

[illegible]

Universiteit Leiden
2010



**A STUDY OF
ARCHITECT COSMAN CITROEN (1881-1935)
AND HIS WORKS IN SURABAYA**

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus, prof. dr. P.F. van der Heijden
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 29 juni 2010
klokke 15.00 uur

door
Joko Triwinarto Santoso
geboren te Jember - Indonesië
in 1964

Promotiecommissie:

Voorzitter: prof. dr. H.W. van den Doel

Promotor: prof. dr. C.A. van Eck

Co-promotor: dr. J.G. Roding

Overige leden: prof. dr. C.J.M. Zijlmans (Universiteit Leiden)

dr. ir. M.J.F. Delbeke (Universiteit Leiden/Universiteit Gent)

prof. dr. J.E. Bosma (Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam)

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ix
Abbreviations	xi
I. Introduction	1
1.1. Subject	1
1.2. Previous Publications and Studies	6
1.3. Research Questions	16
1.4. Sources	17
1.4.1. Architect Cosman Citroen	17
1.4.2. Citroen's Works	17
1.5. Structure	19
II. Architect Cosman Citroen	20
2.1. Personal Background	20
2.1.1. Family Background	20
2.1.2. Education Background	24
2.1.2.1. Origin of the Quellinus School 1876-1879	24
2.1.2.2. Education until 1890	25
2.1.2.3. Education in 1890-1916	29
2.1.2.4. Citroen in the Quellinus School	38
2.2. Career	40
2.2.1. Career in the Netherlands	40
2.2.1.1. Architectura et Amicitia	40
2.2.1.2. Citroen in the Architectura et Amicitia	43
2.2.1.3. Citroen's Career	45
2.2.2. Career in the Netherlands Indies	47
2.2.2.1. Dutch Architects in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942	47
2.2.2.2. Surabaya at the Beginning of the 20 th Century until the End of Citroen Career	52
2.2.2.3. Citroen's Career	57
2.3. Contract	62
III. Citroen's Works in Surabaya	72
3.1. Development Plan for the Kupang Area	72
3.1.1. Idea	72
3.1.2. Plan and Implementation	73
3.2. Development Plan for the Ketabang Area	79
3.2.1. Idea	79
3.2.2. Plan and Implementation	79
3.3. Surabaya Town Hall	84
3.3.1. Idea	84
3.3.2. Assignment of the Task	85
3.3.3. Location	88

3.3.4. Design	89
3.3.5. Cost of the Building	92
3.3.6. Architect's Salary	96
3.3.7. 1925: the Critical Year	97
3.3.7.1. Design, Cost and the Architect	97
3.3.7.2. Town Hall vs <i>Kampung</i> Improvement	98
3.3.7.3. Developer and Cost	103
3.4. House on Sumatra Street	116
3.4.1. Location	116
3.4.2. Design and Construction	116
3.5. Kebondalem Bridge	119
3.5.1. Idea	119
3.5.2. Design	119
3.5.3. Construction	120
3.5.4. Post-construction	120
3.5.4.1. Tram Track over the Bridge	120
3.5.4.2. Preventing Flooding in the Ketabang Area	121
3.6. <i>Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij</i> (BPM) Office	124
3.6.1. Location	124
3.6.2. Old Building as <i>Concordia Sociëteit</i> Building	125
3.6.3. New Building as BPM Office	125
3.7. "K.K. Knies" Music and Piano Shop	135
3.8. Shop of "Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos" Royal Dutch Precious Metal Company	137
3.8.1. Company	137
3.8.2. Shop	138
3.9. Darmo Hospital	139
3.9.1. The Founding of Darmo Hospital	141
3.9.2. Location	143
3.9.3. Design	143
3.9.4. Construction	144
3.9.5. Extension	144
3.10. Gubeng Bridge	150
3.10.1. Idea and Decision	150
3.10.2. Design	151
3.10.3. Cost	152
3.10.4. Construction	153
3.11. The Ninth Surabaya Annual Fair (<i>Jaarmarkt</i>)	161
3.11.1. Idea	161
3.11.2. Finance	162
3.11.3. Location	162
3.11.4. Design and Atmosphere	163
3.11.5. Post-event	167
3.12. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct	179
3.12.1. Railway in Surabaya	180
3.12.2. Idea	182
3.12.3. Design and Its Decision-making Process	183
3.12.3.1. Decision-making	183

3.12.3.2. Design	188
3.12.4. Construction	189
3.12.5. Post-construction	189
3.13. Extension of the Sugar Syndicate Building	198
3.13.1. Idea and Location	200
3.13.2. Design, Cost and Construction of the Old Building	201
3.13.3. Design of the Extension Building	202
3.14. British Community Church	212
3.14.1. Idea and Location	213
3.14.2. Design	214
3.14.3. Construction	214
3.15. Emplacement of the <i>Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij</i> (BPM) in Bandaran	219
3.16. Wonokromo Bridge	222
3.16.1. Idea and Decision-making	222
3.16.2. Design	223
3.16.3. Cost and Architect Fee	225
3.16.4. Construction	226
3.17. Mansion on Kayun Street	231
3.17.1. Gerard Pieter Adolfs	233
3.17.2. Design	234
3.17.3. Construction	236
3.18. Mayor Official Residence	245
3.18.1. Idea	245
3.18.2. Decision-making	245
3.18.3. Location and Site	253
3.18.4. Design	253
3.18.5. Cost and Architect Fee	255
3.18.6. Construction	257
3.19. Monument of Dijkerman in Kembang Kuning Cemetery	260
3.19.1. Gerrit Jan Dijkerman	260
3.19.2. Kembang Kuning Cemetery	261
3.19.3. Idea and Decision-making	264
3.19.4. Design	264
3.19.5. Construction	265
3.20. <i>Borneo Sumatra Handel Maatschappij</i> (Borsumij) Office	271
3.20.1. Idea	271
3.20.2. Design	272
3.20.3. Construction	273
3.20.4. Post-construction	274
IV. Architectural Styles	283
4.1. Offices	283
4.2. Houses	289
4.3. Other Functions	294
4.4. Civil Constructions	297

Contents

V. Conclusions	299
5.1. Citroen's Departure from Amsterdam and His Arrival in Surabaya	299
5.2. Citroen's Service in the Municipality of Surabaya	300
5.3. The Scope of Citroen's Service in Surabaya	301
5.4. Citroen's Architectural Ideas and Styles	301
5.5. Citroen's Position in the Architectural Constellation	302
Appendices	305
Bibliography	338
List of Tables and Diagrams	349
List of Illustrations	350
Sources of Illustrations	355
Summary	359
Curriculum Vitae	361

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should begin by expressing my gratitude to the Ford Foundation for the scholarship that facilitated me to study at Leiden University, the Netherlands, through its International Fellowship Program (IFP) - Cohort 4 managed by Mira Sambada, Marni Andriani and Nurwening of the Indonesian International Education Foundation (IIEF).

I am also very grateful to my supervisor prof. dr. Caroline A. van Eck and my daily supervisor dr. Juliette G. Roding who provided me with helpful guidance and suggestions at various steps in my research.

During my first year in the Netherlands a number of people provided assistance and advice. Prof. dr. J.L. Blussé van Oud Alblas and dr. Alicia F. Schrikker from the Encompass group who allowed me to join their activities. Drs. René Wezel taught me the Dutch language and Sander Sauvé checked my understanding of Dutch texts. Prof. dr. H.W. van den Doel introduced me to the *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* and the *Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja*. With the Indonesian students of Encompass batch 1 - Mawardi Umar, Abdul Wahid, Agus Setiawan, Diantyo Nugroho, Nadia F. Dwiandari and Farabi Fakihi - I shared many hours so that I did not feel alone in this country. I appreciate their friendship very much.

I am extremely grateful to ms. Rini Hogewoning and ms. Josephine Schrama for their unfailing help and hospitality during my visits to the KITLV library. I am also thankful to the Leiden University Institute for Cultural Disciplines (formerly Pallas) for financial support and its staff members dr. K.J.J. Korevaart, ms. C. ten Brink and ms. L.J. Witkam-v.d. Hoek for all their help during the last four years.

Special thanks I would like to address to the Indonesian community in the Netherlands, particularly to *Bapak* Sardjio Mintardjo and his fellows, Kuslan Budiman, Marek Ave, Gogol Rusiyanadi and others. They keep the Indonesian students and exiles in touch with their culture and encourage their concerns about Indonesia. With *Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia*, the Indonesian Students Association in Leiden, I shared most of the good and bad times. I stayed more than three years in the house of the couple Cici Khoirina - Johann Angerler with its hybrid atmosphere of Indonesian - Dutch - Austrian influences.

The Dean of the Engineering Faculty gave me tremendous moral support to accomplish my PhD research and the same applies to the members of the Department of

Acknowledgments

Architecture of Brawijaya University. I would like to express my special thanks for them.

In Indonesia I received invaluable help from Eddy Samson and the staff of the *Perpustakaan Nasional* (National Library) in Jakarta, the *Badan Arsip Propinsi Jawa Timur* (Provincial Archive of East Java), the *Badan Arsip Kota Surabaya* (Town Archive of Surabaya), the Sonobudoyo Museum in Yogyakarta and the owners or caretakers of every object I visited while I was doing fieldwork. To all of them I express my deepest gratitude.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my wife Dyah Hardyanti who acted as a single parent and raised our son Nandana Indra Adiatma and our daughter Sekar Wardani Adiatni in the four years that I was away from home. All three of them have waited for my return and never ceased to pray for my success. For their love they deserve the greatest reward I am able to present.

Leiden, Spring 2010
Joko Triwinarto Santoso

ABBREVIATIONS

A et A	<i>Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia</i>
AIA	<i>Algemeen Ingenieurs- en Architecten Bureau</i>
AMS	<i>Algemene Middelbare School</i>
ANIEM	<i>Algemene Nederlandsch Indische Electriciteits Maatschappij</i>
ASNI	<i>Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië</i>
BENISO	<i>Bond van Eigenaren van Nederlandsch-Indische Suikerondernemingen</i>
BGD	<i>Burgerlijke Geneeskundige Dienst</i>
BNA	<i>Bond van Nederlandse Architecten</i>
BONAS	<i>Stichting Bibliografieën en Oeuvrelijsten van Nederlandse Architecten en Stedebouwkundigen</i>
Borsumij	<i>Borneo Sumatra Handel Maatschappij</i>
BOW	<i>Burgerlijke Openbare Werken</i>
BPM	<i>Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij</i>
CBZ	<i>Centrale Burgerlijke Ziekeninrichting</i>
DVG	<i>Dienst der Volksgezondheid</i>
HBM	<i>Hollandsche Beton Maatschappij</i>
HBS	<i>Hogere Burger School</i>
HVA	<i>Handelsvereniging Amsterdam</i>
IBT	<i>Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift</i>
IUA	<i>International Underwriters Association</i>
JSWB	<i>Java Suiker Werkgevers Bond</i>
KIT	<i>Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen</i>
KITLV	<i>Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
KNEB	<i>Koninklijke Nederlandsche Edelmetaal Bedrijven</i>
MSM	<i>Madoera Stoomtram Maatschappij</i>
MULO	<i>Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs</i>
NAI	<i>Nederlands Architectuurinstituut</i>
Nedam	<i>Nederlandsche Aanneming Maatschappij</i>
NHM	<i>Nederlandsche Handel Maatschappij</i>
NIAK	<i>Nederlandsch-Indische Architecten Kring</i>
NIAS	<i>Nederlandsch-Indische Artsen School</i>
NIS	<i>Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij</i>
NITS	<i>Nederlandsch- Indische Tandartsenschool</i>
OJS	<i>Oost-Java Stoomtram Maatschappij</i>
SCS	<i>Semarang Cheribon Stoomtram Maatschappij</i>
SJV	<i>Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging</i>
SMC	<i>Stichting Medisch Contact Oost Java</i>

Abbreviations

SS	<i>Staatsspoorwegen</i>
STOVIT	<i>School tot Opleiding van Indische Tandartsen</i>
SZV	<i>Soerabajasche Ziekenverpleging</i>
VHBO	<i>Voortgezet en Hooger Bouwkunst Onderricht</i>
VJSP	<i>Vereenigde Java Suiker Producenten</i>
VOC	<i>Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie</i>
VPJS	<i>Vereeniging het Proefstation voor de Java-Suikerindustrie</i>

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. SUBJECT

This dissertation presents an in-depth analysis of the works of the Dutch architect Cosman Citroen (1881-1935) in Surabaya. The analysis shows how Citroen's work relates to its historical context, both architectural and non-architectural. The existence of architectural works in any location cannot be separated from that location, nor from the time period in which they are designed, nor from the people who are involved in the process of design and construction.

Surabaya was the second biggest city in the Netherlands Indies. According to Von Faber's hypothesis, the first settlements in the location of the city emerged ca. 1275.¹ Surabaya developed as a traditional Javanese city until it came under the control of the Mataram Kingdom in 1625.² The Mataram Kingdom ruled Surabaya until 1743, when the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) took control of the city.³ From 1808, when H.W. Daendels was appointed as the governor-general of Dutch East Indies, Surabaya was controlled as a colonial city. In the nineteenth century, when eastern Java was the frontier of an expanding plantation company, Surabaya, with its natural harbour, became a larger city. With the application of steam power to sugar milling, as well as to railways, dockyards and industry, Surabaya grew into one of the great port cities of modern Asia, ranking alongside Calcutta, Rangoon, Singapore, Bangkok, Hong Kong and Shanghai.⁴ Based on the Decentralization Act in 1903, which took effect in 1904,⁵ Surabaya became a Municipality (*Gemeente*) on 1 April 1906. From then, the Municipality of Surabaya had the opportunity to manage itself more independently from the central government in Batavia. Surabaya became the capital city of East Java Province and also the main city in the Residency of Surabaya. By the 1920s, Surabaya had become second in Batavia in terms of population, but remained the commercial centre. The city's international position was evidenced by excellent transport and communication links, its range of foreign business houses, the number of consulates,

¹ G.H. von Faber, *Er werd een Stad Geboren, de Wordingsgeschiedenis van het Oudste Soerabaja* (Soerabaja: G. Kolff & Co., 1953), 74, 197.

² H.J. de Graaf, *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram, Politik Ekspansi Sultan Agung* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1990), 96-9.

³ Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Surabaya 1870-1940* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 1996), 12.

⁴ Howard W. Dick, *Surabaya: City of Work, a Socioeconomic History, 1900-2000* (Athens, OH: Center for International Studies of Ohio University Press, 2002), xvii.

⁵ Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen, *Ontwerpen aan de Stad, Stedenbouw in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië (1905-1950)*, PhD dissertation (Delft: TU Delft, 2008), 37.

thriving journalism in several languages, openness to current trends in architecture and the arts, and radical politics.⁶ Cosman Citroen (1881-1935) was a Dutch architect, the bulk of whose designs could be found in Surabaya. He designed so many buildings, constructions and other projects that any discussion about Dutch colonial architecture in this city cannot be separated from his works. If H.P. Berlage considers Bandung as the city of C.P. Wolff Schoemaker due to a series of his works⁷ and Semarang as that of Thomas Karsten,⁸ Surabaya belongs to Citroen.

After becoming a Municipality, Surabaya underwent wide-scale development. This mainly took place during the second and third decades of the twentieth century. After the economic depression of the early 1930s, development slowed down. In a wider scope, i.e. the Netherlands Indies, this phenomenon of wide-scale development came into existence due to government spending on public works.⁹ In addition, this period of development was also an era of well-educated (Dutch) architects. After graduating from their architectural schools in the Netherlands or other countries, they came to Batavia or other cities with their various architectural views to find a new market for their profession in the Netherlands Indies. As a result, this period became the period in which various architectural styles flourished. During the 'golden' period, Citroen's works played an important role in solving problems concerning urban (infra-) structures in Surabaya. Citroen's works, commissioned both by the Municipality and others, became such prominent landmarks in Surabaya that any discourse on architecture in Surabaya, particularly concerning the period of the second half of 1910s until the first half of 1930s, almost always involves the name of Citroen.

⁶ Dick, *Surabaya: City of Work, a Socioeconomic History, 1900-2000*, xviii.

⁷ H.P. Berlage, *Mijn Indische Reis, Gedachten over Cultuur en Kunst* (Rotterdam: W.L. & J. Brusse's, 1931), 106.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁹ Spending of the Netherlands Indies Government on public works in 1910-1939.

Year	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Expenditures (million of f)	4	7	11	16	22	17	16	18	23	22

Year	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Expenditures (million of f)	45	74	48	32	12	12	16	14	15	15

Year	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Expenditures (million of f)	18	8	3	2	2	1	1	4	3	6

Source: W.M.F. Mansvelt, *Changing Economy in Indonesia, a Selection of Statistical Source Material from the Early 19th Century up to 1940*, vol. 3: Expenditure on Fixed Assets (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), 44-6.

The abrupt decline in 1924 is a result of *malaise* brought about by falling commodity prices (Jessup, Helen Ibbison, *Netherlands Architecture in Indonesia 1900-1942*, PhD dissertation [London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 1988], 151).

After leaving his position in Amsterdam, Citroen started to develop his career in Surabaya. Although in the beginning he was only an unknown architect, he was eventually trusted to design a new Town Hall for Surabaya, which became the most important work in his career. Citroen did not betray the trust he received from the Municipality and the City Council. After designing Surabaya's Town Hall, Citroen was always involved in projects which played important roles in shaping the Surabaya townscape. Citroen held two positions which were of almost equal weight. In the beginning, he worked in the service of the Municipality, but later he also worked on non-Municipal projects at the same time. He eventually made these private projects his only focus. As an advisory architect of the Surabaya Municipality, Citroen faced a more complicated decision-making process on the design and construction of his works than the process private architects underwent, meaning that there were more parties involved and more competing interests to manage, both in the service of the Municipality and in the service of the City Council.

Unfortunately, up until the present moment, the discourse on Citroen's works has been incomplete. The authors often focused on architectural characteristics of Citroen's works without a further exploration of why these works appear as they are or how the process behind the products took place. Some of these authors faced a lack of information on when the projects were designed for the first time, so that their analysis could not determine a relation between Citroen's work and its context. Finally, until the present moment there has been no effort to search for and use alternative sources in order to reveal the existence of all of Citroen's works and to collect more information about the genesis (i.e. the process of creation) of his works. This study will examine the interrelation between Citroen's works located in Surabaya and their setting, particularly by using new sources without neglecting sources usually used by previous authors.

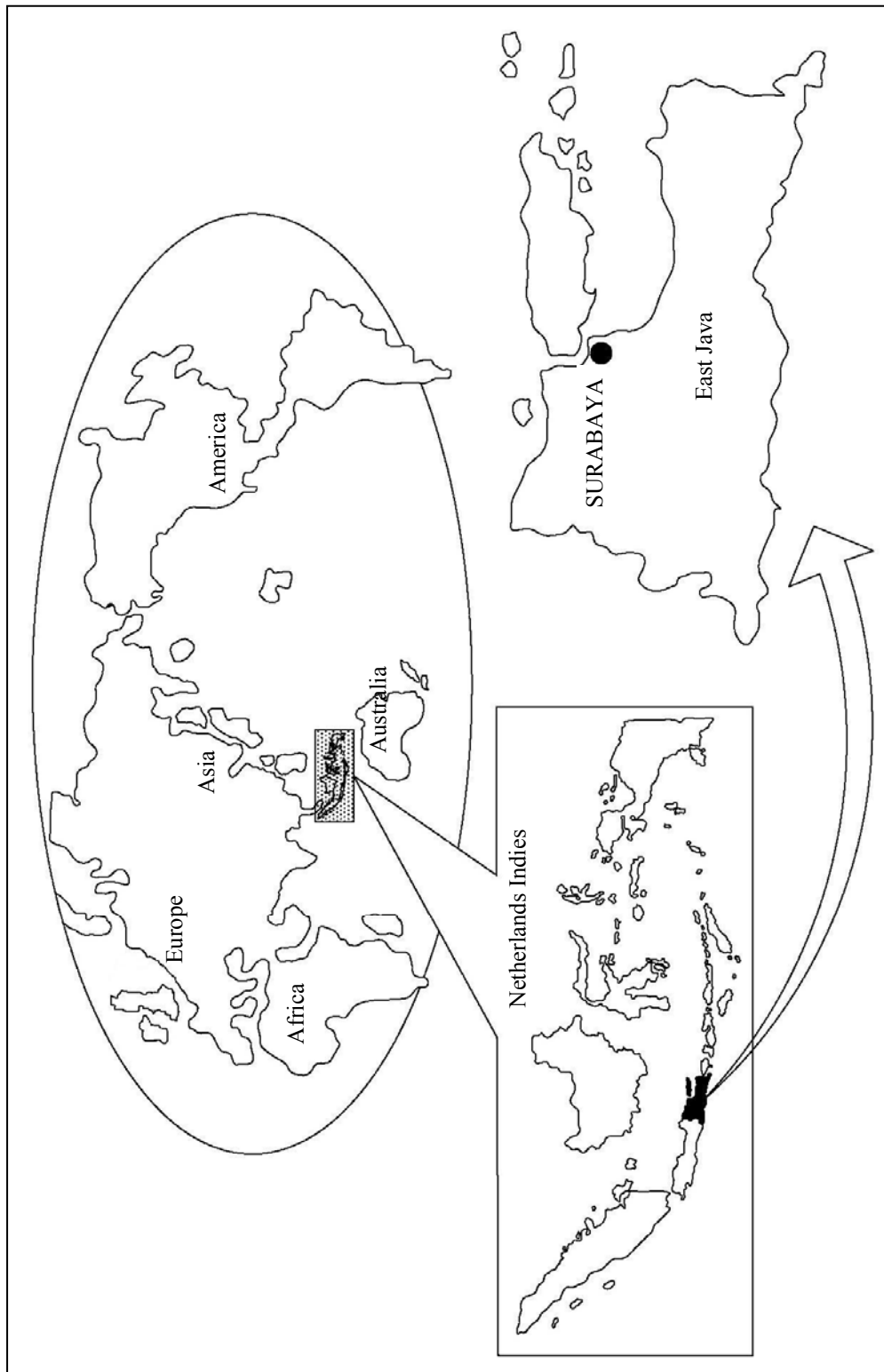


Fig.1.1.1.1. Netherlands Indies, East Java and Surabaya.



Fig.1.1.2. Map of Surabaya in 1940.

1.2. PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS AND STUDIES

Although this study is not the first to focus on Citroen and his works, up until now, it is the first to attempt comprehensive research and publication mentioning and describing all of his works designed during his career in the Netherlands Indies. Earlier studies can be classified in two types: discussions of contemporary sources and discussions in publications from the late 1980s onward. Both are considered from four aspects: form of studies, sources used (applies to later publications only), the number of Citroen's works mentioned and content.

The contemporary sources, whose forms were (short) articles in periodicals, were written by one or more anonymous author(s) (1916 and 1935), 'Van H.' (1918), Mieras (1921), Heida (1933), Citroen himself (1934 and 1935) and Lemei (1935). Apart from the last article, all the texts were written during Citroen's lifetime so that the authors are very likely to have used photographs and/or their observation of the buildings directly after they were built. Lemei's article is an obituary for Citroen.

Later publications cover research on Citroen and his works. Two of these publications reproduce a list of Citroen's works, including the year of the design, and were written by Kwanda (1991) and Passchier (2006). The first author focuses on the identification of historical buildings in Surabaya; ten of these buildings were designed by Citroen. Jessup (1988), Akihary (1990), Sumalyo (1993), Broeshart, et al. (1994) and Handinoto (1996) describe Citroen's works and give a short analysis as a (sub) chapter in their books or publications on Dutch colonial architecture, while De Zeeuw (2001) produced a monograph in typescript as a result of his research.

All the authors in books and publications (Akihary, Jessup, Sumalyo, Broeshart and Handinoto) use the *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* (IBT) and its continuation, *IBT Locale Techniek*, and add additional information taken from the periodical *Nederlandsch-Indië Oud & Nieuw* and from Von Faber's publication.¹⁰ De Zeeuw employs the most complete list of sources covering the sources mentioned before, as well as the well-known Dutch weekly architectural magazine (*Bouwkundig Weekblad*) *Architectura*, a photograph album of "Faroka" (no date) and a newspaper article in *Nieuwe Soerabaja Courant* (no date).

Table 1.2.1 shows the complete types, authors, dates, form and main sources of each previous study and publication.

¹⁰ Faber, G.H. von, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934).

Table 1.2.1
Type, Form and Main Reference of Previous Publications

No.	Type	Author	Date	Form	Main Reference of Previous Publications																				
					Source								Literature (Study or Research)								Others				
					1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
1	Source	Anonymous	1916	Short article in a periodical																			n.a		
2		'H., van'	1918	Short article in a periodical	n.a																		n.a		
3		Mieras, J.P.	1921	Article in a periodical	n.a																		n.a		
4		Heida, R.	1933	Article in a periodical	n.a																		n.a		
5		Citroen, C.	1934	Article in a periodical	n.a																		n.a		
6		Lemei, W.	1935	Article in a periodical	n.a																		n.a		
7		Citroen, C. †	June 1935	Article in periodical	n.a																		n.a		
8		Anonymous	July 1935	Article in a periodical	n.a																		n.a		
9	Literature (Study or Research)	Jessup, Helen Ibbitson	1988	Part of a chapter in PhD diss.					√	√									√						
10		Akihary, Huib	1990	Short sub-chapter in and appendix of a book		√		√		√									√	√		√			
11		Kwanda, Timoticin	1991	List of works								√										√			
12		Sumalyo, Yulianto	1993	Chapter in a book						√												√			
13		Broeshart, A.C., et al.	1994	Short article in a book						√			√						√			√			
14		Handinoto	1996	Sub-chapter in a book						√			√	√	√				√			√			
15		Zeeuw, Wouter de	2001	Typescript, result of research				√	√	√		√				√			√	√	√	√	√		
16		Passchier, Cor	2006	List of works									√												

Note:

1. Anonymous, "Een Nieuw Stadhuis voor Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië* 50 (1916), 1188-9.
2. 'H., van', "Het a.s. Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië*, 15 (1918-1919), 718-9.
3. Mieras, J.P., "Twee Landhuizen van Architect C. Citroen", in *Architettura* 20/42 (14 May 1921), 121-3.
4. Heida, R., "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek*, 2/2 (April 1933), 5-12.
5. Citroen, C., "Het Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 1/3 (January 1934), 12-4.
6. Lemei, W., "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 2-9.
7. Citroen, C. †, "Kantoorgebouw Borsumij te Soerabaia", in *De Ingenieur in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 6/2 (June 1935), II, 7-10.

8. Anonymous, "Kantoorgebouw van de Borsumij te Soerabaia", in *Architectura* 30/56 (27 July 1935), 309-14.
9. Jessup, Helen Ibbitson, *Netherlands Architecture in Indonesi, 1900-1942*, PhD dissertation (London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 1988).
10. Akihary, Huib, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990).
11. Kwanda, Timoticin, *Inventarisasi Bangunan Kuno di Surabaya*, research report (Surabaya: Petra Christian University, 1991).
12. Sumalyo, Yulianto, *Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1993).
13. Broeshart, A.C., et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994).
14. Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Surabaya 1870-1940* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 1996).
15. Zeeuw, Wouter de, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001).
16. Passchier, Cor, *Lijst van Architecten en Stedebouwkundigen Werkzaam in Nederlands Indië/Indonesië tot 1970* ('s-Hertogenbosch: PAC Architects and Consultants, 2006).
17. *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* (IBT) or *IBT - Locale Techniek*, except the editions of 2/2 (April 1933), 1/3 (January 1934) and 5/4 (September 1935).
IBT was a periodical published in 1897-1931 by *Vereeniging van Bouwkundigen in Nederlandsch-Indië*. Later, in 1931 IBT merged with *Locale Techniek*, a bulletin of *Vereeniging voor Locale Belangen*, to become *IBT - Locale Techniek*, a bi-monthly periodical.
18. *Nederlandsch Indië, Oud en Nieuw*, a monthly magazine, published in 1916-1935 by Van Munster's Editions Amsterdam in co-operation with Stoomvaart Maatschappij "Nederland" Amsterdam, devoted to architecture, archaeology, geography and ethnology, industrial arts, trade and traffic, agriculture, mining and hygiene in the Netherlands Indies.
19. Anonymous, *NV. tot Exploitatie van Cigarettenfabrieken "Faroka" Malang* (s.l., s.a.).
20. Faber, G.H. von, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934).
21. *Nieuwe Soerabaia Courant*, a local newspaper in Surabaya.

Descriptions of single works by Citroen in Surabaya were provided by anonymous authors (1916 and 1935), 'Van H.' (1918), Mieras (1921), and Citroen himself (1934 and 1935). Analysis of between two and ten projects was conducted by Heida (1933), Jessup (1988), Kwanda (1991) and Sumalyo (1993). Finally, a similar analysis for of more than ten of Citroen's projects was undertaken by Lemei (1935), Akihary (1990), Broeshart, et al. (1994), Handinoto (1996), De Zeeuw (2001) and Passchier (2006). None of these sources mentioned all of Citroen's works in Surabaya.

Seven authors describe Citroen's works outside Surabaya, but none mentions for his unexecuted designs. These seven authors are Mieras, Lemei, Jessup, Akihary, Handinoto, De Zeeuw and Passchier. The following table (Table 1.2.2) shows how many of Citroen's works are mentioned or discussed in each previous publication and study.

Table 1.2.2
Citroen's Works Mentioned in the Sources and Previous Publications

Author	Date	Citroen's Works																											
		In Surabaya																				Outside Surabaya and Unexecuted Designs							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Σ	A	B	C	D	E	F	Σ
Anonymous	1916			√																	1							-	
'H., van'	1918			√																	1							-	
Mieras, J.P.	1921				√																1	√						1	
Heida, R.	1933										√						√				2							-	
Citroen, C.	1934			√																	1							-	
Lemei, W.	1935	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√				√	√	√		√	16	√	√		√	√	√	5
Citroen, C. †	June 1935																				√	1						-	
Anonymous	July 1935																				√	1						-	
Jessup, Helen Ibbitson	1988			√	√		√			√	√		√	√			√	√			√	10	√					1	
Akihary, Huib	1990	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	19	√	√		√		√	4
Kwanda, Timoticin	1991			√			√			√	√		√	√	√			√	√		√	10						-	
Sumalyo, Yulianto	1993			√						√											√	3						-	
Broeshart, A.C., et al.	1994			√		√	√	√	√	√	√						√	√	√		√	11						-	
Handinoto	1996			√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√		√	16	√	√		√		3	
Zeeuw, Wouter de	2001	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	18	√			√	√	√	4
Passchier, Cor	2006	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	19		√		√		√	3

Note:

- 1 : Development plan for Kupang area
- 2 : Development plan for Ketabang area
- 3 : Town Hall
- 4 : House on Sumatra street
- 5 : Kebondalem bridge
- 6 : Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij (BPM) office
- 7 : "K.K. Knies" music and piano shop
- 8 : Shop of "Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos" Royal Dutch Precious Metal Company
- 9 : Darmo hospital
- 10 : Gubeng bridge
- 11 : The ninth Annual Fair
- 12 : Pasar Besar railway viaduct
- 13 : Extension of *Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië* (ASNI) building

- 14 : British community church
- 15 : Emplacement of BPM
- 16 : Wonokromo bridge
- 17 : Mansion on Kayun street
- 18 : Mayor official residence
- 19 : Monument of Dijkerman
- 20 : *Borneo Sumatra Handel Maatschappij* (Borsumij) office
- A : *Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NIS) office
- B : Country house, Lawang
- C : Drawings of three unexecuted designs, Surabaya
- D : Interior of Malang Town Hall
- E : Hospital, Jember
- F : "Faroka" cigarette factory, Malang
- Σ : Total

The content of previous sources and literature includes descriptions of single architectural projects (anonymous, 1916 and 1935; 'Van H.', 1916; Citroen, 1934 and 1935), an explanation of civil engineering works (Heida, 1933), an obituary (Lemei, 1935), analyses of architectural designs (Jessup, 1988; Sumalyo, 1993), lists of the projects and their dates (Akihary, 1990; Passchier 2006), basic architectural information on the buildings (Kwanda, 1991) and combinations of some of the previous aspects (Broeshart, et al., 1994; Handinoto, 1996; De Zeeuw, 2001). De Zeeuw's study is the most complete because it is a product of research devoted to *Stichting Bibliografieën en Oeuvrelijsten van Nederlandse Architecten en Stedebouwkundigen* (BONAS) or Foundation of Bibliographies and Works Lists of Dutch Architects and Urban Planners as a part of *Nederlands Architectuurinstituut* (NAi) or Netherlands Architecture Institute in Rotterdam. Unfortunately this work is not complemented with any illustrations (drawings, photographs, etc.).

The weakness of these publications mainly lies in the lack of background information on why the projects were planned, designed and built. First of all, these publications show gaps in the information on the decision-making process in the Municipality and the City Council. This omission is particularly problematic in descriptions of Citroen's Municipal projects (anonymous, 1916; 'Van H.', 1918; Heida, 1933; Citroen, 1934; Lemei, 1935; Jessup, 1988; Akihary, 1990; Sumalyo, 1993; Handinoto, 1996; De Zeeuw, 2001 and Passchier, 2006). Secondly, synchronic analysis has not been applied to these projects, which is a particularly problematic void in descriptions of large and important projects, for example the Town Hall. Thirdly, some of these studies do not include the year in which each project was designed (Lemei, 1935; Akihary, 1990; Kwanda, 1991; Handinoto, 1996; Passchier, 2006). In some cases, the year of design is confused with the year of construction (Akihary, 1990 and Passchier, 2006). The fourth gap is found in the lack of personal background, such as Citroen's family background and his education, which is not disclosed (Lemei, 1935; Broeshart, et al., 1994; Handinoto, 1996 and De Zeeuw, 2001). Fifth, as De Zeeuw mentioned in his study, the lack of images, photographs, blueprints and other illustrations is a further disadvantage of these sources and studies, which means the authors were not able to carry out a further analysis. The sixth problem that can be identified is the inaccuracy of textual and graphical information found in certain studies (Sumalyo, 1993; Broeshart, et al., 1994; and De Zeeuw, 2001). Another issue is that for certain projects, such as the Town Hall and the Pasar Besar railway viaduct, there is no specification of the number of designs which have been produced for each project. Finally, only one publication focuses on technical aspects, namely an article written by Heida (1933).

The strengths of the sources and literature include:

- the first sources, publications or studies included photograph(s) or drawings taken from blueprints of related projects which cannot be found in other studies (anonymous, 1916 and 1935; 'Van H.', 1918; Mieras, 1921 and Citroen †, 1935);
- the publication by Lemei (1935) is the first to mention urban development plans;
- some of the publications or studies on certain projects (Heida, 1933) or on all of Citroen's projects (Akihary, 1990 and De Zeeuw, 2001) are the most complete in their analysis or in the information gathered.

Details of content, the weaknesses and strengths of previous sources and literature are presented in Table 1.2.3.

Table 1.2.3
Content, Weakness and Strength of the Sources and the Publications

	Author	Date	Content	Weakness	Strength
Source	Anonymous	1916	Description of a design for the Town Hall in the Town Park (<i>Stadstuin</i>)	Lacks further background of the projects and synchronic analysis	The only source which includes drawings of the design for Town Hall (1916)
	'H., van'	1918	Analysis of the design of the Town Hall in Ketabang which had not yet been built (not the final design)	- Lacks further explanation on background of the projects and synchronic analysis - Only supported by a drawing of main entrance perspective	The only source publishing perspective drawing of the main entrance of the Town Hall
	Mieras, J.P.	1921	Short description of a house on Sumatra street and a country house in Lawang	Lack of synchronic analysis	- The only source mentioning the owner and construction year of the house on Sumatra street - The only source presenting a photograph of the country house in Lawang, and mentioning the owner and construction year
	Heida, R.	1933	Description of Gubeng and Wonokromo Bridges	The explanation focuses on technical or structural matters only	The most complete source on Gubeng and Wonokromo bridges
	Citroen, C.	1934	Description of the last design (as built design) of the Town Hall	- Does not give information on Citroen's previous designs for Town Hall and their characteristics - Lack of information on decision-making in the Municipality and the City Council, both on the design and on the construction	-
	Lemei, W.	1935	Obituary for Citroen	- Short biography - Lacks further explanation of Citroen's works	The first publication mentioning two development plans for Kupang and Ketabang areas
	Citroen, C. †	June 1935	Analysis of Borsumij office	Lacks background on the project	- The first publication completed with drawings of plans, elevations and perspective of Borsumij office - Describes types of rooms in the building
	Anonymous	July 1935	Analysis of Borsumij office	Lacks background on the project	The first publication including drawings of building sections

continued ...

Table 1.2.3
Content, Weakness and Strength of the Sources and the Publications
(continuation)

	Author	Date	Content	Weakness	Strength
Literature	Jessup, Helen Ibbitson	1988	Architectural design analysis of the works	- Only half of Citroen's works in Surabaya are mentioned - Insufficient number of illustrations	The first dissertation analysing Citroen's works
	Akihary, Huib	1990	- List of Citroen's works accompanied with year of the projects - Citroen's publications - bibliography on Citroen	- Incomplete dating of the projects - Lacks distinction of year of design and year of construction - Lacks further explanation on the background of the projects and synchronic analysis - Only a few of pictures	The most complete publication mentioning Citroen's works: nineteen projects located in Surabaya and four projects located outside Surabaya
	Kwanda, Timoticin	1991	Identification of historical buildings in Surabaya	- Lacks further explanation of the buildings	-
	Sumalyo, Yulianto	1993	Architectural design analysis of the Town Hall, church, Darmo hospital, Borsumij office	- Only a few of Citroen's works described - Incorrect photograph of the church as well as incorrect short description	-
	Broeshart, A.C., et al.	1994	- Biography - Description of Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion - Mentions several other works	- The descriptions, of both biography and projects, are too short - Only one picture of Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion - Incorrect information on Citroen's arrival in the Netherlands Indies	-
	Handinoto	1996	- Biography - Description of the Town Hall and Borsumij office - Other works mentioned briefly	- Incomplete biography - Imbalance descriptions of other works	-
	Zeeuw, Wouter de	2001	- More complete biography - Description of each work - Award for Citroen	- Does not contain any illustrations - Inaccuracy in a few of data	The most complete research describing Citroen and his works
	Passchier, Cor	2006	List of Citroen's works and year of design	- Lacks distinction of the year of design and the year of construction - Incompleteness the year of design or construction - Lacks further explanation on background of the projects and synchronic analysis - Does not contain any drawings or photographs	-

The studies and publications of Lemei, Akihary and De Zeeuw are useful as the first step in compiling a list of all of Citroen's works in Surabaya.¹¹ The next step in my research was to employ all sources and literature as secondary or tertiary sources in order to deepen the knowledge of each project. In order to trace any other pieces of information on each of Citroen's works, research was extended to include the bibliographies of each of these sources. This particular aspect of the research was carried out in order to find new sources that had not been used by previous authors, including books, periodicals, other textual sources, drawings, photographs, blueprints, and other archival materials.

¹¹ Passchier's list is not included because it is only an improvement of Akihary's list, especially in terms of the year of design or construction. Passchier's list does not contain additions concerning the number of projects, while Handinoto's list uses Lemei's and Akihary's ones as sources.

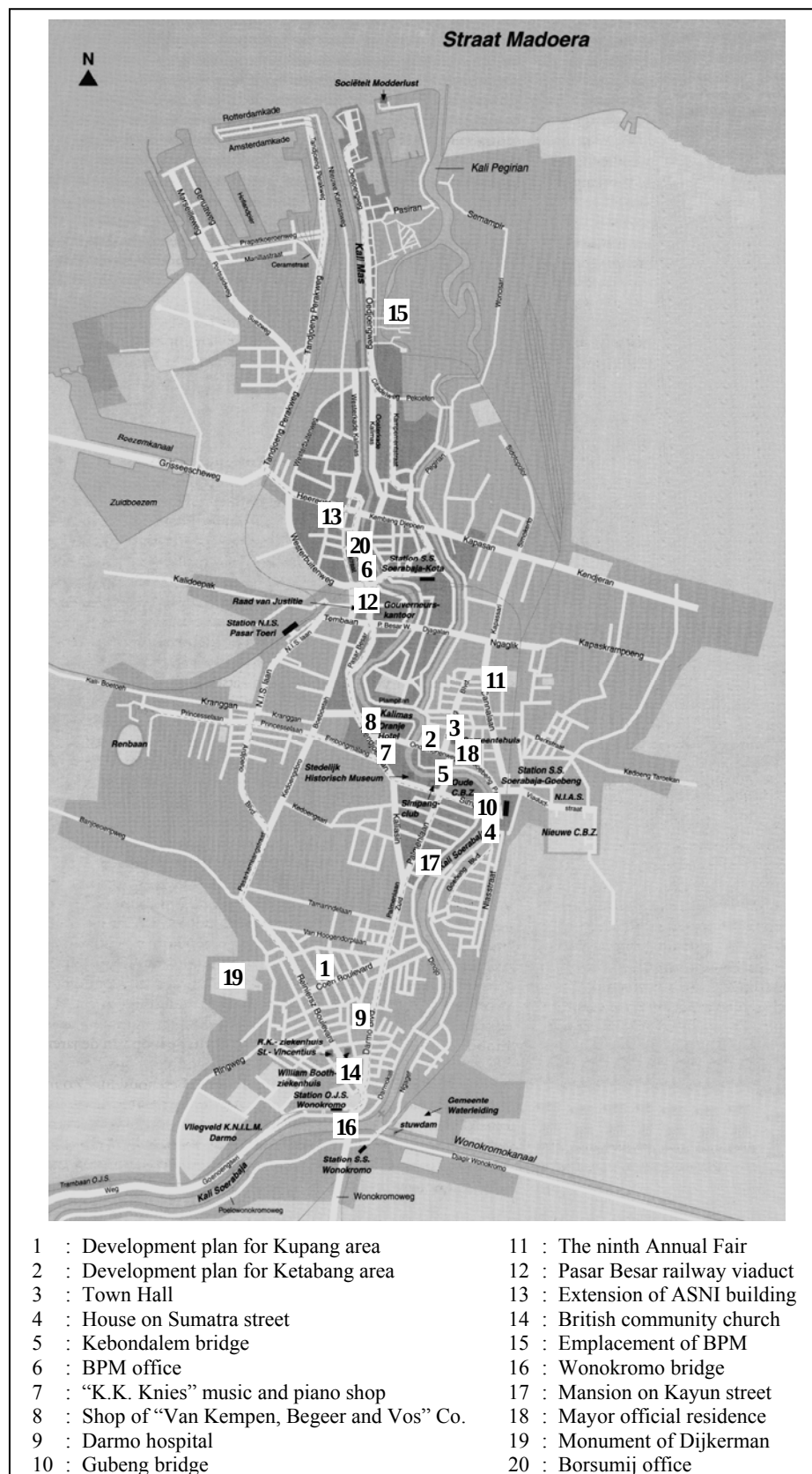


Fig.1.2.1. Location of Citroen's Works in Surabaya.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study proposes to answer the question of how to comprehend and explain the position of Citroen and his works in relation to their context in Surabaya. This question is elaborated on in the following sub-questions:

- Why did Citroen leave his previous position in Amsterdam and then go to Surabaya to find a new position?
- When and why did Citroen start to work for the Municipality of Surabaya? How did his relationship with the Municipality develop? And, when and why did he finally leave his position as the Municipal architect?
- As a professional architect, to what extent did Citroen's services reach the various groups or layers in the community of Surabaya? In other words, how was Citroen's network in Surabaya constructed?
- How did Citroen's architectural ideas, which were reflected from his works and activities, change from time to time and how can Citroen's architectural styles as developed during his career in Surabaya be defined?
- What was Citroen's position in the architectural constellation of Surabaya, the Netherlands Indies and in the international context?

This study not only seeks to answer the research questions above but also seeks to reveal as much as possible of the most important architectural information of each project, such as the year of design and the client. Not all this information has been disclosed by previous studies and publications. Such information enables us to further explore the interrelation with the setting of the projects, whether that setting is architectural, historical or social. Emphasizing the year of design is more important than stressing the year of construction because this study falls within the architectural-historical domain. Another reason to place emphasis on the year of construction is that in some instances there is time lag between the first design, the development of the design, the definitive design and the construction phase.

1.4. SOURCES

Although Citroen can be categorized as an important Dutch architect in the Netherlands Indies, especially in Surabaya, there are almost no archives of his work left, neither in Indonesia, nor in the Netherlands. There are only the sources mentioned previously, several photographs of the Gubeng and Wonokromo bridges in the Netherlands Architecture Institute in Rotterdam and two sheets of blueprints of the Wonokromo bridge in the Town Archives of Surabaya.

1.4.1. Architect Cosman Citroen

In order to gather information on Citroen's personal background (family and education background) and his career in the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies, this study utilizes sources which have not been employed by previous authors. These sources include:¹²

- private collections or archives of Citroen's family and descendants;
- literature on art education in the Netherlands, particularly on the Amsterdam Quellinus School in Citroen's study period;
- minutes and reports of Architectura et Amicitia meetings;
- *Architectura*, as a weekly architectural publication of the Architectura et Amicitia Association;¹³
- reports of *Bond van Nederlandsche Architecten* (Association of Netherlands Architects) or BNA.

1.4.2. Citroen's Works

This study has employed a great number of *Gemeentebleden van Soerabaja* (Municipal Sheets of Surabaya) and *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* (Minutes of Public Meetings of the Surabaya City Council). There are two reasons why this study uses these publications and minutes as the main sources of information. Firstly, Citroen is known as the advisory architect of Surabaya Municipality. Discussions and decisions about each Municipal project in the Municipality were recorded in both types of document. Secondly, none of the authors of previous studies or publications have used these publications and minutes as their sources. Both types of sources record in detail every idea, opinion, proposal, and decision-making process on the planning, design and construction of Citroen's works. These papers registered every response (both pro and con) which emerged before,

¹² A special book on the Architectura et Amicitia Association, i.e. Jeroen Schilt and Jouke van der Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1992), is also used to trace Citroen's involvement in this association.

¹³ Previous authors only used several editions of this journal.

during and after the projects were realised. Also, from these sources, we can identify almost all parties within and outside the Surabaya Municipality and City Council who played a role in the decision-making process concerning Citroen's works.

The two sources above are strengthened by some *Verslagen der Gemeente Soerabaja* (Annual Reports of the Municipality of Surabaya) and documentation belonging to institutions, organizations or companies involved in the projects. Each institution traditionally reports the condition and development of these projects to their stakeholders by publishing an annual report.

Also, the *Statistische Berichten der Gemeente Soerabaja* (Statistical Notices of Surabaya Municipality) support the main sources. The statistical notices are used to reveal condition of the Surabaya Municipality in the period of Citroen's works, particularly in relation to population.

Articles published during Citroen's career, mainly in architectural periodicals, are also used to reveal new information which had not been mentioned in the sources mentioned above. In order to trace the location and exact address of each of the projects, guide books, telephone books and maps of Surabaya compiled during Citroen's career became important references.

Old photographs were used to acquire visual information which is not recorded in textual sources. These photographs are also useful in comparing between blueprints, the condition of the projects shortly after being built, and their current condition. Recent photographs were acquired from fieldwork done in July-November 2007, September-October 2008 and October-November 2009. These recent photographs are utilized to examine the recent condition of every project, such as whether they are still in existence (preserved or demolished) and alterations.

1.5. STRUCTURE

This study consists of three main parts, i.e. introduction, main body and conclusion. Each of these parts is divided into (sub) chapters. The first part introduces the subject, sources, previous studies and publications, research questions and structure.

The main body is divided into three chapters which provide information on architect Cosman Citroen, his works and his architectural styles. The first chapter analyses Citroen's personal background (family and education background) and his career (both in the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies), and ends with an examination of the contracts drawn up between the Municipality of Surabaya and Citroen. The second chapter examines each of Citroen's works in Surabaya, arranged in chronological order from the first of his designs or plans. Each of the projects is elaborated on as much as possible. Whenever possible, the elaboration encompasses each project's background, the initial idea, and the decision-making process, as well as the design, construction and post-construction periods, especially for the Municipal and government projects. The final chapter analyses the architectural styles and idiom used by the architect. Images and other visual information are presented directly after the text in order to support what is described textually. Since this study falls within the architectural-historical domain, the visual information often became the main pieces of evidence to support statements. The works located outside of Surabaya and the unexecuted designs as well as the complete list of all of Citroen's works are presented in the Appendices.

The final part of the book contains the conclusion which presents the findings of the research. The conclusion also contains the answers to the research questions mentioned in the introduction.

CHAPTER II

ARCHITECT COSMAN CITROEN

2.1. PERSONAL BACKGROUND

2.1.1. Family Background

Cosman Citroen was born in Amsterdam on 26 August 1881 (fig.2.1.1), the third child of Levie Citroen (Amsterdam, 12 November 1855 - † Amsterdam, 30 December 1905) and Sara Levie Coltof (Amsterdam, 26 February 1852 - † Amsterdam, 24 December 1921). Levie Citroen was a diamond worker, a profession dominated at that time in Amsterdam by Jewish workers. He was the son of Cosman Levie Citroen, a diamond cutter, and Marianne Salomon Norden. In June 1880, they lived at Plantage Badlaan 19, 1018 Amsterdam. Sara Levie Coltof was the daughter of painter Levij Coltof and Beletje Levie Bronkhorst.¹

Levie Citroen and Sara Levie Coltof had seven children: Betje (Amsterdam, 14 October 1879 - † Amsterdam, March 1901 died of tuberculosis), a stillborn son, architect Cosman Citroen (Amsterdam, 26 August 1881 - † Surabaya, 15 May 1935), medical doctor Salomon Citroen (Amsterdam, 22 January 1883 - † Auschwitz, 6 March 1944), Marianne (Amsterdam, 20 July 1884 - † Jewish house, Amsterdam and buried in Muiderberg), Leon (Amsterdam, 29 December 1885 - † Amsterdam, 7 May 1886) and Jeannette, a teacher in Haarlem (Amsterdam, 12 February 1887 - † ca. 1919 died of tuberculosis).²

In 1915, Cosman Citroen arrived in Surabaya and worked for N.V. Bouwmaatschappij “Kupang”, a company established by the Surabaya Municipality. Here, he married M.E. Dencher.³ They had three children, Jörn Citroen (born in Surabaya, 7 September 1920, married to Mathilde Catharina de Vries in 1945 and passed away in Australia before 1994), Carin Citroen (born in Surabaya 22 June 1925, a secretary in post-war Batavia) and Robert Citroen (Surabaya, 22 June 1925, lived in Australia and probably passed

¹ Denise Citroen, *Genealogy of Levie and Cosman Citroen*, typescript, in her private email to the author (18 April 2007).

Denise Citroen is one of the Citroen family descendents.

² Ibid., and Uli Sierks Citroen's private letter to Denise Citroen, 1994, 1.

Uli was the first daughter of Salomon Citroen. She was born in Surabaya on 26 February 1917 and passed away in Laren (North Holland), 2004.

³ Denise Citroen, *Genealogy of Levie and Cosman Citroen*, typescript.

Her full name and exact date of marriage are not known.

away there).⁴ Cosman Citroen passed away in hospital due to complications from an appendix operation (appendectomy)⁵ on 15 May 1935.⁶ A day later he was buried in Kembang Kuning cemetery, block A-167 (fig.2.1.2).⁷

One of Cosman Citroen's brothers whose work experience related to his own was Salomon Citroen. After finishing his study, financed by a scholarship, Salomon Citroen was hired as a medical doctor on a Navy ship. His ships often sailed to tropical regions, visiting New Guinea, Sumatra and other islands. Afterwards, he worked on the "Koningin Emma" passenger ship which also sailed to tropical areas.⁸ After finishing his contract, on 20 January 1916 he married Nelly Suze Croes, a teacher (born in Jember, East Java on 29 May 1896 and passed away on 16 February 1956 in Hilversum). They lived in Amsterdam, where Salomon took a course on tropical diseases at the *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen* (Royal Tropical Institute) or KIT. Afterwards, he applied for a position as a local physician in Surabaya.⁹ His application was approved and on February 1917, two years after his older brother's arrival, he arrived in Surabaya.¹⁰ Several weeks after Salomon and Nelly's arrival, their first child Uli Sierks Citroen was born on 26 February 1917. A year later, the couple had a second child Louis, who would later become a dentist, on 4 February 1918 and finally Alexander on 27 January 1919.¹¹

In the same year of his arrival, Salomon accepted a position as member of the health commission lead by Dr. A. van Dorsten.¹² His job was to examine the health condition of the indigenous people who worked with tin, Sumatra rubber and other agricultural products. Every afternoon and evening his house was opened for Javanese, Madurese and other people who needed medical help. A heavy workload weakened Salomon, and in 1927, he and his family moved to Australia. In 1931, Salomon's family returned to the Netherlands and stayed with Nelly's father, Jacobus Willem Croes.¹³

The following diagram shows the genealogy of the Citroen family.

⁴ Ibid., and Uli Sierks Citroen's private letter to Denise Citroen, 1994, 5.

⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁶ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [1].

⁷ Register of Kembang Kuning cemetery.

⁸ Uli Sierks Citroen's private letter to Denise Citroen, 1994, 1.

⁹ In all likelihood, Cosman Citroen informed Salomon about a vacant position in the Surabaya Municipality given that Citroen had good relationships with higher officials of the Surabaya Municipality.

¹⁰ Uli Sierks Citroen's private letter to Denise Citroen, 1994, 2.

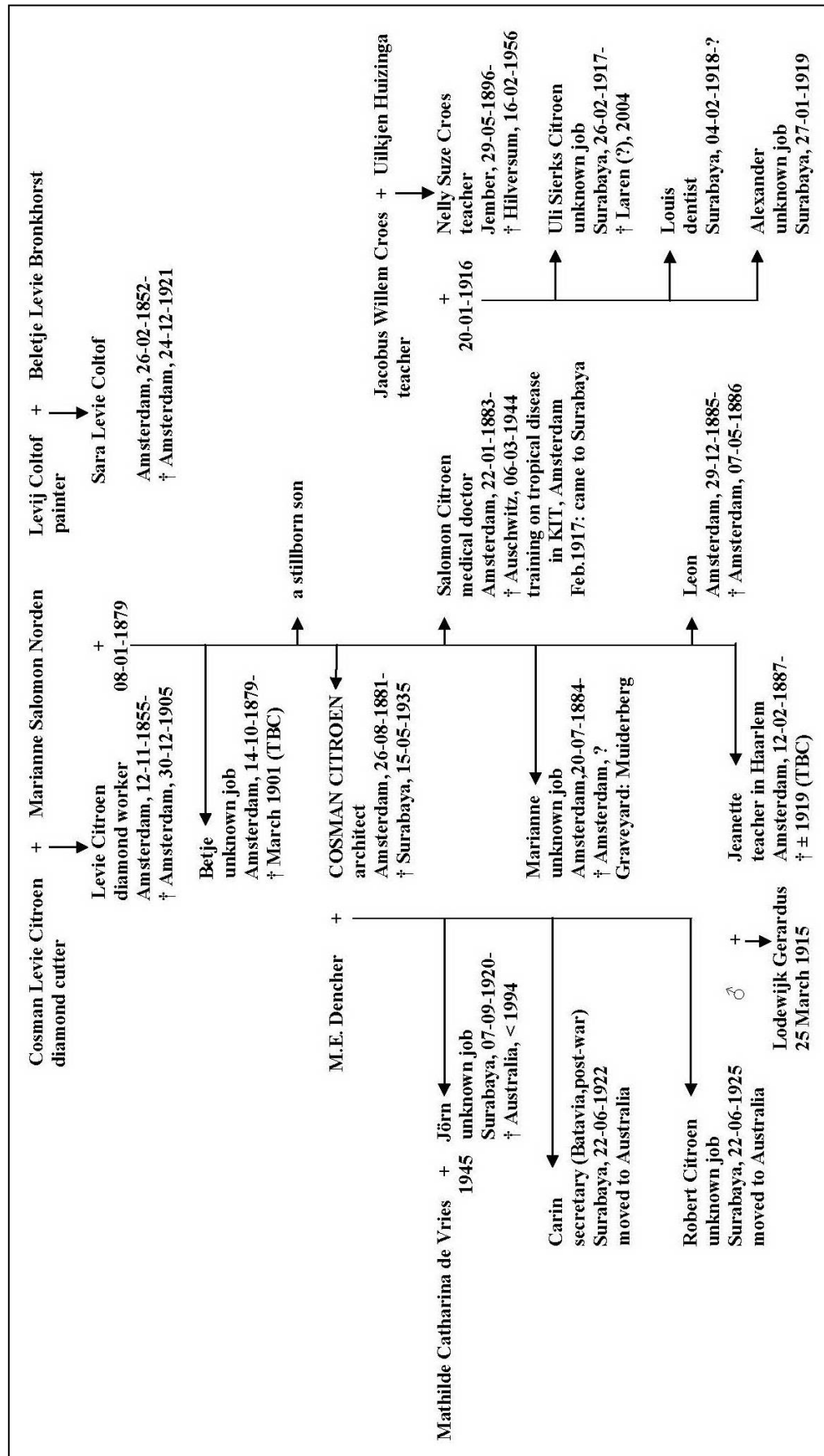
¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917 met Beknopte Verslagen over 1915 en 1916* (Soerabaja: E. Fuhri & Co., 1918), 13.

Other members of the commission were J.W. van der Spek, C.F.M. Verstijnen and A. van Genneep.

¹³ Uli Sierks Citroen's private letter to Denise Citroen, 1994, 2.

Diagram 2.1.1
Genealogy of Citroen Family



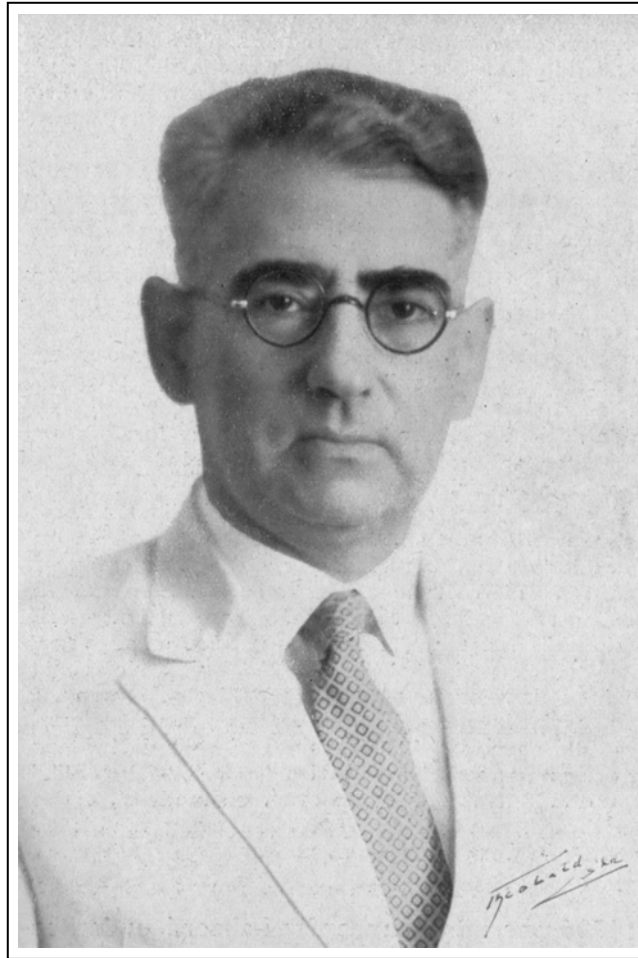


Fig.2.1.1. Cosman Citroen (Amsterdam, 26 August 1881 - Surabaya, 15 May 1935).



Fig.2.1.2. Citroen's gravestone at Block A-167, Kembang Kuning Cemetery, Surabaya in 2007.

2.1.2. Education Background

Citroen studied at the *Kunst-Nijverheid-Teekenschool* (Arts, Crafts and Drawings School) “Quellinus” in Amsterdam.¹⁴ This is where, his talent for pen drawing was developed.¹⁵

2.1.2.1. Origin of the Quellinus School 1876-1879

The *Kunst-Nijverheid-Teekenschool* “Quellinus” was officially opened on 8 September 1879 in a ceremony attended by fifty guests, including the Head of the Arts and Sciences Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Afdeling Kunsten en Wetenschappen van het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken*) Victor de Stuers, although the school had been in existence since 15 May 1876. The idea to establish the school came about when P.J.H. Cuypers, architect of the *Rijksmuseum* (National Museum) in Amsterdam wrote a letter dated 12 September 1879 to the Minister of Internal Affairs about the shortage of designers and artists, especially sculptors and ornament workers, in the northern provinces. At the time, the demand for such art workers was met by inviting workers from the southern provinces. Then, in his second letter dated 9 April 1877, Cuypers repeated the request of his previous letter and proposed to assign E.C. Colinet to manage the young artists involved in working on the museum buildings.¹⁶

Emmanuel Constant Eduard Colinet (1844-1890) was a Belgian sculptor assisting Cuypers at the National Museum. On 18 May 1877, he was on duty at the *Bevolkingsregister* (Population Register) of Amsterdam.¹⁷ In an article in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* dated 7 November 1878, he explained that in order to solve the shortage problem of decorative sculptors, Cuypers would propose to educate the art workers, although he himself had had workshops in Roermond since 1858 with 84 employees. Close relationships between the duo Cuypers-Colinet and the *Departement Amsterdam van de Maatschappij ter Bevordering van Nijverheid* (Amsterdam Department of Society for Advancement of Industry) contributed significantly to the establishment of the Quellinus School. Colinet hoped the plan to establish an independent school would be successful.¹⁸

¹⁴ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [1]. In other publications, their authors (Lemei, Akihary, etc.) mentioned *Rijksnormaalschool*.

¹⁵ Anonymous, “De Architectuur-Tentoonstelling te Batavia”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 24/28 (31 December 1925), 274.

¹⁶ Adi Martis, “Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)”, in Adi Martis (ed.), *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1979*, 30; *Kunstonderwijs in Nederland* (Haarlem: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1980), 114.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 115.

A short report in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* dated 20 December 1878 mentioned that a number of prominent figures from the city met with the board of the *Departement Amsterdam van de Maatschappij ter Bevordering van Nijverheid* to discuss the founding of a secondary school (*middelbare school*) for art industry. At the end of the meeting, participants agreed to prepare a commission to take further steps. Finally, an association was established and named *De Vereeniging "Quellinus"* (Association of Quellinus) to promote art education. The name "Quellinus" was given based on a request from Colinet to the association.¹⁹ Artus Quellinus (1609-1668) was the sculptor responsible for the majority of the sculptures in Amsterdam City Hall.²⁰

Statutes of the Quellinus Association declared that the head of *Departement Amsterdam van de Maatschappij ter Bevordering van Nijverheid* was automatically to become a member of the association.²¹ The association's financial resources came from grants and donations, from members and interested parties, annual contributions, subsidies from the government, and also in part from revenue at the workshops. Government grants were awarded on the condition that:

- the regulations, curriculum, timetable, appointment of teachers and classrooms were approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs;
- the budget for the following year and the accounts for the previous year were presented to the Minister for approval;
- an annual report was created and sent to the Minister in accordance with the plan; and
- the school would be always accessible to the civil servants designated by the Minister.²²

On 15 May 1879, the *Kunst-Nijverheid-Teekenschool* Quellinus was opened in Cuypers' former home and workshop at Voldestraat 9, Amsterdam. On 1 May 1882, the school moved to a new building at Frans Halsstraat 14, Amsterdam.²³

2.1.2.2. Education until 1890

At the outset, the Quellinus School was characterized as an art school emphasizing practical work and exercises in workshops, more than was required in an art academy. In the first year, the students received basic training in art, mostly in theoretical classes. In the second and subsequent years, they focused on specific areas based on their interests. Primary areas of study were drawing (*tekenen*), modelling (*boetseren*),

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ <http://www.kunstbus.nl/kunst/rietveld-academie.html>

²¹ Martis, "Het Ontstaan van het Kunstinijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)", 115-6.

²² Ibid., 116.

²³ Ibid.

sculpturing (*beeldhouwen*) and decorative painting (*sierschilderen*).²⁴

The first curriculum did not change until 1883 when the duration of study was reduced from five years to three because of complaints and the assumption that three years were sufficient for a secondary school based on the level of experience. In short, education in the Quellinus School was defined as a rational and systematic elementary education, seen in its emphasis on both ornament drawing and natural drawing, i.e. from drawing from wire and block models (*tekenen naar draad- en blokmodellen*) to drawing from plaster models (*tekenen naar pleistermodellen*).²⁵

At the beginning of the 1886/1887 academic year, the Minister advised on regulations, curriculum and timetables for the Quellinus School to W.B.G. Molkenboer, Director of the *Rijks Normaalschool* (State Teachers' College) in Amsterdam, an inspector for drawing and industrial schools subsidized by the government. After consultation with the board and teachers of the Quellinus School in December 1886, Molkenboer informed the board that the amendment had resulted in a comprehensive plan and timetable that had to be approved by the Minister. An important point was that the school should have three departments, like those in the *Rijks Normaalschool voor Teekenonderwijzers* (State Teachers' College for Drawing Teachers), i.e. hand drawing (*handtekenen*), straight-line or architectural drawing (*rechtlijnig- of bouwkundig tekenen*) and modelling (*boetseren*). Another point was the number of hours should be extended, especially in the afternoon.²⁶

Colinet resigned in July 1883 and his position was occupied by August van Delden who in 1882 became a teacher of architectural drawing, ornament and perspective drawing. He also came from Cuypers' studio. Before taking charge of Quellinus, Van Delden was a superintendent for construction of the National Museum.²⁷ He filled the position until February 1887 when he was appointed director of the *Koninklijke Academie van Beeldende Kunsten* (Royal Academy of Fine Arts) in The Hague; his teaching position in Amsterdam was taken over by H.P. Berlage and J.F. Klinkhamer. The management of education was entrusted to a committee consisting of three members of the board and the responsibilities of the administrator were substantially expanded.²⁸

In the 1888/1889 academic year, Bart van Hove, who had been a teacher of modelling and anatomy since 1883, was appointed as the new director until 1 December 1900 when he was assigned as a professor in the *Rijksacademie* (National Academy). During

²⁴ Ibid., 116-7.

²⁵ Ibid., 117.

²⁶ Ibid., 118.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 119.

his leadership, the regulations were developed more clearly and more specifically and the curriculum was better defined and organized (Table 2.1.1).²⁹

Table 2.1.1
Distribution of Different Subjects in Class Hours per Week in the Quellinus School
during Three-year Education 1887-1890

Class		Department								
		1 st Year			2 nd Year			3 rd Year		
		Hand Drawing	Architectural Drawing	Modelling	Hand Drawing	Architectural Drawing	Modelling	Hand Drawing	Architectural Drawing	Modelling
Theoretical Class	Geometry	1	1	1						
	Projection and perspective	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Stylistics and ornament				1	1	1	1	1	1
	Proportion				1	1	1			
	Anatomy							1	1	1
Practical Class	Projection and perspective drawings	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Straight-line drawing with instrument	8	8	8						
	Architectural drawing					8			8	
	Free-hand line drawing and principle of drawing for plaster cast	12	12	12						
	Hand drawing for plaster cast				12	12	12	12	12	12
	Painting	12			12			12		
	Free exercise of painting	3			10			10		
	Ornament drawing in large scale		15			14			14	
	Modelling			12			12			12
	Sculpturing on wood and stone			3			10			10
Total		39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39

Source: Adi Martis, "Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)", in Adi Martis (ed.), *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1979*, 30: *Kunstonderwijs in Nederland* (Haarlem: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1980), 159.

Theoretical education was offered within the three departments: hand drawing, architectural drawing, and modelling.³⁰ In the first year, the students spent twice an hour for geometry class, projection and perspective one as well. In the second year, an hour per week was dedicated to three theoretical subjects, i.e. projection and perspective, stylistics and ornament, and proportion theory. The teaching of these subjects was continued into the third year, and proportion theory was exchanged for anatomy.³¹

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 119-20.

³¹ Ibid., 120.

The students studied projection and perspective drawing for two hours per week and hand drawing for twelve hours per week in practical courses in all departments and at all levels. In the first year, each student enrolled in a straight-line drawing course with the use of instruments for eight hours per week. Courses on projection and perspective, as both sustained theory and the basis for training, were understood as the rational education to explain the appearance of objects and to support the drawings. Instruction in freehand drawing was also strongly rational and systematic: in the first year the students were trained first in line drawing and then in wall plates (*wandplaten*); in freehand with chalk (*krijt*) on blackboards and then onto paper. If they had acquired enough skill, the students drew wire, block and lathwork prototypes and continued on to draw simple objects from everyday life. Additionally, in the first year, the students drew plaster casts made from main ornaments and parts of the body.³²

In the first year, 24 of 39 course hours were the same for each student. The time remaining was dedicated to painting on flat ornaments (*vlakornamenten*) and plate models (*plaatmodellen*) in Department A (Hand Drawing),³³ drawing of ornaments on a large scale in Department B (Architectural Drawing) and the clay copying of plaster models of ornaments and roofs (*kappen*) of simple wood and stone ornaments in Department C (Modelling). In the second and third years, the number of course hours was equal in each department. Compared to the first year programme, the most important changes were the omission of straight-line drawing courses and an increase in the number of specific courses related to each of the departments chosen by the students. Straight-line drawing was only continued in Department B as architectural drawing. In the second and third years, hand drawing on plaster casts was taught twelve hours per week in all departments, mainly for ornaments (building components) in the second year and ornaments, heads (*koppen*) and bodies (*rompen*) in the third year. Overall, 22 of the 39 hours per department were different, dedicated to painting in Department A, architectural drawing and large-scale ornament drawing in Department B and sculpture and modelling in Department C.³⁴

Students in the class were usually divided into two or three groups, but sometimes they were grouped according to requirements in the curriculum.³⁵ In the first ten years, the school averaged 65 students per year. More than half of them followed a course in decorative painting (circa 17), sculpturing (circa 15) or architecture (about 10). The school was also visited by a number of students who were either preparing for an entrance exam to another art school or for national examinations or were individuals

³² Ibid.

³³ Later, it was more commonly known as Decorative Painting.

³⁴ Martis, "Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)", 120.

³⁵ Ibid., 120-1.

who did not have career intentions in the art craft industry. At the beginning, there were four women students, including two daughters of Cuypers.³⁶

2.1.2.3. Education in 1890-1916

At the request of the *Nederlandsche Banketbakkers Vereeniging* (Dutch Association of Pastrycooks), in January 1889 the Quellinus School began providing evening classes in drawing. Sculpture courses held twice per week were taught by J.H. de Groot and L. Bourgonjon. However, in January 1891 these courses were removed due to lack of interest. Despite this development, the Quellinus School was able to extend its education by opening Department D (Lithography) in 1890. The number of students in this department increased dramatically over the years. At the same time, Department E (Furniture) proved less viable, and after 1893 no new reports were made.³⁷

The curriculum did not change noticeably until around 1900. The different departments seemed to be independent of each other. The number of class hours in the first year, which was equal in all departments, was reduced from 24 to 16 hours per week. Starting in the first year, architectural drawing was taught in Department B and courses on sculpture were offered in Department C for four hours per week. This trend was noticeable in the second and third years. The course hours for each department were increased across the board (Table 2.1.2).³⁸

³⁶ Ibid., 121.

³⁷ Ibid., 125.

³⁸ Ibid.

Table 2.1.2
Distribution of Different Subjects in Class Hours per Week in the Quellinus School
during Three-year Education ca. 1900

Class		Department														
		1 st Year					2 nd Year					3 rd Year				
		Hand Drawing	Architectural Drawing	Modelling	Lithography	Furniture	Hand Drawing	Architectural Drawing	Modelling	Lithography	Furniture	Hand Drawing	Architectural Drawing	Modelling	Lithography	Furniture
Theoretical Class	Geometry	1	1	1	1	1										
	Projection and perspective	1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Stylistics and ornament						1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Proportion						1	1	1	1	1					
	Anatomy											1	1	1	1	1
Practical Class	Projection and perspective drawings	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Straight-line drawing with instrument	8		4	8	8										
	Architectural drawing		8					18					18			2
	Free hand line drawing and principle of drawing for plaster cast	12	12	12	12	12										
	Hand drawing for plaster cast						12	12	12	10	10	12	12	12	12	12
	Painting	12					22					22				
	Free exercise of painting	3														
	Ornament drawing in large scale		15		15	11		4			2		4			2
	Modelling			12					12					12		
	Sculpturing on wood and stone			7					10					10		
	Furniture drawing					4					20					20
	Drawing on stone									22					22	
Total		39	39	39	38	38	39	39	39	37	37	39	39	39	39	39

Source: Adi Martis, "Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)", in Adi Martis (ed.), *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1979*, 30: *Kunstonderwijs in Nederland* (Haarlem: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1980), 160.

After 1900, a new Quellinus School director, C.W. Nijhoff, executed important changes. Starting in 1895, Nijhoff became director of the *Teekenschool voor Kunstambachten* (Drawing School for Decorative Arts) and from 1899 was also a teacher of courses on architectural drawing and style and ornament theories at the Quellinus School. In part, the changes were the result of a personal conflict between Bart van Hove and C. Stroo who was working at the school from 1880, finally resigning on 1 September 1901. This resignation gave the board the opportunity to restructure the education. The task of Stroo was split between two new teachers: T. Tjeerde for nature and ornament drawing for the first grade and H.C. Elzinga for projection geometry and

perspective drawing.³⁹

In the 1901 curriculum, these courses were defined as decorative drawings related to architectural forms, both exterior and interior, and applied to stone, wood, metal, etc. Now, free-hand line drawing and hand drawing was called natural drawing (*natuurtekenen*). This course was taught 12 hours per week in all departments for three years, from 08.00 to 10.00 each day.⁴⁰

According to the 1901 curriculum, teaching in natural drawing was still very systematic. It started in the first year with surface drawing, followed by drawing on wire and block models, drawing objects from our environment, related to the form of block models (*'het teekenen naar eenvoudige voorwerpen uit onze omgeving, aansluitende bij den vorm van de blokmodellen'*) and drawings for simple ornamental forms (plaster models) (*'het teekenen naar eenvoudige versieringsvormen (gipsmodellen)'*). The curriculum concluded with drawings of the human figure (*'het teekenen naar fragmenten van het menschbeeld'*) in the third year.⁴¹

The 1910 curriculum, in place of the 1901 one, explained that natural drawing still covered drawings of plants, animals and life models. This was probably the formal affirmation of a development that had been suspected for a long time. The interest in nature also became clear from a new theoretical course called *Plantenkennis* (Plants Knowledge).⁴²

In addition to natural drawing, ornamented or decorative drawing also had an important role. This course was taught in the first year. In the second and third years, it was extended to include the drawing of flowers, plants, and animals (birds, butterflies, etc.) for decoration, and reproduction (*natekenen*) of heraldry figures and composition.⁴³ This course was taught by J.H. de Groot (1865-1932) from September 1888 to January 1917. After J.F. Klinkhamer resigned in 1893, his courses (style and ornament theory) were taught by H.P. Berlage, while Berlage's course (straight-line drawing) was given to J.H. de Groot, with the exception of that of Department B (Architecture).⁴⁴ De Groot taught his students to use a T-square ruler and 45° and 60° triangles.⁴⁵ Some of the students in the architectural and furniture departments attended decorative modelling and sculpture courses.⁴⁶

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 126.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 126-7.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 127.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 128.

Around 1910, the core characteristics of the school again came under review. As a result, the name of the school was changed from “*Kunst-Nijverheid-Teekenschool*” to “*Kunstnijverheidsschool Quellinus*” on 30 December 1909.⁴⁷

For the departments of Architecture and Furniture, practice was a problem because neither department had workshops. Consequently, the school required the students to have at least two years of practice in a workshop or certified craft school (*ambachtsschool*). If the applicant did not meet the requirement, he had to attend courses in an evening craft school.⁴⁸

Furniture drawing courses taught by Nijhoff and C. Rol had close ties with interior design. The programme started with line drawing, projection exercises and the design of simple furniture in the first year and concluded with the drawing of a complete interior as well as sketches of an historical interior in the third (or fourth⁴⁹) year. Decorative modelling in this department also had an important role (Table 2.1.3).⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ There is no further explanation about the fourth year, including when the change of study duration from three to four years exactly happened. But, the 1912 annual report of Quellinus School mentioned the fourth year of the Department of Sculpturing and Furniture (Anonymous, *Geïllustreerd Jaarverslag van de Kunstnijverheidsschool “Quellinus” 1912* [Amsterdam: Duwaer & Van Ginkel, 1912], 8). This report is the oldest source that can be found.

⁵⁰ Martis, “Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)”, 128.

Table 2.1.3
Hour Distribution per Week in Each Department of the Quellinus School
during Three-year Education ca. 1910

Class		Department														
		1 st Year					2 nd Year					3 rd Year				
		Decorative Painting	Architectural Drawing	Modelling	Lithography	Furniture	Decorative Painting	Architectural Drawing	Modelling	Lithography	Furniture	Decorative Painting	Architectural Drawing	Modelling	Lithography	Furniture
Theoretical Class	Geometry	1	1	1	1	1										
	Perspective drawing	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Building and ornament style						1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Botany (<i>plantkunde</i>), heraldry (<i>heraldiek</i>)						1	1	1	1	1					
	Anatomy and proportion											1	1	1	1	1
Practical Class	Nature drawing (<i>natuurtekenen</i>)	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	Line drawing (<i>lijntekenen</i>)	10		10	10		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Decorative drawing and lithography		12		12					22					22	
	Decorative painting	12					22					22				
	Decorative modelling			12		12		6	10		6		6	6		6
	Decorative sculpturing							12						16		
	Architectural drawing		10				16					16				
	Furniture drawing					10					16					16
Total		39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	39

Source: Adi Martis, "Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)", in Adi Martis (ed.), *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1979*, 30: *Kunstonderwijs in Nederland* (Haarlem: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1980), 161.

In the Architectural Department, the aspect of aesthetic was heavily emphasized. A student in this department followed natural drawing (*natuurtekenen*) courses along with courses from other departments. The first year also included decorative drawing courses, followed by decorative modelling in the second year. Architectural drawing courses primarily consisted of projection drawing in the first year and drawing of building components (doors, windows, foundations, roofs, etc.) in the second year. In the third year, the students were taught historical case studies, and in their free time, they conducted surveys and made sketches at the National Museum. In architectural drawing, students addressed all aspects of the house. Finally, in the fourth year,⁵¹ they were ready to apply their knowledge.⁵²

⁵¹ Read note 49.

⁵² Martis, "Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)", 128.

During the four-year course, the school could not train the students as architectural draftsmen.⁵³ In practice, their knowledge of building engineering or construction was not sufficient.⁵⁴ They could complement their studies after leaving the Quellinus School by attending evening courses, for example classes held at the *Industrieschool van de Maatschappij voor den Werkenden Stand* (Industrial School of the Society for Working State), or the department of *Voortgezet en Hooger Bouwkunst Onderricht* (Further and Higher Architectural Education) or VHBO in short of Architectura et Amicitia Association after two years of practice.⁵⁵

In 1924, the Quellinus School merged with the *Rijksschool voor Kunstnijverheid* (Royal School of Applied Arts) Amsterdam and the Academy of Arts became the *Instituut voor Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs* (Institute for Applied Arts Education) Amsterdam.⁵⁶ Finally, in 1968, the school was named Gerrit Rietveld Academy (abbreviated “Rietveld Academy”), an academy of visual arts and design in honour of Gerrit Rietveld who designed the main building between 1950 and 1963 with his colleagues Jan van Dillen and Johan van Tricht. He passed away before the building was completed in 1967.⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 128-9.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 129-31.

⁵⁶ http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kunstnijverheidsschool_Quellinus_Amsterdam

⁵⁷ <http://www.kunstbus.nl/kunst/rietveld-academie.html>

Table 2.1.4
Number of the Quellinus School Students
1890-1915

Year	Day School	Afternoon Class	Total
1890	58	10	68
1891	61	16	77
1892	69	16	85
1893	77	14	91
1894	87	9	96
1895	89	4	93
1896	77		77
1897	72		72
1898	77		77
1899	65		65
1900	75		75
1901	76		76
1902	90		90
1903	74		74
1904	72		72
1905	74		74
1906	71		71
1907	69		69
1908	63		63
1909	62		62
1910	57		57
1911	54		54
1912	54		54
1913	63		63
1914	56		56
1915	62		62

Source: Adi Martis, “Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)”, in Adi Martis (ed.), *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1979*, 30: *Kunstonderwijs in Nederland* (Haarlem: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1980), 163.

Table 2.1.5
Distribution of Students in Each Department of the Quellinus School
1890-1915

School Year	Decorative Painting	Architecture	Modelling	Lithography	Furniture	Unknown	Total
1890/1891	41	8	9	9	3	8	78
1891/1892	38	8	7	12	4	-	69
1892/1893	40	10	8	15	4	-	77
1893/1894	44	15	8	20	-	-	87
1894/1895	44	17	8	20	-	-	89
1895/1896	39	17	5	16	-	-	77
1896/1897	34	16	7	15	-	-	72
1897/1898	33	21	7	16	-	-	77
1898/1899	24	17	5	19	-	-	65
1899/1900	22	20	7	26	-	-	75
1900/1901	25	19	5	27	-	-	76
1901/1902	32	18	9	31	-	-	90
1902/1903	27	15	8	24	-	-	74
1903/1904	26	17	7	22	-	-	72
1904/1905	23	18	7	26	-	-	74
1905/1906	24	17	4	26	-	-	71
1906/1907	26	14	8	21	-	-	69
1907/1908	19	20	4	19	1	-	63
1908/1909	15	17	3	25	2	-	62
1909/1910	18	12	1	24	2	-	57
1910/1911	11	10	1	29	3	-	54
1911/1912	12	9	4	27	2	-	54
1912/1913	19	12	5	23	4	-	63
1913/1914	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1914/1915	11	13	5	29	-	4	62

Source: Adi Martis, "Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)", in Adi Martis (ed.), *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1979*, 30: *Kunstonderwijs in Nederland* (Haarlem: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1980), 165.

Table 2.1.6
Teachers of the Quellinus School 1890-1915

Teacher	1890/1891	1891/1892	1892/1893	1893/1894	1894/1895	1895/1896	1896/1897	1897/1898	1898/1899	1899/1900	1900/1901	1901/1902	1902/1903	1903/1904	1904/1905	1905/1906	1906/1907	1907/1908	1908/1909	1909/1910	1910/1911	1911/1912	1912/1913	1913/1914	1914/1915
C. Stroo						F																			
B. van Hove						D																			
L.F. Bourgonjon					F																				
H.P. Berlage			F																						
J.F. Klinkhamer		F																							
J. Visser Jr.						F																			
J.H. de Groot	A												F												
J.H.L. Hanau													F												
W. Kromhout								F																	
C.W. Nijhoff										F								D							
H. Ellens															F										
T. Tjeerde																		F							
H.C. Elzinga												F													
K.P.C. de Bazel											F														
E. van der Ven												P													
C. Rol																			F						
T.T. Bartels																			F						
K. van Leeuwen																									
H.J.M. Walenkamp																									
J.A. v.d. Sluys Veer														P											
W. Zwart																									
J.B. Heukelom																									
M.J. Hack																									
J.A. Jacobs																									
S. de Pauw																									

Note : D = Director; F = Full-time (fixed) teacher; P = Part-time (temporary) teacher; A = Teaching assistant

Source: Adi Martis, "Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)", in Adi Martis (ed.), *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1979, 30: Kunstonderwijs in Nederland* (Haarlem: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1980), 168-9.

2.1.2.4. Citroen in the Quellinus School

No sources mention the exact dates when Citroen studied at the Quellinus School. However, based on the dates of his membership in *Architettura et Amicitia*,⁵⁸ the duration of his Quellinus School education and Citroen's age, he probably became a student in 1898/1899-1901/1902.⁵⁹ During this period, teachers employed by the school were: C. Stroo, B. van Hove, L.F. Bourgonjon, J. Visser Jr., J.H. de Groot, J.H.L. Hanau, W. Kromhout, C.W. Nijhoff, H. Ellens, T. Tjeerde, H.C. Elzinga, K.P.C. de Bazel, E. van der Ven.⁶⁰

From Table 2.1.2, Table 2.1.6 and explanation in the previous sub-chapters as related to the period of Citroen's education, the following table can be deduced:

⁵⁸ See the sub-chapter 2.2.1 on Citroen's career in the Netherlands.

⁵⁹ It is assumed he was educated in Department B (Architecture) for four years.

⁶⁰ Taken from Table 2.1.6.

Table 2.1.7
Classes Attended by Citroen and His Teachers in the Quellinus School
(1897/1898-1901/1902)

Class	Subject	1 st Year 1898/1899		2 nd Year 1899/1900		3 rd Year 1900/1901		4 th Year 1901/1902	
		Hour	Teacher	Hour	Teacher	Hour	Teacher	Hour	Teacher
Theoretical Class	Geometry	1	*	-	-	-	-	K.P.C. de Bazel, H.C. Elzinga, C.W.Nijhoff***	
	Projection and perspective	1	*	1	**	1	**		
	Stylistics and ornament	-	-	1	C.W.Nijhoff	1	C.W.Nijhoff		
	Proportion	-	-	1	**	-	-		
	Anatomy	-	-	-	-	1	B. van Hove		
Practical Class	Projection and perspective drawings	2	C. Stroo	2	C. Stroo	2	C. Stroo		
	Architectural drawing	8	W. Kromhout	18	C.W.Nijhoff	18	C.W.Nijhoff		
	Free hand line drawing and principle of drawing for plaster cast	12	*	-	-	-	-		
	Hand drawing for plaster cast	-	-	12	**	12	**		
	Ornament drawing in large scale	15	C. Stroo	4	C. Stroo	4	C. Stroo		
Total		39		39		39			

Note:

Determination of 'who teaches what' cannot be decided due to lack of information.

* : one of the following teachers gave lessons in a related class: B. van Hove, L.F. Bourgonjon, J. Visser Jr., J.H. de Groot, J.H.L. Hanau.

** : one of the following teachers gave lessons in a related class: B. van Hove, J. Visser Jr., J.H. de Groot, J.H.L. Hanau.

*** : determination of teachers in this position is based on the following reasons:

- the fourth year is the time when the architectural students practice what they have learned in the previous three years so teachers at this level should be professional architects (K.P.C. de Bazel and H.C. Elzinga).
- Although C.W. Nijhoff was not an architect, he was the director of the Quellinus School in that period and thus responsible for the quality of graduates.

One thing that Citroen did not acquire at this school was knowledge of building engineering or construction. It is quite likely that, after graduating from the Quellinus School and acquiring some work experience, he took an evening class at the *Industrieschool van de Maatschappij voor den Werkenden Stand* or in *Voortgezet en Hooger Bouwkunst Onderricht* of *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia* (Association of Architectura et Amicitia).⁶¹

⁶¹ Citroen's career in the Netherlands will be elaborated further in the sub-chapter 2.2.1.

2.2. CAREER

2.2.1. Career in the Netherlands

Citroen's career in his native country cannot be separated from two important circles, i.e. the Association of Architectura et Amicitia and the architectural firm of B.J. Ouëndag, both in Amsterdam.

2.2.1.1. Architectura et Amicitia

Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia (Association of Architectura et Amicitia), or Architectura et Amicitia (A et A) in short, was a Dutch architectural association based in Amsterdam that aims to bring together architects and individuals from related disciplines to exchange information with one another and to continue to inspire each other by means of excursions, lectures and exhibitions.⁶²

The plan for the establishment of A et A arose in a site office of the building for the artist association Arti et Amicitiae on the Rokin in Amsterdam. Building contractor G.F. Moele Bergveld and architect superintendent F.W. van Gendt, both at the start of their careers, listened to a story from a 26 year old architect named J.H. Leliman, who was also the architect of the association building, about his travels abroad. His enthusiasm for 'architectural life' (*bouwkunstig leven*) and extensive contacts with young architects in France made them realize what was missing in the Netherlands. With the help of friends like architects H.P. Vogel, J.F.J. Margry and H. Molemans, their dream was realised on 23 August 1855 when A et A was formally established in café "de Stad Breda" on the Warmoesstraat, Amsterdam. This historical moment was witnessed by 22 young architects, building engineers (*bouwkundigen*) and drafters. A et A was also an alternative for the official and traditional *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst* (Society for the Advancement of Architecture) which had been in operation since 1841.⁶³

Moele Bergveld was elected as chair at the first meeting on 17 September 1855. Soon afterwards A et A held its first competition. Next, a librarian was hired to circulate artistic construction books, magazines and loose illustrations. Lectures were scheduled and stimulating discussions on art criticism were encouraged. The board of *Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Bouwkunst*, including I. Warnsinck, A.N. Godefroy and J. van Straaten, were appointed as honorary members. They gave books and

⁶² http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Architettura_et-Amicitia

⁶³ Jeroen Schilt and Jouke van der Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1992), 30.

magazines to A et A and adjudicated design competitions. In addition, temporary investigation commissions were set up, including the 1856 commission for the coordination of measurements and drawings of old buildings with artistic value.⁶⁴

A et A was also active socially.⁶⁵ Beginning in 1862 with the creation of the first *Amsterdamde Ambachtsschool* (Amsterdam Crafts School), members of A et A such as J.A. Rooseboom, J.H.A.E. de Vries, J. Olie and G.D. Martens signed on to be among the first teachers. Leliman directed his attention to the shortage of affordable housing for employees..⁶⁶

Enthusiasm among members of the association was low in the beginning. Meetings and lectures were rarely attended.⁶⁷ In 1865, J. Olie imposed a f 0.50 fine for members who did not attend a lecture or a meeting on art criticism at least once a year.⁶⁸

Around 1870, there was a vacuum in architectural education in Amsterdam after the architectural department at the *Koninklijke Academie van Beeldende Kunsten* (Royal Academy of Fine Arts) was moved to the *Polytechnische School* (Polytechnic School) in Delft.⁶⁹ Finally, in 1875 A et A started its own courses, which were very successful.⁷⁰

A year later, P.J.H. Cuypers was happily welcomed as an honorary member.⁷¹ In 1877, 'external members' (*buitenleden*), or people who lived outside of Amsterdam, were allowed to be A et A members. As a result, the financial conditions of the association improved significantly.⁷² In order to enlarge the role of A et A in society, the board reorganized the association in 1881, extending personal rights to each member.⁷³

In 1888, A et A strengthened its relationship with the architectural association *Architectuur en Vriendschap* (Architecture and Friendship) in Rotterdam, *Architectura* in The Hague and *Groningse Vereniging ter Bevordering van Bouwkunst* (Groningen Association for the Advancement of Architecture), including the sponsorship of joint exhibitions.⁷⁴ Beginning in 1890, A et A, in collaboration with *Bouwkunst en Vriendschap* in Rotterdam and *Architectura* in The Hague, published the illustrated

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Architettura_et-Amicitia

⁶⁶ Ibid., 36.

⁶⁷ http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Architettura_et-Amicitia

⁶⁸ Schilt and Van der Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 40.

⁶⁹ http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Architettura_et-Amicitia

⁷⁰ Schilt and Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 48.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., 50.

⁷³ Ibid., 54.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 64.

magazine *De Architect*.⁷⁵ Three years later, A et A released the magazine *Architectura* which ceased publication in 1926. The latter magazine placed articles about art, architecture and related associations within the Netherlands Indies in several editions between 1899 and 1900. There were at least three editions on Indies art, four on Indies architecture (*bouwkunde*) and another on architectural associations.⁷⁶

During the 1890s, A et A was dominated by employees from Cuypers' firm, including H.W. Mol, K.P.C. de Bazel, J.L.M. Lauweriks and J. Stuyt. In 1897, C.E. Grantke was hired as the first female employee.⁷⁷ In 1906, W. Kromhout, chairperson from 1895 to 1896, introduced a new member category, i.e. donor member (*leden-donateurs*) in an attempt to improve the financial conditions of the association. However, only a few new members came.⁷⁸

On 28 February 1908, important A et A members, such as K.P.C. de Bazel and Willem Kromhout, set up the *Bond van Nederlandsche Architecten* (Association of Dutch Architects) or BNA. In the same year, Amsterdam started its own architectural programme after a 40-year absence when Kromhout and others established the *Afdeling Voortgezet en Hooger Bouwkunst Onderricht* (Department of Further and Higher Architectural Education) or VHBO. The aim of the VHBO was in fact the same as that of A et A: education in architecture.⁷⁹

In 1912, A. Keppler, Director of Public Works of Amsterdam, called upon A et A members to take action in solving the housing problem in Amsterdam, especially in regard to the forthcoming urban expansion. A year later, he asked the A et A again and gave them the opportunity to assist his office in making plans for urban development.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Ibid., 68.

The last edition of this magazine was released in 1912.

Citroen subscribed to *De Architect* beginning in April 1903 (K. van Leeuwen, "Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap", in *Architectura* 17/11 [25 April 1903], 133).

⁷⁶ J.L.M. Lauweriks, "Indische Bouwkundige Voorschriften", part 1, in *Architectura* 1/7 (7 January 1899), 3.

_____, "Indische Bouwkundige Voorschriften", part 2, in *Architectura* 5/7 (4 February 1899), 35-6.

_____, "Indische Bouwkundige Voorschriften", part 3, in *Architectura* 8/7 (25 February 1899), 57-8.

_____, "Indische Bouwkundige Voorschriften", part 4, in *Architectura* 10/7 (11 March 1899), 73-4.

Anonymous, "Vereeniging voor Bouwkundigen in Nederlandsch-Indië", in *Architectura* 31/7 (5 August 1899), 244.

M.L., "Indische Kunst", in *Architectura* 43/7 (28 October 1899), 338-9.

E.A. von Saher and F. de Erven, "De Versierende Kunsten in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië", in *Architectura* 6/8 (10 February 1900), 41-2.

E.A. von Saher, "De Versierende Kunsten in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië", in *Architectura* 11/8 (17 March 1900), 84.

⁷⁷ Schilt and Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 74, 78.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 88, 90.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 94.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 100.

The outbreak of the First World War had a significant impact on the society. The magazine *Architectura*, first published in 1893, had to drastically reduce the number of its pages due to a paper shortage and the fact that many young members were drafted.⁸¹

In 1917, H.Th. Wijdeveld initiated a new category of members: *afgevaardigde leden* (delegated members). This category, consisting of talented and experienced members, was to ensure that the society focused more on the aesthetics of architecture and what A et A had to do to improve standards. A year later, he also launched a new magazine, *Wendingen*.⁸² It became a medium in which to convey architecturally the aesthetic ideas and opinions of members, especially the delegated members. It likewise served as an inspiration for all members. In this way, A et A focused on the aesthetic interest of the architect while BNA was concerned with more material aspects.⁸³

2.2.1.2. Citroen in the Architectura et Amicitia

Citroen became a member of A et A shortly after he graduated from the Quellinus School. He was a member from 1902 until 1907.⁸⁴ His membership was proposed by Jacques Roosing Jr. and Maurits Plate,⁸⁵ most likely during the 1143rd meeting on 15 October 1902. Their proposal was approved at the 1145th meeting on 29 October 1902.⁸⁶ The inauguration of Citroen's membership, as well as that of P. Landré,⁸⁷ took place at the 1148th meeting on 26 November 1902.⁸⁸

Citroen's interest in joining A et A cannot be separated from the involvement of his former Quellinus School teachers in the association, i.e. W. Kromhout (1884-1940, outside, regular and honorary member, architect), B. van Hove (1883-[1899], regular member), C.W. Nijhoff (1885-1916, regular member), K.P.C. de Bazel (1891-1923, external, regular, honorary member, architect), J. Visser Jr. (1900-1910, external member, teacher of secondary education), J.H. de Groot (1900-1932, regular member, teacher of secondary education), H. Ellens (1901-1906, external member, teacher of

⁸¹ Ibid., 102.

⁸² Ibid., 106.

⁸³ http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Architectura_et-Amicitia

⁸⁴ Schilt and Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 211.

⁸⁵ H.J.M. Walenkamp, "Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap", in *Architectura* 42/10 (18 October 1902), 337.

Jacques Roosing Jr., a building engineer, was a regular member in 1899-1920 while Maurits Plate, also a building engineer, was the same category member in 1902-32 (Schilt and Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 216-7).

⁸⁶ Hylckama, v., "Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap", in *Architectura* 44/10 (1 November 1902), 353, 355.

⁸⁷ Schilt and Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 215.

