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

**KEYWORDS**
geography - popularized; visual media; nineteenth century; illustrated publications; virtual travel; the panoramic; the encyclopaedic; geography and the national; images of places
5.1 INTRODUCTION: GEOGRAPHY AND POPULAR SCIENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the nineteenth century, geographical publications and institutions contributed knowledge to promoting the national and nation-states in several ways. Geographical information was not restricted to debates within specialized institutions or academia. Maps and sets of images with the nation’s name in their respective titles offered visual representations that aligned a territory with the supposed national identity of its population. By doing that, such publications offered visual evidence for the idea of a national-territorial unity.
Maps, sets of images, and other illustrated publications can be considered a visual source for an “imagined community” of the nation, complementing print in vernacular languages (Anderson 1996, esp. 44-46).

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

**Geographical Societies**

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

That a new and useful Society might be formed, under the name of The Royal Geographical Society of London. That the interest excited by this department of science is universally felt; that its advantages are of the first importance to mankind in general, and paramount to the welfare of a maritime nation like Great Britain, with its numerous and extensive foreign possessions. That its decided utility in conferring relations of
our globe must be obvious to every one [sic]. (The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London 1832, quoted in Livingstone 1984, 291)

Most articles in the publications of the Royal Geographical Society were travel accounts of journeys and explorations, which specified “the precise location of sites, often with cartographical accompaniment”. Following Livingstone, these publications all underscore the geographer’s concerns with mapping the world, with geographical exploration, and with cataloguing the distinctive characteristics of different racial groups. (Livingstone 1984, 291)

In the United States, two big geographical associations were established. The American Geographical Society, founded in 1851, united academic professionals and geographers who were mainly concerned with empirical descriptions and the mapping of the earth. Many of its activities required explorative expeditions (Cf. Wright 1952, 12). In 1888, founding members voted to set up the National Geographic Society, as a “society for the increase and diffusion of geographic knowledge” (Cf. Hunter 2013) that, alongside scientific expeditions, organized travels and educational activities. In the Netherlands, the Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (“Royal Dutch Geographic Society”, KNAG; until 1888, known as Aardrijkskundig Genootschap) was set up in 1873 with the main aim to excite interest in geography in the Netherlands and thereby stimulate the implementation of geographical knowledge for the benefit of commerce, shipping, industries, colonization and emigration. (http://www.knag.nl/24.0.html, accessed 5 September 2016, my translation)

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

Non-academic and popular knowledge about the sciences is not a nineteenth-century phenomenon, although historians have often identified popular knowledge as a “product of the bourgeois era” (Cf. Brecht and Orland 1999, 5). In Western cultures, popular science had been practiced by a wide range of amateurs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Until the nineteenth century, however, this knowledge existed in parallel with the official, academic sciences and was not generally considered relevant to maintain the worldview of the reigning aristocracy. After the French Revolution, science, and especially natural and empirical sciences, served the new leading class in various ways. Among the elite, scientific knowledge could figure as realm of consensus, achieved via a shared body of knowledge. In 1830s Britain, during a period of civil unrest, members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science used science to hold up a unifying moral vision under the banner of scientific neutrality. By representing a moderate and measured attitude toward political engagement, they believed they could use science to damp down the agitation generated by the new industrial order. Appealing to natural laws, these scientific champions were convinced that they could offer society a neutral means of communication that outflanked bigotry, passion, and sectarian zealotry. Party differences could be laid aside in the common search for the laws of nature. (Livingstone 2003, 108–109, emphasis added)

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

strengthening religious belief, combating objectionable political views and encouraging “habits of order, punctuality and politeness” in the face of proliferating counterattractions of an unedifying nature. (Brooker 2013, 13; quoting a letter to the Manchester Mechanical Society from 1838)
In all cases, it mattered to the elite what the general public knew. Popular knowledge was thus not separated as strictly from academic knowledge as in previous centuries. On the contrary, efforts were taken to make academic knowledge accessible in the public sphere: once the nation became equated with “the people”, public opinion became political terrain, hence the political importance of defining publicly circulating information, i.e. popular knowledge.

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

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

Obviously, the latter proves more useful for the study of supposed common knowledge, as supposed common knowledge and popular knowledge are interrelated. Supposed common knowledge presumes something; it is a supposition of “what everyone knows” and its content may or may not be accurate. The discourse of popular knowledge, in contrast, tends to be more oriented towards factual learning, even when methods and forms differ from classical academic approaches. One major characteristic of nineteenth-century popular knowledge is its embrace of visual material (Cf. Kember, Plunkett, and Sullivan 2012).
Geography became a major discipline in popular education in the nineteenth century. Content and methods for teaching geography were largely discussed by educational societies and self-claimed “educators of the people” (Volksbildner). In spite of ideological differences, the usefulness of visual material in teaching about geography was widely acknowledged. The *Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen*, (“Society for Common Benefits”, MTNVA) was the largest organization in the Netherlands that propagated the idea of uplift through education and a relevant institution in popular education. The society stressed the need for alphabetization and basic mathematical skills, promoted behaviour according to Christian morals, and lobbied for a good system of public elementary schools. Among other activities, the MTNVA published catchpenny prints for school children (Cf. Thijssen 2009) and handbooks for popular educators with advice on why, how, and what to teach (Cf. MTNVA 1817, VII–VIII); some of them were dedicated to geography. *Aanwijzing Voor Het Onderrigt der Aardrijks- en Geschiedkunde in de Lagere Scholen* (Burggraaf 1824) opens with the question of what the lower classes needed to know and calls for suitable methods that appeal to children “with good effect for intellect and heart” (no page). In *Handboek der Aardrijkskunde. Algemeen Gedeelte, 1ste Stuk* (Winkler Prins 1859), it is claimed that the Dutch needed to know about the surface of the planet because they travelled and migrated, which indicates economic motivation for the subject. In the introduction to *Handleiding tot Algemeene Kennis van den Aardbol* (Timmer 1840), profound knowledge on natural geography is considered an indicator for intellectual and moral development and an apt means to strengthen religious faith:

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

As these examples have shown, geographical information became an integral part of popular education of the nineteenth century. Within the domains of popular education and popular knowledge, geography covered a broad range of topics and served various purposes and learning aims: moral uplift, increase of workforce and religious faith, economic exploitation, a more effective administration of territories, stirring excitement and creating support for
discovery expeditions, justifying colonialism, and increasing consciousness about national differences. All of these aspects, in one way or another, supported bourgeois values and bourgeois conceptions of the nation.

Travel Writings and Travelogues

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

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

Fig. 5.1 Envelop for stereoscopic photographs on cardboard distributed by Bing (c. 1920).
also evidenced in the famous slogan of Charles Urban’s film company “We put the world before you by means of the Bioscope and Urban Films”, or in the logo of the reseller of stereoscopic photographs on cardboard “Bing” (see Fig. 5.1).

5.2 PATTERNS FOR THE PRESENTATION OF KNOWLEDGE IN GEOGRAPHICAL Discourse

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

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

In geographical discourse, I have observed three patterns according to which information on the Netherlands is given. These appear to be very stable throughout the period of research and are not specific to a medium or a performance context. Each pattern translates the entity of the Netherlands into different visual forms, in various levels of abstraction from the physical space. I name them the “encyclopaedic”, the “panoramic”, and the “virtual travel” patterns.
The most abstract pattern is the encyclopaedic pattern. The order of information is not strongly articulated, and is organized either alphabetically by place or by subject without a narrative and with no apparent hierarchy (e.g. population – history – climate – language). The order in which the locations are treated does not follow any cartographic logic. There is no formally defined beginning or ending and no narrative link among the subjects; theoretically, information could always be added. In most cases, information on the Netherlands within the encyclopaedic pattern is primarily given through text; images have a mere illustrative function. In some cases, the images are not even referred to in the written text, which begs the question of their arbitrariness. The readers/viewers are generally not addressed directly, the text is usually written in a “declarative third person mode” (“this is ...” / “these are...” / “the picture shows ...”). In the encyclopaedic pattern, the reader/viewer is guided to study a country from a distance; the idea of travel is not present.

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

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

Within the field of early cinema studies, the entities that I call the “panoramic pattern” and the “virtual travel pattern” have often been addressed as one entity, namely as “armchair travel” (Verhoeff 2006, 251f and 264), “travelogue” (Peterson 1997; Griffiths 1999), “travel cinema” (Barber 1993), “travel genre” (Musser 1990a), or even as “substitute for travel” (Griffiths 1996). I will discuss such films in more detail in Chapter 5.5. It is true that both panoramic and virtual armchair travel use visual and rhetorical strategies to make the
readers/viewers feel “really there”. In the panoramic pattern, however, the readers/viewers are positioned at a distance from the things seen, whereas, in virtual travel, they are positioned inside the scene. While I agree that it is difficult to draw the exact line between immersion and embodiment, I still suggest that a distinction between these two patterns on a conceptual level enables for the refinement of our knowledge about how geographical knowledge was (and, in part, still is) performed by and through images. Recognizing the variety of visual and rhetorical strategies will help to understand more fully the enormous presence of geographical discourse in various settings, its capacity to serve a broad range of aims, and its appeal to multiple audiences.

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

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

5.3 THE ENCYCLOPAEDIC PATTERN

The encyclopaedic pattern will be illustrated with the analysis of six visual media published in five countries (France, England, the Netherlands, the US, and Germany). The selection includes academic and popularized media to illustrate the broad adaptation to this pattern. My study of the encyclopaedic pattern opens with the discussion of the oldest source in my corpus to argue that this pattern is older than the conceptual appearance of images therein, and continues with examples from around 1900 that have been selected from the corpus to show the wide variety of medium formats and popularity.
Voyage Pittoresque dans la Frise, une des sept provinces orné des lithographes was written by a French civil servant who clearly defined his intention in the preface. Gauthier-Stirum (1839) wanted to “pay homage to the inhabitants of Friesland” and to correct the “mendacious assertions of some badly informed travellers”. He wanted to “make known the simple and appealing manners of the Friesians, and their customs and costumes” by describing “very exactly and without being pretentious” what he had seen during the three years that he spent there. The content of the book is organized in chapters according to subject matter (history – character and outward appearance of people – cities – how agriculture is carried out – shipping – fair – trade – leisure/folklore – animals – culture, education, religion). Contrary to what one might expect from the title, the book does not refer to travel at all. Even the chapter on the cities is not organized by travel route, but via the cities’ relevance (“Les villes de la Frise suivant leur ordre d’importance”, 65), starting with Leeuwarden (“... sans contredit, la plus belle, la plus riche et la plus forte de toute la province”, 65), continues with Franeker, Sneek, Heerenveen, and Harlingen.

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

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

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

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

ASPECTS
The author very explicitly puts comprehensiveness as the most relevant criterion for judging his work (“my efforts will have been worthwhile if I manage to give them an entire and complete idea of the things which they have not seen”),
The “entirety of things” that Gauthier-Stirum covers are topography, physiognomy, development of population (accroisemens), economic statistics, natural resources, political institutions, and customs— all of which are common criteria in geographical discourse but not encompassing e.g. for travelers who would miss information on transportation and accommodation.

The combination of geographical and anthropological knowledge, according to the implicit assumption, provides an encompassing perspective on places and people.

