

Sarah Dellmann

Images of Dutchness: Popular Visual Culture, Early Cinema, and the Emergence of a National Cliché, 1800-1914

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SARAH DELLMANN

IMAGES OF DUTCHNESS

Popular Visual Culture, Early
Cinema, and the Emergence of
a National Cliché, 1800-1914

AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

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This colour woodblock print was produced by Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1814) in Japan (Fig. I.1). The print is designed according to the laws of the central perspective and shows a city or town. On the canal or river in the foreground, figures sit in a rowboat; some of them fish while others take a bath in the seemingly shallow water. Stairs lead from the banks of the river or canal to the streets of the city. The landscape is hilly; the brick-built houses and towers are situated on the hill slopes; trees and bushes grow between the houses. Some towers have fans attached to them. The print's title is *Scene of a Canal in Holland*.

While this image is not likely to trigger associations with the Netherlands among twentieth- and twenty-first-century viewers, according to Stephen Little (1996), it was perceived as a realistic documentation by Japanese viewers at the time it was produced. It takes some effort to understand how it was possible that this print was perceived as a realistic image of the Netherlands and the Dutch. Little offers an explanation by describing the historical period in which this print was produced. At that time, Japan underwent a period of isolation; hardly anyone could enter or leave the country, and international trade was very restricted. The Dutch were the only Western power that was allowed limited trade with Japan, which included Dutch books on Western sciences, among them books on optical laws as well as perspective prints. These goods became accessible to a small number of Japanese scholars and artists. The craft of woodblock printing was already well-known in Japan; inspired by the

foreign composition principle of the central perspective, some artists produced Japanese-style perspective prints between 1740 and the mid nineteenth century (Cf. Little 1996, 74–76). Little continues:

One of the rarest prints in the Art Institute's collection is Toyoharu's *Scene of a Canal in Holland*, which can be dated to the 1770s. The precise source of this strange image is unknown. That figures are swimming in the canal, however, suggests a degree of artistic license which is fully characteristic of prints of foreign lands, since the Japanese assumed (wrongly) that the Dutch went swimming in their canals. Toyoharu created a number of views of Europe, as well as imaginary views of China. Japanese print designers often mixed European and Chinese architectural styles, as Toyoharu did here. Since both were exotic – indeed virtually unknowable to the average Japanese – their combination would not have been recognized as incongruous. Such prints claimed to present real views of real places far from Japan, and their claims were accepted. (Little 1996, 84)

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The author thus suggests that “unknowability” of places was the explanation for an acceptance of the realist claims and authenticity of an image. But if this image was accepted as realistic and authentic, then – in spite of its topographical inaccuracies – it nevertheless produced knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch and disseminated this knowledge to its viewers. Rather than trying to picture the unknown, I assume, Toyoharu documented *to his best knowledge* from the sources available to him what places in the Netherlands looked like. This might seem a picky remark, but it reflects a fundamentally different approach to images in their relation to knowledge production: instead of judging images against the question whether their representation of the “real world” is “right” or “wrong”,¹ I am interested in the conditions under which an image was perceived as disseminating realistic and trustworthy knowledge. Examining these conditions requires a shift toward the historical configurations of media technologies and institutions involved in the production, display, and distribution of images; broadly shared assumptions and beliefs in a society; and the ways in which the readers/viewers are addressed by and through such images. These configurations, also known in the field of media studies under the term *dispositif* (for an overview, cf. Kessler 2007), I argue, shape the conventions that authenticated (or not) an image.

The perceived strangeness of Toyoharu's colour woodblock print today points to phenomena that will be investigated in this book. The question that Toyoharu's image provokes can – and, I propose, should – be asked more generally about images that seem less striking to today's readers and viewers: how



Fig. I.1 Utagawa Toyoharu (c. 1768). Colour woodblock print. © Photo SCALA, Florence.

is it possible that *any* image can communicate information about the Netherlands and the Dutch that is perceived as truthful?

In the nineteenth century, and especially in its first three quarters, average people had very limited possibilities to contest the documentary claim in the presentation of nonfiction images. Most of the people in the Western world did not have much choice about the images they saw or wanted to see and depended to a large extent on the itinerant showperson's repertoire. If such images were presented as realistic, typical, truthful, or representative of other people and places, why challenge this attribution?

The terms "realistic", "typical", "representative", "documentary", and "truthful" that were used at the time under investigation, often passing as merely descriptive, already indicate that the images in question did not simply show people and places (in our case, of the Netherlands), but that these images were part of a specific discourse *on* the Netherlands and its inhabitants. This discourse, or rather, these discourses, are not neutral or objective (although they may at times present themselves as such, see Chapters 4–6) and, when investigated closely, the reality claim of any image may appear equally strange or persuasive as the one of Toyoharu's colour woodcut print.

Images and Supposed Common Knowledge

This book investigates the role of images in the production of what I will call supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch in the long nineteenth century (c. 1800-1914) in the Western world. By supposed common knowledge, I refer to a cumulative and fuzzy body of knowledge that contains what people at a given time in a given community believe or are supposed to know about a topic (I will define my use of the term “supposed common knowledge” in more detail in Chapter 1). As a result of this analysis, this book will also show how supposed common knowledge, once established, contributed to the production and dissemination of certain images. The aim of this study is to shed light on a semiotic process, namely the attribution of meaning to images, which eventually results in supposed common knowledge of the Netherlands and the Dutch. My approach for studying the role of images in the emergence of supposed common knowledge is thus characterized by a historical perspective, intermediality, and visual analysis.

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Historical Perspective

The historical perspective has two aspects. As a twenty-first-century researcher, I look back on historical phenomena informed by present-day research questions. This notwithstanding, I approach the historical objects as products of their own past and not as antecedents of media or images yet to come. Material objects and the ideas that surrounded them, I am convinced, are products of history and not indicators of a future that necessarily remained unknown when they came into being.

At the beginning of my research, I started from the idea that I would investigate images of Dutchness mostly in films of early cinema, the new turn-of-the-century mass medium that disseminated images on an unprecedented scale. When I looked at films of the early period about the Netherlands and the Dutch in the collection of EYE Film Institute Netherlands, I was astonished by the homogeneity of the image repertoire that I observed in fiction and nonfiction films alike. Except for films of the royal family, the Netherlands seemed to consist mainly of canals, windmills, cheese, tulip fields, and fishing villages, and Dutch figures mostly wore traditional costumes with wooden shoes and fancy headwear – as if there was nothing else to film in an at least partially industrialized country around 1900. If these clichéd images of the Netherlands and the Dutch were so dominant in the formative phase of early cinema, then the cliché must have been “out there” already. My research question subsequently shifted to the investigation of the origins of national clichés in

visual media, which would help me find the reasons for the relatively invariant image repertoire representing the Netherlands and the Dutch in these historical documents. As will become obvious in the following chapters, film drew on already conventionalized images and strategies of presentation. Film, I will show, came into being at a time when both the structure of thinking in stereotypes and the image content of these clichés (at least those of the Netherlands and the Dutch) had already been defined and were widely established.

The perspective of media archaeology (Cf. Huhtamo and Parikka 2011) proved useful for two reasons. Firstly, it circumvents teleological pitfalls when writing the historiography of media, and, secondly, media archaeology offers a historical approach to media that fits well with an intermedial perspective. Media archaeology explores cultural forms that *anticipated* the studied medium or media-cultural phenomenon in question by investigating the interconnections to other media of the researched period. Most media archaeologists consider performance practices, designs, contemporary comments, descriptions, and reviews. Erkki Huhtamo defines the “study of topoi” as a “possible goal for media archaeology” (Huhtamo 2011, 28), that is, the identification of recurring formulas, their transformations, and the cultural logics that are manifested in media (Cf. Huhtamo 2011). Investigating how media functioned in locally and historically specific circumstances, and their relation to the broader culture and the identification of topoi, however, is not the *aim* of my research, but only its first step. In order to study the *production* of meaning that often, but not exclusively, manifests in topoi, I will put a greater emphasis on visual analysis and also investigate the *functions* of a given media formation; my research will thus take a different, more conceptual path.

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Intermediality

Images, and certainly popular images, circulated in a multimedial landscape already in the nineteenth century. To study the relations between different media that coexist(ed) at a given time, the concept of intermediality has been applied in many fields across the humanities. For this study, I will draw on approaches developed within the field of early cinema studies that, precisely, aim to situate cinema within a wide network of different visual media. Among scholars of early cinema studies, there is agreement that the emergence of cinema was an inherently intermedial phenomenon and that film was deeply connected to other forms of entertainment, performance practices, distribution networks, and visual media around 1900 (cf. for example Charney and Schwartz 1995; Gaudreault and Marion 2005; Gaudreault, Dulac, and Hidalgo 2012; Askari et al. 2014). As a consequence

of this disciplinary embedding, visual media that existed before film have often been called “pre-cinematic” or have even been considered as antecedents of a cinematic *dispositif*. Such an understanding of nineteenth-century visual media has been challenged more prominently in the last two decades, not at least because the teleology inherent to such thinking hindered studying each medium in its own right. Alternatives for writing historiographies were proposed, for example through the focus on screen practices (Musser 1984; Vogl-Bienek and Crangle 2014a) and approaches following principles of media archaeology.

18 | Intermedial approaches within early cinema studies bring to light the historical component in the relations between media, and show how the function of each medium changed in relation to each other when “old” media gradually disappeared and “new” media emerged. Applying intermediality to diachronic studies has contributed to a better understanding of the dynamics between “old” and “new” media, including content migration. This allows for more nuanced statements about continuities and changes in media history (for an overview of various applications of the concept in early cinema studies, cf. Shail 2010). While the description of the dynamics between media as such is not the goal of my study, knowing that media coexisted and how they borrowed from one another is crucial for any investigation of the circulation of images. The intermedial aspect of my study not only demonstrates that images circulated across the borders of a medium, but also that they easily crossed the borders of genre and discourse. The rough chronological order for the presentation of my research findings in Chapters 3 and 4 should therefore not be seen as an expression of abrupt changes or clear-cut demarcations, but as a reflection on the coexistence and overlaps of partially similar, yet distinguishable, medial forms.

Visual Analysis

Taking the images in films of early cinema as a starting point, and tracing back the image tradition that inspired film as a then-new medium, is an established approach within the field of early cinema studies. This archaeology of visual tropes and topics nuances the notion of film as “new medium” by showing visual continuity in the ever-changing media landscape. For example, Pelle Snickars (2001, 59) traces imagistic strategies of early cinema for the depiction of places back to photographic visual media of the 1850s and Alison Griffiths concludes that early ethnographic films “drew upon the visual lexicon of well-established precinematic forms” (Griffiths 2002, 250) for their adaptation in films. From Charles Musser’s analysis of *European Rest Cure* (Edwin S. Porter,

Edison, USA 1904) and the visual indications that signified specific places in Europe, we can conclude that films of early cinema used established visual conventions that were expected to be understood by the viewers (Cf. Musser 1990a, 125). Nanna Verhoeff (2006) traces the image tradition of films depicting America's West through various media that preceded film. María Magdalena Brotons Capó's insightful study on the iconographic tradition of early (mostly fiction) films produced in France (Cf. Brotons Capó 2014) considers a broad range of popular visual media of the nineteenth century in order to identify the visual sources of filmic images. William Uricchio and Roberta Pearson (1993) analyse films of the American production company Vitagraph and conclude that these films rest on popular knowledge and image repertoires that had been well-established and mediatized in the time preceding the advent of cinema.

The aim of my research, then, is not to test whether or not the findings of previous studies about an established image repertoire also apply to films about the Netherlands and the Dutch. In the following, I wish to explain not only the origin of motifs in early films about that country, but also to explain how it happened that these motifs were understood as signifiers of Dutchness. The history of a motif is thus combined with a history of the shifting connotations of the concepts expressed in visual motifs. To this end, my visual analysis is coupled with a discursive analysis of the spoken and written words that surround(ed) the image, accounting for performativity and exhibition practices. Therefore, my visual analysis does not focus exclusively on iconography and motifs but approaches visuality as performative within a *dispositif*. The intermedial perspective on the dissemination of image content is coupled with an understanding of images as relics of performative practices. To study the triad image-text-performance, I draw on insights derived from studies into exhibition practices and the role of the exhibitor or lecturer in the performance of an image (for magic lanterns, cf. Musser 1984; Altman 2004; Brooker 2013; and Vogl-Bienek and Crangle 2014a; for peepshows, cf. Kember and Plunkett forthcoming; for moving Panoramas, cf. Huhtamo 2013; on a conceptual level about the role of titles in the production of meaning, cf. Fisher 1984; specific for early cinema cf. Kessler 2002; Kessler 2003; Kessler 2006b; and Loiperdinger 2011).

All three approaches – historical approach, intermediality, and visual analysis – are intricately connected to one another and relevant to answer the question of where supposed common knowledge of the Netherlands and the Dutch comes from and how visual media contributed to that body of knowledge. In order to answer this question, my research combines a semiotic perspective with the history of iconography in the available media (see Chapters 1 and 2) and historicizes both the categories/functions of descriptions and

motifs/images of the Dutch. This requires expanding the researched period beyond the era of modernity and consumer culture (Chapter 3), which often serves as default demarcation for studies in early cinema.

Popular Culture and the Stereotype: Nation, Culture, and Identity Once Removed

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This research ties in with discussions in various fields of the humanities and aims to contribute to several theoretical debates, social concerns, and archival practices. Firstly, I present, analyse, and interpret material that has not yet been discussed widely in academic studies; some of these images are reproduced here for the first time, as they were not, and some of them are still not, accessible to academic researchers, let alone the general public. The historical material that I analyse – artefacts of and references to Western popular visual culture and popular education in the long nineteenth century – comes, to a large extent, from private collections and from not (yet?) digitized collections of libraries, public archives, and business archives, as well as from unstable internet sources such as eBay. In spite of each medium's huge popularity at the time, and its relevance to media history, social history, and popular education, it can hardly be said that these media have triggered great academic interest, up to now. The state of documentation and preservation of the objects I have studied is generally poor (see Chapter 2). Hopefully, my study will give glimpses of the richness of the material and provoke curiosity among archivists and other scholars about this often neglected material, that may even bring about practical investment in the preservation and presentation of the material. In addition to scholarly discoveries, knowledge about the various contexts in which an archival object was used is crucial for making well-informed archival decisions (Cf. van Dooren 2014).

While stereotypes and clichés are often analysed in film and media studies, the question of how specific stereotypes and clichés became widespread and why they persist, even if considered harmful by the so described and depicted group of people, has not been fully explored, and certainly not from a historical perspective. More often, this question has been answered with very general explanations about power and ideology. While power and ideology are certainly necessary aspects to describe and critique stereotypes and clichés, such analyses generally do not aim to explain in detail why these ideological forms of thinking worked and on which epistemological, technological, and visual conventions they are built. I hope that my historical approach in the study of national clichés will strengthen the arguments of those who counter essentialist notions of national and cultural identity in contemporary debates

by providing historical evidence for the varying and contingent functions and connotations of the national.

In historical literature studies, the discourse on supposed “national character traits” is examined. The analysis of national stereotypes is a central objective of the method of imagology (Cf. Beller and Leerssen 2007). Developed and rooted in comparative literature studies, imagology approaches (national) identities from a constructivist perspective and investigates national stereotypes, mostly in literature. As part of the field, statements about the “national character” of the Dutch have been analysed (cf. Krol 2007; Zacharasiewicz 2010, 49–53). My focus, however, is less on the supposed national characteristics than on the visual representations in the various media I analyse; my concern is with the uses of pictures in different discourses and specifically the performative functions at play that turn the pictures into meaningful evidence for statements about the Dutch. With this study, I intend to complement the study of historical stereotypical ideas with the history of their visualizations and their various functions.

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My understanding of the performative aspect of images that claim to inform truthfully about the Netherlands and the Dutch considers visual representations partially as standing in an indexical relation to the reality to which they refer. In order to fulfil that function, the acceptance of the media’s authenticity claim needs to be produced. In the cases of photographic media and films of early cinema, authenticity is produced via the medium itself: in the nineteenth century, film and photography were widely considered to document reality objectively and thereby to produce objective images. In the case of non-photographic media, images can be authenticated with reference to an eye-witness account. In both cases, the specific quality of a medium, its inherent mediality, addresses the reader/viewer of such images to see the reality of the Netherlands presented. In order to contribute to answering the intriguing question of how stereotypes and clichés about the Netherlands and the Dutch *emerged*, I will specifically reflect on the visual side of knowledge production and examine the conditions of the perception of people in categories of the national. Benedict Anderson (1996) has pointed out the important role of printed text in vernacular language for the emergence of national consciousness. I wish to add images to research into imagined communities; next to shared language, I am convinced that images were relevant tools in imagining oneself as part of a national collective and, maybe more relevant, imagining people from other places as part of another national community. In particular, my research will address the vast number of images produced for mass consumption outside the realm of pictures that were acknowledged as art. Media-historical research into nineteenth-century popular visual culture can show the forces in cultural nation-building and inquire into the categories that

shaped our perception, sometimes until today. Taking the Netherlands as an example, I believe that more general conclusions can be derived about the origins of national clichés, the role of images in knowledge production, and the role of images in the structure of nineteenth-century Western thinking about (national) identity and (national) difference (see Conclusion). My research thereby aims to contribute to a better understanding of the emergence and persistence of (national) stereotypes and clichés.

22 | The terms “nation”, “identity”, and “culture” that I have mentioned *en passant* are central categories of contemporary research in the humanities. In the past, as today, people were ranked, privileged, or discriminated against and even excluded from communities and territories in the name of nation, identity, and/or culture. In spite of the at times violent consequences of these categories and the expressed desire to overcome discrimination, dismissing these categories would not render justice to the relevance they play both in Western nineteenth-century culture nor in current debates. Many scholars agree that these categories and the resulting identities and perceptions are culturally and historically constructed; nevertheless, they matter in the present everyday life of people. By pointing to the change in categories with which we describe people and the places they live, and by recalling that these terms do not necessarily need to place the national as most relevant in order to enable meaningful communication, I hope to broaden the horizon to develop other, less exclusive forms of community or, at the very least, less exclusive forms of conceptualizing “national identity”.

Corpus

Supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch, according to my observation, is rooted in the empirical sciences, which underwent a significant upturn after the French Revolution and which are linked to bourgeois approaches to learning and the nation. As the most influential discourses for the propagation of knowledge about people and places at that time, I have identified anthropology, geography, and tourism (Chapters 4, 5, and 6).

For the study of the creation of supposed common knowledge, the restriction to nonfiction images of the Netherlands and the Dutch is suitable, as fictional images may function but do not *claim* to inform about the subject realistically. Likewise, this book is limited to the investigation of images in nonfiction discourses. This choice does not imply that I consider fiction irrelevant in the construction of supposed common knowledge. Popular stories influenced common knowledge about a country despite the fact that readers knew that they dealt with fiction.² The artistic period of “Holland mania”

(1876-1914) in the United States (Cf. Stott 1998) influenced supposed common knowledge of the US population about the Netherlands through artistic representations of an imagined Netherlands.³ However, these discourses are not taken into account because they did not explicitly claim to give a truthful and realistic image of the Netherlands and the Dutch.

In the course of my research, I consulted more than 3000 images from eleven kinds of visual media (illustrated magazines, tourist guidebooks, promotional material for potential tourists, sets of prints, catchpenny prints, perspective prints, advertising trade cards, stereoscopic photographs, magic lantern slide sets, picture postcards, and films of early cinema), as well as numerous additional unillustrated primary sources (mostly newspaper articles, trade catalogues, and lecture material). I will give an overview of these popular visual media that contained nonfiction images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in Chapter 2. Wherever I was confronted with the happy situation to be forced to make a selection of available source material, I opted for the most popular documents because we may cautiously suppose that images seen by many people are more likely to influence common knowledge than the exceptional ones.⁴

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Presentation of the Chapters

This book investigates, on a conceptual level, how the relations between word, image, and readers/viewers created knowledge, and, more exactly, how supposed common knowledge emerged and, once established, how it validated certain images, not (empirically) what people actually really knew about the Netherlands and the Dutch. In order to explain the historical phenomenon of how nonfiction images were to make sense and how this sense became widely known, I chose a comparative strategy.

The book starts with a definition of the terminology and relevant approaches. The analytical concepts “stereotype”, “cliché”, and “supposed common knowledge of the Netherlands and the Dutch” are distinguished from one another. Chapter 1 outlines relevant dimensions of the concept “nationality”, the intermedial, and semiotic-performative approach to the source material (Chapter 1). The second chapter provides background information on the state of research on the respective nineteenth-century popular visual media that are consulted for this analysis and introduces the corpus (Chapter 2).

These media, their exhibition practices, and the descriptive categories in the captions and comments to the images have a history, too. Chapter 3 questions the commonly applied periodization in the study field of Visual Culture and argues for the relevance of media before the invention of photography. I

will trace the emergence of the categories “the Netherlands” and “the Dutch” in popular visual media and give an overview of traditions of Western popular visual culture in the dissemination of knowledge on people and places with a claim to realism. The development of the ambition to document people and places in a realistic way is sketched and serves as background to discuss the appearance and function of such images in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Chapters 1 and 2 thus embed the analysis of the visual media theoretically and Chapter 3 embeds the analysis historically.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 form the core chapters of this book. There, I will analyse the word and image relation in three prominent discourses that, in the long nineteenth century, disseminated information on people and places with a claim to realism: anthropological discourse, popular geography, and tourism and consumer culture. The comparison of sources from diverse visual media will serve to define the patterns in which nonfiction images and their textual comments addressed the readers/viewers. These patterns, I will argue, are not found in the surface of the material but in the way in which word, image, and reader/viewer are linked. These patterns are the places where meaning is created, and they vary according to what Michel Foucault calls “discourse” or “discursive formation” in *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1977):

Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a *discursive formation*. (Foucault 1977, 38, emphasis in original)

Foucault’s definition of discursive formation and discourse enables me to analyse the rules and the patterns in the way that objects – things and words – are combined to make sense, as Foucault explains in the following chapter of his book:

[...] that “discourses”, in the form in which they can be heard or read, are not, as one might expect, a mere intersection of things and words [...]. I would like to show with precise examples that in analysing discourses themselves, one sees the loosening of the embrace, apparently so tight, of words and things, and the emergence of a group of rules proper to discursive practice. *These rules define not the dumb existence of a reality, not the canonical use of a vocabulary, but the ordering of objects.* (Foucault 1977, 48–49, emphasis added)

The analysis of word and image combinations in my corpus from the perspectives of the three discourses will give insight into the range of visual and textual information that widely circulated about the Netherlands and the Dutch. As a result, my analysis seeks to detect the body of knowledge from which people could draw with respect to the Netherlands and the Dutch.

Approaching historical material through the lens of discourses implies that the individual document is not interesting in itself but only in relation to others that are part of the same discourse. This calls for an intermedial approach as described above. The patterns I am interested in therefore do not lie in recurring motifs nor in recurring statements alone, but in *structures that serve as links between elements within a document and between various documents*. My choice for assigning a document to a discourse in many cases does not speak from the document itself but follows from the perspective I take and the questions I pose – which means that, at times, the same document appears in the discussion of two discourses.

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Aspects for the Analysis of Discourses

I wish to stress that I do not consider the discourses to correspond to (academic) disciplines, neither does my discussion of the material intend to write a disciplinary history. Rather, the organization of the material into discourses results from a *perspective* on the material. This approach to the historical material allows me to include popular publications as well as scholarly material; it also allows me to address the same source material from more than one perspective and to investigate the ways in which the same motif could be used for the dissemination of anthropological, geographical, *and* touristic information about the Netherlands and the Dutch.

Moreover, presenting the material according to a perspective (informed by discourse rather than discipline) can account for the various reception contexts and communicative aims, from academic to popular, from instruction to visual entertainment, or both at the same time, while avoiding the tricky identification of a publication or an image into discretely defined genres (and thus avoiding the essentializing choices that come with it). This is all the more necessary as popular images circulated across the lines of discourses, media formats, and national borders: the meaning of an image, as this chapter will demonstrate, does not lie in the properties of the image itself but is constructed discursively. For example, advertising trade cards of people and places could popularize ethnographic knowledge (Chapter 4); collected in albums, they could serve as armchair travel media that offered a virtual travel through the Netherlands (Chapter 5); or as medium that used clichés to promote a commodity or service (Chapter 6).

In order to compare the heterogeneous material published in a period of over a hundred years in a way that it will serve to answer the research question, I will discern three aspects that recur through all discourses.

The first aspect is descriptive and presents the material with respect to *partiality and comprehensiveness*. What does the source material say about things to be known about the Netherlands? Which regions and cities are mentioned in the text and which of them are illustrated? I will also investigate if there is an implicit or explicit rationale given for the selection of illustrations. The second aspect is defining. Here, I will investigate the material with respect to *the typical and the general*. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, “typical” means “pertaining or relating to a type”; qualifying something as “typical” thus implies a definition: the element in question is judged to be part (or not) of a family, class, kind, or a larger whole. Such a judgment is usually achieved by comparing the characteristics of the phenomenon to characteristics of the larger family or class. By commenting on an image as “typically Dutch”, the image becomes implicitly or explicitly related to a bigger whole. I will observe which of the described phenomena are defined as typical and if there is a discernible pattern among those phenomena that are qualified in the source material as “typical”. The third aspect is evaluative in kind and concerns the tension between *authenticity and artificiality*. “Authentic” means principal, genuine, real, not faked, not corrupted from the original, and truthful to its origins, attributions and commitments. Judging a phenomenon as “authentic”, therefore, is the result of an evaluation, in which the elements in question are compared with a norm (here: a non-faked origin). The tension between authenticity and artificiality is also used to express nostalgic sentiments, as nostalgia implies a comparison with the present day and a look back on its presumed history (and, more precisely, a diachronic comparison of past and present in which the present is subsequently evaluated).

Films of early cinema about the Netherlands and the Dutch suppose the representation of a visible distinct national difference. Chapter 4 sketches how the spectacle of ethnographic diversity within a nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century gradually changed to a representation of visible distinct nations that increasingly came in the form of national clichés. Visual and narrative strategies in travelogue films on the Netherlands are connected to similar strategies as observed in popular geographical publications in other media, as I will show in Chapter 5. Across the line of medium, publications that popularize geography present first and foremost factual information on the country and the population which, in contrast to anthropology, may include aspects of modernity. From 1870 on, this changes, and modern aspects of the Netherlands or sites that are economically or historically relevant become less prominent in illustrations, which, since then, focus on visually attractive sites.

Chapter 6 opens with a short overview of the history of travel in leisure through and to the Netherlands, and compares tourist publications and earlier travel writings from both Dutch and foreign companies. In contrast to anthropological and geographical discourse, the description of people and places in tourist discourse is not the aim in itself but functions to promote locations as potential destinations for travel. Qualifiers such as “authentic”, “quaint”, and “picturesque” are used to advertise a visual attraction that is sellable as “typically Dutch”. The function of images in this discourse, consequently, is to perform (clichéd) images of the Netherlands and the Dutch as “authentic” and “typical”. This chapter concludes with a discussion on reactions by Dutch journalists to clichés as promoted by the tourist sector. Their reactions to the cliché are more complex than the commonly assumed opposition between self-image and outsider’s image would suggest.

In Chapter 7, I will bring together the results from Chapters 4, 5, and 6. The new medium film, I will show, took up the image repertoire of “earlier” media; it did not use the potential of the new medial form right away to produce new images or experiment with new visual and narrative strategies. Rather, early cinema’s motifs and representational strategies can be traced back to the use of images in previous media and contexts. The meaning of an image in non-fictional settings, so my conclusion, largely depends on the line of reasoning of the context of its appearance: the same motif can be used for various communicative aims. The meaning of an image is thus the result of performative signifying practices and not inherent to the image itself.

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When I presented earlier stages of my project on images of Dutchness, it was repeatedly suggested that I compare the self-image of the Netherlands to the outsider’s image. As I will argue, images of the Netherlands and the Dutch do not vary much along the lines of place of production, but rather along the line of discourse. For example, word and image relations in material produced by Dutch or British tourist associations show more similarity with each other than Dutch material produced for the promotion of tourism and Dutch material produced for geography lessons. Moreover, as I will show in Chapters 2 and 3, popular images were already disseminated internationally in the nineteenth century, which would make “place of availability” rather than “place of production” a criterion for studying supposed common knowledge within the domain of popular visual culture.

Before I move on to the first chapter, I wish to stress that this is a study of cultural dynamics in and of the Western world. If not explicitly mentioned otherwise, I claim validity of the conclusions only for Western cultures and societies. Supposed common knowledge about the Dutch and the Netherlands is quite different in other countries, especially in former colonies. On the island of Mauritius, the Dutch are mostly associated with the extinction of

the dodo bird,⁵ and most Indonesians and Surinamese do not think of clogs and windmills when talking about the Dutch, but of the period of colonialism. In nineteenth-century Japan, rather than the rural population in traditional costume, representations of Dutch women prominently featured Titia Bergsma, the first Western woman who ever visited the country.⁶ These three examples should suffice to indicate why my conclusions about the role of images in the generation of supposed common knowledge on the Netherlands and the Dutch only elucidate a part of Western (media) history. My research should therefore be seen as a contribution to the history of Western nonfiction popular visual culture, its ideas and images, and their mediations.

EDITORIAL NOTES

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Some source material used an earlier form for the letter “s” (“f”), which I have modernized to “s” for reasons of readability. Prepositions of Dutch family names (“van”, “de”, “op den”) are treated as the initial letters of the family name in the bibliography in order to prevent confusion from inconsistencies between in-text notes and the bibliography. The margins of many prints have been cropped in order to give more space to the motifs.

Both original and added emphasis will be italicized. In the case of added emphasis this is mentioned at the end of the quotations. In the case that there is original emphasis within added emphasis, for example, the text will be both italicized and underlined.

A small number of images that are reproduced in this book contain racial-ly or otherwise offensive content, especially catchpenny prints that depict figures representing cultures outside of Europe. These images are included here as historical reproductions from a different period and do not indicate any support or approval of such attitudes by the author.

NOTES

- 1 After all, the underlying expectation that images were to document their subject matter realistically is not a transhistorical constancy of the communicative functions of images. See Chapter 3.
- 2 For example, the famous American children’s book *Hans Brinker, or, the Silver Skates: A Story of Life in Holland* (Dodge 1865) tells the story of a poor family, saved from misery by son Hans. It was richly illustrated with figures in dress resembling the traditional costumes of Volendam and is still in print. This book also contains

a passage in which a boy saves the Netherlands by putting his finger into a leaking dike, which is, of course, completely made up but nevertheless became a well-known anecdote associated with the Netherlands.

- 3 This period was largely inspired by John Motley's enormously popular publication *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1855), which glorified the Netherlands of the "golden century". Around the period of the American Civil War, Arti Ponsen and Jori Zijlmans argue, the wish to define "Americans" as one nation led to a search for traditions in the past. Rather than the successful War of Independence against Britain, some intellectuals found inspiration for the definition of American values in the 80 Years' War between the (then) young nation of the Netherlands and the established colonial power Spain (1568-1648). The historical narrative of a young nation defeating an imperial power was popularized, which had as a side effect that many US-Americans admired anything Dutch, or at least what Motley defined as such (Cf. Ponsen and Zijlmans 2009). Not the contemporary Netherlands, but the Netherlands of the "golden century" were nostalgically glorified by following writers and artists, and probably also by travelling Americans who went to the Netherlands in search of "their roots".
- 4 We should realize that the popularity of a medium or an image is not always easy to assess (cf. Dellmann 2016b), and certainly not by numbers only. More often than not, information on print runs and range of distribution is unavailable and can only be assessed roughly through trade catalogues, my observation of adaptations and reprints of images through various publications, and the invaluable experience of collectors. Moreover, artefacts of popular culture have not always been regarded worth archiving by cultural heritage institutions. This makes availability of sources a strong criterion for the selection, too.
- 5 I thank Jade Botter for bringing this to my attention.
- 6 Titia Bergsma was married to a Dutch overseas trade officer. Despite her short stay in 1817, she provoked much interest and her image was widespread in paintings and applied graphics (Cf. Bersma 2002 for illustrations). She was a modern lady, dressed in the fashion of that time; Japanese representations of Dutch women in the nineteenth century featured Titia Bergsma portraits rather than images of Volendam women.



Analysing Images of Dutchness: From Stereotype to National Cliché

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ABSTRACT

This chapter explains methods and approaches for the study of popular visual culture before 1914. The objective of the following study is to shed light on a semiotic process: the attribution of meaning to cultural artefacts, which result in supposed common knowledge and, as part of it, national clichés. The concepts “performative” and “performance” as well as “intermediality” are introduced as suitable approaches for investigating visual material in conjunction with its textual comments. The outlined research frame is designed to historicize the categories (Dutch, Dutchness, and the Netherlands), the visual content (the image-objects, motifs, and clichés), and the attributed meaning (textual comment performed at specific venues).

KEYWORDS

visual culture – methods; media history – methods; stereotypes; intermediality; performativity

1.1 INTRODUCTION

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This study investigates the role of visual media in the creation of supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands between *c.* 1800 and 1914. Two expressions will recur throughout the chapters: “supposed common knowledge” and “images of Dutchness”. As stated in the Introduction, the research question concerns itself with *knowledge production*, while the data to answer it are “images of Dutchness”. It is crucial to be aware of this distinction, as the analysis of the aesthetics and meanings of the images is not at the centre of the research question itself, but a means to answer it. In addition to these two expressions, a number of highly polysemic terms will be used as conceptual tools. This chapter defines the terminology, outlines the approach to the historical material, and situates this research in the field of history of Western popular visual culture.

I use the term “popular”, not qualitatively to distinguish between lowbrow and highbrow culture, but quantitatively as a synonym to “widely disseminated”; “media” to signify a technology and form of transmitting information; “text” and “word” exclusively for written and spoken words; “image” in reference to a material object (an artefact) whose visual information goes beyond the material of the carrier *and* what is perceived as an image; and “motif” to describe the visual content of these images.¹ The term “image” therefore does not refer to mental representations (which I will refer to as “ideas”). I have chosen the formula “supposed common knowledge” over the more widely used term “stereotype” to better account for the implicit normative ideas regarding what people of a given community are expected to know. Furthermore, supposed common knowledge is not primarily linked to cognitive questions of representation. Supposed common knowledge is defined as a conceptual tool to describe a specific form of knowledge against the backdrop of the stereotype.

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch appeared in various visual media (see Chapter 2). My corpus consists of images that were disseminated widely. All of these popular images came with textual comment and were shown to, performed for, and seen by audiences at various venues and in different countries. For the investigated period, I observed a relative stability and persistence of media and media formats, a relative stability and persistence of recurring motifs, and a relative instability of meaning attribution and tex-

tual comment. Neither motif nor aesthetics, neither attributed meaning nor appreciation, nor critique of the images differ significantly along the lines of place of production or nationality of the commenting person. A comparison of self-images with outsider's images therefore appeared too simple. To describe the complexity of the "nationality" of images, the concept of Dutchness proved useful. In addition, I will use the concept of "Otherness" to analyse the descriptions of people and places. In order to better account for the various functions that word and image combinations can have, I will introduce the distinction "national-as-bracket" and "national-as-descriptor" in Chapter 4.

Despite technological differences between media and therefore differences in production methods and the material of carriers, the *motifs* resemble one another across different media and appear very stable and persistent during the investigated period, especially from c. 1870 onwards. Consequently, it seemed inadequate to present the research purely chronologically or to compare e.g. images of the Netherlands in film to images of the Netherlands in illustrated magazines.² To describe the recurrence of motifs across media, I make use of the concept of transmediality (see below).

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The most significant differences are found in the textual comments to the images. Textual comment is crucial in the process of attributing meaning to images. By understanding this process as performative (thus not fully determined by image or comment alone), I can account for the observation that the same motif – at times even the same image – can be commented on in several ways. Recurring patterns in meaning attribution can be distinguished from one another by assigning them to specific discourses. This gave reason to organize the analysis of the material according to discourses (anthropology, geography, and tourism) and not along the more commonly applied lines of chronology, origin, or medium. I provided motivation for this choice in the Introduction.

1.2 SUPPOSED COMMON KNOWLEDGE AND THE STEREOTYPE

The Stereotype across the Disciplines

Generally, within the humanities, the phenomenon of recurring formulas or patterns in media is described in terms of the stereotype. In the key publication on the topic in the field of cinema studies, *Film and Stereotype*, Jörg Schweinitz (2011) traces the various uses of the term "stereotype" across the disciplines. In social psychology, the term "stereotype" refers to "standardized conceptions of people, primarily based on an individual's belonging to a category" (Schweinitz 2011, 4). In this discipline, the formation of stereotypes

refers to mental and cognitive processes in order to analyse belief patterns and how these patterns influence attitudes on and perception of other groups of people (Cf. Schweinitz 2011, 5). The verbal articulation of stereotypes are also studied in (comparative) literature studies (Cf. Beller and Leerssen 2007). In linguistics, fixed lexeme connections are defined as verbal stereotypes. Patterns used in specific situations that are “conventionally used to say certain things” (Coulmas 1981, 3) are also named stereotypes.

Visual Expressions of the Stereotype

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As these examples have shown, not all phenomena that are commonly designated by the term “stereotype” have a visual or textual component. For the study of visual expressions of stereotypes, I turn to its conceptualization in art history. In art history, the stereotype is used to “describe conventionally fixed and recurrent structural patterns of representation” (Schweinitz 2011, 21). According to art historian Arnold Hauser, artists need to deal creatively with this fact as long as they want to share and communicate: artistic representations need to make use of the already known and transform it, because something completely unrelated necessarily remains incomprehensible to the audience (cf. Hauser 1982, 21). Art historian Ernst H. Gombrich uses the terms “pattern” and “formula” to mark that he “understands stereotypes as particularly stable schemata of visual or artistic representation, which can be considered conventional within a given art-historical formation” (Schweinitz 2011, 23; referring to Gombrich 1983, 148). In his study *Art and Illusion*, Gombrich shows the strong impact of conventions in Western art that influence pictorial representations in visual representations of the external world. To Gombrich, the distinction between the stereotype as specific schema or convention either in the mind of the artist or in pattern books on the one side and the realizations in the individual works of art on the other is highly important to analyse various ways in which artists adapt stereotypes into clichés. In Gombrich’s conceptualization, the stereotype is very explicitly an *idea*, the abstract pattern behind the image but never the concrete, material image. The adaptation of a stereotype in e.g. a painting or a photograph results in a *cliché*, not a “stereotypical image”.

For my analysis, I will follow Gombrich’s distinction of “cliché” and “stereotype”: in this definition, the stereotype designates the mental concept, the cliché is the realization of this mental concept in an image (Cf. Gombrich 1983, 61) or, better, in images. Only through comparative analysis, so is my conviction, can one identify the recurrence of a motif and discern conventions in depiction.

Before recurring motifs can be understood as clichés, the stereotype that is expressed in the cliché needs to be reconstructed. The cliché is not equal to a single image or a recurring motif; it is only by relating the observed recurrence of motifs to a mental concept – the stereotype – that the recurring motifs can be understood as cliché to visualize the stereotype. In other words: *it is only possible to understand the motif of an image as a cliché against the interpretative backdrop of the stereotype*. Whereas “image” and “recurring motifs” describe material, visible phenomena, “cliché” and “stereotype” are cognitive concepts. These levels are, of course, only distinguishable in theory; in practice, both are related in a dynamic process: mental constructions are both *manifested in and are based on* material objects such as images.

Two types of studies that investigate visual expressions of the stereotype are dominant. They take either a deductive or an inductive approach. A deductive study of stereotypes investigates how mental concepts are visualized. Starting from a mental concept, these studies investigate which instances – in visual matter, motifs – figure as corresponding clichés. Once the cliché is identified, expressions of the stereotype can be traced via the appearance of the cliché in a body of images and texts. An example for such a research question is: “How are the mental concepts ‘the Dutch’ and ‘the Netherlands’ visualized? Which motifs are used to express the concepts ‘the Dutch’ and ‘the Netherlands’”? Here, the mental concept appears as the defining criterion for the classification. Such research can result in an inventory of motifs that illustrate a concept. In the case of continually recurring motifs, a cliché can be identified. A conclusion would state, e.g. that the concept “the Netherlands” is usually visualized by the motifs “windmill” and “clogs” and not by fast cars and evening gowns and that these motifs are found in the images A, B, and C. The motifs “windmill” and “clogs” can now be understood as clichés for the expression of the concept “the Netherlands”.

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An inductive study of stereotypes starts at the other end. Departing from the observed phenomenon of a recurrence of motifs, it searches for corresponding mental concepts to subsequently identify the recurring motifs as clichés. A research question of the inductive approach is: “To what do these hundreds of images with the recurring motif of windmills next to a canal relate?” Then, different suggestions for the interpretation of the recurring motif are made. Is the motif a cliché to illustrate the mental concept of a windmill, waterways, or Dutch landscapes? In this approach, the recurring motif (not the cliché) is the criterion of classification. As a result, various semantic fields associated with the motif and the variety of mental concepts, that the motif of a windmill next to a canal can stand for, can be traced.³

Both approaches presuppose one element at their point of departure: either clichés are searched to represent the already-defined stereotype, or a

concept is searched to explain the phenomenon of recurring patterns of an already-defined motif. Both approaches elucidate different *cognitive* aspects in the coupling of concept and expression, generalized abstraction and concrete instances, stereotype and cliché. Although it is possible to use the concept of the stereotype in historical research, e.g. for diachronic studies on how visualizations of a concept change over time, it is neither possible to investigate the social, cultural, and historical dimensions in the process of coupling a concept to a limited number of expressions, nor to explain what the images mean or meant. Even when used to investigate aesthetics, the stereotype is defined as a cognitive entity and is not used to describe the (material) images. If scholars judge an image as stereotypical, this is most often the conclusion of an analysis of images that made use of other tools to analyse the meaning of a certain motif, e.g. Barthes' concept of anchorage as outlined in his famous essay "Rhetoric of the Image" (Barthes 1977); criteria from art history for the description of images, iconography, cultural traditions of symbols and allegories etc.

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Research into stereotypes would possibly find that windmills and clogs often are present in images referring to the Netherlands – but, through these stereotypes, the question of what people got to know through these images, which attitudes about the Netherlands and the Dutch were broadly shared, cannot be fully answered. The conceptualization of the stereotype is not designed for investigating *semiotic* processes. Precisely this, the *attribution of meaning to images* of the Netherlands and the Dutch, is central to this thesis (see Introduction). I thus opted to approach my material through the concept "supposed common knowledge". Rather than alternatives, I see that supposed common knowledge is a broader category that contains, but is not limited to, stereotypical thinking and its expression in clichés. As I will argue below, both forms of knowledge are reductive and incomplete, but, in contrast to the stereotype, supposed common knowledge does not *exclusively* rely on standardized forms and therefore accounts better for my research question.

Rediscovering historical, visual material and investigating the processes in which an image of the Netherlands eventually becomes an image of Dutchness requires another route for the research. I started by trying to consider (at least conceptually) all images that claim to inform about the Netherlands and the Dutch in a realist way and that circulated widely in the long nineteenth century. I then clustered recurring motifs and comments to subsequently derive patterns in the ways in which visual material functions in the knowledge production about the Netherlands and the Dutch. Although my corpus of about 3000 images is not suitable for absolute quantitative statements, I am convinced that it indicates a relative prominence of used motifs and ascribed meaning, which is telling about patterns.

I believe that there are two advantages in looking into a big corpus of images without limiting oneself to images that display clichés of (today's) stereotypes of the Netherlands and the Dutch. For one reason, this approach is less likely to presuppose what one is about to find out: had I limited myself to images of windmills and people wearing clogs, I could have verified that this was a popular motif indeed. However, the gained knowledge would have been quite poor. Another reason for this conceptual openness was the possibility to include the “non-cliché images” in the generation of supposed common knowledge as well. I could trace which meanings were attributed to images of the Netherlands and the Dutch without the necessity to define beforehand if the image in question used a cliché. Furthermore, the openness led to my observation that, over the course of time, the motifs used for expressing the concepts “the Netherlands” and “the Dutch” became limited to a relatively small number that functioned as clichés. I could not have observed this if I had not considered the “non-cliché images” in my research.

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From the above follows that the cliché in my research plays a different role than it does in stereotype theory. The cliché is neither the starting point nor the result nor the central object of the research question. Clichés are visual expressions of the stereotype and, as such, they are *part of* supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch. Clichés can also be valuable evidence of assumptions of “what one supposedly knows”; however, there is something more to supposed common knowledge than stereotypes and clichés. To account for this “something more”, I will now outline differences between these two kinds of knowledge.

From Stereotype to Supposed Common Knowledge

Supposed common knowledge and the stereotype have in common that they are reductive and simplifying. This notwithstanding, there is a difference in the way the reduction of complexity is achieved. The stereotype is a systematic, highly organized form of knowledge, as the attributions “formulaic”, “schematic”, and “composite” imply. This stands in sharp contrast to the cumulative and fuzzy character of what people at a given time in a given community believe or (are supposed to) know. The reduction of complexity into supposed common knowledge is *not organized formulaically i.e. not systematically*. Although supposed common knowledge is the result of a non-organized selection process, this kind of knowledge does not invite readers/viewers to evaluate its content critically. Everyone can contribute to supposed common knowledge: the scholar of ethnography as much as the neighbour who returns from her holidays or even someone who hears something on the radio. Person-

al experiences and scholarly research; anecdotes and historical facts; eclectic information on villages, cities, and buildings; on weather, landscape, and customs all feed into “what everyone knows”. No graspable authority assembled this corpus of statements and bits of information. These statements are not necessarily coherent, nor are they exclusive. If “everyone knows” that the Dutch are a nation of fishermen, it is nonetheless possible to admire their diplomatic tradition. Supposed common knowledge about people and places is implicitly or explicitly tied to claims of truth, and thus visual representations of realism and authenticity – stereotypes do not necessarily make this claim. In addition, supposed common knowledge offers the individual an easy way to make statements without questioning or taking responsibility for the things said. An individual can answer the question “how do you know that the Dutch wear wooden shoes?” with “because everyone knows it” or with reference to “common sense”. Thereby, a statement is confirmed by repeating a presupposed content by reference to a norm (reiterating both the body of knowledge and its attribution) – without further justification or arguments. The normative implication of supposed common knowledge opens the statements made in its name to interrogation from an ethical perspective; this dimension is absent in the concept of the stereotype.⁴

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By definition, supposed common knowledge belongs to the realm of the popular. The fact that something is supposed to be known commonly requires relatively invariant and fixed forms – if not, one’s own knowledge would not be convergent with everyone else’s. Supposed common knowledge and the stereotype thus share that both draw on “fixed forms”, which are “repeatedly reproduced” and as a result “very persistent” (Cf. Schweinitz 2011, 26). However, the degree of both fixity and persistency of supposed common knowledge cannot be as high as in the stereotype. The absence of systematization in supposed common knowledge allows the inclusion or exclusion of details as one sees fit (which ensures its functionality to divergent discourses and for a wide range of communicative aims) without being marked or perceived as an adaptation.

The concepts of stereotype and supposed common knowledge differ strongly in their relation to truth. As Schweinitz rightly points out, criticizing the stereotype for not representing the world in its complex variety misses the point as the stereotype by definition is a kind of schema, thus reductive and formulaic (Cf. Schweinitz 2011, 36–39).⁵ As outlined above, supposed common knowledge is not systematically reductive or schematic; the question whether its statements are true or false therefore becomes more intricate. In the course of my research, I rarely came across a statement about the Netherlands and the Dutch that is explicitly false – there *are* people who wear wooden shoes, there *are* windmills, some people *do* paint their houses in colourful varnish, and cheese actually *is* produced in the Netherlands. The problem here

is not so much one of true versus distorted or false representation, but one of synecdoche / *pars pro toto*. The focus of attention then lies on the question of which bits of information and which statements are supposed to be “commonly known”. Consequently, this research inquires the status of the (always) partial knowledge in relation to claims of comprehensiveness. Supposed common knowledge and the stereotype share the aspect of being established by convention, but the established conventions are situated on different levels. Supposed common knowledge is not the result of conventionalized *cognitive processes* but of conventionalized *social and cultural practices* that result in statements about a certain topic that members among a given community are supposed to know.

Having conceptualized supposed common knowledge this way enables me to pose questions about the process of linking objects with cultural and historical meanings as well as questions about how “everyone” is addressed to make sense of and relate to the images and statements.

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1.3 NATIONALITY, NATIONALISM, NATIONNESS: THE NETHERLANDS, DUTCH, DUTCHNESS

Alongside concepts to investigate the meaning of images, as discussed above, analytical concepts for the discussion of the “nationality of images” are required.

What is Dutch or what makes something or someone Dutch is not a question first asked in the age of postmodernity; it has been asked (and answered) in various ways and with different intentions ever since the national became an important category of difference in the early nineteenth century (see Chapters 3 and 4). Debates about possible meanings of Dutchness have a history, too. What is Dutch concerning *cultural heritage* was of great importance to the intellectual elite in the Netherlands as early as the first half of the nineteenth century. Joep Leerssen shows in *De bronnen van het vaderland. Taal, literatuur en de afbakening van Nederland 1806-1890* (2006) how many efforts were taken in attempts to firmly root the Netherlands and the Dutch in a cultural tradition that is older than these national categories themselves. Leerssen particularly investigates the role of literature critiques in the creation of a cultural national tradition. With the tale of Reynard the fox, Leerssen illustrates how cultural heritage retrospectively has become nationalized by historiographers and confronts the conflicting claims of German, Belgium, Dutch, and French intellectuals who interpret this tale as part of “their” national cultural heritage (Cf. Leerssen 2006).

In addition to the question of “national identity” of cultural heritage,

many Dutch intellectuals of the nineteenth century pondered which *qualities* are or should be related to “Dutch identity”. Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) defined the Dutch as a spiritual unity of (orthodox) Protestants; consequently, he saw the Dutch nation as a Protestant nation with Calvinism as its core (Cf. Kuiper 1993). In the second half of the nineteenth century, liberals claimed to embody the “‘typically’ Dutch spirit of the Golden Age” and thereby the “essence of national tradition” (te Velde 1993, 62), too. Decades later, Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) drew on this tradition to define the Dutch first and foremost as *burgerlijk* (Cf. te Velde 1993). The affiliation of the province of Limburg is another case in point: in 1866, Limburg was fully separated from Prussia and joined the United Provinces of the Netherlands. At that time, the local political elite defined themselves not as essentially Dutch; their anti-Prussian feelings were at least as important as Dutch national sentiments (Cf. op den Camp 1993, 86). Only when the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 threatened the sovereignty of Limburg did the Limburg elite emphasize their belonging to the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Despite differences in landscape, language, religion, and history, the Limburgers felt that they were best off within the Dutch state and its tradition of “toleration of cultural differences” (op den Camp 1993, 103).

This selection of definitions of Dutchness already shows that the question “what is Dutch” can be posed with various intentions. The multiple answers prove that so-called Dutch attitudes and qualities never have been defined in a univocal or consensual way. The search for a generally accepted and encompassing definition of Dutchness is as old as it has proved to be unachievable. However, it is not possible to abandon the categories “Dutchness” and “Dutch (national) identity” altogether in a study on “images of Dutchness”; not least because parts of the various answers to the question of “what Dutch is” fed into the fuzzy, eclectic, and cumulative body of supposed common knowledge. I thus suggest rephrasing the question to inquire about Dutchness. Instead of trying to define Dutchness and then discuss whether an image represents Dutchness correctly, desirably, adequately or not, I will ask which definitions of Dutchness are offered and which *function* a particular construction of Dutchness fulfils.

In order to account for various functionalities of questions concerning the “nationality” of cultural products, a more elaborate understanding of the national is indispensable. This need increases when products are disseminated and produced for an international market. Popular images of the Netherlands and the Dutch are produced by manufactures based in various countries. What is, then, the nationality of a film showing a coastal town in the Netherlands, taken by a Belgian cameraman for a French production company, distributed all over the world? What is the nationality of an image taken

in a British studio, showing a woman with props and clothes that are associated with the Netherlands, reprinted in a German illustrated magazine? Confronted with similar questions in her study of early films on America's West, Nanna Verhoeff designed three layers of the national: nationality, nationalism, and nationness. According to her definition, the *national* refers to the origin of the product in question – e.g. the site of the headquarters of the production company. The second layer, the *nationalist*, refers to questions of cultural ownership and/or belonging – e.g. the place of the filmed sites. With cultural products becoming available on an increasingly international market, the demand for recognizable distinctions between national products has increased, too. The third layer, *nationness*, is linked to this demand. Verhoeff defines nationness as a “bundle of features that cater to a recognizable taste that becomes fashionable” (Verhoeff 2006, 160). Nationness implies both *recognizable images* and a *recognizable style* of these images that, in the case of early film, is often associated with the nationality of the production company. Despite all efforts, the content of the category of nationness itself is never fully defined and remains in constant transition. Verhoeff observes that early Pathé films about America's West “foreground an unstable ‘nationness’ that draws attention to the impossibility of pinning them [the films] down in terms of nationality” (Verhoeff 2006, 172).

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This impossibility of pinning down internationally distributed images in terms of nationality also applies to popular images of the Netherlands and the Dutch before the invention of cinema and in nonfiction genres. In the Netherlands as well as in its neighbouring countries and in North America, the nationality (i.e. the origin) of images that circulated massively was foremost British, French, and German (see Chapter 2). Nationalism and nationness of images are not determined as easily as nationality. A certain motif may be claimed or discarded to express cultural belonging, and fashions change over time as well. Looking into textual comments on the image gives insight into the meanings that an image came to stand in for; the meaning is, to a large extent, external to the images themselves.

Nations and Their Others

In the course of the nineteenth century, aspects that were seen as characteristic of a nation were often defined against their (assumed) difference to others. The terms “The Other” and “Otherness” (with capital O), contrasted to the “self”, are employed in different disciplines of the humanities.⁶ For my research, I will follow the application of these terms as outlined in postcolonial studies, as, in that field of study, these terms are used to investigate the

production of knowledge about people and places. In postcolonial studies, Otherness is the result of the ways in which the colonizers explain, imagine, and allocate the people in the colonies as radically different from themselves. One key publication in this field of study is Homi Bhabha's essay collection *The Location of Culture* (Bhabha 1994a). In his famous essay "The Other Question. Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism" (Bhabha 1994b), Bhabha proposes a shift in the (functionality of) analysis of colonial discourse. Instead of discussing whether texts use aesthetics that are ethically acceptable or not, he asks which positions of collective identities are (re-)constructed.

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My reading of colonial discourse suggests that the point of intervention should shift from the ready recognition of images as positive or negative, to an understanding of *processes of subjectification* made possible (and plausible) through stereotypical discourse. To judge the stereotypical image⁷ on the basis of a prior political normativity is to dismiss it, not to displace it, which is only possible by engaging with its *effectivity*; with the repertoire of positions of power and resistance, domination and dependence that constructs colonial identification subject (both colonizer and colonized). [...] In order to understand the productivity of colonial power it is crucial to construct its regime to truth, not to subject its representations to a normalizing judgment. (Bhabha 1994b, 67 original emphasis)

In the following section of the essay, Bhabha emphasizes the function of knowledge production in colonial discourse (Cf. Bhabha 1994b, 70). This knowledge "employs a system of representation, a regime of truth, that is structurally similar to realism" (Bhabha 1994b, 71). This allusion to realism makes the content of knowledge appear true, which, in turn, facilitates the acceptance of the meaning that is ascribed to the perceived differences, not as an interpretation, but as reality. Bhabha quotes a passage of Edward Said's *Orientalism*:

[A]nyone employing orientalism, which is the habit for dealing with questions, objects, qualities, and regions deemed to be Oriental, will designate, name, point to, fix what he is talking or thinking about with a word or phrase, which then is considered either to have acquired, or more simply, to be, reality. (Said 2003, 72; quoted in Bhabha 1994b, 71)

Orientalist discourse, just as colonial discourse in general, produces knowledge in the rhetoric of realism resulting in ideas of reality and truth about the colonies for the Western or European reader. As Bhabha, Said, and other

postcolonial scholars have argued, the people and places described in colonial discourse are constructed as opposed, i.e. as Other, to the European white male. Differences, not similarities, are emphasized. The perceived differences of “the Other” are neither meaningless nor neutral. While the European colonizers conceive of themselves as the norm (and get away with it because the drastic asymmetry in power is in their favour) they define the peoples in the colonies as “Others”, as deviants from the norm. Colonial discourse thereby positions the white man on top of a social hierarchy (i.e. as “normal”) with the peoples in the colonies on the bottom, as Others. The ascribed Otherness then served the European conqueror as proof of their superiority and as justification for colonialization.

Both the knowledge of colonial discourse and supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch claim (implicitly or explicitly) to inform objectively, truthfully, and in a realist way about people and places. In both postcolonial studies and this book, research questions inquire how readers/viewers are addressed to make sense of people and places. But the Dutch are not a minority group; on the contrary, the Netherlands was a colonial power itself. Are the same structures at play when people of colonial powers depict those of another one? This possibility is mentioned by postcolonial studies scholar Marie Louise Pratt in her analysis of nineteenth-century travel writings on colonies. *En passant*, she mentions that

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readers of European travel books about Europe have pointed out that many of the conventions and writing strategies I associate here with imperial expansionism characterize travel writing about Europe as well (Pratt 1992, 10)

but does not elaborate this thought further. Similarly, Anne McClintock shows how, within colonies and colonial states men excluded women from equal participation by using rhetorical strategies that are similar to colonial discourse. Socialists and working class members, too, were constructed as Other to the bourgeois nation state (McClintock 1997, 103). She adapts the concept of the Other exclusively for politically subjected positions.

The adaption of concepts designed to investigate representation and positioning of minoritized groups to the study of the Dutch needs some clarification. There are certain points that cannot be parallelized. First and foremost, the Netherlands and the Dutch were never marginalized or seen as abject. Even when seen as Other in the eyes of the commenting person (see Chapter 6.9), the consequences of this “Othering” are by no means comparable to the situation in the colonies: the Dutch were not conquered, shot, imprisoned, colonized, enslaved, or raped in the name of “civilization”; they were not forced to

organize their social life in foreign languages and according to alien institutions. Dutch people could speak and some did talk back against images they felt uncomfortable with, and no one risked their personal or physical integrity when doing so. In the case of the knowledge production on the Netherlands and the Dutch, being seen as Other does something *with* the Dutch (and not *to* them) – and some Dutch even contributed to the construction of their image.

Despite these differences, in the cases when the Netherlands and the Dutch are seen as Others, there are *functions* at play that I find relevant to analyse. I will take up Bhabha's suggestion to study "the *process* by which forms of racial/cultural/historical otherness have been marginalized" (Bhabha 1994b, 67 original emphasis) because this process is, at least implicitly, related to the question of ascribing meaning to people and places that are perceived as different (unlike Bhabha, my main interest does not lie in the effects of these descriptions).

44 | Marginalization is one possible result of making Otherness work. While marginalization is intrinsic to every colonial project,⁸ I believe that processes by which forms of Otherness are created *can* result in other positions and relations. When I borrow the concept of "the Other" from postcolonial studies, I draw on the expertise of postcolonial scholars to investigate various layers in the *functions and mechanisms* that are at play when depicting and describing people and places. If – what postcolonial theorists emphasize – colonialism was constitutive to the identity formation of Western states, then we can suspect the structures of colonial thinking to be at work within Western colonial nations as well. With respect to the depiction of people and places, we can thus expect to find forms of "Othering" even within and among Western societies.⁹

To analyse the historical and cultural meanings of images of people and places (see Introduction), a careful analysis of *ways in which difference is constructed* and *which judgments are connected to this difference* is needed. I suggest to study the textual comment to visual material by means of discursive analysis with regards to the question: how and what are spectators addressed to see in the image put before them? Next to the investigation of the textual comment, the images need to be considered in order to account for the *visual* aspects in the relation between viewer/reader/audience and the presented combination of word and image. This requires a different approach than postcolonial studies, stemming from literary studies, usually takes.

1.4 APPROACHES

After the definition of the relevant analytical concepts “supposed common knowledge” and “Dutchness”, I will explain the methodologies and approaches that I will apply to my analysis of image-text combinations.

Motifs Across Media

Within media studies, the circulation of similar motifs through various media is referred to as transmedia phenomenon or transmediality. Irina Rajewsky defines transmediality as medium unspecific phenomena in which matter, aesthetics, genres, and types of discourse appear in different media, and in which “the assumption of a contact-giving medium of origin is not important or possible, and would not be relevant for the constitution of meaning in the current medial product” (Rajewsky 2002, 12–13; translated in Englund 2010, 75).

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This definition matches my observation of popular images of the Netherlands and the Dutch between 1800 and 1914. Matter, aesthetics, genres, and types of discourse do not change as such when used in different media or embedded in another discourse. Neither new media nor upcoming discourses produced new or specific motifs or employ new aesthetics *per se* (see Chapter 7). To account for the observation that the same motif – sometimes even the same image – was used to communicate various meanings, I propose a historical-pragmatic perspective, arguing that content changes when it is *experienced or perceived* differently (Cf. Elsaesser 1996; Kessler 2002). Experiencing content differently does not necessarily imply the use of new images or new media. On the contrary, “old” images can be experienced and perceived in a new way when the comment or the way of presentation is changed. To find out about the attribution of meaning to nonfiction visual material, the investigation of the combination of word and image and the ways in which these combinations are presented and performed proved highly relevant (see Introduction for the explanation of the lines of inquiry).

Analysing the Meaning of an Image (I): The Image and its Textual Comments

Images of people and places with a claim to realism do not make sense out of themselves. Unlike e.g. Christian religious iconography, there is no explicit, symbolic coding in what the composition and gestures of people against a certain backdrop means. Nonfiction images of the Netherlands and the Dutch

only prove that this particular instance, place, building, or person existed (in reality or in fantasy) and appeared worthwhile painting, filming, or photographing – and that is about what can be derived from a single image when analysed in isolation from any other.

If we compare different images, we will find that some motifs appear more often than others. Although the prominence of a motif does not have a meaning in and of itself, it does have an impact on what can possibly be known. The availability of certain motifs (and the absence of others) produces and limits what “everyone” could have seen, what *visually* could have been experienced about the Netherlands and the Dutch. The images and the visual aspects (recurrent motifs and aesthetics) are relevant to describe the content of supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands *even when no specific meaning follows directly* from the material.

46 | Almost all images in my corpus come with textual comments. Captions, titles, and intertitles suggest a direction of the spectator’s view towards what there is to be seen. Film-, stereo card- and lantern slide titles, readings, lectures, and catalogue descriptions indicate to the lecturer, projectionist, or audience the subject at hand. In order to be accepted as meaningful, the relation of image and text needs to be perceived other than as randomly or arbitrarily connected elements. Theoretically, *any* comment can be made on an image. In practice, this does not happen. Recurring combinations of patterns in image-text combinations can only be explained against an interpretative backdrop. Just as stereotypes figure as interpretative backdrops to attribute recurring patterns of motifs in images (see Chapter 1.2), discourses function as interpretative backdrops to the textual comments against which technology, statements, and images are perceived as specific image-text entities that “make sense”.

Attributing a statement or a combination of word and image to a discourse is, obviously, the result of inductive interpretation. These interpretations as well as the classification of discourses are mine. Yet, I claim my interpretations to be neither arbitrary nor subjective. The sections in illustrated magazines (e.g. “news from abroad”, “arts”, or travel descriptions), the publisher of a brochure (e.g. a tourist agency or a teacher’s committee), the title (e.g. *Picturesque Travel through Holland* or *Ons Vaderland in Lichtbeeld*), or the genre itself (e.g. tourist guidebook or geographical magazine) indicate a larger framework within which this material was situated.

I wish to emphasize the term “situated” here as it adds the dimension of venue to the analysis of meaning-making. A film shown in a vaudeville evening program, an ethnographic compendium available at a university library, a lantern show by the local society for geography, or advertising trade cards mounted in albums all situate word and image combinations *literally*. The making of meaning can thus be located.¹⁰

Having said this, I will not investigate concrete exhibition places, individual entertainers, and their specific strategies to draw and address local audiences.¹¹ My analysis is restricted to examine possible ways in which images and textual comments were combined to convey information on the Netherlands and the Dutch. My study does not claim to inform about what really happened in actual viewing situations and what people got to know in a specific show, but it sketches the larger framework of circulating information on the Netherlands and the Dutch in word and image from which local lecturers could draw for their shows.

Analysing the Meaning of an Image (II): Performative and Performance

The discussion in the previous paragraphs showed that neither images nor the technological medium format make sense out of themselves. Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch are perceived as meaningful when combined with textual comment, displayed at specific venues. With the concepts of the performative and performance, I believe, we can tie together the different elements in the process of meaning-making and explain the observation that standardized, internationally distributed images can take various meanings.

The concepts “performative” and “performance” are used in various disciplines of the humanities.¹² The concept “performative” goes back to John L. Austin’s theory of speech acts (1976). Austin observed that language does not always make statements about what is the case, but that it can also produce what it refers to. The statement “I cycle to Amsterdam” is an example of a constative utterance, i.e. a statement; it can be true or false. Austin’s examples for performative utterances are “I do take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife” or “I name this ship the *Queen Elisabeth*” (Cf. Austin 1976, 5). Obviously, these utterances can be neither false nor true; they can go wrong, be unhappy, or become infelicitous (Cf. Austin 1976, 14). Jonathan Culler summarizes:

The essential thing about performative utterances is that they do not describe but perform – successfully or unsuccessfully – the action they designate. It is in pronouncing these words that I promise, order, or marry. (Culler 2000, 504–505)

The “success” of a performative utterance does not depend on the intention of the speaker or an inherent meaning of the statement, but on linguistic and social conventions. In adapting the performative to gender studies, Judith Butler has argued that it is not the authority of the speaker that is decisive for

the success or failure of the utterance, but the repeated citation (and recognition) of norms. Seen like that, everyone takes part in the repetition of norms that create their own position (Cf. Butler 1993, 225–226; cited in Culler 2000, 514).

The textual comments to the images in my corpus are never *phrased* in the form “I hereby declare the people in the images as (representative of the) Dutch”. Still, the textual comments do exactly what performative utterances do. For example, the caption “Dutch peasants” of an image displaying the motif of people in traditional costume attributes meaning by proposing context. In fact, this caption points to a polysemic image and turns the content of the image into what the caption refers to.

48 | From this observation follows that word and image combinations of non-fiction images are inherently performative – not in the sense that the statements literally produce what they refer to (the figures in traditional costume would still exist if nobody had photographed and commented on them), but in the sense that such combinations of word and image produce *what there is to be known* (i.e., through the specific combination of word and image, these people are performed as and become known as “Dutch peasants”).

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, this study investigates *which* images and statements are supposed to be commonly known, *how* the process of linking visual objects with cultural and historical meanings works in the case of images of the Netherlands and the Dutch, and *which* differences result from this process. In this sense, I explore the broader effects of the performative in shaping our perception and encounter with the “things in the world”. From my study of archival material, I infer that *every* display of a nonfiction image performs the motif *as part of something else*, e.g. a concept, an idea, or a proof for a statement. Any motif only becomes meaningful and communicates meaning in performance, and this meaning can change even when the motif does not. Here, I shift my approaches to the combinations of word and image from the *performative* (a theoretical concept with emphasis on the relevance of convention and repetition in the acceptance of expressions and actions) to the *performance* of these images, i.e. the diverse practices of presenting and exhibiting these images to an audience such as the projection of film and lantern slides in a show. Both the performative and the performance will need to be considered in the analysis of the combinations of word and image. In addition to designating presentations and shows in which these images are projected or looked at, I expand the term “performance” in a metaphorical way to images in print. I believe that newspapers, brochures, journals, tourist guidebooks, and the like also perform the motif in form of a printed image. After all, the *function* that lecturers and commenters in film and lantern slide shows fulfil – attributing meaning to a polysemic image,

creating a relation between image and audience – is present in the captions, comments, and titles of print products as well.

Across different media, the motif of a Zuiderzee inhabitant appeared, among others, in the promotion for a package tour to “Holland”, to advertise a steamship company, document regional peculiarities, illustrate customs in geography lessons, mourn the levelling effects of modernity, or praise the simplicity of life “back then”. The performance of motifs-as – whether in a travel report, in an anthropological compendium, in lantern shows, in advertising trade card collection albums, in a catalogue for educational material, or in cinema programmes – takes place at specific venues. New layers of meaning are negotiated and eventually attributed to the image every time it is performed for a specific audience at a concrete venue. This constant repetition in performances may change the experience, presentation, and understanding of a motif over time. While the motif might not change, the meaning it conveys does. In this view, the images are elements of performed meaning and not stable, disclosed entities. The question to that historical material can no longer be what a motif meant or represented “in and of itself”. Approached through performance, the various meanings attributed to a motif can be understood as situated meanings of specific combinations of audiences, venues, images, and comments.

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1.5 OUTLOOK

As stated in the Introduction, the object of this research is to shed light on a semiotic process – the attribution of meaning to cultural artefacts, resulting in supposed common knowledge. Intermedial and transmedial approaches are relevant to assess the popularity and longevity of an image or a motif. Through the approach via the performative and performance, the visual material is investigated together with its textual comment and with regards to its role in the production of supposed common knowledge.

What and how are readers/viewers addressed to see in images of the Netherlands and the Dutch? What are people supposed to believe and know? How is meaning created and performed in the discourses? And what is the role of visual material and its textual comment in the knowledge production on the Netherlands and the Dutch? These are the sub-questions which I will answer in the Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

In the following chapter, I will first present the popular visual media of my corpus and develop criteria for the discussion of the material (Chapter 2). Neither visual strategies, descriptive categories, nor media technologies emerged out of the blue, nor is the ambition to document people and places realisti-

cally a transhistorical phenomenon. In order to better situate the nineteenth-century images and their surrounding discourses, these “preconditions” for the emergence of supposed common knowledge and, as part of it, national clichés, will be reconstructed in Chapter 3. This research frame enables me to historicize the categories (Dutch, Dutchness, the Netherlands), the visual content (the image-objects, motifs, and clichés), and the attributed meaning (textual comment performed at specific venues).

NOTES

- 1 The perception of image-content as a motif is the result of inductive interpretation; interpreting image content as a motif is not too intricate in this study because I do not deal with figurative images.
- 2 Changes in the availability of media that display images of the Dutch and the Netherlands did not affect the use of motifs in the investigated period. Of course, the respective media have specific aesthetics: lantern slides were often hand-coloured, whereas illustrations in journals are generally not; films show images in movement and images of postcards are still etc. However, I did not find differences in used motifs or in attributions of meaning along the dividing line of media. Medium-specific aesthetics seem to be of subordinate importance to convey a statement on the Netherlands and the Dutch; motifs and captions seem to have been of higher relevance.
- 3 Oester's study (1996) on various semantic fields associated with the cow in Switzerland is a good example for such a research design.
- 4 Images that are based on stereotypes have been subject to ethical critique, especially from film and media studies, which concerned themselves with aesthetics and representation of minoritized groups. However, in these analyses, the stereotype is not used as a conceptual tool to describe a phenomenon, but is the object of these investigations. Analytical tools in these studies are e.g. the concepts “representation” (Cf. Hall 1997 esp. 223-290; Dyer 1993), “visuality” (Cf. Foster and Dia Art Foundation 1988), or “visibility” (Cf. Schaffer 2008).
- 5 Again, this is not to say that images cannot be criticized for being offensive in their way of reduction, but then we argue on ethical grounds, not on questions about truth. See also note 4.
- 6 For definition and use of the concept of the Other in psychoanalysis cf. Lacan (1988); in gender studies, cf. de Beauvoir (1953) and Butler (1993); in philosophy, cf. Hegel (1977) and, for a structuralist perspective, cf. Lévi-Strauss (1961).
- 7 What Bhabha means with the expression “stereotypical image” remains unclear to me; he does not come back to this expression in the rest of his essay and, in one

passage, he even distinguishes the stereotype from the image (Cf. Bhabha 1994b, 68). Given the fact that he defines the stereotype as a “discursive strategy” (Bhabha 1994b, 66) and that he does not analyse visual material, it is likely that “stereotypical image” refers to fixed lexeme connections (“stereotypes”) that result in idioms (“images”). In any case, the term “image” does not refer to a material, visual object in Bhabha’s essay.

- 8 One example is the imposition of a system of citizenship. By granting citizenship to some people and denying this status to others, only citizens acquire certain rights, e.g. access to education, health care, suffrage, and more. The exclusion of people from the political and public sphere is justified by a system that does not treat people equally and that marginalizes those who have been “Othered”.
- 9 Indeed, scholars in comparative literature studies also observed such patterns within Europe (Cf. e.g. Beller and Leerseen 1997a), but have investigated mostly fictional literature, and the field of panoramic literature (Cf. Preiss and Stienon 2012), which, by definition, includes illustrated journals and books but does not consider other media forms.
- 10 These venues are not “simply there”; they exist through and in greater narratives of a society – expressed in genre conventions, general beliefs, and pictorial traditions. Locations are not purely discursive; they are *also* defined by the prestige of places and venues, by technological limits, existing and available media, social conventions, and living conditions of the audience.
- 11 Cf. Kember and Plunkett (forthcoming) for the relevance of site, showperson, and performance in the making of meaning for local and regional audiences; for case studies into the implementation of visual media as part of (British) local culture, cf. e.g. Kember et al. (2012); with an emphasis on showmanship, cf. Kember (2009).
- 12 E.g. in theatre and performance studies, media studies, gender studies, philosophy of language, linguistics, literary studies, and cultural anthropology. For an overview of the different conceptions of the term in philosophy, literary studies, and gender studies, cf. Culler (2000); for theoretical implications of the terms “performance” and “the performative”, cf. Bal (2002, 174–212).



Spectacularly Dutch: Popular Visual Media from Print to Early Cinema

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ABSTRACT

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch were displayed, printed, and shown in a great variety of media and media formats between 1800 and World War I. This chapter gives background information about the popular visual media that are analysed in the following chapters: illustrated magazines; travel guidebooks; promotional material for tourists; sets of prints, *cartes de visite*, and cabinet cards of people in local costume; catchpenny prints; perspective prints; advertising trade cards; stereoscopic photographs; magic lanterns and lantern slide sets; picture postcards; and films. The presentation of each medium starts with general information and describes its technologies. Through the concepts of mediality, affordances, and *dispositif*, each medium's specific role in the dissemination of knowledge is investigated. Every description concludes with popular cases of depicting the Netherlands and the Dutch.

KEYWORDS

nineteenth century; visual media; media history; projection media; print media

2.1 INTRODUCTION

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Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch were displayed, printed, and shown in a great variety of media and media formats between 1800 and World War I. This chapter gives background information on the popular visual media that are consulted for this analysis and mentions relevant works from the field of early cinema studies, the main academic field in which visual media around 1900 are approached as part of a multimedial media landscape and as elements of cultural history. Every section ends with a short note on popular cases of the Netherlands and the Dutch in the respective medium. Rather than being an encyclopaedia of nineteenth-century visual mass media, this chapter introduces the perspective on the material.

Each description is given with the intention to discuss the performativity of media. Therefore, the intersection of formal characterization and the medium's history and the information on materiality and technology are emphasized. The perspective of *dispositif* – in English, sometimes translated as *apparatus theory* – proved helpful to analyse the performative of word and image relation in media. Across its uses in different research perspectives and research interests, the concept of *dispositif* functions to describe “a certain arrangement of (heterogeneous) elements, and a ‘tendency’ that this arrangement brings forth” (Kessler 2007, 4). The elements of the “triangular relationship between technological affordance, textual modes and forms of spectatorship” (Kessler 2007, 17) are approached as interdependent, not as mutually exclusive or opposite poles.¹

An approach to media and technology through the criteria of mediality and affordances understood as *dispositif* allows the study of the following questions: to what extent did the materiality of the image-object and the viewing technology influence the use of the medium in question; what are intended, possible, and realized uses? In what way do technological and aesthetic characteristics influence the way that the viewer is addressed? After all, the medium's inherent possibilities to communicate content are also defined by the material, technological limits. The medium, or, as Metz put it, the “technological base” (1982, 53), changes in the course of history, which consequently also changes the kind of content and the way in which it can be transmitted.

I also proposed to investigate the relation between images that circulated

on a large scale² – and thus demarcated what *visually* could be known about the Netherlands and the Dutch – and their *written* comments. My assumption is that supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch is the result of performing the images with textual comment, or, put differently, that the performative inherent to word and image combinations produces what there is to be known (Chapter 1). As I have argued, neither attribution of meaning nor motifs of images can be categorized along the line of media format, hence I stressed the need for an intermedial and transmedial approach in the study of supposed common knowledge. After all, the media landscape of the late nineteenth century was highly multimedial; people knew, consumed, and used various media and technologies, and supposed common knowledge was (re-)produced across numerous media.

Relations between media were of various kinds: on the level of *production and dissemination*, some manufacturers produced various visual media and offered their images on a variety of carriers (e.g. the Keystone View Company produced lantern slides and stereoscopic photographs on cardboard; resellers of perspective prints offered other print products as well). On the level of *performance*, some media were used, viewed, or performed in a similar way (e.g. perspective prints and stereoscopic photographs share a common viewing situation) and on the level of *technology*, some media make use of similar apparatuses (e.g. early film made use of magic lantern projectors as a light source). The reconstruction of the image circulation thus rests on these institutional and intermedial relations. The same motif – sometimes even the same photographic cliché – could appear in various media.

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Presentation of the Media

The order in the presentation of the media does not reflect a hierarchy in relevance or popularity. I grouped them into three types that are roughly organized according to the function of the image in the word and image combination of the respective media. This grouping should therefore be considered purely pragmatic.

In the first group, I present illustrated magazines, travel guidebooks and promotional material for travel and tourism. These media are print media with an emphasis on the written text; images of the Netherlands and the Dutch mostly are restricted to illustrating the written text and are rarely admired for the visual quality of the images in themselves. The second group consists of popular visual print media with a claim to depict people and places realistically. The media described in this part are sets of etched prints, lithographs, or woodblock printing of people in local costume, catchpenny prints, perspec-

tive prints, and advertising trade cards; in these media, the images are more important than those in group one and have a central function in communicating knowledge. The last group are photographic media. Just as in group two, images of the Netherlands in these media are primarily appreciated for their visual qualities and their capacity to communicate something that written text cannot. This group consists of stereoscopic photographs, lantern slides, picture postcards,³ and, finally, films of early cinema.

GROUP 1

2.2 ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINES

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I use the expression “illustrated magazines” as a generic description for periodically issued magazines that contain images.⁴ Throughout Europe, illustrated magazines were founded from the 1830s. The first illustrated magazines consisted of timeless “useful knowledge” and were very cheap products, published by societies with the aim to uplift the poor through education and knowledge. Around the 1840s, illustrated supplements to daily newspapers emerged, and more expensive versions of illustrated magazines were published. These “second generation” illustrated magazines included or emphasized news and current events. In the 1860s, cheaper illustrated newspapers were produced, making illustrated newspapers available to people with low income (Cf. Bacot 2002). Jean-Pierre Bacot emphasizes the role of the railway network, which enabled broad distribution, allowing for higher sales and higher print runs. Due to this wider distribution and purchase, the price of the costly production of engravings could be borne (Cf. Bacot 2002, 223). Michèle Martin states that the existence of a consumer culture and print products as *commodity* were necessary preconditions for the production of this kind of magazine (Cf. Martin 2006, 43).

Two types of illustrated magazine are particularly relevant to my research. I call them “family magazines” and “specialized magazines”. Family magazines are characterized by their thematic diversity, ranging from news from all over the world, to reports of new inventions in science, to tips for gardening and upbringing, to serialized novels as well as travel reports and suggestions for day trips. Family illustrated magazines were the most popular genre of illustrated magazines; the high print runs allowed for their relatively low price.

Specialized magazines focus on one topic. In this study, I will investigate illustrated magazines dedicated to geography and travel. Some of these specialized magazines were also regarded as academic publications at the time of publication. The articles of the specialized magazines are much longer than

the average article in the illustrated family magazines. Specialized magazines generally had lower print runs and were more expensive. Some family magazines included thematic supplements of specialized magazines. Family and specialized magazines shared nationwide, even international, distribution.

Mediality and Affordances

Up to the late 1890s, images with a documenting function (e.g. events, travel destinations, politicians etc.) were made in line drawings. After the introduction of offset machines, which could reprint photographic images on average paper around 1899, photographic reprints soon replaced line drawings for these types of image. Landscapes were depicted for a longer period in both photographic and drawing. Issues of an entire year of both family and specialized magazines were sometimes bound by the subscriber into one volume. Illustrated magazines were available in public libraries and coffee houses. They were also sent to their subscribers who read them at home.

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In the field of early cinema studies, the contribution of illustrations in illustrated magazines with respect to creating spectacular news and events has been addressed by Vanessa Schwartz (1995); Paul S. Moore and Sandra Gabriele discuss the relation between film and the illustrated press with respect to modes of viewing and visibility (2013); intermedial studies of visual representation of events also addressed the mediating function of, among other media, illustrated magazines (Cf. Ekström 2011; Rodell 2011; Snickars 2011).

At the end of the nineteenth century, the number of titles for illustrated magazines all over the world is too long to be listed entirely here. The following titles have been selected because of their enormous popularity.

Fig. 2.1 Illustration included in the article “De Zaan en Waterland – een kijkje in Noord Holland” in *De Aarde en haar Volken* (1887).





Fig. 2.2 Reprint of the painting “Feierabend in Holland” by Rudolf Possin in *Die Gartenlaube* (1901, 889).

DIE GARTENLAUBE (1853-1938, GERMANY)

Die Gartenlaube was the most popular German illustrated magazine. In 1875, it had print runs of 382,000 – the editors claimed this to be the highest print run of an illustrated magazine worldwide. The average print run of journals in the decade 1860-1870 did not exceed 1000 copies (Cf. Barsch 2007, 71). *Die Gartenlaube* defended the German bourgeois parliamentary system and, according to Annette Seybold, generated self-esteem and (national) self-consciousness for the new bourgeois class (Cf. Seybold 1986).

EIGEN HAARD (1875-1941) – DE AARDE EN HAAR VOLKEN (1865-1940) – OP DEN UITKIJK (1895-1914?), NETHERLANDS

De aarde en haar volken (from its fifty-fifth volume onwards with the subtitle “Geïllustreerd maandblad, gewijd aan land- en volkenkunde”) started publication in 1865. It was a monthly specialized magazine dedicated to geography, ethnography, and travel, with illustrated reports on the Dutch colonies and other European countries (mostly Germany and Italy). The articles in *De aarde en haar volken* were extensive and were often continued over several issues. It became the monthly supplement for subscribers of the weekly illustrated fam-

ily magazine *Eigen haard – geïllustreerd volkstijdschrift*, which was published from 1875 until 1941 (from its forty-sixth volume onwards with the subtitle “wekelijksch tijdschrift voor het gezin”). From December 1895 on, another supplement, *Op den Uitkijk*, was offered to the readers of *Eigen haard*. *Op den Uitkijk* was issued weekly and consisted of eight or twelve pages with short reports on Dutch towns and ideas for travel and day trips within the Netherlands.