P. Landré was a furniture maker and an external member (*buitenlid*) of A et A until 1910.

⁸⁸ Hylckama, v., "Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap", in *Architectura* 47/10 (22 November 1902), 377.

secondary education), and H.C. Elzinga (1907-1920[1922], external member, architect).⁸⁹ His employer, B.J. Ouëndag, was also a regular member of A et A (1880-1932).⁹⁰ Interestingly, Citroen became a regular member (*gewoon lid*) based on his position as a teacher of m^2 ,⁹¹ not as a junior architect or an architect assistant in Ouëndag's office. Unfortunately, no additional information on this educational institution can be found.

During his membership (29 October 1902 - 1907), there were around 120 meetings, of which Citroen only participated in four, on 10 December 1902, 25 February 1903, 25 March 1903, and 22 April 1903.⁹² Of these four meetings, the last (22 April 1903) discussed the topic of the Netherlands Indies, i.e. "Den Hindoetempel van het Djeng Plateau op Java", conveyed by J.W. IJzerman.⁹³ Citroen was inactive at the A et A meetings, most likely because:

- in the morning and afternoon, he worked in Ouëndag's office; and
- in the evening, he taught m^2 while the A et A meetings were usually held every Wednesday evening at 8 p.m.

In an attempt to compensate for his absence at most of the A et A meetings, and also to update his knowledge, Citroen subscribed to the illustrated magazine *De Architect* in April 1903.⁹⁴

In 1908, Citroen left A et A. One probable reason was his commitment to training young members to be architects.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Schilt and Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 210, 212-6, 219.

In all likelihood, what is meant by the authors as a secondary education is the Quellinus School.

Another of Citroen's teachers, the decorative painter T. Tjeerde, joined A et A as a regular member from 1916 until 1920, when Citroen had moved to the Netherlands Indies.

⁹⁰ Schilt and Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 216.

⁹¹ Walenkamp, "Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap", in *Architectura* 42/10, 337; and Schilt and Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 211.

m^2 is geometry.

⁹² Netherlands Architecture Institute: *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, *Presentie-lijst*, archive no. ARAM 21.

⁹³ Anonymous, "Verslag van de 1158^{ste} Gewone Vergadering op Woensdag 22 April 1903 Gehouden in het Genootschapslokaal, Café Parkzicht", in *Architectura* 17/11 (25 April 1903), 134.

⁹⁴ K. van Leeuwen, "Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap", in *Architectura* 17/11 (25 April 1903), 133.

⁹⁵ Further explanation can be found in the sub chapter 2.2.1.3 on Citroen's career.

2.2.1.3. Citroen's Career

After receiving his diploma in 1902, Citroen worked for thirteen years at B.J. Ouëndag's office in Amsterdam.⁹⁶ At the time, he was given the opportunity to assist Jacob F. Klinkhamer from the *Technische Hogeschool* Delft and B.J. Ouëndag in designing the *Nederlandsch Indische Spoorweg* (NIS) office in Semarang.⁹⁷ Actually, a (preliminary) design of the project had already been made in 1901.⁹⁸ He learned a great deal about building techniques in the tropics from this project.⁹⁹

In 1908, Citroen and the architect Maurits Plate, who supported Citroen's membership in 1902, provided the opportunity for young members of A et A to study architecture and prepare for examinations.¹⁰⁰ Citroen provided this service after he resigned from A et A in 1907, while Maurits Plate continued his membership until 1932.¹⁰¹

The scope of their curriculum covered all the courses needed for a career in architecture, such as line drawing, architectural drawing, projection theory for wood, stone and steel constructions, descriptive geometry and perspective, surveying, knowledge of building materials, making specifications and budgets, and general knowledge of architectural styles.¹⁰² Training for examinations was given for both private and in-course classes for the examinations mentioned below:

- Examinations for supervisor and draftsman set up by *Maatschappij tot Beoordeling der Bouwkunst*;
- Admission examinations for all (three) classes of Department B (construction and mechanical drawings) of the *Rijksnormaal School voor Teekenonderwijzers* (Royal Teachers' School for Drawing Educators) in Amsterdam;
- Admission examinations for all (four) classes of the *Rijkschool voor Kunstnijverheid* (Royal School for Applied Arts) which covered decorative sculpture, painting and architecture; and
- Secondary education examinations, line drawing (*lijntekenen*) and perspective.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 2.

⁹⁷ Helen Ibbitson Jessup, *Netherlands Architecture in Indonesia 1900-1942*, PhD dissertation (London: Courtauld Institute of Art, 1988), 87-8.

Most likely, Citroen's position in this project was as a draftsman because he did not yet have knowledge on building construction.

⁹⁸ The original drawing of the building was released in Amsterdam, June 1901. Currently, it is kept by the great-grandchild of B.J. Ouëndag (<http://www.semarang.nl>).

⁹⁹ Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", 2.

¹⁰⁰ Anonymous, "Berichten: de Pruisische Regeering en de Bouwkunst", in *Architectura* 38/16 (19 September 1908), 327.

¹⁰¹ Schilt and Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia*, 216.

¹⁰² Anonymous, "Berichten: de Pruisische Regeering en de Bouwkunst", 327.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

With the above explanation, it can be concluded that in 1908, Citroen had enough knowledge of building engineering and construction. It means that he probably took an additional class on the subject before 1908 and after the middle of 1904.¹⁰⁴ As a consequence, he did not attend an evening class at the VHBO, which was established in 1908. It is possible he took a course at the *Industrieschool van de Maatschappij voor den Werkenden Stand*. A second alternative is that he learned in practice at Ouëndag's office.

Besides teaching the young members of A et A, Citroen still kept his status as an architect (assistant) in Ouëndag's office.¹⁰⁵ However, further information on other projects he took on until 1915 are not known due to the lack of records of this time period.

His competence as a professional architect was finally recognized after he was accepted as a member of BNA in 1921.¹⁰⁶ At the time, he had already been living in the Netherlands Indies for six years.

¹⁰⁴ The applicant must have at least two years of experience.

¹⁰⁵ In 1915, Ouëndag handled several projects, such as the branch offices of a bank in Amsterdam, renovation of the "Centraal Theater" and "Amsterdamsche Bank" offices, the villa of K. Groesbeek in Laren, the "De Nederlanden van 1845" office in Amsterdam and the villa of J.J. Tijn in Hattem (Inventory list of Ouëndag archives, NAI).

¹⁰⁶ Anonymous, "Jaarverslag van den BNA over 1921", in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 12/43 (25 March 1922), 116.

There were fifteen new members of the BNA in 1921, i.e. W. van Blitterswijk, N. Lansdorp, Jan Wils, P. Schmidt, J.C. Meischke, A. Baart, A. Boeken, J. Chr. Gewin, C. Citroen, J.F.A. van Beek, G. van Hoogevest, P.J.C. van Kleeff, Joh. Sluymer, J.F. Staal and W.v.d. Leck.

2.2.2. Career in the Netherlands Indies

2.2.2.1. Dutch Architects in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942

Architects in the Netherlands Indies

The colonization of a new country is usually followed by the arrival of experts from various fields coming from their native country to the colonies. One of their aims is generally to find a new ‘market’ for their profession. This phenomenon also occurred when the Netherlands ruled the geographic areas surrounding the equator in Asia, often known as the Netherlands Indies or Dutch Indies.

One of these professions is architect.¹⁰⁷ Although the *Vereeniging van Bouwkundigen in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Association of Architects in the Netherlands Indies) was founded in 1898,¹⁰⁸ it only became a large-scale organization after the turn of the century. After reaching their destination in the Netherlands Indies, the colonists established themselves as independent architects, founded architectural offices, joined municipalities as municipal architects or as architects working for the *Dienst Gemeentewerken* (Municipal Works Service), became architectural engineers (*bouwkundig ingenieur*) working for the *Burgerlijke Openbare Werken* (Directorate of Public Works) or BOW in short,¹⁰⁹ took similar positions in other (government) institutions, or taught at the *Technische Hogeschool* Bandung. Furthermore, architectural bureaus became popular around World War I, mostly in combination with construction firms.¹¹⁰

More than 140 architects honed their skills in the Netherlands Indies.¹¹¹ One such architect stayed in the region permanently until he passed away. Another spent his years

¹⁰⁷ The term ‘architect’ in this context is not only limited to a person having a higher education in architecture (both *architectuur* and *bouwkunde*), but also to individuals trained with a secondary education, with or without additional courses or further education.

¹⁰⁸ Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen, *Ontwerpen aan de Stad, Stedenbouw in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië (1905-1950)*, PhD dissertation (Delft: TU Delft, 2008), 29.

¹⁰⁹ In 1814, the Directorate of Public Works was established as part of the Department of Finance during a brief period of British administration (1811-1816). In 1832, the Directorate of Public Works became a branch of the Department of Waterways and Civil Engineering (non-military function) and employed military engineers (*Genie*) from the early colonial period. In 1855, an independent Directorate of Public Works (BOW) was formed which trained civilian architects. In 1921, the BOW became part of the Department of Traffic and Waterways and was changed into the *Landsgesbouwendienst* (Building Service Office) (Yuswadi Saliya (ed.), *The Development of the Architect as a Profession and the Establishment of the Indonesian Institute of Architects* [Bandung: Badan Sistem Informasi Arsitektur IAI-JB, 1996], 12, cited by Johannes Widodo, “Modern Indonesian Architecture, Transplantation, Adaptation, Accommodation and Hybridization”, in Peter J.M. Nas (ed.), *The Past in the Present, Architecture in Indonesia* [Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007], 20-1).

¹¹⁰ Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990), 16.

¹¹¹ Counted from a list made by Akihary (Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië*, 87-148).

there until the start of the Japanese occupation. Another periodically returned to the Netherlands, and another designed from the Netherlands, making short visits before or after the commencement of his projects. Several well-known names in the Netherlands such as H.P. Berlage (1856-1934), E.H.G.H. Cuypers (1859-1927), W.M. Dudok (1884-1974), J.F. Klinkhamer (1854-1928), and B.J. Oüëndag (1861-1932) created works in the colony.

Of those mentioned above, fourteen architects had a relationship with A et A. Most of them were external members (see the following table).

Table 2.2.1
Dutch Architects in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942
and Their Membership in A et A

Name	Membership Category	Year of Membership
S. Bakker	external member	1894-1899
H.P. Berlage	donator, regular member, honorary member	1897-1934
A. du Bois	external member	1897-1907
J. Boon	regular member	1896-1907
E.H.G.H. Cuypers	donator	1878-1917
W.M. Dudok	art-loving member or <i>kunstlievend lid</i>	1909-1911
J.M. Groenewegen	external member, regular member	1917-1924
H.A. Hes	regular member	1912-1917
J.F. van Hoytema	external member	1907-1909
P.A.J. Moojen	external member	1909-1931
J.Th. van Oyen	external member	1915-1918
A. Plate	external member	1911-1918
A.P. Smits	external member	1903-1942
W. van Tijen	external member	1942

Note : B.J.K. Cramer and Th.C. Nix are not mentioned above because their A et A membership was after 1942, while W. Westmaas' was before 1900.

Source: Compiled from Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990), 87-148 and Jeroen Schilt and Jouke van der Werf, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1992), 210-9.

Architects in Surabaya

In the years from 1900 to 1942, Dutch architects who remained in the colony and the architectural firms that were established (main office or branch one) in Surabaya were not limited to lists of architects and architectural firms as described by Akihary (1990),

Handinoto (1996), and Passchier (2006).¹¹² Based on a comparison of those sources and the *Gids voor Soerabaja* (Guide for Surabaya) No. 119, it can be found:¹¹³

- the following are mentioned by three authors or by one/two of them:
G.J.P.M. Bolsius, H.A. Breuning, W.B. Carmiggelt, C. Citroen, A. van Doorn, D.A. Emanuel, J. Gerber, C. de Graaff, W. Lemei, Th.N. Muller, J.J. de Ruiter, H. Maclaine Pont, C.P. Wolff Schoemaker, H. Smeets, M.B. Tideman, M.H. Voets, F.H. Warnars, W. Westmaas, A. Zimmermann, architecten- en ingenieursbureau Job & Sprey, Algemeen Ingenieurs- en Architecten bureau (AIA), architecten-ingenieursbureau Hulswit en Fermont te Weltevreden en Ed. Cuypers te Amsterdam, architectenbureau Rijkssen¹¹⁴ en Estourgie.
- the following are only mentioned in the Guide for Surabaya:
J.L. Bliemer, J.J. van Dongen, L. Geldens, H. de Gids, Sj. Hijlkema, J. Kat, J.Th. Kienecker, H.B. Kolling, A.M. de Kruijff, J.C.F.v.d. Merendonk, L.A. Molijn, F.E. Sommerecker, W.F. Soute, G.T. Ubink, P.A. Westerbeek, C. Wielenga, J.W.J. Zernike, W.J.G. Zweedijk, Ingenieurs en Architecten Bureau Korverit.¹¹⁵

If a closer investigation is conducted, i.e. a study of the Dutch architects and architectural firms in Surabaya prior to the arrival of Citroen in 1915,¹¹⁶ the following names are found: C. de Graaff, H. Smeets, W. Westmaas, R. Rijkssen, Architecten-ingenieursbureau Hulswit en Fermont te Weltevreden en Ed. Cuypers te Amsterdam, Architecten J.J. van Dongen & Co., Architects en Ingenieursbureau Groedo, Bouwkundig Atelier Vulkan.¹¹⁷

The following table illustrates the previous explanation.

¹¹² Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970*, 87-148.
Cor Passchier, *Lijst van Architecten en Stedebouwkundigen werkzaam in Nederlands Indië tot 1970* ('s-Hertogenbosch: PAC Architects and Consultants, 2006).
Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Surabaya 1870-1940* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 1996), 181-255.

¹¹³ *Gids voor Soerabaja* No. 119 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, September 1927).

¹¹⁴ R. Rijkssen was also a member of the Surabaya City Council in 1918-1919.

¹¹⁵ J.L. Bliemer, J.Th. Kienecker, F.E. Sommerecker and J.W.J. Zernike appear to be German names, while architecten-aannemersbureau Th.K. Liem is not classified in this category because of his last name.

¹¹⁶ The criterion is his/its establishment or the first design found in Surabaya before 1915.

¹¹⁷ Compiled from three publications mentioned previously and *Gids voor Soerabaja* No. 54 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Telefoondienst, Augustus 1912).

Table 2.2.2
Architects/Architectural Firms or Their Work(s) in Surabaya 1900-1942

Architect or Arch. Firm	6681 VI	0061	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940	1941	1942
W. Westmaas												
Arch.-Ing. bureau Hulswit, Fermont en Ed. Cuypers												
H. Smeets												
C. de Graaff												
Arch. en Ing. bureau Groedo												
Bouwkundig Atelier Vulkaan												
Architecten J.J. van Dongen en Co.												
Arch. bureau Rijkssen en Estourgie												
C. Citroen												
H. MacLaine Pont												
A. Zimmermann												
M.H. Voets												
Arch.- en Ing. bureau Job en Sprey												
J. Gerber												
G.J.P.M. Bolsius												
AIA												
J.L. Bliemer												
H. de Gidts												
A.M. de Kruijff												
L. Geldens												
Sj. Hijkema												

continued ...

Table 2.2.2
Architects/Architectural Firms or Their Work(s) in Surabaya 1900-1942
(continuation)

Architect or Arch. Firm	6681 √	0061	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940	1941	1942
J. Kat								?				
J.Th. Kienecker								?				
H.B. Kolling								?				
L.A. Molijn								?				
F.E. Sommerecker								?				
W.F. Soute								?				
G.T. Ubink								?				
P.A. Westerbeek								?				
C. Wielenga								?				
J.W.J. Zernike								?				
W.J.G. Zweedijk								?				
Ing. en Arch. bureau Korverit								?				
C.P. Wolff Schoemaker												
W. Lemei												
Th.N. Muller												
W.B. Carmiggelt												
F.H. Waarnaars												
H.A. Breuning												
A. van Doorn												
M.B. Tideman												
J.J. de Ruyter												
D.A. Emanuel												

Note:

? : taken from the Guide for Surabaya

From the above description and table, it can be seen that before Citroen's arrival, Surabaya had a limited number of architects and architectural firms. A few of the buildings in the city were designed in another city, i.e. Weltevreden, by the firm of Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers. It seems likely that Citroen came at the right time, when the city needed more architects to support increased development. Surabaya became a potential architectural 'market' and attracted many Dutch architects and architectural (and construction) firms, as well as firms from other countries, all eager to establish their profession there.

2.2.2.2. Surabaya at the Beginning of the 20th Century until the End of Citroen's Career

Surabaya started to grow as a modern (colonial) city in the Netherlands Indies during the first decade of the twentieth century. As the second largest city after Batavia, Surabaya carried the status of a Municipality (*Gemeente*) beginning on 1 April 1906 based on *Staatsblad* 1906 No. 149.¹¹⁸ However, the city elected its first Mayor some ten years later, on 21 August 1916, A. Meyroos, who was replaced by G.J. Dijkerman in 1920. During the ten years without a definitive Mayor, a resident assistant from Surabaya, L.J. Schippers, led the City Council (*Gemeenteraad*). The council had twenty-three members consisting of 15 Europeans or their equivalent (*gelijkgestelden*), 5 indigene (Javanese and Madurese) and 3 Asians. In 1918, the number of City Council members was changed to 27, consisting of 15 Europeans or their equivalent, 8 indigenous people and 4 Asians.¹¹⁹

With its Municipal status, Surabaya had a great opportunity to make independent policy decisions in managing the city. In this context, the City Council, which represented the citizens, had a major role in steering the direction of the city, although it had one constraint at the beginning: a portion of the Municipal employees were on loan from the Surabaya resident assistant's office.

At the beginning of the Municipality in 1906, Surabaya had an area of around 4,275 hectares, occupied by 150,188 inhabitants consisting of 8,063 Europeans, 124,473 indigenous, 14,843 Chinese, 2,482 Arabs and 327 Orientals.¹²⁰ In 1930, when the

¹¹⁸ In the same year, Bandung, Blitar, Cirebon, Kediri, Magelang, Pekalongan, Semarang, Tegal, Makasar, Padang and Palembang also received the same status as new Municipalities (Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen, *Ontwerpen aan de Stad, Stedenbouw in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië (1905-1950)*, PhD dissertation [Delft: TU Delft, 2008], 38). Until 1942, there were 42 Municipalities in the Netherlands Indies (Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* [Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990], 27), while another source mentions 18 Municipal councils in Java and 12 others on the rest of archipelago (Cor Passchier, "Colonial Architecture in Indonesia", in Peter J.M. Nas (ed.), *The Past in the Present, Architecture in Indonesia* [Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007], 106).

¹¹⁹ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917 met Beknopte Verslagen 1915 en 1916* (Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1918), 11.

¹²⁰ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 2.

contract between Citroen and the Municipality ended,¹²¹ the total population of Surabaya had reached 331,509 inhabitants, consisting of 26,376 Europeans, 260,537 indigenous, 38,928 Chinese, 5,668 Orientals.¹²² Within a quarter of a century, the total population of Surabaya grew more than twofold. Even the European population reached more than threefold, the highest increase. Thus, it can be said that this city had become an interesting place for the colonists to live and work.

As a consequence of population growth, the Municipality, through the *Bureau Stadsuitbreiding* (Bureau of Town Extension) and the *Uitbreidingscommissie* (Committee of Extension),¹²³ oversaw the development of the city. This committee included members of the City Council and the *Dienst Gemeentewerken*. If the infrastructure of the *Bureau Stadsuitbreiding* was not able to handle the project, the Municipality hired an architect or an architectural firm to manage it. It was during his time in Surabaya that C. Citroen was assigned to plan the Kupang and Ketabang areas.

The extension of Surabaya was directed towards the southern area of the existing settlement, which was concentrated around Jembatan Merah (Red Bridge), due to its geographical condition. The southern areas where the extension took place were Sawahan, Tegalsari, Gubeng, Ketabang, Kupang, Darmo¹²⁴ and Ngagel.¹²⁵ In most cases, each area had a specific function: Gubeng was intended for a new European settlement, Ketabang for a new Municipal centre, Kupang for a new low income settlement and Ngagel for a new industrial area. In addition, the implementation of the plans was done gradually in accordance with Municipal budget guidelines.

To connect the old town in the north and the newly developed areas in the south, the Municipality, supported by private companies and central government agencies, built new roads, bridges, viaducts, tram lines and railway tracks. This development was accompanied by an improvement in the topographical conditions by raising the ground level and improving the drainage system to avoid floods during the wet season.

The Municipality's attention also focused on improving the existing *kampung*¹²⁶. This settlement area was dominated by indigenous people who were often from a lower income group. With the limitations of their income, they were not able to build facilities

¹²¹ See chapter 2.3 on contract.

¹²² Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 2.

The source does not mention the number of Arabs.

¹²³ Both were supervised by the *Dienst Gemeentewerken* (Municipal Works Service).

¹²⁴ Planned in 1916 by Henri Maclaine Pont and based on the idea of *Oost Java Stoomtram Maatschappij* (Roosmalen, *Ontwerpen aan de Stad, Stedenbouw in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië (1905-1950)*, 76).

¹²⁵ A.C. Broeshart, et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994), 20.

¹²⁶ *Kampung* is a residential area for the lower classes in town. In the past, it was inhabited by local people or indigene.

that met health criteria, making them vulnerable to various diseases caused by an unhealthy environment. An effort to improve the quality of the *kampung* was implemented after indigenous members of the City Council convinced their colleagues and the Municipality to take action. Discourse on this problem can be found from when the Municipality planned to build the New Town Hall.¹²⁷

The central government also had a substantial role in the development of Surabaya as a large and modern city, which can be verified from the macro transportation sector. In 1903, the central government founded the *Havencommissie* (Harbour Commission) to prepare a plan to build a new modern seaport for the city in Tanjung Perak. This was an affordable solution to transporting sugar, the main plantation product in East Java, and other estate products from the companies' warehouses along the harbour canal of Kali Mas to the ships anchored off the coast. Until that time, all shipping to and from Surabaya was handled on the roads, with the help of a fleet of lighters.¹²⁸ Finally, commercial operations in the harbour began in 1920.¹²⁹ The modern harbour served not only for the export and import of business commodities but also as a passenger sea terminal. This port was built opposite the *Marine-Etablissement* (Naval Establishment), which had been planned and built at an earlier date.

The Naval Establishment was set up to position Surabaya as the principle base for Colonial Navy as decreed by Governor-General H.W. Daendels's decision of 1808. The city under his leadership became the seat of the so-called *Constructie-Winkel* (Military Workshop), originally serving both the Army and Navy in East Java.¹³⁰ After passing through a long process, the plan was turned into reality before the turn of the century. The various phases of the extension were carried out between 1901-1922. Finally, it was finished before the end of 1928.¹³¹

During the first decades of the 20th century, important buildings and other constructions and facilities were planned and built by the Municipality, BOW, institutions owned by local and central governments, private companies and social communities. The most important of them were:

- **government buildings:** Town Hall (C. Citroen, 1916 and afterwards), Governor's office (W. Lemei, H.A. Breuning, W.B. Carmiggelt in *Landsgebouwendienst*, 1929-31);

¹²⁷ See chapter 3.3 on the Town Hall for further explanation.

¹²⁸ J.R. van Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld* (Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2004), 29.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 61.

¹³¹ Ibid.

- **health facilities:** Darmo hospital (C. Citroen, 1919), St. Vincentius Roman Catholic hospital (Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers, 1931), Eye hospital in Undaan (AIA, 1935);
- **education facilities:** *Nederlandsch-Indische Artsen School* or NIAS (F.L. Wiemans/BOW, 1920-1), *Middelbaar Technische School* (BOW, 1919), *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS) of the “Zusters Ursulinen” (M.H. Voets, 1921-4), *Hogere Burgerschool* (J. Gerber/Building Service Office, 1923), *Christian Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs* (MULO) school (B.N. de Vistarini, 1928);
- **religious buildings:** Roman Catholic church on the Tempelstraat (W. Westmaas, 1900), Protestant church in Bubutan (A. Zimmerman, 1920), Reformed church (R. Rijksen and H.L.J.M. Estourgie, 1921), Roman Catholic church on Anita-boulevard (Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers, 1926), St. George Armenian church (Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers, 1927);
- **office buildings:** office for the *Algemeene Maatschappij voor Levensverzekering en Lijfrente* (H.P. Berlage, 1900), *Lindeteves Stokvis* (Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers, 1911), *Javasche Bank* (Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers, 1911-2), Telephone Office (F.J.L. Ghijsels/BOW, 1913), *Handelsvereniging Amsterdam* (HVA) office (Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers, 1920-5), Post Office (G.J.P.M. Bolsius/*Landsgebouwendienst*, 1926), *Koloniale Bank* (C.P. Wolff Schoemaker, 1927), *Internationale Credit en Handelsvereniging Rotterdam* or *Internatio* building (AIA, 1929), *Algemeene Nederlandsch Indische Electriciteits Maatschappij* (ANIEM) office in Embong Wungu (AIA, 1930);
- **commercial buildings:** shopping complex in Tunjungan (J.Th. van Oyen, 1932), *Vriendschap* shop (AIA, 1935);
- **industrial building:** *Nederlandsche Indische Bierbrouwerij* (J.F.L. Blankenberg, 1930);
- **hotel:** renovation of the Oranje Hotel (unkown, 1925);
- **entertainment facility:** *Simpangsche Societeit* (W. Westmaas, 1907);
- **housing:** Kupang (C. Citroen, 1915 and afterwards), Sidodadi (B.N. de Vistarini / *N.V. Volkshuisvesting*, 1928), East Ketabang (B.N. de Vistarini / *N.V. Volkshuisvesting*, 1928);
- **bridges and viaducts:** Gubeng bridge (C. Citroen, 1921-2), Kaliondo railway viaduct (unknown, before 1921), Pasar Besar railway viaduct (C. Citroen, 1923), Wonokromo bridge (C. Citroen, 1928); and
- **cemetery:** Kembang Kuning cemetery (unknown from *Europeesche Begraafplaatsen*,¹³² 1916).

Looking back, the movement to improve the *kampung*, to provide housing, in particular for lower income groups, and other facilities for the native population, such as schools,

¹³² *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917 met Beknopte Verslagen 1915 en 1916*, 3, 20.

hospitals, and other institutions, was a manifestation of ethical policy established by the Dutch colonial government to increase the quality of life for indigenous people.

In order to fulfill the demand for housing, which steadily increased over time, the Municipality hired C. Citroen to plan and design housing for lower income groups in the Kupang area in 1915. However, the pressure from the demand for housing was so high that the Municipality established a company called “N.V. voor Volkshuisvesting te Soerabaia” on 8 January 1927.¹³³ The company took over from the Municipality the role of providing suitable housing based on target income. Until 1942, this company only succeeded in providing around 2,000 unit houses, or 10% of total need.¹³⁴

To control building activities, including demolitions in Surabaya, the Municipality provided a set of regulations legalized by the City Council. The regulations released in 1910 consisted of nine chapters covering the building design, building permit, construction and penalty determination.¹³⁵ Then in 1915, these regulations were included in a new set of regulations composed of twelfth chapters.¹³⁶ Of course, the content of the later regulations was more detailed and comprehensive than that of the former, particularly as regards technical specifications that have to be followed by owners, architects and construction workers.

To put the regulations into effect and to supervise the building activities of the city, the Municipality created a special service known as the *Bouw en Woningtoezicht* (Building and Dwelling Supervision). The organization was led by a *rooimeester* (grubbing master) assisted by an *adjunct rooimeester* (*rooimeester* assistant), *opzichter* (inspector), *opnemer* (registrar), *tekenaar* (draftman), *commies* (clerk), *schrijver* (writer), *mandor*,¹³⁷ and *oppasser* (a person who maintains the rules).¹³⁸ Any owner, architect or construction worker who proposed a dispensation of the regulations was required to submit a proposal to the Municipality which was then forwarded to the City Council for approval. Of course, third parties such as the *Dienst Gemeentewerken* or the *Bouw en Woningtoezicht* were asked for their opinion on the dispensation before any final decisions were made by the City Council.

¹³³ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 165.

¹³⁴ Dukut Imam Widodo, *Hikajat Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, I (Surabaya: Dukut Publishing, 2008), 186.

¹³⁵ Waleson, *Verordening op het Bouwen en Sloopen in de Gemeente Soerabaja 1910* (Soerabaia: Gemeenteraad van Soerabaia, 13 April 1910).

¹³⁶ L.J. Schippers, *Verordening op het Bouwen en Sloopen in de Gemeente Soerabaja 1915* (Soerabaja: Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja, 22 December 1915).

¹³⁷ A *mandor* (Javanese language) is a supervisor of skilled labours.

¹³⁸ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917 met Beknopte Verslagen 1915 en 1916*, 19-20.

2.2.2.3. Citroen's Career

Citroen came to the Netherlands Indies in 1915 with great aspirations to become an independent architect in Surabaya,¹³⁹ the capital of the East Java Province. There is no information as to why he chose this city as his destination. One might wonder why he did not choose Semarang, the location of his first project or Batavia as the capital city of the Netherlands Indies?

Citroen was able to develop good relationships in his new home, becoming involved with various committees and councils.¹⁴⁰ For example, he was a member of the board of the *Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging* (Surabaya Annual Fair Association) or SJV from 1923 onwards (fig.2.2.1). He became a member of the advisory commission of an archaeological service at the invitation of the government.¹⁴¹ Moreover, he held the position of president of the *Vereeniging "het Oudheidkundig Museum"* (Archaeological Museum Association) in Surabaya for several years.¹⁴² After achieving some success, Citroen was asked to design a building complex for the ninth Annual Fair in 1923 and to continue the new Surabaya Town Hall in Ketabang. He then received an award at the Paris International Exhibition in 1925.

The Paris International Exhibition, opening on 28 April 1925 and closing in October 1925 with the theme "Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes" (International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts) was the (international) exhibition where Citroen's works were showcased for the first time. His design was dedicated to the display of modern decorative arts. The exhibition brought together thousands of designs from all over Europe and beyond with over 16 million visitors attending. The exhibition was shaped by France's ambitions in the years immediately following the First World War. Its aim was to establish the preeminence of French taste and luxury goods. French displays dominated the exhibition and Paris was presented as the most fashionable of cities.¹⁴³

Ir. J. de Bie Leuveling Tjeenk, Commissioner-General of the Dutch department at the exhibition, made it known that the Dutch Pavilion presented the works of 237 artists and designers, who were classified into nine groups: architecture, interior and furniture, sculpture and small plastic construction, wall decoration, stained glass and mosaic, textile, ceramics and glassware, processed metal and jewellery (*byouteriën*), book and

¹³⁹ W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 3.

¹⁴⁰ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [2].

¹⁴¹ Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", 5.

¹⁴² Ibid. The exact date when he took the position is not clear.

¹⁴³ http://www.vam.ac.uk/vastatic/microsites/1157_art_deco/virtual/gallery1/paris1925.htm

print art and applied graphics.¹⁴⁴ At this event, Citroen earned a “Mention”, the lowest category of awards for his design of the Gubeng bridge.¹⁴⁵ Other participants from the Netherlands Indies who received awards were J.F.L. Blankenberg¹⁴⁶ (also “Mention” category) and the firm of Karsten-Lutjens-Toussaint (bronze medal).¹⁴⁷

In the mean time, a plan was made to hold a Netherlands Indies architectural exhibition in August 1925, to take place in the *Kunstkring* building in Weltevreden.¹⁴⁸ It was postponed until the 1925 Paris Exhibition was concluded. Finally, the exhibition was

¹⁴⁴ Anonymous, “De Internationale Architectuur Tentoonstelling te Parijs in 1925”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 12/28 (30 June 1925), 146-7.

A complete list of participants at the Dutch Pavilion can be seen in Appendix 1.

The Dutch pavilion received special attention which was demonstrated by a letter of the president of jury, Pontrémolly, to the Commisisioner-General (Anonymous, ‘Onderscheidingen op de Internationale Architectuurtentoonstelling te Parijs’, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 23/28 (15 December 1925), 262.

¹⁴⁵ Anonymous, “Onderscheidingen op de Internationale Architectuurtentoonstelling te Parijs”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 23/28 (15 December 1925), 262.

The levels of awards in accordance with the French rules in descending order were: Grand Prix, Honorary Diploma, Gold Medal Diploma, Silver Medal Diploma, Bronze Medal Diploma and Mention. A complete list of award recipients from the Dutch Pavilion can be seen in Appendix 2.

¹⁴⁶ J.F.L. Blankenberg was a Dutch architect who received his diploma from TH Delft in 1914. In September 1915, he came to the Netherlands Indies in service of the *N.V. Ingenieursbureau Bakker and Meyboom* in Batavia. Until 1921, he worked as the head of the engineering design department. Later he became an independent architect until 1952. Between 1936-1938, he was chairman of the *Nederlandsch-Indische Architecten Kring* (NIAK) or Netherlands Indies Architects Circle. He designed dozens of buildings, mostly in Batavia. He passed away on 1 June 1958 (Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* [Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990], 93-4 and Cor Passchier, *Lijst van Architecten en Stedebouwkundigen Werkzaam in Nederlands Indië tot 1970* [‘s-Hertogenbosch: PAC Architects and Consultants, 2006], 8-9).

No information can be found on which design received the “Mention” category award, the same as Citroen, at the 1925 Paris Exhibition. But during 1915-1925, he became involved in the construction of a flat building in Tanah Abang, Batavia (1922), a house in Batavia (before 1924), several waiting sheds in Tanjung priok, Batavia (before 1925), several buildings for *Landsbouwsyndicaat*, South Sumatra (1925) and the “General Motor Corporation” complex in Tanjung Priok (1925) (Ibid.).

¹⁴⁷ The architectural and urban planning firm of Karsten, Lutjens and Toussaint was established in 1917, in Semarang. It designed and planned the “Van de Pol” office, Semarang (1917), the development plans for Pakunden, Batan, the Peterongan and Wonodadi areas, Semarang (1917), the office of *Deli Spoorweg Maatschappij*, Medan (1918), a sugar factory and its employee housing, Comal (1919), the *Hollandsch Inlandsche* school, Sompok, Semarang (1919), the Bank of Taiwan, Semarang (1919), the office of *Semarangse Zee en Brand Assurantie Maatschappij*, Semarang (1919), a stand of “Vereenigde Javasche Houthandel Maatschappijen” in *Jaarbeursterrein*, Bandung (1920), a development plan revision for East Semarang (1920), development plans for Semarang and Buitenzorg/Bogor (1920), the Balapan railway station, Surakarta (1921), the plan for *alun-alun* (square) of Semarang (1922), the “Van Deventer” school, Semarang (1923), a small *pendopo* (open building in front of the Java mansion) for Prince Mangkunegoro, Surakarta (1923), the development plan for the Sompok area, Semarang (1924) and the *bebouwingsplan* (construction plan) for Dargo/Karen street - Bugangan, Semarang (1924). Beginning in 1920, Karsten gave advice, if needed, to the Municipality of Buitenzorg, particularly on *kampung* improvement. Around 1924, Karsten left this firm and joined with A. Schouten until 1933 (Akihary, 115-6 and Passchier, 38-9). Unfortunately, there are no sources that mention which design gained a bronze medal at the 1925 Paris Exhibition.

¹⁴⁸ Anonymous, “Indische Architectuur-tentoonstelling”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 9/28 (15 May 1925), 109.

held from 10 to 30 December 1925,¹⁴⁹ shortly after the Paris Exhibition. The most likely reason for this deferral was to provide an opportunity for the participants from the Netherlands Indies at the Paris Exhibition to return with their exhibition materials, mostly photographs and images, for display in Batavia. These representatives were J.H. Antonisse, J.F.L. Blankenberg, C. Citroen, B.J.K. Cramer, J. van Hoytema, the firm of Hulswit-Fermont-Ed. Cuypers, the firm of Karsten-Lutjens-Toussaint, H. Maclaine Pont and P.A.J. Moojen.¹⁵⁰ The organizers of the exhibition were the *Nederlandsch-Indische Architecten Kring* (NIAK) and the *Batavia Kunstkring*. The exhibition became the first of its kind in Batavia. With the exception of B.J.K. Cramer and J. van Hoytema, all of the names mentioned above and others including AIA, H.P. Berlage, the firm of Job and Sprey, R. Baumgartner, G. Jobst, J.J. Jiskoot, J. Gerber, E. Kühr, the firm of Wiemans-Abell-Pichel, the firm of Reyerse-De Vries and *Staatsspoorwegen* (SS) exhibited their works in the form of drawings, photographs and/or three-dimensional scale models (maquette).

Citroen's position as chairman of the Association of the Archaeological Museum led to his appointment to one of the juries for a photograph and sketch competition of vernacular houses in East Java. The competition was organized by the *Soerabaische Kunstkring* and the *Java Instituut* (Java Institute) at a conference at the latter institution in Surabaya on 23-26 September 1926.¹⁵¹ Two other jurists were Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971), an architect representing the Java Institute, and Bruno Nobile de Vistarini,¹⁵² an architect in Surabaya who was also a member of the *Soerabaische Kunstkring* daily board led by H.M. Planten.¹⁵³

Because of Citroen's position as president of the Archaeological Museum Association, he was asked to give a speech at the opening of the Exhibition for Language, Land and Folklore of East Java and Madura held by the Java Institute in Surabaya on 25 September - 10 October 1926.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Anonymous, "Architecture Tentoonstelling te Batavia", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 23/28 (15 December 1925), 263.

¹⁵⁰ B.J.K. Cramer, "De Internationale Tentoonstelling voor de Moderne Toegepaste Kunsten en Industrie te Parijs", part 3, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 20/28 (31 October 1925), 249.

¹⁵¹ Soerabaische Kunstkring, *Ons Kringnieuws*, 19/1 (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, September 1926), 329.

¹⁵² Bruno Nobile de Vistarini (8 April 1891-after 1938) finally became the advisory architect for the NV. *Volkshuisvesting te Soerabaia* in 1928 when the company planned and developed East Ketabang area (G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* [Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934], 335, and Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970*, 144). For further details, see chapter 2.3 on the contract and chapter 3.2 on the development plan for the Ketabang area.

¹⁵³ Soerabaische Kunstkring, *Ons Kringnieuws*, 331.

¹⁵⁴ C.R. Merkus, *Catalogus van de Tentoonstelling voor Taal-, Land- en Volkskunde van Oost-Java en Madoera te houden te Soerabaja 25 September - 10 October 1925 door het Java-Instituut* (Soerabaja: Drukkerij Nijland, 1926), 2-3.

During his career in the Netherlands Indies, Citroen produced several sketches, designs (buildings and other constructions) and two-dimensional development plans. In Surabaya these were:¹⁵⁵

- Development plan for the Kupang area;
- Development plan for the Ketabang area;
- Surabaya Town Hall;
- House on Sumatra street;
- Kebondalem bridge;
- *Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (BPM) office;
- “K.K. Knies” music and piano shop;
- Shop of “Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos” Royal Dutch precious metal company;
- Darmo hospital;
- Gubeng bridge;
- The ninth Surabaya Annual Fair;
- Pasar Besar railway viaduct;
- Extension of the sugar syndicate or ASNI building;
- British community church;
- Emplacement of the *Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (BPM);
- Wonokromo bridge;
- Mansion on Kayun street;
- Mayor’s official residence;
- Monument of Dijkerman; and
- *Borneo Sumatra Handel Maatschappij* (Borsumij) office;

Besides the works above, Citroen also produced three designs of unexecuted projects in Surabaya, including:¹⁵⁶

- Drawing of a wooden gasoline station;
- Drawing of a wooden boat house; and
- Drawing of a wooden restaurant in a town park.

Other works that can be found outside Surabaya:

- *Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NIS) office, Semarang. In this project, Citroen acted as an architect assistant to help B.J. Ouëndag and J.F. Klinkhamer as mentioned early.
- Country house, Lawang, Malang;
- Interior of Malang Town Hall, Malang;
- Hospital, Jember; and

¹⁵⁵ Chronological order based on the first of Citroen’s designs.

¹⁵⁶ Only mentioned in anonymous, “De Architectuur-tentoonstelling te Batavia” in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek*, 24/28 (31 December 1925), 274.

- “Faroka” cigarette factory, Malang.

The above projects were made by Citroen when he was the Municipal advisory architect or as part of his private practice.

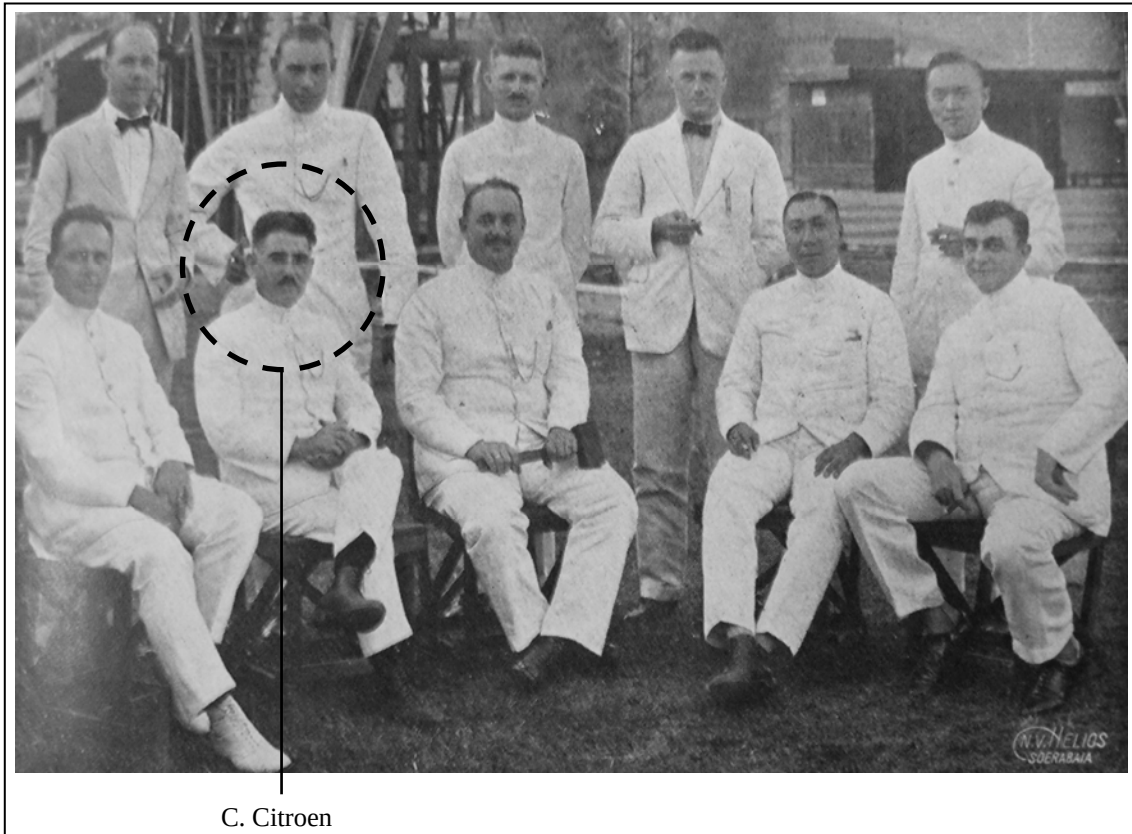


Fig.2.2.1. Daily board members of *Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging* in 1925.

2.3. CONTRACT

The oldest document revealing a relationship and contract between Citroen and the Municipality of Surabaya and/or its services is a letter from L.J. Schippers, president (*voorzitter*) of the Surabaya City Council,¹⁵⁷ dated 10 April 1916.¹⁵⁸ The letter asks the Director of *Gemeentewerken* (Municipal Works) if Citroen's service to the Municipality should be extended or not and for what reasons.¹⁵⁹ If duration of the contract was for one year, Citroen would have worked for the Municipality beginning in April 1915, after he came to Surabaya. He was placed on the NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang" to plan the development of the Kupang area reserved for low income groups.¹⁶⁰

Five days later, A. de Mooy Aczn., Director of Municipal Works, informed the president of the City Council in a letter dated 15 April 1916¹⁶¹ that he had several conversations with the *Technische Commissie* (Commission of Technical) and the *Uitbreidingscommissie* (Commission of Extension). He was asked to make a proposal regarding Citroen's position. At the time, the Municipal Works Department had taken on many projects, not only projects for city development managed by its branch, i.e. *Stadsuitbreiding Bureau* (Town Extension Bureau), but also the development of the Surabaya harbour, the extension of the railway network in the city (through co-operation with *Staatsspoorwegen*), the improvement of marshy land, projects for rivers, the installation of a drainage system, a sewer system and the provision of affordable housing. With such a heavy work load, the Municipal Works Department was recommended was to recruit Citroen or to extend his service with the Municipality. In the last meeting with A. van Dorsten, chairman of the Development Commission, it was decided that Citroen's service would be needed to expand the development plans that had already been decided. His expertise was also requested for the continuation of the new Surabaya Town Hall project. The design needed revision, especially with regard to its dimension.¹⁶²

Furthermore, in order to keep Citroen in his position, the Director of the Municipal Works proposed offering him a salary increase,¹⁶³ a decision approved by both the Commission of Technical and the Commission of Extension. The contract stated:

¹⁵⁷ At the time Surabaya, had not yet elected a definitive Mayor as mentioned before. A. Meyroos became the first Mayor on 21 August 1916.

¹⁵⁸ No. 2529/16.

¹⁵⁹ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 99, 15 April 1916, 734.

¹⁶⁰ See chapter 3.1 on the development plan for the Kupang area for further explanation.

¹⁶¹ No. 509/1.

¹⁶² *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 99, 15 April 1916, 736.

What the Director of the Municipal Works meant is that the design for the Town Hall, probably the first design in *Stadstuin* (Town Park), was too costly and needed to be revised. See chapter 3.3 on the Town Hall for further explanation.

¹⁶³ This means that Citroen's previous salary was lower than that in the proposal above.

- salary for Citroen to be f 500 per month;
- in the event that the City Council approved the final design of the Town Hall project, Citroen would receive extra compensation set at 1% of the building costs.
- upon completion of the Town Hall, Citroen would receive additional compensation amounting to 5% of the building costs for his architectural guidance to be paid in predetermined intervals.¹⁶⁴

The president of the City Council, in a letter to the Director of Municipal Works dated 20 May 1916¹⁶⁵, expressed his disagreement with the proposed contract outlined above. He expressed some objections including:

- the proposal does not mention Citroen's working hours;
- the description of Citroen's activities should be determined by the *rooimeester*;
- the 1% bonus should not be given if the design were made during office working hours; and
- the 5% compensation should be considered in accordance with general regulations for engineers, architects, etc.¹⁶⁶

In order to respond to the president's concerns, the Director of the Municipal Works sent a letter dated 26 May 1916.¹⁶⁷ It explained the following:

- after consultation with Citroen, the working hours were set at 07.00 to 12.00.
- job descriptions in the 15 April 1916 letter are clear enough. For the development plan of the Municipality, Citroen would collaborate with other civil servants and also with a commission established by the City Council.¹⁶⁸
- the 1% bonus of the total Town Hall costs was given because he also received similar compensation for other projects.
- extra compensation for the Town Hall construction, which was based on general regulations for engineers and architects, would be discussed personally with Citroen at a later date.¹⁶⁹

The above conditions would be effective from 1 June 1916 onwards.¹⁷⁰

With slight revisions (working hours from 07.30 to 13.00), the president finally accepted the above proposal and forwarded it to the City Council for approval in a letter dated 27 May 1916.¹⁷¹ Four days later, the City Council held a meeting to discuss the

¹⁶⁴ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 99, 15 April 1916, 737.

¹⁶⁵ No. 3541/16.

¹⁶⁶ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 128, 31 May 1916, 912-3.

¹⁶⁷ No. 683/16.

¹⁶⁸ Most likely the *Uitbreidingscommissie* (Commission of Extension).

¹⁶⁹ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 128, 31 May 1916, 913-5.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 917.

¹⁷¹ No. 3688/16.

Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1916 No. 128, 31 May 1916, 917-8.

decision. This meeting was also attended by A. de Mooy Aczn., the Director of the Municipal Works.

At the meeting, president L.J. Schippers informed the council that a decision, if approved, would be effective from 1 May 1916 onwards (not 1 June 1916), because the previous contract between Citroen and the Municipality ended on 15 April 1916.¹⁷² At the meeting, one of the crucial points discussed was whether or not Citroen was prohibited to practice privately as an architect outside of working hours. P. Egas was the first City Council member to present this problem.¹⁷³ His opinion was supported by other members including A. van Dorsten, A. Weeber, F.H. Johan and C.F.M. Verstijnen.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, Van Dorsten also proposed that the same treatment be given to members of the Technical and Development Commissions given that they held the same level of position as Citroen with access to important secret documents of the Municipality.¹⁷⁵

The president promised to pay attention to this issue.¹⁷⁶ He also replied that Citroen would probably be allowed to practise privately with the knowledge and permission of the president or his superintendent, i.e. *rooimeester*, while acknowledging that it would be difficult to monitor his activities as requested by J.W. van der Spek.¹⁷⁷ He added that Citroen should be treated the same as other civil servants with freedom to work outside office hours.¹⁷⁸ If Citroen were not allowed to practise privately, it was possible he would ask for a higher salary. The President's opinion was supported by A. de Mooy. He assigned a project in the Municipality of Semarang, the development plan of which was made by the private architectural bureau of Henri Maclaine Pont.¹⁷⁹

The president's opinion was responded to positively by council member A. Weeber. He preferred for Citroen to work exclusively for the Municipality with a higher salary, banning him from independent projects.¹⁸⁰ His opinion was backed up by P. Egas and he suggested making salary negotiations with Citroen.¹⁸¹ At last, the proposal for Citroen's contract was voted on, resulting in sixteen members giving approval and two members refusing.¹⁸² The result was sent to Citroen in a letter from the City Council

¹⁷² *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1916*, 31 May 1916, 313.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 313-4.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 313-8.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 314.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 318.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 317.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 318.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 319.

president dated 5 June 1916.¹⁸³ The content included a plan for the Municipal Works, which was approved by the City Council, to extend Citroen's service to the Municipality as well as the Municipal offers regarding salary, working hours and the prohibition to work privately outside of office hours. Citroen was asked to respond as soon as possible.¹⁸⁴

Citroen replied by letter dated 6 June 1916.¹⁸⁵ He refused the prohibition to work privately because it threatened his future career prospects. In the event of an emergency in the Municipality, he could be discharged from his job, rendering him jobless. He proposed to be permitted to work privately, under normal conditions, with permission from the president of the City Council, a request usually granted by the Mayor of Surabaya.¹⁸⁶ He indicated that other civil servants had freedom to work privately outside official working hours, and that the Municipality was obliged treat its civil servants equally. He understood the argument regarding the prohibition of independent projects if it was only applied in the event of an emergency or dangerous situation.¹⁸⁷

Furthermore, Citroen commissioned projects in Semarang,¹⁸⁸ Batavia,¹⁸⁹ Amsterdam¹⁹⁰ and The Hague.¹⁹¹ People trust well-known architects with good reputations in their architectural bureaus to make development plans for their cities and other projects.¹⁹² By working privately, Citroen wanted to be a trusted consultant, not only with the Municipality but also with other clients.¹⁹³ He ended his letter with the request that the City Council remove the prohibition mentioned above so that he could continue the Municipal projects assigned to him.¹⁹⁴

After receiving Citroen's reply, L.J. Schippers conducted informal meetings and negotiations with Citroen and each of the commissions involved with the matter, i.e. the

Approve: A. van Dorsten, J. Hekket, Han Tjong Khing, J.W. van der Spek, R. Priodipoero, D.L. Rosenquist, Ngaridjo, C. Hartogh, R.P. Tjondro Adiningrat, R. Kertoadipoetro, J.H. Guyt, Sech Achmad bin Abdullah Bobsaid, P. Egas, A. Weeber, J. Knaud and C.F.M. Verstijnen.

Refuse: J.F.A.M. Buffart and F.H. Johan.

¹⁸³ No. 3892/16.

¹⁸⁴ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 141, 21 June 1916, 970.

¹⁸⁵ He used his official address at Kaliasin 10.

¹⁸⁶ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 141, 21 June 1916, 971.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 972.

¹⁸⁸ H.Th. Karsten made development plans for Semarang in 1916-1920 (Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* [Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990], 115).

¹⁸⁹ H.P. Berlage made several plan sketches in 1925 (Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen, *Ontwerpen aan de Stad, Stedenbouw in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië (1905-1950)*, PhD dissertation [Delft: TU Delft, 2008], 18-21).

¹⁹⁰ H.P. Berlage made an extension plan for Amsterdam South in 1915-1917 (Joseph Buch, *A Century of Architecture in the Netherlands 1880/1990* [Rotterdam: NAI, 1990], 58-9).

¹⁹¹ H.P. Berlage prepared an expansion plan for The Hague in 1908 (*Ibid.*, 53).

¹⁹² *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 141, 21 June 1916, 971.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 972-3.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 973.

Financial, Technical and Development Commissions. The result was reported to the City Council in a letter dated 16 June 1916¹⁹⁵ with the following considerations:

- Citroen's prohibition to practice privately presents obstacles in his service to the Municipality.¹⁹⁶
- his office working hours are changed to 07.00 to 12.00.
- all commissions suggest that for the sake of the Municipality, Citroen should be approached as a skilled architect who is expected to make development plans for Surabaya and the design of the Town Hall.¹⁹⁷

Finally, Schippers proposed the following decision to the City Council:

- salary of f 500 per month to be paid from 1 May 1916 with the exception of June 1916;¹⁹⁸
- official working hours for Citroen to be 07.00 to 12.00 every day;
- Citroen would be allowed to practise privately (for non-Municipal projects) as long as each project was approved separately by the president;
- when construction of the Town Hall started, Citroen would be released from service to the Municipality and the monthly salary would be stopped, but he would receive a 5% commission fee for total building costs.¹⁹⁹

On 21 June 1916, the City Council held a meeting which included the extension of Citroen's service to the Municipality on the agenda. Council member J.M.I. Suys questioned the sequence of articles in the contract. According to him, articles on working hours and permission to work privately should be put before articles on salary and period of service.²⁰⁰ This suggestion was agreed to by the president.²⁰¹ Suys expressed his objection to the 5% compensation for total building costs of the Town Hall. He proposed that Citroen should receive only his total salary for all of his work.²⁰² The president explained that the 5% fee was compensation for supervision of the Town Hall construction, not for development of the design, and that the fee was fair for such activities.²⁰³ The fee percentage was based on advice from the Technical Commission.²⁰⁴ Suys explained that Citroen was also assigned to other projects for

¹⁹⁵ No. 4088/16.

¹⁹⁶ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1916* No. 141, 21 June 1916, 973.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 974.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 976.

During June of 1916, Citroen was not paid because he was inactive in his duties to the Municipality. A contract extension between Citroen and the Municipality was still negotiated.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 977.

²⁰⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1916*, 21 June 1916, 348-9.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 349.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 349-50.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 349.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 351.

which he did not receive an additional fee.²⁰⁵ Council members J. Hekket and J.F.A.M. Buffart supported the president's opinion.²⁰⁶ Based on information received by Hekket, a 5% fee was too small. According to P. Egas, supervisors usually receive 10% of building costs.²⁰⁷

Additional problems concerning the wording of text were addressed at the meeting. Buffart proposed that a draft agreement should be proposed to the legislative commission and afterwards forwarded to a notary public to make it official.²⁰⁸ The president accepted Buffart's suggestion. Finally, council member J.W. van der Spek asked the council to make a decision soon regarding Citroen's service which was approved by the president.²⁰⁹ After the vote, seventeen members accepted the terms of the agreement with only one member refusing.²¹⁰

What happened after the meeting is unknown because of limited documentation. However, on 28 October 1918, two years after the meeting, the City Council held a meeting wherein a proposal concerning the appointment of an architect into the service of the Municipality was included on the agenda. The meeting was led by A. Meyroos, the first Mayor of Surabaya. At this meeting, J. Hekket agreed that Citroen would be put in charge of town development plans and housing construction. He also agreed with the opinion of the Director of the Municipal Works that the two matters were separate from the job description outlined by the Municipal Works because the organization had become involved with a variety of projects and its progress was too slow. In his opinion, the appointed architect should not be placed under the Director of this organization.²¹¹ Furthermore, Hekket proposed establishing an independent branch led by someone who was solely accountable to the City Council directly. If an architect was placed in that position, he should not be independent and he would be under the control of the Director of the Municipal Works.²¹²

Buffart, chairman of the *Grondbedrijfcommissie* (Commission of Development Business), refused the idea of decentralisation proposed by J. Hekket arguing that

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 350.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 350-2.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 350-1.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 350, 352.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 351.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 352.

Accept: Han Tjong King, J.F.A.M. Buffart, D.L. Rosenquist, C. Hartogh, Raden Priodipoero, B. Coster, A. Weeber, J. Hekket, P. Egas, M.B. Soerowidjojo, J.W. van der Spek, Sech Achmad bin Abdullah Bobsaid, R.P. Tjondro Adiningrat, The Toan Ing, Raden Kertoadipoetro, Ngaridjo and L.D.J. Reeser.

Refuse: J.M.I. Suys.

²¹¹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1918*, 28 October 1918, 571-3.

²¹² Ibid., 572.

drainage, sewerage and town development were related to each other, requiring an expert who understood such challenges completely.²¹³ Also, Hekket's comment about slowness was only applicable to the construction of low-cost housing for indigene.²¹⁴

The president had not found proper reasons to accept Hekket's suggestion. In Batavia, the Town Development Department was incorporated by the *rooiwezen*.²¹⁵ According to him, town development was related to the Municipal Works Department.²¹⁶ He also suggested that the construction of housing by private companies was faster.²¹⁷

Finally, a decision was determined by vote, resulting in eleven members²¹⁸ approving and only one member, J. Hekket, refusing.²¹⁹

After construction of the Town Hall was finished in 1927, the Municipality wanted to renew the contract with Citroen because the previous contract did not match the situation of the Municipality, especially with the projects planned, designed and built by the Municipal Public Works. This dates back to content from the Municipal Sheet No. 37, dated 28 January 1927, which mentions in the introduction the idea to ask Citroen to reassign as advisory architect. This idea emerged because there was objection to the results of a design competition held by the Municipality for the construction of a fire department building.²²⁰ Citroen was hired to oversee the Municipal projects. His contribution was also still needed for the Municipality to complete the new Town Hall. There were several complementary buildings which had not yet been designed or constructed.²²¹

The technical commission supported a plan to reactivate Citroen in the Municipality service and asked the new Mayor, G.J. Dijkerman, to propose a contract of agreement. After the contract was finalized, the Municipality forwarded it to the City Council. Content of the agreement included the following:²²²

- Citroen would receive a salary of f 500 per month for his role as the advisory architect for the following projects:
 - town planning projects including designs for suitable housing types,

²¹³ Ibid., 571.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 573.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 571-2.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 572.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 573.

²¹⁸ The members accepting the proposal: P. Egas, J.M.I. Suys, J.W. van der Spek, A. van Gennep, A. van Dorsten, J.F.A.M. Buffart, R. Rijksen, J. Graaff, J.B. de Rooy, M. Prawirodirdjo and R. Priodipoero.

²¹⁹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1918*, 28 October 1918, 574.

²²⁰ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1927* No. 37, 28 January 1927, 85.

²²¹ For further explanation, see chapter 3.3 on the Town Hall.

²²² *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1927* No. 37, 28 January 1927, 88-90.

- the development of low income housing projects and *kampung*,
- buildings for the Municipality, including bridges, etc.,
- layout for public parks and their complement buildings, such as kiosks, music marquees, etc.
- Citroen would be in charge of any elaboration of plans according to advice and sketches given.
- At the request of the Mayor, he would attend meetings if his opinion were needed.
- Citroen, as advisory architect, was asked explicitly to:
 - continue and complete the Town Hall he designed.
 - design and oversee the execution of large buildings ("*omvangrijke bouwwerken*").
- For those activities mentioned above, Citroen would receive a fee according to the class of BNA scales (*Indisch tarief*) which was lower than the normal fee for similar works.
- All potential disputes following the agreement between Citroen and the Municipality would be subject to the discretion of three arbitrators, who would be appointed by parties in mutual consultation.
- The costs of arbitration would be borne by the unsuccessful party, unless the arbitration committee required a breakdown of costs.
- The agreement would commence on the day of its signature and would last for a year, which would always be extended tacitly by one year.

On 3 February 1927, the City Council held a meeting to discuss the list of agreements mentioned above. In order to make the proposal clear and specific, council member Tichelaar proposed to replace the word "omvangrijk" (large) with another appropriate word.²²³ His opinion was supported by council member V.W.Ch. Ploegman who suggested the word "belangrijk" (important). Finally, the Mayor agreed to this modification and no further refusals were made.²²⁴

Council member W.M. Naessens asked whether Citroen was the only qualified architect. The Mayor did not answer the question, but he explained that the Mayor and the aldermen considered him to be the right person. Naessens was not satisfied with the Mayor's statement. V.W.Ch. Ploegman observed that Citroen had previous experience with the Municipality. Council member Nessel van Lissa added that Citroen had made development plans, designed public housing, etc.²²⁵ Both members supported Citroen's appointment as advisory architect. However, council member Moerbanoe Kartodirdjo refused the proposal because in his opinion the Municipality already had enough

²²³ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1927*, 3 February 1927, 129.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 130.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

engineers to do the works mentioned in the terms of agreement.²²⁶ Finally, without voting, the City Council decided to accept the proposal with the annotation that Moerbanoe disagreed to it.²²⁷

On 26 June 1929, the City Council held a meeting, led by president H.I. Bussemaker. The agenda included the contract between Citroen and the Municipality, as recorded on the Municipal Sheet 1929 No. 144.²²⁸ Council member C.P.J. van Koetsveld expressed his objection to the contract. Each year, the Municipality was to spend f 6,000 for the advisory architect (Citroen), but the content of the previous agreement, signed on 19 February 1927, which included development plans, the construction of small housing and *kampung*, bridges and town parks, was not effectively applied.²²⁹ Although Citroen was supposed to give advice on housing construction conducted by the NV. Volkshuisvesting as mentioned in the agreement or the Municipal Sheet No. 37 in February 1927, apparently the company had appointed its own architect.²³⁰ Also, construction of small housing carried out by the Municipality was designed by employees of the Municipality itself without advice from Citroen.²³¹ For the Wonokromo bridge project, Citroen received an extra fee of f 4,000 which was not stipulated in the agreement.²³² Van Koetsveld was of the opinion that architectural expertise was not needed for the design of town parks.²³³ In general, they were all confused because the content of the previous agreement was not agreed to by Citroen. The unauthorized agreement was upheld because of weaknesses within the Municipal supervision, lack of co-ordination between the Municipality and its different departments (including its independent department, i.e. NV. Volkshuisvesting) and the business dealings of Citroen himself. Therefore, Van Koetsveld asked the Mayor to present all data related to Citroen's activities and to temporarily withdraw the contract with Citroen from the agenda of the meeting.²³⁴

Council member V.W.Ch. Ploegman revealed that in actuality, the Municipality spent f 1,300 per month: f 500 for Citroen and f 800 for De Vistarini.²³⁵ According to

²²⁶ Ibid., 130-1.

²²⁷ Ibid., 131.

²²⁸ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1929, 26 June 1929, 101.

²²⁹ From 1927 up to the first semester of 1929, Citroen only produced the design of the Wonokromo bridge (1928), the Mayor official residence (1928) and a monument of Dijkerman (1929) for the Municipality.

²³⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1929, 26 June 1929, 101.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid., 102-3.

²³³ Ibid., 102.

²³⁴ Ibid., 103.

²³⁵ This company was established by the central government and the Municipality. Further explanation is available in chapter 3.2 on the development plan for the Ketabang area.

Ploegman, it was possible to merge the role of both architects by appointing a new Municipal employee who had a background in architectural engineering while council member C.H.P. Jagtman considered the contract to be excessive. In the following year, the focus of the Municipality was on *kampung* improvement, not on the construction of large architectural projects. If architectural advice was needed, the Municipality would consult one of the many experts in the Netherlands Indies or hold a design competition. The president closed the meeting by promising to provide complete data on Citroen's activities and the contract proposal was returned to the college of the Mayor and aldermen.²³⁶

Almost two months later, the Municipality released Municipal Sheet No. 242, dated 8 August 1929 which stated that the contract between the Municipality and Citroen, dated 19 February 1927, would be ended on 19 February 1930.²³⁷ This decision was approved by the City Council at its meeting on the same date without discussion or a vote.²³⁸

In order to implement Ploegman's idea, the Municipality released Municipal Sheet No. 257 dated 25 September 1929, designating an architectural engineer to be the superintendent head of housing and construction. The engineer was to be put in charge of the formation of Service Group II - Public Works.²³⁹

In summary, the appointment of Citroen to the Municipal service was caused by a scarcity of urban planners in the Netherlands Indies. It is likely that his fee for a new job with the NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang" was not as high as that of other architects in Surabaya. This can be assumed because the project was for lower income groups. Conversely, the discharge of Citroen's service to the Municipality was caused by two reasons. First, the usage of architects throughout the Municipality and its independent services was not efficient. There were two different positions with the same function occupied by two different architects, Citroen and De Vistarini. Second, Citroen's advisory position for the Municipal projects was not optimized as mentioned in the agreement.

²³⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1929*, 26 June 1929, 104.

²³⁷ *Gemeentebblad van Soerabaja 1929* No. 242, 8 August 1929, 100.

²³⁸ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1929*, 14 August 1929, 124.

²³⁹ Beginning in 1925, organization of the Municipal service consisted of Service Group I - *Secretarie* (Secretary), Service Group II - *Publieke Werken* (Public Works), Service Group III - *Grond- en Woningzaken* (Ground and Housing Affair), Service Group IV - *Gemeente Bedrijven* (Municipal Business) and Service Group V - *Hygienische Dienst* (Hygienic Service).

CHAPTER III

CITROEN'S WORKS IN SURABAYA

Citroen planned and designed twenty projects, big and small, in Surabaya. These projects include town planning, building, bridge and other construction for various clients, such as the Municipality, private companies, social communities and individuals.

3.1. DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR THE KUPANG AREA

The Kupang area development project is one of two development plans made by Citroen which cannot be dated exactly. The oldest publication mentioning them is Lemei's "Architect C. Citroen BNA" written in 1935,¹ shortly after the architect passed away, but it does not reveal the year in which the both project were planned. Also, there are no authors exploring these projects further.

3.1.1. Idea

When Surabaya was established as a Municipality in 1906, it comprised an area of around 4,275 ha. The total population of 150,188 inhabitants consisted of 8,063 Europeans, 124,473 native inhabitants, 14,843 Chinese, 2,482 Arabian and 327 so-called "foreign Orientals" (*vreemde oosterlingen*).² In 1916, the population had grown to 156,752 inhabitants, which number consisted of 15,000 Europeans, 119,733 native inhabitants, 19,053 Chinese, 2,660 Arabian and 306 foreign Orientals.³ Although the population grew only slightly, the Municipality had the idea of developing other areas, at least to spread out the centre of settlement and economic activities which at the time were concentrated in *Benedenstad* (Lower Town).

As a first step to realizing the development, the Municipality established the *Bureau Stadsuitbreiding* (Bureau of Town Expansion) as part of the *Dienst Gemeentewerken*, and also set up an *Uitbreidingscommissie* (Committee of Expansion). Next, the Municipality bought land from private owners and developed this land as new expansion areas. Until the end of the period of Dutch colonization in the Netherlands

¹ W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 8.

Citroen wrote his article entitled "Het Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/3 (May 1934), 12-4.

² G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 2.

³ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917, met Beknopte Verslagen 1915 en 1916* (Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1918), 10.

Indies, this office developed areas in Gubeng, Ketabang, Kupang and Ngagel.⁴ Each development area had a specific target group. Gubeng and Ketabang were intended as housing areas for upper and middle class residents, or mostly for Europeans; Kupang was intended for lower income groups, i.e. indigenous people, while Ngagel was developed to be an industrial area.

In order to carry out the plan in Kupang smoothly, the Municipality established an independent service which eventually was named *NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"*. There is a strong probability that the involvement of Citroen in this project was a result of the scarcity of urban planners in the Netherlands Indies. Up to the end of 1910s, the only well-known urban planner was Thomas Karsten who in 1916-1942 was the Municipal advisor for the town planning of Semarang.⁵ Another architect, Henri Maclaine Pont, was forced to take a rest in the Netherlands during 1915-1919 due to his health condition and because he had family business to attend to.⁶

3.1.2. Plan and Implementation

Kupang is a new development area in the southern part of *Benedenstad* (Lower Town), not far from an area which later became Kembang Kuning cemetery.⁷ The Kupang

⁴ Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen, "Ontstaan van een Stedenbouwkundige Discipline", in Wim Ravesteijn and Jan Kop, *Bouwen in de Archipel: Burgelijke Openbare Werken in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië 1800-2000* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2004), 188.

Years of the plans are not mentioned.

⁵ Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990), 115.

Karsten came to the Netherlands Indies in 1914 to help Henri Maclaine Pont in his office in Semarang. He occupied the position of head of bureau. During his career, Karsten drew up development or urban plans of Semarang (1916-20), Buitenzorg (now Bogor, 1920), Malang (1935) and Palembang (1935). Besides working in Semarang, he also held the position of full-time Municipality advisor of Cirebon, Mr. Cornelis (Jatinegara), Purwokerto, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Padang, Medan and Palembang. He also held the same position on an "if desired" basis (*eventueel*) in Buitenzorg (1920), Madiun (1929), Palembang (1930), Malang (1930) (*Ibid.*, 115-8).

⁶ Maclaine Pont came to the Netherlands Indies in 1911 and stayed in Tegal, Middle Java, with his wife to design an office for the *Semarang Cheribon Stoomtram Maatschappij* (SCS). A year later, he moved to Semarang and founded his own architectural bureau on 1 July 1912. In 1914, he invited his friend from the *Technische Hoogeschool Delft* Thomas Karsten, who at the time was in Berlin, to join his office (Mahatmanto, *Ir. Henri Maclaine Pont: Representasi dalam Historiografi Arsitektur Kolonial di Indonesia*, master thesis [Bandung: Bandung Institute of Technology, 2001], appendix A-2). In the same year, Pont planned the Darmo area in Surabaya. Unfortunately, his relationship with Karsten deteriorated and a year later he returned to the Netherlands because of health reasons. In 1916, Maclaine Pont came back for a brief while just to solve his quarrel with Karsten and then sold his office to Karsten, Lutyens, Steenstra and Toussaint, who were all staff. Three years later, Maclaine Pont returned to Java with his draftsman (Heemskerck) to manage and supervise the construction of the *Technische Hoogeschool Bandung*, now Bandung Institute of Technology (*Ibid.*, and Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970*, 126). Further information about Maclaine Pont can be found in Gerrit de Vries and Dorothee Segaar-Höweler, *Henri Maclaine Pont (1884-1971): Architect, Constructeur, Archeoloog* (Rotterdam: Stichting BONAS, 2009).

⁷ See chapter 3.19 on the Monument of Dijkerman.

development project was managed by *NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"* and intended for low income groups. This area was developed in two phases, Kupang I and Kupang II.⁸ Based on the following clues taken from some documents, it is very probable that the plan had been drawn up over a period of time starting in 1915.

The first source is a photograph taken around 1918 in *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld* showing a panoramic view of *Jembatan Merah* (Red Bridge), *Willemskade* and *Willemsplein* in the Lower Town (fig.3.1.1). An interesting detail in this picture is a billboard on the far left, in front of the *Nederlandsch Handel Maatschappij* (Netherlands Trading Company) building, which informs prospective house-buyers of the Surabaya's Kupang I expansion plan in 1916.⁹

The second source is the initial contract between Citroen and the Municipality which ended on 15 April 1916.¹⁰ If the duration of the contract was one year, this means that Citroen had worked for the Municipality or *NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"* since 1915.¹¹

The third source, or group of source materials, comprises of several requests for dispensation of building regulations filed with the Municipality by Citroen between 1918 and 1930, on behalf of his client *NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"*.¹² This group of source materials consists of:

- In 1918, Citroen requested dispensation of construction regulation on article 22 paragraph 2 and article 69 for a low-cost housing complex, 16 and 22 houses, in the *Wierixstraat*¹³ and *Van Swolstraat* (now Prapanca street), both in the Kupang area.¹⁴ The Municipality, with approval of a majority of the City Council, rejected the request.¹⁵

⁸ J.R. van Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld* (Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2004), 183.

⁹ Ibid., 120-1.

Text of the photograph does not mention the name of Citroen.

¹⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1916*, 31 May 1916, 313.

¹¹ This company was located at the *Chineesche Voorstraat 2* (*Gids voor Soerabaja* No. 119 [Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, September 1927], 11).

Although there is no detailed information on *NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"*, there is a strong probability that it is a company established by the Municipality to handle the development of Kupang area specifically.

¹² *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1918* No.140, 25 June 1918, 681-2.

¹³ In a map of Surabaya 1940 (Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld*, 182) the name *Wierixstraat* is not found, neither in Kupang area nor elsewhere. It is probably that the street name is a typing error, because there is a street called *Wiesestraat* (now Kanwa street) which makes a T-junction with the *Van Swolstraat*.

¹⁴ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1918*, 3 July 1918, 317.

¹⁵ At the time, Surabaya was led by the Mayor A. Meyroos. In 1920, he occupied the same position in Batavia, and was succeeded by G.J. Dijkerman.

- In 1919, Citroen requested dispensation of construction regulation for housing in the *Rochussenstraat* (now Pajajaran street). The dispensation was granted by the City Council without being put to a vote in the City Council meeting led by Mayor A. Meyroos on 30 July 1919.¹⁶
- Also in 1919, Citroen requested dispensation of construction regulation for housing in the *Van Riebeecklaan* (now W.R. Supratman street). The Mayor of Surabaya decided to grant dispensation in his decision letter¹⁷ and the City Council also approved the dispensation.¹⁸
- In 1930, Citroen requested dispensation of construction regulation for an elementary school physically next to a Kindergarten in the *Speelmanstraat* (now M.H. Thamrin street). According to the decision letter of the Mayor of Surabaya dated 4 June 1930¹⁹, it was approved.²⁰

These requests were made to lower the budget for each building so that they could be sold or rented at a low price to the low income target group.

Similar requests were submitted not only by Citroen but also by other architects, architectural consultant bureaus, owners and builders or constructors. Usually, dispensations of building regulation related to building coverage, the height and dimensions of rooms, wall thickness, etc. Obtaining dispensation was part of an effort to minimize the cost of the building, especially housing, so that construction of smaller houses could be promoted to fulfil the demand. This demand for affordable housing is also why the city had aspirations to modify the building regulations from 1916 onwards.

In view of the demand for affordable housing, after Citroen designed the site plan for Kupang I (fig.3.1.3) - the area north of Coen boulevard (now Dr. Soetomo street) - he continued to elaborate on the plan. Citroen designed housing for each street in this area, as well as for the development plan of Kupang II, the area south of Coen boulevard down to *Merkustra* (now Bintoro street) and *Moesistraat* (now Musi street). None of the housing and schools projects mentioned above are indicated in any publications on his works. It is probable that, since these designs are part of the development plan for the Kupang area, the project is seen as unimportant, and sources are difficult to find, no-one has paid attention to them. Unfortunately, further information, both textual and visual, can no longer be explored because of lack of relevant sources.

¹⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1919*, 30 July 1919, 338.

¹⁷ No. 881/B-884/B.

¹⁸ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1919*, 29 October 1919, 465-6.

¹⁹ No. 487/B.

²⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1930*, 18 June 1930, 89.

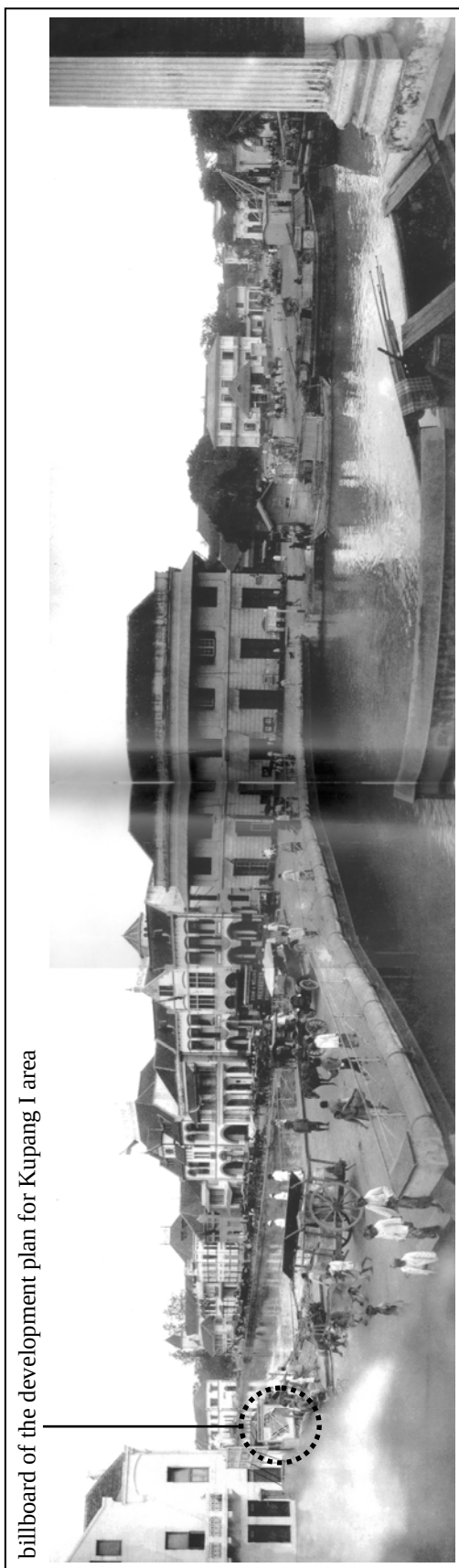


Fig.3.1.1. Jembatan Merah: panoramic view (1).

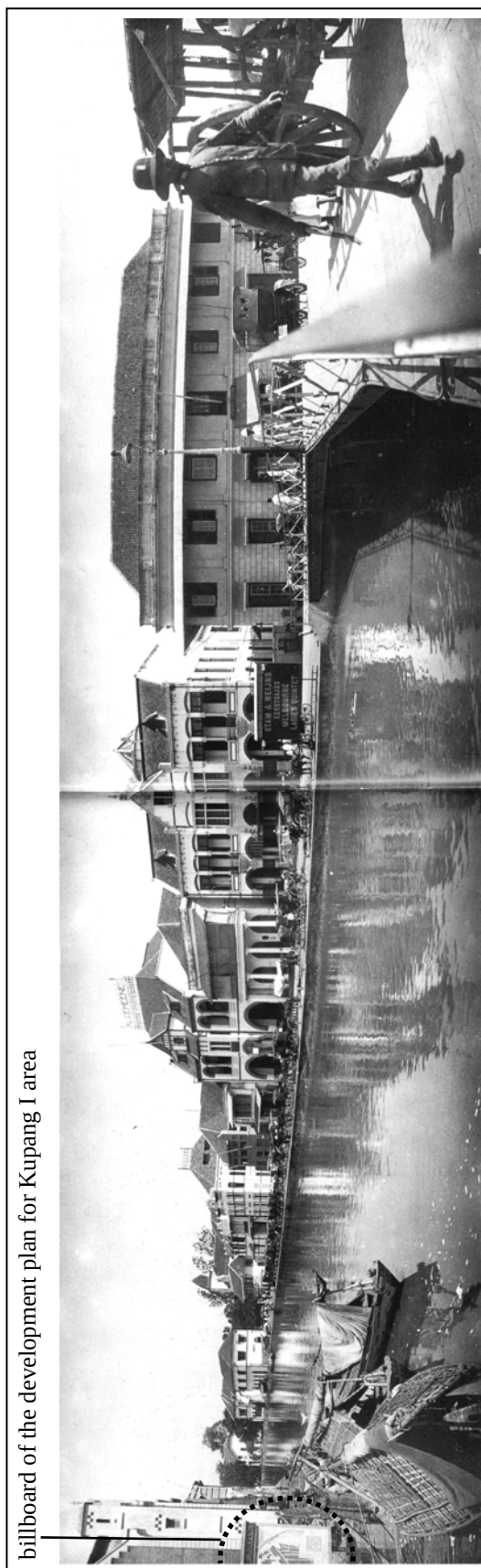


Fig.3.1.2. Jembatan Merah: panoramic view (2).

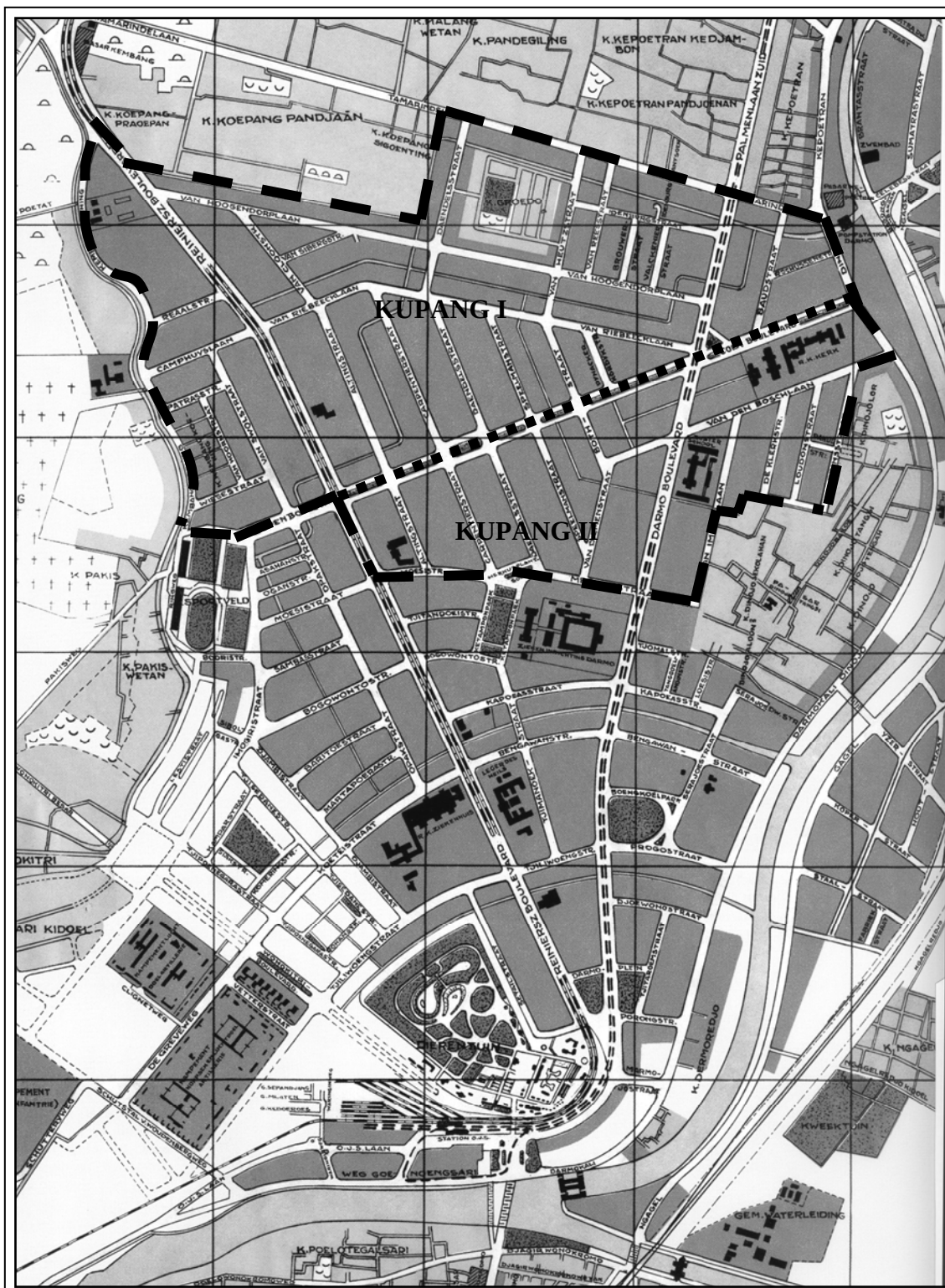


Fig.3.1.3. Kupang Area.

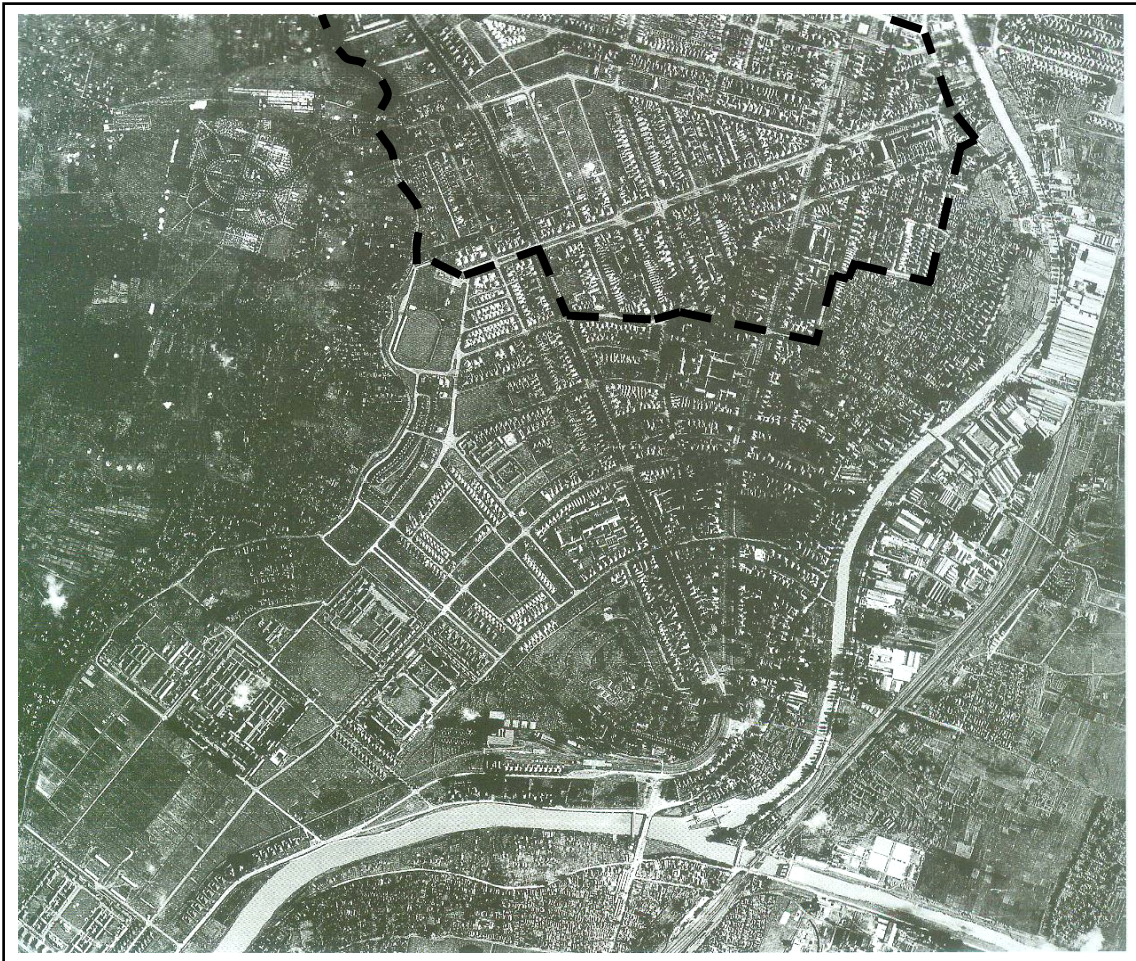


Fig.3.1.4. Kupang Area: aerial photograph.

3.2. DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR THE KETABANG AREA

As mentioned in the previous sub chapter, this project is also one of two development plans by Citroen of which the planning period cannot be dated. No publication reveals the plan year and also there are no publications containing further analyses of the project.

3.2.1. Idea

The background of the development of Ketabang as well as the reason for Citroen's appointment as planner are the same as those for the Kupang area. However, the differences are in the target groups and in the institutions which handled the project. The Kupang project was managed by *N.V. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"* and intended for the low-income group, so that it is often called *kampung* in minutes of the City Council meeting, while the Ketabang project was intended for upper and middle class - which were mostly Europeans - and was handled directly by the *Dienst Gemeentewerken* because it was a more complicated project.

3.2.2. Plan and Implementation

After Citroen made the site plan for Kupang I in 1915 and then elaborated on it, he was entrusted with the planning of the Ketabang area. The Ketabang area is the extension area in the south-east - closer to the Lower Town compared to Kupang - which provided housing for the upper and middle class. Later, it was dominated by Europeans as well as by Chinese and other foreign Orientals. The Ketabang area was developed because the Lower Town could no longer accommodate the growth of the city. Citroen probably designed the first plan for the Ketabang area in 1916. This statement is based on the following historical information.

Firstly, in 1916, the Municipality bought a 100.4 ha area in Ketabang to be established as a new development area.²¹ Later, it was not only an extension district of Surabaya, but it became a new city centre because it accommodated a new Town Hall, schools, various types of houses, the Annual Fair and other public services. Although the new Surabaya Town Hall had originally been planned in the *Stadstuin* (Town Park), Pasar Besar, in 1920, the Municipality and the City Council agreed to place it in Ketabang.²² This change reveals that the preliminary plan for the Ketabang area was produced earlier, and was later revised - perhaps more than once - to accommodate the Town Hall.

²¹ A.C. Broeshart, et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994), 22.

²² See chapter 3.3 on the Town Hall.

Secondly, it would have been strange, if not impossible, for the Municipality to have assigned an unknown architect (Citroen) to design a large and prestigious project, i.e. the plan for the Ketabang area and the Town Hall, without having prior knowledge of him and his abilities. The Surabaya Mayor, either A. Meyroos or G.J. Dijkerman, and the president (*voorzitter*) of the City Council²³ must have had enough information on Citroen; and conversely, Citroen himself must have known them or other Municipal authorities because he worked either for the *Bureau Stadsuitbreiding* (Bureau of Town Expansion), as an employee of the *Dienst Gemeentewerken*,²⁴ or in independent service, as he did while working for the *NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"*.

As with Kupang, Ketabang was developed gradually. However, development in this area was more complicated than the development of Kupang because the ground had to be prepared by providing a drainage system and by raising the ground level to avoid flooding.²⁵ As the location of the new Town Hall, Ketabang was also complemented by a new official residence for the Mayor and housing for other senior officials of the Surabaya Municipality. Additionally, a number of lots were sold to private individuals and houses were built to be rented to the public.

This project was intended to increase the supply of public housing as well as to expand area coverage. In order to manage this project effectively, the Municipality and the central government established a company called "*N.V. voor Volkshuisvesting te Soerabaia*" on 8 January 1927. The act of establishment was approved by Government Decision (*Gouvernementsbesluit*) dated 10 May 1927.²⁶ The government had a three-quarters share in the N.V.; the rest of the shares were held by the Municipality.²⁷ The company hired architect B.N. de Vistarini to be the advisory architect, particularly for the planning and development of East Ketabang.²⁸

From the explanation above and the previous chapter on these two projects, it can be concluded that the Kupang and Ketabang developments are the first two projects Citroen worked on, not the Town Hall. Furthermore, it is probable that the Kupang

²³ A. Meyroos occupied his position as the first Surabaya Mayor, and also as president of the City Council, starting 21 August 1916 according to the decision letter of General Governor of the Netherlands Indies dated 5 August 1916. Before 21 August 1916, the position of president was held by L.J. Schippers, *Hoofd van Plaatselijke Bestuur* (Head of Local Government).

²⁴ In Surabaya, the *Dienst Gemeentewerken* drew up development plans for the Gubeng, Ketabang, Kupang and Ngagel areas, but no information was found on when these plans were developed (Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen, "Ontstaan van een Stedenbouwkundige Discipline", in Wim Ravesteijn and Jan Kop, *Bouwen in de Archipel: Burgelijke Openbare Werken in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië 1800-2000* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2004), 188).

²⁵ See chapter 3.3 on the Town Hall.

²⁶ No. 24a.

²⁷ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 165.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 335.

project was designed earlier than the Ketabang project, because the former is simpler and probably smaller than the latter.²⁹ It would have been impossible for the client, either the *Bureau Stadsuitbreiding* or its independent services such as *NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"* to directly commission Citroen to develop such a large project without having first examined his experience or competency. Up to the first semester of 1916, Citroen would have been seen as a newcomer in the architectural field in Surabaya because he had only just arrived in this city in 1915.

²⁹ Coverage of Kupang area can only estimated from the information on a billboard in the Jembatan Merah area (see fig.3.1.1 and fig.3.1.2).

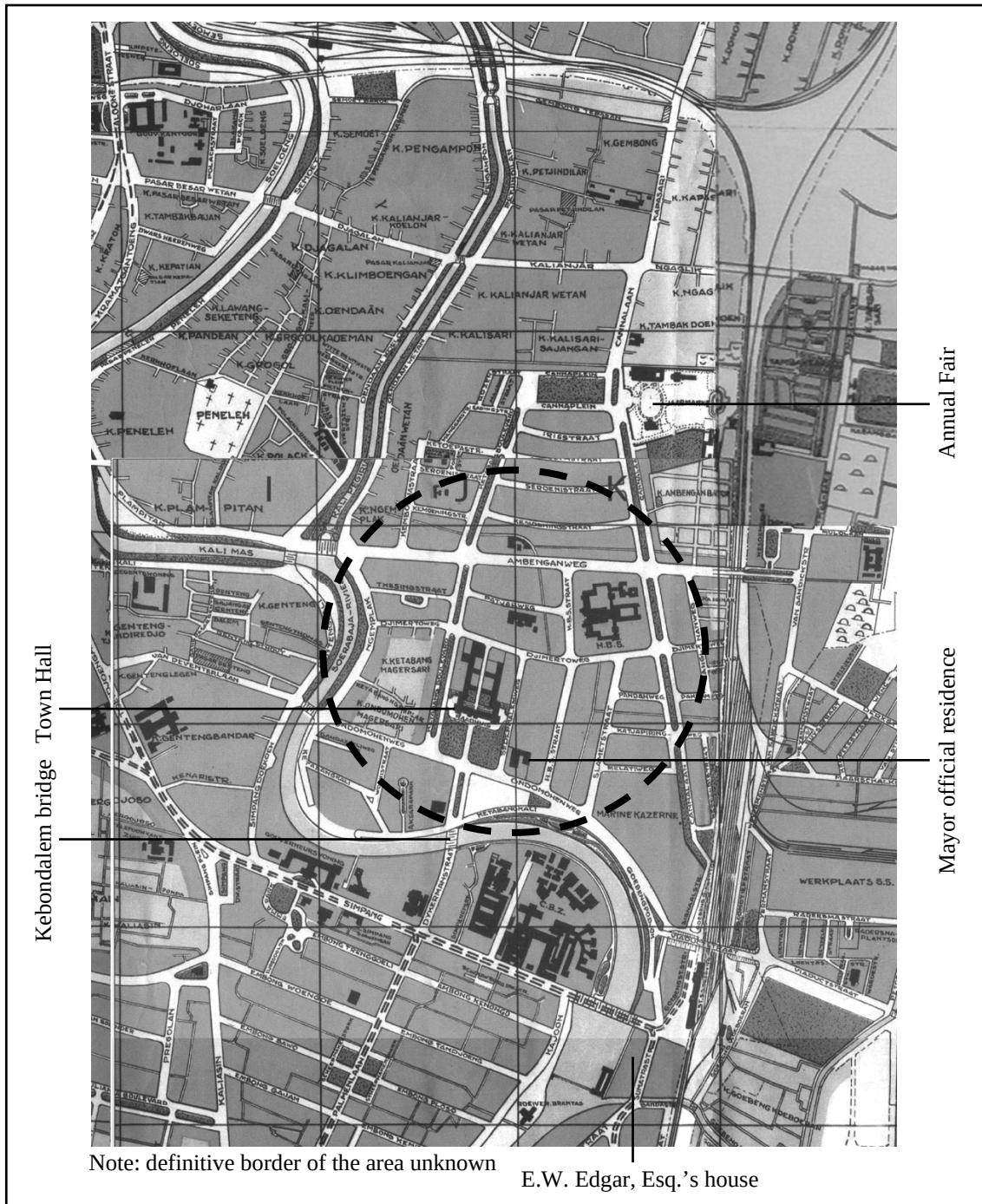


Fig.3.2.1. Ketabang Area.

