

Emancipation, Regulation, Collaboration
How the First World War changed the Dutch book trade

I. Koster

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INTRODUCTION

In 2006 a collection of studies appeared on the Dutch book trade during the Second World War.¹ It was a welcome addition to a series of earlier publications on this important period in Dutch history. By comparison, very little is known about the Dutch book trade during the First World War. The main reason for this neglect no doubt is that the Netherlands declared themselves neutral in this great conflict. Nevertheless, it appeared to be useful to do research on the subject, since chances are that this war as well had impact on the Dutch book trade.

Research question

In order to find out the impact the First World War had on the Dutch book trade, several questions need to be asked. The main question for this research is: What changes did the First World War cause in the Dutch book trade? To answer this question, some sub-questions needed to be asked, which are discussed in separate chapters. One chapter deals with political and legislative issues regarding the book trade. Another discusses economical and practical aspects. A third chapter goes into social and cultural developments. A final chapter is concerned with Dutch book production during this period. By answering these questions, an overview is presented of the main influences on the Dutch book trade during the First World War.

Method

As the time available for this study was limited, the main source of information has been the *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel*, the journal of the *Vereniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels*, the overarching association of the Dutch book trade. The *Nieuwsblad* appeared twice a week and reported on everything that had to do with the book trade. Moreover, it provided actual information on the effects of the war on the book trade.

The study is structured as follows: first, a historical background will be given, to provide a framework of the circumstances of the war and its effects on the Netherlands. Next, the four sub-questions will be dealt with, each in a separate chapter. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn, in which the main results of the research are discussed. Suggestions for further research will be given as well.

Relevance

As little is known about the book trade in the Netherlands during this period, a general overview presented here can help to fill the gap in our knowledge and to provide a basis for further research.

1 H. Renders, Lisa Kuitert and Ernst Bruinsma (eds.), *Inktpatronen: de Tweede Wereldoorlog en het boekbedrijf in Nederland en Vlaanderen* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2006).

1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before zooming in on the book industry during the First World War, it is necessary to know what exactly happened during this war. The period of the First World War is not commonly known and often forgotten, so this chapter will give a general overview of the First World War, explain what caused the War, tell the position of the Netherlands in this War and lastly how the War ended and the effects of the War.

General overview

The First World War started in 1914 and ended in 1918. The two warring parties were the Central Powers (Germany, Austria and Turkey) and the Allies (France, Great Britain and Russia). The First World War is known as a trench war, in which the two parties fired at each other from the trenches. The war has cost millions of victims.²

First, it looked like the Central Powers would win the war. However, when in 1917 the United States joined the Allies, the tables turned. In 1918 the Central Powers surrendered.

The Netherlands stayed neutral during the war, because this was at the time the base of the Dutch foreign policy. The army was mobilised though, but only to defend the Dutch territory. Many Belgian refugees came to the Netherlands and were accommodated in tent camps. Because the international trade was affected by the war, the unemployment in the country increased. In 1917, food was rationed, which caused lootings of food stocks in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the end of 1917 and beginning of 1918.

The causes of the First World War

According to Article 231 of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, Germany was the only country that caused the First World War. Important to know is that this Treaty was compiled by the three main Allied Forces, France, Great-Britain and the United States. However, contrary to popular belief, Germany was not the cause of the First World War. There were many factors that together lead to the start of the War that would be followed by even a bigger war, about twenty years later.³

Until 1870, a war raged between France and Prussia, which was lost by

2 'De Eerste Wereldoorlog; Oorlog en Neutraliteit', *Entoen.nu*, n.pag. <<http://www.entoen.nu/eerstewereldoorlog>> (6 February, 2016).

3 Menno Wielinga, *De oorzaken van de Eerste Wereldoorlog - de Europese politiek van 1871 tot 1914*, *Wereldoorlog1418.nl*, < <http://www.wereldoorlog1418.nl/oorzaken/#02>> (5 March, 2016).

France. Germany annexed Alsace-Lorraine, and became one of the most powerful nations in Europe. On the other hand Russia won some wars, resulting in the Peace of Stefano in 1878. In the time, Austria-Hungary and Russia had completely conflicting interests, since they both wanted to expand their territory in the Balkan. But Great-Britain as well didn't want Russia to become more powerful. This all resulted in the Congress of Berlin, also held in 1878, where Russia was forced to give back some of its territory, causing a rearrangement of the Balkan. The interests of countries changed, just like their attitudes towards each other. Germany used to have a covenant with Austria-Hungary and Russia, but the covenant with the last was not continued in 1890 because it did not match the appointments made in the covenant with Austria-Hungary. When France knew the covenant between Germany and Russia was over, it made overtures to Russia to get a covenant with the country. This was a good idea for both parties: France had Germany as its enemy, and Russia saw Austria-Hungary as an enemy. As a result of this covenant, France supported Russia financially to make the country able to mobilise in the same speed as France was mobilising. Russia agreed, and the secret covenant was officially established in 1893.⁴

Meanwhile, Italy in its turn had joined Germany, because France gained influence in the Northern parts of Africa. Italy was not really friends with Austria-Hungary because of conflicting interests in the Balkan, but this did not stop them to make the Triple Alliance in 1882. After that, France also approached Great-Britain for a covenant, since Germany was an economical threat to the country. Great-Britain had tried to join the Alliance of Germany, but Germany did not think that necessary, since Great-Britain would never join a covenant with Russia. Germany was wrong, and after agreeing with France, Great-Britain also made overtures to Russia. France also convinced Italy into a secret bond, because the Triple Alliance was not strong anymore after Germany refused to help Italy with gaining colonies. Europe now consisted of two covenant groups, of which the one (France, Russia and Great-Britain) had agreed to attack the other countries if they would mobilise. The Triple Entente was a fact, and Germany was isolated. It was not the question if, but when a big war would start.⁵

After an arms race between Germany and Great-Britain (both countries strengthened their naval forces), Great-Britain tried to improve the relationship with Germany. The Germans reacted very positive, which was surprising for the British Government. A draft of an agreement was written, but Great-Britain did not agree on those plans; they were not in accordance with their covenant with

4 Hans Andriessen, *Het ontstaan van de Eerste Wereldoorlog*, Historiek.net, 6 July 2015, n.pag. <<http://historiek.net/het-ontstaan-van-de-eerste-wereldoorlog/51194/#.Vp-A8fkrLIV1>> (8 February, 2016); Wielinga, *De oorzaken van de Eerste Wereldoorlog - de Europese politiek van 1871 tot 1914*.

5 Andriessen, *Het ontstaan van de Eerste Wereldoorlog*, 2015; Wielinga, *De oorzaken van de Eerste Wereldoorlog - de Europese politiek van 1871 tot 1914*.

France. Germany was disappointed, and finished the discussion. France was waiting for the war to start. Poincaré, the new premier, wanted revenge for Alsace-Lorraine, and waited for a reason to recapture the area. Great-Britain was steaming up its army so that it was prepared for a war.⁶

One incident led to the start of the First World War. It is a well-known incident: The murder of the Austria-Hungarian archduke Franz Ferdinand at the 28th of June 1914. He was killed by Serbian terrorists, and Austria-Hungary decided a month after the attack to mobilise against Serbia. Russia had already chosen the side of Serbia in a conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, and had promised to help the country in a war. The 30th of July the general mobilisation of Russia against both Germany and Austria-Hungary was announced. France mobilised as well, before Germany, and the latter realised that it would have to fight a war at two fronts. This was against the Von Schlieffen plan Germany had made. This plan meant that Russia was not strong enough yet, so Germany would first attack France, without Russia being able to help, and after that attack Russia, to prevent a war on two battlefronts.⁷

Being in between two attacking countries, Germany had to think of a solution. It stated Russia an ultimatum to stop mobilizing. Russia did not respond to this, and Germany had to attack as well. This caused that Germany nowadays is known as the one who started the First World War.⁸

The Netherlands and the First World War

The Netherlands declared themselves neutral in the beginning of the war. This had several reasons. Firstly, the Netherlands were too small to be able to resist the other countries. Secondly, in 1913 measures were made on international rights in The Hague during a Peace Conference. To keep these measures and prevent losing the colonies, the Netherlands chose neutrality.⁹

The Dutch people were afraid that their neutrality would not be respected, as had happened to Belgium. Germany needed to annex Belgium in order to get to France, since the French border shared with Germany was too well guarded. The Netherlands took measures to prevent such a thing: If the Dutch neutrality was violated, the land that was held responsible for that infringement was addressed. Those countries responded differently to the allegations: some countries contested the Dutch interpretation of the incident, but as soon as turned out that the Netherlands was in their right, compensation was paid. When sol-

6 Wielinga, *De oorzaken van de Eerste Wereldoorlog - de Europese politiek van 1871 tot 1914*.

7 Andriessen, *Het ontstaan van de Eerste Wereldoorlog*, 2015; Wielinga, *De oorzaken van de Eerste Wereldoorlog - de Europese politiek van 1871 tot 1914*.

8 Andriessen, *Het ontstaan van de Eerste Wereldoorlog*, 2015.

9 'Eerste Wereldoorlog in Nederland', *Wikipedia.nl*, 2 November 2015, n.pag., <https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eerste_Wereldoorlog_in_Nederland> (8 February, 2016).

diers passed the Dutch border, they had to be disarmed and interned for the rest of the war. Refugees from both Belgium and Germany stayed in camps. To prevent smuggling, an electric thread covered the border between Belgium and the Netherlands by the Germans, causing both Dutch and Belgian victims.¹⁰

It was an advantage for both Great-Britain and Germany to respect the Dutch neutrality. Germany used the Netherlands as a supply chain, since Great-Britain had blocked the German waters. Great-Britain on its turn used the Dutch for information, and had no fear for hostility from the North Sea. Both quarrelling parties made use of the Netherlands, so it became the centre of espionage, having Rotterdam as its node with the train connections with Belgium and Germany and the boat connections to Great-Britain. Not only the Germans and British were spying; they got help from several Dutch spies. One of the most famous spies is the Frisian Mata Hari.¹¹

All the measures taken to protect the Dutch neutrality, did not mean that the Netherlands survived the war unharmed. In the submarine war, Dutch trading vessels also were attacked when the Germans thought that they were smuggling. About 1200 Dutch mariners were killed, and the Dutch navy was forced to take other routes to get to the Indies and the Netherlands. The country had also to deal with bombardments. Those were always accidents: since the country was in between quarrelling countries and the fight planes were not equipped with proper navigation, pilots got lost sometimes and accidentally dropped their bombs in the Netherlands. Besides, the Dutch airspace was used by both Germany and Great-Britain as a flying route, because the Dutch army didn't dispose of qualitative artillery. That made the route over the Netherlands safer and faster than any other route. To protect the country, the army was strengthened: men younger than 40 with a history in the army, had to mobilise. What the army did was generally practice, though an eye was kept on the fighting countries to learn from their tactics. Sometimes, planes from other countries that were forced to land in the Netherlands, were kept for the Dutch army.¹²

Towards the end of the war, circumstances became worse. About 500.000 men were mobilised, leaving their families and jobs. They became more and more dissatisfied, causing riots and not listening to officers anymore. In the last year of the war, many companies closed and people lost their jobs. The Spanish flu appeared, causing about 17.400 victims in the Netherlands. There was hun-

10 'Eerste Wereldoorlog in Nederland', *Wikipedia.nl*, 2015; Marleen de Roode, 'Nederland in de Eerste Wereldoorlog: hoe neutraal waren we werkelijk?', in: *Scientas*, 22 February 2014, n.pag., <<http://www.scientias.nl/nederland-neutraal-oorlog/>> (2 April, 2016).

11 'Eerste Wereldoorlog in Nederland', *Wikipedia.nl*, 2015; Marleen de Roode, 'Nederland in de Eerste Wereldoorlog: een waar spionageparadijs', in: *Scientas*, 26 March 2014, n.pag., <<http://www.scientias.nl/nederland-spionage-paradijs/>> (2 April, 2016).

12 De Roode, 'Nederland in de Eerste Wereldoorlog: hoe neutraal waren we werkelijk?', 2014.

ger and scarcity, causing loots of food storages in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. This scarcity was mainly because the Netherlands traded a lot with both parties before the war started. It relied on Germany for its coal, which gave the last a powerful position: if the Netherlands wanted coal, they had to provide Germany with food. A well-known riot in 1917 in Amsterdam happened when ships with potatoes for Germany were waiting in the haven to take off to Germany, and the citizens attacked the ships to get back 'their' food.¹³

The end of the war

The Allied parties were gathered in Paris in 1919 to make a new division of Europe. On the meeting, the Belgium minister of Foreign Affairs, Paul Hymans, demanded parts of the south of the Netherlands. This was not without reason: he was unhappy with how the Netherlands had behaved the last period of the war. The fleeing German troops were namely permitted to use the Dutch area to get back to Germany quickly, and the German emperor William the Second was granted asylum in the Netherlands as well. However, the other parties did not agree with Hymans. They were afraid that in the case of such a reorganisation, the Netherlands could choose the side of a restored Germany, and the Dutch army was already taking measures to invade Belgium preventatively. To prevent another European conflict, Hymans did not get his way. The rest of Europe did change. Austria and Hungary separated, Russia was ruled by a communistic regime instead of a tsar, the Balkan became Yugoslavia and Great-Britain and France divided the Ottoman empire amongst them. The creation of Yugoslavia caused many conflicts. Several states with different ideas and people were put together, with Serbia as the leading country. It was a state with 24 languages and 3 main religions. Several riots took place, and the worst of the ongoing battle was the genocide in Bosnia. Only in 2003, the country was disbanded, leaving scars until this day.¹⁴

After the war, in 1919, the League of Nations was established, with as a main goal preventing new wars. In 1935, the League had 58 members, but in the end it was not taken serious anymore. Important countries like the United States, Germany and the Soviet Union were not members of the League. The Netherlands were also not keen on the League; they wanted to stay neutral. In 1946, the League was finally abolished. After the war, the Netherlands decided to economize the army again, since much money was spent on the army during

13 'Eerste Wereldoorlog in Nederland', *Wikipedia.nl*, 2015; De Roode, 'Nederland in de Eerste Wereldoorlog: hoe neutraal waren we werkelijk?', 2014.

14 'Eerste Wereldoorlog in Nederland', *Wikipedia.nl*, 2015; Marleen de Roode, 'De Eerste Wereldoorlog: de oorlog die nooit eindigde', in: *Scientas*, 15 November 2014, n.pag., <<http://www.scientias.nl/de-oorlog-die-nooit-eindigde/>> (2 April, 2016).

the war. However, when Hitler's power became clear after 1936, they had to subsidise the army again.¹⁵

Some people say the First World War never ended. Germany was technically not beaten; the country was never invaded or occupied. The Peace of Versailles with its measures was drawn, but this was in fact only an armistice. A French marshal proposed to invade Germany, to show that it was beaten, but his proposal was declined; the governments rather agreed upon the measures, so that Germany would lose some of its power. The German people felt angry about the criticism that they had begun the war. Hitler took this as a reason to rebel against the other countries and get the people at his side. Besides, the economic crisis in the country boosted the German nationalism, and the popularity of the Nazis.¹⁶ A new war would start soon.

15 De Roode, 'Nederland in de Eerste Wereldoorlog: hoe neutraal waren we werkelijk?', 2014.

16 De Roode, 'De Eerste Wereldoorlog: de oorlog die nooit eindigde', 2014.

2 LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL ISSUES

One of the major changes the years 1914-1918 have caused, is the increasing importance of regulation and legislation. In this chapter, aspects on the level of legislation and politics will be discussed. These aspects will mainly show the increasing importance of legislation and regulation, but as well the emancipation of the book trade and the collaboration of the various stakeholders. One of the most important events with regard to publishing in the Netherlands in the years 1914-1918 was the introduction of the new Copyright Act of 1915. These developments will be dealt with in chronological order. Firstly, Article 13 of the Regulations of the *Vereniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels* (Book Trade Association, henceforth VBBB) will be discussed. Then light will be shed on the discussion around the Copyright Act of 1912 in relation to the Berne Convention and the adaption of the Act in 1915. Thirdly, the fraud with complementary copies will be discussed. Next, the establishment of the *Vakschool voor de Boekhandel* (School for the Book Trade), the reorganization of the District Committees, the regional committees that covered a certain area of the book world, will be described. The establishment of the Central Council, an overarching organization for the book trade, will also be discussed. Lastly, attention will be given to the Law on Statistics and the Stamp Act.

Article 13 of the Regulations of the Booksellers' Association

The VBBB, which for about a hundred years acted on behalf of booksellers and publishers, had its own set of regulations, on the basis of which legal matters were settled in the bookselling world. One of the regulations that was most often violated by the members was Article 13, which enhanced the categorization of publications. Publishers often provided a list of their products, on which other members could sign in for tender. These products had to be ordered in a certain way; books had to be separately tendered for, and were not allowed to be tendered together with other printed products. Regularly, the names of firms that had been penalized for violating the article were published in the *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel*. These firms were excluded from trade and tender. Other firms were prohibited to deliver books to these firms; if they did, they were also punished.

Often, members of the VBBB had to be reminded not to violate Article 13 by announcements in the *Nieuwsblad*, explaining what exactly was forbidden. Such an announcement appeared on 20 January, 1914. It informed members that Article 13 3c end would be more strictly implemented:

Het wordt verplichtend gesteld, om, bij aanbestedingen, voor de boeken, tijdschriften, land- en zeekaarten, platen, atlassen, schrijf- en

teekencursussen afzonderlijk in te schrijven en die inschrijving in geen enkel opzicht in verband te brengen met de inschrijving van andere goederen, waaronder ook bindwerk, cartonneren der boeken en dergelijke wordt verstaan, noch omgekeerd, en waar bedoeld verband op eenigerlei wijze door den besteder wordt aangebracht, zich van die inschrijving te onthouden.¹⁷

If books were provided in combination with other goods, members were not allowed to sign up for the tender. Both the firm that provided in this way and the people signing up were excluded from supply. Especially in the time that publishers could sign up for school supplies, the Board of the VBBB warned for schools violating Article 13 and combining books with other goods. In some cases, it only was a matter of putting certain things in the wrong category, so that people could still sign up, in other cases, people were prohibited to sign up with these firms. From the repeated warnings and exclusions of members and non-members, published in the *Nieuwsblad*, one can tell that Article 13 was strictly complied with by the Board, and violation was not tolerated. The reason behind this strict attitude was that the board wanted to reach “healthy circumstances”, and because they were very close to these circumstances, they wanted to keep the regulations. These healthy circumstances enhanced that they wanted to prevent fraud and wanted their members to keep the regulations. By reacting strictly, they hoped the members would stop violating the regulations.¹⁸

In October 1914, a minor change was introduced in the Regulations, stating that from now on the discount for municipalities and educational institutions should not be higher than 10%, and, from 1918 onwards, not higher than 5%. The Board of the VBBB promised to stay strict on those new changes.¹⁹

It was, however, possible to repent from the violation of Article 13. One had to promise by letter to comply with the Regulations, and to adhere to the penalty provision set by the Board. After doing so, one was reinstated as a full member.²⁰

The strict attitude towards the violation of regulations can be seen as one of the first steps in making legislation more important. Another step, already taken in 1912 when the Netherlands created its own Copyright Act after joining the

17 ‘Inschrijving op aanbestedingen’, *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel*, 20 January, 1914, pp. 77-78. Translation: *It is obligatory, with tenders, to sign in seperately for books, magazines, maps, posters, atlases, write- and draw courses, and this tender may not be connected in any manner with the tender for other products, among which as well is included binding, cartoning of books and such, or vice versa, and if such a connection is created by the tendering party, one has to refrain from tendering.*

18 ‘Inschrijving op aanbestedingen’, *Nieuwsblad*, 12 May, 1914, p. 555.

19 ‘Algemeen reglement’, *Nieuwsblad*, 9 October, 1914, pp. 1174-1175.

20 ‘Kennisgeving’, *Nieuwsblad*, 23 October, 1914, pp. 1245-1246.

Berne Convention, shows both the increasing importance of legislation and the increasing of members of the book world standing up for their rights.

Copyright Act of 1912

In 1912, a new copyright act was established by the government. However, in January 1914, a discussion on this act began, since its Article 50 appeared not to benefit but rather to harm publishers and printers.²¹ This article was about republishing, by which was meant translating, but also the publication of books reproducing works of art by means of clichés. The article stated that publishers were not allowed to sell any republications (translations, art books) produced before 1 September, 1912.

The discussion began by a letter sent by the Board of the *Nederlandse Uitgeversbond* (Dutch Publishers' Association) to the Minister of Justice, which was published in the *Nieuwsblad* of 30 January, 1914. It contained the objections the Association had mainly against Article 50 of the new act.²² Their argument was that publishers had only until November 1914 to sell any of these reproductions produced before 1912, which caused several problems, firstly that the heirs of artists and writers would cause trouble, and secondly that all their clichés and plates used for the production of these works would become worthless. These two arguments were used repeatedly to convince the government to reconsider the new act. Examples were given of heirs who had asked such a high sum of the publisher to maintain his right to publish the reproductions, that he could not make any profit anymore on the reproductions. In addition they argued that two years (from 1912 to 1914) was way too short to sell all the remaining reproductions in a small country like the Netherlands.

In the *Nieuwsblad* of 13 February, 1914, another letter was published, again addressed to the Minister of Justice. In that letter, the Board of the VBBB pointed out that objections had already been raised against the new act even before it became effective, but that only now the real impact of the act was becoming clear. Three parts of the Dutch publishing industry would be affected severely: translations, illustrated art books containing reproductions, and the materials with which the works were created were now being threatened. In the case of translations, both the publisher and the bookseller were affected, since it took about ten years before a translation would pay back its investments, and the bookseller did not always know if the translation he sold was still 'legal'. In case of the artworks, especially the heirs could cause serious trouble, asking huge amounts of money for the publishing rights. If the publisher decided not to publish a certain work anymore, still his material would cost him money, since he

21 'De nieuwe Auteurswet en de Nederlandsche Concertinstellingen in muziekverenigingen', *Nieuwsblad*, 27 January, 1914, p. 109.

22 'Auteurswet', *Nieuwsblad*, 30 January 1914, pp. 120-121.

could not use the plates and clichés anymore. The letter ended with a threefold request: firstly, that publishers would get the right to sell all publications from before November 1912, secondly, that they were allowed to re-use and sell the materials used for those productions, and thirdly that all art books from before November 1912 could be reproduced freely.²³

The publishers were not the only party involved in the discussion around the new Copyright Act. Artists had a vested interest as well. In the *Nieuwsblad* of 17 April, 1914, they presented their point of view. They declared to understand the problems the publishers faced concerning heirs demanding their rights, and promised that they would not support any artist or heir who would ask exorbitant prices for the right on a certain reproduction. Also, they made it clear that they benefited from the new act, and want to keep it unchanged. Their solution to keep both parties satisfied was to take special measures concerning publications from before November 1912, so that those could be sold without further problems, and to ask a small percentage for new reproductions made with old materials.²⁴ Another solution, suggested by the publishers, was that the sales' term would be extended to five years, and the right to sell reproductions of artworks to ten years.²⁵

In May 1914, the *Verbond van Nederlandsche kunstenaarsverenigingen* (Association of Artists) presented their point of view in a letter to the government as well. They saw the arguments of the publishers only as an attempt to appropriate money that was in actual fact meant for artists. A change of the current law they regarded as an involvement in the area of private law, nor did they know of any high demands made by artists or their heirs. Finally, if something like that would happen, the publisher could ask a judge to determine a fair price. They did not want a drastic change in the new copyright act, since they didn't think that it was necessary, and would only benefit the publisher.²⁶ However, subsequently some publishers reacted in the *Nieuwsblad* to the claim that there had not been any high demands, providing several themselves.²⁷

The artists were not the only party protesting against the wanted changes. Other stakeholders were the publishers and sellers of music. Until the new act, it had been very difficult for them to publish and sell music works. Because there were no clear rules, many unauthorised works were published and sold at a very low price. Thus, the *Vereeniging van muziekhandelaren en uitgevers in Nederland* (Association of Music Sellers and Publishers) was very pleased with the new act, by which this unfair business could be prevented. In expectation of the

23 'Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des Boekhandels', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 February, 1914, pp. 181-183.

24 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 17 April, 1914, pp. 454-456.

25 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 May, 1914, pp. 512-513.

26 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 May, 1914, pp. 544-545.

27 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 May, 1914, p. 642.

new law, many music publishers had already invested in contracts with international distributors. The change in the new act would endanger these contracts, since the 'unfair competition' would last three years longer. Their demand was to keep the law as it was, at least for anything music-related.²⁸

Some booksellers voiced their opinion on the act as well. They saw any reproduction or performance of an original work as an entirely new product and not something that should be taken as 'retroaction'. Besides, the sale of books produced before November 1912, so before the act, should be legal since it was something produced under other legal circumstances. In their opinion, the new act enabled the sale of these products. They mentioned that the circumstances under which many publications were produced were different, since the producers had not taken into consideration future legislation that could intervene in the rights of publishers and owners. Anything produced before the act became effective, should therefore be considered legal. The booksellers stated the difference between authors and artists as follows: Authors benefit from copyright, but artists benefit from the reproduction of their works. Therefore, the works of the two should be treated differently. However, the heirs of the artists had no interest whatsoever in the reproduction of their ancestor's work, but they did have an interest in the copyright, and could easily play upon this. They were more interested in the financial gain than in the value for society, and could ask high prices from the publishers who wanted to reproduce the works of art of their ancestors. This provided them with more money than the republication itself. Because most of the important artists from before the new act were not alive anymore, the publishers were doomed concerning the reproductions of works of art. The publishers again demanded the three earlier mentioned changes in the current act.²⁹

The government reacted positively to some of the proposed changes, and promised to extend the sale period to ten years. The second demand, however, concerning the re-use of materials, could not easily be met, since it contradicted partly with the new Berne Convention.³⁰

According to K. Groesbeek, a bookseller from Amsterdam and respected member of the VBBB, the new act did not only affect the book industry, but the entire legal system. When an act was proclaimed that enabled retroaction, this could have an effect in all layers of society. Besides, the publishers had agreed to join the Berne Convention, but had not realized the effect it would have on their business. They shouldn't be punished for that.³¹

The Dutch parliament at first reacted positively to the demands of the publishing industry. However, in September 1914, the Government gave its official

28 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 May, 1914, p. 561.

