The Birth of the Foreign

A Digital Conceptual History of *Buitenland* in Dutch newspapers 1815-1914

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Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Abstract

This thesis studies the concept of "buitenland" ("the foreign") in a broad sample of Dutch newspapers in the period 1815-1914. It seeks to broaden our understanding of the conceptual underpinnings of globalization. Research into globalization is mostly focused on the material developments. Cultural and conceptual dimensions that constitute today's global 'mindset' are, however, largely neglected. This research aims to contribute to our understanding of the 'semantic circumference' of globalization by reconstructing the history of one of the spatial concepts that underlies historical and contemporary 'mental geographies': *buitenland*. It does so firstly by a frequency-based approached to words related to the concept. Specific contexts 'hosted' *buitenland* and through (clustered) word sequences (*n*-grams) it is shown how these contexts evolved over time. Also, concepts that 'surrounded' *buitenland* are considered. Particular attention is paid to parallel and counter concepts such as "the domestic", "national", "strange" and "international" that left their mark on the change in the meaning and role of *buitenland*. Lastly, the research investigates into the associations that attached themselves to the concept. Distance, scale, instability and temporality were important semantic properties that invested the concept of *buitenland* with meanings that are still present today. Ideas of "the foreign" as a singular, unstable and threatening space closely related to the current day conceptualization of globalization as a dangerous 'global' development.

Chapter 1. Introduction

The world is becoming smaller. It shrinks as we board our planes, send our emails and order products in a webshop. This perceived shrinkage of time and space is, however, anything but new. Ideas about the world becoming smaller can already be found more than a century ago. In 1912, the *Arnhemsche Courant* mourned the deaths of the Titanic disaster, defining the catastrophe as a *wereldramp*, one that is felt even in places where it did not cost lives. "The world is becoming smaller", the anonymous author noted, "and its interests are more closely interwoven than the times gone by".[1] Three years earlier the *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant* provided another "curious statistic" that stated that "there is no important center of civilization on our globe that is not within thirty days of London".[2] "Soon", the *Haagsche Courant* concluded in the same year, "the earth will appear not larger to us than Holland did to our grandfathers".[3]

These articles demonstrate how the 'mindset' of globalization was in already the making in the first years of the nineteenth century. A profound transformation had taken place in ideas on space. One century earlier, speaking of a "world", let alone a shrinking one, would not have been possible. For centuries, the world was a religious concept, used only to refer to God's creation. In the nineteenth century its demythologization formed part of fundamental changes in the way Western societies perceived space. The outcome of these changes is still felt today. Today, globalization is omnipresent as an explanatory factor. Economic growth and stagnation, migration flows, artificial intelligence or resurgent nationalism: the 'g-word' is never far away in diagnoses of the contemporary age. Since the dawn of the postwar era of peace and prosperity, the narrative goes, the world has become a 'global village'. Time and space are 'compressing' and the world is becoming 'flat' as the result of technological innovation and communication. Globalization is also perceived to lead inescapably to more and more inequality between population and population groups.[4] While the cosmopolitan elite enjoyed the fruits of free movement and embraces the diversity of modern societies, working classes are financially threatened by cheap foreign labor and a rapidly changing cultural and ethnic environment.[5]

This common account of globalization is, however, deeply problematic. Globalization seems to have turned into an Hegelian "Geist": an overarching spirit that inexorably drives forward the course of

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[1] *Arnhemsche Courant*, 31-8-1912.

[2] *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, 7-9-1909.

[3] *Haagsche Courant*, 5-4-1909.

[4] See: C. Teney, P. Onawa and P. De Wilde, 'Winners and losers of globalization in Europe: attitudes and ideologies', *European Political Science Review* 6.4 (2014) 575-595. and G. De la Dehesa, *Winners and losers in Globalization* (London 2008).

[5] H. Kriesi, E. Grande, R. Lachat, M. Dolezal, S. Bornschier and T. Frey, 'Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared', *European Journal of Political Research*, 45:6 (2006) 921-956.

history.[6] Such a depiction of globalization is the result of an objectifying dynamic that transforms globalization into an unstoppable force. 'The global', Martin Albrow argued, 'is no longer [believed to be] the accidental quality of something else; it becomes something in itself'. This objectified, 'undisputed materiality' of the al has significant consequences for human agency.[7] Humans can only stand by and watch as globalization determines the fate of the world. Human agency is displaced and reduced. This lack of agency is subsequently politicized in the public debate, resulting in a rich variety of scapegoats, ranging from the immoral banking sector and wealthy philanthropists to evil immigrants or angry nationalists.[8]

Our curiously deformed idea of globalization follows partially from a neglect, if not, misunderstanding of its conceptual particularities. Underlying ideas of globality, acceleration and displaced human agency lie fundamental transformations in the conceptualizing of space. Jordheim and Sandmo argue that while the concept of globalization encompasses an expanding range of things, it "becomes ever less clear what is the actual site (in both a spatial and a temporal sense) for all these processes and trends, what is the actual scope, the semantic circumference of all these concepts".[9] In other words, understanding globalization rests on understanding the concepts that shape it. Popular and scientific enquiries into the conceptual roots of globalization go back only a century and focus predominantly on the postwar period of multilateralism, innovation and economic growth.[10] This limited timeframe largely follows from the focus on the word "globalization", which emerged only in the 1950s and 1960s. However, such a focus on the actual word obscures important parts of the conceptual history of globalization. This thesis intends to broaden the conceptual history of globalization by studying one of the most fundamental concepts in the semantic circumference of globalization: the foreign. It shows how this concept emerged in nineteenth-century Dutch newspaper discourse and how the concept came to play an important role in the conceptualization of (global) space.

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[6] A. Forhouarfar, 'Zeitgeist Analysis of Globalization Spirit: A Philosophical Approach', in: N. Faghih (ed.) *Globalization and Development. Economic and Socio-Cultural Perspectives from Emerging Markets* (New York 2019) 93-134.

[7] M. Albrow, *The Global Age: State and Society Beyond Modernity* (Cambridge 1996) 81.

[8] R. Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London 2000).

[9] H. Jordheim and E. Sandmo, 'Introduction', in: H. Jordheim (ed.) *Conceptualizing the World: an exploration across disciplines* (New York 2018) 2. Similarly, Robertson argues that 'in more theoretical vein, much more needs to be done so as to demonstrate the ways in which the selective responses of relevant collective actors - most particularly societies - to globalization play a crucial part in the making of the world-as-a-whole'. R. Robertson, 'Mapping the global condition: Globalization as the central concept', *Theory, Culture & Society* 7: 2-3 (1990) 27.

[10] See: P. James and M. B. Steger, 'A Genealogy of 'Globalization': The Career of a Concept', *Globalizations* 11:4 (2014) 417-434 and Albrow, *The Global Age*. The exception is the recent conceptual history of Olaf Bach, who traces the roots of the word 'globalization' into the late nineteenth century. O. Bach, *Die Erfundung der Globalisierung* (Frankfurt a. M. 2013).

1.1 Historicizing Spatial Concepts

Our contemporary idea of globalization rests on concepts and conceptual structures that mediate our experience. Conceptual history, the branch of history that is concerned with concepts and the various ways in which concepts register and shape social change, offers an epistemological framework for fruitfully studying the concepts that underlie globalization. Reinhardt Koselleck (1923-2006), the founding father of the German strand of conceptual history ('Begriffsgeschichte') explicitly aimed to retrace the 'semantic birth of the modern'.[11] He is most well-known for his contributions to the monumental 'Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe' series, in which various authors carefully excavate the key concepts of modernity. Conceptual history differs from neighboring approaches (such as intellectual history and historical semantics) through its epistemological basis, which is social history. As Koselleck argues, conceptual history regards concepts as "indicators of sociopolitical change".[12] Historical actors understand and interpret their environment, themselves and the other through concepts that assemble and condense experiences and expectations. Koselleck hypothesized that the formation of modern concepts occurred in a *Sattelzeit* ('saddle time') between 1750 and 1850. This era saw a divergence between the so-called 'space of experience' and the 'horizon of expectation'; instability marked an era full of innovation, revolution and upheaval, and predetermined futures became unstable, resulting in the possibility of alternative visions for the future. Concepts became temporalized, as well as available for a broader, increasingly literate public (*Demokratisierung*). Also, they became involved in the political debate in the emergent public spheres of Europe (*Politisierung*) and in the ideologies that formed in the nineteenth century (*Ideologisierung*).[13]

Koselleckian conceptual history is primarily maintained with concepts that order the social. 'Nation', 'volk' and 'human' are described in dense and extensive lemmas. In past years, however, conceptual historians also study concepts that order the spatial. This is no coincidence. One of the many turns that transformed the humanities and social sciences in the 1980s and 1990s was the so-called 'spatial turn'. Influenced by the works of Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja, social scientists, geographers and humanist made place for space. Lefebvre famously argued that space is not to be seen as an empty, neutral container in which human life simply resides. The French philosopher argued for the idea of space as constructed, as dependent on social meanings. For conceptual historians these meanings reside in words and concepts. Deictic words[14] ('here', 'there') and semantically layered names of locations ('Europe', 'Britain', 'Western') demonstrate how language is an important mediator in the appropriation and

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[11] C. Geulen, 'Plädoyer für eine Geschichte der Grundbegriffe des 20. Jahrhunderts', *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 7 (2010) 81.

[12] R. Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York 2004) 79.

[13] M. Richter, 'Begriffsgeschichte and the History of Ideas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 48:2 (1987) 247-263.

[14] S. C. Levinson, 'Deixis', *The Handbook of Pragmatics* (London 2004) 97-121.

classification of space. In their introduction to the recent *Conceptual History in the European Space*, Steinmetz and Freeden argue that "[t]here is a promising new field of research opening up (...) which includes not only the names of specific spatial units (Mitteleuropa, the Mediterranean, Scandinavia, the West, the Eastern bloc and so on), but also the abstract terminology used to organize or classify geographical/political spaces".[15]

While the promises of spatial conceptual history are identified, conceptual historians have been focussing primarily on the first category: names of specific spatial units.[16] Specific (socio-)spatial concepts such as Europe, the West and the Balkans are successfully historicized, yet they do not tell us much about changing perceptions and conceptualizations of space in general. Therefore, studies into these 'namable' concepts must be complemented with studies in the "abstract terminology" used to order space. This thesis explores the conceptual history of one of the most important of these abstract terms: the foreign. On a daily basis, this concept is used to order the world around us. Yet, its history has been largely overlooked.

1.2 Goal of the Research

In an attempt to broaden our understanding of the concept of globalization, and to fill the gap in the literature on spatial concepts, this thesis thus studies the concept of the foreign. Dutch nineteenth-century newspaper discourse is taken as the basis for this conceptual history. There are several reasons that motivate this choice. Firstly, the nineteenth century is often understood as an era of globalization. In the commonly accepted idea of 'waves of globalization' the nineteenth century always features as the stage for the second wave. Moreover, the century saw the birth of the political vocabulary that still determines our daily way of thinking about politics.[17] Besides the temporal context of the research, the Netherlands is an interesting case because of the linguistic (and semantic) particularities of "the foreign" in Dutch. In this language the concept of the foreign, *buitenland*, appears often in the form of a noun, in contrast to the adjectives "foreign", "étrangère" and "Fremd" in English, French and German. This thesis is driven by the suspicion that the increasing use of this noun is a sign of conceptual change that relates directly to the

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[15] W. Steinmetz, M. Freeden, and J. Fernández-Sebastián, *Conceptual History in the European Space* (New York 2017) 8. Engagement between ideas and space is also present in intellectual history, see: Daniel S. Allemann, A. Jäger, and V. Mann, 'Introduction: approaching space in intellectual history', *Global Intellectual History* 3:2 (2018) 127-136.

[16] See: Jordheim and Sandmo, Conceptualizing the World; an Exploration across Disciplines, D. Mishkova and B. Trencsényi (eds.) European Regions and Boundaries : A Conceptual History (New York 2017) and R. Bavaj and M. Steber. Germany and 'the West' : The History of a Modern Concept (New York 2015).

[17] The period also intersects with the often invoked idea of the *Sattelzeit* ('saddle time'). This hypothesis guided the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* project and presumed an era during which modern political concepts were born. See: S. Geulen, 'Plädoyer für eine Geschichte der Grundbegriffe des 20. Jahrhunderts', *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 7 (2010) 79-97.

concept of globalization. The idea of singular foreign space, conveyed through *buitenland*, forms the conceptual foundation for thinking in terms of globalization.

With regard to the source material the Dutch newspapers are a suitable source because they 'cover' a broader segment of society than the sources traditionally used in conceptual history. They are a means to prevent *Begriffsgeschichte* from becoming a series of *Gipfelwanderungen*: canonical encyclopedias maintained with the great philosophers.[18] Moreover, newspapers are particularly relevant for investigating into perceptions of space because in very practice of reporting requires prioritizing certain spaces over the other. In this process, (changing) cultural attitudes towards space and 'spatiality' are important causal forces.[19] These cultural attitudes towards space are also closely intertwined with processes of state formation and nation-building that were also recorded in and promoted through newspapers. The final reason for studying nineteenth-century Dutch newspaper discourse is the availability of machine-readable source material. Over the past years millions of newspaper articles have been digitized and rapid methodological innovation in the so-called Digital Humanities has provided historians with new opportunities to computationally study historical semantics.[20]

1.3 Question

The question that forms the basis for this thesis is: how did the meanings and associations of the concept of the foreign change over the course of the long nineteenth century? This question is answered by an analysis of a sample of twenty one Dutch nineteenth century newspapers. The research is guided by computational methods.

1.4 Structure of the Research

The research is structured in several chapters that follow from both 'traditional' conceptual history, and digital methods. The second chapter will discuss the methodology of the research. The third chapter deals with the long-term changes in *word sense*. The fourth chapter uses a "semantic field" approach to investigate neighboring concepts such as "fatherland" and "international". The fifth and last chapter explores the semantic properties of the concept of *buitenland* in an attempt to understand its influence on contemporary attitudes and ideas about (global) space. In this section the steps in the research are briefly motivated. Considering the relatively complex nature of the digital methods used in the research, the

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[18] R. Reichardt, 'Einleitung', in: R. Reichardt and E. Schmitt (eds.) *Handbuch politisch-sozialer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich 1680-1820* (München 1985) 44.

[19] C. Blevins, 'space, nation, and the triumph of region: a view of the world from Houston', *The Journal of American History* 101:1 (2014) 124.

[20] For a general overview of the promises of Digital Humanities, see: J. van Eijnatten, T. Pieters and J. Verheul, 'Big data for global history: The transformative promise of digital humanities', *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 128:4 (2013) 55-77.

methodology is discussed in a separate chapter.

The third chapter is dedicated to changing *senses* of words related to the concept of *buitenland*. These words are: the adjective *buitenlandsche* ("foreign"), *buitenlander* ("foreigner") and the noun *buitenland*. The changing meanings of the latter two words are studied by using word embeddings, as well as frequency measures. With regard to the adjective *buitenlandsche* the notion of 'vocabulary' is used to (computationally) study the words modified as being foreign. This allows for a more extensive analysis of the linguistic and semantic spheres tied to the concept of *buitenland*.

The second step in the analysis is the reconstruction of semantic fields. The concept *buitenland* is expressed by the word *buitenland*, but, as Koselleck puts it, 'not tied to this word'.[21] For this reason, the fourth chapter considers the concepts that 'surround' *buitenland* and evaluates the semantic relations between the inhabitants of the so-called "semantic field". Based on the observations made in the first chapter, five concepts are discussed: *binnenland* ("the domestic"), *vaderland* ("fatherland"), *natie* ("nation"), *vreemd* ("strange") and *internationale* ("international"). The concepts are studied in the same way as *buitenland* in the first chapter: through a combination of frequency statistics, word embeddings and targeted close reading.

The third step in the research dedicated to the semantic properties of *buitenland*. As shown in the first and second chapter, the concept of *buitenland* was far from an empty container or a semantically empty spatial category. Instead, the concept maintained complex meanings and associations. These 'semantic properties' are still present in contemporary ideas about space and globalization. Building on contemporary and historical reflections on 'foreignness', as well as patterns encountered in the first chapter four semantic properties of *buitenland* are identified: *scale*, *distance*, *stability/movement*, and *temporality*.[22]

In the conclusion the semantic trajectory of *buitenland* will be summarized and the form in which the concept appeared in the early twentieth century will be connected to the concept of globalization. Here it will be demonstrated how the concept of *buitenland* was crucial in the making of 'the globe' as a spatial concept, and how the concept hereby influences today's (mis)conceptions of globalization.

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[21] J. Ifversen, 'About Key Concepts and How to Study Them', *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 6:1 (2011) 65-88.

[22] The literature on foreignness is centered around several key figures: Kant, Simmel and Derrida. See: B. Honig, *Democracy and the Foreigner* (Princeton University Press 2001), R. Saunders, 'Keeping a Distance, Heidegger and Derrida on Foreignness and Friends', *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 16:2 (2011) 35-48, P. Melville, 'staging the Nation: Hospitable Performances in Kant's Anthropology', *European Romantic Review* 17:3 (2006) 39-53 and G. Baker, 'The 'double law'of hospitality: Rethinking cosmopolitan ethics in humanitarian intervention', *International Relations*, 12:1 (2011) 87-103.

Chapter 2. Methodology

2.1 Studying Spatial Concepts

2.1.1 The Concept of Concept

The object of this research is a concept. The nature of a 'concept' is, however, a hotly debated topic among linguists, historians and psychologists.[23] In *Begriffsgeschichte*, a concept is considered an entity that renders the world meaningful. It elevates raw experience (*Erfahrung*) into lived experience (*Erlebnis*).[24] This transformative function plays out primarily on the collective level, which 'forces' concepts to assume a certain level of generality. They need to tailor not only to the needs of one individual, but of larger social collectives. Generality, in turn, makes concepts historical and debatable.[25] As shared tools of interpretation concepts can be used, misused, transformed and debated. These qualities make concepts excellent objects of historical research.[26]

With regard to the ontology of the concept, Koselleck famously argued that concepts consist of words, but they also transcend the linguistic in the sense that they become entities in the process of cognition.[27] Concepts are different from words because they are more complex and ambiguous.[28] However, words can become concepts when they encompass the "entirety of meaning and experience in a sociopolitical context".[29] This research largely builds on the tradition of *Begriffsgeschichte*. However, following Rolf Reichardt and Peter de Bolla, the traditional focus on individual words is complemented

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[23] The idea of concepts as mental representations is also highly debatable. This debate, however, plays out within psychology and psycholinguistics and cannot be discussed here. See: E. Margolis and S. Laurence, 'Concepts', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2014), E. N. Zalta (ed.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/concepts/> (Accessed 16-02-2019).

[24] E.J. Palti, 'Reinhart Koselleck: his concept of the concept and neo-Kantianism', *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 6:2 (2011) 8.

[25] Palti, 'Reinhart Koselleck: his concept of the concept and neo-Kantianism', 7.

[26] Ibidem, 7.

[27] Koselleck, *Futures Past. The Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge 1985), 80-89.

[28] Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 172.

[29] H. E. Bödeker, 'Concept-Meaning-Discourse, Begriffsgeschichte reconsidered', in: I. Hampsher-Monk, K. Tilmans, F. van Vree (ed.) *History of concepts: Comparative perspectives* 55 (1998) 51. Many linguists and conceptual historians find Kosellecks distinction between words and concepts deeply problematic. His idea of words as stable building blocks of unstable and ambiguous concepts is theoretically untenable because mbiguity occurs just as well on the word-level. See: M. Lynne Murphy and R. Piazza, 'Linguistic Semantics and Historical Semantics', in: K. Junge and K. Postoutoutenko (eds.) *Asymmetrical concepts after Reinhart Koselleck: Historical Semantics and Beyond* (Bielefeld 2011) 51-56.

with several other methodologies that go beyond 'word history'.[30]   First, so-called "vocabularies" of *buitenland* are involved. In the research, a vocabulary is interpreted as all the words that are modified as *buitenlandsche* ("foreign"). The notion of vocabulary is rooted in the idea that meaning (and conceptuality) is conveyed through an "evolving set of words", instead of words conveying an evolving set of meanings. For historians, the notion of vocabulary also offers opportunities to better grasp the changing context of the concept in question.[31] Besides tracing shifting word use over time, the research also makes use of the recent work on concepts as 'lexical structures'.[32] Here, vector space models are used to construct networks of words. These networks show the complex and multi-layered structure of concepts and therefore have the ability to measure the 'position' of words in a certain conceptual field. By using the vocabulary approach and interpreting concepts as lexical structures, the focus on individual word history is complemented and the theoretical problems regarding concepts and conceptuality are mitigated.

2.1.2 Concepts and Space

In this research the concept of *buitenland* is studied as one that shapes our conception of space. Since the so-called "spatial turn" in the humanities, the idea of space as a socially constructed imaginary has assumed an important position in analyzing social experience. Central in the literature of conceptions of space is the concept of the "mental map" (also described as "mental geography" or "symbolic geography").[33] This concept has been at the center of social and political geography for several decades and is commonly interpreted as a "cognitive framework" that structures space and attributes particular meanings and associations to it. The concept helps in capturing the complexity of spatial concepts, in combining both the geographical origins of the concepts and the socio-political layers of meaning that covered and transformed it into a cognitive tool.[34]

It is difficult to fit the concept of *buitenland* to the idea of the mental map. Often, these "symbolic geographies" are studied only on the basis of geographical concepts (such as "Central Europe"), or

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[30] P. de Bolla, *The Architecture of Concepts* (New York 2013), R. Reichardt, 'Revolutionäre Mentalitäten und Netze politischer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich 1789-1795", in: R. Koselleck and R. Reichardt (eds.), *Die Französische Revolution als Bruch des gesellschaftlichen Bewusstseins* (Munich 1988).

[31] M. Hill et al., 'Quantative Analysis in Public Discourse in Europe 1470-1910', *DH Benelux 2018* (Amsterdam 2018) and T. Kenter, M. Wevers, P. Huijnen and M. De Rijke, 'Ad hoc monitoring of vocabulary shifts over time'. *Proceedings of the 24th ACM international on conference on information and knowledge management* (2015) 1191-1200.

[32] P. De Bolla, E. Jones, G. Recchia, J. Regan and P. Nulty, 'Distributional Concept Analysis: A Computational Model for Parsing Conceptual Forms', *Contributions to the History of Concepts* (forthcoming 2019).

[33] A. Henrikson, 'The geographical mental maps of US foreign policy makers', International Political Science Review 1 (1980) 495-530.

[34] D. Mishkova and B. Trencsényi, 'Conceptualizing Spaces within Europe. The Case of Meso-Regions', in: W. Steinmetz, M. Freeden and J. Fernández-Sebastián, *Conceptual History in the European Space* (New York 2017) 212.

concepts whose cultural meaning transcends geography but still originate in a certain spatial orientation (such as "the West").[35] *Buitenland* is a more general category. It escapes geography, because it is not tied to a particular region or symbolic value that originates in a geographical demarcation. However, *buitenland* is all but relative.[36] As shown in the research, its meaning has never been fully dependent on that of the non-foreign. *Buitenland* is a concept that throughout the nineteenth century described 'its own' share of the social experience of the time. In other words, *buitenland* is a self-standing part of the mental maps of the nineteenth century.

2.2 Methods

This research is situated in the field of Digital Humanities (DH).[37] For the past years DH has emerged as a promising field where, according to some, interdisciplinary research fundamentally transforms the ways we study history. Despite the revolutionary rhetoric, DH case studies only slowly make their way into 'traditional' historiography. This largely follows from the breathtaking pace in methodological innovation that leaves little space for the actual employment of DH methods in research. This thesis contributes to this small but expanding body of case studies in digital conceptual history. Because it is not methodological innovation, but the historiographical contribution that is at the heart of this research, I make use of relatively 'stable' methods that have proven their value. In this section the three main methods used in this research are introduced: n-grams, context words/collocations and word embeddings.

2.2.1 N-grams

This research rests on the assumption that diachronic conceptual change can be analyzed by studying patterns of word use over time. In Computational Linguistics and Natural Language Processing, the analysis of word use is often done by using so-called *n*-grams: sequences of *n* tokens (in this case words).[38] This research makes frequent use of bigrams: sequences of two words. The extraction of *n*-grams from the digitized newspaper articles requires the so-called "tokenization" of the texts: chopping up the text in tokens (words). In the optimal case, the newspaper articles would be split into sentences and words. However, limited OCR-quality prevents sentence tokenization. Therefore, the texts are tokenized by

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[35] Mishkova and Trencsényi, 'Conceptualizing Spaces within Europe', 212.

[36] U. Beck, 'How neighbors become Jews: The political construction of the stranger in an age of reflexive modernity', *Constellations* 2:3 (1996) 378-396.

[37] It is widely known that DH also means "David Hume", but since he plays no role in the conceptual history of *buitenland* (yet), this thesis uses the abbreviation as a way to refer to Digital Humanities.

[38] M. T. Ullmann, 'The Declarative/Procedural Model of Lexicon and Grammar', *J Psycholinguist Res* 30:1 (2001) 37 and C. Shaoul, C. F. Westbury, and H.R. Baayen The subjective frequency of word n-grams, *Psihologija*, 46:4 (2013) 497-537.

splitting them into words, after removing non-alphanumeric characters (often the product of OCR-misrecognition). Subsequently, the unigrams and bigrams (one and two-token sequences) per year are counted. This allows the construction databases of *n*-grams (Figure 1).

ngram/year	1815	1816	1817
buitenlandsche politiek	1	33	12
buitenlandsche handel	3	41	0
buitenlandsch leger	5	4	12

Figure 1. Example of bigram-data.

The aggregated and counted *n*-grams can be used in various ways. Relative frequency (word frequency shared by the total number of tokens a year) is the most common way of studying patterns in word use. Besides frequency, we can also study the productivity and creativity of bigrams in a given year. Productivity refers to the number of different bigrams used in a given year, while creativity refers to the number of bigrams that occur for the first time in a given year.[39] These measures can be used to study the range of things to which a concept applied.

In this research, the idea of different social spheres is important, because the analysis of the concept of *buitenland* in relation to those spheres sheds a light on both the use and the meaning of this concept. Identifying these spheres, however, is hard, because it requires a certain level of generalization. Can we, for example, state that *buitenland* enters the political sphere only based on a rising frequency of the bigram "foreign policy"? Such a statement would require an increase in multiple bigrams related to politics to be more robust. For this reason the bigrams are clustered based on word embeddings. First, similarity scores between every word are calculated, resulting in a so-called distance matrix. Subsequently, *k*-means clustering, a frequently used statistical method to cluster observations in *k* clusters, is used to categorize the bigrams. Every bigram is assigned a cluster label, that is then used to calculate the combined frequency of all words in the cluster. These diachronic frequencies can then be visualized in a stream visualization. Of course, there are several weaknesses to this method. *K*-means requires the manual setting of the number of clusters. Also, only one model (trained on equally sized samples from every year) is used to calculate the distances. This potentially obscures the semantic differences between words in specific periods (and thus in specific periods). This relates to another point: some words are related in one, but unrelated in

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[39] J. Lyons, *Semantics vol 1*. (Oxford 1977).

another period. Nevertheless, *k*-means appears to be both useful and robust when it comes to clustering bigrams.[40] With regard to the problem of manually selecting the number of clusters, a *k* of 12 is selected as the most historically sound number of clusters (after trying *k*'s ranging from 6 to 20). Also, the majority of the words modified as *buitenlandsch* did not see fundamental semantic change, which justifies the use of one model to create the clusters.

2.2.2 Context Words and Collocations

Although the bigrams, especially when clustered, are highly informative, it is also important to involve the context of *buitenland* as it appears in the text. In order to capture the historical and linguistic context in which the bigrams are located so-called "context words" are used. This method extracts all the words around an input word (which is not restricted to one token). A specified window of either 12 or 24 words left and right of the input word is used to define a context. These window sizes are relatively large, because attempts with varying window sizes proved that small windows (smaller than 12) do not contain sufficient contextual information. They only show words which directly follow the input word. The importance of words is subsequently analyzed by looking at the frequency of these context words. Of course, this method also has its flaws. Defining a fixed context neglects the specificities of changing historical newspapers, and there is a high chance that unrelated words are included. Nevertheless, historically relevant words are likely to surface when enough data is available. Too often, a crude distinction between close and distant reading is used to define DH research. In practice, methods are needed that study texts not just 'close' or 'distant', but in a methodologically sound way.

In linguistics, a more formal approach to co-occurrence is collocation analysis. In this research I use Pointwise Mutual Information as a way to measure the association between two words. PMI collocations measure the probability of co-occurrence.[41] When two words are repeatedly found together, there is a fair chance that the two are semantically related in a certain way. PMI-collocations statistically formalize this co-occurrence based idea of semantic relations.[42] In this research collocations are used to map diachronic patterns in the collocation scores between two specific words, and thus investigate the distributional similarity between them.

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[40] Another method of clustering that is occasionally found in corpus linguistics is the use of regressions to find words with similar "lives". This method proved to work only for large-scale corpora, as the scarcity of *n*-gram frequencies made comparison, let alone correlation tricky. For a more succesfull attempt, see: R. Heuser and L. Le-Khac, 'A Quantitative Literary History of 2,958 Nineteenth-Century British Novels: The Semantic Cohort Method', *Stanford Literary Lab Pamphlet* 4 (2016), 27.

[41] D. Jurafsky and J. H. Martin, *An Introduction to Natural Language Processing, Computational Linguistics, and Speech Recognition* < https://web.stanford.edu/~jurafsky/slp3/ed3book.pdf> (Accessed 1 June 2019).

[42] PMI is calculate by taking the logaritm of the relative frequency of the two words co-occuring (*p(x,y)*) shared by the relative frequency of word x (*p(x)*), times the relative frequency of word y (*p(y)*).

2.2.3 Word Embeddings

Besides frequency measures, I also use vector semantics, an approach very popular in Digital Humanities. Word embeddings, also known as 'vector space models', are representations of words as vectors. These models can best be understood in relation to the collocations explained earlier. Collocations measure the 'association' of two words in a corpus. Once we calculate the collocations between one word, for example 'buitenland', and all the other words in the corpus, we have a series of association scores (the vector). If we calculate the vectors for every word in the corpus, a multidimensional vector space can be created. Statistical methods can then be used to 'reduce' the number of dimensions, and calculate distances between words. The farther away two words, the higher the distance score.[43] In this research I often refer to 'similarity scores'. These are the exact opposite of the distance scores: the higher the similarity score, the closer two words are in vector space and the more semantic similarity between those two words. Vector space models can thus be used to extract semantic relations from texts. For this research I trained multiple 'vector space models' using the popular word2vec method. Word2Vec makes use of neural networks to calculate the distances between words.[44] The existence of an efficient and user-friendly Python implementation, Gensim, makes word2vec a good option for Digital Humanities research. Training vector space models using Gensim requires several parameters to be chosen.[45] Also, models trained on different periods are differently constructed and therefore incomparable. Making them comparable requires post-training alignment, as proposed by Hamilton et al..[46] Because this method essentially adjusts all the models to the structure of the first, many new words (such as *internationaal*) will be removed. Therefore, the models will be aligned by updating them in the process of training, a method proposed by Kim et al..[47]

It is important to realize that vector representations of words as well as collocations are not undisputed as research methods in digital conceptual history. The idea of semantic similarity being measurable through co-occurrence is only one of the many theories about meaning and language. In the 1950s, linguists such as Harris and Firth formulated the so-called 'distributional hypothesis': the idea that words used in the same context have similar meanings. Especially in a large corpus, the words surrounding

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[43] For a clear introduction in word embeddings, see Gabriel Recchia's blog. <http://www.twonewthings.com/gabrielrecchia/blog/> (Accessed 1-6-2019).

[44] T. Mikolov, K. Chen, G. Corrado and J. Dean, 'Efficient estimation of word representations in vector space'. *arXiv:1301.3781v3 [cs.CL]* (2013) <http://arxiv.org/abs/1301.3781v3> (accessed 19 April 2019). A. Kutuzov, L. Øvrelid, L., T. Szymanski and E. Velldal, 'Diachronic word embeddings and semantic shifts: a survey. *Proceedings of the 27th International Conference on Computational Linguistics* (2018) 1384-1397.

[45] These are: frequency threshold, window size, model size and model type (continuous bag-of-words or skip-gram).

[46] W. L. Hamilton, J. Leskovec and D. Jurafsky, 'Diachronic Word Embeddings Reveal Statistical Laws of Semantic Change', *arXiv:1605.09096v6 [cs.CL]* (2018) (Accessed 1-6-2019).

[47] Y. Kim et al., 'Temporal Analysis of Language Through Neural Language Models, *Proceedings of the ACL 2014 Workshop on Language Technologies and Computational Social Science* (2014) 61–65.

'horse', for example, will be similar to 'cow'.[48] The distributional hypothesis is not generally accepted. This, in combinations with the drawbacks of word2vec makes that one should be cautious when interpreting its results. For conceptual history, this means that every results that comes out of the 'black box' must be checked against the appearance of words in (a sample of) the newspaper articles.

2.3 Sources

2.3.1 The Corpus

This research takes digitized newspapers as its primary body of source material. In the period under scrutiny, hundreds of different newspapers were published in the Netherlands. The analysis is based on a broad sample of twenty one newspapers (Figure 2). The newspapers are selected based on their size, their religious and political affiliation and their place of publication. The first parameter, size (or the newspaper-specific term 'oplage' in Dutch), leads to the inclusion of the biggest Dutch newspapers in the nineteenth century. As far as the quantitative data (collected fifty years ago) is correct, these newspapers are *Algemeen Handelsblad* (1828), *Nieuws van den Dag* (1870) and *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1844). Both *Algemeen Handelsblad* and *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* attracted a large audience, and the *Nieuws van den Dag* was the first cheap daily newspaper in the Netherlands, modelled after the Parisian daily newspaper *Le Petit Journal*.[49] The newspaper business was, however, a permanent struggle for survival. Conservative governments did not appreciate criticism, and taxes on newspapers were pressing the revenues. After a long political struggle and a collective effort by numerous newspaper publishers in the 1850s and 1860s, the most important tax (the *dagbladzegel*) was abolished in 1869.[50] After the eradication of the tax, newspapers rapidly increased their distribution. This is also visible in the visualization of token data (Figure 3). Although growth in yearly token totals (meaning growth in either the size of individual newspapers, or the number of newspapers published periodically) already started to increase earlier, the year 1869 appears as a clear turning point. By the end of the nineteenth century, newspaper often printed six days a week and, in the case of *Algemeen Handelsblad* even twice a day.

Political ideologies and affiliations are closely tied to newspaper and (individual) newspaper publishers.[51] This necessitates sampling based on religious-political color. As the century progressed the

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[48] The original proposal is found in: Z. S. Harris, 'Distributional structure', *Word* 10:2-3 (1954) 146-162. In the early 1990s further theory was developed by Miller and Charles. See: G. A. Miller and W. G. Charles, 'Contextual correlates of semantic similarity', *Language and Cognitive Processes* 6:1 (1991) 1-28. A recent overview, including the recent innovations in word embeddings, see: A. Lenci, 'Distributional models of word meaning', *Annual Review of Linguistics* 4 (2018) 151-171.

[49] H. Wijfjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland 1950-2000* (Amsterdam 2004) 31.

[50] J.M.H.J. Hemels, *De Nederlandse pers voor en na de afschaffing van het dagbladzegel in 1869* (Assen 1969).

[51] Wijfjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland*, 46-52.

political landscape in the Netherlands grew increasingly complex. Until the 1830s, the main dividing line was conservatism versus liberalism.[52] During subsequent decades, liberal politics expanded and professionalized. This also entailed the rise of the liberal press.[53] The *Arnemsche Courant* traditionally was a liberal opponent of the conservative world of The Hague (specifically the *Dagblad van 's Gravenhage*), but was soon joined by many other liberal newspapers. From the 1840s onwards, its hold on newspaper content also diminished, leading to the gradual decline of the influence of government-supporting newspapers. The *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, for example, was a widely read source of news at the beginning of the century, but transformed into a mere mouthpiece of government policy towards the end of the century. By the 1860s, the liberals themselves had come to occupy the core of the governing elites. After the 1848 constitutional reform liberal policies had gradually expanded the capacities of the press. However, the liberal political dominance was met with opposition by newly formed protestant, catholic and socialist collectives in the 1860s and 1870s.[54] These groups were not seldom connected to specific newspapers, such as *De Tijd* (Catholic, 1846), *De Standaard,* (Protestant, 1872) and many others.