LE TOUR DU MONDE (1860-1914, FRANCE)

The magazine *Le Tour du Monde* was a very popular illustrated weekly magazine in France on travel and scientific expeditions. Issues consisted of one or more articles, some articles being printed in sequels over several issues. *Le Tour du Monde* had subscribers among the learned world outside of France and seemingly allowed magazines in other languages to translate articles previously published in *Le Tour du Monde*, which indicates that the content of the magazine was, at least partially, not confined to French readers (see the discussion in Chapter 5).

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NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE (1888-ONGOING, USA)

The *National Geographic Magazine* is the official journal of the National Geographic Society of the USA. It started as a text-oriented and mostly scientific publication. Its first relaunch in 1905 turned it into a magazine with an emphasis on visual documentation. The magazine is known for its reprinted photographs and, since 1905, has had subscribers around the world.

THE EXCURSIONIST (1850-1902, UK) AND TRAVELLER'S GAZETTE (1902-1939, UK)

Both magazines were issued by the internationally operating travel agency Thomas Cook & Son. Through reports on countries and a description of the beautiful and interesting things to be seen, the company's package tours were advertised. *The Excursionist* featured extensive travel reports of people who booked a tour with Thomas Cook. The first illustrations appeared in the 1880s. *The Excursionist* was relaunched as *Traveller's Gazette* in 1902; the *Traveller's Gazette* was richly illustrated from its very first issue.

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in Illustrated Magazines

Only a few articles on the Netherlands appeared in travel reports in the German, French, and US American magazines; if they appeared, they were just as extensive as other travel reports. These articles were always illustrated, either by line drawings or by photographic reprints. The images for the travel reports were made or taken from the very trip that the author-traveller describes. In *Die Gartenlaube*, images of the Netherlands and the Dutch were almost exclusively reprints made from paintings. These illustrations appeared without apparent pattern between two pages of a novel and were commented in three to five sentences in the “various news” section on the penultimate page, along with *curiosa*.

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2.3 TRAVEL GUIDEBOOKS

By travel guidebooks, I refer to single-volume books, intended to prepare a travel or accompany a traveller on the trip. Defined like this, they are part of travel literature and have some origins in travel descriptions and travel reports – and travel reports have been written ever since people have travelled. Travel writings and travel reports until c. 1800 were an amalgam of geographical, ethnographic, and historical information, mixed with descriptions of landscape, flora, and fauna, the trades and politics, sometimes with the personal impression or comment of the travelling author. Published travel writings before the nineteenth century rarely contained images, and, if so, they were not numerous. Contrary to travel writings and travel reports, travel guidebooks were not primarily designed for study purposes but to prepare a trip.

I distinguish between two types of travel guidebook. First, there are what I call “practical guidebooks” with very accurate information on restaurants, hotels, exchange rates for currencies, train timetables, things to see in the galleries and museums, and occasionally maps of the most important cities. Practical guidebooks do not contain images. The information on every city and town is presented systematically and soberly and strives for completeness. Information on prices, opening hours etc. is regularly updated in newer editions. A famous example for the practical guidebook is the Baedeker series that started publication in the 1830s.

The second type is what I call “narrated guidebooks”, which order the content by succession of the travel and blend travel report with practical information and experiences of the traveller-author. Information on cities and towns is not presented systematically and is restricted to the author-traveller’s sub-

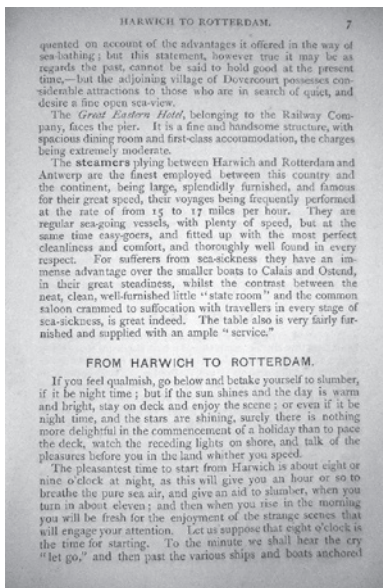


Fig. 2.3 Example of a “narrated guidebook”.
Layout of a page of *Cook's Tourist's Handbook Holland Belgium and the Rhine* (1874).

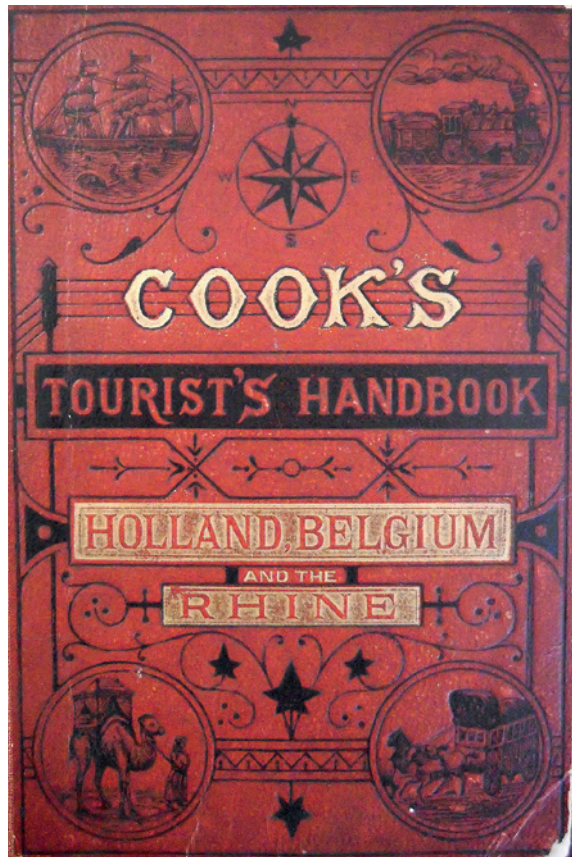


Fig. 2.4 Example of a “narrated guidebook”.
Cover of *Cook's Tourist's Handbook Holland Belgium and the Rhine* (1874).

jective experience or interest. Contrary to the practical guidebook, the narrative guidebook does contain images; its line drawings and photographs are often made by the author or an accompanying illustrator.

Travel accounts have attracted great academic attention mostly in the fields of history and (comparative) literary studies. Within literary studies, such analysis usually examines how the rhetorical and poetic strategies of the text mediate between the familiar and the unfamiliar in order to trace “the changes in the conditions influencing the perception of self and other” (Meier 2007, 447). In social and cultural history, travel writings serve as sources to reconstruct historical facts and travel acts. These two approaches – investigating ideological elements in travel writing versus distilling historical events and acts – mirror disciplinary differences in the approach to travel writings. In the course of my research, I did not come across studies in the field of early cinema studies or media history that address the illustrations in western travel writings in great detail.



Fig. 2.5 Full-page image in Henry Havard's *Voyage aux villes mortes du Zuiderzée* (1874).



Fig. 2.6 Hand-coloured, full-page image in Edmond Texier's *Voyage en Hollande et en Belgique* (1857).

Mediality and Affordances

Practical guidebooks were (and are) meant for both the preparation of the trip (e.g. booking hotels, planning travel tours, and calculating the budget) as well as to carry while travelling (e.g. for opening hours of art galleries and restaurants). They are not written for linear reading but for looking up specific information. The introductions to narrated guidebooks, on the contrary, encourage a linear way of reading and often state that the book was of interest to the traveller for the preparation of the journey, to accompany the journey, as a souvenir to remember the trip, as well as for people interested in the topic without travel plans. The jacket text of *Things Seen in Holland* reads:

Description. This series is intended for two kinds of readers, those who travel abroad and want to have information about the lives and ways of the people of the town or country described, which is not found in guide books; and secondly for those who stay at home and wish to read a description of foreign countries & towns, and the ways of living &c. of

their inhabitants. Both types of reader will be interested in the beautiful pictures with which all the volumes are illustrated. (Roche 1910)

This presentation of narrated guidebooks as part of actual or physical travel marks a difference from explicit armchair travel media, such as travel reports in illustrated magazines, lantern slide sets with lectures, and travelogues of early cinema.

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in Guidebooks

Baedeker and Thomas Cook were important publishers for practical guidebooks, including guidebooks on the Netherlands. The first Baedeker on the Netherlands was published in 1839, the first practical guidebook by Thomas Cook & Son was *Cook's Tourist's Handbook. Holland, Belgium, and the Rhine* dates from 1874. Various narrated guidebooks on the Netherlands, often titled "Holland", were issued by several publishers; their number increased after 1900. Early international publishing successes include Edmond Auguste Texier's *Voyage pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* (1857) and Henry Havard's *La Hollande Pittoresque: Voyage aux villes mortes de la Zuiderzee* (1874).

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2.4 TRAVEL BROCHURES, LEAFLETS, AND PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL FOR (POTENTIAL) TOURISTS

In this section, I group all forms of promotional material produced with the aim to convince people to literally, i.e. physically, travel. Travel brochures come in various formats and are richly illustrated by line drawings or etchings and, just as in illustrated magazines, illustrations gradually changed to photographic images around 1900. Advice for travellers and descriptions of hotels have a long history in travel reports, but promotional material to (potential) tourists only came up in the 1890s when travelling became institutionalized and package tours were offered regularly. With the growing number of tourists around 1900, the demand for information increased, too. Train and steamship companies advertised their services to tourists.

Large format, full-colour posters with illustrations were first issued around the 1890s and were mostly produced as lithographs of about 100 cm x 60 cm. They were, however, not yet mass-produced, but only decorated tourist offices and ticket sales booths. Posters related to the Netherlands and the Dutch before 1914 mostly advertised a train or steamship company, or a certain event, e.g. an exhibition or a trade fair (Cf. Wagner 1967). In the period

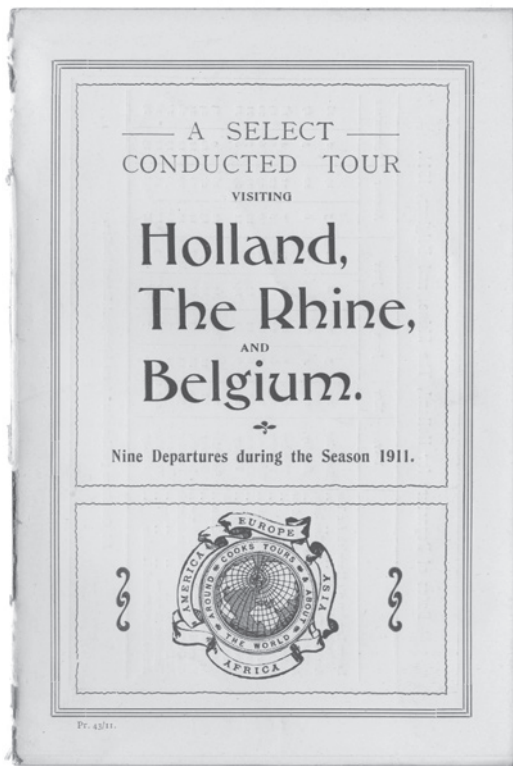


Fig. 2.7 Flyer for a package tour by Thomas Cook, "Holland, the Rhine, and Belgium" (1911).

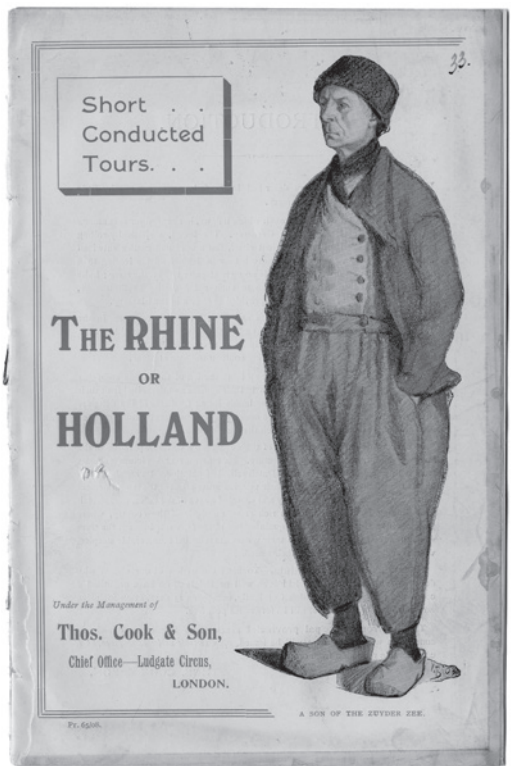


Fig. 2.8 Flyer for a package tour by Thomas Cook, "The Rhine or Holland" (1908).

under investigation, travel to the Netherlands seems to have been advertised exclusively in print; the earliest reference to a film produced for promotional purposes that was commissioned by a local tourist office was a film on The Hague and Scheveningen from 1915;⁵ a campaign for hiring lantern slide sets for the promotion of travel seemingly was not successful (see Chapter 6).

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in this Medium

The Netherlands did not become a place of interest for travellers before the late 1870s and, even then, Switzerland, Italy, and Egypt remained much more popular destinations. Travel brochures and leaflets are mostly produced by travel agencies and tourist offices; the biggest, internationally operating tourist agency of that time was Thomas Cook & Son in England. Their tours were promoted both in leaflets and illustrated magazines published by the company.

Two big associations for tourism in the Netherlands existed in the

researched period. The local *Vereeniging voor Vreemdelingenverkeer* (VVV) offered services to travellers and produced promotional materials for people on the spot. An office for promoting the Netherlands abroad was set up in 1908, the *Centraal Bureau voor Vreemdelingenverkeer*, which was also connected with tourist offices and steamship companies outside of the Netherlands. The umbrella organization of the VVV as well as the *Centraal Bureau* both issued illustrated magazines, respectively from 1904 and 1908 onward.

GROUP 2

2.5 SETS OF PRINTS, *CARTES DE VISITE*, AND CABINET CARDS OF PEOPLE IN LOCAL COSTUME

Printed images of people in local costume can be dated back to sixteenth-century fashion prints; images of local people also appear at the margins of seventeenth-century maps (Cf. Kloek and Mijnhardt 2001). Attention to local costume of simple people increased in the last decade of the eighteenth century when classicist ideas became less dominant in the fine arts and left room for investigating specificities and peculiarities (Cf. 372). Around 1800, editions of etched prints illustrating people in local costumes were published in various European countries. Such prints depict one, two, or, less commonly, a group of people in local costume. Each sheet is dedicated to people of one region or town. The prints were produced as black-and-white prints and were sometimes coloured by hand afterwards (but the colouring of these prints varies, cf. Duyvetter 1976, 1). In the eighteenth century, prints were generally issued one by one; the owners sometimes had them bound into albums. As a result, bound versions of the same set differ (Cf. van Eeghen 1960, i-iv).

Printed and, later, photographed images of people in local costume in various formats were part of the new demand to document national peculiarities and thus were part of cultural nation-building that attempted to express national identity after the French Revolution (see Chapters 3, 4, and 5). The style of the comment printed on the back or next to the image varies from anecdotal comment, to extensive descriptions of costume and custom, to very short captions.

“*Cartes de visite*” is the generic term for photographs produced as albumen prints, mounted on thick paper in the format of 6.4 cm × 10.0 cm. *Cartes de visite* were most popular in the 1860s and 1870s. Gradually, the cabinet card in the format 16.5 cm × 11.5 cm replaced the smaller *carte de visite*. Both *cartes de visite* and cabinet cards mostly show portraits taken in a studio, the back of the cards sometimes bearing the print or stamp of the studio in which the photo

was taken. Portraits in *cartes de visite* and cabinet format were also commissioned by (middle- and upper-class) families for private use. Portraits of celebrities are a common subject in these formats, too. These “celebrity cards” were produced for the public market. Cabinet cards were produced until the 1920s. Photo studios around the world issued *cartes de visite* and cabinet cards; they are documented in reference books on nineteenth-century photographers (Palmquist 2000; for the Netherlands, cf. Wachlin 2011; for changing fashions in portrait photography, cf. Pols 1995).

Mediality and Affordances

All sets of images of people in local costume share the feature that they document the people with a claim to realism, usually in full posture. The style of prints and the degree of care for the background vary. Sets of etched prints of people in local costume were manufactured by numerous publishers and sold in bookshops and at fairs. They were produced and distributed like other bun-

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Fig. 2.9 *Carte de visite* from Andries Jager's set *Costumes des Pays-Bas* (c. 1870).



Fig. 2.10 Coloured copper print Nr. 8 of Maaskamp's set of 20 prints (1803-1807).

dles of etched prints. The bilingual captions in Dutch and French can be found in numerous prints of all subjects, which indicates the intention to produce prints for the national and international markets. Dedications and annotations of Maaskamp's etchings and Jager's photographs provide evidence that these publications figured as souvenirs for travellers. Most of these sets of prints are expensive collector's items and well-documented by antiquity sellers.

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in these Media

Three of the most influential sets of images of people in local costume, which cover the *entire* country of the Netherlands, will be discussed in Chapter 4. *Afbeeldingen van de Kleeding, Zeden en Gewoonten in de Bataafsche Republiek, met den aanvang der negentiende eeuw* (Maaskamp 1803) is considered the first to publish a set of prints from etchings on people in local dress from all regions of the Netherlands and was highly popular (Cf. Kloek and Mijnhardt 2001, 272–273). Second, *Nederlandsche Kleederdragten en Zeden en Gebruiken, naar de natuur getekend door Valentyn Bing en Braet van Ueberfeldt* was issued in 1849–1850. It became a well-known and well-accepted publication to ethnologists and costume historians at the beginning of the twentieth century (Cf. Molkenboer 1917, especially 112–120). The third example is by photographer and publisher Andries Jager, who issued sets of photographs of Dutch people in traditional costume in his very popular publication *Costumes des Pays Bas*. The set consisted of albumen photographs mounted to printed boards which were sometimes hand-coloured. First produced around 1860, the album and the cards were published in different versions until c. 1900, the later editions were produced with newer techniques such as photogravure, halftone print, or photo lithography. The photographic cards were issued in several sizes (*cartes de visite* and cabinet format).

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2.6 CATCHPENNY PRINTS

Catchpenny prints are cheap single-sheet woodcut prints of about 35 × 30 cm to 40 × 50 cm in size, mostly in vertical format. Most sheets contain between eight and 24 separate images. Usually, each image is commented on with a rhyme in two or four lines. Sometimes these prints are coloured without much effort. Folk tales and scenes from the Bible were the most prominent genres in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but scientific and informative subjects appear in popularized versions, too. While in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries catchpenny prints had rather symbolical meanings and often functioned as allegories, nineteenth-century prints adopted a more educative tone, promoting bourgeois morals (Cf. Vanhaelen 2003, 105–147). Catchpenny prints sometimes were modelled after prestigious and expensive prints made from etches.

Catchpenny prints were very popular in the Netherlands and Belgium since their appearance in the seventeenth century and they instantly became part of folklore (Cf. van Heurck and Boekennoogen 1930, 24). From their beginnings to the mid nineteenth century, catchpenny prints were issued in enor-



Armenier

Armenische vrouw

Arabier der Woesteny.

Turkiers volkeren



Chinees.

Chineesche vrouw.

Circassian.

Circassische vrouw.

Caucasche vrouw.



Inwoonders van Dames in Syrie.

Egyptenaren.

Egyptische vrouw.

Ethiopian.

Bij H. V. Huisingsh, Boekhandelaar te Winschoten.

Fig. 2.11 "Klederdragen van verschillende Volkeren der Wereld". Catchpenny print.

70 | mous print runs, exceeding what book publishers could even dream of (Cf. Vansummeren 1996) and were one of the rare print products that people with low income could afford to own (Cf. Gretton 1980). Because woodcut printing (in contrast to etchings or engraving) is a letter-type process, text and image could be printed on one sheet with one machine and in one process, which contributed to the comparatively low production costs. This relates catchpenny prints formally to other media of cheap print such as pamphlets or broadside ballads. Because of the word and image combination on one page, some scholars approach catchpenny prints as antecedents of comic strips (Cf. Dierick and Lefèvre 2000). The possibility to reuse an image by adapting its caption to a topical event was one reason why the same woodblocks were used over the centuries and appear in different stories, sometimes modernized through minor modifications (Cf. van Heurck and Boekennoogen 1930, 31–32). The often bilingual captions in Dutch and French indicate that these images were produced for an international market.

Apart from catalogues and inventories (Boerma et al. 2014; van Heurck and Boekennoogen 1910; van Heurck and Boekennoogen 1930; de Meyer 1962; Vansummeren 1996), only few scholarly works exist on the catchpenny print in the study of popular culture or cultural history (e.g. Gretton 1980; Vanhaelen 2003). Existing studies address the catchpenny print in relation to children's literature or the comic strip (Dierick and Lefèvre 2000; Maas 2000) or study the catchpenny print's use in moral education in the nineteenth century (Thijssen 2009) or with regards to popular stories and their adaptations throughout the centuries (Cf. Salman 2014a; Salman 2014b).

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in Catchpenny Prints

Catchpenny prints are one of the earlier visual media that distributed images of people with a claim to realism. In catchpenny prints, images of people are far more numerous than images of places. Images of the Dutch gained prominence in this medium around 1820. Usually, images of Dutch people appeared in prints with titles such as “various nations” or “various regions of the Netherlands”, featuring people in different local costumes. Rarely, prints depicted famous persons such as politicians, scientists, and poets in prints with titles such as “Patriotic Dutch men and women”. For this study, I drew on catchpenny prints of the collection Borms (1007 prints) held by the National Library of the Netherlands available via www.geheugenvannederland.nl.

GROUP 3

2.7 PERSPECTIVE PRINTS

Perspective prints usually show a building or a view of a specific city in a horizontal format of *c.* 30 × 45 cm in size and are often hand-coloured. These prints slightly modified optical principles of the *camera obscura*, rendering such views transportable (Cf. Balzer 1998, 18).

The earliest known document to mention perspective prints is a trade catalogue from 1717 (Cf. Kaldenbach 1984a, 2).⁶ Only thirty years later, such prints were produced on higher scale and distributed internationally (Cf. von Kapff 2010, 13). The perspective print became very popular by the mid eighteenth century with a production peak from 1740 to 1790 (Cf. Kaldenbach 1984a, 4) and continued to be sold in the first half of the nineteenth century until stereoscopic photography could produce better illusions of depth. Perspective prints were sold at least throughout Europe and the European colonies in the Americas.

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If seen through a zograscope or “optical diagonal mirror”, or in a viewing box, the illusion of depth is increased. This illusion of depth in linear perspective worked well with cityscapes and streets painted according to the principles of central perspective, which may explain why, among the perspective prints, topographical subjects largely dominated this medium (Cf. Weynants 2003; Seitz 1995, 24–35).⁷

Despite its popularity, the perspective print has not gained much academic attention. General descriptions, exhibition catalogues, and inventories to collections do exist (de Keyser 1962; Füsslin 1995; Seitz 1995; Zotti Minici and Avanzo 1996; Whalen 1998; Blake 2002; von Kapff 2010), but studies that go beyond the description of the artefacts in a specific collection are fewer. Exceptions that treat the production networks and the social history and contexts in which perspective prints were shown and seen are mostly based on research by collectors (Balzer 1998; Weynants 2003; Levie 2006; Balzer 2012). Within the field of early cinema studies, some anthologies on pre-cinema history dedicate a passage to perspective prints (Cf. Cook 1963, 24–28; Mannoni 1995) but do not discuss them in detail. Erkki Huhtamo includes perspective prints in his historiography of peep practices, linking them to other visual media that were looked at through a hole before and during the advent of film (Cf. Huhtamo 2012; Huhtamo 2006, especially 97–101). John Plunkett addresses the perspective print as part of peepshows with a focus on showmanship, bringing forth the performative dimension of the medium in its exhibition practice (Plunkett 2015).

Perspective prints were often made from more costly city views. To height-



Fig. 2.12 “Porte de Rotterdam”. Perspective print, illuminated from the front.



Fig. 2.13 “Porte de Rotterdam”. Perspective print, illuminated from the back.

Fig. 2.14 Detail of an undated and unattributed catchpenny print “No. 67”.



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en the spectacular effect, they were often manipulated by the exhibitor. In addition to hand-colouring, little pieces of paper were cut out and replaced with thin layers of coloured paper, glued to the back (e.g. windows of the buildings were cut out and covered with yellow paper or glue). When the print was illuminated from the front, the spectator could see a day scene, when the light came from the back, night light effects were produced.

Peepshows were offered on the streets, on fairgrounds, and during festivities and were one of the cheapest entertainment in the nineteenth century (Plunkett 2015; Huhtamo 2006). The popularity of this device can be deduced from its frequent depiction in catchpenny prints and other products of fine arts (Cf. Balzer 1998; Balzer 2012; Levie 2006).

Production and Dissemination Networks

Perspective prints were already internationally distributed in the eighteenth century. Most publishers of perspective prints had been known for their high-quality copper engravings and also produced popularized versions by reworking the motifs into less complex engravings on thinner and cheaper paper (Cf. von Kapff 2010, 14). The most influential manufacturers were Giuseppe

Remondini e Figli in Bassano; two big London publishers, Bennett and Overton (later as Sayer and Bennet then taken over by Laurie and Whittle); Georg Balthasar Probst in Augsburg and the Kaiserlich Franziskanische Akademie (Cf. von Kapff 2010; Zotti Minici and Avanzo 1996; Whalen 1998). Producers in London and Paris agreed to issue each other's prints, while Remondini seems to have copied and reissued prints illegally, leading to a copyright process in court (cf. Kaldenbach 1984a, 6). It can thus be estimated that the overall number of different motifs is smaller than the sum of the prints mentioned in the individual catalogues.

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in Perspective Prints

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The reconstructed production catalogue of Georg Balthasar Probst contains a remarkably high number of Dutch city views. Early perspective prints were made exclusively of Amsterdam and The Hague, but, in the course of time, 90 different perspective prints of Dutch cities and towns were issued. From this observation, von Kapff infers that the demand for perspective prints must have been significantly higher within the Netherlands than elsewhere (von Kapff 2010, 254).⁸

For this study, I analysed digitized perspective prints from Thomas Weynants's website www.visual-media.eu, from the collection of Dick Balzer and other private collections, as well as reproductions taken from a catalogue (von Kapff 2010) and Pierre L  vie's monograph (2006).

2.8 ADVERTISING TRADE CARDS

Advertising trade cards and advertising collection albums appeared in the 1870s and soon established themselves on the market. In the leading reference book for collectors on the German advertising trade card market, Detlef Lorenz (2000, 9) defines the advertising trade cards as colour images printed on cardboard, mostly numbered and issued in sets of six or more, rarely exceeding the format of 12 × 8 cm, with an almost unlimited variety of motifs and topics. Advertising trade cards were used to advertise a store, a brand product, or a service and were mainly designed for children and adolescents. Some advertising trade cards were issued additionally or exclusively in postcard format of 14 × 9 cm. Some trade cards have text printed on the back side. Figures depicted in advertising trade cards are mostly portrayed against a "wallpaper background" without depth. Even though various publishers issued these cards, the styles resemble one another and may be described as Biedermeier

Fig. 2.15 Example for a stock advertising trade card, issued by Dresdner Kunstanstalt (c. 1900-1914).



Fig. 2.16 Example for a custom advertising trade card, "Fischmarkt" issued by Liebig (1906).



romanticism or decorative expressionism. Most advertising trade cards were colour lithographs from paintings or drawings.

Advertising trade cards, as advertising in general, emerged with the industrial revolution when consumer goods first became available beyond local markets and are early examples for distinction efforts between brands of the same product (Cf. Gorman and McLean 2009, 69–71). It should be noted that most brand products for which custom trade cards were issued were not affordable to working-class people. Buying chocolate or meat extract in quantities that allowed a private household to complete an album must have been a privilege of middle-class families in the investigated period until 1914. Only with the distribution of custom trade cards with cigarettes in the 1920s, this type of trade cards reached members of all classes (Cf. Jussen 2002, 13).

Advertising trade cards are classified in two groups: stock and custom. Custom trade cards were given away with the purchase of a consumer good



76 | Fig. 2.17 Detail of a page of an advertising trade card album in postcard format with accompanying text.

of a specific brand and were exclusive to the advertisers. These cards often show a picture of the product, logo, or brand name in one corner of the image. Without a doubt, the intention behind the custom trade cards was to make people buy products from this brand and not from another one. The images were not copied from other media but exclusively designed and produced for the respective enterprise. In addition to the cards, most enterprises of custom cards also offered an album for free in which these cards could be collected. Such albums became more common after 1895 and often have accompanying text printed next to the designated place for the image. The textual comments on the images make use of different strategies: I observed image-unspecific advertising for the brand and its product, which was not related to the image on the trade card; redundancy in image and text; historical and biographical background information to a war scene or the portrait of a person; reference to interesting views of the depicted city *hors cadre*; and fictional story.

Stock trade cards were not specific to a product or brand. Often, the back is left blank for the advertiser – a local shop or a specific department store, for example – to print or stamp its address on the back. The same stock trade card could thus be disseminated by various advertisers. Because of their unsystematic distribution through multiple channels, stock trade cards are difficult to classify, which might be a reason for their comparatively poor documentation. Although stock trade cards are estimated to have been as popular as the custom ones (cf. Jussen 2002, 13), I will mainly address custom trade cards

because the lack of documented context hinders the study of proposed meaning to the images.

Albums for custom trade cards define the place for the individual custom cards and text accompanies the image; thereby placement and text anchor the visual information of the advertising trade card by providing context (see figure 17). The albums of the custom cards define the context of the images. Every image is assigned one and only one place. Barbara Segelken and Judith Blume understand the practice of assembling the album as a performative act, oscillating between creative participation and conformity to prefigured rules (personal communication). The predefined goal is the completion of a set in a generally infinite series of sets. Collectors of custom trade cards actively recreated the narrative that had been set up by the editors of the album. By performing the image as part of a set, the complexity of the world seemed manageable (Cf. Blume 2011).

Leaving the documentation for collectors' purposes aside, not much research on advertising trade cards has been done. Bernard Jussen calls on historians to study these popular images as part of research about "collective visual knowledge" and not to restrict their visual sources to highbrow history paintings in art galleries (Cf. Jussen 2002, 11–12). Ellen Gruber Garvey includes advertising trade cards in her study of practices of interaction between advertising and consumers in early consumer culture, especially the relation of trade cards to scrapbooks (Garvey 1996). In the field of early cinema studies, María Magdalena Brotons Capó includes advertising trade cards that circulated in France in her corpus of popular visual media that influenced the iconographic tradition of early French cinema (Cf. Brotons Capó 2014).

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The Netherlands and the Dutch in Advertising Trade Cards

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch appeared in various sets of trade cards. Throughout the decades, there is a clear prominence of figures in traditional clothing and rural life. There were special sets on the Netherlands such as "Holländische Marktbilder" (Gebr. Stollwerck 1900b, Series 142), "Holländisches Leben" (Gebr. Stollwerck 1900c, Series 143), or "Holland in Wort und Bild" (Chocoladefabrik Altona 1903, Series 38), or "Hollandsche Boerenmeisjes" (Philips 1910). Most images of the Netherlands and the Dutch, however, appeared in sets with titles such as "European capitals" or "The Nations of the world" (an image of a person referred to a country or nation by the caption), or "National Kitchens" and "National drinks" (Palmin 1910b; Palmin 1910c). The Myrrholin-Album of 1902, with 400 images, is dedicated entirely to Europe and it is the only album of that period I came across with photo-

graphic images (Myrrholin 1902). Single images of the Netherlands and the Dutch also appear in the stock trade cards.

For this study, I made use of the DVD edition of the complete Liebig trade cards (Jussen 2008) as well as the collection Körberich, now part of the collections of the Goethe University Frankfurt am Main, Germany. The collection Körberich is the most relevant, publicly accessible collection of advertising trade cards and holds more than 2400 advertising trade card albums distributed in Germany between 1880 and 2002 as well as a database on stock trade cards. Additional stock trade cards are taken from the digitized Charles and Laura Dohm Shields Collection of Victorian Trade, and from reproductions in Wilbrink and van Hulst (2005).

2.9 STEREOSCOPIC PHOTOGRAPHS

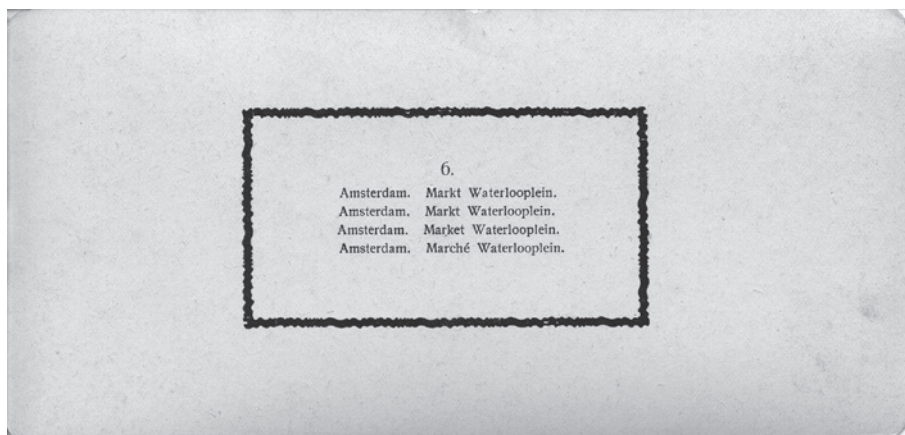
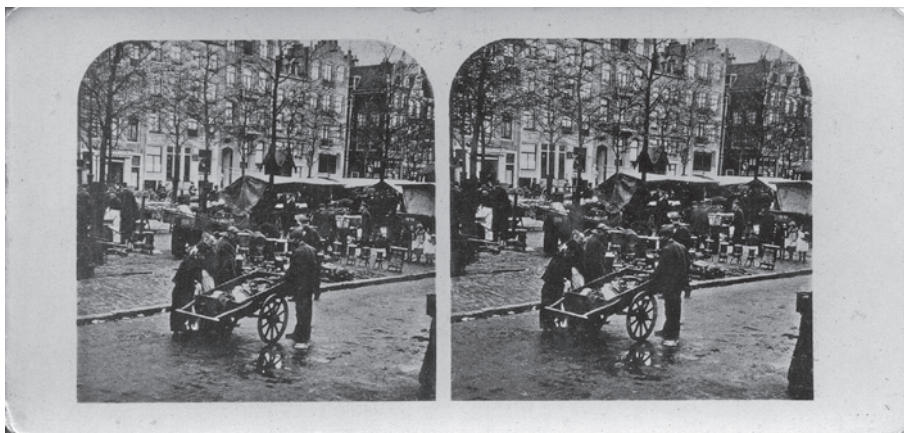
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Stereoscopic photographs were a very popular format for photographic images between 1850 and the 1890s. The beginning of stereoscopic photography dates back to Charles Wheatstone (1802-1875), who invented a mechanic viewing apparatus in 1833 – the stereoscope. Two images with a slight shift in horizontal perspective were placed in the stereoscope. Viewers looked with their left eye at one and with their right eye at the other picture. Through a system of lenses and mirrors, these two images appear to the human viewer as one three-dimensional image.

Based on Wheatstone's findings, Sir David Brewster (1781–1868) constructed an improved apparatus and convinced the Parisian manufacturers of optical devices Soleil and Duboscq to produce stereo daguerreotypes (Cf. Boone 2014a; de Vries 1989, 13). The breakthrough of the stereoscope came with the London Great Exhibition in 1851. In the six months that followed the exhibition, around 250,000 stereoscopes were sold (Cf. de Vries 1989, 14); the number of sold stereoscopic photographs and daguerreotypes must have been even higher.

Mediality and Affordances

In their beginning, stereoscopic images were daguerreotypes, i.e. unique and non-reproducible plates. With the invention of the collodion wet-plate process in the 1850s, it became possible to produce negative images on glass, thereby making it possible to reproduce photographs. The invention of the albumen print permitted positive printing on paper. At that point, stereoscopic photos could be produced in even bigger quantities than before. Because the albumin



Top: Fig. 2.18 “Amsterdam. Markt Waterlooplein”. Stereoscopic photograph on cardboard (front).

Bottom: Fig. 2.19 “Amsterdam. Markt Waterlooplein”. Stereoscopic photograph on cardboard (back).

glass plates were more expensive (yet admired for their aesthetic superiority), they were mainly used for public exhibition, while the cheaper albumin paper prints were affordable to an increasing number of private, middle-class households (Cf. Huhtamo 2012, 42). Geographical items and city views are the main genre in catalogues of stereoscopic views. Jonathan Crary speculates that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, geographical and topographical subjects in photography were mostly experienced three-dimensionally (Cf. Crary 1990, 116–118).

Stereoscopic views could be looked at by one person at a time. The viewing situation invites immersion into the image as the viewer looks through lenses and cannot see anything else but the image. While it was possible to study the image and contemplate on one’s own, the stereoscopic photographs



Fig. 2.20 Group viewing situation of stereophotos:
Damesgezelschap bekijkt stereoscoopfoto's
 (undated). Painting by Jacob Spoel (1820-1868).

were also looked at in group viewing situations. In the early twentieth century, stereoscopic photographs were a common device in public schools, used in combination with lantern slides (Cf. Robinson, Herbert, and Crangle 2001, 292; Willis 2015).

For those who could not afford to buy a stereoscope and stereoscopic photographs, stable stereoscopic viewing apparatuses were available at public places such as fairgrounds, bars, and shops (Cf. de Vries 1989, 14). Stereoscopic photographs were also used in August Fuhrmann's (1844–1925) *Kaiserpanorama*⁹ and were published in almanacs and in illustrated magazines (Cf. van Keulen 2002a). After 1900, stereoscopic views were also printed on picture postcards or given away with the purchase of a consumer good of a specific brand, similar to custom advertising trade cards.

The knowledge on stereoscopic photographs lies mostly in the hands of

collectors and their associations (cf. Waldsmith 1991; Bradley 1991). Stereoscopic photographs and the apparatuses have been documented in the field of history of optical media and photography and described in reference books of “Pre-cinema” as part of the nineteenth-century mediascape in which cinema emerged (Cf. Hecht 1993; Herbert 2002a). Erkki Huhtamo includes the apparatus and the views from the perspective of looking in his history of peep practice (Cf. 2012); Artemis Willis (2015) compares the use of stereoscopic images with lantern slides in educational settings. Verhoeff’s investigation of the relation between motif, viewing apparatus, and comment of stereoscopic photographs on cardboard is the only study in the field that I know of that reflects the relation between the positioning of the viewer and the visual qualities of the actual views that also considers textual comment (Cf. 2006, 260–269).

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in Stereoscopic Photographs

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The production of stereoscopic photographs on the Netherlands started in 1857 when Dutch photograph Pieter Oosterhuis (1816–1885) took stereoscopic photographs of cities and towns between 1857 and 1860. Around 70 of his stereoscopic photographs were issued by Amsterdam-based publisher Andries Jager (1825–1905), the only big Dutch publisher of stereoscopic photographs during the 1860s (Cf. de Vries 1989, 22). Reprints of this set were sold throughout the 1870s (Cf. van Keulen 2002b, 71). According to collector and expert Wim van Keulen, these stereographs were only available within the Netherlands; no evidence for an international network of resellers for the Oosterhuis/Jager-production has been found (personal communication, 19 February 2013).

Around 1870, three sets of stereoscopic photographs documenting the Netherlands and the Dutch were produced by different French companies, and another two by Dutch producers. The most popular set seems to have been produced by Ferrier-Soulier-Lévy. The views of this set were taken from c. 1870 to the 1890s and resulted in a total of about 385 images in the 1904 catalogue (Cf. van Keulen 2002b, 71). Another popular set on the Netherlands (titled “Holland”) was published in c. 1905 by Underwood & Underwood. This set contains 30 images with an English comment on each view printed on the back of the cardboard. These views mostly show tourist places in the provinces of North and South Holland. Given that Ferrier-Soulier-Lévy (cf. Boone 2014a; Boone 2014b; Voignier 1992) and Underwood & Underwood (who were later taken over by the Keystone View Company, cf. Loke 1980) were two of the biggest producers, these sets can be considered widely disseminated.

2.10 MAGIC LANTERNS AND LANTERN SLIDE SETS

The magic lantern, also named optical lantern or stereopticon, is an optical instrument that allows for the projection of transparent images. Although lantern projectors vary considerably in sophistication, the basic principles remains the same: an artificial light source (e.g. candle, oil lamp, limelight, gas light, electric light) is placed behind a transparent image – mostly drawn or printed on a piece of glass –, which is then projected through a lens bottom-up on an opaque surface (mostly a screen or a wall), thereby enlarging the image.

The magic lantern was invented in the seventeenth century, most probably by Christiaan Huygens (1629-1695).¹⁰ It was used from its very beginnings both in the domain of science and in the domain of entertainment (Cf. Buddingh 2007, 31); ample evidence for the use of the magic lantern in popular culture can be found in popular prints as early as the seventeenth century (Cf. 82 | Levie 2006; Rossell 2008). The magic lantern has continued on this double track of amusement and education ever since, gradually losing its amusement branch and theatrical exhibition to cinema in the twentieth century. The magic lantern had its heyday between the 1870s and the 1910s; by the end of the nineteenth century, there was a slide projector in almost every school, Sunday school, church, university, and public institution. Magic lanterns were used in educative settings until at least World War II. To understand the role of magic lantern slide sets in the creation of supposed common knowledge, it is crucial to take performance into account. Lantern slides, just as films of early cinema, were shown in a group viewing situation, accompanied by music and/or a lecturer.

Lantern slides come in very different formats, styles, and subjects and exist on every conceivable topic. Some slides contain sophisticated fine mechanics and show movement when projected. Early slides were produced to fit into one specific projector, usually manufactured by the same atelier for optical instruments. Lantern slides of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth century were costly, unique, and handmade artefacts. Around 1870, slides started to be offered in preselected sets, often with an accompanying reading designed for a lecture about this specific set. These two introductions – the availability of slides in sets and a reading written to accompany the slides of these sets – must have changed slide shows. Once a (relatively) fixed set of slides with a (relatively) fixed and stable reading were introduced, it can be suspected that lectures on the same topic became increasingly standardized, too.

In comparison to its popularity, the magic lantern and its uses have gained little academic and scholarly interest, although it has increased in the past ten years. Within early cinema studies, Charles Musser was among the first to suggest to include magic lantern slides in a “history of screen practices”



Fig. 2.21 and 2.22 Lantern slide and a corresponding lecture card with comment on the image (c. 1910).

(Cf. Musser 1984). The approach to magic lanterns and slides as a footnote to cinema history changes towards understanding them as a media in their own right (e.g. Curtis et al. 2014). Recent lantern-centred monographs and edited volumes include Brooker (2013), Duller et al. (2014), Crangle and Vogl-Bienek (2014a), Borton and Borton (2015), Vogl-Bienek (2016), Hartrick (2017), Eifler (2017), and Dellmann and Kessler (forthcoming). Magic lantern technology and the (use of) slides have been mostly studied by researches in history of sciences, art history, film studies, Victorian studies, and communication studies; attempts to classify slides and their contents have started in the form of the Lucerna magic lantern web resource and the development of a taxonomy of lantern slides (Cf. Frutos 2008).

Production and Dissemination Networks

London and Paris seem to have been the leading centres of lantern slide production in the nineteenth century. Famous producers of lantern slides were Ferrier & Soulier (later Lévy & Co.) in Paris; York and Son, Bamforth, Riley & Co., and Newton & Co. in London; as well as G.W. Wilson in Aberdeen. In the twentieth century, the Keystone View Company dominated the American market for lantern slides. In Germany, Max Skladanowsky and Eduard Liesegang issued numerous slides that were used in education and that were disseminated internationally. German manufacturers led the market for toy slides and slides for teaching art history.

The two most important Dutch lantern resellers, C.A.P.I. in Nijmegen and Merkelbach & Co. in Amsterdam, issued sets of local views and educational

material for schools; however, I did not come across any mass-produced slide sets of Dutch origin that were distributed internationally in the course of my research. Next to their own production, Dutch resellers imported most of their apparatuses and slides from the big British, French, and German production companies. Resellers often glued their own labels onto the slides and resold them (Cf. de Roo 2007, 20), which can cause misattribution of a producer to slides.

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in the Magic Lantern

84 | An overview of slide producers and performers in the Netherlands as well as the relation of the magic lantern to other forms of popular visual culture in that country are investigated in Duller, Wagenaar, and Wagenaar-Fischer (2014). Lantern slides on the Netherlands and the Dutch were issued in higher numbers between 1880 and 1910 as part of geographical and ethnologic slide sets. Popular slide sets featuring images of the Netherlands and the Dutch are available in the standard lecture set format (8.3×8.3 cm and 8.3×10.5 cm), which indicates that they were intended for public exhibition. These slide sets were made from photographic images. Sometimes the black-and-white photographs were hand-coloured in varying degrees of artistic finesse. For most of these very popular sets, an accompanying reading was available. Research into dissemination networks (Dellmann 2016b) shows that the lecture sets *Picturesque Holland* (1889), *Quer durch Holland* (1906), and the slides by Lévy (1870s-1890s) were among the widely disseminated lecture sets. Exterior scenes and city views dominate the images of slide sets on the Netherlands and the Dutch.

2.11 PICTURE POSTCARDS

Picture postcards of places show, on the front, a photograph or a drawing of a city, town, or landscape. The back is reserved for a short notice from the writer and the address of the receiver. Picture postcards are thus the genre of postcards in which images of people and places with a claim to realism appear.

The first known picture postcards were issued in 1872 in Switzerland at places that were highly frequented by tourists. These early exemplars were made with rubber stamps of about 4-5 centimetres square in size that bared the town's name or the silhouette of a nearby mountain chain. The images were stamped onto "undecorated", state-issued postcards. Decorative images from drawings had been common in the already established medium of cor-

respondence cards and soon were adapted to the new medium of the postcard. At first, picture postcards were produced by means of lithography, made “from a photograph” (Cf. *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 1899a, 6). The number of publishers of photographic postcards increased dramatically after 1892 (Cf. Walter 2009, 59). Only three years later, the availability of (photographic) picture postcards and their relation to travel and tourism was already discussed in illustrated family magazines (Cf. *Die Gartenlaube*. 1895, 340).

Early picture postcards were produced and sold locally. In comparison to the industrial production of photographic picture postcards by the “Neue Photographische Gesellschaft” from 1897 on (see below), the produced quantities of postcards were little. Picture postcards and decorative postcards were sent in the millions during the time of the “postcard craze” between 1900 and World War I.

Mediality and Affordances

From their very beginnings, picture postcards were used in two ways. They were either sent home as a travel greeting or bought as a collector’s item without the intention of posting. In the first case, travellers sent a visual impression of the places they had seen and shared it with those at home. An observable phenomenon of this practice is a comment on the view on the front by the writer for the receiver.

Already in 1889, Émile Strauss launched the journal *La Carte Postale illustrée* in which picture postcards were presented as artistic objects, catering to the interest of early collectors (Cf. Brotons Capó 2014). The *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (1899b, 6) reports on the popularity of collecting postcards and the rising collectors’ prices in 1899.

Because of the long history of the postcard as a collector’s item, knowledge about producers, production methods, and related apparatuses is highly specialized in diverse postcard collectors’ associations; photographic postcards of places have also received much interest by local historians and by those interested in the history of photography. The dissemination of postcards has been studied to a lesser extent.

Within the field of early cinema studies, the genre of picture postcards has received some attention. Its relation to other media has been addressed, for example, by Snickars and Björkin who approach early cinema as part of “technologies that changed the sense of physical distance, technologies that gave geographical locations new meanings, or, communicated through space and by way of space” (Snickars and Björkin 2002, 275). In an earlier article, Snickars investigates the “imagistic strategies developed for spatial fram-

ing” (Snickars 2001, 59) in stereoscopic photographs, lantern slides, and postcards to study the origins of cinematic ways of spatial framing. Verhoeff compares the positioning of the spectator to the things seen in postcards and early cinema and finds that ways of looking at landscape in both media make use of similar aesthetic strategies (Verhoeff 2006, especially 250-269). Picture postcards have also served as source material for studies that investigate ideologies in the representation of people outside of Europe in historical visual media (Goldsworthy 2010; Siebenga 2012). As these studies focus on matters of visual representation, an investigation of the medium and its affordances and dissemination is not central to the research.

Production and Dissemination Networks

- 86 | The Neue Photographische Gesellschaft in Berlin (1897-1921) was the main agent in the production of *photographic* picture postcards in Europe (cf. Holtz 2009). Their novel machine exposed photographic images from glass negatives mechanically on endless gelatine silver bromide paper in a rotary printing process. It started production in 1897 and produced 40,000 picture postcards daily. The photographic picture postcards were sold all around the world; by 1907, the enterprise had branches in Austria, England, France, Belgium, Italy, and the US (Cf. Walter 2009). Besides this world player, various local editors and photo studios issued local views, mostly produced in the cheaper heliography procedure. The local production of postcards at tourist places in the Netherlands continued in parallel with the industrial, centralized mass production.

Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in Picture Postcards

Dutch photography historian and antiquities seller Frido Troost observed that photographic postcards of the Netherlands before 1890 from places outside the provinces of North and South Holland are extremely rare (personal communication, 1 March 2012). Most picture postcards of the subcategory “images of people and places with a claim to realism” that I have seen are photographic postcards; postcards with lithographic images or drawings seem to have been less popular. Within this subgenre, lithographic postcards designed by graphic artist Henri Cassiers (1858-1944) were comparatively popular (Cf. van Frankfort 1994, 15). His lithographs and gouache works for picture postcards (and advertising) show identifiable places in an artistic manner and were bought and sent by tourists, just like the photographic ones.

2.12 FILM

The term “early cinema” is used as a periodization for film from 1895 until around the First World War. In contrast to all other media addressed in this section, the study of early cinema is an established field in academic discourse. Publications in this section, unlike in the previous sections, are thus only examples for the various problems that research in the field of early cinema studies addresses.

The beginnings of cinema have been studied extensively, especially in the last thirty-five years. Reference books (Cf. Elsaesser and Barker 1990; Abel 2005; Strauven 2006; Gaudreault, Dulac, and Hidalgo 2012a), book publication series, and specialized journals exist on this topic; an international society for the study of early cinema (Domitor) organizes biannual conferences and publishes the proceedings. Other seminars are held regularly, too, such as the Seminar on the History and Origins of Cinema (Girona, Spain), the Udine conferences (Italy), and seminars at Cérisy (France).

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Within film studies, films of the early period were not always considered as objects worth studying. The earlier years of the academic discipline of film studies focused on narrative forms and Hollywood films. From that perspective, early cinema was seen as a primitive forerunner, not yet having reached the maturity of narrative films. A fresh perspective on the films of early cinema was taken after the 34th conference of the International Federation of Film Archives in Brighton in 1978. The specific quality of these films was acknowledged as belonging to a paradigm of their own. The concepts “cinema of attraction” and “view aesthetic”, coined by Tom Gunning (1990), proved fruitful for the aesthetic investigation of these films, and André Gaudreault’s proposal to construct “cultural series” encouraged a new contextualization of these films (Cf. Gaudreault 2011; for a discussion of applications of this concept, cf. Kessler 2013a). These three concepts provided the possibilities for historiographies of early cinema outside of a teleology towards narrative film. Seen in this light, early cinema could be considered a new medium that emerged within a larger context of entertainment culture, visual culture, and media technologies (Cf. also Gaudreault 2007). Research in the field of early cinema investigated media technologies, forms of entertainment and spectatorship, screen practices, international production and dissemination networks, and aesthetic traditions that preceded film.

The awareness of different possibilities to conceptualize early cinema and its historiography created an openness for intermedial and interdisciplinary approaches, which caused a productive, ongoing negotiation about the limits and the definition of the field. The editors of the most recent reference book *A companion to Early Cinema* (Gaudreault, Dulac, and Hidalgo 2012a) write:

Compared to other areas of research within the broader field of film studies, early cinema has been the focus of growing attention since the 1980s, an impressive feat considering the short time span and limited territory it was originally meant to cover within film history. (Gaudreault, Dulac, and Hidalgo 2012b, 1)

Dulac, Gaudreault, and Hidalgo continue:

Thus, even as early cinema exists as a fairly unified field of study, with its encyclopedia, its international association, and its mythical place of germination, debates among its members about the identity of the field demand a sort of constant self-questioning and self-doubt about what it is precisely that is being studied. (Gaudreault, Dulac, and Hidalgo 2012b, 3)

88 | Early cinema has been studied from the angles of production, distribution, and consumption; narratives and aesthetics; technologies and devices; the history of cinema-going and the audiences; sound and performance; and forms of presenting the historical material to spectators today (Cf. Loiperdingher 2011). In the last decade, increasing attention has been paid to the investigation of the intermedial origins of cinema. The books *Pre-cinema History. An Encyclopedia and Annotated Bibliography of the Moving Image before 1896* (Hecht 1993) and *A History of Pre-Cinema* (Herbert 2002a; Herbert 2002b), a reprint of sources on visual media before cinema, helped to reconstruct the technology of the various apparatuses.

The edited volume *The Cinema of Attraction Reloaded* includes articles on the history of the paradigm of “attraction” by analysing optical toys before cinema (Cf. Gaudreault and Dulac 2006) or the intertextuality inherent to spectatorship (Cf. Musser 2006). Presentations at the Domitor conferences in 2010, 2012, 2014, and 2016 addressed various aspects about the magic lantern, and the recent reference book *A Companion to Early Cinema* (Gaudreault, Dulac, and Hidalgo 2012a) dedicates an entire section to non-filmic early cinema cultures such as peep media, stage magic, *féeries*, and pantomime.

Mediality and Affordances

Nonfiction films of the early period rarely exceed five to ten minutes of length. They were shown as part of a variety programme or on the fairground and, until c. 1907, were mostly projected by showpersons touring with the equipment. Studies into the programming of early cinema provide evidence that nonfiction films about people and places were programmed in between the

most dramatic acts and were rarely the first number (Cf. Bruins 1998; Musser 1990a, 123; Peterson 2013); some lecturers combined films with lantern slides in travelogue shows (Cf. Barber 1993; Peterson 2013, 23–61).

From 1907 on, new purpose-built cinemas became the most prominent places for film projection but nontheatrical film performances (for example, in school cinemas or for associations and charities) continued to exist. Films of the early period were silent, but they were accompanied during their performance by a lecturer and musicians (Cf. Abel 1996) until intertitles took over the role of a lecturer bit by bit (Cf. Dupré la Tour 2016).

Production and Dissemination Networks

The film business expanded quickly in the period preceding World War I. The main European producers of the first days were Georges Méliès, Pathé frères, Gaumont, Charles Urban, and The British Bioscope and Mutoscope Company, although the impact of local filmmaking tends to be underestimated.¹¹ These major European producers all had international networks of resellers. For details about the agents, cf. the *Encyclopedia of Early Cinema* (Abel 2005); for an analysis of distribution networks, cf. the edited volume *Networks of Entertainment: Early Film Distribution 1895-1915* (Kessler and Verhoeff 2007).

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Images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in this Medium

The Netherlands did not have a nationally or internationally operating film production company before the “Filmfabriek Hollandia” was set up in 1914;¹² commercial films on the Netherlands and the Dutch that circulated internationally before the First World War were produced by foreign companies and were also shown in the Netherlands. Films from the early period that contain images from the Netherlands and the Dutch are conserved and documented by the EYE Film Institute Netherlands. These efforts have resulted in, among other things, a catalogue on known film prints. Part of this collection is digitized and accessible online via EYE’s website (<https://www.eyefilm.nl/collectie/filmgeschiedenis>, accessed 6 October 2016).

With the exception of the numerous films with portraits of the royal family and the coronation ceremony for Queen Wilhelmina in 1898, images of the Netherlands and the Dutch appear mostly in nonfiction films that are often classified as travelogues. Local views, e.g. of people coming from church, were shot at various locations. These were programmed for local screenings but are rarely preserved. Rommy Albers reconstructed these “lost films” to a large

extent from newspaper articles in which the filming was announced; these films are also included in the web database *Film in Nederland*. In the 1910s until the end of the silent period, the Netherlands also served as a setting for fiction films, mostly melodramatic films about fishermen and their families – this goes for Dutch and foreign film companies alike.¹³

2.13 CONCLUSION

90 | The vast amount of images should not leave the impression that the Netherlands was a major attraction or a “hot topic” in popular visual media of that time. In all media and formats, images of biblical stories, popular folk stories, and comical images are very likely to have outnumbered “people and places subjects” in total sales; among geographical subjects, countries such as Italy, Switzerland, and Egypt were also far more prominent.

Given that the available sources for my research are not “complete” (if such a thing could even possibly exist in diachronic studies of popular culture), the popularity of an image cannot be expressed in numbers and statistics. Neither can the popularity of an image or motif be judged by its prominence in my corpus alone. Still, I claim that the selection of the material is comprehensive enough to distil various patterns and concepts with which supposed common knowledge on the Netherlands and the Dutch was expressed and visualized – and to identify periods when certain patterns and concepts emerged, changed, and gained and lost prominence. The overview on images of the Netherlands and the Dutch across media formats indicates a tendency: it is remarkable that media in which the “ cliché images” dominate (advertising trade cards, early cinema, promotional material to potential tourists, and, to a lesser degree, picture postcards) were the “new” media at that time. This is even more exciting contrasted with the observation that clichés are not prominent in the “old” media (catchpenny prints, perspective prints, and early prints of people in local costume).

The situation is less evident in the case of stereoscopic photographs, lantern slides, and illustrated magazines, which do display clichés but the number of cliché images is small in comparison to the diversity of images of the Netherlands and the Dutch in these media. It seems, however, that the later a specific slide set or set of stereoscopic images was produced, the more prominently it features clichés. Sets of images that were reissued or remediated around 1900 from old photo negatives (which can date back to the 1880s) seem to contain fewer cliché images than the newly produced ones. Biased representations are found in images of various aesthetics and appear in photographic images as well as in prints and drawings.

The tendency seems to be that the variety of motifs on the Netherlands and the Dutch decreased over the course of the researched period. The detailed analysis of the historical material in the following chapters will show if this preliminary finding is supported by the case studies and/or if other factors, such as communication aims and discursive embedding, are significant factors to account for the visual elements of supposed common knowledge.

NOTES

- 1 In Jean-Louis Baudry's adaptation of the term to film studies (Cf. Baudry 1978), *dispositif* describes "the effects produced by the 'disposition' of the screening situation" (Kessler 2007, 7). Whereas Baudry defines only one *dispositif* that supposedly fits all forms of cinematic viewing, Jacques Aumont, Frank Kessler, and Tom Gunning argue to historicize the concept of *dispositif* (Cf. Aumont 1989; Aumont 1990; Gunning 1990; Kessler 2002; Kessler 2006b; Kessler 2007, 10–11). *Dispositif* is then used as a heuristic tool to reconstruct the relations of the heterogeneous elements at play in the specific arrangement of a viewing situation. Consequently, every researcher has to conceptualize *dispositif* according to their research question.
- 2 Obviously, the dissemination range of images needs to be assessed before selecting cases as relevant to the corpus. This entails, among other things, a reconstruction of central players in the production and in the international distribution of visual media. In this book, I will not account for the archaeological and archival work based on distributor's catalogues, encyclopaedia entries, trade press, and contemporary newspaper articles, but only present the results of this background work through the examples that I identify as popular. To learn more about processes and method of identification, cf. Dellmann (2015, 2016b).
- 3 Picture postcards about people and places are also made from etchings or lithographs. From what I have seen, photographic picture postcards of real existing places and people were more popular than postcards made from drawings. See section 2.11.
- 4 This definition is broader than Michèle Martin's definition of illustrated *newspapers* as "a paper in which the illustration has priority over the text; which is at least partly devoted to reports of current events; and finally, whose production is subject to the laws of market" (Martin 2006, 45). My broader definition allows for the inclusion of magazines and journals without topical subjects in my research such as illustrations of travel reports.
- 5 According to Schipper (2000), the first film commissioned by a Dutch tourist organization was *Happy Holland*, made in 1923 by Willy Mullens, which was

especially directed at the American market (56). It featured fragments of Mullens's earlier work *Nederland*, which he made for the "Society for the Promotion of Knowledge about the Netherlands abroad" after 1918 (Mullens, 56). Although I could demonstrate that this was not the first attempt of umbrella organizations of tourist offices to use film, it can be stated that film was not used extensively in the investigated period. See also Chapter 6.

- 6 The oldest known description of a viewing apparatus for a perspective print was published in a book on newly invented mathematical and optical curiosa in 1677 (Cf. Kaldenbach 1984b, 7). Experiments with images displayed in boxes were already documented in fifteenth-century Italy, but it was only in the eighteenth century that they were used for the display of prospects and perspective prints and became more common.
- 7 It also explains why images in the aesthetics of perspectival space that had their heydays a century earlier were continuously reissued at a time when the aesthetics of the picturesque started to gain importance. Although the aesthetics of the picturesque were gaining importance in the late eighteenth century (see Chapter 6), most perspective prints were copied from seventeenth-century *vedute* in central perspective. Enduring popularity was important to publishers to assure profits. "Many of the *vues d'optique* issued by Laurie and Whittle were based on etchings or engravings produced as much as a century earlier that featured architectural settings depicted in perspectival space." (Whalen 1998, 80).
- 8 To my regret, von Kapff does not offer an explanation or a hypothesis for this observation. Kaldenbach also mentions the activities of Hendrik Scheurleer (1734-1768) in The Hague, who produced etches and published 30 views of Dutch cities and towns on prints in the size of a perspective view (Cf. Kaldenbach 1984a, 30).
- 9 Newspaper advertisements from 1891 prove that views of the Netherlands were included in the programme (Cf. Rauschgatt 1999, 24-25). The Kaiserpanorama had around 250 local branches throughout Germany; some of them were situated in permanent buildings, some of them were touring. For a well-documented case study in Northwestern Germany, see the article "Die Filialen des Fuhrmannschen KAISERPANORAMAS in Nordwestdeutschland" (Cf. <http://massenmedien.de/kaiserpanorama/kaiser1.htm>, accessed 11 September 2014). The glass stereoscopes for the Fuhrmann panorama were rented out by the head office in Berlin, which enabled the local branches to provide a changing programme without buying these costly slides themselves (Cf. Rauschgatt 1999, 26).
- 10 Although there is a tendency to credit Huygens as the inventor, there is still no consensus among scholars. Giovanni Battista della Porta (1538-1615), Athanasius Kirchner (1602-1680), and Thomas Rasmussen Walgenstein (1627-1681) have been credited as well. For an overview over this debate cf. Wagenaar (1980).

- 11 Besides these internationally active enterprises, the film production and exploitation by travelling showmen who produced local scenes for local audiences was considerable, too. Although most of these films did not enter the big distribution networks, they enjoyed large success among local audiences (Cf. Kessler, Lenk, and Loiperdinger 2000; Toulmin, Popple, and Russell 2004 for local views in Britain; Tofghian 2013 for Southeast Asia; and Ruppín 2016 for Colonial Indonesia). As this research focuses on images that were distributed at a large scale, I will not pay further attention to exclusively local views.
- 12 The “Filmfabriek F.A. Nöggerath”, owned by the director of the Amsterdam Variety theatre “Flora”, produced films between 1898 and 1911. These films were mostly actualities and local scenes. There is no evidence that these films were shown outside the Variety theatre “Flora” and the “Royal Bioscoop” in Amsterdam. In any case, Nöggerath’s films were not available on an international market.
- 13 For an overview of fiction films of the silent era produced in the Netherlands, cf. Donaldson (1997); film descriptions for fiction films by US-American productions are found in the *Moving Picture World*. A comparison of descriptions of films in both publications before 1915 reveals the tendency that *if* a story is situated in the Netherlands, then the action mostly takes place in the setting of a fishing village or in “Old Amsterdam” (Cf. Dellmann 2016a, 273-74).



Images of People and Places before 1800: A Prehistory of National Clichés

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ABSTRACT

Popular images of people and places, usually in the form of cheap print, existed well before industrialization. This chapter focuses on the development of popular visual media that are relevant to stereotypical thinking and visual clichés. It reconstructs when and how technology, epistemology, and politics – reproducible images, objectivity claims, and national discourse – amalgamate into these all too familiar clichés. To this end, this chapter considers mass production and popularity of images, aesthetic principles imposed by available technologies, the negotiation of claims to truth, and realism attributed to the images. Perspective prints and catchpenny prints are discussed in detail. The change of classificatory categories in the description of images of people and places results in new insights about the moment when national categories gained importance in the description of people and places.

KEYWORDS

visual culture; media history; print culture; popular print; eighteenth century; catchpenny prints; perspective prints

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Images of people and places existed well before industrialization, even in popular formats. Popular images, usually in the form of cheap print, were seen by people of different ranks across western Europe and its overseas colonies. This chapter will serve as a backdrop against which we will see diversity, continuity, and change in both motifs and functions of images of people and places.

96 | Instead of an encompassing overview, this chapter focuses on those aspects relevant to stereotypical thinking and its visual expressions in clichés: when and how did technology, epistemology, and politics – reproducible images, objectivity claims, and national discourse – amalgamate into those clichés with which we are all too familiar? To answer this question, mass production and popularity of images, aesthetic principles imposed by available technologies, and the negotiation of claims to both truth and realism attributed to the images will be considered. The change of classificatory categories in the description of images of people and places will be traced to show when the national gained importance in the marking of difference among people and places.

The European nation-state, as we know it today, started to take shape in the course of the late seventeenth century. What “nation” would mean in relation to the state differed largely over the course of the centuries. For this chapter, the decades around 1800 are particularly relevant, as this is the time when nation-states were founded across Europe, and when researchers in the newly emerging empirical disciplines such as anthropology and geography (previously parts of natural history and history) applied the national as a central category in their work. In his reference work *La Révolution Française, 1789-1799*, Michel Vovelle (1992) explains the change in meaning of the term “nation” before and after the French Revolution. Before the French Revolution, the king was the sovereign, and “nation” was confounded with fidelity to monarchy. As the dividing line between the people and the aristocracy was sharp, “nation” did not refer to the people. After the fall of the monarchy, the term “nation” became identified with the people and “the nation” filled the void left by the sovereign, hence the association of the “nation” with the Republic.¹ As I will argue, visual media helped to consolidate this new understanding of nation and nationality by providing visual evidence for national differences.

A selection of popular seventeenth- and eighteenth-century visual media, images, and travel writings will clarify when the preconditions are met so that one can ask the question “where does supposed common knowledge about the Dutch and the Netherlands come from?”. This question holds at least three implications. First, images and discourses need to be widely spread across social classes, time, and space in more or less the same form. While single, unique images, even when moved and exhibited, can only be seen by a small number of people, widespread images require a technology for reproduction of images. The first technique that allowed this was woodblock printing. Although it was invented in the Chinese empire as early as 220 BC, it only became known in Europe around 1450 AD.

Second, images and the discourses in which they appear need to make a truth claim about the (visual) representation of people and places, i.e. topographical and ethnographical truthfulness must be relevant criteria. This requires the emergence of a specific concept of science and faithful pictorial representation in which empirical, quantitative, and descriptive research methods (such as field work and measuring) are valid approaches and are accepted as accurate. It also requires an epistemology in which these concepts have their place in methodology. This new kind of “realism” gained importance in the early seventeenth century. Visual expressions of this interest in “realism” are found, among other places, in (Flemish) genre paintings of everyday life (see Chapters 3.3 and 6).

Third, the categories “the Dutch” or “the Netherlands” must figure as meaningful descriptors. In order to state that an image shows “a typical Dutch scene” or “the Dutch man”, the national must be an established category of difference. National attributions gain impact in the aftermath of the French Revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

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3.2 VISUAL CULTURE BEFORE INDUSTRIALIZATION

The interrelation of different visual media, beliefs existing in a society, and a refusal to understand social realities and their (visual) representations as two discrete entities make it reasonable to embed this study in what has emerged as the academic field called Visual Culture. Visual Culture is an interdisciplinary field bringing together scholars from history, art history, media studies, and literary studies. Visual Culture defends the visual aspects of the objects studied against a restrictive notion of text stemming from semiology that would not distinguish between the “text” of writing and the “text” of images. Visual Culture also breaks with a traditional approach in art history that restricts itself to “aesthetically important” fine arts produced by genius

artists-authors. Visual Culture explicitly defends mundane everyday life items, such as advertising posters and comic strips, as valuable objects in academic research (Cf. Mitchell 2005, especially 346–350).

Within the study field of Visual Culture, emphasis is put on the study of modern and postmodern societies, thus covering mainly the period from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century; even historical works in the field of Visual Culture usually do not investigate periods prior to the mid nineteenth century.² The enormous boost in image production and quicker distribution in the nineteenth century, in my opinion, should not lead to linking Visual Culture with visual literacy and modernity. After all, neither mechanically reproducible images nor international distribution of identical copies of images are inventions of modernity. Just because images were not as omnipresent as in the nineteenth century, it does not follow that one should restrict the study of mundane everyday culture, visual spectacle, fleeting phenomena, the materiality of objects, and the passion for the visual to modernity. By tying these criteria exclusively to their modern realizations, Visual Culture unnecessarily narrows its scope. This is all the more surprising as edited volumes and textbooks in the field mention the importance of print yet no case studies on print in popular visual culture before industrialization are included (cf. footnote 2).

Without ignoring the differences between the visual in popular culture of modernity and the age of Enlightenment, I wish to add pre-nineteenth century media and images to discussions in the field of Visual Culture. Popular culture made use of images before the age of industrial mass reproduction, and images were not exclusively available in closed-off collections of aristocrats and very rich tradesmen or the frescos and stained glass windows in Catholic churches. Neither perspective prints nor catchpenny prints are mentioned in any of these contemporary scholarly edited volumes. Both early mass media played an important role in popular visual culture in western European states and their colonies and within these media, views of other cities and other people were a very popular genre. Catchpenny prints, perspective prints, and cheap print in general influenced viewing practices and aesthetic traditions. Popular print thereby influenced which subjects and meanings were expressed and circulated – and later mass produced images built upon this established knowledge.

3.3 THE SAME IMAGE AT VARIOUS PLACES FOR THE FIRST TIME: IMAGES OF PEOPLE AND PLACES IN POPULAR PRINT

Before lithography and photography were popularized in the nineteenth century,³ black-and-white prints from engravings, etchings, or woodblocks were the only available techniques of uniform image production in several copies. Prints on paper were produced in intaglio and gravure (e.g. etchings and engravings) or relief and letterpress printing (e.g. woodblocks).⁴

These prints could be hand-coloured afterwards, which brought variation into the uniformity of these prints as different coloured versions of black-and-white images are a common phenomenon. Engravings and etchings made from copperplates were more expensive and allowed for finer detail than woodcut prints, but woodcuts allowed printing of images and text on one page, which, according to Brian Maidment (1996, 15), presupposed “an intense relationship between an image and a written text” in this medium. Since the reinvention of print in Europe in the fifteenth century, prints have been used for visual communication about matters that could not be described easily in written language (e.g. botany, anatomy, architecture, city views, and construction plans of machines, reproduction of artworks). Printing images was more costly than printing text. For printing up until the 1660s, Helen Pierce states:

The act of illustration [...] whether enabled through the printing of copper plates or woodblocks, incurred additional costs. Such costs could be borne by the publisher of a work, or, more commonly, passed onto the purchasers of the resulting work in a retail price that could be double that of its non-illustrated equivalents. Thus the possibility of illustration could easily be rejected by authors and publishers as an unnecessary expense, setting the mnemonic qualities and visual appeal of the printed image conspicuously at odds with its potentially superfluous nature. This tension between aesthetics and economics was frequently addressed through the reuse of previously commissioned engraved plates or woodblocks in new and often thematically distinct publications. (Pierce 2011, 265)

Printed images were thus only used in domains in which the images would add something to what was expressed in text. William Ivins states that it was only through print that the transmitted visual content in various copies would stay the same. Whereas different styles of handwriting would not alter the described object in different copies of a manuscript, variation in hand-copied sketches would not convey the same information. Before print, sharing *exactly* the same visual and graphical information was only guaranteed by exhibiting the same painting, sketch, object, artwork, or machine – which limited the

distribution range and impeded scientific progress. After all, the creation of *shared* visual knowledge is dependent “upon information conveyed by exactly repeatable visual or pictorial statements” (Ivins 1953, 3).⁵ Not until the middle of the sixteenth century did

[t]he single sheet print in the various mediums then available had begun its task of carrying across Europe in all directions information about buildings and works of art that themselves never travelled. [...] Nothing like this has ever happened before. *The same identical pictorial statements were made in each example of the edition, whether of a single sheet print or of an illustrated book.* (Ivins 1953, 163, emphasis added)

Although the degree in which standardization can be stated is subject to debate (Eisenstein 1979; Johns 2002; Eisenstein 2002), Eisenstein insists that “[...] printed copies were sufficiently alike to change conditions within the learned world, to make it possible, for example, for scholars to correspond about a common text” (Eisenstein 2002, 94) – and, I would add, to correspond about a common image as well. Without the invention of exact image copying – which caters to a centralized production of (copies of) images – visual knowledge could not be homogenous. The exactly repeatable visual or pictorial statement was central to communication of knowledge.

The print’s possibilities are not endless. For example, in reproduced paintings or sculptures, qualities such as brushstroke, structure of the surface, colour, and size could not be conveyed.⁶ The consequence of these medium-specific limits is a focus on iconography and the relation of iconographic elements to one another.

The most that anyone looking at one of these engravings could hope for was that the broad general *scheme of the composition* was indicated in a generally adequate way, and that the *iconographic detail* was more or less truthful. The print never conveyed any information about the surface of the original or the manner in which it was worked. (Ivins 1953, 89, emphasis added)

With the increased visual communication through print, only certain aspects of a work of art could become generally known. The *possibly* disseminated visual information influenced the perception of e.g. works of art. By the eighteenth century,

a blighting common sense descended on the vision of the educated world. This showed itself not only in the terms in which that world talked

about art but in the contemporary art the works relished. *Its principal interest had been diverted by the means of reproduction away from the actual qualities of the originals and works of art and directed to generalized notions about their subject matters.* [...] The eighteenth century talked about harmony, proportion, dignity, nobility, grandeur, sublimity, and many other *common-sense abstract verbal notions based upon the gross generalities of the subject matter that came through into the engraved reproductions.* (Ivins 1953, 173–174, emphasis added)

Privileging iconographic detail over specific qualities is a reduction of complexity inherent to print technology – and this specific form of reduction of complexity of print is linked to stereotypical thinking in several ways. After all, stereotypical thinking and its visual expressions focus on motifs and details, not on qualities such as colour, size, or surface. Furthermore, as defined in Chapter 1, supposed common knowledge has to be a *shared* idea, communicable at several places and displayed in the same manner over time through different media. The circulation of visual knowledge in exact copies led through the selection of *possible* representations, to a severely limited amount of *used* representations that are constantly repeated.

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The increased availability of images due to print led to homogenization rather than diversification of imagery. Without print it would be difficult to imagine a *broadly shared* corpus of images in which “typical” elements could be identified and distinguished from others. Through the availability of single images compiled in botanic atlases, artwork reproductions, encyclopaedias, and bundles of city views, a *reproducible and systematic comparison of similarities and differences* was possible for the first time – since it is only through these compiled works, distributed throughout the scientific libraries of western Europe, that studies could relate to the same corpus. What could be observed in images shifted from an individual characteristic to classified – and even more important – *categorized* difference. *Characteristics could be typified.*

3.4 EPISTEMOLOGICAL STATUS OF IMAGES OF PEOPLE AND PLACES

Before the seventeenth century, truthfulness to topographical facts was not the most relevant criterion in the presentation of people and places within the aesthetics of Western fine arts. Until then, images in cheap print products would depict real existing persons in pamphlets for political and religious campaigns, often with symbolical or coded meaning of the images (Cf. Vanhaelen 2003; Kunzle 1990).

Not all images of people and places were intended to inform about char-

acteristics of single entities or point to the unique or typical features of that person or place; some images served to establish categories and concepts or link a name to a city. This makes a great difference in the epistemic value of images of places and people. Early printed illustrations of cities were probably not intended to inform about the characteristics of a city but simply linked a name to a topographical entity (Cf. Gombrich 1983, 59-60). Pictures, according to Gombrich (1983, 59 and 77), cannot be true or false as they are not propositions; only captions can determine the truth of a picture. Hence, it does not make sense to criticize an image for not depicting people and places in a realist way if that is not what the caption proposes. Similarly in argument, Roland Barthes states that images in mass communication always come together with text. Barthes investigates how the polysemy of images is limited by signifying practices, one of them being “anchorage”:

102 | [T]he caption [...] helps me to choose *the correct level of perception*, permits me to focus not simply on my gaze but also my understanding. (Barthes 1977, 39, emphasis added)

The caption, Barthes continues, “no longer guides identification but interpretation”; instead, the linguistic elements represses possible interpretations that the – in his view, always polysemic – image provides (1997, 39). To say that an image is “inaccurate” and “false”, then, is only a valid argument if a caption to an image claims to depict the motif in a realist or documentary way. And this discourse is not found in captions for images of places before the seventeenth century.

Although some Flemish landscape paintings date back to the sixteenth century – Braun and Hogenberg published a six-volume atlas with maps and bird’s-eye views of cities as early as 1572-1617 (Cf. Braun and Hogenberg 1965 [1617]) – it was in the seventeenth century that the *aim* to present landscape in a topographically more “realist” way was broadly shared. The distinction “after nature” or “after life” and “after imagination” came up in the early seventeenth century. As David Freedberg (1980) points out, imagination and reality were not seen as diametrically opposed, yet “after imagination” put more emphasis on the artist’s choice and freedom of combining elements taken from the study of reality, whereas “after life” emphasized the probability of the elements combined by the artist. Landscape paintings “after life”, Freedberg continues, “became increasingly realistic” (Freedberg 1980, 11) from the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century onwards. This changed the aesthetics in landscape prints from giving “the impression of being wholly imaginary” to appearing “much more realistic, even when closer examination reveals them to be quite carefully composed” (Freedberg 1980, 11).

Fig. 3.1 Anna Maria de Koker (1650-1698): “View on a village with a farm in its middle” (in or before 1698). Print. The image shows a “possible” landscape, but the caption leaves open whether or not this landscape really exists.



The increased realism in literature, paintings, and prints encouraged artists to describe and depict the mundane.⁷ From this moment onward, paintings and prints “after life” that show “probable” and “possible” landscapes were produced in larger numbers – and some of them even link the represented landscape or place to a determinable topographical site (see figures 3.1 and 3.2). This slow shift – from putting the world as God had probably intended it on canvas, to selecting and combining elements of nature in order to document a mundane place “as it is” without explicit intervention – implies differences in the *function* and aesthetics of images of places and people.

The seventeenth-century concept of topographical truthfulness expressed in true-to-nature captions differs a lot from the mid nineteenth-century’s conviction of accuracy. Truth-to-nature, according to Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, expressed the “idea in the observation, not the raw observation itself”. Pictures showed the *ideal* skeleton, leaf, animal, bubble etc., “which may or may not be realized in nature and of which this particular skeleton is at best an approximation” (Daston and Galison 2007, 73). Interpretation was a legitimate scientific method to gain information about reality (and, very probably, artistic realism in turn was tied to scientific practice of early modern science and the skills and values around close observation).

The universal [...] could only be known through minute acquaintance with the particular in all its details, but no image of a mere particular, no matter how precise, could capture the ideal. Only the observer with the experience and perspicacity of the sage could see it. (Daston and Galison 2007, 74)

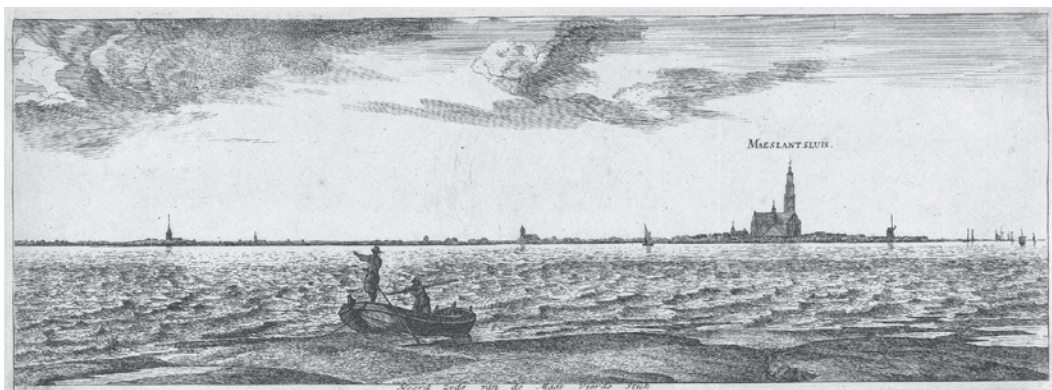


Fig. 3.2 Joost van Geel (1631-1698): “The North Side of the Maas” (in or after 1666). The realist depiction of landscape is connected to an identifiable location in the title and even through the name of the town at the other side of the river Maas.

Eighteenth-century sciences took over the “realist turn” from aesthetics to epistemology (the arts and the sciences were not seen as opposite, mutually excluding systems yet). The search for universals and the typical in nature led to a new function of scientific images: the *communicative aim* of scientific images was to share knowledge; therefore, illustrations needed to be recognizable. Atlases on e.g. botany did not depict several exemplars of a plant but illustrated *one typical* image. Accuracy of visual information meant precisely *not* to produce an exact image of a specimen. Galison argues that the scientific duty of the enlightenment “scientist-illustrator” was to dismantle the universals contained in the specimen or individual object. The accurately working artist or scientist was to produce a typical, *metaphysical* image.

Being true to nature allowed – indeed demands – massive intervention, even if the plant or skeleton or crystal stood before the scientist-illustrator’s eyes. [...] [O]ne could not simply draw what one saw because the *Typus* could not depend on any particular instance. (Galison 2010, 10)

The medium-specific aesthetics of print – abstraction of concrete qualities and reduction of the depicted to iconographic detail – were therefore not at odds with the dominant epistemology of the Enlightenment age. The *interpretation* of the object in the process of the image production deeply rooted in the technique of printing should not have been regarded as problematic *per se*, for accuracy was a matter of correct interpretation and intervention of the sage scientist anyway (Cf. Galison 2010, 11 and 69-70). In the course of the nineteenth century, the tasks, ethics, and the scientific self as well as epistemological value systems and research methods changed. Science was now seen as a

practice that would suppress the scientist's subjectivity as best as possible (Cf. Daston and Galison 2007, 17–54). Scientists were appreciated for *not* interfering in the production of the image but were cherished if they succeeded in mechanical documentation of the world before them in a supposedly objective manner (a discourse that became highly relevant about photography). At this moment in time, science and the arts parted: while the scientific self should be stripped of any subjectivity, the artistic self was required to do exactly the opposite, namely express their full subjectivity and “impressions” of the world in their artistic creations in word and image.

From the seventeenth century onwards – that is, before and after these shifts in epistemology – prints communicated knowledge on places with a claim to topographical accuracy. In the following section, I will look at the information that can be retrieved from printed images of places. Two things should be kept in mind. Firstly, popular culture often circulated images that were not up-to-date with the newest scientific findings as exhibitors adjusted the precious artifacts to new demands by simply telling another story around the motif or by changing the caption. Secondly, these images were presented with the voice of the itinerant showperson and were as much part of oral as of visual culture. Re-using and repurposing images was the norm rather than the exception. Theories and statements about the meaning of these images in history therefore must content themselves to possible meanings, not realized ones.