29 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 May, 1914, p. 586.

30 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 29 May, 1914, pp. 656-658.

31 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 2 June, 1914, pp. 672-673.

reaction. Having heard the various arguments, it found it difficult to decide what to do, and certainly did not want a full reconsideration of the current copyright act. To meet the objections of the various parties involved, two things had to be done. Firstly, a committee was set up to study the possibilities of a transitional copyright. Secondly, the current transitional period was extended with a year, in which the same rules counted as was the case at that particular moment.³²

Berne Convention

The new copyright act was greatly influenced by the Berne Convention, the first international copyright law agreed upon in 1886 in Berne, Switzerland. The law became automatically effective once a work was created; there was no formal registration needed. Members of the so-called Berne Union had to treat the copyright of works by authors from other joined countries in the same way as they did with their own authors. Not all countries joined immediately, the first signatories were Belgium, France, Germany, Haiti, Italy, Liberia, Spain, Switzerland, Tunisia, and the United Kingdom. Other countries followed over the course of years, among which The Netherlands.³³

In April 1914, the Convention was changed following an issue between the United States and Britain. Until then, authors from a country not affiliated with the Berne Convention publishing in a country affiliated with it, obtained the same rights as authors from that country, and were protected by the government of that country. For an international author from a non-affiliated country, it was advantageous therefore to publish his work first in another country. Since the copyrights in the United States were badly constructed, many American authors chose to publish in Britain first. To prevent this and make the non-affiliated countries protect their authors as well, an adaptation was accepted, by which the non-affiliated countries should take their responsibility. Britain was not the only country facing this problem, but had to threaten to leave the Berne Convention before the other countries agreed with the change.³⁴

In other countries like Denmark, Sweden and Britain, additional measures were taken when they joined the Berne Convention. These measures protected work published before the law was effective (Denmark), and sometimes even made sure that materials produced before the law was effective could still be used (Sweden/Britain). As some Dutch discussers argued in 1914: if other countries could combine such measures with the Berne Convention, why couldn't the Netherlands as well? Especially Denmark might serve as an example for the

32 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 25 September, 1914, pp. 1107-1108.

33 'Berne Convention', *Wikipedia*, 9 June, 2016, n.pag., <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berne_Convention> (14 June, 2016); 'List of parties to international copyright agreements', *Wikipedia*, 22 March, 2016, n.pag. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_parties_to_international_copyright_agreements> (14 June, 2016).

34 'Een toevoeging aan de Berner Conventie', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 April 1914, pp. 496-497.

Netherlands, since it was an equally small country in almost the same circumstances.³⁵ However, the situation in Denmark was different because it already had a copyright act dating from before the Berne Convention, which included provisions regarding works of art, unlike the Netherlands.³⁶

For international traders, the differences between the countries within the Berne Convention could cause serious trouble. For instance, the sellers of music publications faced copyright terms that differed per country. The Germans maintained a limitation of thirty years, whereas the limitation in the Netherlands was fifty years. For Dutch traders, this means that they could make no profit on works already published in Germany. Other problems concerned the use of languages, because a work could be published in a certain language, but not in another. For these sellers, it would be better if the Dutch joined the Berne Convention as well.³⁷

During the War, the Convention was temporarily disbanded, which caused a deadlock. People wanting to take advantage of this could of course do that, but the circumstances were so exceptional that only a few chose to do so. After the War, the Convention became effective again.³⁸ However, some were of the opinion that it was not necessary to stop using the Convention, since its regulations could still be adopted in a situation of war.³⁹

State Committee

At the end of May 1914, the suggestion was made to establish a state committee to study the new Copy Right Act and find out what its weak points were.⁴⁰ The government followed the suggestion after a long internal discussion in September 1914, setting up a committee that was to research the current act and possible transitional rights.⁴¹ The VBBB was happy with this decision, because it felt that its objections were finally recognized. The uncertainties about the current act had to be solved, and some extra clauses had to be added, for example on the materials that the publishers had, like their clichés with reproductions of artworks.⁴²

However, in November 1914 the board of the VBBB published a circular list-

35 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 June, 1914, pp. 737-739.

36 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 June, 1914, pp. 754-755.

37 'Vereeniging van muziekhandelaren en uitgevers in Nederland', *Nieuwsblad*, 18 September, 1914, pp. 1084-1085.

38 'De Berner Conventie en de oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 December, 1914, p. 1449.

39 'De Berner Conventie en de oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 December, 1914, pp. 1552-1554.

40 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 29 May, 1914, pp. 656-658.

41 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 25 September, 1914, pp. 1107-1108; 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 9 October, 1914, pp. 1184-1186.

42 'De wijziging van artikel 50 der auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 October, 1914, pp. 1202-1203; 'De vertalingen, clichés, steenen enz., vóór 1 September 1912 vervaardigd', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 October, 1914, pp. 1217-1218.

ing all the objections they had against the new act, because they felt that the government was still not convinced enough to make the necessary changes. In addition, VBBB members were asked to let the government know that they strongly disagreed with the current, passive state of affairs.⁴³

Some publishers disagreed with some of the arguments against the new legislation. One of the disagreements concerned the use of old clichés and other printing materials. It was said that the publishers and printers could not use their old materials anymore after the act would become effective. This would mean that their valuable clichés would become worthless, because they could not use them anymore for new publications. The clichés were mainly used to print images of artworks, and were quite expensive to make. If the publisher could not use the material he had paid the printer for anymore, he would lose a lot of money. Clichés were used until they were worn out, to make them worth their money as much as possible. P.N Van Kampen, a publisher from Amsterdam, disagreed with this; he said the current act allowed publishers to re-use their old materials for reprinting out-of-print publications. However, they could not use the old clichés for completely new works. Van Kampen explained that this was fair, as one publisher could have obtained the copyright from a certain artist to make reproductions of his work, while another publisher was printing a new publication with these reproductions.⁴⁴ As K. Groesbeek, the author of the book on the new act of which a summary was provided in the *Nieuwsblad* of 17 November, 1914⁴⁵, reacted by arguing that a change in the law would mean that the publisher got his old rights back concerning his materials, so the rights he had before November 1912. He stressed that publishers knew if someone else had the rights for a certain publication, and that when they started their business, they knew that there would be old material and competition. Besides, he stressed that publishers should really know what was going on and what was important about the new act, since they could be asked to join the committee, and they should know enough about it to defend their colleagues. Ignorance would not help protecting their rights, and publishers had to know what was going on in their field and what their colleagues were up to.⁴⁶

At the end of November 1914, the state committee was established with the task to do research on the possibilities to change the Copyright Act, and hear the people who had an interest in this. However, the VBBB was some-

43 K. Groesbeek, 'De terugwerkende kracht der auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 17 November, 1914, pp. 1349-1351.

44 'Het toekomstig gebruik van bestaande clichés', *Nieuwsblad*, 20 November, 1914, pp. 1366-1367.

45 'De terugwerkende kracht der auteurswet 1912, door K. Groesbeek', *Nieuwsblad*, 17 November, 1914, pp. 1349-1351.

46 'Het toekomstig gebruik van bestaande clichés', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 November, 1914, pp. 1389-1390.

what disappointed, because the committee consisted only of members of legislative bodies, and had no book trade professionals, even though Groesbeek had expressed the wish that some seats of the committee should be taken by representatives of the trade. Even though the VBBB was not officially in the committee, it wanted to be heard.⁴⁷ When a member of the *Vereniging voor Letterkundigen* (Association for Writers), H.I. de Beaufort, was added to the committee, the VBBB was even more disappointed. De Beaufort was known to have ideas opposing to the interests of the VBBB. It expected the committee to be completely neutral and make the right decisions for both parties. In a speech, the Minister said that they wanted to establish a committee consisting of people that had no interest in the subject, because it would be difficult to represent all the different parties, and it would be better to have a committee that could act like a neutral judge and listen to all the different opinions.⁴⁸ Stakeholders and experts were asked to present themselves at the committee to express their interests.⁴⁹ The results of these interviews would not be published, which again caused disappointment among the members of the VBBB. How could they gain insight in the decisions of the committee, if they were not presented and the results were not made known?⁵⁰

Groesbeek, who had advocated against the Copyright Act of 1912, in December presented two new requests to the committee. Firstly, he wanted that all editions of translations were allowed to be sold; secondly, that the maker of materials used for reproduction before November 1912 could keep the right to republish with these materials. If the latter could not be done, he wanted either that the makers could sell these materials, or that the government compensated the financial loss.⁵¹ In subsequent issue of the *Nieuwsblad*, he pointed out that the authors were better represented in the committee because the government was of the opinion that they were exploited by the publishers. He argued, however, that publishers and authors rather co-operated to create a publication, complementing each other's shortcomings. Most publishers treated their authors well; the good should not suffer from the bad.⁵²

On the part of the VBBB, nobody reported to the state committee, in spite of repeated calls. One member explained why: It was not out of a lack of concern, but rather because of the fear that they were not fit to face better educated

47 'Staatscommissie ter voorbereiding van de herziening van de overgangsbepalingen der auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 27 November, 1914, p. 1408.

48 'De Staatscommissie tot herziening van de Auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 December, 1914, pp. 1430-1431.

49 'Herziening van de overgangsbepalingen der auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 December, 1914, p. 1469.

50 'De staatscommissie ter voorbereiding van de herziening van de overgangsbepalingen der auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 11 December, 1914, pp. 1488-1489.

51 'Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 29 December, 1914, pp. 1576-1581.

52 'De Auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 January, 1915, pp. 28-32.

people. In his opinion, the board should designate some persons that were able to represent the association, and help them in drawing the committee's attention.⁵³

In a joint letter to the states committee, various associations in the field of the book trade and the printing and paper industries repeated the request to exempt the publications and materials from before November 1912. It was pointed out that the opposing party, consisting of authors and artists, also had agreed on the fact that the current act caused abuses.⁵⁴

In February 1915, various issues of the *Nieuwsblad* contained an article on excessive rules in foreign copyright legislation and on the history of the Berne Convention. These articles were published in order to contradict the idea of the government that the Convention had a retro-acting nature, and to show that the Convention did not exclude certain regulations.⁵⁵

In March and April 1915, after the committee had heard all the stakeholders, they began working on a new design for the Copyright Act.

The draft law amending the transitional provisions of the Copyright Act

In June 1915, the draft law was presented to parliament by the states committee. It proposed the following main changes, published in the *Nieuwsblad* of 15 June 1915.

Firstly, for all lectures, exhibitions, performances of music and theatre, and the unchanged reproduction of publications, the transitional period would not be extended. After November 1915, all rights concerning these works would be lost.

Secondly, for translations and reproductions of works of art, the draft contained several new rules. Publications of literature or art made before September 1912 could be freely reproduced and sold by the publisher. They were susceptible to partial or complete transfer. The author had rights on these copies, namely control and a monetary claim. These rights for publications from before May 1915 would last until January 1917. For publications after May 1915 based on earlier publications, the author had a veto and right of compensation. Using this right of compensation meant the author lost the right to oppose the distribution of reproductions, and vice versa. In both cases, a judge needed to be consulted, who in turn was advised by a committee.

53 'Aan het bestuur der Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des Boekhandels', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 January, 1915, pp. 48-49.

54 'Herziening der Auteurswet 1912, art. 50', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 January, 1915, pp.61-64.

55 'De buitensporige bepalingen in buitenlandsche auteurswetten', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 February, 1915, pp. 193-196; 'De buitensporige bepalingen in buitenlandsche auteurswetten', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 February, 1915, pp. 210-215; 'De buitensporige bepalingen in buitenlandsche auteurswetten', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 February, 1915, pp. 230-233; 'De buitensporige bepalingen in buitenlandsche auteurswetten', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 February, 1915, pp. 244-247.

The editors of the *Nieuwsblad* noticed several peculiar elements in this draft. Firstly, the materials still fell under a kind of retroaction, becoming effective in 1917, while the deadline was set to May instead of the earlier promised November. Besides, they saw problems in the consultation of a judge, who had to decide whether something affected the honour, the status or intellectual property, of an artist; such a committee, consisting of members of both parties, would never reach an agreement in such a case.⁵⁶

A report of the state committee was published in the same issue of the *Nieuwsblad* of 15 June, 1915. It contained an explanation of the procedure of the committee, as well as the reasons for taking the proposed measures. The old Article 50 was changed into six articles, stating firstly that works produced before September 1912 could be freely reproduced, secondly that mechanically produced music from before November 1912 could be freely played, thirdly that all productions from before September 1912 could be distributed and sold, fourthly that the previous right could be challenged, but only before January 1917, fifthly that compensation could only be asked for reproductions after May 1915, and lastly that the committee would be formed by the board. An elucidation of these new articles was provided as well.

In the *Nieuwsblad* of 18 June, 1915, an account was given on how the original Copyright Act had come into being on the basis of copyright acts from other countries, established under quite different conditions.⁵⁷

The retroactive effect of the Copyright Act

After the publication of the new draft, the Dutch publishers and booksellers were still dissatisfied, since the new version did not solve the retroactive effect of the original a Copyright Act. Even though publishers had the right to republish their works from before 1912, and to re-use their materials, authors now had been given the right to demand compensation or even destruction of the publication. The old situation still endured. In other countries that had signed the Berne Convention, the retroactive nature of Article 18 of the Convention was bypassed by transitional measures. The Netherlands were the only country to maintain this retroaction. It is therefore no surprise that the members of the VBBB strongly disagreed with the outcome of the state committee, supporting their arguments by explaining the creation of copyright acts in other countries.⁵⁸

56 'Het ontwerp van wet tot wijziging van de overgangsbepalingen der Auteurswet', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 June, 1915, pp. 728-730; 'Verslag der Staatscommissie ter voorbereiding van de herziening van de overgangsbepalingen der Auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 June, 1915, pp. 730-739.

57 'Het ontwerp van wet tot wijziging van de overgangsbepalingen der Auteurswet', *Nieuwsblad*, 18 June, 1915, pp. 751-755.

58 'De terugwerkende kracht der auteurswetten', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 August, 1915, pp. 967-973; "'The Publishers' circular" en de herziening der Auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 August, 1915, pp. 1007-1011; 'De terugwerkende kracht der auteurswetten', *Nieuwsblad*, 10 September, 1915, pp. 1128-1133; 'De terugwerkende kracht der auteurswetten', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 September, 1915, pp.

These other countries already had adopted national copyright legislation before they joined the Berne Convention. The room for retroaction resided in the international nature of the Convention, and should not be used on a national level. That the Netherlands did implement the retroactive element in their own law, is because they had acted the other way around compared to neighbouring countries; first, the Berne Convention had come into being, only later followed by the Dutch Copyright Act.⁵⁹

Unwanted advice

In September 1915, F.W.J.G. Snijder van Wissekerke, a member of the *Haagsche Kunstkring* (Art society of The Hague), a society for art and artist, established in 1891,⁶⁰ initiated a new discussion by presenting regulations that were completely opposite to the draft of the state committee. In his opinion, the author should have the right to sell and distribute his own work, and the publisher should ask for the right to spread his reproductions. This meant that if the publisher wanted to republish a certain work, he had to ask the author if he was allowed to do so. His arguments were

- that it was unfair to give the author the right to only react after a publication has appeared;
- that the rights for a publication belonged in the first place to the author;
- that the publisher should not have the right to freely reproduce any (part of) work after the copyright had expired;
- and that the author could not always know in time if the publisher had made any reproduction.

If the rights were given to the author, the publisher should ask him for permission to reproduce. It was also clear that new regulations would have to be drawn up concerning the old material, if Snijder's ideas were accepted.⁶¹

The first reply Snijder got, written by a member of the state committee, was that he should have given his advice to the committee when he was asked to do so; he now was rather late with his suggestions. An argument made by an antagonist of Snijder against the transfer of rights towards the author was that in some cases, the interest of the author was much smaller than that of the publisher, because the publisher had invested so heavily in a publication that the materials used to make the publication (clichés etc.) were extremely valuable, and that consequently his financial risk was much higher. If an author in such a case disagreed with the publisher, the committee and judge could decide which

1216-1220; 'De terugwerkende kracht der auteurswetten', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 October, 1915, pp. 1239-1246.

59 'De terugwerkende kracht der auteurswetten', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 October, 1915, pp. 1284-1291.

60 'Geschiedenis', *Haagse Kunstkring*, 2016, n.pag., <<http://www.haagsekunstkring.nl/index.php/hkk-algemeen/geschiedenis>> (28 July 2016).

61 'Een ongevraagd advies', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 September, 1915, pp. 1082-1084.

party was right. Besides, there were copyright offices that checked republications. An author could subscribe to the services of such an agency in obtaining his rights when necessary.⁶²

In the opinion of the members of the VBBB, the same arguments applied both against the new draft of the state committee and the proposal by Snijder, since the publisher still had to see if the author would fight for his publication. If so, and if the author was given his right, the publisher's materials were worthless as well. Both ideas were based on the whimsicality of the author.⁶³

Further modification of the transitional provisions of the Copyright Act

In September 1915, a group of members of the VBBB sent a petition to the government, containing some extensions and amendments to the new draft of the Copyright Act. They concerned mainly the part of the draft in which authors were given the right to challenge publishers whenever they wanted to do so. In the opinion of the petitioners, the draft intervened in the property of the publisher. They also disagreed with the role of the state committee, since it was impossible for such a committee to be neutral.⁶⁴

But on the side of the authors, too, there was still dissatisfaction, because the publishers were allowed to continue using the old materials, produced in a time when the legislation did not take into consideration the rights of the author. Besides, the costs of the old materials were already paid back, they argued, and no proof was given of the so-called extraordinary demands by authors. What the two parties did agree on, however, was that a judge or committee could never give a judgment on things like 'moral interest', so the value for society that is not measurable, and that moral and financial interests could not be compared.⁶⁵ Others felt that the new draft did indeed reduce the rights of heirs of artists, but that living artists would be disadvantaged.⁶⁶

One of the main points of discussion was a matter of definition, namely the clause 'nieuwe uitgave' (new publication). One party, that of authors and artists, thought this meant that a publisher could reproduce his clichés and materials from before November 1912 in any form, and so use them for any product he liked. The other party, the publishers, thought that it meant that all clichés produced before November 1912 could be re-used until they were worn. The minister was asked to give clarity on this clause, to prevent further misunder-

62 'Het "advies" van mr. F. W. J. G. Snijder van Wissenkerke', *Nieuwsblad*, 7 September, 1915, pp. 1109-1111.

63 'Moeite en chicanes', *Nieuwsblad*, 10 September, 1915, p. 1133.

64 'Nadere wijziging van de overgangsbepalingen der Auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 September, 1915, pp. 1220-1226.

65 'Nadere wijziging van de overgangsbepalingen der Auteurswet 1912', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 September, 1915, pp. 1220-1226.

66 'De herziening van de overgangsbepalingen der auteurs', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 October, 1915, pp. 1336-1337.

standing.⁶⁷

The matter was discussed in the government, but both parties were dissatisfied with the level of this discussion; the issues put forward in the public debate were barely – if at all – mentioned, and the minister gave no answer to the pressing question: What was exactly meant with ‘nieuwe uitgave’?⁶⁸ A week later, an answer came. By ‘nieuwe uitgave’ should be understood that any reproduction could be made using the old materials, but no new materials were allowed to be made on the basis of the old ones. This was indeed the definition the publishers and members of the VBBB already maintained and the clarification was added to the transitional provisions.⁶⁹

The text of the new Copyright Act regarding the advisory committee can be found in the *Nieuwsblad* of 2 November, 1915. It contains a detailed explanation of how the advisory committee should be formed, what its task was, and how it was supposed to work.⁷⁰ The committee was established in November, and its composition would change over the following years.⁷¹

Copyright agency for visual arts

In 1916 the *Verbond van Nederlandsche Kunstenaarsverenigingen* (Union of Dutch Artists’ Associations) had made plans to create a copyright agency to assist artists and their heirs in protecting the copyright on works of art. The members were asked to provide information on copyright violations of works published before November 1912, because if they did not, the violation would become a kind of right due to the new Copyright Act.⁷²

The main purpose of the agency was to bring together artists and publishers. Artists had to provide photos of works that had to be protected, which publishers could consult if they were looking for suitable illustration materials. By providing these materials to the agency, the artist had more chance that his work would be discovered by a publisher, and that he would become well-known (again).⁷³

However, there were some disadvantages of the new agency. As one writer

67 ‘De gewijzigde overgangsbepalingen der auteurswet’, *Nieuwsblad*, 22 October, 1915, pp. 1375-1377.

68 ‘Twee persstemmen over de behandeling van de wijziging der Auteurswet in de Kamer’, *Nieuwsblad*, 22 October, 1915, pp. 1377-1378.

69 ‘De gewijzigde overgangsbepalingen der auteurswet’, *Nieuwsblad*, 29 October, 1915, pp. 1422-1423.

70 ‘Auteurswet 1912, gewijzigd bij de wet van 29 October 1915’, *Nieuwsblad*, 2 November, 1915, pp.1140-1143.

71 ‘Benoeming Commissie van advies in zake de toepassing van de overgangsbepalingen der auteurswet’, *Nieuwsblad*, 26 November, 1915, pp. 1598-1599.

72 ‘Bureau voor Auteursrecht voor Beeldende Kunsten’, *Nieuwsblad*, 13 June, 1916, p. 824.

73 ‘Bureau voor Auteursrecht voor Beeldende Kunsten’, *Nieuwsblad*, 21 November, 1916, p. 1609.

pointed out in the *Nieuwsblad*, it would be difficult to strike a balance between financial and intellectual or immaterial values of works of art. The agency had to act very tactfully in such situations.⁷⁴

The vast discussion this new Copyright Act caused, is a sign of the increasing emancipation of the book trade. The members did not passively agree with the regulations of the government, but stood up for their rights and wanted to prevent severe damage to the book trade. The government, book trade, authors and other stakeholders gave proof of their willingness to collaborate for the solution that was best for all involved parties.

Complimentary copies

In March 1914, some publishers faced the problem of fraud with complimentary copies. These complimentary copies were usually sent to booksellers as an example; the booksellers could get the books 'on sight', show them to their customers and decide whether and how much copies they wanted. In some cases, the publisher sent his complimentary copies to booksellers or 'colporteurs' (intermediaries who visited booksellers to sell books), in other the bookseller or 'colporteur' asked for complimentary copies. At a certain moment, the publisher would ask for the leftover complimentary copies to be returned to his office. The fraudsters did the following: They asked the publisher to send the copy to a certain address – either a fake or a bookseller's – where he would get the copy and disappear. In this way, he got a free copy of a book. As one publisher indicated in the *Nieuwsblad*, it happened to all of them once in a while, but he now really wanted to take measures to prevent it. He warned other publishers to be careful and ask about the whereabouts of the applicant before sending the copy.⁷⁵ Another publisher suggested that from now on, all applications should be sent via the local bookseller, because he would certainly know the applicant better than the publisher.⁷⁶ Some booksellers reacted positively to this suggestion, however, they expected something in return from the publishers: the delivery of books that individuals bought directly from the publisher had to take place via the bookseller, so that publisher and debitant became closer connected. One bookseller noticed that some publishers delivered their books via other locals, for example painters or blacksmiths; according to him this was bad practice since these people weren't official booksellers and had nothing to do with books.⁷⁷

The board of the VBBB again offered a solution: to mark the complimentary

74 'Bureau voor het Auteursrecht voor Beeldende Kunsten', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 February, 1917, p. 195.

75 'Present-exemplaren-zwendel', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 March, 1914, pp. 214-215.

76 'Present-exemplaren', *Nieuwsblad*, 20 March, 1914, pp. 349.

77 'Present-exemplaren', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 April, 1914, pp. 404.

copies with a stamp of the publisher to prevent scam or trade with these free copies. However, publishers did not like this idea, since such a mark would make a carefully designed book look ugly, and because they didn't think a free copy for a review was a high price for 'free advertising'. For official reviewers, they didn't want to take those measures, because they trusted them.⁷⁸

With these various offered solutions, the case appears to have been settled, and no further mention is made of it. It shows that the members of the book trade started to collaborate more, and rethink the way their business was shaped, and their willingness to change things when necessary.

Education

In the years 1914-1918, education became more important within the book trade. This resulted in plans for schools, which were not always carried out as the promoters had thought.

