu de memoire* marked on Bali is a fountain in Karangasem, which was donated by queen Wilhelmina to the Balinese nobleman Gusti Gedeh Djelantik. Djelantik had remained loyal to the Dutch during the Lombok War, which renders him a symbol of cooperation between indigenous people and the Dutch.[204] The

[199] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken* (Amsterdam: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1909); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and J.E. Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1909); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Louis Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1913); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1910); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1931); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1910).

[200] Nora, "Between Memory and History : Les Lieux de Mémoire."

[201] Andreas Victor Michiels (1797-1849) was a general in the Royal Dutch East Indies Army. After the Java War (1825-1830), he was appointed officer in the Military William Order, the highest Dutch military honor. Michiels died during a military campaign in Bali in 1849.

[202] Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587-1629) was an officer and Governor-General of the VOC, and was considered a Dutch national hero. He was credited for establishing the VOC's trading empire and founding Batavia.

[203] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1939); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*.

[204] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1923), 32; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931, 79, 81; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1939), 60.

fountain reflects Balinese submission and acceptation of Dutch rule, in the person of queen Wilhelmina. Moreover, guidebooks on Bali advise tourists to visit Gusti Gedeh Djelantik, and a woman named Mah Fatimah. [205] She was part of a Balinese court that rebelled against the Dutch. Fatimah refused to follow her chief's order to commit *puputan* (ritual self-sacrifice)[206] and conceded to the Dutch. Fatimah, like Djelantik, symbolizes a Balinese submission and acceptance of Dutch power, which legitimizes the Dutch colonial state.

Some guidebooks stress Dutch authority literally, by discussing the colonial government.[207] The superiority of the Dutch and the subordinate role of indigenous institutions in the colonial administration are repeatedly implied in these guidebooks. *Come to Java* illustrates this. When opening the guidebook, the reader is reminded of who is in charge, as a stern portrait of then presiding Governor-General Dirk Fock is shown on the second page (figure 12).[208] Fock's visual presence immediately signifies Dutch authority to the reader and leads in an elaborate description of the governmental system. The Dutch dominion over the Archipelago is underscored here unambiguously. 'Practically the whole of the Archipelago is under direct Dutch government although in some parts native rulers retain still a semblance of independence under Dutch control.'[209] Stressing that the 'native rulers' retain a 'semblance of independence', emphasizes the subordinate place of indigenous institutions in Dutch government. Later, the representative *Volksraad* (peoples' council in which indigenous people are seated) is mentioned. By downplaying the influence of this council, the reader is reassured that indigenous people do not have significant legislative power, as 'it should be understood however that this council is merely an advisory body, and that only in a limited number of cases the executive is compelled by law to consult the council.'[210] Stating that the *Volksraad* is 'merely' an advisory body, reassures the reader that indigenous people, even though the Dutch have the intention of incorporating them in government, did not have excessive influence.

[205] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914, 135; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931, 81; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*, 32.
[206] *Puputan* is a Balinese ritual suicide, which is committed in the face of humiliation or defeat. In *puputan*, a chief and his followers fight themselves to death. During the Dutch interventions in Bali, two *puputans* took place (1906 and 1908).
[207] This is done elaborately in: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*. Colonial government is fleetingly discussed in: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1939); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939.
[208] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 2.
[209] Ibid., 11.
[210] Ibid.

The legitimacy of imperial conquest

By giving sanitized and edited histories of the colony, the guidebooks downplay the Dutch expansionism and present the imperial order as legitimate and beneficial to both colonizer and colonized. *Come to Java*, amongst other guidebooks, barely discusses the history of the Archipelago and Dutch expansionist wars.[211] The guidebooks that do contain chapters on the history of the Dutch East Indies legitimize or euphemistically downplay Dutch conquests.[212] *Sumatra* (1939) discusses the Dutch military expansion elaborately, but legitimizes it. According to the guidebook, the guarantee of independence of the sultanate of Aceh in 1824, as demanded by the British, 'robbed Holland of the right of exercising control over the district, which was known to be a hotbed of trouble, and held her hands tied for 50 years till conditions in Acheen became wholely and intolerable and at last war was to no longer to be avoided for safeguarding and maintenance of her dominion in Sumatra.'[213] The word 'robbed' implies that Aceh rightfully belonged to the Dutch. By remarking that the 'hands' of the Dutch were tied, the invasion of Aceh is presented as a necessary intervention. The urgency of the invasion is underscored in a later passage, as the Dutch government was 'compelled' to resort to 'armed intervention' in Aceh in 1873, to end the slave trading and pirating of the Acehnese.[214] While this description is not entirely untrue, it is certainly a legitimizing rhetoric.

A good example of a euphemistic description of the Dutch imperial conquest can be found in *See Java* (1939). It states that 'in Netherland hands, the country [the Dutch East Indies] was gradually developed and in the second half of the century the outer possessions were slowly brought more and more thoroughly under the central government. (…) the last place to hold out, Bali, was finally subdued completely in 1910.'[215] While use of arms is not completely ignored in the history section, a formulation such as 'slowly brought under control' glosses over the expansionist character of this

[211] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1910); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to the Dieng Plateau in Central Java* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1910); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1921); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Excursie Naar Het Eiland Bali* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1921); Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to the Borobudur* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1923).

[212] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*.

[213] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*, 19.

[214] Ibid., 23.

[215] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*, 4–5.

expansion. Furthermore, by mentioning the 'gradual development' of the colonizer, this description gives Dutch imperialism a less aggressive character.

The benevolent colonizer

While reading the guidebooks of the Vereeniging, the reader is, through the language of the Ethical Policy, signaled that the Dutch are benevolent colonizers. The guidebooks stress the positive impact of Dutch rule on the Archipelago and construct an image of the Dutch as well-doers and bringers of progress, modernity and civilization, driven by the urge to develop their colonies. As it is worded in *Guide to Sumatra* (1921): 'Java is a country of magnificent realization: Sumatra has a great future. (…) this advantageous position, and a more complete knowledge of its natural resources, are today leading the Netherlands East Indian government to develop Sumatra with tenacious energy.'[216] This representation ties into the ideals of the Ethical Policy and the *mission civilatrice*, and is present in many guidebooks, even though the Ethical Policy is never called by name.[217] The Dutch benevolence takes on different shapes. Firstly, many guidebooks highlight the economy of the Dutch Indies, and the colonizers' efforts to develop it.[218] *Come to Java* elaborates in the first chapter on the agriculture and industry of the Dutch East Indies, and Java in particular. When discussing 'European cultivations,' the guidebook emphasizes the industrious character and significant exports of the Indies' economy. It is mentioned that Java is 'one, of the most important exporters of cane sugar' worldwide and that Java's tea production amounts to ten percent of the global production.[219] This suggests that Java has a global economic impact, thanks to Dutch management. This representation is enhanced by various photographs of Javanese agriculture and industry (figures 13.1, 13.2, 13.3).[220] Guidebooks on Sumatra accentuate the 'skillful' exploitation of the island's resources.[221] *Sumatra* for instance highlights European and indigenous industry, and emphasizes the positive impact of the Dutch economic endeavors by stating: 'to what extent expectations in this direction [peaceful and rapid development of Sumatra] have been brought to fruition may be seen by glancing at the economic

[216] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*, 3.
[217] Most explicitly in: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*.
[218] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*.
[219] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 27, 29.
[220] Ibid., 16–17, 25–33.
[221] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*.

statistics of the island for recent years.'[222] Several guidebooks point out industrial and agricultural tourist sights.[223] *Sumatra* marks the plantations of companies such as the *Deli Maatschappij* (a world famous tobacco company, figure 14).[224] By showcasing and praising the Dutch industry, the attention of the tourist is drawn to the economic development of the Dutch Indies, and the Vereeniging affirms the international image of the Dutch as efficient colonizers.

Secondly, the guidebooks highlight the infrastructure in the Dutch East Indies, in which the Dutch had invested heavily.[225] Australian historian Susie Protschky argues that in Dutch imperial visual culture, transport infrastructure loomed large, which emphasized the implementation of the Ethical Policy.[226] Similarly, the guidebooks feature photographs that accentuate the modern infrastructure. A significant amount of guidebooks, for which we can take *Come to Java* as an example, feature photographs of bridges over rivers and ravines, mountain roads, modern steamers and trains (figures 15.1, 15.2, 15.3).[227] These photographs serve as visual evidence of the Dutch modernization of the colony. Furthermore, the infrastructure is repeatedly praised. About Indies steamers, the guidebook argues, 'It is needless to make special mention of the excellent service, first class cuisine, and courtesy of the officers and crew aboard the steamers as the Lines in question have, during late years, made their name in this respect with the traveling public.'[228] Even when road systems were not state of the art, they are still lauded. *Bali* (1939) for example argues that 'when the engineering problems and difficulties involved in the building and maintaining of these roads are taken into consideration (…) it is impossible not to be filled with the highest respect for a government that in so short a time (some 30 years) has achieved such a road system.'[229] Transport organizations and the government were amongst the main contributors to the Vereeniging, which explains why they praise their own infrastructure. Furthermore, the elaborate attention for transport is not

[222] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*, 23, 35–49.
[223] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*.
[224] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*, 59. The Deli Maatschappij is also marked in: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*, 39.
[225] Kop and Ravesteijn, "Gewinzucht En Roeping. De Infrastructuur van Het Nederlands Kolonialisme in Indonesië."
[226] Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*, 68.
[227] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*.
[228] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 59.
[229] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939, 10.

uncommon for guidebooks, given that the tourist needed information on how to get around. Nevertheless, this emphasis on transport infrastructure substantiates the idea of the modernizing colonizer. Other modern contributions to the Archipelago by the Dutch are also pointed out as tourist sights. For example, schools, sluices, hospitals and even insanity asylums feature in the guidebooks.[230]

The third ethical contribution of the Dutch highlighted in the guidebooks is material progress. As mentioned, central to the Ethical Policy was the repayment of the 'debt of honor' to the indigenous people. The guidebooks underscored this repayment by emphasizing the increased wealth and well-being of the colonized people.[231] This affirms the ideas that the Dutch contributions were beneficial, and that the colonizer was steward of the indigenous population**.** *Come to Java* and *Sumatra,* amongst several other guidebooks, mostly stress material progress and the increased prosperity of the indigenous people. In *Come to Java*, the Vereeniging links their own activities to the development of the Dutch Indies' population: 'The importance of inducing foreign tourists to visit a country, goes without saying. It is not only a source of income for the native population, but it also brings the consumer of its products into personal contact with the producing country itself.'[232] In *Sumatra,* the Vereeniging stresses that the indigenous people profit of the industrial investments of the Europeans: 'in the past few decades as a result of the rapidly expanding European settlements and influence in Sumatra many new industrial trades have been established in various parts of the island to supplement the time-honored native industries (…). This activity in industrial lines has also been shared by the natives to a large extent. (…) many of them found employment in the European factories.'[233] The guidebook points out that the investments of the Dutch have changed the local industry, but that these changes had a positive impact on the lives of the indigenous people, as the revenues had been 'shared' with the Sumatran population.

Fourthly, several guidebooks stress the peace brought by Dutch 'ethical' imperialism.[234] They contrast the chaotic precolonial era with the stable Dutch rule. *Sumatra* argues the following about Dutch expansion of power on the island:

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[230] *Illustrated guide to east java* (1910) elaborates on the Sumber Porrong asylum near Lawang. Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*, 34–35.
[231] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to the Dieng Plateau in Central Java*.
[232] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 3.
[233] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*, 47, 49.
[234] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang*

> *'When European [sic] expolitation was first undertaken at the beginning of the second half of the last century, the planters had many difficulties to overcome, not the least of which were the danger of the district and raids by tribes hostile to the new plantation system. In proportion to the spread of the estates and the increase in power of Netherland authority safety also increased till today complete rest and quietness has been established over the entire island.'*[235]

By linking the increase of 'Netherland authority' to increased 'safety', 'rest' and 'quietness', both economic and military expansion are rendered as positive and stabilizing forces, rather than expansionist and exploitative. The positive influence of the European colonizer on the 'barbaric' and 'despotic' habits of the indigenous people is also alluded to in several guidebooks.[236] For example, the dissolution of the 'tyrannical' caste system of Bali under Dutch influence is marked as positive.[237] In *Short Guide to Bali*, the Dutch abolition of the caste system on Bali is described as following:

> *'but the time of the Brahmin tyranny and arrogance is ended as Rajahs do not rule any more and the Resident who represents the Netherland's governement is the supreme power in the island. Gone are the days that the peasantry had to alight from their horses and prostate themselves alongside the road when their rulers or high caste men approached.'*[238]

Short Guide to Bali opposes the 'tyranny' and 'arrogance' of the Hindu era with the Dutch rule, which is implied to be modern and enlightened. The Dutch are presented here as bringers of justice, civilization and equality.

Demarcation of western spaces

Mackenzie argues that a prominent theme in nineteenth century guidebooks on India, is British urban modernity, which is contrasted with the Indian surroundings. [239] The Vereeniging similarly demarcates European spaces.[240] As in the guidebooks on British India, this leads to a delineation of modernity in the colonial cities, which creates a spatial contrast between colonizer and colonized in an urban colonial setting. This spatial delineation highlights Dutch urban modernity and reflects the

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Highlands; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*.

[235] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*, 35,37.

[236] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931.

[237] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939.

[238] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*, 5–6.

[239] MacKenzie, "Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries," 25.

[240] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914.

racial hierarchies of the Dutch East Indies, as Europeans and indigenous people are assigned their 'respective' environments. The accommodations recommended in the cities are predominantly located in European urban spaces. This affirms the European identity of tourists, and influences their interpretation of Dutch imperialism, as they experience the Indies through the luxuries of Dutch urban modernity. An example of urban racial delineation in the guidebooks can be found in *Come to Java.* The guidebook marks European spaces in cities like Batavia, Bandung and Semarang, by splitting the towns in two distinct ethnic areas. These demarcations are not invented by the Vereeniging, but are based on colonial spatial arrangements.[241] Batavia for instance, is divided in a lower town, the *benedenstad* (lower city, Old Batavia) and a modern European upper town, called Weltevreden, 'which are quite different from each other in every respect.'[242] By naming the European section 'upper town,' the superiority of the European space of the indigenous space is presumed. Weltevreden is characterized as a 'garden city, with its broad streets, large squares, abundance of shady trees, large public buildings and hundreds of delightful houses and bungalows.'[243] The European character of Weltevreden is emphasized by calling it a 'garden city' which refers to the Garden city movement, a nineteenth century method of urban planning which focused on open green spaces and broad avenues.[244] Garden cities were seen as the epitome of modern urban planning, and had a European connotation. Weltevreden is contrasted with old Batavia, 'a quaint and delightfully picturesque town.'[245] *Come to Java* states: 'at present no Europeans live in [old] Batavia (…), the resident population in this part consisting chiefly of Chinese and Natives.'[246] The Europeans who used to live in Old Batavia had left due to the 'rather swampy and as a result, unhealthy' environment.[247] This unhealthy environment, together with the ethnic marking of Old Batavia, contrasts the *benedenstad* with healthy and spacious Weltevreden. The city of Semarang is segmented in a similar way by *Come to Java*: 'the city may be divided in two parts or districts, i.e. the old part near the coast consisting principally of a native population and a district a little higher up which is mostly inhabited by Europeans.'[248] While the 'indigenous' part of town is not discussed, the well-planned European character of the 'district higher up' is emphasized by stating

[241] Susan Abeyasekere, *Jakarta. A History* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1989); Pauline K.M. Van Roosmalen, "Designing Colonial Cities: The Making of Modern Town Planning in the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia 1905-1950," *The Newsletter* Summer 201, no. 57 (2011): 7–9.
[242] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 111. Abeyasekere, *Jakarta. A History*, 48.
[243] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 115,117.
[244] Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners : The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
[245] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 111.
[246] Ibid., 109.
[247] Ibid.
[248] Ibid., 291.

that ‘it is most beautifully built on hills which rise to some 500’ and charming bungalows and cottages adorn this suburb , which boasts of excellent roads.’[249]

It is not hard to discern the hand of the government in the guidebooks of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer. Most commercial guidebooks evaluate sights and accommodations by juggling recommendations and discouragements. The Vereeniging guidebooks do not engage in such a critical way with the Dutch East Indies. Based on the guidebooks, it can be assumed that the government and business had promotional motives for supporting the Vereeniging. The Dutch East Indies are presented as a model colony, and the Dutch as virtuous colonizers. Through sight selection, sanitized histories, elaborate discussions on economy, government and transport, and the demarcation of European spaces, the guidebooks underscore Dutch authority, emphasize imperial benevolence, and affirm European colonial modernity. This mediates the idea that imperialism was a natural order. Moreover, by stressing the ethical nature of the Dutch imperial enterprise, the Vereeniging made the Dutch colonizer fit into the international *mission civilatrice* movement. The Vereeniging, however, not only lured tourists to the Dutch East Indies by emphasizing modernity, but also by accentuating the ‘authentic’ and ‘primitive’ indigenous societies. The representations of the non-Western inhabitants of the Archipelago will be explored in the next chapter.

[249] Ibid.

Chapter 3 – Representations of the colonized people

> *'Karangasem is a fairly large place, situated about 3 ½ miles from the sea shore. It has a large native market and a good deal of intercourse. Many Balinese women are passing walking erect with a firm step under heavy loads carried on their heads. (…) They wear a sarong, fastened with a cloth girdle, but nothing above the waist. Indeed, they are provided with a kind of scarf called slendang, but most of them wear this on their heads and do not trouble to pull it down when meeting a stranger.'*[250]

Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok prepares the reader for the cultural shock of entering the market of Karangasem, and being confronted with bare-breasted women. This Balinese tradition of fashion was at odds with modern morality of the metropole. However, the 'sensual' women of Bali are featured extensively in the guidebooks and other publications on the island.[251] The breasts of the Balinese evoked metropolitan fantasies about the tropics, and became signifiers of the sexual, racial and premodern otherness of Bali. This chapter discusses how the Vereeniging mobilized these, and other imperial imaginaries of the tropics, in the representation of the colonized people. By marking the colonized locals as sights and highlighting their 'authentic' otherness, the Vereeniging delineates an imperial 'us' and a colonized 'them.' These representations negotiate the modern consciousness of the tourist, in which the inferiority of the colonized population is confirmed. Moreover, the guidebooks sustain narratives of anti-conquest.[252] The appreciation of 'ancient' indigenous cultures allows tourists to claim innocence for themselves and the imperial project. 'Colonized people' here refers to all non-European ethnicities living in the Dutch East Indies. This entails both indigenous people and Asian minorities, such as Chinese, Arab, Japanese and Indian communities. Although all these ethnicities were present in the Indies, only the Chinese feature extensively in the guidebooks.

Three guidebooks will be used to illustrate how colonized people were represented. *Java the Wonderland* (1910) was one of the earliest publications of the Vereeniging. An earlier version of this guidebook was published by the Stoomvaart Maatschappij "Nederland" and the Vereeniging later bought the publishing rights for the book.[253] The book covers the whole of Java, except Bantam, and unlike other guidebooks, uses many quotes from other works. *Guide to Sumatra: with a more complete description of the Padang Highlands* (1921) describes Sumatra and its biggest cities and natural phenomena in broad terms, and focuses mainly on the Padang Highlands, on which elaborate cultural information and a two-week trip schedule are given. It also contains a description of all the peoples of Sumatra in its introduction. *Bali* (1931) is probably an earlier version of *Bali* (1939), as the

[250] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914, 135.
[251] Vickers, *Bali, Een Gecreëerd Paradijs*, 113–82.
[252] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, "Come to Beautiful Java" (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1930s).
[253] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Eerste Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1908*, 6.

content and lay-out is similar. The guidebook is written in English and Dutch and it contains an elaborate scientific description of Balinese religion, architecture and daily life, followed by a trip description of the island.[254] In comparison to other guidebooks it contains more information on indigenous culture and daily life.

Temples, dancers and bazaars

The shift from landscape to culture in the 1920s in tourism promotion, as identified by Cribb, is not as abrupt in the guidebooks. While indeed landscape looms larger in most guidebooks published before the 1920s, non-European culture and history were always noteworthy features of the itineraries, which emphasized the exotic character of the Dutch East Indies. Guidebooks on Central Java and Bali, also the ones published before 1925, focus more on indigenous historical and social sights than natural sights, while in guidebooks on the Padang Highlands, and in a lesser extent East Java, Batavia and Surabaya, indigenous culture is a significant feature, but does not dominate the representation.[255] The Vereeniging selects a wide variety of non-European sights in the guidebooks. The most distinctively historical indigenous sights are the Buddhist and Hindu temple compounds and monuments of Java and Bali. In Central Java, the Buddhist stupa Borobudur, the Hindu ruins of the Dieng Plateau and the Hindu temple complex of Prambanan, are marked as the main sights of the region. The Hindu antiquities of East Java and Bali are also praised as must-sees.[256] Furthermore, the guidebooks recommend museums in Batavia, Yogyakarta and Denpasar, which presented objects and history of indigenous cultures from a western perspective. Most indigenous sights contain both historical and social elements. Contemporary social sights for example are presented as remnants of age-old cultures and empires. The aforementioned Hindu temples of Bali, which were still in use at the time, are discussed as ancient sites of Balinese cultural life. Cultural ceremonies and festivals, such as dance, theater, cockfights and even cremations – practices which were believed to be the

[254] Citations are from the English text unless noted otherwise.

