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**A.F.J. Portielje: the voice of Artis**

*Nico de Klerk, July 2021*



After completing his secondary education A.F.J. (Frits) Portielje (1886-1965) began his professional life as an anonymous court reporter for the Amsterdam-based newspaper *Het Nieuwsblad voor Nederland*. Now and then the paper allowed him to write on the topic of his passion: animal life. This was an asset when, in 1906, he applied for a job at the Amsterdam zoological society *Natura Artis Magistra*, commonly known as *Artis*. Director Coenraad Kerbert hired him as his biological assistant. He must have been impressed with the young employee's talents, because in 1911 he promoted twenty-five year old Portielje to the position of inspector of livestock (Dutch: *inspecteur levende have*).<sup>1</sup> It was around this time, too, that the general public became acquainted with Portielje's name through his public, photography-based, illustrated lectures and the reports of his biological observations, in the wild as well as in captivity, that he contributed to Dutch popular science journals such as *Buiten* (Outdoors), *Op de Hoogte* (Up to Date), *Onze Tuinen* (Our Gardens) or *De Levende Natuur* (Living Nature). They marked the beginning of a very public career of over forty years as a tireless promotor of *Artis* and transmitter of knowledge about its animal population. His activities and their wide press coverage brought him national renown. Academic recognition of this autodidact came in 1946 with an honorary degree conferred by the Gemeentelijke Universiteit Amsterdam (Municipal University Amsterdam) for his work on animal psychology. He retired from *Artis* in March 1952.

### **Artis: private and public**

While transmission of knowledge was very much in the tradition of *Artis*, Portielje's willingness to propagate it wherever he was asked, or saw an opportunity, marked a major difference with the way its founders had preferred to operate. The zoological society *Natura Artis Magistra* was established in Amsterdam in 1838 as a private, elite, scientific and

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<sup>1</sup> 'Portielje, Dr. Anton Frederik Johan', <https://www.ensie.nl/xyz-van-amsterdam/portielje-dr-anton-frederik-johan> (June 22, 2018); Marcella van der Weg, 'A.F.J. Portielje: etholoog (1886-1965)', in: Paul Arnoldussen, Annemarie de Wildt (eds.), *Stadsgezichten: honderd grote Amsterdammers uit de twintigste eeuw* (Amsterdam: Bas Lubberhuizen, 1999), 146-147; René Röell, *De wereld van het instinct: Niko Tinbergen en het ontstaan van de ethologie in Nederland (1920-1950)* (Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing, 1996), 75; Pieter Smit, *Artis: een Amsterdamse tuin* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), 58. Some of these sources contradict each other on the date of this appointment. I therefore consider as decisive a newspaper's correction of an earlier report in which it had erroneously referred to Portielje as Deputy Director of *Artis* where it should have said inspector of livestock: 'Verbetering', *Nieuws van den Dag*, #12995 (April 23, 1912), 4<sup>th</sup> section, 15, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010108853:mpeg21:p015>.

In 1946, Kerbert's successor Armand Sunier appointed Portielje as head of *Artis*'s information service; Smit (1988), 299. This source incorrectly states that it was Sunier who had also appointed him as inspector of livestock—which actually contradicts Smit's own, and correct, statement on p. 58.

cultural society for paying members only; membership was decided by ballot. Within a few years fellows could stroll in an acquired, park-like setting in the Plantage, a leisure area at what was then the southeasternmost part of Amsterdam. There they could look at exotic animals as well as attend concerts, visit exhibitions or meet in its café. Beginning in the 1840s, they could update their zoological knowledge through lectures, various collections, a library, its multi-lingual journal *Bijdragen tot de Dierkunde* (Contributions to Zoology, founded in 1848) as well as through its in-house scientific research that was conducted in cooperation with the medical department of the city's academy Athenaeum Illustre and the Rijks Museum van Natuurlijke Historie (National Museum of Natural History), in Leiden.<sup>2</sup>

Non-member guests, too, could visit Artis's premises, but not its cultural and scientific activities, although secondary literature is contradictory about the specifics of this privilege. Researcher Donna C. Mehos writes that guests were initially accorded entrance on Thursday mornings only; the entrance fee of one Dutch guilder set a clear class bar.<sup>3</sup> In 1852 the rules were changed: opening days became movable and were announced in newspapers—another sign of targeting an (upper) middle-class patronage. And in the same year the premises were opened during the entire month of September for a reduced fee, although still “high enough to keep out the poorer working classes.”<sup>4</sup> Historian of biology Pieter Smit, however, states that in 1852 the “garden”, as its premises were known in popular parlance, was merely opened on two Saturdays in September for a reduced fee. Furthermore, both he and biologist Marga Coesèl place the decision to open the zoo during the entire month of September in 1889. While this date seems likelier in view of future developments described below, they do not provide documentation.<sup>5</sup> In 1862, teachers and students of elementary schools “were given free (but restricted) entrance to the zoo.”<sup>6</sup>

Being a private establishment, Artis's initiators took care of those areas of experience—science and the arts—that governments, from national to local levels, for most

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<sup>2</sup> Donna C. Mehos, *Science and culture for members only: the Amsterdam zoo Artis in the nineteenth century* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 66-68.

<sup>3</sup> In the 1840s a keeper at Artis earned fl. 1.75 a week, an office boy fl. 0.80; Smit (1988), 2 n. 5. “fl.” (or “f”) was the symbol for the Dutch guilder, an abbreviation of *gulden florijn* (golden florin).

<sup>4</sup> Mehos (2006), 22-24, 143 n. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Smit (1988), 3; Marga Coesèl, *Het begon allemaal in Artis: de opkomst van de natuurbescherming in Nederland* (Zeist - Amsterdam: KNNV - Heimans en Thijssse Stichting, 2020), 21. Documentation appears to be sparse or unclear, yet Mehos (2006) cites the few documents available for these decisions—p. 143, n. 12-16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 24, 46.

of the century did not consider their remit. On a national level this had economic reasons, most urgently after the Belgian secession of 1830, as well as political, most emphatically after the constitutional revision of 1848.<sup>7</sup> In that sense Artis was an early, constructive initiative to sustain and develop art and science, academic-level zoology in particular, in Amsterdam.<sup>8</sup> It is ironic, therefore, that in this era of administrative abstention the society's foremost opponent was a public institution, the combined municipality and council (henceforth simply: municipality) of Amsterdam. While both parties claimed to act in the public interest, each put forward a different conception, and attendant rhetorics, of this term. Whenever Artis, in the name of the advancement of science and culture, wanted to expand and build on an adjoining parcel, the municipality either posed obstacles and restrictions or bluntly refused by pointing out that such plans merely served the society's private interests, since its premises were formally closed to non-members. But the municipality's stance on public interests concealed private concerns, too. For centuries the city's administration had been the owner of Amsterdam's territory. But by the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when it badly needed funds to expand and house the city's fast growing population, it stood much to gain by selling properties to private developers. Nonetheless, it reserved the right to determine where and when construction would take place and to whom it would sell to do its building. In the disputes with the city, Artis's argument that the value of land of the Plantage had increased thanks to its presence alone was, therefore, an overstatement.<sup>9</sup>

While the deep pockets of Artis's members had nonetheless allowed the society to enlarge its premises and erect new buildings, the contention over both parties' notion of public interest came to a head in 1877. It concerned the last available, adjacent parcel, which the society coveted for the construction of an aquarium building in order to keep up

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<sup>7</sup> Insofar as it concerns the arts and national policies of this time, see: Jan Hart, 'Kunst of regeringszaak? De ontwikkeling van het regeringsbeleid ten aanzien van de eigentijdse beeldende kunst in Nederland 1848-1918', Hans van Dulken, Jan Kassies, Cas Smithuijsen, Marjolein van der Tweel (eds.), *Kunst en beleid in Nederland 3* (Amsterdam: Boekmanstichting - Van Genneep, 1988), 70-71.

<sup>8</sup> Another, in part salvaging response to contemporary governments' laissez-faire policies was the foundation, in 1858, of the Oudheidkundig Genootschap (Antiquarian Society). This society intervened in the sale, neglect or destruction of the material, particularly the built heritage that such policies allowed; see: <https://kog.nu/genootschap/geschiedenis/>.

<sup>9</sup> Mehos (2006), 36-49; 149, n. 54. Another source points out, though, that on occasion the municipality did accommodate the society, on condition that the latter footed the expense. To some extent this may explain away the "striking" contrariety Mehos observes that many of the city's administrators were members of Artis, too; see: A. Alberts, A.J. Vos Jzn., D.H. Wolff, *De Plantage als sieraad aan de Amstel* (Amsterdam: Kampert en Helm nv, 1972), 32-35.

with other European zoos and continue to attract researchers of international renown. Its first bid, in 1868, was countered with the familiar argument of its private character. Things changed in 1876, when the Higher Education Act allowed the city's Athenaeum Illustre to offer doctorate programs. With the university charter came the obligation to upgrade the institution's medical and natural science facilities, such as laboratories, lecture halls, and collections. The charter notwithstanding the Athenaeum did not become a state university, forcing the city to continue funding the renamed Gemeentelijke Universiteit Amsterdam. Facing major investments to conform to these requirements, the municipality relinquished its opposition to Artis's planned aquarium in exchange for the future use of its facilities (at this point, for instance, Artis's non-living zoological collection became of vital importance, as a university was legally obliged to dispose of such a collection for the teaching of medicine<sup>10</sup>). The society responded by offering to move its labs into the new building, provide teaching facilities, and grant restricted professional access (i.e. professors and other research and teaching staff, but not students) to its collections and the zoo. Although this would save considerable expenditure, the city nonetheless drove a hard bargain, not only stipulating that the plot remain its property, but also demanding total professional access—staff *and* students—to the collections and the premises at large. Artis, apparently desperate to get its aquarium, reluctantly compromised and signed an agreement in October 1877.<sup>11</sup>

This agreement proved to be a turning point in the society's operations. At the time of the Aquarium's opening, in 1882, membership was its peak: 6,250, each paying a contribution of fl. 20 (well over €200 today). But gradually it began to drop: around 1900 it had lost over 1,700 of its members, by the 1930s membership had been reduced by half. Possibly some members felt that Artis's aura had been dimmed by the appearance of new and prestigious cultural and scientific establishments, many of which were private initiatives, too: Paleis voor Volksvlijt (1864), Stedelijk Museum (1874), Rijksmuseum (1885), Concertgebouw (1888),<sup>12</sup> and, later, the Koloniaal Instituut—founded 1910, it only moved into its sumptuous headquarters, just across from Artis, in 1926. But most resigned

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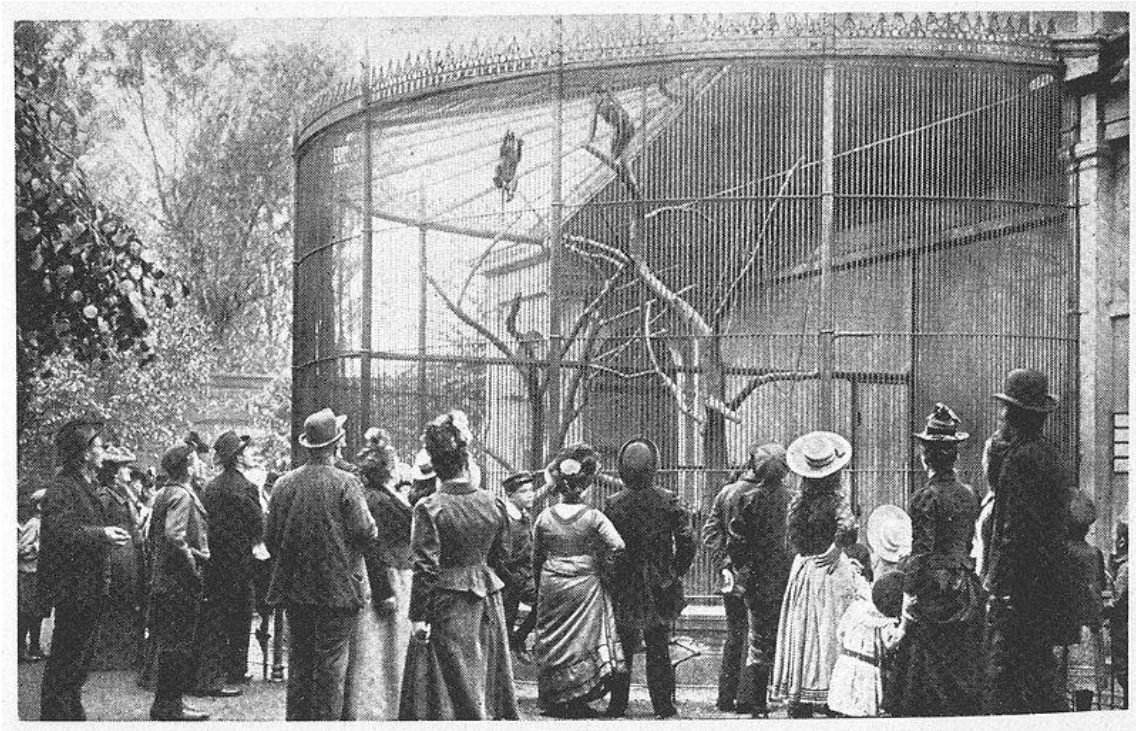
<sup>10</sup> Smit (1988), 26-29, and n. 49.

<sup>11</sup> Mehos (2006), 50-55; Smit (1988), 25.

<sup>12</sup> Mehos (2006), 114-124.



Artis c. 1860s; Predator Gallery



Artis, between 1910 and 1914: monkey cage

their membership because they were expected to pay for the premises' upkeep while at the same time they saw how the society's atmosphere of *entre nous* was threatened. Not only did they resent being forced to allow non-member academics, they also observed in horror how the garden was increasingly opened to the general public. Their disaffection and subsequent exodus seriously impoverished the society.<sup>13</sup>

This situation turned into a self-perpetuating, downward financial spiral, compounded by the financial obligations contracted under Artis's founder and director of 50 years, Gerardus Westerman. When Coenraad Kerbert, a trained biologist who had overseen the construction of the Aquarium, took over the directorship in 1890 he basically met members' resignations by widening opening hours to counter decreasing annual revenue. This, of course, led to more dissatisfied members. And as Artis's popularity among the public grew, the municipality pushed the society to extend its opening hours even more. Kerbert, however, did not compromise on the society's scientific mission and he reinforced Artis's core business of advancing knowledge of natural history, without altogether dismantling cultural activities such as exhibitions and musical concerts. His science-based policy included a taxonomic rearrangement of the zoo and a renovation of the animal facilities in line with their inhabitants' perceived natural living conditions. In time, his assistant Portielje's observations of animal behavior became input for some of the facilities' designs. Kerbert's insistence on improved visibility and display was nonetheless often at cross-purposes with naturalistic considerations.<sup>14</sup>

The number of new buildings completed between the late 1890s and the early 1920s, all on the basis of loans and mortgages, also impacted on Artis's financial situation, a circumstance worsened by declining attendance during World War I. Structural solutions were nevertheless sidestepped by deferring maintenance. So when Kerbert's successor Armand Sunier took office in 1927 he was forced to take drastic measures to halt the vicious circle of a neglected garden (which, to make matters worse, often flooded) that attracted less visitors, who generated less income, which led to more deferred maintenance.

