

# Travel and Space in Nineteenth-Century Europe

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## Chapter 5

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### Cleanliness as progress

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## 5 Cleanliness as progress

### Introduction

After having encountered dirt in any location imaginable in the previous chapter, we now turn to the position that cleanness, spaciousness, regularity, and (the right degree of) ornamentation occupied within the broader landscape of nineteenth-century European spatial values. First, conflicts with other values such as homeliness will be mapped out. These only posed a small threat, however, to the sovereignty of cleanliness and its associated qualities. The bulk of the chapter, therefore, will address the question why inhabitants of the nineteenth century, and in particular those traveling and those writing, minded dirt and messiness so much. Finally, the chapter will assess long-term changes in travelers' obsession with cleanliness, focusing on the question whether the increase in fastidiousness suggested in the historical literature is supported by this corpus at all.

### Limits

It was rare but not impossible for travelers to consider an act of cleaning or its result, a clean environment, as inhibiting the realization of other key values. Dutch educationalist Elise van Calcar-Schiotling, for instance, used her published travelogue to censure Parisian shopkeepers for cleaning their premises on a Sunday, inside *and* out (and therefore publicly visible). She preferred that they keep due Sunday rest. Similarly, some Dutch women, too, attached too much value to laundering, in her opinion, which distracted them from their proper duty: religious devotion and care of their soul.<sup>1</sup> Lawyer Jan Willem Evers uttered a related but different critique in his published account. He was pleasantly surprised by the cleanness, order, and comfort of a prison he visited, but also a little afraid that the humanity of its design would turn convicts without an occupation lazy and undisciplined: he preferred the sections for working prisoners. In other words, the pleasures of a clean space might get in the way of industriousness, that key bourgeois virtue.<sup>2</sup>

Another conflict in values is embodied by the chamber pot, mentioned only occasionally in nineteenth-century travelers' accounts but likely present

in most of their bedrooms. We may speculate that, as flushed indoor toilets slowly took over from portable pots, having a full pot under one's bed or bedroom chair until it was emptied out in the morning came to be considered as unhygienic and unattractive; such was certainly the case in most of Europe by the end of the twentieth century, but this probably only formed the end point of a slow transition. In the early years of the nineteenth century, however, a full chamber pot was clearly still preferred to nightly visits to the privy. This should not surprise too much, considering that the bedroom pot was nearer, warmer, and less rat-ridden. Yet it suggests that the attachment to physical comfort was greater in certain areas of life than were disgust or a fear of disease, and that a conflict between these two values was fought out over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A final limitation on the prevailing high cleanliness standards, and one that particularly affected women, was presented by concerns for privacy. As discussed in Chapter 3, the female travelers collected here do not mention bathing in the bathrooms of their lodgings, nor do bath houses often seem to have catered for them. Instead, they washed at the washstand in their own room. It seems that many European women felt that bathing outside their own home or room would be unrespectable, and even within their accommodation any male presence first had to leave. Still, this washing often did not involve soaking but only washing the face, neck, and underarms. Even the most prestigious home-building projects in France, country of design innovations, often contained no bathrooms until the final third of the nineteenth century. They did contain washrooms.<sup>3</sup> Considering the pleasure people took in bathing, as well as their attachment to cleanness, this prioritizing of decency may have meant a considerable deprivation to women, although they never mention this in their accounts.

Perhaps more consciously, travelers ran into the limits of their own appreciation of large, open, and regularly shaped spaces. Spaces were denounced if they were perceived as exceeding a properly human scale: if they did not just provide the space needed to fulfill its functions and to offer a pleasant aspect, but overshot the mark and became boastful, tiresome, or overwhelming.<sup>4</sup> The precise tipping point at which this happened was likely a function of the architecture a traveler was used to at home. In 1824, Dutch Marie Cornélie countess of Wassenaer Obdam criticized the grandness, emptiness, and "great uniformity" of Saint Petersburg's street plan in her diary. The few people she saw "were lost in the space".<sup>5</sup> In 1865, British Catherine North called Turin "not memorable for beauty or interest, only for big peaches and for the monotony of composition in its streets".<sup>6</sup> That there was indeed an uncertain equilibrium was made explicit by Jan Willem Evers in 1870, as he claimed that the "geometric and neat/[clean]" town of Menton in France ran the risk of becoming *too* "monotonous". This was certainly the case of the suburbs of Vienna.<sup>7</sup> Preacher Marie Adrien Perk uttered a similar criticism in 1861: towns could be planned *too* regular in his opinion, leading to a stiff formality; although, he added, some people liked this.<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, size, openness, and regularity stood in diametric opposition to another important cluster of nineteenth-century spatial values, containing domesticity and picturesqueness. The importance of domesticity has been explored in Chapter 2. The picturesque may be conceptualized as its counterpart out of doors: landscapes furnished in a homely manner were picturesque. It is well attested that nineteenth-century travelers appreciated the picturesque and the romantic in their destinations, as they appreciated them in the art they viewed and the literature they read.<sup>9</sup> We do indeed find a fair amount of praise for picturesque outdoor spaces in the texts collected here, too. Some of these leaned toward a friendly picturesque, focusing on the variety of landscape elements and their pleasant composition. Others toward a dramatic, romantic picturesque focused on starker contrasts.<sup>10</sup> What is important to note, however, is that whereas space and regularity were considered laudable almost everywhere and only went too far in exceptional circumstances, the picturesque was desirable only in specific cases.

Here, we come full circle to some of the examples offered at the beginning of these two chapters on dirt and cleanliness. The dirty, fuming, crooked Genoa and Chur, as described by Perk and Evers, were immediately followed in their accounts by some “picturesque” images that this city and town also offered. It becomes easier to understand this juxtaposition when we see that the disorderly elements that were critiqued were of a different kind than the elements that were praised, even though the latter were defined by a varied and irregular aspect as well (though not by dirt). Perk suggested Chur could offer picturesque views because of the landscape that surrounded it. The same is seen in Professor John Bake’s letters: the mineral baths in Schlangenbad were embarrassingly “common”—Bake writes he would not like to be found using them, using a highly apt metaphor: “I would not have my picture drawn there”—but its location in the valley was, on the contrary, “very romantic”. Time and again, the picturesque was about the *situation* of a space, or about the quaint people moving *within* that space. As Evers wrote, “I wished to have been a painter [!] in order to immortalize those types.” To give an example of a slightly different kind of observation that nevertheless attests to a similar juxtaposition: when Elise van Calcar-Schiotling found Paris’s Place de la Concorde both majestic and homey, this was because the design of the space as a whole was grand, but it was peopled by human sculptures. So, almost every time picturesqueness was valued, especially in the earlier texts, it was because it was encountered in a space dominated by natural elements. A degree of chaos was enjoyed when it concerned elements beyond travelers’ own lives, beyond the pale of civilization. These elements included both plants and (non-human) animals on the one hand, and touristically interesting human specimens from the working classes on the other: after all, to the tourist, both formed part of the natural world to an extent.

Meanwhile, streets and squares, buildings, and facilities had better conform to those qualities that were identified over and over again in the previous chapter. The picturesque was fine, so long as it did not come too close

and define the very space travelers were in. This only changed as the nineteenth century turned into the twentieth, by which time, if we follow Abraham Mossel's published account, Chur's crooked, narrow lanes were no longer disgusting and merely marked the town as "old".<sup>11</sup> Still, what we should take away from this is that despite the huge appreciation in the secondary literature for the traveler's notion of the picturesque, the picturesque posed its limits on the appreciation of spatiality and regularity surprisingly little in the nineteenth century. Making sense of this will be my task in the next sections.

Finally, luxury fittings were at times considered out of place. In Chapter 2, we encountered travelers such as Van Calcar-Schiotling who enjoyed visiting local homes, but they could be critical visitors, at the same time. Van Calcar-Schiotling, for instance, objected to the theatricality of certain Parisian homes, which contained a lot of tasteful knick-knacks, to be sure, but lacked homeliness.<sup>12</sup> When uttering such critiques, travelers could tap into a long European tradition of asceticism, ranging from Diogenes through the Church Fathers and medieval monastic reformers to eighteenth-century moral debates, all condemning luxury under such rubrics as *vanitas*, greed, unnecessary material pleasures, and ostentation.<sup>13</sup> Not only did this give ample ammunition for moral criticism; expensive, fashionable objects could also work against a sense of homeliness, as Van Calcar-Schiotling experienced.

In sum, we are dealing with highly fuzzy dichotomies. Although homeliness was linked with cleanliness which in turn could be associated with spaciousness and newness and so on to splendor; homeliness and splendor also functioned as opposites. That homeliness and splendor could be opposites is also clear in Dutch Catholic priest Analephis's promotional account of Lourdes in France, one of Europe's most important pilgrimage destinations of the time. This turned Lourdes's "lack of comfort, opulence or ease", into a genuine advertisement. The text implied that the town repelled those who were not hardy and sincere in their religious aims. Those who did come and stay felt immediately at home, Analephis wrote.<sup>14</sup> While Analephis promoted northern Catholicism, his colleague, Calvinist organizer Henriëtte Kuyper, also found occasion in her travel experiences to impress upon her Dutch readers that cleanliness, calm, honesty, friendliness, and intimacy should be valued higher in a restaurant or hotel and its staff than plush or gold or an army of waiters at one's table.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Christian-socialist-inclined teacher Jan Ligthart and atheist socialist Abraham Mossel consistently praised simplicity in their accounts.<sup>16</sup>

The concentration of such passages toward the end of the period under scrutiny suggests that historian Anton Schuurman is right in saying that Dutch furnishing ideals inflected toward simplicity around 1900.<sup>17</sup> As consumption goods became increasingly available to ever-widening groups of buyers,<sup>18</sup> a proto-modernist undercurrent may have been on the rise with the intellectual elite, one that preferred sincerity to ostentation, simplicity to abundance, modesty to luxury, doing-it-yourself to shopping. If so, it was a

new way of giving meaning to old ideals: those of domesticity, cleanliness, and a sense of space.

### **Dirt for difference**

The previous chapter was filled with examples of associations of dirt with certain cultures and subcultures. It would not be difficult to add many more. In the late eighteenth century, for instance, James Boswell's Hebrides account had the English Mr Scott speak of "Scottish cleanliness", obviously meaning dirt.<sup>19</sup> In the first half of the nineteenth century, Christian (and Pomeranian) Johanna Schopenhauer associated dirt with (central European) Jewish neighborhoods, in a published travelogue.<sup>20</sup> Around the same time, Bake called much-maligned Chur a regular "hole despite [...] being Protestant".<sup>21</sup> Eighty years later again, Dutch Henriëtte Kuyper, on a train to Italy, wrote to the readers of her travel articles at home: "It is clearly visible that we are approaching the South. [...] ... filthiness. Every hour of steaming takes us—also in a figurative sense—miles farther from Hollandish cleanliness."<sup>22</sup>

We see several axes of difference emerge. First, travelers from the North Sea area generally found their home country to be cleaner than foreign regions, with a distinct association of southern and, to a lesser extent, eastern Europe, with dirt. Second, dirt was occasionally linked to a location's prevailing faith.<sup>23</sup> This happened perhaps surprisingly infrequently, however, in a sample of mostly Protestants traveling among Catholics. Although historians have demonstrated the strong links made in didactic and political texts between "cleanliness" and "godliness",<sup>24</sup> and although dirt was clearly morally denounced in nineteenth-century travelogues, this denunciation only rarely received an explicitly religious character from the writers examined here. Third, people in certain occupations were considered unclean, about which more later. And, fourth, and overwhelmingly, so were people who possessed less wealth than the observer themselves (Figure 5.1). The same trans-class mechanisms shaped travelers abroad as they did the curious elite who went slumming in the poor quarters of their own cities. Both places could be equally exotic.<sup>25</sup> Finally, all of these axes might be playing a role at the same time in, for instance, Christians' ethnicizing judgments of Jews and sedentary visitors' judgments of nomads such as Roma.<sup>26</sup>

Some scholars have concluded from such evidence that the Dutch, for instance, or the Germans, or perhaps those living on the North European Plain, were a cleaner bunch of people than other Europeans.<sup>27</sup> But look at what Dutch traveler Jacoba Roosendaal wrote in her diary on returning home from Germany, in the same decade as Schopenhauer:

one can observe from the cleanness that one is leaving Germany already [...] it cannot well be described how much joy it gave us to see the first Fatherlandish city we entered so spaciouly and Neatly built and here discover the Hollandish cleanliness[.]<sup>28</sup>



*Figure 5.1* Wealthy travelers would break for the night or for a meal at the homes of less well-to-do locals. Although this print emphasizes friendly relations and the touristic spectacle offered by local nature and culture, in their accounts, wealthy travelers often criticized the interiors and the domestic habits of these locals. Jules Louis Frédéric Villeneuve, “Vue d’un chalet, près du Giesbach. (Canton de Berne)”, in Godefroy Engelmann, *Lettres sur la Suisse* (Paris: Engelmann, 1823–1832), as sold by Antiquariat Clemens Paulusch on Abebooks.