[255] The following guidebooks create a representation of Central Java and Bali dominated by indigenous sights: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to the Dieng Plateau in Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Excursie Naar Het Eiland Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to the Borobudur*. Guidebooks in which indigenous sights and information are featured significantly: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*.

[256] Some of the temple compounds were popular enough to merit their own guidebooks: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to the Dieng Plateau in Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to the Borobudur*.

ancient essence of Balinese life – are marked as tourist attractions. From the 1930s on, the guidebooks on Bali reveal that theatre, music and dance were also performed for the tourists in hotels.[257] On Java, the *kratons* (courts of the sultan) of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, which still yielded ceremonial power, are prominent indigenous social and historical sights, as they act as reminders of precolonial times. The most prominent unhistorical social sights are bazaars and ethnic quarters. The guidebooks on Batavia and Surabaya for example, incorporate many non-European neighborhoods in their walks. The *kampongs* (unplanned indigenous quarters 'on the lowest end of the social-economic scale') [258] are avoided.[259]

Descriptions of indigenous daily life mostly feature in guidebooks published after 1920, and focused on religion and ceremony.[260] This focus on religious and historical elements of daily life highlight the exotic 'otherness' of indigenous life, and therefore raises its profile as a tourist sight. The early guidebooks on Sumatra for example contain lengthy descriptions of daily life in the Padang Highlands, which focus on the 'primitive' societal structures of the Minang Kabau people, the so-called Matriarchat.[261] The European educated indigenous classes are ignored in the guidebooks. This is partly the result of tourism's lack of interest for the 'unauthentic' middle classes, but can also be related to the conservative turn of the Ethical Policy, and the fear for nationalistic revolts of the Indonesians elites. As it was not in the interest of the Vereeniging to present the colony as unstable or unsafe, the Indonesian elites are omitted from the guidebooks.

In sight selection and description (both of historical and social sights), elements of Buddhism, Hinduism and *adat* are prevalent over Islamic aspects of the Archipelago, even though Islam was the largest religion in the region. The interest for pre-Islamic antiquity can be explained by the aesthetic quality and the heritage value that was attributed to the Hindu ruins in the colonial era by the Dutch

[257] *See Java* (1939) is the only guidebook on Java or Sumatra to promote staged cultural performances such as dance or theater.
[258] Roosmalen, "Designing Colonial Cities: The Making of Modern Town Planning in the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia 1905-1950," 7.
[259] Notable exception is *Gids voor Soerabaja en Omstreken*, which mentions the poorest *kampongs* of the city, which can be visited 'if one wants to acquaint himself with the less affluent side of life in a big *Indisch* trading town': Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*, 29, translation by author.
[260] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939.
[261] The Matriarchat was the social system of the Minang Kabau people. Its main feature was that possession and inheritance passed through matrilineal lines. Guidebooks that discuss the Matriarchat: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*.

colonizer.[262] However, it also sheds light on the Dutch conception of Islam. This selection of pre-Islamic historical sights results in a representation of the Dutch East Indies dominated by Hindu and Buddhist connotations, in which Islam, the largest religion of the region, is obscured. In an analysis of Dutch colonial visual culture, Protschky argues that pre-Islamic antiquities, which represented mysterious 'eastern' religions, resonated with European conceptions of the tropics as a never changing, charming and peaceful space.[263] The time-resistant ruins of ancient empires were more fit to project these European fantasies than contemporary Islamic culture and people, who had risen in revolt against the colonizers repeatedly. 'As an antidote to colonial anxieties about Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism were portrayed in European landscape art as organic to the Indies,' Protschky observes.[264] Moreover, this perception of pre-Islamic religions as the core of the indigenous culture is evident in the Dutch colonial administration, which was obsessed with *adat* systems.[265] Islam is not completely ignored, as guidebooks mention that it is the largest religion and indicate mosques. However, these mosques and other Islamic sites are rarely, or just briefly, described as attractions for tourists**.** Furthermore, various guidebooks stress the prevalence of animist religions, *adat* and Hinduism in the contemporary Islam. [266] This results in a cultural marginalization of Islam and its influence in the Archipelago. *Come to Java* (1926) for example, argues that Hindu civilization is still encoded in the Javanese culture, despite the influence of Islam:

> *'Already during the Hindu period Java has been the nucleus of the archipelago and its inhabitants have built up a remarkable civilization (…). Although it has suffered greatly during the centuries from various influences, and to the superficial observer it might even seem to be extinct, there are signs that the remnants of the past may once again serve as a basis to build up a new civilization in harmony with elements borrowed from the West.'*[267]

The guidebook argues that this Hindu 'nucleus' has 'suffered' from various influences, implicitly referring negatively to Islam, and states that in its core, Java still bares the greatness of Hindu civilization. The Vereeniging traces the roots of the contemporary development of Java to its Hindu past, and therefore dismisses Islam's impact on Java. In *Guide to Sumatra,* when describing the Sumatran peoples, Islamic influences on the Sumatran people are marked as superficial. About the Lampongs, the guidebook argues: 'The Lampongs are almost wholly converted to Islam, but they

[262] Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, "Exchange and the Protection of Java's Antiquities: A Transnational Approach to the Problem of Heritage in Colonial Java," *Journal of Asian Studies* 72, no. 4 (2013): 893–916; Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, "A Wind of Change on Java's Ruined Temples Archaeological Activities, Imperial Circuits and Heritage Awareness in Java and the Netherlands (1800-1850)," *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 128, no. 1 (2013): 88–104.
[263] Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*, 104.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 57.
[266] This is in line with an argument put forward by Sunjayadi that Islam in tourism in the Dutch East Indies was seldom brought up as a vital part of Indonesian culture: Achmad Sunjayadi, "Aspek Islam Dalam Turisme Kolonial Di Jawa," *Paradigma, Jurnal Kajian Budaya* 1, no. 1 (2010): 1–16.
[267] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 15.

preserve their adat, which is often in contradiction to the [sic] prescribtions of that religion. The Musulman faith is treated with greater respect in the coast towns, where marriages are celebrated in the Arab fashion, than in the interior.'[268] While not ignoring Islam, the guidebook does stress the pervasiveness of the old *adat* systems in Lampong culture, and therefore downplays Islam as a cultural factor. About the Minang Kabau people, the guidebook states: 'Early converted to the Islam while preserving their own adat, the Malays of Menangkabau regard themselves as the best Mahomedans in the Archipelago.'[269] By stating that even the Minang Kabau people, who consider themselves pious Muslims, still adhere to the old *adat* ways, the grasp of Islam over Sumatra is lessened, even though it was the largest religion on the island.

Fantasies and Facts

The Vereeniging seemed aware of the importance of authenticity in modern tourism and of the metropolitan imagination of the tropics in creating tourist representations. They understood it was in the 'simpler' lives and 'premodern' cultures of the colonized indigenous peoples of the Archipelago, that this authenticity was to be found. The inhabitants of the Archipelago formed a perfect foil for tourists to negotiate their modern consciousness. In the guidebooks, the Vereeniging engaged in two imperial discourses that emphasized the tropicality, authenticity and inferiority of colonized people: imperial romantic imaginaries and the taxonomic colonial science. Even though they seem opposites, they affirmed the same imperial worldviews and hierarchies.[270]

Through cultural production, romantic notions of empire entered the metropolitan imagination and created imagined geographies of the colonies. These imaginations differed from empire to empire, but archetypes like the 'noble savage' or sexually promiscuous women became widespread. An illustrative example of how cultural production created imperial geographies, is Bali. Australian historian Adrian Vickers traces the historical creation of the paradise Bali in his book *Bali – a Paradise Created*.[271] Over the late colonial era, Bali developed a global reputation as the 'last paradise', a place on which modernity could not get a grip. Colonials, travelers and artists constructed Bali as a paradise, in which the peaceful and artistic Balinese, in contrast to the war-torn metropole, lived an unspoiled bliss. [272] Art and religion were regarded as the core of Balinese life, which was perceived as an erotic culture. Images of bare-breasted Balinese women, and oriental and tropical stereotypes of harems and female sexuality inspired this imagination. Over the late colonial

[268] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*, 14.
[269] Ibid., 18.
[270] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 39.
[271] For this thesis, the Dutch translation of this book has been used.
[272] Vickers, *Bali, Een Gecreëerd Paradijs*, 182.

era, this image was spread around the world in Hollywood movies, photographical albums, world fairs and travel reports.[273]

Another way in which the metropole gazed on the colonies, was science. From the eighteenth century on, explorers and colonizers had been accompanied by hundreds of scientists who studied the newly discovered flora, fauna, and indigenous people they encountered.[274] Disciplines like anthropology, ethnology and biology legitimized imperialism and shaped the organization of colonial administrations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[275] Furthermore, as was the case in other colonies, science explained the difference between colonizer and colonized.[276] In the Dutch Indies, several scientific views on this topic competed until the 1920s. Amongst them were ideas that the indigenous people were another human species, that the indigenous people were children who needed guidance, or that they were in another stage of human development.[277] After the surge of the Indonesian nationalist and communist movements in the 1920s, these visions converged as a reaction to the assertive indigenous elites. These elites were now seen as infants, whose 'adolescent arrogance' made them think they could rule themselves without the Dutch, while in fact they were still inferior, and not ready for self-government.[278] Ethnic tourism, both in the past and the present, has drawn heavily from the essentialized representations of colonial anthropology. [279] This is evident in the guidebooks of the Vereeniging, which reproduce the observations of the Dutch colonial scientists. In the following sections, the ways in which both discourses constructed the exotic 'otherness' of the colonized inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies will be analyzed.

The power of description

In several guidebooks, descriptions of local 'races' are part of the introduction or a general description of the region.[280] These descriptions accentuate the otherness of the indigenous peoples. The descriptions and photographs generalize and stereotype non-western inhabitants of the Dutch

[273] Ibid., 113–82.
[274] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 15.
[275] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 44,120; Fenneke Sysling, *De Onmeetbare Mens* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2015).
[276] Burbank and Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*, 325.
[277] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 118–22.
[278] Ibid., 122.
[279] Salazar, "Imagineering Otherness: Anthropological Legacies in Contemporary Tourism."
[280] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*.

East Indies, and structure colonial society along racial lines.[281] The guidebooks present the Archipelago as a buffet of different colorful indigenous cultures to be consumed by the tourist, served in the taxonomic language of anthropology.[282] The mobilization of anthropology, allows the guidebooks to claim a superior scientific understanding of the 'races' of the Indies, which affirms the gap between the imperial ruler and the dominated imperial subjects. Racial and cultural ancestry, levels of primitivism or modernity, and generalized dispositions – key subjects of colonial research – are featured in most descriptions of races.

The racial and cultural ancestry of the indigenous peoples is mostly discussed in guidebooks about Sumatra and Bali.[283] This focus on ancestry structures indigenous peoples and fits them in the Dutch imperial understanding of the colony, the scientific system of *adat*.[284] *Guide to Sumatra* uses language or religion to trace lineage ('their [Lampong people] alphabet proves that they were formerly under the influence of the Hindus')[285] and in some cases also racial influences: 'it is highly probable that they [Acehnese] were converted to Islam by the Hindus, and that their race has received additions of Dravidian, Malay, bugis Arab and even Egyptian origin.'[286] A similar example of how cultural lineage is used to structure an understanding of indigenous life, can be found in *Bali* (1931). Dr. Roelof Goris' analysis of Balinese culture in the introduction of his chapter on 'The Customs and Life of the Balinese' starts with a description of the cultural origins of Balinese society. Goris' description orders Balinese culture according to influences:

> *'These are for the most part old native (pre-Hindu or Polynesian) forms with a superimposition of Buddhism and Shivaism. Buddhism was brought into Bali during two different periods; in the earlier times, it came direct, later it was reimported from Java and then bore a strongly Javanese tinge. Finally, traits and elements may be found in the religious art of the Island that are reminiscent of Babylonian and Chinese culture. (…) persons who had made a special study of the Inca culture in Mexico have also been struck by the many and varied points of similarity they found in Bali.'*[287]

By talking about 'superimposition' and 'reimportation', Balinese culture is ordered through ancestry. This classification along the lines of cultural and racial influences, implies a superior scientific

[281] Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 28; Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 19.
[282] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*.
[283] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a more complete description of the Padang Higlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Official Tourist Bureau, *Come to Java*, 1926; Official Tourist Bureau, *Short Guide to Bali*.
[284] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 52.
[285] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*, 14.
[286] Ibid., 22.
[287] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931, 11.

understanding of Balinese culture, and diminishes the unique and complex character of Balinese culture. The links with Babylonian and Inca culture enhances the ancient, mystical character of Bali.

The degree of primitivism is another indicator through which races are classified.[288] The idea that colonized people would become modern through association and assimilation with Europeans was very prevalent internationally.[289] This theory, which implies superiority of European civilization, is evident in the guidebooks. According to the Vereeniging, the indigenous people in the cities have become more modern and civilized through their contact with European civilization.[290] *Java the Wonderland,* for example, underscores the civilizing effect of the Dutch on the indigenous population of Batavia: 'The prosperity which this populations enjoys is evinced by the healthy and strong appearance of the men and women, and by the cleanliness and relative wealth of their dress and dwellings. Their continual contact with Europeans has led to virtues and vices among them, which all civilization brings with it.'[291] By stating that the 'continual contact' with the colonizer has changed the Batavians, not necessarily for the better, the inherent civilizing influence of association with the Dutch is stressed. On the other hand, inland peoples which supposedly had little historical contact with European and Asian civilizations, are described as primitive.[292] *Guide to Sumatra* is clear on this subject. The peoples of the interior of Sumatra,

> *'who only are beginning to come into contact with foreigners, who are ignorant of the arts of learning and commerce are of European civilization, or indeed of any high civilization, have in the past been slightly influenced by the Hindus, and in certain districts have not altogether escaped the influence of Islam. They have necessarily remained at a lower intellectual level than the coast populations.'*[293]

A deterministic relation between contact with civilizations and the 'intellectual level' of indigenous peoples is presupposed in this statement, which renders the isolated inland Sumatrans inferior to their worldly coastal counterparts. One of the theories which explained the 'lower state' of indigenous civilization, was that the people of the Dutch East Indies were in an earlier stage of

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[288] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939.
[289] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 118–56; Bloembergen, *De Koloniale Vertoning. Nederland En Indië Op de Wereld-Tentoonstellingen (1880-1931)*, 47–58.
[290] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*.
[291] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 24. The same sentence is featured in Dutch in: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*.
[292] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to the Dieng Plateau in Central Java*.
[293] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*, 12.

human development, a state European civilizations had passed after the Middle Ages.[294] This view is reflected in guidebooks on Bali.[295] *Bali* (1931) explicitly compares Balinese society to the European medieval society, as in both religion supposedly dominated daily life, instead of reason.[296] 'Just as it was in Europe in the Middle Ages, so today in Bali the church and society form an inseparable whole; indeed life in Bali is carried on entirely along the lines of its religion.'[297] Later, the Balinese caste system, which was seen by the Dutch as despotic and aristocratic – supposed characteristics of the Middle Ages – is called 'mediaeval'.[298]

Lastly, several guidebooks reduce indigenous 'races' to a disposition which defines their identity.[299] The guidebooks take their ques from the essentializing Dutch anthropology, which took interest in 'ethnic character traits' and how these changed under the influence of contact with other civilizations.[300] A comparison of the Batavia population to other indigenous populations of the Dutch East Indies in *Java the Wonderland* illustrates this, as it reduces different races to singular traits:

> *'less impudent and proud, and clinging less to old customs (adat) than the inhabitants of the West-Coast of Sumatra, less cheerful, simple, and trustworthy than the Soendanese, from the highlands of the Preanger, less strong and fanatic than the uncivilized Bantamese, less outwardly submissive than the docile, and often more distinguished Javanese, and less rough and choleric than the seafaring Madurese, the population of Batavia affords an inadequate picture of those races in general.'*[301]

By reducing 'races' to traits and cultural features, they become generalized stock types. Most of the mentioned characteristics, such as submissiveness, cheerfulness and barbarism, appeal to widespread imperial stereotypes of non-western people. By ranking the different races by character traits, the notion of a racial hierarchy of peoples is reproduced.

Authenticity in the Archipelago

As discussed earlier, the authenticity of indigenous people revolved around their supposedly simple, and uncorrupted lifestyle. The indigenous people of the Archipelago were perceived by some Dutch colonials as 'creatures of nature,' who had retained their innocence and bliss in the light of the

[294] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 125–27.
[295] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939.
[296] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 125.
[297] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931, 11.
[298] Ibid., 51.
[299] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*.
[300] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 52–53.
[301] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 24.

absence of civilizational influences.[302] Gouda argues that: 'a long standing and oft-repeated apodictic pronouncement about the Javanese or other ethnic groups was that their ignorance made them so much more contented and at peace with themselves than civilized people from the West. The simple Javanese may have been destitute and unenlightened, but they possessed an equanimity Westerners could not longer fathom.'[303] This equanimity, besides their tropical otherness, made them 'interesting' tourist sights. The guidebooks present indigenous life of the Dutch East Indies as a refuge from the twentieth century and an antithesis to all that was modern. The Vereeniging constructed these representations by mobilizing romantic tourist imaginaries of Bali, Java and Sumatra, and by stressing the ignorant yet inherent bliss and immutable nature of indigenous life.[304] For example, in *Java the Wonderland*, a description of a walk from old Batavia to Weltevreden gives an idyllic idea of life in old Batavia.

> *'when [sic] ons has driven through the old town of Batavia and seen its crowded bazaars and streets and has followed the lines of the paved canals, were small natives splash and swim, women beat the family linen and men go to and fro in tiny boats all in strange travesty of the solemn canals of the old country.'*[305]

The described 'hustle and bustle' of the market and the housekeeping activities remind of simple life in quaint little villages. Moreover, marking the canals as 'solemn' heightens the idyllic profile and the swimming children symbolize innocent joy. Later on, when describing the Sundanese people, the innate joy of indigenous life is again stressed, as it is argued that the women 'have red cheeks and smiling faces; for the life of the natives in this part of Java is certainly very much happier than that of a small farmer in Europe.'[306] In this description, happiness is not described as an emotion, but as an innate character trait of the 'red cheeked' and 'smiling' Sundanese. This innate happiness heightens their authentic, but also 'ignorant' character.

The guidebooks point out where indigenous life is most authentic and picturesque, and invite the tourist to gaze at the indigenous scenes. *Bali* (1931) describes the holy spring of Kapal as 'redolent of ancient Bali' while the 'sacred forest' near Sangeh 'affords the visitor a glimpse of the more intimate Balinese Life.'[307] *Java the Wonderland* argues that 'at Solo one reaches the heart of native Java – the Java of the Javanese. (…) native life is but slightly affected by four and ways, and the

[302] Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 132.
[303] Ibid., 133.
[304] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*.
[305] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 14.
[306] Ibid., 43.
[307] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931, 75,77.

local color is all one could wish.'[308] *Guide to Sumatra* claims that the Padang Highlands have 'from every point of view, [an] interesting native population, which is not yet spoiled by a stream of Tourists, but adheres rigidly to its old customs.'[309] The guidebooks allow the tourists to mirror their modern consciousness against the 'authentic' indigenous people. Like Couperus in Sumatra, they praise those aspects of indigenous life which signify it as a primitive and inferior opposite to the modern tourists. Moreover, the admiration of tourists of indigenous life reiterates a narrative of anti-conquest, as it allows them to claim innocence for themselves and imperialism, while at the same time asserting European superiority.[310] The simple fact that the tourist still is able to witness 'authentic' indigenous culture, shows that imperialism has not destroyed it. However, through witnessing the 'authentic' indigenous scenes, tourists are affirmed in their metropolitan consciousness. In this negotiation, imperial identities are validated and the imperial system is restated.

