

The Knickerbocker Weekly and the Netherlands Information Bureau:
A Public Diplomacy Cooperation During the 1941-1947 Era

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Introduction

After the outbreak of World War II and the defeat of the Dutch forces in the Netherlands, the Dutch government in exile recognized the importance of public diplomacy to support its foreign policy. The government established the Netherlands Information Bureau (NIB), the official Dutch press agency, in New York City in the summer of 1941. The bureau's main task was to inform the American public about the close relationship between the United States and the Netherlands and how this relationship supported mutual benefits. With the spread of photos, films, pamphlets and news articles, the bureau was able to promote its message across America. This message specifically addressed political, cultural and economic relations between the two nations and portrayed the Netherlands as a modern country that was more than able to play a large role in world politics and had important responsibilities regarding its colonies. The NIB's primary target audience was the American public, American journalists in particular, and its secondary target audience consisted of Americans of Dutch origin and Dutchmen residing in the United States. The outreach to the secondary target audience happened with the help of *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, *Free Netherlands Magazine*, a magazine established by various Dutch corporate businesses in February 1941. The editorial staff of the magazine cooperated closely with the NIB and was an early example of what would later come to be known as public diplomacy.

Most studies on public diplomacy merely address the United States, since work in the field extensively discusses American public diplomacy campaigns in Europe, especially during the Cold War. Consequently, the nation acts as the core regarding the definition of public diplomacy as a whole, hence few studies have paid attention to the public diplomacy activities undertaken by other countries in the world. This provides a limited perspective as countries around the world practice public diplomacy in one form or another; it should therefore be treated as a worldwide phenomenon as exemplified by Kenneth A. Osgood and

Brian C. Etheridge in *The United States and Public Diplomacy: New Directions in Cultural and International History*.¹ Recent scholarship specifically explores the questions of sponsorship and reception of public diplomacy campaigns.² The sponsorship debates discuss questions regarding who is behind the creation of these campaigns and whether they are overt or covert in nature.³ An example of this is research on CIA involvement in Europe which connects to a range of cultural enterprises established in the 1950s and 1960s.⁴ The reception debates deal with the characterization of American public diplomacy as being part of “Americanization”, “cultural imperialism”, and “coca-colonization” to describe American campaigns in Europe in the postwar period.⁵ Disagreements about these terms have emerged as they deprive European nations’ agency. It has been argued that European nations are capable of adapting American culture to suit their own needs and values.⁶

A clear definition for public diplomacy is not available, since it has been associated with varied meanings and various activities. Examples of which are cultural diplomacy, communication, propaganda, and information programming. Edmund Gullion, dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, is most credited by scholars for coining the term “public diplomacy” in the mid-1960s.⁷ He refrained from calling it propaganda, because it has always had a negative connotation in the United States, hence he decided on the term “public diplomacy” to describe the whole range of propaganda, information and communication.⁸ However, Gullion himself has suggested that the term mainly functions as a euphemism for propaganda in order to avoid propaganda’s negative

¹ Osgood, Kenneth A. and Brian C. Etheridge. “The New International History Meets the New Cultural History: Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Relations.” *The United States and Public Diplomacy: New Directions in Cultural and International History* Ed. Kenneth A. Osgood and Brian C. Etheridge. Leiden/Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010. 8-9.

² Osgood, Kenneth A. and Brian C. Etheridge, “The New International History Meets the New Cultural History: Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Relations. 8-9.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Idem, 9.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Scholars who have been supporting this notion are Richard Pells, Rob Kroes, and Richard Kuisel.

⁷ Osgood and Etheridge, 9.

⁸ Idem, 12.

connotations of being undemocratic and misleading.⁹ On the whole, Osgood and Etheridge conclude that public diplomacy relates to the influencing of public opinion to achieve the desired objectives of the sponsor.¹⁰ In some instances, propaganda could be defined as public diplomacy by aiding a country's foreign policy, since most programs share the objective of creating a welcoming climate for the sponsor's foreign policies.¹¹ Still, it has to be noted that public diplomacy is not merely connected to state-sponsored activities. Non-governmental organizations and private enterprises have also access to public diplomacy activities. Furthermore, this thesis treats cultural diplomacy as being a component of public diplomacy. Some scholars define cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy as being the same thing, while others define cultural diplomacy as using culture for propaganda, that is, using it to influence and persuade.¹² The latter definition is applicable to the contents of *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, hence cultural diplomacy is seen as an important element in public diplomacy.

Academic research on Dutch public diplomacy is sparse, as exemplified previously by addressing the United States' dominant role in the public diplomacy debates. However, in recent years scholarship on the NIB has increased. Four scholars in particular pay specific attention to the NIB, namely David Snyder, Marja Roholl, Gerda Jansen-Hendriks and David Zwart. Their research analyzes the bureau's ways of functioning within a public diplomacy framework and how this relates to bilateral relations between the Netherlands and the United States. The main theme addressed in the various research is the imagery that the NIB produced, since the bureau encountered some difficulties in successfully designing images that were attractive to both the Dutch immigrant communities, the community in Holland, Michigan in particular, and the American public. Imagery that proved to be most challenging

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Idem, 13

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Osgood, and Etheridge, 13.

was connected to the Netherlands being an industrial power ready to play a large role in world politics. Experiences of Dutch immigrants in the United States show that they preferred a quaint image, including wooden shoes and tulips, while the NIB presented an image of a country that had moved away from its supposed 'old-fashioned' traditions.¹³ The American public also loved the quaint image, but had difficulty understanding the importance of Dutch industries since they had been deeply affected by the destructions of war, thereby losing ground on the world market. Furthermore, inspired by anti-colonialism, the American public acted skeptical towards the existence of Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies.

Skepticism that scholars relate to the NIB's motivation to justify the existence of colonies by promoting their natural resources and international trade relations.¹⁴ Overall, the consensus present in the academic debate on the NIB is that it was a semi-successful public diplomacy tool that peaked in the 1941-1943 years. The quality of the NIB's material was impressive by focusing on political, cultural and economic bilateral relations, but the bureau's mixed imagery of nostalgia versus modernity limited the promotion of its message, thereby making it difficult to leave a lasting impression on American public opinion.

Academic debates covering both *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and the NIB are difficult to unravel, because most research material on the NIB is located in the Holland Museum in Michigan, a museum which is not in the possession of large quantities of *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. David Snyder is one of the few NIB-oriented scholars who acknowledges the existence of the weekly by explaining an instance in which the NIB reprimanded the magazine for not securing permission prior to the publication of an ANETA article covering Dutch Navy' losses in the summer of 1943.¹⁵ He relates this event to the NIB's use of the

¹³ Zwart, David. "Constructing the Homeland: Dutch Americans and the Netherlands Information Bureau during the 1940s." *Michigan Historical Review* Vol 33 No.2, 2007: 98-100.

¹⁴ Explained in detail by Gerda Jansen-Hendriks in "Hansje Brinker of Koloniale Uitbuiting: de Eerste Jaren van het Nederlands Informatie Bureau in de Verenigde Staten, 1941-1945." *Nieuwste Tijd* 16 Dec. 2010: 8-15. Print.

¹⁵ Snyder, David J. "The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy. The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War." *The United States and Public Diplomacy: New Directions in Cultural*

wire service as a tool in its public diplomacy program.¹⁶ The relation between the magazine and the bureau is not discussed in detail. The fact that entire volumes of the magazine are not available in the Holland Museum partly explains the limited research done on the topic, as the majority of NIB-oriented scholars narrowed their source material down to the museum's archives.

Accessibility issues limited the use of the Holland Museum's archives for this research, yet the Dutch National Archive and the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation provided ample material. Together with the collection of volumes stored at the Dutch National Library, this thesis paper is able to shed more light on the relationship between the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. This relationship is analyzed with the help of the following research question: How were the political, cultural and economic bilateral relations between the United States and the Netherlands portrayed in *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and to what extent did they comply or divert from the NIB's approved images of the Netherlands?. The concepts 'small Holland' and 'large Holland', coined by Snyder, will be used as foundation for the analysis of the portrayal of bilateral relations. 'Small Holland' includes the nostalgic image of windmills, wooden shoes and tulips, while 'large Holland' addresses the Netherlands' modern industrial power, especially in relation to its colonies. These two terms will be explained in more detail in the first chapter by addressing Snyder's contributions to *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations, 1609-2009* and *The United States and Public Diplomacy, New Directions in Cultural and International History*.¹⁷

and International History Ed. Kenneth A. Osgood and Brian C. Etheridge. Leiden/Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010. 66. Print.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Snyder, David J. "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations*. Ed. Hans Krabbendam, Cornelis A. Van Minnen and Giles Scott-Smith. Albany: State U of New York P, 2009. 970-981. Print. And "The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy. The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War." 57-80.

The fact that the Kingdom of the Netherlands was a colonial power in the 1941-1947 years is taken into account in the analysis of the portrayal of bilateral relations. Both the magazine and the NIB frequently reported on the colonies in the East and West Indies as they played an important role in public diplomacy policies. Research solely focused on the European part of the kingdom would therefore be insufficient. An elaborate history of the Dutch colonies will not be given, as brief references to the historical context proved to be sufficient within the argumentation framework. As for the timeframe, public diplomacy was vital in the 1941-1947 time period as these years cover World War II, an important time in Dutch-American relations, and the two years after in which reconstruction played a crucial role in the Netherlands. What is more, the magazine underwent a name change in 1947, consequently modifying its contents to such an extent that comparisons to earlier material became too complex. Lastly, since the magazine consists of a Dutch language part and an English language part, first-hand translations of articles written for the Dutch part are provided. A majority of the articles discussed did not require translation, because the English language part provided ample material on the portrayal of bilateral relations.

By analyzing *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and the NIB, it is shown how a small and relatively minor player in world affairs, the Netherlands, tried to influence a big and strong player in world affairs, the United States. The idea was to target Dutch-Americans, after which they would spread the word further, eventually reaching the rest of the U.S. This highlights the fact that the United States also acted as the receptor of public diplomacy campaigns instead of only being the sponsor of such operations. In addition, the cooperation between the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly* makes the magazine a valuable research topic within the American Studies discipline, because it concerns the relationship between the United States and the Netherlands during World War II and the post-war era. Moreover, it adds new perspectives to the relation between Dutch-Americans and their homeland.

The thesis paper is divided into five chapters and is thematically organized. The first two chapters provide background information on the establishment of both the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. Subjects touched upon are the World War II historical context, NIB's approved imagery, organization of objectives, and sponsorship problems. Chapters three, four and five provide a detailed analysis of *The Knickerbocker's* source material in relation to the NIB's approved imagery. Chapter three discusses the portrayal of bilateral political relations in which the war effort took center stage. Chapter four demonstrates the portrayal of bilateral economic relations which put forward the importance of Dutch industries in American society and the overall war effort. Chapter five shows the portrayal of bilateral cultural relations in which windmills, tulips and wooden shoes played an important role. The conclusion provides a summary of all the arguments put forward and makes a final evaluation regarding the relationship between the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and how this relationship affected the portrayal of political, cultural and economic relations.

1. History of the Netherlands Information Bureau

The establishment of the Netherlands Information Bureau (NIB) in June 1941 relates to the notion of public diplomacy as a wartime necessity as explained by David Snyder in "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States."¹⁸ The bureau's relation with *The Knickerbocker Weekly* can therefore be seen as a valuable tool in the structuring of Dutch public diplomacy during World War II. Initially since the NIB provided the magazine to Dutch agents across the United States, later expanding its reach by distributing the weekly to the entire Western Hemisphere.

The London government in exile established the predecessor of the NIB, called the Government Information Service in 1940. Foreign Minister E.N. van Kleffens was of the

¹⁸ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 970.

opinion that information played a vital part in the recognition of Dutch influence in the war, hence he labeled the Government Information Service as being a focal point for communications between the London government and occupied Netherlands, as well as between the government and the rest of the world.¹⁹ The bureau stayed in contact with international press offices located in Bern, Pretoria, Lisbon and Stockholm , while it also founded communication networks of its own by establishing Radio Oranje, the official radio network of the government in exile, and by corresponding with the underground press in the Netherlands.

Wartime developments during 1940 motivated the creation of ideas concerning an American branch of the Government Information Service and these ideas resulted in the furnishing of an office for the Netherlands Information Bureau in Rockefeller Center in March 1941. The bureau officially opened in June 1941 and it housed a press section, operated radio services and film divisions and it set up a separate Indonesia department and Exhibitions department. The Rockefeller offices defined the NIB's head office in New York City, yet the bureau quickly spread its work across the country by also setting up local offices in San Francisco, Boston, Washington D.C. and Holland, Michigan. The latter became a location due to the large Dutch community residing in the Midwest as well as the popularity of isolationism in that area, something which the NIB tried to counter in the early days of war.²⁰ On the whole, the bureau's operations included the entire Western Hemisphere, hence it also established offices in Buenos Aires and Montreal. Curacao and Surinam did not include NIB's field of operations as these territories had a direct connection with London, however the NIB still paid attention to the press coverage of both Surinam and Curacao in the United States as exemplified in correspondences between *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and the

¹⁹ Snyder, "The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy, The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War." 61.

²⁰ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 971.

NIB.²¹ The Foreign Ministry acted as the overarching framework of the NIB since the bureau answered to the Government Information Service in London and the Press section. Its budget consisted of two parts, one part came from the London government and the other part came from the Netherlands East Indies, which had not yet been occupied by Japan at the time of the bureau's founding. The connection with the Netherlands East Indies was especially valuable to the NIB as this territory played an important role in the public diplomacy of the early years of the war, because of the strategic importance of the Indies' location.²²

N.A.C. Slotemaker de Bruine headed the New York City branch of the bureau. Having a background in theology, he started his career in the Netherlands East Indies as a missionary. In 1937, he became the Managing Editor of the wire service ANETA, Algemeen Nieuws en Telegraaf Agentschap, located in Batavia. His post as Managing Director proved to be an important asset for the bureau as he could exercise broad control over the wire service, which would enhance information programming.²³ Officially, the wire service remained independent of the government and kept an objective stance, however, the Dutch government covertly ruled the wire service for the entire course of the war.²⁴ The use of the wire service gave the NIB a valuable source for its information programming, because the bureau required news for distribution. Moreover, Slotemaker's position allowed him to filter out negative stories. In this way, the NIB acted more as an information manager instead of an information generator, a definition put forward by Snyder.²⁵ In addition, the contents of the news distributed by the NIB can be divided into two parts, a pre-Pearl Harbor part and a post-Pearl Harbor part, both focusing on cultural diplomacy and information programming. News in pre-Pearl Harbor

²¹ Outlined in letters between Albert Balink and N.A.C. Slotemaker de Bruine, 1941-1944, Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, Amsterdam (hereafter NIOD), Archief van het Netherlands Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 471

²² Snyder, "The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy. The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War." 64.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 973.

times specifically focused on the creation of sympathy for the Dutch from the still neutral Americans, thereby battling American isolationism. The NIB's imagery deemed fit for this related to the idea of 'small Holland', a term coined by Snyder.²⁶ 'Small Holland' portrayed the Netherlands as being the country of tulips, dykes, wooden shoes, and wind mills, consequently creating a sweet nostalgic image of the nation.²⁷ According to the NIB, these kinds of images generated sympathy for the Dutch living in occupied Holland as it portrayed Holland as the brave little country that continued to carry on under the brutal Nazi regime.²⁸ The NIB's cultural diplomacy built good will for 'small Holland' through exhibitions, books, films, radio shows, educational programs, and magazines.²⁹ One of these magazines being *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, which created good will by showing that both the American and Netherlands peoples shared the way of living based on freedom. It also created good will by informing Netherlanders of American problems and conditions in order to make them better acquainted with the U.S. This and more will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The NIB's information programming promoted the Dutch government's goals directly through news articles, magazines, lecture tours by public officials and through the censoring of critical stories on Dutch operations.³⁰ Moreover, the bureau placed emphasis on the actions of the royal family, as initial actions of the family gave American isolationists reasons to continue to support isolationism.³¹ Isolationists defined the family's flights to London and Canada as a sign of the ineffectiveness of monarchies, something which the NIB countered by releasing Queen Wilhelmina's speeches and statements to the American press.³² All of these speeches and statements portrayed 'small Holland' as being a victim to Nazi rule, but the

²⁶ Snyder, "The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy. The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War." 60.

²⁷ Idem, 67.

²⁸ Idem, 68.

²⁹ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 974.

³⁰ Idem, 971

³¹ Snyder, "The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy. The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War." 67.

³² Idem, 68.

Dutch were strong and heroic enough to fight this rule.³³ Actions like this showed the NIB that the royal family was a valuable tool in public diplomacy, and in time, the bureau began to treat the family as one of its most valuable assets.³⁴ The same happened with the treatment of the royal family by *The Knickerbocker Weekly*.

However, as Snyder explains, the imagery connected to ‘small Holland’ did not align with Dutch foreign policy which focused on Holland’s vital role in world affairs.³⁵ Hence, the NIB started to promote ‘large Holland’, once again a term coined by Snyder.³⁶ ‘Large Holland’ mostly focused on the Netherlands East Indies, because the colonies perfectly showcased the power of Holland since the Indies were of strategic importance for the defense of the free world.³⁷ Over time, ‘large Holland’ transformed into encompassing the Netherlands’ industrial power in world affairs. The overall theme of the pre-Pearl Harbor days was to show the Dutch commitment to freedom, a theme also addressed in the early issues of *The Knickerbocker Weekly*.

In the post-Pearl Harbor days, thus when the United States had officially entered the war, the NIB had to change tactics as American public opinion began to shift towards the notion that the Americans were doing too much in the war and the Dutch too little, hence the NIB’s new aim was to show that the Dutch continued to play an important role in the war effort.³⁸ The NIB introduced the “Holland Carries On” theme which showed the importance of the Dutch war effort, especially with regards to the Dutch East Indies as the NIB continued to stress the economic and strategic relevance of the colonies.³⁹ The NIB exemplified their importance for world trade by mentioning the successful production of rubber, tin, oil and

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Snyder, “Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States.” 974.

³⁶ Snyder, “The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy. The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War.” 61.

³⁷ Snyder, “Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States.” 974.

³⁸ Idem, 972.

³⁹ Snyder, “The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy. The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War.” 69.

tobacco sales and the strategic location of the colonies proved to be key in the war effort as a liberated Netherland East Indies could provide a solid base for the fight with Japan.

