CHAPTER 4
Authentically Dutch: Images in Anthropological Discourse


DOI: 10.5117/9789462983007_CH04

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.

Snellman 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” descent – 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” 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.

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 dif-
terence” 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 anthropo-
logical investigation. (Griffiths 2002, 96)

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,
headress, 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 mem-
ber 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 exclu-
sively 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 “Celtics” from “Germanics”, and by expecting the “Germanics” to populate the Dutch nation, the exclusion of the “Celtics” 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.

**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). 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.
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

The allegorical title print, its explanation, and the introduction announce the work before the reader/viewer turns to the images of the costumes. The allegorical title print is interpreted as follows: the sitting woman in antique dress represents the Goddess of Drawing. On the table before her are some sketches of traditional costume. The pencil in her left hand rests on a folder with the Coat of Arms of the Batavian Republic to indicate which nation she has illustrated. To the right side of the Goddess of Drawing is Mercurius, God of Trade; the Goddess of Drawing hands him her book so he can distribute it “as grateful evidence and agreeable endeavour to those European Nations, which have already satisfied their curiosity with a like emulsion” (Maaskamp and Kuyper 1808). The roses on the table symbolize good taste, the bronze statue underneath the table show the allegory of invention, busy with weaving and ameliorating cloth. The emblems in the corner represent trade, fishery, navigation, and agriculture as symbols for the sources of the prosperity of the Netherlands.

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.
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.
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:
Listen, buddy! Add another nickel [Stuiver], it’s my first earning today.
(Maaskamp 1803, image 2, my translation)\textsuperscript{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
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)

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”.

AUTHENTICALLY DUTCH: IMAGES IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL DISCOURSE
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 Amsterdamers 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.

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)”.

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
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, kleederdragen, 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.\footnote{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 Ueberveldt. 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).\footnote{9}

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

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 – 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
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-
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.
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

(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 National 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.

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)
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 Kleederdragten is evaluated on two levels: “Nederlandsche sujetten, door Neder-
landsche kunstenaars behandeld” – Dutch subjects, treated by Dutch artists (Algemeen Handelsblad 1850).\textsuperscript{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”.

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)

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).

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
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.

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 verscheyde 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:

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.  

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 verscheyde Landgewesten) 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.

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.

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 de 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 headdress). 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.
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 (Nijekerk),
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. 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 fulfill 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.

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.

Fig. 4.15 “Marken, Natives of Marken”. Lantern slide. Slide 42 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.
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”)

> The women wear great white caps, and quantities of dresses one over the other - not being in the lest 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”)

AUTHENTICALLY DUTCH: IMAGES IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL DISCOURSE
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.
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
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-
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-

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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 BenSDorp

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).
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)

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
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. Stollwerk 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.
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). 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-

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)

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”).

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 fieldwork 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).

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), *Haringvisserscherij 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 steam-boats. 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 Naziolae 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
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 national 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.

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 “Netherlands” 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 fulfill 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 Volendam 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.
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).

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.”

Original: “Maakt zindelijkheid der vaten het zuivere vogt smakkelijk, dan wordt de smaak nog groter 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 gelulijke landstreken van Arcadiën.”

Original: “De Kleederen der Nederlanden / Verschillen veel in iedren stand / maar evenwel is elk bewoner / Gehecht aan ’t dierbaar Vaderland.”

For a detailed analysis of this publication from the perspective of panoramic literature, cf. Kuijk (2018).

“[…] welk werk zich dubbele aanbevelt 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 kunstenaren zich van hunne taak hebben gekweten.” (Algemeen Handelsblad 1849).

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.”

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).

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”.

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 opzigt 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 verschuldigden 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 geheelde 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 voortwandelten 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, onbeschaaide, 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 ongetwijfeld 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”.