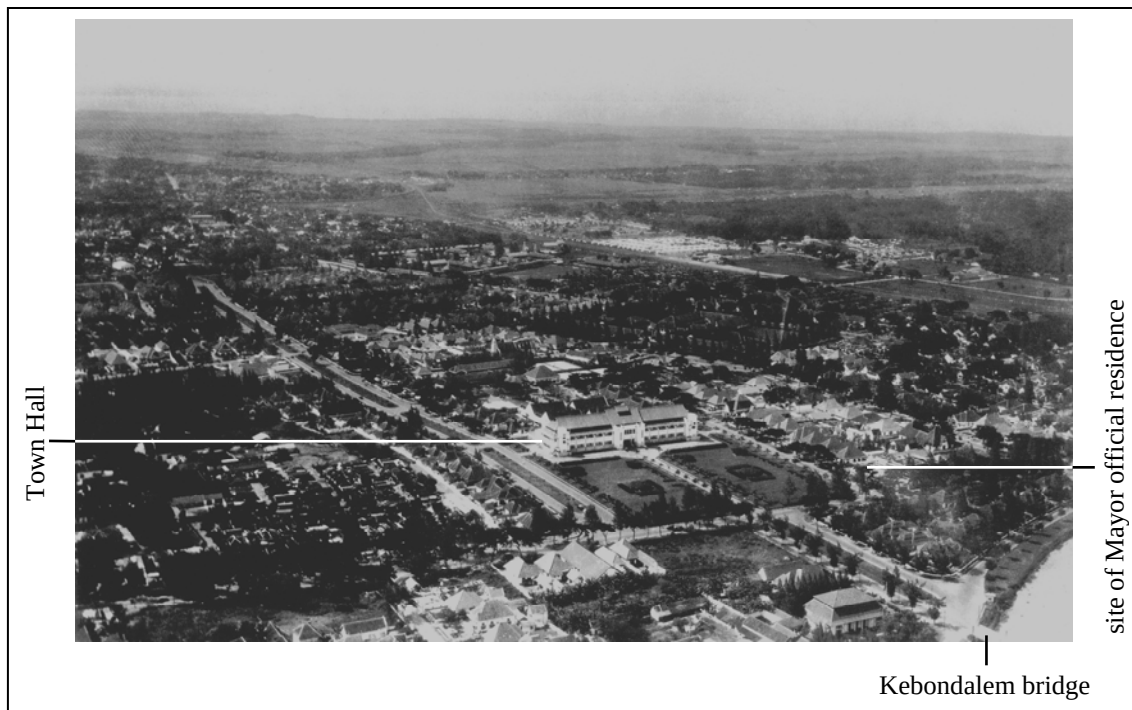


Fig.3.2.2. Ketabang Area: bird's-eye view (ca. 1930).

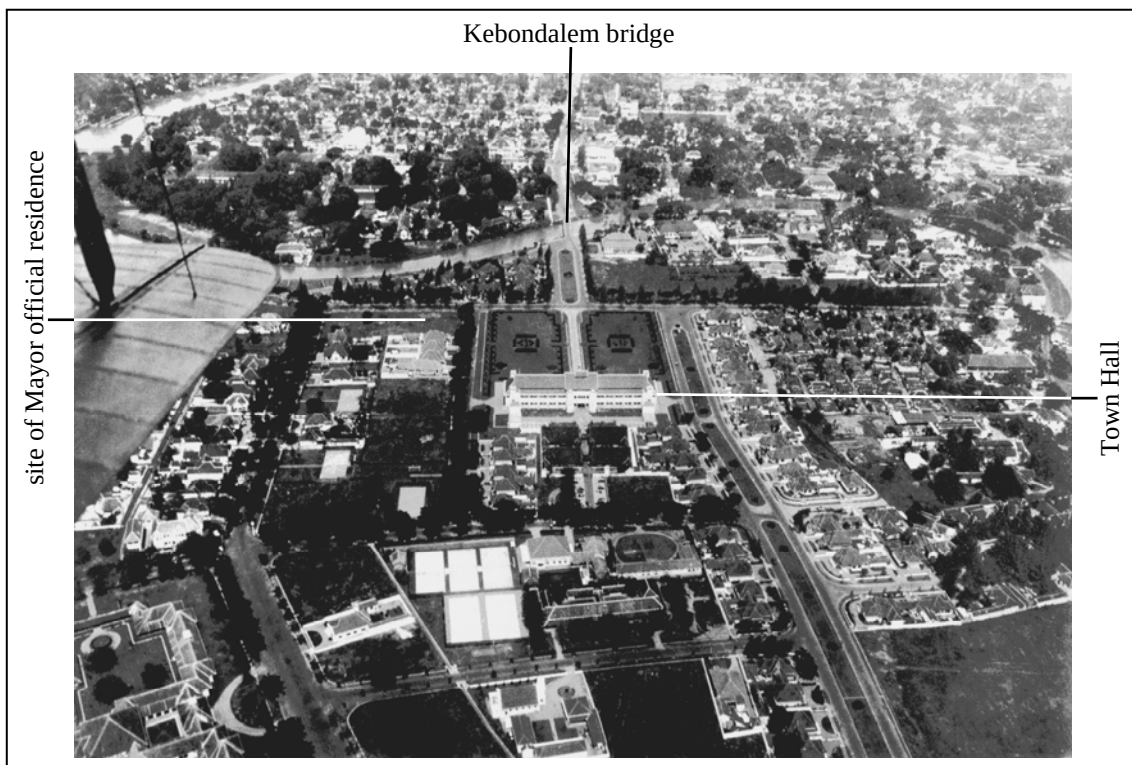


Fig.3.2.3. Ketabang Area: bird's-eye view (ca. 1925).

3.3. SURABAYA TOWN HALL

It cannot be denied that the Surabaya Town Hall is Cosman Citroen's most important work. There are several arguments for considering this building his most important accomplishment. First, this is the building project which took the longest time to be realised since it was first designed in 1916, but was not built until 1925-1927. Second, it is the most debated project in the City Council meetings and in the public sphere. Third, if had been built completely, it would also have been the largest project he designed in Surabaya during his career. Finally, the Surabaya Town Hall played an important role in the architectural development of Surabaya.

3.3.1. Idea

In the early Municipal period, the Municipality rented a private house at Gemblongan 6 as its office.³⁰ This office was a building owned by public notary Mens Fiers Smeding.³¹ Later, the Municipality moved to a single storey building on the *Van Deventerlaan*, Tunjungan, while the City Council settled in a building owned by the *Loge "de Vriendschap"*, also in Tunjungan. Three times the Municipality used rooms of other buildings, i.e. a hall of the *Sociëteit Concordia* in Tegalsari, that of the *Handelsvereniging* and that of the *Kalimas-Club*.³² Between 1906-1916, the city did not have a Mayor. All activities were managed by employees of Surabaya Residency and supervised by a resident assistant.³³

The plan to build a new Surabaya Town Hall emerged in 1915,³⁴ nine years after 1 April 1906, when Surabaya became a Municipality (*Gemeente*) based on article 1, *Instellings Ordonantie Staatsblad* 1906 No. 149.³⁵ There were at least four reasons to have a new Town Hall built.

The first reason was centralisation. The Municipality tried to concentrate all its functions and services in one place. At that time, the different departments and offices were spread out over the city, in locations such as the *Missigitplein*, Sidodadi, *Slametstraat*, and the secretariat office. This condition made contact between the different departments difficult and time-consuming, as mentioned by the second Mayor G.J. Dijkerman in the meeting of Surabaya City Council on 27 April 1921.³⁶ F.W.

³⁰ Dukut Imam Widodo, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, 2 (Surabaya: Dinas Pariwisata Surabaya, 2002), 487.

³¹ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 99.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 95, 101.

³⁴ C. Citroen, "Het Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/3, 12. Also, Von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 100.

³⁵ Widodo, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, 2, 408.

³⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja* 1921, 27 April 1921, 185.

Morren, one of the City Council members, explained that it was necessary to centralize offices.³⁷ He proposed that a temporary building be set up.³⁸

The second reason was to accommodate the development of Municipality activities.³⁹ These activities expanded as a consequence of the increase in services and the provision of new services. Until 1913, the government administration was limited to a continuation of the government activities which until that time had been undertaken by the *Gemeente* (Municipality). The Municipal employees actually were employees of the temporary government. However, after 1913, the situation changed. The demand to provide more services as well as new services created a need for new office space. As a result, the Municipality required new office buildings.⁴⁰

The third reason for having a new Town Hall built was that the economy flourished from the end of 1910s until the early 1920s. During this period, many private companies opened branches in Surabaya. These companies were obligated to contact the Municipality in order to apply for a permit. As a result, the activities of the Municipality increased.

Finally, the rent was raised on the buildings rented by the Municipality,⁴¹ which made the Municipality's financial situation difficult. In order to overcome this situation, the Mayor took the initiative to have a new building constructed rather than rent additional buildings.

Nevertheless, the Mayor's idea did not convince the City Council to immediately approve the proposal for building a new Town Hall. The idea was continuously developed, and as a result, in 1915, the City Council agreed to set up a monumental Town Hall which, if possible, was to be part of the *Stadstuin* (Town Park).⁴² This decision was strengthened in the council meeting of 21 July 1920, while A. Meyroos was still the Mayor.

3.3.2. Assignment of the Task

To whom the design task of Town Hall, part or whole, was to be assigned was an issue for debate. This question was put on the agenda for several meetings of the Surabaya

³⁷ Ibid., 188.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 133, 11 April 1921, 422.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 422.

⁴¹ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917 met Beknopte Verslagen 1915 en 1916*, 44-5.

⁴² *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 133, 11 April 1921, 422-3.

City Council. There were at least four options, opinions, or proposals which emerged as part of the debate, although these options were not all proposed at the same time.

First, the Municipality appointed Citroen directly to design the Town Hall. The appointment of Citroen was proposed by A. Meyroos, the Surabaya Mayor from 1916-1920. Since Citroen had produced the first design for Town Hall in 1916, this means that he was officially assigned to design it in the same year. However, four years later, at least two members of the City Council, i.e. A. van Genneep and J.M. Eschbach, objected to Citroen's appointment. According to the latter, it was not fair that the task had been given to only one architect. In Eschbach's opinion, Citroen should compete with others for the commission.⁴³ Meyroos answered that the best architect was not to be chosen from laymen.⁴⁴ The architect should be a person who was talented and who had proven his capability in his works.

Second, the Municipality held a design competition, as proposed by council member J.M. Eschbach. He considered, as mentioned above, that the Municipality should give equal opportunity to all architects. He referred to the design competition for the new Rotterdam Town Hall in 1912.⁴⁵ Citroen could be one of participants in the Surabaya Town Hall competition. Mayor A. Meyroos appreciated Eschbach's idea if it were to be successful.⁴⁶ At that time, the Netherlands Indies did not yet have a jury qualified to judge such a competition.⁴⁷ According to Meyroos, the Netherlands Indies and the Netherlands were not equal because the latter had many competent architects and juries.⁴⁸ Although a good design could be produced, it might not be specific to conditions in the Netherlands Indies, and the result could therefore turn out to be useless.

⁴³ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1920*, 21 July 1920, 272-3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁴⁵ In 1912, the city administration of Rotterdam held competition for the design of a new Town Hall. It was the first time in several centuries that a major Dutch city had decided to build a new Town Hall, and all of Holland looked on with fascination. The Town Hall competition proceeded according to a strict protocol, yet it went down in history as a turbulent affair. Critics accused the competition procedure of being undemocratic and thought the winning design old-fashioned. The architects invited to this competition were H. Evers, K.P.C de Bazel, W. Kromhout, J. Stuyt, C.B. van der Tak, Otten and Overeynder. Finally, the jury decided that the design by H. Evers, J. Stuyt and K.P.C. de Bazel merited the first, second and third prizes. However, in their view, none of the submitted designs were suitable for execution. The jury recognized the aesthetic merits of De Bazel's design, but considered it too expensive to build. Therefore, they proposed either choosing between Evers' and Stuyt's designs, or requesting both of them to prepare a second, improved sketch design. Zimmermanm, the jury chairman, added his own personal twist to the jury report. He managed to reword it in such a way that the proposal which the Mayor and aldermen placed before the City Council contained only the recommendation to execute Evers' design. The Council meeting on 5 June 1913 accordingly voted to have the new Rotterdam Town Hall built to Evers' design (http://en.nai.nl/exhibitions/webpresentations/webexhibitions/rotterdam_city_hall_models/detail/_rp_left1_elementId/1_108108).

⁴⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1920*, 21 July 1920, 271-2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 273.

Finally, to accommodate Eschbach's opinion, the Mayor agreed to consider holding the contest.⁴⁹

Third, the Municipality formed an independent service branch of the *Stadsuitbreiding Dienst* (Town Expansion Service). This idea was discussed in the City Council meeting of 17 March 1919.⁵⁰ For ten years (1906-1916), the organization of the Surabaya Municipality was still in the hands of employees of the Surabaya Residency. They were supervised by the assistant of the Surabaya Resident. After the first Mayor, A. Meyroos, was appointed in 1916, the Municipality made a more formal organization of its activities. The Municipality founded a department of Public Works as one of the agencies within the local government organization. The town expansion department was a part of this agency. The Municipality wanted to hire an architect to support this department.

The next option was that another architect was chosen to design the Surabaya Town Hall. Eschbach mentioned the architect R. Rijksen in the City Council meeting of 21 July 1920.⁵¹ He mentioned Rijksen partly because he had doubts about Citroen's competency, and partly in response to answer Meyroos' question on alternative architects.⁵² Another council member, Schijfsma, asked whether the preliminary design had been drawn up by Citroen himself or by the director of Citroen's architectural firm.⁵³ M.A.G. Harthoorn enquired whether Citroen's design had been checked by the director of the Municipal Public Works department and assessed by the technical committee.⁵⁴ Dijkerman answered that the sketches had been drawn by Citroen himself and that they had been checked and assessed by both the director of the Public Works department and the technical committee.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Ibid., 272.

⁵⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1919*, 17 March 1919, 145.

⁵¹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1920*, 21 July 1920, 271.

R. Rijksen was an independent architect in Surabaya since 1913, two years before Citroen's arrival. During his stay in this city (1913-1932), Rijksen and H.L.J.M. Estourgie founded their architectural bureau in Surabaya. In Surabaya, Rijksen designed a reformed church in Pregolan in 1916 (*Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1916* No. 2, 5 January 1916), three houses with annex (*paviljoen*) in *Reinierszbolevard* in 1917 (*Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1917* No. 204, 27 September 1917), while in Malang he designed the Theresia church on Ijen boulevard in 1922 (Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* [Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990], 135). Besides working as an architect, Rijksen was also a member of the City Council in 1918 (*Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1918* No. 146, 3 July 1918).

⁵² *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1920*, 21 July 1920, 272.

⁵³ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 195.

Probably, Schijfsma did not know that Citroen himself managed his firm.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 186.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 186-7.

Finally, the Mayor Meyroos ended the debate by still adhering to the proposal that Citroen be appointed as a Municipal architect.⁵⁶ The alternative option - to hold a design competition - was rejected because the Municipality had a contract with Citroen, which could not be cancelled.⁵⁷ Of the fifteen City Council members, fourteen agreed with the proposal and one person opposed it.⁵⁸ This result was also supported by the financial committee.⁵⁹

3.3.3. Location

As mentioned previously, since its establishment as a Municipality on 1 April 1906, Surabaya had not had one single building to accommodate all the Municipal services. For several years, the City Council held its meetings in Gemblongan, Tunjungan, Tegalsari, or in other locations. These conditions caused dissatisfaction among the council members, who agreed to have a building erected to accommodate all the Municipality's various departments.

In 1916, a year after the initial idea emerged, Citroen produced the first drawing (sketch plan) of the Surabaya Town Hall.⁶⁰ The location was in a site in Pasar Besar,⁶¹ which at that time was used as *Stadstuin* (Town Park). In 1920, there was a definitive decision to build the Town Hall in a new location.⁶² Consequently, the first design could not be executed.

The change of location was based on future prospects. In 1918, proposals were made not to build the Town Hall in downtown Surabaya, but in the open area which was to become a new city centre in the future. These proposals related to the idea of Surabaya becoming the new capital. According to the minutes of the City Council meeting of 21 February 1923, the new Town Hall required at least 4,000 m² floor area and around a 20,000 m² ground area.⁶³

⁵⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1920*, 21 July 1920, 273.

⁵⁷ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1925*, 14 January 1925, 10.

⁵⁸ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1920*, 21 July 1920, 273-4.

Agreed: R.M. Soejadi, Th.B.A. Faubel, R. Soerjatin, J.W. van Dijk, S.W. Tjoa, G.J. Dijkerman, J.A.M. Riemens, A. van Dorsten, M. Prawirodirdjo, R. Dirdjodipoero, A. van Gennep, M.Ng. Soerjowidikdo, S.I. Tan and D.L. Rosenquist.

Opposed: J.M. Eschbach.

⁵⁹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1920*, 21 July 1920, 273.

⁶⁰ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [4].

⁶¹ W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 3.

⁶² Citroen, "Het Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/3, 12.

⁶³ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1923*, 21 February 1923, 63.

After considering several criteria and securing the support of the central government, the Municipality finally decided to buy land in South Ketabang, the southern part of Surabaya on a plot that had formerly been private property.⁶⁴ The Municipality hoped that by sitting the Town Hall in the new location, it would reflect the fact that Surabaya was effectively the first business city in the Netherlands Indies.⁶⁵

The new location in South Ketabang was a new district surrounding the Mas river. The site, measuring 137 m x 137 m⁶⁶, was enclosed by *Djimertoweg* (now Jimerto street), *Ondomohenweg* (now Walikota Mustajab street), *Sedepmalemweg* (now Sedepmalem street), and *Ketabangboulevard* (now Jaksa Agung Suprpto street).⁶⁷

3.3.4. Design

The first design of the Town Hall was produced in April 1916. Unfortunately, only two illustrations can still be found showing the design in an article of 1916. These two drawings are a front or east elevation drawing and an exterior perspective drawing (fig.3.3.1 and 3.3.2).⁶⁸ As mentioned above, the first design was to be built in Pasar Besar. The floor area of the building was 6,000 m² including an inner courtyard.⁶⁹ The building provided spacious offices, bigger than those in the final design, for the Municipality employees.

The main facade was designed symmetrically and faced east. There was a side entrance in the north side. Most of the building consisted of two storeys. Only the east side, which had the main entrance, was made up of three storeys. It is probably that the top storey was used as a meeting room. A steep hipped roof covered most of the two-storey building, which kept all the rooms beneath the ceiling cool. The dormer on the ridge of the roof was intended to help preserve the cooling effect. The main entrance and the meeting room were placed under a combination of a dome and a hipped roof. A series of rooms in the two-storey part of the building were placed behind long and wide galleries with pillars. These galleries were intended to protect the walls against direct sunlight. Additionally, the air ventilation of the building was designed carefully so as to allow the effective extraction of the heat. Both these features indicate that Citroen had tried to adapt his design to the characteristics of a tropical climate. Citroen had learnt to

⁶⁴ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 133, 11 April 1921, 423.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 423-4.

⁶⁶ 'Van H.', "Het a.s. Raadhuus te Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië* 15 (1918-1919), 719.

⁶⁷ Yulianto Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1993), 121.

⁶⁸ Anonymous, "Een Nieuw Stadhuus voor Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië* 50 (1916), 1188-9.

⁶⁹ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 133, 11 April 1921, 425.
Another source mentioned only 4,000 m² (Anonymous, "Een Nieuw Stadhuus voor Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië* 50, 1188-9).

design for the tropical climate from the design of the NIS (*Netherlands Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij*) building in Semarang. In this project, Citroen assisted B.J. Ouëndag and J.F. Klinkhamer. Western style, particularly eclectic style, dominated its visual appearance. A series of arches is part of the facade. These arches covered long galleries, both on the ground floor and the first floor. A wheel window dominates the centre of facade above the entrance. Also, Citroen used a stone motif or decoration on the outer wall of the centre part of the main facade. The five features - cupola, dormer, arch, rose window and the stone motif on the wall finishing - are never found in traditional and vernacular architecture, particularly not in (East) Javanese architecture.

The second design appeared around 1918. Unfortunately, only one drawing can be found, i.e an exterior perspective drawing showing the centre part of the main building (fig.3.3.3).⁷⁰ The differences between the second and the first design are in the floor area and in some physical characteristics. The second design encompasses a 10,300 m² floor area. The previous design was considered too limited in space to accommodate all the future Municipality activities.⁷¹

The only surviving drawing shows the main entrance flanked by a flight of stairs on either side. The roof has a dome on a square base projecting out of a saddle roof. The ridge of the roof and the edge of the square base are decorated with ornaments. When comparing this second design to the present Town Hall, which has similarities in the execution of the main entrance, it can be presumed that the second design was to be placed in the new location of South Ketabang.

After G.J. Dijkerman was appointed as the new Mayor in October 1920, he proposed a design modification which was approved by the City Council on 2 December 1920.⁷² Based on the content of the Municipal Sheet No. 133 dated 11 April 1921, it can be inferred that drastic changes were being made in the design compared to the previous (second) design. This document mentions that the Town Hall was the 'gate' of Surabaya and that it should therefore reflect the dignity and significance of the Municipality of Surabaya as the cultural centre of East Java. These characteristics were to be reflected by art, beauty, and civilisation.⁷³ In this phrase, the word "art" can be interpreted as local or vernacular architecture in Surabaya. In this type of architecture, use of the cupola is unknown, which means that the roof of the main entrance did not reflect the characteristics of architecture in Surabaya.

⁷⁰ H., "Het a.s. Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië* 15, 718.

⁷¹ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 133, 11 April 1921, 425.

⁷² *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja* 1925, 14 January 1925, 2.

⁷³ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 133, 11 April 1921, 423.

After the third design phase, a further modification was made in 1922. However, this change was not substantial; it was only a minor modification.⁷⁴ The council meeting minutes chronicle that, after the development was moved to the new location, Citroen changed the design of Town Hall several times. However, no drawings can be found to support this assumption. These changes were produced to accommodate the views of City Council members, particularly to minimize cost of construction and to produce a better design containing characteristics of architecture in Surabaya.

Citroen drew up the final design in the first half of 1925. This information is known because on 14 January 1925, the council meeting decided to abort the original plan. The Mayor was asked to submit a new design at a reasonable budget.⁷⁵

The final design consisted of two two-storey buildings, front and rear, connected by corridors on the west and east sides (fig.3.3.4 and 3.3.5). The total dimension was more than 100 m x 100 m⁷⁶, with the rear building measuring only 102 m x 19 m.⁷⁷ Based on the plan, the ground floor of the front building functioned as City Council chamber, while the first floor was used as a main hall, wedding room and venue for official functions.⁷⁸ The rear building accommodated rooms for the main or central administration, rooms for heads of departments, and civil registration department rooms in the ground floor. The first floor contained the Mayor's and aldermen's (*wethouder*) offices, a secretary's room, waiting rooms, the department of general affairs, archive rooms, etc.⁷⁹ As a result, the Town Hall was able to accommodate not only the executive officials (the Mayor and his staff), but also for the legislative members, i.e. the City Council members. Because of budget limitations, initially only the rear building was constructed. The front building was not to be built until economic conditions improved. Until then, the City Council chamber was located in the first floor of the rear building. This was only intended to be a temporary situation. Once economic conditions improved and the front building was finished, the council chamber were to move to the front building and all Municipality employees in the temporary building were to occupy rooms left by the council members. However, because of economic depression, temporary usage of the first floor by council members finally became permanent usage.⁸⁰

To accommodate the Municipality's activities before the Town Hall was built, the Municipality constructed a temporary two-storey building at the rear of the the Town

⁷⁴ Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1925, 14 January 1925, 2.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 15.

⁷⁶ H., "Het a.s. Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië* 15, 718.

⁷⁷ Citroen, "Het Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/3, 14.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 12.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 14.

⁸⁰ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [6].

Hall site. This temporary building was planned as a simple rather than a luxurious structure.⁸¹ At least, it met requirements by concentrating different services that had previously been scattered all over the town.⁸² The temporary building was proposed by Dijkerman, the Mayor of Surabaya.⁸³ One of the City Council members, C.M. Beukers, asked that its design be harmonized with the main building or the Town Hall.⁸⁴ J.H. Schijfsma, another council member, predicted that it would have to be replaced after 25 years. His view was that in the future, the Municipality would have to plan for several buildings. The different wings of the original building could then become independent buildings. However, Citroen was expected to make a preliminary design of the main building first.⁸⁵

The involvement of Citroen in this project was not only in designing the building but also in designing its furniture. He designed chairs for the Mayor and aldermen in the City Council chamber (fig.3.3.16 and 3.3.17). These chairs were sponsored by *Algemeene Nederlandsch Indische Electriciteits Maatschappij* (ANIEM).⁸⁶

3.3.5. Cost of the Building

The construction costs of Town Hall became a debate which featured on the City Council meeting agenda for several years. In the beginning of the design process the Municipality estimated f 900,000 for the monumental Town Hall building in the first location, the Town Park in Pasar Besar. If Citroen's salary were included, the total sum would become f 1,000,000.⁸⁷ However, by the time Citroen finished the design, the costs had risen to f 3,000,000.⁸⁸ Moreover, when the City Council members discussed the budget in their meeting in 1921, it had increased by 80%.⁸⁹ There is no information on the cost for the Town Hall design in Ketabang which included the dome.

In the meeting of 28 May 1920, the City Council discussed the proposal, the drawing and the accompanying budget of a temporary two-storey building in Ketabang.⁹⁰ Council member F.W. Morren considered that the budget proposed by the Mayor, Dijkerman, was too high because the building was only a temporary office. In contrast, council member M.A.G. Harthoorn believed that the budget was too low.⁹¹ He

⁸¹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 191.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 185.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 195.

⁸⁶ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 103.

⁸⁷ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1921* No. 133, 11 April 1921, 426.

⁸⁸ Anonymous, "Een Nieuw Stadhuis voor Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië* 50, 1188-9.

⁸⁹ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1921* No. 133, 11 April 1921, 425.

⁹⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1920*, 28 May 1920, 184.

⁹¹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 193.

mentioned that building material prices had risen up to 25%.⁹² These prices should be also calculated in the new budget. Finally, the City Council decided on a budget of f 400,000 for the building based on the provisional design made by Citroen.⁹³ This budget was enough for a simple building. The central government would subsidise two-thirds of the total cost.

The same situation occurred when the City Council discussed the cost of the main building. Based on the design, Mayor Dijkerman proposed a budget of f 2,580,000 which was approximately f 500,000 lower than the budget for the Town Hall that was to be placed in the Town Park.⁹⁴ The central government would bear two-thirds of the total cost.⁹⁵ Dijkerman convinced the council members that the central government would support the build if the building was not designed and built to a too luxurious standard.⁹⁶ As a result, the Municipality only allocated a budget of approximately f 800,000 for the building.⁹⁷

The design of the main building required a 12.000 m² area in Ketabang. At that time, the price of land was f 25 per m².⁹⁸ Thus, f 300,000 had to be provided by the Municipality in order to buy the site. The central government took responsibility for 2/3 of the total price of the site, just as they did for the building.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, some council members expressed disagreement with the plan. There were several reasons why some City Council members objected to the plan.

First, the cost was too high and because of to the economic conditions the Municipality was not able to take all responsibility. This opinion was expressed by M.A.A. van Mook.¹⁰⁰ According to Van Mook, the Municipality did not have enough money to build the main building. Similar opinions were conveyed by Bartman, V.W.Ch. Ploegman, and I.Th. van Rosse.¹⁰¹ According to them, wherever the main building was built, it should be economical and simple.

Second, several council members were doubtful about the central government's subsidy. These council members were F.W. Morren, D.L. Rosenquist, A. van Gennep, and J.J. Frölich. They were sceptical whether the government was serious about its

⁹² *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1920*, 28 May 1920, 186.

⁹³ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1921* No. 133, 11 April 1921, 429.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 426.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 184.

⁹⁷ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1921* No. 133, 11 April 1921, 426-7.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 426.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 182.

¹⁰¹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1925*, 14 January 1925, 7-8.

grant. There was still a possibility that the government would not honour its promise.¹⁰² Morren mentioned the dignity (*waardigheid*) of the Municipality in the past. According to him, this honourability depended on two factors, namely good management and the appropriateness of the budget.¹⁰³ When Rosenquist, with L.D.J. Reeser and B. Coster, consulted with the General Governor of the Netherlands Indies, a proposal was made to postpone the plan. In the coming years, much money would be needed to alleviate the needs of the people.¹⁰⁴

Third, particularly after 1922, the depressed economy of Surabaya impacted the price of building materials. Council member M.A.G. Harthoorn suggested that the Municipality postpone the plan, at least until prices decreased or the economic conditions had stabilised.¹⁰⁵ Another council member, V.W.Ch. Ploegman, regretted that the Municipality had presented the proposal during the economic depression.¹⁰⁶ Morren said no-one would have objected to the desire to concentrate the Municipality services in one building while the economic conditions were good.¹⁰⁷

Fourth, the Municipality still had problems to solve in terms of the living conditions in the *kampungs*. This point was raised by Sudirman, an indigenous member of the City Council. According to Sudirman, the budget for the Town Hall should be shifted to improving hygiene in the *kampung* in Surabaya.¹⁰⁸ Sudirman stated that it would not be wise to have a beautiful and large Town Hall on the dry and spacious field, while at the same time many people were living in an unhealthy swamp area, which caused a high level of disease.¹⁰⁹ Soetomo, another indigenous council member, said that the construction of the Town Hall was not urgent, and that the budget would be better used for other things which were more necessary. He exhibited photographs showing the living conditions of indigenous inhabitants which needed to be improved. The poor quality of human settlements contributed to the mortality rate of the indigenous inhabitants. There were 179 *kampungs* which needed improvement as many of the houses were unfit for human habitation. Conditions could be considerably improved through small improvements which did not require thousands of guilders, Soetomo asserted. He urged the council to consider building houses which could then be rented to the indigenous people.¹¹⁰ J. Hekket said that the Municipality was to spend money on

¹⁰² *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 181, 186.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 182.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 182-3.

¹⁰⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1925*, 14 January 1925, 6.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

¹⁰⁸ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 180-1.

¹⁰⁹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1925*, 14 January 1925, 5.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5-7, 11-2.

the Town Hall, and that the central government did not agree to subsidize the *kampung* improvements. He encouraged the idea of centralization, as long as other urgent problems were solved first.¹¹¹

A similar objection was also expressed by an unknown journalist. In the *Nieuwe Soerabaja Courant*, 7 January 1925, he considered that the Municipality was too optimistic in designing such an ambitious plan, while the city faced other problems, such as the substandard living conditions in the *kampungs*, the stagnation in the housing market, the inadequateness of street lighting, malaria disease and increasing taxes.¹¹²

Mayor Dijkerman responded to the objections as follows:

- Only one-third of the construction cost was the responsibility of the Municipality. The rest would be subsidized by the central government. The total construction budget was to cover not only the building, but also the purchase of the site.
- The government was serious about its financial support for the Municipality. This seriousness had become evident when the central government helped the Municipality of Bandung to build their Town Hall. This information had become known to Dijkerman when he attended the meeting of the Mayors of all the municipalities in the Netherlands Indies. Also, the central government had sent a letter stating its promise to provide financial support, and the promise had been communicated in the municipal sheet.¹¹³
- The Mayor guaranteed that funding would be made available if the City Council agreed to the plan.
- Mayor Dijkerman also stated that centralization would never become a reality without an ambitious plan.¹¹⁴
- The *kampung* improvements were to be carried out whether or not the Municipality built the Town Hall.¹¹⁵ According to Mayor Dijkerman, the first thing that should be done in the *kampungs* was to equip houses with water pipes.¹¹⁶

In general, all council members who objected to the plan held the opinion that the Municipality was in too much of a hurry to construct the building. Most of the council members proposed to postpone the build and the rest suggested cancelling it. In order to achieve a compromise, finally the council members proposed to the Mayor that a list be made of the Municipal expenditure and to prioritise the list.¹¹⁷ They also proposed that

¹¹¹ Ibid., 5, 11.

¹¹² Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, s.p. [5, 12].

¹¹³ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 191.

¹¹⁴ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1925*, 14 January 1925, 13.

¹¹⁵ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 186.

¹¹⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1925*, 14 January 1925, 11.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 8.

the Mayor wait to see what the financial conditions would be in 1925. If financial conditions were solid, the Municipality could continue to execute the plan.

Finally, in 1925, the Municipality borrowed f 700,000 from the housing department. Of this amount, f 300,000 was for the extension of the water supply network, f 200,000 for an abattoir, and f 200,000 for the Town Hall. The Municipality still had f 100,000 from deposits in 1924. Thus, there was f 300,000 to allocate to the Town Hall budget.¹¹⁹

3.3.6. Architect's Salary

As well as the construction costs, Citroen's salary also became an important part of the agenda in City Council meetings. M.A.G. Harthoorn asked what the technical committee thought about Citroen's salary. According to him, the salary was too high.¹²⁰ The cost of Citroen's fee was out of proportion to the total construction costs (f 100,000 : f 900,000).¹²¹ If the central government cancelled its support, the Municipality would have to pay more than it should.¹²² Dijkerman replied that Citroen's fee was not excessive because it was based on to the standard fee of the architect's association. It was possible to find another architect who would accept lower pay, but that route would also increase the chances of receiving a design of substandard quality, argued Dijkerman.¹²³

Harthoorn argued that the point of the architect's fee was not clear if it referred to the *Vereeniging van Bouwkundigen*. In the offer letter, the fee was more than 10%.¹²⁴ His question was from which figure the salary would be deducted, and whether Citroen's salary would become higher proportionally. The Mayor replied that the numbers presented by the secretary - 11% of the construction costs - were correct. If the construction costs rose, the fee would be higher. Finally, he noted that Citroen would be paid only for the preliminary design. As a consequence, he only received 8% of the construction costs.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 9.

¹¹⁹ Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, s.p. [5, 12].

¹²⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van de Gemeenteraad Soerabaja 1921*, 27 April 1921, 182, 193.

¹²¹ Ibid., 182-3, 193.

¹²² Ibid., 190.

¹²³ Ibid., 186-7.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 192-3.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 193.

3.3.7. 1925: The Critical Year

The previous subchapters have provided an analysis of the emergence of the idea to build the Surabaya Town Hall, the assignment of the task, the location and design of the building, also the costs of the building and the architect's fee. The following subchapter will describe the discourse on the Surabaya Town Hall during 1925. This year can be considered as the critical year for the project because 1925 is the year in which the council reached the final decision to approve the design and its cost, as well as the year in which the building was commenced.

3.3.7.1. Design, Cost and the Architect

The year of 1925 started with the release of the Municipal Sheet No. 4, dated 9 January 1925, on the plan concerning the Town Hall. Several important points are raised in the introduction of this document, such as:

- In 1920 there was a decision to build a one-storey building to accommodate the various Municipal departments in Ketabang. This was a temporary building to be used until the Town Hall was completed. Once the whole Town Hall was completed, there was to be an inner court.¹²⁶
- The above plan had to be postponed because of the economic depression that became apparent in the middle of 1921. Consequently, Th.B.A. Faubel, temporary Mayor of Surabaya, decided not to implement the plan.¹²⁷
- The City Council members and the economic committee had recently urged the Municipality to concentrate its services in one place. Centralization is not a desire but a need.¹²⁸ Because of this need, the council and the economic committee recommended that the Municipality rearrange its services into three groups. This solution was made to reduce the budget costs.¹²⁹
- The architect C. Citroen would design the building, which was to be a simple structure made of concrete.¹³⁰
- The new design comprised a 50% larger area than the design of 1921.¹³¹
- The invitation for the bidding for construction would be started on June 1925 and the construction phase would last at least one year.¹³²
- The housing department of the Municipality had generated a profit of f 700,000. This sum was borrowed by the Municipality and f 300,000 of that sum was used for the water supply network extension, f 200,000 for an abattoir, and the rest (f 200,000) for

¹²⁶ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1925 No. 4, 9 January 1925, 15.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*, 18.

the construction of Town Hall. The deficit for the construction of Town Hall (f 100,000) would be taken from the positive balance of 1924.¹³³

Finally, based on the agreement in the City Council meeting, the Mayor decided that:

- In principle, the Municipality would build the part of the whole Town Hall plan which was presented in red ink on the situation drawing attached.¹³⁴ This was the rear part of the main building.
- The architect C. Citroen, who designed the whole plan, must produce the definitive plan of the rear building, its specifications, within its maximum budget of f 300,000 were to be delivered to, and approved by, the City Council.¹³⁵

3.3.7.2. Town Hall vs *Kampung* Improvement

Even after having released the above document, the City Council still discussed the construction of the Town Hall in its meetings. Council member Nessel van Lissa, in the meeting of 8 May 1925, appealed to other members of the City Council to support proposals both for the construction of the Town Hall and for the *kampung* improvements. According to Van Lissa, both projects were important and could not be compared. He also argued that funding was not a problem.¹³⁶ For the *kampung* improvements, every year at least f 100,000 was needed in order to upgrade the drainage system. For 1925, the funds could be taken from the water service profits of 1924. Furthermore, Van Lissa was not apprehensive about the continuity of the funding in the following years because of the economic recovery. The water supply service had generated a profit of f 300,000. Although most of these profits should be reserved for extraordinary expenses, such as extra maintenance, water meters, and network extension,¹³⁷ the economic state of this service was still safe in terms of continuing its business if the Municipality reserved f 100,000 for drainage improvements. In conclusion, Van Lissa asked the Mayor and aldermen of Surabaya to approve the proposal for *kampung* improvements, including the drainage scheme in the next meeting, separately from the Town Hall proposal.¹³⁸

In terms of the quality of the new Town Hall, Van Lissa considered that luxury was not a priority for the rear building. Above all, it was only a part of the whole Town Hall and accommodation for all of the Municipality services was the main issue. According to Van Lissa, the utility aspect was more important than luxury. He also emphasized the

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 19.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ *Notulen van der Openbare Vergadering van der Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1925, 8 May 1925, 278.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 277.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 279.

importance of flexibility of the Town Hall design. In this case, the architect should allow for possibilities to extend the building in the future.¹³⁹

Council member Hekket was one of the opponents of the proposal. In the same meeting he asked why the proposal had been postponed four months ago merely to be submitted again.¹⁴⁰ Also, he drew attention to the change in A. van Gennep's viewpoint while he was still a City Council member, Van Gennep objected to the proposal. However, after he was appointed as an alderman, he changed his opinion and supported it.¹⁴¹ In reply, alderman Van Gennep explained that he had changed his viewpoint totally as a consequence of his increased knowledge, insight and understanding of the substance of the proposal. Van Gennep explained that he felt that he initially had had out-of-date knowledge which led to his objection to the proposal. However, as mentioned by council member Van Rosse, he eventually accepted the proposals. Van Gennep detailed the reasons why he agreed with the proposal:

- He supported the opinion of the economic committee that they should achieve unity in their work. He believed that it was the principal goal of the proposal, which would result in a substantial retrenchment.¹⁴²
- Although in the beginning the Town Hall was designed as a luxurious building, efforts had been made to simplify the design as much as possible.¹⁴³
- Funds provided for the Town Hall would be managed as advantageously as possible.¹⁴⁴

J. Hekket also objected to using f 100,000 every year from the water service profit for drainage improvements in the *kampung*. He thought it was an inappropriate solution.¹⁴⁵

During the meeting, the agenda focused on the budgetary dilemma between the Town Hall and the *kampung* improvements. Both issues were related to funding resources. The Mayor said that the budget for 1925 had already been drawn up. He also added that a sum of f 100,000 for the first term of drainage improvements had been provided and that the accompanying proposal would be delivered to the City Council. This plan was a part of the *kampung* improvement program.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ Ibid., 280.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 283.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 284-5.

¹⁴² Ibid., 296.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 283.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 286.

Furthermore, the Mayor talked about membership of the City Council.¹⁴⁷ At that time, there were vacancies for four positions to be held by indigenous council members because four indigenous members had resigned.¹⁴⁸ Also, two European council members had just been elected, but they had not yet been inaugurated. As a result, the City Council had a deficit of six members. According to the Mayor, the deficit was not a matter for concern because the council still had seventeen members, which was enough to make a decision.¹⁴⁹ This opinion was supported by V.W.Ch. Ploegman.¹⁵⁰ However, one of the council members said that vacancies of indigenous council members were related to the number of the population whose opinions were represented with regard to the council's activities.¹⁵¹ Although the government had held elections twice, there was no result. As a consequence, no important questions could not be posed until four indigenous council members were elected.¹⁵²

I.Th. van Rosse did not agree with Hekket. In his opinion, the design of the Town Hall was not luxurious; it was still modest. In fact, he was of the opinion that the design was too simple for a city like Surabaya.¹⁵³ He compared the Town Hall design to the *Handelsvereniging Amsterdam* (HVA) building in Surabaya,¹⁵⁴ which opened officially on 18 April 1925 and was designed by the Hulswit, Fermont, and Cuypers architectural firm in Weltevreden.¹⁵⁵ According to Van Rosse, it was a spectacular building. The company had saved its profit for many years and finally put it into their new building.¹⁵⁶

Council member Go Ing Djioe mentioned the funding for furniture and other expenses. These funds should be considered because of the size of the building. The budget of f

¹⁴⁷ The Surabaya City Council had twenty-three members, consist of fifteen positions for European, five for indigenous members, and three for oriental members. They were all appointed for the first time (Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 96).

¹⁴⁸ *Notulen van der Openbare Vergadering van der Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1925, 8 May 1925, 293.

Five positions in page 287 of the same document. There is no information on the reasons of their resignations.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 296.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 293-4.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 294.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 288.

¹⁵⁴ HVA was founded as a general trading company in 1879 by taking over the firms Van Beek Reineke & Co. of Batavia and Wille Gans & Co. of Surabaya,. By 1886, HVA had become deeply involved in the exploitation of sugar plantations and sugar mills, and a little later acquired coffee and indigo companies. By the 20th century there were also tapioca, palm oil, rubber, tea and tobacco plantations and factories - 28 in all - while by 1925 the company had a capital of f 100,000,000 and employed over 900 Europeans (Helen Ibbitson Jessup, *Netherlands Architecture in Indonesia, 1900-1942*, PhD dissertation [London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 1988], 117).

¹⁵⁵ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 226.

¹⁵⁶ *Notulen van der Openbare Vergadering van der Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1925, 8 May 1925, 288.

300,000 was allocated for construction of the building only. He also asserted that mere drainage improvements in the *kampung*s would not be enough. Most of the *kampung* houses were in bad condition so that radical improvements needed to be carried out.¹⁵⁷

Go Ing Djioe's opinion was opposed by another council member.¹⁵⁸ He referred to the conditions in Simolawang. He held the strong opinion that in Simolawang, *kampung* and city drainage were the first thing that had to be done. Of course, housing improvement was another priority.¹⁵⁹ However, housing improvements would be useless if the *kampung* was always flooded.¹⁶⁰

After debating the Town Hall proposal relating to the *kampung* conditions, finally the Mayor proposed a solution as follows:

- The Town Hall would be built in this year (1925).
- The proposal on drainage improvement as part of the *kampung* improvements would be drawn up separately from the Town Hall proposal, and it would be delivered to the City Council in the next meeting.¹⁶¹
- The budget for the drainage improvements would be taken from the profit of the water services, f 100,000 per year.¹⁶²
- The council was to consult with the technical committee about the implementation of the drainage improvement plan.¹⁶³

The meeting was closed by voting on the aforementioned solution. Ten of the seventeen members agreed to the proposal and the rest rejected it.¹⁶⁴

Three months later, the Municipal Sheet No. 174 dated 14 August 1925 was released. The introduction mentioned that:

- In implementing the decision reached in the City Council meeting of 8 May 1925, the Municipality had assigned the architect C. Citroen to develop the plan up to the construction of the rear part of the building.¹⁶⁵
- The design submitted to the City Council would be constructed within a budget of approximately f 282,000, excluding the builder's fee.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 289.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 292. The opponent of Go Ing Djioe's opinion is not mentioned explicitly in the minutes.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 292-3.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 293.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 299.

¹⁶² Ibid., 300.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

Agreed: J.H. Schijfsma, Moewalladi, Nessel van Lissa, Lie Ping An, I.Th. van Rosse, W.M. Naessens, F.J. Stemmerik, R. Soerjatin, A. van Gennep and M.A.A. van Mook.

Opposed: M.Ng. Soerjowidikdo, Go Ing Djioe, Nix, J. Hekket, Bartman, E.D. Wermuth and V.W.Ch. Ploegman.

¹⁶⁵ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1925 No. 174, 14 August 1925, 631.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

- C. Citroen, after having faced a difficult task, explained that he had finally been able to find a solution to some very complicated practical problems. These problems were a limitation of the budget and, on the other side, representation of character of Surabaya or East Java in the Town Hall. This assignment was so difficult for him that it had attracted the attention of the *Bouwkundige Weekblad* dated 31 January 1925.¹⁶⁷ He explained that the appearance of the building had a dual character, i.e. both a business and a representative character.¹⁶⁸
- Related to the building structure, Citroen explained that the soil load capacity was estimated only max 0.4 kg/cm². As a result, the cost of building the foundation would be f 30,000. To improve the load capacity and also to create a monumental character on the building, Citroen had decided to put level 0.00 - the ground floor - on 1.00 m above the original ground level. This effort improved the soil load capacity up to 0.5 kg/cm². The foundation of the building would be made of small wood piles and protected by a river stone foundation covered with concrete plaster. For the upper structure, Citroen designed a reinforced concrete frame filled with brick walls.¹⁶⁹
- In order to minimize the budget, the ceiling and opening frames use wood without ornaments.¹⁷⁰
- The technical committee was to formulate recommendations concerning the design and the City Council was to be informed of these recommendations during the next council meeting on 27 August 1925.

Finally the Municipality and the City Council agreed to decide that:

- The design and the budget of f 282,265.85 were approved, excluding the contractor fee.¹⁷²
- The construction work was ready to be bid on.¹⁷³
- The budget for Town Hall would be placed under the article of 211a and classified as a special item.¹⁷⁴

During the next meeting on 27 August 1925, the Mayor informed the Council that the technical committee had approved the proposal.¹⁷⁵ Other things discussed in this meeting were the architect fee, the total cost of the project, the selection of the contractor, and the wording of the municipal sheet.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 631.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 632.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 633.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 634.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ *Notulen van der Openbare Vergadering van der Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1925*, 27 August 1925, 458.

Council member T.L. Tan questioned the architect's fee. His questions were answered by the Mayor, who explained that the construction cost did not include the architect's fee. This fee would be negotiated in a separate contract.¹⁷⁶ All participants agreed that if the contractor's fee and other expenses were added up, the total cost should be f 320,000.¹⁷⁷ J.H. Schijfsma stressed that the Municipality should select the contractor carefully. The bidder assigned to build the Town Hall should be chosen based on not only the lowest price but also on their performance.¹⁷⁸ This opinion was supported by I.Th. van Rosse and E.D. Wermuth. Van Rosse said that in the past, several times contractors had turned out to be incapable of fulfilling their task although the financial and technical conditions set in their quotes seemed feasible.¹⁷⁹ Finally, in order to avoid problems, both the Mayor and the council members agreed to give the Mayor and the technical committee a loose time to decide on a contractor.¹⁸⁰

3.3.7.3. Developer and Cost

The further development of the discourse on the Surabaya Town Hall build can be traced from the Municipal Sheet No. 258 dated 21 November 1925. After the Municipality held an open invitation in the middle of that year, there were sixteen participants. From these, finally the committee selected eight developers who met the requirements. They were:¹⁸¹

- A.M. de Kruijff and A.J. de Geus, f 333,000
- A. Minderhoud and J. Groen, f 333,500
- NV. Hollandsche Beton Maatschappij (HBM), f 338,350 (according to specifications and conditions, without the pile foundation), f 347,850 (including a reinforced concrete pile foundation), f 64,500 (pile foundation only)
- NV. Algemeene Bouw en Aanneming Maatschappij, f 339,900
- Contractor and engineering bureau "Schell en Schijfsma", f 341,000
- NV. Nederlandsche Aanneming Maatschappij (Nedam), f 347,200
- Sj. Hijlkema, f 352,800
- C. Wielenga, f 378,000

Although all bidders quoted prices exceeding the f 320,000 maximum price stated in the decision No. 4024 dated 27 August 1925, the board consisting of the Mayor and aldermen considered that all of the offers were very reasonable. At that time, cement

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 459.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 461.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 459-60.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 460.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 461-2.

¹⁸¹ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1925 No. 258, 21 November 1925, 980.

prices were on the rise because of difficulties in the supply.¹⁸²

Citroen, the Head Engineer of Public Services, and the Director of Public Works reported that all bidders had been offered the freedom to choose a register foundation system with a different construction method, except for the plate foundation system stated in the design and its specifications. Only one bidder, i.e. Hollandsche Beton Maatschappij (HBM), responded to this offer. The HBM quoted three prices, as mentioned above. The price difference between the HBM offer (with pile foundation) and that of the lowest bidder was only f 14,850.¹⁸³ The total building area covered 2,000 m² and the construction cost was f 347,850, which means that the price was f 158/m².¹⁸⁴

There are two advantages to using pile foundation. First, there is a clear distribution of the super-structure load on the foundation. As a consequence, there is an absolute certainty in how the building will respond to an irregular setting. This method is suitable for a storey building on ground with a low soil load capacity. Second, the installation of sewer systems, piping, cables, and other utility systems is simpler. HBM was prepared to give a full warranty on using this type of foundation.¹⁸⁵ Citroen suggested that the Mayor follow his recommendation to accept the HBM offer. He argued that the pile foundation had great advantages while the difference in price was small.¹⁸⁶

Before deciding on the winner of the contract, the Mayor asked the City Council whether the council meeting intended to grant the work to a contractor based on the decision in the meeting on 7 August 1925, or whether they agreed with the recommendation made by Citroen, the Director of Public Works and the Head Engineer of Public Services to give the whole task, including the task of constructing the pile foundation, be done by HBM.¹⁸⁷ Council member I.Th. van Rosse supported Citroen's opinion. He mentioned that there were several buildings in Surabaya - the telephone office in Mergoyoso, the theatre in the city park, the Nierop office, the building of the *Nederlandsche Maatschappij*, etc. - that had been built on plate foundations, and all these buildings exhibited cracks. In contrast, buildings built on a pile foundation, like HVA (Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers, 1920-5) and the tower of the *Onderling Belang* building (unknown architect and date), had not shown any similar defects.¹⁸⁸ Mr. Coops backed Van Rosse's opinion. He considered that difference in building cost

¹⁸² Ibid., 981.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 982.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 983.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 982-3.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 983.

was so small so that he intended to choose HBM.¹⁸⁹

Finally, the City Council and board of the Mayor and aldermen agreed to give the project to HBM for the quote price of f 347,850, including the pile foundation. The additional cost, f 27,850, would be put under point 211a of the 1925 budget.

Other problems arose in the discourse related to the construction of the pile foundation. Based on the documents found, the Municipality invited contractors to tender both for the whole work (section a) and partial work (i.e. the sub-structure or section b.I and the super-structure or section b.II) in December 1925. From nineteen invited bidders,¹⁹⁰ there were five bidders for three sections.¹⁹¹ They were A.M. de Kruyff and A.J. de Geus, NV. Algemeene Bouw- en Aanneming Mij., Nedam, NV. Bouwkundig Bureau Sitzen and Louzada, and HBM.¹⁹² HBM offered two plans, A and B, for section a or the whole construction task.¹⁹³ According to the committee, all of their offers were valid although one of them proposed two prices for the same section, but with two different plans.¹⁹⁴

After the result of this discussion was conveyed to Citroen, the Head Engineer of Public Service and the Director of Public Works, they reported as follows:

The lowest bidder for the sub-structure was the contractor De Kruyff and De Geus, f 65,000. For the super-structure, the lowest bidder was the firm of Sitzen and Louzada in Yogyakarta, f 258,000. The total of their offers was f 323,000 which was f 11,900 cheaper than the lowest bid for the whole work or section a, which was the bid by De Kruyff and De Geus, at f 334,900.¹⁹⁵

Although De Kruyff and De Geus's offer was lower than HBM's, their reputation in building pile foundations had not been confirmed.¹⁹⁶ Their design would have to be

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 983-4.

¹⁹⁰ Invitation was made on 1 December 1925 and published on 7 December 1925 in *Soerabajasch-Handelsblad*, *de Nieuwe Soerabaja Courant*, *de Indische Courant* and *de Soerabajasch Nieuwsblad*, and also in the first edition of *Bouwkundig Weekblad* and *de Waterstants Ingenieur*.

Only two bidders participated, A.M. de Kruyff en A.J. de Geus and HBM, for the whole work (section a).

¹⁹¹ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1925 No. 272, 22 December 1925, 1032.

On 19 December 1925 at 10.00, the box containing the bidder offers was opened in *gemeentehuize*, Ketabang, and seen by A. van Gennep as a temporary Mayor, assisted by the alderman Mattheus Adrianus Antonius van Mook, the Municipal secretary Van Gabe Hoeneveld, and Christoffel Evert Brugma, the Head of the Municipality Purchasing Office.

¹⁹² Ibid., 1033.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 1034.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 1035.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

tested to see if it could carry the load required. Citroen and the two officials mentioned above made calculations. The conclusion was that the design did not fulfil the requirements. The pile foundation would not be able to carry the maximum load.¹⁹⁷ Thus, De Kruffy and De Geus' offer had to be rejected.

Consequently, there was only the offer from HBM to be considered. This offer consisted of two plans, plan A and B. Both plans were feasible, but plan A had 97 more piles than plan B because each pile of plan A only supported a maximum of 25 tons while in plan B, each pile was to support 40 tons.¹⁹⁸ Although the price of the plan A was f 12,390 higher than that of plan B, finally plan B was chosen because it consisted of lighter piles and it was f 4,600 cheaper than the offer combination made by the Nedam, f 94,450, for the sub-structure and Sitzen and Louzada, f 258,000, for the super-structure.¹⁹⁹

The building construction phase took two years, starting in 1925, so that finally in 1927 the new Town Hall was ready to be used by the Municipality. During this construction period Citroen supervised the implementation of his design, for which he received an additional compensation of 5% of the total building cost.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 1036.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 1036-7.

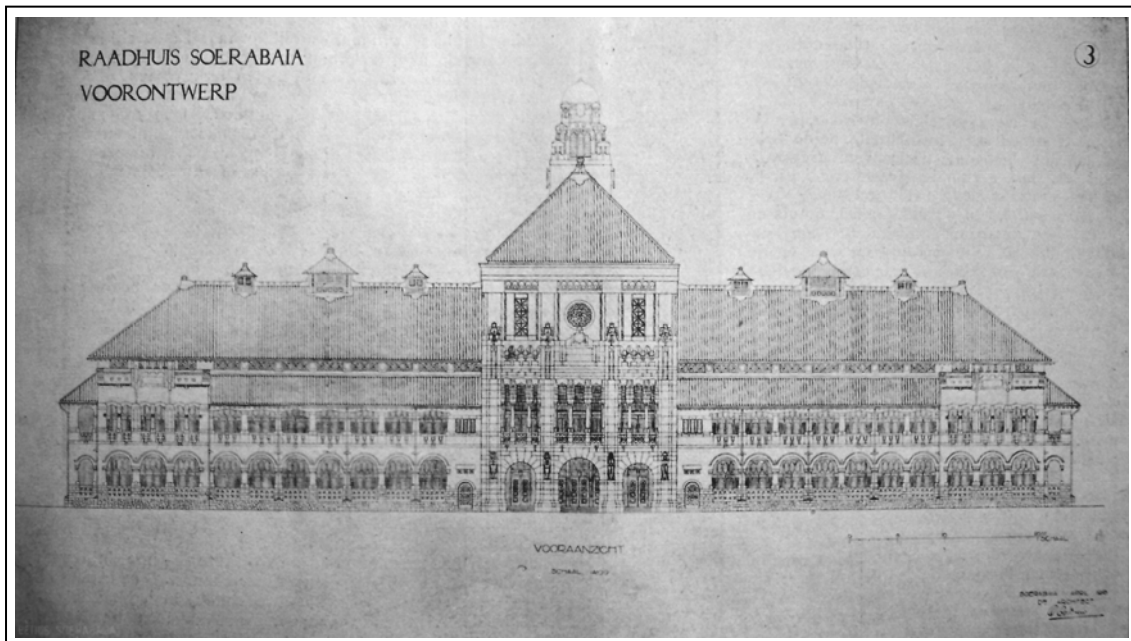


Fig.3.3.1. Town Hall in the Town Park: elevation of the front gable.

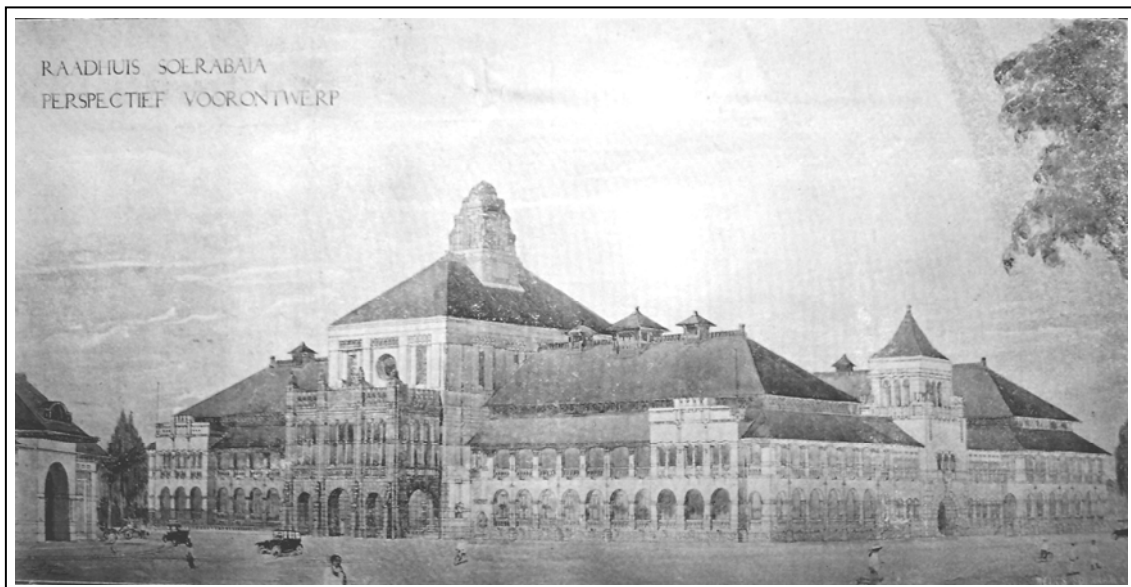


Fig.3.3.2. Town Hall in the Town Park: perspective drawing.

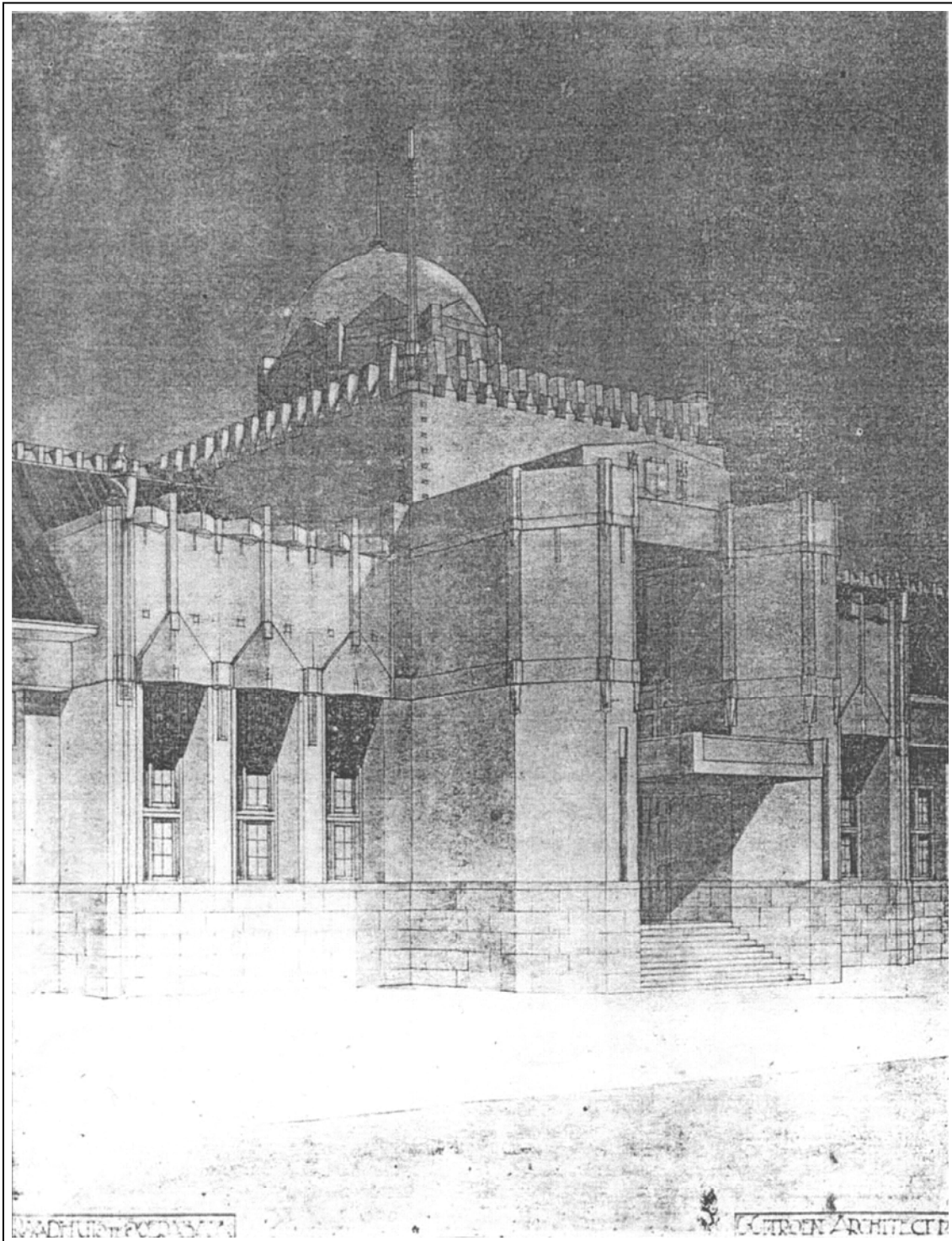


Fig.3.3.3. Town Hall in Ketabang: the main entrance of the first design (ca. 1918).

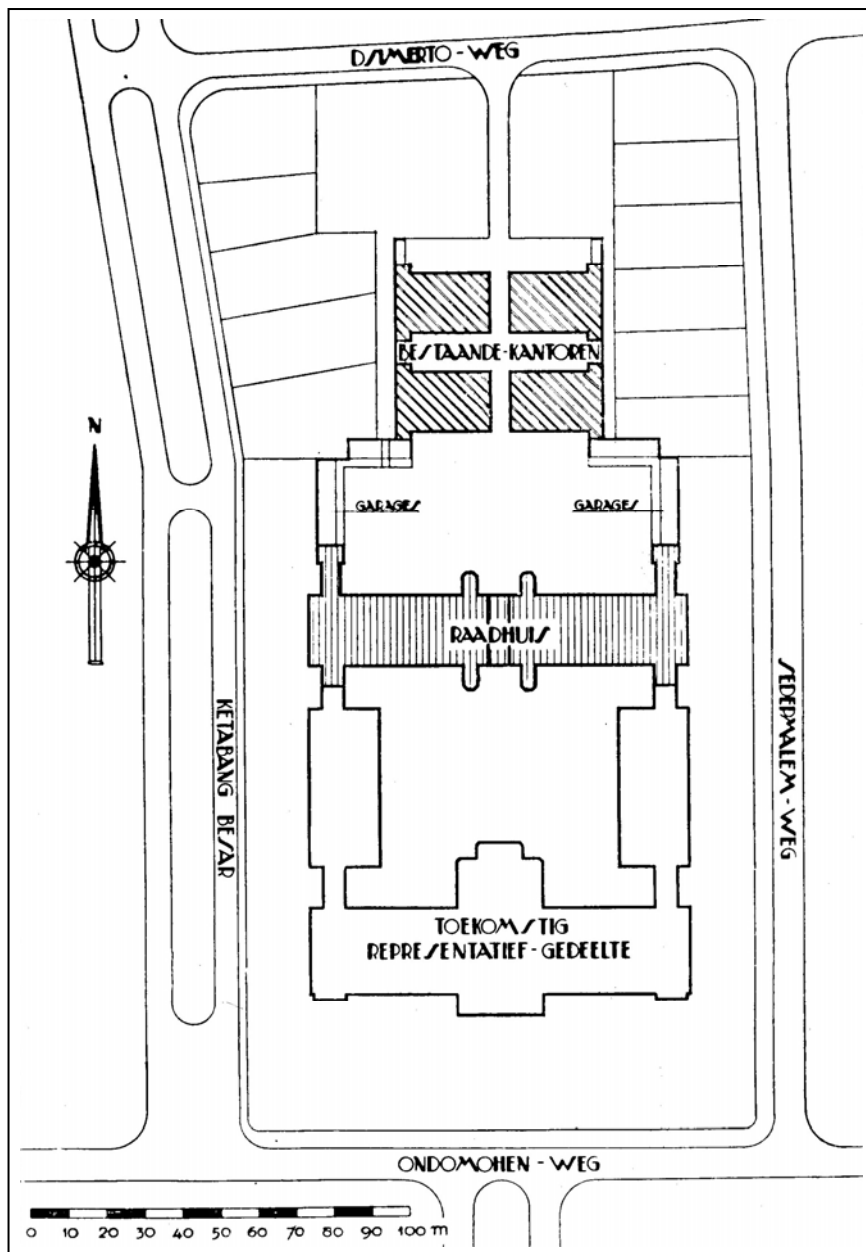


Fig.3.3.4. Town Hall in Ketabang: general plan.

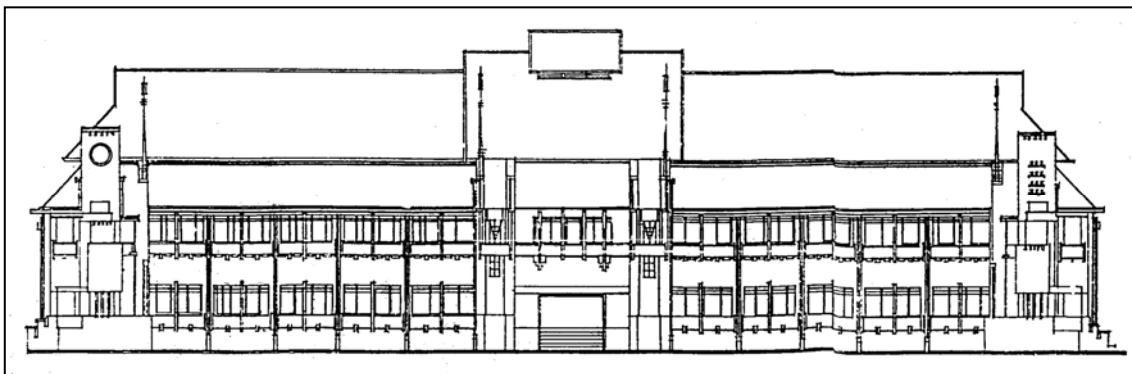


Fig.3.3.5. Town Hall in Ketabang: elevation of the front gable.

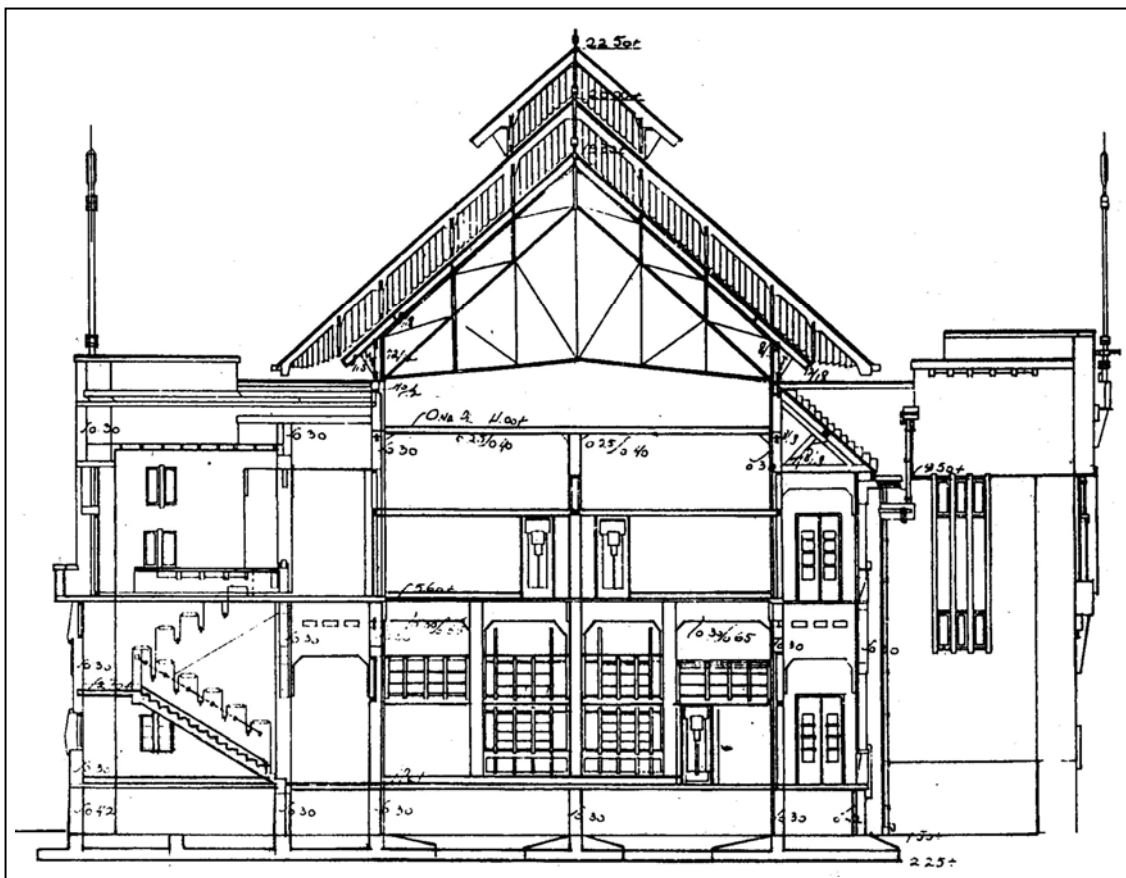


Fig.3.3.6. Town Hall in Ketabang: cross section.



Fig.3.3.7. Town Hall in Ketabang: view from the south-west (ca. 1930).



Fig.3.3.8. Town Hall in Ketabang: eastern part of the building (ca. 1930).



Fig.3.3.9. Town Hall in Ketabang: main entrance (present state).



Fig.3.3.11. Town Hall in Ketabang: gallery.



Fig.3.3.10. Town Hall in Ketabang: exterior of the part of the building where the stairs are situated.

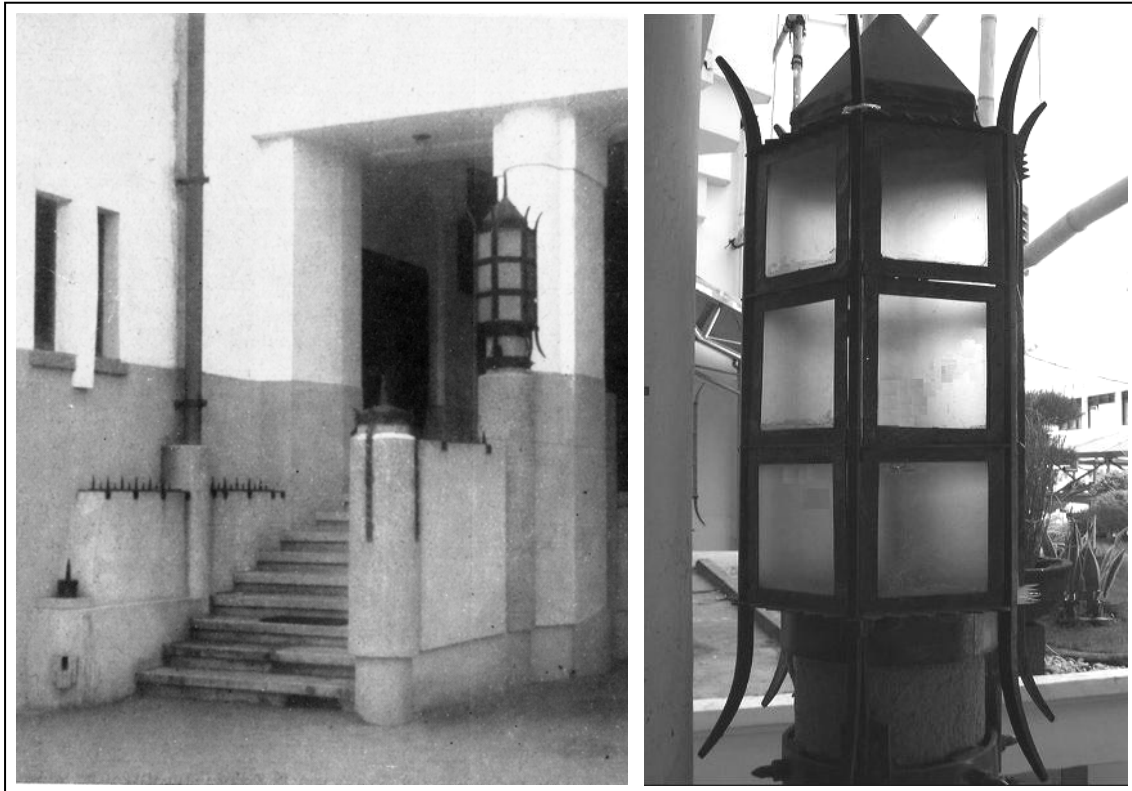


Fig.3.3.12. Town Hall in Ketabang: a lamp and other iron ornaments.

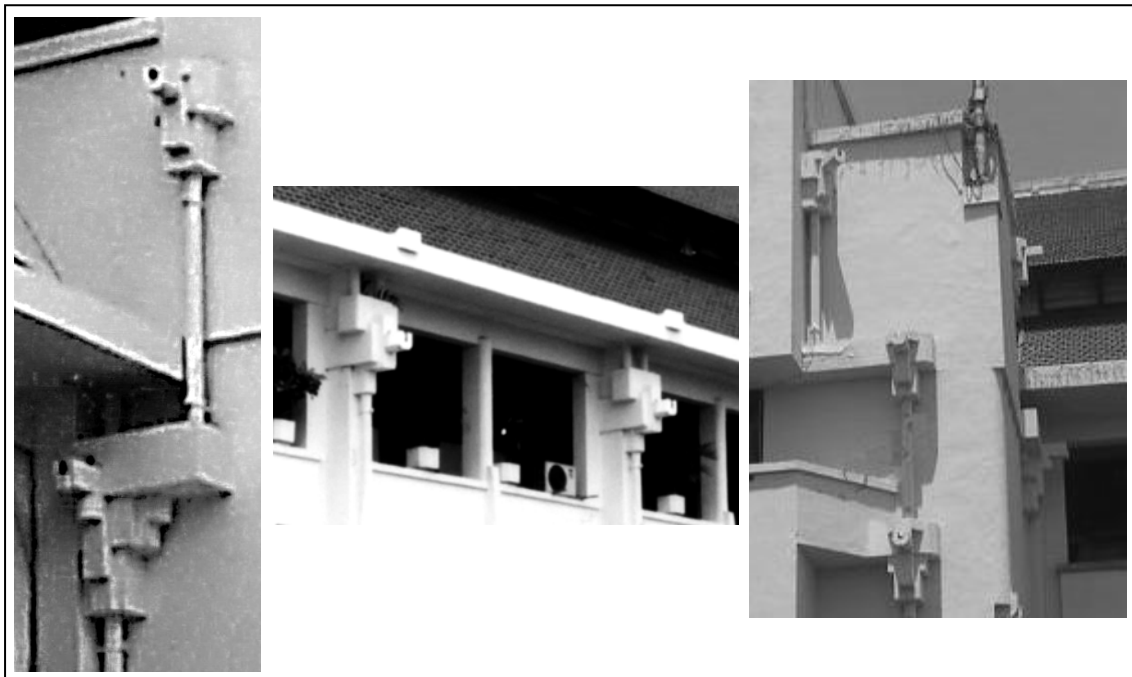


Fig.3.3.13. Town Hall in Ketabang: gutters.



Fig.3.3.14. Town Hall in Ketabang: the meeting room with the bust of G.J. Dijkerman (ca. 1930).



Fig.3.3.15. Town Hall in Ketabang: the room of the mayor (ca. 1930).

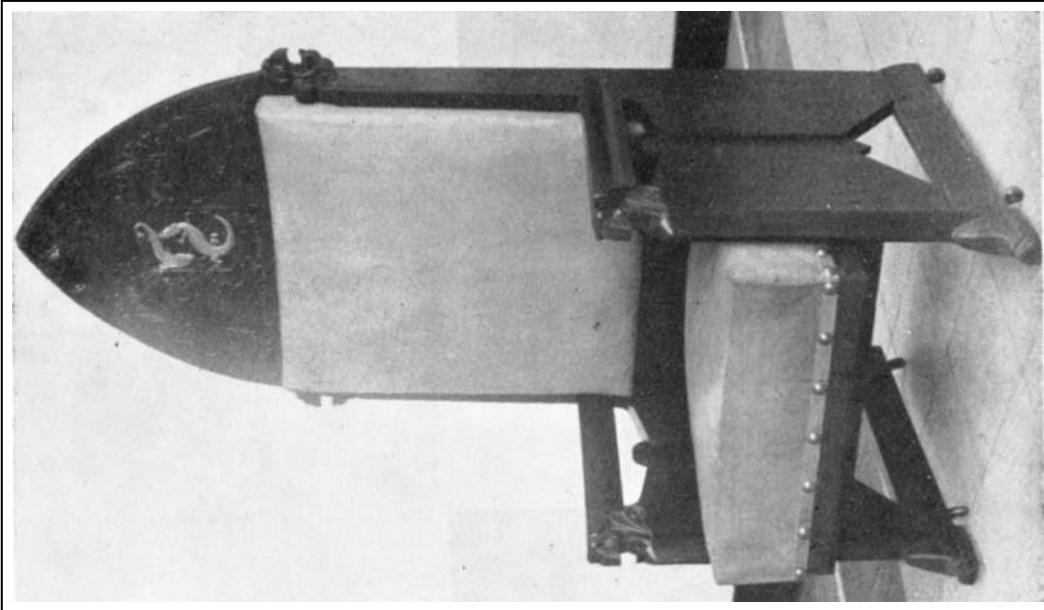


Fig.3.3.16. Town Hall in Ketabang: chair of the mayor (ca. 1930).

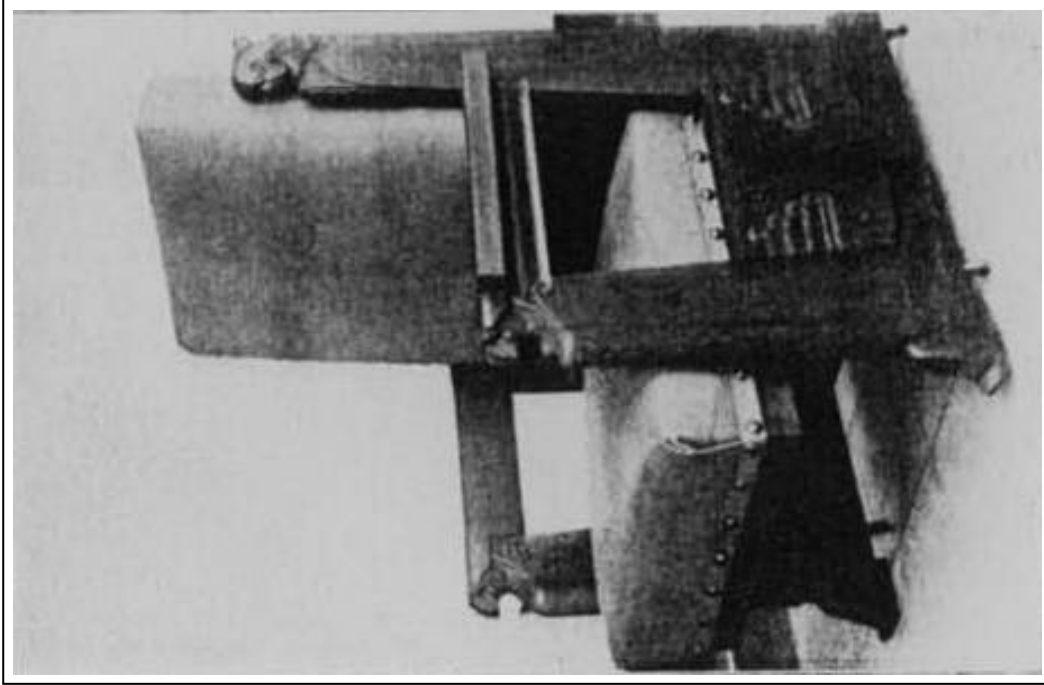


Fig.3.3.17. Town Hall in Ketabang: chair of the alderman (ca. 1930).

3.4. HOUSE ON SUMATRA STREET

The house on Sumatra street is probably the first house in Surabaya designed by Citroen for an individual client, namely E.W. Edgar, Esq.²⁰⁰ Unfortunately, it has been demolished and replaced by a new four-storey building for a tax service office so that further investigation can only be done by using secondary sources. Visual information is acquired from two pictures, each published in the *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 20/42 (14 May 1921) (fig.3.4.2) and from the cover of the *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935) (fig.3.4.1).

3.4.1. Location

The house was located at Sumatra 24, part of the Gubeng area.²⁰¹ The Gubeng area is immediately next to the Ketabang area where the new Town Hall is located. This area plays an important role in Surabaya because Gubeng Station is located there. This station provides train transportation between Surabaya and other cities in the south, southeast and southwest of East Java.²⁰²

3.4.2. Design and Construction

Although there is no source mentioning the year of design, Citroen probably designed the house in 1916, the year of its construction²⁰³. The large two-storey house had two sides with views. The front faced a street, while a river was the main view from the rear, where Citroen placed the living room. Bedrooms and service rooms were placed next to a minor street.²⁰⁴

The façade is arranged symmetrically and divided into three parts. The left and right parts have steeply saddle roofs with a slope of more than 60 degrees. The gables are decorated with vertical elements made of wood. Beneath the gables there is a series of five windows.

²⁰⁰ The only source mentioning the owner is J.P. Mieras, "Twee Landhuizen van Architect C. Citroen", in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 20/42 (14 May 1921), 122. The owner's name suggests that he is probably British.

²⁰¹ The exact address is determined by combining information stated in W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 5, and a Surabaya map, ca. 1935, published by *Woningbureau Versluis*. The first source explains that the United States consulate occupied this house at one time, while a legend of the second source reveals the complete address of that institution.

²⁰² The station was built by the *Staatsspoorweg* (SS). SS also owned the Kota or Semut station and the Wonokromo station. Another company, the *Nederlandsch Indische Spoorweg* (NIS), built the Pasar Turi station which provided trains to cities in the west, such as Semarang, Cirebon and Batavia.

²⁰³ Mieras, "Twee Landhuizen van Architect C. Citroen", in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 20/42 (14 May 1921), 122.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 122-3.

The exterior wall of the ground floor, ± 1 m thick, is made of river stone so that its surface is rough and the house does not need wide open galleries to provide cool inside temperatures. The wall shows three large rectangular openings; apparently there was a narrow gallery or transitional room behind the wall. The first or first floor has a brick wall which is about 0.70 m thick.²⁰⁵ Small rectangular openings in the walls provide ventilation on both the ground floor and the first floor.

The middle part of the house is set back about one to two meters from the sides and has a higher saddle roof. In the centre of the middle part, there is a concrete overhang suspended over the entrance. Above the entrance, on the wall of the upper storey or the first floor, the windows are taller than the windows of the side parts. Also, there is a balustrade on the edge of its roof.

The foundation consists of a reinforced concrete foundation combined with a river stone foundation. The first floor is made of a reinforced concrete construction that is coated with Italian cement tiles and local marble. All wood and ironwork was carried out by Chinese and indigenous workers. The construction phase of the house took about eighteen months.²⁰⁶

In short, the visual performance of this project is different from the previous project (the last design of the Town Hall), which shows influences of modern architecture. De Zeeuw mentioned that the appearance resembled a western style, especially the Victorian style. Citroen combined a western style design with a new environment.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 123.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [2].

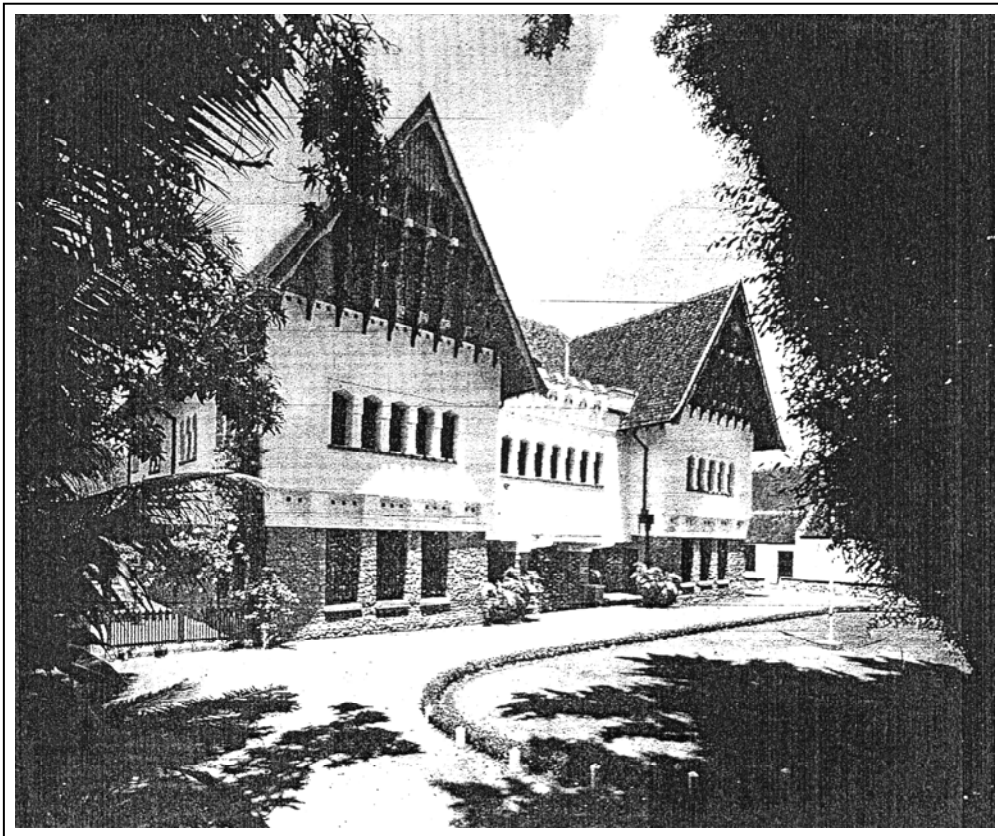


Fig.3.4.1. E.W. Edgar, Esq.'s House (1).

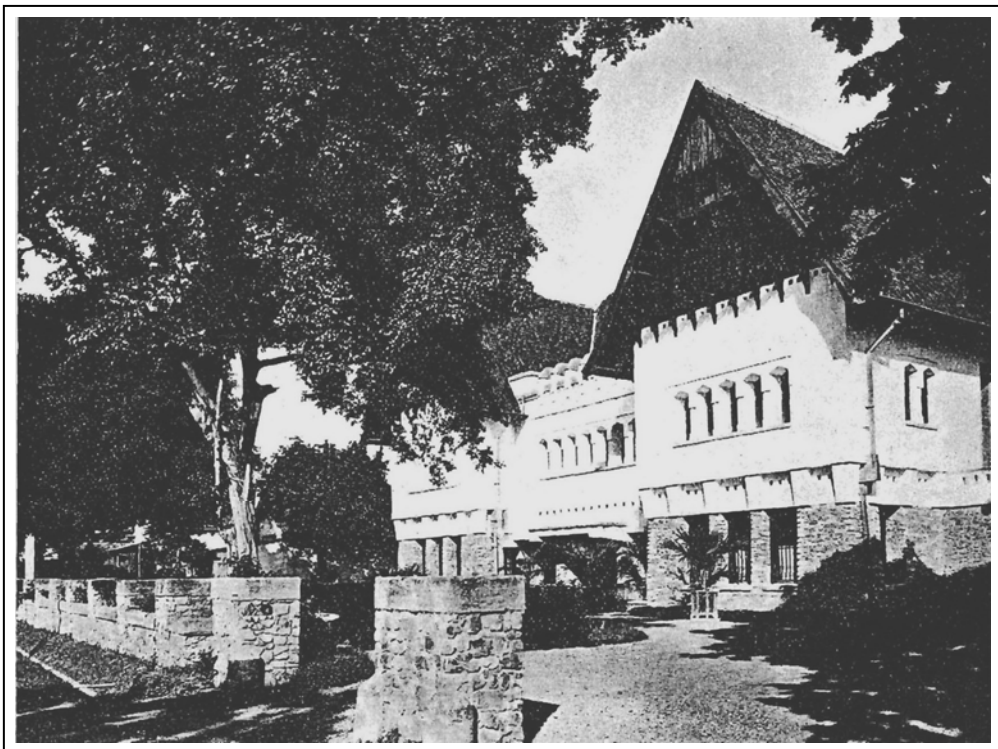


Fig.3.4.2. E.W. Edgar, Esq.'s House (2).

3.5. KEBONDALEM BRIDGE

3.5.1. Idea

The idea behind building the Kebondalem bridge over the Surabaya river was to open up access to the Ketabang area, the proposed area for building the Surabaya Town Hall. The Surabaya Municipality planned to extend its property towards the south. Up to the end of 1920, the centre of Surabaya was in the *Willemsplein* and the surrounding streets in *Benedenstad* (Lower Town). The idea to expand into the Ketabang area was proposed to the government in order to obtain approval. Next, the first secretary of the governor conveyed a report drawn up by a public consultant for *het Havenwezen* (the Port Service) in the Netherlands Indies. The report concerned the construction of a suspension bridge over the Mas river,²⁰⁸ which would perhaps speed up transportation of export commodities to Tanjung Perak, port of Surabaya. The report raised the question of whether the bridge would be included in the budget of 1918, or whether the Municipality would follow the proposal to unify the bridges. This latter proposal had been presented by council member Cool and had been approved by the Director of Public Works.²⁰⁹ According to Cool, one thing that should be paid attention to was that the total budget should be lower than or the same as the budget for a monumental bridge.²¹⁰ Finally, on 16 May 1917, the government decided that the City Council's idea to build a by-pass over the Surabaya river complemented the proposal of the public consultant for the Port Service so that these two proposals could be combined. The location and the type of bridge would be related to the delayed plans for laying tram tracks. The funds for the construction were separated from the budget of 1918.²¹¹ This decision was strengthened by the City Council decision on 13 June 1917.²¹² At the same time, the decision was taken to raise a part of South and North Ketabang in order to prevent flooding in the wet season.

3.5.2. Design

At first, the bridge was designed using a steel construction, in accordance with the government plan. No information can be found on who designed this first version of the bridge. However, because of a shortage in the supply of steel in the market, the structure was eventually made of wood.²¹³ Citroen was appointed to design the bridge after 10 October 1917. As far as we know, this was his first civil construction. The bridge had a

²⁰⁸ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917 met Beknopte Verslagen over 1915 en 1916*, 39. Surabaya river branches off Mas river and Pegirian river in Ambengan.

²⁰⁹ The further information on Cool's proposal cannot be found.

²¹⁰ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917*, 40.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

span of 7 x 7.7 m²¹⁴ and a width of 8 m,²¹⁵ six m of which was intended for a traffic line and 2 x 1 m for sidewalks on either side.²¹⁶

3.5.3. Construction

The construction of the steel bridge was started on 18 June 1917. Both of the abutments were completed with a lower section of supporting stone. However, a month later all activities were stopped, because there was no material, especially steel, available in the market.²¹⁷

On 10 October 1917, the Municipality released a Municipal decision stating that the bridge would be built using wood.²¹⁸ Citroen redesigned the bridge based on the already finished foundation. This means that the width was still 8 metres.

After the design was finished, the Municipality invited suppliers to tender for the required woodworks supply. However, the tender was cancelled and the company of "Koetai" in Surabaya was appointed as a supplier. According to the contract, all wooden frames had to be finished by the middle of February 1918 and all piles had to be finished a month later. The whole bridge was to be executed in ironwood (*ijzerhout*) or *ulin* wood (Latin name: *Eusideroxylon Zwagerii*).²¹⁹

Since there was a design change, a pile test had to be executed in order to find out how long the piles needed to be. Based on the result of this test, it was calculated that the bridge needed 12 m wood piles. This installation of the wood piles only incurred a cost of f 6,159.75.²²⁰

3.5.4. Post-construction

3.5.4.1. Tram Track over the Bridge

As mentioned before, the Municipality planned to raise the ground level of parts of North and South Ketabang. Large quantities of sand were needed to carry out the plan,. This sand was taken from other places, in the south of Surabaya, in order to raise these

²¹⁴ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 4.

²¹⁵ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917*, 109.

²¹⁶ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 4.

²¹⁷ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917*, 109.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 110.

Iron or *ulin* wood is a kind of wood which is resistant to being soaked in water. It can be found widely in Borneo (now Kalimantan).

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

areas of Ketabang. Until 18 June 1917, this activity had not been started although an unloading shed had been finished.²²¹ The delay was caused by logistic problems; the council had difficulty deciding how to bring sand from its sources to the destination.

Council member C.F.M. Verstijnen proposed to use trams, managed by OJS (*Oost-Java Stoomtram Maatschappij*), to transport the sand.²²² In principle, his proposal was supported by council member Hekket during the meeting of 17 September 1919. The tram ran from Keputran to the *Palmenlaan* (now Panglima Sudirman street), crossed *Simpang*, and finally passed the Kebondalem bridge. This bridge was deemed strong enough to carry the load of the tram. This was the shortest route or by-pass to access Ketabang. However, Hekket suggested that this route was only to be used for two years because it was potentially damaging to the street when the tram passed through the *Palmenlaan*.²²³ Council member Th.B.A. Faubel asked whether OJS planned to set up a tram track through the *Palmenlaan*.²²⁴ He also did not understand why the proposal had not been submitted to the technical committee to get their recommendations. OJS had been planning to lay tram tracks since 1917, the same year in which the Kebondalem bridge was built.²²⁵

Mayor A. Meyroos considered the existing street - at only 8 m - too narrow for the tracks to be laid. Also, he considered it too dangerous for the tram to run from Keputran and turn onto the *Palmenlaan* because there was a sharp curve from one street to the next. Finally, all participants agreed to obtain the recommendations of the technical committee. Instead, J. Hekket the issue was to be solved.²²⁶

3.5.4.2. Preventing Flooding in the Ketabang Area

As it was a newly developed area, Ketabang had to be protected from the threat of flooding in the wet season so that it would be appropriate to function as the new city centre. The Municipality undertook several projects, such as setting up drainage culverts, building sluices in the Surabaya river and raising the ground level in Ketabang. The Ketabang area was divided in several sections. The building of culverts in the Ketabang drainage area II had not been finished in 1917 because the Municipality focused on fabricating several types of culverts itself so that by the end of 1917, from a budget of f 5,000 only f 86.70 had been expended.²²⁷ Concerning the sluices, Mayor A.

²²¹ Ibid., 108.

²²² *Notulen van der Openbare Vergadering van der Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1919*, 17 September 1919, 420-1.

²²³ Ibid., 421.

²²⁴ Ibid., 420.

²²⁵ Ibid., 421.

²²⁶ Ibid., 422.

²²⁷ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917*, 108.

Meyroos had submitted a proposal to construct two sluices. However, after council member J. Hekket had lodged a complaint, the construction of only one sluice was approved. This sluice was to be built in the part of the Surabaya river that runs through Gunungsari, the southern part of Surabaya.²²⁸

Although the Municipality had planned to raise the ground level of the Ketabang area and had built storage facilities for the building material and an unloading shed for sand, it faced some constraints. Besides the transportation of the sand, the Municipality also encountered supply problems. In the beginning of the project, the sand was supplied by the sand mining company "Brantas". Later, Chinese contractor Han Kang Lioe took over the supply.²²⁹ Because of a problem which was unknown, the Municipality eventually was forced to liquidate this company.²³⁰ The Municipality took over all equipment, such as mud mills and boats. Once the contractor's tasks had been taken over, all the problems relating to sand were resolved, in terms of both supply and transportation of the sand.

Local people called the Kebondalem bridge "the Japanese bridge" because a large traditional Japanese gate was built on the southern end of the bridge in January 1937 in celebration of Princess Juliana's wedding to Bernhard of Lippe-Biesterfeld.²³¹ Within a few years this gate was replaced by a new gate of twice the width, using reinforced concrete.²³²

²²⁸ *Notulen van der Openbare Vergadering van der Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1919*, 17 September 1919, 420.