The Vakschool voor de Boekhandel

In March 1914, plans were proposed to create a school for youngsters wanting to work in the world of the book. In the early months of 1914, a sounding was sent out to the profession to see if there was enough support for such a school. A subsidy was requested from the government, which appeared to be willing, given that the book trade also provided money. The board of the VBBB subsequently asked publishers, booksellers and others to give financial support, even if it was only a small sum.⁷⁹

The reason that this school was initiated, was the decreasing knowledge of technical matters, management and jurisdiction of the contemporary book trade members. The education at the school consisted rather of supplementary courses than of full training, but would be suitable for people having ambitions in book trade. Since the school did not offer full education, it didn't need its own building. The board wanted to work together with the trading school of the *Algemene Winkeliersvereniging* (General Retailers' Association), and use their lecturers and building. The municipality of Amsterdam supported the plan, since there were enough prospective students as well as sufficient financial funding. The idea was that the school would open its doors in September of the same year.⁸⁰

Everyone wanting to attend the school had to sign in as quickly as possible, and on 1 May, 1914 the application form was available. Members of the VBBB

78 'Recensie- en present-exemplaren', *Nieuwsblad*, 21 April, 1914, p. 472.

79 'Subsidie Vakschool voor den Boekhandel en het Bibliotheek en Archiefwezen', *Nieuwsblad*, 20 March, 1914, pp. 347-348.

80 'Subsidie Vakschool voor den Boekhandel en het Bibliotheek en Archiefwezen', *Nieuwsblad*, 20 March, 1914, pp. 347-348.

were asked to promote the course, so that enough students would sign in to make it a success.⁸¹

During the 1914 annual meeting of the VBBB, it was decided to stop subsidising the *Bond van Boekverkopersbedienden* (Federation of Booksellers' attendants). This federation aimed at providing courses as well, but because the VBBB now had its own school, it was not deemed necessary to support other programmes anymore. The Board of the VBBB started to support the *Volksuniversiteit* (People's University) though, because they expect to work together in the future. Because of the subsidy to this school, the chairman served the Board of Trustees of this institution.⁸² The *Volksuniversiteit* was not a university as nowadays, but rather an institution that provided courses on several subjects. Such courses were not expensive, so that working class people could attend as well and gather knowledge. The idea of such an institution was originally British, and the first in the Netherlands was in 1913 established in Amsterdam. Soon, other cities followed as well, establishing their own 'universities'.⁸³

People wanting to attend the Vakschool had to meet a number of requirements. First of all, they had to have prior education, which could be of various kinds, and also they had to be familiar with four modern languages: Dutch, German, French and English. The programme, which lasted one year, aimed to include practical trade courses, as well as courses on, for example, literature and art history.⁸⁴

Two students could study at the school for free; to get this free education, they had to meet several requirements, such as being diligent and well-behaved, as well as not having sufficient financial resources to pay the school fees. A bursary student had to be assigned by his parents or guardians, and needed letters of recommendation from his prior education institutes.⁸⁵

The school was set to begin in September 1914, but the beginning of the war in August, although not affecting the Netherlands as a neutral country directly, made it impossible to start and the board had to decide to postpone the opening of the school until further notice.⁸⁶

Four years later, a proposal was made to abolish the school altogether, since nothing had been done during the war period. Instead, the board of the VBBB promised to set up a committee that would reorganise the plans for the

81 'Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 May, 1914, p. 553.

82 'Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des Boekhandels. Verslag der werkzaamheden van het Bestuur gedurende het jaar 1913', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 June, 1914, pp. 735-737.

83 'De historie van Volksuniversiteit Amsterdam', *Volksuniversiteit Amsterdam*, 2015, n.pag. <<http://www.volksuniversiteitamsterdam.nl/content.php?id=17>> (22 July 2016).

84 'Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels. Verslag der werkzaamheden van het Bestuur gedurende het jaar 1913', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 June, 1914, pp. 735-737.

85 'Vakschool voor den Boekhandel', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 July, 1914, p. 818.

86 'Vakschool voor den Boekhandel', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 August, 1914, p. 1050.

Inschrijvingsbiljet voor den cursus 1914—1915

(1 September 1914—1 September 1915)

S. v. p. duidelijk invullen en opzenden aan den Directeur, den Heer
A. P. DE RUITER, Weteringschans 159 te Amsterdam

1. Naam en adres van Vader of Voogd:
(Ook plaatsnaam invullen)

2. Voornamen van de(n) leerling(e) **voluit**:
(Zoo noodig ook familienaam)

Geboren _____, 18_____

3. Welk onderwijs heeft de leerling(e) genoten en (of) welke diploma's bezit hij (zij)?

(Opgegeven moet worden de **vermoedelijke** toestand op 1 September 1914. Van een leerling die b.v. in de 3e klasse eener H. B. S. zit, wordt gemeld: «Komt waarschijnlijk aan het eind van dezen cursus in de 4e klas» enz.)

_____, 1914
(Plaatsnaam) (Datum)

(Handteekening)

OPMERKINGEN: De cursus is éénjarig en duurt van September 1914 tot ongeveer Juli 1915. Het schoolgeld bedraagt f 50.— en is verschuldigd voor een geheel jaar. Het wordt bij vooruitbetaling geëid in twee termijnen van f 25.—, op 1 October 1914 en 1 Februari 1915, terwijl minvermogenenden tegen **half** schoolgeld en onvermogenenden **kosteloos** worden toegelaten. Het adres van den Directeur is: **A. P. DE RUITER, Weteringschans 159** (Telefoon Noord 7798). Spreekuur: **Maandagmiddag** van 2.20-4 uur en in den regel ook: **Dinsdag-, Donderdag- en Vrijdagmiddag.**

Figure 1: Application form for the *Vakschool voor den Boekhandel*, as published in the *Nieuwsblad* on 1 May, 1914.

school.⁸⁷ This committee presented a new plan in 1919 after consulting the newly founded *Grafische School* (Graphic school) (see below) to find out if some sort of cooperation was possible. Both parties agreed and a curriculum was designed. The *Vakschool voor den Boekhandel* could get rooms in the new building of the Graphic School. The school was first set up in Amsterdam; it was the committee's plan, if the courses were successful, to expand and work together with the local schools elsewhere in the country.⁸⁸

Vakschool voor de Typografie

Another institution that already existed, the *Vakschool voor Typografie* (School for typography) was affected by the war as well. The school had been successful before the war and was expecting an increase of subsidies from the local, provincial and national authorities. However, these did not materialize because of the extraordinary war circumstances. Despite these setbacks, a bookbinding department was opened in 1914, when the school had 62 students, a number that continued to rise in the next years.⁸⁹ In July 1917, the school celebrated its tenth anniversary with a positive outlook towards the future.⁹⁰

Grafische School

In 1918, a new school was opened in Amsterdam, the *Grafische School* (Graphic school). It was meant for students interested in the creative side of making books, typography, illustration, bookbinding etc. Besides the regular teaching programme, part-time courses were offered for working graphic artists, so that they could expand their knowledge and skills.⁹¹ The school was highly popular: 150 students signed in in the first month.⁹² With this school, the *Vakschool voor den Boekhandel* collaborated firstly to get their curriculum carried out. The *Amsterdamse Grafische School* still exists today, under the a new name: *Mediacollege Amsterdam*.⁹³

The importance that was given to education shows that the members of the book trade became more confident of their own field, and wanted their professions to be carried out by trained professionals. The collaboration of various schools to reach this goal is a sign of a general sense of this importance.

87 'Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels – Algemeene Vergadering – Voorstel II', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 July, 1918, p. 903.

88 'Vak-opleiding in den Boekhandel', *Nieuwsblad*, 10 June, 1919, pp. 610-611.

89 'Vakschool voor de typografie', *Nieuwsblad*, 9 April, 1915, pp. 433-434.

90 'Vakschool voor de typografie', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 July, 1917, pp. 890-891.

91 'Grafische School te Amsterdam', *Nieuwsblad*, 2 July, 1918, p. 811.

92 'Grafische School te Amsterdam', *Nieuwsblad*, 9 August 1918, p. 968.

93 '100 jaar Ma', *Mediacollege Amsterdam*, 2016, n.pag., <<http://www.ma-web.nl/overma/100jaar/>> (22 July, 2016).

District Committees

On May 8, 1914, the chairman of the district committee in Haarlem, H.J.D.D. Enschédé, director of the printing establishment of that name, wrote an article in the *Nieuwsblad*, informing the profession about a lack of consistency and clearness within these committees.⁹⁴ District committees were regional committees of the *Bond van Boekdrukkerijen* (Union of Printing Houses), of which publishers and printers were part. They regulated the way in which the trade in their region went, having rules and a board to keep business going and in actual practice were a kind of regional subcommittees within the *Bond van Boekdrukkerijen*.

The different committees differed in how they carried out their tasks, and it was not always clear how they should handle certain problems. His suggestion was to organise a meeting for all regional chairmen in Amsterdam, to discuss these problems. This first meeting took place on 26 May.⁹⁵ It appears to have been a success and a set of rules was drawn up for the district committees.⁹⁶ On a regular basis, announcements of meetings of these committees are published in the *Nieuwsblad*, and a few weeks after these meetings, the most important decisions are provided to the members of the VBBB.

Centrale Raad van Vakbonden in het Grafisch- en Boekbedrijf

On 14 May, 1915, a group of chairmen and representatives of various associations of the book industry came together for a meeting. The represented branch organisation were the *Nederlandse Bond van Boekbinderspatroons* (Dutch Union of Bookbinders' Patrons), the *Nederlandse Bond van Boekdrukkerijen* (Dutch Union of Printing Houses), the *Nederlandse Bond van Steendrukkerijen* (Dutch Union of Lithography Printing Houses), the *Nederlandse Uitgeversbond* (Dutch Publishers' Union), the *Vereniging van Cartonagefabrikanten in Nederland* (Association of Cardboard Manufacturers in the Netherlands), the *Vereniging van Nederlandse Chemigrafische Inrichtingen* (Association of Dutch Chemigraphical institutions) and the *Vereniging van Nederlandse Papiergroothandelaren* (Association of Dutch Paper Traders).

The goal of the meeting was to establish a central council of all the above-mentioned parties which could facilitate the personal and business relations between their members. There had been a need for such a council for quite some time, and now finally it was established.⁹⁷ In later discussions, the council was asked for their opinion and helped sorting out various problems. This *Centrale*

94 'District-commissies boekdrukkerijen', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 May, 1914, p. 545.

95 'District-commissies boekdrukkerijen', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 May, 1914, pp. 645-646.

96 'District-commissies boekdrukkerijen', *Nieuwsblad*, 29 May, 1914, p. 660.

97 'Centrale raad van vakbonden in het grafisch- en boekbedrijf', *Nieuwsblad*, 21 May, 1915, p. 623.

Raad van Vakbonden in het Grafisch- en Boekbedrijf (Central Council of unions in the printing industry and book trade) dealt with all kinds of problems that occurred between employers and employees, and was especially useful when in 1917 and 1918 more and more collective agreements were established (see Chapter 3).

The Central Council is one of the first official collaborative institutes in the book trade during the years 1914-1918, of which many stakeholders were part.

Law on Statistics

In December 1916, the *Bestelhuis voor den Boekhandel* got into trouble because of the new *Statistiekwet* (Law on Statistics, a law which kept track of all the statistics concerning imports and exports), which required that the sender of a package had to fill in the export passports, and since the *Bestelhuis* only was an intermediary, their passports were not valid anymore. The formatting of these passports was usually done by them, and since it was quite a complicated job, it would be very difficult for the sender to do it by himself. The director of the *Bestelhuis* went to the Minister of Finance to clarify the matter, which resulted in a new regulation: senders were only obliged to accurately fill out a form containing all necessary information. Without this form, books could not be sent abroad. The Law on Statistics did not have any connection to the war, so all the other temporary regulations had to be maintained.⁹⁸

Still, the form was not always easy to fill out, as an explanatory article in the *Nieuwsblad* by the director of the *Bestelhuis* made clear. The form had to be used with all shipments, irrespective of where it was going. Senders had difficulties with defining the weight of their packages, which could only partly be solved by the *Bestelhuis*. Besides, bindings which were part and parcel of the book, should not be invoiced separately.⁹⁹

Stamp Act

In 1917, a new Stamp Act was introduced, which required that each printed receipt should be provided with a stamp, so that a tax could be generated.¹⁰⁰ Some traders thought this law would cause problems, such as the impossibility to provide their clients with the option of buying on sight. One bookseller/printer even designed a receipt to solve this problem.¹⁰¹ With this receipt, shown in figure 2, no stamp was needed, since no information was given for which a stamp

98 'Het Bestelhuis van den Boekhandel en de Statistiekwet van 28 April 1916', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 December, 1916, pp. 1750-1752.

99 'De Statistiekwet', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 January, 1917, pp. 137-138.

100 'Zegelwet', *Woorden.org*, n.pag., <<http://www.woorden.org/woord/zegelwet>> (21 June, 2016).

101 'De nieuwe Zegelwet', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 June, 1917, p. 776.

was required.

After some discussion, a committee was established to give advice on how to deal with some of the regulations of the new act. Several forms were not covered by this act, according to the committee, under certain conditions: An order form for books was the first of these forms, because it was no proof of a private act. An order form out of a prospectus was not covered by the act if it was separate and designed like a request for delivery. The prospectus should in that case not contain an offer. A colporteur should design his forms as well as a request for delivery, and the debitant could use a normal order form for his publisher. For regular order forms and forms for advertising contracts, special drafts were provided. These tricks prevented the necessity of payment for a stamp. With a subscription list, however, every signature had to be paid for.¹⁰²

Both the Law on Statistics and the Stamp Act show that the government as well took the book trade more seriously, even though the laws did not make their job easier. The collaboration of the members of the book trade made it easier for the individuals to deal with the two laws.

NOTA van
.....
voor.....

FIRMANAAM

No..... 14 dagen zicht.
ONTVANGEN van.....
door tussenkomst van de Firma (Kassier)
de Somna van.....
ter voldoening van nevenstaande nota.
..... den.....191
ZEGGE f

Figure 2: Receipt to prevent the necessity of a stamp, 'De Nieuwe Zegelwet', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 June, 1917, p. 776.

102 'De Zegelwet en de Boekhandel', *Nieuwsblad*, 11 September, 1917, pp. 1213-1214.

3 ECONOMICAL AND PRACTICAL ISSUES

In this chapter, several developments on an economical and practical level will be discussed. The order of appearance of these developments and the discussions about them will be mainly chronological. The focus of this chapter will be on the increasing collaboration in the book trade during the war years. Other topics are regulation, emancipation and the change in focus of the international trade relations. First of all, the bar-system will be introduced, together with the demand for higher rebates. The construction of the new *Verenigingsgebouw* (Association building) of the VBBB will also be elaborated on. The commodities needed for the making of books will be discussed, regarding their scarcity, export and innovations. After that, the possibility of a national moratorium on trade, the army mobilisation and unemployment will be looked at. The national and international transport will be mentioned, as well as the increase of the book price. Lastly, the collective trade agreements and their downside will be discussed.

The bar-system and the quest for higher rebate

In Germany, the book trade used the so-called 'bar-system'. This meant that customers ordered their books and paid immediately in cash (*bar*). The clients using this system were offered a higher discount, because the debitant (a kind of wholesaler in between the publisher and the bookseller), bookseller and publisher got their money immediately, instead of after a few months. The credit period used in Germany was three months, whereas in the Netherlands an annual system was used, which meant that publishers, debitants and even booksellers had to wait a long time before they received their money.

When it was proposed to introduce the German system in the Netherlands in 1914, the book trade reacted hesitantly. The system proved not to be quite profitable, and not every publisher was ready to use it. The main party to benefit would be the debitants; their cash flow would become faster, allowing them to pay back the publishers when asked to.¹⁰³

Supporters of the new system saw the advantages of higher discounts and faster payments. Others agreed partly with the proposals, but added their own; for example, one debitant requested that the 10% discount they have to offer municipalities should be reduced to 5%.¹⁰⁴ For a while, the discussion was abandoned, but in later discussions on discount and payments, the bar system was mentioned again.

The first of these discussions started in September 1915, concerning the cur-

103 'Vervroegd Ontvangen', *Nieuwsblad*, 17 February, 1914, pp. 203-204.

104 'De Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des boekhandels en de kortingkwestie', *Nieuwsblad*, 17 March 1914, pp. 332-333.

30 %.

O debitant, let op Uw zaak,
 Of let er niet op naar Uw smaak,
 Er komen schoone dagen:
 Ge zult weldra een nabob zijn,
 De uitgevers zijn bijna fijn
 En murw van al Uw klagen.

Rabatverhooging is urgent
 Hebt ge uit den treure ingeprent
 Aan die Uw lot beslissen.
 Zoals ge wilt of niet en wilt,
 - Nu ge op één oor na zijt gevild
 Begint ge iets te gissen.

Nu zendt ge in, draagt plannen voor,
 Als ging Uw wijsheid niet te loor
 Voor die U hulp onthielden.
 Gedenk, o looze debitant
 Aan Servië's lot en Engeland
 Ná dat men U vernielde.

De kost steeds voor de baat uitgaat.
 Uw kost ontgaat Uzelfs; te laat
 Vraagt redding gij en wacht maar.
 Ge duurt Uw uur en beidt Uw tijd,
 En 't zal niet lang meer zijn dan leit
 Ge ruggelings. - Maar 't al ten spijt
 Voedt ge nog hoop, vraagt nog respijt
 En meer rabat....

Wie lacht daar?

Figure 3: Poem, paraphrasing the feelings of publishers in the rebate matter, as published in *Nieuwsblad*, 30 November 1915, p. 1626.

Summary:

The debitants have asked for help so often that the publishers are done with them. However, they are too late with this demand, and they hope in vain for more rebate. Their fate is to be destroyed, and they will not have many time; so who's laughing?

Klaaglied van den debiethandel.

(Aan een inzender).

Wie lacht daar, vraagdet ge, en ach,
 Ik heb gelachen met een droeven lach,
 Ik heb - den strijd zoolang reeds moegestreden -
 Te veel geleden.

Ik hoop niet meer dat onze vlijt
 Ons voorspoed brengt; noch dat gedijt
 't Werk onzer handen. Alles is ons tegen,
 'k Heb stilgezwegen.

Als fakkeldrager ving ik aan,
 Nu fladder ik - waar 't lot niet is te ontgaan -
 Als nachtuil, bang om iemand te vergrammen,
 Nog om de vlammen.

Hoe had 'k bij nobeler rabat
 De fakkelen gezwaaid op menig pad,
 Maar wie een boek nu koopen komt of aanbien,
 Durf ik niet aanzien.

O, 't is geen wrok of stille haat:
 Ik buig het hoofd, ik ben gebroken, 'k laat
 Hen vrij. Ze wisten, zij die zwegen
op mijn beden,
 Niet wat ze deden.

Maar dat door wie eens binnen zijn getreden,
 Nog steeds gehoopt, gewerkt wordt en
gestreden,
 Is meer dan te begrijpen ik vermag... en
 Ik heb gelachen.

DEBITANT III.

Figure 4: Reactive poem of the debitants, as published in the *Nieuwsblad*, 17 December 1915, p. 1726.

Summary:

The debitants answer the question: They have laughed, a sad laugh, for they have suffered much. Everything has worked against them, even though they tried their best. The publishers don't see the consequences of not providing the rebate; they will soon find out if the debitants' job will be finished. Then the former debitants will laugh.

rent rebate for booksellers and debitants of 20%. This was too little to keep their business running, since prices were increasing, and the small percentage was just enough to stay in business, but not enough to not have to worry. If the rebate was increased to 30%, the debitant could pay his employees better, and even depreciate on inventory and build a business capital.¹⁰⁵

Some publishers already offered a higher rebate, for instance 25% or even 30%, but asked their debitants to pay their money not on an annual account, but on a half-year or even three-month basis. However, not all debitants had the funds to be able to pay within these terms. The best for the debitant would be if he could get a 25-30% rebate, pay on an annual basis, and a cancellation of the discount of 10% for municipalities. However, the power to make this decision was in the hands of the publishers, and they were asked to help their debitants, because that would benefit themselves in the end as well.¹⁰⁶

An article in the *Nieuwsblad* of 26 November, 1915 addressed a number of these problems. Firstly, the debitant is said to be dependent on the public; they must buy and pay the books. The debitant takes a risk by buying books, because they might not be sold or, in case a customer ordered a book, he might forget that he did and not pay for it. Besides, the debitant cannot hire staff, because he cannot pay them, the result being that he has to work harder and has less time to 'get to know' his merchandise and his publishers by showing up on events. Both publisher and debitant need to come to an agreement and cooperate better in this matter.¹⁰⁷

Some publishers reacted positively to the desired increase of the rebate, and asked their colleagues to follow suit, for the benefit of the entire industry.¹⁰⁸ The associations of the two parties, the debitants and the publishers, should come together and talk about the problems to solve them.¹⁰⁹

The *Debitantenbond* (Union of the debitants) proposed the following rebates:

- School and study books: a discount of 25% on an annual account;
- Magazines: a discount of 25%;
- Ordered publications: 25% on an annual account and 30% on a semi-annual account;
- Commission deliveries: 25% discount on annual account;
- Books on a 25% discount: with 10% extra discount.

The publishers were asked to react on this proposal.¹¹⁰ In November 1916, the *Nederlandse Uitgeversbond* (Dutch Publishers' Union) decided positively on

105 'Verhooging van rabat', *Nieuwsblad*, 7 September, 1915, pp. 1111-1112.

106 'Verhooging van rabat', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 September, 1915, pp. 1200-1201.

107 'De boekhandel hoog!', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 November, 1915, pp. 1599-1601.

108 'Hoog het vak!', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 December, 1915, p. 1644.

109 'Hoog het vak!', *Nieuwsblad*, 7 December, 1915, pp. 1668-1669.

110 Boekhandelaarskorting', *Nieuwsblad*, 11 July, 1916, pp. 963-964.

the motion to provide members of the *Debitantenbond* with a larger rebate. Minimum supply conditions were established, which meant that the rebate could be the mentioned percentage or more. The payment term was connected to the amount of rebate a debitant received.¹¹¹

This discussion shows both the emancipation of the members of the book trade, and the realization of increasing collaboration and regulation. The debitants stood up for their rights, no longer accepting the way they were treated by the publishers. The debitants and publishers appeared willing to work together and to let their unions set regulations to solve problems.

A new building for the VBBB

The increasing emancipation in the book trade can also be seen in the new *Vereenigingsgebouw* (Association building) of the VBBB. In 1913, plans had been made to acquire this new building, since the old one, located at the Spuistraat 150 in Amsterdam, was not fit anymore. With permission of the members, the board of the VBBB bought a complex of buildings on Heerengracht 124-128 in Amsterdam, with a total of 1450 square metres.¹¹² The original buildings were to be demolished, and a building committee was established to take care of the construction of the site. Accompanied by an architect, the committee travelled to Leipzig, the international capital of the book trade, to visit the buildings of big German companies, like Volckmar, an international book wholesaler, to acquaint themselves with the necessities of such a building.¹¹³

After some discussion, it was agreed upon that a part of the building would be rented out to external parties. The VBBB would not need all the space that would become available, and the rent would provide them with some extra money.¹¹⁴ As the building plans could not be carried out immediately, part of the existing building was temporarily offered to the *Algemeen Steuncomité* as a second-hand clothes depot.¹¹⁵

A public tender for the construction was written by the board of the VBBB, for which many companies signed in. The contract was finally given to the company B. and G. Roelofsen in January 1916.¹¹⁶ The old buildings were completely demolished.¹¹⁷ Luckily enough, the materials necessary for the new building

111 'Boekhandelaarskorting', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 November, 1916, pp. 1569-1570.

112 'Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des Boekhandels. Verslag der werkzaamheden van het Bestuur gedurende het jaar 1913', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 June, 1914, pp. 735-737.

113 'Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des Boekhandels. Verslag der werkzaamheden van het Bestuur gedurende het jaar 1913', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 June, 1914, pp. 735-737.

114 'Het nieuwe gebouw der Vereeniging', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 February, 1915, pp. 260-261.

115 'Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des boekhandels. Verslag der werkzaamheden van het Bestuur gedurende het jaar 1914', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 July, 1915, pp. 866-869.

116 'Aanbesteding van het Nieuwe Gebouw', *Nieuwsblad*, 7 January, 1916, p. 21.

117 'Het Nieuwe Gebouw der Vereniging', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 March, 1916, p. 434.



Figure 5: The laying of the foundation stone of the *Boekhuis* by the chairman of the VBBB, V. Loosjes. 'Bijlage', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 July, 1917, attached.

could be delivered without any major problems.¹¹⁸ Even before the building was finished, several areas were rented to other companies. The old associative buildings could now be sold, which was a relief for the board.¹¹⁹

In October 1917, the *Boekhuis* (Book House), as the new building was named, was finished.¹²⁰ On 11 October, it was officially opened, an event which was attended by many people. The chairman of the VBBB, J.C. Tadema, gave a speech on the history of the Association and the building. After him the mayor of Amsterdam, J.W.C. Tellegen, also gave a speech and opened the building. The building was handed over to the commissioners of the *Bestelhuis*, the ordering house of the book trade, which also received a part of the building. Several guests took the floor to congratulate the Association with the new building.¹²¹

The *Bestelhuis*, the ordering house of the book trade, which now had its part in the new *Boekhuis*, held a separate opening on 15 October for its staff only. The date would become their annual festive day.¹²² This *Bestelhuis* would grow to be the *Centraal Boekhuis*, the national wholesaler of books.¹²³

The fact that the building costs turned out higher than expected was partly solved by increasing the rents for parts of the building. In a special meeting of

118 'Het Nieuwe gebouw der vereniging', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 May, 1916, p. 676.

119 'Vereniging ter bevordering van de belangen des Boekhandels. 99e Algemeene Vergadering', *Nieuwsblad*, 11 July, 1916, pp. 962-963.