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<sup>13</sup> Coesèl (2020), 21-22; Smit (1988), 6. In 1902, moreover, subscriptions were raised with fl. 1 to contribute to Artis's personnel's pension fund; *ibid.*, 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-9. However, "a suitable environment does not guarantee animal welfare", a consideration not mentioned in the contemporary sources consulted, including Portielje's works; see: María C. Fàbregas, Federico Guillén-Salazar, Carlos Garcés-Narro, 'Do naturalistic enclosures provide suitable environments for zoo animals?', *Zoo Biology*, 31, #3 (May-June 2012), 367, <https://doi.org/10.1002/zoo.20404>.

His most crucial measure was the issue of bonds. With the money thus raised, debts could be allayed, while maintenance work and the makeover of buildings and park could be carried through. The Depression delayed the realization of these plans considerably, though. In fact, it took more than a decade since Sunier's appointment to steer Artis out of its financial dire straits. The new director's persistence, the publicity campaigns he initiated, and the press and radio's generally supportive reporting (boosted by Artis's 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1938) put increasing pressure on the municipality of Amsterdam to negotiate a deal to save the institution.<sup>15</sup> An agreement was reached in the summer of 1939, when the city and the province of Noord-Holland bought the premises, library, and collections, which the new owners then leased out to the society for the symbolic sum of fl. 1.00 a year.<sup>16</sup>

### **Educational recreation**

The improved housing for the animal population that Sunier envisioned was based on new building techniques with which he hoped to even more closely approximate natural living conditions and behavior.<sup>17</sup> For that purpose an in-house research department for animal psychology was set up. This new department was led by the Gemeentelijke Universiteit's privatdocent J.A. Bierens de Haan, who had offered to foot the bill for a proper lab.<sup>18</sup> Still, he credited Portielje for his empathetic and keen eye for the "psychological moment" in animal behavior.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, each man's responsibilities and predilections—Bierens de Haan leaned towards a more experimental approach, Portielje towards a more observational

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<sup>15</sup> In a typescript of a brochure meant for a fundraising campaign in the late 1930s—"close to [Artis's] 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary"—Portielje informs the prospective reader about the changes to Artis's animal facilities "in accordance with the inhabitants's biology", many of which could not be realized "due to the war and its aftermath". This brochure particularly targeted (former) citizens of Amsterdam to become donors; A.F.J. Portielje, 'Natura Artis Magistra', typescript (1930s), University Library Amsterdam-Special Collections, UBA 525, folder 'Portielje 11: Manuscripten en typoscripten van div. artikelen'.

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed description of the ups and downs of Artis's financial situation in the 1930s see: Smit (1988), 65-84, 105-115.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 38-44.

<sup>18</sup> J.A. Bierens de Haan gave a brief overview of what became the first establishment of an animal psychological laboratory in a zoo in: 'Die königlich Zoologische Gesellschaft "Natura Artis Magistra" und die Tierpsychologie', *Bijdragen tot de Dierkunde*, 27, #1 (1939), 34, <https://repository.naturalis.nl/pub/503907>. See also the minutes of an Artis board meeting of November 3, 1927, in which the plan to initiate on-site animal psychological research is discussed. The minutes of May 14, 1929, furthermore, note the conversion of the top floor of a building on Artis's premises into a laboratory for animal psychology; Smit (1988), 42-43. As Bierens de Haan was financially independent, this may well have been the construction work that he had funded.

<sup>19</sup> Bierens de Haan (1939), 34-38. Portielje's papers show that he made many detailed notes of his observations during his work at the zoo; see: UBA 525, folder 'Portielje 10: Aantekeningen, waarnemingen en (opzetten voor) artikelen'.

one—as well personal incompatibility prevented them from cooperation,<sup>20</sup> besides their different concepts of animal behavior and psychology.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, during the years of Artis’s financial plight the observational skills that Portielje had honed in his own studies must have been ideal for the zoo’s educational-cum-public relations activities. Already in the late 1910s he had begun delivering illustrated lectures on animal psychology,<sup>22</sup> which he would discuss more frequently and emphatically over the years to come. Another important method to promote understanding of animal life were his object lessons in Artis during guided tours after the conclusion of a course at a popular academy (Dutch: *volksuniversiteit*) or a lecture for an association or society, but also for schoolchildren and the handicapped. His ease with audiences and “unequaled empathy with animals”<sup>23</sup> boosted the zoo’s popularity—and his own.



Portielje during a guided tour for the blind (1951)

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<sup>20</sup> Hans Kruuk, *Niko's nature: a life of Niko Tinbergen and his science of animal behaviour* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 78.

<sup>21</sup> Roëll (1996), 215-218; Pieter Smit, 'Bierens de Haan, Johannes Abraham (1883-1958)', <http://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/bhaanja> (2013a [1994]); 'Portielje, Anton Frederik Johan (1886-1965)', <http://resources.huylgens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn3/bwn4/portiel> (2013b [1994]).

<sup>22</sup> The earliest retrieved references to a lecture on animal psychology are two announcements of 'Het zieleven der dieren' (The inner life of animals): 'Vergaderingen en concerten in Middelburg', *Middelburgsche Courant*, 160, #5 (January 6, 1917), 1<sup>st</sup> section, 2; <https://krantenbankzeeland.nl/issue/mco/1917-01-06/edition/0/page/2>, and "Ons Huis", Rozenstraat, Amsterdam', *De Soldatencourant*, 3, #376 (January 10, 1917), 4, <https://krantenbankzeeland.nl/issue/sco/1917-01-10/edition/0/page/4>.

<sup>23</sup> Biologist Adriaan Kortlandt quoted in Roëll (1996), 75.

Indeed, it was in his capacity as a communicator of science—that became official in 1946, when he was appointed head of the zoo’s information service—that Portielje became the voice of Artis (including, apparently, a talent for imitating animal sounds<sup>24</sup>). During his career of forty-six years he personified the zoo’s brand as an educational institution while gaining national renown through all current media, the outcome, in all probability, of the ripple effect that success in one medium creates. Indeed, the emerging media industries developed a business strategy of riding on the coat-tails of a person’s popularity in one medium by hitching him or her to another (not to mention ancillary activities as promotion, endorsement, and other forms of advertising).<sup>25</sup>

Surely the motor of this success were Portielje’s countless illustrated lectures for organizations of all feathers, ranging from the Amsterdam chapters of the Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiders Partij (Social Democratic Workers’ Party) to many local scientific societies, as well as teachers associations, scholars, and Artis visitors. He wrote numerous articles in newspapers—for both adults and children<sup>26</sup>—, popular science magazines, and scholarly journals. His books ranged from his most academically ambitious work, the study of animal psychology *Dieren zien en leeren kennen* (To observe and to know animals)<sup>27</sup>, to a popularly written, co-authored, two-volume illustrated ‘walk’ through Artis,<sup>28</sup> besides Dutch adaptations of foreign books on wildlife,<sup>29</sup> and five issues—co-written with his wife between 1925 and 1940—of the long-lasting, immensely popular album series on landscape, plant and animal life in the Netherlands published by biscuit factory Verkade.<sup>30</sup> His fame rose with his radio causeries between 1925 and the 1950s, culminating in the

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<sup>24</sup> Annie M.G. Schmidt, ‘Paschen bij de dieren’, *Het Parool*, 6, #683 (April 3, 1947), 6, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ABCDDD:010829567:mpeg21:p006>.

<sup>25</sup> Cross-media content similarly augmented the success of unaffiliated anthropologist-cum-schoolteacher Paul Julien, another case study in this project—even though his public lectures were most often illustrated by a mix of his photo and film records; Nico de Klerk, ‘Paul Julien: an intensely public private filmmaker’, *Film History*, 31, #4 (Winter 2019), 113-130.

<sup>26</sup> During the 1930s Portielje wrote regular vignettes on Artis’s animals for the children’s section of two daily newspapers, *De Gooi- en Eemlander* and *De Telegraaf*; similar pieces were published during the mid-1930s in newspapers of the publishing consortium of Nieuwe Limburger Koerier-Uitgeversmaatschappij Limburgs Dagblad.

<sup>27</sup> *Dieren zien en leeren kennen: een bijdrage tot de kennis van het driftleven en tot de ontwikkeling van het instinctbegrip* (Amsterdam: Nederlandsche Keurboekerij, 1938).

<sup>28</sup> A.F.J. Portielje, S. Abramsz., *Het Artisboek* (Zutphen: P. van Belkum Az., 1922).

<sup>29</sup> E.g. adaptations of C.G. Schilling’s *Mit Blitzlicht und Büchse*, published in 1923 (original German edition 1905), and Edward G. Huey’s *A child’s story of the animal world*, published in 1936 (original American edition 1935).

<sup>30</sup> The factory published its so-called Verkade albums between 1903 through 1940. The albums were cheap, but their illustrations—usually 144 per album—could only be obtained by buying the company’s products in which they were wrapped (or through a lively barter trade that followed their publication, facilitated by the company); see: Marga Coesèl, *Natuurlijk Verkade: het verhaal van de albums* (Warnsveld - Zaandam: Terra - Verkade Stichting, 1999), 54-56, 64-67.

popular postwar series *Welk dier deze week?* (Which animal this week?).<sup>31</sup> In 1927 he supervised the filming of his experiments with bitterns (DE ROERDOMP), and between 1936 and 1940 he collaborated with film producer-cum-cameraman H.C. Verkruijsen for the realization of five 16mm films on animal behavior, all shot in Artis, under the series title *Dieren – schoonheid – actie* (Animals – beauty – action). Made without sound, the films contained a number of unrelated portraits of animals and their behaviors, which could easily be integrated, wholly or partly, in his illustrated lectures. Originally designed for elementary school students in consecutive grades, the series, to which Portielje lent his expertise and wrote the titles, were shown on the zoo’s premises as well as at educational screenings elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> Portielje also made a few translations and/or adaptations of foreign wildlife films for the Dutch market.<sup>33</sup> Finally, in the early 1950s he appeared in a series of TV items called *Artis-ticiteiten* and other programs. Some of his activities, such as the in-house series of illustrated ‘Artis lectures’, were part of a strategy to drum up attendance during the bleak years of the Depression and German occupation.<sup>34-35</sup> Meanwhile his guided tours were not only in high demand, but thanks to recurrent visits by members of the royal family they were widely reported by a sympathetic press.<sup>36</sup> His high profile is probably the reason that newspapers sometimes—and some all the time—called Portielje director of Artis.

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<sup>31</sup> This series was part of an hour-long children’s variety program called *Kaleidoscoop*. How long this series ran cannot be established on the basis of the Dutch database of digitized newspapers Delpher, as the program’s elements were left unmentioned after 1951. Further research of the broadcaster’s program guides would be welcomed.

<sup>32</sup> Due to the German occupation, in May 1940, the series remained uncompleted. After the war the films were shown irregularly until 1953, when it became clear that these silent films had spent their usefulness; Smit (1988), 186-189, 295-297.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. the German productions *DIERENLEVEN IN DE WILDERNISSSEN VAN HET AMAZONE DAL* (Animal life in the Amazon bottomland’s wilderness; original title unknown), premiered in July 1926, and *DIEREN KIJKEN U AAN* (TIERE SEHEN DICH AN!), released in August 1931 (original German release in 1930).

<sup>34</sup> ‘Artis-voordrachten’, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 105, #34365 (October 14, 1932), evening edn., 1<sup>st</sup> section, 4, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010663583:mpeg21:p004>, and other newspaper reports around this date. The first series of six slide-illustrated lectures ran from October 19 through December 21, 1932 under the general title *De beteekenis van Artis* (The significance of Artis). No doubt fed by Artis’s public relations machine, the cited report mentioned that the lecture series was a response to popular demand. However, attendance was disappointing and the following year’s series was the last one; Smit (1988), 87-93.

<sup>35</sup> After the abovementioned 1939 agreement the city of Amsterdam’s attitude did not seem to have fundamentally changed. In an attempt to reduce Artis’s subsidy during the beginning of the German occupation it blamed the society for its lack of publicity and propaganda. Artis could easily meet this reproach by pointing to Portielje’s nationwide, frequent, illustrated lectures, which were regularly *reported* as well; *ibid.*, 181-182. See the Appendix for an overview of Portielje’s illustrated lectures.

<sup>36</sup> During the Depression the press—print, radio, and newsreels—had been instrumental in saving Artis from bankruptcy and shutdown; Smit (1988), 87-90, n. 69, 110,112. After the war, Portielje’s guided tours were considered a major factor in the increase in visitor numbers since 1951, after a stretch of disappointing years; *ibid.*, 282-283.

Throughout his career Portielje's public lectures took him all over the country; sometimes he seemed to have tried to combine appearances in adjacent places that were at an inconvenient distance from Amsterdam. Until the mid-1930s he often illustrated his lectures with lantern slides made from the work of photographers such as A.J.W. de Veer and W.F.H. Schut,<sup>37</sup> later supplemented with (excerpts from) the abovementioned film series. Although these lecturing activities came with the job to propagate the zoo's accomplishments, it has been said that the fees were a welcome addition to his meager salary. No references were provided to substantiate this statement.<sup>38</sup> The one source possibly underlying this assertion merely reported that "*according to the standards around the turn of the 20th century salaries of Artis's workers were downright bad*".<sup>39</sup> But while their salaries significantly improved only in the late 1930s, Portielje, ever since his appointment to inspector of livestock, had been one of the better paid employees.<sup>40</sup> Particularly remunerative, moreover, were the books he and his wife wrote for the Verkade series. Precise figures are unknown, but it has been reported that for the 1939 album *Dierenleven in Artis* (Animal life in Artis) his fee was raised to fl. 1,000 (almost €11,000 today).<sup>41</sup>

With such a busy schedule it comes as no surprise that a performance or publication often was input for another activity—and another source of income, further disqualifying the statement cited. For instance, *Dieren zien en leeren kennen* was reworked into lectures and popular academy courses of the same title,<sup>42</sup> while the texts of his series of radio causeries of the late 1940s and early 1950s *Welk dier deze week?* appeared in a series of books titled *Welk dier vind ik hier?* (Which creature do I feature?), published between 1949 and 1953. For the same broadcaster he wrote a guidebook to Artis, *Met meneer Portielje naar Artis* (With Mr. Portielje to Artis; 1953), which was meant as a gift to its members'

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<sup>37</sup> His remark during a lecture that the slides he showed of lions were taken in captivity as well as in the wild suggests that he also obtained his visuals from other sources; 'Blaricum's Belang', *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 60, #254 (October 28, 1931), 3<sup>rd</sup> section, 9, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011170762:mpeg21:p009>.