²²⁹ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917*, 108.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 109.

²³¹ A.C. Broeshart, et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994), 148.

²³² Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 4.



Fig.3.5.1. Kebondalem Bridge (1).

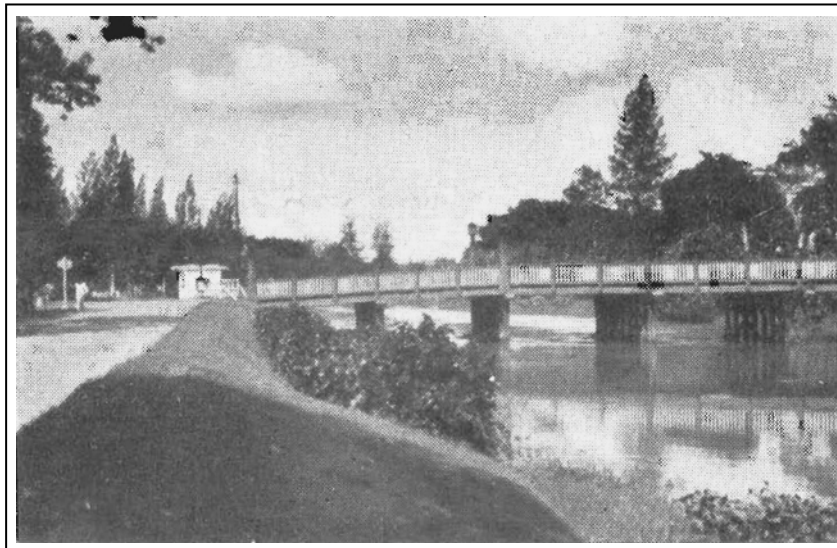


Fig.3.5.2. Kebondalem Bridge (2).



Fig.3.5.3. Kebondalem Bridge: the Japanese Gate Built in January 1937.

3.6. BATAAFSCHE PETROLEUM MAATSCHAPPIJ (BPM) OFFICE

The *N.V. Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (BPM) was founded on 26 February 1907 in The Hague.²³³ Formerly, it was *Dordtsche Petroleum Maatschappij*. In the same year in the Netherlands Indies, BPM was the principal player in a merger between Royal Dutch Petroleum Company and Shell Transport and Trading Company. Royal Dutch Petroleum Company had exploited oil wells in North Sumatra since 1890. As a consequence of the merger, Royal Dutch Petroleum Company passed all its concessions in the Netherlands Indies to BPM.²³⁴

3.6.1. Location

Before the BPM office was built there, the site located on the *Sociëteitstraat* (now Veteran 6-8) was occupied by a clubhouse owned by the Concordia Club. The clubhouse was one of the public amenities found in Indonesian cities during the Dutch colonial period. Of course, it was mainly aimed at a European clientele. Almost every big city had at least one clubhouse.

In Surabaya, the first clubhouse was established by the Concordia Club in 1843.²³⁵ Concordia was Surabaya's original Officers' Club. Its first building was located on the *Sociëteitstraat*. The building was designed by architect J.P. Ermeling, a captain of military engineering (*genie*), who stayed in Surabaya from 1859 to 1872.²³⁶ After it was converted into the BPM office in 1917,²³⁷ the club occupied a venue in Tunjungan until it finally moved to Tegalsari in 1924.²³⁸

²³³ http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bataafse_Petroleummaatschappij

²³⁴ http://basdevoogd.nl/fuel_in_holland.htm

²³⁵ Dukut Imam Widodo, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, 2 (Surabaya: Dinas Pariwisata, 2002), 300.

Other clubhouses were *Simpangsche Sociëteit* and *Modderlust Sociëteit*. The first was located on the corner of the *Simpangstraat* and *Dijkermanstraat* (now Pemuda street and Yos Sudarso street). It was designed by W. Westmaas in 1907 (Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Surabaya 1870-1940* [Yogyakarta: Andi, 1996], 201). The *Modderlust Sociëteit* accommodated the Royal Netherlands Navy (RNN) officers' activities. The society building was located in the naval complex at Ujung. In the beginning, the club occupied an unknown building in the naval complex. It then moved to a temporary building made of bamboo and wood in a site later occupied by the coal sheds on the eastern embankment of the Western Basin. From 1867, the club was established in the third building. And finally, the Naval Officers' Club built a new building on the head of the Ujung area facing the Madura Strait. It was designed by B.N. de Vistarini and built between September 1931 and August 1932 (J.R. van Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld* [Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2004], 82).

²³⁶ Widodo, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, 1 (Surabaya: Dinas Pariwisata, 2002), 160.

²³⁷ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [2].

²³⁸ Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld*, 180.

3.6.2. Old Building as *Concordia Sociëteit* Building

As mentioned above, the BPM office building was originally built in 1843 and designed by J.P. Ermeling. As a captain of *genie*, he did not have a formal education in architecture. He designed the building in an eclectic style.

The front part of the building had two storeys. Its main entrance faced the *Sociëteitstraat* and was directly connected to the front veranda. This veranda was a transitional room between the outside and the inside and played a role as a buffer against the heat in the tropical climate. In contrast to this practical element, almost all of the space elements were designed in a western architectural style.

The veranda was flanked symmetrically by two wings which exhibited a fully European style, from its mass to its details (fig.3.6.1). A balustrade decorated the edges of the roofs. There were also ornaments on the top corners of the wings. The walls had large windows which were not covered by any additional roofs or eaves. The top parts of the upper floor windows had semi-circular arches, while the ground floor windows were simply rectangular.

3.6.3. New Building as BPM Office

Citroen received the task of renovating the *Concordia Sociëteit* building in 1917 and finished the design in the same year.²³⁹ A year later, construction on the building was finished. There is no information on why Citroen was appointed to draw up a design. Perhaps, after Citroen had been appointed to draw up the first design of the Surabaya Town Hall located in the Town Park,²⁴⁰ and after his design had been published in 1916²⁴¹, he had acquired a wide social network which included many municipal officers and heads of the companies in Surabaya.

Citroen radically changed the design of both the exterior and the interior of the building from an eclectic style to a modern style. The new two-storey building is shaped like the letter U and faces south, rather than west (fig.3.6.11). The west wing houses the auditorium and the east wing consists of smaller rooms used to accommodate other activities. As a consequence, there are two main entrances to the building, compared to only one main entrance in the old building. In view of its function, the west wing is wider than the east wing. In front of the west wing entrance, there was a small building which has been demolished (fig.3.6.9). No information can be found on what function

²³⁹ Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, s.p. [2].

²⁴⁰ Location of the Town Park is only approximately less than 1 km from the *Concordia Sociëteit* building.

²⁴¹ Anonymous, "Een Nieuw Stadhuis voor Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië* 50, 1188-9.

this building had. Perhaps it was a gasoline station.²⁴² There is a wide yard in front of and between the two wings, which can be used as a parking area or for outdoor activities.

The overall design of the building shows the influence of cubism. All parts of the building were equipped with flat roofs made of concrete. In the centre of the west wing roof, there is an additional storey consisting of one room, also with a flat roof. A series of rectangular windows was placed on all sides of the building. These windows were not covered by additional roofs or eaves so that these elements do not reflect architectural characteristics typical for a tropical climate. The windows above the west main entrance are similar to those on E.W. Edgar's house, while the design of the gutters is similar to that of the Surabaya Town Hall (the final design).

The interior of the building is plain; there is almost no ornamentation. The aesthetical components found are stained-glass in several windows showing geometrical patterns as well as pictures of transportation modes such as a ship, a plane and a train (fig.3.6.13 and 3.6.14), hexagonal holes in the brick railing of the stairs (fig.3.6.15), the door handles of the auditorium which do not reflect the modern character of the design, and natural polished teakwood paneling on the lower part of columns. The building was constructed by the *Nederlandsche Aanneming Maatschappij* (Nedam).²⁴³

²⁴² Based on a photograph in L.F. van Gent, et al., *Indië in Woord en Beeld* (Wetevreden: Topografische Inrichting, 1924), 143.

²⁴³ Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990), 99.



Fig.3.6.1. Concordia Sociëteit: view from the south-west.



Fig.3.6.2. Concordia Sociëteit: veranda.



Fig.3.6.3. Concordia Sociëteit: dancing room.



Fig.3.6.4. Concordia Sociëteit: billiard room.



Fig.3.6.5. Concordia Sociëteit: bowling room.



Fig.3.6.6. Concordia Sociëteit: card playing room.



Fig.3.6.7. Concordia Sociëteit: reading room.



Fig.3.6.8. Concordia Sociëteit: tennis court.

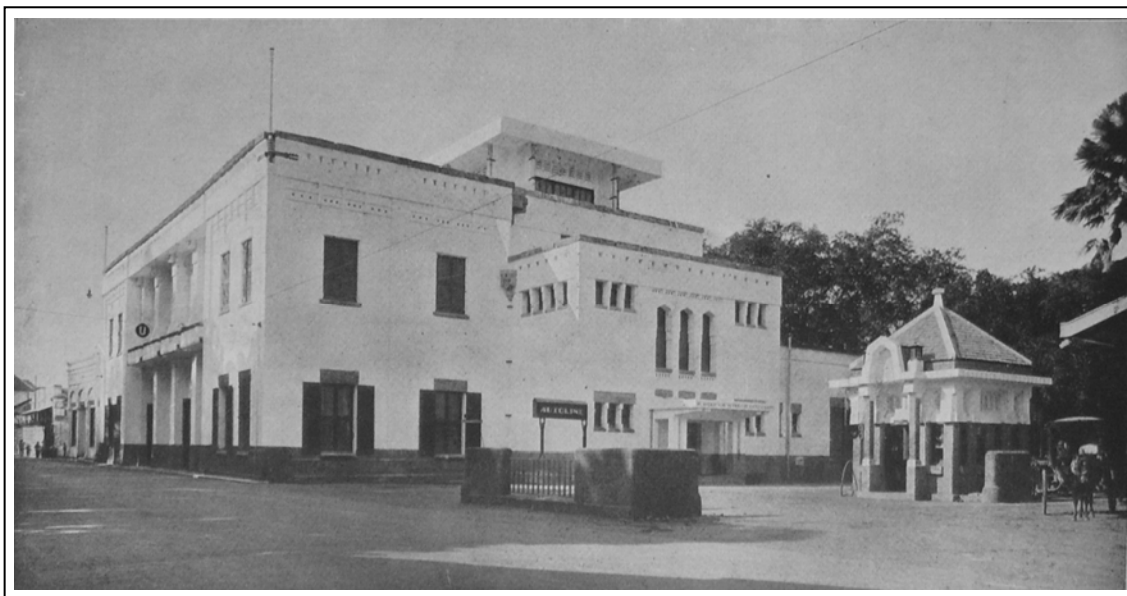


Fig.3.6.9. BPM Building: view from the southwest (ca. 1920).



Fig.3.6.10. BPM Building: view from the north-west in 2007.



Fig.3.6.11. BPM Building: view from the south-east.



Fig.3.6.12. BPM Building: ventilation and ornamental holes.

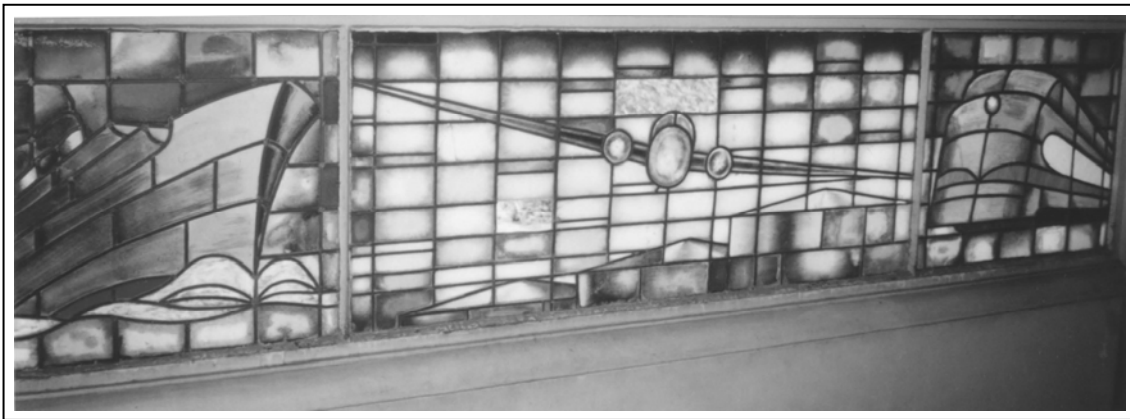


Fig.3.6.13. BPM Building: ship, plane and train in a stained glass window.



Fig.3.6.14. BPM Building:
stained glass window
with geometric
pattern.

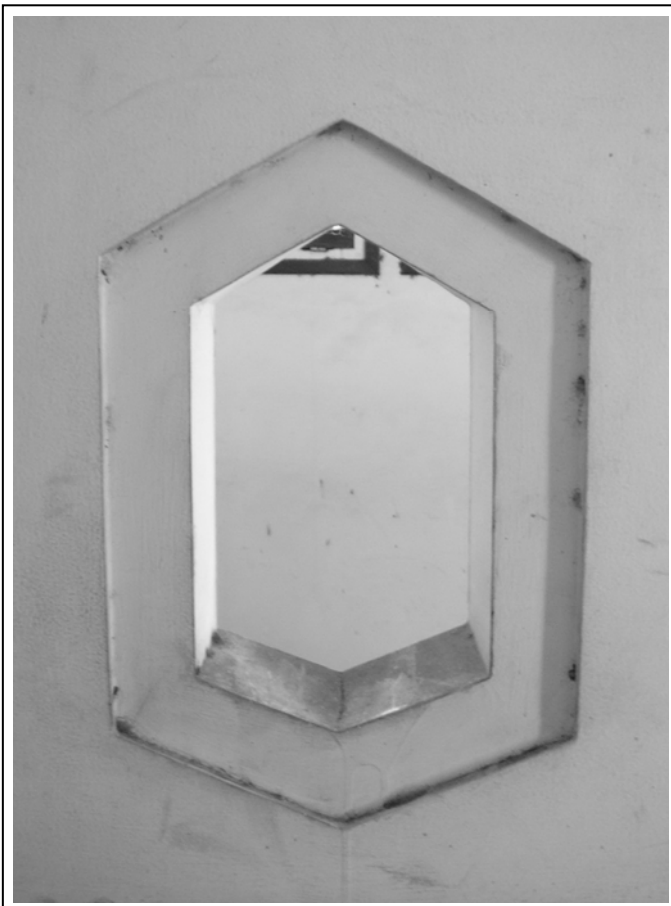


Fig.3.6.15. BPM Building: hexagonal hole.

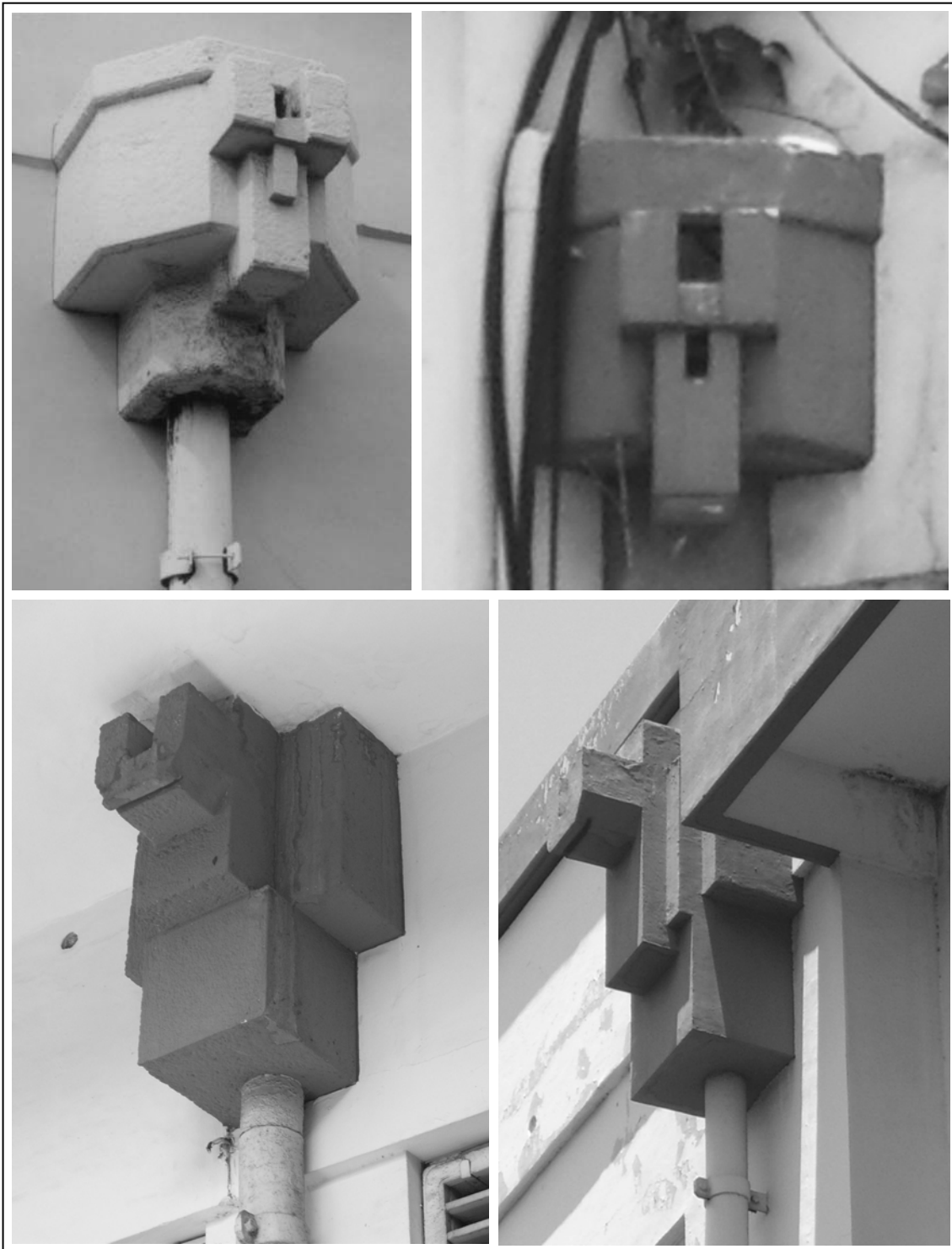


Fig.3.6.16. BPM Building: gutters.

3.7. "K.K. KNIES" MUSIC AND PIANO SHOP

The oldest publication which mentions the K.K. Knies Music and Piano Shop is an article written by Lemei.²⁴⁴ The shop was located at Tunjungan 55, while the owner lived at Embong Tanjung 14.²⁴⁵ Tunjungan street has been a famous shopping street in Surabaya since the Dutch colonial period. This shopping area developed after the town centre was moved to the south. Several companies and businesses established new shops in this street, moved their shops from the Lower Town, or set up a flagship shop while leaving the previous shop in the Lower Town as a branch.

The scope of this project designed in 1917²⁴⁶ is very limited. Citroen only designed the front wall (*gevel*) or parts of the facade.²⁴⁷ Unfortunately, no further information can be found. The building has since been demolished and its site currently gives access to a commercial building complex (fig.3.7.1).²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 5.

²⁴⁵ *Telefoongids voor Soerabaja* No. 159 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, January 1941), 47.

²⁴⁶ Cor Passchier, *Lijst van Architecten en Stedebouwkundigen Werkzaam in Nederlands Indië tot 1970* ('s-Hertogenbosch: P.A.C Architects and Consultants, 2006), 12, while Akihary mentioned it in 1917-8 (Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* [Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990], 98). Lemei does not mention it.

²⁴⁷ Information found in the aforementioned sources is not clear.

²⁴⁸ Providing there has not been any change in the numbering of buildings in Tunjungan street from 1941 until now.

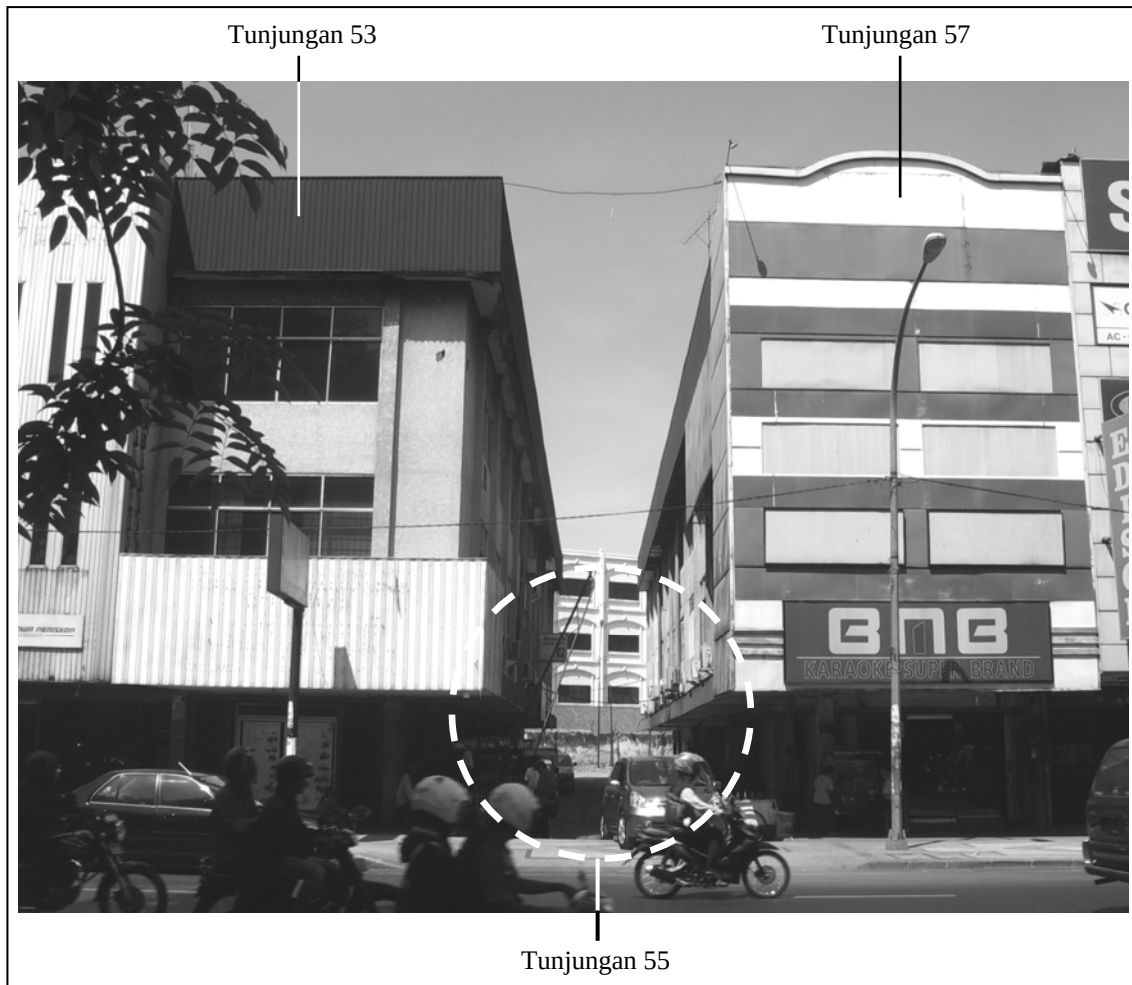


Fig.3.7.1. Site at Tunjungan 55 in 2009.

3.8. SHOP OF “VAN KEMPEN, BEGEER AND VOS” ROYAL DUTCH PRECIOUS METAL COMPANY

3.8.1. Company

Royal Van Kempen and Begeer was established in Zoetermeer in 1789.²⁴⁹ The founder of this venture was Johannes Mattheüs van Kempen. He was born in Utrecht in 1764 and was the only son of Pieter van Kempen and Margaretha van Sweringen. In 1777, he was apprenticed to Meester den Briter in training to become a silversmith. In 1789, Van Kempen founded a company and appointed himself as chairman. His sons, Pieter Johannes and Johannes Mattheüs, also chose the silver trade as their profession.²⁵⁰

In 1841, the company obtained authorisation from *het Koninklijk Wapen* (The Royal Arms) to conduct business. Upon the opening of a new factory in June 1858, the company received the predicate “Royal” from the Dutch King William III. The company grew and opened international offices. The Netherlands Indies was one of the largest markets. After the death of J.M. van Kempen III in 1877, his youngest son J.M. van Kempen IV became the president of the company.²⁵¹

On the advice of the Rotterdam Bank Association (now ABN-AMRO Bank), Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos had already merged in 1918. On 17 June 1919, the founding of the Royal Netherlands Precious Metal Company or *de Koninklijke Nederlandsche Edelmetaal Bedrijven* (KNEB) Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos was announced formally in the press. This company was quoted on the stock exchange from that day forward.²⁵²

In 1925, a reorganisation became necessary, which led to the formation of an Executive Board consisting of C.J.A. Begeer and D. Vos. A.E. van Kempen had left the company and become director for competitor Gerritsen in Zeist. As a result, Gerritsen was then called Gerritsen and Van Kempen. Van Kempen's leaving caused a serious disorder in KNEB Begeer and Vos so that the profit of Gerritsen and Van Kempen rose. The Van Kempen factory continued as the advanced silver factory.²⁵³

For many years, both factories competed, especially in the design and manufacture of high quality items. In 1960, there was a new merger between KNEB in The Hague and Royal Gerritsen and Van Kempen in Zeist.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ <http://www.kempen-begeer.nl/pages/menu1.asp>

²⁵⁰ http://www.oldmemories.nl/fmi/xsl/oldmemories/bibliotheek_detail.xml?lay=Web+Bibliotheek+Detail&Bibliotheek+ID=14&Bibliotheek+ID.op=eq&-find

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

3.8.2. Shop

In Surabaya, KNEB Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos established a store on Tunjungan 31,²⁵⁵ a famous new shopping street in Surabaya after the town centre had been moved to the south. The store was managed by W.L. Wesselo.²⁵⁶ In 1917, Citroen designed the gable or parts of the shop facade.²⁵⁷ Unfortunately, further information cannot be found. Currently, the building located at this address is occupied by a mobile phone dealer (fig.3.8.1).²⁵⁸ Most of the facade is now covered by metal sheeting, only a small upper part still reveals the roof designed with a mansard roof, so that it is difficult to describe the whole design.



Fig.3.8.1. Building at Tunjungan 31 in 2009.

²⁵⁵ *Gids voor Soerabaja* No. 119 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, September 1927), 34.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990), 98.

Information in the aforementioned source is not clear.

²⁵⁸ Providing there have not been any changes in the numbering of buildings in Tunjungan street during 1927 up to now.

3.9. DARMO HOSPITAL

Generally speaking, at the beginning of the twentieth century health services in Surabaya were no different from the same services in other large cities in the Netherlands Indies. There was an institution called *Dienst der Volksgezondheid* (DVG) or the Public Health Service. Formerly, this institution had been known as the *Burgerlijke Geneeskundige Dienst* (BGD) or the Civil Medical Service. One of its departments arranged the allocation of town physicians. Two physicians who held free positions were designated, of course with a particular compensation, to treat all civil claimants of free medical care, both Europeans and natives. For several years, both positions were only intended for, and occupied by, Europeans.²⁵⁹

In large cities or municipalities where the population was dense, there was a high demand for public health services. An organisation was founded to intensively supervise the compliance with existing regulations and to ensure that provisions for hygiene were being made.²⁶⁰

In September 1913, a local health service was established in Batavia. On 24 November 1916, Surabaya followed Batavia's example as can be deduced from the Municipal Sheet released on that date. This institution worked under the guidance of the inspector of DVG.²⁶¹ In Surabaya, the health service had the following duties:

- tracing and fighting contagious diseases, and the transport of contagious patients;
- the study of the transfers of contagious patients via sea and the regulation of the measures to reduce transport;
- data collection on morbidity and mortality, detecting their causes, examination of influences that pose a threat to public health and the indication of resources for improvement;
- special research to attain knowledge on the most efficient manner of suppressing epidemics;
- the study of infant mortality in the native population and the designation of resources to reduce infant mortality; and
- the implementation of special tasks relating to public health by the head inspector or the inspector of East Java.²⁶²

Besides this service, there was a *Stadsverband* which was also charged with public health care, and with the government supervision of public health within the Surabaya Municipality. At its inception, this institution was situated in Lower Town

²⁵⁹ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 288-9.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 289.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid., 290.

(*Benedenstad*) like other government buildings.²⁶³ In 1906, it moved to Simpang established part of a building which was formerly a mental hospital, beside the military hospital.²⁶⁴

Since the stream - or rush - of patients was constantly growing, an increase in the number of rooms was urgently needed. The rooms were so crowded, the patients were reportedly 'packed like sardines in a tin'. Even the galleries were used to house patients. The beds stood in double lines. As a temporary solution, three rooms in the *Nederlands Indische Artsenschool* (NIAS)²⁶⁵ or the Netherlands Indies Medical School as well as two rooms in the regional laboratory were borrowed.²⁶⁶ These rooms were only released to the public health service in 1919. The laboratory obtained its own building, while the NIAS moved to the new complex in Karangmenjangan in 1924.²⁶⁷

The war years in Europe, especially 1918, produced substantial difficulties for those in charge of individual patient care. The shipping line between Europe and the Netherlands Indies was out of commission so that the supply of medicine and bandages from Europe was discontinued.²⁶⁸ This situation lasted up to approximately 1919. After the end of the First World War, normal service was gradually restored. Four years later, in 1923, the buildings previously occupied by a military hospital in Simpang were taken over which ended the shortage of rooms.²⁶⁹

In 1915, the government renamed the *Stadsverband* in Simpang *Centrale Burgerlijke Ziekeninrichting* (CBZ) or Central Civil Patient Institution. It was also known as Simpang Hospital.²⁷⁰ The hospital functioned not only as a nursing institution but also as a teaching hospital for NIAS and *Nederlands Indische Tandartsenschool* (NITS)²⁷¹ students.²⁷² The CBZ also trained indigenous nursing staff and midwives.²⁷³

²⁶³ Ibid., 290-1.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 291.

²⁶⁵ NIAS was established in 1913. It educated graduates of the MULO (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*). After seven years of medical training, they became Indies Medical Doctors in the Netherlands Indies (Ibid., 294).

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 291.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 292.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ The NITS or *School tot Opleiding van Indische Tandartsen* (STOVIT) was founded in 1928. The entry requirement was a MULO B diploma. The training lasted five years. In the beginning, this school used the rooms in the NIAS building as far as possible, except for practical training, which took place in the dental clinic of the CBZ (Ibid., 294).

²⁷² Ibid., 292.

²⁷³ Ibid.

Other hospitals or health services owned by private institutions in this city were Darmo hospital on *Darmoboulevard*, the Roman Catholic hospital “St. Vincentius à Paulo” in Undaan,²⁷⁴ the William Booth hospital on the *Reinierszboulevard* (now Diponegoro street),²⁷⁵ the eye clinic in Undaan,²⁷⁶ and small hospital run by the Chinese Society “Soe Swie Tiong Hwa Ie Wan” in Kaliondo.²⁷⁷ There were also a small quarantine service in Pegirian, a large one in Sukolilo²⁷⁸ and a leprosarium in Semarang²⁷⁹. In order to support all these facilities, the DVG built a laboratory in Karangmenjangan in 1917.²⁸⁰

Darmo hospital and the R.K hospital “St. Vincentius à Paulo” served almost all types of patients. The William Booth hospital was intended exclusively for the nursing of women and children, and was used as a facility for midwife training for European women and girls.²⁸¹ The small Chinese hospital, finally, provided free medical care for the poor and opium-addicted patients of every ethnicity and nationality. These patients were treated by Chinese doctors.²⁸²

3.9.1. The Founding of Darmo Hospital

Darmo hospital was established by the *Soerabaiasche Ziekenverpleging* (SZV). This association, founded on 9 June 1897, aimed to improve public health services in Surabaya.²⁸³ Its services included:

- providing health service facilities, including equipment, managed by medical doctors, nurses and other personnel; and

²⁷⁴ This hospital occupied a building which was formerly a house owned by G.J. Eschauzier, a ‘sugar king’. This house was designed by E. Gugel from the *Technische Hoogeschool* Delft and built in ca. 1878 (G.H. von Faber, *Oud Soerabaia* [Soerabaja: Gemeente Soerabaia, 1931], 180). The new building on the *Reinerszboulevard* (now Diponegoro street) was opened officially on Sunday 28 October 1934 (Ibid., 289). It was designed by the Fermont and Cuypers architectural firm in 1931 (Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* [Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990], 101).

²⁷⁵ The William Booth hospital was opened in January 1925 and was owned by the Salvation Army.

²⁷⁶ The clinic was owned by *de Vereeniging “Soerabaiasche Oogheekundige Kliniek”* or the Surabayan Ophthalmological Clinic Association. It was founded on Friday 8 October 1915 by Dr. J.Th. Terburgh, Dr. A. Deutman and P. Egas. In October 1917, the clinic started the actual work by opening its service in a rented house at Undaan 36. Afterwards, it obtained a new building which was opened officially on 29 April 1933. It was designed by the *Algemeen Ingenieurs- en Architecten* (AIA) firm and built by *Nederlandsche Aanneming Maatschappij* or Nedam (Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 290). No information on when it was designed can be found (Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970*, 89).

²⁷⁷ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 292, 294.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 293.

²⁷⁹ It was opened in February 1918 and owned by the Salvation Army (Ibid., 290).

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 294.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 293.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Anonymous, *Sekilas Sejarah Rumah Sakit Darmo*, brochure of Darmo Hospital, s.p.

- offering services to all medical patients without discrimination with regards to social class, religion, ethnicity or nationality.²⁸⁴

During the first few years, the foundation was managed by a board which consisted of Dr. H.J. Offerhaus (chairperson), E. Fabius (vice-chairperson), J. Reysenbach (secretary), R. van Lennep (treasurer and also vice-secretary), and Dr. G.L. Mens Fiers Smeding, Dr. P.A. Platteeuw, Dr. C. Winkler Prins, Mr. J.W. Ramaer (commissioners).²⁸⁵

A year later, the foundation established its clinic, with 78 beds, situated in a building complex in Ngemplak.²⁸⁶ M.F. Bönnekamp († 6 March 1903 at Tosari), a pioneer of nursing in the Netherlands Indies, was appointed as the first director.²⁸⁷

In 1919, Citroen was commissioned to design a new building for the SZV hospital, and finished the design in the same year.²⁸⁸ No information can be found on the reason why SZV appointed him to design it. However, it is known that Citroen had a brother, Salomon, who was a medical doctor. As mentioned before, Salomon Citroen, born in Amsterdam on 22 January 1883, received training on tropical diseases in the *Tropen Museum*, now KIT, in Amsterdam. He came to Surabaya in February 1917.²⁸⁹ During the same year, he became a member of the health committee lead by A. van Dorsten.²⁹⁰ Salomon Citroen stayed in this city until 1931 and then returned to the Netherlands with his family.²⁹¹

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 288.

²⁸⁶ Ibid. and anonymous, *Sekilas Sejarah Rumah Sakit Darmo*, brochure of Darmo Hospital, s.p.

²⁸⁷ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 288.

²⁸⁸ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [3].

²⁸⁹ A private letter written by Uli Sierks Citroen to Denise Citroen, no date.

Uli is the first daughter of Salomon Citroen. She was born in Surabaya, 26 February 1917 and passed away in Laren (North Holland), 2004. Denise Citroen is one of the other Citroen family descendants. She currently lives in Amsterdam.

After his studies, Salomon worked as a medical doctor on a Navy ship. During his career, his ship sailed to tropical regions and visited New Guinea, Sumatra, and other islands. On 20 January 1916, he married Nelly Suze Croes, a teacher who was born in Jember, East Java on 29 May 1896. Nelly passed away in Hilversum, 16 February 1956. Based on a search in the *Gids voor Soerabaja* No. 123 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, January 1929), 15, it is clear that the couple stayed at Embong Malang 71 while Cosman Citroen was staying at Kayun 24.

²⁹⁰ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917 met Beknopte Verslagen over 1915 en 1916*, 13.

Other members of this committee were J.W. van der Spek, C.F.M. Verstijnen and A. van Gennep.

²⁹¹ A private letter written by Uli Sierks Citroen to Denise Citroen. He passed away in Auschwitz on 6 March 1944.

3.9.2. Location

This hospital is located at *Darmoboulevard* 90 (now Darmo 90), a site bought by SZV. The site still belongs to the Darmo area,²⁹² a new city expansion area planned by Henri Maclaine Pont in 1914.²⁹³ The site covers 228.8 ha²⁹⁴ and consists of Darmo I and Darmo II.²⁹⁵ These developments were largely in private hands, but the increase in Municipality intervention made the whole urban development much more balanced than developments in older areas. In 1930, the outline of the plan had already been applied, but because of the crisis at the beginning of the Second World War, a part of the planned territory in the south-west had been not yet cultivated.²⁹⁶

3.9.3. Design

In general, the plan for Darmo hospital is in the shape of a square, with an inner courtyard in the centre. At the front side or the eastern side, there is a portico which functions as the main entrance. It has three arches on the front and one on each side (north and south), and two lamps and two posts or flagpoles on the wall. Underneath the lamps, two flowerpots made of wood adorn the façade. The saddle roof has a turret made of wood, without a bell. In my opinion, the external appearance of this part resembles a religious building, i.e. a church, rather than a hospital because of the use of the arches and turret. The same opinion is found in a text written by De Zeeuw and Sumalyo.²⁹⁷

Almost all rooms have galleries on both sides, that is on the inner courtyard side as well as on the outer sides. These galleries are wide enough to function as circulation areas between rooms, as a veranda and terrace for patients and visitors, as a transition room from the outside to the inside and vice versa, and also as a buffer between the hot outside temperature and the cool inside. Low walls finished with a dark and coarse surface form the boundary of the galleries and the outside. Some of these walls have arches which function as aesthetical and structural elements. The same arches can be found along the galleries and in those places where the galleries intersect. To support

²⁹² Based on a comparison between a 1940 map of Surabaya and a site plan made by Karsten.

²⁹³ Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen, "Ontstaan van een Stedenbouwkundige Discipline", in Wim Ravesteijn and Jan Kop, *Bouwen in de Archipel: Burgelijke Openbare Werken in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië 1800-2000* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2004), 188. However, another source mentions 1915 (Gerrit de Vries and Dorothee Segaar-Höweler, *Henri Maclaine Pont (1881-1971): Architect, Constructeur, Archeoloog* [Rotterdam: Stichting BONAS, 2009], 82).

While Henri Maclaine Pont was planning the Darmo area, he still lived in Semarang.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ A.C. Broeshart, et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994), 22.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, s.p. [3] and Yulianto Sumalyo, *Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1993), 123.

the eaves or the roof of the galleries, Citroen designed supporting elements made of wood. Underneath these elements he placed flowerpots, also made of wood.

3.9.4. Construction

On 15 January 1921, G. Hempenius, the then director of SZV, laid the first foundation stone of the building.²⁹⁸ Two years later, by the end of 1922, it was finished.²⁹⁹ Unfortunately, there is no information on the constructor and the cost. After the building was finished, the hospital and also the foundation moved to the new building. At that time, all medical doctors, nurses and employees were Dutch.³⁰⁰

3.9.5. Extension

Approximately three years after it had started operating, Darmo hospital was extended. Part of the funding needed was subsidized by the Municipality based on a request made by the SZV. As compensation, the Municipality asked that two positions in the governing board of Darmo hospital be held by City Council members. This request was granted by the SZV and the placement was soon realized after consultation with the Mayor.³⁰¹ No information can be found on who was appointed to design the extension.

Initially, the hospital built pavilions for women and rooms for children. These rooms were constructed next to the first class rooms. The first part of this pavilion was intended for one children's room as well as five first class maternity rooms and one second class maternity room. Next, the galleries and bathrooms were built. At a right angle to this gallery there are the third class rooms, and a children's pavilion is located in the opposite wing.³⁰²

Entire buildings at the rear housed delivery rooms. These buildings were meant to absorb sound. There are also a playing room and a breast feeding room, which were provided to complete the hospital.³⁰³

During the Asian Pacific War, Darmo hospital was able to avoid occupation by Japanese soldiers. Some of the inventory was taken, but other items were rescued by

²⁹⁸ Anonymous, *Sekilas Sejarah Rumah Sakit Darmo*, s.p.

²⁹⁹ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 288.

³⁰⁰ Anonymous, *Sekilas Sejarah Rumah Sakit Darmo*, s.p.

³⁰¹ Anonymous, "Soerabaiasche Zieken Verpleging Darmo", in *Nieuwe Soerabaia Courant*, 7 April 1925, 9.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Ibid.

Dutch nurses. These nurses opened a clinic on Java street which was eventually also closed.³⁰⁴

After the war, the hospital was returned to the SZV. Several important parts of the hospital were rebuilt, such as the kitchen and delivery rooms, while some classes of nursing rooms were opened in February 1950. Since the renovation required a lot of funds which could not be borne by the foundation, several administrators of major Dutch trading companies established a foundation called *Stichting Medisch Contact Oost Java* (SMC). This foundation aimed to organize health services in East Java by providing funding and personnel. This foundation was supported by at least 55 large Dutch companies located in Indonesia at that time.³⁰⁵

With the support of the SMC, Darmo hospital developed rapidly, with a fully equipped operating room being provided. Also, children's rooms and the number of beds were increased. Several specialists, especially surgeons, came from the Netherlands. The influx of specialists heralded the beginning of the specialization era in this hospital.³⁰⁶

In 1959, due to a dispute on Papua Island, relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands deteriorated, and finally the diplomatic relationship between the two countries was broken. Many Dutch companies in Indonesia were taken over by the Indonesian government. This situation also impacted Darmo hospital. Dutch staff returned to their country, and their positions were occupied by Indonesian health care professionals.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁴ Anonymous, *Sekilas Sejarah Rumah Sakit Darmo*, s.p.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.



Fig.3.9.1. Darmo Hospital: aerial photograph in 2010.



Fig.3.9.2. Darmo Hospital: front and east gables (ca. 1930).



ca. 1935



2007

Fig.3.9.3. Darmo Hospital: portico.



Fig.3.9.4. Darmo Hospital: inner courtyard.



Fig.3.9.5. Darmo Hospital: gallery with arcade.



Fig.3.9.6. Darmo Hospital: turret.



Fig.3.9.7. Darmo Hospital:
overhang.

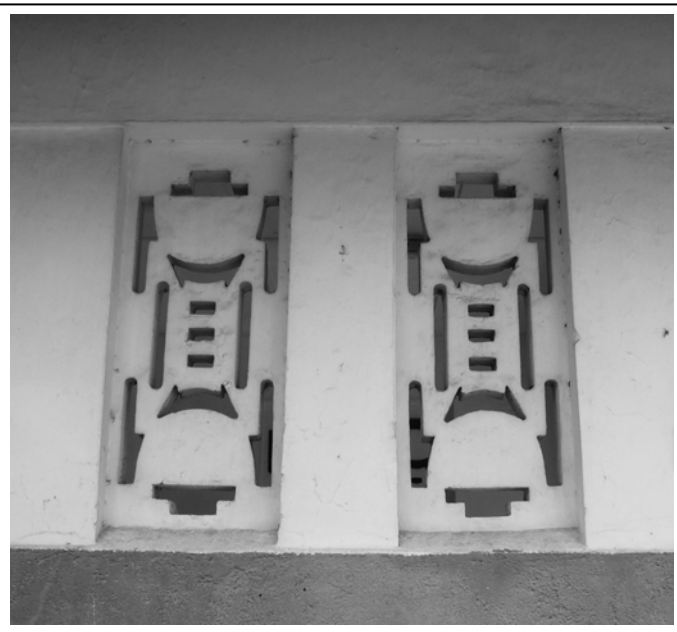


Fig.3.9.8. Darmo Hospital: ventilation opening.



Fig.3.9.9. Darmo Hospital: flower pots.



Fig.3.9.10. Darmo Hospital: plaque
commemorating the laying
of the first stone on 15
January 1921.

3.10. GUBENG BRIDGE

3.10.1. Idea and Decision

Gubeng bridge was the second civil construction Citroen designed after designing Kebondalem wood bridge. It also crossed the Surabaya river. The idea was to replace the old bridge, which was considered to be too narrow.³⁰⁸ Gubeng bridge was constructed out of steel which meant that it could not be made wider without having to remove it completely. It connected the Gubeng area and Ketabang, location of the new Town Hall, via Simpang street (now Pemuda street). Gubeng is one of the city expansion areas of Surabaya.³⁰⁹ The Municipality bought the area for the amount of f 145,000 in 1908.³¹⁰ Most of the area was used for housing for European people. However, the existence of the train station in Gubeng made it an important area.³¹¹ Not far to the west of this bridge, there was the old *Centrale Burgerlijke Ziekeninrichting* (CBZ) or Central Civil Patient Institution³¹² as well as Gubeng sluice in the south.

The decision to build the new bridge was taken in a meeting of the Surabaya City Council on 5 October 1921, led by substitute Mayor Th.B.A. Faubel. All members of the Council accepted the proposal, after which the Municipality declared the proposal accepted in the Municipal Sheet 1921, No. 248. The Municipal Sheet mentioned that the bridge was not only intended for cars and other vehicles, but also for electric trams operated by the *Oost-Java Stoomtram Maatschappij* (OJS).³¹³

OJS's plan to connect Gubeng to Simpang by an electric tram line had been in preparation since at least 1911.³¹⁴ This double track is part of the Gubeng-Palmenlaan route.³¹⁵ OJS built a tram stop on a platform of Gubeng station.

³⁰⁸ R. Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2 (1933), 8.

In W.H. Trom, *Rapport Betreffende de Electrificatie der Stadslijnen der Oost Java Stoomtram Maatschappij te Soerabaia* (Batavia: Nederlandsch Indische Tram Mij., 1911), 8 was mentioned that a screw piles (*schroefpalen*) bridge over Mas river would be designed for a double tram track with broadening of the bridgehead on the Gubeng side to accommodate two lines from Gubeng station and one from Gubeng street.

³⁰⁹ The expansion of Surabaya was never planned comprehensively by a city planner, like Semarang and Malang. Both these cities were planned by Thomas Karsten who was the only city planner in the Netherlands Indies at that time.

³¹⁰ Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Surabaya 1870-1940* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 1996), 108.

³¹¹ Gubeng station was built by *Staatsspoorwegen* (SS).

³¹² See chapter 3.9 on Darmo hospital.

³¹³ *Notulen der Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1921, 5 October 1921, 352.

³¹⁴ Based on Trom, *Rapport Betreffende de Electrificatie*, 1.

The first electric tram in Surabaya was operated from 1910 (E.C. Demmik, "De Electriche Tram te Soerabaia", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/8 [1939], 68).

3.10.2. Design

In 1922, Citroen was commissioned to design the bridge.³¹⁶ In this project, he was assisted by engineers of the *Dienst van Publieke Werken*.³¹⁷ Unfortunately, the drawings cannot be found. *Het Hoofd van Constructie en Bruggenbouw* (the Head of Construction and Bridges) of the *Staatsspoorwegen* (SS) sent a letter dated 7 February 1923³¹⁸ to the representative of OJS in Semarang concerning the design made by Citroen. OJS replied to it by sending a letter dated 22 February 1923³¹⁹ which contained a proposal for design modifications and supplements to be approved by the authorities.³²⁰ The Mayor of Surabaya received a letter concerning the design modifications from the Head of Construction and Bridges of the SS dated 17 September 1923.³²¹ The letter informed the Mayor that the modifications were still under consideration, but that the Director of Public Works did not have any objections.³²² The technical and financial committees also approved it.³²³

The new design was a bridge with a 47.4 m span, which consisted of one 22 m free span in the middle and two 13 m side spans,³²⁴ although Faber mentions a 22.5 m middle section and two 13.5 m side spans.³²⁵ The total width was 16 m,³²⁶ 12 m for traffic and the rest for two sidewalks on either side.³²⁷ Traffic was divided in three lines, one for double electric tram tracks in the centre and two lines for other vehicles.³²⁸

The middle part of the railing is more 'transparent'.³²⁹ It is made of steel bars, in contrast to the solid concrete in other parts.³³⁰ The use of steel has the advantage of avoiding cracks in the middle section. There is a difference in the vibration between the middle and side sections because of the dynamic load from the electric trams and other

³¹⁵ Trom, *Rapport Betreffende de Electrificatie*, 7.

³¹⁶ Determination of the date at which Citroen was commissioned is based on the offer letter to the Municipality concerning the budget, which was dated 1922 and signed by the Director of Public Works. Usually, the design is made first and followed by a calculation of the costs involved. Wouter de Zeeuw in *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [3] and Heida mentioned 1924 as the design year.

³¹⁷ Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2, 8.

³¹⁸ No. 1380/455.

³¹⁹ No. 3568/13.

³²⁰ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 265, 14 November 1923, 911.

³²¹ No. 9800/455.

³²² Ibid., 912.

³²³ Ibid., 912-3.

³²⁴ Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2, 8.

³²⁵ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 10.

³²⁶ Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, s.p. [3].

³²⁷ Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2, 9. Also Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 10.

³²⁸ Ibid., 10.

³²⁹ Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, s.p. [4].

³³⁰ Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2, 8.

vehicles; the farther the position from the bridge supports, the more substantial the vibration.

Several parts made of solid concrete are finished by iron 'fish-fin' ornaments. The railing also features cylinders with pointed iron tips, similar to the same elements in Surabaya Town Hall. The electric wire is attached to eight tall lamp posts.³³¹ The top of each post has iron ornaments, the form of which is also similar to ornaments in the Town Hall. Besides being aesthetic elements, these ornaments function as hooks for electric wires and street lamps. The positioning of the posts echoes the position of the supports of the bridge beams.

The bridge's upper structure was made of reinforced concrete using the Gerber beam principle.³³² The height of the beam in the middle section is only 90 cm,³³³ in order to allow boats to pass through. The maximum thickness or height of the beams is 2.90 m and the width is 35 cm.³³⁴ Each beam holds 13 steel bars, each 1.25" in diameter size. Each part of the foundation of the bridge has two 14 m *langedy* wood piles, each of which is able to carry a maximum load of 12 tons.³³⁵ The thickness of the plate is 12 cm.³³⁶

3.10.3. Cost

After the Municipality and the City Council agreed to the proposal to build the bridge, and the design was finished by Citroen, the Director of Public Works sent a letter offering the total budget for building the new Gubeng bridge for the amount of f 254,000.³³⁷ OJS contributed f 115,000 to this budget.³³⁸ Furthermore, the Municipality collected f 15,000 from the sale of iron or steel from the old bridge. At least another f 5,000 was raised from the sale of the wood used for the moulds (*bekisting*) of the reinforced concrete and a temporary dam.³³⁹ Thus, the Municipality only raised f 119,000.³⁴⁰ This figure was included in the budget of 1923 point XIX B 202.³⁴¹ The

³³¹ Ibid., 9.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid., 8.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid., 9.

Initially, the piles were to be made of iron or ulin wood (*ijzerhouten*). Because of delivery problems, finally *langedy* wood was used. No information can be found on the local name and latin name of this kind of wood in flora websites.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1922 No. 280, 19 December 1922, 1095.

A different version was written by Heida. He mentioned f 266,000 as the total cost.

³³⁸ Ibid., 1095-6.

³³⁹ Ibid., 1095.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 1095-6.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 1097.

financial committee had approved the design and its budget, while recommendations from the technical committee would be delivered soon.³⁴²

3.10.4. Construction

Based on the Municipal Sheet No. 280 dated 19 December 1922, the bid for the construction work was ready to be held and the invitation would be announced publicly. No information can be found on the bidders. However, it is clear that the *Nederlandsche Aanneming Maatschappij* (Nedam) built the bridge between 1923-1924.³⁴³

³⁴² Ibid., 1096.

³⁴³ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 10.

However, Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2, 9, mentions that the bridge was designed and constructed in 1924.

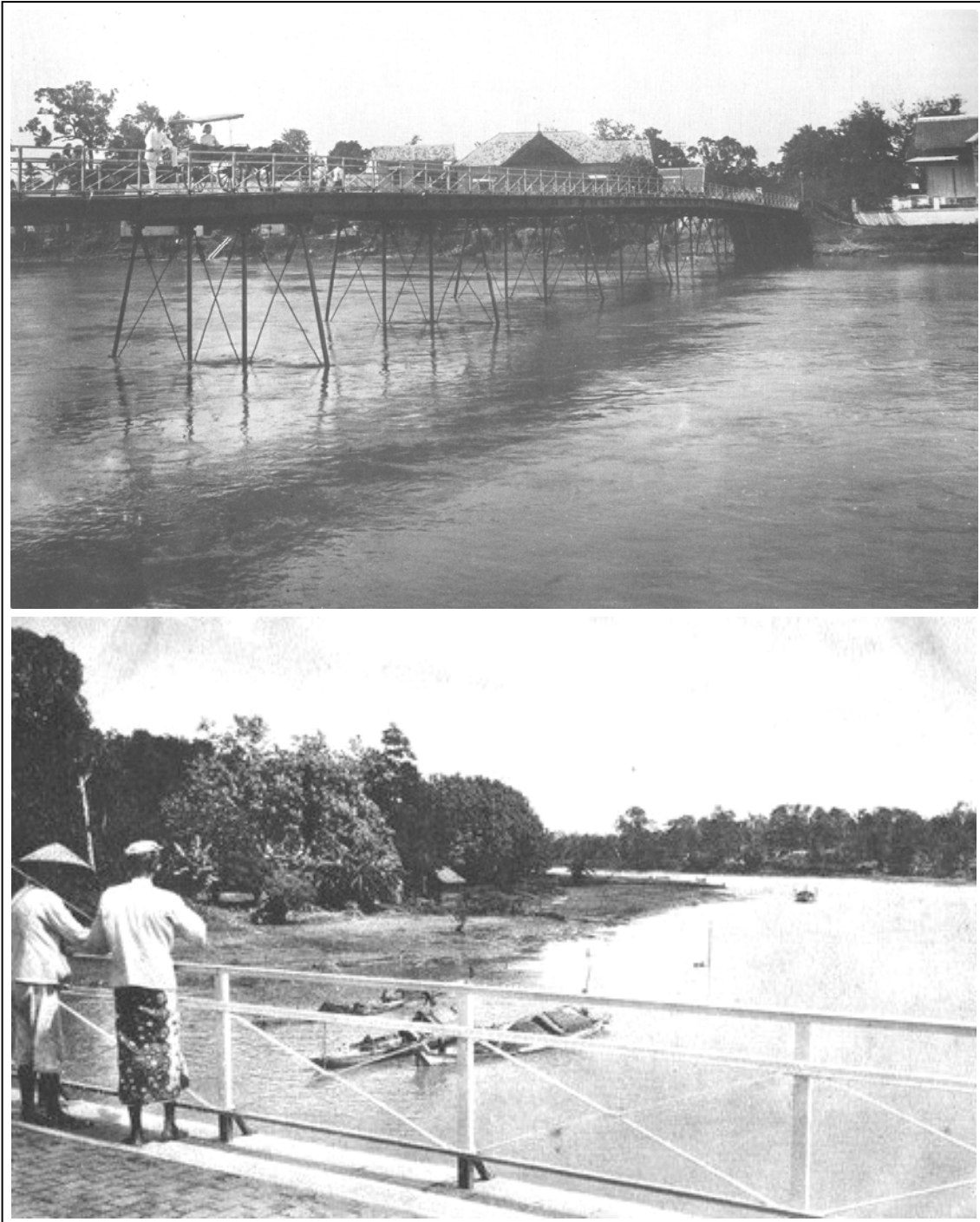


Fig.3.10.1. Old Gubeng Bridge.



Fig.3.10.2. Gubeng Bridge: bird's-eye view.

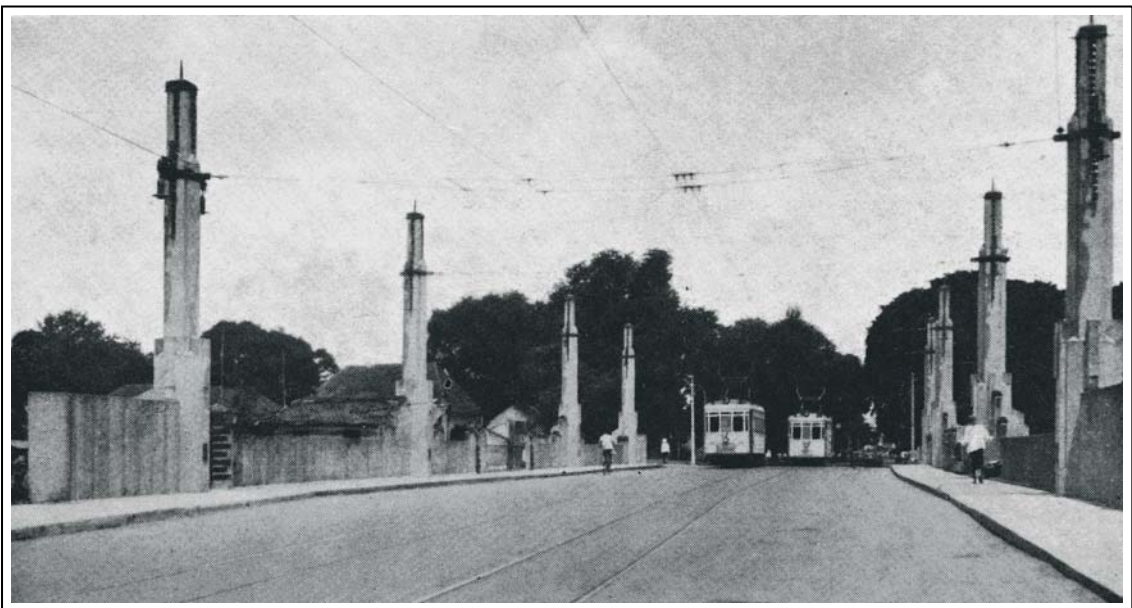
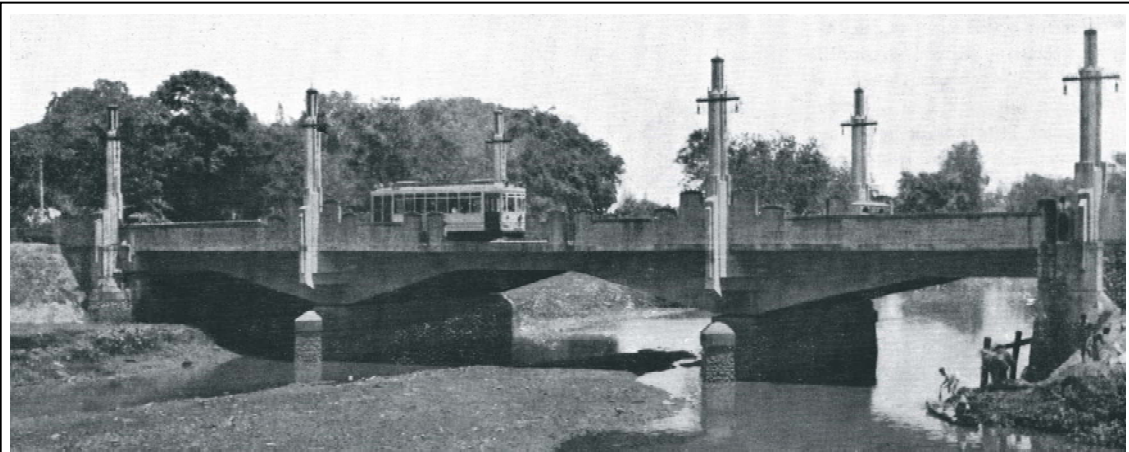


Fig.3.10.3. Gubeng Bridge: view from Gubeng Area.



ca. 1933



ca. 1935



2007

Fig.3.10.4. Gubeng Bridge: view from Surabaya river.

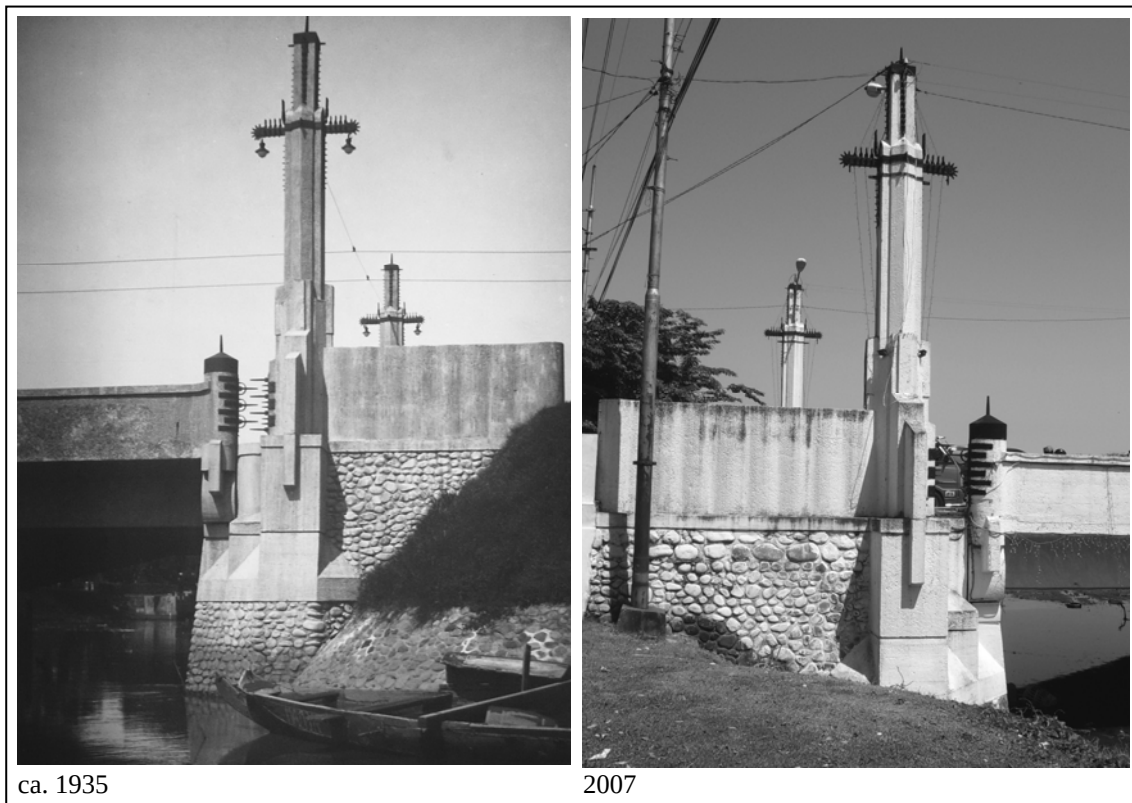


Fig.3.10.5. Gubeng Bridge: lamp post.



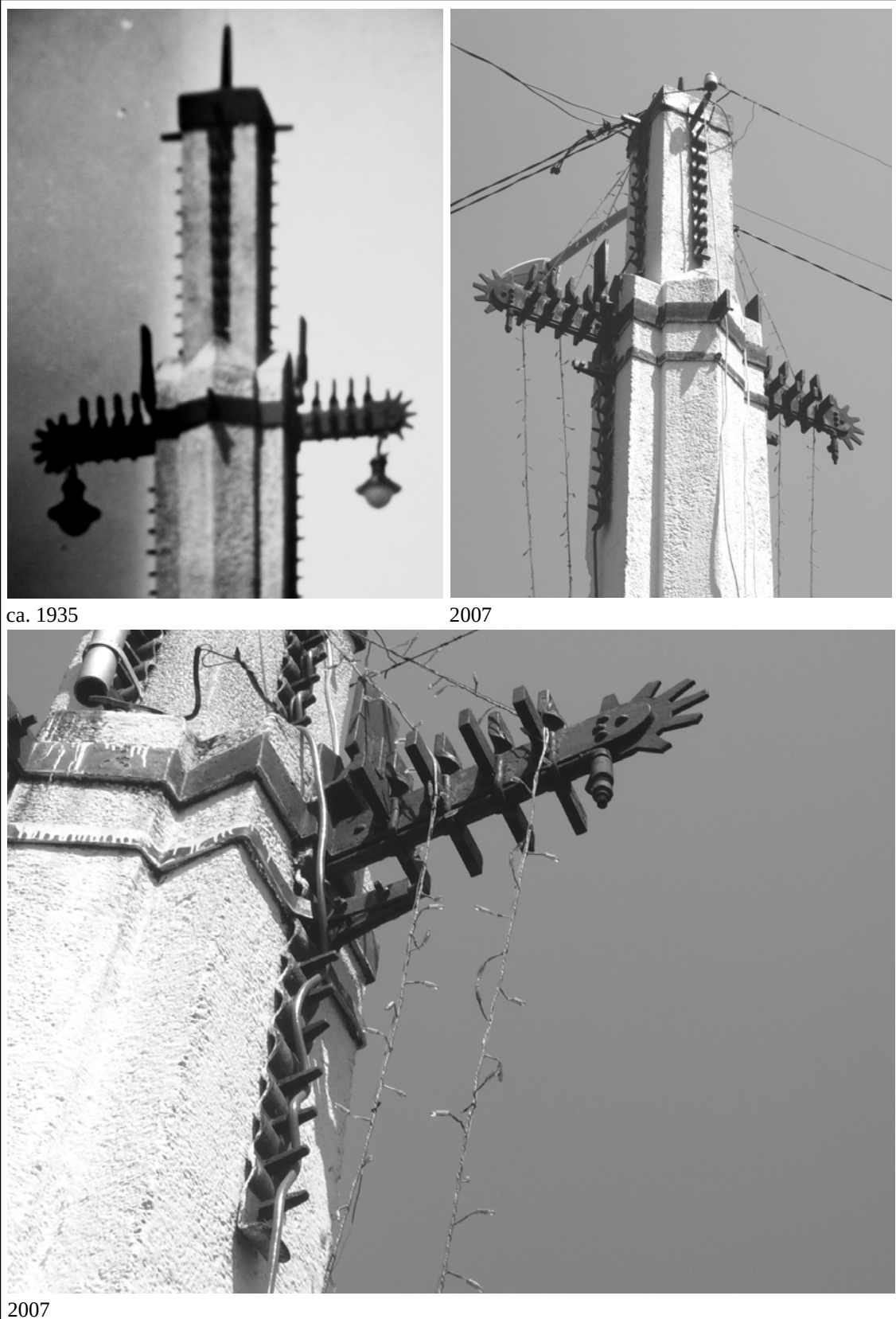


Fig.3.10.7. Gubeng Bridge: upper part of a lamp post.

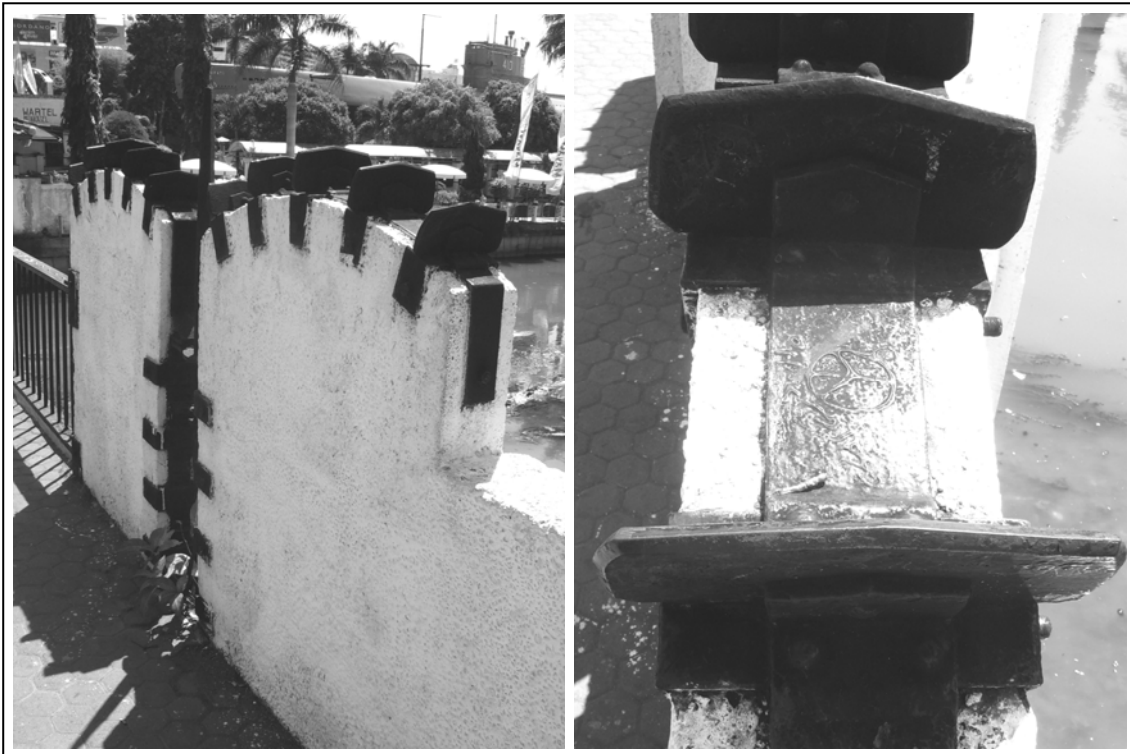


Fig.3.10.8. Gubeng Bridge: iron 'fish fin' ornaments on railing.

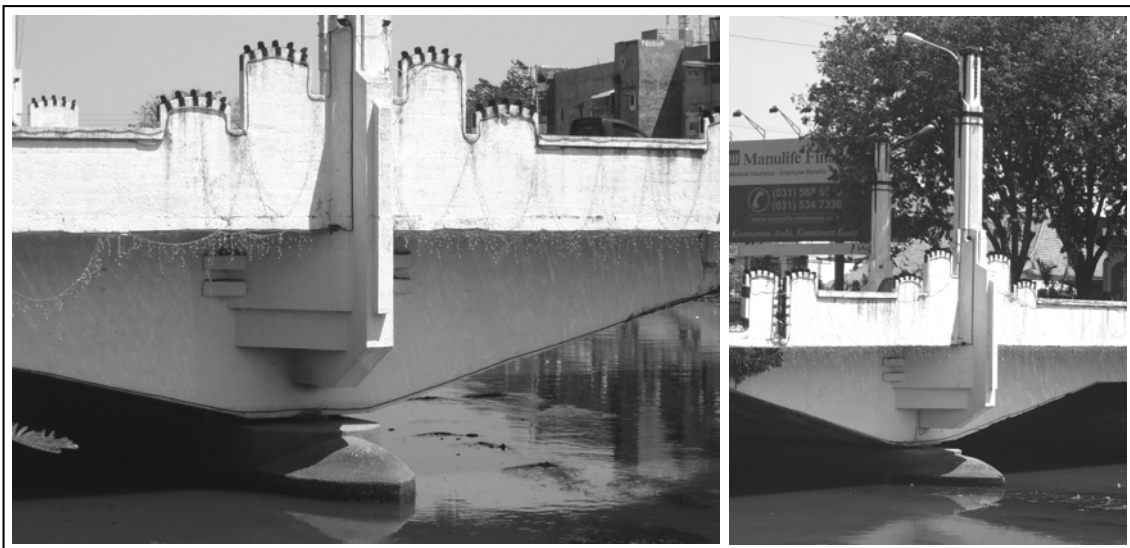


Fig.3.10.9. Gubeng Bridge: detail of the middle pillar.



Fig.3.10.10. Gubeng Bridge: railing in the middle part of the bridge.

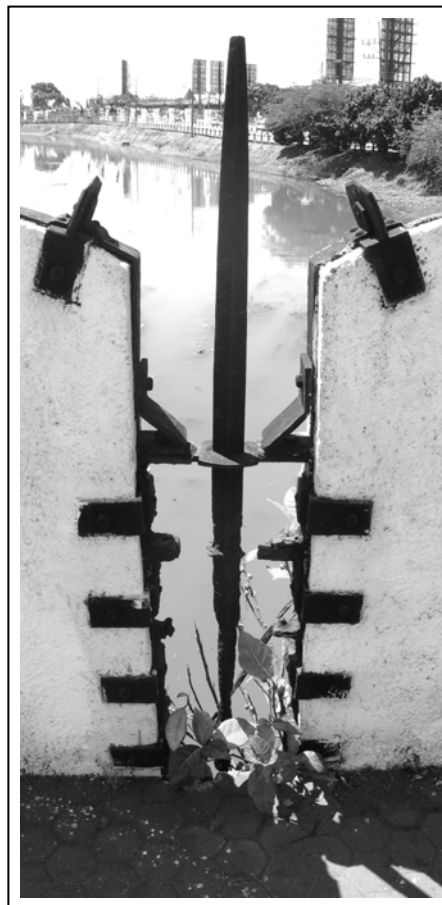


Fig.3.10.11. Gubeng Bridge: iron ornaments on the railing.

3.11. THE NINTH SURABAYA ANNUAL FAIR (JAARMARKT)

The first Annual Fair in the Netherlands Indies was organized in Surabaya in 1905 by J.E. Casparis with financial support from the government.³⁴⁴ The purpose of the fair was to promote native industries.³⁴⁵ This fair was successful and consequently led to a bigger fair in the next year, again with financial support of the government. Unfortunately, the second fair was not as successful as the first although there was a surplus obtained from repayment of the government.³⁴⁶ The 1907 fair suffered the same problem.

The fourth fair was organized in 1908 by the *Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging* (SJV). The fair exhibited products of the Netherlands Indies agriculture, industry, art, and products of foreign industries relating to native agriculture and industry, as well as everything that had a close relation to trade associations in the Netherlands Indies. From 1908, the fairs generated a profit for the organizer so that on 9 March 1910, the SJV was legalized as the formal institution in charge of organising the Surabaya Annual Fair by the Governor's decision letter No. 31. Part of the profit, f 10,000, was donated to the "Mardi Kenyo" association which established a school for indigenous girls in Surabaya.³⁴⁷

The progress of the Annual Fairs is clear from turnover figures of native products. From 1905 to 1909, turnovers rose from f 15,000 to f 80,000.³⁴⁸

During 1910 and 1911, SJV did not organize the fair because at that time there was an outbreak of *surrah*.³⁴⁹ Afterwards, the sixth Annual Fair was held in 1912 and was a success. The seventh and eighth fairs, organised in 1914 and 1915, were also successful, although the First World War had started. However, in 1916 and 1917 no fair was organized.³⁵⁰ The SJV was non-active during these years.

From 1918 a similar annual event called the *Pasar Malam* (Night Market) was organized by the Chinese Charity Foundation. It can be considered as the continuation

³⁴⁴ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 257.

But, De Zeeuw mentioned that the first Annual Fair in this city was held in 1906.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 257.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

Surrah is a disease caused by *Trypanosoma Evansi* and transmitted by biting flies. The clinical syndrome includes intermittent fever, anaemia, weight loss, and a high mortality rate (<http://www.websters-online-dictionary.org/su/surrah.html>).

³⁵⁰ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 257.

of the spirit of the Surabaya Annual Fair. The *Pasar Malam* was held annually until 1921. During that period, the events were fruitful, including the financial result.³⁵¹

3.11.1. Idea

The idea to hold the ninth Surabaya Annual Fair in 1923 arose because the *Pasar Malam* was successful from 1918 up to 1921.³⁵² In September 1922, there was an effort to revitalise the SJV in order to organize the fair again in the next year.³⁵³

In March 1923, a definitive plan was drawn up and several committees were appointed. A full month was needed to implement the plan and finally on 28 July - 12 August 1923 the ninth Surabaya Annual Fair was held.³⁵⁴

3.11.2. Finance

Since the SJV did not have enough money, it sent a letter of request to the Municipality asking for supplementary funds.³⁵⁵ In the City Council meeting on 21 March 1923, the Mayor said that subsidy would be granted for only one year. An extension of the grant could be applied for based on the success of the fair.³⁵⁶ In principle, the association was to take responsibility for all expenses.³⁵⁷ This opinion was supported by council member Van Rosse. Finally, without voting, all participants supported the Mayor's opinion.³⁵⁸

The association also asked for financial aid from individuals and institutions in Surabaya. As a result, the association received guaranteed funds from private persons and firms.³⁵⁹ Most of these were Chinese people and companies that supported the association and understood that the Annual Fair had a promising future.³⁶⁰

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² No information has been found about a *Pasar Malam* in 1922.

³⁵³ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 258.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ See the next sub-chapter on the location of the fair.

³⁵⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1923, 21 March 1923, 123-4.

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 124.

³⁵⁸ Ibid., 126.

³⁵⁹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1923, 21 March 1923, 126 and *Gids voor Soerabaja* No. 119 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, September 1927).

The contributors were Be Biauws Tjwan *Bankvereeniging*, Djie Hong Swie (merchandise peddler), Dunlop and Kolff (broker), Go Hoo Swie, Kwik Bok Ay, Kho Swie Yang (shopholders), Kwee Yan Khing, Lie Djing Han, *Nederlandsch Indische Handelsbank*, Njoo Sik Liang, Go Khip, Gijsselman and Steup, Han Tjiong Khing (titular major), Hap Thay & Co., Oei Swie Pik, *Onderling Belang* (trading company), Schäffer (agent of *Nederlandsch Indische Handelsbank*), Tan Siok Hoo, *Bank voor Indië*, Djit Hin Tjan, Fraser Eaton & Co. (British company), Hap Eng Trading Company, Ko Han Lie, Ko

The fair was visited by 192,216 people with entry tickets raising f 93,325.25, compared to the f 23,064.76 turnover of the eighth Annual Fair held in 1915.³⁶¹ Other income to the amount of f 100,000 was obtained from a goods lottery. This lottery was held with the approval of the *Directeur van Onderwijs en Eeredienst* (Director of Education and Worship) in his letter³⁶² dated 28 April 1923.³⁶³ The prizes were obtained from participants in the fair.³⁶⁴

3.11.3. Location

The first Annual Fair took place in the Town Park (*Stadstuin*). The second fair and all subsequent fairs, including the *Pasar Malam*, were held in the *Missigitlein* or Kemayoran Mosque Field.³⁶⁵ Due to the limitation of space to accommodate the event, an idea evolved to move the fair to a new location.

On 28 February 1923, the SJV held a meeting and decided to appoint two members who stayed in Surabaya, i.e. W.A.Th. Burger, chairperson of the Sugar Association, and H.L. Liem, a merchant, to submit a request to use a piece of land located on the *Cannalaan* for the Annual Fair in 1923 and subsequent fairs.³⁶⁶ The site was located in the northern part of the Ketabang area, which had been developed into the new city centre, and which was owned by the Municipality. Currently this location is used for the *Taman Hiburan Rakyat* (People Amusement Park) as well as a shopping centre.

The SJV asked to use the land, whose ground level had been raised, for three years. However, since the association did not have enough funding resources, it asked to be temporarily released from the obligation to pay the reasonably priced rent. The SJV promised to pay as soon as possible if its financial condition allowed. The SJV hoped that the City Council would come to a decision on this issue during the next council

Lie, Kwik Hoo Tong (trading company), Mitsui Bussan Kaisha (Japanese company), Njoo Khee Hong, Nio Sioe Yang, Go Sam Seng, Han Kong Gie, Kian Gwan Trading Company, Oei Wie Khee, Firm of San Liem (trading company), Sien Soen Sing, Tan Boen Tjhing, The Ing Bian, Tjoa Tjwan Djie, Tio Wan Kie and Yoe Wing.

The Kian Gwan Trading Company had a head office in Semarang and was founded by Oei Tjie Sien (1835-1900). He is the father of Oei Tiong Ham (1886-1924) known as a 'sugar king' in the Netherlands Indies (Liem Tjwan Ling, *Raja Gula Oei Tiong Ham* [Surabaya: Liem Tjwan Ling Publisher, 1979], 8, 10-1, 23).

³⁶⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1923, 21 March 1923, 126.

³⁶¹ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 259.

³⁶² No. 19275/V.

³⁶³ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 260.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 59, 19 March 1923, 227.

A situation drawing was attached to this request, with the area mentioned highlighted in yellow (Ibid., 228).

meeting so that the association would have enough time to prepare buildings or stands for the annual fair.³⁶⁷

In reply to the letter of SJV, the Director of the Land and Housing Service wrote his response to the Mayor. His institution reported that the Annual Fair, in combination with the construction of the connecting street between Ketabang and Kalianyar, generated a rise in the land value up to 100%.³⁶⁸ According to his calculations, the Annual Fair could stay in this location for five years without experiencing any shortage of space although there was a plan to use the area for *kampung* housing. As a temporary measure, this plan should be maintained. The director further mentioned that the usage of the land would not represent a loss of money for the Municipality.³⁶⁹

The financial committee unanimously agreed with this opinion and the request to use the area was approved without objection. In order to develop the area a sum of f 27,000 was needed. The same response was given by the technical committee.³⁷⁰

Two days after the Municipal Sheet was released, the City Council, led by Mayor G.J. Dijkerman, held a meeting on 21 March 1923 to discuss the proposal of the SJV.³⁷¹ Council member M. Soendjoto reminded the Mayor that the area requested by the SJV had already been planned for *kampung* housing.³⁷² He did not mind if the land was lent for a year or more, but he insisted that the Municipality pay attention to the indigenous people.³⁷³ Furthermore, he said that the Municipality should provide opportunities for indigenous people to build their houses with the support of the Municipality.³⁷⁴ He had not seen any activities starting that were designed to develop the *kampung*.³⁷⁵

Council member Soendjoto also asked whether the association had charitable objectives in relation to its subsidy request. He proposed that the association be given a subsidy for

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 228.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., 228-9.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 229.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1923*, 21 March 1923, 122.

The participant were: W. van Itallie, M.Ng. Askaboel Djojopranoto, R. Soerjatin, C.H. van Wieringen, Pranger, J.H. Schijfsma, F.J. Stemmerik, R.M. Soejadi, Leendertsz, C.M. Beukers, M. Soendjoto, Th.B.A. Faubel, I.Th. van Rosse, M.A.A. van Mook, T.L. Tan, J.J. Frölich, F.W. Morren, J.W. van Dijk, A. van Dorsten and Sastrowinangoen.

Six members were absent, i.e. M.Ng. Soerjowidikdo, A. van Gennep, Tan Ek Kiat, S.B. Liem, R. Soedirman, M. Moewalladi.

³⁷² Ibid., 122, 124.

³⁷³ Ibid., 122.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 123.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 126.

one year only, and that if it had made a profit after the event finished, part of this profit should be donated.³⁷⁶

The Mayor replied that he did not know of the plan for a *kampung*.³⁷⁷ The plan had probably existed in the past, but was later abandoned. For *kampung* housing, the Municipality had provided an area away from the railway.³⁷⁸ He also thought that the *kampung* was not an urgent matter.³⁷⁹ He answered that a plan for a *kampung* development was in preparation. The issue to be decided was the way in which the housing would be released to the people.³⁸⁰

Council member I.Th. van Rosse suggested that the land be lent out to the association for a limited time period and that this time period should be regulated by a contract. The Mayor replied that the land was not to be given to the association in the future. Everything depended on whether the fair was a success or not.³⁸¹ Thus, the land was provided for a given time period only.³⁸²

Council member F.W. Morren called attention to the third draft of the decision document. This document mentioned that a public bid for the construction work would be organized. He thought that it had been decided by the financial committee to implement the work in the Municipality's own management.³⁸³ The Mayor said that originally, the work was to be handled by the Municipality, but in order to get a better result, it was finally decided to hold a public bid.³⁸⁴

Since there were no more objections, the proposal was finally accepted without a vote and the meeting was closed.³⁸⁵

In reality, the fair only occupied 66,000 m² of the 87,000 m² total area of which the front had a length of 210 m. The remaining area in the south, 21,000 m², was to be used for sports and future expansion of the Annual Fair.³⁸⁶

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 123.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 123-4.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 123.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 126.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 124.

³⁸² Ibid., 125.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 126.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 258.

3.11.4. Design and Atmosphere

Citroen was assigned to design all the buildings for the 1923 Annual Fair. Mayor G.J. Dijkerman probably played a large role in selecting Citroen because the Mayor was also the president of the SJV. The role of Citroen continued at least up to the twelfth Annual Fair in 1926. During that period, Citroen occupied the position of member of the daily management board of the SJV.³⁸⁷

Citroen designed temporary buildings in order to minimize the budget. Although Broeshart mentions that the complex was demolished after the end of each Annual Fair,³⁸⁸ the same design was probably used every year, with small modifications, at least up to the eleventh Annual Fair in 1925 because Citroen produced a general layout for that event in November 1924 (fig.3.11.1).³⁸⁹

In general, the buildings were arranged almost symmetrically on the site, which is outstretched from the west to the east.³⁹⁰ There was an imaginary axis which ran across the site from the front side in the west to the back side in the east. The main entrance, and also exit, were positioned in the middle of the front section and is set back from the street (fig.3.11.2). This was intended to create a strong 'attractive power' to visitors. Moreover, on this side, Citroen's design had a monumental appearance because of the use of pylons in the form of the stylized prow of a ship (fig.3.11.3). The design of the pylons reflects that Surabaya was the main trading harbour and navy base in the Netherlands Indies.³⁹¹ The side entrances were located on the northern and southern sections of the front elevation. These entrances functioned as entrances and exits for utility or service vehicles.

After entering the entrance, the visitors stood on a wide path or pedestrian area dividing the site in two equal parts. In the middle of the pedestrian area, which was also the

³⁸⁷ At least up to 1926 the daily executive board consisted of G.J. Dijkerman (Mayor of Surabaya), J.U.F. Benz (Secretary of the sugar syndicate), Alb. Bos (Secretary of *Handelsvereniging*), C. Citroen (architect BNA), Hwie Liat Liem (Director of Sam Liem firm), Thwan Tik Liem, Oei Kang Ing, Hendrik Palfenier (Vice Secretary), F.J. Stemmerik (Chairman of Shopkeepers' Association), R.M. Hario Soejono, J. Zwartveld (Director of the Municipal Company), Johannes Henricus Ris (Secretary) (Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging, *Verslag van de 11^e Jaarmarkt, Gehouden van 26 September t/m 11 October 1925* [Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1926], 1-2 and *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1926 No. 134*, 7 July 1926, 38). Also, a collection of Annual Fair photographs taken ca. 1926 and currently kept by KITLV shows the same design as that of the 1925 Annual Fair.

³⁸⁸ A.C. Broeshart, et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994), 122 and Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [3].

³⁸⁹ Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging, *Verslag van de 11^e Jaarmarkt, Gehouden van 26 September t/m 11 October 1925*, appendix.

³⁹⁰ The description in this chapter is based on illustrations in Von Faber's book, which does not mention specifically which Annual Fair is meant, as well as on the report of the eleventh Annual Fair. Citroen was a member of the SJV daily board from 1923 up to at least 1926.

³⁹¹ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 259.

centre of the site, there was a main building which formerly functioned as an administrative building but afterwards was refurbished to function as a restaurant (fig.3.11.4).³⁹² This building was taller than other buildings on the site and was the main focus of four clusters of exhibition buildings. Between these buildings, a theatre stand was built in the Minangkabau style.³⁹³

The main and side entrance, the restaurant, the dance building on the corner of the site, and the music tent were made of teak wood, while the exhibition sheds used an iron construction, except for the walls and roof.³⁹⁴ Lemei mentions that Citroen had exhibited his talent in these designs, especially in wood construction.³⁹⁵

The *Kampung Pertukangan* (Kampong of Handicraft) became an important part in the ninth Annual Fair.³⁹⁶ It was occupied by skilled labourers and craftsmen from indigenous industry and arts. During the fair, this kampong was visited by approximately 24,000 people.³⁹⁷ The committee spent much time and patience in persuading these craftsmen to leave their villages and demonstrate their skills in the fair.³⁹⁸

The fair exhibited not only many kinds of products and businesses but also provided attractions and entertainments. It also played a role as advertising media. In other words, the Surabaya Annual Fair was the primary place in which to promote products and skills³⁹⁹ because there was a direct interaction between producers and consumers.

3.11.5. Post-event

While the Surabaya Annual Fair was being held, there were also the *Jaarbeurs* in Bandung, and similar events in Batavia and Semarang.⁴⁰⁰ In order to avoid holding these events at the same time, the organising bodies agreed to organise their events in rotation. Bandung organized the *Jaarbeurs* from the end of June to the beginning of July, Semarang held their *Jaarmarkt* from the end of July to the beginning of August, Batavia held their *Pasar Gambir* from the end of August to the beginning of September, and Surabaya's fair was always held from the end of September to the beginning of

³⁹² Ibid., 259, 263.

The main building was probably not demolished after the fair ended. However, Broeshart and De Zeeuw mention that the complex was pulled down after the end of the fair.

³⁹³ Ibid., 259.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indische Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek*, 5/4, 8.

³⁹⁶ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 259.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 260.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 259.

October.⁴⁰¹ Also, the organising bodies agreed to establish an association of Annual Fairs.

The tenth Annual Fair was held two months later than previous fairs, i.e. 27 September - 12 October 1924, because of the aforementioned agreement, and because of the end of the milling season of sugar factories. In this fair, the organizer arranged the participants based on their nature for the first time. The participants were divided in categories such as the technical division, import, retail, foreign participants and indigenous industry. These classifications were continued in the following fairs. Several companies obtained a reduction in costs of 15%-50% on freight and passage for persons who participated in the fair. Also, a goods lottery was permitted with prizes in the amount of f 200,000 with a diamond necklace, in the amount of f 40,000, as the grand prize.⁴⁰²

The eleventh Annual Fair was organized from 26 September to 11 October 1925.⁴⁰³ There were 29 technical businesses, 19 imported businesses, 36 retailers, seven indigenous industries and 12 others. Furthermore, 15 kiosks were built with total area 283 m². For service space, the secretariat and cashiers, nine edge-stands were occupied, while the committee rented out 109 kiosks and one building, called the committee building, in the middle of the area. After intensive promotion, the *Kampung Pertukangan*, proved to be very attractive for visitors. The lottery was still permitted, with prizes up to f 200,000.⁴⁰⁴ New attractions at this fair were a dog exhibition, a poultry show and a *karapan sapi*⁴⁰⁵ which shows were mounted in the final days.⁴⁰⁶ At least up to this Annual Fair, Citroen acted as the architect of the complex.

The twelfth Annual Fair was organised from 25 September to 10 October 1926.⁴⁰⁷ Financial difficulties emerged because the Director of Justice, in his letter dated 7 January 1926, forbade the SJV from launching the usual goods lottery. A delegation of the SJV met the General Governor D. Fock to ask that the goods lottery be allowed to continue. However, the government still refused to allow it although the financial state of the association and its ability to handle all debts had been good or manageable since 1923. There was always a surplus to be donated to charity. A solution was achieved by granting a f 10,000 subsidy from the Municipality and by permitting a goods lottery with prizes totalling f 20,000.⁴⁰⁸ As a result, the profit of the SJV decreased. However, the committee received a great deal of interest for the Japanese division although no

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 261.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 260.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 261.

⁴⁰⁵ *Karapan sapi* is a bull race coming from Madura.

⁴⁰⁶ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 261.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 262.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

promotion had been made abroad. SJV received f 64,000 from leasing 294 stands to 152 participants as well as 17 large and small kiosks.⁴⁰⁹ This fair was viewed as a success because many returning participants joined in the event, as well as new participants. The surplus of income reached f 32,000. The total number of visitors was lower than that of the previous fair because of a bomb attack on Saturday 2 October 1926 in the dance hall. Although only few people were wounded, the incident influenced visits over subsequent days. The *Kampung Pertukangan* was not placed in the division of industry as usual, but it was placed in a group of participants among whom were European and native administrations of Java and Madura, bodies of self-governments of Java, and a lot of private individuals. The institute of Java displayed woodcarving, the Javanese and Madurese showed interior furniture, batik and weaving art, gold and silver art, weapon art, models of boats, bronze objects from the Hindu era, modern Javanese copper work, etc. The dog exhibition still existed but the poultry show was abolished because of a serious epidemic.⁴¹⁰

The thirteenth Annual Fair, held from 24 September to 9 October 1927, was also a success, although the preparations were begun rather late.⁴¹¹ The fair was visited by *Susuhunan* Pakubuwono X, the ruler of Surakarta.⁴¹² However, before the event started, the Chinese community was a little disappointed because in their opinion, the portion of profit for charity was too small.⁴¹³ It was only f 5,000 per year. After a discussion with the Chinese association, finally an agreement was made. From the net-profit, 40% was allocated for charity and the rest, 60%, for the operational costs of the SJV. Also, the Chinese association assigned four of its members to be on the executive board of the SJV, and two of them were elected to be daily administrators. After these problems were solved, the preparation of the thirteenth Annual Fair was begun. A goods lottery and support from the government were excluded, but the Municipality still gave f 10,000 in subsidies.⁴¹⁴

The fourteenth Annual Fair held from 22 September to 7 October 1928 was a success.⁴¹⁵ *Sultan* Hamengkubuwono VIII, the ruler of Yogyakarta, visited the fair. Both Pakubuwono and Hamengkubuwono were interested in the activities of the SJV. The financial results of both annual fairs were satisfactory so that after the 1927 fair, the SJV provided f 12,445.36 for charity and in 1928 this number rose to f 15,630.70.⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 263.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 264.

⁴¹² Ibid., 265.

⁴¹³ Ibid., 264.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid., 265.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

The fifteenth Annual Fair held from 28 September to 12 October 1929 yielded f 4,000 less than the previous fair. The total number of visitors reached nearly 50,000.⁴¹⁷ The King and Queen of Thailand, H.R.H. Prajadhipok and H.M. Rambaidarni, spent time visiting the fair during their courtesy visit to Java and Bali. They expressed keen interest in the fair and bought some industrial products from the Netherlands Indies as samples.⁴¹⁸

The *Kampung Pertukangan* was making large strides. During the sixteen days of the fair, the total sales of the industrial division reached f 29,000; f 7,000 more than the turnover of the previous year.⁴¹⁹ The success initiated improvements in the quality of physical performance, repairs and refurbishments. These refurbishments consisted of changes such as the lengthening and erecting of almost all the towers, the construction of new foundations, the renewal of the bamboo comedy stand, improvements in the underground electric wiring, improvements of $\pm 550 \text{ m}^2$ of pavement in the main avenue, and the continuation of the acquisition of supplies for the purpose of renovation and renewal.⁴²⁰

In this year G.J. Dijkerman, the Mayor of Surabaya, resigned from his position as President of the SJV. He was succeeded by the Resident J.F. Verhoog. Dijkerman planned to return to Europe, but unfortunately he passed away on 28 January 1929. His resignation and his subsequent death were a considerable loss to the SJV. Dijkerman had occupied his position for years as the founder and President of the SJV. He was the person who was had a vision, who led, and who inspired.⁴²¹ The SJV expressed their enormous appreciation of his contribution to their work.⁴²²

The sixteenth Annual Fair, started on 26 September 1930, was affected by the economic depression, although expectations for this exhibition were very high.⁴²³ The total number of visitors was around 50,000. The leasing of stands in the technical division had commenced in April 1930 so that five weeks before the opening, no stands were left. The same thing happened in the *Kampung Pertukangan*. Several participant candidates were rejected and the requests for renting open space and even placing advertisement boards were still coming in after the fair had opened. These facts demonstrate that the Annual Fair was still successful even under difficult circumstances.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., 266.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 265.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 265-6.