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3.5 TOPOGRAPHICAL IMAGES: *VEDUTE*, PROSPECTS, AND PERSPECTIVE PRINTS

A *veduta* (Italian for “view”) is a highly detailed, usually large-scale painting of a cityscape or some other vista. This subgenre of landscape originated in Flanders, where artists painted *vedute* as early as the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, Dutch painters became known for detailed, accurate, and recognizable city views and landscapes that were fashionable among wealthy Dutch tradesmen. These paintings showed the city where the proud owners lived; they were not commissioned for public exhibition. In the eighteenth century, the city view became a popular genre in painting – and specialized painters put views of major cities (mostly of western Europe) onto canvas. *Vedute* painters strove for topographical accuracy; they intended to represent the city or town “faithful enough to identify the location” (Ehresman and Hall 1980, 114). *Veduta* paintings were unique objects and not part of popular culture; still, they are closely related to the genre of the city views in prints from copper engraving or etchings. In the seventeenth century, many city views also

appeared in the print genre of the prospect, which held close connections to cartography and mapping. City views in the prospect genre followed an observational approach for delineating cities and strove to be true and exact (Cf. Turner 2010).

As mentioned above, landscape prints already enjoyed commercial success in the seventeenth century. The newly accepted position that images could not only depict imaginary landscape scenes, but also the mundane world in a predominantly realistic manner created room for the topographical genre of city views. In the eighteenth century, printed copperplate engravings or etchings of city views were centrally produced and internationally distributed. In Augsburg, Martin Engelbrecht issued a series of European city views in 1730-1740, art trader Pierre Fouquet employed various sketchers and engravers to produce views of Amsterdam that he published between 1760 and 1783 (Fouquet 1960), and a series from the 1730s consists of 100 engravings with views along the river Amstel (Rademaker 1968)⁸ – to name just a few. Albeit cheaper than painting, such series of copperplate engraving were still very costly and beyond the reach of the vast majority of people.

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The Popularized City View: Perspective Prints in Peepshows

City views in prints from copper engraving or etches were not only popular among the better-off; there was a market for cheaper copies as well – the perspective print or prospect. Those who could not afford to own images had the chance to see them, performed as part of a peepshow, presented in wooden boxes (see Chapter 2).



Fig. 3.3 Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778): “Veduta della Piazza del Popolo” (in or after 1748). Print from copperplate engraving.



Fig. 3.4 Unknown producer. A popularized form of Piranesi's artwork (in or after 1748): perspective print with light from the back.

The prints of the copper engraver Giambattista Piranesi (1720-1778) are a well-documented example for the popularity of the genre and can also serve to show the content migration from elitist into popular forms. Piranesi's prints from copper engravings enjoyed success among the intellectual elite who were wealthy enough to buy books and spend (some of) their time studying but who could not afford a collection of oil paintings. Piranesi produced some 940 etchings of city views, mostly from Rome, that were published in Paris by his descendants between 1835 and 1837. Already during his lifetime, Piranesi's work was published in several editions; his series *Vedute di Roma* ("city views of Rome") was very popular and went through many print runs in various formats (Cf. George Glazer Gallery 2014; Wilton-Ely 1994). His etchings were available throughout (at least) western Europe and were also bought as souvenirs by British gentlemen on their Grand Tour. It is worth mentioning that these high-quality prints from copper engravings were intentionally produced as *artworks*. They were printed on thick paper – a handmade luxury product in those days – and either framed and hung on walls for decorative purposes or bound with other prints and placed in the library of the collector. These prints were not coloured; the first high-quality colour printing processes were chromolithography and mezzotint, only invented in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Because of the *vedute's* status as artworks, such prints were generally not manipulated, but they were occasionally hand-coloured.

The perspective print, on the contrary, was often manipulated by the

exhibitors to heighten the sensational effects for dissolving views and day-and-night changes, as can be seen in the popular adaptation of Piranesi's work.

As can be seen, the perspective print reproduced above was an adaptation of Piranesi's work; it was coloured in a very simple way and the lines are not worked as carefully as in the original. Furthermore, the perspective has been slightly modified: both buildings in the back are now situated on the same level in the middle ground and the vanishing point runs "straight into the middle" of the image and not slightly transversely, as in the original. In addition, the relative difference in scale between figures in the foreground and figures in the middle ground is bigger in the perspective print's version of the motif. Both changes increase the effect of depth, which is even more accentuated when watched through the lens of the peepshow box (see Chapter 2).

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Quite obviously, the *veduta* print and the perspective print differ not only in their aesthetics, the place they were looked at and the performance situation; they also served different purposes. Whereas, in the print version of the *veduta*, scientific accuracy and craftsmanship are relevant criteria, and practices around these images were collecting, storing, archiving, and tradition, the popularized version emphasized the spectacular, thereby the *effect*. This may be explained by considering the audience: Around 1780, for farmers and craftsmen, places such as Haarlem and Rome must have been as exotic as landscapes described in fairy tales. None of the spectators would get the chance to compare these images, neither to the place nor to other images circulating on the same topic, simply because they were not within their reach.

The perspective print was made available for home use shortly after its invention. Sets of small parlour-sized peepshow views for miniature peepshows, or special viewing devices like the zograscope or the viewing table, were available to those who could afford them (Cf. Whalen 1998; Chaldecott 1953). Class difference thus was not primarily defined by the kind of images that one saw, but through access and device: those who owned perspective prints (and other images) themselves could choose when to look at which print and also with which device to look at the images.

To sum up, prints with topographical content of the seventeenth and eighteenth century vary in motifs – some display streets, some ports, some landscapes or buildings. All of them are titled according to the city or building they show. No reference to nations or countries is made in the prints' captions. All cited studies point to the fact that motifs of popular visual culture were taken from patterns that were already well-known among the better-off. The observation of motifs taken from high art that were subsequently popularized is in line with theories of popular media, the result of a trickle-down effect rather than an independent art form.

With the exception of Richard Balzer's publication, the cited studies

embed the perspective prints in the discourse of “travel with eyes”, “armchair travel”, or “virtual travel”. I will examine this discourse more closely in Chapter 5. I wish to emphasize here that these images were not just substitutes for travel but also had a communicative function: the city views of perspective prints contributed to what could be known about the world. Although I have not found any information about print runs, it seems that, with the concentration of image production to six publishers, the motifs and styles that circulated became limited. The fact that the captions of the prints often comes in various languages (German, French, English) suggests their circulation across Europe. If we conclude that unification of imagery was already taking place in the eighteenth century, this needs to be investigated in other studies. Although the information assembled here is quite scarce, it is probably not completely hypothetical to assume that the largest part of Europe and its colonies looked at the same 1600 or so available topographical images. In hundreds of topographical prints, characteristics of cities were recorded and buildings were pictured that informed what other places looked like. And this information was – across the lines of class and throughout Europe – the same for everyone.

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3.6 REALIST IMAGES OF PEOPLE IN POPULAR MEDIA: CATCHPENNY PRINTS

For images of people, it is less obvious to determine the beginnings of claims to realism towards the depicted person. Portraits of kings, conquerors, and other masters linked the image to a veritable persona. Prints of fashion and costume certainly had a realist claim to the depicted subject and were already common in the sixteenth century. Depictions of lower-class people with realist claims are found in some seventeenth-century landscape oil paintings (and, consequently, in prints that copied them). None of these images were called ethnographic at that time, for the term was not broadly used before the 1820s – but, when looking at the captions, there was already an implicit claim that “people actually dressed/looked like this”. Although such images of people hold a claim to realism, they did not yet present groups of people systematically.

In the eighteenth century, ethnography was not a separate discipline; ethnologic and anthropological questions were addressed as part of studies in natural history (see Chapter 4). Illustrations to theories of the development of the “human races” and their respective habitat were part of encyclopaedias and expensive study books. Next to books for the intellectual elite, cheap print products disseminated images to a broader audience. The most popular print format in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the catchpenny print. In the examples of six catchpenny prints from the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries with some claim of ethnographic realism, I will trace when nationality emerged as a category for the description of people – a topic that I will elaborate in detail in Chapter 4.

“Hier wordt de Klederpracht bespot” (“Here we mock fashionable costumes”)

The first example mocks costumes and behaviour of people of different classes. Despite the parody of this print, the mocked practices and costumes are documented. In none of the verses are the people described as Dutch or Flemish; they are not even located in a certain city. Visual and textual elements inform of gender and profession or class.



Fig. 3.5 “[Hier wordt de Klederpracht bespot...].”
Catchpenny print
(c. 1775-1813).



Fig. 3.6 “Costumes Italiens / Italiaansche Costumen”. Catchpenny print (c. 1817-1833).

“Costumes Italiens / Italiaansche Costumen” (“Italian Costumes”)

The next example combines information on profession with information of nationality, but does not fully establish a “national type”.

These images hardly have any symbolic meaning; they present the professions and characteristic tools to exercise them: a pan maker with a pan, a seller of liquor with glasses and a tray, a market visitor with a basket and a pot, a seller of tripe with a knife and cats crawling around him, a watchman with a pipe, and a soldier with a rifle and ammunition in his belt.⁹

This catchpenny print is interesting for the different logics it makes use of: on the one hand, the nation is the topographical entity referred to in the title (and not the city or the region); on the other hand, emphasis is put on the professions. The single images do not hold what the title promises, as the images and their captions do not refer to a country or nation but to profes-

VERSCHILLENDE VREEMDE VOLKEREN.

DIFFERENTS PEUPLES ETRANGERS.



Bewooners van Florida.
habitants de la Floride.

Bewooners van Griekenland,
habitants de la Grèce.

Georgianische Vrouw.
femme Georgienne.



Ooteyackse Man en Vrouw.
homme et femme d'Ooteyack.

Bewooners van Peru.
habitants de Perou.

Patagonies.
le Patagonois.



Bewooners van Quito.
habitant de Quito.

Russische Man en Vrouw.
homme et femme de la Russie.

Bewooners van Siberie,
habitants de la Sibirie.

Te Breda en te St-Servais, (1/2 uur van Namur,) by W. G. v. D. SANDE et Comp. N.º 3.

Fig. 3.7 "Verschillende vreemde volkeren –
Différents peuples étrangers". Catchpenny print
(c. 1806-1814).

sions. If at all, these images are tokens of Italian people as pan makers, as liquor sellers, as tripe sellers etc., but they are not types of Italian people. The profession remains the most important category.

“Verschillende Vreemde Volkeren” (“Diverse Other Peoples”)

This early example that assembled “different people” mixes different modes of presentation: this seemingly arbitrary group of people shows the absence of systematic classification, even though there is uniformity in the size and format of presentation. Attributions to a country (“Bewoonders van Griekenland”) are found alongside attributions to a region (“Bewoonders van Siberië”) and even a city (“Bewoonder van Quito”). Some captions put the nation as adjective (“Russische Man en Vrouw”), but the French version refers to them as “homme et femme de la Russie” – a man and a woman *from Russia*, not as *Russian* man and woman (that would have been “homme et femme russe”). This difference might seem minor, but the French version “from Russia” does not presuppose that the man and woman must be Russian. In the second case, the national attribute is tied more strongly to the concept “man and woman”, leaving no option for interpreting them as non-Russians.¹⁰ The only image that labels the person after the locality is “patagoonges/le patagonees” – the Patagonian. The men and women are set in picture without background and rarely have props with them (occasionally a bow, a pipe for a Greek); most of the depicted people are Native Americans. The “Russian man and women” are more elegantly dressed than the “inhabitants of Siberia”, while the Native Americans are depicted with skilfully sewn dresses: elegance of costumes is not exclusively found among Western people.

The variation in the link between image and caption, thus person and place, is not fully operable for classification or description of typicality. It seems that the information “these people live in the place X or belong to the people Y” were precise enough. National references come in but are not the dominant scheme of attribution.

“Een Friessche Boer en Boerin uit de kerk komende...” (“Frisian Farmer and wife coming from Church...”)

This four-image catchpenny print presents people from different regions of the Netherlands (some are mentioned, some are not) in various costumes. The Frisian farmers go to church; the farmers of Schouwen, an island in the province of Zeeland, go to the market. The regional origin of the figures depicted



Fig. 3.8 "[Een Friessche Boer en Boerin uit de kerk komende]". Catchpenny print (c. 1814-1830).

in the other two images is not indicated in this print; in the image bottom left, the male figure asks the female out to attend the fair together; in the other, the male and the female figure produce or repair fishing nets. Various costumes are shown, in particular the headdress differs. With the exception of the fisherman next to the spinning woman, no one wears wooden shoes. There is variation among the dresses of the Frisian farmers, and not all the props in the images would later be known as "typically Dutch". The churchgoers carry a Bible each, the man a box (probably with coal inside to warm himself while in

church). In another image, we see a man smoking a pipe; the women who go to the market carry a basket. None of these figures is referred to as “Dutch”.

Just like perspective prints, catchpenny prints borrowed from highbrow material. In this case, the source of the motifs can be easily identified as originating from Evert Maaskamp's *Afbeeldingen van kleeding, zeden, en gewoonten in de Bataafsche Republiek, met den aanvang der negentiende eeuw* from 1803-1805. I will discuss Maaskamp's publication in detail in Chapter 4.2. As I will show there, this publication was intended to contribute to a nationalizing project and was praised for the ethnographic accuracy of the images.

The case of the *Afbeeldingen* and their reprint in catchpenny prints shows that images *intentionally* produced for a nationalizing project were not always used in that line. Instead, the combination of word and image performs a regional and professional identity of these figures. The discussion of this catchpenny print shows that the trickling-down of *images* does not guarantee trickling-down of the original *meaning*. It is also a very good illustration of

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Fig. 3.9 “Friessche boer en boerin” (“Friesian farmer and wife”). Hand-coloured copperplate print from *Afbeeldingen van kleeding, zeden, en gewoonten in de Bataafsche Republiek* (Maaskamp 1803-1807).





Fig. 3.10 “Man en vrouw van het eiland Walcheren”. Hand-coloured copperplate print from *Afbeeldingen van kleding, zeden, en gewoonten in de Bataafsche Republiek* (Maaskamp 1803-1807).

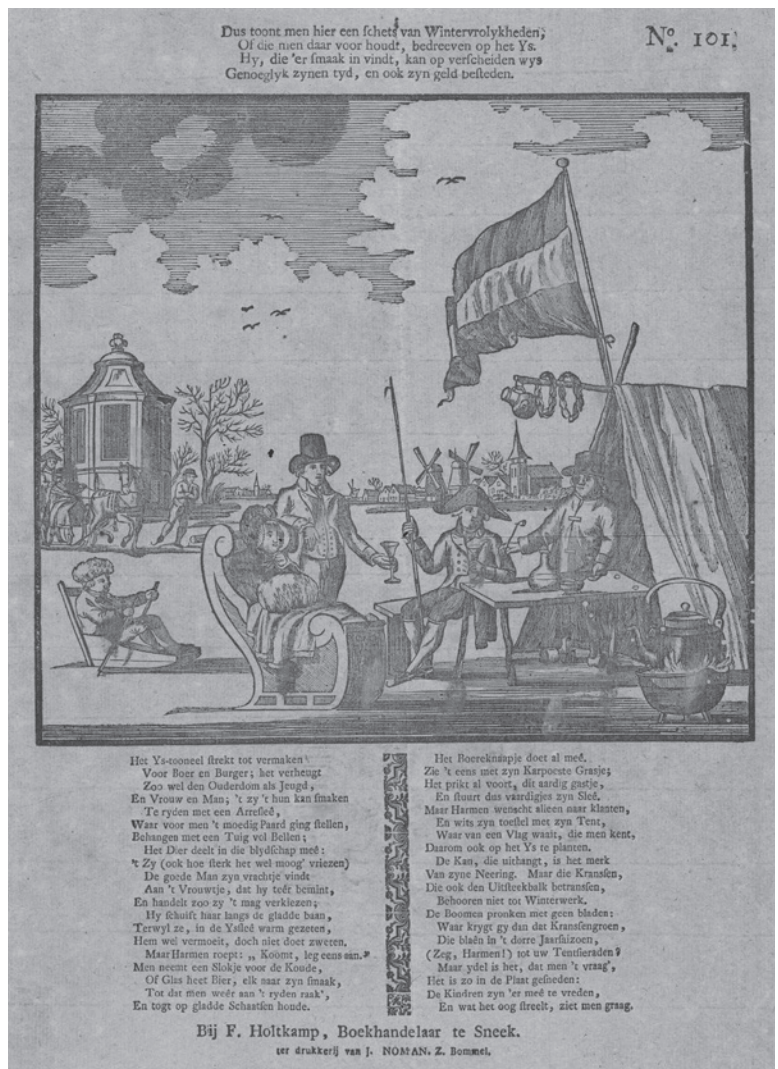
the power of captions in the production of knowledge, and, as such, should encourage consideration of more than just the image content in studies of content migration from one medium to another. I will come back to this in Chapter 7.

“Dus toont men hier een schets van wintervrolykheden” (“We Here Give an Impression of the Joys of Winter”)

The print titled “Dus toont men hier een schets van wintervrolykheden” comprises one large image. The print shows a scene with foreground, middle ground, and background and a remarkable amount of details. In the elaborate background, three windmills and two churches are seen. The image foregrounds people drinking at the tent of the tea and liquor seller; a big flag of the

Netherlands waves from the tent. In front of the tent, a man smokes a pipe. The people wear different hats and costumes, marking class difference. In contrast to other catchpenny prints, the differences of clothing are elaborated within one image. The message of a united people on ice under the Dutch flag is echoed in the text. After the reader is warned, in the first verse, against spending too much time and money, the pleasures on the ice are praised for appealing to farmer and bourgeois, man and woman, young and old. Popular folklore is integrated into national identity, replacing the excessive parts (drinking, spending money, sexual encounters) with modest behaviour (drinking tea, not spending too much money, showing a bourgeois way of courting, i.e. have the courted women sit in a sleigh instead of holding hands while skating next to each other). The introduction of bourgeois morals in combination with the national will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Fig. 3.11 “Dus toont men hier een schets van Winter-vrolykheden...”. Catchpenny print (c. 1817-1830).



“In deze print zullen de kinderen opmerken”

In order to emphasize the continuity and change of styles and expressed meaning to later products, one example should suffice here. Van Heurck and Beukenoogen state that national subjects increase remarkably in catchpenny prints after the Napoleonic war and the separation from Belgium in 1830. Soldiers, for example, were rarely a topic printed prior to that war (Cf. van Heurck and Boekenooen 1930, 27). Also, the Society for Common Benefits (*Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*) produced catchpenny prints with the aim to spread moralizing and instructive images and to nourish patriotic feelings. The style of these images greatly influenced other catchpenny prints of the nineteenth century (cf. van Heurck and Boekenooen 1930, 36–41.)

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One of the Society's prints reads “In this print, the children should learn that people differ very obviously according to the character of each region and learn about the special dresses of a nation/people”¹¹. In the first row, two figures, a man and a woman, stand in for a continent, highly favouring the “Europeans” over everyone else. In contrast to the men and women from “Asia”, “Africa”, and “America”, the bodies of the Europeans are covered with skilfully

Fig. 3.12 “[In deze Prent zullen de Kinderen opmerken...]”. Catchpenny print. Issued by the Society for Common Benefits (c. 1794-1820).



sewn costumes and there is no body contact between the European man and woman. The Europeans are portrayed in upright position and do not kneel close to the ground. Whereas the figures from other continents are portrayed against an iconic background, the Europeans seem to have intrinsic meaning. In the second row, variation in European clothing is shown. All Europeans are depicted with figures from the upper classes; the figures that represent the colonies are lower-class people. The supposed superiority of the Europeans is thus achieved in adding the facets of other binary hierarchies, namely gender and class.

In this print, the geopolitical categories of continent and nationality are clearly the most important ones – and the image of the nation is that of an upper-middle-class man. Next to the difference in depiction, the reader/viewer is asked to search for differences through the title of the print's title.

3.7 EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY IMAGES OF PEOPLE AND PLACES IN OTHER POPULAR MEDIA

Catchpenny prints and perspective prints were not the only media in which images of places and people circulated. Almanacs, the magic lantern, museum catalogues, travel writings, and geographical magazines also existed in the eighteenth century and contributed to what was known about the world and the Netherlands. Almanacs and art collection catalogues sometimes contained printed reproductions of artworks – and, among those reprinted paintings, some eventually featured Dutch landscapes, city views, and people. However, before the nineteenth century, the images in these media were either not yet mass-produced or not yet widely distributed: The broad circulation of identical motifs on lantern slides only became possible after printing on glass was invented in the 1820s and popularized in the 1850s. Magic lantern slides of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were unique and hand-painted artefacts. Although the practice of copying subjects from printed books (Cf. Mostert 2012) probably limited the styles and motifs to some degree, there is not enough evidence to state that the slides circulated the same motifs on large scale. Almanacs were highly popular in the eighteenth century, but the most popular almanacs were intended for regional distribution only (for a list of publishers in the Netherlands, see Salman 1999, 387–411). Furthermore, as van Eeghen shows, illustrations in almanacs were partially made from the woodblocks that were used for catchpenny prints (Cf. van Eeghen 1982). Beate Reifenscheid's investigation of illustration in almanacs (1996) is restricted to the more costly literary almanacs and yearbooks and focuses on the nineteenth century. Through published art collection catalogues, information on

the collections reached a broader public in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Before, inventories of collections would only serve the curator's work (Seeling 2011, 2). These catalogues were popular among travellers and were thus read by an international elite public (Bähr 2006, 3). However, such catalogues were barely illustrated in the eighteenth century and were definitely not a mass medium.

Geographical Magazines and Travel Reports

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Geographical magazines and travel reports were not separate genres before the mid eighteenth century; both geographical treatises and travel reports, served as ancillary science to natural history or historical political studies (Cf. Griep 1999, 62). The first exclusively geographical publications were issued in the 1760s. These publications focused on descriptive-empirical aspects: descriptions on the surface of the earth and comments on new maps often combined with statistics and topographical details. The number of publications on ethnology and geography increased at the end of the eighteenth century, but most of the journals did not manage to establish themselves for a longer period of time (Cf. Griep 1999, 65–68).

Although such journals were certainly not a widespread product in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they were not restricted to academic readers alone. In fact, geographical magazines depended largely on appreciation from the non-academic community in order to sell enough copies, and scientists complained about the lack of readers to cover the costs for illustrations. The dependence of academic research on popularized sciences must have influenced the selection of subjects to be illustrated and thus the corpus of visual knowledge within that discipline. Griep observes that magazines that featured news items and entertaining components issued more volumes than those magazines that were restricted to topographical and statistic details (Griep 1999, 69). The dependence of a discipline on popular appreciation is not exclusive to the discipline of geography; still, the degree to which geography became a topic in educational entertainment of the nineteenth century is remarkable. To understand the widespread interest in geography in the nineteenth century (which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 5), it is worth keeping in mind that market orientation and popularization strategies preceded the age of industrialized mass reproduction.

Travel Writings

Reports on travels to other places and things seen “elsewhere” are even older than the myth of Odysseus. In the late sixteenth century, travellers and authors added to their account on foreign places “technical information” on where to stay, what to see, how to get from one place to another etc. Travel writings, not yet separated from geography in the eighteenth century, were an ancillary science to historical political studies. Eighteenth century travel writings mostly took the form of what Bernhard Struck calls an “encyclopaedic narrative”: a very detailed description of the travel route, means of transports, distances, and topography were interwoven with accounts on historical events in these regions, mostly battles and wars and long quotes from previous travel writings (Cf. Struck 2004, 76). In this way, travel writings mixed different kinds of information. Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau observes this mix in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French travel writings on the Netherlands:

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Wonder, similarity, truthfulness, these travel topics have as a prerequisite a special rhetoric among the readers in which the double function of useful and entertaining lecture becomes apparent. (van Strien-Chardonneau 1994, 210, my translation)¹²

Travel writings of the eighteenth century rarely contain images. The texts are nevertheless relevant for the study of images of Dutchness: the evocative description on “what there was to be seen and known” named the (topographical) sites and added a meaningful comment to those sites. This connection between site and meaning makes use of different textual strategies – description and comment. These rhetorical strategies can still be observed in illustrated travel writings of the nineteenth century, where illustrations can have descriptive, documentary, or illustrative functions. In this way, eighteenth-century travel writings prepare the meaning that was ascribed to subsequently produced images of people and places. Seen in this light, non-illustrated travel writings are relevant sources for the meaning-making of (later) visual material as *topoi* in nineteenth-century travel writings and supposed common knowledge partially originated in the eighteenth century.

For research on the emergence of national clichés, those aspects that link the description of people and places to attributions of typicality and the national are important. Bernhard Struck observes a change in the way that travel writings between 1750 and 1850 describe the act of crossing the border. He makes a stunning observation in the travel description by Swiss mathematician and astronomer Johannes Bernoulli to Poland in 1779 and 1780: despite the detailed description of almost all aspects of travelling, the act of

crossing the border is hardly described at all. Landscape, clothing style, state of the roads, and language vary from village to village – the border is perceived of as a region rather than a clear-cut border line. He quotes five other travel descriptions that follow the same pattern – ethnographic and topographical differences are described in terms of regional variations, not in terms of national borders. Because of the mix of styles observed in border regions, what is “Dutch” or “German” or “French” is not found close to the frontier. Only further inland do authors perceive the villages as “Polish” or “French” (Cf. Struck 2004, 75–81).

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The perception of the border changed in travel writings around the 1820s, when travellers started to write about “leaving their own fatherland behind” when approaching the border. The frontier line marks crucial differences. Now, the people, their character and costumes are completely different on both sides of the border – French, and not German. The change from border region to border line did not happen as a sudden rupture; Struck finds combinations of both patterns until the late 1820s. From the early nineteenth century onward, the narrative motif of the linear, dividing, national boundary line gained importance over regional, gradual change (Cf. Struck 2004, 83–85). By the 1840s, the description of the nation used established, distinct, and exact borders – the travel writings are part of the discursive construction of national borders:

Around 1840, “nation”, “homeland”, “state” as well as the national attributions “German” and “French” are part and parcel of accounts, partially already around 1820, in the perception and description of the Franco-German neighbourhood. This is reflected in the linear, abrupt, national border. (Struck 2004, 86, my translation)¹³

Struck concludes his study by taking the argument one step further: not only did the *national* border appear in travel descriptions, *regional variation* was also no longer carefully described (2004, 90). After the nation/al was established as a descriptive category, so it seems, it obstructed the perception of difference within the nation – which is in line with Anderson’s finding that “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson 1996, 8). The nation as a main category of difference was established.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This glimpse into visual culture at times prior to industrialization, technical mass production of images, and nation-states has untangled the diverse aspects of the emergence of national clichés. Changes in technologies, epistemologies, and categories contributed to nationalizing supposed common knowledge about people and places; the national became the dominant frame to inform about people and places by the 1820s.

Today's supposed common knowledge about other places and people has visual, textual, and economic roots that precede the nineteenth century. Many forms of popular culture in the age of Enlightenment implied a visual component and, as this survey has shown, neither mechanically reproducible images nor international distribution are inventions of the nineteenth century. Enlightenment and Renaissance image traditions influenced form, style, and aesthetics of visual media in later centuries – especially the turn to depict the mundane world in non-allegorical images and the use of empirical evidence instead of historical narrative.

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Furthermore, the historical study of visual media questions whether phenomena typically attributed to industrialization emerged only then. A trickle-down effect can be observed already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: renowned motifs of topographical and ethnographical content were copied from established art and adapted to popular forms. Cheap print was a profitable niche segment in the media landscape of the early modern age and the age of Enlightenment and was popular across the lines of class and region.

Taking these findings to debate whether modern elements can be found before Visual Culture's periodization would have it, or if the beginning of modernity needs to be dated prior to 1789 is beside the point. Instead, I wish to stress that, next to the doubtlessly huge changes that occurred in the nineteenth century, there is *also* continuity and the links between an image and its meaning are therefore historically constructed, too. Epistemological assumptions change over centuries, and the epistemic status of images varies over centuries and across disciplines as well.

Through various forms of cheap print, visual knowledge, and, as part of it, the visual knowledge of people and places, increased. This increase in knowledge accommodated the logic of national clichés. Technologies of image display and image production (and the skill of the operator or artist) modify what can be expressed at all. When only print was available, there was no way to avoid the limits imposed by that technology, namely the focus on iconographic detail. Engravings could not convey information about qualitative aspects of the depicted object or artwork, such as colour and surface structure. Ivins notes:

It was impossible to verify any qualitative visual information except by going to where the thing was and looking at it, and when this was done the information was never accurate. [...] All the eighteenth century could do with the pictorial mead available to it was to take a series of visual statements and draw a sort of statistical average of what they contained. But no statistical average has ever existed in nature as a concrete fact. The moment we begin to think in terms of averages we confess that we have lost contact with the concrete things from which the average is calculated. (Ivins 1953, 91)

The focus on iconographic details and form, and the abstraction of concrete things to statistical averages is deeply intertwined with stereotypical thinking that looks for typicality and suspects that every single specimen, person, or item should be congruous to the average. After 300 years of print, how could this tradition of communicating visual information not influence ways of

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looking, even when other media technologies became available? Additionally, the interpretative *categories* in the sciences are historically determined, too. Only after the national became an established descriptive category could people and places be seen as Italian, German, French, Dutch etc. People and places appeared as motifs in visual products before they were referred to as part of a nation. Although nation-states and national languages existed, and differences were perceived, the national in the late-eighteenth century was not a *discrete* category but a category of *relative degrees of difference*. Relevant criteria for the meaning-making of images of people and places were gender and class, religion and profession, the city and, sometimes, the region (I will reconstruct the shift of categories in Chapter 4).

Once the national became a marker of difference in the early nineteenth century, discourses in which images of places and people appeared picked up that category to produce meaningful distinctions from about 1820 onward. This can be observed across all the discourses in which images of places and people appear; be it leisure and consumer culture (tourism, advertising, and entertainment), or empirical sciences (anthropology, cartography and geography). I will investigate the role of images in these discourses in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Cheap prints on single sheets of paper enjoyed commercial success well into the mid nineteenth century. In addition, other visual media and image production processes emerged or gained popularity, such as stereo photography, the magic lantern, and film. Images of people and places migrated (partially) into these new media or onto other carriers, and were seen by audiences of different ranks and classes, leaving the unanimated printed image to take a secondary role in popular entertainment. After c. 1850, images reproduced

from photographic technologies gradually replaced prints from etching and engraving; this goes all the more for documentary images with an objective true-to-nature claim. Scientists of the fieldwork disciplines of geography, anthropology, and ethnography increasingly made use of photography as a means to document their findings more accurately, i.e. more objectively. Prints from etchings and engravings on paper were used in art production (especially mezzotint and colour lithography) and remain the most common technology of image production in illustrated magazines until c. 1900.

The choice of what to look at and when was severely limited in the age of Enlightenment. The distinction between those who could look at images whenever they wanted to because they owned these paintings or prints (and the devices to look at them), and those who could only afford to see what was put before them for the time of the show by itinerant exhibitors certainly was more significant than in the late nineteenth century, when images were less scarce. From the mid nineteenth century on, chances to see images multiplied through an increasing availability of images in various media. The developments in printing techniques and technology can hardly be overestimated. The explosion in quantity of image production and dissemination (mostly in print but also in other forms) in the last quarter of the nineteenth century took visual culture to a new quality. In addition, new possibilities to travel for middle-class citizens allowed different parts of the world to be connected, images of people and places were thus experienced as “more real”.

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NOTES

- 1 “La Nation existait depuis longtemps, mais elle se confondait avec la fidélité monarchique. La césure radicale qui s’est établie entre peuple et aristocratie, peuple et monarchie, à mesure que se dégradait l’image royale, a donné au terme un tout autre contenu. On a rêvé un temps – dans l’illusion unanimiste des fédérations de 1790 – de la réconciliation sous la devise ‘la nation, la loi, le roi’, masquant le transfert de souveraineté déjà réalisé du monarque au peuple souverain. À partir de 1792, la chute de la royauté, mais aussi l’état de guerre avec l’Europe des despotes’ donnent à la nation la plénitude de sa signification; elle s’identifié aux peuple et acquiert toute sa puissance unificatrice dans l’affrontement avec la crise intérieure et la guerre extérieure. Une fusion s’opère momentanément entre nation et patrie [...]. La nation, a-t-on dit, occupe le lieu laissé vide par la royauté, d’où son association avec l’idée de la République.” (Vovelle 1992, 57).

- 2 *The Visual Culture Reader* (Mirzoeff 1998), for instance, includes one text on a premodern invention, the *camera obscura*, with emphasis on the subject position (Crary 1998). Although the authors of *Practices of Looking* mention the long history of reproduction and the importance of print for the production of exact copies, they exercise their thoughts exclusively on photographic media (Sturken and Cartwright 2009). The editors of *A History of Visual Culture* claim to cover visual culture from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, but only start in 1780 (Kromm and Bakewell 2010), and *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, by definition, argues for the study of Visual Culture in the nineteenth century (Schwartz and Przyblyski 2004, 3–14).
- 3 Nicéphore Niépce experimented with heliographic prints in the 1820s, the Daguerrotype by Louis Daguerre was invented and refined in the 1830s, and William Fox Talbot experimented with negative exposure in the 1840s. Alois Senefelder invented lithography in 1796; chromolithography experiments from the 1820s onwards were finally patented in 1837.
- 4 Copperplate engraving and copperplate etching are different techniques to prepare the copperplate for intaglio printing. As I am only interested in the product, I will not pay attention to the fabrication of the plates and use the term “print” for “prints of etchings, engravings, and woodblock on paper”. Detailed information on printing processes is given in e.g. Griffiths (1996).
- 5 Repeatability of an experiment or a visual statement is a strong criterion for judging the validity of a finding in the exact sciences. Livingstone underlines that the repetition also had to work in public. An account of the experiment would not suffice for the status of a new finding or knowledge, pointing to the dependences between the private and the public sphere of science. “Because an experiment ‘worked’ in the private recesses of the scientist’s workplace was not sufficient to establish its claims as genuine knowledge. To secure that level of cognitive standing, it had to receive the approval of the relevant experimental public. A gulf thus opens up between what has been called the ‘trying’ of an experiment and the ‘showing’ of an experiment. Only when the journey from private to public space had been successfully concluded, could a scientific claim enjoy the privilege of knowledge status.” (Livingstone 2003, 24).
- 6 The status of prints in art history and historiography and the question of whether reproductions should illustrate art history were debated among art historians in the eighteenth century. “Prints were largely consulted as reproductions [...]. As such, reproductive prints were often subject to discussions of faithfulness, as determined by the engraving techniques and the abilities of engravers to grasp the artist’s style” (Vermeulen 2010, 264). This was all the more obvious when reproduction of the same artwork by different engravers differed in detail. I did not find references that this concern was shared about popularized versions.

- 7 Ruth Bernard Yeazell (2008) traces the interrelations between nineteenth-century literature and Dutch genre painting of the seventeenth century, paying special attention to the notion of “realism” that authors of the nineteenth century projected backwards onto earlier paintings that, at their time, probably were perceived very differently.
- 8 There are many links between paintings and printed copper engravings or etchings; one is to be found in trade: printed copper engravings or etchings served the traders on the international art market to describe the objects. These prints were first regarded as a tool giving reference to the “real” artwork before they became an object for collection themselves (van Eeghen 1960, iii–vi). Secondly, some painters produced prints in addition to their paintings to disseminate information about their artworks (e.g. Albrecht Dürer, 1471–1528).
- 9 For similar prints in the British context, cf. Sean Shesgreen’s study on the “Cries of London” (Shesgreen 2002).
- 10 A simple test illustrates the difference. The sentence “I saw a man from Russia” can be followed by “but he is not Russian” without being logically incoherent, whereas “I saw a Russian man but he is not Russian” cannot. In the first example, the national attribute describes the place of origin; in the second case, it is inherent to or characteristic of the person.
- 11 Original: “In deeze prent zullen de kinderen opmerken dat de aard van elk Gewest en de bijzondere kleding van een volk, de Menschen van elkanderen zeer duidelijk doen onderscheiden.”
- 12 Original: “Merveille, similitude, véridique, ces thèmes du voyage qui suscitent une rhétorique propre à conditionner le lecteur, ressortissent à cette double fonction, lecture utile et lecture de divertissement.”
- 13 Original: “‘Volk’, ‘Heimat’, ‘Staat’ sowie die nationalen Attribute ‘deutsch’ und ‘französisch’ gehören in den Berichten um 1840, teilweise auch bereits seit etwa 1820, zum festen Bestandteil der Wahrnehmung und Beschreibung der deutsch-französischen Nachbarschaft. Dies spiegelte sich in der linearen, abrupten, nationalen Grenze [...] wider.”



Authentically Dutch: Images in Anthropological Discourse

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ABSTRACT

This chapter is a detailed, diachronic study of nineteenth-century popular illustrated publications that depict people living in the Netherlands. It investigates the various functions that national categories had in captions and comments to images of people: “Dutch” could have a bracketing function and refer to the presentation of the Dutch as nation of ethnic variety; it could be used to present a single figure as an example of the Dutch, or, in the later nineteenth century, even meld the category (the Dutch) and a specific instance (people along the Zuiderzee and inhabitants of Zeeland) to a fixed motif that became the cliché. In popularized anthropological publications, images function mainly to accentuate authenticity, the “typical” and the traditional, while elements considered “modern” are rejected as “unauthentic” and usually not described with the term “Dutch”. This conceptualization lends itself to exclusion on the basis of nationality and “race” as observed in early twentieth-century illustrated publications.

KEYWORDS

ethnography – popularized; anthropology – popularized; captions; word and image studies; national identity; nineteenth century; images of people; visual media

4.1 INTRODUCTION: SNELLEMAN'S CONCEPTUAL PROBLEM

In 1904, a member of the editor's board of the *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Johannes François Snelleman, issued the second and last volume of his book *De Volken der Aarde* (Snelleman 1904). Organized by continent, it gives geographical and statistical information on the countries and the populations as well as descriptions of costume, folklore, and language. The two-volume book is illustrated with over 800 photographic prints.

Snelleman also included a chapter on the Netherlands and the Dutch. One finding that particularly struck the author was the unexpectedly high percentage of non-blue-eyed and non-blonde Dutch citizens. Although Snelleman explained this finding with racial theory – the brown-haired and brown-eyed Dutch were supposedly of “Celtic” and the blonde-haired and blue-eyed of “Germanic” descent¹ – his felt need for an explanation raises some questions. How could a belief about the hair colour of Dutch people come into being within an empirically working discipline if it was empirically incorrect? The fact that Snelleman expected “Germanic” physical traits to dominate the outward appearance of the Dutch connects racial ideas to nationality. Why did Snelleman search for physical characteristics along the lines of nationality and state territories? Is it not intriguing that an established scientist in a discipline that works, to a large extent, with *empirical* methods, such as measuring and fieldwork, expected the visibility of the abstract concept “nation” in empirical instances? As a highly learned scholar, it is hardly likely that he did not give it a proper thought – so somehow the idea must have become acceptable that there was such a thing as being “visibly Dutch” within the domain of anthropology.

The idea that nationality has identifiable visual traits that are to be found in individual members of that nation does not go without saying. For the reconstruction of the implications of Snelleman's argument, I will first elaborate on the conceptual distinction between nation and “race”² within that discipline to show, subsequently, how, in the course of the nineteenth century, these two concepts were increasingly considered congruous. This finding will prepare the analysis of the changes in the epistemic status of images of people from an anthropological perspective. As I will argue, images that were used to

visualize the abstract concept of the (Dutch) nation became less symbolic and more realistic in the course of the nineteenth century.

The Dutch as Nation, Not as “Race”

It is relevant to stress the different implications of so-called “race” and nation here. As I have argued in Chapter 1, what was considered to be “essentially Dutch” was highly debated among intellectuals in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and various answers were given. All of these intellectuals attempted to define character traits, attitudes, tradition, and language – thus, they looked for *cultural* markers. Belonging to the Dutch nation, consequently, was above all seen as belonging to a social group defined by culture, and it was the essence of that very culture that intellectuals sought to define. Evidence for cultural differences along the line of nationality was therefore not primarily based on visual qualities of single human beings but in a supposedly shared tradition found in history and literature.

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The idea of “race” in Western societies was developed in the second half of the nineteenth century in a particular adoption of Charles Darwin’s theories, which deeply influenced academic theory across the disciplines. “Race” was adapted from observations of animals and plants to categorize *physical* differences among humans. The physical difference served to establish a social hierarchy, placing Western ethnic groups at the top and African ethnic groups at the very bottom. This hierarchy served, among others, as the ideological backbone for colonialism, imperialism, and the slaughter of indigenous populations. The records that served as evidence for the existence of “racial difference” within mankind were mostly photographs of naked persons, which treated the individual as specimen. Alison Griffiths explains:

At a time when evolutionism dominated nineteenth-century anthropological theory, systems of racial classification and measurement occupied the efforts of many anthropologists; the near-obsessive measuring, classifying, charting, and ranking of human physiognomy in physical anthropology (as well as pseudo-sciences such as phrenology and craniometry) can be read as responses to the wider challenge of how to make sense of observable physical and cultural differences among the peoples of the world. (Griffiths 2002, 93)

Evolutionism and the scientifically accepted method of measuring and comparing quantities (size of heads, size of bodies, the presentation of body features through statistical means) went hand in hand with anthropology’s and

ethnology's embrace of photography as providing scientific evidence. The documentary quality of ethnographic photographs was hardly questioned: the persons in the photo really existed, with all their physical characteristics. The indexicality of the photographic record, Griffiths observes, turned the naked body into a meaningful sign of physical difference and offered visual evidence for the existence of "races", which written texts could not provide. More often than not, the photographed persons for the study of "racial difference" were native people; not members of the Western world. Griffiths continues:

One goal of anthropometric photography was to make the native body legible as an ethnographic sign, since the detection and measurement of individual anatomical features were seen as offering the perfect solution to the problem of how to guarantee objectivity and "truth" in anthropological investigation. (Griffiths 2002, 96)

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The visual strategies that were applied in images for either the presentation of a person as evidence for "racial", or as evidence for cultural differences are not the same. The use of images of people in ethnology dates further back than Darwin's theories and photography. When anthropologists started to take photos of naked humans instead of people in their dress and entourage, the criteria for difference shifted from clothing and costumes to physiology. Once the persons in the photos are stripped of cultural elements such as clothing, headdress, accessories, jewellery, or tools to exercise a profession, nothing but anatomy was documented. In these cases, nothing but anatomy remained to study difference and to attribute meaning. Maybe not surprisingly, then, signs of "race" were found in a person's anatomy. Questioning the truth status of the naked persons in photos and their empirical value in a quantifying project implicitly questions the usefulness of the idea of "race" as truth that lies in the body. Photos of people in costumes, engaged in activities, then, criticize the practice of the physical anthropologists because it would imply "viewing 'race' less as a classificatory index than as a lived experience, a complex of social and cultural influences that helped determine an individual's identity as a member of a social group" (Griffiths 2002, 100).

As one would expect, I did not come across a single photograph of a naked person that supposedly represented the Dutch in the course of my research. Within anthropology and ethnology, the presentation of the Dutch was exclusively a cultural affair: images presented the Dutch as members of a nation, not as specimens for "race".³ Turning back to Snelleman, belonging to the Dutch nation and being part of Dutch culture was not granted to everyone who felt at home and lived in the Netherlands. On the contrary, Snelleman's aston-

ishment about the brown-haired Dutch holds another implication. By taking for granted that there *are* physically distinct and clearly definable “races” and by using “nation” as a superordinate category to present “the peoples of earth” (otherwise he would have ordered his book differently), Snelleman obviously refers to an ideal of “nation” and “race” to be congruous. Hence, he imagined the nation as unity of culture, “race”, and territory, with visual evidence to be found in the physical characteristics of the nation’s members – which also implies that national characteristics could be made visible. The visualization of the abstract concept “nation” was not restricted to images with a foremost representative or symbolic function (e.g. allegories) but expected to exist in the non-symbolic (images of the) outward appearance of real, existing people. This shift is a central point in the discussion of the images in this chapter.

Within geography, anthropology, and ethnology, methods building on empirical data were considered to be accurate, and, as such, the prominence of brown-haired citizens questions Snelleman’s understanding of the unity of the Dutch nation. He evades the threat by introducing the distinction “bevolking” (population) and “Nederlandsch volk” (Dutch nation). By doing so, Snelleman expanded the eye colour from a marker of so-called “racial” difference to a marker of cultural belonging – or, in the terminology developed in Chapter 2, from a marker of the national to a marker of the nationalist. Snelleman points to the conflict between empirical findings and the presupposition that the Dutch nation was populated by “Germanics”, but leaves open which conclusions are to be drawn from this. But by having distinguished “Israelites” and “Celts” from “Germanics”, and by expecting the “Germanics” to populate the Dutch nation, the exclusion of the “Celts” and “Israelites” from the *cultural* group of the Dutch nation becomes at least a logical option to resolve the conflict between concept and empirical finding. The political implementation of such an understanding of “nation” in vein with Snelleman’s was taken up to legitimize the exclusion of “racially different” people from citizenship in colonialism and national socialism.

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Changing Functions of the National in Visual Media

This chapter begins with the analysis of material 100 years prior to Snelleman’s publication and will conclude with an explanation on how the prerequisites of Snelleman’s theory were established in Western thought. I have already shown how the categories “the Dutch” and “the Netherlands” gained prominence in the description of people and places around 1800 (Chapter 3). This chapter sketches the continuation of this development. I wish to recall that, around 1800, after the French Revolution, the concept “nation” gained

importance and new meaning, nation-states were founded, and anthropology emerged as a separate discipline from natural history.

As I argued in the previous chapter, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, categories of the national were considered suitable to describe people and places of the world; yet it was not established how to use images accordingly or which evidence these images bared (cf. Thiesse 2001).⁴ To illustrate the attempts to bring rigor into the use of images in discourses about the nation and its people, I will trace how ethnologists came to understand images of people living in the Netherlands as proofs for their understanding of the Dutch nation. I will analyse how the word and image relations promoted the perception of (images of) people in terms of nationality.

In early nineteenth-century print products, I will argue, categories of the national were used to bracket a set of images of local people. In such sets, no single image represents the Dutch nation. I call this the “national-as-bracket” mode. In material from circa 1830 onward, I observed the appearance of another function of the national in word-and-image relations, namely to describe a local image in terms of nationality. An image of, for example, a farmer from Beveland was then presented through the caption as an image of a “Dutch man”. I call this mode the “national-as-descriptor”. The “national-as-bracket” mode thus shows variation within a category whereas the “national-as-descriptor” illustrates the category proper. Both modes co-existed throughout the nineteenth century. The use of the same motif as document of local peculiarities (i.e. the national-as-bracket mode) and as evidence for national identity (i.e. the national-as-descriptor mode) indicates both a change in the interpretation of what the image documents as well as a change in the function and the conceptualization of the category “nation”. From around the 1880s, I observed that the motifs that were used to illustrate the category “Dutch” became increasingly limited. I will conclude this section with a discussion on how nonfiction films of early cinema about the Dutch formally and aesthetically built on the patterns and conventions known from previous popular visual media with ethnographic content. To comprehend these changes, I will analyse three sets of images from several decades of the nineteenth century that intended to bring the Dutch “into the picture”, as well as single images in various visual media that created knowledge about the Dutch.

4.2 VISUAL SPECTACLE OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY: *AFBEELDINGEN VAN KLEEDING, ZEDEN, EN GEWOONTEN* (1803-1807)

Around 1800, images of people in local costume were a popular subject in print products, and many publishers in Europe issued single images or images in sets. Before then, such sets were issued for a region or to illustrate fashion. The earliest set of prints that intended to represent the entire Netherlands was *Afbeeldingen van de kleeding, zeden en gewoonten in de Bataafsche Republiek, met den aanvang der negentiende eeuw*. It was published by Evert Maaskamp (1769-1834) in 1803-1807 and was reissued in at least five editions by 1829. English versions were published in 1808, 1810, and 1811 (Cf. Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2010, 154). As I will argue, I consider this publication an example of the national-as-bracket mode.

Afbeeldingen opens with an allegorical image on its title page (figure 4.1), followed by an explanation of the allegory and an introduction. The main body consists of twenty hand-coloured copperplate prints (24 in its fourth and fifth edition). Each print presents two persons in local dress, either a man and a woman or two women; one print depicts a single woman. Each print comes with an explanatory text of about one page. *Afbeeldingen* thus has four textual elements: an explanation of the allegorical title print, an introduction, the captions engraved in the images, and an explanation for each image printed on a separate sheet next to the image.

Afbeeldingen was commercially successful and extremely popular. Reviews praised the publication, among other things, for not having copied older material. Credit was also given to the fact that the artists had gone to the sites themselves to study the objects they illustrated (Cf. Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2010, 221-222), which must have strengthened the perception of *Afbeeldingen* as a truthful documentation of specific costumes. A number of images were published in the ethnological compendium *Neueste Länder- und Völkerkunde* from 1809 (Cf. Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2010, 228-229) and the images were copied in later print-products such as catchpenny prints and book illustrations long after its initial publication. (e.g. Robidé van der Aa 1839; Gauthier-Stirum 1839).

Eveline Koolhaas-Grosfeld (2010) studies Maaskamp's publishing activities and explains *Afbeeldingen* from the background of cultural nation-building. Maaskamp's prints, so her argument goes, are in line with Le Franq van Berkhey's (1729-1812) theories on the origin and development of the Dutch. Van Berkhey believed that the Dutch were originally "Bataviers" who underwent a natural process of diversification through history, resulting in ethnic diversity (Cf. Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2010, 93-94 and 151). According to van Berkhey, "Bataviers" (a term coined by the Romans for a Germanic tribe that lived in the Rhine Delta between 100 BC and 300 AD) were the pure origins of

the Dutch. He believed that the “purity traits” of the “Bataviers” existed especially among the rural population, and that these traits had the potential to reconnect the present Dutch – at that time scattered by wars and economic crisis – to their glorious past and origins (Cf. Koolhaas-Grosfeld 2010, 151). Both van Berkey’s theories and Maaskamps *Afbeeldingen* describe the traditional, supposedly unchanged dresses of the rural population with more enthusiasm than the changing fashion observed in cities. Still, modern city dresses appear in Maaskamp’s book next to the supposedly unchanged rural ones – as if *all* of them were considered to compose the nation.

Announcing the Nation in the Allegorical Title Print, Explanations, and Introduction

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The allegorical title print and its explanation define the interpretative backdrop for the understanding of the following images by giving a specific understanding of (Dutch) national identity: reference to the renaissance concept of beauty assures the “good taste” and classifies the prints as artworks, i.e. not as mere illustrations. By placing himself in line with other European nations, which are appreciated for their “curiosity” in their study of national costume, Maaskamp promotes the Netherlands as one of the learned nations – and, in a circular argument, learned nations are defined by their study of national identity through their efforts to document local dress and customs. Through the allegory, the Netherlands is presented as a nation of peasants, fishers, learned people, and oversea traders.

The introduction to *Afbeeldingen* explains the relevance of the publication.

Fig. 4.1 Allegoric title print to Maaskamp's *Afbeeldingen van de kleeding, zeden en gewoonten in de Bataafsche Republiek, met den aanvang der negentiende eeuw* (1803). Image taken from the English version (Maaskamp 1808).



It opens with a description of the Netherlands as a state struggling for liberal freedom ever since; its people are marked by religious wars, yet they have never been vanquished; they are hard-working to maintain their living (due to the poor resources and the constant struggle against the sea). The shared ground, state, and history would provide the basis for the cultural identity of the Dutch nation. Maaskamp gives two reasons for the particular relevance of Dutch costumes. First, costumes were closely related to tradition and character; second, Dutch costumes showed more variation in little space than anywhere else in the world. The relevance of the publication thus was promoted to travellers, readers interested in curiosity, scholars interested in ethnological documentation, historians interested in national traditions, and generally anyone who wanted to learn about the Dutch and Dutch culture. The costumes vary not only between towns, Maaskamp continues, but also according to rank and profession. These socio-cultural criteria were obviously still relevant for an accurate description of people.

The Prints and Their Captions

Maaskamp's prints do not have an elaborate background. The people are portrayed in their entirety, mostly from a frontal or semi-frontal position that reveals the details of the costumes. Most people are depicted with props (e.g. fishing nets, a basket, a Bible). However, textures of cloth and patterns on costumes and headdresses are worked in finer detail than props. Each image contains an engraved caption at its bottom.

Without a doubt, the images are thoughtfully composed; the figures are not simply shown in their specific costume with related props but are also placed in a situation. They are engaged in conversation or exercise an activity related to profession, leisure, or religion: transporting or selling fish, eggs, butter, or milk are themes in eight prints; announcing the death of a townsman or -woman, negotiating the price of a piece of jewellery, and repairing fishnets are themes in one print each. Five prints show people engaged in leisure activities: riding a sleigh and skating on ice, promenading, receiving flowers and attentions from an admirer, reading a book, practicing the square pianoforte. Five prints show people going to church, two of them feature people in marriage outfit. The images follow no apparent systematic order, they are neither organized by province or size of the town or city nor by profession, travel route, confession, or rank.

The captions comment on the situation and the people. Some captions are descriptive, e.g. the image of a young woman in white dress and an older woman in purple dress, both wearing gloves and carrying fans, the older woman carrying a Bible in her hand, reads "een Burgervrouw en Dochter, naar de Kerk gaande / Une Femme bourgeoise & sa Fille, allant à l'église" (image 1, not reproduced here). Other captions propose a dialogue to the image, sometimes written in local dialect (e.g. image 15, not reproduced here, and image 2, see figure 4.2).

For example, image 2 shows a woman frontally, who is sitting next to three baskets. One of the baskets is filled with fish, the other serves as table for a cup, a coffeepot, and a knife. One hand rests on a fish in the basket; with her other hand, she grabs the coat of a man who walks by and whom we see from the back. The man wears a blue knee-length coat, black shoes, black stockings and trousers, and a black hat underneath which curly grey hair is visible. He has his head turned towards the woman so that they look at each other. The mouth of the woman is slightly open. The pose of the woman with her opened arms gives way for the gaze of the reader/viewer to study the skilfully embroidered top part of the otherwise simple dress. Underneath the brownish dress, a layer of blue dress and blue stockings are visible. The woman wears black shoes, a white cap, a simple necklace, and earrings. The caption reads:

Fig. 4.2 “Hoor eens, baasje...”.
Fish monger on the market in
Amsterdam. Image 2 of 24 from
Maaskamp (1803).



Listen, buddy! Add another nickel [Stuiver], it's my first earning today.
(Maaskamp 1803, image 2, my translation)⁵

This caption suggests the interpretation of the image as a situation. The man who walks by the fishmonger probably offered a price that is below the one that she had asked.

Addressing the Viewer in Word and Image

Each image is commented by a separate explanation. These explanations give detailed background information about the costume – the cloth, the pattern, shapes of headdresses, and forms of jewellery. Information about the variation of dress according to rank, profession, status, and town is given, too. The more factual bits of information are interwoven with anecdotes around the situation or recall the importance of studying traditional costume as stressed in the introduction.

The explanation to image 2 starts with a detailed description of the costume and introduces the woman as an Amsterdam fishmonger and the man as a bourgeois craftsman. The text further informs the reader that there are various types of woman fishmongers: those who sell fish at the market; those who knock on the doors; and the roughest kind, who install themselves at busy street corners, jangle with their neighbours, and even dare to grab the clothes of passersby. The fishmonger is presented as a *character*, that is, a figure with personality.

By having pictured the people in a situation, Maaskamp adds an anecdotal touch to the images, as if the images were taken literally “from life”. The viewers/readers are invited to study and compare different costumes by witnessing an everyday scene. The gazes of the depicted people do not “cross” the gaze of the viewers/readers, who are positioned at a distance, observing the situation from an outsider’s perspective and who can delve into and out of the scene in their own tempo. The explanations position the viewers/readers in a similar way. They are written in the third-person singular and point to details of costume without explicitly addressing the viewers/readers. The

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Fig. 4.3 “Een pintje maar van daag, Neeltje”. Milk woman and servant at the doorstep. Image 4 from Maaskamp (1803).

depicted people are presented as life objects to be studied from an unmarked, yet engaged viewing position. This becomes particularly evident in comments on how costumes do or do not highlight female beauty. Masculine beauty is not mentioned in any explanation.

Image 4 (figure 4.3) shows a milk woman who delivers milk at the doorstep to the servant of the house. After it is mentioned that tubs need to be kept clean to prevent the milk from turning, the explanatory text continues:

If it is the cleanliness of the buckets that makes the pure drink delicious, then the taste is even better if one casts a glance at the milk maid. If only she is young and somewhat pretty, with her broad hat [detailed description of the costume], all of this, on a pleasant summer morning, will enthrall the viewer and lead his imagination to the blessed realms of arcadia. (Maaskamp 1803, explanation image 4, my translation)⁶

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The positioning and addressing of the reader/viewer as an outside observer and “in control” of the image matches a viewing situation in a study room or library. Given that the prints were costly – fully bound, the book cost 23 guilders – owners of *Afbeeldingen* probably had a study room at their disposal for concentrated reading.

The Nation/al in Maaskamp's *Afbeeldingen*

The double strategy of anecdotal, entertaining narrative combined with ethnological documentation in Maaskamp's original publication was probably the key to the publishing success of *Afbeeldingen*. The skilfully engraved details of the nicely coloured prints and the mix of information (details on costume, the beauty of women, anecdotes on local customs, pride for tradition, call for national consciousness) appealed to a broad range of readers. There was something in it for everyone.

In Maaskamp's print set, the Dutch nation is visualized *symbolically* by the Coat of Arms in the allegory, but none of the costume images is presented as a stand-in for the *entirety* of the Dutch nation. The engraved captions and the explanations refer to a village or region of these people. In *Afbeeldingen*, the national is restricted to bracketing the local instances, still, *Afbeeldingen* does promote the idea that a nation could be documented by means of non-symbolic images: even though the nation/al is not equated with a specific, single image, the choice for the nation/al as the superordinate category for the presentation of (images of) people does connect “nation” with “realistic images of people”.

Theoretically, it would have been possible to group (images of) people in different local costume under the headings “people living along the Rhine” if a geographical space should be emphasized, or “the costume of Amsterdammers from rich to poor” if the superordinate category was class/rank, or “the costumes a woman wears at Marken from child, to spinster, married wife and widow” if the civil status was regarded the most important category to document folklore. Such socio-cultural categories are not absent: people of different ranks are included in Maaskamp’s set, and profession, gender, and sometimes civil status are explicitly mentioned in the explanatory texts. Having said this, the geographical-political categories still carry more weight than the socio-cultural ones: the mode of presentation in *Afbeeldingen* presents the figures first as Dutch (in title, allegory, and introduction), second as inhabitants of a region or town (most captions, all explanations), and then as everything else (rarely in captions, mostly in the explanation). This order is the result of a choice, and Maaskamp clearly intended to use his set of images of people in traditional costume to depict the nation.

While all people are presented as Dutch, there is no statement that the images of this set are encompassing. These people are all Dutch, but they are not *the* Dutch, yet. This difference may appear marginal, but it has an impact on the function and use of the categories. All depicted people are presented as *examples of instances of Dutch people*, but these images are not used to visualize the *category* “the Dutch”. For example, image 15 depicts South Beveland farmers. In the context of the book, Beveland farmers are presented as an example of an instance of the Dutch – but neither caption nor explanation propose an interpretation of this image as an example of the national as category in itself. Put differently, the images of the inhabitants of the Netherlands do not figure as *signs* for the category “the Dutch”.

The nation/al in Maaskamp’s publication has an exclusively bracketing function; it serves to group local instances. No common visual element for the nation is sought out or found in traits of the people in local costume. The evidence for the existence of *the Dutch* is the mere existence of the people who are grouped into that category by virtue of living there. However, it would not be right to conclude that Maaskamp’s publication was irrelevant to the creation of visual knowledge about the Dutch. Even if this publication only *exemplified* what some Dutch people looked like, the limited number of available images also limited the instances that could have possibly been connected to the category “the Dutch”. It is thus worthwhile to note what is absent from Maaskamp’s set of prints.

For example, none of the prints show children. Moreover, when reference to churchgoing is made, the depicted people are Protestants of various congregations. People from Catholic regions and towns do appear (e.g. the wom-

an from Volendam in image 20) but no background on their faith is given in the caption or explanation. Not to mention, not a single print depicts a Dutch person of Jewish faith or from the colonies. Probably Maaskamp did not consider these instances good examples. With respect to the origins of national clichés, it is also remarkable that only one image depicts people in wooden shoes (image 8), none shows or comments on cheese or tulips. The hair colour of the depicted people varies from blonde, brown, reddish, to grey and the eye colour is not detectable from the prints at all.

While, in *Afbeeldingen*, the category “the Dutch” was already used and connected to non-symbolic images, it was seemingly not fully clear yet which criteria were relevant to define the category of the nation and how to operate images accordingly. In the terminology developed in Chapter 1, the images are first and foremost used to express cultural belonging – the dimension of nationalist – and to find something original – i.e. the national. The dimension of nation-ness as a recognizable visual image is entirely absent. In Maaskamp’s set, the national as category thus has an exclusively bracketing function. The images show variety in Dutch costume without any further hierarchy. Next to the geographical-political categories of nation, region, and city, the textual comments make extensive use of socio-cultural categories.

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This mode of presentation can also be found in images of other visual media of that time. The function of the national-as-bracket for various local instances is also the principle in the catchpenny print *De Kleederen der Nederlanden...* This catchpenny print was published as “No. 59” by Brepols & Dierckx before 1830 and it is almost certain that it was reprinted throughout the following five to ten decades (Cf. de Meyer 1962, 85). It consists of 20 woodcuts, arranged in four rows of five images each. Each woodcut depicts one person, mostly with props related to their profession. About half of the pictures have a simple background showing a building or street (see figure 4.4).

The bilingual comments in French and Dutch are written in a rhyme of two lines. They provide information about the province or town, the gender and the rank or profession of the depicted person, and sometimes the occasion on which a dress is worn. The depicted people are from cities and rural areas, they are richer or poorer. The variation in costume and activities is obvious. Instead of highlighting the differences, a common denominator for this diversity is given. According to the title verse, all people are part of the Dutch nation and loyal to the fatherland: “The costumes of the Netherlands / vary a lot according to rank / but still every inhabitant / is committed to the cherished fatherland (my translation)”.⁷

Every person is presented as part of the nation; these people do not share looks, nor professions but an attitude: their loyalty to the (Dutch) nation. The reader/viewer thus is addressed to acknowledge the nation’s diversity and to



Fig. 4.4 “[De
Kleederen der
Nederlanden...].
Catchpenny print
(c. 1817-1853).

take pride in the country. Although the images are assembled on one sheet and would allow for comparative viewing, the reader is addressed to see all people as part of a bigger whole, or, as I have stated above, as examples of instances of the superordinate category “Dutch”. No claim to completeness or comprehensiveness is made, neither are these instances presented in a hierarchical way. The function of the national therefore is in line with Maaskamp’s set of etches.

A similar function of the national can be identified in the illustrated publication *De Nederlanden karakterschetsen, kleederdragten, houding en voorkomen van verschillende standen* (Brown 1841). 42 chapters are dedicated to one Dutch “character” each: the Scheveningen fisher woman, the female Lutheran Orphans at The Hague, the carrier of Rotterdam’s ports etc. These characters are described by town, profession, gender, and sometimes religious congregation (it is also the only publication in my corpus in which a citizen of Jewish faith is included). Just as in the catchpenny print, the reader is addressed to

understand each character as part of the Dutch nation. The Dutch nation is thus presented as the total of the variety of its inhabitants.⁸

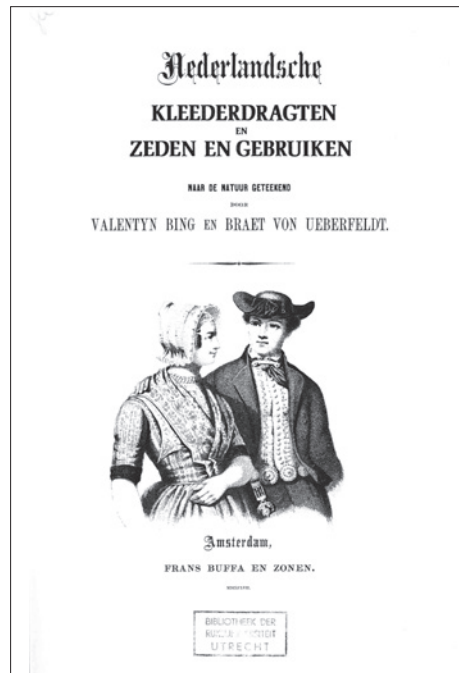
4.3 RELICS OF TRADITION, GROUNDED IN SPACE: *NEDERLANDSCHE KLEEDERDRACHTEN, EN ZEDEN EN GEBRUIKEN* (1849-1850)

Almost 50 years after Maaskamp's publication, in 1849-1850, Valentijn Bing (1812-1895) edited two sets of lithographs: *Nederlandsche Kleederdragten* consisted of 56 lithographs, and *Zeden en Gebruiken* of 18 lithographs; both sets were merged into one publication of 74 images, *Nederlandsche Kleederdragten en Zeden en Gebruiken naar de natuur getekend door Valentijn Bing en Braet von Ueberfeldt*. I could not determine the degree of popularity of Bing's publication but it was mentioned as relevant source material in T.H.A. Molkenboer's publication *De Nederlandsche nationale kleederdrachten* (1917, see section 4.9). A short review in the daily newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* was full of praise for the national subject, the "truthful depiction of the disappearing Dutch costumes" and the "craftsmanship in the realization" (*Algemeen Handelsblad* 1849).⁹

The lithographs of *Nederlandsche Kleederdragten en Zeden en Gebruiken* are not organized alphabetically or by province; the same village can appear

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Fig. 4.5 Title page of the 1857 edition of Bing's *Nederlandsche Kleederdragten en Zeden en Gebruiken*.



in several lithographs, which do not necessarily succeed each other (e.g. costumes worn on the island of Marken are the subject of the images 29, 30, 41, 50, and 54; costumes worn on the island of Schokland are the subject of the images 10, 14, and 26). Each lithograph was commented by a text in Dutch and French on a separate sheet.

Kleederdragten was issued without an introduction (or at least none is included or mentioned in the reprint from 1976); the enunciation of the content is thus restricted to the title and the title page. The title of the publication announces the depicted costumes and customs as “Dutch”. Obviously, the superordinate category for the classification of the images is the national; all images are presented as examples of instances of Dutch costumes and customs. In this respect, Bing’s principle for the presentation of images is similar to Maaskamp’s. The absence of an introduction in *Kleederdragten*, however, does not define on what grounds the national is suitable to assemble images – 146 | Bing probably did not consider it necessary to explain this choice. After all, the idea that the nation/al could figure as bracket for local instances was already more than 50 years old. Remarkable about the title page is its illustration with a realistic image of two people. I will come back to this point later in this section.

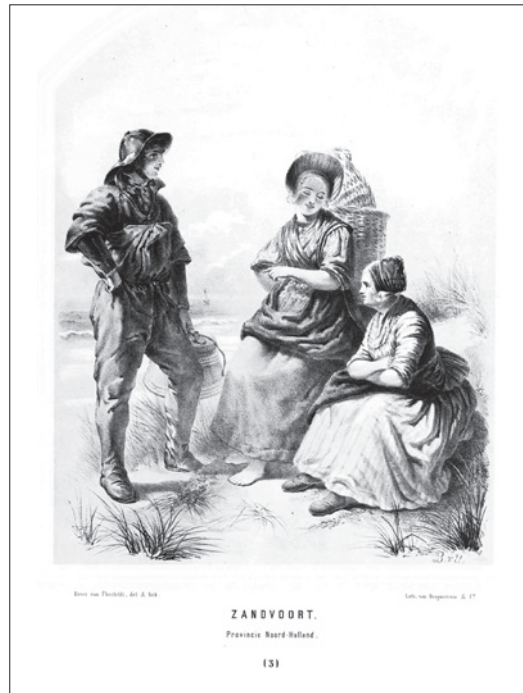
The Lithographs and Their Captions

Two kinds of images can be distinguished in *Nederlandsche Kleederdragten en Zeden en Gebruiken*: “scenes-from-life-images” and detail images.

The “scenes-from-life-images” are composed similarly to those by Maaskamp. People in traditional costume are depicted entirely and are engaged in activities, e.g. attending the market, riding horses, ice-skating, engaged in conversation, knitting. Bing’s images have a background, but, rather than creating an impression of depth, the background resembles a “wallpaper” that literally illustrates the background of the people. For example, the sea is the background to image 3 (figure 4.6), thereby the attire of the fisherman on the left side is understood as his working clothes. The figures and their costumes are not just presented in an activity but also in a specific town or landscape. The detail images are composed of several elements, e.g. details of clothing, headdress, props, or different perspectives of the same item, e.g. a cap from front and back (image 32). Bing’s lithographic prints show softer lines and more grey tones than Maaskamp’s etches. This visual difference is partially due to the print technology but it is also the result of an aesthetic choice (line and contour of maps printed in lithography are less vague than Bing’s images of costumes).

Concerning the succession of the images, the only rule I could derive from

Fig. 4.6 “Zandvoort. Provincie Noord-Holland”. Image 3 (Bing 1857). The background serves as wallpaper against which the people “make sense”.



the material is that detail images always come after the “scenes-from-life-images”, as if the “scenes-from-life-images” provided the big picture for the explanation of the details. Taking this aspect into account, the way of looking at traditional Dutch costumes is organized from general overview to characteristic trait.

The prints of *Nederlandsche Kleederdragten* comprises images of all provinces; seventeen images depict costumes worn in the provinces of North-Holland, ten in Zeeland, and eight in Overijssel. This is remarkably more than images of costumes worn in the provinces South-Holland (6), Friesland (4), North Brabant (3), Utrecht (3), Gelderland (2), Groningen (1), Drenthe (1), or Limburg (1). No image of costumes of city inhabitants is included. Furthermore, among the provinces of North Holland, Overijssel, and Friesland, the Zuiderzee villages and islands are most prominently represented with a total of 35 images. None of the figures wears wooden shoes.

The captions to the images of the set *Nederlandsche Kleederdrachten* indicate the province and town. The captions to the first eight images mention the town in capital letters in the first row and the province in the second row; for the following 48 images, it is the other way around. The captions to detail images and “scenes-from-life-images” are exclusively descriptive and encour-

age the reader to study the images of dress and custom as examples of province and place.

The explanations to *Nederlandsche Kleederdrachten* describe the costumes and other parts of the dress, the fabrics, colours, patterns, form of head-dress, and explain regional variation, variation according to rank and class, changes in fashion, as well as occasions on which these dresses were worn (e.g. on Sundays or on weekdays, for going to the market, at funerals). Props and landscape are not described; no anecdotal comment on the situation is given. Some explanations inform the reader that the better-off of the respective province or town are generally dressed according to French fashion; these people are not illustrated. If “French fashion” and Dutch costume are merged, only the “Dutch elements” are depicted in a detail image:



Fig. 4.7 “Provincie Groningen”. Image 46 (Bing 1857). Traditionally Dutch elements can be found only in details of the Groninger costume, e.g. the cap.

Fig. 4.8 “Provincie Utrecht”.
Image 21 (Bing 1857). The
background situates activity,
props, and clothing.

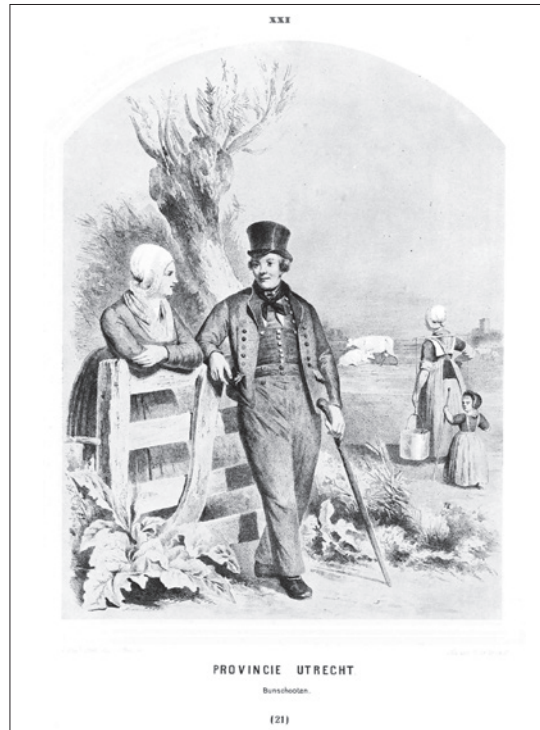


Image XLVI. Concerning dress, the woman farmer of Groningen follows the current fashion; only the cap is striking, which is why we present detailed drawings of the headdress alone. (Braet von Ueberfeldt and Bing 1976, explanation image 46, my translation)¹⁰

Curiously, authenticity is claimed *not* by documenting what the anthropologist could observe but by leaving out elements that are considered “impure”. Furthermore, the rhetoric in the presentations states that these images document something that is disappearing, which, in turn, expresses a desire to preserve something that does not (or soon will not) exist in reality anymore. From an anthropological perspective, it is striking that the preservation and documentation of items that are not (or are no longer) dominant in the cultural group in question are highlighted. The selected elements thus serve other purposes, which are not made explicit, such as expressing nostalgia, dislike for modernity, differentiation from the French, or defining an origin of the Dutch dresses and the Dutch nation.

The sober, descriptive text written in third-person singular does not address the reader/viewer directly. Very occasionally, the text marks the inter-

pretation of the authors who obviously consider themselves qualified to judge whether or not an instance was representative for Dutch costumes:

Even though in the social class of farmers, men's clothes do not show as much variation as women's clothes, the BUNSCHOTER FARMER (Province of *Utrecht*) forms an exception [to this rule] and in him, *we think to see preserved the type of costume, which formerly was the general Dutch farmer's costume*. (Braet von Ueberfeldt and Bing 1976, explanation image 21, emphasis added, my translation)¹¹

150 | (Visible) Dutch identity is tied to a supposedly timeless costume; as such, the typical is defined as fixed and static. In consequence, hybrid forms of modern and traditional dress or any changing fashion endanger not only the visibility of one's identity, but may also cut off the roots of one's tradition. Only farmers of a single village in the province bare evidence for the "in former times general costume"; and, in the case of the Groningen costume in image 46 (figure 4.7), one element (the cap) needed to be singled out to reconstruct the typical at all. Dutch identity, rooted in history, proven and guarded through regional costume, is threatened to vanish.

What becomes clear at this point is that Dutch identity is defined by *selected* elements. The inclusion and exclusion of elements bears evidence to an understanding of authenticity that is neither encompassing nor "objective" in the sense that it claims to "simply document what is out there". The editors include selected elements which, following their argument, are threatened to disappear, and exclude other, more common elements (like newer forms of dresses). Defining what is intrinsically and authentically Dutch is thus the result of an interpretation, not a simple documentation. Rather than entertaining the reader/viewer with anecdotes and visual spectacle, Bing presents the people in their costumes to be looked at and studied accurately, i.e. as objectively as possible. To this end, the detail images are included even if this kind of image was not considered to belong to the domain of the arts. Scientific accuracy in documentation obviously mattered more to Bing:

Because it was impossible in the arts to show in one representation the headdress with all of its segments, we therefore describe it to the reader. (Maaskamp 1803, explanation to image 11, my translation)¹²

As Maaskamp saw the typical in all instances, there was probably no urge for him to document details as evidence for the existence of Dutch tradition. Bing, on the contrary, addressed the viewer to study the details of national costumes or whatever remained of it. In Maaskamp's publication, the costumes were

presented as visual spectacle of ethnic variety; the anecdotal comment introduced the people as characters. In Bing's lithographs, the depicted person is only of interest as the wearer of traditional costume or as the participant in a traditional custom from which the reader/viewer can study relics of Dutch national tradition. While Maaskamp's prints address the reader/viewer to witness or even to engage in a scene, Bing's lithographs situate the viewer at a greater distance from the things seen, completely outside of the image, and neatly distinguishes appearance from character.

The Nation/al in Bing's Prints and the Case of Limburg

The absence of city inhabitants and images that show a mix of international fashion and regional tradition implies an understanding of "Dutch" as unchanged, not related explicitly to religion, and at odds with modernity. Although costumes of all provinces are included, Bing found the "truly traditional" ones along the Zuiderzee and in Zeeland.

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If "Dutch" means age-old and original, it is surprising that the province of Limburg is illustrated at all in this book, as Limburg joined the Kingdom of the Netherlands only ten years before publication. How could a publisher acknowledge Limburg as part of the Netherlands when hardly anything in this province could be expected to be telling about *Dutch* tradition? Bing found an elegant solution for including Limburg in his publication by comparing it to the province of Drenthe, which was recognized as a province in its own right only in 1839. Before, Drenthe had been part of the Province of Overijssel – one of the founding provinces. One could expect the author to find some general Dutch characteristics, but not something traditionally "Drenthish". Here are the two quotations:

Image XLVII. We did not observe any special costume in the province of *Drenthe*; in the northeast, costumes are similar to those of the province Groningen; the part that borders with *Friesland* wears the costumes worn there while the southern part is *Overijsselish*. In this image, we portrayed some women in their work outfit because these differ slightly. (Braet von Ueberfeldt and Bing 1976, explanation image K47, my translation)

Image XLVIII. The comment which we made concerning the province of *Drenthe* is also valid for the province of Limburg, where no particular costume can be observed. (Braet von Ueberfeldt and Bing 1976, explanation image K48, my translation)¹³

In these “untraditional” provinces Drenthe and Limburg, nothing traditionally Dutch was visible to the observer’s eye, according to Bing. Specific features in clothing are only found along the line of the socio-cultural categories of rank and profession rather than in geographical-political categories of nation or region. As such, they do not contribute to the matter of the book; still, the dresses are illustrated by one lithograph each – as if these two images give evidence that real, traditional Dutch traits are not to be found in Drenthe nor in Limburg. Almost in line with Maaskamp, Bing used the national as bracket for local instances, but some instances were considered “more Dutch” than others. “Dutch” thereby does not figure simply as a descriptor for everything that can be observed in geographical-political space, but holds a qualitative, maybe even normative component.

In the review to the publication of the second part, the national of *Klederdragten* is evaluated on two levels: “Nederlandsche sujetten, door Neder-

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Fig. 4.9 “Provincie Zeeland. Zuid Beveland”. Image 32 (Bing 1857). The detail image in the lower left is the image that was also used for the title page.

landsche kunstenaars behandeld” – Dutch subjects, treated by Dutch artists (*Algemeen Handelsblad* 1850).¹⁴ The applause for Dutch craftsmanship in graphic arts situates the national on the level of production and origin. According to the definition of the layers of the national in Chapter 1, this corresponds to the national. The reviewer further praised the topic; there was no doubt that the images of costumes expressed cultural belonging and ownership, which I have defined as characteristics of the nationalist. These two dimensions were already present in Maaskamp’s publication. What really is remarkable with respect to the function and understanding of the national as category is the image on the title (compare figures 4.5 and 4.9).

Whereas Maaskamp illustrated the nation by means of a symbolic element (the Coat of Arms) in the allegorical title print, Bing chose to illustrate the title page with the realistic image of a man and a woman in traditional costume, portrayed to their waist. This image is taken from the detail image 32 to which the caption informs that these costumes are worn in South Beveland in the Province of Zeeland. The explanation to image 32 specifies that the woman’s dress represents the everyday working outfit. The detail image on the title page, by contrast, does not inform about the exact province of these two people. The only available category, which the text on the title print offers for the interpretation of these people, following my conclusion, is “Dutch”.

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Bing’s mode of presentation (consciously or not) rests on the idea that one image of a real-existing Dutch person can stand in not only as an *example for an instance of the category* but as an *example for the category* proper. Bing seemingly did not consider it problematic to use a realistic image of a person in local dress as an illustration for the title print. Whether this word and image relation is interpreted in a strong sense as a visualization of the category “the Dutch” or in a weaker sense as an example for the category “the Dutch” (after all, the readers know that more images will follow): the image of the Zuid-Bevelanders (and not a flag, emblem, or allegory) functions as a *sign* for the category “the Dutch”.

The idea that a single, realistic image of a person could figure as a sign for the nation had emerged. With that idea, the epistemological and iconographic preconditions for the making of recognizable visualizations of a nation – i.e. clichés – from realistic images of local people also materialized. In this connection (function), the dimension of nation-ness appears, even when the image’s motif (its content) that would serve as cliché some decennia later would not be an image of the South Beveland farmers.

Less than one century after universalism had been the leading frame of reference, the status of the instance in epistemology was turned upside down. Whereas, in the eighteenth century, the abstract and ideal type was not con-

sidered to be found in any single instance (see Chapter 3.4), by the mid nineteenth century, an instance could figure as a visualization of the category.

As I will show in the following, this pattern became more common for newly produced images and other emerging visual media. In the course of time, the instances that were used to illustrate the category became limited to images of *certain* Dutch figures. Without the idea that categories of the national could function to describe images of local instances fully, national clichés could not have emerged. Only after the “invention” that a realistic image of a local person could *function* as representation of a nation, defining the visual qualities of nationality became possible.

4.4 THE NATION IN ONE IMAGE: *VOLKEREN VAN VERSCHEYDE LANDGEWESTEN* (c. 1833 OR 1856-1900) AND *IN DEZE PRENT ZULLEN DE KINDEREN OPMERKEN...* (c. 1800-1820)

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Similar to Bing’s title page, realistic images of people in terms of nation are used in the catchpenny print *Volkeren van verscheyde Landgewesten. Habitans de diverses Contrées [sic]*. It was published by Glenisson en Zonen in Turnhout and, based on the activity of the enterprise, can be dated to 1856 to 1900. Possibly, this catchpenny print had been published already between 1833-1856 by Glenisson en Van Genechten (Cf. Borms 2011).¹⁵

The print consists of eighteen woodcuts arranged in three rows of six images each. Each image depicts one man. All images are coloured without finesse in three tones (blue-yellow-brown or green-yellow-brown). The bilingual caption to each image in French and Dutch refers to the depicted male figure as an inhabitant of a country or island. All figures are depicted from head to toe without background; some have a walking stick, a weapon, or props with them. The Europeans appear in the first nine images; they are depicted in a standing pose and are fully covered with dress. The Extra-Europeans are presented in action (walking, fighting) and only covered partially. The “Malayer” is depicted almost naked, with a hat, weapon, and a piece of cloth that probably covers his waist and below from the front side but does not cover his bottom. The mode of presentation thus favours the Europeans over everyone else.

