

Makeshift Freedom Seekers

Dutch Travellers in Europe, 1815-1914

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DPhil in History
Hilary Term 2013

Abstract

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This thesis questions a series of assumptions concerning the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century modernization of European spaces. Current scholarship tends to concur with essayistic texts and images by contemporary intellectuals that technological and organizational developments increased the freedom of movement of those living in western-European societies, while at the same time alienating them from each other and from their environment. I assess this claim with the help of Dutch travel egodocuments such as travel diaries and letters. After a prosopographical investigation of all available northern-Netherlandish travel egodocuments created between 1500 and 1915, a selection of these documents is examined in greater detail.

In these documents, travellers regarded the possession of identity documents, a correct appearance, and a fitting social identity along with their personal contacts, physical capabilities, and the weather as the most important factors influencing whether they managed to gain access to places. A discussion of these factors demonstrates that no linear increase, nor a decrease, occurred in the spatial power felt by travellers. The exclusion many travellers continued to experience was often overdetermined. The largest groups affected by this were women and less educated families. Yet travellers could also play out different access factors against each other. By paying attention to how practices matched hopes and expectations, it is possible to discover how gravely social inequities were really felt by travellers. Perhaps surprisingly, all social groups desired to visit the same types of places. Their main difference concerned the atmosphere of the places where the different groups felt at home. To a large degree this matched travellers' unequal opportunities. Therefore, although opportunities remained strongly unequal throughout the period, this was not always experienced as a problem. Also, in cases where it was, many travellers knew strategies to work around the obstacles created for them.

Extended abstract

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This thesis questions a series of common assumptions concerning the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century modernization of European spaces. It asks whether individuals had a widening choice of places to go to, and who exactly may have benefitted from this and how. Many scholars represent the long nineteenth century as a period during which entire societies were pushed into a modern condition. Technological and organizational developments, among which the railways receive pride of place, supposedly empowered the inhabitants of western-European societies by offering them a greater freedom of movement. To reverse the medal, this enhanced sense of power also put pressure on individuals to put their power to good use. Modernization therefore allegedly alienated people from each other and from their (natural) environment, creating a culture of individualism and greed.

The scholars arguing in this vein, however, base themselves on a largely canonic set of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century texts and images. These present the debates of an intellectual elite who tried to make sense of their world, rather than presenting the varied and sometimes contradictory behaviour and experiences of a wide section of society. It is these spatial ideals, practices, and experiences that must be considered when assessing the theory of a 'modern' regime of individual spatial power. Travel egodocuments are better able to reveal them than essayistic texts and images. Journey diaries, letters, and other travel egodocuments

tell us much about individuals' hopes and expectations and offer a glimpse of what they experienced when they tried to put them into practice on their journeys, often under unfamiliar conditions.

Travellers from the northern Netherlands serve as a case study that diverges from the paradigmatic England in the timing and order of its technological and organizational modernizations. At the same time, their writings form the basis for a due overview of the nineteenth-century travel history of this 'nation' which—like many other 'nations'—likes to see itself as much-travelled and internationally oriented. For the purposes of this research project, I designed a relational database which now contains several thousand travellers with their journeys and the accounts which they created between 1500 and 1915. The entire database is used to sketch a prosopography of northern-Netherlandish travellers. Next, a selection of thirty-nine journeys that were made within Europe in the periods 1816-1835, 1856-1875, and 1896-1915, is studied in detail. In the analysis, the biographies of those travellers are taken into account, making sure that they represent a wide diversity of social backgrounds.

Typical people with a motive for travel in these four centuries of Dutch history were soldiers, traders, sailors, statesmen and -women, missionaries, scholars, and social reformers. They mixed their work with more leisurely activities. The forms their journeys took remained diverse, which was partly due to the highly differentiated provisions for travellers that existed in the different regions of Europe. The choice of destinations worldwide even diversified in the nineteenth century. Incidentally, this seems to have owed more to economic and political shifts than to developments in transport. All in all, commercialization, standardization, and a substitution of 'travel' by 'tourism' were no (special) features of the long nineteenth century. Continuity also surfaces when considering the social identity of historical travellers. Apart from being a member of the above-mentioned occupational milieus, most of the collected travellers were male. For other milieus as well as for women, the barriers to travel were often too high, consisting of, for example, work or care duties at home. Alternatively, they lacked legitimate motives to undertake a journey. Elite women, moreover, did not easily travel on their own.

Prone to write about their own experiences were lawyers, governmental administrators, journalists, art critics, scholars, teachers, and clergymen. For other occupational milieus and for women, again, and also for the less educated, the barriers to writing such a text (illiteracy and lack of opportunity or of a writing culture) and the barriers to keep it (removals, fires, or a

lack of concern for family history, for example), often proved insurmountable. In these two respects—travel opportunities and egodocumental writing—the nineteenth century did not display a change towards greater equity, or towards more power for everyone. Meanwhile, the number of inhabitants in the northern Netherlands grew considerably. Therefore, the number of travel egodocuments left from the 1820s, which was low already compared to the surrounding countries and to previous centuries, only decreased in the course of the nineteenth century, when measured as a proportion of the entire Dutch population. The small part women and families without a university education played in the travel endeavour only began to grow in the decades around 1900. These decades also seem to mark a general turning-point in the development of travel writing in the northern Netherlands.

In assessing people's sense of power or freedom, this thesis challenges the division of space into public places on one hand and private places on the other. More pertinent to praxis and experience is to ask where travellers actually wanted to go and why, and how they tried to access these places. These questions apply to entire states and towns as well as to specific buildings and rooms. The evidence examined demonstrates that the range of place types that Dutch travellers wanted to visit remained fairly constant across the long nineteenth century, and that it was shared across the social spectrum. Travellers' egodocuments also demonstrate what they considered to be the most important factors defining access to these places: the possession of identity documents; maintaining a correct appearance for the occasion; a sensitivity to the social identities that were expected at a particular location; engaging in personal communications; taking into account the possibilities offered by their own (perceived) physical capabilities in combination with local material conditions; and whether the weather seemed fit for spending time outdoors. These factors of access draw attention to the fact that accessibility was not the fixed characteristic of a place, as in the much-used public-private dichotomization. Instead, accessibility revolved around the interplay between the often implicit rules employed by gate-keepers, travellers' and their companions' identities, and the locations' various functions which depended on the moment of the day, the week, and the year.

The specific historical developments these access factors went through do not support modernization theory. There was considerable fluctuation in whether travellers needed to carry identity documents and whether one's baggage was inspected upon crossing borders or when applying for postal and other local services. But during those years when states visited

the elite's passports and baggage most frequently, in the early part of the century, these travellers found ways of evading these checks. For non-elite travellers, meanwhile, identity papers remained important throughout the period. Since men who travelled with women, children, or servants, carried a single passport for the entire party, they were its most mobile member once the party had set off on a journey. When these subalterns travelled without a patriarch, however, they were able to obtain their own identity documents from their authorities.

Another access factor that did not offer an increasing degree of liberty was appearance. Visual cues continued to demarcate social boundaries into the twentieth century, and knowing and adhering to them remained vital. This instigated much feeling of insecurity, for men as well as women, and for the elite as well as the rest. The only difference was that some—usually the less wealthy female members of society—were more skilled at controlling their dress than others.

Some places were open only to people of a specific religious, occupational, or gender identity. Often these mechanisms of exclusion were co-opted by those who excluded themselves, in their attempt to keep up a certain identity, for example that of a respectable lady. Yet even then, this exclusion was occasionally regretted, for example by ladies who were excluded from cafés and other places of entertainment.

Furthermore, travellers mobilized their existing contacts abroad and established new contacts, often through existing connections. Throughout the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth, face-to-face communications and the establishment of personal rapport remained more important than books, forms, and written regulations, for travellers who needed information or assistance or who applied for admission.

The introduction of technological novelties also did little to change how the accessibility of European places was experienced. Elite travellers, especially elite women, remained highly dependent on the physical work done by their inferiors. If anyone, it was these employees who benefited most from such technologies as electric lighting and sewerage. Yet even non-elite travellers do not show much awareness of how these developments made a difference. They were more regularly considered as aesthetic curiosities than as practical improvements.

To conclude, such a prosaic phenomenon as rain spoilt a lot of plans made by the elite. This did change as the nineteenth century progressed, however; probably as the result of a new

etiology of disease, combined with the growth of a network of surfaced roads.

It is important to acknowledge that a lack of mobility was often overdetermined because different access factors coincided in their negative outcome for, most importantly, non-elite travellers and women. Nevertheless, these factors should not be seen as simple determinants of whether a traveller could enter a place. Rather, they formed the terrain onto which applicants could contribute their resources and play out their struggles for access. Moreover, travellers could also use them against each other. Personal networks of shared interest, for instance, could easily override someone's low financial standing or deviant religious belonging in the decision to grant them access.

On a deeper level, it is possible to discover how gravely these social inequities impacted on travellers by paying attention to how practices matched hopes and expectations. Travellers' unequal opportunities were matched to a large extent by different desires, caused by differences in upbringing impacting heavily on where travellers felt comfortable and in their proper place. Although opportunities remained highly unequal throughout the century, this was therefore not always experienced as a problem. On the other hand, even a correct socialization contained inconsistencies. Travellers who noticed that their desires did not fit social conditions in all respects or who even had moments of marginalization, felt hemmed in. In these instances, travellers tried out various strategies to work around these obstacles.

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This project has built on the lists and database of travel egodocuments compiled by teams at Erasmus University Rotterdam and the Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis (see the bibliography). My relational database design has benefitted from courses offered by Oxford University IT Services. In transferring the existing lists and database to my own database I have received advice and assistance from Rik Hoekstra, Maruulke Prins, and Joost Stassen, who wrote a dedicated Perl migration script.

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TEXTUAL NOTES

The selected travel egodocuments, which form the central primary sources, are referred to in footnotes by their authors' surnames, followed by a page number, leave number, or date of entry. Only in the case of Het Utrechts Archief 814, inventarisnummers 261, 262, 265, 667 (Jacoba Roosendaal), which consist of non-chronological, changeable piles of unpaginated and undated leaves and fascicles, I have used the numbering of my photographs. Primary sources created in the same decade are separated by a semicolon, sources created in different decades by a full stop. For details, see the appendix and the bibliography.

All translations to English are my own unless an English source is cited. I have chosen to stick closely to the historical meaning of individual words and to the original sentence structure (including grammatical errors and the nineteenth-century predilection for commas), making the rendering less fluent than it would otherwise have been.

Place names are given in their current English or otherwise their local form. 'They'/'them'/'their' is used as a gender-neutral third person in the singular number.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1 MODERNITY, POWER, SPACE

We often describe ourselves as modern.¹ By this we tend to mean that the world is home to more people than ever, that these people inhabit cities in unprecedented numbers while they are at the same time also considered the tax-payers, soldiers, and voters of relatively centralized nation-states, that the world's economies depend on large, geographically spread markets, not just in food but also in other products and in services, and that many of these products and services are created by specialized producers, often in concentrated work-places such as factories, and transported over large distances with the help of fossil fuels.² In other words, modernization is a concept that we use for certain technological, economic, demographic, and political changes that occurred in western Europe and elsewhere from the nineteenth century onwards.

This picture of modernization already raises an issue. It creates confusion about, for example, the assessment of those people who at this moment lack access to substantial markets, and those places where production is 'still' driven by human or animal power. Should they be called unmodern? What does this status marker do?³ Nevertheless, the idea exists that the various developments mentioned above have consistently pushed entire societies into a

1 Except of course Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge MA, 1993).

2 For a more complete overview of what writers tend to mean by 'modernization' see H.W. Lintsen et al., *Geschiedenis van de techniek*, et al., *Geschiedenis van de techniek in Nederland: de wording van een moderne samenleving, 1800-1890* (Zutphen, 1992-1995), I.21-2.

3 An early critique on stories like this has been delivered by Roland Barthes: see his *Mythologies* (Paris, 1957) and B. Olsen, 'Roland Barthes: From Sign to Text', in Ch. Y. Tilley (ed.), *Reading Material Culture* (Oxford, 1990), 188.

new era, with a new state of affairs. This holistic use of the concept of modernization will here be referred to as 'modernization theory'.

Modernization is presumed to have had severe mental and practical consequences for those living in 'modern' societies, that is, in societies where these technological, economic, demographic, or political changes have taken place. That is, many writers consider modernity not just as something that is present around us, in factories and railways and suburbs, but as something within us. They take modernity to entail a certain way of life, assuming that people live fundamentally differently now from how they lived in the past. In particular, they propose that a number of these changes have drastically altered what people could do with space. It is this question that forms the crux of this thesis.

To study this issue, I will focus on the long nineteenth century. Modernization can be said to have budded in the eighteenth, seventeenth, or even the sixteenth century, depending on which of its aspects are studied.⁴ However, most scholars using the term focus on changes in the nineteenth or twentieth century. This tendency is perhaps even more prevalent in the Netherlands, where both nineteenth-century and twentieth-century commentators have pictured the late seventeenth to eighteenth centuries as a period of decay, and the nineteenth as one of rebirth.⁵ It was in this century that a great portion of those changes that are supposed to have brought about a new mindset and a new way of doing things, took place: urbanization, the introduction of steam and internal-combustion engines, the increasing use of steel, concrete, and glass as construction materials, the use of new fabrics, the proliferation of railways and canals, and of newspapers and affordable books, the introduction of telegraph and telephone, a cheap postal service, and new lighting and heating techniques, safety and labour legislation, and workers', women's, slaves', and various religious-ethnic emancipation movements.

It was therefore in this century that we went through a 'mental revolution', as Auke van

4 See e.g. F. Trentmann, 'Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39 no. 3 (2004), 374, 381; J. de Vries and A.M. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge, 1997).

5 Many of the persons investigated in this thesis did, as well as G. Moll in his introduction to F.H.C. Drieling, *Aanteekeningen op eene reize naar Zwitserland en Lombardijen, in 1829* (Utrecht, 1833), vi. A twentieth-century example is I.J. Brugmans, *Paardenkracht en mensenmacht: sociaal-economische geschiedenis van Nederland, 1795-1940* (Den Haag, 1969), esp. 68, 84, 98, 286. Secondary literature about this phenomenon: R. Aerts, *De letterheren. Liberale cultuur in de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1997), 106-10, 267; J. Kloek and W. Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving* (Den Haag, 2001); D. van Lente, *Techniek en ideologie 1850-1920* (Groningen, 1988).

der Woud, historian of the built environment, puts it in a recent study aptly called 'A New World: How the Modern Northern Netherlands Came to Be'.⁶ Or, as cultural historian Hannu Salmi writes, the nineteenth-century 'revolutions' in industry and transport 'greatly altered the conceptions of time and space held by Europeans'.⁷ Matthew Beaumont and Michael Freeman concur: they 'presuppose' that the railway is central to 'modernity'; in creating an 'industrial[...] consciousness'; and in 'reconfiguring the relations of time and space'.⁸ '[S]pace and time had received a completely new meaning within half a century', a recent textbook tells us.⁹ The much-cited Wolfgang Schivelbusch speaks of the railroad 'destroy[ing] experiential space and time' but also, elsewhere, of the 'capitalist emancipation from the limits of organic nature'.¹⁰ Stephen Kern dedicated a cultural history to the technical and intellectual innovations 'revolutionizing the actual experience of time and space'.¹¹ What happened in this era has even been found to be 'the greatest transformation in human history since the remote times when men invented agriculture and metallurgy, writing, the city and the state'.¹² The same idea features in many other studies about the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Significantly, it is also current among the general public.¹³

6 A. van der Woud, *Een nieuwe wereld: het ontstaan van het moderne Nederland* (Amsterdam, 2006), 11.

7 H. Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, 2008), 10-11, also esp. 6, 90-2, 94, 136.

8 M. Beaumont and M. Freeman (ed.), *The Railway and Modernity: Time, Space, and the Machine Ensemble* (Oxford, 2007), 10-1.

9 B.M.J. Speet, *De tijd van burgers en stoommachines: 1800-1900* (Zwolle, 2007), 42: 'tijd en ruimte in een halve eeuw tijd een geheel andere invulling had gekregen.'

10 W. Schivelbusch, 'Railroad Space and Railroad Time', *New German Critique*, no. 14 (1978), 40; *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century*, first publ. 1977, A. Hollo (trans.) (Leamington Spa, 1986), 7, 158, 170, 194 and *passim*. I must confess I would be at a loss to explain what 'capitalist emancipation' means. The same goes for 'organic nature'.

11 S. Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*, first publ. 1983, ed. 2 (Cambridge MA, 2003), xi-ii.

12 E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution* (London, 1962), 1.

13 The number of works observing such modernization in experiences and practices of time and space is already substantial without mentioning those that describe mental/practical modernization on other terrains. Apart from the above and others mentioned throughout this thesis, these are e.g. R. Barthes, 'Le Guide Bleu', *Mythologies* (Paris, 1957), 113-136; M. Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London, 1991); R.D.E. Burton, *The flâneur and his City: Patterns of Daily Life in Paris, 1815-1851* (Manchester, 1994); T. Crook, 'Putting Matter in its Right Place: Dirt, Time and Regeneration in Mid-Victorian Britain', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 13 no. 2 (2008), 201-2, 207; N. Daly, 'Railway Novels', *English Literary History*, 66 no. Summer (1999), 463 qtd. in M. Beaumont, 'Railway Mania: The Train Compartment as the Scene of a Crime', in Beaumont and Freeman, *Railway and Modernity*, 126; N. Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation: Soziogenetische und Psychogenetische Untersuchungen. Erster Band* (Bern and München, 1969) (about a wider timespan than just the nineteenth century); J. Elsner and J.-P. Rubiés (ed.), *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel* (London, 1999), 4-7; S. Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York, 1955); R. Harrington, 'The Railway Journey and the Neuroses of Modernity', in R. Wrigley and G. Revill (ed.), *Pathologies of Travel* (Amsterdam, 2000), 229-59; Z. Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682-1812* (Aldershot, 2008), 1-18; K.P.C. de Leeuw, 'Mentaliteit en vrije tijd, 1800-heden', in K.P.C. de Leeuw, M.F.A. Linders-Rooijendijk, and P.J.M. Martens (ed.), *Van ontspanning en inspanning: aspecten van de geschiedenis van de*

As suggested, the two forms of modernity—external and internal; material-social and mental-practical; collective and individual—are deeply connected to each other in modernization theory. The thing that connects them is *power*. Changes in the social and material realm are pictured as having offered humans a greater power over nature; a greater power to determine their own lives. This has not only been proposed by technological (mono)determinists, who believe that a certain material configuration one-sidedly and unstoppably leads to one particular mental situation or experience. On the contrary, many modernization theorists display a nuanced understanding of the multidirectional relations between things, ways of using them, mentalities, ideals, and experiences. Still, they set forth the idea that we have gained power over our world. And it is this power that I think needs to be studied in greater depth, even before tackling the issue of its causes.

What does this power pertain to? Two things that are frequently said to have been subjected to the individual conscience and discretion are the passage of time, and religion. Often mentioned in this respect are the nineteenth-century proliferation of clocks, bells, and schedules, and the supposed spread of atheism or agnosticism.¹⁴ But the present study is about the power individuals had—or did not have—in dealing with *places*: countries, towns, roads,

vrije tijd (Tilburg, 1995), 13-4; H. Lefebvre, *A Critique of Everyday Life*, first publ. 1946, J. Moore (trans.) (London, 1991); S. Lilley, 'Men, Machines and History: Retrospect and Summary' (about a wider timespan than just the nineteenth century), in E.J. Fischer (ed.), *Geschiedenis van de techniek: inleiding, overzicht en thema's*, first publ. 1948 (Den Haag, 1980), 61-3, 69; Lintsen et al., *Geschiedenis van de techniek*, II.141; G. Mosse, *The Culture of Western Europe: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Boulder, 1988), 14; B. Nelson, 'Zola and the Nineteenth Century', in B. Nelson, *The Cambridge Companion to Zola* (Cambridge, 2007) 1, 7; A. Parejo Vadillo and J. Plunkett, 'The Railway Passenger or The Training of the Eye', in Beaumont and Freeman, *Railway and Modernity*, 46. N.C.F. van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland: van oude orde naar moderniteit, 1750-1900* (Amsterdam, 2004), 157; H. Schulz-Forberg (ed.), *Unravelling Civilisation: European Travel and Travel Writing* (Bruxelles, 2005), 20-2; R. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York, 1974); J. Steward, 'The Culture of the Water Cure in Nineteenth-century Austria, 1800-1914', in S.C. Anderson and B.H. Tabb (ed.), *Water, Leisure and Culture* (Oxford, 2002), 23-36; P. Stokvis (ed.), *Geschiedenis van het privéleven: bronnen en benaderingen* (Amsterdam, 2007), 16; A. Trachtenberg in his 1986 foreword to Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, xiii-iv; Wrigley and Revill, *Pathologies of Travel*, 3-4, 9, 13. A similar view on a modernity that was not necessarily accomplished in the nineteenth century is offered by H. Achterhuis, *Werelden van tijd* (Rotterdam, 2003), 44; P. Sloterdijk, 'Society of Centaurs: Philosophical Remarks on Automobility', *Transfers*, 1 no. 1 (2011), 14. A similar view about the seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *German History*, 24 no. 3 (2006), 379: 'The postal vehicle created entirely new relationships between people's conceptions of space and time.'

14 Until quite recently, however, this spread affected few individuals: most Europeans remained firmly monotheistic until at least the 1960s. Most atheists or agnostics, moreover, were part of the socialist 'pillar' which can be said to have dominated individual lives in a manner similar to the various religious pillars: P. van Rooden, 'Long-Term Religious Developments in the Netherlands, 1750-2000', in H. McLeod and W. Ustorf (ed.), *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750-2000* (Cambridge, 2002), 113-29, and the other essays in that volume. Also see Aerts, *Letterheren*, 238-50, for the conservative religious debate that reigned even among liberals.

buildings, rooms, beds, dinner-tables... Concentrating on spatial power, then, modernization theory proposes that people's freedom of movement has grown.¹⁵ Material and social-political changes conspired to making a greater proportion of the human population go to a wider selection of places on earth. This assertion of growing freedom is not just made for what humanity as a whole became capable of (such as laying a telegraph cable over the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean), but also for what individuals could do (such as wiring a message across the Atlantic). It is the latter which this thesis focuses on: individual spatial power. Spatial power can be seen as a form of freedom, which is why I will treat the words 'freedom' and 'power' as synonyms. It is the freedom—or the power—to act as you please and to configure the things and people around you the way you want. Not surprisingly, the possession of spatial power was a source of conflict, for example when different persons were each busy furnishing a place with different sounds. A lack of spatial power, on the other hand, could also form a source of frustration, for example for someone who lacked the material or social resources to enter a building.

The supposedly new way of life is usually subjected to a moral evaluation by its theorists, since the underlying question that most of them (rightly) address is whether 'modernization' has made us any happier. Many have stressed the beneficial aspects of this new way of living, for example its greater physical comfort or its greater social equity. A smaller number of writers has been more pessimistic. They focus on those components of modernity that on the contrary seem to obstruct individual freedom.¹⁶ Both the optimist and the pessimist interpretation of the development of individual mastery over space will be examined here.

On the other hand, many of the optimists also argue that humanity has lost something vital in the process of taming nature. Power corrupts. As more became possible, more became desirable. People distanced themselves from their natural needs, coming up with ever more artificial and even harmful desires. They grew alienated from their own bodies, its pains and

15 A note on my use of 'space' and 'place': these have their ordinary, overlapping dictionary meanings in this thesis. I do not employ a theoretical distinction between meaningful 'place' and abstract 'space'. For this classic distinction within the discipline of geography plus recent critiques, see T. Cresswell, 'Place', in R. Kitchin and N.J. Thrift (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (Oxford, 2009), 172; S. Elden, 'Space I', in Kitchin and Thrift, *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 263.) Thus, 'spatial' here also refers to places. This is because space was just as imbued with meaning as place for the people considered, for example because it constituted the distance between a journey destination and home: see section 3.3 Factors of access.

16 See e.g. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (ed., trans.), *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (London, 2009), 1-74.

smells, but also from the skills and the joys it harboured independently of tools and machines. Gratification came unbound from effort; consumption from production. In their unfortunate individualism—still according to the ideas of these modernization theorists—humans broke away from their graspable, small-scale communities. Instead, they turned to anonymous contacts or even away from any direct human contact whatsoever. Humankind lost the ability to understand the natural world and enjoy its boons, and to do so with moderation and respect. In short, we have a story of human hubris, and the downfall has already started.

For the resulting image is that of the modern individual as a new Icarus who by his father's inventions moves wherever he wants. Only he wants to go the wrong way, because he has forgotten that he is not a bird but a human being. This influential modernization narrative needs reappraising because it is ultimately based on nostalgia, on crude theories of alienation and commodification, or on the myopia of comfortable-living optimists who believe that the railways (that great social equalizer?) have perfected the project of modern emancipation. The present study will introduce a little-used type of sources to assess the reality of both the positive and the negative, as well as the pessimist image of the modernization of individual spatial power.

2 DESIRES, PRACTICES, EXPERIENCES

This thesis will tell of wishes and desires, of attempts at control, of satisfaction and disappointment. It deals with the lives and minds of people of no particular political or artistic significance. How do we measure their power over the places they used? Power can be seen as the opportunity to choose from several distinct options. But to count the different options an individual had at any moment in time would be an almost metaphysical endeavour. Such options only became relevant when an individual became conscious of them. What this study therefore tries to grasp are the choices that individuals were aware of: the freedom they *experienced*.¹⁷

By 'experiences' I mean people's feelings with respect to what they perceived, something akin to their stream of consciousness.¹⁸ These perceptions could originate either

17 One other study acknowledges the importance of approaching freedom as the *experience* of freedom: De Leeuw, 'Mentaliteit en vrije tijd', 12-34.

18 E. Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (Harmondsworth, 1975), esp. 13.

within people themselves (their memories, for example) or in the surrounding world. They could reach the consciousness either through the body (such as a cut with a knife) or through the mind (such as a message in a letter). Experiences thus came about in diverse ways, but they all had in common that an emotion was elicited. In other words, experience was people's *affective* response to what went on.¹⁹ Everyone has experiences, and everyone has experiences all the time.²⁰ Although experiences are fleeting and elusive,²¹ this takes nothing away from the fact that they should therefore form a central part of historical research, as several authorities have already argued. 'Les faits historiques sont, par essence, des faits psychologique.'²² And 'history is, essentially, the history of the expérience vécue'.²³ That experiences *can* be studied historically, is something this thesis will hopefully show.

Let me illustrate how power can be studied through the lense of experience. Many inhabitants of the early nineteenth century considered it near-impossible to go out in the rain.

19 In English, as well as in French, 'experience' has a second denotation: that of the lessons someone has learnt from past events. See R. Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, ed. 2 (London, 1988), 126-9. This linguistic amalgam of two concepts is a peculiarity of certain languages and should not prevent researchers from distinguishing the two. E.P. Thompson's writings on the working-class experience with its remarkable coherence, as well as his *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London, 1978), seem to me to be about the second kind of experience, as do (partly) J. Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, first publ. 1968, J. Benedict (trans.) (London, 1996), 4; F. Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800*, first publ. 1973, M. Kochan (trans.) (London, 1973), 12; M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, first publ. 1974, S. Rendall (trans.) (Berkeley, 1984), xv; B. Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (London, 2002), 517; Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*; B. Randall, *Modernism, Daily Time and Everyday Life* (Cambridge, 2007), 11, 20; M. Sheringham, *Everyday Life: Theories and Practices from Surrealism to the Present* (Oxford, 2006), 360.

It is this second denotation that has received a serious critique from C. Ireland, 'The Appeal to Experience and Its Consequences', *Cultural Critique*, 52 (2002), 86-107; and J.W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17 no. 4 (1991), 784-7.

20 A. Schutz, *The Problem of Social Reality*, M. Natanson (ed.) (Den Haag, 1962), 99-149.

21 C. Chard, 'From the Sublime to the Ridiculous: The Anxieties of Sightseeing', in H. Berghoff, B. Korte, R. Schneider, and C. Harvie (ed.), *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000* (Basingstoke, 2002), 47-68; T. Crane, 'The Non-Conceptual Content of Experience', in T. Crane (ed.), *The Contents of Experience: Essays on Perception* (Cambridge, 1992), 136-57; W. James, 'On Some Omissions of Introspective Psychology', *Mind*, 9 no. 33 (1884), 10.

22 'Historical facts are in essence psychological facts.' M. Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien*, written c. 1943, ed. 2 (Paris, 1993), Chapter 5, 156.

23 F. Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience* (Stanford, 2005), 70. Also Barthes in Olsen, 'Roland Barthes', 190; G. Eley, Foreword, and A. Lüdtkke, Introduction, in A. Lüdtkke (ed.), *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, W. Templer (trans.) (Princeton, 1995), vii-40; W. Schulze (ed.), *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie. Eine Diskussion* (Göttingen, 1994); G.M. Spiegel, 'Comment on A Crooked Line', *The American Historical Review*, 113 no. 2 (2008), 411-12; Stokvis, *Geschiedenis van het privéleven*, 9. See A. Baggerman and R.M. Dekker, *Egodocumenten: nieuwe wegen en benaderingen: Theme issue of the Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* (Amsterdam, 2004), 9; A. Bennett, *Culture and Everyday Life* (London, 2005); H.-G. Haupt, *Konsum und Handel: Europa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2003), 7; M. Jay, *Songs of Experience: Modern American and European Variations on a Universal Theme* (Berkeley, London, 2004); M. Pickering, *History, Experience and Cultural Studies* (New York, 1997); K. Ziarek, *The Historicity of Experience: Modernity, the Avant-Garde, and the Event* (Evanston IL, 2001).

They did not *feel* they had any choice, even though a present-day observer might find it perfectly possible to walk through a similar rainfall. Rain in effect prevented those earlier people from taking a walk, even if that was what they desired. In cases like this, the *experience* of powerlessness was more practically relevant than what was physically possible or impossible. People's behaviour was determined not by what they could do, but by what they thought they could do.²⁴

To this should be added that choice is only meaningful to an individual if they feel that some of the available options are more valuable than others: in other words, if the freedom to choose may actually lead to greater happiness. The freedom to sit on the left or the right side of a carriage was insignificant to travellers in the nineteenth century, but the choice between inside and outside preoccupied them a lot.²⁵ It is therefore important also to look at what people *wanted*: their conscious wishes or unconscious ideals in relation to places.



Illustration 1.1: Travelling on the box of a post-coach was quite a different experience from sitting inside, let alone walking next to one. This is Swiss post-coach no. 1485, now in the Verkehrshaus der Schweiz, Luzern (photo taken of permanent display on 30 Aug. 2008).

This is especially pertinent since there is a dominant idea, particularly outside of scholarship, that people of the past (and of the global South) were more content. According to this view, spatial power is an irrelevant research subject for historians and anthropologists because in those 'other', not yet 'modern' societies, people did not *want* any spatial power. They were satisfied with less than they are in

²⁴ For a full discussion see section 5.3 Inconvenient weather.

²⁵ A deeper analysis of these what he calls 'capability sets' is offered by Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford, 1999), 74-86. For the choice between the box or the roof and the inside of a carriage, see e.g. J. Ackersdijck, *Verslag van zijn Hongaarse reis in 1823*, L. Makkai and L.Z. Bujtás (ed.) (Budapest, 1987) (the faithful edition of the manuscript at the University Library, Utrecht, Special Collections Hs 1316/4 inventarisnummer VII and partly VIII), 60, 64; J. Bake, *Reisbrieven*, W. van den Berg (ed.) (Amsterdam, 1986) (the edition of a manuscript in University Library, Leiden, Special Collections BPL 2540), 8, 61; B.H. Lulofs, *Reistogtje met de stoomboot naar Hamburg in den zomer van 1826 in een' gemeenzamen briefstijl beschreven, en met onderscheidene letterkundige aanmerkingen en andere soorten van inlasschingen doorgelochten* (Groningen, 1827), II.453. M.A. Perk, *Uit Opper-Italië [sic]. Schetsen, ontmoetingen, indrukken* (Schiedam, 1864), 35.

the twenty-first-century or in the North, and even did not so much like to be given any choices.²⁶ It was supposedly only by being led on by politicians and multinational corporations, in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, that they began to want to achieve more than they had: to gain the vote, to purchase more goods, to see the world. Individual freedom, according to this conception, is only relevant to people who have already been turned 'modern' by external forces. If this is so, a widening range of options to choose from would certainly not have made people happier before this turning-point. Now, it is true that patience and the acceptance of one's fate had been highly valued in Europe for many centuries before the twentieth.²⁷ Nevertheless, as this thesis hopes to demonstrate, this morality did not necessarily create patient people in real life. Although desires do indeed vary between cultures and periods, everyone throughout this potential process of European modernization had spatial desires, as I will show, and everyone had the wish to fulfill these desires. For these things to be the case, there does not need to be an overt ideology glorifying individualism or consumption, or an explicit human-rights discourse. Those who lived before we were 'modern' may not have mentioned words like 'power' or 'freedom' as often as we do, but power and freedom were what they were after.

There is another reason why a study of spatial power should be accompanied by a study of spatial desires: if people's spatial power moved ahead at the same pace and direction as their spatial desires, nothing in effect will have changed. The assumedly greater freedom of modernity would then have produced people who are just as happy or unhappy as they always were. This is especially pertinent if desires are only created *after* having reached the potential of being fulfilled. It is a common wisdom, for example, that much advertizing works to create needs for products which no one missed before they had been hyped or branded. This is why it is so important to study historical desires and their fulfilment in tandem.

To conclude, between a desire and its fulfilment, people had to *do* something: they had to harness their social connections, their money, their physical strength, and other resources to

26 A related kind of reasoning is described and denounced in J. de Vries, 'The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution', *Journal of Economic History*, 54 no. 2 (1994), 258.

27 This becomes visible in the didactic literature of the time as well as in self-reflective egodocuments, e.g. Maarten Baak, Gemeentearchief, Den Haag, Hs 53, *passim*. E. van Calcar(-Schiotling), *Wat Parijs mij te zien en te denken gaf* (Haarlem, 1859), *passim*; Otheline Agathe van der Staal van Piershil, later van Wickevoort Crommelin, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Familiearchieven Van Bylandt-Halt en Van Bylandt-Rheydt, 1394-1970, toegang 1.10.15, inventarisnummer 398, *passim*, e.g. 6/6, 9/6, 10/6, 15/6, and 17/7/1859. G.J. Ligthart, *In Zweden*, first publ. 1911 (Groningen, Den Haag, 1924), 14, 26-7.

find ways of entering a new place. Often, they could rely on their habits. But when visiting new places they sometimes had to invent new strategies to get what they wanted.

Together, *desires* (or ideals, expectations, hopes, or dreams), *practices* (or strategies, technologies, or ways of doing²⁸), and *experiences* (like satisfaction or disappointment) form the three focal points of this study. It will also attempt to discover the relations between these three. What desires did inspire people to invent new strategies, for example, and how did past experiences make people modify their desires and practices? Were the ideals, strategies, and experiences of different social groups fundamentally different? How meaningful do those social groupings, as they are circumscribed conventionally, remain, after seeing how much they differ from or resemble each other in their everyday expectations, praxis, and feelings? This study thus participates in the growing scholarly interest in praxis and experience, in addition to the existing attention to ideology and identity; but this does not imply a shift away from politics. Power remains a central concern.

3 LONG-NINETEENTH-CENTURY TRAVEL FROM THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS

Historians, art historians, sociologists, and other scholars and critics usually place the turning-point at which spatial experiences became 'modern' either in the mid-nineteenth century²⁹ or in the late nineteenth century.³⁰ In order to assess both hypothetical periods of modernization, this study will observe the state of affairs before the mid-nineteenth century, after the mid-nineteenth century, and at the beginning of the twentieth century. These three moments can then be compared to each other. To be precise, my key sources are from the years 1816-35

28 I shall thus use the term 'technology' in the wide sense of *arts de faire*, the ways in which people manage to get things done. Pieces of equipment play a role in these ways-of-doing, but also the settings where they take place and the actors' bodily and mental capacities. See the essays in W.E. Bijker and J. Law (ed.), *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change* (Cambridge MA, 1992). This contrasts with the usage by previous historians of technology who tended to occupy themselves with 'inventions', i.e. separately introduceable objects and bits of technique. Even historians who focused on their users rather than their makers used to do this: e.g. M. Bloch, 'Les transformations des techniques comme problème de psychologie collective', *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique*, 41 no. Janvier-Mars (1948), 104-15; most of the essays collected in Fischer, *Geschiedenis van de techniek*.

29 Beaumont and Freeman, *The Railway and Modernity*; Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command*; De Leeuw, 'Mentaliteit en vrije tijd'; Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*; partly Mosse, *Culture of Western Europe*; Speet, *Tijd van burgers en stoommachines*; Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*; Van der Woud, *Nieuwe Wereld*; Wrigley and Revill, *Pathologies of Travel*.

30 P. Beedie, 'Mountain Guiding and Adventure Tourism: Reflections on the Choreography of the Experience', *Leisure Studies*, 22 no. 2 (2003), 153, 165; Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command*; Kern, *Culture of Time and Space*; Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*; partly Mosse, *Culture of Western Europe*; Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 4.

(that is, roughly the 1820s), 1856-75 (roughly the 1860s), and 1896-1915 (roughly the 1900s).³¹ These three extended decades are approximately one generation apart, so that mentality shifts between different generations will come to surface, as well as major changes in technology and social organization.

They reveal the ideals, practices, and experiences of *travellers*. I have chosen to use travellers' writings since they offer relatively dense information about spatial praxis and spatial experience. This is because as people left their familiar surroundings, they were forced to adapt each aspect of their daily routine to the new situation. An estranging effect ensued. Mundane activities suddenly consumed more time and attention. They were foregrounded as travellers coped with new, often uncomfortable circumstances.³² This mindfulness poured into their personal writings, their egodocuments. Surviving travel egodocuments are indeed filled with affective responses to the places that were visited and the things they contained.

Moreover, a large proportion of travel accounts survives, compared to other types of egodocuments: almost half of early Dutch egodocuments that survive deal exclusively with a journey.³³ This is probably due to a higher inclination to write on a journey, and to the fact that travelogues were treasured by their authors and their descendants as souvenirs of new and exciting experiences. They therefore tended to be preserved relatively carefully in family archives and other depositories. All in all, they constitute an unparalleled source.

Unfortunately, until now, the more serious historical studies that have made use of this source type are nearly all about national and gender identities, encounters with 'the Other', and the touristic cult of authenticity and anti-tourism. They hardly consider spatial experiences or

31 The First World War also offers itself as a break-off point because afterwards, new transport regimes developed in Europe and the northern Netherlands (the settling first of the bicycle and later of the car and airplane) as well as new economic and political normalcies (an ever-growing economy, full-blown pillarization, and near-universal adult suffrage). Likely, travel became more frequent in this new period.

32 See E. Shove, M. Watson, J. Ingram, and M. Hand, *The Design of Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2007), 2; and, related: F. Trentmann, 'Disruption is Normal: Blackouts, Breakdowns and the Elasticity of Everyday Life', in E. Shove, F. Trentmann, and R.R. Wilk (ed.), *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2009), 67-84. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers concurred that travel induced mindfulness: A.W. Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, first publ. 1794 (London, 1959), I.50; M.W. Shelley, *Frankenstein, or, The Modern Prometheus*, first publ. 1818 (Ware, 1993), 55; J. Geel, *Onderzoek en phantasie* (Leiden, 1838), 30; and see G. Jensma, *Het rode tasje van Salverda: burgerlijk bewustzijn en Friese identiteit in de negentiende eeuw* (Ljouwert/Leeuwarden, 1998), 69.

33 Based on the c. twelve hundred items in R. Lindeman, Y. Scherf, and R.M. Dekker, *Egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders uit de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw. Een chronologische lijst* (Rotterdam, 1993); compared with R. Lindeman, Y. Scherf, and R.M. Dekker, *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders uit de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw. Een chronologische lijst* (Rotterdam, 1994). See section 2.1 Corpus of sources.

bodily practices.³⁴ This thesis helps remedy this.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, travel brings people into a new world with new social rules and new material settings, which highlight travellers' existing desires and their possibly problematic attempts at fulfilling them as they use strategies fitted to the old settings. Most travellers tend to transplant their desires and habits from home to their new destinations.³⁵ In this sense, travel can be considered as a case study for personal life in

34 Some examples of (historical) travel and tourism studies about identity and authenticity, so about the social rather than the material: C. Aitchison, 'Feminist and Gender Perspectives in Tourism Studies: The Social-Cultural Nexus of Critical and Cultural Theories', *Tourist Studies*, 5 no. 3 (2005), 207-24; J. Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford, 1993); C. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester, 1999); Chard, 'From the Sublime to the Ridiculous', 47-68; M. Crick, 'Tourists, Locals and Anthropologists: Quizzical Reflections on "Otherness" in Tourist Encounters and in Tourism Research', *Australian Cultural History*, 10 (1991), 6-19; G. Dann, 'Writing Out the Tourist in Space and Time', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26 no. 1 (1999), 159-87; Z. Kinsley, 'Travel and Material Culture: Commodity, Currency, and Destabilised Meaning in Women's Home Tour Writing', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 10 no. 2 (2006), 101-22; D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London, 1976); B.A. Naddeo, 'Cultural Capitals and Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth-Century Italy: The Historiography and Italy on the Grand Tour', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 10 no. 2 (2005), 183-99; P.L. Pearce and G.M. Moscardo, 'The Concept of Authenticity in Tourist Experiences', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, 22 no. 1 (1986), 121-32; A. Pelz, *Reisen durch die eigene Fremde: Reiseliteratur von Frauen als autogeographische Schriften* (Köln, 1993); D. Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Oxford, 1991); Schulz-Forberg, *Unravelling Civilisation*; P. Steringa, *Nederlanders op reis in Amerika 1812-1860: reisverhalen als bron voor negentiende-eeuwse mentaliteit* (Utrecht, 1997); C. Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford, 2007); K. Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe, 1750-1800: Authorship, Gender and National Identity* (Aldershot, 2001); J. Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, ed. 2 (London, 2002); G. Van Den Abbeele, 'Sightseers: The Tourist as Theorist', *Diacritics*, 10 no. 4 (1980), 3-14; G. Van Den Abbeele, *Travel as Metaphor: From Montaigne to Rousseau* (Minneapolis, 1992).

In the germanophone literature, a small tradition exist that does pay attention to the spatial and material experiences of travellers: H. Bausinger, K. Beyrer, and G. Korff (ed.), *Reisekultur: von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus* (München, 1991); P. Bracher, F. Hertweck, and S. Schröder (ed.), *Materialität auf Reisen* (Münster, 2006); A. Mihm, *Packend... Eine Kulturgeschichte des Reisekoffers* (Marburg, 2001); W. Schivelbusch, 'Railroad Space and Railroad Time', *New German Critique*, no. 14 (Spring 1978), 31-40; and to a lesser extent the Dutch K. Boschma, *Reizen in Napoleons tijd: een avontuurlijke en soms hachelijke onderneming* (Abcoude, 1992).

The focus on symbolic meaning to the neglect of practice has been criticized by J. Adler, 'Travel as Performed Art', *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 no. 6 (1989), 1367; J. Middleton, 'Sense and the City: Exploring the Embodied Geographies of Urban Walking', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 11 no. 6 (2010), 576; F. Trentmann, 'Materiality in the Future of History: Things, Practices, and Politics', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 no. April (2009), 287-8.

35 This will be found throughout the cases analysed in this thesis. They contradict the central theorem in tourism studies that travellers are in search of a different way of life, an escape of the everyday, e.g. in W. Albrecht and H.-J. Kertscher (ed.), *Wanderzwang-Wanderlust: Formen der Raum- und Sozialerfahrung zwischen Aufklärung und Frühindustrialisierung* (Tübingen, 1999), 9; Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 81-2; E. Cohen, 'A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences', *Sociology*, 13 no. 2 (1979), 179-201; S. Cohen and L. Taylor, *Escape Attempts: The Theory and Practice of Resistance to Everyday Life* (London, 1976), 131, 137; N.H.H. Graburn, 'Tourism: The Sacred Journey' in V.L. Smith (ed.), *Hosts and Guests* (Philadelphia, 1989), 23; J. Lengkeek, 'Een meervoudige werkelijkheid. Een sociologisch-filosofisch essay over het collectieve belang van recreatie en toerisme' (Wageningen University doctoral thesis, 1994), Summary; J. Urry, *Tourist Gaze*; G. Verhoeven, *Anders reizen? Evoluties in vroegmoderne reiservaringen van Hollandse en Brabantse elites (1600-1750)* (Hilversum, 2009), 102; M. Zinganel, 'In Between: Alpine Tourism in a Condensed Transitional Landscape', Conference Proceedings of *Things that Move: The Material World of Tourism and Travel* (Leeds, 2007), 1, 5. My M.Phil. dissertation focused on this argument: 'Primitivism in Practice?

general. By comparing different historical periods, long-term developments in spatial ideals and praxis can be traced. The continuities and changes that will be charted in this thesis may point to wider continuities and changes that took place in the Netherlands and Europe. Nevertheless, travel is also different from life at home. To the extent that this is so, this study treats the particular spatial experiences of being on a journey: the experience of moving about and being away. It would be attractive to add a dimension to the study by comparing home egodocuments with travel egodocuments, but this would exceed the time constraints of a doctorate. It should be added that for many of the travellers studied here, travel was a normal activity. These persons made a foreign journey every other year or so. Or they were away from the Netherlands for more than a year. Jan Ackersdijck (1790-1861), for example, built a second, semi-permanent home in Vienna from which he travelled further out into Europe.³⁶ For these persons, travel cannot be opposed to 'everyday life'. Travel had itself become an everyday condition and long-term abodes had become a home.

The journeys that will be followed in this thesis were made by people born or normally living in the northern Netherlands: 'Dutch' people.³⁷ Their country followed a different trajectory from the paradigmatic modernizer, England. On the one hand, farming and fishing for sale on the market were already normal survival strategies in parts of the seventeenth-century Republic of the United Netherlands. Also, the service and



Illustration 1.2: P.W. van de Weijer, portrait of Jan Ackersdijck, www.dbnl.org/auteurs/auteur.php?id=acke008, acc. 24 March 2013.

Experiences of Materiality on the Swiss Tour, 1820-1830' (University of Oxford, 2009). See S. Baranowski, 'An Alternative to Everyday Life? The Politics of Leisure and Tourism', *Contemporary European History*, 12 no. 4 (2003), 561-72.

36 Ackersdijck, 16-9 and University Library, Utrecht, Special Collections Hs 1317/1&2 OC 30&31: draft of a lecture for the 'Leesmuseum' in 1825, fo. 3'.

37 'Northern Netherlands' here refers to the area covered by the current Kingdom of the Netherlands, roughly: for detail see section 2.1 Corpus of sources.

manufacturing sectors were already sizeable, and the work year was long: all features of what can be called a modern economy.³⁸ Finally, the demographic transition, characterized by first a drop in death-rates and then a drop in birth-rates, to some extent occurred in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries already (after which a second round took place in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries).³⁹ But it was only around 1800 that the country started becoming strongly integrated in a political, economic, and more profound cultural sense; in short, to become a nation-state. Among European travellers, nationality had been an important identifying characteristic and topic of conversation for much longer, but within states and territories, that is for people who were at home, national identity only became all-important in the nineteenth century. Half a century later yet, big industry, another major precondition for what many call modernity, began its rise in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Textile, ship, and food production were concentrated and mechanized in factories. A chemical and electrotechnical industry emerged. Steam and electric, gas, and oil power partly took over from human, animal, and wind power. And all kinds of infrastructures were centralized.⁴⁰ Some of these processes had started in England a century before. Obviously, then, Dutch 'modernization' ran a different course from the one it took in England. Its various elements presented themselves in a different order, and it was scattered over many centuries.⁴¹ This makes northern-Netherlandish travellers in Europe an ideal comparative case to begin distinguishing industrialization from nation-state formation, infrastructural density, and the availability of various other technologies, whether in their usual home environment or when

38 Th. Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen mensen: demografie van Nederland, 1800 - nu* (Amsterdam, 2009), 22; De Vries, 'Industrial Revolution'; De Vries and Van der Woude, *First Modern Economy*; J. de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008); M.J. Wintle, *An Economic and Social History of the Netherlands, 1800-1920: Demographic, Economic, and Social Transition* (Cambridge, 2000), 166-88.

39 As with all these aspects, the demographic transition was differently paced in different parts of the Netherlands. For instance, its second round happened in Belgium in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, and only in the fourth quarter in the northern Netherlands. H. Knippenberg and B.C. de Pater, *De eenwording van Nederland* (Nijmegen, 1990), 181-6; E.H. Kossmann, *The Low Countries 1780-1940* (Oxford, 1978), 215; J.-P. Smits, E. Horlings, and J.L. van Zanden, 'Dutch GNP and its Components, 1800-1913' (Groningen, 2000), nationalaccounts.niwi.knaw.nl/start.htm, acc. 13 Nov. 2009, 110; R. Willemsen, *Enkhuizen tijdens de Republiek* (Hilversum, 1988), 108.

40 Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen mensen*, 23; Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 20-42, 92-134; Kossmann, *Low Countries*, 9, 15-7; Lintsen et al., *Geschiedenis van de techniek*, IV.103-9; A. van der Woud, *Het lege land: de ruimtelijke orde van Nederland 1798-1848* (Amsterdam, 2010); J.L. van Zanden and A. van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914: Staat, instituties en economische ontwikkeling* (Amsterdam, 2000) (translated as *The Structures of Inheritance: The Dutch Economy in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 2004)), sections 6.3-4 (esp. 257-61, 283-92) and 8.3 (377-87).

41 Other European regions also each followed their own trajectory.

travelling, as closely related to how places were experienced, and as formative of the modern mind, if such a thing exists at all.

This study thus contributes to our knowledge about wishes, strategies, and experiences in 'modernizing' societies in general. But Dutch travellers do not only form a case-study to explore the possible relation between material, social, and mental 'modernizations'. Dutch travel in itself deserves historiographical attention. Several books have been written about British, French, German, and Spanish travellers in the Netherlands and about the facilities they found to their disposal. But most of these books analyse their egodocuments with an eye to the information they offer about Dutch history and foreigners' image of the Netherlands.⁴² Their experiences of the activity itself of travelling have not received much attention,⁴³ let alone that the activity of travel by Dutch travellers abroad has been substantially investigated. Editions of the manuscripts of various Dutch travellers have appeared over the last twenty years, but their introductions or other publications about them offer little in the way of theoretical or historical reflections on Dutch travel or spatial praxis or experience.⁴⁴ A considerable literature does exist on the experiences of Dutch explorers, but this, again, concentrates on intercultural contacts and colonial politics.⁴⁵ Also, some work has been done on pilgrimage⁴⁶ and on emigration.⁴⁷ Furthermore, an informative study has been published

42 e.g. Boschma, *Reizen in Napoleons tijd*; Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 54, 68; K.P.C. de Leeuw, *Kleding in Nederland, 1813-1920* (Hilversum, 1992); Porter, *Haunted Journeys*, 71, 84-5; C.D. van Strien, *British Travellers in Holland During the Stuart Period: Edward Browne and John Locke as Tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden, 1993); M.M.G. van Strien-Chardonneau, "Le Voyage de Hollande". Récits de voyageurs Français dans les Provinces-Unies 1748-1795' (University of Groningen doctoral thesis, 1992).

43 Boschma, *Reizen in Napoleons tijd*, is an exception.

44 e.g. K. Vlaardingerbroek, 'Faustina Bordoni Applauds Jan Alensoon: A Dutch Music-Lover in Italy and France in 1723-4', *Music and Letters*, 72 no. 4 (1991), 536-52; and the introductions to the editions of W.C. Dierkens, *Voyage en Italie en Sicile et à Malt, 1778, par quatre voyageurs hollandais*, J.W. Niemeijer and J.Th. de Booy (ed.) (s.l., 1994), II; Ackersdijck; J. van Oostendorp, 'kort verhaal van af de mars uit utrecht naar Brussel tot op de Citadel van antwerpen (ps) persoonlijke ondervindinge', published as *Een fuselier in de Belgische opstand: aantekeningen van Johannes van Oostendorp over de jaren 1830-1832*, H. van der Hoeven (ed.) (Den Haag, 1980); M.C. van Wassenauer Obdam (Van Wassenauer Obdam's travel diary rests in the little accessible Huisarchief Twickel, Kasteel Weldam, Hof van Twente, Netherlands. I have consulted the only acceptable edition, the Dutch translation by Aafke Brunt, *Marie Cornélie. Dagboek van haar reis naar het hof van Sint-Petersburg 1824-1825*, Thera Coppens (ed.) (Amsterdam, 2003). An English edition exists as well, but it is partial and unreliable: Igor Vinogradoff (trans.), *A Visit to St Petersburg 1824-1825, Cornélie de Wassenauer* (Wilby, 1994).).

45 P.P.W.J. van den Brink and P.J. Moree, *Met kapmes en kompas: vier eeuwen Nederlandse ontdekkingsreizen en reisverslagen* (Den Haag, 1996); V.D. Roeper and G.J.D. Wildeman, *Reizen op papier: journalen en reisverslagen van Nederlandse ontdekkingsreizigers, kooplieden en avonturiers* (Zutphen, 1996). The text editions in the series *Werken van de Linschoten-Vereeniging* also deserve mention.

46 This is mostly about regional pilgrimage, but not M. Wingens, *Over de grens: de bedevaart van katholieke Nederlanders in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1994), about Dutch pilgrims who travelled Europe-wide.

47 H. Krabbendam, *Vrijheid in het verschiet: Nederlandse emigratie naar Amerika 1840-1940* (Hilversum,

about the educational journeys of patrician boys in the seventeenth century, that is, their grand tour.⁴⁸ But to tie all these various kinds of travel together and involve wider sections of the Dutch population has hardly been tried yet. The only exceptions known to me are an article by Rudolf Dekker and a dissertation by Gerrit Verhoeven, both limiting their study to the period between 1500 and 1814.⁴⁹ This thesis will begin by supplementing their findings to come to a systematic overview of Dutch international travel and travel writing that extends unto the First World War. The rest of the thesis will then focus on nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Europe and delve deeper into travellers' spatial experiences.

This thesis thus offers a case-study for the long-due piecing together of changes in individual power over place, and also an attempt to arrive at a more inclusive understanding of historical forms of travel undertaken from the Netherlands.

4 THE ORIGINS OF EXPERIENCES AND PRACTICES (AND DESIRES)

In the end we want to know *why* certain changes or continuities in desires, practices, and experiences occurred. But let me clarify straight away that I do not mean to outline any 'origins' of 'modernization', if such a unified phenomenon took place at all: I do not believe that such a complicated interplay of developments can be caught in a schema of causes and consequences. As Auke van der Woud put it, 'I want to learn to see the process as accurately as possible, follow its every movement, and learn to understand its inner logic. Explanations of grand processes are fabrications on a meta-level, and, as history has taught us, a best-before date often applies.'⁵⁰ I am therefore interested in the small-scale relations between experience, behaviour, and the phenomena that surround it. Only after this empirical work is done, one might sketch *plausible* connections between their development and big 'modernization' trends.

2006).

48 A. Frank-van Westrienen, *De groote tour: tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1983), also available online: www.dbnl.org/tekst/fran014groo01_01/index.htm.

49 R.M. Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals from the Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries', G.T. Moran (trans.), *Lias*, 22 (1995), 277-300; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*.

50 'Repliek op vier recensies van *Een nieuwe wereld*', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 123 no. 2 (2008), 220-6. Also see his Introduction, *Nieuwe wereld*; and his Epilogue to *De Bataafse hut: denken over het oudste Nederland (1750-1850)* (Amsterdam, 1998). His original lines are: 'Schot citeert uit mijn inleiding de regels waarin ik schrijf dat ik op een cruciaal punt, namelijk het ontstaan van een fundamentele maatschappelijke verandering, niet met verklaringen kan komen, hij denkt dat dit retoriek is en dat ik iets anders bedoel. Dat is niet zo: ik meende wat ik schreef, verklaringen van grote historische processen interesseren me niet erg. Ik wil het proces zo precies mogelijk leren zien, iedere beweging ervan volgen, en de innerlijke logica leren begrijpen. Verklaringen van grote processen zijn bedenksels op meta-niveau en zoals de geschiedenis leert, hebben ze vaak een beperkte houdbaarheid.'

In order to discover these small-scale relations, I proceed from the following model (see Figure 1.1). A traveller carried with them a collection of norms, ideals, and beliefs, a certain education, a socio-economic background and political preferences, a body and the abilities and disabilities that went with it, a knowledge of the material settings and social conventions at home, and skills and habits (embodied knowledge) that had come into existence in interaction with these settings and conventions. These features are loosely pictured in the upper part of the diagram. Note that they overlap: they cannot completely be distinguished from each other and they interacted all the time.⁵¹ In a sense, together they made up a complete human being, a complete traveller.

On a journey, these personal features came into contact with the material and social settings of their destinations: the balloon in the lower part of the diagram. These local circumstances varied considerably across Europe. From the contact between the two resulted the traveller's behaviour and experiences, pictured in the middle of the diagram.⁵² As the figure also shows, this behaviour and these experiences themselves fed back into the skills, memories, and desires the traveller had, and into the environment they created once back home and to a smaller extent also the foreign environment they were visiting. To people who did not travel but stayed put, the same mechanism applied, but because they did not meet new material and social conditions so often, their spatial experiences were probably less varied; their spatial consciousness less intense.

This model explicitly distances itself from the belief that all experience is programmed by ideology, conventions, stereotypes. Travellers' expectations can be defied. This did not happen all the time: especially when political and financial investments were at stake, such as in a system of slavery, prejudices about other nations and ethnicities were not easily dislodged. But in other areas, travellers did certainly allow their observations to interfere with their expectations: their expectations over whether they could enter a place, for example.⁵³

51 On these interactions see chapters 4 and 5, especially section 5.2 Physical capabilities. It goes without saying that these elements could be pictured in many different ways. This is just one possible schematization.

52 Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, esp. 21-7, 379; P.N. Stearns and C.Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *The American Historical Review*, 90 no. 4 (1985), 834.

53 This issue sprang up in many of the papers and discussions during the Münster colloquium *Durch (W)Orte: Travel and Writing in Dutch- and German-speaking Regions of Europe between 1800 and 1950* (1-2 March 2013), e.g. C. Haarnack, 'German Travel Accounts about Surinam: German Travellers/Writers in a Dutch Colony'. Also see P.J. Brenner, 'Die Erfahrung der Fremde. Zur Entwicklung einer Wahrnehmungsform in der Geschichte des Reiseberichts', in P.J. Brenner (ed.), *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Frankfurt, 1989), 14-49.

In fact, it was when an expectation was defied that travellers took notice—and possibly took notes as well. They did not, after all, pay attention to those events that seamlessly fitted their expectations. People treat information economically. All experiences therefore originate in such encounters between a person and their forever-changing surroundings. Ultimately, the way a phenomenon is experienced depends on how its properties match or defy travellers' expectations: on 'whether the present state of affairs is “normal”'.⁵⁴ In a way, then, experience can be described as a never-ceasing series of little and big surprises.

54 Shove et al., *Design of Everyday Life*, 27; and J.D. Culler, 'The Semiotics of Tourism' in his *Framing the Sign: Criticism and its Institutions* (Oxford, 1988), 160; T. Edensor, 'Walking in the British Countryside: Reflexivity, Embodied Practices and Ways to Escape', *Body and Society*, 6 no. 3/4 (2000), 100-1; D. Ihde, 'The Experience of Technology: Human-Machine Relations', *Cultural Hermeneutics*, 2 (1974); W.D. Kingery, 'Materials Science and Material Culture', in W.D. Kingery (ed.), *Learning from Things: Methods and Theory of Material Culture Studies* (Washington DC, 1996), 197-9; Middleton, 'Sense and the City', 577, 584-5; M. Proust, *A l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs*, first publ. 1919, translated as *In a Budding Grove*, C.K. Scott Moncrieff, Terence Kilmartin, and D.J. Enright (trans.) (New York, 1992), 479-80; M. Scharfe, 'Die alte Strasse', in Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 11-22. A related argument is made in M. Akrich and B. Latour, 'A Summary of a Convenient Vocabulary for the Semiotics of Human and Nonhuman Assemblies', in Bijker and Law, *Shaping Technology/Building Society*, 259-60.

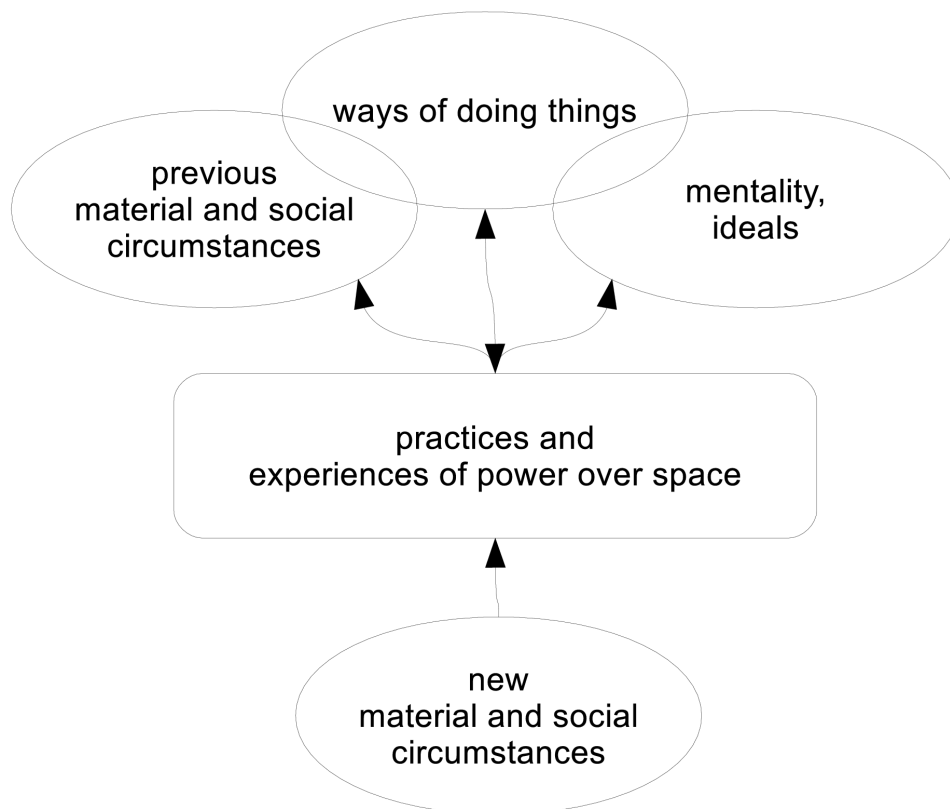


Figure 1.1: A model of the etiology of travellers' praxis and experiences

This is demonstrated in the empirical researches of Madeleine Akrich and Bernike Pasveer into twentieth-century experiences of childbirth. They followed pregnant women in two contrasting cultural and technical settings, one Dutch and one French. What seemed most important in making childbirth and its pains happy or unhappy, bearable or excruciating, frightening or part of the deal, was not the material environment in itself—at home or in a hospital, for example, and with or without anaesthetic. Rather, it was the way in which the material environment related to the women's expectations. These expectations had been formed by cultural and social backgrounds, previous labours, and stories heard from other mothers and health carers.⁵⁵ This suggests that if nineteenth-century conditions changed in tandem with expectations, experiences may yet have remained similar.

The most well-known scholar to have dedicated themselves to the themes of individual power, bodies, and space in the past may be Michel Foucault. His interest, however, lies primarily in the stage before the one discussed here: the stage in which people come to have

⁵⁵ 'We Deliver our Children-in Pain? On the Configuration of Pain and Pleasure', in B. Brenna, J. Law, and I. Moser (ed.), *Machines, Agency and Desire* (Oslo, 1998), 109-23; 'Embodiment and Disembodiment in Childbirth Narratives', *Body and Society*, 10 (2004), 63-84.

certain desires, attain their 'subjectivity', and become the person they are.⁵⁶ The aim of this thesis is more modest. It is to move from there and investigate the fulfilment of desires: the practices travellers used to achieve them and the experiences they led to. For even though a pessimist interpreter of Foucault might say that human desires are in themselves ideologically determined and enslaving, and can therefore not be used as a yardstick for measuring freedom, what we certainly can do is to take nineteenth-century desires as a given and investigate how life lived up to them. This is more relevant to a critique than to prescribe what people *should* want, à la Henri Lefebvre's *Critique of Everyday Life*. Even without wanting to 'break free' from their subjectivities,⁵⁷ these practices again involved travellers in a power struggle. What is more, these practices and experiences fed back into people's subjectivities, into who they were and what they wanted. I aim to clarify something of this complex mechanism with the help of travel egodocuments.

5 EGODOCUMENTS AND OTHER SOURCES

Three types of attempt have been made to say something about the modernization of practices and experiences. The first more or less *assumes* changes in experiences. It typically takes technology or social structure as a proxy for praxis and even experience. The purpose and design of new objects and policies are supposed to be adhered to perfectly by their users, and mental changes are postulated because they seem a logical result of these changes in praxis. In the great nineteenth-century maelstrom, personal feelings and activities simply must have 'modernized'. Sigfried Giedion, for example, claims that '[i]n their aggregate, [...] humble objects [...] have shaken our mode of living to its very roots. Modest things of daily life, they accumulate into forces acting upon whoever moves within the orbit of our civilization.' Yet his book does not actually demonstrate that they indeed 'impinged on the very center of the human psyche'.⁵⁸

56 M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality I: The Will to Knowledge*, R. Hurley (trans.) (London, 1998); M. Foucault, *Power*, J.D. Faubion (ed.) (London, 2002); G. Gutting, *Foucault: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2005), 79-110. A similar interest in the origins of desires and the related self-discipline is displayed by Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*; and Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*, 93-7. Another big old man who has thought about the origins of human desires was of course Sigmund Freud.

57 J.R. Deacon, 'I Want to Break Free' (1983).

58 Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command*, esp. v (see also 328), 2, 5-9, 42-3, 661, 721. To be fair, on page 3 he does mention the additional influence of 'fundamental attitudes to the world' on what we make and do, but in the subsequent seven hundred pages of historical discussion, the relevance of mental, bodily, and political factors is not further referred to, let alone that he presents evidence for experiences. Also R. Hachtmann,

Fortunately, technological determinism and other monocausal explanation schemes have almost completely disappeared from works of social and economic history, together with the teleological arguments that often came with them. The entire field of science and technology studies indeed revolts against them.⁵⁹ But some literary and intellectual historians seem insufficiently aware of these pitfalls—and they often happen to be the same people as are interested in spatial experiences.

The second type of attempt confuses experiences and practices with *ideas*. It tends to limit its analysis to a canonic set of intellectual writings from England, France, and Germany. It therefore necessarily only covers the elite sections of those societies. What is more, it does not really touch on the behaviour and experiences of even these elites. Its statements about modernization are based on popular and intellectual magazines, novels, moral and economic treatises, scientific and engineering journals, medical handbooks, psychotherapists' diagnoses, governmental reports, movies, political journalism, constitutional designs, and children's books: sources better suited to the writing of intellectual history than of experiential history.

To give a few examples from studies that have already been mentioned, Van der Woud writes how the symbolic year 1848, the year of the Dutch liberal constitution, announced a 'mental revolution' for the northern Netherlands. New governments intervened in the very foundations of the infrastructure, they normalized education, and standardized physical measures and market products. From thence, inhabitants would increase their sense of power

Tourismus-Geschichte (Göttingen, 2007), e.g. 9; Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*; Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life*; Van Lente, *Techniek en ideologie*, 9-10; Lilley, 'Men, Machines and History', 68-9; Mosse, *Culture of Western Europe*; Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*; Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 256-9.

The following studies also belong to this type but are less simplistic about the relations between experiences, practices, and the material, social, and other settings in which they take place: Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 9; M. Daumas, 'De geschiedenis van de techniek: onderwerp, begrenzingen en methoden', in Fischer, *Geschiedenis*, 54; Th. de Nijs, *In veilige haven: het familieleven van de Rotterdamse goeode burgerij, 1815-1890* (Nijmegen, 2001).

See the critiques of H. Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780-c. 1880* (London, 1980), 192-9; Middleton, 'Sense and the City', 576.

59 See for example M. Akrich, 'The De-scription of Technical Objects', in Bijker and Law, *Shaping Technology/Building Society*, 206-8; R.C. Allen, 'The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War', *Explorations in Economic History*, 38 (2001), 411-47 (about the relation between wages and the Industrial Revolution); the critique in Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire*, Chapter 1, 32-4; Chandler, *Technological or Media Determinism* (Aberystwyth, 2000), www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/tecdet/tecdet.html, acc. 1 Mar. 2009; Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, 10; Fischer, *Geschiedenis van de techniek*, 11-18; W. Hardtwig, 'Alltagsgeschichte heute', in Schulze, *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie*, 19-33; Shove et al., *Design of Everyday Life*, 8; De Vries, 'Industrial Revolution', 251-3.

over material reality and over their personal life-world: they experienced the 'subjection' of space and time. With the advent of new means of communication and transport, Van der Woud argues, '[t]he disappearance of the natural dimensions of space and time must have given an overwhelmingly new sense of “real” connectedness. This was the sensation of [...] witnessing “current affairs” and the sensation of belonging to a new community [the nation]'. The *burger*, the citizen, was now expected to be up to date and in charge of their own life. Success, utility, and regularity were the new maxims, replacing politeness and moral education. These new maxims, however, may also have turned human beings into the slaves of the tools they had created.⁶⁰ The same source types have lead Ana Parejo Vadillo and John Plunkett to observe 'the implosion of time and space' in trains and moving panoramas.⁶¹ Alan Trachtenberg uses similar sources to argue that 'in little over a generation [the railroads] had introduced a new system of behaviour: not only of travel and communication but of thought, of feeling, of expectation.' '[T]he railway journey produced novel experiences—of self, of fellow-travellers, of landscapes [...], of space and time.'⁶² Stephen Kern also emphasizes an increase in the freedom of movement, 'the leveling of traditional spatial hierarchies', and the connectedness with people far away, creating a 'vast, shared experience of simultaneity', this time around 1900.⁶³ Various other scholars making similar statements also use argumentative writing to argue their case.⁶⁴

60 *Nieuwe wereld*, esp. 12-4, 16, 21, 30, 40: 'Het verdwijnen van de natuurlijke ruimte- en tijdsdimensies moet een overweldigend nieuw gevoel van “echte” verbondenheid hebben gegeven. Het was de sensatie van [...] het getuige zijn van “de actualiteit” en de sensatie van het bij een nieuwe groep horen', 57, 60, 70, 75-109, 327-9; Van der Woud, 'Replik', 225; and the helpful interpretation by E. van der Vleuten, Review of *Een nieuwe wereld*, *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis*, 4 no. 2 (2007), 131-2. Van der Woud acknowledges that he is mostly interested in the published debate, but still purports to write about mentality and experience, according to his 'Replik', 221. To do justice to *Een nieuwe wereld* it should be noted that the book advances two more theories. Firstly, in the second half of the nineteenth century the idea of improvement was transferred from the self (morality) to the external world (technology and institutional reorganization), which was to comply with a growing body of regulations and (inter)national standards. Interestingly, Crook poses a completely reverse thesis: that character-building was on the contrary of central importance in the second half of the nineteenth century (in Britain): 'Putting Matter in its Right Place', 214. For a related change in citizenship ideals, see J. Jans, 'Vaderlandse geschiedenis en de participerende burger. Onderwijs en burgerschap in het midden van de negentiende eeuw', *De negentiende eeuw*, 36 no. 2 (2012), 20-40. Further investigation into this theme is clearly desirable. Van der Woud's second major theory is that the origins of the separation of the Netherlands into a centre (the so-called Randstad) and a periphery can also be found in the decades after 1848. These, however, are theories about changes in ideology and socio-political organization rather than in experience.