⁴²² Ibid., 266.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

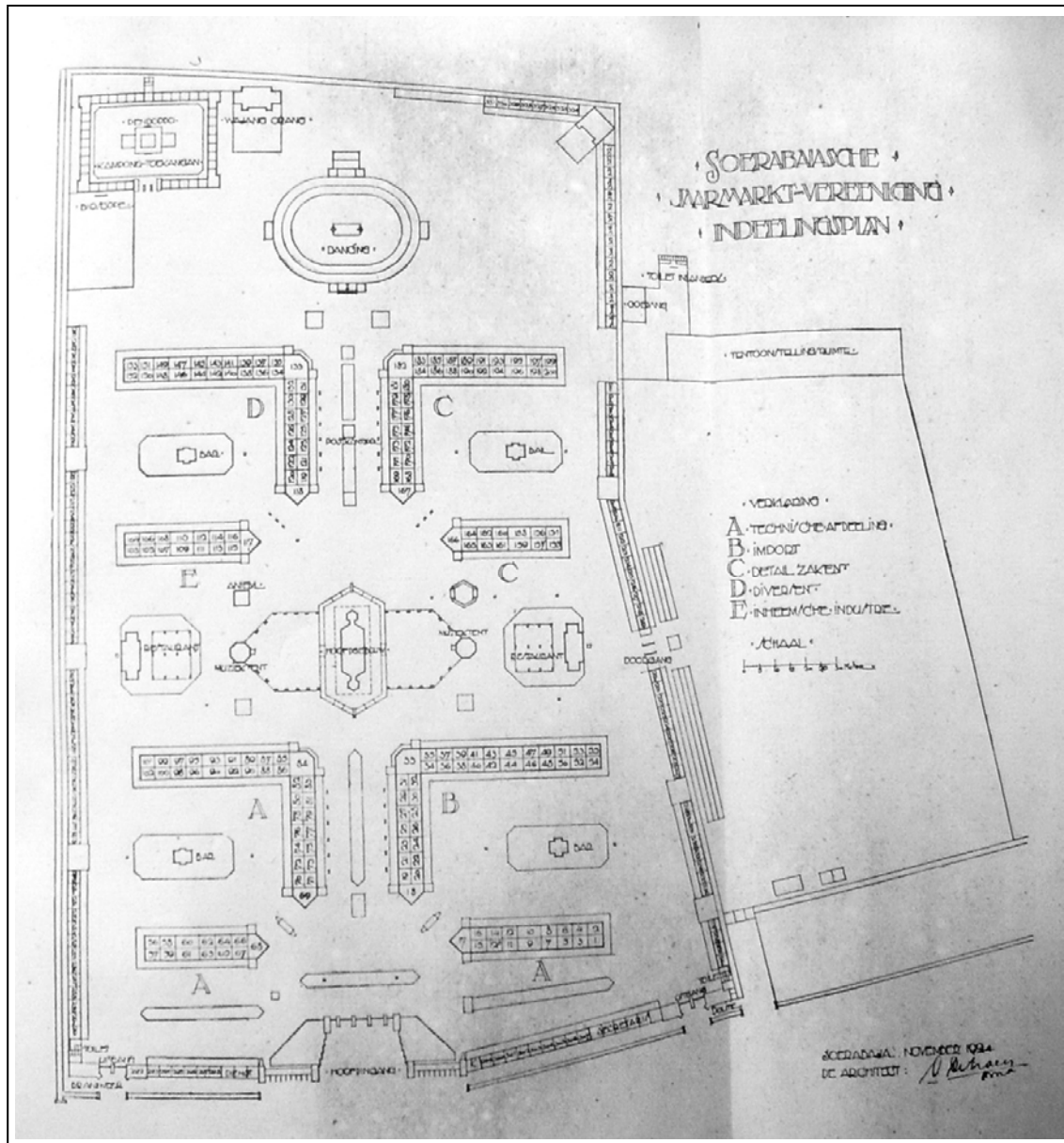


Fig.3.11.1. Annual Fair: general lay-out of the Jaarmarkt of 1925.



Fig.3.11.2. Annual Fair: bird's-eye view.



Fig.3.11.3. Annual Fair: main gate.

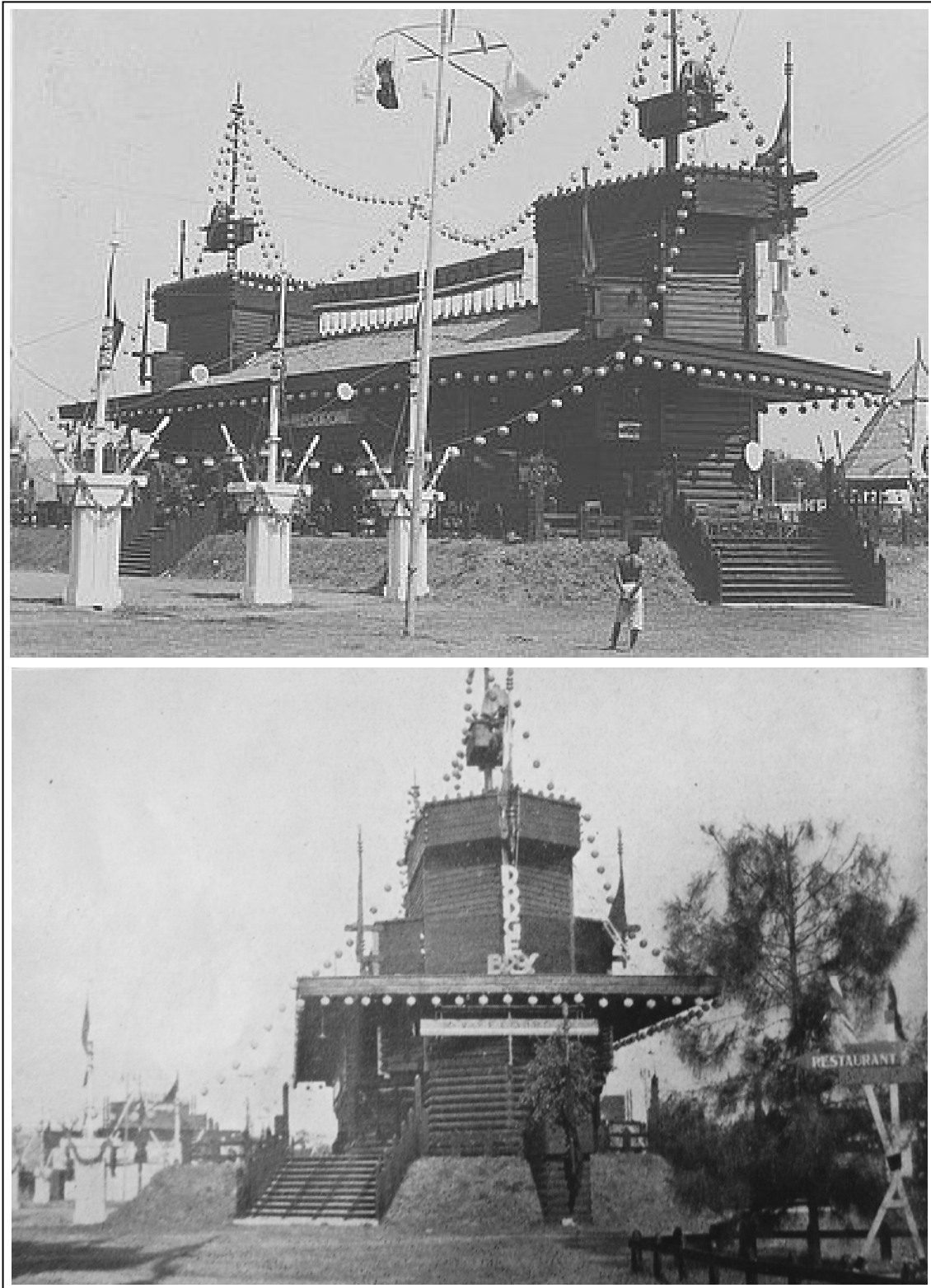


Fig.3.11.4. Annual Fair: main building.

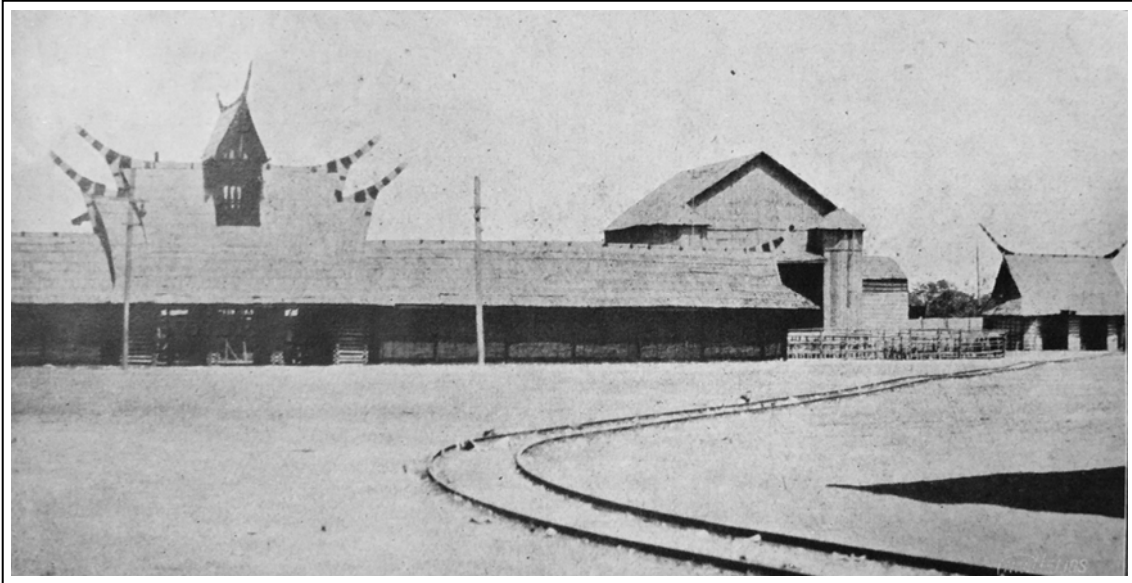


Fig.3.11.5. Annual Fair: *Kampung Pertukangan*.

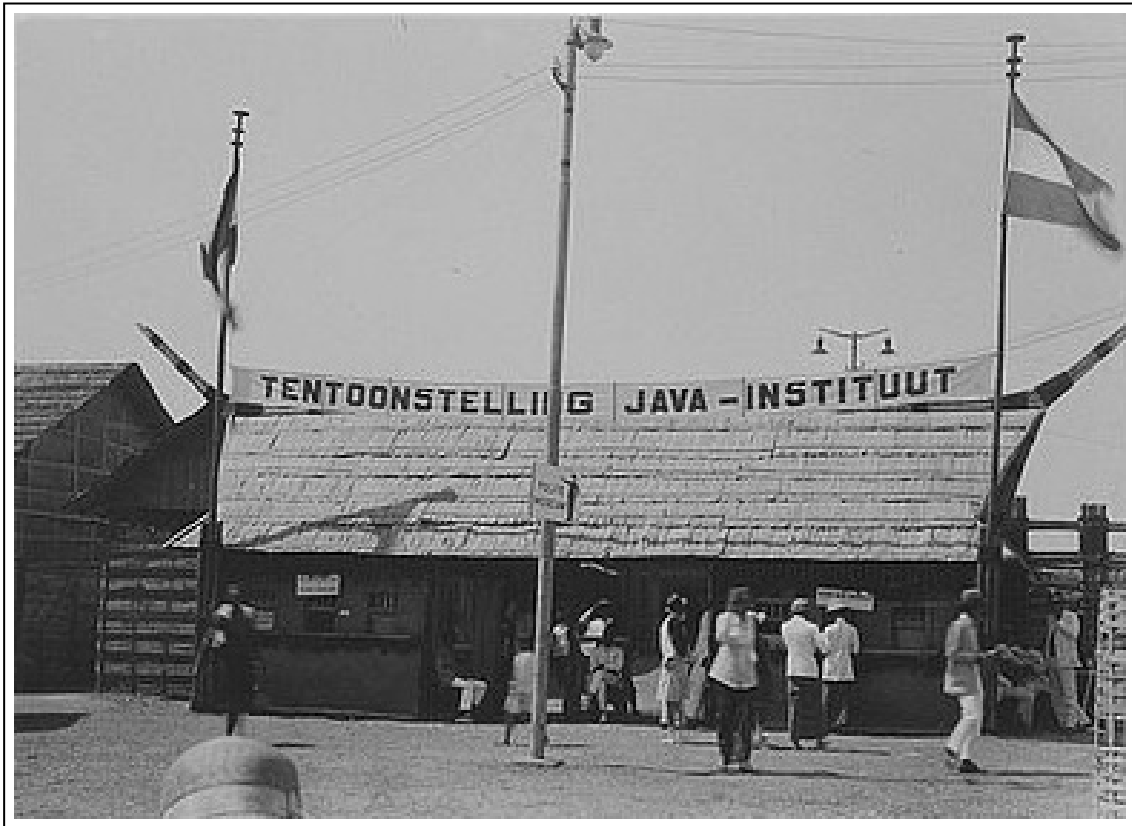


Fig.3.11.6. Annual Fair: stand of the *Java Instituut*.

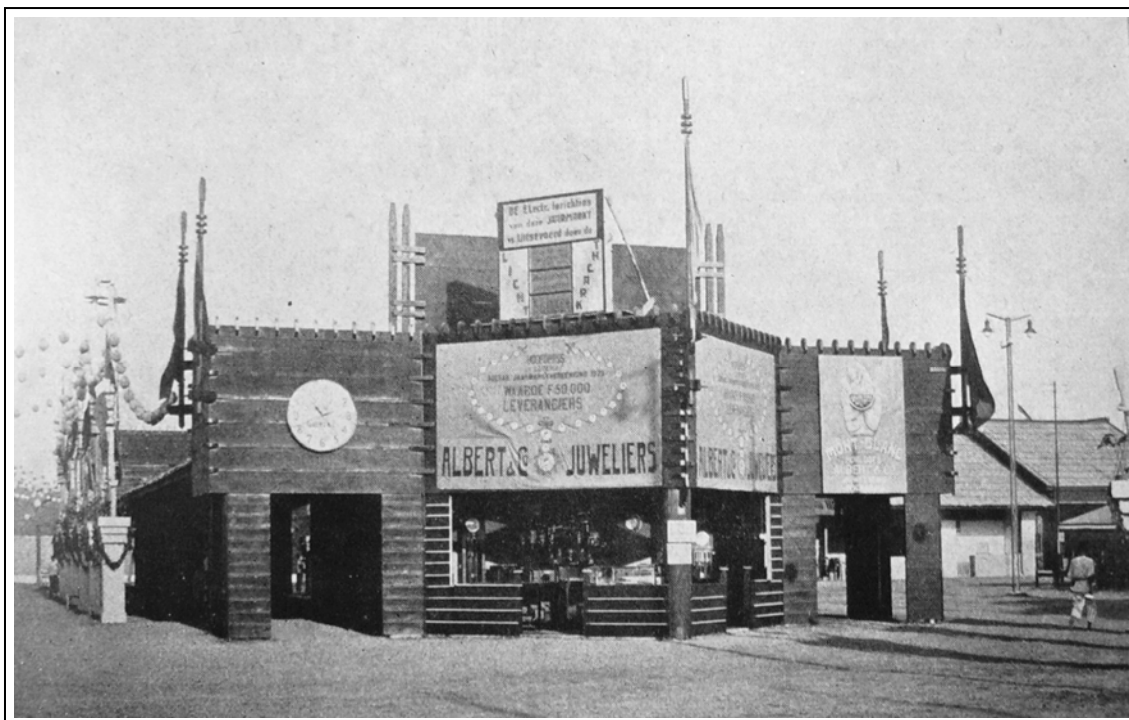


Fig.3.11.7. Annual Fair: stand of "Albert & Co." jewelries.



Fig.3.11.8. Annual Fair: stand of "Nanyang Brothers" Tobacco Company.



Fig.3.11.9. Annual Fair: stand of Evangelist Association.



Fig.3.11.10. Annual Fair: stand of “Negresco” biscuits.



Fig.3.11.11. Annual Fair: stand of Post and Telegraph Service.



Fig.3.11.12. Annual Fair: stand with *Tajug* roof.



Fig.3.11.13. Annual Fair: interior of *Onderling Belang* stand.



Fig.3.11.14. Annual Fair: stand of “Karangredjo” coffee.



Fig.3.11.15. Annual Fair: stand of “Victoria” biscuits.

3.12. PASAR BESAR RAILWAY VIADUCT

The first railway in the Netherlands Indies was operated from 10 August 1867 by a private company called the *Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NIS). The railway used a 1,435 mm rail gauge, based on Western European standards. The tracks covered a 24.7 km stretch from Kemijen Station in Semarang, the capital city of Middle Java province, to Tanggung.⁴²⁵ In the beginning, railroad transportation was used to carry agricultural products from the hinterland to the nearest port, in this case the port in Semarang, from where these product were exported to destination countries, especially European countries.⁴²⁶ However, gradually the trains also started serving passengers.

By using an interest-free cash advance from the General Governor, the interest guarantee of the state and a cash advance of the planters in Surakarta, finally the NIS was able to extend a longer line from Semarang to Yogyakarta via Surakarta (205 km). This line was opened on 21 May 1873. At the same time, the NIS also established a branch line from Kedungjati to Willem I station in Ambarawa. In West-Java, the NIS was commissioned to build a line from Batavia to Buitenzorg⁴²⁷ (56 km) which was also opened in the same year.⁴²⁸

The NIS opened the first line in Middle Java. Similarly, the *Staatsspoorwegen* (SS), established by the government based on *Staatsblad* No. 141 dated 6 April 1875, started building the first track in East Java.⁴²⁹ Of course, Surabaya was chosen as the location of its head office. For the first time, the SS opened a line from Surabaya Kota (Surabaya City) to Pasuruan, 63 km, on 16 May 1878, three years after 1875, when the SS had started to build the track.⁴³⁰ Pasuruan was selected as the first destination because it was the capital city of Pasuruan Residency which had been the centre of the sugar industry.⁴³¹ Also, Pasuruan had a fresh water source in Umbulan and the water was carried to Surabaya by train.⁴³² Another difference was that the SS used a narrower track, using a 1,067 mm rail gauge.

⁴²⁵ S.A. Reitsma, *Korte Geschiedenis der Nederlandsch-Indische Spoor- en Tramwegen* (Weltevreden: G. Kolff & Co., 1928), 21.

⁴²⁶ This is one of the reasons why the NIS built its head office in this city. The building was designed by B.J. Ouëndag and Jacob F. Klinkhamer assisted by Citroen in 1902.

⁴²⁷ Now known as Bogor.

⁴²⁸ Jan de Bruin, *Het Indische Spoor in Oorlogstijd: de Spoor- en Tramwegenmaatschappijen in Nederlands-Indië in de Vuurlinie, 1873-1949* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij Uquilair BV, 2003), 26-7.

⁴²⁹ Dikut Imam Widodo, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, 2 (Surabaya: Dinas Pariwisata, 2002), 410.

⁴³⁰ Reitsma, *Korte Geschiedenis*, 115. Also, Widodo, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, 2, 410.

⁴³¹ See chapter 3.13 on the sugar syndicate office.

Up to 1894, there were 33 sugar factories in the Residency of Pasuruan (Anonymous, *Jaarboek voor Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië 1922-1925*, II [Amsterdam: J.H. de Bussy, 1925], 391).

⁴³² Widodo, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, 2, 412.

Railway transportation had good prospects so that both the NIS and the SS expanded their networks. Furthermore, other investors were interested in investing their money by establishing railway companies in the Netherlands Indies. Eventually, by the end of Dutch colonization, sixteen companies, both train and tram companies, operated services in the Netherlands Indies.⁴³³ The tram and train services were spread out over Java, Madura and Sumatra.

3.12.1. Railway in Surabaya

Surabaya has been served by railway transportation since the 19th century. Until the end of the Dutch colonial period and the Indonesian independence in 1945, there were three railway companies operating in this city, namely the SS, *Oost-Java Stoomtram Maatschappij* (OJS), and the NIS.

As mentioned above, the SS is the oldest railway company operating in Surabaya. In general, SS focused on connecting Surabaya to other cities in the south, south-east, and south-west. After opening the first line which connected Surabaya Kota to Pasuruan in 1878, the SS opened routes to Malang on 20 July 1879,⁴³⁴ Kalimas⁴³⁵ on 1 January 1886,⁴³⁶ Wonokromo-Sepanjang on 1 December 1898,⁴³⁷ and Gubeng-Kalimas on 1 July 1901. Finally, by the end of Dutch colonial period when Surabaya had grown into a large city, the SS had several stations, i.e. Surabaya Kota, Surabaya Gubeng, and Wonokromo stations.

The OJS, the second oldest company, was founded in 1888. It opened its first line covering a three km length route from Ujung to Fort Prins Hendrik (now Patua Kawi street) on 10 December 1889.⁴³⁸ It was expanded by 2 km to Surabaya Kota station on 17 December 1890, by 1 km to the *Regentstraat* (now Kebonrojo street), on 15 April 1890, and finally by 7 km to the Pasar Turi-Wonokromo on 2 March 1916.⁴³⁹ All routes still used steam engines. From a tram stop in Ujung, the passengers could transfer to a ferry operated by the *Madoera Stoomtram Maatschappij* (MSM) and could continue their journey on Madura island by using MSM trams. Besides local routes, the OJS also had intercity routes, e.g. from Wonokromo via Sepanjang to Krian (14 km) and from Mojokerto to Ngoro (34 km).⁴⁴⁰

⁴³³ <http://finance.groups.yahoo.com/group/keretapi/message/5669>

⁴³⁴ Reitsma, *Korte Geschiedenis*, 115.

⁴³⁵ Kalimas is a traditional port serving inter-island sea transport in the Netherlands Indies.

⁴³⁶ Reitsma, *Korte Geschiedenis*, 115.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., 122.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ Bruin, *Het Indische Spoor*, 31.

The idea of using electric trams emerged in 1910 and a year later a definitive plan was approved to make five lines suitable for the use of electric trams, i.e. Wonokromo-Grudo, Grudo-Simpang, Gubeng-Simpang⁴⁴¹, Simpang-Willemskade (now Jembatan Merah street), and Willemsplein-port.⁴⁴² These are the lines which serve the central area of Surabaya. The selection of these particular lines cannot be separated from economic factors. These were the busiest lines in Surabaya. Based on the Municipal Sheet No. 56, dated 25 November 1915, the OJS was allowed to use electric tram engines on the section of *Regentstraat*-Tanjung Perak port line (16 km). The use of electric engines on this line was realized on 1 August 1920.⁴⁴³

Other efforts were made to improve tram services, for example by doubling the tracks. In 1914, the first double tracks were opened so that trams could carry more passengers. These tracks ran from Wonokromo to the Town Park via *Reinierszboulevard* (now Diponegoro street).⁴⁴⁴

At Surabaya Kota and Pasar Turi stations, the OJS built tram stops on the platforms of each station. In Wonokromo however, this tram company built its own station on a different site, separated from Wonokromo station, which was owned by the SS. This new station was first opened on 15 May 1923.⁴⁴⁵ Up until this year, the OJS had owned four double electric lines with a total length of 18 km. When some of the other lines had started to operate on electricity, this company opened a new line via Darmo. Unfortunately, Surabaya is now no longer served by trams. The last electric tram line fell into disuse in 1968.

The NIS started its business in Surabaya in 1900, 22 years after SS did. In order to exploit different target markets, the NIS opened the first line (using 1,067 mm rail gauge) to cities in the west of Surabaya, for example the line to Lamongan, 41 km from Surabaya, which was opened on 1 April 1900.⁴⁴⁶ Pasar Turi station was built as the starting point of the line. Several months later, the line was extended by 21 km and now ran to Babat.⁴⁴⁷ In the long term, the NIS planned to extend this line to Semarang, the

⁴⁴¹ See chapter 3.10 on Gubeng bridge.

⁴⁴² W.H. Trom, *Rapport Betreffende de Electrificatie der Stadslijnen der Oost Java Stoomtram Maatschappij te Soerabaia* (Batavia: Nederlandsch Indische Tram Mij., 1911), 1.

⁴⁴³ Reitsma, *Korte Geschiedenis*, 122.

⁴⁴⁴ E.C. Demmink, "De Electriche Tram te Soerabaia", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/8 (1939), 68.

⁴⁴⁵ Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Surabaya 1870-1940* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 1996), 124. The existence of this station is linked with the development of the Darmo area planned by Henri Maclaine Pont (see chapter 3.9 on Darmo hospital and chapter 3.14 on British community church).

⁴⁴⁶ Reitsma, *Korte Geschiedenis*, 119. By using a 1,067 mm rail gauge, there were no difficulties when the NIS lines and the SS lines were finally connected.

⁴⁴⁷ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 268.

location of the NIS head office. This plan was finally executed on 1 February 1903, when the company completed a 229 km route from Pasar Turi station to Gundih station in Semarang.⁴⁴⁸

3.12.2. Idea

On 28 April 1916, there was a meeting in Surabaya attended by the Mayor of Surabaya, the SS technical committee, the SS extension committee, the Director of Municipal Work, and *rooimeester*.⁴⁴⁹ The attendees discussed a railway plan for Surabaya. The plan was to serve the interests of trade, shipping and industry, that of the Municipality, that of the travelling public, that of the railway service, and finally, that of the general public. For Surabaya, the first interest is the most important because this city was (becoming) a trading and industrial city.⁴⁵⁰

At that time the area for trade, shipping and industrial activities was concentrated around the port and along the lower banks of the rivers. The main centres were around the actual port, along the bank of the *Kali Mas* (Mas river) and along the bank of the Pegirian river (Prins Hendrik area).⁴⁵¹ These areas needed to have supply routes from the hinterland, i.e. the two lines of the SS and the line Gundih-Surabaya of the NIS. The railway companies were to be requested to co-operate and to maintain mutual communication so that transportation of material or cargo could run smoothly. This concept was called carriage distribution (*wagenverdeeling*). The faster materials were distributed from Surabaya to the hinterland or vice versa, the better the service for trade, shipping, and industry.⁴⁵² In order to accommodate the concept, it was necessary to build a distribution yard (*verdeelemlacement*). This plan was proposed by Dr. van Dorssen.⁴⁵³ In the distribution yard, all goods from the different hinterlands which were intended for the same destination would be gathered and then carried together to the port. Conversely, all cargo from the port would be split up and sent to the different destinations from the distribution yard.

In order to achieve the shortest distance - and of course the shortest time - for the convoy of railway carriages to the destinations, according to the SS plan, the distribution yard was to be built near the junction of four connections: hinterland - Prins

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., and a map in Bruin, *Het Indische Spoor*, 32.

⁴⁴⁹ Anonymous, *De Spoorwegplannen voor Soerabaja* (Batavia: Drukkerij Ruygrok & Co., 1916), 30.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 36.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 36-7.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 37.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 38.

Hendrik - Surabaya Kota - Kalimas.⁴⁵⁴ Eventually, the SS decided to build the distribution yard in Sidotopo and hence Sidotopo became a goods station in Surabaya.

After the beginning of the operation of the line in 1916, the SS had considered that the line from Sidotopo to the Kalimas and Tanjung Perak ports had an impact on traffic jams in several crossings in Pasar Besar,⁴⁵⁵ Bunguran, and Pasar Turi. This line was a frequently used line and the three areas were categorized as busy areas. The SS planned to build viaducts in order to solve the problem of traffic jams.⁴⁵⁶

In Pasar Besar, the line crosses the street at a point which is not far from the intersection of the *Regentstraat* (now Kebonrojo street), the *Societeitstraat*⁴⁵⁷ and Alun-alun street. It is also not far from the Town Park, the *Hogere Burger School* (Advanced Secondary School),⁴⁵⁸ the Court of Justice, the Lindeteves-Stokvis office,⁴⁵⁹ the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* building, and the site which was occupied by the new East-Java Governor's office. After several years, the SS's ideas about the traffic jams were proven. The traffic jams were caused by long queues of cars, OJS' trams, and other non-motorized vehicles. Alun-alun street is one of the main roads connecting the Lower Town in the north, where the old European section and Chinese quarter are located, to the Upper Town in the south, where the middle and upper-class residential quarters and shopping areas are located.

3.12.3. Design and Its Decision-making Process

3.12.3.1. Decision-making

The oldest document in this research which can be found mentions a meeting on 25 April 1916 between the Chief Inspector of the SS and the Municipality. The Municipality was represented by the technical and expansion committees of the

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Pasar Besar is another name for Alun-alun street. Now, it is known as Pahlawan street.

⁴⁵⁶ This information is based on a letter dated 27 May 1916 from the SS Chief Inspector in Weltevreden, part of Batavia, to the chairperson (*voorzitter*) of Surabaya City Council (Anonymous, *De Spoorwegplannen voor Soerabaja*, 31).

⁴⁵⁷ Location of BPM building.

⁴⁵⁸ Formerly, the building was the residence of the Surabaya Regent. It was erected in 1840 as a replacement for the original Regent's residence. In 1881, the Surabaya Regent moved to a new residence in the Upper Town, enabling the HBS to occupy the building. In 1923, the HBS moved to a new building in the Ketabang district, after which the old Regent's residence was used as the Central Police Station several years. In 1928, the building was demolished for the construction of the Surabaya General Post Office (J.R. van Diessen and R.P.G.A. Voskuil, *Stedenatlas Nederlands-Indië* [Purmerend: Asia Maior, June 1998], 132).

⁴⁵⁹ A large Dutch trading company founded by Van der Linde and Teves in Semarang in 1889. It dealt in metal industrial products, including motor vehicles, fire vehicles and other equipment. (<http://jkt3.detiknews.com/index.php/detik.read/tahun/2004/bulan/10/tgl/25/time/140457/idnews/229980/idkanal/10>).

Surabaya Municipality and the Director of Municipal Work. The representatives of the Surabaya Municipality requested that a viaduct be built which has three openings, respectively 7.5 m, 15 m, and 6.4 m in width. An alternative option was a viaduct with two openings, each 16 m wide, for two-way traffic. In order to separate each lane, a refuge or traffic island was to be placed between the lanes. The Chief Inspector of the SS did not object to these requirements.⁴⁶⁰

Further developments concerning the above agreement cannot be traced until the release the Municipal Sheet No. 142 in 1919. The sheet mentions a request for approval made by the Head of the SS Extension Works in Surabaya to modify the design of the viaduct. This request was granted by the City Council without discussion or objection in their meeting on 25 June 1919.⁴⁶¹ Unfortunately, the designer and characteristics of the design are unknown.

In 1923, the Mayor of Surabaya received a letter from the Head of the SS Extension Works⁴⁶² dated 26 January 1923.⁴⁶³ In this letter, the SS explains that it was impossible to finish all extensions for the railway network as well as open new lines in the next year, 1924, because of the government's budget cuts.

One of the results of these budget cuts was that reinforced concrete was no longer to be used in the Pasar Besar viaduct. The concrete viaduct was to be replaced by a simple steel bridge construction, which should, however, still protect traffic below from ashes, charcoal residue, and other materials which might inconveniently fall down from the trains (locomotives and railway carriages).⁴⁶⁴

The SS had finished the design of the Kaliondo⁴⁶⁵ viaduct, and subsequently presented a preliminary design for the Pasar Besar viaduct which was approved by the Mayor, as notes in the Mayor's letter dated 16 July 1921.⁴⁶⁶ However, the design had deviated slightly from the specifications agreed upon earlier. The electric tram tracks had been placed in the middle of the street,⁴⁶⁷ so that the viaduct had three openings, one opening

⁴⁶⁰ Anonymous, *De Spoorwegplannen voor Soerabaja*, 52.

⁴⁶¹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1919, 25 June 1919, 317.

⁴⁶² No. 211.

⁴⁶³ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 71, 29 March 1923, 283.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 280. At that time the SS was still operated steam locomotives using firewood.

⁴⁶⁵ Now known as Kapasari street.

⁴⁶⁶ No. 4104/22.

Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1923 No. 71, 280-1.

⁴⁶⁷ Based on analysis of an old photograph in A.C. Broeshart, et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994), 88, formerly the track ran along the western edge of Alun-alun street, adjacent to the *Stadstuin* (Town Park). There are two possibilities what happened at that time. The first possibility is that the OJS moved the tram tracks from edge to the middle of Alun-alun street. The second possibility is that the Municipality widened Alun-alun street toward the west, perhaps because

in the middle for double tram tracks and two on each side for road traffic. Also, the building line (*rooilijn*) had been determined, so that the location of the bridge abutments could be decided.⁴⁶⁸

The Director of Public Works affirmed that the design of the Pasar Besar viaduct, submitted by the Head of the SS Extension Works, was a good solution from the viewpoint of traffic flow. There were three full openings for each transportation mode and both trams and cars could move freely, without the handicap of trains passed over them. However, from an aesthetic viewpoint the design would not be satisfactory if it was built, at least in terms of contributing to the townscape (*stadsbeeld*).⁴⁶⁹ Also, the Director of Land and Housing Services rejected the design because of a total disregard for the maintenance aspect.⁴⁷⁰

However, considering the advantages, such as the flow of traffic and the speed of the construction phase, the Director of Public Works was satisfied with the design submitted. However, he did comment that the designer should pay attention to the form and finishing of pillars and abutments. Also, in a steel bridge, the issues of painting and colour choice were two factors which should be considered. Finally, of course, the protection of traffic in the street from ashes, charcoal residue, and other materials should be ensured.⁴⁷¹

The technical committee made negative comments and rejected the design.⁴⁷² After consultation with the financial committee, the Mayor finally proposed that the following three decisions be adopted by the council:

- the Municipality rejected the preliminary design of the Pasar Besar viaduct because of difficulties in architectural maintenance;
- the Municipality still wanted the street traffic to be the main consideration in the viaduct design because the flow of traffic could be affected during the construction phase;

of the increase in traffic load, so that the position of the track ended up in the middle of the street. The latter assumption is more logical because it could also be the reason why the town clock donated by the British community in the east side of the Town Park was moved to Priok square (see chapter 3.14 on British community church). The second reason for assuming that the latter explanation is correct is a comparison between the photograph mentioned above (taken around 1920) and another old photograph (taken around 1926) in Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld*, 135. There is a ratio difference in the height of the *Soerabaiasch Handelsblad* building, on the east side of Alun-alun street, and the width of the street when comparing both pictures.

⁴⁶⁸ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 71, 281.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 282.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

- attention had to be paid to the form and finishing of the pillars and abutments, while a steel bridge would have to be painted a suitable colour so that it would not mar the townscape.⁴⁷³

The City Council held a meeting on 25 April 1923 in order to discuss the content of the aforementioned Municipal Sheet.⁴⁷⁴ Council member I.Th. van Rosse appreciated the authority of the SS concerning architectural requirements, something which they had proven in the provisional design. The Mayor agreed to his statement, and finally without further discussion or voting, the council approved the decision concept mentioned in the Municipal Sheet.⁴⁷⁵

After the aforementioned refusal, the Deputy of the SS Extension Works in Surabaya submitted a new design for the concrete viaduct to the Municipality.⁴⁷⁶ The technical and financial committees had recommended the design, and the decision concept was confirmed in the Municipal Sheet No. 203 dated 8 September 1923. The Municipality approved a blueprint drawing,⁴⁷⁷ which would be discussed by the City Council in the next meeting.

Four days later, on 12 September 1923, the City Council held a meeting which was attended by more members.⁴⁷⁸ Related to item 29 of the meeting agendas, council member I.Th. van Rosse asked whether the design submitted was a provisional or preliminary design. The technical committee wondered whether this was the definitive design.⁴⁷⁹ The Mayor replied that it was the definitive design. Van Rosse noted that in the technical field, the term definitive design had a different meaning. It was a design which had been developed from a preliminary one and it had been decided to be built.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 283.

⁴⁷⁴ The meeting was led by G.J. Dijkerman as Mayor and assisted by Secretary A.H. de Wildt. It was attended by J.J. Frölich, M. Soendjoto, S.B. Liem, F.J. Stemmerik, J.H. Schijfsma, M.A.A. van Mook, M. Moewalladi, Th.B.A. Faubel, M.Ng. Askaboel Djojopranoto, I.Th. van Rosse, R. Soedirman, T.L. Tan, F.W. Morren, R. Soerjatin, J.W. van Dijk and Pranger.

⁴⁷⁵ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1923, 25 April 1923, 469.

⁴⁷⁶ No information can be found indicating whether or not it is the same as the former design.

⁴⁷⁷ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 203, 8 September 1923, 703-4.

⁴⁷⁸ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1923, 12 September 1923, 591.

The meeting was still led by G.J. Dijkerman as Mayor and assisted by Secretary A.H. De Wildt. It was attended by S.B. Liem, Nessel van Lissa, W. van Itallie, R. Soedirman, M.A.A. van Mook, Bartman, F.W. Morren, Leendertzs, R. Soerjatin, J.W. van Dijk, A. van Gennep, M. Soendjoto, J.H. Schijfsma, Tan Tjiang Ling, Sastrowinangoen, M. Moewalladi, C.M. Beukers, F.J. Stemmerik, J. Hekket, Th.B.A. Faubel, I.Th. van Rosse, Teng Sioe Hie, V.W.Ch. Ploegman.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 618.

Perhaps I.Th. van Rosse was also one of the technical committee members.

The Mayor said that the proposal had been submitted to the government.⁴⁸⁰ Concerned about the further development of the project, Van Rosse proposed to add a note:

*“onder voorwaarde, dat de uitgewerkte teekeningen t.z.t. eveneens aan de goedkeuring van den Raad zullen worden onderworpen”*⁴⁸¹

after the word “blueprint drawing” in the draft of the Municipal Sheet.⁴⁸² The Mayor agreed and adopted this amendment. Finally, the complete proposal was adopted without voting.⁴⁸³

Based on the above explanation, it can be concluded that there were at least five designs:

- the first design, perhaps drafted in 1916, using reinforced concrete, with the number of the openings and their measurements as proposed by the Municipality;
- the second design was a modification of the first, which was proposed by the Head of SS Extension Works and approved by the City Council in the meeting of 25 June 1919;
- the (preliminary) design approved by the Mayor as stated in his letter⁴⁸⁴ dated 16 July 1921. This design was for a viaduct made of concrete, with the tram in one of the side openings, but this design was withdrawn by the SS because of budget cuts;
- the design for a viaduct made of a steel construction which was not approved by the City Council because of the architectural considerations (maintenance, townscape, etc.). In this design, the tram was to run through the centre opening; and
- the final design, which is the existing design or as it is today.

Citroen probably became involved in this project after the rejection of the fourth design. It is likely that Mayor G.J. Dijkerman played a significant role in introducing him to the SS in order to help this company to produce a good design which fulfilled the requirements of utility, safety, maintenance and aesthetics. This action of Dijkerman's was meant to speed up the solution to the problems with traffic jams in Pasar Besar while at the same time improving the frequency of train transportation to and from the port.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ “under the condition that the detailed drawings will also be submitted to the Council for approval.”

⁴⁸² Ibid., 619.

⁴⁸³ Ibid. From the beginning, in the earlier documents up to the aforementioned document, which was the last document which can be found on the decision-making relating to the Pasar Besar railway viaduct, the name of Citroen was never mentioned. Perhaps he took a role in the development of the design made after 1923 in order to fulfil the architectural requirements related to the townscape.

⁴⁸⁴ No. 4104/22.

⁴⁸⁵ Citroen was probably not involved in other similar projects (Pasar Turi, Kalimas, Kaliondo, etc.) because these were not ‘prestigious’ projects, nor were they urgent projects like the Pasar Besar railway viaduct.

3.12.3.2. Design

The final design of the Pasar Besar viaduct is simple. The viaduct has three openings, one for the OJS electric trams in the middle and two equal openings for other vehicles on both sides. The centre opening intended for double tram tracks is about half the width of the other openings.⁴⁸⁶ All components were made of reinforced concrete, except for the railway track and its ties.

Generally, a bridge is designed and built in a straight line, but the Pasar Besar viaduct is different. The viaduct stretches from east to west and curves slightly to the north because it needs to turn to right towards the port (fig.3.12.1). Low concrete barriers fence off the track on both sides. At certain points of each edge, there are four semi-circular protrusions, two upper columns or supporting elements and two at the abutments. These protrusions function as emergency or safety spaces for the track controller when the trains pass and at the same time, they work to break the monotony of the solid fence (fig.3.12.11). They also act as containers of rain water before the water is channelled to a gutter.⁴⁸⁷ To support this protrusion, Citroen added a cantilever beam, the tip of which is combined with the gutter. Between two protrusions above both the edge openings, there are two half-cylinder ornaments (fig.3.12.12). Besides acting as aesthetic elements, they function to hide a dilation joint between three parts which form a wide edge opening. A break is needed in order to prevent cracking as a result of the heavy dynamic load when the trains pass through. Between two half-cylinder ornaments, there are five holes arranged in a horizontal line to reduce the solid look of the fence. In all the described elements - protrusions, gutters, ornaments and horizontal lines of openings - Citroen provided good architectural and aesthetic solutions without compromising the functionality of the design. These solutions may never have been considered carefully if the viaduct had been designed by the SS engineers alone. As a result of their particular expertise, the SS engineers had designed a viaduct based on structural and utilitarian factors only, not on aesthetic factors.

The middle opening or segment uses a full rigid frame construction. This means that all joints - those between the concrete slab and the two main beams, those between the main beams and the two columns, and those between the main beams and the two tie beams - are rigid. This does not matter because the span of the beams is short, and the beams only need to accommodate an opening for two tram tracks. The main beams not only become taller, but also thicker near the edges close to the columns or abutments, so that they almost become one. This increase in dimension is in accordance with the

⁴⁸⁶ Measurements on site cannot be done because of the busyness of traffic.

⁴⁸⁷ Although they were not designed as cubist elements, the gutters were almost similar to the design of the same elements in the Town Hall and the BPM building.

increase in momentum in that position. At the bottom of the beams there two iron bars to which electric wires for the OJS tram could be attached.

Conversely, Citroen was forced to put a break in the main beams for two side openings which have wide spans and which support heavy dynamic loads from the trains. The break is placed at two points where the beam becomes taller. The two side parts of the beam are part of the column and the abutment, so these actually act as the dilation for the vertical supporting elements. The central part is kept free on both sides so that vibration from the train will not cause cracks in the beams, slabs and fences.

The column profile is basically rectangular. However, since there are added elements, an extension of the main beam and a decrease in width downward, on the longitudinal sides of the viaduct, the column appears to be broader onwards to the top. In order to 'soften' the appearance of the column, as the sides are at 90 degree angles to each other, Citroen placed half cylinders on the transversal sides of the column (fig.3.12.10). These cylinders are also a visual continuation of the half-circle protrusions mentioned above.

3.12.4. Construction

The viaduct was built in 1926,⁴⁸⁸ but no information on the process of tendering, the process of construction, the cost and the builder can be found. It would be interesting to find out more about the process of construction because it would have increased traffic jams and interrupted the OJS trams (fig.3.12.2). Pasar Besar is one of the busiest streets in Surabaya up to the present day. Perhaps at that time the authorities implemented traffic management scheme to solve these problems during the construction process.

3.12.5. Post-construction

Based on the photograph found, the SS held an opening ceremony when the viaduct came into use.⁴⁸⁹ However, no information can be found on the exact date of this ceremony. On this occasion, the first SS train from the Sidotopo goods station passed through the viaduct (fig.3.12.3). The picture shows that the train is not carrying cargo, but the engine is pulling a series of open carriages full of people. At the same time, OJS electric trams, many cars, *dokars*⁴⁹⁰ and bicycles are moving on Alun-alun street below. In a later picture,⁴⁹¹ the SS train has come to a stop on the viaduct and all the passengers are standing up to look down upon the last SS train, which ran from Sidotopo to the port

⁴⁸⁸ Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld*, 138.

⁴⁸⁹ Adriaan Neijtzell de Wilde and Steven Anne Reitsma, *De Koloniale Roeping van Nederland* (The Hague: NV. Nederlandsch-Engelsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1930), 31.

⁴⁹⁰ A *dokar* is a traditional two-wheeled vehicle which is pulled by a horse.

⁴⁹¹ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaja* (Soerabaja: H. van Ingen, 1934), 13.

and which is crossing Alun-alun street via the old track below. The train is pulling carriages, perhaps full of cargo, to the port, while the OJS trams from the north and south, cars, *dokars* and bicyclists have to stop to await its crossing. The fence of the viaduct is decorated with a floral arrangement reaching from the far west to the far east end.

On other important occasions, the viaduct played a role as an effective canvas or a place to attach decorations to. For example, some decorations and attributes were placed on it to celebrate Princess Juliana's and Prince Bernhard's wedding on 7 January 1937. Also, it was a strategic place from where people could easily see parades passing through Alun-alun street at important events during both the Dutch colonial time and the Japanese occupation (fig.3.12.8).⁴⁹² After completion of the new East-Java Governor's office⁴⁹³ which was positioned near the viaduct, Pasar Besar became the obvious place for public occasions such as pageants, military parades, civic ceremonies, etc.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹² During the Japanese occupation, the Court of Justice building built in 1891 with neo-classic style was converted to be the Kempetai headquarters. Unfortunately, in November 1945 this building was destroyed in the battle between British troops and Indonesian revolutionaries (Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld*, 140).

⁴⁹³ It was designed by W. Lemei in 1929-1931 (Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* [Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990], 123).

⁴⁹⁴ Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld*, 140.

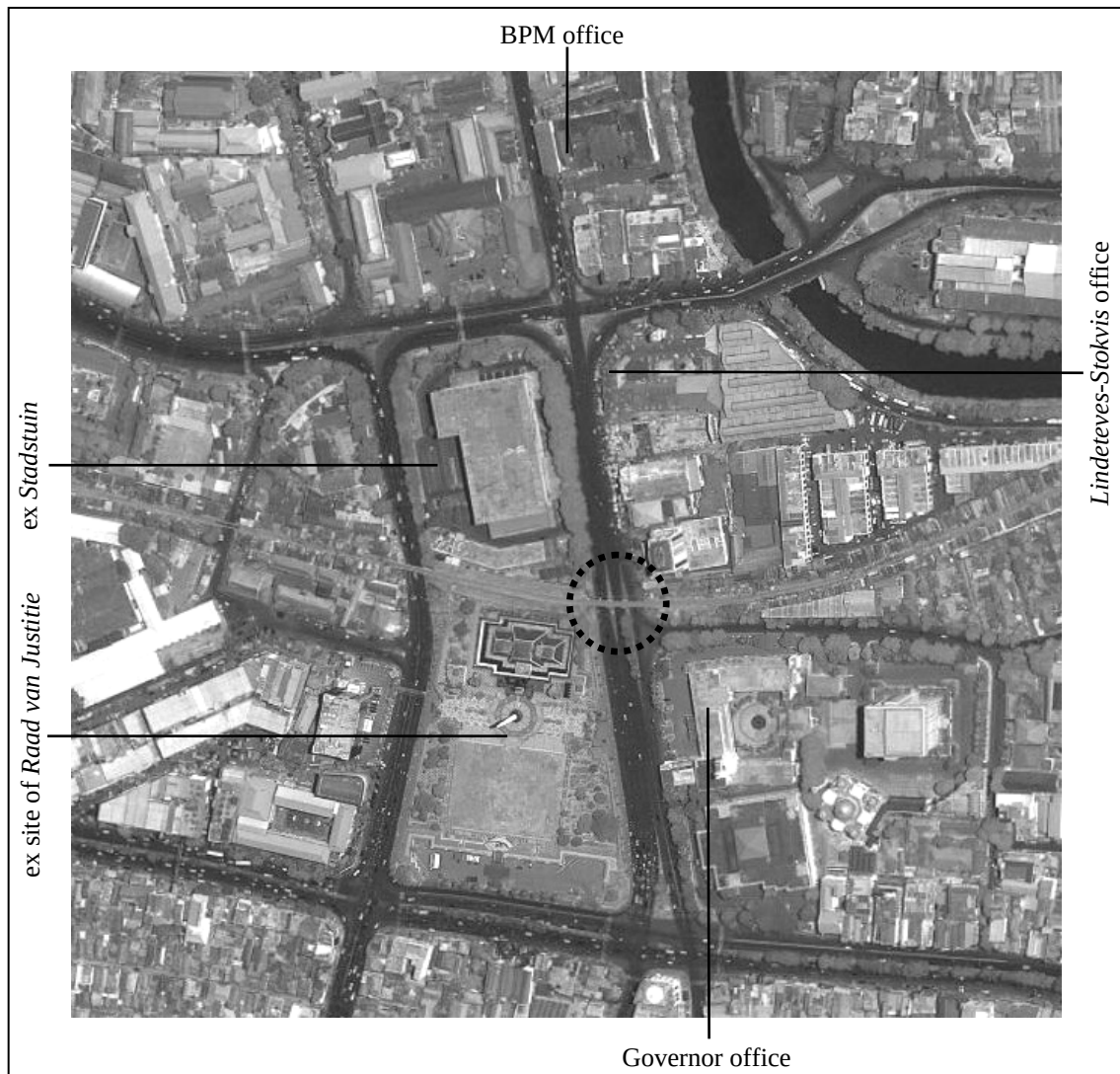


Fig.3.12.1. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: location in Pasar Besar area.



Fig.3.12.2. Traffic congestion when a train crosses Alun-alun street before the construction of the viaduct.



Fig.3.12.3. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: the last SS train crossed Alun-alun street shortly before the opening ceremony of the viaduct.



Fig.3.12.4. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: bird's-eye view in 1931.



Fig.3.12.5. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: view towards the south.



Fig.3.12.6. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: view towards the north (ca. 1935).

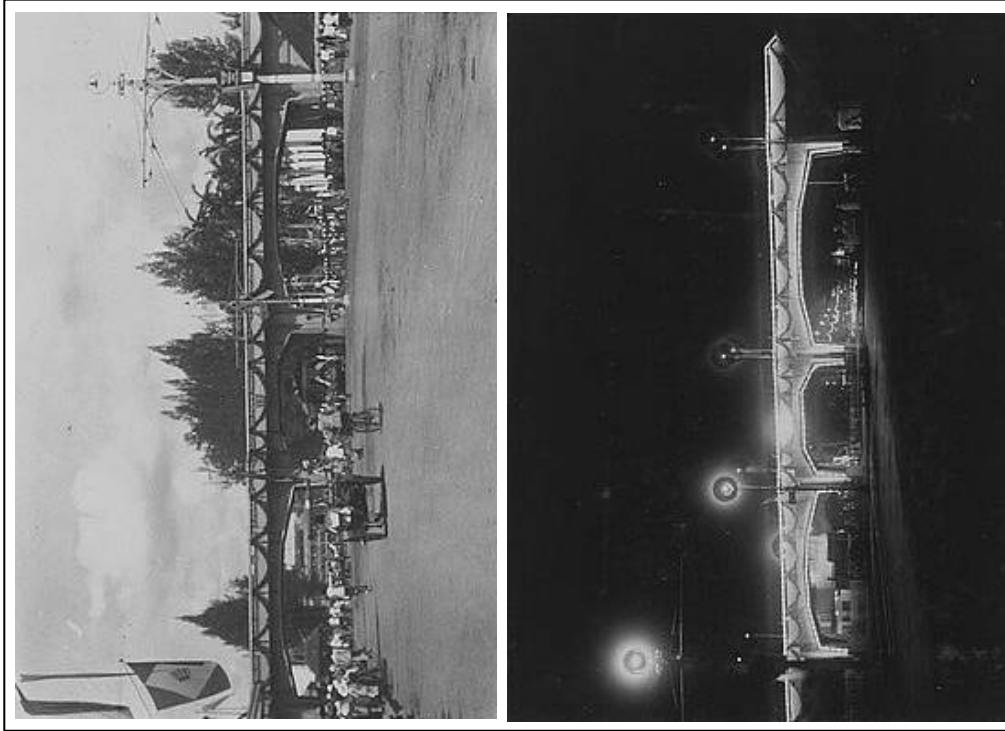


Fig.3.12.7. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: decorations and lighting during the visit of the Governor General A.C.D. de Graeff.



Fig.3.12.8. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: on the occasion of *Koninginnedag* 31 August 1935.



Fig.3.12.9. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: track.



ca. 1952



2007

Fig.3.12.10. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: pillar.



Fig.3.12.11. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: safety space.



Fig.3.12.12. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: dilation joint

3.13. EXTENSION OF THE SUGAR SYNDICATE BUILDING

The sugar industry in the Netherlands Indies played an important role in the country's economic development from the late of 19th century up to World War II. After the Dutch colonial government implemented the Sugar Act (*Suikerwet*) and the Agriculture Act (*Agrarische Wet*) in 1870, many investors established sugar companies and sugar plantations.

Java was the most favourable place for these entrepreneurs to invest their money. Many sugar factories were built in Middle and East Java, two provinces in Java where the soil characteristics and climate are suitable for the growth of sugar cane. In 1894, there were 195 sugar factories, while in 1924 - 30 years later - there were 179 sugar factories; 16 factories fewer than before. This decrease was caused by the opening of 35 large new factories and the closing of 51 small factories.⁴⁹⁵ As a result of the widespread sugar trade, the Netherlands Indies was known as the second biggest sugar producing area after Cuba.

The boom in sugar production is reflected by the total number of European employees in this industry. On 1 January 1923, there were around 3,640 European workers employed in the Java sugar industries. They consisted of 888 workers working on sugar cane plantations, 624 technical staff, 564 chemists, 495 administrative staff, and 564 employees working in transport and on weighbridges.⁴⁹⁶

The rapid growth of sugar factories and their products caused an upsurge in research and test institutions which were to control the sugar production, an increase in educational or scientific institutes intended for training sugar experts, as well as a rise in the number of associations which aspired to increase co-operation between sugar factories or between producers and consumers. These associations were the *Bond van Eigenaren van Nederlandsch-Indische Suikersondernemingen* (BENISO), the *Vereeniging het Proefstation voor de Java-Suikerindustrie* (VPJS), the *Java Suiker Werkgevers Bond* (JSWB), the *Vereenigde Java Suiker Producenten* (VJSP), and the *Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië* (ASNI).⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁵ Anonymmous, *Jaarboek voor Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië 1922-1925*, II, 391.

⁴⁹⁶ J.J. Tichelaar, *De Java-Suikerindustrie en Hare Betekenis voor Land en Volk* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1927), 50.

⁴⁹⁷ Respectively the Union of Owners of Netherlands Indies Sugar Enterprises, the Research Station for the Javan Sugar Industry Society, the Java Sugar Employers Union, the United Java Sugar Producers, and the General Syndicate of Sugar Manufacturers in the Netherlands Indies.

The first association, the BENISO, was established on 21 December 1917⁴⁹⁸ in the Netherlands. The postal address of its governing board was *Laan van Meerdervoort 9, The Hague*.⁴⁹⁹ The BENISO represented 100 owners of 157 sugar companies in the Netherlands Indies.⁵⁰⁰ Because of the work of the BENISO, these owners were able to stay in the Netherlands without losing touch with sugar matters abroad.

The second association, the VPJS, was the union for research and testing departments which were responsible for developing and controlling the quality of the sugar. The VPJS had 99 members who worked for 161 companies.⁵⁰¹ The companies were divided into 15 groups.⁵⁰² At that time, the association had research and testing stations in Pasuruan for East Java and in Tegal for Middle Java. Afterwards, the stations were divided gradually based on the nature of the work they did. The institution in Pasuruan focused on agricultural aspects, while the station in Tegal focused on chemical and technical aspects. After 1900, the second station moved to Pekalongan and was subsequently established in Semarang, the capital city of the province of Middle Java. However, in 1924, both stations merged and all activities in Semarang were moved to the *Heerenstraat* in Pasuruan.⁵⁰³

The third association, the JSWB, was founded in 1920. The aim of this association was to promote unity in labour relations and labour regulations in the 101 companies which were its members. These companies jointly owned 160 sugar factories.⁵⁰⁴ When it was established, the JSWB concentrated on labour disputes which occurred often in that year. It occupied itself with the regulation of labour relations. In a short time, JSWB had already achieved its mission.⁵⁰⁵

The VJSP was founded in the Netherlands, where the President of the governing board resided as a result of the distressing circumstances during the final years of World War I. The association was hit by a lack of storage as well as a cessation of sales, while the stock continued to pile up and prices decreased enormously.⁵⁰⁶ This association arranged the sugar sale centrally. In the Netherlands Indies, it was represented by the committee of representation, which was assisted by a committee of assistance and recommendation. Of the 179 sugar factories in Java, there were 157 factories owned by

⁴⁹⁸ A.G. Bak, *Geschiedenis van het Ontstaan van den BENISO Geschetst ter Gelegenheid van Zijn 25 Jarig Bestaan* ('s-Gravenhage: BENISO, 1942), 1.

⁴⁹⁹ Anonymous, *Jaarboek voor Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië 1922-1925*, II, 275.

⁵⁰⁰ Tichelaar, *De Java-Suikerindustrie en Hare Betekenis voor Land en Volk*, 276-9.

⁵⁰¹ Anonymous, *Jaarboek voor Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië 1922-1925*, II, 229-33.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 234-5.

⁵⁰³ Tichelaar, *De Java-Suikerindustrie en Hare Betekenis voor Land en Volk*, 52, 236.

⁵⁰⁴ 166 sugar factories based on Anonymous, *Jaarboek voor Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië 1922-1925*, II, 249-54.

⁵⁰⁵ Tichelaar, *De Java-Suikerindustrie en Hare Betekenis voor Land en Volk*, 56.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 56, 58.

96 VJSP members or companies associated with the VJSP.⁵⁰⁷ Their products represented approximately 90% of all sugar exported to Europe. The sugar they produced was sold on a joint account.⁵⁰⁸

Finally, ASNI was established in 1894 to promote all aspects of sugar and the sugar industry.⁵⁰⁹ Of course, it also printed brochures as information and promotional media so that investors were willing to invest their funds in the sugar industry in the Netherlands Indies.⁵¹⁰ The ASNI had 175 members who represented 108 companies, which owned 179 sugar factories in Java.⁵¹¹ In 1907, the association was appointed by the government as the official committee for advising the government on matters concerning the sugar industry in the Netherlands Indies. As a result, the ASNI was able to allow the voice of the industries to be heard by the government.⁵¹² Since East Java had more sugar industries than Middle Java, Surabaya as the capital city of this province was selected as the seat of the ASNI office. For the same reason, the research and testing institutions were merged and unified in Pasuruan.

Three associations - the VPJS, the JSWB and the ASNI - occupied the building at *Heerenstraat 17*, Surabaya.⁵¹³

3.13.1. Idea and Location

In the early 1920s, the plan emerged to build a new ASNI office in Surabaya. This plan followed the increase in the ASNI's activities, as well as the activities of other associations (the VPJS and the JSWB) using the building, so that the old building at *Heerenstraat 17*, Lower Town could no longer accommodate their growth and development. Five years later, Citroen was asked to design an extension of the ASNI office in the same location (now Rajawali 29). No information can be found on why Citroen was chosen as the architect of this extension.

⁵⁰⁷ Anonymmous, *Jaarboek voor Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië 1922-1925*, II, 260-3.

⁵⁰⁸ Tichelaar, *De Java-Suikerindustrie en Hare Betekenis voor Land en Volk*, 58.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 56.

However, in G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 233, it is mentioned that this association was established in 1873.

⁵¹⁰ <http://www.pppi.or.id/id/pppi/tentang/tentang-isi4-1.html>

⁵¹¹ Tichelaar, *De Java-Suikerindustrie en Hare Betekenis voor Land en Volk*, 56.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ Anonymmous, *Jaarboek voor Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië 1922-1925*, part II, 209, 215, 227.

3.13.2. Design, Cost and Construction of the Old Building

The decision to build the old building⁵¹⁴ was taken in ASNI the meeting led by the President of the governing board in January 1917. The board members agreed to follow the aforementioned plan and build the building in the location of the existing office.⁵¹⁵ A site bought by the ASNI in Sawahan which was originally intended to be the location of the new ASNI building as well as the ASNI research building was finally cancelled.⁵¹⁶

On 9 July 1917, contractors were invited to tender for the construction work.⁵¹⁷ The project was divided into two parts, A and B. Part A was the work excluding the reinforced concrete and part B was the work involving reinforced concrete.

For part A, no applications were submitted, but for part B, the *Hollandsche Beton Maatschappij* was selected. The total budget tendered for was f 22,200.⁵¹⁸ The committee organised another tender, but all participants proposed budgets which were higher than the calculations made by the architectural firm Pinedo & Job, the designer of the building. Finally, the *Hollandsche Beton Maatschappij* was also selected to construct part A within a budget of f 123,124, excluding other allocations mentioned in the specifications. The total budget was around f 200,000, including new furniture.⁵¹⁹

The construction work was started on 11 September 1917. However, by February 1920 the project had still not been completed. Several months were still needed to finish the work.⁵²⁰

The two-storey building consists of two buildings which are connected (fig.3.12.1). The front building has a mansard roof with a dormer (fig.3.13.2) while the rear building has a hipped roof. The setback is almost non-existent. On the ground floor, there is a transitional room from the street to the building's main entrance. This transition area also functions as a pedestrian area as well as a buffer between the hot outside temperature and the cooler climate indoors. This space has three openings, each with an arch on top. The middle opening is narrower than the other two openings. It is covered

⁵¹⁴ Based on an analysis using Google Earth, there are two buildings, front and rear, which are connected to each other.

⁵¹⁵ ASNI, *Verslag van het Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië, over het 23^e en 24^e Jaar 1917-1918* (Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1920), 26.

No information can be found in which either building is mentioned.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., 27.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 26-7.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 27.

by a half cupola which strengthens its role as the main entrance (fig.3.13.3). An arch with a geometrically patterned stained glass window is placed over the main door (fig.3.16.6), as well as over the doors on the upper floor. There is a covered balcony along the facade of the building with rectangular openings. More recently, this space was converted into a functional room by adding additional windows to close the openings. All the openings are surrounded by decorative lines made of plaster. A flagpole is located between the middle openings, jutting out at an angle.

3.13.3. Design of the Extension Building

Citroen designed an extension to the building with a different style, simpler than that of the old building. A new small hallway in which a U-shaped stairwell is located (fig.3.13.14), connects this building with the rear part of the old building. The stairwell is different from the stairs in the old building, where the balustrade is made of brick and the handrail is covered by wood finished in a natural color. The new stairwell was designed in a modern style. The balustrade is made of brick and finished with white and dark marble (fig.3.13.15). To avoid a solid look, there is a gap in the balustrade every three steps and these gaps are filled by an iron cylinder stick implanted in the bottom of the balustrade and fixed to the top surface of the balustrade.

Beyond the hallway, there are rooms of which the original function is unknown.⁵²¹ These rooms are located in a building covered by a saddle roof. A small patio flanked by galleries separates this building from another building located beyond the patio.

The rear or extension two-storey building faces a narrow street and has a setback measuring around one meter (fig.3.13.10 and 3.13.11). It has a saddle roof with a slope of around 45 degrees. The ground floor does not have dividing walls so that several concrete columns stand free (fig.3.13.12). This room may have been used for storage because it has an open layout, high ceilings, and iron grated windows. Also, its position is in the back of the site.

The external appearance of the rear building is dominated by wide horizontal blinds and vertical concrete 'fins' to which the blinds are attached. Both elements function to block direct sunlight and rain splashing on the windows. This may be the reason why Citroen designed narrow eaves, like those of the old building. Most of the window and door frames in the extension are made of metal. Glass, both clear and frosted, is used in all windows. Almost no ornaments can be found in the building.

⁵²¹ In September 2007, the buildings, both the original building and the extension buildings, were not occupied so that almost the rooms were locked and their condition was dirty. The present watchman did not know the function of each of the rooms.

All the characteristics described above show that Citroen's work tends to have a functional style. According to Lemei, he had designed the building well. It appears business-like with its plain interior.⁵²² However, Lemei also made negative comments on the external appearance relating to the site.⁵²³ What he probably meant was that the interaction between the building and the street is not optimal because there is no door to connect them. Also, the building is too high in relation to the width of the street, while the setback of the building is too small.

⁵²² W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 6.

⁵²³ Ibid.



Fig.3.13.1. ASNI Building: location.



ca. 1997

ca. 1930

Fig.3.13.2. Old ASNI Building.



Fig.3.13.3. Old ASNI Building: canopy.



Fig.3.13.4. Old ASNI Building:
arch with iron lattice
work.

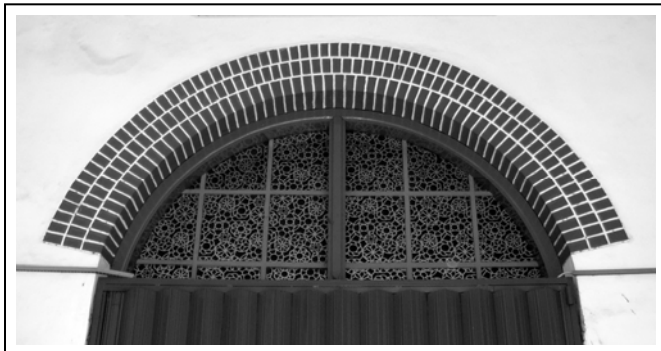


Fig.3.13.5. Old ASNI Building: arch with stained
glass window.



Fig.3.13.6. Old ASNI Building: main
entrance.

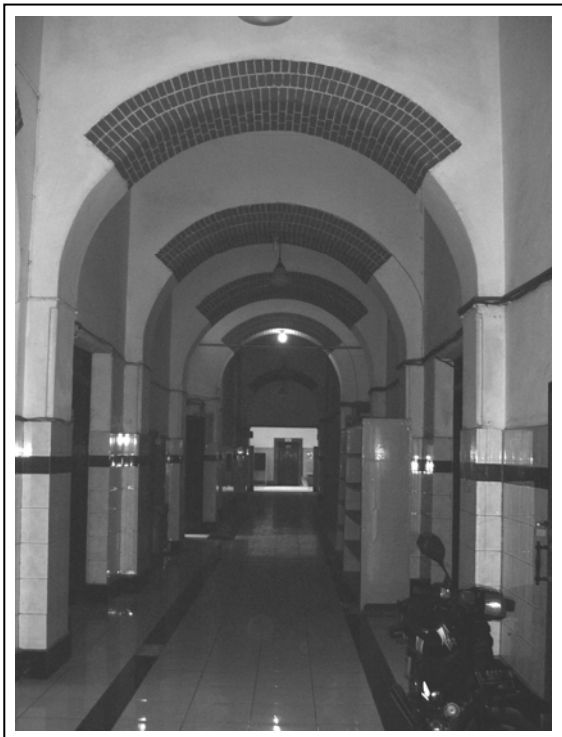


Fig.3.13.7. Old ASNI Building: corridor
with arches.



Fig.3.13.8. Old ASNI Building: column.



Fig.3.13.9. Old ASNI Building: railing.

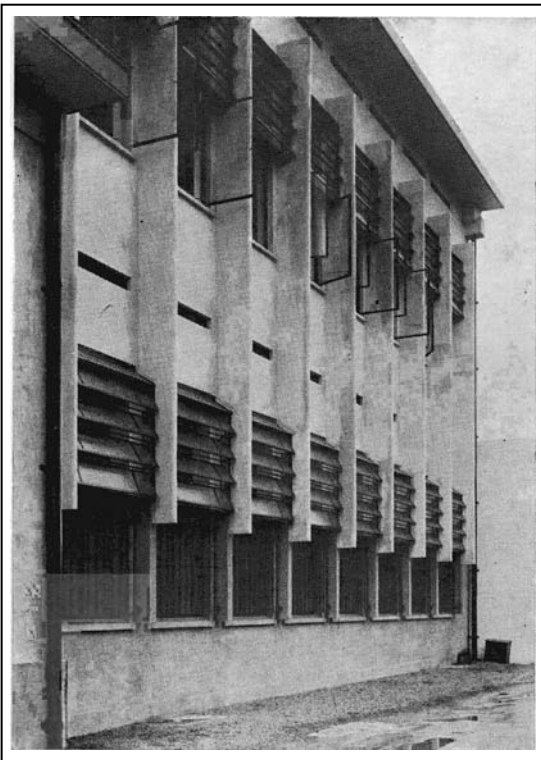


Fig.3.13.10. Extension ASNI Building ca. 1935.



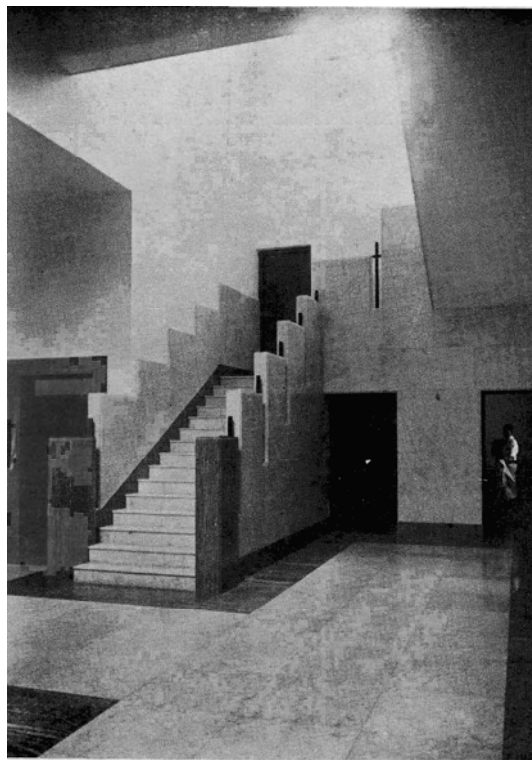
Fig.3.13.11. Extension ASNI Building: present situation.



Fig.3.13.12. Extension ASNI Building; interior in 2007.



Fig.3.13.13. Extension ASNI Building: opening connecting old and new buildings.



1935



2007



2007

Fig.3.13.14. Extension ASNI Building: stairs.



Fig.3.13.15. Extension ASNI Building: detail of railing.

3.14. BRITISH COMMUNITY CHURCH

Surabaya was known as an international city during the third decade of the 20th century. People with various nationalities lived in the second largest city in the Netherlands Indies. By April 1930, around 2,900 foreign people were living in Surabaya, excluding the Dutch, of at least 25 nationalities and 578 different families.⁵²⁴ Apart from European citizens, Surabaya was also inhabited by foreigners from America, Australia, Africa, Japan, the Philippines, as well as from China, Arab countries, and other countries in the Orient.⁵²⁵

Germans constituted the largest group among European people, followed by Armenians and British nationals. The German community found its social life in clubhouses, where they played bridge, threw parties or danced, etc. They seldom mixed with members of other nationalities and they had their own club building, known as the *Deutscher Verein* in Gentengkali street.⁵²⁶ It was an old building which was renovated by architect B.N.

⁵²⁴ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 35. The details are shown below.

Nationality	Male	Female	Number	Family
German	507	338	845	171
Armenian	194	194	388	85
British	217	166	383	87
French	24	34	85	8
Belgian	40	38	78	16
Austrian	42	35	77	16
Swiss	41	26	67	16
Italian	32	20	52	12
Czech	17	13	30	5
Denmark	19	10	29	5
Russian	18	10	28	5
Poland	12	15	27	4
Hungarian	9	10	19	3
Romanian	9	6	15	2
Turkish	6	8	14	3
Sweden	7	6	13	3
Greek	4	-	4	-
Latvian	1	1	2	1
Norwegian	1	1	2	1
Portugese	1	-	1	-
Total	1201	931	2159	443

Up to March 1930, the total of European citizens in Surabaya was 25,238 which number consisted of 13,094 males and 12,144 females (Bureau van Statistiek, *Statistische Berichten der Gemeente Soerabaja 4e Jaargang 1930* [’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1930], 3). Therefore, the total number of Dutch citizens was 23,079, which number consisted of 11,893 males and 11,213 females.

⁵²⁵ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 35. The following table shows the details.

Nationality	Male	Female	Number	Family
Japan	520	200	720	124
American	18	13	31	7
Philippines	22	4	26	3
Australian	2	1	3	1
African	2	1	3	-

de Vistarini in 1928.⁵²⁷

In a different way, the British community chose a Protestant organization as their social activity umbrella. The Congregation of British Protestants in East Java was founded by R.E. Bussell (President), R.G. Macindoe (Treasurer), T.B. Murray (Secretary), and A.T. Sturrock and M.A. Murray (Commissioners) as trustees.⁵²⁸ In religious services, they followed the Anglican liturgy.⁵²⁹

This congregation was involved in several social activities in Surabaya. For example, in order to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, the British community donated a town clock, a miniature version of Big Ben, to the Municipality and placed it in the *Stadstuin* (Town Park), Pasar Besar, the first location of the Surabaya Town Hall. After the relocation of the Town Hall, the clock was moved to Priok square.⁵³⁰

3.14.1. Idea and Location

In 1910 and 1911 British church services were held in a school in Simpang. Afterwards, the church was moved to a building of the *Vrijmetselaarsloge* (masonic lodge) in Tunjungan. The idea to build a church of their own was discussed for the first time in 1912.⁵³¹ At the end of 1926 the congregation decided that the definitive location of the British church would be on the *Reinierszboulevard* (now Diponegoro 24). This street is one of the main boulevards in the Darmo area, which was planned by Henri Maclaine Pont, and connects Wonokromo and Pasar Kembang (Flower Market). This means that the community bought the site from the *Oost Java Stoomtram Maatschappij* (OJS), the owner of the Darmo area. The OJS exploited a Wonokromo - Grudo - Ujung (port) steam tram which was eventually converted to an electric tram line. This means that the church was in a strategic location. In January 1927, the activities of the church were moved to the *Kunstkring* (Society of the Arts) building in Embong Malang.⁵³²

⁵²⁶ Ibid., 37.

⁵²⁷ Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990), 144.

⁵²⁸ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 37.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ A.C. Broeshart, et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994), 88. Also, J.R. van Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld* (Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2004), 134.

⁵³¹ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 37.

⁵³² Ibid.

3.14.2. Design

Citroen designed the west-facing building in 1926 (fig.3.14.1).⁵³³ He was probably commissioned with the task because of his good relations with his former client, the British citizen E.W. Edgar, Esq. Apart from its function as a religious building, the church also accommodated social activities.⁵³⁴ In principle, the building has four rooms: a veranda, foyer, main room and service room. The floor plan of the main room is shaped like a Latin cross although this shape is not obvious because of the proportions of the axes. The longitudinal axis measures 20.30 m by 11.60 m width at the nave and is 8.80 m wide at the absis, while the transversal axis measures 16.00 m by 5.00 m. The veranda and foyer look like later additions because their dimensions are too small compared to the main room. The veranda is bordered by brick walls on its two sides so that it can only be accessed from the front. The foyer door is made of teakwood finished in a natural wood colour, and is decorated with a cross motif.

The nave is covered by a large saddle roof with a slope of more than 60 degrees. There is a bell turret on the ridge of the roof. The design is similar to that of Darmo hospital. The veranda, foyer and transept are covered by small hipped roofs, while the absis has a saddle roof.

Two octagonal clear glass leaded windows are placed in the gable of the nave and next to the foyer roof (fig.3.14.5), and a colourful rose window adorns the gable of the absis (fig.3.14.3). A series of rectangular windows is placed on both sides of the upper part of the nave walls, while a series of small horizontal openings decorate the lower part of these walls. The function of these vents is to let in fresh and cool air. The stale, warm air is then expelled via windows or other openings above. A flat concrete roof covers the service room on the left side of the absis (fig.3.14.2).

Citroen achieved a spacious nave and transept by designing a ceiling which follows the slope of roof, except under the ridge and on the transepts. As a consequence, a pointed transept-arch, an absis-arch, exposed wooden trusses, and iron tie-rods become prominent architectural elements in the interior (fig.3.14.4). The trusses are placed on the cubical protrusions of columns (fig.3.14.6).

3.14.3. Construction

Until the first half of 1930, the congregation did not have sufficient funds, so that construction was only started on 19 September 1930, by laying the first stone. The

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Ibid. and Broeshart, *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad*, 134.

Nederlandsche Aanneming Maatschappij (Nedam) acted as developer with a total budget of f 46,000. Finally, on 31 May 1931, the inauguration ceremony of the new church was held and led by C. Theodore Cribb, the British Chaplain for Java, who was staying in Batavia.⁵³⁵ A sum of f 46,000 was needed to buy the site, construct the building, and provide the furniture.⁵³⁶

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.



Fig.3.14.1. British Community Church ca. 1931.



Fig.3.14.2. British Community Church: back side of the building (ca. 1997).



Fig.3.14.3. British Community Church: absis with pointed arch and stained glass rose window.

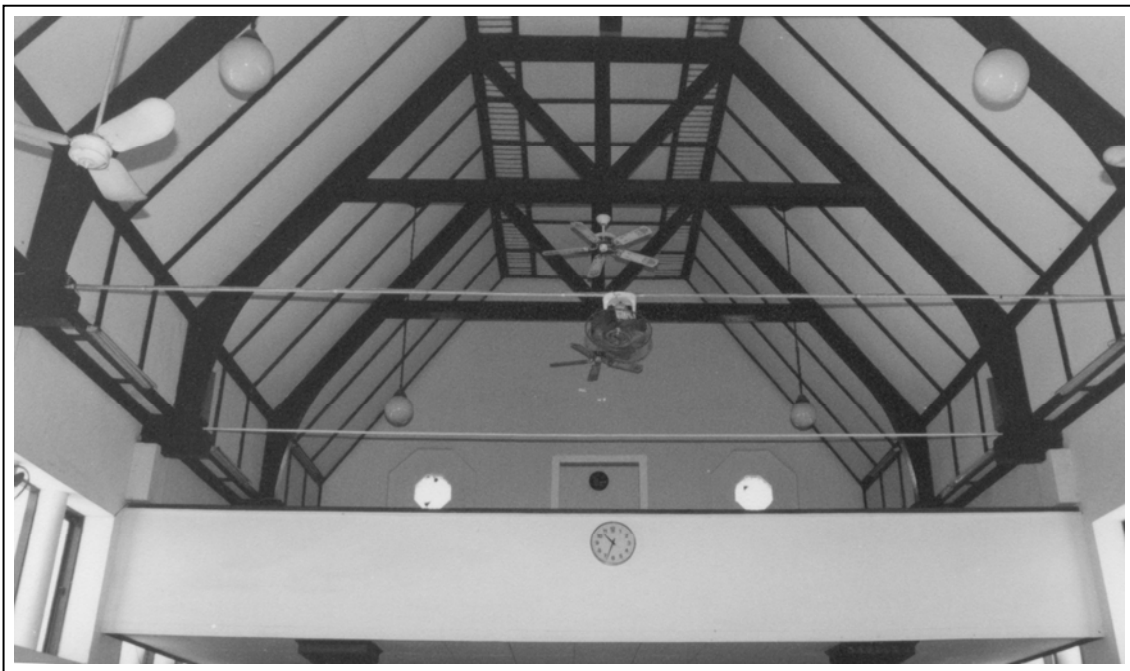


Fig.3.14.4. British Community Church: exposed roof frames.



Fig.3.14.5. British Community Church: octagonal clear glass leaded window.

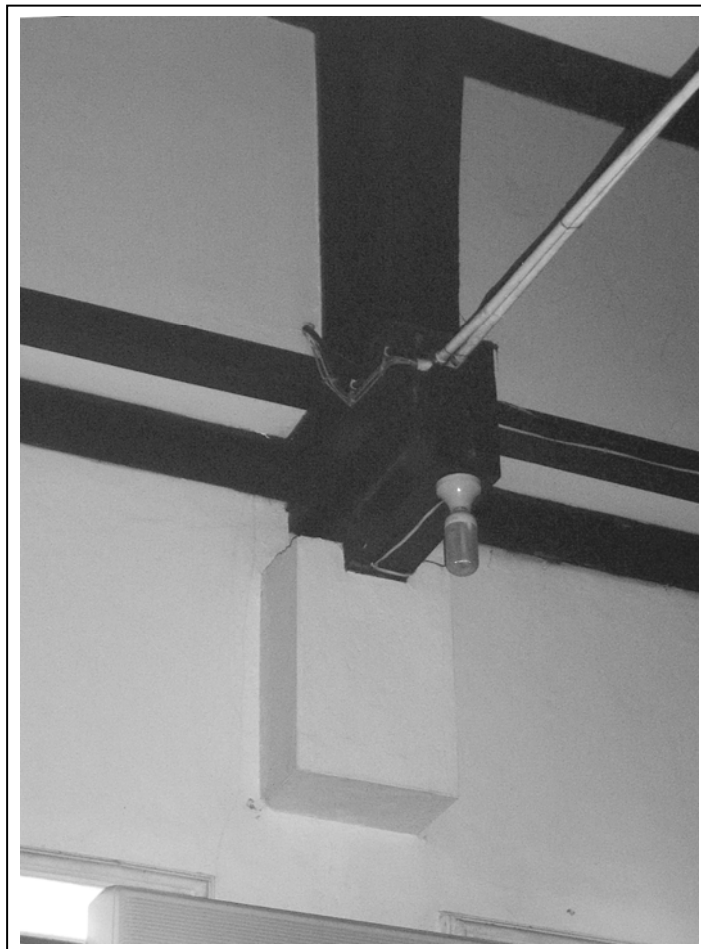


Fig.3.14.6. British Community Church: base of roof frame.

3.15. EMPLACEMENT OF THE *BATAAFSCHE PETROLEUM MAATSCHAPPIJ* IN BANDARAN

Surabaya as the second biggest city in the Netherlands Indies has an important role for *Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (BPM). This corporation has complete facilities as the oil company. Besides the office in *Sociëteitstraat*, it had an oil drilling plant and an oil refinery in Wonokromo. It had also an oilfield, a refinery plant and asphalt factory in Krukah, Surabaya, both located in the southern part of the town. Although the latter is small in scale in terms of area dimensions, only 1 km², it has an important role because oil here contains asphalt bitumen, a product needed on a large scale in the Netherlands Indies.⁵³⁷ Since both locations are far from the centre of the distribution lines, which are concentrated in northern part of the town, in the ports or goods train stations, for example, BPM built an emplacement or a distribution yard for its products in Bandaran. The site has a very strategic location because it is between Ujung Port (north) and Prins Hendrik Station (south); also it is not far from the east bank of the Mas river. The decision to choose Bandaran is certainly related to the railway plan made by SS and other Municipal authorities.⁵³⁸

It was in this location that BPM built such facilities as oil and gas tanks,⁵³⁹ workshops, warehouses, pipe lines and railway tracks. Surabaya, particularly Bandaran, became a main point of commerce and distribution for all BPM products to be delivered to several cities in the eastern part of East Java, such as Probolinggo, Lumajang, Brondowoso, Situbondo, etc.,⁵⁴⁰ and also to Madura, Bali and the Lombok islands.⁵⁴¹

Citroen designed this project in 1927.⁵⁴² Unfortunately, there is little information available about why BPM chose Citroen for the design. But at least, his experience in designing the BPM office in *Sociëteitstraat* became the main reason for his assignment. The second reason is his involvement in the Pasar Besar viaduct project, which was a further consideration for BPM.

⁵³⁷ Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij, *Leven en Werken in de Bedrijven der NV. De Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij in Indonesië* ('s-Gravenhage: Koninklijke Shell Groep, 1919), 16.

⁵³⁸ See chapter 3.12 on Pasar Besar railway viaduct.

⁵³⁹ Identified from aerial photographs in A.C. Broeshart, et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994), 75 and in J.R. van Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld* (Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2004), 71, a map of Surabaya in 1940 (J.R. van Diessen and R.P.G.A. Voskuil, *Stedenatlas Nederlands-Indië* [Purmerend: Asia Maior, June 1998], 117) and combined with information mentioned in "Data on Pipe Lines of Appendix K: Pre-war Pipe Lines Java" (Armed Service Petroleum Board, *Petroleum Situation, Far East* [Washington, D.C.: National Military Establishment, December 1948], s.p.).

⁵⁴⁰ Distribution to the western part of East Java was carried out in Pasar Turi. This information is inferred from "Data on Pipe Lines" of Appendix K: Pre-war Pipe Lines Java (Armed Service Petroleum Board, *Petroleum Situation, Far East*, s.p.).

⁵⁴¹ Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij, *Leven en Werken in de Bedrijven der NV. De Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij in Indonesië*, 17.

⁵⁴² Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [9].

The scope of the task is also unclear. Since Citroen did not yet have experience in designing industrial buildings, he probably only made lay-out plan of the project and design for certain constructions such as warehouses and workshops. Other facilities had to be designed by chemical and/or industrial experts.



Fig.3.15.1. Emplacement of BPM: aerial photograph (1).

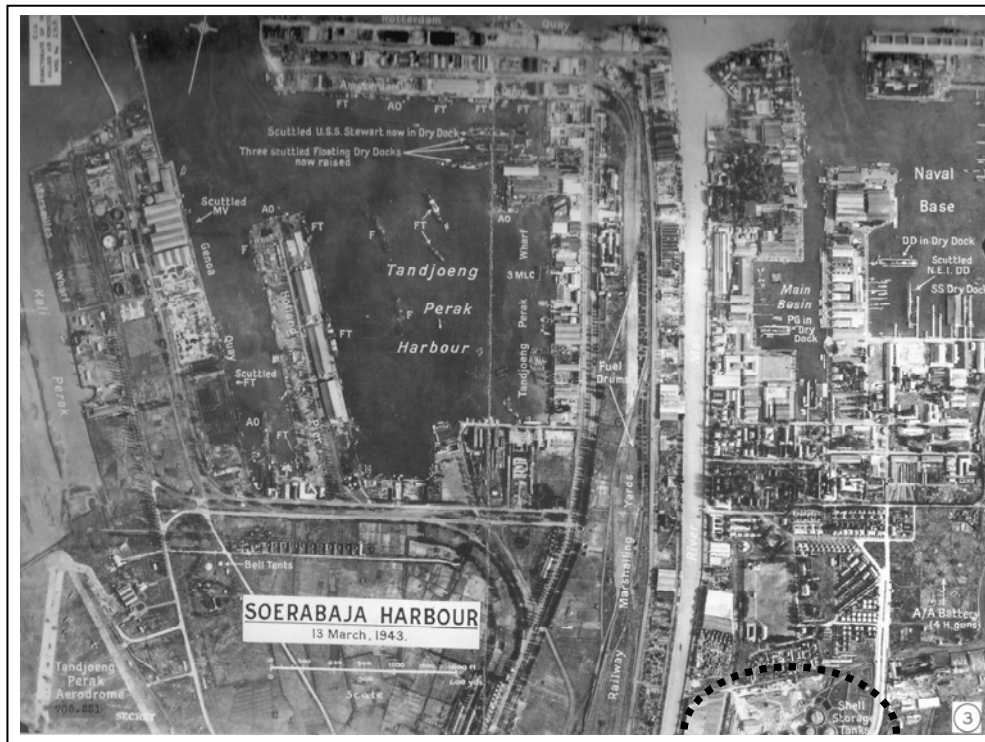


Fig.3.15.2. Emplacement of BPM: aerial photograph (2).

3.16. WONOKROMO BRIDGE

Wonokromo is an area in the southern part of Surabaya. It occupies a strategic position for the town because it is the main access route from other cities in south, south-west and south-east of East Java, such as Malang, Mojokerto and Pasuruan. Wonokromo has also oil drilling plant and oil refinery of *Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (BPM).⁵⁴³ It was an important area for other companies, such as the *Oost-Java Stoomtram Maatschappij* (OJS) and SS (*Staatsspoorwegen*), so that OJS built a new tram line with a new station connecting Wonokromo-Pasar Turi and Wonokromo-Sepanjang-Krian, while SS exploited lines Surabaya Kota-Wonokromo-Pasuruan and Wonokromo-Sepanjang.⁵⁴⁴ In order to support the existence of a new tram station in Wonokromo, OJS bought a piece of land in Darmo, covered 228.5 ha, and developed it with Henri Maclaine Pont as planner in 1914. Later, Darmo became a new city extension area of Surabaya.⁵⁴⁵

3.16.1. Idea and Decision-making

The idea to build a new Wonokromo bridge, crossing the Surabaya River and connecting *Darmoboulevard* and Wonokromo street, emerged when the old one, constructed in 1885, became too narrow and weak to carry heavy load of traffic.⁵⁴⁶ It also carried water supply pipes from water resources in Umbulan, Pasuruan to Surabaya.⁵⁴⁷ An investigation at the end of 1925 on the old bridge presented facts that more bulky transport crossed over the bridge and it caused excessive loading on the bridge pillars. These pillars were also covered by a scrap heap preventing the water of the Surabaya river from flowing smoothly.⁵⁴⁸ The two conditions exerted greater pressure on the pillars than before, vertically and horizontally. In order to avoid the collapse of the old Wonokromo bridge, heavy transportation was shifted to other routes which is of course long way round.⁵⁴⁹ This is a temporary solution to allow the old bridge to continue in use, while the Municipality planned to build a new one in the same location.

In 1927 the *Dienst van Publieke Werken* (Public Works Service) had received several preliminary designs for a new Wonokromo bridge and afterwards they were forwarded

⁵⁴³ See chapter 3.15 on the emplacement of BPM.

⁵⁴⁴ See chapter 3.12 on Pasar Besar railway viaduct.

⁵⁴⁵ See chapter 3.9 on Darmo hospital.

⁵⁴⁶ R. Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek*, 2/2 (1933), 10.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1928 No. 29, 1 March 1928, 52.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

to the technical committee for them to pass judgement.⁵⁵⁰ The committee pronounced that the new bridge should be a reinforced concrete bridge supported by four pillars. The project would be managed by Public Works Service. As the new bridge was to be built on the same place as the existing construction, it would form a very important point in the townscape, and it was therefore important that the new bridge should take into account architectural considerations.⁵⁵¹

To achieve this purpose, in 1928 the Directorate of Public Works asked Citroen as the Municipal architect to design the four-pillar bridge from his architectural viewpoint, while the construction aspect was the responsibility of the Directorate of Public Works.⁵⁵² Moreover, he was asked not only to design but also to supervise the implementation of the architectural design of the bridge.⁵⁵³

In the same year, 1928, the Municipality sent a letter dated 21 April 1928⁵⁵⁴ including with a preliminary design of the new bridge to the City Council in order to ask for their approval. But, the City Council preferred to wait until the definitive design was finished, including a detailed budget.⁵⁵⁵

A year later, a definitive design and a detailed budget were submitted to the Directorate of Public Works. The technical committee stipulated that it should be possible for a tram line to be constructed over the bridge in the future. The drawings were therefore forwarded to the construction department of *Staatsspoorwegen* (SS) to be checked.⁵⁵⁶ And finally, at the City Council meeting on 27 March 1929 a definitive design, including a detailed budget, was approved.⁵⁵⁷

3.16.2. Design

The design of the Wonokromo bridge is different from the Gubeng bridge. One of the reasons is related to sponsorship. OJS provided around 45% of the total cost (f 145,000 out of f 254,000) of the Gubeng bridge because its tram lines crossed over the bridge, while in the case of the Wonokromo bridge the Municipality asked for a subsidy from the government. This is the reason why the design of the latter is simpler than the former. The central government required the simplest design for the Wonokromo bridge

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., 52-3.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 53.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 54.

⁵⁵⁴ No. 4400/16.

⁵⁵⁵ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1929 No. 52, 27 March 1929, 30.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 31.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 32.

if the Municipality required a subsidy for the construction.⁵⁵⁸ The government only provided f 1,000,000 for setting up new streets and bridges if there were requests from municipalities in the Netherlands East Indies. The subsidy would be granted on the basis of what was absolutely necessary with the simplest construction.⁵⁵⁹ The architectural aspect was therefore beyond the scope of the subsidy, although the Municipal authorities thought that architectural aspect should be taken into consideration because of its position as the main access from south, which mean that it should be treated differently from the Gubeng bridge.⁵⁶⁰

At the beginning, the engineers of Public Works Service made the design first and then Citroen was asked to improve architectural aspects. But this turned out to be impractical because too many revisions were made by him, so that finally, in a reversal of the design process, Citroen designed the four-pillar bridge which met architectural requirements, and afterwards the engineers developed it into detailed drawings.⁵⁶¹ Finally, on 27 March 1929, the design and budget for the new Wonokromo bridge were approved by the City Council and announced in the Municipal Sheet 1929 No. 52.⁵⁶²

Actually, there are two bridges, one for traffic and another for utility supplies (water, gas, oil, petrol, telephone, telegraph, electricity, etc.) (fig.3.16.1 and 3.16.3). The latter is a cable bridge having 68.9 m length and 3.6 m width.⁵⁶³ Citroen was not involved in the design of the second bridge.

The new traffic bridge is a beam bridge with 68 m span, consists of five 13.6 m bays. It has two types of beams, 27.2 m and 13.6 m long.⁵⁶⁴ The longer beam is supported on three points, while the shorter one is carried on only two points. Each point consists of a middle pillar supported by a foundation on several piles, whose dimensions are 34 cm x 34 cm x 16 m. They are able to carry 25 ton maximum load per pile. This pile is longer

⁵⁵⁸ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1928*, 1 March 1928, 153.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 153-4.

⁵⁶¹ Inferred from three documents below:

- Citroen, C, *Wonokromo Brug*, blueprint sheet 1 showing plan, elevations and section in 1:100 scale (Soerabaja: March 1928), kept in *Badan Arsip Kota Surabaya* (Town Archive of Surabaya);
- *Publieke Werken van Soerabaja, Wonokromo Brug*, blueprint sheet ... (not clear) showing situation drawing in 1:500 scale, signed by the Director of Public Works Service, an engineer and a land surveyor (Soerabaja: November 1928), kept in *Badan Arsip Kota Surabaya* (Town Archive of Surabaya); and combined with
- *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1928*, 1 March 1928, 154.

⁵⁶² *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1929* No. 52, 32.

⁵⁶³ Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2,, 10.

⁵⁶⁴ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [19].

than that of the Gubeng bridge which is only 14 m.⁵⁶⁵ That is why the foundation could bear heavy load traffic and massive railing.

The bridge is 16 m wide, the same as that of the Gubeng bridge, which has a 12 meter wide road for traffic flanked by sidewalks on each side. In the preliminary design, a sidewalk measured only 1.5 m. It was considered too narrow for the busy traffic over the bridge; it was also narrower than sidewalks in the *kampung* improvement program which were usually 2-2.5 m.⁵⁶⁶ Under the sidewalks there was a container where cables and pipes were kept.⁵⁶⁷

The railing is made of one meter concrete plate.⁵⁶⁸ Although massive, it was designed to remain free from cracks caused by unequal vibration of the traffic by means of a small gap between the railing and lamp post (fig.3.16.6). To fill these voids Citroen added iron ornaments which look similar to the same elements in the Gubeng bridge. The lamp posts have a rectangular profile with 6 m height, provided with hooks to hold spherical lamp bulbs. Judging from their dimensions, they were apparently designed to hold electric wires when trams would ride over the bridge in the future. These lamp posts became G.P. Adolfs' inspiration when he painted murals in Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion.⁵⁶⁹

3.16.3. Cost and Architect Fee

Initially, the total cost for the new bridge was estimated f 200,000. Part of this sum would be asked as a subsidy from the government.⁵⁷⁰ As stated in a letter from Public Works Service to the City Council dated 18 January 1928,⁵⁷¹ Citroen would receive f 4,000 for his role as architectural designer and supervisor of the implementation of the plan.⁵⁷² This fee had to be given to him because his involvement in the supervision fell outside the contract between him and the Municipality.⁵⁷³ According to the alderman (*wethouder*) A. van Gennep, this fee was less than that of other architects. Usually, they

⁵⁶⁵ Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2,, 10.

⁵⁶⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1929, 27 March 1929, 107.

⁵⁶⁷ Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2, 11.

⁵⁶⁸ W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 8.

⁵⁶⁹ See chapter 3.17 on the mansion on Kayun street.

⁵⁷⁰ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1928 No. 29, 1 March 1928, 53.

⁵⁷¹ No. 4400/1.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 53-4.

⁵⁷³ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1928, 1 March 1928, 151.

earned at least f 6,000 if they were hired to do a similar project.⁵⁷⁴ Finally, approval of the City Council was declared in the Municipal Sheet No. 29 dated 1 March 1928, article II.⁵⁷⁵ The assignment of the task to Citroen cannot be separated from his successful design for the Gubeng bridge and its honourable mention in the Paris Exhibition.⁵⁷⁶

A year later, or in 1929, Citroen finished the design and submitted it with a detailed budget to the Public Works Service, who forwarded it to the Municipality, where it finally reached the City Council. Based on the unit price of the Gubeng bridge, the total cost of the Wonokromo bridge was f 215,400 which was cited under article 231 sub division A in the fiscal year of 1929.⁵⁷⁷ For a part of this sum a subsidy was to be asked from the government, but no information is available about the exact amount of the subsidy.⁵⁷⁸ For the concrete works a specific calculation was elaborated:⁵⁷⁹

- 410 m³ concrete 1 : 2 : 3 - f 13,144.60
- 54,400 kg steel - f 27,874.56
- Formwork (*bekisting*) - f 13,735
- Scaffolding - f 6,650

The total was f 61,404.16 for 410 m³ reinforced concrete, or approximately f 150 per m³. Taking into account the fall of several material prices in the stock market and the fact that the formwork of the Wonokromo bridge is simpler than that of the Gubeng one, it was thought that in this case a price of f 140 per m³ would be a correct estimation.⁵⁸⁰

3.16.4. Construction

The Municipal Sheet No. 52 dated 27 March 1929 mentioned that the project was ready for public bidding,⁵⁸¹ but complete information on its process cannot be found. Finally, the contractor Sitzen and Louzada won the tender and built the project with a total cost of f 215,000.⁵⁸²

Before the construction phase started, the technical committee recommended to apply a circle wall made of concrete planks for all pillars, which cost circa f 20,000 and was to

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 153.

⁵⁷⁵ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1928 No. 29, 55.

⁵⁷⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja*, 1 March 1928, 152 and De Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, s.p. [4]. The last source mentions Paris Exhibition 1925.

⁵⁷⁷ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1929 No. 52, 27 March 1929, 32.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid., 30.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., 31.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 32.