Also relevant to the object of this research is the location of newspapers. The *Delpher* database is fairly representative of the Dutch provinces and cities, but a slight bias towards the Western provinces (the contemporary Randstad) is visible. For this reason, the sample includes newspapers that were regional in scope, such as the *Provinciale Noord-Brabantsche en 's Hertogenbossche Courant*, the *Provinciale Drentsche en Asscher Courant*, and the *Provinciale Overijsselsche Courant*. Newspapers such as the *Dagblad of Zuid-Holland* and the *Middelburgsche Courant* were also local or regional in scope, but their embeddedness in national politics made them different, and more national, in kind. Overall, my sample also includes a slight bias towards newspapers from the West of the Netherlands, but as most of the national newspapers originated in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Hague, this actually reflects the historical newspaper landscape.

Newspaper Title	Timespan	Pol. Profile	Location	Distribution	ID	Token Total
Algemeen Handelsblad	1828-1970	liberal	Amsterdam	9000	algh	813426588
Arnhemsche Courant	1815-1848	liberal	Arnhem	1500	arnc	200046787
Bredasche Courant	1814-1870	liberal	Breda	3000	brdc	34767114
Dagblad v. Zuidholland & `s Gravenhage	1853-1869	conservative	Den Haag	4000	dzhg	76578818

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[52] G. J. Hooykaas, 'Thorbecke en de pers', *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 105:1 (1990) 39-53.

[53] Hooykaas mentions the existence of a third category of newspapers in between government-supported (conservative), and financially independent (liberal) newspapers. Newspapers such as the *Bredasche Courant* for several years also the *Algemeen Handelsblad* were funded partially or indirectly through government funds. See: Hooykaas, 'Thorbecke en de Pers', 49.

[54] Piet de Rooy, *Republiek van rivaliteiten* (Amsterdam 2002) 173.

Leeuwarder Courant	1751-2010	protestant	Leeuwarden	5000	leco	205959704
Leydse Courant	1758-1868	conservative	Leiden	3500	leyc	37923436
Middelburgsche Courant	1816-1928	liberal	Middelburg	2000	mico	99277137
Nederlandsche Staatscourant	1813-1950	state-owned	Den Haag	8000	nesc	288855345
Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant	1854-1929	liberal	Rotterdam	9800	nroc	299773032
Nieuws v.d. Dag	1870-1914	liberal	Amsterdam	25000	nvdd	444058207
Opregte Haarlemsche Courant	1813-1869	neutral	Haarlem	3000	ophc	65503551
Provinciale Drentsch. en Assch. Courant	1823-1869	liberal	Assen	3000	prda	210576709
Provinciale Overijsselsche Courant	1845-1945	neutral	Zwolle	4000	prov	220216051
Rotterdamsche Courant	1815-1867	conservative	Rotterdam	8000	roco	89145426
Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad	1878-1944	liberal	Rotterdam	7000	roni	282716764
De Standaard	1872-1944	protestant	Amsterdam	2500	stan	108608835
Tilburgsche Courant	1869-1931	liberal	Tilburg	5000	tico	60210777
De Tijd	1846-1858	catholic	Amsterdam	4000	tijd	89850212

Figure 2. The sample of newspapers used in the research. The information showed is based on the metadata present in the XML files of the National Dutch Library. Also, Joan Hemels' De Nederlandse Pers (1969) is used for the data on political affiliation and distribution.

Besides the differences based on political affiliation, location and size, the nineteenth century also sees changes that affect the newspaper landscape in general. In a systematic study of Dutch newspapers, Rutger de Graaf has shown how over the course of the nineteenth century, foreign news, one of the prime vehicles through which the concept of *buitenland* gained meaning, declined relatively in quantity.[55] Local and national matters were prioritized as the newspaper business realized that the appealing to the lifeworld of their readers was the key to successful sales.[56] Similarly, the quantity of official government notices declined and the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* took on the role of the prime herald of The Hague.[57] Besides changes on the axis of domestic/local and foreign news, the number of advertisements also increased. For this research, the category of foreign news is expected to be the most important. This category not only decreased in quantity, it also changed in character. First, the variation increased. Political

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[55] R. de Graaf, *Journalistiek in beweging. Veranderende berichtgeving in kranten en pamfletten* (Groningen en 's-Hertogenbosch 1813-1899)

[56] Wijfjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland*, 46-52.

[57] De Graaf, *Journalistiek in beweging*, 65.

matters were complemented with news on science and the so-called *fait divers*.[58] Second, telegraph cables, both intercontinental, regional and national, increased the fast circulation of foreign news.[59]

2.3.2 Newspapers as Data

The data for this project were downloaded through the API provided by the National Dutch Library. The approximately thirty gigabytes of data were subsequently preprocessed, cleaned and used to create *n*-grams and word embeddings. The code used for this process, as well as the code used for the specific methods can be found on GitHub.[60] The main feature of the newspaper data is its variation in size. The size of the data, measured in tokens, expands dramatically during the nineteenth century (Figure 3). Newspapers come and go, publish more issues a week and more pages an issue. The variation in corpus size mainly affects the word embeddings. Models have to be trained on decades (instead of years) because before the 1850s there is not enough data to create stable word embeddings. When it comes to frequency, visualizing the word frequency relative to the number of tokens in a given year is necessary to account for the variation in corpus size.
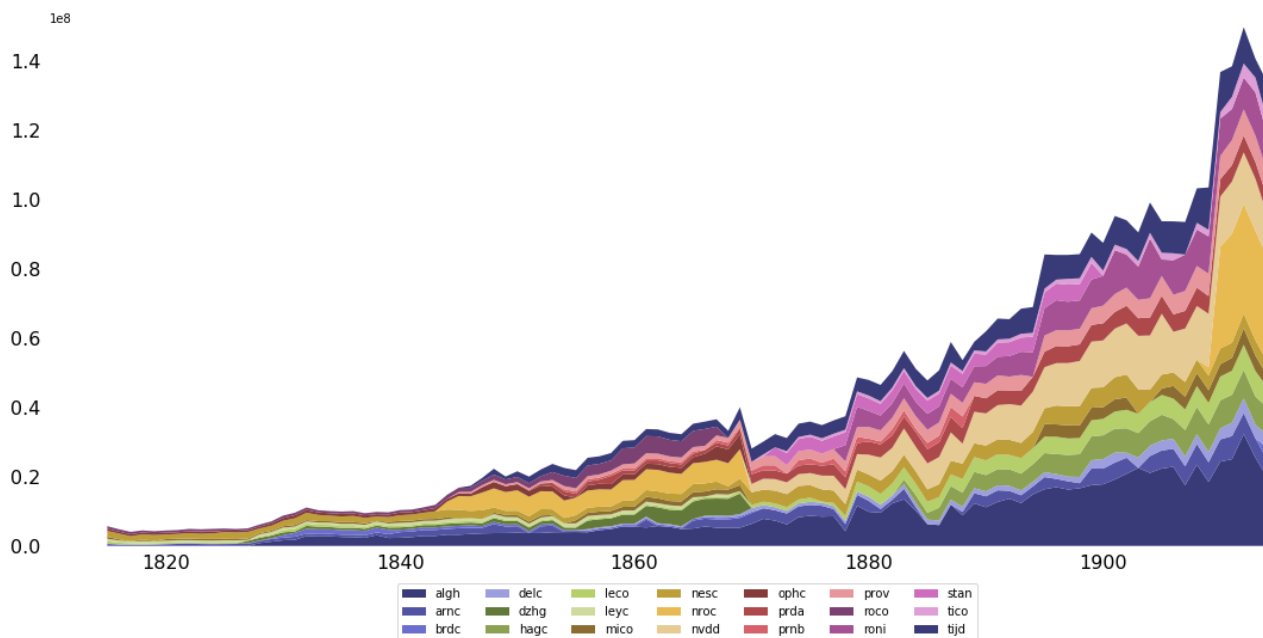
Figure 3. Number of Tokens (Newspaper/Year). The y-axis shows the number of tokens (x 100.000.000). The corresponding newspaper titles can be found in Figure 2.

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[58] Ibidem, 66.

[59] D. Matheson, 'The birth of news discourse: Changes in news language in British newspapers, 1880-1930', *Media, Culture & Society* 22:5 (2000) 557-573.

[60] <http://github.com/rubenros1795/TheForeign>

Another issue that must be taken into account is the quality of the data. Digitized sources rely heavily on digitization software that converts scanned images into computer-readable text. This step in the digitization is commonly known as 'Optical Character Recognition' (OCR). OCR quality is and remains a problem in historical corpora. With regard to the newspaper data, Melvin Wevers points out that the information provided by the KB (the so-called 'confidence levels') are the outcome of different and inconsistently applied methods. For this reason, the type-token ratio is used as a metric to evaluate the quality of the OCR (Figure 4). The type-token ratio is the ratio between the relative number of tokens, and the relative number of types (unique tokens). The more OCR-errors, the higher the number of unique tokens (types), the lower the type-token ratio.[61] The figure shows how the ratio quickly decreases between 1815 and 1830, which means a fast increase in OCR quality. Until 1870 it decreases at a slower speed. Surprisingly, the early 1900s show ratios that are relatively high, probably due to more complex newspaper layouts. Overall, however, the type-token ratios point at the relative changes in quality and demonstrate how the quality increased quickly in the first decades of the century.
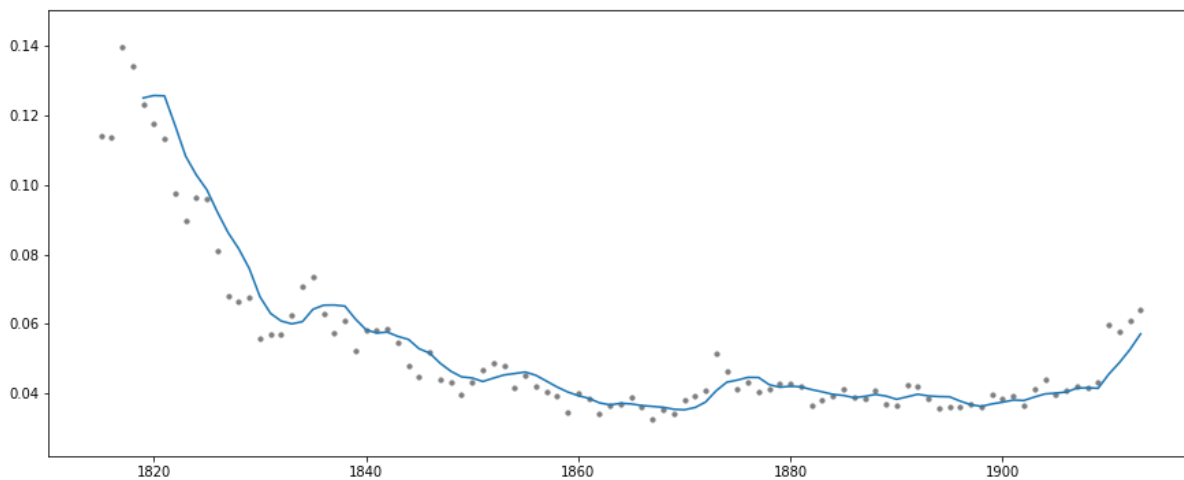
Figure 4. Type-Token Ratio. The type-token ratio is the ratio between the relative number of tokens (number of tokens shared by the number of articles) and the relative number of types (number of types shared by the number of articles). The visualization shows how the ratio quickly decreases between 1815 and 1835.

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[61] M. Wevers, 'A Data-Driven Analysis of the United States as a Reference Culture in Dutch Public Discourse on Consumer Goods, 1890-1990', (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 2017) 82.

Chapter 3. Word Sense

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sketches the long-term patterns of change that mark the concept of *buitenland* in the long nineteenth century. Three keywords (all variations of the word *buitenland*)[62] are followed through three periods of time. First, I study the various bigrams that start with the adjective *buitenlandsche* ("foreign") in order to understand the changes in the concept's 'extension'.[63] In linguistics, extension is used to denote the range of things to which a concept applies, as opposed to 'intension', that refers to the 'contents' of a concept (its meaning or definition).[64] In the case of *buitenland*, the extension ranges from foreign states and cities, to individuals (foreigners) and consumer goods (coffee, sugar, grain, beer) that originate abroad. Extension is a useful concept for digital conceptual history because it shows how a concept related to historical change. It shows which things fell in the semantic scope of *buitenland* and how this concept 'entered' or 'left' certain spheres of society. The focus is thus shifted from individual words to historically variable groups of words. In the case of *buitenland* such a 'vocabulary' can be understood as all two-word combinations (bigrams) starting with the adjective *buitenlandsche* (foreign).[65] In this chapter, they are studied through various measures, such as productivity (the number of different bigrams used in a year) and creativity (the number of new bigrams that appear on a yearly basis).[66] Also, bigrams can be clustered in specific topics or themes by means of vector space models.[67] These clusters enable an analysis of the concept's relation to more general socio-political domains of society.

The second keyword is the noun *buitenlander* ("foreigner"). As will be clear in this chapter, this

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[62] When I refer to all variations of the word *buitenland* I will do so by "buitenland*".

[63] Hill et al., *Digital Humanities Benelux 2018* (Amsterdam 2018).

[64] The intension/extension distinction comes from Rudolf Carnap who introduced it in his famous book *Meaning and Necessity*. The distinction builds on the work of Gottlob Frege, who differentiated between *Sinn* and *Bedeutung*. See: Rudolf Carnap, *Meaning and Necessity: A Study in Semantics and Modal Logic* (Chicago 1947) and for a discussion: I. Hanzel, 'Frege, the identity of Sinn and Carnap's intension', *History and Philosophy of Logic* 27:3 (2007) 229-247.

[65] Of course it would be even better to include all nouns modified by the adjective foreign (instead of selecting only the words following the adjective). This would require dependency parsing, a process that could not be done because of limited computing power and high shares of OCR-errors that potentially frustrate the parsing process.

[66] Lyons, *Semantics. Vol. 1*, 77.

[67] The detection and modelling of topics is a widely used approach in corpus linguistics and conceptual history. 'Traditional' topic modelling rests on the use of full-text articles. I choose not to use topic modelling precisely because of the computational challenges of modelling a century worth of articles. Also, topic modelling often suffers from a certain level of uncertainty because of the 'black box' nature of LDA, the statistical algorithm that underlies the method. My approach uses word embeddings and *k*-means clustering, methods that are equally complex but when used together result in a more specific and transparent way of clustering.

word cannot be separated from the concept of *buitenland*. The fate of the concept of the foreigner reveals important details about the semantic fate of the concept of *buitenland*, as well as that of the general condition of foreignness. Considering the fine-grained rhetorical structures in which the word foreigner featured, this part of the analysis rests predominantly on 'traditional' close reading. This approach is complemented with the use of word embeddings to map shifts in the semantics of *buitenlander*.

The third and last keyword is the noun *buitenland* itself. In this chapter I reconstruct how this word entered the newspaper discourse, in what context it was used and what marked its long-term conceptual change. Because the word was not used on a large scale in the first period, I investigate whether any conceptual alternatives existed for the idea of a singular foreign space, and whether this idea existed at all. The emergence of the word as an indicator for singular foreign space (in the second and third periods) is studied through word embeddings, as well as frequency statistics of the prepositions that can be found before the bigram *het buitenland* (such as "in", "naar" and "uit").

The chapter is divided into three periods: 1815-1855, 1855-1880 and 1880-1914. It needs no explanation that such a division is always arbitrary, but based on patterns in *n*-gram frequency, productivity and clustering this structure appears as the most logical one. The periodization is also based on the contextual factors that dominate in the Dutch and European conceptual "space". The Concert-style diplomacy in the first, the politicization and state formation in the second and the large-scale industrialization and the emergence of a modern consumer society in the third period relate directly to the shifting meanings of *buitenland*.
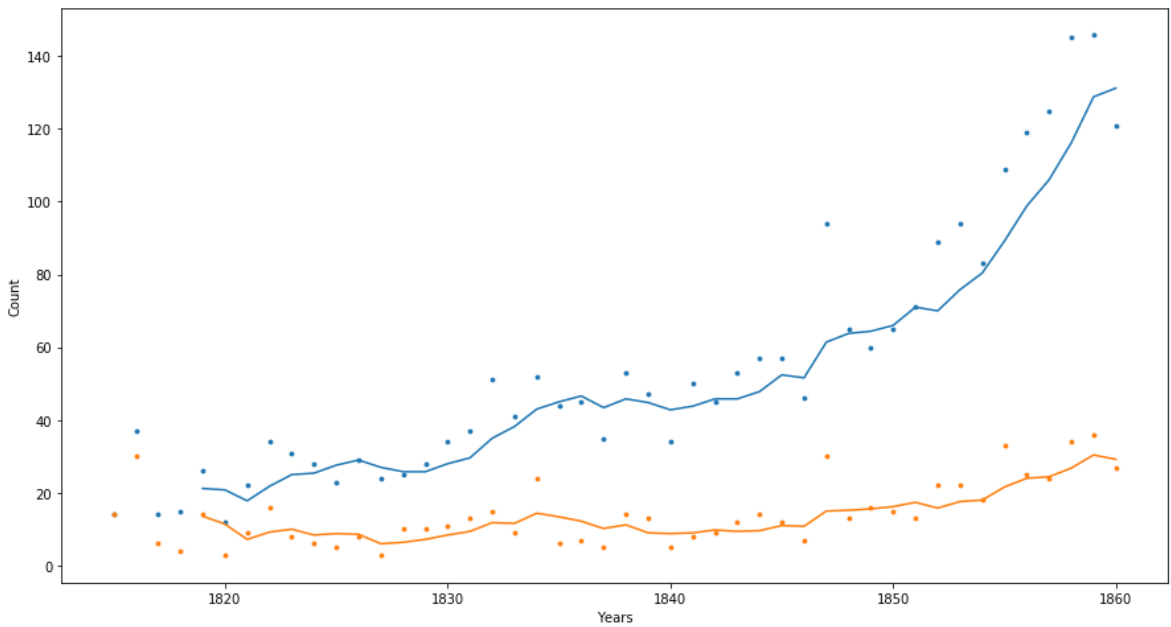
Figure 5. Productivity (blue) and Creativity (orange) Scores for bigrams starting with 'buitenlandsche' 1815-1860. The y-axis shows the absolute number of different bigrams. The lines represent the rolling mean of the observations. Productivity (blue)

refers to the number of different bigrams used. Creativity (orange) refers to the number of new bigrams created yearly. As visible, the productivity scores show continuous growth. From the 1850s the growth accelerates.

3.2 1815-1855

3.2.1 "Buitenlandsche"

Understanding the appearance of the adjective *buitenlandsche* the first decades of the century starts with a brief exploration of its earlier history in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to the *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* the adjective appeared in 1599 as *buytelandsch*.[68] Besides the dictionary there are little (digital) breadcrumbs that indicate the inclusion of the word in everyday language of the seventeenth century.[69] Neither the *Delpher* newspapers, *DNBL* nor *Google Books* contain occurrences of the word before the late seventeenth century.[70] In the corpus of digitized newspapers, the adjective is first found in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* (1682) where it is spelled as *buiten-landsche*. Combined with the frequent occurrence of the phrase *buyten 's Lands* in the same period, the hyphen seems to hint at a process of compounding: word formation through the combination of multiple lexemes.[71] The adjective likely formed as a combination of the phrase "outside the land".

 Buyten 's lands was not only an linguistic variation of *buitenland*. The pre-compounded form of the adjective relates to the early-modern mental geography that was very much structured along the lines of cities and their surrounding "lands". This mosaic order of cities and *buitenlanden* was especially prominent in the Low Countries. The frequent use of the phrase *buyten 's lands* in the early modern *placcaten* (administrative ordonnances) point at the importance of the Provinces as "Lands".[72] Land was thus a concept not so much tied to a central territorial state, as to cities and regions as the basic legal-administrative entities.[73] Newspapers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries often spoke of

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[68] Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal, <http://gtb.ivdnt.org/search/?owner=wnt#> (Accessed 12-3-2019).

[69] Occurrences of "buytenlandsch" or similar terms in Google Books and DNBL (Digital Library for Dutch Literature) are only found from the early eighteenth century onwards. However, early eighteenth century books mention "buyten 's lands": a way of referring to foreign space that is not one word. This opens up the possibility that expressions such as these, but not detected through keyword search were in vogue much earlier.

[70] *Amsterdamsche Courant,* 29-10-1682. The query "land van" yields many results in the 17th century (197). From the 1670s onwards, the bigram is clearly connected to a particular spatial structure where nations ("Duytschland", "Denemarken") are used, but seldom in a locational sense. Another example is: *Opregte Haerlemsche Courant,* 27-5-1683.

[71] Rochelle Lieber, 'A Lexical Semantic Approach to Compounding', in: Rochelle Lieber and Pavol Stekauer (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Compounding* (Oxford 2011) 45.

[72] See for example: A. Muntendam, Memorie ter explicatie van het placcaat van de staten 's lands van Utregt, van den 8 may 1656. Over een komende met het placcaat van haar hoog mog. van den 14 octob. 1655. En met de andere placcaten van de particuliere provincien op het selve sujet (Utrecht 1656) 2, 14-16 and 22-28.

[73] On historical political geographies of Europe and the geography of the city state, see: C. Jonsson, G. Tornqvist, *Organizing*

"the lands of", followed by the name of a city (*'t Land van Luyck, 't Land van Aalst*).[74] *Buitenlandsch, buytenlantsch* or *buyten 's land* therefore referred directly to that what was outside the borders of a specific "land of". *Buyten 's Lands* was therefore a way to appoint a certain legal or administrative status to individuals and objects.

The use of the adjective in newspapers was, however, by no means customary in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Between the 1680s and the 1740s, the adjective appeared only incidentally in newspapers. It grew in frequency only from the 1750s onwards. The major "breakthrough" occurred in the years after 1795, when the political upheaval in the Batavian Republic led not only to increased and conflictual contact with foreign powers, but also to the establishment of the *Commissie voor Buitenlandsche Zaken*, a diplomatic institution that was the predecessor of the later Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[75]

The fact that one diplomatic institution was responsible for the significant growth in frequency of the adjective points at the limited scope of the concept of *buitenland* in the early nineteenth century. The first year in the timeframe under scrutiny, 1815, shows only eleven different bigrams that start with *buitenlandsche*: *berigten* ("reports"), *zeevaart* ("shipping"), *produkten* ("products"), *voorkomende* ("appearing"), *effecten* ("effects"), *fondsen* ("funds"), *oorlog* ("war"), *staten* ("states"), *uitgaaf* ("expense"), *zaken* ("affairs") and *mogendheden* ("powers").[76] Combined, *reports* and *affairs* account for eighty one percent of the combined frequencies of all the bigrams. Until the 1830s, this distribution remains relatively stable. Similarly, the productivity (number of different bigrams used) remains lower than twenty-five in the 1810s, and even shows a little decrease in the 1820s (Figure 5). In the years 1830-1832, the bigram frequency increased significantly. This stems from the bigram *buitenlandsche zaken* ("foreign affairs") rising from 426 in 1829 to 1491 in 1830. Aggregated context words show that this frequent use of "foreign affairs" occurred in the context of the political turmoil of the Belgian separation, the Polish Revolution of 1830-1831 and the subsequent communication between the Dutch ministry/bureau and the European powers (especially *Londen* and *Parijs*). The productivity and creativity increased in the 1840s. Until 1859 the productivity increased every year (with the exception of 1852). In 1855, a total of 110 different words followed *buitenlandsche*.

European Space (London 2000) 60-80 and T. Scott, *The City-State in Europe, 1000-1600: Hinterland, Territory, Regio* (Oxford 2012).

[74] Oprechte Haerlemsche courant, 19-9-1727.

[75] The commission was the prime actor in the negotiations with the French government. See: *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18-11-1797.

[76] Manual searching in *Delpher* shows other combinations, but they appear only once in the corpus and do not reach the frequency threshold. Since the 1810s contain many OCR-errors, in particular due to the litatured 's', resulting in 'buitenlandfche' I merged different spellings of 'buitenlandsche' using edit distance. OCR-variations in the words following the adjective also occur, such as "bergten" instead of "berigten".

Frequency and productivity only tell us about the 'behavior' of the *foreign*-vocabulary as a whole. If we use concepts as ways to historical change, however, we also want to know what specific words and concepts were present in the vocabulary, and how these words and concepts related to historical change. For this reason the bigrams are clustered in a data-driven way (as explained in the second chapter). The bigrams in the first period can be divided in three separate yet historically intertwined clusters: newspaper communication, diplomacy and trade/commerce (Figure 6).
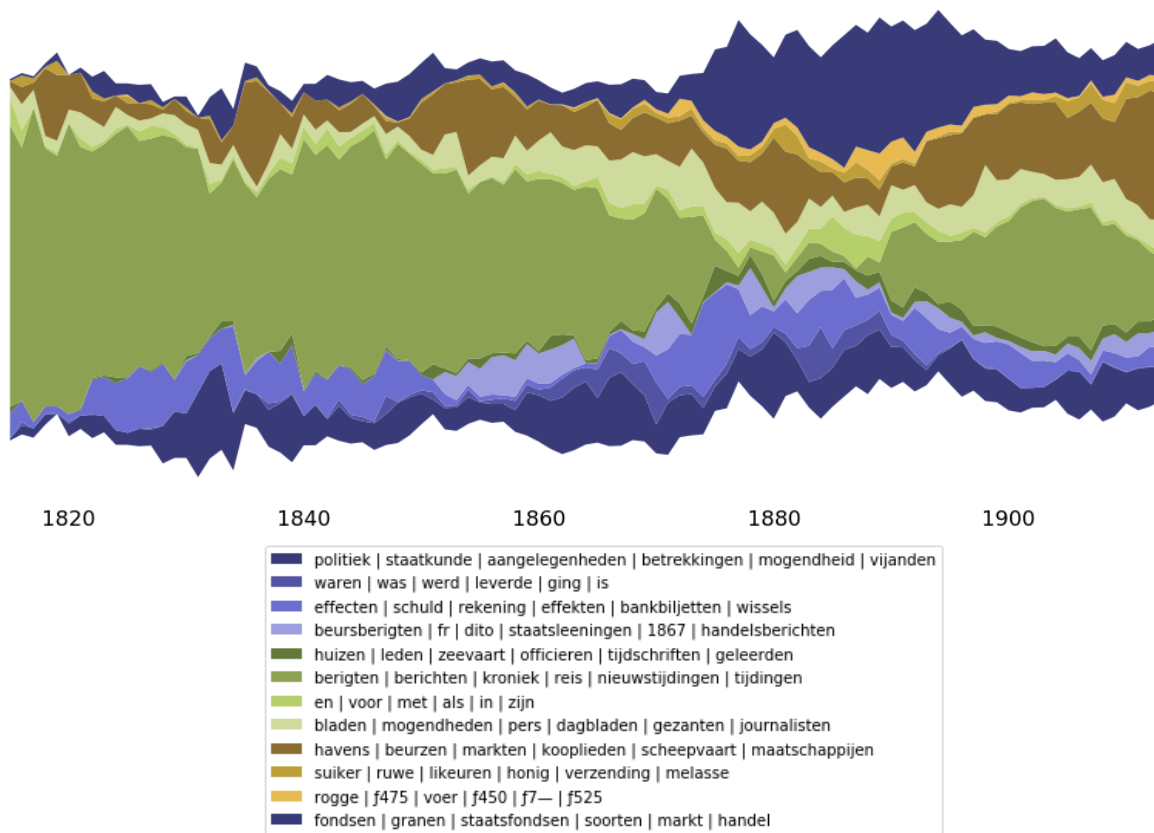
Figure 6. Diachronic Cluster Distribution of *Buitenlandsche* bigrams (12 Clusters). The visualization shows the cluster distribution. This means that the share of the cluster is relative to the sum of all cluster frequencies. The method of clustering, aggregating and visualizing is described in the methodological chapter. K-means requires the manual setting of k (the number of clusters). There are no statistical methods that can determine the optimal number of clusters. For this reason, different clusters were analyzed. Ultimately, a k of twelve proved to be the most historically sound. The resulting cluster visualization shows more than three clusters, but, as visible, some clusters clearly belong together.

The first cluster revolves around words such as *berigten* ("reports"), *nieuws* ("news") and *bladen* ("periodicals"). Often, news from abroad was presented under the heading of "foreign reports" or "reports from abroad". The titles and headings that use the adjective *buitenlandsche* were therefore crucial in categorizing space. They determined what did and what did not count as *foreign*, as well as how the category of *foreign* was structured. The appearance of foreign news in the dominant newspapers between

1815-1855 (*Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, *Dagblad van `s Gravenhage*, *Algemeen Handelsblad* and the *Rotterdamsche Courant*) reveals this dynamic of structuration. In the first period, news from abroad was often titled *buitenlandsche berigten* or *buitenlandsche nieuwstijdingen*, and the articles shared under these titles were often categorized based on the nations to which the news applied (Figure 7).[77] From the perspective of the "mental map" it strikes how nations were by no means the only or dominant category.[78] Once we look at the articles, cities seem equally important in structuring space. News travelled between cities, and the editors of newspapers in those cities. Rantanen even speaks of "cosmopolitan cities" that acted as hubs in large networks of newspaper exchange, from the early days of handwritten news (in the sixteenth century) onwards. This also applied to the early nineteenth-century Dutch context. Important is the frequent reference to other periodicals in this network of news-exchange. Articles were often based on, or direct copies of, reports previously printed in French, British or German periodicals. This resulted in a high degree of volatility. If no news from a particular city was received by the Dutch editors either nothing was printed or the newspaper reported that there was nothing to report. Newspapers hereby varied heavily in their structure, and within the category of *buitenlandsche berigten* there were no consistently used or fixed categories. The first cluster of newspaper-related language hereby shows us how *buitenland* in the current-day sense of the word did not exist on paper. Instead, foreign space appeared as an alternating multiplicity of regions that was discussed in a highly volatile manner on the early nineteenth-century newspaper pages.

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[77] Specific newspapers, such as the *Leeuwarder Courant* and the *Middelburgsche Courant*, did not maintain these kind of general titles but only used the names of specific nations or empires in their reporting. Interestingly, this 'atomistic' way of structuring news did often not visually differentiate between news from the own nation ("the Netherlands") and other nations. See for example: *Leeuwarder Courant*, 26-11-1830 and *Middelburgsche Courant*, 12-7-1825.

[78] T. Rantanen, 'The Cosmopolitization of News', *Journalism Studies* 8:6 (2007) 843-861.

The second group of words that can be observed in the clustered bigrams revolves around diplomacy and inter-national[79] relations. In the first period, the bigram *buitenlandsche zaken*, referring to the Dutch Ministry/Bureau of Foreign Affairs, towers above all other bigrams with an average yearly frequency of 824, whereas the second-highest scoring bigram ("foreign reports") reached only 499. Diplomacy-related words also featured frequently among the bigrams that entered the corpus, as well as in the aggregated context words that surrounded the adjective *buitenlandsche*.[80] Surprising is the large share of language referring to individual, human actors in diplomatic practice. Words such as "king", "minister", "succession" and "prince" dominate until the 1840s. Aggregated context words show how the concept of *buitenland* was used in a discourse focussed on envoys, negotiations and treaties, a discourse that revolved around the interaction of princes and aristocratic elites, aimed at friendship and harmony among the nations. The sovereigns of Europe were to sustain an *Algmeene Vrede* ("general peace") through *staatkundige berekeningen* ("political calculations").[81] The use of the concept of *buitenland* in this discourse was thus marked by a high degree of anthropomorphism. Instances of *buitenland* often related to a space where individuals (kings, princes, diplomats) acted to achieve friendship and good relations.

As Evgeny Roshchin points out, the idea(l) of friendship and amity as the bedrock of peaceful relations between sovereigns originated in early modern political philosophy. Roshchin observes an *inter pares* model of public friendship emerging in the writings of various authors, and in particular the Hobbesian conception of the state. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English philosophical treatises on republicanism, princely friendship transformed into a form that centered human collectives, and specifically nations.[82] The post-Napoleonic Europe of 1815-1855 is characterized by Roshchin as one where the concept of friendship has lost its human character. However, as becomes apparent from the bigrams and context words, the 'everyday' ways of talking about diplomacy and inter-national relations were (still) very much focused on individuals sovereigns.

The discursive context of diplomacy identified in the first period points at the socio-political use of the concept. In other words, the function of *buitenland* went far beyond merely designating what was spatially inside and outside. One consequence of the discursive context of diplomacy was the imposition of limits on what actually counted as *buitenland*. As diplomatic practice was seen as the "normal product of advanced civilization", countries or cultures that did not meet the European ideals of civilization and

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[79] Because the conceptual history of 'international' will be discussed later in the research the term "inter-national" is chosen as a way to refer to "between nations" in a less anachronistic way.

[80] For example "enemies" (1821), "interests" (1827) and "government" (1843). These words were extracted by taking a window of twenty four words left and right of the adjective and subsequently summing the frequencies of these words.

[81] See for example: *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 3-4-1834.

[82] E. Roshchin, 'The concept of friendship: From princes to states', *European Journal of International Relations*, 12:4 (2006) 599-624.

friendly sovereign interaction fell outside the scope of this discourse.[83] As a consequence, what counted as *buitenland* was more than just a matter of geography: many non-European regions and cultures were not referred to as *buitenland*, simply because they did not partake in the discursive context of diplomacy.

The third cluster of words relates to the adjective centers around trade and commerce.[84] Clearly, *foreign* was used often to modify products, people and places that related to the commercial exchange of goods. Similar to bigrams such as *buitenlandsche berigten*, the most frequent bigrams in this trade-related cluster originated in newspaper headings and titles. The *Leeuwarder Courant* provided details on the coming and going of ships in the Frisian harbors under the heading of *buitenlandsche scheepvaart* ("foreign shipping") (1818-1847) and the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* printed details on *buitenlandsche effekten* ("foreign securities") (1816-1834). Besides the bigrams originating in headings and titles, the most frequently occurring bigrams in the cluster are *markt* "market", *schuld* ("debt") and *rekening* ("budget"). Foreign markets were often discussed as independently evolving entities (signified by the frequently occurring term *stemming* ("mood") that influenced the prices and hereby the general state of commerce.[85] Foreign debt was also a popular topic in the newspapers. Especially after the 1830s many newspaper regularly published the state of the sovereign debt.[86] Lastly, *buitenlandsche rekening* was used to denote the goods that were sold by foreign parties. The *buitenlandsche rekening* was often contrasted with national or domestic consumption.[87] The use of these bigrams demonstrates how the concept of *buitenland* often appeared in conjunction with the idea of the national community. Here, associations and senses of interdependence and relationality were prominent. Foreign things in the context of commerce always related in some way or another to the national (economic) community. Hereby, the commerce-related language of foreignness in many ways demonstrates a functional and relatively inclusive conception of foreignness.

3.2.2 "Buitenlander"

Similar to *buitenland* and *buitenlandsche* the noun *buitenlander* ("foreigner") entered the newspaper discourse in the early eighteenth century. Until the 1750s however, it was scarcely used, probably due to the frequent usage of *vreemdeling* ("stranger"), a concept dealt with in the following chapter. In the late

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[83] Osterhammel, The Transformation of the World, 496

[84] The visualizations show multiple clusters related to commerce and trade.

[85] See for example: Algemeen Handelsblad, 1-4-1846, Dagblad van `s Gravenhage, 19-2-1841 and Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche courant, 17-2-1846.

[86] Especially *Algemeen Handelsblad* included information on foreign debt. Moreover, the years 1830s are identified as the period when the system of sovereign debts was established, a process largely driven by information asymmetries. See: M. Flandreau and J. H. Flores, 'Bonds and Brands: Foundations of Sovereign Debt Markets, 1820–1830', *The Journal of Economic History* 69:3 (2009) 646-684.