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

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

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

It is the part of the historian to seek in the archives of a nation the reasons for the facts of common experience and observation; it is the part of the philosopher to moralize upon antecedent causes and present results. Neither of these positions is taken up by the author of this little book. He merely, as a rule, gives the picture of Dutch life now to be seen in the Netherlands, and in all things tries to be scrupulously fair to a people renowned for their kindness and courtesy to the stranger in their midst. (Hough 1901, 1, emphasis added)
This opening paragraph claims documentary value and objectivity about what is to be seen in the Netherlands. It is made clear that the viewpoint is that of a “stranger”, and, in various passages, comparison is made with the situation in Britain. The standpoint of the outside observer is further reinforced by the use of the declarative third-person mode.

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

Fig. 5.4-5.5 Illustrations “A Dutch Street Scene” and “An Overijssel Farmhouse” from *Dutch Life in Town and Country*. Images taken from Hough (1901, 50 and 70).
much of the writing is dedicated to modern and especially societal life, the bias of the images to the rural and the picturesque is not supported by the text.

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

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

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

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

For it is strange but true, that a Dutchman never seems thoroughly to enjoy himself unless he has liquid of some sort at hand, and never feels really comfortable without his cigar. Indeed, if smoking were abolished from places of public amusement, most Dutchmen would frequent them no more. (Hough 1901, 141, emphasis added)
Activities and customs can be qualified as characteristic of or typical for the Dutch as well:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Instead of a careful description or enumeration of variety, every observation is generalized. More precisely, only generalized statements are included in the book. The absence of nuance, not to say the absence of anything that is not in line with the generalizing statements, has the effect that these statements can hardly be questioned. Unlike the article in National Geographic (see below), in which the single instances are seen as evidence for the national characteristic, Dutch Life in Town and Country defines prototypes without describing single instances or any variation. The empirical world and concrete, real-existing people, buildings, and cities are absent in the writing and even in the images,
as everything becomes representative of Dutchness in terms of (proto)types. As such, the author does not give “the picture of Dutch life now to be seen in the Netherlands” (no page), as stated in the introduction, but defines prototypes of Dutchness by abstracting from (concrete) life as it is seen. The claim in the introduction, however, still proposes these prototypes to be identical with observable, i.e. empirical, contemporary life in the Netherlands. In this way, Dutch Life in Town and Country is another example for the blurring of the analytical levels of concept/type and instance/token that I have mentioned in the conclusion of Chapter 4.

5.3.3 “A North Holland Cheese Market” (1910)

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

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

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

In spite of the fact that the author accurately introduces these images as depicting the province of Zeeland, no explanation is given as to why these images are
included in an article with the title “A North Holland Cheese Market”, or what
the connection between these Zeeland images and the article should be. Obvi-
ously, the common ground is that everything in the article relates to the Neth-
erlands. As background for the description of economic activity, a folkloristic
setting was chosen. Just as the topic of the article is interrupted by scenic pho-
tographs, the supposedly objective and unmarked position of the observer of
the declarative third-person mode is interrupted by two sentences that indi-
cate the position of readers and author as American visitors or tourists.

[Alkmaar] would have little attraction for foreign sight-seers beyond its
quaint seventeenth century domestic architecture were it not for the
great market in round yellow cheeses with which, in America, the name
Edam is associated. (Smith 1910, 1051, emphasis added)
Therefore there is little sleep for the visitor who has come to Alkmaar the day before to be ready for the great sale. (Smith 1910, 1052, emphasis added)

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

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

The seemingly objective observation and description of facts in a publication of a scientific organization can thus be identified as the partial perspective of a visitor or American sight-seer.
ASPECTS
The article’s title does not promise to inform about the Netherlands in a more general sense. Still, the information given by the overall article transcends the particular scope of the subject matter (how cheese is sold in Alkmaar), as the described instances are presented as examples of the more encompassing entity of “things Dutch” and the Netherlands.

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

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

Authenticity and nostalgia are not central topics to the main article, but appear in the caption to the photographs of Zeeland quoted above (“still retain
many quaint and archaic peculiarities of dress”). “Retain” and “archaic” imply a connection to the past, which is evaluated as positive and visually attractive through qualifying the dress as “quaint”. The “still” implies that these positive reminiscences of the past are expected to disappear in the future. The article, at first sight a description of activities connected to selling cheese, ties into established visualizations and relates to supposed common knowledge about what Dutchness looks like.

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

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

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

Both bridges are *tremendous creations* of the modern bridge architecture that *outstandingly decorate the brisk trade city*. (Caption to image 176 “Holland · Rotterdam. Die Zwei Brücken”, Myrrholin-Gesellschaft m.b.H 1902, my translation).
This set of images is quite exceptional for a publication in popular geography at that time, as it provides information on the Netherlands without referring to stereotypical ideas and without applying cliché images. It is the only set of images in my corpus that does not include a single image of people in traditional costume.

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

Mentioning “early cinema” together with “encyclopaedic” will remind early cinema scholars of Albert Kahn’s *Archives de la planète* (cf. Amad 2010), an archive set up with the aim “to install a kind of photographic inventory of the surface of the globe populated and developed by man, as it was at the begin-
ning of the twentieth century”, as Albert Kahn wrote in a letter to Jean Brunhes (1869-1930) (cited in Castro 2011, 179).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One film that shows Dutch industries in a very folkloristic setting is the Pathé production Comment se fait le fromage de Hollande (Machin 1909). The title already indicates that this film does not simply inform about the production of cheese but, by nationalizing the cheese production through the title, also informs about the country. Frank Kessler and Eef Masson have thoroughly analysed this film and its “generic overlap” of travelogue and industrial film (Kessler and Masson 2009; Kessler 2004). The film, listed in the Pathé catalogue in the section “scènes d’arts et d’industries” (“scenes of craft and industry”), emphasizes artisans and craftsmanship and not the efficiency of industrial means of production. The educative strategy of the film resembles object lessons in museums. In addition to what Kessler and Masson called a
“museological presentation” of the work processes, people and landscape are visualized as picturesque and quaint (Cf. Kessler 2004, 165). The setting consists of a flat landscape with windmills, canals, and dog carts; the two young people carrying out the production wear traditional costume.

ASPECTS
In order to illustrate the production of cheese alone, it would not have been necessary to place the production process in a folkloristic setting as it was done in Comment se fait le fromage de Hollande. Furthermore, the title suggests that all cheeses in “Holland” were produced in this way. This happens without explicitly qualifying any action as “typical” or “authentic” in the interti-
All other intertitles name the processes in the fabrication of cheese without reference to visual attraction or nationality. The film’s presentation of information only works if viewers knew what images with the motifs of windmills, cows, cheese, women in laced headdress, and pasture lands with canals “meant”. The connection between the images in the film and “Dutchness” thus relies on information outside of the film itself, namely on supposed common knowledge that these images communicate, unambiguously and without need of written explanation, “Dutch”. The question of whether this film claims authenticity is more than intriguing. Certainly, the folkloristic and labour-intensive process of the cheese production presented in Comment se fait le fromage can easily be interpreted as an age-old way of making cheese. The question is, rather, whether or not the film claims contemporariness of its imagery. On one hand, the evident staging (tools and devices are placed outside of the context of the work environment, in front of a background of canals and a windmill, and the people involved in the cheese production often look at the camera) does not give the impression that ethnographers documented phenomena as they observed them in fieldwork.

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

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

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

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

The images are composed according to the laws of central perspective and with a viewpoint that is slightly elevated from the scene, sharing formal aspects and subject matter with perspective prints, although the lithographs
of *Voyage Pittoresque* do not always have the vanishing point at the centre. In some lithographs, figures in the foreground (i.e. at the margins) point or look “deeper into the image” in the direction of centre of the middle ground and background.

The readers/viewers are addressed as travellers in the preface\(^\text{20}\) but the images are not ordered according to a reasonable travel route (The Hague – Freyr – Dinant – Choquier – Delft – Franchimon – Liège).\(^\text{21}\) The act of travelling,
the quality of food and hotels, means of transportation etc. are not mentioned at all, which fits with the idea that the term “travel” is used as a metaphor. The texts are written in the declarative third-person mode. Image composition and accompanying text invite the readers/viewers to dream themselves into another world and the images of this world are connected by assigning them to a national territory. In some cases, the viewpoint is indicated in the captions that connect viewer and view. Views and texts were apparently produced to be looked at from an outside perspective by armchair travellers who were seeking visual entertainment as recurring formulas such as “nothing compares to...” or “few places are as picturesque/ beautiful/ charming as ...” indicate. Title and aesthetics embed these images in the early aesthetics of the picturesque (see Chapter 6).

ASPECTS
Among the 29 views that show places in today’s Netherlands, 21 are dedicated to cities in the provinces of North and South Holland, nine alone to The Hague and Scheveningen. In short, the images are mostly taken from the province of South Holland, with some from North Holland, Limburg, and Gelderland. The other lithographs show buildings in Maastricht, the ship wharf in Flushing, the market place in Groningen, and a panorama of Nijmegen, seen from the other side of the river. No images of the provinces Overijssel, Friesland, Drenthe, or Utrecht, and no images of Zuiderzee villages are part of this publication. Contemporary elements, such as modern-dressed society people (image 68, image 47), the ship wharf in Flushing (image 56), and even a steamboat (with a very positive description about this new, probably visually exciting means of transportation, image 66) are included. Typicality does not seem to be a relevant criterion and neither is authenticity – with the exception of one passage in the explanation to image 35:

This view offers in condensed version everything that is remarkable in Holland. One can characterize in few words the principle amenities of this province. The beautiful homes, maintained with a remarkable cleanliness, the rich pastures covered by many herds of cattle, windmills, canals, dikes and sluices, this is what one will meet everywhere, and what at times presents quite remarkable views. (De Cloet 1822, explanation to “Vue entre Delft et la Haye”, image 35, my translation, emphasis added).

The perspective on a landscape “between Delft and the Hague” (figure 5.15) in word and image is particularly interesting, as the comment proposes that this image represents more than itself, namely a more general idea about the prov-
ince: it inventories, classifies, and generalizes visual elements with respect to visual attraction on a regional level, supported by the comparatively vague topographical description. The view of the landscape is obviously not one of peasants but of the elegantly dressed strolling figures in the image, i.e. members of the same social status as those who could afford to buy this volume. This facilitates identification of readers/viewers with the figures in the picture (for this observation in later material, cf. Verhoeff 2006, esp. 250–269). It would be tempting to interpret this album as an entertaining lecture that the better-off enjoyed in their private libraries, but the book’s use was not restricted to that. It was also met with appreciation by the second chamber of the kingdom of the Low Lands (“Tweede kamer der Staten General”), mentioned in the minutes and placed in the parliament’s library (Cf. ’s Graven-haagsche Courant 1822). Seen from this perspective, geographical knowledge about “what places in the Netherlands look like” is intrinsically linked to matters of political representation.

It might not be a coincidence that the political map of all provinces of the Low Lands was included at the beginning of the first volume. This map was described as “une carte itinéraire du Voyage” (“a map of the travel itinerary”) in
an advertisement (*Journal de La Province de Limbourg* 1822), proposing a playful and sentimental travel narrative for framing these images. Nevertheless, the political and ideological functions of this set are quite evident: through the political map, here presented as a travel itinerary, the topographical images are connected by their performance as parts of a monarchist nation-state. While the images depict real existing places in a documentary manner, and the geographical information given in the explanations is accurate, too, the book also offers an entertaining, visual experience of the nation through the metaphor of travel. This mode of presenting knowledge on the Netherlands, namely an armchair travel through the nation by means of images, is characteristic for the panoramic pattern.