⁵⁸² Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2, 11.

be taken from the money reserved for unforeseen expenses. If the cost was too high, the protection of wooden beams would be enough as long as small boats could pass swiftly through the pillars.⁵⁸³

In 1930 Sitzen and Louzada started the construction phase. During the process a dam was built on the abutment sides by using a Larssen system wall or partition of 8 m length.⁵⁸⁴ This wall was anchored on the back side by a copper-steel (*koperstaal*) construction.⁵⁸⁵ These materials were chosen because it was difficult to use concrete. There were too many stones and pieces of wood from small boats in the ground. Finally, two years later the contractor finished the project and delivered it to the Public Works Service as the client in September 1932.⁵⁸⁶

Although this bridge looked strong, it was not suitable for the demands of modern traffic⁵⁸⁷ so that finally it was replaced by a new one not designed by Citroen in 1970s.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸³ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1929 No. 52, 27 March 1929, 31.

⁵⁸⁴ Heida, "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/2, 11. However, De Zeeuw mentioned 18 m in his article.

A Larssen system is a relation system that connects sheets with interlocking joint.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁷ Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (1935), 8.

⁵⁸⁸ Information taken from Suparto Brata, a retired public relation officer of the Surabaya Municipality.

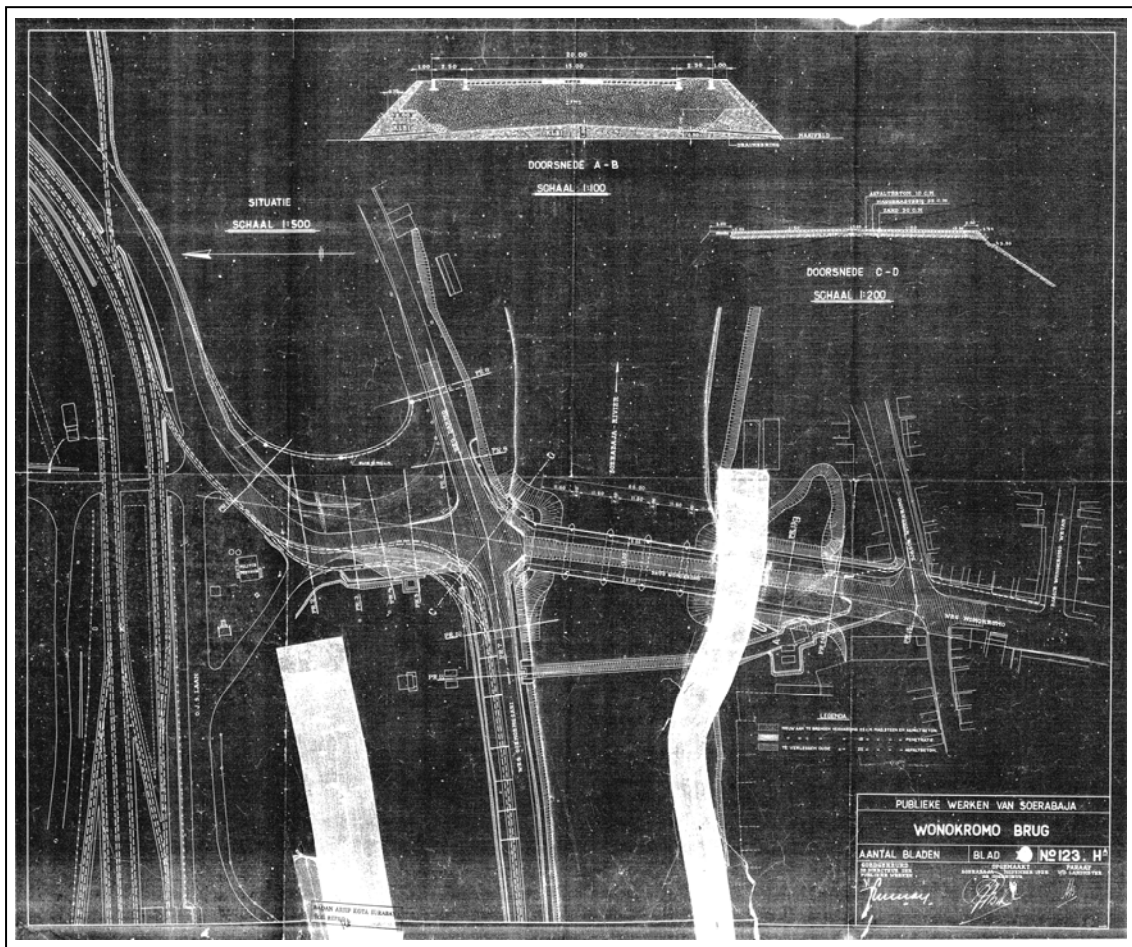


Fig.3.16.1. Wonokromo Bridge: blueprint of situation.

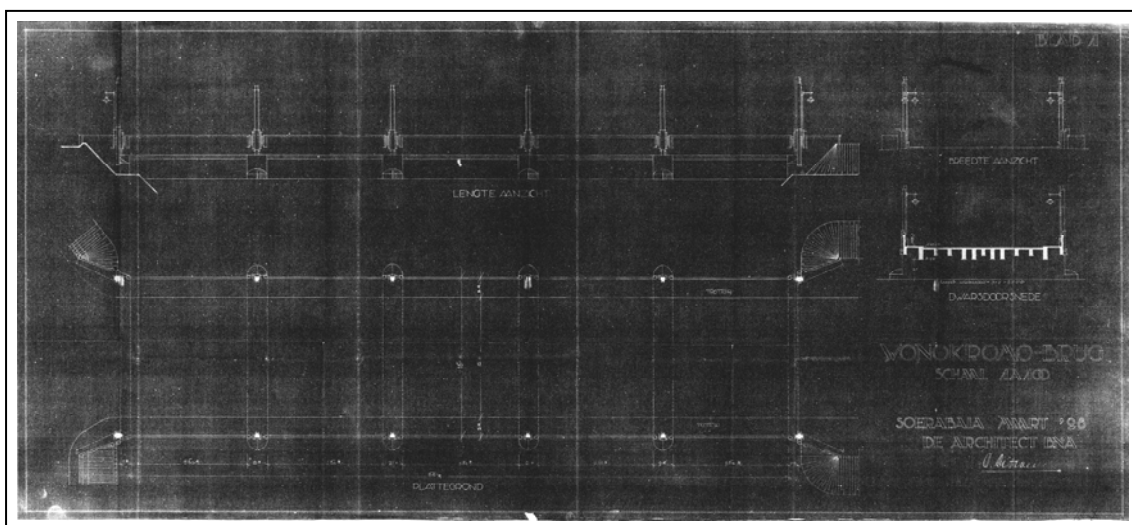


Fig.3.16.2. Wonokromo Bridge: blueprint of plan, elevation and section.

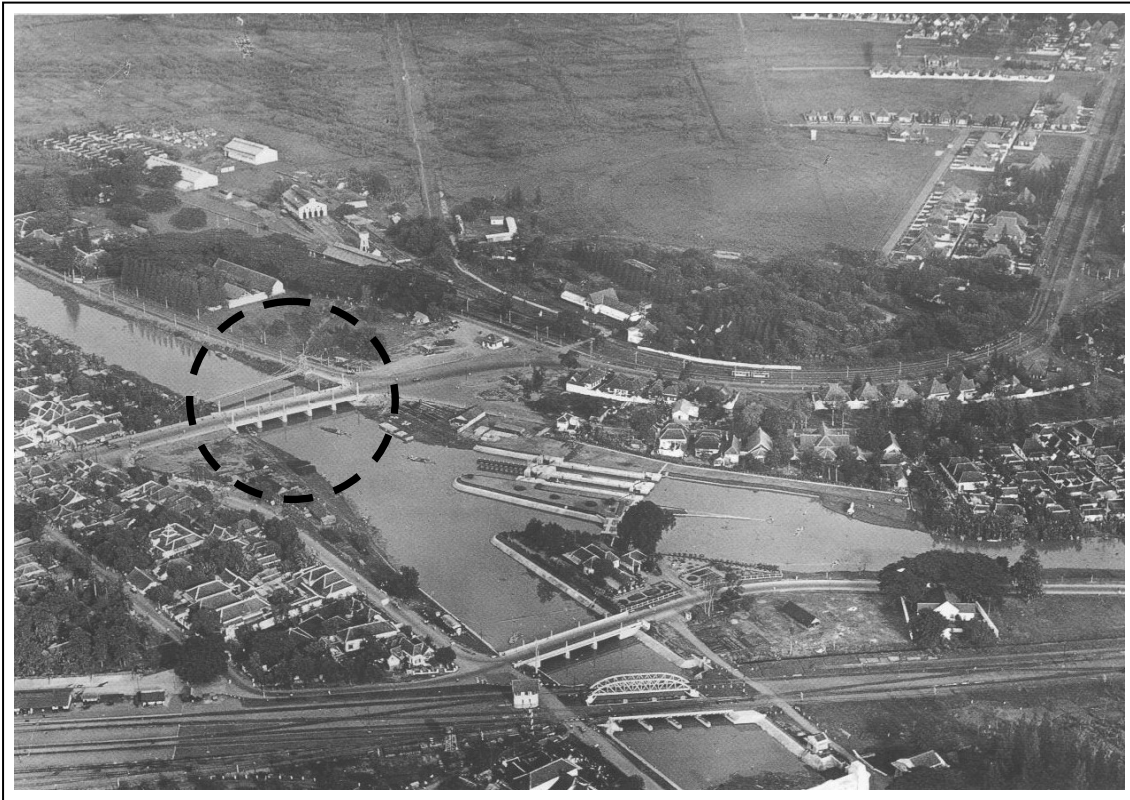


Fig.3.16.3. Wonokromo Bridge: bird's-eye view (ca. 1934).



Fig.3.16.4. Wonokromo Bridge: view from Surabaya River.

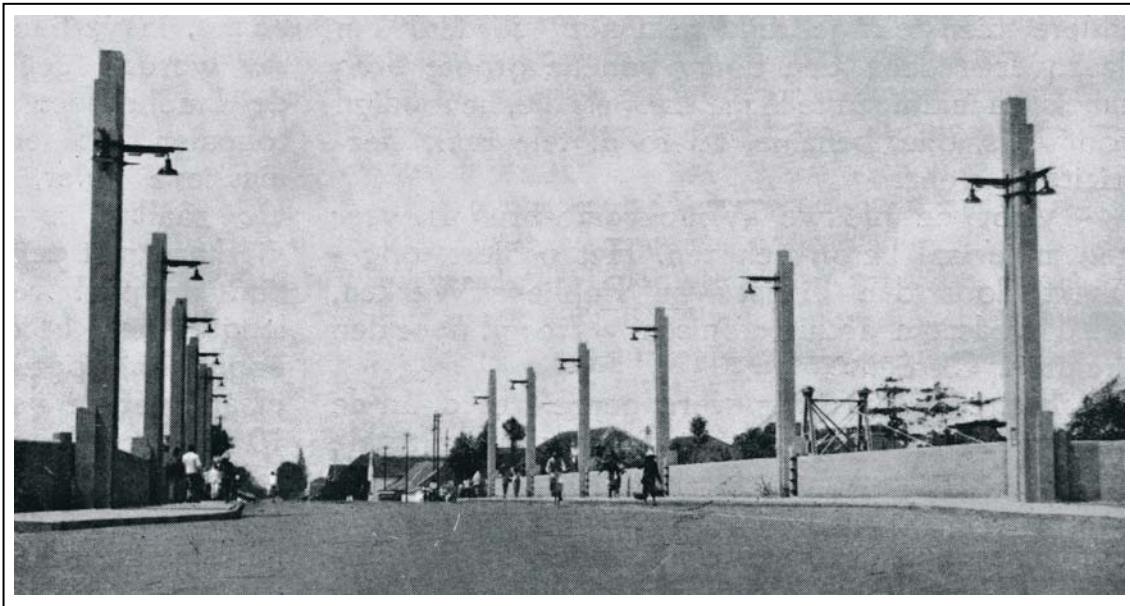


Fig.3.16.5. Wonokromo Bridge: view from Darmo Boulevard.

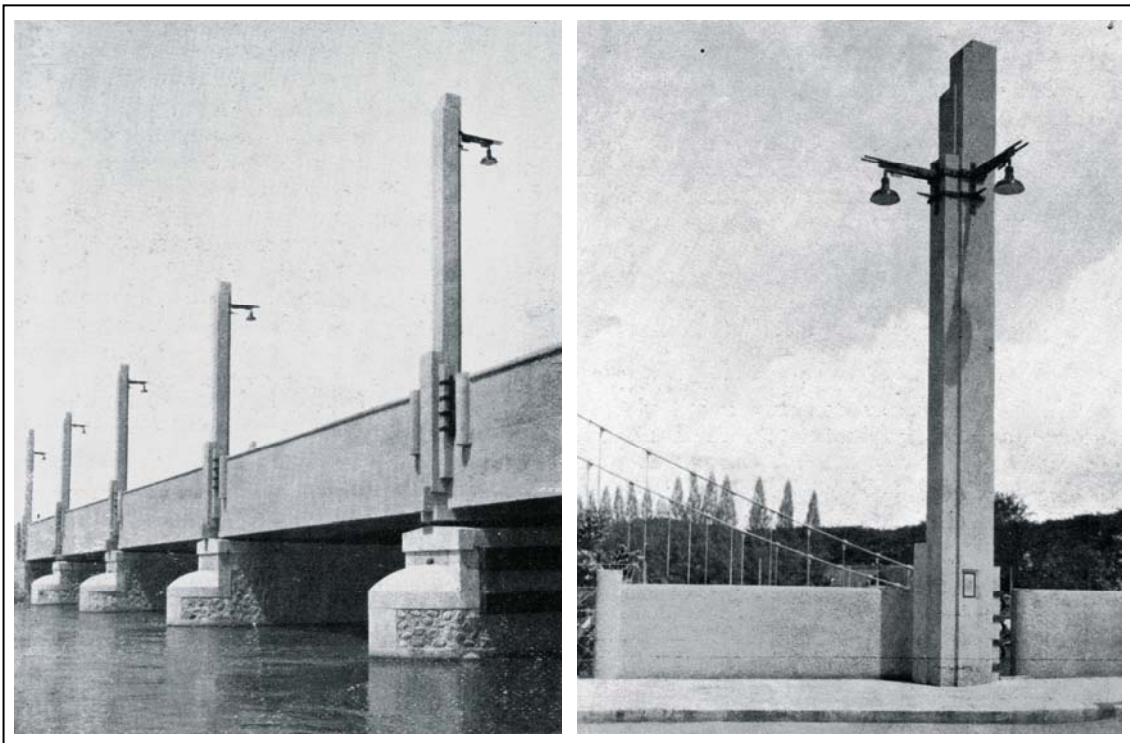


Fig.3.16.6. Wonokromo Bridge: lamp post, railing and support.

3.17. MANSION ON KAYUN STREET

During 1921-1930 the Chinese community occupied the second place, after indigenous inhabitants, in the population composition of Surabaya.⁵⁸⁹ According to the policy of the Dutch colonial government on ethnic class as stated in *Regeringsreglement 1854* (Government Regulations),⁵⁹⁰ their community was put in the second class, after the Europeans, while the indigenous inhabitants formed the third or lowest class. They concentrated in the Chinese Quarter or Lower Town (*Benedenstad*) which covers Kapasan, Kembang Jepun, Panggung, Songoyudan, Bibis and Bongkaran. This is an application of the so-called *Wijkenstelsel* (District System), i.e. a regulation which arranged Chinese settlements or Chinatowns and other major non-indigenous settlements in several big cities in the Netherlands Indies. After the Chinese assassinations in Batavia in 1740, they were not allowed to settle in any kind of place.⁵⁹¹ The government aimed to prevent interactions between indigenous and Chinese ethnic groups by applying a system of passports (*passenstelsel*)⁵⁹² and town quarter system or *wijkenstelsel* to concentrate their economic activities in certain zones of the urban area. When the economic activities shifted to industrial sectors, the Chinese community was well prepared with its specialization in food and drink, home appliances, building material, *batik*, clove-flavoured cigarettes (*kretek*) and transportations.⁵⁹³ Since the majority of them were known as merchants in the end this area became the busiest business area in this town. Some of their business companies grew rapidly so that they not only traded commodities but produced them as well. This happened not only in

⁵⁸⁹ Based on the table below.

Year	Indigenous	Chinese	European	Arabian	Foreign Asians	Total
1920	141,411	18,020	18,714	2,593	165	187,903
1921	146,810	23,206	19,524	3,155	363	193,058
1922	148,000	27,595	20,105	3,410	504	199,614
1923	149,000	30,653	20,855	3,639	644	204,791
1924	150,000	32,005	22,153	3,818	847	208,823
1925	196,825	32,868	23,314	3,922	870	257,799
1926	188,977*	33,370	24,372	4,040	981	251,740
1927	188,977*	35,077	23,782	4,078	1,008	252,922
1928	188,977*	36,850	24,625	4,208	1,039	255,699
1929	188,977*	38,389	25,346	4,610	1,167	258,489
1930	265,872	42,768	26,502	4,994	1,303	264,544

* : result of Municipal census in December 1926.

Source: Bureau van Statistiek, *Statistische Berichten der Gemeente Soerabaja, Jaarnummer 1930* (Soerabaja: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931), 1.

⁵⁹⁰ Andjarwati Noordjanah, *Komunitas Tionghoa di Surabaya (1910-1946)* (Semarang: Mesias, 2004), 10.

⁵⁹¹ <http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wijkenstelsel>

It had been applied since 1866, based on Government Decision dated 6 June 1866 (Noordjanah, *Komunitas Tionghoa*, 71). In 1917 it was revoked so that the Chinese started to spread out to other areas.

⁵⁹² A regulation established by the Dutch colonial government to control person who wanted to enter to or exit from Chinese quarter.

⁵⁹³ <http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wijkenstelsel>

Surabaya but also in other cities. After the Dutch colonial government implemented two acts, the Sugar Act (*Suiker Wet*) and Agriculture Act (*Agrarische Wet*) in 1870, not a few of them established their business in sugar companies and built sugar factories. One of them was Tan Tjwan Bie.

Tan Tjwan Bie was the owner of the Kebon Agung sugar factory, in Malang, which he established in 1905.⁵⁹⁴ Before he built a house on Kayun street, he stayed in Malang when he founded the factory.⁵⁹⁵ Probably, several years after it was taken over by *N.V. Handel en Landbouws Maatschappij*, he moved to Surabaya.

As a consequence of his moving to Surabaya, he needed a (new) house of his own. He asked Citroen to design it and the task was finished in 1928.⁵⁹⁶ Information why he chose this architect cannot be found. But there are some clues indicating the reasons. First, up to 1928 Citroen had enjoyed a good reputation as an architect in Surabaya, at least he had designed several important buildings and constructions in this town, such as the Town Hall, BPM office, Darmo hospital, Kebondalem and Gubeng bridges, and Pasar Besar railway viaduct. On the other hand, Tan was a rich man and he could afford to pay a well-known architect (Citroen) and a famous painter (Gerard Pieter Adolfs).⁵⁹⁷ Second, a person in the sugar syndicate possibly recommended him to design a new house.⁵⁹⁸ Thirdly, in 1927 Citroen stayed at Kayun 24,⁵⁹⁹ while Tan will build his new house on the site at Kayun 42.⁶⁰⁰ The short distance between the two sites enabled Citroen to control the process of construction carefully without losing his attention to other projects, such as Wonokromo bridge, and other activities.

⁵⁹⁴ <http://www.ptkebonagung.com/prptkebon.htm>

In 1917 the factory was managed by *NV. Handel en Landbouws Maatschappij* led by Tideman van Kerchem. A year later a company was established and it was called *NV. Suiker Fabriek Kebon Agoeng* was legalized by a public notary certificate of Hendrik Willem Hazenberg No. 155 dated 20 March 1918. It was also validated by a secretary decision letter of Governor of Netherlands Indies No. 42 dated 30 May 1918, and was registered in the Surabaya State Court No. 143. Due to financial problems, finally the company was taken over by the *Javasche Bank* Malang in 1932 (ibid).

⁵⁹⁵ At least he had stayed in Malang until 1924 (G.M. Hekkelman, *Algemeen Chineesch Adresboek voor Nederlands-Indië 1923-1924* [Soerabaia: NV. Anetakantoor, 1923], 276).

⁵⁹⁶ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [16]

⁵⁹⁷ Read the following sub chapter on Gerard Pieter Adolfs.

⁵⁹⁸ As the founder of Kebon Agung sugar factory, of course Tan had known several persons in sugar syndicate office at *Heerenstraat* 17 (now Rajawali 29). See chapter 3.13 on extension of the sugar syndicate building.

⁵⁹⁹ *Gids voor Soerabaja* No. 119, 13. Also, *Gids voor Soerabaja* No. 123 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, January 1929), 15.

⁶⁰⁰ If there is not change of building numbering up to now.

3.17.1. Gerard Pieter Adolfs

Gerard Pieter Adolfs, born on 2 January 1898 in Semarang (fig.3.17.1),⁶⁰¹ spent his youth in Java and received at home his first artistic inspirations. His father, Gerardus Cornelis Adolfs, was an all-round amateur (painter, photographer, pianist, violinist and a pole vaulter). Adolfs studied architecture in Amsterdam.⁶⁰²

After graduating, he was drawn back to Java in 1922, where he designed houses in Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Surabaya.⁶⁰³ But soon he changed the drawing-pen for the dry-point, pencil and brush and from then on dedicated his whole life to painting. He was already well-known as a talented advertising illustrator, when in 1924 he was first introduced to the public of Yogyakarta as a painter, water-colourist and graphic artist.⁶⁰⁴

Each year Adolfs travelled for a few months, leaving his family in Surabaya.⁶⁰⁵ He stayed and had studios in Florence, Rome, Vienna, Budapest, Prague and (together with his Japanese friend Fujita) in Paris and had international exhibitions of his works in the Netherlands Indies, Singapore, Japan, Holland, France, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, England, Netherlands and USA.⁶⁰⁶

In 1928 he was commissioned by the General Syndicate of the *Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië* (ASNI) or the Sugar Manufacturers of the Dutch East Indies to paint a view of Surabaya for the newly erected Town Hall.⁶⁰⁷ At the same year he also received a commission to design murals in Tan Tjwan Bie's house. During the 1930s decade his caricatures and illustrations were often published in "*de Java Bode*" newspapers.⁶⁰⁸ The main subjects of his work are scenes of Java, Bali, Japan and of North Africa. They cover market sceneries, cock-fights, landscapes and townscapes.⁶⁰⁹

In 1940, just before the occupation of the Netherlands, Adolfs came back to Europe and settled in Amsterdam. Many of his paintings were lost together with the torpedoed ship "Simaloer".⁶¹⁰ On 22 February 1944, during an exhibition at the *Kunstzaal Pollmann*,

⁶⁰¹ In Agus Dermawan T., *Pameran Lukisan: Seni di Garis Batas*, an exhibition brochure (Jakarta: Galeri 678, 12-23 March 2001), s.p. [4], it is mentioned that he was born on 2 January 1897.

⁶⁰² <http://www.gerardpieteradolfs.com/curriculum%20vitae.htm>

No specific information in which architectural school he studied.

⁶⁰³ No specific information which houses he designed.

⁶⁰⁴ <http://www.gerardpieteradolfs.com/curriculum%20vitae.htm>

⁶⁰⁵ Tracing of his address in Surabaya in several telephone books of Surabaya did not give any results.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Information by email from Eveline Borntraeger, grand-daughter of G.P. Adolfs.

⁶⁰⁸ Dermawan T., *Pameran Lukisan: Seni di Garis Batas*.

⁶⁰⁹ <http://www.gerardpieteradolfs.com/curriculum%20vitae.htm>

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

the largest part of Adolfs' paintings was destroyed by the bombardment of Nijmegen. But Adolfs continued to work. He wrote and illustrated a book about his memories of Surabaya and often exhibited in well-known galleries. He lived mostly in Amsterdam, interrupted by longer stays in Scandinavia, France, Spain, Italy and North Africa. In 1967 Adolfs retired to a small village in South-Holland. He died on the first of February 1968 in 's-Hertogenbosch.⁶¹¹

During his career, he held fifty-one exhibitions in Europe, Japan, Singapore and, of course, the Netherlands Indies. In the last country, his exhibitions were held in Surakarta, Surabaya, Malang and Semarang.⁶¹² The table of his exhibitions during 1924-1959 can be read in the Appendix 4.

Probably, the first contact between Adolfs and Citroen happened in the *Soerabaische Kunstkring* (Surabaya Art Association) founded on 9 October 1911, although there is no strong evidence that both men were members of this association. At least eight times between 1927-1936 Adolfs exhibited his works in the *Kunstkring*, while Citroen became one of three juries on a photograph and sketch competition on vernacular houses in East Java organized by the *Soerabaische Kunstkring* and *Java Instituut* in a congress of the last institution in Surabaya on 23-26 September 1926.⁶¹³

3.17.2. Design

This is an interesting project (fig.3.17.2) because it is a product of 'collaboration' between the rich man, the well-known architect and the famous painter. The owner provided a huge budget for luxurious design and high material quality, the architect designed without financial constraint and the painter - who had previously an architectural background but finally switched to painting - had a new medium to express his ability.

The wide rectangular site faces on the east where across Kayun street there is the Mas river. Broadly speaking, the project consists of three masses or building blocks, the main building at the centre and two side buildings on both sides, left and right, so that they form a symmetrical composition. There are corridors connecting them (fig.3.17.6).

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² <http://www.gerardpieteradolfs.com/exhibitions.htm>

⁶¹³ Soerabaische Kunstkring, *Ons Kringnieuws*, 1st year no. 19 (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, September 1926), 329.

Two other juries members were H. Maclaine Pont, the architect representing *Java Instituut*, and architect B.N. de Vistarini, who is also a member of *Kunstkring* daily board led by H.M. Planten. The Mayor G.J. Dijkerman occupied a position as the honorary chairman (Ibid., 331).

These also act as dividers between outer-yard and inner-yard so that the separation between public space and private space is clearly visible.

The main building has hipped roof whose ridge is parallel to the street. To cover the front veranda and other rooms in the front part, Citroen put two smaller hipped roofs attached to the main roof so that there are three hipped roofs on the main buildings. The ridges of both smaller roofs are perpendicular to the ridge of main roof. In order to make them aesthetically more attractive, he designed a 'crown' on the middle hipped roof (fig.3.17.3). It is made from wood with shades on its four sides. Probably, there was an opening on the roof to circulate hot air from attic. He also put flat concrete roofs to form a canopy for the huge entrance hall which are flanked by two concrete circular 'turrets' on both corners.

The plan of the main building consists of four 'layers'. The first layer on the front is wide veranda or foyer, with a high teakwood ceiling, flanked by two uncovered terraces on the both sides. The second contains living room and bedrooms. Dining room, kitchen and other rooms are in the third one. And the last is a big rear veranda, also with a high teakwood ceiling, and small terrace. The corridors mentioned above connect this veranda with two side buildings.

The two side building blocks are almost identical. They use long hipped roofs. All rooms form a line from the front to the rear. Two big rooms flank them on their front and rear ends. Citroen designed a terrace on the front of the big room and a long veranda on the front of room series. They function as transitional rooms and at the same time as a buffer for hot temperatures.

Besides ornaments on the roof, Citroen designed hanging lamps on the circular towers of the concrete canopy (fig.3.17.4). Although they are different from those of the Town Hall and Gubeng bridge, there is a connecting thread in their design. The steel ornaments on the railings of the stair are almost similar to those of the Town Hall (fig.3.17.5). They are placed on cylindrical forms. He also put big half spherical flowerpots on the rear terraces of the main building and on the terraces of both side buildings. As in the Town Hall, BPM building and official Mayor's residence, he always placed drain pipes adhering to columns and made the capitals of the columns always larger, with their cubical forms, than their shafts.

The interior of the main building was dominated by using natural finished teakwood panels for the ceilings and lower walls. The same material was also used for the doors, windows, and facings of some columns. The capitals of these columns are in the Art Deco style. Solid teakwood is used for two pairs of non-structural columns that flanked

doors. These columns have carved capitals with a floral motif. Stained glass sheets with blue and transparent geometric pattern, similar to the patterns of Theo van Doesburg's and Mondrian's paintings, are placed on folding teakwood doors connecting the second layer with the third one. The same material and pattern were also applied in overhead light (*bovenlicht*). Some windows display iron work with a similar geometric pattern.

Adolfs put his mural, in Art Deco style, on the walls of the living room (fig.3.17.7). He painted scenes using human and floral motifs, animals such as birds and butterflies, and architectural elements. An interesting example of these constructions used in the mural is a lamp post taken from the Wonokromo bridge designed by Citroen in March 1928, the same year of this mansion project design (fig.3.17.9).⁶¹⁴ Another is a part of building which is almost similar to the "Internatio" building on the Willemsplein, the business centre in the Lower Town (fig.3.17.8). It was designed in 1927-1928 by F.J.L. Ghijsels with his colleagues in the AIA (*Algemeen Ingenieurs- en Architectenbureau*) for the *Internationale Handels- en Credietvereeniging "Rotterdam"* (Rotterdam International Credit and Trading Association), Internatio for short, constructed in 1929-1931 and opened on 1 August 1931.⁶¹⁵

Citroen also paid attention to the floor. He combined dark and bright colours for this element. The latter colour is used to frame the first one. Citroen strengthened the frame tiles by putting two series of rectangular forms along two sides of each tile so that they form 'a border in the border'. To avoid monotony, he added Art Deco figures of birds.

3.17.3. Construction

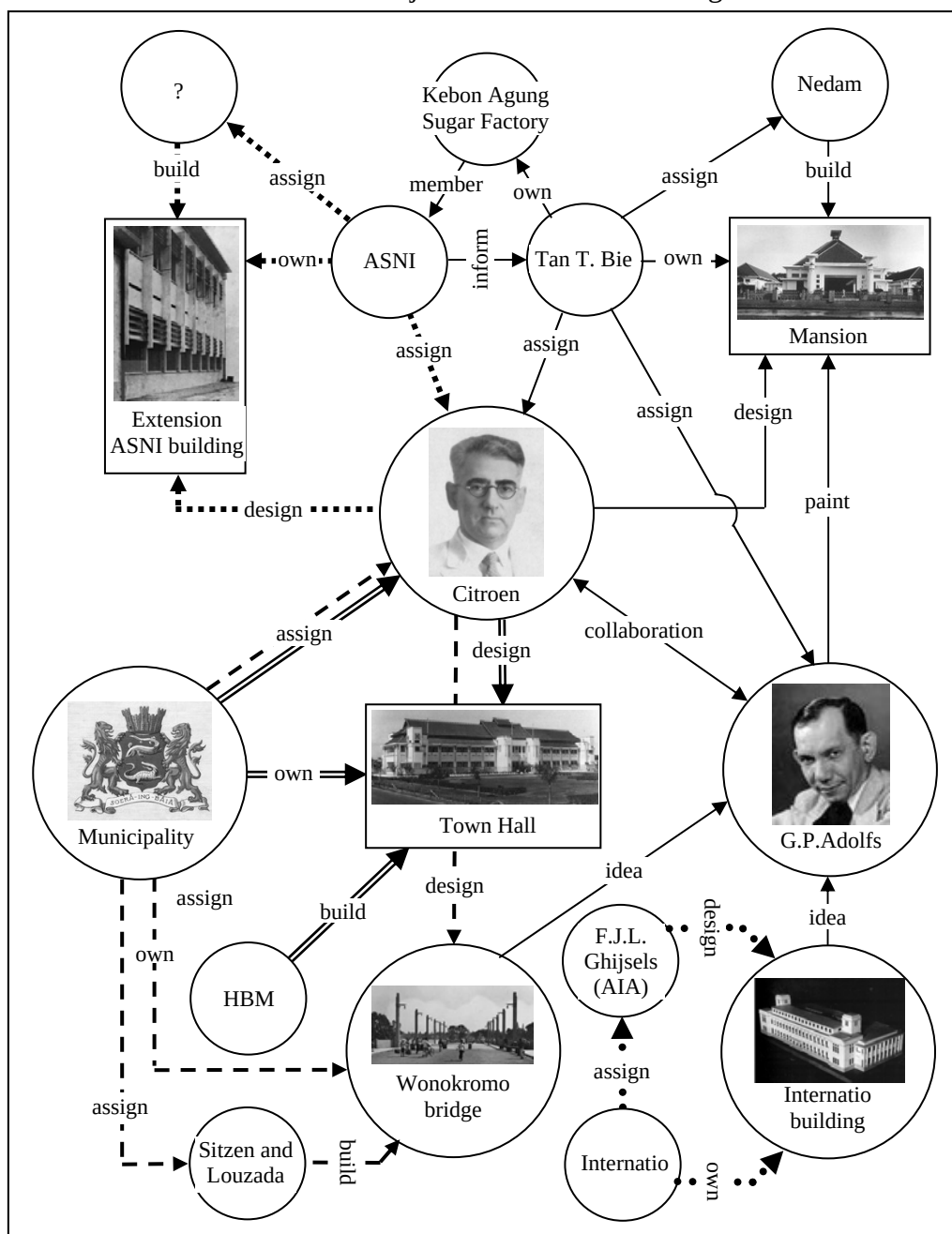
If Tan Tjwan Bie commissioned the well-known architect and the famous painter to design his mansion, the Nedam (*Nederlandsch Aanneming Maatschappij*) was assigned to build it. This company enjoyed a good reputation in Surabaya. At least, it had built most of other Citroen's works - big and small projects, Municipal and private ones - such as the BPM office in *Sociteitstraat*, the Gubeng bridge, the British community church, the emplacement of the BPM in Bandaran, the Dijkerman monument in Kembang Kuning cemetery and the Borsumij (*Borneo Sumatra Maatschappij*) building. Since this mansion is a private project, probably Citroen has recommended Nedam to the owner to be the constructor. Unfortunately, no information can be found on the total cost of the project.

⁶¹⁴ Inferred from comparison between mural photographs and blueprint of Wonokromo bridge (Soerabaja: March 1928).

⁶¹⁵ Besides being a banking institution, *Internatio* was also a large trading company handling the export of colonial goods and products. Its company head office was in Surabaya. In 1927, plans were mooted for the construction of a new and monumental head office. The building was designed not only for the offices but also for warehouse which were so important for an export/import firm (Huib Akihary, Jr. F.J.L. Ghijsels, *Architect in Indonesia (1910-1929)* [Utrecht: Seram Press, 2nd edition, 2006], 56-61).

From all this we may infer that there is a connection between Citroen's projects, Adolfs' painting and other projects in Surabaya. The following diagram shows the interrelations between Tan's mansion and the Town Hall, the ASNI extension building, the Wonokromo bridge, the *Internatio* projects and Adolfs' paintings.

Diagram 3.17.1
Interrelations between
Town Hall, Extension ASNI Building, Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion, Wonokromo Bridge,
Internatio Projects and Adolfs' Paintings



Note:

ASNI *Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië*

Nedam *Nederlandsch Aanneming Maatschappij*

HBM *Hollandsche Beton Maatschappij*

———— Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion project

..... ASNI or sugar syndicate building extension project

===== Town Hall project

- - - - - Wonokromo bridge project

..... *Internatio* project

..... Adolfs' paintings



Fig.3.17.1. Gerard Pieter Adolfs (1898-1968).



Fig.3.17.2. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion ca. 1935.



Fig.3.17.3. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: 'crown' on the roof.



Fig.3.17.4. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion:
hanging lamp.



Fig.3.17.5. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: iron
ornament.



Fig.3.17.6. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: gallery.

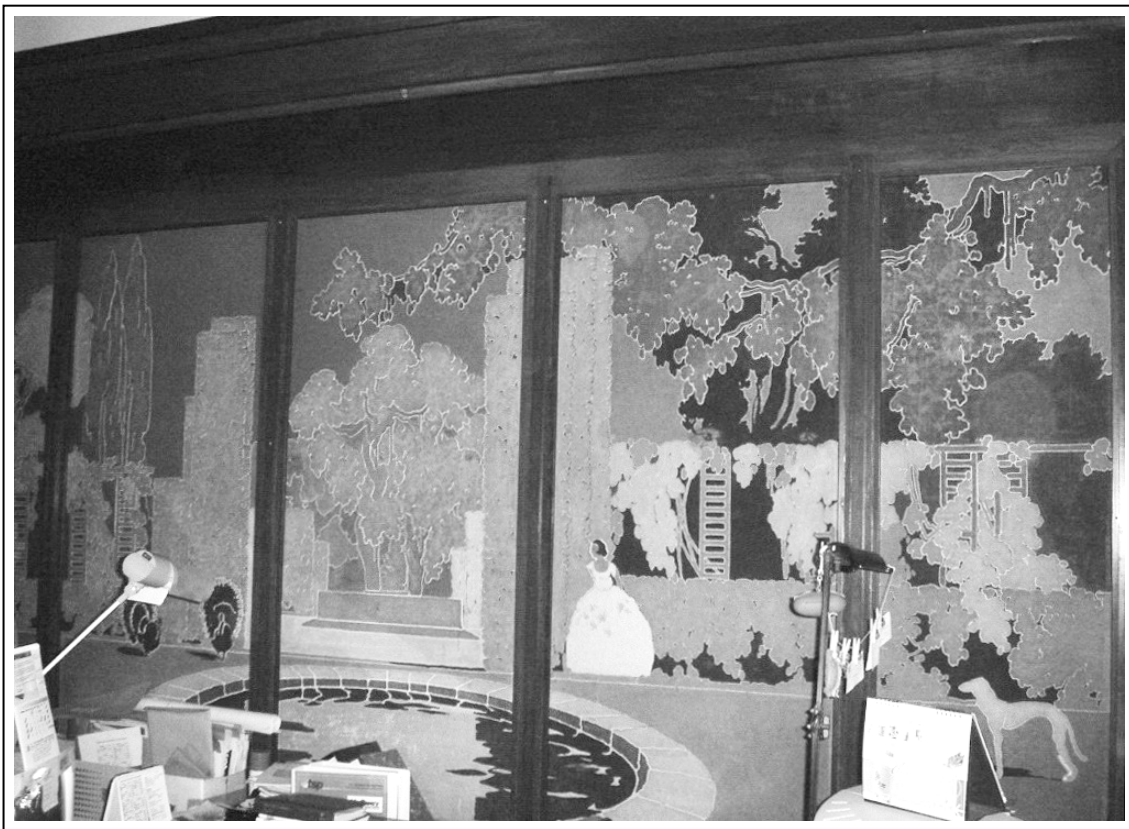


Fig.3.17.7. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: Adolfs' mural.

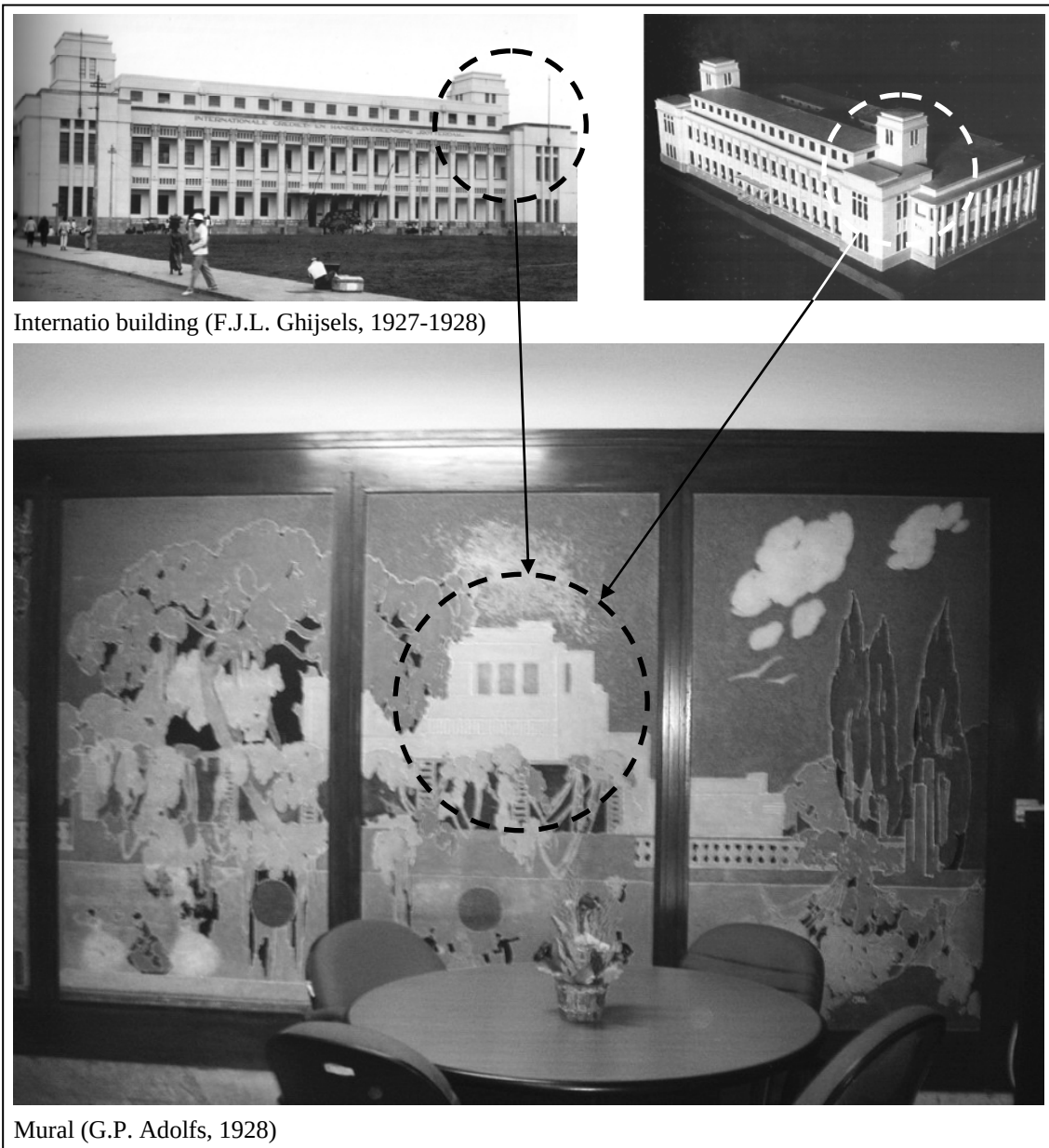


Fig.3.17.8. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: 'Internatio' in Adolfs' mural.



Fig.3.17.9. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: lamp post of Wonokromo Bridge in Adolfs' mural.



Fig.3.17.10. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: door with Adolfs' mural.

3.18. MAYOR OFFICIAL RESIDENCE

3.18.1. Idea

As a consequence of establishing a new Town Hall, the Municipality also conceived the idea to build a new official residence for the Mayor. According to the surviving documents, at least this idea emerged after 1920.⁶¹⁶ But perhaps it had been considered earlier because the previous official residence was not originally design for such a function. This idea is also parallel with the removal of the new Town Hall's location from the Town Park (*Stadstuin*) in Kebonrojo to Ketabang.⁶¹⁷

3.18.2. Decision-making

Although the scale and value of the project is too much small compared to those of the Town Hall, its process of decision making is not short. It took at least nine years (1920-1929) from emerging as an idea to realizing a definitive design or blue print. There are four reasons why this happened. First, the Municipality had two options for the official Mayor residence, building a new one in Ketabang or renovating the old one in Simpang. Second, the choice of architect became a subject of debate in several City Council meetings. In the third place, there was a change of the Surabaya Mayors during 1920-1929, from A. Meyroos, G.J. Dijkerman and finally to H.I. Bussemaker. Finally, the economic recession intervened in the first years of the 1920s decade.

On 21 April 1920 the City Council held a meeting to discuss the project. After the Mayor A. Meyroos opened the meeting, the member P. Egas, expressed his opinion, also as a member of the financial committee. According to him, the present official residence was not suitable for the position of the Mayor as the head of the Municipality. If he organized a party, either a standing or sitting one, the situation was like '100,000 herrings in a ton'. Moreover, the land value on the existing location was too high, so that acquiring a site and building would need a big capital injection. Accordingly, he proposed the Municipality must build a new Mayor official residence in Ketabang.⁶¹⁸ He estimated the new residence would need a site of around 3,000 m² and the financial committee calculated f 100,000 for land acquisition and construction costs. However, the price of material was so high that he predicted that the budget of the official residence in the centre of the Municipality would not be not enough. He asked the City

⁶¹⁶ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1920*, 21 April 1920, 157.

⁶¹⁷ A definitive decision to move location of the Town Hall from the *Stadstuin* (Town Park) to Ketabang was made in 1920. See chapter 3.3 on the Town Hall.

⁶¹⁸ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1920*, 21 April 1920, 157.

Council to make a fundamental decision so that it could be followed up by the architect.⁶¹⁹

Council member M.A.A. van Mook asked whether the City Council had been ready to decide on Egas' proposal.⁶²⁰ The Mayor responded positively and none wanted to discuss it further. In principle, the City Council agreed to build the official residence in Ketabang with an approximate cost of f 100,000; the Municipality would prepare a site measuring 3,000 m².⁶²¹

As a result of this decision, in August 1920 the architectural office R.P.R.⁶²² in Surabaya submitted a design which was approved by the Mayor A. Meyroos.⁶²³ It would cost f 99.351, excluding the architect's fee.⁶²⁴ But a year later the new Mayor, G.J. Dijkerman, submitted a proposal to postpone realization of this project to the City Council, although the official residence would be needed in the future, especially now that Surabaya had a new Town Hall. He gave two reasons why it should be delayed, the economic recession in the first years of 1920s, and his preference to continue using the old official residence in Simpang. With a small budget to renovate it, the Municipality has enough rooms for reception and other similar activities.⁶²⁵ In the future, if the economic condition would improve, the plan to build the new official residence could be realized.

Afterwards, there was a discussion whether renovating the existing residence would mean more of a development than to build a new one.⁶²⁶ In the City Council meeting on 25 May 1921, the member C.M. Beukers expressed his displeasure with the content of the Municipal Sheet 1921 No. 145.⁶²⁷ Mayor G.J. Dijkerman explained that renovation of the existing official residence would approximately cost f 25,000 - f 30,000; on the other hand building the new one would only cost f 160,000, based on an appraisal of the Municipal Works Service.⁶²⁸ Further, Beukers asked whether the City Council had authorized a decision either to build a new house or renovate the existing one. The Mayor replied that the Council did not authorize both decisions but that the Council members had agreed to build a new residence costing f 100,000.⁶²⁹

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., 158.

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² No information can be found what R.P.R stands for, which architect is in this office and how he is commissioned to design it.

⁶²³ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 145, 25 April 1921, 460.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 461.

⁶²⁵ Ibid., 460-1.

⁶²⁶ Documents describing when exactly this idea emerging cannot be found.

⁶²⁷ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1921, 25 May 1921, 206.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Ibid., 207.

A month later, the City Council held a meeting on 29 June 1921, led by Th.B.A. Faubel as deputy Mayor (*loco-burgemeester*), to discuss the project.⁶³⁰ Council member M.A.A. van Mook was amazed with the Mayor's reasons not to renovate old Mayor residence in Simpang. According to him, it was not right, although the Council had decided to build a new one with cost f 100,000. G.J. Dijkerman replied that he did not believe the new building would be realized soon, and he was satisfied with the renovated old residence, so that the Municipality could save the money. Savings could not only be made from this project, but also from others.⁶³¹ City Council member Beukers reacted to Van Mook's opinion by asking to the Mayor whether the renovation plan was ready.⁶³² Faubel made sure of it.⁶³³ This discussion was followed up by releasing of the Municipal Sheet No. 229 dated 25 July 1921 - signed by the temporary Mayor Th.B.A. Faubel - which stated that the Municipality cancelled the City Council decision of 21 April 1920 to build a new official residence.⁶³⁴ It was approved by the Council in the meeting on 26 August 1921, without discussion and voting.⁶³⁵

Discourse on the official Mayor residence did not continue until Dijkerman assigned Citroen to make a preliminary design of the new official residence in Ketabang in the end of 1928.⁶³⁶ During the period of 1921-1928, the Municipality and the City Council were probably focused on other Citroen works, i.e. the Town Hall, Gubeng bridge, the ninth Annual Fair and Pasar Besar railway viaduct projects.⁶³⁷ Up to January 1929, Citroen had done well.⁶³⁸ His design fulfilled the requirements given by the Municipality. But, since it cost 50% more than the budget and Dijkerman fell ill and finally passed away, the project was postponed after the 1929 fiscal year was ready. Citroen was still expected to continue it and to pay attention to which requirement

⁶³⁰ Dijkerman left Surabaya for the Netherlands and as a temporary replacement the City Council appointed Th.B.A. Faubel, with a compensation of f 400 per month (*Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1921*, 3 August 1921, 314).

⁶³¹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1921*, 29 June 1921, 273.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 274.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁴ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1921* No. 229, 25 July 1921, 891.

⁶³⁵ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1921*, 26 August 1921, 332.

⁶³⁶ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1929* No. 249, 10 August 1929, 108.

No information can be found why finally the R.P.R.'s design was replaced by Citroen's one. Perhaps, one of the reasons is the succession of the Mayor, from A. Meyroos to G.J. Dijkerman. Also, Citroen had been appointed as the Municipal architect to design the Town Hall since 1 June 1916 (*Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1916* No. 128, 27 May 1916, 917).

⁶³⁷ See the related previous chapters.

⁶³⁸ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1929* No. 249, 108.

On 28 January 1929 Dijkerman passed away. See chapter on 3.11 on the ninth Annual Fair and 3.19 on the monument of Dijkerman.

should be kept and which ones should be left.⁶³⁹

Besides deciding to build a new residence, the Municipality had another plan. In the Municipal Sheet No. 77 dated 10 April 1929 the City Council approved a plan to rent the building at Simpang 21 for a shop until 1 May 1929, with a price of at least f 400 per month.⁶⁴⁰ This decision was a result of considerations that the house was not suitable as the official Mayor residence. The Mayor was to stay temporarily in a rented house (f 275 per month) at Pregolan Bunder 20.⁶⁴¹ After the renting period finished, the Mayor would return to Simpang 21, and several months later he would move to Ketabang after the new residence was finished.⁶⁴² This proposal was approved in its entirety by the City Council in the meeting of 10 April 1929 without discussion and voting.⁶⁴³

The problem became acute again after Dijkerman passed away and H.I. Bussemaker was appointed as a new Mayor by the central government in Batavia. Although the technical committee and the City Council were sufficiently satisfied with Citroen's design which had been modified, some members of the Council felt they should not be bound by his design.⁶⁴⁴ The Municipality needed alternative designs made by different architects. Finally, the technical committee suggested to the Mayor and aldermen (*wethouders*) to invite other designers. But this project actually was too small (not exceeding f 80,000) for well known architects in Surabaya, while there were many jobs or projects in the market.⁶⁴⁵ At last, the Mayor H.I. Bussemaker handed over the problem to the City Council, asking them whether Citroen should continue working on a definitive design and its budget or not.⁶⁴⁶

The City Council meeting on 14 August 1929 discussed the content of the Municipal Sheet No. 249 mentioned above. Several Council members expressed their objections if Citroen would continue the project. Council member H. Bach Kolling revealed that there was no legal contract between the Municipality and Citroen to design the Mayor official residence although at that time the technical committee had its preliminary

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁰ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1929 No. 77, 27 March 1929, 5.

The decision to rent these premises as a shop was based on a consideration that the rent price is higher than that of a house. The Municipality assumed it was only f 250 per month for house rental (Ibid., 4). This document also mentioned specifically the complete address of the old Mayor residence at Simpang 21 for the first time.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid., 3.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1921, 26 August 1921, 59.

⁶⁴⁴ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1929 No. 249, 109.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 110.

design made by him.⁶⁴⁷ Hence there was no formal and legal commitment to hire him. After Dijkerman had passed away, the commitment to Citroen and his design became even less or had even disappeared. This was an opportunity for the Municipality to invite other architects and/or architectural offices to create better designs. Kolling's opinion was supported by the member C.H.P. Jagtman.⁶⁴⁸

Mayor Bussemaker recognized that there was no contract with Citroen so that it would be possible to leave his design. There would be no legal consequences if the Municipality and the City Council were to give the project to others; they were totally free. But, from a moral perspective they were bound to him. They should respect to the architect who had worked at least for half a year on this project. It would be impolite if they left him and might be said that they had treated him in a disrespectful manner.⁶⁴⁹ It would hurt his feelings. The Mayor and aldermen therefore did not agree with Kolling's opinion.⁶⁵⁰

Alderman A. van Gennep said that the attitude of the technical committee had wounded him deeply.⁶⁵¹ He received this task from the previous Mayor Dijkerman and he was satisfied with his work. Also, before he had started on his design, Citroen had warned that he could not fulfil all the requirements given by Dijkerman with a budget of only f 100,000. In fact he estimated the cost would be f 150,000.⁶⁵²

Bussemaker responded that Citroen had twice made similar design. He felt that the City Council had offended him by asking other architects to design the same project.⁶⁵³ Citroen was also appreciated outside Surabaya.⁶⁵⁴ He received an award for the Simpang bridge⁶⁵⁵ in the Paris Exhibition⁶⁵⁶ which resulted in an invitation from the regulation committee of the colonial exhibition in Paris to design a Netherlands pavilion.⁶⁵⁷ The same invitation was also received by H. Maclaine Pont, H. Thomas Karsten and C.P. Wolff Schoemaker. Thus, they are all four qualified architects, both

⁶⁴⁷ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1929*, 14 August 1929, 126.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 127.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid., 127-8.

⁶⁵² Ibid., 128.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., 129.

⁶⁵⁵ What Bussemaker meant is Gubeng bridge because it was on Simpang street (now Pemuda street).

⁶⁵⁶ The source did not mention in which Paris Exhibition Citroen received the award. But, from other sources, it was the 1925 Paris Exhibition. See chapter 2.2.2.3 on Citroen's career in the Netherlands Indies.

⁶⁵⁷ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1929*, 14 August 1929, 129.

Further information on Citroen's involvement in this exhibition is not found.

their personality and works.⁶⁵⁸

According to the alderman A. van Gennep, the style applied to this project was unusual.⁶⁵⁹ Probably, he had difficulties to design it with low budget, but at least he could find extraordinary solutions to overcome the constraints. For example, Van Gennep found that at the beginning the number of rooms would be too small and also that the dimensions of the bedrooms would be too narrow.⁶⁶⁰ But Citroen had promised to revise them in the next design submitted to the technical committee.⁶⁶¹ Therefore, he had made three designs, but they had not received sufficient attention. Hence he opposed the proposal of the technical committee.⁶⁶²

Furthermore, the member Tan Tjiang Ling supported what H. Bach Kolling had said.⁶⁶³ According to him, Citroen was just asked to make a preliminary design, and he had already done so. When a definitive design was needed, the technical committee had not been ready with this proposal.⁶⁶⁴ Kolling mentioned that the Mayor had discussed the project twice with Citroen, first when the architect was asked to design it with a total cost f 100,000 but the cost of his work exceeded this sum up to 50%, and secondly when Citroen was requested to fulfil the budget requirements.⁶⁶⁵

A. van Gennep wished that the residence of the first citizen of Surabaya would be the best of the best.⁶⁶⁶ And then, Citroen had submitted good work. Van Gennep had commissioned several buildings in Surabaya - the *Internationale*, HVA (*Handelsvereeniging Amsterdam*) and *Nederlandsch Handelsbank* buildings - which were designed by architects from Batavia.⁶⁶⁷ It was proper that Citroen should be respected in Surabaya.⁶⁶⁸

Jagtman reminded the Council that Citroen had been asked to submit a preliminary design, not a development one, based on the offer letter. Citroen did not mind if his work would be compared to similar designs made by other architects since they were also members of the *Nederlandsch Indisch Architecten Vereeniging* (Netherlands Indies Architects Association) which Citroen had also joined. Thus, this was only a

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid., 129-30.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid., 130.

⁶⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., 131.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 132.

comparison of preliminary designs.⁶⁶⁹

After the project was sufficiently discussed by the Council, Bussemaker concluded that voting should take place to decide on the proposal of the Mayor and aldermen to ask Citroen to continue and develop his design, and also to calculate the total cost.⁶⁷⁰ From a total of twenty two Council members, twelve members accepted the proposal and the rest or ten members refused it.⁶⁷¹ The table below shows vote comparison, whether Citroen's design or others one which will be applied, in two meetings, meeting on 10 April 1929 and 14 August 1929.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid., 134.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

Accept: Lie Ping An, F.J. Stemmerik, A. van Gennep, Ong Swan Yoe, A. Schlick, J.H.P. de l'Ecluse, M.Ng. Askaboel Djojopranoto, R. Soerjatin, Ds.D.F. Bartlema, R.P. Tjokrokoesoemo, D.L. Rosenquist and M. Moewalladi.

Refuse: C. Hoogenboom, M. Prawirodinoto, Tan Tjiang Ling, H.J. Osten, H. Bach Kolling, C.P.J. van Koetsveld, Gobus, Ong Liang Kok, C.H.P. Jagtman and R. Kadarisman.

Table 3.18.1
Vote Comparison in the City Council Meeting
on Citroen's Design⁶⁷²

Meeting					
10 April 1929			14 August 1929		
Present (without discussion and voting)	J.H.P. dDe l'Ecluse	√	√	J.H.P. de l'Ecluse	Present (with discussion and voting)
	Ds.D.F. Bartlema	√	√	Ds.D.F. Bartlema	
	Tan Tjiang Ling	√	×	Tan Tjiang Ling	
	M. Ng. Soerjowidikdo	√			
	D.L. Rosenquist	√	√	D.L. Rosenquist	
	Ong Liang Kok	√	×	Ong Liang Kok	
	C.P.J. van Koetsveld	√	×	C.P.J. van Koetsveld	
	L.J. Steenwinkel	√			
	A. Schlick	√	√	A. Schlick	
	R. Soerjatin	√	√	R. Soerjatin	
	M.Ng. Askaboel Djojopranoto	√	√	M.Ng. Askaboel Djojopranoto	
	Lie Ping An	√	√	Lie Ping An	
	C. Hoogenboom	√	×	C. Hoogenboom	
	M. Moewalladi	√	√	M. Moewalladi	
	H. Bach Kolling	√	×	H. Bach Kolling	
	M. Prawirodirdjo	√			
	J.P.M. Sonneveld	√			
	Gobus	√	×	Gobus	
	R.P. Tjokrokoesoemo	√	√	R.P. Tjokrokoesoemo	
	V.W.Ch. Ploegman	√			
	A. van Gennep	√	√	A. van Gennep	
		√	Ong Swan Yoe (new)		
		√	F.J. Stemmerik		
		×	H.J. Osten (new)		
		×	R. Kadarisman (new)		
		×	C.H.P. Jagtman		
		×	M. Prawirodinoto		
Absent with information	C.H.P. Jagtman			V.W.Ch. Ploegman	Absent with information
	Liem Thwan Tik Voeten				
	F.J. Stemmerik				
Absent without information	M. Prawirodinoto		M. Ng. Soerjowidikdo		Absent without information
			M. Prawirodirdjo		
			J.P.M. Sonneveld		
Vacant position		1	1		Vacant position
Total		27	27		Total

Note: √ = accept
 × = refuse
 ■ = change from "accept" to "refuse"

⁶⁷² Processed from *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1929*, 10 April 1929, 57 and *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1929*, 14 August 1929, 114.

From the table above, it becomes clear that there was a change of opinion, from “accept” to “refuse”, for six Council members attending both meetings, i.e. Tan Tjiang Ling, Ong Liang Kok, C.P.J. van Koetsveld, C. Hoogenboom, H. Bach Kolling and Gobus. Other opponents were new Council members and Council members who were absent in the first meeting.

Three months later a development design and its budget had been submitted by Citroen which on 23 November 1929 were discussed in the technical committee. The result was that the committee approved them and they were ready to be followed up by an invitation to bid.⁶⁷³ After the City Council reviewed them, on 27 November 1929 the Municipal Sheet No. 352 was released.

3.18.3. Location and Site

The site for a new Mayor residence is on the same street of the Town Hall, *Ondomohenweg* (now Walikota Mustadjab street), but both are separated by *Sedepmalemweg* (now Sedepmalem street). Thus, the Mayor residence site is at the corner of both streets. As a complement of the Town Hall, it mainly faces to the open space which formerly was designed for the front part of the Town Hall (fig.3.18.1), so that Citroen put a main site entrance on the west side. In order to make the circulation smooth, Citroen designed two side site entrances on the south side. The site measured ca. 67 m x 50 m with a total area of 3,340 m². The Municipality bought it for f 6.5 per m².⁶⁷⁴

3.18.4. Design

As mentioned in the part above, the architectural office R.P.R in Surabaya submitted the design for the first time in 1920 when the Surabaya Mayor was A. Meyroos. Unfortunately, there is no information on its design, and neither on both Citroen's preliminary designs. Characteristics of the development or definitive design made by Citroen could only be traced from the content of the Municipal Sheet No. 352 dated 27 November 1929.

The building consists of three masses connected to each other so that they form an U-shape facing to the south. The first is a one-storey main building facing to the west or open space of the Town Hall (fig.3.18.2). It contains a covered terrace (fig. 3.18.3),

⁶⁷³ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1929 No. 352, 27 November 1929, 121.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid.

No information can be found on the previous owner of the site before the Municipality buys it.

front veranda, a hall, living room, Mayor working room, and three bedrooms.⁶⁷⁵ Citroen was asked by the technical committee to enlarge the size of bedrooms to 5 m x 6 m.⁶⁷⁶ The second is a two-storey building, on the northern side, which consists of a side gallery, dining room (fig.3.18.4), maid rooms, kitchen, storeroom and other complementing ones. Citroen was also asked to modify the maid rooms,⁶⁷⁷ but it was not clear what kind of modification. And the last is the one-storey building which was mainly for guest rooms, fully equipped with bathrooms.

The main roof of the main building is almost similar to that of the Town Hall, i.e. a modified *limasan* roof⁶⁷⁸ by extending a horizontal ridge. To cover the front veranda, a small hipped roof adhered to the main roof. The slope of the roof is graded ca. 35 degrees, less than that of the Town Hall roof. The terrace is covered by a flat reinforced concrete roof.

The terrace and galleries are transitional spaces from outdoor to indoor. In a tropical climate, it also functions as a buffer to diminish hot temperature flowing inside. This treatment is strengthened by putting a series of horizontal ventilation openings which are on the upper wall bounding the outside and terrace. Together with the flat concrete roof of the terrace they create a strong horizontal character.

The height of the ceiling in the main building is 5.5 m, while the side building is only 4 m.⁶⁷⁹ The ceiling of the front gallery, hall, dining room and covered terrace are designed more preciously,⁶⁸⁰ by using exposed wood beams with natural finishing, but that of the rest is simple.⁶⁸¹

Elements of the building, such as doors, windows, columns, are almost similar to those of the Town Hall, but they are much simpler. Probably, due to budget limitations, Citroen had to design them by reducing ornaments or aesthetic elements. Doors connecting the front terrace and hall were designed in two layers. The first one is of massive wood door with natural finishing, and the second one is a glass door with wood frames, also with the same finishing. The doors of other rooms are designed as one layer wood door. Above them, Citroen put a rectangular stained glass. Windows are designed with the same treatment. The front door leaf is dominated by wood shades with natural finishing; the rear one is a glass window. A rain water pipe from the roof is attached to the rectangular columns supporting the upper wall and cantilevered flat roof of the

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ *Limasan* is a hipped roof in Javanese architecture.

⁶⁷⁹ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1929 No. 352, 122.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

terrace. The capital of the column, with its cubical form, protrudes over the shaft.

For the sake of safety the buildings use reinforced concrete column and beam constructions. They are supported by *sloof* foundation.⁶⁸²

In this project, it seems likely that Citroen had understood how to design a building in a tropical area. He had learnt from previous projects, such as the NIS office, the Town Hall, the house on Sumatra street, Darmo hospital and British community church. But, from the view point of external appearance every projects shows different characteristics. Citroen designed them not only based on the characteristics of site and location where they are built but also in view of functional requirements and expectation of the clients.

3.18.5. Cost and Architect Fee

Discussions of the project's cost, particularly the architect fee, featured on the agenda of the City Council meeting, particularly after Dijkerman passed away. As mentioned above, the first design of this project was made by the architectural firm R.P.R in Surabaya. Based on the Municipal Sheet No. 145 dated 25 April 1921, the project needed f 99,351. From this amount, R.P.R received a design fee of 4.28% or f 4,252.22. It consists of a provisional design and cost estimation (1.28%), a definitive one (2.32%) and a definitive budget (0.68%).⁶⁸³ These figures are taken from a fee table which is usually used by an architectural association in the Netherlands Indies.⁶⁸⁴ This cost is put in the fiscal year of 1921, part 1 sub-section D, article 2.⁶⁸⁵

After Citroen was commissioned to design the Mayor's residence, the Municipality still limited the cost not to exceed f 100,000, including the acquisition of the plot. But in the preliminary design he could not fulfil this requirement so that he had to revise his works. But at last, based on the Municipal Sheet No. 352 dated 27 November 1929 he could produce the definitive design with a construction cost of f 87,185 and the land price of f 21,710, totalling f 108,895.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸² Ibid.

A *sloof* foundation is a kind of foundations which use beams, usually made of reinforced concrete, to bear load of upper structure.

⁶⁸³ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 145, 461.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 462.

⁶⁸⁶ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 352, 122-3.

In the second decision of the document above, the total cost f 108,895 is separated into f 73,895 for the building cost and f 35,000 for the land price. The former is put into article 242 and the later is in article 262/18a of the 1929 fiscal year. Unfortunately, no further explanation can be found why the Municipality arranged the cost as it was.

Almost two years after the definitive design was finished, and perhaps after the project had been built, the City Council held a meeting on 24 June 1931 to discuss a proposal concerning a request of Citroen for a disbursement fee of the provisional design of the Mayor residence. Council member H. van Heijst said that Citroen had been the architectural consultant of the Municipality for years.⁶⁸⁷ He always fulfilled his obligation and worked actively with the Municipal authorities.⁶⁸⁸ Moreover, he actively consulted the late Mayor Dijkerman on the first design.⁶⁸⁹

In the letter of the Mayor and aldermen dated 27 May 1929, it was mentioned that Citroen was asked for a new design. After he submitted it and it was approved by both the Municipality and the City Council, the letter could be a basis of his claim for architect fee.⁶⁹⁰ Unfortunately, he made a mistake. He did not do so directly after the design was put into a tender, as stated in the BNA regulation. Similar cases happened commonly to architects. They did not submit the claim soon, as if they were kind-hearted to the Municipality. In Citroen's case, he followed the tariff rate of the BNA for 1912, although he could claim a higher fee higher based on the tariff rate of the BNA for 1922. He only asked 8.9%.⁶⁹¹

Citroen still had some projects, such as the Pasar Besar viaduct and the ninth Annual Fair, for which their claim of fee had not yet been submitted.⁶⁹² Then, the member Sinninghe Damsté explained that the important thing was the legal aspect of the request to the Mayor and aldermen. Based on *Koninklijk Besluit* dated 3 December 1925, *Nederlandsch Indisch Staatsblad* 1926 No. 28 article 5, paragraph 1,⁶⁹³ a claim must be submitted in 16 months after the beginning of fiscal year.⁶⁹⁴ Since Citroen was late to claim, it was out of the above regulations. It means that his claim could not be fulfilled.

If there was an exception for this case, the next problem was which item or post and fiscal year the architect fee would be taken from. H. van Heijst, J.S. Sinninghe Damsté, A. van Gennep and H. Bach Kolling debated on this legal aspect. Each of them explained their arguments based on several regulations or legal products, such as the BNA regulation, *Raadsbesluit* and *Staats Gemeente Ordonnantie*. Finally, the Mayor Bussemaker closed the discussion by voting. From 24 participants, 17 Council members

⁶⁸⁷ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Stadgemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1931, 24 June 1931, 125.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 125-6.

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 127.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*, 127-8.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 128.

accepted the proposal and the rest refused it.⁶⁹⁵

3.18.6. Construction

After the Municipal Sheet 1929 No. 352 was approved by the City Council members, without discussion and voting, in their meeting on 27 November 1929, the Municipality followed it up with a tender. But further information on the tender and construction cannot be found. Probably, it was constructed after 1930 when the economic depression ended.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid.

Accept: J.A. Wasterval, W. Augustin, Ong Swan Yoe, R. Soerjatin, M. Sabar, M.Ng. Askaboel Djojopranoto, F.L.S. Ratulangi, L. Guldenaar, J.J.A. Patiwaël, C.P.J. van Koetsveld, S. Ngion, Radjamin, J. Förster, Lie Ping An, H. Bach Kolling, Tan Tjiang Ling and J.K. Lengkong.

Refuse: L. Korthals, H. van Heijst, J.S. Sinninghe Damsté, J. Verboom, A. van Gennep, A.P.G. van Mameren and H.W. van der Voort.

⁶⁹⁶ Based on an aerial photograph of Ketabang area taken around 1930 (J.R. van Diessen, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld* [Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2004], 161).

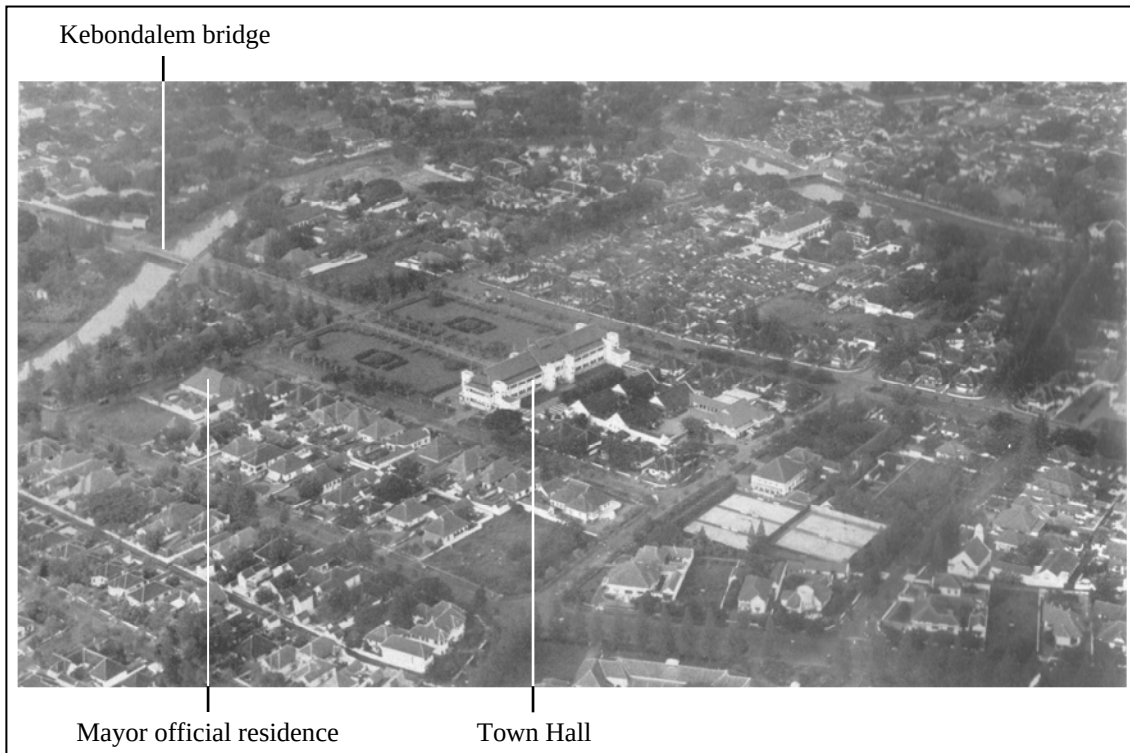


Fig.3.18.1. Mayor Official Residence: location in Ketabang Area.



Fig.3.18.2. Mayor Official Residence: exterior ca. 1930.



Fig.3.18.3. Mayor Official Residence: terrace in 1998.

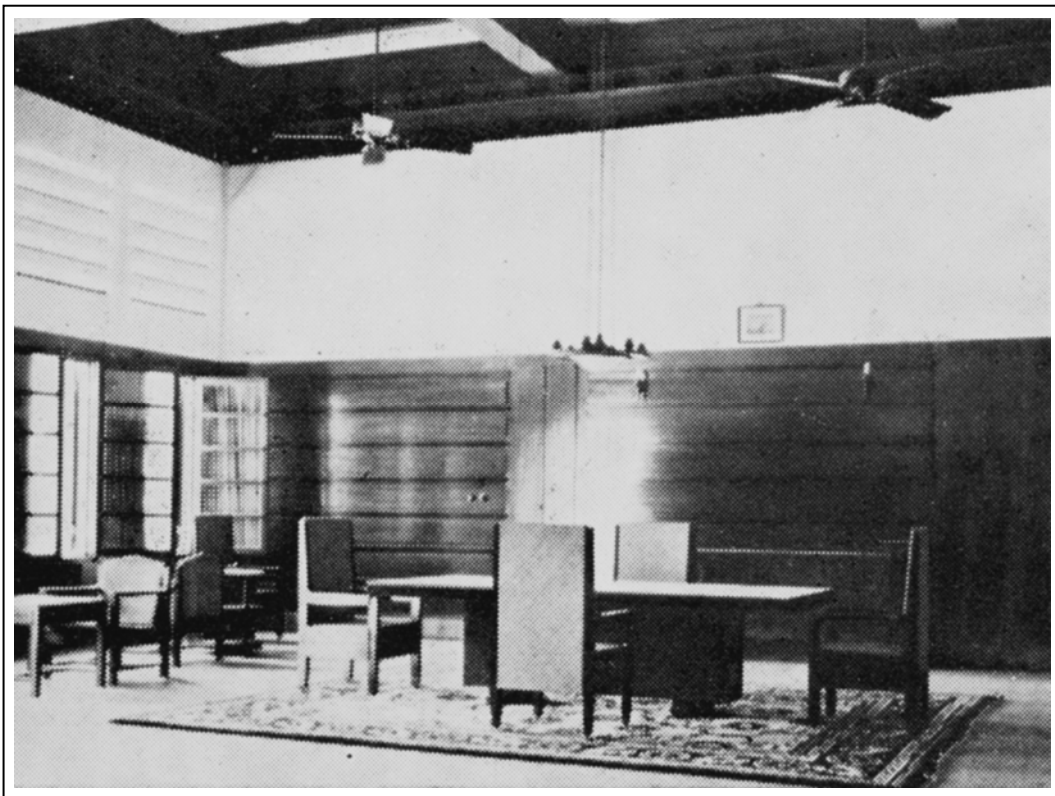


Fig.3.18.4. Mayor Official Residence: dining room ca. 1935.

3.19. MONUMENT OF DIJKERMAN IN KEMBANG KUNING CEMETERY

3.19.1. Gerrit Jan Dijkerman

Gerrit Jan Dijkerman was born in Rhenen, Utrecht on 22 January 1885 and studied civil and water construction in the *Technische Hoogeschool* Delft until he got his diploma (fig.3.19.1). Since 1909 he worked for the Governor General of the Netherlands-Indies and was hired as an engineer assistant of *Burgerlijke Openbare Werken* (BOW) or Directorate of Public Works.⁶⁹⁷

On 25 February 1914 he was appointed as a head of irrigation department of the Brantas river in Kediri, East Java. Afterwards, he occupied a position as a director assistant in the Kediri Municipality. From 1918 to 1920 he was appointed as a director of Surabaya port.⁶⁹⁸ As the director, he took a chair of a committee supporting the board of the Surabaya port. It had four official members and three non-official ones representing stake holders, such as the Surabaya Mayor, port master (*havenmeester*), transport inspector of SS (*Staatsspoorwegen*), head inspector of IUA (International Underwriters Association), forwarding agent and warehousing company.⁶⁹⁹ In 1920 he occupied a position as a president of the *Coöperatieve Woningbouwvereniging Soerabaia* (Surabaya House Construction Cooperative Association) established in the same year by a number of civil servants in public authorities with the intention to build houses and then rent them to the members with reasonable price.⁷⁰⁰

His career as Mayor of Surabaya started when this city did not have a definitive Mayor for three months in 1920. After A. Meyroos, the first Surabaya Mayor since 21 August 1916,⁷⁰¹ was appointed by the government to be a Mayor of Batavia, a managerial top position of the Municipality was handled by A. van Dorsten, one of the City Council members.

Dijkerman was appointed as the second Mayor of Surabaya on 23 October 1920.⁷⁰² His name was proposed by the City Council to the Governor General in Batavia and the central government did not have a candidate for this position. According to the Council, he was the right person to be a Mayor.⁷⁰³ But, no further information can be found on

⁶⁹⁷ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 97.

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁹ Anonymous, *Jaarverslag der Haven van Soerabaja over het Jaar 1924* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1926), 2.

⁷⁰⁰ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 165.

⁷⁰¹ Dukut Imam Widodo, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, 2 (Surabaya: Dinas Pariwisata, 2002), 487.

⁷⁰² Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 97.

⁷⁰³ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1920*, 27 October 1920, 374.

the reasons why he was selected among others. Probably, his achievement when he led the Surabaya Port, good relations with the previous Mayor A. Meyroos, who was also an ex-officio member of the port committee, his educational background as an engineer in civil and water construction, and also his position as the president of the Surabaya House Construction Cooperative Association would be main reasons of the City Council to propose him. His position in the last organization enabled him to have a good network in several public services in the Municipality; it would be a handy social capital when he became the Mayor of Surabaya.

According to A. van Dorsten in the City Council meeting on 27 October 1920, many heavy jobs awaited him.⁷⁰⁴ This city had several big problems, especially problems related to urban (infra-) structures, such as housing problems, urban drainage, traffic, care for *kampungs* and many others.⁷⁰⁵ Related to drainage, at that time Surabaya had still flooding problem in several areas. One of them was Ketabang, the location of the new Town Hall. This was a big and prestigious project for the Municipality so that the City Council proposed a candidate who had engineering background. Furthermore, the member A. van Gennep described him as a person who was respectful, wise and energetic so that he had been eagerly expected by the City Council.⁷⁰⁶

The prediction of the City Council on Dijkerman was not wrong. During his career as the Mayor, Surabaya became a big and modern city in the Netherlands Indies although economic recessions took place in the beginning and the end of his tenure. At least, in his career Surabaya had a new Town Hall and new location for the Annual Fair, extended its area to the south, improved quality of *kampungs*, solved problem of traffic on main streets and reduced flooding areas.

Actually, he planned to return to Europe on 3 June 1929 after he retired,⁷⁰⁷ but he passed away on Monday 28 January 1929 at 02.45 a.m at the age of 44 years.⁷⁰⁸ On the Friday of the previous week he had undergone an appendix operation (appendectomy).⁷⁰⁹

3.19.2. Kembang Kuning Cemetery

Up to the second decade of the 20th century Surabaya only had four cemeteries, Krembangan, Peneleh, Semarung and Kembang Kuning, for Europeans as well as for all

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., 374-5.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., 375.

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid., 377.

⁷⁰⁷ <http://d-compu.dyndns.org/passagiers/varia5.htm>.

⁷⁰⁸ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 97 and <http://d-compu.dyndns.org/passagiers/varia5.htm>.

⁷⁰⁹ <http://d-compu.dyndns.org/passagiers/varia5.htm>.

Christians.⁷¹⁰ Of course, the exclusiveness of these cemeteries cannot be separated from the policy of the Dutch colonial government to segregate the population based on their races. They were managed by a committee whose members were appointed by the City Council, except the secretary and director of the Municipal Works.⁷¹¹

Krembangan cemetery, the oldest one, had been closed since several decades, but it still had to be maintained.⁷¹² Peneleh cemetery had been used since 1850. New digging could no longer be introduced there, yet for years adding above an existing corpse and building a new gravestone were still allowed. The third is a mixed cemetery for Europeans and natives in Semarung, north-eastern area of Surabaya. It was seldom used and only for burying persons who had ordered this before dying.⁷¹³

Kembang Kuning was the latest European cemetery in Surabaya up to 1920s (fig.3.19.2 and 3.19.3). Initially, the Municipality planned to establish it in Gubeng so that a piece of land in Gubengjepit was bought in 1909. But later the decision changed because the position of the land was too low and drainage in this area was bad. In 1914 the Municipality bought an area of more than 150,000 m² in Kembang Kuning, on the western part of Surabaya, at a price of f 0.20 per m².⁷¹⁴ Afterwards, site engineering began, which included setting up an access road from Gunungsari.⁷¹⁵ The actual cemetery lies on an undulating part of the area, whereas the lower and flatter part was intended for the construction of a foreman house with office and some service buildings.⁷¹⁶ Also, here an open layout building was built to accommodate a burial speech or ceremony, especially in the wet season. The total cost for the new cemetery was around f 100,000, including the cost of site acquisition.⁷¹⁷

Two years later, on 28 July 1916, the City Council meeting decided that Kembang Kuning cemetery was ready to use.⁷¹⁸ It had a wide area and offered sufficient space for

⁷¹⁰ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1919* (Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1920), 175.

⁷¹¹ *Ibid.*, 174-5.

In the end of 1919 committee of cemetery consisted of the Council member A. van Gennep as the president. He was assisted by A.H. de Wildt (secretary of the Council also treasurer), A. de Mooij (Director of the Municipal Works), W. van Itallie, J.Th. Welter, Tangkau and R. Rijksen. The last name is an architect who is ever proposed to be the architect of the Town Hall by the member J.M. Eschbach. See chapter 3.3 on the Town Hall.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 175.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁴ Not far from Kembang Kuning, NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang" developed a low cost housing in Kupang as a new town extension area. For further explanation, see chapter 3.1 on the development plan for Kupang area.

⁷¹⁵ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 186.

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 186-7.

⁷¹⁸ *Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917 met Beknopte Verslagen over 1915 en 1916*, 37.

storing corpses.⁷¹⁹ It was built better than Peneleh, and split into four sections - general, Protestant, Catholics and Israeli - which each of them then divided into four classes, first, second, third and fourth class.⁷²⁰ The higher a tomb's class, the shorter distance of its location to the road or access. For the first three classes, the management took a charge while for the last one was free of it.⁷²¹

As well as in Peneleh cemetery, it was usual that a gravestone was built in Kembang Kuning. However, it was not wholly resistant against changes in ground condition because of season changing. In the long dry season, the ground would crack which would cause fractures in the gravestone so that it must be built by using reinforced concrete.⁷²² By the strange condition of the ground, hardening on the ways and paths in the complex was more difficult. Finally the management had a good solution. They built loose concrete plates which are capable of adapting to the ground's movement.⁷²³ With this solution, the visitors can walk on the footpaths without using big wooden sandals.⁷²⁴

In 1921 the Municipality built a workshop and hardened the surface of the parking lot at a total cost of f 13,600.⁷²⁵ The Jewish section was extended in 1923 based on the Municipal Sheet No. 27 dated 21 February 1923.⁷²⁶ The Municipal Works Service and the Municipality also approved the Jewish foundation to build a gateway and small permanent building.⁷²⁷

In 1931, it was improved by hardening and asphalt layering of main access to the cemetery, extension of the area to the south by buying an area $\pm 90,000 \text{ m}^2$ with a price of f 0.25 per m^2 , renovation of the supervisor house and his office.⁷²⁸ Layering could be carried out after continuous maintenance has been done over a long period so that the ground became stable.⁷²⁹

⁷¹⁹ *Verslag van den Toestand der Stadsgemeente Soerabaja 1931* (Soerabaja: NV. Kon. Boekhandel en Drukkerijen G. Kolff & Co., February 1933), 192.

⁷²⁰ Ibid.

⁷²¹ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 187.

⁷²² Ibid.

⁷²³ Ibid., 188.

⁷²⁴ Ibid., 188-9.

⁷²⁵ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 361, 14 December 1921, 1415.

⁷²⁶ *Gemeentebld van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 27, 21 February 1923, 101.

⁷²⁷ Ibid.

⁷²⁸ *Verslag van den Toestand der Stadsgemeente Soerabaja 1931*, 192.

The City Council agreed a Municipal plan to purchase an extension ground in its meeting on 25 November 1931 (*Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Stadsgemeenteraad van Soerabaja* 1931, 25 November 1931, 141).

⁷²⁹ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 189.

3.19.3. Idea and Decision-making

The demise of Mayor Dijkerman meant a big loss for Surabaya. He was an important person who developed Surabaya to become a modern city. To commemorate his meritorious service, the Municipality planned to build monuments. They are: a monument in Kembang Kuning cemetery, a monument in the Annual Fair (*Jaarmarkt*) ground and a bust in the meeting room of the City Council. To realize this idea, the Municipality established a committee to prepare everything relating this project, but further information on when exactly it happens and who are its members is unknown. Probably, the commission was organized in 1929. Citroen was appointed to design the monuments.⁷³⁰ He was the right person to design them because of his close relation with him. Also, Dijkerman had played a big role in development of Citroen's career. He designed the project in the first semester of 1929 because his contract with the Municipality, as the advisory architect, had been ended on August 1929 in the City Council meeting.⁷³¹

The monuments were planned to be built in Kembang Kuning cemetery and the Annual Fair (*Jaarmarkt*) ground.⁷³² Placing his monument on the last place cannot be separated from his role and merit in SJV (*Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging*).⁷³³ Also, his bust is placed in the meeting room of the Town Hall in Ketabang (fig.3.3.14).⁷³⁴ On the marble pedestal the following text has been chiselled:

*"In dankbare herinnering aan Ir. G.J. Dijkerman, in leven burgemeester der Stadsgemeente Soerabaia. Eerbiedig aangeboden aan den stadsgemeenteraad van Soerabaia door de Chineesche burgerij, 28 Januari 1930".*⁷³⁵

Probably, this bust was also designed Citroen.

3.19.4. Design

In general, the lay-out of the Kembang Kuning cemetery pre-extension in 1931 was designed concentrically. From the location of the cemetery office, there is a long access road leading to an intersection with a circular open space. The monument for commemorating Dijkerman is set up in the centre of this space (fig.3.19.4 and 3.19.6).

⁷³⁰ It is unknown whether Citroen is also a member of the committee or not.

⁷³¹ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1929*, 14 August 1929, 124.

⁷³² Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 97.

⁷³³ Further information on monument of Dijkerman in the Annual Fair, both textual and visual, cannot be found.

⁷³⁴ Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia*, 71, 97.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, 71.

Actually, the design of the monument is simple. A rectangular pillar stands on a rectangular base (fig.3.19.5). On the front of it, there is a half spherical pot,⁷³⁶ probably made of marble, supported by a cube adhering on the pillar. On it are an embossed portrait of Dijkerman made of metal, probably copper,⁷³⁷ and a text (fig.3.19.9):

“*Aan de nagedachtenis van Burgemeester G.J. Dykerman. De Soerabaiasche burglary*”

This is placed on the front side of pillar. Citroen added composition of three cubical forms and placed them behind the pillar (fig.3.19.8). All surfaces of the monument are covered by white marble. Currently, there is an angel statue, placed by someone, on the top of the pillar (fig.3.19.7).⁷³⁸

3.19.5. Construction

After Citroen finished the design of the Dijkerman monument, this project was built by the Nedam (*Nederlands Aanneming Maatschappij*).⁷³⁹ If his bust in the Town Hall was funded by the Chinese community and his monument in the Annual Fair sponsored by SJV (*Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging*), probably this one was financed directly by the Municipality. No exact information survives on when it was built, but probably it was constructed in the first semester of 1931 because it was a small project. After it was finished in the middle of 1931, the committee of Dijkerman monuments sent a letter to the governing board of the Municipality to inform that the monument was ready to be announced officially.⁷⁴⁰

Four years later, in 1935, Citroen, the designer of the Dijkerman monument, was buried in Kembang Kuning cemetery at block A167.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁶ This element looks like a big pot in Tan Tjwan Bie mansion.

⁷³⁷ Currently, the picture is disappeared.

⁷³⁸ Originally, the statue belongs to one of the gravestones in Kembang Kuning cemetery.

⁷³⁹ Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970*, 99.

⁷⁴⁰ *Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Stadsgemeenteraad van Soerabaja 1931*, 19 August 1931, 101.

⁷⁴¹ Register of Kembang Kuning cemetery.



Fig.3.19.1. Gerrit Jan Dijkerman (1885-1929):
Mayor of the Municipality of
Surabaya 1920-1929.

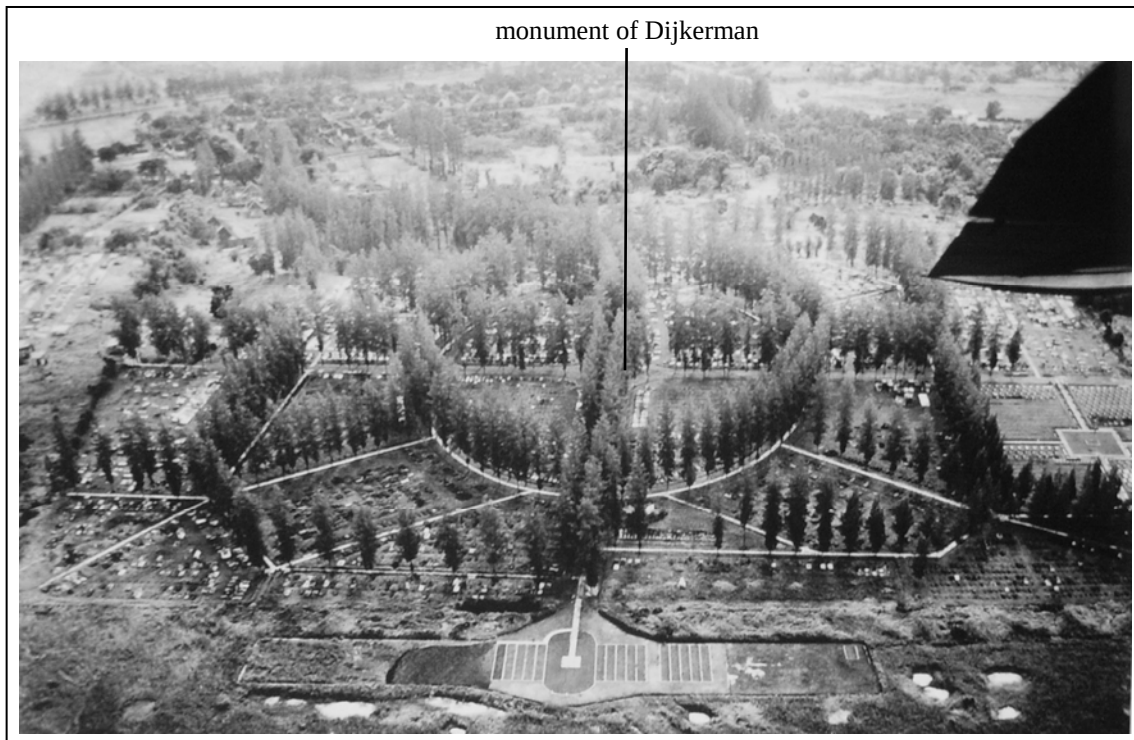


Fig.3.19.2. Kembang Kuning Cemetery: bird's-eye view in 1916.



Fig.3.19.3. Kembang Kuning Cemetery: aerial photograph in 2010.



Fig.3.19.4. Monument of Dijkerman ca. 1930 (1).

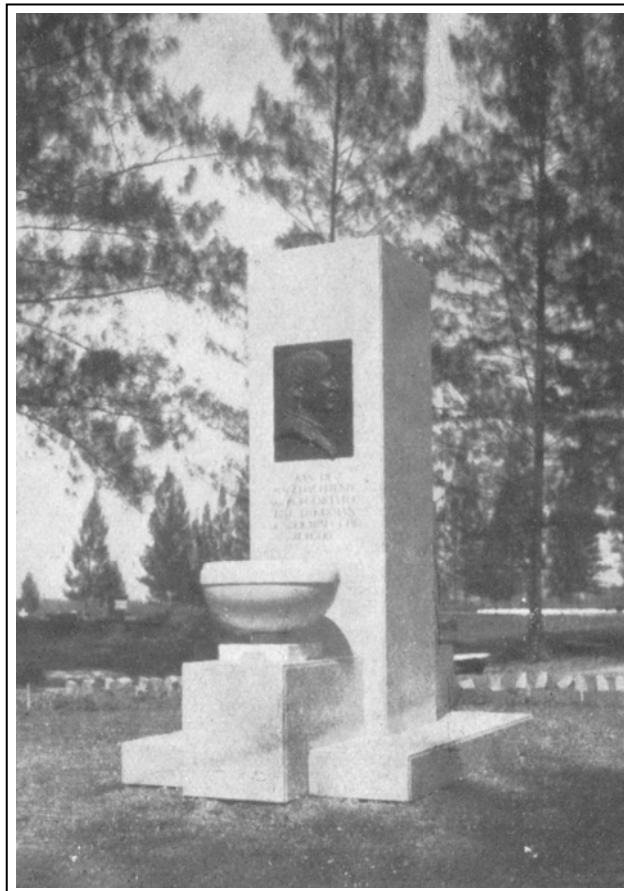


Fig.3.19.5. Monument of Dijkerman ca. 1930 (2).



Fig.3.19.6. Monument of Dijkerman in 2007 (1).



Fig.3.19.7. Monument of Dijkerman in 2007 (2).



Fig.3.19.8. Monument of Dijkerman in 2007 (3).



Fig.3.19.9. Monument of Dijkerman: text.

3.20. BORNEO SUMATRA HANDEL MAATSCHAPPIJ (BORSUMIJ) OFFICE

As a consequence of the end of the forced farming system (*Cultuurstelsel*) in 1870 and the implementation of the Sugar Act and Agriculture Act in the same year, liberalization in the economic sector started. It meant that private institutions had the opportunity to take over sectors which are formerly handled by the government. As a result, many investors put their funds in private plantations, manufactures and trading, especially in agriculture products. They grow rapidly so that they also sponsored developments of infra-structures indirectly to support their activities.

Up to the 1920s in the Netherlands Indies the major companies were the Dutch 'big five' companies, i.e. *Borneo Sumatra Handel Maatschappij* (Borsumij), *Geo Wehry, Internationale Handels- en Credietvereeniging "Rotterdam"* (or *Internatio* for short), *Jacobson van den Berg* and *Lindeteves*, and the English merchant house of MacLaine Watson.⁷⁴² The interest of these companies extended throughout the Netherlands Indies, principally dealing in commercial activities, but also incorporating manufacturing industry and agricultural estates.⁷⁴³ They and also smaller companies, such as *Handelsvereeniging "Amsterdam"* (HVA) and *Nederlandsch Handel Maatschappij* (NHM), established their branches in Surabaya in order to collect commodities from the hinterlands in East Java province and then exported them abroad, or at least trade them in other regions. Due to their activities, these companies became boosters of development in this city.

3.20.1. Idea

It is not known when exactly Borsumij was established. But, at least in the first decade of the 20th century, it had been a big company in the Netherlands Indies. After the economic crisis of the 1920s Borsumij expanded rapidly.⁷⁴⁴ In order to accommodate increasing activity, the company needed to expand the office building or a bigger one. In 1930 the head representative of Borsumij in Surabaya asked Citroen to make a preliminary design for a new office building in *Sociëteitstraat* (now Veteran 42-44).⁷⁴⁵ At the time, the site for this plan measured only around half of an eventual design.

⁷⁴² J.S. Furnivall, "Indonesia" in Golay, F.H., Anspach, R., Pfanner, M.R. and Ayal, E.B. (ed), *Underdevelopment and Economic Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969), 167. The Dutch 'big five' companies finally were nationalized by the Indonesian government in 1956 when relation between two countries got worse.

⁷⁴³ G.C. Allen and A. Donnithorne, *Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya: a Study in Economic Development* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962), 61.

⁷⁴⁴ Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), s.p. [8].

⁷⁴⁵ Anonymous, "Kantoorgebouw van de Borsumij te Soerabaia, Arch. C. Citroen BNA †", in *Architectura* 30 (27 July 1935), 309.

3.20.2. Design

As mentioned above, Citroen started to produce the design in 1930, but it changed several times, until the definitive design was finished by the end of 1933.⁷⁴⁶ Unfortunately, information about changes of the designs cannot be found. The last design for the Borsumij building is probably also the last building design made by him within and outside of Surabaya because between 1933 and 1935 - the Borsumij building completion year and also the death year of Citroen - there are no publications and sources found which explicitly mention Citroen's works.⁷⁴⁷

The ground floor of the two-storey building contains an entrance and staircase hall, an administration department which is adjacent to a sample room and a small archive gallery, expedition and customs department and "*Revimij*" department with rooms for a representative (fig.3.20.1).⁷⁴⁸ Furthermore, there are financial departments with a safe deposit box (*kluis*) and adjacent to the payment room, dining room, kitchen, etc.⁷⁴⁹ At the rear of the office, there is an additional building containing service rooms, such as garages, a small warehouse, and a small kitchen. The gate-keeper room and parking for 80 bikes were on the southern side. The upper floor accommodates the sales department which is adjacent to a sample room, room for the head representative and representative for the outside property (room for traveller) with telephone, archives, and waiting room (fig.3.20.2). A long corridor or gallery throughout the western side separates the interior of the upper floor and outside (fig.3.20.10). It acts as a transitional space between inside and outside. It also plays a role as a buffer against the hot temperature outside. Citroen provided two electric book lifts for communication between the ground and upper floors.⁷⁵⁰

The building and its finishing are designed in a simple fashion according to the client's request. It faces to the west with zero setback from the street. The front wall is dominated by greyish green granite (bottom) and white plaster (upper) (fig.3.20.6 and 3.20.8).⁷⁵¹ A name board of "Borsumij" is put on the white wall, above of the main entrance (fig.3.20.11).⁷⁵² No window is placed on the lower wall, except two overhead lights (*bovenlicht*) flanking the main entrance, contrasted to the upper wall. The long

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁷ De Zeeuw only mentioned that during the last five year (1930-5) of his life, Citroen still acquired a number of tasks within and outside of Surabaya, while Lemei declared them explicitly, i.e. "Faroka" cigarette factory in Malang and a hospital in Jember. Both are still in East Java (W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 [September 1935], 8).