[87] See for example: *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche courant*, 17-4-1847 and *Leydse Courant*, 16-6-1646.

eighteenth and early nineteenth century newspaper discourse, we find three conceptual forms of *buitenlander*. First, *buitenlander* appeared as a legal-administrative concept. Here the foreigner was contrasted with the *ingezetene* ("resident" or "inhabitant", also translated as "citizen").[88] Everyone outside the borders of the city or province was defined as a *vreemdeling* ("stranger") or *buitenlander* ("foreigner").[89] Especially in the *Staatscourant* various directives are published that concern foreigners. Often, these directives discussed the rights and liberties of foreigners that resided, traded or maintained businesses in the Netherlands.[90]

The second form in which we encounter the foreigner in the newspaper corpus is as an external referent or observer that functioned as a means to compare. Comparisons between the foreign and the domestic form part of the history of foreignness from the eighteenth century onwards, and the foreigner is no exception. In the newspapers, he/she foreigner appears as an actor in an economy of information. Information is either known or unknown to the foreigner. The invocation of the foreigner as an information-owning or information-lacking actor usually took the form of an *argumentum ab auctoritate*, an appeal to authority. This kind of argument often led to the classification of something as valuable or important, or to a certain plea for action. The rhetorical use of the foreigner appeared, for example, often in the context of debates about Dutch literature that was mirrored with "*buitenlandsche letterkunde* ("foreign literature"), or destined to "become known to the foreigner".[91]

The rhetorical generality of the "Foreigner" leads to the third and last sense in which we find the word. In the first period, this abstract generality often reached the level of statehood. The anthropomorphized European states were also referred to as foreigners, always in the capitalized singular form ("Buitenlander"). One could have "trade relations with the Foreigner"[92], one could be subject to the "fatal influence of The Foreigner"[93], or make a fool of oneself "in the eyes of the Foreigner".[94] The concept of the foreigner thus maintained several faces. Newspaper that discussed the foreigner as an individual often discussed its rights and liberties. Current day normative connotations are only found on a more general level, when the foreigner referred to the Other, and was used to compare or to denote relations

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[88] I. de Haan, P. den Hoed and H. te Velde, *Een Nieuwe Staat. Het Begin van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam 2013).

[89] M. Schrover, 'Burgers, Ingezetenen en Vreemdelingen', in: I. de Haan, P. den Hoed and H. te Velde, *Een Nieuwe Staat. Het Begin van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam 2013) 243-245.

[90] See for example: Middelburgsche Courant, 2-1-1821, 2, 's Gravenhaagsche Courant, 14-2-1817 and Nederlandsche Staatscourant, 16-6-1821.

[91] "We see with pleasure how the fruits of Dutch origin (...) also become known to the foreigner". *Bredasche Courant*, 30-4-1837.

[92] *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 12-1-1822: "handelsbetrekkingen met den Buitenlander".

[93] *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 5-2-1822: "noodlottigen invloed van den Buitenlander", and *Middelburgsche Courant*, 2-12-1824: "ons aan den Buitenlander te onderwerpen".

[94] *De Tijd*, 4-8-1853: "voorhands maken wij kathechizeerende Hollanders ons belachelijk bij den Buitenlander".

with an abstract *Buitenlander*.

3.2.3 "Buitenland"

The rhetorical motif of *De Buitenlander* demonstrates out that the (anthropomorphized) idea of a uniform and singular foreign already existed in the early nineteenth century. In fact, the phrase "(in) het buitenland" (the conceptual and linguistic outcome of such a singular conception) featured in the *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant* as early as 1816. Still, it was used only incidentally until the 1840s. We are thus confronted with a puzzle. Obviously, foreignness exists in many discourses and semantic areas. However, its singularized form was not yet widely used. This friction can be understood by looking at the process of singularization as put forward by Koselleck. The German historian argues that the generality of the singular follows the complexity of the non-singular. In other words, the so-called *Kollektivsingular* is formed under the pressure of complexity. A complex multitude of histories leads to the emergence of History, and a variety of modern things leads to the idea of modernity.

Similarly, the early nineteenth century can be regarded as a period of growing complexity. As observed in the rising productivity scores, the range of foreign things expanded significantly. However, the clusters and discursive context that were identified show that there was more to the foreign than just foreign things. For this reason, we should interpret the concept of *buitenland* in the first period as a constellation of "foreignities": spheres of action where foreign elements (states, princes, merchants or debts) featured as acting entities. Of course, these spheres of action were not entirely separated from geographical boundaries. The interaction and comparison that featured in these spheres of action were often intra-European: between a European community of "juridically equal partners".[95] Another notable feature of these "foreignties" in light of the process of singularization is the appearance of the adjective used as the noun (a so-called "adjectival noun"). In 1816 the *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* spoke of "vreemde schippers, niet in het buitenlandsch lastgeld betalende".[96] The fact that the foreign shipmasters paid taxes not abroad, but "in the foreign" supports this idea of distinct spheres of action that could maintain an element of foreignness. The rise of the singular starts in the 1840s. In 1844, the expression occurs 19 times in the corpus. Ten years later, this number has risen to 185. In this period, the phrase appears simply as a variant of the other ways to refer to foreign space.

The first period thus shows an extensional expansion of the concept of *buitenland*. At the same time, the concept stayed closed to its eighteenth century origins. In the discursive contexts of newspapers, diplomacy and commerce the foreign was volatile concept. It was tied to specific (institutional) spheres of action. Foreignness was therefore not so much 'original' (based on national origin), as well as functional

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[95] Paul W. Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics*, 1763-1848 (Oxford 1996) 9.

[96] *Nederlandsche staatscourant*, 23-10-1816.

in these contexts. The foreign appeared as a volatile category in the newspapers, as a community of fellow sovereigns in the diplomatic discourse, as a status of non-residence and as a component of the national economy. On the other hand, early uses of foreign in its later (singular) form also appear, for example in the general use of *buitenlander*, and hint at the changes that mark the concept in later decades.

3.3 1855-1880

3.3.1 "Buitenlandsche"

The years between 1855 and 1880 can be seen as a key moment of change in the conceptual history of *buitenland*. From the 1850s onwards, the growth in productivity accelerated (Figure 8). After 1860 the productivity level stabilized, only to see peaks in 1867 and 1869 and a relative decrease after 1869.[97] Similar patterns are found in the creativity counts. After 1848 the number of new bigrams found in the newspapers increased significantly. Whereas the 1840s saw an average creativity of thirteen bigrams a year, this number had risen to twenty-three in the 1850s and twenty-four in the 1860s. Once we look into the actual bigrams that cause this rise in creativity it strikes how semantically diverse the newborn words are. Many were related to the dominant bigrams in this era, but the second period sees the introduction of words of an hitherto unseen level of variation and detail. *Springhengsten* ("racehorses"), *bajonetten* ("bayonets"), *voererwten* ("peas") and *ingenieurs* ("engineers"): the range of things that was seen, and could potentially be seen as foreign was extended dramatically. Moreover, the variation and specificity of the new words modified as being foreign did not limit themselves to material things. Along with chickpeas and bayonets came the designation of more abstract words such as *wetgeving* ("jurisdiction") and *nationaliteit* ("nationality") as foreign. This extension and the high level of semantic specificity that came with it, ties in with the notion of "democratization", one of the four leading hypotheses that formed the guiding lights for the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe (GG)* project. In the *GG*, democratization is used as a (methodological) concept that points at the use of a (historical) concept by an increasingly broader range of social groups. Of course, thematic productivity and social extension are not necessarily correlated. Other sources would have to be involved to support the idea of democratization. Still, the fact that the adjective was now applied to things that were not diplomacy or commerce-related is followed by the

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[97] This drop is related to the drop in relative frequency of "buitenlandsche" in the years after 1869. There is no clear explanation for this sudden drop. Dutch newspaper historians often point to the 1869 eradication of the "dagbladzegel". After Dutch liberals, and a influential lobby of newspaper publishers managed to convince parliament to eradicate the tax, newspaper circulation and size exploded Newspapers also gained the opportunity to deliver more national and local news, resulting in a decrease in foreign news, and possibly also the word "buitenlandsche". See: Hemels, *De Nederlandse pers voor en na de afschaffing van het dagbladzegel in 1869* and De Graaf, *Journalistiek in beweging*, 65.

conclusion that the adjective had *potential* to be uttered by an increasing number of people, because it touched upon more aspects of social life. With foreign modifying words such as *rabbijnen* ("rabbis"), *scholen* ("schools") and *dames* ("ladies"), the associations of the newspaper-reading public with the concept of *buitenland* was extended.
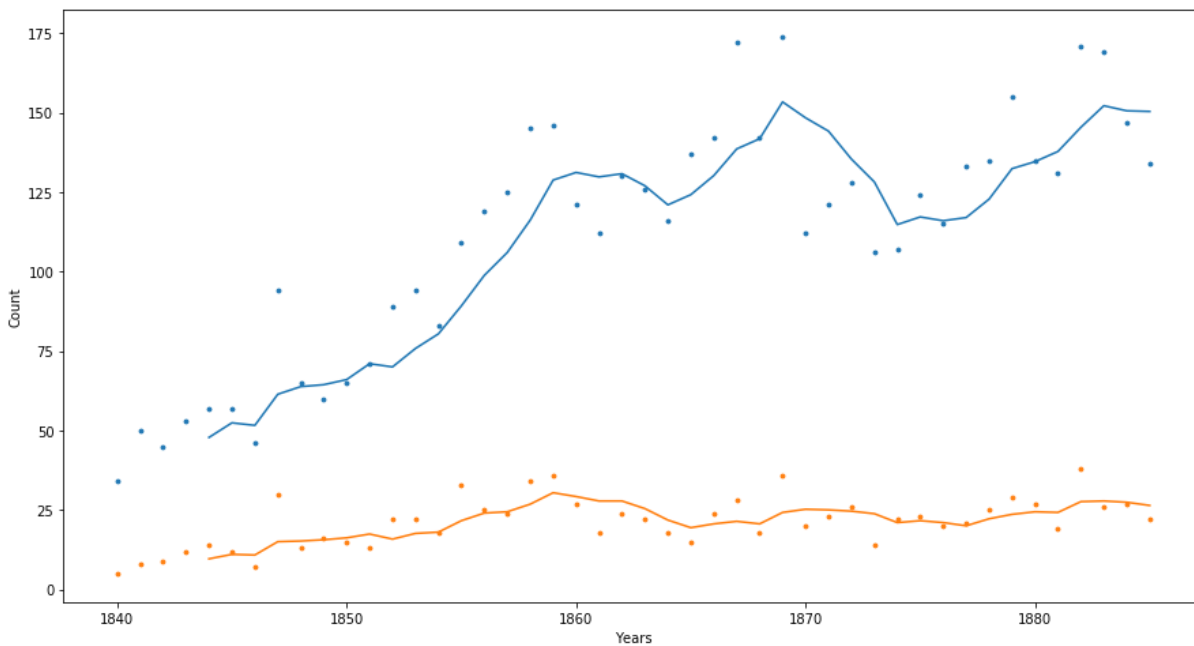
Figure 8. Productivity (blue) and Creativity (orange) Scores 1840-1885. The y-axis shows the absolute number of different bigrams. The lines represent the rolling mean of the observations. Productivity (blue) refers to the number of different bigrams used. Creativity (orange) refers to the number of new bigrams created yearly. As visible, the productivity scores show continuous growth. From the 1850s the growth accelerates.

With regard to the clusters, we see a continuation of the dominance of diplomacy and commerce (Figure 6). The internal distribution of the third cluster, however, shows more complex forms of change. Bigrams related to news, reports and newspapers dramatically decreased in relative frequency over the course of the second period. Especially *berigten* ("reports") and *dagbladen* ("periodicals" or "journals") disappeared almost completely in the 1860s and 1870s. This stems from the transition to *buitenland*, as the new title/heading for articles containing foreign news. The *Nederlandsche Staatscourant* changed its headings in 1875, the *Algemeen Handelsblad* already in the late 1830s, the *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage* in 1856[98], the *Rotterdamsche Courant* in 1853 and the *Middelburgsche Courant* in 1860.

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[98] The *Dagblad* seems to explain its choice to do so, but unfortunately the part of the page where this explanation is located is folded and thus not digitally available. See: *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage*, 1-1-1856, 1. <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:000011329:mpeg21:p001> (Accessed 30-03-2019).

The *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1844) and *Nieuws van den Dag* (1870) maintained a *buitenland* category from their founding years. Many newspapers that had their roots in the eighteenth century, such as the *Bredasche Courant*, the *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, did not switch to *buitenland* until their final days in respectively 1870 and 1869. There is no common motivation behind the change to the *buitenland* heading. In the case of the *Dagblad* and the *Rotterdamsche Courant*, it coincided with the decision to publish the newspaper on a daily basis.[99] The *Middelburgsche Courant* changed suddenly, without any particular reason, in the last days of 1860.

The birth of this new category of foreign news, now announced with bold fonts and decorated lines, also came with a change in content. Newspapers such as *De Tijd*, *Middelburgsche Courant* and the *Provinciale Zwolsche en Asscher Courant* started their columns on *Buitenland* with "algemeen nieuws": general news from abroad.[100] In these sections, news was not structured along the lines of specific nations or cities, although this type of reports often followed this 'general' foreign news (Figure 9). Although computational methods[101] could further elucidate the particular character of this new category of general foreign news, it seems that the advent of this category coincided with the gradual increase of reports on foreign *fait divers*: various facts that went beyond the usual diplomatic reporting and included news on for example science and inventions.[102] Nationally structured reports often followed this general category, along with reports that reached the editors via the telegraph.[103]

The higher degree of singularity expressed through these categories of general foreign news corresponded with other changes in the cluster of newspaper communication. Especially bigrams such as *buitenlandsche bladen* and *buitenlandsche pers* saw an increase in frequency. These bigrams often co-occurred with *reports*. In the articles that mention these terms close together, we find how gradually the explicit references to foreign periodicals were complemented by phrases similar to "reports from abroad" and "reports in the foreign journals". In other words, a more general way of referencing the foreign in the communicative sphere took hold of the newspapers. Two aspects are recurring in these invocations of a general foreign press. First, newspapers quarreled with this abstract foreign press over truth and validity. Home-printed news was not seldom "contrary to the reports in foreign journals".[104] Also, the foreign press was identified as responsible for a constant influx of reports. The foreign press delivered "the latest

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[99] *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage*, 1-1-1856 and *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 1-7-1856.

[100] *De Tijd*, 1-1-1874.

[101] To investigate this change article titles were extracted from the .xml-files, but in light of the inconsistent article segmentation, this did not yield clear results.

[102] De Graaf, *Journalistiek in Beweging*, 66.

[103] See for example the category "Per Telegraaf" in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 30-09-1861, where messages from Turin, Paris, New York, Liverpool, Southhampton, Nantes and Pesth were printed.

[104] See for example: *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 29-4-1867, *Nieuws van den Dag*, 10-4-1875 and *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche courant*, 1-11-1877.

reports" and "no day passes without new reports from the foreign journals".[105] This shows us how more general categories of foreignness, also found in the earlier mentioned titles and headings, were not only used more often, but also saw the immediate attachment of specific semantic properties and associations.

Figure 9. The Structure of Foreign News in the Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage, 3-2-1857 (left), Middelburgsche Courant, 1-1-1865 (top right) and De Tijd, 9-1-1874 (bottom right).

With regard to the diplomacy-related cluster, the second period also came with significant changes. Three patterns in word use can be noticed in the bigrams and word embeddings. First, the emergence of foreign *policy*. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, newspapers often spoke of *buitlandsche staatkunde*: the art of (foreign) statehood.[106] As every art, *staatkunde* rested on founding principles and was practiced by the artist (the statesman).[107] In the 1850s and 1860s, *staatkunde* was challenged by *politiek* ("politics").

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[105] See for example: *De Tijd*, 30-3-1877 and *Nieuws van den Dag*, 5-1-1877.

[106] Peter Weiland, *Nederduitsch Letterkundig Woordenboek. Deel 2*. (Antwerp 1844) 241. The word is likely to originate in the German context, where "Staatenkunde" formed part of the politico-scientific context of cameralism and "Polizeiwissenschaften". See: R. vom Bruch, 'Zur Historisierung der Staatswissenschaften von der Kameralistik zur historischen Schule der Nationalökonomie', *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 8:3 (1985) 131-146.

[107] *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 21-1-1828. "De Groote grondregelen der binnen- en buitenlandsche staatskunde van ons

As parliamentary practices institutionalized in the Netherlands, foreign policy was increasingly malleable and subject to the political wishes of shifting majorities. *Buitenlandsche politiek*, as an area of political decision-making followed in the wake of the establishment of parliamentary bodies. Words such as *regering* ("government") and *belangen* ("interests") increasingly surround both *staatkunde* and *politiek* after the late 1840s. This process did not mean the decline of aristocratic diplomacy. On the contrary, public diplomacy, performed by the European family of monarchs, played a crucial role in nineteenth century *Realpolitik* and was considered a new element in the mid nineteenth-century diplomacy.[108] Still, it was precisely this public nature of diplomacy that changed its very foundations. Foreign policy itself became a public, and thereby a political phenomenon; something that could be debated in parliament, as well as in newspapers, where opinions and reflections on the desired course of foreign policy flowed freely (often in the immediate context of parliamentary debates that were printed in full).[109] Using vector space models, this shift can be visualized (Figure 10). By selecting terms most similar to words such as "king", "prince", "duke" and "queen", as well as terms similar to for example "cabinet", "ministry", "state" and "government" a *vector scale* was constructed. This was done by calculating the mean vectors for both groups of words, resulting in the mean vectors V(personal) and V(political). Subsequently, these vectors can be subtracted to create a new vector V(personal-political). In this way, we can measure the cosine similarity between a word and this V(political-personal). If the similarity is positive, the word is closer to V(personal). If the similarity is negative, it is closer to V(political). By aligning the models, the change over time in this similarity to V(political-personal) can be calculated. The figure (Figure 10) shows how throughout the nineteenth century, the word *buitenland* moved 'away' from the 'personal' words, although it never passes zero (the red line). This is likely to result from the continuing importance of individual kings and dukes in diplomacy. Still, the figure shows a clear shift towards a more institutional use of the concept of *buitenland*.

Rijk hebben slechts zeldzaam gedeeltelijke, maar nooit wezenlijke veranderingen ondergaan. Zij waren door een groot Staatsman op eenen vasten grond gebouwd en na zijnen dood behoefden zijne opvolgers (...) het eenhoofdige en grondwettige gebouw, aan hunne zorg toevertrouwd slechts ongeschonden te bewaren".

[108] Johannes Paulmann, *Pomp und Politik. Monarchenbegegnungen in Europa zwischen Ancien Regime und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Paderborn 2000) 295.

[109] See for example: *Arnhemsche Courant*, 23-9-1861.
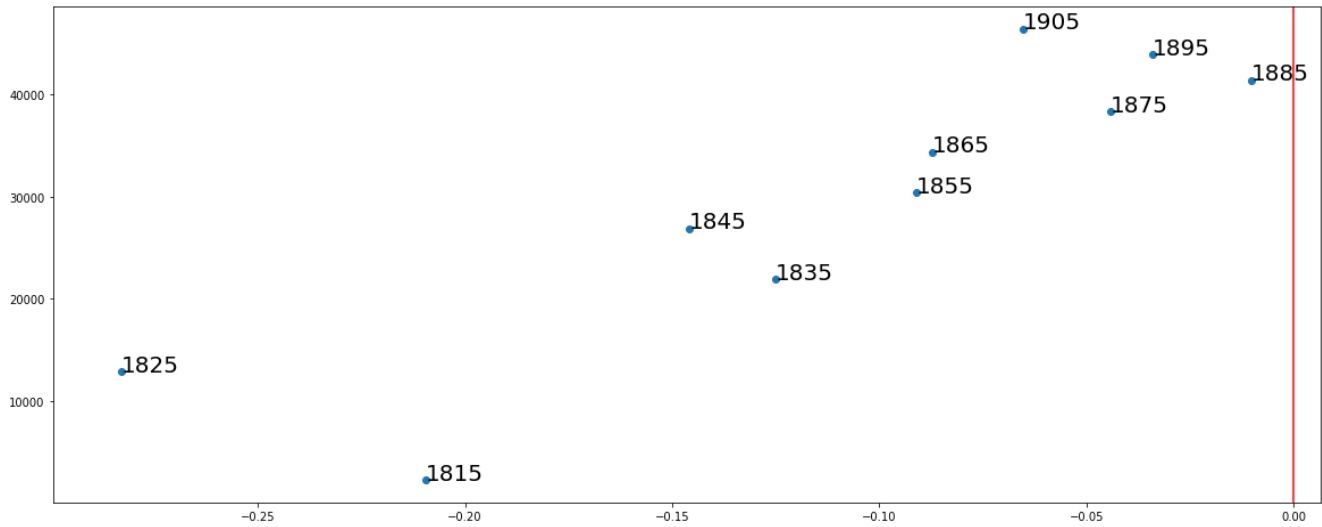
Figure 10. From Princes to Ministries in Vector Space. The x-axis shows the cosine similarity to V(personal) - V(political). The Y-axis shows the absolute frequency of the word "buitenland" in the respective model. The dots show the similarity of buitenland to V(personal-political). This means that the farther left the year, the closer it is to V(personal) and the farther right, the closer buitenland is to V(political). The average vectors V(political) and V(personal) are constructed based on a list of seed terms. For V(political) these words are: 'kabinet', 'ministerie', 'staat', 'regering' and 'politiek'. For V(personal) these words are: 'koning', 'prins', 'hertog', 'koningin', 'keizer' and 'hertogin'.

The birth of foreign policy ran parallel with change in what was believed to be the object of foreign policy or *staatkunde*. As explained earlier, the discourse on aristocratic and princely diplomacy rested on personal relations and friendship. From the 1850s onwards, a more technical or institutional discourse formed. Matters regarding foreign politics were therefore also increasingly spoken of in terms of *quaesties* ("issues") and *vraagstukken* ("questions"). The *Oostersche Vraagstuk* ("Eastern Question") for example was a common way to refer to geopolitical issues regarding Russia and the Ottoman Empire.[110] Similarly, the *Chinese Kwestie* ("Chinese Question") featured in the late 1850s.[111] Overall, dozens of nations acquired their own *kwestie* or *vraagstuk* in the mid nineteenth century (Figure 11). In response to these questions, (European) governments were expected to form a *houding* ("attitude" or "position"). As explained earlier, the ultimate goal of this diplomatic constellation in the first period was a general peace. This concept did not vanish in the second period, but it seems that the Europe-oriented focus on peace and stability was increasingly complemented, if not replaced, by a focus on national interests and *national*

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[110] The "Eastern Question" existed well before the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the 1850s saw a more generalized way of speak of this matter. See: Korina Kagan, 'The myth of the European concert: The realist-institutionalist debate and great power behavior in the eastern question, 1821–41', *Security Studies* 7:2 (1997) 1-57 and Paul Auchterlonie, 'From the eastern Question to the death of General Gordon: representations of the middle east in the Victorian Periodical Press, 1876–1885', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 28:1 (2001) 5-24.

[111] *Middelburgsche Courant*, 31-1-1861.

security (*buitenlandsche veiligheid*).[112] In case of the Dutch foreign policy, the second period also witnesses the advent of neutrality as the cornerstone for the Dutch stance towards the world.[113] All in all, the second period saw the advent of a kind of political foreign space that was structured and ordered in terms of questions and issues that required the "stimulus of a rationalizing administrative power".[114]
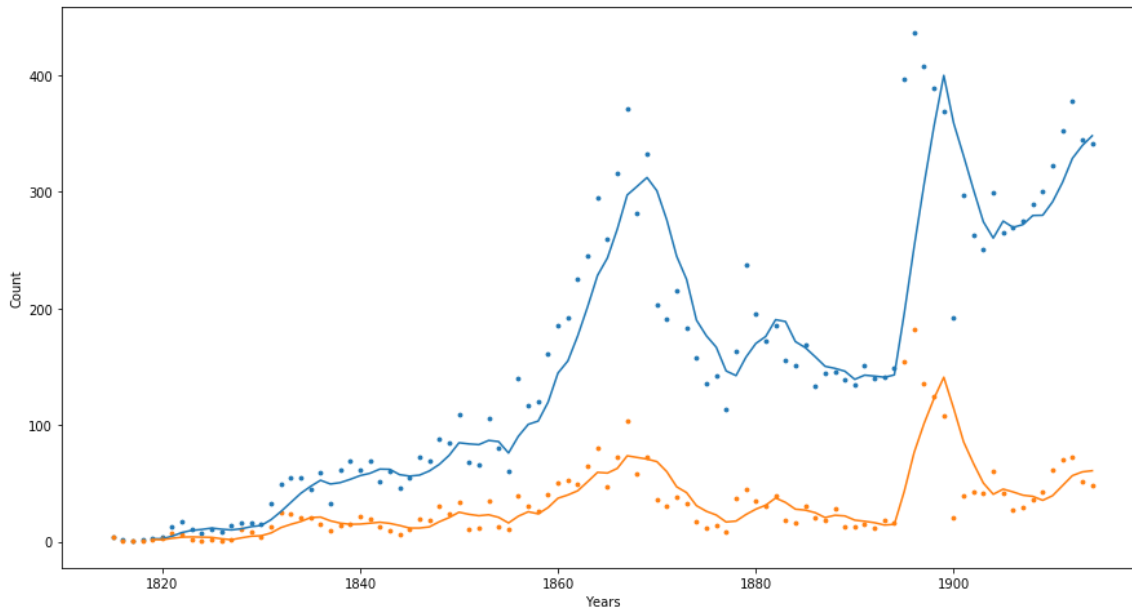
Figure 11. Productivity (blue) and Creativity (orange) Scores for bigrams ending with *kwestie* or *vraagstuk* 1815-1914. The y-axis shows the absolute number of different bigrams. The lines represent the rolling mean of the observations. Productivity (blue) refers to the number of different bigrams used. Creativity (orange) refers to the number of new bigrams created yearly. Especially the 1860s appear as a period of growth. The most obvious explanation for this pattern is the conflicts, such as the Italian War of Independence and the American Civil War that marked the decade.

The third, commerce-related, cluster shows another set of conceptual changes. Striking in the newly introduced bigrams is the number of different commercial goods modified as being foreign. Sugar, rice, peas and buckwheat: a large variety of products became potentially foreign in nature. This also ties in with the various newspaper categories that appear as attempts to structure the 'international'[115] economy. Newspaper categories titled *buitenlandsche markt* ("foreign market'), *beursberigten* ("reports from the stock exchange") or *marktnieuws* ("market news") reported on the prices of specific products (often in a highly schematic fashion) or reflected on the *stemming* ("mood") of foreign markets in general. The

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[112] Here the efflorescent body of literature on "security culture" is highly relevant. See: Beatrice de Graaf, Ido de Haan, and Brian Vick (eds.). *Securing Europe after Napoleon: 1815 and the New European Security Culture*. (Camridge 2019).

[113] Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage, 09-01-1868

[114] S. Patriarca, *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-century Italy* (Cambridge 1996) 74.

[115] Of course, my use of international here is highly anachronistic. I will discuss the concept of international (in relation to buitenland) in the third chapter.

intense categorization, combined with a staggering increase in numbers in close proximity to the noun[116] shows how interaction with foreign markets, traders and products became a matter of measuring and decision-making. Related to the "democratization" observed in the first period, the foreign in the context of commerce increasingly became something to interact with economically. The fact that more commercial information on foreign goods and markets was printed points at the apparent demand for information on the international market, and thus the closer connection between the newspaper reading public and the things that were identified as foreign.

3.3.2 "Buitenlander"

The interpretation of "the foreigner" as either an individual who resided or labored in the domestic, or a rhetorical figure used in comparisons and references observed in the first period continued in the second period. Foreigners were individuals who traded, labored or simply resided in another country. Derogatory rhetoric was almost non-existent, and when it did occur, the foreigner was used as a narrative trope to refer to foreign states or groups of states, instead of a group of (ethnically) defined individuals. In fact, when sentiments accompanied instances of *buitenlander*, they were mostly positive (although the motif of wealth-extracting foreigners features in the whole nineteenth century).[117] Especially the link between prosperity and foreigners was repeatedly explicated in newspaper: "it is expected that with the peace comes new life in trade and industry, as well as a large rush of foreigners", the author noted. In other words, a return of the days of wealth and splendor".[118] The idea of the foreigner as an integrated and essential component of the national economy also implied the administrative effort to harbor foreigners and promote their activities. Many articles that discuss foreigners are talking about their rights and "responsibilities towards the foreigners".[119]

The foreigner thus constituted implicit assumptions about good statehood and liberal government. These assumptions come forward more clearly in the plethora of articles on the fate of foreigners in Asian nations. Hundreds of articles are dedicated to the discussion of and reflection on the Chinese and Japanese hostility towards foreigners. These discussion must be placed in the context of the mid-nineteenth century efforts by Western powers to persuade, but often enforce, free-trade capitalism in the Far East. The so-called "treaty port system", with its roots in the late eighteenth century mercantilist expansion into Asia

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[116] In the bigram data especially the 1860s are marked by the introduction of bigrams with numbers (for example "buitenlandsche 45". These numbers are the result of commercial information on foreign products and debts being printed in newspapers.

[117] *De Tijd*, 19-10-1865. The author argues that the foreigners "come skimming the profits from our welfare".

[118] *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 16-2-1856. "Daarbij komt, ten laatste, nog dat men met den vrede nieuw leven in handel en nijverheid en een grooten toevloed van buitenlanders verwacht, kortom den terugkeer der dagen van welvaart en luister".

[119] *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 17-2-1862 *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 24-3-1857.

functioned as the backdrop for the, in the words of Osterhammel, paradoxical "illiberal imposition" of free-trade liberalism.[120] The appearance of the foreigner in these types of discussions confirms the idea of integrated foreignness as a necessary precondition for liberal, and probably also 'civilized' statehood.

This discussion of foreignness and the foreigner in relation to the imposed "opening" of Asia also reflects in the vector space locations of *buitenlander* over time. Figure 12 shows the most similar terms to *buitenlander*. In the 1830s and 1840s the neighboring words to *buitenlander* are closely related to commerce and industry. In fact, the 1830 model even shows "traders" to be more central in the semantic field of *buitenlander* than *buitenlander* itself. "Traders", "products" and "fabricates" reveal the earlier mentioned idea of inclusive foreignness: the idea of the foreign as something different, yet integrated in the national (economic) community. From the 1850s, the inclusive-functional conception of foreignness changes. In 1860 the commerce-related words have disappeared and other (socio-spatial) categories have entered the list. "Europeans", "Japanese" and "emigrants" now feature. Although the word2vec algorithm obscures the link between the original article and the words, it seems that the earlier mentioned discussion on Asia also shows in the semantics of *buitenlander*. In fact, the question of the foreigners in Asia seems to coincide with a more general shift towards ethnicity, culture and nationality as the basis for foreignness, as seen in (the persistence of) terms such as "europeans" and "arabs".

1825	**1835**	**1845**	**1855**	**1865**
vreemdelingen	vreemdelingen	vreemdelingen	vreemdelingen	vreemdelingen
handelaars	duitschers	nederlanders	nederlanders	inboorlingen
vreemden	nederlanders	handwerkslieden	inboorlingen	japanners
inboorlingen	dezulke	duitschers	europeanen	europeanen
handelaren	dezulken	dezulken	koplieden	chinezen
fabrikanten	italianen	fabrijkanten	duitschers	inlanders
mededinging	vreemden	dezulke	japanners	emigranten
koplieden	fabrikaten	fabrikaten	chinezen	nederlanders
koopwaren	koplieden	italianen	inlanders	koplieden
fabrikaten	inlanders	koplieden	koopvaarders	volkplanters

Figure 12. The Most Similar Terms to *Buitenlanders* in models trained on decades (1825-1865). Because the word does not

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[120] Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, 494 and W. G. Beasley, 'The foreign threat and the opening of the ports', in: M. Jansen (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan* (Cambridge 1989) 259-307.

3.3.3 "Buitenland"

With regard to the noun *buitenland* the second period sees fundamental change. Several statistics point at the ruptures in word usage. First, the relative frequency of the bigram *het buitenland* (Figure 13). The line shows a steep increase in frequency in the 1840s and 1850s. One consequence of the increased use of *het buitenland* was the appearance of prepositions such as "in", "to" and "from". In the middle of the century phrases such as *naar het buitenland* and *in het buitenland* were used more and more. The use of these phrases demonstrates the treatment of *buitenland* as a concept that denoted a singular space. When traders came "from abroad" (*vanuit het buitenland*) or products were exported abroad (*naar het buitenland*), a new conceptual category was used that treated the foreign as singular.
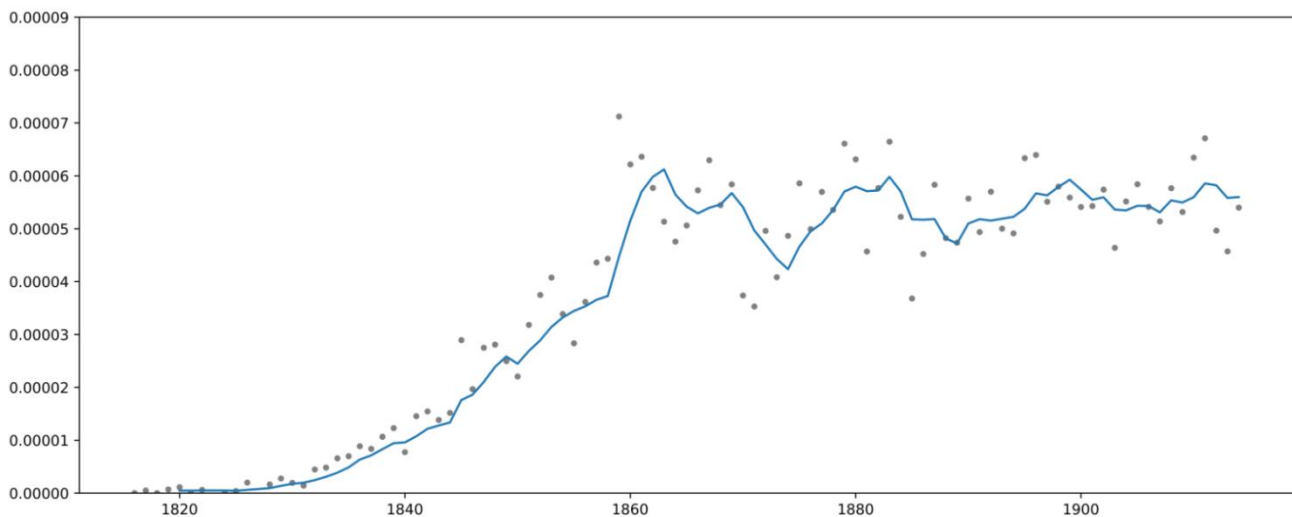
Figure 13. The relative frequency of the bigram "het buitenland". The x-axis shows the years, the y-axis shows the frequency of the bigram "het buitenland" relative to the yearly total number of tokens.

If we expand the window even further to the left and look at the nouns that precede *in het buitenland* or *naar het buitenland*, such as *Nederlanders in het buitenland* ("Dutchmen abroad") or *kooplieden uit het buitenland* ("merchants from abroad"), *naar het buitenland bestemde briefwisseling* ("the foreign exchange of letters"), it becomes clear which entities were discussed in relation to this new singular space.[121] Once we cluster the nouns based on semantic similarity (using *k*-means clustering), several clusters can be observed in the period 1855-1870 (Figure 14). Names of individual nations relate to the

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[121] *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 16-4-1851, *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 15-10-1866 and *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 30-12-1845.

diplomatic discourse, for example in the sentence *de agenten van Frankrijk in het buitenland* ("the agents of France abroad").[122] Also, groups of people are discussed as being or going in and to *het buitenland* (*kunstenaars* ("artists"), *medeburgers* ("fellow citizens") and *uitgewekenen* ("refugees")). Naturally, the commerce-related vocabulary is also recognizable in the network of nouns. Trade interests, trade policy and industry were part of the range of things that was foreign or went abroad.

Besides the diplomacy- and commerce-related vocabulary, one particular group of words draws the attention. Words such as *gebeurtenissen* ("events"), *verwikkelingen* ("developments") and *omstandigheden* ("conditions") feature prominently as things that "are abroad". The *Algemeen Handelsblad* reports how "under the current political circumstances abroad" the revenues (of Norwegian products) has risen.[123] The *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant* speaks of "political circumstances abroad are of such a nature that no one can calculate what influence they may have on our fatherland".[124] The *Middelburgsche Courant* narrates how the "developments abroad caused a full standstill that resulted in the closure of several factories".[125] These examples show how the singular foreign space was inhabited not only by diplomats or products potentially interesting for the Dutch market, but also by more abstract and general categories of conditions and developments. This category shows that in the mid nineteenth century, a singularized foreign was not only conceptually identified, but also immediately 'filled' with singular properties (events, developments and conditions). These properties placed the foreign at a distance. *Het buitenland* was "out there". At the same time, senses of interdependence, causality and uncertainty attached themselves to the concepts. These aspects will be further discussed in the fifth chapter.[126]

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[122] *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 16-7-1858.