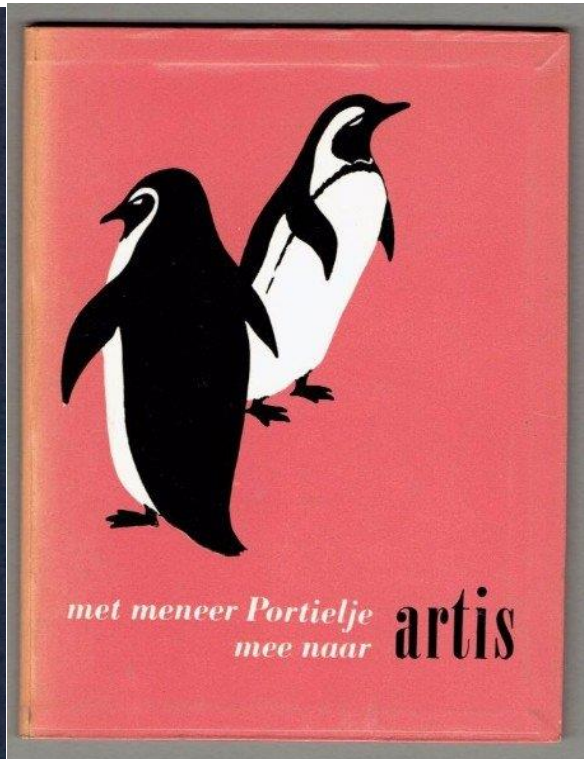
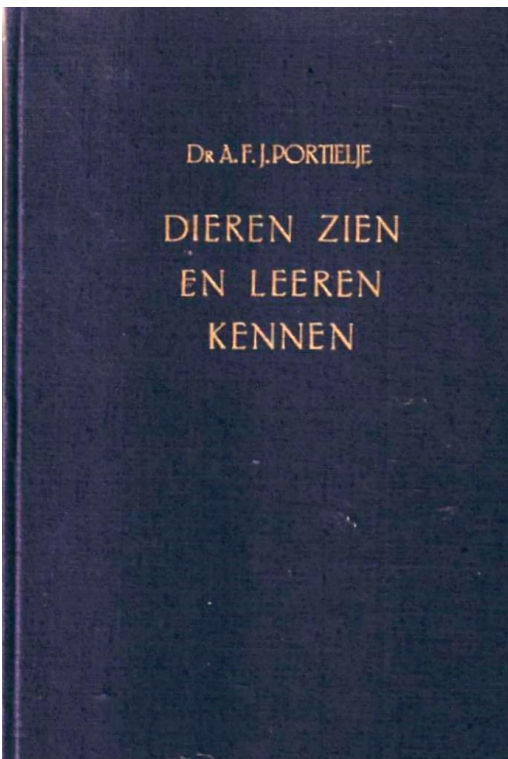
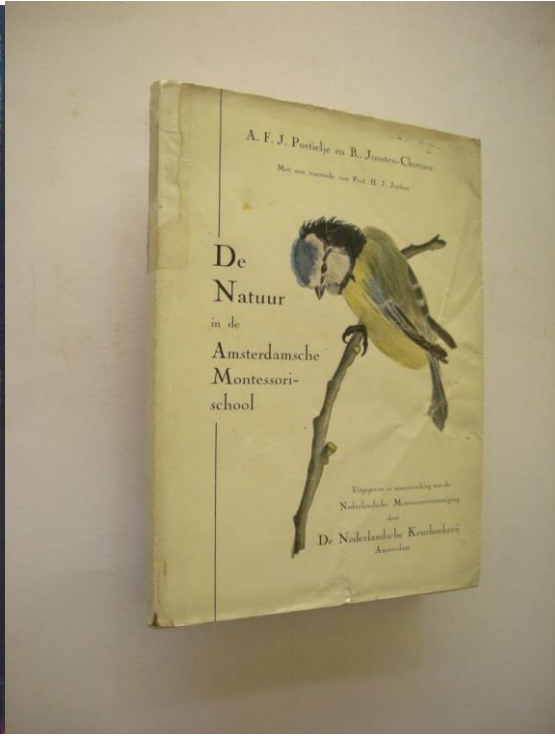
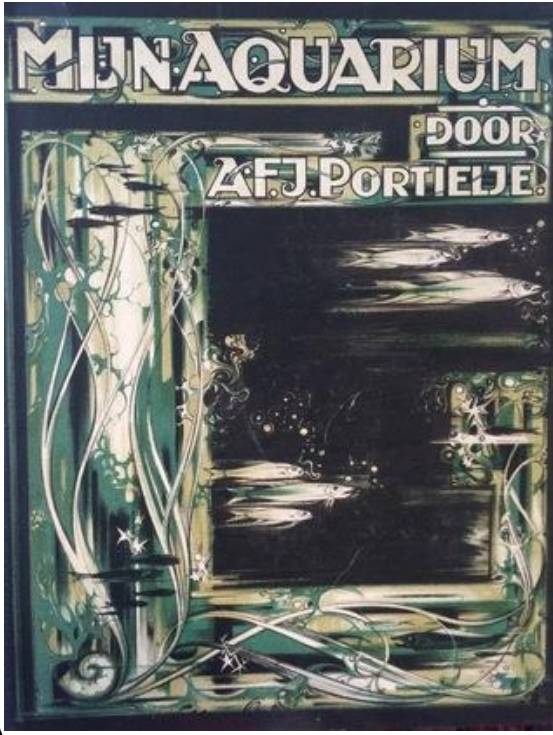
<sup>38</sup> Van der Weg (1999), 146.

<sup>39</sup> Smit (1988), 11, n. 17. (emphasis added).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>41</sup> It was worth the money, as this album sold a record 155,000 copies; Coesèl (1999), 65-67.

<sup>42</sup> 'Volksuniversiteit', *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 68, #38 (February 14, 1939), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 5, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011172995:mpeg21:p005> announces the illustrated four-part course 'Dieren zien en leeren kennen', while the headline 'Dieren zien en leeren kennen', in *Haagsche Courant*, #17228 (April 4, 1939), 1<sup>st</sup> section, 3, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000150172:mpeg21:p003>, reports on an illustrated lecture of that title before a Hague aquarium club.



children.<sup>43</sup> Besides his onsite illustrated lectures at popular academies, he sometimes also spoke on the Radio-Volksuniversiteit (Popular Academy Radio), founded in 1930 by the Bond van Nederlandsche Volksuniversiteiten (League of Dutch Popular Academies) and which went on air in July of that year;<sup>44</sup> during this time he also appeared on school radio.<sup>45</sup> His interest in school education, furthermore, led to his involvement with the Montessori movement in the late 1920s.<sup>46</sup> And in 1932, at the personal request of Maria Montessori, he became a part-time biology teacher at the first public Montessori elementary school in Amsterdam, opened in 1927, which also boasted a school garden.<sup>47</sup> Until the late 1930s his involvement led to a number of demonstrations and lectures throughout the country. Newspaper reports of these events never mentioned illustrations with still or moving photographic images, yet Portielje sometimes used objects or drawings by students to illustrate his causeries.<sup>48</sup>

### Reporting the lectures

With no manuscript or typescripts of Portielje's lectures retrieved, the following is largely based on newspaper reports of his illustrated lectures. As a matter of fact, some of these reports strongly suggest that he largely spoke extempore, which explains the lack of a paper trail. Nonetheless, besides being perfunctory, the reports' reliability is problematic, as I

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<sup>43</sup> Broadcasting, like newspapers, schools, hospitals, trade unions or sports clubs, were organized along so-called pillars, uniting members, subscribers or clients of similar religious or ideological persuasions.

<sup>44</sup> 'Radio-Volksuniversiteit Holland', *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, #132 (June 6, 1930), 1<sup>st</sup> section, 1, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMHCO01:000085186:mpeg21:p001>. Portielje was one of the speakers in its first series *Naar buiten* (Into the great outdoors). The following year he delivered a four-part series *Instinct en ondervinding bij dieren* (Animal instinct and experience): 'Radiovonken. Radio-programma woensdag 18 februari', *Provinciale Noordbrabantsche en 's Hertogenbossche Courant*, 160, #40 (February 17, 1931), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 6, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMSADB01:000015467:mpeg21:p006>. He had lectured on this topic a few times since 1926; in October 1928 he had presented it as a two-part course at the popular academy of the town of Enschede.

<sup>45</sup> See e.g. 'Radiovonken. Radio-programma vrijdag 7 november', *Ibid.*, 159, #259 (November 6, 1930), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 6, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMSADB01:000015677:mpeg21:p006>. Unlike Portielje's illustrated lectures, which could easily last three hours, these radio lectures never exceeded half an hour of airtime.

<sup>46</sup> The earliest newspaper reference concerns a demonstration of the Montessori method at the Amsterdam private Montessori elementary school: 'Montessori-onderwijs', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 100, #32297 (January 29, 1927), morning edn., 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 6, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010657935:mpeg21:p006>.

<sup>47</sup> Smit (2013a). The first Montessori elementary school in the Netherlands was established in 1915, in The Hague; over the next twenty years some 200 schools based on her "scientific pedagogy" were founded all over the country. In Amsterdam a private Montessori school had been established in 1920; Mayke Calis, 'De eerste openbare Montessorischolen', *Ons Amsterdam*, 48, #6 (June 1996), 152-156, <https://onsamsterdam.nl/de-eerste-openbare-montessorischolen>.

<sup>48</sup> Students' drawings of plants and animals, living or dead, illustrated the book and its cover that Portielje co-wrote with the head of the Amsterdam Montessori public elementary school, R. Joosten-Chotzen: *De natuur in de Amsterdamsche Montessori-school* (Amsterdam: Nederlandsche Keurboekerij, 1932); see illustration above.

argue below. While Portielje was a popular speaker, not all his illustrated lectures, the courses at popular academies in particular, were reviewed or reported; to complete the list of his lecture topics in the Appendix, advertisements and announcements were mined as well.

Over a decade before Bierens de Haan set up his laboratory in Artis for experimental studies of animal behavior and psychology Portielje had been using the garden as his research terrain for animal psychology, too. Besides fieldwork on birds in the mid-1910s, judging from his notes and later articles his job would have kept him tied to the more controlled environment of the zoo. Still, his observations and experiments were part and parcel of an upsurge of field biology in the Netherlands. And while Portielje's method was less rigorous than that of a generation of up and coming biologists, his largely outdoor work, within or without the zoo, was an inspiration. As a matter of fact, around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Artis had played an important role in promoting Dutch nature and scenery. In the early 1890s director Kerbert, keen on spreading knowledge of natural history among the population at large, had encouraged and supported two teachers-cum-naturalists, Jac. P. Thijsse and Eli Heimans, to publish their field observations in a series of attractively illustrated books on flora and fauna in the Netherlands (between 1906 and 1938 Thijsse also penned sixteen issues of the abovementioned Verkade album series). And in 1896 the two, together with Jasper Jaspers, Jr., founded the periodical *De Levende Natuur*, in which Portielje and many other biologists that appeared in the field during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (notably Jan Verwey and Niko Tinbergen) published their early articles.<sup>49</sup>

Directly influenced by the work of Thijsse and Heimans himself,<sup>50</sup> Portielje's earliest reports of his observations, in the early 1910s, show an enthusiastic mix of morphological, physiological, and behavioral elements.<sup>51</sup> The titles of his illustrated lectures of that time, 'Dierenleven in Artis' and 'Mooie en merkwaardige dieren in Artis' ('Animal life in Artis'

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<sup>49</sup> Coesèl (2020), 27-30; Kruuk (2003), 373-374; Gerard P. Baerends, 'Levensbericht J. Verwey', *Koninklijke Academie van Wetenschappen. Jaarboek 1981-1982* (Amsterdam: s.n., 1982), 178-186, <https://www.dwc.knaw.nl/DL/levensberichten/PE00003531.pdf>. For a fuller account of the emergence of scientific ethology in the Netherlands see chapter 5 in Roëll (1996), 122-149.

<sup>50</sup> Smit (2013b).

<sup>51</sup> See for instance: 'De Kraag-agame, chlamydosaurus Kingi Gray in "Artis"', *Levende Natuur*, 17, #19 (1913), 440-446; 'Uit het Reptielenhuis van "Artis"', *Levende Natuur*, 18, #24 (1914), 557-563.

and ‘Beautiful and peculiar animals in Artis’, respectively), promised something similar. A newspaper report on the former mentions that this lecture consisted of a string of comments on a long series of slides of orangutans and chimpanzees in Borneo (today’s Kalimantan), Sumatra, and Congo, followed by a Noah’s Ark of species that the zoo boasted. The first, more detailed report of ‘Beautiful and peculiar animals in Artis’ describes this two-hour illustrated talk as a guided tour through the animal kingdom from apes to ants—foreshadowing the 1922 *Artisboek*—, during which he pointed out all sorts of peculiarities peppered with anecdotes.<sup>52</sup> This was the time when slides and lecture were coincident in Portielje’s performances; soon he would develop the habit of delivering an introductory talk followed by commented slide projections after an intermission. And while he never seemed to have lost his drive and enthusiasm nor allowed his lectures to become overly scholarly, over time his performances did become more focused. His strictly scientific writings he reserved for the appropriate channels, notably *Ardea*, the journal of the Dutch ornithological association. It is the reason, perhaps, that his influential concept of the *symbolic act* (which later found wider acceptance in Tinbergen’s renamed *displacement activity*, defined as “behaviour that appeared to occur out of context”<sup>53</sup>) not only appeared rather late in his lectures, three years after its first mention in a scientific article<sup>54</sup>, but very infrequently thereafter.

His impassioned and fluent delivery had quickly made him a much sought-after speaker. Newspaper reports of 1918 testify to this early popularity. A lecture titled ‘Hollandsch natuurschoon en vogelleven’ (‘Holland’s natural beauty and birdlife’), for instance, received an admiring review (“Brilliant, in one word brilliant!”).<sup>55</sup> Its description follows the lucid thread of Portielje’s talk as he takes the audience through a coastal landscape, from the edge of the dunes over its elevations and hollows to the seashore, from where he jumps to an island just north of the town where he happened to lecture that

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<sup>52</sup> See respectively: ‘Dierenleven in Artis’, *Het Nieuws van den Dag*, #12993 (April 20, 1912), 3<sup>rd</sup> section, 10, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010108851:mpeg21:p010>; ‘Goes. Voor Wetenschappelijke Belangen...’, *De Zeeuw*, 30, #65 (December 15, 1915), 2, <https://krantenbankzeeland.nl/issue/zee/1915-12-15/edition/0/page/2>.

The descriptions of these lectures overlap to a large extent, yet not enough to treat them as identical; see also the Appendix ‘Illustrated lecture topics’ below.