61 'Railway Passenger', 46.

62 In his 1986 foreword to Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, xiii-iv.

63 *Culture of Time and Space*, esp. 8, 194, 314.

64 Beaumont and Freeman, *Railway and Modernity*, 13-44; Beaumont, 'Railway Mania'; Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air*; Beyrer, 'Mail-Coach Revolution', 379; Burton, *The flâneur and his City*; Harrington, 'Railway Journey and the Neuroses of Modernity'; L. Marcus, 'Psychoanalytic Training: Freud and the

The ideas propounded by these scholars already existed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They continue a tradition that begun with those living at the time of this assumed revolution itself—or, oddly enough, even earlier. In 1829, already, Thomas Carlyle complained that

[n]othing is now done directly, or by hand; all is by rule and calculated contrivance. For the simplest operation, some helps and accompaniments, some cunning abbreviating process is in readiness. Our old modes of exertion are all discredited, and thrown aside. On every hand, the living artisan is driven from his workshop, to make room for a speedier, inanimate one.⁶⁵

In 1874, Friedrich Nietzsche wrote about the multiplication of knowledge to the detriment of what he, somewhat mysteriously, called 'das Leben', Life. He lamented a disregard in his society for the *Bildung* of whole, integrated persons: 'Der moderne Mensch schleppt zuletzt eine ungeheure Menge von unverdaulichen Wissenssteinen mit sich herum, die dann bei Gelegenheit auch ordentlich im Leibe rumpeln, wie es im Märchen heisst.' ('In the end, modern humans drag a terrible mass of indigestible stones of knowledge/philosopher's stones with them, which then, at times, also rumble quite around in their bodies, as the story goes.')

⁶⁶ Various works by Nietzsche are indeed cited in more recent modernization stories. Walter Benjamin's *Passagenwerk* and his essay about the reproduction of images are also frequently mentioned.⁶⁷ Quoted over and over again is John Ruskin's saying that the railroad 'transmutes a man from a traveller into a living *parcel*'.⁶⁸ The same lot falls to the social critiques by Heinrich Heine, Johan Huizinga, Karl Lamprecht, Stéphane Mallarmé, Karl Marx, Max Nordau, Thomas de Quincey, Georg Simmel, Werner Sombart, Gertrude Stein, Henry Thoreau, Max Weber, the later William Wordsworth, Émile Zola, Stefan Zweig, and various now lesser-known figures,⁶⁹ as well as the art works of Charles Dickens, Robert Musil,

Railways', in Beaumont and Freeman, *Railway and Modernity*, 158-9; Nelson, 'Zola and the Nineteenth Century'; Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, passim, e.g. 25, 29-42; partly Scharfe, 'Alte Strasse', 21; Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*; Sheringham, *Everyday Life*, 26-7; Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 256-9; Steward, 'The Culture of the Water Cure'.

65 Th. Carlyle, 'Signs of the Times', *Edinburgh Review*, 98 (1829), 1897-901. See also Geel, 'VIII [Over het Delphische orakel]', *Onderzoek en phantasie* (1838), 275-331, esp. 283-287, where such a development is even projected onto the Ancient Greeks.

66 *Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben*, M. Landmann (ed.), first publ. 1874 (Basel, 1949), 36, also 27, 38. Nietzsche is probably referring to the fairy-tale of the wolf and the seven goats here, as in the Grimms' version.

67 The collection of the *Passagenwerk* was created 1927-40. 'Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit' was published in 1936.

68 This phrase was really part of a plea for functionalism in station architecture, part of his *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1849. As this thesis will show, a 'parcel' was by no means how most Dutch railway travellers felt.

69 e.g. F.Ch. Accum, *A Practical Treatise on Gas-Light, exhibiting a summary description of the apparatus and*

Marcel Proust, H.G. Wells, and J.M.W. Turner.

Their works continue to be taken as a lead by current investigators of nineteenth-century mental worlds, not as analysis but as primary evidence. Sometimes, these investigators focus on the thematic and formal innovations brought by some of these authors and artists.⁷⁰ But most of their attention goes to their nostalgia or, conversely, their excitement about the potential economic gains, the broadening of mental horizons, and the kindness to draught horses brought by the new technologies. (This excitement seems to have been more usual in the northern Netherlands than in neighbouring countries.)

Progress, movement, speed, and power were indeed what much long-nineteenth-century European debate centred on.⁷¹ A first thing that should be noted, however, is that the novel technologies mentioned in this debate, such as the railways, often functioned metaphorically, and not literally as many current scholars take it. The bulk of the debate therefore merely shows that many articulate Europeans thought that they were living in fast-changing times, and that they had specific satisfactions and anxieties about the space they lived in. It does not, however, supply very good evidence about contemporary experiences and practices. It supplies hypotheses at most. For a topic can well form the centre of much debate without affecting the debaters' everyday life; or perhaps their life *was* affected, but differently from how they thought. There may have been an experience of modernization without a modernization of experiences. Because a second thing that should be noted about these recent studies is that they rarely compare opinions over time. Much of what we read are the opinions of men living around 1900 about how things had changed since their youth. They

machinery best calculated for illuminating [...] with carburetted hydrogen, or coal-gas; with remarks on the utility, safety, and general nature of this new branch of civil economy (London, 1815), 4: 'How much do our comforts, and how greatly does the extent of our powers, depend upon the production and supply of artificial light.'

These debates are also discussed by Aerts, *Letterheren*, 408; E. Bloch, "'Entfremdung, Verfremdung': Alienation, Estrangement", *Drama Review*, 15 no. (1970), 120; Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 18-79; D.E. Nye, 'Consumption of Energy', in F. Trentmann (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), 315-6; A.D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1993), 13; who rightly historicize them and stress their contradiction, rather than using them as a source for contemporary practice.

70 Kern, *Culture of Time and Space*, does this.

71 See Aerts, *Letterheren*, 254-60, 408; A. Briggs, *The Age of Improvement, 1783-1867*, first publ. 1959, ed. 2 (Harlow, 2000), e.g. 1-5; R.M. Dekker, *Uit de schaduw in 't grote licht: kinderen in egodocumenten van de Gouden Eeuw tot de Romantiek* (Amsterdam, 1995), 197; Haupt, *Konsum und Handel*, 65; Van Lente, *Techniek en ideologie*, esp. 150-1; Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 5-6; Speet, *Tijd van burgers en stoommachines*; Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld, passim*, esp. 32-4; O. Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms of Life: German Communities in the Age of the Nation-State* (Oxford, 2013), 171-216. Also Bloch, 'Les transformations des techniques', 113.

are not juxtaposed to earlier opinions about the same topics.

A third point to be noted is the importance of the aims and contexts of these writings and works of art. They were published within a given discipline: a given scientific framework, artistic environment, or policy debate, treating questions that were thought socially relevant at the time. These disciplines had their own agendas and research questions. New publications were generally expected to contribute to these. Furthermore, such contributions were supposed to offer a coherent argument, reached after contemplation and textual polishing, for which the author should be prepared to be held accountable.⁷² The question is how well we can read spatial experiences in such essayistic sources.

A different source type is the egodocument. An egodocument is a text (or image, object, performance, or combination of these) in and through which its author reflects on themselves.⁷³ Classic examples are diaries, letters, and autobiographies, but interviews, confessions, and self-portraits might also be called egodocuments. Rarely do historical studies on modernizing spatial practices and experiences make use of them.⁷⁴ But they are of enormous value. This can be seen when considering their discrepancies with the essayistic expressions discussed above.

Whereas essayistic texts and images frequently lamented infrastructural changes such

72 For a similar estimation of these sources, see R.A.M. Aerts, 'De negentiende eeuw ontmaskerd en geridderd. Een commentaar', *De negentiende eeuw*, 28 (2004), 107-8.

73 The term was invented in the 1950s by Dutch historian Jacques Presser. He made extensive use of egodocuments in his researches on the expulsion and killing of Jews from the Netherlands during the Second World War. See R.M. Dekker, 'Jacques Presser's Heritage: Egodocuments in the Study of History', *Memoria y Civilización*, 5 (2002), 14.

74 To some extent Parejo Vadillo and Plunkett, 'Railway Passenger', 45; and to some extent Scharfe, 'Alte Strasse'.

Egodocuments have been used more often for narrating the modernization of the family: Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*; T. de Moor and J.L. van Zanden, 'Girl Power: The European Marriage Pattern and the Development of Labour Markets in the North Sea Region During the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period', conference paper, Economic History Society Conference (Reading, 31 March-2 April 2006); C. Frances, 'Making Marriages in Early Modern England: Rethinking the Role of Family and Friends', in M. Ågren and A.L. Erickson (ed.), *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain, 1400-1900* (Aldershot, 2005), 39-56; F. Heal and C. Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994); A. Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction 1300-1840* (Oxford, 1986); L.A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge, 1983); L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York, 1977).

They have also been used in the historiography of illness and childbirth: J.S. Lewis, *In the Family Way: Childbearing in the British Aristocracy, 1760-1860* (New Brunswick NJ, 1986); E. Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (New York, 1993); A. Wilson, 'Participant or Patient? Seventeenth-Century Childbirth from the Mother's Point of View', in R. Porter (ed.), *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society* (Cambridge, 1986), 129-44.

as new railroads and road pavings, and the disappearance of wild nature, egodocuments by the same authors show cases where they were happily made use of. Alternatively, their egodocuments show a regret of their *absence*.⁷⁵ The inverse also occurred, where a reflective statement in which a positive standpoint was taken about technological changes, conflicted with a series of dissatisfying travel moments described by the same person. Lawyer Jan Ackersdijck toured Europe almost annually over the course of his long life. He wrote that '[i]t is the marvellous perfection of the mechanical arts which contributes enormously to the convenience of travel'. Nevertheless, across his diaries he did not lessen his complaints about travel discomforts.⁷⁶ Authors might thus surface quite different responses to the same theme, in different kinds of writing.

To uncover experiences and practices, preference should be given to the analysis of egodocuments—always supported by essayistic and other sorts of sources. The difference with essayistic expressions lies not in the fiction that egodocuments were less 'tainted' by ideology. Political manoeuvring played a large role in both kinds of writing.⁷⁷ The aim of a published, essayistic text, however, was to present an idea; and that to an audience, the largest part of which the author did not know personally. The author knew that their idea would be assessed and judged. They therefore made an effort to present a clear and well-organized

75 Thomas Gray and Horace Walpole in S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London, 1996), 447-9. Hester Lynch Thrale/Piozzi, born Salusbury (between whose different writings the genre distinctions are less pronounced) in Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 175. William Wordsworth in Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 28; S. Prickett, 'Circles and Straight Lines: Romantic Versions of Tourism', in Berghoff et al., *Making of Modern Tourism*, 69-84; R. Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (London, 2001), 114; D. Wordsworth, *A Tour on the Continent*, 254, E. De Sélincourt (ed.) (1941), reissued as part of *The Continental Journals 1798-1820*, H. Boden (ed.) (Oxford, 1995). John Ruskin in Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 339.

Some examples of discrepant writings that do not directly involve the theme of infrastructure are to be found in L. Brekke, "'To Make a Figure': Clothing and the Politics of Male Identity in 19thc America", in J. Styles and A. Vickery (ed.), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven, 2006), 225-46; Émile Zola in his novel *Lourdes* (1894) resp. his travel diaries, discussed in R. Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (New York, 1999), 334.

Such discrepancy has also been noted in other historical investigations: I. Kuczynski, 'Lust am Wandern', in Albrecht and Kertscher, *Wanderzwang-Wanderlust*, 50; T. McDonough, 'City of Strangers', in A. D'Souza and T. McDonough (ed.), *The Invisible Flâneuse? Gender, Public Space, and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Manchester, 2006), 161; P. van Rooden, 'Oral history en het vreemde sterven van het Nederlandse Christendom', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 119 (2004), 524-51; Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 117.

76 N. Randerad, 'De statistische reizen van Jan Ackersdijck', *De negentiende eeuw*, 32 no. 1 (2008), 19-20: 'Het is de wondere vervolmaking van de mechanische kunsten die een enorme bijdrage levert tot het gemak van het reizen'; Ackersdijck, *passim*.

77 Barthes, 'Guide Bleu', 113-4; Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 80; S.H. Cary, 'The Tourist Moment', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31 no. 1 (2004), 61-77; Chard, 'From the Sublime to the Ridiculous'; Dekker, 'Jacques Presser's Heritage', 30-1; Thompson, *Suffering Traveller*, 1-18, 273. For a closely connected argument about the similarities among printed and manuscript sources, see C. Haynes, *Pictures and Popery: Religious Art in England c.1680-c.1760* (Aldershot, 2006), 33.

argument, and, on a larger scale, to build a coherent oeuvre. There was less room for doubt, inconsistency, and change of mind in such texts. An egodocument writer, on the other hand, typically tried to convey current experiences, often to a limited and relatively controllable audience, such as their family at home, their children when they grew up, or their future self. Egodocuments might provide an emotional outlet, a comfort for the lonely and the misunderstood, or help the author order their thoughts. Some such documents were explicitly designed to capture, preserve, and communicate reality as their authors lived it. Most letters were of course also meant to arrange practical matters, but in the travel letters studied here, this function was pushed towards the background. Their distinct functions ensured that the circumstances under which egodocuments were created, differed as well. Egodocuments usually brought together entries from different moments, written in different moods. They might therefore contain much more internal contradiction than essayistic texts and images. What is more, since travel egodocuments come in many different genres,⁷⁸ together they enable us to distinguish genre conventions from their writers' thoughts, preoccupations, and experiences. Even though both source types partly relied on the authors' experiences, egodocuments captured a richer selection from those experiences than did essays. Essayists' need to construct a single narrative could erase divergent perceptions.

This is also my reason for using the term 'egodocument' rather than the in the anglophone world more common 'life writing'. Life writing similarly refers to texts authors wrote about themselves, but it emphasizes the significance of their life as a whole rather than individual moments of experience. Thus, (literary) historians analysing life writing are particularly interested in the way an author synthesized the disparate elements in their life into a meaningful whole, in order to give every part of their life a function and to give this life as a whole a function in the course of history.⁷⁹ This is very clear in religious or socialist conversion narratives, for example. Since I am interested in life as it was lived, rather than life as it was looked back on in old age, I try to use contemporaneous egodocuments and those that were written shortly after the journey, as much as possible. Especially manuscripts written during the journey itself contain much 'unrevised' thought. Contemporary travellers

⁷⁸ See section 2.2 Travel egodocuments.

⁷⁹ e.g. J. Burnett, D. Vincent, and D. Mayall (ed.), *The Autobiography of the Working Class: An Annotated, Critical Bibliography* (Brighton, 1989), xxi; A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York, 1991). See Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience*, 36.

themselves were also concerned about the moment of observation and the influence of the passage of time.⁸⁰

Egodocuments, in short, are illuminating since they show what place famous nineteenth-century phenomena really had in people's lives. To conclude with an example: in the historiography of European musical life in the 1820s, much thought goes to people like Franz Schubert. Someone like Niccolò Paganini, however, seems to have played a bigger role in the lives of those actually living in the 1820s, even of the well-educated (though perhaps not those specialized in music). We see this in their travel egodocuments, which reveal that his appearance was well-known from popular prints. The celebrity was recognized wherever he went. And if they dined in the same Parisian establishment as he, travellers might witness Paganini 'quite prosaically gnawing a hen'.⁸¹

6 FROM PRACTICES AND EXPERIENCES TO EGODOCUMENTS

How can we locate practices and experiences in these sources? Some were explicitly flagged by such phrases as 'I went ...' or 'I felt ...'. Others were narrated through situations of conflict, surprise, or disappointment, as in 'I was surprised to find ...'. When Henrica Françoise Rees van Tets-Gevaets (1788-1833) first beheld the Pyrenees in 1819, she was struck by their sight so much that she took out her notebook during lunch—something she normally only did at the end of a day.⁸² Other experiences and practices were signalled by a choice of words that implies the author attached a certain value to an event. All these instances are especially telling when their desires and experiences surfaced unconsciously, that is, when an author actually meant their story to point out something different (the classical method of reading against the grain). But even purposeful narration offers information.

80 A. Fennetaux, 'Portable Desks, Pocket Books, and Penners', conference paper, British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Conference (Oxford, 6-8 Jan. 2009) (in abstract book on p. 34); Geel, *Onderzoek en phantasie* (1838), 8; A. Hartmann, 'Reisen und Aufschreiben', in Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 152-9; O. Oerlemans, *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature* (Toronto, 2002), 13; Schulz-Forberg, *Unravelling Civilisation*, 24-8; Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 3.

81 A.M. Kruseman(-Ross), *Mijn reisverhaal en dagboek* (Rotterdam, 1834), 114-5. Also Drieling, 308.

82 H.F. Rees van Tets-Gevaets, *Voyage d'une hollandaise en France en 1819*, M. Garçon (ed.) (Paris, 1966), 66-7.

A suspicion about the veracity of experiences featuring in travel egodocuments lurks in some critiques and analyses. According to literary historian of travel Charles Batten, their description was 'often govern[ed]' by 'convention'. 'Generic convention, not personal taste, dictates to a great extent what a traveler says.'⁸³ Gerrit Verhoeven, too, speaks of 'stories and testimonies' which became 'distorted' by literary convention.⁸⁴ But is it possible to distinguish between the two so clearly? In other words, can personal taste and original stories be separated from convention and distortion?



Illustration 1.3: David Roberts, engraving by W. Radclyffe, 'The ruins of Rheinfels', illustration from E.G. Bulwer-Lytton, The Pilgrims of the Rhine (first publ. 1840), reproduction taken from Bridgeman Education no. KW226795, acc. 7 Jan. 2013.

Once that Rees van Tets-Gevaets found herself in the middle of the Pyrenees, she wrote that there, 'tout porte l'âme à la méditation. Grand Être on te reconnaît dans l'oeuvre de tes mains': 'everything carries the soul towards meditation. Supreme Being you are recognized by the work of your hands'.⁸⁵ Certainly, religiosity was highly appreciated in the nineteenth

⁸³ *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley, 1978), 4, 15. Similar ideas are described in Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience*, 78-80; Cary, 'Tourist Moment', 64-5; Ireland, 'Appeal to Experience', 92, about E.P. Thompson's *Poverty of Theory*; Olsen, 'Roland Barthes', 188-90.

⁸⁴ *Anders reizen*, 77.

⁸⁵ Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 84-5.

century, as an emotion and as a personal characteristic. But should we therefore attribute this passage to mere convention or favourable self-presentation? 'Merveilles de la creation, vous mettez en défaut la plume et le pinceau!' ('Wonders of creation, you render pen and brush incapable!') Even this expression of the felt incapacity of a writer to communicate what they witnessed was an accepted motif in travel accounts.⁸⁶ But a comparison with other egodocuments shows that such expressions were by no means compulsory, and that they were made in a different way each time. They had not ossified. Such novelty and detail are an indication that a passage has a strong connection to experience and not just to existing discourses. There is no reason therefore to assume that Rees van Tets-Gevaets did not experience religious ecstasy while being carried through the Alps. The reality of this experience is perfectly compatible with the fact that her ecstasy, and the religious and literary forms it took, were partly caused by Rees van Tets-Gevaets's cultural background: her habits and ideals.⁸⁷

Another cultural tradition can be discerned in a further passage by Rees van Tets-Gevaets. Here, the mountains she travelled through suddenly made her think of a Gothic novel by Ann Radcliffe, which she had probably read earlier on in a French translation. *The Mysteries of Udolpho* features a heroine who is transported through various mountainous regions against her wish, and confronted with bands of bandits. And thus, Rees van Tets-Gevaets herself 'croyais voir, derrière ces créneaux gothiques les figures rébarbatives de ces brigands des Pyrénées': 'behind these Gothic merlons I believed to see the rude figures of these brigands of the Pyrenees'.⁸⁸

86 e.g. also in J. Roosendaal, Het Utrechts Archief, inventaris 814, inventarisnummer 261, image 558; Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 89-90, 211, 226, 234, 238.

87 See Salmi on this ecstasy ('Stendhal's syndrome') as typical for the nineteenth century: *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 55-6, although in my opinion Salmi underestimates the continuing role of religion in people's experiences. Nor does he involve the eighteenth-century discourse on the sublime in his discussion. See e.g. E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. 2 (London, 1759); I. Kant, *Beobachtungen über das Gefühl des Schönen und Erhabenen* (Königsberg, 1764); A.A. Barbault, 'On the pleasure Derived from Objects of Terror', first publ. 1773, in M. Myrone (ed.), *The Gothic Reader* (London, 2006), 130-2; J. Beattie, *Dissertations Moral and Critical* (London, 1783), 612-7.

88 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 81-2, also 87. Similar: 43-4, 97.



Illustration 1.4: Unknown artist, illustration from A. Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (first publ. 1794), reproduction taken from eighteenthcenturylit.files.wordpress.com/2011/11/illustration-2-mu.jpg, acc. 7 Jan. 2013. Reading novels and seeing images like these prepared travellers of southern Europe to discover the Gothic everywhere.

For her religious experience, Rees van Tets-Gevaets was prepared by her life-long religious education. For her Gothic experience, her reading and no doubt also an acquaintance with Gothic prints paved the way.⁸⁹ These cultural preparations did not make travellers' experiences less 'authentic', which would be a meaningless term to use. On the contrary, such thorough training made it all the more likely that travellers were capable spontaneously, that is, without at that moment being forced by anyone, to frame their impressions in a religious or Gothic manner, thus creating religious or Gothic experiences. In these cases, conventions were not cosmetically applied to experiences, but partly constituted them. The more perceptive travellers indeed showed an awareness of such cultural and literary influences.⁹⁰ Mental and linguistic categories informed their

thinking and therefore their shaping and evaluation of experiences. At the moment experiences came into being, they were already being channeled according to the delta of cultural possibilities. And this delta of possibilities is precisely what historians are interested in. Some experiences were even narrativized internally, before there being question of a

89 For the appreciation of the Gothic in the Netherlands, see e.g. Van der Woud, *Bataafse hut*, 126-53.

90 Apart from Rees van Tets-Gevaets, examples are the British W. Hazlitt, *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*, 1824 (London, 1826), 373; G.E.W van Hille, 'Op en om Ithaka', *De Gids*, 66 no. 1 (1902), 275-303; the British J. Murray, *A Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland: With Excursive Remarks on the Various Objects of Interest, Presented during a Tour through its Picturesque Scenery* (London, 1829), 120-1; Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 10, 18, 38, 132, 159, 172, 180, 184, 190, 191, 215, 225, 234, 244, 280, 289, 304. For more examples of travellers' awareness of this influence see Chard, 'From the Sublime to the Ridiculous', 49-50; Hartmann, 'Reisen und Aufschreiben', 152-4.

written or spoken text. For these reasons, the translation from conscious experience to written language is in many cases only a small step.⁹¹

Moreover, each traveller had their own frames which they applied more readily. This has created a multitude of texts that are in the first place *different*. There was no single 'generic convention' that turned all egodocuments into copies of each other. Of course, the choices of what sites to visit and what route to follow were largely inspired by touristic manuals, but this is not the topic of the current investigation.⁹² Within travel egodocuments, it is usually information about the state of a country and factoids such as the height of a building or its number of columns—the stuff some travel guides are entirely made of—that are demonstrably gleaned from other texts. Yet these have little to do with the author's own actions or experiences.⁹³ As any historical research, this study assessed external consistency wherever possible, but in order to notice such gleanings, it paid attention to concordance, too, by analysing a relatively large number of egodocuments and examining a range of other travel texts as well. This resulted in an insight in the many differences between egodocuments.

We should ask, of course, which desires, practices, and experiences found their way into egodocuments, and which did not. Those that had been particularly intense or had left their traces were singled out and remembered more easily. British traveller John Murray's later reminiscing of the Alps, for example, was aided by a music box playing patriotic songs which he had first heard near the Giessbach.⁹⁴ The same applies to those desires, practices,

91 This argument has been made before: in several essays collected by J.L. Bermúdez (ed.), *Philosophy of Psychology: Contemporary Readings* (New York, 2006), 595-610, 611-43; Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 10, 13; D. Hopkin, 'Storytelling, Fairytales and Autobiography: Some Observations on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Soldiers' and Sailors' Memoirs', *Social History*, 29 no. 2 (2004), 196; N. Meuter, 'Narration in Various Disciplines: The Historical Sciences' in P. Hühn et al. (ed.), *The Living Handbook of Narratology* (Hamburg, 2010), hup.sub.uni-hamburg.de/lhn/index.php/Narration_in_Various_Disciplines#The_Historical_Sciences, acc. 29 Nov. 2011; Middleton, 'Sense and the City', 580-1; Pickering, *History, Experience and Cultural Studies*, 95; W.M. Reddy, 'Sentimentalism and Its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution', *Journal of Modern History*, 72 no. 1 (2000), 116; Paul Ricœur in Olsen, 'Roland Barthes', 190; Sheringham, *Everyday Life*, 45; Urbain, 'The Tourist Adventure and his Images', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 16 no. 106 (1989), 107, 110; Van Den Abbeele, 'Sightseers', 10; Van Den Abbeele, *Travel as Metaphor*.

92 But see a.o. Buzard, *Beaten Track*.

93 e.g. Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, v, vii; Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 184. See J. Eglin, *Venice Transfigured: The Myth of Venice in British Culture, 1660-1797* (Basingstoke, 2001), 77; Haynes, *Pictures and Popery*, 33. Verhoeven also shows how much variation existed among travellers-writers in the degree to which they copied what they read: *Anders reizen*, 353-4. Again, this is different for essayistic publications, including much lyrical poetry: C. N. Coe, 'Wordsworth Acknowledges his Debt to Travel Books', *Notes and Queries*, 194 (1949), 23-45. About the factoids found in many travel guides, see Barthes, 'Guide Bleu', 138.

94 *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 99, 218. See M. Kwint, Ch. Breward, and J. Aynsley (ed.), *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* (Oxford, 1999).

and experiences that fitted existing templates, such as emotions that travellers were already familiar with. As said, many experiences fitted those shablonen so well because they were partly created by them. Next, those that were considered relevant and legitimate because they were recognized by travellers as belonging in a diary or letter, were recorded sooner than others. Our analysis should, in other words, be sensitive to genre constraints,⁹⁵ even though many egodocuments do not belong to one single genre. Also, since many experiences, such as bodily sensations, are nonlinguistic, writing could never capture the full complexity of someone's experience.⁹⁶ Even thinking could not: as mentioned earlier, experiences are elusive.⁹⁷ Fortunately, some writers of egodocuments show greater powers of observation, insight, and communication than others, finding metaphors and other ways to narrate nonlinguistic experiences.⁹⁸ Still, even when they could, writers chose not to put down everything. What to think, for example, of the fact that almost all Dutch travellers had a great deal to say about dirt abroad, except the Catholic Analephis who travelled to Lourdes? The most likely reason is that his account was meant as a defence of Lourdes against its Zolaist critics: Analephis had to be careful publishing anything that might harm Lourdes's reputation.⁹⁹ For these causes and reasons, many experiences never entered egodocuments. But those that are there, form a justified object of historical investigation. For the most part, travellers' lives and their writings that are studied here were closely related, being both shaped by the same past and present, by the same language and culture.

95 See W. Ruberg, 'Letter Writing and Elite Identity in the Netherlands, 1770-1850', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 30 no. 3-4 (2005), 249-58.

96 For this discussion see Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience*, 73-4.

97 See section 2 Desires, practices, experiences.

98 D. Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working-Class Autobiography* (London, 1981), 6; Burnett, Vincent, and Mayall, *Autobiography of the Working Class*, xxi.

99 Analephis (pseud.), *Reisherinneringen* (Amsterdam, 1909). Émile Zola made Lourdes part of his grand critique of the petite bourgeoisie with his novel *Lourdes* (1894). A similar threat came from Joris-Karl Huysmans. For another Dutch Catholic defence against Zola, see C. Kieckens, *Lourdes in woord en beeld* (Tilburg, 1908), 58.

Self-censorship is also implied in Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 72-3. To give a reverse example: both William Godwin in his biography of Mary Wollstonecraft (1798) and Thomas De Quincey in his *Confessions* (1821) related many private experiences that could not normally be found in the publications of their day. Their stories demonstrate that those experiences nevertheless existed and could, to a degree, be put into words. Moreover, the reactions their books received suggest that the reason that we do not have more of this stuff, was fear, or a sense of propriety. See J. Wordsworth, Introduction, in W. Godwin, *Memoirs of Wollstonecraft* (Oxford, 1993), unpaginated; and the dossier around Th. De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, A. Hayter (ed.) (Harmondsworth, 1986). On the other hand, some felt that egodocuments were particularly suited to writing things down that could not be said: Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 25. About secrecy and diplomay, also see Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction*, 4; J. Blaak, *Geletterde levens: dagelijks lezen en schrijven in de vroegmoderne tijd in Nederland, 1624-1770* (Hilversum, 2004), 252; Dekker, 'Jacques Presser's Heritage', 31; Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 89.

Comparing egodocuments from different moments in the long nineteenth century brings us at the same time closer to their writers and further apart. It brings us closer because it means to take life serious, in all its chaos and unintelligibility. It also increases the distance because the comparison forces us to recognize the unwarranted nostalgia in much contemporary thought. This thesis thus sits on the inside of the nineteenth century, but alternates this position with views from 'above'.

It will begin with an overview of Dutch travel and travel writing in the long nineteenth century on the basis of a large number of travel egodocuments, placing them in their social and historical context. This overview is wound up by an introduction of the thirty-nine selected journeys that will be analysed in greater depth. Next, chapter three considers how to approach spatial desires and practices. Here, I will argue that the static distinction between private and public space that tends to dominate the discussion, should be replaced by a consideration of what travellers wanted to *do* with space. Chapter three proceeds with a discussion of the range of European places Dutch travellers wanted to visit. The remainder of the thesis will analyse the obstacles and opportunities Dutch travellers encountered when trying to enter these places. This will be done through a close examination of the selected egodocuments. The conclusion is followed by an appendix outlining this selection.

In this way, I hope to contribute to the general question of how historical praxis and experience can be studied in their relation to material and mental worlds. What did travellers want? What did they find? What did they do? How did they feel? Empirical studies like these can hopefully lend a counterweight to theories of mental and practical modernization that are based predominantly on a canon of essayistic texts and images: texts and images that were meant to convince their readers that 'the times they are a-changin'.¹⁰⁰ This thesis, in particular, aims to show that many ideals, strategies, and experiences turn out to have known a continuity throughout the long nineteenth century that is at odds with modernization theory, while others were highly changeable, even running in an opposite direction from the alleged modern growth of human agency and sense of power. People did not turn into proud Icarus in the

¹⁰⁰ B. Dylan, 'The Times They Are a-Changin' (1964).

nineteenth century. Instead, they remained climbers, crawlers, and swimmers: pedestrians.

Chapter 2

A small prosopography of Dutch travellers

This chapter offers a quantitative introduction to sixteenth- to twentieth-century Dutch travel, with special reference to the nineteenth century. After an explanation of how the sources for this thesis were collected, it will use the metadata of these travel egodocuments to attempt a prosopography of travellers, writings, and journeys. The chapter concludes with an introduction of the sources that I selected for further analysis in the remainder of the thesis. To first give a broad overview based on my entire collection of travel egodocuments, however, is helpful for four reasons.

First, as explained in the introduction, travel can to an extent function as a case study of life in general. We need to know how much of life it took up: how frequently did people travel? How often did they write about it? How wide a social spectrum of voices reaches us through travel egodocuments? And what shape and length did these take? This will help show that they can indeed answer the questions of this investigation: there are a lot of them, written by a variety of people, and they offer much insight into their writers' expectations, praxis, and experience.

Another reason for beginning with a wide-ranging quantitative investigation is that until now, writers have been obsessed with a few disparate themes in travel history, especially with what many indiscriminately call the grand tour (or even the 'golden age of travel') and to a lesser extent with seaside resorts and spas, without presenting a view on how these themes interrelate.¹⁰¹ Contrary to what this historiography suggests, far from all travel

¹⁰¹ Among many more: R. Babel and W. Paravicini (ed.), *Grand Tour: adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern, 2005); P.P Bernard, *Rush to the Alps: The Evolution of Vacationing in Switzerland* (New York, 1978), 64-7; J. Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the*

between the Middle Ages and the twentieth century focused on health or education. Travel for work, religion, family, or war also made part of what people imagined travel to be, and how they practiced it. Also, most studies of travellers have been made within purely national contexts. Therefore, this story of Dutch nineteenth-century travel will cover all kinds of travel and be embedded in longer-term developments and compared to other European stories.

The Dutch, so it is said, 'have a reputation as travellers'.¹⁰² But to what extent is this claim warranted? To answer this question, the current chapter will also be helpful. It is based on the systematic collection of a large number of egodocuments. In the historiography of travel, a small number of famous travellers tends to be studied over and over again.¹⁰³ Another in-depth study of a minute number of documents, even if these were fresh ones, would not render any insight in longitudinal developments, the social location of travel egodocuments, or the existence of genre conventions. This is not to argue that the experiences of small (elite) groups are of lesser importance, but I would like to place their experiences in their social context. This chapter therefore offers the first piece of Dutch international travel historiography, as far as I can tell, which oversees the nineteenth century, next to earlier centuries.¹⁰⁴ Hopefully, this may be of some help to those who want to explore nineteenth-

Eighteenth Century (Stroud, 2003); A. Burgess and F. Haskell, *The Age of the Grand Tour* (London, 1967); Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*; B. Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London, 2001); Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*; M. Heafford, 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism: British travellers to Switzerland in a Period of Transition, 1814-1860', *Journal of Transport History*, 27 no. 1 (2006), 28; C. Hibbert, *The Grand Tour* (London, 1969); R. Philips, 'Recreatie en toerisme: spiegelbeeld of reactie?', in De Leeuw, Linders-Rooijendijk, and Martens, *Ontspanning en inspanning*, 37; J. Towner, 'Approaches to Tourism History', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 no. 1 (1988), 49-50; J. Towner and G. Wall, 'History and Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18 no. 1 (1991), 71-84 (yet compare J. Towner, 'What is Tourism's History?', *Tourism Management*, 16 no. 5 (1995), 339-43); G. Trease, *The Grand Tour* (London, 1967); J. Wilton-Ely "'Classic Ground": Britain, Italy and the Grand Tour (Review Essay)', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 28 no. 1 (2004), 136-65; H. Witthöft, 'Norddeutsche Reiseliteratur des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts als Quelle für die wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Forschung', in A. Maczak and H.J. Teuteberg (ed.), *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte* (Wolfenbüttel, 1982), 201; Wrigley and Revill, *Pathologies of Travel*, 3.

Exceptions exist, e.g. about pilgrimage: M. Wingens, *Over de grens: de bedevaart van katholieke Nederlanders in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1994). My criticism is shared by Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 13, 20. Unfortunately, however, this book perpetuates the problem by relegating women, boys, and older men to the chapter about 'Other' travellers and even apologizing for including them in the study: 25, 130, also 143, 154, 156; while indiscriminately calling each journey by others a 'Grand Tour': e.g. 78, 103.

¹⁰² Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals', 277.

¹⁰³ Though a few systematic explorations of historical sources on travel exist: Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals'; A. Frank-van Westrienen, *De groote tour: tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1983); Heafford, 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism'; A. Pelz, *Reisen durch die eigene Fremde: Reiseliteratur von Frauen als autogeographische Schriften* (Köln, 1993); J. Towner, 'The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12 no. 3 (1985), 297-333; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*.

¹⁰⁴ Except for the specific overviews of geographic exploration in Van den Brink and Moree, *Kapmes en*

century Dutch travel further. Finally, the developments found in this chapter will also suggest some of the questions that should be asked with regard to spatial experiences in the following chapters.

1 CORPUS OF SOURCES

My investigations are based on a collection of northern-Netherlandish travellers' egodocuments dating from between 1500 and 1918. This collection was formed, in the first instance, by integrating previous efforts by historians to list travel egodocuments (see Figure 2.1). These are as follows:

- a database of northern-Netherlandish printed egodocuments from 1813 to 1914, compiled by the Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis (ING: institute for Dutch history) of which the ING labelled 1,748 as travel accounts;
- a list of northern-Netherlandish manuscript and printed egodocuments (also containing a number of travel accounts) from between 1500 and 1814, compiled by Erasmus University, Rotterdam (EUR) from which I took all 124 records containing the word or word fragment 'reis' or 'reiz' ('journey' or 'travel') not already in the ING database;
- a list of northern-Netherlandish manuscript (not printed) travel egodocuments from between 1500 and 1814, compiled by EUR from which I took 506 travelogues not already in the ING database (I split combined authors and documents into separate items);
- a list of northern-Netherlandish manuscript egodocuments (also containing a number of travel accounts) from 1814 to 1918, compiled by EUR from which I took all 161 travelogues not already in the ING database;
- a list of travel accounts published in the northern Netherlands between 1834 and 1844, compiled by Kees Snoek: a few of these were new to the ING database.¹⁰⁵

kompas; Roeper and Wildeman, *Reizen op papier*. Smaller parts of the nineteenth century were studied by Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals'; W.T.M. Frijhoff, 'Les voyageurs néerlandais en France du XVIIe au début du XIXe siècle', in W.T.M. Frijhoff and O. Moorman van Kappen (ed.), *Les Pays-Bas et la France des Guerres de Religion à la création de la République Batave* (Nijmegen, 1993); Krabbendam, *Vrijheid in het verschiet*; R. Lindeman, *Ego in Clivia: Korte en vermakelijke inleiding tot de studie van de vroeg-moderne Nederlandse egodocumenten alsmede de traditie der Kleefse reizen* (Amstelveen, 1990); Steringa, *Nederlanders op reis in Amerika*.

¹⁰⁵ Lindeman, Scherf, and Dekker, *Egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders*; Lindeman, Scherf, and Dekker, *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders*; A. Baggerman, R.M. Dekker, E. Grabowsky, and G. Schulte Nordholt, 'Repertorium van in handschrift overgeleverde egodocumenten van Nederlanders uit de

The editors of these inventories have searched the catalogues of and appealed to all Dutch public archives, libraries, and museums and a selection of private collections, and the bibliographies of a selection of secondary literature.¹⁰⁶ Although none of the lists claims to be complete, together they comprise more than twenty-five hundred travel egodocuments, more than fifteen hundred travellers, and about six thousand journeys.

The limitations of these combined lists are the following. Most importantly, they include only documents that have survived until the present day. Also, they are biased towards those deposited in public collections rather than the proverbial shoe-box in the attic. Therefore, we expect to find a disproportion of egodocuments by well-known or historically conscious families. Secondly, the contents of the thousands of items brought together by the ING have not been examined, that is to say: they were selected on the basis of their titles only. Their database may therefore include some irrelevant texts and exclude many relevant ones. Thirdly, documents that were acquired by archives or published as an edition after the various lists were assembled, are absent. Fourthly, letters and interviews were not systematically included by the EUR and ING teams. Fifthly, they did not systematically look for travel *publications before* and travel *manuscripts* written *after* 1814, although the former are rather well-covered in my assembled collection.¹⁰⁷

The following strategy reduced these last three gaps in the collection. I performed additional searches for nineteenth-century manuscripts in the inventories of the Haags Gemeentearchief (GA) and Het Utrechts Archief (HUA). The former, the municipal archive of The Hague, has the benefit of foregrounding the archives of non-elite, locally grounded families that may be under-represented amongst the published travelogues. After all, the Hague aristocracy tended to deposit their papers in national rather than municipal archives. The latter, HUA, is a large regional archive containing the personal papers of local

negentiende eeuw' (1999), www.egodocument.net/repertorium.html, acc. summer 2010; H. de Valk and G. Schulte Nordholt, 'Repertorium van gedrukte egodocumenten, 1813-1914' (2004), www.historici.nl/onderzoek/projecten/egodocumenten, 23 Feb. 2009; K. Snoek, 'Lijst van reisverhalen 1834-1844', *De negentiende eeuw*, 2 (1978), 105-17. These incorporate the Frisian egodocuments in G. Blom, *Repertorium fan egodokuminten oangeande Fryslân* (Ljouwert, 1992). I made an effort to eliminate any doubles, though a few may remain. Their numbers are insignificant, however, in the context of the entire database.

¹⁰⁶ For the detailed search methods and selection criteria of the compilers see their introductions on www.historici.nl/onderzoek/projecten/egodocumenten/inleiding and www.egodocument.net, acc. 13 Nov. 2009.

¹⁰⁷ Compare Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 43, 374-81.

administrators and Utrecht University students, but is also the national depository of the major Protestant missionary associations.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, I searched for more recent publications and added any stray item found in my secondary reading to the database as well.¹⁰⁹ These measures expanded the database by another few hundred manuscripts, travellers and journeys.

The resulting collection falls within the following limits.

- Only documents available in Dutch archives or libraries were included;
- All travellers included were associated to the northern Netherlands by birth, legal status, or long-term residence on Dutch territory. In order to make cross-time comparisons possible in a time of shifting borders and topographic names, this criterion was specified geographically rather than politically. The 1839 borders of the Kingdom of the Netherlands were used for this purpose. This comes down to the present area of the Netherlands, including the areas of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen and Dutch Limburg, but excluding the Kingdom of Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (though the earlier compilers of the ING and the EUR practiced some leniency here, which I have not normalized). It also includes several overseas regions: the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), Surinam, and the former Dutch Antilles. For purposes of consistency, the area covered by the current Kingdom of Belgium is therefore treated as foreign land for the entire period. In reality, this area was at times experienced as foreign by northern Netherlanders, but at other times it was not. In 1815, the borders of the Dutch state changed to include the southern Netherlands. For Jacoba Roosendaal (1799-1853) and Charles Théodore Jean de Constant Rebecque (1805-1870), who grew up under this new political constellation, the southern Netherlands (albeit the Dutch-speaking provinces only) emotionally belonged to their fatherland. This was to change again after 1830, with the Belgian revolt and especially the 1839 recognition of this secession on the part of the northern king and his supporters;¹¹⁰

108 The integrated portal www.archieven.nl, acc. 1-31 July 2010, was used to search the online inventories of HUA and the Haags GA for the term 'reis' or 'reizen' in archives created between 1814 and 1915. The result in HUA was so overwhelming that the collection process had to be abandoned halfway the list of results for exponential lack of time, and the scheme for a more sophisticated, thesaural search had to be dropped. I have therefore studied the first 13 (out of 77) resulting archives in HUA and all 14 resulting archives in the Haags GA. This resulted in the addition of 77 more egodocuments to the collection.

109 This allowed me to add another c. fifty-five documents to the database.

110 For De Constant Rebecque see Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Collectie 066 De Constant Rebecque, (1925-1966), 1802-1941, toegang 2.21.008.01, inventarisnummer 61.

- Traveller and author had to be the same person so that it concerned a genuine *egodocument*;
- Official papers referring to journeys, such as business reports or legal defences, were excluded because they do not surface personal experiences sufficiently explicitly;
- Apart from overt autobiographical cases, the genre of the novel was excluded because of the difficulty of establishing to what extent a novel was based on the author's personal experiences. Note that the novel as a form does not necessarily stylize the individual experience any more than do other forms, such as poetry and letters, so this was not the reason for their exclusion;
- All documented journeys spanned at least one night.

Both documents written near the event (diaries, letters, various types of notes) and at some removal of time (reminiscences, autobiographies containing travels) were included, but marked as two separate categories in the database. Language was not a criterion, nor did journey aim matter. I stored the collection using relational database management system MySQL, linking biographical with bibliographical data and journey characteristics.

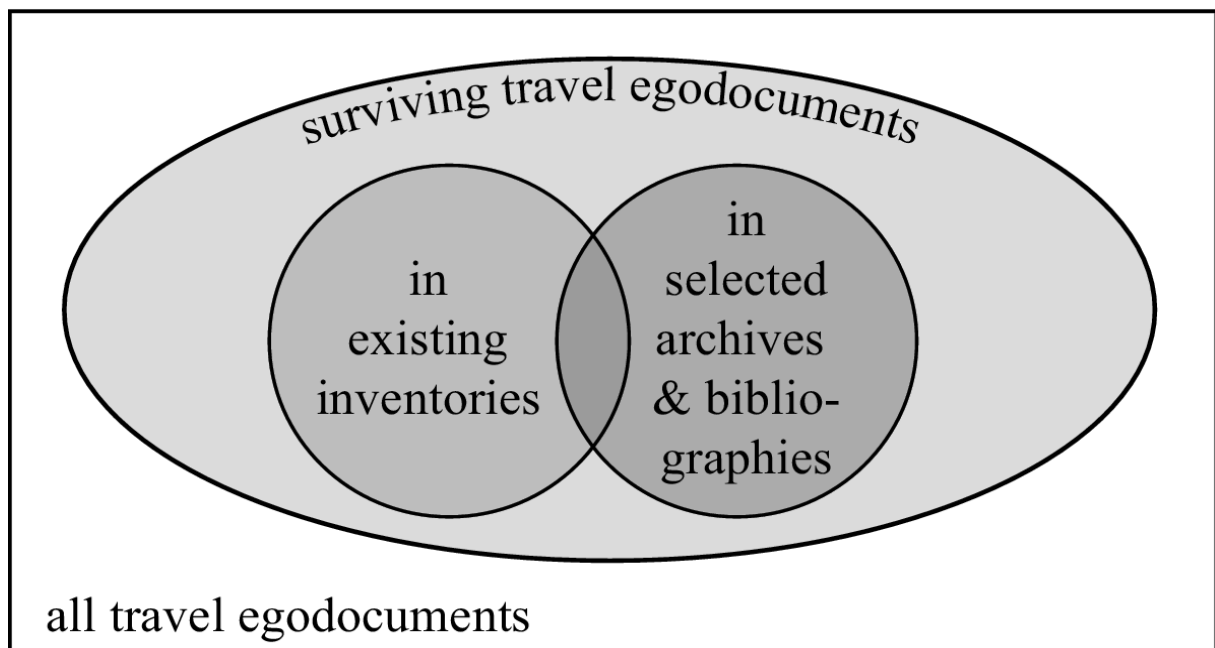


Figure 2.1: The egodocument collection (the two circles combined) as part of all travel egodocuments written by northern Netherlanders between c. 1500 and 1915.

The 2,682 accounts that found their way into the collection form roughly one quarter of all extant Dutch travel accounts, written or printed between the Middle Ages and the First World War. This collection of course represents only a fraction of the texts that may or could

have been written about journeys between 1500 and 1915. Figure 2.1 clarifies how it nevertheless attempts to be as diverse, or if you like as representative, as possible, by drawing on both egodocument inventories, and archival catalogues and bibliographies. There is much room here for future development of the database, since the archival catalogues still have an enormous amount of travel egodocuments on offer, and another great number of documents goes as yet uncatalogued.¹¹¹ However, extracting the necessary information on all manuscript egodocuments is time-consuming, and dating and attributing them frequently causes problems. Still, of the egodocuments surviving from *before* the nineteenth century, a large proportion found its way into the collection. Those from the nineteenth century itself are almost completely covered only in as far as they have been published. From those texts that exist only in manuscript form the collection contains the opportunity sample offered by the EUR lists (not all of which were expressly designed to contain travel egodocuments), my searches in the Haags GA and HUA, and the manuscripts found in the secondary literature.

2 TRAVEL EGODOCUMENTS

About half of the surviving egodocuments were handwritten, some of which were posthumously printed.¹¹² The other half were published by their authors themselves. Travel accounts were thus both a significant section of the book market and a popular type of writing for smaller circles.¹¹³ It is typical for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries especially, that so

111 It is possible to estimate the total number of nineteenth-century manuscript travel egodocuments surviving in the Netherlands, taking HUA as a starting-point. Since I found 67 relevant items in one sixth of HUA archives containing sources about travel, we may assume that together they possess around four hundred relevant items. HUA contains the archives of the city as well as the province of Utrecht, which as a region always had a middling population size. The combined eleven nineteenth-century regions and their capitals of the northern Netherlands must therefore possess about eleven times as many items. If we add to those the innumerable local and private archives (the shoe-boxes and family albums), which could well double the numbers, our estimate approaches the ten thousand. Of these *c.* ten thousand manuscript egodocuments, this thesis's collection contains 364 (not counting those later published).

112 See section 1 Corpus of sources, note 111.

113 Boschma, *Reizen in Napoleons tijd*, 11; J. van Eijnatten, 'Paratexts, Book Reviews, and Dutch Literary Publicity: Translations from German into Dutch, 1760-1796', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 25 (2000), Table 1: 'World and People'; J. Kloek, 'Reconsidering the Reading Revolution: The Thesis of the "Reading Revolution" and a Dutch Bookseller's Clientele around 1800', *Poetics*, 26 no. 5-6 (1999), 299; D. van Lente, 'Drukpersen, papiermachines en lezerspubliek: de verhouding tussen technische en culturele ontwikkelingen in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw', in Th. Bijvoet, P. Koopman, L. Kuitert, and G. Verhoeven (ed.), *Bladeren in andermans hoofd: over lezers en leescultuur* (Nijmegen, 1996), 250; Kloek and Mijnhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 85, 91, 101; M. Mathijssen, *Het literaire leven in de negentiende eeuw* (Leiden, 1987), 26-31, 34, 45; B. de Vries, *Een stad vol lezers: leescultuur in Haarlem 1850-1920* (Nijmegen, 2011), 473. The same popularity applies to other Europeans: Schulz-Forberg, *Unravelling Civilisation*, 29; Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 2; and the secondary literature cited in the introduction to this chapter.

many Dutch men and women who were no professional writers wrote travel accounts, wrote them well, and occasionally published them, even though nothing very remarkable happened in them.¹¹⁴ Although foreign travel was not yet an annual happening for the majority of the population, a European trip was by no means a remarkable event.

These travel egodocuments assumed various forms and functions, so that they cannot be said to be one genre.¹¹⁵ In the nineteenth century we find series of reassuring letters about health and well-being to specific relations or to be read aloud to entire families; secret diaries containing religious-moral self-reflection or, on the contrary, frustrations about the behaviour of fellow travellers; diaries which children kept as part of their education, sometimes together with their parents; lists of sights, hotels, and restaurants visited or recommended, including evaluations; shopping-lists and annotated expenses; literary letters to a friend, estimating the state of the various societies visited and published in multiple volumes; pamphlets of conversion or pilgrimage; lectures to learned societies; narratives of semi-professional visits interspersed with little essays on history, industry, or education; narratives with advice for future travellers; fragments of life stories written to the authors' children, often containing religious lessons; and journal articles containing travel narrative as well as archaeological, economic, agricultural, or other scholarly or technological data. Some of these genres or subgenres can be found in manuscripts as well as in contemporary publications.

Both count roughly fifty thousand words on average, which is two hundred pages in manuscript or a hundred in print. This average applied to travellers of various occupational milieus. Only the longest documents, counting over a thousand pages, were written by a few highly educated men and women, most of them in the national administration, army command, or professional authorship. At the other end of the scale, travellers in domestic or craft work wrote texts counting only sixty pages on average. Still, the other occupational milieus in Dutch society, from farming to politics, wrote egodocuments of similar average length. In the end, it was primarily the individual variation that was immense, among highly as well as lowly educated travellers.¹¹⁶

114 Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 41, which is about the period 1600-1750, writes that 'a storyline full of adventurous and extraordinary experiences is often required to be considered for publication.' The published travelogues from the nineteenth century that I examined do not contain such storylines, however.

115 Here, my opinion differs from Brenner, *Reisebericht*, 7-13; Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 26; Schulz-Forberg, *Unravelling Civilisation*, 13, 30-3; Snoek, 'Lijst van reisverhalen', 105. However, Steringa, *Nederlanders op reis in Amerika*, 13, has observed the same.

116 The manuscript and print combined standard deviation is 454 pages.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two thirds of travel egodocuments were in the Dutch language. The others were written in French or Latin, or occasionally Italian, German, Spanish, English, or Greek. The tendency to write in Dutch increased considerably into the nineteenth century. Egodocument languages thus offer a glimpse of the process of nation formation: the variety of languages the Dutch found it normal to write in, collapses before our eyes.

A sign that life treated some travellers differently from others, lies in the fact that those with only primary and perhaps secondary education more usually left retrospective, autobiographical egodocuments, than did higher-educated travellers.¹¹⁷ Forgetfulness and changed insights into past events placed retrospective egodocuments at a greater distance from the experiences they narrated. Texts that were created almost contemporaneous to the events depicted, particularly diaries but also accounts that were written after returning but based on notes taken during the journey, more copiously described each single day than did retrospective accounts. Qualitatively, too, the latter said a little more about travellers as they looked back, and a little less about travellers as they experienced their journey. This does not make them less valuable as historical sources, or more 'subjective', as has been suggested,¹¹⁸ but it does make them stand further away from experiences at the moment of travelling itself: each extra layer of remembering and interpretation should be taken into account.

Although basic writing literacy was high in the northern Netherlands even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with 60% of brides and 75% of grooms signing their own names,¹¹⁹ the qualification *basic* should be stressed. Writing an extended text required a proficiency possessed by only a minority around 1825. What is more, writing or dictating such a text about oneself required a quiet spot to sit down and the willingness to spend paper and ink, and time and energy, on an endeavour with little direct practical use. That this willingness could be lacking is shown by the remarkable diaries of British servant Hannah Cullwick. She was not unable, but nonetheless reluctant to write the diaries which her patron wished her to write.¹²⁰ This shows that among servants, it was not self-evident to value self-reflective writing. This is corroborated by the fact that I have not been able to find a single

¹¹⁷ A fact also observed by Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals', 287.

¹¹⁸ Steringa, *Nederlanders op reis in Amerika*, 13.

¹¹⁹ Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 174.

¹²⁰ L. Stanley (ed.), *The Diaries of Hannah Cullwick, Victorian Maidservant* (London, 1984).

servant diary from the Dutch nineteenth century. It also shows that even in diary-writing, which is normally regarded as a completely voluntary activity which even contains a seed of resistance, servants were not their own master sometimes. For many lower-educated people, the time and lust to write only arrived at old age, whereas for the elite, writing was a daily practice. Among the latter, a tendency had developed in the eighteenth century to investigate the self in writing, and derive satisfaction from expressing feelings in egodocuments rather than channelling them through other activities such as looking at a portrait, writing a lyrical poem,¹²¹ or, for Catholics, confession. Still, contemporaneous genres had functions besides self-investigation and self-expression. Letters, for example, also served the purpose of informing others of the author's whereabouts and well-being. In smaller numbers, contemporaneous egodocuments were therefore nevertheless created by some lower-educated travellers throughout the century.

Various ways of measuring the travel lust of a society can be imagined. The most meaningful measure is probably the number of journeys made each year by people of that society, or else the number of travellers living in that society at any given time. These measures will be explored hereafter. Most existing studies in travel history, however, count travel documents, rather than journeys or travellers. Therefore, a comparison between countries needs to be based on document numbers. The number of travel egodocuments in my northern-Netherlandish collection rises from a few per decade in the sixteenth century to more than ten per decade in the seventeenth century, and more dramatically from the 1740s onwards unto almost a hundred in the decade of 1790.

From seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Konings Brabant, the economic heart of the southern, Habsburg Netherlands, Gerrit Verhoeven has located forty-six archival documents: on average three per decade. He finds three times as many for Holland, the economic heart of the northern, United Netherlands. Police registers show that Brabant's visitors to Paris nevertheless far outnumbered Holland's visitors in the late eighteenth century. Verhoeven decides that the Brabanders must have been the more prolific travellers, and the Hollanders the more prolific writers, because of their higher levels of prosperity and literacy and their

121 Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 23-9, 99, 178-222; R.R. Wuthenow, *Die erfahrene Welt: europäische Reiseliteratur im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980), 15-39.

culture of introspection.¹²² But in fact, even Hollandish travel accounts were hardly introspective before the late eighteenth century, as mentioned above. A simpler suggestion would be that southern Netherlanders travelled to nearby Paris more often than northern Netherlanders, but that on the whole the latter travelled more, for example to Germany.



Illustration 2.1: How British tourists were viewed in the first half of the nineteenth century: Gustave Doré, engraving by Émile Deschamps, 'Touristes britanniques', illustration from H. Taine, Voyage aux Pyrénées (first publ. 1855), reproduction taken from www.printsplace.co.uk/PS/Store/Product/British_tourists_illustration_from_Voyage_aux_Pyrenees_by_Hippolyte_Taine_-92527, acc. 25 March 2013.

Historians of Britain emphasize the uniqueness of the British grand tour and Britons' status as pioneers in everything to do with transport, travel, and leisure. Somehow, the British invented leisure travel and were 'real pioneers' and the most 'ardent individual travellers'. The 'Grand Tour' was a 'typically British institution' and the 'quintessentially British form of European tour', 'although the wealthy from other north European countries [...] also travelled.'¹²³ Evidence from other countries points out, however, that the grand tour was in fact

¹²² *Anders reizen*, 44-6, referring to J.-F. Dubost, 'Les étrangers à Paris au Siècle des Lumières', in D. Roche (ed.), *La ville promise. Mobilité et accueil à Paris (fin XVIIe-début XIXe siècle)* (Paris, 2000), 236-40.

¹²³ See the introduction to this chapter, note 101; and H. Berghoff and B. Korte, 'Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism: An Interdisciplinary Approach', in Berghoff et al., *Making of Modern Tourism*, 1-2; E. Giddey, '1816: Switzerland and the Revival of the "Grand Tour"', *The Byron Journal*, 19 (1991), 17; Heafford, 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism', 25; J. Towner, 'The Grand Tour: Sources and a Methodology for an Historical Study of Tourism', *Tourism Management*, 5 no. 3 (1984), 215; J. Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540-1940* (Chichester, 1996), 96-138.

not a specifically British phenomenon.¹²⁴ Nor was foreign travel generally. From c. 1500 to 1800, the numbers of (surviving) British travel accounts developed remarkably similarly to the Dutch, with only minor differences in timing.¹²⁵ Yet Britain had a population four to nine times the size of that of the northern Netherlands, which suggests that, proportionally, fewer Britainers than Dutch wrote about their journeys before 1800. In fact, the British 'golden' age of travel had yet to begin. During the Napoleonic Wars, few British wrote about European journeys, but they quickly increased their portion of travel right after the Wars. When most of Europe lay in economic ruins, the British carried an (in)famous touristic presence on the European mainland.¹²⁶ They were known for their affluence so that British visitors were sometimes asked to pay more than visitors from other countries.¹²⁷ For the period between 1814 and 1860, Michael Heafford estimates that three to six thousand British found themselves in Switzerland during each of those years (therefore even more in all of the world), publishing a little over a hundred travel accounts per decade.¹²⁸ Dutch travellers only published twelve accounts about Switzerland during that entire period of forty-six years, although they produced a manifold of manuscripts. Consequently, British travellers published *forty* times as much about their Swiss journeys as Dutch travellers. The British ratio of travellers per head of the population (to western Europe and probably to the entire world),

124 Babel and Paravicini, *Grand Tour*; Dubost, 'Étrangers à Paris', 222; Frank-van Westrienen, *Groote tour*, 335-44; H. de Ridder-Symoens, 'Die Kavalierstour im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in Brenner, *Reisebericht*, 197-223; Van Den Abbeele, *Travel as Metaphor*, xxix; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, esp. 20.

125 An estimate of total British numbers was calculated from the numbers of contemporarily and posthumously published accounts in Towner, 'The Grand Tour: Sources', 220-1. The British numbers apply to western European travel only while the Dutch numbers apply to the entire world, but as Figure 2.7 shows, the two destinations were almost equal for Dutch travellers before 1815. English travellers also seem to have followed Netherlandish travellers in their increasing average age: Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 145.

126 Bake, 66, 81, 85-7, 99; Drieling, 166, 184, 235-6, 247; Lulofs, 1.29-36. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 73, 89, 90, 182-3; Perk, 8, 29, 38-41, 87; Van der Staal van Piershil, 8/5, 3/9. Analephis, 39-42. See A.M. Stegehuis, 'Op bezoek bij John Bull. Beeldvorming over Londen en haar inwoners op basis van gepubliceerde negentiende-eeuwse Nederlandse reisverslagen' (University of Amsterdam bachelor's thesis, 2011), 11, 38-40; Pelz, *Reisen durch die eigene Fremde*, 76.

Some northern British opinions: Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 121, 124, 219, 401, 789; Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 191, 284; and in G. Sigaux, *History of Tourism*, J. White (trans.) (London, 1966), 60; L. Stoddart, *Off the Beaten Track: A Traveller's Anthology* (London, 2004), 50-2. An opinion from Danzig: J. Schopenhauer, *Een vrouw op reis: België anno 1828 volgens Johanna Schopenhauer*, M. Carnier and A. Gilleir (ed.) (Leuven, 1998), 45, 107.

For the tourist as a rhetorical image in esp. Britain, see Buzard, *Beaten Track*, esp. 18-9, 82-107; Chard, 'From the Sublime to the Ridiculous'; Culler, 'The Semiotics of Tourism', 153-67. Incidentally, British travellers had had a financial advantage among Europeans for centuries: for high British wages, reflecting productivity and thus also the profits which elite travellers had to depend on, see Allen, 'Great Divergence'.

127 Drieling, 24.

128 Using British passports entered in Genevan registers, and correcting for both travellers without passport and travel parties who did not visit Geneva: 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism', 30, 33-4.

which before the Napoleonic Wars was lower than the Dutch, afterwards vastly increased.

Germanophone travellers-writers also seem to have existed in smaller proportions than Dutch up to the late eighteenth century.¹²⁹ The bibliography of eighteenth-century women's publications prepared by Wolfgang Griep and Annegret Pelz enables an estimate of a (few) hundred germanophone printed travel egodocuments on average per decade in the eighteenth century, including male authors.¹³⁰ In reality, this number was lower in the earlier and higher in the later portion of the century,¹³¹ in line with the British and Dutch developments. Taking into account the almost tenfold population of the German states alone (excluding other germanophone regions), this population published about their journeys much less than the Dutch population. Again, this changed dramatically at the end of the eighteenth century. From then on, we find several dozen published travel accounts per decade, *about Switzerland only*.¹³² This is again more than was published by Dutch travellers, but less than by British.

Apart from travel accounts, contemporary lists offer another opportunity to quantify the differences between travelling 'nations'. Hotels and touristic sites have been keeping guestbooks since at least the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹³³ For a tourist to Switzerland, to see the sun rise from the top of the mountain Rigi was a must. Thus, W.H. Vormann offers the useful statistics for the inn on top the Rigi in the years 1816-1819. Of a total of 2,829 entries, 1,241 were by Swiss themselves, 776 by German (on a population approaching twenty-five million), 536 by British (on a population over twenty-one million), 76 by French and 200 by travellers of other nationalities, among whom must have ranked the Dutch but certainly also Italians, Austrians, and others.¹³⁴ Here, Germans topped the bill

129 Although German historians shun self-congratulatory statements as little as do British and Dutch historians: H. Spode, *Wie die Deutschen "Reiseweltmeister" wurden: eine Einführung in die Tourismusgeschichte* (Erfurt, 2003); Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 86.

130 *Frauen reisen: ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis deutschsprachiger Frauenreisen, 1700-1810* (Bremen, 1995). Their book is set up alphabetically rather than chronologically and includes variant editions and translations, so that it is difficult to discern general developments in travel. Anyhow, it contains roughly one hundred distinct germanophone egodocuments. I have worked with the assumption that germanophone men published in the order of ten times as many travel accounts as women, like in the northern Netherlands (see section 3 Travellers).

131 Witthöft, 'Norddeutsche Reiseliteratur', 201.

132 'Deutschsprachige Reiseliteratur des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts', a database kept by the Eutiner Landesbibliothek, www.lb-eutin.de/index.php?fuseaction=cntrl.rlsuche&rltab=ra, acc. 12 July 2012. The same is found by Ruiz, 'Deutsche Reisebeschreibungen über Frankreich im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution (1789-1799): Ein Überblick', in Maczak and Teuteberg, *Reiseberichte als Quellen*, 229.

133 See section 4.1 Identity documents.

134 *Aus den Fremdenbüchern von Rigi-Kulm* (Bern, 1883), 28. A Protestant tourist site in Genua in 1862, on the other hand, drew more Britons than Germans, while another major group consisted of Italians: Perk, 216. Less precise evidence comes from Kruseman-Ross, 10, who remarked on the unpopularity of Baden with the

among foreigners. The same applies to the 1910 tourism statistics of Switzerland as a whole.¹³⁵ This gives reason to believe that British travellers were particularly prolific in publishing their (Swiss) experiences, leading to historiographic underestimates of other people's journeying. Several police lists of visitors and immigrants also survive, for example for late eighteenth-century Paris. In those, British and southern Netherlandish travellers do dominate, directly followed by German and Swiss.¹³⁶

These lists suggest that domestic journeys were the main form of European travel at the start of the nineteenth century, followed by travel just across the border.¹³⁷ Still, some societies produced a greater proportion of international travellers than others. Among European countries, the northern Netherlands contributed a substantial amount of travellers and publications in the eighteenth century.¹³⁸ This contribution lowered in the nineteenth century. One explanation for their lower travel (publication) frequency would be that the Dutch were more emotionally attached to their homes than others, but this is not born out by the selected texts at all. More probably, the developments had to do with the relative positions of national economies and currencies. Indeed, a successful nineteenth-century Dutch professor wrote in his account that the cost of a European trip prevented him from making more than a few of those in his lifetime.¹³⁹ Even the aristocracy felt inhibited by the fact that every 'amusement' in Switzerland was so expensive.¹⁴⁰ By the early twentieth century, however, this development had reversed: Dutch traveller numbers were high again, relative to other countries.¹⁴¹ This fluctuation supports the economic argument, for the Dutch economy was indeed growing again around 1900. A further role may have been played by national differences in the economic necessity to travel. The various book markets may also have functioned differently. Literature by foreign authors may have been so important for Dutch

Dutch.

135 A. Schärli, *Höhepunkt des schweizerischen Tourismus in der Zeit der 'Belle Epoque' unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Berner Oberlandes: kulturgeschichtliche Regionalstudie* (Bern, 1984), 18.

136 Frijhoff, 'Voyageurs néerlandais'; Dubost, 'Étrangers à Paris', 238. Unfortunately, a search for surviving registers of Dutch outgoing passports yielded no results, whether on city-council level or state level.

137 For more on this, see section 4 Journeys.

138 Similar conclusions in Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 44.

139 Bake, 20. Also C. Busken Huet, *Van Napels naar Amsterdam: Italiaansche reis-aanteekeningen* (Amsterdam, 1877), vi.

140 Van der Staal van Piershil, 13/6. For the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century, see Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 66.

141 F.W. Ogilvie, *The Tourist Movement: An Economic Study* (London, 1933), 81, 186, 191; Schärli, *Höhepunkt des schweizerischen Tourismus*, 18.

audiences that it lessened incentive to publish originally Dutch accounts.

3 TRAVELLERS

How did such Dutch travellers compare to the Dutch population at large? Since many documents contain multiple journeys, made at very different moments, the precise question to be asked is how many *journeys* the surviving egodocuments narrate. The following overview is based on the approximately two thousand journeys of which my database records the start date. This is one in about three journeys collected. First will be considered the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, from which the collection contains nearly all surviving egodocuments. For the greater part, these are manuscripts. They are depicted in Figure 2.2.¹⁴²

It looks like the number of journeys per head of the Dutch population grew exponentially between 1500 and 1800.¹⁴³ But we should realize that these are journeys which we know about through surviving sources. An exponential trend is then exactly what one would expect. Each link in the chain of provenance, each generation of archival keepers, may loose or discard a document. The decay in the number of documents surviving from any given moment in time is therefore inherently exponential. Such a trend is suggested in the graph by a trend line. This line is added solely to give an idea of what such a 'natural' trend may look like. It is based on this single data set and is therefore likely to be contaminated with various factors outside the 'natural' survival of sources. In other words, the journey numbers represented here can probably not be wholly explained by survival mechanisms alone. Changes in international travel *and* in egodocument writing may also have played a role. These factors are precisely what we want to know about. Because they are unlikely to have increased completely steadily, the 'bumps' and 'holes' in the general trend of survival merit attention.

142 This graph differs from that offered by Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals', 279-80. My collection contains more texts, including publications and including texts that stretched beyond the narration of a journey, such as general diaries. In this way I try to avoid tracing the development of the genre(s) of manuscript travel account rather than the development of travel. Also, the graph corrects for population growth. And it displays the number of journeys rather than the number of documents. It is not clear whether Dekker's statistic shows the moment of travelling or the moment of writing. The subsuming of many journeys in a smaller number of travel accounts that were written after they had taken place, might explain much of the 'sharp decline' after 1795 that Dekker observes.

143 Population size based on A. Maddison's spreadsheet 'Historical Statistics of the World Economy: 1-2008 AD' (2010), www.ggdc.net/MADDISON/oriindex.htm, acc. 16 Sep. 2010, checked against Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen mensen*, 11-13; Smits, Horlings, and Van Zanden, 'Dutch GNP', 109-11.