120 'Het Nieuwe gebouw der Vereniging', *Nieuwsblad*, 9 October, 1917, p. 1375.

121 'De Opening van 't Boekhuis', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 October, 1917, pp. 1388-1394.

122 'Het Bestelhuis van den Boekhandel', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 October, 1917, p. 1416.

123 'Centraal Boekhuis', *Wikipedia*, 10 February 2016, n.pag. <https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centraal_Boekhuis> (11 August 2016).



Figure 6: The opening of the *Boekhuis*, 11 October, 1917.
'Bijlage', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 October 1917, attached.

the VBBB it was decided to get the rest of the money by a loan.¹²⁴

Now the construction was finished, the building had to be furnished as well. The plan was to decorate the board room soberly because of the circumstances. However, some former members of the board wanted their successors to have a room in line with the status of the VBBB. Therefore, they asked the Association's members to donate money in order to furnish the board room with appropriate objects.¹²⁵ Not only money was appreciated, other items like paintings were welcome as well. If someone wanted to give something material, he could ask the architect for ideas.¹²⁶ Many gifts were made and the board room was decorated accordingly, a sign of the willingness to collaborate and support each other.

Materials

For the making of books, raw materials are needed. Many of these materials were produced in the Netherlands, but the companies providing them did often rely on imports from foreign countries. In this section, the book industry will be discussed through the different materials needed for the making of books. Their scarcity will be discussed, as well as the innovations resulting from it.

Paper

In the decades leading up to 1914, the Dutch paper industry had witnessed many ups and downs, but the Veluwe had always been the main area for the paper industry in the Netherlands.¹²⁷

In August 1914, it was decided that paper manufacturers would increase the

124 'Verslag Buitengewone Algemene Vergadering', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 January, 1918, pp. 9-16.

125 'Het Boekhuis', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 February, 1918, p. 257.

126 'Onze nieuwe Bestuurskamer', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 March, 1918, pp. 352-353.

127 'De papierindustrie te Apeldoorn', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 January, 1915, pp. 32-33.

price of their product with 10%. This measure was not received well.¹²⁸ At first, the measure was postponed to 1 September, 1914.¹²⁹ However, since the paper manufacturers had always been a great support to the book industry, providing start-ups with money and asking reasonable prices, the price increase was not further counteracted. Without paper, no books.¹³⁰

An overview of paper production in 1914 presents the following picture: Over the first six months, the situation was worse than in 1913, though this did not yet affect employment. During the second half of the year, sales were too small due to less export and increasing competition from Germany. Factories had to reduce the working hours of their employees or even fire them.¹³¹

Several countries stopped their exports of the basic raw materials for paper. Russia forbade the export of wood, Austria and Germany stopped their exports of cellulose. The Dutch paper manufacturers now had to get their materials from other countries, where prices were higher. Transport costs increased as well, because the risks had grown.¹³² Paper factories could not provide the same quality anymore, which caused some to buy forests in the Netherlands to harvest their own wood pulp.¹³³

To keep raw materials within the national economy, it was forbidden in December 1915 by royal decree to export paper, that is, both old paper and paper waste.¹³⁴ A month later, the export of textile rags was forbidden as well.¹³⁵

In March 1916, the price of paper had already increased with 70%.¹³⁶ A committee was established by the government to research whether anything could be done to bring prices back to normal, but it was soon realized this was futile since all materials needed for the production of paper had become more expensive. The advice to publishers was to include the additional costs in the selling prices of their books.¹³⁷

An official paper committee was established by the government to keep an eye on developments in the international paper trade, while the government promised to try to acquire paper from Germany.¹³⁸

Because of a rationing of coal in September 1917, the large paper company

128 'De graphische vakken en de oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 August, 1914, p. 985.

129 'Papier' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 21 August, 1914, p. 1005.

130 'Is de verhoging van den papierprijs billijk?', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 September, 1914, pp. 1047-1048.

131 'Papierfabricatie 1914', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 February, 1915, p. 233.

132 'De papiernoed en de couranten', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 June, 1915, pp. 739-740.

133 'De prijs van het papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 October, 1915, pp. 1337-1338; 'Papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 21 December, 1915, p. 1751.

134 'Uitvoer van oud papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 December, 1915, p. 1772; 'Oud papier en papier-afval', *Nieuwsblad*, 11 February, 1916, pp. 224-225.

135 'Lompen', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 December, 1915, p. 1788; 'Uitvoer katoenen en linnen lompen', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 January, 1916, p. 67.

136 'De prijs van het courantenpapier', *Nieuwsblad*, 17 March, 1916, pp. 399-400.

137 'De stijging van de papierprijzen', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 March, 1916, pp. 434-435.

138 'Papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 June, 1916, pp. 838-839.

Van Gelder had to stop production at one of its factories. Because the paper factories could not produce enough paper and imports had become impossible because of a German ban, paper had to be rationed. Newspapers were obliged to decrease the size of their publications with 25% compared to the level of 1916, in order to prevent a long-term shortage of paper.¹³⁹

From 9 October, 1917 onwards the government forbade exports paper in any form. Only 'real' publications like books and sheet music, which could not be used as 'new' paper, were allowed to be exported.¹⁴⁰ Again a government committee was established, this time to determine the quality standards of paper that was delivered to the state.¹⁴¹

Over the year 1917, the paper factories on the Veluwe could maintain production because there was enough demand. However, the lack of supply continued, since rags were increasingly used in the textile industry, while many people used their old paper as heating material, which prevented re-use.¹⁴²

In June 1918, the paper committee started an inquiry among both paper producers and consumers, to gain insight in the use of paper and to be able to give better advice.¹⁴³ To prevent further loss of paper, the Minister of Agriculture forbade the sale or transport of any paper to factories or companies that used the paper as raw material. Factories could request a permit if they needed this paper. Besides, he asked the municipalities to separate the old paper from other waste, so that it would not get lost anymore.¹⁴⁴ This measure remained in force until February 1919.¹⁴⁵ Before that, in October 1918, plans were made by the *Centrale Raad* (Central Council, see Chapter 2) to normalise the quality, form and weight of paper.¹⁴⁶

Yet it was after the war, that the shortage of paper became most severe. A rationing of coal in December 1918 made it impossible for the government to provide Van Gelder with enough coal for making paper for newspapers. The situation was expected to last until February 1919, but in the meantime preference was given to the use of paper for ration coupons and governmental publications. The shortage of coal was a big problem.¹⁴⁷

By the end of February 1919 the rationing was over, since the Government permitted the factories to slowly resume their exports. Manufacturers were allowed to export their paper, as long as the national need was satisfied.¹⁴⁸

139 'Rantsoenering van courantpapier', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 September, 1917, pp. 1227-1228.

140 'Uitvoerverbod van papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 October, 1917, p. 1395.

141 'Levering van Papier aan het Rijk', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 October, 1917, pp. 1472-1473.

142 'Papierindustrie op de Veluwe in 1917', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 February, 1918, p. 279.

143 'Enquête inzake papierverbruik', *Nieuwsblad*, 18 June, 1918, p. 757.

144 'Oud papier en afval van nieuw papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 2 August, 1918, p. 951.

145 'Oud papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 21 February, 1919, p. 180.

146 'Papierhandel en normalisering van papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 11 October, 1918, pp. 1192-1193.

147 'Rantsoenering van papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 January, 1919, pp. 6-7.

148 'Uitvoer van papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 25 February, 1919, p. 202.

In April 1919, the export of old paper regulated, while measures were taken against possible fraud.¹⁴⁹ On 6 May, 1919, the advisory paper committee was disbanded, since it had only been established for the duration of the war.¹⁵⁰

The war changed the paper industry considerably. During the war, Dutch paper factories had fared reasonably well since there was no international competition. However, after the war competition from Japan and the United States increased, while the Dutch manufacturers had to deal with scarcity of raw materials, high prices and higher wages of employees. More regulations had been agreed during the war, which they had to take into account as well.¹⁵¹

Cardboard

The first companies that had to stop production because of the war, were the cardboard factories¹⁵² in Groningen, because Germany decided to halt exporting hydrochloric acid. Because this was an important ingredient for making cardboard, the factory couldn't manufacture their products anymore and had to stop.¹⁵³ By the end of August, all cardboard factories had stopped production as well because of this lack of supply. The last quarter of the year, work resumed on a more or less regular basis, though the sales were not too good.¹⁵⁴

In June 1915, the Minister of Agriculture had created a committee to keep an eye on the distribution of straw for cardboard. This was done to provide enough materials to the factories. It worked, also because limitations were put on exports to keep sufficient stocks in the Netherlands.¹⁵⁵ The committee strictly supervised straw production and asked the Minister to maintain the current limitations. Cardboard factories were asked only to buy the amount of straw they needed from the harvest, to prevent some factories having too much and others too less straw.¹⁵⁶

By January 1917, however, the situation was getting worse. Not only the lack of coal was a problem, but also that exports were smaller than production, which caused factories to fire part of their staff.¹⁵⁷ At the end of the same year, in November 1917, it was likely that the cardboard industry had to stop as a whole. Most of the straw used for making cardboard now served as animal fodder; only old straw and a small part of the new harvest could be used for making

149 'Uitvoer van oud papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 April, 1919, p. 392.

150 'Commissie van advies inzake papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 9 May, 1919, p. 485.

151 'De toestand der papiernijverheid in het 1ste halfjaar van 1919', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 August, 1919, p. 849.

152 For an extensive explanation on how cardboard is made, see 'Vervaardiging van stroocarton', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 October, 1915, pp. 1362-1363.

153 'De cartonfabrieken en de oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 September, 1914, p. 1096.

154 'Papierfabricatie 1914', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 February, 1915, p. 233.

155 'Stroocarton', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 June, 1915, p. 682.

156 'Stroocarton', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 September, 1915, p. 1201.

157 'Moeilijkheden in de kartonindustrie', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 February, 1917, pp. 282-283.

cardboard. This was not enough to keep production going.¹⁵⁸

When the war ended, the British cardboard factories were highly interested in the Dutch cardboard making techniques. The Dutch factories had in fact managed to survive during the war years, even expecting to have enough cardboard to export to Britain. The British factories had not been able to cater to the demand of cardboard during the war and as they were not expecting anything from the German cardboard factories, they wanted the Dutch cardboard. It was mainly from a point of competition that the British were interested, however. The British cardboard industry had just begun, and they wanted to expand their market.¹⁵⁹ However, experts were not afraid of the British competition, since the cardboard industry of Groningen had been the leading producer for a number of years. Their work methods and attitude provided them with healthy businesses, something that was not easily achievable.¹⁶⁰

In June 1919, exporting cardboard was allowed again without permission from the government.¹⁶¹ The first quarter of that year was not easy as there still was a shortage of raw materials and the British were highly protective of their own industry. However, they were expected to start importing Dutch cardboard again. Besides, in the war the cardboard had functioned as packaging materials, and now the war was over, many people did not want to buy 'war goods' anymore. Even though it was a cheap way of packaging, cardboard had proven itself to be a good substitute for tin-plate, and it was expected that it would be used more often than before.¹⁶²

Metal

In August 1915, after the introduction of stricter regulations for trade with Britain (see below), the cliché producers equally were facing a difficult time because of a lack of materials. The plates ordered from Britain were ready, but were still in the hands of the *Nederlandse Overzee Trust Maatschappij* (Dutch overseas trust company)¹⁶³, which could not send off the plates immediately. If the plates were not sent on time, some factories would be forced to stop production and fire employees.¹⁶⁴

In November 1915, the German government began confiscating copper plates in order to be melted and used by the military industry. Many German

158 'De carton-industrie bedreigd', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 November, 1917, p. 1541.

159 'Engelsche concurrentie tegen de Nederlandsche stroocartonnijverheid', *Nieuwsblad*, 20 December, 1918, pp. 1479-1480.

160 'Engelsche mededinging tegen de Groningsche stroocartonnijverheid', *Nieuwsblad*, 10 January, 1919, pp. 28-29.

161 'Stroocarton', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 June, 1919, p. 595.

162 'De toestand der papiernijverheid in het 1ste halfjaar van 1919', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 August, 1919, p. 849.

163 See 'Transport' for details about this organisation.

164 'Kopernood', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 August, 1915, p. 1016.

artists protested against this measure, since many of the plates were pieces of art and destroying them would be both a financial and a cultural loss. This measure also affected the Netherlands: many publishers had their plates stored in Germany, where they were produced. The plates were their possession, but it was cheaper to keep them in Germany and have print runs produce from them on location than to transport the plates to the Netherlands and to the printing here. Consequently, their plates were in danger as well. The Dutch minister was asked to prevent that the Dutch plates would be destroyed.¹⁶⁵ The German government came with a clever solution: If the Dutch wanted their plates back, they should return the same weight in pure copper.¹⁶⁶

The Minister of Agriculture decided in January 1918 that it was forbidden to send any printing type to other places than type-foundries and printing houses in the Netherlands.¹⁶⁷ A year later, on 28 February, 1919, this measure was repealed.¹⁶⁸

Innovations

Because of the War, many methods and techniques of manufacturing could not be used anymore because of a lack of materials. As a result, new techniques were applied, which had the added advantage to make work methods both easier and cheaper.

New solutions were found to fight scarcity. An engineer from Bloemendaal, De Stürler, invented a method to re-use the paper of newspapers by deinking it, without losing the strength. To protect his invention, he even applied for a patent in the Netherlands, Germany and France. The method was environment-friendly, since no trees needed to be cut for the paper industry.¹⁶⁹ There was one problem, however: the collection of the used paper. People would normally throw away or burn their newspapers after reading them. To make the method work, the readers had to return the paper, but chances were that they wanted a financial compensation for that. Another problem was to make the method cheap enough to reduce costs without having to increase the price of newspapers.¹⁷⁰ At the same time, other methods for deinking paper were experimented with as well.¹⁷¹

Innovative techniques for papermaking were introduced as well. Experi-

165 'Nederlandsche belangen bij de koperrequisities in Duitschland', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 November, 1915, p. 1578.

166 'Nederlandse belangen bij de koperrequisitie in Duitsland', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 April, 1916, p. 546.

167 'Lettermetaal', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 January, 1918, p. 18.

168 'Drukletters en lettermetaal', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 February, 1919, p. 218.

169 'Het ontinkten van papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 April, 1915, pp. 452-453.

170 'Het ontinkten van papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 May, 1915, pp. 544-545.

171 For such methods, see 'Nieuw papier uit oud courantenpapier', *Nieuwsblad*, 7 May, 1915, p. 560, and 'Papier', *Nieuwsblad*, 7 April, 1916, pp. 512-513.

ments were done to see if bamboo could be used as a replacement of paper, and tests showed that indeed it could be a perfect rival for wood pulp.¹⁷²

On one occasion *Nieuwsblad* reported on a German bookbinder, who when serving in the army experimented with the fish he was given as food. He dissected the clip fish (salted cod) and left the skin to soak in water. When dried, the result was not dissimilar to parchment. The disadvantage was that only small pieces could be retrieved, since the fins had to be removed.¹⁷³ In France, experiments were done to produce paper from tree leaves. The quality was good, and further research was done to see if mass production was possible.¹⁷⁴

Clearly, the book industry faced many difficulties because of the scarcity of raw materials. The result of this constant pressure was on the one hand stricter regulation, and on the other hand new technical developments. Committees were established to regulate production, limits were put on exports and sales, and collaboration was demanded when and wherever it was needed.

Moratorium

An economic measure governments could resort to in wartime was a moratorium or deferment of payments, in order to freeze cash flows and prevent financial loss. The Dutch government did not think this necessary. However, some individual traders did not want to take any risks and froze their cash flows and deferred their payments. Both the Board of the VBBB and other traders warned for this, since it would have bad consequences for the business.¹⁷⁵

Other countries did issue moratoriums during the war, which had serious consequences for Dutch international traders. In 1912, legislation had been passed, which stated that people trading with foreigners in a country that had a moratorium, had to be paid within thirty days by their trade partners having a moratorium. The problems this regulation caused occasioned one writer in the *Nieuwsblad* to ask the government to reconsider this measure, the more so since it had changed laws in the past time as well.¹⁷⁶ No clear answer was given.

Deferral of payments

Individuals deferring their payments became a problem from the beginning of the war onwards. Repeatedly, the board of the VBBB warned the members not to defer payments, and to act firmly if other firms tried to do so. Members could expect help from the newly established *Regelingscommissie voor het Boekbedrijf en de Graphische Vakken* (Regulation committee for the Book

172 'Grondstoffen voor papierfabricage', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 December, 1916, p. 1738.

173 'Huid van Klipvis als bindmateriaal', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 April, 1917, p. 535.

174 'Papier van boombladeren', *Nieuwsblad*, 30 July, 1918, p. 942.

175 'Aan den Boekhandel', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 August, 1914, pp. 981-982.

176 'Buitenlandsche moratoria en de nederlandsche rechtsbetrekkingen', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 September, 1914, pp. 1037-1038.

trade and the graphic professions), which issued a folder that could be sent to non-paying business relations. If they still did not pay, the trader could call for mediation from the committee.¹⁷⁷

The committee also published an article in *Nieuwsblad* explaining why it was so important to keep payments going. If one firm decided not to pay his debt to another, this latter company would not have enough money to pay its debtors in turn, leading to a negative spiral. To keep the book trade running, debtors should not be selfish, but had to consider the wider picture, and collaborate.¹⁷⁸ The Minister of Justice was equally concerned about the risks of deferral, and warned that the law might be adapted as a preventive measure.¹⁷⁹

Already in August 1914 a bill was presented to the Second Chamber, making it possible to help people who really could not pay their debts as a result of the war. The idea of the bill was that people facing temporary financial difficulties caused by the war would be offered additional time to repay their debts. A judge would decide if someone was entitled to such an arrangement, and for how long his payments would be deferred. This would benefit the creditor as well, because his debtor would not go bankrupt and should be able to pay him back after a certain time. The judge also had the power to either lengthen or shorten the period of deferment.¹⁸⁰

The bill was received well, but not everyone was satisfied. Some people had hoped for the establishment of an institution that had a general overview and could keep an eye on this kind of arrangements. Besides, the problems of people who could not pay their house rent anymore were not solved. However, following the suggestion made by a parliamentary committee of rapporteurs, the government was willing to see if some changes could be made.¹⁸¹

Booksellers in particular seemed to opt for deferral of their payments. This partly had to do with their traditional use of annual accounts, while some publishers had already moved from annual accounts to half-yearly payments, although for some traders even this was too long.¹⁸²

Prepayment

Some publishers preferred prepayment before sending a book to a customer, a much criticized measure which had also emerged in the earlier discussion about the bar system, as it disturbed the current relations and economical system.¹⁸³

177 'Regelingscommissie voor het Boekbedrijf en de Graphische Vakken', *Nieuwsblad*, 21 August, 1914, pp. 998-1000.

178 Ibidem.

179 'Regelingscommissie voor het Boekbedrijf en de Graphische Vakken', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 August, 1914, pp. 1014-1015.

180 'Buitengewoon uitstel van betaling', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 August, 1914, pp. 1019-1022.

181 'Buitengewoon uitstel van betaling', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 September, 1914, p. 1037.

182 'Inkrimping van het crediet', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 September, 1914, pp. 1076-1078.

183 'Vooruitbetaling', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 September, 1914, pp. 1038-1039.

It created a kind of the opposite situation to the issue of deferral of payments; a customer had to ask his debtors to pay him, so he could pay the publisher who demanded prepayment.¹⁸⁴

The reciprocity of these two phenomena made many members of the VBBB desperate; as it was written in one article in the *Nieuwsblad*, they 'almost needed double credit' to face the different calls for payment.¹⁸⁵

The government had asked to limit professional activities in the early days of the war, to get through the first period of confusion and then make decisions on how to maintain, which caused some bookbinders in university towns like Leiden, Delft and Groningen to entirely stop working. This was frowned upon by publishers and other bookbinders, who told them that they could now do activities that they were lagging behind on. Another solution was to take back work that was outsourced to prisoners.¹⁸⁶

When the first shock of the war was over and it looked like the Netherlands would be able to maintain its neutrality, the members of the book trade tried to keep their cash flows as they were before the war, selling and paying on time, supported by and collaborating with their colleagues.

Mobilisation and unemployment

The outbreak of the war soon forced the Dutch government to call a mobilisation. At the same time, the lack of work led to workers being forced to work part-time and getting less salary.¹⁸⁷ In December, the commander of land and naval forces was asked to exempt booksellers from military service for the period of 28 November until 6 December, but this was not granted.¹⁸⁸

A statistical review shows that in the first quarter of 1914, there was almost no unemployment in the book industry. By the second quarter, unemployment was on the increase, while during the second half of the year many people were fired or could only work part-time. Only by the end of the fourth quarter the situation improved somewhat.¹⁸⁹ Especially the printing business suffered from the war. Lithographers suffered most, and some businesses went bankrupt. The printing business had to deal with reduced imports of materials from abroad, and a smaller market for exports.¹⁹⁰

The *Nederlandse Bond van Boekverkopersbedienden* (Dutch union of booksellers' assistants) asked the booksellers to add a surcharge of 10% to the sal-

184 'Inkrimping van het crediet', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 September, 1914, pp. 1055-1056.

185 'Inkrimping van het crediet', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 September, 1914, p. 1098.

186 'Het boekbindersbedrijf en de oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 October, 1914, pp. 1160-1161.

187 'De graphische vakken en de oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 August, 1914, p. 985.

188 'Kennisgeving', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 December, 1914, p. 1425.

189 'Boek, courant en handelsdrukkerijen in 1914', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 February, 1915, p. 233.

190 'De toestand in de drukkers- en aanverwante bedrijven gedurende 1914', *Nieuwsblad*, 2 July, 1915, pp. 819-820.

ary of their employees. Now everything was becoming more expensive, they needed the money.¹⁹¹

In 1916, business went quite well for the printing companies, in view of the circumstances. Even though materials were more expensive, the demand was strong enough to cover the costs, so that many companies could keep working as they were used to.¹⁹²

In February 1917, the Minister of Agriculture decided on an electricity and coal rationing, which also affected the printing companies. Especially the newspapers suffered from this measure as they could only use 75% of their power. They had to stop their Monday editions and opt for a smaller format.¹⁹³ To prevent major problems following this energy crisis, the *Bond van Nederlandse Boekdrukkerijen* (Union of Dutch printing companies) asked their members to collaborate and concentrate demand, so that the remaining 75% could be used as efficiently as possible.¹⁹⁴

1918 generally was a good year for printers. They had enough work, even though the situation for trade printers was more difficult. Lithography printers still did not have much work, since illustrated works were not very popular because of the high costs. Bookbinders suffered from the high costs of materials as well, at times not being able to execute orders. Large enterprises saw an increase of their profits and a modest increase of production, with the exception of the cardboard factories, which saw a small decline in production and profits. As the cardboard factories could not export their products, work was halted from November to December 1919. Type-foundries were limited in production as well, because of the high costs of materials.¹⁹⁵

After the war, high costs remained a problem, but the revival of the trade provided relief to many companies. The lithographers and bookbinders still were struggling, but their revenues were now more stable than during the war years. There was more demand for cardboard and the type-foundries revived because of lower costs and better sales.¹⁹⁶

191 'Duurtetoeslag op het salaris', *Nieuwsblad*, 2 November, 1915, p. 1445.

192 'Drukkers en aanverwante bedrijven te Amsterdam in 1916', *Nieuwsblad*, 10 July, 1917, p. 916.

193 'Rantsoenering der drukkerijen', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 February, 1917, p. 282.

194 'Stroombesparing in het drukkersbedrijf', *Nieuwsblad*, 10 April, 1917, pp. 471-472.

195 'De toestand der drukkers en aanverwante bedrijven in 1918', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 December, 1919, pp. 1387-1388.

196 'De toestand der drukkers en aanverwante bedrijven in 1919', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 October, 1920, pp. 968-969.

Transport

In this section, the situation in the national and international transports sector will be discussed, since both suffered from the war. The Dutch book trade was internationally oriented, having many foreign trade partners. Besides, the national transport as well had to change during the war.

International trading

Deliveries from other countries did not always arrive in 1915, though it was mainly a matter of delay. Deliveries from Germany did arrive most of the time, and were not more expensive than before. Britain did deliver with delays, and for a higher price. France was the worst; prices for French books and periodicals tripled and deliveries were always very late, which caused trouble with payments, because the sender had to be paid, but the receiver could not sell his goods on time.¹⁹⁷ In some cases, overseas deliveries from France were intercepted by Britain, which caused extra work for the importers, since they had to go to Britain to set things straight.¹⁹⁸

In August 1915, all exports via Britain had to pass via the *Nederlandse Overzee Trust Maatschappij* (NOT), a company that had to give its consent to every single delivery, on which the sender had to pay per package. This caused a great stagnation in the supply of foreign books.¹⁹⁹ As a consequence, Dutch importers decided to request the British government to obtain free exports of books and periodicals. An organisation was established for this matter, the *Bond ter Bevordering van den Nederlandschen Handel met het Buitenland* (Union for improvement of the Dutch trade with foreign countries), which was to be active for five years with the aim to keep a watch over international trade and solve problems.²⁰⁰ After some officials had visited Britain to discuss the matter, the British government decided that they could not allow Dutch importers to skip the NOT, but that instead of an individual permit per delivery one permit for a longer period would be provided. Besides, the payment per package was not allowed anymore. On 6 August, the representatives received the following message of the British government:

The Customs-authorities have now been instructed to allow the exportation of British newspapers, periodicals, etc, to Holland under consignment to the Netherland Oversea-Trust, on a general license, thus

197 'De boekhandel in Holland gedurende den oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 February, 1915, pp. 215-216.