The second figure from the left in the upper row is the “Hollander”. He wears a hat and a coat that goes to his knees. Underneath, he wears a shirt with many buttons, a pair of trousers, and leather boots. The item in his right hand is probably a pipe; his left hand rests in his pocket. Although the Dutch figure, as all others, is visually distinct from the other figures, the motifs are so general that the visual information these images communicate is quite weak. In other words, the motifs do not communicate anything specific without the

Fig. 4.10 “[Volkeren van verscheyde land-gewesten]”. Catchpenny print (c. 1856-1900).



captions. Only the connection of word and image performs the male figures as representative of the entire nation. Contrary to Bing’s use of a local person on the title page, the reader/viewer of the catchpenny print would not see additional, diverse images of the Dutch on the following pages, nor is the outfit of the image on the title print explained as a common dress of city inhabitants.¹⁶

In this catchpenny print, the category in terms of the national functions to describe the (image of the) person *fully*. The depicted men are not presented as also belonging to a region or town, as members of a rank or as exercising a profession; the caption “Hollander” to the image of the man in coat with hat and pipe performs the image as visualization of the category proper, i.e. as a sign for the Dutch. The function of the national in these catchpenny prints is therefore in line with what I call the “national-as-descriptor” mode. The national as category is linked to being visually distinct from all others. Hence, nationality is linked to a visual *quality*. Such an understanding is emphasized by the absence of variety within the category of the nation as there is only one image per nation.

In this catchpenny print, categories in terms of the national function as descriptor to an image, not as bracket for several images. These two modes, national-as-bracket and national-as-descriptor, also encourage a specific mode of looking. In sharp contrast with the previous examples, the catchpenny prints of the national-as-descriptor mode encourage comparative looking in *search* of difference. The arrangement of images in a row on one page, the distinguishable motifs of the single woodcuts in combination with the captions, and the title *Volkeren van verscheide landgewesten* (“people from different places”) address the reader to look for differences along the lines of nationality. This goes even more for the catchpenny print, *In deze Prent zullen de kinderen opmerken* (reproduced in Chapter 3 as figure 3.12), which *explicitly* addresses the viewer to look comparatively in its title line:

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In this print the children should notice: that the nature/character of each province, and the specific costumes of each nation do very clearly distinguish people from each other.¹⁷

In both catchpenny prints, the reader/viewer should observe that the costumes differ along the lines of the nation; the visual difference between the figures is performed as evidence for national differences. The title of the catchpenny print (*Volkeren van verscheide Landgeweesten*) encourages this reading largely. The same catchpenny print under a title such as “All of God’s children” would have encouraged seeing similarities within the visual difference. But still, the motifs to illustrate the nation in both cases are city inhabitants and not, as is the case of later material, a (rural) fisherman, a fisher’s wife, or farmers.

The Emergence of the “National-as-Descriptor” Mode from the “National-as-Bracket” Mode

In the material discussed so far, categories of the national served different purposes. After national categories were introduced to describe realistic images of people, these categories first served to bracket a number of local instances. Bing’s title print (see figure 4.5) took one image as example for the category “the Dutch”; and, despite the fact that he offered more images of the Dutch in his publication, the combination of the national as category with one realistic image of a person implies that national categories could be thought of as *describing* instances. The dimension of nation-ness, defined as a distinct visible quality or taste, was thus present in Bing’s publication – albeit only in the function of the image of the title print. In the two catchpenny prints discussed in this section, the national-as-descriptor mode also implies the dimension

of nation-ness through tying the category to a distinct visible quality of *one* image. Yet, the visual content, i.e. the motif that was used to tie the national to a visual quality, was not the one that later became the cliché of the Dutch (see sections 4.11 and chapter 6.10). From these catchpenny prints and other material of that time, it is not probable that the *motif* that is used to illustrate the category “Dutch” was recognizable as such without its caption; one could even go so far as to state that the images and captions were interchangeable to a certain degree (As long as a figure was fully dressed, it could probably pass as any European or Westerner; as long as the figure is dark-skinned and wears cloth that only partially covers them, it could probably stand in for all Extra-European nations and peoples). In brief, there was still variation in the motifs that were used to visualize a nation that must have impeded the formation of a cliché.

As I have stated in Chapter 1, clichés require a relatively stable and fixed motif, which needs to be repeatedly reproduced. This, in turn, requires relative uniformity of motifs. The “narrowing down of motifs” to illustrate and to communicate “Dutch” took place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when photographic media became increasingly available by cheaper means for the (re)production of images.

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4.5 **NARROWING DOWN THE MOTIFS: POPULAR PHOTOGRAPHS (1870-1890s)**

Before I discuss the next examples, I wish to recall two things: until the 1850s, images that circulated widely were still prints; and experiments with the reproduction of photographs were not yet very successful and did not lead to a mass production of copies of photographs. This changed gradually in the course of the 1850s and 1860s when the price of photographs dropped significantly due to the invention of the collodion wet process and albumen print. In these decades, photographic images on glass were manufactured at a higher scale, too.

As described in Chapter 2, photographic pictures took over a bigger share in relation to printed images around the 1870s. Stereoscopic photography and photographic lantern slides gradually took over the domains of images of people and places with a claim to realism. As it was not possible to adapt copperplates or woodcuts to photographs, all pictures had to be taken anew. Once the negatives were taken, positive prints on albumen paper or glass could be made in sheer unlimited numbers throughout a long period of time.

Costumes des Pays-Bas & Costumes de la Hollande: The Dutch on *Cartes de Visite* and Cabinet Cards

The national-as-descriptor did not replace the national-as-bracket mode of presentation, as we can see in the set of photographs *Costumes des Pays-Bas*, later issued as *Costumes de la Hollande* by Andries Jager (1825-1905) in Amsterdam. The photographs are mounted on cardboard, the caption to each photograph gives the set's title – *Costumes des Pays-Bas* – and, in a second row, the province and town. The last two rows name the publisher and state the copyright on the product. Sometimes, the photographs are hand-coloured. The photos are not numbered; no order is suggested. Considering the invention of the *cartes de visite* format for portrait photography in 1854, and an advertising from 1859, I believe that the publication can be dated to c. 1860.

158 | The set probably comprised of twelve images in its first publication; I could not determine the total number of the set's photographs for all editions, but a list from a catalogue in a private collection from the period between 1860-1874 lists 91 photographs in *cartes de visite* format, 66 of them also available in cabinet format (Jager c. 1866-1874; *Dagblad van Zuidholland En 's Gravenhage* 1859).

The photographs of this set were issued in the formats *cartes des visite*, cabinet cards, and later also as picture postcards. Loose cards in collections support the interpretation that these *cartes de visite* and cabinet cards could be purchased per piece. Jager also offered leporello books of twelve images each. Different versions can be dated by reference to the company's address. The earlier versions were mounted in the *Album de Costumes des Pays-Bas* (c. 1876-1885), and the later versions in a leporello album titled *Costumes de la Hollande* (c. 1885-1899).

The Photographs of the Set *Costumes des Pays-Bas* and their Captions

The photographs of the set *Costumes des Pays-Bas* are portrait photos; they either show the figures in local costume from head to toe, from head to knees (especially in sitting poses), or only show the head (highlighting the head-dress). About half of the portrayed persons look in the direction of the camera. With the exception of photographs of Markeners from the later period, all photographs are taken in a studio. None of these publications provide additional information, e.g. an introduction or a commentary to the images. The only written element of this publication is the caption to the image on cardboard.



Fig. 4.11 “Un Prieur d’enterrement protestant d’Amsterdam”. *Carte de visite* from Andries Jager’s early set (c. 1853-1874).

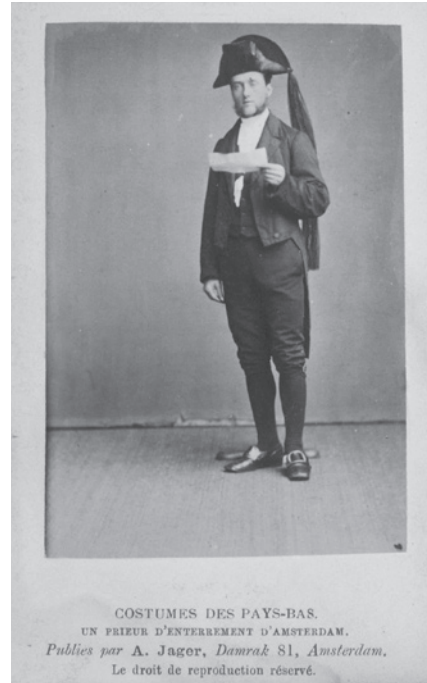


Fig. 4.12 The same subject matter, illustrated with a different photographic image, from later set (c. 1876-1885).

The limited number of photographs available to me and the lack of lists for later editions do not allow for absolute statements, but provide evidence for exiting motifs: photographs before 1885 portray one person each; for most towns or villages, two photographic portraits are available: one with a man and the other with a woman in traditional costume. Most photographs of the earlier period are taken in the studio against a painted background; some people are photographed with unspecific props (a basket, a bucket, a chair). Later editions of the set also include photographs of groups of people (a Marken family or a group of women in different Dutch costumes).

A noteworthy finding is that, in the period before 1876, inhabitants of the cities (s’Hertogenbosch, Groningen, and Amsterdam) were subjects of photographs whereas, in the later editions of this set, the photographed people exclusively come from fisher’s villages of North and South Holland (Zandvoort, Scheveningen, Marken), agricultural areas of Zeeland (Goes, Walcheren, Ameland, Arnemuiden), and old towns of Friesland (Hindeloopen, Leeuwarden). While photographs of people from the provinces of Gelderland (Nijkerk),



Fig. 4.13 Andries Jager (publisher): *Costumes de la Hollande* (c. 1885-1899). Marken from the later editions are portrayed “on location”.

Groningen (Groningen), or Drenthe (Assen) were part of the set before 1876, I did not encounter them in newer editions.

Furthermore, the depicted persons in the earlier photographs of Amsterdam were qualified with additional, socio-cultural information on rank and profession. The Amsterdammers were not just people wearing typical Amsterdam dresses but also announcers, servants, or Lutheran orphans.¹⁸ The depicted people are qualified by civil status and age (“jonge dochter”, “gehuwde vrouw”, “jeugdige vrouw”, “bejaarde vrouw”), rank (“burgerman”, “vrouw uit de volksklasse”, “dame”), and profession (“vischvrouw”, “vischer”, “dienstmeisje”, “brievenbesteller”, “agent van de Politie te Amsterdam”); and the dress is sometimes specified as winter dress, Sunday dress, everyday dress (Cf. Jager 1866). Most of this information is printed on the cards (see figures 4.11-4.13).

In editions after 1876, the information is restricted to geographical-political categories of province and town (with the exception of the qualification of the women from Scheveningen and Zandvoort as fishmongers). Among the available photographs, women in rural clothing with special headdresses are the most prominent subjects.

The Nation/al in Jager's Set

The title *Costumes des Pays-Bas* promotes the images as part of the costumes of the Netherlands. Similar to Maaskamp and Bing, the national is used to group a number of instances. Because there is no further text, the reader/viewer is addressed to make sense of the images as examples of instances of Dutch costumes. Similar to Bing and contrary to Maaskamp, the depicted person is only of interest for the visual qualities of the dress they wear.

The almost absent explanation limits the value of these images for anthropological studies. The uniform background of the studio and the uniform props do not place the person in a socio-cultural space. The depicted person is only of interest as the wearer of a costume, and the costumes are exclusively explained with geographical-political categories of province and town. Seemingly, the visual quality of the costume in itself was considered enough to fulfil the curiosity of the average customer. The reader interested in detailed information on historical and socio-cultural aspects of the costume had to turn to other works. The lack of explanation of the images suggests that this publication left room for the imagination and memories of travellers, allowing them to tell personal anecdotes when showing the images to people at home.

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Especially the photographs from the period after 1876 are comparatively limited in the motifs they display. Iconographically, all photographs of female figures show women in traditional costume, wearing a one-coloured, long, fitted dress, covered by an apron and a headdress to which brooches are attached. There is more variation in men's costume (some wear a hat, the trousers come in various shapes), but most of the figures are from Marken, Scheveningen, and Urk and thus depict fishermen.

Jager's set of images did not fix the image of the Dutch to a specific local dress, but his selection of dresses limited the motifs and iconographic details which were related to Dutch dresses. In comparison to Bing's lithographs and woodcuts in catchpenny prints, images of the Dutch showed repeatedly recurring motifs. Seen in this light, Jager's set of photographs contributed to the production of visually recognizable images of the Dutch nation by fixing the *motif*, even when no single instance was meant to stand in for the entire nation.

4.6 FIXING THE NATIONAL CLICHÉ (1890-1900)

The following examples are taken from media that I classify as part of the discourse "popular geography and armchair travel" (see Chapter 5): lecture sets of magic lantern slides and sets of stereoscopic images. In this section, I will take an anthropological perspective on the material and focus exclusively on the

information that these sets spread about the looks of Dutch people. Next to photographs in *cartes de visite* and cabinet card format, stereoscopic photographs and magic lantern slides were mass media that disseminated photographic images. In contrast to print sets on Dutch costume, photographs of the Netherlands in lantern slides and stereoscopic photographs feature city views more prominently. In some cases, the presence of people in a photograph increases the effect of depth, e.g. in vertical street views. What is remarkable, though, is that the titles of such stereoscopic photographs or lantern slides only mention the building or town. The written information about the images is thus restricted to geographical-political categories of country (the main title of the set); city, region, town; and, eventually, street (in the title of the single slide or card).

Popular sets of such photographic lantern slide sets for lectures were *Picturesque Holland* (a.k.a. *A Visit to Holland*), *Cities and Canals of Holland* (Wilson 1892), *Holland and the Hollanders* (York and Son 1900a), and *Quer durch Holland* (Projektion für Alle 1906a). These slide sets were issued together with a corresponding reading, printed in a leaflet.

In the sets of stereoscopic photographs and magic lantern, the cities and towns are presented as part of a nation, here, as part of the Netherlands. The title of the set – the Netherlands – thus functions to map the geographical-political space to which these images belong. Set titles such as “The Capitals of Europe” or “Cities along the Rhine” can be found in catalogues but are much fewer than set titles referring to regions or countries.

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Fig. 4.14 “Rotterdam, Statue of Erasmus”. Lantern Slide. Slide 5 of 50 from the set *Holland and the Hollanders* (York and Son 1900a). This slide shows figures posing next to the monument but no comment on the figures or their costume is made in neither title nor reading.



Fig. 4.15 “Marken, Natives of Marken”. Lantern slide. Slide 42 of 50 from the set *Holland and the Hollanders* (York and Son 1900a).



Most slides of these sets show city views, buildings, and canals. People were not absent in these views; on the contrary, most city views and street scenes show figures walking by or posing in front of a monument (see figure 4.14), and photographs of market scenes naturally show a lot of people, too. Comment on the city inhabitants is remarkably absent in the slide titles and readings. The case is different for inhabitants of villages. If a slide's title highlights the outward appearance, then the image always features people of rural regions. The reading to the slide set *Cities and Canals of Holland* by George E. Thompson (1892) mostly comments on buildings and waterways. In the nineteen pages of the lecture, only two and a half sentences are dedicated to the description of the outward appearance of people:

We may see the children playing in the sand, their quaint caps, costumes, and wooden sabots eminently Dutch. (Thompson 1892, 12, comment to slide 18 "The Beach of Scheveningen")

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The women wear great white caps, and quantities of dresses one over the other - not being in the least favourable to narrow waists. The men wear immensely wide peg-top short trousers, and all have wooden sabots. (Thompson 1892, 19, comment to slide 37 "Street in Volendam")

[...] when the farmers are in from the country around, and all their conveyances may be seen crowded in the street, while the horses are resting in the stables. (Thompson 1892, 21, comment to slide 42 "Cheese market, Alkmaar")

Similar is the case of the reading to the lantern slide set *Holland and the Hollanders* (York and Son 1900a). The following two quotations are the only descriptions of Dutch costume in the lecture of 23 pages:

Their dresses are very quaint and bright in colour, and they wear peculiar head coverings. (York and Son 1900b, 23, comment to slide 42 "Marken, Natives of Marken")

Here for instance are three little Zeeland maids in their holiday clothes enjoying the mild excitement of seeing the trains arrive and depart. I may here remark that the fashions in ladies dresses here have not changed within my recollection, and possibly not for a hundred years previously to that. (York and Son 1900b, 25, comment to slide 48 "Three little Zeeland maids")

The reading to the set *Picturesque Holland* (York and Son 1887b) dedicates more attention to the outward appearance of people living in the Netherlands. The commentary to slide 9, “A Peasant Woman”, details the headdress of the surrounding region (York and Son 1887b, 7, comment to slide 8). The slide showing the village street of Scheveningen is paired with the information that generally a “good many of the natives [are] lounging about in their wooden shoes” (York and Son 1887b, 10–11, comment to slide 15 “Scheveningen: The Village Street”). The commentary to slide 17 informs that the fishermen “dress in waterproofs up to the waist” and their fisherwomen wear “very broad-brimmed straw hats” (York and Son 1887b, 11–12, comment to slide 17). Curiously, the slide does not show this type of headdress, but a panorama of fishing boats on the sand, taken from a distance. The description of the costume of Markeners is very extensive; detailed information about colour, patterns, and tissue are made in the commentary to four slides (slides 29, 30, 32, 33), titled “The Little Boys”, “Some of the Little Girls”, “Group of Men and Girls in Holiday attire”, and “Girls and Boys in their best clothes”, respectively. Next to the description, the costumes are also judged to give “the children a very pretty appearance” (York and Son 1887b, 19, comment to slide 30); Marken men in holiday dress do “not look nearly so picturesque as when wearing their working clothes.” (York and Son 1887b, 20, comment to slide 32). Here we find a mix of description and judgment.

While Jager’s set of photographs, albeit limited in iconographic details and choice of motifs, did present costumes worn at various towns within the Netherlands, popular lantern slide lecture sets and sets of stereoscopic photographs exclusively feature inhabitants of four towns on photographs: namely Goes, Scheveningen, Volendam, and Marken. People in traditional costumes from other villages and especially people wearing fashion of the cities *do* appear in images, but they are not photographed in portrait and not mentioned in the slide title or commentary.

The association of the Dutch with people in traditional costume of coastal villages thus cannot be explained with the available bulk of images alone but has much to do with the textual comment that directs attention to certain aspects of the images. Dutch people *are performed as Dutch if and only if* the image shows people in traditional costume of farmer’s and fisher’s villages; Dutch people in street scenes, the modernity of the city inhabitant’s dresses, and the fancy outfit of people at Scheveningen’s promenade were documented in visual material but omitted from portraits, from slide titles, and from commentary. Consequently, these people and their fashions were overlooked in the creation of visual knowledge about the Dutch. This focus of attention and narrowing down of motifs can be observed in material from the 1880s onwards. It should not be surprising, then, that later publications built upon this selection.



Top: Fig. 4.16 “Picturesque and thrifty Country-women with milk pails balanced on wooden yokes – Goes (Zeeland), Holland”. Stereoscopic photographs on cardboard (Underwood & Underwood 1905).

Bottom: Fig. 4.17 “A milkmaid of Goes on her morning rounds, a typical costume and tank, Zeeland, Holland”. Stereoscopic photographs on cardboard (Underwood & Underwood 1905).

The set of stereoscopic photographs *Holland* by Underwood & Underwood was published in 1905 and was directed, at first, at the US-American and Canadian market; it mostly documents tourist places. In this set of 30 views, three images are dedicated to the women’s costume in Zeeland (Goes, see figures 4.16-4.17) and three comment on the Zuiderzee villages (Marken and Volendam). No other style of dress is mentioned. The captions on the front and the commentary printed on the back of the cardboard describes these dresses as “quaint”, “typical”, and “unchanged during centuries”. Similar to the case of



Fig. 4.18 “Isle of Marken. Group of Children”. Lantern slide. Slide 10 of 24 from the set *Quer durch Holland* (Projektion für Alle 1906a). Slide 10 is the only slide that portrays people frontally.



Fig. 4.19 “The Grand Market”. Lantern slide. Slide 24 of 24 from the set *Quer durch Holland* (Projektion für Alle 1906a). The vendor at the market in Arnhem of slide 24 is photographed in the same closeness as the children from Marken of slide 10; the reading does not comment on him, nor is he photographed in portrait pose. This slide emphasizes space, not the figures.

lantern slide sets, the title only names the town or village at which these images were taken and does not use socio-cultural categories to specify the images further. I will address this set again in Chapter 6.

The pattern to comment on the people’s dress only when it is about traditional costume is also observable in the lantern set *Quer durch Holland* (Projektion für Alle 1906a). Slide 2, titled “Leeuwarden. Torstraße und alter Turm” shows an empty street; the commentary describes the fancy headdress of Friesian women. The information that people wear fancy headdresses is given *en passant* without visual evidence. Although the Marken children in slide 10 are not photographed in closer proximity than e.g. the market seller on slide 24 (compare figures 4.18 and 4.19), the comment to the slide 10 of the children gives information about their looks while the market seller goes without comment.

4.7 PLAYING WITH THE CLICHÉ (c. 1900-1914)

By the end of the nineteenth century, the category “the Dutch” became visualized increasingly through a cliché; any image of a female figure with cap and long dress with apron accompanied by a man wearing baggy trousers and wooden shoes was *recognized* as Dutch. In images of the early twentieth cen-



Fig. 4.20 “[National Kitchens]”. Set of six trade cards in album *Palmin Serienbilder* (Palmin 1910c). The category of the national is used to compare not only supposedly national dresses but also styles of kitchens and cooking. While the set’s title directs attention to the kitchen, the people and their dresses seemingly pass as representatives for the national as category without explicitly saying so. The Dutch kitchen is depicted in the bottom row on the left.

tury, this cliché must have been part of supposed common knowledge as the textual comments not always refer explicitly to the costumes as being Dutch. The Zuiderzee fisherman’s and Zeeland farmer’s outfits became the only *Dutch* costumes; their local and confessional specificity were not the focus of attention when they appeared in mass-produced visual media.

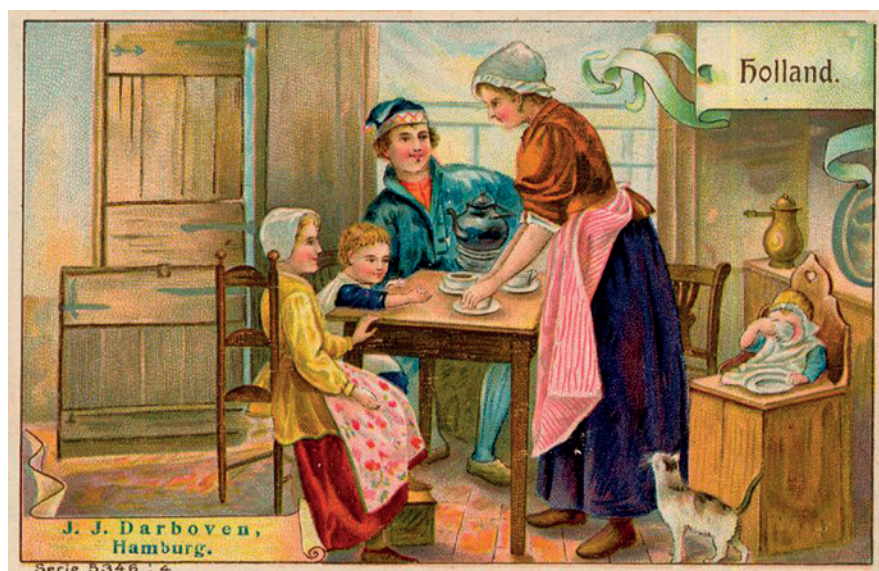
Advertising trade cards prove that the cliché was applicable in various

contexts to signify “Dutch”. The cliché of the Dutch costume was used to signify “Dutch” beyond the nationality of the figure wearing the dress. The set “National Kitchens” (Palmin 1910c) qualifies Dutchness not only by a specific style of dress, but also ties it to a characteristic kitchen to distinguish the Dutch from other nations. As such, the established cliché of the Dutch in traditional costumes with a fancy headdress provides the anchor for the identification of other aspects in terms of the national.

The stock trade card “Holland” can be best described as a fantastic collage. Just as in the examples above, the set’s title and the information does not indicate if these dresses were specific to a town, region, or profession. The reader/viewer is addressed to understand the images of these costumes in categories of the national. The combination of form of headdress, pattern of apron, and colour of dress is ethnographically incorrect. This ethnographic nonsense seemingly did not hinder the perception of this image as “Dutch”.

Judith Blume interprets the custom cards and their albums as expression of the desire to order the despairingly numerous phenomena of the world into neatly organized comprehensive images. This is achieved through the formal structure of the sets: six images exemplify each category. To achieve comprehensiveness of a topic in six images, the motifs of the trade cards pre-

Fig. 4.21 “Holland”. Stock trade card. Nr. 4 of series 5346. Issued by J.J. Darboven (1910). The combination of form of cap, pattern of apron, and colour of dress is ethnographically incorrect.



sent “archetypical representatives” (Blume 2012). Adapting Blume’s observation to images of the Dutch in advertising trade cards, these sets present what everyone needed to know about what the Dutch looked like. The Volendam dress (or a fantastic hybrid of selected elements) then performs the content as comprehensive. The presentation of visual information as synecdoche / *pars pro toto* is very evident in the case of albums for custom trade cards. Given the (self-proclaimed) educational value of the advertising trade card albums for the learning of the young generation about the world, the selection of images and use of motifs were probably not considered problematic by its producers (see Chapter 6.9 for a critique of clichés in advertising trade cards by customers). Information on region, town, profession, and class are completely absent. Therefore, the images function almost as abstractions while being performed as realist impressions.

4.8 DUTCH CLICHÉS OF DUTCH ORIGIN: TRADE CARDS BY PHILIPS AND BENS DORP

It is often considered that clichés are imposed from an outsider’s perspective. Two cases of trade cards and postcards will prove this presupposition wrong.

The Dutch enterprise Philips issued advertising trade cards in postcard format. Philips produced electric light bulbs for home and industrial use – and exported its products all across western Europe (Cf. Wilbrink and van Hulst 2005, 15). Between 1910 and 1916, a considerable amount of their advertising shows the motif of women in traditional Dutch clothing. The images of diverse advertising giveaways are produced in a great variety of languages: Italian, Spanish, English, French, Danish, Swedish, German, and, of course, Dutch. Philips produced two sets in postcard format of twelve trade cards each, one photographic set (figure 4.22) and one set from drawings (not reproduced here). Both sets were produced around 1910 and 1911 and, following the authors of *Kunst in de Philips Reclame*, were a big success (Cf. Wilbrink and van Hulst 2005, 15).

I did not find any reference that Philips had issued an album for the collection of its postcards so it is likely that these trade cards did not come with additional or contextual information. The only information that these trade cards give are the name of the city or town in which these dresses were worn and the card’s number of the set (and that Philips produced light bulbs in Eindhoven).



Annie Bos in Bunschoter klederdracht;
reclamebriefkaart voor metaaldraadlampen,
foto Maurits Binger, c. 1910 ^[PBI]



Scheveningen
Reclamebriefkaart voor metaaldraadlampen,
foto Maurits Binger, c. 1910 ^[PBI]



Volendam
Reclamebriefkaart voor metaaldraadlampen,
foto Maurits Binger, c. 1910 ^[PBI]



Hindeloopen
Reclamebriefkaart voor metaaldraadlampen,
foto Maurits Binger, c. 1910 ^[PBI]



Noord-Holland
Reclamebriefkaart voor metaaldraadlampen,
foto Maurits Binger, c. 1910 ^[PBI]



Annie Bos in Staphorster klederdracht;
reclamebriefkaart voor metaaldraadlampen,
foto Maurits Binger, c. 1910 ^[PBI]



Zeeland
Reclamebriefkaart voor metaaldraadlampen,
foto Maurits Binger, c. 1910 ^[PBI]



Marken
Reclamebriefkaart voor metaaldraadlampen,
foto Maurits Binger, c. 1910 ^[PBI]

Fig. 4.22 “Hollandsche Boerenmeisjes”. Advertising trade cards in postcard format. Issued by Philips (1910a). The town or region from which the costume originated is indicated in the trade card. Film star Annie Bos posed for this set in traditional costume of both Staphorst and Bunschoten, creating an intriguing tension between ethnographic authenticity of the costume and the possibility to have the costume performed/worn by people who were not living in that town.

Bensdorp Cacao

The national-as-bracket mode was also used in the medium of trade cards. The undated album *Nederlandsche Kleederdrachten – Costumes des Pays Bas – Holländische Trachten – Dutch Costumes* for the collection of 50 advertising trade cards by Bensdorp Cacao is dedicated entirely to Dutch costumes, which are also depicted in an ethnographically correct manner. Presentation and title are quite similar to Andries Jager’s set of cabinet cards or the trade cards

by Philips – with the difference that the trade cards are exclusively colour lithographs. The captions are written in four languages (Dutch, German, English, French), which indicates the dissemination of trade cards and the album on both the Dutch and the international markets.

Just as in other costume books, the rural areas from Zeeland and around the Zuiderzee are, by far, the most prominently depicted costumes. The introduction to the book in four languages positions the selection as encompassing; these costumes are not “simply there” but are also “picturesque”, “fine”, and “typical”:

This Album is for collecting “Dutch Views”, which give a complete idea of the different national costumes worn in THE NETHERLANDS, as well as of the places, where they are worn. In this album will be found a series of picturesque views of different parts of HOLLAND.

If the cards are put on the corresponding spaces, an interesting view will be obtained of beautiful and little frequented parts of HOLLAND, as well as of the costumes worn in those parts. We trust that many collectors will take an interest in the fine and typical costumes of THE NETHERLANDS, and collect our cards for their album. (Bensdorp Cacao 1900, 3, original emphasis)

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Socio-cultural categories are absent in the presentation of these views, neither are the costumes explained in written comment. The “picturesque”, “fine”, and “typical” elements of the costumes seemingly were considered to lie in the visual quality of the dresses and therefore must be obvious to the observer (see Chapter 6 for such an approach to costumes).

Contrary to Philip’s postcards and Jager’s photographs and in line with Bing’s lithographs, the costumes are not just placed in a geographically-politically defined space (“the Netherlands” or “Volendam”), but this space is also visualized. The location and the people are depicted apart only to be merged in the collector’s eye when completing the album. The villages where these costumes were worn are illustrated in line drawings printed in the album. Inhabitants of cities are represented, too – in traditional clothing. The line drawings with city views do not feature modern elements. More explicit than in lantern slide sets and in most tourist media, a connection between cities and traditional clothing is made.

Dutch, German, and American trade cards all depict figures in traditional costume, but there is a difference in the way the knowledge about Dutch costumes is performed. Trade cards of Dutch origin (the first set by Philips, the album by Bensdorp) with figures in traditional costume depict the costume ethnographically correct. Alongside the costume, the town where the costume



Fig. 4.23 Bensdorp Cacao (1900, page 10): The line drawings of the places should probably tease the curiosity about the way the people dress there (and make them buy more chocolate).

is or had been worn is indicated on the front side of the trade cards. The costumes of these sets are thus not generalized as “*the* Dutch costume” but rather as representative of a specific village or town. Various instances are organized under the title “Dutch costumes”, which means that these images are ordered according to the “national-as-bracket” mode. This differs in images produced by non-Dutch enterprises. Such sets tend *not* to show variation within the category. Even in the cases in which some visual variation can be observed in a set (Gebr. Stollwerck 1900b; Gebr. Stollwerck 1900c; Chocoladefabrik Altona 1903, see figure 5.16) the textual comment refers to all figures as “Dutch” and does not specify the dresses specific to a region or town. This means that trade cards of foreign production tend to present the images in the national-as-descriptor mode as they do not accentuate variation within a category.



Fig. 4.24 Bensdorp Cacao (1900, page 11). After five more bars of chocolate, the collector gets five more images of people who populate the country. The image in the upper right should depict Dordrecht. Around 1900, this was not the dominant dress seen in the city's streets.

4.9 “DUTCH” AS COMBINATION OF COSTUME AND “RACE”

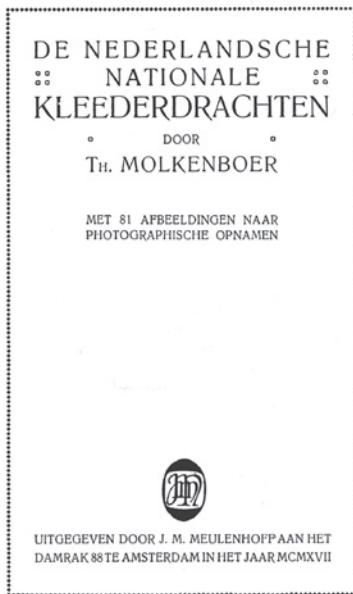
Dutch ethnologist and costume historian Theodor H. A. Molkenboer (1871-1920) claims to have edited “the first serious overview on national costume of the Netherlands”. His book *De Nederlandsche Nationale Kleederdrachten* (1917) presents 81 photographic portraits of people in traditional costume, covering rural areas in the provinces North Holland, Utrecht, South Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, Overijssel, Gelderland, and North Brabant. One image of traditional costume of the province of Drenthe is commented as having nothing typical except for the Friesland cap that otherwise were a “hybrid of traditional costume and modern elements that replaced the true national costume” and which are characterized by “bad taste” (Cf. Molkenboer 1917, 194–195, my translation).

Molkenboer is very negative about the ethnological value of any previous publication on Dutch costumes that have contributed in one way or another to the misconception of traditional Dutch costumes. Coloured postcards produced abroad were hopelessly wrong and “highlight the colourful, peasant, and uncivilized even more through their wrong colouring” (Molkenboer 1917, 117, my translation)¹⁹ Such erroneous images were even taken over by some Dutch, and, because of the lack of serious material on the matter, these images became the source of knowledge; therefore, in Molkenboer’s opinion, the Dutch are to be blamed, too, for having left the illustration of national costume to foreigners (Cf. Molkenboer 1917, 118).

For Molkenboer, the traditional costumes are the remainders of a once grand and special Dutch culture, before modern civilization levelled down national peculiarities (Molkenboer 1917, 85). Consequently, a thorough study of national costume enlightens the world with knowledge about the real and true Dutch culture. A serious study of national costumes should be “supported by photos of the wearers because the way of wearing, the habitus of the population and the appearances of their racial specificities should be well-

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Fig. 4.25 Title page of *De Nederlandsche nationale kleederdrachten* (Molkenboer 1917). The caption translates to: “Young woman from the Island of Urk. This in one of the best examples of an aesthetic unity that can be achieved by our National Costumes when beautiful race and beautiful dress go together.”



documented for future generations” (Molkenboer 1917, 116, my translation). National costumes, Molkenboer continues, should not be judged by abstract aesthetic concepts of beauty, but admired if they express the particularity of a nation and their “race”, that is if the character of the “race” is reflected in the aesthetics of the costumes. The caption to the first image prior to the title page is very explicit about this interplay:

The elegant (“stijlvol”) dresses of Zeeland, Molkenboer explains, seem to be inspired by the

special physical beauty of the Zeeland-Friesian race, which is without doubt the most beautiful in the anatomy of the body, and the most generally-human-normal part of the Dutch people/nation. (Molkenboer 1917, 110, my translation)²⁰

Similarly to Snelleman, Molkenboer considers the Dutch nation as being populated by different “races”: as with Snellman, Molkenboer connects *physical* details (which he interprets as evidence for “racial” difference) with *cultural* belonging to the Dutch nation; just as Snelleman, he considers the Dutch as unity of culture, “race”, and territory; and, just as Snelleman, he believes in visual evidence for this conceptualization. In addition, Molkenboer sees the “racial” difference not only as criterion for being “really Dutch” or not, but hierarchizes the “races” in categories of aesthetics (“beautiful”) and ethics (“normal”).

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Consequently, and contrary to Snelleman, physical details and the racial classification based thereupon are not *sufficient* visual evidence of being really Dutch. As becomes clear in the quotation above, Molkenboer interprets the traditional costume as expression and evidence of specific (“racial”) character traits. The traditional costume is thus more than a surface that visually distinguishes people from one another; it is also the evidence for and the expression of a “true and undistorted Dutch soul” with its specific attitudes and characteristics. Being visibly Dutch is thus qualified by seeing the true Dutch soul evidenced by a matching true and unchanged costume.

In Molkenboer’s argument, traditional costumes and the people who wear them are not only described and compared to draw conclusions about observable difference of surface, iconography, motifs, patterns, tissue, used handcraft techniques, and physical detail; these “formal”, not yet hierarchized and, in themselves, meaningless differences are interpreted by Molkenboer as expressing even more than nationality. Place of residence, costume, and physicality of the wearer need to match well in order to express “Dutch” truthfully. Not every unity of place of residence, physicality, and dress are evenly “truthfully Dutch”; the model against which “true Dutchness” is measured

are women from Friesland and Zeeland. Being “*truly* visibly Dutch” hence is not a question of simply inhabiting the territory and having the right eye colour, which anthropologists as Snelleman seemed to believe. In Molkenboer’s conception, traditional costumes go way beyond a documentation of local peculiarities under the bracket of the nation. Molkenboer interprets the costumes as documents of character and history, thereby the costume *qualifies* the Dutch nation (and not just *illustrates* the category “Dutch”). Nation and the national character are considered a unity, *visible* in its instances, and some instances are more typical than others. The fact that dresses from the provinces of Limburg, Groningen, and Drenthe are underrepresented and that the clothing style of the cities are not at all part of his publication is remarkable in this respect. “Dutch”, as defined by Molkenboer, is a combination of the levels national, nationalist, and nation-ness.

4.10 EARLY CINEMA’S HERITAGE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

Film, contrary to photography, was not widely embraced by anthropologists right away (Griffiths 2002, 89; Winston 1995, 170). The enormous cost of material and the problems of transportation of the bulky baggage were considerable obstacles. Funding especially posed a serious threat to film’s acceptance as scientifically valuable sources. Brian Winston mentioned that anthropological filmmaking often depended on commercial success to bear the costs which, in turn, required a popularization of the content via narrative and fictional strategies:

The price of public acceptance is that the films be accessible; and, even if the ethnographer avoids sensationalism, such works must obey documentary narrative, and therefore fictional, norms. The film ethnographer has thus become victim of a species of double-bind where the where-withal for filming in the field could depend in part on a public appetite for conventionally narrativised ethnographic movies; yet these very movies then reduce the status of such footage in any form as serious ethnographic evidence. (Winston 1995, 171–172)

This, obviously, did not help the medium of film to gain greater acceptance within academia. Griffiths quotes concerns of anthropologists, raised as early as 1902, that the presence of the camera would not capture the “authenticity” of native rituals (Griffiths 2002, 179). Wolfgang Fuhrmann found that early German nonfiction films with ethnographic content often were the result of a *joint venture* between film production companies and established scientists

(Fuhrmann 2010, 119); in line with Winston, Fuhrmann finds that the resulting films oscillated between ethnographic documentation and commercial demands.

Seeing people from faraway places as spectacle was widespread in entertainment culture around 1900. This desire for looking at Others may explain why these films were appreciated by the cinema-going audiences regardless of their appreciation by scientists in terms of factual accuracy. I will say more about the relation of these films to armchair travel in Chapter 5 and more about the pleasure of seeing the Other in Chapter 6. What interests me here is the anthropological and ethnographic information that films of early cinema spread about the way Dutch people supposedly looked and acted – regardless of the absence of scientific aspirations.

In my research, I did not find any film on the Netherlands of the period before 1914 that was shot by anthropologists or ethnographers doing field-work on the Dutch. Most anthropologists studied people and cultures outside of the Western world; explicitly ethnographic film footage on Western people is rare in early cinema. The three films which I address here are commercially produced films which nonetheless also promote ethnological knowledge on the Dutch. Willy Mullens directed a number of films on production processes in manufacturing of consumer goods, which, as they depict working processes, can be considered ethnographic, too. But these films of the Haghe film company are made after 1918 (Cf. <http://www.filminnederland.nl/persoon/willy-mullens>, accessed 10 September 2014).

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Nonfiction films with ethnographic content about the Netherlands and the Dutch make use of different strategies. In his article “Portraits de la Hollande”, Frank Kessler (2014b) presented the early nonfiction work of Pathé concerning the Netherlands, based on preserved film prints and the catalogue entries. The catalogue entries evaluate the costumes as “picturesque” and “quaint” and do not describe the costumes in detail. With the exception of a film about Rotterdam, the preserved prints of Pathé films on the Netherlands present the country as rural, populated by people in traditional costume wandering through a bucolic landscape untouched by modernity. *Comment se fait le fromage en Hollande* (Machin 1913) presents the Dutch cheese production in a folkloric setting, as if Dutch cheese production had not been industrialized by that time (I will discuss this film in more detail in Chapter 5.3). The ethnographic information of this film relates the Netherlands or “Holland” as a land of people wearing traditional costume and fancy headdresses and whose food production was not yet industrialized. This is, obviously, not factually true; in the province of North Holland, for example, Haarlem was a centre for industrialized food processing of such modern products like margarine (Cf. Kooij 2010, 61).

The early industrial films *De Walvischvangst in de Zuiderzee* (Mullens 1908), *Haringvisserij op de Noordzee* (Mullens 1910), and *Het Visschen in de Noordzee door een Stoomtrawler* (Mullens 1910) probably provide other images of Dutch industries, as the title of the later film indicates the existence of steamboats. Mullen's film *Carnaval te 's Bosch* (1911) very likely documents popular traditions and customs. However, I have not found reference to the fact that these films circulated internationally nor can I say if these films promote the filmed activities as (typically) Dutch as copies are considered lost.

Vita d'Olanda (Marelli 1911) is a good example to show how modern life is mentioned but not included in ethnographic knowledge about the Dutch. The existing print at the Museo Nazional del Cinema Torino is six and a half minutes long and tinted. After almost three minutes of shots of the hectic and modern city life in Rotterdam, with long steel bridges, trains, steamships, and crowds of people the second part is dedicated to images of people in traditional costume on Marken and in Volendam, windmills at the Zaan, dogs pulling a tow barge, sailboats on a canal, concluding with a sunset over the harbour of Marken, which is a recurring motif for closing shots of early travelogues (Cf. Kessler 2003, 110–111). The intertitle “Costumi e tipi” is succeeded by footage of children in traditional clothing of Marken. Fishermen in baggy trousers and wooden shoes and women of Volendam walk down a street. The outward appearance of people is only mentioned when they wear traditional costume; the dress of the city inhabitants, although visible, is not highlighted through close-ups or in textual commentary of the intertitles. This mode of presentation is similar to the one I described in the case of magic lantern slide sets and sets of stereoscopic photography. *Vita d'Olanda* exclusively performs the traditional costumes of Volendam and Marken as Dutch to the viewer (I will come back to this film in Chapter 5.5, see figures 5.35–5.42).

The only film I have found so far from the early period that is dedicated entirely to Dutch costumes is the film *Coiffures et types d'Hollande* (Machin 1910). The title informs the reader that the costumes and the people who wear them are to be understood as Dutch. The preserved print at EYE Film Institute Netherlands is about four minutes long and is composed of fifteen shots, each one presenting up to four women in traditional costume. Most images are taken from villages and towns around the Zuiderzee (Urk, Volendam, Marken, Staphorst) and Zeeland (Duiveland, Beveland, Walcheren) but also include traditional costumes from the cities of Leeuwarden, Zwolle, and Assen. Shots vary from pictures in which the women are depicted to their hips, to close-ups of their head. In most shots, the women turn their heads so their headdresses and part of their costumes can be seen from various angles. The print is stencil-coloured.

Each shot is preceded by an intertitle that announces the province or the

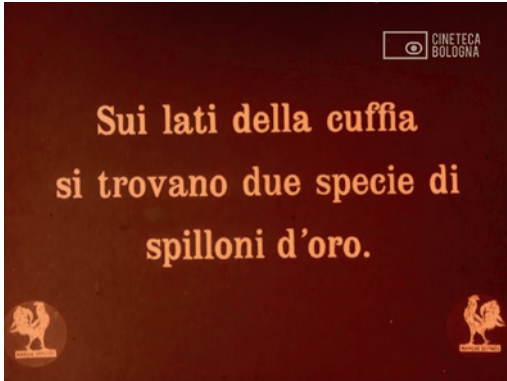
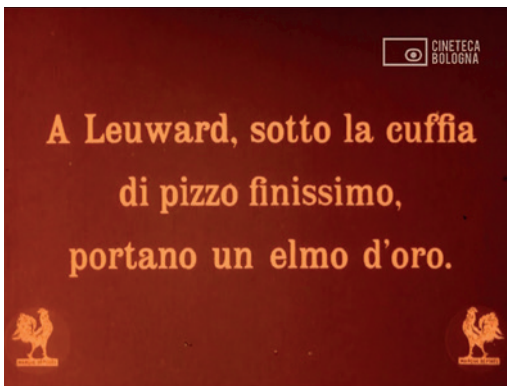


Fig. 4.26-4.29 Intertitles and shots from *Coiffures et types d'Hollande* (Pathé 1910). The headdress is shown from the front and from the side in close-ups.

town. The succession of images is organized according to the pattern intertitle + view / intertitle + view / intertitle + view. This is a mode of presentation found in early nonfiction films that Kessler (2014b) has classified as an “album of images”. The enumeration of views is not presented as a travel route; there is no narrative connection between the different views. The region or town where the footage was taken is announced before the viewer sees the image, offering certainty of the things seen to the viewer. About half of the intertitles highlight details:

In Leeuwarden, on top of the fine needle-laced caps, a golden helmet [brooch] is worn (my translation, intertitle at 01:08-01:12)

To the sides of the cap are two golden hairpins (my translation, intertitle at 02:24- 02:28)²¹

The intertitles do not propose a specific (narrative) order of the views. The commentary in the intertitles is comparable to the one in *Vita d'Olanda*: (This

is) “the headdress of Walcheren”, which performs the image as demonstrative and as “simply showing what’s there” – a characteristic of early nonfiction film, defined by Tom Gunning as the view aesthetic (Cf. Gunning 1997, 14–15).

In *Coiffures et types d’Hollande*, the national serves as bracket for the presentation of examples of instances of Dutch without further hierarchy. No single costume is described as more typical than others and no allusion to the “race” of the wearer is made. The variety of “Dutch costumes and types” is limited to the selected views; all of them feature women wearing laced headdress, dresses with aprons, and brooches; none shows city inhabitants, though, in the background of the shot of Walcheren, people with less specific clothing stand at the doorstep. The visual evidence of general clothing worn in the same image in which women pose in traditional costume contrasts the typicality of the dress in a specific location with the commonly worn dress at that very venue. While it is obvious that the women performed for the film, the common dress in the background gives reason to speculate that these women, staged on the streets, are probably not passersby, but had put on their dresses for the occasion of being filmed. The performance of Dutch costumes is thus situated on several levels: the women perform their local costumes to the cameraman and the editing of shots in the film print performs the sum of various costumes as examples for instances of Dutch costumes to the viewer. Seen in this way, *Coiffures et types d’Hollande* can be understood as a remediation of Jager’s photographic set *Costumes des Pays-Bas*.

All three films apply strategies for the presentation of ethnographic content that were known to previous visual media of the nineteenth century. In *Coiffures et types d’Hollande*, the national has a bracketing function; in *Comment se fait le fromage en Hollande* and in *Vita d’Olanda*, one type of dress stands in to visualize “Dutch costume”. Early cinema’s image repertoire, its modes of presentation, and the varying functions of the national for the presentation of people built upon the iconographic traditions, narrative schemes, and anthropological discourse that had been established through popularized uses of images with ethnographic content by various nineteenth-century visual media. Fiction films of the 1910s also built upon this imagery. In most cases of film plots situated in the Netherlands, the characters are fishermen and -women wearing dress (Cf. Donaldson 1997).

4.11 CONCLUSION

As I have argued in Chapter 3, national categories were used to describe people in travel writings already in the eighteenth century, but, as I have shown in this section, it was far from obvious how to apply that category systematically for the description of images. Alongside their nationality, people were also described in terms of gender, religious community, rank and civil status, profession, and trade. This mix of geographical-political and socio-cultural categories that I found in source material until the 1830s can be interpreted as evidence that categories of the nation/al were not (yet) “enough” and were not yet fully operable to describe and to classify images of people. This changed in the following decennia.

In Maaskamp’s *Afbeeldingen* (1803-1807), the national served to bracket a set of images. By grouping all images under the title “Dutch costumes”, Maaskamp promoted the national as a superordinate category for the presentation of images of people. Still, the national did not have a descriptive function for a single image; categories of the national did not describe a visual quality. In Maaskamp’s set of prints, “typically Dutch” features were seen in *all* images, as the typicality of the Dutch nation was related to variation within that category.

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Bing’s *Nederlandsche Kleederdragten* (1851) introduced an evaluative and normative component to categories of the national. Although lithographs from people of all provinces are included, some instances are judged as “more originally Dutch” than others. Hence, “Dutch” does not simply bracket a variety of instances but becomes a qualifier. These normative and qualitative components make it possible to apply the category “Dutch” to the description of a single image. However, typicality was still seen in more than one instance.

The analysis of popularized anthropological publications shows that images function mainly to accentuate authenticity, the “typical” and the traditional, while elements considered “modern” are rejected as “unauthentic”. Images thus have the function to document and preserve an original state of clothing, habitat etc. Across visual media, images of people that come with the caption “The Dutch” or “Netherlanders” until c. 1880 vary considerably in their motifs. Although it did not seem contested that one person could stand in as a visualization for the Dutch, the category was not yet illustrated by uniform motifs. The motifs that were applied to this end became fixed during the 1880s and 1890s. Visual mass media produced for an international market narrowed down the selection of depicted motifs, which were repeatedly (re-) produced. Once “typically Dutch” became equated to *one and only one* motif (fishermen in baggy trousers, women in long dresses with apron and cap, both with wooden shoes) and once this unity of image and concept became

widely distributed and generally known, later depictions did not even need to explain this motif as being “Dutch” anymore. Any image of a woman in long dress, apron, cap, and wooden shoes could be commonly supposed to signify “Dutch”.

The change in perception of such images is closely related to divergent functions of the category “Dutch”. “Dutch” could refer to the presentation of the Dutch as nation of ethnic variety, or to the presentation of a single person as Dutch, or even meld the category (the Dutch) and a specific instance (people along the Zuiderzee and inhabitants of Zeeland) to a fixed motif that became the cliché. As a result, local costumes that historically never intended to represent the *entire* nation became evidence of “the Dutch” and symbols of Dutchness.

Much to the despair of anthropologists and costume historians, ethnographic accuracy was not relevant in products of popular visual culture. Publications with a more differentiated view on Dutch costumes and the often racist elements in the theory of their authors were not taken up by mass-produced visual media for an international market. In popular visual culture, the Dutch are pictured as members of a *culture* (as narrow, undercomplex, incorrect, and outdated the resulting visualizations may have been), informing about dress, customs, and housing. Popular visual media that describe the Dutch as “physical types” or members of a certain “race” are few in number.

The images of inhabitants in traditional clothing functioned not only as synecdoche / *pars pro toto* but, at the same time, as signs of Dutchness, too. As such, images of Markeners and Volendamers could fulfil *both* the function to represent an instance as example for the category (*pars pro toto*) while still being perceived as specific, local instances. At the same time, these motifs could signify the category “Dutch” proper through the symbolic dimension inherent to the cliché. This double function of the images and the ambiguity of the national concept obviously provoked different statements about the meaning of these images.

While the representation of the Netherlands with an abstract symbol is less likely to produce confusion about the status of category and instance – no one would actually expect the Dutch to look like an orange lion – the abstraction inherent to a Zuiderzee inhabitant in traditional clothing as *symbol* for the Netherlands is not as evident. The image of the Volendam woman is not an icon in the Peircian sense of the word: the Voldendam woman in traditional costume cannot *look like* “the Dutch” because there are no qualitative features that these categories can share – to begin with, they are situated on different analytical levels. The fact that the image of a Volendam woman could *signify* “the Dutch” must therefore be based purely on convention and habit. This convention rests on the blurring of the analytical levels of concept/

type (i.e. the Dutch) and instance/token (i.e. this very Volendam woman). As I have argued in Chapter 3, eighteenth-century universalists could have hardly cared less whether empirical findings matched the ideal i.e. the abstract form. Whatever can be argued about their epistemic accuracy or not – a universalist had never confused the analytical levels of concept/type and instance/token. This distinction seems to have been blurred by empirical practitioners who searched for the visibility of the type in the token without making the act of interpretation explicit (maybe even without being conscious about it), and this also explains Snelleman's confusion.

Still, the very figure on the photograph is more than a concept or a type. She was alive and existed in flesh and blood. Her realness on the one hand and the abstract function of her image on the other are confusing and fused once the cliché was established: her visibility authenticated the cliché, which, in turn, hides her “instanceness” or “tokenness” and, with it, her individuality.

NOTES

- 1 This, according to Snelleman, also explains why the Southerners are Catholic and the Northerners Protestant, as the “Celtic race” was more likely to appeal to the arts and were not thinking as soberly as “Germanic” peoples. “Het innerlijke van den mensch staat niet geheel buiten die verschijnselen; het gevoel voor mystiek en voor kunst in haar verschillende uitingen is in sterker mate eigen aan het Keltische ras; een der oorzaken waarom dit ras het katholicisme bleef aanhangen, terwijl her Germaansche een vruchtbaarder bodem voor de hervorming was.” (Ibid., 285-286). Dutch citizens of Jewish faith were classified as a separate “race”, the “Israëlieten”, whose physical characteristics were brown eyes and brown hair anyway and who, in consequence, were not even discussed as being potentially typical of the Dutch.
- 2 The term “race” is put in scare quotes to express distance from the thought that there is such a thing as human races. While this thought was broadly accepted in nineteenth-century sciences, it was proven wrong by an interdisciplinary research commissioned by UNESCO, published in 1950. This document also elaborates on the political and social implications of differentiating humans into “races” and the racist projects that rest on that idea (Cf. UNESCO 1950). For a short discussion of whether or not to put the term “race” in scare quotes, cf. Dellmann, Kember, and Shail (2017).
- 3 What comes closest to the presentation of the Dutch as members of a “race” is one photograph by Theodoor Molkenboer. The figure in the photograph shows a fully dressed woman. See figure 4.25.

- 4 In her comparative study on the creation of national identities in Europe, Anne-Marie Thiesse notes that many research projects at the beginning of the nineteenth century were undertaken to bring national difference into the picture. Very often, the field workers returned with the message that no particularities could be spotted or that the local population did not have traditional folk songs. In fact, only the great efforts to document rural costumes and customs created a corpus of material, which was then used to argue for the singularity of any national identity (Cf. Thiesse 2001, 167).
- 5 Original: “Hoor eens baasje! leg ‘er nog een Stuiver op, ’t is myn hand-gift. / Ecoutez, mon ami! encore un sou. ce sont mes étrennes.”
- 6 Original: “Maakt zindelijkheid der vaten het zuivere vogt smakkelijk, dan wordt de smaak nog grooter wanneer men zijne oogen op het melk-meisje zelve laat vallen. Als ze maar jong een eenigzins fraai is, heur brede hoed [...] dit alles, vooral in eene schoonen zomersche uchtendstond, verrukt den aanschouwer en voert zijne verbeelding naar de gelukkige landstreeken van Arcadiën.”
- 7 Original: “De Kleederen der Nederlanden / Verschillen veel in iedren stand / maar evenwel is elk bewoner / Gehecht aan ’t dierbaar Vaderland.”
- 8 For a detailed analysis of this publication from the perspective of panoramic literature, cf. Kuijk (2018).
- 9 “[...] welk werk zich dubbele aanbeveelt als gevende eene trouwe en meestal op de plaats zelve geteekende afbeelding der meer en meer verdwijnende oude Hollandsche kleederdragten, en door de waarlijk verdienstelijke wijze, waarop de beide genoemde Heeren kunstenaars zich van hunne taak hebben gekweten.” (*Algemeen Handelsblad* 1849).
- 10 Original: “Plaat XLVI. In kleeding volgt de *Groninger* boerin de heerschende mode; de kap alleen is opmerkelijk; het is daarom, dat wij alleen van deze afteekeningen hebben gegeven.”
- 11 Original “Ofschoon onder den boerenstand in het mans-kostuum minder verscheidenheid bestaat dan in dat der vrouwen, zoo biedt de BUNSCHOTER BOER (Provincie *Utrecht*) ten deze eene uitzondering aan, en vermeenen *wij* in hem nog den type bewaard te zien van de vroeger algemeene Hollandsche Boeren-kleederdragt” (emphasis on “wij” added).
- 12 Original: “Terwijl het voor de kunst onmogelijk was in één tafelreel dit kapsel met als deszelfs delen zichtbaar te maken, zullen wij daarom eene beschrijving aan den lezer voorstellen”. As Maaskamp saw the typical in all instances, there was probably no urge for him to document details as evidence for the existence of Dutch tradition. His attitude to image-making is almost “photographic”.
- 13 Original: “Plaat XLVII. In de Provincie *Drenthe* hebben wij geene bijzondere kleederdragt aangetroffen; het noordoostelijk gedeelte volgt de kleederdragt der Provincie *Groningen*; het gedeelte aan de Provincie *Friesland* grenzende, de kleeding daar gedragen, terwijl het zuidelijk gedeelte *Overijsselsch* is. Wij hebben

op deze Plaat enkele vrouwen in hare werkkleeding voorgesteld, als gevende deze eenig verschil aan.”; “Plaat XLVIII. De aanmerking, welke wij gemaakt hebben, ten opzichte der Provincie *Drenthe*, is evenzeer geldende voor de Provincie *Limburg*, alwaar geene bepaalde kleederdragt zich voordoet.”

- 14 “Wij hebben vroeger gesproken van een bij de Heeren F. Buffa en Zoon alhier verschijnend plaatwerk van de Heeren Valentijn Bing en Braet van [*sic*] Uberfeldt, voorstellende de Nederlandsche Kleederdragten. Hebben wij in der tijd reeds met den verschuldigten lof melding gemaakt van de eerste aflevering van dit plaatwerk, de tweede aflevering, welke thans het licht ziet, verdient nog in hoogere mate de goedkeuring en aanbeveling der kunstvrienden. Er is zoo mogelijk nog meer zorg aan de teekening, aan het koloriet, aan de geheele uitvoering besteed, en het is te hopen, dat de verdienstelijke vervaardiger, behalve de eer, die hun niet ontvallen kan, ook nog in een ruim debiet eene vergoeding voor hunne bekwaamheid en moeite zullen vinden. / Ook aan de verdienstelijke uitgevers komt wegens hunne daaraan bestede zorgen alle lof toe. Over het algemeen schijnen de Heeren F. Buffa en Zn. er eene verdienste in te zoeken, en zeer te regt, om zich bijzonder met hunne uitgaven toe te leggen op hetgeen nationaal is. Nederlandsche sujetten, door Nederlandsche kunstenaars behandeld, zijn herhaaldelijk door hen in het licht gegeven, en wij kunnen slechts den welgemeenden wensch uiten, dat de ondersteuning des publieks hen in staat stelle even ijverig op den ingeslagen weg te blijven voortwandelen en de vaderlandsche graveer- en plaatdrukkunst met vele schoone voortbrengselen te verrijken.” (*Algemeen Handelsblad* 1850).
- 15 As A.G.J.M. Borms reports, Glenison en Zonen reprinted the prints by Glenisson en Van Genechten, who were active as early as 1833. At least in part, the single woodcuts were copied from previously issued print products, as was often the case with catchpenny prints. The third woodcut from the left in the second row, titled “Cephalonier”, was published in a German book on natural history (*Blumenbach* 1801). To my regret, I could not determine the source of the image of the Dutchman.
- 16 I thank Hanneke van Zuthem, costume conservator at Openluchtmuseum Arnhem, who identified this outfit for me.
- 17 Original: “In deze Prent zullen de Kinderen kunnen opmerken: dat de aart van elk Gewest, en de bijzondere Kleeding van elk Volk, de Menschen van elkanderen zeer duidelijk doen onderscheiden”. This exercise presupposes that difference of costumes is found along the line of nation (“volk”), as it implies that the national is a relevant category for visual difference. It also suggests the method of comparative viewing.
- 18 The photographs of the orphans were probably also part of the set *De Kleederdragten der Weezen te Amsterdam*, a set of 20 photographs that Jager issued in or before 1870 (Cf. *Algemeen Handelsblad* 1870). The same photograph was thus part of different sets for the domestic and the international market. Unfortu-

nately, I did not see these photographs mounted on cardboards in the “Dutch version”.

- 19 Original: “Ze accentueren het bonte, boersche, onbeschaafde, door foutieve opkleurig nog meer, zoodat deze verkeerde series veel misverstand omtrent onze nationale kleedij in de wereld gebracht hebben.” Molkenboer calls for a detailed and differentiated perception of the dresses worn in the Netherlands to work against the, in his view, uniform and ethnographically wrong cliché of the Dutch. Ironically, Molkenboer’s argumentation does not escape the logic of clichés: while he criticizes the visual representations of the clichés as “false”, he wishes to replace them with “true” images. Among the 81 photographs of costumes and details in his publication, he defines the Zeelanders and Friesians as “most normal”.
- 20 Original: “Bijzonder lichamelijke schoonheid van dit zeeuwsch-friesche ras, dat ongetwijfelt het schoonste, en naar den bouw van het lichaam het meest algemeen-menschelijk-normale deel van het nederlandsche volk is.”
- 21 Original: “A Leuward, sotto la cuffia di pizzo finissimo, portano un elmo d’oro” and “Sui lati della cuffia si trovano due specie di spilloni d’oro”.



Typically Dutch: Images in Popular Geography and Armchair Travel Media

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ABSTRACT

In this chapter, various illustrated publications and visual media that popularized geographical information are analysed. Geographical discourse aims foremost to educate about other countries and is rather educative in tone; as the analysis shows, it was a mix of natural and political geography, personal impressions of travel, visually exciting views, historical anecdotes, and descriptions of economic activities. In contrast to anthropological discourse (Chapter 4) and tourist discourse (Chapter 6), modern and urban aspects are mentioned. Through medium and patterns, the idea of access to the world through word and image is very present. The analysis concludes that the term “Dutch” in popular geographical discourse generally is not used to refer to the typical and the authentic. When generalizations are made in geographical discourse, they tend to take the form of the prototype.

KEYWORDS

geography - popularized; visual media; nineteenth century; illustrated publications; virtual travel; the panoramic; the encyclopaedic; geography and the national; images of places

5.1 INTRODUCTION: GEOGRAPHY AND POPULAR SCIENCE

In the previous chapter, I showed how images in popularized anthropological discourse were tied to the creation of supposed knowledge about nations. Geographical discourse follows anthropological discourse in many respects. Both discourses popularized academic research, both catered to a general interest about people and places, and both discourses were interest-driven while presenting their knowledge about people and places as purely descriptive and/or objective. Images in both discourses conveyed information that was increasingly framed in terms of the national. There is, however, one major difference. While anthropological discourse was concerned with defining origins and authenticity, geographical discourse included modern elements in the description of people and places, too.

Taking the retrospective look of a historian, it can be observed how images that intentionally had been *produced* for communicating geographical and anthropological knowledge helped to define those characteristics of a nation that would later be exploited commercially in tourism (see Chapter 6). Thus, next to creating supposed common knowledge about places and people, images in anthropological and geographical discourses also defined the range of phenomena that were presented as characteristic of a specific country, from which the emerging consumer culture, and, as part of it, tourist discourse, picked its elements from the 1880s onwards.

Geography emerged as a discipline separate from history in the course of the eighteenth century (see Chapter 3.4). In the nineteenth century, the domain of geography was dedicated to three main fields: cartography, natural geography (which covers information on e.g. the type of soil, statistics on the climate, natural history, geology, descriptions of rivers, mountains, volcanoes, and vegetation), and political geography (e.g. the political system, relevant institutions, statistics on the population, information on the major cities, and administrative districts, as well as economic activities). From its beginnings, the discipline of geography was closely related to other disciplines: natural geography overlaps with the fields of biology and geology. These fields of knowledge were very important in scientific expeditions, “discoveries”, and colonial exploitation. Just like their colleagues from political geography, anthropologists and historians were also concerned with statistics on a given

population. Furthermore, information on the material, social, and climatic conditions are of relevance for travellers and for economic activities.

That geographical discourse was part of popular knowledge is evidenced by the huge amount of illustrated and non-illustrated publications with such content. These images and genres were not new in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 3), but, until the nineteenth century, this subject matter was not explicitly used for political and educative aims. Instead, these materials were used to teach about national identities and national differences. Three strands are particularly relevant here to investigate the specificities of popular geographical discourse on the Netherlands: the emergence of the nation-state and the nation as political sovereign, new attitudes towards popular scientific knowledge, and the tradition of travel writings.

Geography, the Nation, and the Emergence of Nation-States

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Before the French Revolution, monarchs hardly cared about the coexistence of diverse nationalities, languages, and cultures within their sovereign territory: it just did not matter much to the sovereign who the people were exactly, as long as they paid their taxes. Nationality had not been a central category – neither in ideological battles nor for a qualitative definition of territories. In western and central Europe, the fight for the change in sovereignty from monarchy to the people's nation began as a fight *against* monarchy. At first, the nation was considered the entirety of the population and it was not yet positively defined by a set of qualities of the individuals (as I have shown in Chapter 4). After the French Revolution, field research into local and regional culture identified groups of people with shared cultures and languages, but still no unity between the state (i.e. an administrative unit) and a specific nation was proposed: the people's state could consist of many nations and members of a nation could be found in different states. Only with the newly invented concept of nation-states did the idea of a congruence of the administrative unity and its population come into existence, which led to conflicts about power and representation among different cultural and national groups within a given state and territory.

In the nineteenth century, geographical publications and institutions contributed knowledge to promoting the national and nation-states in several ways. Geographical information was not restricted to debates within specialized institutions or academia. Maps and sets of images with the nation's name in their respective titles offered visual representations that aligned a territory with the supposed national identity of its population. By doing that, such publications offered visual evidence for the idea of a national-territorial unity.

Maps, sets of images, and other illustrated publications can be considered a visual source for an “imagined community” of the nation, complementing print in vernacular languages (Anderson 1996, esp. 44-46).¹

Maps could also serve as “evidence” in conflicting territorial claims. As Livingstone recalls, geographers “were often directly involved in the resolution of boundary disputes between adjacent territories” (1984, 292). In the border conflict between Great Britain and Venezuela in the late nineteenth century, the chairman of the Royal Geographical Society, Sir Clements Markham (1830-1916), found “cartographic evidence” in favour of the British (Livingstone 1984, 292). The print set *Galérie Française*, proposed to and accepted by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1812, should have consisted of topographical images of the newly conquered departments in the Napoleonic wars, accompanied by a carefully written text with the aim to give the readers a general idea of what the united Napoleonic France looked like. It was never completed because Napoleon was defeated after 36 sketches were realized (Cf. Kraan 2002, 63-65). The inclusion of images of newly conquered territories to such sets promoted the idea that these places were part of one’s nation and thus helped to legitimate imperial wars. In this, as in colonial projects, ownership over territories is claimed through visual means offered by geography and cartography.² Geography and cartography in the nineteenth century thus were by no means neutral sciences, practiced in a vacuum of pure intellectual thought. They always also fulfilled the ideological function of providing visual evidence for the existence of a nation by mapping the nation onto a territory. This aspect is what interests me most in the investigation of how this discourse contributed to supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands.

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Geographical Societies

In the nineteenth century, many geographical societies were founded in the Western world. The Royal Geographical Society, founded in 1830, aimed to exploit the “potential social value of geography to service the empire” (Livingstone 1984, 291). This was made explicit in the original proposal:

That a new and useful Society might be formed, under the name of *The Royal Geographical Society of London*. That the interest excited by this department of science is universally felt; that its advantages are of the first importance to mankind in general, and paramount to the welfare of a maritime nation like Great Britain, with its numerous and extensive foreign possessions. That its decided utility in conferring relations of

our globe must be obvious to every one [*sic*]. (*The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1832, quoted in Livingstone 1984, 291)

Most articles in the publications of the Royal Geographical Society were travel accounts of journeys and explorations, which specified “the precise location of sites, often with cartographical accompaniment”. Following Livingstone, these publications all

underscore the geographer’s concerns with mapping the world, with geographical exploration, and with cataloguing the distinctive characteristics of different racial groups. (Livingstone 1984, 291)

In the United States, two big geographical associations were established. The American Geographical Society, founded in 1851, united academic professionals and geographers who were mainly concerned with empirical descriptions and the mapping of the earth. Many of its activities required explorative expeditions (Cf. Wright 1952, 12). In 1888, founding members voted to set up the National Geographic Society, as a “society for the increase and diffusion of geographic knowledge” (Cf. Hunter 2013) that, alongside scientific expeditions, organized travels and educational activities. In the Netherlands, the *Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (“Royal Dutch Geographic Society”, KNAG; until 1888, known as *Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*) was set up in 1873 with

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the main aim to excite interest in geography in the Netherlands and thereby stimulate the implementation of geographical knowledge for the benefit of commerce, shipping, industries, colonialization and emigration. (<http://www.knag.nl/24.o.html>, accessed 5 September 2016, my translation)³

All these geographical societies supported national governments and economies (for example, the KNAG equipped seven expeditions between 1901 and 1910 to Suriname, then a Dutch colony, aiming to inventory the geological resources and the possibilities of their exploitation), serving the informational or practical demands of politicians, tradespeople, academics, professionals, teachers, adventurers, and travellers. To different degrees, all geographical societies had the education of the general public on their agendas, at the very least to get broad support for their costly expeditions. To understand nineteenth-century *popular* geographical discourse, it is helpful to place it against the backdrop of bourgeois values regarding science and education.

Popularized and Popular Knowledge about the Sciences

Non-academic and popular knowledge about the sciences is not a nineteenth-century phenomenon, although historians have often identified popular knowledge as a “product of the bourgeois era” (Cf. Brecht and Orland 1999, 5). In Western cultures, popular science had been practiced by a wide range of amateurs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Until the nineteenth century, however, this knowledge existed in parallel with the official, academic sciences and was not generally considered relevant to maintain the worldview of the reigning aristocracy. After the French Revolution, science, and especially natural and empirical sciences, served the new leading class in various ways. Among the elite, scientific knowledge could figure as realm of consensus, achieved via a shared body of knowledge. In 1830s Britain, during a period of civil unrest, members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science used science to

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hold up a unifying moral vision under the banner of scientific neutrality. By representing a moderate and measured attitude toward political engagement, they believed they could use science to damp down the agitation generated by the new industrial order. Appealing to natural laws, these scientific champions were convinced that they could offer society a neutral means of communication that outflanked bigotry, passion, and sectarian zealotry. *Party differences could be laid aside in the common search for the laws of nature.* (Livingstone 2003, 108–109, emphasis added)

Scientific knowledge was more than an arena for concealing differences within the political elite; many popularized forms of scientific knowledge reflected and promoted bourgeois attitudes and values to a broader public. A major force behind the efforts to popularize academic knowledge was the (elite’s) conviction that the exposure of “simple people” to science and arts led to progress in society. What the expected benefits of popular education consisted of could differ. Societies that propagated knowledge about applied sciences primarily aimed to improve the workforce of uneducated workers in order to increase profit. Some societies believed more generally in personal and societal uplift through education, and others saw scientific learning as an appropriate means to promote values such as

strengthening religious belief, combating objectionable political views and encouraging “habits of order, punctuality and politeness” in the face of proliferating counterattractions of an unedifying nature. (Brooker 2013, 13; quoting a letter to the Manchester Mechanical Society from 1838)

In all cases, it mattered to the elite what the general public knew. Popular knowledge was thus not separated as strictly from academic knowledge as in previous centuries. On the contrary, efforts were taken to make academic knowledge accessible in the public sphere: once the nation became equated with “the people”, public opinion became political terrain, hence the *political* importance of defining publicly circulating information, i.e. popular knowledge.

In the (early) nineteenth century, the content of popular education was deeply contested. What the nation knew and who was entitled to teach composed part of the battles between old and new elites. Natural history, history, and geography were thus part of an ideological battle between the clergy and the bourgeoisie.

Not all institutions and lecturers that dedicated themselves to the popularization of academic scientific knowledge were truly popular. The public who attended lectures in London before the 1840s mostly comprised of the lower-middle class, skilled artisans, and office clerks – not manual workers. Those institutions and lecturers that *did* manage to attract visitors from all ranks of society and drew bigger crowds combined education with entertainment, learning with spectacle, the useful with the pleasurable (Cf. Brooker 2013, 13–16). Brooker’s observation points to two different approaches towards popular scientific knowledge. On one hand, there is “popularization of academic knowledge”, understood as a one-way communication process in which scientific knowledge is created in the academic sphere, (slightly) transformed and then disseminated by experts to an unspecified broader public. On the other hand, there is “popular knowledge”, which comes in other *forms* than academic knowledge.⁴

Obviously, the latter proves more useful for the study of supposed common knowledge, as supposed common knowledge and popular knowledge are interrelated. Supposed common knowledge presumes something; it is a supposition of “what everyone knows” and its content may or may not be accurate. The discourse of popular knowledge, in contrast, tends to be more oriented towards factual learning, even when methods and forms differ from classical academic approaches. One major characteristic of nineteenth-century popular knowledge is its embrace of visual material (Cf. Kember, Plunkett, and Sullivan 2012).

Popular Geography in the Netherlands

Geography became a major discipline in popular education in the nineteenth century. Content and methods for teaching geography were largely discussed by educational societies and self-claimed “educators of the people” (Volksbildner).⁵ In spite of ideological differences, the usefulness of visual material in teaching about geography was widely acknowledged.⁶ The *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*, (“Society for Common Benefits”, MTNVA) was the largest organization in the Netherlands that propagated the idea of uplift through education and a relevant institution in popular education. The society stressed the need for alphabetization and basic mathematical skills, promoted behaviour according to Christian morals, and lobbied for a good system of public elementary schools. Among other activities, the MTNVA published catchpenny prints for school children (Cf. Thijssen 2009) and handbooks for popular educators with advice on why, how, and what to teach (Cf. MTNVA 1817, VII–VIII); some of them were dedicated to geography. *Aanwijzing Voor Het Onderrijs der Aardrijks- en Geschiedkunde in de Lagere Scholen* (Burggraaf 1824) opens with the question of what the lower classes needed to know and calls for suitable methods that appeal to children “with good effect for intellect and heart” (no page). In *Handboek der Aardrijkskunde. Algemeen Gedeelte, 1ste Stuk* (Winkler Prins 1859), it is claimed that the Dutch needed to know about the surface of the planet because they travelled and migrated, which indicates economic motivation for the subject. In the introduction to *Handleiding tot Algemeene Kennis van den Aardbol* (Timmer 1840), profound knowledge on natural geography is considered an indicator for intellectual and moral development and an apt means to strengthen religious faith:

Familiarization with the place where we are, and the objects that surround us, is a need of human nature, which calls for satisfaction step by step. Knowledge about the globe which we inhabit and which has been ordered with so much sagacity, can be considered to stand in close relation with our intellectual and moral development or, rather, it will be an excellent means to attune the hearts to reverential admiration for Him who is the sublime reason behind it. (Timmer 1840, no page, my translation)⁷

As these examples have shown, geographical information became an integral part of popular education of the nineteenth century. Within the domains of popular education and popular knowledge, geography covered a broad range of topics and served various purposes and learning aims: moral uplift, increase of workforce and religious faith, economic exploitation, a more effective administration of territories, stirring excitement and creating support for

discovery expeditions, justifying colonialism, and increasing consciousness about national differences. All of these aspects, in one way or another, supported bourgeois values and bourgeois conceptions of the nation.

Travel Writings and Travelogues

Together with explicit geographical and scientific publications, illustrated and non-illustrated travel writings are a relevant part of popular geographical discourse as this genre provides information about people and places. Until the mid eighteenth century, geographical information was part of lengthy and descriptive narrative travel reports (Cf. Cameron 1980, 15–16). Given that geographical literature for the armchair scholar on the one hand, and travel literature for the promotion of travel and tourism on the other, were not distinct discourses prior to the nineteenth century, the reconstruction of the origins of armchair travel writings is similar to that of tourist discourse. An overview of the history of travel writings about the Netherlands will be given in Chapter 6. For the understanding of travel writings in nineteenth-century geographical discourse, a short note should suffice here. The division of labour between artists and scientists was introduced in the late eighteenth century; the task of the first being to describe the world subjectively, the task of the second being to do it objectively (see Chapter 3). Not surprisingly, then, nineteenth-century travel writings tended to highlight personal impressions of the traveller-author (see Chapter 6), while scientific journals strove for objective descriptions of the planet's surface and its administration.

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As I have argued in this paragraph, popular geographical discourse had many facets and aims – and images in this discourse were used for various ends and in various settings. What all these images and their uses share is that they catered to the idea of access to the world, mediatized through images. This is

Fig. 5.1 Envelop for stereoscopic photographs on cardboard distributed by Bing (c. 1920).



also evidenced in the famous slogan of Charles Urban's film company "We put the world before you by means of the Bioscope and Urban Films", or in the logo of the reseller of stereoscopic photographs on cardboard "Bing" (see Fig. 5.1).

5.2 PATTERNS FOR THE PRESENTATION OF KNOWLEDGE IN GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOURSE

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Travellers and tourists who visited the Netherlands could be expected to be aware that what they saw was part of the Netherlands. For the learner or arm-chair traveller, this information needed to be given more explicitly; otherwise, although an image might show a Dutch town, it was not guaranteed to be understood as such, in which case it could not be related to supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands. People who attended a lantern lecture, glued trade cards into albums, read articles in illustrated journals, or went to see a film did not "already know", from the place where they engaged with the images, that they were seeing images of the Netherlands. Special attention will thus be paid to the question of how the reader/viewer is addressed and how word and image are related.

On the producer's side, the process of rendering the world accessible through images consists of three steps: first, the complexity of all the phenomena related to the Netherlands needs to be reduced to a digestible number of instances. Second, the selected instances are grouped into geographical-political categories. Even when comprehensiveness is not claimed for a text or a set of images, the selection implicitly or explicitly rests on a judgment of what is considered relevant or interesting to be known about the Netherlands. In the third step, the selected instances serve to stand as synecdoche / *pars pro toto* for the more complex entity they represent. All steps operate in accordance with a certain rationale, and, in the following, I will look at the leading principle in the dissection (achieved through selection), the ordering principles for grouping the selected instances (i.e. the categories), as well as the presentational strategies of reassembling the images into a body of knowledge (achieved through narration, positioning of the reader/viewer, relating images to one another, and to textual comment).⁸

In geographical discourse, I have observed three patterns according to which information on the Netherlands is given. These appear to be very stable throughout the period of research and are not specific to a medium or a performance context. Each pattern translates the entity of the Netherlands into different visual forms, in various levels of abstraction from the physical space. I name them the "encyclopaedic", the "panoramic", and the "virtual travel" patterns.

The most abstract pattern is the encyclopaedic pattern. The order of information is not strongly articulated, and is organized either alphabetically by place or by subject without a narrative and with no apparent hierarchy (e.g. population – history – climate – language). The order in which the locations are treated does not follow any cartographic logic. There is no formally defined beginning or ending and no narrative link among the subjects; theoretically, information could always be added. In most cases, information on the Netherlands within the encyclopaedic pattern is primarily given through text; images have a mere illustrative function. In some cases, the images are not even referred to in the written text, which begs the question of their arbitrariness. The readers/viewers are generally not addressed directly, the text is usually written in a “declarative third person mode” (“this is ...” / “these are...” / “the picture shows ...”). In the encyclopaedic pattern, the reader/viewer is guided to study a country from a distance; the idea of travel is not present.⁹

The second pattern presents knowledge about the Netherlands primarily through images while addressing the reader/viewer as an outside observer, at a distance from the things seen. I call this the “panoramic pattern”. Here, the images are at the centre of attention, the texts are mostly restricted to explaining the image or to underscoring its visual attraction. Occasionally, background information is given. Many images in this mode are taken from a slightly elevated viewpoint, which increases the impression of looking at the image from the outside, i.e. from a distance. In line with Uricchio (2011), my definition of the panoramic (not the panorama) refers to “a particular set of strategies for achieving this virtual and immersive state” (Uricchio 2011, 226) and which convinces “the viewer that they had visual access to everything that could be seen from a particular vantage point” (Uricchio 2011, 228).¹⁰ The viewer is situated before the vista as witness, not as element within the scene. Similarly, Verhoeff has pointed out that the panoramic marks a *perspective* on the image, determined by the position of the reader/viewer whose gaze moves through space and in time (Verhoeff 2012, 27–50), which also allows the viewer to experience mastery over the vista (Cf. Verhoeff 2006, 251–252). Even when issued in sets, no relation among the images is suggested and no apparent order can be derived. The single images are not connected by a logical travel route or by narrative. Panoramic sets of images are thus examples of the national-as-bracket mode of presentation. The information of textual comment to the single image is usually self-containing. Text and image address the readers/viewers as interested in spectacular views and invite them to delve into the picture to take pleasure in looking, facilitating immersion. The readers/viewers can or cannot be addressed directly; most texts are written in a combination of the “declarative third person mode” and what I will call the “travelogue-we” of the first-person plural (“in this picture, we can see...”,

“we now look at...”) or, although less often, in an instructional address of the viewer in the second person (“in this picture, you see...”, “you now look at ...”). The distance between the viewer and the view is maintained by *not* emphasizing the physicality of spaces or the activity of travel. Although these sets may have titles such as “Picturesque Travel through the Netherlands” or “A Visit to Holland”, the term “travel” is here used in an abstract, metaphorical way. The activity of travel and related subjects (means of transport, accommodation) are not mentioned and the readers/viewers are not addressed as partaking of a trip.

The most concrete pattern presents knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch in form of a linear, continuous travel narrative, which is why I termed it the “virtual travel pattern”. Such accounts are organized as a reconstruction in time and have a clearly defined beginning and a clearly defined ending. The time span covers the period of travel to the Netherlands and begins either with the arrival scene, or a scene of boarding a ship, or a scene of leaving one’s homeland by train. Text and images are closely linked, the images show stations on the travel route and are related to each other through the travel route and its narrative. Images are generally used to increase the effect of virtual travel by translating the activity to a human viewpoint. To do this, the images can serve illustrative and narrative functions. For example, phantom ride films visualize the activity of travelling through forward tracking shots as movements through concrete, material space (see example in Chapter 5.5), and, in lantern lectures and travel accounts, the public is addressed to join the lecturer on their (virtual) trip. In the virtual travel pattern, the act of travelling is explicitly mentioned in the written or spoken parts as a physical activity or embodiment, not as a metaphor. Unlike the panoramic pattern, the reader/viewer is not an outside observer but addressed as (virtually) “on the move”¹¹ and as literally taking part of a trip through imperatives (“Look at this house!”), the “travelogue-we” of the first-person plural (“We take the train”) and sometimes in second person, singular and plural (“Would you like to learn more about ...?”). The author or the virtual travel guide sometimes gives impressions and anecdotes in the first-person singular, past tense (“When I first came here, I saw...”); descriptions and background information are given in the declarative third-person mode.