First, a clear temporary increase took place in the second half of the seventeenth century. This also constitutes a departure from the survival of other, non-travel

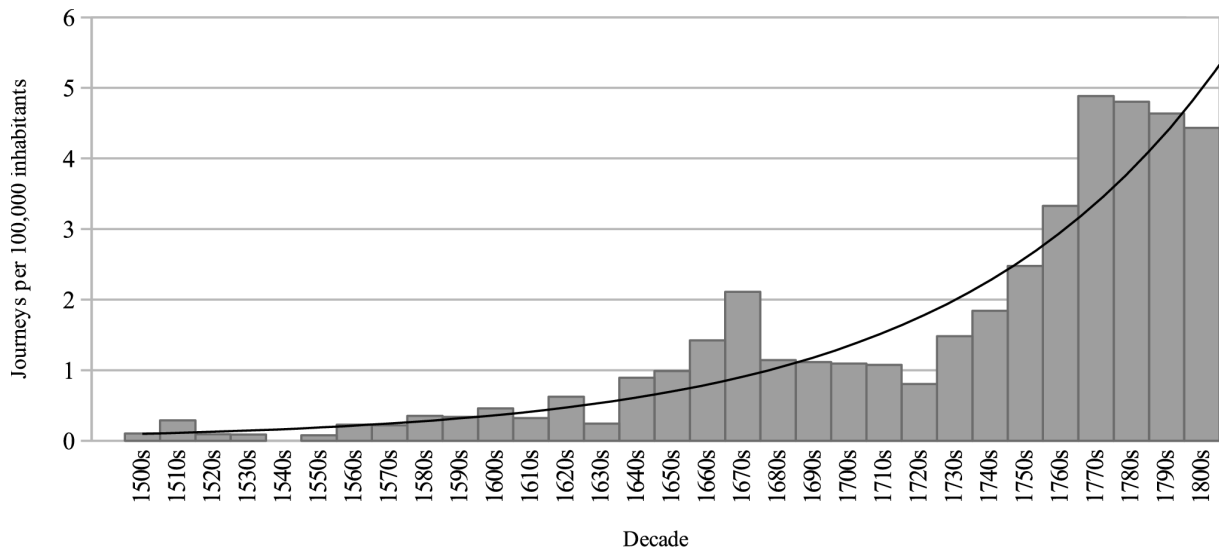


Figure 2.2: Number of collected journeys per head of the Dutch population, by decade in which the journey was begun, 1500-1810.

egodocuments¹⁴⁴ and therefore suggests a genuine increase in travel during that period.

Although the northern Netherlands were engaged in a series of wars, only a few journeys recorded in this time span were related to the military. Others told of diplomatic journeys and grand tours. This greater number of journeys, however, was not made by a greater number of travellers: the amount of Dutch travellers-writers did not grow temporarily in the seventeenth century, as the database shows. Later-seventeenth-century Dutch society contained a small section of prolific travellers, such as town administrator Gerard Hinlopen who documented ten journeys within a period of twenty years. Still, these travellers were not all from the elite, but came from a variety of backgrounds. As an eighty-year period of civil warfare and war against the Habsburgs came to an end in 1648, the northern Netherlands had reached the peak of their wealth, a wealth that benefitted people from various backgrounds, stimulated literacy, and apparently also stirred travel, including journeys for which there was no immediate personal economic need but which were made for pleasure, study, informal education, or political reasons.

Contrary to what is sometimes supposed,¹⁴⁵ war does not generally inhibit travel.¹⁴⁶ It

144 In Dekker, Lindeman, and Scherf, *Egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders*.

145 Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals', 280; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 44.

146 Similar findings: Towner, *Historical Geography*, 126-8.

may deter pleasure travellers from entering a dangerous zone, as was the case for British travellers during the Napoleonic Wars. Yet violent political unrest, such as the Netherlands experienced in the 1780s and 90s, spurred other forms of travel with those caught up in it: army movements, forced (temporary) migration, and diplomatic conventions. Meanwhile, existing forms of travel persisted. Thus, the growth that occurred in the 1770s did not significantly abate in the restless 1780s and 90s. This second 'bump' too, like the one occurring in the seventeenth century, was not accompanied by an equal growth in the number of different persons travelling. Although the numbers of recorded travellers-writers did certainly grow in the eighteenth century, the numbers of journeys made by them grew even more. This time, an explanation should probably not be sought in socio-economic changes. The travellers still occupied a wide variety of positions in society and now also harboured a wide variety of motives for travel. Also, the Dutch economy did not exactly flourish in the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, it is unlikely that all these quite different persons acted from a sudden enlightened curiosity in other countries. But what may have contributed substantially, is the new attention to discovering and documenting the self: the rise may have been largely due to the rise in egodocument writing.¹⁴⁷

It is generally assumed that the nineteenth century, the century of modernity, of steam, railways, and postal and telegraph networks, of changing economic structures and sinking prices, but also of romanticism and exoticism, and of a growing writing literacy and reading public, saw a vast increase in European travel, for business and for pleasure, as well as an increase in writing about travel.¹⁴⁸ Even though these different elements were differently

¹⁴⁷ See section 2 Travel egodocuments, note 121.

¹⁴⁸ M. Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914* (Maddison NJ, 2006), 13-5; Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 9; Carnier and Gilleir in their introduction to Schopenhauer, *Vrouw op reis*, 13; A. Gilroy, *Romantic Geographies: Discourses of Travel, 1775-1844* (Manchester, 2000), 2; Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, e.g. 9; R. Honings in his introduction to F. HaverSchmidt, *Met de vrienden op reis in Zwitserland in 1881* (Leiden, 2006), 12; Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour*, 1-18 (although she places the most fundamental changes earlier); Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 33; Snoek, 'Lijst van reisverhalen', 105; A. Mihm, *Packend... Eine Kulturgeschichte des Reisekoffers* (Marburg, 2001), 50; Philips, 'Recreatie en toerisme', 38; D. Richter, 'Die Angst des Reisenden, die Gefahren der Reise', in Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 101; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 15, 343. Travel becoming easier: Frijhoff, 'Voyageurs néerlandais', 87. (But see A. Hessels, *Vakantie en vakantiebesteding sinds de eeuwwisseling* (Assen, 1973), 266-9.)

Such ideas may be partially based on contemporary fears and enthusiasms about the perceived rise of travel, as by G. Moll who wrote the preface to Drieling, v-vi; Geel, *Onderzoek en phantasie* (1838), 7; B.T. Lublink Weddik, 'Staalkaart van zomertogtjes, of reistaferreelen voor vrienden van fantazij en gevoel', *Pandora, Lektuur voor den beschaafden stand*, 3 (1840), 81-90, 155-67, 271-82; Kuyper, 262.

paced and ordered in the Netherlands than in, for example, England, they nevertheless affected Dutch society within the long nineteenth century. And yet, the Dutch did not travel more. They travelled less.¹⁴⁹

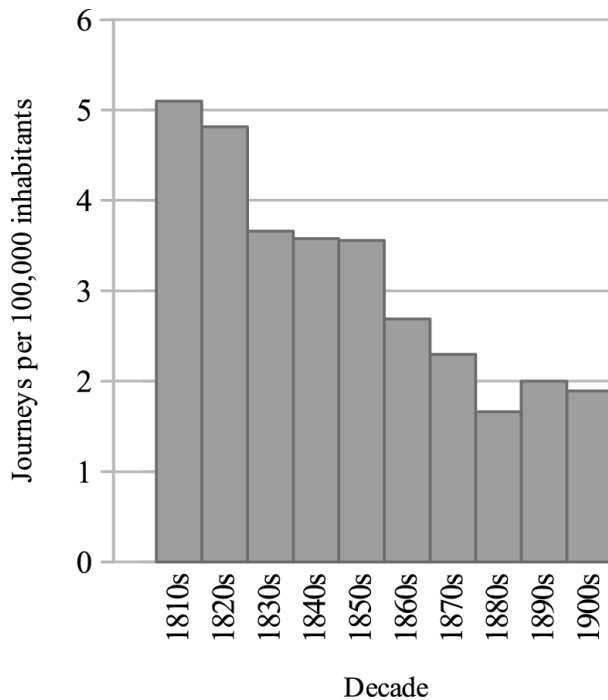


Figure 2.3: Number of collected journeys per head of the Dutch population, by decade in which the journey was begun, 1810-1910.

Figure 2.3 shows the journeys that can be found when considering more or less all printed egodocuments, besides a selection of manuscripts. Note that the numbers are therefore less complete than those presented for the earlier period, in Figure 2.2.¹⁵⁰ A clear downward development is visible. This development occurred in print as well as in manuscript egodocuments.¹⁵¹ This means that the decrease is *unlikely* to be due to distinct changes in manuscript writing or publishing practices such as the 1869 abolishing of the *dagbladzegel*, the tax on periodicals.

Samples taken from the Dutch central databases of historical letters and of other archival sources only confirm that international travel from the northern Netherlands diminished.¹⁵² This is corroborated by the concomitant decrease in the number of travellers-writers that lived in the Netherlands in the course of the nineteenth century. The slight bumps in graph of Figure 2.3, if they need any explanation at all, may be due to increased labour migration in the 1840s and 50s and in the 1890s and

For the rise in real incomes, interests, and profits in the nineteenth century that enhanced this impression, see Allen, 'Great Divergence'; Smits, Horlings, and Van Zanden, 'Dutch GNP', especially 172-4; Wintle, *Economic and Social History*, 227-34.

For growing literacy and a growing audience, see Van Lente, 'Drukpersen, papiermachines en lezerspubliek'.

149 For similarly counterintuitive findings regarding Dutch book ownership in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see the overview by Blaak, *Geletterde levens*, 25-7.

150 This is why the two graphs are presented separately. See section 1 Corpus of sources.

151 Apart from minor complications introduced by the gaps and overlaps around the year 1815 among the ING and EUR inventories.

152 The around one million letters in the *Catalogus Epistolarum Neerlandicarum*, managed by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, were searched for 'reis' and similar search terms: picarta.pica.nl, acc. 17 Sep. and 6 Oct. 2010. National archival database www.archieven.nl was searched for inventories containing 'reis' or 'reizen' (which, though rough, I judged a legitimate strategy since the inventories for the beginning of the century are no more detailed than for the end of the century), acc. 6 Oct. 2010.

1900s.¹⁵³ Nonetheless, the overall picture is one of diminution.

What explains this spectacular fall? Scholars have already pointed out that the installation of a dense railway network in Europe between the 1830s and the end of the century did not cause travel suddenly to increase.¹⁵⁴ Still, this cannot account for an actual *fall* in European journeys. As said, the numbers of journeys are given here per inhabitant of the northern Netherlands. The Dutch population grew from around two to around five million in the nineteenth century. But what did not grow at the same rate was the number of persons who had attended a university. In fact, the *proportion* of Dutch inhabitants who had ever been taught at a university, however briefly, fell until the final decade of the century.¹⁵⁵

The distinction between families who sent their sons to university and families who did not, is one of the most significant social distinctions of the nineteenth century. The first group, making up at most a few per cent of the population,¹⁵⁶ is described by many later scholars as the *grote* or *hoge burgerij*, the upper bourgeoisie. But this group included not just bourgeois, but also the Dutch aristocracy, consisting of regents and nobility: in many respects they formed a cultural and social unity. Less anachronistic terms to use therefore are *gegoede* (well-off), *beschaafde* or *fatsoenlijke* (polished, civilized, decent), or *deftige* (dignified) *stand*, or *ontwikkelden* (the developed). These are the names they gave themselves. In this thesis, I will refer to them as the educational elite, or simply the elite. The rest of the population fell within the second group. In fact, the nineteenth-century elite designated much of this second

153 See Krabbendam, *Vrijheid in het verschiët*; resp. Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen mensen*, 126-7.

154 Various other means of transport had already facilitated travel for wider sections of society earlier on, especially with the introduction of steamships in the 1810s: J. Armstrong and D.M. Williams, 'The Steamboat and Popular Tourism', *Journal of Transport History*, 26 (2005), 61-77; Towner, 'The Grand Tour: A Key Phase', 325-6. For Germany, a regular stagecoach system is credited with initiating structural changes in travel: Beyrer, 'Mail-Coach Revolution', 375-86. In the northern Netherlands, drawn barges had been an accessible and relatively efficient means of transport since the seventeenth century: J. de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism: Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632-1839* (Utrecht, 1981) (although this is contested by Wintle, *Economic and Social History*, 194-5).

155 P.A.J. Caljé, 'Groningse studentenaantallen in de negentiende eeuw: vertekening en correctie', 23, www.verloren.nl/file/6899/calje%20studenten.pdf, acc. 23 July 2012; H. van Dijk, *Rotterdam 1810-1880: aspecten van een stedelijke samenleving* (Schiedam, 1976); K. Wingelaar, *Studeren in de negentiende eeuw: een onderzoek naar het hoger onderwijs en met name naar de studenten aan de Utrechtse universiteit in de periode 1815-1877* (Utrecht, 1989), 60-1. Their numbers pertain almost exclusively to Dutch students since international student exchange was negligible in these years: *ibid.*, 64-5.

156 According to Kloek, the 'beschaafde stand' made up fifteen per cent of the population: *Vrouw des huizes*, 154. O.W.A. Boonstra and K. Mandemakers stick to three per cent: "'Ieder is het kind zijner eigene werken': sociale stratificatie en mobiliteit in Nederland in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw", in J. Dronkers and W.C. Ultee (ed.), *Verschuivende ongelijkheid in Nederland* (Assen, 1995), 132. So do Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 33. My own calculations based on the number of university-educated in society (Wingelaar, *Studeren in de negentiende eeuw*, 60-1), multiplied by two to account for women, give less than one per cent.

group as *burgers*, bourgeois. Consider, for example, the name of the Hogere Burgerschool. This makes present historians' use of the term 'bourgeoisie' for the elite even more confusing. The second group included all kinds of lower-educated workers, 'skilled' as well as 'unskilled', but also the unemployed, for between employment and unemployment ran only a dotted line. Other terms used were *volk*, the 'folk' or the 'people', and *gemeene lieden*, 'common people'. To what extent this group had a shared culture and whether they ever saw themselves as a unity is more difficult to establish, but for the aims of this thesis the construction of such a 'rest' group is warranted, I believe, because elite writings constitute such a large part of our collection.

The distinction cut right across economic sectors and branches, including the agricultural sector. It also cut across religious differences. Rather, it involved differences in financial means—although height of income was no strict criterion—as well as in habits, ethics, aesthetics, and knowledge. The university was one of the foremost institutions where such distinctions were a criterion for admission and where they received further development.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, unlike the family it bound together people across the country,

¹⁵⁷ See 'Burgerstand, znw.', *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie (no place, 2007) (article from 1902). Dutch writers of egodocuments who experienced this division into two social layers: Bake, 80; Drieling, 154-5, 205; Rees Van Tets-Gevaets, 59; Roosendaal, 453, 492, 538, 615, 622; Lulofs, I.28. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 80, 83-5, 98, 127, 149, 194-213, 293, 299, 339, 416. Leiden barber P.J.W. Knaap in F. HaverSchmidt, *Nagelaten snikken van Piet Paaltjens* (Amsterdam, 1961), 152. For the elite's self-designation, see Aerts *Letterheren*, 377. For relations between the elites of different religious pillars see Herman Schaepman's visit in Henriëtte Kuyper's obituary by J.H. Kuyper in the *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Leiden, 1935), 153, www.dbnl.org/tekst/_jaa003193501_01/_jaa003193501_01_0020.php, acc. 3 Dec. 2012. For the shared travel practice of nobility and upper bourgeoisie from the Netherlands between 1600 and 1750, see Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 74, 139. In certain specific situations the divide was positioned elsewhere, such as between the army and civilians: Van Oostendorp, 97.

Most scholars take for granted a social stratification which distinguishes (at least) a nobility, a bourgeoisie, and a rest. Many do acknowledge the difficulty with defining the bourgeoisie but nevertheless maintain it as an analytical category or even just a conventional label for an undefined group of people. Instead, I want to be explicit about the range of occupations and socio-economic and educational positions considered in this thesis. In this endeavour I try to follow the example of those scholars who draw alternative social groupings that closely map onto actual networks of communication and shared values, e.g. Beyrer, 'Mail-Coach Revolution', 381; G. Crossick and H.-G. Haupt, *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe 1780-1914: Enterprise, Family, and Independence* (London, 1995), 2-10; K. Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-1867* (Oxford, 2009), esp. 21; Jensma, *Rode tasje van Salverda*; J. Kok and K. Mandemakers, "'Je zoudt maar last van mij hebben': verwanten in het Nederlandse huishouden, 1860-1940", *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis*, 6 no. 4 (2009), 164; R. van der Laarse, 'Burgers als buitenlui', *Groniek*, 40 no. 176bis (2007), 33-38; A. de Regt, 'Arbeidersgezinnen en industrialisatie: ontwikkelingen in Nederland 1880-1918', *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift*, 4 no. 1 (1977), 3-4; A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 1998), 13-14.

This is supported by a number of scholars who emphasize the fundamentally two-partite character of (Dutch) nineteenth-century society: Brugmans, *Paardenkracht en mensenmacht*, 190-8; J. Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*

creating a shared culture as well as a network of contacts. Although women partly had to forge their own networks, through their families, societies, and reading and writing they shared in the same subculture as their male kin, albeit sometimes on the margin. With the growth of the Dutch economy, the health and wealth inequality between the elite and the rest only increased during the largest part of the nineteenth century: an international phenomenon known as the early industrial growth puzzle.¹⁵⁸ For twenty-first-century observers the university may therefore function as a clear means of demarcating social groups in the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁹ The educational distinction will play an important role in this thesis in the way travellers are described and their capabilities explained.

To return to the question at hand: the majority of travellers-writers had always originated from this educational elite. This did not change in the nineteenth century. Many 'folk' did travel to make a living, as (wives of) sailors and soldiers, as pedlars, fishermen, domestic servants, entertainers, or seasonal workers.¹⁶⁰ Around 1900, those whose work bound them to one location also started to make trips, this time more purely for pleasure. But they did not usually have the leisure, or the money, or possibly even the desire, to extend

(Frankfurt, 1990), 80-1; E. Kloek, *Vrouw des huizes: een cultuurgeschiedenis van de Hollandse huisvrouw* (Amsterdam, 2009), 154-5; J. Kloek and K. Tilmans, 'Introductie', in J. Kloek and K. Tilmans (ed.), *Burger* (Amsterdam, 2002), 1-17; Kloek and Mijnhart, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 99; P. van Rooden, *Religieuze regimes: over godsdienst en maatschappij in Nederland, 1570-1990* (Amsterdam, 1996), 32, 40, 115, 146, 189-90; much of this can be found in English in P. Van Rooden, 'Long-Term Religious Developments in the Netherlands, 1750-2000', in H. McLeod and W. Ustorf (ed.), *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750-2000* (Cambridge, 2002), 113-29; Ruberg, 'Letter Writing and Elite Identity', 250; De Vries, *Stad vol lezers*, 406-11; Wingelaar, *Studeren in de negentiende eeuw*, 27-32 (only at and through the *theological* faculty in *Utrecht* a higher degree of social mobility seems to have been possible: 68, 92); Wintle, *Economic and Social History*, 299-312. See Aerts, *Letterheren*, 377.

158 H. de Beer, 'Observations on the History of Dutch Physical Stature from the Late Middle Ages to the Present', *Economics and Human Biology*, 2 no. 1 (2004), 45-55; Ş. Pamuk and J.L. van Zanden, 'Standards of Living', in S. Broadberry and K. O'Rourke (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2010), I.217-334. According to Boonstra and Mandemakers even during the entire century: "Ieder is het kind"; though according to Wintle, much briefer: *Economic and Social History*, 71-3. Thanks to J.W. Drukker for directing me to this literature.

159 Another sign of the importance of a university education for a comfortable position among the *gegoeden* show the insecurity and frustration of a man like Everhard Potgieter, whose family could not afford his studies: Aerts, *Letterheren*, 44-6. Still, as far as I can tell, university attendance has never yet been used as a central social marker in historical studies.

160 Internationally: S. Bieri and N. Gerodetti, "Falling Women"—"Saving Angels": Spaces of Contested Mobility and the Production of Gender and Sexualities within Early Twentieth-Century Train Stations', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8 no. 2 (2007), 217-34 (about central-European women); Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen mensen*, 126-7; Frijhoff, 'Voyageurs néerlandais', 91, 94; J. Lucassen and R. Penninx, *Newcomers: Immigrants and their Descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995* (Amsterdam, 1997), 49-54; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 31. Within the Netherlands: H. Bras, *Zeeuwse meiden: dienen in de levensloop van vrouwen, ca. 1850-1950* (Utrecht, 2002); Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen mensen*, 135-7. For further references see chapter 3 Spatial desires, note 260.

these trips over several days or across country borders.¹⁶¹ It is often thought that the railways changed this.¹⁶² On the contrary, they remained expensive.¹⁶³ Meanwhile, bicycles only became affordable in the 1890s for those non-elites who needed them for work, or, at second hand, who used them for brief trips in the immediate surroundings.¹⁶⁴ Yet even of the abundant journeys non-elites made for their work, it is difficult to find personal accounts in the archives.¹⁶⁵

As said, members of the non-elite felt less need to write.¹⁶⁶ And sending letters home, an activity which we can imagine to have been as relevant to the lower educated as to the higher educated, was curtailed by its high expenses.¹⁶⁷ Moreover, the preservation of accounts by the non-elite was always less certain than that of the elite's, who had larger and stabler (family) homes.¹⁶⁸ The difference also relates to the retrospective character of most of the non-elite egodocuments, which hides journeys amidst other events so that they do not show up in inventories. Therefore, because the elite shrank in relation to the entire Dutch population until the very end of the century¹⁶⁹ the relative amount of documented journeys sank as well.

161 W. Crouwel and J. van de Wouw (ed.), *Weg wezen: recreatie vroeger, nu en straks* (Amsterdam, [1969]), 17-63; Hessels, *Vakantie en vakantiebesteding*, 67-103, 128-30; Smits, Horlings, and Van Zanden, 'Dutch GNP', 20-4, 53-4, which calculations seems to be based on an unfinished doctoral thesis by A. Vermaas, 'Wages, Salaries and Income inequality in the Netherlands, 1850-1913'; P.J.M. Teeuwen, "‘Bedrijfs vrije tijdbesteding’ [sic]: van ideaal naar verzakelijke luxe en goodwill en van patriarchale verzorging naar individualisering', in De Leeuw, Linders-Rooijendijk, and Martens, *Ontspanning en inspanning*, 100. For Britain: S. Barton, *Working-Class Organisations and Popular Tourism, 1840-1970* (Manchester, 2005). Jan Ligthart did simply not want to travel abroad: 1, 6, 21.

162 Beaumont and Freeman, *Railway and Modernity*, 28; Carnier and Gilleir in their introduction to Schopenhauer, *Vrouw op reis*, 13; T. Edensor, 'Walking in the British Countryside: Reflexivity, Embodied Practices and Ways to Escape', *Body and Society*, 6 no. 3-4 (2000), 83; P. Fässler, 'Reiseziel Schweiz: Freiheit zwischen Idylle und "großer" Natur', in Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 248; Gilroy, *Romantic Geographies*, 2; Harrington, 'Railway Journey and the Neuroses of Modernity', 230; M.F.A. Linders-Rooijendijk, 'Een beknopte geschiedenis van de vrije tijd en vrijetijdsbesteding', in De Leeuw, Linders-Rooijendijk, and Martens, *Ontspanning en inspanning*, 8-9; Prickett, 'Circles and Straight Lines'; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 35; Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld*, 335; Wrigley and Revill, *Pathologies of Travel*, 3-4.

163 Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 58; Lintsen et al., *Geschiedenis van de techniek*, II.141.

164 L. de Vries and I. van Amstel (ed.), *De dolle entree van automobiel en velocipee* (Bussum, 1983), 47, 60, 90-1, 117, 119, 129.

165 This is why some travel historians assume that the poor did not travel, e.g. Carnier and Gilleir in their introduction to Schopenhauer, *Vrouw op reis*, 13; J. Robinson, *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford, 1991), 1.

166 See section 2 Travel egodocuments.

167 Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 63. The egodocuments by Tjeerd Kolk and Imke Klaver indeed show a less frequent letter-writing practice than those by the selected elite travellers: T.H. Kolk, 'Een Friesch schutter in den Tiendaagschen Veldtocht', *Leeuwarder Courant*, editor unknown (18-19 Feb. 1931). I. Klaver, *Herinneringen van een Friese landarbeider*, G. Harmsen and J. Frieswijk (ed.) (Nijmegen, 1999), 145.

168 Also noted by Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Accounts', 288.

169 De Vries, *Stad vol lezers*, 406-11.

To give a tentative estimate of the absolute number of Dutch people who at any time during their lives travelled abroad (including undocumented journeys), using a statistic of British travel accounts: this may have been between four hundred thousand and one million between 1814 and 1915, or about one in fifteen people born.¹⁷⁰

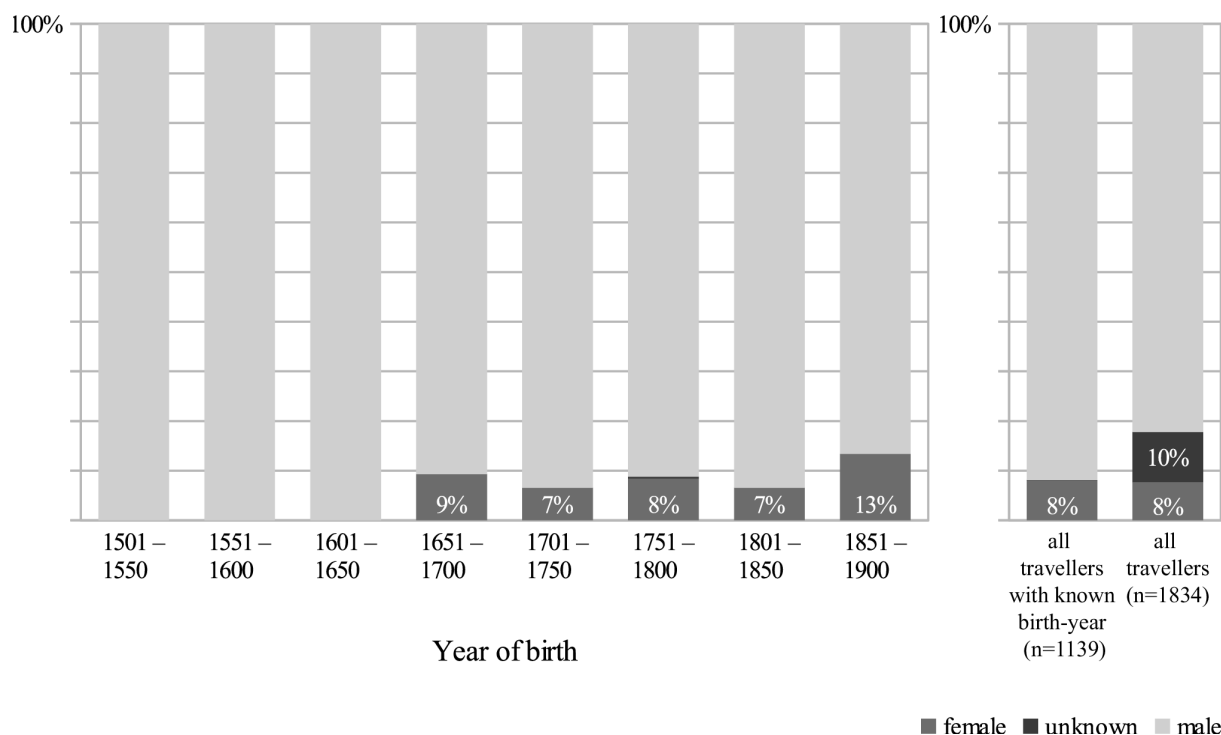


Figure 2.4: Gender of the collected travellers by year of birth.

A second important feature that set some travellers apart from others, was gender. Figure 2.4 shows the gender distribution of the collected travellers in birth cohorts of fifty years. Clearly, women were a tiny minority among writing travellers. Dramatically, the earliest Dutchwoman by whom we know any travel egodocument was born only in 1657. But even then, when the evidence of travelling Dutchwomen builds up, we find only a few: the entire first cohort consists of four women: an emigrant, a soldier's wife and spy, a devout lady, and a lady of leisure. Some have argued that the proportion of female travellers rose in the nineteenth

¹⁷⁰ Writers of more than one distinct text were counted multiple times; probably in the British study as well. Based on Heafford, 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism', 33-4 who in turn uses the bibliography by G.R. De Beer, *Travellers in Switzerland* (London, 1949). Heafford found that about one account was published for roughly two hundred fifty to five hundred Swiss journeys made. This rate is confirmed for Dutch travel accounts by comparing Frijhoff, 'Voyageurs néerlandais', 92 to the collected journeys to Paris in 1805-09. For the number of people born, see K. Mandemakers, 'De Historische Steekproef Nederlandse bevolking (HSN) en het project Life Courses in Context', *Bevolking en Gezin*, 33 (2004), 94.

century.¹⁷¹ Figure 2.4, however, suggests that it hovered fairly constantly round about eight per cent for centuries, and only rose above the ten per cent around 1900. Even if we were to assume that all anonymous egodocuments were also written by women, which is highly unlikely, women were to have written only eighteen per cent of travel egodocuments.

As a first major component of this gender imbalance, fewer writings by women about their own lives have been preserved than by men. Although women bore partial responsibility for maintaining family and business relations through correspondence and could, from the eighteenth century at least, respectably write about themselves when it concerned religious introspection,¹⁷² only a few surviving egodocuments are by their hand.¹⁷³ It is true that female literacy was consistently lower than male, but the difference was never more than about twenty-five percentage points.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, among the educated elite, which yielded most writing travellers, probably all women were literate. Yet the kinds of literacies differed, and the things men and women were expected to do with their skill. Especially among the elite, men learnt more languages, had more money to spend on books, more time to legitimately spend on reading, and, most importantly, were the dedicated persons to record the family history, not surprisingly, in a patrilinear society.¹⁷⁵ In the nineteenth century, when egodocuments became less chronicle-like and more individual, the imbalance becomes more difficult to explain. A role may also have been played by writers' families, who possibly preserved their mothers' and sisters' egodocuments less carefully than their fathers' and their brothers' because they deemed them of lesser intrinsic quality and of lesser relevance to the family history. This is related to the fact that those women who did come to write egodocuments, were less prone to publishing them than their male counterparts, or so the collected documents suggest. In the nineteenth century, publishing about oneself was still not

171 Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, 13; Mihm, *Packend*, 50; 'perhaps' according to Robinson, *Wayward Women*, viii; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 35.

172 Blaak, *Geletterde levens*, 234-42, 249-50; M. Huisman, "'Schrijf, want deze woorden zijn getrouw en waarachtig': religie, gender en autobiografisch schrijverschap in de negentiende eeuw", *De Negentiende Eeuw*, 34 no. 2 (2010), 140-2, 146-9; the works cited by Ruberg, 'Letter Writing and Elite Identity', 255; A. Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *Historical Journal*, 36 no. 2 (1993), 409; Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom*, 14-6.

173 Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 24, whose corpus excludes letters.

174 J. Salman, J.W. Brouwer, and B. de Vries, the sections on 'education and literacy', in *A Concise History of the Printed Book in the Netherlands*, www.bibliopolis.nl/handboek, acc. 20 July 2012.

175 See the egodocuments discussed in Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*; J. Bepler, 'Travelling and Posterity: The Archive, the Library and the Cabinet', in Babel and Paravicini, *Grand Tour*, 191-204. Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom*, 8-9, suggests similar explanations for the lack of nineteenth-century female British working-class autobiographers.

bon ton for women.¹⁷⁶ To rely solely on printed egodocuments in an investigation like this would thus be misleading.

But differences in writing and publishing do not tell the whole story. Men also travelled more than women. This is evidenced in surviving hotel guestbooks and in the registers kept by the authorities issuing and inspecting passports.¹⁷⁷ It also transpires in the travel egodocuments themselves: authors mentioned many fellow travellers and hotel guests, but only a minority of these were women.¹⁷⁸

For one thing, elite women who had given birth in the months before their family undertook a journey, and also their infants, ill children, and perhaps pregnant women, too, were considered unfit to travel. People seem to have believed that breast-feeding and travel do not go together. On the other hand, a mother who temporarily separated from her infant or young child in order to travel was equally unimaginable.¹⁷⁹ To a current critic these motivations sound ideological,¹⁸⁰ but contemporaries may have experienced them as genuinely practical objections. To breastfeed and care for a small child yourself, and to do so at home, was probably seen as the only sensible and practical way for a mother to behave. Counting a period of one and a half years per child for pregnancy and nursing, these objections probably held back the majority of women between ages thirty and fifty for ten out of these twenty years. The database indeed shows that a greater proportion of travelling girls than of travelling boys made their journeys while they were in their twenties, that is, when most of them were no parents yet.¹⁸¹ This explanation is also supported by the fact that only *one* (twentieth-century!) woman out of the twelve whom I selected for this study, left any children at home during their journey. This is indeed quite different from the eight out of nineteen *men* leaving their children at home.¹⁸² The three women in the selection who took

176 Huisman, "Schrijf, want deze woorden zijn getrouw en waarachtig", 146-9. As earlier: Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 29; Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 132-3.

177 For the eighteenth century: Dubost, 'Étrangers à Paris', 240-1. For the nineteenth century: Frijhoff, 'Voyageurs néerlandais', 91-2; Schärli, *Höhepunkt des schweizerischen Tourismus*, 238. For British travellers: Heafford, 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism', 35-6.

178 For the nineteenth century, see my selection of travel egodocuments. Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 154, found the same for earlier travellers from the southern and northern Netherlands.

179 Bake, 9, 36; Pieter Macaré, diary 7 August 1807, quoted in Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals', 287. Compare Perk, 10, 108. According to Verhoeven, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century children were deemed unfit for travel until they had reached the age of twelve years: *Anders reizen*, 147.

180 Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 25, writes that women were 'obstructed' from longer journeys, while I would suggest that most women did simply not consider them a serious option.

181 43% Of datable journeys for girls (n=98); versus 37% for boys (n=1,322).

182 Baak; Bake; Lulofs. Perk; Carel Vosmaer, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Collectie 548 Vosmaer, 17e-20e

their (foster-)children with them, all seem to have had children who no longer needed nursing. Yet even they needed care, which often came down on women's shoulders. Even once they had reached a foreign destination, therefore, women could go out less than their male company.¹⁸³

Secondly, in an elite culture where a family's status and economic possibilities were based largely on the education and occupation of its male members, and male *Bildung* was considered more important than female in the light of their political role, many trips must have been deemed unnecessary for women to make. Journeys cost money. They can be seen as an investment: an investment which women were less likely to turn into the kind of results that were then considered meaningful. Following this rationale, female rulers, scholars, artists, and reformers should have travelled, and they did indeed. But generally speaking, education and occupation were two of those terrains on which even wealthy women only marginally participated in the culture of the educated elite. Together, the barriers to travelling and those to writing and publishing, more of which will be explored in the remainder of this thesis, account for the low figure of eight per cent female travellers in the collection.

A third set of distinctions in spatial freedom was created by membership of an occupational milieu. The term is used here for networks of people who met or wrote to each other regularly, or who were acquainted with each other via a mutual acquaintance. Members were occupied with similar daily activities or worked towards the same aim, often at the same institution, whether for money or as volunteers. Consequently, they shared many places, habits, rhythms, knowledge, and skills. Contrary to the often-used parameter of social class, which was either an 'imagined community' or a community created retrospectively by scholars, a milieu was a lived community.¹⁸⁴ The army, or primary schools, to give two examples, each formed a

eeuw, toegang 2.21.271, inventarisnummer 278. Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the younger, Het Utrechts Archief, inventaris 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, toegang 2.3.01.41, inventarisnummer 1090; Ligthart; Catharina Romein-ter Marsch and Jan Julius Romein, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, archief J. Romein, inventarisnummer 725.

Around 1800, Dutch women nursed for about one year: Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 142-55; Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres', 410.

183 Kruseman-Ross, esp. 53; C.C. Wilkens-Hubert, Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, Den Haag, Familiearchief 00374, inventarisnummer 95, in box 4. Van der Staal van Piershil.

184 The existing focus on class has produced the myth about the bourgeoisie taking over from the nobility as travellers, and the 'grand tour' turning into 'tourism'. See the references in the chapter's introduction, note 101; as well as Barthes, 'Guide Bleu'; G. Ecker, 'Geschichten von Koffern', in Ph. Bracher, F. Hertweck, and S. Schröder (ed.), *Materialität auf Reisen* (Münster, 2006), 224; Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 197;

tangible world to its members. Its role in shaping desires and opportunities stretched over Dutch borders to connected milieus abroad. Consequently, on their journeys the Dutch sought out compatriots as well as foreigners who shared their own daily occupation.¹⁸⁵

Another important difference with the analytic category of the milieu is that class tends to be interpreted as a hierarchical parameter: society as a single pyramid with many gradations, implying that the most significant differences between people are quantitative rather than qualitative. It has been argued that Netherlands attached great value to refined distinctions in class or *stand*.¹⁸⁶ However, this was mostly during social exercises such as designing a seating plan for dinner or church. Such exercises signalled who should pay respect to whom, but they do not reveal anything about people's different ideals, practices, or social relations. Contrary to classes, milieus related to each other like the pieces of a complex jig-saw puzzle, rather than being stacked on top each other.¹⁸⁷

Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 34-6; Wrigley and Revill, *Pathologies of Travel*, 5; and the scholars cited by Culler, 'The Semiotics of Tourism', 156-7.

A more accurate picture is sketched by Frank-van Westrienen, *Groote tour*, 2. A similar suspicion is held by Kloek, 'Reconsidering the Reading Revolution', 293, 304, with regard to the European middle-class performing a 'reading revolution'.

I borrowed the term 'imagined community' from B.R.O. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991).

185 Frijhoff, 'Voyageurs néerlandais', 95.

186 e.g. Kloek, *Vrouw des huizes*, 155.

187 I say complex, because milieu was not the only way in which people related to each other: gender and local or regional affiliations also played a role, to give just two examples. Also, many people took part in more than one milieu simultaneously. This causes some over-representation of temporary and part-time

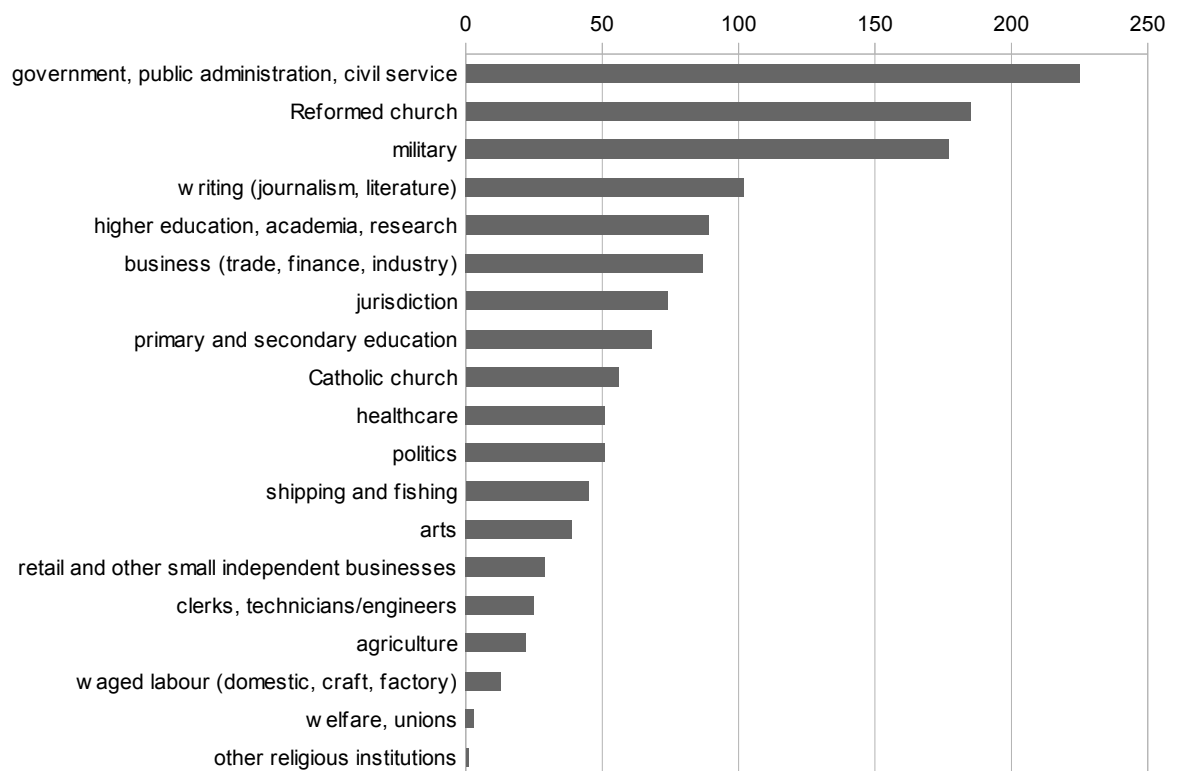


Figure 2.5: Number of travellers collected per milieu, 1500-1918.

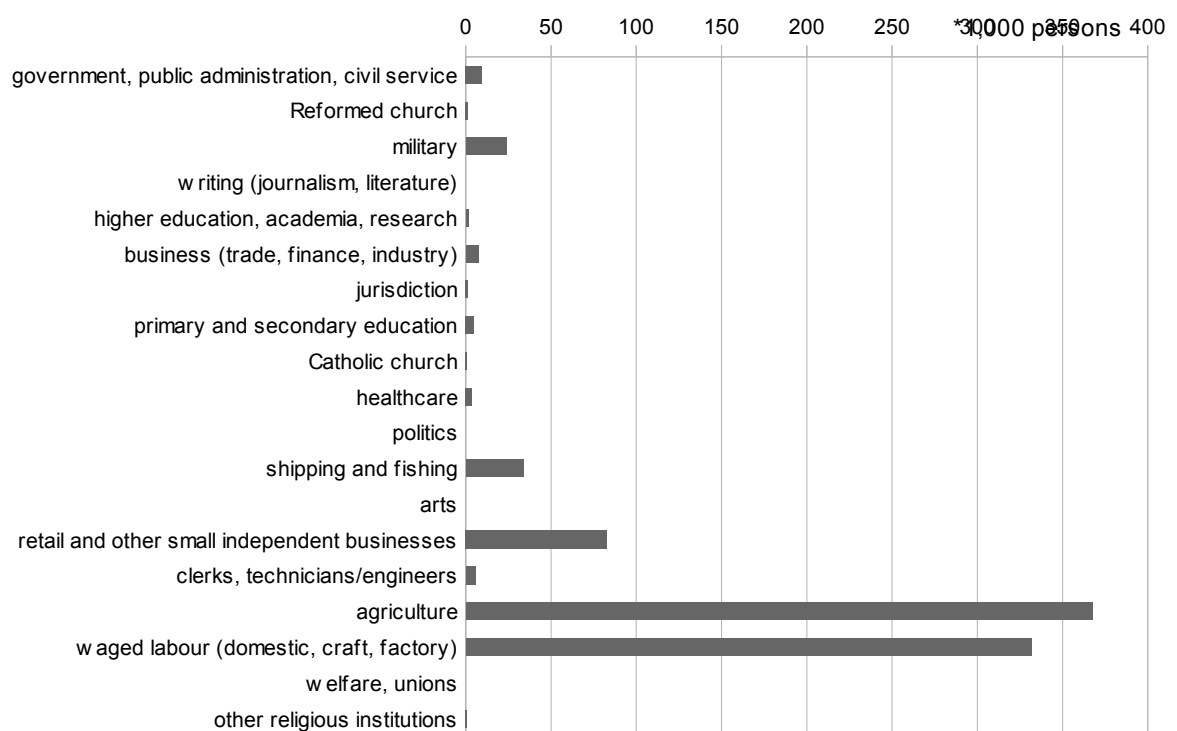


Figure 2.6: Number of (self-)employed in Dutch society per milieu, 1807.

Figure 2.5 offers an overview of travellers' milieus.¹⁸⁸ Three milieus clearly stick out.

occupations in the statistics: Boonstra and Mandemakers, "Ieder is het kind", 128, 136.

In the first place, these are the travellers working for a local, provincial, or state government. Next, there are those in the land and naval forces: travellers *par excellence* who remain strangely overlooked in histories of travel. From the seventeenth century onwards, we also find an abundance of travellers who served the Dutch Reformed Church, the unofficial state church of the Netherlands. Another strong presence in the early modern period were businesspeople, but their presence later dwindled. Meanwhile, as time moved on, travel egodocuments were written in a widening variety of milieus, such as primary and secondary education. Independent researchers and those employed by universities left a considerable portion of all egodocuments from the eighteenth century, and professional writers gained prominence in the nineteenth. Comparing Figure 2.5 with Figure 2.6, which shows the distribution of milieus over Dutch society in 1807,¹⁸⁹ confirms the dominance as travellers of the educational elite. The educational distinction cross-cut the parameter of milieu, but at the same time the social bonding happening at universities created a kind of supra-milieu. Therefore, although most milieus contained both highly and lowly educated people, those milieus with a large percentage of university graduates feature disproportionally in Figure 2.5: the government, the Reformed Church, and the military, most conspicuously. Many of the occupations that were rising toward the end of the nineteenth century, such as that of business clerk, bureaucrat, shop-assistant, or travelling salesman, merely replaced independent crafts- and salespeople among the impecunious.¹⁹⁰ Next to this, many lower- and higher-educated citizens were too much bound to their home and workplace to allow for travel, whether because of a waged or salaried job or because of an independent business such as a farm.

188 As far as they could be determined on the basis of the EUR and ING inventories, egodocument titles, or biographical dictionaries. In this manner, a milieu could be attributed to a majority of 1,106 persons. Of course, milieu may be categorized in many different ways, on various levels of detail. My starting-point were the nineteen milieus used by the ING team. This categorization, which unfortunately suffers from an elitist myopia, does not distinguish between different types of agriculture (husbandry, horticulture) or different kinds of waged labour (in factories, in homes). Although people without an income and who spent most of their time in their home and neighbourhood, such as housewives and many children, may be said to have milieus of their own, I have also followed the ING practice of attributing them with the milieu of their household's monetary income, which is usually the occupation of their husband or father. I am uncertain as to whether the ING team classified domestic production for the market as independent business or as waged craft labour.

189 Adapted to match the ING milieu categories from Smits, Horlings, and Van Zanden, 'Dutch GNP', 112. The social and professional structure of the Netherlands did not change dramatically until c. 1875: Kossmann, *Low Countries*, 265. Change occurred only in some parts of the service sector like teaching, healthcare, and finance: Smits, Horlings, and Van Zanden, 'Dutch GNP', 113.

190 Wintle, *Economic and Social History*, 299-312.

4 JOURNEYS

It has been suggested that the nineteenth century began the standardization and commercialization of travel. The formerly wide diversity of journeys and the idiosyncracies of individual travellers supposedly converged around a limited number of standard, commercial forms such as the statistics field trip, the mountaineering excursion, and, most importantly, the summer holiday, typified by a trek to the mountains or the seaside. Attention is also drawn to shifts in favoured destinations. For Dutch travellers, a shift of interest from France to the German lands might be expected considering eighteenth- and nineteenth-century anti-French sentiments and feelings of ethnic relation with Germany as well as the growing economic dependence on it.¹⁹¹ Also, a new, Romantic aesthetic is sometimes mentioned as stirring a fascination with Switzerland, possibly influencing Dutch preferences as well.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Carnier and Gilleir in their introduction to Schopenhauer, *Vrouw op reis*, 13; Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals', 295, although this may be explained by the fact that he excludes Cleves from Germany; Frank-van Westrienen, *Groote tour*, 3; Frijhoff, 'Voyageurs néerlandais', 97; Gilroy, *Romantic Geographies*, 2; Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 115; Harrington, 'Railway Journey and the Neuroses of Modernity', 245; Hessels, *Vakantie en vakantiebesteding*, 115, which purports that both France and Germany became popular only after 1900; Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour*, 1-18 (placing the shift in the eighteenth century); Linders-Rooijendijk, 'Beknopte geschiedenis van de vrije tijd en vrijetijdsbesteding', 8-9; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 35, 103; Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld*, 57, 192-4.

For anti-French sentiments see e.g. Aerts, *Letterheren*, 271; W.T.M. Frijhoff, 'Verfransing? Franse taal en Nederlandse cultuur tot in de revolutietijd', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 104 (1989), 592-609; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 84-94. Books translated from the German were reviewed about twice as often as books translated from the French in the later eighteenth century: Van Eijnatten, 'Paratexts, Book Reviews, and Dutch Literary Publicity', 116.

¹⁹² Most of the references at the beginning of this chapter, note 101; as well as Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 87-94; Carnier and Gilleir in their introduction to Schopenhauer, *Vrouw op reis*, 12-3; Fässler, 'Reiseziel Schweiz', 243-48; Hessels, *Vakantie en vakantiebesteding*, 114; Porter, *Haunted Journeys*, 26; Robinson, *Wayward Women*, 105; Sigaux, *History of Tourism*, 64; Towner, 'The Grand Tour: A Key Phase', 314; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 33-4.

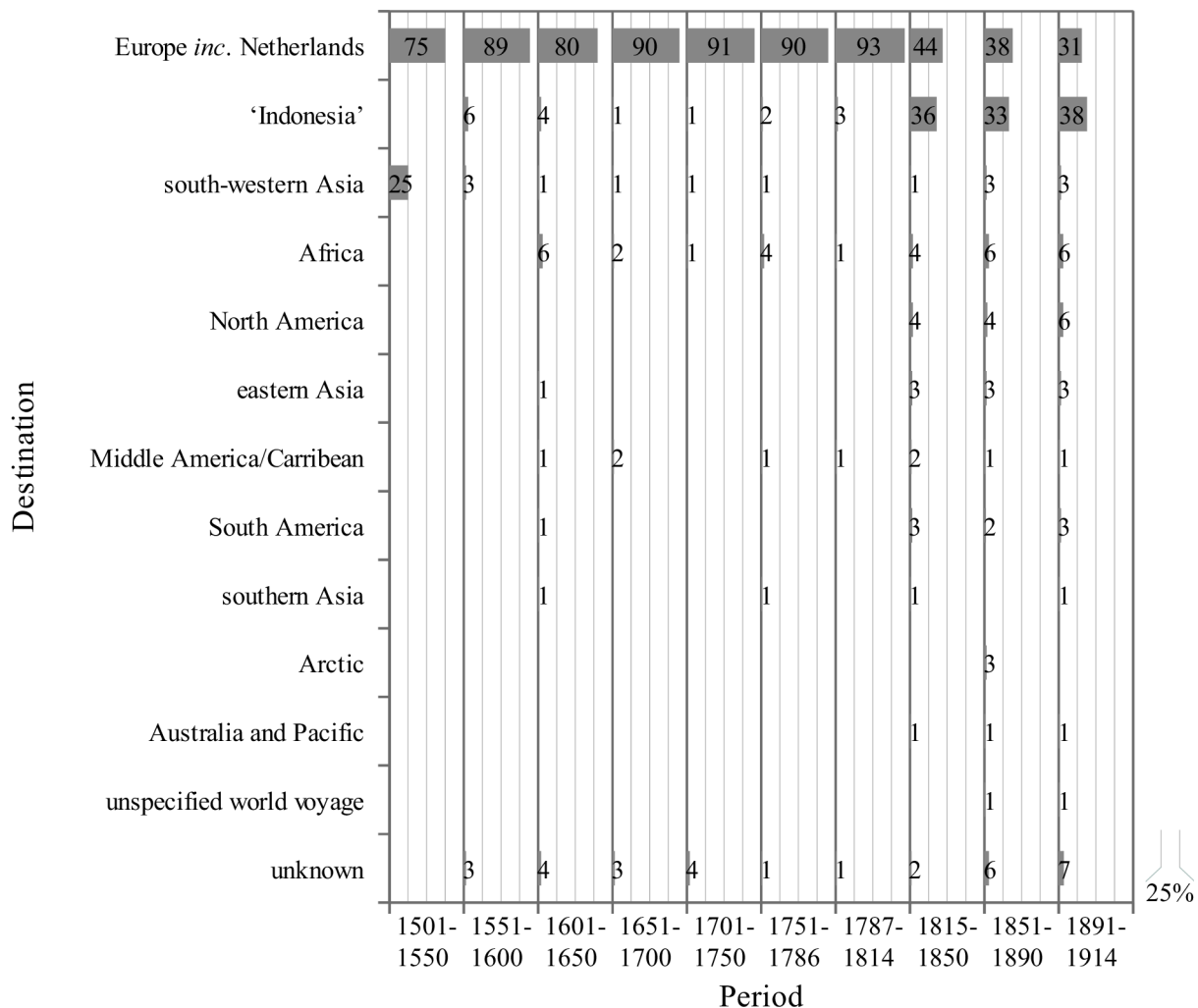


Figure 2.7: Destinations of datable journeys (by start-year) 1501-1914, in rounded percentages per period ($n=3,139$ from which $n(1501-1550)=20$ and $n(1550-1600)=35$).

Figure 2.7 shows that most Dutch travellers stayed in Europe.¹⁹³ Before 1815, Europe was only supplemented by other relatively nearby destinations, in Africa and the near East, and by south-east Asia as Dutch traders fought their way into that region's economic system. It was after the Napoleonic Wars that the Dutch East Indies, which were increasingly intensively exploited, really rose to prominence as a destination. The West Indies, on the contrary, never received large numbers of Netherlanders. From the 1840s onward, North America became a destination for migrating farmers, especially the areas south and west of the Great Lakes. At the same time, the Dutch authorities showed an active interest in the

¹⁹³ 'Indonesia' stands for journeys by Dutch travellers to what would in the nineteenth century be 'their' East Indies. My assignation of destinations to egodocuments builds on that of the ING. I counted Russia with Europe, Turkey with south-west Asia, and the Mediterranean with both Europe and Africa. Regions are designated by current names and state borders. A location is only recorded as 'destination' if a traveller considered it as a journey aim. This was to prevent the over-representation of the Netherlands and other regions that must inevitably be passed through. Still, most journeys covered multiple destinations. Although this table contains only journeys with a datable start-year, the weight of each region would be similar had non-datable journeys been included.

reforms that were taking shape in Japan. All in all, the nineteenth century witnessed a greater variety of destinations than previous centuries.

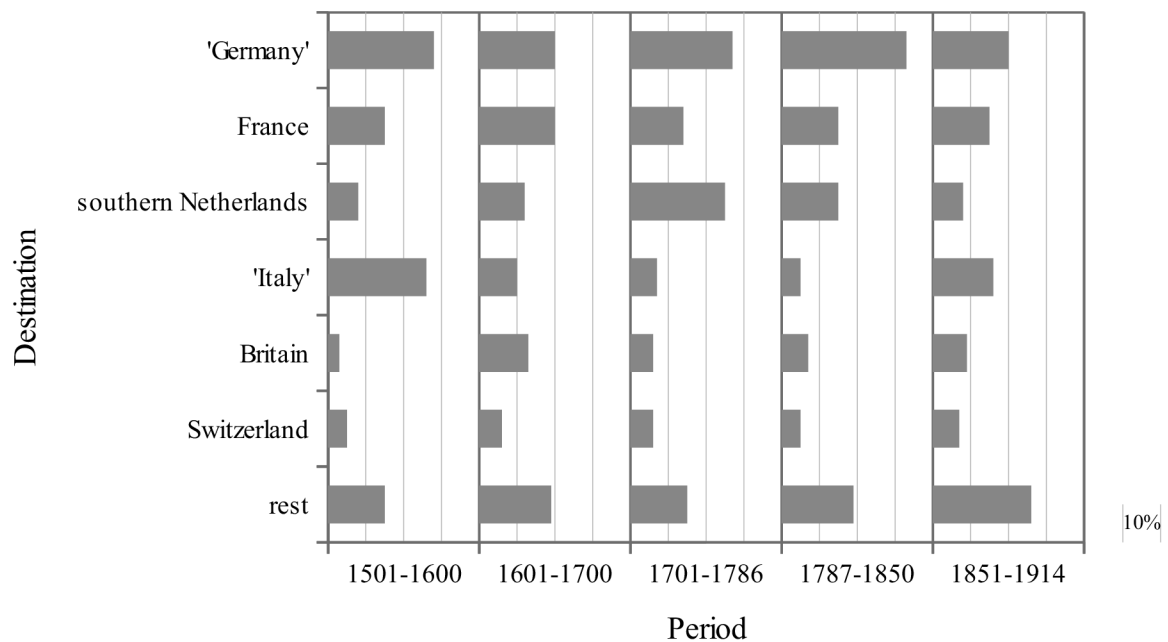


Figure 2.8: Destinations of datable journeys (by start-year) in Europe 1501-1914, in rounded percentages per period ($n=1,565$).

To an extent, the same applies to the different destinations within Europe. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a greater proportion of travellers than before visited places outside the old canon of destinations: the 'rest' category in Figure 2.8.¹⁹⁴ However, most Dutch travellers visited the same countries as ever. The canon was formed by the German lands, France, the southern Netherlands, the Italian lands, Britain, and Switzerland. They were the countries with the strongest cultural, political, and economic ties to the Netherlands. Four of them were their neighbours at some point in time. Among those, Dutch travellers did *not* lose their interest in France, although they were probably discouraged for a few decades by the anti-Protestant Edict of Fontainebleau of 1685. Nor did the German lands only come to the fore around 1800. Rather, the German states had for centuries formed the greatest foreign attraction for Dutch travellers, greater than both the Italian cities and France. Britain received somewhat more visitors during the seventeenth century, a period of alternating warfare and alliance between the two countries, but was a stable minor destination for most of the time.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ In this figure, the northern Netherlands were excluded as a destination, which means that the percentages are also calculated without taking them into account.

¹⁹⁵ Though it has been suggested that Britain became more popular in the late *eighteenth* century (Dekker, 'Dutch Travel Journals', 295) when a regular boat service was installed (Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*).

The southern Netherlands were the only country with a heavily fluctuating influx. Perhaps those who had formerly visited Britain turned to the southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century, after the Peace of Westphalia had been concluded. Perhaps this was because the southern Netherlands had become cheaper than the northern,¹⁹⁶ or perhaps they offered more trade and work opportunities in the eighteenth century. This statistic may also be due, however, to fluctuations in dutiful recording¹⁹⁷ of this region which many Dutch travellers of course had to move through to reach remoter destinations. Quite a few Dutch also considered Switzerland worth a visit, probably as their Calvinist and republican sibling. Picturesque Lake Geneva only added to the attraction.¹⁹⁸ The Rhine, moreover, led one from the Netherlands into Switzerland almost automatically. Therefore, Switzerland already received a stable though small Dutch appreciation before rugged mountains became considered an enjoyable spectacle from the late eighteenth century onwards and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Italy, to conclude, received Dutch visitors for its universities and general educational influences, especially during the sixteenth century. Still, it was never the all-important destination the historiographical focus on the grand tour of the Classics suggests.¹⁹⁹ All this goes to show that few major redistributions of preference occurred for more than four hundred years.²⁰⁰

The most popular destinations were thus those closest to the Netherlands, whether geographically or politically. And although the variety in destinations increased in the nineteenth century, very little of this change could possibly be ascribed to technological developments such as the creation of a steam infrastructure. A regular steam service to the Dutch Indies, for example, only began much later in the nineteenth century, when one third of recorded journeys had already been going there by sail for half a century. The importance of proximity applied even more strongly to lower-educated people. Their geographical horizon was narrower than that of university-educated families.²⁰¹

196 See Allen, 'Great Divergence', 426, for price differences among European cities.

197 In the EUR inventory of travel egodocuments.

198 Frank-van Westrienen, *Groote tour*, 3. The same for other (Protestant) European visitors: Heafford, 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism', 28; Sigaux, *History of Tourism*, 64.

199 As Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 50, already noted.

200 Twentieth-century holiday destinations have continued the diversification process but still show a picture remarkably similar to that presented here: 'Vakanties in het buitenland naar vakantieland', *Statline*, [statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=70232ned&D1=74-117&D2=\(1-9\)-1&HD=121130-1257&HDR=G1&STB=T](http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?VW=T&DM=SLNL&PA=70232ned&D1=74-117&D2=(1-9)-1&HD=121130-1257&HDR=G1&STB=T), acc. 30 Nov. 2012.

201 Verhoeven has found the same for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: *Anders reizen*, 138.

But whether they travelled far or near, these groups almost always had a direct economic motive. They expected to earn their living directly through their journey: through a trade deal, wage labour, or enlistment in an army. The journeys of highly educated travellers, too, were usually made partly for work, until far into the twentieth century.²⁰² For them, however, the economic benefits were more distant in time: they hoped to turn their journey into money later on, through the publication of their travel account, for example, or a future position won with the help of professional connections abroad. This work component of elite journeys has been neglected in scholarship.²⁰³ It will receive its due attention in this thesis.

Favourite months of departure and return had for centuries been the summer months, especially July for departures and August for returns. During the longer journeys, the winter was then spent in foreign towns. The custom of travelling in summer, too, seems to have diversified in the course of the nineteenth century. Here, however, it probably *was* new material conditions that made a difference: the improved roads, including railroads, made travel in the wetter months more doable.²⁰⁴

202 This conclusion is based on the titles of the collected documents and on a close examination of the thirty-nine selected journeys: see the bibliography. See also Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*.

203 e.g. by most of the works mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, note 101; as well as by J. Wolff, 'The Culture of Separate Spheres: The Role of Culture in Nineteenth-Century Public and Private Life', in J. Wolff and J. Seed (ed.), *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class* (Manchester, 1988), 126; Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld*, 398; but also Barton, *Working-Class Organisations*, 23.

204 This is based on the 783 resp. 715 journeys for which these months were recorded. For road improvements, see section 5.2 Physical capabilities and section 5.3 Inconvenient weather.



Illustration 2.2: Jean Baptist van der Hulst, portrait of Marie Cornélie van Wassenaar Obdam, 1829, kept in the Collectie Stichting Twickel, Delden, reproduction taken from upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/ce/Maria_Cornelia_Gravin_van_Wassenaer_%281799-1850%29_by_Jean-Baptiste_van_der_Hulst.jpg, acc. 25 March 2013.

The idea that travel standardized in the nineteenth century is also countered when we look at how long journeys lasted.²⁰⁵ The variation in journey duration was high during the entire period. Even in the nineteenth century it did not become unusual to stay away for more than a year. Nor had trips of only a few weeks been rare at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Within this diversity, women mostly made the briefer voyages, typically lasting between a week and a few months.

Overall, average journey duration did sink dramatically. From more than five years in the early sixteenth century it diminished to half a year around 1900, with the biggest drop taking place in the seventeenth century.²⁰⁶ Meanwhile, the distances that were covered did not diminish: think of the nineteenth-century importance of the Dutch Indies. Perhaps then, one would expect journeys to have shortened because passenger transport accelerated. Remarkably, however, travellers did not save time through quicker transportation. More substantial was the effect of their decision to stay in their destinations for briefer periods of time.²⁰⁷ It is true that barges and coaches operated increasingly efficiently, and that steam

²⁰⁵ The following is based on the 584 precisely datable journeys.

²⁰⁶ These numbers are so high because temporary migrations, for studentships and foreign offices for instance, are in their entirety treated as journeys.

²⁰⁷ See Hessels, *Vakantie en vakantiebesteding*, 116 for the period 1870-1956.

trains topped all other land vehicles in speed by the second half of the century. But they did not shorten journeys proportionally.²⁰⁸ That actual journey durations were hardly related to travel speed is demonstrated by the account of Marie Cornélie countess van Wassenaer Obdam (1799-1850). She and her employers, the Dutch Crown prince and his wife Anna Pavlovna, took more than a year to make their tour to Saint Petersburg, Anna's home. As simultaneous events demanded the prince's presence in the Netherlands he rode back and forth on a series of horses in twice eleven days.²⁰⁹ Contrariwise, decorum and politics obliged the ladies to travel in a parade of coaches and personnel and pay honorary visits to towns and to various other members of the great extended family of the European nobility. This case exemplifies nineteenth-century variety in vehicle choice and use. What it shows (and this argument will run through this thesis), is that the availability of technologies did matter for travel experience, but not in the sense that each new technology made everyone adapt their practice and changed all experience. Rather, what mattered was the range of technologies which travellers could choose from, and the range of other factors that limited or enhanced their choice.

All in all, the thesis that journeys standardized during the nineteenth century into what was to become, amongst others, the summer holiday, finds no support from the journeys in this collection. Admittedly, their duration shortened, but only on average. The selection of journeys studied in the rest of this thesis will also make clear that travellers did not specialize in particular activities: their programme remained quite varied up to World War One. Nor did a wave of commercializations take place; a theme that will be discussed later.²¹⁰

5 SELECTED JOURNEYS, WRITINGS, AND TRAVELLERS

As Rudolf Dekker warns, large samples of egodocuments pose the challenge to steer clear of the kind of crude content analysis that lacks awareness of their literary aspects.²¹¹ Therefore, the remainder of this thesis will focus on a selection of thirty-nine journeys within Europe,²¹² supplemented by a less systematic reading of a number of additional egodocuments, including

208 Nor for British travellers: Towner, 'The Grand Tour: A Key Phase', 317. For studies outlining material changes see section 5.2 Physical capabilities.

209 Van Wassenaer Obdam, 189.

210 See section 5.1 Personal connections and encounters.

211 'Jacques Presser's Heritage', 24.

212 See the appendix for an overview of this selection.

documents by non-Dutch travellers. By focusing on European travel in the years around 1825, 1865, and 1905, developments through time will continue to be followed.

The typical Dutch traveller between 1814 and 1915 whose egodocument we can still read, was a Protestant, university-educated man, living off rents or working for a salary in one of the cities or towns of the northern Netherlands, who travelled around Germany and other European regions for a few weeks or months with colleagues who were at the same time his friends, for work as well as pleasure, while taking notes in Dutch. A good early example of such a traveller is Jan Ackersdijck. He was to be a professor at the University of Liège and, afterward, after the southern Netherlands had split off from the northern in 1830, at Utrecht University, where his archives are now kept. Apart from being a lawyer initially, and receiving an appointment as a political scientist later on, he pioneered the study of economics and statistics in the Netherlands. His 1823 journey to Hungary, including what is now Slovakia, formed part of his empirical endeavours in comparative economic statistics, politics, and ethnography. Somewhat untypically, this Dutchman rented rooms in Vienna for one and a half years, undertaking several shorter European journeys from there. One of these was his trip to Hungary. When his fluency in English, French, and German proved insufficient on this trip, he had recourse to Latin, not only in academic conversation but also on the streets of Hungary, where they probably spoke a local Romance language.²¹³

A related type of journey was made by John Bake (1787-1864), a Classics professor. Both gentlemen travelled with male acquaintances. Both travelled for work—Bake copying out Italian manuscripts for further study at home. This included the meeting in person of fellow scholars whom they normally only exchanged letters with.²¹⁴ Bake, however, who had already settled down when he made his journey, could afford to stay away from his domicile in Leiden much shorter—two and a half months—and (still) demonstrated a strong homesickness. He spent every moment he could spare on letters to his wife and his two small children, sending one home every few days. Ackersdijck, on the other hand, had not yet been appointed by the University of Liège in 1823, nor married, and was therefore master over his own time.

Another variation on the scholar's journey was made by Barthold Hendrik Lulofs

213 Preface by L. Makkai, 8, and 27, 47, 60, 63.

214 e.g. Bake, 53. See section 5.1 Personal connections and encounters.

(1787-1849). Like Bake, he, too, had a university appointment (in Groningen) and had recently been married when he set out on his journey. He, too, was not accompanied by his wife or children but by a colleague. Whereas the Bakes had initially planned to travel together, the Lulofses took separate holidays as a matter of course: she stayed in the Netherlands while he went to Hamburg.²¹⁵ This may be related to the fact that Lulofs did not write about missing his wife while away. Lulofs' travel account also had a different shape and audience, however. It did not take the form of letters home, but of a two-volume, published ethnographic and personal travel narrative interlaced with poems and other quotations. Its facetious tone shows that he meant to entertain his contemporaries;²¹⁶ the publication even included a large wall print. Yet considering the many linguistic observations the author makes, he also used his books to develop and popularize his field of study. He translated most quotations, for example. In contrast to his two fellow professors, who wrote their texts (if not their neat copies) during their respective journeys, Lulofs needed the two summers *after* his journey to turn his travel diary into this substantial publication.²¹⁷

Frederik Hendrik Cornelis Drieling (1805-1855) also wrote up his account after his return. He had been to Switzerland and Lombardy, which was then under Austrian rule. More than Lulofs's, however, his publication closely followed his extensive diary. Still, according to the preface to his book, he had not intended the diary to be published while he was writing it. Such statements, however, were such a conventional signal of modesty that they should be received with some scepticism. The preface's author, Gerard Moll, professor at Utrecht University, commended the publication as the first 'unprejudiced' 'Hollandish travel account' about that 'important country' Switzerland. This was relatively close to the truth.²¹⁸ Apart from its encyclopedic value, the book here and there betrays an ambition to be of assistance to future travellers.²¹⁹ Its intended audience was wider than those with a Classical education (Latin quotations were translated), but remained limited to the French-reading elite. Like Lulofs, Drieling had trained as a lawyer, but in Utrecht. As he began his journey in 1829, he had only just obtained his doctoral degree. Of the journeys selected here, his probably came

215 I.5.

216 Also see his motto and prefaces.

217 See his prefaces and II.454.

218 But, apart from Drieling's various prejudices, an earlier published account had also existed since 1811, by the Dutch Adriaan van der Willigen.

219 e.g. 19, 135-52, 296, 302.

closest to the centuries-old model of the grand tour: a recent university graduate travelling the cities of Europe at his parents' expense, to finish his education, which pertained both to the present state of the world and the boy's position in it, and to the inspiring example of Classical antiquity. Next to his future job as a lawyer, however, he was already an enthusiastic amateur painter as well. Two of his main occupations during the journey were therefore to improve his landscape sketching skills and his knowledge of European art, in a time when photographic reproduction did not yet exist and travel was thus even more important to aspiring connoisseurs.