198 'Postzendingen van Fransche boeken en tijdschriften' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 15 June, 1915, p. 744.

199 'De groote vertraging in de ontvangst der Engelsche en Fransche boeken en tijdschriften opgeheven', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 August, 1915, pp. 1011-1014.

200 'Handel met Engeland en Frankrijk', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 July, 1915, p. 869.

*obviating the necessity for exporters to produce special permits issued by the Trust in the case of each particular parcel.*²⁰¹

With this promise, the main reason for delay had been solved for importers known to the NOT.²⁰²

In December 1915, a decree was issued by the British Government that English newspapers could only be distributed in neutral countries by companies with a special permit.²⁰³ In April 1916, the intervention of the NOT was not necessary anymore; publications from France and Britain could be sent freely again.²⁰⁴

Belgium as well put limits on postal traffic, but the consequences for the Dutch booksellers were limited at first.²⁰⁵ In January 1916, it was only permitted to send magazines and newspapers to occupied area of Belgium as a publisher, or to a German magistrate, civil servant or army attendant. In June 1916, the rules for Antwerp became even stricter. Periodicals could not be sent at all, only Dutch and German books could be imported, while French and English language-learning books could only be exported if they were produced by a Dutch publisher, and after import duties had been paid to the German government.²⁰⁶

In September 1916, deliveries from France were causing trouble again, because the regulations were not fixed.²⁰⁷ The NOT demanded a great deal of information from the *Bestelhuis voor den Boekhandel* before they gave their consent. Besides, as the trade in leather was prohibited, books bound in leather were prohibited as well.²⁰⁸

Britain caused even more trouble in international trade relations. German books sent by Dutch traders (some traders provided the German publishers with distribution of their books, and some Dutch publishers published German books) to the Indies and America were confiscated more than once, which caused the Dutch publishers to collectively ask the Minister of Foreign Affairs to help them fighting these confiscations.²⁰⁹ Moreover, in April 1917, the direct sea route from the Netherlands to the Dutch West Indies was blocked. Packages could still be sent, but only via an alternative route, which was more expensive,

201 'De groote vertraging in de ontvangst der Engelsche en Fransche boeken en tijdschriften opgeheven', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 August, 1915, pp. 1011-1014.

202 'De vertraging in de ontvangst van Engelsche en Fransche tijdschriften', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 September, 1915, pp. 1081-1082.

203 'De verzending van Engelsche dagbladen', *Nieuwsblad*, 7 December, 1915, p. 1669.

204 'Invoer van gedrukte boeken en stukken uit Frankrijk', *Nieuwsblad*, 21 April, 1916, p. 583.

205 'Postverkeer België-Nederland', *Nieuwsblad*, 21 December, 1915, p. 1751.

206 'Bestelhuis van den Boekhandel – Verzending naar Antwerpen', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 June, 1916, pp. 818-819.

207 'Postpakketten uit Frankrijk', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 September, 1916, p. 1277.

208 'Het N.O.T. en de boekhandel', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 November, 1916, pp.1621-1622.

209 'Boekenroof', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 September 1916, pp. 1277-1278.

or when provided with the explicit notice 'by surface mail', which meant they would be stored until the route was available again.²¹⁰

Trade with Britain and other countries took some time to recover after the war, but in the course of 1919 they slowly returned to normal.²¹¹

National trading

In October 1916, postal tariffs for letters, but not parcels, within the Netherlands were increased by the government.²¹² Some claimed that this measure was unfair, since both the post offices and the senders were disadvantaged as the railway company earned extra money by demanding a higher price for transporting parcels.²¹³ Plans were made by the government to increase the price of parcels as well.²¹⁴

In October 1917 the Dutch railway company decided only to transport basic supplies, like food and fuel, for a period of three weeks. Luxury goods like books had to wait. Chaos followed. The commissioners of the *Bestelhuis* sent a letter to the Minister of Agriculture to ask if books, magazines and newspapers could be excluded from this measure and be transported freely. The minister quickly responded and the limitation was withdrawn.²¹⁵ However, an announcement was made that cargo transports by rail on the track Amsterdam-Rotterdam would be stopped in early November, because such transports would now have to take place over water.²¹⁶ In addition, many transport companies announced that they would increase the prices of parcels.²¹⁷ These measures were applied nationally; no parcels heavier than 50 kilograms per parcel would be transported by train anymore, while the inland shipping companies increased their prices with 50%.²¹⁸

As winter approached precautions had to be taken. If domestic shipping had to stop because of frost, only food and fuel – like coal – would be transported by train, to prevent shortages.²¹⁹ But as transport by boat became better organised, parcels needed despatch notes.²²⁰ Somewhat later, a special *Beurtvaartcommissie* (Barge transport committee) consisting of ship owners and various traders

210 'Brief- en pakketpost naar Nederlandsch West-Indië', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 April, 1917, p. 444.

211 'De toestand der drukkers- en aanverwante bedrijven in 1919', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 October, 1920, pp. 968-969.

212 'De Nieuwe Posttarieven', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 October, 1916, p. 1384; 'Postpakketten', *Nieuwsblad*, 20 October, 1916, p. 1420.

213 'Het nieuwe posttarief – een misrekening', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 November, 1916, pp. 1500-1501.

214 'Verhoging tarieven pakketpost', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 November, 1916, p. 1629.

215 'Een korte storing in het verkeer', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 October, 1917, pp. 1436-1437.

216 'Staking van het goederenvervoer?', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 October, 1917, p. 1457.

217 'Verhoging van het bestelgoederentarieff', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 October, 1917, p. 1472.

218 'Beperking van het goederenvervoer', *Nieuwsblad*, 30 October, 1917, p. 1497.

219 'Vervoer tijdens stremming der vaart door vorst', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 December, 1917, p. 1829.

220 'Binnenbeurtvaart', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 February, 1918, p. 204.

was established. The task of the committee was to further transport and trading in good consultation between the different parties.²²¹ This committee resulted in a separate organisation, the *Nederlandse Verladerebond* (Dutch transporters union), which was mainly focused on inland transports.²²²

Increase in book prices

In January 1916, the *Nederlandse Uitgeversbond* (Dutch publishers' union) addressed the issue of book prices. The question was if prices had to be increased, and if so, if this had to be on a temporary or permanent basis. The motivations for higher pricing were the increasing costs of printing and paper prices. As all materials necessary for producing books were becoming more expensive, it was impossible to maintain the price of the end product. However, the union did not wish to increase prices without consulting its members, for which reason a questionnaire was sent to the members, by which they could express their opinions.²²³

The results of the survey gave a good overview of the publishers' thoughts. Opponents of the measure felt that there were too many factors at work to determine a general rule for a price increase. Besides, every publisher did that in his own way. The duration of the measure was also questioned, since it was impossible to predict how the measure would work out, and if prices could be lowered after a while again. Many publishers saw an opportunity to provide their debitors with higher rebates if the book price would increase. Books already produced could still be sold for their old price, while new publications could be priced according to their higher costs, which would be similar for all publishers.²²⁴

Newspapers

The newspaper publishers also decided to take measures because of the higher costs of production. From July 1916 onwards, an increase of the subscription price of at least 30 cents per three months would be asked for the duration of the war. Also, a war surcharge was put on advertisements, varying from 10-20%. Lastly, the intermediaries (booksellers and debitors) would only get a 5% commission on subscriptions.²²⁵

In November 1917, it was agreed on that the subscriptions of newspapers would again be raised, because the costs of materials were still rising. This in-

221 'Centrale Beurtvaartcommissie', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 May, 1918, pp. 620-621.

222 'Beurtvaart en Binnenlands Vervoer', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 June, 1918, p. 695.

223 'De prijs der boeken', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 January, 1916, p. 66.

224 'De prijs der boeken', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 January, 1916, pp. 146-147.

225 'Verhooging van den abonnements- en advertentieprijs der dagbladen', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 June, 1916, p. 793.

crease would become effective in 1918.²²⁶

Crisis surcharge

In September 1918, a new type of price increase was introduced: the crisis surcharge. Some publishers decided to increase the prices of their books with this surcharge, which usually was, between 5 and 10% of the original price.²²⁷ The official surcharge was 5% for debitants, and only applied to Dutch books, atlases and cards. Foreign books and magazines were exempted.²²⁸ Although the surcharge of 5% was mandatory, some publishers asked 10%, of which the debitant only got 2,5%. They then had to increase their surcharge with another 5%, so that both publisher and debitant got 7,5% of the increase.²²⁹

The crisis surcharge remained after the war, although some people expected it to be abandoned and waited to buy books until prices were normalized again. According to an article in the *Nieuwsblad*, publishers who wished to keep the higher price should mention the final price, including the surcharge.²³⁰ In April 1919, a movement was going to get rid of the surcharges. If the surcharge would be kept, and it was decided officially to dismiss it, no higher prices could be asked for the books. What was necessary, was a fixed higher price for the books, so that the publishers could keep asking high prices. The book had not increased in price as much as other products during the war, so the publishers saw no problem in asking higher prices for their books. However, the debitant surcharge was a problem, since the debitants did not want to get rid of that. The best solution seemed to keep a standard rebate of 25%, both for normal and school books. In this manner, the debitants would not deprive of their extra income.²³¹

All these measures were the first steps in the regulation of book prices, which would finally result in the fixed book price the Netherlands have today.

Collective agreements and their negative side

In the years 1917 and 1918, more and more collective agreements were established in the book industry and other economical areas, establishing general rules on how employees' wages had to be calculated, how pricing should be determined, et cetera. In general, this improved the situation of the employees and diminished the differences between companies. However, there was a negative side to these collective agreements. Not all loans were as high as the

226 'Verhooging der abonnementsprijzen van couranten', *Nieuwsblad*, 30 November, 1917, p. 1694.

227 'Crisis-toeslag op den prijs der boeken', *Nieuwsblad*, 10 September, 1918, p. 1060; 'Crisis-toeslag', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 October, 1918, p. 1182.

228 'Crisis-toeslag', *Nieuwsblad*, 11 October, 1918, p. 1191.

229 'De 5% crisistoeslag', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 October, 1918, p. 1236.

230 'De 5% crisistoeslag', *Nieuwsblad*, 17 January, 1919, pp. 53-54.

231 'Moeten niet alle crisistoelagen afgeschafte worden?', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 April, 1919, p. 348.

employees had wanted or expected, which led to a series of strikes in January 1918. One of them occurred in the book industry, as a result of the curious way in which the collective labour contract in printing was designed. It was the strike of the bookbinders in Zutphen (Overijssel), which will be discussed below.

The employers' unions in the typography had created a collective agreement with their employees in the last months of 1917. There was, however, a difference in the contracts of the *Algemene Nederlandse Typografenbond* (General Dutch typographers' union) and the *Bond van Nederlandse Boekbinderspatroons* (Union of Dutch bookbinders' employers). The first contract regulated the wages and prices within the printing industry, the second concerned only bookbinding. Defining the wages of employees was done by using a scale or classification. Nine classes were distinguished, of which class 1 provided the employees with the highest wages, and class 9 with the lowest wages. Between every class, the hourly wage differed 1 cent. Every city was put in such a class. For the printers, this classification was based on the standard of living, but for the bookbinders, there was an extra factor: the importance of the local companies. In general, the printers and bookbinders working in a city were in the same class, or the discrepancy between them was marginal. Another difference was that the wage contract in the printing sector was drawn up by employees, and that for bookbinders by employers.

The situation in Zutphen was different. Their printers were placed in class 7, based on their standard of living. However, because Zutphen had one important bookbinding firm and several small ones, this presence of the large bookbindery resulted in the bookbinders being placed in the third class. The employers of the smaller bookbinding firms were dissatisfied with this classification, because they had to pay their employees more, and which drove up the price of their product and had a negative influence on profits. Early in 1918, the bookbinders of both the large and smaller bookbinding firms in Zutphen went on strike, demanding to be placed in the same class as the printers.²³²

The core of the matter was that many thought it was unfair that the class of a city was determined on basis of competition; it was decided on the basis of the mutual understanding of employers, instead of on the basis of the sake of the employees. The class for printers and the class for bookbinders, it was argued, should be the same in every city, or close to it. The only solution to stop the strike was that Zutphen was placed in the seventh class for both printers and bookbinders, and that the employers signed the collective contract, which they had not done yet.²³³

Not only Zutphen disagreed with the new classification system. Amsterdam

232 'Boekbindersstaking in Zutphen', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 February, 1918, pp. 258-259; 'Boekbindersstaking te Zutphen', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 March, 1918, pp. 325-326; 'Boekbindersstaking te Zutphen', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 March, 1918, p. 353.

233 'Boekbindersstaking te Zutphen', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 March, 1918, pp.364-365.

had the dubious honour of being in the first class, which not only meant that companies had to pay their staff the highest wages, but also that they had to ask higher prices for their products than their provincial colleagues. The Amsterdam firms were even considering leaving the typographic union for employers.²³⁴

In July 1918, the striking parties presented a proposal for a solution. An arbitral committee of three members had to be formed, existing of one member designated by the employers, one member designated by the central committee, and one member designated by those two designated persons. This committee would try to find out if the firm was right in choosing not to enter the union and the collective agreement. If it was, it would be placed in class 7, just like the printers; if it wasn't, it would be placed in class 5. Following the outcome, work would be resumed immediately. The chairman of the *Algemene Nederlandsche Typografenbond* reacted positively to this proposal, under the condition that the parties would indeed join the union and the collective agreement. However, the proposing parties did not like this answer, since this condition was not 'arbitral', and they withdrew their offer.²³⁵

Because the negotiations got stuck, the *Uitgeversbond* offered to act arbitrarily in the matter, so that work could be resumed.²³⁶ The final solution was that Zutphen was placed in the sixth class. The bookbinders resumed work in the autumn of 1918.²³⁷

The introduction of the collective agreement is a sign of better collaboration and more regulation as well as of more emancipation of the employees in the book industry. Employers took better care of their employees, giving them more rights. The trade unions collaborated with employers and employees to arrange these collective agreements. The wages and prices were normalized and rules were set for the defining of these wages. Finally, when the employees or employers did not agree with the regulations, they fought until they got a solution.

234 'De afdeeling Amsterdam van den Ned. Bond van boekdrukkerijen', *Nieuwsblad*, 5 April, 1918, pp. 461-462.

235 'De boekbindersstaking te Zutphen', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 July, 1918, p. 862.

236 'De bindersstaking te Zutphen', *Nieuwsblad*, 9 August, 1918, p. 968.

237 J. Hofman, *Van Zorg en Zegen. Nederlands Christelijke Grafische Bond* (Amsterdam, 1927), p. 157.

4 CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES

In this chapter, some important cultural and social events that happened during the war will be discussed, mainly from the perspective of the Dutch book trade, retrieved from the *Nieuwsblad*. The focus of this chapter will mainly be on the international relations between the Netherlands and its neighbouring countries and the emancipation of both readers and women, particularly in order to see how the increasing influence of the feminist movement can be recognized in the Dutch book world. Firstly, the Exhibition of the Book and the Graphic Professions in Leipzig of 1914 will be discussed, an event that demonstrated the increasing importance of the book in society and the change in international relations within the book trade shortly before and at the start of the war. Secondly, the reading habits of people in 1914-1918 will be discussed. A section will be dedicated to new arts of libraries, the library catalogue and the library of Leuven, in whose reconstruction the Dutch book trade played a part as well. 1915 was the centenary of the VBBB, which will be discussed shortly as well. The second *Jaarbeurs* will be mentioned, since the book played a bigger role than before. Lastly, two sentiments that occurred during the war years will be discussed, namely feminism and neutrality.

Bugra

A major international event took place in 1914. It was the International Exhibition of the Book and the Graphic Professions (in short: Bugra) in Leipzig. The exhibition was initiated to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the *Königlichen Akademie für graphische Künste und Buchgewerbe* (Royal Academy for Graphic Arts) in Leipzig, and lasted from May to November. Almost all the countries of Europe took part in the exhibition, and in the early months of 1914, preparations were made in the Netherlands to design their pavilion at the exhibition. A committee was established to organise the Dutch participation, which started work in April. Two smaller subcommittees were formed as well: an executive committee and a special committee for the free graphic arts, which would take the arranging of the Dutch participation to a special part dedicated to the graphic arts on them. The Bugra was seen as an important link between the book and society; through this exhibition, the people of the profession could share their passion with the general public. The importance of advertising and publicity of books was clear to both publishers and booksellers; not only people with a literary background needed to be addressed, but people with little or no

'book experience' as well, and such an exhibition was the perfect place to do so.²³⁸

On 3 March, the registration for the exhibition opened. Publishers could sign up for space, since the Dutch pavilion had 70 meters to divide. If there were too many registrations, a selection committee would decide who was allowed to participate. The price for one meter was forty guilders, for every following meter fifteen guilders. For exhibition space in a showcase, six guilders per meter was asked.²³⁹

An advertisement in the *Nieuwsblad* of 17 March contained a call to female authors and their publishers to contact the board of the VBBB if they had not been contacted yet. The reason was that a special part of Bugra was dedicated to the woman in the book trade, and Dutch female authors could have a part in that as well. The area named 'Das Haus der Frau' was designed by the female architect Emile Winkelmann, and was intended to cover all the areas of the book trade from a female perspective.²⁴⁰

On 14 April, a report on the build-up of the Bugra was published. It was designed as a city, with all kinds of streets bearing explanatory names, for example the 'Strasse der Nationen', where all the pavilions of the partaking countries were located. The entire exhibition area covered 400,000 square meters, and the exhibition was estimated to cost around 7 million German Marks.²⁴¹

The official opening of the exhibition was scheduled to take place on 6 May, which left the Dutch not much time. In the Dutch pavilion, 87 exhibitors had a spot, the general international exhibition, which was situated in another pavilion and showed the international graphic arts, numbered 47 Dutch participants, while the special exhibition on women presented a few Dutch female authors as well.²⁴² The Dutch area would be officially opened on 7 May.²⁴³

Leipzig was already famous for its *Messwochen* (Fair weeks), during which the city was flooded with visitors. Hotels were booked full, sometimes more than a year in advance. Dr. Ludwig Volkmann, himself a publisher, as well as chairman of the *Deutsche Buchgewerbeverein* (Book Manufacturers' association) and president of the exhibition, opened the Bugra with a speech on 6 May. He mentioned the 'peaceful battle' between the different nations represented

238 'Internationale tentoonstelling van het boek en de graphische vakken, te Leipzig', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 February, 1914, pp. 186-187; 'Tentoonstellingsgedachten', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 February, 1914, pp. 229-230.

239 'Internationale tentoonstelling van het boek en de graphische vakken', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 March, 1914, pp. 269-270.

240 'De vrouw in het boekvak', *Nieuwsblad*, 17 March, 1914, pp. 330-331.

241 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 April, 1914, p. 442.

242 'Nederlandse commissie voor de Internationale graphische tentoonstelling te Leipzig', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 April, 1914, pp. 482-483; 'Internationale tentoonstelling voor het boek en de graphische vakken te Leipzig', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 April, 1914, p. 483.

243 'Opening der Nederlandsche afdeling van de Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 5 May, 1914, p. 529.

on the exhibition. The Bugra was opened in name of the King of Saxony, who made a tour around the exhibition site. In the evening, a sumptuous dinner was held with all the important people participating.²⁴⁴ During his tour of the exhibition, the king visited the Dutch pavilion as well, but to the disappointment of the Dutch participants, he did not show too much interest. As the *Nieuwsblad* correspondent reports: "For the valuing of an exhibition, one has to be a lover, and the current ruler of Saxony seems to be less a lover than his predecessor of three centuries, who laid the foundation for the beautiful collections".²⁴⁵ Worth mentioning as well is his comment on the speech of Volkmann:

*De onvermoeide Dr. Ludwig Volkmann, de leider van de beroemde muziekdrukkerij Breitkopf en Hartel, voorzitter van het Direktorium, hield eene keurige rede tot de genoodigde natiën, de Italianen, Franschen en Engelschen in hun landstaal toesprekende, en van ons getuigende "die Niederlande mit ihrer alten vornehm bürgerlichen Kultur, mit ihrer feinen Buchkunst die sich würdig der groszen hollandischen Malerei der 17 Jahrhunderts zur Seite stellen kann, und last not least, mit ihrer sympathischen Königin die auch bei uns sich herzlicher Beliebtheit erfreut". Telkens werden de woorden aan een der natiën gewijd, gevolgd door de eerste maten van het volkslied van het toegesproken land, en door een min of meer hartelijk applaus, dat voor ons en voor Frankrijk buitengewoon warm was. Vooral als zoo iets ongeveinsd uit Saksischen boezem komt, dan doet het dubbel aangenaam aan, want de Saks heeft wel de goede kwaliteiten van den Duitscher, maar mist absoluut het onaangename dat den Pruis, en vooral den Westphaler, zoo vaak kenmerkt.*²⁴⁶

Several international relationships were mentioned. The Dutch are seen by the Germans as civil and developed, with a winsome queen. The French are valued by the Germans as well. Striking is the Dutch valuation of the Saxon: he has the good qualities of a German, but misses the unpleasant traits of the Prussian. On the basis of the *Nieuwsblad*, one gets the impression that the Dutch generally valued the Germans very highly.

This understanding between Germans and Dutch showed as well on the opening of the Dutch exhibition, at which many Germans were present, and Volkmann was personally addressed. Other countries are mentioned as well

244 'De Opening van de Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 May, 1914, pp. 541-543.

245 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 May, 1914, pp. 558-560. Original text: *Maar voor het naar waarde schatten eener tentoonstelling moet men liefhebber zijn, en dat schijnt de tegenwoordige heerscher der Saksen minder te zijn dan zijn voorganger van voor drie eeuwen, die den grondslag legde tot de prachtige verzamelingen.*

246 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 May, 1914, pp. 558-560.

in the Nieuwsblad reports: both the Russian and Belgian pavilions were quite empty, 'as if our neighbours think the Bugra starts in 1915'. Van Huffel also wrote the most striking observation on the exhibition: 'De Bugra is een stad, en de bewoners ervan zijn de boeken en de prenten.'²⁴⁷

The Bugra was still going on when the war started, which made the Dutch consulate decide to protect the Dutch pavilion. The board of the Bugra was unwilling to close the exhibition, although some areas – those of Russia, Britain, France and Belgium, the countries Germany was in war with - were not open to visitors anymore.²⁴⁸ A message was distributed by English and Italian sources that those areas were burnt down, but the Dutch correspondent does not report such an event.²⁴⁹ About ten days later, this message was contradicted; the Russians, British, French and Belgian pavilions were still standing, though closed. Visitors continued to flock the Bugra every day. On 31 August, the birthday of the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina was celebrated with Dutch songs.²⁵⁰

All properties belonging to the nations Germany was now in war with, were still at the Bugra. The organization promised to look after them and return them after the war was over. A special exhibition was arranged about the war, displaying pamphlets, newspapers from all countries involved, and various military issues as well.²⁵¹ Shortly before the closure of the Bugra, a jury would judge the entries of the exhibition. The Netherlands declared themselves out of competition, because of the war.²⁵² Italy, Denmark and Sweden followed suit.²⁵³ The prize was in the end rewarded to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Sprachverein* (General German language association).²⁵⁴

On Sunday, 18 October, the Bugra was officially closed. The exhibitors were asked to remove their belongings within four weeks, if not, the board of the exhibition would seize and even sell them, and only a part of the revenue would be returned to the participant.²⁵⁵ The Dutch participants noticed almost nothing of the war, and thought that the board had done a great job to let the exhibition finish as planned.²⁵⁶ On 30 October, the Dutch committee reported that all Dutch material was back in Holland and would be sent to the owners either directly or via the *Bestelhuis*.

247 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 May, 1914, pp. 558-560. Translation: *The Bugra is a city, and its citizens are the books and the pictures*.

248 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 21 August, 1914, p. 1003.

249 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 September, 1914, p. 1055.

250 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 18 September, 1914, p. 1084.

251 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 29 September, 1914, p. 1126; 'Een oorlogstentoonstelling', *Nieuwsblad*, 29 September, 1914, p. 1126.

252 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 October, 1914, p. 1161.

253 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 October, 1914, p. 1219.

254 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 November, 1914, p. 1333.

255 'De sluiting der Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 20 October, 1914, pp. 1236-1237.

256 'De sluiting der Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 October, 1914, p. 1251.

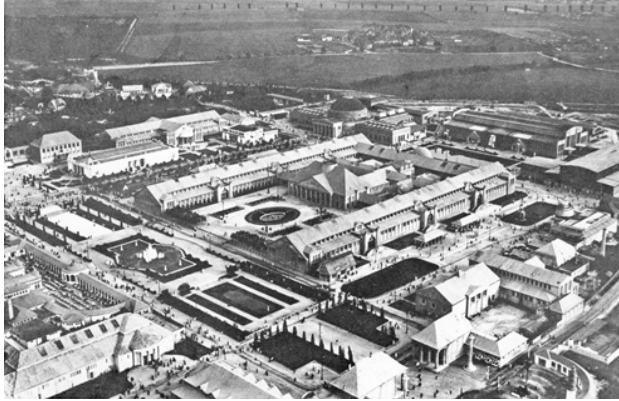


Figure 7: The terrain of Bugra in 1914.