Moreover, the NIB continued to reject the ideas that the peoples of the colonies welcomed the Japanese with open arms by focusing on the expertise of the Netherlands East Indies army and by showing the perseverance of the peoples through photographs in exhibitions.⁴⁰

In these times, tensions rose between the imagery of ‘small Holland’ and ‘large Holland’, as the NIB found it difficult to balance the two, according to Snyder.⁴¹ ‘Small Holland’ portrayed the country as needing aid and sympathy, while ‘large Holland’ portrayed the country as being more than able to help its allies in war.⁴² Snyder explains these tensions by addressing the training of Netherlands flyers in Jackson, Mississippi.⁴³ *The Knickerbocker Weekly* frequently published about this topic, exemplifying the close relations between the NIB and the magazine. Propaganda opportunities emerged after the decision to open the Royal Netherlands Flying School in Jackson, Mississippi in May 1942.⁴⁴ *The Knickerbocker Weekly* published illustrated articles describing the work of the training school on June 22, June 29 and July 13, 1942, while also reporting on a branch of the school in Fort Leavenworth Kansas in the issues of August 24, 1942 and September 1942. The first article, called “Eaglets of the Indies, A New Air Weapon is Being Forged at American Training Bases” shows pictures of NEI flying students in the United States, eagerly watching US training planes over the Deep South air base which had become the flying school.⁴⁵ Text accompanying the pictures mentions the signs of coming allied victory in the balmy air above them.⁴⁶ The articles supported both the NIB’s ‘small Holland’ and ‘large Holland’ themes as the

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Snyder, “Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States.” 974.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Snyder, “The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy. The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War.” 69.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ “Eaglets of the Indies, A New Air Weapon is Being Forged at American Training Bases.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 22 June. 1942: 10-15.

⁴⁶ Idem, 10.

magazine's coverage showed Dutch willingness to fight for freedom, yet in doing so, the Dutch needed American material and training to succeed, thereby showing Holland's determination to carry on.

The bureau always remained cautious not to be labeled as a propaganda program.⁴⁷ The Dutch embassy in Washington D.C. even warned the NIB not to produce articles filled with "honey, sweetness and praise."⁴⁸ A result of this measure was that the NIB checked every single article written about the Netherlands.⁴⁹ Consequently, the bureau also frequently contacted the editors of *The Knickerbocker Weekly* about specific articles. Examples of this are the series of articles showing brief, illustrated sketches of Holland as it was before the Nazi invasion. The function of this collaboration between the magazine and the NIB was to show the Americans how the Netherlands would be again after the Germans had been driven from the Dutch soil.⁵⁰ NIB writers wrote these articles anonymously and the photos and illustrations came from the bureau's press section. The publication of the first article named "Enkhuizen" occurred in the June 29, 1942 issue. The anonymity of the authors was not a concern for the editors of *The Knickerbocker Weekly* as they explained in an internal memo that they assumed full responsibility for the opinions expressed.⁵¹ However, the name of the bureau accompanied all of the included photographs, thereby clearly showing the source material to the audience. Later articles addressed the peace palace in The Hague, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the Dutch windmills.⁵² The topics of these articles show that the NIB focused heavily on cultural diplomacy, mainly to avoid being labeled as a Dutch propaganda machine. The NIB's cultural diplomacy further expressed itself through the

⁴⁷ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 973.

⁴⁸ Van Houten, Counselor of Netherlands Embassy, quoted in Snyder "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 973.

⁴⁹ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 973.

⁵⁰ "Enkhuizen" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 9 June 1942: 26.

⁵¹ Internal memo Balink, 30 Dec. 1941, NIOD, Amsterdam, Archief van het Netherlands Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 472

⁵² "The Hague: Peace Palace" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 16 Nov. 1942: 26-27. "Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum" *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. 2 November 1942. 28-29. "The Windmills of Holland" *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. 23 Nov. 1942: 22-25.

sponsoring of art exhibits, educational programs and lecture tours, to name a few activities.⁵³

The art exhibits were especially a great success, as American audiences reacted enthusiastically to them.⁵⁴ An example of this is the exhibition of Rembrandt from January till March 1942 in New York City, organized by the NIB and located in New York's Met Museum. It was an instant success, and *The Knickerbocker Weekly* even devoted its January 19, 1942 issue's cover page to Rembrandt van Rijn, thereby advertising the NIB's new exhibit and showing the strong cultural ties between the Netherlands and the United States.⁵⁵ In October of that same year, the NIB copied the Rembrandt exhibition's success by opening an exhibit of the great Dutch masters in Duveen galleries on Fifth Avenue.⁵⁶ The focus of this exhibit was to show the American audiences that the Dutch had a very valuable cultural heritage, which could not be Germanized as the Nazi regime paid much attention to the Germanization of popular works of art.⁵⁷ Ambassador Loudon remarked at the opening of the exhibit that Rembrandt is one hundred percent Dutch.⁵⁸ In time, numerous of these kinds of exhibitions opened across the country, most of them featured in *The Knickerbocker Weekly* as an advertisement, cover article, or illustrated sketch.

By the end of the war, the NIB began to shift the focus of its operations, the same happened with *The Knickerbocker Weekly* as the post-war context needed new kinds of information programming.⁵⁹ The bureau reduced its field of operations by shutting down its Washington and Boston offices, and by reducing the budgets of other branches. Instead of being an active resource for the news, the NIB had to transform into a passive resource

⁵³ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 973.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ "Rembrandt van Rijn: Self Portrait. New York's Met Museum Centers attention on the Great Dutch Master." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* Jan. 19, 1942: Cover.

⁵⁶ "Prince Bernard and Alexander Loudon attend Opening Great Dutch Masters Exhibit in NYC." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 19 Oct. 1942: 2-3.

⁵⁷ Idem, 2.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 974.

addressing inquiries about Dutch-American economics, cultural ties and educational ties.⁶⁰ Moreover, the bureau's close relation with ANETA stopped as propaganda activities lowered in peacetime since government officials began to take a negative stance towards them as they feared it would be compared to Nazi propaganda.⁶¹ In addition, the liberation of Dutch territories made the control of information by the NIB an almost impossible task.⁶² In order to stay relevant in the post-war era, the NIB continued to organize exhibitions on Dutch architecture, art and technical achievements, however, these exhibitions never reached the large wartime audiences.⁶³ The cultural climate had changed and the Dutch-American war alliances occupied an unimportant place in everyday American life.⁶⁴ The controversies surrounding colonial territories in the post-war era did play a large role in American society, thus the NIB mostly focused on countering American foreign policy's anti-colonialism.⁶⁵ The Indonesian crisis from 1947-1949 took up the majority of the NIB's efforts, yet the NIB's role in American society had diminished to such an extent that its actions had little effect anymore.⁶⁶ The bureau's name changed to the Netherlands Information Service in 1951, thereby emphasizing its information purpose, but in 1974, affected by Dutch anti-Americanism during the Vietnam War, the information service officially terminated its operations.⁶⁷

On the whole, the bureau peaked in the wartime years, as the imagery of 'small' and 'large Holland' spread across the United States. Tensions were present between these two types of Holland, yet this did not stop the NIB to fulfill its aim of educating the American

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Snyder, "The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy. The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War." 74.

⁶³ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 974-975.

⁶⁴ Idem, 975.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 975-979.

audiences about that little country bordering the North Sea and its vast territories abroad.⁶⁸ Once could even conclude that imagery from those times continues to dominate the American view of the Netherlands, since wooden shoes, tulips, and windmills are most often mentioned first when asking about the Netherlands.⁶⁹ Moreover, as briefly discussed, the imagery of the NIB often took an important place in matters addressed in *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, but the exact relation between the NIB and the magazine is still unclear. In order to understand this relation, one must first analyze the specific reasons connected to the establishment of a Dutch-American magazine in the United States. This issue and more is discussed in the next chapter, in which the behind-the-scenes context of *The Knickerbocker Weekly* is analyzed in detail.

2. History of *The Knickerbocker Weekly*

In the early 1940s, influenced by the success of *Vrij Nederland* (Free Netherlands), an underground newspaper established after the German invasion, the Netherlands Shipping and Trading Committee in London asked its head office in New York City to look into the establishment of an American counterpart of *Vrij Nederland*.⁷⁰ Like *Vrij Nederland*, *The Knickerbocker Weekly* was to be an organ of Dutch opinion and a conveyor of Dutch news.⁷¹ The only fundamental difference between *Vrij Nederland* and *The Knickerbocker Weekly* would be that the weekly unlike *Vrij Nederland*, which was completely written in Dutch, was also meant to have a propaganda function for the American public.⁷² The instigators of the plan to set-up a Dutch-American magazine agreed that this propaganda function would never be made public, rather the magazine should stress that it had no intention of being or

⁶⁸ Snyder, "The Problem of Power in Modern Public Diplomacy, The Netherlands Information Bureau in World War II and the Early Cold War." 80.

⁶⁹ Snyder, "Dutch Cultural Policy in the United States." 981.

⁷⁰ Gomperts, H.C, *Geschiedenis van de Knickerbocker Weekly*. NIOD, collectie 12.2, 1999. 1. Print.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Difference between 'Vrij Nederland' and 'The Knickerbocker Weekly', letter from Hendrik Willem van Loon to J.H. Huizinga, 30 Dec. 1941, NIOD, Amsterdam, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 471.

allowing itself to become a propaganda organ consisting of propaganda tricks. This even went as far as quoting Foreign Minister van Kleffens's anti-propaganda welcome letter to *The Knickerbocker Weekly* in the first issue of the magazine. Van Kleffens stated that "these are the perquisites of Herr Doctor Goebbels and we are happy to leave such tools to him."⁷³ On the whole, the functions of the magazine would be the purveying of Dutch news to the American public, the purveying of Dutch news in Dutch to the Dutch public, and the formulation of Dutch public opinion.⁷⁴ The primary intended audience of the magazine would be Dutch immigrants residing in the United States and Dutch seamen working for Netherlands shipping companies, while the general American public functioned as the secondary target audience which could only be reached through the Dutch community.⁷⁵

Having decided the functions of the magazine, the Shipping and Trading Committee attracted Willem Boas to properly organize logistics. Boas was the best advertising salesman at that time, having previously secured capital for Dutch newspaper *De Telegraaf*, and it was his job to attract investors for the new magazine.⁷⁶ He left for New York in October 1940, together with Alexander Pelt, head of the Netherlands Government Press Service, part of the Netherlands Government Information Bureau. Pelt accompanied Boas, because of the intended propaganda function of the magazine. The Dutch government already had ideas regarding a propaganda program in the United States. The program would consist of an independent weekly, a Netherlands Information Bureau and an ANETA wire service.⁷⁷ With this government influence in mind, both Pelt and Boas were able to convince Philips, Royal

⁷³ Van Kleffens, E.C., "Words of Welcome, Foreign Minister van Kleffens." *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. 27 Feb. 1941: 11.

⁷⁴ Difference between *Vrij Nederland* and *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, letter from Hendrik Willem van Loon to J.H. Huizinga, 30 Dec. 1941. NIOD, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 471.

⁷⁵ Gomperts, 1.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Relation between NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, letter from S.M.D. Valstar to Alexander Pelt, 16 Jan. 1942, Nationaal Archief, the Hague, (hereafter "NA"), Archief van het Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken (Londons Archief), (1936) 1940-1945 (1958), collection number 2.05.80, (hereafter "Londons Archief") inv. no. 5603

Dutch Shell, Unilever, several Dutch banks and the merchant fleet to invest.⁷⁸ However, due to wartimes, the investors hesitated to invest large sums of money, hence the magazine's initial capital was a mere \$62.500.⁷⁹ Boas also established The Netherlands Publishing Corporation for the distribution of the magazine, from which the NIB later received its copies for further distribution. The president of the Board of Directors was S.M.D. Valstar, managing director of the Royal Netherlands Steamship Company which was part of the Shipping and Trading Committee in NYC. Other commissioners taking part in the Board of Directors were all Captains of Industry from the investors, such as Felix Guépin, vice-president of Royal Dutch Shell who eventually became vice-president of the Netherlands Publishing Cooperation. After having obtained all the capital, Boas found out that there already was a magazine aimed at Dutch immigrants in the United States, called *The Knickerbocker Monthly* which Albert Balink edited and mainly focused on the American west coast. Boas contacted the Shipping and Trading Committee and the committee discussed the issue with other branches of the Dutch government. The government preferred one single publication focused on Dutch-American relations, thus the Shipping and Trading Committee completely took over *The Knickerbocker Monthly*.⁸⁰ Balink insisted on becoming the editor-in-chief of the new *Knickerbocker Weekly*, but the Board of Directors decided that he lacked the proper education.⁸¹ The Board preferred Bernard Person, former editor-in-chief of *The Haagsche Post*, thus he would eventually edit the magazine in its first months. However, in November 1941, Person announced his departure as he could not get along with Boas, the Board and other business managers.⁸² He was of the opinion that the managers had rudely interfered with the editing for months, thereby completely ignoring Person making it

⁷⁸ Gomperts, 2.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Gomperts, 6.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Telegram Person to Pelt, 15 Nov. 1941, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

impossible to continue.⁸³ Moreover, he did not like the Americanization process that the magazine went through.⁸⁴ After the departure of Person, who later established Facts on File, a weekly index and synopsis of world events, the Board of Directors approached other candidates from outside the Netherlands for the position.⁸⁵ However, this took too much time, thus they once again contacted Balink who became editor-in-chief and remained in that position until November 1945. Leopold Abraham Ries, former chief treasurer of the Dutch ministry of Finance, took over in January 1946.⁸⁶ The change of chief-editor seemed to have had little effect on the magazine as Ries' style was similar to Balink's. Other internal events, such as financial problems, and external events, such as the change of wartime public diplomacy objectives to postwar objectives, would prove to be more influential as discussed in later chapters.

The contents of *The Knickerbocker Weekly* evolved from *The Knickerbocker Monthly* with the help of a Gentlemen's Agreement between Pelt, Balink, Van Royen (Unilever) and Guépin (Shell).⁸⁷ According to the Gentlemen's Agreement, the corporate sponsors paid \$11.400 to the stockholders of *The Knickerbocker Monthly* on December 13, 1940 and all advertisers and subscribers would be transferred.⁸⁸ The sponsors also agreed that an American editor should be appointed for the supervision of the English language section, and he would be responsible for the lay-out and make-up of the magazine. Dr. Hendrik Willem van Loon put Jay Bradley in the spotlight, being a successful writer on Dutch-American relations Van Loon was a very influential man and quickly approached by Boas regarding the set-up of *The Knickerbocker Weekly*.⁸⁹ With Van Loon's impressive background in mind, the Board of

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Gomperts, 6.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Gentlemen's Agreement between Pelt, Balink, Van Royen and Guépin, 13 Dec. 1940, 1., NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

⁸⁸ Gentlemen's Agreement between Pelt, Balink, Van Royen and Guépin. 2.

⁸⁹ Gomperts, 6.

Directors quickly decided to hire Bradley. The newly appointed American editor had to comply with several conditions namely, he should never learn a single word of Dutch and he had to steer the magazine on an American course in order to make the magazine fit for American consumption.⁹⁰

The agreement also concluded that the name of the magazine remained the same, only to be changed to *Weekly* instead of *Monthly*.⁹¹ The name *Knickerbocker* initially seems to refer to Washington Irving's book *The History of New York* which features fictional character Diedrich Knickerbocker. Balink's exact reasoning behind the naming of the monthly magazine remains unknown, but he might have been attracted to the elitist status attached to the name due to its connection to an actual family of New Yorkers. This family, headed by Harmen Jansen Knickerbocker came from Wyhe, a small town in the Province of Overijssel. Harmen Jansen Knickerbocker went to Albany in the 17th century and soon became a prominent citizen, owning a great section of Dutchess county. Other family members became equally renowned in and about New York, consequently serving as a possible source of inspiration for Irving's satirical book on the early settlers of the Empire State. The fact that, in time, the name *Knickerbocker* came to refer to New York aristocracy from Dutch descent seems therefore to be the most relevant to Balink's reasoning since it acted as a clear marker for Dutch heritage, perfectly suitable for a Dutch-American magazine.

The general policy of *The Knickerbocker Weekly* was not clear in the early beginnings of the magazine, as meetings regarding a policy often ended unsuccessfully due to the different interests of the various sponsors. Alexander Tailleux, vice-president of the weekly, finally outlined the general policy of the magazine on September 2, 1941, which is seven months after the publication of the first issue on February 27, 1941.⁹² Therefore, it can be

⁹⁰ Letter from Hendrik Willem van Loon to Pelt, 13 Dec. 1940, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

⁹¹ Gentlemen's Agreement between Pelt, Balink, Van Royen and Guépin, 13 Dec. 1940, 2.

⁹² General Policy Outline door A. Tailleux, 2 Sept. 1941, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

concluded that the main reason for writing it so late lies in the chaotic first months of the magazine, which will be addressed in more detail later on. Moreover, the fact that Shell director R.G. Pearson filed a complaint about the magazine on August 17, 1941 also played a large role.⁹³ The complaint focused on *The Knickerbocker's* inability to attract the average American reader, thereby hurting the magazine's paid regulation.⁹⁴ Pearson further observed that the contents suffered from an abundance of war and propaganda material resulting in a monotonous magazine, thereby suggesting that it was in desperate need of variety.⁹⁵ According to Pearson, this variety should first be established by publishing stories about the Dutch in America, personal stories of American families with Dutch ancestry, informative stories of the Dutch territories, general stories on Dutch businesses as oil producing and refining, tin mining, rubber producing and shipping, a regular column on Dutch cooking and beverages, to name a few of Pearson's suggested adaptations.⁹⁶ Secondly, the lay-out of the magazine should also be more Americanized, by inserting a uniform type face, sub-heads and more photographs.⁹⁷ Thirdly, the writing style of the magazine should be more vivid with active and colorful headlines.⁹⁸ Lastly, Pearson made clear that these changes should attract new readers, thereby inducing these readers into forming the habit of reading *The Knickerbocker Weekly* regularly.⁹⁹ American editor Jay Bradley reacted critically to Pearson's ideas in a letter to editor-in-chief Person.¹⁰⁰ Bradley's letter frequently mentions the fact that the magazine is a Dutch-interest magazine aimed to serve the Dutch cause in World War II.¹⁰¹ Changes fit for the American market should therefore not be introduced in *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, otherwise the magazine could lose both its Dutch and Dutch-descent readers by

⁹³ Letter of complaint from Pearson to Tailleur, 17 Aug. 1941, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

⁹⁴ Letter of complaint from Pearson to Tailleur, 17 Aug. 1941, 1.

⁹⁵ *Idem*, 1.

⁹⁶ *Idem*, 2.

⁹⁷ *Idem*, 3

⁹⁸ *Ibid*.

⁹⁹ *Idem*, 4.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Bradley to Person, 9 Oct. 1941, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*

making the magazine too American.¹⁰² Despite Bradley's criticism, Tailleux decided to implement Pearson's comments in *The Knickerbocker's* general policy. To illustrate, he concluded that the magazine should make much use of photographs, and it should publish stories of American families from Dutch descent which marked the importance of their actions for the development of American society, e.g. in culture, and trade.¹⁰³ In addition, photographs should always accompany the articles to show the living conditions of the families, making a comparison between past living conditions and current living conditions, consequently addressing the nowadays popular American technique of before and after shots.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, some articles should be targeted at a female audience by mentioning Dutch recipes, American foods and the impact of Dutch foods on American foods.¹⁰⁵ Finally, the make-up of the magazine should consist of two parts, a Dutch and an English one whereby catchy titles and an attractive lay-out with many pictures were vital.¹⁰⁶ In this way, the magazine's audience should increase as well as its paid regulation.¹⁰⁷ These statements prove the significant power the corporate sponsors had over the magazine, especially since the implementation of the changes occurred quickly after Pearson's letter of complaint.