Jacoba Roosendael was in the same phase of her life: done with school, but not yet settled down in a household of her own. Being a girl, she had not attended university and therefore displayed somewhat different interests from boys her age. Yet overall, the sites she appreciated—mostly monuments of European history and culture from the sixteenth century onwards, as well as curiosities and natural spectacles—were surprisingly similar to those mentioned by Drieling.²²⁰ A more important consequence of her gender was that she could not simply join a friend for a European journey, as Drieling would. Her opportunity, however, came when her brother had his honeymoon. Roosendael joined her brother and sister-in-law to the southern Netherlands, France, Switzerland, and down the Rhine through Germany to the northern Netherlands again. To remember this rare occasion, she kept a diary from which she would create a neat version once back home. In Paris, Roosendael also met her future husband who was with another Dutch travel party. Although women were a minority among Dutch travellers-writers, I have chosen to overrepresent them in my selection in order to sketch their variety and because they did, after all, form half of the Dutch population.

Similarly, I have made an effort to include both city-dwellers and country-dwellers, adults and children, elites and non-elites, people from the east, the north, and the west, long journeys and brief ones. Only travellers from the provinces of Limburg, Zeeland, and Drente are lacking, which especially means that Catholics are underrepresented. The selection does include two further unlikely travellers, however: two boys from the North with little formal education. They acted as foot-soldiers fighting on the side of King Willem I to suppress the southern independence fighters that were to form the new state of Belgium in the 1830s.

Tjeerd Harmens Kolk (1805-1836) was part of the civic guard (the *schutterij*) of his Frisian

²²⁰ See section 3.2 Places to access.

locality Aldebiltsyl (now called, in Dutch, Oude Bildtziyl). Apart from this task he probably helped out in his parents' business or had a waged job in the vicinity. After his marriage in 1834, he would be a shopkeeper in his wife's family business. First, however, he was called upon together with other Frisians to march southward as part of the Dutch army's third division, first department, second battalion, in 1831. The letter he sent home some time afterward (at least, a letter is what it seems to be) indicates that he had never even been as far as the Guelder hills or the city of Nijmegen—nor did he expect his readers at home to know similarly 'southern' places. As the Dutch army was organized according to locality of residence, the Frisian battalions had the opportunity to expressing Frisian-patriotic feelings. They also showed a feudal loyalty to their 'King and lords', but not the Dutch-nationalism that one might expect from a war like this. Kolk's letter includes an ode to his battalion's banner, offered to them 'by the Ladies from Friesland'. His account gives the strong impression that this war was not his war. Rather, he took an often detached, tourist-like interest in new towns and regions, their military and economic capacities but also their beauty, cleanliness and well-orderedness, next to curiosities such as a hollow tree which could house ten of their men at the same time.²²¹

Johannes van Oostendorp (1810-1873) was normally occupied as a shipyard worker or a shipwright in the docks of Amsterdam. In 1830, when he, too, was sent southward, he was fulfilling his five-year national military service. We therefore know that he measured about one meter and a half, had an oval face, a round brow and chin, blue eyes, and blond hair.²²² Like in Kolk's, touristic and military passages alternate in his account. Van Oostendorp linked the two, however: in spite of his fatigue, hunger, and fear at the end of a march, he was able to really enjoy his first sight of Brussels; only to return to the sad fact that all that beauty might soon disappear, and at his violent own hand, too.²²³ Van Oostendorp spent altogether more words on the emotional consequences of the war than Kolk did. Not for nothing, his document was no letter but a retrospective, written in or after the middle of the century. He positioned his life between 1830 and 1832 in a religious perspective, blaming himself, his comrades, and his superiors for not integrating prayer into their endeavour and instead

221 See also J.A. Paasman, 'Friese schutters', *Friezen in de Tiendaagse Veldtocht*, www.friezen-in-de-tiendaagse-veldtocht.nl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=32&Itemid=29, acc. 2 July 2013.

222 See also Van der Hoeven's introduction, *Fuselier in de Belgische opstand*, 1-56.

223 Van Oostendorp, 73.

regaling their troops with 'pagan' entertainments, and, to a lesser extent, for breaching the rules of warfare. His text functioned as a confession, as well as a self-justification.²²⁴

Charles Théodore Jean baron de Constant Rebecque was even younger—thirteen—when he was taken to Brussels, Ghent, and Courtray (Kortrijk) by his parents. Belonging to the European nobility, his father was Swiss, he was born in Berlin, and he lived in The Hague and Ghent until he was sent to school in Vaassen (Guelderland) and went to Leiden for his law degree. The journey he made, under the alternating tutelage of his father, his mother, and a teacher, acquainted him and his brother with the region in the southern Netherlands that was administered by his father from the city of Courtray. Throughout the month of their journey and continuing in his subsequent schooldays, De Constant Rebecque kept a diary. Probably, this diary was a didactic exercise in geography as well as civilized writing. It is interspersed with several loose leaves on which maps have been drawn by hand, and one column had been reserved for the names of the places they travelled through, which was complemented with demographic and other notable facts as well as their own travel activities. Quite politely, he called everything 'amusant', 'fort jolie', or 'très-beau'. Also, the multi-ruled notebook helped to align his writing. But the diary was a memento of his (first?) journey to the southern Netherlands as well. Later on, De Constant Rebecque would continue to make journeys to Ghent and its environs every summer, the diary shows. It was faithfully maintained only when his parents were around, however.

Much freer, both in his movements and in his writing, was Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort (1797-1863).²²⁵ Being a patrician and rentier, his practice as a lawyer and his membership of a local waterboard nevertheless left him enough time and money to travel abroad almost annually during forty years of his life. From virtually all of these journeys he saved his passports, letters, invitations, business cards, and accounts, and his notes or else brief accounts based on these notes. Since he regularly returned to places he had visited before, these had the important function of storing interesting and useful information about visited sites and technical and artistic feats. For, typical for the elite of his time, he enthusiastically followed the progress of infrastructural works over the course of several visits. De Beaufort was in London for a few weeks in 1829, for example, and again in 1860,

224 Van Oostendorp, e.g. 60, 73, 78, 83, 85, 91-5.

225 This De Beaufort will from now on be referred to as 'the elder'.

when he also saw Paris and Brussels. Both journeys were made on his own, in which he was exceptional among nineteenth-century travellers. His sisters and perhaps other female family members did sometimes join him, but not on these journeys which better represent his travel style. In line with this, he never married and he seems not to have participated in the nineteenth century's busy associational life, either. Nor did he take part in the war against emerging Belgium, as he had been declared unfit on the basis of a diseased ear. He was blond and blue-eyed like Van Oostendorp, we know from the several passports he left (though greying by 1854), but he wore a beard. He was also much taller, measuring about 1.8 meters, having no doubt been better fed in his childhood than shipwright Van Oostendorp.²²⁶

At the same age as De Beaufort made his 1829 journey to London, Henrica Françoise Gevaets went to France, Switzerland, and down the Rhine back to Dordrecht, where she lived. Gevaets, however, was married: to Cornelis Omer Rees van Tets. He was a member of several local and provincial representative bodies and a well-known collector of paintings.²²⁷ Her occupations at home in Dordrecht are less clear. It is likely that she assisted her husband in these activities, but she clearly also spent much time on her own further education: she was not only fluent in Dutch and French (the language in which she wrote), but also spoke English, German, and Italian which was extraordinary for Dutch men and women alike. At age thirty she was just as well-travelled as De Beaufort the elder. The present journey was made together with her husband, and one male and one female servant from home. Rees van Tets-Gevaets recorded her experiences, ideas, and observations during the journey in order to remember them later in her life; in specific, to extend her artistic expertise which might help her and her husband in their collecting. Possibly, she also intended the practical details she recorded to be of use on later journeys.²²⁸

As far as I can tell, the Rees van Tets-Gevaetses never had any children. This was different for preacher's daughter Anna Maria Ross (1808-1877). She had been married at a very young age to Johannes Diederik Kruseman, who had a prestigious function in the colonial administration of the east. They took their two children, Cornelia and Jantje, on their

226 Het Utrechts Archief, inventaris 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, toegang 2.3.01.22, inventarisnummers 563, 564, 565, 566. Although passports still mentioned 'aunes', 'palmes', and 'pouces', the measures given probably refer to the metric system that had been the norm in the northern Netherlands since the French period.

227 See also Garçon's introduction to *Voyage d'une hollandaise*, 7-8.

228 e.g. 11, 14, 18-20, 24-6, 83, 87, 147.

journey through Baden-Baden (where her sick husband took the waters for five months), Strasbourg, Paris, and Brussels. They also passed Saint-Omer, where Van Oostendorp was being kept by the French at that very moment. 'One can imagine that we women sympathized most vividly with everything my husband shared with us', Kruseman-Ross wrote. 'We were deeply moved with [sic] the fate of our unhappy warriors'.²²⁹ Apart from their children, they brought one Helena, who also took care of the children occasionally. It remains unclear whether 'our friend Leentje' was a friend of the family or a paid child-minder.²³⁰ Because they were with three adults, they could make outings in various configurations, one or two persons watching each or both of the children, while the other(s) escaped this responsibility for a while. Even Johannes Kruseman made trips with his children, for example to Paris's dedicated children's theatre. Still, most care came down to the two women of the party, while Kruseman arranged their financial affairs.²³¹ Kruseman-Ross's diary was not just meant for her own future self, but also for her children when they grew up, and for her sister-in-law. It is unclear, however, if her diary, dating from 1832 to 1833, was already meant to become, after only superficial editing work, the book that was to appear in 1834. Either way, she expressed her astonishment that she had now become a published author.²³² This was indeed no ordinary achievement for a woman, as we have seen above.²³³

Cunera Cornelia Wilkens-Hubert (1786-1825) and her husband also travelled with their child, as well as one male servant. Again, the direct cause for the journey had been an ill husband. As a colleague took over his work as a trader and factory-owner, the family had an opportunity for some 'diversion.' Apparently, this in itself was expected to cure an ill throat. Besides, Johannes Theodorus Wilkens needed some peace of mind as well, he admitted in his own diary of the journey. But amongst various popular cities and towns in the northern and southern Netherlands and Germany, they also visited Spa for a water course. In Arnhem, Wilkens-Hubert herself fell ill. This time, it apparently concerned a disease that could not be remedied by travel but, on the contrary, required stasis. They therefore postponed their

229 80: 'Dat wij vrouwen het levendigste deel namen in al hetgeen mijn echtgenoot ons mededeelde, is wel na te gaan. Wij waren diep bewogen met het lot onzer ongelukkige krijgslieden.'

230 28.

231 e.g. 50, 51, 53, 61.

232 2-4: 'Had ik immer kunnen denken, dat ik ooit iets in druk, zegge in druk, zoude hebben gegeven! Waar komt men niet al toe?'

233 See section 3 Travellers.

schedule for a few days.²³⁴ A notebook was bought at the start of the journey, in Brussels, for the diary which she and their son Jean, about eleven years old, were to keep together, in French. Most of the text was supplied or at least written down by Wilkens-Hubert, but some lines are in a different hand and voice, speaking of 'Mama et Papa'.²³⁵ Like De Constant Rebecque's, the text may have had pedagogical purposes. It was also used for various lists of gifts and expenses.

Marie Cornélie countess van Wassenauer Obdam was one of few writing women in the 1820s who travelled without male family members. She went to Petersburg and other European aristocratic abodes as part of her training to be a lady-in-waiting to the Dutch royal family. At the same time, she ran her own estate, one of the richest in the Netherlands. She was attached to the freedom she enjoyed in her own homes, and used her letters, drawings, and detailed diary to air her dislike of the formal tsarish environment she spent a large part of 1824 and 1825 in. But these also show the poetic and humorous powers of her writing and her love of music. Like many of her letters, the neat version of her diary was also meant for her dearly missed cousins and perhaps also other family members who could not join Van Wassenauer Obdam, her stepmother, and her equally high-ranked friend Pauline countess d'Oultremont, and their servants Frederik, Mina, and Maria (and perhaps another servant for d'Oultremont).²³⁶

At the other end of the economic spectrum stood Maarten Baak (1779-1847). He lived as a fisherman in the place where he was born, Scheveningen, or possibly in the nearby port of Delfshaven. He was also a central figure of his village, working as a so-called *catechiseermeester*, a lay religious teacher. On top of that, he published various orangist and local charitable pamphlets over the course of his life. In June 1820 he set out for a voyage of a few weeks to Antwerp, Ghent, Dendermonde, and Brussels. He travelled without his wife and children, but with a friend, with whom he was meant to promote the trade interests of this friend's father in Brussels. Nevertheless, most of the journey time that was not spent sailing or walking, was destined for sight-seeing. In 1847, just before he died, Baak wrote his autobiography, reflecting on his sins and asking for absolution. The text was also meant for

234 Also see Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, Den Haag, Familiearchief 00374, inventarisnummer 72: diary by Johannes Theodorus Wilkens of the same 1820 journey.

235 5/8, 19/8.

236 See Vinogradoff's introduction to *Visit to St Petersburg*, 10; and Coppens's notes to *Marie Cornélie*, passim, especially 51.

his relatives to remember him by, take his good advice, and learn to see the presence of God in their own lives as he saw it in his. The journey which he had made when he was forty-one and which had not just been 'on the surface highly entertaining' but had made a deep impression on him, forms a detailed passage in this autobiography, partly based on an earlier diary.²³⁷

In the 1860s, a new means had become popular to bring oneself up to date with artistic and technological developments, one that De Beaufort and Rees van Tets-Gevaets had not yet had access to in the 1820s: the international exposition. Carel Vosmaer (1826-1888) went to one. Like so many writing travellers of his century, he was a lawyer and a rentier. But he was also an art critic, and earned money through his publications, which marks him as a man of the second half of the nineteenth century. Apart from food, accommodation, and travel expenses, his accounts show, he spent much on art and on clothes and accessories when he visited Paris for two weeks in 1867. Like De Beaufort, he travelled on his own. But he did have a wife and four children. Also, he saw acquaintances while in Paris, so that he was not alone all the time. Next to his socializing and visits to the international exposition, art galleries, and evening entertainments, he had enough time left to write letters home and add a few pages to his diary for each day. This diary probably helped him write the articles and perhaps lectures that he was to give about what he had seen on this journey later on.

Wilhelmina Jacoba Pauline Rudolphine Krüseman (1839-1922) partially moved in the same circles as Vosmaer. She, too, travelled to Paris, in 1870. For her, however, it was not self-evident to travel alone, as we will see later.²³⁸ She was the daughter of a retired military officer, but also a singer, pianist, and actor who wanted to take classes in Paris for a number of months or perhaps a whole year. Her egocent is a series of letters written to various friends and acquaintances during this period of her life.²³⁹ These letters contained information about her whereabouts, her activities, her frustrations as an ambitious and outgoing single woman, but also about the Franco-German War which she had ended up in the middle of; and it contained reassurances of her well-being and sensible behaviour. Several years later, she

237 137: 'deze reis was uitwendig voor mij vermakelijk'.

238 See sections 4.1 Identity documents and 4.3 Social identity.

239 M. Krüseman, *Mijn leven* (Dordrecht, 1877). Also see Margot de Waal's introduction to *Alles bevalt mij behalve rust: brieven* (Amsterdam, 1986), 7.

decided to publish a censored but dense selection of her letters that should defend her against unjust criticism on her existence as an artist. Possibly, she also hoped to earn something by this publication. After all, as an artist and social critic Mina Krüseman made quite a figure in Dutch society of her day, so that she could expect people to be interested in her life.

Eliza Carolina Ferdinanda van Calcar-Schiotling (1822-1904) was one of the other famous feminist reformers of the second half of the nineteenth century. She was raised first by her single mother, and later also by her supposed father, whose name she adopted. From an early age she earned an income of her own rather than relying on family or investments, which made her position within the elite somewhat unusual. Even after her marriage to an entrepreneur, the couple continued to depend on her earnings. She began as a teacher, governess, and author of children's books and novels for older readers. Later, she would become involved in educational reforms, all the way up to the national level. In 1858, she made a journey to Brussels and Paris to promote the didactic method of Friedrich Fröbel and learn more about the educational state of affairs abroad, together with two fellow campaigners and teachers. Her husband did not accompany her on this journey. He, together with other family and friends, and generally those who could not visit Paris themselves, were the professed audience of Elise van Calcar-Schiotling; and, being a popular author, she could expect to supplement her income with this book. It was published in 1859 but closely followed her travel diary.²⁴⁰

Marie Adrien Perk (1834-1916) and Jan Willem Staats Evers (1828-1894)²⁴¹ also both published about their journeys. The somewhat younger Perk went to Switzerland, the Italian lands, and France with two friends in 1861. At home, he was employed as a preacher by the Wallonian church of Dordrecht. Like Bake and Lulofs, he left his wife with an infant to look after. Evers visited France, Italy, Austria, the Czech lands, and Germany in 1870. He was a lawyer, local and regional political representative, and amateur local historian. Both had been asked by friends to publish their adventures—at least, this was what they told their readers—which they did, first in the form of lectures to several of the learned, literary, patriotic, and philanthropist societies they were a member of, and later as a book. Both wanted to stimulate and guide future travellers (only elite travellers, it went without saying), in particular to Italy.

240 See both the internal evidence and her explicit statement on this, e.g. 192, 302, 421.

241 J.W.S. Evers, *Honderd dagen in Italië en Midden Europa [sic]: reisherinneringen* (Arnhem, 1872).

Both also tried to show off their intelligence and knowledge and to share their superiority over other nations with their Dutch readers. Yet in spite of these aims and the retrospective character of the editions, their narratives remained largely based on their daily notes and caught the men unawares in many of their ideals and expectations.

A second Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort (1850-1929, from now on referred to as 'the younger') travelled central Europe in those years. This boy, too, was a rentier. He already travelled without his parents in 1871, while he was still at university, and yet it was no academic journey: he emulated the old grand-tour practice. On this journey he was joined by two befriended aristocrats, probably also from Utrecht University. De Beaufort would soon acquire various administrative responsibilities *and* two families in a row, with (at least) four children. Yet he continued to travel regularly. In or about 1911, for example, he revisited the area, including, again, Berlin and Dresden. He was just as careful in saving his old passports as his older family member and namesake had been. These show that he, too, had worn a blond beard, but had had brown eyes. His autograph, however, was almost identical. From both journeys, De Beaufort the younger left us small sets of travel notes made on the spot, some of them on hotel letter paper, which were perhaps intended as memory aids to himself.

In 1878, Anna Maria Ernestine Louise Huydecoper (1853-1889) was to marry De Beaufort the younger. First, however, she, too, made several international journeys. One of these, in 1869, led to Bad Ems and its surroundings, recently annexed by Prussia. Unlike her future husband she was not at university; rather, she was still living at home with her parents, probably being taught from there and being prepared for the running of a household of her own. Neither did she travel alone or with friends: she accompanied her aunt and uncle, their three small children, and their nurse. Later on, her own mother joined them. She wrote down her experiences in two letters to her sister, the first of which was expressly to thank her for a letter and wish her a happy birthday, but also to tell her of their journey (it was written on local letter paper headed by a landscape print of Bad Ems 'vom Lustgarten aus'). The sister was to extend her greetings to the entire family, Huydecoper wrote at the end of her first letter. This is a sign that the letter was *not* meant to be read aloud to them as seems to have been so common in the western history of reading: a clue in the puzzle of the 'reading revolution'?

Indeed, she sent her brother separate letters of this holiday.²⁴² Over the course of her life,

242 Het Utrechts Archief, inventaris 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, toegang 3.01.48.2, inventarisnummer 1080,

Huydecoper's letters also show an interesting shift from the use of French to Dutch, which may show the disappearance of her educators' influence or, alternatively, trace the general fashion among the Dutch elite.²⁴³

Maria Anna Catharina Mensing (1854-1933) was of a similar age as Huydecoper when she left her parents' bookshop in The Hague, from which she took an empty notebook to use as her travel diary. She would continue this diary with long intervals after her journey, and use the same notebook for other types of writing as well, much later in life. Such economizing betrays quite a different mentality and level of wealth than that of the elite, when it came to the use of writing materials. Marie Mensing was being trained as a primary-school teacher, was perhaps even already engaged as a teacher, and would later become a political activist achieving the post of secretary to the Sociaal-Democratische Partij, a communist party, created in 1909. The cause and circumstances of her journey remain somewhat in the dark: she travelled with someone she called 'de jufvrouw' but it is unclear whether this was an unmarried acquaintance who acted as a companion and perhaps chaperon (or perhaps it was the other way around: Mensing acting as companion to this 'Miss'), or her own private teacher or governess, or even a nurse: Friedrichroda, their destination, was a health resort, after all.²⁴⁴

Otheline Agathe van der Staal van Piershil (1809-1871) had no children of her own. She had been married to Abraham Margarethus van Wickevoort Crommelin, but when he had died, a few years into their marriage, she moved to live with her sister Agnès and perhaps her sister Adèle as well (another possibility is that one or both of them had already lived in with the married couple). When, years later, both her brother and her sister-in-law died shortly after one another, she took in their three young children. Taking care of them, as well as of her sick sister Adèle, was no easy task, but she did her best, using her diary to express her occasional despair and take herself to task on her merits as a pedagogue and a Christian. Otheline van der Staal van Piershil travelled very little in her life, which was extraordinary for a patrician. Perhaps her financial position played a role, for after several inheritances and her foster-children's annuity had come in, the three sisters, with the three children and two female servants-governesses, suddenly packed their bags and left for France and Switzerland. Her unhappiness and lack of self-confidence did not make her stay there an easy one, however,

26/7, 30/8.

243 See section 2 Travel egodocuments.

244 International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, archief Muijzenberg-Willemse, inventarisnummer 104.

and especially their longer train passages (which she singled out as 'voyages') were no joy for her.²⁴⁵

Analephis is the only Catholic in my selection of travellers. Although by the turn of the century Dutch Catholic political and cultural emancipation had come a great way since the so-called Restoration of the Episcopal Hierarchy in 1853, Catholic travellers from that time remain hard to find north of the great rivers. But in 1909, a small volume of 'travel reminiscences' by 'Analephis' appeared with a publisher in Amsterdam. Analephis was the pseudonym of a person travelling to Lourdes on their own around the Jubilee Easter of 1908, which commemorated the appearance of the Holy Virgin fifty years earlier. The book defended Catholic custom and faith against its detractors. It also served to comfort the bereaved, check apostates, and remind those that had been helped in Lourdes (or elsewhere) to be grateful. These facts, Analephis's familiarity with Lourdes, and his unaccustomedness to long working-days make it likely that Analephis was well-off, and that he was a priest.²⁴⁶ Meanwhile, many aspects of his journey were typical for other kinds of travel in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century: his journey by train, for example, and the resemblance of Lourdes's immersions into blessed water to secular spa practice. Over and above that, this entire operation, where one small town in the Pyrenees received a million visitors in improvised accommodation, constituted a special development that was also visible in the scout rallies (later called jamborees) and war refugee camps of that same period.

Gillis Ernst Willem van Hille (1872-1944) encountered quite a different place, in 1901. The Greek islands where this budding archaeologist and his co-traveller professor Wilhelm Dörpfeld hoped to find tangible remains of the Homeric stories, were not much used to receiving foreigners. Ernst van Hille was a relatively poor student, first staying with his parents and later working as a teacher of Greek and Latin to supplement his income. It was only with the help of various travel bursaries and sponsors that he could make several journeys to Italy and Greece. He published a long article about his 1901 journey in the doctrinal-liberal *De Gids*, an *algemeen-cultureel tijdschrift*, or general journal. His urge to

245 23/5, 26/9, 4/10, 11/10, 16/10, 22/10.

246 3-7, 10-12, 20, 42, 72.

publish probably stemmed from his enthusiasm about the nature, culture, and history of these islands (although in practice he did not always appreciate their heat, or the behaviour of the people he had to deal with).²⁴⁷ We may speculate that he also wanted to convince his more affluent readers of their historical significance so as to secure funds for future expeditions.

Henriëtte Sophia Suzanna Kuyper (1870-1933) went on a somewhat similar quest. She was the daughter of Protestant preacher Abraham Kuyper, founder of newspaper *De Standaard*, of the orthodox Anti-Revolutionaire Partij, and of the Free University of Amsterdam, and leader of the *Doleantie*, the secession of orthodox churches from the Dutch Reformed Church. In spite of having such an eminent and learned father, Henriëtte Kuyper was frustrated in her desire to attend university. She worked in her parents' household and became secretary to her father and to the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands. In the meantime, however, she further educated herself and translated and wrote historical and religious fiction and non-fiction. As soon as she gained the time to travel abroad, she also began to publish travel accounts in Reformed magazines and in book-form. Two of these were her 'Letters from Meran' and 'Letters from Italië', written during a journey of three months to Merano, Bologna, Rome, Florence, and Venice. Her personal quest, similar to that of Van Hille, was to experience the significant places of Christian ancient and modern history, and to acquaint herself further with great western art, including, perhaps surprisingly in this period of pillarization, Catholic works. Her aim was also to educate her less well-lettered audience in Roman and western-European (art) history, *and* in how everything in it followed a divine scheme.

Rather more like Elise van Calcar-Schiotling, Gerard Jan Ligthart (1859-1916) travelled to *bring* insights to a foreign country. Jan Ligthart grew up in a large family in one of Amsterdam's poor workers' quarters. He became teacher and later director of a primary school in The Hague, and a didactic reformer. His didactic ideas, which he called 'Het Volle Leven' (the full, or complete, life) and which acquainted his pupils with the daily practice of economic production, had spread as far as Sweden. There, he was invited by the board of the Högre Samskola of Göteborg to lecture about his method. This led to further invitations to Stockholm and Copenhagen.²⁴⁸ Apart from lecturing, Ligthart and his wife, who travelled with

²⁴⁷ 276.

²⁴⁸ v-vi, 3, 48-9.

him, and who also was a primary-school teacher and fellow reformer, visited various Swedish colleagues and interesting sites. Once he had returned to The Hague, Ligthart used the tangible mementoes taken from their journey to write an account in the pedagogical weekly *School en Leven*, which method probably coloured his memories with a kind sentiment.²⁴⁹ The ensuing text did not only serve to promote his own didactics but also to showcase the Swedish school system and didactic developments, which he admired, to Dutch parents and educators.

The teetotalling and vegetarian Ligthart shared his practical idealism with Imke Klaver (1880-1967). After finishing school at age eleven, Klaver had first been a day labourer in the environs of his mother's home in Bontebok aan de Schoterlandse Compagnonsvaart, Friesland. The agrarian crisis, however, meant that nearby farmers and other employers had less and less need of his help.²⁵⁰ In 1899 he therefore crossed the border to Germany for the first time to search for employment. He would live in Westfalen and the Ruhr area on and off for ten years, until his marriage. During the autumn and sometimes the summer he would be in Germany at infrastructural and building works, and the rest of the year he would work in Friesland, on the land or elsewhere. Meanwhile, he would read as much non-fiction as he could lay his hands on, educating himself in marxist theory and history among other things. He also tried to learn German, and Italian from a co-worker. Later in his life, Klaver crafted an autobiography for his children from the various earlier egodocuments he had saved, assisted by external reference works. This contained his seven German journeys.

In contrast to Klaver, who had to walk a lot, the wealthier Carel Fredrik Gülcher (1890-1972) already owned a bicycle in 1902. Together with his father he made a cycling tour from The Hague up the Rhine. Even then, they used the railways for large stretches of their itinerary. That is, although the author of this manuscript nowhere mentions their own name, their age, gender, and family relations suggest the young Carel Gülcher.²⁵¹ He was born among a family of sugar and cotton plantation administrators in Surinam. Together, he and his father visited family members in the Netherlands and abroad as well as famous sites during their three-week journey. Gülcher kept a diary of these events which may, like De Constant Rebecque's and Jean Wilkens's, have been an educational assignment.

249 259, 285-6.

250 Also see the introduction by Ger Harmsen in Klaver, *Herinneringen van een Friese landarbeider*, 9-17.

251 Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Collectie 371 Gülcher, 1762-1980, nummer toegang 2.21.077, inventarisnummer 17, 7/8, 8/8, 11/8, 13/8, 22/8, 24/8, 26/8.

Catharina ter Marsch (1862-1912) and Jan Julius Romein (1862-1930), married in 1889, also earned their income by directing an enterprise (her father's tin factory). Ter Marsch had also been a Sunday-school teacher and studied the arts, next to her work around the home, while Romein had formerly served as a naval officer. After earlier financial troubles they had now settled down in Rotterdam as a comfortably off family with three children. In 1889 they had begun a diary together, entitled 'Our Bridal Days'. They were still writing in it, in alternating hands, when they made two foreign journeys in the 1900s: the first to England in 1903, and the second to Germany in 1906. Unlike most nineteenth-century mothers, Kate Romein-ter Marsch did not stay at home with her school-going children, nor did these join their parents on their journey. This family, at least, had become of the opinion that young children could do without their mother as well as without their father for one or two weeks.

These thirty-nine journeys are at the centre of my analysis. They were made by a wide variety of people including others than the more typical nineteenth-century Dutch writing travellers. For each of them, the pivotal consideration was whether a journey seemed worth a financial investment and fitted in with their existing economic and familial obligations. Still, overall, the more financial power a person had, and the more freedom to arrange their time, the greater the chance that they made a journey. And the more prominent writing was in the traveller's life and family, the more likely it is that we still have a text of it.

Chapter 3

Spatial desires

1 PLACES PUBLIC AND PRIVATE?

In 1829, rentier and jurist Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the elder added the following sentence on London to his travel notes. 'Among the places of Public entertainment the Vauxhall qualifies, too, where the London world amuses itself on fine summer nights.' Remarkably, Vauxhall Gardens could be called a 'place[...] of Public entertainment', and yet only an elite (the 'London world') had access to it, if not necessarily just the university-educated.²⁵²

The opposition between the 'private' and the 'public' is prominent in twenty-first-century debates about the social organization and experience of space. Many discussions of how people used space in the past also deploy a public-private terminology and categorization.²⁵³ Because the public-private terminology is so pervasive it may feel like the natural starting-point for an examination of people's interaction with places. In fact, however, it only leads to confusion. In an illuminating essay, Jeff Weintraub writes that 'different sets of

252 De Beaufort, inventarisnummer 564, fo. 12^r: 'Onder de plaatsen van Publiek vermaak komt ook de Vauxhall in aanmerking waar zich bij fraaie zomer avonden [sic] de Londensche wereld vermaakt.' The interpretation of the word 'wereld' presents a challenge: apart from the elite, it could also denote any social grouping, for example geographical: 'Wereld, znw.', *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (article from 1990), especially sub 16 and 20. The entry fee to the Gardens was a high four shillings and sixpence in those years, however: 'Vauxhall Gardens', en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vauxhall_Gardens, acc. 25 June 2013. Peter Borsay makes the same argument about the eighteenth century: 'Pleasure Gardens and Urban Culture in the Long Eighteenth Century', in J. Conlin (ed.), *The Pleasure Garden, from Vauxhall to Coney Island* (Philadelphia, 2013), 65-71.

253 For many examples and an analysis see J. Weintraub, 'The Theory and Politics of the Public/Private Distinction', in J. Weintraub and K. Kumar (ed.), *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy* (Chicago, 1997), 1-42. Some of this secondary literature will be discussed in section 4.3 Social identity.

people who employ these concepts mean very different things by them—and sometimes, without quite realizing it, mean several things at once.²⁵⁴

This is so not only in current scholarship, but in nineteenth-century egodocuments, too. The concepts were among other things used to describe the funding, ownership and maintenance of touristic sites such as scenic footpaths and museums, as well as roads and poor relief. In such cases the term 'publiek' and its synonym 'openbaar', like 'op gouvernementen kosten', denoted governmental funding. 'Particulier', then, were services financed or owned by a person, family, or other non-governmental body.²⁵⁵ Yet these words did not reveal whether non-owners, such as foreign travellers, might nevertheless use the places. They merely informed visitors where to request admission. The noun 'particulier', to continue, could refer to someone without a profession or someone not acting in their professional capacity.²⁵⁶ A 'publiek', on the other hand, was an audience, or else a group of people using a place but not working there.²⁵⁷

Often called 'publiek', furthermore, were activities that stretched beyond a circle of direct acquaintances, and places where such activities should take place: De Beaufort's 'public' Vauxhall, for example. Van Wassenauer Obdam's formal palace gatherings with the tsarina were also called 'public'. Nevertheless, they were highly selective, for such places were never 'public' for everyone. Often, they were 'public' only for the educational elite that made up the bulk of writing travellers.²⁵⁸ As with the public schools of England, a membership criterion existed: these 'public' places were places outside the home where the members of an elite met. At the 'public table', more usually called the table d'hôte, only guests with fitting financial means and demeanour were expected to take their seat. Later on in the century, 'openbare plaatsen' were more inclusive, such as the Jardin des Tuileries, where the *volk* strolled, too.²⁵⁹

254 'Theory and Politics', 1-2.

255 De Beaufort the elder 1829, fos. 12^r, 13^r; Roosendaal, 578, 596-7, 623. Perk, 27; Evers, 44.

256 De Beaufort the younger, inventarisnummer 563, passport of 1871; Van Calcar-Schiotling, 98, 146.

257 De Beaufort the elder 1829, fo. 15^r; Van Calcar-Schiotling, 158, 308, 400; Krüsemann, dedication; Evers, foreword. Ligthart, 87, 152. See Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, 69-85.

258 See chapter 2 A small prosopography of Dutch travellers.

259 De Beaufort the elder 1829, fo. 5^v; Drieling, 19, 31, 134, 178; Roosendaal, 622; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 171. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 74-5; Perk, 27, 225; Evers, 49, 62, 132. H.S.S. Kuyper, 'Brieven uit Meran' and 'Brieven uit Italië', *Timotheüs: geïllustreerd weekblad*, 13 no. 26, 206-14 no. 4, 31 (1908), 7. For behaviour at the table d'hôte, see Bake, *passim*; Drieling, 19, 21, 31, 134, 178, 184, 191, 249, 270; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, e.g. 129; Roosendaal, 432, 462, 489, 492, 498, 527; Wilkens-Hubert, 30/7, 2/8, 4/8, 6/8, 8/8, 9/8, 12/8, 14/8, 16/8. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 96; Perk, 59; Van der Staal van Piershil, daily from 8/5 and again from 10/8; Evers, 817. Analephs, 43; Ligthart, 14.

The historical phrases given by dictionaries of the anglophone, francophone and Dutch-speaking

As far as this evidence goes, at the beginning of the nineteenth century elites tended to include only their own kind in their definitions of 'public' space, whereas later travellers, elite and non-elite alike, used the term more often for places which some lowly educated too—though by no means all people!—were permitted to go. This tentative story of democratization, however, is based on a small amount of evidence which does not cover most of the space travellers used.

Yet, focusing on the spatial meanings of the public-private dichotomy, even if we use the simple definition that public places are places open to everyone and private places are all the other ones, it is impossible to divide space into two sets of places used by travellers. Not only was the distinction not explicitly made by travellers in their writing, but it does also not meaningfully relate to the practices they narrated and the experiences they underwent. At bottom, there were no places where everyone was allowed to go, nor were there places which only one person or one family or set of friends could legitimately enter.

Seemingly 'private' places, such as bedrooms, were entered by servants and courtiers in the case of rich occupants, and paying visitors in the case of poor occupants. On the other hand, they were out of bounds for members of their very own family at particular moments, such as while their occupant was dressing. Apparently 'public' places such as theatres, shopping streets, train stations, parks, or even the 'public' road were by many considered forbidden terrain—sometimes at particular moments—for inhabitants who were not properly dressed, not engaging in the right sort of activity (but, for example, sleeping or begging), or practicing a nomadic lifestyle.²⁶⁰

worlds confirm this usage until the 1870s, when 'public' became more inclusive: 'Public, adj. and n.', *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford, November 2010); 'Public 1, -ique, adj.', *Trésor de la langue française informatisé*, Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales, [no place, no date] www.cnrtl.fr/definition/public, which contains this example: Eugène Viollet-Le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'architecture* (Paris, 1872), 213: 'L'architecture de notre temps [...] est un art qui appartient à tous puisqu'il est, s'il s'agit de monuments publics, payé par tous, il doit donc se conformer aux mœurs, non d'une coterie, non d'un public, mais du public.' Note, however, that 'public' and 'tous' referred to French taxpayers and therefore excluded paupers, foreign visitors and possibly women and children; 'Publiek(I), bnw., bw., znw.', *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (article from 1947); yet note 'Openbaar, bnw., bw.', *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (article from 1899), citing the state regulation *Reglement, a bij Besl. v. 24 Nov. 1829, Stbl. 73* referring to roads and means of transport that, if my interpretation is correct, could in theory be used by everybody. All acc. 23 March 2011.

See Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, 81; Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres', 412.

²⁶⁰ These cases will be discussed throughout this thesis. Also see the literature on 'vagrancy', nomadism, and immigration: A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (London, 1985); J. Caplan and J.C. Torpey (ed.), *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World* (Princeton, 2001); Dubost, 'Étrangers à Paris'; W.J.H. Furnée, 'The Place to Shop: Class,

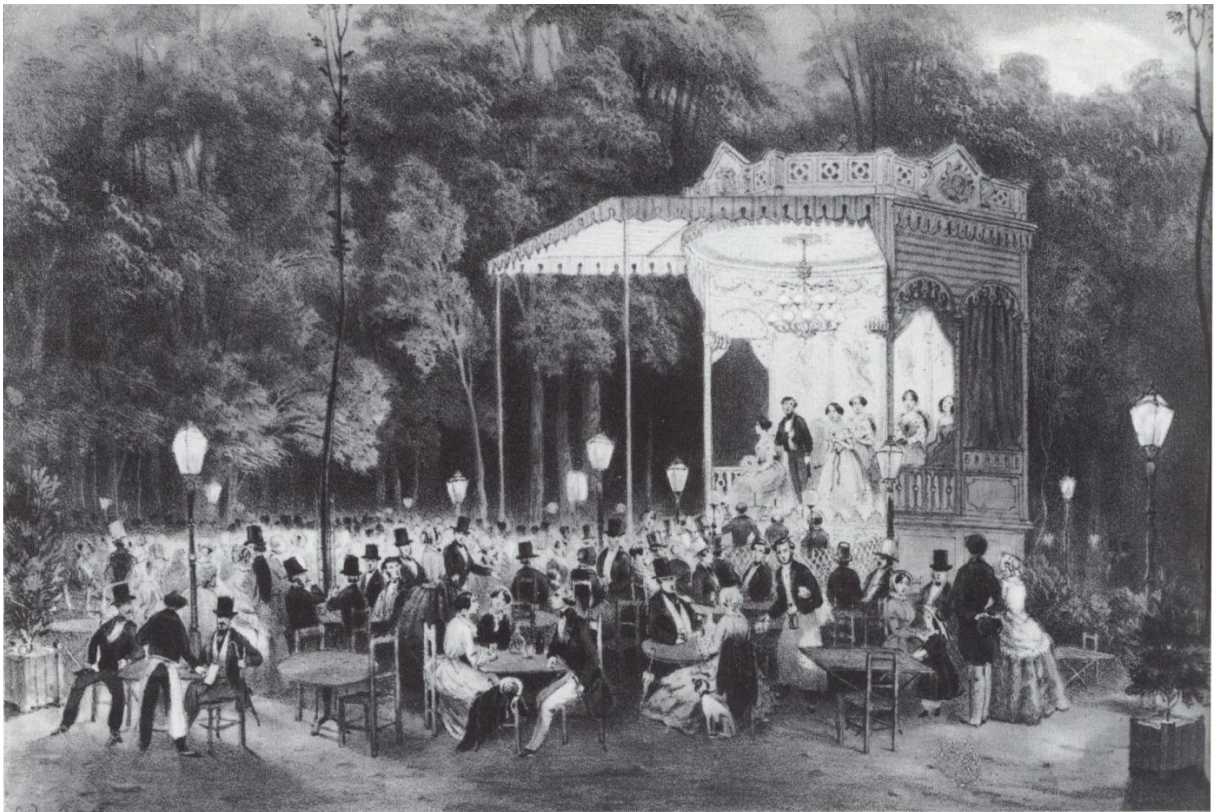


Illustration 3.1: Unknown artist, lithograph by Becquet Frères, 'Café des Ambassadeurs aux Champs-Élysées, c. 1840, now in the Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, reproduction taken from Grande Encyclopédie Larousse (1971-76), www.larousse.fr/archives/grande-encyclopedia/page/2337, acc. 25 March, 2013. These open-air entertainments clearly excluded a large part of the population.

Not only did fully open or fully closed places not exist, intermediate positions on this one-dimensional scale are equally meaningless when describing nineteenth-century places. How, for instance, could we label the living-room of a hired apartment where musicians from town came to play?²⁶¹ Nor was one set of places reserved for personal contacts, and another for impersonal contacts; or one exclusively for work, and another for 'leisure'; or one for women, and another for men.²⁶² In other words, whereas current social theorists might classify places according to a one-dimensional public-private parameter, travellers did not. Therefore, when we are forced to use the public-private glasses when looking at actual nineteenth-century travel egodocuments, the sight becomes blurred. The public-private idea does not help understand nineteenth-century day-to-day experiences.

Gender and Nation in The Hague's Shopping Streets, 1850 – 1890', seminar paper (Oxford, 14 Nov. 2011); Haupt, *Konsum und Handel*, 62; L. Lucassen, 'En men noemde hen zigeuners': de geschiedenis van Kaldarasch, Ursari, Lowara en Sinti in Nederland: 1750-1944 (Amsterdam, 1990); Solnit, *Wanderlust*, e.g. 251; G. Thomas, 'Women in Public: The Display of Femininity in the Parks of Paris', in D'Souza and McDonough, *Invisible Flâneuse*, 42-3; Towner, *Historical Geography*, 226.

²⁶¹ See section 5.4 Money.

²⁶² On this last dichotomy see section 4.3 Social identity.

What we want to know is whether different travellers felt they could use space as they wished, and how their experiences were formed. This was a more diverse and more creative process than simply determining—or being determined by—whether a place was 'public' or 'private'. What people did with places depended on the product of their various identities and ways of identifying, their strategies and resources for eliciting access, the use a place was set up for at a certain moment, and a host of local circumstances enabling or disabling free movement. This is what the following chapters are about.

Of course, there were boundaries to what people could do. Town planners, owners of tourist attractions, local police, and fellow travellers restricted travellers' freedom of action. So did material obstacles, and travellers' own bodily and mental incapacibilities. But these (im)possibilities had to be welded into an actual course of action by travellers themselves. Not every detail of the use of space (or time, for that matter) was governed. Moreover, some travellers went *beyond* the possibilities that were presented to them, and tried to act out alternative wishes.²⁶³ We therefore need an analytic strategy that is sensitive to the agency of travellers and the diversity of their experiences and that helps us discover new things rather than confirming what we thought we knew (such as that the world be divided into 'public' and 'private' places). Both the boundaries and the creativity become clear when we ask what people wanted to do with places, what were the possible obstructions to these desires, and how travellers nevertheless accomplished some of them.

From their egodocuments, two types of desires surface with respect to places. This is what travellers were concerned about:

1. *access*: whether they could enter the places they wanted;
2. *appropriation*: how they could physically rearrange these places to make them their own.

Travellers' experiences of power or powerlessness over space related to two processes, two kinds of desire, two 'moments' of using space, two steps in which space might be conquered, two degrees of power or forced acceptance. Another, more casual description of the two spatial desires would be to call the one 'freedom' and the other 'protection': the first is the sense that one can move about freely in various places, the second the sense that one can

263 Such creativity is emphasized by M. de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, first publ. 1974 (Berkeley, 1984); M. Foucault, 'Space, Knowledge, and Power', first publ. 1982, in J.D. Faubion (ed.), *Power* (London, 2002).

maintain comfort, homeliness or privacy according to one's own conventions, bringing some people and things in, and leaving others out. The first has to do with adapting oneself to unfamiliar space, the second with adapting unfamiliar space to one's self; the first presents an infiltration, an intrusion, the second a re-creation, a making whole according to a certain model: a restoration.²⁶⁴ The two steps share an identical prerequisite: propriety, or suitability. Different social groups could *appropriately* move in different places (access), and different people felt different places to be culturally *appropriate* (appropriation). It was all about who and what belonged where. But during the first step, the traveller was still in the uncertain position of an applicant, while during the second step they were the judge over how other people and things should behave. This thesis will investigate the first: the places Dutch travellers wanted to enter, the obstacles they encountered and the strategies they used, and the sorts of experience this led to.

2 PLACES TO ACCESS

I will begin by giving a complete list of the types of places nineteenth-century Dutch travellers wanted to access. They wanted to:

- move across Europe in stagecoaches, their own (hired) carriages, (cog)²⁶⁵ trains, or sedan chairs, on sailing-boats, rowing boats, steam ships, canal or river barges, ferries, taxi-boats,²⁶⁶ carts, mules, donkeys, or bicycles, and parts of the way on their own two feet;
- cross state borders and city gates;
- walk through towns and be driven around in cabriolets, horse-drawn or electrical tramways, omnibuses, or automobiles,²⁶⁷ or rowed about in a dinghy: through streets, over squares, to new suburbs and other interesting quarters of the city, and around the harbour;
- inspect construction works, factories, mills, bridges, tunnels, mines, world fairs, and other technical-economic exhibitions. My impression is that the rarer such technical

264 Interestingly, an almost identical breakdown of spatial desires is made in philosopher Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space*, first publ. 1957 (New York, 1964) and in geographer Yi-Fu Tuan's *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, first publ. 1977 (Minneapolis, 2001).

265 Analephis, 17.

266 Lulofs, I.61.

267 Gülcher, 9/8.

feats were in a country, the more eagerly did tourists from that country seek them abroad. For Dutch travellers, for example, factories could still be symbols of progress when they had already turned into symbols of pollution and repression for the British Charles Dickens;²⁶⁸

- visit schools, monasteries, beguinages, medicinal baths, prisons, and homes for the old, the sick, the handicapped, and the poor;
- visit shops, stock-exchanges, mints, and market halls, or just look at shop windows.

Through the centuries, cultural critics have constructed shopping as a typical women's pastime. This is refuted by the male travellers of their own time, who enjoyed shopping—both buying and merely looking—as much as did women. It was only for groceries that women usually bore complete responsibility. Journeying around Europe, men and women shopped for clothes, local foodstuffs, landscape prints, and other necessities and souvenirs with the same relish. Not surprisingly, nineteenth-century travellers did not draw a sharp distinction between touristic shops and museums, those other places of display, with the result that they often left a shop without buying anything;²⁶⁹

268 Hubert Roland pointed out German tourists' lack of interest in Belgian industrial sites in his conference paper 'German Travellers in Belgium 1830-1870. Hetero-Image(s) and Nation-Building' at the colloquium *Durch (W)Orte: Travel and Writing in Dutch- and German-speaking Regions of Europe between 1800 and 1950* (Münster, 1-2 March 2013).

269 Men shopping: Bake, 8, 10, 15, 16, 19, 22, 27, 39, 41, 48, 49, 58, 91, 100, 102, 104; Drieling, 226, 231; Roosendaal's brother, 453. HaverSchmidt's 1851 travel account in *Nagelaten snikken*, 46; Vosmaer, 24/6. Klaver, 149. More references in section 5.1 Personal connections and encounters. See Haupt, *Konsum und Handel*, 87; Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 94; C. Walsh, 'Shops, Shopping and the Art of Decision-Making in Eighteenth-Century England', 151-77, and the other chapters in Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*. By now, historians have begun to 'circumvent the modernist denigration of consumption' writes M. Poster, 'Culture and History: The Cases of Leisure, Art, and Technology', *French Historical Studies*, 18 no. 1 (1993), 135.



Illustration 3.2: The 1751 tombstone of Mme Langhans in Hindelbank, Switzerland, who had died in childbirth, was a popular sight in the early nineteenth century. Baron W.H.J. van Westreenen van Tiellandt (1783-1848), who was a prolific traveller, owned both this pamphlet and a small china replica of the tombstone: 'Tombeau de Madame Langhans, inventé et exécuté par Mr. I.A. Nahl dans l'Eglise Paroissiale de Hindelbanck à 2 lieues de Berne', no date, Museum Meermannno/Huis van het Boek, Den Haag, inventarisnummer W127 A18, resp. 1187/U. He visited the stone in 1834: W.A. Laseur and J. van Heel, *Het Museum Meermannno-Westreenianum 1848-1960: een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het museum en zijn bewoners* (Den Haag, 1998), 43-4.

- examine the architecture and (funerary) sculpture of churches and synagogues;²⁷⁰

- inspect the buildings and sessions of governmental and judiciary institutions as well as often obsolete military structures;
- visit castles, palaces, and country-houses, usually inhabited but touristically accessible, and their stables and gardens;
- examine fountains, columns, obelisks, garden-houses,²⁷¹ Roman ruins, Calvaries,²⁷² and triumphal arcs;
- climb castles, church towers, colossi,²⁷³ and other elevated points in the landscape;
- see waterfalls, unusual rock or ice formations, and other natural sights, and stroll through parks, *contre escarpes*,²⁷⁴ meadows (also useful for laundry-work),²⁷⁵ funfairs, cemeteries, aquaria,²⁷⁶ bear-pits,²⁷⁷ and botanical, zoological, and pleasure gardens, with the occasional 'illuminations': spectacular gas or electrical lighting arrangements that often even included fireworks. Few elite travellers walked long stretches, but shorter walks functioned as one of the main forms of entertainment of the nineteenth century for everyone, and were considered indispensable for one's health. Such walks could also take the form of carriage rides, which were equally called 'promenade'. The essence was not so much to get exercise as to get fresh air: in 1855, some years before their journey, Van der Staal van Piershil asked her sister Adèle in a letter to provide sets of mourning attire, especially for her orphaned niece and nephews 'car les enfants doivent sortir et avoir de l'air': 'because the children must go out and have fresh air';²⁷⁸
- see antiquities, books, paintings, drawings, prints, photographs,²⁷⁹ marbles, porcelains, human-made panoramas,²⁸⁰ dioramas, and scale-models, waxworks,²⁸¹ ethnographic objects, religious and military-historical relics, and natural history collections with

270 For synagogues: De Beaufort the elder 1829, fo. 5^r. De Beaufort the younger 1871, fo. 2^r; Evers, 11, 145. There seem to be only two persons who did not visit any religious buildings: Mensing, a communist, and Klaver, a non-Christian socialist.

271 Van der Staal van Piershil, 29/9.

272 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 175; Roosendaal, 521.

273 Or leave them for others to climb: Drieling, 162. Perk, 167.

274 De Beaufort the younger [1911?], 8/9.

275 Klaver, 151.

276 De Beaufort the younger 1871, fo. 4^r.

277 Huydecoper, 26/7.

278 Letter sent from Breda, 29 ? 1855, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Familiearchieven Van Bylandt-Halt en Van Bylandt-Rheydt, 1394-1970, toegang 1.10.15, inventarisnummer 162.

279 Evers, 129.

280 Roosendaal, 432.

281 Roosendaal, 420.

rocks and stuffed animals;

- sit in hotel salons, restaurants, *Rathauskeller*, coffee-houses or 'arabiese café's',²⁸² and ice-cream parlours;
- bathe in bathing establishments or swim in natural waters;
- attend religious services and sometimes a mass, including many a cross-denominational excursion. Many travellers were attracted by a specific sermoner;
- be present at religious processions, royal processions, military parades, and summer evening corsos;
- go to ballets, operas, and plays, (masked)²⁸³ balls, the circus,²⁸⁴ magic shows,²⁸⁵ children's theatre,²⁸⁶ cafés chantants,²⁸⁷ vaudeville or variety shows,²⁸⁸ (open-air) concerts, lectures, camera obscura shows²⁸⁹, or, somewhat later, to an '*Edison Kabinet*', all sorts of automats, inventions of Edison—in those days all something new and interesting. By inserting a 10-pfennig piece one could hear and see all kinds of things';²⁹⁰
- visit friends, friends' friends and friends' family, as well as teachers, colleagues at work, and intellectual and artistic gatherings. The majority of travellers had a strong wish to speak to old friends and make new acquaintances, and speak with them about the condition of their respective nations, about literature, the visual arts, music, religion (political antagonism between Protestants and Catholics again flared up in western Europe after 1848),²⁹¹ technology, education, and war. Though national politics and international relations were normally evaded as a topic of conversation, travellers participated in a truly cross-national civil society, a 'bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit' in Jürgen Habermas's terminology. However, the egodocuments show that in the nineteenth century, these gatherings usually took place in the homes of local

282 So called by Klaver, 149.

283 Kruseman-Ross, 71.

284 De Beaufort the younger 1871, fo. 5^r. Van der Staal van Piershil's sister Agnes, 22/9.

285 Roosendaal, 600, 608, 613.

286 Kruseman-Ross, 53, 63.

287 Vosmaer, 20/6.

288 De Constant Rebecque, 1/7; Roosendaal, 605, 612. Vosmaer, 24/6.

289 Bake, 15. De Beaufort the younger 1871, fo. 3^r.

290 Klaver, 149.

291 Ch. Clark and W. Kaiser (ed.), *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2003); P. de Rooy, 'Inleiding', in J. Vis and W. Janse (ed.), *Staf en storm: het herstel van de bisschoppelijke hiërarchie in Nederland in 1853: actie en reactie* (Hilversum, 2002), 13.

acquaintances or in lecture halls, rather than in the proverbial coffee-houses;²⁹²

- ... or just stay in their room or apartment, reading, writing letters, keeping a diary, talking, playing games, pressing flowers,²⁹³ or playing the piano.



Remarkable about this list is that it characterizes most nineteenth-century travel. A few of the places mentioned (the ones with the footnotes) feature in just one or two of the examined accounts, but these are only variations of general types such as religious houses, artificial green spaces, places of economic production, and their own accommodation. Almost all writing travellers, of whatever economic, religious, gender, and age position or milieu, wanted to do things from all of these categories. Apparently these were what the Dutch abroad, or foreign travellers in general, found interesting. This is surprising, in the light of the gap in preferences that is sometimes thought to have existed between the elite and the rest of society or between the middle-classes and the aristocracy.²⁹⁴ Ladies-in-waiting and fishermen

292 This confirms the suggestion by Kloek and Mijnhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 117-20, that this situation, typical for the eighteenth-century Netherlands, became ordinary throughout Europe around 1800. It does not say anything about how open or 'public' the gatherings were, however.

293 Huydecoper, 26/7.

294 Burton, *The flâneur and his City*, e.g. 6, 12, 39, 42; De Leeuw, 'Mentaliteit en vrije tijd', 17, 30; Wolff, 'The Culture of Separate Spheres', 126. See Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres', 395.

both saw local churches and art collections; aristocrats and professional singers both visited palaces; men and women both wanted to sit in cafés; bourgeois of dubious parenthood maintained international networks just as did patrician university students. Well-connected travellers gladly visited sights that were also accessible to a wider audience: they did not feel the need for constant exclusivity. On the other hand, those who had to travel for work also displayed touristic behaviour: this even included soldiers. This makes sense since probably the majority of people in the nineteenth century did not yet make a living through formal labour contracts that stipulate what work need to be done within what hours. They were their own master, were remunerated by piece, or simply stood at the disposal of their employers day and night. It is therefore uncertain to what extent a conceptual distinction was made between work time and leisure time: an issue that needs further study. Within journeys some distinction was made between moments of work and moments of leisure,²⁹⁵ but journeys as a whole hardly ever belonged to one single category. This is why I do deliberately not distinguish between tourists (holidayers) and other travellers.²⁹⁶ In sum, each traveller made time for activities that were typical in the nineteenth century for travel in general.²⁹⁷

Some travellers did come on a particular errand. From our selection, Maarten Baak came to Brussels to pay for a friend's father's trade deal. Van Wassenauer Obdam assisted the Dutch Crown princess on her visit to her family, the Romanovs. The scholars Jan Ackersdijck and John Bake collected notes in libraries and other information depositories in Hungary and Milan. Tjeerd Kolk and Johannes van Oostendorp had a war to fight. And Mina Krüseman took an apartment in Paris in order to be instructed by a particular music teacher. Others had ongoing jobs, such as Charles de Constant Rebecque who, while travelling, had classes in drawing, optics, astronomy, botany and topography, during which his parents made good use of the opportunities the journey offered. Similarly, the widowed Otheline van der Staal van

295 e.g. by Bake, Van Wassenauer Obdam, and Krüseman.

296 A further reason is that the distinction between travellers and tourists has always been politically loaded, being used in the rhetoric of identity-formation. In other words, 'tourist' was, and is, an insult: Buzard, *Beaten Track*.

297 Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 35, 76-105, writes about a dramatic decline of 'utilitarian' travel motivations (education, *Bildung*, culture, work) in favour of entertainment, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to him, nineteenth-century tourists focused wholly on entertainment; work no longer played any part. He did not study a sample of nineteenth-century travelogues, however. Moreover, he seems to assign one single motivation to each journey, which erases the complexity of the reasons and opportunities people had for travelling.

Piershil took continuous care of her foster-children and ill sister.²⁹⁸

Also, marked personal preferences existed. Professor Ackersdijck enjoyed being in the midst of 'popular' crowds at parties and markets, which was highly irregular for people of his upbringing but fitted his ethnographic and economic curiosity and democratic sentiment.²⁹⁹

De Beaufort the elder had a special interest in architecture, as parson Marie Adrien Perk had for cafés.³⁰⁰ Marie Mensing, exceptionally, chose not to sight-see a single city on her trip to Germany but stuck to villages. De Constant Rebecque spent much of his time playing outdoor games such as (predecessors of) badminton, pétanque, swimming, fishing and archery. Rees van Tets-Gevaets, on the other hand, preferred not to join her husband to a concert, 'moi qui n'aime pas tant la musique'.³⁰¹

Less personally, travellers from the educated elite frequented a different selection of places than others: different theatres, for example, from 'the common sort, [whose theatres therefore] d[id] not deserve to be mentioned', according to De Beaufort the elder.³⁰² Obviously, this was partly a matter of financial resources. It was also partly a matter of access to information: one had to know that a place existed; that it made for an attractive (or compulsory!) visit; and how to get there. Much travel information on the Dutch market was in French, a language spoken almost exclusively by the more educated men and women. Last but not least, people from different subcultures also felt at home in different places and handled them differently. Some theatres lost their popular audiences to sport-matches, music-halls, and the circus, for example.³⁰³ And Classically educated persons digested and wrote about art works (that is, as 'connoisseurs') and historical sites (as students of Roman antiquity) differently from those without such training.

This means that a discriminatory rearing also created gender imbalances. Many sisters did not show the same interest as their brothers in the exchange, lectures, or books of learning (which were still usually in Latin). Jacoba Roosendaal attended a lecture at the Académie de France, for instance, and, not really helped by the lateness of the speaker and the heat in the

298 e.g. Van der Staal van Piershil, 17/10, 21/10.

299 Ackersdijck, 42, 45, 54.

300 Perk, 210, 232, 302.

301 14: 'I who do not like music too much'.

302 Fo. 11v: 'welke als alleen door het gemeen bezocht wordende niet verdienen genoemd te worden.'

303 Ch. Charle, 'Les théâtres et leurs publics: Paris, Berlin et Vienne, 1860-1914', in Ch. Charle and D. Roche (ed.), *Capitales culturelles, capitales symboliques: Paris et les expériences européennes, XVIIIe-XXe siècles* (Paris, 2002), 403-18. See Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, 10.

room, 'it started to bore us already [...] the first [topic] was also of very little use to us as girls yet later on it got better and the meeting was over to our great joy at four thirty'.³⁰⁴ Note the social asymmetry: although there undoubtedly existed pastimes, such as needlework, that many university-trained men knew nothing about and that consequently did not interest them, these men were not confronted with them. They were not taken to see things that bored them.

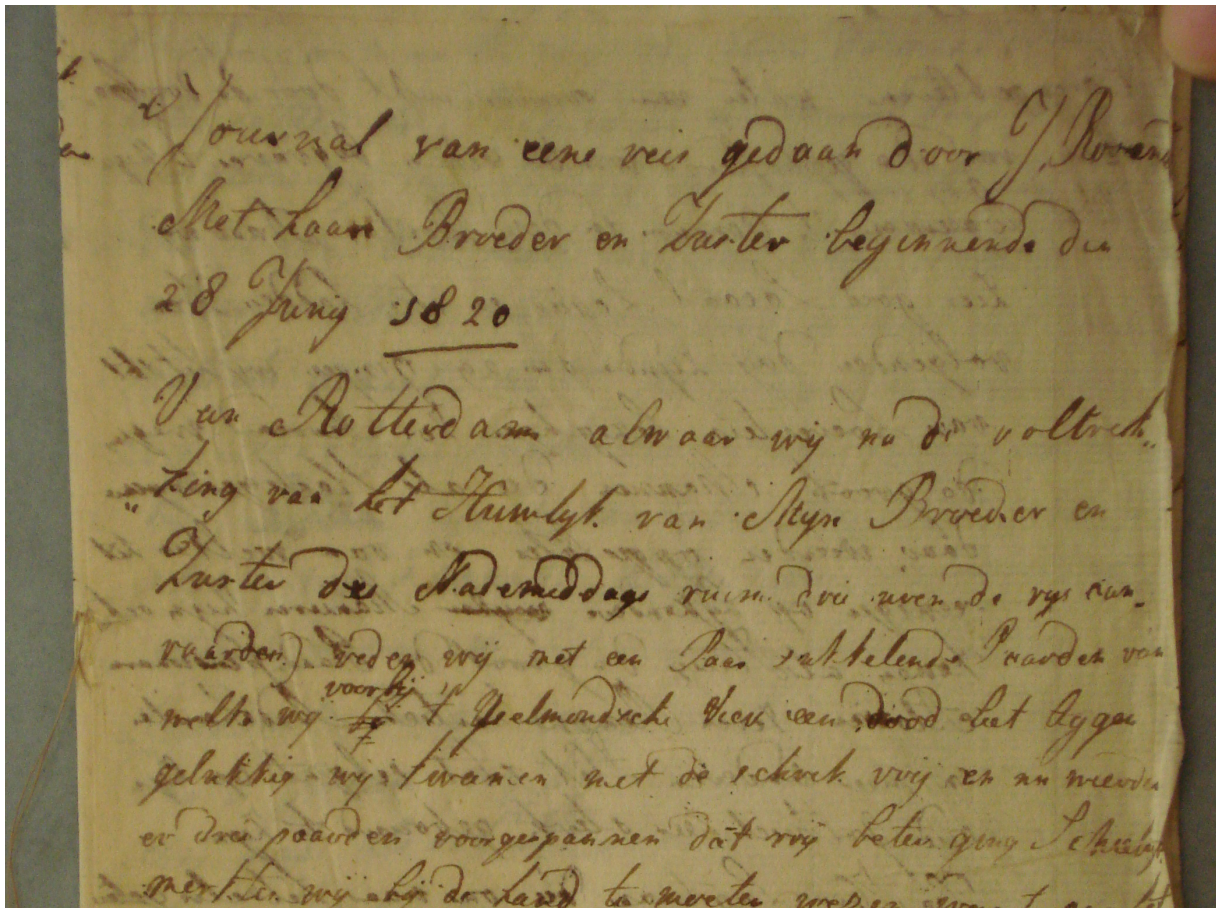


Illustration 3.4: Beginning of Jacoba Roosendaal's travel diary of 1820, Het Utrechts Archief, inventaris 814 Familiearchief Van Geuns, 1647-1976, inventarisnummer 261.

However, the majority of site types was enjoyed by both women and men. This included factory industry and mining as well as literature and visual and stage arts, which both genders in the Netherlands were raised to appreciate. For there is nothing innate about most of these desires for particular types of places. They were the result of the ideals travellers were raised with and of the possibilities and impossibilities they ran into. Desire stimulates attempts at access, but the reverse is also true: prolonged frustration of these

304 Examples from female travellers: Kruseman-Ross, 108; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 39, 169; Roosendaal, 428, 484, 490, (555), 582, 583, 590, 597, 612: 'Daar het nog zeer lang duurde eer de Voorlezer [...] optrad en de Kamer vol menschen was begon het ons reeds te vervelen door de affreuze warmte aan het eerst [...] hadden wij als meisjes ook zeer weinig naderhand werd het evenwel beter en de vergadering ging half vijf uren tot onzes groote blijdschap uit'; yet 432, 438, 607; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 63, 154.

attempts may after a while undo the desire of entering a place altogether.³⁰⁵ Yet, as the selection of egodocuments here studied shows, many of the ideals and possibilities were similar across Dutch society. The differences mentioned above, stemming from differentiated upbringings and financial possibilities, did not dominate travel wishes.

Most conspicuously, these distinctions vanished when Dutch travellers witnessed religious exercise. Then, religious upbringing and national feeling (in the first half of the century, the latter only applied to Protestants) were the dominant factors. Protestant Dutch travellers visited Catholic churches primarily out of historical and aesthetic interest,³⁰⁶ though they were also curious about the religious and social diversity they represented.³⁰⁷ Their desire to see Catholic buildings, images, relics, and other crafted objects, and speak to monastics and other religious, was very much alive. Still, their interpretation of what they saw was tainted by a nationalist-Protestantist attitude; they made a point of denigrating relics, for example. What is more, Dutch Catholics, too, felt alien to foreign cultures of Catholicism.³⁰⁸

Another type of site also deserves a separate discussion, since it played a surprising role in nineteenth-century travel desires: the landscape. When it came to landscapes, whether in town or countryside, northern-Netherlanders interacted most favourably with landscapes that were cultivated, designed, ordered. They had to be pleasant for the eye or the foot, and decent to look at or being seen in. The picturesque, the beautiful, and the useful were as yet more important than the wild and the sublime, to speak in contemporary aesthetical terms. This would contrast with the more 'Romantic' landscape aesthetics that are supposed to have held sway in early-nineteenth-century Britain, France, and Germany.³⁰⁹ Yet there, too, 'unspoilt' nature was romanticized only by a limited numbers of artists and intellectuals. Now canonical, the Wordsworth circle, the Brontës, and the Barbizon school used to be peculiar for feeling at home in undomesticated places. Moreover, one may perhaps ask whether they enjoyed such wild places in real life as much as in their art.³¹⁰ For most early- to mid-nineteenth-century western Europeans, however, fields were only beautiful when they yielded profit and engaged people in a productive way. The moor, the tempestuous sea, sand drifts,

305 See section 1.4 The origins of experiences and practices (and desires).

306 For English travellers: Haynes, *Pictures and Popery*, 14-45.

307 See section 4.3 Social identity.

308 Analephis, 27-35, 43, 58, 70-1.

309 e.g. Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 52-3; K.V. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1983), 255-63.

310 See section 1.5 Egodocuments and other sources.

dunes, marshes, and uninhabited mountains were considered uncivilized, 'lonely', 'miserable', 'woest', 'horr[ific]'.³¹¹ The only substantial exception were waterfalls, which were already highly appreciated around 1825, if not before. But in general, most travellers combined an aesthetic with a practical and a social judgement, until the final decades of the century. They liked places which to them looked like they yielded financial and moral profit. These judgments were uttered when uncultivated landscapes passed their coach or train window, but they also defined what were desirable landscapes to visit: squares, parks, gardens, roads, a path through a vineyard or along the shores of a lake or river, and a route-marked path along stretches of gletscher. When it came to real landscapes (not images), a Romantic aesthetic did not take hold of Netherlands and probably most Europeans until the second half of the century. I would suggest that this had little to do with the arrival of big industry, which is sometimes thought to be directly related to the rise of a Romantic aesthetic. It would fit the chronology better to see the appreciation and conservation of wild places in the light of the threatened disappearance of such places, which in the Dutch case occurred perhaps most visibly around 1900. Only then did the wild turn from dreadful to pleasing.³¹²

311 Around 1825 e.g. Ackersdijck, 17, 18, 22, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 37, 42, 44, 54, 68, 71, 74; Bake, 29; Willem de Clercq qtd. in Van der Laarse, 'Burgers als buitenlui', 28; De Constant Rebecque, 12/7; Pieter Jacob Costerus, qtd. in Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 45; Drieling, 248; the German Carl Gottlob Küttner, qtd. in Witthöft, 'Norddeutsche Reiseliteratur', 206; Lulofs, II.450-4; the British Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 23, 124, 148; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 52, (on 79, exceptionally, she wrote about cottages that 'disenchant'), 89, 93, 102, 119, 127, 156; Roosendael, 538-9, 547, 552, 557, 565, 572, 573, (on 625, she was the only traveller among the selection to admit the Romantic possibilities of an unfertile land, once), 627; Wilkens-Hubert, 5/8, 9/8, 14/8. The many eighteenth-century examples given by Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 232-9, resemble these. Van der Woud, *Lege land*, 215, reaches the same conclusion about Dutch landscape appreciation in the first half of the century. See also Aerts, *Letterheren*, 40.

Around 1865, there was a new, dual appreciation of the useful and picturesque, *and* the wild and overwhelming: HaverSchmidt, *Nagelaten snikken*, 49; Perk, 9-10, 12, 19, 21, 23, 44, 50-3, 58, 150-3; Baron Sloet tot Oldhuis, qtd. in Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld*, 145; Van der Staal van Piershil, 24/5, 31/8, 17/9; Evers, 30, 35, 41, 64, 124, 126, 134. Aerts, *Letterheren*, 435, still finds more examples of elite appreciation of the cultivated in the 1870s, however.

312 Around 1905, the balance had for some shifted towards a superior appreciation of the uncultivated: Gülcher, 11/8, 12/8; Ligthart, 174-5, yet 39; nor Van Hille, 297. Ambivalence also abounds in the nature writings of Frederik Willem van Eeden sr.: K. van Berkel, *Vóór Heimans en Thijssse. Frederik van Eeden sr. en de natuurbeleving in negentiende-eeuws Nederland* (Amsterdam, 2006), 13-4, 20-3, 47-8. This late shift is also observed by Nye, 'Consumption of Energy', 316 (for Britain); Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld*, 190, 192.