5.4.2 Advertising Trade Cards: *Holland in Wort und Bild* (1903)

A very different way of presenting geographical knowledge on the Netherlands in the panoramic pattern is the set of advertising trade cards “Holland in Wort und Bild” (“Holland in Word and Image”). It consists of six trade cards made from drawings with explanations for each trade card in the back section of the album. None of the trade cards specifies a determinable location. Although the set is called “Holland in word and image”, raising the expectation of receiving information about a country, the images of the set foreground the people. The positions of the reader/viewer and the author of the explanations are not made explicit, but the subordinate clause “us other Germanic people” makes clear that both are supposed to be Germans who study the Dutch: the “we” on the one side and “the Dutch” on the other proposes distinct national identities on both sides of the gaze:

Dutch girl, returning home from the well.
Decoration of outdoor life in cheerful colours, an almost exaggerated degree of neatness and tidiness that almost makes us other Germanic people feel embarrassed, love and care for flowers, this is Dutch passion. They are all governed by the love for colours, which is why the art of painting has celebrated its most cheerful times here. Here, in this land of swamps, marshes and of peace, in this mighty isolation, where only villages, canals and rivers, single lanes of trees and fruit orchards arise, here, close to the sea, where the air is almost always humid and the sky is hidden in mist, here do people confront this all by celebrating the cheerful, the colourful, the neat and the friendly. Such an accomplished image of the colourful and the friendly is smiling at us in form of the girl that returns from the well. After
Fig. 5.16 Serie 38: Holland in Wort und Bild, 6 trade cards (Chocoladefabrik Altona 1903). The number of the images from left to right is 3-2-1 in the upper row and 6-5-4 in the lower row.
a long chit-chat at the well with other girls, she strides home, in traditional costume and with buckets filled with water. (Chocoladefabrik Altona 1903, explanation to image 5, my translation, emphasis added)²⁸

Each explanation has two parts: the first section makes generalized statements about the Netherlands and the Dutch while the second, shorter part describes the image. In the example above, the tradition of painting is explained with the “Dutch passion” for colour, decoration, and neatness. This construction of causality where there is none is nevertheless in line with supposed common knowledge that the Dutch were a nation of painters. The “Dutch passion” for colours is further explained as a strategy to keep up morale in the face of misty weather and monotonous landscape (which is characterized by swamps, marshes, villages, canals, rivers, and does not include cities or woods). The figure of the young girl then serves as “proof” for the omnipresence of colourful and cheerful life.

The explanations for the other cards follow this pattern of inductive reasoning: descriptions about natural geography (e.g. waterways, landscape, climate) are explained with supposedly national characteristics (cleanliness, love for gardening, ice-skating). The images are presented as illustrations to the generalized statements, thereby confirming the information by offering visual evidence.

ASPECTS

The images create the impression of a pastoral, rural Netherlands in which economic activities are restricted to agriculture and fishing with methods from the mechanical age. The existence of a city is only mentioned insofar as in the comment to card 6 the bride and groom are said to “return from the city to rural calmness”²⁹ without further specifying to which city they have travelled. The nostalgic dimension is very much present in the formula of “returning” to “rural calmness”.

No image is tied to a specific geographical-political location, other than “Holland”. The lack of geographical (and anthropological) precision of the text is mirrored in the vagueness of the images. Neither the places nor the costumes are introduced as specific to a region or town; the figures are said to wear “national costumes” (even though none of these costumes shows an ethnographically correct representation of a dress worn at a specific location) and the landscape is called “Dutch”. The background displays motifs that were associated with Dutchness: windmills, sailboats, ice-skating, and a rural marketplace. This set highlights, in every aspect, the typical and leaves the general completely out of the picture. The typical is always phrased in categories of the national, thereby providing prototypes of Dutchness to which the single images conform.
Considered from the perspective of academic geographical knowledge, the information derived from this set about the Netherlands is at best vague and, at worst, nonsense. But this hindered neither the statements nor the images in becoming part of supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch.

5.4.3 Stereocards: *Holland* (1905)

In 1905, Underwood & Underwood issued a set of 30 stereoscopic photographs on cardboard, titled “Holland”. Given Underwood & Underwood’s market-leading position, this set was widely available throughout the United States and Canada and might even have been among the most popular sets of photographic images on the Netherlands available there until the 1930s. Each card has an explanation on the back.

The images of this set largely depict cities from the provinces of North and South Holland, with the exception of one view of Nijmegen, one view of Groningen, and portraits of farmers in traditional costume from Goes, Volendam, and Marken (for illustrations, see Chapter 4.2.7). The images are not sorted in any apparent order, though, if more than one image exists per city or town, these images follow one another. No visual or narrative relation is proposed between the images of the set (except for the images 3 and 4, which complement each other, see below), the single views are only linked by their order number. Just as in the case of the Myrrholin advertising trade cards (see fig. 5.9), each image provides a neatly defined, discrete view of the world which centres around the readers/viewers who have the images in their hands and who can switch from one place to another, unconcerned with the actual distance between those places. The titles of the city views indicate specific buildings and locations. In addition, the viewpoints to the city views are made explicit through an extensive use of prepositions, e.g. “Rotterdam, looking North from Leuvenhaven to Fish Market and Groote Kerk” (image 10). These indications not only define the relation of elements in images to one another but also the relation of the viewer to the things seen: “*In* the marketplace” or “*along* the canal” can only refer to a reader/viewer whose viewpoint is identical to that of the camera and whose view moves through the image.

The immersion into the image facilitated by the apparatus is enforced by the comment that suggests immediacy and presence of the readers/viewers. In the text printed on the back, the readers/viewers are addressed in second-person present tense. Many explanations begin with the formula “You are standing at x and look in direction of y where you can see z”. This mode of address implies an unmarked enunciator who instructs the viewer – not only
about the content of the image (and background information), but also about
the way of looking. It almost literally guides the viewer through the picture.
The explanation to image 3 “Amsterdam, S.E. from Zuider Kerk, over shady
streets and glassy canals, Holland” (title as printed on the front) respectively
“Amsterdam, looking S.E. from Zuider Kerk, Holland” (title as printed on the
back) directs the view in a panoramic way:

You are looking off from the tower of one of the most picturesque old
churches in Amsterdam and facing southeast towards Utrecht, twenty
miles away in that far-reaching level distance across the fields. The
pretty, tree-bordered canal at your feet, where you see the freight boats,
is the Zwanenburgwal. Such freight boats come in by canal routes from
distant parts of Holland and go in and out around town just as trucks
and express carts might go in other cities. That broader, bridge-spanned
stream is the Amstel. Tradition says that there are three hundred bridges
in this one city and well there may be, for it is a close-packed group of
ninety islands, many of them artificially constructed or cut open by
canals. All the buildings you see are supported by piles [...]. That long
building with the high dome (190 ft.) in the distance at the south is the
People’s Palace [...]. (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to
image 3).
The comment directs the gaze from left to right: It starts with the boat in the bottom left (foreground), moves to the bridges across the river Amstel in the middle (middle ground), and ends at the upper right where the steeple of the People’s Palace rises into the sky in the background. The comment thus supports the panoramic vision proposed by the perspective of the image and the perspective of the viewer. The following image completes the panorama with a photo taken from the other side of the church’s tower “From Zuider Kerk N.W. over market and Weigh House to suburbs, Amsterdam, Holland” (title as printed on the front).

You are standing in the high tower of the Zuyder Kerk (South Church) in the north-central part of the old town, looking northwest. The city reaches far out to your right and left and behind you, though straight ahead you see where the river Y bounds it on the north. That canal, which you see straight ahead beyond the nearer buildings, is one of the innumerable waterways which actually divide the city into ninety islands. Many of them, besides furnishing the means of boat transportation (see, that canal is full of boats now), are beautiful with tree borders and broad flagged promenades alongside just as you in this case. [...] Down in that open space with the trees at the west side you can see the canvas awnings of booths in the “New” market – a scene of daily bargaining in every sort of household supplies. Just beyond you can see the pyramidal-towers roof of the ancient “Weigh House.” [...] The magnificent church off there at the north end of the town is modern – an edifice dedicated to St. Nicholas. Beyond it at the left is an enormous railway station where trains come in from Rotterdam and Harlem. (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to image 4).

In this case, the comment directs the view from background to foreground and back, slightly from right to left.

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The depicted locations are mostly situated in the provinces of North and South Holland, with one city view of Groningen (Groningen), one of Nijmegen (Gelderland), and three views of peasants in traditional costume of Goes (Zeeland). The provinces of Brabant, Overijssel, Drenthe, Friesland, Limburg, and Utrecht are not covered. Eleven images cover people from rural areas known by tourists for spotting traditional costumes: Volendam, Marken, and Goes. The descriptions generally judge the views in terms of visual attraction for a viewer from the outside: the picturesqueness of the traditional costumes is mentioned in almost all views of rural areas and villages, the tower of Hoorn.
is praised for its quaint architecture (image 18), and the reformed church of Delfthaven is judged as “ugly but picturesque” (image 12).

The explanations of the images mostly give historical anecdotes and rarely denote phenomena as typical. In those cases, the typical is defined by referring to supposedly Dutch characteristics such as cleanliness (e.g. images 20, 22, 23, 26, 27), being thrifty, and working hard:

_Dutch women are_ proverbially shrewd buyers and careful managers, knowing how to make the most of small incomes. (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to image 21, emphasis added)

A great deal of the heaviest work is done by _buxom young women like this one_. They are accustomed to carrying heavy burdens and are quite unconscious of the hardships involved. (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to image 26, emphasis added)

In the cases above, both explanations make generalized statements. The first example does so by referring to a prototype, the second one presents the concrete instance as an example for a larger group. The textual comments thus describe the Netherlands and its (female) inhabitants both as types and as tokens. In those passages that explain the view, the motif is presented as an example of a larger group of instances. The prototypical statements do not refer to palpable elements seen in the image, but are restricted to conveying background information. Authenticity is not a major topic in the set, either. In the commentaries to images 27 and 29, it is said that parts of the traditional costume have not changed much in the last centuries but changes brought by modernity are not condemned, as the following quote shows:

_It is said that there are no less than twenty thousand windmills altogether within the small area of the Netherlands. Of late years, however, steam power has become used more and more for pumping and for factory machinery, so it is quite probable that the Dutch windmill will gradually go out of use and exist only a picturesque tradition [sic]._ (Underwood & Underwood 1905, explanation to image 24)

To sum up, the set _Holland_ highlights visual attractions of tourist regions, gives detailed descriptions of the views, and ties them to historical anecdotes. Generalized statements on the Netherlands are either used to give non-visual background information or found in an instance that exemplifies a more general phenomenon. The set does not contain many references to typicality or authenticity – unless the phenomena thus described were considered visually pleasing.
Many travel pictures in films of early cinema that present visual knowledge of other people and places make use of the panoramic mode of presentation. Although the travel genre has gained attention by early cinema scholars, and while different formal strategies have been observed, too, the travel genre has been mostly considered a substitute for actual travel (e.g. Snickars 2001, 55; Griffiths 2002, 220). Even though I agree that substituting travel is a relevant function of films of this genre, the variety of addressing viewers within this genre positions the viewers differently towards the things seen, which, I would like to argue, has an impact on how film’s visual strategies contributed to the creation of supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch (even if the realized content does not differ much in the end). Taking an interest in “what other places look like”, according to my conviction, is not equivalent to travel, not even equivalent to armchair travel. At the very least, the term “travel” is used in one case as a metaphor or to describe a way of looking at images, while, in the other, it is presented as a virtual experience. To my knowledge, this difference in the meaning of the term “travel” has not been conceptually distinguished in discussions of films within the travel genre or fully explored by scholars of early cinema. Jennifer Peterson stresses the difference between actual travel or tourism and travelogue films:

As films that are “about” travel – even though they are more frequently about places, not journeys – travelogues are often said to embody a “tourist viewpoint”. But while the films’ connection with tourism is important, the majority of their viewers were not actual tourists. […] Undoubtedly, some travelogue spectators were actual tourists, but more important, the travelogue’s association with tourism served to lend cultural prestige to the genre. Therefore, it is more precise to state that travelogues confer a tourist point of view on their spectators, whether or not those spectators were actually tourists. (Peterson 2013, 8–9)

Peterson’s argument points to the way in which spectators are positioned towards the filmic images. Travelogues, according to Peterson, invited the spectators to take a tourist perspective on the images provided by film and thereby offered the experience to “command the power of the tourist gaze” (Peterson 2013, 9) for those who would never be tourists themselves. In this quote, Peterson also names the difference between films of journeys and films
of places, but then takes a different route for her research and does not elaborate on this distinction further.\textsuperscript{12}

Pelle Snickars and Mats Björkin have also pointed to several types of film that were produced in the travelogue genre and then analyse them as one entity: “travelogues, phantom and scenic rides”, just like other “mass-produced images and films with geographic content”, according to Snickars and Björkin, “acted as possible substitutes for travel” (Snickars and Björkin 2002, 275). The authors mention that some (sets of) images did “simulate a mediated experience of remote presentness” while others were used to create “simulated voyages” (Cf. Snickars and Björkin 2002, 275) – and then do not distinguish these visual strategies in their discussion of “geographical nonfiction”, which I propose to do by looking at them in terms of the “panoramic pattern” and the “virtual travel pattern”.

In films that I characterize as belonging to the panoramic mode, travel is a metaphor; even in multiple-shot films, the single shots are not connected by the timeline of a travel narrative. \textit{De dam te Amsterdam omstreeks 1900} and \textit{De Amsterdamse Beurs omstreeks 1900} are such films. Both are single-shot films, taken from one position and without movement of the camera. The films are shot from a slightly elevated viewpoint, creating the effect that the viewer observes the busy street life and chaotic traffic from a distance.

As Ivo Blom notes, these films show unambiguously identifiable places and monumental buildings (Cf. Blom 2010, 83, referring to Hielscher 2005). The topographical precision is also found in the film titles; both image and titles highlight specific buildings and places. In his article, Blom describes in detail the action that unfolds before the eyes of the spectator and highlights the documentary aspect of the films as a “microcosm” of former means of
transportation, lost practices, and people of different classes (Cf. Blom 2010, 84). Although Blom estimates that these two films are unlikely to have been distributed on a large scale (Cf. Blom 2010, 87), similar films that show identifiable places in the Netherlands were used in educational settings or at least with educational ambitions to teach the viewers about other countries. The following review of the American trade press journal *Moving Picture World* gives reason to believe that films on “Holland” were widely available to teach about “beauty spots” but also about “trade commerce and industry”:

A survey of educational films of the scenic variety reveals a strange and significant fact. It seems that pictures of foreign subjects are far more numerous than pictures of our own country. The beauty spots of Europe, Switzerland for instance, and Italy have been covered with thoroughness. The same holds true of France, Germany, Holland and the Scandinavian countries. The kinematographic [sic] records of the natural beauties of our own country, its historic sites, many of them noted for their picturesqueness, its unique and extended trade commerce and industry are, comparatively speaking, incomplete. (*Moving Picture World* 1914a, 1353)

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As single-shot films, these films cannot (and do not) claim comprehensiveness about views of the Netherlands. At most, these films could have been used as elements in a programme on the Netherlands that, in its entirety, claimed to be comprehensive. Studies into the programming of early cinema reveal that film programmes never consisted solely of travelogues or scenics alone (Cf. Musser 1990a; for a case study of film programming in the Flora Theater in Amsterdam, cf. Bruins 1998). The geographical knowledge that these films could transmit showed Amsterdam as a busy, lively, and modern city with impressive monuments. Typicality and authenticity are not accentuated; on the contrary, the films depict common everyday scenes of a modern city life, and the people of various classes who were part of it (none of whom wears a traditional costume or wooden shoes).
5.5 THE VIRTUAL TRAVEL PATTERN

In this section, I will illustrate the variety of image-text combinations and the various visual strategies within the virtual travel pattern. This section begins with an early influential travel account and concludes with a discussion about how the act of travelling was translated to filmic form. The sources are selected from several media that I could prove to be widely disseminated.

5.5.1 *Voyage Pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* (Texier 1857)

Together with De Amicis’ *Olanda* (1874) and Havard’s *Voyage pittoresque aux îles mortes de la Zuiderzee* (1874), Texier’s *Voyage Pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* (1857) was probably the best-known travel account on the Netherlands in the Western world before 1900. All three travelogues were international publishing successes, and all three are referred to in various media throughout the period of research. Even material for schools quoted Havard’s and De Amicis’s travelogues and did not refer to more academic studies for further reading (such as, e.g. *A Holanda*, Ortigão 1885). Havard’s account is restricted to the region of the Zuiderzee (and was one reason why this area became a tourist destination; see Chapter 6.2). De Amicis travelled in all provinces but did not include illustrations in his book, which is why I will discuss Texier’s publication here.

About half of the 484 pages of *Voyage Pittoresque en Hollande et en Belgique* are dedicated to the Netherlands. The “Dutch half” of the publication is illustrated with twelve printed full-page images, nine black-and-white lithographs of city views, and three hand-coloured lithographs of people in traditional costume.

The book is organized according to the travel route (Antwerp – ’s-Hertogenbosch – Dordrecht – Breda – Rotterdam – Schiedam – Delft – The Hague – Leiden – Haarlem – Zaandam – Broek – Beemster – Medemblik – Hoorn). In the preface, the author embeds his travel by celebrating modernity: travel is hailed as a cosmopolitan activity, steam trains and steamships have decreased the relevance of distance, and the world seems only there to satisfy the traveler’s desire for spectacular views. “J’ai voulu voir pour voir” (“I wanted to see for the sake of seeing”), writes Texier in the preface about his approach (Texier 1857, v). The traveller, according to Texier, should look with open eyes and also visit the places that are not mentioned in travel guides – an implicit critique of the aristocratic travel practice of the Grand Tour (see Chapter 6.2). Texier used several strategies to address the reader. Descriptions of travel are generally
written in first-person plural (“We take the train”), his thoughts and personal experiences in first-person singular (“I saw”), and general statements and background information are written in the declarative third-person mode.

*Let us* continue to pick from the souvenirs that registered with me from all parts the most salient scenes and the most capable ones to describe. *Are you* curious to get to know a person, *our friend* Jan Steen, about whom *we*
have had more than one occasion to talk? (Texier 1857, 187, my translation, emphasis added)\(^{13}\)

This mixture of addressing is also used in other media of armchair travel, especially in lantern lectures (see below). The “travelogue-we” travels together but there is always the possibility to split this “we” into the “I” of the author and the (plural) “you” of the audience/readers. In other words, Texier performs as the travel guide. Just as Havard’s and De Amicis’s travelogues, Voyage Pittoresque was written as an entertaining read that follows the route of the travelling author and his adventures, including historical anecdotes, snippets about politics and society, next to personal impressions. With regard to content, the book has some similarities with narrated guidebooks (see Chapters 2 and 6), but it was too bulky to carry as hand baggage on a trip, which is why I assume that it was primarily used as a medium of armchair travel.

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Concerning the aspect of comprehensiveness and particularity, Texier does not explicitly suggest that what he writes is all there is to be known about the Netherlands. He only assembled the “picturesque” aspects and those were, according to Texier, only found along the western coast. Consequently, the book is heavily biased towards the cities of the provinces North and South Holland: 220 out of 240 pages are dedicated to cities near the west coast, in the provinces of North and South Holland as well as ‘s-Hertogenbosch and Breda in North Brabant. Cities in other provinces (Deventer, Zwolle, Leeuwarden, Groningen, Utrecht, Zeist, Arnhem) are mentioned altogether in fewer than twenty pages because the provinces of the east, according to Texier, were not considered picturesque by travellers. The only interesting aspects of these provinces were their age-old customs and the costumes “untouched by modern influences” (Texier 1857, 221, my translation). Quite different to anthropological discourse or tourist discourse some decades later, “authentic costumes” were not considered “picturesque” or an attraction worth seeing.

The nine city views show public buildings and sites of trade, focusing on the architecture of monuments: the gables and the structure of facades and towers are worked in detail, churches and cathedrals are visible in the backgrounds. The city views are populated with human figures. In contrast to images in the panoramic pattern (see above), the images in Texier’s publication are not referred to in his writing. In spite of his expressed disinterest in rural costumes, all three coloured images are dedicated to people in traditional costume of Assendelft (after page 204), “North Holland” (after page 218), and the “Zuiderzee” (after page 224), which gives reason to estimate that the image selection was not made by Texier himself. The lithograph with the
caption “Zuiderzee” very much resembles engraving number 8 of fishers from Schokland by Maaskamp (1803, see figure 5.21). When Texier first published his *Voyage Pittoresque*, Maaskamp’s engravings were already over 50 years old. The images of this publication confirm the pattern that images of places show cities, and images of people portray village people.

In the text, the typical and the general are not always neatly separated; in some passages, inserted between information on a city’s history and the description of an art collection, personal observations are often generalized on the level of the national. These generalized statements about the Dutch are not qualified as “typical” but as a “national characteristic” and mostly take the form of the prototype:

*The Dutch* and the water are inseparable and cannot exist without each other, they cannot even lose sight of each other for a moment even though they often have serious quarrels. (Texier 1857, 39, my translation, emphasis added)

*The Dutchman* does everything consciously. He amuses himself with serenity, he adds his methodical and positive spirits to his leisure activities. (Texier 1857, 111, my translation, emphasis added)

*The Dutch women, and especially the Friesians*, have a very characteristic headwear that varies according to province and which consists of one or two plates of gold or gilded silver. (Texier 1857, 111, my translation, emphasis added)

In the passages that describe literal travel, Texier describes actual buildings in detail, and even quotes a museum catalogue over three pages to inform about the very paintings that could be seen in that museum (Cf. Texier 1857, 95–97). The fact that specific phenomena are mentioned and described in detail means that *Voyage Pittoresque* is not exclusively a list of general statements but also one of detailed descriptions of instances (buildings, collections, scenery, modes of transportation). Authenticity is not a recurring topic in the book; the only link to the past is Texier’s comment that the landscape in the Netherlands probably still looked as it did to the famous seventeenth-century Flemish painters (Cf. Texier 1857, 20). In this passage, however, the visual impression is the topic, not the loss of the link with the past.
5.5.2 “Croquis Hollandais” (1905) and “Door Holland met pen en camera” (1906)

“Dutch sketches” would be the English translation for the travel account “Croquis Hollandais” published as a series of articles over three issues in the popular French illustrated magazine *Le Tour du Monde* (Hamön 1905a; 1905b; 1905c). One year later, the article was issued in two parts in Dutch translation in the illustrated travel magazine *De Aarde en haar volken* (Hamön 1906a; Hamön 1906b), with the same images. I will refer to the original French version for my discussion of the text.