[123] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14-7-1849.

[124] *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 18-11-1854.

[125] *Middelburgsche Courant*, 19-7-1862.

[126] *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 26-3-1864 and *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 9-1-1868.
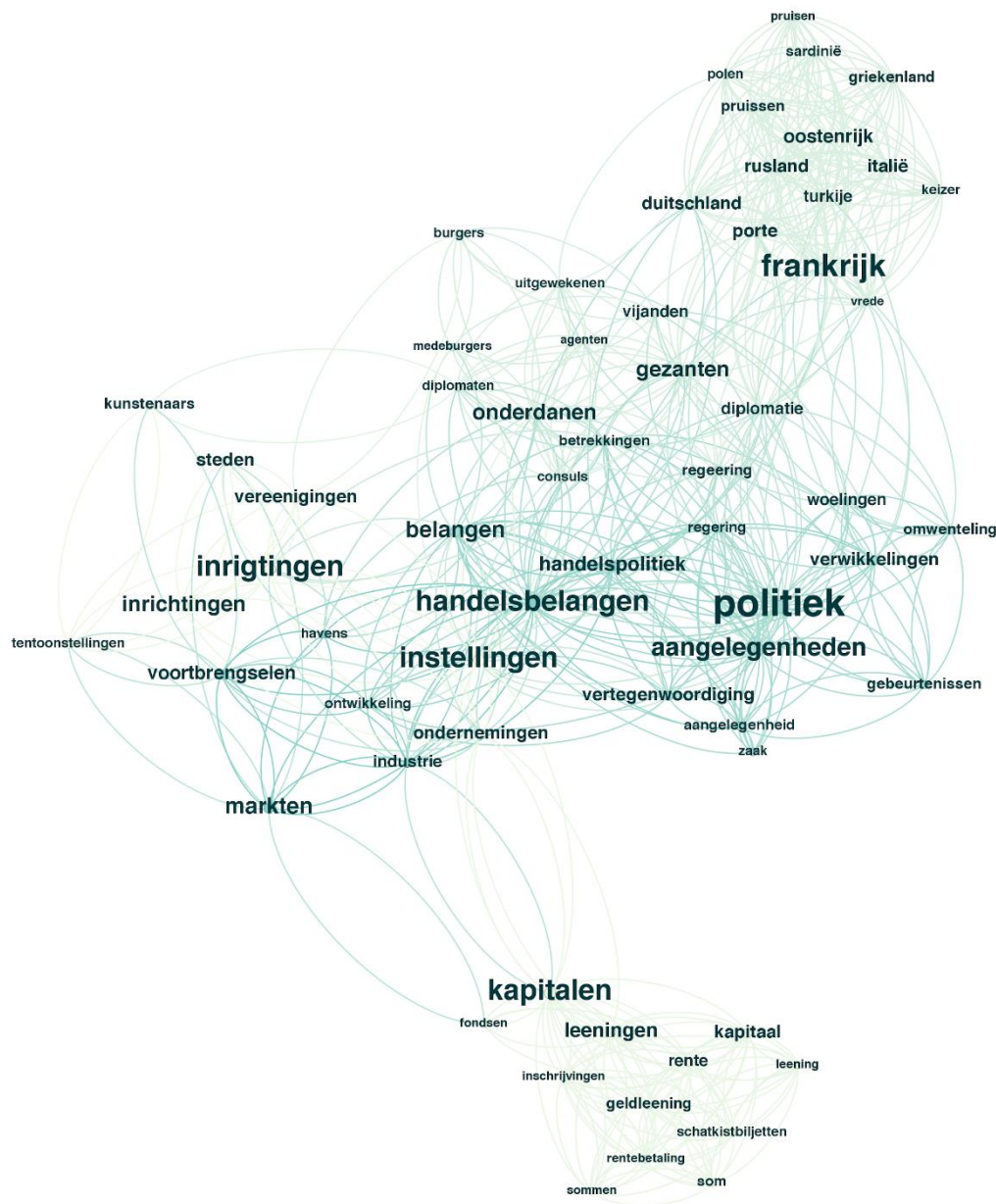
Figure 14. Word preceding *in het buitenland* 1855-1880. Using word embeddings the similarity between the words is calculated. If the similarity is higher than 0.4, the compared words are labeled as related. This results in a list of word pairs that are labeled as either 0 (unrelated) or 1 (related). Once we convert this list in an 'adjacency matrix', it can then be visualized in the open-source visualization tool *Gephi* that automatically clusters the list in groups of words that are related.

In the period 1855-1880 the concept of *buitenland* experienced the most drastic changes. While the complexity of the foreign (as seen in the growth in productivity) continued to expand, the newspaper articles began to speak of the foreign as a singular spatial category. They did so primarily by generalizing and uniformizing foreign news on their newspaper pages. Besides the structure of newspapers themselves the singularization of the foreign also related to the expanding state bureaucracies and the professionalization and institutionalization of diplomatic practice. This accumulated in a discourse that

made use of concepts such as "questions" and "conditions" that drew on a more abstract and general foreign space. While the use of *buitenland* became more general, and hereby abstract, the concept of *buitenlander* saw a shift from being based on functional alienness to original otherness. Foreignness, in the form of singular foreign space or individual foreignness, was thus also combined with new associations of distance, otherness/strangeness and complexity.

3.4 1880 - 1914

3.4.1 "Buitenlandsche"

The third period sees a continuation of the creativity and productivity levels that stabilized in the 1860s and 1870s (Figure 15). The major exception is the period between 1894-1899. Creativity levels increase from below 20 to 180 in 1894, and around 100 between 1895-1899. The cause of this sudden peak lies in the plethora of spelling variations of *staatsfondsen* ("state funds") and *staatsleningen* ("state loans") that enter the corpus in 1895. A closer look at these words leads to the *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, that maintained a newspaper category with information on stock markets and sovereign debts.[127] Titled "Beurs van Amsterdam", this section delivered the latest updates on *buitenlandsche staatsfondsen* ("foreign state funds"), as well as "national state funds". The creativity increases later in the 1910s. While monetary matters continue to generate new bigrams (*buitenlandsche beleggingssoorten* ("foreign investments"), *buitenlandsche effectenportefeuille* ("foreign securities portfolio")) the newly born bigrams in the 1910s show no clear thematic focus. Instead, we see further changes in the clusters already identified.

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[127] *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 9-7-1892
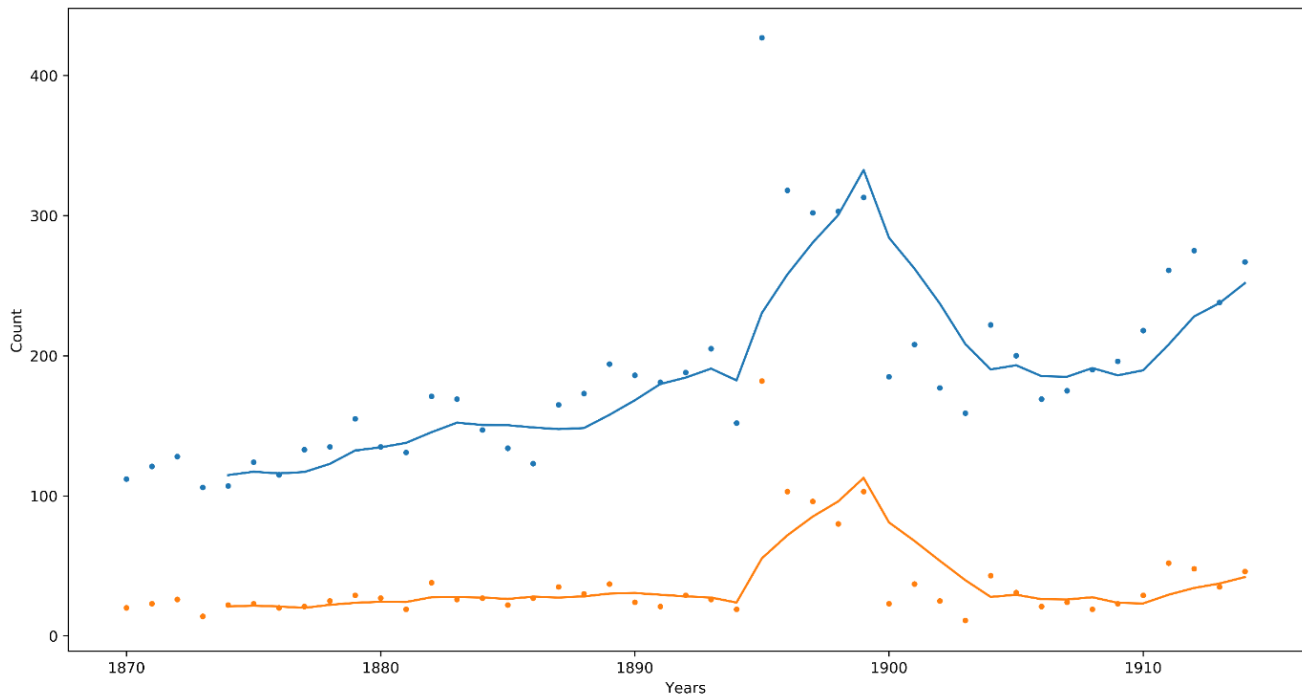
Figure 15. Productivity (blue) and Creativity (orange) Scores for bigrams starting with buitenlandsche 1870-1914. The y-axis shows the absolute number of different bigrams. The lines represent the rolling mean of the observations. Productivity (blue) refers to the number of different bigrams used. Creativity (orange) refers to the number of new bigrams created yearly

The thematic cluster of trade and commerce sees little change in frequency and relative 'importance' vis à vis other cluster. However, two development characterize the cluster in terms of its internal distribution. First, a structural increase in words such as *maatschappijen* ("companies"), *firmas* ("firms"), *ondernemingen* ("enterprises") can be observed around 1880. During this decade, the international economy had transcended the mere exchange of goods between nations. Modern capitalist corporations entered the international consumer market with an "unprecedented directedness" by means of advertisements and cutting-edge technology.[128] The causal factor behind this international corporate sphere was the Second Industrial Revolution. The first Industrial Revolution took decades for its effects to be noticable in everyday life. The waves of innovation that marked the 1880s and 1890s, however, changed society in a fast pace. Economic sectors mechanized at a rapid pace and the mass-produced products were advertised and sold all around the globe.

Besides the emergence of foreign enterprises and firms, there are more signs of a discursive crystallization of a foreign (if not world) economy. Categorizing words such as *soorten* ("kinds"), *noteeringen* ("quotation"), *groepen* ("groups"), *koersen* ("rates") and *markten* ("markets") point at the apparent need to structure the growing complexity of the international economy. Similarly, words related

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[128] Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, 649.

to infrastructure, such as "harbors" and "railroads" show how the foreign space that singularized in the second period was now 'filled'. This process can be understood as an increasing presence of the foreign (economy). In the early nineteenth century the use of *buitenland* in the commercial context was restricted to either micro-transactions (buying cattle from a foreign merchant on the market) or the mercantilist discourse of bilateral trade. Towards the end of the century, a foreign economic reality formed, one that was inhabited by foreign "firms" and "enterprises", structured by means of categories such as "markets" and "rates" and physically filled with "harbors" and "railroads".

As seen in the second period, this identification of a singular foreign space immediately resulted in the attribution of certain conditions to this space. Stock exchange markets, for example, were discussed in terms of their *stemming* ("mood") or *houding* ("attitude").[129] Foreign markets, debts and exchange rates thus acquired individual, human-like characteristics.[130] This conceptual presence of a self-standing foreign economic reality also affected the usage of the concept in relation to the (collective self). Illustrative is the increased frequency of *buitenlandsche concurrentie* ("foreign competition"), a bigram often in combined with verbs such as *het hoofd bieden* ("face", "stand up to"), *bedwongen* ("tamed" or "resisted") and the noun *noodzaak* ("necessity").[131] The words show that the 'home economy' was subject to forces and developments originating in a general *buitenland*, a reality that demanded action.

With regards to the diplomatic foreign space so prominent in earlier periods we see similar development. Especially *buitenlandsche vereenigingen* ("foreign societies") play an important role in the structure of foreign political space that formed in the 1880s and 1890s. The Netherlands was the home of a large variation of societies, ranging from the Neo-Malthusians to the Socialist International. Dutch societies sought relations with foreign societies *van gelijke strekking* ("of a similar kind").[132] There was even a society titled *het Buitenland* that aimed to assist young Dutchmen in pursuing their careers abroad.[133]This emergent civil society - which was often translated in *vereenigingsleven* ("society life") in the late nineteenth century - maintained an explicit international dimension in itself. International events, such as competitions, exhibitions and congresses were often visited by foreign societies.[134] They can be seen as similar to the infrastructure ("harbors", "railroads") that 'filled' singular foreign space.

Thus far I have shown how the interaction was highly dependent on the personal interaction of sovereigns until the 1840s. Lords, princes and kings filled foreign political space with inter-personal travels, negotiations and treaties. Diplomacy-as-friendship eroded during the 1840s and 1850s as

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[129] *Arnhemsche Courant*, 12-1-1883 and *Arnhemsche Courant*, 15-1-1883.

[130] *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 26-11-1894

[131] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 17-3-1883 and *Nieuws van den Dag*, 3-5-1883.

[132] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 22-9-1870.

[133] *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 11-4-1888.

[134] *De Tijd*, 22-8-1888 on the "kegelwedstrijd" visited by various foreign societies and *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, 6-11-1888 on the "Internationaal Werkliedencongres".

parliamentary democratic practices entered the world of diplomacy. States now took on the role of primary actors in inter-national relations. Towards the end of the 19th century, this political way of acting resulted in the personification of the state itself. Nations were now actors most referred to. Context words also show words such as "volk" and "land" appearing in the proximity of "foreign policy". Instead of the state bureaucracies that formed the prime actors in the mid nineteenth century, the last decades of century see the advent of the territorial state that was also explicitly recognized as such. Literature on the conceptual history of "geopolitics" often stresses the "biologization" of space in the late nineteenth century as the prelude to thinking in terms of "living space".[135] While the concept of *buitenland* shows little traces of such a conception it does point at the explicit turn to territory and geography (see also the following section on *buitenland*).

3.4.2 "Buitenlander"

In the 1860s and 1870s the concept of the foreigner slowly turned to ethnicity and culture as its definitive parameters. As seen in the table below this trend continued in the 1880s and 1890s (Figure 16). The foreigner was increasingly defined as the (Oriental) Other, as indicated by words such as *mandarijnen* ("mandarins") and *arabieren* ("arabs"). Besides orientalist motives, colonial mirroring started to concur with the denotation of foreignness. *Inboorlingen* ("natives") and *koelies* ("coolies"), indentured labourers that worked in the Americas after the abolition of slavery) indicate the synonymy of foreigner and colonial other.[136]

The semantic change in *buitenlander* originated not only in imperialism and colonialism. Large-scale migration, especially from the Netherlands to the Transvaal Republic, resulted in an semantic similarity between migrants and foreigners.[137] The most fundamental change was therefore not the

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[135] U. Jureit, *Das Ordnen von Räumen: Territorium und Lebensraum im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg 2012) 127-155. See also: H. H. Herwig, 'Geopolitik: Haushofer, Hitler and Lebensraum', *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 22:2-3 (1999) 218-241, M. Halas, 'searching for the Perfect Footnote: Friedrich Ratzel and the Others at the Roots of Lebensraum', Geopolitics, 19:1 (2014) 1-18 and P. Giaccaria and C. Minca, 'Life in space, space in life: Nazi topographies, geographical imaginations, and Lebensraum', *Holocaust Studies* 22:2-3 (2016) 151-171.

[136] The appearance of the word "koelie" is no coincidence in light of the frequent discussions on foreigners and the "opening" of Asia. The coolie was partially the product of the (enforced) opening of Asian labor markets and the demand in the South-American colonies. See: P.C. Emmer, 'Immigration into the Caribbean; The Introduction of Chinese and East Indian Indentured Labourers Between 1839 and 1917', *Itenario* 14:1 (1990) 61-95 and J. Ankum- Houwink, 'Chinese contract migrants in Surinam between 1853 and 1870', *Boletín De Estudios Latinoamericanos Y Del Caribe,* 17 (1974) 42-68.

[137] The extensive coverage of Transvaal results from the Dutch origin of the "Boers" who settled in South Africa. In many newspaper articles Transvaal was presented as a blissful paradise for the Dutch colonists. In 1880-1881 and 1899-1902 the Boer Wars therefore generated lots of publicity in the Dutch newspapers. See for example *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 5-1-1900. and on Transvaal: J. S. Bergh, 'White farmers and African labourers in the pre-industrial Transvaal', *Historia* 55:1 (2010) 18-31 and Michael James Douma, 'Ethnic Identities in a Transnational Context: The Dutch American Reaction to the Anglo-

identification of the foreigner as a colonial Other, but the turn to ethnicity and nationality as the basis for foreignness (a trend already visible in the second period). This also meant that the foreigner was not necessarily someone else. "Hollanders" became foreigners when migrating to Transvaal and thus, foreignness was a potential attribute of every individual.[138]

1875	1885	1895	1905
vreemdelingen	vreemdelingen	nederlanders	nederlanders
japanners	nederlanders	vreemdelingen	vreemdelingen
nederlanders	kooplieden	hollanders	hollanders
inboorlingen	hollanders	kooplieden	amerikanen
europeanen	duitschers	uitgewekenen	kooplieden
chinezen	exposanten	handelaren	handelaars
duitschers	uitgewekenen	exposanten	uitgewekenen
kooplieden	handelaars	industriëlen	exposanten
koopvaarders	koopvaarders	bezitters	inzenders
emigranten	industriëlen	handelaars	bezitters

Figure 16. Most Similar Terms to *Buitenlanders* in 1875-1905. The models with size 150 are used for this visualization.

There are multiple potential causes for this shift. In the literature on foreignness and "Othering", it is often nationalism that is defined as the prime causal factor in the sharpened distinction between foreigner and non-foreigner on the basis of ethnicity.[139] This relates to the Koselleckian notion of the asymmetrical counter concept: a concept that is defined only negatively and asymmetrically (the concept and the counter concept are not mutually recognized as 'independent' concepts).[140] From the perspective of the nation, the foreign is only the non-national. So far, it is repeatedly demonstrated that this was far from the only way *buitenland* was defined. Still, the growth of nationalist discourse could have strengthened this effect of asymmetrically defining the foreign. Besides nationalism, however, another important process seems to

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Boer War 1899–1902', *South African Historical Journal* 65:4 (2013) 481-503.

[138] Foreign migrants that were welcomed in Transvaal were referred to as "uitlanders", a word that appears as a short lived alternative to "buitenlanders".

[139] R. Saunders, *Concept of the Foreign. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue* (Lenham 2011) 6.

[140] R. V. Yamato, 'Beyond the line: Carl Schmitt and the constitutive outsider of the international', *Politics* (2018) 218-232.

be at work in asymmetrical defining foreignness.[141] Walter Mignolo writes how towards the end of the nineteenth century "spatial boundaries were transformed into temporal ones". In the three hundred years before, geography coincided with humanity: the end of the world was the end of humanity.[142] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the planet "closed" and the "discovery" of the world was completed.[143] The question was no longer whether cultures or peoples were human (a debate that was waged in the sixteenth and seventeenth century), but how civilized they were.[144] The resulting conception of the foreigner was therefore not only based on place, but also on progress and civilization: concepts that are not only spatial, but also temporal in nature.

3.4.3 "Buitenland"

Most of the semantic changes in *buitenland* have already been discussed in the preceding sections. The continuing singularization, the increased 'presence' of the foreign space as a self-standing discursive reality and the subsequent attribution of general conditions and 'moods' to this reality marked *buitenland* in the last decades of the nineteenth century. One aspect only briefly touched upon in the section on *buitenlandsche* in the third period is the turn to geography and space/place as an crucial determinant in the idea of foreign space. As said, the prime actors of the foreign ("foreign powers") were increasingly associated with state bureaucracies and ministries, in spite of the early nineteenth-century personalized conception of states and sovereigns. Towards the end of the century, the semantic 'texture' of the foreign changed again from being institutional to being spatial or geographical. Context words included "land" and "volk". Interestingly, the shift is also present in the word embeddings. Cosine similarities between *buitenland* and *landen* show a clear U-curve (Figure 17). This demonstrates the "respatialization" of the foreign. Yet, there is a clear difference between the 'spatial' foreign in 1815 and 1914. In the early nineteenth century *buitenland* was geographical in the sense that it was a concept that denoted the "land outside" a city-centered administrative unit. One century later, this administrative unit had become the nation, and the boundaries between the administrative unit and the life that resided in it had become confused. *Buitenland* became territorial and combined political, geographical, cultural, ethnic and social dimensions by resting on the concept of the nation-state.

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[141] "Symptomatic of the relative nature of the foreign is the necessity of defining the foreign negatively, a symptom exhibited by virtually any dictionary: to be foreign is not belonging to a group, not speaking a given language, not having the same customs; it is to be unfamiliar, uncanny, unnatural, unauthorized, incomprehensible, inappropriate, improper". R. Saunders, 'The agony and the allegory: The concept of the foreign, the language of apartheid, and the fiction of JM Coetzee', *Cultural Critique* 47 (2001) 218.

[142] W. D. Mignolo, 'Globalization, Civilization Process and the Relocation of language and cultures', in: F. Jameson and M. Miyoshi (eds.) *The Cultures of Globalization* (Durham 1998) 32-53.

[143] Osterhammel, *Transformation of the World*, 497.

[144] Mignolo, 'Globalization', 35.
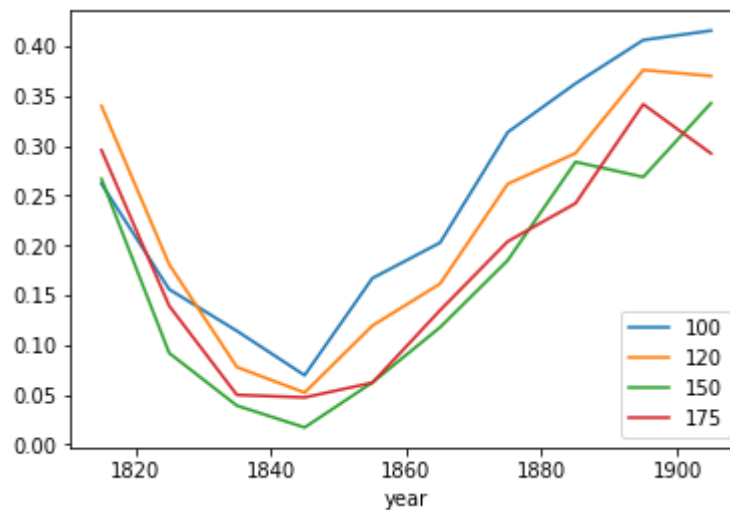
Figure 17. Cosine Similarity Scores of *buitenland* and *landen*. The x-axis shows the decades (the models are trained on decades). The y-axis shows the cosine similarity between the two words. Because cosine similarity is dependent on the model size (number of axis in the vector space model) four different model sizes are shown. A smaller model size means more syntagmatic relations (words are similar in syntax: their 'location' in the sentence, for example *buitenland* and *binnenland*) and a larger model size means more paradigmatic relations (words that behave the same way, for example *buitenland'* and *andere landen*). The difference shows that the more syntagmatic the relationship, the higher the similarity.

3.5 Conclusion

The conceptual change regarding *buitenland* in the timeframe under scrutiny can be understood in terms of complexity and generality/singularity. From the 1830s onwards the vocabulary diversity and complexity of *buitenland* expanded in a rapid pace. The concept, formerly restricted to the institutional context of aristocratic diplomacy, entered more and more discursive areas. It hereby stayed more or less tied to the clusters of diplomacy/politics, commerce and newspaper discourse itself, and expanded predominantly *within* these clusters. Through this expansion, the concept also saw "democratization".

The growing complexity of the foreign coincided with a rise of general uses of the concept. Between 1815 and 1914 buitenland became detached, independent and uniform. Whereas in 1815 foreignness was a mere element in specific spheres of action (the foreign merchant visiting, the foreign prince travelling), these spheres reified into international politics (marked by questions and conditions), international society (constituted by societies and infrastructure that connected the nations of the world) and a world economy, inhabited by modern firms and self-standing "foreign markets". Foreignness thus became fixed and "out there" instead of a potential element in cattle markets and newspaper pages. In the words of Martin Albrow, was no longer believed to be an "accidental quality", but "something in itself".[145]

Singularization, however, also came with an seemingly contradictory development: the return of

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[145] M. Albrow, *The Global Age*, 81.

geographical space. The use of *buyten 's lands* in the eighteenth century and the use of *buitenlandsche* in the early nineteenth century was rooted in the "outside land" interpretation of *buitenland*. In the early nineteenth century, *buitenland* also meant the space outside, but by then it had become nationalized and territorialized. Relatively well demarcated nation-states now formed the building blocks of buitenland. Similarly, culture, ethnicity and "civilization" now became the determinants for foreignness on the individual level. Again, the foreigner was not an alien yet integrated element of the (economic) community, but someone "out (t)here".

As a result of all these changes two dimension of *buitenland* can be observed in the early nineteenth century. If we would as a newspaper reader what *buitenland* actually meant, he/she would probably name a group of nation-states. Besides this 'atomistic' conception, however, the newspaper articles use *buitenland* predominantly in a general and singular fashion. Understanding this two-part structure of *buitenland* is aided by Charles Maier's important article on "territoriality". In an attempt to redraw the boundaries of periodization, Maier uses the concept to bring order to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. He defines territory as "a bounded geographical space that provides a basis for material resources, political power and common allegiance". Furthermore, Maier speaks of "identity space" and "decision space", in the context of "physical, economic and cultural security".[146] In the second half of the nineteenth century, both forms of space aligned and the pursuit for the latter element became a priority in European nation-states. Following this identification of territory as an historical factor is the concept of "territoriality", understood as the paradigm of territory. This included an "obsession with social enclosures of all sorts", as well as a fixation on the employment and development of the "assets of territory". Maier speaks of a paradigm of "filling space", be it with European civilization, infrastructure or economic development. The mindset of delineating, filling, stabilizing and developing territory helps in understanding the two-part structure of *buitenland*. Namely, the abstract and general category of *buitenland* was equally treated as a territorial space, delineated by means of otherness and subsequently filled with firms, harbors, railroads, international societies, political questions and conditions. In other words, talking about the foreign was influenced by the processes of nationalism and state formation to such an extent that *buitenland* itself was discussed in the very terms used to discussed actual nations.

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[146] C. S. Maier, 'Consigning the Twentieth Century to History. Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era', *American Historical Review* 105 (2000) 817.

Chapter 4. Semantic Fields and Counter Concepts

4.1 Introduction

The exploration of the concept of *buitenland* so far has shown how the intension and extension of the concept developed over time. The concept was, however, by no means the only one that categorized space and ordered the "social experience" of nineteenth-century newspaper readers. The form of the word *buitenland* already hints at the existence of concepts such as *binnenland* ("the domestic"), its conceptual opposite. In fact, the conceptual change of *buitenland* is closely interwoven with a rich variety of other concepts. Newspaper articles show 'fatherland' as frequently contrasted with *buitenland* and with regard to the vocabulary of foreign-bigrams, the adjective *vreemd* ("strange") appears as a synonym. In this chapter multiple concepts that were located 'around' *buitenland*, and hereby influenced its conceptual evolution, are discussed. In conceptual history this inclusion of other concepts is often guided by the idea of the "semantic field". This idea, most extensively elaborated by Rolf Reichardt, draws on linguistic analysis of "fields" of word meaning and investigates the relations of a concept to other words and concepts. The idea of the semantic field builds on the assumption that "[t]he object of analysis in conceptual history is an interdependent terminology, not the individual concept".[147] Reichardt and Koselleck categorized the inhabitants of the semantic field as either parallel or counter concepts (comparable to the idea of synonyms and antonyms on the word level).[148]

In this research, the semantic field approach is employed for two reasons. First, it is used to acquire a better understanding of the origins of the concept's semantic specificities. Parallel and counter concepts will be used to show how the particular (singularized) form of *buitenland* emerged. Here, they often point at the continuities, hereby serving as a counterpart to the previous chapter where conceptual change formed the starting point of the analysis. Second, the diachronic analysis of semantic fields is used to investigate the centrality of *buitenland*. There never exists a one-to-one correspondence between a concept and the part of the 'social experience' it aims to 'cover'. Concepts overlap and compete, especially in the categorization of space.[149] The semantic field approach, especially in combination with computational

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[147] H. E. Bödecker, ‚Concept – Meaning – Discourse: Begriffsgeschichte Reconsidered‘, in: I Hampsher-Monk, K. Tilmans and F.K. de Vrees, *History of Concepts: Comparitive Perspectives* (Amsterdam 1998) 51-64 and E. Bödecker, 'Begriffsgeschichte as the History of Theory. The History of Theory as Begriffsgeschichte: an essay', in: J. F. Sebastián (ed.) *Political Concepts and Time* (Santander 2011) 30-35.

[148] R. Reichardt, 'Revoluationäre Mentalitäten und Netze politischer Grundbegriffe in Frankreich 1789-1795‘, in: R. Koselleck and R. Reichardt (eds.) *Die Französische Revolution als Bruch des gesellschaftlichen Bewusstseins* (Munich 1988) 187.

[149] For a non-hierarchical and non-linear interpretations of discourses or semantic fields, see the "rhizome"-approach of Scharloth et al.: J. Scharloth, D. Eugster and N. Bubenhofer, 'Das Wuchern der Rhizome. Linguistische Diskursanalyse und

methods, can be used to evaluate the position and importance of *buitenland* in the conceptual repertoires of the nineteenth century.

The choice for the concepts discussed in this chapter follows from close-reading newspaper articles. In the first sections focus on the most frequently occurring 'counter concepts': *binnenland* (the domestic), *vaderland* (fatherland) and *natie/nationale* ("nation", "national"). As said, these concepts are studied in order to better understand the change and continuity in the concept of *buitenland*. Besides these counter concept the chapter includes a section on the concept of *strange*. This concept can be regarded as a parallel concept, although it will be shown how the paths of *buitenland* and *strange* both converged and diverged. Also, the concept of *international* will be considered. In light of the singularization observed in the previous chapter, *international* appeared as a concept that built on this notion of singular foreign space. Lastly, a small section discussed the concept of *Europe*. Because of its relatively deviant nature (it appears as a less clearly demarcated concept) its conceptual influence on *buitenland* is mostly spread out over the other sections.

The concepts in the semantic field are studied with methods similar to those used in the previous chapter. Vocabularies are used to study the extension of the concepts, while word embeddings are used to map the semantic relations between the concepts. Based on recent advances in conceptual history I also construct networks of words to capture the various 'senses' of a concept.[150] In order to capture the rhetorical complexities that are often important in the use of the concepts the computational analysis is complemented by the close reading of articles acquired through keyword searches in *Delpher*.

4.2 Binnenland

4.2.1 Origins and Changes in the Occurrence of *Binnenland*

With *buitenland* literally translated as "outside land", the first inhabitant of the semantic field is *binnenland* ("inside land"). Before and during the period 1815-1914, this conceptual pair shared many semantic features and institutional contexts. Furthermore, changes in the concept of *binnenland* elucidate important aspects of changes in the use and meaning of *buitenland*. Before going into them, a quick peek into the early history of *binnenland*, as well as its quantitative behavior in the nineteenth century is necessary. Similar to *buitenland*, the adjective *binnenland* appears to be rooted in the early seventeenth century.[151] In fact, queries show that, at least in the newspaper collection, it appeared much earlier than

Data-driven Turn', in: D. Busse and W. Teubert, *Linguistische Diskursanalyse: neue Perspektiven* (Wiesbaden 2013) 345-380.

[150] J. Regan, P. de Bolla, E. Jones, G. Recchia and P. Nulty, 'Distributional Concept Analysis: A Computational Model for parsing Conceptual Forms', *Contributions to the History of Concepts* (Accepted/In Press 2018).

[151] *Google Books* mentions a book that contains "Binnenlandsche Convoyen". This work is said to be published in 1584, but

buitenlandsche. The phrase *binnenlandsche steden* ("domestic cities"[152]) featured as early as 1625 in the *Courante uyt Italien & Duytschlandt*.[153] The limited size of the corpus in the seventeenth century prevents us from drawing conclusions, but it is clear that the adjectives *binnenlandsche* and *buitenlandsche* were not perfectly matching opposites in terms of frequency and use.[154]

In the nineteenth century, frequency measures show an ambivalent image. On the one hand, the productivity and creativity scores for vocabulary starting with *binnenlandsche* are similar to that of *buitenlandsche* (Figure 18). The productivity increases, especially in the years 1830-1860. Creativity scores also increase, although less pronounced than those in the *foreign* vocabulary. Bigram clusters also show familiar themes: a dominance of administrative language (caused by "domestic affairs"), newspaper-related words ("reports", "letters") and a gradual rise in commerce-related terms. The vocabularies of *binnenlandsche* and *buitenlandsche* can be compared through their overlap. Figure 19 shows overlap in three ways: the share of *domestic*-bigrams also present in the *foreign*-bigrams (blue), the share of *foreign*-bigrams also present in the *domestic*-bigrams (orange) and the share of domestic bigrams compared to the combined vocabularies (green). In light of the expansion of the *foreign*-vocabulary in the nineteenth century, the green and orange lines show a slight decrease. The blue line (share of *domestic*-bigrams also present in the *foreign*-bigrams), however, shows no clear decrease. There are several peaks and the early twentieth century even sees a slight increase. This tells us that, despite the growth in productivity in the *foreign* vocabulary, the share of *domestic* vocabulary remained relatively stable. The *domestic*-vocabulary thus 'kept up' with the growth in *foreign*-vocabulary.

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its appearance indicates that it is an eighteenth century reprint where some words might have been changed. See: J. Karsseboom, *Resolutien van Holland en Westvriesland van den jaare 1584* (The Hague 1783) 17.

[152] The Dutch phrase *binnenlandsche steden* was probably not translated as "domestic cities" in eighteenth-century English. Searches in the *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO) yield no results for the query. It seems that "our cities" was mostly used to refer to the 'own' or 'national' cities.

[153] *Courante uyt Italien & Duytschlandt*, 15-2-1695.