Photographs of wonder and difference

The imagined geography of the Dutch East Indies constructed by the Vereeniging draws heavily on the power of visual sources. The introduction of photography led to a 'new way of seeing', as 'the photograph's perceived ability to capture truth-in-pictures leads to it replacing direct experience as a source of knowledge in modern society.'[311] Extending this argument to ethnic tourism, photographs act as metonymies for specific groups of people and therefore can play a role in the pre-travel construction of ethnic identities and the tourist's anticipation of exoticism.[312] All illustrated guidebooks feature photographs of the non-European population of the Dutch Indies, which highlights the exotic profile of the Archipelago in a superficial way. [313] Real-life encounters with indigenous people could change predetermined ideas of the tourist, but the photographs in the guidebooks still contributed to the construction of a generic image of tropical 'otherness' of the indigenous people in the pre-travel phase.

The superficial display of the inhabitants of the tropics is not a fixed antithesis between the metropole and the periphery, as several categories of tropical otherness are in play in each individual representation. In her seminal work *Imperial Leather*, Anne McClintock argues that gender

[308] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 76.
[309] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*, 61.
[310] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 7.
[311] Wayne Martin Mellinger, "Toward a Critical Analysis of Tourism Representations," *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 4 (1994): 758.
[312] Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, "Travel Photography. A Methodological Approach," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15, no. 1 (1988): 136.
[313] Non-illustrated guidebooks are: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to the Dieng Plateau in Central Java*. *Short Guide to the Borobudur* does not contain photographs of indigenous people.

characterized the representation of the tropics in imperial cultural production. According to her, the tropics were feminized and fetishized, a representation she labels 'porno-tropics'.[314] As the tropics were gendered female, European males projected their imaginations on these 'penetrable' spaces and its inhabitants. Indeed, erotization of indigenous women was common in colonial visual cultures worldwide, as many Asian peoples, especially women, were perceived as sexually overactive.[315] However, Protschky argues that in the case of the Dutch East Indies, the portrayal is more layered, as colonial visual culture and literature not only feminized, but more consistently racialized the tropics.[316] Visually, the guidebooks represent the indigenous inhabitants in a similar way. The photographs highlight what the metropole saw as the exotic character of the indigenous people, thereby racializing them. While female sensuality is a feature, it does not dominate the representation of indigenous people. These racialized and feminized representations affirm the gap between the western tourist and the colonized people, as the racial 'otherness' of the Archipelago is emphasized.

The indigenous population is mainly depicted in ceremonial settings, wearing traditional outfits, or doing stereotypical 'Asian' activities. In *Java the Wonderland* for example, gambling and arts and crafts, and in *Bali* (1931) theatre and gamelan orchestras (figure 16 & 17).[317] Gambling was considered to be a typical Asian vice, and stirred curiosity of western tourists who visited Asian areas.[318] The unfamiliar art, costumes, dance, and music instruments – all of which were seen as the core of indigenous life – underscored the otherness of the Archipelago in comparison to western arts, dance and music. Through this selection of topics the visual representation, the guidebooks provide a one-sided view of indigenous life, since they only show traditional and stereotypically Asian aspects of society.

Many guidebooks frame portraits of indigenous people as 'native types', which serve as representations of their whole race.[319] A 'type' photograph is a portrait of an individual person,

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[314] Anne McClintock, "Imperial Leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest" (London: Routledge, 1995), 21–22.
[315] Susie Protschky, "Seductive Landscapes: Gender, Race and European Representations of Nature in the Dutch East Indies during the Late Colonial Period," *Gender and History* 20, no. 2 (2008): 385; Vickers, *Bali, Een Gecreëerd Paradijs*, 128.
[316] Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*, 127.
[317] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 75, 76, 79; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931, 39, 44, 47.
[318] For example, in Chinatown San Francisco around 1900, gambling Chinese were main tourist sights: Rast, "The Cultural Politics of Tourism in San Francisco's Chinatown , 1882 – 1917." The Vereeniging also marks gambling as a potential tourist sight in *Gids voor Soerabaja en Omstreken*: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*, 28.
[319] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the*

which stands as a metonymy for a group. These portraits communicate both physical and cultural otherness of the displayed ethnicity to metropolitan viewers. This results in the depicted person losing his or her individuality, and becoming a stock figure, on which tourists can project their own meanings.[320] These 'type' portraits have similar compositions to anthropological portraits, as they emphasize signifiers of otherness, such as physical traits and clothing.[321] The 'type photographs' are often captioned with short descriptions such as 'native type', 'native women', 'young indigenous girl', which highlight their metonymic power. In *Java the Wonderland* a picture of two officials from Yogyakarta in traditional clothes illustrates the power of 'type' portraits (figure 18). The neutral background decontextualizes the officials, which makes them, and their clothes, the focus of the picture. One official can be seen from the front, the other *en profile*. This gives the viewer the chance to study their traditional clothes and their *kris,* ritual Javanese daggers, from different angles, as if they were models on display. The *kris* and the outfit, most prominently the hat (*peci*), stress the indigenous character of the officials. Besides the caption 'Djocja Officials,' there is no further information on the photograph. While the exotic profile of the officials is raised through the dress and the *kris*, no other information is conveyed, making the two men into superficial 'types' of Yogyakartan officials.

The 'type' photographs visual impact on representations is substantial, as *Guide to Sumatra* shows. The guidebook features several portraits of 'types', all women in indigenous clothing (figures 19.1, 19.2, 19.3, 19.4, 19.5). Given that there is only one photograph in the guidebook focusing recognizable indigenous males, one can argue that the representation of Sumatran tribes in the guidebook is largely feminine. The guidebook stresses the ethnic diversity of Sumatra in text, but almost all the 'type' photographs feature Batak women in the same, bare-shouldered garment. One could interpret this focus on the Batak dress as a essentialized and sensualized reduction of the diverse Sumatran tribes. Another example of how the 'type' photographs can establish a superficial exoticism, can be found in *Come to Java* (1916). This concise guidebook contains only practical information and does not feature descriptions of colonized people. However, it constructs an image of them through photographs. *Come to Java* features a few 'type' portraits. Three of them are captioned as 'native belle', 'Papua' and 'girl in every day dress' (figure 20.1, 20.2, 20.3). The physical characteristics and clothes of the subjects are highlighted by the neutral background and the

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Padang Highlands; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*.

[320] Albers and James, "Travel Photography. A Methodological Approach."

[321] Protschky, "Seductive Landscapes: Gender, Race and European Representations of Nature in the Dutch East Indies during the Late Colonial Period," 378; Sysling, *De Onmeetbare Mens*.

photographs are not contextualized at all. For example, 'the Papua' (figure 20.2) is depicted naked, and with a bow-and-arrow. This evokes fantasies of indigenous people as primeval hunters. The forest background enhances the primeval and 'savage' connotations of the Papuan hunter. By captioning them as types without clear descriptions, they become generalized but superficial representations of the exotic 'others' of 'Java,' the subject of the guidebook. However, not all of these portraits portray Javanese people, as the 'Papua' is from New Guinea and the 'native belle' from Bali.[322] This reveals how superficial and effect-oriented the exoticism in *Come to Java* is.

Photographs of seduction

In most guidebooks, indigenous men and women feature in roughly equal amounts in the visual representation and it would be a stretch to state that the depiction of the Dutch East Indies and its inhabitants is feminized. These photographs evoke metropolitan sensual connotations of the tropics – and therefore gendered otherness of the tropics – but not in the absolute way presupposed by McClintock. They do however reiterate stereotypes of sensual Asian women. Examples of isolated sensualized depictions can be found in *See Java, Java the Wonderland,* and *Sumatra* (figure 21.1, 21.2, 21.3). The first photograph, from *See Java*, depicts indigenous women bathing in a river. Many European visitors were fascinated by the fact that the indigenous population bathed in public, in rivers or open baths.[323] These visitors, amongst photographers and painters, invited themselves to peak at these scenes, leading to a voyeuristic intrusion into what Europeans understood as a private situation.[324] The intrusive character of the photograph heightens its sensual character, along with the awareness of the women that they are being watched. Figure 21.2, featured in *Java the Wonderland*, evokes stereotypes of tropical lesbian sensuality, as one women massages another. Lastly, the third example, a 'type' photograph of a girl from the Mentawai Islands, featured in *Sumatra*, is cut of at the waist, which accentuates the breasts of the woman, and therefore her sensuality.

The guidebooks on Bali are exceptions, as sensualized depictions of Balinese women, while not necessarily dominating the depiction, more prominently shape the visual representation of the island. [325] As already discussed, Bali had a reputation of being a culture of excessive lust. Public

[322] The 'native belle' is featured in the *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, in which is noted that the photograph was taken on Bali. Furthermore, the woman wears a Balinese dress. Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914, 74. The guidebook also features photographs of Minahasa on the island of Sulawesi: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916, 4, 36.
[323] Protschky, "Seductive Landscapes: Gender, Race and European Representations of Nature in the Dutch East Indies during the Late Colonial Period," 381–82.
[324] Ibid., 387.
[325]Of the 17 photographs in *Bali* (1931) clearly depict individually recognizable Balinese people (and on which the gender of subjects is clear), 10 primarily depict women or girls. Of 54 photographs in *Bali* (1939) depicting recognizable *Balinese* people, 27 primarily depict women.

bathing and the bare-breasted appearances of Balinese women inspired this European conception, which was enhanced by scientific research on the genitalia of these women, fantasies of oriental harems and stereotypes of Asian women.[326] *Bali* (1931) contains several photographs which sensualize women. A clear example of this is the picture of a half-naked girl, standing in front of several indigenous artifacts, looking confidently into the camera (figure 22). The girl poses for the camera *en face*, allowing the reader to gaze over her bare-breasted body. Her lack of shame, the outdoor setting, and bare breasts emphasize what Europeans perceived as public, extravagant sexuality of the Balinese. *Bali* (1939) is more explicit and shows, next to posed photographs, also several 'peeks' into intimate life, namely of women bathing (figure 23.1). From a small distance, the photographer observes the women, who are aware that they are being watched. As some of them are smiling, it seems that they do not mind the voyeuristic attention, heightening their public sexuality. What is striking is that the guidebooks on Bali give the tourist the option to see Balinese people bathe, as they incorporated the public baths in their itineraries.[327] On another photograph, the author seems to make a sexual innuendo (figure 23.2). A Balinese woman selling coffee is depicted, while the caption reads: 'An open-air restaurant on the side of the road: what Balinese could resist the allures of that cup of coffee or the other delicacies?'[328] It is unclear whether the author refers to the actual merchandise of the woman's stand, or hints at the breasts of the woman. However, this insinuation reflects the erotic profile attributed to Balinese women.

The representations of the colonized people in the guidebooks reveal the ambivalence of ethnic tourism. That what is admired about the indigenous people in tourism, their 'authentic' and 'idyllic' lifestyle and habits, is exactly what makes them inferior, childlike and in need of a ruler. Tourism's quest for authenticity in 'premodern' cultures underscores the superiority of western civilization – even if the tourist tries to escape it – and legitimizes imperialism. While negotiating modernity, the guidebooks reiterate the innocence of imperialism and narratives of anti-conquest. Modernity thus becomes the sole privilege of the West, which obscures modern elements of indigenous society. This is not a coincidence, as these modern elements, the elites who had received western education, caused unrest from the 1920s on. The Vereeniging rips the Dutch East Indies out of their contemporary political context by constructing a representation of the Dutch East Indies centered on the immutable nature of the Archipelago's indigenous cultures and the stability of this society. Islam, which increasingly became a threat to Dutch rule, is marginalized, downplaying the unstable political

[326] Vickers, *Bali, Een Gecreëerd Paradijs*, 124–28, 141–48.
[327] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Excursie Naar Het Eiland Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939.
[328] Ibid., 68.

reality of the late colonial era. Therefore, the representations of the colonized people reveal more about the anxieties and fantasies of the Dutch and tourists, than about the indigenous society of what a few years later would become the largest Islamic state in the world. These anxieties and fantasies also shaped representations of the Archipelago's landscape and nature, which will be analyzed in the following chapter.

Chapter 4 – Representations of Landscape and Nature

An underexposed facet of modern imperialism is environmentalism. As European colonizers encountered the lavish flora and fauna of America, Africa, Asia and Oceania, the notion that these landscapes should be protected and conserved emerged.[329] Admiration of extraordinary environments was also a central aspect of modern tourism, as tourists scoured the globe in search of the sublime and the picturesque.[330] Swedish ethnologist Orvar Löfgren defines the picturesque as 'a certain way of selecting, framing, and representing views.'[331] Through arts and travel literature sightseeing became a central aspect of travelling, as they learned tourists to appreciate landscapes and from which viewpoint to do so. Landscapes were rated based on their aesthetic qualities and the 'paintability' of the landscape was key. In the eighteenth century, idyllic landscapes, decaying ruins and charming small villages were the high points of the picturesque. However, this process of rating resulted in standardization of sights, which diminished the spontaneous and romantic aspect of experiencing landscapes. This allowed the cult of the sublime to rise.[332] The search for the sublime was a search for the overwhelming and awe-inspiring forces of nature, and an unsettling experience of feeling overpowered by higher forces.[333] Mountains (especially the Alps), waterfalls and deep canyons, natural sights that inspired both fear and fascination, were labeled as sublime. Like the picturesque, the overpowering forces of the sublime were eventually institutionalized by the tourist industry. As guidebooks selected similar sights, landscape representations crystallized and standardized internationally.[334]

The Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer lured tourists to the Archipelago by promoting its natural wonders.[335] In the guidebooks, the Vereeniging created what professor in English Gerhard Stiltz describes as the 'colonial sublime.'[336] Tourists could from a safe distance marvel at the destructive power of volcanoes, glare over enormous crater lakes, while leisurely trips to idyllic creeks and waterfalls were offered as well. In the imperial context, the standardized strategies of sightseeing equipped by tourism promoters, gained deeper meanings. The act of sightseeing and the textual and visual language used by promoters not only mediated a relation between tourist and landscape, but

[329] Richard Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[330] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, chapter 5; Löfgren, *On Holiday. A History of Vacationing*, 19.
[331] Ibid., 19.
[332] Ibid., 26–27.
[333] Ibid., 28.
[334] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*, Chapter 5.
[335] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930."
[336] Gerhard Stiltz, "Heroic Travellers - Romantic Landscapes. The Colonial Sublime in Indian, Australian and American Art and Literature," in *The Making of Modern Tourism. The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, ed. Hartmut Berghoff et al. (Basingstoke, 2002), 85–108.

also between the European tourist and the empire that claimed the tropical landscape.[337] This chapter analyzes how the representations of the Dutch East Indies' landscape and nature constructed by the Vereeniging mediate configurations of imperialism. By constructing the colonial sublime, the guidebooks implicitly legitimize and affirm imperial rule, negotiate imagined geographies and reinforce the idea of imperialism as a benevolent exercise. The argument on the tropicality of the Dutch East Indies will be continued here. For many European colonials, the unhealthy tropics were places where one risked succumbing to indigenous influences.[338] For the tourist, however, who stayed temporarily in the colony, the tropics offered a chance to experience colonial fantasies and consume the unfamiliar picturesque and subliminal landscapes of the Archipelago. Both presupposed a racialized understanding of the tropics.

In this chapter, one guidebook will be used to illustrate how landscape and nature are represented in the guidebooks, namely *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies* (1910), while other guidebooks will be referred to, to further substantiate the argument. *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies* describes the region as a paradise of volcanoes and lush nature: 'It is (…) amidst such surroundings, that a man wishes his life could be indefinitely prolonged.'[339] The guidebook contains romantic landscape descriptions, focuses on viewpoints, and stands out in comparison to other guidebooks as it barely mentions tourist sites of indigenous culture (even though it encompasses an elaborate description of the Sundanese people).

Volcanoes, viewpoints and virginal forests

As already discussed, landscape and nature were prominent features of the tourist representation of the Dutch East Indies created by the Vereeniging. Until the 1920s, it was the primary asset of the Vereeniging in promotion. After the switch from environment to culture in the tourist industry, landscape remained prominent in the tourist itineraries.[340] The Preanger Regencies, East Java, the Botanical Garden of Buitenzorg, the Padang Highlands and Bali offered the most appealing landscapes according to the Vereeniging. From the hill stations in the mountains of Java and Sumatra, trips to the natural wonders of the Archipelago could be made (figure 24).[341] In these stations, the tourists stayed in luxurious hotels and sanatoria. Popular resorts were Fort de Kock in Sumatra, and Tosari, Garut and Sindanglaya in Java. The expeditions mapped out by the guidebooks from these stations lead through 'virginal forests' to subliminal sights and picturesque viewpoints.

[337] Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*, 9.
[338] Protschky, "Seductive Landscapes: Gender, Race and European Representations of Nature in the Dutch East Indies during the Late Colonial Period," 373.
[339] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*, 11.
[340] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 204.
[341] Spencer and Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," 640.

Volcanoes were the main natural sights. Amongst the most 'spectacular' volcanoes were Mount Bromo (with the adjoining Sand Sea), Mount Gede, Merapi and Gunung Batur. In this respect, it is remarkable that the Krakatau, which was known worldwide for its catastrophic eruption in 1871, does not feature in the guidebooks.[342] Lakes (such as Toba, Leles, and Bagendit), craters and waterfalls (like Tjibareum) are often marked. The environmental otherness of the Archipelago was not only derived from the landscape and flora, but also from the fauna. Cribb notes that wild animals do not feature in the publications of the Vereeniging on Java before 1930.[343] However, in many guidebooks animals are discussed. Scientific guidebooks describe the existing regional fauna, while in several guidebooks animals, especially monkey colonies, are marked as sights.[344]

Viewpoints are central in the guidebook's construction of the landscape as a tourist sight. The expedition itineraries point out were good views could be 'obtained,' which are subsequently rated in sight interpretations. Many guidebooks lapse into romantic descriptions of the viewpoints, and describe the sublime and picturesque views as if they were paintings.[345] From the 1920s on, the guidebooks also feature scientific and geographical descriptions of the flora, fauna and landscape.[346] Both the romantic and the scientific descriptions offered ways in which the tourists could gain an understanding of the traversed landscapes. Romantic sightseeing classified landscapes along aesthetical lines, while scientific information on coordinates of islands, the height of mountains,

[342] Matthias Dörries, "Global Science: The Eruption of Krakatau," *Endeavour* 27, no. 3 (2003): 115–16. Krakatau does feature in promotion material: "Volcanoes in Java," *Tourism in the Netherlands Indies*, 1936; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, "Come to Beautiful Java."

[343] Cribb, "International Tourism in Java, 1900-1930," 200.

[344] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*.

[345] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*.

[346] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*.

biomes and eruption histories situated the Archipelago in the Eurocentric scientific understanding of the world.[347]

The Archipelago as prize possession

The representation of the Dutch Indies landscape and nature presupposes a Dutch ownership of the Archipelago. The guidebooks engage in a language of physical ownership, when discussing the islands. Examples are found in *Java the Wonderland*, which labels Java 'the pride of the Dutch', and *Guide to Sumatra,* which opens up with a list of the 'outer possessions' of the Dutch in the Archipelago (figure 25).[348] By listing the outer possessions, the guidebook highlights the proprietary relation between the Dutch empire and the islands. Furthermore, the widely-used term outer possessions (*buitenbezittingen*) linguistically confirms the notion of Dutch ownership. Moreover, the dominion of the Dutch is normalized, as Dutch building projects on Indies' soil and the extraction of raw materials are never questioned.[349] It is implied that the Dutch have the right to intervene in the environment, which emphasizes the proprietary status of the Archipelago. For example, *Sumatra* states, when discussing mining, that 'the earliest mineral of which we have direct knowledge was gold which was already obtained by the natives from the rivers at the time of the first Portuguese visits. (…) mining only became of real economic interest when towards the end of the 19th Century European capital was first invested in its exploitation. Since then gold, silver, coal and petroleum have been the most important products.'[350] The Dutch exploitation of raw materials is not questioned. In doing so, it is rendered as normal as the earlier indigenous exploitation of gold.