Within the field of early cinema studies, the entities that I call the “panoramic pattern” and the “virtual travel pattern” have often been addressed as one entity, namely as “armchair travel” (Verhoeff 2006, 251f and 264), “travelogue” (Peterson 1997; Griffiths 1999), “travel cinema” (Barber 1993), “travel genre” (Musser 1990a), or even as “substitute for travel” (Griffiths 1996). I will discuss such films in more detail in Chapter 5.5. It is true that both panoramic and virtual armchair travel use visual and rhetorical strategies to make the

readers/viewers feel “really there”. In the panoramic pattern, however, the readers/viewers are positioned at a distance from the things seen, whereas, in virtual travel, they are positioned inside the scene. While I agree that it is difficult to draw the exact line between immersion and embodiment, I still suggest that a distinction between these two patterns on a conceptual level enables for the refinement of our knowledge about how geographical knowledge was (and, in part, still is) performed by and through images. Recognizing the variety of visual and rhetorical strategies will help to understand more fully the enormous presence of geographical discourse in various settings, its capacity to serve a broad range of aims, and its appeal to multiple audiences.

These three patterns are neither intrinsic to a medium nor clear-cut, especially not when performance is considered (e.g. a lecturer could make up a travel route from a set that was organized by topic, a researcher can draw from panoramic sets of images to illustrate subject matters related to a specific topic etc.). However, organizing the findings from archival material in relation to these three patterns enables me to show continuity and change of the content and the communicative aims. It avoids the risk of proposing that communicative aims such as “conscious education with a clearly defined learning aim”, “anecdotal learning out of interest”, and “dreaming, immersion, and contemplation into other worlds” were mutually exclusive. In fact, they are deeply interwoven in popular (geographical) knowledge, as nineteenth-century expressions such as “Belehrende Unterhaltung” (“entertaining education”) or “aanschouwelijk onderwijs” (“graphic or illustrative education”) testify. The presentation of the material will open with one detailed analysis to illustrate each pattern; the discussion of other materials in each pattern will focus on the most salient aspects only.

Within each pattern, the individual case studies will be analysed through the three aspects presented in the introduction: comprehensiveness versus partiality; the typical versus the general; and authenticity versus artificiality.

5.3 THE ENCYCLOPAEDIC PATTERN

The encyclopaedic pattern will be illustrated with the analysis of six visual media published in five countries (France, England, the Netherlands, the US, and Germany). The selection includes academic and popularized media to illustrate the broad adaptation to this pattern. My study of the encyclopaedic pattern opens with the discussion of the oldest source in my corpus to argue that this pattern is older than the conceptual appearance of images therein, and continues with examples from around 1900 that have been selected from the corpus to show the wide variety of medium formats and popularity.

5.3.1 *Voyage Pittoresque dans la Frise (1839)*

Voyage Pittoresque dans la Frise, une des sept provinces orné des lithographies was written by a French civil servant who clearly defined his intention in the preface. Gauthier-Stirum (1839) wanted to “pay homage to the inhabitants of Friesland” and to correct the “mendacious assertions of some badly informed travellers”. He wanted to “make known the simple and appealing manners of the Friesians, and their customs and costumes” by describing “very exactly and without being pretentious” what he had seen during the three years that he spent there.¹² The content of the book is organized in chapters according to subject matter (history – character and outward appearance of people – cities – how agriculture is carried out – shipping – fair – trade – leisure/folklore – animals – culture, education, religion). Contrary to what one might expect from the title, the book does not refer to travel at all. Even the chapter on the cities is not organized by travel route, but via the cities’ relevance (“Les villes de la Frise suivant leur ordre d’importance”, 65), starting with Leeuwarden (“... sans contredit, la plus belle, la plus riche et la plus forte de toute la province”, 65), continues with Franeker, Sneek, Heerenveen, and Harlingen.

The publication’s subtitle, “decorated with lithographs”, seems a bit exaggerated, as the book only contains five images. One depicts a common Zuiderzee sailboat and four portray one person each as representative of a profession and/or a town. The lithographs are not commented in the text at all and are probably taken from other sources (at least the image with the caption “Woman and Daughter from Hindelopen” very much resembles Maaskamp’s image “Hindelooper vrouwen op het ijs” from *Afbeeldingen...*, Maaskamp 1803, not reproduced here).

The writing alternates between an enumeration of facts in the declarative third-person mode present tense and the first-person singular in past tense for passages in which the traveller-author reports on his impressions. The readers are not addressed in the chapters, but the preface is interesting in this regard:

Inscribed in a limited sphere of reflections, and with the wish only to offer material for judgment by my readers, I will share with them all my detailed observations. They will follow me from synthesis to analysis, from nation to individual, and my efforts will have been worthwhile if I manage to give them an entire and complete idea of the things which they have not seen, and make them appreciate the people who they could not visit. (Gauthier-Stirum 1839, no page, my translation)

The readers are approached in a seemingly paradoxical way: on the one hand, they are promised discovery together with the author (“they will follow me”);



Fig. 5.2-5.3 Illustrations “Buurtman” and “Femme et fille de Hindelopen” to *Voyage Pittoresque dans la Frise, une des sept provinces orné des lithographies* (Gauthier-Stirum 1839).

on the other hand, the readers are addressed in a distant third-person plural (“they”). As such, they are positioned as outside observers who learn through the eyes of the author. The author collected his data in fieldwork, as it were, and, because of the (claimed) objectivity of his account (“I thus will describe what I have seen, without presumptuousness and with every exactitude and fidelity that my subject requires”), the readers are encouraged to rely on a trustworthy source when studying the subject from a distance and without the need to travel themselves to get this information. The scientific claim is evident by applying terms as “synthesis”, “analysis”, and “judgment” and by distancing the publication from anecdotes of “badly informed travellers”.

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The author very explicitly puts comprehensiveness as the most relevant criterion for judging his work (“my efforts will have been worthwhile if I manage to give them an entire and complete idea of the things which they have not seen”,

no page). The “entirety of things” that Gauthier-Stirum covers are topography, physiognomy, development of population (*accroisemens*), economic statistics, natural resources, political institutions, and customs – all of which are common criteria in geographical discourse but not encompassing e.g. for travelers who would miss information on transportation and accommodation. The combination of geographical and anthropological knowledge, according to the implicit assumption, provides an encompassing perspective on places and people.

Gauthier-Stirum’s writing does not highlight the typical or the peculiar; no phenomenon is presented as a potentially interesting travel destination or as picturesque. *Voyage pittoresque dans la Frise* is a descriptive enumeration of phenomena, no comparisons of elements are made within the book. For example, the author mentions that the farms are extremely clean (“La propreté règne partout, elle satisfait les regards”, Gauthier-Stirum 1839, 146–147) but this observation is not attributed as being “typically Dutch” or “typically Frisian”; neither is authenticity a criterion nor even a descriptive term. All in all, Gauthier-Stirum listed phenomena by subject without judging them in terms of visual attraction. His work aimed to teach the distant learner about Friesland in an objective way. Images are a “nice extra” but they are not connected to the writing.

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5.3.2 *Dutch Life in Town and Country* (1901)

Dutch Life in Town and Country was seemingly a very popular book about the Netherlands; by 1909, it had been issued in at least four editions and, judged from the availability of the book in various libraries, it was widely disseminated in the UK, the USA, Canada, and the Netherlands. It covers political and social institutions, industries, and cultural life. On the first page, the author states his aim and his position to both subject and reader:

It is the part of the historian to seek in the archives of a nation the reasons for the facts of common experience and observation; it is the part of the philosopher to moralize upon antecedent causes and present results. Neither of these positions is taken up by the author of this little book. He *merely*, as a rule, *gives the picture of Dutch life now to be seen in the Netherlands*, and in all things tries to be scrupulously fair to a people renowned for their kindness and courtesy to the stranger in their midst. (Hough 1901, 1, emphasis added)

This opening paragraph claims documentary value and objectivity about what is to be seen in the Netherlands. It is made clear that the viewpoint is that of a “stranger”, and, in various passages, comparison is made with the situation in Britain. The standpoint of the outside observer is further reinforced by the use of the declarative third-person mode.

Dutch Life in Town and Country is illustrated with 32 black-and-white images, mostly from photographs. One third show figures in traditional costume and only three images show figures in non-traditional costume. One third show buildings or street views with canals, windmills, dog carts, and farmhouses with unspecific captions. Only two images come with a caption that presents the view as a concrete and specific building and in non-generic terms. Interestingly, all these “unspecific” images depict phenomena that are described in the book as “quaint”, “picturesque”, and “typical”. Given that

Fig. 5.4-5.5 Illustrations “A Dutch Street Scene” and “An Overijssel Farmhouse” from *Dutch Life in Town and Country*. Images taken from Hough (1901, 50 and 70).



much of the writing is dedicated to modern and especially societal life, the bias of the images to the rural and the picturesque is not supported by the text.

Contrary to what one might expect from the table of contents and the author's claim at the beginning, the writing is not objective or "merely descriptive" or even based on personal observation. For example, the chapter "The Professional Classes" is written as an anecdote of an imaginary dinner party where each invitee is introduced with a fictive name, profession, and educational background. In the chapter "National Characteristics", the Dutch are described as nostalgic about their past of the golden century (3), as "liberal in theories but intensely conservative in practice" (4), not very initiating, lacking faith, and unwilling to take risks (8-9). No sources or statistics are given to prove the author's generalizing statements. The chapter "The Position of Women" does not contain a socio-economic survey but, again, generalizing statements. After having defined the characteristics of "the Dutch woman" as not interested in politics (31) and as an "indulgent mother" (41-42), her excessive cleanliness is mentioned in an evaluative way ("cleanliness in Holland has become almost a disease", 32). Later in that chapter, the author states that traditional dresses and headdresses do not make Dutch women look very beautiful (37-40). Altogether, even though the chapter headings recall criteria of geographical and anthropological discourse ("Court and Society", "Art and Letters", "The Administration of Justice", "The Army and Navy" – to name some), the content can be best qualified as enumeration of stereotypical ideas, generalizations, and anecdotes.

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With regard to comprehension and partiality, this book makes an interesting selection. It is not possible to say which provinces appear more prominently than others because cities, towns, and provinces are not described as such or listed in the index. Obviously, cities and provinces were not considered relevant order principles for the organization of knowledge. The topics of the chapters might give quite an encompassing idea of what there is to be known about social life in the Netherlands, but the writing style in these chapters is less descriptive and more generalizing than usually encountered within the encyclopaedic pattern. The generalizing takes place in categories of the national and is achieved without qualifying a phenomenon as "typical". In fact, the adjectives "quaint", "picturesque", and "typical" are hardly used at all. In the few cases of their appearance, they describe the rural and old: Overijssel farmhouses (84), a rural funeral procession (108-109), and a rural winter landscape with "little mills, quaint old drawbridges, and rustic farmhouses" (133) are qualified as "picturesque"; the costumes of the peasantry are qualified as "quaint" (86 and 89). What is "Dutch" is usually introduced by defining

prototypes through the combination of the definite article with the category of the national as a singular noun, sometimes attributed with the adjectives “characteristic”, “common”, or “usual”. A recurring formula of sentences in this book is “the (characteristic) Dutchman is x” and, at times, the descriptions are not very flattering:

If, however, there are these differences between city and city and class and class, there is one *common characteristic of the Dutchman* which, like the mist which envelops meadow and street alike in Holland after a warm day, pertains to the whole race, viz. his deliberation, that slowness of thought, speech, and action which has given rise to such proverbs as “You will see such and such a thing done ‘in a Dutch month’”. (Hough 1901, 8, emphasis added).

[...] *the Kermis and the Festival of St. Nicholas*, which are in many ways *peculiarly characteristic of Dutch life and Dutch love* for primitive usage. (Hough 1901, 110, emphasis added).

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The Dutch are very cosmopolitan in their reading. (Hough 1901, 178, emphasis added)

The young Dutchwoman knows of no *Index Expurgatorius*, and reads what she likes. (Hough 1901, 34, emphasis added)

Skating is second nature with *the Dutch*, and as soon as a child can walk it is put upon skates [...]. (Hough 1901, 136, emphasis added)

The generic character of these sentences abstracts away from particular people and objects and claims that things said about the type are generally valid. In contrast, a characterizing sentence would leave out the (determinate) article and use the plural form of a noun. Such characterizing would refer to a plurality of tokens (thus not a type), and would thereby allow for exceptions and nuance (Cf. Carlson et al. 1995, 4).¹³ Hough does use characterizing sentences but often links them to generic and generalizing statements uttered before, e.g.

For it is *strange but true*, that *a Dutchman never* seems thoroughly to enjoy himself unless he has liquid of some sort at hand, and *never* feels really comfortable without his cigar. Indeed, if smoking were abolished from places of public amusement, *most Dutchmen* would frequent them no more. (Hough 1901, 141, emphasis added)

Activities and customs can be qualified as characteristic of or typical for the Dutch as well:

[...] attention to minutiae is *one of those characteristics of the Dutch* which strikes us at every turn. (Hough 1901, 206, emphasis added)

Cigars, *the usual resource of Dutchmen* when they do not know what to do with themselves [...] (Hough 1901, 118, emphasis added)

The 6th of December is the day dedicated to St. Nicholas, and its vigil is *one of the most characteristic of Dutch* festivals. (Hough 1901, 116, emphasis added).

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The level of authenticity is addressed at times, too. In some cases, it does not seem obvious whether the author is mourning that modern, cosmopolitan attitudes and customs are replacing the old or if he appreciates this. In any case, the author neither appeals to nostalgia nor dramatically accentuates loss in the process of change:

But in Holland, as in all countries where education is spreading, cosmopolitanism in dress is increasing, and the picturesque tends to give place to the convenient and in many cases the healthy. (Hough 1901, 40)

When they [the barges] disappear another of the few picturesque heritages of mediaeval life will have been removed from the hurly-burly and fierce competition with modernity. (Hough 1901, 68)

The decay of folk-song is the more regrettable, since Holland is rich in old ballads, some of which, handed down just as the people used to sing them centuries ago, are quaint, *naïve*, and exceedingly pretty. (Hough 1901, 139)

Instead of a careful description or enumeration of variety, every observation is generalized. More precisely, only generalized statements are included in the book. The absence of nuance, not to say the absence of anything that is not in line with the generalizing statements, has the effect that these statements can hardly be questioned. Unlike the article in *National Geographic* (see below), in which the single instances are seen as evidence for the national characteristic, *Dutch Life in Town and Country* defines prototypes without describing single instances or any variation. The empirical world and concrete, real-existing people, buildings, and cities are absent in the writing and even in the images,

as everything becomes *representative* of Dutchness in terms of (proto)types. As such, the author does not give “the picture of Dutch life now to be seen in the Netherlands” (no page), as stated in the introduction, but defines prototypes of Dutchness by abstracting from (concrete) life as it is seen. The claim in the introduction, however, still proposes these prototypes to be identical with observable, i.e. *empirical*, contemporary life in the Netherlands. In this way, *Dutch Life in Town and Country* is another example for the blurring of the analytical levels of concept/type and instance/token that I have mentioned in the conclusion of Chapter 4.

5.3.3 “A North Holland Cheese Market” (1910)

The article “A North Holland Cheese Market” was published in *National Geographic Magazine*, which was already very popular at the time and it was renowned for the quality of its illustrations. The article mostly describes the different stages of holding the market, starting with the preparation on Thursday evening and ending with the description of the country people leaving the market on Friday at noon. The selection of images – all black-and-white photographs – is quite surprising. The first four illustrations on pages 1051-1053 are related to the written text; they show scenes of the cheese market and of the weigh house.

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The text of the article then continues on page 1065; the eleven pages in between are dedicated to full-size photographs of people from the southern province of Zeeland (mostly women and children), all in traditional costume. The figures are engaged in knitting, attending school, going to church, playing at the beach, going to the market, and feeding poultry. Two images have a windmill in the background and one highlights wooden shoes. These images do not illustrate the information given in the text but, just as in the Pathé film *Comment se fait le fromage en Hollande* discussed below, add a layer of folklore that probably had the effect of enhancing the typicality of the phenomenon under discussion, here, the North Holland Cheese Market. The caption to the first photo introduces these images by stating:

All photographs given on pages 1054-1066 were taken in the province of Zeeland, whose inhabitants still retain many quaint and archaic peculiarities of dress, and speak the variety of Dutch known as Low Frankish. (Smith 1910, 1054)

In spite of the fact that the author accurately introduces these images as depicting the province of Zeeland, no explanation is given as to why these images are

A NORTH HOLLAND CHEESE MARKET

BY HUGH M. SMITH

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, U. S. BUREAU OF FISHERIES

ALKMAAR, celebrated in Dutch history for its successful defense against the Spaniards in 1573, has been noted in modern times for its cheese trade, which is the most extensive in North Holland. The town, of 20,000 people, displays the neatness and cleanliness typical of the country, but would have little attraction for foreign sight-seers beyond its quaint seventeenth century domestic architecture were it not for the great market in round yellow cheeses with which, in America, the name Edam is associated.

The market is held every Friday, and is participated in by the dairymen of all the surrounding districts, some of whom bring their cheeses in wagons and carts, while others find it more convenient to come in canal-boats. Preparations for the market begin the day before, as considerable time is required for the unloading and arranging of the cheeses, and the afternoon before a market day is an occasion of much bustle. The intervening night interrupts operations on the market space, but bands of young peasants, men and women, parade the streets all night



THE CHEESE MARKET IN FULL SWING Photo by Hugh M. Smith

A part of the golden field as seen from a window in the weigh-house tower. Each of the piles contains from 500 to 900 cheeses

Fig. 5.6-5.8 Illustrations included with the article "A North Holland Cheese Market" (1910) with the respective captions "The Cheese Market in full swing", "Windmill of Walcheren, of the province of Zeeland, Holland", and "Busy Children of Walcheren".

included in an article with the title "A North Holland Cheese Market", or what the connection between these Zeeland images and the article should be. Obviously, the common ground is that everything in the article relates to the Netherlands. As background for the description of economic activity, a folkloristic setting was chosen. Just as the topic of the article is interrupted by scenic photographs, the supposedly objective and unmarked position of the observer of the declarative third-person mode is interrupted by two sentences that indicate the position of readers and author as American visitors or tourists.

[Alkmaar] would have little attraction *for foreign sight-seers* beyond its quaint seventeenth century domestic architecture were it not for the great market in round yellow cheeses *with which, in America, the name Edam is associated*. (Smith 1910, 1051, emphasis added)



Photo from Hugh M. Smith

WINDMILL OF WALCHEREN, OF THE PROVINCE OF ZEELAND, HOLLAND

The island of Walcheren was the scene of one of the greatest disasters in British history. When the Earl of Chatham was driven out of Holland, after the invasion of the summer of 1809, he left 15,000 troops on Walcheren. More than one-half of them perished here from swamp fever before relief came in December, and half of the remainder were permanently disabled. All the photographs given on pages 1054-1066 were taken in the province of Zeeland, whose inhabitants still retain many quaint and archaic peculiarities of dress, and speak the variety of Dutch known as Low Frankish.

Therefore there is little sleep *for the visitor who has come to Alkmaar* the day before to be ready for the great sale. (Smith 1910, 1052, emphasis added)

And, inserted in the flow of the description of how the cheese is protected against the sun, the “travelogue-we” appears and comments on the things seen:

We would not expect a Dutch tradesman to neglect any precaution that improve the appearance of his goods; consequently *we* find that the cheeses are thoroughly greased [...]. (Smith 1910, 1053, emphasis added)

The seemingly objective observation and description of facts in a publication of a scientific organization can thus be identified as the partial perspective of a visitor or American sight-seer.



Fig. 5.8

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The article's title does not promise to inform about the Netherlands in a more general sense. Still, the information given by the overall article transcends the particular scope of the subject matter (how cheese is sold in Alkmaar), as the described instances are presented as examples of the more encompassing entity of "things Dutch" and the Netherlands.

The town [...] displays the *neatness and cleanliness typical of the country* [...]. (Smith 1910, 1051, emphasis added)

By tying local observations to the national level, Alkmaar becomes typical *for the Netherlands*, and the care of the cheese sellers for their products becomes representative of *Dutch* tradespeople. The typical and the general conflate, but, in contrast to the case of *Dutch Life in Town and Country*, they are still tied to empirical, concrete instances. Spotting typicality and Dutchness in every observed instance is actually characteristic for tourist discourse (see Chapter 6).

Authenticity and nostalgia are not central topics to the main article, but appear in the caption to the photographs of Zeeland quoted above ("still retain

many quaint and archaic peculiarities of dress”). “Retain” and “archaic” imply a connection to the past, which is evaluated as positive and visually attractive through qualifying the dress as “quaint”. The “still” implies that these positive reminiscences of the past are expected to disappear in the future. The article, at first sight a description of activities connected to selling cheese, ties into established visualizations and relates to supposed common knowledge about what Dutchness looks like.

5.3.4 Advertising Trade Cards: *Myrrholin Welt Panorama* (1902)

The encyclopaedic pattern is not restricted to highbrow publications and scientific learning. It is also the pattern according to which advertising trade cards are ordered in the album *Myrrholin Welt Panorama 1200 Bilder, Album 1: Europa* (1902). The album was produced for 400 trade cards of European countries. Twelve trade cards (numbers 167-178) show images of the Netherlands. The album promotes itself in the preface as “an inexhaustible source of education and entertainment for young and old” and promises “1200 of the most interesting views of the planet” that are “of an artistic quality”.¹⁴ The content is organized alphabetically by country. With the national as superordinate category, “Holland” is situated between “Great Britain” and “Italy”. Within each country, the cities are listed alphabetically.

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The trade cards are photographic reproductions of important buildings or large streets, with both frontal and in-depth perspectives. Figures in the pictures cannot be seen in detail, and modern elements such as the steel bridges of Rotterdam, a motor car, or gas lanterns are visible. The caption either describes the building precisely, mentions the art collection it holds, or informs about the economic activity of the respective city. The images all show cities from the provinces of North and South Holland as well as of Utrecht, Arnhem, and Nijmegen. The images and the captions picture the Netherlands as a modern country with modern cities; rural areas are absent. The captions to the images do not include generalizations, nor do they define any element as “typical” or “authentic”. The images do not lend themselves to nostalgic sentiments. Quite on the contrary, modern elements such as the steel bridges of Rotterdam are celebrated:

Both bridges are *tremendous creations* of the modern bridge architecture that *outstandingly decorate the brisk trade city*. (Caption to image 176 “Holland - Rotterdam. Die Zwei Brücken”, Myrrholin-Gesellschaft m.b.H 1902, my translation).¹⁵

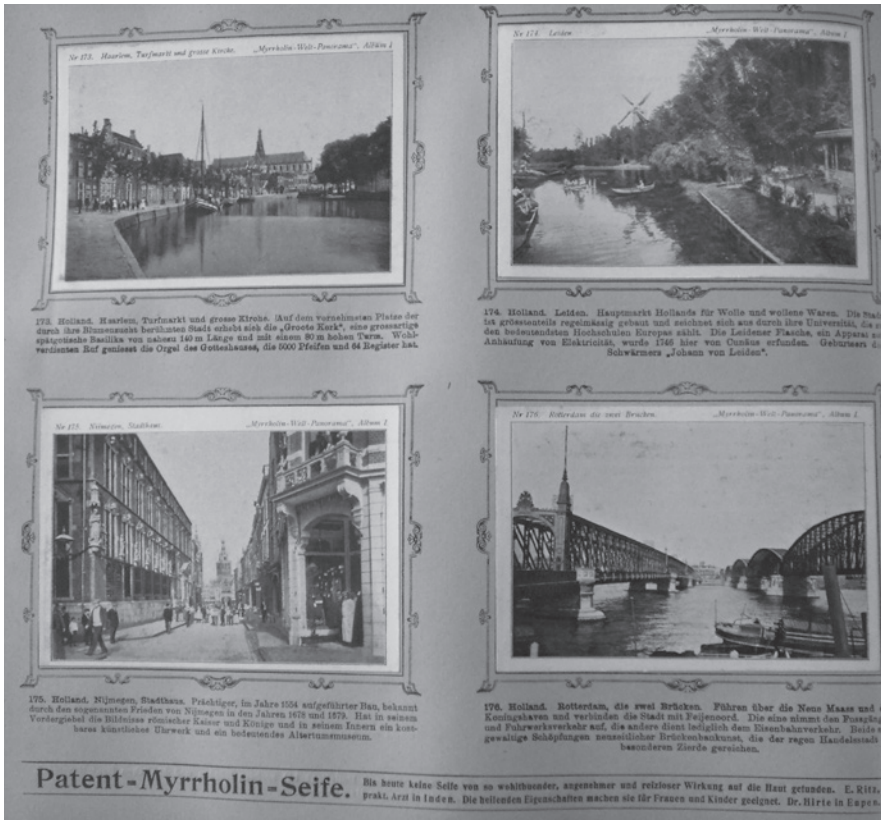


Fig. 5.9 Myrrholin-Welt-Panorama (1902).
Unnumbered page with images 173-176, captions
and advertising in the footer.

This set of images is quite exceptional for a publication in popular geography at that time, as it provides information on the Netherlands without referring to stereotypical ideas and without applying cliché images. It is the only set of images in my corpus that does not include a single image of people in traditional costume.

5.3.5 Film: *Comment se fait le fromage de Hollande* (1909)

Mentioning “early cinema” together with “encyclopaedic” will remind early cinema scholars of Albert Kahn’s *Archives de la planète* (cf. Amad 2010), an archive set up with the aim “to install a kind of photographic inventory of the surface of the globe populated and developed by man, as it was at the begin-

ning of the twentieth century”, as Albert Kahn wrote in a letter to Jean Brunhes (1869-1930) (cited in Castro 2011, 179).

Jean Brunhes was a geographer and, as a cofounder and director of the archive, his perspective shaped the archive. Brunhes worked with methods of fieldwork, observation, and “explained description” and, to this end, made use of photographic recording devices. Brunhes’s ambition, shared by his contemporary colleagues, was to describe the world in its entirety and unity (“globalité et unité”, Castro 2011, 180–181). With 4000 stereoscopic photographs, 72,000 autochromes, and 183,000 metres of film shot between 1912 and 1931, covering more than 50 countries of all continents, Teresa Castro judges the *Archives de la Planète* to be indeed a photographic atlas – in my terms, an encyclopedia – of the world (Cf. Castro 2011, 182), not least because of the principle of accumulation and the arrangement of images (Castro 2011, 183, my translation). To look at and to document views from nature by means of the cinematograph, according to Castro, is inspired by the same “descriptive desire” that is at the basis of other geographical projects (Cf. Castro 2011, 187).

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The Netherlands was not filmed or photographed for the *Archives de la Planète* prior to the late 1920s and thus fall out of my researched period. While the *idea* of producing film of people and places in an encyclopaedic logic existed, there are no examples of films of the Netherlands I know of that were explicitly and exclusively produced for scientific documentary purposes at that time. Tom Gunning suggested looking at the encyclopaedic from a formal perspective, shifting the focus from individual films to “an organizing concept for early cinema” (2008, 14). The encyclopaedic, according to Gunning, “stresses that the individual film in this era was primarily conceived as part of a larger whole”, which was “[m]ade up of component parts or fragments (in the case of cinema, individual films)” (Gunning 2008, 14). Seen in this light, a number of single-shot views could form part of encyclopaedic film screenings on the Netherlands, but this, of course, cannot be detected in single films alone. Such an understanding of the encyclopaedic with respect to Dutch views would require a study on the ways in which films of early cinema on the Netherlands and the Dutch were programmed (which I will not do here). However, “the encyclopaedic” can also be understood as a larger project of early cinema – whether actual films were exhibited as such or not.

Along with scenic and travel pictures, which I will address in the sections on the other two patterns below, films about the manufacturing process of goods were used to convey geographical knowledge in decidedly educational settings (Cf. *Moving Picture World* 1914b). Although the potential pedagogical value of cinema was highly debated at that time (Cf. Kessler and Lenk 2014), film screenings existed as “means of teaching geography to school children”

already before World War I, either in the classroom or in special school screenings held at movie theatres or in museums (Cf. *Moving Picture World* 1914c).

In the article “How Pupils learn Products”, published in the American trade press *Motion Picture World*, the emerging phenomenon of films sponsored by industries is discussed as part of visual media in geography lessons. Such films showed the steps of a production process from raw material to consumable product and taught knowledge of a country via the (brand) product that was produced there. (Such films included, what Tom Gunning called, “a basic narrative of industrial capitalism”, namely that “work mediated between nature and culture, for the benefit of the comfortable classes”, as in these films members of the upper classes are shown consuming the product that the workers had produced, Cf. Gunning 1997, 17–18). I have grouped these films into the “encyclopaedic pattern” because they promote knowledge on countries organized by subject matter. Martin Loiperdinger has also observed the overlap of travel pictures and industrial pictures:

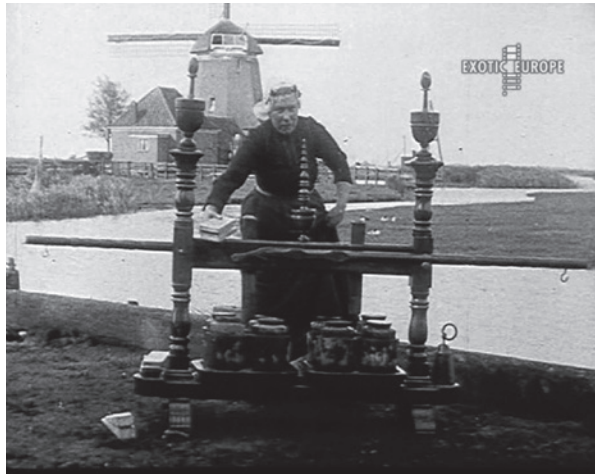
Industrial pictures and travel pictures had a similar status in programming: both showed phenomena and work routines of farming, craft and industry that were as inaccessible to the general public as tropical regions or Swiss holiday destinations. (Loiperdinger 2005, 325, my translation)¹⁶

The combination of geographical location and manufacturing process in film titles, Loiperdinger argues, underlines their generic closeness, especially when such films show the production of goods that were considered “typical” for a specific region. He concludes:

In many of these films, the country and its people merge with regional products to a folkloristic stereotype. (Loiperdinger 2005, 326, my translation)¹⁷

One film that shows Dutch industries in a very folkloristic setting is the Pathé production *Comment se fait le fromage de Hollande* (Machin 1909). The title already indicates that this film does not simply inform about the production of cheese but, by nationalizing the cheese production through the title, also informs about the country. Frank Kessler and Eef Masson have thoroughly analysed this film and its “generic overlap” of travelogue and industrial film (Kessler and Masson 2009; Kessler 2004). The film, listed in the Pathé catalogue in the section “scènes d’arts et d’industries” (“scenes of craft and industry”), emphasizes artisans and craftsmanship and not the efficiency of industrial means of production. The educative strategy of the film resembles object lessons in museums. In addition to what Kessler and Masson called a

Fig. 5.10-5.11 Screenshots from *Comment se fait le fromage de Hollande* (Machin 1910). The images show the production of cheese in a folkloristic setting, portrayed against the backdrop of windmills and canals.



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“museological presentation” of the work processes, people and landscape are visualized as picturesque and quaint (Cf. Kessler 2004, 165). The setting consists of a flat landscape with windmills, canals, and dog carts; the two young people carrying out the production wear traditional costume.

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In order to illustrate the production of cheese alone, it would not have been necessary to place the production process in a folkloristic setting as it was done in *Comment se fait le fromage de Hollande*. Furthermore, the title suggests that all cheeses in “Holland” were produced in this way. This happens without explicitly qualifying any action as “typical” or “authentic” in the interti-

ties; only the first two intertitles explicitly situate the cheese production in a national setting:

The cheese of Holland. The pastures cover more than one third of the surface of the NETHERLANDS. (intertitle 00:06-00:09, my translation)

The cheese of Holland is spherical. (intertitle 00:10-00:13, my translation)¹⁸

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All other intertitles name the processes in the fabrication of cheese without reference to visual attraction or nationality. The film's presentation of information only works if viewers knew what images with the motifs of windmills, cows, cheese, women in laced headdress, and pasture lands with canals "meant". The connection between the images in the film and "Dutchness" thus relies on information outside of the film itself, namely on supposed common knowledge that these images communicate, unambiguously and without need of written explanation, "Dutch". The question of whether this film claims authenticity is more than intriguing. Certainly, the folkloristic and labour-intensive process of the cheese production presented in *Comment se fait le fromage* can easily be interpreted as an age-old way of making cheese. The question is, rather, whether or not the film claims contemporariness of its imagery. On one hand, the evident staging (tools and devices are placed outside of the context of the work environment, in front of a background of canals and a windmill, and the people involved in the cheese production often look at the camera) does not give the impression that ethnographers documented phenomena as they observed them in fieldwork.

On the other hand, the film does not indicate any period. By not qualifying the cheese production as "traditional" or "of former times", and by not contrasting this mode of cheese production to an industrial one, the film leaves the possibility of attributing timelessness or even contemporariness to its images. This reading is further supported by the present tense of the film's title.¹⁹ Given that cheese was considered a national product of the Netherlands, I consider it possible that the folkloristic setting did not hinder the interpretation of the film to document Dutch industries realistically, at least abroad. The fact that the *National Geographic Magazine*, after all a publication of a society dedicated to research and education about geography, used similar imagery to illustrate an article on a similar subject, one year after the first release of *Comment se fait le fromage*, supports this interpretation. I do not have evidence that this film was shown in geography lessons at that time, but, in 1950, it was on the list of the West-German Grünwald Institute, an institution that provided visual material for use in science and teaching (Cf. Cosandey 1993, 138–140, cited in Loiperdinger 2005, 326).

5.4 THE PANORAMIC PATTERN

Unlike the encyclopaedic pattern, the panoramic pattern is centred around images. The cases discussed here are selected to illustrate the variety of statements that could be made by commenting on images of the Netherlands and the corresponding modes of addressing the viewers. Other criteria for the selection of material from my corpus include the diversity of media forms and popularity.

5.4.1 *Voyage pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas* (1822/1825)

An early example for the presentation of images in the panoramic pattern, and, according to Kraan (2002, 67) a relatively widespread one, was the two-volume lithographic print series *Voyage pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas* (De Cloet 1822; De Cloet 1825), which was continued by *Châteaux et monuments de Pays-Bas* (De Cloet 1827). *Voyage pittoresques dans le Royaume des Pays Bas* contains about 200 uncoloured lithographs in horizontal format, each accompanied by a one-page commentary. As Flanders was still part of the Netherlands at the time of publication, this set contains images of places that today are part of Belgium; only 29 lithographs depict views of places that are part of the Netherlands today. The images are on the left and the text is on the right side of the opened book, enabling the reader/viewer to look at the lithograph while reading the explanation.

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The images are composed according to the laws of central perspective and with a viewpoint that is slightly elevated from the scene, sharing formal aspects and subject matter with perspective prints, although the lithographs

Fig. 5.12 “Le Vijverberg à la Haye”. Print. Nr. 9 from *Voyages Pittoresques au Royaume des Pays-Bas* (De Cloet 1822).



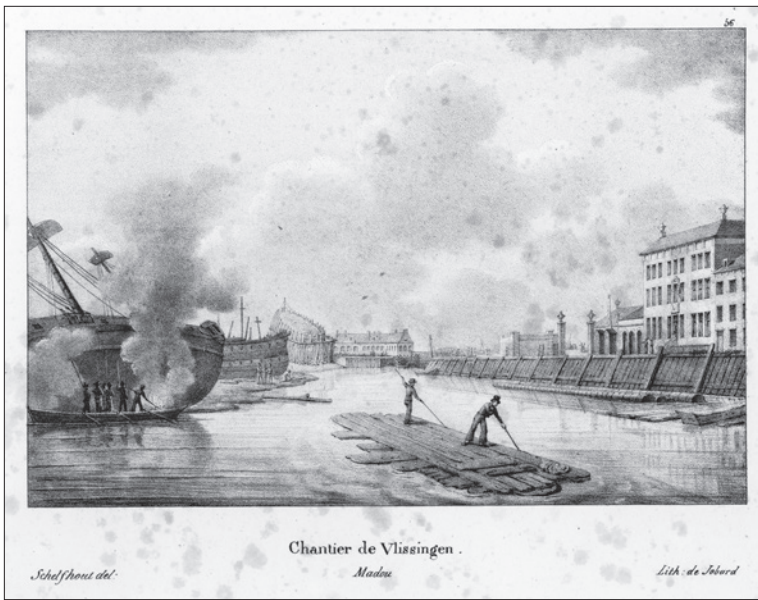
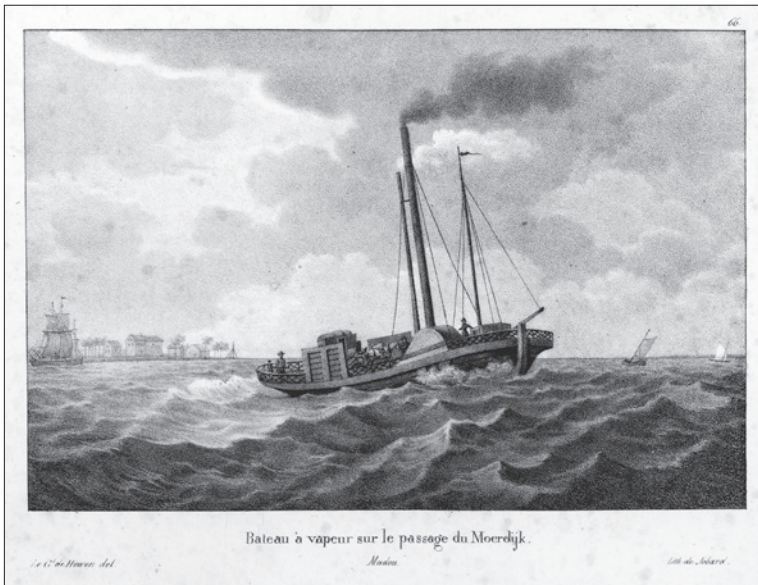


Fig. 5.13-5.14 Modern elements appear in De Cloet (1822) as well. The captions translates as “Wharf of Flushing” and “Steamboat at the Passage of Moerdijk”.



of *Voyage Pittoresque* do not always have the vanishing point at the centre. In some lithographs, figures in the foreground (i.e. at the margins) point or look “deeper into the image” in the direction of centre of the middle ground and background.

The readers/viewers are addressed as travellers in the preface²⁰ but the images are not ordered according to a reasonable travel route (The Hague – Freyr – Dinant – Choquier – Delft – Franchimon – Liège).²¹ The act of travelling,

the quality of food and hotels, means of transportation etc. are not mentioned at all, which fits with the idea that the term “travel” is used as a metaphor. The texts are written in the declarative third-person mode. Image composition and accompanying text invite the readers/viewers to dream themselves into another world²² and the images of this world are connected by assigning them to a national territory. In some cases, the viewpoint is indicated in the captions that connect viewer and view.²³ Views and texts were apparently produced to be looked at from an outside perspective by armchair travellers who were seeking visual entertainment as recurring formulas such as “nothing compares to...” or “few places are as picturesque/ beautiful/ charming as ...” indicate.²⁴ Title and aesthetics embed these images in the early aesthetics of the picturesque (see Chapter 6).

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Among the 29 views that show places in today’s Netherlands, 21 are dedicated to cities in the provinces of North and South Holland, nine alone to The Hague and Scheveningen. In short, the images are mostly taken from the province of South Holland, with some from North Holland, Limburg, and Gelderland. The other lithographs show buildings in Maastricht, the ship wharf in Flushing, the market place in Groningen, and a panorama of Nijmegen, seen from the other side of the river. No images of the provinces Overijssel, Friesland, Drenthe, or Utrecht, and no images of Zuiderzee villages are part of this publication. Contemporary elements, such as modern-dressed society people (image 68, image 47), the ship wharf in Flushing (image 56), and even a steamboat (with a very positive description about this new, probably visually exciting means of transportation, image 66) are included. Typicality does not seem to be a relevant criterion and neither is authenticity – with the exception of one passage in the explanation to image 35:

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*This view offers in condensed version everything that is remarkable in Holland. One can characterize in few words the principle amenities of this province. The beautiful homes, maintained with a remarkable cleanliness, the rich pastures covered by many herds of cattle, windmills, canals, dikes and sluices, this is what one will meet everywhere, and what at times presents quite remarkable views. (De Cloet 1822, explanation to “Vue entre Delft et la Haye”, image 35, my translation, emphasis added).*²⁵

The perspective on a landscape “between Delft and the Hague” (figure 5.15) in word and image is particularly interesting, as the comment proposes that this image represents more than itself, namely a more general idea about the prov-



Fig. 5.15 “Entre Delft et la Haye”. Print. Nr. 35
from *Voyages Pittoresques au Royaume des Pays-
Bas* (De Cloet 1822).

ince: it inventories, classifies, and generalizes visual elements with respect to visual attraction on a regional level, supported by the comparatively vague topographical description. The view of the landscape is obviously not one of peasants but of the elegantly dressed strolling figures in the image, i.e. members of the same social status as those who could afford to buy this volume.²⁶ This facilitates identification of readers/viewers with the figures in the picture (for this observation in later material, cf. Verhoeff 2006, esp. 250–269).²⁷

It would be tempting to interpret this album as an entertaining lecture that the better-off enjoyed in their private libraries, but the book’s use was not restricted to that. It was also met with appreciation by the second chamber of the kingdom of the Low Lands (“Tweede kamer der Staten General”), mentioned in the minutes and placed in the parliament’s library (Cf. *’s Gravenhaagsche Courant* 1822). Seen from this perspective, geographical knowledge about “what places in the Netherlands look like” is intrinsically linked to matters of political representation.

It might not be a coincidence that the political map of all provinces of the Low Lands was included at the beginning of the first volume. This map was described as “une carte itinéraire du Voyage” (“a map of the travel itinerary”) in

an advertisement (*Journal de La Province de Limbourg* 1822), proposing a playful and sentimental travel narrative for framing these images. Nevertheless, the political and ideological functions of this set are quite evident: through the political map, here presented as a travel itinerary, the topographical images are connected by their performance as parts of a monarchist nation-state. While the images depict real existing places in a documentary manner, and the geographical information given in the explanations is accurate, too, the book *also* offers an entertaining, visual experience of the nation through the metaphor of travel. This mode of presenting knowledge on the Netherlands, namely an armchair travel through the nation by means of images, is characteristic for the panoramic pattern.

5.4.2 Advertising Trade Cards: *Holland in Wort und Bild* (1903)

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A very different way of presenting geographical knowledge on the Netherlands in the panoramic pattern is the set of advertising trade cards “Holland in Wort und Bild” (“Holland in Word and Image”). It consists of six trade cards made from drawings with explanations for each trade card in the back section of the album. None of the trade cards specifies a determinable location. Although the set is called “*Holland in word and image*”, raising the expectation of receiving information about a country, the images of the set foreground the people. The positions of the reader/viewer and the author of the explanations are not made explicit, but the subordinate clause “us other Germanic people” makes clear that both are supposed to be Germans who study the Dutch: the “we” on the one side and “the Dutch” on the other proposes distinct national identities on both sides of the gaze:

Dutch girl, returning home from the well.

Decoration of outdoor life in *cheerful colours*, an almost *exaggerated degree of neatness and tidiness* that almost makes *us other Germanic people* feel embarrassed, *love and care for flowers*, this is *Dutch passion*. They are *all* governed by the love for colours, which is why the art of painting has celebrated its most cheerful times here. Here, in *this land of swamps, marshes and of peace*, in this mighty isolation, where only villages, canals and rivers, single lanes of trees and fruit orchards arise, here, close to the sea, where the air is almost always humid and the sky is hidden in mist, here do people confront this all by celebrating the cheerful, the colourful, the neat and the friendly. *Such an accomplished image of the colourful and the friendly is smiling at us in form of the girl that returns from the well*. After



Fig. 5.16 Serie 38: *Holland in Wort und Bild*, 6 trade cards (Chocoladefabrik Altona 1903). The number of the images from left to right is 3-2-1 in the upper row and 6-5-4 in the lower row.

a long chit-chat at the well with other girls, she strides home, in traditional costume and with buckets filled with water. (Chocoladefabrik Altona 1903, explanation to image 5, my translation, emphasis added)²⁸

Each explanation has two parts: the first section makes generalized statements about the Netherlands and the Dutch while the second, shorter part describes the image. In the example above, the tradition of painting is explained with the “Dutch passion” for colour, decoration, and neatness. This construction of causality where there is none is nevertheless in line with supposed common knowledge that the Dutch were a nation of painters. The “Dutch passion” for colours is further explained as a strategy to keep up morale in the face of misty weather and monotonous landscape (which is characterized by swamps, marshes, villages, canals, rivers, and does not include cities or woods). The figure of the young girl then serves as “proof” for the omnipresence of colourful and cheerful life.

The explanations for the other cards follow this pattern of inductive reasoning: descriptions about natural geography (e.g. waterways, landscape, climate) are explained with supposedly national characteristics (cleanliness, love for gardening, ice-skating). The images are presented as illustrations to the generalized statements, thereby confirming the information by offering visual evidence.

ASPECTS

The images create the impression of a pastoral, rural Netherlands in which economic activities are restricted to agriculture and fishing with methods from the mechanical age. The existence of a city is only mentioned insofar as in the comment to card 6 the bride and groom are said to “return from the city to rural calmness”²⁹ without further specifying to which city they have travelled. The nostalgic dimension is very much present in the formula of “returning” to “rural calmness”.

No image is tied to a specific geographical-political location, other than “Holland”. The lack of geographical (and anthropological) precision of the text is mirrored in the vagueness of the images. Neither the places nor the costumes are introduced as specific to a region or town; the figures are said to wear “national costumes” (even though none of these costumes shows an ethnographically correct representation of a dress worn at a specific location) and the landscape is called “Dutch”. The background displays motifs that were associated with Dutchness: windmills, sailboats, ice-skating, and a rural marketplace. This set highlights, in every aspect, the typical and leaves the general completely out of the picture. The typical is always phrased in categories of the national, thereby providing prototypes of Dutchness to which the single images conform.

Considered from the perspective of academic geographical knowledge, the information derived from this set about the Netherlands is at best vague and, at worst, nonsense. But this hindered neither the statements nor the images in becoming part of supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch.

5.4.3 Stereocards: *Holland* (1905)

In 1905, Underwood & Underwood issued a set of 30 stereoscopic photographs on cardboard, titled “Holland”. Given Underwood & Underwood’s market-leading position, this set was widely available throughout the United States and Canada and might even have been among the most popular sets of photographic images on the Netherlands available there until the 1930s. Each card has an explanation on the back.

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The images of this set largely depict cities from the provinces of North and South Holland, with the exception of one view of Nijmegen, one view of Groningen, and portraits of farmers in traditional costume from Goes, Volendam, and Marken (for illustrations, see Chapter 4.2.7). The images are not sorted in any apparent order, though, if more than one image exists per city or town, these images follow one another. No visual or narrative relation is proposed between the images of the set (except for the images 3 and 4, which complement each other, see below), the single views are only linked by their order number. Just as in the case of the Myrrholin advertising trade cards (see fig. 5.9), each image provides a neatly defined, discrete view of the world which centres around the readers/viewers who have the images in their hands and who can switch from one place to another, unconcerned with the actual distance between those places. The titles of the city views indicate specific buildings and locations. In addition, the viewpoints to the city views are made explicit through an extensive use of prepositions, e.g. “Rotterdam, looking North from Leuvenhaven to Fish Market and Groote Kerk” (image 10). These indications not only define the relation of elements in images to one another but also the relation of the viewer to the things seen: “*In* the marketplace” or “*along* the canal” can only refer to a reader/viewer whose viewpoint is identical to that of the camera and whose view moves through the image.

The immersion into the image facilitated by the apparatus is enforced by the comment that suggests immediacy and presence of the readers/viewers. In the text printed on the back, the readers/viewers are addressed in second-person present tense.³⁰ Many explanations begin with the formula “You are standing at x and look in direction of y where you can see z”. This mode of address implies an unmarked enunciator who instructs the viewer – not only



Fig. 5.17 “Amsterdam, S.E. from Zuider Kerk, over shady streets and glassy canals, Holland”. Stereoscopic photograph on cardboard. Nr. 3 from 30 of the set *Holland* (1905).

about the content of the image (and background information), but also about the way of looking. It almost literally guides the viewer through the picture. The explanation to image 3 “Amsterdam, S.E. from Zuider Kerk, over shady streets and glassy canals, Holland” (title as printed on the front) respectively “Amsterdam, looking S.E. from Zuider Kerk, Holland” (title as printed on the back) directs the view in a panoramic way:

You are looking off from the tower of one of the most picturesque old churches in Amsterdam and facing southeast towards Utrecht, twenty miles away in that far-reaching level distance across the fields. The pretty, tree-bordered canal at your feet, where you see the freight boats, is the Zwanenburgwal. Such freight boats come in by canal routes from distant parts of Holland and go in and out around town just as trucks and express carts might go in other cities. That broader, bridge-spanned stream is the Amstel. Tradition says that there are three hundred bridges in this one city and well there may be, for it is a close-packed group of ninety islands, many of them artificially constructed or cut open by canals. All the buildings you see are supported by piles [...]. That long building with the high dome (190 ft.) in the distance at the south is the People’s Palace [...]. (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to image 3).

The comment directs the gaze from left to right: It starts with the boat in the bottom left (foreground), moves to the bridges across the river Amstel in the middle (middle ground), and ends at the upper right where the steeple of the People's Palace rises into the sky in the background. The comment thus supports the panoramic vision proposed by the perspective of the image and the perspective of the viewer. The following image completes the panorama with a photo taken from the other side of the church's tower "From Zuider Kerk N.W. over market and Weigh House to suburbs, Amsterdam, Holland" (title as printed on the front).

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You are standing in the high tower of the Zuyder Kerk (South Church) in the north-central part of the old town, looking northwest. The city reaches far out to your right and left and behind you, though straight ahead you see where the river Y bounds it on the north. That canal, which you see straight ahead beyond the nearer buildings, is one of the innumerable waterways which actually divide the city into ninety islands. Many of them, besides furnishing the means of boat transportation (see, that canal is full of boats now), are beautiful with tree borders and broad flagged promenades alongside just as you in this case. [...] Down in that open space with the trees at the west side you can see the canvas awnings of booths in the "New" market – a scene of daily bargaining in every sort of household supplies. Just beyond you can see the pyramidal-towers roof of the ancient "Weigh House." [...]. The magnificent church off there at the north end of the town is modern – an edifice dedicated to St. Nicholas. Beyond it at the left is an enormous railway station where trains come in from Rotterdam and Harlem. (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to image 4).

In this case, the comment directs the view from background to foreground and back, slightly from right to left.

ASPECTS

The depicted locations are mostly situated in the provinces of North and South Holland, with one city view of Groningen (Groningen), one of Nijmegen (Gelderland), and three views of peasants in traditional costume of Goes (Zeeland). The provinces of Brabant, Overijssel, Drenthe, Friesland, Limburg, and Utrecht are not covered. Eleven images cover people from rural areas known by tourists for spotting traditional costumes: Volendam, Marken, and Goes. The descriptions generally judge the views in terms of visual attraction for a viewer from the outside: the picturesqueness of the traditional costumes is mentioned in almost all views of rural areas and villages, the tower of Hoorn

is praised for its quaint architecture (image 18), and the reformed church of Delfthaven is judged as “ugly but picturesque” (image 12).

The explanations of the images mostly give historical anecdotes and rarely denote phenomena as typical. In those cases, the typical is defined by referring to supposedly Dutch characteristics such as cleanliness (e.g. images 20, 22, 23, 26, 27), being thrifty, and working hard:

Dutch women are proverbially shrewd buyers and careful managers, knowing how to make the most of small incomes. (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to image 21, emphasis added)

A great deal of the heaviest work is done by *buxom young women like this one*. They are accustomed to carrying heavy burdens and are quite unconscious of the hardships involved. (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to image 26, emphasis added)

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In the cases above, both explanations make generalized statements. The first example does so by referring to a prototype, the second one presents the concrete instance as an example for a larger group. The textual comments thus describe the Netherlands and its (female) inhabitants both as types and as tokens. In those passages that explain the view, the motif is presented as an example of a larger group of instances. The prototypical statements do not refer to palpable elements seen in the image, but are restricted to conveying background information. Authenticity is not a major topic in the set, either. In the commentaries to images 27 and 29, it is said that parts of the traditional costume have not changed much in the last centuries but changes brought by modernity are not condemned, as the following quote shows:

It is said that there are no less than twenty thousand windmills altogether within the small area of the Netherlands. Of late years, however, steam power has become used more and more for pumping and for factory machinery, so it is quite probable that the Dutch windmill will gradually go out of use and exist only a picturesque tradition [*sic*]. (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to image 24)

To sum up, the set *Holland* highlights visual attractions of tourist regions, gives detailed descriptions of the views, and ties them to historical anecdotes. Generalized statements on the Netherlands are either used to give non-visual background information or found in an instance that exemplifies a more general phenomenon. The set does not contain many references to typicality or authenticity – unless the phenomena thus described were considered visually pleasing.

5.4.4 Films: *De dam te Amsterdam omstreeks 1900* (1900) & *De Amsterdamse Beurs omstreeks 1900* (1900)

Many travel pictures in films of early cinema that present visual knowledge of other people and places make use of the panoramic mode of presentation. Although the travel genre has gained attention by early cinema scholars, and while different formal strategies have been observed, too, the travel genre has been mostly considered a substitute for actual travel (e.g. Snickars 2001, 55; Griffiths 2002, 220).³¹ Even though I agree that substituting travel is a relevant function of films of this genre, the variety of addressing viewers within this genre positions the viewers differently towards the things seen, which, I would like to argue, has an impact on *how* film's visual strategies contributed to the creation of supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch (even if the realized content does not differ much in the end). Taking an interest in "what other places look like", according to my conviction, is not equivalent to travel, not even equivalent to armchair travel. At the very least, the term "travel" is used in one case as a metaphor or to describe a way of looking at images, while, in the other, it is presented as a virtual experience. To my knowledge, this difference in the meaning of the term "travel" has not been conceptually distinguished in discussions of films within the travel genre or fully explored by scholars of early cinema. Jennifer Peterson stresses the difference between actual travel or tourism and travelogue films:

As films that are "about" travel – even though they are more frequently about places, not journeys – travelogues are often said to embody a "tourist viewpoint". But while the films' connection with tourism is important, the majority of their viewers were not actual tourists. [...] Undoubtedly, some travelogue spectators were actual tourists, but more important, the travelogue's association with tourism served to lend cultural prestige to the genre. Therefore, it is more precise to state that travelogues confer a tourist point of view on their spectators, whether or not those spectators were actually tourists. (Peterson 2013, 8–9)

Peterson's argument points to the way in which spectators are positioned towards the filmic images. Travelogues, according to Peterson, invited the spectators to take a tourist perspective on the images provided by film and thereby offered the experience to "command the power of the tourist gaze" (Peterson 2013, 9) for those who would never be tourists themselves. In this quote, Peterson also names the difference between films of journeys and films



Fig. 5.18-5.19 Film stills of *De dam te Amsterdam omstreeks 1900* and *De Amsterdamse Beurs omstreeks 1900* (F.A. Nöggerath sr, 1900). The viewpoint is situated above the Dam, respectively above the stock exchange, placing the viewer of the film outside of the scene.

of places, but then takes a different route for her research and does not elaborate on this distinction further.³²

Pelle Snickars and Mats Björkin have also pointed to several types of film that were produced in the travelogue genre and then analyse them as one entity: “travelogues, phantom and scenic rides”, just like other “mass-produced images and films with geographic content”, according to Snickars and Björkin, “acted as possible substitutes for travel” (Snickars and Björkin 2002, 275). The authors mention that some (sets of) images did “simulate a mediated experience of remote presentness” while others were used to create “simulated voyages” (Cf. Snickars and Björkin 2002, 275) – and then do not distinguish these visual strategies in their discussion of “geographical nonfiction”, which I propose to do by looking at them in terms of the “panoramic pattern” and the “virtual travel pattern”.

In films that I characterize as belonging to the panoramic mode, travel is a metaphor; even in multiple-shot films, the single shots are not connected by the timeline of a travel narrative. *De dam te Amsterdam omstreeks 1900* and *De Amsterdamse Beurs omstreeks 1900* are such films. Both are single-shot films, taken from one position and without movement of the camera. The films are shot from a slightly elevated viewpoint, creating the effect that the viewer observes the busy street life and chaotic traffic from a distance.

As Ivo Blom notes, these films show unambiguously identifiable places and monumental buildings (Cf. Blom 2010, 83, referring to Hielscher 2005). The topographical precision is also found in the film titles; both image and titles highlight specific buildings and places. In his article, Blom describes in detail the action that unfolds before the eyes of the spectator and highlights the documentary aspect of the films as a “microcosm” of former means of

transportation, lost practices, and people of different classes (Cf. Blom 2010, 84). Although Blom estimates that these two films are unlikely to have been distributed on a large scale (Cf. Blom 2010, 87), similar films that show identifiable places in the Netherlands were used in educational settings or at least with educational ambitions to teach the viewers about other countries. The following review of the American trade press journal *Moving Picture World* gives reason to believe that films on “Holland” were widely available to teach about “beauty spots” but also about “trade commerce and industry”:

A SURVEY of educational films of the scenic variety reveals a strange and significant fact. It seems that pictures of foreign subjects are far more numerous than pictures of our own country. The beauty spots of Europe, Switzerland for instance, and Italy have been covered with thoroughness. The same holds true of France, Germany, Holland and the Scandinavian countries. The cinematographic [*sic*] records of the natural beauties of our own country, its historic sites, many of them noted for their picturesque, its unique and extended trade commerce and industry are, comparatively speaking, incomplete. (*Moving Picture World* 1914a, 1353)

ASPECTS

As single-shot films, these films cannot (and do not) claim comprehensiveness about views of the Netherlands. At most, these films could have been used as elements in a programme on the Netherlands that, in its entirety, claimed to be comprehensive. Studies into the programming of early cinema reveal that film programmes never consisted solely of travelogues or *scenics* alone (Cf. Musser 1990a; for a case study of film programming in the Flora Theater in Amsterdam, cf. Bruins 1998). The geographical knowledge that these films could transmit showed Amsterdam as a busy, lively, and modern city with impressive monuments. Typicality and authenticity are not accentuated; on the contrary, the films depict common everyday scenes of a modern city life, and the people of various classes who were part of it (none of whom wears a traditional costume or wooden shoes).

5.5 THE VIRTUAL TRAVEL PATTERN

In this section, I will illustrate the variety of image-text combinations and the various visual strategies within the virtual travel pattern. This section begins with an early influential travel account and concludes with a discussion about how the act of travelling was translated to filmic form. The sources are selected from several media that I could prove to be widely disseminated.

5.5.1 *Voyage Pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* (Texier 1857)

Together with De Amicis' *Olanda* (1874) and Havard's *Voyage pittoresque aux îles mortes de la Zuiderzée* (1874), Texier's *Voyage Pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* (1857) was probably the best-known travel account on the Netherlands in the Western world before 1900. All three travelogues were international publishing successes, and all three are referred to in various media throughout the period of research. Even material for schools quoted Havard's and De Amicis's travelogues and did not refer to more academic studies for further reading (such as, e.g. *A Holanda*, Ortigão 1885). Havard's account is restricted to the region of the Zuiderzee (and was one reason why this area became a tourist destination; see Chapter 6.2). De Amicis travelled in all provinces but did not include illustrations in his book, which is why I will discuss Texier's publication here.

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About half of the 484 pages of *Voyage Pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* are dedicated to the Netherlands. The "Dutch half" of the publication is illustrated with twelve printed full-page images, nine black-and-white lithographs of city views, and three hand-coloured lithographs of people in traditional costume.

The book is organized according to the travel route (Antwerp – 's-Hertogenbosch – Dordrecht – Breda – Rotterdam – Schiedam – Delft – The Hague – Leiden – Haarlem – Zaandam – Broek – Beemster – Medemblik – Hoorn). In the preface, the author embeds his travel by celebrating modernity: travel is hailed as a cosmopolitan activity, steam trains and steamships have decreased the relevance of distance, and the world seems only there to satisfy the traveller's desire for spectacular views. "J'ai voulu voir pour voir" ("I wanted to see for the sake of seeing"), writes Texier in the preface about his approach (Texier 1857, v). The traveller, according to Texier, should look with open eyes and also visit the places that are not mentioned in travel guides – an implicit critique of the aristocratic travel practice of the Grand Tour (see Chapter 6.2). Texier used several strategies to address the reader. Descriptions of travel are generally



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Fig. 5.20-5.21 “La Haye – Palais Royal” and “Zuiderzée” from *Voyage Pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* (Texier 1857, no page). The image that portrays people is coloured and has almost no effect of depth.

written in first-person plural (“We take the train”), his thoughts and personal experiences in first-person singular (“I saw”), and general statements and background information are written in the declarative third-person mode.

Let us continue to pick from the souvenirs that *registered with me* from all parts the most salient scenes and the most capable ones to describe. *Are you* curious to get to know a person, *our friend* Jan Steen, about whom *we*

have had more than one occasion to talk? (Texier 1857, 187, my translation, emphasis added)³³

This mixture of addressing is also used in other media of armchair travel, especially in lantern lectures (see below). The “travelogue-we” travels together but there is always the possibility to split this “we” into the “I” of the author and the (plural) “you” of the audience/readers. In other words, Texier performs as the travel guide. Just as Havard’s and De Amicis’s travelogues, *Voyage Pittoresque* was written as an entertaining read that follows the route of the travelling author and his adventures, including historical anecdotes, snippets about politics and society, next to personal impressions. With regard to content, the book has some similarities with narrated guidebooks (see Chapters 2 and 6), but it was too bulky to carry as hand baggage on a trip, which is why I assume that it was primarily used as a medium of armchair travel.

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ASPECTS

Concerning the aspect of comprehensiveness and particularity, Texier does not explicitly suggest that what he writes is all there is to be known about the Netherlands. He only assembled the “picturesque” aspects and those were, according to Texier, only found along the western coast. Consequently, the book is heavily biased towards the cities of the provinces North and South Holland: 220 out of 240 pages are dedicated to cities near the west coast, in the provinces of North and South Holland as well as ’s-Hertogenbosch and Breda in North Brabant. Cities in other provinces (Deventer, Zwolle, Leeuwarden, Groningen, Utrecht, Zeist, Arnhem) are mentioned altogether in fewer than twenty pages because the provinces of the east, according to Texier, were not considered picturesque by travellers. The only interesting aspects of these provinces were their age-old customs and the costumes “untouched by modern influences” (Texier 1857, 221, my translation). Quite different to anthropological discourse or tourist discourse some decades later, “authentic costumes” were not considered “picturesque” or an attraction worth seeing.

The nine city views show public buildings and sites of trade, focusing on the architecture of monuments: the gables and the structure of facades and towers are worked in detail, churches and cathedrals are visible in the backgrounds. The city views are populated with human figures. In contrast to images in the panoramic pattern (see above), the images in Texier’s publication are not referred to in his writing. In spite of his expressed disinterest in rural costumes, all three *coloured* images are dedicated to people in traditional costume of Assendelft (after page 204), “North Holland” (after page 218), and the “Zuiderzee” (after page 224), which gives reason to estimate that the image selection was not made by Texier himself. The lithograph with the

caption “Zuiderzee” very much resembles engraving number 8 of fishers from Schokland by Maaskamp (1803, see figure 5.21). When Texier first published his *Voyage Pittoresque*, Maaskamp’s engravings were already over 50 years old. The images of this publication confirm the pattern that images of places show cities, and images of people portray village people.

In the text, the typical and the general are not always neatly separated; in some passages, inserted between information on a city’s history and the description of an art collection, personal observations are often generalized on the level of the national. These generalized statements about the Dutch are not qualified as “typical” but as a “national characteristic” and mostly take the form of the prototype:

The Dutch and the water are inseparable and cannot exist without each other, they cannot even lose sight of each other for a moment even though they often have serious quarrels. (Texier 1857, 39, my translation, emphasis added)

The Dutchman does everything consciously. He amuses himself with serenity, he adds his methodical and positive spirits to his leisure activities. (Texier 1857, 111, my translation, emphasis added)

The Dutch women, and especially the Friesians, have a very characteristic headwear that varies according to province and which consists of one or two plates of gold or gilded silver. (Texier 1857, 111, my translation, emphasis added)³⁴

In the passages that describe literal travel, Texier describes actual buildings in detail, and even quotes a museum catalogue over three pages to inform about the very paintings that could be seen in that museum (Cf. Texier 1857, 95–97). The fact that specific phenomena are mentioned and described in detail means that *Voyage Pittoresque* is not exclusively a list of general statements but also one of detailed descriptions of instances (buildings, collections, scenery, modes of transportation). Authenticity is not a recurring topic in the book; the only link to the past is Texier’s comment that the landscape in the Netherlands probably still looked as it did to the famous seventeenth-century Flemish painters (Cf. Texier 1857, 20). In this passage, however, the visual impression is the topic, not the loss of the link with the past.

5.5.2 “Croquis Hollandais” (1905) and “Door Holland met pen en camera” (1906)

“Dutch sketches” would be the English translation for the travel account “Croquis Hollandais” published as a series of articles over three issues in the popular French illustrated magazine *Le Tour du Monde* (Hamön 1905a; 1905b; 1905c). One year later, the article was issued in two parts in Dutch translation in the illustrated travel magazine *De Aarde en haar volken* (Hamön 1906a; Hamön 1906b), with the same images. I will refer to the original French version for my discussion of the text.

“Croquis Hollandais” is the account of a French traveller who visited the Netherlands. The traveller-author also took the photos himself. The 34 pages are illustrated with 47 photographs, some of them in full-page. As the author only travelled through rural areas of Zeeland and the North Holland villages of Volendam and Marken, the illustrations are restricted to these regions, too. The images almost exclusively show people in traditional clothing in outside scenes; few photographs give a total view of the wide and flat landscape.

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The narration follows the author from one place to the other. Written in first-person singular past tense, the author describes his experiences at each station of travel and his personal feelings about each location. The focus of the descriptions lies on visual experiences. In comparison with media in the panoramic or encyclopaedic pattern, the amount of background information is poor: historical anecdotes are almost absent, and information on political institutions and economics is missing entirely. Much writing is dedicated to the colours of the landscape, the sky, and the water. The outward appearance of the rural population is described often and extensively, although not with the precision of an anthropologist but from the subjective sensations these costumes provoked in the eye/mind of the travelling author. In more than one passage, the author daydreams about Dutch young women.

ASPECTS

The aspect of comprehensiveness and partiality is a curious one in this source: on one hand, the author only travelled to a few places and still claims to give information about the Netherlands. The opening paragraph of the article reads:

Every country has its peculiar character, no doubt about that. Holland, by the shape of its territory and the costumes of its peasantry, is currently maybe the most picturesque country in Europe. (Hamön 1905a, 409, my translation, emphasis added)³⁵



Fig. 5.22-5.24 Illustrations to “Croquis Hollandaises” (Hamön 1905a). The first page of the article (top right), the image that is described in the article as “the most Dutch sensation of Holland” (top left), and a group of Volendam women to which the caption translates as: “with their rounded figures, contently smiling, the young girls of Volendam are nice to look at [...]” (bottom).

On the other hand, Hamön does not deduce from his experiences that his observations are valid for the entire Netherlands. Rather than giving an encompassing view about the Netherlands, he looks for the typical and completely ignores the common/general. Still, Hamön does not generalize the typical to be common/general. What the “particular character” of the Netherlands (or “Holland”) consists of, is made clear in the following quotes:

Pipe smokers, fairground dances, slow canal shipping, gigantic bridges, windmills swinging back and forth, calm contemplations of the *burgers* over a glass of beer, [female] farmers bringing to the city the products of their family dairy farms, carts pulled by friendly dogs, eternal canals populated with ducks, extremely clean houses, lonely fishermen, capricious skies, marshlands [...]. (Hamön 1905a, 409, my translation)³⁶



This list is a strongly visual inventory of what, according to Hamön, makes the Dutch character. The phenomena he mentions are much in line with the established clichés at the time. Curiously, in his search for the typical in the Netherlands, Hamön does not describe Volendam fishermen as “Dutch” in every aspect, but as showing Russian, Mongolian, and Lapp traits combined with a “Dutch attitude” (Hamön 1905c, 434).

Hamön does not bother to mention aspects of the Netherlands that are not in line with his description of the typical and the characteristic, with the exception of short passages in which he describes taking steam trains and trams to reach his next destination. The sight of sheep grazing along a canal in Wemeldingen

calls back to my memory one of my most Dutch sensations of Holland:
a light grey evening sky, yellowish canals, slow barges, unmoving wind-

mills, brown polders, white animals with soft backs, old contemplating man, silence... (Hamön 1905b, 428, my translation)³⁷

The captions to the photos refer to the depicted people as instances, at times as a more typical instance or sometimes even as an example of a type, but never as prototypes. Captions read “A Dutch family at the market in Middelburg” (414), “The majority of elderly men are of an admirable gauntness” (409), and can get as specific as “The daughters of the hotelier at Wemeldingen” (421). The images illustrate the adventures of the traveller and are explicitly embedded in the text; they are not used to prove *general* characteristics of the Dutch, only *typical* ones. Generalized statements in form of the prototype rarely appear in the text, and, if so, they are exclusively used for giving background descriptions. For example:

240 | This is, effectively, *the character of the Dutchman*. Surrounded by water, fighting against the water, nourished by the water, *he* has taken the gravity of the soft water, advancing noiseless, with its colourful surface, receiving stolen goods of bizarre worlds. (Hamön 1905a, 412, my translation, emphasis added)³⁸

As such, the use of word and image is rather one of an individual/personal travel memoir than one that provides general information. Still, the absence of any views that are not from Zeeland, Volendam, or Marken does support generalized thinking and visualizations. Even if the author does not claim that the images cover Dutch life in its entirety, no image shows a view that goes beyond the cliché. Hamön’s photographs depict a Dutch milkmaid carrying buckets or baskets over her shoulders, men smoking pipes, women cleaning the house or hanging up laundry, children playing at the beach – all in traditional costume. No wonder that the publishers of the Dutch translation placed an editorial note at the beginning of the text:

We followed the footsteps of the French author in his travel narration, even though we sometimes wished to interrupt him when his conclusions went too far and when he, after the few things that he saw, also judged over the many things that he did not see. Our readers will probably experience the same, but out of curiosity, they will be interested in the opinion of the Frenchman and his nice way of storytelling will please them.³⁹

5.5.3 Lantern Slide Sets: *Quer durch Holland* (1906)

As stated in Chapter 2.10, the discussion of lantern slide sets and early cinema in their role in the creation of supposed common knowledge needs to take the performance situation of lecturer and spoken comment into account. Several studies investigate lantern slides together with the lecture notes of prominent lecturers such as Paul Hoffmann, Jacob Riis, Burton Holmes, or Lyman Howe (Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main 1981; Hoffmann and Junker 1982c; Musser 1990b; Barber 1993; Altman 2004, esp. 55-72; Peterson 2013, esp. 35-52; Yockelson 2014.). Few studies have investigated the mass-produced lectures that emerged around 1875 (Cf. Vogl-Bienek 2014; Dellmann 2016c). These “ready-to-use” lectures consisted of a set of preselected images and an accompanying reading. Whereas famous lecturers would (also) attract audiences with their name, the ready-to-use lecture sets were mostly presented by anonymous lecturers in less documented settings such as Sunday schools or popular education. These series were mostly promoted by the producers and distributors as popular lessons in geography.

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From the more than 40 pre-assembled slide sets with the Netherlands as subject matter that I could identify, three appeared prominently: *Picturesque Holland* (a.k.a. *A Visit to Holland*) (York and Son 1887a), *Cities and Canals of Holland* (Wilson 1892), and *Quer durch Holland* (“Criss-Cross through the Netherlands”) (Projektion für Alle, 1906a). All three sets make use of similar visual and rhetorical strategies, which I will exemplify with the set *Quer durch Holland* and the accompanying lecture, *Vortrag zu den Bildern Quer durch Holland* (Projektion für Alle 1906b), adding footnotes where other sets differ significantly.

Quer durch Holland is the seventh set of the series *Projektion für Alle* (“Projection for everyone”), which mostly features photographic slide sets about European countries and regions. The slides’ titles are given in three languages (German, French, and English) and are visible in the frame of the glass slides. Judging from the collections I accessed, *Quer durch Holland* was very widespread at least in Germany and in the Netherlands. The accompanying reading was included in the purchase of the set.

Quer durch Holland consists of 24 photographic black-and-white slides, although some examples of hand-coloured editions exist, too. The images are ordered according to a logical travel route, starting in the northeast of the Netherlands (Groningen), going west to the northwest (Enkhuizen), then going south (to Rotterdam), and then east again (Utrecht, Arnhem). The travel narrative is explicit in the reading as well; sometimes the means of transportation between two slides / two towns is mentioned.

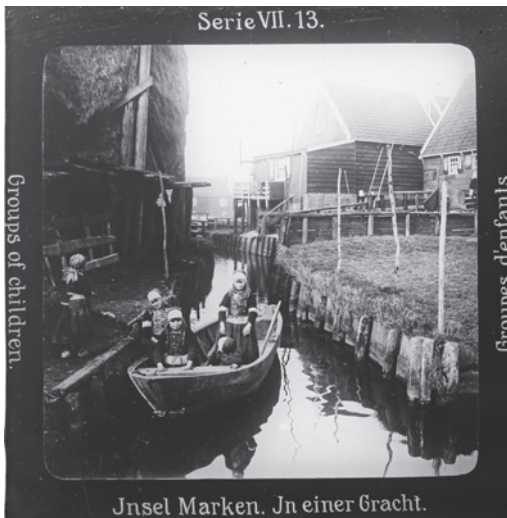


Fig. 5.25-5.27 Lantern slides 1, 2, and 13 of 24 from the set *Quer durch Holland* (Projektion für Alle 1906a).

The set includes views from the provinces Groningen, Friesland, North Holland, South Holland, Utrecht, and Gelderland. The provinces Zeeland, Brabant, Drenthe, Overijssel, and Limburg are not included. (The slide set *Picturesque Holland* dedicated 48 out of 50 slides to the provinces of North and South Holland and *Cities and Canals of Holland* exclusively contains images of these two provinces. Both sets prominently include villages along the Zuiderzee and portrait pictures of the village people.) The images show street views and market scenes, buildings, and monuments. Most city views show streets along canals with either a church tower or a windmill in the background. In general, the views of *Quer durch Holland* show more sky and are taken from a greater distance than those of the set *Picturesque Holland*. The few slides I saw

of the set *Cities and Canals of Holland* show rather empty streets and places. Marken is the most prominent location in this set; five slides are dedicated to that village. No image shows modern elements such as steamships, trams, or railroads; the only traces of modernity are gas lanterns (visible in slides 2, 3, 4, and 6) and advertising on buildings in the background (slides 22 and 23). The figures in the city views are not photographed as portraits; only the fisher families of Marken and Scheveningen in traditional costume are large enough to be studied and positioned towards the viewer. From the images alone, the Netherlands seems to be a country in which rowboats, sailboats, and horse carriages are the general means of transportation.

The text is, generally, more modern than the image. The lecture addresses modern phenomena that are not seen in the images. In the text to the slide “Rotterdam, The Cool Singel” (comment to slide 22), the modernity of the port, the big ocean steamers, the busy trade of the city, and the pollution caused by factories is mentioned – but the image shows none of these qualities. The commentary to the slide of Scheveningen mentions the modern pier and the fact that it is constructed from steel, but the image only shows fisher-women in traditional clothing (comment and slide 20). The comment to slide 16, showing the empty market square of Edam, informs that the picture was taken on a Sunday, but says that, on market days, this place is a very busy cheese market and mentions the export of cheese to the world. Briefly, *hors cadre*, the Netherlands is acknowledged for having modern elements, too, but these aspects are not made visible.

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The lecture is mostly written in first-person plural (“we travel”, “we see”) when it concerns the activity of travelling, and in the declarative third-person mode when background information is given. In the comment, the travelling “we” often takes steam trains (e.g. comment to slide 6) that are never themselves visible. This is different in the set *Picturesque Holland*, in which the first slide shows a steamship on water – supposedly the one that “we” took to Rotterdam (York and Son 1887b, 3). The comment on the first slide “Groningen. Market Place and Martini Church” reads:

Today, *we* want to perambulate a country off the beaten tracks, which holds magnificent nature views *for the painter* and relish of art *for the traveller*. Holland with its art treasures offers many things of interest. *The entire country* is pervaded by canals. The larger ones which are navigable go through the cities and were artificially installed, the lower parts of the land are protected by embankments. We enter Holland up in the North and first pay a visit to the city of Groningen, which, with its 80,000 inhabitants, presents *the Dutch type* right away [...]. The architecture of the houses along the place breathes the *well-known Dutch style of architecture*.

(Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 1, my translation, emphasis added)⁴⁰

Considering the performance situation in which the reading was read out while the respective image was projected, the lecturer integrated the spectators (as travellers and painters) on a trip, while the lecturer performed themselves as the knowledgeable guide of the virtual travelling party. The position of the audience might also be compared to a school class on an excursion with their teacher. Especially in the comments that refer to items *hors cadre*, the audience is instructed about historical anecdotes, the number of inhabitants, and information on the city's main trades. This mode of address is thus similar to some passages in Texier's book, but, in the reading, the audience is addressed more frequently and, given that the set was part of a live performance, was likely to create a stronger feeling of presence than the book.

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ASPECTS

The text in the reading claims to show more than the beaten tracks and tourist destinations, and the title "Criss-cross Through Holland" also evokes the idea of covering the country entirely. While it is true that cities of the provinces in the northeast are included, the southern provinces (Zeeland, Brabant, Limburg) are missing; instead, tourist destinations are highlighted. The reading emphasizes the Dutchness of sites and sights by tying the information to the Netherlands:

Leeuwarden, Port street and old tower. In this picture, a piece of *Dutch* town life is revealed. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 2, my translation, emphasis added)

Leeuwarden, Voorstreck street. The image presents a *Dutch* canal, the little houses look picturesque and the entire image is marked by calmness. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 3, my translation, emphasis added)

In this park, a monument was erected to the famous *Dutch* poet Joost van den Vondel. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 7, my translation, emphasis added)

Zaandam is a friendly town of *real Dutch* appearance, the little buildings of one floor are painted in green and red and are surrounded by neatly trimmed gardens. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 14, my translation, emphasis added)

The Wijngartengracht [...] is an effigy of *Dutch* cleanliness. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 15, my translation, emphasis added)⁴¹

In all these cases, the national attribute “Dutch” would not have been necessary if the lecture aimed solely to describe views or the oeuvre of a poet. By adding the adjective “Dutch”, the images are related to the topic of the slide set, i.e. a travel through the Netherlands, and the audience is constantly reminded of the fact that the image before them shows something related to the Netherlands.

The national attribution operates on the levels of both the *performative* and *performance*, in a circular logic: by qualifying visible instances as “Dutch”, the image is related to the topic; hence, it is performed as relevant, which justifies its inclusion in the set and, even more so, presents this view as one of the 24 relevant instances to depict the Netherlands. In the performance of the set to an audience, the anchoring of images in a textual comment (that largely applies categories of the national) underlines the relevance of the images with respect to the subject matter. As such, the adjective “Dutch” does not need to be complemented by the adverb “typically” to produce the idea of typicality and comprehensiveness to the audience.

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The structure of the lecture is carefully worked; in the end, the lecturer confirms the information from the very beginning that Holland is a country filled with artistic treasures. Quite authoritarian, this statement is proposed as the general experience and quintessence of the travelling “we” and suppresses (or at least does not encourage) divergent readings. In addition, the imposition of the lecturer’s statement is performed as objective by introducing the layer of authenticity to the argument:

We now part from Holland with the experience of having encountered a special country and nation whose ancestors have achieved great recognition for art and painting and which forms are still reflected today in the nature of the country and the customs of the nation. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 24, my translation, emphasis added)⁴²

In this lecture, everything is harmonically in line: the images with the comment, the lecturer with the audience, and even the Dutch with their history. This makes it hard to question the propositions made in this lecture. Throughout the text, the adjective “Dutch” seems to fulfil a function similar to that of the adjectives “picturesque” and “quaint” in tourist discourse (see Chapter 6.3). “Dutch” does not explain a phenomenon but it *marks* a phenomenon as relevant with respect to what there is to be known about the Netherlands. In this case, the adjective “Dutch” does not operate on the level of the pro-

totype but qualifies single instances as examples of what “Dutchness” looks like without determining the quality or formal characteristics of the attributed phenomenon.

It is conspicuous that only aspects that are in line with the cliché and repeated statements of tourist discourse are described as “Dutch”: the cleanliness of Edam (comment to slide 15) is “Dutch”, but the dirt in Rotterdam (comment to slide 22) is not; colourfully painted wooden houses are “Dutch”, but modern buildings are not; the canals are “Dutch”, but steam trains are not. Together with the image selection, *Quer durch Holland* reinforces clichés and general statements. It is true that the lantern reading mentions modern aspects of life in the Netherlands around 1906 – but these aspects are not described as “Dutch”.

5.5.4 Films: *Prinsengracht* (NL 1899), *A Pretty Dutch Town* (FR 1910), and *Vita d’Olanda* (IT 1911)

Prinsengracht is a film taken from a boat that moves through the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam in one forward tracking shot. On the sides of the canals, sailboats are docked, and other little boats come from the opposite direction and pass the camera. People in city dresses walk across a bridge, one person pulls a wagon. The print conserved at EYE Film Institute Netherlands is about one minute long, is uncoloured, and does not have intertitles.

A Pretty Dutch Town consists of multiple forward tracking shots, all taken from a boat riding on the canals in Dordrecht, ending at the wide water mouth of the Meuse near a church. Only the last shot, illustrating the passage along the Big Church, is not a forward tracking shot but is taken from the side of a boat. The copy of *A Pretty Dutch Town* held at EYE Film Institute Netherlands is three and a half minutes long, it is stencil-coloured and tinted, and has two intertitles at the beginning: “This historic old city is picturesquely situated on the banks of the Meuse about 15 miles from Rotterdam” (00:01-00:12) and “Numerous canals flow through the main streets” (00:12-00:17). After the geographical information allows the viewers to locate what they were about to see, the film consists of forward tracking shots along nine different canals with no intertitles.

In both films, the camera is mounted on the front of the boat, thereby creating the illusion of movement to the viewer. These two films, just as other phantom-ride films, translate the activity of travel to filmic form as the perspective of the moving camera is equal to the perspective of the viewer. Contrary to films that are shot from one place and that record movement in the streets (see the example of *De Dam te Amsterdam omstreeks 1900 I* and *De Amsterdamse Beurs omstreeks 1900* in Chapter 5.4), the viewers of *A Pretty Dutch Town* are not

Fig. 5.28-5.30 Film Stills of *Prinsen-gracht* (Emile Lauste 1899). Forward tracking shot taken from the boat. The viewpoint of the viewer is the same as the position of the moving camera.