For each supposedly clean region in Europe, travel writing thus also offers examples of dirtiness, such as in this case for middle western Germany. Most travelers simply turned their home into their benchmark. Clearly, in cases like these, we are not dealing with different levels of cleanness (i.e., certain places being cleaner than others); we are dealing with prejudice and chauvinism. Yet it would be wrong to reduce travelers’ accounts to discourse, and to pay attention only to their chauvinism.<sup>29</sup> Experience and materiality played a role, too—I will come back to real material differences between cultures at the end of the chapter—and, as seen in the previous chapter, travelers also passed positive judgment on foreign places, whether in surprise (showing travelers’ openness to empirical observation, even when their expectations were chauvinistic) or in affirmation (this was much rarer, but one Dutch

traveler associated cleanliness with Englishness, for instance).<sup>30</sup> Still, for now it is important to recognize that travelers tended on the whole to connect dirt with anyone who was different, whether geoculturally, economicoculturally, ethnically, religiously, or in terms of their professional or other behavioral choices. In doing so, they only increased the difference: they were actively othering the people they observed. Now why was cleanness, in particular, used so often as a mark of distinction? Why was dirt such an eminent sign of otherness?

### A moral and aesthetic imperative

As mentioned at the start of the previous chapter, by addressing the question what travelers accomplished by categorizing and naming things as dirty, we are simultaneously addressing the question what they accomplished by writing about domesticity, or any of their other spatial preoccupations. This overarching question will be addressed in this chapter, for it was in her study about dirt, *Purity and Danger*, that anthropologist Mary Douglas formulated the start to an answer.

Douglas's central thesis is that dirt is disorder, "matter out of place". A person who categorizes something as "dirty" is finding a way of dealing with the fact that they consider it to be in the wrong location. This does not mean that to label something "dirty" is the only way of fixing apparent disorder. Things that are out of place can also be fixed conceptually—classified away—by putting them in a decent category after all. Or they can be removed, killed, made to disappear. But to put something in the leftover category of "dirt" is a significant third option, used by many people across cultures.<sup>31</sup>

Douglas's thesis does not only make intuitive sense and enable us to make cross-cultural analyses. It also clarifies the nineteenth-century entanglement of cleanliness with order and regularity, and travelers' association of, for instance, dirty streets with disordered street plans. To refine Douglas's theory, I therefore propose to add the concept of messiness, with dirt being matter in the wrong space completely (a hair in your soup), and mess being matter in the right space but incorrectly ordered in relation to other matter (hair on your head but in a tangle). Yet both are disorder: both dirt and mess are "matter out of place".

Looking at travel writing, we see that Europeans experienced these different forms of disorder as wrong in two different ways. First, its problem was aesthetic, sensory. As travel writing amply shows, dirt evoked responses of disgust or recoil, while messiness evoked mere displeasure or irritation. Still, both created a negative aesthetic experience.<sup>32</sup> Second, at least as prominent were experiences of dirt and irregularity as moral problems: problems of behavior.

As Victoria Kelley has already noted, this aesthetic discourse about physical dirt (and messiness, I would add) could often be found in close proximity



to this moralizing discourse about behavioral and character blemishes. Kelley finds this juxtaposition in, for instance, prescriptive texts about housekeeping.<sup>33</sup> Yet travel writing was full of it, too. Jacoba Roosendaal, promenading the boulevards of Paris, positioned the “Shame and dishonor” of café life and sex work right next to the city’s “impure air” and “unpleasant stench.”<sup>34</sup> We can go further still: as the previous chapter already suggested, the aesthetic and the ethical are often indistinguishable in travel writing, and judgments of physical disorder stand in for moral judgments. That is, first: observers assumed that they could morally judge human behaviors in their destination on the basis of spatial observations, and vice versa. This was grounded in a logic in which immoral behavior was taken to lead inevitably to unhygienic and ugly spaces, while, in what was clearly a vicious circle, exposure to unhygienic and ugly environments led to all sorts of character flaws. This is the causal relation. Second, travel writers knew that their readers understood that ethical issues were at stake, in many places where they only explicitly wrote of physical issues. This is the metaphoric relation. This entanglement thus happened both at the level of travel experiences and travel writing. It has, moreover, a long history in western European languages more generally. Many of the terms used in the nineteenth century for physical cleanness, including the English “clean,” French “propre,” and German “sauber,” even *originally* referred to moral rectitude.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps understandably therefore, material dirt was constantly moralized by travelers, and the immoral materially “dirtied”.

Understanding this dual experience of dirt and mess will help us understand why travelers cared about it so much, especially when traveling, and especially in writing, which is, after all, the historical trace that we have been following throughout this book. This question will guide the following sections. In practical terms: what did nineteenth-century travelers achieve by demarcating so many spaces, and so many things in them, as dirty or messy? Building on Douglas’s foundational work as well as Adam Mack’s case-study of Chicago’s sensory history, I suggest four types of benefit that could accompany travelers’ symbolic work of labeling something as dirty: practical, cognitive, emotional, and social.<sup>36</sup> My typology has no ontological status but simply offers one possible way of ordering the many benefits that could accrue from such labeling. Some of them are transhistorical, while others will be shown to be tied up with the specific history of nineteenth-century (north-western) Europe.

### **Practical order**

The potential practical benefits of cleanliness judgments were already widely considered by ethnographers when Douglas was writing. Judgments are practical because they suggest a course of action. Most research here has focused on life at home, where people suffering from dirt had various powers of intervening.<sup>37</sup> For travelers, such powers were more limited. We see this

very clearly with the present selection of nineteenth-century travelers. Still, what their writing did accomplish was to compartmentalize the world into places to go, and places that should be avoided or, in some cases, actively improved. Their readers at home could similarly benefit from this advice. The reasons for following it could be several.

In the first place, dark, damp, and smelly places may have worried travelers for their pathogenic potential—whether travelers adhered to the older miasma theory or the newer germ theory—and a clean body and ventilated environment were considered important for one's health more generally, too. This conceptual link between smelly places and disease has been amply demonstrated in earlier investigations.<sup>38</sup> Surprisingly, however, we hardly see this mirrored in travel writing. The connection between dirt and disease comes to the fore only occasionally, and even then usually mixed in with more general ideas about progress, strength and health (see below), rather than specific fears of contagion.<sup>39</sup> Specialists of cultures of dirt and cleanliness (as opposed to historians of disease) confirm that medical materialism offers no sufficient explanation for such intensive dirt avoidance as is found everywhere in the world.<sup>40</sup> My findings thus support Douglas and Riley<sup>41</sup> in the debate over whether a concern for health was a central motive in the spread of new domestic amenities from the final decades of the nineteenth-century onward.<sup>42</sup> They argue, instead, that a desire for comfort and perhaps status were the dominant motives.

Another reason to avoid certain places was that to be seen there might compromise one's respectability, or even one's own self-esteem (see the section on "social" order). At home, people would respond to this problem by intervening; by removing dirt or by ordering others to remove it. Mack has documented the political struggle waged by some Chicagoans to maintain a positive olfactory reputation for their city with future investors, residents, and, indeed, tourists.<sup>43</sup> And Herman Beliën quotes an 1855 Dutch tenancy agreement that shows a concern of the owners with their property's respectability and market value. It stipulates:

Flower-pots must not be placed on window-sills except following the Board's instructions. Laundry or other objects (except bird cages etc.) must not be hung from the windows, which look out over the public street.<sup>44</sup>

The (Board's) need for a neat facade here eclipsed the (tenants') wish for homeliness. In certain cases, those traveling abroad also intervened actively and substantially. Esme Cleall uncovers these practices and motivations for late-nineteenth-century British missionaries in southern Africa, among whom was Elizabeth Price. She wrote in her letters "home":

Thus you will see how difficult a thing it is in this country to keep up civilization & not to go slip-shod, anyway. For myself I find it necessary

to be *over* particular rather than *under* for [if] one *begins* slipping little duties as of no consequence in such *hard* circumstances—oh how one runs downhill!

That such duties, though “little,” were indeed consequential, for instance in terms of Price’s time investment, becomes clear in a later letter in which she tells of the “innumerable things great and small wh. surrounded me & so many of wh. by their possession I found gave me great work, yet without wh. I shd. become as barbarous as Bantsan [her Tswana friend]”.<sup>45</sup> In this letter, we see how Price started to falter in her conviction that she needed to surround herself with so much domestic stuff, all of which demanded maintenance. The requirements of British forms of domesticity exacerbated the already substantial challenge posed by her imported notion of cleanliness. She nevertheless concluded that the Prices should hold on to their belongings, since these objects, their cleanness, and the home where they resided represented the family’s Englishness and civilization, for which she, as a missionary and woman, bore responsibility.

Yet the previous chapter, on the contrary, uncovered a dearth of interventions, and one that was remarkably consistent. At one end of the economic spectrum, working-class or petit bourgeois travelers did not mention them at all—although it must be immediately added that for none of those whose accounts I found, cleaning formed the core of their working lives: they were soldiers, personal maids or assistants, draughtsmen, fishermen, teachers, or (male) farmers.<sup>46</sup> Professional cleaners may have acted differently, but, though a huge group, they did not leave us many travel narratives. At the other end of the spectrum, most of the well-off did not mention such interventions either, even in the sense of directing others in their cleaning as they would have done at home. Equally, women wrote about interventions as little as men, even though at home, one of their main responsibilities was to maintain cleanness, and even though they had been trained from childhood to engage in an unceasing invigilation of spaces for specks of dirt. Abroad, they had to surrender to different standards and unknown methods of cleaning. Travelers, and especially female travelers, thus lost quite some control, which we can imagine to have led to frustration. After all, the existence of a “servants’ question” among the European elite of the time (see Chapter 3) demonstrates that if ladies did not perceive themselves to be completely in control over the constellations and rhythms of things inside their own home, many felt wronged, disempowered, and ill-at-ease. Only rarely, however, do we see (female) travelers give directions to domestic staff. Performer Mina Krüseman has already been mentioned in the previous chapter. Apart from Krüseman, Dutch patriotic organizer Anna Maria Kruseman-Ross writes in her published diary of “pointing out the services, which [the French *portière*] had to do for us, such as dusting rooms, making beds etc.” The result was admittedly “à la française”, but what can one do? It was the fact of her family’s apartment’s scant *furnishing*, however, that compelled her to intervene

and buy additional items.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, as suggested, it was no coincidence that both Krüseman and Kruseman-Ross had settled in one place for the relatively long period of several months: longer than the other travelers in this book, but still shorter than Elizabeth Price. This distinction is at the heart of their lack of intervention.

This remarkable acceptance, in the light of travelers' general barrage of complaints about dirt, is connected to another absence in their accounts: assessments of the cleanliness of local domestic staff themselves. Cooking staff were scrutinized, as mentioned earlier. Moreover, domestic staff were reprovved for their laziness and feared for their intrusion of travelers' privacy, as explored in Chapter 3. Yet where the two meet, there is an absence in the literature: complaints about dirty servants are hard to come by, even though servants were often locals of relatively low socioeconomic status, a group otherwise assiduously critiqued by wealthier travelers, and even though they were the ones handling travelers' clothing, water, and other intimate commodities. I suggest that this may be explained by the fact that travelers had little opportunity to observe their servants up close. They were often on the road when cleaning happened in their accommodation, but perhaps more importantly, it was not their designated role to oversee any housekeeping. This may have had greater mental effects than is immediately obvious, effects which could also explain their grudging acceptance of dirty bedrooms and apartments.

It is not just the case that travelers had no formal part to play in the keeping of their temporary houses. After all, nothing prevented them from running around after their servants with a mop of their own. Rather, it looks like the shift in roles from, for instance, lady-of-the-house to tourist, also effected a change in attitude. Leaving their own home temporarily seems to have given them *permission* to relinquish certain responsibilities. Cleaning was no longer their task: they were guests now. This differs from how these same travelers treated domesticity, which they *did* need to create themselves. Homeliness-on-the-go was the roving housewife's responsibility; cleanness was not. Homeliness needed to be accomplished, not just for pleasure's sake but to preserve one's civilized self-image. Apparently, dirt could be tolerated by tourists without harming their status. There were two sides to this coin, however. Depending on the traveler's personality and the dirt they faced, they could feel liberated of a responsibility, but also robbed of a power. The second response certainly seems to have occurred, too, for instance when Henriëtte Kuyper sighed she longed to send "regiments of Hollandish housekeepers" to Italy. Thus, though these travelers yielded to the norms imposed on them by their journey, some may have wished they could decently intervene. Even in those cases, however, travelers do not seem to have derived their sense of self-worth from the cleanness of any foreign spaces. Their status did not depend on it. The dirt of places did not lead to status anxiety.