What is more, the introduction of a general policy happened after the opening of the NIB in the summer of 1941, and the bureau's public diplomacy ideas are represented in the policy. From the beginning, the NIB stayed in contact with the editors of *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, thereby establishing a flow of ideas back and forth. Tailleux's positive attitude towards the NIB's ideas is firstly seen in the fact that the policy mentioned the notion that negative aspects of Dutch colonial powers should not be discussed and minor criticism should

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ General Policy Outline door A. Tailleux, 2 Sept. 1941, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

be constructive in order to comply with propaganda messages.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, Tailleur decided that many pictures portraying Holland as it was before the invasion should be published at a regular rate in order to show the beauty and peacefulness of the country, but the magazine's pictures should also emphasize on Holland's modernity including its impressive infrastructure, architecture and industries.¹⁰⁹ This rule in particular resembles the NIB's 'small Holland' and 'large Holland' themes addressed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the two nations close historical ties should be addressed frequently, thereby focusing on the importance of those ties for both countries.¹¹⁰ Moreover, interviews with both Dutch and American government officials, or people living in America who have something important to say on bilateral relations were also preferred.¹¹¹ Also the importance of the Dutch colonies, and the royal family in the war effort should be stressed regularly.¹¹² Lastly, a clear distinction should always be made between articles in the Dutch language and ones in the English language. Articles in the Dutch language should not extent to more than eight pages and the news discussed should be solely aimed at Dutch people living in the United States, more specifically first generation immigrants.¹¹³ The clear distinction between the two languages was also used in the actions undertaken by the NIB in order to properly address the preferred target audiences. All in all, Tailleur's rules comply with the NIB's policies of public diplomacy since they shed a positive light on the country and its inhabitants. This shows that by the Fall of 1941, the NIB had already influenced the editors of *The Knickerbocker Weekly* to a large extent. Reasons for their approval towards the NIB's information managing seem to lie mainly in the magazine's weak financial position.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

As briefly mentioned before, the magazine's first five months were chaotic. Boas never took any responsibility for his actions which irritated the editors as exemplified in various correspondences. In addition, Valstar and the captains of industry also annoyed the editors with their constant remarks on the magazine's content, especially the Shell complaint received a cold acceptance. Still, Boas continued to sell advertisements, and the number of subscriptions continued to rise, yet this was not enough to put *The Knickerbocker* in a healthy financial position.¹¹⁴ The Dutch colonies provided the first solution to this problem. According to Boas, enterprises located in the colonies could invest money resulting in more advertising revenues, thus he undertook a journey to the Netherlands East Indies in the summer of 1941.¹¹⁵ However, the United States revoked Boas's visa upon his return for reasons unknown. Treasurer H.C. Gomperts suspected that it had something to do with Tailleux as Boas and Tailleux did not get along.¹¹⁶ He found it therefore quite comical that Tailleux took over Boas's job after Boas's revoked visa forced him to settle in Canada.¹¹⁷ In addition, by taking over Boas's job, Tailleux eventually landed the position of vice president of the Netherlands Publishing Corporation. These internal struggles did not help *The Knickerbocker's* financial position and by December 1941, the magazine neared bankruptcy. Gomperts undertook action and used his ties with E.C. Zimmerman, a Netherlands Indies trade commissioner, to secure the advertising money that Boas had arranged in the Netherlands East Indies. Before his contact with Zimmerman, Gomperts could not access the money, since Boas had wired it to an account of the Netherlands Publishing Corporation without any specifications. Finally, with Gomperts help, Zimmerman wired the money to *The Knickerbocker's* New York City accounts, resulting in a better financial position for the magazine at the beginning of 1942.

¹¹⁴ Gomperts, 9.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

Next to advertisements, subscriptions also played a vital role in the survival of the magazine and this is where the relationship between *The Knickerbocker* and the NIB started to truly define itself. The initial aim of the corporate sponsor was a paid circulation of 15.000, a rough estimate of Dutch immigrants living in the United States.¹¹⁸ With the help of several promotion campaigns in the beginning of 1941, *The Knickerbocker Weekly* attracted many new subscribers, mostly from private households. The opening of the NIB in the summer of 1941 changed the contents of the subscription list. The NIB itself initially bought 1000 subscriptions in order to use the magazine as promotion material for the Dutch cause, as the NIB distributed *The Knickerbocker* to schools, libraries, universities, and government officials all across the United States.¹¹⁹ The bureau also subscribed to *Vrij Nederland* and distributed 2000 copies of this magazine.¹²⁰ Both *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and the NIB emphasized that the subscription could not be considered to be a subsidy by the Dutch government as it dealt with a commercial transaction.¹²¹ Being a commercial transaction, the 1000 subscriptions were more than welcome as they gave a significant boost to the magazine's budget, however Slotemaker quickly lowered the subscriptions by 500 as he was of the opinion that the money could be used for other propaganda tools.¹²² Despite Slotemaker's decision to cut down the NIB's subscription list with fifty percent, thereby slashing into the magazine's budget, the NIB and the weekly started to form a close relationship. A relationship based on the principle that both the magazine and the NIB needed each other. The NIB needed the magazine to spread its message across the United States, and *The Knickerbocker* needed the NIB's subscriptions to stay afloat in the competitive magazine market. Over time, this relationship would often be tested and questioned by officials, both from the Netherlands and the United States.

¹¹⁸ Gomperts, 1.

¹¹⁹ Letter from Pelt to van Kleffens, 14 Sept. 1942, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

In January 1942, Valstar sent a letter to Pelt to specifically explain the relationship between the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, concerning the subscription list and how this influenced the magazine's contents.¹²³ He felt obliged to do so after Frans Otten, president of Philips, had sent him a telegram asking to clarify this relation. In his letter to Pelt, Valstar expressed his content with the NIB's large amount of subscriptions, yet he rejected the NIB's method of actions. According to Valstar, *The Knickerbocker* always discussed its contents with the NIB, but the NIB did not do the same for *The Knickerbocker*. In most cases, the magazine was completely unaware of the NIB's actions. Moreover, Valstar addressed the existence of the *Netherlands News*, a magazine published by the NIB and aimed at the same target audience as *The Knickerbocker's*. The differences between the two magazines were apparent. *The Knickerbocker* was an editorial weekly, independently written and published, while the *Netherlands News* was an official documentary fortnightly of the NIB, a part of the Dutch government. As to Valstar's discontent, the NIB never discussed the existence of the *Netherlands News* with *The Knickerbocker*, although both publications take part in the Dutch-American propaganda program. Based on this reasoning, Valstar concluded that the NIB had to terminate its *Netherlands News* magazine, in turn, *The Knickerbocker* proposed to fill in the gap left behind by the discontinuation of the NIB's fortnightly. Slotemaker disagreed with Valstar's conclusion, because at that time the *Netherlands News* had a higher circulation rate.¹²⁴ The magazine went to 10.000 readers and 4.000 newspapers, radio stations and other publicity media.¹²⁵

The Knickerbocker could initially not compete with these numbers; however, as 1942 progressed, the reception of the weekly by the American news media and public had proven to be more enthusiastic than for the *Netherlands News*. On April 28, 1942, the management,

¹²³ Letter from Valstar to Pelt, 16 Jan. 1942, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

¹²⁴ Referred to in a letter from Van Loon to Huizinga, 30 Dec. 1941, NA, Londons Archief. no. 5603

¹²⁵ Numbers addressed in a letter from Van Loon to Huizinga, 30 Dec. 1941, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

in the name of Tailleur and Gomperts, sent Pelt a letter stating that *The Knickerbocker* had received numerous unsolicited letters from readers in which they gave positive feedback on the magazine.¹²⁶ In addition, Tailleur and Gomperts included a booklet which contained quotes from American dailies and periodicals, stating that this clearly illustrated the sufficient importance of the weekly and its reputation for the American Press. For the management, this reputation was considered in itself an important contribution to the cause of the Netherlands. Furthermore, Gomperts also enclosed a list containing “facts and figures on propaganda services performed by *The Knickerbocker Weekly*.”¹²⁷ The list mentioned that the publisher mailed 500.000 copies in total, of which 250.000 consisted of sample copies used by libraries, high schools, universities, radio stations, Dutch societies, exporters to the Netherlands and Indies, clergymen, and advertising agencies. Ultimately concluding that generally between three and five people read one copy of the magazine, thereby showing that *The Knickerbocker*'s circulation easily competes with *Netherlands News*'s. This correspondence changed the relation between the weekly and the NIB to some extent. Slotemaker's enthusiasm towards *The Knickerbocker* was initially very low, as exemplified by the low number of subscriptions and his decision to continue with the *Netherlands News*. However, these numbers and the many responses from the readers of *The Knickerbocker* seem to have made him change his mind regarding close relations between his bureau and the weekly. Archival material documenting Slotemaker's ideas regarding the weekly is sparse, yet the fact that by late 1942, Slotemaker increased the NIB's subscriptions and set-up an agreement regarding the interchanging of photographic files between the two institutes suggests that he began to view the weekly as a vital tool in the NIB's public diplomacy.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Letter from Tailleur and Gomperts to Pelt, 28 April 1942, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

¹²⁷ “Facts and figures on propaganda services performed by the *Knickerbocker Weekly*.” Gomperts to Pelt, 28 April 1942. NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603.

¹²⁸ Increase of subscriptions, Slotemaker to Pelt in a letter from Pelt to Gerbrandy, 2 Nov. 1942, NA, Londons Archief, inv. no. 5603. Agreement on photographic files, letter from Balink to Slotemaker, 30 Dec. 1942, NIOD, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 472.

On January first 1943, the NIB had 2500 subscriptions to *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, which proves that the weekly had evolved itself into a valuable asset for the NIB.¹²⁹ Initial relations between the NIB and *The Knickerbocker* formed slowly, based mainly on the notion that the NIB originally refused to discuss public diplomacy matters in detail with the weekly's editors. The NIB focused much on its own magazine, however, by 1942 *The Knickerbocker* had proven itself to be the more successful publication of the two, forcing the NIB to pay more attention to the weekly. In this way, a status quo established whereby the NIB needed *The Knickerbocker* for public diplomacy purposes and *The Knickerbocker* needed the NIB for financial purposes. Balink implicitly referred to this relation in a letter to Slotemaker, dated December 30, 1942, in which he stated that "as far as the relations between the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly* are concerned, we hope that the interest in each other's work keeps on increasing and that we may both profit by the esteem our organizations should have for each other's work."¹³⁰ More explicitly than Balink, Tailleur mentioned *The Knickerbocker's* precarious financial position and the vital role the NIB played in strengthening this position as well as the importance of the magazine in the NIB's field of operations in a letter to Slotemaker, dated March 2, 1943.¹³¹ He stated that the magazine lost \$6000 in 1942, caused by the fact that on account of war conditions, the weekly never received all final payments due for advertising contracts of the N.E.I. The loss of these contracts and the fact that Netherlands Shipping also terminated its \$18.000 advertising contract meant that *The Knickerbocker's* debt would increase in 1943.¹³² To prevent this, Tailleur proposed to Slotemaker to take additional subscriptions. He reasoned this with the notion that *The Knickerbocker* had received many requests from libraries, universities, and other educational

¹²⁹ Letter from Tailleur to Slotemaker, 2 March 1943, NIOD, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 477.

¹³⁰ Letter from Balink to Slotemaker, 30 Dec. 1942, NIOD, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 472.

¹³¹ Letter from Tailleur to Slotemaker, 2 March 1943, NIOD, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 477.

¹³² Ibid.

institutions as well as from a number of daily newspapers, weeklies and monthlies to send them *The Knickerbocker Weekly* regularly, not to mention the numerous requests the editors received from Netherlands shipping companies to supply their ships and crews with the magazine. Tailleur emphasized that the Netherlands Publishing Corporation was not in the financial position to accede to all these requests without remuneration and he hinted at some extra government funding in the form of subscriptions by stating that “many other countries publishing magazines similar to *The Knickerbocker Weekly* are enabled to this as such free or complimentary subscriptions are usually paid for by their respective governments.”¹³³ As a result, one can make a clear division between *The Knickerbocker's* and the NIB's interests and how they complemented each other. Moreover, Slotemaker, probably impressed by Tailleur's arguments, raised the NIB's subscriptions to 5000 at a rate of \$5.00 per year in 1943, a number which would maintain the same until the government discontinued the subscriptions on June 30, 1947.¹³⁴ The discontinuation of the NIB's subscriptions hurt the magazine's income significantly. An income which had already experienced cut backs due to the high prices of paper and printing in the post-war era which had forced the Netherlands Publishing Corporation to convert *The Knickerbocker* into a monthly publication in March 1947. In November 1947, under new editorial and administrative management, the magazine widened its scope and set new goals for itself. The union of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg into the Benelux motivated the editors to devote the entire magazine to the three Low Countries, thereby distancing from its past task of showing the bilateral relations between the United States and the Netherlands.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Number and rate referred to in a letter from Tailleur to Slotemaker, Van Kleffens, and Pelt, 9 July 1945, NIOD, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 484.

To conclude, from late 1941 onwards, the NIB's focus on the magazine truly started to reflect in the weekly's contents, especially regarding the coverage of political, cultural and economic bilateral relations between the Netherlands and the United States. The next few chapters analyze these relations in detail, marking a dividing line between the pre-Pearl Harbor and post-Pearl Harbor contexts since this line changed Dutch public diplomacy's goals significantly, changing them from creating sympathy for a small and vulnerable nation to promoting the importance of the large Kingdom of the Netherlands in the war effort.

3. The portrayal of bilateral political relations in *The Knickerbocker Weekly*

In the pre-Pearl Harbor days, *The Knickerbocker Weekly* mainly focused on discussing the two nations' common ideals of freedom, liberty and democracy, especially in relation to the Dutch war effort. In the first issue of the magazine, published on February 27, 1941, a mission statement specifically declares that the magazine "will show the free people of America that the ideology of the Dutch people is like their own."¹³⁵ It continues with stating that the two nations are spiritually closer than ever before because of the outbreak of World War II, which challenges the nations' common ideology.¹³⁶ Prime minister of the Netherlands, professor Pieter Gerbrandy adds, in a word of welcome, the idea that one "can recognize the old national spirit of the Netherlands in President Roosevelt, who is also of Netherlands origin (...)."¹³⁷ The fact that the president came from Dutch descent would be mentioned frequently in later issues in order to strengthen political bonds. On the whole, based on the common ideals, the first issue immediately began to focus on the vital role the Dutch played in the war, consequently channeling the NIB's ideas of showing the United States that the Netherlands was a key player in the war effort.

¹³⁵ "Our Mission." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Feb. 1941: 3.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Gerbrandy, Pieter, "Words of Welcome" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Feb. 1941: 11.

Several articles in the first issue clarify the importance of the Dutch military in the war. First of all, the issue addresses the notion that “A New Dutch Army is Built” in Canada, as soldiers underwent training there to go to England.¹³⁸ Secondly, the issue stresses the strength of the Indies by publishing an article focusing on the actions of Dutch planes and warships, which kept on a constant watch in the Pacific.¹³⁹ The second issue complements these statements by publishing two pages full of photographs depicting Dutch ships.¹⁴⁰ The texts accompanying the photographs all emphasize the readiness of the Dutch sailors to defend the East.¹⁴¹ This readiness to defend the East seems firstly aimed at a Dutch audience to show that a totalitarian regime did not affect all Netherlands territories. However, for an American audience, the photographs and texts adhered to the American view of keeping the status quo in the Indies. Roosevelt was of the opinion that under no circumstances should the Dutch colonies fall into enemy hands, since an invasion by Japan would result in the Pacific turning into a sort of Japanese lake, thereby acting as America’s natural bulwark on the left. In order to inform Dutch immigrants on America’s foreign policy, *The Knickerbocker* explained Roosevelt’s views by publishing an article called “Australia and the Netherlands Indies Are The Key To The Pacific” which discusses the strategic importance of these territories.¹⁴² Overall, by publishing these articles focused on the Indies, the Dutch could show their readiness to maintain the status quo as well as demonstrate their military strength. Later issues of the first part of 1941 all frequently addressed the current status of the colonies and the vital role the Dutch sailors played in maintaining this status. Explanations on how the Netherlands ruled the Indies accompanied the articles to inform American audiences. All of

¹³⁸ “A New Dutch Army is Built” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Feb. 1941: 8.

¹³⁹ “The Indies Are Strong” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Feb. 1941: 18.

¹⁴⁰ “Ready!” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 6 March 1941: 17-18.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Daniel, Howard, “Australia and The Netherlands Are the Key to the Pacific” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 21 April 1941: 16-18.

them paid attention to the notion that the principles of humanity and cooperation ruled the Indies, not exploitation. This was done to counter America's strong anti colonialism, an issue often referred to in the NIB's operations, because it was a challenging public diplomacy topic.

Furthermore, the discussion on the importance of the Dutch navy in the battle of Britain occurred regularly in pre-Pearl Harbor *Knickerbockers*, accordingly emphasizing Dutch naval strength. The discussion on the importance of the Dutch Air Force also took place, especially after the merger with the RAF. Several covers and articles discuss strikes of Dutch pilots at German air bases. However, in World War II, the Dutch Air Force would prove to be less powerful as the navy, hence *The Knickerbocker Weekly* always emphasized the latter more. Moreover, since the Dutch navy escaped from Holland virtually intact and with the help of the merchant marine and Britain's allies it was able to significantly increase its power. The weekly exemplified this power by devoting several covers to heroic looking Dutch naval officers stationed in England. An example of this is the April 21, 1941 cover on which a brave looking Netherland air gunner on guard in England is depicted.¹⁴³ The decision of the editors to devote much time and space to the Dutch navy is relevant to the Dutch cause in America since the early battles of 1941 were mostly battles of ships, instigated by the Nazi's use of submarines. By stressing the power of the Dutch navy in *The Knickerbocker*, the magazine aimed to convince the American public that the Dutch navy was as powerful as the American one which in April 1941 responded to the Nazi menace by helping British convoys in Greenland. However, *The Knickerbocker* did not only discuss the importance of the Dutch navy, it also addressed members of the merchant marine fleets of the allied countries. The magazine called those sailors "unsung heroes of the ocean waters"¹⁴⁴ Part of *The Knickerbocker's* dedication to the merchant marine seems to be connected to the fact that one of the magazine's biggest sponsors was the Netherlands Steamship Company. Ignoring

¹⁴³ "Netherland Air Gunner on Guard in England" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 21 April 1941: Cover.