“Croquis Hollandais” is the account of a French traveller who visited the Netherlands. The traveller-author also took the photos himself. The 34 pages are illustrated with 47 photographs, some of them in full-page. As the author only travelled through rural areas of Zeeland and the North Holland villages of Volendam and Marken, the illustrations are restricted to these regions, too. The images almost exclusively show people in traditional clothing in outside scenes; few photographs give a total view of the wide and flat landscape.

The narration follows the author from one place to the other. Written in first-person singular past tense, the author describes his experiences at each station of travel and his personal feelings about each location. The focus of the descriptions lies on visual experiences. In comparison with media in the panoramic or encyclopaedic pattern, the amount of background information is poor: historical anecdotes are almost absent, and information on political institutions and economics is missing entirely. Much writing is dedicated to the colours of the landscape, the sky, and the water. The outward appearance of the rural population is described often and extensively, although not with the precision of an anthropologist but from the subjective sensations these costumes provoked in the eye/mind of the travelling author. In more than one passage, the author daydreams about Dutch young women.

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The aspect of comprehensiveness and partiality is a curious one in this source: on one hand, the author only travelled to a few places and still claims to give information about the Netherlands. The opening paragraph of the article reads:

> Every country has its peculiar character, no doubt about that. *Holland*, by the shape of its territory and the costumes of its peasantry, is currently maybe the most picturesque country in Europe. (Hamön 1905a, 409, my translation, emphasis added)\(^{35}\)
On the other hand, Hamön does not deduce from his experiences that his observations are valid for the entire Netherlands. Rather than giving an encompassing view about the Netherlands, he looks for the typical and completely ignores the common/general. Still, Hamön does not generalize the typical to be common/general. What the “particular character” of the Netherlands (or “Holland”) consists of, is made clear in the following quotes:

Pipe smokers, fairground dances, slow canal shipping, gigantic bridges, windmills swinging back and forth, calm contemplations of the *burgers* over a glass of beer, [female] farmers bringing to the city the products of their family dairy farms, carts pulled by friendly dogs, eternal canals populated with ducks, extremely clean houses, lonely fishermen, capricious skies, marshlands [...]. (Hamön 1905a, 409, my translation)
This list is a strongly visual inventory of what, according to Hamön, makes the Dutch character. The phenomena he mentions are much in line with the established clichés at the time. Curiously, in his search for the typical in the Netherlands, Hamön does not describe Volendam fishermen as “Dutch” in every aspect, but as showing Russian, Mongolian, and Lapp traits combined with a “Dutch attitude” (Hamön 1905c, 434).

Hamön does not bother to mention aspects of the Netherlands that are not in line with his description of the typical and the characteristic, with the exception of short passages in which he describes taking steam trains and trams to reach his next destination. The sight of sheep grazing along a canal in Wemeldingen calls back to my memory one of my most Dutch sensations of Holland: a light grey evening sky, yellowish canals, slow barges, unmoving wind-
mills, brown polders, white animals with soft backs, old contemplating man, silence... (Hamön 1905b, 428, my translation)\textsuperscript{37}

The captions to the photos refer to the depicted people as instances, at times as a more typical instance or sometimes even as an example of a type, but never as prototypes. Captions read “A Dutch family at the market in Middelburg” (414), “The majority of elderly men are of an admirable gauntness” (409), and can get as specific as “The daughters of the hotelier at Wemeldingen” (421). The images illustrate the adventures of the traveller and are explicitly embedded in the text; they are not used to prove general characteristics of the Dutch, only typical ones. Generalized statements in form of the prototype rarely appear in the text, and, if so, they are exclusively used for giving background descriptions. For example:

This is, effectively, the character of the Dutchman. Surrounded by water, fighting against the water, nourished by the water, he has taken the gravity of the soft water, advancing noiseless, with its colourful surface, receiving stolen goods of bizarre worlds. (Hamön 1905a, 412, my translation, emphasis added)\textsuperscript{38}

As such, the use of word and image is rather one of an individual/personal travel memoire than one that provides general information. Still, the absence of any views that are not from Zeeland, Volendam, or Marken does support generalized thinking and visualizations. Even if the author does not claim that the images cover Dutch life in its entirety, no image shows a view that goes beyond the cliché. Hamön’s photographs depict a Dutch milkmaid carrying buckets or baskets over her shoulders, men smoking pipes, women cleaning the house or hanging up laundry, children playing at the beach – all in traditional costume. No wonder that the publishers of the Dutch translation placed an editorial note at the beginning of the text:

We followed the footsteps of the French author in his travel narration, even though we sometimes wished to interrupt him when his conclusions went too far and when he, after the few things that he saw, also judged over the many things that he did not see. Our readers will probably experience the same, but out of curiosity, they will be interested in the opinion of the Frenchman and his nice way of storytelling will please them.\textsuperscript{39}
5.5.3 Lantern Slide Sets: *Quer durch Holland* (1906)

As stated in Chapter 2.10, the discussion of lantern slide sets and early cinema in their role in the creation of supposed common knowledge needs to take the performance situation of lecturer and spoken comment into account. Several studies investigate lantern slides together with the lecture notes of prominent lecturers such as Paul Hoffmann, Jacob Riis, Burton Holmes, or Lyman Howe (Historisches Museum Frankfurt am Main 1981; Hoffmann and Junker 1982c; Musser 1990b; Barber 1993; Altman 2004, esp. 55–72; Peterson 2013, esp. 35–52; Yockelson 2014.). Few studies have investigated the mass-produced lectures that emerged around 1875 (Cf. Vogl-Bienek 2014; Dellmann 2016c). These “ready-to-use” lectures consisted of a set of preselected images and an accompanying reading. Whereas famous lecturers would (also) attract audiences with their name, the ready-to-use lecture sets were mostly presented by anonymous lecturers in less documented settings such as Sunday schools or popular education. These series were mostly promoted by the producers and distributors as popular lessons in geography.

From the more than 40 pre-assembled slide sets with the Netherlands as subject matter that I could identify, three appeared prominently: *Picturesque Holland* (a.k.a. *A Visit to Holland*) (York and Son 1887a), *Cities and Canals of Holland* (Wilson 1892), and *Quer durch Holland* (“Criss-Cross through the Netherlands”) (Projektion für Alle, 1906a). All three sets make use of similar visual and rhetorical strategies, which I will exemplify with the set *Quer durch Holland* and the accompanying lecture, *Vortrag zu den Bildern Quer durch Holland* (Projektion für Alle 1906b), adding footnotes where other sets differ significantly.

*Quer durch Holland* is the seventh set of the series *Projektion für Alle* (“Projection for everyone”), which mostly features photographic slide sets about European countries and regions. The slides’ titles are given in three languages (German, French, and English) and are visible in the frame of the glass slides. Judging from the collections I accessed, *Quer durch Holland* was very widespread at least in Germany and in the Netherlands. The accompanying reading was included in the purchase of the set.

*Quer durch Holland* consists of 24 photographic black-and-white slides, although some examples of hand-coloured editions exist, too. The images are ordered according to a logical travel route, starting in the northeast of the Netherlands (Groningen), going west to the northwest (Enkhuizen), then going south (to Rotterdam), and then east again (Utrecht, Arnhem). The travel narrative is explicit in the reading as well; sometimes the means of transportation between two slides / two towns is mentioned.
The set includes views from the provinces Groningen, Friesland, North Holland, South Holland, Utrecht, and Gelderland. The provinces Zeeland, Brabant, Drenthe, Overijssel, and Limburg are not included. (The slide set *Picturesque Holland* dedicated 48 out of 50 slides to the provinces of North and South Holland and *Cities and Canals of Holland* exclusively contains images of these two provinces. Both sets prominently include villages along the Zuiderzee and portrait pictures of the village people.) The images show street views and market scenes, buildings, and monuments. Most city views show streets along canals with either a church tower or a windmill in the background. In general, the views of *Quer durch Holland* show more sky and are taken from a greater distance than those of the set *Picturesque Holland*. The few slides I saw...
of the set *Cities and Canals of Holland* show rather empty streets and places. Marken is the most prominent location in this set; five slides are dedicated to that village. No image shows modern elements such as steamships, trams, or railroads; the only traces of modernity are gas lanterns (visible in slides 2, 3, 4, and 6) and advertising on buildings in the background (slides 22 and 23). The figures in the city views are not photographed as portraits; only the fisher families of Marken and Scheveningen in traditional costume are large enough to be studied and positioned towards the viewer. From the images alone, the Netherlands seems to be a country in which rowboats, sailboats, and horse carriages are the general means of transportation.

The text is, generally, more modern than the image. The lecture addresses modern phenomena that are not seen in the images. In the text to the slide “Rotterdam, The Cool Singel” (comment to slide 22), the modernity of the port, the big ocean steamers, the busy trade of the city, and the pollution caused by factories is mentioned – but the image shows none of these qualities. The commentary to the slide of Scheveningen mentions the modern pier and the fact that it is constructed from steel, but the image only shows fisher-women in traditional clothing (comment and slide 20). The comment to slide 16, showing the empty market square of Edam, informs that the picture was taken on a Sunday, but says that, on market days, this place is a very busy cheese market and mentions the export of cheese to the world. Briefly, *hors cadre*, the Netherlands is acknowledged for having modern elements, too, but these aspects are not made visible.

The lecture is mostly written in first-person plural (“we travel”, “we see”) when it concerns the activity of travelling, and in the declarative third-person mode when background information is given. In the comment, the travelling “we” often takes steam trains (e.g. comment to slide 6) that are never themselves visible. This is different in the set *Picturesque Holland*, in which the first slide shows a steamship on water – supposedly the one that “we” took to Rotterdam (York and Son 1887b, 3). The comment on the first slide “Groningen. Market Place and Martini Church” reads:

> Today, *we* want to perambulate a country off the beaten tracks, which holds magnificent nature views *for the painter* and relish of art *for the traveller*. Holland with its art treasures offers many things of interest. The *entire country* is pervaded by canals. The larger ones which are navigable go through the cities and were artificially installed, the lower parts of the land are protected by embankments. We enter Holland up in the North and first pay a visit to the city of Groningen, which, with its 80,000 inhabitants, presents the Dutch type right away [...]. The architecture of the houses along the place breathes the *well-known Dutch style of architecture*. 
Considering the performance situation in which the reading was read out while the respective image was projected, the lecturer integrated the spectators (as travellers and painters) on a trip, while the lecturer performed themselves as the knowledgeable guide of the virtual travelling party. The position of the audience might also be compared to a school class on an excursion with their teacher. Especially in the comments that refer to items hors cadre, the audience is instructed about historical anecdotes, the number of inhabitants, and information on the city’s main trades. This mode of address is thus similar to some passages in Texier’s book, but, in the reading, the audience is addressed more frequently and, given that the set was part of a live performance, was likely to create a stronger feeling of presence than the book.

ASPECTS
The text in the reading claims to show more than the beaten tracks and tourist destinations, and the title “Criss-cross Through Holland” also evokes the idea of covering the country entirely. While it is true that cities of the provinces in the northeast are included, the southern provinces (Zeeland, Brabant, Limburg) are missing; instead, tourist destinations are highlighted. The reading emphasizes the Dutchness of sites and sights by tying the information to the Netherlands:

Leeuwarden, Port street and old tower. In this picture, a piece of Dutch town life is revealed. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 2, my translation, emphasis added)

Leeuwarden, Voorstreck street. The image presents a Dutch canal, the little houses look picturesque and the entire image is marked by calmness. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 3, my translation, emphasis added)

In this park, a monument was erected to the famous Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 7, my translation, emphasis added)

Zaandam is a friendly town of real Dutch appearance, the little buildings of one floor are painted in green and red and are surrounded by neatly trimmed gardens. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 14, my translation, emphasis added)
The Wijngaardengracht [...] is an effigy of Dutch cleanliness. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 15, my translation, emphasis added)\textsuperscript{41}

In all these cases, the national attribute “Dutch” would not have been necessary if the lecture aimed solely to describe views or the oeuvre of a poet. By adding the adjective “Dutch”, the images are related to the topic of the slide set, i.e. a travel through the Netherlands, and the audience is constantly reminded of the fact that the image before them shows something related to the Netherlands.