The very fact of traveling, of not being at home, therefore prompted a shift. Travelers' self-image that they possess superior order, which we

encountered time and again, did not reside in any space itself but in their capacity to judge spaces. Furthermore, it resided in their person.

The latter is suggested by the fact that they *did* take care of their own bodies. While a detailed discussion of travelers' practices of personal hygiene must be postponed to a different study, it is clear that dirty places were avoided for fear of soiling their own bodies.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, travelers also engaged in frequent cleaning *of* those bodies. After all, on the unpaved or even unsurfaced roads of Europe, faces and cloaks grew dusty, feet often got sucked into the mud, wheels became stuck or lost their grip in the dry sand, and entire carriages toppled over. As parson's daughter Jacoba Roosendael complained about the gutters of Paris: "when stepping over them which one has to do frequently on walks one cannot keep one's Shoes clean." At one point she indeed interrupted her touristic program to go home and wash her "Gown which was full of mud by the splattering of a car".<sup>49</sup> Respectability here resided in personal appearance rather than in the spaces one used. And yet, the business of travel meant that even the cleanliness of one's person was easily compromised: one reason why travelers were probably even more alert to dirt than the average nineteenth-century person.

### Cognitive, emotional, and social order

Another function of possessing a mental category for "dirt" outlined by Douglas, and one to which she ascribes greater importance than the practical health motive, is cognitive: "ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgressions have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience."<sup>50</sup> And if anyone's experience is untidy, it is that of the traveler. Physically, travelers were vulnerable to the dirt and chaos of the nineteenth-century road and of the repeated process of packing and unpacking, as we saw in Chapter 2, where the tidy stowing away of luggage in hotel rooms was important for travelers' spatial well-being. Yet mentally, too, travelers underwent more chaos than those staying at home. As strangers to the land, they were more prone to misunderstanding the order they were entering, which was evidently *someone's* order, but which may not always have been grasped as such by travelers. Grouping those things and acts that did not seem purposeful to them into the remainder categories of "dirt" or "mess" may have helped them process, remember, and narrate the profusion of new experiences they were undergoing. At home, the proper function, time, and place of things were intelligible. Abroad, such knowledge was lacking and things were therefore sooner "matter out of place". Concepts such as "clean" and "dirty" thus helped travelers make sense of the strange worlds they entered.

This may explain part of the difference between someone like John Bake, who remarked on dirt and cleanliness in abundance, and people like Maria Kruseman-Ross or Otheline Agathe van Wickevoort Crommelin, who rarely broached these themes. Whereas Bake journeyed from hotel to hotel, the

other two stayed in a select number of locations, thereby decreasing the amount of “strangeness” they had to endure.

Note that this potential cognitive benefit of “dirt labeling” was a conceptual-linguistic one, which may well have cooperated with other linguistic activities that helped travelers process their experiences: conversations, for instance, or indeed the diaries, letters, and other written records on which this book is based. As briefly suggested already, to be able to narrate their experiences depended on such conceptual distinctions. Yet it also synergized *with* these distinctions in assisting travelers to make sense of their world.

Related to this cognitive benefit, I would like to suggest an important emotional benefit of bringing up the point of dirt in conversation and in writing. It could relieve feelings of disgust. The emotion of disgust may be conceptualized as combining judgment—something is categorized as dirty—with strong feeling, thus complementing the cognitive and moral/aesthetic response to space that occurred in all examples in these chapters, with a mental and physical response that created an even stronger experience.

Not surprisingly, we often encounter this emotion when dirt was touched or tasted: moments when something considered dirty was felt to physically enter the traveler’s body or when the traveler’s body physically entered a dirty environment.<sup>51</sup> The unpleasant flavors and itchy creatures that frequently accompanied the touching or tasting of dirt, further aggravated travelers’ disgust. Unpleasant smells may have equally created a semblance of actual physical contact with dirt (of course, the odiferous molecules themselves literally touched the body, but that was probably not something most travelers were aware of). They moreover signaled to the traveler that further, as yet invisible dirt might be lying in wait. Smell could certainly taint an entire space, as we saw in the section about accommodation. The fact that smell could not be picked up and moved about but nevertheless filled up a space made that, once present, it contaminated that space and made the entire space contaminating, too. In this manner, long-gone people, other animals, or dirt could still make their undesirable presence felt. Finally, although the least touch-like of the senses, even *seeing* dirt could provoke disgust. In fact, most responses of disgust were caused by places and things that had been merely sighted. No doubt, this was because most travelers only encountered such places and things from a safe distance and did not approach them very closely. Yet it is significant that the mere sight of them could provoke a response as if they had been touched, entered, or eaten.<sup>52</sup>

Expressing this response verbally, by simply calling something “dirty” or by describing it, might for some have created a shield against being contaminated with it. These verbalizations, in speech or in writing, may have circumscribed these places, fenced them in, put them at a distance. They may have helped restore travelers’ emotional order and maintain a mental equilibrium in an unfamiliar environment. As Sabine Schülting also finds in her study of literary treatments of dirt, “writing dirt attempts to contain its excessive materiality.”<sup>53</sup> At the same time, such verbalizations communicated this

distance to others, which is the final, and perhaps most historicizable benefit I would like to discuss now.

The functions or effects of dirt-labeling that are most prominent in travel writing are social. As expressed and encouraged in projects ranging from imperialism to the development of the social sciences, nineteenth-century Europeans were tremendously preoccupied with ordering the world. As part of this endeavor, dirt was one of the preeminent parameters they used to rank places. This pertained to places in their own city or country, as well as places abroad. Yet whereas elite investigators visiting the slums of their own cities took their impressions of dirt and cleanliness as ready indicators of *individual* character and of the physical and moral accomplishments of individual households or economic classes,<sup>54</sup> travelers, as we might expect, generalized, and took them as indicators of a wider local or national character.

At the same time, doing this ordering also had an effect on their own image and self-image. By calling other people and places dirty they protected their own status at the top of this moral order: their status as individuals, or as a particular nation or social group.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, as Douglas suggested in her study about dirt, and Pierre Bourdieu wrote about art: taste classifies the world, but it also classifies the classifier.<sup>56</sup> By the very token of expressing the right aesthetic judgment about dirt, travelers showed themselves the clean elite. Their audiences: the people they met on their journeys, but their readers most of all. Mary Louise Pratt has written how European women “claim[ed] political voice at home” through their imperial ways of describing Africans or South Americans.<sup>57</sup> Chicago historian Adam Mack comes to the same conclusion: writing about others’ dirt “highlighted the refinement of the author’s own senses.”<sup>58</sup> As does Gavin Daly, arguing that early-nineteenth-century British travelers displayed their revulsion as a sign of sensitivity and by implication of their individual and cultural civilization.<sup>59</sup> Schülting, too, argues that such texts go beyond the mere expression of emotions, initiating what she calls “the performative production of emotions”: the traveler “establishes an (imaginary) community whose complex rules for inclusion and exclusion are based on the individual’s ability and willingness to feel and share these emotions.” After all, Schülting explains, drawing on Sara Ahmed’s *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, “[d]irt is a cultural emotion that depends on iteration”. This iteration works in the following manner. First, “[w]e find something disgusting because we have learnt that this is the appropriate reaction”. We then continue the chain by displaying the emotion in front of “witnesses who share [our] rejection”. Schülting continues, quoting Ahmed: “‘the subject asks others to repeat the condemnation implicit in the speech act itself.’ In this way, they establish ‘a community of those who are bound together through the shared condemnation of a disgusting object or event.’”<sup>60</sup>

Dirt, like homeliness, was thus not just named in order to highlight *distinctions* between places, but also to *cement* social relations. Depending on the traveler and the moment in history, spatial judgments in travel and travel writing were, for instance, used occasionally to emphasize shared class or

gender interests across borders. Or they were used to strengthen universal human sympathies even across class. More commonly, however, they helped travelers forge relations with their social equals or “betters” at home. The effect was to bulwark existing socioeconomic groupings (within the Netherlands, the same two groups as also emphasized by travelers’ privacy behaviors) and, thus, geographical and social hierarchies.

Reinforcing such hierarchies could have more or less deliberate effects on other people’s behavior.<sup>61</sup> We have already seen that the travelers sampled probably gave few explicit directions to cleaners, but the intensity of their judgment in writing suggests that they must nevertheless have communicated more subtle cues of dissatisfaction to those around them. This may have increased compliance to their standards, although it should not be ruled out that at times, irritation only invited reciprocated irritation.

But enhanced cleanliness was not always the aim. Labeling different nationals “dirty” was also a war tactic.<sup>62</sup> It was used in colonial propaganda against both European and non-European people, as well as in other forms of warfare. The aim was to dehumanize the enemy, an effect which must have spilled over in peace time. Similar tactics of dehumanization were applied to colonized subjects, and to the working classes at home. One important effect was to make underpaid or even unpaid labor seem justified. Constructing such hierarchies made it easier, moreover, for elites to intervene in (“rescue”) subaltern lives, with the ultimate aim of disciplining their state’s subjects or citizens, its workforce, and its army.<sup>63</sup> These enemy- and laborer-dehumanization tactics and effects are precisely the reason we have to be suspicious of historical arguments about the desensitization of the working classes.

Without pretending to be exhaustive, I want to mention as a final effect of these social pressures their stimulation of consumer markets for soap and other domestic commodities. Living in a social order based on cleanliness meant that people could solidify or enhance their social position by consuming more (expensive) soaps and other cleaning instruments. Efforts to civilize or assist the supposed poor equally drove consumption.<sup>64</sup>

### **What difference? Looking for progress**

So, distinguishing cleaner from dirtier places was done for various different social reasons and with many potential social effects. But what specifically nineteenth-century ideas was this order based on? If cleanliness stood for distinction, what sort of distinction was this? What did cleanliness ultimately stand for?

Let us take one step back, and look at an intriguing argument that has been made by several (literary) historians about what inspired people to write about dirt. They suggest that the meaning of filth was far from straightforwardly negative, and that, in fact, it carried a highly ambiguous significance in the nineteenth century. According to historian Tom Crook, dirt presented



a true “source of fascination”. Practical benefits aside, such as its role as a soil fertilizer, dirt even inspired pleasurable excitement. While some scholars argue for specific pockets of use or fascination including, indeed, travel,<sup>65</sup> others seem to claim more generally that nineteenth-century culture was fascinated by dirt.<sup>66</sup> Either way, the evidence offered in these studies pertains to specific groups: first, scientists and policy-makers who envisioned ecological benefits for food production; second, politicians and philanthropists to whom dirt gave a sense of purpose as well as, for some slum visitors, excitement; third, artists and slum journalists who were interested in filth’s philosophical, poetic, sexual, or commercial aspects; and fourth, their audiences, being the largest group. However diverse, all of them were somehow united by the romantic idea of the fertility of stark contrasts, of a world in balance between growth and destruction, wealth and excrement. Some of them took their romanticism further, into a nostalgia for or at least an appreciation of struggle and the usually disavowed and chaotic side of life.

As Virginia Nicholson showed in her study of bohemian life, however, even in the early twentieth century this “nostalgie de la boue” was embraced by only a very small subculture, and even then not always in their own lives (as opposed to their art).<sup>67</sup> This applied only the stronger to their audiences: the dirt they consumed stayed confined between their book covers and within their picture frames. The present study offers an opportunity to see how people responded when dirt entered their own lives, and in a sample of writers who were not selected for their bohemianism or cultural criticism. This relatively broad group of northwestern European travelers did not embrace dirt, or even philosophize about dirt. They were impressively consistent in their evaluations of dirt. Their reactions were either straightforwardly denunciatory, or, in exceptional cases, demonstrated an interest in the economic uses of manure but without that making it any the less dirty.<sup>68</sup> I have found one or two examples at most in their accounts of dirt as a “source of fascination”.<sup>69</sup> Here, we need to look for a moment at what that means: fascination. The travelers examined here wrote a lot about dirt, it is true. It was mentioned, it was occasionally described; but it was not scrutinized in the same way—with relish, with intentional horror—or to the same extent as happened in some of the romantic, realist, naturalist, or sensationalist literature analyzed by Sabine Schülting, Tom Crook, and Seth Koven. It was avoided, with the touch and the eye but also, to a large extent, with the pen. Most of these travelers loved cleanness. But that is not quite the same as being fascinated by dirt.

In short, what this mixed group of travelers, writing about their own physical lives, did philosophize about, were cleanliness and order. Their philosophy, as I will argue, was a philosophy of progress.