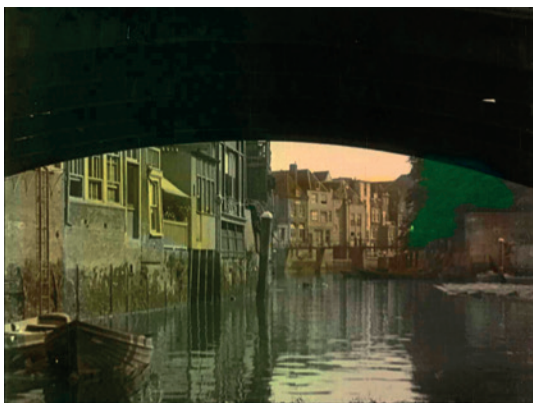
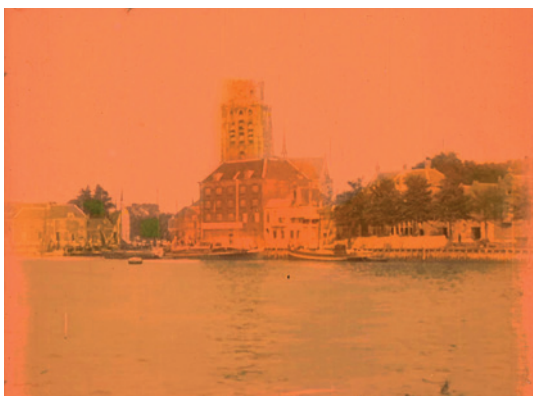


Fig. 5.31-5.34 Film stills of *A Pretty Dutch Town* (Unknown 1910). The viewer travels with the camera and eventually almost bumps into another boat (top) or meets other people on the water (second from below). The last film still approaches the church frontally and changes perspective from forward tracking shot to looking sideward in the direction of travel.



placed outside of the action, but are addressed as moving together with the camera.⁴³ Travelling *through* Amsterdam or Dordrecht is thus not a metaphor but literally the topic of this film. The viewers experience travelling a route that someone else had registered beforehand, using the affordances of the medium to record (and assemble images that create the illusion of) movement with the result that the activity of travelling appears more corporeal than e.g. in a performance of magic lantern slides. The boat and, with it, the camera and the viewers, eventually bumps against a stone or has to make a little detour to give way for traffic in other directions, recalling the materiality of the space that was travelled. Connie Betz observed this aesthetic in travelogues about European places, where phantom rides and forward tracking shots were used “in order to give the spectators a thrilling feeling of travel and a new perspective on landscape” (Betz 2000, 35).

Giving an encompassing image of the Netherlands could not be the aim or claim of these films. Concerning the level of typicality, the problem is more intriguing. On one hand, these films do not signpost the elements they show as typical. On the other hand, supposed common knowledge on the Netherlands included canals in the cities (Amsterdam and Rotterdam were occasionally both named “Venice of the North”). In this respect, the films show elements that were connected to ideas of Dutchness and, at the same time, are not limited to displaying clichés. The people who walk and cycle across the bridges wear modern clothing; horse trams and railway bridges are seen, which indicates that modern elements were not actively avoided from registration. While it can be discussed whether or not the film shows something typical, a nostalgic version of authenticity is not provided.

The case is more complex in *Vita d'Olanda* (Marelli 1911). The print held at Museo Nazionale del Cinema in Turin is about six minutes long, is tinted, and has seven intertitles. The first three minutes are dedicated to the busy life of the modern city of Rotterdam. Rather than being nostalgic about a lost past, the camera celebrates the visual spectacle of a modern city with steam trains, electric trams, large steel bridges, steamboats, and crowds of people on their way from one place to another. The shots alternate between pan shots of the cityscape, forward tracking shots taken from a boat, wide shots of a stable camera for scenes that show movement through the image, and intertitles. The viewer thus alternates between virtual travel, viewing from a distance, and making sense of it through intertitles, which comes even closer to tourism than the act of travelling alone. It is true that *Prinsengracht* and *A Pretty Dutch Town* also show a visually appealing cityscape in the background, but the sequence of travelling – looking – signifying as displayed in *Vita d'Olanda* is a reconstruction of tourist activity par excellence. Unlike lantern slide sets and travel writings, the audience is not addressed in any intertitle of these films

as part of a travel group – the intertitles are written in the declarative third-person mode ([These are] “The movable bridges”, [These are] “The giants of Don Quichotte”) – but through the visual component, namely by taking the perspective of the camera.

After almost three minutes of modern and hectic city life in Rotterdam, the camera of *Vita d’Olanda* moves on a boat along a canal, a split screen is introduced, which shows a windmill on the left and a sailboat on a canal on the right half of the image. The intertitle “Fatica divisa” (“shared labour”) is followed by a shot of a man and a dog pulling a barge. After another forward tracking shot from a boat comes a shot framed through a round mask, as if seen through a looking glass, showing the harbour of Marken. This view is succeeded by a pan shot of Volendam on washing day.

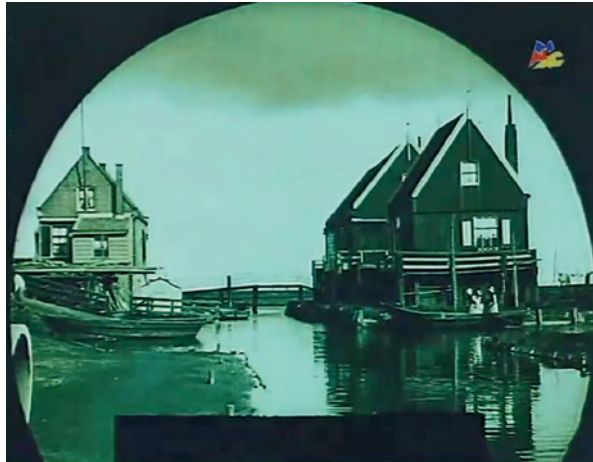
The next two minutes consist of portraits of Volendam and Marken people in traditional costume, engaged in their (obviously staged) everyday routine of washing, needlework, reading the newspaper in a house decorated with delft



Fig. 5.35-5.36 Film stills of *Vita d’Olanda* (Pietro Marelli 1911). Opening pan shot on modern cityscape, steamboats, and electric tram and busy traffic crossing a movable bridge with steel bridge in background. The people are dressed in modern clothing.



Fig. 5.37-5.38 Film stills of *Vita d'Olanda* (Pietro Marelli 1911). After shots about travelling on the canals, the viewer sees Marken in a pan shot followed by a view of washing women in Volendam.



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blue plates, and men smoking pipes. The film ends with windmills filmed from several perspectives, and closes with a dramatically coloured sunset behind a windmill (Kessler [2003] has noted that connecting otherwise disparate elements within a cycle-of-a-day narrative is a common strategy to structure the succession of images in early nonfiction film. Except for the sunset at the end of the film, no reference to temporal sequence is made, neither in the intertitles nor in the title.) After three minutes of city life, clichéd images of the Netherlands conclude the film. Except for the title plate, none of the intertitles refers to the views as “Dutch”, so the clichés might have served to provide the audience with visual signifiers to relate the film to the Netherlands.

Vita d'Olanda is one of the rare cases I found that *visually* mentions modern city life in addition to the cliché. But even here, the modern and the rural



Fig. 5.39-5.40 Film stills of *Vita d'Olanda* (Pietro Marelli 1911). Screen shots following the intertitle "In the intimacy of family".



aspects are not treated evenly, as a short analysis of the intertitles shows. The intertitle that precedes the views of Rotterdam – “Il caratteristico aspetto delle città” (00:02-00:07) (“The characteristic aspect of the city”) clearly states that the views are characteristic *of the city*, thus not per se characteristic of the entire country. This stands in contrast to the intertitles of the second part of the film, which do not specify the location and thereby fail to mention the limits of regional validity of these views. Neither the family dressed in traditional costumes that is pictured after the intertitle “Nell’intimità delle famiglia” (04:00-04:05) (“In the intimacy of the family”), nor the costumes shown after the intertitle “Costumi e tipi” (04:41-04:45) (“Costumes and types”), are connected to a determined location.⁴⁴ The only geographical entity provided by the film to situate these views is the Netherlands, as this is the title and thus the overarching topic of all views. Thus, in the context of the film, the absence of a more precise local attribution renders the family and the “costumes and

types” *Dutch*. Despite the fact that *Vita d’Olanda* shows modern city life, this film does not move beyond the cliché. For one thing, it confirms the observation that city views focus on places and rural views accentuate people. For another, the film is also in line with the observation I made about the lantern slide set *Quer durch Holland*, namely that, even if modern elements are included, those are not qualified as Dutch, whereas rural elements and images that are in line with the cliché are described in categories of the national.

Fig. 5.41-5.42 Film stills of *Vita d’Olanda* (Pietro Marelli 1911). Screen shots following the intertitle “Costumes and types”.



5.6 CONCLUSION

Supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch in geographical discourse was a mix of natural and political geography, personal impressions of travel, visually exciting views, historical anecdotes, and descriptions of economic activities. Readers are addressed as interested in travels to foreign countries, as learners in an explicit educational tone, called to study a sober enumeration of phenomena, or they are invited to become immersed into images or narrative. The patterns into which the pieces of information were ordered were stable throughout the researched period and open to conveying information in several ways. Although content, form, and rhetorical strategies vary in the diverse publications, some commonly shared traits can be derived.

254 | In all patterns, the idea of access to the world through word and image is promoted. Across the line of medium, publications that popularize geography present, first and foremost, factual information on the country and the population, which, in contrast to anthropology, may include aspects of modernity. Images could serve as illustrations of (and support of) the text, they could be the main attraction of a publication, or they could be an unconnected addition to the text's narrative. Earlier publications cover places that were visually, historically, or economically relevant, which, to some degree, explains the emphasis on the provinces North Holland and South Holland, but does not explain why other economically relevant cities or industrial activities are hardly mentioned or rarely feature in images. From circa 1870 on, this changes, and modern aspects of the Netherlands or sites that are economically or historically relevant become less prominent in illustrations, which, since then, instead focus on visually attractive sites.

From around 1870, the images tend to become less modern than the text and, gradually, images of visually exciting sites gain prominence over images that document sites of economic, historical, or political interest. This observation holds all the more for publications in the panoramic and the virtual travel pattern. In the panoramic mode, the act of travelling, if mentioned at all, is restricted to a means to get from A to B, not as a pleasure in itself. The *views* are at the centre of attraction; they must be visually appealing in and of themselves, which differs from the virtual travel pattern, in which the emphasis lies on the combination of travelling, the excitement of seeing, and visually appealing views. Distinguishing the function of travel as metaphor for immersion into images of other parts of the world, and travel as movement or action, allowed me to refine my analysis of travelogues and armchair travel. Not all travelogues were meant as a substitute for physical travel; some could also be appreciated by people who never intended to travel themselves.

Geographical discourse created supposed common knowledge on the Netherlands differently than anthropological and tourist discourse. What is “Dutch” is generally not signified through the use of the cliché or tied to the typical and the authentic. Views are only partially labelled as “typically Dutch”, and, even if so, the typical is hardly generalized as being common or general. In this respect, popular geographical discourse works similarly to popular anthropological discourse.

Generalizations made in geographical discourse are mostly phrased in terms of the national. Qualifying a view or phenomenon as “Dutch” also serves to mark it as important, interesting, or remarkable. As I have shown in the previous section, the marking function was fulfilled in anthropological discourse by the qualifiers “typical” and “authentic”; in tourist discourse, as I will show, this function is fulfilled with the adjectives “typical” and “picturesque”. Whereas the term “typicality” sometimes occurs in geographical discourse (mostly in travel writings), “authenticity” and “picturesqueness” do not appear to be relevant qualifiers.

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When generalizations are made in geographical discourse, they tend to take the form of the prototype. Geography is the only discourse in which I observed that generic statements are made without being tied to specific instances. Not all sources analysed here apply this strategy, but the only sources in my corpus that do so are found in geographical discourse. In the form of the prototype, generalizations made in geographical discourse feature knowledge that abstracts away from the palpable, visible instances and tokens, and argues exclusively on the level of types, kinds, and prototypes (I will elaborate on this observation in Chapter 7). Prototypical statements are mostly made in the texts to give background information and, maybe unsurprisingly, appear less frequently in captions to images and descriptions of specific phenomena or events.

The analysis of visual media in nineteenth-century geographical discourse confirms three observations made in the previous chapter. Firstly, there is the tendency that images of places show cities and images of people show village inhabitants. This is especially prominent in the virtual travel pattern but it is also observable in media of the encyclopaedic and the panoramic pattern. Secondly, modern elements, if mentioned, are never referred to as genuinely Dutch; and thirdly, all sources could be used to educate about nations and serve cultural nation-building. Finally, visual and narrative strategies in early travelogue films on the Netherlands make use of similar strategies as observed in popular geographical publications in other media. Whether or not these observations are also valid for tourist discourse will be analysed in the following section.

NOTES

- 1 Of course, one major difference is that Anderson's argument that sixteenth-century print in vernacular languages provided the *preconditions* for a national community built on shared language instead of on religious belief. Consequently, Anderson's chapter is titled "The origins of national consciousness" (Anderson 1996, esp. 37–46). Nineteenth-century printed images did not have to invent a national community but, I contest, confirmed the established idea of a national community through providing visual evidence.
- 2 The discipline's cooperation with colonial projects has been mentioned by historians of geography. E.g. Livingstone reports that geographers developed geostrategic recommendations to British politicians in the nineteenth century and sees this as an "instance of the close interplay of imperial and professional forces" (Cf. Livingstone 1984, 292). The field of critical cartography more generally has challenged geography's appearance of being a "neutral" science that "simply documented what things in the world looked like", most prominently by Harley (2004; 1989) and also by Crampton and Krygier (2006).
- 3 Original: "De voornaamste doelstelling [was] [...] om de belangstelling voor de aardrijkskunde in Nederland aan te wakkeren en langs deze weg de toepassing van geografische kennis voor handelsdoeleinden, maar ook voor scheepvaart, industrie, kolonisatie en emigratie te bevorderen."
- 4 For this distinction, cf. Boden and Müller (2009, 8), Kretschmann (2009, 20–21), and Müller (2009, 36). Brecht and Orland point out that the research question of historians depends on the investigated subject: whereas research into the popularization of science mostly applies the methods of source critique to a document, research into popular knowledge asks about the repository of knowledge and imaginaries ("Wissensbestände und Vorstellungswelten") by taking into account production and reception of documents that convey scientific information (Brecht and Orland 1999, 5). For an overview on recent debates on how to historicize popular science cf. Topham (2009).
- 5 A well-documented case study for the adaptation of scientific knowledge to popular scientific knowledge are the lantern lectures on natural history by Paul Hoffmann (1829–1888). Through Hoffmann's use of visual media, different ideological formations within bourgeois culture of the nineteenth century can be traced, especially concerning the (self-perception of the) role of an "educator of the people" serving the nation and the development of national consciousness (Cf. Hoffmann and Junker 1982a; Hoffmann and Junker 1982b).
- 6 The method of "aanschouwelijk onderwijs" (illustrative or graphic teaching) was built on the conviction that the subjects should be explained with illustrations to give concrete impressions. This method was mostly used for teaching young children as well as for subject matters with a visual component, such as natural

history, geography, biology, or teaching about crafts and tools. As part of this new method, *schoolplaten*, i.e. large images that were hung up on the classroom wall, were introduced in Dutch schools in 1839 (cf. Openluchtmuseum Het Hoogeland 1996, 15). At the beginning of the twentieth century, visual means for teaching were even accepted in academia. For a detailed argument on the advantage of visual means for “reaching the student’s mind through the eye” cf. Hobbs (1909, 180).

- 7 Original: “Bekend te worden met de plaats, waar wij ons bevinden, en de voorwerpen, welke ons omringen, is eene behoefte van de menschelijke natuur, die bij elke schrede om voldoening vraagt. De kennis van den met zooveel wijsheid geordenden werelddol, dien wij bewonen, mag daarenboven geacht worden met onze verstandelijke en zedelijke ontwikkeling in naauw verband te staan, althans bij uitnemendheid geschikt te zijn, om het hart te stemmen tot eerbiedige bewondering van Hem, die daarvan de verhevene oorzaak is.”
- 8 Paratextual elements such as titles and trade catalogues are especially relevant as these descriptions enunciate the image before the readers/viewers as related to the Netherlands; written comment and intertitles remind the viewers/readers throughout the publication, series of images, or film (Cf. Kessler 2003). Some of the examples that I discuss here were produced for people who explicitly looked for (visual) information on the Netherlands and the Dutch (e.g. lantern slide sets, a set of postcards, material for lessons in school) while others give information for readers/viewers who do not purposefully look for information on the Netherlands and “accidentally” stumble over this subject matter (e.g. advertising trade cards, illustrated magazines). However, the way in which knowledge is *presented* does not differ according to the intentions of the receiver. Further, the syntagmatic order of the images seems not to be relevant *per se* for the information that these images convey about the Netherlands. For example, it does not matter much if you learn first about the number of bridges in Amsterdam and then that The Hague is the residence city, or the other way around. The questions of *what* is selected and *how* it is mentioned are thus central.
- 9 Teresa Castro’s definition of the logic of the atlas comes close to what I call the encyclopaedic. Castro defines the atlas as a form of visual representation of space, characterized by the presentation of multiple spaces in one volume. In contrast to a mere inventory, the atlas also orders information, although not with the aim to compare elements within a publication, as would be the case of the logic of the catalogue. Unlike my conceptualization of the encyclopaedic, Castro defines the organization of images in an atlas as a combination of dissection (“*découpage*”) and spatial progression that enables virtual travel from one place to the other: “Caractérisé par une pensée du découpage et de la progression spatiales, l’atlas donne forme à un voyage visuel, régi par des rythmes particulières. Tout atlas semble convenir au mouvement, que ce soit du regard ou de l’esprit.” (Cf. Castro 2011, 42–44, quotation from page 43). Castro restricts her

analysis to form and image and does not take textual and paratextual elements into account.

- 10 The term “panorama” means “complete view” and appeared from the early 1800s onwards in book titles referring to “overviews of almost anything” (Huhtamo 2013, 4) to suggest “comprehensive coverage” (Uricchio 2011, 227). E.g. *The Panorama of Professions and Trades* (1837), or *The Political Panorama* (1801).
- 11 Such films still could have the term “panorama” in their titles. I will not go into detail about the problem of the “panoramic” as a term, as generic identity of films, or as a visual experience. Uricchio touches upon these questions in his essay “A ‘proper point of view’: the Panorama and some of its early media iterations” (Uricchio 2011, esp. 231-235). My use of the term “panoramic” is purely conceptual unless indicated otherwise.
- 12 “Le désir de rendre hommage aux habitans [*sic*] de la Frise don je me plais à conserver le souvenir, joint à l’envie que j’ai toujours eue de contredire les assertions mensongères de quelques voyageurs mal informés, m’engage à donner une petite description de cette agréable province. Les trois années environ que j’y ai passées, m’ont mis à même, tout en prenant connaissance de son territoire, de remarquer ce qu’elle renferme d’intéressant et de curieux. Mon principal but est de faire connaître les mœurs toujours simples et douces des Frisons, ainsi que leurs usages et leurs costumes. Je décrirais donc ce que j’ai vu, sans prétention, avec toute l’exactitude et la fidélité que mon sujet réclame. Je dirai l’origine et les accroissemens [*sic*] successifs de la Frise. Je donnerais la topographie du pays, ses divisions, sa physiognomie générale; rien de ce qui se rapporte à sa statistique morale et industrielle ne sera oublié. Je ferai l’examen de ses ressources, de son organisation et de ses coutumes. J’entrerais dans les villes, j’irai m’asseoir au foyer domestique de leurs habitans [*sic*], et je pénétrerai dans leur vie intérieure. Certains souvenirs historiques, certains faits particuliers, trouveront place, comme un complément nécessaire, dans ma narration, et je saluerai, en respectueux pèlerin, les chefs d’œuvre de l’art et les noms célèbres que je trouverai sur mon passage. Circonscrit dans une sphère étroite de réflexions, et voulant seulement offrir une matière aux jugemens de mes lecteurs, je leur ferai part de toutes mes observations de détail. Ils descendront avec moi de la synthèse à l’analyse, de la nation à l’individu, et je serai récompensé de tous mes efforts, si je réussis à leur donner une idée complète et précise des choses qu’ils n’ont pas vues, et à leur faire aimer des hommes qu’ils n’ont point visités.” (Gauthier-Stirum 1839, Préface, no page).
- 13 Carlson et al. do not use the distinction type/token but kind/plurality, which has a slightly different meaning and which allows them to analyse the logical difference between the grammatical forms “A Dutchman” and “The Dutchman”, which, in my corpus, does not seem to fulfil different functions with respect to supposed common knowledge.

- 14 “Das Myrrholin-Welt-Panorama in 3 Alben mit 1200 Bildern als Geschenk!! / Eine unerschöpfliche Quelle der Belehrung und Unterhaltung für Jung und Alt. / Um unseren Kunden von Patent-Myrrholin-Seife und Myrrholin-Glycerin eine Freude zu machen haben wir die Herausgabe eines *Prachtwerkes* beschlossen, das sich jedem, der unsere Präparate kauft und für dieselben interessiert, kostenlos erschaffen kann. Dieses Prachtwerk, das *Myrrholin-Welt-Panorama*, umfasst 1200 der interessantesten Ansichten der ganzen Erde. / Die künstlerisch ausgeführten Bilder werden in 3 Prachtalbums, jedes zu 400 Bildern, aufbewahrt.” (Myrrholin-Gesellschaft m.b.H 1902, original emphasis).
- 15 Original: “Beide [Brücken] sind *gewaltige Schöpfungen* neuzeitlicher Brückenbaukunst, die der regen Handelsstadt zur *besonderen Zierde* gereichen.”
- 16 Original: “Industriebilder hatten für die Programmierung einen ähnlichen Status wie Reisebilder: Sie zeigten Phänomene und Arbeitsvorgänge aus Landwirtschaft, Handwerk und Industrie, die ebenso wie tropische Regionen oder schweizer Ferienzeile nicht allgemein zugänglich waren.”
- 17 Original: “In vielen dieser Filme verschmelzen Land und Leute mit regionalen Produkten zu einem folkloristischen Stereotyp.”
- 18 Original: “Le fromage de Hollande. Les pâturages occupent plus du 1/3 de la surface des PAYS-BAS.” and “Le fromage de Hollande est sphérique.”
- 19 Verhoeff uses the term “instant nostalgia” to describe practices that enable people to deal with the often described shock of modernity better by offering a strategy to “cope with loss while enjoying novelty” (Verhoeff 2006, 148). Having access to images of the world was definitely a novelty for most of the population. Mediated through the modern medium of film, enjoying new and modern visual pleasures is then not opposed to delving into nostalgic sentiments but reconciles the viewer with its past and the present (Cf. Verhoeff 2006, 148–156).
- 20 “Dans les Notices qui accompagnent les *Vues du Voyage pittoresque*, j’ai cherché à donner une idée des sites les plus remarquables; j’ai rappelé, autant qu’il m’a été possible, les événements historiques et les faits qui peuvent intéresser le voyageur; mais le plan dans lequel j’étais circonscrit ne m’a pas permis de m’étendre à cet égard autant que je l’aurais désiré.” (Préface, 2); “Le premier objet que frappe le voyageur en entrant dans la ville, c’est une recherche de propreté plus grande encore que dans aucune autre ville de la Hollande méridionale.” (De Cloet 1822, explanation to “Porte de Delft”, image 15).
- 21 It may also be that this order is the result of marketing strategies. The first volume came in seventeen successive parts and subscribers may have been expected to appreciate variation in each deliverance. Still, if a travel route was intended, and if variation in each deliverance was necessary, too, then the numbering of views could have followed the itineraries of a travel route.
- 22 See e.g. the explanation to “Rade de Scheveningen” (image 27): “L’aspect de la mer à Schevelingue [*sic*] offre un intérêt tout particulier. L’étendue de la côte, qui est

d'un parfait niveau jusqu'aux extrémités de la Hollande, donne aux yeux toute la liberté de houer de ce terrible élément. Quand on réfléchit que ce même Océan baigne aussi les côtes du Nouveau Monde, que le royaume le plus florissant de l'Europe disparaîtrait en quelque sorte dans l'immensité de ce gouffre, cette idée ajoute encore à l'impression des yeux, et porte dans l'âme du spectateur philosophe la surprise, l'admiration et la terreur." (De Cloet 1822, explanation to image 27).

- 23 E.g. "Vue du Château de Dinant, de la ville de Bouvigne, et des ruines de crève-cœur", image 41. The indication of viewpoints can also be observed in titles of stereoscopic photographs, see the discussion of the set *Holland* (Underwood & Underwood 1905) below.
- 24 For example, the view of the Vijverberg in The Hague is praised for its picturesque, its shadowy lanes, big buildings, and charming water and not for its function. Occasionally, excuses are made in the explanation if a view did not present some visual delights but "only" a site of historical relevance (e.g. explanation to image 39).
- 25 Original: "Cette vue offre en abrégé tous ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable en Hollande. On peut caractériser en peu de mots les principaux agrémens [*sic*] de cette province. De belles habitations entretenues avec une propreté remarquable, de gras pâturages couverts de nombreux troupeaux de bétail, des moulins, des canaux, des digues et des écluses, voilà ce qu'on rencontre partout, et ce qui quelquefois présente des points de vue assez remarquables."
- 26 Early subscribers paid 3.50 francs per part, new subscribers 5 francs. Cf. the advertising of a bookseller from Maastricht: "On souscrit chez P.J. Colladrin, libraire à Maastricht [*sic*], pour le Voyage pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas, représentant les principaux points de vue lithographiés [*sic*]. L'ouvrage formera 17 livraisons, composées de 7 planches, dont une texte, et une carte itinéraire du Voyage. A dater du 15 octobre 1822, les nouveaux souscripteurs payeront 5 fr. la livraison, au lieu de f. 3.50, attendu que la 1.re édition étant épuisée, la nouvelle édition sera entièrement tirée sur une teinte de papier de Chine." (*Journal de La Province de Limbourg* 1822). At that time, one franc was made of 25 grams of silver (Cf. https://fr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Franc_fran%C3%A7ais, accessed 5 September 2014). The price of the entire volume was thus 59.5 francs or 297.5 gram of silver for subscribers of the first hour and 85 francs or 425 gram of silver for later subscribers, binding not included. This source does not determine whether that price covers both volumes or only the first 100 lithographs.
- 27 Answering the question for whom this view was "quite remarkable" and who was part of the "one" that looks, also indicates who took interest in describing landscape in terms of prototypes. The peasant's interest in prototypical landscape can be considered low, as they work on a non-abstracted soil.
- 28 Original: "Holländisches Mädchen, vom Bronnen [*sic*] heimkehrend. / *Schmuck des äusseren Lebens in bunten Farben, Reinlichkeit und Sauberkeit fast bis zur*

Übertreibung, so weit, dass es uns anderen Germanen fast peinlich wird, *Blumenliebe* und *Pflege*, das ist *holländische Leidenschaft*. Sie werden Alle [sic] von der Farbenfreude beherrscht, daher hat auch die Malerei hier ihre fröhlichsten Zeiten gefeiert. Hier in diesem *Land der Sümpfe, Marschen und des Friedens*, in dieser mächtigen Einsamkeit, wo nur um die Dörfer, Kanäle und Flüsse, einzelne Baumreihen und Obstgärten sich erheben, hier in der Nähe des Meeres, die fast immer feuchte Luft und umnebelten Himmel zeigt, hier wehrt sich der Mensch dagegen, indem er die Lust und Freude am Heiteren, Bunten, Sauberen und Netten pfl egt. *Ein solches vollendetes Bild des Bunten und Netten lacht uns in dem vom Bronnen [sic] heimkehrenden Mädchen entgegen*. Nach längerer Plauderzeit mit den anderen Mädchen am Bronnen schreitet sie, mit Tracht und gefüllten Wassereimer dem Hause zu.”

- 29 Original: “Unser Bild zeigt uns ein heimkehrendes Brautpaar, das am Sonntag zur Stadt war und nun mit dem sinkenden Abend in die ländliche Stille zurückkehrt.”
- 30 In English, the second-person singular and second-person plural share the same morphological form but, considering the individual viewing situation, I believe the “you” addresses a single person here. Pseudo-individual addressing such as “Can you see how the farther shore of this bay is protected with a solid stone dyke?” (comment to image 17) or “Do you see a number of white canvas roofs or awnings huddled together at the farther end of this canal? Those cover stalls in a large open-air market” (comment to images 5) also seem to address an individual, not a group. I did not find this mode of address in many sources.
- 31 For example: “This type of imagery primarily functioned as substitute for travel. Nineteenth-century topographical images, thus, aroused the same visual desire of foreign spaces as cinemas’ later telescoping them.” (Snickars 2001, 55); “Promising virtual travel to distant and often inhospitable lands, early travelogues obviated the need for physical travel in the minds of several writers and were deemed a worthy substitute for the cumbersome, visually impoverished, and more expensive encyclopedias.” (Griffiths 2002, 220).
- 32 In an earlier article, Peterson proposed the distinction between “landscape-oriented travelogues (‘picturesque views’)” and “people-oriented travelogues (‘native types’)” and suggests that this difference stems from the genre distinction in painting (Cf. Peterson 1997, 86). This distinction is not relevant for my analysis of films on the Netherlands, as most of them combine people and places in one shot or at least combine shots of landscape and cityscape with shots of the inhabitants. Furthermore, Peterson’s distinction does not relate to the way in which people and places are presented, which is central to my analysis.
- 33 Original: “Continuons donc à glaner, parmi les souvenirs qui *m’assaillent* de toutes parts, les scènes les plus frappantes, et les plus capables d’être décrites. Êtes-vous curieux de connaître une personne *notre ami* Jan Steen, *dont nous avons eu plus d’une occasion de parler?*”

- 34 Original: “Les *Hollandais* et l’eau sont inséparables et ne peuvent se passer l’un de l’autre, ni se perdre vue un instant, quoiqu’ils aient souvent des querelles de ménage assez vives.”; “*Le Hollandais* fait consciencieusement toutes choses. Il s’amuse avec sérieux et gravité; il apporte jusque dans ses plaisirs son esprit méthodique et positif.”; “*Les Hollandaises, les Frisonnes surtout*, ont une parure de tête caractéristique dont la forme varie suivant les provinces, et qui consiste en une ou deux plaques d’or ou d’argent doré.”
- 35 Original: “*Tout pays* a son caractère particulier, c’est indubitable; or, *la Hollande*, tant par la forme de son territoire que par le costume de ses paysans, est peut-être *la contrée d’Europe actuellement la plus pittoresque*.”
- 36 Original: “Fumeurs de pipes, farandoles de kermesses, batellerie lente, ponts gigantesques, moulins bringueballants [*sic*], calmes contemplations des bourgeois devant les *glass beer*, déhanchements des *boerin* portant à la ville les produits des métairies familiales, attelages des chiens guillerets, canaux éternels peuplés de canards, villages propres, logis coquets, pêcheurs singuliers, cieux capricieux, terres marécageuses [...]”
- 37 Original: “[...] qui me rappelle une de mes plus hollandaises sensations de Hollande: ciel de soir d’un gris léger, canal jaunâtre, chaland lent, moulins raides, polder bruns, animaux blancs aux croupes molles, vieil homme contemplatif, silence...”.
- 38 Original: “Voilà bien, en effet, *le caractère du Hollandais*. Entouré d’eau, luttant contre l’eau, nourri par l’eau, il a pris de l’eau la pesanteur molle, avançant sans bruit, avec sa surface colorée, recéleuse de mondes bizarres.”
- 39 Original: “Wij hebben den Franschen Schrijver in zijn reisverhaal op den voet gevolgd, al kwam soms de lust boven, hem eens even in de rede te vallen, waar hij in zijn gevolgstrekking te ver ging en, naar het weinige dat hij zag, oordeelde ook over het vele, dat hij niet zag. Het zal onzen lezers zeker evenzo gaan, maar om der curiositeit wille zal het oordeel van den Franschman hen interesseren en zijn aardige verteltrant zal hen boeien.” (translator’s note to Hamön 1906a, 1).
- 40 Original: “Heut wollen wir ein Land, fernab der großen Touristenstraßen durchwandern, das *dem Maler* herrliche Naturszenarien und *dem Reisenden* hohen Kunstgenuß verspricht. Holland mit seinen Kunstschatzen bietet viel des Interessanten. *Das ganze Land* ist von Kanälen durchzogen. Die größeren schiffbaren Kanäle führen durch Städte hindurch und sind künstlich angelegt, die Niederungen sind durch aufgeschüttete Wälle geschützt. *Wir* betreten Holland hoch im Norden und besuchen zuerst die Stadt Groningen, die mit ihren 80 000 Einwohnern sofort *den holländischen Typus* verrät. [...] Die Architektur der Häuser des Platzes atmet den bekannten *holländischen Baustil*.” (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 1, emphasis added)
- 41 Original: “Leeuwarden, Torstraße und alter Turm. In diesem Bild offenbart sich ein Stück *holländischen* Kleinstadtlebens”; “Leeuwarden, Voorstreckstraße.

Eine *holländische Gracht* stellt dieses Bild dar, malerisch schauen die kleinen Häuschen hernieder und Ruhe atmet das ganze Bild.”; “In diesem Park errichtete man dem berühmtesten *holländischen Dichter* Joost von den Vondel ein Denkmal [...]”; “Zaandam ist ein freundliches Städtchen von *echt holländischem Aussehen*, die kleinen, meist einstöckigen Häuser, sind grün und rot angestrichen und von gut gepflegten Gärten umgeben.”; “Die Wijngartengracht [...] ist ein Abbild *holländischer Reinlichkeit*”.

- 42 Original: “Wir scheiden nun von Holland mit dem Bewusstsein, ein seltenes Land und ein Volk kennen gelernt zu haben, dessen Vorfahren die Kunst der Malerei, deren Formen und Gestalten sich noch gegenwärtig in der Natur des Landes und in den Sitten des Volkes widerspiegeln, zu ganz besonderem Ansehen brachten.”
- 43 For a deeper analysis of perspective in phantom-ride films from trains, cf. Verhoeff and Warth: “Phantom rides are emblematic of early cinema’s non-fiction that shows landscape and its (tourist) ‘consumption’. [...] The object of the look, the panoramic landscape, positions the I/eye of the look, coded in terms of the modern, by the symbol of travel and tourism by train.” (Verhoeff and Warth 2002, 246). William Uricchio discusses the forward tracking shots as part of the panoramic, although he notes the difference between them and “traditional” panoramic paintings: “Another discrepancy in the cinematic embodiment of panoramas might have been introduced by forward tracking shots. Here, one of the fundamental characteristics of the painted panorama (360-degree or moving) regards the image’s fixed distance from the spectator. The forward track, moving towards the vanishing point, shifts the extensive relations mapped out by the traditional panorama to a set of intensive relations – an ever closer inspection of spaces first seen at a distance” and a few lines later, he calls the effects of the forward tracking shot a “form of embodiment” (Uricchio 2011, 234). Although he notes the difference in treatment of space, and sees them as “some of the most interesting challenges” (235) in the discussion of the panoramic, he still subsumes them under the panoramic.
- 44 Jennifer Peterson observes that the section of “local types” was a standard rubric in travelogues, next to landscape panoramas, street scenes, and iconic monuments. The “local types” mostly were added at the end of such films, often with smiling women or children (Cf. Peterson 1997, 77).



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Selling a “Dutch Experience”: Images in Tourism and Consumer Culture

Dellmann, Sarah, *Images of Dutchness. Popular Visual Culture, Early Cinema, and the Emergence of a National Cliché, 1800-1914*. Amsterdam University Press, 2018
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ABSTRACT

This chapter investigates early tourist discourse (1875-1914) on the Netherlands through material of mostly British, German, and Dutch origin – travel brochures from Thomas Cook, the Vereeniging voor Vreemdelingenverkeer (VVV), and the Centraal Bureau voor Vreemdelingenverkeer, as well as guide-books and travel writings. It traces the emergence of commercial tourism to the Netherlands by bringing together earlier forms of leisure travel to the Netherlands and the discovery of the Netherlands as a place worthwhile visiting by painters and writers of the Romanticist movement. In tourist discourse, information is linked to the advertising or purchase of a service or commodity – a travel arrangement, a postcard, or a souvenir. These commodities serve as mediators for experiencing the visited country; hence other visual media of consumer culture are investigated as well (advertising trade cards, picture postcards). Images in tourist discourse and consumer culture mostly use the form of the cliché, regardless if these images were produced by Dutch or foreign people. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Dutch reactions to the cliché, which calls for rethinking the divide between self-image and outsiders' image.

KEYWORDS

visual culture; consumer culture; tourism; visual media; nineteenth century; twentieth century; cliché; self-image and outsider's image; landscape painting; Romanticism; Picturesque

6.1 INTRODUCTION: DISCOVERING THE AUTHENTIC

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Information from promotional material in tourist discourse is often met with suspicion. In contrast to anthropology or geography, tourist discourse is not primarily concerned with acquainting the learning world with the customs, history, and landscape of faraway people and places according to the time's standards of objectivity and truthfulness. In tourist discourse, information is linked to the advertising or purchase of a service or commodity – a travel arrangement, a postcard, or a souvenir. These commodities serve as mediators for experiencing the visited country or town.¹ Suspicion about the reliability of information notwithstanding, tourist discourse and consumer culture are relevant sources of supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands.

The term “tourism” entered French, English, German, and Dutch dictionaries between the last quarter of the nineteenth century and 1914. In this chapter, I use the term to refer to a special form of travel in the age of consumer culture, in which a commodified experience of “other people and places” is advertised (and sold) by emphasizing differences between the everyday life of the traveller and the tourist destination. While some studies use the term “tourism” as a synonym for travel or, anachronistically, for any practice of voluntary travel to places in leisure, I will distinguish between “travel for leisure” and “tourism” and use the latter term exclusively for business-supported forms of travel for leisure for a limited time. This conceptualization implies limiting tourism to practices in industrialized societies.

Industrialization profoundly changed organization, methods, and understanding of the concepts of work and leisure. One of the characteristics of Western industrialized societies is the existence of distinct places and times for working, living, and leisure. The means to sustain life were increasingly earned in the form of money, accumulated at one place during working hours, and spent elsewhere during leisure time. Purpose-built places for spending leisure time popped up in the decades around 1900 – restaurants and bars, hotels and seaside resorts, dance halls, theatres and later also movie palaces. These specialized leisure places were situated in public spaces and implied the consumption of goods and services. Consequently, spending leisure time increasingly took the form of consuming commodities; this development went hand in hand with strategies of the emerging leisure industry that *adver-*

tised its goods as personal experiences. Experiences thus were mediated via the consumption of commodities. As such, the advent of tourism as a special form of travel is closely tied to the advent of consumer culture in industrialized societies.

Before I turn to the discussion of the archival material, I will briefly introduce key aspects in studies that respectively investigated the relation between tourism and authenticity and tourism as experience of difference. After that, I will sketch how authenticity is connected to selling a product.

Typically and Authentically Dutch

Tourism and tourist discourse have attracted a great number of studies from different disciplines; the dynamics between tourism and the image-shaping of other people and places have been investigated across the humanities and the social sciences. Jonathan Culler, John Fiske, and John Urry have investigated the processes and dynamics of meaning-making that the travelling tourists ascribed to the places visited (Culler 1988; Fiske 1989; Urry 2009).

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The connection of “typicality” (a defining category) with “authenticity” (an evaluative category) in the description of realist images of people and places is one characteristic of tourist discourse. Once the selected elements of the “typically and authentically” Dutch are used in tourist discourse to represent *pars pro toto* all people and all things Dutch, it becomes impossible to maintain the idea that realist images of selected elements are an exclusively documentary affair. On the one hand, such images document bits of reality; on the other hand, the generalizations based on these selections are not valid for the entirety they claim to cover. This, obviously, stands in tension with the promise of tourist discourse that these images “simply show what was there”. Next to documenting bits of observable phenomena, tourist discourse produces certain bits as sight-worthy, authentic, and typical.

Jonathan Culler writes in “The Semiotics of Tourism” that tourists who “set out in quest for the authentic” (Culler 1988, 158) needed signifiers that signpost the authenticity of certain places and sites in order to perceive their authenticity. Rejecting the opposition between “tourist trap” and “the real thing”, he concludes:

Boorstin and his like assume that what is reproduced, represented, written about, is inauthentic, while the rest is authentic: tourists pay to see the tourist traps while the real thing is free as air. But “the real thing” must be marked as real, as sight-worthy; if it is not marked or differentiated, it is not a notable sight, even though it may be Japanese by virtue of

its location in Japan. The authentic is not something unmarked or undifferentiated; *authenticity is a sign relation*. (Culler 1988, 161, emphasis added)

Following Culler, tourists set out to see particular sites, objects, and buildings *as signs*: in the eye of the tourist, every beer garden in Munich is considered a *typical German* beer garden, and every windmill is considered typically Dutch. This way of looking, according to Culler, turns tourists into semioticians who look for markers at the destinations, which have already been established in discourses of travel and tourism. Authenticity is then revealed as a discursive effect – and so is typicality.

In line with Culler, Verhoeff points to another issue: if the typical and the authentic must be *presented as* typical and authentic, we find ourselves in the domain of interpretation, of ascription of meaning to the things in the world. The perception of something as typical and authentic requires an established system of signification that had already produced certain elements as such. The typical and the authentic then turn out to be *relational* categories because they can never be typical and authentic in and of themselves. Seen this way, typicality and authenticity are the opposition of what the terms came to stand in for in tourist discourse: these terms do not refer to an objective, realist documentation of “things that are there” (and have been so for a long time) but they are an *effect*, created in the rhetoric of realism and authenticity (Cf. Verhoeff 2006, 252–253).

Understanding authenticity and typicality in this way opens the possibility to investigate the processes with which typicality and authenticity were ascribed to certain phenomena (and not to others). Such an investigation is at the core of this chapter.

The Experience of Dutchness

In the section above, I briefly mentioned the search for differences as intrinsic to the search for typicality in tourist discourse. Unlike some other forms of travel, tourism is motivated by the expectation that the destination has interesting experiences to offer that differ from the tourist’s everyday life. From a tourist’s standpoint, what is considered “typical” and “authentic” also needs to be “different” from their everyday life in one way or another. John Urry even goes so far as to say that difference was the key feature of tourism, and not authenticity (Cf. Urry 2009, 12).

As I stated above, tourist discourse advertises goods and services by promising, both directly and indirectly, a certain experience. In the case of tourism

to the Netherlands, this experience is one of the typical, authentic, and different or, in terms developed in Chapter 1, of “Dutchness”. Because the tourist’s experience needs to be the fulfilled promise, the individual experience of the traveller needs to be predictable and reproducible, and hence programmed. The circular logic between promise and fulfilment of the promise or, translated into business terms, of predefined consumption patterns and commodified experiences, makes the advertised experience predictable and reproducible. Repeatedly produced experiences are advertised by means of repeatedly produced images, hence the embrace of the cliché in tourist discourse. As I have written in Chapter 1, the cliché is part of supposed knowledge and as I have shown in Chapter 4, images of Dutchness are mostly expressed in form of the cliché. Frank Kessler’s observation about the adaptation of national clichés from tourism to films of early cinema points out this logic:

Nation-ness, in these and many other films, is thus both constructed and referred to by means of cultural clichés offering a tourist point of view. The relations with forms of modern tourism are indeed quite obvious. The images are presented as both typical and true – typical, because they are true, and true, because they are typical. This is exactly the form of circular reasoning on which the logic of tourism is built. And this also constitutes the paradox of tourism, *as the authentic has to correspond to the cliché*. (Kessler 2008, 24, emphasis added)

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Once the cliché of the Dutch becomes the marker for the typical, authentic, and different experience of Dutchness, the cliché is repeatedly reproduced in media of tourist discourse, not at least because it is most likely to sell the product it advertises successfully, i.e. the experience of Dutchness.

Presentation of the Chapter

In this chapter, I will trace how the markers or signifiers developed that enable the tourist to see “Dutchness” in the phenomena observed in the Netherlands. I will do this by tracing how certain people and places were promoted as worth seeing. To understand the continuity and changes of travel for leisure to the Netherlands before tourism, and to understand why the Netherlands became a tourist destination, this chapter begins with an overview on the history of travel for leisure to the Netherlands. The flat landscape of the Netherlands and the fishing villages had not been considered noteworthy by authors of travel writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Only after poets and painters of Romanticism promoted the idea of the picturesque in opposition

to the idea of classical beauty, was the Netherlands constructed as a *visually* appealing place worth a visit (Chapter 6.2).

Chapter 6.3 consists of an analysis of travel guides, travel brochures, and promotional material from the market-leading British tourist agency Thomas Cook & Son from the period 1868 to 1914, as well as material from Dutch tourist organizations, the *Bond van Vereenigingen voor Vreemdelingenverkeer* (hereafter, VVV), and *Centraal Bureau voor Vreemdelingenverkeer* (hereafter, *Centraal Bureau*). This case study will reveal *what* was promoted as visually appealing in the Netherlands and investigates *how* the terminology performed certain people and places as sightworthy (Chapter 6.3). The findings are then compared to travel guides, picture postcards, films of early cinema, and lantern slides (Chapter 6.4-6.9).

The chapter ends with a discursive analysis of opinionated articles and letters to the editor of (mostly Dutch) newspapers, which express appreciation for and critique of the clichés about the Netherlands and the Dutch that circulated in tourist and advertising material (Chapter 6.10). The variety of opinions require framing of the appreciation and critique in a more nuanced way than a simple opposition of self-image versus outsider' or external image, which is still often supposed in studies of national clichés.

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6.2 BEFORE TOURISM: TRAVEL IN LEISURE THROUGH AND TO THE NETHERLANDS

Travelling to places for leisure in Western societies is much older than the tourism that developed in industrialized societies (Cf. Towner 1996). Travel to (the area that was later to become) the Netherlands before modern tourism mostly had a purpose other than travel primarily for leisure. In addition to travel for family visits or for selling or buying goods at markets, salesmen, politicians, and diplomats from neighbouring countries and kingdoms as well as soldiers travelled and wrote reports for their employers. Scientists and students from abroad followed seminars at Dutch universities as early as the seventeenth century (Cf. Kooij 2010, 53). Aristocrats and well-off gentlemen, especially from England, embarked on the Grand Tour to conclude their education and passed through the Netherlands on their way (Cf. Black 1992). The main purpose of the Grand Tour was to become acquainted with the remains of antique civilization and classical Roman and Greek art. Although the travel route from England to Italy went through the Netherlands, not all travellers of the Grand Tour described their stay in the Netherlands in detail; the Gothic churches scarred by iconoclasm did not contribute much to the educational aim (Kraan 2002, 27). Travellers of all kinds wrote accounts of their stays: cor-

respondences and letters, memories and travel diaries for personal and family use, educational travel accounts to prove the result of learning while touring abroad, or travel journals with the intention of publication (Cf. Meier 2007).

A survey of 406 travel writings about the Netherlands (including correspondence, journals, diaries, and more) from 1648 to 1850 revealed that most foreign travellers to the Netherlands came from Germany, Great Britain, and France; these travellers mostly visited *cities* in the industrialized provinces of North and South Holland (Jacobsen Jensen 1919; Jacobsen Jensen 1936; cf. also Kooij 2010, 51; van Strien 1998, 4–5). Travel writings of foreign travellers who visited the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been studied by van Strien for British travellers (1989; 1998), by Beaulieu for German travellers (2000), and by van Strien-Chardonneau for French travellers (1994). Some of the published and unpublished travel writings contain illustrations. From the only paragraph that van Strien dedicated to this topic, it can be estimated that there was much variation in illustrated subjects (van Strien 1989, 38 footnote 41). Illustrated subjects mostly consisted of city buildings, visited monuments, and scientific instruments in collections.

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Across national origins, the affluent travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came to see the architecture of town halls and churches, monuments, artworks, and natural history in public or private collections. Travellers also fancied the *maisons de plaisance* (country houses) and the gardens, and described canals and barges (Cf. van Strien 1989, 33 and 160–161; van Strien-Chardonneau 1994, 43–57 and 275). The Dutch were characterized as liberal and tolerant in religious matters, the cleanliness of houses and people was mentioned, and the sober lifestyle of rich trade people was noted (Cf. Chales de Beaulieu 2000, 205; van Strien 1989, 160; van Strien-Chardonneau 1994, 275). Accounts of travellers on the Grand Tour from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mention the good conditions of the streets and the cleanliness of hotels, cities, and people; writers mention charity institutions, admire the cityscape of Rotterdam for the many sailboats, and buy books in Amsterdam book shops; some also visited collections of universities (Cf. Hibbert 1969, 206–213). In short: visiting the Netherlands was primarily a matter of visiting cities to see collections and to purchase goods in shops; the visual impressions of Dutch landscape or rural life were not considered noteworthy.

Apart from the general remarks on the low-lying country and the eternal struggle of its inhabitants against the sea, relatively little is written about what tourists saw outside the towns. Holland for them was an urbanized society and most of their comments concern “industrial” activities going on in the neighbourhood of the cities: the large number of mills produc-

ing a great variety of products, the shipbuilding industry, or the bleaching fields near Haarlem [...]. (van Strien 1989, 119)

French travellers of the second part of the eighteenth century were also interested in Flemish paintings, as Flemish art became fashionable among the wealthier French around that time (Cf. van Strien-Chardonneau 1994, 95). However great their appreciation for Dutch or Flemish art – which included landscape painting – the Netherlands as such, the *actual* landscape or the dresses of the country people were not considered aesthetically interesting. Common people were generally described without enthusiasm:

The ordinary Dutchwoman was said to be bossy; the hard-drinking Dutchman bad-mannered with no respect for his betters. However, when seen from a distance at their inns and funerals or skating on the ice they fully lived up to the tourist's expectations and looked very picturesque. (van Strien 1989, 161)

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Van Strien's comment interests me here for two reasons. Firstly, van Strien applies the term "picturesque", not to express aesthetic perfection, but to describe a pleasurable impression in the eye of the beholder. His comment emphasizes the subjectivity of the traveller/viewer. Secondly, he mentions that the traveller comes with expectations, which implies that these must have been shaped prior to their own visit; moreover, these expectations were related to something visual.

In the following, I will mention why the shift to the picturesque around the beginning of the nineteenth century was relevant for the development of travel for leisure and tourism to the Netherlands. Then, I will sketch how the picturesque was adapted by painters and travellers to promote the Netherlands as visual attraction.

Romanticism and the Picturesque

The fact that the Netherlands came to be considered as a place where interesting things could be seen and, later, a tourist destination, owes much to the aesthetic concept of the picturesque. The picturesque as an aesthetic category gained relevance in the nineteenth century through painters and poets of the Romantic era. Among other things, the picturesque implied a "new enthusiasm for the medieval world" (Towner 1996, 110) which turned Gothic churches into aesthetically interesting monuments. Before the rise of the picturesque, buildings of classical antiquity were considered the only visually appealing

architecture – which did (and do) exist in Italy or Greece, but not in the Netherlands.

Hans Kraan's book *Dromen van Holland. Buitenlandse Kunstenaars schilderen Holland 1800-1914* (2002) gives a rich insight into art creation with the Netherlands as subject matter. In this book, Kraan juxtaposes the aesthetic concepts of beauty and the picturesque. Whereas the classical age's concept of beauty is associated with perfection, symmetry, stability, and eternity, the picturesque is characterized by raw and sudden variation, non-symmetrical lines, and an understanding of phenomena as ephemeral with an emphasis on subjective experience and nature (Cf. Kraan 2002, 31–33).

My use of the notion of the picturesque is twofold. First, on a historical-descriptive level, only through the aesthetic concept of the picturesque did the landscape and the architecture of the Netherlands become visually attractive. Second, the concept of the picturesque serves as an analytical backdrop for the investigation of the constellation among aesthetics, the commercialization of culture, and tourism at a specific moment in Western history. Jennifer Peterson and Nanna Verhoeff have paid much attention to the qualities of picturesque aesthetics in visual culture and the way these has been taken up in cinema as an emergent mass medium (Verhoeff 2006, esp. 250–269; Peterson 2013, esp. 175–205). Both stress the link of picturesque aesthetics to the commodity form; Peterson even calls the picturesque the “commercialized form of the sublime” (2013, 176). In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which is also the dawn of consumer culture, the term “picturesque” was used as an advertising term for a “generalized sense of something pleasing” (Peterson 2013, 179), which included a “quality of pastness” (Peterson 2013, 177). The notion of the “picturesque” was used to indicate phenomena that were considered “visually attractive” and thus sellable. Picturesque aesthetics have an external viewpoint, positioning the viewer outside, at a distance from the things seen in the image. This distance allows the viewer to experience mastery over the things seen, promoting “a colonizing mode of looking that is a form of appropriation” (Verhoeff 2006, 252). For tourists, the quality of the picturesque allows them to stay “out of the scene”, not involved in the world put before them. Thereby, tourists are enabled to live their nostalgic sentiments by experiencing quaintness, exoticism, “pastness” and authenticity in the people and places *they look at but are not part of*. At the same time, these tourists rely on decidedly modern elements such as modern means of transportation, package tours and mass-media that offer themselves to the paying tourist in the commodity form.² But once there is distance to the vista, the quality of the landscape is not immediate any more – it needs to be attributed (Cf. Verhoeff 2006, 250). The picturesque then serves as an *attribution of pictorial quality* and, in this sense, it is used as a label in tourist discourse.³

As mentioned above, the many cities, the flat land, the straight canals, and the cleanliness of farmer's houses were mentioned in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel accounts – but Dutch landscape and ordinary Dutch people did not yet attract artists or travellers as such. This changed in the late eighteenth century when artists and poets of the Romantic Movement promoted the picturesque as a concept for aesthetic appreciation. The foregrounding of the picturesque changed motivations for travel, attitudes towards landscape, and the understanding of the artist's duties. Intensity of emotion, experience of pure subjectivity, the scenic, and praise for being in untamed nature were topics upon which authors and artists of the Romantic Movement elaborated extensively. The overall emphasis on individual, personal, and subjective “impressions”, rather than objective accounts, influenced the style of travel writings and the style and motifs of paintings. In order to receive these impressions, painters and authors of the Romantic Movement travelled considerably to work on-site. The resulting artworks and writings inspired other people to travel to these sites, too. Before I turn to picturesque travel, I will give a short overview over painting (in) the Netherlands in the nineteenth century.

Romanticist Artists in the Netherlands / The Netherlands in Romanticist Paintings

In Chapter 3, I have already explained changes in the depiction of places from the backdrop of the changing status of objectivity and realism in the sciences. In the case of landscape painting, Romanticist painters challenged academic painting traditions that continued to privilege history painting and its corresponding aesthetic concepts stemming from (a Renaissance view of) classical antiquity. Such paintings did not meet the taste of the bourgeoisie in the Biedermeier epoch. Romanticists who wished to paint the world as they experienced it and not according to age-old schemata found inspiration in Dutch landscape painting and prints of the seventeenth century (Cf. Kraan 2002, 44).

In travel writings and poetry, as in painting, the expression of subjective impressions was the order of the day. Landscape, until then seen as ancillary element for the background of history painting, emerged as an independent subject in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Cf. Kraan 2002, 98–99). The aesthetic appreciation of landscape in and of itself smoothed the path for promoting Dutch landscape as being of interest for a visit. Next to landscape painting, the genre painting of peasants and fishers became fashionable by the 1840s, too (Cf. Kraan 2002, 100–103). In these genre paintings, the interest of artists and ethnologists overlapped as “people in traditional

costume” was much admired by both: the romanticists admired them for their supposed exoticism and ethnographers for their supposed typicality.

After the romanticists had promoted the mundane world as subject for painting in the first part of the nineteenth century (as interpreted, dramatized, subjective, and composed as their landscape paintings might have been), realist painters took these subjects and tried to depict the mundane world around them more truthfully. What romanticist and realist painters share is that they promoted the Netherlands through their paintings as a country where picturesque landscape and picturesque people caught the attention of the traveller’s eyes. Their paintings were hung in galleries, and were often remediated and issued as lithographs or reprinted in illustrated magazines. Through these editions, the motifs of the paintings were internationally disseminated – at least in the home countries of the artists: France, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America. Because hardly any other motifs on the Netherlands were produced in high numbers, the Netherlands thus became visualized with a specific image repertoire, created by romanticist and realist painters: flat grasslands with cows, winter scenes with people skating on the ice, beaches with sailboats, fisher families, and farmers.

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The deep connection between travel and fine arts is important for an understanding of tourism in the Netherlands. The romanticist and realist painters’ rejection of history painting with *idealized* landscapes and their embrace of the picturesque is much in line with the greater epistemological shift from the ideal, found in *abstractions* of the empirical world towards the *typical*, found in (selected parts of) the *empirical* world (see Chapters 3 and 4). Additionally, as I have shown above, tourist discourse is deeply intertwined with the concept of typicality. Only after the depicted people and places were conceived of as aesthetically interesting (which happened with the advent of the picturesque) and only when the viewers of the (reproduced) paintings could reasonably expect the Netherlands to look like those images (which happened with realist tradition in painting), travellers could expect to see the sights at the sites themselves.

Romanticism and Picturesque Travel

In the period of romanticism, “picturesque travel” increased while the Grand Tour declined. Gothic monuments, towers, and castles of the Middle Ages in secluded places of France, Scotland, and along the Rhine became fashionable destinations for a journey and qualified as motifs worth painting. While the Netherlands had barely anything to offer with respect to the classical and antique concept of beauty, it had something picturesque to offer. Going on a

picturesque tour to the Netherlands became fashionable in Britain after 1815 when romanticist painters such as Turner, Callcott, and Stanfield had shown the British that Dutch cities and coastlines still looked like the – at that time à la mode – Dutch landscape paintings of the seventeenth century (Cf. Kraan 2002, 55). As admirers of landscape and landscape painting often expressed nostalgic sentiments, a picturesque travel to “Holland” was considered a travel to the land of the seventeenth-century Flemish master painters. Unlike the traveller of the Grand Tour, the picturesque traveller was encouraged to note down their emotions; a picturesque travel report was considered good when the images and feelings expressed in the text were in harmony (Cf. Kraan 2002, 33). This new emphasis on subjective impressions can be observed in other travel writings, too. Whereas the traveller of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries strove for a correct topographical description and an enumeration of buildings and collections in a city, the nineteenth-century travel account is characterized by the overall impression of the city or landscape in the eyes of the traveller (Cf. Kraan 2002, 93). The countryside became a place of interest to the traveller.

Henry Havard’s *Voyages Pittoresque aux villes mortes de Zuiderzée* (1874)

The most influential travel report of a picturesque tour to the Netherlands was *Voyages Pittoresque aux villes mortes de Zuiderzée* by Henry Havard (1874). Although this report does not sell a tour to the Netherlands and thus rather falls into my characterization of the discourse of armchair travel (Chapter 5), I include it here because of its relevance for understanding certain topoi of tourist discourse. Henry Havard sailed together with a skipper and an illustrator, M. Van Heemskerck van Beest, to the villages and islands of the Zuiderzee. The publication contains almost 400 pages of texts and ten engravings “after sketches of the author and M. Van Heemskerck van Beest” (Havard 1874, title page). These engravings are well-worked and show much care for detail.

Five engravings show buildings (towers and city walls) and five depict people in traditional costume (of Marken, Volendam, Hindeloopen, and Urk), portrayed in the entourage of the landscape, a village street, or in their home. Some of these villages had been important trade cities in the sixteenth century, but, by the nineteenth century, they had been largely forgotten, even by the Dutch. The descriptions of the villages resemble one another. Havard elaborates on the air of past glory that he found lying in ruins. He reports in detail on the architecture of the town houses and the art collections they accommodate. He wrote about a deathlike silence in the streets, the monotonous



Fig. 6.1 “Entrée du port de Hoorn”. Illustration accompanying *Voyage aux villes mortes du Zuiderzée* (Havard 1874, 65).



Fig. 6.2 “Habitants de l'île de Marken”. Illustration in *Voyage aux villes mortes du Zuiderzée* (Havard 1874, 24).

landscape, leading to the impression of time standing still. The poverty of the village inhabitants, most of them living off of small-scale fishing and unindustrialized agriculture, probably added to his impression. In great detail, he describes the traditional costume of the village people.

The overall image Harvard sketches in writing and illustrations is one of a region that has been untouched by modernity, where costume and customs can be observed as relics of a time long ago. *Voyage Pittoresque aux villes mortes de Zuiderzée* fitted the demand for accounts of exotic and picturesque places and was an international publishing success. The French edition was reissued four times by 1883. It was also translated into Dutch (1876), German (1882), and English (1885) (Cf. Blom 1996, 246–255). Right from its first publication, travelogues and guidebooks throughout my researched period refer to Havard's account. The expression “the dead villages of the Zuiderzee” appears in countless newspaper articles, travel guides, and journals, written in several languages. Only after the publication of *Voyage Pittoresque aux villes mortes de Zuiderzée* did travellers and tourists venture out in higher numbers for a trip to these supposedly exotic and authentic villages. In no other case of the mate-



Fig. 6.3 “Intérieur d’une maison de pêcheurs à Vollandam”. Illustration in *Voyage aux villes mortes du Zuiderzée* (Havard 1874, 48).

rial in my corpus can the emergence of a tourist destination be determined so clearly.⁴

Topoi and Images in Tourist Discourse

Before I analyse examples of material in tourist discourse, I wish to bring attention to the target group and the actual tourist. Prior to 1914, tourism in the Netherlands for longer than a day was affordable only for the middle and upper classes (of the Netherlands and of foreign countries alike). Workers and lower-class people in the investigated period could only afford a day out, if at all. For this group, tourism was limited to those places that could be reached in a day-return trip. In 1906, twelve percent of workers and administrative employees had between four days and three weeks of vacation per year (Cf. Schipper 2000, 31), but the vacation days were not fully paid or were unpaid and such agreements were made on the individual level. The first workers in the Netherlands who won the struggle for a collective agreement of one week of (unpaid) holidays were the typographers and diamond workers in 1910. Visiting places with the entire family for a week was not affordable, especially not for families with many children, even if the time would have allowed for such a vacation. The first nationwide collective agreement (CAO) for four days

of fully paid vacation was realized in 1928/1929 in the metal workers branch (FNV 2005a, 2005b). From this follows that promotional material for tourism to the Netherlands, which promoted overnight stays, was targeted at very privileged people.

Nevertheless, the business of day-return trips should not be underestimated. Along with trips by the train to the seaside or to the woods in the nearer surroundings, cyclists organized in clubs and made tours, and school classes went on excursions with their teachers. With this in mind, it is less surprising to read that the promotional efforts of the local VVVs in the years 1906-1908 were almost exclusively directed towards the Dutch market (Cf. Schipper 2000, 30). The train and barge companies must have earned a considerable income from this day-return tourism, and the postcard-sellers and cafes in the visited places probably did, too.

6.3 TRAVEL PROMOTION BY THOMAS COOK & SON, THE VVV, AND THE CENTRAAL BUREAU

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The Thomas Cook Agency, later Thomas Cook & Son, was the most important travel agency prior to World War I. Originally a British enterprise, the agency soon opened offices around the world, including in Amsterdam in 1898. The company's history is well-documented in a four-volume book, written by the company's archivist Paul Smith (1998). Thomas Cook began organizing day-return trips to British seaside resorts for working-class people as early as the 1840s. Cook was a reformative thinker and connected to the temperance movement; he considered travel a means to make workers spend their leisure "properly" instead of getting drunk. The business of organized group trips soon grew, and, in addition to day-return trips, longer excursions were offered. In 1855, Thomas Cook organized the first trips across the English Channel, to Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Italy.

Early material was not illustrated. The first illustrated brochure in my corpus dates to 1899 (Thomas Cook & Son 1899b), and the first illustrated article on the Netherlands to 1900 (Thomas Cook & Son 1900). The variety of motifs in these illustrations is limited. Altogether, about half of the images shows people in traditional clothing, mostly from Volendam; another quarter show a cityscape with canals and houses standing next to the water. Less prominent are images of landscapes with canals, pastures, and windmills. In Thomas Cook & Son's publications, the images of places are mostly city views, and the images of people are inhabitants of villages. This is the same pattern that I have already observed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The company published a monthly illustrated magazine as well as sepa-

rate leaflets and guidebooks for its tours (see Chapter 2). In the following, I will study the continuity and changes in the way in which the Netherlands was promoted as a tourist destination in material of Thomas Cook & Son.

Advertising Tourism to the Netherlands: The First Trip to the Netherlands

280 | The first evidence of a tour by Thomas Cook & Son to the Netherlands dates from 1868, when an excursion to Holland and Belgium was announced in the company's magazine *Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*. The tourists left England on 30 May 1868 from London to Rotterdam, from there continued to The Hague, went to the classy seaside resort of Scheveningen, and visited the picture gallery of the House in the Woods in The Hague. After that, they went back to Rotterdam and continued their travel via Moerdijk to Antwerp. Tourists could continue their trip with a visit to German cities mostly along the Rhine. The itinerary of the tour is given in the article "Programme of Whitsuntide Excursion to Holland and Belgium" (Thomas Cook & Son 1868a). A descriptive article "About Holland and Belgium" (Thomas Cook & Son 1868b) gives background information on the travel destination and informs the potential travellers about what they will see. Although the article is not illustrated, it vividly describes the visual appearance of the Dutch – and discards one generalization only to replace it with another one:

Nothing is more erroneous than an Englishmen's idea of a Dutchman. We fancy Meynheer Van Dunck an unwieldy purpose, very much like a Dutch cheese on legs. We draw him with a protruding abdomen and with a stern as round as one of his fishing boats, this is quite a mistake. He is a little man, well shaven, active and sharp, and genial and clean. The Dutch are an old-fashioned people, and no wonder, for theirs is a grand history, and they may well be proud of the past; but they are not the worse for that. On Sundays they have a very staid and ancient air, but you will admire the head-dresses of the ladies; and if you are the head of a family, and know the hard work it is in these enlightened days to get a good maid-servant, you will be enchanted with the little rosy-cheeked Dutch maids-of-all-work who go pattering about the streets in wooden clogs, with neat print gowns and clean muslin caps. Look at them, and the canals, and the trees, and the big ships unlacing in all the sheds at the very doors of the leading merchants' houses, and then rush to look at the statue of Erasmus, the glory of Rotterdam and Holland. (Thomas Cook & Son 1868b, 6)

Some topoi were repeated in later accounts, and some of them were illustrated: the headdresses of women, “rosy-cheeked maids”, people walking on wooden shoes, the description of canals and trees. An extensive report about the trip was published in *Cook’s Excursionist*. Mr. Ripley reported in “Mr Ripley’s Account of our First Excursion to Holland and Belgium” (Thomas Cook & Son 1868c) about the places visited and the things seen, giving references to history here and there. The tourists arrived in Rotterdam on a Sunday. Mr. Ripley described churchgoers, the pulpit and the organ of a church, a park, the traffic in the streets, and compared Rotterdam to Venice. In The Hague, the group visited a private picture gallery (the House in the Woods) as well as another museum of fine arts and, in the evening, went to Scheveningen, where a big fair was held. The author was disappointed by the “absence of shows and light amusements – if we except some swings and a merry-go-round” (Thomas Cook & Son 1868c, 7). The tourists of this first excursion spent most of their time on visits to art collections; they saw the cityscapes of Rotterdam and The Hague, and, by coincidence, the traditional dresses worn at a country fair were spotted. The countryside itself was not commented on in Mr. Ripley’s account, and neither Amsterdam nor the villages of the Zuiderzee were visited.

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“Event-Tourism” to the Netherlands

Thomas Cook & Son regularly offered travel arrangements for specific events, including world expositions. Such arrangements were offered for the Amsterdam Industrial Exhibition in 1869, the Colonial Exhibition in 1883, the ice-skating contest in 1888, the Coronation Ceremony of Queen Wilhelmina in 1898, and a cycling tour in 1897 “under the personal escort of an experienced cyclist, a graduate from Oxford, who knows the country and the language thoroughly” (Thomas Cook & Son 1897, 8). Without doubt, these events, and not the country, were the main reason to attract (potential) travellers. In some announcements, however, the city in which an event was held was promoted as an additional attraction. The description of the cityscape of Amsterdam in the journal article on the Industrial Exhibition of 1869 is especially long:

Amsterdam with its docks full of large ships, and long paved promenades stretching out to the Zuyder Zee, only to be reached by pedestrians across a *mysterious* network of swinging water gates and drawbridges [...] We know of *no country which in anywise resembles Holland*, no cities like those in which the worthy Dutch burghers reside. *Utterly dissimilar* to anything in France, in Switzerland, in Italy, in Germany, or in any other country known to us, as the *peculiar features* of this *strange* region of land and

water are perfectly *unique*. There is a medieval aspect about the town, which impart to them *almost picturesque* appearance. (Thomas Cook & Son 1869, 2, emphasis added)

The medieval aspect was seen in the carillons that play every hour. Further, “strange costumes in the streets” could be spotted such as “women from distant provinces with their indescribable hats and bonnets, and their heads adorned with bands and plates, as if they had been trepanned with the precious metals”, men in “knickerbockers from the Isle of Marken”, or “Jews in blue overcoats and black waistcoats” (Thomas Cook & Son 1869, 2). The cumbersome and long descriptions of the clothing in this early article are exceptional for publications of Thomas Cook & Son. The adjectives that appeared in later articles – “picturesque”, “quaint”, “authentic”, “national”, “typical” – are largely absent. Instead, adjectives are applied that highlight a not fully graspable difference (“mysterious”, “utterly dissimilar”, “peculiar features”, “strange”, “perfectly unique”). It seems as if there was no ready formula to describe the perceived difference of the country and the costumes, and the absence of illustrations in the early volumes of the journal complicated the matter even more.

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Change of Topoi in the 1890s

Cook’s earliest travel guide that mentions the Netherlands is *Cook’s Tourist’s Handbook to Holland, Belgium, and the Rhine* (1874). The Netherlands was clearly not the main travel destination: only sixteen out of 174 pages are dedicated to the description of Dutch towns. Dunes, dykes, canals, and windmills (“by the thousands, used as pumps for draining the land, and for a dozen purposes we never use them for in England”, Thomas Cook & Son 1874, 16) are introduced as general features in “Holland”. Trees are described as “standing like militia men, Dutch men understanding art more than nature” and flowers are “rich and beautiful, everywhere” (16). Wooden clogs and headdresses are said to be worn (15), and all men smoke (14). Next to Rotterdam (“the Dutch Venice”, 13), with its busy quays, historical buildings, and parks, the art galleries of The Hague, and the cities of Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Maastricht, and Utrecht are mentioned.

In the edition of 1879, the information is presented in a more sober way, resembling very much the style of *Baedeker* guidebooks (see Chapters 2.3 and 6.4). The places and cities are described in the third-person singular and the description of the travel to the Netherlands or the arrival in Rotterdam is no longer included. The cities are described from a tourist’s point of interest and

includes a comment on the visually interesting quality by the choice of adjectives:

The Hague is considered by most to be the prettiest and pleasantest place in Holland. (Thomas Cook & Son 1879, 16)

Rotterdam is a marvellously picturesque place, with its busy quays, old-fashioned houses, curious costumes, numberless bridges, countless trees, strangely attired policemen, and trim gardens (Thomas Cook & Son 1879, 10)

The adjectives identify something as visually attractive, but do not describe a determined quality. In the second quotation, the described elements are mentioned, as if the term “picturesque” needed explanation. I will come back to these kinds of adjective below.

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Description of a Tour: Comparison of the Versions from 1891 and 1899

The comparison of descriptions of the tour to “Holland, Belgium, and the Rhine” from 1891 and 1899 shows a slight change in topoi (Thomas Cook & Son 1891; Thomas Cook & Son 1899a). While the itinerary does not change much, the description of the visited places does. Not only do the adjectives differ in both versions, but the topoi are also elaborated. To illustrate this point, I will quote two lengthy passages of the sources. The underlined passages are included in the 1899 description of the travel but are not part of the description in 1891.

“Cooks conducted Tours to Holland, The Rhine and Belgium” (1891/1899) Itinerary:

Sundays – The Steamer now calls at the new port, Hook of Holland, but passengers will continue by steamer to Rotterdam (Hotel Weimar). Rotterdam is a very picturesque city with 225,000 inhabitants (1891: 200,000), busy quays, old-fashioned houses, curious costumes, numberless bridges, and trim gardens. The river side of the city consists, for a mile and a half, of a series of magnificent quays, one of which is planted with stately linden trees. The shipping and steamboats are moored close to these quays, the river here being thirty or forty feet deep, so that passengers have merely to step from the deck to the shore. On landing, the tourist finds himself at once in a world of novelty. The houses are clean

and bright both inside and out, and generally from four to five storeys in height, several being extremely old-fashioned in appearance. The costumes in the streets will not fail to attract attention, many of them being very quaint. [...]

Tuesdays – travel by morning train from The Hague to Amsterdam, where the day will be spent (Hotel du Pays-Bas). During the stay a carriage drive will be provided. Amsterdam is the largest, wealthiest, and most populous city of Holland, The Royal Palace, the Stadhuis or Town hall, and the Bourse are near together, in the open square called the Dam. The new National Museum (Rijks Museum) is a splendid building containing a large and grand collection of pictures belonging to the state. The Museum Fodor, the Artist's Club, and some private collections of painting may be visited. The parks, promenades, and gardens afford pleasant resorts, and the harbour, quays, dykes, and docks, display scenes of busy life.

The quaint head-dresses worn by many of the women, curiously wrought in silver and gold, are often heirlooms which have remained in the same family for generations, many of the streets present a very picturesque appearance, some of the houses being considerably out of the perpendicular. Diamond cutting is a great local industry, and a visit will be paid, if possible, to one of the best factories. Amsterdam is abound with places of amusement, at one of which the evening may be pleasantly spent.

Cooks Tourist Office, 83 Damrak.

The only sentence that is left out in the newer version is a sober geographical fact:

The North Sea Canal, opened by the King in November 1876, is sixteen miles in length, and gives free access to the German Ocean.

The added sections mention windmills, places that are not visited, more museums, and traditional costume. Altogether, these changes describe scenery and the visual pleasures and do not only give factual or historical information. Rather, added passages *suggest experiences* to the traveller that are mostly described with adjectives of vague descriptive power.

Topoi in the Text Modules

From the 1890s on, the descriptive texts for travel to the Netherlands became increasingly standardized. Recurring topoi are expressed in text modules that were copied from year to year with minor changes throughout the period from

1891 to 1914. Such text modules were used in articles and brochures, combined in various ways. Occasionally, more background information on the history of a city is given. Generally, only the title and the opening paragraph are slightly modified. For example, the same text module was used in the articles “The Land of Mijnheer van Dunck” (Thomas Cook & Son 1902a) and “Holland from an aeroplane” (Thomas Cook & Son 1911), with the exception that the “view from the balloon” of the earlier version is replaced by a “view from an aeroplane” in the later version. Other modules concern the struggle of the Dutch against the sea and the flatness of the land, the wars of the Dutch for religious freedom, picturesque medieval architecture, art galleries with Flemish paintings, canals, many windmills, crowded quays in cities, peasants in quaint costumes and headdress, steeples with carillons that play melodies, houses in the city that are out of the perpendicular, flower fields and horticulture, and a general cleanliness of houses and streets. The most visited cities were Rotterdam, The Hague (including Scheveningen), Amsterdam, and, from 1896 on, the Zuiderzee villages of North Holland.

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Cook's Trip to the “Dead Villages of the Zuiderzee”

The trip to the “Dead Villages of the Zuiderzee” appears in Cook's programme in the same period when all printed matter of Thomas Cook & Son became more richly illustrated. It is surprising that Volendam and Marken are included comparably late in the conducted tours; in the consulted material, Marken is first included in a trip in 1896 (Cf. Thomas Cook & Son 1896) and Volendam is included in the Zuiderzee trip only in 1906 (Cf. Thomas Cook & Son 1906b, 10), much after the motif of the Marken and Volendammer fisher families circulated widely throughout visual media.

The first guidebook that mentions the Zuiderzee region is *Cook's Tourists' Handbook to Holland, Belgium, the Rhine and Black Forest* (Thomas Cook & Son 1899c). Next to the city descriptions, which are fully copied from previous editions, a visit to the Zuiderzee villages is suggested:

Excursions from Amsterdam to the Islands and to the Dead Cities of the Zuyder Zee will be found very interesting. Every Monday, Thursday, and Saturday, at 10 a.m., a well-appointed small steam yacht leaves the De Ruyter Kade, at the Kettingboot, for the old-fashioned Island of Marken, passing on the way the village of Broek and the quaint old town of Monnickendam, ample time being allowed for visits, and after a stay at Marken, the return voyage is made by sea direct to Amsterdam. (Thomas Cook & Son 1899c, 5)

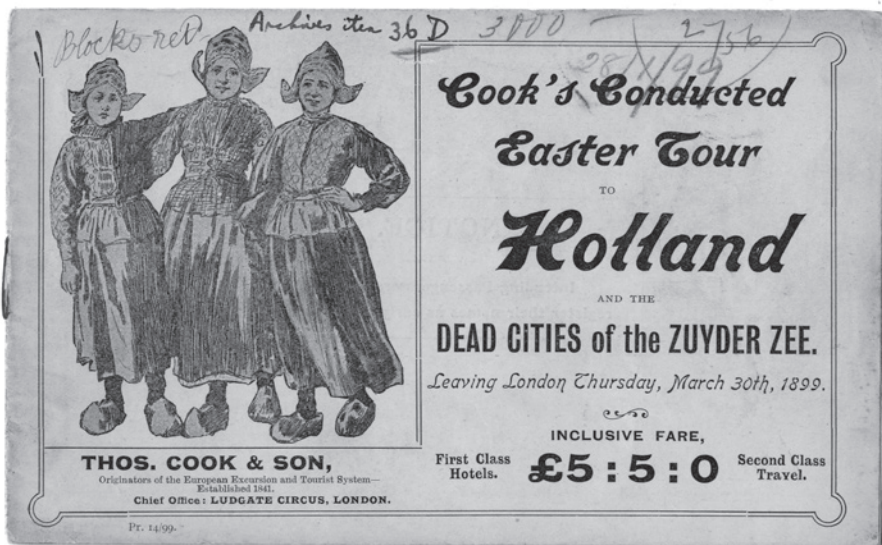


Fig. 6.4 Cover of the leaflet *Cook's Conducted Easter Tour to Holland* (Thomas Cook & Son 1899).

The Zuiderzee villages are included in the guidebook in the same year that Thomas Cook & Son offered package tours explicitly designed to see the Netherlands – and not just the picture galleries. A six-day tour to the Netherlands was offered weekly in the summertime from 1899 until the 1930s. A special Easter tour of four days to the Netherlands was offered (at least) in 1899 and 1908 (Thomas Cook & Son 1899b; Thomas Cook & Son 1908a).

The thirteen-day tour “Holland, Belgium and the Rhine” was offered at least ten times in 1908 and included to Rotterdam, The Hague, Scheveningen, Amsterdam, and, from there, Cologne. The “Dead Cities of the Zuyder Zee” were not included in this arrangement until 1914, when a slight change in programme prolonged the stay in the Netherlands by one day – adding an excursion to the Zuiderzee villages. Three brochures for the trip “Dead Cities of the Zuiderzee” from Easter 1899, summer 1899, and Easter 1908 show the same images: an empty canal in Amsterdam, a beach scene in Scheveningen with people in fancy clothes walking on the sands, and women in traditional clothing of Volendam and Marken.

Transporting the Zuiderzee to Haarlem

While the reuse of the same images is understandable in brochures – after all, they advertise the same tour. The image of the Zuiderzee inhabitants is also used to advertise an excursion to the flower fields of Haarlem, a town that is not situated at the seaside, and which is generally known for horticulture and not for fishing. The written text informs correctly about that fact:

Easter falls late enough this year to find the blooms of these highly ornamental plants in their greatest beauty, and the party which we have organised for spending four days of Easter time in picturesque little Holland will have an opportunity of witnessing a truly gorgeous spectacle. Fields of many hundreds of acres are aglow with one mass of bloom in the middle of April, and present *a sight that can be witnessed nowhere but in Holland.* (Thomas Cook & Son 1903a, emphasis added)

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The image to illustrate the article on Haarlem has nothing to do with Haarlem. This curious combination of word and image can only pass without puzzlement when the motif of Volendammers and Markeners is unambiguously understood to signify “the Dutch”; that way, the motif could be used by the publisher to illustrate “any Dutch person somewhere in the Netherlands”. This use of motif goes beyond the function of synecdoche / *pars pro toto* as the image in the image-text combination is not used to inform about the Netherlands globally, but specifically about Haarlem. In this case, the use of image might even be called “wrong”. Obviously, this did not bother the editor much.

Fig. 6.5
Illustration to
“The Hyacinth
and Tulip Fields
of Haarlem”
(Thomas Cook &
Son 1903a, 21).
The image has
nothing to do
with Haarlem but
shows a street
view in Volendam.



Selling a Dutch Experience through Interchangeable Qualities

The article “Picturesque Holland and the Dead Cities of the Zuyder Zee” (Thomas Cook & Son 1902b) is a combination of often-repeated text modules. Concerning the Zuiderzee villages, Broek-in-Waterland is associated with cleanliness, and Monnickendam is described as a “pretty little city” situated next to “the quaint old-world Isle of Marken”. On a market day in Purmerend, Alkmaar, and Zaandam, so it is promised, “Dutch rural life will be seen in perfection” (Thomas Cook & Son 1902b, 33). The use of different adjectives creates an air of description, but a simple test shows that the adjectives are interchangeable. All Zuiderzee villages could be described as “quaint and old”, “pretty little town” showing “Dutch rural life in perfection”.

288 | Adjectives used in tourist discourse such as “quaint”, “typical”, or “authentic” refer to an undetermined quality as they do not describe an unambiguous characteristic. Unlike adjectives such as “red”, “medieval”, or “brick-built”, the concepts which the adjectives in tourist discourse express are not even vague but only qualify the phenomenon as “visually attractive and locally specific” without giving any criteria. In the end, these rather “undetermined adjectives” explain nothing, describe nothing, and are only used to promote a sight as visually appealing. These adjectives mark a site as a sight without describing a specific quality (for the idea of the marker, cf. Culler 1988, 159–160).⁵

In the promotion of a trip to a certain city, the general recurring topoi are loosely connected to that city without adding too-specific descriptions of local colour. The descriptions of Hoorn in 1903 (Thomas Cook & Son 1903b) and 1908 (Thomas Cook & Son 1908b) are identical. In both, the reader learns:

Of all those old-world moribund cities which line the shores of the Zuyder Zee, whose names ring out so valiantly through the stirring pages of the history of the Netherlands, Hoorn, to our mind, is the most curious, the most picturesque, the most attractive. (Thomas Cook & Son 1903b, 12; Thomas Cook & Son 1908b, 14)

The statement that is made by the use of general and nondescriptive, undetermined adjectives is also weakened by the insertion “to our mind”, which proposes that these statements could be challenged. Tourists who thought that e.g. Edam was the “most curious” did not have to defend their view against the statement made in the brochure. Still, the adjectives were linked to the city. After the message that Hoorn had interesting visual experiences to offer, the advertising of the product follows: “Hoorn is included in the itinerary of our weekly Conducted Parties to Picturesque Holland” (Thomas Cook & Son 1908b, 14).