One tourist sight in particular affirms Dutch authority over the tropical soil of the Archipelago, namely the Botanical Garden of Buitenzorg (figure 26), which is marked as a must-see attraction in promotional material. It is introduced by *Java the Wonderland* as 'the great show-place, the paradise and pride of the island', and *Come to Java* (1916) calls it 'a perfect paradise to botanists and lovers of nature.'[351] It was established in 1817, and became one of the foremost botanical gardens in Southeast Asia. The Botanical Garden was primarily a center for agricultural, medicinal and biological research, but it was also open to the public. [352] Protschky argues that in colonies visual

[347] Löfgren, *On Holiday. A History of Vacationing*, 21, 28; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 15.
[348] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 106; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*, 1.
[349] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*.
[350] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*, 45.
[351] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 29; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916, 47.
[352] Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*, 52.

culture, the Botanical Garden was depicted 'as a site (indeed, the center) of colonial order and civilization imposed upon the tropics. (…) Paintings, drawings and photographs of the palace and botanical garden at Buitenzorg made consistent allusions to the genteel efforts of the Dutch to cultivate the tropics, and thereby to position themselves as the natural rulers of the Indies.'[353] The guidebooks reproduce this representation of the botanical garden. Firstly, it is revealing that in an Archipelago with an abundance of wild flora and fauna, a garden curated by Europeans is one of the main natural sights. Botanical gardens offered Europeans to order the unfamiliar tropical nature through science, thereby contributing to a sense of control over nature.[354] The guidebooks that feature elaborate descriptions of the garden stress the meticulous floral arrangements, and the control of the gardeners over the tropical plants.[355] This control of the tropics is not suppressing, but rather gentle and natural. *Illustrated Tourist Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java* presents the gardens as a tropical Eden, managed by

> *'well directed efforts of eminent horticulturalists. (…) The magnificence of the different species of tropical plants and trees, together with the picturesque laying out, makes this garden a very paradise. Its collection of palms and orchids is wonderful; bamboo is seen here growing in clumps and thickets as never before.'*[356]

By stating that the work of the 'eminent' botanists is 'well directed,' the guidebook stresses their benevolent intentions. Furthermore, as the efforts of the botanists resulted in the creation of 'a very paradise,' which underscores the success of the garden management. *See Java* also stresses the seemingly contradictive organic nature of the artificially ordered garden: 'Today a specimen is present of almost every plant that is known to grow in the tropical countries of the world. (…) But although the whole garden has been worked out on a strictly scientific basis, art and beauty have not been forgotten and the non-scientific visitor will be charmed by the delightfully cool and shady walks.'[357] The guidebook stresses that science and nature are in perfect harmony in the garden, which implicitly is linked to the botanists' 'organic' scientific order in the garden.

Secondly, the guidebooks point out that the palace of the Governor-General is located in the botanical garden (figure 27). This palace is a significant *lieu de memoire* for Dutch imperial authority. The Governor-General, as the highest colonial authority, symbolized Dutch dominion over the Archipelago. Its position in the garden extents this authority over the tropical landscape which has been 'benevolently' tamed by the gardeners. *Illustrated Tourist Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger*

[353] Ibid., 52, 58.
[354] Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860*, 14.
[355] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*.
[356] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*, 11.
[357] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*, 32.

and Central Java for example describes the palace as a citadel towering over the enchanting tropical nature. 'The Governor General's Palace (…) is now a stately and imposing building; it is situated in the midst of a beautiful enclosure, reached from the main gate, from which also leads a most beautiful avenue of kanari trees.'[358] This kind of description implicitly emphasizes the political power of the Governor-General to the power over nature displayed in the garden.

Sightseeing as an imperial practice

Sightseeing was not only a prominent feature of modern tourism, but also of European expeditions into the hinterland of Africa, South America and Asia during the nineteenth century. European travelers, such as the famous doctor Livingstone, trekked into these lands, which were not yet put on European maps. In *Imperial Eyes*, Pratt discusses the discovery rhetoric equipped by Victorian era 'explorers'. These travelers documented their expeditions in travel writing, describing the landscapes and views they 'discovered' as if they were paintings. Pratt argues that in these cases one cannot speak of a discovery. Firstly, because the travelers were guided there by the indigenous population.[359] Secondly, 'the act of discovery itself (…) consisted of what in European culture counts as a purely passive experience – that of seeing. (…) it only gets "made" for real after the traveler (…) returns home and brings it into being through texts.'[360] The 'discovery' of the Victorian traveler was made real by describing the view as a painting, framed by the traveler himself. Pratt concludes that the Victorian discovery rhetoric gives value to the experience of the traveler by: aestheticizing, describing the view like a painting and stressing the aesthetic pleasures of it; attributing a density of meaning by stressing the richness in material substance, and mastering the view through description. 'The landscape was intended to be viewed from where he has emerged upon it. (…) the viewer-painting relation also implies that Burton [the traveler] has the power if not to possess, at least to evaluate this scene.'[361] Pratt calls this a 'monarch-of-all-I-survey-scene', where a European 'seeing man' gazes over a landscape and by framing it, masters the landscape. The 'seeing man' points out why it is of value to European culture, but also the 'deficiencies' were European culture should intervene.[362]

In a similar, yet more innocent way, the guidebooks mediate how the colonial sublime should be seen and experienced, and how the tourist can be a monarch-of-all-I-survey as well. Unlike the monarch-of-all-I-survey texts however, the guidebooks do not point out landscape deficiencies. The Vereeniging, being a tourism promotion bureau, focused mainly on positive aspects as they tried to

[358] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*, 11.
[359] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 203.
[360] Ibid., 202–4.
[361] Ibid., 205.
[362] Ibid., 7, 205.

paint a perfect picture of the sublime for the tourist. The guidebooks engage with the landscape through the construction and description of viewpoints, which similar to the Victorian discovery rhetoric, are given meaning through language.[363] By describing where to stand, what can be seen and ranking the view, guidebooks mark sights before the tourist sees them. *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies,* amongst other guidebooks, does this in a romantic language that quantifies, aestheticizes and claims the colonial sublime.[364] An example is the trip from Garut to the crater of the Papandayan, on the way to which several viewpoints are passed. The expedition is meticulously planned; The guidebook tells when to leave ('the visitor should start early in the morning (…), as otherwise the scenery will be hidden behind the clouds.')[365], and describes what roads to take, where to switch transport and where to have lunch. This planning serves to make sure that the tourist sees the viewpoints in the perspective set by the Vereeniging, which is supposed to be the right way. The guidebook describes the passed-by sceneries and viewpoints in a romanticizing language:

> *'The upper regions of the Papandayan are clothed with real jungle, the forest primeval, with giant creepers writhing serpent-like about the trees which their pendant, gracefully decorative leaves; orchids swing in tasseled sprays, starred mossy trunks and branches, and show in all the green wonderland overhead and around; and in each ravine (…) a whole hothouse full of blooming strange loveliness delights the eye. (…) Here and there the visitor has a magnificent view back over the Garoet plain, with its chequer board of green glinting fields, dotted with clumps of palms indicating hidden villages.'*[366]

This description aestheticizes the landscape, as the whole scene is described like a painting. The artistic value of the landscape is stressed by marking it as a 'green wonderland' and 'magnificent,' while by locating ravines, plains and villages, the composition is sketched. Moreover, this landscape is given density of meaning, as the many adjectives give aspects of the landscape artistic qualities. By adding 'serpent-like' to the creepers, 'gracefully decorative' to leaves, and describing the Garut plain as a 'chequer board of green glinting fields', the guidebook lifts the described objects into the imagination of the reader, by associating them recognizable objects, colors and forms. Later, the

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[363] All guidebooks do so, with the exception of Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to the Borobudur*.

[364] The following guidebooks contain similar romantic viewpoint descriptions: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*. These romantic descriptions also feature to a lesser extent in: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*.

[365] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*, 20.

[366] Ibid., 22–23.

description of the volcanic activity near the top of the Papandayan evokes the aesthetics of the 'sublime,' as it characterizes the environment as dangerous yet fascinating:

> *'These pools, vats of purest molten gold, boil violently all the time, scattering golden drops far and wide from their fretted, honeycombed edges. There is always a suggestion of the possibility of their sudden shooting into the air like geysers, and deluging one with a spray of molten gold. (…) from the rumbling and strange underground noises one can understand both the native legends of chained giants groaning within the mountain, and their name for Papandayan, "The Forge".'*[367]

By staging and aestheticizing the surroundings of the Papandayan, the guidebook marks the sights beforehand, so the tourist knows 'what ought to be seen' and felt. The subliminal character of the volcanic landscape is enhanced by mentioning that the volcanic pools boil 'violently,' that the pools could eject at any moment, and by linking the underground noises to mysterious, indigenous folklore. Moreover, describing the volcanic pools as 'pure molten gold' again adds density of meaning to the scene. The guidebook paints an 'optimal' subliminal experience of the Papandayan, which now can be consumed by the tourist.

Another example from *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies* that illustrates the appropriation of the colonial sublime, is the description of the trip to lake Telaga Bodas. Like a panorama plaque used at viewpoints, the guidebook names all the natural formations that can be seen from the various viewpoints:

> 'This view is no doubt one of the most fascinating in the world. In the depth, at one's feet, is the great, green plain of Garoet, more to the right the immense and fertile plain of Leles. Looking forward the eye rests on the big mass of the Goenoeng Goentoer, the "Thunder Mountain", at the foot of which may be seen the lake of Bagendit; to the left of it a sharp eye may discover some very small white spots – Garoet. Far in the distance arc the Poentjak Tjai and the Goenoeg Kendang. To the left the landscape is bordered by the volcano Papandayan, its walls glittering in the morning sun, and the Tjikoraj while the Goenoeg Kratja is the nearest mountain on the left hand side, facing the Sedakeling.'[368]

This gives the tourist a sense of control over the sight, as he or she knows the names of the surrounding mountains, enabling the tourist to master the sight. After this, the guidebook lapses into a romantic qualification of the sight: 'It is impossible to express in words the emotion one feels when beholding this grand spectacle. It is nature in her most exquisite beauty and a view the memory of which can never be effaced. Regretfully the visitor must turn his back on this view of Paradise.'[369] The artistic value of this 'grand spectacle' is stressed by mentioning its 'most exquisite beauty.' With this description the guidebook claims that the proposed viewpoint offers the best way to view this

[367] Ibid., 23.
[368] Ibid., 26.
[369] Ibid., 27.

'paradise,' again eluding to the fact that the Vereeniging helps the tourist mastering the environment.

The tropics as the environmental 'other'

In the previous chapter the racialized visual representations of the indigenous people have been discussed. This argument on tropicality will be expanded by analyzing how the landscape and nature of the Archipelago are racialized in the guidebooks. In the colonial era, the tropics were racialized through positive and negative connotations in metropolitan culture. The tropics are represented as beautiful, untarnished and full of exuberant natural wonders, but were also perceived as unhealthy and a potential threat to European sensibility as they were associated with several 'degenerative' aspects of indigenous life.[370] Colonials feared that decadence, sensuality and laziness, supposed deficiencies of indigenous people and their environment, would rub off on them. In the late colonial era, many Europeans argued that this had happened to the so-called 'stayers' (*blijvers*), Dutch people who grown up in the Dutch East Indies, or whose families had been living there for generations.[371] In the guidebooks these racialized connotations of the tropics come to the fore.

The Vereeniging's descriptions of the hill stations reveal a lot about the racialized perception of the tropics. A stay at the cool hill stations was regarded as a remedy for the debilitations caused by the tropical climate of Southeast Asia. Belief was that the cool climate, which resembled European environments, could bring European colonials back to their senses.[372] The guidebooks reproduce this assumption, as they present the hill resorts as healthy hideouts and European spaces, contrasting them with the unhealthy indigenous surroundings.[373] *Illustrated Tourist Guide to the Preanger Regencies* for example emphasizes the European and healthy character of the hill stations. Sukabumi is 'an ideal hill resort and has a delightful climate' while Sindanglaya is 'a favorite hill resort where many Batavians go for a holiday. (…) The air is so cool and healthful that the visitor will never regret

[370] Savage, *Western Impressions of Nature and Landscape in Southeast Asia*; Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*, 128.Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 147–48.
[371] Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*, 128; Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942*, 149; Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 27.
[372] Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures," 646.
[373] Guidebooks that feature hill stations: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*.

this trip.[374] By mentioning that the hill stations are frequented by Batavian colonials, and highlighting their 'delightful' and 'cool' climate, the European character of the resort is stressed. Other guidebooks are more explicit in racializing the unhealthy tropics by contrasting them with the 'European' hill stations. *Come to Java*'s (1926) section on 'general information for travelers' opens up with a description of climate. It argues the following: 'As a health resort for those who seek a change from the depressing life of the tropics, Java offers the best climate in her mountain resorts. Within a few hours the Traveler may change from one of the towns on the coast to a hill station with a healthy and cool climate.'[375] The 'health resorts' in the hill stations, lying in the mountainous inlands, are contrasted with the 'depressing' tropical climate. Most guidebooks do not completely dismiss the climate of the lowlands as unhealthy, as they do not want to scare off tourists. *See Java* for example downplays the heat, by focusing on the mountains in climate descriptions. It argues about Java that 'there are few if any other countries within the Tropics where imported Europeans (…) can remain longer than three or four years without returning to Europe and get retain their physical well-being and energy.'[376] Here, a trip to the hill stations is described as an alternative for the European furlough granted which was granted to Dutch colonial officials. This furlough was meant to allow the official to rest up and regain strength in the tempered climate of civilized Europe. The comparison between the hill stations and this furlough emphasizes the 'Europeanness' of the hill stations, and the racialized character of the tropics.

The mountainous and volcanic surroundings of the hill stations are also 'othered' in relation to the European resorts, by marking them as potentially dangerous and, to a lesser extent, indigenous. To establish the subliminal qualities of a sight, the guidebooks emphasize dangerous aspects of the environment. This was not only done through the already discussed romantic descriptions, but also through scientific information, for example on eruption histories.[377] Highlighting the active nature of volcanoes, and their destructive powers, renders the volcanic landscape as a potential danger zone. About the Papandayan, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies* argues:

> *'it has been in vigorous eruption within the 18th century; it still steams and rumbles, and (…) it may burst forth again at any moment. At the last great eruption of the Papandayan, in 1772, there was a*

[374] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*, 55, 60–61.
[375] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 37.
[376] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*, 16.
[377] Guidebooks that contain scientific information about the climate and volcanic landscape of the archipelago: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939.

terrible convulsion, a solid mass of the mountain being blown out into the air, streams of the lava pouring forth, and ashes and cinders covering the earth for seven miles around with a layer five feet thick, destroying forty villages and engulfing three thousand people in one day.'[378]

By elaborating on past eruptions, the tourist is reminded of the possibility that the Papandayan can erupt at any given time, heightening the sense of excitement, but also danger. Moreover, several guidebooks feature photographs of active volcanoes (figure 28.1, 28.2). The volcanic plumes on the photographs make the tourist aware of the volcanic activity in the ground, enhancing its subliminal qualities. Guidebooks stressed the potential danger not only to enhance subliminal qualities, but also to keep the tourist safe.[379] *Illustrated Tourist Guide to the Preanger Regencies* labels some places as dangerous to warn the tourist. Near the volcano Kawah Manuk, 'the soil is so mined by the fire that the visitor can make a new small volcano for himself by driving a stick some distance into it. For this reason the visitor is recommended *to exactly follow the guide's steps and not to leave the path indicated by the guide*, as otherwise he might sink through the thin crust of this crater and be seriously wounded.'[380] The guidebook stresses the precarious nature of the volcanic soil, which along with the warning to follow the guide's footsteps (emphasized by an italic font), identifies the volcanic landscape as dangerous. Another way in which the potential danger of the volcanic landscapes is assessed, is by advising women not to undertake certain trips, as they would be too dangerous or unhealthy for them.[381] These areas are deemed too distant from what were considered safe environments for women, and are as such contrasted with the European hill stations. Moreover, some guidebooks recommend for inland trips to hire, along coolies to carry the luggage and sedan chair, a local guide.[382] This evokes the idea that only indigenous people can navigate themselves through these areas, which underscores the tropics' racial connotation. On the other hand, it also reveals an interesting spin on imperial hierarchies, as in the volcanic landscape, the European tourist has to follow the indigenous guide in order to travel safely.

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[378] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*, 20.
[379] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Westenenk, *Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: A Fourteen Day's Trip in the Padang Highlands (the Land of Minang Kabau)*.
[380] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*, 33.
[381] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*.
[382] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Official Tourist Bureau, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Official Tourist Bureau, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger*; Official Tourist Bureau, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Official Tourist Bureau, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Official Tourist Bureau, *Sumatra*.

Idyllic landscapes and fantasies of non-intervention

The Dutch commitment to the Ethical Policy is emphasized in the guidebooks in various, seemingly contradictive ways. Previous chapters have analyzed how photographs and descriptions of the modernizing efforts of the Dutch colonizer contributed to a positive and ethical representation of the Dutch imperial project, and imperialism in general. However, the ethical character of Dutch imperialism is also underscored in the guidebooks through visual representations of the Archipelago in which Dutch interventions in the landscape are downplayed. These visual representations of idyllic and untarnished landscapes mainly serve to satisfy tourist's anticipation of exotic landscapes, but also mediate narratives of anti-conquest. Throughout the colonial era, the landscape art genre *Mooi Indië* (beautiful Indies) was very popular in the Dutch East Indies. In a natural-realist style, these painters depicted the landscapes of the Archipelago by focusing on its rural qualities (figure 29.1, 29.2). [383] European intrusion, both through industry and conquest, was seldom depicted in these rural landscapes.[384] The guidebooks feature, besides photographs of infrastructure, many photographs that evoke the *Mooi Indië* genre.[385] These photographs frame idyllic sceneries in which the colonizer is completely absent. Photographs of indigenous villages with a volcano in the background, *sawahs* and other indigenous cultivation systems, rustic rivers and coasts, or panoramas featuring silhouettes of working indigenous people appeal to the tourists' anticipations, while minimizing Dutch intrusion. As the intrusion is downplayed, the innocence of imperialism is confirmed. *Illustrated Tourist Guide to the Preanger Regencies* contains several pictures invoking the rural, untarnished qualities of *Mooi Indië*, but these are printed in a small format and it is difficult to analyze the details. A larger photograph from *See Java* illustrates the argument better (figure 30). It shows indigenous rice terraces, called *sawahs*, laid against a hill. The *sawahs* underscore the rural and indigenous character of the landscape, as this cultivation technique was associated with the people of Java. The untarnished Javanese character is further heightened by the Javanese children, which have been edited into the left corner, and seemingly look out over the landscape. Moreover, by captioning the photograph with '… And this is Java…' the photograph, which shows an untarnished landscape, becomes a metonymy of the whole of 'untouched' Java. These photographs substantiate the notion that imperialism has not changed the Archipelago. Furthermore, it promotes, as Protschky

[383] Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*, 73.
[384] Ibid.
[385] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Excursie Naar Het Eiland Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939.

calls it, 'myths of colonial non-intervention' and affirms the innocence of imperialism and the tourist.[386]

This representation seems a contradiction to the representation of the colonizer as an ethical modernizer, but in fact, is complimentary. Both highlight the ethical nature of Dutch imperialism. While the textual and visual representations of Dutch modernization stress positive contributions of the Dutch imperial project to the Archipelago, the visual representation of non-intervention minimizes the disruptive and negative impact of Dutch imperialism on the colony. Moreover, both representations reflect the aims of the Ethical Policy and the *mission civilatrice*, in which notions on modernization and cultural conservation, and the need to respect indigenous people, their culture and their habitat, were juggled.

The representations of landscape and nature in the guidebooks affirm the innate character of imperial authority over the Archipelago, and establish its tropical otherness. Sightseeing in the tropics enabled tourists to experience the colonial sublime constructed by the Vereeniging, which allowed the tourists to negotiate global imagined geographies of the metropole and the tropics. With the hill stations as boundary markers, the tropics are racialized, and in the process of marking the tropical Archipelago as an exciting tourist sight, it is differentiated from familiar European surroundings. These spatial arrangements cemented imperial identities and hierarchies. In other words, the Vereeniging reproduced imperial geographies for the sake of innocent sightseeing. The landscape and nature of the Dutch East Indies thus become powerful mediators of imperial identities in the guidebooks, as they confirm the superior place of the metropole in the imperial world. Besides the imagined geographies, the guidebooks also provided practical information to readers. The following chapter will discuss how practical information reproduced imperial hierarchies and identities.

[386] Protschky, *Images of the Tropics: Environment and Visual Culture in Colonial Indonesia*, 74.