The national attribution operates on the levels of both the \textit{performative} and \textit{performance}, in a circular logic: by qualifying visible instances as “Dutch”, the image is related to the topic; hence, it is performed as relevant, which justifies its inclusion in the set and, even more so, presents this view as one of the 24 relevant instances to depict the Netherlands. In the performance of the set to an audience, the anchoring of images in a textual comment (that largely applies categories of the national) underlines the relevance of the images with respect to the subject matter. As such, the adjective “Dutch” does not need to be complemented by the adverb “typically” to produce the idea of typicality and comprehensiveness to the audience.

The structure of the lecture is carefully worked; in the end, the lecturer confirms the information from the very beginning that Holland is a country filled with artistic treasures. Quite authoritarian, this statement is proposed as the general experience and quintessence of the travelling “we” and suppresses (or at least does not encourage) divergent readings. In addition, the imposition of the lecturer’s statement is performed as objective by introducing the layer of authenticity to the argument:

\textit{We now part from Holland with the experience} of having encountered a special country and nation whose ancestors have achieved great recognition for art and painting and which forms are still reflected today in the nature of the country and the customs of the nation. (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 24, my translation, emphasis added)\textsuperscript{42}

In this lecture, everything is harmonically in line: the images with the comment, the lecturer with the audience, and even the Dutch with their history. This makes it hard to question the propositions made in this lecture. Throughout the text, the adjective “Dutch” seems to fulfil a function similar to that of the adjectives “picturesque” and “quaint” in tourist discourse (see Chapter 6.3). “Dutch” does not explain a phenomenon but it \textit{marks} a phenomenon as relevant with respect to what there is to be known about the Netherlands. In this case, the adjective “Dutch” does not operate on the level of the pro-
totype but qualifies single instances as examples of what “Dutchness” looks like without determining the quality or formal characteristics of the attributed phenomenon.

It is conspicuous that only aspects that are in line with the cliché and repeated statements of tourist discourse are described as “Dutch”: the cleanliness of Edam (comment to slide 15) is “Dutch”, but the dirt in Rotterdam (comment to slide 22) is not; colourfully painted wooden houses are “Dutch”, but modern buildings are not; the canals are “Dutch”, but steam trains are not. Together with the image selection, *Quer durch Holland* reinforces clichés and general statements. It is true that the lantern reading mentions modern aspects of life in the Netherlands around 1906 – but these aspects are not described as “Dutch”.

5.5.4 Films: *Prinsengracht* (NL 1899), *A Pretty Dutch Town* (FR 1910), and *Vita d’Olanda* (IT 1911)

*Prinsengracht* is a film taken from a boat that moves through the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam in one forward tracking shot. On the sides of the canals, sailboats are docked, and other little boats come from the opposite direction and pass the camera. People in city dresses walk across a bridge, one person pulls a wagon. The print conserved at EYE Film Institute Netherlands is about one minute long, is uncoloured, and does not have intertitles.

*A Pretty Dutch Town* consists of multiple forward tracking shots, all taken from a boat riding on the canals in Dordrecht, ending at the wide water mouth of the Meuse near a church. Only the last shot, illustrating the passage along the Big Church, is not a forward tracking shot but is taken from the side of a boat. The copy of *A Pretty Dutch Town* held at EYE Film Institute Netherlands is three and a half minutes long, it is stencil-coloured and tinted, and has two intertitles at the beginning: “This historic old city is picturesquely situated on the banks of the Meuse about 15 miles from Rotterdam” (00:01-00:12) and “Numerous canals flow through the main streets” (00:12-00:17). After the geographical information allows the viewers to locate what they were about to see, the film consists of forward tracking shots along nine different canals with no intertitles.

In both films, the camera is mounted on the front of the boat, thereby creating the illusion of movement to the viewer. These two films, just as other phantom-ride films, translate the activity of travel to filmic form as the perspective of the moving camera is equal to the perspective of the viewer. Contrary to films that are shot from one place and that record movement in the streets (see the example of *De Dam te Amsterdam omstreeks 1900 I* and *De Amsterdamse Beurs omstreeks 1900* in Chapter 5.4), the viewers of *A Pretty Dutch Town* are not
Fig. 5.28-5.30 Film Stills of Prinsengracht (Emile Lauste 1899). Forward tracking shot taken from the boat. The viewpoint of the viewer is the same as the position of the moving camera.
Fig. 5.31-5.34 Film stills of *A Pretty Dutch Town* (Unknown 1910). The viewer travels with the camera and eventually almost bumps into another boat (top) or meets other people on the water (second from below). The last film still approaches the church frontally and changes perspective from forward tracking shot to looking sideward in the direction of travel.
placed outside of the action, but are addressed as moving together with the camera. Travelling *through* Amsterdam or Dordrecht is thus not a metaphor but literally the topic of this film. The viewers experience travelling a route that someone else had registered beforehand, using the affordances of the medium to record (and assemble images that create the illusion of) movement with the result that the activity of travelling appears more corporeal than e.g. in a performance of magic lantern slides. The boat and, with it, the camera and the viewers, eventually bumps against a stone or has to make a little detour to give way for traffic in other directions, recalling the materiality of the space that was travelled. Connie Betz observed this aesthetic in travelogues about European places, where phantom rides and forward tracking shots were used “in order to give the spectators a thrilling feeling of travel and a new perspective on landscape” (Betz 2000, 35).

Giving an encompassing image of the Netherlands could not be the aim or claim of these films. Concerning the level of typicality, the problem is more intriguing. On one hand, these films do not signpost the elements they show as typical. On the other hand, supposed common knowledge on the Netherlands included canals in the cities (Amsterdam and Rotterdam were occasionally both named “Venice of the North”). In this respect, the films show elements that were connected to ideas of Dutchness and, at the same time, are not limited to displaying clichés. The people who walk and cycle across the bridges wear modern clothing; horse trams and railway bridges are seen, which indicates that modern elements were not actively avoided from registration. While it can be discussed whether or not the film shows something typical, a nostalgic version of authenticity is not provided.

The case is more complex in *Vita d’Olanda* (Marelli 1911). The print held at Museo Nazionale del Cinema in Turin is about six minutes long, is tinted, and has seven intertitles. The first three minutes are dedicated to the busy life of the modern city of Rotterdam. Rather than being nostalgic about a lost past, the camera celebrates the visual spectacle of a modern city with steam trains, electric trams, large steel bridges, steamboats, and crowds of people on their way from one place to another. The shots alternate between pan shots of the cityscape, forward tracking shots taken from a boat, wide shots of a stable camera for scenes that show movement through the image, and intertitles. The viewer thus alternates between virtual travel, viewing from a distance, and making sense of it through intertitles, which comes even closer to tourism than the act of travelling alone. It is true that *Prinsengracht* and *A Pretty Dutch Town* also show a visually appealing cityscape in the background, but the sequence of travelling – looking – signifying as displayed in *Vita d’Olanda* is a reconstruction of tourist activity par excellence. Unlike lantern slide sets and travel writings, the audience is not addressed in any intertitle of these films.
as part of a travel group – the intertitles are written in the declarative third-person mode ([These are] “The movable bridges”, [These are] “The giants of Don Quichotte”) – but through the visual component, namely by taking the perspective of the camera.

After almost three minutes of modern and hectic city life in Rotterdam, the camera of *Vita d’Olanda* moves on a boat along a canal, a split screen is introduced, which shows a windmill on the left and a sailboat on a canal on the right half of the image. The intertitle “Fatica divisa” (“shared labour”) is followed by a shot of a man and a dog pulling a barge. After another forward tracking shot from a boat comes a shot framed through a round mask, as if seen through a looking glass, showing the harbour of Marken. This view is succeeded by a pan shot of Volendam on washing day.

The next two minutes consist of portraits of Volendam and Marken people in traditional costume, engaged in their (obviously staged) everyday routine of washing, needlework, reading the newspaper in a house decorated with delft
blue plates, and men smoking pipes. The film ends with windmills filmed from several perspectives, and closes with a dramatically coloured sunset behind a windmill (Kessler [2003] has noted that connecting otherwise disparate elements within a cycle-of-a-day narrative is a common strategy to structure the succession of images in early nonfiction film. Except for the sunset at the end of the film, no reference to temporal sequence is made, neither in the intertitles nor in the title.) After three minutes of city life, cliché images of the Netherlands conclude the film. Except for the title plate, none of the intertitles refers to the views as “Dutch”, so the clichés might have served to provide the audience with visual signifiers to relate the film to the Netherlands.

*Vita d’Olanda* is one of the rare cases I found that visually mentions modern city life in addition to the cliché. But even here, the modern and the rural
aspects are not treated evenly, as a short analysis of the intertitles shows. The intertitle that precedes the views of Rotterdam – “Il caratteristico aspetto delle città” (00:02-00:07) (“The characteristic aspect of the city”) clearly states that the views are characteristic of the city, thus not per se characteristic of the entire country. This stands in contrast to the intertitles of the second part of the film, which do not specify the location and thereby fail to mention the limits of regional validity of these views. Neither the family dressed in traditional costumes that is pictured after the intertitle “Nell’intimità delle famiglie” (04:00-04:05) (“In the intimacy of the family”), nor the costumes shown after the intertitle “Costumi e tipi” (04:41-04:45) (“Costumes and types”), are connected to a determined location. The only geographical entity provided by the film to situate these views is the Netherlands, as this is the title and thus the overarching topic of all views. Thus, in the context of the film, the absence of a more precise local attribution renders the family and the “costumes and

Fig. 5.39-5.40 Film stills of Vita d’Olanda (Pietro Marelli 1911). Screen shots following the intertitle “In the intimacy of family”.
types” Dutch. Despite the fact that Vita d’Olanda shows modern city life, this film does not move beyond the cliché. For one thing, it confirms the observation that city views focus on places and rural views accentuate people. For another, the film is also in line with the observation I made about the lantern slide set Quer durch Holland, namely that, even if modern elements are included, those are not qualified as Dutch, whereas rural elements and images that are in line with the cliché are described in categories of the national.

Fig. 5.41-5.42 Film stills of Vita d’Olanda (Pietro Marelli 1911). Screen shots following the intertitle “Costumes and types”.

Typically Dutch: Images in Popular Geography and Armchair Travel Media
5.6 CONCLUSION

Supposed common knowledge about the Netherlands and the Dutch in geographical discourse was a mix of natural and political geography, personal impressions of travel, visually exciting views, historical anecdotes, and descriptions of economic activities. Readers are addressed as interested in travels to foreign countries, as learners in an explicit educational tone, called to study a sober enumeration of phenomena, or they are invited to become immersed into images or narrative. The patterns into which the pieces of information were ordered were stable throughout the researched period and open to conveying information in several ways. Although content, form, and rhetorical strategies vary in the diverse publications, some commonly shared traits can be derived.