The way travelers spoke about cleanness and dirt suggests that for most of them, the nineteenth century was not the age of the romantic but, to speak with Asa Briggs, the “age of improvement”.<sup>70</sup> And it was this improvement



Figure 5.2 This print offered an attractive image of Ghent to the many travelers looking for wide city spaces with clean pavements and geometrical facades. Henri Borremans, “Hôtel de la poste, tenu par G. Oldi.” (1834 à 1862), printed by Borremans & Cie., Brussels, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam RP-P-1905-6173.

that was found in the ethics and aesthetics of order. Despite the century’s widely shared interest in opera’s, novels, journalism, and other cultural expressions that emphasized stark contrast and conflict and sensationalized poverty and, often, dirt and disorder, most travelers were looking for order. Both ethically and aesthetically, they might therefore be more aptly described as classicists or modernists than as romantics (Figure 5.2).<sup>71</sup>

The travel attitude that went with this drive for improvement was still very much that of the grand tour. Travelers still operated within the grand-tour tradition in the sense that they felt called to assess the economic, moral, and material state of their various destinations, all of which were tied up with the more readily observable condition of being clean or dirty. And since cleanliness meant progress and dirt signified backwardness, these observations helped classify destinations according to their state of progress, their enlightenment, their advancement on the global stage.<sup>72</sup> Order thus played a role both in travelers’ *manner* of looking at the world, and in what they looked *at*.

The following four examples from across the period exemplify these complex links between travelers’ urge to order the world; how they established this order in terms of progress, that is, change over time; how at the same time they *spatialized* this change over time, by describing certain places as still existing, as it were, in an older timeframe than others; and how cleanliness,

order, spaciousness, newness, and wealth all signified such progress in time/space, as well as signifying each other.

Art critic Johanna Schopenhauer walked across Antwerp, along

the beautiful wide streets, the large splendid squares of this city which has come into new life [...]. Such difference between now and twenty years ago! Such brisk liveliness, announcing the gladdening influence of flourishing trade in the clean streets! We saw no empty houses, no palaces ruined in sad disrepair [...] Everything looked new, cheerful and friendly, the streets swarmed with well-dressed people [...] no beggars, inspiring both disgust and deep pity, were following us as it used to happen[.]<sup>73</sup>

Dutch statistician Jan Ackersdijck was similarly busily on the lookout for past and potential economic, material, and moral improvement, on his 1823 journey. The sludge he encountered in Hungarian villages to him formed “proof of their low level of industry”.<sup>74</sup> “[I]ndustry” referred to their level of manufacturing output. Ackersdijck’s judgment in his diary thus pertained to the use of machinery but also to the way the economy was organized, and to the labor input of the people. This chimes with what other travelers wrote about roads abroad. On the one hand, they obviously enjoyed them more if they were surfaced, preferably even paved; and travelers from the North Sea area probably had higher expectations here than did people living in less affluent regions,<sup>75</sup> even though most roads in their home region, too, remained unpaved or even unsurfaced in the first half of the century.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, even *paved* roads were unsatisfactory if travelers found them grubby.<sup>77</sup> Enhancing productivity, which involved both technological and administrative change and human willingness to work, would thus lead to the required material improvements *and* to cleanness. All of these together moreover signified the progress of civilization. For, as Ackersdijck continued, it was hard to find a good place to eat in Pest: the halls were everywhere “dirty and full of tobacco smoke. We were surprised there were not better venues to dine in a capital; the finer civilization and tact has [*sic*] not yet permeated in Hungary.”<sup>78</sup>

Contrary discourses can be found in travel writing, sure enough: in the same passage, Ackersdijck feared that civilization might also bring degeneration, “moral decay”. And many years later, Abraham Mossel contended that dirt might result from working *too* hard.<sup>79</sup> Yet such contrary analyses remained exceptional. Even Mossel, who wrote at the start of the twentieth century, was a socialist and pacifist, and showed much more understanding of other cultures than most travelers, could not escape the dominant, spatialized progress narrative. Bucharest was

of course far ahead of all other Romanian towns in terms of development. [...] In another twenty-five years, one will be able truly to count Bucharest among the global cities. By then, the final battle may also have been fought between eastern dirtiness and western cleanliness and certainly in favor of the latter.<sup>80</sup>

A final example shows that even travelers' own homes were not completely exempt from this way of looking at the world. At the time of Dutchman Barthold Hendrik Lulofs's visit to Hamburg, in 1826, he was seriously worrying about his home country's stagnant economy. His feelings were exacerbated by Hamburg's prospering harbor. With elation he therefore discovered the dilapidated condition of some of its other neighborhoods. As he writes in his published travelogue: "our Hollandish breast, which had sunk considerably at the sight of the packed harbor, began to swell again, and we whispered to each other with no little pride, that the Netherlandish cities looked quite a bit better after all."<sup>81</sup> Similar concern about a lack of progress at home, or even a backward motion, was voiced by other travelers.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, it remained rare for travelers from the North Sea region, which, during the past few centuries, had been at the peak of its power.

As these passages show, the precise relation between dirt, progress, and (national) distinction in travel accounts could vary. At times, travelers imagined dirt and disintegration to indicate a location's early stage in the globally *shared* progress of civilization (Schopenhauer and Ackersdijk above are clear examples). At others, they envisioned a contest *between* (European) nations (like Lulofs, although he did at times also appreciate Hamburg's progress). Many passages in their writing also mixed the two attitudes. Now, how to achieve this progress?

### Choice and responsibility

We have seen earlier that travelers, for all their temporalizing and spatializing diagnoses of areas for improvement, imagined only a small role for themselves. To whom did they apportion responsibility instead?

The many travelers who wished the whole world to enjoy modern cleanliness were not always sensitive to the existence of structural impediments. Like the social improvers of the nineteenth century, they tended to emphasize individual initiative. So, in the book that educationalist Elise van Calcar-Schiotling published about her 1858 journey, she congratulated the Parisians. She regarded the Haussmannization of Paris not as a military scheme, but as a voluntary strategy by the city's inhabitants to embrace a better lifestyle. In the rue Rivoli, "a maze of narrow crooked streets has succumbed, to this wide straight highway, which offers an impressive, endless perspective"; "a prophecy [...] that everything crooked and twisted here will once fall to unlatch 'a highway for our God'". Van Calcar-Schiotling, who besides a teacher was also a specialist in all matters spiritual, quotes Isaiah 40:3: "make straight in the desert a highway for our God". This highway was straight indeed, and of course it was also clean:

Therein lies a pleasant thought, that the children of humankind begin to detest living in dark holes and dirty sneaky corners, and furnish themselves pure and clean domiciles. That physical fight against suffocating atmospheres and darkness is not without relation to the search for a healthy life-breath and life-light concerning the spirit[.]<sup>83</sup>

Ascribing such far-reaching powers to the poor of influencing their own physical environment—her text implies that they were crowding in cellars and attics voluntarily—was common among elite authors throughout the century. It enabled moral judgment (“the spirit”) and lessened the need for structural economic reforms that might disadvantage the writers themselves. Meanwhile, it obscured the fact that the expensive restructurings by Georges-Eugène Haussmann and others were themselves driving the poor into even worse-built areas of town.<sup>84</sup>

What forms of intervention were expected to lead to progress, thus, depended on the political inclinations of travelers, which in turn varied with dominant tendencies in political history. The above pertained to individual homes and the shapes of streets, but the same applied to the maintenance of those streets. Street-cleaning could be organized along private or public routes. In many instances, travelers had to depend on commercial initiatives for urban cleanness, and they were often content to do so. In the early nineteenth century, for instance, one traveler, shocked by the streets of Paris, was relieved that in order to cross them she could rely on “small boys” who would sweep temporary, private lanes through the “sludge” for a fee.<sup>85</sup> Yet others considered it the duty of religious or secular authorities to clean roads and squares.<sup>86</sup> Further examples have been mentioned in the section on transportation in Chapter 4. Their political background forms a familiar story: the rise of liberal and laissez-faire policies in spatial organization in the middle of the century, replacing those of the absolute monarchies that existed in much of Europe at the start of the nineteenth century, and which were in turn replaced by the more corporatist structures of what were to become the European welfare states.<sup>87</sup> Travelers’ expectations seem to have fluctuated with this work by politicians and planners, though always with a delay of at least a decade.

### **Lighting technology, spatial design, steam transport, and heavy industry**

This intense attachment to progress and the fact that progress meant cleanness but also brightness and clarity, are not just related to political history but also to the history of technology. The people of the nineteenth century, especially the poorer ones, were quite literally coming from a dark age. The available types of artificial light, coming from a fireplace, torch, beeswax or tallow candle, or oil lamp, were much weaker at the start of the century than toward the end.<sup>88</sup> Light sources were also less numerous and, in most cases, not located at fixed points on posts, walls, ceilings, or cabinets, but carried around by hand.<sup>89</sup> As a result, most people could not move through a lit home or over lit roads by night. They had to kindle their own light and carry it around with them. It was they who were lit; not their environment. The creation of stationary lights made a tremendous difference,

therefore, to how much they could distinguish of the space around them, and hence to their ease of movement and the mood this space conveyed (which was probably also influenced by the energy source used). These considerations may increase our understanding for the higher appreciation of brightness, but also spaciousness and regularity, in both outdoor and indoor spaces in the (early) nineteenth century. Technological, functional changes were to change the cultural meaning of designing for brightness.<sup>90</sup>

The material explored in these chapters also allows us to see the connections that existed between travelers' ideals of a clean and well-ordered future, and spatial design. Landscape historian Anette Freytag, following Wolfgang Schivelbusch, has suggested that planners' appreciation of straight lines for urban roads is typical of the railway age.<sup>91</sup> Yet travelers had appreciated them for much longer already, which hints at an aesthetic shared far beyond professional spatial planners. While some urban designers may have been inspired by the railways, therefore, their preferences very likely had older roots. In fact, the spatial designs travelers valued most were those inspired by Roman and Greek antiquity. Contemporary institutions that strengthened this aesthetic of straightness were not primarily the railways but the military and the police. As we saw in several accounts, military and police reassured well-off travelers with their presence in the street, but also their influence on city planning; via the interventions of Haussmann in Paris, for instance. Travelers' religious education and preparation for the afterlife may well have contributed to these spatial ideals, too. The holy texts and sermons that formed their spiritual sustenance emphasized the need for piety, obedience, and perseverance using imagery of cleanliness and straightness. Indirectly, religious texts such as Isaiah that celebrated God's military might in terms of the clearing of wilderness also strengthened their states' colonial projects. It was therefore already before, or rather *especially* before the railway age that classic straight lines and angles, symmetry, calm proportions, large spaces, and bright surfaces made of marble or other stone, were appreciated in European planning and architecture. Of course, the supposed transition from eighteenth-century classicist to nineteenth-century romantic, picturesque, and medievalist spatial interests is a famous one, underscored, for instance, in John Towner's study of European tourism.<sup>92</sup> Yet the classicist interests show themselves more tenacious in the current sample than that study suggests. Neither vernacular architecture (remember Barthold Hendrik Lulofs's matchstick houses in Chapter 4) nor medieval architecture was much liked at the start of the century. For the majority of people, a romantic aesthetic entered the picture only much later.

This includes a late appreciation of medieval church architecture. Art critic Schopenhauer, for instance, visited Ghent's Saint Bavo Cathedral in 1828. Most of the structure of this church is early to high gothic, but it was the later additions that Schopenhauer appreciated: the marble columns and cladding, the rich candelabras...

the immense size of the noble splendid building, the pure harmony of proportions [...] here, praying surely happens with joyful spirit, I thought, while my glance wandered over the bright, vast spaces. No church chairs hinder one's view over these, nowhere one can spy any dark, neglected corner, no dust accumulated over the years, no cobwebs, no walls blackened by candle vapor and incense smoke, everything looks bright, clear and clean, as it should in a temple of God. How dark in contrast seem Aachen Cathedral and some of the age-old churches in Cologne; but of course, these hark from a much earlier age.<sup>93</sup>

Gothic and medieval equaled dark and dirty. Remember from the previous chapter that preacher Marie Adrien Perk was still full of disdain in 1861: "Chur looks positively medieval." But it was exactly the slow but sure shift in the nineteenth century toward brighter, roomier, and cleaner spaces for ever more citizens that, in a dialectic movement, helped a romantic mood take hold of an increasing number of Europeans.<sup>94</sup>

After lighting technologies and building styles, a final, key material development that must be interrogated as to how it connected to travelers' drive for a clean future was heavy industry. First, I will examine travelers' attitudes toward the steam engines that transported them; next, the factories and mines that they visited as part of their touristic program.