¹⁴⁴ "Unsung Heroes of the Ocean Waters" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* May 5, 1941: 8.

the merchant marine would therefore have been a costly mistake by the editors. Furthermore, by incorporating the merchant marine into its coverage, the magazine was able to combine political with economic bilateral relations. I.e. the merchant marine provided the material for war, aiding the war economy, while at the same time aiding the general war effort by preventing the allied ships from falling into enemy hands. The prevention of which often resulted in the loss of enemy ships according to the weekly.¹⁴⁵

In addition, the relations between the people of the United States, president Roosevelt and Queen Wilhelmina frequently occurred in the pre-Pearl Harbor issues, as a result building the foundation for the NIB's later political propaganda focused on the close relationship between the royal family and the president. In the first few issues, *The Knickerbocker* regularly published photographs of the royals residing in Ottawa, Canada. Much to the delight of Dutch readers, because they saw the royal family as a beacon of hope. *The Knickerbocker* understood this notion by independently producing copies of the official magazine photos. These copies could then directly be bought by subscribers. In this way, the photos functioned as nostalgia for Dutch immigrants, however they also acquainted American audiences with the members of the royal family. This is an important aspect of *The Knickerbocker's* field of operations, since monarchies remained a difficult topic in a country which once fought monarchical rule. The magazine's focus on the royal family and bilateral relations clearly showed itself in the extensive coverage of Queen's Wilhelmina's radio address made from London on the first anniversary of the German invasion of Holland. In the address, Queen Wilhelmina expresses her gratitude for American war aid.¹⁴⁶ She praises the people of the United States and their President for showing "a deep understanding of the world situation by supplying all the needs of the people already fighting against aggression."¹⁴⁷ She also refers to

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ "Queen Wilhelmina Thanks America" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 19 May 1941: 9.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

Princess Juliana's contact with Roosevelt and how she was able to express to him the principles they both shared.¹⁴⁸ The radio address accompanied the May 10 ceremony at New York's City Hall, a ceremony that allowed prominent speakers, such as J.A. Schuurman, Netherlands Consul General in New York, to reaffirm their faith in allied victory and the liberation of the Netherlands. The May 10 commemoration occurred three days after the famed Freedom Rally at Madison Square Garden in New York City. A rally that received much coverage from *The Knickerbocker* as well since Dr Adriaan J. Barnouw stressed bilateral relations to the audience. Barnouw stated that the Dutch were doing their part and that President Roosevelt was revered in the Netherlands as a far-visioned statesman, "who realizes that Europe's fight for freedom is not a lost cause, because a democracy's love of freedom is a stronger and more enduring passion than the tyrant's lust for power."¹⁴⁹

The Knickerbocker's articles addressing topics such as the importance of the Indies, the Dutch navy, and the royal family in the war effort aided the Dutch cause in America significantly, but it is important to take into account that these articles were not yet officially instructed by the NIB. This shows that the weekly itself was already strongly focused on bringing the Netherlands war effort into the spotlight in the United States, something that is also examined in the analysis of the portrayal of economic and cultural bilateral relations that are discussed in chapters four and five. Furthermore, it must be noted that the magazine set-up the production of re-publishing articles of *The New York Times*, *The New York Herald Tribune* and other renowned newspapers that cover positive American views of Holland. The NIB would later copy this by also distributing re-publications of such articles. As evidenced next, the opening of the NIB in the summer of 1941, the official implementation of a general policy by Tailleur and the attacks on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 solidified *The*

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ "Thousands Cheer Demand for Convoys" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 19 May 1941: 16.

Knickerbocker's focus on advancing the Dutch cause in the United States and its parallels with the NIB's mission.

The weekly's first issue after the attacks of Pearl Harbor hit the newsstands on December 15, 1941. In the issue, the editors define the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor as a "treacherous stab in the night", while they also discuss the development that now the United States and the Netherlands were allies in war.¹⁵⁰ This focus on being allies and the fact that the Netherlands East Indies were at war continued to dominate the magazine for the next years to come, thereby strengthening the pre-Pearl Harbor goals of showing the Dutch's crucial role in the war effort. Moreover, from the summer of 1941 onwards, the NIB's mission aided *The Knickerbocker* in obtaining these goals. The editorial of January 5, 1942 reacts to the alliance of the Netherlands and the United States by stating that "together with the British Empire, these nations will avenge Rotterdam, Coventry, Pearl Harbor and together they will make it certain that such things cannot happen again."¹⁵¹ Thereby, referring to the NIB's approved idea that multilateral relations are crucial in wartimes. The magazine addressed these relations regularly as from January 12, 1942 onwards, *The Knickerbocker* started to place advertisements stating that "you can help beat Japan, Germany and Italy by buying US Defense Bonds and Stamps."¹⁵² In addition, the magazine offers an extensive background story on the Roosevelts in its January 26, 1942 issue, even dedicating the entire number to "America's First Family of Dutch Descent."¹⁵³ As a result of this background study, Dutch-Americans would have a better understanding of Roosevelt's aims and goals in the war, consequently justifying close Dutch-American political bilateral relations.

What is more, in March 1942, the weekly started to publish the cartoon "Heroes of Democracy", created by Hearst Publications, which portrays the individual 'heroic' actions of

¹⁵⁰ "War in the Far East" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 15 Dec. 1941: 3.

¹⁵¹ "War for the World" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 5 January 1942: 3.

¹⁵² "US Defense Bonds and Stamps" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 12 Jan. 1942: 15.

¹⁵³ Kafaroff, Bruce. "The Roosevelts: America's First Family of Dutch Descent." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 26 Jan. 1942: 17-24.

American soldiers in cartoon form, accordingly creating good will for the American war effort. The comic ran for quite some time in the Spring of 1942, however it quickly disappeared afterwards. Archival research could not shed light on this sudden disappearance, but its appearance in the magazine shows that the editors felt that they had to discuss the American war effort as well in order to establish good will for bilateral relations. Despite the cartoon's focus on American war achievements, *The Knickerbocker* did not limit its coverage on the achievements of Dutch troops, as exemplified by the post-Pearl Harbor increase of articles explaining the importance of the Dutch army. In 1942, many articles discussed the actions of the naval fleets. Furthermore, 1942 saw the opening of the Netherlands Air Force base in Jackson, Mississippi which the magazine also discussed at length as analyzed in the previous chapter.

The July 6, 1942 issue is a crucial one in the portrayal of political bilateral relations, because it is an issue entirely devoted to Independence Day. In contrast, the July 1941 issue refrained from paying much attention to Independence Day, for reasons which remain unknown. The 1942 front cover displays the American flag, at that time often accompanied with the slogan "United We Stand." The editors copied the slogan by calling their editorial "United We Stand" in which they expressed their approval of war alliances.¹⁵⁴ However, a majority of the editorial focuses on the American flag and what it stands for on Independence Day, namely freedom and liberty.¹⁵⁵ The rest of the issue discusses President Roosevelt's first meeting with Queen Wilhelmina at the summer home of princess Juliana in Lee, Massachusetts on Monday June 29.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the issue included new photographs of Netherlands Commandos training in Britain.¹⁵⁷ Specific Dutch-American relations in the war effort remained undiscussed. The next issue rectified the sparse space devoted to Dutch-

¹⁵⁴ "United We Stand." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 6 July 1942: 3.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ "President Roosevelt visits Queen Wilhelmina" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 6 July 1942: 10-12.

¹⁵⁷ "Netherlands Commandos." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 6 July 1942: 22-24.

American war relations, since the weekly received many messages from the readers expressing their deep gratification for the previous cover.¹⁵⁸ Many readers found renewed inspiration in that display of the United States colors by a magazine that spoke for the Netherlands and Netherlanders, thereby feeling that the Americans and Hollanders were fighting together against a common menace, but that it was particularly so during the celebration of America's Independence Day.¹⁵⁹ As a response to these reactions, *The Knickerbocker* reported on America's presence in Holland over the Independence Day weekend in an article addressing the United States Air Force's first raids on German bases in the occupied Netherlands on July 4th.¹⁶⁰ Prime Minister Gerbrandy thanks the United States for this in a special message, published by *The Knickerbocker*, stating: "Long live the United States of America! Long Live President Roosevelt! Long Live the United States Air Force!"¹⁶¹ The magazine also printed the Queen's Fourth of July message to President Roosevelt which paralleled Gerbrandy's sentiments. Overall, the readers' responses to the Independence Day issue probably made the editors of *The Knickerbocker* realize that its readers truly appreciated Dutch-American war relations, hence its next issues devoted special attention to these relations. Firstly, by the coverage of Queen Wilhelmina's address to the US Congress on August 6, 1942.¹⁶² In her address the queen tells America's legislators that the motto of the Netherlands people is "No Surrender", a motto often used later by the weekly in its reporting of various Dutch war actions. An example of this is an article from August 17, 1942, called "Their Motto: No Surrender" which focuses on the Dutch Navy by publishing pictures of naval officers standing proud on their ships.¹⁶³ The editors added subtexts referring to the Dutch sailors' knowledge of "the superb fighting prowess of the US soldiers,

¹⁵⁸ "Thank You America." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 13 July 1942: 3.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁰ "First US Raids on German Bases in Holland." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 13 July 1942: 10.

¹⁶¹ Gerbrandy, Pieter quoted in "Thank You America." 13 July 1942: 3.

¹⁶² "Majesty's Adress to the Congress of the US." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 10 Aug. 1942: 4-5.

¹⁶³ "Their Motto: "No Surrender" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 17 Aug. 1942: 23.

sailors and airmen.”¹⁶⁴ As a result praising the notion that both the United States and the Netherlands acted as key players in the war.

All of the previously mentioned articles do not have a clear direct link with the NIB, even though they do convey the NIB’s public diplomacy goals by stressing Dutch influence in world affairs. The close relation between the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly* at that time is found in the organization of war exhibitions. The editors of the magazine worked together with the NIB on a number of exhibitions taking place around the same time as the publication of pro-Dutch war effort articles. These exhibitions focused on Dutch-American political relations, hence, it is possible that these exhibitions formed the inspiration for many of the previously discussed war commentaries. In July 1942, the editors, with the help of the NIB, organized the exhibition “You Can’t Beat the Dutch.” Held at the lobby showroom of the Holland House at Rockefeller Plaza, the exhibition housed photographs both from *The Knickerbocker* and the NIB. These photographs told the story of what Holland and the Netherlands East and West Indies were in the days of peace and what they were doing to help bring about allied victory and what they would be again in the free world to come.¹⁶⁵ The exhibition was such a success that the editors extended the display to August 15, thereby fully covering the two months, July and August, in which the weekly paid an exceptional amount of time to Dutch-American political relations. The same happened with the next exhibition, called “A Special Salute” which main purpose was to pay special tribute to the Dutch seamen in order to show what more the Dutch were doing for victory.¹⁶⁶ To tease the audience with this new exhibition, the weekly devoted its entire July 27, 1942 issue to the seamen of the Netherlands. A follow-up to this display occurred in the September 21, 1942 article “The Navy: National Barometer of Holland” in which Professor JAC Fagginger-Auer of Harvard

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ “You Can’t Beat the Dutch.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 20 July 1942: Back cover.

¹⁶⁶ “A Special Salute.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 17 Aug. 1942: Back cover.

University and frequent contributing editor to the magazine, addressed, in a series of seven articles, the development of Dutch naval policy, history and achievements from the 18th century to 1942.¹⁶⁷ The aim of this series of articles was to show that the role of the Dutch navy is very important for the post-war future.¹⁶⁸

By September 1942, the weekly's focus shifted back to Dutch achievements in Great-Britain, a focus often taken in the pre-Pearl Harbor days. Directs reasons for this lie in the strengthening of bonds between Great Britain and the Netherlands as both countries had to fight German attacks directly. On November 9, 1942, *The Knickerbocker* devoted a large article to the "Dutch Soldiers in Britain" expressing that those soldiers "are the living testimony to the fact that Holland is still very much in this war."¹⁶⁹ Moreover, the magazine included photographs of individual members of the Dutch troops, who came from New York and trained in Canada or Great-Britain.¹⁷⁰ By including these photographs and articles, *The Knickerbocker* tried to establish extra good will for the Dutch war effort in order to counter the anti-Dutch sentiments. These sentiments arose in the United States as many Americans still found the Dutch war effort to be lacking in comparison to the American one. The NIB worked hard to fight these sentiments, which made it strange that the coverage of the one year anniversary of Pearl Harbor remained limited in the December 7, 1942 issue. However, instead of focusing on political relations, the weekly brought bilateral cultural matters to the attention, thereby channeling the cultural diplomacy part within public diplomacy. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.

The set-up of the portrayal of bilateral political relations in the year 1943 remained largely the same as in 1942, because articles on the Dutch war effort accompanied NIB's exhibitions with the same themes. In January 1943, both the editors and the NIB organized

¹⁶⁷ Fagginger-Auer, JAC. "The Navy: National Barometer of Holland." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 21 Sept. 1942: 20-23.

¹⁶⁸ *Idem*, 20.

¹⁶⁹ "Dutch Soldiers in Britain." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 9 Nov. 1942: 20-21.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

once again a Netherlands war exhibition which provided the American visitors a clear idea of just what the Dutch did to help speed victory.¹⁷¹ The change from other exhibitions was that the economic relations began to be incorporated more by showing Dutch contributions in refined oil and bauxite sales. Furthermore, in 1943, the editor's received messages from Mrs. Roosevelt, and Walter Lipmann as reactions to the commemoration of the third anniversary of the German invasion of Holland. Both letters address the importance of good bilateral relations for the common fight against the enemy. Lipmann adding to this notion that "the security of the Netherlands in Europe in this hemisphere and in the Pacific is inseparable from the security of the United States."¹⁷² An idea which would resurface frequently in war and post-war times.

The most important aspect in 1943's portrayal of political bilateral relations is the issue of the Netherland East Indies. From the early beginnings of the bureau, the NIB paid much attention to the Dutch colonies, but from June 28, 1943 onwards, *The Knickerbocker* started to copy the NIB's policy on the colonies, because the 'large Holland' theme began to emerge more. The Netherlands East Indies dominated the 28 June 1943 issue, and it was the first of a series which appeared at regular intervals recording the progress made towards liberation of Indonesia and its reunion with the other parts of the Netherlands Kingdom.¹⁷³ The new spotlight on the colonies occurred due to the fact that *The Knickerbocker* had received many letters from readers, government officials and the NIB, all asking to devote more time to the eastern colonies, hence the editors decided to introduce Dutch colonies themed issues.¹⁷⁴ The Christmas issue of December 20, 1943 carried the Netherlands East Indies theme as well, in which contributions made by the Netherlands East Indies to the cause

¹⁷¹ "Netherlands War Exhibition." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 22 Jan. 1943: 26.

¹⁷² Lipmann, Walter. "What May 10 Means to the American People." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 10 May 1943: 5.

¹⁷³ "The Netherlands East Indies." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 28 June 1943: Cover-3.

¹⁷⁴ Correspondences about the Netherlands East Indies. NIOD, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 477.

of freedom dominated the articles. A selection of topics of the articles are the people's council in Batavia, coined by the weekly as the symbol of democracy in the Indies, and the industrial background of Indonesia with its coal mining, tin industry and tobacco industry.¹⁷⁵ The latter fitting the imagery of 'large Holland.' *The Knickerbocker* did not neglect the Netherlands West Indies by also devoting an issue to them on January 31, 1944.¹⁷⁶ The NIB can be entirely accounted for this focus as several correspondences between the magazine's editors and the NIB referred to the limited coverage on the West Indies.¹⁷⁷ The issue of January 1944 was the first of a series of issues on Curacao, Bonaire, Aruba and Surinam addressing much of the same topics as in the Netherlands East Indies issues i.e. the industries, governance, and everyday life in the colonies. Moreover, the magazine paid much attention to Mrs. Roosevelt's visit to the West Indies in March and April of 1944, which showed the importance of the West Indies in bilateral relations. She toured the American Naval and Army bases in the Caribbean areas to boost morale among the troops, a tour carefully documented by both the NIB and *The Knickerbocker* with the help of articles and photographs.¹⁷⁸

In addition, from 1943 onwards, the magazine started to address the historical political ties between the two nations in a series of articles on Hollanders in the American revolution starting in the October 25, 1943 issue with the article "General Schuyler Fed the Revolutionary Army."¹⁷⁹ Other articles discussed Peter Gansevoort, the Van Cortlands, General Benedict Arnold and Major John Andre. The editors found these articles important as they provide extra historical context to the current war time affairs.¹⁸⁰ The same reasoning applied to their decision to include a cover article on President Martin Van Buren, called

¹⁷⁵ "Symbol of Democracy: the People's Council in Batavia." and "'Modern Indonesia.'" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 20 Dec. 1943: 6-11.

¹⁷⁶ "The Netherlands West Indies." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 31 Jan. 1944.

¹⁷⁷ Correspondences about the Netherlands West Indies. NIOD, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 477

¹⁷⁸ "Mrs Roosevelt Visits Curacao." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 3 April 1944: 16.

¹⁷⁹ "General Schuyler Fed the Revolutionary Army" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 25 Oct. 1943: 17-21.

¹⁸⁰ Explanation given in editor's note of "General Schuyler Fed the Revolutionary Army" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 25 Oct. 1943: 17.

“The ‘Little Magician’ of Kinderhook” in the January 11, 1943 issue in which author Bruce Kafaroff defines the Americans’ view on Van Buren as being “a hazy mental association with the musty pages of a dog-eared history book in a stuffy school room”, thereby referring to Van Buren’s minor role in American history books.¹⁸¹ On the whole, by including these articles the magazine aided the NIB’s mission by providing more historical context to their public diplomacy efforts which helped strengthen them.

The Knickerbocker Weekly specifically referred to the NIB’s policy of public diplomacy as a wartime necessity in their special series “Know Your Ally” dedicated to the Dutch Allies in Spring 1944. With the series, the editors related to the principles set forth in the article “A Basis For Peace.” The article, from March 6, 1944 and written by Balink himself, stresses that “in peace time knowledge and education are weapons to prevent war as mighty and powerful as scores of super-battleships in wartime.”¹⁸² As a result, drawing the conclusion that information is the basis for peace.¹⁸³ Pictures of the United States accompany the article and the pictures’ subtexts state “Compassion, Religion and Grandeur” relating to the notion that Americans, like the Netherlanders, relate to these topics.¹⁸⁴ Based on this premise, the series “Know Your Ally” intended to contribute in a modest way to the spreading of knowledge about different allied partners in the world. The information bureaus of the countries discussed provided the information for the articles. For example, the information from the first article, called “Australia: A Good Neighbor of the Netherlands East Indies”, came from the Australian Information Service in New York City and the service’s director David W Bailey, also director of the Australian news, even served as its the author.¹⁸⁵ Other articles discuss Russia, information provided by Sovphoto; Britain, information provided by

¹⁸¹ Kafaroff, Bruce, “The ‘Little Magician’ of Kinderhook.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 11 Jan. 1943: 17.

¹⁸² Balink, Albert. “A Basis for Peace.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 6 March 1944: 8.

¹⁸³ Idem, 11.

¹⁸⁴ Idem, 10-13.