Heinz-Jürgen Böhme, Günter Clemens, *Bilderbogen - Leipziger Ansichtskartenserien von 1895 bis 1945*, (PRO LEIPZIG, 2010), n.pag., <www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q4233718> (11 August 2016)

The Bugra was in general well-visited. Especially during the last weeks of the exhibition, the pavilions of the neutral states were visited by many people, as the other ones were closed. The total number of visitors was estimated at 2,331,305 people.²⁵⁷

Part of the Bugra exhibition on education and the book industry was preserved to be turned into a school museum, if sufficient financial support could be found.²⁵⁸ These funds were available soon, and the *Deutsche Buchgewerbe und Schriftmuseum* was established on the Bugra grounds. The museum opened in May 1915.²⁵⁹ A great variety of printing technologies was presented, from various periods and countries.²⁶⁰ This museum burnt down in 1943, after an allied bombing raid on Leipzig.²⁶¹

Bugra made clear the importance of Germany in the book world, and the close relationship between Germany and the Netherlands in the print industry. This relationship was strongest in the first years of the war, but declined later, when the Netherlands shifted its focus more to Britain and France. The exhibition also showed that many more people now had access to books and that a veritable revolution in the development of reading had occurred.

257 'De Bugra', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 November, 1914, pp. 1290-1291.

258 'School en boeknijverheid', *Nieuwsblad*, 17 November, 1914, p. 1354.

259 'Het Deutsche Buchgewerbe- und Schriftmuseum', *Nieuwsblad*, 27 April, 1915, p. 512.

260 'Het Deutsche Buchgewerbe- und Schriftmuseum te Leipzig', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 May, 1915, pp. 543-544.

261 'Bugra', *Wikipedia*, 1 June 2016, n.pag., <<https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bugra>> (14 July, 2016).

Reading

Following the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, more and more people could read and write. In the Netherlands, literacy was strongly promoted by legislation on compulsory education from 1900 onwards. Now more people were able to read, the book became more important in society as well.²⁶² This growing importance was discussed in the *Nieuwsblad* as well, where a writer emphasized how important reading was for varied discussions and knowledge, concluding: 'It is not enough to defend themselves against boredom and empty hands; it is more important to defend themselves against an empty head.'²⁶³

Reading during the war

The war was to change reading habits in several ways, as was predicted by some in the business. One publisher requested his fellow publishers already at the beginning of the war not to publish anything new until the next year, since it was likely that the people would not be inclined to read much in such a difficult period.²⁶⁴

However, the opposite was the case. From October 1914 onwards, there are several articles in the *Nieuwsblad* to illustrate this. One author wrote that the news about the war satisfied the curiosity of the people, but not their minds. Now the immediate danger for the Netherlands was gone, people wanted to take on their normal life. Especially in the time of war, books can bring some distraction.²⁶⁵ Some publishers felt the need to advertise that they still published 'other', that is normal, books, next to books about the war, and that a book still was the best possible gift.²⁶⁶

In November 1914, the VBBB started a modest campaign. In a series of issues of the *Nieuwsblad*, a small piece on advertising for books was placed. By doing so, the VBBB tried to convince people to keep buying books.²⁶⁷ One writer was of the opinion that the newspapers were the killers of the book; people did read many newspapers, and thought they knew everything. In the author's opinion, however, books contained so much more than newspapers.²⁶⁸ In another article, readers were even asked to buy books to keep the economy going, even if they

262 'Leerplicht', *Wikipedia*, 31 May 2016, n.pag. <<https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leerplicht>> (27 July, 2016).

263 'Heemschut', *Nieuwsblad*, 12 June, 1914, pp. 715-716. Original: *Want het is niet voldoende zich te weren tegen verveling en tegen ledige handen; het is belangrijker, zich te weren tegen een ledig hoofd*

264 'Een verzoek', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 August, 1914, p. 1022.

265 'Niet bij brood alleen', *Nieuwsblad*, 2 October, 1914, p. 1143.

266 'De boekhandel in het Oorlogsjaar' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 6 October, 1914, pp. 1166-1167.

267 See e.g. 'Boek-reclame', *Nieuwsblad*, 24 November, 1914, p. 1392.

268 'Boeken-plaag of gebrek aan lezers', *Nieuwsblad*, 27 November, 1914, pp. 1413-1414.

would not read them.²⁶⁹ Only school and study books were the books that could not be missed, as sales indicated. For *Sinterklaas*, the Dutch Santa-Claus feast held in December, many books were bought as presents if only for youngsters. The advertising campaign of the VBBB did not succeed. Books were collected for the mobilised soldiers and internees, but not bought.²⁷⁰

The habit to see the book as a loan object was criticized as well. One writer thought that this had become a habit because of the many 'bad books' that were written. The reader had no bond with such a book whatsoever and would be prone to pass it on. A book that was special to him he would not treat as a worthless object. A way to make books valuable again in the reader's perception was to remove bad books from stores.²⁷¹

International readers

The Dutch were not the only ones with a desire to read. According to the *Nieuwsblad* in October 1914 German soldiers in Belgium longed for newspapers to satisfy their thirst for news, to understand the bigger picture of the war and to keep in touch with their home country.²⁷²

In some cities, foreigners were interned. In Kampen for instance, 2,000 Belgian soldiers were housed. To help them fight boredom, a local committee was established to provide them with books. The local publisher Kok asked his colleagues to send any book they could miss, French books as well, because there were many Walloons among them. Around The Hague, 1,600 Belgians were interned. From there the same request was made: they needed literature to entertain themselves.²⁷³ Some publishers sold their books on 'Foreign Languages for Internees' at a low price, since these publications were quite popular in the time.²⁷⁴

Besides books, sometimes requests for other materials were made. For example, the refugee camp in Ede asked for wall decorations for leisure and dining rooms, school rooms and the children's hospital. Music scores of songs by Belgian composers were valued as well, for male and mixed choirs.²⁷⁵

In March 1915, even a request from Belgium was published in the *Nieuwsblad*. Not many block-calendars were published in Flemish, but because of the war, there were none at all. Therefore, Dutch publishers were asked to

269 'Koop een baal boeken', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 December, 1914, p. 1454.

270 'De boekhandel in Holland gedurende den oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 February, 1915, pp. 215-216.

271 'Boeken-leenen', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 December, 1914, p. 1554.

272 'Het verlangen naar een krant', *Nieuwsblad*, 2 October, 1914, pp. 1143-1144.

273 'Aan de Nederl. Uitgevers en Boekhandelaren', *Nieuwsblad*, 16 October, 1914, p. 1220.

274 'Vreemde talen voor geïnterneerden' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 27 October, 1914, p. 1265.

275 'Een verzoek', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 February, 1915, p. 233.

Voor de brave krante-menschen
 Is het nu een fijne tijd.
 Als de krant maar in de bus zit,
 Dan is iedereen verblijd.
 't Eerste blad gaat naar de keuken,
 't Tweede om de koeke-pan,
 't Derde in een emmer water,
 Want zoo heeft men er wat an.
 Krante-lezen is verboden,
 Krante-stoken is de wet,
 Krante-naaien, krante-kreuken,
 O, wat heeft de jeugd een pret!
 Krante-kisten, kranteballen,
 Krante-mutsen, krante-zak,
 Iedereen is dol op kranten,
 Kranten zijn een groot gemak.
 Laat ons nu maar bokken schieten,
 Niemand let op ons, zoo waar!
 Alles brandt toch even lekker,
 Zelfs de reuzigste canard.
 Wij verspreiden licht en warmte,
 Ook al loopt een zin wat raar,
 'n Journalist is tegenwoordig
 Niets dan brandstof-handelaar.

Figure 8: Poem on how newspapers are used. 'Nuttige journalistiek', *Nieuwsblad*, 27 November, 1917, p. 1675.

Translation:
 For the honest newspaper people
 it is now a pleasant time
 as long as the newspaper arrives
 everybody is happy
 the first page is for the kitchen
 the second for the frying pan
 the third goes in a bucket of water
 then it serves a goal
 reading papers is forbidden
 burning papers is the law
 nitting papers, rumple papers
 oh, how the youth is having fun
 paper boxes, paper balls
 paper hats, paper bag
 everybody loves papers
 papers are a great convenience
 now let us shoot goats
 nobody watches us, it's true
 everything burns the same
 even the biggest newspaper hoax
 we spread light and warmth
 even when a sentence is odd
 a journalist is today
 nothing but a fuel trader

send their block-calendars to Flanders so that they could be sold to the Flemish-speaking people.²⁷⁶

Cheap books

According to some contributors to the *Nieuwsblad*, even though many more people were reading during the war, what they read were first and foremost popular editions, on cheap paper and with less decoration such as illustrations. The fear was that this might cause a change in the reading habits of people; they might become used to reading the books as a newspaper, leaving it after they had read it. Only a small group would still appreciate the 'normal' edition, which was more expensive.²⁷⁷

276 'Vraag naar nederlandsche scheurkalenders in België', *Nieuwsblad*, 2 March, 1915, p. 280.

277 'Het goedkope boek en de oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 May, 1916, pp. 743-744.

Libraries

The First World War has been changing the library world as well, though not as much as other fields within the book industry.

New arts of libraries

New types of libraries emerged during the war years. A new phenomenon were the so-called hotel libraries, following the American example, on which the *Nieuwsblad* reported in July 1914. There were already some hotels with libraries in the Netherlands, for example in a hotel in Zandvoort, which offered scientific works, classical texts and modern literature. According to the proprietor, he didn't want his guests to be bored on a rainy day. Other advantages were that individual travellers could entertain themselves, preventing awkward talks with strangers, that people who needed rest could prevent loneliness when their companions were out, and lastly, that it gave the guest a homely feeling. The library should consist of a wide variety of books; easy reading matter, but highly literary works as well.²⁷⁸

Another new type of library was established at the battlefield: the mobile library. This was a closed carriage, driven by a horse or machine, with bookshelves in it. A corridor made the books easy to reach. Soldiers could borrow books by giving back other books, which constantly renewed the library's inventory.²⁷⁹ The mobile library even had a small room for the librarian, provided with a stove.²⁸⁰

Both kinds of libraries show that reading had become an essential part of life, that could not be missed; not on a holiday nor on the battlefield.

Catalogue

The VBBB had a library of its own, containing various books concerning the book trade, which the members could use to gain more knowledge about their field. In 1917, A.G.C. de Vries, who was both was the librarian, secretary and a former chairman of the VBBB, had finally finished work on the new catalogue of the library of the association. However, in view of the circumstances, he did not think the catalogue could be printed. A prominent publisher, Wouter Nijhoff in The Hague, recognized the loss of good work and called his fellow publishers to collectively bear the costs of publication, so that the catalogue could be printed before the general assembly of 1918.²⁸¹

Some publishers did not agree. One, G.T. Bom in Amsterdam, recognized the importance of the new catalogue, but not the necessity to publish it as quickly as

278 'Hotel-bibliotheken', *Nieuwsblad*, 14 July, 1914, p. 875.

279 'Een rijdende veldbibliotheek', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 November, 1915, p. 1604.

280 'Een rijdende veldbibliotheek', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 November, 1915, p. 1604.

281 'De Catalogue onzer Bibliotheek', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 June, 1917, p. 813.

possible. The last catalogue dated from 1885, and in the financial report of the librarian, 600 guilders had not been used as planned. If the Association would wait four years, there would be enough money to publish the catalogue.²⁸² Others thought the catalogue was a waste of money, because it was already outdated the moment it appeared. The section with theoretical works on the history of the book profession would certainly be useful, although not many would have the time and opportunity to use it. In these troublesome times, it was better to postpone publication.²⁸³

Still, many thought that it was important to publish the catalogue now, since it had a great value for publishers, booksellers and even clerks. They called on the generosity of the profession to let the librarian know that his work was greatly valued, even when one could not contribute much.²⁸⁴ The argument that the catalogue would be outdated soon was contradicted by suggesting that later supplements could be added to the catalogue, as indeed would be the case.²⁸⁵ In two weeks' time, already 1705 guilders were collected by different parties to realize publication of the catalogue. They stressed the value the catalogue could have for the book world, and wanted to support that.²⁸⁶

Yet it took until 1919 for the catalogue to be published. The librarian had finished the catalogue together with Nijhoff, who was much respected in the VBBB.²⁸⁷ The catalogue can be seen as another sign of the growing sense of emancipation in the book trade, seen the importance it was given by the members and their impatience to get this new catalogue published, and of the willingness to collaborate to reach this goal.

The destruction of the university library of Leuven

When the city of Leuven, Belgium, was largely destroyed by the Germans in September 1914, they did not spare the library of the university, the oldest of the Low Countries. This was a great loss to the academic world, as the library had a very rich collection, including many incunabula, manuscripts and many other rarities.²⁸⁸ Even some valuable pieces of other libraries, that had been lent out to Leuven were destroyed, including four precious manuscripts from the university library of Leiden.²⁸⁹

282 'De Bibliotheekcatalogus', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 June, 1917, p. 830.

283 'De Catalogus der Bibliotheek', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 July, 1917, p. 891.

284 'De Bibliotheek-catalogus', *Nieuwsblad*, 29 June, 1917, pp. 848-849; 'De catalogus onzer Bibliotheek', *Nieuwsblad*, 29 June, 1917, p. 849.

285 'De Catalogus onzer Bibliotheek', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 July, 1917, pp. 933-934.

286 'De Catalogus der Bibliotheek', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 July, 1917, pp. 865-866.

287 'Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des Boekhandels. Verslag der werkzaamheden van het Bestuur gedurende het jaar 1918', *Nieuwsblad*, 10 June, 1919, pp. 607-610.

288 'De bibliotheek te Leuven', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 September, 1914, p. 1056.

289 'De bibliotheek der hogeschool van Leuven', *Nieuwsblad*, 18 September, 1914, pp. 1085-1086.

The Dutch book world was shocked by this event. A committee was established, with the goal to provide the university with new books. People in the Netherlands were asked to put together a list of books they wished to donate the University of Leuven. The University could then choose which books they wanted, and these could be given to them after the war. The committee also considered to send the same request to book institutions in other neutral countries.²⁹⁰

The list had to be put together as soon as possible, so that the library could be re-established as soon as possible after the war.²⁹¹ Amsterdam university library was one of the first to offer their duplicates to Leuven, an offer that was received with joy.²⁹² In Britain, more than a thousand publications were gathered for Leuven, many of them rare and valuable items.²⁹³ Even the pope supported Leuven, after several requests. He decided that the publications of the library of the Vatican were accessible for Leuven, which was a catholic university, that duplicates would be made available and other support would be given to the new library.²⁹⁴

Even though the city of Leuven was badly damaged, the local book trade still continued. According to an article in the *Nieuwsblad*, one bookseller, whose shop had been completely destroyed, built a wooden barn on his site and carried on with his job. Others, whose shop was still intact, continued business as well.²⁹⁵

In the peace agreement that was drawn up at the end of the war, an article on Leuven was added. Article 247 stated that Germany had to provide Leuven with the same amount of items that had been destroyed during the war. The country also had to return two objects of art that had been stolen from Belgium.²⁹⁶ In 1928, the library was re-established, with the financial help of many countries.²⁹⁷

This German act of barbarism disturbed the positive view the Dutch had towards Germany, a country known for its appreciation of book culture. When other countries collaborated to revive the library after the war, Germany was excluded.

290 'Leuvenisch boekenfonds', *Nieuwsblad*, 2 October, 1914, p. 1144.

291 'Leuvenisch boekenfonds', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 October, 1914, p. 1252.

292 'Boeken voor de Leuvense Universiteit', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 December, 1914, p. 1507.

293 'Voor de bibliotheek te Leuven', *Nieuwsblad*, 8 June, 1915, p. 701.

294 'De bibliotheek te Leuven', *Nieuwsblad*, 20 July, 1915, p. 900.

295 'Boekhandelaars en uitgevers te Leuven', *Nieuwsblad*, 15 October, 1915, p. 1338.

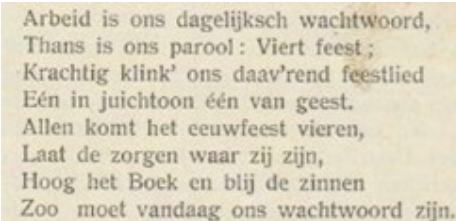
296 'De Leuvense bibliotheek', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 June, 1919, p. 597.

297 G. Vanden Bosch, 'De Leuvense Universiteitsbibliotheek', *Scarlet*, p. 4, <<http://home.scarlet.be/~camaja/Archief/De%20Leuvense%20universiteitsbibliotheek.pdf>> (15 July, 2016). See also the recent special issue 'Boeken onder vuur' of the journal *De Boekenwereld*, 31:2 (2015), pp. 2-30.

Anniversary of the Association

In 1915, the VBBB celebrated its centenary. This was widely commemorated, although in a more modest way than was originally planned. A committee was established to organize the programme of events, which would take place from 11 to 14 August. Members could send their ideas to the committee. The programme was as follows: on Wednesday 11 August, festivities would start with a reception and a concert. The next day, a general meeting of the VBBB would be held, followed by a lunch and dinner. On Friday the 13th, in the afternoon a boat trip to the island of Marken would take place.²⁹⁸

The *Nieuwsblad* of 13 August 1915 contains an extensive report on the festivities. The laudatory speeches given by the representatives of various associations at the opening reception, and the gifts the handed over, were reported.



Arbeid is ons dagelijksch wachtwoord,
Thans is ons parool: Viert feest;
Krachtig klink' ons daav'rend feestlied
Eén in juichtoon één van geest.
Allen komt het eeuwfeest vieren,
Laat de zorgen waar zij zijn,
Hoog het Boek en blij de zinnen
Zoo moet vandaag ons wachtwoord zijn.

Figure 9: Hymn, composed on the occasion of the anniversary of the VBBB. 'Herdenking van het honderdjarig bestaan der Vereeniging', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 August, 1915, p. 993-1007.

Translation:

*Labour is our daily password,
now our parole is: Celebrate;
fiercely sounds our resounding anthem,
one in cheering, one in spirit.
All come celebrate the centenary,
leave the worries where they are.
High the Book and happy feelings,
that has to be our password today.*

On Thursday, the General Meeting was held. It was opened by the chairman of the VBBB, Vincent Loosjes, who also was the author of the commemorative book on the history of the VBBB²⁹⁹, of which all those present received a copy. The rest of the programme was completed as planned, including the boat trip to Marken and a concluding dinner in Volendam.³⁰⁰

298 'Feestcommissie: Honderdjarig bestaan der Vereeniging', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 July, 1915, pp. 834-835.

299 V. Loosjes, *Geschiedenis van de Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels 1815-1915* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1915).

300 'Herdenking van het honderdjarig bestaan der Vereeniging', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 August, 1915, pp.

Several other publications were produced on the occasion of the centenary, of which a list can be found in the issue of the *Nieuwsblad* of 7 September, 1915.³⁰¹ The photo-album of the festivities was published only in January 1916, because of the lack of paper.³⁰²

The centenary celebration shows the vigour of the VBBB. But there was work to be done. As the book world changed during the war, the association had to adapt to the new circumstances as well. The first initiatives in that direction were already taken in 1918.³⁰³

Jaarbeurs 1918

From 1917 onwards, a major annual fair was held in Utrecht, the so-called 'Jaarbeurs'. Various fields of trade and industry participated, including the book trade. In 1918, their sector was bigger than the first year; now a whole area was given to the book trade. The increasing popularity of the fair is shown by the statistics of 1918, as can be seen in figure 10. The number of participants had increased with 53% compared to the year before. The number of sample rooms had almost doubled, and the amount of metres space on the tables had even increased with 116%.

	1917	1918
aantal deelnemers	690	1056
aantal heele monsterkamers	381	881
aantal halve monsterkamers	116	164
aantal meters tafeloppervlakte.	294	634
aantal M ³ . open ruimte	150	263

Figure 10: Statistics of the *Jaarbeurs*, comparing 1917 and 1918. 'Het boek op de Tweede Nederlandse Jaarbeurs', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 February 1918, p. 302.

The Dutch Publishers' Association had also rented part of the exhibition space for its members to exhibit their books. For them the advantage was not only to show their production, but also to be able to be in close contact to fellow publishers and other parties in the book world.³⁰⁴

The exhibition was well-visited and the participants were busy displaying books and new techniques, as well as selling, networking and supplying infor-

993-1007.

301 'Uitgaven, liederen, enz., verschenen ter gelegenheid der herdenking van het honderdjarig bestaan der Vereeniging', *Nieuwsblad*, 7 September, 1915, pp. 1112-1113.

302 'Album Eeuwfeest der Vereeniging', *Nieuwsblad*, 28 January, 1916, p. 147.

303 See among others 'Sluiten wij ons nauwer aaneen!', *Nieuwsblad*, 25 October, 1918, p. 1249-1250.

304 'Het boek op de Tweede Nederlandse Jaarbeurs', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 February, 1918, pp. 301-305.

mation.³⁰⁵ In following years, the book industry would be a permanent feature of the Jaarbeurs, another sign that the book had acquired a fixed place in society and daily life.

Feminism

During the First World War, the First Feminist Wave (1880-1919) was at its summit. This movement, which resulted from the modernization and industrialization of society and liberalism, aimed to emancipate women and give them the right to vote. In the Netherlands, women did not have the suffrage until 1919, but changing conditions in society during the war helped them in their struggle for equal rights. As many men were mobilised, women had to take their jobs and take care of their families at the same time.³⁰⁶

In the *Nieuwsblad* many echoes of the struggle for female emancipation can be heard. In 1914, many advertisements presented books on female suffrage. Besides, several national and international exhibitions paid attention to the changing roles of women. The Bugra had its 'Das Haus der Frau', in Antwerp a special exhibition for women was organised, 'De Vrouw in het hedendaagsch leven' (The woman in daily life). It would show the role of art, literature, music and other activities in the life of women.³⁰⁷

That there were both opponents and supporters of the feminist movement can be seen in the nature of the advertised books: some titles dealt with the traditional functions of the woman³⁰⁸, others with the new roles women played in the war.³⁰⁹ Several journals were founded aimed at a female readership, for example the magazine *Zij* (She), which was first issued in October 1915. Several books were published by both male and female authors on the political aspects of female equality, for example *De Vrouw, De Vrouwenbeweging en het Vrouwenvraagstuk* (The woman, the feminist movement and the issue of women)³¹⁰, *Peinzen over de taak van de vrouw na de oorlog* (Thoughts about the task of the woman after the war)³¹¹, and *Grondwetherziening Vrouwenkiesrecht* (Con-

305 'De Tweede Nederlandse Jaarbeurs', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 March, 1918, pp. 321-324; 'De Tweede Nederlandse Jaarbeurs', *Nieuwsblad*, 5 March, 1918, pp. 340-342; 'De Tweede Nederlandse Jaarbeurs', *Nieuwsblad*, 9 April, 1918, pp. 477-478.

306 Jeannine Hendriks, 'De Eerste Feministische Golf (1880-1919)', *Vereniging voor Vrouwengeschiedenis*, n.pag., <<http://www.gendergeschiedenis.nl/nl/dossiers/1egolf.html>> (15 July, 2016).

307 'Tentoonstelling "De Vrouw"' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 1 May, 1914, p. 521.

308 'De Vrouw en haar huis', (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 20 April, 1915, p. 484.

309 'Boerenvrouwen in geheime dienst', *Nieuwsblad*, 30 November, 1915, p. 1633.

310 'De Vrouw, de Vrouwenbeweging en het Vrouwenvraagstuk' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 31 July, 1914, p. 963.

311 'Peinzen over de taak van de vrouw na de oorlog' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 1 September, 1916, p. 1169.

stitutional Revision Women's' Suffrage)³¹². The war clearly accelerated the fast changes in the position of women in society.

Neutrality

The Netherlands were neutral during the war, but that did not mean that the Dutch did not have an opinion on their neighbours. Many articles in *Nieuwsblad* were written on other states, both from an informative and historical angle. It shows that the Dutch were really outward looking. In several articles a general sentiment about other nations can be found, which appears to have evolved as the war progressed.

Germany

Before the war, Germany was perhaps the leading country in the book world, with Leipzig as its capital. The Dutch valued the Germans very highly and during the war they closely followed developments in Germany. However, this positive view of the Germans would not last.

The first shock was the wilful destruction of the university library of Leuven. Being a highly educated country with a love for books, the Germans were not expected to do such a brutal thing. The Dutch joined hands with the allied forces to help build the library up again, and Germany was punished after the war for its wrongdoings.

The second shock came when the German government published a propaganda pamphlet that looked as if it was made in France. Written in French, with the name of a French publisher on it, the pamphlet was intended to separate France and Britain. The pamphlet was spread in the Netherlands as well, by the German consul at Rotterdam. The Dutch strongly reacted against this, protesting against the abuse of an innocent publisher.³¹³ The writer of the article on this pamphlet in the *Nieuwsblad*, the The Hague publisher and bookseller Wouter Nijhoff, was in his turn attacked by the Germans. In the *Börsenblatt*, the German counterpart of the *Nieuwsblad*, an article was published stating that Nijhoff had wrongly accused the German government.³¹⁴ After a correspondence between Nijhoff and the *Börsenblatt*, the German consul at Rotterdam was blamed for spreading the pamphlet which was a forgery according to the German government, even though they seemed to have published it. The consul was asked by Nijhoff to send his apologies to the French publisher whose name was falsely used.³¹⁵

312 'Grondwetherzienting Vrouwenkiesrecht' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 9 October, 1917, p. 1379.