[154] There are some signs that the difference lies in the use of the compounded "binnenland*", while "buitenland*" was 'still' written as "buyten 's landts". The former may have been in use earlier than *buitenland*, but the lack of newspaper data limits our ability to draw firm conclusions.
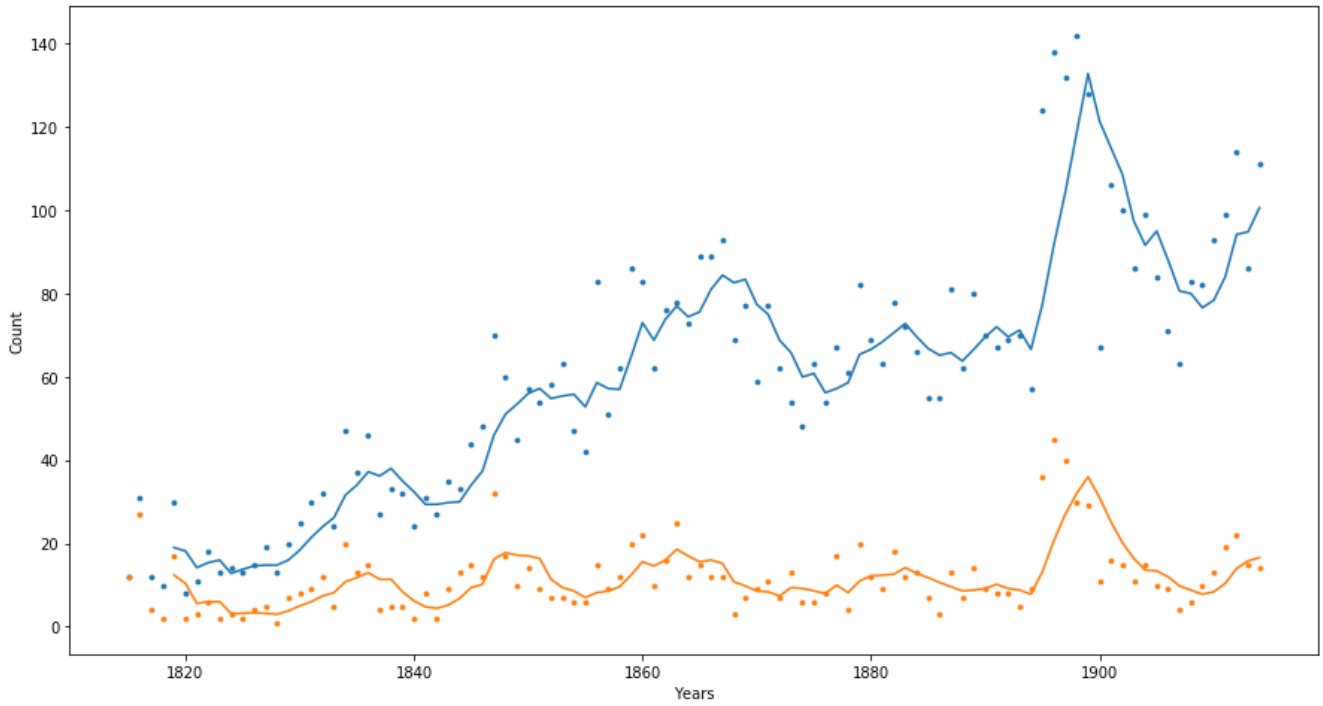
Figure 18. Productivity (blue) and Creativity (orange) Scores for bigrams starting with *binnenlandsche* 1815-1914. The y-axis shows the absolute number of different bigrams. The lines represent the rolling mean of the observations. Productivity (blue) refers to the number of different bigrams used. Creativity (orange) refers to the number of new bigrams created yearly. As visible, the productivity scores show continuous growth. From the 1850s the growth accelerates.
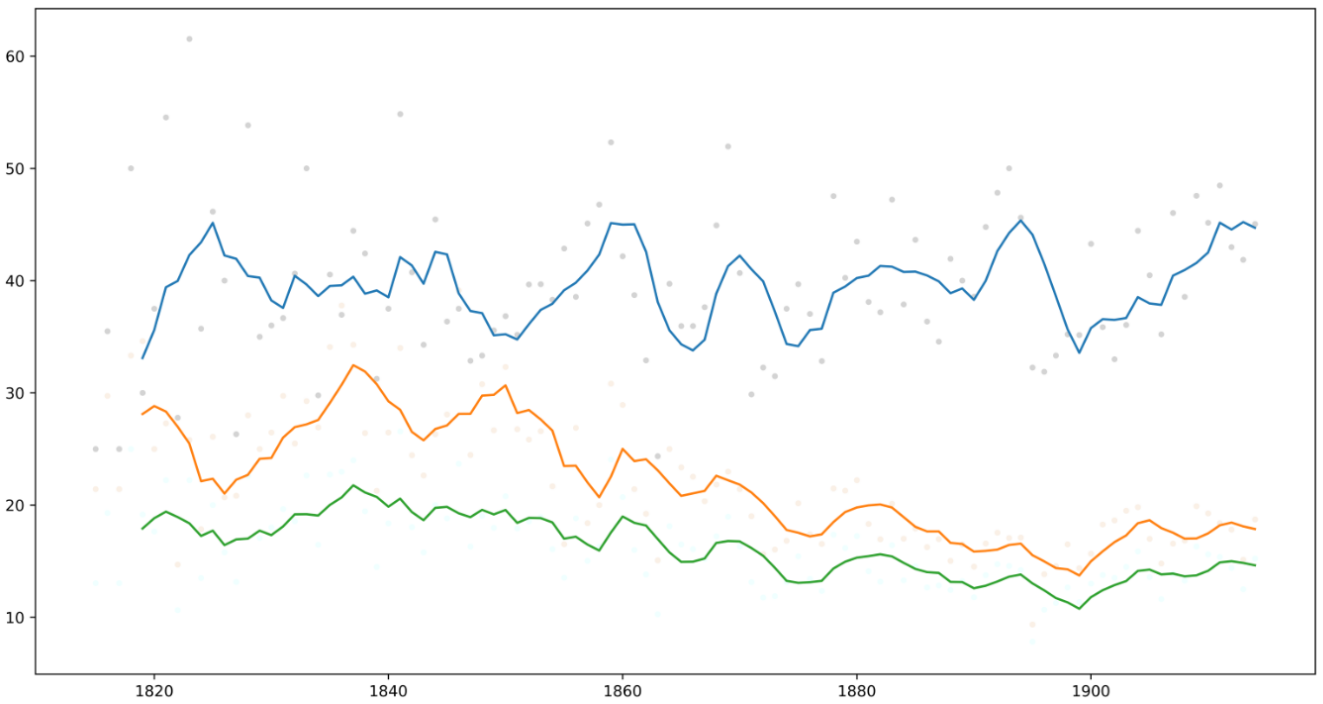
Figure 19. Overlapping vocabularies domestic-foreign. The x-axis shows the years, the y-axis the percentages. The overlap between the vocabularies is measured in three ways. The blue line shows the yearly share of words modified as binnenlandsch.

that is also modified as buitenlandsch relative to the total number of binnenlandsche-bigrams. The orange line shows the yearly share of words modified as buitenlandsch that is also modified as binnenlandsch, relative to the total number of buitenlandsche-bigrams. Lastly, the green line shows the share of words modified as both binnenlandsch and buitenlandsch in comparison to the combined vocabularies. The visualization shows how the share of domestic-vocabulary also modified as foreign is relatively high; around forty percent. Also, the blue line shows a slight increase, meaning that an increasing number of words modified as domestic were modified as foreign.

4.2.2 Storms, Threats and Developments

In the early nineteenth century (and late eighteenth century), the concepts of *binnenland* and *buitenland* were located in similar sociopolitical domains. Clustered bigrams reveal that the concept was used in a political-administrative context. Domestic *beroerten* ("upheaval"), *veiligheid* ("security") and *oorlog* ("war") point towards the status of the domestic as the object of statecraft, a context that also hosted *buitenland*. The art of statehood aimed to preserve and consolidate the domestic order and *rust* ("rest", "calmth"). Ensuring *binnenlandsch welzyn* (domestic well-being) was the sovereign's moral obligation.[155] The *Staatscourant*, for example, praised the "enlightened and noble acts of the administrators of the people" ("bestuurders der volkeren") who dedicate themselves to the "flourishing [of the nation] and [the] recovery from domestic disasters".[156]

This frequently occurring theme of domestic disasters hints at one of the defining features of *binnenland*: its unpredictability. The art of statehood provided the sovereign with various tools and methods to govern, but when disaster struck, little could be done. Domestic affairs were like thunderstorms: they suddenly presented themselves, and administrations could only stand by and watch. The *Middelburgsche Courant* shows how domestic upheaval was part of an early-modern wheel of misfortune ("lotgevallen") that could befall the sovereign (state). The wheel included "earthquakes, storm winds, floods, sea worms, cattle mortality, harsh winters, expensive times, wars and domestic upheaval".[157] Natural disasters such as earthquakes and storm winds not only featured among the threats to the domestic well-being, they also formed a metaphorical language used to discuss the threats to domestic order. Terms most similar to "domestic quarrels" in the first two decades of the century include for example *groote schokken* ("big shocks"), *naweeën* ("afterpain", used in the context of earthquakes) and *staatsorkanen* ("tornados of state").[158] This metaphorical language of the state as threatened by

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[155] *Opregte Groningsche Courant*, 23-1-1753.

[156] *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 27-10-1817.

[157] *Middelburgsche Courant*, 21-12-1776.

[158] The term "staatsorkanen" was a frequently used expression to denote political turmoil, often in the European context. See for example: C. van den Vijver, *Geschiedkundige beschrijving der stad Amsterdam, sedert hare wording tot op den tegenwoordigen tijd; of Beknopt overzigt van den oorsprong, de uitbreiding, lotgevallen, bijzonderheden, geestelijke en wereldlijke inrigtingen en gebruiken dier stad* (Amsterdam 1846) 484, *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 22-3-1816, *Arnhemsche Courant*, 12-12-1826.

weather-like disasters contributed to a strong association between the domestic and uncertainty.[159]

The exact cause for domestic disorder in this discourse of uncertainty and threat was left relatively undefined. Threat was a feeling or association that always loomed over the community, but was seldom put into words. From the 1830s onwards, however, instability was increasingly attributed to domestic "movements", "enemies" and "dangers", not seldom supported by "foreign powers".[160] Pairs of words included in fivegrams with a "binnenlandsche [x] and buitenlandsche [y]" structure show how the causes for domestic disorder were increasingly identified. They included for example *beroering* / *aanvallen* ("movement" / "attacks"), *troebelen* / *oorlog* ("troubles" / "wars"), *twisten* / *conflicten* ("disputes" / "conflicts"), *veeten* / *oorlogen* ("vetes" / "wars") and *intriges*/*vijanden* ("cabals" / "enemies"). Threats were no longer discussed in terms of unpredictable misfortune but as clearly identifiable objects and developments. Identifying threats implies the expectation of neutralizing them, at least on the domestic level. In newspaper articles domestic threats were increasingly discussed as the future objects of administrative intervention, instead of being ascribed the status of thunderstorms or earthquakes that could only be passively experienced. The interpretation of domestic quarrels as the opposite of national unity, encountered frequently in opinionated articles from the 1830s onwards[161], provoked similar changes: the domestic became manageable, increasingly uniform in nature and therefore amenable to order and development.

Domestic unity and stability not only entailed neutralizing foreign and domestic threats, it also included political, moral and economic development. The concept of *binnenland* operated predominantly in the context of economic development. Terms most similar to *binnenlandsche* increasingly include words such as *commerciële* ("commercial"), *finantiele* ("financial") and *industriële* ("industrial"). In the last decades of the nineteenth century a strong sense of nationality (visible in the continuously rising similarities between *nationale* and *binnenlandsche*) permeated this idea of domestic economic development. The *binnenlandsche economie* became part of the discourse on the *nationale welvaart* ("national welfare").

The spatial and geographical meanings of *binnenland* show ambivalent change. On the one hand

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[159] See for example: *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 12-12-1860

[160] See for example: *De Tijd*, 17-1-1860 and *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant,* 2-12-1861. The latter source speaks of "the work of darkness, and the product of domestic treason, supported by foreign violence". Also relevant for understanding the fear for domestic upheaval in post-revolutionary Europe is A. Zamoyski, *Phantom Terror: Political Paranoia and the Creation of the Modern State, 1789-1848* (New York 2015) as well as case studies on the Europan culture of policing. See for example M. Deflem, 'International Policing in Nineteenth-Century Europe: the Police Union of German States, 1851-1866', *International Criminal Justice Review* 6:1 (1998) 36-57 and H.-L. Liang, *The Rise of Modern Police and the European State System from Metternich to the Second World War* (Cambridge 2002).

[161] See for example: *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 1-11-1853, Rotterdamsche *Courant*, 24-8-1859 and *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 28-11-1849.

the geographical idea of *binnenland* as an "inside" or "continental" "inland" disappeared, as the concept was increasingly used in an administrative institutional context.[162] On the other hand, the administrative use of *binnenland* was continued to relate to geographical space by means of speech about domestic infrastructure and agriculture. The idea of the *binnenlandsche gemeenschap* ("domestic community") became a matter of roads, canals, communication, and water management. Also, the use of *binnenland* in colonial contexts, continued to center around "colonial inlands". The concept of *binnenland* thus shows a similar tripartite development. Its geographical notions were replaced by administrative-institutional ones, only to see 'territorial' conceptions entering the semantic circumference of the concepts towards the end of the century.

One concept that borders *binnenland* is *rijk* ("empire" or "realm"). Nowadays, *het rijk* is used is relatively similar way as *binnenland*: as an administrative concept. The nineteenth century relations between *rijk*, *binnenland* and *buitenland* are more complex. In the early decades, the concept was still deeply interwoven with religious ideas about *het rijk gods* ("gods realm"). When *rijk* was used to refer to earthly powers it still stressed the metaphysical destiny of the nation and its place in the divine order. Terms most similar to *rijk* in the early nineteenth century include for example *oude nederland* ("old netherlands") and *heelal* ("universe"). In later decades, the metaphysical connotations were incorporated in nationalist conceptions of *rijk* that stressed the glory and beauty of the realm (indicated by "jewel", "precious", "flourishing" and "invaluable"). The concept also fused with colonial ideas about *wingewesten* ("colonies" or "areas to be exploited") and external dominions. For the relation to *foreign* these changes in the semantics of *rijk* result in a similar pattern of respatialization (Figure 20). As *buitenland* was increasingly used as a concept to order geographic space, its semantic similarity to the concept of *rijk*, infused with metaphysical connotations, diminished. As *rijk* itself spatialized in the context of imperialism, its similarity with *buitenland* increased from the 1850s and 1860s.

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[162] This only applies to the use of inland in a national context. Especially when applied to Europe, Asia or the colonies the idea of a *binnenland* persisted.
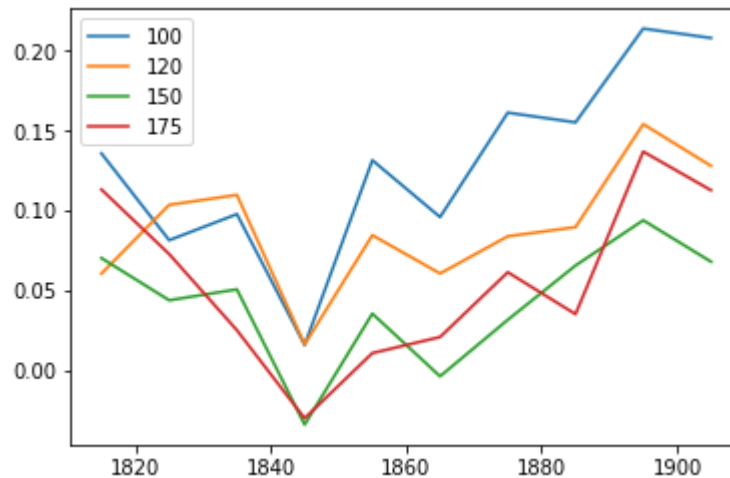
Figure 20. Cosine similarity between *buitenland* and *rijken*. The x-axis shows the decades (the models are trained on decades). The y-axis shows the cosine similarity between the two words. Because cosine similarity is dependent on the model size (number of axis in the vector space model) four different model sizes are shown. A smaller model size means more syntagmatic relations (words are similar in syntax: their 'location' in the sentence, for example *buitenland'* and *binnenland*) and a larger model size means more paradigmatic relations (words that behave the same way, for example *buitenland* and *andere landen*). The difference shows that the more syntagmatic the relationship, the higher the similarity.

4.2.3 The Domestic Foreign and Foreign Domestic

The concept of *binnenland* thus appears to be located in a broader transformation of thinking about the nation, the state, and administrative intervention. The conceptual change of *binnenland* that followed and furthered these developments also affected the concept of *buitenland*. We can investigate this conceptual influence by looking at the most similar words to the bigrams starting with *binnenlandsche*. Once we identify all bigrams starting with *binnenlandsche* in a model, we can check which bigrams starting with *buitenlandsche* are semantically related.[163] The result of this method is a list of bigram pairs such as "domestic reports" and "foreign news" (Figure 21). We thus have a list of *domestic* bigrams, connected to *foreign* bigrams. Since many of the *domestic* bigrams are connected to multiple *foreign* bigrams, we can visualize the 'entanglement' of the vocabularies by converting them into a network.

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[163] For this method all bigrams starting with "binnenlandsche" are detected in a vector space model. Subsequently the script goes through these bigrams one by one and selects all the bigrams starting with "buitenlandsche" that are semantically similar to the bigram (starting with "binnenlandsche") in question. Semantic similarity is here defined as a similarity score of 0.4 or larger.
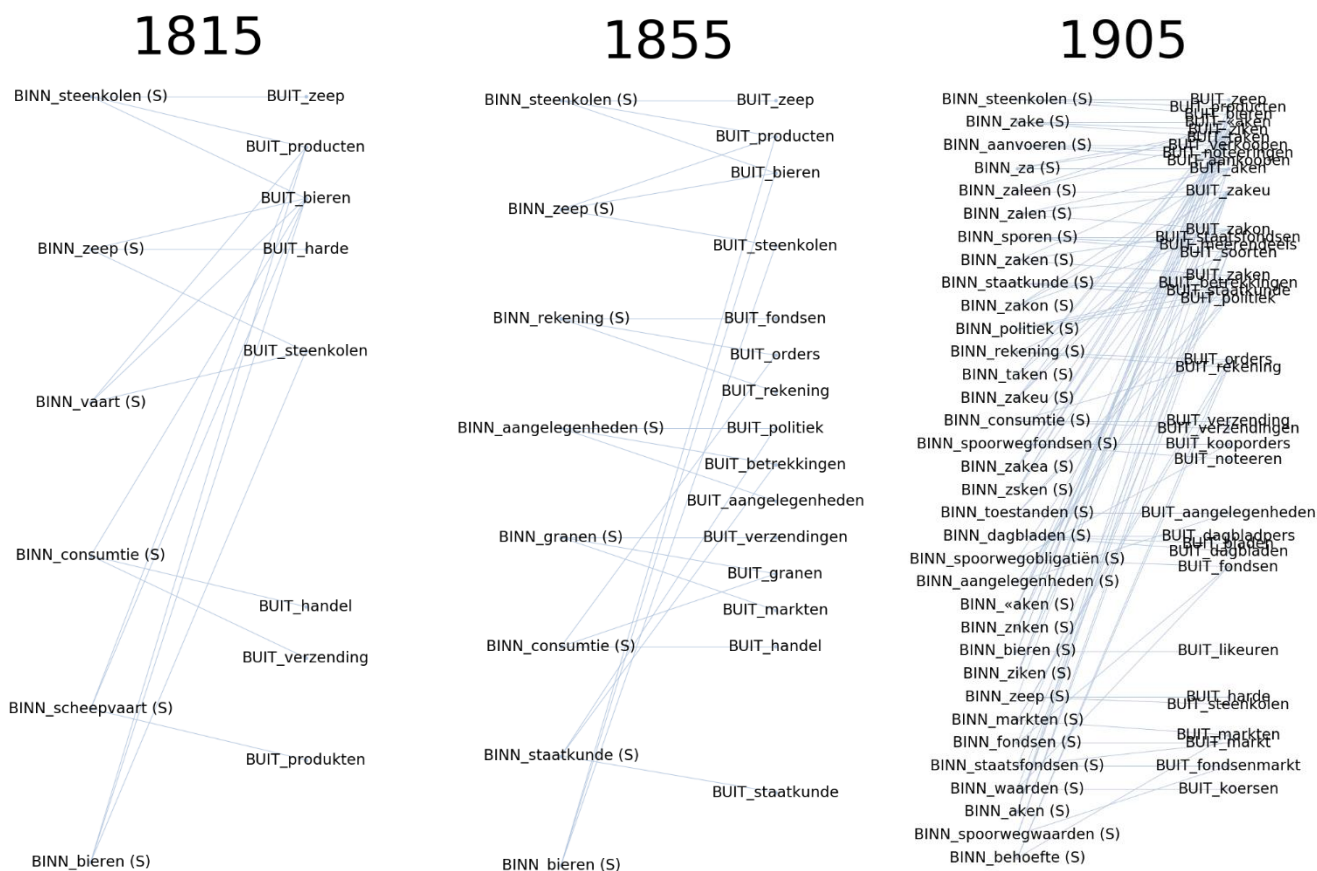
Figure 21. Semantically Similar domestic- and foreign-bigrams in three periods. Because too many bigrams were related, only the domestic-bigrams with ten or more foreign-bigrams attached are included. Also, every domestic-bigram with an '(S)' contains only the five foreign-bigrams with the highest similarity scores, because it would be impossible to visualize them all. The visualization shows how the vocabularies became closely intertwined during the nineteenth century.

In the first decades of the century, connections between *foreign* and *domestic* are predominantly commerce-related, as is visible in bigram pairs such as "domestic coal" /"foreign products" and "domestic consumption"/"foreign markets". From the 1860s onwards the transformation of the domestic (the move towards administrative intervention) shows to influence the conception of the foreign. Pairs such as "domestic conditions" / "foreign politics", "domestic affairs" / "foreign policy" and "domestic industry" / "foreign competition" show a twofold development. First, as the domestic became 'territorialized' - that is, bordered and 'filled' with economic, infrastructural and military development - the 'foreign domestics' were recognized as subject to similar processes. In other words, the foreign was increasingly recognized as a space were similar developments of state formation and territorialization took place.[164] Second, the

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[164] The method shows that foreign space in relation to the idea of the territorialized domestic was often implicitly thought of as European. Combinations that are semantically close include: "domestic consumption" and "European market", "domestic

domestic was identified as connected to the foreign, something that was not seen as particularly positive. Foreign competition threatened domestic production, foreign powers were not to interfere with domestic affairs and foreign wars always went "hand in hand with domestic quarrels".[165]

Especially the second element was important in the gradual attachment of feelings of threat and uncertainty to the concept of *buitenland* (see Chapter 5). The mastering of weather-like problems on the domestic level, and the obvious impossibility of mastering foreign space, resulted in a sharper contrast between the stabilized domestic and the still-unpredictable foreign. Especially in the period 1890-1914 the European arms race reinforced the sense of unpredictability and "irreversible disasters" originating abroad.

4.2.4 Conclusion

Binnenland appeared as a concept that operated in the context of statehood and administrative agency. It was initially associated with the many misfortunes that could befall domestic order. Gradually, this idea of the fragile domestic transformed into one where *het binnenland* was the object of administrative intervention, reform and progress. This shift, however, also left its mark on the foreign. The administratively malleable domestic was not only conceptually connected to ideas about European order and stability, it also sharpened the contrast between the domestic conditions that could be stabilized and improved, and the foreign conditions that required similar administrative action, but always remained unstable and unpredictable, an aspect that will be further explored in Chapter 5.

4.3 Vaderland and Natie

4.3.1 Existential Threats to the Fatherland

Binnenland was predominantly used in an administrative context. Its use in relation to *buitenland* was therefore relatively functional. It is therefore not surprising that in relation to *buitenland* another category of counter concepts is located. This category includes *vaderland* ("fatherland"), *natie* ("nation") and to a lesser extent *Nederland* and *Holland*. The use of these concepts was more emotional, and not so much oriented towards matters of administrative and economic policy or government, as well as towards juxtaposing a cultural community against *het buitenland*. In this section I investigate the dynamics of juxtaposition, and I examine how changes in *natie* and *vaderland* contributed to different conceptualizations of *buitenland*.

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order" and "European peace", "domestic reforms" and "European questions", as well as "domestic conditions" and "European politics". In these combinations we observe the Europeanization of the paradigm of territoriality.

[165] *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 29-1-1846.

In their chapter on "the language of national consciousness" between 1848 and 1940, Aerts and Te Velde describe the specificities of these concepts and their use.[166] The concept of *vaderland* revolved around the idea of a shared *geboortegrond* ("birth ground"), and was used to establish a "consciousness of a common destination", something that corresponded to the nineteenth-century myth of the Netherlands as a *gidsland* ("guiding nation").[167] Bigrams confirm the importance of history in the self-definition of the nation: *vaderlandsche geschiedenis* ("national history") dominates in terms of frequency throughout the nineteenth century . The notions of history and destiny connected to cultural artefacts such as *liederen* ("songs") or *vlag* ("flag") that symbolized the fatherland. According to Aerts and te Velde, the nationalist discourse in which *vaderland* operated resulted in a highly emotional use of the concept. Sovereigns, politicians and elites in general often invoked *"Het Vaderland"* dramatically, not seldom to promote their own interests. *Nederland* and *Holland* were used in relatively similar ways. Terms most similar to both words show how the former was used to refer to the nation as an legal-administrative unit, as visible in bigrams such as "Dutch inhabitants" and "Dutch provinces", "Dutch metrics". *Holland* was not so much used in a particular context (although military matters dominate in the early decades of the century), as well as in a particular style. The concept was predominantly used to convey a sense of Dutchness, or, as Aerts and Te Velde put it, a sense of "indigenous obstinacy and health".[168]

In the majority of the newspaper articles that featured *buitenland* along with one of these concepts, the meaning of *nation* and *vaderland* varied was dependent on rhetorical style. They often took the form of a "callously used expression". Nevertheless, the uses of these concepts in relation to *buitenland* appear to have been marked by a particular logic that transcended mere rhetorics. In the early nineteenth century it was often *vaderland* that was posited against *buitenland*. Especially *ons vaderland* ("our fatherland") was a phrase often used to juxtapose a common, national community against *het buitenland*.[169] In relation to the foreign, (*ons*) *vaderland* also saw the type of emotional use already observed by Aerts and te Velde. Not seldom this went hand in hand with a personalization of the fatherland, similar to the personalization of the foreign (see chapter three). Frequently occurring bigrams such as *lieve vaderland* ("beloved fatherland"), *dierbaren vaderland* ("dear fatherland") and *ongelukkig vaderland* ("unfortunate fatherland") indicate these aspects of emotionality and personalization.[170]

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[166] R. Aerts and H. te Velde, 'De taal van het nationaal besef, 1848-1940', in N.C.F. van Sas (ed.), *Vaderland: Een geschiedenis van de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940* (Amsterdam 1999) 391-494.

[167] See: J. C. Boogman, 'De Nederland-Gidsland-conceptie in historisch perspectief', Ons erfdeel: kultureel tijdschrift voor Zuidvlaamse werking in Vlaams-Nederlands-Suidafrikaanse samenwerking 27 (1983) 161-170.

[168] Aerts en Te Velde, 'De taal van het nationaal besef, 1848-1940', 395.

[169] See for example: *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 6-4-1846.

[170] See for example: *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 22-3-1823. The article mentions the "bitter enemies of the freedom of our dear fatherland". Later examples include: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 22-4-1880 and *Tilburgsche Courant*, 5-12-1889. The latter mentions how our "dear fatherland is to make sacrifices on the altar of colonial politics".

Personalizing the fatherland reinforced the idea of a common (and deeply historical) existence ("volksbestaan"). The concept was therefore often used to discuss the sustainment of the national community, economy or sovereignty. In 1840, *Algemeen Handelsblad* argues that the "dearest interests of common welfare and the existence of our fatherland ["volksbestaan van ons vaderland"]" are at stake.[171] In 1842 the same newspaper mentions commerce as "the most profitable branch of our *volksbestaan*, which brings prosperity and glory to the fatherland".[172] The language of *vaderland* thus was about future existence, about the shared history and about the dangers that threatened a *duurzaam* ("enduring") and *onafhankelijk* ("independent") *volksbestaan*.[173] Not surprisingly, these dangers often originated abroad.[174] The idea of foreign threats to existence is important because it leads us further back in time. Once we search for words such as *gevaar* close to *vaderland* it shows how this idea originated in the eighteenth century. As early as 1747, the *Leydse Courant* spoke of "the moral and civil interests of the fatherland", that would be in danger if the sovereign did not act.[175] This element of *vaderland*'s conceptual history is important because it confronts us with the continuity that marked the motif of the fatherland being threatened by the foreign. The advent of *binnenland* as an indicator of administrative and territorial integrity was preceded by a more existential fear for the preservation of the *vaderlandsche bodem* ("fatherlandish soil").[176] With the (re)spatialization of foreign space (thus becoming foreign soil) the contrast became sharper.

4.3.2 The Nation and the Foreign

Similar to *vaderland*, *natie* referred to a national community defined by a common *geboortegrond* ("birth soil") and history. It hereby fused notions of ethnicity and citizenship. *Nation* was not only used to refer to foreign nations, but also to ethnic groups within the own nation. Newspapers spoke of the "jewish nation" in Amsterdam, and the Ottoman tyranny faced by the "greek nation".[177] While the concept saw little semantic change, the political turmoils of the 1840s provoked changes in its use. As political debate arose over what was to be the public or common good, the concept of *nation* (used to denote these things) became a political weapon. It was used to negotiate the nation's social boundaries. Liberal elites presented

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[171] Algemeen Handelsblad, 29-7-1840.

[172] Algemeen Handelsblad, 26-2-1842.

[173] See: *De Tijd*, 15-11-1867, *Delftsche Courant*, 24-7-1866 and *Leeuwarder Courant*, 13-08-1879.

[174] *Volksbestaan* appears as a widely used concept in the mid-nineteenth century political debate. See for example: *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage*, 22-6-1869 and the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* <http://gtb.ivdnt.org/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WNT&id=M081451.re.36&lemmodern=volksbestaan&domein=0&conc=true> (Accessed 7-5-2019)

[175] *Leydse Courant*, 9-6-1747.

[176] *De Tijd*, 14-5-1853.

[177] See: *Nieuws van den Dag*, 11-10-1896 and *Arnhemsche Courant*, 29-9-1821.

themselves as the civilizing "core of the nation". Towards the end of the century, as political ideologies and parties formed, other groups in society started using the rhetoric of the nation as an emancipatory concept. Also, "our nation" featured as the way to refer to the critically observing community, the contemporary "electorate".[178]

In relation to *buitenland*, the use of *natie* was relatively similar to that of *vaderland*. The capitalized noun was frequently juxtaposed with *buitenland*, not seldom in dramatic proclamations by government officials or the opinionated press.[179] In contrast to the adjective *vaderlandsche* ("fatherlandish"), however, *national* was a frequently contrasted to *foreign*. Figure 22 shows the overlap in *national* and *foreign* bigrams, again measured in three ways. The conspicuous peak in the 1860s is the result of a high productivity of the *national* vocabulary (originating in a high number of OCR-errors). More important is the growth in the bigram overlap relative to the *foreign*, as well as to the *national* vocabulary and the combined vocabularies in the last decades of the century. An increasing number of words were modified as both *foreign* and *national*.

A closer look at the actual bigrams shows how the adjective *national* predominantly modified public institutions such as *militie* ("militia"), *bank* and *vergadering* ("assembly"). Also, more abstract words such as *schuld* ("debt") and *welvaart* ("welfare"), many of them rooted in the eighteenth-century mercantilist language, featured in the bigram-vocabulary.[180] Cosine similarity reveals how especially these abstract terms, or foreign 'singulars', expanded their semantic relations with foreign words. Close relations between for example "national shipping" and "foreign property", "national industry" and "foreign trade" and "national bank" and "foreign debt" existed from 1815 onwards, but from the 1840s onwards the number of *foreign* bigrams that related to for example "national interests" expanded significantly. Also, cosine similarities between the adjectives shows a growing convergence, indicating the increased nationality of the foreign (Figure 23).

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[178] See for example: *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 23-3-1862.

[179] *Arnhemsche Courant*, 22-4-1837, *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 16-3-1863 ("the ghost of a foreign war has revealed itself to the Nation"),

[180] Prominent ones are *welvaart* ("welfare"), *industrie* ("industrie") and *schuld* ("debt").

Figure 22. Overlapping vocabularies: national-foreign. The overlap between the vocabularies is measured in three ways: The blue line shows the yearly share of words modified as *nationale* that is also modified as *buitenlandsch* relative to the total number of *nationale* bigrams. The orange line shows the yearly share of words modified as *buitenlandsch* that is also modified as *nationale*, relative to the total number of *buitenlandsche* bigrams. The green line shows the share of words modified as both *binnenlandsch* and *nationale* in comparison to the combined vocabularies.

In many ways the relations between *buitenland* and *natie* on the adjectival level connect to the patterns observed in chapter three. As foreign space became more prominently visible, it was categorized along the lines of concepts such as "national welfare" and "national debt". The economic integration of the European nations only furthered this idea of foreign comparisons by means of these concept. A piece in the *Rotterdamsche Courant* mentions how the "national industry has not yet triumphed over the foreign", and *Algemeen Handelsblad* writes how it "does good to see the national institutions receive praise abroad".[181] The national thus indicates a move towards comparability by means of national institutions, goods and properties that were predominantly economic in nature, but could just as well be political-institutional or cultural.[182] This also connected to the long-standing discourse of "national interests".

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[181] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 21-11-1903.

[182] This is also confirmed by the most frequently occurring national-bigrams that also occur in the foreign-vocabulary: *garde* ("guard"), *fondsen* ("funds"), *schuld* ("debt"), *bank* ("bank"), *belangen* ("interests") and *zaak* ("cause", "case").
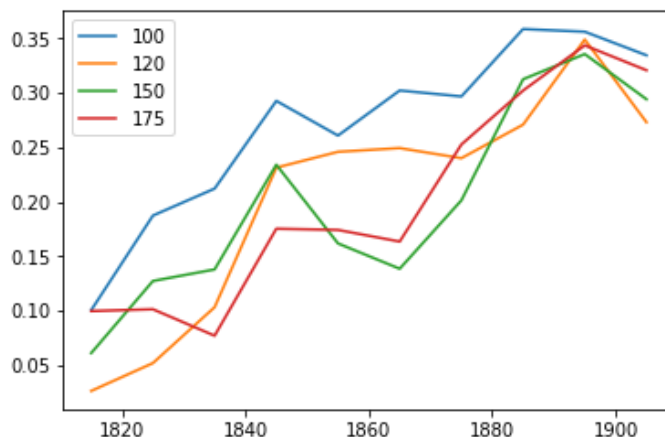
Figure 23. Cosine similarities between *buitenlandsche* and *nationale* in different models. The x-axis shows the decades (the models are trained on decades). The y-axis shows the cosine similarity between the two words. Again, models with different sizes are used to indicate the difference.

4.3.2 Conclusion

Vaderland and *Natie* appear as the most frequently occurring opposites of *buitenland*. Both concepts featured in the same political context as *binnenland*, but were used more often to juxtapose the (national) self to the (foreign) other. Definitions of the self in the face of the foreign often drew on a historical interpretation of the fatherland. The identification of the foreign as a threat to the history and destiny of the fatherland was a motif present from the eighteenth century onwards. Also, the concept of *national* contributed to the rise of a separate foreign space in the sense that it uniformized the foreign by means of conceptual measures that were *national* in nature.

4.4. Strange

4.4.1 Strangeness in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century

The senses of unity, familiarity and belonging that manifested themselves in concepts such as *binnenland*, *vaderland* or *natie* were not the only factors that determined the foreignness of the foreign. Across the border, the adjectives "foreign", "étrangere" and "Fremd" hint(ed) at the semantic overlap between the foreign and the notion of *strangeness*.[183] In Dutch, the synonymy of *vreemd* and *buitenlandsch* is less clear. In this section I investigate the conceptual change of *vreemd* in relation to *buitenland*.[184] I show how

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[183] In this section, 'strange' is used as a neutral translation of *vreemd*. In the nineteenth century the adjective *vreemd* was translated as foreign or alien, but because this section aims to describe the change in meaning between these adjective, 'strange' is used as an umbrella-term.

[184] As I will show, the meaning of *vreemd* changed from *alien* to *exotic* or *deviant*. For this reason I use *strange* as a 'neutral'

in the eighteenth century both concepts, especially when used to categorize, were practically synonyms. Gradually their use diverged in the nineteenth century. However, in many ways the foreign appropriated elements of the strange in the late nineteenth century.

Vreemd appears to have been in use as early as the early seventeenth century.[185] In the first newspaper that mentions the adjective, one can read how "it was decided to maintain the treaty with the French crown, and to chase all strange soldiers out of the lands, until the fatherland assumed her old state".[186] The sentence indicates that *strange*, similar to *foreign*, was used in the discourse of the interaction between the European sovereigns, as well as in the discourse of commerce. The adjective was used to modify words such as *natiën* ("nations"), *soldaten* ("soldiers"), *handel* ("trade") and *kooplieden* ("merchants"), words that also appear in the foreign-vocabulary. The vocabulary overlap hereby demonstrates how the concepts were practically synonyms when used to modify things such as products, people and space.

The vocabulary of *strange* that so closely resembled that of *foreign* in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century points at two semantic peculiarities of the concept of *strange* (and hereby also to that of *foreign* in light of the observed synonymy). First, it demonstrates the specific way of delineating strangeness and foreignness. Especially in the context of commerce and finance, strange things were discussed not so much in terms of their origin, as well as in terms of their function or place in the national economy.[187] The *Middelburgsche Courant* mentions in 1783 that "from Austrian Poland we receive the confirmation that his majesty the Emperor grants not only the freedom of religion and civil rights, but also plans to give houses, courts and lands to strange merchants, artists, artisans and agricultural laborers that aim to settle in Galicia and Ladomiria".[188] The strange in the economic sense thus functions as a concept that categorizes parts of the economic community, instead of categorizing entities that are intrinsically different and therefore not fully part of the community. In other words, *strange* was primarily used to indicate the "alien", instead of the "deviant" or "exotic". This not only applied to the categorization of individuals and social groups. With regard to the use of *strange* as a means to categorize space, a similar pattern is visible. Until the mid-nineteenth century it was the concept of *vreemde landen* ("strange lands") that was frequently used to refer to foreign countries. In the eighteenth century this concept was mostly

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translation of *vreemd*.