There were related changes in the way travellers approached other places. Sea-bathing had been a matter of brief immersions for health's sake, in the early nineteenth century. Around 1900, it was developing into play and sport, as a Dutch traveller discovered when she was surprised to find that people stayed in the water for over fifteen minutes without danger or fatigue. Travellers had also begun to approach people living in boarding institutions, such as hospitals and prisons, more empathically.³¹³

Apart from these issues, there are few shifts in general interest between the 1820s and the 1900s. The types of site travellers wanted to visit form a stable repertoire. Additions of the second half of the century, such as the world exhibitions and photography and film shows, can be seen as variations on existing types. The world exhibitions were only another opportunity to compare national achievements, for example, and displays of photography and moving film

313 For swimming: Baak, 141; De Constant Rebecque, 2/7; Drieling, 175-6. Perk, 27, 99, 133, 211-2; Evers, 89: a Capri man dived naked in front of tourists in order to show the beautiful effect of its blue cave light on the human skin. Analephis, 6; Kuyper, 30: swimming in the sea for over fifteen minutes was 'heel gemoedelijk en huiselijk', 'quite easy-going and homely'.

For boarding-institutions: Ackersdijck, 33-8; Bake, 78; De Beaufort the elder 1829, fos. 8^v, 15^v; Drieling, 268?, 276-7, 281-2; Kruseman-Ross, 18, 66, 89, 118-9, 127-9; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 30, 31; Roosendaal, 436?, 444, 516, 546, 598-9, 605, 611; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 197, 200, 203; Wilkens-Hubert, 22/8. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 39-42, 125-41, 181, 194, 209, 394, 396-9; Perk, 42-8?, 271; Evers, 6-7. Analephis, 22-6, 71; Kuyper, 23, 216; Ligthart, 67-86, 151, 153, 278.

gratified the long-existing fascination for images that create a magical counterpart to the ordinary world. We therefore start our investigation of the differentiated spatial achievements of travellers with a rather persistent and socially homogeneous repertoire of desirable locations.³¹⁴

3 FACTORS OF ACCESS

Did travellers get where they wanted? The subsequent two chapters address this question: the ways travellers procured access, the ways they were stopped by whom I shall call gate-keepers, and the feelings that ensued from these confrontations.

A great many factors played a role in whether or not travellers managed to enter new places. One could think of governmental prohibitions and taxes or subsidies by paternalistic societies or employers.³¹⁵ Many factors are mentioned in Dutch egodocuments only now and then, such as doctors' opinions,³¹⁶ the possession of the correct transport or performance tickets,³¹⁷ illnesses,³¹⁸ mastering the right languages,³¹⁹ and the fact that travel parties first had

314 It would be an interesting question for further research to see how and why post-World-War-Two travel interests differ from this list of nineteenth-century interests. I suspect the differences would have to do with a changing sense of duty as well as of what is entertaining and pleasant.

315 For examples of legislation, employers, churches, and other civilizers and improvers as potential factors of access, see S. Bieri and N. Gerodetti, "Falling Women"—"Saving Angels": Spaces of Contested Mobility and the Production of Gender and Sexualities within Early Twentieth-Century Train Stations', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 8 no. 2 (2007), 217-34; J. van den Dam, 'Overheden en vrije tijd, vroeger en nu. Tussen bijna absolute vrijheid en minutieuze regeling', in De Leeuw, Linders-Rooijendijk, and Martens, *Ontspanning en inspanning*, 122-4; Crouwel and Van de Wouw, *Weg wezen*, 11-6; De Leeuw, 'Mentaliteit en vrije tijd', 13, 20-5; H.A.V.M. van Stekelenburg, 'Vrije tijd en huiselijkheid, 1750-heden', in De Leeuw, Linders-Rooijendijk, and Martens, *Ontspanning en inspanning*, 335-46; Teeuwen, "'Bedrijfs vrije tijd-besteding'" and the other essays in the second part of this volume; Towner, *Historical Geography*, 218-42. These do not much investigate the experiences of the 'demand' side, however. This is remedied by Susan Barton in her *Working-Class Organisations*. I thank her for her suggestion.

316 Kruseman-Ross, 26, 47; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 254. Huydecoper, 30/8; Van der Staal van Piershil, 9/6, 10/6.

317 Bake, 8; Roosendaal, 600. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 84, 179, 181, 309; Perk, 29, 35, 37, 182, 207, 313, 315. Van Hille, 287.

318 Bake, 47; Kruseman-Ross, 45-7; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 26; Roosendaal, 618-20, 633; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 138, 160, 162; Wilkens-Hubert, 28/7, 4/8, 6/8, 8/8, 9/8, 19/8, 28/8. Van der Staal van Piershil's sister, *passim*. Gülcher's father, 13/8; Klaver, 129. See H. Matthews, *The Diary of an Invalid, being the Journal of a Tour in Pursuit of Health in Portugal, Italy, Switzerland and France in the Years 1817, 1818 and 1819* (London, 1820).

319 These could be foreign languages: Ackersdijk, 58, 63; Kruseman-Ross, 9; Roosendaal, 420, 492; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 121, 130. Perk, 173, 201. Klaver, 153; Kuyper, 376, 24; Ligthart, 1, 13, 21, 167, 266, yet 286. Or they could be one's mother tongue, as evidence of one's origins: L. Lucassen, 'A Many-Headed Monster: The Evolution of the Passport System in the Netherlands and Germany in the Long Nineteenth Century', in Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 240-1. French was the lingua franca of Europe, but German functioned similarly in central Europe, as did Latin among many of the university-educated.

to agree among themselves what places they would try to visit.³²⁰ A smaller number of access factors was brought forward persistently by travellers and discussed at greater length. It is those factors that travellers related most to experiences of freedom or unfreedom.

Scheduling was one of them: activities had to be timed according to both natural and social rhythms. Travellers had to find out about transport schedules.³²¹ Some of these schedules were already fairly reliable at the start of the century; others, in particular for travel over open water, became more so as the century progressed.³²² Travellers drove, walked, and read by daylight as much as possible, or else by the light of the moon. Even for the elite, who had always had the advantage of being provided with artificial lighting by servants, the new lighting techniques of the nineteenth century did not make places accessible all the time, in spite of what is sometimes argued.³²³ Van Calcar-Schiotling, for example, was accompanied to Père-Lachaise by her two colleagues who desperately wanted to see the grave of Héloïse and Abélard. As they struggled to find it, guards called to them that the cemetery was closing: at dusk everyone had to leave. Van Calcar-Schiotling grew a little nervous. She did not want to spend the night on a cemetery. She spotted one of the gates, but her friends had wandered off again, searching. Finally, they were stopped by a guard and put out. Although her friends still tried to persuade the man to let them go, Van Calcar-Schiotling heartily agreed with him.³²⁴

In each of the cultures and climates they visited, travellers also had to discover what were the usual times for their social group to eat, or they would miss their meals—³²⁵ although the more insolent among them demanded food from their hosts at the strangest hours.³²⁶ They had to seek out the church services closest to their own denomination. And they had to

320 Perhaps not surprisingly, overt conflicts are rarely displayed in surviving egodocuments. Still: Bake, *passim*; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 51; Roosendaal, 532. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 290; Van der Staal van Piershil, 14/6, 8/9. However, Kruseman-Ross, 28-9, reveals that as she and her female friend chose the itinerary of their journey, it was her husband who granted them this pleasure. Also, people regularly split up for separate activities, e.g. Ackersdijck, 21, 27; Drieling, 250; Lulofs, I.5; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 133, Wilkens-Hubert, 8/8. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 179; Perk, 310; Van der Staal van Piershil, *passim*. Romein-Ter Marsches, 9/5/1903.

321 See section 5.1 Personal connections and encounters. Someone who had not informed himself well enough, apparently, was Van Hille, 276.

322 See the remainder of this section and note 154.

323 e.g. T. Ingold, 'Work, Time and Industry', *Time and Society*, 4 no. 1 (1995), 9, whose main argument otherwise runs parallel to mine: 'modern' technologies have not necessarily changed the experience of worktime.

324 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 290-1. Also e.g. Bake, 63, 65, 82; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 156. Perk, 27. Van Hille, 284; Ligthart, 170 (not from the elite). See section 5.2 Physical capabilities.

325 e.g. Bake, 37, 46. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 93. Van Hille, 302. See section 5.1 Personal connections and encounters.

326 e.g. Lulofs, II.450.

comply with the opening hours for museums and other sites. Managers of exhibitions dedicated different days to different types of audiences—university-educated men, the elite in general, or a wider paying public, ...³²⁷ Visits to the homes of friends or acquaintances were often made on the chance, without prior arrangements. Partly, this is explained by the lack of means of communication that allowed for quick, easy, and cheap transfers of messages through a town. But contemporary mentality also played a role. Travellers did not mind so much finding their friends away from home. In most cases they did therefore not make a great effort to fix an appointment beforehand. They could always do so via the servant who opened the door to them, and who would inform the guest of their master's visiting hours. That they reckoned with the risk that their visits to persons only had the result of making an appointment for a later date, does not mean, however, that travellers were also indifferent to delays. The nineteenth-century Dutch cared about punctuality and noted their own and other people's delays in their diaries or other writings. In those other cases, their expectations were higher than when they took a chance with visits.³²⁸

Travellers must acquire these bits of local knowledge, to learn when to do what, or be disappointed. They had to participate in 'inter-personal scheduling' as sociologist Elizabeth Shove calls it. Of course, they also needed to have enough time at their disposal: different potential activities competed with each other.³²⁹ Moreover, travellers had to have the competence to stick to their own schedules so that they could do everything they hoped to do. The requirement of scheduling was inextricably linked to other factors of access. In the first place, many ways of gaining access to a place required preparation, such as arranging a passport. Secondly, a place was not always the same place: a location's function could vary over the course of the day or the week. To enter a ballroom at the moment when the guest of honour was dancing, was an altogether different accomplishment from entering it when the servants were decorating it, or cleaning it afterwards. Many of such situations that concerned planning will therefore be discussed in the remaining chapters.

327 e.g. Drieling, 143, 303; Lulofs, II.449. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 290-1, 400, 416; Evers, 62. See sections 4.3 Social identity and 5.1 Personal connections and encounters.

328 e.g. De Constant Rebecque, 11/7(?); Lulofs, I.7-11. Van der Staal van Piershil, 8/6. Van Hille, 282, 303.

329 Shove also discusses cases where such inter-personal scheduling happens unintentionally: 'Everyday Practice and the Production and Consumption of Time', in E. Shove, F. Trentmann, and R.R. Wilk (ed.) *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2009), 19, 21, 25, 28. Many other essays in this volume offer examples of such rhythms. See section 3.2 Places to access, for travellers' duties that competed with voluntary activities.

Related to this is the question of perceived distance: how far away, travellers felt, were they from home? In the context of this question, the speed of trains drawn by steam locomotives tends to be at the centre of historiographical attention.³³⁰ In 1830, the first passengers of a scheduled, commercial steam train travelled between Liverpool and Manchester. From 1832 onwards, companies on mainland Europe followed suit, beginning in France.

But other transport innovations should not be forgotten. At the beginning of the century, carriages, including some of the scheduled coach services, galloped at an average speed of around 15 kilometers per hour *including* stops.³³¹ They did not make the early trains, moving at 20 to 30 kilometers per hour, such a revolution. In other respects trains resembled coach services as well. In the mid-century, they still had passengers alight at dinner times, for example, so that they could eat in a stationary restaurant.³³² The smoothness, durability, and drainage of road surfaces continued to be improved, carriages became lighter and at the same time stronger, their suspension became more shock-absorbing, stronger horses were bred, and increasingly efficient systems for the hire of horses and carriages and the use of post-coaches were developed. Kruseman-Ross's account demonstrates how well various Dutch coach services connected in 1832, for example, with brief changing times.³³³ Passenger transport by human carrying power, on the other hand, slowly dwindled in Europe. Sailing services across lakes and sea-arms were replaced by steam ships. In the second half of the century, tramways were introduced in urban areas, followed by bicycles and internal-combustion engines. Walking boots and weatherproof clothing most likely also improved. In sum, the whole range of means of transport became more energy-efficient, less dependent on the weather and therefore more reliable, and more pleasant to use (though these different advantages did not necessarily apply to the same vehicles).³³⁴ This is the reason why so many earlier and later

330 See sections 1.1 Modernity, power, space, 1.5 Egodocuments and other sources, 2.3 Travellers, and 2.4 Journeys.

331 Apart from the secondary literature cited in this paragraph, see e.g. Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 12, 14.

332 Evers, 17-8; Perk, 15-6; Van der Staal van Piershil, 19/10?; Vosmaer, 19/6.

333 Kruseman-Ross, 151.

334 See e.g. Armstrong and Williams, 'Steamboat and Popular Tourism'; T.C. Barker and D. Gerhold, *The Rise and Rise of Road Transport, 1700-1990* (Cambridge, 1995); Beyrer, 'Mail-Coach Revolution'; J.M. Fuchs and W.J. Simons, 'Fiets en fietser', in T.M. Berlage et al. (ed.), *De fiets* (Rotterdam, 1977), 9-62; Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 43-60; Scharfe, 'Alte Strasse'; A.J. Veenendaal jr., *De ijzeren weg in een land vol water: beknopte geschiedenis van de spoorwegen in Nederland 1834-1958* (Amsterdam 1998); H.B. Vos, *Rijtuigen* (Bussum, 1961); Van der Woud, *Lege land, passim*; Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld, passim*.

commentators thought they witnessed the collapse of space.³³⁵

The fact that those technologies existed, however, does not mean they were used by everyone, or all the time.³³⁶ Large sections of European society lacked access to these services. Often, this was for financial reasons: speed was undemocratic. Many transport services did also simply did not cover the stretch people wanted to cross. Or travellers chose a slower means of transport for other reasons.

Baak, Kolk, Van Oostendorp, and Klaver walked long stretches of their journey because they could not afford quicker means of transport. Some elite travellers also saved money by walking. These did not shrink back from tramping 30 kilometers on a day. But they also genuinely enjoyed this mode of transport.³³⁷ It was hardly slower, as a matter of fact, than barges or the cheaper personal carriages or post-coaches drawn by horses walking.³³⁸ Sometimes, it was even the fastest way, since it could take you over almost any kind of terrain and in a more or less straight line to where you wanted to be.³³⁹ Slow carriages and barges were thus useful for carrying goods and to prevent the physical fatigue and convey the status of a passenger, rather than securing a quick journey. But these reasons were important ones, and they made sure that wealthy enthusiasts of walking remained exceptional for a long time. Most travellers from the elite did not consider walking to be a means of transport but a diversion and a health exercise, one that should only last for up to one or at most two hours on a day. Such promenades would take place in the vicinity of hotels, in historical cities, or

335 See sections 1.1 Modernity, power, space and 1.5 Egodocuments and other sources.

336 For a similar argument see J. Stein, 'Reflections on Time, Time-Space Compression and Technology in the Nineteenth Century', in J. May and N.J. Thrift (ed.), *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality* (London, 2001), 111.

337 Bake; Jacob van Lennep and Dirk van Hogendorp in J. van Lennep, 'Dagboek van mijne reis gemaakt in 1823 door de provinciën Noord Holland, Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe, Over IJssel, Gelderland, NoordBrabant, Utrecht en Zeeland gedaan, van den 28sten Mei tot den 2den September' (1823), M. Mathijssen and K. Hoogeland (ed.), www.negentiende-eeuw.nl/litteraire-teksten-online/jacob-van-lennep-dagboek, acc. 7 Aug. 2012; various 'dames allemandes et angloises' ('German and English ladies') mentioned by J.G. Ebel, *Manuel du voyageur en Suisse. Ouvrage où l'on trouve les directions nécessaires pour recueillir tout le fruit et toutes les jouissances que peut se promettre un étranger qui parcourt ce pays-là*, ed. 2 (Zürich, 1810), I.48; Dorothy and William Wordsworth: see Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 81-117, also for a general discussion. Mensing, 6; to a lesser extent Perk, 64, and Van der Staal van Piershil, *passim*. Romein-Ter Marsches, 27/9/1906. Famous predecessors were Karl Philipp Moritz, *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahr 1782* (published in 1783); Johann Gottfried Seume, *Spaziergang nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802* (published in 1803); and to a lesser extent Jean-Jacques Rousseau: *Rêveries d'un promeneur solitaire*, written c. 1776-78 (Paris, 2001). Also consider the almost superhuman 60 miles to Liverpool, walked in one day by Mr Earnshaw in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (London, 1847), chapter 4.

338 e.g. Wilkens-Hubert, *passim*.

339 e.g. Drieling, 228.

parks.³⁴⁰

Horse-back riding forms a similar example. The aristocracy had the means to use running horses, the fastest land-transport available until the mid-century, and yet did not use them as a matter of course. The different travel speeds that this could lead to are most dramatically shown in Van Wassenauer Obdam's narrative about the Dutch Crown prince and princess, outlined above.³⁴¹ Some aristocratic travellers indeed forwent the comforts of travelling in their own carriage, possibly because the postcoach, which also operated during the nighttime, was quicker.³⁴² Mensing, too, emphasized the *choice* that people had when determining how long their journey would take.³⁴³

This is not to deny that there were real changes in people's use of transport. From the middle of the century onwards, steam-powered trains got a increasingly substantial lead on the speeds of all other means of passenger transport—except the very fast ice-sailing, which was practiced in the northern half of Europe and in the USA but which understandably required circumstances that were not always available. Again, this acceleration should not be exaggerated: De Beaufort the younger travelled through central Europe with an average speed of 32 to 35 kilometers per hour in 1871, for example, and still with an average speed of 37 in or around 1911. Similar average speeds were recorded by Van der Staal van Piershil in the northern and southern Netherlands, around the 1860s,³⁴⁴ by Perk in Switzerland and Italy,³⁴⁵ by Evers in France, Italy, Austria and the Czech lands,³⁴⁶ by Mensing in the Netherlands and Germany,³⁴⁷ and still by Gülcher in Germany in 1902,³⁴⁸ though varying according to the use

340 My findings do therefore not support the claim that 'walking was transformed in the nineteenth century from a mode of transport "for the poor, the criminal, the young, and above all, the ignorant" (2004, 322) to an elite leisure activity' as writes Middleton, 'Sense and the City', 578, quoting Tim Ingold's essay 'Culture on the Ground'. Instead, it had been such a leisure activity for many centuries. For the same argument, see Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 81-103.

341 See section 2.4 Journeys.

342 De Constant Rebecque, 21/6. The post-coach system knew drivers' shifts, one essay suggests, while individually hired drivers did not work in pairs: Geel, *Onderzoek en phantasie* (1895), 19.

343 Mensing, 1.

344 Van der Staal van Piershil, 3/5, though her train journey was slowed down by the transfer over the Hollandsch Diep, between two as yet unconnected stretches of railway. The same average speeds are shown in the tables of G. Hanser's 'Post- und Eisenbahn-Reisekarte' (Nürnberg, 1845), a carriage post and railway map of a large part of Europe: Museum Meermanno/Huis van het Boek, Den Haag, inventarisnummer 144 F25.

345 Perk, 5, 17, 233.

346 Evers, 17, 19, 22, 27, 30, 41, 70, 117, 120, 123, 126, 143, 145.

347 Mensing, 1.

348 Gülcher, 9/8, 15/8. Only the fast train he took from Strasbourg to The Hague on 27/8 moved at the higher speed of 50 to 60 km/h on average.

of local trains or intercity trains. Although cruising-speeds for locomotives grew, average speeds for trains operating within a scheduled network and under speed limitations³⁴⁹ could not grow at the same pace. The European rail network did grow dramatically, however, and it operated increasingly efficiently, when considered from the perspective of the train companies. By 1908, they no longer stopped for dinner, for example.³⁵⁰ Trains thus swiftly replaced carriages and drawn barges as the long-distance land vehicle of choice for those who could afford to travel on them, until the alternatives of bicycle and automobile became available for longer journeys around 1900—again only for those who were affluent enough. Shorter distances, however, continued to be made on foot or the back of animals, by the many different types of carriages, and by omnibus and tramway in the city.

Over water, sailing-ships remained the norm for longer distances until they were slowly replaced by steamers in the second half of the century. Medium distances were already covered by steam ships earlier on, up to distances where they could just carry their heavy load of coal. Steamers, too, grew somewhat faster as the century progressed. Whereas the Channel crossing between Rotterdam and London could on unfavourable days take up to 28 or 31 hours in 1829, it was occasionally made within 22 hours in 1860.³⁵¹ At comparable average speed to the earlier De Beaufort, Lulofs travelled to Hamburg in 1826.³⁵² The steamers between Nice, Genova, and Livorno and to Capri reached moderately higher speeds in 1870.³⁵³ These developments can hardly be called spectacular, however. Meanwhile, shorter water crossings continued to be made by sail, sprit, or oar.

But even such shifts in the modes of transport as were actually used by many travellers, did not necessarily make experienced distances shrink (they certainly changed travel in other respects, but those had little to do with the individual accessibility of European places). In the 1820s, travellers could already show themselves dismissive in the language with which they described their European journeys. Roosendaal named hers a 'Toertje' and also a 'pleziertogtje', a 'little pleasure trip', for example.³⁵⁴ De Beaufort the elder felt he was

349 Veenendaal, *IJzeren weg*, 66.

350 Kuyper, 206; Ligthart, 1. The growth of the Italian network and the ensuing lowering of travel times was noted by Evers, 123 and 126, for example.

351 De Beaufort the elder 1829, fos. 2^r, 17^r. De Beaufort the elder 1860.

352 Lulofs, 18-9.

353 Evers, 34, 40, 90.

354 428 resp. Het Utrechts Archief, inventaris 814, inventarisnummer 261, second version of her diary, entry for 28/6.

making 'a small journey' when he went to London for the first time in his life.³⁵⁵ Lulofs spoke of a '*Reistogtje met de stoomboot*': a 'little travel trip by steamboat'³⁵⁶ and B.Th. Lublink Weddik of a '*Staalkaart van zomertogtjes*', 'a sample of small summer trips [or outings]', in his humorous journal articles.³⁵⁷ And we are not talking about very brief journeys here: they typically lasted several weeks or months. (On the other hand, travellers who intended to stay away for much longer than that even—six months or more—did speak of a 'long séjour'.³⁵⁸) This predilection for diminutives (also in French: 'petit') stemmed from the second half of the eighteenth century, my database indicates. In the period around 1800 it was certainly a convention: a sign of modesty and lightheartedness, both qualities being en vogue then in many types of writing. Yet was it therefore only a veneer? Or did this literary convention influence the way these travellers thought about their mobility? Perhaps the dangers of transoceanic travel in this period made travellers who only toured Europe aware of the relative smallness of their undertaking—an experienced difference that may have grown less serious by 1900.

But then, was all of Europe experienced as equally far away in the nineteenth century? And did nothing change concerning the experience of distances *within* Europe, over the course of the century? For sure, there was no gradual development towards ever more belittled distances as cruising speeds and (less steeply) average speeds rose, and the journey between home and destination and back again could thus be made increasingly quickly. Travellers' sense of distance was unevenly distributed.

Partly, it depended on individual character and level of travel experience: the tendency of travellers to relativization, modesty, irony or, conversely, to drama, boasting, or pessimism. Perk called a day's train journey of about 150 kilometers 'far', for example, while his contemporary Huydecoper considered a similar distance a short travel day. Perk even explicitly explained to two enthusiastic Italians that although he had travelled all the way from the north, to travel an additional 500 to 700 kilometers just to see their leader Garibaldi would still be a bit much for him. This refutes the theory that 'modern' fast-train travellers

355 'dit kleine reisje': fo. 17^v.

356 See also Lulofs, v: 'een togtje van eenige dagen'.

357 Moll's preface to Drieling's account cultivated the same trivializing tone: vi. This tendency was still present in the 1860s, albeit weaker: Perk, Preface.

358 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 140. In 1858: Van der Staal van Piershil, 26/9.

automatically thought less of distances than their predecessors.³⁵⁹

Also, the majority of travellers took some time to inspect the towns and other sights they passed, at the least those where they spent the night, and treated each of them as part of their journey aim. Most journeys thus consisted of a series of more or less equal destinations. Certain travellers, however, such as Drieling, Van der Staal van Piershil, Klaver, and Ligthart, although showing some interest, headed for the region of their choice directly and without waste of time. To them, the places they passed, more clearly represented distance than these did to other travellers, for whom each was a treasured destination in itself. Their journeys resembled present-day airplane travel more closely than most of the others. They were, however, distributed over the entire century.

Ironically, a traveller could also associate extending networks and shorter travel durations to a *growth* of distances, rather than a shrinking. Traversing Italy by trains revealed to Evers 'how big Italy is'. At the same time, Italy's size made the operation of its railways all the more impressive. For Evers, high speeds and large distances enhanced each other, thus turning on its head the assumption that swift transportation creates the impression of nearness.³⁶⁰

A more systematic influence was exerted by infrastructures. One of the ways in which they did was through information and familiarity. Places that were familiar to potential travellers, for example because they or their acquaintances had made the journey before or because they had read much about them, might become nearby. This partly explains why little-travelling Van der Staal van Piershil experienced most of Switzerland as far away. When she had at long last found a *pleasant* spot to sit, in front of a hotel, she sighed: 'là on est bien c'est un petit bout d'Europe en Suisse': 'there, one is fine it's a little piece of Europe in Switzerland'. And when she made an excursion from a more rural Switzerland to Lausanne she was happy to be 'back in Europe again': closer to her life in The Hague. One thing that alleviated her stay in Switzerland was her growing realization that God was present there as much as in the Netherlands.³⁶¹

359 Huydecoper, 30/8; Perk, 6, 98, 203. Also compare Kruseman-Ross to Baak, Bake, and J. Geel, *Onderzoek en phantasie*, first publ. 1838 (Leiden, 1895), 4—although this is an essay and not an egodocument. Bake, 20, for example, wrote about his home: 'If only I could fly over for a moment!': 'Kon ik eens voor een ogenblik overvliegen!', indicating that home to him felt far away.

360 Evers, 119-20, also 123, 126.

361 Van der Staal van Piershil, 28/5, 14/6, 22/6, also 19/5, 14/8.

Another example were the Classical antiquities visited by Evers in Italy. When Evers concluded his journey in Germany, he recognized the Classical statues he had seen, but now in the shape of plaster casts. The happiness he felt on making this connection was probably caused by a sense of coherence and of wholeness—the wholeness of European culture and of his journey: at this moment, cultural distances seemed negligible.³⁶²

Similarly, Analephis tried to explain the unpopularity of Lourdes by its cultural distance. According to him, the healthy and wealthy elite preferred other places, including topographically more distant ones, to this site of pilgrimage which 'seems to many people *so* far, *so* remote, something *so* extraordinary, that they do not soon broach it and hardly suppress a smirk.' Lourdes, apparently, was seen both as too exotic and as a little silly, perhaps because superstitious. It was the unfamiliarity with Lourdes which caused this misconception, of course.³⁶³

According to Analephis, 'yes even' the Scandinavian countries were culturally closer to the Dutch than Lourdes. Nevertheless, Gerard Jan Ligthart felt 'completely away of it all' there. On the negative side, he and his wife also felt uncomfortable and unsafe and therefore the more far away from home and children, in the unfamiliar environment of foreign countries.³⁶⁴

To conclude, Kuyper felt closer to home the more her current location shared in her home culture. Venice, for example, resembled Holland's ports.³⁶⁵ Almost all travellers also reflected on cultural and natural differences. Sometimes, the transition between the familiar and the unfamiliar took place within the northern Netherlands, sometimes in the southern Netherlands or the German lands, sometimes even further away.³⁶⁶ Usually, however, writers did not explicitly link these differences to an experience of distance. The question indeed is whether historians should always equate people's sense of similarity with a sense of proximity. After all, very strange things can be encountered close to home!

A second aspect was communication between different locations. Many Dutch

³⁶² Evers, 146.

³⁶³ Analephis, 13: 'schijnt menigeen zóó ver, zóó afgelegen, zóó iets buitengewoons te zijn, dat men er niet spoedig toe komt en nauwelijks een glimlach onderdrukt.'

³⁶⁴ Ligthart, 1, 6, 27-8, 40, 62.

³⁶⁵ Kuyper, 7. In the same period, British author Vernon Lee, who had travelled Europe all her life, still called a journey to the USA, Egypt, or Russia 'a great journey'—in an essay: *Limbo and Other Essays*, first publ. 1897 (Gloucester, printed on demand in 2009), 36.

³⁶⁶ e.g. Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 13; Roosendaal, 532; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 244, 261. Klaver, 137; Kuyper, 270.

travellers were interested in art history, for example, and compared the works they saw in the various parts they visited. In the 1820s, however, before they had access to photographic reproduction techniques, such comparison was fraught with difficulty. The painter Drieling felt he could not judge the authenticity of art works because a single painter's works were scattered over various places.³⁶⁷ The becoming available of new communication technologies, such as photography, may thus have effectively erased experienced distances in certain specific respects.

Similarly, Krüseman's maid, who had gone to Paris with her, maintained contact with her two aunts in Brussels. Suddenly, this maid began to feel her aunts to be 'so far away'. The cause of this sensation was the Franco-German War which was stopping all communication between Brussels and Paris by August 1870. By a similar token, however, Krüseman herself felt more at ease than she might have. Since she did for a long time not have any personal connection to the war or hear any of the war violence that was going on in the larger streets, she lived as in a different world. 'We are [blissfully] ignorant here and live in the middle of Paris, as if Paris lay at the other end of the world!'³⁶⁸ Clearly, neither topographical distance nor travel speed determined how Krüseman and her maid experienced distances in these cases.

Another example could be the lack of a periodical press. Van Oostendorp and his battalion were quartered with farmers in the pleasant village of Edegem, near Antwerp. These farmers had no newspapers. As Van Oostendorp implies, they were hard-working peasants with no interest in world politics anyhow. Consequently, the soldiers were cut off from events in Brussels. They lost all sense of being involved in a war and 'after a while forgot the aim of our mission'.³⁶⁹ A feeling of proximity was also established through the communication of distant news via sermons, door-to-door collections, and touring shows of first painted and later photo- and cinematographic news images.³⁷⁰

But the choice for a specific communication device could also have the opposite effect. The ordinary means of long-distance communication throughout the long nineteenth

³⁶⁷ Drieling, 140.

³⁶⁸ Krüseman, 145: 'Wij weten hier van niets en leven in het midden van Parijs, alsof Parijs aan het andere einde van de wereld lag!', 149, 153, 154.

³⁶⁹ Van Oostendorp, 67.

³⁷⁰ See e.g. Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 36-7, 75-6; Parejo Vadillo and Plunkett, 'Railway Passenger'.

century remained the letter and later the postcard, sent via an international combination of postal services. (The telegraph, available to a small but widening circle of users from the 1850s onwards, was hardly ever used by travellers to communicate with home. The telephone was not used at all by those selected here.)³⁷¹ It lies in the nature of this technology that the sender of information has no chance of receiving immediate feedback. Replies take some time to get. To Kruseman-Ross, the Netherlands suddenly seemed far off when she wanted to know whether the Dutch cholera epidemic was affecting any of her relations, and she had to wait for their letters to reach Baden-Baden.³⁷² The sender of a letter must necessarily be uncertain even whether their message reached the recipient at all. Responses therefore usually contained a confirmation of the letter(s) received. When the recipient was on the move, moreover, communication became even more difficult. Travellers therefore usually included their travel plans and instructions for dispatch in their letters home.³⁷³ This interrupted and unreliable way of communicating made the letter a cause of experienced distance between different European places, as well as of emotional proximity.³⁷⁴

A third aspect formed the networks of roads, routes, surfaced roads, and railroads that were growing in Europe. Improved speeds were applauded,³⁷⁵ but the very existence of these networks counted for more,³⁷⁶ taking into account their accessibility and their reliability. It was the founding of access points—a coach or railway station or a place to embark a ship—close to one's home and close to one's destination, that really decreased subjective distances. Even those who owned their own carriage needed to change horses regularly or at least feed and water their own horses, and therefore relied on a network of posts, just like most car drivers in Europe nowadays rely on a network of petrol stations. Van Calcar-Schiotling began her book with a section called 'Verleidelijke spoorwegen': 'Tempting railways'. She had always wanted to travel but her plans never came to anything, *until* her village was enriched with a railroad and a nearby station in 1855.

371 The telegraph *was* used for making local appointments in their destinations: Gülcher, 23/8; Van Hille, 282-3; Ligthart, 6. And for urgent messages of a serious nature: Klaver, 149. See Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 61.

372 Kruseman-Ross, 23. Also Van Wassenauer Obdam, 263.

373 e.g. Bake, 18, 37; Wilkens-Hubert, 5/8. Huydecoper, 26/7, 30/8.

374 On this, also see my chapter 'Elders thuis: Noord-Nederlandse reizigers in Europese steden, 1815-1914' in the forthcoming volume *Tussen beleven en verbeelding. Steden in een spanningsveld* (Leuven, 2013).

375 Lulofs, 18-9.

376 e.g. Van Wassenauer Obdam, 128, 175. Some did not use the word 'distance' literally but meant the same: Ackersdijck, 39, who wondered how traders could move between country and capital over muddy roads.

[W]e suddenly found ourselves placed in a lasting community with our Belgian neighbours.

Only now it became clear to us how close to the borders we were living. How near Antwerp had drawn—and Brussels was soon visited by our villagers like earlier Breda, to go shopping there and back again in one day....³⁷⁷

What mattered were the linking up of a locality to an efficient transport network that required few changes of trains, plus the symbolical, psychological link that a railroad created between the village of Leur and a city like Brussels. These two links lessened distances between Leur and other places on its network much more than the existence of fast trains in the Netherlands and Belgium. Similarly, Van der Staal van Piershil only called the moments of transfer on her journey a 'voyage', and it was mostly the tunnels within this 'voyage' that enhanced her sense of being far away from The Hague.³⁷⁸ Not travel time or topographical distance but these—to her—infrastructural obstacles determined the experience of distance. As long as this network kept expanding, experienced distances could decrease. Only the more self-reliant travellers could do without this network for a little longer: camping long-distance walkers or cyclists, or car drivers with a provision of fuel. They were an exception among European writing travellers, however, and have probably only become more so in twentieth-century Europe.

Additionally, Lulofs's account draws attention to the pleasures of reliability. The journey from Groningen to Amsterdam could be made in one night. Because the sailing across the Zuiderzee depended heavily on the weather, however, it could easily be prolonged with an extra day and night. To this should be added the impossibility of communicating his unscheduled time of arrival to his hosts. This regular inconvenience was evaded by the use of a steam-engine on Lulofs's second leg of his journey to Hamburg.³⁷⁹ The difference, then, was not that travel times from Groningen were longer, but that they were more unreliable. In a similar vein, the telephone made traffic in the mountains more predictable and safer, as soon as connections between different stations had been laid and weather conditions could be communicated.³⁸⁰ In sum, reliable connections did more than speed.³⁸¹ All this did not mean, by the way, that the journey itself was experienced as a short or pleasant one: instead, it meant

377 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 1: 'wij ons eensklaps met onze Belgische burens in een gedurige gemeenschap gesteld zagen. / Nu werd het ons eerst duidelijk hoe nau wij aan de grenzen woonden. Wat was Antwerpen digt bij gekomen—en Brussel werde weldra door onze dorpers bezocht als eertijds Breda, om boodschappen te doen op éénen dag heen en weêr....', and 48.

378 Van der Staal van Piershil, 23/5, 26/9, 4/10, 11/10, 16/10, 22/10.

379 Lulofs, I.7-11.

380 Kuyper, 222.

381 On reliability also see Armstrong and Williams, 'Steamboat and Popular Tourism', 63.

that the distance between two places was less felt to be an obstacle for beginning a journey.

These different aspects of nineteenth-century infrastructures all contributed to feelings of proximity. What travel egodocuments also show, is that the initially increasing diversity of modes of transport and their growing cruising speeds did not make travellers lazier or less resilient: the increasing availability of non-human energy sources did not incapacitate elite travellers for walking or cycling. Most of them found distances of a few hundred meters already 'a very long way' to walk before the ordinary use of steam-power, electricity or internal combustion engines. The same applied to short climbs of towers or hills.³⁸² As mentioned earlier, a small but certain section of the elite continued to enjoy travel by walking (or cycling) through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They were inspired by a handful of eighteenth-century predecessors and, probably, significantly grew in numbers only with the trekking and camping movement in the twentieth century.

At the start of the nineteenth century, European travellers usually measured the larger distances in 'uren gaans': in walking hours, or, more literally, hours of moving; or simply in 'uren ver', hours away.³⁸³ They were thus expressed in bodily terms, just like many shorter distances had long been, such as arm's length (*el*), step (yard), foot, or thumb.³⁸⁴ It might be argued that this made sense because so many different modes of transport reached similar speeds of about 5 to 10 kilometers an hour: fast walking, riding or driving a walking horse, sitting in a horse-drawn barge, rowing, and slow sailing. An *uur gaans* thus had a real meaning to people. It might also be argued that since people everywhere walked at about the same pace and used the hour as their standard for time, this measure was interregional and thus eminently suited for travel.

But how were these *uren gaans* used, at the beginning of the nineteenth century? To begin with, they could be found on maps. There, they displayed both distances and travel times. Although these used the same unit, the two types of 'hours' were two very different things. Travel times depended on the mode of transport chosen. The default modes on nineteenth-century maps, which were after all created for the elite, were not walking but

382 Drieling, 14, 39, 130, 148. Still: De Beaufort the elder 1860.

383 Ackersdijk, e.g. 20, 39; Bake, e.g. 10 (twice); De Beaufort the elder 1829, fos. 10^v, 16^r, 17^r, 17^v; Drieling, *passim*; Kruseman-Ross, 84; Lulofs, I.18-9, 54, 59, II.442, 444; Van Oostendorp, 67; Roosendaal, 524, 544, 604. These contradict Solnit's reverse statement in *Wanderlust*, 266.

384 e.g. De Beaufort the elder 1829, *passim*; De Constant Rebecque, 1/7, 9/7; Lulofs, I.67; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 47, 115. De Beaufort the elder 1860; Evers, 67.

carriages, steam trains, and ferries. Distances, on the contrary, remained equal, whatever way they were traversed. This is demonstrated by the fact that they could be converted. Each European region had its own 'hours', just like it had its own miles, *lieues*, guilders, dollars, pounds, ounces, feet, or thumbs. Maps and travel guides therefore offered conversion tables. To give an example from a German map of 1845, 2 'Schweizerstunden' equalled 1.125 German miles.³⁸⁵ Even *uren gaans* were thus independent of who did the going. This is why travellers could use them in their egodocuments to describe distances they themselves had never covered:³⁸⁶ they had ossified into a fixed interpersonal measure. And this was only convenient, because although several early-nineteenth-century vehicles had similar speeds, much variation nevertheless existed. Consider, for instance, ice-skating, faster modes of sailing, and trotting or galloping horses, whether these were ridden or drawing a carriage. Moreover, as the example above shows, in Switzerland people reckoned with different 'hours' than in other places. A Dutch traveller such as Lulofs therefore thought in terms of 'Dutch hours' when he wondered how many hours separated Hamburg from its river mouth.³⁸⁷ Each region had its own measure of distance, even though it was expressed in terms of time. All in all, the unit 'hours of movement' was neither particularly universal, nor particularly bound to everyone's mode of transport. It was, in practice, hardly different from the rivalling measures of kilometer, mile, and *lieue*, that might now be perceived as more 'modern'.

As the nineteenth century progressed, Europeans increasingly adopted the metric system. For a long time, however, the metric system and the various regional 'bodily' systems—plus the mile, the *lieue*, the verst, and the 'post'—have existed (and still do exist) next to each other.³⁸⁸ But around 1900, at least the official (written, high-brow) standard unit for distances in most of Europe had become the kilometer.³⁸⁹ Ostensively, the kilometer severs the link between the earthly environment and any human movement through it: it stresses the

385 e.g. Lulofs, I.53; Hanser, 'Post- und Eisenbahn-Reisekarte', Museum Meermann/Huis van het Boek, Den Haag, inventarisnummer 144 F25. See also Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 55.

386 e.g. Evers, 138.

387 Lulofs, I.54.

388 e.g. De Beaufort the elder 1829, fos. 16', 17', 17'; De Constant Rebecque, *passim*; Lulofs, II.450, 453; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, *passim*; she also expressed distance in number of 'postes' where horses were changed: Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 12, 40, 155; Van Wassenae Obdam, e.g. 79. De Beaufort the elder 1860; Van Calcar-Schiotling, 57, 97; Evers, (3), 17, 20 (twice), 28, 30, 39 (twice), 41, 44, 48, 52, 54-5, 62, 65, 66, 75, 80 (four times), (82), 83, 85 (thrice), 89, 94, 118 (twice), 120, 124 (twice), 125, 127 (twice), 134 (thrice), 136, 138 (twice), 140, 142; Perk, 13, (20), 21, 44, 51, 53, 55, 60, 67, 169. See also section 2.5 Selected journeys, writings, and travellers: De Beaufort the elder.

389 See Analephis, 59; Gülcher, *passim*.

independent existence of the world. Yet this shift in emphasis was not necessarily due to new technologies per se. Since the speeds of novel modes of transport have been shown to be unlikely causes of this development, the solution may rather again be found in networks. As trade and governmental infrastructural cooperation among Europeans intensified, there was an increasing need for common measures. Just like the introduction of time zones, each one hour apart, economic and other practical benefits were probably conclusive for the introduction of the kilometer, rather than changing means of transport and their potential repercussions for travellers' experiences.

Although the *uur gaans* was slowly disappearing, you would still find Ligthart measuring distances in hours in 1910. His hours were not the standardized, interpersonal and intervehicular hours used earlier, however: he mentioned his own actual hours of walking and hours of railing.³⁹⁰ Gülcher and Van Hille, too, both used measures that were closer to personal practice than to either the metric or any of the non-metric systems: for the distance of their sight in the rain (measured in steps), the distance of an island shore ('a quarter of an hour of rowing'), or the width of a forest ('quarters of hours deep': probably walked on foot).³⁹¹ In the 1860s, Evers and Van der Staal van Piershil had similarly used the 'hour' and the 'minute' as a non-ossified measure of distance, for example for the length of stretches of railway.³⁹² Possibly, the slow disappearance of the metaphorical use of walking to express distances paved the way for a more literal and personal manner of measuring distance in walking (or rowing). Although such a rise of interest in bodily capability remains speculative for now, the evidence already warrants the conclusion that 'mechanization' did *not* 'take command', to speak with Giedion: the human body remained a point of reference for travellers in a time that is usually associated with inanimate transport technologies.

Apart from the importance for travellers of timing their activities and of finding the infrastructures that made distant places feel within reach, travellers themselves singled out six spatial access factors, that will now be treated in turn.

390 Ligthart, 10, 61.

391 Gülcher, 8/8; Van Hille, 284 (twice).

392 Evers, 17, 134; Van der Staal van Piershil, 8/5, 24/8. It is unclear whether they kept an eye on their watches or gleaned this information from guide(-book)s.

Chapter 4

Factors travellers brought with them

1 IDENTITY DOCUMENTS

One means by which all sorts of gate-keepers controlled access to their territory, were formal documents specifying the identity of the people seeking access and of the goods they carried with them. The governments of the nineteenth century have been supposed to practice a laissez-faire in this area, compared to those of the twentieth.³⁹³ Yet the assumed disappearance of a laissez-faire border policy clashes with the assumed growth of individual freedom under 'modernity', the theory scrutinized throughout this thesis. Close studies of governmental regulations have indeed revealed a more complex fluctuation in the policing of identity. Historian Leo Lucassen, for example, has demonstrated that the 'era of free international migration only began around 1860'.³⁹⁴ The impact governmental regulations had on travellers' experiences, however, remains uncharted. The selection of travel egodocuments studied in this thesis suggest that the general direction gate-keepers' practices took in the course of the nineteenth century, together with the way Dutch travellers' attitudes changed in response, did *not* enhance their sense of agency. In the introduction to their collection of essays on the history of identity documentation, Jane Caplan and John Torpey write: 'While generally ratifying the notion of the relative advance of such freedom [of movement] during the late nineteenth century, the essays in this section force us to qualify this conclusion, noting especially the disproportionate impact of documentary controls on the lower classes.'³⁹⁵ In this section, I would like to extend this qualification to the elite, to a certain extent, and also to all women.

393 Towner, 'Approaches to Tourism History', 49. For more references see Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 235.

394 'Many-Headed Monster', 236, 245-6; also A. Fahrmeir, 'Governments and Forgers: Passports in Nineteenth-Century Europe', in Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 233.

395 Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 10.

By the early nineteenth century, Western European governments had started to register more or less everything and everyone they ruled, with the help of such institutions as the cadastre. What became increasingly significant in these registers as compared to earlier centuries, was no longer membership of certain formalized groups within a country or town (diplomats, pilgrims, beggars, journeymen), or even long-term residence in one town, but membership of a country-wide citizenry.³⁹⁶ In Europe, the nation-state was turning into the foremost body for protecting its 'people', its territory, and its economy. Even though city-states and empires also continued to exist, most of their governments seem to have adopted similar ideals of citizenship. People's national identity, especially when on the move, therefore had to be ascertained, as well as the ownership of moving goods. The aim was not just knowledge of what moved around on their territory, but the legitimate and informed limitation of what entered and exited it. In the nineteenth century, governments policed borders by way of lists of goods and by passports and similar person-bound forms. These compiled a set of physical characteristics for each traveller and attached national, gender, and professional identities to them. These documents informed gate-keepers, with an eye to goods markets (the protection of national industries and government revenue through tariffs), the sustenance of poor-relief systems, and the political-military concerns that were particular to this age of political restauration, military conscription, and nationalist revolution.³⁹⁷

396 Early-nineteenth-century Dutch travellers already acted surprised when they encountered customs *within* a state: Ackersdijck, 17 (Austria-Hungary); Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 13 (France). Also think of the nineteenth-century redevelopment of many towns' defensive structures into circular promenades. Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 8, 10; Fahrmeir, 'Governments and Forgers', 218; A. Geselle, 'Domenica Saba Takes to the Road: Origins and Development of a Modern Passport System in Lombardy-Veneto', in Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 202, 209, 217; V. Groebner, 'Describing the Person, Reading the Signs in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe: Identity Papers, Vested Figures, and the Limits of Identification, 1400-1600', in Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 20; Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 241, 243; Van der Woud, *Lege land*, 307-447, especially 356, though he draws attention to the fact that in Dutch towns, some of these developments were only completed around 1850. Though see Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms*, 111-67, for an emphasis on local control over residency registration.

397 Perk, 67. Klaver, 145. See Fahrmeir, 'Governments and Forgers', 219-20; Geselle, 'Domenica Saba Takes to the Road', 211; Lucassen, *En men noemde hen zigeuners*, 35; Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster'; Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 69.



Illustration 4.1: This is what a nineteenth-century passport could look like after just one journey, being handled at each customs station. Nineteenth-century European passports consisted of a form printed on one sheet of paper, completed in handwriting, and to which a booklet might be fastened if all the various stamps and signatures did not fit the single sheet. This passport belonged to Baron W.H.J. van Westreenen van Tiellandt, issued in The Hague on 29 June 1833 and valid for one year: Museum Meermanno/Huis van het Boek, Den Haag, inventarisnummer 70/154-161.

This section will first consider the identification of persons and move on to objects later.

Travellers had to produce their passport at each crossing of state borders as well as on their arrival in certain cities, like Paris. Barriers were usually located at town gates, both in the case of the German and Italian city-states and when a country was entered via one of its towns (Valenciennes, Strasbourg, Boulogne).³⁹⁸ Ports sometimes chose to send customs officers ahead to enter approaching boats and inspect the baggage on board.³⁹⁹ Some states asked travellers to surrender their passport for the duration of their stay.⁴⁰⁰ And according to a

398 Drieling, 128, 242; Kruseman-Ross, 10; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 179; and the other references in this section.

A beautiful overview offers the collection of passport stamps of De Beaufort the elder, inventarisnummer 563.

399 Lulofs, I.37, 57.

400 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 13. Drieling, 133. See Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 242.

rumour around in 1829 the secret police in Milan, suspicious of foreigners, even shadowed visitors.⁴⁰¹ That these painstaking control measures were not getting out of fashion but, on the contrary, were appreciated as a sign of modernity, of 'enlighten'ment, is shown by Barthold Hendrik Lulofs who appreciated the fact that Hamburg tore down its walls and stone gates, and replaced them by iron '*Barrières*'.⁴⁰²



Illustration 4.2: Kayser and J.B. Tétar van Elven, portrait of B.H. Lulofs, www.dbnl.org/auteurs/auteur.php?id=lulo001, acc. 24 March 2013.

Other institutions than states also monitored access on the basis of such formal, written characteristics. Around 1825, however, they did not do this in so stringent a manner as state governments. Many hotels and touristic sites required their guests to register their own name, travel company, domicile, occupation and date of arrival in a book.⁴⁰³ Those accommodating travellers for the night then forwarded the details to the local police.⁴⁰⁴ A somewhat more fool-proof measure of identity was also commonly used in the 1820s. For in contrast to what may be surmised on the basis of earlier research,⁴⁰⁵ another important

type of identity documentation existed: the letter of recommendation. Written by an acquaintance with the right connections in the destination, or occasionally by a stranger (magistrate, Prefect of Police) who could nevertheless test the demeanour of the applicant, it secured access to the assistance of these connections and to the commercial, church, or state institutions they guarded: libraries, prisons, Parisian mansions, mines, factories, and banking services.⁴⁰⁶ Only commercial *postal* services, such as the state-appointed Thurn und Taxis in many of the German lands, now and then demanded the show of a passport before they would

401 Drieling, 159-60.

402 Lulofs, I, 77.

403 Bake, 71, 80, 81; Drieling, 104, 288, 300; Kruseman-Ross, 114, 117; possibly Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 138; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 73, 267.

404 Fahrmeir, 'Governments and Forgers', 219; Frijhoff, 'Voyageurs néerlandais', 93; Geselle, 'Domenica Saba Takes to the Road', 216; Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 242; Zimmer, *Remaking the Rhythms*, 127.

405 Fahrmeir, 'Governments and Forgers', 219, 233-4.

406 e.g. Drieling, 285, 294; Roosendaal, 553, 577; and many more instances: section 5.1 Personal connections and encounters.

hand over mail at the poste restante.⁴⁰⁷

Around 1865, a shift became apparent, one which continued to affect travellers into the twentieth century. Passports were still carried to pass state borders, but checked less often than before.⁴⁰⁸ However, although the guestbook⁴⁰⁹ and the letter of recommendation⁴¹⁰ continued to exist, commercial businesses catering for travellers increasingly parasitized states' efforts to police identities. Some hotels went so far as to confiscate passports on check-in.⁴¹¹

It was only around 1905 that the pendulum had swung back almost completely. Liberalism had taken its effect and made passports largely redundant in Europe for elite travellers. The run-up to the First World War was to make governments suspicious of each others' citizens again,⁴¹² but this was not yet noticeable around 1905. This is why it could surprise a Dutch traveller that for a journey to Russia the passport was a '*conditio sine qua non*': that getting into the country was 'simply' impossible without one.

Usually, people only know the *travel pass* by name, from books dealing with past times, because in the past everyone who went travelling, had to equip themselves with a pass. Most countries have now abolished it, but the Russian Government still requires it of everyone who wants to cross the borders of its country.⁴¹³

This example already demonstrates that passports had not become completely redundant. Especially non-elite travellers looking for work, not just in Russia but in various European states, still required passports or other government-issued identity documents.⁴¹⁴ Like in the 1860s, such papers were used by commercial bodies as well as states. Labour migrants Imke Klaver and his friend Lutzen de Jong were teetotallers. In Düsseldorf, they got mixed up in a fight with their foreman as they did not want to support his schnapps habit.

407 Bake, 14.

408 Only Perk, 67; Evers, 70. It was still deemed important for international travellers to carry passports, however: Van Calcar-Schiotling, 179; Perk, 104; J. Murray, *A Hand-book for Travellers on the Continent* (London, 1868), xvi; see Geselle, 'Domenica Saba Takes to the Road', 217.

409 Perk, 86, 153, and the equally fraudable visiting card: 246. Lists of names were even published in the local gazette: Schärli, *Höhepunkt des schweizerischen Tourismus*, 238.

410 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 181; Evers, 6-7; Vosmaer, 28/6. Kuyper, 407.

411 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 181; Perk, 214, 235. See Fahrmeir, 'Governments and Forgers', 233.

412 J.C. Torpey, 'The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Passport System', in Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 257.

413 'Voorts heeft men te zorgen voor iets, wat [sic] voor een reis naar Rusland de *conditio sine qua non* is, het document, zonder hetwelk men eenvoudig niet in Rusland toegelaten wordt: een *reis pas*. Een *reis pas* kent men gewoonlijk alleen van naam uit boeken, die over vroegere tijden handelen, want vroeger moest zich iedereen, die op reis ging, van zulk een pas voorzien. De meeste landen hebben hem nu afgeschaft, maar de Russische Regeerind [sic] eischt hem nog van ieder, die de grenzen van haar lang [sic] wil overschrijden.' H.S.S. Kuyper, *Brieven uit Rusland* (Zwolle, 1905), 4. Also Ligthart, 168.

414 Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 249.

When they went to collect their 'labour card and papers' 'at the office' to go and find another job, the office abused its temporary possession of these papers to try and keep these valuable workers in its employment.⁴¹⁵



Illustration 4.3: Unknown artist, wedding portrait of Imke Klaver and Otje Haanstra, uploaded by Rick van den Broeke to members.upc.nl/rvandenbroeke/bb10.htm, acc. 24 March 2013.

How did these demands affect travellers? To begin with, they had to think ahead to acquire the necessary passports and letters of recommendation in time. This could be done relatively quickly: Dutch elite travellers tended to arrange passports a day before departure.⁴¹⁶ Only a few European destinations made this process more difficult by demanding additional certificates from its incoming non-elite visitors.⁴¹⁷ Nor were the financial costs of a passport a particularly large obstacle, although they made a considerable inroad on a worker's budget. A passport cost 5 guilders before 1845 and 2.50 guilders after.⁴¹⁸ The former price equalled about one week's

415 Klaver, 133, 135, 143: 'arbeidskaart en papieren', 'aan het kantoor'.

416 Ackersdijck, 16; De Beaufort the elder, in Het Utrechts Archief, inventaris 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, toegang 2.3.01.22, inventarisnummer 563.

417 For non-elite inhabitants of the mid-nineteenth-century Austrian empire, obtaining (and using) a passport was a complicated process which must have taken weeks because it required a letter of recommendation from a future employer (or similar) in the destination: Geselle, 'Domenica Saba Takes to the Road'; also Fahrmeir, 'Governments and Forgers', 229. Non-elite Dutch, however, did not need such a letter, nor, it seems, a specific destination they had to stick to. Only when going to Hanover or Prussia they needed other, home-provided certificates: Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 244, 249.

418 De Beaufort the elder, inventarisnummer 563, passports from 1839, 1843, and 1847.

income of the average artisan or industrial labourer, with craftsmen earning a passport almost twice as fast as craftswomen doing the same work. As nominal wages rose after 1860, a passport was earned increasingly quickly.⁴¹⁹ Receivers of poor-relief even obtained a passport for free.⁴²⁰ (It should be asked, of course, whether states were happy to receive such travellers with poor-relief passports, but these passports likely reassured them that they would return to the Netherlands if they found no job abroad.) The time and money expended on a passport were therefore relatively small obstacles to travel.

All selected travel parties could indeed identify themselves, except those of Baak and De Constant Rebecque who did not need to since they travelled within the borders of the pre-1830 Netherlands.⁴²¹ This reminds us that the 1830 independence of Belgium halved the space which both southern and northern citizens could access without question.

However, a major exception to the early- and mid-nineteenth-century near-universal ability of travellers to identify themselves, were female travellers. Whenever she travelled with a male companion, a woman always travelled on his passport or recommendation letters. The same applied to children and servants.⁴²² This meant that most women, children, and servants abroad had to stay close to these leader-figures when travelling abroad. Something similar is true for all-male travel groups, however: they generally appointed one member to deal with financial matters.⁴²³

Quite a few Dutch women did travel without male supervision, and therefore on their own passport.⁴²⁴ Curiously, they were almost always in the company of other women. Men, on the contrary, routinely travelled by themselves.⁴²⁵ Maria Kruseman-Ross, for example, travelled together with her family and their friend or governess Helena, in 1832-33. Her

419 Beginning from c. 90 cents per day and working c. six days per week. Yet from at last 1847 onwards, a passport cost only three to two days of work: Smits, Horlings, and Van Zanden, 'Dutch GNP', 52-5. The necessary surplus in the annual wage also existed: Haupt, *Konsum und Handel*, 94-7; Allen, 'Great Divergence', 428.

420 Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 244.

421 Though they may have carried an internal passport: Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 241.

422 De Beaufort the elder, inventarisnummer 563, August 1851 passport; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 13; Roosendaal, 430, 571, 553, 577. For British travel parties: Heafford, 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism', 33-8.

423 e.g. Bake, 12. A traveller named Kuhn in W. Koning, 'Reismotivatie en reisbeleving van de jonge Amsterdamse en Utrechtse elite in West-Europese steden, 1824-1863' (University of Amsterdam master's dissertation, 2011), 22.

424 Contrary to what is said about the early nineteenth century by Carnier and Gilleir in their introduction to Schopenhauer, *Vrouw op reis*, 13.

425 Routinely, but not in majority. From the selection: De Beaufort the elder, Evers, Vosmaer, and Analephis.

husband, who was a colonial administrator and also supported the Dutch prisoners of war who were being kept in Saint-Omer and Aire, had to pay several work visits. Although Kruseman-Ross was involved in her husband's work, she did not always follow him on these visits. She even travelled ahead from Paris to Brussels while her husband stayed behind for work; but on this journey she was accompanied by Helena and the children.⁴²⁶ Still, Kruseman-Ross must have either had her own passport, or a copy of her husband's passport or some other written escort arranged by him. Similarly, Van Wassenauer Obdam and her friend travelled from Saint Petersburg to the Netherlands without male equals or superiors, only accompanied by a 'gendarme'. This man probably carried her papers for her but these most likely contained her *own* passport.⁴²⁷ Thirty years later, Van der Staal van Piershil travelled with her sisters, children, and two female servants; Mensing with what might be a governess ('de jufvrouw'); Kruseman with her female servant; and Elise van Calcar-Schiotling with two female colleagues. Around 1905, Henriëtte Kuyper toured Italy with two female friends, and the Romein-Ter Marsches encountered a Dutch couple and a German couple of women in their German hotel.⁴²⁸ These examples belie the idea that women—unmarried, married, or widowed—could not travel without male or else married female chaperons.⁴²⁹



Yet I found only one egodocument of a Dutch woman—a widow—travelling abroad on her own: Dr Jeanne Wyttenbach-Gallien, the philologist, grown up in Hessen but living in the northern Netherlands when

426 Kruseman-Ross, 31, 78-9, 142, 146, 149.

427 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 255-8. Another example in Bake, 100.

428 Romein-Ter Marsches, 27/9/1906.

429 For rural English middle-classes: L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago, 1987), 403.

she set out in 1828.⁴³⁰ A related case is that of Krüseman's *southern*-Netherlandish female servant, who returned home from Paris prematurely because of the 1870 war. Krüseman remained in Paris by herself: 'Les premiers jours il m'a semblé bien drôle d'être seule, mais maintenant j'y suis déjà habituée': 'The first few days, it felt funny [weird, uncomfortable] being alone, but by now I've already grown used to it.'⁴³¹ Evidently, the problems with women staying abroad alone were largely psychological, and some nineteenth-century minds were flexible enough to make these problems disappear. Another woman travelling on her own was Van der Staal van Piershil's governess Henriette, who appears to have been Swiss. When Van der Staal van Piershil travelled to Switzerland with the children and their governess in 1858, Henriette visited her parents a number of times.⁴³² The explanation for the fact that these women did travel alone, lies more in their social status, probably, than in their nationality. Domestic and agricultural servants who went through a period of independent work for various employers before settling down with a family of their own, travelled through Europe in great numbers in the nineteenth century, both internally and between states, and often on their own.⁴³³ Since in some countries these men and women had to carry other kinds of identity papers than passports with them in order to work, they may also have used those when crossing borders.⁴³⁴ This might be how Krüseman's servant managed to enter Brussels from Paris without her employer, in a time of unforeseen political unrest. Another possibility is that Krüseman obtained a passport for her at the Dutch consulate in Paris. Unfortunately, these single-travelling female servants hardly ever recorded their experiences. Single travel was, however, fairly ordinary for them, while for elite women it was somewhat inappropriate.⁴³⁵

It is a fact that the Dutch authorities provided for women travelling without men from

430 J.H. Blok, 'De laatste reis van Jeanne Gallien' in J. de Bruijn, J.H.A. de Lokin, L.J. van Soest-Zuurdeeg, W.J. Zwolve (ed.), *Een vreemde man, die ons vreemd ontviel. Liber amicorum voor E.W.A. Henssen* (Amsterdam, 2000), 104-15. She is not in the selection made for this thesis. A few women from other western-European countries can also be mentioned: Mary Wollstonecraft in 1785, 1792, and 1795: *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (London, 1796); and various French travellers: I. Havelange, 'Les voyageuses françaises au prisme de la bibliographie annuelle de l'histoire de France (de 1970 à 2010)', *Genre et histoire*, no. 8 (Spring 2011), genrehistoire.revues.org/index1308.html, acc. 12 Dec. 2011, par. 35.

431 Krüseman, 145, 149.

432 Van der Staal van Piershil, 22/5, 12/9, 13/10.

433 See chapter 2 A small prosopography of Dutch travellers, note 160. For the emotional importance of the trunks in which these servants kept all their belongings, see Mihm, *Packend*, 12-20, 63-4.

434 Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 251-2.

435 Also suggested by a 1893 female cyclists' club advertisement: De Vries and Van Amstel, *Dolle entree*, 44.

the early nineteenth century onward. We see this in a passport collection spanning 1824 through 1854. The passports in this collection contain a designated space to adapt the bearer's title, thereby choosing whether the bearer was male or female.⁴³⁶ In the egalitarian lay-out of identity documents, the Dutch state was thus ahead of its citizens' practice.⁴³⁷ However, married women were legally *handelingsonbekwaam* and needed the approval of their husbands before they could get their own passport.⁴³⁸ Yet this did not apply to unmarried women and widows, who indeed formed the majority of women travelling without men. Either way, it was neither illegal nor unthinkable for the Dutch government that women possess a passport. If they hardly travelled abroad (alone) until far into the twentieth century, it was not formal administration that kept them. Having said that, it is conceivable that couples who had business abroad decided to save their pocket by not buying a passport for the female half. In this way, states' identification practices could still indirectly inhibit women's movements once abroad. The cost of a passport together with the subsumption of especially married women's identities into men's, symbolically but also practically, discriminated against women seeking independent access.

However, just as significant as unequal opportunities are people's reactions to them. And in the case of identity documentation women writers did not utter any frustration. In fact, since customs were far from loved by travellers, women usually expressed their gladness at not having to deal with them. On the contrary, men, as well as women travelling without men, complained about having to show their passport, or remarked surprisedly: 'visitation easy'.⁴³⁹ Arriving in Sardinia, jurist Frederik Hendrik Cornelis Drieling and his friend had to deal with a lower-ranked officer who refused to let them pass since his superior was off duty and would inspect them the following morning. The friends, however, took matters in their own hands and sent someone to fetch this superior in town.⁴⁴⁰ Still, this shows travellers' dependence on sometimes unreliable or unwilling representatives of powerful institutions. Travellers' desires

436 De Beaufort the elder, inventarisnummer 563. This was not the case in the United Kingdom: Murray, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* (1868), xviii.

437 See section 2.3 Travellers.

438 Kloek, *Vrouw des huizes*, 136, 140. For other countries: Ch. Steinwedel, 'Making Social Groups, one Person at a Time: The Identification of Individuals by Estate, Religious Confession, and Ethnicity in Late Imperial Russia', in Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 77; Geselle, 'Domenica Saba Takes to the Road', 200.

439 Bake, 45; Drieling, 295; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 179; also Roosendaal, 533, 552. Perk, 104; Van der Staal van Piershil, 26/10; Evers, 42, 70; Vosmaer, 19/6.

440 Drieling, 160-1.

were also frustrated when they had forgotten to validate their pass, or had forgotten their passports or recommendation letters altogether.⁴⁴¹ The absence of negative reactions in the 1900s suggests that travellers had become more compliant to authorities by then. To give a positive example: Klaver and his cousin, Dutch citizens on their return home, were inspected by the Dutch police when already in the Netherlands. They explained their lack of money, showed their identification documents, wrote down their name in what Klaver cheerfully called 'the guestbook', and even accepted being shadowed by the police on their way home.⁴⁴²

Some travellers did not wish to be identified to begin with. No doubt people who knew they were unwanted across the border, for example because they had no income,⁴⁴³ occasionally dodged identity checks and travelled illegally. This in itself did not happen among the travellers studied here. But we are lucky enough to witness another variant of identification dodging. For goods could be illegal, too. Certain texts were considered politically or morally dangerous, from fear of sedition, separation—or unification.⁴⁴⁴ Other goods were illegal if they surpassed certain quantities. Others again were completely legal but subject to tariffs.⁴⁴⁵ The tricky part was that these regulations differed per territory so that travellers did not always anticipate them, although guide-books offered a helping hand.⁴⁴⁶

Most baggage was to some degree identified—sometimes closely inspected—at borders and when boarding ships.⁴⁴⁷ In fact, many travellers of around 1825 and 1865 were concerned about the inevitable baggage checks. (Fewer were around 1905. Possibly, such checks took place less frequently in those years.) They feared that it damage their dignity⁴⁴⁸ and were protective of their privacy⁴⁴⁹ and the possession of their passport.⁴⁵⁰ Generally, they

441 Drieling, 268, 281.

442 Klaver, 143: 'we moesten onze naam in het gastenboek zetten.'

443 Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 244.

444 Ackersdijck, 74.

445 Ackersdijck, 74.

446 Murray, *Hand-book for Travellers on the Continent* (1868), xxv.

447 Bake, 30; Roosendaal, 570; and references below.

448 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 13; Roosendaal, 533; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 55; Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 3.

449 Kruseman-Ross, 30, was relieved that 'only' two suitcases were opened, and about the 'modesty' of the officers; Roosendaal, 460; Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 3, 9. Van der Staal van Piershil, 19/10.

450 Drieling, 134, 228.

also found them a waste of time,⁴⁵¹ were fearful of something being the matter,⁴⁵² or of goods being damaged.⁴⁵³ Or they experienced some combination of these, as when linguist Lulofs derided the zeal of the Hamburg officials: 'My coat pocket was not counted subject to levy. No hat-box though, indeed no *umbrella* appeared exempt.' He had bad memories of certain 'unpleasantries' with toll officers in Napoleon-occupied Germany, probably during the walking tour he had made in his student years, which still gave him 'a cold shiver' that resonated on this journey to Hamburg.⁴⁵⁴ Fear for checks was also justified because of the risk of others smuggling via one's baggage. Rees van Tets-Gevaets witnessed another Dutch family in trouble at the French customs when the latter discovered a double bottom in their rented vehicle. After much to do, the compartment fortunately turned out to be empty.⁴⁵⁵ Willem and Karel, Perk's two co-travellers, carried more cigars than the customs of the newfangled Kingdom of Italy cared to consider useful for their own consumption. 'Their small suitcases are opened. And there lie several packages ready for the taking!' They paid 8 francs per person for smuggling, and probably lost their supply of tobacco in the bargain. This was something Perk had definitely not expected.⁴⁵⁶ Jan Willem Staats Evers was equally indignant that the Roman customs—Rome not yet being part of Italy—confisquated an Italian officer's uniform and sabre for the duration of his stay.⁴⁵⁷ All these nineteenth-century travellers were to a greater or lesser extent frustrated by the powerlessness of having to pass a baggage inspection. It was therefore with surprise that one traveller noted that his baggage was searched 'with the utmost politeness'.⁴⁵⁸

Their chagrin gave travellers in the early nineteenth century reason to avoid the official entry-point of a state, or hide goods while passing through it. The parties of Bake, Drieling, Rees van Tets-Gevaets, and Roosendaal, all four part of the educated establishment, all four

451 Bake, 14; Drieling, 161; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 13; Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 3, 9. Perk, 104; Evers, 70.

452 Bake, 62; Roosendaal, 459?. Perk, 67; Van der Staal van Piershil, 9/10, 26/10; Evers, 42. Romein-Ter Marsches, 8/5/1903.

453 Bake, 62; Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 9.

454 'Mijn mantelzakje werd niet cijnsplichtig gerekend. Geene hoededoos echter, ja geen *parapluie* scheen vrij.' And 'eene koude rilling' from past 'onaangenaamheden'. As to my translation of 'coat pocket': 'mantelzakje' may refer to either a loose pocket underneath his coat or a small coat bag. Either way, Lulofs ridicules the customs' petty zeal: Lulofs, I.57, also 18 and II.454. Other general statements of 'unpleasantness': Bake, 35, 45; Drieling, 123; Roosendaal, 459. Ligthart, 1.

455 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 14.

456 Perk, 140-1: 'Hun koffertjes worden geopend. En daar liggen verscheidene pakjes voor de hand!'

457 Evers, 71.

458 Drieling, 161: 'met de meeste beleefdheid'.

bribed Austrian, French, and Italian customs officers and so succeeded in avoiding inspection. For early-nineteenth-century elites, bribes were an ordinary travel expense, a matter-of-course buying-off of the stipulated examinations (although Drieling also praised 'the cleverness of our guide' in the matter). Drieling also took an expensive detour per coach that took three days instead of the eight-hour journey by boat, which would also have been the more comfortable. He did this because he had bought some books that were illegal in France and had heard the inspections performed on the Rhine at Strasbourg to be quite strict: the French customs might refuse his bribe this time.⁴⁵⁹ Both strategies go to show that identification could be purposefully dodged in the Restoration years. Wealthy travellers secured their entry into new territories with less intrusion of their person and possessions, although this did not make their journey cheaper or easier.