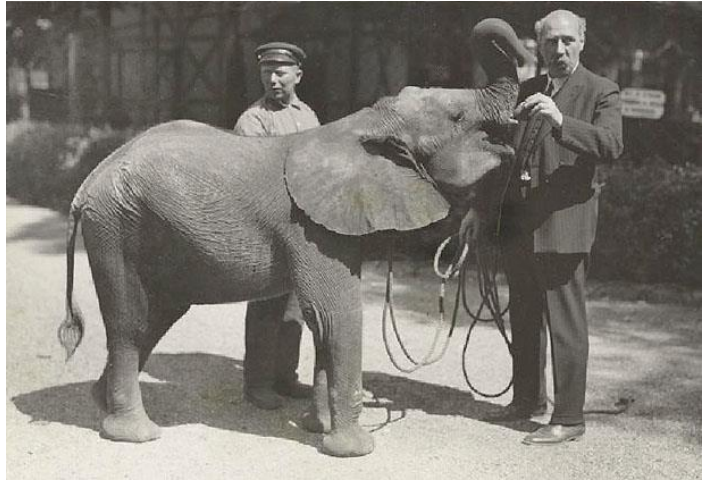
<sup>53</sup> Kruuk (2003), 322; see also: Roëll (1996), 169-173.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Psychobiologische onderzoekingen bij dieren’, *Leeuwarder Courant*, 179, #261 (November 5, 1930), 4<sup>th</sup> section, 13, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010605061:mpeg21:p013>; see also: Roëll (1996), 77 n. 81.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Derde lezing van A.G.O.’, *Heldersche Courant*, 46, #4926 (April 27, 1918), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 2, <https://kranten.archiefalkmaar.nl/issue/HC/1918-04-27/edition/0/page/2>.



Coenraad Kerbert (1849-1927)



Armand Sunier (1886-1974)



Jac. P. Thijssse (1865-1945)



Eli Heimans (1861-1914)



Maria Montessori (1870-1952)



Niko Tinbergen (1907-1988)

evening; photographic slides of each area's specific bird species accompanied his talk all along. Incidentally, the protest he weaved into it against the prevailing fashion of adorning ladies' hats with "badly stuffed [bird] carcasses" and his defense of birds of prey for their role in maintaining a natural balance announced an early ecological outlook.<sup>56</sup> (In the same year, 1918, Portielje had been elected as a board member of the Vereeniging tot Behoud van Natuurmonumenten [Association for the Preservation of Nature Reserves].<sup>57</sup>) This was also the first review that shows the two-part structure that he would elaborate during his career: an introductory part—in this particular case a brief exhortation to his audience to venture outdoors and observe—, followed by the commented slides. Later that year, a newspaper review of a largely similar lecture, topically as well as structurally, is the first to mention, albeit briefly, Portielje's discussion of animal psychology, specifically the instincts of birdsong and nidification, before he came to the "actual topic", the slide-accompanied trek through dunescapes and lakes in various parts of the country.<sup>58</sup>

Gradually, though, the actual topic shifted to the introductory part of his presentations, which he increasingly devoted to a discussion of animal instinct, intelligence, and inner life; the subsequent, commented slide projections served to illustrate his argument as well as provide a lighter touch to the event. One of the earliest retrieved reviews in which this two-part structure has taken on a definite form discusses a lecture in which Portielje claimed that "animals do not always act on instinct only, but often evince a certain measure of consideration, a primitive intelligence," after which he talked about a few misconceptions (such as the "bloodthirstiness" of lions—because it assumed a disposition—or "grooming" among apes—because it was something else). This was followed by the projection of a wide variety of slides during which he entertained his audience with "nice details about the animal kingdom".<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> In another lecture Portielje railed against this freak of fashion as the "mangling of a jewel of nature into a rumpled appendicle" and cited with approval the United States Customs' practice of clipping these remains from ladies' hats; 'Natuurkundig Gezelschap', *Middelburgsche Courant*, 116, #259 (November 2, 1918), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 5, <https://krantenbankzeeland.nl/issue/mco/1918-11-02/edition/0/page/5>.

<sup>57</sup> 'Vereeniging tot Behoud van Natuurmonumenten', *Het Nieuws van den Dag*, #16256 (July 11, 1918), evening edn., 3<sup>rd</sup> section, 10, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB15:000642013:mpeg21:p00010>.

<sup>58</sup> 'Natuurkundig Gezelschap' (November 2, 1918), 5. An announcement of an earlier lecture on instinct and intelligence, on February 2, 1918, was not subsequently reviewed.

<sup>59</sup> 'Culemborg', *Zaltbommelsche Courant*, 35, #7 (January 22, 1921), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 5, <https://proxy.archieven.nl/0/2ACD20E5640041038028E1D8BA9F6D51>.

A two-column report of the illustrated lecture ‘Allerlei bijzonderheden uit de jeugd van zoogdieren’ (‘All kinds of peculiarities about young mammals’), in November 1922 before the Natuurkundig Genootschap (Physics Society) of the town of Leeuwarden, is the first that gives a more detailed impression of Portielje’s thoughts at the time about instinct and intelligence, innate and (self-)taught behaviors.<sup>60</sup> His exposition, which takes up half the review, was basically concerned with answering the question: “What can be reasonably assumed when we study animals?” Close observation, he stated, will reveal that animal behavior is more than just a matter of automatic and reflexive acts, but also of skills acquired, whether by accident or by trial and error. For instance, a chimpanzee stacking boxes to reach high-hanging fruit “goes beyond primary associations” and evinces a “psychological life”. Such behavior, according to Portielje, points to a fluid rather than a sharp distinction between animals and humans.

A year later, in an illustrated lecture for another physics society, in Rotterdam, Portielje reformulated the notion of close observation as an appeal to refrain from subjective, preconceived explanations. Because research, he proclaimed, is often based on a specific approach or conceived within a certain discipline, be it psychological, physiochemical, anatomical, etc., it runs the risk of finding biased clues, answers that are needed within those frames. But life, he stated, is too multidimensional to limit oneself to artificial boundaries and focus on either mind or matter. The end of this report mentions his emphasis on the importance of comparative anatomy, particularly of the brain, a remark that supports his stated position that only comparative and cooperative research will provide clues to a phenomenon of such indeterminateness, complexity, and “multi-oneness”.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, his reference to brain research, or to the links between instincts and the central nervous system discussed at another occasion,<sup>62</sup> signal Portielje’s acquaintance with psychiatry and neurology—then recently introduced in the Dutch academe—, disciplines that depended to a significant extent on experimental animal research, including dissection

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<sup>60</sup> ‘Natuurkundig Genootschap te Leeuwarden’, *Leeuwarder Courant*, 171, #264 (November 9, 1922), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 5, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010602639:mpeg21:p005>.

<sup>61</sup> ‘Rotterdamsch Natuurkundig Genootschap’, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 80, #98 (April 10, 1923), morning edn. C, 4, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010026520:mpeg21:p004>.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Nutslezing’, *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 48, #32 (March 15, 1919), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 9, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011166964:mpeg21:p009>.

and autopsy (for which cats and rabbits were considered “eminently suitable”).<sup>63</sup> Post-mortem examinations notwithstanding, Portielje’s articles and lectures around this time did represent an up-to-date interest in the *living* animal and the physiological basis of its behavior. And while he eventually shifted his focus to the psychology of behavior, essentially he disseminated the biological approach that Kerbert had initiated in Artis when he took office. Or, as Bierens de Haan later commented, “The days are over when zoology was synonymous with morphology and a description of the exterior and, perhaps, the interior forms were considered sufficient to fully deal with an animal.”<sup>64</sup>

Since 1923, the theme of the fluid distinction between humans and animals, apes particularly yet not exclusively, had become a constant concern in his public lectures. It came with a vocabulary of composite terms—“multi-oneness”—to match the fuzziness of boundaries (and foreshadowed his rather illegible ‘surrogate dissertation’ *Dieren zien en leeren kennen*<sup>65</sup>). But while Portielje considered apes as “other-than-humans”, related in one way or another and similar in this or that respect, this was no reason to attribute them with human traits, intelligence in particular, nor any other animal for that matter. One of his adages was that “the behaviors of man and animal can be compared but not confused with each other.”<sup>66</sup> He found apparent resemblances too easy, as they contravened his insistence on open-minded, studied observation—although, as we saw above, these adjectives might conceal a contradiction in terms. His strictures were accompanied by an explicit disapproval of anthropomorphism, a hobbyhorse he had begun to ride around this time, specifically targeting the popular books of James Oliver Curwood and Jack London, but also a host of schoolbooks. All these elements recurred in reports of his lectures more or less unchanged throughout his career, except that he illustrated his general introduction with an expanding range of examples, such as birds, feline predators, fish or reptiles.

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<sup>63</sup> Cornelis Winkler, *Herinneringen van Cornelis Winkler 1855-1941* (Utrecht –Antwerpen: Bohn, Scheltema & Holkema, 1982 [1947]), 123; see also 110, 120, 132. Winkler was appointed professor in both disciplines in 1893 at the Rijks-Universiteit Utrecht (State University of Utrecht); in 1896 he left Utrecht for a similar appointment at the Gemeentelijke Universiteit Amsterdam; *ibid.*, 66-105.

<sup>64</sup> J.A. Bierens de Haan, ‘Het dier als lid eener gemeenschap’, *Mensch en Maatschappij*, 7, #5 (1931), 478, <https://ugp.rug.nl/MenM/article/view/15128/12635>.

<sup>65</sup> I call it “surrogate dissertation”, because it was considered the theoretical culmination of his work in animal psychology and the reason for the Gemeentelijke Universiteit Amsterdam to grant him an honorary doctorate in 1946.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Ver. “Geloof en Wetenschap”, *Eindhovens Dagblad*, 26, #36 (February 12, 1936), 1<sup>st</sup> section, 2, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MRRHCE01:000059688:mpeg21:p002>.

**Maatsch. tot Nut van het Algemeen**  
**DEPARTEMENT BUSSUM**  
**LEZING**  
 op Donderdag 13 Maart a.s. des avonds acht  
 uur in de tulzaal van „Concordia”  
 Spreker:  
**A. F. J. PORTIELJE**  
 Inspecteur van het Kon. Zool. Gen. „Natura Artis Magistra”  
 Onderwerp:  
**Over Instinct en Verstand bij de Dieren.**  
 Toegangsprijs 50 cents. Namens het Bestuur,  
 K. SIDERIUS, Secretaris.

*De Gooi- en Eemlander, March 8, 1919*

**Natuurkundig Genootschap**  
 te Leeuwarden.

Voordracht van den heer A. F. J. Portielje,  
 inspecteur van Artis te Amsterdam, over  
 allerlei bijzonderheden uit de jeugd van  
 zoogdieren. Woensdagavond 8 November in  
 Amicitia.

*Leeuwarder Courant, November 9, 1922*

**VOOR AQUARIUMLIEFHEBBERS.**  
 Lezing A. F. J. Portielje.

Voor de 's Gravenhaagsche Vereeniging van  
 Aquarium- en Terrariumliefhebbers de Natuur-  
 vriend zal de heer A. F. J. Portielje op  
 Woensdag 11 Februari, s' avonds 8 uur, in het  
 gebouw Amicitia, Westeinde 15, een lezing  
 houden over: Het aquarium (psychobiologische  
 onderzoekingen aan eenige visschen, schaal-  
 dieren, zee-anemonen en kokerwormen in het  
 aquarium van Artis te Amsterdam). De lezing  
 zal worden toegelicht door een serie licht-  
 beelden.

*Het Vaderland, February 7, 1931*

VER. „GELOOF EN WETENSCHAP”.

Lezing van dr. A. F. J. Por-  
 tielje „Instinct en ondervin-  
 ding bij de dieren”.

De directeur van de Amsterdamsche  
 „Artis” dr. Portielje, in onze stad geen on-  
 bekende, daar hij reeds meermalen in Eind-  
 hoven een voordracht heeft gehouden over  
 onderwerpen, die hem zoo na aan het hart  
 liggen en waarin de dierenwereld de hoofd-  
 rol speelt, heeft gisteravond zijn toeho-  
 ders eenige uren lang geboeid — en vaak  
 ook vermaakt — met zijn even belangwek-  
 kende als leerzame beschouwingen over het  
 instinct en de ondervinding bij de dieren.

*Eindhovensch Dagblad, February 12, 1936*

Departement Eulenborç van de Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen  
 (Opgericht 9 October 1805).

**DINSDAG 12 MAART 1929,**  
 's avonds 8 uur, in de zaal van den Heer VAN GELDER,  
 HEERENSTRAAT,

**Voordracht met Lichtbeelden,**  
 door den Heer **A. F. J. PORTIELJE,**  
 Adjunct-Directeur van Artis te Amsterdam.

**ONDERWERP:**  
 „Een en ander over Menschachtige Apen, in  
 't bijzonder wat betreft hunne psychische  
 vermogens”.

*Culemborgsche Courant, March 9, 1929*

**Volks-Universiteit - Assen**

**DINSDAG 9 MAART a.s.,**  
 's avonds 8.15 uur in „DE KERN”

**Lezing met Lichtbeelden**  
 te geven door  
**A. F. J. PORTIELJE**  
 Inspecteur over de levende have in Artis, over:  
**Jeugd en opgroei van roofdieren in Artis**

Entrée leden V.U. f 0.50, niet-leden f 0.75. Kaarten in voor-  
 verkoop bij GREEBE, Brink en 's avonds aan de zaal.

*Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant, March 4, 1937*

His anti-anthropomorphic stance, in fact, also entered the introductory sections of his talks in a more theoretical yet problematic way. Instinct, as Portielje lectured, is an inherited, goal-oriented, primary drive (Dutch: *aandrift*), even though an animal is unaware of what that goal is (e.g. safety, flight, food). This drive is complemented by inherited propensities (Dutch: *aanleg*) to achieve these goals, regulated by the sympathetic nervous system. The oft-used example was the immediate, spontaneous trampling of various species of gull's chicks whenever they touch a damp surface, a behavior used later in their lives to attract worms. And even though he held that animal behavior was capable of change as a result of sensory impressions, it was this essential unknowingness that made the notion of anthropomorphism a non sequitur for him.<sup>67</sup> Here, however, Portielje seemed to have gotten entangled in his own views. Anthropomorphism, after all, is a human attitude, based on human-centered similarities. It has nothing to do whatsoever with animal psychology and the extent to which it causes behaviors. One wonders, therefore, why he denied animals combinatory and reasoning powers and, for their supposed lack of self-cognition, considered them as innocent and undeveloped as a human infant. Apparently he felt no incentive to stack his own boxes, so to speak, and jump beyond contemporary evolutionary thinking. This is all the more intriguing, as the importance of sensory impressions must have been apparent to him during his work with the animals in Artis, work that frequently involved interaction and reciprocity (or, as he explained in an oft-repeated phrase, one has to “be dog with dogs, lion with lions, and ape with apes”<sup>68</sup>). It makes one wonder, therefore, to what extent he actually was aware of an animal's sensory abilities and the implications

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<sup>67</sup> See e.g.: ‘Aquariumclub Scalare’, *Het Vaderland*, 63 (November 7, 1931), evening section B, 2, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010013810:mpeg21:p006>; ‘Lezing van den heer A.F. Portielje voor Patrimonium’, *Het Weekblad: Anti-Rev. Orgaan voor de Zaanstreek*, 40, #2043 (February 15, 1935), 1-2, <https://proxy.archieven.nl/0/1AACB94740B44A358FC45B3530C47D6B>; ‘Doetinchem. Lezing Ned. Nat. Vereeniging’, *De Graafschap-bode* (March 25, 1935, 1<sup>st</sup> section, 2, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011153138:mpeg21:p002>; ‘Ver. “Geloof en Wetenschap”’, *Eindhovens Dagblad*, 26, #36 (February 12, 1936), 1<sup>st</sup> section, 2, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMDRHCE01:000059688:mpeg21:p002>; ‘Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen’, *Bredasche Courant*, 147, #42 (February 19, 1937), 1<sup>st</sup> section, 1, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMSAB03:000066664:mpeg21:p001>.