⁷⁴⁸ Anonymous, "Kantoorgebouw van de Borsumij te Soerabaia, Arch. C. Citroen BNA †", in *Architectura* 30, 309.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., 309, 313.

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., 313.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., 314.

⁷⁵² Currently, the main entrance is shut off and moved to other place.

and wide glass windows framed by thin iron frames and covered by a long-narrow concrete slab dominate the upper wall of the ground and upper floor (fig.3.20.12). They give optimal day lighting for the interior. To avoid monotony and provide an eye-catcher, Citroen puts a turret on the north-west corner of the building, above the staircase. It is also designed as a simple and rectangular form with a flat roof. The middle part of the concrete roof was raised and given shades on all vertical parts or walls in order to distribute hot air from inside between the ceiling and concrete roof to outside.

In general, the external appearance shows influence of *Nieuwe Bouwen*, Dutch functionalism developing in the Netherlands during the second decade of twentieth century. It uses a new, pure formal language.

According to Lemei, the interior of the building was well designed, especially the spatial system and the lighting (fig.3.20.7).⁷⁵³ The floor of the hall and stairway uses white and blue marble, while terrazzo tiles are in the representative rooms whose wall is covered by 2.4 m teakwood panelling.⁷⁵⁴ Stained-glass in the staircase hall has a design similar to that of Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion (fig.3.20.13). Citroen exposed the concrete beams in the ground floor and combined them with grid of natural finished wood frames to form a simple ceiling design (fig.3.20.15). In certain places, white spherical lamps are hung on this ceiling.

3.20.3. Construction

The construction phase started in 1933, directly after the definitive design was finished by Citroen, and executed by the Nedam (*Nederlandsch Aanneming Maatschappij*).⁷⁵⁵ In order to know the bearing capacity of the ground, Nedam conducted an investigation by load testing. The result was that there was a strong layer below the surface, but of different thickness, and a clay layer under the previous one. After testing, it was decided that 15 m pile foundation was strong enough to support the building.⁷⁵⁶

Driving the first pile into the ground was started on 15 January 1934.⁷⁵⁷ A crane with 2500 kg load was used drive the piles, having 4,500 kg weight and bearing 30 ton per pile. There were 179 concrete piles, each 15 m height, with a profile of 35 cm x 35 cm with cut corners, spiral steel wires and iron covered heads. Some piles were difficult to

⁷⁵³ Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4, 8.

⁷⁵⁴ Anonymous, "Kantoorgebouw van de Borsumij te Soerabaia, Arch. C. Citroen BNA †", in *Architectura* 30, 314.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 309.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., 313.

⁷⁵⁷ Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, s.p. [8].

be hammered, while others were easy. Every pile could be driven until 1000 times till settled and its top was flat with surface of the ground.⁷⁵⁸ Two weeks later all piles were finished and builders started to install foundation beams. After all implanted piles and connecting beams had been finished, they formed a strong sub structure. There was a dilation along the building (longitude section).⁷⁵⁹ In the beginning of March 1934 the complete foundation was ready.⁷⁶⁰

During April to the beginning of May 1934, all upper structures, including the last concrete work, were finished.⁷⁶¹ The building was designed using a reinforced concrete frame. Finally, Nedam finished the project in 1935, shortly before Citroen passed away.

3.20.4. Post-construction

The design of the Borsumij office in Surabaya was complimented not only by Lemei, but also by the head representative of Borsumij in Semarang. That is why when the latter needed a bigger new building in 1936 (fig.3.20.17-3.20.23), the client asked the architect J.F.L. Blankenberg to pay attention to the success of the Surabaya Borsumij office design, particularly to aspects of spatial arrangement and lighting. The architect admits that this work of Citroen's is a good example of modern office design in the Netherlands Indies.⁷⁶² And finally, both Borsumij's offices designed by two different architects in two different cities display strong similarities in their external appearance.

⁷⁵⁸ Anonymous, "Kantoorgebouw van de Borsumij te Soerabaia: Arch. C. Citroen BNA †", in *Architectura* 30, 313.

⁷⁵⁹ Ibid., 314.

⁷⁶⁰ Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, s.p. [8].

⁷⁶¹ Anonymous, "Kantoorgebouw van de Borsumij te Soerabaia: Arch. C. Citroen BNA †", in *Architectura* 30, 314.

⁷⁶² J.F.L. Blankenberg, "Kantoorgebouw Borsumij Semarang", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 1/9 (1940), 3.

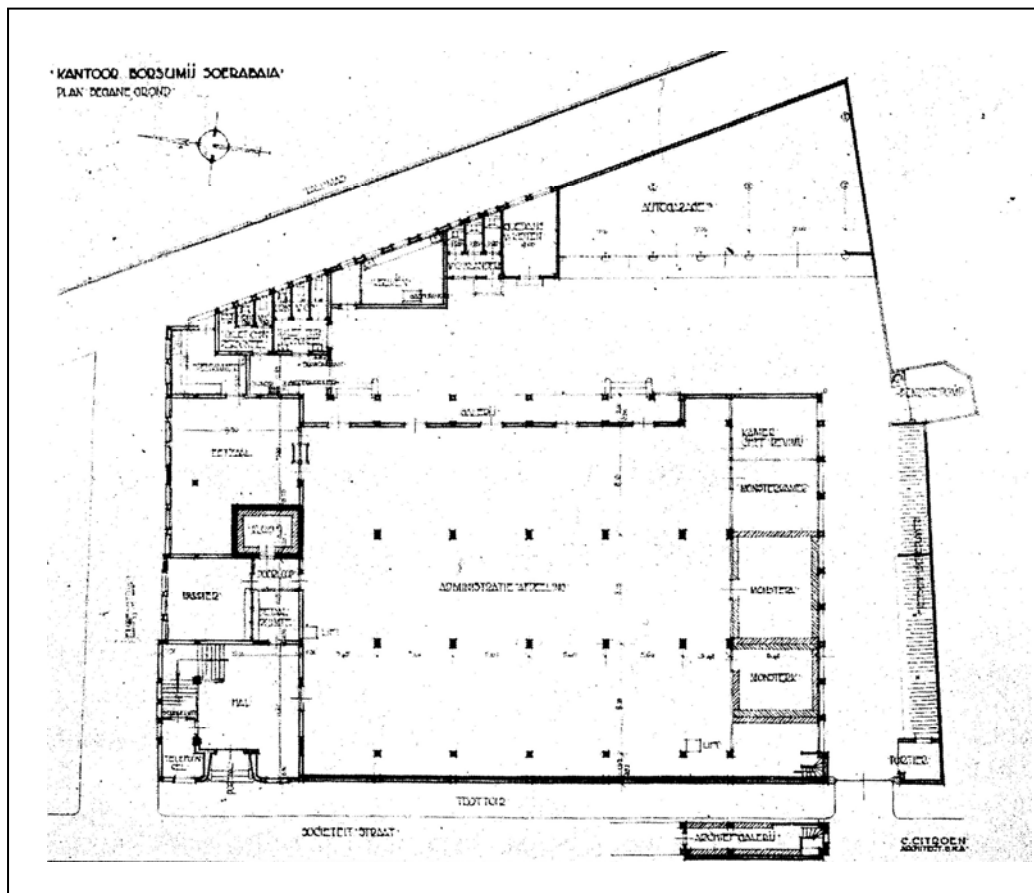


Fig.3.20.1. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: ground floor.

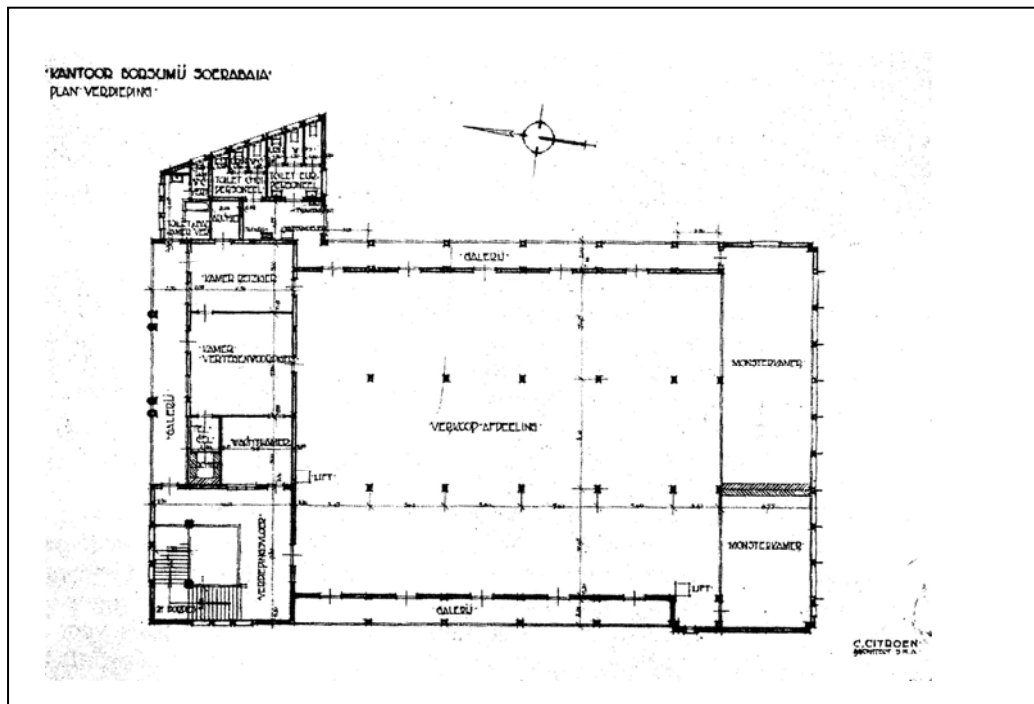


Fig.3.20.2. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: upper floor.

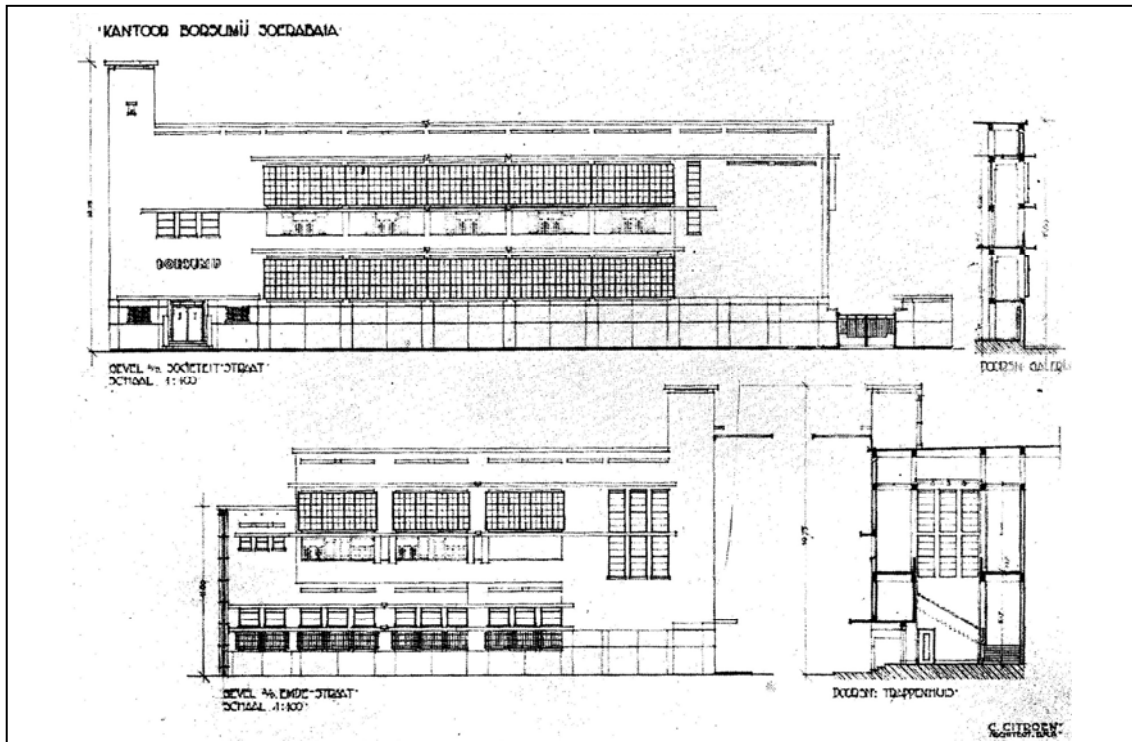


Fig.3.20.3. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: elevations and sections (details).

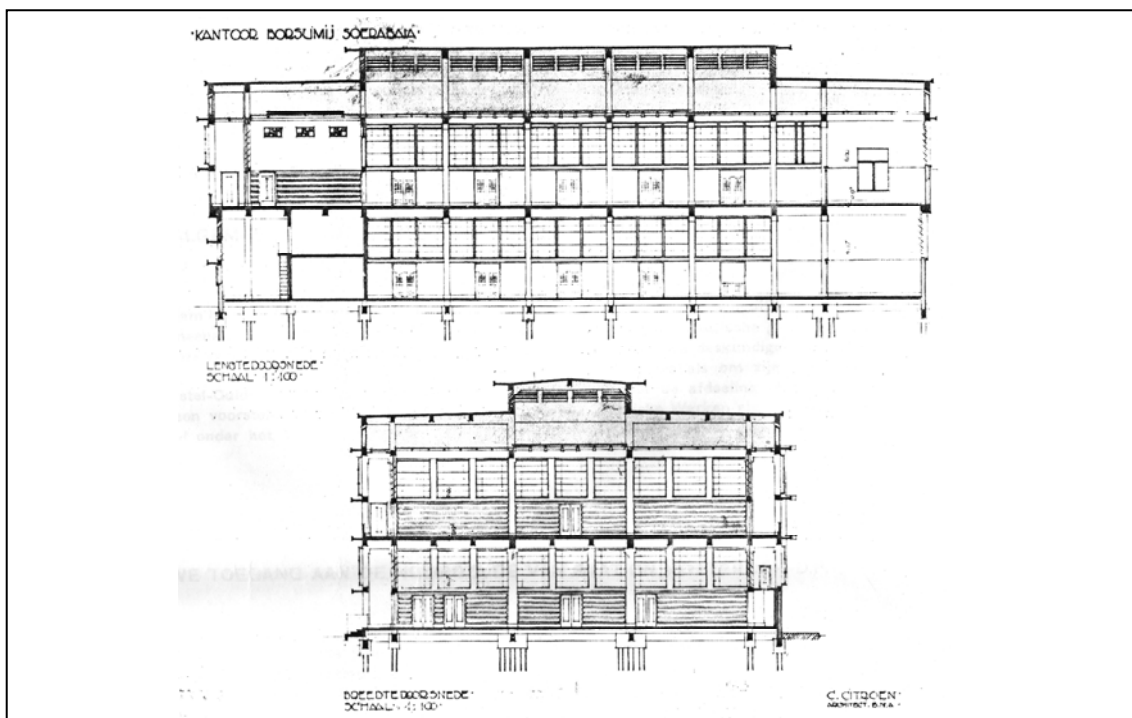


Fig.3.20.4. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: sections.

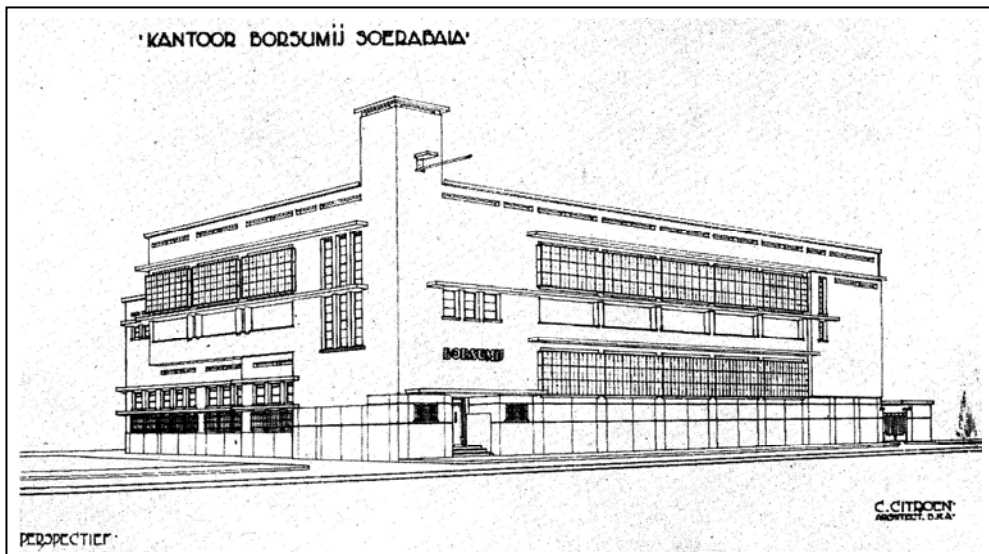


Fig.3.20.5. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: perspective.



Fig.3.20.6. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: the building at night.

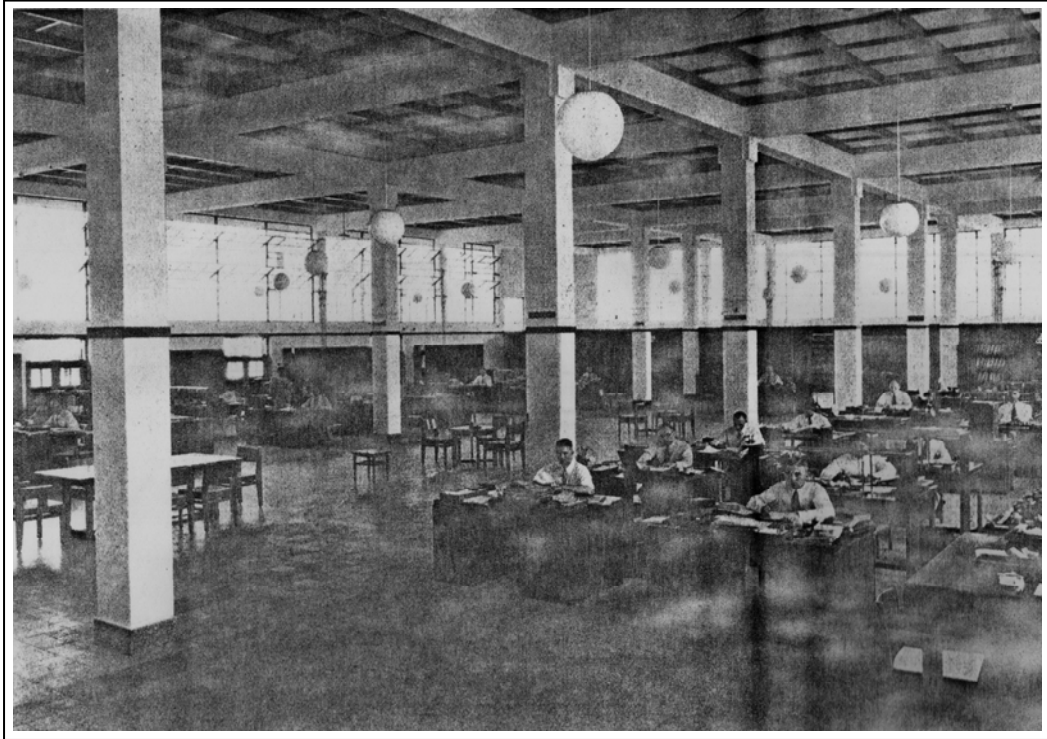


Fig.3.20.7. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: interior ca. 1935.



Fig.3.20.8. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: view from the north-west in 2007.



Fig.3.20.9. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: view from the south-west in 2007.



Fig.3.20.10. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: gallery.



ca. 1935



2007

Fig.3.20.11. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: main entrance.



Fig.3.20.12. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: sun screen.

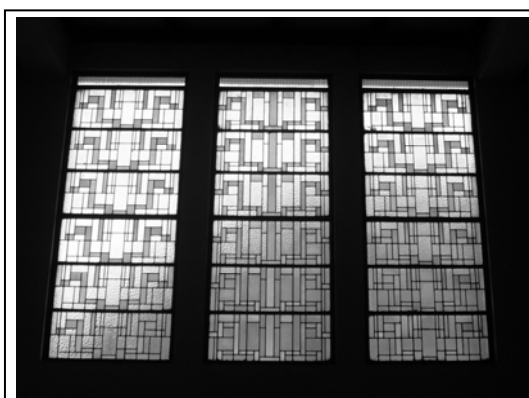


Fig.3.20.13. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: stained glass window.



Fig.3.20.14. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: capital of column.

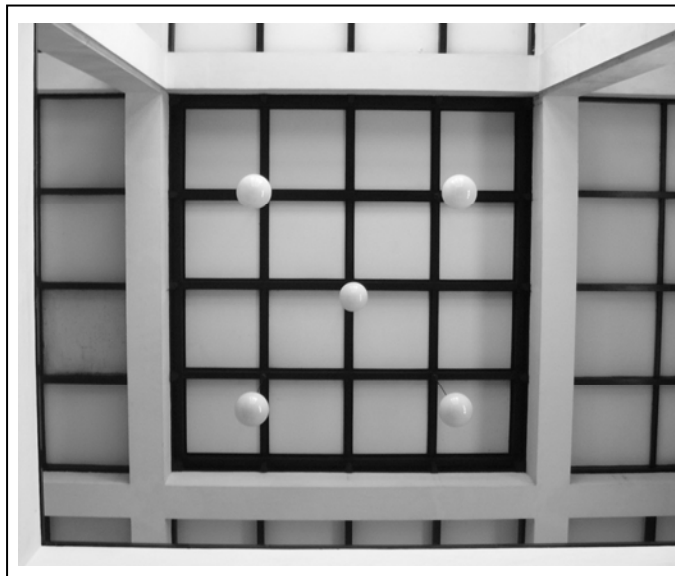


Fig.3.20.15. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: exposed ceiling frames and concrete beams.



Fig.3.20.16. Borsumij Office, Surabaya: the 10th Anniversary of "Fotax" Photo Shop and Studio, 25 November 1935.

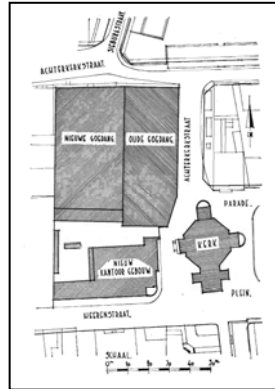


Fig.3.20.17. Borsumij Office, Semarang: situation.

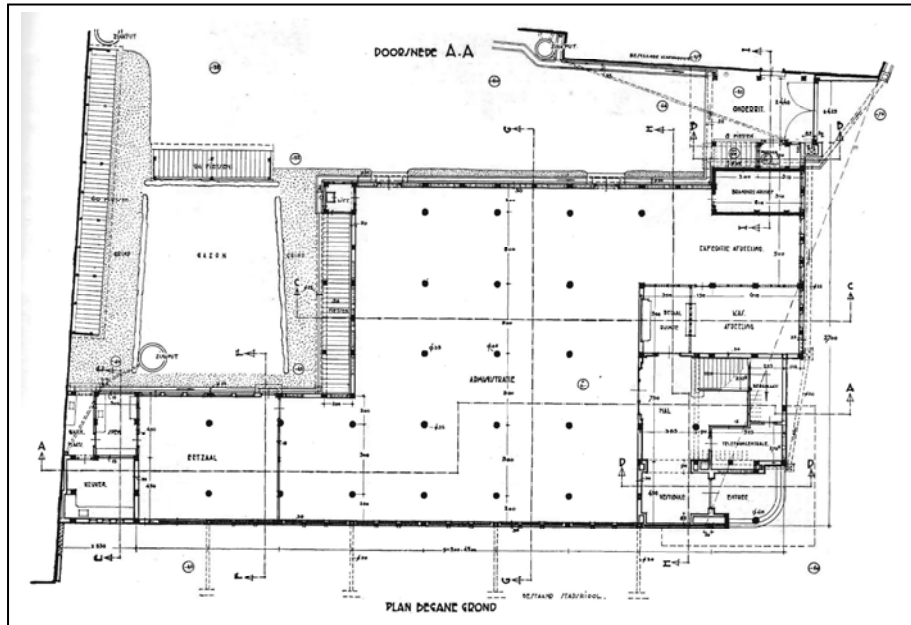


Fig.3.20.18. Borsumij Office, Semarang: ground floor.

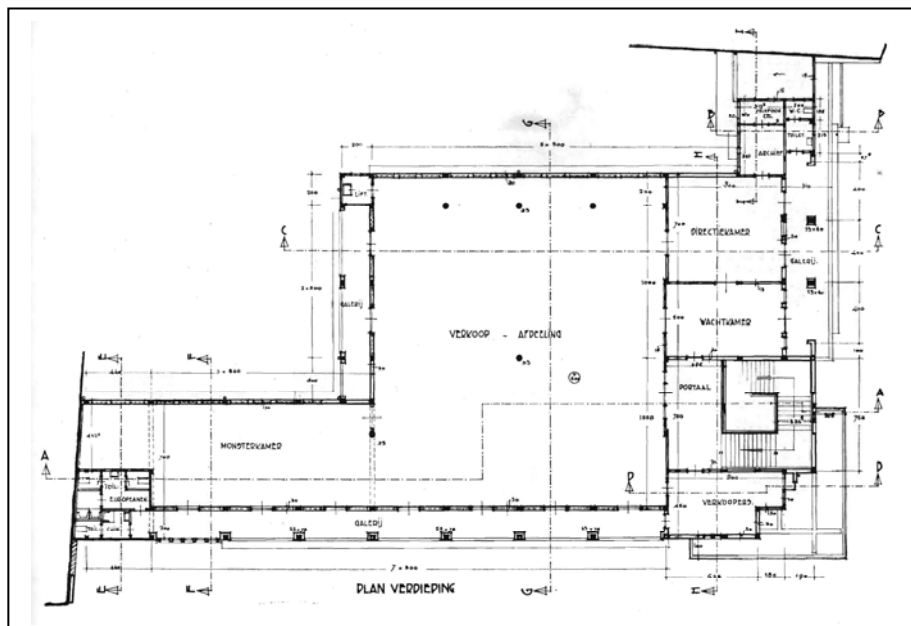


Fig.3.20.19. Borsumij Office, Semarang: upper floor.



Fig.3.20.20. Borsumij Office, Semarang: exterior.



Fig.3.20.21. Borsumij Office, Semarang: gallery.

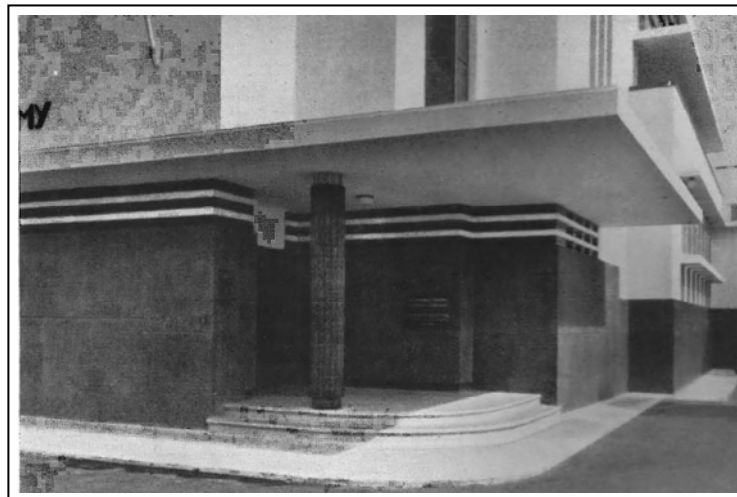


Fig.3.20.22. Borsumij Office, Semarang: main entrance.



Fig.3.20.23. Borsumij Office, Semarang: interior.

CHAPTER IV

ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

In the previous chapter, each of Citroen's works in Surabaya has been analyzed thoroughly, from their conception up to post-construction depending on the availability of information. The works have also been related to their context; i.e. when they were planned and designed. In this chapter the style of his works will be described in more detail than in the previous chapters. Citroen's work can be divided into three categories: town planning, buildings, and civil constructions. This chapter will focus on the second and third categories.

The buildings will be classified into three groups according to their function: houses, offices, and other functions. In each group, the buildings will be looked at in chronological order. Two buildings - the K.K. Knies and Van Kempen, Begeer, and Vos shops - will not be discussed because no illustration of their past is available.

4.1. OFFICES

For this function, six designs for four buildings were analyzed: the Town Hall in Town Park (1916), the first design of the Town Hall in Ketabang (ca. 1918), the last design of the Town Hall in Ketabang (1925), the BPM office (1917), the ASNI building (1925) and the Borsumij office (1933).

The design of the Town Hall in Town Park shows the influence of the design of the NIS office in Semarang by J.F. Klinkhamer and B.J. Ouëndag. It seems that Citroen's experience in assisting them in 1902 transformed his design of the Town Hall in April 1916. The influence can be seen in the use of similar architectural elements in both buildings (fig.4.1.1), specifically:

- a 'two-layer' roof;
- the roof with dormers on its ridge;
- a main entrance designed obtrusively so that it forms a mass with three arched openings on the front and one on each side;
- a balustrade on the roof edges of the main entrance;
- a series of arches covering long galleries. The NIS office has these arches on the ground floor only, while the Town Hall has them both on the ground floor and the upper floor.

Meanwhile, the wheel window and cupola of the Town Hall have the same appearance as those in Kromhout's design for the Rotterdam Town Hall from 1913 (fig.4.1.2).

The architectural features stated above and the stone motif on the finishing of the wall - a technique often used in Renaissance architecture - make the design of the Town Hall rather eclectic. Citroen put European architectural elements on a building whilst adapting them to a tropical climate by using wide openings, galleries, etc.

Citroen made drastic changes to the second design of the Town Hall of Ketabang. This design is far less ornamental than the previous one, although it still contains a cupola, even bigger than before. Walls and roofs were designed in a simpler style, with geometric or Art Deco details. Some parts of the building have flat roofs. It seems that the modern movement in architecture influenced this design, although Citroen still used vernacular architecture for the main roof.

The last design of the Town Hall shows stronger influences of tropical architecture. Besides using long galleries, Citroen started to introduce Javanese architecture by designing a modified *limasan* roof as the main roof (fig.4.1.3). This consists of a main 'two-layer' roof with two additional layers in the centre to ensure optimal cross ventilation in an attic or space under the roofs. Conversely, due to financial constraints, the treatment of the walls is simpler. The design becomes less ornamental. The walls tend to be in Art Deco style, which is dominated by geometric patterns. However, in several details the Amsterdam School style is implemented, in particular in furniture design. Ornaments are applied on functional building elements, such as flag poles, a clock, ventilation openings, gutters, wall lamps, etc. This design can therefore be called a hybrid building. Citroen's involvement in furniture design can very probably be traced from his training at the Quellinus School. His former teachers W. Kromhout and K.P.C. de Bazel were known as versatile architects. Besides being a building architect, Kromhout also designed furniture, marine interiors, posters and urban plans,¹ while De Bazel designed furniture and appliances.²

The BPM building clearly shows an influence of modern architecture, both in the exterior and in the interior. It features a mass in cubist style, concrete flat roofs and a plain interior design almost without ornament. The only functional elements with an aesthetic touch are gutters, like those of the last Town Hall design, stained glass windows depicting transportation modes (ship, plane, and train) and geometrical patterns, and hexagonal openings in the stair railings. Tropical architecture is reflected less in the design of the building skin. The wide windows are not covered by enough eaves or additional roofs to keep out the heavy rain and the strong sunshine.

¹ http://www.top010.nl/html/w_kromhout.htm

² http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karel_de_Bazel

Influence of modern architecture is even stronger in the extension of the ASNI building. Although its roof has a 45 degrees slope, its facade reflects De Stijl. The design is dominated by wide horizontal jalousies and vertical concrete 'fins' where the jalousies are attached. The influence of De Stijl is also visible in the use of (clear and frosted) glass framed by metal material in most of the windows and doors. There is almost no ornament in the building. De Stijl also influences the design of the stair balustrades composed of marble finishing and cylindrical iron posts.

The peak of modern architecture's influence on Citroen's works can be found in the design of the Borsumij office. Function is the primary consideration in the design, which gives the design its simplicity, both in the exterior and the interior, in line with the client's wishes. The building becomes *Nieuwe Bouwen* of Citroen's design featuring a mass in cubist style, a concrete flat roof, a facade dominated by the horizontal and vertical lines formed by steel window frames and a long, narrow concrete slab, and exposed concrete beams on the ground floor. The tropical climate is another consideration in the design, particularly in the ventilation and the use of natural lighting.



Fig.4.1.1. Surabaya Town Hall in the Town Park and NIS Office: comparison of the designs.

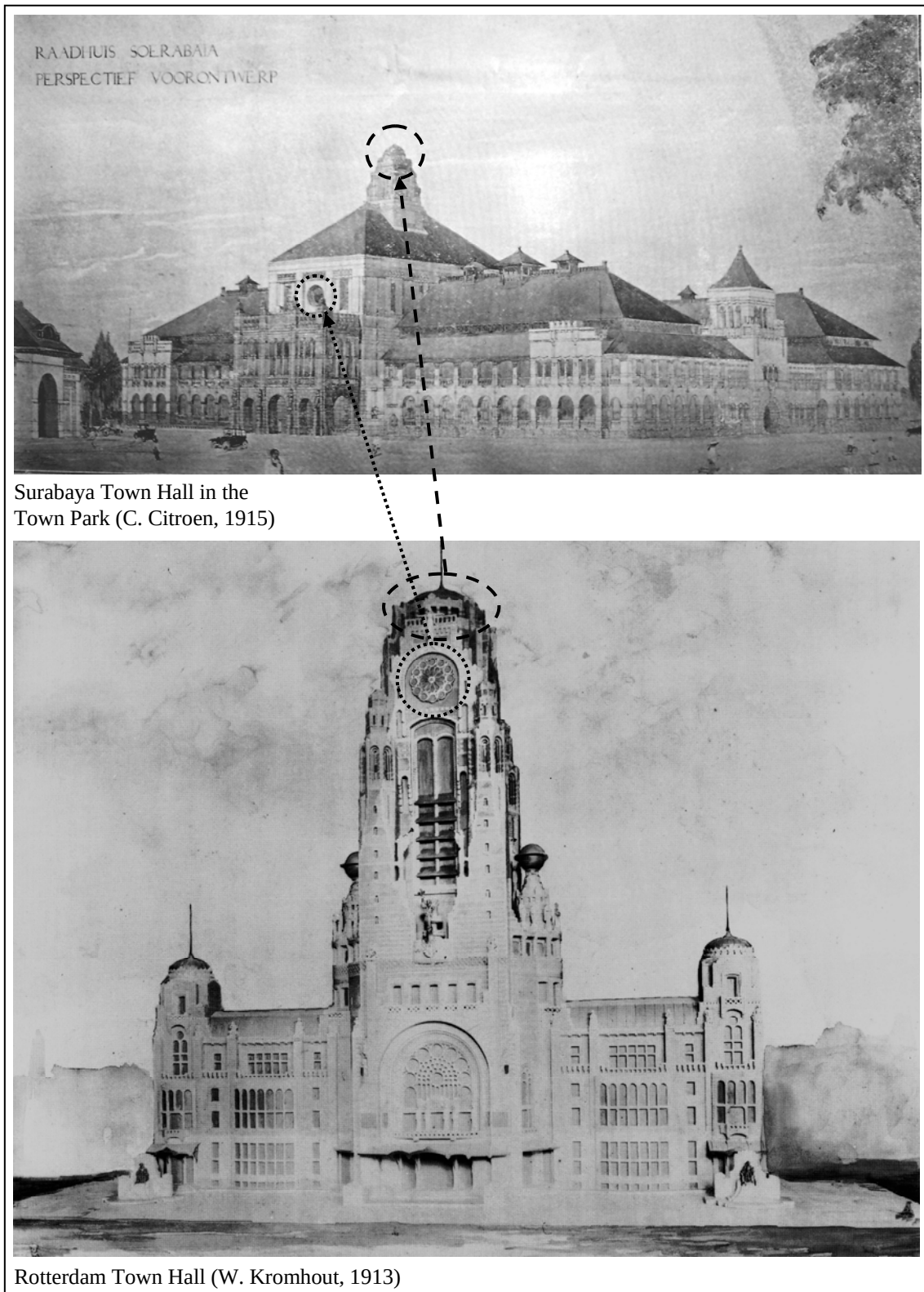


Fig.4.1.2. Surabaya Town Hall in the Town Park and Rotterdam Town Hall:
comparison of the designs.

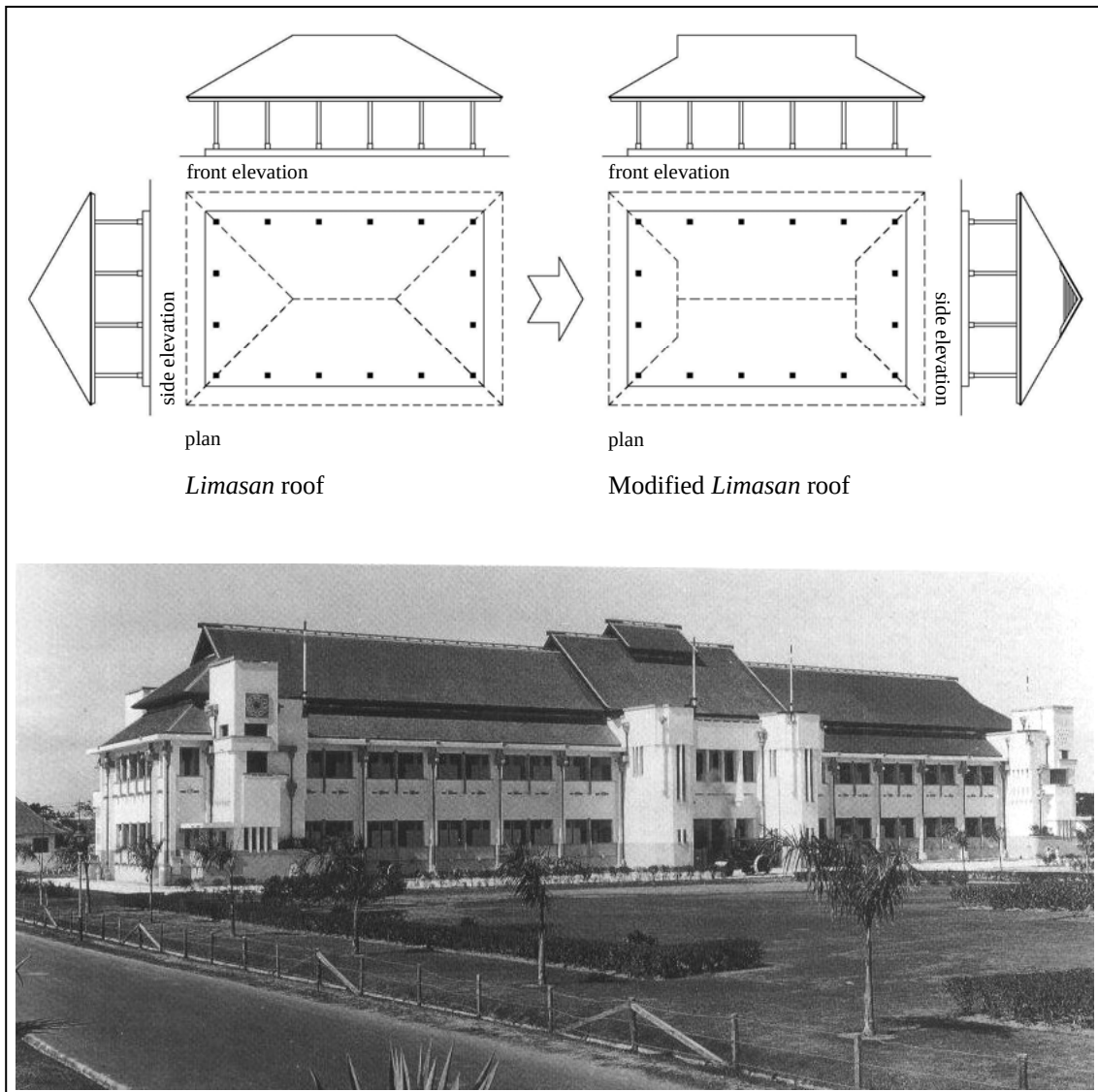


Fig.4.1.3. Modified *Limasan* Roof on Surabaya Town Hall.

4.2. HOUSES

Citroen designed three houses in Surabaya: a house on Sumatra street (1916), a mansion on Kayun street (1928) and the Mayor's official residence (1928).

The design of the house at Sumatra 24, owned by Englishman E.W. Edgar Esq. is influenced by the Victorian architectural style, which was developed in England during the 1837-1901 period. The nationality of the owner was probably the reason Citroen used this style, either at the owner's request or on Citroen's own initiative. English style was very popular in the Netherlands for villas until the first decade of the 20th century. The house has steeply saddle roofs, dominant front-facing gables with decorative shingles, a rough-walled appearance created by the use of stone wall cladding, and decorative elements on the roof edge of the middle part of the building. Citroen also applied the principles of tropical design in this building. Instead of bay windows he designed galleries behind the outer walls so that there are transitional spaces between outdoors and indoors. The building is therefore another example of hybrid architecture, this time between the Victorian style and tropical architecture.

Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion at Kayun 42 is another good example of Citroen's hybrid architecture and was supported by a famous painter and a rich client. Citroen uses Art Deco style for its façade, and also in its interior where it is combined with tropical architecture. Exterior Art Deco elements are found in the design of the portico and its turrets, flower pots³, and drainpipes. In the interior, Art Deco elements can be seen in the design of columns, teakwood balustrades, teakwood ceiling, door frames, stained glasses, murals, hanging lamps and floor tiles. The design of the column capital is similar to Frank Lloyd Wright's design in Unity Church (often called Unity Temple), Oak Park, Chicago, Illinois from 1906 (fig.4.2.1). There is also a similarity in the design of the flower pots (fig.4.2.2). Wright often used these elements in his work, such as William H. Winslow's house (River Forest, Illinois, 1893), Nathan G. Moore's house (Oak Park, Chicago, Illinois, 1895 and rebuilt in 1923), Ward W. Willit's house (Highland Park, Illinois, 1901), Arthur Heurtley's house (Oak Park, Chicago, Illinois, 1902) and Susan Lawrence Dana's house (East Laurence Avenue, Springfield, Illinois, 1903). The geometric patterns of De Stijl, like those of Theo van Doesburg and Piet Mondriaan, are found in the stained glass in the doors, the overhead lighting and the iron latticework of the windows (fig.4.2.3). A touch of tropical architecture can be identified in the house's long galleries and wide eaves.

The Mayor official residence is the latest house designed by Citroen after revising the previous design due to insufficient budget and suggestions from the technical

³ A big flower pot is also found in the design of monument of Dijkerman.

commission. Its design is a simplified version of the Town Hall design. It has a slightly sloped modified *limasan* roof as the main roof, combined with concrete flat roofs and small hipped roofs. A touch of Art Deco style is found in the design of a series of horizontal ventilation openings and column capitals on the terraces. Citroen always pays attention to the application of tropical architecture in his design, including in this project. Buffer spaces and various ventilation openings are used to achieve thermal comfort.



Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion, Surabaya (C. Citroen, 1928)

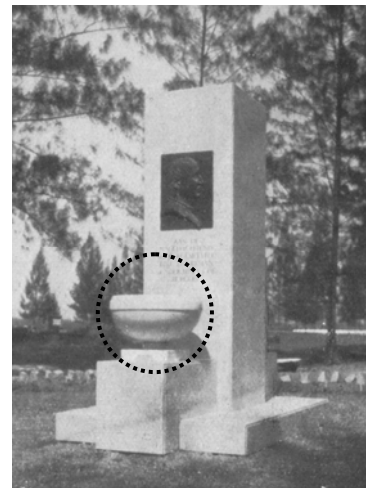


Unity Church, Oak Park, Chicago (Frank Lloyd Wright, 1906)

Fig.4.2.1. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion and Unity Church: comparison of the capitals of the columns.



a) Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion (C. Citroen, 1928)



b) Monument of Dijkerman (C. Citroen, 1929)



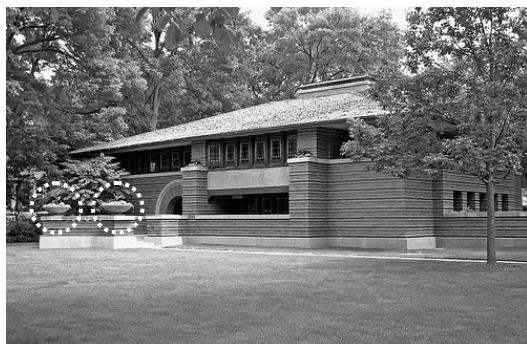
c) W.H. Winslow's house, River Forest (F.L. Wright, 1893)



d) N.G. Moore's house, Oak Park (F.L. Wright, 1895)



e) W.W. Willits' house, Highland Park (F.L. Wright, 1901)



f) A. Heurtly's house, Oak Park (F.L. Wright, 1902)



g) S.L. Dana's house, Springfield (F.L. Wright, 1903)

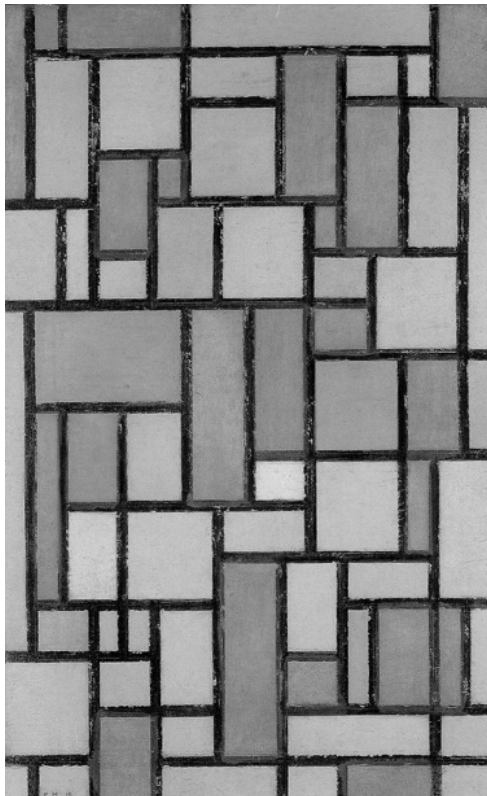
Fig.4.2.2. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion, Monument of Dijkerman and F.L. Wright's Works: comparison of the flower pots.



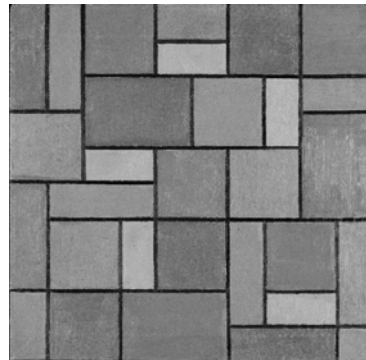
a) Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion (C. Citroen, 1928)



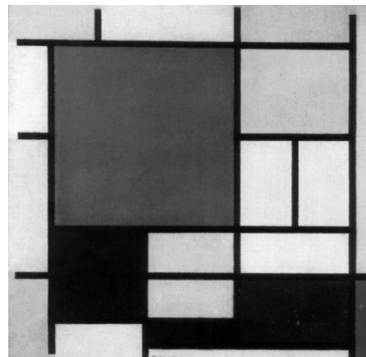
b) Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion (C. Citroen, 1928)



c) Composition with Gray and Light Brown (P. Mondriaan, 1918)



d) Composition XVII (Theo van Doesburg, 1919)



e) Composition with red, yellow, blue and black (P. Mondriaan, 1921)

Fig.4.2.3. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion, Mondriaan's and Doesburg's Works: comparison of the geometric patterns.

4.3. OTHER FUNCTIONS

The Darmo hospital (1919), the Annual Fair (1923-1925), the British community church (1926) and the Monument of Dijkerman (1929) are included in this category.

In general, Citroen seems to have paid more attention to the implementation of design principles in a tropical area in his design of the Hospital. The building entrance looks like a church. A saddle roof furnished by a wooden turret and arches dominates the façade. Citroen also designed large flower pots made of wood with unrounded forms, unlike the flower pots in Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion and Frank Lloyd Wright's works.

Citroen's competence in wooden construction is demonstrated in the design of the Annual Fair. He implemented Art Deco style in the design of the main gate and the main building which also functioned as a restaurant. A similar style was also found in stands of Victoria biscuits (fig.3.11.15), "Karangredjo" coffee (fig.3.11.14), "Albert & Co." jewellery (fig.3.11.7), "Negresco" biscuits (fig.3.11.10) and "Nanyang Brothers" Tobacco Company (fig.3.11.8). Implementation of this style probably is also done by the participants. It can be seen in the interior of the *Onderling Belang* stand (fig.3.11.13) and in the typography of a name plate of the "Victoria" stand. On the other hand, Citroen did not neglect the traditional architecture from the Netherlands Indies. Roofs with the Minangkabau style were found on the theater⁴ and also on *Kampung Pertukangan* (fig.3.11.5). On the latter building, he combined this style with a modified *limasan* roof. One of stands used a *tajug* roof, a pyramidal roof in Javanese architecture (fig.3.11.12). The design of this project clearly demonstrates Citroen's ability to combine Western and Eastern architecture while making use of local materials (wood planks, straws, clay tiles, etc.).

The design of the British community church has with a direct connection with the design of the house of E.W. Edgar, Esq. although the former is much simpler than the latter. The design of the church features a steeply saddle roof facing the street with a wooden bell turret and an array of plain shingles on its gable. Elements of Neo-Gothic style are found in a coloured stained glass rose window on the gable of the absis. On the gable of the nave, two octagonal uncoloured stained glass windows flank the hipped roof of the veranda. In the interior, an equilateral pointed arch dominates the appearance of the chancel.

The design of the Dijkerman's monument reminds us of several De Stijl compositions of geometric volumes designed by G. Vantongerloo (1886-1965), a Belgian painter and sculptor who was familiar with Theo van Doesburg's works and ideas (fig.4.3.1).

⁴ G.H. von Faber, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934), 259.

Compared to Vantongerloo's works, this monument is much simpler. Citroen designed it by combining several blocks adhering to and interlocking with each other with half a spherical flower pot, similar to that of Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion.

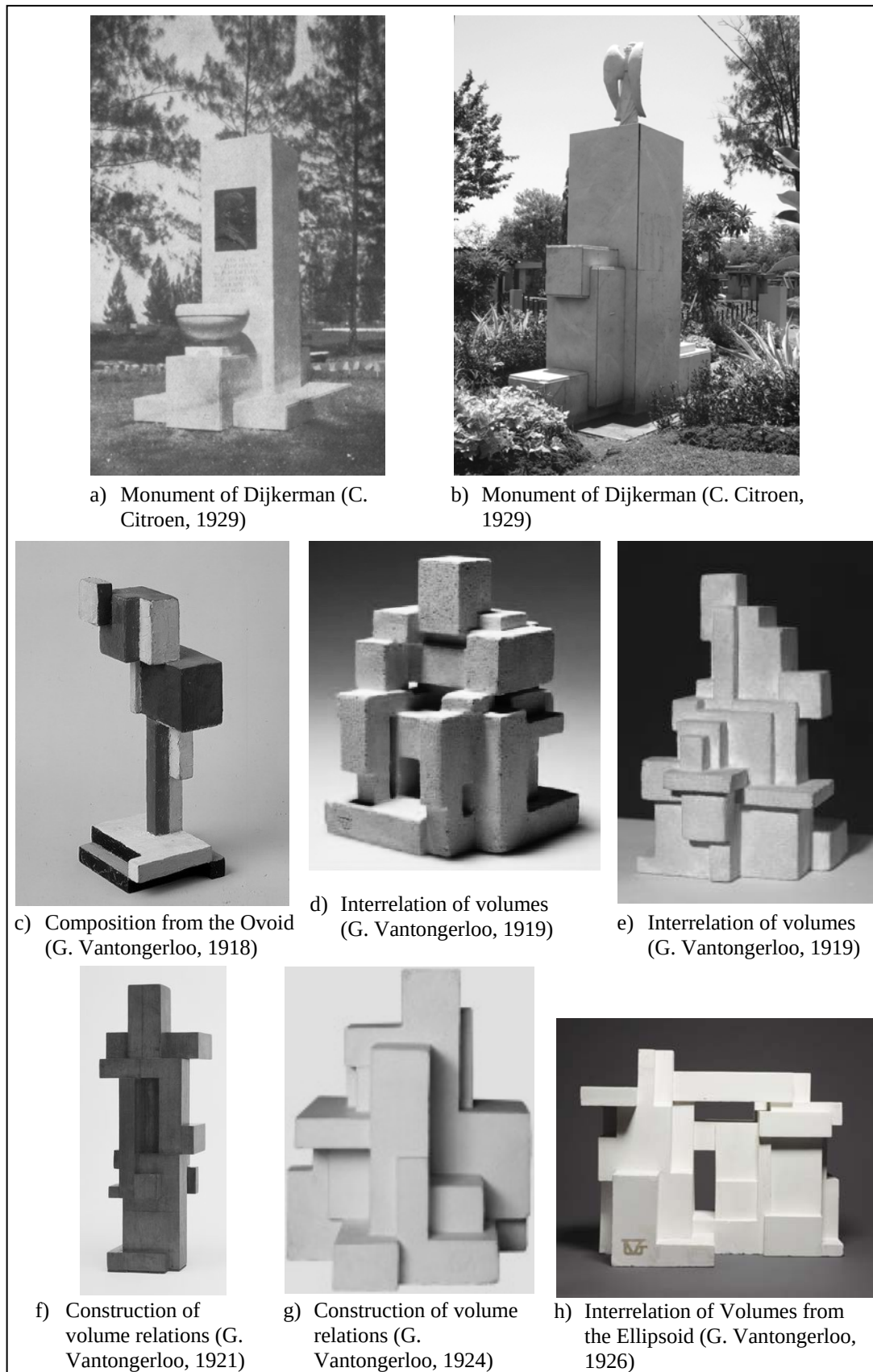


Fig.4.3.1. Monument of Dijkerman and G. Vantongerloo's Works: comparison of the designs.

4.4. CIVIL CONSTRUCTIONS

This category contains four projects: the Kebondalem bridge (1917), the Gubeng bridge (1922), the Pasar Besar railway viaduct (1923) and the Wonokromo bridge (1928). The Kebondalem bridge cannot be investigated further because of a lack of appropriate pictures. Only three small photographs show its side and front elevations from a distance. Citroen uses a repetition of a wooden balustrade for both bridge fences from and to the bridgeheads. He designed wooden lamp posts at several points.

In the design of the Gubeng bridge Citroen shows his competence as an architect able to successfully combine aesthetic aspects and constructional considerations. Although he is helped by engineers from the *Dienst Gemeentewerken*, Citroen's still plays an important role in the creation of a pleasing appearance for the bridge, so that it is not only strong enough to carry the traffic load (trams, cars, and other vehicles) but also represents a beautiful element of the urban infrastructure. He creates a harmonious blend between the solidity of concrete and the transparency of the iron balustrades, reflecting mechanical principles. An Amsterdam School touch is found in the iron details of the bridge, while the design of the concrete lamp posts tends to be in Art Deco style. Citroen was able to amalgamate different styles and materials in a harmonious composition. This is probably the reason why the design won an award in the 1925 Paris Exhibition.

The design of the Pasar Besar railway viaduct is influenced by Art Deco style. This influence can be seen in the use of linear curve forms. They are found on the columns, the form of safety space and the detail of the dilation joints, while the gutters are designed as cubical motifs like those of the Town Hall and the BPM office. As we know, the 1920s were the period of Art Deco, expressed profusely in the 1925 Paris Exhibition.

The Art Deco style is also found in the design of the Wonokromo bridge although it is of a lesser quality, probably due to the limited budget. Geometric or cubical motifs are dominant, particularly in the design of the lamp posts. Curves are only found on the ball lamps. These two Art Deco elements were the source of inspiration for Gerard Pieter Adolfs's murals in Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion.

From all of the above it can be concluded that in terms of external appearance, every project shows different characteristics. In other words, Citroen does not restrict himself to use of a single architectural style in his work. There is a development or change from the first design to the last one. This change is caused by clients' expectations, functional requirements, the characteristics of the site and location, architectural developments in

the Netherland Indies, the Netherlands and Europe, and also by the influence of both Dutch and international architects.

Citroen's early works still show a strong influence of pre-modern European architectural styles, particularly eclecticism, as expressed in the design of the Town Hall in the Town Park, the first design of the Town Hall in Ketabang and Edgar's house. After 1920 his style started to change because he was influenced by architectural trends from the Netherlands in particular and Europe in general, as well as adopting more local architecture. His work in this period was dominated by modern architecture, such as the Amsterdam School, De Stijl and Art Deco, amalgamated with local architecture. Cubical forms, flat roofs, geometric patterns, and occasional curved lines are reflections of modern architecture in his designs. Citroen was influenced by the ideas and works of Frank Lloyd Wright and prominent figures of De Stijl, such as Theo van Doesburg, Piet Mondriaan and Georges Vantongerloo. On the other hand, local content is reflected in the use of modified *limasan* and *tajug* roofs from Javanese architecture, roof from Minangkabau architecture and tropical one. After his resignation from the Municipality, the character of his design expressed the *Nieuwe Bouwen* style in the Borsumij office, his last design in Surabaya.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

5.1. CITROEN'S DEPARTURE FROM AMSTERDAM AND HIS ARRIVAL IN SURABAYA

Citroen left his job in Amsterdam and came to Surabaya to further his career. Based on the investigation reported on in the previous chapters, there are several possible reasons for this decision:

- He wanted to change his professional status and become a full architect. In Amsterdam he was only junior architect or architect assistant in the Ouëndag office and there were many well-known architects in the city. He would have had greater opportunity to be a successful architect if he left Amsterdam.
- He wanted to apply his architectural knowledge in practice. From 1902, after graduating from the Quellinus School he taught geometry. From 1908 he trained young members of A et A in the study of architecture and prepared them for their examinations, together with Maurits Plate. Citroen was therefore professionally active as an educator rather than an architect during his Amsterdam years.
- He read in the (architectural) printed media that the Surabaya Municipality needed an architect to design a development plan for the Kupang area.
- He received information from an architect - possibly a member of A et A - who had already practised in the Netherlands Indies or in Surabaya about the vacancy mentioned above. K.P.C. de Bazel, Citroen's former teacher at the Quellinus School and a member of A et A during the period 1891-1923, had made a development plan for the Candi area of Semarang in 1907. Citroen probably heard of the Surabaya vacancy from De Bazel or another one.
- Citroen became interested in the destination country having been a drafter or an architect assistant for Klinkhamer and Ouëndag on the NIS project, and after attending A et A meetings and also after reading *Architectura* magazines, which published articles on art, architecture and archaeology in the Netherlands Indies during 1902-1915. He then waited for the right time to move to the country.
- The scarcity of urban planners in the Netherlands Indies.
- At the time, Surabaya had few architects and architectural firms to call upon for projects in this city.
- The success of other Dutch architects (both members and non-members of A et A) and architectural firms in the Netherlands Indies encouraged Citroen to attempt at a similar success there. He applied for a vacancy in the Municipality before establishing himself as an independent architect, which was his final goal. This is

why in his second contract (1 May 1916 - 1927)¹ he requested to be allowed to practice privately and design projects for non-Municipality clients. Finally his request was approved.²

A combination of two or more of these possible reasons could be Citroen's motivation for having left Amsterdam and chosen Surabaya to start a new career.

5.2. CITROEN'S SERVICE IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF SURABAYA

Citroen started to work for the Municipality of Surabaya on 15 April 1915. The Municipality needed an urban planner to handle the development plan for the Kupang area, at a time when there was shortage of urban planners in the Netherlands Indies. Citroen wanted to further his career in the Netherlands Indies as an architect or urban planner.

Citroen's career in Surabaya was greatly influenced by G.J. Dijkerman (1885-1929) who was the Mayor of the city from 1920 to 1929. Dijkerman helped Citroen by introducing him to other 'parties' and promoting him actively so that Citroen's network expanded, particularly during the period of Dijkerman's leadership. The project of the Pasar Besar railway viaduct and probably the interior of the Malang Town Hall are examples of Dijkerman's involvement. It is therefore not surprising that when Dijkerman died Citroen was asked to design a monument to him. Dijkerman's death indirectly led to the termination of Citroen's contract with the Municipality, as he now lacked sufficient backing.

Citroen left his position as the Municipal architect on 19 February 1930, after his third and last contract with the Municipality ended. The first contract started on 15 April 1915 until 15 April 1916, the second one was from 1 May 1916 to 1927,³ and the last was from 19 February 1927 to 19 February 1930. There were two reasons the Municipality did not extend the contract for a fourth time. Firstly, the use of architects in the Municipality and its independent services was not efficient, especially in the time of the Great Depression. Two different positions were occupied by two different architects, i.e. Citroen and De Vistarini, who had essentially the same function. Secondly, Citroen's advisory role in the Municipal projects as mentioned in the agreement was not optimal.⁴

¹ See chapter 2.3 on contract.

² During this period, he designed non-Municipality/government projects, i.e. Edgar's house (1916), BPM office (1917), "K.K. Knies" shop (1917), "Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos" shop (1917), Darmo hospital (1919), ASNI building (1925), British community church (1926) and emplacement of BPM (1927).

³ The exact date is unknown.

⁴ See chapter 2.3 on contract.

5.3. THE SCOPE OF CITROEN'S SERVICE IN SURABAYA

Citroen's service during his career in Surabaya reached almost all groups in the city's community. He designed projects for:

- the Surabaya Municipality. These include development plans for the Kupang and Ketabang areas, the Town Hall, the Kebondalem bridge, the Gubeng bridge, the Wonokromo bridge and the Mayor official residence;
- the state institution: the Pasar Besar railway viaduct;
- private social institutions: the Darmo hospital;
- private commercial institutions: the BPM office and emplacement, a music instrument shop, a precious metal shop, the Sugar Syndicate building and the Borsumij building;
- religious institutions: the British community church; and
- individuals: Edgar's house and Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion

In terms of social class, Citroen designed projects for lower income groups (the development plan for Kupang) and upper class individuals (Edgar's house and Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion), for high officials (Mayor official residence) and prestigious companies (shop of "Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos" Royal Dutch Precious Metal Company).

In terms of the ethnicity of his clientele, Citroen was also diverse. He worked for the indigenous community (development plan for Kupang area), for the British community (Edgar's house and church), and for Chinese individual and communities (the Annual Fair and the Dijkerman monument).

5.4. CITROEN'S ARCHITECTURAL IDEAS AND STYLES

In the beginning of his career in Surabaya, Citroen's architectural ideas were still strongly influenced by pre-modern European architecture. This influence can be seen in the design of the Town Hall in *Stadstuin*, the first design of the Town Hall in Ketabang, and in the design of Edgar's house and Van Aken's house. He only introduced a local content in his designs through using parts of tropical architecture, which he was familiar with after he assisted Klinkhamer and Ouëndag in the design of the NIS office. His architectural ideas changed gradually and his designs became more compatible with the site and environment after he had stayed in Surabaya for a while - so that he could absorb and understand vernacular architecture more profoundly - and his Town Hall design was criticized by members of the City Council. Of course, his experience as an educator - a teacher of geometry and an instructor of young A et A members - and also

his appreciation of local art, architecture and archaeology were catalysts for the application of vernacular or traditional architecture in his designs.

Citroen also kept in touch with architectural developments in the Netherlands and other countries, very probably through printed architectural publications. In this way his designs remained contemporary in style. The combination of contemporary styles and local vernacular architecture made his works examples of hybrid architecture. He always introduced aspects of tropical architecture in his designs, whatever specific styles he used. Also, he tried to fulfill the client's wishes as much as possible, without ignoring architectural principles. The result is a blend of functional demand, the client's wishes, contextual considerations, structural requirements and contemporary aspects.

Before 1920 Citroen was in a formative period. His architectural ideas were influenced by J.F. Klinkhamer and W. Kromhout. Circa 1920 onwards Citroen began to establish his own styles characterized by a blend of tropical architecture and contemporary architecture, mostly Art Deco. A few of his designs include elements from De Stijl, the Amsterdam School and *Nieuwe Bouwen*. Influence from the works of Frank Lloyd Wright, Georges Vantongerloo, Theo van Doesburg and Piet Mondriaan can also be found in Citroen's designs. The changes in his styles are in line with his improved understanding of local architecture and his growing knowledge of architectural developments in the Netherlands in particular and Europe in general. His involvement in almost all professional areas of design - as a draftsman, architectural educator, full professional architect, interior designer, sculptor and urban planner - followed the example of W. Kromhout and K.P.C. de Bazel, two of his former teachers at the Quellinus School.

5.5. CITROEN'S POSITION IN THE ARCHITECTURAL CONSTELLATION

Citroen occupies a special position in the history of Surabaya architecture. Books on Surabaya, such as *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Von Faber, 1934), *Perkembangan Kota dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Surabaya 1870-1940* (Handinoto, 1996) and *Soerabaja, Beeld van een Stad* (Broeshart, et al., 1997), each contain a special (sub-)chapter describing his works. No other architect or architectural firm receives a similar treatment in any of the three publications. More general books on architecture in the Netherlands Indies also describe Citroen and his work in independent chapters (Akihary, 1990 and Sumalyo, 1993) and in a sub-chapter (Jessup, 1988).

In the domain of architectural practice, Citroen received assignments to design projects which would become landmarks and important elements of the townscape, such as the Town Hall, the Pasar Besar railway viaduct and the Wonokromo bridge. He also

received the assignment to plan a prestigious area, namely the Ketabang area, where there would finally be a new city centre. He was able to co-operate well with other professions - especially civil engineers in the design of the Gubeng bridge, the Wonokromo bridge and the Pasar Besar railway viaduct - and had a wide professional network, resulting in part from his involvement in various committees (*Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging*, advisory commission of archaeological service, and *Vereeniging "het Oudheidkundig Museum"*). He held a position equal to that of well-known architect, constructor and archaeologist Henri Maclaine Pont in the jury of a photographic and drawing competition held by *Soerabaiasche Kunstkring* and *Java Instituut*. He had a good relationship with the *Java Instituut* which maintained, promoted and developed Javanese culture and was located in Yogyakarta.

Among the architects and architectural firms active in Surabaya, Citroen's main competitors were the firm of Rijksen and Estourgie (established in 1913), and the firm of Job and Sprey (established in 1920).⁵ Those firms only produced several buildings⁶, far fewer than Citroen did, and neither of the firms participated in the 1925 Paris Exhibition. Citroen's works had rivals in the form of *Burgerlijke Openbare Werken's* works, however the latter were designed by several architects (Bolsius, Breuning, Carmiggelt, Gerber, Ghijssels, Lemei and Wiemans) whose role was limited as employees of this central government institution.

Citroen led his field in the number and variety of his projects, and in his mastery of vernacular architecture and its implementation in the designs, even compared to (prominent) architects and architectural firms from other cities active in Surabaya, such as C.P. Wolff Schoemaker, AIA and the firm of Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers,

His reputation grew after designing the Surabaya Town Hall encouraged the external party in Malang to commission him directly for the design of the interior of the Malang Town Hall, without organizing a design competition as they did for the design of the this building. This meant that his work was recognized outside of Surabaya. His reputation was appreciated beyond Surabaya, as is mentioned by Mayor H.I. Bussemaker (1929-1932). J.F.L. Blankenberg, another individual architect representing the Netherlands Indies who also received a mention in the 1925 Paris Exhibition, stated that the Borsumij office, Citroen's last work in Surabaya, was a good example of modern office design in this country. In fact, Blankenberg took it as a model when he designed the Borsumij office in Semarang.

⁵ The other architects and architectural firms had a shorter period of activity.

⁶ The projects are only building, not town planning and civil/other construction.

On a national and international level, Citroen and the firm of Job and Sprey represented Surabaya in the first architectural exhibition in Batavia,⁷ held by *Nederlandsch-Indische Architecten Kring* (NIAK) and *Batavia Kunstkring*. He was the only architect from Surabaya to participate in the 1925 Paris Exhibition. Although H. Maclaine Pont and the firm of Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers also took part in the 1925 Paris Exhibition and designed buildings in Surabaya, their domicile and home office were not in this city. Furthermore, Citroen was one of three Netherlands Indies' architects/architectural firms to receive an award.⁸ In the 1925 Paris Exhibition, his designs were placed on an equal footing with those of his former teachers (W. Kromhout and K.P.C. de Bazel), his former seniors (J.F. Klinkhamer and B.J. Ouëndag) and other well-known Dutch architects.⁹ He was one of four qualified architects in the Netherlands Indies who were invited by a regulation commission of the colonial exhibition in Paris to design a Netherlands pavilion, as mentioned by Mayor H.I. Bussemaker. W. Lemei mentioned Citroen as one of the most remarkable architects in the Netherlands Indies.¹⁰

⁷ AIA, H.P. Berlage, H. Thomas Karsten and the firm of Hulswit, Fermont and Ed. Cuypers did not have a home base in Surabaya although their designs were found in this city.

⁸ The others were J.F.L. Blankenberg and the firm of Karsten, Lutjens and Toussaint. None was from Surabaya.

⁹ K.P.C. de Bazel and H.P. Berlage gained "Grand Prix", the highest award, while W. Kromhout received nothing.

¹⁰ W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 2.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

The Complete List of the Participants from the Netherlands at the International Exhibition in Paris, 1925¹

Group I – Architecture:

J.H. Antonisse, H.A.J. Baanders, Jan Baanders, K.P.C. de Bazel, H.P. Berlage, C.J. Blaauw, **J.F.L. Blankenberg**, A. Boeken, B.T. Boeyinga, J. Bordewijk, J. Boterenbrood, G.C. Bremer, B. Bijvoet and J. Duiker, **C. Citroen**, **B.J.K. Cramer**, G.F. la Croix, J. Crouwel Jr., Jos.Th.J. Cuypers, Pierre J.M. Cuypers, W.M. Dudok, G. Friedhoff, J.H. Plantenga, M.J. Granpré Molière, J. Verhagen and H. Kok, J. Gratama, Wouter Hamdorff, J.W. Hanrath, J.M. van Hardeveld, D. Heineke and E.J. Kuipers, G.W. van Heukelom, **J. van Hoytema**, the **Hulswit-Fermont-Ed. Cuypers firm**, the **Karsten-Lutjens-Toussaint firm**, M. de Klerk, H. van der Kloot Meyburg, J. Klijnen, P. Kramer, W. Kromhout, M. Kropholler, J. van Laren, J.L.M. Lauweriks, J. Limburg, F.J. Loeb, J.B. van Loghem, J.M. Luthmann, J. Maas and L.J.H. Zonneveldt, **H. Maclaine Pont**, J.C. Meischke and P. Schmidt, H.F. Mertens, J.M. van der Mey, W.P. Meyer, Jan de Meyer, **P.A.J. Moojen**, Alb. Otten, J.J.P. Oud, B.J. Ouëndag and J.F. Klinkhamer, J.D. Postma and B. Hoogstraten, J.H. de Roos and W.F. Overeynder, D. Roosenburg, G. J. Rutgers, A.M.J. Sevenhuysen, D.F. Slothouwer, A.P. Smits, J.A. Snellebrand and A. Eibink, M. Speyer, J.F. Staal, H.F. Symons, *Publieke Werken* (Public Works) of Amsterdam, L.C. van der Vlucht and J.G. Wiebinga, P. Vorkink and Jac. Wormser, Jos. Wielders, Jan Wils, H. Wouda, H.Th. Wijdeveld.

Group II – Interior design and furniture:

H.A. van Anrooy, Chr. Bartels, K.P.C. de Bazel, H.P. Berlage, C.J. Blaauw, Louis Bogtman, Jac. van den Bosch, Paul Bromberg, F.M.A. Brons, H. van Dorp, Harry Dreesen, G.W. Dijsselhoff, P.H. Endt, W.H. Gispén, M. de Klerk, P. Kramer, W. Kromhout Czn., Hildo Krop, C.A. Lion Cachet, J.B. van Loghem, C.J. Muntendam, J.J.P. Oud, W. Rådecker, S. van Ravesteyn, J.A. Roobol, D. Roosenburg, G.J. Rutgers, Corn. van der Sluys, J.A. Snellebrand and A. Eibink, F. Spanjaard, J.F. Staal, P. Vorkink and Jac. Wormser, F.A. Warners, A.F. van der Wey, K. van der Wilk, Jan Wils, H.Th. Wijdeveld, P. Zwart.

¹ Anonymous, “De Internationale Architectuur Tentoonstelling te Parijs in 1925”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 12/28 (30 June 1925), 146-7.

Group III – Sculpture and smaller plastic objects:

J.C. Altorf, L. Bolle, H. Chabot, H.A. van den Eynde, Thérèse van Hall, Chr. Hassoldt, G. Jacobs van den Hof, Barend Jordens, S. Klinkenberg, Hildo Krop, J. van Lunteren, J. Mendes da Costa, Aug. van Os, Joh. Polet, A. Rådecker, John Rådecker, A. Remiëns, H. van Remmen, Theo van Reyn, B. Richters, Henriette Vailland, Tjipke Visser, W.A. v.d. Winkel, W.B. IJzerdraat, L. Zijl.

Group IV - Wall decorations:

H.P. Berlage, G.W. Dijsselhoff, P. van Gelder, J.B. Heukelom, W.A. van Konijnenburg, C.A. Lion Cachet, J.C.M. Mensing, T. Poggenbeek, H. van der Stok, Jan Toorop, Leo Visser.

Group V - Stained glass and mosaics:

Lou Asperslagh, P.W. van Baarsel, Toon Berg, W. Bogtman, Jaap Gidding, Jacoba van Heemskerck, A.J. der Kinderen, Joep Nicolas, R.N. Roland Holst, Lod. Schelfhout, H. van der Stok, Jan Toorop, H. Veldhuis, E. Wichmann, H.Th. Wijdeveld.

Group VI – Textiles:

R. d'Ailly, B. Bake, F. Barbiers, N. Bodenheimer, Louis Bogtman, Th. Colenbrander, R.N. Dael, D. Dekker, Jaap Gidding, E. Haak, Carel Harders, B. Jelles, H. Jonas, J. de Jong, Jac. Jongert, D. Kohnstamm, Hildo Krop, L. Labree, J.L.M. Lauweriks, Chr. Lebeau, A. Lejeune, C.A. Lion Cachet, B. van Loghem-Neumeyer, H. Meyer Timmerman Thyssen, E. Nierstrasz, T. Nieuwenhuis, J. Pessers, Nooteboom, T. Poggenbeek, A. Pijpers, A. Rådecker, A. Rerink, R. de Rook van Leeuwen, H.A.E. Schrier, E. Siewerts van Reesema, Corn. van der Sluys, H. van der Stok, W. Testas, N.J. van der Vecht, A.J. Verhorst, Leo Visser, Wegerif, A. Wiesebron, Chr. van Zeegen, P. Zwart.

Group VII – Ceramics and glassware:

K.P.C. de Bazel, H.P. Berlage, W.C. Brouwer, M.A.M. van den Burg, Th. Colenbrander, A.D. Copier, J.H. de Groot, Jan van Ham, Hildo Krop, C.J. Lanooy, C.A. Lion Cachet, C. de Lorm, F.J. Mansveld, L.J. Muller, C.J. van Muyen, W. van Norden, Joh. van Schaik, S.E. Verrijn Stuart, E. Wichmann.

Group VIII – Metal objects and bijoux:

C.J.A. Begeer, L. Bolle, J. Citroen, Jan Eisenloeffel, H.A. van den Eynde, W.H. Gispen, C.J. van der Hoef, Jac. A. Jacobs, M. de Klerk, P. Kramer, J. Kriege, Hildo Krop, A. Kurvers, G.H. Lantman, L.J.M. Lauweriks, J.M. van der Mey, Jan de Meyer, J.F. Staal, J. Steltman, Jan Toorop, E. Wichmann, F. Zwollo Sr., F. Zwollo Jr.

Group IX – Books, prints and graphics:

A. Abresch, Tine Baanders, Tjerk Bottema, Walter van Diedenhoven, G.W. Dijsselhoff, R. Gerbrands, Leo Gestel, Alb. Hahn J.B. Heukelom, P.A.H. Hofman, Jack. Jongert, L.Ch. Kalff, A. Klijn, J. van Krimpen, M. Kropholler, A. Kurvers, L.J.M. Lauweriks, C.A. Lion Cachet, Fokko Mees, E. Menalda, J.C.M. Mensing, T. Nieuwenhuis, Ch. Nijpels, John Rådecker, C. Rol, R.N. Roland Holst, George Rueter, G. Rutten, S.L. Schwartz, Nel Schoo, Jan Sluiters, A.A.M. Stols, Jan Toorop, Baronesse Tuyll van Serooskerken - Willebeek La Mair, Leo Visser, Jan Wiegman, H. Th. Wijdeveld.

From this list we can conclude that in Paris the Netherlands Indies were represented by J.H. Antonisse, J.F.L. Blankenberg, C. Citroen, B.J.K. Cramer, J. van Hoytema, the Hulswit-Fermont-Ed. Cuypers firm, the Karsten-Lutjens-Toussaint firm, H. Maclaine Pont and P.A.J. Moojen.

Appendix 2

The Complete List of Architects and Architectural Firms from the Netherlands and the Netherlands Indies that Obtained Awards at the International Exposition in Paris, 1925²

Grand prix:

K.P.C. de Bazel, H.P. Berlage, W.M. Dudok, M. de Klerk, *Publieke Werken Afdeeling Gebouwen* (Building Department of Public Works) Amsterdam, and J.F. Staal, C. Alberts and son.

Honorary award:

B. Bijvoet and J. Duiker, P. Kramer and J.M. van der Mey.

Gold medal:

G.F. la Croix, J. Crouwel Jr., M.J. Granpré Molière, J. Verhagen, H. Kok, G.W. van Heukelom, J.M. Luthmann, H.F. Mertens, J.J.P. Oud, H.F. Symons, P. Vorkink and J.Ph. Wormser, Jan Wils and H.Th. Wijdeveld.

Silver medal:

C.J. Blaauw, B.T. Boeyinga, J. Gratama, H. van der Kloot Meyburg, M. Kropholler, J. Limburg, J.B. van Loghem, D. Roosenburg and G.J. Rutgers.

Bronze medal:

H.W.J. Baanders, J. Boterenbrood, W. Hamdorf, D. Heineke and E.J. Kuipers, **Karsten-Lutjens-Toussaint firm**, J.H. de Roos and W.F. Overeynder, A.P. Smits and L.C. van der Vlugt, and J.G. Wiebenga.

Mention:

J.F.L. Blankenberg, C. Citroen, J. Klijnen and J. van Laren.

From the participants above, only the Karsten-Lutjens-Toussaint firm, Blankenberg and Citroen represented the Netherlands Indies.

² Anonymous, "Onderscheidingen op de Internationale Architectuurtentoonstelling te Parijs", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 23/28 (15 December 1925), 262.

Appendix 3

Speech of C. Citroen at the Occasion of the Opening of
the Exhibition of Language, Land and Folklore of East Java and Madura
Held by the Java Institute in Surabaya from 25 September - 10 October 1926³

Dames en Heeren,

Voor en aleer U tot het bezichtigen der tentoonstelling overgaat, zij het mij vergund enkele oogenblikken Uw aandacht te vragen. Laat ik voor diegenen onder U die niet volkomen op de hoogte zijn van de bedoeling en het streven van het Java-Instituut beginnen met er aan te herinneren welke gedachtengang tot het samenstellen dezer tentoonstelling heeft geleid.

De bedoeling van het Java-Instituut is (wij kunnen dat in de statuten van het Java-Instituut vinden) o.m. de ontwikkeling van de inheemsche cultuur, in den meest uitgebreiden zin des woords, van Java, Madoera en Bali te bevorderen. Het Instituut tracht dit doel te bereiken door het houden van congressen en tentoonstellingen. Deze tentoonstelling nu is een der middelen tot het bereiken van bovengenoemd doel.

De eerste tentoonstelling van het Java-Instituut werd gehouden in 1920 in de Kaboepaten te Bandoeng: het was een tentoonstelling van houtsnijwerk. De tweede tentoonstelling van het Java-Instituut. in 1924 in Jogja gehouden, betrof de Javaansche architectuur en meubelkunst.

Deze, m.i. verreweg de belangrijkste der tot nu toe gehouden tentoonstellingen, de derde in de reeks, die thans in Soerabaja wordt gehouden, betreft de kunstnijverheid in het algemeen. Bovendien is hieraan verbonden een expositie van modellen van prauwen van de meest uiteenlopende typen die op Madoera en Oost-Java worden gebruikt.

Dat ik zooeven sprak van de belangrijkste der gehouden tentoonstellingen is daarom, omdat deze expositie geheel het karakter heeft van samengaan van kunst en nijverheid, de vorm van kunstbeoefening, welke voor een volk de meest zegenrijke gevolgen heeft.

Scheiding van kunst en nijverheid daarentegen werkt in de tegenovergestelde richting, leidt tot subjectiviteit met de daaraan verbonden noodlottige gevolgen.

³ C.R. Merkus, *Catalogus van de Tentoonstelling voor Taal-, Land- en Volkskunde van Oost-Java en Madoera te houden te Soerabaja 25 September - 10 October 1925 door het Java-Instituut* (Soerabaja: Drukkerij Nijland, 1926), 2-3.

Zegt ook niet Berlage in zijn “Schoonheid en samenleving”: “Want een algemeen geworden stijl resulteert slechts uit de gestadige ontwikkeling in een gemeenschappelijke kunstidee: deze is de resultante van het gemeenschappelijk werk van tal van kunstenaars, wanneer dat werk door benadering van het begrip, de synthese der algemeenheid zoekt, welke synthese daardoor alle subjectiviteit te boven gaat.”

De ontwikkeling van dezen algemeenen schoonheids-zin, niet dus van de individueele, verheft den menschelijken geest, voert hem tot een hooger plan: de gevolgen komen het geheele volk ten goede. Het is daarom ons aller plicht mede te helpen, ieder naar zijn eigen vermogen, de bevolking de gelegenheid te geven tot de ontwikkeling van den zin voor schoonheid.

Om dit doel te bereiken zal het noodig zijn over te gaan tot het oprichten van scholen en inrichtingen voor kunstnijverheid. Bovendien moeten er zoo spoedig mogelijk, al is het voorloopig op bescheiden schaal, musea gesticht worden waar verzamelingen worden aangelegd van goede specimina der oude kunstnijverheid, welke technieken geheel of gedeeltelijk verloren zijn gegaan. Die moeten den studeerenden tot voorbeeld strekken.

Van belang is het in verband hiermede U het volgende te vertellen. Eenige maanden geleden is op Javaansch initiatief een conferentie gehouden ten huize van den Resident van Jogja, den Heer Jasper, die, zooals bekend is, zijn sporen heeft verdiend op het gebied van de bevordering der Inlandsche kunstnijverheid. Bij deze conferentie waren tegenwoordig de Chef van de afdeeling Nijverheid van het Departement van Landbouw, Handel en Nijverheid, de Secretaris van het Java-Instituut en enkele belangstellenden. Het doel van deze conferentie was, middelen te beramen om de gedeeltelijk verloren gegane of in verval geraakte takken van kunstnijverheid weer nieuw leven in te blazen en tot bloei te brengen. Men meende dat doel door aanpassing aan nieuwe omstandigheden en door reorganisatie van het afzetgebied wel te kunnen bereiken.

Verder meende men dat door het oprichten van kunstambachtscholen en kunstnijverheidsscholen, door het oprichten van permanente monsterkamers en door het stichten van musea dit doel in hooge mate zou kunnen worden benaderd.

Dames en Heeren, wanneer U straks het vele, dat U deze tentoonstelling biedt, zult bewonderen, houtsnijwerk, van de onderdeelen der Javaansche en Madoereesche interieurkunst, als achterwanden, bovenlichten van deuren, enz. tot kleiner, vaak minitueuser bewerkte voorwerpen als kastjes, kistjes, spiegeltjes, dakonspelen, enz. enz., batik- en weefkunst, de schitterende wajangspelen, zooals de wajang-koelit, wajang-klitik. de topèng. enz., wanneer U Uwe wandeling vervolgend langs de afdeeling wapens, in de afdeeling prauwen belandt en tenslotte na bezichtiging der afdeeling

goud- en zilversmidkunst en oude bronzen Uw rondwandeling hebt voltooid, zal bij velen Uwer vooral na mijne toelichting, ongetwijfeld de vraag rijzen of het niet mogelijk zou zijn het hier geëxposeerde in Soerabaja te houden als kern van een museum dat onze stad, de grootste handelsstad van Nederlandsch-Indië, waardig zou zijn.

Deze gelegenheid is te schoon om er geen gebruik van te maken, daar het hier tentoongestelde, zooals reeds gezegd, voornamelijk uit Oost-Java en Madoera afkomstig is, en dus bij uitstek op zijn plaats is in Soerabaja, de hoofdstad van Oost-Java.

Ten zeerste zou het te betreuren zijn, wanneer het resultaat van het vele moeilijke en moeizame werk, dat er is gedaan, door alle medewerkers, maar vooral door den Secretaris van het Java-Instituut, die van alles de ziel was, niet ten dienste van de bevolking van Oost-Java en Madoera hier in Soerabaja zou zijn te behouden.

Dames en Heeren, mag ik U nu uitnoodigen een rondgang te doen door de tentoonstelling.

Appendix 4

Table A.4
Exhibitions of Gerard Pieter Adolfs, 1924-1959

Year	Place	City	Year	Place	City
1924	Kunstkring	Surakarta	1941	Kon. Kunstzaal Kleykamp	The Hague
1927	Kunstzaal Van Ingen	Surabaya	1941	Kunstzaal Pollmann	Nijmegen
1927	Kunstkring	Surabaya	1941	Kunsthandel Koch	The Hague
1929	Kunstkring	Surabaya	1942	Kunstzaal Pollmann	Nijmegen
1929	Kon. Kunstzaal Kleykamp	The Hague	1943	Kunstzaal Pollmann	Nijmegen
1929	Sociëteit Concordia	Malang	1947	Kunsthandel Koch	Rotterdam
1929	Logegebouw	Semarang	1948	Hultbergs Konsthandel	Stockholm
1930	Kunstkring	Surabaya	1949	Arti et Amicitiae	Amsterdam
1932	Kunstzaal N. van Wingen	Surabaya	1949	Kunsthandel Koch	Rotterdam
1933	Kunstkring	Surabaya	1949	Hengelse Kunstzaal	Hengelo
1934	Kunstkring	Surabaya	1949	Stedelijk Museum	Amsterdam
1934	Kunstkring	Batavia	1949	Galerie Marbach	Bern
1934	Loge St. Jan	Bandung	1950	Kunstzaal Den Deijl	Breda
1934	Institute of Fine Arts	London	1950	Kunsthandel Leffelaar	Haarlem
1934	Kon. Kunstzaal Kleykamp	The Hague	1950	Maison des Ailes	Brussels
1934	Kunstzaal Fetter	Amsterdam	1950	Atelier Leen Douwes	Breda
1935	Kunstkring	Surabaya	1951	Galerie Rubens	Brussels
1935	Kunstzaal Kolff & Co.	Batavia	1951	Galerie d'Orsay	Paris
1936	Nichido Art Galleries	Tokyo	1952	Galerie Jordaens	Brussels
1936	Kunstkring	Surabaya	1952	Galerie Marbach	Bern
1936	Hotel des Indes	Batavia	1952	Kunsthandel Blomqvist	Oslo
1938	Y.W.C.A.	Singapore	1953	Palais des Beaux Arts	Brussels
1938	Kunstzaal Kolff & Co.	Batavia	1954	Zaal Wynen	Antwerp
1939	Kunst van onzen tijd	The Hague	1955	Hultbergs Konsthandel	Stockholm
1940	Gildehuis	Amersfoort	1957	Galerie Rubens	Brussels
1940	Kunstzaal Aalderink	Amsterdam	1959	Galerie Assindia	Essen
1940	Kunst van onzen tijd	The Hague			

Note : In 1970, two years after Adolfs's death, there was an exhibition held in Baden, Swiss, entitled "Rotterdam grüsst Baden".

Source : <http://www.gerardpieteradolfs.com/exhibitions.htm>

Appendix 5

Other Works by Citroen

5.1. *Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NIS) Office, Semarang

In order to strengthen its position in Java after having established the rail tracks Semarang-Vorstenlanden, Batavia-Buitenzorg and Yogyakarta-Magelang, the *Nederlandsch-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NIS) built its main office in Semarang, the capital city of Middle Java. First the NIS asked architect Paul du Rieu (1859-June 1901)⁴ from The Hague to design the building but he passed away so that the commission was given to B.J. Ouëndag from Amsterdam and J.F. Klinkhamer from the *Technische Hogeschool Delft*.⁵ One of the blueprints, an elevation drawing, is dated June 1901.⁶ It is very probably that the design was revised several times until 1902 so that Citroen who at the time just had finished his studies and had started to work in the architectural office of Ouëndag, had a chance to assist the architects to develop the design. From this project he must have collected a lot of information on building techniques in the tropics.

In November 1902 the independent builder D.W. Hinse went to the Netherlands Indies to execute the NIS project. The proposed spot was a replacement site that was at some distance from the city centre. The location was chosen because here the office building would dominate the corner that was formed by one of the city's main roads and the large square where the Resident's house was situated. Unfortunately the quality of the soil - mainly consisting of clay - was very bad and quite unsuitable to bear a large and heavy structure. This clay was a particular Javanese variety that shrinks drastically in the dry season and then is split by deep and destructive cracks. The soil had to be replaced by volcanic sand down to a depth of 4 m. To ensure sufficient compactness it was necessary to fill the excavation with layers of no more than 20-30 cm depth at a time. This process took over a year because the ca. 300 workers used simple local tools and baskets while the building was going to be 75 x 50 m.⁷

In order to test the strength of the new sub-soil, the separate buildings for the caretaker and the printing shop were built before one decided to start construction of the main building. For some time these smaller buildings were used to house the construction offices. On 2 February 1904 the construction of the main building started with the

⁴ He graduated from *Technische Hogeschool Delft* (http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_du_Rieu).

⁵ Helen Ibbitson Jessup, *Netherlands Architecture in Indonesia 1900-1942*, PhD dissertation (London: Courtauld Institute of Art, 1988), 87.

⁶ www.semarang.nl

⁷ Jessup, *Netherlands Architecture in Indonesia 1900-1942*, 88.

foundation works.⁸ These foundations reached a depth of 2.40 m and were made of river stones (*batu kali*).⁹ All the building materials, except the wood and materials that were used for the walls, were imported from Europe, including 350 m³ of granite. Everything had been made prefabricated in Europe before it was sent to Semarang. Finally on 1 July 1907 the building, that still exists today, was ready for use.¹⁰ Currently, the NIS building is under preservation.

The design of the L-shaped two-storey building reflects western and particularly Dutch architecture (fig.A.5.1.1-A.5.1.4). The twin towers and the ornamented gable are the main points of interest of the building. A series of arches dominates the façade, especially on the front gable with the main entrance and the ground floor of the wings. It seems as if Citroen imitated the arcade element when he made the first design for the Surabaya Town Hall in the Town Park.

The architects tried to adapt the design to local conditions by using long galleries that run along the lower and upper floors of the front and the back gables (fig.A.5.1.5). They protect the office from direct sun and rain and also offer good air ventilation in the building. Central corridors in both wings strengthen the quality of the air circulation inside. Citroen used similar galleries in all his designs for the Surabaya Town Hall.

⁸ Ibid., 88-9.

Another source mentions 27 February 1904 (Wouter de Zeeuw, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript [Rotterdam: NAI, 2001], s.p. [2]).

⁹ Jessup, *Netherlands Architecture in Indonesia 1900-1942*, 89.

Batu kali is a hard river stone which is often used for building foundations, road and other constructions in the Netherlands Indies.

¹⁰ Ibid.

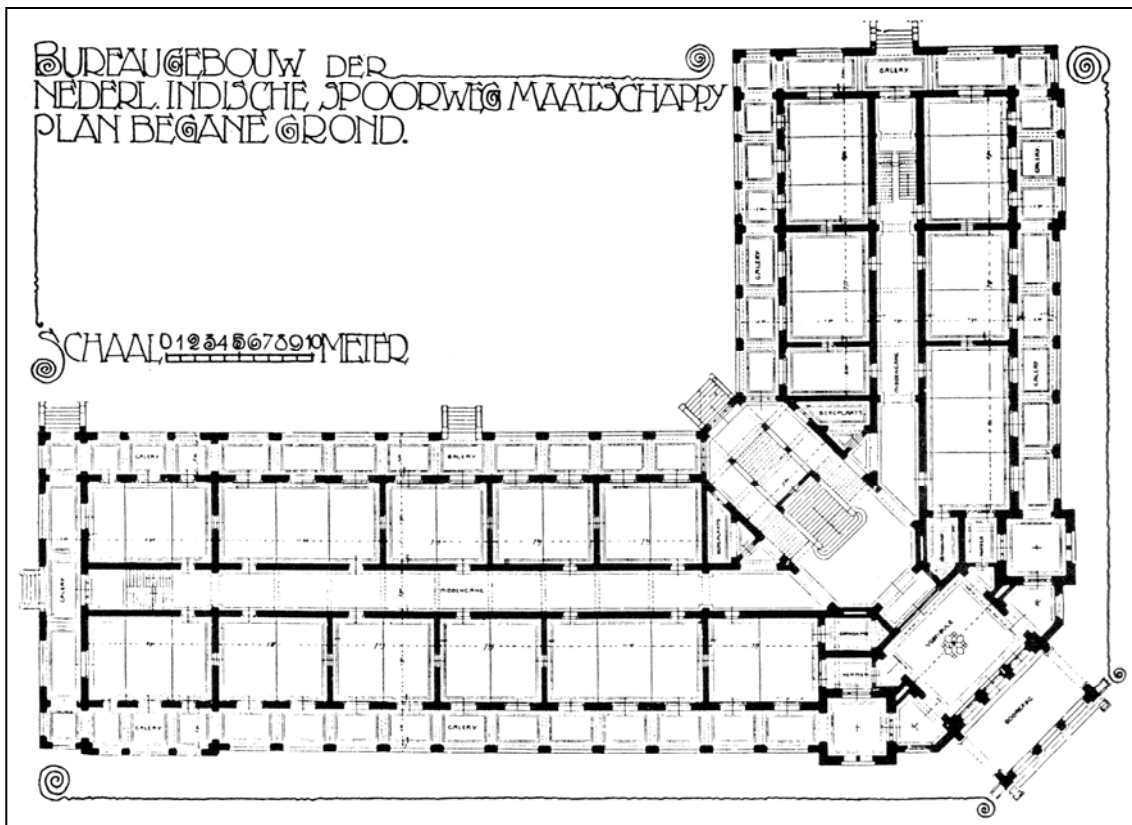


Fig.A.5.1.1. NIS Office: ground plan.



Fig.A.5.1.2. NIS Office: preliminary design for elevation (June 1901).