The same strategy to combine the unspecific description triggering vague expectations with the purchase of a product is used in the article “An Island in the Zuyder Zee” (Thomas Cook & Son 1907):

We know of no other inhabited island to compare with the Isle of Marken in the Zuyder Zee, and those who visit it by our weekly parties to Holland announced on page 33 are certainly entitled to say that they have trodden the most curious bit of earth in the known world. (Thomas Cook & Son 1907, 10, emphasis added)

In conclusion, Thomas Cook & Son’s travel arrangements to and through the Netherlands *before 1900* highlighted the cities, the cityscape, and the art galleries. Package tours were related to events or activities that were considered interesting in themselves (exhibitions, the coronation, a cycling tour, ice-skating) without advertising them as intrinsically Dutch. Early trips to the Netherlands were rather trips *through* the Netherlands. Aside from Rotterdam, which was an important stopover for Cook’s travel route to Belgium and Germany, tourists only went to The Hague and the fashionable bathing place Scheveningen. Early reports and accounts written by travellers describe the picture galleries, the cityscape, the quality of food, the hotels, and traditional dresses of the peasant women. Day trips to villages or the countryside are not mentioned in the archival material before 1896.

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Although some topoi that were taken up by travel guides after 1900 had already been mentioned, earlier material showed more variation in the way in which phenomena were described and qualified. The tendency to add more atmospheric and less descriptive details can be observed already in material of the 1890s and culminated in material after 1900. In brochures and articles after 1900, the potential tourist is addressed with promotions of visual experiences that are supposedly unique to a specific place; the interchangeability of applied adjectives in later material causes the *content* of the promised experience to remain vague. The tourist is promised to see something “quaint”, and the vagueness of that concept facilitates the fulfilment of the promise enormously.

The Dutch Promotion of the Netherlands: *Holland Express* and *Vreemdelingenverkeer*

Dutch associations promoted travel to the Netherlands and published promotional material in various media formats, too. I will compare publications from various sources to those of Thomas Cook in order to find out if there is a similar pattern in form or content. *Holland Express* was an illustrated mag-

azine, issued between 1908 and 1928 by the *Centraal Bureau* in The Hague. The *Centraal Bureau* was set up in 1908 and sought to promote tourism to the Netherlands abroad. Alongside the VVV (the umbrella organization of local tourist offices), railway companies, hotel managers, and other organizations with an interest in promoting tourism to the Netherlands, were members of the *Centraal Bureau*. The magazine *Holland Express* was issued about 20 times per year at first and weekly from 1914 onwards. The magazine provided information on travel and travel arrangements around the world by all kinds of enterprises and organizations, combined with practical information. The foreword in the first edition clearly states the magazine's aim:

We are no Baedeker. We do not claim at all to be complete. But if we come close to reaching our goal, one can use our information to put together a suitable travel plan at home and enjoy more, with less effort and less expense than otherwise would have been the case. (*Holland Express* 1908a, 3, my translation)⁶

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Written in Dutch, the publication was obviously directed to the Dutch market. Issues contain reports on travel to foreign countries and day trips to Dutch cities and towns. The tendency to promote, not only the already established tourist places, but also other Dutch regions as sight-worthy, is a core theme in the publication and the *Centraal Bureau's* mission. After all, if tourists spent more time in the Netherlands and visited more places during their stay, the Dutch economy would benefit from the additional expenditures by tourists. In a report on the newly founded *Centraal Bureau* in The Hague, the variety of the beauties of the Netherlands are praised, and action is called for making the Netherlands known abroad for more than Volendam and Marken (which says something about the Dutch recognizing the cliché as such themselves).

Holland is a beautiful country! Our cities are often pretty, here for their aspect of "city-of-old", there, because of their liveliness and their progress with time. Our districts! Oh, you either see the flat marshlands of our low countries, stretching out widely under a high sky; or you ramble through the dunes or in the woods at Gooi; or you see the endless heath around you, the rolling plains of the Veluwe, of Drenthe; or you reminisce in our dark forests, or you sail over our waters, our lakes and canals... everywhere you will experience joy for the beauty of the things you see! Holland is a beautiful country! Many already know this [...]. Many foreigners go to these places and it is always more beautiful than they thought before; it is only that... there are not only Volendammers and Markers! (*Holland Express* 1908b, 255, my translation)⁷

The *Nationale Bond van Vreemdelingenverkeer in Nederland* also issued a magazine, titled *Vreemdelingenverkeer*. This periodical was sent to all members of the association and contained news on the activity of the local branches, reports on renovation of hotels, and train services. It promoted day-return trips within the Netherlands, bicycle tours, and longer tours through the country alike. Sometimes, local VVVs wrote articles promoting their city or town as travel destinations. In contrast to material by Thomas Cook & Son, various locations were described as sightworthy, not only the Zuiderzee towns and the cities of North and South Holland. This finding also goes for *Holland Express*. In order to compare the way in which information is given, I will compare Dutch articles from around the Zuiderzee and the main cities. Additionally, I will quote from some articles in which the (Dutch) authors refer to American and English tourists, because these foreign tourists were said to illustrate what can be visually enjoyed in the Netherlands.

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A Day-Return Trip to the Villages of the Zuiderzee

In the first volume of *Holland Express*, a day trip to the Zuiderzee villages near Amsterdam was promoted by W.W. (1908). W.W. described a trip from Amsterdam to Monnickendam, Broek, Volendam, and Edam. There is not much difference in tone and vocabulary in W.W.'s description of the trip and the material by Thomas Cook & Son. Broek is characterized as clean, Monnickendam as a town where nothing happens, and Volendam as interesting because of its traditional costumes. The article is illustrated with two photos of windmills at a canal (one also shows cows); one photo of men in Volendam clothing, squatting in front of a house; and Volendammers walking along the main street in Volendam on the dyke (W. 1908, 133). The monotonous landscape on the way to Edam is compared to the paintings of old Dutch masters:

If the way which we took was quite monotonous in the beginning, this got better over time, and as we approached the aforementioned city, a panorama unfolded before our eyes as it is only possible in Holland. It sometimes reminds us of the masterpieces of our old school of painters (W. 1908, 133, my translation)⁸

Only one paragraph could not have appeared in the material of Thomas Cook & Son. That paragraph concerns the thoughts of the author about the difference in appeal of the landscape to the Dutch and to foreigners. W.W. encourages the Dutch to cherish the landscape of their homeland, and reflects on the

influence of tourism on the local population, which caused the children to beg every stranger for money:

Where we otherwise so phlegmatic Dutchmen can be captivated by a landscape that is simple in its composition – how captivating must be its special beauty to those foreigners who visit this typical Dutch area in great numbers? All of you who praise the foreign countries, come here once, too, and you must add that your homeland really does not fall short in what you look for across its frontiers. Entering Edam, one can observe the influence of the many foreign visitors. The children, bothersome as everywhere because they annoy you by staring at the visitors and by begging in broken English for “cents”. (W. 1908, 133, my translation)⁹

292 | The traditional costume of Volendam is praised and the poverty of the population is also mentioned, albeit only *en passant*, just before concluding with information that a tour “through the picturesque parts” can be booked via the North Holland Tramway Company, which also engaged tour guides. W.W. therefore linked travel to consumption of a service and combined it with explicit advertising:

Those who like to travel on a guided tour through this picturesque part are informed that the aforementioned North Holland Tramway Company offers tickets for a round trip at 3 guilders per person during the months of May, June, July and half of September including a good travel guide who points out all curiosities. (W. 1908, 134, my translation)¹⁰

Architecturally Interesting and Picturesque: Hoorn

Vreemdelingenverkeer featured a lengthy article about Hoorn in 1909. Hoorn was also in the programme of Thomas Cook & Son’s trip to the “Dead Villages of the Zuiderzee” and featured as a travel destination in Cook’s 1903 and 1908 journals (see above). The article about Hoorn in *Vreemdelingenverkeer* is one of the few Dutch articles in which reference to authenticity and difference is made:

Of course you know Hoorn! At least, you will have heard of a city with this name, at the Zuiderzee north of Amsterdam. And then you imagine Hoorn as a gloomy and peasant province town at which you as a child of the city turn up your nose. That is how you – and with you many others – know Hoorn. Anything else? No, that is all that most people know. They

do not realize that travellers of many nationalities attest that Hoorn is a town of which the Netherlands does not have many, that it is a place that keeps an abundance of memories of that very interesting Old Holland. Old Holland – frequently artificially copied in recent times – in Hoorn you see the real thing. (Esser 1909, 36, my translation)¹¹

The description in the journal of Thomas Cook & Son advertised the same sights for the same reasons and with similar generalizations, the only exception being that the Dutch article refers to Hoorn as “provoking a sentiment of admiration for our 17th and 18th century”, thereby nationalizing Hoorn as part of national history and cultural heritage. Visiting Hoorn is almost promoted as the duty of every Dutch citizen who should be informed about the history of their nation. In Thomas Cook & Son’s description, this nationalist dimension is absent; the city is described only in terms of its visual attractions. The Dutch article continues:

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One is enthralled everywhere, be it by a pretty archway or an antique house front. Hoorn is a town of architectural and picturesque beauties. A harmony of both, so necessary for the original and fine appearance of a town, is here present and provokes appreciation for our 17th and 18th century in the viewer. [...] Then Hoorn shall remain a city – also in the future – on the programme of nearly every American and Englishman who visits the Netherlands but slowly also become a place where the Dutch themselves go to and become a place not only known by name but also beloved through own experience. (Esser 1909, 40, my translation)¹²

All the houses are old and attractive, covered with sculptures and charming bas-reliefs; with every roof finished with step-gables. [...] It is not one house, or ten houses, which are thus decorated; but one and all, from the first to the last. It appears almost ridiculous to walk about these ancient streets in modern costumes. (Thomas Cook & Son 1903b, 12)

In conclusion, *Holland Express* and *Vreemdelingenverkeer* do not differ much in their ambition from Thomas Cook & Son’s publication. Tourism was encouraged and the benefit of tourism lay first and foremost in generating income. To that end, Dutch cities, towns, and landscapes were described and promoted as visually attractive. In contrast to Thomas Cook & Son’s material, most Dutch articles are more specific about the content of what there is to be seen. The specific beauty of a certain town, landscape, or trip implies (visual) difference to other Dutch towns and landscapes; this difference is not marked in terms of

nationality but shows variation within the Netherlands. In the Dutch edition, what is visually attractive is not always framed as “authentic”.

Articles about regions that were appreciated by international tourists (Rotterdam, Amsterdam, the Zuiderzee villages) often began with a statement that the Dutch should learn what the international tourist already knew. Articles promoting a trip to less-known places usually commented that Dutch tourists did not have to travel abroad to see beautiful landscapes and places; both lines of argumentation called the Dutch to travel the Netherlands in order to get to know their own country better. Whereas a trip to the Netherlands in publications by Thomas Cook & Son was framed in terms of nation-ness, Dutch publications for the home market framed their articles in terms of nationalism. In this way, Thomas Cook & Son offered its clients an experience of Dutchness, while the Dutch tourist offices (directed to the home-market) offered nationalist experiences to the Dutch. This difference notwithstanding, the pattern of promoting a place was similar: both tourist agencies tried to create excitement about the experience that a specific place had to offer and combined the promoted experience of that specific place with (advertising for) the consumption of goods and services.

It would have been interesting to compare the material that Dutch tourist organizations produced for the promotion abroad to these two findings. Unfortunately, I could not find any such sources in the archives visited but only reference to four foreign editions of *Holland Express*. In 1910, the first one was issued in English and was dedicated to the lakes of Friesland and water sports. A German edition of *Holland Express* was distributed in 1910 at the international exhibition of tourism in Berlin. This German edition was supposedly issued together with the Dutch version; subscribers of the Dutch journal were encouraged to send the German edition to a friend in that country. *Vreemdelingenverkeer* reported that “thousands of copies” of French, German, and English editions were distributed in 1910 on the subject of the bulb fields of Haarlem, which promoted a visit to a flower exhibition. Brochures were prepared on bathing places at the North Sea, on castles in the province of Gelderland, and about Giethoorn. These were issued as part of the twelve foreign editions of *Holland Express* that were reported about in February 1914.

As none of these publications are known to exist in publicly accessible archives, I cannot say anything about the use of images, nor about the way in which potential tourists were addressed. From these very few references to the promotional material for distribution abroad, it can only be stated that, next to well-known tourist destinations such as seaside resorts, the Zuiderzee region and the flower fields of Haarlem, less-known places (Friesland and Gelderland) were promoted abroad as well.

6.4 NARRATED AND PRACTICAL GUIDEBOOKS

Narrated and practical guidebooks (see Chapter 2.3 for my definition) are obviously tourist media. Travel guides promote a country or city without connecting them to services of a specific travel company or hotel. In order to be able to compare the content of travel guides on the Netherlands with material issued by tourist organizations, I will focus on three aspects that I sketched in the Introduction. The tension between *partiality and comprehensiveness* will be addressed through a comparative analysis of what these guides promote as knowledge about the Netherlands, which places were included in the travel route and, if applicable, which images are used as illustrations. To investigate the aspect of *typicality and the common*, I will inventory which phenomena and things seen in the Netherlands are described as “Dutch” and “not Dutch at all”. Lastly, the *tension between authenticity and artificiality* will be studied through those passages in the guidebooks that are dedicated to the Zuiderzee villages Broek-in-Waterland, Monnickendam, Volendam, and Marken. The rationale behind this choice is that these villages are described in all publications (including those of Thomas Cook & Son) and thus allow for a broad comparison.

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The three aspects will open with a detailed discussion of one narrated guidebook, *Rambles in Holland*, which I consider a prototype of a narrated travel guide and therefore fit to sketch the pattern of such publications. Additional quotations from various other guidebooks serve to illustrate variation within the pattern.

Rambles in Holland (UK 1913)

Rambles in Holland (Grew and Grew 1913) is a good example to illustrate how information on the Netherlands is presented in narrated travel guides. In 339 pages, the reader follows the travel route of the authors' quest for visually appealing elements in and of the Netherlands. The introductory chapter of *Rambles* recalls the fight against the Spanish and the fight for religious freedom; the last chapter contains practical advice for travellers on hotels, transport, and museums. The remaining 20 chapters are dedicated to one or two cities or towns each and follow the same pattern. First, the travel from one place to the other (and the landscape seen in between) is described. Upon arrival, the impression of the respective city or town is given, followed by information on local places of interest, which always includes the churches. Personal experiences (the comfort of the hotels visited, encounters with local people, thoughts and feelings triggered by the landscape) are blended with

practical advice on the local transport system and opening hours. The perspective on the visited places and monuments is the perspective of a tourist in search for visual attraction, as evidenced by the following quotations:

The stately proportions of Dutch churches are nearly always impressive from the outside, though disillusionment too often waits on the vision of the interior. (Grew and Grew 1913, 41–42)

Colour and movement and varied life by day, strange and beautiful effects of lights on the water by night, make staying in Dordrecht an endless pleasure. (Grew and Grew 1913, 51)

On the way to Enkhuizen we passed innumerable farms and the houses of well-to-do peasants. They were a quite different type of house from any we had seen before, built largely of wood and gaily painted in vivid greens and blue. (Grew and Grew 1913, 129)

Rambles in Holland emphasizes visual pleasures rather than anecdotes about historical or geographical facts. The authors' way of looking neatly fits the tourist's gaze.

Comprehensiveness: Where Should Travellers Go and What Should They See?

Rambles in Holland is one of the few cases in which longer descriptions of towns in the provinces of Groningen, Friesland, and even Drenthe, Overijssel, and Limburg are given.

It is illustrated with 32 photographs: eight depict churches, sixteen city views and buildings in cities, and six views depict towns. Only one photograph shows people in detail: "The Canal Bridge of Volendam" shows three Volendam women. The title of another photograph, "The children of Giethoorn", directs the attention to people, but the children are standing on a bridge at a distance and cannot be seen in detail. Altogether, the photographs show places, not people. The images of places are not restricted to what is generally considered "typical".

Most narrated travel guides were less comprehensive. *A Wanderer in Holland* (Lucas 1908), for example, dedicates the first 206 pages to cities and towns in the Provinces of North and South Holland and the villages on the Zuiderzee. The other 77 pages describe towns in the provinces of Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Utrecht, Zeeland, Gelderland, and Brabant, but do not mention cit-

ies or towns in the provinces of Limburg or Drenthe. *A Wanderer in Holland* is illustrated with 34 black-and-white reproductions of old Dutch masters (Jan Steen, Frans Hals etc.) and 20 reproductions of watercolour paintings by painter and illustrator Herbert Menzies Marshall (1841-1913). The reproductions from Dutch masters, with three exceptions, show people in interior scenes and do not include landscapes. The reproductions of Marshall's watercolour paintings depict cities and buildings. Modern elements are absent in these images; in Marshall's street views or market scenes, all female figures wear long skirts with aprons and bonnets – no city dresses appear in his illustrations. Considering both types of images, the book provides visual information on Dutch people from the past and romanticized contemporary city views.

Things Seen in Holland (Roche 1910) mostly describes the three big towns Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, as well as parts of the Zuiderzee villages and Zeeland. The stated intention to provide ethnographic information of “countries & towns” as made in the sleeve note is at odds with the biased images.¹³ *Things Seen* is illustrated with 50 images (46 photographs and four drawings), fourteen of which depict people in Volendam costume, four images show people in Marken costume, and three show women in traditional costumes of Beveland. The photographs are either portraits or staged shots of people engaged in “typical activities” such as ice-skating or transporting milk. Although people in modern dress appear in photographs of market scenes and city views (together with other modern elements such as bicycles), the caption does not mention them. The city views mostly depict market scenes, canals, churches, and town halls. Generally speaking, city views illustrate places and village inhabitants in traditional costume illustrate people. The selection of photographs does not encourage the non-travelling readers to picture Dutch people other than in traditional costume or to become visually acquainted with modern industries or modern means of transport even though these subjects are treated in the written part of the book.

Practical guidebooks, by contrast, contain information on almost all Dutch cities and towns without an explicit hierarchy or reference to typicality or authenticity. Although comprehensive in the information they give, these practical guidebooks make a selection by proposing itineraries for “cursory trips”. Thereby, such books contributed to the canon of what there was to be known and seen about the Netherlands *in spite of* their extensive listings. Such suggested itineraries include trips to Amsterdam and the Zuiderzee villages, which are mentioned in all practical guidebooks. Tips about the “must-sees” of the Netherlands and information on how to get there can thus be regarded as invitations to make a Dutch experience even when these books do not highlight Dutchness.

The editors of *Baedeker's Belgien und Holland nebst dem Großherzogtum*

Luxemburg (Baedeker 1910) propose the following itinerary: from Cologne via Arnhem and Utrecht to Amsterdam (1.5-2 days), visit Amsterdam and surroundings (3 days), Haarlem and Leiden (1.5-2 days), The Hague and Scheveningen (2 days), and end with another 2-3 days for Delft, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Dordrecht. This suggestion covers mainly the provinces of North and South Holland, with a quick visit to Utrecht and Arnhem (which were on the travel route to and from Germany anyway), and leaves out Friesland, Limburg, Overijssel, Drenthe, Brabant, Groningen, and Zeeland.

Hölschers Holland Reiseführer (Kirchner 1914) suggests two travel routes: one shorter trip of eight to ten days and a longer one of seventeen days (Cf. Kirchner 1914, 21). The short trip is restricted to cities in the provinces of North and South Holland. The longer trip also includes trips to the places in the province of Utrecht as well as two days in Maastricht (Limburg) and one day in Arnhem (Gelderland). The provinces of Groningen, Friesland, Drenthe, Overijssel, and Zeeland are not covered in any trip.

The proposed itineraries in *Griebens Reiseführer Holland* (Hooiberg 1914) mostly cover the provinces of North and South Holland as well as Zeeland. One suggested trip covers a visit to Utrecht and its surroundings; another suggested trip pays a visit to Friesland and Groningen, but no suggested itinerary includes places in Limburg.

Concerning comprehensiveness, the narrated and practical travel guides are biased towards the provinces of North and South Holland with regards to their travel route, and are highly biased towards rural aspects with regards to the images. Illustrations and proposed travel routes are much in line with Thomas Cook & Son's publications, but the guidebooks cover more than the popular regions of Cook's publications and give additional information.

The Typical: What is Dutch and What is Not?

In *Rambles in Holland*, general statements about the Netherlands and the Dutch are connected to personal observations so that local, concrete manifestations function as proof of what the authors consider to be genuinely Dutch. For example:

Every Dutch city has its individual charm, but The Hague unites in itself that of all the others. Here is met for the first time the refreshing and *superlative cleanliness that is a characteristic feature of every town in Holland*. (Grew and Grew 1913, 30, emphasis added)

The expectations of what the Netherlands should look like are implicitly referred to when the authors see something “characteristic” or “typical”:

Once the Hoek is left behind, the face of the country changes immediately. The *characteristic Dutch scenery* begins: the neat, trim houses, freshly painted, gaily coloured, always maintaining an air of being well ordered within and without. Between the stations wide, moist pastures stretch away: already *the typical Dutch black-and-white cows* have been turned out to grass. (Grew and Grew 1913, 29, emphasis added)

Next to the statement of “Holland” as essentially picturesque, the content of the picturesqueness is defined. Moreover, the visited places are compared to a picture that was obviously in the mind of the authors before they actually travelled:

Everything in Holland is picturesque. There is an impertinent excrescence, in the shape of a line of small houses leaning against the north wall of the Groote Kerk, but even they date from the eighteenth century and are so charming that one would hesitate to sweep them away. At the window of one of them, among some flowerpots, a cat was sunning itself, and behind the cat looked out a sweet old face framed by a frilled white cap – *a priceless little picture, a theme for an old Dutch master.* (Grew and Grew 1913, 51, emphasis added)

As a rule, the authors prefer smaller towns over bigger ones in their search for visually attractive sights. This search for attraction and difference is defined as the essence of travel. This difference is described in terms of nationality. Characteristics of “the little old Dutch towns” are generalized.

Nothing could be more endearing than *the little old Dutch towns*, with their sense of a great past and a well-ordered present, their sweet cleanliness, their vivid colour and pleasant activities; above all, their atmosphere of mental repose. Large towns everywhere induce the same sense of stress and pressure, and a strenuous, crowded life fills their streets; the dust of traffic, the builder’s hammer, the clangour of trade fills the air, *and the differences, the novelties, that are the piquancy of travelling are absent.* (Grew and Grew 1913, 111, emphasis added)

Which places and people pass as typically Dutch is limited; neither all Dutch towns nor all Dutch people are considered typically Dutch. Rotterdam, for example, was not typically Dutch in the eyes of the authors because it was not

picturesque. As becomes apparent in this quotation, “commerce and modernity” are seen as opposed to picturesqueness and typicality.

Altogether, *though every place in Holland is picturesque*, Rotterdam is not endearing. It is the prose city of Holland; it really looks its best from the railway bridges, lapped in its wide and busy waters, with barges full of flowers coming in to the market. Its streets are filled with a noise and clangour out of keeping with the sweet peacefulness of Holland: *it smacks so of commerce and modernity*. (Grew and Grew 1913, 64–65, emphasis added)

300 | Not all inhabitants of the Netherlands were considered typically Dutch, either. In the chapters on Maastricht and Zeeland, the authors ponder on the “racial identity” of the Dutch. Their ideas about the typical Dutch person conflict with the outward appearance and the culture of the Maastrichters. Girls are dressed according to “French fashion plates, with very short skirts and socks half-way up to their bare knees” (Grew and Grew 1913, 281). One part of Maastricht even “looks like a Belgian town and smells like an Italian one” (Grew and Grew 1913, 289). Although the authors do not dislike Maastricht, it fell out of the *Dutch* experience they came to explore and which they describe up to that. In the province of Zeeland, parts of the region of Walcheren are considered interesting for their “extremely curious local costumes” (Grew and Grew 1913, 317), but some of these costumes were “Belgian rather than Dutch in character” (Grew and Grew 1913, 317). Dark eyes were not considered Dutch either, as the following quote implies: “We saw some very charming faces, pale and dark-eyed, suffusing Spanish descent” (Grew and Grew 1913, 322).

What is characteristic for a Dutch village becomes apparent in the author’s description with Hulst, a village on the Dutch side of the border with Belgium:

In the village of Hulst, Holland is already left behind to all intents and purposes. This is not Dutch, this straggling, neglected-looking place, with littered streets, a bandstand badly in want of paint, and a rabble of rather unkempt-looking children, obstreperous and ill-mannered. (Grew and Grew 1913, 323).

The southern ends of the Netherlands were thus German, Belgium, French, Spanish, and Italian – but not Dutch.

All narrated and even most practical travel guides mention the struggle of the Dutch against the sea. In most cases, the flat landscape of dunes, dykes, and canals are referred to as typically Dutch (Cf. Hooiberg 1914, 13). Other topoi also known from Thomas Cook & Son’s publications – peasants in

quaint costumes and headdresses, steeples with carillons that play melodies, the general cleanliness of houses and streets, as well as the flower fields and horticulture of Haarlem are mentioned, but these other guidebooks give additional information on a variety of topics, too. Artworks are described at length, mostly with more background information on the painter's lives. The wars of the Dutch for religious freedom and the tolerance concerning religious matters are mentioned as well as the medieval architecture – although most authors of narrated travel guides see less picturesqueness in the whitewashed Gothic churches than the authors of Thomas Cook & Son's material.

What is said to be Dutch with respect to national character varies. These characteristics are not nuanced and are often used to mark difference rather than similarity with respect to the country of the author. The following quotation from *A Wanderer in Holland* is interesting because the British author applies the same generalized statements about his homeland and defines Dutchness in opposition to Englishness. Similarities are not mentioned in the comparison between the English and the Dutch.

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Perhaps the quickest way to visualise the differences of nations is to imagine them exchanging countries. If the English were to move to Holland the whole face of the land would immediately be changed. In summer the flat meadows near the town, now given up to cows and plovers, would be dotted with cricketers; in winter with football-players. Outriggers and canoes, punts and house boats, would break out on the canal. In the villages such strange phenomena as idle gentlemen in knickerbockers and idle ladies with parasols would suddenly appear. To continue this list of changes (but not for too long) the trains would begin to be late; from the waiting-rooms all free newspapers would be stolen; churches would be made more comfortable; hundreds of newspapers would exist where now only a handful are sufficient; the hour of breakfast would be later; business would begin later; drunken men would be seen in the streets, dirt in the cottages. If the Dutch came to England, the converse would happen. The athletic grounds would become pasture land; the dirt of our slums and the gentry of our villages would alike vanish; Westminster Abbey would be whitewashed; and ... But I have said enough. (Lucas 1908, 170–171)

What is Dutch is implicit in statements about what is not Dutch, e.g. in *A Wanderer*, Arnhem is referred to as “the least Dutch of Dutch towns” because its “bosky beauty” was “German in character” and “untamed by Dutch restraining hands” (Lucas 1908, 261). The author of *Das paradiesische Holland* proposes to distinguish between so-called typical Dutch elements that could be

seen in rural areas and the observable phenomena of a modern country. This way, Hartmann could describe “modern elements in the city” next to “typical elements in the countryside” and relate them both to “Holland”. He gave a critical view on generalizations by a (German) traveller who looked for the confirmation of presupposed common knowledge.

The German who travels to Holland should beware of saying that Holland was one big pasture. If he gets around in that country he will see that the landscape actually does not always resemble a big dinner plate [...]. There is nothing more convenient than generalizations. One [traveller] sees, just after having crossed the border, a herd of cattle on a pasture and then exclaims, as if he had found the philosopher’s stone: Dutch agriculture consists solely of cows! Another one crosses paths with a farmer in wooden shoes, the so-called “klompen” and comments: Look! All Dutch wear wooden shoes! (which is not the fact). And because a third one sees areas without mills’ chimneys, he carries on the phrase that Holland was not industrialized. A country that employs seventeen thousand workers alone in its wharfs and that built in one year – it was the year 1909 – a thousand ships in 101 wharfs for marine and canal shipping! (Hartmann 1913, 31, my translation)¹⁴

However, the author only corrects a “wrong” generalization – which he says stems from superficial travel and from well-known paintings that emphasize the picturesque – with, in his opinion, a more correct generalization: Holland is an austere country and “the Dutch” are an austere nation (“volk”), training their forces in an arduous fight against nature.¹⁵ Despite his critique on generalizations, Hartmann writes in a general manner about the “national character” of the Dutch: rooted in their mother soil, dedicated to work, and living up to their internal and external duties. The cliché of the pipe-smoking Dutchman does not express well their “true” national character, so Hartmann’s argument goes. This position seems to imply that a more appropriate national cliché should be chosen.¹⁶

Most practical guidebooks give an overview of “characteristic Dutch features” in their introductions. Baedeker’s *Belgien und Holland nebst dem Großherzogtum Luxemburg* (Baedeker 1910) has a section titled “Dutch characteristics”, in which the landscape is described as monotonous, yet of interest because of the fields, the abundance of water, and the well-trimmed gardens. Outside of cities, “friendly villas” are situated along the canals and streets (Cf. Baedeker 1910, 291). The reader also learns that the cities have canals and movable bridges. Houses are mostly brick houses with narrow front sides and gables; windmills are “remarkably large and powerful” (Baedeker 1910, 291)

and fulfil various functions; church bells ring every quarter of an hour. The function of dykes, canals, and polders is briefly explained (Cf. Baedeker 1910, 292). Other mentioned peculiarities are the numerous benevolent foundations and traditional costumes of the rural population in Zeeland, North Holland, Friesland, and the Islands of the Zuiderzee (Cf. Baedeker 1910, 292) but these costumes are not described in great detail.¹⁷

The section “General remarks” in *Hölschers Holland Reiseführer* (Kirchner 1914, 4) sees the Netherlands as a great travel destination not only because of its proximity to Germany but also for its “beautiful nature, interesting buildings, the plenty of art works, the great sea side resorts, the traditional customs and costumes and the fantastic food in the restaurants” (Kirchner 1914, 4).¹⁸

Apparently, in all these cases, the typical is opposed to the modern and the typical is mostly found in rural and underdeveloped regions. The positive descriptions about typical elements imply nostalgic sentiments. This is the point at which generalizations based on the typical potentially run into problems: in tourist discourse, typical elements are highlighted to such an extent that they may appear common, but a more accurate, comprehensive description of the Netherlands around 1900 cannot equate the so-defined typical with the general or genuine. Just because tourist media and the plenty of images depict the Dutch in wooden shoes, the majority of Dutch citizens did not wear them in their everyday life. This tension between the typical and the common underlies many Dutch reactions to the cliché, which I will discuss in Chapter 6.9.

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The Authentic: Consuming the Picturesque at Broek, Monnickendam, Volendam, and Marken

The authors of most narrated travel guides were not enthusiastic about the tourist villages Broek-in-Waterland, Marken, Monnickendam, and Volendam. In *Rambles*, the critique on Monnickendam is not only directed at the bad manners of the children but also at their lack of authenticity. The perceived lack of authenticity is the starting point for the author’s reflection on the tourist’s duties towards the people they stare at:

Our next landing-place was Monnikendam, a fishing village on the shores of the Zuider Zee. Here we met the Dutch child at its worst. It is particularly hard on Monnikendam, which is otherwise an engaging little place, because these strident-voiced, brazen-faced, pushing girls, and hulking, baggy-trouserred, pipe-smoking boys *don’t belong there at all, but come over from Marken*, to spend, let us hope, a generally unprofitable day in

pestering visitors to buy postcards and other rubbish. (Grew and Grew 1913, 137, emphasis added)

While the authors agree that tourists should pay for their visual pleasure at one place, tourists should help to preserve the authenticity and the picturesqueness of other places by *not* giving money to people in traditional costume:

In Volendam we are in the Holland dear to the poster and beloved of artists. *Everyone is familiar with the Volendam fisherman*, with his long, full trousers, fastened at the waist in front with two silver crown-pieces, his sabots, his coloured jersey, a tall, round, muff-like cap, and a pair of silver brooches fastening his collar. *There is no prettier head-dress in Holland than the graceful winged lace cap of the Volendam woman*, though its charming lines are actually less becoming than the soft oval frame of the Zeeland girl's cap. Women meet the Amsterdam boat with baskets of lace caps for all, but their attentions are comparatively mild, and they don't pester visitors unduly. *After all, it is only fair that people who go to stare at them should pay for the privilege.* (Grew and Grew 1913, 139, emphasis added)

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The tourist's duty was considered a different one at Spakenburg. When a woman from Spakenburg invited the travellers to come visit her house, their Dutch companion vetoed the idea because "she would expect money" and, the authors conclude, "that would be the beginning of the end of Spakenburg" (Grew and Grew 1913, 158).

Most narrated guidebooks share this reservation about the tourist places. The author of *A Wanderer in Holland* comments on the effect of tourism on Marken, Broek-in-Waterland, and Volendam, which, he claims, has led to a loss of authenticity because local people *staged* their home town as an attraction and were conscious about their picturesque capital:

An excursion which everyone will say is indispensable takes one to Marken (pronounced Marriker); but I have my doubts. [...] [I]n seasons of tourists it has *too much the suggestion of opera bouffe*. The men's costume is comic beyond reason; the inhabitants are picturesque of set design; the old women at their doorways *are too consciously* the owners of quaint habitations. [...] I must confess to being glad to leave [...]. *What is wrong with Marken is that for the most part it subsists on sight seers, which is bad; and it too generally suggests that a stage-manager, employed by a huge Trust, is somewhere in the background.* It cannot be well with a community that encourages its children to beg for visitors. (Lucas 1908, 195–196, emphasis added)

The other villages around the Zuiderzee are mentioned more favourably in that publication. Broek had become a “professional sight”, too, but authentic traits could still be spotted:

Broek-in-Waterland, to give it its full title, is one of the quaintest of Dutch villages. But unfortunately Broek also has become to some extent a *professional “sight”*. Its cleanliness, however, for which it is famous, *is not an artificial effect attained to impress visitors, but a genuine enough characteristic*. (Lucas 1908, 197, emphasis added)

The author is positive about Volendam, “paradise of the quaint costumes and prettiness” (Lucas 1908, 202). Volendam and the Volendammers are referred to as “better Markeners in a better Marken” (Lucas 1908, 203). According to the author, Volendam is “more human, more natural” (Lucas 1908, 203). The underlying assumption of these statements is that natural and authentic impressions of Dutchness were to be preferred over institutionalized forms of tourism that stage the attractions for the tourist.

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Two years later, *Things Seen in Holland* even advised the reader not to visit Broek-in-Waterland and Marken because these places had become show places and were neither authentic nor typical and definitely were not representative:

[...] tourists must not be deceived into believing that Broek en Waterland [*sic*] is the “cleanest place in Holland.” It shares with the Island of Marken the reputation of being nothing more than “show-place.” Both places are to be avoided, for they are not representative of Holland. (Roche 1910, 96).

On the other hand, this publication is positive about Monnickendam, Hoorn, and Volendam, and most illustrations are dedicated to Volendammers and Marken because of the picturesque buildings and the artworks by contemporary artists that worked there in artist’s colonies (Cf. Roche 1910, 139–148). The picturesqueness of these places is thus not related to authenticity but the visual appeal mediated by and reflected in artworks.

In *Das paradiesische Holland* (Hartmann 1913), authenticity and typicality are only related to historical artefacts – restored or not – and not to the fairs and expositions on modern crafts and industries that are also mentioned. For example, in Broek-in-Waterland, a model house was restored and “decorated in typically Dutch manner”; the reader is informed that “characteristic costumes” could be spotted in the villages of Bunschoten and Spakenburg, which therefore were considered interesting for the traveller.¹⁹ In the introduction, Hartmann only writes that Volendam and Marken are worth visiting, “pictur-

esque”, “world famous” and a “must-have-seen” (Hartmann 1913, 18), while recommending the traveller to have a look at other places, too. He exclaims his appreciation of Volendam in one sentence and mentions Marken only in a half a sentence (Hartmann 1913, 74). Why Hartmann loves “the quiet village” of Volendam “more than requirements of culture” and how he experiences “the Isle of Marken, the most popular island of the Netherlands” is not made explicit. Monnickendam, to him, is “picturesque” and “interesting” because of the historical buildings. All in all, Hartmann is neutral to positive about the Zuiderzee villages. Just as in promotional material of the tourist offices, the content of the visual attraction of the picturesque is not spelled out. The description of Marken and Volendam as “world famous” also allows for the interpretation that a tourist had to see these places not primarily because they were visually appealing, but because everyone talked about them.

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Contrary to the narrated guidebooks, the practical guidebooks remain descriptive and do not evaluate the sights as explicitly as the promotional material by Thomas Cook or the passages in narrated travel guides. *Hölschers Holland Reiseführer* includes a suggestion for a trip “From Amsterdam to the so-called ‘dead villages and cities of the Zuiderzee’” (Cf. Kirchner 1914, 87–88). Marken is described as an island where “picturesque costumes of the fisherfolk” and “stilt houses” could be seen. Volendam is also mentioned as a fisher village “much visited by artists” where traditional costumes were worn. Edam is mentioned for its cheese, its church, and as the founding place of the Society for Common Benefits. Monnickendam is referred to as a city that has seen better days and Broek-in-Waterland as an old-fashioned village, “formerly being known as the cleanest”, with a church and a model factory for cheese (Cf. Kirchner 1914, 88).

Similar is the case of the suggested trip to the surroundings of Amsterdam in *Grieben’s Reiseführer Holland*: although the text mentions what is supposedly authentic about Marken (and what not), no explicit judgment is connected to this observation and Marken is considered as very much worth a visit:

[...] From here motorboat connections to the fishing village Marken with 1300 inhabitants, 5 km, round trip 75 and 50c. *A visit to the island is very worthwhile*; interesting fisher’s houses which recall the *age of pile dwelling*. The costumes of the inhabitants are original, the *special type of costumes has been preserved* on this island. One visits various interesting houses *from which all original items but the kitchen sink have been bought and taken away by collectors and which have been replaced by cheap reproductions*. At the nearby fishing village Volendam, *traditional costumes* can still be seen. 6 km further to Edam, a friendly and old town with 6600 inhabitants, known for its round cheese that is produced from sweet

milk. (Market day: Saturday, 9-12 o'clock). (Hooiberg 1914, 118-119, emphasis added, my translation)²⁰

With respect to authenticity, most authors of narrated guidebooks were ambivalent or even negative about the “tourist places” of Volendam and Marken. Such a critique is, of course, not to be found in material of Thomas Cook & Son, which continued to promote these places as “quaint”, “authentic”, and “sight-worthy” throughout the investigated period.

To conclude the comparison of guidebooks, topoi in practical travel guides, narrated travel guides, publications of Thomas Cook & Son, and in promotional brochures are pretty similar, but the tone in practical guidebooks and narrated guidebooks is slightly different. This can partially be explained by the medium form and the intention of the publication: whereas the success of a tourist agency aiming at masses needs to rely on *reproducible* experiences, authors of narrated travel guides are expected to write about their *personal* impressions, too. This division of labour between commercial mass-tourism industries and personal accounts of experiences of travel is mutually supportive. On the one hand, personalized variation on a theme can only be understood if the underlying pattern, i.e. the cliché, is expected to be generally known (see Chapter 1). In this respect, personal travel writings depend on the cliché and on supposed common knowledge disseminated via the tourist industry. On the other hand, the tourist industry benefits from personalized travel accounts: the narrative guidebooks offer a personal slant on the general pattern and thus offer every tourist the possibility to personalize the reproduced pattern. In narrated travel writings, the content of “picturesque” and “quaint” sights remains less abstract because most authors explain what the picturesqueness and quaintness meant to them. It may sound ironic, but the personal interpretations of the vague adjectives contributed to their general application.

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6.5 THE CLICHÉ IN CONSUMER CULTURE: DUTCHNESS IN ADVERTISING TRADE CARDS

Images of Dutchness appeared in various products of consumer culture, not only in commodities and services that were directly related to tourism. The (promotion of the) consumption of chocolate, coffee, or light bulbs does not offer experience of Dutchness in the way that tourism does; in advertising trade cards, as in advertising more generally, images of Dutchness were used to advertise products that may or may not have been associated with the Netherlands. Because the aim of trade cards was not primarily to inform about the

Netherlands but to increase the sales figures of a brand product, images and ideas of Dutchness functioned as means to sell a commodity. This perspective connects consumer culture and advertising trade cards to tourist discourse. The absence of trade cards with images of the Dutch that are not in line with the cliché is remarkable.²¹

What I want to show in this section is that the national cliché could be used in advertising even if the product in question was *not* considered authentically or typically Dutch. Images of Dutch women and men in traditional costume were, according to the previously established cliché and the content of supposed common knowledge, presented as “quaint”, “typical”, and “picturesque”. The brand product was thus sold together with the quaintness and picturesqueness of the trade card image, or, the other way around, the “quaintness”, the “typical”, and the “picturesqueness” was part of the sold product.

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In the previous chapters, I have shown that the cliché was used in advertising trade cards produced by Dutch enterprises as much as by companies of other countries. The custom trade cards and the comments of Gartmann's chocolate, as discussed in Chapter 5.4 (see figure 5.16), are interesting with regards to the expressed attitude toward the Dutch. The explanation to the trade card No. 5 of the set “Holland in Wort und Bild” reads:

Such a *perfected image of colour and friendliness* smiles at us through the girl who returns home from the well. (Chocoladefabrik Altona 1903, comment to image 5, my translation, emphasis added).²²

The girl returning from the well is pictured from the front side, giving way to the gaze of the viewer. Just as in tourism, the landscape and the people of the Netherlands are presented as a visual pleasure to the traveller or collector, and they are considered to represent typical Dutch sights as well as typical Dutchmen and -women.

The American stock trade card “Holland”, too, uses the cliché to please the viewer of the card. On the front side, the image shows the figures in fantastic combinations of various local dresses and in ethnographically incorrect colouring (for a discussion of this aspect, see also Chapter 4.8), engaged in the supposedly Dutch activities of ice-skating, knitting, and fishing. In the background, windmills, canals, and tulips are visible.

On the back, advertising for a coffee grinder is printed next to an explanation of the image:

HOLLAND “the land of dikes and ditches,” notwithstanding its flat surface, is one of the most picturesque of countries. Phlegmatic and unromantic as the Dutchmen are they yet present to the eye of fancy some of

Fig. 6.6-6.7 Front and back of "Holland", card 8 of 50 from the set *Pictorial History of Sports and Pastimes of all Nations* (c. 1893).



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the quaintest of studies. The mere idea of Holland calls to mind Delft ware, tulips, scrupulous cleanliness, rotund and pot-bellied burghers and rosy-cheeked buxom housewives. [...] Dutchmen are born fishermen too, even the children sit on the string pieces of the dikes and skilfully ply the lines and reel. Every Jungfrau in Holland is adept in knitting. It is a passion as well as an employment. (*Pictorial History of Sports and Pastimes of all Nations*, back. <http://digital.lib.muohio.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/tradecards/id/4139/rec/4>, accessed 14 September 2014, emphasis added).

No town or city is mentioned. The enumeration of things considered “typically Dutch” is followed by a strongly visual inventory and the statement that all Dutch men were fishers and all Dutch women were knitters. In fact, all observations concerning the people and their activities are generalizations that stress the typicality of the selection. Authenticity is not an issue here; the

statements only relate to typicality. The presentation of the Dutch for an outsider's view interested in visual attraction becomes obvious through the adjectives "quaint" and "picturesque". Topoi, motifs, and tone of this advertising trade card come close to those employed in travel brochures.

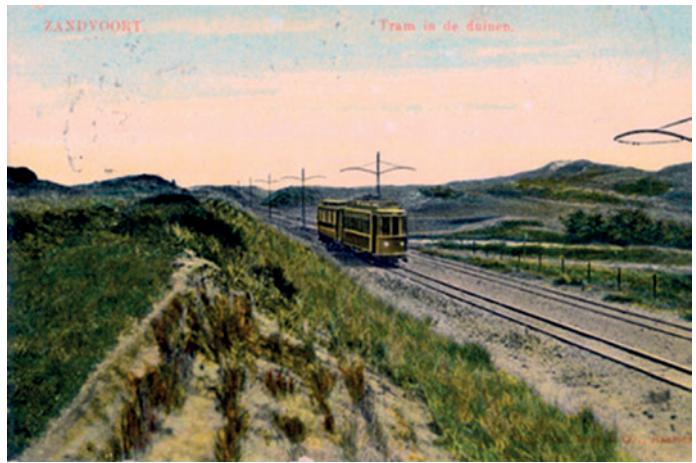
6.6 PICTURE POSTCARDS

Picture postcards of the Netherlands show places far more often than people. Postcards prominently feature extraordinary buildings of a city, cafés, hotels and restaurants, seaside resorts, empty street views with and without canals, or local landscapes. In Chapter 5, I said more about the possibility to collect and use postcards as a medium of armchair travel. Here, I will study postcards that were sent by tourists and examine what they actually wrote on the postcards they bought and sent. Through the comments on the postcards, I believe, the various meanings that the tourists ascribed to the places they sent postcards from will complement the ready-made pictorial representation.

Sending home postcards to family and friends was, and still is, part of the practice of tourism. From the perspective of the sender, postcards document the location where the tourists have been and what they have seen. From the perspective of the addressee, the postcard shows an attractive view of the surroundings where the relative or friend has travelled. From the perspective of the publishers and the local tourist industry, a postcard should raise curiosity about that specific location. Posted postcards thus serve, at the same time, as documents of and as promotional material for travel – even more so if the sender enhances the implicit promotion of the local beauty spots by literally writing something like “this is a nice place, you should come here, too!”

The competition between different cities and towns for (the money of) tourists had resulted in an emphasis on local colour. In contrast to material by Thomas Cook & Son, local specificities were not phrased in terms of national difference on the printed text on the postcard (which usually specified the location). This notwithstanding, some tourists presented the local sites as standing in for the Netherlands as the following examples show. As photo historian and antiquity seller Frido Troost (1960–2013) told me, most picture postcards that he bought and sold in the course of his activities in selling antique Dutch photographs were sent within the country (personal communication, 1 March 2012). People who went on a day-return trip wrote postcards. Picture postcards were thus not primarily a medium of *international* tourists but one of the home market, too. By 1910, almost every Dutch city or town that qualified as a tourist destination had postcards to offer for their visitors, and places that were highly frequented by visitors probably sold more copies than less

Fig. 6.8-6.9 Front and back side of “Zandvoort. Tram in de duinen”. Postcard (c. 1910).



frequented places.²³ I will not give a historical overview of picture photographs of the Netherlands here; the following examples of picture postcards written by tourists are a random sample to illustrate *possible* uses. Further research is needed to assess whether these examples are exceptional or illustrations of a broader pattern.

The postcard “Zandvoort. Tram in de duinen” shows the streetcar that connected Haarlem with the seaside place Zandvoort aan Zee. The back of the postcard translates as “In memory of the first general vacation week” and was sent to the trade union’s office by a union member.

A postcard with the picture of the Prince’s Garden in Leeuwarden bears testimony that this was a place where people went for refreshments. Given that this location is not mentioned often in international tourist guidebooks and that its text is in Dutch, this location (and the postcard) probably attracted more day-return trip visitors than international tourists.



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Fig. 6.10-6.11 Front and Back of “Leeuwarden – Prinsentuin (met Buffetten)”. Postcard (c. 1910).

Postcards from seaside resorts such as Scheveningen and major cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague were sent within the Netherlands, too. The following three postcards were made after illustrations by Henri Cassiers (1858-1944), a then well-known graphic artist in applied and advertising arts (fig. 6.14-6.16). Alongside postcards, Cassiers also illustrated books and designed advertising posters including one for the Dutch railway company with the aim to attract Belgian tourists to travel to the Netherlands.²⁴ The poster features women in the traditional costumes of Marken, Volendam, and Zeeland as well as windmills at the water (Cf. van Frankfoort 1994, 16).

The first example is a postcard of Laren, a village near Hilversum, about

35 km from Amsterdam and 20 km from Utrecht. The postcard was stamped in Rotterdam and probably sent to Italy. The written text translates “From the Netherlands a greeting. Capitan Taturzo”. Although the printed text on the postcard indicates that the card pictured the village of Laren, the tourist’s comment “nationalized” the view by relating it to the Netherlands.

The handwritten comment on the untitled postcard reads: “Dear Mr. Sqallazi [?], I send you some Dutch views for your collection”. By using the category of the national as adjective, the view also becomes nationalized and does not emphasize *local* colour.

In the third example, the sender writes “I tear myself away reluctantly from this land of dykes & windmills – which has really exercised a certain fascination over me. I return here on Monday, Yours truly, Yahel Hammont [?]”. Zaandam was (and still is) known for its great amount of windmills. Yahel Hammont’s observation is thus not surprising; just as is often observed in

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Fig. 6.12-6.13 Front and Back of “Strandleven”. Postcard (c. 1913).



tourist discourse, she describes the characteristics of this town by means of synecdoche as a *general* feature of the entire country (“this *land* of dykes and windmills”).

The main difference between nationally or internationally sent postcards probably lies neither in the visited place nor in the motif chosen by the traveller, but in the comments of those who wrote them. Whereas I did not find any comment on postcards sent within the Netherlands that commented the views as “(typical) Dutch views”, some – but not all – internationally sent postcards were commented by the writer as showing *Dutch* scenery. Dutch postcard writers who wrote to their friends and family did not write “greetings from the Netherlands” on a postcard they sent from Leeuwarden to Leiden. This finding is not very surprising, but it does mirror the difference in perception of the Netherlands as tourist destination seen through the eyes of international and Dutch tourists. In the first case, the comment performed the view as belonging to a city or town; in the second case, the comment performed the view as Dutch. The difference between the local or national meaning of nonfiction images is part of the tension between the typical and the common. I will come back to this in the Conclusion.

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Fig. 6.14 “Laren”. Postcard after an illustration by Henri Cassiers (c. 1902).



Fig. 6.15 “[Dordrecht]”.
Postcard after an illustration
by Henri Cassiers
(c. 1902).



Fig. 6.16 “Zaandam”.
Postcard after an illustration
by Henri Cassiers
(c. 1902).



6.7 LANTERN SLIDE SETS

Alongside printed matter to advertise their trips, Thomas Cook & Son also offered a free loan of lantern slides to their customers. They set up a service to meet the demand of “constantly received enquiries as to the possibility of arranging Lantern Lectures, descriptive of tours taken under Cook’s arrangements” (Thomas Cook & Son 1895, 7). Thomas Cook & Son offered sets of lantern slides to their destinations for presentations “to friends, Societies, Institutes, etc.” In addition to former customers, “any society or institute delivering a lecture to their members” could rent out the slides for free. In addition, magic lanterns and the necessary supplies could be hired against a “moderate charge”. A special office was in charge of this service. This offer was

also noted in the lantern trade press, *The Optical Magic Lantern Journal and Photographic Enlarger*. The December issue of 1897 contains a list of lantern slides for free loan, which includes Thomas Cook & Son (Cf. Ashcroft 1897). The service was also reported in the Dutch illustrated magazine *Op den Uitkijk* in 1904. Although the name of the travel agency is not given, a short article informs about “friendly travel agencies” that offer a free loan of lantern slides to their former customers. Each set consisted of 50 to 80 slides, from “all parts of Europe, Egypt, Palestine, the United States and Canada, the West-Indies and the Cape Colony” (*Op Den Uitkijk* 1904, my translation).

Unfortunately, no set of the Thomas Cook & Son slides is known to exist today; it therefore remains subject to speculation if the Netherlands was among the destinations for which lantern slide sets were produced and, if so, which views were visible on these slides. Considering the itinerary of the conducted tours (see above), such a slide set would probably have shown street views of Rotterdam, The Hague, and Amsterdam; beach scenes in Scheveningen; and flower fields and people in traditional costume from Broek-in-Waterland, Monnickendam, Volendam, Marken, Purmerend, and Edam.

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Performing Authentic Memories with Preselected Images

Even without the actual lantern slides at hand, the connection between advertising and tourism is quite obvious when these slides are considered as objects used in performance. Clearly, the images that individual tourists showed to their audience are the same for everyone – regardless of their personal experiences or memories. By making use of a ready-made set of images for the individual presentation, the former-tourist-turned-lecturer personalized this set through anchoring these images in their eye-witness account. The former-tourist-turned-lecturer thus produced an effect of authenticity and truth – of both the images and of the personal account. The slides illustrate the personal, eye-witness account, and this account ascribes authenticity and truthfulness to the slides and shows that the things they talked about were “really there”. The selection of views fit for the slide set by Cook’s “Lecture Bureau” might have even influenced the memories of the former tourists, as they were explicitly reminded of those sights for which slides had been produced.

The reconstruction of this hypothetical slide set exemplifies the use of images in the logic of tourist discourse, as personal experiences are advertised and documented by predefined, repeatedly produced and performed images. The account of the former-tourists-turned-lecturers to “friends, societies, Institutes etc.” always also advertised the services of Thomas Cook & Son – if only by referring to them as generous supplier of the slides.

Other lantern slide manufacturers offered their services to the tourist, too. In the advertising section of *The Excursionist*, photograph- and lantern seller Walter Tyler promoted its services by the slogan “The best souvenir of a Tour is a Series of Photographs Taken by Oneself” and offered the production of photo prints and lantern slides from the negatives of private travellers (*Cook’s Excursionist*, 1891). In 1906, lantern slide producer George Washington Wilson offered to combine individually taken photographs with those of their stock:

If you wish to give a lecture on your holiday or travels – with éclat – you should get your LANTERN SLIDES made by us. We can make them from your own photographs *and supplement your selection by pictures from our own series as we have thousands of Continental Views*. Our slides have been described by the greatest lantern expert in the country to be “the best in this world”. (*Cook’s Traveller’s Gazette* 1906, emphasis added)

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These three advertisements offered various possibilities for remembering a trip with lantern slides; in the case of Tyler, the former-tourists-turned-lecturers had slides made exclusively from pictures taken by themselves; G.W. Wilson “supplemented” personal photographs from a preselected corpus of images in their stock; and Thomas Cook & Son offered a complete selection of slides for loan. How personal experiences and the preselected, mass-produced images were blended is not distinguishable in Wilson’s and Cook’s slide sets. Moreover, authenticity was then performed not only through images of tourist discourse but in the personal experience of the traveller. This is in line with the definition of authenticity in tourist discourse, which I have described at the beginning of this chapter.

Creating Another Image of the Dutch: Lantern Slides Offered by the Centraal Bureau

A number of written sources indicate that Dutch tourist associations tried to broaden the imagery repertoire with which the Netherlands had become associated internationally. In 1910, the *Centraal Bureau* offered lantern slides for illustrated lectures about the Netherlands abroad. The aim of these lectures was to “give a somewhat complete image of our country”. Local tourist offices were asked to give lantern slides of their regions to the *Centraal Bureau* so “the countries abroad could once see something else than Marken-Volendam and their baggy-trousered inhabitants with their hay-hair or the usually visited places”. These slides were produced by local VVV’s and assembled by

the *Centraal Bureau* to an “entertaining lecture”, completed by photographic slides with reproductions from paintings from famous museums.²⁵ This call was obviously not met with great response; the article reports that many local tourist offices had not submitted any slides yet. The effort to promote more variation in (visual) knowledge about the Netherlands was taken in 1909/1910 – fifteen years after Thomas Cook & Son offered a free loan of lantern slides, and around 20 years after the commercially successful lantern slide sets (see Chapter 4.6), with their limited image repertoire, were in circulation. The image repertoire of the Netherlands and the cliché of the Dutch had already been established when Dutch tourist agencies began their promotional activities.

In spite of the difficulties, the *Centraal Bureau* continued its efforts to promote more than the cliché. An article in *Holland Express* was full of praise for a lantern slide lecture on the Netherlands by Arthur Marshall, an English amateur photographer who also worked for the *Centraal Bureau*. The author praised Marshall for criticizing the “parody and caricature of Dutch life” made in theatre plays and in illustrated magazines. Marshall is said to have “protested amiably” against the “wrong images”. The illustrations in the journal, however, produced from photographs by Marshall, show Volendam children



Fig. 6.17 “Hollandsch Binnenhuisje”. Image to illustrate the article “Vreemden over Holland” about Arthur Marshall’s lectures that confronted ‘wrong images’ of the Netherlands among the British. *Holland Express* (1910, 68).

and an interior scene in a Volendam house decorated with blue delftware, where a woman wearing a laced cap cooks tea on an open fire. These images were probably considered appropriate because they correctly depicted a specific environment.²⁶

Dutch tourist organizations did not work *against* Volendam and Marken images as such, but against the effect of these very well-known images that eclipsed other aspects of the Netherlands. In the articles quoted above, the critique on the Volendam and Marken cliché is restricted to the criteria of ethnographic accuracy, not to their *functioning as synecdoche*.

This implies that Dutch tourist organizations saw images of Volendam and Marken as part of the Netherlands, as part of all images that *in their entirety* gave an image of the Netherlands. The critique of Dutch tourist offices can thus be situated on the level of the typical versus the common.

6.8 FILM

In comparison to media of geography and armchair travel, the number of films and lantern slide sets that were *explicitly* produced for the promotion of the Netherlands as a tourist destination were small in the period covered by this study. Approached from the angle of performance, films and lantern slides of the travelogue genre could have been used to promote actual travel, e.g. at tourist fairs or by associations. From the consulted sources and the comment in travel journals, however, it seems that promotional material for actual travel to the Netherlands before 1914 appeared almost exclusively in printed matter: folders, flyers, postcards, as well as some lantern slides. In the EYE Film Institute's catalogue of films before 1914 with the Netherlands as filmed location, no title indicates that the film was explicitly produced by agents of the tourist industry. The digitized print or fragment of *Amsterdam's Vreemdelingenverkeer* ("Tourism in Amsterdam", alternative title: *De Fontein op 't Frederikplein*, Emil Lauste 1899) seems rather a satire on tourism than advertising: four people in modern dress are filmed in an admiring pose in front of a fountain in Amsterdam.

In the journals *Holland Express* and *Vreemdelingenverkeer*, I did not find any reference to plans to make an advertising film on the Netherlands prior to 1914. A project with the intention to use film for the promotion of tourism was reported in the Dutch trade press journal for film and cinema, *De Kineematograaf*. The film was initiated by the local tourist office of The Hague and Scheveningen in 1915 and was probably directed by Willy Mullens. The article states that the aim of that film was to promote The Hague and Scheveningen as tourist destinations abroad. The film was to be screened "if possible" also



Fig. 6.18 Film still of *Amsterdam's Vreemdelingenverkeer* (Emil Lauste 1899).

within the Netherlands and it was put on the programme of renowned Dutch cinema exhibitors and producers Albert Frères (Cf. *De Kinematograaf* 1915a, 1961–1962).²⁷

One week later, a positive review was published in *De Kinematograaf*. The author wrote that the film showed “a series of views of the city and the sea-side resort” where one can “see how beautiful the Residency [The Hague] is”. Shots were made of the “well-known, beautiful city places, its parks and the beach”, which were judged as “really not inferior to city views from abroad”. The author comments that it will “doubtlessly be an excellent advertising for The Hague and Scheveningen” (Cf. *De Kinematograaf* 1915b, 1964).²⁸

The promotional film *Mooi Holland* (Willy Mullens 1915) was shot for the VVV. The digitized fragment available at the website of the EYE Film Institute Nederland is almost eight minutes long and displays images associated with Dutchness. The film follows a travel route along a canal. It starts with views of windmills at the waterfront, moveable bridges in a city, and the cheese market in Alkmaar. The last six minutes are dedicated to rural areas: sheep and cows in pastures, sailboats on the canals, and people in traditional clothing, mostly from Marken and Volendam. Two shots show women washing clothes at the riverbank, one shot shows a smoking young boy in Volendam attire, and another shot features traditionally dressed people who use dog carts to transport their goods through a flat landscape. According to the website of EYE Film Institute Netherlands, the film consists of shots taken between 1900 and 1905.

In a review of the film screening at Cinema Palace, the author expressed disappointment: *Mooi Nederland* [*sic*], in his comment, was far from beautiful. If one tried to advertise the beauty of the Netherlands abroad in such a

fatuous manner, the reviewer continued, this attempt must be considered a failure in advance. In that case, the films by Pathé were to be preferred²⁹ (Cf. *De Kinematograaf* 1916, 2378).

In 1918, Willy Mullens started another film project to “advertise the beautiful and industrious Netherlands to the Dutch, the Dutch colonies and first of all, abroad” (*De Kinematograaf* 1918b, 3732). It remains unclear whether these films were made especially for (potential) tourists and what they actually advertised. Unfortunately, no film copy of this later series is known to exist.³⁰

Fig. 6.19-6.20 Film stills from *Mooi Holland* (Willy Mullens 1915).



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Another film for promotion abroad was planned by the *Vereeniging tot verbreiding van kennis over Nederland in den Vreemde* ("Society for the advancement of knowledge about the Netherlands in foreign countries") in 1918. Their film project was announced to give an "attractive and popular picture of what is going on in this country in various sections of our national identity, the beauties of our nature, our architecture and so on" (*De Kinematograaf* 1918a, 3551). This film was probably completed later that year or in 1919 and is also considered lost.³¹

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In an article from 1917, translated from the British film trade press journal *The Kinematographer*, the (British) author discusses why so few Dutch films were screened in English cinemas. In the Dutch translation of the quote from the English journal, the British author proposes that "some small cities in Holland were perfectly suited for short numbers because films that show the picturesque costumes of farmers, the hyacinth fields of Haarlem and so forth would be appreciated as an interesting addition to our programs" (Cf. *De Kinematograaf* 1917, 2832). The Dutch editors of *De Kinematograaf* problematize neither the suggestion to show films that correspond to the cliché nor the equation of "Dutch films" with films that show images of Dutchness.³²

Altogether, film was not the main medium with which tourist organizations promoted tourism to the Netherlands before 1914. It seems that such films were realized only after 1915 – at least in the Netherlands. This is comparatively late, as films were used to promote tourism to Canada as early as 1902 (Cf. Braun and Keil 2008) and, in the US, railway companies used all kinds of photographic media – by 1901 also film – for the promotion of travel as a leisure activity, connected to advertising their services (Cf. Kirby 1997, 36–39). In 1907, several local tourist clubs in Germany used film as means to promote their regions and many countries were reported to have produced films for the international exhibition on tourism in Berlin in 1911 (Cf. Deeken 2005, 319–320).

6.9 WAYS OF LOOKING AT DUTCHNESS: REACTIONS TO THE CLICHÉ

Publications on the Netherlands and the Dutch were regularly reviewed in Dutch newspapers and journals. There were reviews of travel guides, announcements of newly published postcard series, and reports of lantern lectures, as well as letters to the editor, all of which were concerned with the image production of the Netherlands and the Dutch in foreign eyes. In tourist discourse and in consumer culture, images and descriptions of Dutchness define the motif as spectacle for the eyes, to be looked at and enjoyed by the tourist/consumer. This mode of looking therefore marks a hierarchy between

the tourist and the landscape or the native Dutch person and positions the tourist as the active looker and the landscape and its inhabitants as the objects of this look. The repeated statement of their “quaintness” has a promotional, thus economic, component as this quaintness is precisely the product that is advertised: the *quaintness* and *picturesqueness* (and not the ethnographic information) are part and parcel of the commodified experience.

Although not explicitly discriminatory, images in tourist discourse and consumer culture were perceived as problematic and offensive by some Dutch citizens, while others appreciated the freshness of a view from the outside or the usefulness of these images for economic purposes. The following section attempts to categorize various responses in order to broaden the understanding of what Dutch people thought about the way in which they were depicted through tourist discourse as well as in images that circulated in consumer culture.

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Appreciation: Looking at One's Own Country through Different Eyes

Travel writings written by foreigners about their stay in the Netherlands could be appreciated for being well-written. Early examples are the many reviews of Henry Havard's *Voyage Pittoresque aux villes mortes de la Zuiderzée* (Havard 1874). For example, *Het nieuws van de dag* praised Havard for the truthfulness of his account and the kind-heartedness with which it was written. The reviewer expected that the account would serve well to inform foreign people about the Netherlands and the Dutch correctly.³³ A journalist of the national newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad* was even more enthusiastic. In addition to the truthfulness of the account, the poetic writing style and the well-worked sketches of Havard's account were cherished for their artistic beauty. According to the journalist, Havard received the decoration “Knight in the Order of the Oak Crown” from His Majesty the King with full right, because he wrote so adorably about the Dutch, their arts, their history, their present, and future.³⁴

Another appreciated travel book was *Sketching Rambles in Holland* (Boughton and Abbey 1885). The review opened with a critique on earlier travel reports. The vast amount of badly written accounts on the Netherlands made it worth reporting if one good book was published, according to the journalist. Even though the text contains some incorrect information, the journalist writes, the authors should be excused for their lack of knowledge about the Dutch language. All in all, the reviewer was very satisfied with the information; the book “deserved an honourable mention next to Havard's account”. Considering the limited time they had spent in the country, it is understandable

that they did not achieve a deep understanding of the country. In spite of this shortcoming, the illustrations of “characteristic buildings, striking points of view as well as national types” were well-made, even if not as complete as in other works.³⁵

Admiration for a view of the Netherlands by foreigners was expressed by Dutch journalist “G.C.,” who admired the paintings of rural Dutch towns and the landscape of the province of Holland by foreign painters. These paintings opened the eyes of G.C., who could appreciate the landscape of their homeland only after having seen “Dutch reality” (“*Hollandsche werkelijkheid*”) represented in the images of the foreign tourists and painters. Through their eyes, G.C. learned that common Dutch items could be considered aesthetically interesting and their view inspired the author to spend a day out in the grasslands of North Holland.³⁶

Negotiated Position

Ambivalence between appreciation and critique of generalizations is expressed by the editors of the journal *De Aarde en haar Volken* in an annotation preceding the article “Door Holland met pen en camera” (Hamön 1906a; Hamön 1906b), which I have already discussed in Chapter 5. The article is a translation of a French travel description, originally published in *Le Tour Du Monde* under the title “Croquis Hollandais” (Hamön 1905a; Hamön 1905b; Hamön 1905c). Despite the generalizations in Hamön’s text, the editors of *De Aarde en haar Volken* believe that Dutch readers would consider the well-written piece interesting to read and that they were curious about the French traveller’s perspective on their country.³⁷

Opposed Position

Explicit criticism of descriptions by foreigners can be found already in Maaskamp’s publication from the beginning of the nineteenth century (see Chapter 4). His book aimed, among other things, to correct a “wrong aesthetic perception” of Dutch costumes by tourists.³⁸ The promotional material of Thomas Cook & Son was regularly opposed by Dutch journalists, sometimes very fiercely. In *Op den Uitkijk* from 1899, two short articles were published about the English travel agency. The author of the first example accepted with regret that tourists only visited some parts of the Netherlands, but protested against the “silly manner” (“*dolle manier*”) in which the Netherlands and the Dutch were presented.³⁹

The other article in *Op den Uitkijk* expressed a less fatalistic opinion. Next to opposing the “outdated and wrong” description of the Netherlands, the author still had hope that Cook’s information on the Netherlands would change now that the company had opened an office in Amsterdam – all the more so if Thomas Cook & Son wished to sell its services to potential Dutch tourists. The author closed the article with the statement that the employees who worked as tour guides “knew better”. Once people saw how the Netherlands really looked, according to the author, the description of the Netherlands would change.⁴⁰

A similar argument was made in the article “Een Engelschman over Nederland”, published in *Utrechtsch Nieuwsblad*. While the descriptions of the Netherlands and the Dutch in Cook’s brochures were fiercely opposed, the author nevertheless wishes Cook success with his package tour because then “at least some English [travellers] will have the chance to see that we have more modern means of transportation at our disposal than barges and dog carts, that there are houses in the cities which are in the perpendicular and that our rural population does not yet need to seek refuge in stilt houses”.⁴¹

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Critical but less cynical is the author of “Het oordeel van anderen over Holland”, a review of *Holland and Our Friends the Dutch* by S.S. Abrahamson published in *Holland Express* (1911a). The author states a lack of interest by tourists in modern elements of Dutch life and culture. Dutch people in the cities, the journalist stated, were disappointed when a tourist only wanted to know about the canals, the Island of Marken, and the hut of Czar Peter. This tourist view “admires the past and misjudges and devalues the present” (Cf. *Holland Express* 1911a, 85–86).⁴²

Homemade Clichés: Appreciation and Criticism

The material produced by Dutch tourist offices for the promotion of travel to tourists was also commented on in the Dutch press. The activities to promote Dutch towns, cities, and countryside abroad were met with appreciation. Arthur Marshall, an English photographer, was praised for the way in which he captured the characteristic aspects of the beauty of landscape around Giethoorn in Friesland. Contrary to other English people, Arthur Marshall was said to “have travelled the country enough in order to rightfully state that the visitor will meet new and fresh surprises everywhere in the country”. The text was “pleasurable to read even for a Dutch reader” because Marshall did not “make from ten Markeners in wide trousers an entire army” and “described things as they are” without exaggeration.⁴³

The Dutch illustrated family magazine *Eigen Haard* went even further and

appreciated the use of the Volendam cliché for advertising campaigns abroad. The article “Hollandsche reclame in Engeland” reported on the advertising strategy of the steamship company “Batavierlijn”. Six boys were dressed in Volendam costume and sent to England to advertise the services of a Dutch steamship company. The boys were hired by an agency in Amsterdam and it is most likely that none of them was from Volendam. Without reservations, the author embraced this strategy and judged it as successful for the promotion of Dutch enterprises abroad, which, in turn, would be good for the entire coun-



Fig. 6.21-6.22
Illustrations to the article “Hollandsche reclame in Engeland” (“Dutch advertising in England”), showing the six hired boys dressed up in Volendam costume at the Trafalgar Square in London and on the beach of Brighton. *Eigen Haard* (1906, 512).



try. Authenticity and ethnographic truthfulness obviously were not criteria for the advertising company and the reporting journalist. What mattered was the success of the campaign – and, to that end, the cliché was embraced and, even more, performed in order to live up to the (presupposed) expectations of the British public.⁴⁴ The campaign was appreciated by another journalist who characterizes himself as critical of the use of the cliché in many cases. This journalist even cherishes the fact that the Volendammers were performers, because “if they had been real Volendammers, the crowded streets in London would have made them feel bewildered and uncomfortable”.⁴⁵

In this as in other cases, the use of the cliché for advertising purposes was a conscious choice. Women in traditional costume were chosen as motifs for advertising trade cards by the Dutch enterprises Philips (who produced lightbulbs) in 1910/1911. The editors of *Kunst in de Philips-Reclame 1891-1941* quote from an interview with the director Anton Philips in which he said he preferred “a beautiful girl over a funny cat” on advertising products (Cf. Wilbrink and van Hulst 2005, 15). For the trade card set of photographic images, the company even hired Dutch film star Annie Bos to pose in traditional costume (see figures in Chapter 4). Just as in the case of the Amsterdam boys in Volendam outfits, ethnographic accuracy and authenticity obviously were not central concerns.

Not everyone was happy with Philips’s choice of motifs. Especially Dutch people living abroad and diplomats expressed a perceived danger of these self-images. “I already got angry a hundred times when I saw the advertising trade cards with Dutch farmers and fishers”, A.M.S. wrote, “such images make the foreigner think that the entire Netherlands wear costumes like that. Not two weeks ago, an Italian said to me ‘a fat toddler not taller than a boot with a cigar as long as a hand in his mouth – no, you stretch things too far, over there’.” A.M.S. was even more upset when they discovered that these images were also produced by Dutch enterprises and explicitly named Philips. The typical that these trade cards accentuate was not suitable to give the right impression about life in the Netherlands in the mind of the viewer. What is interesting here is that A.M.S. did *not* see the typical as representative for the entirety, which implies a clear distinction between the typical and the common.

The fear of becoming known through these “misrepresentations” was also expressed by Dutch citizens living in the colonies. Instead of blaming foreigners for their distorted views, the Dutch should take the responsibility themselves as they took part in living up to the cliché of a rural Netherlands in presentations of Dutch pavilions at international exhibitions and fairs. According to the author, this self-presentation created the impression that no modern architecture existed in the Netherlands. The programmatic title of the article was “*Eigen Schuld*” (“Own fault”). A Dutch representative was

quoted who expressed his disappointment about the self-presentation at the opening of an exhibition or fair:

We have tried so often to convince the foreigner of the fact that the Netherlands is not exclusively a country of farmers and that people in the Netherlands wear boots and trousers just as the Americans do. It is therefore regrettable that the Dutch commission meant to undo our work by presenting the Dutch to the American as a panorama of “Marken in 1670” (*De Sumatra Post* 1915).

The writers of the article concluded by blaming “the stubbornness of our Dutchmen” (“*kaaskoppen*”) for not changing the self-representation.⁴⁶

328 | The self-presentation as farmers and fishers from former times was subject to critique in a review of the festive show of New Year’s Eve 1914/1915. If The Hague wanted to become the world capital of thought, then the self-presentation of the Dutch as “picturesque Volendammers” needed to stop – also in the entertainment branch. Hollanders should not align themselves with “everything that presents itself to the globetrotter as picturesque costume” or “as uncivilized natives whose typical costume, custom and amusements are conceived by the foreigner as a curiosity!”⁴⁷

Film production was also seen as one source of creating a restrictive impression of the Netherlands. In a letter to the editor of the monthly publication of the *Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond* (an organization that was active in the domain of Dutch language and literature), A. Loosjes warns about the dangers of film for the perception of the Netherlands abroad. A film only became labelled a “Dutch film”, so Loosjes writes, if it features traditional clothing of fishers and farmers (sometimes even a combination of items of various regions) “with a windmill in the background”. Films such as those produced by Pathé “reach the entire world and confirm the silly idea (“*dwaze denkbeeld*”) that Hollanders were nothing more than typically dressed people, walking in wooden shoes”. The author called for films that show “Holland as it really is” to prevent the Dutch being seen abroad “exclusively as the country of typical costumes” (Cf. Loosjes 1912).⁴⁸

A. Loosjes’s critique was probably not only directed towards foreign film production but against Dutch film production as well; after all, the Dutch film company *Filmfabriek Hollandia* used similar settings for its films of the Netherlands. Ivo Blom refers to a statement in a Dutch family magazine which seems similar to that of Loosjes:

A similarly archetypal image of the Netherlands could be found in the films of Alfred Machin, so much that the Dutch popular magazine *Het*

Leven featured an article in 1911 fiercely protesting against these foreign “windmills and clogs films” which created the impression Holland had nothing more to offer than folkloristic types and surroundings. (Blom 1996, 255)

Critical Reflection on National Clichés

Occasionally, one’s opposition to being depicted with national clichés served as the starting point for a reflection on the own use of national clichés in the perception of other people and places. A review of a lantern lecture, given by an American of Dutch origin, referred to a position towards clichés which was neither embracing nor rejecting but which provided the ground for reflecting on one’s common knowledge about other people and places. A reporter on the lantern lecture “*Het nijvere Amerika*” (“Industrious America”) notes that the lecturer gave a short introduction in which he listed cliché images and stereotypical ideas that were widespread among Americans. But weren’t some Dutch travellers as superficial as the criticized Americans, if they themselves only knew the Americans via the prejudice that everything in the US was about money?⁴⁹

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In the closing paragraph of the book review of the travel guide *A Wanderer in Holland*, the (British?) author reflects on the directedness of their gaze searching for those elements that are promoted by travel brochures. This reflection lead the author to question the national specificity that they are deemed to signify. The same elements that were cherished abroad (barges, canals) had been overlooked in the homeland. Travel, according to the author, opens the eyes for elements in one’s homeland. These elements probably have escaped one’s attention because they were not signposted as typically English.⁵⁰ Quite ironically, the agency Thomas Cook & Son is thanked for having enabled this eye-opening; after all, they were a major agent in pointing to a selected number of sights and marketing them in terms of nationality.

Positions in the Debate about the Cliché: Rethinking the Self/Other Distinction

The various standpoints in the debate about clichés as expressed by Dutch writers call for a more nuanced analysis in the reception of the cliché than that allowed by a binary opposition between (appreciated) use of the cliché in the outsider’s perception and rejection of the cliché in the self-perception. Rather than organizing appreciation and critique of the cliché along the line of the

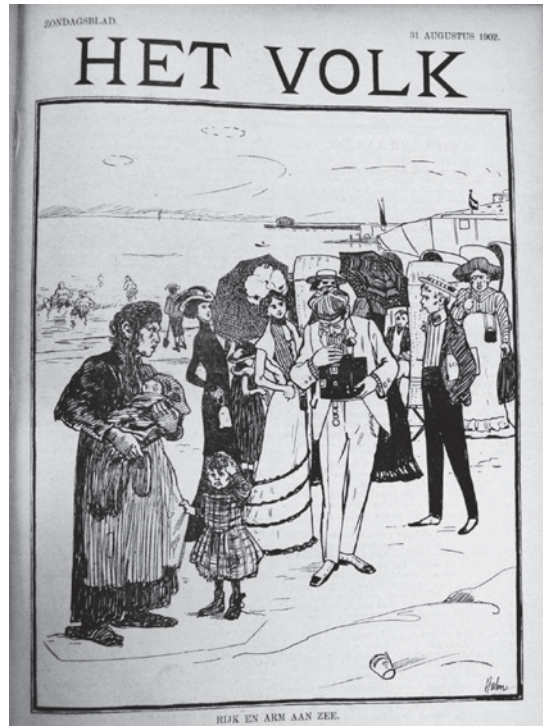
nationality of the speaker, I propose to look into the *function* that the cliché has in a certain argument.

It is noteworthy that negotiated and opposed opinions rather elaborate on the lack of modern elements and the distorted or untruthful description that the clichés gave about the country. In contrast, positive reviews of tourist publications join in the praise for the beauty of the rural areas and elements which they consider traditionally and typically Dutch, and thus imply a nostalgic component. Dutch enterprises (Batavierlijn, Philips) or committees in charge of the self-representation of the Netherlands (e.g. at international fairs and expositions) contributed to the dissemination of the cliché about the Dutch by the choice of motifs in their advertising products and strategies. Some Dutch journalists embraced this use of the cliché in consumer culture and judged it as “good for the entire country”, referring to the tourist economy as an important field of income and its expected positive influence on selling Dutch (brand) products. Other Dutch journalists even shared the appreciation of tourists and foreign artists for the typical and authentic of the Netherlands. In doing so, they not only shared the interpretation of what “typical and authentic Dutchness” consisted of, but also admired it for the same reasons, i.e. its picturesqueness. Appreciation of the cliché was thus motivated by its economic benefits for the Netherlands and the expression of nostalgic sentiments tied to one’s nation.

Rejection of the Dutch cliché follows two main lines of argumentation. Both types of opposition against the cliché denounce the absence of modern elements in the cliché, but for different reasons. In the case of the first type, the critique is about truth and directed against a distorted view of the Netherlands that the cliché communicated. The cliché was said to be “not right”, at least not if it was generalized to the entire country. This critique especially attacked the absence of modern elements in the presentation of the Netherlands through the cliché. In the case of the second type, the argument against the cliché was of a strategic nature. In that view, the effect of the cliché of the rural Dutchman was seen as a threat to the Dutch reputation and, consequently, as a threat to the Dutch position in society circles. Critiques of that type stressed the need for the Netherlands to be perceived as modern in order to be taken seriously in international diplomatic, economic, and scientific affairs. Dutch authors of both types of opposition to the cliché (more or less explicitly) expressed that they felt affronted by being perceived through or associated with clichés. In that respect, ethnographically correct images of Volendam and Marken fisher folks could be seen as equally threatening as ethnographically incorrect representations. This marks a fundamental difference towards the use of clichés and other images in anthropological discourse.

Furthermore, opinions towards the cliché differ by class. Dutch journal-

Fig. 6.23 Illustration to the article “Rijk en arm aan Zee” (“Rich and poor at the seaside”), published in the socialist newspaper *Het Volk Zondagsblad* (31 August 1902).



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ists, i.e. intellectuals, who – given that newspapers were produced in the cities and not in the countryside – generally must have lived in the city, shared the praise for the authenticity, visible in images of farmers and fishermen, that was created for the affluent (potential) tourist abroad. After all, the appreciation of “quaintness” in the images resulted from the possibility *not* to connect poverty with the “quaint” costumes. With one exception, none of the sources discussed the bias of class in tourist publications. Not surprisingly, this exception is found in the socialist weekly magazine *Het Volk Zondagsblad*. The article is illustrated with one line drawing, depicting a poor family in traditional clothing and rich people with a camera, taking a photograph. The article opens with a denunciation of the social injustice that a working-class child experiences in its life and the privileges of the rich child, made possible by the exploitation of the working class and concludes with a denunciation of the tourist who sees the poverty as picturesque: “Oh, look at her, with her child – a ‘picturesque group’, even in this state they render service to the rich: they are photographed and the learned experts will say that it is an interesting picture.”⁵¹

If there was one criterion to cluster appreciation of and opposition to the cliché, it would be the distance from it: Dutch authors and journalists who expressed appreciation of the cliché apparently did not feel personally touched by the motif of the Volendam fisher families. The quaintness of rural life was “out there” to be looked at and to be enjoyed, and this look was not perceived as directed at themselves; these authors were not part of the picturesque image. Rejection of the cliché often articulated fear of undesirable consequences of being perceived (or experiences of having been perceived) through the cliché. It seems that the “impersonal appreciation” of the cliché was built upon an understanding of the cliché as a *symbol*, not related to anything “real” in the realm of one’s own experiences, whereas opposition to the cliché was based on its effect when applied *pars pro toto* to the entire Netherlands.

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In this respect, the attitudes of journalists towards the functions of the cliché were similar to those in anthropological discourse. On the one hand, the cliché can communicate an abstract concept (“the Dutch”) and, on the other hand, it can refer to real-existing people (see Chapter 4.11). Just as in the other discourses, fixing the motif did not imply fixing the meaning – even if the motif in question was the cliché.

6.10 CONCLUSION

The investigation of the discourse on the Netherlands and the Dutch in tourism and consumer culture has shown that the disseminated knowledge is an eclectic amalgam of geographical, historical, and anthropological discourse, combined with aesthetics that suited the commodity form. Tourism and consumer culture relied on the cliché of the Dutch that had been established through popularized anthropology (Chapter 4) as well as media of popularized geography and armchair travel (Chapter 5) in the course of the nineteenth century. The categories “picturesque” and “quaint” originated from painters and writers of the Romantic Movement, whose works of art and literature contributed significantly to the creation of (expectations about) visually attractive sights in the Netherlands. From the 1880s on, “the picturesque” was a concept deeply tied to celebrating modernity and the visual pleasures it enabled through mass-production and mass media in the newly established consumer culture.

The analysis of tourist material of mostly British and Dutch origin reveals that towns and sights were promoted for the same attractions and with similar images. Materials from outside the Netherlands often attribute national categories to people and places seen in the Netherlands, whereas the Dutch tourist

discourse is more specific about the scale and almost always mentions region and town along with naming them as part of the beautiful sights in which the Netherlands is so rich. In some articles, Dutch authors tie local specificities explicitly to the national by referring to them as part of Dutch culture and of interest to all Dutch citizens who wanted to learn more about their country (Cf. Esser 1909 in Chapter 6.3). Even in those articles, the authors might judge the attractions of a city or town as “typically Dutch”, but they never generalize them as typical for the *entire* Netherlands. The typical is thus connected to taste, which situates it on the level of Dutchness.