[185] A search on Google Books yields a chronicle by Pieter Christiaanz Bor (1603) that includes bigrams such as *vreemde natien* ("strange nations"), *vreemde tyrannen* ("strange tyrants") and *vreemde landen* ("strange lands"). The productivity of *vreemd-* in this work alone could be a sign that the adjective was already common in the late sixteenth century. See: P. C. Bor, *Vande Nederlantsche oorloghen, beroerten ende borgerlijcke oneenicheyden, gheduerende den gouvernemente vanden hertoghe van Alba inde selve landen: warachtighe ende historische beschrijvinghe* (The Hague 1603).

[186] *Tijdinghe uyt verscheyde quartieren*, 21-4-1621.

[187] See for example: *Middelburgsche Courant*, 18-3-1770 and *Middelburgsche Courant*, 01-08-1778.

[188] *Middelburgsche Courant*, 14-6-1783.

used in newspaper articles on trade and commerce. Newspapers frequently printed information on tariffs and trade to and from *strange lands*.[189] Often these reports discussed the latest news on directives regarding free trade. Mercantilist calculations on the balance of trade resulted in frequently changing rules and restrictions.[190] Newspapers were key knowledge brokers in this interplay of administrations and the market.[191] In this mercantilist context the concept of *vreemde landen* was used in a highly political way. It took part in the dynamic of free trade and tariffs. This also meant that "strange lands" were not fixed or tied to fundamental (original) difference. Instead, the concept was used to denote the 'other' as part of an economic system.

The second aspect of the concept of *strange* that comes forward in the newspaper articles and bigrams is the emotionality that accompanied uses of *strange* in the political context. High frequencies of words such as (strange-) *juk* ("yoke") and *bemoeijenissen* ("involvements") indicate a strong sense of fear for strange interference. Newspapers reported how wandering troops threatened the population and the opinionated press argued that the French rule, referred to as "strange influence and dominance" had diminished the *oorspronkelijkheid* ("originality") of the nation.[192] The political strange(r) could thus be defined as different in origin, leading to associations of threat and danger. Especially in the first decades after the French rule, various newspaper articles juxtaposed the historically rooted *vaderland* against *strange* influences that threaten the cultural originality, and moral particularities of the Dutch nation.[193] The concept of *strange* in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century thus exhibited both the inclusionary and exclusionary ways of defining the other. With regard to the concept of the foreign, its use in the commercial discourse was marked by synonymy, while in political discourse, a "less favourable meaning" was attributed to *strange* and thus the *foreign* was used as a more functional and neutral category.[194]

4.4.2 Strangeness in the Nineteenth Century

From the 1830s several changes mark the conceptual history of *vreemd*. First, commerce-related bigrams expand in number. Among them we find a significant amount of relatively abstract terms such as *schuld*

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[189] See for example: *Oprechte Haerlemsche Courant*, 27-8-1789.

[190] For recent work on mercantilism see: L. LaHaye, 'Mercantilism', in: G. Jones (ed.) *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics* (London 2018) 8664 and L. Magnusson, *The Political Economy of Mercantilism* (London 2015).

[191] On the role of information in the mercantilist state-system see: W. D. Smith, 'The function of commercial centers in the modernization of European capitalism: Amsterdam as an information exchange in the seventeenth century', *The journal of economic history* 44:4 (1984) 985-1005 and I. Fang, *A history of mass communication: Six information revolutions* (London 1997) 31.

[192] Bredasche Courant, 7-11-1830.

[193] See for example: A*rnhemsche Courant*, 16-2-1819, Middelburgsche *Courant*, 30-11-1822 and *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 27-1-1831.

[194] P. Weiland, Woordenboek der Nederduitsche synonimen, Volume 1 ('s Gravenhaege 1823) 422-423.

("debt"), *concurrentie* ("competition") and *voortbrengselen* ("products"). Newspaper articles that contain these bigrams demonstrate how emotional rhetoric, previously restricted to political discourse, also came to mark its use in the context of commerce and finance. In the second half of the nineteenth century we can also observe signs of singularization. The phrase "in den vreemde", a type of adjectival noun similar to "den buitenlandsch" or "de Oost", rapidly rose in frequency from 1840 onwards.

The third pattern observable in the *strange* vocabulary is the growing role of origin in the definition of strangeness. In the mid-nineteenth century, bigrams such as *vreemde afkomst* ("strange origin"), *vreemde bodem* ("strange soil") and *vreemde volken* ("strange peoples") grow in frequency. Especially *vreemde volken* shows how origin and otherness became an important semantic property of strange as a socio-spatial category. As early as the 1830s, *vreemde volken* was associated with civilization, barbarism and tyranny. The establishment of Europeanness, civilization and liberal government as the determinants for strangeness accelerated in the 1850s. In this period, we also see the emergence of the adjective "western", along with bigrams such as *westersche begrippen* ("western concepts"[195]) and *het christendom* ("Christianity"), indicating the emergence of binary categories between East and West, Christianity and non-Christianity and modern and pre-modern.[196] In the 1880s the link between strangeness and geography becomes even more stronger. *Vreemde volken* grows in frequency and the individual stranger, now defined as originating somewhere else, becomes a more prominent figure in the newspaper discourse, both in the form of *vreemdeling* ("stranger") and bigrams such as "strange capitalists", "strange refugees" or "strange teachers".[197] In 1890, newspapers for the first time mention *vreemde nationaliteit*. Also, the biologized idea of social space is visible in the early 1900s through words such as *bodem* ("soil"), *menschen* ("humans") and *smetten* ("stains").[198] Culture, biology and politics met in the rhetoric of struggle and survival against foreign/strange elements. *Verdrijving* ("expulsion") and *strijd* ("struggle" or "battle") featured both in relation to geopolitical conflicts and the clash of cultural elements such as language.[199]

1815	1835	1855	1875	1895
bevriende	europesche	neutrale	europeesche	europeesche

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[195] This expression appears as a catch-all concept for principles or standards. It was often used when newspapers discussed the "western principles, grounded in our institutions and religion" that were to be transplanted elsewhere. See for example: *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 24-11-1859 and *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 29-5-1860.

[196] The strange was sometimes used to differentiate between *vreemde volken* and "modern society" or "modern civilization".

[197] *De Tijd*, 12-8-1905. *Delftsche Courant*, 31-5-1912.

[198] The last word was part of the Dutch national anthem (1815-1932), and often referred to as such. Here, *smetten* was used in relation to blood, that ought to be free of stains and strange elements. See for example: *De Tijd*, 11-9-1895 and *Leeuwarder Courant*, 13-2-1896. For a discussion of "vreemde smetten" in relation to nationalism, see: J. Leersen, *Nationalisme* (Amsterdam 2018) 41-42.

[199] *Delftsche Courant*, 31-5-1912. *De Tijd*, 12-8-1905.

europefche	bevriende	europesche	europesche	bevriende
europesche	europische	bevriende	bevriende	europesche
andere	neutrale	andere	andere	chineesche
geallieerde	onzijdige	onzijdige	duitsche	beschaafde
verbondene	engelsche	europeesche	vreemden	andere
britfche	andere	japansche	vreemd	engelsche
vreemden	inlandsche	handeldrijvende	buitenlanders	duitsche
buitenlanders	overige	barbarijsche	duitscho	vreemden
franfche	noordsche	amerikaansche	beschaafde	onzijdige
commerciÃ«le	beschermende	overige	buitenslands	westersche
engelfche	hollandsche	buitenland	engelsche	koreaansche
vreemdelingen	zuidamerikaansche	engelsche	buitenlandsche	koloniale
engelsche	vreemden	europische	schotsche	overzeesche
fransche	handeldrijvende	naburige	onzijdige	turksche

Figure 24. Most Similar Terms to *Vreemde* in five models 1815-1895.

4.4.3 Semantic Convergence

The late nineteenth-century changes in the relation between *foreign* and *strange* can be understood as a process of semantic appropriation. Most similar words to *vreemde*, however, demonstrate the specificities of this change (Figure 24). Throughout the century, the words indicative for the mercantilist-diplomatic discourse ("commercial", "friendly","trading") made room for words that indicate fundamental ('original') difference and normativity. The model trained on the period 1855-1864 includes for example *barbarijsche* ("barbarian"). Two decades later we first encounter *beschaafde* ("civilized"). The last model, trained on the period 1905-1914, includes the adjectives European, Western, other, Eastern, friendly, civilized and Chinese in the list of most similar words to *vreemde*. The political and spatial nature of *foreign* thus also characterized *strange*. This meant that the adjective increasingly resembled the English *foreign*, the French *étrangere* and the German *Fremd*. Dictionaries confirm this convergence between *foreign* and *strange*. "Ausland" is translated as "vreemd land, buitenland" in 1874. In the same dictionary "Fremd" is translated as "vreemd, ongewoon; uitheemsch, uitlandsch, buitenlandsch".[200] Similar

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[200] C. A. X. G. F. Sicherer and A.C. Akveld, Hoogduitsch-nederlandsch en nederlandsch-hoogduitsch woordenboek (Leiden 1874) 129.

synonymy is found in the translation of foreign in 1871.[201] One other notable work is the Greek dictionary (1869), where the word βάρβαροι (barbaroi) is translated as *vreemd, buitenlandsch, niet Grieksch, onbeschaafd* ("strange, foreign, non-Greek, non-civilized").[202]

4.4.5 Conclusion

The history of *strange* and *foreign* starts in the eighteenth century as one of synonymy. *Vreemde* and *buitenlandsche* were used in similar ways in similar contexts. In the commercial and administrative context it strikes how *strange* was used not do denote the deviant but the alien, something that also marked *buitenland*. Still, dramatic invocations of strange elements threatening the fatherland also occurred frequently. In the nineteenth century, the concepts more or less grow apart. With the growing use of *buitenland*, *vreemd* acquires its 'modern' meaning of the exotic and non-familiar. This also meant that new socio-spatial categories formed. Especially "strange lands" became a concept frequently used to invoke the geographically and culturally distant, hereby absorbing colonial and orientalist motives. In the late nineteenth century, this accumulated in the increasing attachment of *strangeness* to *buitenland*.

4.5 International

In current daily language use, referring to a 'sphere' or 'level' that transcends the nation-state is usually done by the word "international". In many ways *international* can be seen as a conceptual answer to the transformation of the foreign observed in chapter three. As a singular foreign *space* appeared, the meta-geography of nation-states was supplemented with a 'sphere' or 'level' formed by economic, political and scientific exchange and communication. In this section, I will show how the concept of *international* entered the Dutch newspaper discourse and how it came to play a central role in the "mental map" of the late nineteenth century. This is not to say that *international* was an unavoidable concept, for long destined to replace or succeed a singularized *buitenland*. *International* clearly built on the concept of *buitenland*, but the its extension remained restricted to a particular political and institutional context.

4.5.1 The Origins of International

The word *international* was famously coined by Jeremy Bentham in his *Introduction Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789), where he used it to rephrase what was previously known as the "law of nations".[203] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the *ius inter gentes*, which originated in Roman jurisprudence aimed at regulating the relations between Romans and foreigners, was furthered by thinkers such as

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[201] I. M. Calisch, Nieuw Volledig Engelsch-Nederlandsch en Nederlandsch-Engelsch Woordenboek (Tiel 1871) 311.

[202] A. H. G. P. Es, *Grieksch Woordenboek* (Groningen 1869).

[203] Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles and Morals of Legislation*, (London [1789] 1996).

Grotius (1583-1645), Zouche (1590-1660) and Vattel (1714-1767).[204] By the time of Bentham, this concept was used to refer to the negotiations and settlements of disputes between sovereigns.[205] It is however, still the object of historiographical debate whether Bentham simply came up with a new word for this existing theory, or whether he was aiming at the creation of another, "international" sphere of jurisdiction. For this research it is important to realize that *international* as it appeared in the English books, treatises and newspapers was only used in the context of international law. Early occurrences in *Delpher* newspapers (of which the first in the *Java Government Gazette* in 1812)[206] are therefore translations or direct copies of English texts.[207] Because Bentham's work was translated into French in 1802 we also find French articles that mentioned "le droit internationaux".[208] In these articles, *international* was predominantly understood as the legal codification of hospitality.[209] It related to dealings with the stranger/foreigner. One notable exception to the use of international in the legal sense is the mention of the word in the context of a *internationale hooge policie* ("international high police") in 1836. *Algemeen Handelsblad* translated this phrase from the French *Journal des Débats*, where it was argued that the "financial disorder" caused by bank robberies requires measures by an international high police.[210] In this example we find the first use of *international* as a way to refer to international political action (policing), typical for the Concert-era Europe, but seldom called "international".

In the 1840s the adjective *internationale* is increasingly used in (non-translated) Dutch articles. Bigrams show that also in Dutch, the word was initially (in the early 1840s) used in the context of *wetten* ("laws"), *regt* ("law"), *verpligtingen* ("obligations") and *wetgeving* ("jurisprudence"). If we explore the concept through network analysis, it becomes clear how the concept was initially used in the diplomatic

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[204] H. Suganami, 'A note on the origin of the word 'international'', *British Journal for International Studies* 4 (1978) 226-232 and Ph. Schonefield, 'Jeremy Bentham: Legislator of the World', *Current Legal Issues* 51:1(1998) 115-147.

[205] M. W. Janis, 'Jeremy Bentham and the Fashioning of "International Law"', *The American Journal of International Law* 78:2 (1984) 407. As Janis shows, the concept was very much theoretical and even Bentham was not very much convinced of its existence.

[206] *Java Government Gazette*, 22-8-1812.

[207] Especially the *'s Gravenhaagsche Courant* and the *Curaçaosche courant* often printed english articles and translations. See for example: *'s Gravenhaagsche courant*, 27-5-1823 and *De Curaçaosche courant,* 30-9-1826.

[208] E. Nys, 'The codification of international law', *American Journal of International Law* 5: 4 (1911) 871-900. See for example, *L'Eclaireur*, 10-10-1827.

[209] See for example: *Arnhemsche Courant*, 17-9-1867 and *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage*, 25-9-1869. International hospitality was often seen as a duty.

[210] The concept of 'police' has a rich history. In this particular context it is used in its modern form: an international police apparatus. In the eighteenth century, the concept was used in its other form: policy ("Policey" or "Polizei" in German). Developed in the context of cameralism, *Polizei* refered to the art of managing territory. "Police" was thus an institutional product of the so-called *Polizeiwissenschaften*. See: K. Tribe, 'Cameralism and the Science of Government', *The Journal of Modern History* 56:2 (1984) 263-284.

discourse that also hosted *foreign* and to a lesser extent *strange*. *International* was located amidst words such as *vorsten* ("sovereigns"), *belangen* ("interests") and *onderhandelingen* ("negotiations"). From the 1850s onwards, the concept was predominantly used in relation to three phenomena: international exhibitions, (scientific) congresses and early international organizations. The international exhibition appeared in the early 1850s as a platform where the fruits of European progress as well as the glorious products of individual European (and "civilized") nations was held on display.[211] The first of these exhibitions, the famous Great Exhibition in the London Crystal Palace, was held in 1851. It formed the start of various other exhibitions in London, Paris, Vienna and many other cities.[212] The exchange of knowledge (and the display of national glory) also sparked the interest of academics. European scientists, who until then shared their knowledge largely 'bilaterally' (through travel and letter-writing), now gathered in international scientific conferences. The academic conference quickly emerged as an important vehicle for scholarly exchange.[213] Lastly, the mid-nineteenth century saw the establishment of various organizations which aimed at the standardization of communication. In 1864 the International Telegraph Union was set up in order to structure and streamline the seemingly ever-expanding web of telegraph cables (six years earlier the first transatlantic cable was laid).[214]

4.5.2 The Foreign and the International

From the 1860s onwards, *international* was a true buzzword. Events and organizations were eagerly ascribed an *internationaal karakter* ("international character"), and international initiatives, such as the plan for a literary "system d'échanges internationaux" by Alexandre Vattemare, were welcomed as perfect platforms to spread the "fruits of our [national] literature" among the "civilized nations".[215] In 1870 it

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[211] See: P. H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (San Francisco 2001).

[212] The exhibitions, conferences and organizations can be regarded as deeply intertwined phenomena.The London Exhibition, for example, insipred Adolphe Quetelet (1796-1874) to organize one of the first scientific conferences: the International Statistical Congress, held for the first time in Brussels in 1853. This series of conferences failed to instate uniform statistical practices, but accumulated in the International Statistical Institute (an international organization) in 1885. See: N. Randeraad, 'The International Statistical Congress (1853—1876): Knowledge Transfers and their Limits', *European History Quarterly* 41:1 (2011) 50-65.

[213] C. Leonards and N. Randeraad, 'Transnational experts in social reform, 1840–1880', *International Review of Social History* 55:2 (2010) 215-239.

[214] D. Howland, 'An alternative mode of international order: The international administrative union in the nineteenth century', *Review of International Studies* 41:1 (2015) 161-183. A. Badenoch and A. Fickers (eds.), *Materializing Europe: Transnational infrastructures and the project of Europe* (Wiesbaden 2010).

[215] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 18-3-1852. On Vattemare's ambitions, see: E. Fuchs, 'Exchange and documentation: the book as a means of international communication among scientists', *Institutions and Societies for Teaching, Research and Popularisation: Proceedings of the XXth International Congress of History of Science (Liège, 20-26 July 1997) Vol. XIX*.

was reported that the Dutch "Vredesbond" (Peace League) aimed to reach out abroad ("zich uitstrekken tot in het buitenland"), with the goal of becoming a true "international society".[216] In the last decade of the century, more and more things were modified as *international*. In 1914 words as diverse as banks, interests, funds, crises, ladies, events, loans, press, societies and troubles were both foreign and international (Figure 25 & 26).

Characteristic for the uses of international in the contexts described so far is the idea of a transcendent sphere: an international 'level' of action. *International* hereby built on the conceptual identification of a permanently present foreign space. The foreign, as I explained in the third chapter, transformed from being understood as an arrangement of alternating events, to being thought of in terms of (semi-) permanent states and conditions. International can be understood as the conceptual embrace of this new permanence. Several concepts demonstrate this shift through their modification as being *international*. China, for example, was believed to stand at the doorstep of a new era, because it opened itself to *internationale verkeer* ("international exchange"). Foreign matters and questions became "international questions", only resolvable through *internationale gedachtenwisseling* ("international exchange of thoughts").[217] Similarly, the concepts of *buitenlandsche staatkunde* or *buitenlandsche politiek* were replaced by *internationale politiek*: the area of policy making that dealt with the uniform, singularized non-domestic space. Quantitatively, the *international* takeover of *buitenland* is visible in the vocabulary overlap. Especially from the 1890s the share of *foreign* words also modified as *international* expanded rapidly (from less than ten percent to around twenty percent). The rising scores (logically) follow the growing productivity of the *international* vocabulary in this period. Still, they show that the newly introduced *international* words were also modified as *foreign*. Also, *foreign*-bigrams related to *international*-bigrams show how in the 1890s and 1900s the number of *international*-bigrams related to *foreign*-bigrams expanded rapidly. Until this period, it was mostly "international relations" that related to for example "foreign demands" and "foreign powers". In the 1900s we find various other bigrams, such as "international stock exchange" and "international credit" related to "foreign banks" and "foreign institutes". These relations show how *international* became more than just a word used to denote connections to *het buitenland*. It came to denote a sphere of action separate from others, a layer located 'above' the nation state.

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[216] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24-9-1870.

[217] *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 18-6-1846, *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 3-5-1858 and *Leeuwarder Courant*, 7-8-1890.
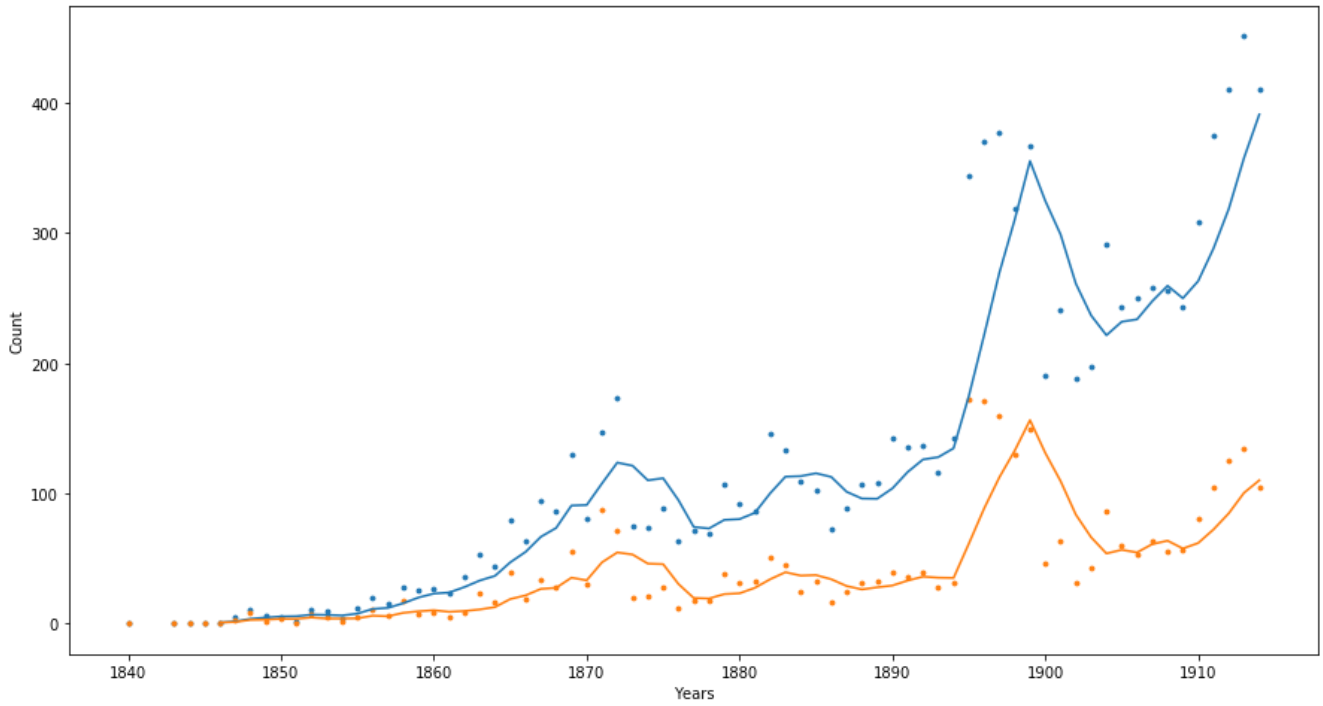
Figure 25. Productivity (blue) and Creativity (orange) Scores for bigrams starting with *Internationale* 1840-1914. The y-axis shows the absolute number of different bigrams. The lines represent the rolling mean of the observations. Productivity (blue) refers to the number of different bigrams used. Creativity (orange) refers to the number of new bigrams created yearly.
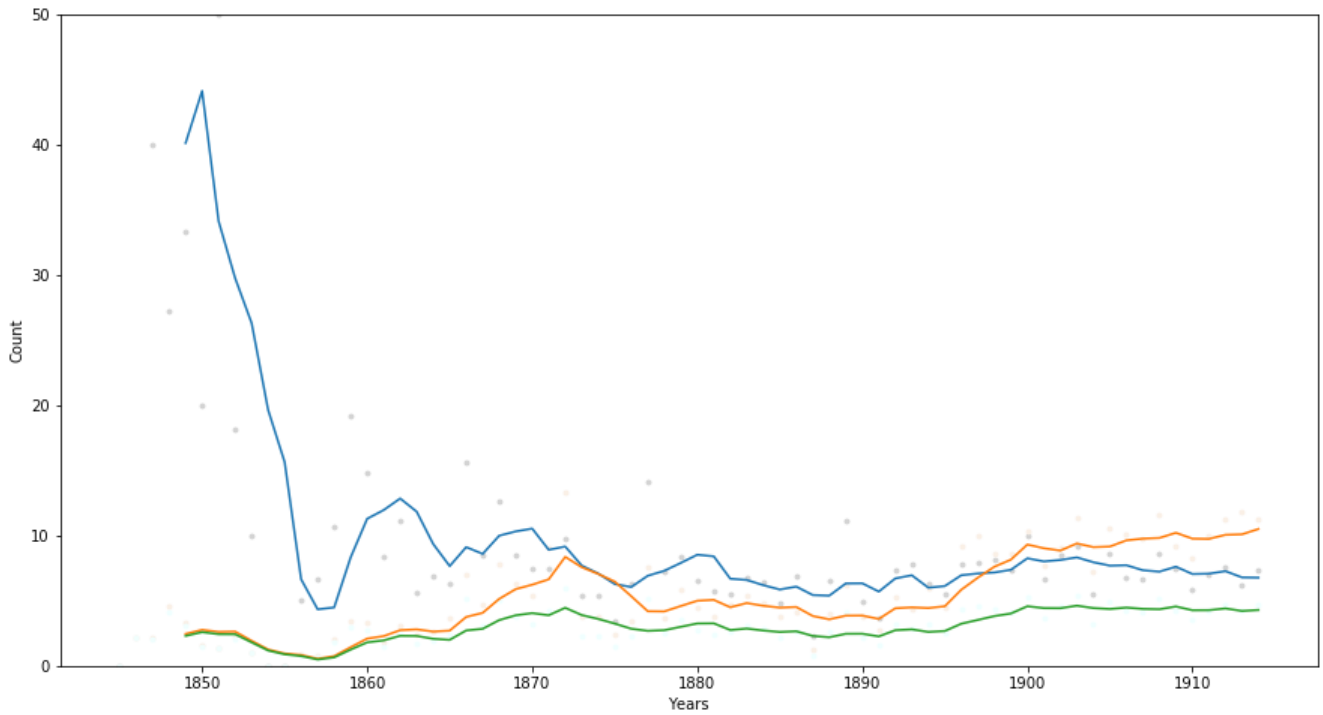
Figure 26. Overlapping vocabularies: international-foreign. The overlap between the vocabularies is measured in three ways: The blue line shows the yearly share of words modified as *internationale* that is also modified as *buitenlandsch* relative to the

total number of *internationale* bigrams. The orange line shows the yearly share of words modified as *buitenlandsch* that is also modified as *internationale*, relative to the total number of *buitenlandsche* bigrams. The green line shows the share of words modified as both *internationale* and *buitenlandsch* in comparison to the combined vocabularies. The blue line remains relatively stable: a fixed number of *international* bigrams is also modified as foreign relative to the international vocabulary. The orange line, however, shows how from the late 1890s onwards, the overlap relative to the foreign vocabulary grows. This tells us that a growing part of the foreign-vocabulary was also international.

4.5.3 Conclusion

Traditional historiography often narrates how in the 1880s and 1890s the internationalist hopes for global progress clashed with imperialism and nationalism, accumulating in a devastating war that shattered the hopes of international(ist) science, communication and politics. The conceptual entanglement of *foreign* and *international*, however, tells a different story. The latter concept entered the Dutch newspaper discourse as as part of the diplomatic discourse that also hosted *buitenland*. In the 1860s and 1870s *international* became a buzzword, used predominantly in the context of exhibitions, conferences and organizations. In the 1890s the range of things to which the concept applied increased. Many of the words now modified as *international* were already modified as *foreign*. What this tells us is that the concept of the foreign saw semantic enrichment, and that the singular foreign space it delineated was now explicitly discussed as such by means of *international*. This, in turn, tells us that there was no sudden idea of 'the international' that fundamentally clashed with the idea of the national. Instead, the identification of something 'international' built on the extensional expansion and singularization of *het buitenland*.

4.6 Some Notes on "Europe"

Senses of Europeanness often permeated the concept of *buitenland* and the concept inhabiting its semantic field. Europe is perhaps to be understood as a 'layer' that semantically enriched *buitenland, binnenland, vaderland* and *international* instead of a *Parallel-* or *Gegenbegriff*. In many ways *Europe* was one of the socio-spatial meta-categories by which the foreign was referred to. On the other hand, a sense of *Europeanness* was present in all conceptualizations of *buitenland*, especially in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The category of *buitenland* only applied to European, civilized states, often referred to as the *handeldrijvende staten* ("trading states"). In the second half of the century this Europeanness both declined and consolidated. On the one hand, colonial encounters broadened the range of foreign places, leading to the relativity of Europe. On the other hand, the contrasts between European and non-European became clearer, and there are indications that the colonies were not at all discussed in terms of *buitenland*.

4.7 Conclusion

Buitenland did not develop in isolation. The semantic field of foreign was inhabited by various other

concepts. Many of them saw their own trajectory of semantic change. However, their fate was closely intertwined with that of the foreign. The turns, variations and particular semantic changes left their mark on the foreign in a way that makes it impossible to separate the concept from its neighbors. *Binnenland* initially shared an administrative context with the foreign, but the concepts followed separate paths as the former became part of a discourse of administrative manageability and territoriality. This shift affected *buitenland* in the sense that contrasts between a governable domestic and a chaotic and anarchic foreign became more sharp. On the one hand this demonstrates the dependency of *buitenland* on its linguistic (yet not semantic) mirror image. The particular semantics of foreign could not have been formed without this particular conception of the domestic. On the other hand there were multiple other concepts that 'pushed' the foreign in a similar direction, which makes it difficult to 'reduce' *buitenland* to a mere 'assymmetrical counter concept'. Two of these other concepts that determined the form and meaning of the foreign were *vaderland* and *natie*. The former appeared as the rhetorical opposite of the foreign from the eighteenth century onwards. The idea of a culturally and spatially rooted *volk* that permeated the concept of *vaderland* reinforced the existential oppositions between the fatherland and the domestic. The noun *natie* was used in a similar way, but its adjectival form (*national*) demonstrates how in the second half of the nineteenth century the foreign was structured along the lines of national welfare, national institutions and national power. Hereby, foreign space became increasingly structured through the concept of national. Besides the structuring of foreign space, it also became more independent, as demonstrated by the concept of *international*. The 'foreignties' identified in the third chapter (foreign debt, foreign funds, foreign politics) turned international, something which can be interpreted as the final step towards a self-standing international sphere or level.

The study of the semantic field has thus demonstrated how the specific meanings and associations of foreign were highly dependent on other concepts. Moreover, the concepts discussed show how often continuity prevailed over discontinuity. The singularization of the foreign built on existing notions of for example threats to the fatherland and concepts such as *national welfare* that were now regarded as being foreign. On first sight, the concept of *buitenland* thus appears as a typical "asymmetrical counter concept". However, the analysis of the semantic field shows how the concept was partially but not fully dependent on concepts such as *binnenland* and *vaderland*. The foreign could not be thought of without these concepts, but the same goes for these concepts themselves. They were counter concepts, but their relation to foreign was far from asymmetrical.

Chapter 5. Semantic Properties

5.1 Introduction

On the tenth of May 1904 the *Provinciale Zwolsche en Asser Courant* published their daily *overzicht der belangrijkste gebeurtenissen* ("summary of the most important events"). The section featured pieces on the Russo-Japanese War, British parliamentary debates on foreign policy, the expansion of the German navy, famine in Corsica, Austrian socialism, a terror attack in Spain, the Herero Rebellion in South-West Africa and the organization of anti-government rebels in Uruguay. While the *overzicht* presented a rich variety of topics, the language used to describe the events and developments shows certain similarities. Many of the reports convey a sense of overwhelming complexity and uncertainty. Reports form East-Asia come with such a rapidity that it is hard for the newspaper editor to keep up with the developments. The conditions in Corsica are *zorgwekkend* ("alarming") and the events in East Asia give cause to *neerslachtigheid* ("dejection"). A similar mood is also inscribed in the actors themselves: the quick advances of the Japanese fill the Russians with terror, the Germans expand their fleet because they fear British and American competition (while lamenting their own "miserable political condition") and the Uruguayan government argues that the condition in the war-torn country should not give cause to financial uncertainty.[218]

The reports describe what seems to be a world adrift, a world where geopolitical change happens so fast that news is already outdated when it is put on paper, and where the future is all but stable and fixed. Much of the instability, uncertainty and fear stem from early twentieth century developments such as the European arms race, anarchist terrorism and the imperialist conflicts. However, as will be shown in this chapter, the 'aesthetics' of foreign news as observed in the *Provinciale Zwolsche en Asser Courant* also builds on change in the concept of *buitenland*. In the preceding chapters the concept is analyzed in terms of its intension, extension and its conceptual 'neighbors'. This chapter will focus on its semantic particularities, hereby building on the assumption that *buitenland* is more than an 'empty' spatial category but came to be imbued with specific meanings and associations. This chapter investigates the roots of four associations that broaden not only our understanding of the conceptual change of *buitenland*, but also demonstrate how the concept still influences contemporary conceptions about space and globalization.[219] The first of the properties discussed is that of *scale*. The use of *buitenland* in Dutch newspapers often

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[218] Provinciale Drentsche en Asser courant, 10-5-1904.

[219] The formal definition of a semantic property is the 'component of the meaning of a word'. In this chapter I use the idea of the semantic property in a slightly different way. In the first third I have discussed the extension of the concept (the range of things to which it applied) as well as the changes in the 'rough definition' of the concept. In the fourth chapter I discussed the other concepts that shaped the intension and extension of the concept. In this chapter I explore what can be defined as the associational and experiential dimension of the concept.

entailed a specific sense of size or scale. Especially in the last decades of the century the foreign was something intrinsically large. In the first section this foreign 'largeness' is historicized. This is done by looking at both the largeness of things modified as foreign, and the scale of the socio-spatial categories that constituted foreign space. The first aspect is studied by looking at trigrams that start with *groote buitenlandsche* ('large foreign') or *omvangrijke buitenlandsche* ('extensive foreign'). The second dimension, the scale/size of the socio-spatial categories that constituted the foreign relates to the earlier mentioned idea of the mental map. Namely, this map is often structured by means of certain 'units' such as nations, civilizations, cities, regions, continents or cultures. Naturally, the building blocks differ in size. The second part of this section therefore deals with the emergence of larger meta-geographies, or, to be more specific, the advent of 'the global' as an important socio-spatial building block through which the foreign was discussed.

Besides the element of scale, the foreign is also a matter of distance. Current understandings of 'globalization' often include the idea of a 'shrinking world'. At the same time, globalization underlines existing differences and reinforces senses of (cultural) distance. By studying the aspect of distance in relation to the concept of the foreign this section aims to elucidate this (paradoxical) aspect of the concept of globalization. This is done by looking at the articles and phrases that discuss the bridging of distance in the mid-nineteenth century. These articles are found by using queries with specific keywords ('distance', 'connection') in combination with *buitenland**, as well as by using specific prepositions before *het buitenland* (*in het buitenland*, *naar het buitenland*). Besides looking at articles that convey senses of connection and relationality there are also linguistic indicators that stress distance and 'farness'. This section focuses on one of these indicators, the bigram *verre landen* ('far lands'), that was often used to invoke senses of distance and difference. Lastly, in an attempt to understand the simultaneous existence of 'closeness' and 'farness' a dialogue between the concept of the foreign and Georg Simmel's work on "the stranger" is opened.

Besides scale and distance, one particular semantic property repeatedly surfaces in uses of *buitenland*. The article in the *Provinciale Zwolsche en Asser Courant* is indicative for the ideas of instability and foreign 'movement' that came to be associated with the concept. The idea of the foreign as something on the move or unstable is also observed in philosophical reflections on the concept.[220] In these reflections, however, the semantic association between foreignness and instability is treated as a constant. In the third section, this link is historicized by building on the earlier observed idea of the foreign as characterized by *toestanden* ("conditions"). Besides the idea that the foreign is something unstable and moving, the notion of progress also took hold of the use of *buitenland* in the late nineteenth century. For this reason, ideas on foreign 'development' and 'progress' are also discussed in this section.

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[220] Saunders, *The Concept of the Foreign: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*, 6. and B. Waldenfells, *Grundmotive einer Phänomenologie des Fremden* (Berlin 2006).

Ideas of progress, developments and future and past *toestanden* of uncertainty lead to the last semantic property discussed in this chapter: temporality. While *buitenland* was a concept that mainly operated in the spatial ordering of the world, it did tie in with ideas on time. Guided by (recent) work in conceptual history and the famous Koselleckian notion of the *Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen* ("synchronicity of the non-synchronous") the temporal dimension of the concept is studied in the last section of this chapter. First, the concept is studied as a synchronizing concept: one that 'forced' socio-spatial units in a common temporal regime. However, the foreign was also used as a way to indicate different positions in this very temporal regime, something that connected the concept of *buitenland* to progressive conceptions of time.