Remarkably, travelers hardly used their personal writings to complain about the steam, smoke, grime, or smells of the coal-powered vehicles by which they routinely traveled from the 1810s onward.<sup>95</sup> Train locomotives had drastically improved since their beginnings in the late eighteenth century, yet inevitably, they still produced steam (by many in the nineteenth century considered as dirt) and, depending on the engine, smoke. It must have helped a great deal that most, if not all, of the writers discussed here who traveled by train traveled in closed carriages.<sup>96</sup> Yet they were still able to detect the smells of the landscapes they traveled through. Perk could sniff up "the most delicious smells" of oranges and other natural elements as he approached Genoa.<sup>97</sup> The engine would probably have been detectable as well, therefore. Still, the only complaint about a steam-powered vehicle was made by Professor Lulofs, who traveled by steamship in 1826. It is a serious complaint. Lulofs woke up at 6 in the morning in a "suffocating atmosphere" of smoke and coal stench from the machine room that could not escape his own hut because the crew had shut the passenger windows. A design flaw in this early sea steamer seems to have created passenger berths that were not properly insulated from the machine room. It led him to make the following comparison: "The confinement[/stuffiness] of a slave-ship occurred to me, wherein hundreds squeezed together pant for fresh air."<sup>98</sup> This comparison between an Amsterdam–Hamburg passenger ferry and a slaver shows a Groningen university professor who was aware of some of the facts of transatlantic enslavement, which was still happening as he was writing, and who was yet far removed from its realities. On the scale of the professor's own realities, however, the comparison tells us that the experience of waking up in a

smoke-filled room was disturbing to him. The smoke must have made breathing difficult. Yet the shutting of the passenger windows was apparently a mistake, which still left this an exceptional situation for European paying passengers of steam-powered vehicles. Trains did not even raise a single complaint in the sample examined here, including accounts by second- and third-class passengers. Possibly, travelers had grown so used to steam engines by the time a European rail network had been established that they no longer noticed the atmosphere these brought with them, especially after a long ride such as Perk's in Italy. Improved engine ventilation and its compartmentalization from passengers must also have played a role. Yet there is a third possible explanation.

For this, we have to consider the fact that travelers were confronted with steam technology and other industrial sources of potential dirt in their destinations, too. Tom Crook has written about British contemporary debates: "It was common to juxtapose wealth and excrement as joint products of civilisation". "Urban-industrial modernity" was at the root of much perceived filth. Cultural historian Hannu Salmi has extended this claim to Europe as a whole, while Mack has shown for Chicago that even entrepreneurs benefiting from their production of refuse and stink conceptualized these as dirt if not managed well: a necessary evil. Great concern also existed in regions that as yet hosted few steam engines.<sup>99</sup> Although industrialization was celebrated for the economic progress it brought, these historians, therefore, argue that it was simultaneously seen as polluting.

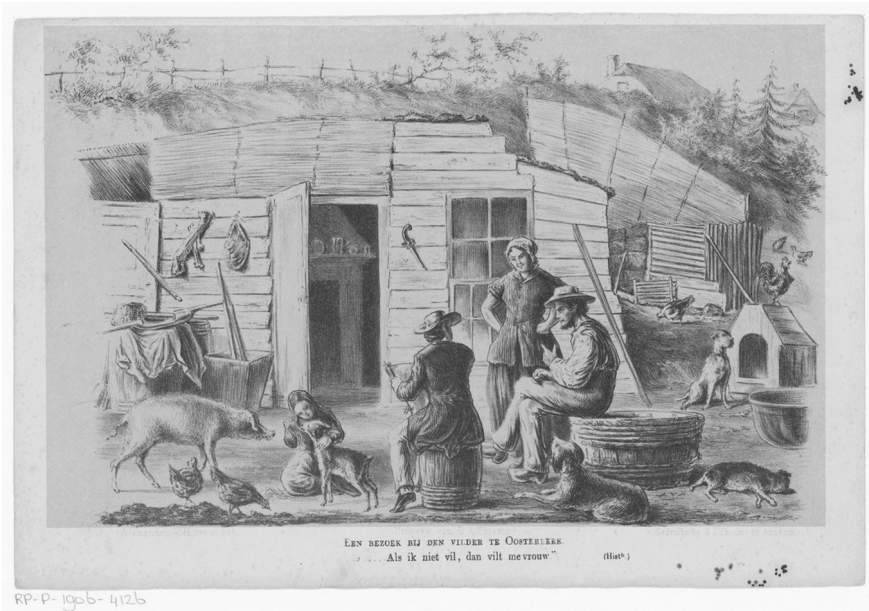
At first sight, travelers' real-life experiences seem to have been in line with these debates. In 1819, the patrician Henrica Françoise Rees van Tets had to "overcome [her] aversion for the bad smells" before she would visit a factory. As she looked out of her carriage, she observed the blackness of the towns in the Belgian mining region around Boussu and Quiévrain.<sup>100</sup> Lawyer Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the elder was disappointed that London's "coal vapor" blocked his view, as he stood on the Great Fire Monument.<sup>101</sup> Jacoba Roosendael observed "many Coal mines and Brickworks" in Wallonia, "which causes a horrible stench and dust".<sup>102</sup> Some even descended into the mines themselves. Jan Ligthart got "truly a little short of breath[/scared]". And this was only a fake mine, a tourist attraction which offered its illusion through a small descent and a moving painting.<sup>103</sup> Such was definitely not the case on the 1824 Harz journey Heinrich Heine published about in his *Reisebilder*. He actually descended into the silver mines of the Harz mountains, which, too, catered for tourists: "first into the Karolina [...] It is the dirtiest and most joyless Karolina which[/whom: the pun works in German] I ever got to know. The ladder rungs are mirily wet." Next was "the Dorothea mine. Here, it is airier and fresher, and the ladders are cleaner".<sup>104</sup>

Yet how can this be rhymed with what has manifested itself so abundantly in the rest of this chapter: that for these travelers, dirt lay mainly with the undeveloped, the unadvanced, the poor? The question, I argue, is whether travelers always saw these industrial sites as sites of progress and



innovation. We tend to think of industry as mushrooming from 1800 onward, and as centering on steam engines, which is why for us, industrial production symbolizes nineteenth-century modernization. Yet the factories and mines visited in such substantial numbers by early-nineteenth-century travelers often delivered products that had been made for some time, and their production methods did not necessarily revolutionize around the start of the century, even though improvements in efficiency were continuously made. The steam-powered Newcomen engine had been used in mining since the early eighteenth century, for instance. Apart from coal and brick, our travelers also visited production sites for paper, cardboard, glass, crockery, mirrors, silk, lace, cotton printing, embroidery or tapestry-making, wallpaper, watches, carriages, marble, iron, silver, salt, meat, potato meal, and toys.<sup>105</sup> Consequently, the smells emanating from them were not all new to early-nineteenth-century travelers. What is more, as Alain Corbin has pointed out, even such critical debates as mentioned by Crook and Salmi were not specific to “industrial modernity” but stood in a long tradition of debates about the ecological problems of urban life. Before the coming of coal-powered industries, these debates had centered around other industries, for instance those processing animal or plant materials (Figure 5.3).<sup>106</sup> Another source of air pollution has for millennia been the (domestic) burning of peat.<sup>107</sup> In the nineteenth century, too, not just workplace but domestic use (as far as the two can be separated) of wood, turf, and coal created pollution both inside and outside the home.<sup>108</sup> Even sixteenth-century Erasmus already described the muses of Greek mythology as being repulsed by the smoke of the city.<sup>109</sup> Naturally, there were great material differences between regions in terms of pollution. Yet this simply means that critics in each place found their own dirt to worry about: if it did not have its source in coal-smoke, there were always plenty of other forms of dirt around, and even though one might argue that levels of pollution also objectively varied in seriousness, it looks like they were sufficiently high in any nineteenth-century city to elicit such critiques.<sup>110</sup> The relation between, on the one hand, cleanliness and progress and, on the other, industry is thus unstable.

This is how it remained possible for travelers to relate dirt to backwardness rather than progress. As described earlier, sites of production were enthusiastically visited and approached with positive interest—not at all as models of how things might go wrong. Moreover, many of them were admired tremendously, both by travelers from regions where the steam engine was quickly taking hold (and possibly already detested therefore), and from other regions. Roosendaal visited a “beautiful” abattoir in Paris, for instance, with the Dutch word for beautiful, “schoon”, also having overtones of cleanliness.<sup>111</sup> Schopenhauer traveled through the Maas valley, an especially industrialized region, in similar spirit. She called it “glorious” (“herrlich”), praising both its agriculture and industry. Hers was not just an economic program, but an aesthetic, too: she admired the appearance of its coal mines and iron forges, with the latter able to “give even a less beautiful landscape a highly



*Figure 5.3* The wealthy, university-educated artist Alexander Ver Huell may have drawn on his own experiences in this lithography of a tourist-artist visiting the home of skiners or knackers in the east of the Netherlands. Knacking was an old trade which produced a distinct smell. Ver Huell invites his elite viewers to inspect critically this family's proximity to animals, but he also shows the pictured tourist's fascination with their way of life. He therefore creates an ironic distance from the knackers, but possibly also from the tourist: Ver Huell belonged to one of the first waves of romantic visual artists of the Netherlands. The caption reads: "When I don't knack, the mrs does"—or "me wife does": the printing is ambiguous and has two potential readings. Alexander Ver Huell, "Een bezoek bij den vilder te Oosterbeek" (1855 à 1873), printed by Gerrit Jan Thieme, published by Dirk Anthonie Thieme, Arnhem, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam RP-P-1906-4126.

distinctive picturesque charm". While the more familiar German Rhine valley spoke of past glories to her, the Maas was "dedicated to the present", with everything, from homes to factories, forges, and mills, equally well-kept, tidy, and clean. These qualities were caused by the general "activity" or "industry" of the region. As she explains, this was partly because of the economic prosperity caused by full employment, including everyone from children to the elderly; but also directly through the positive interventions that heavy industry and mining were making in the landscape. Somewhat confusingly perhaps, she called many of these landscapes not just "picturesque" but also "romantic". One stone quarry was even "wild-romantic", and the brick towers that marked the underground steam engines used for

mining “increased the picturesque charm of the landscape incredibly.” The “industrial picturesque” and “industrial sublime” are concepts we also find in British travel writing around 1800.<sup>112</sup> These passages show that the industrial could be aesthetically appreciated, and that its dominant associations could be with the positively valued qualities of neatness and civilization, although different associations were possible, too. They underline the flexibility of the aesthetic categories examined in this book: these categories could be employed in many different combinations and support different projects or programs.

We return to the core themes of order and light. Their importance to Schopenhauer is underlined by the fact that she even judged the inside of the Saint Peter marlstone mines along these lines. They were cheerfully bright, orderly, and dry, and for a cave, the air was very “pleasant and comfortable”. Often, it was her love of light that was decisive. After this visit, for instance, Schopenhauer decided to visit no more caves but focus on what was above ground, “in the bright light of day”. After all, “the impenetrable dark of eternal night we all reach soon enough”. Christian imagery here enhanced the realities of an epoch in which the impenetrable dark was still very present in northwestern European lives.<sup>113</sup> Somewhat different in that respect was Henriëtte Kuyper’s attitude, possibly in part because she was writing almost a century later. She used mines as a highly positive simile for Christian catacombs.<sup>114</sup> What had remained, however, was the shaping power of her belief in technological and economic progress and of the Christian faith.

Travelers’ phlegmatic dealings with the smoke of trains and steamers, explored earlier, suggest the same belief in progress. Even when noting that a particular industrial site was dirty, tourists did not critique technological development as such; they were all for it. The task they set themselves instead was to find out what stage it had reached and how it could be further encouraged. The transport and production technologies described here were not in themselves synonymous to progress, as they might now be understood; they already had a history. Industrial sites could therefore be judged by their visitors as backward as well as forward. And improving their cleanliness, order, and brightness was envisaged as one way to move forward.

### **Cultures of cleanliness**

So far, I have analyzed dirt as part of travelers’ discourse. Am I saying that dirt had no grounding in reality? That travelers would always label a foreign culture as dirtier than their own, but that really all cultures were the same? I mean quite the contrary, as I would like to clarify in this section.

Travelers wrote about things that were “really there”. The things that they described as dirty, as homely, or as noisy, existed independently of their evaluation of them. Real dirt did matter, in that sense. At the same time, I do not wish to return to a theory that states that some regions were simply cleaner than others, or that people in certain cultures minded dirt more (see the

section “Dirt for difference”). As Mary Douglas writes: “There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder.”<sup>115</sup> Things were only dirty within a specific traveler’s frame of reference.

We need a theory, therefore, that stresses the cultural relativity of cleanliness norms. We may build on Doreen Massey’s critique of a tendency in the field of global urban studies here. This tendency is to transform cultural differences into historical differences by portraying certain regions in the world as not yet on a par with other regions—as if poorer regions would need to traverse the same modernization pathways as the richer, only later. The same often happens with cleanness: some regions are pictured in their entirety as dirtier than others, and as such to represent an earlier stage in the history of those supposedly cleaner places. This, of course, was also precisely the reasoning of many nineteenth-century travelers. Instead, Massey exhorts us, we should restore the true meaning of spatiality by acknowledging that different places have different trajectories.<sup>116</sup> Rather than a “general culture of cleanliness” existing in a small number of regions in the world,<sup>117</sup> every group of people on the globe thus has a *specific* culture of cleanliness.<sup>118</sup> Differences in cleanliness are multidimensional, rather than running along one axis only. In other words: standards of cleanliness between cultures do not so much vary quantitatively, as qualitatively. People in different cultures have different ideas of when matter is *in* and when it is *out* of place.