Not all custom-offices were so distrustful. Some did not inspect goods but only identified *persons* or even just the leader of each travel party, and asked them to declare their baggage on their 'parole d'honneur'. However, one Swiss office apart, such leniency is only evidenced for the 1820s.⁴⁶⁰ Moreover, even in the early decades we find cases of borders being treated highly seriously by their officers. Next to the cases cited above, various Italian customs vigorously searched Drieling's luggage, including even the contents of his sketch books, at a time of political tensions with Austria.⁴⁶¹ Evidently, leniency cannot be called an absolute rule around 1825. But in general, states' trust seems to have diminished still over the course of the century. At first, elite travellers had to get used to the fact that their word of honour had lost its value. By 1865, they were surprised when a baggage check was performed superficially, 'avec discretion'.⁴⁶²

The ease with which travellers felt they could pass formal identity checks did not simply increase in the nineteenth century. Granted, as passports became cheaper, more people could afford them. Yet, although states did not officially discriminate against women in the design

459 Bake, 62; Drieling, 115, 123 ('Na gelukkig, door de handigheid van onzen gids, aan de visitatie der goederen ontsnapt te zijn'), 133, 161, 295; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 13; Roosendael, 571.

460 Austria-Hungary: Ackersdijck, 17, 74; Bake, 45. France: Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 13. 'Germany': Lulofs, I, 37, 57; Roosendael, 460. 'Italy': Bake, 35, 45. Switzerland: Drieling, 228; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 178. Perk, 104.

461 Drieling, 131.

462 Perk, 67, 234; Van der Staal van Piershil, 19/10; Evers, 42; Vosmaer, 19/6. Few passages record what happened to baggage in the 1900s.

of their passports, they required wives to obtain permission from their husbands. Also, states and other institutions did not ask women who travelled in the companionship of men to identify themselves but condoned the practice that their male companions assumed responsibility and therefore also power over their movements. This was probably one of the causes of women travelling ten times as little as men. They also travelled proportionally less on their own than men. Also, for travellers who were not part of the educated elite, states' policing of identities did not stop when it did for the elite. Yet even for the elite there was no linear 'modernization' but a wave development, as state's identification *regulations* liberalized in the middle of the century but their *practices* only did in the last quarter. Next, passports became compulsory again for everyone in the years just before World War One.

These bars to access did not necessarily tally with travellers' behaviour and experiences, however. Women reported no feeling of restriction when they identified through their male companions. On the contrary, it was those who had to deal with passport checks, letters of recommendation, and baggage inspections, who regularly voiced their dissatisfaction. Commercial businesses increasingly took advantage of the growing identification procedures that states provided, and diminished their use of personal recommendations and unreliable guestbooks as their foremost clues to identity. All border authorities except the Swiss seem to have relinquished their former strategy of polite enquiry and became more intrusive on travellers' belongings. Their susceptibility to bribes diminished, probably as their suspicion and resources grew. States and other institutions became less and less willing to trust applicants on the basis of gentlemanly appearance or word of honour. Travellers, meanwhile, adapted to these changes. They did not grow more irritated or scared as these stricter controls were put into place. If anything, they protested and cheated less. Their dislike and anxiety remained, however, until these, too, diminished in the twentieth century. From the second half of the nineteenth century onward, travellers demanded less power over their own identification process than at the beginning of the century. They complied more, perhaps not willingly, but they did not so actively resist admission authorities. Around 1825, travellers more creatively organized their own entry. In the second half of the century and into the next, they had grown a little used to relinquishing their agency to identity-checking gate-keepers.

2 APPEARANCE

To be appropriately dressed for the occasion at hand was of the utmost importance in the nineteenth century. It demonstrated an understanding of what a gathering, a place, and a time were about. To be dressed appropriately therefore signalled a belonging to the right group of people, with the right upbringing and behaviour: the right taste. 'Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make', writes sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.⁴⁶³ Key to his theory of taste is that it constitutes an *acquired* knowledge of what to like and what to consume, but *as if* it were instinctive. Because it was important to gate-keepers to admit only the socially fitting, appearance was another factor of access, next to identity documents. Because of its easy visibility, appearance was the obvious first criterion of a traveller's social belonging, of rapport and trust between people who had never met.

Sometimes, dress rules for admission were codified. Courts, parliaments, the 'public' stage-coaches, music societies, and assembly rooms are known to have published such regulations.⁴⁶⁴ Bake and Perk were both stipulated to wear evening dress when attending the ball of a duke's wedding and the 'soirée' of a philanthropic Latour colonel, respectively. Because they were travelling light, they lacked such a costume. Bake received permission to appear in his less distinguished jacket after all, completed with a hat and white tie, but for Perk the rules were less flexible.⁴⁶⁵ Similarly, the patrician Van der Staal van Piershil was adamant about putting her foster-children into mourning before they were allowed to be seen outside the house.⁴⁶⁶ And Kuyper received instructions—simple black gown, black veil, no gloves—for her interview with the Pope.⁴⁶⁷

At other times, dress rules existed implicitly. Kruseman-Ross's husband, for example, had an 'obliging invitation' from a consul but she and her friend had to 'forgo this pleasure on account of our travel garb'.⁴⁶⁸ Perk felt he must keep on his hat despite the risk of losing it

463 P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, R. Nice (trans.), first publ. 1979 (London, 1984), 6.

464 e.g. K. Beyrer, 'Im Coupé: vom Zeitvertreib der Kutschenfahrt', in Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 145; P. Egan, *Walks through Bath* (Bath, 1819), 132; H. Raynor, *Music and Society since 1815* (London, 1976), 109 about the Liverpool Philharmonic Society in the 1840s; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 127, for palaces and gardens in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

465 Bake, 8. Perk, 267.

466 Van der Staal van Piershil, inventarisnummer 162, letter to Adèle (Breda, 29 ? 1855).

467 Kuyper, 363.

468 Kruseman-Ross, 31: because of a 'verplichtende uitnoodiging' they 'moesten [...] ons, uithoofde van ons reisgewaad, dit genoegen ontzeggen.'

under the Schaffhausen falls,⁴⁶⁹ while Jacob Geel shaved his beard after a mountain tour before showing himself in the 'civilized and decent' English inns of Chamonix.⁴⁷⁰ On passenger steamboats and probably also other vehicles where people spent the night with their clothes on, the dress code in the morning, when everyone appeared at breakfast all creased and crumpled, was less strict, fortunately.⁴⁷¹ Yet Klaver, after looking for work in Düsseldorf for three days, and another two days on the road to Duisburg and Oberhausen—he and his cousin felt they did not look so fine. 'The chances to get a job were about nil. That much we figured.'⁴⁷²

Travellers, however, could not always predict the rules that would apply. Jan Ligthart was pleasantly surprised to find the sartorial etiquette less strict among the Swedish elite than among the Dutch, for work visits but also for dancing. There was 'no formality, but genuineness'. 'Geen sprake van deftigdoenerij of kat-uit-de-boom-kijkerij.' Ligthart enjoyed this ease, this bodily freedom. His sartorial worries, caused probably by the fact that he came from a working-class family, were taken away by the attitude of the people he met in Sweden.

I had not counted on it at all, that I would be invited to dinners, had only my ordinary grey jacket with me and a pile of sport shirts—supposing I only had to give a small course to colleagues. No black woollen suit. Did not own one as a matter of fact. No low waistcoats and high collars. Did not own them either. But nowhere it seemed to be noted. Everywhere the *people* approached me, the *people*.⁴⁷³

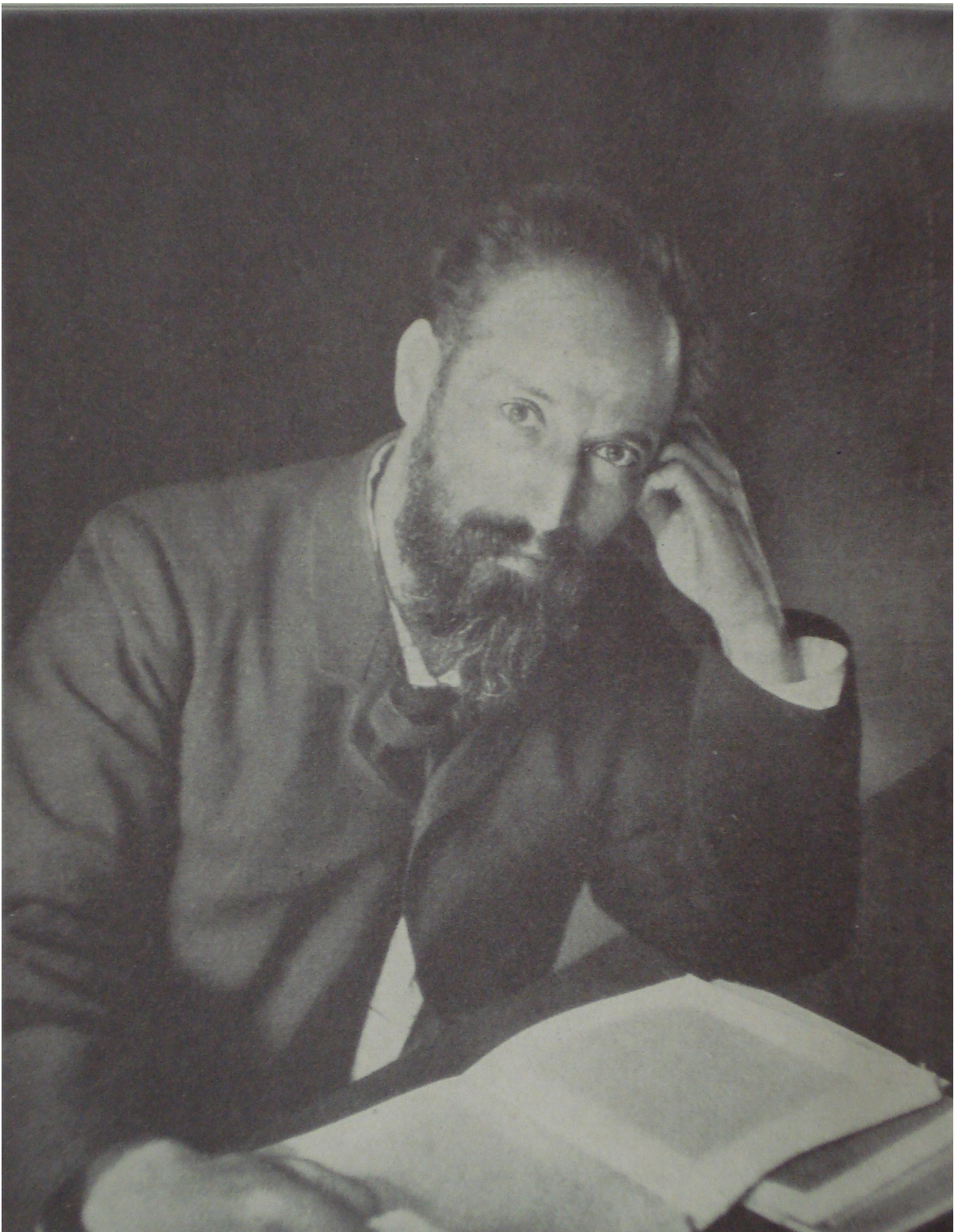
469 Perk, 5.

470 'beschaafd en fatsoenlijk': Geel, *Onderzoek en phantasie* (1895), 28.

471 Drieling, 3.

472 Klaver, 141: 'De kans om een baantje te krijgen was zo ongeveer nul. Dat hadden we zelf ook wel in de gaten.'

473 Ligthart, 57-8: 'Ik had er helemaal niet op gerekend, dat ik op diners zou worden genood, had—menende alleen een kleine cursus voor collega's te moeten houden—alleen mijn gewone grijze colbert bij me en een stapel sporthemden. Geen zwart laken pak. Bezat het trouwens niet. Geen lage vesten en hoge boorden. Bezat ze al evenmin. Maar nergens scheen men er nota van te nemen. Overal kwamen de *mensen* me tegemoet, de *mensen*.' 233, 281-2: 'Geen vormelijkheid, maar waarachtigheid'.



On the contrary, countess Van Wassenaer Obdam struggled with the taste expected from her at the tsar's court. Each occasion required a different dress. As her account abundantly shows, this task was much more complex than choosing between making a

'private' and a 'public' appearance. It led to a lot of running about and waste of time in her eyes. One day, the princess summoned Van Wassenauer Obdam to accompany her to Orthodox mass in the palace, a new experience for Van Wassenauer Obdam. It was unfortunate that the princess forgot to warn her to come in state, in so-called 'groot toilet'. Therefore, Van Wassenauer Obdam appeared in a relatively simple dress befitting her own taste. This is how she experienced what followed:

[The princess] looked at me with a startled face and then remembered that she had not warned me. Fortunately, I just had time to throw on a different gown. I ran off, but while doing so it struck me that our maids [working for Van Wassenauer Obdam's family] had not yet returned from church. I imagined myself, gown in hand, asking the princess's maids for help, when to my relief I discovered that Pauline d'Oultremont had already returned. She helped me with my gown. Quickly, I put on the diamond-studded toque that I had worn only yesterday, I slipped into my shoes and was back with the princess in less than ten minutes.⁴⁷⁴

Fragile gowns are thrown off and on and decorative noblewomen run frantically through palaces on uncomfortable slippers. The comical character of the scene is significant. Through it, Van Wassenauer Obdam distanced herself from Romanov palace etiquette and at the same time achieved some comic relief from her anxieties. For although she ridiculed this etiquette in many of her diary entries, especially the tsarina's dress rules and crazy schedules, she genuinely worried about not meeting the expectations of her stepmother's and her own future employers, the princely Orange-Romanovs.⁴⁷⁵ Appearing at mass in incorrect clothes and jewelry was unthinkable. By dressing ordinarily expensively rather than outrageously expensively for mass, she had already shown her knowledge of court etiquette to be inadequate. Asking the princess's maids for help would humiliate her even further, since this would come down to admitting that her own maids were not readily available and her command over time and her authority over her subordinates failed. Her taste and perhaps also her wealth were again put to the test in her uncertain decision to wear the same toque (a head-dress) for two days in a row. To make things worse, Van Wassenauer Obdam did not just hold her own and her stepmother's dignity in her hand, but also that of the entire Dutch delegation.

474 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 194: 'Ze keek me geschrokken aan en herinnerde zich toen dat ze me niet had gewaarschuwd. Gelukkig had ik nog net de tijd om gauw een andere japon aan te schieten. Ik rende weg, maar ondertussen schoot me te binnen dat onze kamermeisjes nog niet uit de kerk waren teruggekeerd. Ik zag me al met mijn japon in de hand om de hulp vragen van de kamermeisjes van de prinses, toen ik tot mijn opluchting ontdekte dat Pauline d'Oultremont al was teruggekomen. Ze hielp me met mijn japon. Ik zette gauw de met diamanten bezaaide toque op die ik de vorige dag nog had gedragen, ik schoot in mijn schoenen en was in minder dan tien minuten al weer bij de prinses terug'; also 82, 177.

475 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 119, 123, 128, 152, 156, 171, 192, 204, 233, 244, 248.

Anna Pavlovna had married the Dutch Crown prince with optimistic expectations but always with the sense of having married below her standing to a rather impoverished prince of a diminished state: the Netherlands.⁴⁷⁶ This her first journey back to Russia should show her family that she was doing well on her own feet. The princely couple thus showed their own anxieties as they insisted on elaborate dress for a visit of their delegation to the tsarina, even when the tsarina herself deemed this unnecessary.⁴⁷⁷

All in all, for Van Wassenauer Obdam there was no place and no company with whom she could be completely 'at ease' except in their own suite of rooms, with 'Maman', her own maid Mina, and her friend Pauline d'Oultremont. Only there could she be 'without worry about [her] appearance'.⁴⁷⁸ In effect, as long as they were in the tsar's palace but outside their own rooms, they were always at work. The lives of the poor and the rich could thus show a surprising similarity in their lack of individual freedom. After all, aristocrats at court were servants just as well as 'maids' were. This is confirmed by the similar worries of other retinue of the Orange-Romanovs. After a twenty-four-hour (!) journey in a narrow carriage, two attending 'gentlemen' complained of pain in their legs. They had to ask permission from the prince to travel in a more comfortable though less stately farmer's waggon.⁴⁷⁹ The princely couple continuously watched over the impression their retinue made, thereby also limiting the spatial freedom of their fellow travellers.⁴⁸⁰

In other instances, Van Wassenauer Obdam knew the rules of appearance very well. Perhaps in these cases they more closely resembled Dutch court etiquette. Still, she found them somewhat ridiculous. Indeed, she never liked court life in The Hague either, and preferred spending her days on her own estate in Overijssel.⁴⁸¹ In fact, when she had the Dutch Crown prince over for breakfast in her hotel suite, outside of any formal occasion, she did so half-dressed.⁴⁸² She lost this casualness in the Winter Palace, however. Throughout her

476 H.J. de Muij-Fleurke, 'Anna Paulowna', in *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland*, www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/AnnaPaulowna, version of 17 Aug. 2010, par. 2, 5.

477 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 119.

478 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 124: 'Ik ontbeet op mijn gemak met Maman zonder zorgen over mijn uiterlijk', 207, 215.

479 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 84.

480 Van Wassenauer Obdam's travel account thus paints a completely different picture of the travel experiences of aristocratic retinue than the spatial freedom and 'oceans of time' only occasionally interrupted by minor responsibilities which is presented for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 82-4.

481 Van Wassenauer Obdam, e.g. 129, 249.

482 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 263.

Russian journey Van Wassenauer Obdam tried to continue her practice of a daily walk, but she could not always find a suitable companion. On one occasion she took Mina, her personal servant. 'To get a little exercise after all, I was forced to take a walk with Mina. I had to manoeuvre deftly [cleverly, tactfully] in order not to encounter any royal persons.'⁴⁸³ Her use of the word 'forced' expresses that there was no other way to take a walk but with her servant. Mina was about the least attractive walking companion, either because she lacked an interest or because she lacked decorum, which is the reason suggested by the text. Still, Van Wassenauer Obdam did not consider walking on her own, which here implies that to walk alone was not appropriate for a lady of noble rank, in 1824. Yet the result of her concession to propriety was not very desirable, either, and involved some social humiliation. Mina's presence made her walking only quasi-licit. Mina was an accessory, an element of Van Wassenauer Obdam's appearance and one that would not show her good taste and manners. Because she was attended by Mina, her movement was restricted. Mina must stay outside the symbolic circle of royal space that the tsar's family carried around them. And so on this occasion, Van Wassenauer Obdam had to stay outside it as well. Her desire to move about in the palace gardens was only partially fulfilled and the satire of her diary was one way of answering Romanov etiquette.

De Beaufort the elder also took part in a clash of tastes, of different ideas on what constitute the correct appearance for an occasion. He attended a sitting of the British House of Commons, but was sorely disappointed.

The hall in which the House of Commons meets is very simple and answers too little to the lustre which ought to be inseparable from the Representatives of such a nation ['volk']. [...] the speaker [is] the only one person who appears in a *quarré* wig and a black gown here, while all the others arrive there as it pleases them and sometimes show themselves little decent.⁴⁸⁴

Judging from his use of the terms 'Representanten' and 'volk' he saw this event as one in which the entire nation was symbolically present. Yet for De Beaufort, this did certainly not mean that the nation should be present in all its real aspects. '[S]uch a nation' as the British,

483 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 138: 'Om toch een beetje beweging te krijgen, was ik genoodzaakt te gaan wandelen met Mina. Ik moest handig manoeuvreren om geen vorstelijke personen tegen te komen.'

484 De Beaufort the elder 1829, fo. 14^v: 'De zaal waarin het Lagerhuis vergadert is zeer eenvoudig en beantwoordt te weinig aan den luister die van de Representanten van zulk een volk behoorde onafscheidelijk te zijn. [...] den spreker de eenigste persoon die hier met eene quarré pruik en eene zwarte toga verschijnt, terwijl er alle overigen komen zoo als het hun behaagt en zich soms weinig betamelijk betoonen.'

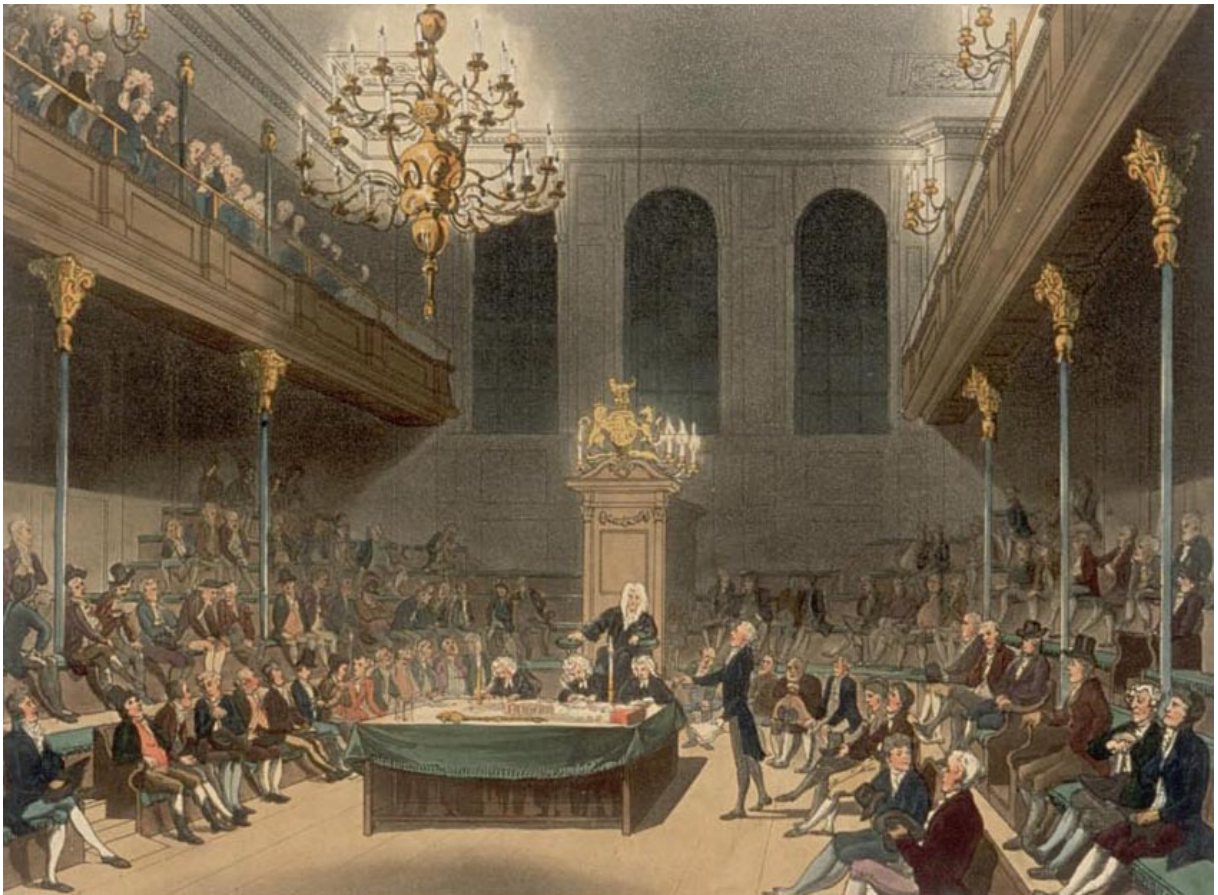
for which De Beaufort felt great respect, surely deserved to be seen only at its best.⁴⁸⁵ The nation should be present in an idealized shape, cleansed of accidental impurities and therefore exclusive in terms of who attended, and formalized in terms of how they appeared.

Representatives had a duty to appear before their King and their people and before foreign nations (these, too, represented in idealized form, such as that of De Beaufort!) as the flower of their nation. Therefore, their appearance must bear 'lustre', 'splendour'. In principle, the British political establishment agreed with De Beaufort. The opening of their parliamentary year was attended by 'lavishly dressed peeresses' in order to, as political historian Kathryn Gleadle remarks, 'signal the lustre of the political elite, with observers commenting on their style and glamour.'⁴⁸⁶ But the British elite used a different strategy to attain their lustre. They preferred the presence of fashionable outsiders and seem to have been permissive regarding debaters' appearance. De Beaufort, meanwhile, preferred the debaters themselves to be decorously and formally clothed; and not only at the opening of a new session but during all sittings. De Beaufort had internalized the apparently more formal sartorial rules of Dutch representative bodies, such as perhaps the local Water Board that he was a member of. He was hard-pressed to take debaters seriously, even in foreign assemblies, if they did not abide by these rules. Because he identified with the ruling elite, also on his visits abroad, the situation possibly even embarrassed him. Like Van Wassenae Obdam's account this passage shows that tastes differed; not only between court and country-side but between countries. Travellers, however, did not necessarily accept these differences as neutral: their first reaction was often to ascribe a defect to foreigners.⁴⁸⁷

485 For the great admiration much of the Dutch elite felt for Britain, see Aerts, *Letterheren*, 271, 402.

486 *Borderline Citizens*, 56.

487 Ackersdijck, 21; Bake, 44; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 145. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 370; Van der Staal van Piershil, 3/9. See Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour*, 175-7.



Evidently, people's appearance showed what they could afford: up-to-date clothes or second-hand, bespoke or prêt-à-porter, expensive materials or cheap, elaborate decoration or plain. Material and model also influenced a person's comportment, especially after long wearing, as did lessons in dancing, fencing or riding, by creating physical habits.⁴⁸⁸ The expense of clothing and jewelry and the concomitant comportment signalled travellers' credit-worthiness to gate-keepers. And only those who could afford evening dress *and* the carriage to transport it in, were guaranteed access to the ball: this did not just apply to Cinderella, but to Messrs. Bake and Perk as well.

However, the wealthy did not have a monopoly on creating rules of taste. Bourdieu's analysis of distinction helps understand the non-elite just as well.⁴⁸⁹ They adapted (second-hand) clothes to their own styles and wore them in their own fashion, according to their own

488 R.M. Green, *The Wearing of Costume: The Changing Techniques of Wearing Clothes and How to Move in Them* (London, 1994), 94-7.

489 Though Bourdieu himself singled out one 'culture légitime' in *Distinction*, building on Marx: 'The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas' etc.: 'The Illusion of the Epoch', *The German Ideology* (Moscow, 1968), par. 1, www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01b.htm#b3, acc. 10 June 2011. Yet compare Haupt's interpretation of Bourdieu: *Konsum und Handel*, 15.

sense of occasion.⁴⁹⁰ And those with more to spend did not distinguish themselves through simple 'conspicuous consumption',⁴⁹¹ but through styles of apparel that had high status among specific people, for specific occasions. A well-chosen simplicity, for example, could carry a high status. Van Calcar-Schiotling toured Belgium and France to study and propagate Fröbel's didactic method. This convinced Protestant (though of a pietistic-experiential hue rather than dogmatic or intellectual-critical) visited the historic buildings of a convent and orphanage in Belleville in Paris. She was guided by its nun-apothecary, while her two colleagues and travel companions were meeting the children in the playground. Occurred the following mishap.

on entering the very narrow door my barège dress caught on the splintery post and tore literally from top to bottom in all kinds of desperate cross-rents. [The nun-apothecary] laughed merrily about my embarrassment, as she produced her sewing-equipment [...] “[...] allow me to repair the damage as well as possible.”

“I fear there is a beginning to it, but no end,” I said dejectedly.

“You shall see, that we have good needles here.”

“And nimble fingers,” I added my admiration; [which] made me presentable again sooner than I had dared hope. Yet imagine my alarm, when my misfortune renewed and I, passing through several narrow doors, tore another two volants. Never in my life did I see narrower doors; I do not understand how Madame de Pompadour ever got through them. The willing apothecary did not cease, or I had to tolerate that she took me into treatment another time.

While I was grumbling about tearing fabrics and crinolines, the nun spoke:

“And yet your clothes please me. [...] I notice that, while you follow the fashion as far as is needed in order not to stand out peculiarly, you do not wear anything to create superfluous ornamentation.”

“You saw *well*; I find one is already too much troubled by the necessary, than to add the superfluous [...]”.⁴⁹²

Van Calcar-Schiotling and the nun-apothecary shared a pride in their simple dress. For them it

490 A. Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750* (London, 1986), 74-6; Haupt, *Konsum und Handel*, 14, 55; B. Lemire, 'Second-Hand Beaux and "Redarmed Belles": Conflict and the Creation of Fashions in England, c. 1660–1800', *Continuity and Change*, 15 no. 3 (2000), 391-417; J. Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven, 2007); Walsh, 'Shops, Shopping and the Art of Decision-Making', 172.

491 Th. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1899).

492 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 133-4: 'bij het intreden der zeer naauwe deur bleef mijn barège kleedje aan den splinterigen post haken en scheurde letterlijk van boven tot beneden in allerlei wanhopige dwarsscheuren. [The nun-apothecary] lachte hartelijk over mijne verlegenheid, terwijl zij haar naaigereedschap voor den dag haalde [...] / “[...] veroorloof mij de schade zoo goed mogelijk te herstellen.” / “Ik vrees dat er wel een begin, maar geen einde aan is,” zeide ik mistroostig. / “Gij zult zien, dat wij hier goede naalden hebben.” / “En vlugge vingers,” voegde ik er mijn bewondering bij; [die] mij, spoediger dan ik had durven hopen, weer presentable maakten. Doch verbeeld u mijn schrik, toen mijn ongeluk zich vernieuwde en ik, verscheidene naauwe deurtjes doorgaande, nogmaals twee volans scheurde. Nooit in mijn leven heb ik naauwer deurtjes gezien; ik begrijp niet hoe Madame de Pompadour er ooit is doorgekomen. De gediensstige apothekeres hield niet op, of ik moest toelaten dat zij mij nogmaals in behandeling nam. / Terwijl ik tegen scheurende stoffe [sic] en hoepelrokken pruttelde, zeide de non: / “En toch behaagt mij uwe kleeding. [...] Ik merk op dat gij, terwijl ge de mode zooveel volgt als noodig is om niet zonderling af te steken, hoegenaamd niets tot overbodig ornament [sic] draagt.” / “Gij hebt wèl gezien; ik vind dat men reeds te veel last heeft van het noodwendige, om er nog het overbodige aan toe te voegen [...]”.

was a marker of good taste. It enhanced the intimacy of their conversation and perhaps even the generosity with which the nun showed Van Calcar-Schiotling around the convent in spite of their religious differences.



Illustration 4.7: P. Blommers, portrait of Elise van Calcar-Schiotling, no date, Aletta, instituut voor vrouwengeschiedenis, Amsterdam, www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/Fleischacker, acc. 25 Feb. 2013.

Despite the dress's simplicity, its fabrics were highly delicate. The Van Calcar-Schiotlings were not wealthy and they depended largely on her income as a writer.⁴⁹³ Therefore, her clothes probably constituted a high proportion of their expenditure. On the other hand, they probably deemed these expenses a legitimate investment since she was such a public figure and, as she confided to the nun and simultaneously to her entire reading public, she did certainly not mean to look eccentric. A certain conformity to middle-class fashion, with a crinolined dress and a gown from high-status fabric, was necessary if she wanted her progressive and feminist didactics to be taken seriously. Both the expense of her dress and its importance for

her professional status explain that she used such words as 'desperate', 'embarrassment', 'alarm', and 'misfortune' when writing about some torn *volants* and a *barège* dress, although her woe was born with a degree of irony.

Women, including middle-class women, were less helpless than men because it was they that had the skill to mend sartorial problems.⁴⁹⁴ Only Van Calcar-Schiotling judged her case to be worse than necessary. On top of that she must have worried about how to get to her hotel and sewing kit without being seen. The incident effectively banned her from the street. The nun, however, laughed at her despair. She knew salvation was nigh. The clothes were not

493 F.J. Hoogeveen, 'Calcar-Schiotling, Eliza Carolina Ferdinanda van', in Fr.K.H. Kossmann, P.J. Blok, and P.C. Molhuysen (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden, 1927), VII.263.

494 See Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 40.

beyond repair at all, and the nun even had the necessary tools at hand. In the mid-nineteenth century, the multiple layers of women's clothing provided ample space to hide various kinds of pockets for practical items such as sewing accoutrements or a knife as well as official papers. In this sense, too, women were more independently mobile than gentlemen, who were bound to a fashion with a slimmer silhouette.

However, as this incident took place, loose pockets were growing out of fashion with the educated elite because they were associated with physical work.⁴⁹⁵ Van Calcar-Schiotling's 'embarrassment' or lack of instruments might be a case in point. Another instance of self-censorship occurred when Roosendaël interrupted her touristic programme to go home and wash her gown 'which was full of mud by the splattering of a car'.⁴⁹⁶ Such destructive forces on ideal appearances were particularly prominent for people moving around in unfamiliar environments. Travellers therefore had a double cause for anxiety about not fitting in: social and material.

Most of the time, gate-keepers as well as travellers were confident in distinguishing others on the basis of their appearance, in particular in distinguishing the elite from the rest. For example, Van Calcar-Schiotling immediately identified another visitor to Père-Lachaise as a 'burger man', a (petit) bourgeois. Others were obviously working-class, she judged from their worn clothes, sun-burnt or tired faces, and 'charming patois'.⁴⁹⁷

But identifications could also be performed incorrectly. Roosendaël was embarrassed to find the 'quite distinguished party' with whom she had dined in her hotel, turn out to be her hosts.⁴⁹⁸ Several elite travellers, especially if they arrived on foot, were not recognized as such by the managers of tourist sites because of their often dusty, informal travel clothing, '*en garçon*', as if they were journeymen. They were given indecorous rooms with dirty beds and were badly treated by the other guests, they felt.⁴⁹⁹ They had dressed for the occasion of travel, but thereby shut themselves out from other occasions. Thus Klaver, looking down and out and apparently taken for a trouble-maker or a sponger, was picked up from the bench he

495 B. Burman, 'Pocketing the Difference: Gender and Pockets in Nineteenth-Century Britain' in B. Burman and C. Turbin (ed.), *Material Strategies: Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective* (Malden, 2003), 77-99.

496 Roosendaël, 612: 'om mijne Japon die door het spatten van een wagen geheel vol modder was uittewassen'.

497 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 84-5, 293: 'een alleraardigst patois', 299.

498 Roosendaël, 527: 'meenden wij een zeer deftig gezelschap te zien'.

499 Witthöft, 'Norddeutsche Reiseliteratur', 208: about Karl Philipp Moritz travelling in England, 1782. Drieling, 104. Perk, 163.

was sleeping on by the Dutch police.⁵⁰⁰ More insidiously, Van Oostendorp's regiment one day fought without their insignia, thereby breaching military rules and misleading the citizens of Antwerp into more or less tolerating them for a brief while. The feelings of guilt that this created may have contributed to the urge toward the end of his life to put down on paper *his* story of the Belgian war of independence.⁵⁰¹ Generally, of course, uniforms privileged their wearers to enter places that were normally inaccessible to strangers, such as the homes which Van Oostendorp and Kolk were quartered in. On the flip-side, they barred soldiers from certain places that they might have entered as civilians or soldiers of a different regiment, as in this episode of Van Oostendorp's experiences.



Illustration 4.8: This would have been the way Johannes van Oostendorp would have looked during his campaign. Unknown print, reproduced in Een fuselier in de Belgische opstand: aantekeningen van Johannes van Oostendorp over de jaren 1830-1832, H. van der Hoeven (ed.) (Den Haag, 1980), 50.

Notably, travellers showed no dissatisfaction with the fact that they had to operate within a system where selections were partly based on the type and quality of their dress. But what they wanted to prevent, were misinterpretations: various pre-emptive efforts against being misinterpreted have been cited above. Travellers spent most of their energy within the system, not against it. Consequently, appearance as an access factor did not only work through the activity of gate-keepers. Often, applicants anticipated appearance rules and shut

500 Klaver, 143.

501 Van Oostendorp, 83.

themselves out if they could not comply with them. Appearance was thus judged from two sides. On one hand, gate-keepers relied on appearance as a proxy for social belonging and restricted access accordingly. On the other hand, travellers internalized this mechanism and adjusted their own appearance according to the rules of spending and taste they would themselves apply to others. This self-consciousness could also work outwardly: a gate-keeper such as Anna Pavlovna externalized the rules she applied to herself, applying them also to the people who represented her. She applied these rules in order to protect her own prestige. For not only was there a danger of being identified as someone of a different social level, but there was also the danger of being taken for someone with no dignity: a Crown princess, but a failed one. So the nobility did certainly not dress with more self-confidence than others. This second side from which appearance mattered, through self-scrutiny and shame, depended not so much on the power gate-keepers exerted over applicants, but on applicants' need to belong, to be accepted by a group and allowed to fulfill a certain role within that group, by presenting oneself as a particular member of that group—by presenting a specific image of oneself. Many of the passages quoted above, and also the ones that will follow in the next section, emphasize not the repressive, boundary-maintaining activities of gate-keepers, but the self-fashioning of applicants: travellers steered their own appearance so that they could feel and function like the kind of person they wanted to be.

If they failed in this endeavour, there were still ways out. For different access factors did not always work in the same direction. The information in a passport could clash with the information given in someone's appearance, for example. Caplan and Torpey have already drawn the attention to the empowering usages of identity documents for the people carrying them. To their analysis can now be added that one of these usages was to overrule other access factors.⁵⁰² Several travellers who were restricted in their freedom of movement by the way they looked, escaped their looks with the help of their name and other personal details or of their identity documents.⁵⁰³ Access factors could thus be strategically played out against each other. Names and writing, in particular, could override appearance. Contrariwise, when a name or a document were not required, the importance of looks offered imposters an opportunity to use an impeccable appearance to enter places which their identity documents

⁵⁰² *Documenting Individual Identity*, 5-6; Lucassen, 'Many-Headed Monster', 248.

⁵⁰³ Drieling, 104; Van Lennep, 'Dagboek van mijne reis gemaakt in 1823', part 2, chapter 5, 15/7. Klaver, 143.

would not have given them access to.

By the nineteenth century sumptuary laws had disappeared,⁵⁰⁴ but dress rules had not. Regardless of the increasing choice and availability of fabrics and ready-made clothes, appearance did *not* become less important as a proxy for identity and a factor of access in most European countries. In this, there was no difference between women and men. There was only the material issue that women's clothes were more vulnerable than men's, but also more regenerative, so to speak, since women had the skill and the tools to mend them. Men and women entertained the same ideals and were concerned with appearance equally often. Both expressed their worries, frustration, or hilarity with the discrepancies and incompatibilities between their own ideal or actual looks and those expected from them, and how these hindered their freedom. Something similar applied to social differences. It has been suggested that (visible) social boundaries blurred over the course of the century, and that this made the elite anxious to demarcate them more strongly, through the imposition of uniforms on their servants, for example.⁵⁰⁵ Apart from the fact that it is unlikely that social distinctions became harder to make, as economic differences in fact increased,⁵⁰⁶ the evidence presented here also shows that anxieties over appearance and belonging and the possibility of mistakes were as large at the beginning of the nineteenth century as of that of the next. The growing tendency to dress one's subordinates in uniforms, in my opinion, was more likely part of a growing tendency by the state and by individual masters to see their domestic servants, nurses, soldiers, and firebrigades as national or personal symbols, representatives of the nation or the family, property almost, people to fiddle around with, to control in the finest detail of their lives, their decency and cleanliness to be continuously surveilled.⁵⁰⁷ All in all, the nineteenth century was not a century of growing freedom of apparel, nor one of growing anxiety over it.

504 Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting Individual Identity*, 8; Haupt, *Konsum und Handel*, 14.

505 Burton, *The flâneur and his City*, 7-8; Forty, *Objects of Desire*, 79-82.

506 See section 2.3 Travellers. Although social mobility increased in the northern Netherlands from the 1870s onwards: Van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 316.

507 e.g. Van der Staal van Piershil, 8/5. See *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Gerth and Mills (ed., trans.), 223, about the ongoing expropriation of workers (soldiers, domestics) from their means (in this case their work clothes) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the 'servants' question', see J. Poelstra, *Luiden van een andere beweging: huishoudelijke arbeid in Nederland, 1840-1920* (Amsterdam, 1996).

3 SOCIAL IDENTITY

It is clear by now that access was not simply about being able to enter a place, but about entering it in a certain role, for example as a respectable worker, a hotel guest, or part of a princely retinue. Next to written identification and appearance, a third access factor was observed by travellers. It came down to feeling, or being seen as, the right or wrong sort of person for a place—or the place being the right or wrong sort of place for the person the traveller wanted to be.⁵⁰⁸

One of these identities was determined by occupational milieu, or submilieu. Van Wassenauer Obdam, for example, was a noblewoman yet did not belong to that group who might accompany female members of the tsar family to dinners of the 'intimate circle'. Only those invested with the title of *grootmeesteres* might (Officer of the Royal Household).⁵⁰⁹ And servants, of course. So certain places remained hidden to Van Wassenauer Obdam, regardless of her wealth, high status in society, and even personal acquaintance with the tsar family. Nor was the restriction based on the tsars' need for personal privacy. More likely, it was aimed at maintaining power by administering privileges and keeping certain information within a small company. Yet Van Wassenauer Obdam's exclusion from this submilieu offered her access to another spectacle, which she would otherwise not have witnessed. As she received the opportunity to enter the great dining hall at the Gatsjina summer palace without the Crown princess, she could observe the effect of an imperial entrance: preparations, consternation, then a nervous silence.⁵¹⁰ This shows the importance of one's location in a socially ordered space.

Other accounts also testify the role of professional identity. Three days in the week Van Calcar-Schiotling could not enter the museums of the Botanical Gardens of Paris because they were reserved to students. Two days remained her.⁵¹¹ As classicist Ernst van Hille set foot on Ithaca, he was spontaneously approached by the local pharmacist who recognized in him someone to converse with upon archaeology on an equal footing. This new relation was established solely on the basis of appearing to share an interest and expertise, without the help

508 De Leeuw, 'Mentaliteit en vrije tijd', 16, 29, observes something similar with respect to the choice in leisure activities in the nineteenth century.

509 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 121. Only in a very few occasions did a noble title ease access, such as in Hungary, a thing that angered Ackersdijck, 20, (50), 67.

510 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 125, also 65.

511 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 400.

of existing contacts. The pharmacist's recognition was not reciprocated, as it happened. Van Hille had his doubts about the scientific rigour of his endeavours. But he appreciated his enthusiasm and guidance nonetheless.⁵¹² Ligthart was similarly adopted by Swedish educational reformers.⁵¹³ Kolk and Van Oostendorp and their respective companies, fighting for the Dutch King to crush the independence movement of the southern Netherlands, were by convention, force, and threat, able to simply command access to private homes in areas that were revolting as well as areas that were thought of as 'loyal', and confiscate their food, drink, and tobacco. On other occasions, however, being a soldier made them vulnerable to attack by the citizens whose cities they were trying to occupy, or which, after a treaty had been signed, they were staying in on their retreat: understandably, these citizens did not want them in their cities or homes, and they succeeded in barring their access.⁵¹⁴

Domestic servants were, by dint of their profession, severely restricted in their freedom of movement. Although an analysis of their experiences cannot be made on the basis of the current selection of egodocuments—only Van Wassenaer Obdam was a servant of sorts but also, ironically, the wealthiest of all—a few points must nonetheless be made.

The attitude of masters and mistresses to their servants varied considerably. A few wealthy travellers wrote almost as if their servants were not there. They recorded their own activities in the first person singular, for example, even when they were performed together with a servant.⁵¹⁵ Van der Staal van Piershil's bills reveal that travellers paid less for the accommodation of their servants, like for that of their children.⁵¹⁶ Probably servants indeed consumed less, or perhaps pension-keepers only thought so, based on their notion that servants were not full persons. They must certainly have consumed goods of a lesser quality in many cases.

Yet writers could also give 'nos gens', 'our people', a more prominent part in their accounts.⁵¹⁷ Local male servants were taken on outings anyhow, because that was their role: to

⁵¹² Van Hille, 294-8.

⁵¹³ Ligthart, e.g. 50.

⁵¹⁴ Kolk, *passim*; Van Oostendorp, *passim*.

⁵¹⁵ See section 5.2 Physical capabilities.

⁵¹⁶ Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Familiearchieven Van Bylandt-Halt en Van Bylandt-Rheydt, 1394-1970, toegang 1.10.15, inventarisnummer 175. See Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 121-2, for differentiated prices between masters and servants in earlier centuries.

⁵¹⁷ Drieling; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, e.g. 85 ('Je souffre en voyant mes pauvres porteurs tout haletants et couverts de sueur, et pourtant d'une gaieté extrême', 'ces enfants de la nature'); Van Wassenaer Obdam. Mensing; Van der Staal van Piershil; Evers. An English example offers A. Lister, *I Know My Own Heart*:

guide, to carry, and to protect. But some travellers also took servants who could not play such roles, because they were female or did not know the vicinity. Van der Staal van Piershil was specifically concerned that her two female servants received the opportunity to see the sights in Switzerland.⁵¹⁸ Some servants took the freedom to make trips on their own, visiting family.⁵¹⁹ Among these employers, however, Krüseman's relation to her seamstress-turned-lady's maid was exceptional. Her maid was really of the party. 'Quant à nous, tout va bien ici. Nous vivons tranquillement' ('As to us, everything is fine here. We live quietly'.) 'Together, we make our way through life as well as we can, amongst ourselves quite fantastically even.' Still, she always wrote about her maid a little condescendingly; somewhat like most husbands wrote about their wives.⁵²⁰

Evidently, all servants' movements were controlled while in service. Servants lived in what might be called totalitarian space and time. Even on days or afternoons off, servants' behaviour was monitored.⁵²¹ And there was always a risk of being called in for help after all on one's day off, if one could still be found about the house.⁵²² Family visits and other physical, spatial escapes from their master's or mistress's environment must therefore have had a big influence on their experiences. As Van Wassenauer Obdam noted when the princess gave her and her stepmother and friend leave for a day: '[a]fter this, we made a bolt for it right away.'⁵²³

Surprisingly, religious identity had little bearing on access to churches, even during mass or service. Although they must have been conspicuous for not dipping their fingers into the holy water or signing themselves with a cross, many Protestants routinely visited Catholic churches, as well as a few Orthodox churches and synagogues, and Protestant churches of

The Diaries, H. Whitbread (ed.) (London, 1988), 180. See Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 106-28, for the same variation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

518 Rees van Tets-Gevaets; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 265. Krüseman; Van der Staal van Piershil, 21/5, 11/8, 2/10, esp. 10/8.

519 Krüseman, 145-9; Van der Staal van Piershil, 22/5, 12/9, 13/10.

520 Krüseman, 137: 'en waar wij ons met ons beidjes zoo goed mogelijk door het leven redden, tusschenbeide vrij dolzinnig zelfs', 145.

521 See employers' debates on servants reading and cycling: Kloek and Mijnhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 99; M. Mathijssen, *Nederlandse literatuur in de romantiek 1820-1880* (Amsterdam, 2004), 167-88; De Vries and Van Amstel, *Dolle entree*, 117, 119, 129. Also Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, 11-3, 140.

522 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 57, 130, 163.

523 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 54: 'Hierop namen we direkt de benen.'

various denominations. Only certain more particular objects, such as some relics and semi-sacred tools used in processions, were less accessible, as were certain sections of monasteries and Beguinages.⁵²⁴ One might ask why tourists—in this case Dutch Protestants—did not pretend to adhere to a different religion in order to visit those places. Yet they were proud of their faith, even conceited. Their religious belonging was something they flaunted, and something that was so strongly part of themselves that they would not even *want* to challenge the limits set by the Catholic gate-keepers of these places.

A third type of identity has been written about much in the context of exclusion: gender. Some scholars have emphasized the first wave of female emancipation in the last third of the nineteenth century. If women succeeded in penetrating the places that had earlier been exclusive to men, this would confirm the more general modernization theory of growing human agency.⁵²⁵ Others, on the contrary, have observed a *decrease* in women's freedom of movement from the eighteenth onto the nineteenth century.⁵²⁶ In general, women's and men's

524 Opinions about different denominations and visits, excluding the many occurrences for art's or history's sake and only giving those made out of religious or social interest for the denomination itself: Ackersdijck, 32, 42, 50; Baak, 138; Bake, 26, 48, 51, 55, 57, 94; De Beaufort the elder 1829, fo. 2^r, 5^{r-v}; De Constant Rebecque, 16/6, 18/6, 29/6, 9/7, 11/7, 12/7, 13/7; Drieling, 130, 141-7, 228, 230, 268, exceptionally he did not want to attend 'the holy supper': 211; Kruseman-Ross, 20, 74, 111; Lulofs, II.447; Van Oostendorp, 68-9, 80; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 16, 27, 28, (41), (48), 64-5, 66, 96, 106, 112, 124, 175-6; Roosendaal, 420, 432, 436, 444, 462, 470, 471, 491, 516, 522, 524, 525, 531-2, 538, 556; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 65, 137, 147, 165, 192, 195, 264; Wilkens-Hubert, 27/7, 29/7, 30/7?, 1/8, 22/8. De Beaufort the younger 1871, fo. 2^{r-v}; Van Calcar-Schiotling, 10-3, 29, 39, 130-6, 190, 193, 214-47, 317, 337, 342, 404, 408-10; Huydecoper, 30/8; Perk, 26, 47, 87, 110-1, 115, 160-1, 215, 247-55, 274, 295; Van der Staal van Piershil, 15/8, 17/8, 26/10; Evers, *passim*. De Beaufort the younger [1911?], 10/9; Gülcher, 7/8, 9/8, 12/8; Kuyper, 230, 239, 271, 278, 294, 351, 352, 362, 363, 376, 383, 407, 7, 23, 31; Ligthart, 64-6; Romein-Ter Marsches, 12/5/1903.

525 Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, 14; Bieri and Gerodetti, "Falling Women"—"Saving Angels", esp. 225; D'Souza and McDonough, *Invisible Flâneuse*, 2-13; Harrington, 'Railway Journey and the Neuroses of Modernity', 237; K. Hurley, 'British Gothic Fiction, 1885-1930', in J.E. Hogle (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction* (Cambridge, 2002), 199-200; R.E. Iskin, 'The *flâneuse* in French Fin-de-Siècle Posters: Advertising Images of Modern Women in Paris', in D'Souza and McDonough, *Invisible Flâneuse*, 113-28; De Nijs, *In veilige haven*, 14-9, 92-7, 220, 233, 234; L. Nochlin, 'Afterword', in D'Souza and McDonough, *Invisible Flâneuse*, 173; D.L. Parsons, *Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City and Modernity* (Oxford, 2000), 2-5, 7; Robinson, *Wayward Women*, viii-x, 1-2; Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 86-7, 94; E. Wilson, 'The Invisible Flâneur', *New Left Review*, no. 191 (1992), 100; J. Wolff, 'Gender and the Haunting of Cities (or, The Retirement of the Flâneur)', in D'Souza and McDonough, *Invisible Flâneuse*, 18-31. Something similar is argued for England around 1800 by R.B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850* (London, 1998), 209-304; and for Germany around 1800 by H. Ritter, 'Über Gehen, Spazieren und Wandern von Frauen in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Albrecht and Kertscher, *Wanderzwang-Wanderlust*, 91-104.

526 Burton, *The flâneur and his City*, 15-21, 62; L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago, 1987), 32-4, 403, 416-49; M. Kessler, 'Dusting the Surface, or the *Bourgeoise*, the Veil, and Haussmann's Paris', in D'Souza and McDonough, *Invisible Flâneuse*, 50; Kloek and Mijnhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 244-9; P. Sparke, *The Modern Interior* (London, 2008), 13; more references in Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, 6-9.

relative mobilities have often been characterized as belonging to two respective 'spheres': a private sphere coinciding spatially with the home; and a public sphere consisting of the rest of the world, where paid work, politics, societies, and extradomestic entertainments took place. Women who travelled were then, according to this theory, continually engaged in 'challeng[ing]' their 'sphere'.⁵²⁷ Egodocumental evidence suggests that this struggle was neither continuous nor pervasive of all women's experiences, and that women's *uncontroversial* mobility in Europe went in fact much beyond the home. Women entered all the types of sites that were also entered by men.⁵²⁸ Indeed, the nineteenth century itself possessed an alternative rhetoric legitimizing both 'Maria', the home-making aspect of womanhood, and 'Martha', her enterprising, intellectual aspect.⁵²⁹ This is not to say women had unlimited freedom: under specific circumstances, they were excluded from three types of places—next to a host of less spatially defined activities which are not the issue here.

The first type of place that women were not always allowed to visit were places of learning, such as libraries, lecture-halls, and societies.⁵³⁰ Some scientific museums, too, 'gentlemen' ('heeren') kept to themselves, such as the secret collection within the Royal Museum of Naples.⁵³¹ This coincided with women's highly limited access to higher education

527 Although no study maintains that men and women were completely spatially separated, many do see these 'spheres' as constantly present in people's minds: the above-mentioned studies and also G. Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (London, 1988), 50-90; E.D. Rappaport in Haupt, *Konsum und Handel*, 106; Wilson, 'Invisible Flâneur', 90 ('the presence of women on the streets and in public places of entertainment caused enormous anxiety'); Wolff, 'Culture of Separate Spheres', 117-34; J. Wolff, 'The Invisible Flâneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 2 no. 3 (1985), 37, 44; Wrigley and Revill, *Pathologies of Travel*, 12. To some extent also: Kloek, *Vrouw des huizes*, 149; De Leeuw, 'Mentaliteit en vrije tijd', 26, and De Vries, *Stad vol lezers*, 135, who both write that 'decent' women were barred from cafés altogether; Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 237. Even an author who presents evidence that refutes the very distinction, feels bound to maintain a public-private terminology: Thomas, 'Women in Public', 36-8.

For many more references and a critique of this view of nineteenth-century reality, see L.E. Jensen, *Bij uitsluiting voor de vrouwelijke sekse geschikt: vrouwentijdschriften en journalistes in Nederland in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw* (Hilversum, 2001), 54; S. Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley, 1999); Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, esp. 269-71; Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres'; A. Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven, 2009), 46; Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture*, 9. For a critique of Michel de Certeau's romantic representation of all walking as emancipatory: Middleton, 'Sense and the City', 578-9.

A critique of the idea that two separate spatial spheres existed, should also include an acknowledgement of men's presence in and attachment to the home.

528 See chapter 3 Spatial desires for these site types.

529 A.B. van Meerten-Schilperoort, 'Martha en Maria, of het verband tusschen zin voor huisselijkheid en geestbeschaving', *Penélopé of maandwerk aan het vrouwelijk geslacht toegewijd*, 3 no. 12 (1824); the entire women's journal *Maria en Martha: lektuur voor christen vrouwen en moeders* (Den Haag, 1844-1856).

530 Lulofs specifically remarked that a certain lecture series in Bremen admitted women as well: II.449. Bake mentioned his reading of newspapers in coffee-houses: 100. See De Vries, *Stad vol lezers*, 135-45.

531 Evers, 114.

at home, which caused fewer women to be interested in visiting such places abroad in the first place.⁵³² Remarkably, those who *were* interested in places of learning abroad mentioned no difficulties in entering them.⁵³³



Illustration 4.9: Evers, 113, advised travellers to visit the Naples Royal Museum for an acquaintance with 'the more intimate life of the Ancients' ('het meer intieme leven der ouden'). The Gabinetto Segreto qualified as a place of science, and women were not admitted. The same applies to children and lower-educated men. This is one of the artefacts gentlemen would encounter there: unknown artist, 'The Satyr and the Goat, Parian Marble', S.M.C. Famin, Sixty Lithographs of Erotic Roman Art

and Artifacts, Many from Pompeii, part of The Royal Museum at Naples, Being Some Account of The Erotic Paintings, Bronzes, and Statues Contained in that Famous 'Cabinet Secret', (edition of 1871), reproduction taken from www.sacred-texts.com/sex/rmn/rmn18.htm, acc. 24 March 2013.

Somewhat more antagonism surrounded a second type of place where restrictions applied to women: any to do with formal procedures involving money, correspondence, or social networks. When women and men travelled together, the men went out by themselves much oftener than the women. Many of these outings were made to settle affairs at banks, coach stations, post and ferry offices, and other bureaus and business contacts. Women stayed behind in their coach or hotel.⁵³⁴ The reasoning behind this must partly have been that the men possessed their groups' identity documents.⁵³⁵ But this made it difficult for women to order transport, pick up mail, gain admission to certain touristic sights such as military and penitential institutions, or exchange or draw money, had they wanted to. On a deeper level, women's diminished access to such places of business was based on the wide-spread consideration of women as the accessories of men. This attitude can be found in (men's)

⁵³² See chapter 3 Spatial desires.

⁵³³ Wyttenbach-Gallien: see Blok, 'Laatste reis van Jeanne Gallien'. Van Calcar-Schiotling. Kuyper; Ligthart's wife.

⁵³⁴ Kruseman-Ross, 31, 142, 149; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 114, 140; Roosendaal, 428, 430, 453, 475 (the Grand Duke of Karlsruhe received only men), 489, 542, 548, 556, 559, 571, 573, 577, 579, 630; Wilkens-Hubert, 4/8, 5/8, 28/8.

⁵³⁵ See section 4.1 Identity documents.

legislation and passport policies, but also in (women's) egodocuments. When female travellers like Rees van Tets-Gevaets, Roosendaël, Van Calcar-Schiotling, or Van der Staal van Piershil met a travelling couple, they would dedicate some words to describing the man, but only mention the woman as his wife. (When these travellers wrote about themselves this attitude largely disappeared, by the way.)⁵³⁶

Women who intended to travel without men had no choice but to defy this attitude and represent themselves. Many did this carefully and silently;⁵³⁷ others with gusto. Krüseman started off her stay in Paris being liaised in a dodgy manner to a hotel where she did not want to stay. Her 'instinct' saved her, she wrote in a letter, and even as she was being bullied into accepting a man's advice to stay in the hotel, she told its proprietors that "‘j'ai tellement l'habitude d'agir, que je trouve tout conseil superflu!’": "‘I'm so much used to deal with matters, that I find all counsel superfluous!’". Women's access was expected to depend on informations and arrangements made by men, but Krüseman's behaviour shows that this expectation could be defied by simply following the completely licit, cooperative path of saying thank you but no thanks. In her next accommodation, she received a second opportunity to assert herself in front of her readers. She fell victim to a fraud. Her landlady had let her apartment to two different tenants at the same time. Krüseman described how she first stood up for herself by threatening to find alternative accommodation, and next cleared up the misunderstanding with the other tenant. At her first meeting with her singing teacher, she presented herself as equally bold and businesslike. She made it clear, both to the teacher and to her readers, that she was in full command of financial matters. She was the one broaching the subject of fees, which her teacher kept avoiding, and also argued that she could not start classes right away "‘car j'ai beaucoup à arranger encore avant d'être un peu chez moi ici. Et comme j'ai l'habitude d'être mon propre homme d'affaires... [because I still have a lot to settle before being a little at home here. And since I am used to being my own man of affairs...]'” / *There*, a few glances were exchanged again, which tout simplement [quite simply] made me laugh, so that no one said anything after that'. Krüseman turned the consternation or derision, or whatever those glances may have communicated, into a laughter that protected her own freedom of representing herself.⁵³⁸ To top things off, she skillfully

536 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 57; Roosendaël, 448. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 208; Van der Staal van Piershil, 8/5.

537 e.g. Van der Staal van Piershil, 13/5.

538 A large literature exists on the feminist potential of laughter, e.g. A. Bilger, *Laughing Feminism: Subversive*

blended her businesslike image with a nonchalantly artistic one: "C'est convenu. Les voici. N'en parlons plus, car je déteste les affaires! Et maintenant pour les jours et les heures des leçons?": "Agreed. Now then. Let us talk about it no longer, because I hate business! And now, how about the days and times of the classes?"⁵³⁹ Krüseman combined perfectly conventional strategies and roles—conventional for men, that is—in order to navigate her way through what was sometimes a woman's maze.⁵⁴⁰

The third type of places were those that might be interpreted as immoral. Whether they travelled on their own or together, with men or with women, it was ordinary for men to frequent coffee-houses, restaurants, ice-cream parlours, cafés chantants, assembly-rooms, bars, clubs, theatres, concert-halls, circuses, and balls.⁵⁴¹ For women, this was not so simple. They followed rules that varied according to not only location, but time of day and the use of a chaperon. A selection of places that offered food, drinks, and entertainment—ice-cream parlours, pâtisseries, restaurants, theatres, and concert venues—could be visited at will during the day, not only with male relatives but with just other women as well. In the evenings, most women brought a male chaperon to these places (except Van Calcar-Schiotling, who was married). Cafés, bars, clubs, and their gardens and pavements were even more tricky. Even during the daytime, cafés and bars could not be visited without male accompaniment. After dark, they could not even be entered *with* male accompaniment.⁵⁴² Probably, this also applies to various entertainments which were not even mentioned by women.

Comedy in Frances Burney, Maria Edgeworth, and Jane Austen (Detroit, 1998).

539 Krüseman, 138, 141: 'mijn instinkt had mij toch reeds wakker geschud', 143.

540 The role of personal character in the question of women's access is also stressed by Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens*, 62.

541 Bake, 10, 34, 38, 39, 40, 43, 57, 58, 76, 78, 79, 100; De Constant Rebecque, 1/7; Drieling, 155, 226, 306; Wilkens-Hubert, 7/8, 8/8. De Beaufort the younger 1871, fo. 5^r; Vosmaer, 20/6. Klaver, 149.

542 Kruseman-Ross, 71; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 165; Roosendaal, 481, 546, 550, 578, 585, 587; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 56, 74, 180, 247. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 76, 96, 103, 209, 366, 383; Van der Staal van Piershil, 6/5, 19/10, 26/10?. Ligthart, 11. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, 274-5 concurs but also argues that in England, women increased their pub presence around 1800. This was the reverse in Paris, according to Burton, *The flâneur and his City*, 15-20.



Illustration 4.10: Joseph Grego, 'English visitors at the Café de mille colonnes', from R.H. Gronow, Reminiscences of Captain Gronow. This image is taken from the edition published in London, 1889, www.allposters.com/-sp/English-Visitors-Patronise-the-Cafe-De-Mille-Colonnes-Posters_i6756487_.htm, acc. 27 Apr 2012. Ladies' presence here was acceptable during the day-time, with male chaperon.

Some women did not mind that they lacked this power of access, or else they had their reasons to keep silent about it. Rees van Tets-Gevaets, in any case, did not comment on her husband's invitation to a club ('cercle') in Bordeaux, even though from now on, he read the paper there, played games, and even ate his supper without her.⁵⁴³ The same applies to other wives whose husbands visited evening entertainments.⁵⁴⁴

Yet other women let it be known that they wanted to go to places where and when it was against the rules. In 1870, Krüseman was studying music in Paris and living with a maid. The maid, however, returned to Brussels after a few months. Apparently, Krüseman could live sufficiently respectably without a maid. She did not need to be surveilled by another woman while away from her family. Now Krüseman happened to be a person who, compared to her contemporaries, cared little about respectability. Still, we come across the following passage in a reassuring letter to her aunt 'Mevrouw G. Haarlem':

Just now we had Papa staying over for eight days!

⁵⁴³ Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 61.

⁵⁴⁴ See chapter 4 Factors travellers brought with them, note 541.

So you see, dear Aunt, that we do no harm [no evil] here and that you can safely say to the people, from now on, that I am in Paris, and no longer in Brussels with Papa. Because all that keeping quiet only justifies conjecture and ill report, and keeping quiet is impossible anyhow in this case, since I have been here for four months.

In other words, she realized that what she was doing was not instantly acceptable to everyone. But also that she could manage her way through it. She did this, not by criticizing social rules, but by ironizing her transgression of them. I suspect that, in general, most people breaking social rules had no wish to overthrow the 'system'. But a transgression it remained nonetheless. Krüseman presents an example of the fact that people do not always adjust their desires to their opportunities. In other words, nineteenth-century women did not necessarily lack a desire to go to the places where they were not allowed to go. This comes out most clearly in another letter. One Sunday, she and her maid 'made quite some excursions with Papa and sat in front of the cafés; those were different pastimes than usual, which just the two of us cannot deal in.' Making trips to the Buttes Chaumont, the Bois de Bologne, or Versailles, and particularly sitting on the pavement outside bars, was felt to be impossible for an (unmarried) lady alone or with her maid, even by someone as unconventional and unafraid as Krüseman.

What can be gathered from this is not that women were confined to their homes, nor that two separate 'spheres' existed, but that women—'decent' women—were excluded from a number of quite specific places. 'Promenading' as a pastime and means to stay healthy played an enormous role for people in the nineteenth century,⁵⁴⁵ especially for women.⁵⁴⁶ Dutch women of any social position were used to walking without accompaniment by male relatives, whether this was instead with a male servant or a friend outside their family, or without even that.⁵⁴⁷ Krüseman went to her music lessons on her own, for example. She also took her maid to the train for Brussels: from thence, both were on their own. Krüseman did adapt to the situation where she felt it to be necessary (without a maid and in a war environment), by quitting her restaurant dinners and taking her meals in her rooms from now on, being provided by her landlady and landlord. We might ask whether a male student in the same

545 Albrecht and Kertscher, *Wanderzwang-Wanderlust*.

546 Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 97.

547 e.g. Kruseman-Ross, 60, 79, 142, 146; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 133-4, 161; Roosendaal, 484, 618, Wilkens-Hubert, 26/8. Van Calcar-Schiotling, *passim*, e.g. 393; Mensing, *passim*; Van der Staal van Piershil, *passim*, e.g. 6/5. Kuyper, *passim*. This also applied to the twelve-year-old boy Gülcher, 8/8. It is been suggested that women could not relax or *flâner*, but only walk purposefully: Wolff, 'Gender and the Haunting of Cities', 21. The present evidence belies this.

circumstances would have found the need to adapt in this manner.⁵⁴⁸ But then, Ernestine Huydecoper went shopping with her mother 'dans ma petite voiture', which sounds like the girl conducted her 'little carriage' herself. Possibly, they took a male servant to carry packages or guard them, which would have circumscribed their privacy but not their choice of where to go.⁵⁴⁹ Roosendaal referred to a 'Mevr. van Aken [or Aker]' who picked up her group in her carriage, as did Van der Staal van Piershil to a 'Mme Tuyll' and a 'Louise'.⁵⁵⁰ On Mary Stevenson Cassatt's painting 'Woman and Child Driving' we also see a woman driving her own carriage.⁵⁵¹ The American Cassatt was an art student in Paris at the same time as Krüseman. Lydia Cassatt, the painter's sister, was accompanied in the painting by a manservant. But a number of remarks by Van Wassenauer Obdam suggest that Dutch ladies, perhaps in contrast to American ones, were not used to always having a manservant around, and wished to keep it that way. She complained about the footmen that followed her and her female friends on their walks through Saint Petersburg. 'The escort made it impossible for us to walk pleasantly.' Later on, they 'walked around in complete freedom more often, without being disturbed.'⁵⁵² Van der Staal van Piershil and her sisters' independence as women stretched so far that *they* took a male acquaintance on an outing to Versailles and to the train station. Her diary presents an example of the rare situation where men are the ones considered needing care and guidance, or at least chivalry.⁵⁵³ Dutch women would even walk without men in the city *at night*, as a scene in 1825 Cologne shows. In this scene, a man staring at Van Wassenauer Obdam and Pauline d'Oultremont gave them the frights. Not too shaken, however,

548 Krüseman, 140: 'Met Papa hebben wij nog al toertjes gemaakt en vóór de café's gezeten; dat waren weer andere amusemenen, waar wij met ons beidjes zoo niet in handelen kunnen', 144: 'Verleden hebben wij Papa acht dagen bij ons te logeren gehad! / Hieruit ziet ge dus, beste Tante, dat wij hier niets kwaads doen en dat gij dus gerust voortaan aan de menschen zeggen kunt dat ik in Parijs ben, en niet meer in Brussel bij Papa. Want al dat stilhouden geeft maar recht tot gissen en kwaadspreken, en hier is toch geen stilhouden mogelijk, daar ik reeds vier maanden hier ben', 149.

549 Huydecoper, 30/8. Also Van Wassenauer Obdam, 176. Thirteen-year-old De Constant Rebecque also got to drive carriages: 24/6?, 27/6. Although these children could probably not decide where to go, we can imagine that the illusion of independence, of nothing standing in the way of driving off wherever they wanted, was there.

550 Roosendaal, 555; Wilkens-Hubert, 13/8?. Van der Staal van Piershil, 10/5, 21/10, 22/10.

551 1881, oil on canvas (Philadelphia Museum of Art).

552 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 79, 150, 180, 184, 205: 'We namen de vrijheid om uit wandelen te gaan zonder daarbij op de voet gevolgd te worden door een bediende of een rijtuig. Dit hadden we sinds onze aankomst in Petersburg nog niet gewaagd. De begeleiding maakte het ons onmogelijk om plezierig te wandelen. Hadden we maar geweten dat het zo makkelijk is je ervan te ontdoen. Sindsdien liepen we vaker in alle vrijheid rond, zonder lastiggevalen te worden', 212; though in some circumstances she did expect a manservant to be present: 83. Yet compare Perk, 36, 222, a man, who was not bothered by similar arrangements.

553 Van der Staal van Piershil, 5/5, 6/5, 8/5, 13/5. Also Evers, 46. Kuyper, 206.

they simply joined a couple of ladies waiting for a bridge to be opened. The next moment, they recognized the man as an acquainted merchant. Their freedom to move alone outside their hotel did go hand in hand with a heightened caution and with their companions' worries back in the hotel, caused by the bridge remaining open for so long. Still, no one doubted the normality of their walk.⁵⁵⁴



Other travellers allow us to see *why* some of the places mentioned, under the circumstances mentioned, were inaccessible to women. Both Kruseman-Ross and Roosendael visited the entertainment areas under the Palais Royal colonnade and on the Boulevard des Italiens in Paris, and along the promenade in Baden-Baden. Similar smaller locations existed elsewhere. They were in two minds about it. They frequented the coffee-houses and praised the restaurants in the Palais Royal, especially Véry. They admired the shops with their large windows and their modern gaslight, and the restaurants' mirror-walls and crystal chandeliers. For an outing, however, Kruseman-Ross preferred their habitual pâtisserie. It was not only cheaper, but one met 'always highly respectable people' there. Respectable women, in particular.

⁵⁵⁴ Van Wassenae Obdam, 54, 58, 180, 205, 234, 268. Also Kuyper, 278, 352.

The Palais Royal colonnades contained gambling establishments, as did Baden-Baden. This was one major reason for the bourgeois Kruseman-Ross and Roosendael to condemn both.⁵⁵⁵ Gambling and playing games for money enjoyed greater acceptance among the nobility, both for men and women, than among the rest of the elite. This is one of the few points where Dutch travellers from the upper bourgeoisie distinguished themselves in their ideals from noble travellers. Still, the Dutch nobility did not play their games in such establishments of entertainment as contained by the Palais Royal, but in their hotel or in people's homes. Van der Staal van Piershil played cards for money with her fellow pension guests, for example.⁵⁵⁶ For those outside the nobility, playing and gambling seem to have been judged worse for ladies than for gentlemen.