¹⁸⁵ Bailey, David W. “Know Your Ally: Australia: A Good Neighbor of the Netherlands East Indies” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 17 April 1944: 15-26.

the British Information Service; France, information provided by the French Information Bureau and Canada, information provided by the Canadian Wartime Information Board. The publication of the article on the United States occurred on July 3, 1944, to relate to the 1944 Independence Day celebrations. The editors justified this decision by stating that the article would otherwise have taken the first place in the series, consequently defining the magazine's strong focus on America.¹⁸⁶

The year 1944 proved to be an important year for Dutch-American relations as signs of liberation started to surface. Both *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and the NIB made use of these signs by devoting articles to them. The weekly proudly states in its May 1st issue that the "Liberation of the Indies has Begun."¹⁸⁷ A week later, adding to this "General MacArthur's Victory in New Guinea."¹⁸⁸ On the whole, the start of the liberation of the Indies marked important public diplomacy times. In the May 15, 1944 article "The Open Door Policy in the Netherlands East Indies", author Dr Visman replies on behalf of the editors to an editorial critical of Dutch rule in the Indies in *The New York Daily News*.¹⁸⁹ The paper found it strange that a group of Netherlands Indies Officials immediately took over the government of the reconquered part of Netherlands New Guinea.¹⁹⁰ Visman justifies this action by stating that this was the way it should be, since "we, together with the Indonesians among us know how to govern the Indies."¹⁹¹ Moreover, Visman emphasizes the existence of valuable raw materials, specifically oil, in the Indies and that only the Dutch know how to put the industries back into full production in the shortest possible time.¹⁹² In this way, he stresses the importance of post-war economic relations between the United States and the Dutch colonies.

¹⁸⁶ "Know Your Ally: The United States." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 3 July 1944: 14.

¹⁸⁷ "Liberation of the Indies Has Begun." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 1 May 1944: 3-9.

¹⁸⁸ "General MarcArthur's Victory in Dutch New Guinea." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 8 May 1944: 10-11.

¹⁸⁹ Visman, A. "The Open Door Policy in the Netherlands East Indies." *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 15 May 1944: 30.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

Overall, the liberation of the Netherlands East Indies raised ideas on the post-war relations between the United States and the Netherlands. *The Knickerbocker* refers to this in an advertisement on May 19, 1944 in which the editors mention the signs that the beginning of the end of the war is approaching.¹⁹³ They stress to their readers that *The Knickerbocker Weekly* remains the only Netherlands magazine in the United States, thereby serving the Netherlands cause not only during the war, but that its task would grow in importance after the liberation of both the Netherlands and the East Indies.¹⁹⁴ The first basis for this would be the sending of the magazine to the liberated regions, immediately after the enemy had been driven out. By sending the magazine to the liberated regions, it would be able to inform Americans of the values of the Netherlands tradition, while also informing Netherlanders about America, overall functioning as a public diplomacy tool.

D-Day on June 6, 1944 was a turning-point in World War II events, which also affected *The Knickerbocker's* public diplomacy coverage. The events on the beaches of France motivated the weekly to tell its readers that “the Hour Has Struck”, albeit parts of the June 12, 1944 issue of the magazine had already been printed when the news of the allied invasion flashed from London through wire service.¹⁹⁵ At the time of writing the June 12 editorial, the initial landings still took place, therefore *The Knickerbocker* merely calls for prayer for the allied forces.¹⁹⁶ The next issue devotes more articles to D-Day, whereby the cover immediately caught attention by portraying Supreme Allied Commander General Eisenhower, who inspects Royal Netherlands Marines on board an RAF bomber wing.¹⁹⁷ The decision to publish this display as the first post-D-Day cover suggests that the editors continued with emphasizing the importance of the Dutch war effort. The 1944 Independence Day issue also includes an article stating that the Netherlands Air Forces were stronger than

¹⁹³ “Beginning of the end” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 19 May 1944: 6

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ “The Hour Has Struck.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 12 June 1944: 3.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 19 June 1944: Cover.

ever.¹⁹⁸ In general, the contents of the magazine in July 1944 truly stress the war effort by including articles such as “Heroes of the Minesweepers; Netherlands Naval Lieutenant Tells of Their Work”, while the July 24 issue was the third number devoted to the Netherlands West Indies, which states that the “people of those islands kept on working for the liberation of other parts of the Kingdom aided by their great American allies.”¹⁹⁹ Moreover, the August 7, 1944 issue pays special attention to the awarding of the Order of Orange-Nassau to General Douglas MacArthur and Lt. General Walter Krueger by Queen Wilhelmina.²⁰⁰

With the early liberations in the South of Holland in September 1944, articles devoted to the restoration of democracy began to be published, thereby linking to the strengthening of bilateral postwar relations. The NIB acted quickly to the early liberations by sending *The Knickerbocker* pictures of the liberated regions and of the military fighting for liberation. Specific emphasis lay on the Princess Irene Brigade and how this brigade aided the liberations of the Netherlands, as exemplified in the article “Netherlands Troops Near Frontiers Homeland.”²⁰¹ Furthermore, the NIB provided the magazine with many pictures showing how the Netherlands seamen continued to sweep the seas whereby the pictures accompanying the text state that the current contribution to the shipping pool of the allied forces is larger than any of the other occupied countries.²⁰² Despite this example of blatant promotion of the Dutch war effort for the American people, the NIB’s relation with the weekly in late 1944 mainly focused on creating patriotism among Dutch immigrants, specifically by stressing the importance of the Princess Irene Brigade, a brigade formed from originally Dutch troops which partook in many military missions, one of which being Operation Market Garden. The September 18, 1944 cover portrays Prince Bernard of the Netherlands visiting the Dutch troops fighting in Europe, while the accompanying article reports how the Princess Irene

¹⁹⁸ Kiek, Robert. “Netherlands Air Forces Stronger Than Ever.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. 3 July 1944: 4-5.

¹⁹⁹ “The Netherlands West Indies Part III” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 24 July 1944: 3.

²⁰⁰ “Queen Wilhelmina Honors Two American Generals.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly*: 7 Aug. 1944: 21.

²⁰¹ “Netherlands Troops Near Frontiers Homeland.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 18 Sept. 1944: 19-21.

²⁰² “Netherlands Seamen Sweep the Seas” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 18 Sept. 1944: 17-19.

Brigade helped to seize new bridgeheads on the road to Germany.²⁰³ Based on these developments, the weekly started to include maps of the Netherlands to follow closely the day-to-day developments in the liberation of Holland. The failure of Operation Market Garden did not stop the publication of these maps as the October 2, 1944 issue includes ten of them.²⁰⁴ Furthermore, the issue includes a reproduction of an article published in *The Christian Science Monitor* called “Holland Re-enters the War as a Staunch Ally” which praised the recent actions undertaken by the Dutch troops.²⁰⁵ The inclusion of both maps and an article demonstrates how the weekly continued to be focused on reaching both American and Dutch audiences. The maps targeted the Dutch audience, while the article aimed at the American audience.

The liberation of Maastricht and Eindhoven in late 1944 received much attention from the magazine in the form of pictures obtained via the NIB. The pictures show liberation parties during which the Dutch and soldiers from the allied forces celebrated victory together. An example of this is the series of photographs called “Maastricht Cheers.”²⁰⁶ It must be noted that a majority of the allied forces connected to the liberation of the Netherlands consisted of British, Canadian and Polish soldiers, hence both the NIB and *The Knickerbocker* paid much attention to these troops instead of the American ones. American divisions partook in the liberation, yet the other allied forces dominated their presence as exemplified in the article “Allies Encircle Nazis in Holland” which discusses how Canadian troops captured Breskens and how British troops closed in on ‘s Hertogenbosch. American presence in ‘s Hertogenbosch is referred to in an November 1944 editorial written by Balink in which he called it “an American Town in Holland.”²⁰⁷ He states that it is a town that belongs both to Holland and America since American soldiers lost their lives there. It is a well written and

²⁰³ “The Princess Irene Brigade” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 18 Sept. 1944: 6.

²⁰⁴ “Maps of the Netherlands” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 2 Oct. 1944: 18-27.

²⁰⁵ Brown, Mallory, “Holland Re-enters the War as a Staunch Ally” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 2 Oct. 1944: 3.

²⁰⁶ “Maastricht Cheers” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 30 Oct. 1944: 8-9.

²⁰⁷ Balink, Albert, “An American Town in Holland” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 14 Nov. 1944: 3 and 15.

touching article which dares to touch upon the deadly side of liberation, a side ignored by the material provided by the NIB. By doing so, Balink established a new perspective for bilateral relations, a perspective which did not focus on the preferred public diplomacy policies that limited themselves to positive and upbeat stories, rather Balink established good will by mentioning the shared sadness and emotional lows connected to war alliances. The horrors related to warfare would be addressed in more detail by the weekly in its reports on the liberation of the Indies and the 1944-1945 famine in Holland.

With the southwest of Holland cleared from the enemy by late 1944, the magazine faced the task to report on the fighting still taking place in the rest of the country and the famine associated with the 1944-1945 winter. Articles addressing public diplomacy policies promoted by the NIB are sparse in this coverage. In March 1945, *The Knickerbocker* reports on Roosevelt's message to the American people that the Dutch need food. In the 26 March 1945 editorial, the editors state that Americans will provide food as "there is no one more kindhearted than a Yank as the children of Italy, France, Belgium and the southern part of Holland are now finding out everyday."²⁰⁸ They also add that "the overwhelming war effort of the U.S. will nowhere be more acknowledged and appreciated than in the Netherlands."²⁰⁹ This editorial defines the close relations between the American people and the Dutch people during the war, yet it also refers to the establishment of close post-war relations by stating that "the American people can be assured that the efforts of future generations of Hollanders will be directed towards the appreciation of the American war effort."²¹⁰ Overall, in its coverage, *The Knickerbocker* establishes a foundation for post-war bilateral relations. The April 1945 coverage of the death of Roosevelt connects to this as the weekly defined the popular Roosevelt as "the greatest man to die in the new era which helped create the era of mutual

²⁰⁸ "Presidents Tells of Dutch Plight" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 26 March 1945: 3.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibidem.

respect among peoples and nations.”²¹¹ In addition, the magazine printed on the second page president Roosevelt’s Political Creed consisting among others the four freedoms, a good neighbor policy, and a durable structure of world peace. All of which promote healthy bilateral relations. The NIB did not instruct the weekly about its coverage on Roosevelt, hence one can conclude that the magazine itself was aware of the rich bilateral heritage left behind by the late president.

The liberation of Holland in May 1945 marked the true start of a new public diplomacy campaign that focused on post-war relations. Much of this campaign originated from the weekly itself instead of first being instructed by the NIB as the bureau’s name is not attached to many articles. The May 1945 issues immediately began with reporting on the rebuilding of Holland and how the US provided lend-lease agreements which allowed for shipments of materials to the Netherlands.²¹² The 25 June 1945 issue addresses the growth of American power in international relations and how this power is one of construction and not destruction essential for the reconstruction in the Netherlands.²¹³ The 16 July 1945 article “Holland’s Eyes Are on America” is another example of the great admiration felt in Holland for the US.²¹⁴ Eduard Elias perfectly sums up Holland’s post-war relation with United States by stating in his article “What the U.S. Means to Holland” that “the U.S. is just far enough away so that the reality of the visible can mix with the fascination of the distant unknown.”²¹⁵ According to Elias, England could not provide this sentiment as it is too close, while Russia is too far away to be mysteriously beautiful.²¹⁶ Furthermore, from August 1945 onwards, the magazine sent copies to individual subscribers in the Netherlands, thereby transporting American news to Europe.

²¹¹ “Franklin Delano Roosevelt” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 23 April 1945: 3.

²¹² In “The Rebuilding of Holland Begins” and “New Lend-Lease Agreements” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 28 May 1945: 6-9 and 22-24.

²¹³ Balink, Albert, “The Growth of American Power” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 4 June 1945: 3.

²¹⁴ Elias, Eduard, “Holland’s Eyes Are on America” *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. 16 July 1944: 12.

²¹⁵ Elias, Eduard, “What the U.S. Means to Holland” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 30 July 1945: 13.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

The special liberation issue of 27 August 1945 perfectly sums up the magazine's post-war public diplomacy mentality by focusing on political, economic and cultural bilateral relations. The reason why this issue appeared in August 1945 and not in May 1945 at the German surrender in Holland is that the editors found it more appropriate to wait until the war in the Pacific approached a successful conclusion.²¹⁷ In addition, Queen Wilhelima celebrates her birthday on August 31 and it would be for the first time since the invasion of the Netherlands that the birthday anniversary could be celebrated among the Dutch people in the Netherlands.²¹⁸ Hence, the issue is also published for the 65th birthday of Queen Wilhelmina, something which is expressed in the article "House of Orange" that explains the close bond between the people of the Netherlands and the royal family.²¹⁹ The weekly presented close political relations by including articles on the place that the Netherlands occupies in post-war international relations. J. Anton de Haas of Harvard University states in his article "Nothing Matters But the Future" that the relations between the US and the Netherlands provide a stable political life in the country, which he labels as being the most stable political life of all the liberated countries.²²⁰ He also stresses that close ties must be supported in order to spread democracy and freedom around Europe and by doing so the Netherlands could function as an 'example-nation' showing the success between a European and non-European country in the post-war context.²²¹ In addition, Jay Bradley, in the article "The Task Ahead for Dutch Marines", refers back to the close cooperation between Dutch and American marines in NEI and how this cooperation has resulted in both the strengthening of the political friendship between America and the Netherlands as well as the strengthening of interpersonal American-Dutch relations since a number of Dutch marines married American women, while others

²¹⁷ Tailleur, Alexander. "Luctor et Emergo" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 7.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ "The House of Orange" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 10-12.

²²⁰ De Haas, Anton J. "Nothing Matters But the Future" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 21-22 and 24.

²²¹ Idem, 22.

took their Dutch families to the United States.²²² In “Battling Back to the Indies”, Balink addresses the post-war political relations in terms of the colonial territories.²²³ Republican nationalists Achmed Sukarno and Mohammed Atta declared the independence of the “Republic of Indonesia” on August 17, 1945, merely two days after the Japanese had surrendered. Balink refrains from going into this development, instead he declares that the liberation of the Indies supported the rebirth of the Netherlands Kingdom.²²⁴ A kingdom which he calls “the cradle of freedom”, a dangerous definition as the Dutch government would later act hostile to the republican nationalists.²²⁵ Overall, the 1945-1947 issues of “*The Knickerbocker Weekly*” pay special attention to the events taking place in the far East as the territories played a large role in the public diplomacy put forward by both the weekly and the NIB in the 1945-1947 years. In analyzing these years, it must be taken into account that the US did not fully obstruct Dutch colonial policy, despite its traditional anti-colonialism.²²⁶ During the early post-war period, the policy received American support as pro-communist developments in China alarmed the U.S. government, consequently accepting Dutch colonialism in order to act as a buffer against Indonesian Communists.²²⁷

The 1945-1947 images promoted by both *The Knickerbocker* and the NIB labeled the East Indies as being a vital source of aid in the reconstruction of the Netherlands. Moreover, they also presented themes regarding Dutch know-how of the region, the sacrifices made by the population to fight the Japanese, and the notion that Dutch rule improved the living standard by introducing ‘western civilization’. For example, in the 22 October 1945 editorial “What Indonesian Freedom Means”, Balink argues that the reconstruction of the East Indies’

²²² Bradley, Jay “The Task Ahead for Dutch Marines” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 48-51

²²³ Balink, Albert “Battling the Indies” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 42-47.

²²⁴ *Idem*, 42.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ Loeber, Hans. “Dutch-American Relations 1945-1949.” *Dutch American Relations, 1945-1969: a Partnership, Illusions and Facts* Ed. Hans Loeber. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992. 21.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

export industry is the foundation for construction happening in the Netherlands.²²⁸ In addition, he adds that the industry aids the reconstruction of the colonies, resulting in a significant improvement of colonial living conditions.²²⁹ These notions are also referred to in the 12 November 1945 article “Holland’s Economic Prospects.”²³⁰ The heated debates taking place between the Dutch government and Indonesian nationalists are for the most part treated objectively by including short factual articles on the events. The introduction of the column “Netherlands East Indies” in 1946 bound these articles together, the same happened with short articles on American-Dutch relations as they found a place under the “U.S.-Dutch Events” banner. The limited coverage on these relations show the financial problems that the magazine and the NIB faced by 1946. Additions made to the weekly from the NIB are very sparse in the 1946-1947 years since the bureau struggled with its post-war objectives and budget. In addition, the bureau ended its contract with the ANETA wire service, a wire service often used by *The Knickerbocker*. The decrease of subscriptions to the weekly showed itself in the magazine through a lack of well-researched articles and photographs. The magazine introduced a new cover in July 1946, a measure probably taken to cover-up the meager contents which now mostly consisted of stories about tourism in the United States and Holland as these topics provided for engaging articles suited for a wide audience. One may even draw the conclusion that such lighthearted articles completely overtook the in-depth analyses on political bilateral relations by late 1946. The most apparent example being the 11 November 1946 publication “The Gossip Industry” which analyzes the work of Walter Winchell, popular gossip columnist.²³¹ The piece took over pages 12-13 of the weekly, pages previously reserved for political analyses.

²²⁸ Balink, Albert “What Indonesian Freedom Means” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 22 Oct. 1945: 3.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ “Holland’s Economic Prospects” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 12 Nov. 1945: 22-23.

²³¹ Lam Markmann, Charles, “The Gossip Industry” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 11 Nov. 1946: 12-13.

The decision to turn the weekly into a monthly in March 1947 aided the coverage of political relations to some extent, but not necessarily into the direction of NIB's preferred imagery. The April 1947 issue include two NIB friendly reports from Java by John B. Bower, the editor of Batavia's *De NieuwsGier*, in which he gives a picture of Indonesia's attempts at self-rule, thereby referring to the 'large Holland' theme by arguing that this development marked post-war colonial rule.²³² Still by late 1947, the weekly moved away from the NIB's focus on the East Indies by including coverage on the West Indies. This change which seemed to be motivated by the termination of the NIB's subscriptions in June 1947. The new West Indies perspective is clearly shown in the October 1947 issue in which colonial problems take the center stage. The cover shows a Dutch West Indies girl, a decision which the editors reasoned by stating that "she seems to be luckier than her Indonesian sisters caught in a bitter conflict", thereby referring to the tense situation in the Pacific.²³³ Another article from this issue dealing with the colonial situation is Balink's "Dead Eyes in Indonesia" which discusses the negative influence the hostile environment has on the colonies' population.²³⁴ It is in this article that Balink for the first time suggests the idea that the eastern colonies might not be so beneficial for the Netherlands as they are home to many conflicts.²³⁵ By doing so, Balink openly distances himself from the NIB's train of thought. The October 1947 issue marked the beginning of the end regarding the specific coverage on U.S.-Dutch bilateral relations, because from November 1947 onwards the magazine implemented its new direction of reporting on multilateral relations in the Benelux.

From its early beginnings, the magazine promoted the common ideals of the Netherlands and the United States. These ideals proved to be a solid base for the reporting on political bilateral relations. Even before the opening of the NIB and the attacks on Pearl

²³² Bower, John B, "Growing Pains in Republican Indonesia" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 4 April 1947: 10-14.

²³³ "Cover Girl" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 10 Oct.1947: 15.

²³⁴ Balink, Albert, "Dead Eyes in Indonesia" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 10 Oct.1947: 12-13.