Chapter 5 – Tourist performances and the contact zone

The previous chapters have elucidated how the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer drew on imperial imaginaries in the construction of a destination image of the Dutch East Indies. These imperial configurations were not only reproduced in culture and mentalities, but also in practice, as they shaped behavior of populations in the metropole and the colonies. Tourism was no exception, and the hierarchies, worldviews, and values of imperialism impacted not only tourist literature, but also tourist behavior. Performance theory offers a framework to study the relation between imperial identities and tourist behavior. It is rooted in the work of sociologist Erving Goffman, who used theater as a metaphor for social interaction.[387] In formal interaction, people 'perform' a role in the 'front stage', where depending on the social context, they want to make a certain impression. In the informal 'backstage' however, they do not have to 'perform' this role, and they can be themselves. Performances are influenced by societal conventions, expectations and habits. This is also the case in tourism. Even if vacation is experienced as an informal backstage opposite to working life, where the tourist can be his or herself, tourist behavior stems from habitual (unreflexive) and improvisational (reflexive) dispositions.[388] Geographer Tim Edensor argues that tourism is mainly characterized by an 'unreflexive disposition,' which allows tourists to relax and let go of anxieties as they do not have to evaluate their behavior. [389] Guidebooks are directors of unreflexive tourist performances, Edensor observes, as they show what must be seen, where, and how.[390] Furthermore, they avoid that the unreflexive relaxation of tourism is challenged by disorientation, strenuous efforts or unsettling experiences, such as poverty or violence. In doing so, guidebooks not only mediate performances, but also spatial contexts where tourism is performed, so-called 'tourist spaces.' Tourist spaces can be strongly framed, one-purposed spaces, isolated from society (enclavic spaces). The tourist industry manages and delineates these 'bubbles,' in which tourist standards of cleanliness and service, rather than standards of the host society, are adhered to.[391]On the other hand, tourist spaces can also be characterized by a lack of delineation and management (heterogeneous spaces). In these spaces, tourists share their environment with locals.[392] The character of a tourist space influences performances. Enclavic spaces, such as all-inclusive resorts, minimize difference between home and vacation, which allows tourists to 'be themselves,' and leads the tourist to develop a distorted view of the destination. Heterogeneous spaces require a more critical engagement of the tourist with his unfamiliar surroundings. As tourism often involves contact with the local population, tourist spaces

[387] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1959).
[388] Edensor, "Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism," 60–61.
[389] Ibid., 62–63.
[390] Ibid., 73.
[391] Ibid., 63–64.
[392] Ibid., 64.

often overlap with what Pratt calls 'contact zones,' spaces where metropolitan guests meet indigenous hosts. She coined this term to analyze the improvisational character of meetings between European travelers and non-western people.[393] Guidebooks, however, serve to take away this improvisational aspect, as they streamline intercultural communication with middlemen, servants and locals.

This chapter discusses four ways in which guidebooks direct tourist performances, tourist spaces and contact zones, and it analyzes how they mediate imperial identities. Firstly, the tourist spaces constructed by the guidebooks will be discussed. Secondly, the 'Malay vocabulary' sections featured in several guidebooks will analyzed. Thirdly, the mediation of contact between tourists and servants will be addressed, and the chapter culminates with an analysis of the constructed relation between tourists and locals. These four topics will reveal how the Vereeniging constructed unequal tourism relations between tourists and indigenous locals that mediate imperial hierarchies.

The comfort of Europe in the tropics

Health, luxury and relaxation, amongst authenticity, the picturesque and the sublime, were vital characteristics of the twentieth century vacation.[394] While the tourists liked their sights 'tropical,' 'untarnished,' and 'strange,' they expected their accommodations to be comfortable and familiar. The indigenous accommodations were not sufficient, and the luxury standards of the metropole had to be matched. This was even more important for European colonials living in the Dutch Indies, whose fear of 'going native' had resulted in the creation of segregated cities and hill stations.[395] Colonial anxieties of the tropics and tourists' taste for luxury and hygiene resulted in the emergence of European tourist spaces. These spaces offered modern services and amusement, and allowed them to be their western selves in the unfamiliar Dutch Indies. The Hotel des Indes in Batavia, one of the most prominent hotels of the Archipelago, exemplifies how establishments were 'Europeanized' to attract travelers.[396] A look at the interior of the dining hall reveals that the hotel is a European style establishment, both in layout and service (figure 31). The hotel resembled its metropolitan counterparts; if desired the tourist could eat European food instead of spicy *rijsttafel*, and the hotel offered luxuries common in the metropole, such as drinkable tap water and a steam laundry.[397] Another illustrate example is Grand Hotel Brastagi, located in the eponymous hill station on Sumatra. In an advertisement in *Tourism in Netherland India,* the hotel boasts that is has 'rooms

[393] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 7.
[394] Zuelow, *A History of Modern Tourism*; Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction."
[395] Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th Century Colonial Cultures."
[396] Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 29.
[397] N.V. Maatschappij "Hotel des Indes," *Hotel Des Indes, Weltevreden (Batavia), Java : The Leading Hotel of Java: Come and See.* (Batavia: Kolff, 1926), 3, 11–13, 15, 19.

with hot and cold running water' and the 'latest sanitary arrangements' (figure 32). Besides these modern state-of-the-art hygienic facilities, the advertisement reveals that the hotel hosted a wide range of middle and upper class recreation and leisure activities, such as tennis, billiards, golf and midget golf, swimming and dancing. These bourgeois activities substantiate the metropolitan character of these tourist spaces.

The tourist spaces were highly enclavic, as they were delineated European spaces in tropical surroundings. There were not completely closed off. Besides the tourists, indigenous servants, (Indo-) European businessmen, government officials and indigenous elites also entered these tourist spaces. Furthermore, tourists witnessed various living conditions of the non-European population during excursions and trips. Nevertheless, tourists who stayed in these European spaces experienced the Dutch East Indies mainly through the European order of the hotels. This stable European tourist order did not reflect the society of the late colonial Dutch Indies, in which the imperial order was increasingly challenged and not as self-evident as in the hotels. Furthermore, in these European tourist spaces the tourist mainly met indigenous people in a servile relation. As the indigenous servants took care of all the tourists' needs throughout the day, the unequal relation between colonizer and colonized was normalized.

Gids voor Batavia en Omstreken reproduces the European tourist spaces through site selection and description. It features predominately Dutch hotels and recreation facilities, of which the modern character is stressed in descriptions.[398] In the description of the 'best' hotels of Batavia – Hotel des Indes, Hotel Wisse, Hotel der Nederlanden and Grand Hotel Java, the first two of which were donators of the Vereeniging – the guidebook argues that 'the aforementioned hotels are excellently equipped and the traveler's stay will be made as convenient as possible. The rooms are properly furnished and provided with large beds. (…) One can order all kinds of wines and cool drinks in the hotels, and can address the personnel in French, German and English.'[399] This description assures the tourist that all expected luxuries are available in Batavia, and affirms the European character of the hotels. *Gids voor Batavia en Omstreken* also selects mainly European entertainment venues such as clubs (the societies *Harmonie* and *Condordia*), concert halls, theaters, restaurants and garden.[400] The European character of society Harmonie is stressed by stating that amongst their members are 'government officials and well-to-do citizens.'[401]

[398] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*, 9–10.
[399] Ibid., 9, translation by author.
[400] Ibid., 78–79. Besides these Europeans entertainment venues, Javanese theater (*Komedie Stamboel*) and Chinese theater are recommended.
[401] Ibid., 35.

The hill resorts were also presented as European tourist spaces. They were constructed as environmental hybrids, in which European climate and luxury merges with tropical sceneries.[402] The hill stations were praised for their European layout, luxury and temperature, but the appeal of the hill stations was also derived from the tropical sights. *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java* for example states about Sukabumi:

> *'it is an enchanted spot where days can slip by in dateless delight and where the heavy sickening heat, endured in the coast towns, is forgotten. It is a favorite resort for the leisure class, for invalids and convalescents, who find strength in the clear, fresh air of the hills, the cool nights and the temperate days of this little beauty spot. The many private villas found here, are surrounded with luxurious vegetation, with stately and magnificent trees and palms.'*[403]

The European character of the resort is stressed by mentioning the 'temperate days' and the villas, while its positive tropical qualities are the 'luxurious vegetation' and magnificent palms.

Some guidebooks not only indicate the spaces in which tourists can be their metropolitan selves, but also give directions on how they can 'perform' their metropolitan identities. *Come to Java* and *See Java* for example give instructions on how to dress. The former states that 'the Europeans in Java as a rule dress in white, dinner jacket or evening dress only being worn on official occasions.'[404] Clothes were a marker of European identity, and by stressing that the tourist should wear white – the default colonial outfit of European colonials – the guidebook gives the tourist instructions to 'perform' as a proper European.[405] Food also acted as an 'important marker of racial and cultural identity' in the late colonial Dutch East Indies.[406] For colonials, eating habits demonstrated affiliation to either European, or Indo-European identities. *Indisch* food such as *rijsttafel*, is not completely dismissed by the guidebooks, but the tourist is given ample opportunity to eat, and therefore to act, European. The vocabulary sections of several guidebooks offer the tourist for example several phrases in Malay in which the tourist can explicitly state to servants that he or she does not want *Indisch* food: 'I don't want any rice', 'let me have some rice, but none of the hot dishes', 'let me have some beefsteak and salad.'[407]

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[402] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926.
[403] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*.
[404] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926, 41.
[405] Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia. Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 136.
[406] Protschky, "The Colonial Table: Food, Culture and Dutch Identity in Colonial Indonesia," 356.
[407] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 6. Similar Malay phrases related to food are also featured in Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926.

'Malay vocabulary sections' and imperial hierarchies

Guidebooks often provide the tourist with a set of useful phrases in the language of the host country, to help them find their way. These 'vocabulary sections' offers tourists scripts for intercultural communication and mediate contact between host and guest. As the selection of sentences is limited, the selected phrases reveal what kind of communication was deemed most important for the tourist, as they serve to help readers cope with their tourist anxieties in an unfamiliar environment.[408] In a colonial context, these vocabulary sections offer insights in standards of conduct between colonizer and colonized. In his study of phrasebooks in German colonial Africa, which were made for German colonials rather than for tourists, Simon Constantine argues that phrasebooks 'were reflective and constitutive of social reality' and had a role 'in the transmission of the colonial world-view to new arrivals.'[409] Extending this argument to the guidebooks of the Vereeniging, the vocabulary sections of the Vereeniging become mediators of imperial discourses and hierarchies. Five guidebooks on Java contain a phrase section, and the Vereeniging also published a phrasebook.[410] These sections, except for *Come to Java* (1916), feature the same phrases, with only a few variations between them. They offered English and Dutch speaking tourists a limited selection of ways to engage with the indigenous people in Malay.[411] The sections overwhelmingly feature phrases that are used in a servile or transactional context, and contain predominantly imperative commands, requests and admonitions to indigenous servants. The possibility of small talk or an informal conversation is not offered. This reflects and constructs a social reality of inequality and indigenous servitude, which reflects the imperial order of the day. Moreover, it reveals that, according to the Vereeniging, a service relation was the only relation a tourist needed to maintain with the indigenous people, who are thus reduced to utilities.

The 'Malay Language' section of *Java the Wonderland* will be used to illustrate that the vocabulary sections reflect imperial discourses and realities, rather than conversation. The section is thematically ordered according to settings in which the tourists must communicate in a service context with a servant or coolie. Sub-sections such as 'on arrival at Tandjong Priok' (the harbor of

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[408] Maria João Cordeiro, "Portuguese 'to Go': Language Representations in Tourist Guides," *Language and Intercultural Communication* 11, no. 4 (2011): 380.
[409] Simon Constantine, "Phrasebooks and the Shaping of Conduct in Colonial Africa Ca. 1884 – 1914," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46, no. 2 (2013): 305.
[410] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1916; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *A Brief Malay Vocabulary with a Few Useful Phrases and Sentences Rendered into Both the English and the Netherlands Language* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, n.d.).
[411] It has to be noted that many servants in hotels on Java spoke English, French or German according to the guidebooks, which means that these phrase sections were not the only ways in which the tourist could communicate with indigenous people.

Batavia), 'at the railway station', 'at dinner' and 'in a carriage' are featured, after which a general list of words follows. This thematic structure reveals that servile contexts form the point of departure of this section, and that contact with indigenous people only serves to fix problems or satisfy demands of the tourist. Phrases of the first sub-section – arrival at Tandjong Priok – reveal the power dynamics at play in imperialism. The imperative phrasings of 'Go quickly', 'I don't allow it', 'All right it is enough', 'Come here', 'Don't want it' and reprimands like 'It is not use bothering me anymore', 'Hold your tongue' and 'Be off' emphasize an unequal relation between tourist and the Malay speaker. The tourist is instructed to address the Malay speaker in imperative formulations, which reflects their inequality.[412] What is striking is that positive remarks, such as 'thank you', are not featured in any of the guidebooks. Furthermore, the phrases in sub-sections on the station, hotel, and carriage reveal that the servants were addressed as a utility, rather than people. The service offered by the servants is rendered self-evident: 'Here coolie take my luggage', 'don't forget before dinner to clean my bed curtain properly from mosquitos' and 'I want some icewater' imply that a wide range of activities can be demanded from the servant. Moreover, the servants are often addressed with the Malay equivalent of 'boy', *djongos*: 'at what time is dinner, boy?', 'boy I want some bread.'[413] 'Boy', was an internationally used term for indigenous servants which marked the inferior status of the servants. Besides potential questions of the tourist, several answers a servant could give to these orders or questions are provided. These answers are only affirmative, such as 'all right sir' and 'yes sir, breakfast is always ready at 6 o'clock.'[414] The possibility of a refusal is not considered, which normalized the relation of demand and supply between the tourist and indigenous people.

Contact between tourists and servants

The practical information in the guidebooks reveal that servants played a central role in tourism in the Dutch East Indies. The coolies and servants catered to the tourists' every need, to make sure they enjoyed their trip. They could be engaged at train stations and harbors, to carry luggage and drive tourists around. At hotels and *passangrahans*, they served the tourists and provided comfort. Moreover, one could hire coolies and servants for excursions, as chauffeur (trap or car), sedan chair or mylord carrier, or luggage carrier. Indigenous guides offered physical and cultural access to sights and viewpoints. Bhattacharyya argues that guidebooks reduce the user's dependence on local

[412] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 4. Most of these phrases are also featured in Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids Voor Batavia En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Jasper, *Gids Voor Soerabaja En Omstreken*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926. *A Brief Malay Vocabulary* does not feature all of these sentences, but does feature similar imperative orders, such as ' Let go!', 'Call him!' and 'Go Away!'

[413] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*, 5. Most of these phrases feature in the other guidebooks, with the exception of the mosquitos phrase, which only features in *Gids voor Batavia* and *Gids voor Soerabaja.*

[414] Ibid.

middlemen.[415] However, the guidebooks of the Vereeniging streamline this relation rather than reduce it, as they outline where servants can be hired, how much they cost, how much to tip (or, in several cases, when not to tip) and as discussed, how to talk to them.

An analogy between Bhattacharyya's analysis of *Lonely Planet India* and the imperial era guidebooks of the Vereeniging is that both imply that tourists should sit back and enjoy the offered services, which are rendered self-evident.[416] This seems logical, given the fact that the tourist-middleman relation is a service relation, and servants and coolies get paid for their efforts. In the imperial context of the Dutch Indies, the apparent self-evidence of this relation between the paying tourist and the servant reinforces racial hierarchies. There is no reflection on the activities of servants demanded by tourists, which normalizes not only the service relation between the western tourists and the indigenous or Asian servants and coolies, but also the hierarchy between colonizer and colonized. As Bhattacharyya puts it: 'it legitimates the tourist's demand that local inhabitants should act in certain ways and undermines any attempt to evaluate the tourist's own behavior.'[417] The guidebooks construct a tourist performance which allows the tourist to assume a servile attitude of indigenous and Asian servants, and to treat them accordingly.

In the case of the guidebooks, this leads to a reproduction of the racial hierarchy that organized Dutch Indies society. Many guidebooks contain a section or chapter on servants and coolies, while others point out how to engage them in trip descriptions.[418] These sections reflect the racialized self-evidence of the strenuous efforts of the servants. As there is no reflection on the nature of the servants and coolies work, the guidebooks suggest that the tourists have the right to be served at every turn of this trip. The servants and coolies are not described about as people, but as objects of use, necessary to undertake the trip. This is evident in the instrumental descriptions of coolies and servants in *Illustrated tourist guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok* (1914). For each expedition, the guidebook features a list of required expenses, showing how much the horses, sedan chairs, guides and coolies cost. The description of the trip to the volcano Semeru stresses that this trip cannot be undertaken without the help of Hotel Tosari, 'from which may be had: horses, guides, coolies, a large tent, beds, blankets, edibles, cooking utensils, parafine, matches, medicines etc.'[419] The instrumental rather than the human nature of the coolies is stressed, as they head a summary of

[415] Bhattacharyya, "Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook," 383.
[416] Ibid., 384.
[417] Ibid., 386.
[418] Guidebooks that contain sections on servants and coolies, or contact with servants: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1926; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1931; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali*, 1939; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland*.
[419] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914, 50.

utilities. Only when behavior of the coolies is relevant for the tourist, for example if a coolie stops during an expedition to burn incense at Buddhist images located along the road, their humanity is revealed.[420]

Especially in guidebooks published before the 1920s, when not all roads were yet fit for cars, strenuous activities such as sedan chair or luggage carrying feature heavily in the guidebooks. [421] However, the exhausting nature of these services is never mentioned. Illustrative is the description of the trip to Kawah Idjen in *Illustrated tourist guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok,* which is described as a 'hard and strenuous excursion.'[422] Stressing the 'hardship' that the tourists has to endure obscures the work of the eight coolies who carried the tourist in a sedan chair through the mountains to Kawah Idjen.[423] About the trip to the crater of volcano Gedeh, the guidebook states: 'This gigantic crater makes an overwhelming impression; the site is worth the difficulties of the journey.'[424] Again, only the efforts of the tourist are highlighted, while the guidance and exertions, similar to the Victorian discovery rhetoric, are ignored.

Contact between tourists and locals

Besides contact with servants, the guidebooks mediated contact with the non-servant indigenous people, who in many guidebooks are constructed as sights, because of the 'otherness' of their habits, housing, lifestyle, dress, ceremonies, (performative) arts, and industry. Belgian anthropologist Pierre van den Berghe proposed the term 'tourees' to describe the role of indigenous people in ethnic tourism:

> *'Tourees are the subject of the ethnic tourist's quest. (…) Whether reluctantly or willingly, tourees are "on show," and consciously or unconsciously modify their behavior, dress, artifacts, and style of life in response to interaction with tourists.'*[425]

One can discern two ways in which tourists can 'experience' locals: spontaneous (when a tourist walks in on a ceremony or strolls through an 'ethnic' neighborhood) or planned (by attending staged cultural performances or buying souvenirs in tourist shops). In the last case, one can speak of 'staged authenticity', as hosts use, or are forced to use, their cultural habits for commercial ends.[426] While in the case of the latter there is, at least some kind of consent of the indigenous people who participate

[420] Ibid., 51.
[421] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to East Java*; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*.
[422] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914, 97.
[423] Ibid., 96.
[424] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*, 70.
[425] van den Berghe, "Tourism and the Ethnic Division of Labor," 236.
[426] Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589–603.

in the display, in the case of the former one can speak of 'uninvited visiting.'[427] In the guidebooks, the Vereeniging, rather than the non-European locals, invites the tourist into the 'ethnic' neighborhoods, villages and ceremonies.[428] Even if permission was asked to the locals beforehand, it was apparently not relevant to mention this to the tourist, as consent of locals is never mentioned but always implied in the guidebooks. This lack of ethical judgment on 'uninvited visiting' reflects the power hierarchy of imperialism, as the tourist seemingly does not need permission to gaze on indigenous daily life, which in the metropole would be experienced as an unwelcome intrusion of outsiders.

To illustrate this, we will turn to *Short Guide to Bali* (1923). The guidebook invites the reader to attend cultural ceremonies and performances on Bali. The tourist is instructed to ask the Vereeniging or government officials when dances, feasts or even cremations take place, 'so as to be able to witness such.'[429] A fragment from *Short Guide to Bali* illustrates how the consent of the Balinese people, even if they had given permission to the Vereeniging or government officials, with regards to attending private or sacred ceremonies, is of no relevance for the tourist:

> *'As regards cremations it must be observed that they are rarely held on account of the high costs and then only during the months from June to September and one will do well when landing, to inquire whether any will be held during his stay in the island, so as to be able to witness it. The island is especially of interest when visiting it during the [sic] newyear festivities as then everybody and everything is seen at its best and more interesting things as f.i. native dances, performances, the bringing of offerings to Temples, may be witnessed during these days than any other time, whilst villages and Temples are and then more [sic] picturesquely decorated than generally. When touring through Java one may always inquire at the Official Tourist Bureau when new year occurs, as this has no fixed date.'*[430]

The attendance of the tourist is not morally judged, which normalizes the tourist's intrusion into Balinese life. The attending of local events, some of which carry sacred meanings, is turned into a right of the tourist, as this goes completely unquestioned. This implicitly reproduces the superiority of the European tourist. Furthermore, by discussing when the most interesting festivals can be attended, the Balinese ceremonies are commodified as tourist sights, rather than meaningful ceremonies, and ranked based on how interesting they are to the tourist.