5.2 Scale

The first and foremost semantic property that became attached to the concept of *buitenland* is *scale*. So far we have already encountered aspects of scale and size, such as the structure of foreign space as an overwhelming complexity of *toestanden* and the newly perceived presence of *internationale politiek* as a political sphere that loomed over the domestic or national political arena. The idea that the world maintains an overwhelming size and complexity underlies ideas about waning state sovereignty, migration and the 'losers of globalization'. This leads to the identification of scale as an important parameter of globalization. This section therefore investigates *buitenland* from a scalar perspective. Here, scale is interpreted as a semantic property of *buitenland* that takes the shape of 1) the size of things modified as foreign and 2) the so-called "meta-geography" of the foreign.[221] The first aspect, the size of foreign things, is studied by means of trigrams starting with *groote buitenlandsche*, as well as five-grams structured in the form of *groote [...] in het buitenland*. Following words modified as large and foreign over time provides an insight in the extent to which the foreign space was marked by size and complexity. The second aspect, the meta-geography of the foreign refers to spatial categories through which the foreign was discussed. As said, this section deals primarily with the meta-geography of globality that emerged in the late nineteenth century. This aspect is studied by tracing the semantic relations between *wereld(deel)* ("world") and *buitenland* through time, using *n*-gram frequency and word embeddings.

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[221] The term 'meta-geography' is popularized by Martin Lewis and Kären Wigen in their *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of meta-geography* (1997). Here they dismantle the eurocentric division of the world into continents (Africa, America etc.). They define *meta-geography* as "a set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world: the often unconcious frameworks that organize studis of history, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science or even natural history". See: M.W. Lewis and K.E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of meta-geography* (Los Angeles 1997) ix.
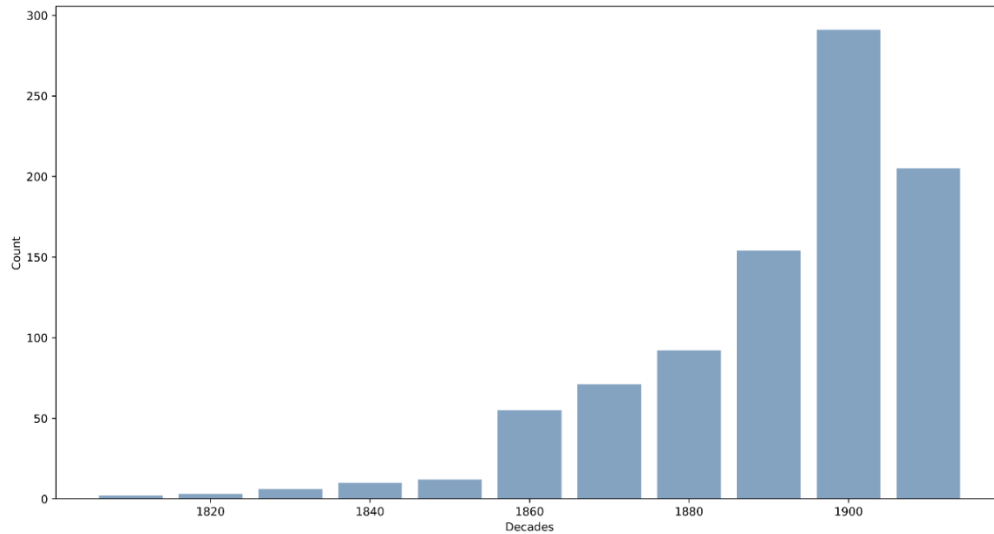
Figure 27. The productivity of trigrams starting with *groote buitenlandsche* between 1815 and 1914. Because some years before 1860 did not use any trigrams starting with these words the counts are aggregated and summed in decades.

5.2.1 Sizing Foreign Things

Senses of scale and size can be captured by looking at the words that followed *groote buitenlandsche* ("large foreign"). Especially the productivity scores of these trigrams show how from the 1850s onwards more and more words modified as foreign were also classified as "large" (Figure 27). Most of the words were physically large or voluminous, such as "large foreign cities", "large foreign universities" and "large foreign harbours". Besides these words, however, we also encounter words that more strongly reveal senses of largeness and complexity. One particular group of words that is modified as large (in a non-physical way) consists of abstract entities such as "competition", "danger" and "politics". Also, the earlier observed *aangelegenheden* ("matters") and *vraagstukken* ("questions") appeared as "large" from the 1840s and 1850s onwards. The fact that these words were also seen as "large" shows how governments were required to prioritize the most important foreign questions amidst a plethora of questions, issues and challenges. As the century progressed, the agency of governments vis à vis this realm of questions decreased. The "buitenlandsche verwikkelingen" became a constant in the practice of statehood. In 1868, the *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage* praises the government, that "ondanks groote buitenlandsche verwikkelingen" ("despite large foreign developments") dedicated itself to good care for the state ("Staatszorg").[222] Foreignness looming over domestic affairs and decisions was, however, not solely a matter of the state. Large foreign companies, industries and societies accumulated in a threatening "foreign competition", a concept that became in vogue from the late 1870s onwards. In the sphere of stock markets, "large foreign state funds" determined the "stemming" of the global exchange rates. Similarly,

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[222] *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage*, 15-3-1868.

the newspaper press had to deal with "the large foreign periodicals" from the 1860s onwards, and later referred to the generalized "foreign" press.

Another sign of the largeness and complexity of the foreign is found on the level of newspaper structure. From the late nineteenth century onwards, multiple newspapers started to summarize foreign news. Newspaper editors were confronted with numerous events from all corners of the world, and bringing order to this enormous body of news required categorization and classification. As a result, newspapers increasingly spoke of 'the most important foreign news', something that is also visible in the titles and headings found on the newspaper pages (Figure 28). The *Haagsche Courant*, for example, printed a category titled *Gewichtigste uit 't Buitenland* ("The Most Important from Abroad") from 1908 to 1916. In this (very short) section the most important facts "uit het buitenland" were summarized. This practice of prioritizing certain news originated in the mid nineteenth-century, when newspapers such as the *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser courant* and *Middelburgsche Courant* started to identify "important foreign news".[223] Of course, these changes may very well be the result of the professionalization of the newspaper business. Especially after the 1869 eradication of the *dagbladzegel* the price of newspapers dropped and more news could be published, something that could have stimulated the use of summaries. Notwithstanding the cause of these changes, its effects are clear. Practices of selection, categorization and summarization strengthened the idea of *het buitenland* as something large, so large that only parts of it could be discussed.

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[223] *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser courant*, 12-9-1857, *Middelburgsche Courant*, 6-10-1864, *Middelburgsche Courant*, 18-12-1862 and *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 11-12-1860.

OVERZICHT DER BELANGRIJKSTE GEBEURTENISSEN.

Minister Balfour verklaarde gisteren in het **Engelsche** parlement, dat de tegemoetkoming, waartoe men met betrekking tot de Iersche pachters zou overgaan, niet was bedoeld voor de Engelsche, met 't oog op de minder gunstige omstandigheden der eersten.

Nu klinken er in de pers stemmen van jaloesie; men is plotseling tot de ontdekking gekomen, dat de Iersche pachter er eigenlijk beter voorstaat dan welke andere pachters ter wereld en dat 't verkwisting zou zijn ter wille van enkele arme pachters aan Ierlands Westkust, de rijke pachters daar te steunen.

Des te minder zal men gelden beschikbaar hebben voor de arme pachters in Engeland. Dat is de quintessence van deze klaagliederen. Die onbaatzuchtige Engelschen toch.

Het wetsontwerp, dat den verkoop van boter meer dan 20 pct. water bevattende, verbiedt, is Dinsdag in tweede lezing door het **Engelsche** Parlement aangenomen.

GEWICHTIGSTE UIT 'T BUITENLAND.

De toestand op den Balkan verergert.
Roemenië mobiliseert vier legerkorpsen.

OVERZICHT V. D. INHOUD:

Buitenland:

Overzicht: Rumoer in de Belgische Kamer. — Minister Brodrick en de *Daily Mail*. (Pag. 1).

Telegrammen: Minister Brodrick en de *Daily Mail*. — De beslissing in zake de Z.A.S.M. — Oud-minister Von Bosse. † (Pag. 2).

Buitenlandsche Kroniek. (Pag. 5).

Correspondenties: Uit Baden-Baden. (Pag. 6).

Binnenland:

De slavenhandel in de Nigerlanden. (Pag. 1).

De crisis. (Pag. 1).

De afgevaardigde mr. Drucker. (Pag. 1).

Haarl. gemeente zaken. (Pag. 1).

Landbouwkoloniën op Java. (Pag. 1).

Figure 28. *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, 3-4-1903 (left), *Haagsche Courant*, 4-7-1913 (top right) and *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 31-7-1901 (bottom right).

5.2.2 Sizing the Foreign

The experience of the foreign as something threatening, overwhelming and intrinsically large not only brought about the identification of "large foreign things". Sizing the foreign was also a matter of associating the foreign with larger spatial units andchanging the categories by which newspaper readers structured foreign space. As shown, the nation state was and remained dominant throughout the nineteenth century. However, nations were by no means the only categories. From the eighteenth century onwards, the family of nation states was commonly identified as European and cities remained the anchors by which newspaper publics categorized space. Towards the end of the century new boundaries were drawn, for example by means of "civilization". This period, however, also formed the stage for the another process of conceptual 'scaling'. Slowly a concept of globality came to inhabit the mental map of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The lemma for *world* in the *Geschichtliche Gründbegriffe*, as well as more recent works in conceptual history, discuss the history of 'the world' mostly as one of 'demystification' or secularization. The world was for a long time regarded as a religious concept, contrasted to "heaven" or "the afterlife", and often strongly tied to "temporal" as opposed to the "eternal".[224] Previous research shows how in the

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[224] Jordheim and Sandmo, 'The World as Concept and Object of Knowledge', in: Ibidem. *Conceptualizing the World*, 5.

1880s and 1890s new "images of the global" were produced in literature, science and political ideologies.[225] These images were less religiously loadened than before. A process of secularization thus marked the conceptual change of *wereld*. In the *n*-gram frequencies, we can see this trend confirmed in the explosion of compound nouns starting with *wereld* in the late nineteenth century (Figure 30).[226]

In relation to *buitenland* it is not so much *wereld* as *werelddeelen* ("parts of the world", or "continents") that became an important spatial category used to signify the foreign. The origins of this word stretch back until the mid-eighteenth century, but only in the late nineteenth century did it become more commonly used expression.[227] Bigram frequencies and collocations show only little quantitative increase in word use, but the vector space models show the relatively clear semantic shifts. In the early nineteenth century, words such as *volksbestaan* (literally translated as "the existence of the people") and *tijdperk* ("era") point the temporal (and possibly metaphysical) associations of the concept. Gradually, geographical terms, such as *land*, *gewest* ("region") and *schiereiland* ("peninsula") become more important. In the bigrams that contain *werelddeel* we find how not only geographical divisions, but also cultural divisions were put in terms of *werelddelen* (something that is also visible in the rise of "Asia" as a semantically similar word in Figure 29). Africa became the *zwarte werelddeel* ("black continent"), contrasted with *ons werelddeel* ("our continent") or the *europeesch vasteland* ("european mainland").[228] Continents and parts of the world also related to concepts such as "the Far East" and "Western Europe" were increasingly used to categorize the foreign. The late nineteenth century thus reveals a shift in the meta-geography of the foreign. The idea of foreign space as inhabited by nations was complemented by a conception of the world as divided in regions, parts and continents.

1825	1845	1865	1885	1905
europa	land	land	land	land
land	europa	laud	laud	laud

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[225] See for example: Jörg Dünne, 'The World as Network and Tableau: Jules Verne's Around the World in Eighty Days', in: Jernej Habjan, Fabienne Imlinger, *Globalizing Literary Genres* (London 2015) 123-137, Quinn Slobodian, 'How to see the world economy: statistics, maps, and Schumpeter's camera in the first age of globalization', *Journal of Global History* 10:2 (2015) 307-332 and Ulrich Beck, 'Jenseits von Klasse und Nation: Individualisierung und Transnationalisierung sozialer Ungleichheiten', *Soziale Welt* 59:4 (2009) 301-325.

[226] On the conceptual history of "world" see the lemma in the GG: Hermann Braun, 'Welt', in: Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck (eds.) *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe Bd. 7* (Stuttgart 1992) 433-510, as well as the recently published collection of essays on various conceptualizations of the world: Helge Jordheim and Erling Sandmo (eds.) *Conceptualizing the World; An Exploration Across Disciplines* (New York 2019).

[227] De first instance in Delpher is found in the *Middelburgsche Courant,* 10-11-1759.

[228] See for example: *De Tijd*, 31-12-1888 and *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 18-4-1896.

rijk	laud	europa	schiereiland	aziÃ«
europas	vaderland	ryk	aziÃ«	schiereiland
volksbestaan	rgk	volksbestaan	europa	europa
volkskarakter	schiereiland	schiereiland	volksbestaan	azie
vasteland	rijk	oord	gewest	volksbestaan
gewest	volkskarakter	tijdperk	azie	volkskarakter
gebied	gewest	aziÃ«	volkskarakter	gewest
tijdperk	element	gewest	gemeenebest	landstreken
staatsgebouw	oord	kijk	ryk	onmetelijke
schiereiland	aziÃ«	finantiewezen	klimaat	magtige

Figure 29. The Most Similar Terms to *Wereld* in five models 1825-1905. The words stem from the model with a size of 150, but attempts with other sizes yielded no significantly different results.

Speaking of continents and parts of the world indicated not only a different meta-geography, but also the increased attention to globality and global interdependence. Indicative is the appearance of words such as *brandpunt* and *middelpunt* (both translatable as "focal point") in the early twentieth century.[229] In Dutch a *brandpunt* is a spatio-temporal point where multiple developments or forces meet and cause fire. The appearance of this word in relation to *werelddeel* indicates a sense of interdependence and a common space: of globality. *De Tijd*, for example, speaks of the city of Paris, that "had become the center of attraction from the whole world, the focal point where the rays of all civilizations come together".[230] This also relates to the ontology of *toestanden* that marked both *buitenland* and *werelddeel*. In the case of the latter the idea of a "condition" was mostly used as a way to refer to the condition of God's world. Although the religious or metaphysical elements played a much smaller role in the late nineteenth century *world* concept, the idea of a *toestand* 'remained'. In fact, it perfectly merged with the idea of foreign conditions, ultimately resulting in the idea that the world was marked by political *toestanden* that were complex and perhaps even incomprehensible.[231]

One concept that can be seen as the conclusion of this politicization of the global meta-geography (composed of concepts such as *wereld* and *werelddelen*) is the concept of *wereldpolitiek* ("world politics"). The word, translated from German (where it was used by Wilhelm I to propagate a new type of

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[229] These words fall just outside the top fifteen most similar words and are therefore not visible in Figure 29.

[230] *De Tijd*, 13-1-1896.

[231] See for example: *Middelburgsche Courant*, 6-9-1864, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 26-6-1889, *Delftsche Courant*, 4-12-1889, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 7-6-1894 and *Middelburgsche Courant*, 11-7-1900.

foreign or colonial policy) entered the Dutch vocabulary in the late 1890s.[232] The concept of *wereldpoltiek* is important, because its use in the early twentieth century shows to unify the meta-geography of globality (*world-politics)* and foreign policy. *Wereldpolitiek* quickly became a synonym to *buitenlandsche politiek*. It also adopted associations of instability and the evolutionary fight for survival. World politics, or politics "on the world's stage" (a concept that existed several decades earlier) also drew on the idea of complexity and size.The bigram *groote wereldpolitiek* ("large world politics") appears multiple times and refers to the aggregated whole of political events and developments that are abroad and require an answer by the administration.[233]
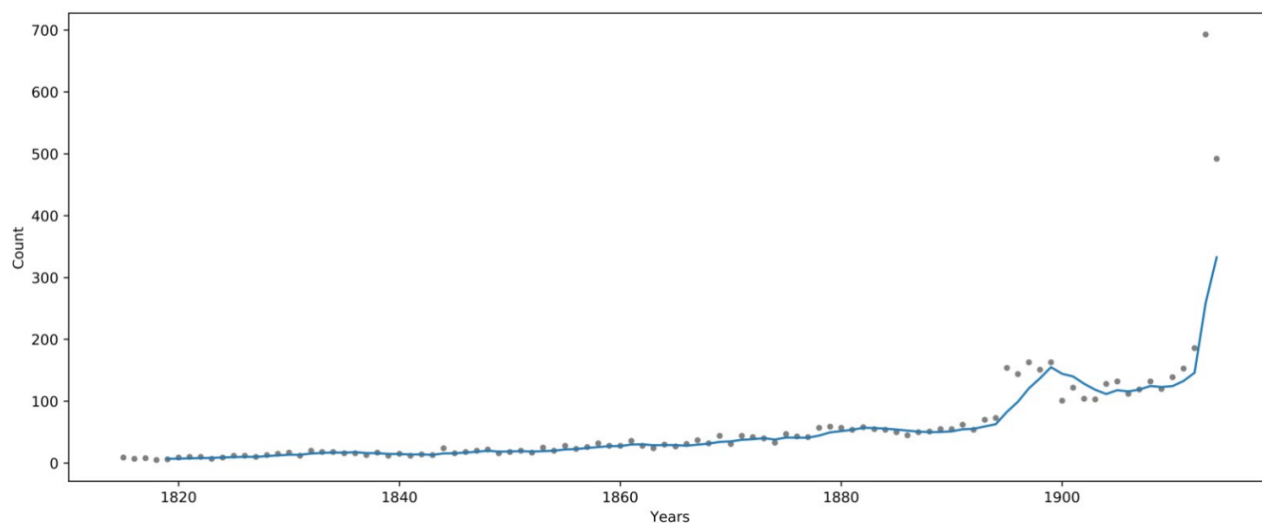
Figure 30. The productivity of compound nouns that include *wereld*. Only in the 1890s do the productivity scores rise significantly. The nouns are extracted by using the UDPIPE Part-of-Speech Tagger.[234]

5.2.3 "Ons Kleine Land"

Opposite the largeness of the foreign lies the smallness of the domestic or national. When it comes to identifying the nation as something small, the Dutch are clearly a special case. From the early nineteenth century onwards, the phrase "ons klein(e) land(je)" was a leitmotif in speaking about the relation between the nation and the outside world. The trigram is first found in the *Koninklijke Courant* in 1808.[235] In subsequent years "our small country" was juxtaposed with other nations or a general *buitenland*, often in

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[232] H. Gollwitzer, *Geschichte des weltpolitischen Denkens (Vol. 1)* (Göttingen 1972).

[233] See for example: *De Tijd*, 25-2-1900, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 2-11-1869, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 14-1-1897 and *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 12-2-1900.

[234] M. Straka and J. Strakov, 'Tokenizing, POS Tagging, Lemmatizing and Parsing UD 2.0 with UDPipe', *Proceedings of the CoNLL 2017 Shared Task: Multilingual Parsing from Raw Text to Universal Dependencies* (Vancouver 2017) 88-99.

[235] *Koninklijke Courant*, 24-11-1808.

the context of economic power or military capabilities.[236] Invocations of the phrase tended to stress the limited capacities of the nation, and the frailty of the *nietige Hollanders* ("puny Dutchmen") vis à vis "het groote buitenland".[237] Newspaper authors for example feared the "influx of unfortunate foreigners in our small country" and lamented the poor knowledge of "our small country" abroad.[238] One author, under pseudonym "Pellegrinus", even complains about the frequent use of the phrase on the front page of the *Nieuws van den Dag*. According to the author, no nation in the world should refer to itself as *ons kleine landje*, because the smallest nation is the nation that speaks the most about its smallness.[239] The expression was, however, by no means incommensurable with national pride. In fact, *ons kleine land* was often used to align the nation with the progress of other nations (for which another Dutch expression, "de vaart der volkeren" was used). The phrase was used to argue that despite its size, the nation could actually be counted among the civilized nations.[240]

5.2.4 Conclusion

Over the course of the nineteenth century size attached to the concept of *buitenland* as a semantic property. This process is observable on two levels: the experience of the foreign as something large and complex and the introduction of larger (if not global) categories in the meta-geography of the foreign. Firstly, the vocabulary of the foreign saw an increase in trigrams starting with 'large foreign' in the late nineteenth century. The words modified as large and foreign show how senses of size and complexity attached themselves to the concept. This had multiple effects. Newspapers printed only the most important foreign events and governments had to prioritize certain matters and issues in their foreign policies. Secondly, the meta-geography of foreign space changed. The secularized concept of world became more and more important in the attitudes towards space, and a meta-geography of globality (with *wereldpolitiek* as its conceptual outcome) had formed by the end of the nineteenth century. Senses of size and complexity were, however, not completely new. The motif of the small fatherland (juxtaposed with the big outside world) can be found in the early nineteenth century, and can therefore be seen as a catalyst in the process of sizing the foreign.

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[236] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 20-5-1833.

[237] *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 14-8-1868.

[238] *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 12-4-1907.

[239] *Nieuws van den Dag*, 13-11-1905.

[240] See for example *Provinciale Noordbrabantsche en 's Hertogenbossche Courant*, 27-5-1912 and *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 14-11-1883.

5.3 Distancing the Foreign

Conceptions of foreign space not only operated within a small/large frame. Equally important is the close-far axis. Distance is intrinsic to the concept, since that what is "outside" must have a minimal degree of farness. Contrary to scale, however, distance is a property less prominent in trigrams (those starting with *verre buitenlandsche* are few in number). This section is therefore aimed at a period where the distance between the foreign and the non-foreign shrank. I investigate discourse surrounding telegraph communication and railroads that were established in the 1840s and 1850s and evaluate whether this language reveals any signs of redefinition of foreign distance. Also, I investigate the distant foreign as a motif invoked to gain legitimacy. Lastly, I go beyond the newspapers to investigate the distance of the foreign. Georg Simmel's *Exkurs über die Fremde* perfectly captures the spirit of modern foreignness as experienced in the early 1900s. Moreover, Simmel's definition of the stranger contains many elements that also mark the foreign in a more general socio-spatial form.

5.3.1 Closing and Distancing the Foreign

In 1839 the first train (slowly) made its way from Haarlem to Amsterdam. The line between these cities was the first of many to come. After failed attempts to establish a rail connection between Amsterdam and Cologne in 1831, the 1840s and 1850s saw a dramatic expansion of railroad networks in the Netherlands. Multiple public and private societies, such as the "Hollandsche IJzeren Spoorwegmaatchappij" and the "Maatschappij tot Exploitatie van de Staatsspoorwegen" were established to realize and finance the new tracks and carriages.[241] Newspaper articles discussing the new invention took part in a broader discourse of connecting to *het buitenland*.[242] Collocation scores of *buitenland* in combination with *afstand* ("distance"), *betrekking* ("connection"), *verbinding* ("connection") and *verhouding* ("relation") point at the mid nineteenth century as a period of change, especially the scores of *buitenland/verhouding* increased significantly (Figure 31). Also, keyword searches on "met het buitenland" and "naar het buitenland" result in many articles that discussed the connection between Dutch and foreign railroads. This discursive shift towards connections with the foreign was also accelerated and stimulated by the expanding networks of telegraph.[243] Besides the language of "closing the foreign" provoked by technological change, the rhetoric of national pride also drew on senses of distance. Distance played an important role in the persistent use of *het buitenland* as a way to rhetorically strengthen (national) fame, glory or triumph.[244] Dutch products, individuals and reputations are known *tot ver in het buitenland* ("far abroad"), and context words show

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[241] H. Knippenberg, 'De fysieke kant van het land: grenzen, grond water en wegen', in: I. de Haan, P. den Hoed and H. te Velde, *Een Nieuwe Staat: Het Begin van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam 2013) 97-100.

[242] For example, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 11-10-1859 and *Leeuwarder Courant*, 15-5-1860.

[243] R. de Graaf, *Journalistiek in Beweging*, 79.

[244] See for example, *De Tijd*, 10-9-1852 and *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 16-11-1901.

naam ("name" or "fame"), *roem* ("glory", "fame"), *doordringen* ("permeate") and *reputatie* ("reputation") as important indicators of this referentiality.
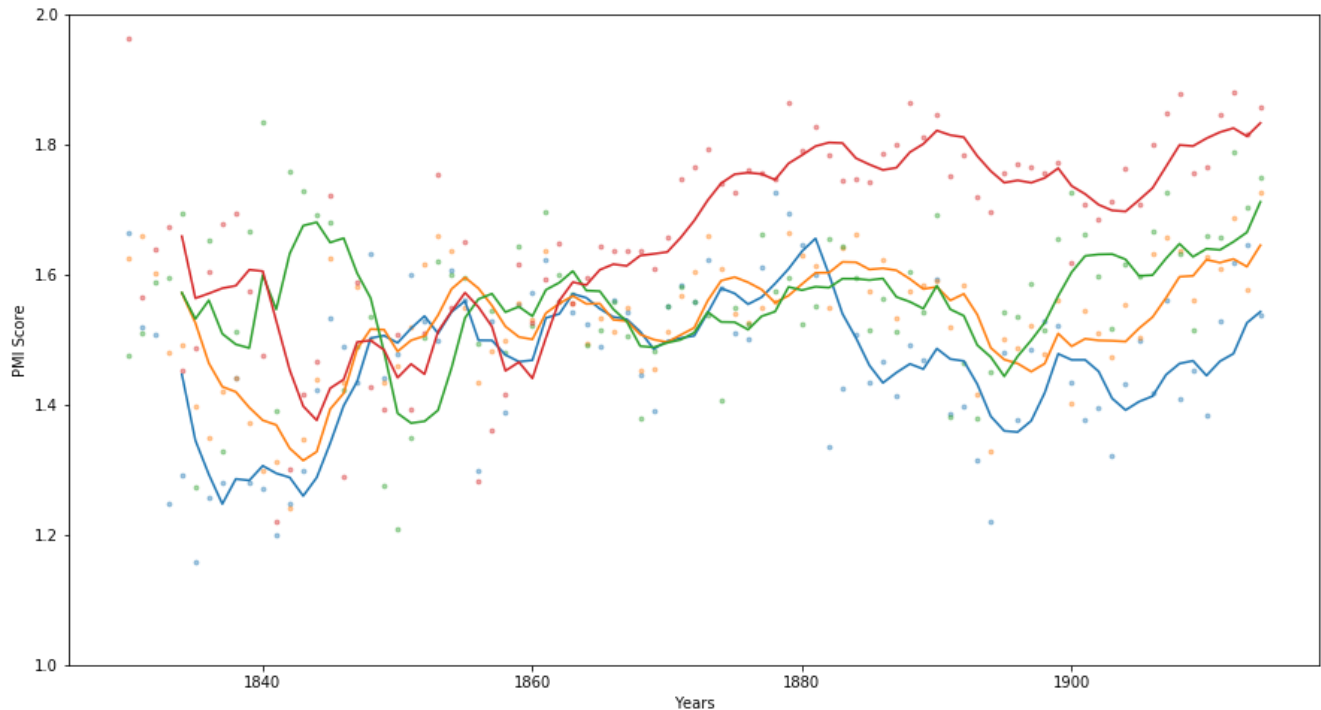
Figure 31. Collocation scores of *buitenland* and *afstand* (blue), *betrekking* (orange), *verbinding* (green) and *verhouding* (red) between 1830 and 1914. Since *buitenland* was used only incidentally before 1830, this year is picked as the starting point for the visualization.

The foreign became not only closer. In fact, the discourse of connecting to *het buitenland* can be mirrored with language that used distance and farness as a quality of the foreign. Word embeddings show how the 1870s saw the emergence of categories such as "the far west" (often used to refer to the American west[245]), "the far east", "far inlands" and "far lands". Especially the latter (*verre landen*) became a popular phrase in referring to other countries or regions. Once we use the semantic connections as obtained through vector space models to create conceptual networks, it becomes clear how the the idea of "far lands" related to the concept of the strange, as well as to the meta-geography of world, discussed in the previous section (Figure 32). Far lands were strange lands, characterized by either an uninhabitable climate ("mountainous regions", "wilderness") or a colonial status ("british posessions" and "countries oversea") something often related to colonialism (. This also demonstrates the semantic similarity between *strange* and *far*. Distance

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[245] *Provinciale Noordbrabantsche en 's Hertogenbossche Courant*, 24-3-1872 and *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 22-2-1872.

was dependent not only on physical proximity, but also on mental or cultural proximity. Romantic and orientalist depictions of wild regions and exotic cultures established new boundaries of social distance.

Figure 32. A Concept Network of *verre landen* ("far lands"). The network is constructed by using a list of words obtained through taking the most similar words of the most similar words to *verre landen*. Four of these iterations give thousands of words. Some of them appear multiple times and are therefore expected to be central in the semantic field 'around' the input word. Because thousands of words cannot be visualized, only the words that are connected to ten other words are selected. The visualization shows clusters (words related to animal life, words related to regions and areas, words related to colonial possessions and words used to indicate "other countries".

5.3.2 Simmel's Stranger

Dynamics of distance as found in the concept of *buitenland* can be better understood through the eyes of the German sociologist Georg Simmel, who, in the early years of the twentieth century explored the many faces of modernity. In his renowned *Soziologie*, Georg Simmel explores the "sociological form" of the stranger/foreigner ("das Fremde"), one of the fundamental motifs of modernity, according to Simmel. While he is mostly concerned with the individual stranger, his observations can be generalized and used to analyze the general (socio-spatial) concept of *buitenland*.

The stranger, in the eyes of Simmel, is someone who unites closeness and farness. On the one hand, the stranger is fundamentally different and thus distant. On the other hand, the stranger is close: he part of the group that defines him. Nevertheless, the stranger always maintains a potential for wandering and removing himself from the group (Simmel speaks of "der potentiel Wandernde", the potential

wanderer).[246] Simmel, as a child of his time, categorized most of his objects of study as modern. The stranger is also a modern phenomenon. In earlier times, Simmel argues, the stranger was less clearly visible because he did not yet settle down in the place of his activity. Often it was trade that functioned as the typical "sphere of the stranger".

Although one must be careful not to divide history into modern/pre-modern binaries, Simmel's depiction of the stranger echoes many of the conceptual particularities of *buitenland*. The early-modern stranger-wanderer connects well to the volatility and non-presence of foreignness in the early nineteenth century, found in the discourse on foreign things in the national economy and the structure of foreign news. From a Simmelian perspective the mid-nineteenth century technological developments that brought the foreign closer to home can be read as a process of "settling down" of the stranger to inhabit his place in the domestic community. Railroads and the telegraph not only established connections to the foreign, they also resulted in the finalization of a permanent presence of foreignness. Closeness and farness thus amalgamated in the concept of the foreign. Something not discussed by Simmel is the fact that the boundaries between foreign and domestic, between the stranger and the neighbour are at the same time more clearly demarcated and expressed. The fact that the concepts of *vreemd* and *buitenlandsch* became practically indistinguishable is a clear sign: with the presence of the foreign, a more clearer idea of what was and what was not foreign was established. Another trope of the stranger is his engaged objectivity. Simmel argues that the stranger "is not radically committed to the unique ingredients and peculiar tendencies of the group, and therefore approaches them with the specific attitude of "objectivity". So far this objectivity has surfaced multiple times. The objective foreigner is recognized in invocations of *Het Buitenland* as the external observer whose opinion should be included in domestic decision making. Similarly, the foreign "fame" and "glory" that marked the fruits of the fatherland (discussed in the previous section) rested on the assumption of a relatively objective foreign that could be employed to rhetorically bolster national pride.

5.3.3 Conclusion

Similar to scale, distance became an important property of the concept of the foreign. Compared to the issue of scale, however, distance appears as more ambivalent, if not paradoxical. On the one hand the mid nineteenth century saw a discourse of connecting to the foreign, both physically (through railroads) and culturally (through enjoying fame and glory abroad). On the other hand, increased knowledge about the world (a reduction of mental distance) also led to the identification of far lands. This paradox of closeness-in-farness can be understood through the work of Georg Simmel, whose observations on the stranger can be generalized to the concept of the foreign.

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[246] G. Simmel, *Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die formen der vergesellschaftung* (Leipzig 1908) 685.

5.4 Movement and Instability

The foreign thus became overwhelmingly large as well as close and far at the same time. Another semantic property that follows from these characteristics is movement or instability. We find this property already in Simmel's stranger, whose freedom and mobility are defining features of strangeness. Movement "infects conceptions of both distance and foreignness with a further strain of consequential associations": it places the stable home (*vaderland* or *natie*) against an unstable *buitenland*.[247] In this section I show how this division between stability and instability was the outcome of a historical process of meaning formation. Senses of movement and instability are particularly visible in two areas: the depiction of the foreign as a site of progress and innovation that requires "catching up" and imitation, and the association of complexity and uncertainty with the foreign.

5.4.1 Uncertainty and Complexity

The growing instability of the condition of the foreign has already been discussed in previous chapters. From the observations made in the first chapter and the sections on *binnenland* and *internationaal* in the second chapter a particular trajectory of conceptual change can be extracted. The start of this trajectory is formed by the intersection of two developments: the expanding range of things that were (potentially) foreign and the increasing presence of the foreign (best captured in the Simmelian idea of the stranger who has "settled down"). Following Koselleck's idea of complexity leading to generality we can see both aspects as constitutive of the 'singularization' of the foreign. Encounters with foreign currencies, merchants, states, periodicals and other things lead to the formation of foreign collective singulars such as "market", "relation" and "press". The classification of these singulars was often done through discussing them in terms of *toestanden* ("conditions"). The foreign market saw conditions of either growth or decline, foreign relations were marked by peace or conflict and the foreign press was "not particularly impressed" about certain events[248], or "full of premises" about the fatherland.[249]

The condition of these foreign singulars was not only identified as such, but also associated with uncertainty and incalculability. If we take all bigrams starting with *onzekere*, *onrustige* ("restless" or "troubled") and *onberekenbare* ("incalculable") that are semantically related[250] to bigrams starting with *buitenlandsche* it is shown how uncertainty was related to foreign things from the early nineteenth century (Figure 33). Especially the mid-nineteenth century saw an increase in the bigrams that were related.

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[247] R. Saunders, 'Keeping a Distance: heidegger and derrida on foreignness and friends', *Angelaki* 16:2 (2011) 36.

[248] *Provinciale Zwolsche en Overijsselsche Courant*, 9-8-1913.

[249] *Delftsche courant*, 16-3-1912.

[250] As explained earlier, I take a cosine similarity score of > 0.4 as a sign of semantic relation.

Bigrams such as "foreign relations", "foreign policy" and "foreign developments" relate to "uncertain condition", while "foreign powers" and "foreign intervention" relate to "uncertain future". Also, connections between *onberekenbare* ("incalculable") and *buitenlandsche* show how in the same period bigrams such as "foreign developments", "foreign enemies" and "foreign competition" came to relate to "incalculable disaster", "incalculable damage" and "incalculable effects". Lastly, connections between *onrustige* and *buitenlandsche* bigrams show how the idea of movement and unrest took hold of the concept of the foreign. "Troubled condition" related to "foreign relations", while "restless movement" related to "foreign intervention" and "troubled times" to "foreign capitalists" and "foreign competition".

Figure 33. Semantically Similar onzekere/onrustige/onberekenbare- and foreign-bigrams in three periods

Associations of movement and uncertainty not only attached to words modified as foreign. The singularized *buitenland* saw similar semantic associations. *Delpher* queries such as *toestand in het buitenland* and *toestand van het buitenland* show that from the 1860s onwards the condition of *het buitenland* gradually became an important object of reporting. Newspapers now spoke of the "condition of Europe", or the "political developments abroad" that "leaves us with fear" for the "condition of the fatherland".[251] Typical is the editorial note in the *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage* that

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[251] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10-5-1848 and *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 11-3-1848.

announced the establishment of a new "bulletin", because "these days a great weight is attributed to the political condition of the foreign".[252] The idea of the uncertain condition of *het buitenland* often appeared together with emotions.[253] *Ongerustheid* ("concern" or "anxiety"), *onzekerheid* ("uncertainty") and *wantrouwen* ("mistrust"), *verward* ("confused") and *ernstig* ("grave") were terms used to describe and evaluate the political condition of the foreign.[254] These uncertain conditions also led to the identification of cause and effect. Foreign developments were harmful to "the fatherland". They "obstruct commerce" and assume "a more threatening face every day".[255] Developments abroad influenced government policy as well as the *toestand* of the market.[256] Here we recognize the unpredictability that also marked the domestic.[257] The "restless movements", "incalculable disasters" and "uncertain effects", however, now originated primarily abroad.