²³⁵ Idem, 12

Harbor, the magazine's reports on the relations focused on the close friendship between the United States and the Netherlands. A friendship which it strengthened by addressing the importance of the Dutch Indies, Dutch navy and royal family in the war effort. The joint organization of war exhibitions with the NIB shows that *The Knickerbocker Weekly* felt confident with the imagery approved by the bureau, a confidence further addressed in the "Know Your Ally" series. A series of articles which personifies the notion of public diplomacy as a war necessity. However, upon the early liberations, the magazine began to set its own course as NIB material published in the weekly started to decline. *The Knickerbocker* provided its own foundation for the portrayal of post-war relations by independently editing articles concerning post-war affairs. Some articles acknowledge the public diplomacy standards set by the NIB, while others reject them, thereby showing *The Knickerbocker's* agency. This agency, partly motivated by financial and organizational struggles, took the spotlight in 1947, a year in which the NIB lost terrain and the weekly had to restructure its objectives. To conclude, the weekly's portrayal of bilateral political operations could have operated without the interference of the NIB. Before the bureau's opening, the magazine had already constructed its own program of public diplomacy. A program which the NIB adopted in the 1942-1944 years, but which resurfaced in the post-war years. The same development can be seen in the portrayal of bilateral economic relations.

4. The portrayal of bilateral economic relations in *The Knickerbocker Weekly*

In the Pre-Pearl Harbor months, *The Knickerbocker Weekly* made way for the NIB's focus on bilateral economic relations by strongly stressing the importance of the Netherlands East Indies for the American market, that is the rubber, oil, tin and tobacco sales. Examples of this are the articles "Dutch Tobacco Auctions in the U.S.", "Indies Products Are Vital for U.S."

and “The Importance of the Dutch East Indies.”²³⁶ The July 21, 1941 cover even portrays buyers of Sumatra tobacco at the American Frascati on Staten Island, New York. This set-up fit the NIB’s economic image of the Netherlands by showing that the nation was a key player in economic affairs, which contributed to the ‘large Holland’ trope. Moreover, the weekly paid considerable attention to the fact that, at the time, the Netherlands was the second most important foreign investor in the United States.

In the early issues of *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, thus before the opening of the NIB, the magazine contained much corporate promotion by Shell and Philips, due to the fact that these corporations significantly sponsored the magazine. The number of advertisements relate to the power that the companies had over the contents of the magazine. Shell and Philips published many advertisements, while the Lever Brothers Company, the U.S. branch of Unilever, published few advertisements in which one observes Unilever’s minor role. This changed by the end of 1943 as their number of advertisements started to rise, because both Shell and Philips lowered their advertising budgets. Critical articles about the sponsors never appeared, despite the absence of a clear rule forbidding the writing of critical commentaries; however, *The Knickerbocker* could not afford losing one of its sponsors due to bad press, thus critical articles remained taboo. As a result, prints of Shell and Philips advertisements appeared at regular intervals, all emphasizing how these two companies positively affected American society. For example, in the weekly’s first issue, Philips placed a large advertisement on the second page, stating that this world organization carried on in wartimes, thereby stressing that manufacturing centers outside of Holland had taken up the production, consequently securing Philip’s high standards.²³⁷ Shell’s advertisement in the same issue picture a bomber accompanied by the text, “they found 90 extra miles an hour in a drop of

²³⁶ “Dutch Tobacco Auctions in the U.S.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. 20 March 1941: 8. And “Indies Products Are Vital for U.S.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 March 1941: 7 and “The Importance of the Dutch East Indies.” *The Knickerbocker Weekly*: 19 March 1941: 10.

²³⁷ Philips advertisement. *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Feb. 1941: 2.

oil” thereby promoting the significance of Shell Industrial Lubrication in wartimes.²³⁸ In a May 1941 ad, Shell also refers to America’s dependence on rubber from the Indies by stating that “America has a new lifeline to the Indies if the supply of natural rubber should be shut off, you will ride on tires made from oil.”²³⁹ Shell related to the pending rubber and oil crisis and offered a solution to it by promoting Shell industries which according to the corporation “helped take America a long way toward economic and defensive independence.”²⁴⁰ *The Knickerbocker Weekly* covered the aforementioned struggle for oil and rubber extensively when it described the economic status of the Netherlands East Indies under the impact of war in Europe and threats of Japanese aggression. The March 1941 article “The Struggle for Oil, Millions of Gallons of Gasoline, But Not One Drop for Japan!” summarizes the trade relations the Indies had with Japan and how friction between the two nations resulted in the agreement that Japan would not get a single drop of oil from the Indies.²⁴¹ The colonies feared that shipments to Japan might outfit submarines based close to the Spratley Islands thereby seriously challenging the defense of the territories. Moreover, the Indies’ priority sales to the United States made clear to the United States that Dutch colonies favored the Americans over the Japanese, consequently strengthening trade and political relations between the two nations. In addition, the decision to fully support the U.S. in trade relations aided the NIB’s later actions of countering negative press stating that the Indies welcomed the Japanese with open arms.

After the opening of the NIB and the attacks on Pearl Harbor, *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and its corporate sponsors began to make their portrayal of economic bilateral relations very specific, resulting in a strong focus on the American public. For example, an increase of space dedicated to the importance of Shell’s petroleum products and Philips’s

²³⁸ Shell advertisement. *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Feb. 1941: 15.

²³⁹ Shell advertisement. *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 19 May 1941: 1

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ “The Struggle for Oil, Millions of Gallons of Gasoline, But Not One Drop for Japan!” *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. 7 March 1941: 10-12.

innovations in American society. Shell started a campaign called “Sword of Today..Plowshare of Tomorrow” in which it promoted disinfectants based on petroleum. The advertisement states that “in every phase of America’s war effort, the products developed from Shell Research are ‘fighting’ on the front lines and when the war is won, these many petroleum discoveries will continue to ‘serve their country’ by making available new products for a better America.”²⁴² Shell openly declares that the United States is its country of service, thus defining its strong economic relation with it. Philips started the campaign “Lifeline of Freedom” which promotes the importance of Philips’s industrial products in the war economy. For example, in January 1942, Philips placed an advertisement promoting the significance of Philip’s welding products on navy ships.²⁴³ Thereby suggesting that Philip’s products aided the war effort immensely. Later on, Philips would restructure the campaign dedicating it to the idea that Philip’s products hastened victory.

The opening of the NIB affected the coverage of bilateral economic relations to a minor extent, since *The Knickerbocker* had already initiated a positive outlook on the role the Dutch economy played in the war effort. An outlook promoted by its corporate sponsors. However, the NIB seems to have made the weekly more aware of the existence of the flower bulb trade, which plays a role in Dutch culture. I.e. the tulip is the flower best associated with Holland and the ‘small Holland’ theme. Not one article discussed the status of the Dutch tulip industry in the world economy before June 1941; however by January 1942 the editors included an article on the tulip king of North Carolina which concluded that Mr. H. van Dorp shipped more than a million bulbs a year, thereby establishing a thriving Dutch colony at Terra Ceia.²⁴⁴ The flower bulb trade would later frequently be mentioned in articles discussing Tulip Time in Holland, Michigan and in the anniversary celebrations of the

²⁴²Shell, “Sword of Today..Plowshare of Tomorrow” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 1 March 1943: 0.

²⁴³ Philips.“Lifeline of Freedom” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 7 Jan. 1942: 2.

²⁴⁴ Beets, Henry. “The Tulip King of North Carolina” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 12 Jan. 1942: 22-23.

invasion of Holland in New York City during which tulips bloomed in the Promenade and roof gardens at the Rockefeller Center.

Furthermore, the NIB seems to have reminded *The Knickerbocker Weekly* of the history of the economic relations between the two nations, because the magazine started to publish articles describing key economic events. For example, the magazine dedicated an article to the Kansas City Southern and emphasized the notion that it can be labeled as being a Dutch-American railroad since Dutchmen initiated the built of it in order to advance the settlement of Dutch communities.²⁴⁵ Moreover, a series of articles on Dutch gifts to Manhattan history explained the significance of trade in Nieuw Amsterdam.²⁴⁶ The NIB and *The Knickerbocker* also promoted the significance of trade in their joint-venture series of articles called “Holland as It Was And Will Be.” The first articles in the series mainly focused on important cultural markers, such as the Rijksmuseum and the windmills of Holland. The article on the cheese market in Alkmaar changed this as it paid much attention to the export of Dutch cheese around the world thereby taking an economic perspective.²⁴⁷ Later articles copied this perspective such as the article on the city of Dordrecht called “Dordrecht: Commercial Center” as well as the article named “Hengelo: Miniature Pittsburgh” which discusses Hengelo’s metal industry, the Stork brothers factory in particular, and its function as crossroad for railway traffic between the Netherlands and foreign countries.²⁴⁸ The NIB explained the function of the Dutch infrastructure as crossroad in economic affairs by discussing “Flushing: Terminal City” and “Rotterdam: City of Commerce”, two cities which harbors were essential for world trade and the war economy.²⁴⁹ Advertisements by the

²⁴⁵ “Scheltema, T.W.L. “A Dutch American Railroad: The Kansas City Southern” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 23 Nov. 1942: 15-18.

²⁴⁶ “New York’s Heritage of Dutch Names” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 29 Dec. 1941: 26-27.

²⁴⁷ “Alkmaar: The Cheese Market” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 30 Nov. 1942: 24-25.

²⁴⁸ “Dordrecht: Commercial Center” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 19 April 1943: 26-27. “Hengelo: Miniature Pittsburgh” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 24 May 1943: 18-19.

²⁴⁹ “Flushing: Terminal City” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 23 Aug. 1943: 26-27 and “Rotterdam: City of Commerce” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 1 March 1943: 26-27.

Netherlands merchant ships companies, such as the Royal Netherlands Steamship Company, the Holland-America Line and Rotterdam Lloyd stressed this too with the text “freight for freedom, Holland’s ships and men bring ever nearer the liberation of the homeland carrying cargoes of death and destruction to the enemies of democracy” which accompanied all advertisements.²⁵⁰

The cause of freedom in relation to Dutch products occurred frequently in articles written about Shell and Philips from the beginning of 1943 onwards. Articles written specifically about one of the major sponsors did not occur in the early months of the magazine, because the sponsors initially had much criticism on how the magazine looked as exemplified in R.G. Pearson’s critical letter to Balink. Thus, the early months often contained merely advertisements of the sponsors, however this started to change in February 1943 when Shell received the Army-Navy E award for its wartime production of its Wood River, Illinois refinery. *The Knickerbocker Weekly* published a factual story on the ceremony in its February 15, 1943 issue and attached to it five paragraphs on how Shell developed “from Curio Shop to World Concern” thereby stressing the work and vision from three allied nations, namely the United States, England and the Netherlands which set up Shell’s contributions of petroleum products to the war economy, thereby aiding the cause of freedom according to the weekly.²⁵¹ A full series of three articles on the early days of the Royal Dutch Shell named “The Petroleum Tradition” appeared in the late 1944 issues.²⁵² The overall series put Shell in a positive light by focusing on the company’s big role in the petroleum trade. The framework of the article fits the NIB’s trope of ‘large Holland’, yet no documentation is available whether the NIB indeed used the Shell articles for further republication in the American press. It is not unlikely that the bureau obtained the articles for its archives, but by 1944 the NIB seemed to

²⁵⁰ “Freight for Freedom” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 10 July 1943: 6.

²⁵¹ “From Curio Shop to World Concern” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 15 Feb. 1943: 25.

²⁵² Balink, “The Petroleum Tradition I, II and III” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 25 Sept. 1944: 20-31, 2 Oct. 1944: 28-31 and 9. Oct 1944: 22-28.

be more occupied with the promotion of cultural issues instead of economic developments, because the first signs of liberation started to emerge.

Economic bilateral relations are not analyzed in detail in 1944, as many articles started to focus on the increasing successes of allied troops. However, due to sponsorship arrangements, the weekly devoted much space to Unilever. In the March 20 issue, the editors inserted the article “Unilever in Peace and War” which explains the organization of the business.²⁵³ The article has an editor’s note attached to it in which the editors make clear that they hoped that this article would acquaint the readers with the wartime activities of the Unilever concern in making products needed on the battle fronts.²⁵⁴ One has to give credit to the editors’ creativity for trying to show Unilever’s vital part in the war as the company was merely a soap and margarine industry at that time. Nevertheless, excluding the corporate sponsor aspect of the article, the fact that the editors focused on the bigness of the company and its influential role in world affairs relates back to public diplomacy policies and NIB imagery as they depict the firm as being indispensable for the war effort.

Opinions regarding the structuring of postwar foreign trade started to emerge by May 1944, however D-day in June 1944 and early liberations completely overshadowed them. Still, one has to note that the short articles expressing views on post-war trade all emphasize the importance of the Dutch colonies for a possible quick reconstruction. A Shell ad of June 1944 refers to this as it discusses the sugar industry in the East Indies and how in peace time it was one of the most important sources of wealth in the Kingdom of the Netherlands.²⁵⁵ Another ad from the October 1944 mentions the importance of palm oil trade.²⁵⁶ More referrals to the importance of the colonial trade in 1944 cannot be analyzed extensively as the

²⁵³ “Unilever in Peace and War” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 20 March 1944: 19-24.

²⁵⁴ *Idem*, 19.

²⁵⁵ Shell ad “Sugar Industry in the Netherlands East Indies” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 26 June 1944: 31.

²⁵⁶ “Palm Oil in the Netherlands Indies” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 2 Oct. 1944: Back cover.

material provided by the National Library is incomplete, starting from November 1944 onwards.

After the liberation of Holland in May 1945, articles concerning bilateral economic relations started to flourish whereby a majority of them depicted the Dutch economy as being strong and essential to world trade. In May 1945, the magazine proudly stated that the “Rebuilding of Holland Begins” thereby acknowledging the importance of US lend-lease agreements which would provide material to the Netherlands.²⁵⁷ Also the weekly started a series of articles which individually addressed export products from the Indies. Examples of this being tea and pepper.²⁵⁸ However, the weekly did not merely take a positive stance towards reconstruction as it also acknowledges the limited scale of the Dutch industries due to the destructions of war as exemplified in the article “Cleaning Up After the Nazis.”²⁵⁹ The special liberation issue of August 1945 pays more attention to the poor state of the Dutch economy, but it never solely praises American economic aid as the weekly puts Dutch initiatives into the spotlights. The issue includes articles on a new agricultural program, and a new home construction program, both original Dutch programs which might be of interest for the United States instead of the other way around.²⁶⁰ Consequently, the weekly promotes the message that the Dutch are able to pick up the pieces themselves, thereby relating to the NIB’s theme of ‘Holland Carries On’ within the ‘large Holland’ framework.

The ‘Holland Carries On’ theme is present in the subsequent coverage of economic bilateral relations, first of which is seen on the 8 October 1945 cover that portrays the arrival of the first tulip bulb shipment in the United States since 1939. This arrival marked the beginning of the successful reconstruction of the Dutch flower trade as the magazine states as

²⁵⁷ “The Rebuilding of Holland Begins” *The Knickerbocker Weekly*: 28 May 1945: 6-9.

²⁵⁸ Uphof, JC, “Spices From the NEI” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 19 Feb. 1945: 28-32 “Tea, A Major Product of the Indies” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 16 July 1945: 18-26.

²⁵⁹ “Cleaning Up After the Nazis” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 30 July 1945: 4-7.

²⁶⁰ Swane, Albert, “An Agricultural Program” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 26 and Bromberg, Paul, “Holland Needs 500,000 Homes” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 62-65.

early as October 29, 1945 that the “flower trade blooms again.”²⁶¹ A statement supported by the planting of Dutch tulip bulbs on the US Capitol grounds in Washington in November 1945. The weekly labels the bulbs as being “Holland’s gift to the American people.”²⁶² Overall, a product from the ‘small Holland’ concept placed within the ‘large Holland’ framework.

The ‘large Holland’ theme is often referred to in 1946 by the introduction of a series of articles on Dutch industries in the United States. An example of an industry discussed is Van Houten Cacao, a business which advertised in the weekly since its early days.²⁶³ Industries located in the Netherlands which have international success also received much attention. An example of this is the Amsterdam diamond trade. In July 1946, the weekly once again joined forces with the NIB in the production of the article “Amsterdam Diamonds Sparkle Again.”²⁶⁴ The article was a prestigious work of the NIB having previously been published in *The Foreign Commerce Weekly*, a publication of the U.S. Department of Commerce. The description of how the Amsterdam diamond trade resumed its work after the war’s end took the center stage. It shows that the trade faced some difficulties as the world competition is tougher in the postwar markets, however the NIB explained this by stating that the Netherlands diamond trade has set its sights high by looking towards wider markets abroad, one of them being of course the American one.²⁶⁵ The same premise applies to the coverage of the fair of Dutch produce held annually in Utrecht. The article on the fair, named “Heart of Holland”, describes Utrecht’s continuous leadership in Holland as the center for the industrial

²⁶¹ “Flower Trade Blooms Again” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 29 Oct. 1945: 22-25.

²⁶² “Dutch Tulip Bulbs are Planted on the US Capitol Ground in Washington” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 12 Nov. 1945: cover.

²⁶³ “Dutch Industries in the US: Van Houten’s Here to Stay” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 8 April 1946: 23-24.

²⁶⁴ Tate, Marian K. “Amsterdam Diamonds Sparkle Again” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 29 July 1946: 15-16.

²⁶⁵ *Idem*, 16.

and agricultural produce exported around the world, thereby promoting the strength of international trade relations.²⁶⁶

Furthermore, 1946 saw the reconstruction of the tourism industry, an industry which the weekly paid much attention to in the cultural sense by preparing American tourists in the form of informative articles about Holland's most popular tourism spots. D.W. De Jong, manager of the Amsterdam office of the American express company, wrote a series of two articles called 'the Netherlands Tour' in which he discusses what tourists would see in Holland.²⁶⁷ Pictures accompanying the tourist industry articles all came from the NIB's photo archives, consequently providing a picture-perfect view of the tourist attractions discussed.

The articles on the tourism industry are one of the last economics-oriented articles which directly involved the NIB. The NIB seemed to have lost its influence in the portrayal of bilateral economic relations due to the maturation of the weekly's vast network of professional independent journalists, one of which being Tassilo Adam, who provided detailed accounts of Indonesia's industries in late 1946 and the beginning of 1947. In his coverage, Adam discusses both the positive and negative sides of the industries. For example, he praises the worldwide exportation of Indonesian tobacco, yet he condemns the poor working conditions of the workers.²⁶⁸ In contrast, only the first perspective would have been accepted in a NIB directed article. Adam's writing style is often found in later articles, one of which being "Oil and the Indies" by Dr. Peter de Waal.²⁶⁹ Coverage on the oil crisis in the 1941-1943 years mostly served public diplomacy by using the crisis to show close bonds between the Netherlands and the United States. De Waal's article moves away from this as he discusses in detail the East Indies' relation with oil; a relation that he labels as always having

²⁶⁶ Koops Jr, Henk "Heart of Holland" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 16 Sept. 1946: 18-21.

²⁶⁷ First article, De Jong, D.W., "Netherlands Tour" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 29 July 1946: 17-21. Second article appeared on 12 Aug. 1946: 17-21.

²⁶⁸ Adam, Tassilo "Wealth of Weeds" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 30 Dec. 1946: 17-19.