<sup>68</sup> ‘Roofdieren in Artis’, *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, 114, #58 (March 10), 1937, 1<sup>st</sup> section, 2, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMDA03:000115254:mpeg21:p002>. The high point in reports of this opinion is: “In a fine series of expressive photographic slides Mr. Portielje showed a few samples of great friendship between him (...) and what people consider the most dangerous predators. He quietly nuzzled against the tiger, the panther sat on his knee like a kitten, the rhinoceros stood beside him like a lamb, and the apes appeared to be his best friends.” ‘Omgang met dieren. Tijger en panter als vrienden’, *De Typhoon*, 3, #610 (March 1, 1947), 2, <https://proxy.archieven.nl/0/064011A2A69A47DDB8D476C3A04E158A>.

for its psychology, let alone the recognition thereof.<sup>69</sup> But whether or not he was, one suspects that in effect he, too, subordinated his observations to theoretical frames, largely taken from British psychologists Conwy Lloyd Morgan and William McDougall. The latter particularly was a system builder, who hadn't done much, if any, animal research, experimental or observational. Portielje did not seem overmuch bothered by this problem, as he more or less stuck to the same concept of animal psychology during his career.<sup>70</sup>

At the time newspaper reviewers, too, although generally enthusiastic, were not always able to put across the scientific niceties of his ideas or the correct terminology, particularly when his lectures concerned detailed discussions of animal instinct and intelligence. Hence, perhaps, the relatively large number of brief and/or nondescript reports of Portielje's performances. Take for instance the earliest retrieved review of his illustrated lecture on animal instinct and intelligence, in March 1919. In a three-hour, "highly interesting" lecture he discussed experimental results of modern animal psychology, in which the reporter distinguished—incorrectly—two approaches: one that reduces animals to an automated "reflex machine", and one that has abandoned the notion of instinct altogether. The truth, the report went on confusingly, lies in the middle: many casual observations may suggest that animals act intelligently, but research demonstrates that they are led by instinct, "very complex reflexes, based on hereditary pathways of the nervous system."<sup>71</sup> This "truth" was not what a review of the lecture 'Mooie en merkwaardige dieren in Artis' reported later. There—as well as in later reviews—Portielje's concept of animal behavior as the result of both instinct and a "primitive intelligence" was more correctly described.<sup>72</sup>

Surely, and in their defense, reporters—as a particularly incoherent item suggests<sup>73</sup>—, had to scribble along with his lengthy talks, including those moments when

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<sup>69</sup> Maarten Reesink, *Dier en mens: de band tussen ons en andere dieren* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2021), 167-170. In the recent cognitive turn in animal studies the mental uniqueness and superiority of humans has been seriously depreciated. For an overview see: Frans de Waal, *Are we smart enough to know how smart animals are?* (New York – London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016).

<sup>70</sup> Roëll (1996), 76-77; 24-25; 35-37.

<sup>71</sup> 'Nutslezing' (March 15, 1919), 9.

<sup>72</sup> 'Culemborg' (January 22, 1921), 5.

<sup>73</sup> 'Alg. Wetensch. Belangen', *Goessche Courant*, 110, #1 (January 1, 1923), Supplement, 3, <https://krantenbankzeeland.nl/issue/gco/1923-01-01/edition/0/page/7>.

the venue had to be dimmed for projection.<sup>74</sup> Nonetheless, two additional reasons can be proposed why reviews often presented Portielje's ideas incorrectly or confusedly. The first concerns the way in which newspapers commonly approached the reporting of public illustrated lectures. Unlike reviewers of the arts, literature or music, who were mostly subject experts expected to have an informed opinion to review a show, book, or performance, reports of illustrated lectures more often than not merely copied the lecture's line of argument, summarily or more extensively. Contextual or critical comments were rare, while the slide projections were often merely mentioned, sometimes not even that. I suspect that this practice was largely a matter of insufficient manpower, given the number and frequency of educational and informative illustrated lectures, and, above all, the expertise required by the range of topics this medium accommodated. As I have suggested elsewhere, such illustrated lectures may therefore well have been covered by reporters of city or domestic desks.<sup>75</sup> Another consideration in support of this is that, other than theater or musical performances as well as exhibitions, these lectures were as a rule one-off events. Of course, that obviated the need to assist a newspaper's readership in deciding whether or not to visit a repeat occasion.

Portielje's performances themselves provided a second reason why reviews were often imprecise or wanting with regard to their content. While one report introduced him as "one of Europe's greatest animal psychologists", not much later the same paper not only criticized another of Portielje's lectures for being erratic and full of jargon, its reporter, in a rare comment of wider scope, also wondered whether other animal psychologists would have drawn the same conclusions—after all, wasn't an animal's mental constitution essentially inscrutable?<sup>76</sup> Indeed, in the same year, 1932, Niko Tinbergen, in his research on herring gulls, took no notice of Portielje's earlier studies of that species, even though he was

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<sup>74</sup> As one reporter wrote: "Within the scope of this report it is impossible to closely follow dr. Portielje's interesting discussion"; 'Roofdierjeugd en opgroei in Artis, vergelijkend psychologisch bezien', *De Zuid-Willemsvaart*, 54, #105 (May 4, 1934), 1<sup>st</sup> section, 1, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMRHCE01:000043927:mpeg21:p001>.

<sup>75</sup> Nico de Klerk, *Working papers. Case study report #1: Willem Vogelsang*, 41-44, <https://projectingknowledge.sites.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/482/2019/11/Working-paper-1.Prof.-Dr.-W.Vogelsang.pdf>.

<sup>76</sup> See resp.: 'Een stuk dierpsychologie. Lezing van A.F.J. Portielje', *Dagblad van Noord-Brabant*, 72, #14281 (March 21, 1932), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 5, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001982068:mpeg21:p00005>; 'Geloof en Wetenschap. De psyche van het roofdier', *Dagblad van Noord-Brabant*, 72, #14491 (November 26, 1932), 2<sup>nd</sup> section, 6, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001978125:mpeg21:p00006>.

familiar with the man and with his work. As his biographer writes, Tinbergen “felt uncomfortable with the subjectivity of both [Portielje’s] method and conclusions.”<sup>77</sup>

Portielje’s notion of instinct is conceptually confusing indeed. Whereas in one case he defined it, as noted, as inherited and goal-driven, elsewhere he suggested, in his typical parlance, that in every human and animal there is “life-movement” (Dutch: *levensbeweging*), which wells up and manifests itself through propensities in three distinct ways: perception, inner experience, and its expression according to hereditary pathways.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, he continued, instinct and intelligence are inseparable and innate, but the latter implies a potential for adaptability, the accomplishment of which he calls intellect; memory is its foremost aspect. Of this, humans benefited most in evolutionary terms. Overlooking, if not disregarding, the role of memory in many forms of animal behavior—e.g. nesting sites, food storage, migration—, he granted animals formidable physical adaptations (in speed, strength, etc.), but in his view they no more than evinced the simplest *mental* manifestations, as “they merely live in the here and now and have no mental freedom.” He illustrated this with his well-known experiments with bitterns, recorded on film in 1927, by distinguishing in their defensive behavior between a “driven goal” and a “willed goal”. The experiments were meant to disprove that bitterns, as was widely believed, aim their bill at an attacker’s eyes; this he considered a willful target—result of a willed goal—and would be evidence of a “high degree of intelligence”. However, with cardboard cutouts held above his head he demonstrated that these birds merely aim at the highest point above the trunk, evidence, he concluded, of a driven, instinctive target. What he omitted to explain is why he started from a folk premise in the first place, at the same time suggesting that this relatively large bird would find its enemies or victims only above itself, whereas “its normal foraging posture with its head stretched and the body and neck parallel to the ground (...) makes it more cryptic, besides having the bill closer to the intended victim.”<sup>79</sup> All in all, Portielje made pretty strong claims for an approach largely based on experiments with a bigger creature walking. More generally, reported comments on his slide projections added to the confusion. On reading that “with many beautiful photographs Mr. Portielje showed us the

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<sup>77</sup> Kruuk (2003), 42, 76.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Roofdierjeugd en opgroei in Artis, vergelijkend psychologisch bezien’ (May 4, 1934), 1.

<sup>79</sup> Bird Ecology Study Group, ‘Bitterns and their vision’ (February 20, 2007), National University of Singapore-Lee Kong Chian Natural History Museum, <https://besgroup.org/2007/02/20/bitterns-and-their-vision/>.

presence of various forms of intellect in animals” one wonders how one could discern something that was merely theoretically assumed and, to his own admission, largely unknown.<sup>80</sup> A passage like that makes it hard to suppress the suspicion that anthropomorphism had sneaked into the show after all.<sup>81</sup>

While for most of his lecturing career Portielje talked about the psychological processes underlying animal behavior, ironically his method was largely ethological, at least according to his own definition of it as the study of the external appearance of behavior.<sup>82</sup> A sharp observer and incredible empathizer, he nonetheless lacked the systematic rigor of a younger generation of biologists—Verwey, Tinbergen, Makkink, Kortlandt—that laid the foundations for the discipline of ethology in the Netherlands in the 1930s and 1940s. His was a more interpretive approach, even though it undercut the acuity of his own observations. Much more than a writer (he depended heavily on the uncredited editorial work of his wife, J.P.H. Portielje-Scholten<sup>83</sup>) he was a gifted storyteller who apparently talked extempore most, if not all, of the time. Among the relatively few, more or less complete reviews of his causeries, the earlier ones, largely based on his bird studies, seem to be the most effective. Their clear, geography-based narratives situated the behaviors of various species in specific environments.<sup>84</sup> Birdlife, moreover, was a topic that lent itself well to photographic (and cinematographic) illustrations, as these lectures focused on behavioral *activities*. But in talks in which he distinguished between the psychological sources of behaviors and the expressions they generated this must have been more difficult to demonstrate visually, to say the least, judging from the rather subjective captions to the close-ups in his book *Dieren zien en leeren kennen*, which often claim to describe actions or mood changes in progress.<sup>85</sup> Audience response, furthermore, might well have been affected by the photographs’ framing, angle, abstracted background, and some retouching.

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<sup>80</sup> See e.g. ‘Ver. “Geloof en Wetenschap”’ (February 12, 1936).

<sup>81</sup> ‘Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen’, *Bredasche Courant*, 147, #42 (February 19, 1937), 1<sup>st</sup> section, 1, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMSAB03:000066664:mpeg21:p001>.

<sup>82</sup> Roëll (1996), 75.

<sup>83</sup> Their second Verkade-album *Zeewateraquarium en terrarium*, published in 1930, was the first written in the first person plural. But his wife’s name was not on this or any other cover of the albums they cooperated on; Coesèl (1999), 64, 98-99.

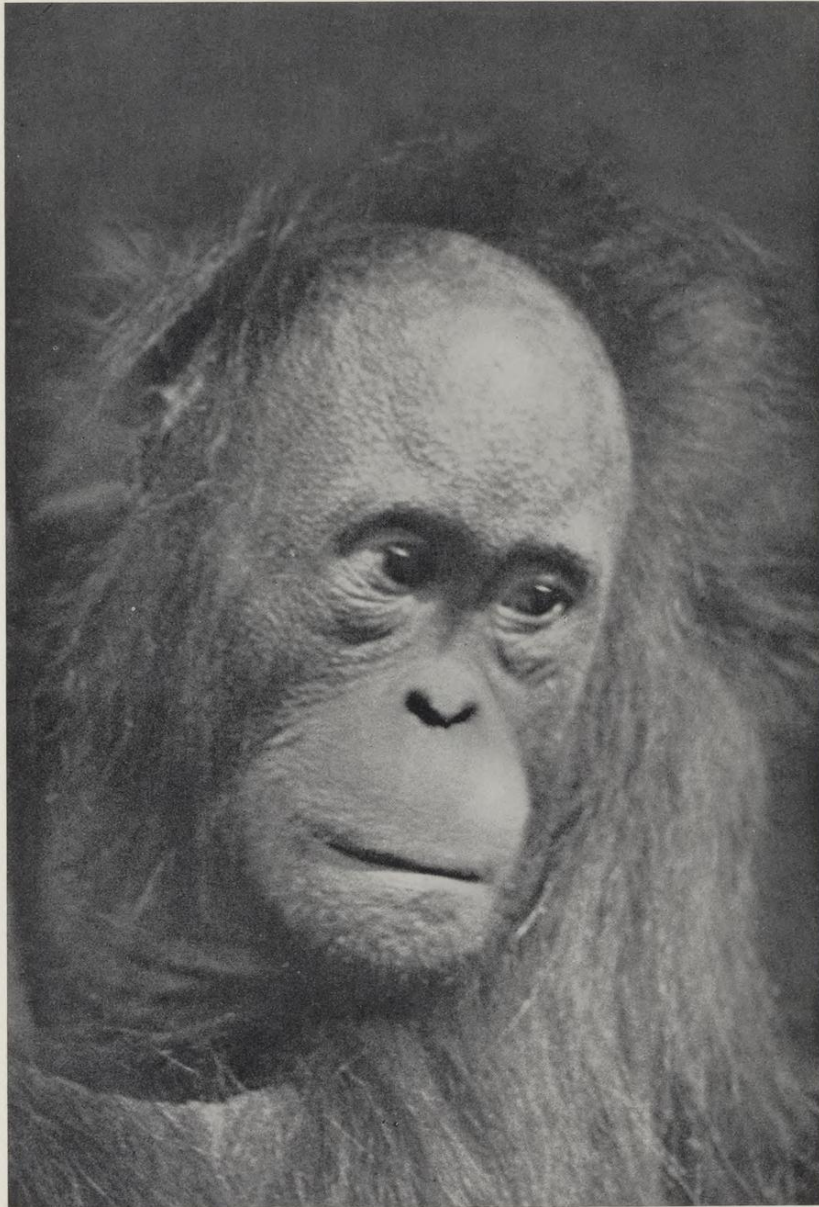
<sup>84</sup> ‘Derde lezing van A.G.O.’ (April 27, 1918).

<sup>85</sup> These photos were used as slides as well; Portielje (1938), 8.