Dutch tourist organizations and journalists tried hard to broaden the images and the knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch, but, at the time the *Centraal Bureau* was founded (in 1908), the cliché of the Dutch and the tourist image of the Netherlands had already been established and circulated widely. Narrated guidebooks usually covered more than the tourist show places, too, but obviously neither the narrated guidebooks nor the efforts to promote various places in the Netherlands by the *Bond van VVV* and the *Centraal Bureau* led to a change in tourist discourse (or the interest of tourists who continued to flock to Volendam and Marken).

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Whereas material of Dutch origin tends to document the costume and places rather truthfully (see the case of trade cards by Philips in Chapter 4), the German and American trade cards in my corpus are not limited to Dutch costumes but display an “iconography of Dutchness” by including elements that have been identified as typically Dutch in the background. Thereby, such cards not only place their images in the broader cultural-geographical-political context of the Netherlands, but also in a specific discourse about it. This discourse is characterized by generalizations made on the national level, a repetition of certain motifs, and the presentation of the views for the entertainment of the viewer – all of which I identified as characteristics of the discourse of Dutchness. Yet, even the ethnographically correct depictions in the trade cards and other promotional material issued by Dutch enterprises fed into the discourse of Dutchness. Publications of Dutch origin with the motif of women in costumes with apron and headdress situated in a premodern countryside were, voluntarily or not, complying with the cliché of the Dutch as these products presented the Dutch as visually interesting (or “picturesque” and “quaint”). Therefore, visual media of Dutch origins contest neither the cliché nor its logic; furthermore, neither the ethnographic accuracy of the depictions nor the regional specification (by naming the respective town) could have changed supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch in the eyes of light-bulb buyers or chocolate consumers around the world.

The economic benefits from the use of the cliché seem to have motivated its broad application in both advertising and tourism and, probably, in con-

sumer culture more generally. After all, advertising relies on messages that are uncontroversial and easily understood; consumers were not approached with confusing or complex messages, hence the choice for reductive forms such as the cliché. The compliance with the cliché seems to have been considered a good strategy for successful marketing by enterprises of Dutch and foreign production alike. This economic reasoning recurs in reactions of the Dutch to the cliché, as those who favoured its use mostly argued economically (see Chapter 6.9).

The same tourist destination, the same visually attractive elements (and sometimes even the tone of the descriptions) could be used for the construction of different meanings around the relation between the local and the national. As a tendency, material on the Netherlands produced by the Dutch follows the logic of the national-as-bracket mode and material produced outside the country follows the logic of the national-as-descriptor mode. The results of having looked for the *function* that a word and image combination fulfilled call for a rethinking of an easily assumed difference between the self-image versus the outsider's image. Seen from this perspective, difference is not to be found in the circulating images themselves but in the meaning they communicate.

Tourist discourse's emphasis on difference and authenticity had the result that the Dutch were described as exotic and largely depicted the Dutch in the form of the cliché (material by Thomas Cook & Son; Grew and Grew 1913).⁵² As any local population in tourist discourse, the Dutch were considered natives-to-be-looked-at, but this difference was not framed in terms of cultural hierarchy. For the international tourist, seeing the native Dutch with one's own eyes realized the promised experience of authenticity and difference advertised in leaflets, travel guides, and articles.

Consumer culture and tourism requires reproducible forms; the cliché generally provided an apt means for advertising the idea of Dutchness and promising the experience in commodity form. The cliché was a dominant visual depiction of the Netherlands throughout the period under investigation, even as it became obvious that it obstructed the appreciation of those places of the Netherlands that did not match the visual appearance of the cliché, and hence, partially hindered the economic exploitation of the Netherlands for tourism.⁵³

Quite ironically, the repetitive logic of consumer culture, tourism, and the cliché is stronger than what "authenticity" usually covers. As everyone can reproduce the cliché, the cliché does not need to be truthful to its origin – which is at the core of the definition of authenticity. In tourism, "authentic" sights only need to *appear as* not staged and "out there" without the tourist, while, at the same time, authenticity can only be perceived if a certain place

Fig. 6.24 “Mr. Claggett Wilson as Volendammer”. Illustration to the article “Een Amerikaan als Volendammer” in the illustrated magazine *Holland Express* (G.V.H. 1911, 279). The child and the woman are probably Volendam-born Volendammers, as Mr. Wilson reports in the article that he took some children by the hand whenever a group of tourists arrived.



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or sight is marked. If the authentic is too obviously set up for the tourist, then some tourists may be disappointed, as I have shown in quotes from the travel guides in Chapter 6.4.

Because of the enormous number of American tourists, “fake Volendammers” were hired as additional guides. On a cruise through the Mediterranean Sea, Dutch journalist G.V.H. met Claggett Wilson, an American traveller. Wilson had worked as such a “fake Volendammer” and had performed the Volendammer to American tourists. G.V.H. wrote about this “most striking” phenomenon of tourism:

A young American, living as a Volendammer among the Volendammers, that really is the most striking phenomenon in the domain of tourism. [...] According to the account, it even went as far as having fake guides: Americans dressed as Volendammers informed their fellow countrymen in a true or deceiving manner. For his fellow countrymen, the Americans, he played the guide, and then got tipped a dime or a quarter. Funny sensation for someone who spent a lot of money there himself.⁵⁴ (G.V.H. 1911, 273–275, my translation)

Authenticity in tourist discourse is always the result of having marked a sight as authentic; authenticity is thus always performed. This is why the discourse of consumer culture and tourism allowed for the fact that the film star Annie Bos could pose in the traditional costumes of Spakenburg and Bunschoten and this explains why an American traveller could act as a Volendammer tourist guide without causing irritation in the eyes of the tourist or in the systems of signification.

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- 1 For a case study of Romantic experiences mediated via commodities, cf. Ilouz (1997).
- 2 Technological progress in transportation networks of both goods and information (stream trains, steamboats, telegraphy) went hand in hand with an expansion of tourism and mass media. Both were preconditions for images to reach larger audiences across farther distances in less time. The ubiquitous existence of images in industrialized societies nourished the perception of places and people to “look like a picture” – and, as a picture, the vista could be sold.
- 3 Images in tourist discourse have both an advertising function for the commodified experience achieved through travel while, at the same time, these images are a commodity in themselves, too. Recalling Culler, these images as well as souvenirs are “off-site-markers” that “remind[...] one that the attraction is an attraction” (Culler 1988, 160).
- 4 The importance of Havard’s travel account for the promotion of the Zuiderzee region as appealing to romantic and realist painters and, later, as a tourist destination is also pointed out in Blom (1996) and in the recent popular nonfiction book by Smid (2013).
- 5 Alison Griffiths observes that, in the case of early ethnographic film, “adjectives such as ‘wild’, ‘barbarous’, ‘curious’, ‘picturesque’, ‘quaint’, ‘strange’, ‘weird’, and ‘queer’ become the hallmarks of Otherness in published descriptions of these films, functioning essentially as an ideological shorthand for deeply embedded views about racial difference and the place of the Orient in Western imagination” (Griffiths 2002, 215). When referring to the Dutch, these adjectives do not imply *racial* difference. I will come back to this point in Chapter 7.
- 6 Original: “Wij zijn geen Baedeker. Op volledigheid maken wij allerminst aanspraak. Maar als wij het beoogde doel slechts bij benadering zullen bereiken zal men met onze voorlichting zich thuis een passend reisplan kunnen samenstellen en meer genieten, met minder moeite en kosten dan anders mogelijk ware.”

- 7 Original: "Holland is een mooi land! Onze steden zijn vaak prachtig, hier in hun aspekt van stadje-van-vroeger, daar in hun levend-zijn, hun voortgaan met den tijd. Onze landstreken! Och, of ge ziet de vlakke grasvelden van onze lage landen, heel wijd onder een hoogen hemel; of je dwaalt door de duinen of in de bosschen van het Gooi; of ge ziet de oneindige hei rondom u, de deinende vlakten van de Veluwe, van Drenthe; of ge mijmert in onze donkere bosschen; of ge zijt op ons water, onze plassen en vaarten... overal voelt ge in U een jubel om de schoonheid van wat ge aanschouwt! Holland is een mooi land! Er zijn reeds velen die dat weten [...]. Velen, die vreemd zijn daar, trekken er naar toe en altijd is het nog mooier dan ze dachten; alleen er wonen niet enkel Volendammers en Markers!"
- 8 Original: "Is de weg dien wij passeeren in den beginne vrij monotoon, later wordt dit beter en zijn wij laatstgenoemde stad op geringen afstand genaderd, dan krijgen wij een panorama te zien, zooals men dat alleen in Holland te zien kan krijgen. Het doet ons bij tijden denken aan de meesterstukken van onze oude schilderschool."
- 9 Original: "Waar wij Hollanders, anders zo phlegmatisch, verrukt konden staan over een landschap zoo eenvoudig in zijn samenstelling, hoeveel te meer moeten dan niet de vreemdelingen, die in grooten getale dit typische Hollandsche plekje komen bezoeken, getroffen worden door die eigenaardige schoonheid. Gij allen, die zoo het buitenland verheerlijkt, gaat eens hierheen en gij zult moeten toevoegen, dat uw geboorteland soms waarlijk niet behoeft onder te doen voor wat gij over zijn grenzen zoekt. Reeds dadelijk Edam binnenkomende, kan men den invloed van de vele vreemdelingen bemerken. De kinderen, als overal hinderlijk, omdat zij u vervelen door hun bête aangapen van niet-plaatsgenoten, bedelen in een geradbraakt Engelsch en geven u te verstaan dat zij 'cents' verlangen."
- 10 Original: "Voor hen die gaarne onder leiding zulk een reisje door dit pittoreske gedeelte zouden willen maken, zij erop gewezen, dat de reeds eerder genoemde Noord-Hollandsche Tramweg-Maatschappij, tegen den prijs van f3 per persoon, gedurende de maanden Mei, Juni, Juli en de halve maand September rondreis-kaarten beschikbaar stelt en den reizigers een goede gids mede geeft, die alle merkwaardigheden toont."
- 11 Original: "Natuurlijk – ge kent Hoorn! Ten minste, ge hebt wel eens gehoord van een stadje van dien naam, aan de Zuiderzee ten Noorden van Amsterdam. En dan stelt ge u Hoorn voor als een triestig, boersch landstadje, daarbij als groote standskinderen er den neus voor optrekkende. Zo kent gij, en velen met u, Hoorn. / Maar overigens? Neen, verder strekt de kennis van velen niet. Men weet niet, dat reizigers van alle nationaliteiten van Hoorn getuigen, dat het een stadje is, zooals ons Nederland er slechts zeer enkele kan aanwijzen; dat het een plaatsje is, dat herinneringen aan dat zoo interessante Oud-Holland in overvloed heeft bewaard. Oud-Holland – in den laatsten tijd zoo menigmaal kunstmatig nagebootst – ge ziet het in Hoorn in werkelijkheid."

- 12 Original: "Overall wordt men geboeid; 't zij door een aardig poortje of een antieken gevel. Hoorn is een stadje met bouwkundige, maar ook met schilderachtige schoonheden. Een harmonie van beide, zoo noodzakelijk voor een zuiver en fraai stadsgezicht, is hier aanwezig en geeft den beschouwer een gevoel van bewondering voor onze 17e en 18e eeuw. [...] dan zal Hoorn blijven – ook in de toekomst – een stad, reeds staande op het programma van schier elken Amerikaan en Engelschman, die Nederland bezoekt, maar dan zal het langzamerhand ook worden de plaats, waarheen de Nederlanders zelf zich opmaken; de plaats niet alleen bekend slechts bij name, maar ook geliefkoosd door eigen aanschouwing."
- 13 "THIS series is intended for two kinds of reader [*sic*], those who travel abroad and want to have information about the lives and ways of the people of the town or country described, which is not found in guidebooks; and secondly for those who stay at home and wish to read a description of foreign countries & towns, and the ways of living &c. of their inhabitants" (Roche 1910, sleeve note). The chapters are organized by subject and not by location, which situates the publication somewhere in between the discourse of armchair travel and tourism.
- 14 Original: "Der Deutsche, der nach Holland reist [...] soll sich auch hüten zu sagen, dass Holland nur eine einzige grosse Viehweide ist. Wenn er weiter herumkommt im Lande, wird er sehen, dass die Landschaft durchaus nicht immer einem grossen, flachen Teller ähnelt. [...] Es gibt eben nichts bequemer als das Verallgemeinern. Einer sieht kaum, nachdem er die Grenze passiert hat, eine Viehherde auf einer Wiese und sagt dann, als ob er den Stein der Weisen gefunden hätte: die holländische Landwirtschaft kennt nur Kühe. Ein anderer begegnet einigen Bauern in Holzschuhen, in sogenannten 'Klumpen' und meint: Seht nur: alle Holländer tragen Holzschuhe! (Was wieder nicht den Tatsachen entspricht.) Und weil ein Dritter Gegenden ohne Fabrikschornsteine trifft, trägt er die Phrase weiter, Holland habe keine Industrie. Ein Land, das in seinen Schiffswerften allein über siebzehntausend Arbeiter beschäftigt und in einem Jahre – es war das Jahre 1909 – auf 101 Werften tausend Schiffe für das Meer und die Flüsse baute!"
- 15 "Der Deutsche glaubt in der Regel Holland schon zu kennen, wenn er Scheveningen und Den Haag, Amsterdam oder Rotterdam gesehen hat. Das sind natürlich trügerische Beweismittel. Man hat Deutschland nicht gesehen, wenn man nur Berlin kennt [...]. Man muss gründlicher reisen, man muss Kreuz- und Querfahrten unternehmen, muss in Holland namentlich auch die kleinen Städte aufsuchen, um der Eigenart des Landes anzukommen. Dann muss man vor allem vieles im Gedächtnis auslöschen, was einem als typisch holländisch von deutschen Malern an 'Süssigkeiten' vorgesetzt wurde. Holland hat nicht das zuckersüsse Aussehen, das diese ihm andichten. Und Holland ist beileibe nicht die Panoptikum-Schönheit, womit man gar zu gern im Ausland hausieren geht.

Holland ist ein herbes Land und seine Bewohner sind ein herbes Volk, vor dem der grösste Teil im harten Kampf mit der Natur seine Kräfte stählt." (Hartmann 1913, 26–27).

- 16 "[...] aber was ich überall sah, war immer dasselbe: Ein festes und sicheres Verankertsein im Mutterboden, eine begeisterte Hingabe an die Arbeit und eine trunkene Genussfreudigkeit dort, wo es galt aus sich selbst heraus der inneren Elastizität wieder neue Spannkraft zu geben. Der Holländer steht nicht immer, wie man meint, in Holzschuhen vor seinem Haus, die lange Tonpfeife im Mund, in dunkles, tatenloses Sinnen versunken. Das ist nicht das richtige Symbol für dieses tapfer vorwärtsstrebende, am Leben und allem, was damit zusammenhängt, mit einer abgöttischen Liebe hängende Volk. Nie und nimmer. Sondern das ist es: der Holländer wirkend, ruhig umfassend, arbeitsam dort, wo ihn das Schicksal hingestellt hast, ohne viel Worte darüber zu verlieren, dass er die Pflicht nach innen und nach außen als Gesetz für sein Dasein anerkennt." (Hartmann 1913, 30–31).
- 17 Here are all quotes in full length: "Auf dem Dienstagsmarkt [in Goes], namentlich aber während der Kirmes zu Anfang September lernt man die Volkstrachten der Umgebung kennen." (Baedeker 1910, 319). – "An Markttagen [in Middelburg] (Donnerstag; Buttermarkt von 1 Uhr an) und während der Kirmes (vom 4. Do. im Juli zehn Tage lang) hat man Gelegenheit, die Trachten der Landbevölkerung zu sehen." (320) – "Edam ist auch Station der Kleinbahn von Kwadijk nach dem Fischerhafen Volendam, mit Malerkolonie; interessante Volkstrachten. Die Insel Marken, in der Zuidersee, wird in mehreren durch schmale ziegelbedeckte Dämme verbundenen Häusergruppen fast ausschließlich von Fischern bewohnt, die in ihrer farbenreichen Tracht, Wohnungseinrichtungen usw. manche Eigentümlichkeiten bewahrt haben." (434) – "Dampferlinien verbinden Enkhuizen mit Amsterdam und Sneek, sowie täglich außer So mit der durch ihre schönen Volkstrachten bekannten Insel Urk und mit Kampen." (440) – "Eigentümlich ist der Kopfputz der Frauen [in Friesland], eine Art Metallhaube, meist von Gold oder vergoldetem Silber, die an den Schläfen fest anliegt und hier in blattförmigen Knöpfen endigt. Dergleiche Schmucksachen vererben sich von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht" (458).
- 18 "Aber nicht nur die geringe Entfernung ist die Ursache dieser Erscheinung, sondern die schöne Natur, die interessanten Bauten, der Reichtum an Kunstschätzen, die herrlichen Seebäder, die alten Sitten und Gewohnheiten in Kleidertracht und Lebensweise, die anerkannt gute Verpflegung in den Gasthöfen und die vorzügliche Verbindungen mit den großen Städten Deutschlands und des weiteren Auslandes." (Kirchner 1914, 4). Statistics on the population and information on dunes, dykes, polders, and canals are presented in the section "About the country" ("Zur Kenntnis des Landes").

- 19 “Als Modell einer Wohnung aus dieser Gegend wird ein waterländisches Haus restauriert und innen und aussen typisch holländisch ausgestattet werden. [...] Auch die reizenden Dörfer Bunschoten und Spakenburg sind wegen ihrer malerischen Lage an der Zuidersee und ihrer charakteristischen Volkstrachten eine lohnende Tour für den Reisenden” (Hartmann 1913, 9).
- 20 Original: “[...] Von hier Motorbootverbindungen mit der 1300 Einw. zählenden Fischerinsel **Marken**, 5 km, hin und zurück 75 und 50c. *Der Besuch der Insel ist sehr lohnend*; interessante Fischerhäuser, die an die *Pfahlbautenzeit* erinnern. Originell sind die alten Kostüme der Bewohner und der *besondere Typus der Trachten, die sich auf dieser Insel erhalten* hat. Man besucht verschiedene interessante Wohnungen, aus denen *aber alles Echte, was nicht niet- und nagelfest, längst von Sammlern entführt und durch Imitationen ersetzt* ist. Auch im nahen Fischerdorf *Volendam* sind *originelle Trachten* zu finden. 6 km weiter nach **Edam**, freundliches altes Städtchen mit 6600 Einw., bekannt durch seine runden Käse, die von süßer Milch gemacht werden. (Markttag | Sonnabend 9-12 Uhr.)”. Emphasis added.
- 21 The only exception to this rule that I saw in the accessed material is a series of trade cards by Myrrholin Soap, discussed in Chapter 4.3.3.
- 22 Original: “Ein solches *vollendetes Bild des Bunten und Netten* lacht uns in dem vom Bronnen heimkehrenden Mädchen entgegen.” Emphasis added.
- 23 Frido Troost reported that he saw relatively few nineteenth-century picture postcards from places in the provinces Limburg and Drenthe in comparison with picture postcards of the big cities in the provinces of North and South Holland (Rotterdam, The Hague, Amsterdam) (Personal communication, 1 March 2011).
- 24 Cassiers’s illustrations to *Le Charme de la Hollande* (Gauchez 1932) resemble the motifs of the postcards and concentrate on picturesque, premodern elements. Parts of his work on the Netherlands are reproduced in *Holland anno 1900* (Klijn 1994).
- 25 “Aan de North Eastern Railway in Engeland werd door het Bureau [Centraal Bureau] een 85tal lantaarnplaatjes ter circulatie afgestaan voor de wintermaanden. Aangevuld met de photo’s van beroemde schilderijen uit het Rijksmuseum en het Mauritshuis, is hiervan een zeer onderhoudende lezing gemaakt, welke aan ons Bureau ter beoordeeling en correctie werd gezonden. / Ook uit Schotland ontving het Bureau aanvragen naar lantaarnplaatjes voor het houden van lezingen, terwijl ook het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond van plan is in België lezingen te organiseren. De verzameling lantaarnplaatjes telt op het ogenblik 300; nog lang niet voldoende om aan de verschillende aanvragen te kunnen voldoen; althans niet voor *lezingen, welke een eenigzins volledig beeld van ons land zullen geven*. / Daar vele vereenigingen nog niet aan ons verzoek hebben voldaan, lantaarnplaatjes aan het Bureau te willen afstaan, dringt het alsnog daarop aan; het is in de eerste plaats in het belang der Vereenigingen-zelf en ten

tweede krijgt het buitenland ook eens wat anders te zien dan Marken-Volendam en deszelfs wijd-‘pantalon’-ige bewonders met hooi-haar, en het gewone bereisde gedeelte.” (*Vreemdelingenverkeer. Officieel Orgaan van den Nationalen Bond voor Vreemdelingenverkeer in Nederland* 1910, 143, emphasis added).

- 26 “Hoe men over ons land in den vreemde denkt, dit weten we. Voor de meesten zijn we het volk van klompen en wijde rokken, met als achtergrond de bekende molentjes. Nu heeft Mr. A. Marshall, een van de experts zooals men weet onder de Engelsche mannen van de camera en die als artist-fotograaf zooveel van ons land houdt, onlangs gesproken te Nottingham voor een taalrijk gehoor over ‘eenige Hollandsche plaatsen en bevolking’, verlucht door een werkelijk prachtige serie lichtbeelden naar zijn beroemde fotografien. / De lezing bekoorde zeer, daar Mr. Marshall, een pittig spreker, begaafd met een zeldzame humor, zijn onderwerp zeer aanlokkelijk wist te maken. Daar hij meermalen Holland bezocht, protesteerde hij vriendelijk tegen de, zooals hij noemde, ‘parodie en karikatuur’ van het Hollandsche leven, voorgesteld door de geïllustreerde pers en het tooneel, en vooral wees hij op het verkeerd uitbeelden van Hollanders met schel gekleurde vegen op hun kleederen, een streep schitterend oranje op groen, of blauw op geel, en de zonderlinge dansen, aan het Hollandsche volk toegeschreven. Hij zag het Hollandsche volk in een gansch ander licht, een eenvoudig ras [...]” (*Holland Express* 1910, 68).
- 27 “Laatste Berichten. Vreemdelingenverkeer. In opdracht en volgens aanwijzingen van de Vereeniging tot bevordering van het Vreemdelingenverkeer hier ter stede, heeft de firma Albert Frères een goed geslaagde opname van Den Haag en Scheveningen gemaakt. De bedoeling is, deze film als propaganda voor de Residentie en haar badplaats, te zijner tijd in het buitenland te doen vertoonen. Ook in ons land zal deze film zoo mogelijk worden vertoond. Heden avond wordt deze opname van ‘Vreemdelingenverkeer’ bij Albert Frères op het nieuwe programma gezet” (*De Kinematograaf* 1915a, 1961–1962).
- 28 “’s Gravenhage. Mooi Holland. Er is op het nieuwe programma bij Albert Frères één nummer, dat voor alle andere wel even genoemd mag worden. De film, door Albert Frères voor de Vereen. ‘Vreemdelingenverkeer’ hier ter stede gemaakt, van Den Haag en Scheveningen. Daar kan men nu, in een reeks kiekjes van de stad en van de badplaats, eens zien hoe mooi de Residentie is; opnamen zijn het van vele bekende mooie stadspunten, parkgezichten en strandkiekjes, die waarlijk niet onderdoen voor stadsgezichten uit het buitenland, welke we soms te zien krijgen. De bedoeling van ‘Vreemdelingenverkeer’ is, zooals onlangs reeds gemeld werd, deze film voornamelijk in het buitenland te vertoonen, wat ongetwijfeld een uitmuntende propaganda zal zijn voor Den Haag en Scheveningen.” (*De Kinematograaf* 1915b, 1964).
- 29 “Cinema Palace [...] ‘Mooi Nederland’ was verre van mooi. Als men met zulk een onbenullige film binnen- en buiten ons land de belangstelling voor Nederland’s

schoon zou willen opwekken, kan dit pogen alreeds bij voorbaat als een mislukking worden beschouwd. Dan de opnamen van Pathé!" (*De Kinematograaf* 1916).

- 30 "[...] Dhr. Willy Mullens van de s'Gravenhaagsche filmfabriek is ook bezig aan 'n mooi propagandistisch werk. Hij maakt namelijk opnamen van het natuurschoon in ons eigen land, den handel, de industrie, het verkeer, enz. zoowel op het platteland als in de steden. [...] 't Doel is met deze films hier te lande, in de koloniën, en vooral in het buitenland reclame te maken voor het mooie, nijvere Nederland." (*De Kinematograaf* 1918b, 3732).
- 31 "Amsterdam. De filmcommissie, ingesteld door het bestuur der 'Vereeniging tot verbreding van kennis over Nederland in den Vreemde' (zie p. 3175, No 242 van ons blad) heeft een film doen samenstellen, welke, zonder aanspraak te maken op volledigheid, een aantrekkelijk en populair beeld geeft van hetgeen hier te lande geschiedt op het gebied van verschillende takken van ons volksbestaan, het natuurschoon van ons land, onze bouwkunst, enz. Het geheel is verwerkt in een scenario, door Jan Feith geschreven en technisch samengesteld door Joh. Gildemeyer te Amsterdam, aan wien ook de uitvoering van de film is toevertrouwd." (*De Kinematograaf* 1918a, 3551).
- 32 "De vraag is dikwijls gesteld, waarom hier nooit Hollandsche productie's worden vertoond. Of zij geschikt zouden zijn voor de Britsche markt staat te bezien, maar men kan ze tenminste een kans geven. De Kinematografie moet altijd in zekere mate internationaal zijn, en afwisseling in onze programma's kan slechts ten goede komen. Sommige van de kleinere steden in Holland zijn prachtig geschikt voor korte nummertjes, daar films, die de schilderachtige kleederdracht der boeren, de hyacintenvelden in Haarlem enz. demonstreeren wel zouden worden geapprecieerd, en een interessante aanvulling vormen van onze programma's." (*De Kinematograaf* 1917, 2832).
- 33 "Indien wij ooit aan een vreemdeling dank verschuldigd zijn omdat hij geene gelegenheid ongebruikt liet, om ons land en volk, onze instellingen, zeden, gewoonten en kunst in den vreemde naar waarheid te doen kennen en waardeeren, dan is het zeker in de eerste plaats aan Mr. Henry Havard, die in zijne verschillende geschriften over ons land even zoovele bewijzen heeft geleverd, dat hij ons land en volk en onze geschiedenis niet alleen door en door kent, maar – wat meer is – ook een warm hart toedraagt." (*Het Nieuws van Den Dag: Kleine Courant* 1876, 2).
- 34 "Men vergeet by het lezen der beschrijving van hun wedervaren voor geen oogenblik, dat men in gezelschap van twee artisten is, die alles waardeeren wat schoon en schilderachtig is en die een geopend oog hebben voor de eigenaardige betoovering van IJ en Zuiderzee, van het vlakke Hollandsche landschap, met zijn wondere lichteffecten, met zyn 'transparence argentée', gelijk de heer Havard het zoo juist noemt van zijn atmosfeer, en met zijn 'brume gris-perle'. Laat ons een enkel voorbeeld aanhalen van die waardeering van hetgeen schoon

is in ons landschap. Het zal beter dan iets dat wij zeggen kunnen, bewyzen dat men hier met geen oppervlakkigen spotzieken bezoeker te doen heeft, doch met een kunstenaar, die de groote gave bezit van te kunnen bewonderen en overal schoonheid op te merken. [...] De heer Havard, niet tevreden met te schilderen met woorden, heeft evenals zijn vriend, de heer van Heemskerck, teekeningen gemaakt van het merkwaardigste en schoonste dat zy op hun reis zagen. De haven van Hoorn, de Oosterpoort te Hoorn, een visschers binnenhuis te Vollandam [sic], het eiland Marken, Hinloopensche [sic] vrouwen, de haven van Urk, de Cellebroederspoort te Kampen, enz. leveren hem beurtelings stof tot aanschouwelijke schetsjes en geestige teekeningen. [...] De heer Henry Havard werd door Z. M. tot ridder in de orde van de Eikekroon [sic] benoemd, en al heeft deze decoratie door de overgroote mildheid waarmede ze geschonken wordt ook veel van haar waarde verloren, ze is in dit geval een waar symbool. Met eikenloof moet de man omkransd worden, die over het Nederlandsche volk, zijn kunst, zyn oudheden, zijn verleden, heden en toekomst op zoo beminnelijke en degelijke wyze weet te schrijven.” (*Algemeen Handelsblad* 1875).

- 35 “Zoo dikwijls worden door vreemdelingen, die ons land bezoeken, zelfs ter goeder trouw, zulke zonderlinge verhalen over Holland en de Hollanders opgedischt, dat het zeker wel der moeite waard is om er de aandacht op te vestigen, wanneer werkelijk weer eens een goed boek van een toerist uit den vreemde over ons land het licht ziet. *Sketching Rambles in Holland*, Schetstochtjes door Holland, aldus luidt de titel van het fraaie werk, waarin twee Engelsche kunstenaars, de heeren Boughton en Abbey, met pen en teekenstift de indrukken weergaven, welke zij tijdens een uitstapje door een deel van ons land ontvingen. *Wanneer men, zonder voldoende geleide, slechts een vluchtig kijkje komt nemen in een vreemd land en daarbij de taal niet verstaat, is het uit den aard der zaak niet mogelijk om een volledig en volkomen juist beeld te geven van hetgeen men ziet en hoort*. Daarom zullen ook deze beide toeristen zich wel eens aan de een of andere onjuistheid schuldig maken, maar toch is zeker ons land zelden door vreemdelingen bezocht, die zoo vaardig met de teekenstift wisten om te gaan. De schetsen van merkwaardige gebouwen, treffende gezichtspunten en volkstypen zijn bijna zonder uitzondering even keurig uitgevoerd en daarom verdient ook dit werk, ook al moge het minder volledig zijn, eene eervolle plaats naast de beschrijving door Havard en De Amicis van Nederland gegeven.” (*Algemeen Handelsblad* 1884, emphasis added).
- 36 “[...] Doch daar komen buitenlandsche touristen [sic], met name buitenlandsche schilders, en naast Hollandsche kunst van vroegeren en lateren datum bewonderen zij ook Hollandsche werkelijkheid. Hoe speciaal Hollandscher, hoe liever hun een voorwerp is. Hollandsch huisraad en gereedschap, Hollandsche kleedingstukken en rariteiten duiken zij op, waar zij maar kunnen, geven er veel geld voor, brengen ze in de mode. En zelf blijven zij heele zomers hier en schilderen weiden en slooten en koeien en eenden en marktscène's en binnenhuizen en

mensen en kinderen. / Door hen wakker geschud, begint menig onzer ook een ander oog op de aesthetische [*sic*] waarde, van Hollandsche verschijnselen te krijgen. Veel moge hierin, gelijk in alle 'modes' 'mode' zijn, maar veel ook is verdieping en verfijning van blik. / Gedeeltelijk dientengevolge, en misschien ook omdat men door afwezigheid zuiverder gaat vergelijken, genoot ik dit jaar innig de Hollandsche weiden. [extensive description of summer scenery] Maar zelfs onder de ongunstigste en eenzaamste omstandigheden heeft het landschap nog altijd iets wat men eerst door veel reizen leert op prijs stellen: de wijde lucht, de vrije, ongebroken horizon. Waarom klimt men in berglanden zoo graag tot op de hoogste toppen? Onder anderen: om ver voor zich uit te zien. Dat voorrecht heeft men hier den heelen dag. [...]" (G.C. 1902).

- 37 "Wij hebben den Franschen Schrijver in zijn reisverhaal op den voet gevolgd, al kwam soms de lust boven, hem eens even in de rede te vallen, waar hij in zijn gevolgstrekking te ver ging en, naar het weinige dat hij zag, oordeelde ook over hat vele, dat hij niet zag. Het zal onzen lezers zeker evenzo gaan, maar om der curiositeit willen zal het oordeel van den Franschman hen interesseeren en zijn aardige verteltrant zal hen boeien." (Hamön 1906a, 1).
- 38 "Foreign Travellers, or Author of Fabulous travels have blamed the North-Holland Women, as having an uniformity in their Dress, which is bordering to stiffness, or to say the real truth, these Gentlemen have persisted that this dress made them disagreeable. A more unjust reproach could never take place [...]." (Maaskamp and Kuyper 1808, explanation to plate 17).
- 39 "Er is weer vermakelijke lectuur over ons land te vinden in het zomernummer van *Cook's Excursionist*. Elken zaterdag gaat er een groepje toeristen onder leiding van het agentschap naar ons land, maar zij leiern altijd hetzelfde deuntje af van Noord- en Zuidholland en een stukje Friesland en zien niets van het oosten, noch van 't zuiden of midden des lands. Maar daarvan behoefde toch niet het gevolg te wezen, dat er in het redactioneele gedeelte van het blad op zoo'n dolle manier over Nederland wordt geschreven. / Het wordt genoemd the *queerest, quaintest, oddest country you ever heard of outside fairyland*: dan heet het, dat in the *funny country, where water is so abundant, there is scarcely any fit to drink* en er wordt op gewezen hoe vreemd het is, dat in ons land *where earth is about the scarcest article they burn it as fuel*. De heeren hebben hier gezien *farmhouses standing on stilts, which gives them the appearance of huge toadstools*, maar bosschen en boomen hebben zij nergens opgemerkt. *No leafy lanes as in England. There are plenty of green willow trees out of which the (!) Dutchman makes his shoes, but scarcely a hedge is visible. Ditches and canals are the fences.* / Natuurlijk is er ook weer het oude verhaal bij van de kikvorsch in 't riet aan den oever, die neerziet op de zwaluw nestelend op het dak, en van onze huizen, *leaning like drunken men in every direction*. / 't Zou wel goed zijn, als de redactie van dit toeristenblad eens informeerde bij de heeren van de vredesconferentie, of die dit land ook zoo *queer*

en *quaint* en *odd* en *funny* vinden; zoo'n international getuigenis moet voor hen toch wel eenige waarde hebben." (*Op Den Uitkijk* 1899b, 3, exclamation mark and emphasis in original).

- 40 "Cook over ons land. 't is te hopen, dat, nu de firma Cook een filiaal heeft in Amsterdam, zij in haar groot blad, de *Excursionist*, ook wat nauwkeuriger over ons land gaat schrijven en niet met zulke ouderwetsche onjuiste praatjes komt aandragen als in de aankondiging van het Paaschtourtje door Noord- en Zuidholland. Van Donderdag 30 Maart tot Dinsdag 4 April konden voor de somma van f 63 een groepje engelsche toeristen den Haag, Scheveningen, Amsterdam, Marken en Rotterdam gaan kijken onder Cook's geleide. / Van Amsterdam heet het in 't programma dier reis dat de straten er zoo schilderachtig zijn, omdat vele huizen uit het lood hangen en achterover leunen of voorover hellen of tegen elkander steunen 'alsof de eeuwen, die er zijn verlopen sinds de stichting der stad in 1204 bij hen den wensch hadden doen ontstaan naar nauwer aaneensluiting.' Op zondag, leest men verder, is het er druk en levendig op straat en op Pasche heeft men de gelegenheid 'for witnessing Meinheer at his best.' Of 'Mijnheer' dat wel zoo heel aardig uitgedrukt zal vinden van iemand, die pretendeert zelf op zijn tijd Hollanders tot geleider op reis te willen strekken? / Ten overvloede wordt bij Rotterdam vermeld, dat de *quaint costumes of the inhabitants* heel curieus zijn. Dat kan de engelsche dames en heeren wel eens zijn tegenvallen en de heeren leiders van Cook's gezelschappen weten ook wel beter." (*Op Den Uitkijk* 1899a, 4).

- 41 "De bekende Engelsche touristenfirma Thomas Cook, die, evenals Lissonne reizigers in kudden van tien, twintig en meer over de wereld zendt om ze in zooveel dagen tegen betaling van zooveel gulden al het moois van de Riviera, van Zwitserland, van Amerika enz. enz. te laten zien, organiseert op dit oogenblik een Paasch-uitstapke naar Nederland en geeft ter verhooging der aantrekkelijkheid daarvan de volgende beschrijving. / 'Stel u voor, een land, dat jaarlijks 600,000 pd st aan zijn inwoners kost om het boven water te houden, of beter, om het water daarboven te houden! Een land waar, zoo gauw als de bevolking ophoudt met pompen, zij begint te verdrinken! Waar de kikvorsch, kwakend in het riet, neerkijkt op de zwaluwen, die op de daken zitten en waar schepen varen hoog boven de schoornsteenen van de huizen! / Kanalen, mijlen bij mijlen lang strekken zich naar alle richtingen uit. Schuiten, beladen met goederen of vol passagiers glijden zoetjes voorbij door de steden, die prijken met haar hel geverfde en schitterend vergulde huizen. Schilderachtige woningen, erg scheef gezakt, kerken met zonderlinge koepels en torens; drukke kaden waarop hooge bomen groeien, en melkkarren door honden getrokken, zijn de vornaamste eigenaardigheden van Holland in zijn steden. / Op het land ziet men de boerderijen met overhangende daken gebouwd op palen, waardoor ze eruitzien als groote paddestoelen, kudden bont vee, uitgestrekte weiden, en tienduizend windmolens, die hun reusachtige

armen zwaaien over het land... / ‘‘t is te hopen’ zoo schrijft de Londensche correspondent van het ‘Hbld’, aan wien wij de mededeeling ontleenden, ‘dat Cook succes heeft met zijn Paasch-uitstapje naar Holland. Er zullen dan tenminste weer wat Engelschen gelegenheid hebben op te merken, dat we ook wel andere vervoermiddelen kennen dan trekschuiten en hondenkarren, dat in onze steden ook nog wel recht huizen staan en dat onze plattelanders nog niet tot paalwoningen hun toevlucht behoeven te nemen!’” (*Utrechtsch Nieuwsblad* 1904).

- 42 “Het oordeel van anderen over ons land is meestal wel iets anders dan we zelf meenen dat het zou moeten zijn. [...] Zijn we dus in vele opzichten, wat men zou kunnen noemen, een welonderlegd en wat het onderwijs betreft, zelfs een hoogstaand volk, *onze verbazing blijkt niet gering als we bespeuren dat vreemdelingen bij ons voor die algemeene kennis niet zoo zeer opvalt dan over de grenzen, wijl ons volk in zijn geheel gezien nog al landelijk en uiterst eenvoudig is en bezoekers allicht meenen als ze die ontwikkeling bespeuren, met een uitzondering de doen te hebben, doch vooral omdat de vreemdeling hier dingen ziet die hoegenaamd niet modern, hem zelfs buitengewoon belangrijker voorkomen, dat wil hier zeggen afwijkend van de dingen die overal zijn.* / Men kent die verontwaardiging van den gemiddelden Nederlander als de vreemdeling hem ‘t eerst vraagt naar de molens en de kanalen, naar Marken en het Czaar Peterhuisje, terwijl diezelfde man hoegenaamd geen belangstelling toont te hebben, althans niet in die zelfde mate, voor ons modern leven en al wat wij toch zelf beschouwen als werkelijk het voornaamste. Dat de vreemdeling zich ons volk gansch op klompen voorstelt, de mannen gekleed in wijde broeken, de vrouwen met zilveren en gouden kappen en ontelbare rokken, dit brengt ons vaak buiten ons zelf. In dat oordeel zien we – en niet geheel ten onjuiste – een *vereering van het verleden en een ontkenning en kleineering van het heden.*” (*Holland Express* 1911a, 85–86, emphasis added).
- 43 “De bekende architect van Nottingham, Arthur Marshall, heeft weer nieuwe tochten door ons land gedaan, gewapend met zijn fotografie-toestel en zijn talent van scherp waarnemen. Marshall doet die tochten in gezelschap van bestuursleden van het Centraal Bureau voor Vreemdelingenverkeer en heeft zijn indrukken van een nieuwe excursie naar Giethoorn, Zwolle, Deventer, Kampen en tusschengelegen plaatsen aan dat bureau afgestaan, daarbij voegende de op den tocht genomen fotografieën. Het bureau op zijn beurt heeft van dit kostelijke materiaal een nieuwe (de 12e in de reeks) uitgave bezorgd in den vorm van een aflevering van *Holland-Express*, die nu in een flinke oplaag ter gratis-verspreiding naar het buitenland is gezonden. *Men weet niet wat in deze reisschets verdienstelijker is: de Engelsche tekst of de foto’s. Deze laatste pakken dadelijk door hun scherpte en de gelukkige keus van typische stads- en dorpsgezichten.* De groote foto’s van het Giethoorn-landschap munten uit door zonnige klaarheid en karakteristiek landschapschoon. Zij geven het Hollandsche Venetië buitengewoon levendig terug. Ook de kleinere kiekjes van Kampen, Zwolle en Deventer zijn voortreffelijk. Maar ook de tekst laat zich,

zelfs door een Nederlander, met genoeg lezen. Marshall ziet de dingen niet dubbel, als sommige zijner landgenooten die van 10 Markers met wijde broeken een geheel leger maken. Hij overdrijft niet maar zegt de dingen zooals zij zijn. Hij heeft reeds genoeg in ons land gereisd om er van te kunnen getuigen, zooals hier in den aanvang van zyn schets van Giethoorn, dat in welk deel van ons land men ook aanlandt, overal nieuwe, frissche verrassingen den bezoeker wachten. Het Giethoorn-nummer van Holland-Express zal het in den vreemde wel doen.” (*Het Nieuws van Den Dag Voor Nederlandsch Indië* 1914, emphasis added).

- 44 “Hollandsche reclame in Engeland. / [...] Reclame maken in eigen land voor buitenlandsche zaken is aan de orde van den dag. Reclame maken voor eigen zaken in het buitenland is nog een zeldzaamheid voor den securen Hollander. Destemmer valt ’t op – en kan daardoor het succes niet uitblijven, wanneer op zeer bijzondere wijze voor een Hollandsche onderneming, in het groote land der reclame, in Engeland, propaganda gemaakt wordt. / Door bemiddeling van den ‘Besteldienst Premier Stores’, te Amsterdam, is het aan de Directie der Batavierlijen gelukt om een buitengewone, veel opgang gemaakt hebbende reclame voor dien goedkopen Stoomvaartdienst tusschen Londen en Rotterdam uit te voeren. / Een zestal jeugdige bestellers van dien Besteldienst werd in Volendam pakjes gestoken en zoo naar eenige Engelsche badplaatsen gezonden. Geen wonder dat dit zestal overal zeer de aandacht trok en natuurlijk goed de gelegenheid waarnam om de echt-Hollandsche Batavierlijen, eens echt-netjes en goed onder de aandacht der reislustige zonen en dochteren van Albion te brengen. / Die ‘Dutch boys’ hadden overal niet alleen bekijk, maar wonnen stormenderhand de sympathie van het publiek dat hen gul en hartelijk onthaalde. / Het N.v.d.D. schreef daarover o.a.: Meingmaal werden zij medegenomen naar eene tea- of lunchroom, en informeerde hun gastheer naar de gezondheid van Bruin Sul, Jan Dunk, Klaas Plat en andere bekende Volendammers en luchtten zij de hun bekende woorden als ‘dat is yau bowenbois; dat is yau onterbois; ik bin blai you te sien; how kaat het thois?’ enz. / Met een hunner gulle gastheeren, een Engelsch officier, bezochten de jongens het vuurwerk in het Crystal Palace. Deze officier, die meermalen in Volendam geweest was, had het meest plezier hierin, om hen in de maat twee aan twee door de groote zaal van het Palace te doen marcheerden, waarbij hij hun aanmaande zoo hard mogelijk te stampen, hetgeen een oorverdoovend lawaai veroorzaakte en groote vroolijkheid teweegbracht. / [...] Miss Gertie Millar, die kort gelden in Gaiety Theatre een populair liedje zong, getiteld ‘Rotterdam’ en wel in Volendammer costuum begeleid door een klompdans, was oorzaak, dat de zes ‘Volendammers’ overal werden verwelkomend met het refrein van dat liedje en eenige ‘steps’ uit den dans. / *Geheel London weet thans, hoe goedkoop en vlug men Holland kan bezoeken met de ‘Batavierlijen’*. [...] *Bravo, Batavierlijen en Premier Stores! Kranig gedaan! Zulk een reclame doet ’t geheele Batavierland goed.*” (*Eigen Haard* 1906, emphasis added).

- 45 “Men zal zich herinneren dat ik reeds eenige malen heb gewaarschuwd en geprotesteerd tegen het in den vreemde, vooral in Engeland, vereenzelvigen van den ‘Dutchman’ met de in hun buitengewone kleederdracht wel zeer eigenaardige en schilderachtige, maar in hun algemeene eigenschappen van lichaam en geest allermint – laat ons maar zeggen gelukkig allermint – karakteristiek-Nederlandse Volendammers. / Dit neemt echter niet weg dat ik gaarne hulde breng aan de directie van den Besteldienst ‘Premier Stores’ te *Amsterdam voor de alleraardigste en zeker ook wel doeltreffende reclame* welke zij voor den passagiersdienst van W. H. Müller & Co.’s Batavier-lijn maakt, hier in Londen zoo ook in andere Engelsche gemeenten. / Zij heeft namelijk een zestal jongens, fiksche Amsterdamsche knapen, in typische Volendamsche pakjes gestoken, – klompen, knopen, gespen, dassen, pofbroeken en al – en die wandelen nu door de drukste van Londen’s straten en langs de stranden van de meest bezochte badplaatsen om er reclame-biljetten voor de ‘Batavier’ uit te reiken. [...] Waren het echte Volendammers, dan zouden ze zich te midden van de Londensche drukte misschien wat beduusd en onplezierig voelen, maar nu ’t verkleede Amsterdamsche ‘besteljongens’ zijn, trekken ze zich van de herrie al heel weinig aan. [...] De heer G. F. Bakels, die op de jongens toezicht houdt en zorg draagt dat zij door het eventueel ‘veroorzaken van een volksoploop’ niet met de politie in aanraking komen, is over het succes der onderneming zeer tevreden. [...] / *Goed zoo! Er is geld en reislust genoeg in Engeland; waarom zouden daarvan Nederland en de Nederlanders niet evengoed trachten te profiteeren* als, zeg: exploitanten aan de Riviera, hoteliers in Zwitserland, excursie-ondernemers in Noorwegen?” (*Algemeen Handelsblad* 1906, 5–6, emphasis added).
- 46 “Bij het zien van deze en meer dergelijke voorstellingen, kan een Hollander wel eens kregelig worden, maar ten slotte heeft hij er niet het minste recht toe, want de dwaze begrippen omtrent zijn land hielp hij zelf in stand houden. Hoevele in Holland gedrukte reclameboekjes, die den vreemdeling naar het oude land moeten trekken, bevatten niet op den omslag een molentje bij een waterplas en den boer in de wijde broek. Wil de Hollander in het buitenland, zelfs in Indië, eens iets specifiek Hollandsch vertoonen, dan zoekt hij het in... de wijde broek. Maar zelden komt hij eens met iets nieuws, wat van den huidigen tijd, voor den dag. / Moet er voor een tentoonstelling in het buitenland een Nederlandsch paviljoen gebouwd worden, dan herinnert de stijl immer aan het Goudsche stadhuis of iets anders uit vroeger jaren, zoodat de buitenlander zich afvraagt, of Holland geen nieuwe architectonische kunst te bieden heeft. [...]. Officieel Nederland vertoont daar, voor de zoovéélste maal in het buitenland, het panorama ... ‘Marken in 1670.’ / ‘Wij hebben,’ zei een der Nederlandsche sprekers bij de opening, ‘al zoo vaak getracht den buitenlanders te overtuigen, dat Nederland niet uitsluitend een land is van boeren, water en klompen. Wij hebben getracht hen te overtuigen, dat in Nederland de menschen ook laarzen en broeken dragen,

net als de Amerikanen en het is daarom betreurenswaardig, dat de Nederlandse commissie gemeend heeft ons werk weer ongedaan te moeten maken door den Amerikanen Holland te leeren kennen als een panorama van Marken in 1670.' / Zouden we, als we wéér eens boos willen worden over buitenlandsche onkundigheid, de hand niet eerst in eigen jasje steken en bedenken dat de schuld ligt aan de hardheid van onze kaaskoppen, die nu eenmaal immer een buitengewonen onwil betoonen om iets eenvoudigs door te laten? / Wij Hollanders zoeken dikwijls iets zoo héél ver als het héél dichtbij te vinden is. Voor het oog van de wereld zullen we wel immer in wijde broeken blijven rondtippelen." (*De Sumatra Post* 1915).

- 47 "Zou 't niet leuker zijn, als men den Nieuwjaarswensch in 't vervolg liet uitspreken door en duo van dame en heer, gekleed als mannequins voor de mode van 't jaar ? 't Is maar 'n ideeetje, dat met permissie ik presenteer aan de commissie. Want wij moeten 'n beetje denken aan onze internationale verplichtingen. 'De Bruiloft van Kloris en Roosje' staat zo ongeveer op 't zelfde peil als de Volendammerij. De 'verkeerende vreemdeling' vindt die Volendammerij wel aardig, zooals hij de Scheveningsche typen wel aardig vindt, alsmede de echte of nagemaakte Zeeuwsche meisjes, de dito Bretons en Bretonnes, de Spreewalderinnen, de Zigeuners, de Sioux of Zoeloes, kortom, al wat zich den globetrotter presenteert in schilderachtig costuum of even schilderachtig décoletté of retroussé. / Maar wij Hollanders en internationale Hagenaars kunnen er toch niet altijd bij staan als vertegenwoordigers van 'n schilderachtig of zo genaamd schilderachtig verleden, wanneer Den Haag de stad wordt, die het midden de wereld wordt: de hoofdstad der gedachte! [...] Als Den Haag, dank zij het Vredespaleis, reeds hoofdstaat van den Wereldvrede, nog hoofdstad der gedachte ook wordt, kunnen wij Hagenaars daar toch niet met z'n driehonderdduizenden – door de levenwekkende internationale gedachte wellicht spoedig gegroeid tot millioenen – bij staan als de inboorlingen, wier typische kleedij, gewoonte en vermaken de vreemdeling gaat bekijken als een curiositeit!" (*De Sumatra Post* 1914).
- 48 "Bioscoop-gevaar./ Geachte Redactie, / Sinds eenigen tijd worden er in onze bioscooptheaters zoogenaamde 'Hollandsche films' vertoond. Men krijgt dan Holland te zien, zooals het nog maar al te veel in de verbeelding van den buitenlander bestaat: de optredenden zijn zonder uitzondering in Volendamsch, Marker, Urksch kostuum; of in een hutspot van deze kleederdrachten, met soms nog een Walchersch of Zuid-Bevelandsch eigenaardigheidje er bij; op den achtergrond gewoonlijk een molen. Zonder die kleederdrachten, die menschen op klompen en die molens, is het geen 'Hollandsche film'. / Hier schuilt m.i. een gevaar. Films als die van de firma Pathé gaan de heele wereld over, en bevestigen en verbreiden het dwaze denkbeeld, dat de Hollanders niets anders zijn, dan typisch gekleede menschen, die op klompen loopen. / Wij zijn immers meer dan dat, en moeten willen dat ook het buitenland dit weet. Er is, me dunkt, wel reden

voor het Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, om aan de directie's van de verschillende bioscoopondernemingen vriendelijk te verzoeken, ook eens Hollandsche films te geven, *waarin men Holland vertoont, zooals het in werkelijkheid is en waaruit het buitenland leert, wat het Holland van tegenwoordig op zoo menig gebied vermag.* / De invloed van de avond aan avond volle bioscooptheaters onderschatte men niet. In ons land doen die vertooningen geen kwaad, maar in het buitenland? / Wij willen niet in de oogen van buitenlanders blijven het land van typische kleederdrachten alleen, nietwaar? / Dankend voor de plaatsing, hoogachtend, A. LOOSJES" (Loosjes 1912, emphasis added).

- 49 "Het nijvere Amerika. / In de gisteravond in het Nutsgebouw alhier gehouden bijeenkomst van het departement Amsterdam der Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen hield Rev. A. A. Pfahnstiehl, uit Chicago, zijn aangekondigde voordracht over 'Industrial America'. [...] Zijn lezing was er een met lichtbeelden, die het voordeel hadden zeer duidelijk te zijn en fraai gekleurd, maar voordat het licht uitging hield de spreker een korte inleiding, voor de vuist weg uitgesproken, waarin hij toonde een geestig causeur te zijn. Hij nam een loopje met zijn landgenooten, die Europa afreizen, ook Holland op één dag afdoen, Marken, Volendam, Broek en Scheveningen, en dan thuis in Amerika vertellen, dat: in Holland de menschen op klompen lopen, de mannen wijde broeken dragen en de vrouwen zes-en-dertig rokken over elkaar, en dat de bewoners van Broek zóó zindelijk zijn, dat ze zelfs de tanden van hun kippen en kuikens poetsen. Dat is wat men zou kunnen noemen een ietwat 'oppervlakkige oordeel', gevolg van het al te vluchtig reizen. Maar – zoo vroeg spreker – zouden er ook niet Hollanders zijn, die uit Amerika vluchtige, indrukken meebrengen, welke aan dat land en zijn bewoners geen voldoende recht doen wedervaren. / Daarom wilde spreker nu hier en elders in Europa een en ander vertellen over Amerika om juistere begrippen omtrent dat belangwekkende land mede te deelen, gelijk hij ginds lezingen had gehouden over Holland en de Hollanders. / Allereerst kwam hij op tegen het onverdiende vooroordeel, dat de Amerikaan vóór alles een quaker zou zijn, die enkel denkt 'how to make money' [...]" (*Het Nieuws van Den Dag: Kleine Courant* 1913).
- 50 "'England has even its canal life, too, if one cared to investigate it; the broads are populous with wherries and barges; cheese is manufactured in England in a score of districts; cows range our meadows as they range the meadows of the Dutch. We go to Holland to see the town, the pictures, and the people, we go also because so many of us are so constituted that we never use our eyes until we are on foreign soil. It is as though a Cook's ticket performed an operation.' – Well, the cataract being there, the operation had better be performed as quickly as possible, and a Cook's ticket taken whether to Holland or any other foreign country. Let us travel even if it only enables us – and it will do considerably more – to appreciate the beauties of our own native land." (Thomas Cook & Son 1906a, 10, quoting Lucas, probably from the 1905 edition).

- 51 “Overall zijn ze – overall ziet men ze naast elkaar – door kleeren en lichaamsbouw scherp van elkaar onderscheiden: *de beide volken*, die in elk volk samenwonen: *armen en rijken*. [...] ‘De armen hebt gij altijd bij u’, heet het, zij zijn de zwarte schaduw, volgend het licht van welvaart en beschaving. / ‘Altijd’ – zelfs bij uwe vermaken en verstrooiingen die u meestal met hunne hulp, ten koste van hunne rust, moeten worden bereid. / ‘De armen’ – och zie ze, de arme vrouw, die voor haar kind bed en wieg, baker en bonne, moeder en vader tegelijk is. Misschien stierf hij in de fabriek, bezweek hij na lang lijden aan de proletariërsziekte, haar nalatend arm, uitgehongerd, met den erfgenaam zijner ellende, den aangewezen voortzetter van zijn slavenbestaan. / Och zie haar, met het kind – een ‘schilderachtig groepje’, zelf zóo nog in staat, den rijke diensten te bewijzen: zij wordt gekiekt en deskundigen zullen zeggen, dat het een interessant kiekje is.” (*Het Volk Zondagsblad* 1902, 66).
- 52 Various papers from the conference “Through Word and Places: Travel and Writing in Dutch- and German- speaking Regions of Europe between 1800 and 1950” (Münster, Germany, 1 March 2013 – 2 March 2013) showed that otherness was not only found in descriptions of peoples and places of the Far East and global South, but could also be witnessed within western Europe: “For the conference in Münster, travel and travel writing within Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Belgium were an unconventional sample of European countries and regions that proved to be a closely intertwined area within the investigated period of the long 19th century. It became evident that even within Europe the exotic is not difficult to find, as looking for the completely different is also essential for traveling shorter distances.” (van Dam 2013) The exotic descriptions gave reason for some Dutch authors to oppose these descriptions, in some cases, with an explicitly formulated wish to be distinguished from groups of people that were considered inferior to Western people (*De Sumatra Post* 1914, see quotation in Chapter 6.4). The perceived discrimination obviously did not lead to building solidarity with other groups of people who felt affronted by being pictured in clichés.
- 53 The continuous use of the cliché in consumer culture and tourism may possibly be explained with the fairly small importance of tourist industries in comparison to brand products of consumer goods. Although tourism was a growing industry between 1890 and 1914 (Cf. Schipper 2000), advertising for consumer goods very probably reached far more people.
- 54 Original: “Een jonge Amerikaan, als Volendammer onder de Volendammers levend, dat is toch wel 't allermarkanteste op het globe-trotter gebied. [...] Zoo ver ging het, aldus de vermelding, dat er reeds valsche gidsen waren, Amerikanen, die als Volendammers gekleed gingen, om hun landgenoten, op bedriegelijke of ware wijze voor te lichten. [...] Voor zijn landgenoten, de Amerikanen, speelde hij voor gids, en dan kreeg hij een dubbeltje of een kwartje fooi. Grappige sensatie voor iemand die zelf het geld met handenvol daar verteerde.”



Conclusion

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7.1 TOWARDS AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF FILMING “THE NATION/AL”

The investigation of discourses – popular anthropology, popular geography, and tourism and consumer culture – has brought about relevant findings about the way in which knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch was created in the nineteenth century. In spite of different motivations and communicative aims of the investigated discourses, all discourses make use of similar imagery for communicating their messages. I have observed variations along the lines of inquiry as outlined in the Introduction and also in the way in which generalizations are made in each discourse.

Against the backdrop of the respective discourses, it becomes obvious that the new medium film took up an image repertoire of “earlier” media; film did not use the potential of the new medium form and its technological affordances right away to produce new imagery or to experiment with new visual and narrative strategies.

As I have demonstrated in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the meaning of an image largely depends on the line of reasoning in the context of its appearance: the same motif can be used for various communicative aims. The meaning of an image is thus the result of performative signifying practices and not inherent to the image itself. This observation underlines the necessity to look with more nuance into the broader discursive and historical contexts and to consider performance when investigating the meaning of an image.

Each discourse contributed to the creation of supposed common knowledge in a different way. The main line of reasoning in anthropological discourse is nostalgic. This discourse is especially dedicated to the preservation and documentation of national, cultural heritage; as such, it has strong ties with the past. Anthropological discourse is much concerned with origin and authenticity of cultural traditions and artefacts (Chapter 4).

Geographical discourse aims to educate about other countries (which, in itself, can be motivated by different reasons) and is rather educative in tone. In contrast to anthropological discourse, this discourse also mentions modern and urban aspects of the Netherlands when informing about people and places (Chapter 5).

The discourse of tourism and consumer culture promotes visual pleasure through the purchase of a product; its reasoning is, before anything else, economic, as it sells the experience of “authenticity” and “typicality” (Chapter 6).

Visual and textual strategies from the analysed discourses can be observed in presentation strategies of early nonfiction films.

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Comprehensiveness and Partiality

Concerning the aspects of comprehensiveness and partiality, anthropological discourse from around 1840 onwards is biased towards (supposedly unchanged) rural dresses and customs and hardly mentions (supposedly ever-changing) customs and costumes of the city population. The implicit rationale is that anthropological discourse should document authenticity, which is tied to phenomena grounded in the past. Consequently, what is considered to be genuinely Dutch cannot be modern.

Publications in geographical discourse cover places that were visually, historically, or economically relevant, which explains the emphasis on the provinces North Holland and South Holland. However, this interest cannot account for the fact that other economically relevant cities and industries are hardly mentioned.

Tourist discourse has a strong bias in word and image on the Zuiderzee region, the cities in the provinces of North and South Holland, as well as some towns in the province of Zeeland. Similarly to anthropological discourse, modern industries are not mentioned. As a general rule, tourist discourse highlights phenomena that mark differences between the tourist destinations and the hometowns of tourists, and neglects phenomena that show similarities. Throughout all three discourses, the images in the various visual media in the nineteenth century share the tendency that images of places show cities and images of people show village inhabitants.

The Typical and the General

The tension between the typical and the general shows variation in the way in which it is acted out in the three discourses. In the course of the nineteenth century, anthropological discourse has increasingly concentrated on the typical and more or less ignored the general. Therefore, the typical is usually not conflated with the general. Typicality is mostly attributed to local instances and these instances are named with local and regional precision. For example, a Volendam fisherman in local costume was described as “typical”, but not as generally Dutch. In popular publications from around the 1890s onwards, this clarity is blurred.

The case is less straightforward in geographical discourse. In the written and non-illustrated parts, “typically Dutch” can refer to generalized statements about a “national character”. With respect to the visual, typicality is mostly attributed to an age-old local site or building. As geographical discourse also includes modern elements, a tension arises between modern elements that are *part of* the Netherlands and the Dutch, even though they are not *typically* Dutch. Modern elements such as industries are named and sometimes even illustrated, but typicality is never attributed to them. Put differently, modern elements can be presented as “Dutch”, but never as “typically Dutch”.

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Tourist discourse and consumer culture attribute typicality and authenticity to phenomena that are fleshed out as different, regardless of the relative prominence of the phenomena deemed to be “typical”. Such “typically Dutch” phenomena are mostly visual ones, which may explain the prominence of the term “picturesque” in tourist discourse. In contrast to anthropological and geographical discourse, elements deemed typical are highlighted to such an extent that they may appear to the reader/viewer as common, but a more accurate and comprehensive description of the Netherlands around 1900 cannot equate the so-defined typical with the general or genuine. This is the point at which generalizations using national categories based on the typical potentially run into problems: while some people in rural fishing villages obviously wore traditional costumes, such costumes were not a general phenomenon in the Netherlands around 1900. The suggested conflation of the typical and the common underlies many Dutch reactions to the cliché, which I have discussed in Chapter 6.9. In addition, this conflation also created the need for tourist industries to guarantee that enough of these promised typical-and-common Dutch elements could be spotted on location; after all, they are the essence of the experience of Dutchness. If necessary, tourist industries produced and staged additional “typical” and “authentic” elements.

Contrary to tourist discourse, what is “Dutch” is not *necessarily* tied to the typical in anthropological and geographical discourses, where images

are only *partially* labelled as “(typically) Dutch” – and, even if so, the typical is hardly generalized as being a common or general feature of the Netherlands. Apparently, in all three discourses, the typical is never connected to modern elements and is mostly tied to rural and unindustrialized regions. Across all discourses, “typical” carries a positive connotation and lends itself to the expression of nostalgic sentiments.

Authenticity and Artificiality

The tension between authenticity and artificiality is not characteristic for geographical discourse; the term “authenticity” hardly appears at all.

In anthropological discourse, authenticity is seen in supposedly unchanged elements. Modern dresses or hybrids (either of diverse local costumes or of modern and traditional elements) are not considered authentic.

In tourist discourse, modern elements are not considered authentic, either. Authentic elements need to appear as not staged and as “out there” regardless the tourist’s presence. The rather obvious performative dimension of authenticity embraces the cliché and, *vice versa*, results in the cliché operating as sign of authenticity while *not* caring about truthfulness or origin (as anthropological discourse requires). In tourist discourse, the cliché signifies the typical and the authentic.

The contrast of tourist and anthropological discourse could not be sharper, as, in anthropological discourse, the cliché is considered *not* authentic and even a threat to scientific accuracy. Anthropologists warned about the generalizing aspects of the cliché and its disregard for ethnographic truthfulness.

As a result, the meaning of the terms “typical” and “authentic” differs considerably in these two discourses. Consequently, the meaning that is ascribed to phenomena that each discourse qualifies as “typical” or “authentic” is not the same – *even if the same motifs and the same terms are applied*. Hence, images and statements in tourist discourse differ from those in anthropological and geographical discourse not so much in *content* but in their *function*. In tourist discourse, a description of the dress of a peasant is not given to study traditions and cultures scientifically but as a teaser for experiencing something extraordinary and visually pleasing. Similarly, a city is not described in order to study its history and economic activities but to advertise its “picturesque” and “quaint” sights (and the overnight stay one has to buy in order to experience it).

Discourse-Specific Forms of Generalizations: Cliché, Instances, Prototypes

The three investigated discourses show variation in the way in which generalizations are made on a national level. Tourism uses the cliché to communicate what was “really” Dutch. As the cliché is mostly in line with definitions of the typical and the authentic of that discourse, and as the typical is conflated with the common, the cliché easily signifies what is “Dutch” more generally, too. Therefore, the cliché lends itself for making generalized statements about the Netherlands and the Dutch.

Even though similar images of a landscape with cows and windmills or images of people in traditional costumes are used in geographical and anthropological discourse, such images are *not always* generalized on the national level and their local specificity is mentioned more often. Some Dutch teachers and journalists even protested against the circulation of *any* image of people in traditional costume, whether ethnographically accurate or not. Such clichéd images, according to the critics, promoted the idea of a rural, non-modern Netherlands and would impair its reputation in international diplomatic and economic circles. In that respect, ethnographically correct images of Volendam and Marken fisher families were considered equally objectionable as ethnographically incorrect representations.

Tourist and anthropological discourses tie their generalizing statements to concrete phenomena and instances that could actually be seen in the Netherlands (whether accurate in their description or not). The generalizations are always linked to local, observable phenomena and are not merely abstract representations. This is understandable, as anthropologists and tourists had to see whatever was said to be “(typically) Dutch” on-site and *in the instances they saw* during their research or travel. Generalizations in anthropological and tourist discourse are made by relating observable, palpable phenomena to a larger whole, i.e. the Netherlands and the Dutch, but the larger whole only manifests itself in the various instances. For example, the Volendam costume was seen as (an example of a) Dutch costume, the windmills at the Zaan as (examples of) Dutch windmills, and the flower fields of Haarlem as (an example of) Dutch landscape. Whereas Dutch publications often treat the instances as *examples* for the entirety of all things Dutch, foreign publications more often generalize the instance *as* Dutch. Single instances are then seen as evidence for national characteristics.

Some publications in geographical discourse make generalizations on the level of the prototype. The prototype is a form of knowledge that abstracts from the empirical world by creating average values. Prototypical statements

are thus *not* used to describe empirical, concrete phenomena. Not surprisingly, images are not presented in terms of the prototype; prototypical statements are restricted to background information about supposedly “national characteristics”.

The different types of statements that generalize about the Netherlands and the Dutch prove that generalizations that show variation in a category (images presented in the national-as-bracket mode) and those that do not (images presented in the national-as-descriptor mode, the cliché, and the prototype) equally contributed to the creation of supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch.

7.2 OUTLOOK

358 | In this book, I investigated the role of visual media in the creation of supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch and expounded the tradition of the image repertoire of early films. I have explained which images communicated the idea of “Dutchness” and why they were able to do so. In Chapters 3 and 4 especially, I have reconstructed the conditions for the emergence of national clichés of the Dutch and have shown how national clichés are connected to the technical affordances of media and intertwined with a specific logic of reasoning. These findings provide necessary background information for thinking about ways of depicting people, because these findings enable us to take discussions on the representation of people one step further, by approaching the question of clichés and representations of “national identity” from a different angle.

With this research, I have underscored that the concepts “nation” and “nationality” should not be taken for granted. While the existence of national categories and their increasing relevance in the nineteenth century is not new to historians of Western cultures, my analysis of images of Dutchness provides insights into the function of such categories. My discursive analysis of word and image explains how images and categories were combined in order to function as (visual) evidence of nationality and supposed (visual) differences along the lines of nationality. The function of images and categories in terms of the national, I argue, can be better understood when the starting point is the discursive construction of nationality through word and image.

The categories in which we think are not neutral; rather, their supposed neutrality poses a problem for attempts to move on in blocked discussions about “national identity”. In these discussions, answers to the question: “What is Dutch?” are never satisfactory; yet this did not cause the question itself or the usefulness of the category “Dutch national identity”, as descrip-

tor for some kind of graspable essence to be broadly rejected. If we agree that national stereotypes and clichés can be perceived as offensive – which they already were around 1900, see Chapter 6.9 – why is so much effort put into attempts to answer, if it is even unequivocally possible, what “national identity” or “Dutchness” *is*? A perspective built on the insight that the problem lies not in the answer but in the categories presupposed in its question, can open up new ways for thinking about community and group identities, about citizenship in, what we call today, multicultural societies.

On the Origins of National Clichés

The study of discourses in which the connection of word and image created supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch combines a history of iconography with a history of its meaning. Neither of these aspects alone can explain the emergence of national clichés such as Volendam or Marken people in traditional clothing: the observation that this motif was widespread does not explain its connotation to depict “the Dutch”; and, from the observation that national clichés existed, does not follow why this motif and not any other was used. Further research into national clichés should combine the study of iconography with the history of its connotations and meanings.

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National clichés of the Dutch provided a good case to examine the origins of national clichés in the West. National clichés, as they prevail today, rely and build upon the epistemological premise that a nation can be visualized through a “realistic” image of a person. This convention became a common practice after the French Revolution, when visual representations of a nation were no longer restricted to allegories or symbols. However, this visual convention did not immediately result in the formation of national clichés.

The emergence of national clichés of the Dutch occurred in four phases; it is very likely that other national clichés (of Western nations, at least) developed similarly.

Firstly, the categories of the national needed to appear as meaningful descriptors in the textual comment accompanying realistic images of people. Categories in terms of the national appeared in some eighteenth-century publications that contained images. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that categories of the national were used more systematically in combination with images. Until at least the mid nineteenth century, the variation of motifs to illustrate the category was still fairly large.

The second phase begins somewhere in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the image repertoire to visualize the category “Dutch” became

less varied. Especially in the century's last quarter, the variety of motifs that were chosen as visualization of the category "the Dutch" decreased. In the third phase, the few remaining motifs were constantly repeated and remained very stable – to the extent that the motif of Volendam and Marken people in traditional costume against the backdrop of windmills, cows, and a sailboat signified rather unequivocally the *category* "the Dutch"; in this moment, the motif achieved the status of a cliché.

The limited meanings ascribed to motifs, on one side, and the limited motifs to visualize the category on the other, led to the creation of the cliché, which was established *as a cliché* around the 1890s. Once the motif of Volendam and Marken fisher families was established as a cliché, the motif signified "the Dutch" *even without textual comment*.

In the fourth phase, these national clichés were so well-known that they functioned as signs for the category; the motifs could be used to signify Dutchness in any possible context (from advertising for coffee to settings of a theatre play).

In the third and fourth phases, clichés dominated all forms of signifying "the Netherlands" and "the Dutch". To put this even more strongly, it seemed almost impossible to use other motifs in communication about the Netherlands or the Dutch than the clichés – even when the clichés were partially

Fig. 7.1 Illustration in the brochure *Die Niederlande* (Verein zur Förderung der Hollandkunde im Ausland 1917, 10). The text on this page gives information on the metal industry in the Netherlands and is illustrated with an image of grazing cows with a windmill in the background.



dysfunctional or wrong. As I have shown in Chapter 6, Dutch tourist organizations worked hard to promote regions that did not look like the cliché to international tourists. Although the cliché fits well with the logic of consumer culture, its omnipresence impeded economic exploitations in some respect. In the twentieth century, the clichés even influenced (visual) information in non-commercial, educational settings. An extreme case are the illustrations in a brochure of the “Society for the Promotion of Knowledge About the Netherlands Abroad” that, *in the text*, argues against supposed common knowledge that the Netherlands was a rural country.

My reconstruction of the origins of national clichés, I hope, will encourage future research to assess the dissemination of cultural artefacts and visual media beyond the limits of national borders. The nineteenth century, so it seems, was relevant for the formation of the visual side of supposed common knowledge – way into the twentieth century. An understanding of the dynamics of dissemination of early popular visual culture in the nineteenth century will thus contribute to a better explanation of the origins of images and clichés that were popular transnationally in the twentieth and even twenty-first centuries. My investigation also traced the intermedial origins of the image repertoire in the new medium film.

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Dutchness as Another Form of Otherness

My research has corroborated that strategies of Othering were not restricted to Asians, Africans, Native Americans, or other groups of people in politically minoritized positions. In many tourist media as well as in media of armchair travel, the Dutch and the Netherlands were presented in a very reduced and generalized way. Physical anthropologists went to Marken to measure the crania of the village population for their research on the development of mankind (Cf. Roodenburg 2002); Volendam men were sometimes described as “oriental” in custom or dress; and, in many accounts, the Zuiderzee inhabitants were described as backward in time and as “relics” of past centuries. For example:

Another interesting place in the tour is the quaint and primitive Isle of Marken in the Zuyder Zee. The inhabitants have resisted all outside influence, and as they were three centuries ago, so we find them to-day [*sic*]. The costume of the women is remarkably picturesque and singular; nothing is like it or even approaches its bizarre appearance. (Thomas Cook & Son 1903b, 12)

Such rhetorical figures instil difference and hierarchy between viewer/writer/tourist and looked-at (here: the Marken woman) in favour of the viewer/writer/tourist. I have mentioned in Chapter 6 that tourist discourse is intrinsically linked to the perception of difference, which results in a specific manner of making sense of people and places. In the words of Culler, tourism “revealed difficulties of appreciating otherness except through signifying structures that mark and reduce it” (Culler 1988, 167).

While the rhetoric shows many similarities with descriptions of people of outside the Western world, the visual strategies and the semantic fields invoked in the attribution to difference are very dissimilar in the case of the Dutch. The construction of difference and the reductive way of depicting the Dutch in form of the cliché did not install a *cultural* hierarchy; in none of my sources are the Dutch described as “barbarians” or as a “primitive group lacking civilization”. The behaviour of begging children of the Zuiderzee villages is sometimes commented on as being uncivilized while, at the same time, the children were admired for the quaint dresses they wore. The dresses then were described as “typical Dutch dresses”; their uncivilized behaviour was not commented on as a “typical Dutch character trait”.

Moreover, the vague, evaluative adjectives with which the Dutch were described as attraction are not of the same order as those that can be found in travel writings about people outside of Europe. Even in the most unfavourable descriptions, and even when backwardness in time is suggested, the Dutch are not described as *morally* inferior to the tourist (which would justify a call for a “civilizing intervention” and which would also touch the very soul and essence of the so-described person). The Otherness ascribed to the Dutch presents them as a curiosity, never as abject. In addition, complaints by tourists about the unwillingness of Marken women to be photographed, at least implicitly, recognizes the looked-at person as someone with agency. The Otherness of the Dutch is thus another Otherness; namely one that is first and foremost phrased in terms of visual attraction.

With this intervention, I do not wish to downplay the perceived offensiveness of such images and statements. What I want to point out here is that the same *structure of thinking*, i.e. the hierarchical presentation of someone as visually spectacular Other, which postcolonial theorists have characterized as central to the strategy of Othering, was also employed in descriptions of the Dutch – sometimes even when the speakers were Dutch themselves. The thinking in terms of hierarchical difference was thus not limited to encounters between European white men on one side and Africans, Asians, Native Americans, and Aboriginal People on the other; this way of thinking and depicting was also fundamental to encounters among people from Western Europe, who praised themselves as “civilized”.

Nowhere do I say that the *effects* of such thinking are in any way comparable to the effects of colonialism. However, if we wonder why racism and discrimination still prevail, it is important not only to look at the content and effect of Othering, but to also consider the structure and its tradition in (Western) epistemologies and thought.

Historical Popular Media, Intermediality, and Supposed Common Knowledge

Supposed common knowledge is limited by the available images and statements in circulation. Images and statements that were disseminated on a large scale thus form a relevant part of the entirety of available information. Although local images produced for local audiences were relevant for the body of knowledge of the local community in question, the focus on images that were disseminated internationally and on a large scale is suitable to investigate which statements and images became part of supposed common knowledge beyond the local. Very popular, widely-disseminated images and statements, I argue, provided the visual and textual information from which local exhibitors, lecturers, teachers, readers, viewers, and tourists could draw.

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By means of an inter- and transmedial approach, the longevity of motifs, and the repetition of patterns and recurring statements in historical publications can be traced through genre, medium, format, and period. Studies that investigate or build on the popularity of images, at least from the nineteenth century onward, will benefit from looking into the intermedial dissemination of images to firmly ground and refine arguments about popularity. Most images discussed in this study were remediated in various medium formats.

Printed and photographic images were recycled time and again, sold in different countries, on various carriers, and with changing captions. Once the woodcut, copperplate, or photo negative was produced, initiatives by producers and distributors to “update” their images of the changing cityscapes were few; they probably did not invest in the production of new images as long as copies of old ones could still be sold (the creative task to ascribe contemporariness to old images was carried out by the performers and lecturers of all kinds). From an economic standpoint, the continuous distribution of “old imagery” is thus very understandable. However, this economic-technical motivation does not fully explain why similar images were registered in cinematographic devices, even when entirely new images had to be produced as it was technically not possible to recycle old photographs or woodcuts to projected film. The technological demand for new images did not result in more up-to-date motifs or in new aesthetics right away – despite the fascina-

tion with modern *technology*. The images displayed in most nonfiction films of early cinema appear rather conservative, while the modern technology would have allowed for innovation. The diachronic investigation of the long history of motifs, the intermedial circulation of “recycled” images in popular visual culture, and the convention that older imagery provided the privileged symbols to signify Dutchness may explain the conservative image repertoire of the new medium of film.

In this as in further studies, bringing together information about historical images in various medial formats will not only account for the intrinsically intermedial character of popular images in a multimedial media landscape, but it will also explain, with more nuance, the image repertoire of each medium. The intermedial character of popular visual culture should therefore be reflected on in the preservation and the documentation of cultural artefacts. Hardly any of the artefacts and sources that I have investigated are digitized and publicly accessible; the lack of shared standards for the description of many ephemeral forms of historical popular visual media impedes their use even in the cases in which digital reproductions have been made accessible. Researchers and archivists should continue to collaborate to develop a way for the description of such artefacts that suits the need of both perspectives.

The selection of the material in my corpus of more than 3000 images was comprehensive enough to distil various patterns through which supposed common knowledge on the Netherlands and the Dutch was communicated. I have identified periods when certain patterns, concepts, topoi, and motifs emerged; when they gained and lost prominence; and when they were replaced by others. I have outlined the broader picture of what this fuzzy corpus of images and statements consisted of, which motifs and verbal statements were popular in Western societies, and when the variety of images and textual comments decreased. On a conceptual level, yet grounded on an elaborate descriptive engagement with historical material, I have investigated what people could have been expected to have seen, have heard, and have known about the Netherlands and the Dutch in the long nineteenth century.

Discourses and *Dispositifs*

The presentation of the material according to discourses could account for the modularity of image-text combinations in the long nineteenth century. Almost no image of the Netherlands and the Dutch was specific to a medium or even exclusive to a discourse. By organizing the findings in discourses, I was able to account for the various meanings an image could bear. Thereby, I was able to investigate which *function* an image had in the respective publication

or performance, and which meanings and intended effects were produced for the reader/viewer in discourse-specific *dispositifs*. While the finding that images (and nonfiction images especially) are polysemic is not new, I have stressed the importance of considering performance, communicative aim, and discursive embedding in the process of meaning-making, and have clarified what the – often vaguely named – “context” comprised of. These findings, I hope, will reinforce the recognition of word and image as equally relevant elements of publications, which should therefore be included likewise in digitization projects. This conceptual framework and notion of performance are intended to be useful for adaptation to research into local media history, local exhibition practices, and local performance culture.

Whether or not all aspects that I have distinguished conceptually in my analysis of image-text combinations are still relevant to visual media of later periods will need to be discussed elsewhere. Nineteenth-century popular visual media, at least, were, to a huge extent, modular: word and image, visualizations and comments were combined in various ways. It seems that the modularity of image-text combinations in popular visual media decreased in twentieth-century medial forms, with feature-length films and the institutionalization of intertitles (Cf. Dupré la Tour 2016) and, even more, with the invention of sound film in the late 1920s.

The findings of this research thus contribute to discussions in various fields. In media history, my research calls for a combination of intermediality and performativity as guiding concepts in research on historical media. From my insights, I have proposed methods that can be adapted to word and image studies and to semiotic analysis that include visual material. I have also made suggestions for further studies into the emergence of national clichés. In addition to the concrete examples for possible adaptations of my findings, my research can also contribute to discussions of categories and patterns on a more abstract level.

National Categories and Patterns

In this book, I have investigated rules and patterns in the way in which word and image were combined to make sense; from the investigation of image-text combinations I have derived structures that served as links between textual and visual elements – on the level of sentence/single image, on the level of publication/set of images, and on the level of category and visualization.

In Chapter 3, I traced the emergence of categories in terms of the national in descriptions of realist images of people and places.

In Chapter 4, I investigated the image-text combinations of (sets of) real-

istic images of people with captions or comments that refer to nationality. The combinations of word and image could be classified into two modes: the national-as-bracket mode, which presented various instances that were grouped into that category and the national-as-descriptor mode, which presented only one instance for the nation. These two modes correspond to a more abstract way of investigating categories: images in the national-as-descriptor mode functioned to illustrate the category, while images in the national-as-bracket mode functioned to show variation within that category – regardless of the motif that the individual images show. The national-as-descriptor mode, so the analysis of my material suggests, emerged from the national-as-bracket mode; and only in the national-as-descriptor mode did I observe generalizing statements on the level of nationality. Such statements could, but did not necessarily always do, take the form of the prototype or the cliché. In Chapter 5, I investigated, at the level of publication, three patterns of image-text combinations: the encyclopaedic, the panoramic, and the virtual travel pattern. I have found that these patterns were stable across the investigated period, not medium-specific, not used exclusively for either highbrow or lowbrow audiences, and that each could be used for making statements in the national-as-bracket and the national-as-descriptor mode.

In Chapter 6, I zoomed in further and analysed, at the level of sentences, textual topoi that described the Netherlands as travel destination and the Dutch as attraction. I traced the emergence of such topoi and determined when the variation of topoi decreased.

One of the most important outcomes of this work is that each discourse acted out differently the tension between the concrete, local instances and more abstract, national categories. The investigation of image-text combinations was crucial to assess the level at which a statement about the Netherlands and the Dutch is made and to identify the different forms of generalizations. By doing this, I have investigated in which cases and in which ways a type was determined in the token; how type and prototype were related; and when an image (or a set of images) suppressed variation in a group to represent the typical exclusively. In this book, I have explained not only the construction of what was said, and imaged, to be “typically Dutch”, but also the premises on which such statements could be uttered at all.

NOTE

- 1 The opening paragraph reads: "Es zeigt sich öfters, daß man in der Fremde der Meinung ist, daß die Niederländer, zehrend auf dem Ruhm ihrer Vorfahren, in Entwicklung stehen geblieben und nicht mehr auf der Höhe der Zeit sind in welcher wir leben. Nachfolgende vereinzelte Notizen mögen dazu dienen, gegen diese unberechtigte und völlig unverdiente Meinung zu protestieren und zu zeigen, daß die Niederlande in vollem Leben stehen und nicht nur in keiner Hinsicht zurück sind, sondern wert sind, daß man sie kenne lernt, da Künste und Wissenschaften auf einer hohen Entwicklungsstufe stehen, Handel, Industrie und Ackerbau in voller Blüte sind, die sozialen und ökonomischen Verhältnisse von sehr gesunden Existenzbedingungen Zeugnis ablegen, und die Weise, in welcher die Niederlande ihre Kolonien beherrschen, musterhaft genannt werden darf." (Verein zur Förderung der Hollandkunde im Ausland 1917, 3).

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