How should we imagine these plural cultures of cleanliness to have affected travelers? Travelers made themselves more than usually vulnerable to dirt in several ways. Some of these have already been described earlier. The practice itself of moving about exposed them to sludgy roads, for instance. Travelers also found themselves quite literally among strangers’ dirt: their smells, touches, traces, refuse. If one’s attitude toward strangers is one of emotional distance, the very fact of moving among them can become unpleasant. But equally fundamental are these different cultures of cleanliness. As Tim Edensor observes, when abroad, you encounter alternative ways of ordering the world.<sup>119</sup> Small wonder therefore that foreign places were always dirty: they were almost so by definition. The same pertained to places belonging to different social groups within travelers’ home countries. Again, Massey’s spatiality is relevant: the people usually called the lower classes had *different* standards from those commonly called the upper classes, rather than having *lower* standards as those mentioned in the introduction to the previous chapter write (although it is true they had fewer resources). And so, travelers experienced dirt in those locations where people applied a different ordering of things, attached importance to the purity of different objects, and prescribed different methods of cleaning. By the same logic, we can ask this question for every theme discussed in this book: how does this specific guest’s culture relate to this specific host culture? We have encountered the many different answers throughout these chapters.

Rather than searching for blanket rules for entire cultures, we should thus look for the specific practices of cleanliness that cultures applied to specific

areas of life. To offer the Netherlands as an example: apart from Dutch travelers themselves who, as we have seen, were consistently preoccupied with streets and facades, there is also an abundant amount of writing by visitors to the Netherlands that marvels at locals' concern with the appearance of their streets and the entrances to their buildings: their windows, doorposts, doorsteps, hallways, and so on. In contrast, it seems that some other European cultures paid more attention to clean bodies, clothes, linen, or foodstuffs—or else had different methods of cleaning them.<sup>120</sup> In the year 1820, for instance, several English travelers agreed on the dirt of shoes and furniture in the Low Countries.<sup>121</sup> For what such negative evidence is worth, none of our Dutch authors mentions the polishing of their shoes, in contrast to the abundance of small tasks they do mention. In sum, different societies had different “systems”, to speak with Mary Douglas, each giving cleanliness a different content. Dirt as “matter out of place” thus raises the question, to be answered for each culture separately: out of *what* place; or, perhaps more precisely: *into* what place?

### Conclusions: Modern regimes?

To summarize both chapters on dirt and cleanliness: nineteenth-century travelers from the North Sea region displayed strong aesthetic and moral reactions to dirt, disorder, stench, and stuffiness, to small or dark spaces, and sometimes also to humble or old furnishings. These different spatial characteristics were often experienced in tandem by travelers, and rhetorically connected to each other. Cleanliness, order, light, space, and fresh air thus formed a strong set of social norms as well as of intimate personal desires: status symbols as well as prerequisites for feeling comfortable.

Remarkably, as many men as women worried about these issues. Similarly, although the elites maintained hugely more extensive records of their journeys, we find equally strong evidence in workers' and petit bourgeois writing that they minded them, even though their precise ideas about what belonged where, or how something must be cleaned, differed from those of elite travelers.

Travelers had particular reason to be disturbed by dirt and disorder, perhaps even more so than those staying at home. This had causes that were at once physical and mental. Not only could it be challenging to move about in a muddy world; travelers also encountered real material distinctions between the different cleanliness cultures of Europe. Some of these cultures were geographically defined, although the differences here were only small. Within any one geographic region, however, different cleanliness cultures also existed on socioeconomic grounds, running along lines of wealth, occupation, religion, and lifestyle. What we observe in travelers, however—and in people more generally, for that matter—is that they approached these qualitatively different cultures quantitatively. That is, they ordered them on a one-dimensional scale from least civilized to most civilized. In other words,

cleanliness and its associated qualities signaled progress: a group of people changing for the better with the passage of time. Real, physical differences between (sub)cultures were thus mentally framed within a moral system. Apart from real cultural differences, travelers from the North Sea region also considered certain places dirty based on no more than their own prejudice, for the simple reason of their being located in eastern or southern Europe, for instance. Furthermore, they frequently confused ability with desire, ignoring the fact that many people across Europe did not have the means to conform to either their own cleaning standards or those of the travelers who visited them. Cleanliness, however strongly craved, is, after all, something one must be able to afford, first. Finally, many such judgments were simultaneously aesthetic and moral, with behaviors being deduced from looks, and cleanliness of the soul and of the body almost the same thing for some travelers. These nineteenth-century tendencies, by the way, of simply calling poorer people “dirty” instead of looking at subcultural differences and differentiated access to resources, and of making character judgments based on this, seem still to be with us in the twenty-first century. “Dirt experiences” and the moral and aesthetic evaluation of the so-called development of a place went, and still go, hand in hand.

Despite the fierce emotional and political responses travelers displayed, however, and despite their belief in progress, travelers’ aspirations were far from visionary. When they wanted places to be clean, nice-smelling, and well-ventilated, it meant that they wanted them to conform to their own familiar culture of cleanliness. The amount of luxury they expected, too, was to fit their own social position; not to surpass it. Apparently, such spatial characteristics signaled progress merely by being like they were at home. When it concerned the qualities of light and order, however, travelers were more progressive. Instead of contently picturing progress to look like life at home, they looked ahead to a future that might be better. Efficient, geometrical street plans such as Turin’s, which looked completely different from travelers’ home towns around the North Sea coast, were highly praised in the early decades of the century.<sup>122</sup> Evidently, travelers were more flexible and imaginative here than in their other judgments of places.

Equally modest were travelers’ interventions. However harsh their complaints, they hardly undertook anything to remedy the shortcomings they encountered. Travelers did try to make sure their own bodies were spotless, and many also organized the cleaning of their own clothes, but travelers delegated most of the organizing and almost all actual cleaning of places, clothes, and foodstuffs to local servants. This even applied to traveling workers or craftspeople like shipyard worker or shipwright Johannes van Oostendorp. Only women did on rare occasions intervene in dirty spaces. Nor did travelers usually ask local workers to clean more thoroughly when they were dissatisfied. On their journeys, they seem to have considered themselves relieved of these responsibilities—or divested of these powers. Apparently, it was not part of Dutch or perhaps North Sea culture more generally to make such

complaints to unfamiliar workers. They looked to urban authorities, private enterprises, and individual households for the redesign or improved maintenance of local environments, but without making their grievances known to them or trying to spur them into action. At home, cleaning may have been an act of spatiomaterial creativity, as Douglas and Kelley have argued.<sup>123</sup> Yet on the road, dirt and other forms of disorder primarily incited travelers to create *social* allegiances, for instance in their writings where they showed their readers that they or the group to which they belonged were ahead of others. Their foremost tactic in situ was simply to avoid dirty places. When this was impossible, they resorted to labeling things as dirty or messy, in speech or in writing. In doing so, they made sense of the world, regulated their own emotions, demonstrated superiority, and indirectly still impacted on others' and their own more practical interventions in containing "matter out of place".

Surprisingly, such containment proved increasingly unnecessary as the century progressed. This upsets the firmly established idea that since spaces became cleaner over the course of the nineteenth century, people grew more sensitive to dirt. It looks like travelers actually complained less and less. Within this book's core sample, their proportion sank from twelve out of fourteen in the 1820s to six out of ten in the 1860s and the same in the 1900s—even despite most of the shorter accounts forming part of the 1820s sample.<sup>124</sup> The shift is most noticeable with respect to streets and exteriors, bodies, tourist sights, and travelers' own accommodation and washing facilities. The tone of their remarks changed, too. Consider the harsh criticisms of Bake, Lulofs, or Wassenaer around 1825, or the ones by Perk in 1861, and compare these to a twentieth-century Ligthart or Mossel. Although statistician Jan Ackersdijck occasionally showed an understanding for structural inhibitions to the "progress" of the low-income regions he visited in 1823 already, teacher Jan Ligthart and Worldwalker Abraham Mossel did so almost as a matter of course. When, in 1911, Mossel noted the poverty, dilapidation, and stuffiness of the Swiss hovel mentioned in the previous chapter, he immediately followed with these observations:

Who would think, when one is seeing those picturesque herds' huts in the high mountains for the first time, that inside them such misery can reign. [...] what could be seen inside and outside of this hut formed a painful contrast. Through the windows, we saw the entire surroundings covered in a white gown, which [...] in its whiteness resembled a festive robe.<sup>125</sup>

Mossel's desire for picturesque views did not close his eyes to the poverty that accompanied them,<sup>126</sup> and he did not blame the inhabitants of these landscapes for the stuffiness of their dwellings, as earlier, and usually wealthier travelers were used to. If this fall in complaints within our sample is indeed representative of travelers from the North Sea region more generally, this may have been the result of three important changes in European cultures and economies.

First, it is possible that different European cleanliness cultures and cleaning practices grew more alike. Sensitivity among northwesterners concerning previously existing areas of difference may have diminished or, perhaps more likely, these areas actually became cleaner in northwestern eyes. After all, the number of paved and surfaced roads increased across the continent and horses started very slowly to disappear from the roads in the twentieth century (street mud was largely composed of horse dung).<sup>127</sup> The new prosperity that was behind such investments also had further effects. Poverty-judgments and dirt-judgments were closely linked, not just because money enabled the maintenance and upgrading of spaces but also because it had been socioeconomic prejudice that had prompted travelers to see the poverty of certain regions as a sign of dirt. Diminishing poverty in itself could therefore spur well-off travelers to see these regions in a more positive light concerning cleanliness as well. The economic growth of many European regions around 1900 may therefore have brought together what to travelers may have looked like different cleanliness cultures.

The first set of explanations thus depends on changes having taken place locally. A second explanation focuses on the minds of travelers. The more flexible and egalitarian ethic already described in previous chapters may have made travelers more easy-going in the area of dirt, too. While the existing literature attests to intensifying standards at home in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it looks as if people became more accommodating to different, “dirtier” lifestyles abroad because this was expected of travelers.

Third, and importantly, at the very end of our period we may begin to see an actual turn in the appreciation of neatness and in the very ideal of progress itself. Previously detested spaces may have earned a new appreciation as networks of paved roads and railroads became denser, old streets and buildings grew scarcer, and even these older structures became easier to light. Dusty or muddy roads, narrow streets, imposing gothic cathedrals, and cute dark cottages may have decreasingly been considered disorderly and out of place. In our own twenty-first century, tourists across the globe are familiar with this romantic destination imagery, both of the dramatic and of the quieter kind. But although these visions famously had their roots in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the art and philosophy of the sublime, the gothic, the picturesque, and the romantic, it was only in the decades around 1900 that they took hold of a considerable part of the European population and, at the same time or later, of the rest of the world.

Within the built-up environment, this shift meant an increasing appreciation of picturesque buildings and street plans. These designs were cherished despite being unlike the street plans Dutch travelers knew from home. After all, urban *shapes* that were different may have been easier to like than different *cleaning* patterns: we encountered the same mechanism in travelers’ earlier positive attitude toward highly geometric street plans. On top of that, pocket-size living spaces and inefficient transport networks are easier to like on a holiday than in one’s own workaday life. In the countryside, meanwhile,



the shift involved a greater appreciation by travelers of natural, uncultivated landscapes. As within the more urbanized environment, newness and human intervention were no longer always applauded in the country, either. To move over unpaved roads or sleep in the open became a matter of choice, rather than a necessity, for a growing number of hikers, campers, scouts, and naturalists.<sup>128</sup> Mossel was one of them. His writings exemplify what precisely this shift in spatial ideals could entail. It did not mean that Mossel appreciated dirt or stuffiness, nor even smallness, crowding, or antique furnishings. He held on to the ideal of cleanliness. Yet he transformed it into something new. Throughout his account, cleanliness and purity are related to nature, to the countryside and the outdoors, and with them to freedom and to Mossel's existence as a wanderer. It is city life, buildings, and crowds that are dirty. Mossel's views were yet far from dominant, but they did form part of a growing movement. He still judged his destinations as to how well they managed their human-built spaces, and he did so using many of the old criteria. But he expected indoor spaces to be so roomy, well-ventilated, and clean, so quiet and pretty, as to resemble the great outdoors.

