Images of Dutchness

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CHAPTER 2

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 medially, 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

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 performativity 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.

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 scale – 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.

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, and, finally, films of early cinema.

**GROUP 1**

### 2.2 ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINES

I use the expression “illustrated magazines” as a generic description for periodically issued magazines that contain images. 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.

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 visuality (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).
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).

**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.

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-
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.
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).

**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...
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; 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.
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-

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).

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. Vanhauwen 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 Boekenoogen 1930, 24). From their beginnings to the mid nineteenth century, catchpenny prints were issued in enor-
Fig. 2.11 “Klederdragten van verschillende Volkeren der Wereld”. Catchpenny print.
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 catch-penny 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 Boekenoogen 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 Boekenoogen 1910; van Heurck and Boekenoogen 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.
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). 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.

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).

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.
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

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 Lévie’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
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
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).

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 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 2,400 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

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
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
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* 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

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 remain 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).\textsuperscript{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. 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”
(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

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

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 Frankfoort 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.
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).

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)

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. Loiperding-er 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. 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).

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; 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/collection, 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

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 “cliqué 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 remedi-ated 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 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 curiosities 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).
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; Tofighian 2013 for Southeast Asia; and Ruppin 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.

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.

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).