²⁶⁹ De Waal, Peter "Oil and the Indies" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 8 Aug. 1947: 12-13.

been somewhat dramatic as the oil riches were the object of an intricate web of plottings, most of which ignored the well-being of the Indonesian population.²⁷⁰

1947 was an important year for bilateral economic relations as George Marshall introduced the European reconstruction plan in his Harvard address of June 1947. However, *The Knickerbocker* paid little attention to his speech as the editors prioritized the statement of the resignation of Dr. Loudon as Dutch ambassador in the United States. Later coverage in 1947 on the Marshall Plan would limit itself to a small article discussing how the plan could halt the spread of Communism in Europe.²⁷¹ The NIB could not pressure the magazine to increase its coverage on Marshall as the bureau had decreased its influence by terminating its subscriptions in June 1947. Thus, instead of reports on the development of the Marshall plan, meetings revolving around the establishment of a common Benelux foreign policy dominated the economics sections, consequently demonstrating how the magazine started to distance itself from Dutch-American bilateral relations. A new perspective made public with the introduction of the magazine's new title in November 1947, *The Knickerbocker: the Magazine of the Low Countries*.

The portrayal of economic bilateral relations by *The Knickerbocker Weekly* fit the framework of the NIB perfectly, especially during the 1941-1945 years. From Pre-Pearl Harbor times onwards, the weekly promoted the effectiveness and importance of the Dutch industries in the war effort, thereby eventually making links to both the 'small Holland' and 'large Holland' themes. The post-Pearl Harbor "Holland As It Was and Will Be" campaign being the perfect example of this. Moreover, the promotion by the weekly's sponsors of how Dutch products positively affected American society proved to be an important part of public diplomacy as it countered negative press dealing with the American public' anti-Dutch

²⁷⁰ Idem, 12

²⁷¹ Schuurman, Albert, "Friend of the Truth" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 8 Aug. 1947: 14-15.

sentiments. The turning point regarding the support of public diplomacy oriented coverage of economic relations lies in the 1946-1947 years, as economic affairs received more coverage in these years than in the previous two due to the domination of political affairs in the 1944-1945 years. The decline of the NIB's power in the public diplomacy field seemed to have given the weekly the courage to also address some negative sides of the Dutch economic sphere, namely the limits it faced in reconstruction and the poor working conditions which were especially present in the colonies. This kind of coverage focused less on public diplomacy guidelines, rather it tried to give an objective or uncensored view of economic situations in the post-war context. To conclude, the weekly proved to be a valuable public diplomacy tool regarding the promotion of economic bilateral relations. Corporate promotion seemed to have been the main instigator of the weekly's objective to positively portray Dutch industries in the world market and war effort. This provided the foundation for the NIB's activities as they encountered little resistance from the editors for the promotion of their own 'small Holland' and 'large Holland' themes. The editors' acceptance of NIB imagery is best seen in the portrayal of bilateral cultural relations, the portrayal which is discussed next.

5. The portrayal of bilateral cultural relations in *The Knickerbocker Weekly*

A majority of the pre-Pearl Harbor issues of the magazine refrain from addressing cultural relations in detail since the editors appear to have made the decision to make political relations the center of attention. By doing so, they would provide a solid foundation for later news regarding the Dutch war effort. News from cultural institutions such as Netherlands Centers slowly started to reach the weekly from April 1941 onwards. The centers organized exhibits, parties and recitals for Dutch communities. Coverage of such events often emphasized the supposedly upbeat nature of the Dutch. For example, *The Knickerbocker's* first article on the Netherlands Centers published on April 14 1941 mentions the word 'gezellig' (pleasant, sociable) many times and the accompanying pictures show Dutch

‘peasant’ girls and Dutch seamen making the ‘thumbs up’ gesture. This kind of up-beat coverage would aid the public diplomacy image of the Dutch in the United States as it defined them as being positive, even in wartimes.²⁷² This positive attitude could then be related back to the efforts of Dutch war operations. However, the magazine did not start off with portraying the most straightforward cultural images related to Holland. One week after the first report on the Netherlands Centers, the magazine published a brief article about an exhibition of less known Dutch 17th century painters in New York City. It deals with the idea that everybody knows Hals, Vermeer and Rembrandt, yet Van der Poel, Leysters and the Molenaers remain unknown, thereby arguing that the latter painters also deserve attention.²⁷³ The fact that *The Knickerbocker* paid attention to the small art exhibit in April 1941 shows that the magazine did not always concern itself with the most popular forms of cultural diplomacy. Yet, later exhibitions on Dutch 17th century painters jointly organized by the weekly and the NIB all exhibit the most famous and popular works from acclaimed artists, consequently ignoring the previously discussed underdogs of Dutch 17th century painting. The main reason for this lies of course in the notion that popular names attract more audience, thereby better fulfilling the promotion of bilateral cultural relations. Still, *The Knickerbocker’s* initial praise of low-key painters is noteworthy as it shows a sense of agency.

In May 1941, the weekly covered the Michigan Tulip Festival, one of the most, if not the most Dutch culture related event in the United States. As a result, an event much appreciated by the NIB. However, the weekly’s coverage of it started off on a very small scale, limited to a one-page article located in the second part of the magazine on page 20.²⁷⁴ Its location in the magazine suggests that the editors did not prioritize the piece for publication, otherwise it would probably have been on the first few pages. The article tries to

²⁷² “News from Netherlands Centers” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 14 April 1941: 23.

²⁷³ “An Outstanding Exhibition in New York” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 21 April 1941: 14.

²⁷⁴ Beets, Henry, “Michigan Tulip Festival” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 12 May 1941: 20.

objectively describe the festival's activities, but writer Henry Beets could not entirely hide his amusement regarding the traditional pantaloons worn by the men and the many appearances of wooden shoes. He expresses his opinion by frequently addressing the idea that many Americans appear to think that every inhabitant of the Netherlands wears wooden shoes and that all men wear the pantaloons traditionally worn by fishermen of the islands of Marken and Urk. In contrast, the next year, the coverage of the tulip festival extended to four pages including many pictures provided by the NIB, which show traditional Dutch dress and a wooden shoe dance.²⁷⁵ The article refrains from addressing Americans' stereotypes about the Netherlands; instead, it praises the traditional feel the festival expresses, thereby linking to the promotion of 'small Holland.' The festival discontinued in 1942 due to the involvement of the U.S. in the war, it resumed after the war, however post-war coverage never reached the 1942 level as other cultural matters took the center stage, something which will be discussed later on.

Despite being an important tool in cultural diplomacy, the opening of the NIB in June 1941 received minor coverage from the magazine. In the June 16, 1941 article "Information Bureau Opens", the anonymous author discusses the aims of the bureau and its facilities, one of them being a library which comprised about 2000 volumes dealing with the Kingdom of the Netherlands.²⁷⁶ One week later, an article addressed the official opening reception of the NIB during which Slotemaker held a speech encouraging American journalists to contact the NIB whenever they are in doubt about events connected to the Netherlands.²⁷⁷ He stressed that he would also like his fellow Dutchmen to contact the NIB in order to "get a much clearer idea of the great cultural achievements in the United States."²⁷⁸ It was this statement which seemed to have triggered an increase in *The Knickerbocker's* cultural coverage, as from this

²⁷⁵ "Tulip Time in Michigan" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 18 May 1942: 17-21.

²⁷⁶ "Information Bureau Opens" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 16 June 1941: 11.

²⁷⁷ "Information Bureau Reception" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 23 June 1941: 24.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

moment onwards, the magazine started to amplify its reporting on Slotemaker's so called "cultural achievements." In August 1941, the weekly specifically brought to the attention the notion that Dutch schools of painting are one of the best represented in the United States, specifically the many Dutch paintings present in New York collections, the Metropolitan's in particular.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, *The Knickerbocker* began to explain modern Dutch art to its readers by including articles discussing architecture and modern artists such as Rietveld.²⁸⁰ Piet Worm in particular, an artist engaged by the Department of Economics, received much coverage as he introduced Dutch folklore into modern art by delineating it from its traditional appearance.²⁸¹ Thus, he is the perfect example of how the 'small Holland' concept transformed into the 'large Holland' concept over time.

The Christmas 1941 volume marks the importance of cultural relations between the United States and the Netherlands as put forward by both the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly*. The cover portrays 'The Praying Pilgrim' by Rembrandt, the editors explain this cover by stating that this painting shows the spiritual expression shared by the Netherlands and the United States.²⁸² Moreover, they stress that the Netherlands and America had been cultural allies for more than three centuries before they became allies in war, and that they share the same ideals, the same concept of freedom and good living.²⁸³ Furthermore, the magazine also printed 'Madonna' by van Eyck, thereby interpreting the artwork as a symbol of man's unshaken belief in the ultimate triumph of good over evil which the editors wove into the story of Holland under Nazi rule since it shows "Holland's faith and stout courage that burns undimmed through the night and storm of cruelty and oppression."²⁸⁴ In addition, the Christmas issue contains pictures of the Old Delft Church, Old Veere, Zeeland, houses in

²⁷⁹ "Dutch Paintings in New York Collections" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 25 Aug. 1941: 8-9.

²⁸⁰ Bromberg Paul, "Modern Dutch Art: Rietveld" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 5 Jan. 1942: 17.

²⁸¹ Bromberg, Paul "Modern Dutch Art: Piet Worm" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 25 Aug. 1941: 17.

²⁸² "Praying Pilgrim by Rembrandt" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 22 Dec. 1941: 16.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ "Madonna by van Eyck" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 22 Dec. 1941: 17.

Haarlem and the Amsterdam canals, all of which portray pre-war conditions which fit the ‘small Holland’ concept. In January 1942, the magazine started to extend its coverage on Dutch art in America by reporting on the opening of the Rembrandt exhibit in New York’s Metropolitan Museum. The January 19, 1942 cover shows a self portrait of Rembrandt van Rijn relating to the nine page article which discusses his works and the new exhibit.²⁸⁵ Later exhibitions of famous Dutch painters received equal treatment. An example of this is the Frans Hals exhibition displayed in the national gallery in New York City in August 1942.²⁸⁶

The “Holland as It Was and Will Be Campaign” set-up by the NIB reached the magazine in June 1942. As addressed earlier, this campaign is one of the most visible attempts of the NIB to influence *The Knickerbocker’s* contents to serve public diplomacy purposes. The NIB produced both the text and the pictures of the campaign in which Holland was depicted as ‘small Holland’ in the 1942-1943 years and as ‘large Holland’ in the 1944-1947 years. It is possible that the campaign motivated the editors of the magazine to join forces with the NIB in the organization of the “You Can’t Beat the Dutch” exhibit of July-August 1942 as discussed in the chapter on bilateral political relations.

Festivities linked to traditional Dutch cultural events supported the “Holland as It Was and Will Be Campaign” since the weekly frequently reported about them. Especially, the celebration of *Sinterklaas* became one of the most often discussed traditional Dutch events in the weekly’s 1941-1947 run. In December 1941, the magazine merely mentioned *Sinterklaas’s* appearance in New York City by means of a small parade down Fifth Avenue and a visit to Dutch children in the Holland House at Rockefeller Plaza.²⁸⁷ The short article briefly mentions the differences between the American Santa Claus and *Sinterklaas* in order to acquaint American audiences with the Dutch tradition, thereby refraining from giving an

²⁸⁵ “New York’s Met Museum Centers Attention on the Great Dutch Master” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 19 Jan. 1942: 16-24.

²⁸⁶ “Private Collection on Display in National Gallery” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 31 Aug. 1942: cover and 7.

²⁸⁷ “Dutch Santa Comes to Town” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 15 Dec. 1941: 26-27.

in-depth analysis of the cultural ties between the two Saint Nick's. In contrast, the coverage of the 1942 *Sinterklaas* celebration triumphs the 1941 one by providing an in-depth biography on Richard Kroonenberg, the man who played *Sinterklaas* in New York City since 1940.²⁸⁸ Albert Balink himself wrote the article on Kroonenberg in which his supposed Americanization took center stage. Balink labels Kroonenberg as being an American citizen that was at the same time hopelessly Dutch. This feature made Kroonenberg “ a one man propaganda bureau for Holland before the official Netherlands Information Bureau started to operate in 1941”, according to Balink.²⁸⁹ This statement officially marks Balink's views on the NIB, yet it is the only instance in the magazine in which the NIB is directly referred to as a propaganda bureau. Moreover, it is the only instance in which Balink expresses his honest opinion about the NIB as letters stored in the various archives are all dominated by the social code of politeness, consequently never mentioning the word propaganda. Furthermore, the article stresses the joint organization of the *Sinterklaas* celebration by *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and Kroonenberg himself. The NIB is never brought up in relation to the organization of a *Sinterklaas* celebration despite the fact that Balink defines it as being “ a beautiful piece of publicity for Holland.”²⁹⁰ One may conclude from this that the definitions of good cultural publicity for the Netherlands between the weekly and the NIB differed on some occasions, consequently showing that the weekly continued to express its agency regarding the portrayal of bilateral cultural relations.

The magazine's agency is especially brought to the attention in the February 15, 1943 article “Dit is Amerika: How the Nazis Try to Destroy Europe's Faith in America.”²⁹¹ In which the weekly addresses examples of Nazi propaganda intended to convince the people of

²⁸⁸ Balink, Albert, “ The Private Life of Saint Nicholas” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 26 Oct. 1942: 26-29.

²⁸⁹ Idem, 28.

²⁹⁰ Idem, 29.

²⁹¹ “Dit is Amerika: How the Nazis Try to Destroy Europe's Faith in America” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 15 Feb. 1943: 20-23.

the occupied countries that America is a land of industrial chaos and domestic strife.²⁹² The magazine gives itself an important role in the successful exposing and combating of the enemy propaganda as it states that it has privately done certain counter propaganda work in Europe against the Nazis.²⁹³ Exact details of this work are not discussed due to wartime secrecy requirements. Nevertheless, the fact that *The Knickerbocker* independently takes a stand against Nazi propaganda shows the magazine's commitment to its cause, while it also seemed to have formed the basis for the magazine's later critical attitude towards material provided by the NIB. Critical attitudes towards government organizations are also referred to by the weekly in the March 1943 article "The Netherlands Press Before Hitler" which discusses the idea that with a population less than greater New York, Holland had 120 daily newspapers, all of them providing their own analysis of the news.²⁹⁴ *The Knickerbocker* defines itself as being one of those newspapers, thereby stressing its analytical competence.

However, the analytical competence of the weekly was not always of a high standard, especially in relation to the NIB's cultural diplomacy. One blunder summarizes this statement well and that is the controversy which surrounded the "U.S. Industry Adopts Netherlands "Klompen" article.²⁹⁵ It is written by Reverend Gerrit Verkuyl of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and it deals with the wooden shoe factory at Kiel, Wisconsin. The factory supposedly saw an increase in its wooden shoe production ever since rubber prices skyrocketed.²⁹⁶ The article defines wooden shoes as being more comfortable and more suited for heavy usage than rubber boots, thereby bluntly promoting one of Holland's most recognizable cultural traits' relation to the war effort.²⁹⁷ The NIB initially loved the article and was ready to forward it to several large newspapers, but research

²⁹² *Idem*, 20

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁴ Tailleux, Alexander "The Netherlands News Before Hitler" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 8 March 1943: 16-18.

²⁹⁵ Verkuyl, Gerrit, "U.S. Industry Adopts Netherlands "Klompen" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 23 Aug. 1943: 10-13.

²⁹⁶ *Idem*, 10.

²⁹⁷ *Idem*, 12.

done by *The Milwaukee Journal* halted further publication.²⁹⁸ In a reaction by the newspaper to the weekly, it was made clear that the wooden shoe making was suspended in 1937, upon the death of the factory's owner Mr. Baivier.²⁹⁹ The factory was closed soon afterwards and the machinery was sold and shipped to a concern in Holland, Michigan.³⁰⁰ The only products left of the former Kiel factory were the few shoes that were left over from previous operations.³⁰¹ Slotemaker wrote an angry letter to Balink about this in which he mentions the embarrassment the bureau faced after having to inform the larger newspapers that the story could not be published.³⁰² Balink responded to Slotemaker by stating that the author of the article gave him no reason to doubt his reliability, therefore he did not question the story.³⁰³ For which Slotemaker responded that the NIB will start to double check *The Knickerbocker's* material as the bureau cannot rely on the accuracy of it.³⁰⁴ A response from Balink on Slotemaker's double-check could not be found, yet the fact that J.W.F. Stoppelman, head of the press department of the NIB, suggested that the matter should be dropped might have inspired Balink to also put it to rest.³⁰⁵ Still, the tense correspondences between the NIB and the weekly did not seem have aided the relationship between the two.

The first number after the one containing the '*Klompen*' story was the August 30, 1943 royal birthday number for queen Wilhelmina in which the editors of the weekly attempted to stress the greatness and variety of the culture of the Netherlands. In the editorial, they acknowledge the fact that they have often told the story of Holland's great painters in stories and pictures, yet the assumed nearing of the settlement of the war motivated them to

²⁹⁸ "The Wooden Shoe Story" Letter from NAC Slotemaker de Bruine to Albert Balink, 20 Sep. 1943. "*Milwaukee Journal*" to Balink, 18 Sept. 1943, NIOD, Amsterdam, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 485.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Letter from NAC Slotemaker de Bruine to Albert Balink, 20 Sept. 1943, NIOD, Amsterdam, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 485.

³⁰³ Balink's response mentioned in letter from NAC Slotemaker de Bruine to Albert Balink, 20 Sept. 1943.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Letter from JWF Stoppelman to Slotemaker, 14 Sept. 1943, NIOD, Amsterdam, Archief van het Nederlandse Informatiebureau, collectie 243 b, inv. no. 485.

also address more contemporary cultural issues.³⁰⁶ One of them being the rich history of Holland's modern architecture which according to the editors exemplifies the notion that Holland is a country with an ideal combination of equal respect for the old and the new.³⁰⁷ It is important to note that the name of the NIB is not attached to any of the articles in this number, nor do the pictures come from its photo archives. Instead, the weekly published "An Air-album of Holland" as the KLM provided photos of cities and villages in which ancient and modern blended harmoniously.³⁰⁸ An example of this is a photo showing Amsterdam's ancient city center versus the modern housing structures in Amsterdam-West.³⁰⁹ The decision to exclude the NIB from this issue is never addressed in any correspondences and, at the time of publication, the errors regarding the 'Klommen' story were not yet known. *The Milwaukee Journal* sent the letter uncovering them on 16 September 1943. This suggests that the relationship between the NIB and the weekly had already been tense beforehand, as the topic of the royal birthday number fit the NIB's objectives perfectly, especially the portrayal of both 'small' and 'large Holland' with the KLM pictures. In a later issue, the NIB got a new chance to express its own love for the royal family as the weekly's editors published the article "The Palaces of the Netherlands" in which NIB photo material accompanied the descriptions of the various royal residences.³¹⁰ The NIB article would later inspire B.H.M. Vlekke's piece "The Palace in Amsterdam" which describes how the city's town hall became a royal residence.³¹¹

The 'Klommen' controversy did not halt the joint organization of cultural exhibitions, as the weekly together with the bureau, and an honorary committee consisting of Prof. Adriaan J. Barnouw, Ambassador Alexander Loudon, New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey

³⁰⁶ "A Royal Birthday" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 30 Aug. 1943: 1.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ "An Air-Album of Holland" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 30 Aug. 1943: 26-33.