The tourist performances directed by the Vereeniging in the guidebooks reveal the power of tourism as a mediator of imperialism. The metropolitan tourist spaces, service relations, guest-host hierarchy, and 'uninvited visiting,' all characteristics of (ethnic) tourism, enhance the imperial hierarchies and

[427] A phrasing proposed in: Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire," 107.
[428] This is done in all guidebooks except: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to the Borobudur*.
[429] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*, 1914, 136.
[430] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Short Guide to Bali*, 15.

worldviews of the late colonial era, thereby reproducing imperial identities. Both in and outside of metropolitan tourist spaces, the guidebooks mediate a tourist performance in which tourists can assert their superiority, and may presume that the indigenous people will act according their desires. The servants are expected to accommodate tourists, while the locals are turned into tourist sights which can be gazed upon. Moreover, in the tourist spaces, European imperial order is presented as stable, which obscures the more complex reality outside of the hotels and hill stations. The tourist performances in the guidebooks do not question, but rather reproduce imperial relations between the colonizer and the colonized, thereby naturalizing the imperial world order.

Conclusion

In 1933, the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary by publishing a jubilee album. As one can expect from a tourist bureau, this book idealizes the Dutch East Indies to the far-reaching levels. After extensively lauding the Archipelago, the Vereeniging claimed the last page of the album to tell something about themselves. 'We are here for the purpose of bringing Netherland India before the eyes of the world and for the purpose of rendering every possible assistance to the visitor or prospective visitor and attending to all his interests and needs.'[431] However, it could be asked, what did the Vereeniging bring before the eyes of the world, and more importantly, what did it mean? The guidebooks of the Vereeniging constructed the Dutch East Indies as a tourist paradise in which 'the romance of the east' could be explored in the 'comfort of the west' (a visual representation of this tourist paradise was published in the brochure *Come to Beautiful Java*, figure 33).[432] Meticulously, the Vereeniging constructed a representation of the Dutch East Indies in which modernity and eternity were in harmonious balance, carefully curated by the benevolent Dutch rulers. Java, Sumatra and Bali were condensed into comprehensive yet detailed itineraries which allowed the tourist to consume all 'what ought to be seen' in the limited time available. In the cities, tourists would think themselves in Europe, as the European quarters, hotels and clubs did not differ much from the metropole. Outside of these tourist spaces, new worlds could be explored with the help of the guidebooks, as they describe the motley of 'colorful' indigenous and oriental life. The ceremonial court of the *Kratons*, Balinese dances and the houses of the Minang Kabau people evoked dreams of ancient cultures, simpler times and bygone eras, while at the ruins of Hindu and Buddhist empires tourists could experience this past in reality. The modern infrastructure allowed the tourist to travel comfortably to the sumptuous hill stations, where one could enjoy the tropical surroundings, subliminal volcanic panoramas and cool climate in a luxurious style.

However, with these catchy marketing slogans, the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer not only presented the Dutch East Indies to the world, it also presented the imperial world to itself. The Vereeniging's publications acted as propaganda for the Dutch colonial state, but the Vereeniging also catered to the wishes, worldviews and anticipations of the tourists. As a result, the discourses and configurations of imperialism and modern tourism shaped the guidebooks. Imperial configurations are encoded in three ways. Firstly, in creating a representation of the Dutch East Indies, the

[431] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *The Netherland Indies : A Jubilee Album Issued to Commemorate the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Travellers Official Information Bureau of Netherland India.* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1933), 70.
[432] Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, "The Romance of the East, the Comfort of the West in Java, Sumatra, Bali" (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1931).

Vereeniging drew from metropolitan imaginaries of the tropics, and the taxonomical order of colonial science. Both discourses had emerged from, and supported imperialism. Secondly, the conventional tourism relations between hosts and guests enhance racial hierarchies of European empires in the late colonial era, as they reproduce the unequal relation between the indigenous hosts – servants, coolies and locals – and the European colonizer. Thirdly, as the semi-governmental enterprise Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer portrays the Dutch colonial state, and Dutch 'ethical' imperialism in a positive light, the guidebooks reiterate a belief in imperialism as a benevolent and legitimate project.

Tourism conventions shaped the content and itineraries of the guidebooks as well. In authoritative descriptions, the guidebooks condensed the Archipelago in easy consumable itineraries. Tourism's standards of comfort and luxury were met by pointing out European tourist spaces, where the tourist could enjoy the same food, entertainment and, in most places, comfort one was used to at home. Outside the European tourist spaces, the desire for authenticity and the 'exotic' was satisfied by the plethora of indigenous tourist sights offered in the guidebooks, which could be experienced without having to make concessions in comfort. Servants would take care of all troubles, so that the tourist could relax and take in the sights. Furthermore, health considerations and sightseeing prompted the guidebooks to incorporate the hill stations and the volcanic landscapes

The leisurely desires, aesthetic norms and societal perspectives of western tourists were transferred by the Vereeniging and the Dutch East Indies tourist industry from the metropole to the Indonesian archipelago, where they were reframed in the context of the Dutch imperial project. This research project has shown that in this context, tourist guidebooks, an important feature of modern tourism, were significant mediators of imperial identities. The pursuit of leisure and consumption outlined in the guidebooks form a testimony in which the modern and imperial self-identification of the tourist can be traced. Firstly, by appealing to the modern consciousness of the tourist in the guidebooks, the division between the 'modern self' and the 'premodern' colonized population was affirmed. The guidebooks directed the attention of the tourists who hoped to escape modernity for a second by experiencing 'real, authentic, and uncorrupted life', to the indigenous people of Java, Sumatra and Bali. As they found authenticity in the artistic culture of the Balinese or, as Couperus did, in the charming houses of the Minang Kabau, they also found their inferior premodern opposite. Authenticity, in other words, was found by the Vereeniging in premodernity, which enabled tourists to establish their own modern consciousness and superiority by admiring their premodern opposite. The Vereeniging enhanced the 'authenticity' of the indigenous people, and therefore the modern divide, by creating an asymmetrical representation of the Dutch East Indies which stressed the 'age-old' qualities of indigenous culture, and mostly ignored Indonesian modernity. Furthermore, by

racializing the Archipelago and its inhabitants, its tropicality was underscored, which rendered the Dutch East Indies an 'environmental opposite' of Europe. All of this resulted in the negotiation of modern consciousness and an affirmation of the racial, social and gender divide that separated the metropole from its colonized subjects in the colonial era.

Secondly, the guidebooks affirmed that the imperial authority of the superior colonizer over the colonized people and the land they live on was the natural order. The essence of Dutch authority is never questioned, only affirmed in sections on colonial government, history and economy. Moreover, the guidebooks implicitly mediate the notion that it is the right of the European tourist to marvel at the colonial subjects. The tourist is encouraged to gaze at all 'interesting' aspects of indigenous life, both in public and in private, while permission of these people is rendered completely irrelevant. Moreover, the guidebooks imply that the tourist is entitled to be served at every whim by indigenous servants. Through sightseeing, the guidebooks mediate the European interpretation of the landscape as the innate reality, allowing the tourist to become a monarch-of-all-I-survey. As there are no question raised about these issues in the guidebooks, the imperial order is reproduced for the tourist.

Thirdly, the guidebooks mediate the notion that imperialism is a benevolent project. Imperial identity is established not only as modern, natural and superior, but also charitable. By highlighting the 'ethical' endeavors of the Dutch, their respect for indigenous culture and their modernization of the colony, Dutch imperialism is rendered innocent and benevolent. This appeals to the widespread notion of the *mission civilatrice.* It is these kind of anti-conquest narratives that underpinned Couperus' bemoaning of the roofs of the Minang Kabau houses, even if he himself was part of the 'undoing' of Minang Kabau culture. Positive aspects of Dutch rule were highlighted, while the negative were downplayed or ignored. Moreover, the tourist experienced a luxurious and European side of the colony in the European tourist spaces, rather than indigenous colonial society. This asymmetrical representation obscured the violent, oppressive and intrusive aspects of Dutch imperialism, but more importantly, the reality that the indigenous people did not uniformly accept Dutch colonial rule. The social unrest of the late colonial era is completely obscured in the fog of 'ethical imperialism' lifted by the Vereeniging.

Concludingly, the version of the Dutch East Indies that the guidebooks of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer brought before the eyes of the world, offered tourists 'meaning beyond the marketplace' in the shape of imperial identities centered on modernity, superiority, an innate imperial order and an affirmation of the *mission civilatrice*. The guidebooks contain persistent narratives of anti-conquest, which allowed the tourists to claim their innocence in the imperial world,

while not letting go of their cherished modernity. In the unstable late colonial era, when in colonies all over the world cries for independence could be heard and the imperial project came under pressure, the guidebooks presented a stable and natural imperial world without anxieties and unrest.

This thesis has shown the power of tourism as a mediator of imperialism, and as such, has risen to the challenge of Baranowski and Furlough. However, it has not been the aim of this thesis to prove that tourism is inherently imperial or harmful. While several characteristics of tourism certainly have their discontents – especially in developing countries – it is a diverse phenomenon which takes on different shapes in new contexts. Therefore, tourism does not necessarily, or at least in varying ways, reaffirm hierarchies or imperialist worldviews. Furthermore, the agency of tourists and the tourist industry, to assess their own interpretations must also be recognized, especially in the case of tourism in an imperial context.[433] Further research on imperialism in travel writing could lead to a better understanding of how imperialism was perceived or opposed in Dutch East Indies tourism in the late colonial era.[434]

Another avenue of research which this thesis has opened up is a comparative approach. Comparative research featuring the guidebooks of the Vereeniging could lead to new understandings of tourism. Comparisons with modern era guidebooks on colonies and non-western destinations gives insight in tourism in an imperial context, comparisons with modern era guidebooks on Europe and the United States sheds light on the roles of class, race and gender in determining tourism destinations, and comparisons with contemporary guidebooks on Indonesia elucidate on the prevalence of colonial imaginaries in the postcolonial era.

Too boot, this thesis has identified several blank spots in mainstream scholarship on the Dutch East Indies, especially in the hospitality sector and its clientele. In their role as boundary markers of tropicality, the hill stations have been discussed in several works. Information on life in, and history of the hill stations is sparse however. On the European hotels of the Dutch East Indies and the international cruise liners, little has been written as well. The question is whether there are sources available to undertake research into these companies. Furthermore, this research project focused on the guest of the Dutch Indies tourist industry, but little is known about the indigenous 'hosts.' Again, it is the question whether source material is still available, but research into the motivations and experiences of indigenous people who worked as servants, performers or guides

[433] Baranowski et al., "Tourism and Empire," 117.
[434] An insightful collection of essays on this topic is: Rick Honings and Peter van Zonneveld, eds., *Een Tint van Het Indische Oosten. Reizen in Insulinde 1800-1950* (Hilversum: Hilversum Verloren, 2015); Jur van Goor, *Indische Avonturen. Opmerkelijke Ontmoetingen Met Een Andere Wereld* (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers, 2000), chapters VII-IX.

would give them more agency than is evident from the European sources, which would lead to a multidimensional understanding of the Dutch East Indies tourism industry.

This thesis has shed light on how the guidebooks of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer mediated imperial identities. By doing so, it has created a vantage point for further research on the relation between tourism and imperialism, on representations of the Dutch East Indies, and on the tourist industry in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, guidebooks have proven themselves to be very useful historical sources. In the late colonial era, the guidebooks guided tourists through the islands of the Archipelago. More than seventy years later, they guided scholars through the modern, imperial consciousness of the early twentieth century, revealing tourism as a phenomenon that not only was expanded by imperialism, but also reinforced it.

Image Appendix

Figure 1: Overview of guidebooks incorporated in the research

Nr.	Title	Language	Year	Island	Region(s)	Other authors
1	*Gids voor Batavia en omstreken*	Dutch	1909	Java	West Java	Plantfeber
2	*Gids voor Soerabaja en omstreken*	Dutch	1909	Java	East Java	J.E. Jasper
3	*Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies in Java*	English	1910	Java	West Java	-
4	*Guide to the Dieng Plateau in Central Java*	English	1910	Java	Central Java	-
5	*Illustrated Guide to East Java*	English	1910	Java	East Java	-
6	*Java the Wonderland*	English	1910	Java	Java	-
7	*Illustrated Guide to Buitenzorg, the Preanger and Central Java*	English	1913	Java	West Java, Central Java	-
8	*Sumatra: Illustrated Tourist Guide: a fourteen day's trip in the Padang highlands (the land of Minang Kabau)*	English	1913	Sumatra	Residency Westcoast Sumatra	L. Westenenk
9	*Illustrated Tourist Guide to East Java, Bali and Lombok*	English	1914	Java, Bali Lombok	East Java, Bali, Lombok	-
10	*Come to Java*: 1th edition	English	1916	Java	Java	-
11	*Guide to Sumatra. With a more complete description of the Padang Highlands*	English	1921	Sumatra	Sumatra	-
12	*Excursie naar het eiland Bali*	Dutch	1921	Bali	Bali	-
13	*Short Guide to Bali*	English	Ca. 1923	Bali	Bali	-
14	*Short Guide to the Borobudur*	English	Ca. 1923	Java	Central Java	-
15	*Come to Java*: 3th edition	English	1926	Java	Java	-
16	*Bali*	English/Dutch	1931	Bali	Bali	R. Goris, P.J. van Baarda, A. Mörzer Bruyns
17	*See Java*	English	1939	Java	Java	-
18	*Sumatra*	English/Dutch	1939	Sumatra	Sumatra	-
19	Bali	English	1939	Bali	Bali	R.Goris

Figure 2: Advertisement Dutch Royal Mail

Source: “Borobudur Number,” *Tourism in Netherland India* X, no. 5 (1935).

Figure 3: Tourist map of Dutch East Indies in 1939

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1939).

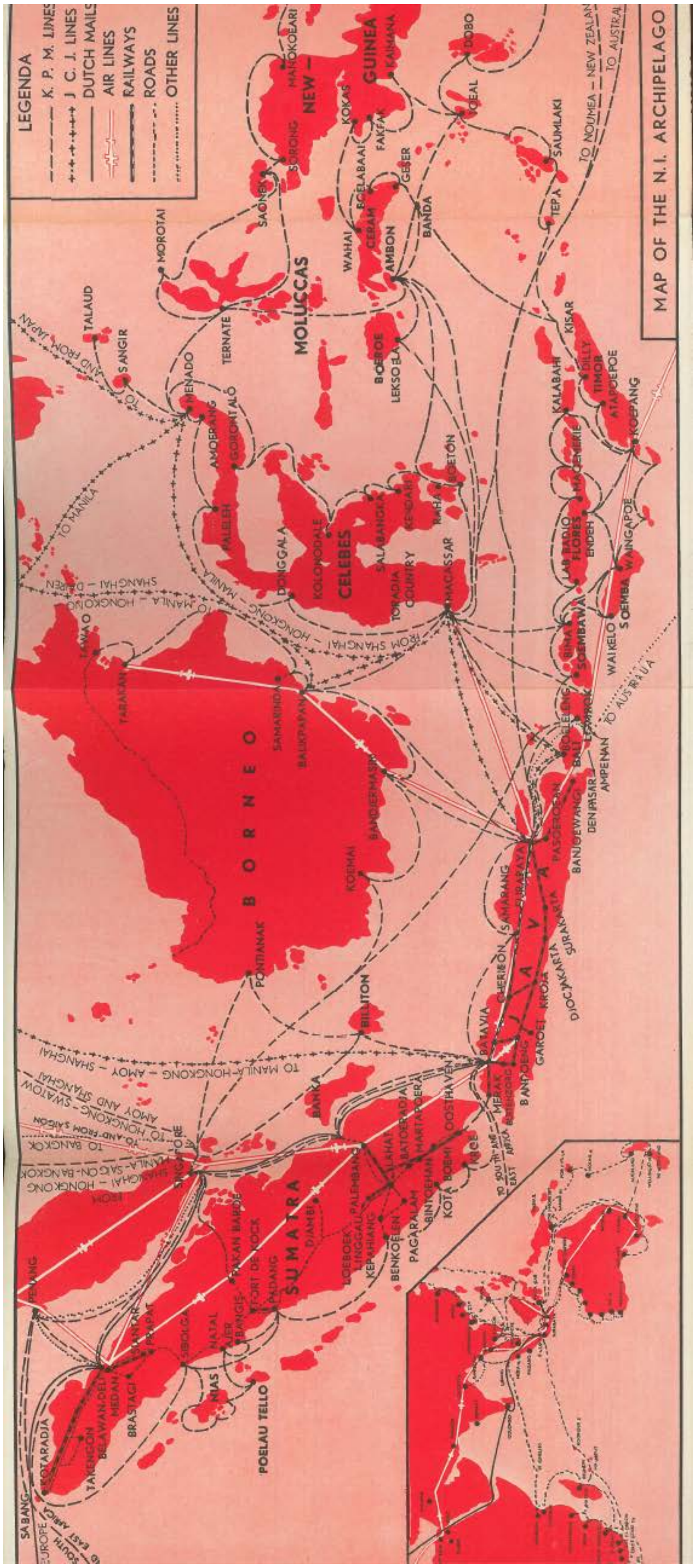


Figure 4: Office Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer at Rijswijk

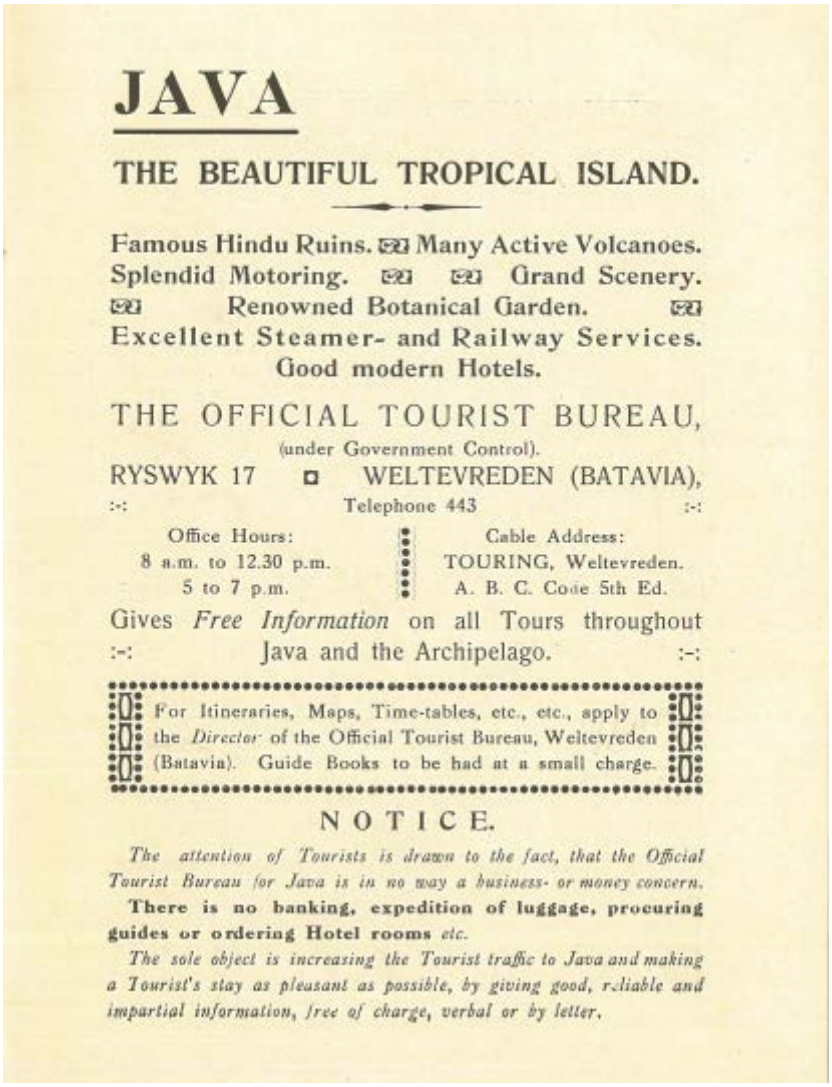
Source: Adam Tassilo, *Travellers Information Bureau Kantoor voor Toeristenverkeer.* 1921-1926. 11,7 x 16,7cm. Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. From: Colonial architecture and town planning, http://colonialarchitecture.eu/obj?sq=id%3Auuid%3A82e18be0-4024-49b3-bc2c-e6628f6bc798 (accessed July 7 2017).

Figure 5: Office Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer at Rijswijk, 1933

Source: "The 'Government' of Jogjakarta," *Tourism in Netherland India* VII, no. 5 (1933).

Figure 6: Introduction page *Come to Java* (1916)

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 1st ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1916), 5.



JAVA

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Renowned Botanical Garden.
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5 to 7 p.m.

Cable Address:
TOURING, Weltevreden.
A. B. C. Code 5th Ed.

Gives *Free Information* on all Tours throughout Java and the Archipelago.

For Itineraries, Maps, Time-tables, etc., etc., apply to the *Director* of the Official Tourist Bureau, Weltevreden (Batavia). Guide Books to be had at a small charge.

NOTICE.

The attention of Tourists is drawn to the fact, that the Official Tourist Bureau for Java is in no way a business- or money concern.