Yet games were only one aspect of the depravity of such places of entertainment and not yet the reason why ladies altogether banned themselves from them in the evening: '[i]n sum, the Palais Royal is for Paris, what Paris is for the whole world, the *nec plus ultra* of all entertainments and vices. Here, man is great, noble and exalted, but here he has also sunk low and is miserable.'⁵⁵⁷ Kruseman-Ross and Roosendael marvelled over the mass and variety of people the different amusements attracted. '[O]ne does really get to see a world of its own later I will take notes on it as well as on the Coffee-houses that are located there and of which we will go visit some in the day-time since this does not suit respectable women in the evening'. Roosendael did indeed go to visit the Café de mille Colonnes for 'a nice glass of ice-cream [or sorbet]', and to inspect the proprietress, 'la Belle Limonadière', famous for her

555 Kruseman-Ross, 11, 57-9: 'altijd zeer fatsoenlijke lieden'; Roosendael, 467, 546, 575, 585, 621. By the second half of the century, when Van Calcar-Schiotling visited the Palais Royal, prostitution and gambling had moved elsewhere: 364. See Burton, *The flâneur and his City*, 58-9.

556 Drieling visited a casino, but in his days this was the term for a place with a wide range of amusements including music and reading matter. He did not mention gambling there, although he did also not denounce the activity: 155, 306. Bake, 10?, and Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 78, also visited playing halls without using them.

Nobility did play, on the other hand: Van Wassenaer Obdam, 65, 71, 152, 226. Van der Staal van Piershil (who was a patrician but whose mother was a countess and whose father became ennobled later in life), 1/7, 26/8, 9/9.

Non-noble Perk played too, but does not mention any financial stakes and took care to mention that he considered cards games inferior to intellectual labour like reading or sight-seeing: 128. Something similar applied to Romein for the game of draughts in a home setting, while Romein-Ter Marsch looked on: 10/5/1903. Psychiatrist N.B. Donkersloot epitomized this upper-bourgeois mentality in his pamphlet *Loterij en jenever: twee rampen over Nederland* (Tiel, 1854). For this conflict, see W.J.H. Furnée, 'Vrijtijds cultuur en sociale verhoudingen in Den Haag, 1850-1890' (University of Groningen doctoral thesis, 2007), 122-8.

557 Kruseman-Ross, 59: 'Kortom, het Palais Royal is voor Parijs, hetgeen Parijs voor de geheele wereld is, het *nec plus ultra* van alle vermaken en ondeugden. Hier is de mensch groot, edel en verheven, maar hier is hij ook diep gezonken en ellendig'.

beauty which 'did not disappoint us' (see Illustration 4.10).⁵⁵⁸ In another coffee-house in the Palais Royal they drank 'eau de groseille'. Though these visits took place during the daytime, they were already little adventures for Roosendael. It was completely new for some women to enter a coffee-house. Roosendael wrote that in Baden-Baden, 'a café has been established which the Ladies take advantage of, too'. And Kruseman-Ross: 'In the beginning, it is a peculiar experience for a woman, to enter such a place.' In the evenings, although taking a walk was still proper for ladies, it became unthinkable that they entered these cafés.

558 About the Parisian 'dames de comptoir' and their cafés, see Burton, *The flâneur and his City*, 17.



The main problem with them was not just a vague sense of being surrounded with people of 'different sorts', but that these people of different sorts were women, like the travellers themselves. '[A]mongst the crowd [were] a lot of ladies of Pleasure only

recognizable because they walk alone for their dress does not differ this is completely different in the Palais Royal where they float past in a thin and light gown much decked out and their [hats covered?] with flowers [...] Oh what a World this is I often thought Disgrace and dishonour is as if not counted here'. In other words, these women felt that a respectable woman could not move over the streets alone at night in these neighbourhoods, and not go into cafés at night at all. If she did so, this would amount to entering the markets for prostitution. And so it happened that Roosendael's brother, together with four other men whom they had met on their journey, went out 'partij te maken', to have a ball, 'so that Cato [her brother's wife] and I passed that evening with reading' (my italics).⁵⁵⁹

But do we hear an undertone of unsatisfied desire in Roosendael's diatribe? And do we hear the same in Van Calcar-Schiotling's interpretation that Parisian women of all social standings, married and unmarried, are already freer in their movements than the Dutch, and yet 'decent'?⁵⁶⁰ That women like Van Calcar-Schiotling, Krüseman, and perhaps Roosendael, nevertheless did not act out their wishes becomes understandable when we consider the facility and severity with which Dutch elites, both men and women,⁵⁶¹ judged especially the women they saw.⁵⁶² Men were little subject to a sexual ethics. Although in the second half of the century the public debate changed, and the 'blame' for the existence of prostitution, for example, was increasingly shifted to men, women-as-women continued to undergo moral

559 Kruseman-Ross, 57: 'Het is is den beginnen eene zonderlinge gewaarwording voor eene vrouw, zulke eene plaats binnen te treden'; Roosendael, 466-7: a café 'waar de Dames ook van profiteren', 575: 'wandelaars van allerlei soort', 'men krijgt [...] wel [...] wezenlijk eene wereld op zich zelve te zien nadien zal ik er van optekenen als ook van de Koffijhuizen die er zich bevinden en waar wij er eenigen van zullen gaan bezoeken op den dag daar dat 's avonds voor fatsoenlijke vrouwen niet past', 578: 'een lekker glaasje ijs[?]' in an ice-cream café 'zoo beroemd wegens de Schoone Waardin die hetzelfde bezit[?] en geplaatst was agter een brillante lessenaar[?] om het geld te ontvangen Zij was superber en met smaak gekleed en viel ons wat de Schoonheid betreft niet tegen', 585: 'zoo dat Cato en ik die avond met lezen doorbragten', 621: 'onder de menigte veel dames van Plaisir alleen kenbaar door dat zij alleen gaan want hunne kleding verschilt niet dit is geheel anders in t Palais Royal daar zij voorbijzweven in een dun en ligt gewaad zeer opgeschikt en de [...] met bloemen [...] kapt', 622: 'O welk een Wereld is dat hier dagt ik dikwijls Schande en oneer word [sic] hier als niet gerekend'.

About these dangers and anxieties, see Bieri and Gerodetti, "Falling Women"—"Saving Angels", 224; Kessler, 'Dusting the Surface'; Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society*, 75-9, 271-3; Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 232-46.

560 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 76-7, 93-4: 'Mannen en vrouwen van allerlei stand en leeftijd gaan vrijelijk in en uit; de een neemt geen notitie van den ander; zij zitten allen welvoegelijk, bemoeijen zich alleen met hun voedsel en gaan verkwikt heen', 98, 101, 136: 'Over het algemeen zag ik den werkring der vrouw zoowel te Brussel als te Parijs veel meer omvatten dan ten onzen', 194-213, 308.

561 Refuting the common idea that the nineteenth-century 'gaze' was a male gaze, e.g. Burton, *The flâneur and his City*, 65.

562 See Burton, *The flâneur and his City*, 4, 58-60. Kathryn Gleadow identifies similar apparent contradictions as seen in Dutch travel accounts, in her *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-1867*, e.g. 1-2.

judgement from travellers.⁵⁶³ It was such moral judgements, and not their financial, organizational, or physical dependence, which most restricted women in their social and artistic entertainments—or at least those women who did not want to be identified as quasi-prostitutes. And at the same time, women themselves maintained this moral system. They criticized other women, probably in order to reassure themselves that *they* did *not* run the risk of being prostituted since they were recognizable as 'respectable women'.

Women had only two access advantages over men. They were admitted to nun's convents (the reverse applied to men's religious communities of course. I have not come across any complaints about this rule, on either side).⁵⁶⁴ And some men let them have first pick of seats in the diligence.⁵⁶⁵ In short, by taking a man with them women could do both less and more than if they decided to travel without one. Women never visited nuns with men, and never arranged their own business when a father, husband, or such was available. In these latter cases there was no discussion: everyone agreed that the man was the natural person to do these things (or perhaps not everyone quite agreed, but those who did not, were afraid to record such disagreements). This perfectly matches the idea, discussed earlier, that men be the natural persons to identify their female relatives. On the other hand, having men as co-travellers also widened women's opportunities, since it enabled them to visit cafés and similar establishments. These mechanisms do not show any changes over the course of the nineteenth century. Women became neither freer nor unfreer in this respect.⁵⁶⁶

Moreover, although these mechanisms were clearly part of a social system where men were supposed to have different objects of influence and responsibility than women, they do not support the theory that people of the nineteenth century conceived of their physical world as divisible into a realm suitable for women, and a realm suitable for men only. Generally, it was only a specific selection of places that was inaccessible to women or men, often only at specific moments of the day, and only to those who wished to maintain considerable control over the role they were to play in that place. As described before, this consideration was also made by other social groups, such as those in a particular occupation or religious community.

563 Among many others: Drieling, 275, 277; Lulofs, 143-4; Roosendaal, 572, 578; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 135, 158, 160, 198, 235. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 396-9 (about women incarcerated); Perk, 88-9, 160-1, 204; Vosmaer, 20/6. Only Van Hille, 292, in the twentieth century, based his moral judgements more on the (non-)elite status of local people than on their gender.

564 See chapter 4 Factors travellers brought with them, note 524.

565 Perk, 64. This was a social rule in the eighteenth century, writes Pelz, *Reisen durch die eigene Fremde*, 73.

566 See also section 2.3 Travellers.

These examples show mechanisms of access involving other identification measures than passports and dress: measures that stayed hidden because, in people's experience, the identification was immediate, direct, instinctive. The gate-keepers of the Botanical Gardens, for example, could probably already tell Van Calcar-Schiotling was not a student on the basis of her gender and age. And Van Hille and Ligthart were recognized by colleagues because of their conversation, most likely. What sets gender apart from other identity components, such as occupation, religion, wealth, and elite- or non-elite status, and from other access factors, such as appearance or documentation, is that it is least changeable. Being considered and considering oneself a woman, it seems, could not be remedied within one's lifetime. That this was in fact not quite the case is shown by the literature on 'passing' and gender 'inversion'.⁵⁶⁷ All identifications can be marked as 'appearance', 'taste', 'habitus', or such terms, and they could theoretically be influenced by travellers subverting accepted categories of identity, by 'acting' or 'posing'. However, it turns out that most people, like the travellers presented here, did not want to subvert them. They wanted to be the person they were raised as and stick to the labels they had long ago accepted for themselves: woman, soldier, housewife, writer. Those seeking entry found these categories to be as natural, unchangeable, and instantly knowable as did gate-keepers.

⁵⁶⁷ e.g. R.M. Dekker and L.C. van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1989); M. Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York, 1992); R.A. Nye (ed.), *Sexuality* (Oxford, 1999), 150-60.

Chapter 5

Factors encountered on the spot

1 PERSONAL CONNECTIONS AND ENCOUNTERS

Whereas the previous chapter investigated the access factors created by what travellers brought from home, this chapter looks at travellers' relations to the people and things that surrounded them while away. For the nineteenth century, histories of tourism tend to sketch a replacement of the grand tour by organized travel, particularly in the shape of the company of Thomas Cook. Cook's guide-books and organized journeys supposedly meant the death of 'real travel' and the birth of tourism. The 'tourist', in those histories, is thought to rely on the instructions of commercial tour operators and guide-books and less to engage with fellow travellers and local people, let alone arrange their journey with those people by themselves.⁵⁶⁸ Around 1900, Georg Simmel already wrote about the rationalization and anonymization of modern life, and the calculative nature of modern city-dwellers. He believed that city life made people unfeeling, 'blasiert'. People in the city, according to Simmel, were only interested in treating each other correctly, but no longer in getting to know each other. They treated other people like things.⁵⁶⁹

568 e.g. Beyrer, 'Im Coupé', 140; Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 67-8, 73-7, 189; E. Swinglehurst, *Cook's Tours: The Story of Popular Travel* (Poole, 1982); R. Wrigley and R. Revill, *Pathologies of Travel* (Amsterdam, 2000), 3; Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld*, 57-9; also Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 9.

These histories perpetuate nineteenth-century rhetoric, shows Buzard, *Beaten Track*. Also, Thomas Cook's company was in fact one among several, whose other histories have been severely neglected: Armstrong and Williams, 'Steamboat and Popular Tourism'; Barton, *Working-Class Organisations*, 28-32; J. Walton, 'Thomas Cook: Image and Reality', in R.W. Butler and R.A. Russell (ed.), *Giants of Tourism* (Wallingford, 2010), 81-92. Among these, Dutch tour operators started later than the British, in the 1870s: Hessels, *Vakantie en vakantiebesteding*, 112, 122-4.

569 'Die Grossstädte und das Geistesleben', translated as 'The Metropolis and Mental Life', in Th. Petermann

In reality, nineteenth-century travellers engaged in personal contact all the time, and enjoyed it, too. They met existing acquaintances and relations, who in turn introduced them to new people, and they made new connections in trains and stage-coaches, on touristic sites, at work, at the table d'hôte,⁵⁷⁰ or via guestbooks, which enabled the newly arrived to gauge their company and locate possible acquaintances and compatriots.⁵⁷¹

From both sides, people were selective in what type of connection they established with what kind of person. New connections were initiated on the basis of shared intellectual or aesthetic interests, shared nationality,⁵⁷² shared foreignness,⁵⁷³ distant family ties,⁵⁷⁴ the disarming presence of small children,⁵⁷⁵ or finding oneself on the way to the same location.⁵⁷⁶ Such connections were only continued, however, if they contained a more complex personal compatibility that overrode national and other differences.

An example of the importance of shared interests, combined with a compatibility of characters, formed the journey made by Van Calcar-Schiotling. In early life, her belonging had oscillated between the petite and the grande bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, she travelled to Paris with a baroness—Baroness von Marenholtz—with whom she shared her programme of educational reform. This testifies to the role of shared interests in the formation of connections, and the relative weakness of rank. It helped that many interest groups, such as that of educational reform, consisted of fewer people than they do now.

Identifying candidates for acquaintance worked the same as for admission to places. Through documents, appearance, and a mixture of behavioral features that marked a particular gender, profession, or religion, people abroad picked each other out. It was generally not sufficient if two persons both belonged to the elite, or both to the non-elite. On the other hand, contacts across this educational barrier were usually sought only for highly circumscribed purposes, and became uncomfortable once they started to encroach upon other areas of life

(ed.), *Die Grossstadt. Vorträge und Aufsätze zur Städteausstellung* (Dresden, 1903), 185-206.

570 Bake, *passim*; Drieling, 19, 21, 31, 134, 178, 184, 191, 249, 270; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, e.g. 129;

Roosendaal, 432, 462, 489, 492, 498, 527; Wilkens-Hubert, 30/7, 2/8, 4/8, 6/8, 8/8, 9/8, 12/8, 14/8, 16/8. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 96; Perk, 59; Van der Staal van Piershil, daily from 8/5 and again from 10/8; Evers, 81?.

Analephis, 43; Ligthart, 14.

571 See section 4.1 Identity documents.

572 e.g. Bake, 10; Roosendaal, 583. Perk, 49: 'attracted to [my] compatriots'; Evers, 46. Some mentioned unwinding by speaking Dutch abroad: Kruseman-Ross, 46-9; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 138. Perk, 32.

573 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 171, became acquainted with a Persian prince in the room next to her.

574 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 57; Roosendaal, 447-8.

575 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 247. Van der Staal van Piershil, 25/8, 30/9.

576 Almost all travel egodocuments. See Beyrer, 'Im Coupé', 138, 143.

than intended. In general, however, such intentional encounters were experienced as pleasant.⁵⁷⁷ It is therefore certainly not the case that for most, '[t]he holiday brought a breath of fresh air from beyond the stifling norms and etiquette' they were raised with.⁵⁷⁸ Norms and etiquettes shaped life abroad as much as life at home.

These highly desirable contacts also played a large role in obtaining access to new places. Max Weber has dedicated much of his work to the ongoing bureaucratization of social bodies and institutions. He saw this process as largely accomplished in his time, around the turn of the twentieth century, in governments, political parties, churches, and enterprises led by managers. He typified these bureaucracies as, among other things, replacing the personal case-to-case power of rulers by written rules executed by replaceable officers.⁵⁷⁹ Weber's idea of the 'impersonality' ('ohne Ansehen der Person') of these bureaucratic realms of modern life may be extended to the elimination of face-to-face contact and personal discretion in many situations where tailored instructions by real persons could be replaced by standardized, written rules and assistance, as was done by Cook's company, ticket machines, penny-in-the-slot entertainments, and mail order selling.

This section will deal with the question to what extent travellers of Europe were confronted with such bureaucracy and impersonality as suggested by Weber and Simmel. It will demonstrate that the way in which face-to-face encounters procured access changed, to be sure, but as long as the nineteenth century lasted did not fade.

The first of a range of different types of contacts that opened up places, formed the professionals of the travel industry. They did much more than just arrange transport and accommodation. People working in this sector conceived broadly of their duties. Travellers received directions, assistance, care, and sometimes special favours from coaching and train station officers, animal drivers, sedan-bearers, coachmen, captains and sailors, innkeepers and their employees, and gondoliers. Schoolmaster Ligthart looked up to his ship's captain, an experienced traveller, and his 'schoolteacher's pedantry melt[ed] away'. Extensive and merry

577 Strong examples are Baak, 99; Bake, 59, 80; De Constant Rebecque, 11/7; Kruseman-Ross, 29, 63, 140-1; Lulofs, I.5; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 247-56. Vosmaer, 30/6. De Beaufort the younger 1871, fos. 2^r, 4^v; Van Calcar-Schiotling, 39, 125-41, 180, 190, 193; Perk, 84-5; Van der Staal van Piershil, 17/10. Van Hille, 284-5, 297, 301-3; Kuyper, 363, 375-6; Ligthart, 13-4, 152, 287.

578 This is claimed in Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 79; and the literature cited in section 1.3, note 35.

579 *Essays in Sociology*, 196-244, and the introduction by Gerth and Mills.

conversation was quite ordinary. Names were exchanged, drinks offered (these formed a flexible part of the wages, in effect): work time and leisure time were indistinct for these professionals. On ships, passengers and workers were not spatially separated. Passengers might enter the 'backstage' of the workers such as the stokehold. But in other places too, an acquaintance with people at work was easily made by wealthy and poor alike, though male travellers took more liberty in this respect than female.⁵⁸⁰

The travellers' egodocuments show that most consulted at least a few maps, catalogues, or guide-books before or during their journey.⁵⁸¹ Still, one of their first ports of call when they wanted information about the passage, the operation of their vehicle, or the surroundings, were these logistic professionals. Rees van Tets-Gevaets and her family, for example, received a small tour around the vicinity of their inn.⁵⁸² Drieling as well as De Constant Rebecque was picked up by carriage from under an unexpected rain-storm by his host.⁵⁸³ Bake obtained comedy tickets from his hotelier.⁵⁸⁴ Kuyper and her two friends hired a carrier for their luggage, but also used the man as a 'guide' to their new accommodation in Rome, in the small hours of the morning.⁵⁸⁵

But care could go even farther. An agent of the shipping company which would steam Ligthart and his wife from Germany to Sweden accompanied them in search of the mooring of the boat, from the train station in Geestemünde all the way through Bremerhaven and Nordenham on the other side of the Weser. Though Ligthart did not have much faith in the agent, who was only a boy, he had no choice but to depend on him, being an insecure traveller

580 Ackersdijck, 29-33; Baak, 137, 141; Bake, 8; De Beaufort the elder 1829, fos. 2^r, 17^v; Drieling, *passim* e.g. 132-3 (bribing sailors); Kruseman-Ross, 9-15; Lulofs, I.9, 17, 20; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 74, 87, 97; Roosendaal, 519; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 85; Wilkens-Hubert, 21/8. De Beaufort the elder 1860, Het Utrechts Archief, inventaris 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, toegang 2.3.01.22, inventarisnummer 566; Van Calcar-Schiotling, 15-6, 70; Perk, 18, 20, 24, 31, 35, 178, 268; Van der Staal van Piershil, 18/5, 29/9; Evers, 132. Gülcher, 14/8; Kuyper, 206, 239; Ligthart, 13-39: 'Ja onder zulke omstandigheden smelt de schoolmeesterspedanterie gauw genoeg weg', 167.

581 Ackersdijck, *passim* e.g. 45, 47, 52; Bake, 64, 105; Drieling, 45, 143, 172, 196, 221, 269; Steven Jan Matthijs van Geuns's purchases of 'Ebel' and 'Ebel abridged' and his excerpts from other travel accounts: Het Utrechts Archief, inventaris 814 Familiearchief Van Geuns, 1647-1976, inventarisnummer 262, esp. 21-28/8, and inventarisnummer 265; Kruseman-Ross, 81, and *passim* for unspecified reading; probably Lulofs, I.9, II.450; probably Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 45; Roosendaal, probably 502. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 179; HaverSchmidt, *Met de vrienden op reis*, 89-95; Perk, 8, 68, 170, 196, 199; Van der Staal van Piershil, 4/6; Evers, 44, 118; Vosmaer, 20/6. Klaver, 141; Kuyper, 238, 246, 271, 302, 362; Ligthart, 175. See W.A.B. Coolidge, *Swiss Travel and Swiss Guide-Books* (London, 1889); Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 2.

582 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 114, 140.

583 De Constant Rebecque, 24/6; Drieling, 16.

584 Bake, 43.

585 Kuyper, 246: 'onzen gids'.

himself and without written instructions of how to find the boat. At age fifty-one, this was his first time abroad. On board, the Ligthart couple received a personal approach from the crew because they were the only passengers (the month was September). Their radius of action was influenced not just by physical circumstances—the stormy sea, the steamer, and their hut in it, with two narrow benches and a washing table in between, where they spent their first twenty-four hours. It was also affected by that very personal treatment. The Ligtharts expected to get seasick, but the lack of fear and the ease of their chambermaid comforted them. 'If she could walk about everywhere, then so could we, surely?' In the end they stayed in bed, because the captain heartily advised them to do so: "‘Liegen bleiben, ruhig liegen bleiben’": 'stay down quietly'.⁵⁸⁶

These examples from the early twentieth century show that personal help from travel staff was still the norm in many parts of Europe, even in as much-frequented a place as Rome. What travellers must do and where they must go, were still not organized, scheduled, mapped, codified, and publicized in such a way that travellers did not need much face-to-face and tailormade assistance. A sign that things were nevertheless changing was the explicit statement by Catharina and Jan Julius Romein-ter Marsch that, although they had had to change trains twice in England, this had presented no problem since 'everything was indicated very clearly'.⁵⁸⁷ Apparently, they did not expect such clarity, which may mean it was something new. Indeed, forty years earlier the porcelain factory of Sèvres, which was the town's single most important attraction, was not yet so well signposted for Van Calcar-Schiotling to dispense with asking the way to a station officer. Perk and Evers, in the same period, also tried to find a sight by themselves, and failed.⁵⁸⁸ Only around 1900, travellers' dependence *began* to shift from persons to paper. But dependent they remained.

The same holds true for a second category of people: the professional guide. Despite the existence of guide-books, maps, signposts, leaflets, programmes,⁵⁸⁹ and touristic notices *in situ*⁵⁹⁰ at the beginning of the nineteenth century already, almost all travellers turned to specialist, paid guides regularly.⁵⁹¹ Van Calcar-Schiotling's travel account shows that even

586 Ligthart, 7-10, 21-3: 'Als zij overal kon rondlopen, dan konden wij het toch ook?', 62, 153, 164, 179.

587 Romein-Ter Marsches, 8/5/1903: 'alles was zeer duidelijk aangegeven'.

588 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 180; Evers, 44; Perk, 29.

589 e.g. Ackersdijck, 52.

590 e.g. Evers, 49.

591 e.g. Ackersdijck, 33, 47; Baak, 138; Drieling, 21, 24, 35, 103, 108-18, 119, 137-139, 251; Kruseman-Ross, 17, 18, 120-1, 126; Lulofs, II.2, 447, 451; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, *passim*; Roosendaal, 554; Van Wassenae

where written or drawn instructions were available, as at Père-Lachaise, a human guide was preferred.⁵⁹² They ranged from licensed, full-time guides through moonlighters to beggars who wanted to offer something in return for their alms; and from eleven-year-old boys to elderly men and, less often, women. In 1871, just after the Franco-German War, De Beaufort the younger was even toured around castle Königstein near Dresden by French prisoners.⁵⁹³ Sometimes this assistance came unsolicited but usually it turned out 'excellent'.⁵⁹⁴ This applied to Drieling, too, whose first reaction was that he could find his own way and that the beggars were actually dependent on *him*; yet he did not regret following their advice and finding a beautiful sight.⁵⁹⁵

Whether professional guides were available, and how professional they really were, depended on how well-developed the local tourist industry was. This development toward a full-blown tourist industry happened everywhere in Europe at a different moment (where it happened at all).⁵⁹⁶ Only around 1900, for example, did the Greek islands become a popular destination for western Europeans. Tourism was not yet regulated there, nor could people live off it completely. Magenta was briefly famous after its 1859 battle, which was part of the Italian independence wars. Locals sold bullets, insignia (like a copper 'sjakô-plaat'), and other battle debris on the trains running past the field, possibly to make up for the destruction of their orchards or farms.⁵⁹⁷ In Brienz and Grindelwald, horn-blowing and 'alpine' singing (especially of 'the cow song') were a semi-professional touristic occupation in the 1820s already, performed by the Brienzer schoolmaster and his family as well as by bands of women from the villages. At the nearby spectacle of the Giesbach falls, a 'convenient seat [had been] erected for the stranger'.⁵⁹⁸ Chamonix knew a corps of forty government-regulated guides in the 1830s.⁵⁹⁹ 'In the Canton of Uri [...] Wilhelm Tell is the order of the day [...] on prints and

Obdam, 204, 206. De Beaufort the elder 1860; De Beaufort the younger 1871, fos. 2^r, 3^{r-v}; Van Calcar-Schiotling, 181, 273, 292, 324, 393; Perk, 21-2, 91; Evers, *passim*. Kuyper, 292, 362.

592 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 292.

593 De Beaufort the younger 1871, fo. 3^r.

594 Van Hille, 291: 'een voortreffelijk gids'.

595 Drieling, 251.

596 See Armstrong and Williams, 'Steamboat and Popular Tourism'; Hessels, *Vakantie en vakantiebesteding*, 109-10; Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour*, 4; G.M. Knoll, 'Reisen als Geschäft: die Anfänge der organisierten Tourismus', in Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 336-43.

597 Perk, 181.

598 Bake, 88, also 91; Drieling, 190-1; Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 217.

599 Geel, *Onderzoek en phantasie* (1895), 29.

on the walls', Bake remarked. 'This is why people go to see every spot that is related to [this history]'.⁶⁰⁰ The several homes of Luther, Voltaire, and Rousseau, too, were then firmly established as tourist destinations. By the early nineteenth century, they had sustained serious damage, their upholstery and woodwork having been carried off by tourists piece by piece, chip by chip.⁶⁰¹ On the other hand, Evers still paid individual proprietors to enter their yards and view the scattered remains of a Roman *thermae* complex, in 1870. The proprietors had smelled that something was to be earned, but had not organized themselves yet. Pompeii only became popular as a destination after the excavation works of 1860, but soon, now flanked by a museum and library, it had to be guarded by police, and 'thirty-two well-disciplined guides stand at the service of the traveller here'.⁶⁰² Even later, anti-tourist Kuyper described how the Pässeier-valley was not yet spoiled by railways and large hotels in 1908, but was still 'simple [and] kept "pure of style"'.⁶⁰³ In all these different places, locals organized themselves and developed procedures and regulations to different degrees, at different moments in time, depending on whether sufficient numbers visited their region to warrant these investments.

Some guides were bound to a specific touristic attraction. Most of these sites could not be visited unescorted. They needed protection against thieves, vandals, and visitors walking into wings or grounds that were out of bounds. But these guides also provided visitors with the keys to unlock buildings, the knowledge not to get lost in them, physical support in dangerous places, and ambulant lighting for dark interiors and caves. And not only did they make places accessible bodily, but also intellectually. They made places intelligible by offering an aesthetic framework: they contributed to the *Bildung* of the connoisseur by pointing out what to pay attention to in works of art and how to appreciate them. Also, they brought meaning and life to unfamiliar places through historical anecdote and an appeal to the senses. A still familiar strategy to enhance a guest's awe was to demonstrate the echo resounding against a mountain or in a church. The woman who toured Lulofs around Bremen cathedral gave her own twist to the guide's bag of sensory tricks. She 'mercilessly' drummed a

600 Bake, 97: 'In 't Canton Uri [...] is het alles Wilhelm Tell wat de klok slaat. Overal, in prenten en op de muren van openbare gebouwen, ziet men de afbeeldingen van die geschiedenis [...] Daarom gaat men ook alle plekjes zien die er betrekking op hebben.'

601 For the 1770s, see D. Cubitt, A.L. Mackley, and R.G. Wilson (ed.), *The Great Tour of John Patteson 1778-1779* (Norwich, 2003), 26. Bake, 76-7; Drieling, 166, 235-7, 288; Roosendaal, 602; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 266.

602 Evers, 50, 105: 'Twee en dertig goed gedisciplineerde gidsen staan hier verder den reiziger ten dienste.'

603 Kuyper, 230: 'eenvoudig' and "'zuiver in stijl" gehouden'.

stick on the parched trunks of the naturally mummified corpses buried in the cellar, in order to demonstrate their dryness.⁶⁰⁴

Other guides, called 'loonbediende' ('waged servant') or 'domestique [or valet] de place', hired themselves out for a few days or weeks to personally guide wealthy travellers around a town or city, into sites, through the environs and sometimes even on a stretch of the journey to other places. These guides were no gate-keepers but did provide the entire range of services that the place-bound guides also offered, plus carrying travellers' luggage, arranging their affairs (such as reservations), and relieving their fears and protecting them at night in unsafe neighbourhoods. Not surprisingly, while experiencing together so much that was new and exciting, travellers grew attached to their guides. In Neuchâtel, Drieling took leave of his Zurich guide who had taken him through Switzerland over Interlaken. He recommended to his readers his

good loyal [...] friendly care and willingness [...] we parted from him reluctantly. On foot, Conrad Ruchterholtz' [sic], whom we can recommend to all travellers, undertook the return to Zurich and his family, during the winter to live from the money earned with us, since the advanced season did not promiss him another journey with strangers.

'Ruchterholtz' (probably Rusterholtz but consistently misheard by Drieling) had been vital to their journey. The party had run out of money, for example, and only he had been able to secure a loan from their hotel, being known personally to the owners.⁶⁰⁵

Although travellers into the twentieth century relied much on personal contacts, as this section testifies, the use of *professional* guides, especially of the 'loonbediende' type, diminished severely in the late nineteenth century. It seems that travellers were increasingly allowed to walk the parcours of a site on their own. For assistance, the professional guide was partly replaced by unpaid contacts, partly by texts, and partly by just letting things happen as they came. Increasingly also, it was organizations that replaced the independent 'loonbediende'. This development had been gaining momentum since the mid-nineteenth-century. In 1908, Kuyper and her friend took part in a mountain day-trip of the Kurverein of

604 'onbarmhartig': see chapter 5 Factors encountered on the spot, note 591.

605 Ackersdijck, 27, 47, 51, 62; Bake 47, 60; Drieling, 35, 137, 157, 207, 273-4: 'goede trouwe [...] vriendelijke zorg en welwillendheid [...] wij met weezin van hem scheidden. Te voet nam Conrad Ruchterholtz' [sic], dien wij aan alle reizigers kunnen aanbevelen, den terugweg naar Zurich [sic] en zijne familie aan, om den winter van het bij ons verdiende geld te leven, daar het ver gevorderde jaargetijde hem geene reis meer met vreemdelingen beloofde'; Lulofs, II.2; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 74, 98, 106, 124, 160; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 79. Some, such as the De Beauforts, Van Wassenaer Obdam, and Perk were eager to walk by themselves, without guidance or protection.

Merano. It was organized by people they did not know, performed in the company of people they did not know either. They simply had to sign up and join. Kuyper wrote that, were it not for this organization that knew the environment and took some measure of responsibility, they would not have gone: it had been snowing, and they were uncertain whether it was safe to go. This arrangement did not only make them dependent on the Kurverein, but also on other, unacquainted travellers, because the trip only took place when there was sufficient demand. Tellingly, Kuyper made no mention of having befriended any of the other participants on the outing. Had Kuyper been travelling forty or eighty years earlier she would probably have hired a mountain guide privately, together with people she knew. During the trip itself, Kuyper interacted with the guides in person, but as a customer she dealt with an association rather than with individual entrepreneurs. Written agreements and regulations took the place of the personal affinity, choice, and negotiation that existed in the relation between guide and traveller. The Kurverein, based on its statutes, did the organizing and the selection of participants, and took on responsibility; not some individual on their personal title. In spite of this, Kuyper still partook in the continuing praxis of being shown around by acquaintances and paid guides, too.⁶⁰⁶ For her and others around 1900, organized group trips were certainly not the norm.

For apart from professionals, volunteering advisors were also ubiquitous. Up to and including the 1900s, friends, acquaintances, fellow travellers, and people on the street (also across the elite-non-elite barrier) gave travellers directions or accompanied them on their sight-seeings, while offering facts of interest. Next to offering information and moral support, they arranged things: food, a bed, a carriage, a place to work, a cash loan, an easier customs check, a loge, a chair in Tivoli, or tickets to a play or concert. Even Parisian star actor François-Joseph Talma lent his own personal loge to the Rees van Tets-Gevaetses.⁶⁰⁷ The Ligtharts had a bolder and more experienced friend who accompanied them all the way from the Netherlands to their boat in northern Germany. He arranged their railway fare; he had the

⁶⁰⁶ Kuyper, 222 and below.

⁶⁰⁷ Ackersdijck, *passim*; Bake, 17, 20-1, 22, 35, 37, 41, 55, 76, 79, 102; Drieling, 21, 24, 120, 123, 238, 240, 274, 285; Lulofs, II.451; Kruseman-Ross, 8-15, 141; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 56, 129-32, 140; Roosendaal, 535, 548, 553, 555, 556, 558, 578, 582, 583, 585, 586, 587, 590, 597, 598; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 260, 267. Van Calcar-Schiotling, *passim*, esp. 49, 82, 160, 194, 293, 299, 382, 393; Perk, 29, 62, 170, 293, 308; Van der Staal van Piershil, 26/5, 8/9, 21/10; Evers, 21, 35, 46, 111; Vosmaer, 22-3/6 containing a letter by 'G Lefrancais', dated 18/6/1867. Gülcher, 7/8, 26/8; Van Hille, 292-3, 295, 296; Kuyper, 206, 247, 351, 352; Ligthart, 10, 45, 47, 53, 66, 79, 153-64, 231; Romein-Ter Marsches, 8/5/1903, 9/5/1903. And many of the other references in this section.

nerve to demand satisfaction from the shipping company after having left without its passengers; and he made sure they caught their boat after all, in a different harbour. After having delivered them to the agent of the company he returned to The Hague by train. Ligthart gladly acknowledged that his presence had comforted them through the journey, and that they felt miserable at the thought of their 'loyal, caring friend' leaving them to themselves. 'Under his care you felt safe. But soon?' After several months of travels through Scandinavia, though, Ligthart could announce that they were now experienced ('bereisd') enough to make the return journey by themselves.⁶⁰⁸ Another type of help in travel was offered by a Miss Eschenburg, or Esschenbuch, who took eighteen-year-old Marie Mensing on a day-trip to Waltershausen from their hotel in Friedrichroda. Probably, Mensing's governess demanded some form of chaperon for her ward. The sisters Eschenburg/Esschenbuch, whom they had met in their hotel, were just the right persons.⁶⁰⁹ Bake's, Van Wassenaer Obdam's, Van Calcar-Schiotling's, and Ligthart's schedules of touristic activities were even almost completely taken care of by their local colleagues. At the other end of the spectrum were the passers-by who offered their brief help to travellers in locating famous graves or locations from the *Odysseia*. Perk fraternized with two Garibaldian soldiers who urged him to visit 'the great liberator of Italy' himself 'on his island Caprera'. They said this would much please Garibaldi. Unfortunately, the great liberator was not granted the pleasure in the end.⁶¹⁰

608 Ligthart, 7-9: 'alles stemde ons stil en mismoedig. En dat werd niet beter door de gedachte, dat onze trouwe, zorgvolle vriend straks per spoor terug zou keeren naar Bremen en verder naar DH. Onder zijn zorgen voelde je je veilig. Maar straks?', 287.

609 Mensing, 6. Her handwriting is unclear.

610 Perk, 203: 'den grooten bevrijder van Italië' 'op zijn eiland Caprera'.

In a few cases, all this help was undesirable. A stranger approached Van Calcar-Schiotling and her party giving unwanted touristic guidance, disillusioning them about the aesthetics and history of the Louvre and its surroundings. She called him '[o]ur critical tormentor'.⁶¹¹ Perk and his peers ran into this person's spitting image in the Alps three years later. The man pointed out the mistakes in their touristic conversation (they had mistaken clouds for mountains), and extinguished their imagination with the 'prosaic', 'cold' truth.

Who called for him to mix in our conversation and meddle with us? While travelling, I have started to dislike those meddlers more and more, who so easily spoil the pleasure of others by their censures. How unfortunate that we encounter their counterparts in society so often! so I thought, as this man, I believe in the conviction of rendering us a service, spouted his wisdom.⁶¹²

Occasionally, a kind fellow passenger

turned out to be a commercial shark. Such a character recommended a particular hotel to Lulofs's party and offered the service of several taxi-boats which would take them and their baggage from their large steamer to the quay. Afterwards, however, they learned how much more they had paid for this 'service' than for any transport not belonging to the hotel.⁶¹³

Travellers' acquaintances to members of a different religious denomination—and many



Illustration 5.1: Marie Mensing, self-portrait, 1887, kept in the Frans Walkate Archief, Kampen, reproduction taken from F. Dieteren and B. Marinus, 'Mensing, Maria Anna Catharina', updated 11 May 2009, www.iisg.nl/bwsa/bios/mensing.html, acc. 24 March 2013. In her travel diary she manifested herself as a practical, cheerful and inquisitive person.

611 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 55-6: 'Onze kritische kwelgeest'.

612 Perk, 11: 'Wie riep hem om zich in ons gesprek te mengen en zich met ons te bemoeien? Ik heb op reis meer en meer een hekel gekregen aan die bemoeiallen, die zoo ligt door hun teregtwijzingen het genot van anderen vergallen. Hoe jammer dat we hun pendanten zoo dikwijls in de samenleving ontmoeten! dus dacht ik, toen die man, ik geloof in de overtuiging van ons een dienst te bewijzen, zijn wijsheid uitkraamde.' Similar: Evers, 69.

613 Lulofs, I.61-2. The same happened to Krüseman, 141: see section 4.3 Social Identity.

Protestant Netherlands turn out to have been connected not just to ordinary Catholics but to Catholic priests, sextons, or monastics—such acquaintances opened the door to religious services, church treasures, crypts, monasteries, and even the Pope himself. As Baak wrote, such visits to the more hidden places of the Catholic church were a privilege 'for a Reformed person'. Evidently then, personal contacts might override travellers' social identity. This is especially pertinent since it was in fact rather customary in the nineteenth century to have a few acquaintances across the Catholic-Protestant divide. When travellers did not use them for access to hidden places, they at least used them for getting an insider's view on the other religion and its customs. Throughout these communications, however, they never swerved from their own contrary opinion. They did not foreground this persistent difference of opinion in their conversations but emphasized it all the stronger in their writings for their own community.⁶¹⁴

Travellers with prior direct or indirect connections to administrators of industrial, political-administrative, military, and educational sites, such as castles, fortifications, casernes, mines, factories, prisons, schools, and governmental offices, also used their connections to enter these places.⁶¹⁵ A special case formed De Constant Rebecque, whose father was an office-holder in the city of Kortrijk (Courtray for the French-speaking elite). His two children took their lessons, from a private tutor, in his office. This may have been their own wish, or it may have been the most practical option, but perhaps this is how their father taught his sons that 'work' takes place in an



Illustration 5.2: Unknown artist, portrait of a mature Charles de Constant Rebecque, reproduction taken from commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Baron_de_Constant_Rebecque,_CTJ.jpg, acc. 13 Feb. 2012.

⁶¹⁴ Ackersdijck, 50; Baak, 139 ('eenen Gereformeerde'); Kruseman-Ross, 20. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 133-4. Kuyper, 351, 352, 363, 407. See section 4.3 Social Identity.

⁶¹⁵ Ackersdijck, 16, 28; De Constant Rebecque, 22/6, 29/6, 2/7, 13/7; Roosendael, 430; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 197. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 127, 195, 209, 393; Evers, 147. Ligthart, 58, 67.

office, acclimatizing them to hierarchy and desks and ledgers and the perfume of public administration: learning them to spatially separate play and rest from work.⁶¹⁶ When contacts to administrators ran via letters of recommendation, an overlap existed with the prerequisite of showing the right documents of identification, discussed earlier. Sometimes, these letters of recommendation were so specifically geared toward accessing one particular place, that they almost became ordinary entry tickets.⁶¹⁷ But even in those cases they still maintained the difference, both with tickets and with passports, that a traveller personally entered the office of the site's administrator themselves, and received a personal note of approval, without any mediation by letters or bureaucrats, and without any payment. Art critic Carel Vosmaer, for example, seems to have received permission from the French Empire's 'Surintendant' of Arts in person to work in the Louvre, the Luxembourg, and Versailles, outside of opening hours.⁶¹⁸ Similarly, Evers had permission from the Prefect of Police to visit several Parisian prisons. For the Christian catacombes of Rome he sought personal permission from a Cardinal, 'who willingly issued me with a permission ticket, which counselled to provide one's own wax candles'.⁶¹⁹

Although the travellers who possessed such powerful connections usually formed part of the educated elite, and were to various extents wealthy and powerful themselves, this in itself was neither necessary nor sufficient to gain access to political-administrative, industrial, educational, or military sites. Ligthart and his pupils at the primary school which he headed in the Netherlands, came from families of labourers and small shopkeepers. Gymnasia, on the contrary, were reserved for people with quite a different background from theirs. Still, in Sweden he easily visited gymnasia through his connections.⁶²⁰ Often, it was travellers' connections that were conclusive.

616 De Constant Rebecque, 28/6, 3-7/7.

617 See sections 3.3 Factors of access and 4.1 Identity documents.

618 Vosmaer, 20/6: note dated on the same day as when he made his application *and* entered the Louvre, thus showing the lack of bureaucracy.

619 Evers, 5-6, 51: 'die mij bereidvaardig een permissiebiljet afgaf, waarop de raad werd gegeven voor eigen waskaarsen te zorgen.'

620 Ligthart, 181.

The more impatient types from the elite did not always fully realize that their status alone made access not self-evident. The young jurist and painter Drieling, for instance, was sorely disappointed that he was not allowed to sketch a view or visit Swiss prisons without prior appointment, in spite of his family background. Even a party consisting of a prominent city and provincial ruler (Rees van Tets), the Swedish consul to the Netherlands, and the chamberlain of the King of Sweden (the Count of Wächtermeister), were refused access to the famous arsenal of Toulon by the commander of the French navy, whom none of them knew personally. Half a century later, however, Evers was granted admission without a sign of knowing the current commander. Although the arsenal remained a sensitive location (Evers was taken for a Prussian spy), this may indicate that admission grew to be more regulated, though not yet taking place without a personal interview.⁶²¹



Illustration 5.3: Unknown artist, portrait of Carel Vosmaer; www.rkd.nl/rkddb/%28S%28vtawjxpwt5h3j1triw0p22dn%29%29/detail.aspx#, acc. 24 March 2103.

Nineteenth-century travellers did not only execute much pending work abroad,⁶²² but also found new work opportunities, usually through their existing connections.⁶²³ Both Van Calcar-Schiotling's and Ligthart's fellow teachers and educational reformers introduced them to local lecture circuits where they could share their didactic convictions. Ligthart's Swedish colleagues had even advertized his lectures in the newspapers and published some of his

621 Ackersdijck, 68; Drieling, 61, 268, 281; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 140; Roosendaal, 426. Evers, 23; Vosmaer, 28/6.

622 See section 3.2 Places to access.

623 This applied to domestic servants as well: Bras, *Zeeuwse meiden*, 91, 110-3.

essays, he was surprised to learn.⁶²⁴ Similarly, day labourer Klaver and his two brothers found work through a group of boys from their home region who had arrived in Düsseldorf before them. This considerable group of Frisians cooperated to find work. A few years after, Klaver returned to Germany accompanied only by his inexperienced cousin. They met no acquaintances and had to return home after a fruitless search for work by themselves. Rather than earning anything, it had been 'an expensive week'.⁶²⁵

Through their existing connections, travellers also had the prerogative to meet famous, powerful, or interesting persons: the tsars; the Rothschild family; music professor Émile-Joseph-Maurice Chev ; the quasi-sectarian œcumenic and feminist Louis-Jean-Baptiste de Turreil, author of the *Doctrine fusionienne*; the artist-teacher-preacher couple Natanael and Elsa Beskow; and all kinds of nobility and dignitaries.⁶²⁶ Travellers simply trailed along on their friends' visits, or presented a personal recommendation. One type of celebrity that was particularly prominent in Protestants' travel accounts consisted of preachers. They functioned as a kind of home to many travellers, not only spiritually, by their sermons, but literally. Many visited preachers and their wives at home. For in spite of their surprisingly easy contact with Catholics, Orthodox Christians, and others, many Calvinist travellers felt a need for a safe and identity-confirming consulate where they could eagerly discuss the day's Bible text and sermon or hear what it was like for a Calvinist to live in this or that place in Europe. A wide network existed of Calvinist preachers (both of the Dutch Reformed Church and, later on, organizations such as the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands) and preachers with Calvinist affinities, such as the Waldensians who were seen by many Netherlanders as proto-Calvinists. Through previous acquaintance, family relations, correspondence, but also by just showing up for a service, preachers were particularly approachable persons abroad.⁶²⁷

624 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 353. Ligthart, 58, 87-8.

625 Klaver, 125, 139-45: 'een dure week'.

626 Ackersdijck, 28; Bake, 53-4; Drieling, 178; Van Wassenaer Obdam, 55, 162 (she had actually day-dreamed of entering the tsarina's dining room for high guests. This was before she discovered its cumbersome reality). Van Calcar-Schiotling, 194, 383; Vosmaer, 28/6. Ligthart, 181-2, 217, 219, 266, 274, 287 (mixing with gymnasium rectors, city administrators, ministers, and committed aristocrats. Next to his connections, his growing fame also helped).

627 Baak, 139; Bake, 78; Drieling, 240. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 101, 239; Perk, 222-3, 243, 246, 267, 305-10. De Beaufort the younger [1911?], 13/9?; Kuyper, 230, 363; Ligthart, 266-7. An interest in preachers without actually contacting them shows Van der Staal van Piershil, *passim*.

Connections and indirect connections to scholars, artists, and collectors also allowed travellers (sometimes assisted by a letter of recommendation) to visit these people and their collections abroad. Philologist Bake obtained access to manuscripts in the Ambrosiana and Brera libraries via his indirect contacts among the managing monks. These monks had the reputation of being 'not very communicative towards the northern scholars'. To Bake, however, they were friendly and helpful, also in gaining access to other collections in Milan. Because such visits were so personal, Ackersdijck even got to handle the collections he came to see. A visit to a shop could be conceived very similarly to a museum visit, with dedicated entrance and exit gates and a



Illustration 5.4: Unknown artist, portrait of John Bake, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, www.dwc.knaw.nl/biografie/pmkna w/?pagetype=authorDetail&aId=PE0000479, acc. 24 March 2013.

collection that one could inspect without buying anything. These gates and the opportunity to browse without obligation made such shops similar to the larger department stores that came into being somewhat later in the century: they were no special features of this latter shopping mode that is more often associated with the spectacle of modernity. Both smaller and larger shops could resemble museums. It was probably the smallest shops that offered the most personal attention, such as when Lulofs was touched by a sense of the personal when a Bremen bookseller offered him 'a polite welcome'. Perhaps these shops were not so much spectacular, but they still resembled the small museums that existed at the same time. Moreover, in the early twentieth century, such visits to personal laboratories, archives, ateliers, and homes were still perfectly normal. Classicist Van Hille translated inscriptions in stone found and kept at home by a local farmer-cum-archaeological-gold-digger. When Van Hille asked about the location of these finds, the man would only show them in exchange for money. 'Well, that is unfortunate, for money precisely happens to be something, of which I do not have much', Van Hille confessed. Incidentally, this passage demonstrates that a collection that was held by someone of inferior status could interest someone of superior status. The latter person then had the advantage that they might visit it without previous social

connections.⁶²⁸ Either way, seeing (natural-)historical or art objects displayed in the home of someone you had never met, was much more usual during the long nineteenth century than it would become later on. This refutes the assumption by some historians that in the nineteenth century, already, only 'celebrit[ies]' had this privilege.⁶²⁹ To sum up, an overlap existed in the practices of visiting homes, museums, small shops, and large shops. All could offer a spectacle to persons who were no direct acquaintances of the owners or inhabitants and who nonetheless did not need to buy anything.

All over Europe, locals without any special collection also let newly acquainted travellers into their homes, for tea or dinner, or to show them around. As Van Calcar-Schiotling noted: '[i]t was always highly pleasant to us, when we got the opportunity to visit private persons and thus get to know those tall houses from the inside as well.' Drieling felt the same semi-ethnographic curiosity. He wanted to visit friends' friends 'to be able to observe the inside of a prosperous Neuchâtelian household from closer.' While Drieling and his company were waiting for their calèche axis to be repaired, what was more natural than to converse with the local Swiss about cheese? After the calèche had been fixed, they were invited to the home and the wine of the local *maire*. Such instances were legion, and they were not limited to untouristic places where a hotel might be lacking and travellers might therefore have no choice but to visit local homes. Often, these visits were highly desired. The local hosts were then in return invited into the traveller's room or apartment.⁶³⁰ Although many visits to homes were made on the unremunerated basis of friendship or acquaintance, quite a few grand and interesting homes with their surrounding estates feature in travellers'

628 In the 1770s, the British John Patteson, *The Great Tour of John Patteson*, 189. Ackersdijk, 46, 51, 54, 63; Bake, 37-44: 'Over het algemeen zijn de Italiaanse geleerden niet zeer communicatief jegens de noordelijke, gedeeltelijk uit afgunst, gedeeltelijk, omdat het dikwijls ontbreekt aan de nodige kundige lieden om iets voor een ander af te schrijven of na te zien', 59-60, 75, 76; De Constant Rebecque, 17/6; Drieling, 137-139, 246, 266, 285; Lulofs, II.450: 'een beleefd onthaal', 452; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 17; Roosendaal, 579. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 366; Perk, e.g. 287; Vosmaer, 23/6, 28/6. Van Hille, 300: 'Ja, dat is ongelukkig, want geld is nu juist iets, waarvan ik niet veel heb, maar de steenen met de letters, mag ik die zien?'; Kuyper, 247 (twice); Romein-Ter Marsches, 11/5/1903. The ateliers of craftspeople such as cobblers were also situated in their homes: Perk, 25, 120; Evers, 74. See Haupt, *Konsum und Handel*, 75-85. In the Netherlands themselves, museum and shopping experiences also overlapped: Furnée, 'Place to Shop'.

629 Carnier and Gilleir in their introduction to Schopenhauer, *Vrouw op reis*, 14.

630 Bake, 53, 54, 55, 77, 79; De Constant Rebecque, 10/7; Drieling, 240, 266, 272, 278: 'het inwendige van eene welgestelde Neuchateller huishouding meer van nabij te kunnen gadeslaan'; Kruseman-Ross, 76, 133; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 57, 101, 168, 171, 173; Roosendaal, 451, 535, 539, 555, 557, 567, 568; Wilkens-Hubert, 21-3/8; Van Wassenae Obdam, 206, 267. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 98: 'Bijzonder aangenaam was het ons altijd, als wij gelegenheid kregen om particulieren te bezoeken en alzoo die hooge huizen ook van binnen te leeren kennen', 99, 383; Perk, e.g. 287; Van der Staal van Piershil, 29/6, 26/10. Gülcher, 24/8; Van Hille, 302; Klaver, 125, 149; Kuyper, 206, 247, 23; Ligthart, 14, 50-2, 57-8, 61, 63, 266-8, 283-6.

egodocuments where the degree of acquaintance to the owners does not become clear, or, in the case of indirect acquaintances, the degree of remuneration. These travellers' behaviour wavers between that of a paying tourist and that of a house friend. For example, Cunera Cornelia Wilkens-Hubert and her family visited what was possibly the estate Beeckestijn in Velsen. They knew a 'Sara' there, but entered her house *before* she had arrived home, perhaps paying a servant to guide them in.⁶³¹ The relations could be similarly undefinable when poor people, probably pressed by a combination of hospitality, pride, and financial hopes, showed rich travellers their attractively simple, characteristic, authentic, or picturesque homes.⁶³² Other cases are clearer. Elite travellers on an archaeological or economic-ethnographic field trip sometimes took the initiative to visit poor people in their homes in return for money.⁶³³ And many foreigners did not even meet the owners of the Belgian, English, German, Italian, Parisian, or southern Alpine estates that they visited. They only encountered the guide on duty, often a gardener, to whom they usually paid a fee or a reward. And still, with such accessibility they were fortunate. Huydecoper and her family wandered around an estate all by themselves and saw a few rooms, but eventually stumbled upon locked doors, upon which they returned.⁶³⁴

To conclude, knowing people locally might also work to one's disadvantage. When Van Wassenauer Obdam and her company wanted to take a ride, it was apparently compulsory to use one of their hosts the tsars' fleet of carriages. This carriage, however, was stopped at the city borders because it might not leave the city. Allegedly, the authorities feared for their guests' safety. Their privileged means of transport thus made them prisoners of Saint Petersburg. Fortunately, they managed to talk their way out of it.⁶³⁵ At the other end of the century, and the other end of the economic spectrum, Klaver experienced something similar. In 1899, the nineteen-year-old boy had to comply with the choice of employer that was made by his more-travelled elder brother and his network. That year, Klaver disliked his work and colleagues. The year after, he travelled with someone different, perhaps for this very reason: a

631 Ackersdijck, 57; Bake, 21, 76; De Constant Rebecque, 20/6; Lulofs, II.451; Wilkens-Hubert, 19/8, 27/8. Evers, 39. De Beaufort the younger [1911?], 7/9.

632 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 260. Perk, 24-5. Van Hille, 292.

633 Ackersdijck 23-4. Van Hille, 300.

634 Bake, 77 (twice), 79; De Beaufort the elder 1829, fo. 13v; Drieling, 125; Roosendaal, 463, 502, 560-2. De Beaufort the elder 1860; Huydecoper, 26/7; Perk, 90; Evers, 45-9, 50, 62; Vosmaer, 28/6. For an English example see Lister, *I Know My Own Heart*, 190. See Van der Laarse, 'Burgers als buitenlui', 23-7.

635 Van Wassenauer Obdam, 184. The borrowing of a coach and personnel were not unusual for people of lesser rank either, e.g. Wilkens-Hubert, 21/8.

friend with whom he was more in agreement.⁶³⁶

Personal acquaintance and personal encounter were central to the nineteenth-century travel experience. Everyone, from the nobility to day labourers, knew people abroad and acquainted new ones. Many used these contacts to the most to gain access to a diversity of places and services. This included collecting information, since an unfamiliarity with the local situation was one of the main obstacles to accessibility. Before the First World War, guide-books, signposts, station notices, information leaflets, notes of instruction, admission forms, and other unspoken communications did not even begin to push out the face-to-face encounter as a way of obtaining information and applying for access, except possibly in the transport sector.

What did disappear, however, was the local guide who personally toured a single party through a town or region. Employment for guides tied to specific attractions diminished, too. On the other hand, Dutch travellers did not yet massively participate in group journeys or organized day-trips either. An increasing number found their way on their own, that is to say through a loose series of professional and non-professional assistants, which probably became easier as more and more European places grew accustomed to receiving visitors.⁶³⁷ These places regulated the stream of visitors by implementing procedures and forms through which travellers had to seek admission. This made the process faster and cheaper in places with many applicants. Often, however, the decision itself was still taken in a face-to-face encounter with the person in charge of the location, and not by a bureaucrat (or a machine) who acted upon pre-established, written rules. To know the person who was in charge therefore offered a great benefit.

More impersonally acting, bureaucratic gate-keepers who worked for a fixed, independent salary *did* exist, for example at border crossings.⁶³⁸ This formalization of access/exclusion ran parallel to similar developments for people at home. One example forms the case of Aletta Jacobs. In 1883, she applied to vote in the elections for various representative bodies of the Netherlands. Only at the first following constitutional change, in

⁶³⁶ Klaver, 125, 129.

⁶³⁷ Travellers also began to harbour this flexible, independent ideal with respect to their homes, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

⁶³⁸ See section 4.1 Identity documents.

1887—and, one may speculate, as a consequence of Jacobs's application—women were explicitly denied the right to vote.⁶³⁹ Yet when it came to travel, neither in the nineteenth nor in the early twentieth century did bureaucrats dominate access to European places of interest. And those few bureaucrats who existed still usually worked on the basis of the personal encounter. Although rules formed the basis for their decisions, mood and personality therefore inevitably played a role as well just like they do for bouncers in night clubs nowadays, who have not been replaced by tickets. Procedures *formalized*, but they remained *personal* in this sense.

More generally, help from actually present human beings remained an important condition for travellers' freedom of movement. And whether through hired guides or a series of brief contacts with professionals and volunteers; whether through the personal involvement of the man or woman in charge or a deputy laden with instructions: securing a visit became neither easier nor more difficult as the nineteenth century progressed.

2 PHYSICAL CAPABILITIES

Bodily, material possibilities are among the most obvious factors to play a role when travellers wanted to go somewhere. The way in which objects were ordered in space and the materials, tools, and infrastructures that were available, mattered a great deal for what could be done. These objects never stood on their own: they worked (or failed to work) because they were organized in a certain way. For coaches, trains, and other means of transport to function, it was relevant whether traffic rules had been implemented, safety rails built, a railroad, mailcoach, or barge concession given out or a billet for confiscating farmers' rolling stock, street lights regulated, emergency huts built, and how often public transport was scheduled to fare, along what lines, with what facilities for less nimble or sensorily impaired people, and with what room for luggage, including bicycles.⁶⁴⁰

Nor were these technologies a thing of machines and other lifeless objects, only. People were part of them.⁶⁴¹ Objects and arrangements needed human beings to operate them:

639 I. de Wilde, 'Jacobs, Aletta Henriëtte' (version of 2007), in *Biografisch Woordenboek van het Socialisme en de Arbeidersbeweging in Nederland*, www.iisg.nl/bwsa/bios/jacobs.html, acc. 17 Sep. 2012.

640 Ackersdijck, 37; Drieling, 115. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 249; Perk, 55, 67; Evers, 135; Vosmaer, 22-3/6 containing a letter by 'G Lefrancais', dated 18/6/1867, and a train fare schedule. Analephis, 43; Klaver, 27; Van Oostendorp, 65. And the other references in this section.

641 Arguing for this approach to technology or practice are B. Latour (alias J. Johnson), 'Mixing Humans and

to whip the horses drawing the carriage, or to whip the boy who whipped the horses; to bear the sedan, to help the horses pull the cart uphill, to fix a bike, to drive a cab through the 'witch tangles' of Parisian traffic by the 'magical' 'genius' of an Eugène Sue (the Gothic novelist), and to hand out tickets ranking the people in an omnibus queue; to keep the floors of a laundry dry and safe, to carry a lantern through the night when moonlight was scarce, or to ride a donkey astride like a man because sometimes that was the only safe option for a woman.⁶⁴²

De Constant Rebecque, for example, thirteen years old, went bathing in the North Sea of Oostende. Considerations of decency and health made him or his parents decide to use a bathing-machine: a wooden dressing-room on wheels with a door and step-ladder at the back from which bathers carefully lowered themselves into the wholesome salty water. This bathing-machine would usually be pulled into the shallows of the sea by horses. The horses rented by the De Constant Rebecques could not pull it off, however. But there were always more routes open to those with money and a nearby provision of poor people willing to take it. The De Constant Rebecques charged three locals to harness their rowing-boat to the bathing-machine, and pulled by human power, the machine took off.⁶⁴³

Nonhumans Together: The Sociology of a Door-Closer', *Social Problems*, 35 no. 3 (1988), 298-310; Middleton, 'Sense and the City', 577; Van der Woud, 'Repliek', 223.

642 e.g. Ackersdijck, 18, 26, 28; Drieling, 114, 183, 263; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 79, 83; Roosendaal, 601; Van Wassenauer, 79, 86, 242. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 49: 'heksenknoopen', 'Waarlijk ik kreeg eerbied voor het genie der Parijsche koetsiers, wier kunst mij soms aan het tooverachtige scheen te grenzen. 't Was mij als of er een Eugène Sue onder zulk een rood vest kon schuilen en of ik eenige deeltjes van Dumas was doorgelopen', 309, 395; Perk, 298; Evers, 92, 130. Gülcher, 11/8 (twice); Van Hille, 290, 295, 297; Ligthart, 66.

643 De Constant Rebecque, 2/7.



But whether driven into the sea or rown, his desire to bathe, combined with his (parents') ideas of propriety and health, made him dependent not only on the lifeless object that was the bathing-machine but also on human beings. Places were thus not in all respects more accessible to the elite than for others: some of the latter could, for example, simply jump into the sea if they wanted a bath. Similar examples abound in the areas of transport and guidance, but also of getting dressed and preparing food.⁶⁴⁴ For blind people, people who could not walk, and others with specific physical limitations, human assistance was much needed as well; so much, probably, that it explains their relative absence from the collection of travel egodocuments. In their case, being able to spend a lot of money on a journey did certainly help in becoming more mobile.⁶⁴⁵ To return to De Constant Rebecque's case, his

⁶⁴⁴ See sections 4.2 Appearance and 5.1 Personal connections and encounters.

⁶⁴⁵ Consider the British J.E.M.W.E.G.C. Cranborne, 'Leaves from the Diary of a Blind Traveller', *St. James's Medley*, 1 (1854-6), with outings to Russia, Marocco, Spain, and Algeria. And also the southern-Netherlandish Louis-Engelbert d'Arenberg who travelled more or less continuously, discussed by V. Vandaele, 'Een blinde hertog op reis: Lodewijk Engelbert van Arenberg (1750-1820) en de hertogelijke reisonderneming' (Catholic University Leuven master's dissertation, 2006), esp. 48-51. Not for nothing, the former was a viscount and the latter a duke: both were able to marshal a lot of assistance. Nevertheless, the Duke d'Arenberg described his blindness as a "terrible obstacle". Illness affected mobility in a different way than did physical impairments. It induced people to stay in bed or in a chair and seek out mild climates: see section 3.3 Factors of access.

rowers were fully operative parts of the improvised technological ensemble: essential for it to function. Human beings were sometimes even more important than the material part of the technology: when your horse dropped dead in the middle of the road, your first need was for a human being—to bring out a new horse or reconfigure the carriage for an uneven number of horses, or at least remove the carcass⁶⁴⁶—just as well as with automobile engine trouble.

Evers was another traveller whose 'customer's experience' would not have changed much had the technologies around him changed. In a cave, guides 'had lit an abundant illumination of 1800 wax [i.e. expensive] candles beforehand, which on walking on, were moved ahead every time unnoticed'.⁶⁴⁷ Later on in their touristic histories, places like this cave installed stationary lighting, such as electric lamps that could easily be switched on and off. However, elite travellers would not notice much of a difference from the old technological set-up because they were not the ones doing the work.

Rees van Tets-Gevaets, another elite traveller, identified so much with her own long-term servants and carriage that she felt completely independent as she used them, even though she would not get very far by herself. Only when she hired a taxi or a guided donkey, it felt like someone else drove her.⁶⁴⁸ In both cases, the specific technological set-up, that is, the human and non-human workers and the work done, disappeared behind the service that was being delivered: this service was the only thing the customer experienced. It should be added that not all elite travellers erased their helpers so drastically as Rees van Tets-Gevaets sometimes did.⁶⁴⁹

The nineteenth century saw many improvements and other changes in the efficiency and comfort of vehicles and roads (including pavements), in lighting and heating technology, and in the way transport companies operated.⁶⁵⁰ (Although things like travel sickness did not

646 Roosendaal, 542, 568; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 55.

647 Evers, 135: 'Men had vooraf eene rijke verlichting van 1800 waschkaarsen ontstoken, die bij het doorwandelen telkens ongemerkt naar voren verplaatst werden'.

648 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 62, 74, 79, 92, 112, 115, 142, 161, 165. Also Ackersdijck, 60-3; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 65; Lulofs, e.g. I.22. Gülcher, 14/8.

649 See sections 4.1 Identity documents and 4.3 Social identity.

650 e.g. Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 41. Busken Huet, *Van Napels naar Amsterdam*, 7. Klaver, 129. See e.g. Armstrong and Williams, 'Steamboat and Popular Tourism'; Barker and Gerhold, *Rise and Rise of Road Transport*; Beyrer, 'Mail-Coach Revolution'; R. Fouquet and P.J.G. Pearson, 'Seven Centuries of Energy Services: The Price and Use of Light in the United Kingdom (1300-2000)', *Energy Journal*, 27 no. 1 (2006), 139-77; Fuchs and Simons, 'Fiets en fietser'; Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 43-60; Nye, 'Consumption of Energy', 307-25; Scharfe, 'Alte Strasse'; Veenendaal, *IJzeren weg*; Vos, *Rijtuigen*; De Vries,

disappear.)⁶⁵¹ Also much discussed in the historiography are postal services, telegraph and telephone wires, almanacs, agendas, photographic cameras, spring-driven clocks and watches (which could withstand movement), the slow but certain unification of European measures for space and time, and other changing devices helping travellers plan and communicate their movements, thus possibly altering their schedules, their rhythms, and their efficiency.⁶⁵² These changes may have had implications for the use of time and the experience of distance, among other things, and therefore indirectly for the experienced accessibility of places.⁶⁵³ Yet when it comes to the changes that physically enabled or disabled travellers' access, the writers of egodocuments remain almost silent. They did not often single out material and bodily technologies as an access factor. The relation between the network of roads that was being laid out through Europe (including the gaps in this network) and travellers' own efforts to go to places, was not obvious to those who were caught up in it. They did not suffer from roads that had not yet been constructed, from gas lamps not yet supplanted by electric bulbs, or from trains that went only three times daily. To be sure, they did complain about bad roads and smoky fireplaces, but they interpreted these as causing a lack of comfort: not a lack of access.⁶⁵⁴

Only when an existing provision broke down or suddenly became unavailable, they noticed an obstacle to their own freedom of movement.⁶⁵⁵ Thus, the narrowness of some foreign bridges and mountain roads was noted for inhibiting the passing of traffic, up to the point of altogether preventing a visit to the Hôtel des Invalides of Avignon. But they were only experienced as inhibitive because these roads and bridges were narrower than the ones in the Netherlands.⁶⁵⁶ This was exacerbated by the fact that many roads were steeper than Dutch

Barges and Capitalism; Van der Woud, *Lege land*, *passim*; Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld*, *passim*. See section 3.3 Factors of access.

651 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 48; Perk, 37. Ligthart, 23-5, 46-7; Romein-Ter Marsches, 8/5/1903.

652 e.g. Evers, 97. Van Hille, 282. See e.g. P. Brill (ed.), *Opmaat van een nieuwe eeuw: hoofdstukken uit het Nederlandse fin de siècle* (Amsterdam, 1995); M. Donald, "'The Greatest Necessity for Every Rank of Men': Gender, Clocks and Watches", in M. Donald and L. Hurcombe (ed.), *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective* (London, 2000), 54-75; M. Esbester, 'Nineteenth-Century Timetables and the History of Reading', *Book History*, 12 (2009), 156-85; Ingold, 'Work, Time and Industry'; Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 60-82; S. Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (Chicago, 1996); Van der Woud, *Lege land*, 43-7; Van der Woud, *Nieuwe wereld*, *passim*.

653 See section 3.3 Factors of access.

654 See section 5.3 Inconvenient weather.

655 Something similar is argued with respect to luggage by Ecker, 'Geschichten von Koffern', 217; and the fear of travelling by railroad: Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 130.

656 Lulofs, II.450; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 45, 156, 163. Perk, 19-20.

visitors were used to.⁶⁵⁷ Also, travellers had to argue with train managers—sometimes without any result—to be allowed to take their bikes on the train.⁶⁵⁸ They had to walk when no public transport was available;⁶⁵⁹ harness their horses themselves when no groom was present; and to wait when a bridge, boat, carriage, bicycle, or shoe had broken.⁶⁶⁰ Van Hille was frustrated by the bad quality of the boat *and* of the sailors who in spite of the wind which, in his opinion, was favourable, were unable to take him to Ithaca's harbour.⁶⁶¹ Gülcher was frustrated by a train that was much slower than he was used to.⁶⁶² Ligthart, who had no experience at sea, felt utterly incapacitated during storms: 'Getting up was nigh impossible. Did we try it for a moment, we tumbled about the cabin as if drunk. But lying still was equally impossible.'⁶⁶³ Furthermore, construction and repair works stopped travellers in their intention to visit interesting buildings.⁶⁶⁴ The inverse also occurred, though more rarely: that someone could suddenly travel farther than they were used to. A poor man like Van Oostendorp, for example, could because he was conscripted. As a soldier he rode on army waggons which made him feel like a 'gentlem[a]n in [a] coach'.⁶⁶⁵

657 Drieling, 39, 77, 90, 227, 228, 296; Roosendaal, 627, 630; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 67. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 180; Van der Staal van Piershil, 10/8; Evers, 87, 140. Analephis, 49; Gülcher, 11/8. But their steepness was equally notable to the Scottish Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 5, 17, 32, 42.

658 Gülcher, 9/8, 11/8.

659 Drieling, 115, 172; Perk, 109, 137.

660 Drieling, 164, 270; Van Oostendorp, 62; Roosendaal, 625; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 83, 150. Perk, 24, 120; Evers, 85. Gülcher, 11/8.