5.4.2 Catching Up with Foreign Progress

Developments or *toestanden* abroad not only identified as harmful or obstructive. Especially towards the end of the century, reports on foreign conditions and developments were also presented as models for domestic or national development. *Het Buitenland* was used as a mirror to measure national progress. Indicative are the articles that mention *buitenland* together with *gelijken tred* ("the same pace") and *reeds* ("already"). These articles, occurring from the 1840s onwards, show the numerous comparisons with *het buitenland*. Whether it is the network of trains,[258] the Dutch military fleet,[259] the educational system[260] or the tapestry industry:[261] keeping up with the foreign was both a national necessity and an administrative responsibility. This discourse of keeping or catching up rested on the assumption that *het buitenland* was uniform, and even moving in the same direction. Implicitly, this meant that foreign space was constituted of *beschaafde volken*, and keeping up was mostly a matter of keeping up with "other civilized nations".[262] Models trained on the late nineteenth-century newspaper articles also demonstrate the importance of the city as the object of comparison. Dutch cities compared themselves with "foreign cities" and *wereldsteden*

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[252] *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage*, 4-5-1866.

[253] See for example: *Middelburgsche Courant*, 1-6-1860 and *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage*, 29-11-1860.

[254] See for example: *Arnhemsche Courant*, 23-5-1877, *De Tijd*, 11-2-1878, *Nieuws van den Dag*, 18-11-1878,

[255] *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 18-11-1854, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 25-4-1856 and *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage*, 3-2-1860.

[256] See for example; *Arnhemsche Courant*, 11-10-1870 and *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 7-11-1878.

[257] *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 6-1-1842.

[258] *Leeuwarder Courant*, 8-8-1910.

[259] *Arnhemsche Courant*, 1-3-1913.

[260] *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 10-12-1868.

[261] *Arnhemsche Courant*, 22-07-1868.

[262] *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, 22-11-1870.

("world cities"), where the fruits of modern technology were on display.[263]

5.4.3 Conclusion

Over the course of the nineteenth century the concept of the foreign became semantically enriched with senses and associations of movement and (in)stability. Conditions of all things foreign were modified as restless, uncertain and on the move. Similarly, the singularized concept of *buitenland* was seen as unstable, if not threatening to the (condition of) the fatherland. Movement, however, was also defined positively. Economic and socio-political developments abroad were to be copied to ensure the position of the nation among the other civilized countries. These ideas resonate in our current times. The opportunities and dangers provoked by a world on the move are important elements of today's concept of globalization. The conceptual history of *buitenland* shows that these associations and meanings are far from new, but formed in the nineteenth century.

5.5 Foreign Futures

Categorizing social experience by means of the concept of *buitenland* was not only a matter of space, but also a matter of time. We have already seen how a particular temporal pattern of order and disorder, peace and war and revolution and stability connected to the eighteenth-century use of *binnenland* and *buitenland*. This section investigates the temporality of the foreign in more detail. A rich body of conceptual histories can be used to approach this topic. Especially relevant is the Koselleckian notion of the so-called synchronicity of the non-synchronous (the "Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen"). According to Koselleck, all modern concepts maintain a tripartite temporal structure. They contain "past experience, contemporary reality and expectations for the future", by which a particular temporal regime is instituted.[264] The concept of civilization, for example, contains strong notions about a pre-civilized past, current-day civilization in comparison to others and a socio-political horizon of change towards higher levels of civilization.[265] The outcome of this conceptual "inner structure" of temporality is a multiplicity of temporalities, simply because there are various concepts and semantic fields. At the core of Kosellecks theoretical contributions to conceptual history was the idea that there was no "homogenous time". Instead, the social and conceptual world consisted of a great variety of temporal scales. History in the eyes of Koselleck was therefore fundamentally non-synchronous ("Ungleichzeitig").[266] The task of

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[263] *Bredasche Courant*, 15-1-1913, *Nieuws van den Dag*, 17-2-1904.

[264] R. Koselleck, *Begriffsgeschichten*, 92.

[265] P. Den Boer, 'Civilization: Comparing Concepts and Identities', *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 1:1 (2005) 51-62.

[266] A. Landwehr, 'Von der "Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen"', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 295:1 (2012) 1-34.

Begriffsgeschichte, in Koselleck's eyes, was to investigate the tensions that arise between this conceptual landscape of differing temporalities.

Based on Koselleck's work on time and more recent efforts to further his line of thinking, I focus on two aspects of foreign temporality: the synchronizing function or effect of *buitenland*, and the temporality that was present in the progressive conception of history as discussed in the previous section on movement and instability. Studying these aspects will show how the concept of *buitenland* played a crucial role in establishing the synchronicity of the "global imaginary" that forms the basis for our current understanding of globalization. Moreover, the concept formed a bridge between two seemingly contrasting temporal regimes that are in use until today: progress and crisis.

5.5.1 Synchronizing Time

As Helge Jordheim points out, the perceived synchronicity of time is the result of deliberate practice in both the technological and conceptual sense.[267] The idea that we live in a similar present as people on the other side of the globe is no historical constant, but follows from practices of systemization that were necessary in light of, for example, stock market trade, telegraphic communication and international train travel. Questions related to the standardization of time appeared in the late nineteenth century. The 1884 International Meridian Conference was the first large venue where the standardization of mechanical time-keeping was discussed on the international level.[268] In the decades, if not centuries, before, state formation had already lead to the nationalization of time. Instead of local church bells, national standards came to determine the limits of the present.[269]

From this perspective of standardizing and synchronizing, we can interpret the concept of *buitenland* as located in mid- and late-nineteenth century efforts to "synchronize the world". Following technological innovation, the gap between the event and the report became smaller and smaller. Telegraphic connections enabled newspapers to print news not months, but days or even hours later. This is visible in the temporal markers found in the close proximity of *buitenland**. Collocations and context words show a growth in the words *heden* and *tegenwoordig* (both translated as "now", "current" or "today") throughout the century and a rapid increase in the scores of *vandaag* ("today") at the end of the century (Figure 34). Once we take a look at the articles, one notices how foreign news becomes an actuality.[270] Articles were increasingly written in the present tense, something that could not been

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[267] H. Jordheim, 'Introduction: Multiple times and the work of synchronization', *History and Theory* 53:4 (2018) 498-518.

[268] A. W. Palmer, 'Negotiation and resistance in global networks: the 1884 international Meridian conference', *Mass Communication and Society* 5:1 (2002) 7-24.

[269] J. Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World. A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (New York 2014) 45-77.

[270] This is not to say that the word *gisteren* ("yesterday") declined in frequency: its collocation scores of the word *gisteren* remain dominant until 1900.

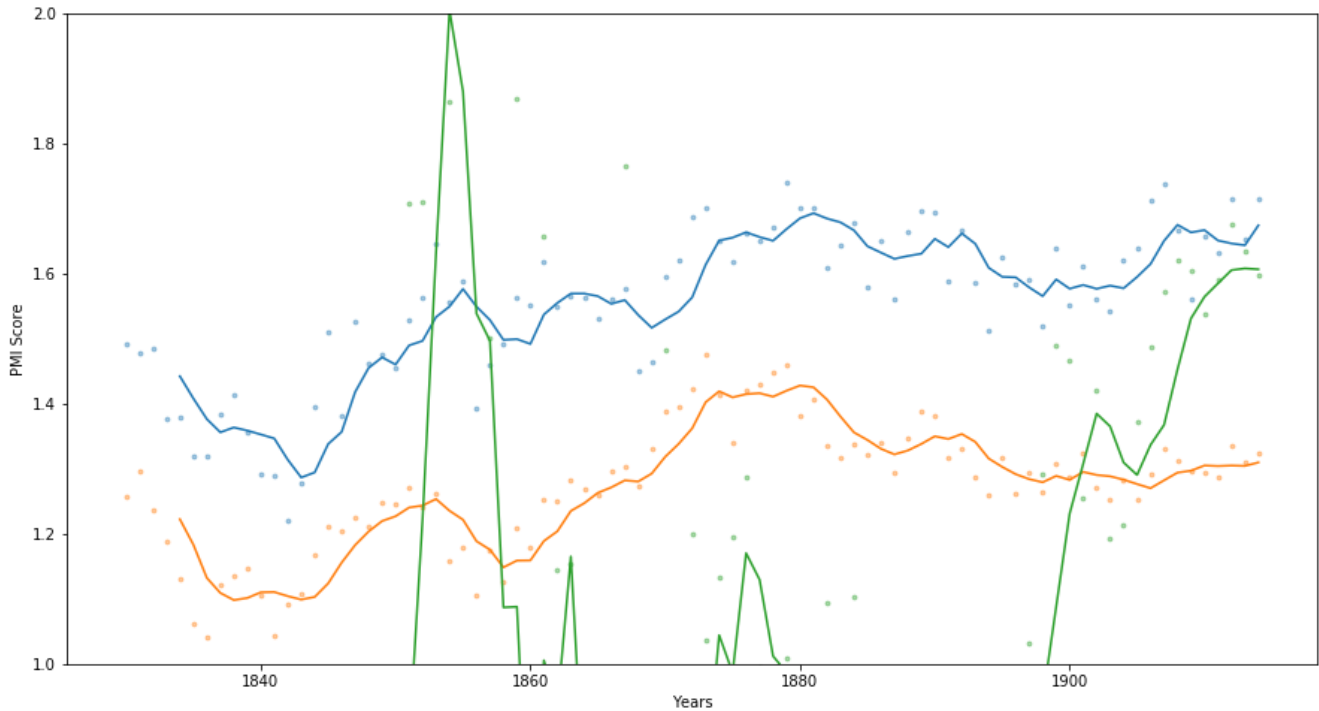evaluated computationally[271] but appears from close reading dozens of articles.[272]

Figure 34. Collocation scores of buitenland and tegenwoordig (blue), heden (orange) and vandaag(green) between 1830 and 1914. Since buitenland was used only incidentally before 1830, this year is picked as the starting point for the visualization. The green line, that of vandaag, shows only incidental peaks until the turn of the century, after which a structural increase marks the collocation scores.

This is also consistent with the changes in journalistic style. In the 1860s "new journalism" appeared in the wake of newspaper professionalization and commercialization.[273] Journalists were increasingly expected to write in a readable, and preferably exciting form. Merely listing yesterday's facts about the developments abroad was put aside in favor of gripping stories about the present state of Europe. Also, the increase in ideologically and politically opinionated articles on the fate and future of foreign affairs could explain this shift towards the present and future-oriented character of foreign news. For the concept of *buitenland* these changes implied the establishment of temporal presentness.

Synchronizing by means of the concept of *buitenland* also involved the earlier observed idea of *toestanden* ("states", "conditions"). As we saw, *het buitenland* was discussed in terms of *present*

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[271] Computationally evaluating the temporality of the articles would require parsing all articles. This would have taken months to complete. Also, parsing historical and digitized material is often problematic, as OCR-errors misguide the parsing methods.

[272] Parsing the dataset and extracting tenses might provide an insight into the changing directedness of language towards the future.

[273] Wijfjes, *Journalistiek in Nederland*.

conditions ("tegenwoordige toestand"). This contemporaneity applied to the conditions of states and regions (Europe) or to the condition of a question itself, for example in the case of the "tegenwoordige toestand der Italiaanse kwestie".[274] For governments the existence of intrinsically present conditions meant "complying to the demands of a condition". This tells us that temporal regime imposed by a *tegenwoordigen toestand* revolved around the idea of being overtaken by events. The contemporary condition was always ahead of time: it was established moments ago, but despite this 'newness' it had already created a complex, unstable and threatening situation that required intervention.[275] In other words, (foreign) politics became a matter of catching up with a new reality. Word embeddings reveal close semantic relations between bigrams such as *europeesche politiek* ("european politics"), *staatkundige wereld* ("political world") and *laatste dagen* ("last days") and *tegenwoordige tijd* ("contemporary time"). The concept of the foreign thus appears as marked by conditions that established themselves in "recent days" and therefore consolidated a head start, resulting in the feeling of lagging behind.

5.5.2 Progressive Time

The foreign also features as a time-ordering concept in another sense. In chapter one I observed how spatial boundaries were complemented with temporal ones by means of the concept of civilization. This process entailed the establishment of a temporal regime of progress, one that orders nations, *volken* ("peoples") and civilizations based on their level of progress. The idea of progress is a typical example of Kosellecks *Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*. On the one hand, all cultures and nations are synchronized, because without doing so there is no point in comparing them. On the other hand, there are fundamental asynchronies between the inhabitants of the space of progress. The idea of progressive time is found in various forms in the newspaper articles. The first, and most obvious, way of invoking the foreign is to designate it as a place where "something is already happening".[276] This often leads to the characterization of foreign space as a testing ground, a place where something has appeared as either a failure, or as something that has been "fruitfully applied".[277] From the perspective of the home nation, the foreign is thus a place where things are put in a brighter light, where the effects of certain measures are *reeds* ("already") visible. Often, these measures are to be imitated. Metaphorical images of walking and *schreden* "steps", invoking a sense of catching up, therefore frequently accompany these references to *het buitenland*.[278] More than perfectly capturing the coalescence of space and time is an opinionated piece in the *Nieuws van den Dag*:

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[274] See for example: *Leeuwarder Courant*, 3-6-1856, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 9-11-1859, *De Standaard*, 5-4-1878.

[275] *Delftsche Courant*, 17-7-1860. Title is "Buitenlandsche Berigten. Algemeen Overzigt."

[276] See for example: *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10-7-1862.

[277] *Dagblad van Zuidholland en `s Gravenhage*, 5-2-1858 and *Nieuws van den Dag*, 8-11-1892.

[278] *Nieuws van den Dag*, 4-1-1892.

> People reproach us for being the Chinese of Europe (..) because we lag behind with everything. Measures that have been in effect abroad for fifty years, in our country are only *considered*, only to make decisions "at the right time".[279]

Apparently, the Netherlands is seen as a country lagging behind, compared to the rest of Europe. The comparison between the Chinese and the Dutch even hints at the existence of different scales of progress. The European community of "civilized nations" were contrasted to less advanced societies, but also within this community societies were compared. The Dutch could be compared to other European nations, and to for example Asian or African societies. Contrary to Jordheims depiction of a "universalising temporality of progress", different temporalities of progress thus existed alongside one another.

5.5.3 Conclusion

The temporality of *buitenland* manifests itself in two temporal regimes: crisis and progress. On the one hand the foreign increasingly functioned as a concept that denoted a situation that had recently been established. In order to meet the (political) demands of this situation or *toestand*, administrative intervention was deemed necessary. On the other hand, *buitenland* operated in a discourse on progress, one that presumed a global or regional synchronicity as the basis for comparison, but at the same time differentiated between different 'stages' that marked the condition of a nation or culture. Jordheim argues that nowadays the temporal regime of progress is slowly substituted by that of crisis.[280] Climate change and aggressive geopolitics impose a new temporal regime, one that stresses instability and demands action. The temporality of *buitenland*, however, has shown that in the context of Dutch newspaper discourse, there was no clear dominant temporal regime. In fact, they were frequently used conjointly. Newspapers spoke of the contemporary crisis as a threat to the general progress of humanity or the civilized nations.[281] Also, both regimes are dependent on the idea of a spatial 'level playing field'. They are only imaginable if different socio-spatial entities are conceptualized as inhabiting the same singular space. It is here that *buitenland* appears as the crucial concept.

5.6 Conclusion

The unknown editor who composed the foreign news in the *Provinciale Zwolsche en Asser Courant* made use of a particular conception of the foreign. In the decades before a specific set of semantic properties

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[279] *Nieuws van den Dag*, 19-12-1889.

[280] H. Jordheim and E. Wigen, 'Conceptual Synchronisation: From Progress to Crisis', *Millennium* 46:3 (2018) 421-439.

[281] Nieuws van den Dag, 14-9-1879, Leeuwarder Courant, 13-12-1879 and Arnhemsche Courant, 26-11-1888.

had attached themselves to the concept of *buitenland*. Size, distance, movement and time had invested the concept with meanings and associations that had fundamental effects on how newspaper readers experienced their time. The foreign not only categorized space, it also mediated in the experience of space and the relation of other countries, regions, and cultures to the self and the nation. The foreign space that formed during the nineteenth century became an overwhelming collection of complex processes and things: a stream of events that flowed so quickly that only the most important ones could be discussed in the newspapers and a puzzle of questions and conditions that contributed to a permanent feeling of lagging behind. The concept of the foreign came to hold a crucial position in the experience of globality. The idea of the global as it formed towards the end of the nineteenth century was steered and molded by the concept of *buitenland* in the same way as *buitenland* was altered and influenced by other concepts. This means that the concept of globalization, along with all its associations and meanings, is not simply registering what happens on a global scale. The fact that we talk about a world where something happens, a world that is constantly moving and progressing, a world that is at the same time in a permanent state of crisis, is no coincidence.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This thesis starts from the problem of globalization. The contemporary appearance and use of the concept of *buitenland* draws on an objectified image of 'the global' and a reduction of the phenomenon to material processes. Problems such as these result from a lack of understanding of globalization's conceptual foundations. It is not yet clear how the concept intervenes in categorizing space and the social, and how it imbues changes in both with meanings. In light of this lacuna, this research has focused on the conceptual change of *buitenland* as found in Dutch nineteenth-century newspaper discourse. This conclusion sums the findings of this research, connects these findings to the problem of globalization and identifies implications of the research with regards to spatial, conceptual and digital history.

6.1 Summary

In the nineteenth-century Dutch newspaper discourse, *buitenland* appeared as an important categorizing concept. It featured prominently in language revolving around diplomacy, statecraft and commerce. In the mid nineteenth century, the concept's extension expanded significantly. What was seen as foreign became more complex and diverse. As the concept was used in combination with an increasing number of things, it also witnessed generalization or singularization. Invocations of a singular (*het*) *buitenland*, used to describe a general foreign space, became more frequent. Through newspaper headings and rhetorical use, *het buitenland* became a separate category of the nineteenth-century mental map. In the Dutch context, this implied a divergence from previous (eighteenth-century) ways of thinking about spatial order that drew on a mental geography of cities and the "outside lands" (*buitenlanden*) around these cities. Besides this change in conceptual form, the semantics of the foreign also changed in the mid nineteenth century. Gradually, the foreign came to denote the other and the deviant. This can be contrasted with eighteenth and early nineteenth-century conceptions of foreignness that often revolved around alienness and did not (yet) include a strong link between being foreign and being fundamentally other, and therefore 'outside' a specific ethnic or national community.

The concept of *buitenland* did not change in isolation. Its semantic fate depended on multiple concepts located opposite or alongside *buitenland*. The latter category of 'counter concepts' included *binnenland*, *vaderland* and *natie*. The domestic played an important role in the process of state formation, ultimately resulting in a sharp contrast between a governable domestic space and an ungovernable, and therefore distant and unstable, foreign space. Two concepts that were equally important in negatively defining *buitenland* were nation and fatherland. As the (nationalist) uses of the concepts became more frequent and emotional-political, they catalyzed the singularization of the foreign: the stronger the idea of the national, the stronger the idea of the non-national. Besides concepts that were juxtaposed with the foreign, two other concepts, *strange* and *international* also left their mark on the semantics of foreignness. In the eighteenth century *vreemd* and *buitenland* were practically synonyms. In the following century, the

concepts grew apart. In the last decades of the timeframe, however, *buitenland* (in its singularized and nationalized form) came to appropriate many of the meanings of *vreemd*. Besides *strange*, *international* also featured as a *Parallelbegriff*. It appeared in the 1850s and 1860s as a conceptual outcome of the newly identified foreign (singular) space. The study of the semantic field shows that conceptual change is far more than change in word use. A complex network of concepts and language must be included to firmly grasp how a concept changed. Some concepts (nation, fatherland) were used to negatively define what was foreign, while others (strange) influenced the semantics of foreignness through varying degrees of synonymy. Lastly, the conceptual change of *buitenland* also made space for new conceptual forms (international) that build on the newly emerged ways of categorizing space and social experience.

The study of semantic shifts in the concept of *buitenland* and its neighbours show that the concept was not just a semantically empty container.[282] On the contrary, specific associations and meanings became attached to the concept as it developed in the nineteenth century. The four elements of the semantics of *buitenland* discussed in this research show how the concept became semantically entangled with senses of largeness, closeness/farness, instability and temporal regimes of crisis and progress. Foreign things were increasingly understood as large and complex in nature, and the building blocks of foreign space (its metageography) became marked by a sense of globality from the end of the century onwards. With regard to distance, the foreign, similar to Simmel's stranger, became both far and close at the same time. Close in the sense that it was discursively identified as having an influence on 'domestic' or 'national' affairs. On the other hand, new knowledge about the far corners of the world established a new sense of distance, especially visible in the concept of *verre landen*. As the contrasts between the familiar and the other, and the foreign and the domestic became more strongly articulated, a sense of instability came to mark the latter category. From the 1850s onwards, *het buitenland* was increasingly discussed in terms of *toestanden* (conditions). It was this ontology of *toestanden* that hosted associations of instability. Foreign conditions were intrinsically complex, uncertain and therefore threatening. Through these associations of movement and instability we also arrive at the temporal dimension of *buitenland*. The concept operated in two 'temporal regimes'. On the one hand, the ever-unstable foreign conditions imposed a sense of crisis, a sense of rupture and the need for decisive action. On the other hand, the frequent references to and invocations of the foreign demonstrate the idea of progressive time. All nations of the world operated in the same time scale, and 'keeping up' with the others (referred to as *het buitenland*) was the only way to be a 'civilized' and 'modern' nation.

This research has shown how the *buitenland* emerged in the nineteenth century as a concept that set apart a singular foreign space. It imbued this space with specific meanings and associations. Hereby, it is essential as a concept that categorizes space. In this capacity, *buitenland* also forms the conceptual fundament for thinking about developments on a global scale, developments that play out in a particular

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[282] H. Lefebvre. *The Production of Space* (Chicago 1991) 40.

singular space that is large, far, close, complex and on the move.

6.2 Conclusions and Implications

The first conclusion that can be drawn from this research is the conceptuality of *buitenland* itself. This research has treated *buitenland* as a historical concept, and it has shown how a digital conceptual analysis yields important insights into the histor(icit)y of our contemporary ideas about space. This has consequences for both conceptual and spatial history. With regard to the former, there is a tendency to focus on the 'big' concepts: entities that enjoy an undisputed conceptuality (such as 'democracy', 'liberalism' and 'revolution'). This thesis has shown that seemingly trivial linguistic entities also benefit from historical conceptual analysis. In fact, neglecting them would mean a reduction of conceptual history to *Gipfelwanderungen*, in the same way a narrow selection of sources does. *Buitenland* thus decenters 'traditional' conceptual history.

With regard to the traditional scope of conceptual history, one could take this implication even further. Namely, Koselleck, following Carl Schmitt, spoke of so-called "anthropological constants" that transcend conceptuality and form the "foundation for meaning". Binary oppositions such as friend/enemy and inside/outside are encoded in the human mind and are the preconditions for the existence of the 'political', according to the German founding fathers of *Begriffsgeschichte*.[283] The conceptual history of *buitenland* shows that binary oppositions of inside/outside are indeed constant throughout the period. However, the socio-spatial 'translation' of these binaries into concepts such as *strange* and *foreign* is everything but constant. *Buitenland* demonstrates that while the existence of binary oppositions might be constant, their conceptual forms vary heavily. Spatial insides and outsides follow the singularization of the foreign, and the semantic companionship of foreigner and enemy is a product of the mid nineteenth century. There is thus a large gap in between the anthropological constants and their translations into concepts and language. This opens up new possibilities for historical research. How far can we stretch historicity and conceptuality? Where do we draw the boundary between constants, deictics and concepts?

The conceptuality of *buitenland* also has consequences for spatial (conceptual) history. Often spatial history assumes the form of studying meanings attributed to particular places.[284] Historians focus on geographical units and trace the associations attached to these units over time. This research has shown

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[283] The original argument for the friend-enemy distinction as the basis for the political can be found in: C. Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen* (Berlin, 1932) 18. Kosellecks discussion of 'anthropological constants' is found in: R. Reichardt, 'Lumières versus Ténèbres: Politisierung und Visualisierung aufklärerischer Schlüsselwörter in Frankreich vom XVII. zum XIX Jahrhundert', in: R. Reichardt, *Aufklärung und Historische Semantik: interdisziplinaäre Beiträge zur westeuropäischen Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin 1998) 83-170. See also: N. Olsen, 'Carl Schmitt, Reinhart Koselleck and the foundations of history and politics', *History of European Ideas* 37:2 (2011) 197-208.

[284] For a critique on the confusion of space, place and location in historical analysis, see: L. Jerram, 'space: A useless category for historical analysis?', *History and Theory*, 52:3 (2013) 400-419.

that studying the more abstract terminology used to classify space yields equally insightful results. Abstract terminology perhaps even tells us more about past perceptions of space, because it is (by nature) used in a more general way. Associations, meanings or emotions are not only restricted to spatial concepts such as 'Europe' or 'the West' that are rooted in geography. An abstract concept such as *buitenland* equally contains ideas about size, complexity, movement and temporality. This also implies that there is a vast array of words and concepts in between deictic terms (such as 'here' and 'there') and the names of geographical units. Subjecting these concepts to historical analysis is necessary to recover past ways of thinking about space that could also complement and challenge contemporary 'mental maps'.

The analysis of *buitenland* as presented in this thesis does not only have consequences for historiography. With regard to the concept of globalization and the problems in its current day use, two conclusions can be drawn. First, *buitenland* is an example of the spatial concepts that conceptually 'enable' the concept of globalization. The singular foreign space can be seen as a frame of thought that is also used in thinking about globalization, an idea that rests on the notion of a singular global space "out there". This global space is overwhelmingly complex and distant, but close at the same time. Steger and James identify the 1960s as a period when this 'global imaginary' took hold of Western culture. People increasingly saw themselves as part of 'the earth' and a 'global society'. Globalization 'took off' as a concept because it became embedded in ideas, imaginaries and 'ontologies' that revolved around this postwar idea of globality.[285] This research shows that the 'imaginaries' and 'ontologies' that provided the fertile ground for the concept of globalization, were already in the making in the nineteenth century. In fact, the 'global imaginary' identified by Steger and James builds on changes in nineteenth-century spatial concepts. In the Dutch context, the rise of the singular foreign can be seen as a prelude to thinking in terms of the global. Without a firmly rooted conception of foreign space, thinking in terms of spatial levels such as the regional, national and global (a meta-meta-geography) would not have been possible. The early nineteenth century (horizontal) conception of the foreign as something 'outside' one's own lands changed into a more vertical way of differentiating between the own (small) nation and the larger *buitenland*, looming over the national or domestic.

Secondly, connections between *buitenland* and globalization are not only found on the level of spatial mechanisms. The semantic properties of the former, discussed in the third chapter, are closely related to globalization. The "aesthetics of globalization" as experienced today are recognizable in the meanings and associations discussed in the third chapter.[286] Fast-paced change, complexity, entanglement, directionality: many of the aspects that are associated with globalization in our current-day use of the concept also feature in the semantics of *buitenland*. One aspect that connects many of these semantic

[285] Steger and James, 'A Genealogy of globalization', 423.

[286] T. Durante 'Visual Ideology and Social Imaginary: A New Approach to the Aesthetics of Globalization', *Spaces & Flows: An International Journal of Urban & Extra Urban Studies* 9:1 (2018) 15-34.

properties and globalization is that of the foreign *toestanden*. Speaking of 'conditions' that assemble the many associations of complexity, size, distance and instability reminds us of today's use of globalization as a condition or state in which the world is 'trapped'.[287] In fact, one hypothesis that follows from this research is the idea of the concept of globalization as the outcome of the singularization of *toestanden*. I have already shown how the discourse of multiple foreign conditions (tied to 'debt' or 'politics') transformed into one where the singular condition of *het buitenland* dominated. Further research into the early history of the concept of globalization could shed a light on this ontology of *toestanden* that seems to form the link between the 'global imaginary' and the idea of global developments.

It is clear that the concept of globalization, as well as its 'semantic circumference', requires more historical research. The first step would be to further explore the rhetorics and semantics of space. The range of words, concepts and discourses that are located in between deictics and geographical spatial concepts needs further historical reconstruction. Subsequently, the language of space needs contextualization. This research has focused on newspapers and used them as a proxy for the general public discourse in a national community. Detailed studies into specific newspapers and socio-institutional contexts should complement my focus on the general public discourse, and could more carefully reconstruct the historical mental maps of specific segments of societies. Also, the word-centered research should be complemented by an analysis of the rhetoric of space. Understanding mental maps requires a grasp of the processes of negotiation and political debate that accompany the use of spatial concepts.

6.3 Further Research in Digital Conceptual History

Lastly, this thesis is a study in, as well as a plea for, quantitative and digital conceptual history. It operates at the intersection of opposite fields. On the one hand we have the rapidly changing field of Digital Humanities, one that seems to be maintained primarily with methodological innovation and is thirsty for case studies that prove its relevance. On the other hand we have the field of conceptual history, one that shows hardly any methodological innovation and only slowly comes to terms with the methodological problems inherited from its twentieth-century founders. Digital conceptual history aims to cater to the needs of both fields. It provides and confronts Digital Humanities with much-needed case studies. These not only prove the value of DH, but also point at the difficulties and dilemmas that accompany digital historical research. Also, digital methods enrich the traditional conceptual history with computational methods that relieve it from the reflex to focus on increasingly smaller contexts and periods of time and push the discipline to study the 'big ideas' in ways that would have satisfied both Lovejoy and Koselleck.[288]

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[287] P.J. Taylor, 'Izations of the World: Americanization, Modernization and Globalization', In: C. Hay and D. Marsh (eds.) *'Demystifying Globalization', Globalization and Governance* (London 2000) 49-70.

[288] D. Armitage, 'What's the Big Idea? Intellectual History and the Longue Durée', *History of European Ideas* 38:4 (2012)

This does not mean, however, that this coalescence of disciplines is without its problems. In several respects, improvements can be made. First, (the use of) newspaper data can be improved. There is still much to be done when it comes to the quality of the data. Especially the quality of OCR in older newspapers is insufficient, although recent evaluations of OCR quality show that imperfect text recognition is not necessarily a problem.[289] A more pressing issue is the article segmentation (the way newspaper pages are computationally divided into separate articles). Quantitative analysis is dependent on consistently defined units of analysis: the individual articles. Currently, there appears to be no clear and consistent segmentation of newspaper articles. Besides the quality of the data, the use of the data can also be improved. In this research a sample of newspapers was used as a proxy for studying the general public discourse in the Netherlands. Of course, the newspapers used differ significantly in terms of political ideology, circulation, type and importance. Integrating this 'metadata' is important to nuance overtly general descriptions of conceptual change. With regard to digital conceptual history, computational and quantitative approaches confront the discipline with epistemological issues that are as old as conceptual history itself, but require new answers. The interdisciplinary methodological innovation that characterizes digital history must, however, be combined with thorough reflections on the assumptions that drive collocation analysis, frequency measures and word embeddings. What do we study when we count words? What do algorithms such as word2vec actually tell us? Can we study concepts through their vocabularies? As both Digital Humanities and globalization advance at a dazzling speed, I hope this thesis has provided answers and better questions that help to foster the computational study of spatial concepts.

493-507.

[289] M. J. Hill and S. Hengchen, 'Quantifying the impact of dirty OCR on historical text analysis: Eighteenth Century Collections Online as a case study', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* (2019) 1-19.

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Faculteit Geesteswetenschappen
Versie september 2014

VERKLARING KENNISNEMING REGELS M.B.T. PLAGIAAT

Fraude en plagiaat

Wetenschappelijke integriteit vormt de basis van het academisch bedrijf. De Universiteit Utrecht vat iedere vorm van wetenschappelijke misleiding daarom op als een zeer ernstig vergrijp. De Universiteit Utrecht verwacht dat elke student de normen en waarden inzake wetenschappelijke integriteit kent en in acht neemt.

De belangrijkste vormen van misleiding die deze integriteit aantasten zijn fraude en plagiaat. Plagiaat is het overnemen van andermans werk zonder behoorlijke verwijzing en is een vorm van fraude. Hieronder volgt nadere uitleg wat er onder fraude en plagiaat wordt verstaan en een aantal concrete voorbeelden daarvan. Let wel: dit is geen uitputtende lijst!

Bij constatering van fraude of plagiaat kan de examencommissie van de opleiding sancties opleggen. De sterkste sanctie die de examencommissie kan opleggen is het indienen van een verzoek aan het College van Bestuur om een student van de opleiding te laten verwijderen.

Plagiaat

Plagiaat is het overnemen van stukken, gedachten, redeneringen van anderen en deze laten doorgaan voor eigen werk. Je moet altijd nauwkeurig aangeven aan wie ideeën en inzichten zijn ontleend, en voortdurend bedacht zijn op het verschil tussen citeren, parafraseren en plagiëren. Niet alleen bij het gebruik van gedrukte bronnen, maar zeker ook bij het gebruik van informatie die van het internet wordt gehaald, dien je zorgvuldig te werk te gaan bij het vermelden van de informatiebronnen.

De volgende zaken worden in elk geval als plagiaat aangemerkt:
- het knippen en plakken van tekst van digitale bronnen zoals encyclopedieën of digitale tijdschriften zonder aanhalingstekens en verwijzing;
- het knippen en plakken van teksten van het internet zonder aanhalingstekens en verwijzing;
- het overnemen van gedrukt materiaal zoals boeken, tijdschriften of encyclopedieën zonder aanhalingstekens en verwijzing;
- het opnemen van een vertaling van bovengenoemde teksten zonder aanhalingstekens en verwijzing;
- het parafraseren van bovengenoemde teksten zonder (deugdelijke) verwijzing: parafrasen moeten als zodanig gemarkeerd zijn (door de tekst uitdrukkelijk te verbinden met de oorspronkelijke auteur in tekst of noot), zodat niet de indruk wordt gewekt dat het gaat om eigen gedachtengoed van de student;
- het overnemen van beeld-, geluids- of testmateriaal van anderen zonder verwijzing en zodoende laten doorgaan voor eigen werk;
- het zonder bronvermelding opnieuw inleveren van eerder door de student gemaakt eigen werk en dit laten doorgaan voor in het kader van de cursus vervaardigd oorspronkelijk werk, tenzij dit in de cursus of door de docent uitdrukkelijk is toegestaan;
- het overnemen van werk van andere studenten en dit laten doorgaan voor eigen werk. Indien dit gebeurt met toestemming van de andere student is de laatste medeplichtig aan plagiaat;
- ook wanneer in een gezamenlijk werkstuk door een van de auteurs plagiaat wordt gepleegd, zijn de andere auteurs medeplichtig aan plagiaat, indien zij hadden kunnen of moeten weten dat de ander plagiaat pleegde;
- het indienen van werkstukken die verworven zijn van een commerciële instelling (zoals een internetsite met uittreksels of papers) of die al dan niet tegen betaling door iemand anders zijn geschreven.

De plagiaatregels gelden ook voor concepten van papers of (hoofdstukken van) scripties die voor feedback aan een docent worden toegezonden, voorzover de mogelijkheid voor het insturen van concepten en het krijgen van feedback in de cursushandleiding of scriptieregeling is vermeld.

In de Onderwijs- en Examenregeling (artikel 5.15) is vastgelegd wat de formele gang van zaken is als er een vermoeden van fraude/plagiaat is, en welke sancties er opgelegd kunnen worden.

Onwetendheid is geen excuus. Je bent verantwoordelijk voor je eigen gedrag. De Universiteit Utrecht gaat ervan uit dat je weet wat fraude en plagiaat zijn. Van haar kant zorgt de Universiteit Utrecht ervoor dat je zo vroeg mogelijk in je opleiding de principes van wetenschapsbeoefening bijgebracht krijgt en op de hoogte wordt gebracht van wat de instelling als fraude en plagiaat beschouwt, zodat je weet aan welke normen je je moeten houden.

Hierbij verklaar ik bovenstaande tekst gelezen en begrepen te hebben.
Naam: **Ruben Ros**
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Datum en handtekening: 30-6-2019

Dit formulier lever je bij je begeleider in als je start met je bacheloreindwerkstuk of je master scriptie.

Het niet indienen of ondertekenen van het formulier betekent overigens niet dat er geen sancties kunnen worden genomen als blijkt dat er sprake is van plagiaat in het werkstuk.