There is no banking, expedition of luggage, procuring guides or ordering Hotel rooms *etc.*

The sole object is increasing the Tourist traffic to Java and making a Tourist's stay as pleasant as possible, by giving good, reliable and impartial information, free of charge, verbal or by letter.

Figure 7: Statistics of foreign travelers arriving in the Dutch East Indies

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Achttiende Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1925* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, n.d.), 13.

Until 1917, the statistics were based on hotel registers. From 1918 on, the statistics were based on the number of foreign travelers arriving in the harbors. Travel parties on cruise ships are not included.

Year	Foreign travelers arriving in Dutch East Indies	Year	Foreign travelers arriving in Dutch East Indies
1908	208	**1917**	742
1909	1007	**1918**	1511
1910	1936	**1919**	2296
1911	3269	**1920**	2570
1912	3684	**1921**	3014
1913	5579	**1922**	3081
1914	4516	**1923**	3084
1915	380	**1924**	3103
1916	835	**1925**	3257

Figure 8: Statistics of tourists who inquired travel information at office Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer

Sources: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Twaalfde Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1919* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1920), 16; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Negentiende Jaarverslag Der Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer 1926* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, n.d.), 11; Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *22ste Jaarverslag Der Officieele Vereeniging Voor Toeristenverkeer in Nederlandsch-Indie over Het Jaar 1929* (Weltevreden: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1930), 21.

Nationalities	**1919**	**1920**	**1921**	**1922**	**1923**	**1924**	**1925**	**1926**	**1927**	**1928**	**1929**
Inhabitants of Dutch East Indies	2056	2245	2264	2370	2890	2396	2201	2953	3189	3220	3096
British	640	795	879	948	950	966	1184	1277	1653	1339	1742
Americans	268	49	683	657	632	621	981	923	1009	1234	1382
Japanese	293	280	229	137	145	147	321	253	157	187	212
Germans	14	168	133	121	127	131	278	358	319	386	427
French	52	57	74	67	73	71	78	98	35	118	243
Dutch	75	139	186	111	125	133	104	773	247	247	316
Other Nationalities	123	249	114	188	193	201	218	205	324	256	287
TOTAL	**3521**	**4628**	**4562**	**4599**	**4635**	**4666**	**5365**	**6840**	**6903**	**6987**	**7764**

Figure 9: Statistics of tourists visiting Bali

Sources: Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek van het Departement van Economisch Zaken, *Indisch Verslag – II. Statistisch Jaaroverzicht van het Nederlandsch-Indië over Het Jaar 1936* (’s Gravenhage; Rijksuitgeverij, 1937); Centraal Kantoor voor de Statistiek van het Departement van Economisch Zaken, *Indisch Verslag – II. Statistisch Jaaroverzicht van het Nederlandsch-Indië over Het Jaar 1938* (’s Gravenhage; Rijksuitgeverij, 1939), 305-306.

	1928	**1929**	**1930**	**1931**	**1932**	**1933**	**1934**	**1935**	**1936**	**1937**	**1938**
Dutch	365	438	397	436	404	498	828	812	802	1095	1046
Americans	224	480	665	654	574	596	578	674	896	1275	856
British	105	159	107	143	113	185	224	439	502	610	691
Australians	51	80	107	42	79	178	96	231	321	350	477
Germans	63	94	103	83	103	97	90	51	89	165	237
French	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	117	91	144	91
South-Africans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	56	72	88
Others	119	177	176	115	162	241	323	216	179	198	290
Total	**927**	**1428**	**1555**	**1473**	**1435**	**1795**	**2139**	**2540**	**2880**	**3909**	**3776**

Figure 10.1: Photograph of skull of Peter Erberfeld

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 112.

Skull of Peter Erberfeld, Old Batavia.

Figure 10.2: Photograph of the Monument for the Aceh War

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 118.

Wilhelminapark at Weltevreden.

Figure 11.1: Photograph of the palace of the Governor-General

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids voor Batavia En Omstreken* (Amsterdam: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1909), 2.

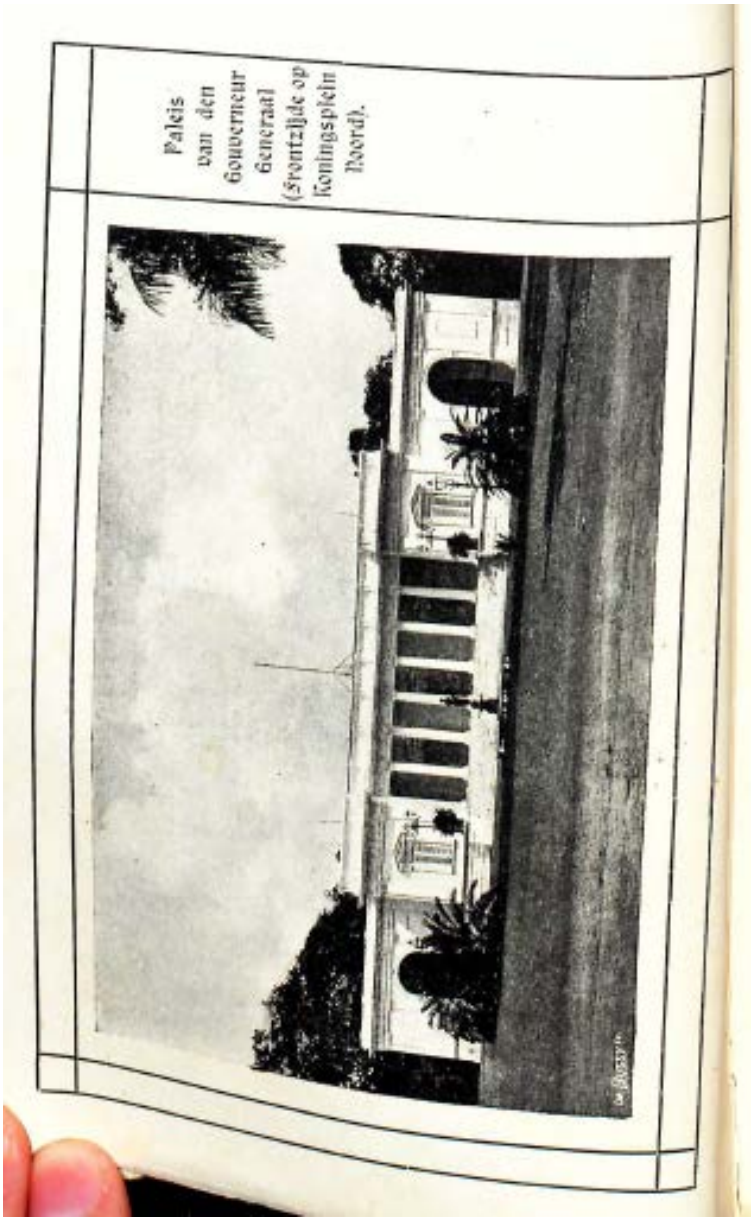


Figure 11.2: Photograph of the Michiels-Monument

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer and Plantfeber, *Gids voor Batavia en Omstreken* (Amsterdam: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1909), 51.

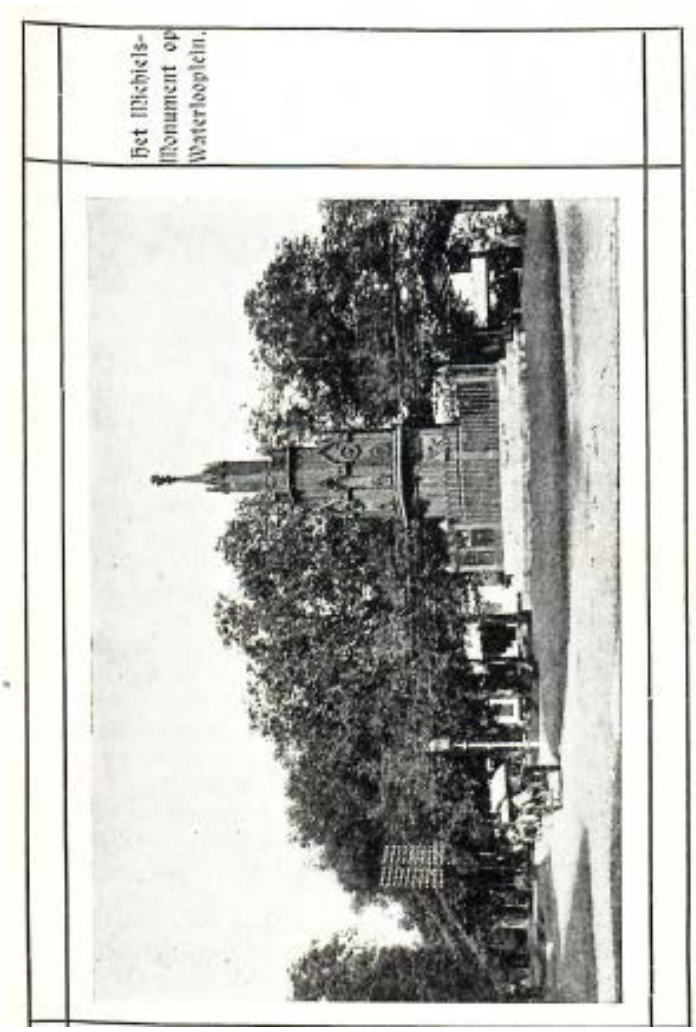


Figure 12: Portrait of Governor-General Dick Fock

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer*, Come to Java*, 3rd. Edition (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926).

His Excellency Mr. D. Fock,
Governor-General of the Dutch East-Indies.

Figure 13.1: Photograph of harbor Tandjong Priok

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 20.

Airplane view of the harbourworks at Tandjong Priok.

Figure 13.2: Photograph of tea estate in West Java

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 26.

Collecting tealeaves on an estate in West Java.

Figure 13.3: Photograph of sugar mill in East Java

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 28.

A Sugar Mill in operation in East Java.

Figure 14: Photograph of plantation of Deli Company

Source: C.J. Kleingrothe, *Het planten van zaailingen op een tabaksplantage van de Deli Maatschappij in Deli.* Ca. 1915. 17,5 x 27 cm. KITLV. From: https://tinyurl.com/y7dyugvt (accessed July 7 2017).

Figure 15.1: Photograph of railroad bridge of the Preanger line in West Java

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 44.

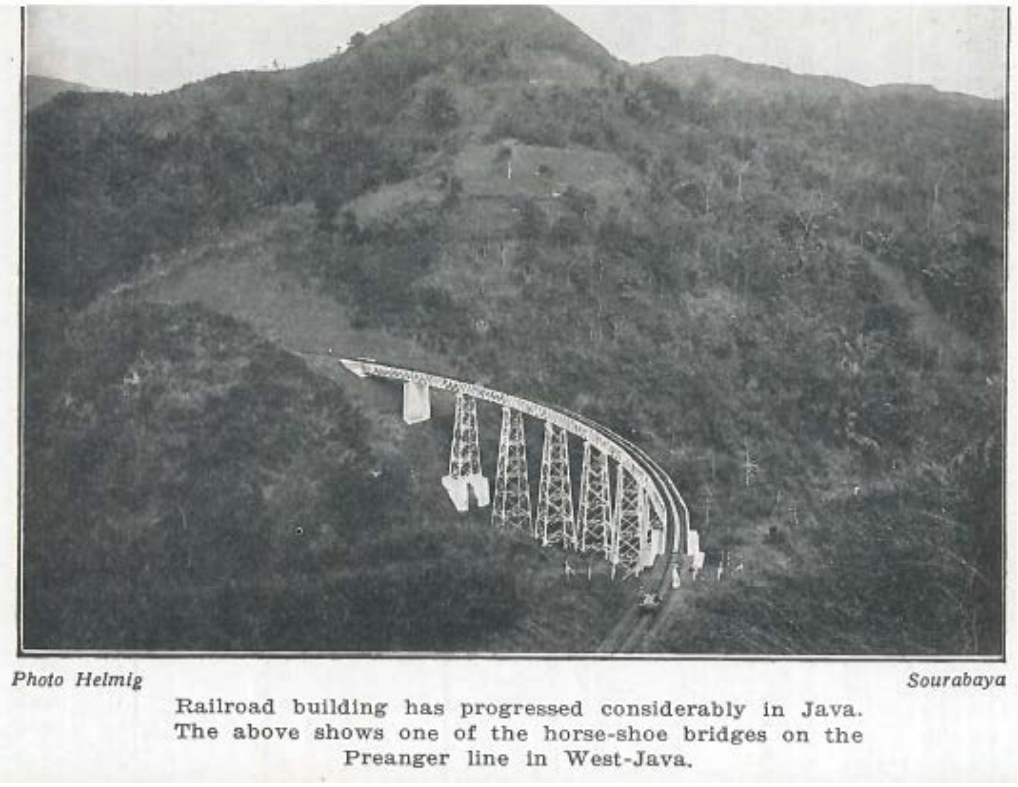


Photo Helmig *Sourabaya*

Railroad building has progressed considerably in Java. The above shows one of the horse-shoe bridges on the Preanger line in West-Java.

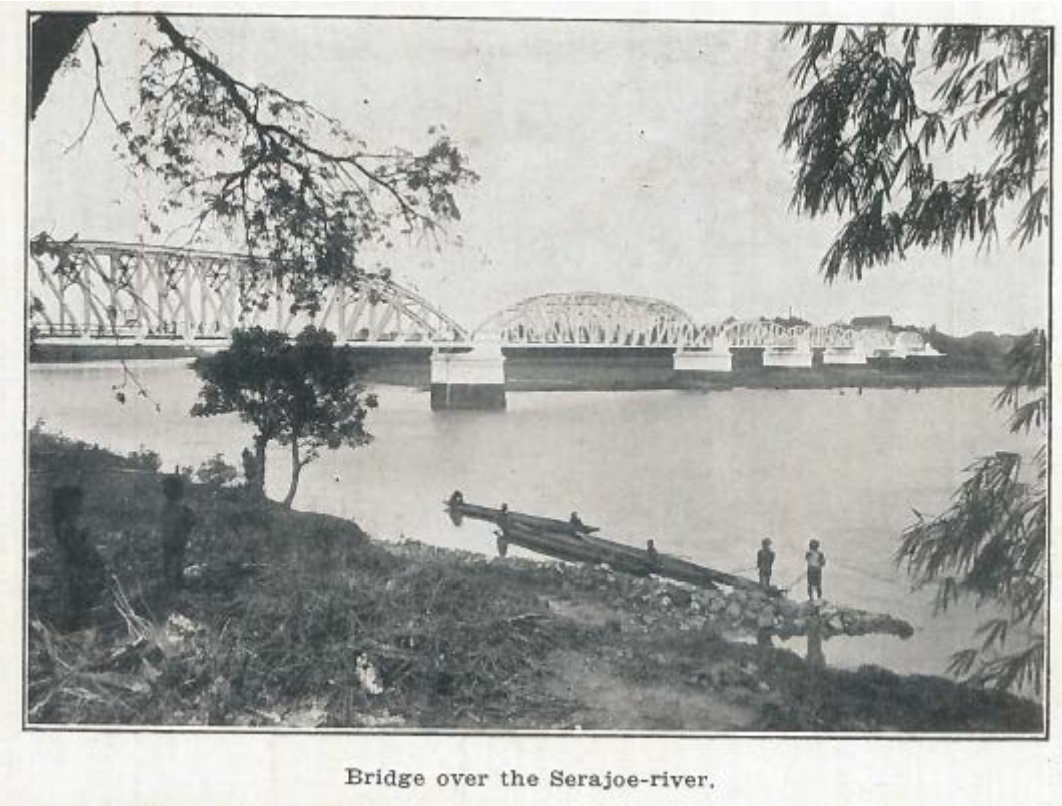
Figure 15.2: Photograph of steamer of Royal Dutch Mail

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 58.

Royal Mail Steamer „Koningin der Nederlanden"
(Royal „Nederland Mail Line")

Figure 15.3: Photograph of a bridge over the Serayu river

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 80.



Bridge over the Serajoe-river.

Figures 16.1, 16.2, 16.3: Photographs of Javanese people

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1910), 75, 76, 79.

16.1

Weaving on the loom.

16.2

Coolies gambling.

16.3

Painting sarongs (Batik) in Java.

Figure 17.1: Photograph of Balinese people

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1931), 39, 44.

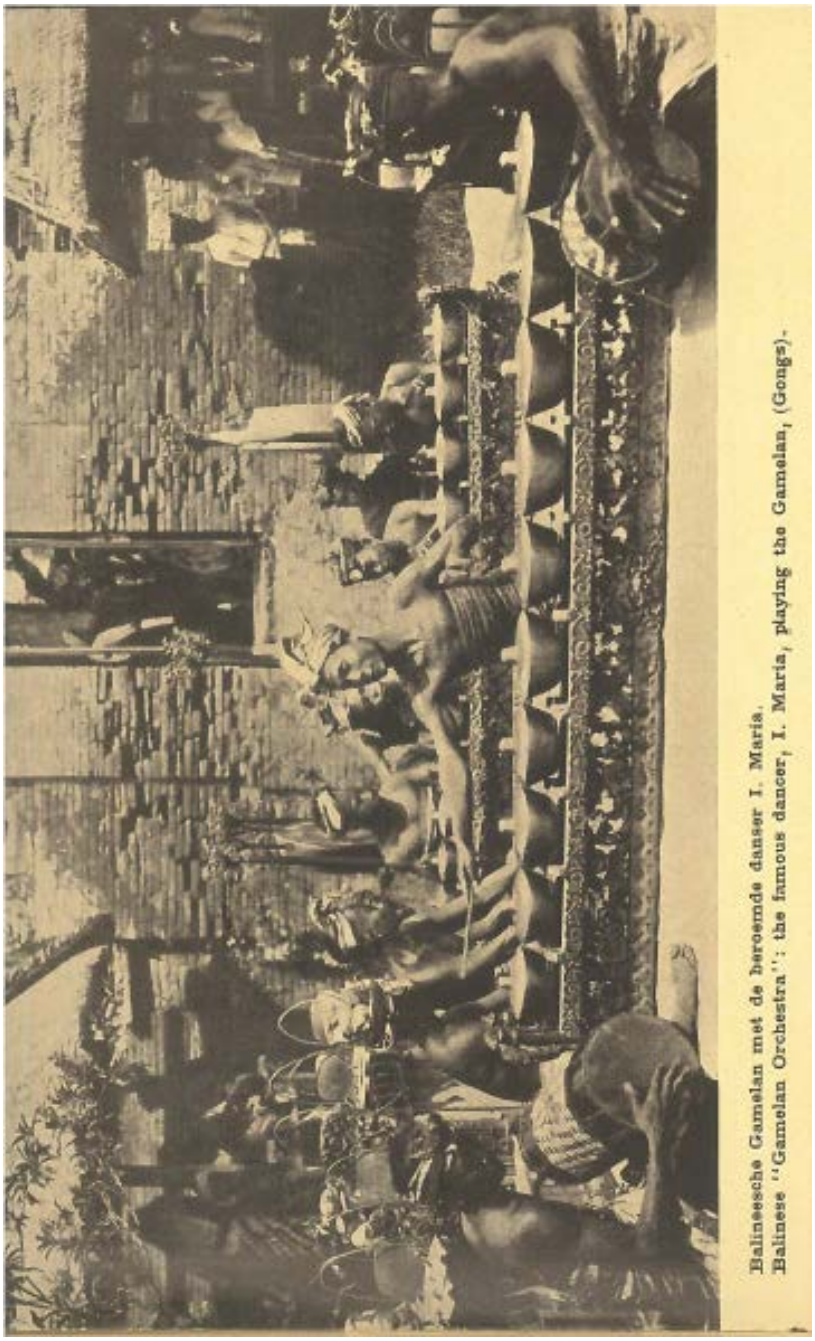


Figure 17.2: Photograph of Balinese theatre

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1931), 44.

Figure 18: Type Photograph of Yogyakarta Officials

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1910), 56.

Djocja Officials.

Figure 19.1, 19.2, 19.3, 19.4, 19.5: Type photographs of Sumatran Women

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Guide to Sumatra. With a More Complete Description of the Padang Highlands* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1921), 31, 137, 138, 142, 154.

19.1

19.2

19.3

19.4

19.5

Figure 20.1: Type photograph of Balinese woman

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1916), 2.

NATIVE BELLE.

Figure 20.2: Type photograph of Papuan man

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1916), 12.