³⁰⁹ Idem, 27-28

³¹⁰ "The Palaces of the Netherlands" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Sept. 1943: 24-27.

³¹¹ Vlekke, B.H.M "The Palace in Amsterdam" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 8 Nov. 1943: 17-21.

and mayor La Guardia organized “The Art and Life of Vincent van Gogh” in New York City in October 1943.³¹² It was the largest exhibition of van Gogh’s work in the United States and it ran till November 7th. The weekly devoted much space to Van Gogh in its October 11, 1943 issue by dedicating eleven pages to Gogh’s most famous works, one of which being *The Potato-Eaters*.³¹³ On the whole, one can draw the conclusion that the magazine dedicated much space to Dutch art in late 1943. In November 1943, the weekly independently devoted three entire pages to the Dutch art that was part of the famous J.P. Morgan Collection and which was then on display in New York City’s Knoedler Galleries.³¹⁴ And the Christmas 1943 issue included an “Album of the Old Masters” which shows works by Vermeer, Rembrandt and Hals.³¹⁵ This kind of coverage declined in 1944, as exemplified by the fact that only a small advertisement in the May 15, 1944 issue promoted a new exhibition of Dutch 17th century paintings.³¹⁶ However, the weekly did publish an interview with Piet Mondrian, one of the greatest Dutch painters at that time, just before his death in February 1944.³¹⁷

The death of Hendrik Willem Van Loon, on March 11, 1944 also received much attention as he was an important figure in Dutch-American relations and a valuable author for the weekly. *The Knickerbocker* included three tributes to him, two in English and one in Dutch, in its March 20, 1944 issue.³¹⁸ Van Loon’s death might have inspired the weekly to include a piece on “Dutch literature in Wartime” in its 1 May 1944 number.³¹⁹ Written by Adriaan van der Veen, the article uses Ernest Hemmingway’s idea that during World War I

³¹² “The Art and Life of Vincent Van Gogh” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 11 Oct. 1943: 6-17.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

³¹⁴ “Dutch Art in the Morgan Collection” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 29 Nov. 1943: 14-17.

³¹⁵ “An Album of Old Masters” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 20 Dec. 1943: 24-28.

³¹⁶ Advertisement “Exhibition of Dutch 17th Century Paintings” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 15 May 1944: 32.

³¹⁷ Balink, Albert “Piet Mondrian, Greatest Dutch Painter of Our Time” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 14 Feb. 1944: 22.

³¹⁸ “Editorial”, in English: Williams, Whyte, “Hendrik Willem Van Loon” and in Dutch: Greshoff, J. “Hendrik Willem Van Loon” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 20 March 1944: 3, 4-5, and 38.

³¹⁹ Van der Veen, Adriaan, “Dutch Literature in Wartime” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 1 May 1944: 20-21.

“writers either wrote propaganda, shut up, or fought” as a starting point.³²⁰ Van der Veen argues that the Dutch writers continued to fight, one way concerned with writing in a symbolic “secret” language which was intelligible to only a few.³²¹ Furthermore, the author explains that Dutch books have continued to be published, almost from the beginning of Holland’s occupation on, first in the East Indies, then on South African soil.³²² These publications were mostly reprints from books previously published in the Netherlands.³²³ Van Der Veen’s article ticks many boxes connected to being a successful public diplomacy tool. It analyzes the hardships the writers have to go through, and it acknowledges their share in the war effort. In addition, the fact that the article is located next to one discussing the tulip mania in Holland, in 1634-1637 makes it a valuable promotion of Dutch cultural traits.³²⁴ The topic of literature would later also be addressed in “The Netherlands in American Literature” an article from the 1944 Independence Day issue in which Arnold Mulder of Kalamazoo College in Michigan analyses how Dutch influences are discernible in the writings of Walt Whitman, best known as the author of the poetry collection *Leaves of Grass* and Herman Melville, best known for *Moby Dick*.³²⁵ The weekly published all of these articles without the help of the NIB, yet it is plausible that the NIB used them for further distribution because of their high public diplomacy value.

As liberations started to spread over the Kingdom of the Netherlands by 1945, the weekly began to include its colonies in its articles devoted to cultural issues. The colonies were previously only deemed valuable for the portrayal of political and economic bilateral relations. One of the first articles is from April 1945 and describes WaYang Wong, the

³²⁰ Idem, 20.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Idem, 21.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Scheltema, TWL “The Tulip Mania in Holland, 1634-1637” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 1 May 1944: 22-24.

³²⁵ Mulder, Arnold “The Netherlands in American Literature” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 3 July 1944: 24-26.

Javanese theater.³²⁶ Balink would later connect to this in his article on the exposition of how a Balinese boy learns to dance.³²⁷ In addition, the magazine attracted Tassilo Adam, an author who is a former ethnologist of the NEI government and who was also previously mentioned in the chapter on economic relations. Adam wrote a series of twelve articles on life in the NEI, the first one focusing on the splendor at the courts of the sultans.³²⁸

Cultural coverage on the NEI had to make way for coverage dealing with American culture in the magazine's special liberation issue of August 1945. The issue dealt with the regular coverage on Dutch art, yet the most important cultural part addresses the development of American music, Hollywood movies and stage dramas during the war years. In "American Drama in Wartime", author Elvira Mulhern provides a detailed account of how the past five war years had been one of the most prosperous ones the stage had witnessed as they dealt with themes far removed from the war.³²⁹ For example, *Life With Father* a play which was running on the New York stage when Holland was invaded was still running in 1945.³³⁰ Furthermore, in Max Tak's "Hollywood 1940-1945", films studio's major movies and stars are discussed in order to bring the Netherlands up-to-date on the new developments in the American cinema, a cinema which would quickly dominate the Dutch movie theaters.³³¹ The weekly would eventually even acknowledge the domination of American movies in the Dutch cinemas by introducing the film review column "The Screen" in the beginning of 1946. The column limited itself to the reviewing of American films, instead of European ones. Lastly, in the special liberation issue, "Personalities in American Music", also by Max Tak, introduces famous American composers to the Dutch public by including a survey of the American

³²⁶ "WaYang Wong: The Javanese Theatre" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 9 April 1945: 24-31.

³²⁷ Balink, Albert "A Balinese Boy Learns the Act of Dancing" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 23 April 1945: 20-27.

³²⁸ Adam, Tassilo "The Serimpis and Bedoyos of Java" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 2 July 1945. 22-26.

³²⁹ Mulhern, Elvira "American Drama in Wartime" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 72-75.

³³⁰ *Idem*, 72.

³³¹ Tak, Max "Hollywood in 1940-1945" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 76-77.

compositions played during the past seasons by the New York Philharmonic orchestra.³³² This focus on music would later be continued in the January 28, 1946 article “American-Dutch Music Exchange” which discusses Dutch composers unknown in the United States and Dutch contemporary music.³³³

The change of focus to American culture distinguishes the weekly’s view since the editors deemed this as something which could start to play an important role in the Netherlands in the post-war years. Almost all articles specifically state that they want to educate the Dutch about the transformations taking place in American culture, thereby making the Dutch public ready for the arrival of American cultural products. In contrast, the NIB never explicitly paid much attention to explaining American culture to the Dutch as it did not comply with their mission statement regarding the promotion of the Netherlands in the United States. It is therefore the special liberation issue which truly shows the weekly’s own state of mind regarding public diplomacy.

The Knickerbocker Weekly extended its coverage on American culture rather than Dutch culture with its series of articles called “America and its People.” The series dealt with life in the various states as the first article in the series addresses “Tennessee” and how corn and cotton production impacts everyday life there.³³⁴ Another article demonstrates how life in Montana revolves around “copper, cattle and cowboys”.³³⁵ The series would later become a part of another series called “Word and Picture Tours Through America” which focuses on important landmarks in the United States. Providing more information about America to the Dutch people also happened with the series “As Dutch Journalists See America.” The series started in February 1946 after the editors of *The Knickerbocker Weekly* had invited six Netherlands newspapermen, who were touring America at that time as guests of the State

³³² Tak, Max ”Personalities in American Music” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 27 Aug. 1945: 78-79.

³³³ “American-Dutch Music Exchange” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 28 Jan. 1946: 31.

³³⁴ “Tennessee Corn and Cotton” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 7 Jan. 1946: 18-22.

³³⁵ “Montana: Copper, Cattle and Cowboys” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 28 Feb. 1946: 17-22.

Department, to give a first-hand report of their personal impressions of the visit to the United States.³³⁶ The first impressions published came from three journalists that all had an impressive track record, i.e. Prof. H.J. Hellema was a lawyer and editor of the Calvinist daily *Trouw*, Dr. A.L.P. Tammes was the foreign editor of the conservative daily *de Nationale Rotterdamsche Courant* and A.J. Koejemans was the editor of the Communist daily *De Waarheid* and a member of the Dutch Senate. Their analyses are informative and entertaining, with Hellema's ecstatic appraisal of New York City, Koejemans shock regarding the many contrasts present in the U.S., and Tammes' realization that New York City is not quite America.³³⁷ The series gives the audience a feel of America which is not directly steered into the direction of public diplomacy. The State Department did invite those journalists, thereby making it a potential public diplomacy affair, yet *The Knickerbocker Weekly* gave them the opportunity to truly express their opinions regarding the large nation which continued to mesmerize many Dutchmen. The series concluded in April 1946, and the NIB is never mentioned throughout its run; a notion which stresses the independent nature of the series.

From June 1946 onwards, coverage relating back to the traditional images connected to the Netherlands compensated for the extensive coverage on America in the first part of that year. June 1946 issues included many NIB photo shoots of the Loosdrechtse Plassen, the Hague, and Amsterdam. All of which bound together with the "Beautiful Holland" banner. The banner referred to the many articles devoted to the tourism industry. In the July 29, 1946 issue, author Huber Pryor of the "Holland Prepares for Tourists" article tries to prepare American tourists for their visits by analyzing the Dutch country, the people and the cities.³³⁸ The same happened in articles written by Elizabeth Koessler, only she prepared Dutch tourists for their visits to the US.³³⁹ Being a native Hollander who worked for the Netherlands

³³⁶ "As Dutch Journalists See America" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 18 Feb. 1946: 14-15.

³³⁷ *Idem*, 14-15.

³³⁸ Pryor, Huber, "Holland Prepares for Tourists" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 29 July 1946: 17-21.

³³⁹ Koessler, Elizabeth, "We Went South This Summer" *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 12 Aug. 1946: 14-15.

government in New York City, Koessler had enough time to explore the nation. One of the first stops being Florida, since she decided to counter the trend of going upstate in the summer.³⁴⁰ Tourism related articles such as these boost the positive imagery of both nations, hence they can be considered to be important public diplomacy tools. Something which the NIB acknowledged by providing *The Knickerbocker* with many new photo shoots depicting the Dutch countryside. Later on, the weekly would insert more personal impressions of the two nations, one coming from an American housewife living in Holland.³⁴¹ The housewife being Mrs. Jeanette van der Veen, wife of Adriaan van der Veen, frequent contributor to the magazine. In her first column, she mentions the everyday use of bikes in Netherlands and how this shocked her.³⁴² The editors reacted to this observation by placing the article “Two Wheel Toy” on the next page which clarifies the notion that bicycles are often merely seen as toys in the U.S.³⁴³

By late 1946, coverage on bilateral cultural relations seems to have faded away, partly due to the internal problems that both the weekly and the NIB faced. A January 1947 issue did include an NIB sponsored article on Holland’s new architecture, but it would prove to be the last of its kind.³⁴⁴ After the magazine had turned into a monthly, the series “Last Month in Pictures” tried to fill the gap left behind by the NIB sponsored photo shoots. The pictures all provide stunning views of the Netherlands, yet they seem to miss the professional compositions provided by the bureau. The weekly’s new focus on the Benelux in late 1947 eventually ended the magazine’s and NIB’s close relationship.

There were discernable differences in the portrayal of cultural relations by the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly*, something which is not that clearly distinguishable in the

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Van der Veen, Jeanette, “An American Housewife in Holland” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 26 Aug. 1946: 12-13.

³⁴² Idem, 12.

³⁴³ Pryor, Hubert, “Two Wheel Toy” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 26 Aug. 1946: 17-19.

³⁴⁴ “Holland’s New Architecture” *The Knickerbocker Weekly* 13 Jan. 1946: 17-21.

portrayal of bilateral political and economic relations. A reason for this probably lies in the fact that both the NIB and *The Knickerbocker* saw cultural relations as something which they could excel in. The NIB as a professional cultural diplomacy organization, and *The Knickerbocker* as a professional provider of bicultural news. Errors made in the coverage did not aid the magazine's relationship with the NIB which could have triggered the weekly's shift of focus to American cultural products in 1945 and 1946. This shift temporarily put the NIB on the sideline, something which the bureau probably did not appreciate, especially not since it occurred in crucial post-war times. Developments such as these show that *The Knickerbocker* was never completely dependent on the NIB. The magazine used its agency to address cultural matters which diverted from the NIB's preferences.

Conclusion

Both the NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly* started their operations in wartimes, times during which public diplomacy flourished. The Dutch government organized its public diplomacy by establishing the NIB, which promoted the Netherlands through exhibitions, lecture tours, newspapers articles and magazines in order to influence American public opinion. Imagery connected to the promotion of the Netherlands consisted of 'small Holland' and 'large Holland' themes, which the weekly addressed regularly in its coverage. However, *The Knickerbocker Weekly's* main objective did not consist of influencing American public opinion; rather the corporate sponsors set up the magazine to reach Dutch immigrants residing in the United States and sailors, thereby informing them about both Dutch and American news. It was therefore to be a commercial operation, completely independent from government control. Nevertheless, the weekly's secondary objectives did relate to public diplomacy techniques to influence American public opinion, consequently fitting the Dutch government's plans connected to the establishment of a propaganda program in the United

States. The secondary objectives established the initial opportunity for the NIB and the magazine to work together in the promotion of Dutch public diplomacy, an opportunity which was further motivated by the financial troubles that had haunted the magazine from its early beginnings.

The NIB taking subscriptions to the magazine in June 1941 started the close relationship between the two organizations as the amount of subscriptions gave the NIB control over the magazine's contents. The same development previously occurred with the corporate sponsorships connected to the weekly. Before the NIB's involvement, the corporate sponsors had already shaped the magazine in such a way that it was already promoting the Dutch cause in the United States, consequently having established a public diplomacy program of its own which happened to be friendly towards the NIB's ideas, thereby aiding the bureau's introduction into the weekly's contents. Thus, the corporate sponsors had built the foundation for the NIB's later work. This created a smooth transition for the magazine as it could continue with its undertakings without having to make major changes in its depiction of bilateral relations.

The portrayal of bilateral political relations in the weekly aided the NIB's goals significantly, especially during the 1941-1944 years. One may even draw the conclusion that the portrayal of these relations provided the strongest relation between the bureau and the weekly, as the representation of economic and cultural bilateral relations caused some friction between the magazine and the NIB from time to time. The jointly organized war exhibitions and the "Know Your Ally" series provide the best examples of the close relation between the bureau and the magazine regarding political relations. The start of the liberations in late 1944 marked a change in this relation as the magazine began to pursue its own course, a course which paralleled the one already taken in the beginning of 1941. The change of course seems to have been motivated by the decline of articles provided by the NIB. *The Knickerbocker's*

new course still continued to address public diplomacy policies created by the NIB, yet it also inspired an increase in the production of independently produced articles concerning post-war affairs. This production developed itself throughout the post-war years, eventually leading up to a rejection of the NIB's promoted imagery, as exemplified in the articles discussing the problems that the colonies faced. All in all, the portrayal of political affairs in the 1941-1944 years aided both the weekly's and NIB's objectives to a major extent, thereby resulting in a compliance with the NIB's approved imagery. However, the divergence from that imagery started in the post-war years, when the magazine seems to have found back its confidence in its independent reporting.

The portrayal of economic relations complied perfectly with the NIB's approved imagery in the 1941-1945 years as this imagery paralleled on many occasions the one put forward by the corporate sponsors. One should therefore give more credit to them than the NIB regarding the creation of public diplomacy imagery connected to economics. From the early beginnings, the sponsors already knew how to promote the Netherlands in such a way that the nation aided American society as well as the general war effort. Their knowledge being captured in the many letters to the editors addressing public diplomacy themes and the advertisements incorporated into the magazine. The turning point connected to the weekly's diversion from the NIB's approved imagery happened one year after the diversion from the political imagery as this kind of imagery took the center stage in the 1944-1945 years, thereby leaving almost no room for economic affairs. More critical reports on economic bilateral relations started to surface from 1946 onwards as reconstruction took longer than expected. These reports loosely applied public diplomacy guidelines as they gave more realistic views on the situation of the Dutch economy, which was very bad in the early post-war years, only to be strengthened after the establishment of the Marshall Plan. Overall, the representation of economic affairs heavily relied on corporate sponsorship. This sponsorship happened to

support the NIB's approved imagery in the early years, yet it also allowed a diversion from it in the post-war years, thereby giving the weekly agency regarding its own interpretation of public diplomacy affairs.

The portrayal of bilateral cultural relations shows the complexity of the relation between the weekly and the NIB. As was the case with political and economic affairs, the magazine had already found its own preferences regarding public diplomacy objectives, however these preferences not always complied with the NIB's. The best example of this being the attention paid to a small exhibit on unknown Dutch artworks from the 17th century and the minor attention paid to the Michigan Tulip Festival in early 1941. The opening of the NIB changed this, as the NIB's imagery started to be intensely promoted, "Holland as It Was and Will Be" campaign being one of the most visible results of this. By 1943, errors made by the weekly in its bilateral cultural coverage resulted in a more tense relation with the NIB which could have inspired the weekly's decision to pay more attention to American cultural affairs in the 1945-1946 years. The NIB refrained from intervening in the coverage of these cultural affairs, which gave the magazine considerable independence. This was exemplified in the set-up of the series of articles called "As Dutch Journalists See America." Taken as a whole, the magazine's independence portrayed in the coverage on bilateral cultural affairs suggests that the weekly always retained its independence from the NIB. The NIB provided much of the material, yet the magazine found ways to both approve and reject it.

The NIB and *The Knickerbocker Weekly* needed each other in wartime. The NIB needed the weekly to spread its message, while the weekly needed the NIB to strengthen its financial position. They also strengthened each other's public diplomacy goals, thereby fulfilling the position of valuable public diplomacy tools in the information program established by the Dutch government. However, both the NIB and the weekly constantly challenged each other regarding the portrayal of bilateral relations. The weekly complied with

the NIB on most issues, but was not afraid to show its independent nature occasionally, a nature which specifically rose to prominence in the post-war years. Having taken this conclusion into account, both the NIB and the magazine deserve more academic attention regarding the individual nature of the organizations and the relation between them. Future research could for example make a comparison between *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and a similar foreign magazine which also published in the United States in the same time period. The war exhibitions which the NIB and the weekly jointly organized are also a worthwhile research topic, as well as the possible connections between the “Holland as It Was and Will Be” series of articles and the documentary films produced by the NIB. To conclude, the relationship between *The Knickerbocker Weekly* and the NIB played a significant role in the organization of Dutch public diplomacy in the United States in the 1941-1947 era.

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