## Notes

- 1 Elise van Calcar-Schiotling, *Wat Parijs mij te zien en te denken gaf* (Haarlem: Kruseman, 1859), 339, 395. Primary sources, when referenced again, will be indicated simply by their author's name.
- 2 Jan Willem Staats Evers, *Honderd dagen in Italië en Midden Europa* (Arnhem: Van der Wiel, 1872), 7–16. A third author posing moral limits to the cleaning “fetish” is mentioned by Victoria Kelley, *Soap and Water: Cleanliness, Dirt and the Working Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (London: Tauris, 2010), 66: district nurse M.E. Loane. Similar: Ivan Aleksandrovich Goncharov, *The Frigate Pallada*, trans. Klaus Goetze (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 36.
- 3 Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: UP, 1988), 186–8.
- 4 These findings contradict Wolfgang Kaschuba's argument that, around 1800, the human measure disappeared from spatial expectations: *Die Überwindung der Distanz. Zeit und Raum in der europäischen Moderne* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2004), 75.
- 5 Marie Cornélie countess of Wassenaer Obdam's 1824–1825 diary, Huisarchief Twickel, Hof van Twente, inventory number 1820/2, 135, 158 (with thanks to A. Graf Solms Sonnenwalde and archivist Aafke Brunt).
- 6 *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, ed. Amber K. Regis (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 273.
- 7 Evers, 33, 140.
- 8 Marie Adrien Perk, *Uit Opper-Italië* (Schiedam: Roelants, 1864), 237. Also Ida Pfeiffer, *Reise einer Wienerin in das Heilige Land* (Wien: Dirnböck, 1846), vol. 1, 9 (lack of trees). Herman Bavinck, “My Journey to America,” trans. James Eglinton, *Dutch Crossing* 41, no. 2 (2017): 185. For monotonous landscapes: Johanna Schopenhauer, *Ausflug an den Niederrhein und nach Belgien im Jahre 1828* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1831), 311, 318 (interior of mine); Pfeiffer, 16. Charles Lutwidge Dodgson/Lewis Carroll, *The Russian Journal*, ed. John Francis McDermott (New York: Dover, 1977), 119; Goncharov, 71. Abraham Mossel, *De wereldwandelars. Een zwerftocht door Europa* (Amsterdam: Maatschappij voor Goede en Goedkoope Lectuur, 1917), 188–99.

- 9 The classic study is Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Stanford: UP, 1990). See also John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540–1940* (Chichester: Wiley, 1996), 110; Elizabeth A. Bohls, “Picturesque Travel: The Aesthetics and Politics of Landscape,” in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Carl Thompson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 246–57.
- 10 For example, John Bake, *Reisbrieven*, ed. Willem van den Berg (Amsterdam: Querido, 1986), 11 (the romantic), 49, 78, 80, 90, 90–1. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 58, 79; Evers, 19, 30, 38, 71, 84 (linking picturesqueness to poverty and “brutish” behavior), 118; Perk, 33, 200. Surprisingly, the picturesque was sometimes mentioned together with cleanliness: Gijs Mom and Ruud Filarski, *De transport-revolutie, 1800–1900* (Zutphen: Walburg, 2008), 289 (an English traveler in North-Holland, 1877).
- 11 Mossel, 93. Dorothy Wordsworth, ahead of her time, was exceptional in appreciating picturesque Veurne (Flanders), but even she called its streets old and unclean within the same breath: *A Tour on the Continent*, ed. Ernest de Sélincourt, reissued as part of *The Continental Journals 1798–1820*, ed. Helen Boden (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1995), 16. Similarly: Conrad Busken Huet, *Van Napels naar Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Funke, 1877), 15.
- 12 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 100–1. Similar, in the earlier nineteenth century: Beets, 163; Schopenhauer, 135–7, who pitted admirable homeliness against ostentation in a museum home that she visited in the southern Netherlands, and also 154, 264.
- 13 See, for example, Anton J. Schuurman, “Is huiselijkheid typisch Nederlands?” *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (1992): 750; A.D. Karayiannis, “The Eastern Christian Fathers (a.d. 350–400) on the Redistribution of Wealth,” *History of Political Economy* 26, no. 1 (1994): 39–67; Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth-Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge: UP, 2008), 44.
- 14 Analephis (pseud.), *Reisberinneringen* (Amsterdam: Van der Vecht, 1909), 16, 19, 38–9. Analephis seems not to have enjoyed this primitiveness very much himself, however.
- 15 Henriëtte Sophia Suzanna Kuyper, “Brieven uit Meran” and “Brieven uit Italië,” *Timotheüs* 13, no. 26 (1908) – 14, no. 4 (1908): 216, 230, see also 24.
- 16 An exception for Mossel formed the (too) scant furnishings of Romanian countryside homes: 204–7.
- 17 Schuurman, “Is huiselijkheid typisch Nederlands?” 746–7.
- 18 At the end of the nineteenth century, even many laborers kept a separate best room in their small homes: a drawing room reserved for special occasions: Herman M. Beliën, *Huis, tuin en keuken* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2000), 55; H.C. Dibbits and E. Doelman, “Slapen op het platteland. Boedelbeschrijvingen uit Maassluis (1665–1900) en Maasland (1730–1900),” in *Mensen en dingen. Betekenissen van materiële cultuur*, ed. G. Rooijackers (Amsterdam: Meertens-Instituut, 1993), 345; Ileen Montijn, *Tussen stro en veren. Het bed in het Nederlandse interieur* (Wormer: Inmerc, 2006), 119.
- 19 James Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (London: Dilly, 1785), 14/8.
- 20 Schopenhauer, 185.
- 21 Bake, 27.
- 22 Kuyper, 238.
- 23 Northwestern or Protestant places were called dirty, too (Paris, Cologne, Hamburg, Chur, etc.), but their dirt was not linked to their northwestern or Protestant identity.

- 24 Key is Hugh Stowell Brown, "Cleanliness is Next to Godliness," *Twelve Lectures to the Men of Liverpool* (Liverpool: Thomson, 1858), 41–54. See Win Hayes, "Cleanliness is Next to Godliness: Swimming, Moral Purity and Physical Regeneration in Victorian Scotland," *Cahiers victoriens et édouardiens*, no. 54 (2001): 159–73; Tom Crook, "Putting Matter in its Right Place: Dirt, Time and Regeneration in Mid-Victorian Britain," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 13, no. 2 (2008): 213; Adam Mack, *Sensing Chicago: Noisemakers, Strikebreakers, and Muckrakers* (Urbana: Illinois UP, 2015), 23; on its deeper roots: Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: California UP, 1987), 375–83.
- 25 Elizabeth Shove, *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 88–9; Kelley, *Soap and Water*, 1, 26–31; Auke van der Woud, *Koninkrijk vol sloppen. Achterbuurten en vuil in de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010), 85–163. Quite exceptional in her association of dirt with wealth is Dorothy Wordsworth, visiting Hull: *The Grasmere and Alfoxden Journals*, ed. Pamela Woof (Oxford: UP, 2008), 122.
- 26 For example, Pfeiffer, 7.
- 27 Among the more careful are H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeemt and M.F.A. Linders-Rooijendijk, *Vreemde militairen in een gesloten samenleving* (Tilburg: Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1986), 114–8; Bas van Bavel and Oscar Gelderblom, "The Economic Origins of Cleanliness in the Dutch Golden Age," *Past and Present*, no. 205 (2009): 41–69; Els Kloek, *Vrouw des huizes. Een cultuurgeschiedenis van de Hollandse huisvrouw* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2009), esp. 84, 112–4, 149. Van der Woud offers counterevidence in his *Koninkrijk*, 10–1. Equally suggesting that absolute measures of cleanliness exist, Vincent Vinikas diagnoses a "net drop in dirtiness in America" around 1900, caused, for example, by the introduction of "inherently" cleaner modes of transport: "Lustrum of the Cleanliness Institute, 1927–1932," *Journal of Social History* 22, no. 4 (1989): 615–6.
- 28 Jacoba Roosendaal's 1820 diary, Het Utrechts Archief, inventory 814 Familiearchief Van Geuns, 1647–1976, inventory number 261, image 532–3.
- 29 For a critique of the dirty/clean dyad as mere metaphor, see Kelley, *Soap and Water*, 9.
- 30 Frederik Hendrik Cornelis Drieling, *Aanteekeningen op eene reize naar Zwitserland en Lombardijen, in 1829* (Utrecht: Van der Monde, 1833), 172.
- 31 Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966), esp. 2–4, 35, 39–40, 121. Note that Douglas's conception of dirt ("all the rejected elements of ordered systems") is wider than mine: its (post)structuralist scheme seems to subsume almost everything in the clean–dirty and order–disorder dichotomy. A more recent collection of essays on the intellectual history of cleanliness draws the same connections between dirt and disorder, but considers them specific to nineteenth-century European thought: Rob van der Laarse, Arnold Labrie, Willem Melching, eds., *De hang naar zuiverheid. De cultuur van het moderne Europa* (Amsterdam: Spinhuis, 1998), 3. An important study of cleanliness in France also emphasizes its moral aspects: Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, esp. 192–201. Kelley notes similar cognitive and social functions as does Mary Douglas, but focuses on their positive, caring sides as well as the coercive: *Soap and Water*, esp. 5, 103–12, 120. Key studies of cleanliness, morality, and behavior in the twentieth century are Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Shove, *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience*, esp. 79–167.
- 32 See the work done in aesthetics, the history of emotions, and sensory ethnography. Among these, disgust is a somewhat lesser researched sensory response and emotion but see, importantly, Julia Kristeva, *Pouvoirs de l'horreur* (Paris: Seuil, 1980);

- Winfried Menninghaus, *Ekel. Theorie und Geschichte einer starken Empfindung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1999); and Elisa Fiore's recent *Gentrification, Race, and the Senses: A Sensory Ethnography of Amsterdam's Indische Buurt and Rome's Tor Pignattara* (Radboud University doctoral thesis, 2021), esp. 138–71 and the literature cited there.
- 33 Kelley, *Soap and Water*, 37.
- 34 Roosendael, 622.
- 35 “propre 2, adj.,” *Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé* (Nancy: CNRTL, 2012), [www.cnrtl.fr/definition/propre](http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/propre); Lynda Mugglestone, “‘Next to Godliness?’ Exploring Cleanliness in Peace and War,” *History of European Ideas* 45, no. 3 (2019): 322–37; “sauber,” *Duden* (Berlin: Bibliographisches Institut, 2020), [www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/sauber](http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/sauber).
- 36 Douglas distinguishes 1) “instrumental” uses, creating social pressures on others, and 2) those expressing social status: *Purity and Danger*, 3–4.
- 37 For example, Fiore, *Gentrification, Race, and the Senses*.
- 38 A selection: Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, 112–41, 167–76, 228–9; Christopher Hoolihan, “Health and Travel in Nineteenth-Century Rome,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 44 (1989): 462–85; Dieter Richter, “Die Angst des Reisenden, die Gefahren der Reise,” in *Reisekultur*, Bausinger, Beyrer, and Korff (München: Beck, 1991), 107; Joel Mokyr, “Why ‘More Work for Mother?’ Knowledge and Household Behavior, 1870–1945,” *Journal of Economic History* 60, no. 1 (2000): 141; James C. Riley, *Rising Life Expectancy: A Global History* (Cambridge: UP, 2001), 60–8, 95–6, 177–82, 187–9; Shove, *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience*, 85–8, 115; Theo Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen mensen* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2009), 97–122; Kelley, *Soap and Water*, 22, 24; Auke van der Woud, *Het lege land. De ruimtelijke orde van Nederland 1798–1848* (Amsterdam: Olympus, 2010), 388–412; Mack, *Sensing Chicago*, 22.
- 39 Notable exceptions involved professional sailing cultures: Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick or, the Whale* (New York: Modern Library, 2000), 584–9; Elise Juzda Smith, “‘Cleanse or Die’: British Naval Hygiene in the Age of Steam, 1840–1900,” *Medical History* 62, no. 2 (2018). Other exceptions were those Dutch travelers who feared locals begging for a living, for instance in Tivoli: see Chapter 4.
- 40 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 29–40; Kelley, *Soap and Water*, 20, 25; Peter Ward, *The Clean Body: A Modern History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2019), 47.
- 41 Riley, *Rising Life Expectancy*, 178.
- 42 As argued by Mokyr, “Why ‘More Work.’”
- 43 Mack, *Sensing Chicago*, 17, 26–7.
- 44 Beliën, *Huis, tuin en keuken*, 58–9. Also Montijn, *Stro en veren*, 127–39; Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800–1910* (Chicago: UP, 2008), 102–5; Van der Woud, *Koninkrijk*.
- 45 Both quoted in Esme Cleall, “Far-Flung Families and Transient Domesticity: Missionary Households in Metropole and Colony,” *Victorian Review* 39, no. 2 (2013): 163–79.
- 46 Two of them did not even mention the theme of cleanliness: Marie Mensing’s 1872 travel account, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, Archief Muijzenberg-Willemse, inventory number 104; Catharina Romein-Ter Marsch’s 1906 diary, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, Archief J. Romein, inventory number 725.
- 47 Anna Maria Kruseman (born Ross), *Mijn reisverhaal en dagboek* (Rotterdam: Jacob, 1834), 42–4.
- 48 See, for example, travelers’ avoidance of certain accommodation, certain furniture, of walking through mud (Evers, 85), and their concerns about parasites.
- 49 Roosendael, 574, 612.