661 Van Hille, 280.

662 Gülcher, 8/8.

663 Ligthart, 23: 'Opstaan was haast onmogelijk. Probeerden we het even, we tuimelden als dronken door de hut. Maar stilliggen was evenzeer onmogelijk.'

664 De Beaufort the elder 1829, fo. 10^v; Roosendaal, 421.

665 Van Oostendorp, 65: 'als heren op rijtuige'.



Despite their generally accepted walking and driving capabilities, there was a general sense that women lacked the physical strength to climb or take walks that were longer than usual. In practice, these worries mostly pertained to women of the elite. Other women did not receive such protection. But if a riding animal, human bearers, 'a good pantalon', and other special implements were not available, *ladies* would be expected to remain at the bottom of the mountain, tower, or long walk in question. Van Wassenauer Obdam, one lady who did not live up to this expectation, reported that the tsarina 'repeatedly asked me and Maman whether the trip which I had undertaken on foot, had not been harmful and the next day she had Mlle Glasenapp ask in writing how I was doing.' This assumed obstacle for women had existed for centuries and continued to exist unabatedly into the twentieth century.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁶ Bake, 10, 20, 26, 30, 35, 36, 51, 52, 69, 73, 74, 85, 88, 99; Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 19; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 41, 79, 85, 90, 91, 96; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 184 (about games), 234: 'Ze vroeg mij en Maman herhaaldelijk of de tocht die ik te voet had ondernomen, niet schadelijk was geweest en de volgende dag liet ze Mlle Glasenapp schriftelijk vragen hoe het met me ging.'; Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 7, 156, 271. Perk, 22, 66 (about games), 69; Evers, 85 (women being carried over a muddy stretch); Vosmaer in F. Bastet, *Met Carel Vosmaer op reis* (Amsterdam, 1989), 184. Kuyper, 362 (expecting her female readers to be too easily scared to view bones); Ligthart, 12-3; Romein-Ter Marsches, 9/5/1903 (a woman's hat retrieved by a man). See Pelz, *Reisen durch die eigene Fremde*, 77-87; Ritter, 'Über Gehen, Spazieren und Wandern', 93; Sigaux, *History of Tourism*, 52; Verhoeven, *Anders reizen*, 154; and section 4.3 Social identity. On the other hand, these discriminating assumptions did protect



Illustration 5.7: This counted as one of the sturdier types of women's shoes, but still it was vulnerable, squeezey at the toes, slippery, and cold, if we consider walking through deep mud and over rocks and ice. What was available and acceptable for footwear thus conspired with travellers' ideas in making women less mobile. These ladies' shoes are the sturdiest among the early-nineteenth-century Textiles Collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. T190(&A)-1927, among AP40-1860, T509(&A)-1913, T512(&A)-1913, T455-1920.

Another big obstacle—this time for all travellers—was dirt, for example in the form of muddy roads. To the minds of a number of Dutch travellers, some European governments took insufficient care of their infrastructures, leaving them to commercial initiatives instead.⁶⁶⁷ In the Netherlands, governmental responsibilities had indeed been shifting during the first half of the century.⁶⁶⁸

The dark fell earlier and more sudden in the countries Dutch travellers frequented during the summer. The dangers of walking and driving through the mountains made them

women from the dangerous self-overestimation displayed by some men: Perk, 66.

667 (Roosendaal, 596-7). Evers, 44. Comparable but about care for the poor: Van Calcar-Schiotling, 140; Evers, 7.

668 A. van der Woud, *Het lege land: de ruimtelijke orde van Nederland 1798-1848* (Amsterdam, 2010), 49-77.

decide to move at a slower pace in mountainous regions, if they did not stop altogether in a mild panic over hostile locals, robbers, or even the supernatural. For instance, descending from a mountain top 'became terribly difficult for us pedestrians, since the whole art consists in properly placing the foot on the rolling and sharp-edged stones', wrote Bake. And Perk felt 'not at ease!... [...] Quite childish, isn't it? and yet it is true.' ⁶⁶⁹

Fear in general can prevent travellers from visiting certain places.⁶⁷⁰ In this context, historians have pointed out that the safety of travel improved in the nineteenth century, since both deliberate assaults and accidents lessened.⁶⁷¹ Others have claimed instead that travel became or seemed to become more dangerous, as experimental, 'industrial' technologies such as rail travel were introduced.⁶⁷² More important for the question of access, however, is *travellers' sense* of safety. This, at least in the Dutch case, did not change. Travellers reported dangers just as often at the beginning of the twentieth as the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Yet many of these dangers did not actually deter travellers. Most people tried to ironize them and present themselves as laconic travellers, such as Van Wassenaer Obdam who wrote that while driving, '[t]o bring variation in our pleasures, two of our horses fell over'.⁶⁷³ Contrary to what has been suggested about later-nineteenth-century British travellers,⁶⁷⁴ Dutch women did not feel (nor were they supposed to feel) unsafe outside the home. The less laconically styled writers tended to be older than the others and not very experienced as

669 Bake, 82: 'Zolang er daglicht was, ging dat goed, maar toen het duister begon te worden werd het voor ons voetgangers vreselijk moeilijk, omdat de hele kunst bestaat in het goed zetten van de voet op de rollende en kantige stenen.'; Drieling, 16, 231; Roosendaal, 457, 573; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 161. Perk, 27: 'dat ik mij niet op mijn gemak gevoelde!... [...] Heel kinderachtig, niet waar? maar het is toch zóó.'

670 R. Pain, 'Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City', *Urban Studies*, 38 no. 5/6 (2001), 899-913.

671 Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff, *Reisekultur*, 9; Beyrer, 'Im Coupé', 140-2; Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 9; Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 256.

672 Harrington, 'Railway Journey and the Neuroses of Modernity', 230, 234-6, 237-8; Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey*, 14, 113-49; Wrigley and Revill, *Pathologies of Travel*, 8.

673 Van Wassenaer Obdam, 83: 'Om variatie in onze genoegens te brengen vielen twee van onze paarden om, waarbij ze in hun val het rijtuig bijna meesleepten. [While waiting] wandelden wij in gepeins over ons trieste lot de grote weg op en neer.' Similar: Roosendaal, 472; Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 120-1, 205.

This self-fashioning of egodocuments does, I think, explain why dangers constitute such a large part of many published travel accounts; a fact that has spilt over into the less critical historiography, e.g. Boschma, *Reizen in Napoleons tijd*; Burgess and Haskell, *Age of the Grand Tour*; W. Chew, 'On the Road Again: The Material Realities of French Overland Travel in American Revolutionary and Napoleonic Travel Accounts', *Conference Proceedings of Things that Move: The Material World of Tourism and Travel* (Leeds, 2007); Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*; Lindeman, *Ego in Clivia*, 12.

About the self-creation of professional writers through travel and trouble, see Thompson, *Suffering Traveller*, although this book only considers Romantic writers; Buzard, *Beaten Track*, 80-2.

674 Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel*, 15. See section 4.3 Social identity.

travellers.⁶⁷⁵ Not surprisingly, they especially disliked means of transport they were as yet unacquainted with. However, only a few specific dangers really deterred some travellers: sea-storms kept them on shore, war violence off the street, and a shaky ladder on the ground. But at other moments they agreed that 'once one sits in the boat, one must sail'.⁶⁷⁶ Other places, such as certain city neighbourhoods, may conceivably have been avoided by travellers as well, but these inhibitions inspired no regret that was mentioned. They were probably no desirable places to begin with. In sum, it was not so much the historical developments in infrastructure and other technologies that created experiences of power or powerlessness, but short-term changes in travellers' abilities.

The major exception was when a big infrastructural project, such as a paved road, a tunnel, or a bridge, was in the making and travellers visited the site of construction. Then, they conceived an image of how things might change in the future, of how '[i]n 22 hours one will ride from Paris to Turin! And then, the proud word will be realized: There are no more Alps!' But this and similar futuristic images tended to be prompted by propagandistic texts surrounding these projects and not by travellers' own experiences.⁶⁷⁷ Only a few had the vision to see, for example, that one touristic site could only be visited because someone had had the sense to provide a mountain with steps; or that a place was *unpopular* because it was so far

675 Lulofs; sometimes Roosendaal. Perk; Van der Staal van Piershil; Evers. Ligthart.

676 Fears were often overcome (occasionally with the help of religious conviction) and dangers ironized: M. Berry, *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from 1783 to 1852*, M.Th. Lewis (ed.) (London, 1865), 1.32, 131. Ackersdijck, 27, 29; Baak, 140; Bake, 26, 29, 94; Drieling, 66-7, 83, 86, 90, 103, 115, 248; Kolk, 19; Lulofs, 1.77; Van Oostendorp, 73, 84; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 77, 84, 113, 116; Roosendaal, 453, 457, 472, 504, 573, 587, 589, 601; Van Wassenaar Obdam, 85 (wolves); Geel, *Onderzoek en phantasie* (1895), 5; Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, passim; Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 99, 107, 144, 163, 333, 335. De Beaufort the elder 1860; Huydecoper, 26/7; Perk, 15, 21, 31, 67, 102, 315; Van der Staal van Piershil (she had a tunnel phobia which nearly made her take a detour), 4-8/5, 14/8, 24/8, 11/9, 21/9, 4/10, 6/10, 19/10 (also see de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 111, on such 'travelling incarceration'); Evers, *passim*, 88-9, 140. Gülcher, 8/8, 21/8; Van Hille, 278-82, 291; Ligthart, 13-4: 'wie eenmaal in het schuitje zit, mee moet varen. Zin om terug te keren hadden we absoluut niet'; Romein-Ter Marsches, 8/5/1903.

Dangers that deterred were much fewer: Baak, 137, 140; Bake, 24; Drieling, 66-7, 97, 163, 260; Kolk, 19; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 100, 178; Roosendaal, 578; Wordsworth, *Tour on the Continent*, 89, 179. Perk, 117, 126; Van der Staal van Piershil, 17/8. Krüseman, 145, 149, 153, 154; Ligthart, 5-7, 23-6.

677 Bake, 23; De Beaufort the elder 1829, fo. 10^r; Drieling, 79; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 12, 52; Van Wassenaar Obdam, 262. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 157; Perk, 23, 50-1, 318-20: 'Voorwaar een reuzenarbeid, een kolossale onderneming, die, als zij eens voltooid is, onze eeuw zal verheerlijken. In 22 uren rijdt men dan van Parijs naar Turijn! En verwezenlijkt zal dan het trotsche woord worden: Er zijn geen Alpen meer!'

The Thames tunnel in London, constructed in the 1820s to 1840s, was approached by locals and visitors as an attraction perhaps even more than as an infrastructural solution: see the various entertainment advertisements from that period kept in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection; Dioramas 1 (77), Dioramas 2 (17a), Dioramas 3 (44, 48, 49, 52, 53, 56), London Play Places 8 (27c, 28g, 30a, 32a, 34a).

away from the touristic centre of the area. In short, only a few travellers occasionally discerned how their accessibility depended on physical circumstances.⁶⁷⁸ Most of the time, however, travellers did not have the imagination to see how things could work other than they did.

What is more, a new technology was often hailed by travellers not for its enabling qualities but its aesthetic. In particular, they frequently noted the use of gas light and electric light abroad, but not because they made access to new places possible, or at new times of day, nor because they made travellers' movements more effortless, comfortable, or cheap. Instead, gas and electric lighting were discussed for their novelty and hailed for their aesthetic qualities. They were entertainment: the source of spectacular illuminations in pleasure gardens at night; offering a brilliant view of a dining hall or opera building; or giving an unfamiliar bedroom a more cheerful aspect. Rarely did travellers attribute the spread of (new kinds of) artificial light with easing access and increasing social or traffic safety.⁶⁷⁹ This ties in with the fact that unpaved roads were described as disgusting and winding roads as unappealing, rather than both being perceived as physical obstacles. The same is true for the occasional elevator which travellers encountered from the 1860s onwards: it was not perceived as enabling people who could not walk the stairs to reach the upper floors, but rather as a pleasant and pretty bonus for those who could.⁶⁸⁰ And when Evers noted how the journey time between Florence and Bologna had shortened in the 1860s, he did not express any joy over this gain and the opportunities that it might create, but only marvelled over the human artfulness it demonstrated and the impressive vistas it opened up.⁶⁸¹ In other words, these technological changes had more to do with travellers' desire to *appropriate* foreign places—to make those places clean like a home or brilliant like a palace—than with their attempts at *access*.

678 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 12, 148; Roosendaal, 447, 506. De Beaufort the elder 1860.

679 Bake, 21, 54; De Beaufort the elder 1829, fos. 9v, 10v, 11r; Kruseman-Ross, 53 (a lantern 'for the children'); Lulofs, I.65; Roosendaal, 491, 493, 587, 608, 611, 613; Van Wassenae Obdam, 79. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 85, 96, 100, 149, 366; Perk, 175, 225, 235; Evers, 40, 48, 81. Kuyper, 352; Ligthart, 170. The partial exceptions are De Beaufort the elder 1829, fo. 9v. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 100, 367. (Ligthart, 170).

680 Evers, 3.

681 Evers, 123.

3 INCONVENIENT WEATHER

In the nineteenth century, the weather had a deep influence on travellers' activities. It did not just bear greatly on their comfort or enjoyment but on the very possibility of going places. Of course, storm, lightning, and other extreme conditions prohibited or complicated sailing and the scaling of mountains, and disabled sea-travellers from rising from their beds in their huts: in most cases this was a reasoned decision on safety grounds.⁶⁸² But certain less dramatic, more frequent weather conditions also took their toll.

Simple rain and snow were almost always an insurmountable obstacle to being outside. The winter months were avoided as much as possible, yet rain could not be avoided in Europe even during the summer, nor snow in the Alps. Over and over again, travellers wrote that because of rain or snowfall they 'had to' stay in their hotel because it 'dérangerait tous nos plans' ('disturbed all our plans'), that they had to forego church that week, that it 'prevented' them from walking and usually from driving as well, and that it 'forced' them to find some occupation inside their accommodation. And this in spite of nineteenth-century travellers' generally great love for walks.⁶⁸³

Heat and direct sunshine were another big problem in the experience of nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century travellers. The Dutch did not easily adapt to more southern climates, but summer temperatures in the northern half of Europe bothered them, too. Perhaps this can be explained by the elaborateness of most nineteenth-century dress, combined with the heating zeal to see as many sites as they could on their journey. In her ordinary clothes, Van Wassenauer Obdam already experienced a room of around 17°C as pleasantly warm.⁶⁸⁴ All in all, the sun-loving culture of the twentieth century had not yet emerged. Still, rarely did the heat keep travellers from their plans like rain did: most of the time it merely rendered them sleepless or tired, and urged them to drive instead of walk, have their luggage carried, wear fewer layers of clothing, use a sun-covering (hat, umbrella, ship's

⁶⁸² See section 2 Physical capabilities.

⁶⁸³ The following references also include a few exceptional cases, mostly involving young travellers, where they did not *completely* withdraw into their accommodation during rainfall: Ackersdijck, 17; Bake, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 23, 26, 83, 91, 102, 103; De Constant Rebecque, 24/6; Drieling, 18, 23, 27, 113, 116-7, 188, 189, 197, 203, 207, 234, 244, 246, 249, 250, 266, 267, 268, 279, 285; Kruseman-Ross, 45; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 68, 69, 77, 79, 100, 112, 178; Roosendaal, 439, 498, 499, 501, 518, 522, 555; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 68, 71, 125, 129, 149, 153, 156, 157, 215. De Beaufort the elder 1860; De Beaufort the younger 1871, fo. 3^v; Van Calcar-Schiotling, 160, 309, 315, 366; Huydecoper, 30/8; Perk, 36, 107, 126, 131, 146; Van der Staal van Piershil, 9/5, 11/5, 12/5, 16/5, 25/5, 26/5, 19/8, 20/8, 17/9, 23/9. Van Hille, 284.

⁶⁸⁴ Van Wassenauer Obdam 141.

sail), swim; or complain.⁶⁸⁵ Rather counter-productively, some of the same people who complained of the stifling heat drank wine instead of water, even on their walks over mountain paths under the burning sun.⁶⁸⁶

The same applied to wind and cold: they hardly acted as preventives. Only Evers once stayed inside because of the cold weather; Van Calcar-Schiotling viewed a collection of antiquities briefer than she might have if she had not been driven on by the chill in the room; the Ligtharts left their ship's deck around dusk; and the temporarily homeless Klaver wandered from street to street at night trying to find a spot warm enough to sleep in. These exceptions are very small in number compared to the impact of rain. As with heat, travellers usually found material or mental strategies to ward off the cold and resist the wind. These strategies rarely needed the benefit of technological advances. Drieling and Rees van Tets-Gevaets simply lit from their carriages to walk themselves warm. And at sea, the Ligtharts 'did not feel [the cold], immersed ourselves in coat or cloak the more cosily, slid the closer to each other, enjoyed the solitude more intensely'.⁶⁸⁷ Physical exercise and animal skin can hardly be considered inventions of the nineteenth century.

What was it about rain, which made travellers take for granted—they did not explain their decision—that it prohibited going out? It was no principal, aesthetic aversion against precipitation. Even as they sheltered inside, three young women wrote about the dramatic delight or refreshment storms and showers bring in subtropical regions.⁶⁸⁸ Of course, rain has never been comfortable. Although umbrellas, waterproof fabrics and shoes, hats, and waterproof carriage flaps existed in the first half of the century already,⁶⁸⁹ these were heavy,

685 Bake, 44, 45, 50, 52, 60, 73, 80, 82, 96; Drieling, e.g. 38-9, 130, 143, 148, 193; Lulofs, I.28, II.453; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 14, 100, 137, 148, 152, 154, 158; Roosendaal, 544, 571, 573, 579, 583, 599, 611, 626 (twice); Wilkens-Hubert, 14/8, 15/8. Huydecoper, 26/7; Perk, 5, 6, 69, 102, 106, 197-9, 223; Van der Staal van Piershil, 7/6; Evers, 22. Analephis, 27; Van Hille, 293, 297, 302; Kuyper, 262, 302, 383, 407, 7, 23, 31.

686 Bake, 11, 68, 90, 94; Drieling 39, 121, 272; Murray, *Glance at Some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland*, 17, 23. Kuyper, 230.

687 Bake, 29; Drieling, 85, 171; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 13, 82, 100; Roosendaal, 517, 527; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 76, 85, 123, 158, 165, 209, 211, 231. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 162; Perk, 22, 65, 131; Evers, 20. Gülcher, 10/8, 11/8, 12/8, 17/8, 18/8, 21/8; Van Hille, 278, 281-2; Klaver, 139, 143; Ligthart, 10, 13, 31: 'we voelden 't niet, doken te gezelliger in jas of mantel, schoven te dichter bij elkaar, genoten meer van de eenzaamheid', 33, 170.

688 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 75; Roosendaal, 501, 602. Huydecoper, 26/7.

689 Bake, 15, 83, 90, 92; Drieling, 246, 269; Lulofs, I.57; Van Wassenauer Obdam, 87. Perk, 21, 284 (absorbing hay). Ligthart, 267. See 'Waterdicht, bnw., bw.' ('waterproof'), *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (article from 1989).

were not used by everyone, and did probably not work perfectly. Shoes and other clothes were often vulnerable, costly, and slippery, although on walks and while travelling generally, people tended to select sturdy clothing. Most people in our selection had their clothes and shoes cleaned by others. Still, the discomfort in wearing, and the time and money spent on drying and laundering clothing, made going out in the rain unattractive.⁶⁹⁰ But this is no sufficient explanation for this nineteenth-century phenomenon. This nineteenth-century behaviour does, incidentally, point out the inadequacy of modernization theories which suggest that because new technologies are increasingly apt to shield off humanity from nature, people have lost their former sturdiness and became more vulnerable, more 'wishy-washy'. For here we have an example of a vulnerable attitude at a moment when technologies did not offer very good protection at all.

We should also consider the fact that nineteenth-century European roads were not usually surfaced, let alone paved. Mud, dust and accumulated snow were a frequent adversary of travellers.⁶⁹¹ Now, mud and dust did not always make walking, riding, or driving physically impossible; but they did make them harder and slower. Soldiers on the march, to take a group of more than normally hardy travellers, were indeed not deterred by rain. And yet, Van Oostendorp testified that it made their march 'very difficult'. (It was exacerbated by the fact that these infantrymen were heavy-laden and had not received any time to eat on this particular day).⁶⁹²

Another reason was that rain, mist, and clouds blocked the view and the light needed to appreciate the beauty of landscapes and visual art works, while these were two of the main attractions for most nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century travellers.⁶⁹³ And so, precipitation took away much of the motivation to go outside in the first place.

That these various reasons played a role is attested by the instances when travellers

690 e.g. Roosendaal, 498.

691 Writing about dirty roads were Ackersdijck, e.g. 19, 21; Bake, e.g. 8, 10, 15, 52; Drieling, 245; Kruseman-Ross, 61; Lulofs, II.450, 453; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, e.g. 51, 142 (additional references for bad but not necessarily dirty roads: 12, 45, 50, 57, 73, 102, 136, 150, 156, 158, 163); Roosendaal, e.g. 437, 500 (additional references about the quality of the roads: 435, 457, 492); Van Wassenae Obdam, e.g. 75, 76 (additional references for bad roads: 67-8, 74, 81, 168). Van Calcar-Schiotling, e.g. 14, 49; (Perk about bad roads: 270); Evers, e.g. 44, 52. (Kuyper about the quality of roads: 222, 230); (Ligthart about bad roads: 267). See Van der Woud, *Lege land*, 352-7.

692 Van Oostendorp, 70-1: 'zeer moeyelijk'.

693 The huge interest in views is testified throughout all accounts. For weather phenomena blocking light and views: Ackersdijck, 17; Bake, e.g. 10, 11, 106; Drieling, 209, (231), 232, 244, 260, 266, 289; Kruseman-Ross, 85; Roosendaal, 571, 632. Perk, 131, 146. Gülcher, 8/8, 15/8.

who minded the rain *did* go out. Apart from Bake's occasional day-hikes, these instances only occasionally happened when people *had* to travel to get to their next destination in time, or when they promenaded in covered carriages (probably because it was considered unhealthy not to promenade at all), or visited churches, museums, and other interiors within the town they were staying in. Landscape views were not relevant during those latter outings, and the surfaces of roads within towns were usually tolerable, certainly in the second half of the century.

Still, in the 1820s and still largely in the 1860s, precipitation prevented most movement outside travellers' accommodation. Also, Dutch travellers did not present their decision as an option that would merely increase their comfort. They felt they *must* limit their own freedom of movement. And this was, it appears, due to their fear of contracting a disease. It was thought by many doctors that respiratory and other diseases could be caused by cooling off suddenly, or by miasmas: stinking vapours rising from rotting matter. In lays' eyes, any damp air was suspicious.⁶⁹⁴ Two of the selected travellers, both women with children, did indeed represent precipitation as a health risk, in striking contrast to the three young women who enjoyed storm and rain, mentioned earlier.⁶⁹⁵ It is telling, moreover, that wet weather was also generally perceived as prohibiting travellers to go out in a carriage or rain costume: although these would have kept them dry, these did not, after all, prevent the inhalation of the supposedly dangerous moist air.

Although the evidence for the health-motive is limited, it is supported by the changes that occurred in the course of the nineteenth century. In the last third of the century, medical science was increasingly convinced that many diseases were caused by micro-organisms. Slowly, miasm theory was replaced by germ theory. And, as Theo Engelen and Joel Mokyr show, this scientific knowledge was adopted by lays.⁶⁹⁶ If travellers, too, started to believe that the contraction of diseases could be prevented through the killing or removal of those micro-organisms, rather than through avoiding the damp and the cold, their fear of rain would 'evaporate'. And indeed, the 1860s already saw a change in this direction. Travellers now went

694 e.g. Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 120. Perk, 69; Evers, 81. See Ch. Hoolihan, 'Health and Travel in Nineteenth-Century Rome', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 44 (1989), 462-85; Richter, 'Angst des Reisenden', 107; J.C. Riley, *Rising Life Expectancy: A Global History* (Cambridge, 2001), 60-8, 95-6, 177-82, 187-9; Van der Woud, *Lege land*, 390-3; also for the following.

695 Kruseman-Ross, 45. Van der Staal van Piershil, 25/5.

696 Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen mensen*, 97-122; J. Mokyr, 'Why "More Work for Mother?" Knowledge and Household Behavior, 1870-1945', *Journal of Economic History*, 60 no. 1 (2000), 1-41.

to museums and other interiors by carriage through the rain more often, and sometimes they even walked a little through the rain, although they noted this as an exception.⁶⁹⁷ By the beginning of the twentieth century, the change was complete. Rain and snow were no longer an excuse to stay inside, even for De Beaufort the younger, who had still minded the rain in the 1860s. Visits, rides, walks, and cycling trips were now made even under 'much rain', usually with the help of umbrellas and waterproofs.⁶⁹⁸ This ties in with the development of diversifying departure months and the surfacing of roads: no longer did everyone begin their journeys in spring or summer. They departed in rainy autumn as well.⁶⁹⁹ So travellers had grown a tougher attitude, rather than a more vulnerable one. What may also have added to a less scrupulous care of the body was that the prevalence of the relevant diseases seems to have decreased.⁷⁰⁰ Although these Dutch travellers mentioned *neither* miasm *nor* germ theory explicitly, a change in the accepted etiology of diseases may well have substantially contributed to this change in behaviour.

This attitude vis-à-vis precipitation is only evidenced for elite travellers. Baak and Mensing, on the contrary, reacted rather indifferent to rain. This may indicate that the non-elite did not subscribe to the miasm etiology of disease. Let us hope this was the case, for the majority of Europeans had no choice but to go out onto the roads or into the fields to earn their living. Most wealthy travellers made no bones about exposing their employees, such as their carriage drivers, to what they saw as a serious risk of illness. They did not realize that what they experienced as a restriction (not being able to go outside) was also a luxury (being able to afford to stay inside and remain healthy). Only someone like Ackersdijck remarked that those who did not have access to a carriage encountered even greater trouble on muddy roads than he did. He could therefore understand that Hungarian women wore no shoes but boots, even though in his eyes this was unfashionable and unwomanly. Such concern about the mobility and comfort of the local people was exceptional amongst travellers, however.⁷⁰¹

To sum up, of all weather phenomena described in travelogues, only precipitation regularly inhibited access. Heat, cold, and wind were adapted to in less drastic ways, with the

697 See above, note 683. Mensing, 6, and Evers, 127, seem not to have cared about rainfall at all.

698 De Beaufort the younger [1911?], 13/9; Gülcher, 6/8, 10/8, 11/8, 12/8, 17/8, 25/8; to a lesser extent Kuyper, 246; Ligthart, 267.

699 See section 2.4 Journeys.

700 Though that morbidity (not mortality) decreased is contested: Mokyr, 'Why "More Work for Mother?"', 6, 17.

701 Ackersdijck, 38, 66; Bake, 52.

help of technologies that enabled travellers to carry their plans through. Heat, cold, and wind only tended to lower their comfort, and therefore properly belong to the theme of appropriation rather than access.

4 MONEY

Conspicuously lacking among the access factors that receive ample attention in travel egodocuments, is money. To be sure, the crossing of many spatial boundaries, such as tolls, involved a pecuniary transaction. Roosendaal mentioned paying to enter the Parisian pleasure gardens of Tivoli, for example. She was relieved that 'no one but decent people were to be seen there since the Entrance was five francs'.⁷⁰² Yet money usually cross-cut the other access factors, like timing did.⁷⁰³ It limited travellers' choice of vehicle and of carriage class, and their ability to buy passports, hand out bribes, pay for hotel rooms, deck themselves with evening dress, eat in restaurants, have artists over in their accommodation instead of going to see them in the theatre, and enter museums on the days these were not for free.⁷⁰⁴ Money was hardly ever a separate obstacle. This is why travellers generally did not mention money at all in their egodocuments: their financial limits were both self-evident to themselves, and tied up with factors that were more on their mind.

Only when they had less money at their disposal than anticipated did they feel their financial means to be a factor of access. This is exemplified in the many instances where food or accommodation turned out more expensive than travellers had hoped for. And whereas Klaver usually slept in a boarding-house or even an hotel, one year he had earned so little that for one night he tried sleeping in a train station, a rye field, a farm shed, an empty new house, and a town bench. From the station, the shed, and the bench, he was chased away. That he was not wealthy did not bother him on this journey, but that he was temporarily barred from his

702 e.g. Roosendaal, 614: 'Men zag er niet anders als fatsoenlijke lieden daar de Entrée vijf frank was'. See Knippenberg and De Pater, *Eenwording*, 46.

703 See section 3.3 Factors of access.

704 The price difference between a first-class train ticket The Hague-Paris-The Hague of 36.90 guilders and a third-class *night* ticket of 13 guilders was considerable: Vosmaer, 22-3/6 containing a train fare schedule.

For music, plays, and ballets at 'home': Ackersdijck, 22; De Constant Rebecque, 9/7; Van Wassenaer Obdam, e.g. 56, 135. Customs, mail, passports, library books, and guides also came to the wealthy instead of vice versa: Ackersdijck, 52; Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 179. Perk, 133. Van Hille, 294. The early nineteenth century, especially, was a world in which cultural commodities moved around at the will of those consumers affording them, and were not yet as democratized, centralized, and static as they are nowadays.

The other examples are taken from throughout this thesis.

own usual environment, and even any warm place to sleep, did.⁷⁰⁵

What is more, travellers' wealth did not completely predict the choices they made: some who could afford their own coach, nevertheless hired transport; travellers who could pay for a ride, walked. People did not necessarily go for the most luxurious option. But nor did they necessarily choose the cheapest. Hardly anyone accepted an invitation to stay the night for free at a friend's place, for example.⁷⁰⁶ Ligthart and his wife, who by themselves could not afford much, had their work journey recompensed.⁷⁰⁷ All in all, affluence does not account for so much of the variation in access as one might expect. Wealth did not open all doors, nor was it always the determining factor when it *was* involved in opening doors.



Though liquidity had no direct hard and fast relation to where people went, wealth also meant social and cultural capital: money bound up in goods that could not be sold but turned to good use. Thus, a highly educated traveller had a greater access to knowledge and a certain taste, and their social connections covered a wider part of Europe. And all these things were in turn bound up with gender: the average woman had the disposal of less money, less education, less legal agency, less physical strength, a moral righteousness that was more difficult to sustain, and fewer acquaintances than the average man. And the same applies to children and very old people. All three groups, moreover (women, the very young, and the very old), suffered more often from health problems than young or middle-aged men.⁷⁰⁸ These illnesses and handicaps cost time and money and inhibited (potential) travellers in the process of obtaining access in different ways. Through travellers' identities, the different access factors often worked in the

705 Klaver, 143. Also, Van Calcar-Schiotling remarked that in the Tuileries, one had to pay for a chair: 76.

706 Rees van Tets-Gevaets, 12; Roosendael, 539?. Krüseman, 139. Gülcher, 23-6/8. Others did not make it explicit whether they were accommodated by professional pension- or innkeepers with a personal approach or, for free, by acquaintances: Baak, 139; Drieling, 16, 205; Kruseman-Ross, 9; Wilkens-Hubert, 19/8, 25/8, 27/8. De Beaufort the younger [1911?], 7/9; Van Hille, 283-4; Kuyper, 206, 23. Many of the rooms and apartments rented by Dutch (as by local students) were part of their landlord/-lady's own home, e.g. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 15/5; Mensing, 2. Klaver, 125. Sometimes these only ran a part-time business: Bake, 80; Witthöft, 'Nordeutsche', 213. It was common for such (semi-)professionals to show a personal interest and involve their guests in their own family life. Only noble travellers sometimes stayed over with other nobility, but only on their larger estates: De Constant Rebecque, 17/6; Van Wassenauer Obdam, *passim*. Gülcher, 6-8/8; so not: Van Wassenauer Obdam, 54. Gülcher, 24-27/8.

707 Ligthart, 1.

708 See section 3.3 Factors of Access.

same direction. Travellers themselves did not demonstrate an awareness of this overdetermination of the exclusion of certain groups.

Sometimes, however, these factors worked against each other.⁷⁰⁹ For some travellers, a good fitness for walking, for example, offset their lack of funds to pay for a carriage. For others, a male family relation opened the door to a café, or a local friendship helped visit churches of a different denomination. And their passport could override the undesirable impression someone made by their shabby appearance. The combination of places, people, and activities made complex configurations of rules and possibilities.

Thus, access depended not only on the character of the place in question, but on the moment, the season, and the year, which were marked by varying natural, technological, and social circumstances, and on the position and personality of the applicant and of the gate-keeper: on who the gate-keeper thought the applicant was, and on who the applicant *wanted* to be. The gate-keeper did not always occupy a higher political-economic position. The gate-keeper, in fact, was not always antagonistic, nor was it always a person: the same role could be fulfilled by the weather, a broken carriage axis, a caring guide, or even the traveller themselves; and towards the twentieth century, it was increasingly an officer executing rules. However great or small their sympathy, all these gate-keepers were, in Bruno Latour's terms, complicit in making social distinctions and passing 'moral' judgements.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁹ See section 4.2 Appearance.

⁷¹⁰ 'Mixing Humans and Nonhumans Together'.

Conclusion

Technological and social-political changes in the nineteenth century did not push human behaviour and human experience into modernity. Specifically, they did not give individuals the power to go wherever they pleased, nor did they alienate them from themselves, their proper desires, or their fellow human beings. These, at least, are the conclusions that must be drawn from the case of Dutch travellers abroad.

In the first place, this is because the spatial power they felt did not follow a pattern of linear growth. In one area of life it rose and in another it fell, in a third it rose first and then fell, while sometimes it did not change at all. Many different fluctuating and interweaving developments were moving in multiple directions. They formed distinct constellations of opportunity in different European places. Individuals' sense of freedom also remained unequally distributed among different social groups. Let me recapitulate how this was so.

To travel outside the borders of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was fairly ordinary for the university-educated and their family in the early nineteenth century. Remarkably, however, the number of recorded journeys per head of the Dutch population decreased dramatically in the course of the nineteenth century. This could happen, I have suggested, because the educational elite shrank in proportion to the rest of society. Often holding a position in government, the military, or the Dutch Reformed Church, they were and remained the ones travelling abroad and writing about it. We hear little from lower-educated Netherlanders. Although domestic servants, construction workers, fishermen, pedlars, and others travelled on a regular basis, they seem to have felt less reason and less opportunity for

writing and keeping texts about themselves. Like those by Van Oostendorp and Klaver, those egodocuments that do survive tend to be reflections on an entire life, written in old age. Up-and-coming groups of lower-educated writers, such as teachers (Baak, Ligthart), trade unionists (Mensing), and professional authors (Van Calcar-Schiotling), could not compensate for this downward movement.

But a gap also existed between the two groups in their travel praxis. Partly, the elite frequented a different selection of places than the rest: different hotels, restaurants, and concerts. They might—although they did not always succeed to—secure access to these selected locations through their wealth, knowledge, identity, appearance, social connections, passports, and letters of recommendation. Still, other places, such as churches, received an interest from travellers across the spectrum of educational and economic positions.

Although the elite had a wider choice of places to go to, other travellers did not necessarily envy them. For where people chose to go depended on where they felt at home. Non-elite travellers did generally feel no need to visit elitist places, and elite travellers were uninterested in most non-elitist locations, even if they *could* enter them. For example, it was possible in most cases for the elite to visit poor neighbourhoods or 'popular' theatres, but they hardly did so, except Van Calcar-Schiotling who took a look at a typical 'bourgeois' restaurant where employers came for their brief dinner.⁷¹¹ An ethnographic interest was also shown by some highly educated travellers in the cottages of the poor, and in institutions such as hospitals and prisons. But they did not spend most of their time there and, as said, their interest was ethnographic rather than 'homely'. This preferential gap, which kept the educational elite apart from the rest during some activities, was much narrower between people of different religious denominations or different occupational milieus, as far as these could be studied through the selected egodocuments. Nor was it considered immoral to transgress these boundaries and mingle.

In other cases, however, entering the places the non-elite frequented must simply have been impossible for elite travellers, because the non-elite commissioned its own gate-keepers. Also, the elite could be as insecure and unknowledgeable as the rest when it came to the proper means of securing access. Van Wassenauer Obdam's awareness of the importance of the correct clothes and jewelry, for example, caused her anxiety. Her and others' anxiety did not

⁷¹¹ Van Calcar-Schiotling, 98.

abate as the century wore on. Visual cues continued to demarcate social boundaries and knowing and adhering to them was vital.

There was considerable fluctuation in whether travellers needed to carry identity documents and whether one's baggage was inspected, upon crossing borders or when applying for postal and other local services. Therefore, the time and money that travellers had to spend on them, fluctuated with it. Remarkably, by the time states came to visit the elite's passports and perhaps also their baggage less frequently, towards the end of the century, travellers had grown more compliant with these authorities. It was less often now that elite travellers undermined their functioning. Earlier, quite a number of them had tried to be treated as an exception by handing out bribes. This suggests that by the second half of the century, surveillance had been implemented so successfully that some states felt they could relinquish passport requirements for wealthy visitors. For non-elite travellers, meanwhile, identity papers remained important throughout the period.

Yet elite travellers were and remained highly dependent physically: privileged but dependent. Others could rely more on their own skills and locomotive power, when it came to swimming, rowing, or climbing for example. In some cases elite travellers really lacked a certain capability. In other cases they could merely not fully exploit their capacities: they could not imagine doing certain things by themselves. Another empowering aspect of non-elite cultures was that they seem to have attached less fear to precipitation. Their travellers felt less pent in by rainy weather—although the evidence for this is as yet slender.

Something similar applies to gender differences. Men accounted for as many as ninety-two per cent of writing travellers from the sixteenth century all the way through to the end of the nineteenth. The first wave of feminism from the 1860s onwards had little to no effect in this regard. Many of the women who did travel were anyhow uninterested in certain places. Kruseman-Ross, Rees van Tets-Gevaets, Roosendael, and Van Wassenaer Obdam did not enjoy scholarly assemblies, academic libraries, and stock or goods exchanges. They were not raised to appreciate these. In such cases they lacked not physical but mental access. This became a problem when they were taken to such places by others: they were forced to spend time with something they could not understand the value of. To men this happened less frequently. As the century progressed, however, it also started to happen less often to women,

possibly because of widening educational opportunities.

Still, women who were interested in these matters, like Van Calcar-Schiotling and Kuyper, reported no problems with reaching them. This was different for cafés and other places of entertainment and banks, post offices, and other locations where affairs were managed. Until at least the late nineteenth century, women's access to them was restricted. Some, such as Krüseman, expressed the wish to be able to visit them without a chaperon. Furthermore, women travelling on their own simply had to enter some of these places if they wanted to travel at all. Others, like Kruseman-Ross and Roosendael, displayed a fascination mixed in with their ostentatious disgust for these 'entertainments and vices'. They nevertheless tended to comply to their obstruction. Women, but also various religious and occupational groups, such as Protestants in Catholic churches, barred themselves from a selection of places and did not question their rules. The reason was that they realized they would not be able to enter them in their preferred role. A respectable lady in a coffee-house at night, or a Calvinist signing herself with a cross to enter the crypt of a Catholic church, was a contradiction in terms.

Another potential obstacle for women but also for children and servants was the fact that when travelling in male company, they had to stick close to it because it carried their identity papers and often their money. There is no evidence that this changed; but nor does it seem to have bothered those whom it left as dependents. Dealing with customs officers and making other practical transactions were unpopular activities, and travellers were glad to be rid of them. At other moments, it was men who depended on women for their access. For women could alter and repair clothes and in this way exert control over the way they and their fellow travellers looked.

In the meantime, it was perfectly legitimate for elite women to travel around Europe without a male chaperon, accompanied only by other women. Some day-trips, moreover, were made by women on their own. Women outside the elite regularly travelled completely by themselves even, such as domestic servants for example. This had been so since at least the start of the nineteenth century. On the contrary, women from the elite were supposed to possess limited physical capacities. They were expected to be needing much more support than gentlemen, and be incapable of climbing or participating in longer walks. This did not

change either, although it varied from country to country. Not all women met these expectations. Some rebelled against them. Nevertheless, this image of gendered capacities hampered the aspirations of most women and limited what others allowed them to do, whether from a genuine concern or a hurt pride.

But if gender differences changed so little over the course of the nineteenth century, then what to make of the First Wave of feminism? How should we place the famous Wilhelmina Drucker and Aletta Jacobs, and indeed the travellers Van Calcar-Schiotling and Krüseman? This remains a complex question, but I would suggest that it primarily shows that a growing number of Dutch women started organizing themselves, creating national and international networks of correspondence. In the 1820s, it seems, mostly Dutch men had done this; in the 1860s, women like Van Calcar-Schiotling had also started building networks. Moreover, they were not just any women. They were women who positioned themselves in a new print market for self-willed characters. An interest was developing in the Netherlands for writers, both men and women, who displayed their dissatisfaction with existing social arrangements. In doing so, they did not shun a strong self-presentation: think of Multatuli and Zola, both much discussed in the Dutch press. Note that this interest in a certain kind of celebrity does not mean that everyone suddenly became an individualist, as modernization theorists have suggested (whatever 'individualist' may mean). As demonstrated in this thesis, women did not grow unequivocally freer in the nineteenth century. Some aspects of their exclusion in fact became institutionalized, such as their lack of the vote or of access to higher education. But the new cultural climate of the later nineteenth century enabled some women to openly defy this institutionalization, or at least force this discrimination to become visible, as did Aletta Jacobs. Whereas readers in the 1820s expected to read travel accounts of a modest and reflective character (occasionally also facetious, such as the one by Lulofs),⁷¹² in the 1860s readers wanted to be confronted with lively narrators, characters with flair, who were cheeky even, carving out a space for themselves abroad. Van Calcar-Schiotling and Krüseman met this demand perfectly, and could thus carve a stage for their reformist ideas.

A continuity that applied to all travellers is that planning one's activities was and remained important if they wanted to enter anywhere and not wait unduly. Travellers had to step in time both with natural rhythms such as the daily setting of the sun, and with local

⁷¹² G. Moll in his introduction to Drieling, vii.

cultural rhythms, though these were specific to the various social groups.

The many new technologies introduced in the nineteenth century, too, did not substantially alter travellers' sense of spatial power. This was because most travellers lacked the imagination to conceive of their mobility very differently from the way it had always been. What they did feel were the differences between technologies that were operating according to plan, and those that broke down. They were, in other words, at their most sensitive when comparing two things they both knew: a broken coach axis with a rolling coach axis, for example, or a crowded street with an empty street. The same was true for money: travellers were more concerned with money they had lost or with money they had expected but failed to earn, than with the greater wealth of others. What they did not know they did not count on, and what they did not count on they did not feel as a lack. When it came to technologies that were new to them, like gas or electric lighting, travellers often paid more attention to their aesthetic value than the empowerment they could bring, for example by making roads safer at night. Unsafety was an important motif in travellers' accounts, but it became neither less nor more prominent as material and social set-ups changed. In fact, throughout the period fear did little to actually deter people from entering the places that they wanted to visit. This makes danger a fine example of a discursive concern as opposed to a practical access factor for nineteenth-century travellers in Europe.

The other, negative and pessimist sides⁷¹³ of the modernization story hold their ground as little as the optimist one, in the light of the quantitative and qualitative investigations carried out in this thesis. 'Travel' did not decay into 'tourism'. Travel had always given rise to commercial initiatives. These were not particular to the nineteenth century, but had sprung up here and there throughout the world whenever a market for them existed. Most travel, furthermore, continued to involve an economic motive, next to various other motives. In the 1820s, classicist Bake had travelled to study manuscripts, for example, fisherman Baak to transact a trade deal, and soldier Kolk to fight the southern independentistas. In the 1900s, seasonal labourer Klaver found work in Germany, journalist Kuyper supplied magazine articles from Rome, and archaeologist Van Hille transcribed inscriptions on the Greek isles. A work component continued to be the norm for travel during the nineteenth and early twentieth

⁷¹³ 'Pessimist' referring to Weber c.s., who believe that individual power has decreased instead of increasing; 'negative' referring to the more generally shared idea that the increased individual power has had a negative effect on human well-being.

centuries.

Nor did travel standardize in the nineteenth century. If anything, travel became more diverse, with a greater spread over various destinations worldwide and a greater spread in the months of departure and return. Although the average journey shortened between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries, an enormous variety in journey duration continued to exist. Journeys lasting more than a year remained relatively common. The briefer journeys, on the other hand, were accomplished not so much by faster movement, but by shorter stays. New modes of transport (improved coaches and sailing-ships, steamboats, trains, trams, bicycles) did not replace old ones, but added to the range of choice available, at least initially. Finally, travellers' interests remained wide. The sites and events they attended ranged from bridges to boarding-schools, from corsos to cathedrals, and from sermons to shops.

Nineteenth-century society did also not turn impersonal or anonymous, considering the behaviour and feelings of travellers. Travellers maintained contacts abroad, met new people, interacted with them face to face, undertook activities with them, and let themselves be assisted on their journeys. Many temporarily became part of existing social circles and institutions. And early-twentieth-century travellers still relied on people more than on texts for their information. Preachers were an especially beloved source of information and support, right up to the First World War. Local people were not replaced by guide-books, tourist agencies from their home country, or publications by transport companies. It was not written text that pointed out where to go, but the spoken word. Most gate-keepers continued to exert personal discretion when taking requests to admission into consideration, even though in popular touristic sites procedures were put in place and forms were designed. Only in the 1900s, signposting was beginning to cover a country like England so densely that personal help ceased to be needed all the time. In the same period, local guides began to organize themselves into associations, such as the Kurverein in Merano mentioned by Kuyper. In those particular cases, travellers slowly learnt to deal with boards and sets of rules rather than with independent guides. This did not lessen the importance of help provided by unpaid acquaintances, however, supplemented by, among others, guides attached to sites. Personal contact remained central.

Again and again, the closely related histories of experiences and individual practices

prove relatively distant from the well-known history of technical inventions and social-political shifts. When a novelty was introduced somewhere, most people in the world did not suddenly adopt this new way of doing things: most did not even hear about it. It did not become integrated in their range of options. And, as we have seen, it was therefore in most cases not even missed. Those new things and techniques that were adopted, meanwhile, often mattered in quite different ways from how we would expect (more about this below). Thus, the Dutch did not suddenly feel masters over their time and space; nor did they become slaves of a new technological and commercial regime. Although the different developments and continuities described here were in many ways connected, they did not result in a single picture of 'modernity'.

The second reason I have for my conclusions is that where large-scale technological developments *did* play a demonstrable role in individual lives, their role was often not one of empowerment or disempowerment. Although preferred means of transport shifted, the increased variety in travellers' destinations was due in the first place to political changes, such as the new imperialism in the case of the Dutch Indies, and not to changes in transport technology. The slow and partial replacement of independent guides and gate-keepers with their own personal discretion, by rules and standard procedures, did not generally trouble travellers. Indeed, it depended on the traveller whether a system of personal connections and communications were more advantageous to them than a system 'ohne Ansehen der Person' ('without regard to the person'). It was even so that new lighting technologies were described by travellers as spectacular sooner than practical or liberating.

Much of this can be ascribed to the fact that most writing travellers were wealthy and paid others to perform their physical work for them. To them, it did not matter so much how a task was performed, as long as the job was done. Note that all of this pertains to individual travel and access. In different areas of life, where technologies made huge qualitative leaps, like in anaesthetics, or where scale induced investors to monitor efficiency more closely, like in market production or warfare, the choice of technology had an enormous influence on the opportunities of the elite. But in travel and also at home, it was those who worked for the elite that probably reaped the greatest benefits from technological changes: the water pipe

networks that began to be laid, the closed stoves in kitchens, and the first (hand-operated) washing-machines. Naturally, it would last much longer before these workers would find these provisions in their own households. It is true that the standards to which their work must comply may have risen just as hard as its efficiency improved, which would have nullified the advantage.⁷¹⁴ However, this is not noticeable in the documents studied here. Besides, the work-days of those paid by the hour were slowly growing shorter in the second half of the century, which suggests that the advantages were indeed also for them and not just their employers.

Only in such cases as the growing network of surfaced roads did individuals from the elite use the greater spatial options that these technologies offered them. Transport infrastructures became not in the first place faster, but denser, more reliable, and more efficient. This made scheduling easier and distances less daunting, thus stimulating the elite to discover new courses for travel. Still, some European destinations could continue to feel as far away, in spite of good infrastructures, because of cultural differences. Rain and other precipitation had also been a serious obstacle to mobility in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The surfacing of roads, but also a new etiology of diseases that made people worry less about the wet and the cold, were probably the causes that made people feel able to leave their homes and hotels more often than their predecessors had used to feel. The younger generation of travellers in the 1860s, consisting of, among others, Mensing and Evers, already displayed the beginnings of this change, which persevered in the 1900s. Technological shifts and especially the increasing cultivation and exploitation of land in the Netherlands may also have played a role in the growing appreciation of wild landscapes and sea swimming around 1900. These, however, would be cases of the new economy and technology creating new demands, rather than facilitating access to their supply. It was the many *visible* technological developments, as well as economic, aesthetic and ethical changes such as these, which spurred the authors of 'modernity' to posit the arrival of a behavioural and experiential modernity.

714 Moky, 'Why "More Work for Mother?"', is about rising standards of care and cleanliness within the home. His title refers to R.S. Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York, 1983), 173-81. This classic, however, is more about the shift of the duties of servants, husbands, and others, to the housewife, than about standards themselves rising, although the housewife was seen as inherently delivering better goods than others.

In many of the cases passing by in this thesis, access desires and access opportunities matched. In other words, most travellers were not continuously longing for places they would probably never enter anyhow. This is because previous experiences and previous capabilities had become anchored in their bodies and brains. Expectations and desires were formed by what had proven possible to realize in the past. It does not make sense to say that nineteenth-century 'modern' desires were alien to humankind or supplanted 'natural' needs, because in fact they were quite 'natural' for the culture they were part of. The other part of the explanation is that the majority of travellers did not want to contest the social 'system' they were living in. No traveller wondered, for example, why appearance should form part of their admission procedure. Nor did they question their own subjectivity: their identity, their desires. Travellers, and, we may speculate, people in general, tended to be little critical of their freedoms where they were not intimately acquainted with any alternatives. Only a very few were visionaries, dreamers, rebels.

Yet this does not take away from the fact that smaller contests played their part in all journeys. Hardly anybody completely submitted to the norms and rules they were confronted with; not least because these norms and rules frequently contradicted each other. Normative regimes were (and are) internally inconsistent. This explains that even those desires that harmonized with part of a normative regime, could not always be fulfilled within that regime. The idea exists that before modernization, people used to be more acquiescing. This is a false idea because there has never been a perfectly working provision matching desires with opportunities. Most travellers may not have wanted to overthrow social conventions, but they nevertheless struggled to realize their 'legal', their 'healthy' desires: desires that were considered 'normal' according to the ethics and aesthetics they were raised with. For individuals did generally not make up their own ideals: their society contained a repertoire of ideals. One might call this the *Zeitgeist*, but it was a multiple *Zeitgeist* with lots of conflict and choice. Ideals stuck to persons with greater or lesser ease depending on a person's character and the ideals of the people surrounding them. The pleasures of nightlife, for example, were hard for women to ignore if they were flaunted before the brothers or fathers whom they were travelling with. Mixed messages abounded. In the meantime, people made an effort to maintain their selfhood, their identity and self-respect. This explains the 'peculiar

experience' some ladies underwent in cafés. Through their behaviour and through their texts, a person was continuously forging themselves into a certain kind of person, while at the same time doing their best to get what they wanted, such as drinking something at a café.

What was considered a normal desire or a respectable identity was of course unstable. It could be influenced by a careful transgression of rules, as exemplified in various passages of Krüseman's letters. Such careful transgression demanded a rhetorical effort. Even if travellers felt they had to *break* a rule to get something done, they did not talk about *changing* the rules. Rather, they phrased it as being temporarily excused from a rule, a rule which in their case was not so important anyhow, and similar reasonings. They were hindered in these efforts by those who did not wish to acknowledge the normative inconsistencies in their society. Even the careful transgressions of Krüseman were too much for many readers in the Netherlands.

This thesis has tried to demonstrate, however, that among the legitimate desires of the Dutch and many other European societies, a certain freedom of movement was highly valued in the nineteenth century; also by women, also by labourers, and also by the protocol-ground nobility. There were many places where people of all sorts wanted to go, even when that was not self-evident. And they made an effort to get there, *without* causing a revolution. The inhabitants of the nineteenth century were not content. But they were realistic. And they were creative.

The impression may have been created that non-elite travellers, who had fewer opportunities than the educational elite, wanted to do quite different things. But many spatial ideals were widely shared among different social groups. Almost all writing travellers, of whatever economic, religious, gender, occupational, or age position, wanted to visit parks, churches, audiovisual entertainments, and a range of other types of places. It was within these types that a considerable variation existed as to the places that would and could be visited. For different groups (as well as individuals) had different tastes and different imaginations: they liked different theatrical plays, for example, and different restaurants. They felt at home in different places. The various groups also each had their own capacities for achieving these ideals. Their capacities, after all, informed what they wanted. But these differences apart, social groups

encountered an almost identical set of obstacles and had recourse to the same types of resources: the documents that helped them cross borders and doorsteps, a correct social identity and appearance, personal contacts and communications, money, and the proper material outfit and bodily fitness. Perhaps surprisingly, the only important access factor that set the elite apart was the weather, which they seem to have been so much more sensitive to. Still, my findings offer little room for a great-divide theory which supposes the sudden growth of a cultural gap between the powerful and the rest in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Living in an urban society,⁷¹⁵ working, praying, and reading together in a language everyone understood,⁷¹⁶ the different groups in the Netherlands developed partly shared aspirations. Also, many mothers of the less affluent would have worked as servants in the homes of the wealthy during their youth, imbibing their tastes and habits and passing them on to their own families—as well as leaving their mark on their employers' households. From our present perspective, the farther these nineteenth-century events retreat into the past, the less significant the differences look between a 'popular' and an elite opera, or between the ways different touristic groups viewed a castle. Politically, these distinctions were highly significant at the time, but when considering tastes and desires as they influenced personal experiences, perhaps we had better speak of a *little* cultural divide. The divide was much bigger when it came to the means that individuals had at their disposal to realize these wishes. This also applies to gender inequities. But the overall social commonality in desires and strategies that travel egodocuments present, ties in with some of the findings in earlier studies of nineteenth-century Europe. Those who did not live in university-educated families were not necessarily less sensitive to being bereaved of their children, for instance,⁷¹⁷ and did not experience religion very differently from the elite.⁷¹⁸ In sum, if this thesis started out with questioning the differences between bourgeois and aristocratic ideals, even those between the elite and the rest of society have proven relatively small in the nineteenth-century Netherlands. And all these

715 Urbanization was at a level of between thirty and fifty per cent in the nineteenth-century Netherlands, with between ten and twenty per cent living in cities of more than a hundred thousand inhabitants: Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen mensen*, 17-9; 'Bevolking, huishoudens en bevolkingsontwikkeling; vanaf 1899', *Statline*, statline.cbs.nl, acc. 26 July 2012. Most travellers studied here came from these towns, and even more Dutch inhabitants frequented them.

716 This does not apply to the substantial Catholic minority of the northern Netherlands who attended Latin mass. No travellers from the Catholic non-elite feature in this thesis. This group deserves further study.

717 Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 214.

718 Van Rooden, 'Oral History', 4, who also refers to C.G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (London, 2001).

travellers made use of their possessions, their abilities, their relations, and their knowledge, to try and move around in a world as they liked to see it.

Appendix

Overview of selected journeys, writings, and travellers

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
								1815-1834
Jan Ackersdijk	's Hertogenbosch, 1790	m	economist and statistician	yes	apparently faithful neat copy of his diary, which he used for personal reminiscing but also to extract scholarly data for publications from; in Dutch	draft version: during journey	travelling from his temporary home in Vienna he journeyed to a.o. Szered (Sered'), Buda, Pest, Presburg (Bratislava), Chemnitz, Kremnitz (Kremnica), Raab (Győr)	1823 (2-19 November)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Maarten Baak	Scheveningen, 1779	m	fisher, lay preacher, author of pamphlets, father	no	autobiography, reflecting on his sins and requesting absolution, and intended for his friends and relatives to remember him by and honour God's grace in his life; in Dutch	written in old age; the journey part seems to have been based on an earlier travel account	Antwerpen, Gent, Dendermonde, Brussel	1820 (19 June-2 July)
John Bake	Leiden, 1787	m	Classics professor, father	yes	letters to his wife; in Dutch	during the journey, at least once a day whenever possible; sent home every few days	a.o. Heidelberg, Zürich, Milaan, Genua (Genova), Turijn, Chamounix, Genève	1830 (11 June-c. 31 August)
Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the elder	Utrecht, 1797	m	lawyer, rentier, position in local government (patrician)	yes	part of a series of accounts and notes he took on the journeys he made, probably in order to remember things that interested him artistically or technically; in Dutch	just after his journey, possibly on the basis of notes taken during the journey	Londen	1829 (17 March-10 April)
Charles Théodore Jean de Constant Rebecque	Berlin, 1805	m	schoolboy, educated at home (lower nobility)	yes	diary, possibly written under supervision of his parents/tutor, for learning a.o. geography and socializing into polite behaviour, and perhaps also as a writing exercise, and as a memento; in French	during the journey, possibly every few days	a.o. Bruxelles, Courtray (Kortrijk)	1819 (15 June-17 July)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Frederik Hendrik Cornelis Drieling	Utrecht, 1805	m	doctor in law and painter	yes	original diary written for himself; later asked by friends and acquaintances to make available to a wider audience (at least this is what he wrote, but such statements were a conventional safeguard); in Dutch	this version written retrospectively, yet closely based on extensive contemporaneous notes, with some useful information, seemingly for future travellers, added after his return	a.o. Schaffhausen, Domaso, Milaan, Geneve, Neuchatel, Bazel	1829 (2 July-29 September)
Tjeerd Harmens Kolk	Aldebiltsyl (provincie Fryslân), 1805	m	civic guard ('schutter') and to become a shopkeeper	no	seems to be a first letter home, to his entire community; including a short lyrical poem, inspired by his battalion's flag; in Dutch	seems to be halfway journey	a.o. the villages Zeelst and Knegsel, Eindhoven, Hasselt	1831 (18 February-?)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Anna Maria (Maria) Kruseman, born Ross	Behele (provincie Noord-Brabant), 1808	f	mother and probably assistant of her husband in his colonial administrative function	yes	diary, kept every few days, for sake of sister-in-law and to help her and her children reminisce; unclear whether originally intended for print; in Dutch	retrospective edition following her contemporaneous notes	a.o. Baden (Baden-Baden), Straatsburg, Parijs, Brussel	1832-1833 (11 June-16 February)
Barthold Hendrik Lulofs	Zutphen, 1787	m	professor in historical linguistics, father	yes	to serve as a passe-temps to contemporary readers: he was a proliferate author and felt the 'lust' to write about his journey; possibly to earn something by this publication; also to find a wide audience for his historical-linguistic and literary reflections; in Dutch	he kept a diary during his journey which he embellished during the two summers after, shaping it into a series of letters written to a friend	Hamburg	1826 (July or August-?)
Johannes van Oostendorp	Amsterdam, 1810	m	shipyard worker/shipwright	no	memoir containing religious reflection, especially on guilt incurred during suppression of Belgian independence war; probably also to record these significant events and explain and justify himself to posterity; in Dutch	probably during old age, or at least after c. 1840	Brussel, Antwerpen, Saint Omer	1830-1834 (29 August-June?)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Henrica Françoise Rees van Tets, born Gevaets	Dordrecht, 1788	f	travelling and self-educating woman, probably assisting her husband in his governmental work or collecting of paintings (patrician)	yes	as an aid to reminiscing experiences and ideas; to extend her artistic knowledge; and possibly also to remember practical details for her own future journies; in French	probably during journey, and if not, this was a faithful copy of extensive notes taken during journey	a.o. Paris, Orléans, Bordeaux, Tarbes, Biarritz, Cauterets, Montpellier, Nîmes, Marseille, Avignon, Lyon, Genève, towns along the Rhine	1819 (2 April-c. November)
Jacoba Roosendaal	Dalfsen (province Overijssel), 1799	f	probably assisting her mother in housekeeping and preparing for marriage	yes	diary, probably for her own and her family's reminiscing; draft version which was to form the basis of two different neat versions later on at home; in Dutch	during journey, every few days	a.o. Antwerpen, Gent, Brussel, Parijs, Molhausen (Mulhouse), Bazel, Baden (Baden-Baden), Zürich, Constan (Konstanz), Schaffhausen, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Keulen (Köln), Aken	1820 (28 June -8 October?)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Marie Cornélie van Wassenauer Obdam	Ams terdam, 1799	f	lady-in-waiting in training, to the Dutch Crown princess, and running her own estate (high nobility)	yes	diary for the pleasure, later on, of her cousins and perhaps other family members; in French	she kept a diary during the journey, on which she based this version of a year later: usually quite literally with no editing; sometimes interspersed with later additions	a.o. Weimar, Saint-Pétersbourg, Gatchina, Königsberg (Kaliningrad or Chojna), Francfort, Cologne, Bruxelles	1824-1825 (10 August-23 September)
Cunera Cornelia Wilkens born Hubert	Rott erdam, 1786	f	mother, perhaps assistant to her husband (patrician)	yes	diary and some practical lists; written together with her c. eleven-years-old son, probably partly for pedagogical purposes; in French and some Dutch	during the journey, with some minor additions made later on the same document	a.o. Anvers, Bruxelles, Namur, Liège, Spa, Aix-la-Chapelle, Crefeld, Clèves	1820 (25 July-29 August)
								1855-74
Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the elder	Utre cht, 1797	m	lawyer, rentier, position in local government (patrician)	yes	part of a series of accounts and notes he took on the journeys he made, apparently in order to remember things that interested him artistically or technically; in Dutch	after his journey?, possibly on the basis of notes taken during the journey	Londen, Parijs, Bruxelles	1860 (9 June 1860-3 August)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the younger	Leusden (province Utrecht), 1850	m	local and commercial administrator, philanthropist (patrician)	yes	travel account, possibly as a memory aid for himself; in Dutch	during his journey	Dresden, Leipzig, Praag, Berlijn, Hannover	1871 (before 12-after 26 June)
Eliza Carolina Ferdinand a (Elise) van Calcar, born Fleischacker, named Schiotling	Amsterdam, 1822	f	governess, professional author, educational reformer	half (she was the child of an originally unmarried, possibly non-elite mother; later, she married an entrepreneur)	a diary for family and friends and for those who can never visit Paris themselves; probably also to earn money by sales; in Dutch	created during her journey, polished afterwards	Brussel, Parijs	1858 (c. 2-c. 29 September)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Jan Willem Staats Evers	Arnhem, 1828	m	lawyer, local historian, and in local and regional politics	yes	book began as a set of lecture notes, at the request of friends (like with Drieling and Perk possibly purely conventional), but which grew too long for a lecture; a main aim is to guide future travellers; a more implicit aim is to impress his readers with his knowledge; in Dutch	created a publishable narrative one and a half years after his journey, but based on daily and even more frequent notes	a.o. Parijs, Lyon, Marseille, Genua, Rome, Napels, Florence, Bologna, Venetië, Wenen, Praag, Dresden, Berlijn	1870 (27 January-6 May)
Anna Maria Ernestine Louise (Ernestine) Huydecoper	Zeist, 1853	f	probably being educated and preparing for marriage, perhaps assisting her mother in housekeeping (lower nobility)	yes	two letters to her sister Louise/Loes at home, a.o. to wish her a happy birthday; her sister is to extend her greetings to the entire family; in French	during her journey	a.o. Bad Ems	1869 (before 26 July, probably even before 12 July- <i>c.</i> 4 September)
Wilhelmina Jacoba Pauline Rudolphine (Mina) Krüseman	Velp (province Gelderland), 1839	f	singer and pianist, music student	yes	letters to various persons, informing them, reassuring them, airing her problems to them; she published her letters because she felt the need to justify herself; possibly also to earn by them; in Dutch and French	she made a generous though censored selection of the letters she had written from Paris and published these a few years later	travelling from her father's home in Brussels: Parijs	1870 (late March-between 15 August and 5 September)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Maria Anna Catharina (Marie) Mensing	Den Haag, 1854	f	perhaps still learning for primary-school teacher; perhaps helping in her parents' bookshop; perhaps already engaged as a private teacher	no	to remember her journey by; possibly also for those close to her; and perhaps also as part of her (geography/didactic) education: she travelled with a 'jufvrouw': probably a governess or teacher, or perhaps a nurse (Friedrichroda was a health resort); in Dutch	during her journeys, an entry every few days	Friedrichroda	1872 (on or perhaps shortly after 19 July- after 18 August)
Marie Adrien Perk	Delft, 1834	m	preacher, father, member of various philanthropist and patriotic associations	yes	this account grew over the years, beginning as a lecture to one of his societies, next additioned for a journal and finally, after requests, turned into a book (like with Drieling, this might be conventional); an explicit aim was to stimulate others (from the elite) to travel to Italy, and to offer practical advice to those who intended to do so; in Dutch	the years following his journey, based on daily notes taken during the journey and on existing publications	o.a. Chur, Milano, Genua, Genève, Bern, Parijs	1861 (17 July?-late August or early September)

[illegible]

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Analephis (a pseudonym)	unknown	m	seems to be a priest	unknown	account describing the Lourdes Easter festivities of 1908, serving to comfort the bereaved, check apostates, and remind the thankful of their gratitude (the text is thus able to transfer something of Lourdes's powers to its readers); also to defend Lourdes and pilgrimage against their secular and skeptical detractors; in Dutch	just after his return to the Netherlands	Lourdes	1908 (c. 14-c. 23 April)
Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the younger	Leusden, 1850	m	local and commercial administrator, philanthropist (patrician)	yes	travel account, possibly as a memory aid for himself; in Dutch	during his journey	Hamburg, Berlijn, Dresden	probably 1911 (7 September-after 19 September)
probably Carel Fredrik Gülcher	Den Haag or Amsterdam, 1890	m	schoolboy	yes	diary, perhaps a didactic exercise; in Dutch	during his journey	a.o. Keulen (Cologne), Aken, Coblenz, Wiesbaden, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Baden-Baden, Straatsburg	1902 (6-27 August)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Gillis Ernst Willem (Ernst) van Hille	Zaandam, 1872	m	Latin and Greek teacher, archaeologist	yes	article in liberal literary magazine De Gids, probably meant to share his enthusiasm and acquaint Netherlanders with two Greek islands; in Dutch	probably written during the year after his journey, based on notes taken during the journey	the islands Kephallenía, Leukás/Santa Maura, and Ithaka	1901 (beginning-end of June)
Imke Klaver	grew up in Bontebok (province Fryslân), 1880	m	farm and construction labourer	no	his memoirs, recorded for his children; in Frisian	over several years in his seventies, using existing notes and publications	Düsseldorf, Duisburg, Oberhausen, Bochum, Witten, Lünen, Buderich	1899, 1900, 1901, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1908 (always between one week and eight months)
Henriëtte Sophia Suzanna Kuyper	Amsterdam, 1870	f	had wanted to attend university but instead helped mother housekeeping; autodidact; housekeeper/secretary to her father Abraham Kuyper/the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands; travelled, lectured	yes	series of articles for a Protestant family magazine, in the form of letters sent from her destination every few days; unclear whether she earned anything by them or was volunteering in the project of a Protestant popular education; in Dutch	during her journey	a.o. Meran, Bologna, Rome, Florence, Venetië	1908 (probably 19 March-after c. 8 June)

name	born	gender	occupation up to/inc. journey	grown up among university-educated	form and intended audience	moment of writing	towns visited (travellers' spelling)	moment of journey(s)
Gerard Jan (Jan) Ligthart	Amsterdam, 1859	m	primary-school teacher and director, educational reformer, author of didactic literature	no	originally a series of articles for a educational-reformist journal: directed to parents, teachers, didacticists; aimed implicitly to promote his educational ideas, but also to acquaint his readers with Sweden; Ligthart at first felt it to be too 'intimate' to offer to the general public; in Dutch	after his return to the Netherlands, using mementos from the journey	Bremen, Göteborg, Stockholm, Norrköping, Lund, Malmö, Kopenhagen, Roskilde	1910 (September-November)
Catharina (Kate, Cathy) Romein, born Ter Marsch	Hengelo, 1862	f	Sunday-school teacher, housekeeper, art student	no	shared diary in two handwritings (mostly hers), begun on their honeymoon and continued afterwards; in Dutch	during their journey	a.o. London	1903 (8-after 13 May)
Jan Julius (Jule) Romein	Leeuwarden, 1862	m	marine, factory board member	no			a.o. Kleef/Cleve	1906 (26 September-10 October)

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Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren, www.dbnl.org.

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For an overview of the selected journeys and travellers please see the appendix.

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International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, archief J. Romein, inventarisnummer 725.

International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, archief Muijzenberg-Willemsse, inventarisnummer 104 (a.o. Marie Mensing's 1872 travel account).

Den Haag

Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, Den Haag, Familiearchief 00374, inventarisnummers 72, 95 (a.o. Cunera Cornelia Wilkens-Hubert's 1820 travel account and lists. In the inventory to this archive, these papers have been wrongly attributed to Henriëtte Boonen).

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- Leiden*
- University Library, Leiden, Special Collections BPL 2540 (John Bake's letters to Johanna Bake-Van Royen, sent in 1830).
- London*
- Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Textiles Collections, shoes and boots AP40-1860, T509(&A)-1913, T512(&A)-1913, T455-1920, T190(&A)-1927: all from the period 1800-1850.
- Luzern*
- Verkehrshaus der Schweiz, Luzern, permanent display, Halle Strassenverkehr, visited 30 Aug. 2008.
- Oxford*
- Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection; Dioramas 1 (77), Dioramas 2 (17a), Dioramas 3 (44, 48, 49, 52, 53, 56), London Play Places 8 (27c, 28g, 30a, 32a, 34a).
- Unterseen*
- Touristik-Museum der Jungfrau-Region, Unterseen, permanent display, visited 3 Sep. 2008.
- Utrecht*
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- University Library, Utrecht, Special Collections Hs 1316/4 inventarisnummer VII and partly VIII, and Hs 1317/1&2 OC 30&31 (a.o. Jan Ackersdijck's diary of 1823).

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