313 'Een protest', *Nieuwsblad*, 5 May, 1916, pp. 647-648.

314 'Een protest', *Nieuwsblad*, 4 July, 1916, p. 929.

315 'Een protest', *Nieuwsblad*, 3 October, 1916, pp. 1314-1315.

Belgium

Belgium wasn't seen as an important consumer by the Dutch book world. The country was largely occupied and most of the books read by Belgians were in French anyway. The Dutch book had been first introduced in Belgium only twenty years ago, taking a modest share of the market. Belgium booksellers moreover did not buy Dutch books, since they could not make much profit on it because of the Dutch export regulations resulting in high prices.³¹⁶

Still, the Dutch showed much solidarity once Belgium was occupied by the Germans. When Belgian internees came to the Netherlands in large numbers, they were well received and provided with books, in French and Dutch. The Netherlands treated their southern neighbour as their little brother: sometimes laughing at him, but immediately helping him once he got in trouble.

France

Relations with France historically were not as strong as those between the Netherlands and Germany. However, the war would change this. In September 1916, a complaint was made in the *Nieuwsblad*. Whereas almost every German book found its way to the Dutch book shops almost immediately after publication, the French book met with many obstacles. This had to change.³¹⁷ For science and art, a committee was established by the French and Dutch book industry to improve the relations between the Dutch booksellers and French publishers and to bring French academic works and art books to the attention of Dutch readers.³¹⁸ There were various reasons why the French book had difficulty in finding its way to foreign markets. French publishers did not travel abroad, nor were there French employees in foreign companies. Book promotion was badly organised and there was too little bibliographical information. Another reason was that there were no depots for French books abroad; all had to be distributed either via Leipzig or Paris. These problems had to be fixed. Publishers had to establish contacts with foreign colleagues; booksellers with French customers had to be better trained; systematic and organised advertising should be done; and lastly depots should be established in foreign countries to distribute French books. Various countries began conducting these reforms. The Dutch, however, blamed the French for the problems in the book trade. Their rebate was too low, international payments were troublesome, there was an unwillingness to send commission goods, they lacked marketing tools like prospectuses, and had no interest in compiling reliable catalogues. Besides, the Dutch publishers were not fond of the idea of a central depot for fear of a monopoly. They preferred to continue the distribution via Paris.³¹⁹

316 'Boekhandel met België', *Nieuwsblad*, 10 April, 1914, p. 429.

317 'Een verwijt!', *Nieuwsblad*, 29 September, 1916, pp. 1295-1296.

318 'Het Comité Nederland-Frankrijk', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 October, 1916, p. 1339.

319 'De fransche boekhandel in Nederland', *Nieuwsblad*, 19 December, 1916, pp. 1779-1780.

The French indeed started to promote their books better. A special magazine was founded for this purpose: *Le livre dont on parle* (The book talked about). It targeted foreign customers and published reviews of the best books published in France, together with background information on the author. Also, prize-winning books were discussed.³²⁰ When the Dutch booksellers were asked how they thought the new measures were going they advised the French publishers to follow the example of the German book industry, which made exports to the Netherlands easy. If the French publishers would improve trade conditions, the Dutch booksellers were gladly willing to help promote the French book in the Netherlands.³²¹ One of the outcomes of this exchanges was that in 1918 an exhibition was organised in The Hague, dedicated to the French book.³²²

Whether the rapprochement between France and the Netherlands was caused directly by the war, cannot be stated. But it cannot be denied that there was more trade after the war between the two countries than before.

Britain

Before the war, the relations between the Netherlands and Britain were at the same level as those with France, though the volume of trade with Britain was bigger. In some articles in the *Nieuwsblad*, the British are depicted as being focused mainly on their own country and the British empire. As we have already seen, during the war, the British did not make themselves popular by making trading difficult for the Dutch. Unlike France, the relationship did not improve much during the war. The articles written in the *Nieuwsblad* about Britain were mainly of an informative nature, without any strong opinions. The relation was largely superficial, focused on trade.³²³

320 'Le livre dont on parle', *Nieuwsblad*, 6 March, 1917, pp. 328-329.

321 'De Nederlandsche en de Fransche boekhandel', *Nieuwsblad*, 31 July, 1917, pp. 1024-1025.

322 'Tentoonstelling van het Fransche boek', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 November, 1918, p. 1389.

323 For such an article, see 'Vraagstukken voor den boekhandel in Engeland', *Nieuwsblad*, 23 February, 1915, pp. 248-249.

5 PUBLICATIONS

This chapter will briefly discuss the book production in the Netherlands during the war years. The first section contains the statistics over the years 1913-1919, to show production volumes before, during and after the war. The second section will discuss special or striking publications.

Statistics

Below, the tables over the years 1913-1919 are shown, as they were presented by the statistical tables published regularly in the *Nieuwsblad*, with an analysis. First, the years are shown separately, after that the different years will be compared with each other.

The tables have to be interpreted as follows, following the classification of the *Nieuwsblad*:

1. *General works – Bibliography* (referred to as 'General').
2. *Theology, Church history, Devotional literature – Philosophy, morals* (referred to as 'Theology').
3. *Legal and political sciences – Economics – Statistics* (referred to as 'Legal sciences').
4. *Trade and industry, traffic – Farming and cattle breeding – Domestic economy* (referred to as 'Economy').
5. *Technical sciences*.
6. *Medicine, hygiene – Veterinary medicine* (referred to as 'Medicine').
7. *Geography (atlases and maps included) – Ethnology – History* (referred to as 'History').
8. *Education – Children's books* (referred to as 'Education').
9. *Linguistics – Literature – Theatre* (referred to as 'Literature').
10. *Fine arts – Sports* (referred to as 'Art').

For each category four types of publication are listed: New publications, re-publications, periodicals, and translations.

Firstly, the statistics of 1913 are shown in figure 11, to provide a comparison.³²⁴

³²⁴ The information is retrieved from 'De boekenproductie in Nederland, 1913', *Nieuwsblad*, 30 April, 1915, 'De boekenproductie in Nederland, 1913', p. 525.

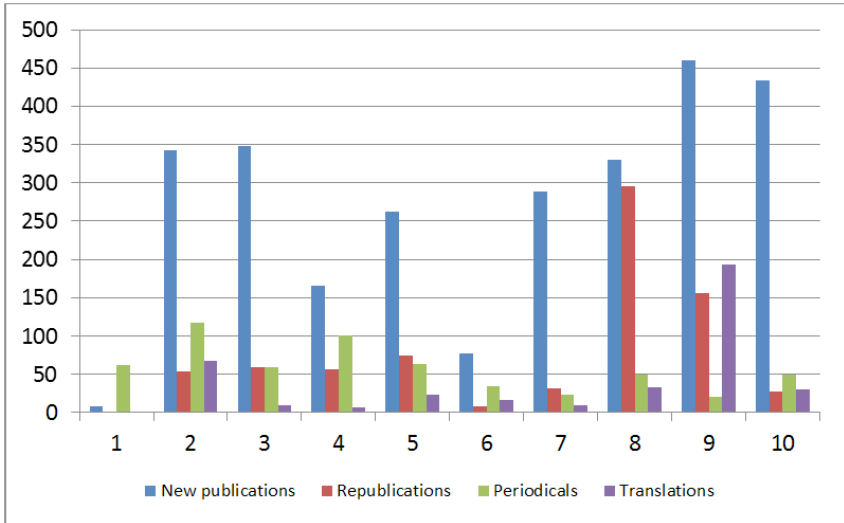


Figure 11: Book production of 1913.

In 1913, most new publications were in the field of Literature, most replications in Education, most periodicals in Theology and most translations in Literature as well. Least important were the general publications, which may be explained by the fact that this is a category of books that cannot be included in the other categories), medicine and health. That most publications were in Literature may be caused by the inclusion of a broad category of literary works, which always dominates sales. This is true for the translations as well: translated foreign literature was highly popular. That dominance of replications in education is explained by the high use and re-use rate of study books over a large time span.

The statistics of 1914 are shown in the graph below.³²⁵

³²⁵ Figures are retrieved from 'De boekenproductie in Nederland. 1914', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 April, 1915, p. 450.

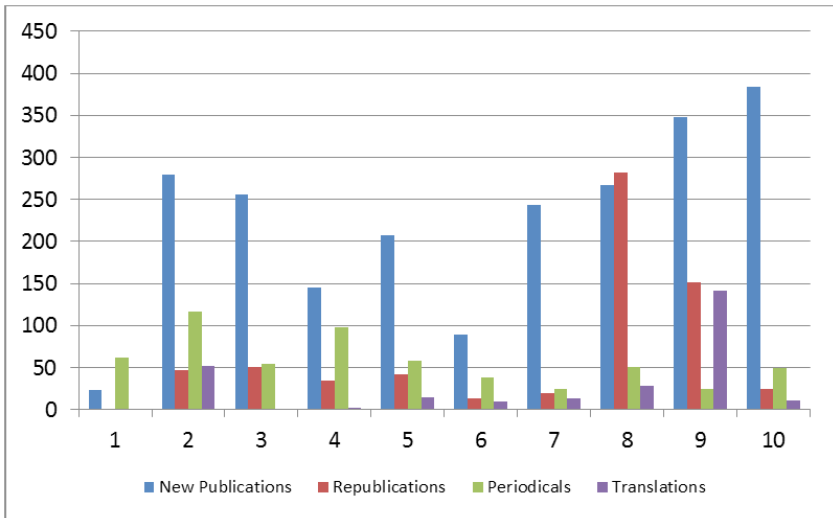


Figure 12: Book production of 1914.

Again, Literature and Art were the dominating fields for new publications and Education for replications – in fact there were more replications than new publications in that field. Periodicals were mainly of a theological content, and the most translations were done in the field of Literature. The fewest publications were, as in 1913, in the general and medical fields. The anonymous author of the article in the *Nieuwsblad* related the downturn in the number of translations and the increase of new publications compared to the situation in 1912 to the accession of the Netherlands to the Berne Convention.³²⁶ This indeed is likely; the Berne Convention opposed international copyright violations. The increase of new (original) publications can be explained by the fact that because of the decrease of the number of translations, there was more opportunity for national writers to publish their books, because publishers economized on the translations.

The following graph shows the book production in 1915.³²⁷

326 'De boekenproductie in Nederland. 1914', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 April, 1915, p. 450.

327 Figures are retrieved from 'De boekenproductie in Nederland. 1915', *Nieuwsblad*, 11 April, 1916, p. 529.

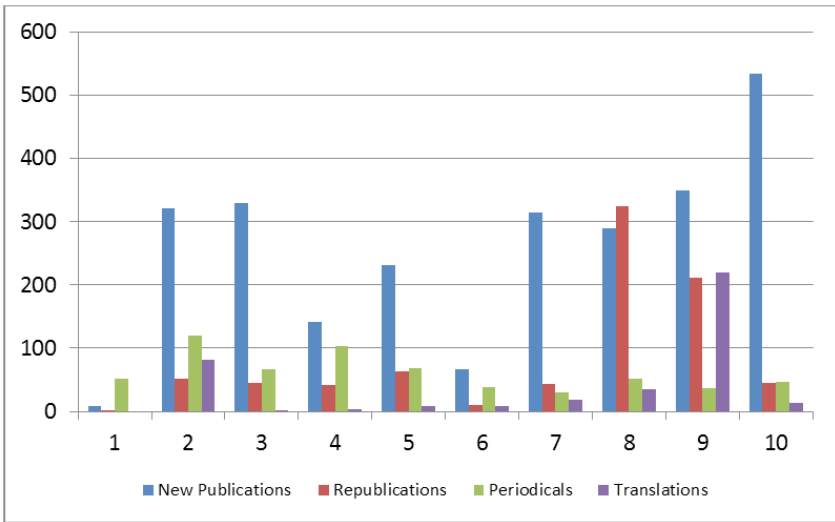


Figure 13: Book production of 1915.

Most new publications occurred in the field of Literature, which outnumbered all other categories. The highest number of replications can again be found in Education. Most periodicals were published in the fields of Theology and Economy. In Literature, the largest number of translations was published. The smallest categories were – again – Medicine and General. The substantial difference between the Art category and the others is difficult to explain, but again may be a result of the Berne Convention and the new Copyright Act. Publishers were allowed to use their expensive clichés for illustrations for a longer time, but they did not know if they could continue using them for a very long time. So, chances are that they took the opportunity to use their materials legally as long as they could. The category in which illustrations were used most is Art. Publishers wanted to use their clichés as often as possible to make them worth their investment. As publishers were allowed to re-use their clichés for new publications as well, this might also explain the vast increase in art publications compared to publications in other categories.

The following graph shows the number of publications in 1916.³²⁸

³²⁸ Figures are retrieved from 'De boekenproductie in Nederland. 1916', *Nieuwsblad*, 22 May 1917, p. 661.

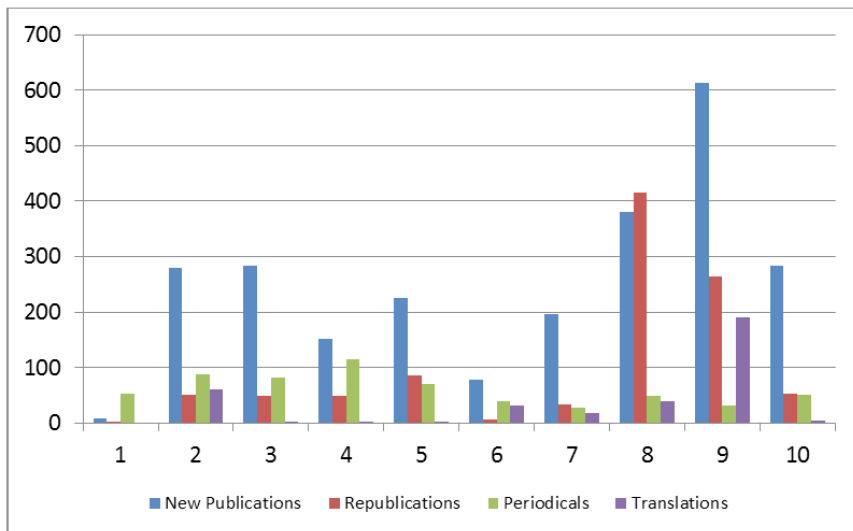


Figure 14: Book production of 1916.

In 1916, the largest number of new publications was in the field of Literature, and that of replications again in Education. Periodicals mostly dealt with economic subjects. Translations continued to dominate the Literature category and the least popular categories were again General and Medicine. There is a wide gap between Literature and the other categories, possibly because the reading of novels increased in popularity. The increase in periodicals about Economy is also interesting; it shows that the subject became more popular, although the emphasis was on national economy; there are no translations in this category.

In 1917, the volume of book production was as shown in figure 15.³²⁹

³²⁹ Figures are retrieved from 'De boekenproductie in Nederland 1917', *Nieuwsblad*, 21 May, 1918, p. 646.

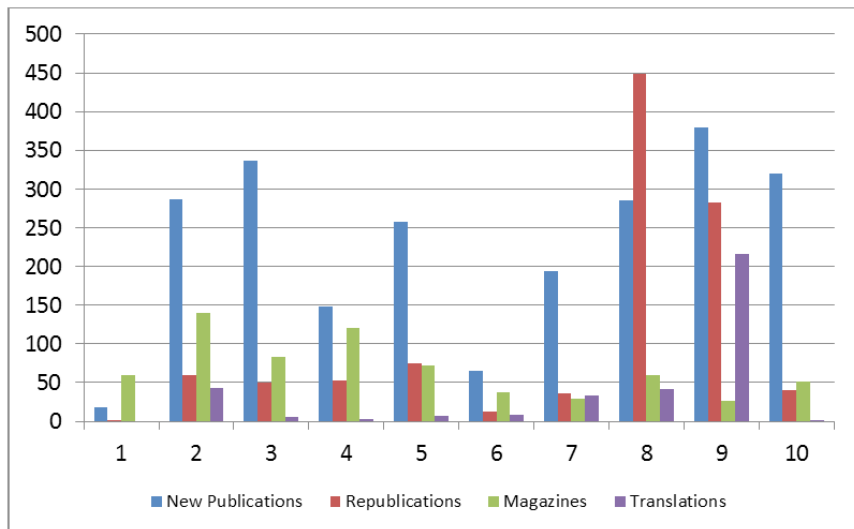


Figure 15: Book production of 1917.

Most new publications in 1917 were in Literature, though there was not much difference with the fields Legal sciences, Art, Theology, Education and Technical sciences. Most replications again concerned Education. The largest number of periodicals was in Theology and Economy, and most translations in Literature. The smallest categories still were General and Medicine. The periodicals were of a bigger print run than the previous years, which was caused by the war. During the war, more periodicals were made, often concerning domestic issues. This can be seen in the increasing number of periodical titles in the field of Economy. In this category, the number of new publications increased as well, which was probably caused by the increasing number of domestic guides, e.g. guides on inexpensive cooking or fuel saving (see below). In addition, the number of theological periodicals increased as well.

The statistics of 1918 provide the following graph:³³⁰

³³⁰ Figures are retrieved from 'De boekenproductie in Nederland 1918', *Nieuwsblad*, 13 June, 1919, pp. 621-623.

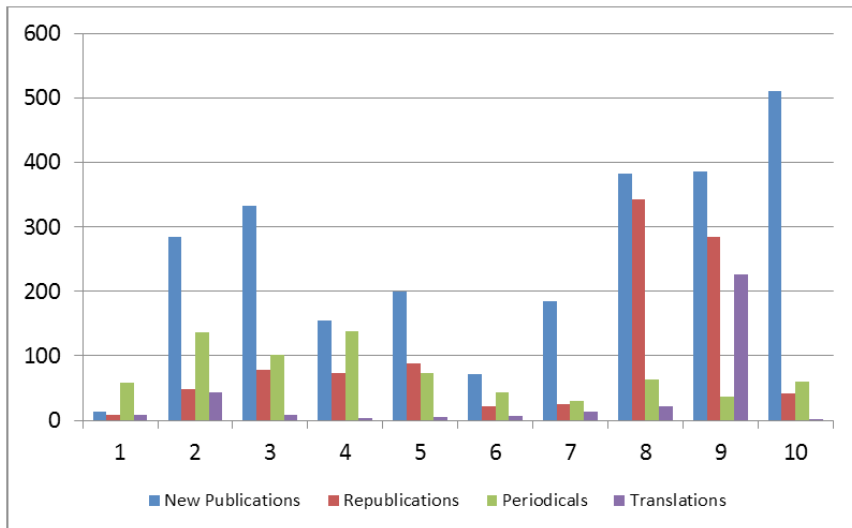


Figure 16: Book production of 1918.

Most new publications of 1918 were in Arts, closely followed by Literature and Education. Most replications were again in Education, though there were many in Literature as well. Most periodicals appeared in the fields of Theology, Legal sciences and Economy. The largest numbers of translations were still in Literature. And again, the smallest categories were General and Medicine. The modest increase in the number of periodicals in Legal sciences may be related to the general election that was forthcoming. It is not clear if the increase in the Art category is explained by a higher number of artistic publications or by an increased popularity of Sports, which shares the same category.

The last graph provides the statistics for 1919.³³¹

³³¹ Figures are retrieved from 'De boekenproductie in Nederland 1919', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 June 1920, pp. 520-522.

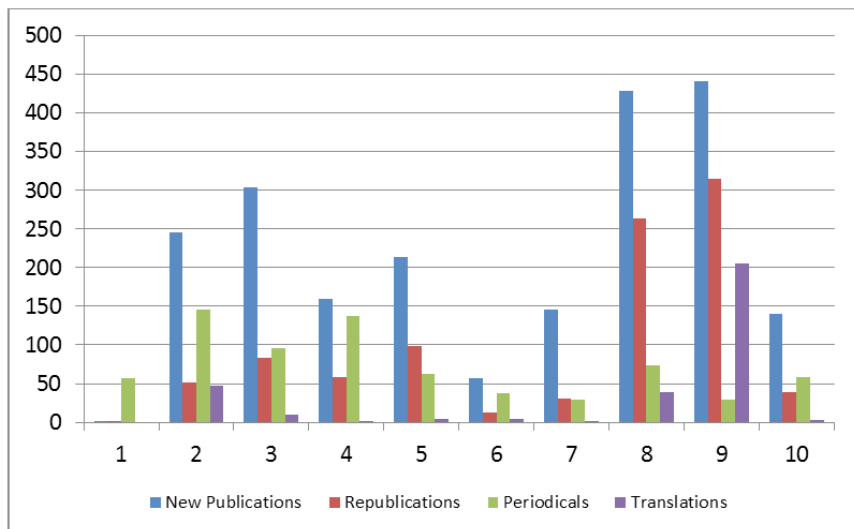


Figure 17: Book production of 1919.

Literature and Education were the dominating categories for new publications in 1919. The number of replications was larger in Literature, but Education was a good second. Periodicals were mostly published in the fields of Theology and Economy, while Literature dominated the number of translations. The smallest fields were again Medicine and General. The total production was considerably lower than in previous years. A major difference with the previous year was the Art category, in which new publications have decreased with almost 75%. The substantial amount of new publications in Education can be connected to the large production of cheap children's books.³³² In the General category, almost only periodicals were published, which shows their increasing popularity.

The following tables show some rearrangements of the production data, to place things in time. The first graph presents the overall production per type of publication over the years 1913-1919.

³³² 'De boekenproductie in Nederland 1919', *Nieuwsblad*, 1 June, 1920, pp. 520-522.

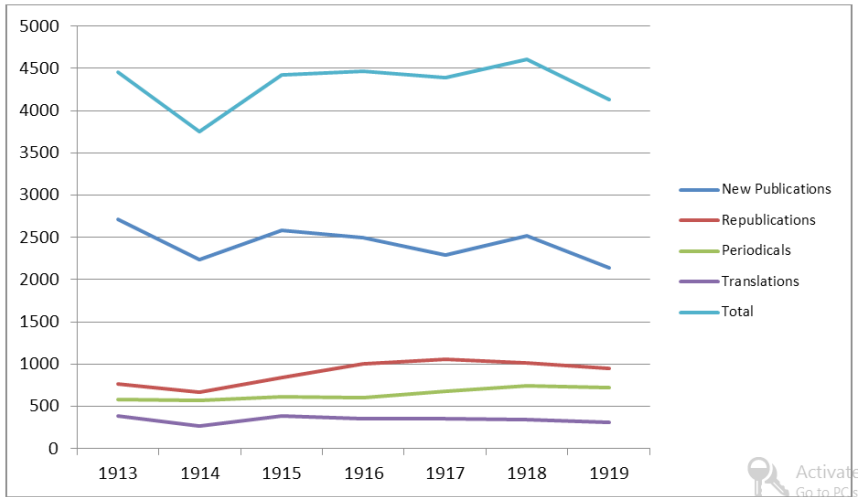


Figure 18: Book Production 1913-1919, split by publication type

The line graph shows that the total number of publications was unpredictable in the years of the war. 1913 was considered as a good year in the book world, having a higher number of publications than the years before. 1914 on the contrary shows a major decrease in publications, which may well be due to the sudden start of the war, and the reaction of publishers and booksellers who were uncertain how to respond. In 1915, things had become somewhat settled, as can be seen in the increased volume of publications. The total number was almost back to the level of 1913. 1916 and 1917 show stability as well, even though there was increasing scarcity of raw materials such as paper. 1918 was the first year ever in which the total production was higher than 4600 titles, which is surprising in view of the circumstances of scarcity and lack of employees. In 1919, this scarcity appears to have endured, as there was a downfall in publications.

The new publications show the same development as the general overview does, which is not strange taking into consideration that the new publications are the biggest part of the production. However, from 1916 onwards, the graph shows a modest decline of new publications, which may have been caused by the decrease in the number of new art publications in that year. 1917 shows the same downfall as the total number of publications. The number of republications in 1914 was less than in the previous year, although the difference

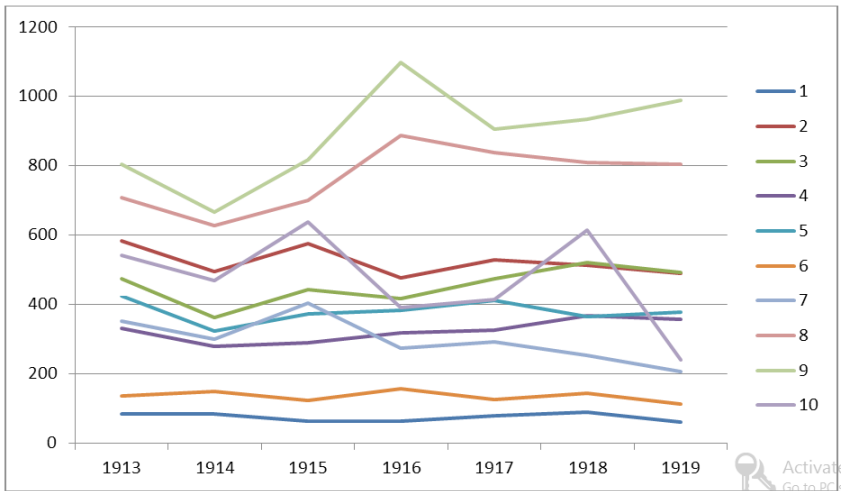


Figure 19: Book Production 1913-1919, split in categories

with 1913 is smaller than that of the new publications. From 1915-1917, an increase of republications occurred, which changed from 1917 onwards, when a subtle downfall can be seen every year. The periodicals in the years 1913 to 1916 remain largely on the same level, but after 1916 their popularity increased according to the growing output. The section of translations shows no striking differences over the war years.