- 50 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 4. This statement also includes social functions, which I discuss separately. See also Bernice Martin, “‘Mother Wouldn’t Like It!’; Housework as Magic,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 2, no. 2 (1984): 19–36. William M. Reddy’s concept of emotives is similar to the “dirt labels” with cognitive and emotional effects, described here: “Sentimentalism and Its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution,” *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 1 (2000): 113–19.
- 51 See Sabine Schülting, *Dirt in Victorian Literature and Culture: Writing Materiality* (London: Routledge, 2016), 116–17.
- 52 I have not encountered nineteenth-century examples of spaces “sounding” dirty.
- 53 Schülting, *Dirt*, abstract. See Bernice Martin’s fascinating essay on dispelling existential dread through domestic order: “‘Mother Wouldn’t Like It!’; Housework as Magic,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 2, no. 2 (1984): 22.
- 54 See note 50 in Chapter 4.
- 55 See E.S. Houwaart, *De hygiënisten. Artsen, staat en volksgezondheid in Nederland 1840–1890* (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 1991).
- 56 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Richard Nice, 1984).
- 57 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2007), 10.
- 58 Mack, *Sensing Chicago*, 20.
- 59 Gavin Daly, *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War: Encounters with Spain and Portugal, 1808–1814* (2013), 51.
- 60 Schülting, *Dirt*, 118–9.
- 61 And just like people forced others to comply to their own ideals of cleanliness, they enforced their own ideals of domesticity, as we saw in Chapter 2. Michel Foucault argues that this, too, served to create social order and thus ensure the service of one person to another: *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Penguin, 1991), 291.
- 62 Lynda Mugglestone, “‘Next to’”.
- 63 European elites had a range of potential dehumanization or distancing tactics at their disposal: another one was the picturesque lens, described in Bohls, “Picturesque Travel.”
- 64 Many of these ideas are explored in Mugglestone, “‘Next to,’” 327–35, extending Anne McClintock’s landmark study *Imperial Leather* to include social and patriotic as well as imperial sale arguments. Also Ian Grosvenor and Kevin Myers, “‘Dirt and the Child’: A Textual and Visual Exploration of Children’s Physical Engagement with the Urban and the Natural World,” *History of Education* 49, no. 4 (2020): 517–35.
- 65 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 40, about ritual and art; James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 151, about male travel; Joseph Bristow, “‘Dirty Pleasure’: Trilby’s Filth,” in *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, ed. W.A. Cohen and R. Johnson (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2005), 155–81, about cross-class nostalgia; Van der Woud, *Lege land*, 393–6, about practical uses; Kelley, *Soap and Water*, 2; Grosvenor and Myers, “‘Dirt’” about (mid-twentieth-century) childhood development.
- 66 About Britain: Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: UP, 2006), 183–227; Tom Crook, “Putting Matter,” 200–5; Britain and France: Schülting, *Dirt*, 79–114; twenty-first-century Germany: Anne Sophie Krossa, *Analysing Society in a Global Context: Empirical Studies on Sociation Processes of Volunteers and Refugees* (Cham: Springer, 2020), 15–47.
- 67 Virginia Nicholson, *Among the Bohemians* (London: Penguin, 2003), esp. 200.
- 68 Schopenhauer, 74.

- 69 The Spanish “Bohemians” in Chapter 4 seem to have offered an interesting spectacle to Henrica Françoise Rees van Tets (born Gevaets), *Voyage d'une hollandaise en France en 1819*, ed. Maurice Garçon (Paris: Pauvert, 1966).
- 70 Asa Briggs, *The Age of Improvement* (London: Longmans and Green, 2000).
- 71 Van der Woud, *Koninkrijk*, 380–3.
- 72 See for similar observations Goffe Jensma, *Het rode tasje van Salverda. Burgerlijk bewustzijn en Friese identiteit in de negentiende eeuw* (Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy, 1998), 67–8; Mack, *Sensing Chicago*, 14–5, 24.
- 73 Schopenhauer, 262–3; similar: 223–4.
- 74 Jan Ackersdijck, *Verslag van zijn Hongaarse reis in 1823*, ed. László Makkai and L.Z. Bujtás (Budapest: Helikon, 1987), 38.
- 75 See, for example, Ackersdijck’s odd use of the term “street” for an unpaved and probably even unsurfaced town road.
- 76 On the Netherlands: Van der Woud, *Lege land*, 141–69, 352–7.
- 77 For example, Ackersdijck in Bratislava; Kruseman-Ross in Paris.
- 78 Ackersdijck, 51–2.
- 79 Mossel, 119. And Goncharov was able, at least, to disconnect wealth and order; at one point, he describes a village as poor *and* neat: 363.
- 80 Mossel, 203. At least he was right that Bucharest’s demographics were about to explode.
- 81 Barthold Hendrik Lulofs, *Reistogtje met de stoomboot naar Hamburg, in den zomer van 1826* (Groningen: Oomkens, 1827), vol. 1, 63.
- 82 Jacob van Lennep, “Dagboek / Van mijne reis; in 1823,” published as *Nederland in den goeden ouden tijd*, ed. M. Elisabeth Kluit (Utrecht: De Haan, 1942), 18, 22, (24).
- 83 Van Calcar-Schiotling, 71. The same attitude: Rees van Tets, 101. For Isaiah, I used the King James translation.
- 84 See Karl Marx’s analysis, nominally about England but no doubt informed by his investigations in other northwestern European cities, among which was Paris: *Capital*, trans. Ben Fowkes (London: Penguin, 1990), vol. 1, 812–5.
- 85 Kruseman-Ross, 61.
- 86 Roosendael, 596–7? Evers, 44. Comparable, about care for the poor: Van Calcar-Schiotling, 140; Evers, 44.
- 87 For example, Van der Woud, *Lege land*, 49–77.
- 88 Even in so sumptuous a location as Saint Petersburg’s royal hall: Wassenaer, /3, 30.
- 89 De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, 128–9; Hester Dibbits, “Vertrouwd bezit. Materiële cultuur in Doesburg en Maassluis, 1650–1800” (VU Amsterdam doctoral thesis, 1998), 121. By 1842, this situation in the streets of Istanbul had become noticeable for an Austrian: Pfeiffer, 33.
- 90 A distinction suggested by Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (London: Verso, 1996), 4.
- 91 Anette Freytag, “When the Railway Conquered the Garden: Velocity in Parisian and Viennese Parks,” in *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2003), 227. One can effectively speak of a European railway age from around the 1840s.
- 92 Towner, *Historical Geography*, 110, 119–21.
- 93 Schopenhauer, 190–1.
- 94 Freytag, too, seems to describe meandering, picturesque park designs as a reaction against straight city streets.
- 95 Mentioned as drawbacks by John Armstrong and David M. Williams, “The Steamboat and Popular Tourism,” *Journal of Transport History* 26 (2005): 63.
- 96 For the effect of open carriages, see Susan Major, “‘The Million Go Forth’: Early Railway Excursion Crowds, 1840–1860” (University of York doctoral thesis, 2012), esp. 210–4.

- 97 Perk, 184.
- 98 Lulofs, vol. 1, 41.
- 99 Dick van Lente, *Techniek en ideologie 1850–1920* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1988), 150; Jensma, *Rode tasje*, 94–6; Crook, “Putting Matter,” 206; Hannu Salmi, *Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 26, 73–5; Mack, *Sensing Chicago*, 28; Grosvenor and Myers, “‘Dirt,’” 521.
- 100 Rees van Tets, 13.
- 101 Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the elder’s 1829 notes, Het Utrechts Archief, inventory 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, inventory number 564, fol. 6v. He did not call it dirty, however.
- 102 Roosendael, 570.
- 103 Gerard Jan Ligthart, *In Zweden* (Groningen: Wolters, 1924), 230.
- 104 Heinrich Heine, *Reisebilder* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1981), 22–3.
- 105 Factories and mines visited: Ackersdijck, for example, 33–4; Charles Théodore Jean baron of Constant Rebecque’s 1819 diary, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, collection 066 De Constant Rebecque, (1925–1966), 1802–1941, inventory number 61, 29/6, 13/7; Drieling, 263–5; Heine; Kruseman-Ross, 127–8; Rees van Tets, 168, 172, 173; Roosendael, 430, 491, 510, 516, 537, 568, 570, 594, 599, 600, 607; Schopenhauer, 52–64; Wassenaer, /3, 131–9, /4, 20; Cunera Cornelia Wilkens-Hubert’s 1820 diary, Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, Den Haag, Familiearchief 00374, inventory number 95, 6/8. Van Calcar-Schiotling, 181–2; Evers, 18 (an exception: the silk cottage industry rather than a factory); Mensing, 7. Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort the younger’s 1911(?) diary, Het Utrechts Archief, inventory 53 Familiearchief De Beaufort, inventory number 1090, 8/9; Kuyper, 31; Ligthart, 164.
- 106 Alain Corbin, *Le temps, le désir et l’horreur* (Paris: Aubier, 1991), 185–6.
- 107 A.A. Meharg and K. Killham, “A Pre-Industrial Source of Dioxins and Furans,” *Nature*, no. 421 (2003): 909–10.
- 108 Peter van Overbeeke, *Kachels, geisers en formuizen. Keuzeprocessen en energieverbruik in Nederlandse huishoudens 1920–1975* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), 31–4; Kelley, *Soap and Water*, 75–6; Van der Woud, *Lege land*, 413.
- 109 Desiderius Erasmus, *De ratione studii* (Strasbourg: Matthias Schürer, 1518), fol. 5v. Another early source: Daniel Defoe, *A Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Journeys*, first publ. 1724–27 (London: Dent, 1927), letter 8, part 3.
- 110 Van der Woud, *Koninkrijk*, 273–8.
- 111 Roosendael, 600, also 430, 431.
- 112 Charles J. Rzepka, “Pictures of the Mind: Iron and Charcoal, ‘Ouzy’ Tides and ‘Vagrant Dwellers’ at Tintern 1798,” *Studies in Romanticism* 42 (2003): esp. 160, 163.
- 113 Schopenhauer, 52–3, 62, 87, 91–3, 317. See for more examples from the early century, for example, Rees van Tets, 173; Van Lente, *Techniek en ideologie*.
- 114 Kuyper, 292.
- 115 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 2.
- 116 Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 1–11.
- 117 Bavel and Gelderblom, “Economic Origins.”
- 118 Kelley similarly distinguishes different subcultures of cleanliness *within* Britain, agreeing that it is unproductive to regard these as different *degrees* of cleanliness: *Soap and Water*, esp. 2, 10.
- 119 Tim Edensor, “Waste Matter: The Debris of Industrial Ruins and the Disorder of the Material World,” *Journal of Material Culture* 10, no. 3 (2005): 312.
- 120 See, apart from the accounts discussed in this book, also Kees Boschma, *Reizen in Napoleons tijd* (Abcoude: Uniepers, 1992); Heidi de Mare, “The Domestic

- Boundary as Ritual Area in Seventeenth-Century Holland,” in *Urban Rituals in Italy and the Netherlands*, ed. De Mare and Anna Vos (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1993); Bavel and Gelderblom, “Economic Origins;” Corine Maitte, “The European ‘Grand Tour’ of Italian Entrepreneurs,” in *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, ed. Rosemary Sweet, Gerrit Verhoeven, and Sarah Goldsmith (London: Routledge, 2017), 173.
- 121 Wordsworth, *Tour*, 20, also about the Continent more generally but they had not seen much of it yet.
- 122 For example, Bake, 56.
- 123 Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 2; Kelley, *Soap and Water*, 11, 15.
- 124 See the references at the start of Chapter 4.
- 125 Mossel, 90.
- 126 Bohls also identifies such alternations of sympathetic and distancing forms of picturesque viewing in British and French accounts: “Picturesque Travel.”
- 127 Kelley, *Soap and Water*, 77. Mossel had high hopes for the quick electrification of Bucharest’s horse-drawn tramways: 203.
- 128 For example, Carel Fredrik Gülcher’s 1902 diary, Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, collection 371 Gülcher, 1762–1980, inventory number 17, 11/8, 12/8; Lighthart, 174–5. Also Klaas van Berkel, *Vóór Heimans en Thijsse. Frederik van Eeden sr. en de natuurbeleving in negentiende-eeuws Nederland* (Amsterdam: KNAW, 2006), 134, 203, 478; Auke van der Woud, *Een nieuwe wereld. Het ontstaan van het moderne Nederland* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2006), 190, 192; David E. Nye, “Consumption of Energy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford: UP, 2012), 316.