In all patterns, the idea of access to the world through word and image is promoted. Across the line of medium, publications that popularize geography present, first and foremost, factual information on the country and the population, which, in contrast to anthropology, may include aspects of modernity. Images could serve as illustrations of (and support of) the text, they could be the main attraction of a publication, or they could be an unconnected addition to the text’s narrative. Earlier publications cover places that were visually, historically, or economically relevant, which, to some degree, explains the emphasis on the provinces North Holland and South Holland, but does not explain why other economically relevant cities or industrial activities are hardly mentioned or rarely feature in images. From circa 1870 on, this changes, and modern aspects of the Netherlands or sites that are economically or historically relevant become less prominent in illustrations, which, since then, instead focus on visually attractive sites.

From around 1870, the images tend to become less modern than the text and, gradually, images of visually exciting sites gain prominence over images that document sites of economic, historical, or political interest. This observation holds all the more for publications in the panoramic and the virtual travel pattern. In the panoramic mode, the act of travelling, if mentioned at all, is restricted to a means to get from A to B, not as a pleasure in itself. The views are at the centre of attraction; they must be visually appealing in and of themselves, which differs from the virtual travel pattern, in which the emphasis lies on the combination of travelling, the excitement of seeing, and visually appealing views. Distinguishing the function of travel as metaphor for immersion into images of other parts of the world, and travel as movement or action, allowed me to refine my analysis of travelogues and armchair travel. Not all travelogues were meant as a substitute for physical travel; some could also be appreciated by people who never intended to travel themselves.
Geographical discourse created supposed common knowledge on the Netherlands differently than anthropological and tourist discourse. What is “Dutch” is generally not signified through the use of the cliché or tied to the typical and the authentic. Views are only partially labelled as “typically Dutch”, and, even if so, the typical is hardly generalized as being common or general. In this respect, popular geographical discourse works similarly to popular anthropological discourse.

Generalizations made in geographical discourse are mostly phrased in terms of the national. Qualifying a view or phenomenon as “Dutch” also serves to mark it as important, interesting, or remarkable. As I have shown in the previous section, the marking function was fulfilled in anthropological discourse by the qualifiers “typical” and “authentic”; in tourist discourse, as I will show, this function is fulfilled with the adjectives “typical” and “picturesque”. Whereas the term “typicality” sometimes occurs in geographical discourse (mostly in travel writings), “authenticity” and “picturesqueness” do not appear to be relevant qualifiers.

When generalizations are made in geographical discourse, they tend to take the form of the prototype. Geography is the only discourse in which I observed that generic statements are made without being tied to specific instances. Not all sources analysed here apply this strategy, but the only sources in my corpus that do so are found in geographical discourse. In the form of the prototype, generalizations made in geographical discourse feature knowledge that abstracts away from the palpable, visible instances and tokens, and argues exclusively on the level of types, kinds, and prototypes (I will elaborate on this observation in Chapter 7). Prototypical statements are mostly made in the texts to give background information and, maybe unsurprisingly, appear less frequently in captions to images and descriptions of specific phenomena or events.

The analysis of visual media in nineteenth-century geographical discourse confirms three observations made in the previous chapter. Firstly, there is the tendency that images of places show cities and images of people show village inhabitants. This is especially prominent in the virtual travel pattern but it is also observable in media of the encyclopaedic and the panoramic pattern. Secondly, modern elements, if mentioned, are never referred to as genuinely Dutch; and thirdly, all sources could be used to educate about nations and serve cultural nation-building. Finally, visual and narrative strategies in early travelogue films on the Netherlands make use of similar strategies as observed in popular geographical publications in other media. Whether or not these observations are also valid for tourist discourse will be analysed in the following section.
NOTES

1 Of course, one major difference is that Anderson’s argument that sixteenth-century print in vernacular languages provided the preconditions for a national community built on shared language instead of on religious belief. Consequently, Anderson’s chapter is titled “The origins of national consciousness” (Anderson 1996, esp. 37–46). Nineteenth-century printed images did not have to invent a national community but, I contest, confirmed the established idea of a national community through providing visual evidence.

2 The discipline’s cooperation with colonial projects has been mentioned by historians of geography. E.g. Livingstone reports that geographers developed geostrategic recommendations to British politicians in the nineteenth century and sees this as an “instance of the close interplay of imperial and professional forces” (Cf. Livingstone 1984, 292). The field of critical cartography more generally has challenged geography’s appearance of being a “neutral” science that “simply documented what things in the world looked like”, most prominently by Harley (2004; 1989) and also by Crampton and Krygier (2006).

3 Original: “De voornaamste doelstelling [was] […] om de belangstelling voor de aardrijkskunde in Nederland aan te wakkeren en langs deze weg de toepassing van geografische kennis voor handelsdoeleinden, maar ook voor scheepvaart, industrie, kolonisatie en emigratie te bevorderen.”

4 For this distinction, cf. Boden and Müller (2009, 8), Kretschmann (2009, 20–21), and Müller (2009, 36). Brecht and Orland point out that the research question of historians depends on the investigated subject: whereas research into the popularization of science mostly applies the methods of source critique to a document, research into popular knowledge asks about the repository of knowledge and imaginaries (“Wissensbestände und Vorstellungswelten”) by taking into account production and reception of documents that convey scientific information (Brecht and Orland 1999, 5). For an overview on recent debates on how to historicize popular science cf. Topham (2009).

5 A well-documented case study for the adaptation of scientific knowledge to popular scientific knowledge are the lantern lectures on natural history by Paul Hoffmann (1829-1888). Through Hoffmann’s use of visual media, different ideological formations within bourgeois culture of the nineteenth century can be traced, especially concerning the (self-perception of the) role of an “educator of the people” serving the nation and the development of national consciousness (Cf. Hoffmann and Junker 1982a; Hoffmann and Junker 1982b).

6 The method of “aanschouwelijk onderwijs” (illustrative or graphic teaching) was built on the conviction that the subjects should be explained with illustrations to give concrete impressions. This method was mostly used for teaching young children as well as for subject matters with a visual component, such as natural
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history, geography, biology, or teaching about crafts and tools. As part of this new method, schoolplaten, i.e. large images that were hung up on the classroom wall, were introduced in Dutch schools in 1839 (cf. Openluchtmuseum Het Hoogeland 1996, 15). At the beginning of the twentieth century, visual means for teaching were even accepted in academia. For a detailed argument on the advantage of visual means for “reaching the student’s mind through the eye” cf. Hobbs (1909, 180).

Original: “Bekend te worden met de plaats, waar wij ons bevinden, en de voorwerpen, welke ons omringen, is eene behoefte van de menschelijke natuur, die bij elke schrede om voldoening vraagt. De kennis van den met zooveel wijsheid geordenden wereldbol, dien wij bewonen, mag daarenboven geacht worden met onze verstandelijke en zedelijke ontwikkeling in nauw verband te staan, althans bij uittemendheid geschikt te zijn, om het hart te stemmen tot eerbiedige bewondering van Hem, die daarvan de verhevene oorzaak is.”

Paratextual elements such as titles and trade catalogues are especially relevant as these descriptions enunciate the image before the readers/viewers as related to the Netherlands; written comment and intertitles remind the viewers/readers throughout the publication, series of images, or film (Cf. Kessler 2003). Some of the examples that I discuss here were produced for people who explicitly looked for (visual) information on the Netherlands and the Dutch (e.g. lantern slide sets, a set of postcards, material for lessons in school) while others give information for readers/viewers who do not purposefully look for information on the Netherlands and “accidentally” stumble over this subject matter (e.g. advertising trade cards, illustrated magazines). However, the way in which knowledge is presented does not differ according to the intentions of the receiver. Further, the syntagmatic order of the images seems not to be relevant per se for the information that these images convey about the Netherlands. For example, it does not matter much if you learn first about the number of bridges in Amsterdam and then that The Hague is the residence city, or the other way around. The questions of what is selected and how it is mentioned are thus central.

Teresa Castro’s definition of the logic of the atlas comes close to what I call the encyclopaedic. Castro defines the atlas as a form of visual representation of space, characterized by the presentation of multiple spaces in one volume. In contrast to a mere inventory, the atlas also orders information, although not with the aim to compare elements within a publication, as would be the case of the logic of the catalogue. Unlike my conceptualization of the encyclopaedic, Castro defines the organization of images in an atlas as a combination of dissection (“découpage”) and spatial progression that enables virtual travel from one place to the other: “Caractérisé par une pensée du découpage et de la progression spatiales, l’atlas donne forme à un voyage visuel, régi par des rythmes particulières. Tout atlas semble convenir au mouvement, que ce soit du regard ou de l’esprit.” (Cf. Castro 2011, 42–44, quotation from page 43). Castro restricts her
analysis to form and image and does not take textual and paratextual elements into account.

10 The term “panorama” means “complete view” and appeared from the early 1800s onwards in book titles referring to “overviews of almost anything” (Huhtamo 2013, 4) to suggest “comprehensive coverage” (Uricchio 2011, 227). E.g. *The Panorama of Professions and Trades* (1837), or *The Political Panorama* (1801).

11 Such films still could have the term “panoramic” in their titles. I will not go into detail about the problem of the “panoramic” as a term, as generic identity of films, or as a visual experience. Uricchio touches upon these questions in his essay “A ‘proper point of view’: the Panorama and some of its early media iterations” (Uricchio 2011, esp. 231-235). My use of the term “panoramic” is purely conceptual unless indicated otherwise.

12 “Le désir de rendre hommage aux habitans [sic] de la Frise don je me plais à conserver le souvenir, joint à l’envie que j’ai toujours eue de contredire les assertions mensongères de quelques voyageurs mal informés, m’engage à donner une petite description de cette agréable province. Les trois années environ que j’y ai passées, m’ont mis à même, tout en prenant connaissance de son territoire, de remarquer ce qu’elle renferme d’intéressant et de curieux. Mon principal but est de faire connaître les mœurs toujours simples et douces des Frisons, ainsi que leurs usages et leurs coutumes. Je dédirais donc ce que j’ai vu, sans prétention, avec toute l’exactitude et la fidelité que mon sujet réclame. Je dirai l’origine et les accroissemens [sic] successifs de la Frise. Je donnerais la topographie du pays, ses divisions, sa physiognomie générale; rien de ce qui se rapporte à sa statistique morale et industrielle ne sera oublié. Je ferai l’examen de ses ressources, de son organisation et de ses coutumes. J’entrerai dans les villes, j’irai m’asseoir au foyer domestique de leurs habitans [sic], et je pénètrerai dans leur vie intérieure. Certains souvenirs historiques, certains faits particuliers, trouveront place, comme un complément nécessaire, dans ma narration, et je saluerai, en respectueux pèlerin, les chefs d’œuvre de l’art et les noms célèbres que je trouverai sur mon passage. Circonscrit dans une sphère étroite de réflexions, et voulant seulement offrir une matière aux jugemens de mes lecteurs, je leur ferai part de toutes mes observations de détail. Ils descendront avec moi de la synthèse à l’analyse, de la nation à l’individu, et je serai récompensé de tous mes efforts, si je réussis à leurs donner une idée complète et précise des choses qu’ils n’ont pas vues, et à leur faire aimer des hommes qu’ils n’ont point visités.” (Gauthier-Stirum 1839, Préface, no page).

13 Carlson et al. do not use the distinction type/token but kind/plurality, which has a slightly different meaning and which allows them to analyse the logical difference between the grammatical forms “A Dutchman” and “The Dutchman”, which, in my corpus, does not seem to fulfil different functions with respect to supposed common knowledge.