22. Zeehond. Hunkerend uitkijken en afwachten tegen voertijd.

(translated caption) "Seal. Longingly on the look-out anticipating feeding time  
(Portielje ([1938]), 33 verso)



67. Jonge Orang-oetan. Vluchtdrift-en-schrik, omslaand in vechtdrift-en-woede.

(translated caption). "Young orangutan. Fleeing drive-and alarm, changing to fighting drive-and-anger." (Ibid., 117 verso)



56. Gaur of Jungle-rund. Uiting van positief „zelfvertoon”, waarbij „zelfgevoel” tot uiting komt.

(translated caption) "Gaur or jungle ox. Expression of positive 'self-display', in which 'sense of self' takes shape." (Ibid., 108 recto)

The psychological part of Portielje's legacy has since long evaporated, its method being too emphathetic and interpretive, its theoretical foundations outdated. But much was retained. His erstwhile assistant Han Rensenbrink, later head of Artis's educational service, continued the outreach activities with his own popular books and filmed portraits of the zoo's animals, now broadcast by television—the replacement, one might say, of the then fading illustrated lecture. His books and TV programs for children, between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s, recall Portielje's concern for child audiences.<sup>86</sup>

Portielje's ecological concerns, although never the center of his lectures and writings (nor of Artis as a whole), were revived when the concept of a zoo began to shift to nature preservation and education. In Artis it began in the mid-1960s with a discussion in the society's boardroom of two issues: the number and variety of a zoo's inhabitants (small though it is, for years it had the largest number of species of all zoos in the world) and the threat of extinction. Both issues came together in a plea for more focused educational activities on a smaller number of species. Despite the board's resistance to these ideas financial support, notably state subsidy, pushed a change of policy into a more ecologically-minded direction—a policy that basically lasts to this day.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, Artis now functions as an open-air museum and educational site where visitors and a selection of its inhabitants range freely among each other in more or less enclosed 'biotopes'.<sup>88</sup> Long an important concern *outside* the zoo, nature preservation is now being integrated. Given the past centuries' ecological onslaught, some species' future may well lie in Artis and other zoos. The reserve has become a last resort.

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<sup>86</sup> [https://wiki.beeldengeluid.nl/index.php/Han\\_Rensenbrink](https://wiki.beeldengeluid.nl/index.php/Han_Rensenbrink).

<sup>87</sup> Smit (1988), 321-324.

<sup>88</sup> See the film HET NIEUWE ARTIS (Netherlands, Column Film, 2018), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3t5g6JvtiRc>.



A.F.J. Portielje's grave, with the bronze lion that used to stand on his desk at Artis

## Appendix: Illustrated lecture topics

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With only news reports to go on, besides an abundance advertisements and announcements, it is not always easy to decide which illustrated lectures can for all practical purposes be considered similar and which dissimilar; syndication complicates this even more. In this overview of Portielje's lecture topics I have treated small differences in titles as variants—indicated by superscripts—of one and the same lecture, for which I sometimes used proximity in time as a support argument.

However, reviews show that even different titles, sometimes years apart, camouflaged a partly similar content. This, I believe, is the result of the subdivision Portielje made in his lectures from the late 1910s onwards: a more theoretical, introductory talk followed by commented slides, often featuring specific examples (birds, say, or apes). The introduction remained more or less identical over time. Only when the more general considerations appeared to have been adapted or changed I decided to treat a lecture, even though its title had been used earlier, as a separate one. Nonetheless, in quite a number of cases reviews were too brief or nondescript to get a sense of a lecture's content; in such cases I took the title at face value.

The following list of Portielje's illustrated lectures and popular academy courses is chronologically ordered according to each title's earliest occurrence in two databases of Dutch periodicals, Delpher.nl and Archieven.nl. Of each event I list—whenever reported—the organization(s) before which the illustrated lecture was given, the municipality, and the venue. Brackets indicate uncertain or implied information

**[Het] dierenleven in Artis<sup>1</sup> / Dierenleven uit Artis in woord en beeld<sup>2</sup> / Het leven der dieren in Artis<sup>3</sup>**

April 1912<sup>1</sup> | Amsterdam chapter of the Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Amsterdam, Groote Zaal Artis

November 1912<sup>2</sup> | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

April 1940<sup>3</sup> | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Middelburg, St. Joris

June 1944<sup>1</sup> | A.V.I.S. Natuur Historische Afdeeling van de Zwolsche Lyceisten Bond, Zwolle, Concertzaal Odeon

March 1948<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem

February 1953<sup>1</sup> | Den Haag, Diligentia

**Mooie en merkwaardige dieren in/uit Artis<sup>1</sup> / Merkwaardige dieren in Artis<sup>2</sup> / Mooie en merkwaardige dieren<sup>3</sup> / Eenige merkwaardige dieren in onze/uit Artis<sup>4</sup>**

March 1914<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zierikzee, Concertzaal

December 1915<sup>1</sup> | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Middelburg

December 1915<sup>1</sup> | Wetenschappelijke Belangen, Goes

March 1917<sup>2</sup> | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Vlissingen, Zeevaartschool

March 1917<sup>1</sup> | children's matinee, Middelburg, Schouwburg

December 1918<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen Dpt., Beemster

January 1919<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Purmerend, Amicitia

January 1919<sup>1</sup> | Algemeene Geestelijke Ontwikkeling, Den Helder, Tivoli; a repeat performance for children was given at the same venue the following afternoon

March 1919<sup>3</sup> | Volksbond, Bussum, Concordia,

April 1919<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zwolle, Concertzaal Odeon

November 1919<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zaandam

January 1921<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Culemborg

March 1921<sup>1</sup> | Volkspark, Rijssen

October 1921<sup>1</sup> | De Amsterdamsche Kunstkring "Voor Allen", Amsterdam, Salvatori (today's Kleine Komedie)

January 1922<sup>1</sup> | Vereeniging "Samenwerking", [Amsterdam]

February 1922<sup>2</sup> | 'Ontwikkeling', Hoorn, Groote Parkzaal

March 1922<sup>2</sup> | Voordrachtenclub, Nunspeet (specially recommended for children)  
March 1922<sup>1</sup> | Vereeniging "Samenwerking", [Amsterdam]  
February 1923<sup>4</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Tiel, Spaarbankgebouw  
April 1925<sup>4</sup> | SDAP sections 2, 3 and 9 C.C.v.A., Amsterdam, De Harmonie  
February 1935<sup>1</sup> | Patrimonium, Zaandam, Gebouw voor Christelijke Belangen  
April 1938<sup>1</sup> | Natuur-historische Vereeniging, Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Dieren, and 'De Merel', Soest, Eltheto  
February-March 1939<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Den Haag\*  
February-March 1940<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, Volksuniversiteitsgebouw\*\*  
November 1941<sup>1</sup> | Veendam region chapter of Nederlandsche Natuurhistorisch Vereeniging, Veendam, Zaal Veenlust  
November 1943<sup>1</sup> | Ontwikkelingsclub voor Vrouwen, Oosthuizen, "lokaal van den heer Has"  
*\*course*  
*\*\*four-part course*

### **Vogelwaarnemingen**

December 1915 | Amsterdam chapter of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Vogels, Amsterdam, Maison Boer

### **Uit het zieleleven der dieren<sup>1</sup> / Instinct en verstand bij dieren<sup>2</sup>**

January 1917<sup>1</sup> | Ons Huis, Amsterdam, [Ons Huis]  
March 1917<sup>1</sup> | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Middelburg, Schaftlokaal van Houthandel vh. G. Alberts Lzn. & Co.  
March 1919<sup>2</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Bussum, Tuinzaal Concordia

### **Hollandsch natuurschoon en vogelleven<sup>1</sup> / Vogelleven in de Hollandsche duinen en plassen<sup>2</sup> / Het vogelleven in de duinen op Texel en Schouwen en in de Naardermeer en in de Ankeveensche plassen<sup>3</sup> / Vogelleven in Naardermeer en Ankeveensche plassen<sup>4</sup> / Vogelleven op Texel en Schouwen<sup>5</sup> / Het vogelleven aan ons strand en in onze duinen<sup>6</sup> / Vogelleven in onze weiden en veenplassen<sup>7</sup>**

April 1916<sup>1</sup> | Vereeniging Algemeenen Ontwikkeling, Zierikzee, café Juliana

April 1918<sup>1</sup> | Algemeene Geestelijke Ontwikkeling, Den Helder, Casino  
[October 1918 | children's matinee, Middelburg, Schouwburg  
October 1918<sup>3</sup> | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Middelburg, Vergenoeging  
March 1919<sup>1</sup> | Vereeniging 'Handwerkers Vriendenkring', Amsterdam, Artis,  
March 1919<sup>2</sup> | Heerde (Gld.)  
October 1919<sup>3</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Almelo  
November 1920<sup>3</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Edam  
December 1921<sup>4</sup> | Ontwikkeling, Hoorn, Park  
January 1923<sup>4</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Sliedrecht  
March 1923<sup>4</sup> | 'Ons Huis', Rotterdam, Ons Huis  
March 1923<sup>5</sup> | 'Ons Huis', Rotterdam, Ons Huis  
November 1927<sup>6</sup> | Geloof en Wetenschap, [Roosendaal]  
February 1932<sup>5</sup> | Volksonderwijs, Oosterwolde, De Zon  
February 1932<sup>7</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Steenwijk

**In Artis geboren dieren en over eenige bijzonderheden van dierpsychologische aard**

November 1918 | Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Amsterdam, gebouw Heijstee (Herengracht 545-549)

**Levende natuur** [course; no illustrations mentioned]

October 1919 | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam  
February 1920 | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam  
October 1920 | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam  
February 1921 | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam  
October 1922 | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam

**Inlandsche vogels<sup>1\*</sup> / Inlandsch vogelleven<sup>2\*\*</sup> / Inlandsch vogelleven, van psychologisch standpunt gezien<sup>3\*\*\*</sup>**

[may overlap with both or either '**Vogelleven in de Hollandsche duinen en plassen**' and '**Het vogelleven in de duinen op [Texel en] Schouwen en in de Naardermeer en in de Ankeveensche plassen**', lectures which he also gave around this time]

October 1919<sup>1</sup> | Nederlandsch Onderwijzers Genootschap en den Bond van Onderwijzeressen bij het Fröbelonderwijs, Amsterdam, Gebouw Heijstee (Herengracht 545-549)

January-February 1930<sup>2</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum

October 1931<sup>3</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Enschede

*\*lecture*

*\*\*five-part course*

*\*\*\*four-part course consists of: 'Het gedrag van de zilvermeeuw en zijn verwanten' [see also below], 'Strand- en duinvogels', 'Wei- en moerasvogels', 'Zangvogels'*

### **In Artis geboren dieren en verschillende bijzonderheden van dier-psychologischen aard**

January 1920 | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

November 1920 | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

### **Over het jeugdleven van dieren in het algemeen<sup>1</sup> / Het jeugdleven der dieren in Artis<sup>2</sup> / Jeugdleven bij dieren<sup>3</sup>**

November 1920<sup>1</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Breda, Bovenzaal van het Zuid-Hollandsch Koffiehuys

December 1920<sup>2</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Apeldoorn, Societeit Oranjepark

April 1921<sup>2</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Nijmegen

February 1931<sup>3</sup> | Volks-universiteit, Heerenveen

### **Natuurbeschouwing en leven**

December 1920 | 'Ons Huis', Rotterdam, Ons Huis

**Allerlei uit de jeugd der/van zoogdieren<sup>1</sup> / Allerlei uit de jeugd der zoogdieren, in het bijzonder bekeken uit dier-psychologisch standpunt<sup>2</sup> / Allerlei bijzonderheden uit de jeugd van zoogdieren<sup>3</sup> / Jeugdige zoogdieren<sup>4</sup> / De jeugd van eenige zoogdieren<sup>5</sup> / [Uit] De jeugd van zoogdieren<sup>6</sup> / Allerlei uit de jeugd van zoogdieren', in het bijzonder**

## **wat betreft de psychische gesteldheid der dieren<sup>7</sup> / De jeugd van opgroeiende zoogdieren<sup>8</sup>**

- January 1921<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen Dpt., Bussum, Cinema-bioscoop  
January 1921<sup>2</sup> | Paedologisch Gezelschap, Amsterdam, Universiteitsgebouw  
April 1921<sup>1</sup> | Ned. Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Rotterdam Dpt., [Rotterdam]  
March 1922<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zaltbommel  
November 1922<sup>3</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia  
March 1923<sup>4</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Kampen  
December 1923<sup>5</sup> | Algemeene Wetenschappelijke Belangen, Goes, Schuttershof  
February 1923<sup>1</sup> | Natuur- en Letterkundig Genootschap, Roermond  
November 1923<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zwolle  
December 1923<sup>6</sup> | Nederlandsche Montessorri Vereeniging afdeling Haarlem en Omstreken, Haarlem  
February 1924<sup>1</sup> | Vereeniging T.A.G.O. [Ter Algemeene Ontwikkeling], Anna Paulowna  
April 1924<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Eindhoven, Apollo's Lust  
December 1924<sup>7</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap Wessel Knoops, Arnhem, Logegebouw  
January 1925<sup>6</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Beemster  
January 1925<sup>1</sup> | Volksbond, Bussum, grote zaal Concordia  
November 1948 | Nederlandse Vereniging van Huisvrouwen, Utrecht

## **Een en ander over het leven van zoogdieren<sup>1</sup> / [Uit] Het leven der zoogdieren<sup>2</sup>**

- December 1921<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Hellevoetsluis  
April 1924<sup>2</sup> | Bond van Werklieden in Openbare Diensten en Bedrijven, Amsterdam, Gebouw Liefdadigheid naar Vermogen  
March 1926<sup>2</sup> | SDAP Afdeling 7, Amsterdam, De Toorts

## **Jeugdleven van vogels in Artis en in de vrije natuur**

- December 1921 | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

## **Vogelleven op Schouwen**

- February 1922 | Bond van Haagsche Natuur-historische Schoolvereenigingen, [Den Haag]

**Eenige merkwaardige instincten en verworven ervaringen bij reptielen en visschen**

March 1922 | Amst. Ver. ter Bevordering van Aquarium- en Terrariumkunde, Amsterdam, Hortus Botanicus

**Een en ander uit de biologie en psychologie onzer duin- en strandvogels**

June 1922 | Ned. Nat. Historische Vereeniging; Artis, Amsterdam, Hortus Botanicus

**Biologische, in ' t bijzonder dierpsychologische waarnemingen in Artis en in de vrije natuur [verricht]<sup>1</sup>/ Biologische en in het bijzonder ethologische en dierpsychologische waarnemingen in Artis en in de vrije natuur<sup>2</sup> / Dierpsychologische waarnemingen gedaan in Artis en in de vrije natuur<sup>3</sup>**

November 1922<sup>1</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Groningen, Concerthuis

April 1923<sup>2</sup> | Rotterdamsch Natuurkundig Genootschap, Rotterdam, Lezingzaal Gemeenteziekenhuis

November 1923<sup>3</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Kampen

December 1925<sup>1</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

**Dierenleven\*<sup>1</sup> / Het leven der dieren<sup>2</sup> / Over dieren en dierenleven<sup>3</sup> / Uit het leven der dieren<sup>4</sup> / Dierenleven\*\*<sup>5</sup>**

September-November 1923<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Maarssen