The following graph shows the changes in the various categories over the years.

It is clear that Literature (9) saw the largest number of publications in every year. The top year in this field was 1916, after which a decrease occurred in 1917, but 1918 and 1919 show a modest recovery of production. Education (8) also had its top in 1916, but after that it decreased in volume. Theology (2), Legal sciences (3), Technical sciences (5) and Economy (4) all fluctuate somewhat, but remain markedly stable. The most striking category is Art (10); it has two peaks, one in 1915 and one in 1918, but also shows quite some fluctuation, with differences of often more than 200 publications per year. The difference between 1913 and 1915 shows a loss of 300 publications. Geography (7) fluctuated as well, but decreased substantially after 1917. The most stable are the two smallest categories, General (1) and Medicine (6), which almost show no difference per year.

The volume of publications during the war years was not predictable. The

war years show quite a stable production, with a downturn in 1914 and a peak in 1918. This is against expectations; as the war goes on, one might think that production would have decreased because of scarcity and higher prices. The opposite is the case; even though 1913 was already regarded as a good year in the book industry, 1918 was even better, while 1919 shows an unexpected downturn.

Special and striking publications

From the numerous advertisements in the *Nieuwsblad*, one can get an image of which publications were popular during a certain period. In this section, some striking publications will be discussed, as well as publications that were common in a certain period. One specific publication will be discussed in more detail as it caused some discussion in the Netherlands.

During the war, certain trends can be spotted with regard to the publications which were more intensely advertised for. When the first signs of the looming threat of war became clear, some Dutch publishers decided to make the best of it. For instance, as early as 31 July, 1914 one publisher placed an announcement of a 'War map' of Serbia, Austria-Hungary and the surrounding countries. According to the publisher Cohen from Amsterdam, it was 'an indispensable map everyone wants to own'.³³³ Those maps were also quite popular during the first months of the war.

Other early advertisements drew the attention to products that publishers had made about the war, mostly books and maps. Some of the titles were published as sequels, so that the new events could be discussed as well. Other publishers used advertisements to tell their customers that they shouldn't send books and such because of the war, or on the contrary reassured their customers that they would continue business during the war.³³⁴ Even the German book wholesaler Volckmar advertised that he would still provide German books to the Netherlands.³³⁵ Schoolbooks were not popular at the beginning of the war as booksellers did not want to receive them from publishers and debitors, since they thought nobody would have interest in studying in these uncertain times.³³⁶

Another striking advertisement as well dates from the early days of the war, and is shown in figure 20.

333 'Verscheenen een groote Oorlogsk kaart' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 31 July, 1914, p. 961.

334 'De Nederlandse boekhandel te Antwerpen' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 14 August, 1914, p. 988; 'Kirberger & Kesper' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 21 August, 1914, p. 1006.

335 'Duitsche boeken en tijdschriften' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 28 August, 1914, p. 1027.

336 'Oorlogstijd' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 25 September, 1914, p. 1111.

AUGUSTUS 1914.

IK HEB STEEDS — bij verschillende oorlogen van beteekenis in en buiten Europa, een geïllustreerd **GEDENKBOEK VAN DEN OORLOG** uitgegeven.

Mijn gedenkboeken van den Oorlog in 1866, 1870, 1877, en dat van den Transvaalschen Worstelstrijd zijn een groot succes geweest en door den Boekhandel **BIJ GETALLEN VERKOCHT.**

HET SPREEKT VAN ZELF dat ik ook ditmaal een rijk geïllustreerd Gedenkboek van den „**EUROPEESCHEN OORLOG IN 1914**” zal uitgeven.

Het is mijn plan U binnenkort hiervan eene aanbieding te doen; terwijl ik U **IN UW EIGEN BELANG** aanraad daaraan de noodige attentie te bewijzen.

FRAAI uitgevoerd en **RIJK** geïllustreerd, zal het weder een boek worden dat door zijn **BELANGRIJKHEID** een buitengewoon groot debiet te wachten staat.

Het boek zal getiteld zijn:

„**GEDENKBOEK VAN DEN EUROPEESCHEN OORLOG IN 1914**”.

Met medewerking van verschillende Autoriteiten en specialisten.

Het zal voorzien zijn van talrijke illustraties, voorstellende Oorlogstafereelen te land en ter zee, portretten, plannen en kaarten, enz.

De prijs van het boek zal ongeveer **£ 5.—** bedragen, en het zal ook in afleveringen verkrijgbaar zijn.

**A. W. SIJTHOFF'S
UITGEVERS MAATSCHAPPIJ.**

LEIDEN. [2496]

Figure 20: Advertisement of Sijthoff, promoting an upcoming publication. 'Augustus 1914' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 7 August, 1914, p. 977.

This advertisement promotes a festschrift for the 'European War'. The publisher, Sijthoff, had published such commemorative volumes for previous important wars, and was planning to do the same for this war. It would contain illustrations of war scenes, portraits and many more. The plan was indeed carried out during the war, resulting in four volumes covering the war years.

Some publishers took it to another level, as the advertisement for the publication of a small war cookbook shows.³³⁷ A macabre book entitled *Oorlogshumor* (War humour) was promoted quite often. The booklet was quite cheap, and its profits would go to the national support committee.³³⁸ This committee was established by Queen Wilhelmina in August 1914 and supported citizens that lost their job to the war.³³⁹ On 13 November, 1914, the readers' attention was

337 'Oorlogskookboekje' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 11 September, 1914, p. 1065.

338 'Oorlogshumor' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 13 October, 1914, p. 1207.

339 'Wilhelmina, koningin voor het volk', *Eerstewereldoorlog.nu*, n.pag., <<http://www.eerstewereldoorlog.nu/blog/wilhelmina-koningin-voor-het-volk/>> (6 August 2016).

drawn to the publication of 'beautiful' postcards with pictures of the bombardment of Antwerp.³⁴⁰

For some areas of the book industry, the war was very profitable. Especially the newspapers could double their print runs because people were eager for news.³⁴¹ Books for self-education of languages were also quite popular, and specially targeted at internees.³⁴²

Some publications served a practical goal. For example, lists of Belgian internees were published so that relatives could trace each other.³⁴³ And of course, towards the end of the year, Christmas cards could be bought.³⁴⁴ But next to the normal Christmas cards, citizens could also choose to send a military New Year's wish to his family.³⁴⁵

In February 1915, a new publication gained popularity. On a regular basis, lists of war ships were advertised. These lists contained both the ships of the fighting countries with details about them, and lists of the countries that could be involved in the war later on. These lists were probably mainly informative, for those interested in the new techniques this war had given room for.³⁴⁶ Another popular publication during the war apparently was patriotic music or military-related music. Several issues of the *Nieuwsblad* contain advertisements for such types of music.

The war introduced new technologies, which were discussed in new publications. For instance, in 1915 various publications about the submarine appeared. Some dealt with life on board submarines, others were concerned with the devastating impact of the submarine on maritime warfare.³⁴⁷ By 1918, airplanes had become a new topic, even resulting in the publication of a new magazine devoted to aviation, entitled *Het Vliegveld* (The Airport).³⁴⁸

Sometimes, publishers reacted immediately to an event. One such event was the flood of 1916 in the Netherlands. It occurred in January 1916 when a storm caused the Zuiderzee (now IJsselmeer) to overflow its banks. Large areas in the provinces of Noord-Holland, Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel were flooded, causing much damage and several deaths.³⁴⁹ One publisher printed a memorial

340 'Bombardement van Antwerpen' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 13 November 1914, p. 1336.

341 'Den boekhandel en de oorlog', *Nieuwsblad*, 30 October, 1914, pp. 1273-1274.

342 'Taalboekjes voor zelfonderricht' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 29 January 1915, p. 135.

343 'Lijsten van Belgische geïnterneerden' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 10 November, 1914, p. 1326.

344 'Nieuwjaars- en Kerstkaarten' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 27 November, 1914, p. 1419.

345 'Militaire Nieuwjaarskaarten' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 11 December, 1914, p. 1495.

346 'De Oorlogsvloten' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 26 February, 1915, p. 266.

347 'Het leven in een duikboot' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 6 April, 1915, p. 424; 'De duikboot en haar rol in den Europeeschen Oorlog' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 20 July, 1915, p. 902.

348 'Het Vliegveld' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 22 November, 1918, p. 1380.

349 Adiel Klompmaker, '1916: De watersnoodramp die Nederland veranderde', *NEMO Kennislink*, 24 September, 2014, n.pag. <<http://www.kennislink.nl/publicaties/1916-de-watersnoodramp-die-nederland-veranderde>> (19 July, 2016).

album of the flood, which turned out to be quite a success.³⁵⁰ Another rather wanted to help by publishing a calendar on the flood, the profits of which would go to the victims of the flood.³⁵¹

Some publications were of a very practical nature. Next to the already mentioned war cookbooks, one could buy books about cottage gardening, so that people could grow their own crops in times of scarcity.³⁵² Other publications gave advice about saving energy³⁵³, money or food.³⁵⁴ In 1918, a new magazine was issued, *De Uitgever*, intended for publishers.³⁵⁵ When the general election was about to take place, the public could buy election guides and even election pencils to fill in the forms.³⁵⁶ And finally, when the Spanish flue began to have its disastrous affects, books on that subject were published as well.³⁵⁷

J'accuse

One publication deserves special attention, since it caused quite an outcry when it appeared. It was the book *J'accuse*, (I accuse), a title reminiscent of Emile Zola's famous criticism of the Dreyfus affair, written in 1915 by a German author who severely criticized the war politics of the German government. A dispatch of these books was sent to the Netherlands from Switzerland, but never arrived, since it was intercepted in Germany and all books were confiscated and destroyed. The Dutch had no other option than to get the books via France.³⁵⁸ A Dutch translation was published as well.³⁵⁹ The book was immensely popular; within two weeks the first print run was sold out and a second had to be made.³⁶⁰

However, not everyone liked the book. Soon a reply was published, *Contra 'J'accuse'*, which contradicted the anti-German arguments.³⁶¹ The publisher of *J'accuse*, De Haan from Utrecht, couldn't care less. By September 1915 the sixth print run had already been sold out, and the seventh was on its way.³⁶²

A sequel was written as well, *Juist omdat ik Duitscher ben* (Precisely because I'm a German), which reacted to the *Contra 'J'accuse'* book. Its author, Hermann

350 'Herinneringsalbum van den grooten watersnood van Januari 1916' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 4 February 1916, p. 190.

351 'Maandkalender voor 1916' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 21 March 1916, p. 424.

352 'Iedereen tuinier in oorlogstijd' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 16 March, 1917, p. 373.

353 'Warmte Bewaren' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 17 August, 1917, p. 1098.

354 'Bezuiniging in het huishouden' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 19 October, 1917, p. 1440.

355 'De Uitgever', *Nieuwsblad*, 26 March, 1918, p. 420.

356 Among others: 'De verkiezingsleuzen in 1918' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 14 June, 1918, p. 744.

357 'De Spaansche Griep' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 23 July, 1917, p. 916.

358 'J'accuse', *Nieuwsblad*, 11 June, 1915, p. 715.

359 'J'accuse' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 22 June, 1915, p. 774.

360 'Ik beschuldig!' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 2 July, 1915, p. 824.

361 'Contra J'accuse' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 27 August, 1915, p. 1066.

362 'J'accuse' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 7 September, 1915, p. 1117.

Fernau, wanted people to change their way of thinking, both in his own country Germany and elsewhere.³⁶³ Again, the first print run had already sold out before it was printed.³⁶⁴ The *Nieuwsblad* did not choose sides in this matter, as they never really did (see chapter 4). Advertisements of both parties were placed, and no further substantive articles were devoted to the matter.

363 'Juist omdat ik Duitscher ben' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 28 March, 1916, p. 459.

364 'Juist omdat ik Duitscher ben' (advertisement), *Nieuwsblad*, 31 March, 1916, p. 478.

6 CONCLUSION

Now the various areas – political/legislative, economical/practical, social/cultural and publications – are discussed, a short summary will help to get an overview of the developments and changes in the Dutch book industry during the First World War. They are divided in the following categories, as described in the chapters above: legislation and regulation, collaboration, emancipation and reconsideration of the book trade, and lastly the shift in focus of internationalisation. A final conclusion will analyse the changes that the First World War caused. Lastly, a general retrospect and suggestions for further research will be given.

Legislation and regulation

Several events during the war years indicate the increasing importance of legislation and regulation in the book industry in the Netherlands. These were not only initiated by the government, but by the publishers and booksellers as well. The government issued new laws, but the book trade itself also made regulations. The first token of more legislative control was the strict monitoring of Article 13 of the Regulations by the board of the VBBB. By regularly checking if its members did not violate this article, which dealt with tenders, the VBBB attempted to create better circumstances and less fraud.

The increasing collaboration between the government and the book industry in legislation can be recognised in another event. In January 1914, a major discussion was started on the new Copyright Act, which was passed when the Netherlands had finally joined the Berne Convention in 1912. Many publishers did not agree with this new act, which looked well on paper but gave rise to various problems in practice. The main discussion point was the retroactive working of the Act and the rights that were given to the heirs of artists and writers. A government committee was established in September 1914, and an amending draft law was made. This draft again caused much discussion, which finally resulted in an amended act, presented in November 1915, which contained some changes on the rights of the author and his/her heirs, and some clarifications of multi-interpretable phrases.

Early 1915 also saw the start of the government committee on the new Copyright Act. The committee interviewed various members of the book industry to learn their opinion on the act of 1912. This discussion demonstrates the increasing attention that was paid to legislation; the members of the book trade were willing to keep to the law, but the law had to be fair and proper. The government too recognized the importance of good legislation.

During the war, the district committees of the printing houses of the various provinces became more centralized, in order to improve the communication between the various regional areas in the Netherlands. This again is a sign of more regulation in the book trade, establishing general rules for all players in

the field, instead of different practices in different areas of the country.

At the same time, rising problems concerning commodities paved the way for more regulation: government committees were set up to propose measures to fight scarcity. The 'paper committee', established in 1916, was one of them; it controlled the flows of paper and raw material and monitored problems. Bans were put on export of raw materials of the paper industry to prevent national scarcity.

In 1916, the international trade became more regulated in the Netherlands. When publishers disagreed with a certain limit on exports or with requirement of packaging, they could go to the initiator of these measures (the government of the Netherlands or another country, or an organisation like the *Nederlandse Overzee Trustmaatschappij* (Dutch Oversea Trust Society, NOT)) and request adaptations of the rules. Often, their complaints were listened to and changes were made. In other cases, a central institute like the *Bestelhuis* (Ordering house) or the VBBB defended the interests of their members.

The year 1917 started with the making of several collective agreements in the printing industry. Increasingly, such agreements were established for various sectors of the book industry, leading to regulation, for instance with regard to fair and stable wage scales. As shortages became more severe due to the war, some materials like coal (needed as fuel for both the industry and households) had to be rationed. Agreements between several printing establishments were made to distribute the materials in such a way that the work could keep on going in the best possible way.

Two new laws became effective in 1917: the Stamp Act and the Law on Statistics. Both were not well received by the members of the VBBB, but once forms were provided which made it easier to keep to these laws, the problems were solved.

Regulation and legislation became more important during the war years, as the examples above show. This may well have been the result of the exceptional circumstances of the period 1914-1918, that demanded quick action to new events and developments. Gradually, the book trade members got used to stricter controls, which were to their benefit as well. When a common problem was identified, rules were set to prevent it from happening again. Clear, solid rules, that was what the book trade had needed.

Collaboration

Another development of the war period was the willingness of the members of the book trade to collaborate. The first case that necessitated collaboration was the fraud with complementary copies in 1914. Debitants, booksellers and publishers worked together to fight it, showing the realization among members of the book trade that their field should be well organized.

Collaboration can also be seen in the plans of the VBBB in 1914 to create their own educational institution. Although the school was scheduled to open its doors in Amsterdam in August of that year, the war stopped these plans. The whole initiative was frozen until further notice. Four years later, it was decided that the school should merge with other training colleges in the book industry, such as the Graphic School of Amsterdam, and that the curriculum would mainly consist of complementary subjects.

In 1915, more central agencies were created, like the *Centrale Raad voor het Grafisch- en Boekbedrijf* (Central Council for the graphic and book industry), to bring the different players of various fields together. A discussion on rebates started in September of the same year. Booksellers and debitants wanted a higher rebate from the publishers, because they needed the extra money in this time of the war. Since book prices were rising, it would not be too difficult to incorporate the adjusted rebate. Several publishers reacted positively and indeed provided their booksellers with a higher rebate. However, the debitants were not always able to take advantage of this. Most publishers realised that they had to support their debitants and booksellers, because without them, their books would not reach the market. In January 1916 some argued that in view of the price increases in other areas, the book could increase in price as well. The materials for production were becoming more expensive, making it impossible to maintain the same price level.

The Netherlands and other countries put limits on exports in 1916, which meant that most materials had to be provided nationally. This resulted in innovative and experimental research to find other ways of acquiring the necessary materials or surrogates. Also, measures were taken to cope with scarcity, such as agreements on the distribution of certain commodities.

The winter of 1917 necessitated a change in the transport system of the Netherlands. Because of the shortages, only the most necessary goods like fuel and food were transported by train, which was the fastest way of transport at that time. All other goods, including books, had to be transported via other means, first and foremost the lakes and canals, which had not been used so extensively since the eighteenth century. New regulations were made in order to arrange inland shipping in the best way possible. Again, collaboration was asked from the shipping companies, the book trade and the other stakeholders.

In February 1918 onwards, bookbinders of the city of Zutphen went on strike.

This was because of a peculiar kind of collective agreement their employers had to practice, which caused a major difference between the wages of the local bookbinders and those of the printers. The strike lasted quite a while, because the two parties could not come to an agreement. Finally, the Central Council acted as arbiter, and arrangements were made to adjust the wages.

Emancipation and reconsideration

The years 1914-1918 can be regarded as the closing years of the First Feminist Wave in the Netherlands, which resulted in universal suffrage for men and women. However, women were not the only party to emancipate. The book trade did as well. Books were now read in all layers of society, as a result of industrialisation and improved education. This gave the book a more important place in society, which in turn led to more confidence in the book trade. Publishers and booksellers were conscious of the need to reshape their business according to the place they now had in society. Their customers no longer were the rich and educated, but the middle and working-classes.

During the war the VBBB bought a site on the Nieuwe Herengracht in Amsterdam to construct their new building, which also would house the *Bestelhuis*. The building was opened in 1917. As it was a large complex, part of the building was rented out. In 1915 the VBBB celebrated its centenary with three days of festive activities and the publication of several commemorative books. Both events underline the self-confidence of the VBBB as the main representative of the book trade.

There was some controversy about the publication of a new catalogue of the library of the VBBB. The librarian had put much work in it, but funds were not available for publication in 1917. Finally, some members of the VBBB decided to sponsor the catalogue and two years later it finally appeared in print, an important tool for scholars researching the history of the Dutch and international book trade.

The second *Jaarbeurs* (Annual fair), held in Utrecht in Utrecht in 1918, also showed that the book had found its place in society. Several publishers had major displays which were well visited.

Changing international focus

The international exhibition on the book and the graphic arts, the Bugra, which took place in Leipzig in 1914 for more than one reason was an important event. It was the meeting place of many people from all over the world, but the beginning of the war not only put an inglorious end to the fair, but also to the leading position of Germany in the world of books.

The Germans also lost much prestige when they destroyed the university

library of Leuven in September 1914. In other countries committees were set up to make sure the library would be renovated after the war and numerous libraries gave duplicate books to Leuven. After the war, the library was rebuilt, thanks to this spirit of international collaboration and support, but Germany was not part of it.

Many foreigners, mainly Belgians who had fled the German occupation of their country, were interned in the Netherlands from the end of 1914 onwards. They were provided with books to fight boredom.

The war caused major trouble in the international book trade. Britain had created such regulations that trading books had become very difficult for the Netherlands. Repeatedly, the British Government had to be asked to adapt certain measures so that books could be sent overseas. As trade with France ran via Britain, shipments from France took much longer to arrive than before. The NOT was set up to regulate trade between the Netherlands, France and Britain. After a while, when agreements with the British Government had been made, the NOT was disbanded. International trade was running more smoothly now, although small incidents kept occurring.

Towards the end of the war, a Dutch book trader complained that French books were difficult to get in the Netherlands. The French publishers realised that they were too inward looking and changed their commercial policy, starting a campaign to promote their books in foreign countries, including the Netherlands.

Economic situation

When the war started, the Dutch book industry felt the repercussions. Even though there was no moratorium on financial dealings by the state, some booksellers created their own. All members of the VBBB were called on to continue their business as usual, to prevent unnecessary losses. When the first shock was over, publishers and booksellers tried to maintain their old ways of working, which went quite well thanks to a great deal of collaboration. Prices went up, such as that of paper, because not all raw materials were available in sufficient quantities. Cardboard factories in Groningen had to stop production for a while, because the supply of raw materials from Germany had been halted.

For companies, the first half of 1914 was not a very good period compared to the first six months of 1913, but the sales still were reasonable. However, as the second half turned out to be worse, companies in the supply and printing industries had to reduce production and take on less staff. In addition, because of the mobilisation companies had to work with fewer employees.

By 1915 shortages became a problem, causing some companies to fire employees. Measures were taken to distribute the raw materials in such a way that

the factories could continue production, for example in the cardboard industry. At the same time, the army was asked to furlough the mobilised soldiers who worked in the book trade, because of the approaching autumn season, which was busy. This was not allowed. The paper industry experienced a hard time; some feared that newspapers would suffer from a shortage of paper, but this did not materialize. Still, the industry was increasingly put under control, for instance by the limits that were put on exporting old paper.

Some publishers who had left their clichés in Germany, where they had been made and were used for printing, because that was cheaper than transporting them to the Netherlands, were facing problems when the German government began to confiscate copper, the material of which the clichés were made. To prevent their clichés from being molten down, the publishers had to send the same weight of copper to Germany.

Book production in 1915 was higher than 1914; a balance had been found to continue business and keep publishing.

1916 was a stable year, providing enough revenues to companies to cover investments, so that no employees had to be fired and the production, both in the supply factories and printing and publishing houses, could stay at the same level.

However, 1917 was not as good. The rationing of coal caused some factories in the paper and cardboard industry to stop their production. Measures had to be taken to arrange the distribution of materials and prevent scarcity.

In 1918, even more regulations were introduced concerning the use of raw materials, and a state committee studied the paper industry to find out what could be done to deal with shortages. The export of commodities was now almost entirely forbidden.

After the war, international trade slowly got back into gear, but countries had to get themselves on their feet again as well. Because the non-European countries had not been able to rely on the trade with Europe during the war, they had begun using new technologies and materials, which created competition from Japan and the United States in the paper industry.

Still, it can be said that Dutch industry had maintained itself greatly during the war period. Even though the circumstances were bad, the government and the industry had worked together to keep going as well as they could. This resulted in the stabilization of book production even in times of scarcity. The graphic industry and the supply industry had proven themselves to be able to survive in difficult circumstances.

Final conclusion

Regulation, collaboration, emancipation: these were the main developments in the Dutch book industry, triggered or enhanced by the First World War. To some extent this may have been a result of the national focus the Netherlands had to have during the War. The countries with which the Netherlands had had the closest contacts in printing and publishing were at war, so they had other things on their mind. This caused the Netherlands to be more nationally focused and rely on their own industry. As a result, they faced new problems that had to be solved. The government was able to quickly implement new legislation and regulation in close consultation with trade and industry.

The book industry became aware of the growing importance of books and other printed matter in society and accordingly became more confident. They defended their rights when it was necessary, and participated in cultural events such as the annual *Jaarbeurs*. They were aware that the changes in society also impacted on the role and position of their associations, such as the *Vereniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels*. So many things had changed over the past century and the book industry and book trade had to change as well. The First World War played an undeniable role in this new awareness.

Because of the war, the book industry had learned to collaborate as well. The scarcity had forced producers to share raw materials in such a way that they all could survive. Publishers, booksellers and debitors worked together to cater to the growing demand in society for books and periodicals. The government and the book trade collaborated to create legislation that would benefit all stakeholders. Collective agreements were made to provide for stable wages and equal rights for employees within several fields of the industry.

Before the war, the Dutch book industry had been mainly focused on Germany, its main trade partner. After the war, more balanced commercial relations were established with other countries as well, particularly with France and Britain.

Even though the First World War had caused serious problems for a neutral country like the Netherlands, the Dutch book trade had also benefitted from it. The Dutch publishers and booksellers were more confident, they collaborated more, and their business was better regulated.

Retrospect and suggestions for further research

In this thesis, an attempt is made to present an overview of the effects the First World War had on the Dutch book industry. Not much was known about this subject, perhaps mainly because of the much greater attention that was given to developments in the Second World War. However, the First World War was of considerable importance for the book trade as well, because much of the modern legislation and regulation was established in that time.

As this study was based mainly on the information found in just one periodical, the *Nieuwsblad voor den Boekhandel*, much more research can be done on this subject. Besides the Netherlands there were other neutral countries, like Switzerland. A comparative study could be made in which the book industry of several neutral countries during the First World War are studied. For more detailed research concerning the book industry and the First World War in the Netherlands, the surviving archives of important publishers like Holkema & Warendorf, Sijthoff, Bohn, Brill and Nijhoff can be analysed. Archives of printing companies like Enschedé and of paper manufacturers like Van Gelder may also yield new information. Many other examples could be given of subjects that demand further research. It is high time that this unexplored field is given more attention.

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