Original: “Beide [Brücken] sind gewaltige Schöpfungen neuerzeitlicher Brückenbau-kunst, die der regen Handelsstadt zur besonderen Zierde gereichen.”

Original: “Industriebilder hatten für die Programmierung einen ähnlichen Status wie Reisebilder: Sie zeigten Phänomene und Arbeitsvorgänge aus Landwirtschaft, Handwerk und Industrie, die ebenso wie tropische Regionen oder schweizer Ferienziele nicht allgemein zugänglich waren.”

Original: “In vielen dieser Filme verschmelzen Land und Leute mit regionalen Produkten zu einem folkloristischen Stereotyp.”

Verhoeff uses the term “instant nostalgia” to describe practices that enable people to deal with the often described shock of modernity better by offering a strategy to “cope with loss while enjoying novelty” (Verhoeff 2006, 148). Having access to images of the world was definitely a novelty for most of the population. Mediated through the modern medium of film, enjoying new and modern visual pleasures is then not opposed to delving into nostalgic sentiments but reconciles the viewer with its past and the present (Cf. Verhoeff 2006, 148–156).

“Dans les Notices qui accompagnent les Vues du Voyage pittoresque, j’ai cherché à donner une idée des sites les plus remarquables; j’ai rappelé, autant qu’il m’a été possible, les événements historiques et les faits qui peuvent intéresser le voyageur; mais le plan dans lequel j’étais circonscrit ne m’a pas permis de m’étendre à cet égard autant que je l’aurais désiré.” (Préface, 2); “Le premier objet que frappe le voyageur en entrant dans la ville, c’est une recherche de propreté plus grande encore que dans aucune autre ville de la Hollande méridionale.” (De Cloet 1822, explanation to “Porte de Delft”, image 15).

It may also be that this order is the result of marketing strategies. The first volume came in seventeen successive parts and subscribers may have been expected to appreciate variation in each deliverance. Still, if a travel route was intended, and if variation in each deliverance was necessary, too, then the numbering of views could have followed the itineraries of a travel route.

See e.g. the explanation to “Rade de Scheveningen” (image 27): “L’aspect de la mer à Schevelingue [sic] offre un intérêt tout particulier. L’étendue de la côte, qui est
d’un parfait niveau jusqu’aux extrémités de la Hollande, donne aux yeux toute la liberté de houer de ce terrible élément. Quand on réfléchit que ce même Océan baigne aussi les côtes du Nouveau Monde, que le royaume le plus florissant de l’Europe disparaîtrait en quelque sorte dans l’immensité de ce gouffre, cette idée ajoute encore à l’impression des yeux, et porte dans l’âme du spectateur philosophe la surprise, l’admiration et la terreur.” (De Cloet 1822, explanation to image 27).

23 E.g. “Vue du Château de Dinant, de la ville de Bouvigne, et des ruines de crève-cœur”, image 41. The indication of viewpoints can also be observed in titles of stereoscopic photographs, see the discussion of the set Holland (Underwood & Underwood 1905) below.

24 For example, the view of the Vijverberg in The Hague is praised for its picturesque, its shadowy lanes, big buildings, and charming water and not for its function. Occasionally, excuses are made in the explanation if a view did not present some visual delights but “only” a site of historical relevance (e.g. explanation to image 39).

25 Original: “Cette vue offre en abrégé tous ce qu’il y a de plus remarquable en Hollande. On peut caractériser en peu de mots les principaux agréments [sic] de cette province. De belles habitations entretenues avec une propreté remarquable, de gras pâturages couverts de nombreux troupeaux de bétail, des moulin, des canaux, des digues et des écluses, voilà ce qu’on rencontre partout, et ce qui quelquefois présente des points de vue assez remarquables.”

26 Early subscribers paid 3.50 francs per part, new subscribers 5 francs. Cf. the advertising of a bookseller from Maastricht [sic], pour le Voyage pittoresque dans le Royaume des Pays-Bas, représentant les principaux points de vue lithographiés [sic]. L’ouvrage formera 17 livraisons, composées de 7 planches, dont une texte, et une carte itinéraire du Voyage. A dater du 15 octobre 1822, les nouveaux souscripteurs payeront 5 fr. la livraison, au lieu de f. 3.50, attendu que la 1.re édition étant épuisée, la nouvelle édition sera entièrement tirée sur une teinte de papier de Chine.” (Journal de La Province de Limbourg 1822). At that time, one franc was made of 25 grams of silver (Cf. https://fr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Franc_fran%C3%A7ais, accessed 5 September 2014). The price of the entire volume was thus 59.5 francs or 297.5 gram of silver for subscribers of the first hour and 85 francs or 425 gram of silver for later subscribers, binding not included. This source does not determine whether that price covers both volumes or only the first 100 lithographs.

27 Answering the question for whom this view was “quite remarkable” and who was part of the “one” that looks, also indicates who took interest in describing landscape in terms of prototypes. The peasant’s interest in prototypical landscape can be considered low, as they work on a non-abstracted soil.

28 Original: “Holländisches Mädchen, vom Bronnen [sic] heimkehrend. / Schmuck des äusseren Lebens in bunten Farben, Reinlichkeit und Sauberkeit fast bis zur

29 Original: “Unser Bild zeigt uns ein heimkehrendes Brautpaar, das am Sonntag zur Stadt war und nun mit dem sinkenden Abend in die ländliche Stille zurückkehrt.”

30 In English, the second-person singular and second-person plural share the same morphological form but, considering the individual viewing situation, I believe the “you” addresses a single person here. Pseudo-individual addressing such as “Can you see how the farther shore of this bay is protected with a solid stone dyke?” (comment to image 17) or “Do you see a number of white canvas roofs or awnings huddled together at the farther end of this canal? Those cover stalls in a large open-air market” (comment to images 5) also seem to address an individual, not a group. I did not find this mode of address in many sources.

31 For example: “This type of imagery primarily functioned as substitute for travel. Nineteenth-century topographical images, thus, aroused the same visual desire of foreign spaces as cinemas’ later telescoping them.” (Snickars 2001, 55); “Promising virtual travel to distant and often inhospitable lands, early travelogues obviated the need for physical travel in the minds of several writers and were deemed a worthy substitute for the cumbersome, visually impoverished, and more expensive encyclopedias.” (Griffiths 2002, 220).

32 In an earlier article, Peterson proposed the distinction between “landscape-oriented travelogues (‘picturesque views’)” and “people-oriented travelogues (‘native types’)” and suggests that this difference stems from the genre distinction in painting (Cf. Peterson 1997, 86). This distinction is not relevant for my analysis of films on the Netherlands, as most of them combine people and places in one shot or at least combine shots of landscape and cityscape with shots of the inhabitants. Furthermore, Peterson’s distinction does not relate to the way in which people and places are presented, which is central to my analysis.

33 Original: “Continuons donc à glaner, parmi les souvenirs qui m’assaillent de toutes parties, les scènes les plus frappantes, et les plus capables d’être décrites. Êtes-vous curieux de connaître une personne notre ami Jan Steen, dont nous avons eu plus d’une occasion de parler?”
Original: “Les Hollandais et l’eau sont inséparables et ne peuvent se passer l’un de l’autre, ni se perdre vue un instant, quoiqu’ils aient souvent des querelles de ménage assez vives.”; “Le Hollandais fait consciencieusement toutes choses. Il s’amuse avec sérieux et gravité; il apporte jusque dans ses plaisirs son esprit méthodique et positif.”; “Les Hollandaises, les Frisonnes surtout, ont une parure de tête caractéristique dont la forme varie suivant les provinces, et qui consiste en une ou deux plaques d’or ou d’argent doré.”

Original: “Tout pays a son caractère particulier, c’est indubitable; or, la Hollande, tant par la forme de son territoire que par le costume de ses paysans, est peut-être la contrée d’Europe actuellement la plus pittoresque.”

Original: “Fumeurs de pipes, farandoles de kermesses, batellerie lente, ponts gigantesques, moulins bringueballants [sic], calmes contemplations des bourgeois devant les glass beer, déhanchements des boerin portant à la ville les produits des métairies familiales, attelages des chiens guillerets, canaux éternels peuplés de canards, villages propres, logis coquets, pêcheurs singuliers, cieux capricieux, terres marécageuses [...]”

Original: “[...] qui me rappelle une de mes plus hollandaises sensations de Hollande: ciel de soir d’un gris léger, canal jaunâtre, chaland lent, moulins raides, polder bruns, animaux blancs aux croupes molles, vieil homme contem- platif, silence...”.

Original: “Voilà bien, en effet, le caractère du Hollandais. Entouré d’eau, luttant contre l’eau, nourri par l’eau, il a pris de l’eau la pesanteur molle, avançant sans bruit, avec sa surface colorée, recéleuse de mondes bizarres.”

Original: “Wij hebben den Franschen Schrijver in zijn reisverhaal op den voet gevolgd, al kwam soms de lust boven, hem eens even in de rede te vallen, waar hij in zijn gevolgstrekking te ver ging en, naar het weinige dat hij zag, oordeelde ook over het vele, dat hij niet zag. Het zal onze lezers zeker evenzo gaan, maar om der curiositeit wille zal het oordeel van den Franschman hen interesseeren en zijn aardige verteltrant zal hen boeien.” (translator’s note to Hamón 1906a, 1).

Original: “Heut wollen wir ein Land, fernab der großen Touristenstraßen durchwandern, das dem Maler herrliche Naturszenerien und dem Reisenden hohen Kunstgenuß verspricht. Holland mit seinen Kunstschätzen bietet viel des Interessanten. Das ganze Land ist von Kanälen durchzogen. Die größeren schiffbaren Kanäle führen durch Städte hindurch und sind künstlich angelegt, die Niederungen sind durch aufgeschüttete Wälle geschützt. Wir betreten Holland hoch im Norden und besuchen zuerst die Stadt Groningen, die mit ihren 80 000 Einwohnern sofort den holländischen Typus verrät. [...] Die Architektur der Häuser des Platzes atmet den bekannten holländischen Baustil.” (Projektion für Alle 1906b, comment to slide 1, emphasis added)


43 For a deeper analysis of perspective in phantom-ride films from trains, cf. Verhoeff and Warth: “Phantom rides are emblematic of early cinema’s non-fiction that shows landscape and its (tourist) ‘consumption’. [...] The object of the look, the panoramic landscape, positions the i/eye of the look, coded in terms of the modern, by the symbol of travel and tourism by train.” (Verhoeff and Warth 2002, 246). William Uricchio discusses the forward tracking shots as part of the panoramic, although he notes the difference between them and “traditional” panoramic paintings: “Another discrepancy in the cinematic embodiment of panoramas might have been introduced by forward tracking shots. Here, one of the fundamental characteristics of the painted panorama (360-degree or moving) regards the image’s fixed distance from the spectator. The forward track, moving towards the vanishing point, shifts the extensive relations mapped out by the traditional panorama to a set of intensive relations – an ever closer inspection of spaces first seen at a distance” and a few lines later, he calls the effects of the forward tracking shot a “form of embodiment” (Uricchio 2011, 234). Although he notes the difference in treatment of space, and sees them as “some of the most interesting challenges” (235) in the discussion of the panoramic, he still subsumes them under the panoramic.

44 Jennifer Peterson observes that the section of “local types” was a standard rubric in travelogues, next to landscape panoramas, street scenes, and iconic monuments. The “local types” mostly were added at the end of such films, often with smiling women or children (Cf. Peterson 1997, 77).