October 1923<sup>2</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Beesd

November 1923<sup>2</sup> | SDAP, Amsterdam, Diligentia

January 1924<sup>2</sup> | Algemeene Geestelijke Ontwikkeling, Den Helder

February 1924<sup>5</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum

November 1924<sup>3</sup> | Hoogezand, Hotel Faber

January 1925<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit Rotterdam, Rotterdam

October 1925<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit Amsterdam, Amsterdam

June 1926<sup>4</sup> | Vereeniging van onderwijzers en onderwijzeressen in de inspectie Gouda, [Gouda]

*\*ten-part course*

*\*\*seven-part illustrated course*

**Menschen, in verband met hun psychisch vermogen<sup>1</sup> / Menschachtige apen<sup>2</sup> / [Een en ander over] menschachtige apen, in 't bijzonder [wat betreft] hun psychische vermogens<sup>3</sup> / Menschachtige apen, in het bijzonder wat hun psychische vermogen betreffen<sup>4</sup> / Menschachtige apen en hun psychische vermogens<sup>5</sup>**

October 1923<sup>1</sup> | Vereeniging van Winterlezingen, Schagen, Huis Vredelust

[March 1925 | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Franeker, Koornbeurs]\*

*\*no title mentioned, but merely "about the observable differences between human and animal, specifically etween humans, apes, and other monkeys"*

May 1926<sup>3</sup> | SDAP Afdelingen 2, 3, and 9, Amsterdam, Ons Huis

October 1926<sup>3</sup> | Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen afdeling Arnhem, Arnhem, Logegebouw

October 1926<sup>3</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Delft, Loge-gebouw

December 1927<sup>4</sup> | SDAP Afd. 8, Amsterdam, Diligentia

January 1928<sup>3</sup> | SDAP Afd. 6, Amsterdam

January 1929<sup>3</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Rotterdam, Leeszaal ziekenhuis aan de Coolsingel

March 1929<sup>3</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Culemborg, zaal van den heer Van Gelder

December 1929<sup>5</sup> | first in the winter 1929-1930 series of Artis lectures, Amsterdam, Artis

[October 1930]<sup>2</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Dordrecht

December 1930<sup>4</sup> | 'Geloof en Wetenschap', Roermond, Christoffelhuis

December 1930<sup>4</sup> | SDAP afd. 4, Amsterdam, Vereenigingsgebouw Coöperatiehof

April 1931<sup>2</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Dordrecht

April 1931<sup>3</sup> | Afdeling 11 [SDAP], Amsterdam, Muzieklyceum at Albert Hahnplantsoen,

March 1932<sup>2</sup> | Koninklijk Zoölogisch Botanisch Genootschap, Den Haag, Groote Zaal Haagsche Dierentuin

January 1936<sup>2</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Haarlem, Gemeentelijke Concertzaal

September 1942<sup>2</sup> | Het Plaatselijk Nut, Westzaan

**Omgang met dieren en hoe hen eenigszins te begrijpen<sup>1</sup> / Omgang met dieren en wat wij van hen beleven kennen<sup>2</sup> [sic]**

February 1924<sup>1</sup> | Bond voor Daadwerkelijke Dierenbescherming, Den Haag, grote zaal Cafe Riche

April 1932<sup>2</sup> | Afd. Maastricht van de Limburgsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Dieren, Maastricht, Redoutezalen

**[Over] Dierenleven in Artis en in de wildernis<sup>1</sup> / Dieren in Artis en in de natuur<sup>2</sup> / Dieren in Artis en in de wildernis<sup>3</sup>**

March 1924<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Assen

March 1924<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Enschede, Zalencentrum Irene

[children's show] May 1927<sup>2</sup> | Friesland chapter of Dierenbescherming and the Leeuwarden chapter of Kinderbond, Leeuwarden, zaal Schaaf

September 1930 - ?<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam\*

September 1930(?) - March 1931<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem

January-February 1932<sup>2</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum\*\*

October 1932<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam\*\*\*

October 1933<sup>2</sup> - ? | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam\*\*\*\*

April 1935<sup>3</sup> | F.A.M.O.S. (Federatie van Amsterdamsche Middelbare Scholieren voor Ontspanning en Sport), Amsterdam, A.M.V.J.-gebouw

November 1943<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, Volksuniversiteitsgebouw\*\*\*\*\*

*\*10-part course*

*\*\*five-part course*

*\*\*\*course*

*\*\*\*\*course*

*\*\*\*\*\*three-part course*

**Dierenleven in de Z.-O.-Afrikaansche wildernis<sup>1</sup> / Zoogdieren in de Oost-Afrikaansche steppen<sup>2</sup> / Dierenleven in Aequatoriaal Oost-Afrika<sup>3</sup> / Dierenleven in de wildernissen van Aequatoriaal Oost-Afrika<sup>4</sup>**

March 1924<sup>1</sup> | 'Ons' Huis, Amsterdam [with slides and film], [Ons Huis]

September 1926<sup>1</sup> | Geloof en Wetenschap, Roosendaal

November 1926<sup>2</sup> | Amsterdam chapter of Algemeene Nederlandsche Bond van Handels- en Kantoorbedienden, Amsterdam

March 1936<sup>3</sup> | Comité voor Winterlezingen, Huizen, gebouw Silo

February 1939<sup>4</sup> | Ontwikkeling, Hoorn, Het Park

### **Wat is er te zien in Artis?**

April 1924 | Plantage Buurtvereniging, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis

### **Een en ander uit de biologie der zoogdieren**

October 1924 | Rotterdamsch Natuurkundig Genootschap, Rotterdam, Lezingenzaal Gemeentelijk Ziekenhuis

**Allerlei uit de jeugd en den opgroei der zoogdieren<sup>1</sup> / Allerlei bijzonderheden over de jeugd en den opgroei van onze zoogdieren, zowel in Artis als in het wild<sup>2</sup> / Allerlei uit de jeugd en den opgroei der zoogdieren in 't bijzonder wat betreft de psychische vermogens<sup>3</sup> / De jeugd en opgroei van zoogdieren en hun psychische gesteldheid<sup>4</sup> / Allerlei uit de jeugd van zoogdieren, in 't bijzonder wat betreft de ontwikkeling hunner psychische vermogens<sup>5</sup> / Jeugd en opgroei/opgroeiing van zoogdieren<sup>6</sup>**

December 1924 | Afd. IV van de Centrale Commissie van Arbeidersontwikkeling, Amsterdam, Rialto-Theater

February 1925<sup>2</sup> | Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Breda, Kleine Zaal Concordia

[course] [1925/6]<sup>3</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem

April 1926<sup>3</sup> | Vereeniging 'Ontwikkeling', Hoorn, Groote Parkzaal

[course] January-February 1927<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem

March 1927<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Assen, Foyer Concerthuis

May 1927<sup>3</sup> | Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen, Amsterdam, American Hotel

December 1927<sup>1</sup> | Gooische School, Laren, Hotel Hamdorff

January 1928<sup>1</sup> | Geloof en Wetenschap, ['s-Hertogenbosch], auditorium R.K. Lyceum

March 1928<sup>3</sup> | London chapter of the Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, London, South African Students Club

July 1928<sup>1</sup> | Montessorri-school, Dordrecht, Café Americain

December 1928<sup>5</sup> | Geloof en Wetenschap, Eindhoven, auditorium Gymnasium Augustianum

January 1930<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Velp, Naderbij [= church]

April 1936<sup>6</sup> | Utrecht chapter of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen, Utrecht, Tivoli

April 1937<sup>6</sup> | Patrimonium Talma, Amsterdam, Waalkerk

**Een en ander uit de jeugd der zoogdieren en de beteekenis daarvan voor de ontwikkeling van het kind volgens de Montessori-methode\***

January 1925 | Amsterdam chapter Montessori-Vereeniging, Amsterdam, Konigszaal, Artis

*\*possibly unillustrated*

**Omgang met dieren in Artis en in de natuur<sup>1</sup> / [course] Dierenleven en omgang met dieren in Artis en in de natuur<sup>2\*</sup> / Omgang met de natuur<sup>3</sup> / Omgang met [de] dieren in/uit Artis<sup>4</sup> / Omgang met dieren<sup>5</sup>**

April 1925<sup>1</sup> | Friesland division of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Dieren, Leeuwarden, zalen Schaaf

October 1925<sup>1</sup> | Vereeniging 'Dierenvrienden', Amsterdam, Bellevue

April 1926<sup>3</sup> | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

March 1927<sup>4</sup> | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

April 1928<sup>1</sup> | popular science lecture series, Amsterdam, Artis\*\*

February 1947<sup>4</sup> | Chocolate factory NV De Zaanstroom, Wormerveer

September 1947<sup>4</sup> | Utrechtse Rashonden Vereniging, Utrecht, Esplanade

October 1947<sup>4</sup> | Provinciale Vereniging van Chr. Onderwijzers in Friesland, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

October 1947<sup>4</sup> | Vereniging 'Beekbergen Vooruit', Beekbergen, zaal Smittenberg

December 1947<sup>4</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Krommenie, Concertzaal of the Ver. Blikfabrieken

May 1948<sup>4</sup> | Kleine Academie, Tilburg, N.K. De Harmonie

February 1949<sup>4</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Oostzaan, Concordia

April 1950<sup>4</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Enschede, Gehoorzaal Volksuniversiteit

September 1950<sup>4</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Soest, grote zaal Eemland  
March 1952<sup>5</sup> | Natuurvrienden van het Instituut voor Arbeiders-ontwikkeling, Rotterdam,  
H.B.S., Afrikaanderplein  
May 1952<sup>5</sup> | Vereniging van Onderwijzers(essen) in de Inspectie Winschoten, Winschoten,  
Hotel Dommering  
June 1952<sup>5</sup> | Amsterdam, Krasnapolsky\*\*\*  
February 1953<sup>5</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, Gebouw Volksuniversiteit  
September 1953<sup>5</sup> | Zwolle chapter of Dierenbescherming, Zwolle, Hotel van Gijtenbeek  
November 1953<sup>5</sup> | Geloof en Wetenschap', Dedemsvaart, St. Vitusgebouw

*\*course*

*\*\* for members only*

*\*\*\*benefit performance*

**Het aquarium<sup>1</sup> / Dierenleven in het Aquarium in/van Artis<sup>2</sup> / Het dierenleven in het  
aquarium<sup>3</sup> / Dierenleven in het Artis-aquarium<sup>4</sup> / Het leven in het Aquarium in Artis<sup>5</sup>  
/ [Het] Aquarium van Artis<sup>6</sup>**

January 1926<sup>1</sup> | SDAP Afdeeling 6, Amsterdam, Café Oost-Indië

January 1926<sup>1</sup> | SDAP Afdeeling 8, Amsterdam

January 1926<sup>2</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Nijmegen

October 1927<sup>3</sup> | SDAP Afd. 5, Amsterdam, Concordia

January 1928<sup>2</sup> | Alg. Ned. Typografenbond, Amsterdam, Gebouw Liefdadigheid naar  
Vermogen

January 1928<sup>2</sup> | Algemeene Nederlandsche Bond van Handels- en Kantoorbedienden,  
Amsterdam, grote zaal Odeon

December 1928<sup>2</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

November 1930<sup>2</sup> | Vereeniging van Beeldende Kunstenaars, Laren, Hotel Hamdorff

January 1931<sup>2</sup> | Handwerkers Vriendenkring before Bond van Personeel in  
Overheidsdienst, Amsterdam

November 1931<sup>2</sup> | Aquariumclub Scalare, afdeeling Den Haag en Omstreken van den  
Nederlandschen Bond van Aquariumhouders, Den Haag, HBS at Nieuwe Duinweg

January 1932<sup>4</sup> | Aquariumclub 'Goerami', Hilversum, Boaz-huis

February 1932<sup>5</sup> | Afdeeling 5 [SDAP], Handwerkers Vriendenkring, Amsterdam, Roetersstraat

March 1932<sup>2</sup> | Afdeeling 7 [SDAP], De Schakel, Amsterdam, Borneostraat

April 1933<sup>6</sup> | Afdeeling 2 [SDAP], Amsterdam, De Wittenstraat 10

December 1933<sup>2</sup> | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

January-February 1934<sup>2</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum\*

February 1941 | Ned. Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen and Purmerend chapter of the Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, [Purmerend], zaal van den heer Semeins

February 1943<sup>2</sup> | Zaanstreek chapter of the Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Zaandam, R.K. Vereenigingsgebouw

November 1943<sup>6</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Deventer, Schouwburg

*\*four-part course*

### **Instinct en ondervinding bij dieren<sup>1</sup> / Instinct en ondervinding bij de hoogere dieren<sup>2</sup>**

February 1926<sup>1</sup> | Wetenschappelijke Kring, Tilburg, N.K. Harmonie

March 1927<sup>2</sup> | Wetenschappelijke Kring, Tilburg, Café De Lindeboom

October 1928<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Enschede

February 1936<sup>1</sup> | Geloof en Wetenschap, Eindhoven, Gymnasium Augustinianum

### **Een en ander uit de psychologie der vogels<sup>1</sup> / Allerlei uit de biologie, in 't bijzonder ook wat betreft het psychische leven der vogels<sup>2</sup>**

March 1926<sup>1</sup> | Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Vogels, Utrecht, Gebouw K&W

February 1928<sup>2</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, [Gebouw Volksuniversiteit]\*

*\* part of VU course*

### **Bijzondere merkwaardigheden in Artis aanwezig**

May 1926 | Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis

### **Artis en zijn bewoners**

February 1927 | Groningen, Harmonie

## **Jeugd en opvoeding der vogels, in het bijzonder de psychische verschijnselen**

November 1927 | Volksuniversiteit, Assen

## **Reptielen, amphibieën, visschen en eenige lagere zoogdieren<sup>1</sup> / Allerlei uit de biologie van de kruipende dieren<sup>2</sup> / Een en ander uit de biologie der reptielen en amphibieën<sup>3</sup> / Allerlei uit de biologie van reptielen, amphibiën [sic], visschen en eenige lagere zeedieren<sup>4</sup> / Allerlei uit de biologie der reptielen<sup>5</sup>**

January 1928<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Utrecht\*

March 1928<sup>2</sup> | Patrimoneum, Amsterdam, Veilingzaal Koopmansbeurs

April 1928<sup>3</sup> | Rotterdam chapter of Ned. Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Rotterdam

1928/1929<sup>4</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, [Gebouw Volksuniversiteit]\*\*

\*February 1932<sup>5</sup> | Vereeniging van Aquarium- en Terrariumliefhebbers 'De Natuurvriend', Den Haag, Amicitia

*\*ten-part course*

*\*\*V.U. course*

## **Het leven der zoogdieren in de Zuid-Afrikaansche steppen<sup>1</sup> / Het wilde dierenleven in de wildernissen van Zuid-Afrika<sup>2</sup>**

February 1928<sup>1</sup> | Bond van Personeel in Overheidsdienst, Amsterdam, Concordia

January 1929<sup>1</sup> | Bakkersgezellenbond, Amsterdam, Concordia

March 1932<sup>1</sup> | [SDAP] Afdeeling 2, Amsterdam, De Wittestraat 10

March 1949<sup>2</sup> | Vereniging van Vrienden van het Gooi-Reservaat, Bussum, Concordia