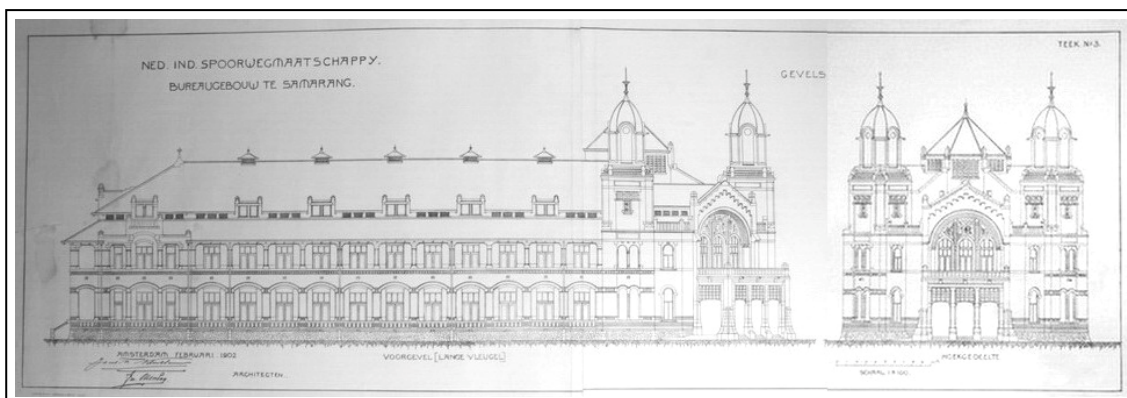


Fig.A.5.1.3. NIS Office: elevations (February 1902).



ca. 1910



ca. 1990s

Fig.A.5.1.4. NIS Office: view from *Wilhelmina Plein*.



Fig.A.5.1.5. NIS Office: corridor.



Fig.A.5.1.6. NIS Office: stained glass window.

5.2. Country House in Lawang, Malang

Lawang is a sub-district of the Malang Regency, situated 15 km towards the north along the main road of Malang to Surabaya. Due to this good road, the relative high position of Lawang (500 m above sea level) and its pleasant temperature rich people built villas in this area. The site is not far from the railroad Malang-Surabaya either.

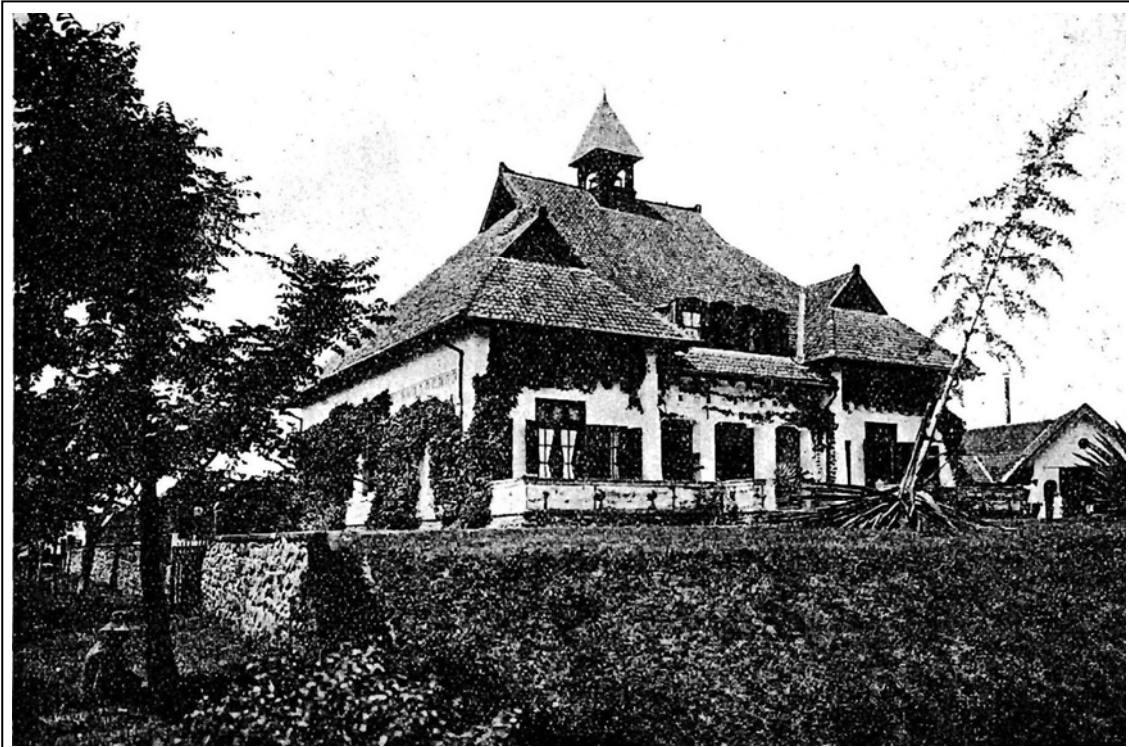
In 1916 Citroen designed a house for N.A.M. van Aken.¹¹ He used three steep modified *limasan* roofs and formed a U-shape so that the façade of the building is symmetrical (fig.A.5.2.1). On the big middle roof there was a turret and a dormer that have disappeared. Probably, they were damaged due to weather influences or war. A small and narrow veranda (fig.A.5.2.2), as a transitional room and indicator of tropical architecture, is placed in the front of the living room.

Very probably the house was constructed in the same year. It was built with local bricks and *batu kali*, while other materials were obtained from Pasuruan, Bangil, Malang and Surabaya. They were brought to Lawang by train.¹² Currently the house is occupied by four families.

¹¹ J.P. Mieras, "Twee Landhuizen van Architect C. Citroen", in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 20/42 (14 May 1921), 122.

Lemei (1935), Akihary (1988) and Passchier (2006) mention 1918 as the year of design.

¹² Ibid.



ca. 1916



2009

Fig.A.5.2.1. N.A.M. van Aken's House.



Fig.A.5.2.2. N.A.M. van Aken's House: veranda.



Fig.A.5.2.3. N.A.M. van Aken's House: back side of the building.

5.3. Unexecuted Design of Three Wooden Projects, Surabaya

These three designs are mentioned in a short article “De Architectuur-Tentoonstelling te Batavia”.¹³ They were exhibited in the first architectural exhibition in Batavia held by the *Nederlandsch-Indische Architecten Kring* or NIAK¹⁴ in the first cabinet of the lower room of the *Kunstkring* (Art Circle) on Heutz Boulevard, Batavia.¹⁵ In this cabinet Citroen presented photographs and drawings of the Surabaya Town Hall, the Annual Fair, the Gubeng bridge and three other designs for Surabaya: a gasoline station, a boat house and a town park restaurant which were entirely made out of wood.¹⁶

Probably Citroen made the design of the gasoline station at a very early stage of his career in Surabaya for the *Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (BPM). The design of the town park restaurant was meant for the *Stadstuin* (Town Park) in Pasar Besar, as a complementary building.¹⁷ But for the boat house it is difficult to determine for whom the design was made and where it was situated.

¹³ Anonymous, “De Architectuur-Tentoonstelling te Batavia”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 24/28 (31 December 1925), 274.

¹⁴ Very probably Citroen was a member of this association, but there are no sources to support this assumption.

¹⁵ Anonymous, “Eerste Architectuur-Tentoonstelling te Batavia”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 23/28 (15 December 1925), 261.

¹⁶ Anonymous, “De Architectuur-Tentoonstelling te Batavia”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 24/28, 274.

¹⁷ See chapter 2.3 for the contract.

5.4. Interior of Malang Town Hall

The Municipality of Malang - the second biggest city in the province of East Java - was established on 1 April 1914, as stated in the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* No. 297 dated 25 March 1914.¹⁸ Before that date Malang was a part of the Residency of Pasuruan and governed by a Resident Assistant. After the town had become a Municipality it remained under the supervision of the *Hoofd van Plaatselijk Bestuur* (Head of Local Government), F.L. Broekveldt, who automatically became the president of the first City Council that consisted of eleven European, two indigenous and one foreign Asian members, according to the *Staatsblad* of 1917 No. 587.¹⁹ Broekveldt was president of the City Council until the end of May 1918 after which J.J. Coert took over this position until the middle of March 1919. After him came H.G.Ch. de la Parra who stayed on until the first city Mayor was appointed.²⁰

5.4.1. Location

H.I. Bussemaker was the first Mayor of Malang (5 July 1919 until February 1929).²¹ Under his leadership the Municipality made plans to build a new Town Hall. A site south of Jan Pieterszoon Coen square, approximately in the centre of town, was prepared for the building. The site was part of the *Bouwplan* (Development Plan) II, that was based on H.Th. Karsten's plan. It covered 15,547 m².²² The design was approved by the Malang City Council on 26 April 1920 and the building was realized two years later.

Over the years there were built several important buildings around the square like the *Hogere Burger School* (HBS), the *Algemeene Middelbare School* (AMS), a military commander's house and some huge villas. In the immediate vicinity of the site one could find the Hotel "Splendid" as well as the office of the Topographical Service so

¹⁸ Anonymous, *Stadsgemeente Malang 14 April 1914-1934* (Soerabaia: G. Kolff & Co., 1934), 17.

¹⁹ Ibid., 19.

²⁰ Ibid., 21.

²¹ He was the third Surabaya Mayor after G.J. Dijkerman passed away on 28 January 1929.

²² According to Karsten's plan the Development Plan of Malang consisted of eight areas or stages, i.e. Development Plan I for a European settlement in the eastern part (12,930 m²), Development Plan II for the government area (15,547 m²), Development Plan III for the European funeral area (3,740 m²), Development Plan IV for a middle and lower class settlement (41,401 m²), Development Plan V for a European settlement in the western part (16,768 m²), Development Plan VI for an indigenous settlement (220,901 m²), Development Plan VII for the extension of the European settlement in the western part (252,948 m²) and Development Plan VIII for an industrial area (179,820 m²) (Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Surabaya 1870-1940* [Yogyakarta: Andi, 1996], 62-94).

one can conclude that the proposed Malang Town Hall was situated in a quite appropriate environment (fig.A.5.4.1).²³

5.4.2. Design and Construction

In order to obtain a good design in 1926 the Municipality held a competition.²⁴ There were 22 participants. In order to evaluate the designs the Municipality established a jury that consisted of W. Lemei from Surabaya and Ph.H. te Winkel and A. Grünberg from Malang. Based on the report of the jury to the City Council none of the designs fulfilled the criteria of the competition. They showed a complete or partial lack of skill. The buildings were too big and too prestigious, had a poor distribution of floor space and/or bad dimensions. Nobody had been able to solve the main issue of the contest: the possibility of an easy modification and expansion of the office rooms in the future.²⁵

In the end there were three designs left that were good enough for the second and third award. None really deserved a first prize. Therefore the jury only awarded the second and third prize and together the architects of the two winning projects received the available amount of f 175,000.²⁶

In the City Council meeting of 14 February 1927 the jury decided to execute the best design with some modifications. It was made by H.F. Hoorn from Semarang and its motto was “*Voor de Burgers van Malang*” (For the Citizens of Malang).²⁷

A good Citroen’s reputation and the way he had handled the Surabaya Town Hall were the main reasons why the Malang Municipality chose him. He had shown that he could design good quality interiors with a low budget.²⁸ In 1927 Citroen designed the interiors of the meeting room for the City Council (fig.A.5.4.4), the Mayor room (fig.5.4.5) and the secretary room on the upper floor²⁹ by using white teakwood for wall panelling and ceiling, while for the floor and its plinth he used terrazzo tiles. The furniture was made out of teakwood combined with *sono* wood (Indian rosewood or *Dalbergia Latifolia*).

²³ Anonymous, “Het Raadhuis van de Stadsgemeente Malang”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/5 (May 1936), 56.

²⁴ An advertisement of this competition appeared in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 8/29 (30 April 1926), 96.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Anonymous, “Het Raadhuis van de Stadsgemeente Malang”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/5, 57-8.

²⁹ Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990), 98. De Zeeuw mentions 1929 as the year of interior design.

The chairs for the Mayor and the aldermen were upholstered with yellow leather.³⁰

The construction was done by the Municipality itself for the estimated summa of f 287,000, f 175,000 for the building and f 12,325 for the furniture and inner panelling.³¹ But the costs for improving the soil became much higher than expected and therefore the budget for interior design had to be reduced.

5.4.3. Post-construction

Finally, in the beginning of November 1929, when there was a new Mayor in Malang, E.A. Voorneman, the Town Hall could open its doors. The weaknesses of the design that the jury had noticed, particularly the general lay-out and the distribution of space, became manifest. Several services grew rapidly and needed more space, but this could not be arranged in an effective way. At the end some departments had to move into other buildings.³² The acoustics in the City Council meeting room were so bad that during meetings the seats of the aldermen were placed along the side walls and not on the stage where they should be.³³

³⁰ Anonymous, "Het Raadhuis van de Stadsgemeente Malang", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/5,, 58.

³¹ Ibid., 56.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 58.

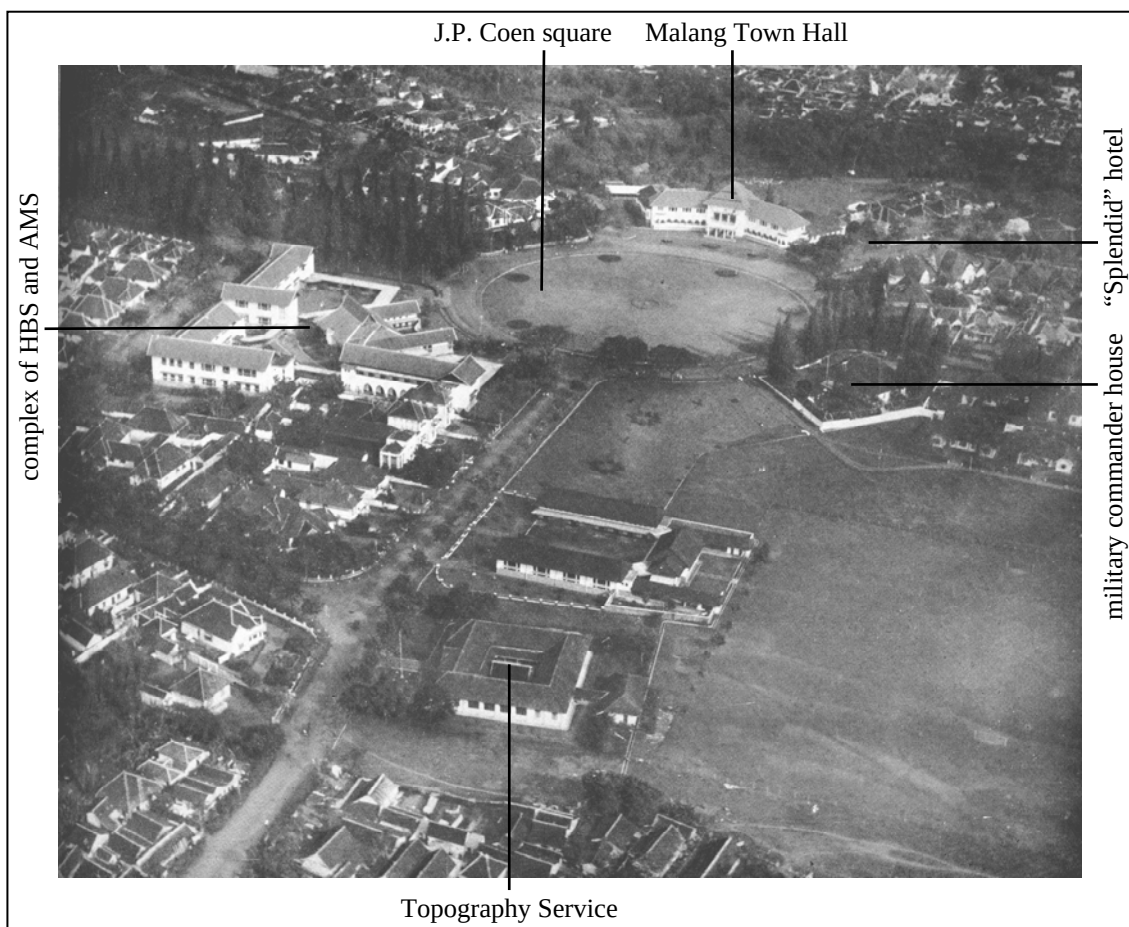


Fig.A.5.4.1. Malang Town Hall: location (ca. 1939).

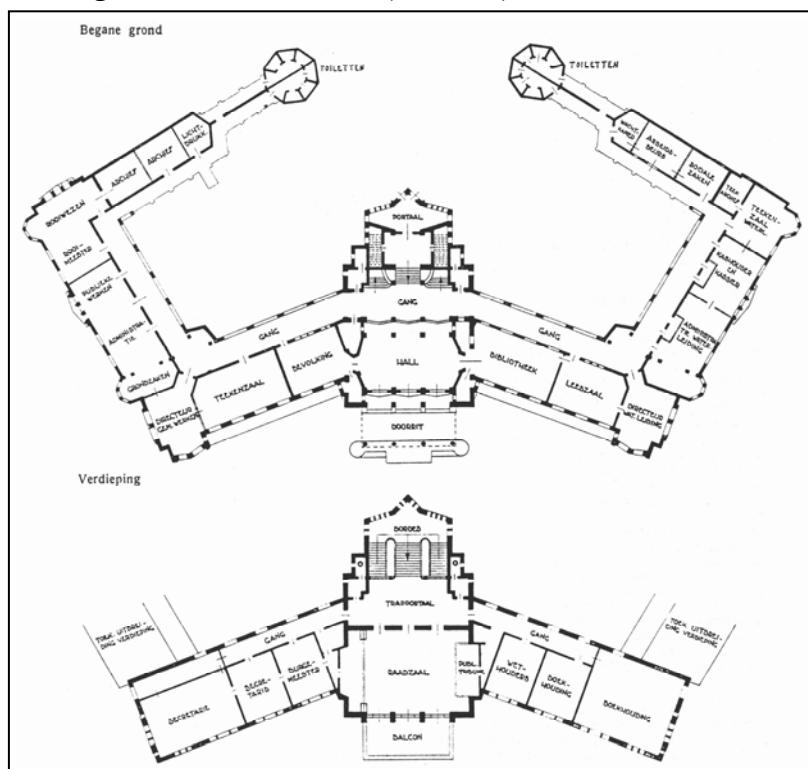


Fig.A.5.4.2. Malang Town Hall: plan.

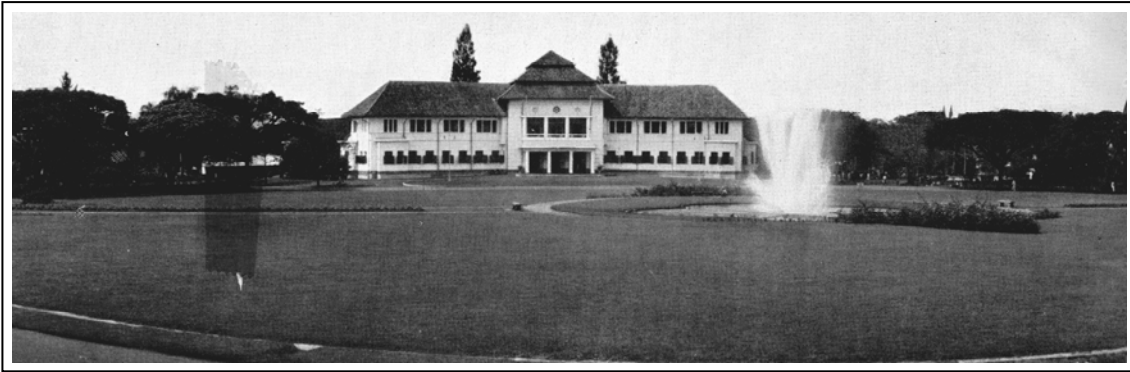


Fig.A.5.4.3. Malang Town Hall ca. 1935.



Fig.A.5.4.4. Malang Town Hall: meeting room of the City Council.

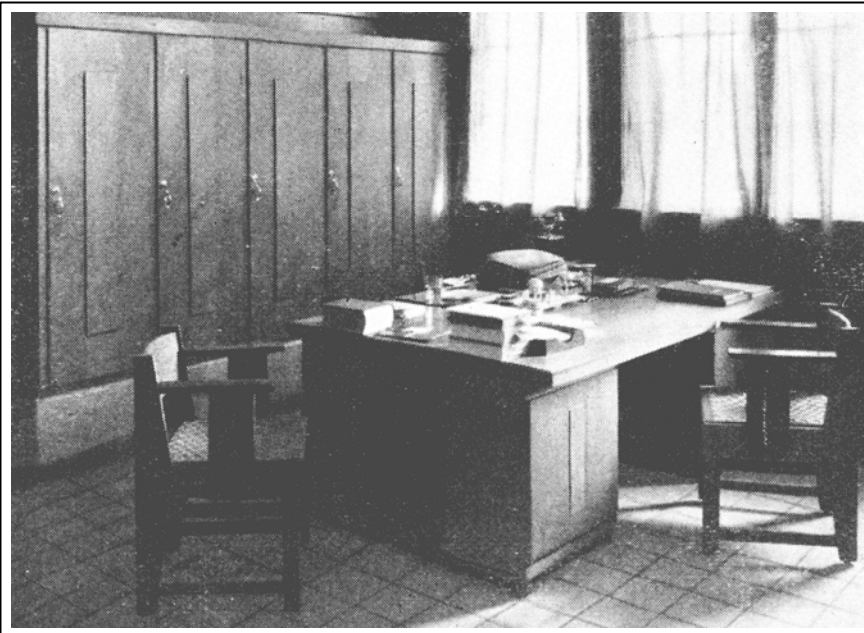


Fig.A.5.4.5. Malang Town Hall: room of the mayor.

5.5. Hospital, Jember

5.5.1. Idea

Jember is located at the feet of Mount Argopuro, 198 km southeast of Surabaya. In the Dutch colonial period it was part of the Residency of Besuki, with Bondowoso as capital city. It was first and foremost known as a plantation city, especially after 1870 when the forced farming system or cultivation system (*Cultuurstelsel*) came to an end and the implementation of Sugar Act and Agriculture Act was carried out. Jember was surrounded by the properties of several plantation companies that were mostly owned by private companies from the Netherlands and other European countries, especially Great Britain. These companies invested their funds in agriculture products the European market asked for: mainly tobacco, but also coffee, rubber and cocoa.

Since these firms had many European employees and the distance between Jember and Surabaya was considerable, the idea rose to build a new hospital³⁴, which had been promised to the companies before. Probably almost all companies or at least the biggest plantation companies donated money to this hospital project.

The oldest information about the project is given in Lemei's article, but it does not mention when exactly the hospital was designed and built.³⁵ Lemei only remarks that Citroen took in hand a hospital project in Jember during the last five years of his life. For the year of design and construction one has to rely on other sources than architectural publications or articles.

Apparently, on 4 September 1907 an agreement was drawn up - the so-called "Rotterdam Agreement" - between several big tobacco companies whose plantations were in the Residency of Besuki.³⁶ It was signed by the representatives of: N.V. Besoeki Tabak Maatschappij, N.V. Landbouw Maatschappij Oud-Djember, N.V. Cultuur Maatschappij Djelboek, N.V. Landbouw Maatschappij Soekokerto Adjong, N.V. Landbouw Maatschappij Soekowono and N.V. Landbouw Maatschappij Soekasarie. The objective of this agreement was to regulate the ownership and tenancy of land in the villages where they exploited plantations, particularly for the long term policy, and to regulate the planting and selling of tobacco, so that no conflict would arise in between them.³⁷

³⁴ Laymen and local inhabitants often called it a "clinic" rather than a "hospital".

³⁵ W. Lemei, "Architect C. Citroen BNA", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 8.

³⁶ H. Olden, *Belanghebbenden 4 September bij de Tabakscultuur in de Residentie Besoeki, thans in het Regentchap Djember* (Rotterdam: A. van Hoboken & Co., 1932), 7.

³⁷ Ibid., 8.

The agreement was confirmed and elaborated in the so-called “Krossok Agreement” of 29 April 1912. From 1912-1931 several meetings were held by the parties mentioned above. In the ones of 5 January and 11 February 1920, they debated on the construction of a company clinic in collaboration with the Regional Hospital. The construction costs, including the purchasing of land, were estimated at ± f 100,000.³⁸ The physicians of the clinic would be paid by all companies together.³⁹ The proposal to build the company’s clinic was approved by the *Gewestelijke Raad* (Regional Council).⁴⁰ Somewhat later the plantation of Soekowono decided to join in funding the project.⁴¹ Finally, in the meeting of 17 June 1931 it was decided that the total project costs of the new clinic would be f 115,000: f 78,000 taken from a bond loan (*obligatie-lening*) and the rest (almost f 40,000) would be covered by the tobacco companies themselves. Their financial contributions depended on the number of people working in the company.⁴² In the meeting of 13 January 1932 all participants agreed upon that Nedam (the *Nederlandsche Aanneming Maatschappij*), who with f 83,800 asked the lowest building price, would construct the hospital.⁴³

Therefore, it can be concluded that the idea of the hospital emerged in 1920 and that Citroen designed the building in 1931 - although the name of Citroen was not mentioned in the source. The construction was started in 1932 and probably was finished in 1934.

5.5.2. Design

The front building, which survives, has a pointed steep turret made out of wood (fig.A.5.5.2). Since it has a small hollow space, probably originally there was a bell inside. Its appearance looks like the turret of the Darmo hospital in Surabaya. It gives a vertical accent to the building.

The main entrance is designed as a protruding part of the building with a hipped roof, with big columns that are made of roughly cut natural stones. There is a big element added to the column. Probably it was meant as the base of a big flower pot, an aesthetic element which is often found in Citroen’s works.

³⁸ Ibid., 21.

³⁹ Ibid., 23.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 25.

⁴¹ Ibid., 30.

⁴² Ibid., 50-1.

⁴³ Ibid., 55.

Another interesting part of this project is a 'crown' on the roof top of the corner building (fig.A.5.5.3). Its form is almost similar to that of Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion, although it is much simpler than the latter.



Fig.A.5.5.1. Hospital (2008).

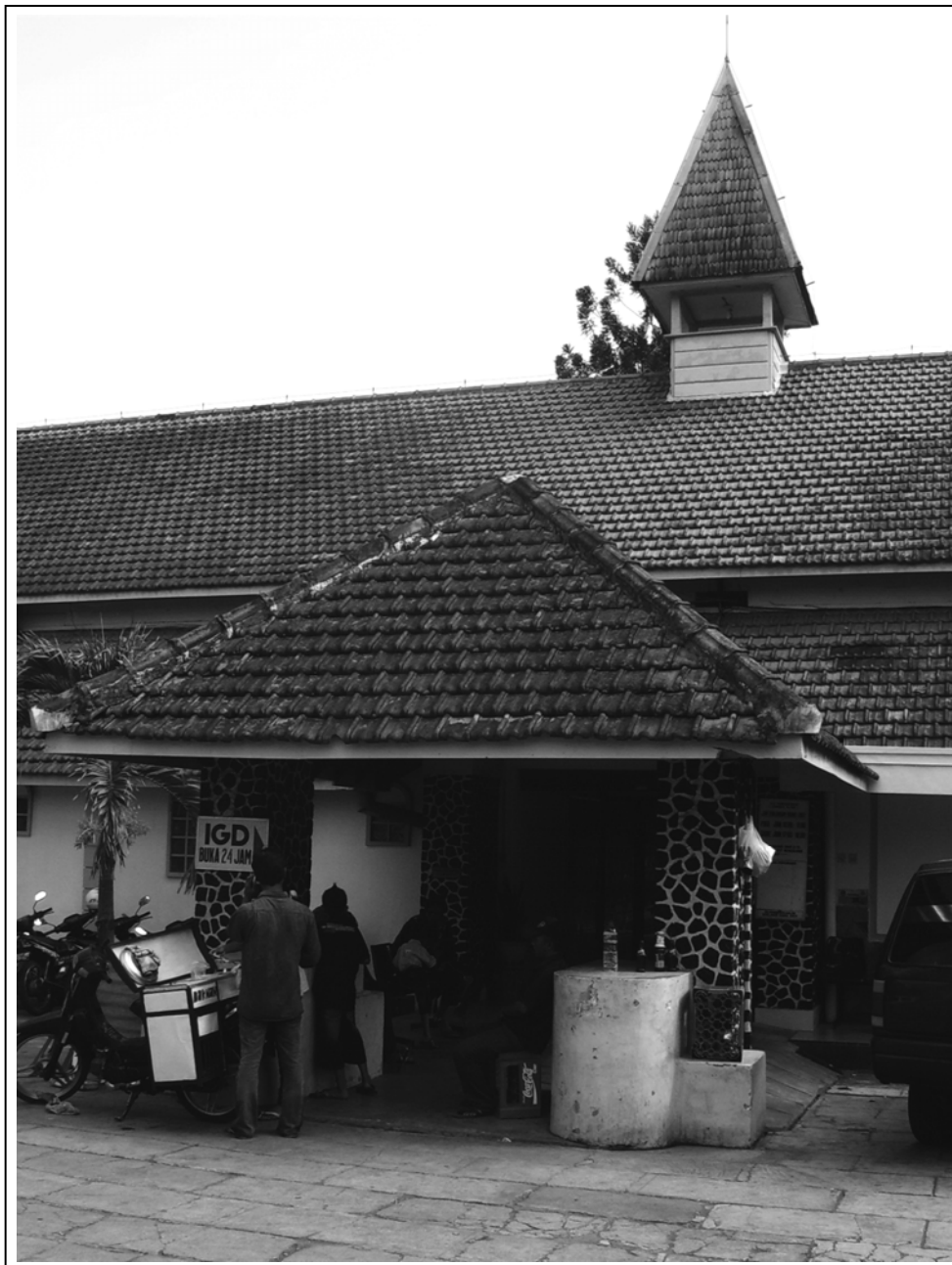


Fig.A.5.5.2. Hospital: main entrance (2008).



Hospital, Jember (C. Citroen, 1931)



Tan Tjwan Bie's mansion, Surabaya (C. Citroen, 1928)

Fig.A.5.5.3. Hospital and Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: comparison of 'crown' on the roof.

5.6. “Faroka” Cigarette Factory, Malang

“Faroka” is the second biggest cigarette factory in Malang, after the “Bentoel” cigarette factory established by Ong Hiok Liong. The full name of Faroka that was set up on 13 June 1931 was the “NV tot Exploitatie van Cigarettenfabrieken Faroka”. It belonged to a Belgium company, the NV.Tobacofina. The company operated in many countries outside Belgium and its colony the Congo. Amongst those were the Netherlands and Switzerland. Apart from cigarettes the factory also produced shag tobacco and shag papers.⁴⁴

In 1931 the NV. Faroka bought 21,000 m² of land from the Municipality at the price of f 1.50 per m²,⁴⁵ while it had 32,000 m² areas when it started production for the first time.⁴⁶ This means that Faroka bought an additional area of 11,000 m² from others, very probably private owners.

For Citroen it was the second industrial project after the emplacement of the *Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij* (BPM) in Surabaya. Location of the project is in *Bouwplan* (Development Plan) VIII that was set up as an industrial area (fig.A.5.6.1 and A.5.6.2). Very probably, Citroen started to design this project in the same year. Lemei said that it was designed in the last five years of his life.⁴⁷ Faroka chose Nedam as the constructor.⁴⁸

On 2 April 1932 Faroka launched its first product to the customer.⁴⁹ This means that the construction process of the factory took only one year. It seems that Citroen designed this big project in a very short time.

The factory was designed for ca. 600 employees. It consists of amongst others processing rooms, cold storages, disinfectant rooms, storage space, emplacement, garage, bike parking and a room for trains with narrow gauge track. Faroka had several machines that produced the cigarettes from tobacco to package so that no human finger was involved in the process. Each machine produced around 500,000 cigarettes per day.⁵⁰ Nowadays the factory still exists.

⁴⁴ Dukut Imam Widodo, “Cigaretten Fabriek NV. Faroka”, in *Malang Tempoe Doeloe*, 2 (Malang: Bayumedia Publishing, 2006), 19, 22.

⁴⁵ F.J.M. van Liempt, *Stadsgemeente Malang 1914-1939* (Soerabaia: G. Kolff & Co., 1939), CXXVII.

⁴⁶ Widodo, “Cigaretten Fabriek NV. Faroka”, in *Malang Tempoe Doeloe*, 2, 20.

⁴⁷ Lemei, “Architect C. Citroen BNA”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4, 8. Huib Akihary and Cor Passchier do not mention the year of the design, while Wouter de Zeeuw gives 1930-4 as year of the construction.

⁴⁸ Huib Akihary, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990), 99.

⁴⁹ Widodo, “Cigaretten Fabriek NV. Faroka”, in *Malang Tempoe Doeloe*, 2, 20.

⁵⁰ Anonymous, *NV. tot Exploitatie van Cigarettenfabrieken “Faroka” Malang* (s.l., s.a.), s.p.



Fig.A.5.6.1. *Bouwplan VIII*: location of “Faroka” Cigarette Factory (ca. 1939).

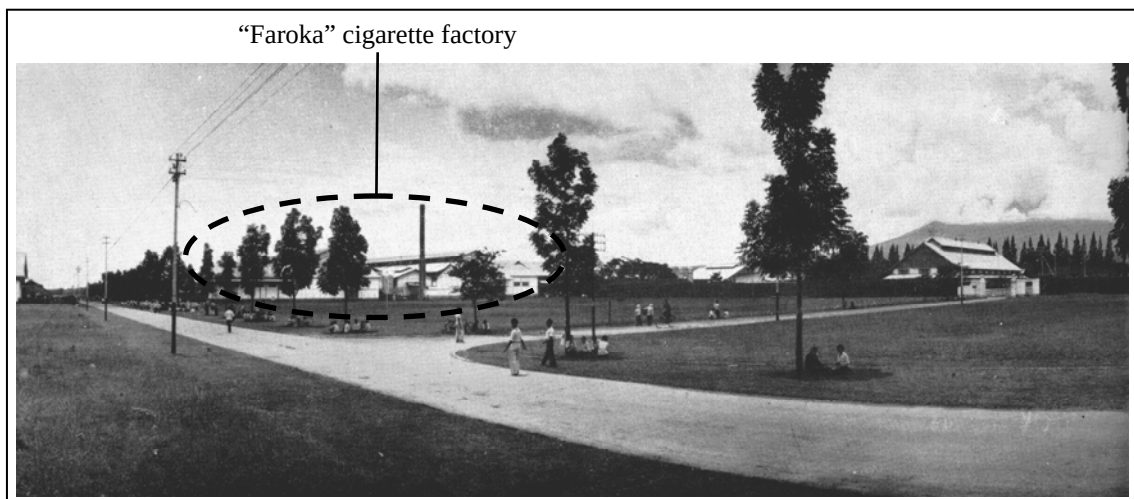


Fig.A.5.6.2. *Bouwplan VIII*: access to industrial area (ca. 1939).

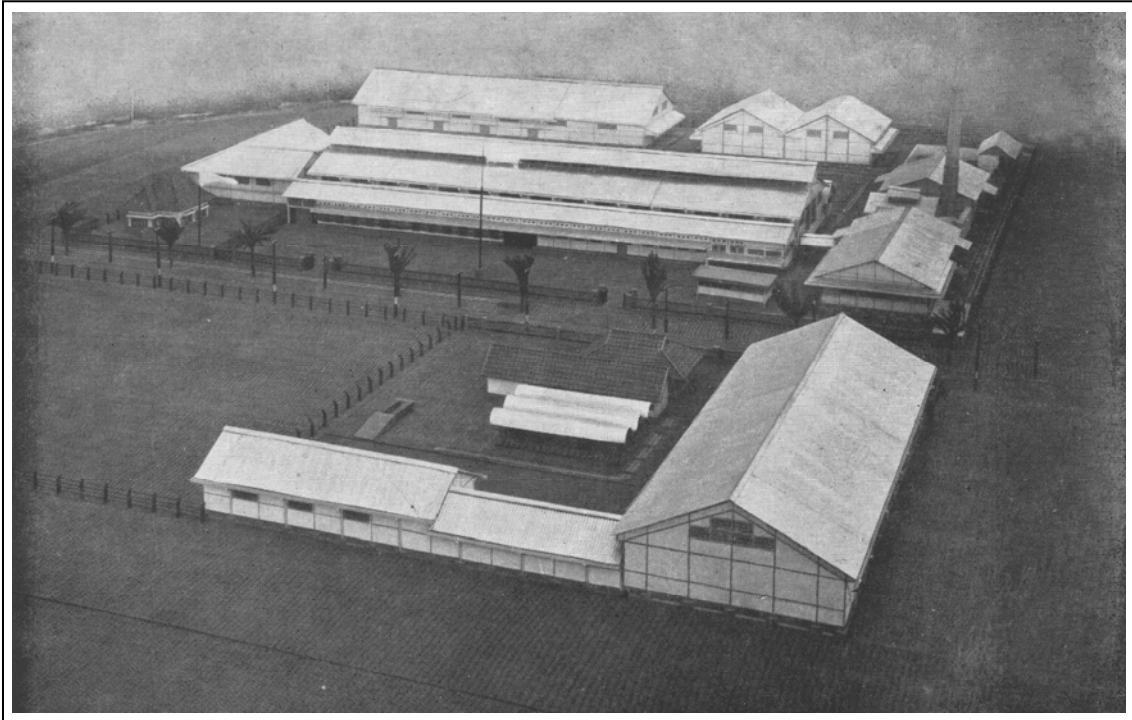


Fig.A.5.6.3. “Faroka” Cigarette Factory: bird’s-eye view (ca. 1934).

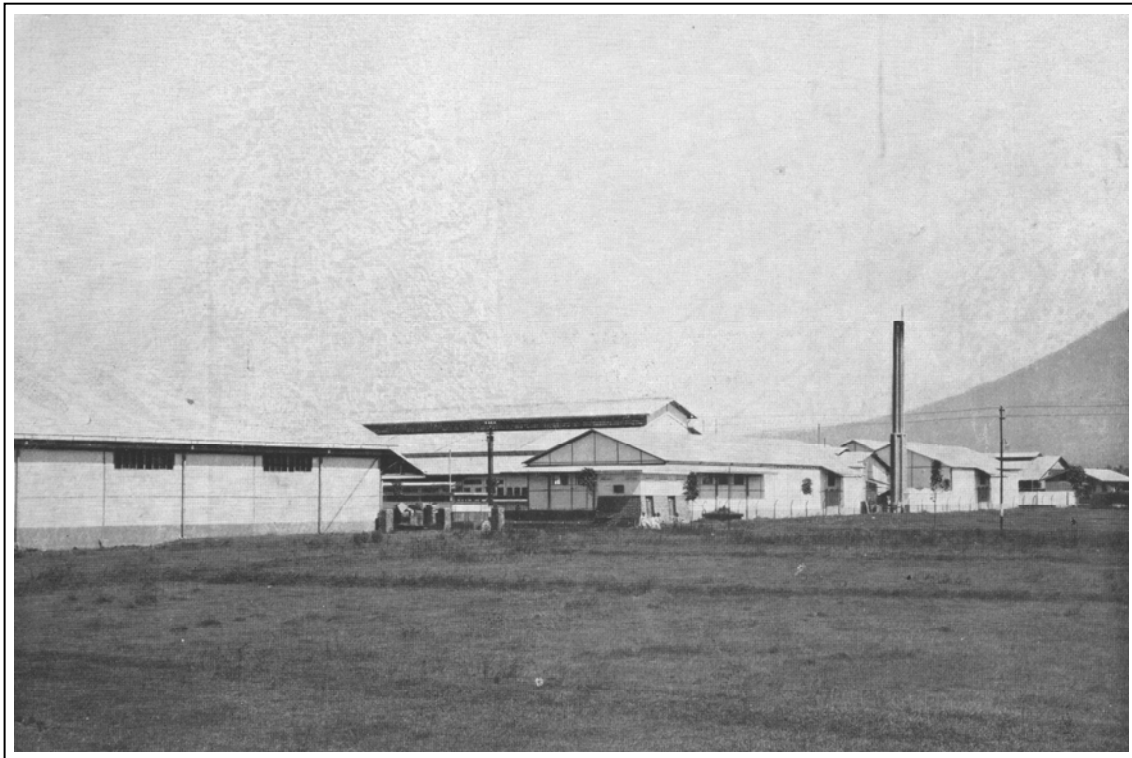


Fig.A.5.6.4. “Faroka” Cigarette Factory (ca. 1934).

Appendix 6

Table A.6
List of Citroen's Works in Surabaya⁵¹

No.	Project	Idea	Design	Construction	Owner/Client	Constructor
1	Development plan for Kupang area		1915	1916-30	NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"-Stadsuitbreiding Bureau	NV. Bouwmaatschappij "Kupang"
2	Development plan for Ketabang area		1916	1916	Stadsuitbreiding Bureau	
3	Town Hall	1915	≥10/04/1916-end of 1916, ca. 1918,...,1925	1925-7	Municipality	NV. Hollandsche Beton Mij.
4	House at Sumatra 24		1916	1916 (1.5 years)	E.W. Edgar, Esq.	
5	Kebondalem wood bridge		1917	18/06/1917-07/1917 (abutments) 1917-8 (super-structure)	Municipality	Koetai (wooden framework)
6	BPM office		1917	1918	BPM	Nedam
7	"K.K. Knies" music and piano shop		1917			
8	Shop of "Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos" Royal Dutch Precious Metal Co.		1917		"Van Kempen, Begeer and Vos" Royal Dutch Precious Metal Co.	
9	Darmo hospital		1919	15/01/1921-end of 1922	Soerabaiasche Ziekenverpleging	
10	Gubeng bridge	1921	1922	1924	Municipality and OJS	Nedam
11	The 9 th Annual Fair	1922	<28/07/1923	1923	SJV	
12	Pasar Besar viaduct	1916	1916,1919,1921, 03/1923, <09/1923	1926	Staatsspoorwegen	
13	Sugar syndicate building	Beginning of 1920s	1925		ASNI	
14	British community church	1912	1926	19/09/1930-31/05/1931	Congregation of British Protestants	Nedam
15	Emplacement of BPM		1927		BPM	Nedam

continued ...

⁵¹ Chronological order based on the first design of Citroen for each project which is indicated by bold characters.

Table A.6
List of Citroen's Works in Surabaya
(continuation)

No.	Project	Idea	Design	Construction	Owner/Client	Constructor
16	Wonokromo bridge		03/1928	1932-4	Dienst van Publieke Werken	Sitzen en Louzada
17	Mansion at Kayun 42		≥03/1928		Tan Tjwan Bie	Nedam
18	Mayor official house	1920	1920, end of 1928 (preliminary)	>1930	Municipality	
19	Monument of Dijkerman	1929	1st semester of 1929		Municipality	Nedam
20	Borsumij building		1930,..., end of 1933	15/01/1934-1935	Borsumij	Nedam

Appendix 7

Table A.7
List of Citroen's Works outside Surabaya and Unexecuted Designs⁵²

No.	Project	Idea	Design	Construction	Owner/Client	Constructor
1	NIS office, Semarang, Middle Java		1901- 1902 ⁵³	1902- <01/07/1907	NIS	D.W. Hinse
2	Country house, Lawang, Malang		1916	1916	N.A.M. van Aken	
3	Drawings of three unexecuted wooden buildings, Surabaya		<10/12/1925			
4	Interior of Malang Town Hall (Council, Mayor & secretary rooms)		1927	<11/1929	Malang Municipality	Malang Municipality
5	Hospital, Jember	05/01/1920	1931	1932-4	Tobacco plantation companies	Nedam
6	"Faroka" cigarette factory, Malang		>13/06/1931	1931- <02/04/1932	N.V. Tobacofina, Belgium	Nedam

⁵² The chronological order is based on Citroen's first design of each project which is indicated by bold characters.

⁵³ In this project Citroen's position was that of a draftsman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books, Periodicals and Articles

Akihary, Huib, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990).

_____, *Ir. F.J.L. Ghijsels, Architect in Indonesia (1910-1929)* (Utrecht: Seram Press, 2nd edition, 2006).

Allen, G.C., and Donnithorne, A., *Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya: a Study in Economic Development* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962).

Anonymous, "Vereeniging voor Bouwkundigen in Nederlandsch-Indië", in *Architectura* 31/7 (5 August 1899), 244.

_____, "Verslag van de 1158^{ste} Gewone Vergadering op Woensdag 22 April 1903 Gehouden in het Genootschapslokaal, Café Parkzicht", in *Architettura* 17/11 (25 April 1903), 134-5.

_____, "Berichten: de Pruisische Regeering en de Bouwkunst", in *Architectura* 38/16 (19 September 1908), 327.

_____, *Geïllustreerd Jaarverslag van de Kunstnijverheidsschool "Quellinus" 1912* (Amsterdam: Duwaer & Van Ginkel, 1912).

_____, *De Spoorwegplannen voor Soerabaja* (Batavia: Drukkerij Ruygrok & Co., 1916).

_____, "Een Nieuw Stadhuis voor Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië* 50 (1916), 1188-9.

_____, "Jaarverslag van den BNA over 1921", in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 12/43 (25 March 1922), 116-9.

_____, *Jaarboek voor Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië 1922-1925*, part II (Amsterdam: J.H. de Bussy, 1925).

_____, "Soerabaiasche Zieken Verpleging Darmo", in *Nieuwe Soerabaia Courant* (7 April 1925), 9.

_____, "Indische Architectuur-tentoonstelling", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 9/28 (15 May 1925), 109.

_____, "De Internationale Architectuur Tentoonstelling te Parijs in 1925", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift*, 12/28 (30 June 1925), 146-7.

_____, "Architecture Tentoonstelling te Batavia", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 23/28 (15 December 1925), 263.

_____, “Onderscheidingen op de Internationale Architectuurtentoonstelling te Parijs”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift*, 23/28 (15 December 1925), 262.

_____, “De Architectuur-tentoonstelling te Batavia”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek*, 24/28 (31 December 1925), 273-5.

_____, *Jaarverslag der Haven van Soerabaja over het Jaar 1924* (Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij, 1926).

_____, *Stadsgemeente Malang 14 April 1914-1934* (Soerabaia: G. Kolff & Co., 1934).

_____, “Kantoorgebouw van de Borsumij te Soerabaia. Arch. C. Citroen BNA †”, in *Architectura* 30 (27 July 1935), 309-14.

_____, “Het Raadhuis van de Stadsgemeente Malang”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/5 (May 1936), 56-8.

_____, *NV. tot Exploitatie van Cigarettenfabrieken “Faroka” Malang* (s.l., s.a.).

Armed Service Petroleum Board, *Petroleum Situation, Far East* (Washington, DC: National Military Establishment, December 1948).

ASNI, *Verslag van het Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Nederlandsch-Indië, over het 23^e en 24^e Jaar 1917-1918* (Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1920).

Baalman, Dirk, et al., *Architectuur in Nederland* (Utrecht: Stichting Teleac and NAI, 1993).

Bak, A.G., *Geschiedenis van het Ontstaan van den BENISO Geschetst ter Gelegenheid van Zijn 25-jarig Bestaan* ('s-Gravenhage: BENISO., 1942).

Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij, *Leven en Werken in de Bedrijven der NV. De Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij in Indonesië* ('s-Gravenhage: Koninklijke Shell Groep, 1949).

Berlage, H.P., *Mijn Indische Reis, Gedachten Overcultuur en Kunst* (Rotterdam: W.L. & J. Brusse's, 1931).

Blankenberg, J.F.L., “Kantoorgebouw Borsumij Semarang”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 1/9 (January-February 1940), 3-7.

Broeshart, A.C., et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994).

Bruin, Jan de, *Het Indische Spoor in Oorlogstijd: de Spoor- en Tramwegenmaatschappijen in Nederlands-Indië in de Vuurlinie, 1873-1949* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij Quilair BV., 2003).

Buch, Joseph, *A Century of Architecture in the Netherlands 1880/1990* (Rotterdam: NAI, 1990).

Bureau van Statistiek, *Statistische Berichten der Gemeente Soerabaja 4e Jaargang 1930* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1930).

_____, *Statistische Berichten der Gemeente Soerabaja, Jaarnummer 1930* (Soerabaja: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931).

Citroen, C., "Het Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 1/3 (January 1934), 12-4.

_____, †, "Kantoorgebouw Borsumij te Soerabaia", in *De Ingenieur in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 6/2 (June 1935), II.7-10.

Copplestone, Trewin, *Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1999).

Cramer, B.J.K., "De Internationale Tentoonstelling voor de Moderne Toegepaste Kunsten en Industrie te Parijs", 3, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 20/28 (31 October 1925), 245-9.

De Graaf, H.J., *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram, Politik Ekspansi Sultan Agung* (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1990).

De Stijl 2/3 (December 1919).

De Wilde, Adriaan Neijtzell, and Reitsma, Steven Anne, *De Koloniale Roeping van Nederland* (The Hague: NV. Nederlandsch-Engelsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1930).

Demmik, E.C., "De Electriscche Tram te Soerabaia", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 2/8 (1939), 68-70.

Dermawan T., Agus, *Pameran Lukisan Seni di Garis Batas*, a painting exhibition brochure (Jakarta: Galeri 678, 12-23 March 2001).

Dick, Howard W., *Surabaya: City of Work, a Socioeconomic History, 1900-2000* (Athens, OH: Center for International Studies of Ohio University Press, 2002).

Diessen, J.R. van, and Voskuil, R.P.G.A., *Stedenatlas Nederlands-Indies* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, June 1998).

Diessen, J.R. van, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld* (Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2004).

Faber, G.H. von, *Oud Soerabaia* (Soerabaja: Gemeente Soerabaja, 1931).

_____, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934).

_____, *Er Werd een Stad Geboren, de Wordingsgeschiedenis van het Oudste Soerabaja* (Soerabaja: G. Kolff & Co., 1953).

Furnivall, J.S., "Indonesia", in Golay, F.H., Anspach, R., Pfanner, M.R. and Ayal, E.B., (eds), *Underdevelopment and Economic Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press, 1969).

Gent, L.F. van, et al., *Indië in Woord en Beeld* (Weltevreden: Topografische Inrichting, 1924).

Gids voor Soerabaia No. 54 (Soerabaia: Gouvernements Telefoondienst, Augustus 1912).

Gids voor Soerabaja No. 119 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, September 1927).

Gids voor Soerabaja No. 123 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, January 1929).

'H., van', "Het a.s. Raadhuis te Soerabaja", in *Weekblad voor Indië*, 15 (1918-1919), 718-9.

Hamzuri, *Rumah Tradisional Jawa* (Jakarta: Museum Nasional, 1985).

Handinoto, *Perkembangan Kota dan Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Surabaya 1870-1940* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 1996).

Heida, R., "Bruggenbouw in Indische Steden", in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek*, 2/2 (April 1933), 5-12.

Hekkelman, G.M., *Algemeen Chineesch Adresboek voor Nederlandsch-Indië 1923-1924* (Soerabaia: NV. Anetakantoor, October 1923).

Hylckama, v. "Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap", in *Architectura* 44/10 (1 November 1902), 353.

_____, "Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap", in *Architectura* 47/10 (22 November 1902), 377.

Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek, 6/22 (31 March 1919).

Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek, 7/22 (15 April 1919).

Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek, 9/22 (15 May 1919).

Jessup, Helen Ibbitson, *Netherlands Architecture in Indonesia 1900-1942*, PhD dissertation (London: Courtauld Institute of Art, 1988).

Kwanda, Timoticin, *Inventarisasi Bangunan Kuno di Surabaya*, research report (Surabaya: Petra Christian University, 1991).

Lauweriks, J.L.M., “Indische Bouwkundige Voorschriftën, 1, in *Architectura* 1/7 (7 January 1899), 3.

_____, “Indische Bouwkundige Voorschriftën, 2, in *Architectura* 5/7 (4 February 1899), 35-6.

_____, “Indische Bouwkundige Voorschriftën, 3, in *Architectura* 8/7 (25 February 1899), 57-8.

_____, “Indische Bouwkundige Voorschriftën, 4, in *Architectura* 10/7 (11 March 1899), 73-4.

Leeuwen, K. van, “Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap”, in *Architectura* 17/11 (25 April 1903), 133.

Lemei, W., “Architect C. Citroen B.N.A”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 5/4 (September 1935), 2-9.

Liempt, F.J.M. van, *Stadsgemeente Malang 1914-1939* (Soerabaja: G. Kolff & Co., 1939).

Ling, Liem Tjwan, *Raja Gula Oei Tiong Ham* (Surabaya: Liem Tjwan Ling Publisher, 1979).

M.L., “Indische Kunst”, in *Architectura* 43/7 (28 October 1899), 338-9.

Mahatmanto, Ir. Henri Maclaine Pont: *Representasi dalam Historiografi Arsitektur Kolonial di Indonesia*, master thesis (Bandung: Bandung Institute of Technology, 2001).

Mansvelt, W.M.F., *Changing Economy in Indonesia, a Selection of Statistical Source Material from the Early 19th Century up to 1940*, vol. 3: Expenditure on Fixed Assets (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977).

Martis, Adi, “Het Ontstaan van het Kunstnijverheidsonderwijs in Nederland en de Geschiedenis van de Quellinusschool te Amsterdam (1879-1924)”, in Martis, Adi (ed.), *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1979*, 30: *Kunstonderwijs in Nederland* (Haarlem: Fibula-van Dishoeck, 1980), 79-171.

Merkus, C.R., *Catalogus van de Tentoonstelling voor Taal-, Land- en Volkskunde van Oost-Java en Madoera te houden te Soerabaja 25 September - 10 October 1925 door het Java-Instituut* (Soerabaja: Drukkerij Nijland, 1926).

Mieras, J.P., “Twee Landhuizen van Architect C. Citroen”, in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 20/42 (14 May 1921), 121-3.

Noordjanah, Andjarwati, *Komunitas Tionghoa di Surabaya (1910-1946)* (Semarang: Mesiass, 2004).

Olden, H., *Belanghebbenden 4 September bij de Tabakscultuur in de Residentie Besoeki, thans in het Regentschap Djember* (Rotterdam: A. van Hoboken & Co., 1932).

Passchier, Cor, *Lijst van Architecten en Stedebouwkundigen Werkzaam in Nederlands Indië/Indonesië tot 1970* ('s-Hertogenbosch: PAC Architects and Consultants, 2006).

_____, "Colonial Architecture in Indonesia", in Nas, Peter J.M. (ed.), *The Past in the Present, Architecture in Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 97-113.

Reitsma, S.A., *Korte Geschiedenis der Nederlandsch-Indische Spoor- en Tramwegen* (Weltervreden: G. Kolff & Co., 1928).

Roosmalen, Pauline K.M. van, "Ontstaan van een Stedenbouwkundige Discipline", in Ravesteijn, Wim and Kop, Jan, *Bouwen in de Archipel: Burgelijke Openbare Werken in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië 1800-2000* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2004), 177-99.

_____, *Ontwerpen aan de Stad, Stedenbouw in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië (1905-1950)*, PhD dissertation (Delft: TU Delft, 2008).

Saher, E.A. von and Erven, F. de, "De Versierende Kunsten in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië", in *Architectura* 6/8 (10 February 1900), 41-2.

Saher, E.A. von, "De Versierende Kunsten in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië", in *Architectura* 11/8 (17 March 1900), 84.

Schilt, Jeroen and Van der Werf, Jouke, *Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1992).

Schippers, L.J., *Verordening op het Bouwen en Sloopen in de Gemeente Soerabaja 1915* (Soerabaja: Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja, 22 December 1915).

Soerabaische Kunstkring, *Ons Kringnieuws*, 19/1 (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, September 1926).

Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging, *Verslag van de 11^e Jaarmarkt, Gehouden van 26 September t/m 11 October 1925* (Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1926).

Sumalyo, Yulianto, *Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1993).

Telefoongids voor Soerabaja No. 159 (Soerabaja: Gouvernements Bedrijf der Telefonie, January 1941).

Thomson, Iain, *Frank Lloyd Wright, a Visual Encyclopedia* (San Diego, CA: Thunder Bay Press, 1999).

Tichelaar, J.J., *De Java-Suikerindustrie en Hare Betekenis voor Land en Volk* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1927).

Tillema, H.F., “Kromoblanda”: over 't vraagstuk van "het wonen" in Kromo's groote land, vol. 5, 2 (1922).

Trom, W.H., *Rapport Betreffende de Electrificatie der Stadslijnen der Oost Java Stoomtram Maatschappij te Soerabaia* (Batavia: Nederlandsch Indische Tram Mij., 1911).

Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1917 met Beknopte Verslagen over 1915 en 1916 (Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1918).

Verslag der Gemeente Soerabaja over 1919 (Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1920).

Verslag van den Toestand der Stadsgemeente Soerabaja 1931 (Soerabaja: N.V. Kon. Boekhandel en Drukkerijen G. Kolff & Co., February 1933).

Vries, Gerrit de, and Segaar-Höweler, Dorothee, *Henri Maclaine Pont (1881-1971): Architect, Constructeur, Archeoloog* (Rotterdam: Stichting BONAS, 2009).

Walenkamp, H.J.M., “Mededeelingen Betreffende het Genootschap”, in *Architectura* 42/10 (18 October 1902), 337.

Waleson, *Verordening op het Bouwen en Sloopen in de Gemeente Soerabaja 1910* (Soerabaia: Gemeenteraad van Soerabaia, 13 April 1910).

Widodo, Dukut Imam, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, book 1 (Surabaya: Dinas Pariwisata, 2002).

_____, *Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, book 2 (Surabaya: Dinas Pariwisata, 2002).

_____, “Cigaretten Fabriek NV. Faroka”, in *Malang Tempoe Doeloe 2* (Malang: Bayumedia Publishing, 2006), 19-22.

_____, *Hikajat Soerabaia Tempo Doeloe*, book I (Surabaya: Dukut Publishing, 2008).

Widodo, Johannes, “Modern Indonesian Architecture, Transplantation, Adaptation, Accommodation and Hybridization”, in Nas, Peter J.M. (ed.), *The Past in the Present, Architecture in Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 17-23.

Zeeuw, Wouter de, *Cosman Citroen 1881-1935*, typescript (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001).

Gemeentebleden van Soerabaja (Municipal Sheets of Surabaya)

Gemeentebled van Soerabaja 1916 No. 2, 5 January 1916.

Bibliography

- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 99, 15 April 1916.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 128, 27 May 1916.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 128, 31 May 1916.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1916 No. 141, 21 June 1916.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1917 No. 204, 27 September 1917.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1918 No.140, 25 June 1918.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1918 No. 146, 3 July 1918.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 133, 11 April 1921.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 145, 25 April 1921.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 229, 25 July 1921.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1921 No. 361, 14 December 1921.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1922 No. 280, 19 December 1922.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 27, 21 February 1923.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 59, 19 March 1923.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 71, 29 March 1923.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 203, 8 September 1923.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1923 No. 265, 14 November 1923.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1925 No. 4, 9 January 1925.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1925 No. 174, 14 August 1925.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1925 No. 258, 21 November 1925.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1925 No. 272, 22 December 1925.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1926 No. 134, 7 July 1926.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1927 No. 37, 28 January 1927.
- Gemeenteblad van Soerabaja* 1928 No. 29, 1 March 1928.

Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1929 No. 52, 27 March 1929.

Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1929 No. 242, 8 August 1929.

Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1929 No. 249, 10 August 1929.

Gemeentebld van Soerabaja 1929 No. 352, 27 November 1929.

***Notulen van de Openbare Vergadering van den Gemeenteraad van Soerabaja*
(Minutes of Public Meeting of the Surabaya City Council)**

31 May 1916, 21 June 1916, 3 July 1918, 28 October 1918, 17 March 1919, 25 June 1919, 30 July 1919, 17 September 1919, 29 October 1919, 21 April 1920, 28 May 1920, 21 July 1920, 27 October 1920, 27 April 1921, 25 May 1921, 29 June 1921, 3 August 1921, 26 August 1921, 5 October 1921, 21 February 1923, 21 March 1923, 25 April 1923, 12 September 1923, 14 January 1925, 8 May 1925, 27 August 1925, 3 February 1927, 1 March 1928, 27 March 1929, 10 April 1929, 26 June 1929, 14 August 1929, 18 June 1930, 24 June 1931, 19 August 1931, 25 November 1931.

Archives in NAI, *Nederlands Architectuurinstituut* (Netherlands Architecture Institute), Rotterdam

Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia, Presentie-lijst, archive no. ARAM 21.

Inventory list of B.J. Ouëndag archives.

Photographs of Gubeng and Wonokromo bridges.

Archives in *Badan Arsip Kota Surabaya* (Town Archive of Surabaya)

Citroen, C, *Wonokromo Brug*, blueprint (Soerabaja: March 1928).

Publieke Werken van Soerabaja, *Wonokromo Brug*, blueprint (Soerabaja: November 1928).

Private Collection

Citroen, Denise, “Genealogy of Levie and Cosman Citroen”, typescript in her private email to the author, 18 April 2007.

Private email of Eveline Borntraeger to the author, 19 December 2008.

Private letter of Soesja Citroen to Eddy Samson, 14 July 2003.

Private letter of Uli Sierks Citroen to Denise Citroen, 1994.

Websites

http://basdevoogd.nl/fuel_in_holland.htm

<http://d-compu.dyndns.org/passagiers/varia5.htm>

http://en.nai.nl/exhibitions/webpresentations/webexhibitions/rotterdam_city_hall_models/detail/_rp_left1_elementId/1_108108

<http://finance.groups.yahoo.com/group/keretapi/message/5669>

<http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wijkenstelsel>

<http://jkt3.detiknews.com/index.php/detik.read/tahun/2004/bulan/10/tgl/25/time/140457/idnews/229980/idkanal/10>

http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Architettura_et-Amicitia

http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bataafse_Petroleummaatschappij

http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karel_de_Bazel

http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kunstnijverheidsschool_Quellinus_Amsterdam

http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_du_Rieu

<http://www.gerardpieteradolfs.com/curriculum%20vitae.htm>

<http://www.gerardpieteradolfs.com/exhibitions.htm>

<http://www.kempen-begeer.nl/pages/menu1.asp>

<http://www.kunstbus.nl/kunst/rietveld-academie.html>

http://www.oldmemories.nl/fmi/xsl/oldmemories/bibliotheek_detail.xml?lay=Web+Bibliotheek+Detail&Bibliotheek+ID=14&Bibliotheek+ID.op=eq&-find

<http://www.pppi.or.id/id/pppi/tentang/tentang-isi4-1.html>

<http://www.ptkebonagung.com/prptkebon.htm>

<http://www.semarang.nl>

http://www.top010.nl/html/w_kromhout.htm

http://www.vam.ac.uk/vastatic/microsites/1157_art_deco/virtual/gallery1/paris1925.htm

<http://www.websters-online-dictionary.org/su/surrah.html>

Others

Anonymous, *Sekilas Sejarah Rumah Sakit Darmo*, brochure of Darmo Hospital.

Nieuwe Soerabaja Courant, 7 January 1925.

Plattegrond van Soerabaja (Soerabaja: Woningbureau Versluis, ca. 1935).

Register of Kembang Kuning cemetery.

LIST OF TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

Tab. 1.2.1.	Type, Form and Main Reference of Previous Publications	7
Tab. 1.2.2.	Citroen's Works Mentioned in the Sources and Previous Publications	9
Tab. 1.2.3.	Content, Weakness and Strength of the Sources and the Publications	12
Diag. 2.1.1.	Genealogy of Citroen Family	22
Tab. 2.1.1.	Distribution of Different Subjects in Class Hours per Week in Quellinus School during Three-year Education 1887-1890	27
Tab. 2.1.2.	Distribution of Different Subjects in Class Hours per Week in Quellinus School during Three-year Education ca. 1900	30
Tab. 2.1.3.	Hour Distribution per Week in Each Department of the Quellinus School during Three-year Education ca. 1910	33
Tab. 2.1.4.	Number of the Quellinus School Students 1890-1915	35
Tab. 2.1.5.	Distribution of Students in Each Department of the Quellinus School 1890-1915	36
Tab. 2.1.6.	Teachers of the Quellinus School 1890-1915	37
Tab. 2.1.7.	Classes Attended by Citroen and His Teachers in the Quellinus School (1897/1898-1901/1902)	39
Tab. 2.2.1.	Dutch Architects in the Netherlands Indies 1900-1942 and Their Membership in A et A	48
Tab. 2.2.2.	Architects/Architectural Firms or Their Work(s) in Surabaya 1900-1942	50
Diag. 3.17.1.	Interrelations between Town Hall, Extension ASNI Building, Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion, Wonokromo Bridge, <i>Internatio</i> Projects and Adolfs' Paintings	238
Tab. 3.18.1.	Vote Comparison in the City Council Meeting on Citroen's Design	252
Tab. A.4.	Exhibitions of Gerard Pieter Adolfs, 1924-1959	312
Tab. A.6.	List of Citroen's Works in Surabaya	335
Tab. A.7.	List of Citroen's Works outside Surabaya and Unexecuted Designs	337

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1.1.1.	Netherlands Indies, East Java and Surabaya.	4
Fig. 1.1.2.	Map of Surabaya in 1940.	5
Fig. 1.2.1.	Location of Citroen's Works in Surabaya.	15
Fig. 2.1.1.	Cosman Citroen (Amsterdam, 26 August 1881 - Surabaya, 15 May 1935).	23
Fig. 2.1.2.	Citroen's gravestone, Block A-167, Kembang Kuning Cemetery, Surabaya in 2007.	23
Fig. 2.2.1.	Daily board members of <i>Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging</i> in 1925.	61
Fig. 3.1.1.	Jembatan Merah: panoramic view (1).	76
Fig. 3.1.2.	Jembatan Merah: panoramic view (2).	76
Fig. 3.1.3.	Kupang Area.	77
Fig. 3.1.4.	Kupang Area: aerial photograph.	78
Fig. 3.2.1.	Ketabang Area.	82
Fig. 3.2.2.	Ketabang Area: bird's-eye view (ca. 1930).	83
Fig. 3.2.3.	Ketabang Area: bird's-eye view (ca. 1925).	83
Fig. 3.3.1.	Town Hall in the Town Park: elevation of the front gable.	107
Fig. 3.3.2.	Town Hall in the Town Park: perspective drawing.	107
Fig. 3.3.3.	Town Hall in Ketabang: the main entrance in the first design (ca. 1918).	108
Fig. 3.3.4.	Town Hall in Ketabang: general plan.	109
Fig. 3.3.5.	Town Hall in Ketabang: elevation of the front gable.	109
Fig. 3.3.6.	Town Hall in Ketabang: cross section.	110
Fig. 3.3.7.	Town Hall in Ketabang: view from the south-west (ca. 1930).	110
Fig. 3.3.8.	Town Hall in Ketabang: eastern part of the building (ca. 1930).	111
Fig. 3.3.9.	Town Hall in Ketabang: main entrance (present state).	111
Fig. 3.3.10.	Town Hall in Ketabang: exterior of the part of the building where the stairs are situated.	112
Fig. 3.3.11.	Town Hall in Ketabang: gallery.	112
Fig. 3.3.12.	Town Hall in Ketabang: a lamp and other iron ornaments.	113
Fig. 3.3.13.	Town Hall in Ketabang: gutters.	113
Fig. 3.3.14.	Town Hall in Ketabang: the meeting room with the bust of G.J. Dijkerman (ca. 1930).	114
Fig. 3.3.15.	Town Hall in Ketabang: the room of the mayor (ca. 1930).	114
Fig. 3.3.16.	Town Hall in Ketabang: chair of the mayor (ca. 1930).	115
Fig. 3.3.17.	Town Hall in Ketabang: chair of the alderman (ca. 1930).	115
Fig. 3.4.1.	E.W. Edgar, Esq.'s House (1).	118
Fig. 3.4.2.	E.W. Edgar, Esq.'s House (2).	118
Fig. 3.5.1.	Kebondalem Bridge (1).	123
Fig. 3.5.2.	Kebondalem Bridge (2).	123
Fig. 3.5.3.	Kebondalem Bridge: the Japanese Gate built in January 1937.	123
Fig. 3.6.1.	Concordia Sociëteit: view from the south-west.	127
Fig. 3.6.2.	Concordia Sociëteit: veranda.	127
Fig. 3.6.3.	Concordia Sociëteit: dancing room.	128
Fig. 3.6.4.	Concordia Sociëteit: billiard room.	128

Fig. 3.6.5.	Concordia Sociëteit: bowling room.	129
Fig. 3.6.6.	Concordia Sociëteit: card playing room	129
Fig. 3.6.7.	Concordia Sociëteit: reading room.	130
Fig. 3.6.8.	Concordia Sociëteit: tennis court.	130
Fig. 3.6.9.	BPM Building: view from the south-west (ca. 1920).	131
Fig. 3.6.10.	BPM Building: view from the north-west in 2007.	131
Fig. 3.6.11.	BPM Building: view from the south-east.	132
Fig. 3.6.12.	BPM Building: ventilation and ornamental holes.	132
Fig. 3.6.13.	BPM Building: ship, plane and train in a stained glass window.	133
Fig. 3.6.14.	BPM Building: stained glass window with geometrical pattern.	133
Fig. 3.6.15.	BPM Building: hexagonal hole.	133
Fig. 3.6.16.	BPM Building: gutters.	134
Fig. 3.7.1.	Site at Tunjungan 55 in 2009.	136
Fig. 3.8.1.	Building at Tunjungan 31 in 2009.	138
Fig. 3.9.1.	Darmo Hospital: aerial photograph in 2010.	146
Fig. 3.9.2.	Darmo Hospital: front and east gables (ca. 1930).	146
Fig. 3.9.3.	Darmo Hospital: portico.	147
Fig. 3.9.4.	Darmo Hospital: inner courtyard.	148
Fig. 3.9.5.	Darmo Hospital: gallery with arcade.	148
Fig. 3.9.6.	Darmo Hospital: turret.	148
Fig. 3.9.7.	Darmo Hospital: overhang.	149
Fig. 3.9.8.	Darmo Hospital: ventilation openings.	149
Fig. 3.9.9.	Darmo Hospital: flower pots.	149
Fig. 3.9.10.	Darmo Hospital: plaque commemorating the laying of the first stone on 15 January 1921.	149
Fig. 3.10.1.	Old Gubeng Bridge.	154
Fig. 3.10.2.	Gubeng Bridge: bird's-eye view.	155
Fig. 3.10.3.	Gubeng Bridge: view from Gubeng Area.	155
Fig. 3.10.4.	Gubeng Bridge: view from the Surabaya River.	156
Fig. 3.10.5.	Gubeng Bridge: lamp post.	157
Fig. 3.10.6.	Gubeng Bridge: iron ornaments on the railing and the bottom part of a lamp post.	157
Fig. 3.10.7.	Gubeng Bridge: upper part of a lamp post.	158
Fig. 3.10.8.	Gubeng Bridge: iron 'fish fin' ornament on railing.	159
Fig. 3.10.9.	Gubeng Bridge: detail of the middle pillar.	159
Fig. 3.10.10.	Gubeng Bridge: railing of the middle part of the bridge.	160
Fig. 3.10.11.	Gubeng Bridge: iron ornaments on the railing.	160
Fig. 3.11.1.	Annual Fair: general lay-out of the <i>Jaarmarkt</i> of 1925.	171
Fig. 3.11.2.	Annual Fair: bird's-eye view.	172
Fig. 3.11.3.	Annual Fair: main gate.	172
Fig. 3.11.4.	Annual Fair: main building.	173
Fig. 3.11.5.	Annual Fair: <i>Kampung Pertukangan</i> .	174
Fig. 3.11.6.	Annual Fair: stand of the <i>Java Instituut</i> .	174
Fig. 3.11.7.	Annual Fair: stand of "Albert & Co." jewelries.	175
Fig. 3.11.8.	Annual Fair: stand of "Nanyang Brothers" Tobacco Company.	175
Fig. 3.11.9.	Annual Fair: stand of the Evangelist Association.	175
Fig. 3.11.10.	Annual Fair: stand of "Negresco" biscuits".	176
Fig. 3.11.11.	Annual Fair: stand of Post and Telegraph Service.	176

Fig. 3.11.12. Annual Fair: stand with <i>Tajug</i> roof.	177
Fig. 3.11.13. Annual Fair: interior of <i>Onderling Belang</i> stand.	177
Fig. 3.11.14. Annual Fair: stand of “Karangredjo” coffee.	178
Fig. 3.11.15. Annual Fair: stand of “Victoria” biscuits.	178
Fig. 3.12.1. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: location in the Pasar Besar area.	191
Fig. 3.12.2. Traffic congestion when a train crosses Alun-alun street before the construction of the viaduct.	192
Fig. 3.12.3. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: the last SS train crossed Alun-alun street shortly before the opening ceremony of the viaduct.	192
Fig. 3.12.4. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: bird’s-eye view in 1931.	193
Fig. 3.12.5. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: view towards the south.	193
Fig. 3.12.6. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: view towards the north (ca. 1935).	194
Fig. 3.12.7. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: decorations and lighting during the visit of Governor General A.C.D. de Graeff.	194
Fig. 3.12.8. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: on the occasion of <i>Koninginnedag</i> 31 August 1935.	195
Fig. 3.12.9. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: track.	196
Fig. 3.12.10. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: pillar.	196
Fig. 3.12.11. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: safety space.	197
Fig. 3.12.12. Pasar Besar Railway Viaduct: dilation joint.	197
Fig. 3.13.1. ASNI Building: location.	204
Fig. 3.13.2. Old ASNI building.	205
Fig. 3.13.3. Old ASNI building: canopy.	206
Fig. 3.13.4. Old ASNI Building: arch with iron lattice work.	206
Fig. 3.13.5. Old ASNI Building: arch with stained glass window.	206
Fig. 3.13.6. Old ASNI Building: main entrance.	206
Fig. 3.13.7. Old ASNI Building: corridor with arches.	206
Fig. 3.13.8. Old ASNI Building: column.	207
Fig. 3.13.9. Old ASNI Building: railing.	207
Fig. 3.13.10. Extension ASNI Building ca. 1935.	207
Fig. 3.13.11. Extension ASNI Building: present situation.	207
Fig. 3.13.12. Extension ASNI Building: interior in 2007.	208
Fig. 3.13.13. Extension ASNI Building: opening connecting old and new building.	209
Fig. 3.13.14. Extension ASNI Building: stairs.	210
Fig. 3.13.15. Extension ASNI Building: detail of railing.	211
Fig. 3.14.1. British Community Church ca. 1931.	216
Fig. 3.14.2. British Community Church: backside of the building (ca. 1997).	216
Fig. 3.14.3. British Community Church: absis with pointed arch and stained glass rose window.	217
Fig. 3.14.4. British Community Church: exposed roof frames.	217
Fig. 3.14.5. British Community Church: octagonal clear glass leaded window.	218
Fig. 3.14.6. British Community Church: base of roof frame.	218
Fig. 3.15.1. Emplacement of BPM: aerial photograph (1).	221
Fig. 3.15.2. Emplacement of BPM: aerial photograph (2).	221
Fig. 3.16.1. Wonokromo Bridge: blueprint of situation.	228
Fig. 3.16.2. Wonokromo Bridge: blueprint of plan, elevation and section.	228
Fig. 3.16.3. Wonokromo Bridge: bird’s-eye view (ca. 1934).	229

Fig. 3.16.4.	Wonokromo Bridge: view from Surabaya river.	229
Fig. 3.16.5.	Wonokromo Bridge: view from Darmo boulevard.	230
Fig. 3.16.6.	Wonokromo Bridge: lamp post, railing and support.	230
Fig. 3.17.1.	Gerard Pieter Adolfs (1898-1968).	239
Fig. 3.17.2.	Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion ca. 1935.	239
Fig. 3.17.3.	Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: 'crown' on the roof.	240
Fig. 3.17.4.	Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: hanging lamp.	240
Fig. 3.17.5.	Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: iron ornament.	240
Fig. 3.17.6.	Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: gallery.	241
Fig. 3.17.7.	Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: Adolfs' mural.	241
Fig. 3.17.8.	Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: 'Internatio' in Adolfs' mural.	242
Fig. 3.17.9.	Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: lamp post of Wonokromo bridge in Adolfs' mural.	243
Fig. 3.17.10.	Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: door with Adolfs' mural.	244
Fig. 3.18.1.	Mayor Official Residence: location in Ketabang area.	258
Fig. 3.18.2.	Mayor Official Residence: exterior ca. 1930.	258
Fig. 3.18.3.	Mayor Official Residence: veranda in 1998.	259
Fig. 3.18.4.	Mayor Official Residence: dining room ca. 1935.	259
Fig. 3.19.1.	Gerrit Jan Dijkerman (1885-1929): Mayor of the Municipality of Surabaya 1920-1929.	266
Fig. 3.19.2.	Kembang Kuning Cemetery: bird's-eye view in 1916.	267
Fig. 3.19.3.	Kembang Kuning Cemetery: aerial photograph in 2010.	267
Fig. 3.19.4.	Monument of Dijkerman ca. 1930 (1).	268
Fig. 3.19.5.	Monument of Dijkerman ca. 1930 (2).	268
Fig. 3.19.6.	Monument of Dijkerman in 2007 (1).	269
Fig. 3.19.7.	Monument of Dijkerman in 2007 (2).	269
Fig. 3.19.8.	Monument of Dijkerman in 2007 (3).	270
Fig. 3.19.9.	Monument of Dijkerman: text.	270
Fig. 3.20.1.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: ground floor.	275
Fig. 3.20.2.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: upper floor.	275
Fig. 3.20.3.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: elevations and sections (details).	276
Fig. 3.20.4.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: sections.	276
Fig. 3.20.5.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: perspective.	277
Fig. 3.20.6.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: the building at night.	277
Fig. 3.20.7.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: interior ca. 1935.	278
Fig. 3.20.8.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: view from the north-west in 2007.	278
Fig. 3.20.9.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: view from the south-west in 2007.	279
Fig. 3.20.10.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: gallery.	279
Fig. 3.20.11.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: main entrance.	279
Fig. 3.20.12.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: sun screen.	279
Fig. 3.20.13.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: stained glass window.	279
Fig. 3.20.14.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: capital of column.	280
Fig. 3.20.15.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: exposed ceiling frames and concrete beams.	280
Fig. 3.20.16.	Borsumij Office, Surabaya: the 10 th anniversary of "Fotax" Photo Shop and Studio, 25 November 1935.	280
Fig. 3.20.17.	Borsumij Office, Semarang: situation.	281
Fig. 3.20.18.	Borsumij Office, Semarang: ground floor.	281

Fig. 3.20.19. Borsumij Office, Semarang: upper floor.	281
Fig. 3.20.20. Borsumij Office, Semarang: exterior.	282
Fig. 3.20.21. Borsumij Office, Semarang: gallery.	282
Fig. 3.20.22. Borsumij Office, Semarang: main entrance.	282
Fig. 3.20.23. Borsumij Office, Semarang: interior	282
Fig. 4.1.1. Surabaya Town Hall in the Town Park and NIS Office: comparison of the designs.	286
Fig. 4.1.2. Surabaya Town Hall in the Town Park and Rotterdam Town Hall: comparison of the designs.	287
Fig. 4.1.3. Modified <i>Limasan</i> Roof on Surabaya Town Hall.	288
Fig. 4.2.1. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion and Unity Church: comparison of the capitals of the columns.	291
Fig. 4.2.2. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion, the Monument of Dijkerman and F.L. Wright's Works: comparison of the flower pots.	292
Fig. 4.2.3. Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion, Mondriaan's and Doesburg's Works: comparison of the geometric patterns.	293
Fig. 4.3.1. Monument of Dijkerman and G. Vantongerloo's Works: comparison of the designs.	296
Fig. A.5.1.1. NIS Office: ground plan.	315
Fig. A.5.1.2. NIS Office: preliminary design for elevation (June 1901).	315
Fig. A.5.1.3. NIS Office: elevations (February 1902).	316
Fig. A.5.1.4. NIS Office: view from the <i>Wilhelmina Plein</i> .	316
Fig. A.5.1.5. NIS Office: corridor.	317
Fig. A.5.1.6. NIS Office: stained glass window.	317
Fig. A.5.2.1. N.A.M. van Aken's House.	319
Fig. A.5.2.2. N.A.M. van Aken's House: veranda.	320
Fig. A.5.2.3. N.A.M. van Aken's House: back side of the building.	320
Fig. A.5.4.1. Malang Town Hall: location (ca. 1939).	325
Fig. A.5.4.2. Malang Town Hall: plan.	325
Fig. A.5.4.3. Malang Town Hall ca. 1935.	326
Fig. A.5.4.4. Malang Town Hall: meeting room of the City Council.	326
Fig. A.5.4.5. Malang Town Hall: room of the mayor.	326
Fig. A.5.5.1. Hospital (2008).	330
Fig. A.5.5.2. Hospital: main entrance (2008).	330
Fig. A.5.5.3. Hospital and Tan Tjwan Bie's Mansion: comparison of 'crown' on the roof.	331
Fig. A.5.6.1. <i>Bouwplan</i> VIII: location of "Faroka" Cigarette Factory (ca. 1939).	333
Fig. A.5.6.2. <i>Bouwplan</i> VIII: access to industrial area (ca. 1939).	333
Fig. A.5.6.3. "Faroka" Cigarette Factory: bird's-eye view (ca. 1934).	334
Fig. A.5.6.4. "Faroka" Cigarette Factory (ca. 1934).	334

SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Akihary, Huib, *Architectuur & Stedebouw in Indonesië 1870/1970* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1990): A.5.4.2, A.5.1.1.

_____, *F.J.L. Ghijsels, Architect in Indonesia (1910-1929)* (Utrecht: Seram Press, 2nd edition, 2006): 3.17.8 right.

Anonymous, “Een Nieuw Stadhuis voor Soerabaja”, in *Weekblad voor Indië* 50 (1916): 3.3.1, 3.3.2, 4.1.1 above, 4.1.2 above.

_____, *Stadsgemeente Malang 14 April 1914-1934* (Soerabaia: G. Kolff & Co., 1934): A.5.6.3, A.5.6.4.

_____, “Kantoorgebouw van de Borsumij te Soerabaia. Arch. C. Citroen BNA †”, in *Architectura* 30 (27 July 1935): 3.20.11 left.

_____, “Het Raadhuis van de Stadsgemeente Malang”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/5 (May 1936): A.5.4.5.

Author: front cover (Darmo hospital), 1.1.1, 2.1.2, 3.6.10, 3.6.12, 3.6.13, 3.6.14, 3.6.15, 3.6.16, 3.7.1, 3.8.1, 3.9.3 below, 3.9.5, 3.9.6, 3.9.7, 3.9.8, 3.9.10, 3.10.4 below, 3.10.5 right, 3.10.6, 3.10.7 above right, 3.10.7 below, 3.10.8, 3.10.9, 3.10.10, 3.10.11, 3.12.5 below, 3.12.9, 3.12.10 left, 3.12.10 right, 3.12.11 above, 3.12.11 below, 3.12.12 left, 3.12.12 right, 3.13.3 left, 3.13.3 right, 3.13.4, 3.13.5, 3.13.6, 3.13.7, 3.13.8, 3.13.9, 3.13.11, 3.13.12 above, 3.13.12 below, 3.13.13 above, 3.13.13 below, 3.13.14 above right, 3.13.14 below, 3.13.15 above left, 3.13.15 above right, 3.13.15 below left, 3.13.15 below right, 3.14.3, 3.14.4, 3.14.5, 3.14.6, 3.19.6, 3.19.7, 3.19.8, 3.19.9, 3.20.8, 3.20.9, 3.20.10, 3.20.11 right, 3.20.12, 3.20.13, 3.20.14, 3.20.15, 4.1.3 above, 4.3.1.b, A.5.2.1 below, A.5.2.2, A.5.2.3, A.5.5.1, A.5.5.2, A.5.5.3 above.

Baalman, Dirk, et al., *Architectuur in Nederland* (Utrecht: Stichting Teleac and NAI Rotterdam, 1993): 4.1.2 below.

Bartman, G.H., *Fotografien van Soerabaja* ('s-Gravenhage: Thomas & Eras, 1975): 3.10.1 above.

Blankenberg, J.F.L., “Kantoorgebouw Borsumij Semarang”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 1/9 (January-February 1940): 3.20.17, 3.20.18, 3.20.19, 3.20.20, 3.20.21, 3.20.22, 3.20.23.

Broeshart, A.C., et al., *Soerabaja: Beeld van een Stad* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, 1994): 1.1.2, 1.2.1, 3.1.2, 3.1.4, 3.3.7, 3.5.3, 3.12.8 middle, 3.12.8 below, 3.13.2 right, 3.15.2, 3.17.2, 4.1.3 below.

Buitenweg, Hein, *Krokodillenstad* (Katwijk: Servire, 1980): 3.6.1, 3.6.2, 3.6.3, 3.12.2, 3.12.4, 3.12.5 above, diag.3.17.1 (logo of the Surabaya Municipality), 3.18.1.

Citroen, C., “Het Raadhuis te Soerabaja”, in *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek* 3/3 (1934): 3.3.17.

_____, †, “Kantoorgebouw Borsumij te Soerabaia”, in *De Ingenieur in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 6/2 (June 1935): 3.20.1, 3.20.2, 3.20.3, 3.20.4, 3.20.5, 3.20.7.

Derosier, Bernard, *Georges Vantongerloo (1886-1965), un Pionnier de la Sculpture Moderne*, exhibition brochure (Paris: Musée Matisse, 28 October 2007 – 2 March 2008): 4.3.1.d.

Diessen, J.R. van, and Voskuil, R.P.G.A., *Stedenatlas Nederlands-Indië* (Purmerend: Asia Maior, June 1998): 3.1.3, 3.2.1.

Diessen, J.R. van, *Soerabaja 1900-1950: Havens, Marine, Stadsbeeld* (Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2004): front cover (Borsumij office), 3.1.1, 3.2.2, 3.2.3, 3.12.6 below, 3.12.8 above, 3.12.10 above, 3.15.1, 3.17.8 left, 3.19.2, 3.20.16.

Documentation reports of the undergraduate students of the Architectural Department, University of 17 August 1945 (Surabaya: 1995-1998): 3.3.11, 3.3.13 left, 3.6.11, 3.9.4, 3.9.9, 3.14.2, 3.17.3, 3.17.4, 3.17.5, 3.17.6, 3.17.10, 3.18.3 above, 3.18.3 below, 4.2.1 left, 4.2.3.a, 4.2.3.b, A.5.5.3 below.

Eveline Borntraeger: 3.17.7, 3.17.8 below, 3.17.9 above, 4.2.2.a.

Faber, G.H. von, *Nieuw Soerabaia* (Soerabaia: H. van Ingen, 1934): 2.1.1, 3.3.4, 3.3.8, 3.3.12 left, 3.3.14, 3.3.16, 3.5.2, 3.9.3 above, 3.10.2, 3.11.2, 3.13.2 left, 3.14.1, 3.16.3, 3.16.4, 3.19.1, 3.19.4, 3.19.5, 3.20.6, 4.2.2.b, 4.3.1.a.

Gent, Lambertus Franciscus van, *Indië in Woord en Beeld* (Weltevreden: Topografische Inrichting, 1924): 3.6.9.

Google Earth 2010: 3.9.1, 3.12.1, 3.13.1, 3.19.3.

‘H., van’, “Het a.s. Raadhuis te Soerabaja”, in *Weekblad voor Indie*, 15 (1918-1919): 3.3.3.

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Theo_van_Doesburg_Composition_XVII.jpg: 4.2.3.d.

<http://djawatempodoeloe.multiply.com>: 3.10.1 below.

http://emuseum2.guggenheim.org/media/thumbnails/76.2553.59_ph_web.jpg: 4.3.1.g.
http://farm3.static.flickr.com/2084/2253183084_793370f0c6.jpg: 4.2.2.f.

<http://www.appraisercitywide.com/xsites/Appraisers/appraisercitywide/content/uploadedFiles/Ward%20W.%20Willits%201445%20Sheridan%20Road,%20Highland%20Park%201901.jpg>: 4.2.2.e.

http://www.artchive.com/artchive/M/mondrian/lt_brown.jpg.html: 4.2.3.c.

<http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/118746>: 4.3.1.h.

<http://www.baliblog.com/travel-tips/bali-daily/visiting-lawang-sewu-in-semarang-java.html>: A.5.1.6.

<http://www.brynmawr.edu/Acads/Cities/imgb/nextone/med/1145.jpg>: 4.2.2.a.

<http://www.eastjava.com/tourism/surabaya/city-hall>: front cover (Town Hall), 3.3.9, 3.3.10, 3.3.12 right, 3.3.13 middle, 3.3.13 right.

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/randmcnallyimages/3459735016/in/photostream/>: 4.2.2.d.

<http://www.gerardpieteradolfs.com/curriculum%20vitae.htm>: 3.17.1.

http://www.greatbuildings.com/cgi-bin/gbi.cgi/Unity_Temple.html/cid_1036095896_UnityExt1.html: 4.2.1 right.

http://www.moma.org/collection_images/resized/107/w500h420/CRI_63107.jpg: 4.3.1.f.

<http://www.redbubble.com/people/charuhas/art/3850087-5-stainglass-window-at-lawang-sewu>: A.5.1.5.

http://www.sculpture-network.org/uploads/pics/9_Vantongerloo_Duisburg.jpg: 4.3.1.c.
<http://www.semarang.nl/>: A.5.1.2.

<http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork?workid=15699>: 4.3.1.e.

<http://www.turisku.com/wp-content/gallery/lawang-sewu/lawang-sewu-semarangan.jpg>: A.5.1.4 below.

<http://www.twcdc.com/flora/joh0-031.jpg>: 4.2.3.e.

Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek 2/2 (April 1933): 3.10.3, 3.10.4 middle, 3.16.5, 3.16.6 left, 3.16.6 right.

Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift Locale Techniek 5/4 (September 1935): 3.4.1, 3.12.6 above, 3.13.10, 3.13.1 above left, 3.18.4.

KIT: 3.3.15, diag.3.17.1 (Wonokromo bridge), 3.18.2.

KITLV: 3.5.1, 3.6.4, 3.6.5, 3.6.6, 3.6.7, 3.6.8, 3.9.2, 3.11.4 above, 3.11.8, 3.11.9, 3.11.11, 3.12.7 above, 3.12.7 below.

Liempt, F.J.M. van, *Stadsgemeente Malang 1914-1939* (Soerabaia: G. Kolff & Co., 1939): A.5.4.1, A.5.4.3, A.5.4.4, A.5.6.1, A.5.6.2.

Mieras, J.P., “Twee Landhuizen van Architect C. Citroen”, in *Bouwkundig Weekblad* 20/42 (14 May 1921): 3.4.2, A.5.2.1 above.

Moesson: *Onafhankelijk Indisch Tijdschrift* 9/43 (March 1999): 3.12.3.

NAi: 3.10.4 above, 3.10.5 left, 3.10.7 above left, 4.1.1 below, A.5.1.3, A.5.1.4 above.

Soerabajasche Jaarmarktvereniging, *Verslag van de 11^e Jaarmarkt, Gehouden van 26 September t/m 11 October 1925* (Soerabaia: E. Fuhri & Co., 1926): 3.11.1, 3.11.3, 3.11.4 below, 3.11.5, 3.11.6, 3.11.7, 3.11.10, 3.11.12, 3.11.13, 3.11.14, 3.11.15.

Sumalyo, Yulianto, *Arsitektur Kolonial Belanda di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1993): 3.3.5, 3.3.6.

Thomson, Iain, *Frank Lloyd Wright, a Visual Encyclopedia* (San Diego, CA: Thunder Bay Press, 1999): 4.2.2.g.

Town Archive of Surabaya: 3.16.1, 3.16.2, 3.17.9 below.

SUMMARY

This study presents an in-depth analysis of the works of the Dutch architect Cosman Citroen (1881-1935) in Surabaya, and their historical context, both architectural and non-architectural. The existence of architectural works *per se* cannot be separated from their location, their historical genesis and context, and their design and construction process.

Cosman Citroen (1881-1935) grew up in a Jewish-Dutch diamond worker family in Amsterdam. After a four-year study under among others W. Kromhout and K.P.C. de Bazel, he obtained a diploma from the Department of Architectural Drawing at the Quellinus School in Amsterdam in 1902. His first job was at the office of B.J. Ouëndag, where he assisted J.F. Klinkhamer and Ouëndag as a draughtsman for the project of the *Nederlands-Indische Spoorwegmaatschappij* office (Netherlands Indies Railway Company). He also became a teacher of geometry. At the same time, he joined the Association of Architectura et Amicitia (until 1907), although he rarely attended its meetings. From 1908 onwards, Citroen continued his career as a teacher by training young members of A et A. Thus, his profession in the Netherlands was mainly that one of an educator, rather than an architect.

His dream to be a full time professional and independent architect encouraged Citroen to closely follow the developments in architecture, art as well as archaeology in the Netherlands Indies (where he planned to work), by reading architectural publications and getting information from his colleagues and seniors. In 1915 Citroen arrived in Surabaya, which at the time had only a few of architects and architectural firms, to begin his career as a Municipal architect in charge of handling a development plan for the Kupang area. His contract was extended twice, in 1916 and 1927; it ended on 19 February 1930 due to the efficiency of the Municipal architects and a lack of backing after the demise of G.J. Dijkerman, Mayor of Surabaya from 1920 to 1929. Afterwards, Citroen became a fully independent architect until his death on 15 May 1935. During his working life, he produced twenty works - including town planning projects, various types of buildings, interior design, bridges, a viaduct and a monument - in Surabaya, and five other projects outside the city, as well as three designs which remained unexecuted. They were made for a variety of patrons (Municipality, individuals, social and religious communities, private companies and state institutions), and various ethnic groups (Dutch, British, Chinese and indigenous). His wide network cannot be fully understood without taking into account the role of Dijkerman.

Besides handling architectural projects, Citroen was involved in other activities. He was a member of the daily board of the *Soerabaiasche Jaarmarkt-Vereeniging* (Society of the Surabaya Annual Fair) from 1923 onwards; a member of the advisory commission of archaeological service and finally president of the *Archaeological Museum Association* for several years. He also served as a jury member for the photograph and sketch competition of vernacular houses in East Java organized by the *Soerabaiasche Kunstkring* (Surabaya Art Circle) and the *Java Institute*.

His early architectural ideas were strongly influenced by pre-modern European architecture as taught by his seniors, Klinkhamer and Ouëndag, and also by the work of his former teacher in the Quellinus School, Kromhout. Nonetheless, Citroen tried to introduce elements taken from tropical architecture in his works. Circa 1920 onwards he adhered to the Modern Movement in architecture as it developed in Europe and in the Netherlands in particular. At the same time, he applied vernacular or local elements in his architecture. Most of his works of the 1920s show hybrid combinations of elements taken from local architecture and modern European styles, mainly Art Deco, and some also show affinities with the Amsterdam School, De Stijl and *het Nieuwe Bouwen*, without neglecting tropical architecture. Ideas of Frank Lloyd Wright, Georges Vantongerloo, Theo van Doesburg and Piet Mondriaan can also be found in Citroen's designs. These stylistic changes are in line with his improvement in the understanding of Javanese architecture and his knowledge of architectural developments in his home country. Like his two teachers Kromhout and De Bazel, Citroen was a highly versatile architect.

His reputation was recognized not only in Surabaya, but also in the Netherlands Indies, the Netherlands and in international forums. After receiving a "Mention" Award in the 1925 Paris Exhibition for the design of the Gubeng bridge, he participated in the first architectural exhibition in Batavia held in the same year by the *Nederlandsch-Indische Architecten Kring* (Netherlands Indies Architects' Circle), and was invited, with three other well-known architects, to design the Netherlands pavilion for the colonial exhibition in Paris. His appreciation by W. Lemei in 1935 as one of the leading architects in the Netherlands Indies is therefore entirely justified.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Joko Triwinarto Santoso was born on 12 May 1964 in Jember, East Java, Indonesia. He obtained his Bachelor degree in Architecture from the Department of Architectural Engineering at the Faculty of Engineering, Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia in 1987 and his Master degree in Architecture was pursued at the Department of Architecture of the Faculty of Civil Engineering and Planning at the Bandung Institute of Technology in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia in 1992. From 1988-2000 he was a lecturer at the Department of Architectural Engineering of the Faculty of Engineering at the University of 17 August 1945 in Surabaya, Indonesia. Since 1995 he is a lecturer at the Department of Architecture of the Faculty of Engineering at Brawijaya University in Malang, East Java, Indonesia. From 2006 to 2010 he conducted his doctoral research sponsored by the International Fellowship Program (IFP) - cohort IV, provided by Ford Foundation at Leiden University, the Netherlands. His field of interest is the history of Dutch colonial architecture in the Netherlands Indies.



This dissertation presents an in-depth analysis of the works of the Dutch architect Cosman Citroen (1881-1935) in Surabaya, Netherlands Indies, that shows his works in relation to their historical context, both architectural and non-architectural. After Citroen pursued a diploma from the Quellinus School in 1902, worked in B.J. Ouëndag office for thirteen years, was a teacher in geometry and trained young members of Architectura et Amicitia, in 1915 he moved from Amsterdam to Surabaya where he became a Municipal architect. Here he turned out to be a versatile architect whose projects range from furniture to town planning and from architectural designs to civil constructions. Citroen's career would not have been possible without the continuous support of the Mayor G.J. Dijkerman with whom he also participated in many social and cultural activities. The last years of his life Citroen was a renowned independent architect who worked for a broad range of clients.