Figure 20.3: Type photograph of Javanese girl

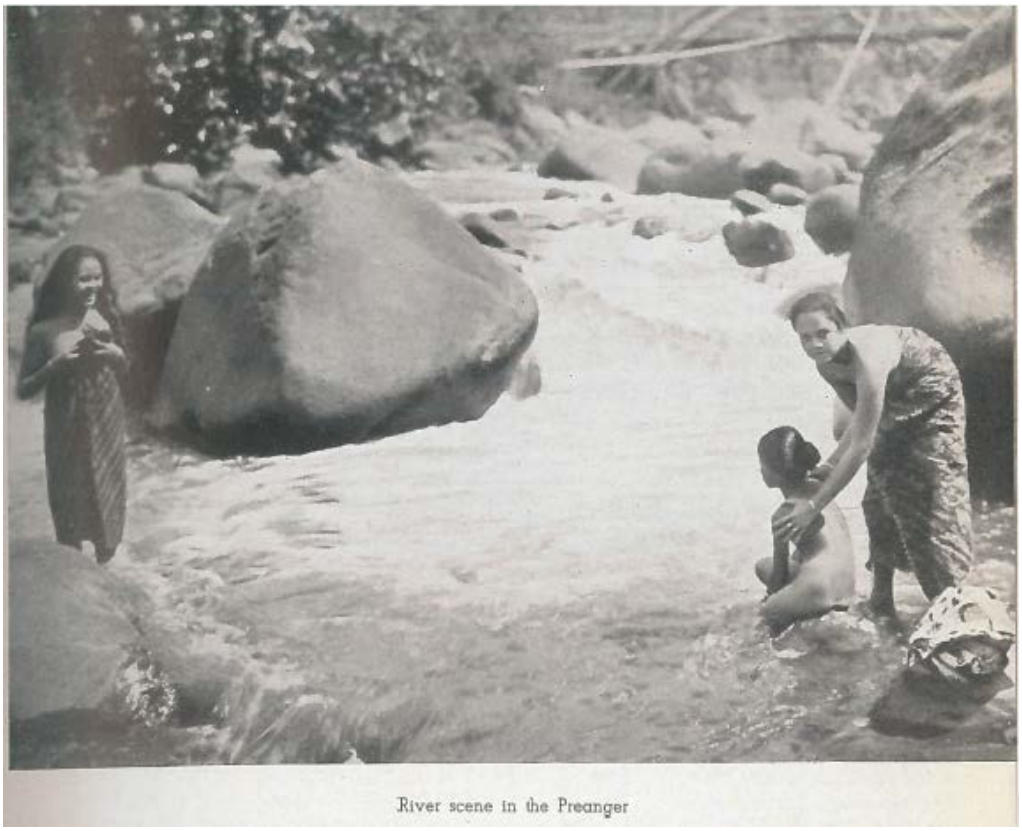
Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java*, 1rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1916), 16.

GIRL IN EVERY DAY DRESS.

Figure 21.1, 21.2, 21.3: Photographs of indigenous women

Sources**: 21.1**: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1939), 25. **21.2**: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 76. **21.3**: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Sumatra* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1939), 36.

21.1



River scene in the Preanger

21.2

Native Masseuse.

21.3

Figure 22: Photograph of Balinese girl

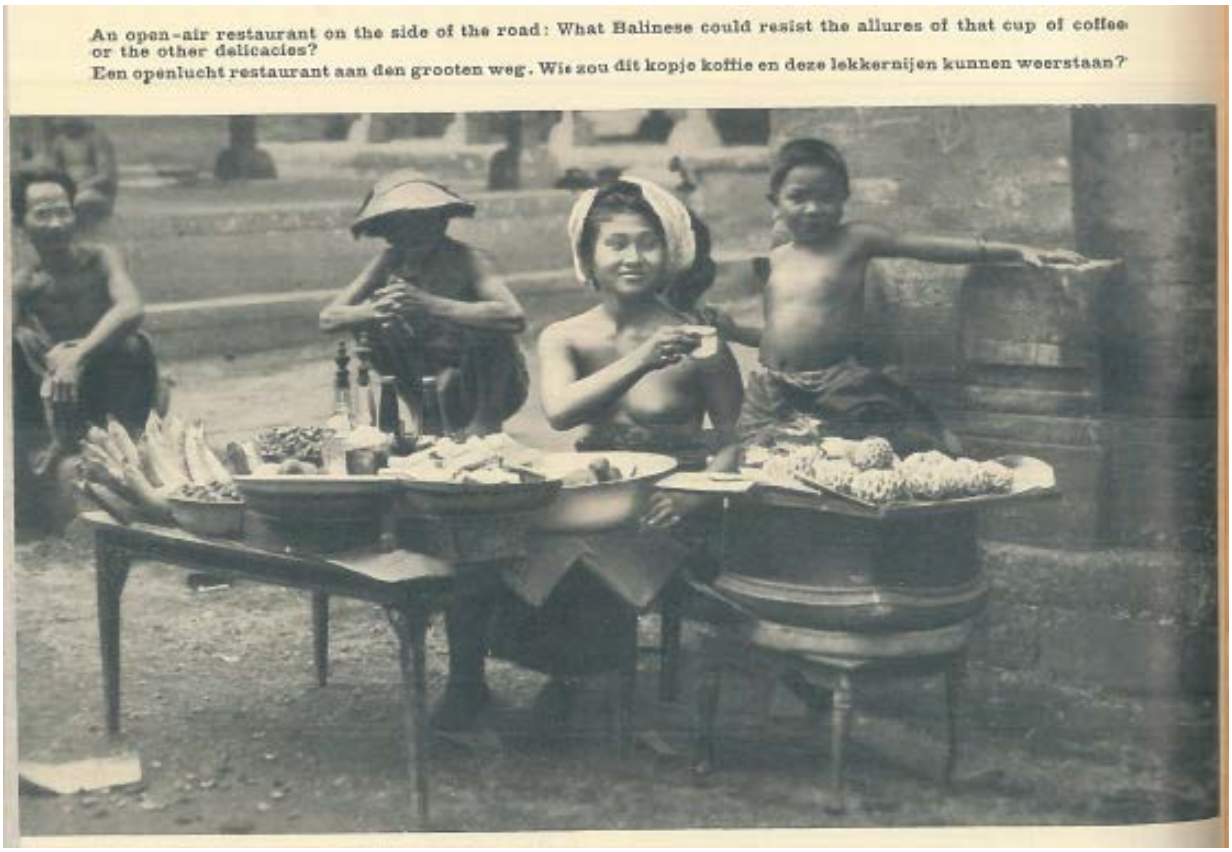
Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1931), 31.

Figure 23.1: Photograph of bathing Balinese women

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1939), NL: 69.

Figure 23.2: Photograph of Balinese saleswoman

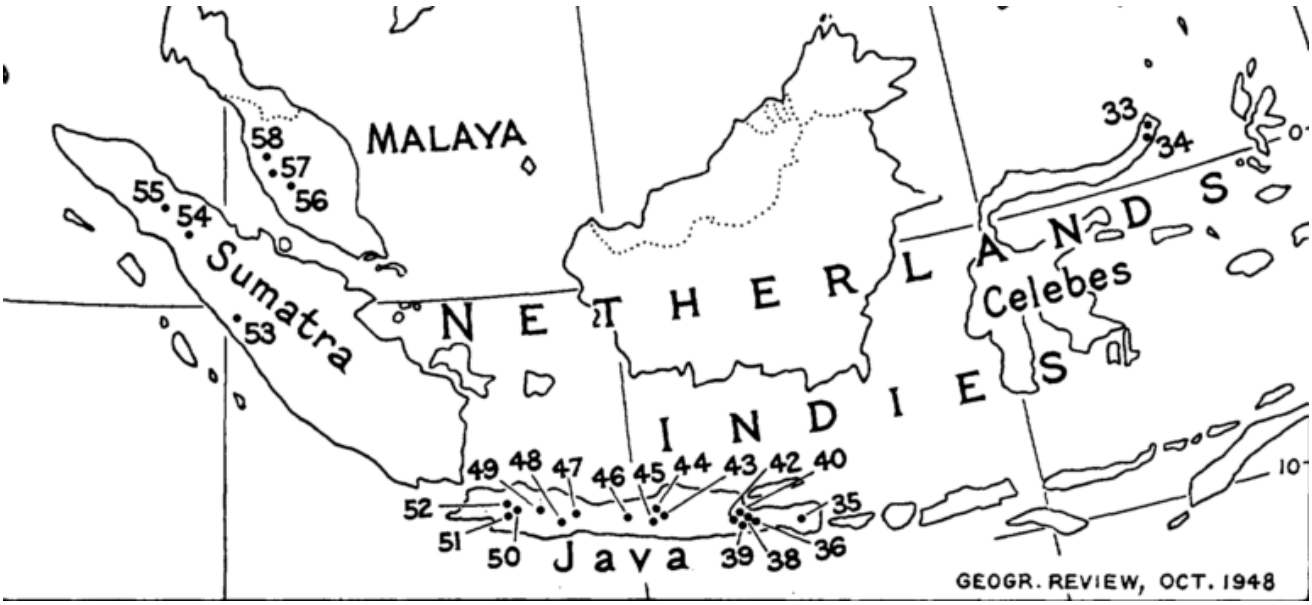
Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Bali* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1939), ENG: 68.



An open-air restaurant on the side of the road: What Balinese could resist the allures of that cup of coffee or the other delicacies?
Een openlucht restaurant aan den grooten weg. Wie zou dit kopje koffie en deze lekkernijen kunnen weerstaan?

Figure 24: Section of map 'Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient'

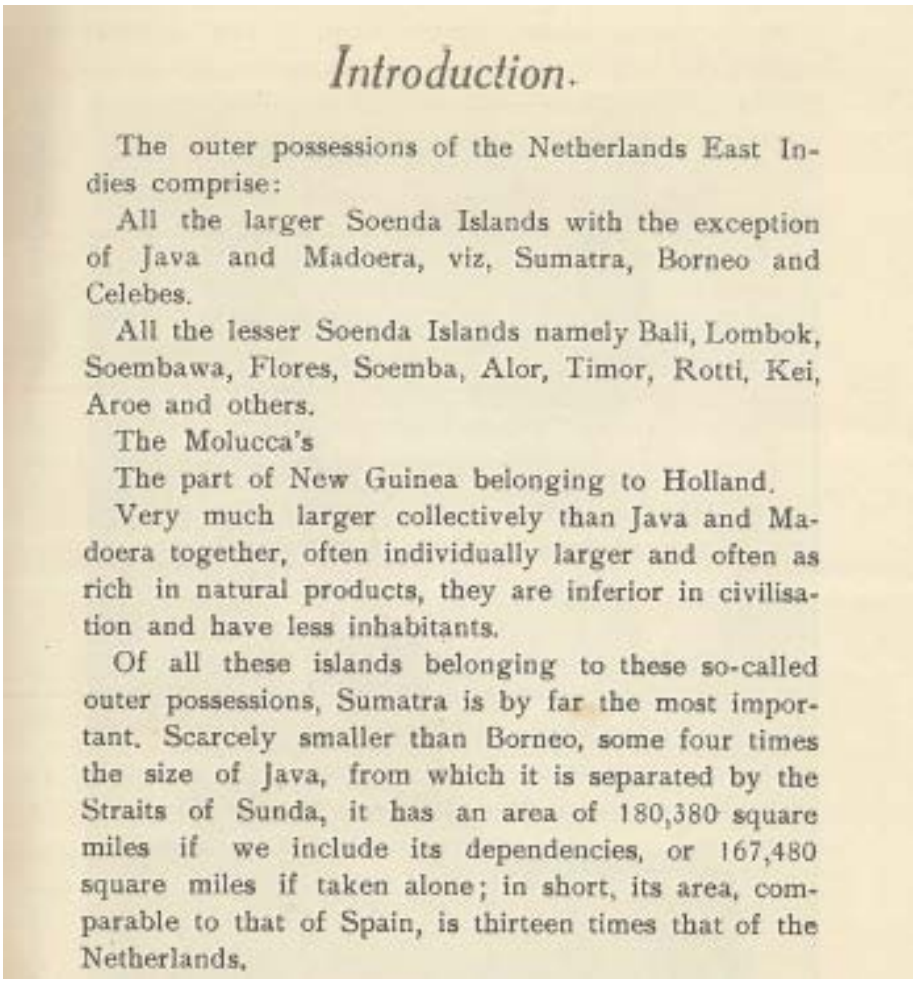
Source: J.E. Spencer and W.L. Thomas, "The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient," *Geographical Review* 38, no. 4 (1948): 643.



Celebes		
33.	Rurukara	3000
34.	Tondano	2300
Java		
35.	Sempol	5500
*36.	Tosari	6000
37.	Nongkodjadjar	4000
38.	Lawang	1635
39.	Malang	1460
40.	Prigen	2000
41.	Tretes	2700
42.	Songgariti	
43.	Salatiga	1900
44.	Oenarang	2200
45.	Merbaboe	4000
46.	Wonosobo	3400
47.	Koeningan	2200
*48.	Garoet	2300
49.	Bandoeng	2400
*50.	Sindangalaja	3500
51.	Soekaboemi	2000
52.	Buitenzorg	800
Sumatra		
53.	Fort de Kock	3000
54.	Perapat	3000
55.	Bandor Baroe	3000

Figure 25: Introduction *Illustrated Guide to Sumatra with a more complete description of the Padang Highlands*

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to Sumatra with a more complete description of the Padang Highlands* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1921), 11.



Introduction.

The outer possessions of the Netherlands East Indies comprise:

All the larger Soenda Islands with the exception of Java and Madoera, viz, Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes.

All the lesser Soenda Islands namely Bali, Lombok, Soembawa, Flores, Soemba, Alor, Timor, Rotti, Kei, Aroe and others.

The Molucca's

The part of New Guinea belonging to Holland.

Very much larger collectively than Java and Madoera together, often individually larger and often as rich in natural products, they are inferior in civilisation and have less inhabitants.

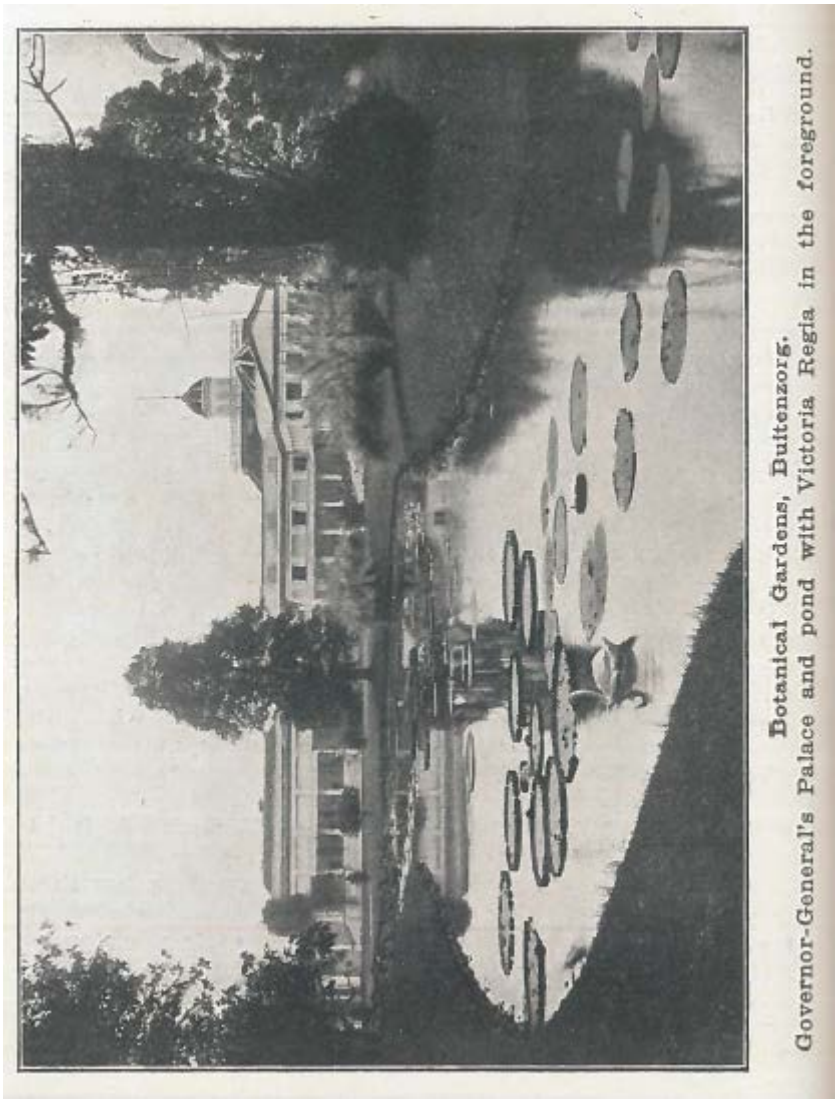
Of all these islands belonging to these so-called outer possessions, Sumatra is by far the most important. Scarcely smaller than Borneo, some four times the size of Java, from which it is separated by the Straits of Sunda, it has an area of 180,380 square miles if we include its dependencies, or 167,480 square miles if taken alone; in short, its area, comparable to that of Spain, is thirteen times that of the Netherlands.

Figure 26: Photograph of Botanical Garden of Buitenzorg

Source: *'s Lands plantentuin, Buitenzorg. Victoria regia vijver.* 1936. From: Stichting Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, http://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/Default.aspx?ccid=226558&lang= (accessed July 25 2017).

Figure 27: Palace of the Governor-General in the Botanical Garden of Buitenzorg

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Come to Java,* 3rd ed. (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1926), 132.



Botanical Gardens, Buitenzorg.
Governor-General's Palace and pond with Victoria Regia in the foreground.

Figure 28: Photographs of volcanic landscapes

Source **28.1**: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Java the Wonderland* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1910), 87; **28.2**: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *Illustrated Guide to the Preanger Regencies* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1910), 29.

28.1

28.2

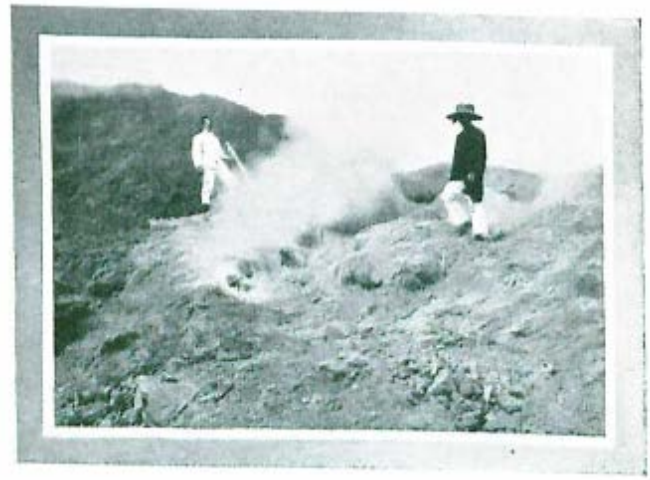


Figure 29: Paintings in *Mooi Indië* style

Source **29.1**: Abraham Salm, *De Badplaats Wenditt.* 1872. 26,6 x 36,2cm. From: Stichting Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, http://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/Default.aspx?ccid=114748&lang= (accessed July 25 2017); **29.2:** Ernest Dezentjé, *Natte rijstvelden op Java,* 1925. 95 × 141,4cm. From: Stichting Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, http://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/Default.aspx?ccid=59649&lang= (accessed July 25 2017).

29.1

29.2

Figure 30: Photograph of Javanese landscape

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, *See Java* (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1939), 28-29

journey is also charged for if the car is dismissed at some town other than its home town, unless the visitor succeeds in getting someone else to hire it for the return trip.

BANTAM.

Having seen something of Batavia, if the visitor has the time, a short excursion to Bantam is highly to be recommended. This picturesque part of Java (and we have all heard of the fowls that originally came from there) lies to the west of Batavia along the shores of the Straits of Sunda. The capital of Bantam, Serang (56 miles or 90 Km. from Batavia), is a typical little provincial town. The road passes through Tangerang 16 miles (26 Km.) outside of Batavia

And this is Java

Figure 31: Photograph of dining hall in the Hotel des Indes

Source: *De eetzaal in het hoofdgebouw van Hotel des Indes in Weltevreden, Batavia,* ca. 1910. 17,7 x 23,8cm. From: Stichting Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, http://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/Default.aspx?ccid=300695&lang= (accessed July 25 2017).

Figure 32: Advertisement of Grand Hotel Brastagi

Source: "The 'Government" of Jogjakarta,' *Tourism in Netherland India* VIII, no. 5 (1993).

Figure 33: Map from Tourism Promotion folder ‘Come to Beautiful Java’

Source: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, “Come to Beautiful Java” (Batavia: Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 1930).

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*The publications of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer are catalogued under several different author names, which all are variantions on the full Dutch name of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer, 'Officieele Vereeniging voor Toeristenverkeer in Nederlandsch-Indië', or the full Engels name, 'The Official Tourist Bureau for Netherland India.' To prevent confusion, all publications of the Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer have been attributed to 'Vereeniging Toeristenverkeer.'

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