## **Het leven der visschen**

November 1928 | SDAP Afd. 10, Amsterdam

## **Vogelwaarneming in Artis en in de natuur<sup>1</sup> / Vogellevens in en buiten Artis geobserveerd<sup>2</sup>**

January 1929<sup>1</sup> | Vereeniging voor Beeldende Kunstenaars Laren-Blaricum, Laren, Hotel Hamdorff

February 1949<sup>2</sup> | Winterswijk chapters of Ned. Natuurhistorische Vereniging and Geloof en Wetenschap, Winterswijk, Boer Balink

**Psycho-biologische waarnemingen en proefnemingen in Artis en in de natuur<sup>1</sup> / Psycho-biologische onderzoeken in Artis en in de natuur<sup>2</sup> / Onderzoeken naar het leven der dieren in Artis, zoowel als in de vrije natuur<sup>3</sup> / Psycho-biologische waarnemingen in Artis en in de natuur<sup>4</sup> / Dierenleven in Artis en in de natuur, vergelijkend en psychologisch gezien<sup>5</sup>**

April 9, 1929<sup>1</sup> | R.K. Volksuniversiteit, Deventer, St. Josephgebouw

December 1929<sup>2</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zaltbommel

January 1931<sup>3</sup> | Natuur Historische Vereeniging, Bergen op Zoom, Thalia

October 1932<sup>2</sup> | Vereeniging Algemeen Geestelijke Ontwikkeling, Giessendam, Roxy Theater

February-March 1935<sup>4</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, [Gebouw Volksuniversiteit]\*

February-March 1936<sup>5</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum\*\*

*\*four-part course*

*\*\*four-part course*

**De geheimen der zee met haar vele soorten visschen en vreemde gewassen** (called “broedverzorging bij de visschen” in review on April 17)

April 1929 | members of Openbare Leeszaal, Helmond, “de zaal van den heer Peeters op de Markt”

**Allerlei uit de biologie, in het bijzonder uit de ethologie en psychologie van zoogdieren en vogels** (*course*)

[season 1929/1930] | Volksuniversiteit, Utrecht

**Vogelleven in onze weilanden en veenplassen**

October 1929 | ‘Geloof en Wetenschap’, Eindhoven, Augustijnsch Gymnasium

**Onderzoeken in Artis**

November 1929 | Eper Gemeentewoning, Epe

**Het leven der roofdieren<sup>1</sup> / Allerlei uit de biologie der roofdieren<sup>2</sup>**

December 1929<sup>1</sup> | Natuur- en Letterkundig Genootschap, [Roermond]

January 1931<sup>2</sup> | 'Geloof en Wetenschap', Utrecht

January 1940<sup>2</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Nijmegen, De Vereeniging

**De taal der dieren<sup>1</sup> / Het gedrag van zoogdieren en vogels, in het bijzonder hun mimische en fonetische uitdrukkingvormen<sup>2</sup> / De manier, waarop vogels en zoogdieren zich uitdrukken<sup>3</sup> / Hoe onze zoogdieren en vogels zich door klanken en andere teekens kunnen uitdrukken, en hun wenschen kenbaar maken<sup>4</sup> / Uitdrukkingbewegingen bij zoogdieren en vogels/vogels en zoogdieren<sup>5</sup> / Verschillende gedragvormen bij zoogdieren en vogels<sup>6</sup>**

January 1930<sup>1</sup> | 'Geloof en Wetenschap', Roosendaal, Koninklijke Harmonie 'De Unie'

October 1930<sup>2</sup> | Vereeniging van leerlingen en oud-leerlingen van het Instituut voor Kunstijverheidsonderwijs, de leerlingen der Rijks-Academie van Beeldende Kunsten, and Leerlingenvereniging van het Rijksinstituut tot opleiding van teekenleraren, Amsterdam, Odd Fellowhouse, Keizersgracht

March 1932<sup>3</sup> | Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Breda, Zuid-Hollandsch Koffiehuis

March 1935<sup>4</sup> | Natuur Historische Vereeniging, Breda, 't Zuid

March 1935<sup>5</sup> | Doetinchem chapter of Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Doetinchem, Heerenlogement

January 1937<sup>5</sup> | Utrecht chapters of Vereeniging voor Paedagogiek and Montessorri-vereeniging, Utrecht, Anatomisch Lab (Janskerkhof)

February 1940 | Haarlem chapter of the Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Haarlem, Kroonzaal café-restaurant Brinkmann

**Leeuwenjeugd en opgroei in Artis en in de wildernis<sup>1</sup> / Leeuwenjeugd in Artis<sup>2</sup> / Leeuwenjeugd en opgroei in Artis; leeuwenleven in de Oost-Afrikaansche steppen, in het bijzonder van psycho-biologische standpunt beschouwd<sup>3</sup> / Leeuwenjeugd en opgroei in Artis en leeuwenleven in de Oost-Afrikaansche steppe<sup>4</sup> / Leeuwenjeugd en opgroei in Artis en leeuwenleven in de wildernissen van Centraal-Oost-Afrika<sup>5</sup> /**

**Leeuwenjeugd en leeuwenopgroei in Artis; leeuwenleven in de Oost-Afrikaansche steppen<sup>6</sup> / De jeugd van den leeuw<sup>7</sup> / Leeuwenjeugd en opgroei in Artis en het leven der leeuwen in de wildernis, gezien vanuit vergelijkend psychologisch standpunt<sup>8</sup> / Leeuwenleven in Artis en in de wildernis<sup>9</sup>**

May 1930<sup>1</sup> | Vereeniging tot instandhouding van de Prinses Julianaschool, Bussum, St. Vitusgebouw

winter program 1930-1931<sup>2</sup> | Volksuniversiteit Drachten e.O. & Drachten dpt. of Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, [Drachten]

January 1931<sup>3</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Breda

March 1931<sup>4</sup> | March 1931<sup>4</sup> | 'Nut en Genoegen', Oostvoorne

May 1931<sup>5</sup> | Waterleidingbedrijf, Utrecht

October 1931<sup>6</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Winschoten

January 1932<sup>7</sup> | Nut en Genoegen, Dedemsvaart

June 1934<sup>8</sup> | R.K. Onderwijzersdag, Breda

April 1953<sup>9</sup> | Culturele Kring, Oisterwijk

**Aanpassing in het planten- en dierenrijk**

September - ? 1930 | Volksuniversiteit, Den Haag

**Psychobiologische onderzoeken aan meeuwen en sterns in Artis en in de natuur**

November 1930 | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

**Zoogdierleven in Artis**

January 1931 - ? | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum\*

*\*course*

**Het aquarium (psychobiologische onderzoeken aan eenige visschen, schaaldieren, zee-anemonen en kokerwormen in het Aquarium van Artis te Amsterdam)<sup>1</sup> / Aquarium<sup>2</sup>**

February 1931<sup>1</sup> | 's-Gravenhaagsche Vereeniging van Aquarium- en Terrariumliefhebbers 'De Natuurvriend', Den Haag, Amicitia

December 1932<sup>2</sup> | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis\*

*\* part of 4-part series Artis-lezingen under the joint title De beteekenis van Artis*

### **Het gedrag van de zilvermeeuw<sup>1</sup> / Zilvermeeuwen<sup>2</sup>**

September 1931<sup>1</sup> | Personeel der openbare lagere scholen v/h district Heerenveen, Heerenveen

December 1932<sup>2</sup> | Artis, Amsterdam\*

*\*part of 4-part series Artis-lezingen under the joint title 'De beteekenis van Artis'*

### **Roofdieren in Artis en roofdierenleven in de wildernis<sup>1\*</sup> / Roofdieren in Artis en in de wildernis<sup>2</sup>**

October 1931<sup>1</sup> | Blaricum's Belang, Blaricum

winter program 1932-1933<sup>2</sup> | 'Geloof en Wetenschap', Roosendaal

*\*newspaper report mentions illustrations of lions*

### **Roofdierjeugd en opgroei in Artis en roofdierleven in de wildernis**

January 1932 | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

January 1933 | 'Geloof en Wetenschap' and Sittard chapter of the Limburgsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Dieren, Sittard, St. Jozefsgebouw

February 1933 | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Buren

March 1934 | Garantenvereening, Ruurlo

### **De beteekenis van Artis\***

October 1932 | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis (no individual title mentioned)

November 1932 | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis (no individual title mentioned)

*\* umbrella title for the so-called Artis lectures; see also 'Het aquarium' and 'Zilvermeeuwen' above*

### **De psyche van het roofdier**

November 1932 | 'Geloof en Wetenschap', Katholieke Kring, Roosendaal

**Instincten, emoties en uitdrukkingsvormen bij dieren\*<sup>1</sup> / Hoe de dieren uiten, wat er in hen omgaat<sup>2</sup>**

January 1933 - ? | Volksuniversiteit, Utrecht

January 1937 | Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Breda, Café Moderne

*\*course*

**Schutskleur en houding der dieren van ver en dichtbij**

February 1933 | Bakkersgezellenbond, Amsterdam, Cornelis Broerehuis at Korte Leidschedwardsstraat,

**Het leven der roofdieren in Artis<sup>1</sup>/ Roofdieren in Artis<sup>2</sup>**

February 1933 | Patrimonium, Nieuwendammerham\*

October 1953<sup>2</sup> | [on the occasion of World Animal Day], Harlingen, Harlinger Schouwburg

*\*descriptive title in newspaper announcement*

**Vogelleven van psycho-biologisch standpunt bezien<sup>1</sup> / Psycho-biologische waarnemingen bij vogels<sup>2</sup>**

February 1933 - ? | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, [Gebouw Volksuniversiteit]\*

December 1933<sup>2</sup> | Amsterdam chapter of Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Amsterdam

*\*course; may overlap with 'Inlandsch vogelleven van psycho-biologisch standpunt bezien' (see above)*

**Camouflage in de natuur**

March 1933 | Afdeling 4 SDAP, Amsterdam, Vereenigingsgebouw 'Coöperatiehof'

May 1933 | Afdelingen 4 and 12 SDAP, Amsterdam, Vereenigingsgebouw 'Coöperatiehof'

**Lichamelijke gesteldheid en psychisch gestel bij vissen**

November 1933 | Aquariumclub 'Scalare', Den Haag, Twee Steden Palace

**Omgang met dieren en vergelijkend-psychologisch onderzoek van hun gedrag en uitdrukkingsvormen<sup>1</sup> / Omgang met dieren in Artis vergelijkend-psychologisch bezien<sup>2</sup>**

February-April 1934<sup>1</sup> | Nederlandsch Jack-London-Verbond, Den Haag, Gebouw De Ruyterstraat\*

March 1952<sup>2</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

May 1952<sup>2</sup> | Oost-Brabant chapters of the Katholieke Onderwijzersbond, Eindhoven, Katholiek Leven

September 1952<sup>2</sup> | Vereniging van Onderwijzers en Onderwijzeressen in de Inspectie Zuidhorn, Groningen, De Harmonie

December 1953<sup>2</sup> | Culturele Kring, Raalte

*\*series of three illustrated lectures*

**Merkwaardig vogelgedrag in onze weilanden en duinen**

April 1934 | part of the Natuurhistorische Tentoonstelling op Geographischen Grondslag organized by the Amsterdam chapter of the Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, [Amsterdam]

**Het leven van de koud- en zoetwatervisschen en zeeanemonen**

May 1934 | [on the occasion of an exhibition of aquaria], Hilversum, Boazhuis

**Het dierengedrag vergelijkend-psychologisch bezien**

September 1934 | on the opening of an exhibition organized by Natura Omnia Vincit, a chapter of the Nederlandsche Jeugdbond voor Natuurstudie Vossius Gymnasium, Amsterdam

October-November 1934 | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum\*

*\*course*

**Roofdierjeugd en opgroei in Artis, vergelijkend psychologisch bezien en roofdierjeugd in de wildernis<sup>1</sup> / Roofdierjeugd en opgroei in Artis [van] vergelijkend psychologisch standpunt beschouwd/ bezien <sup>2</sup> / Roofdieren in hun jeugd en opgroei,**

**vergelijkend psychologisch bekeken<sup>3</sup> / Roofdierjeugd en opgroei in Artis<sup>4</sup> / Jeugd en opgroei van roofdieren in Artis<sup>5</sup> / Jeugd en opgroei van roofdieren, psychologisch bezien<sup>6</sup> / Allerlei uit de jeugd en opvoeding van roofdieren<sup>7</sup> / Allerlei uit de jeugd en den opgroei van roofdieren, vergelijkend-psychologisch bezien<sup>8</sup>**

May 1934<sup>1</sup> | Onderwijzersdag of the R.K. Onderwijsbond, Helmond

September 1934<sup>2</sup> | Vereniging van Onderwijzers(essen) in de Inspectie Zuidhorn, Groningen, De Harmonie

November 1934<sup>2</sup> | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis\*

May 1935<sup>3</sup> | Vereniging van Onderwijzers en Onderwijzeressen in de Inspectie Winschoten, Winschoten, Hotel Wissemann

December 1936<sup>4</sup> | Geloof en Wetenschap, Oudenbosch

March 1937<sup>5</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Assen, De Kern

September 1937<sup>6</sup> | Haarlem chapter of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen, Haarlem, Gemeentelijk Concertgebouw

September 1937<sup>7</sup> | Groningen chapter of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen, Groningen, Huize Maas

October 1937<sup>8</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Zwolle, Hotel van Gijtenbeek

February 1940<sup>5</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Emmen, Concertzaal or Hotel Groothuis

*\*'Artis-voordracht'*

**Menschachtige apen vergelijkend-psychologisch bezien<sup>\*1</sup> / '[Menschachtige apen psycho-biologisch gezien<sup>2</sup>]**

October 1934<sup>1</sup> | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis

October 1935<sup>2</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Steenwijk

January 1936<sup>1</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zierikzee

*\*'Artis-voordracht'*

**Vogelstudies op Texel, in Artis nader uitgewerkt\***

November 1934 | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis

*\*'Artis-voordracht'*

### **Onderzoekingen aan zeldzame dieren in Artis\***

December 1934 | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis

\* 'Artis-voordracht'

### **Vogelleven in onze mooie rietlanden en veenplassen en wat daarbij in Artis nader werd uitgewerkt\***

December 1934 | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis

\* 'Artis-voordracht'

### **Psycho-biologische studie over de zilvermeeuw**

February 1935 | annual meeting Groninger Schoolmuseum, Groningen, Groninger Schoolmuseum

**[Zoetwatervissen]** "de blei, kolblei, voorns, brasem, snoek, karper, zeelt, enz."

May 1935 | Alg. Arnhemsche Hengelaars Vereeniging, Arnhem, De Vereeniging

**Instincten, ondervinding en aanpassing bij de dieren<sup>1</sup> / Instincten en intelligente aanpassing[en] bij [de] dieren<sup>2</sup> / Instincten en intelligentie-aanpassing bij dieren<sup>3</sup> / Instincten en intelligentie[s] bij dieren<sup>4</sup> / Aandriften, aanleg en intelligente aanpassing-instincten en vormen van verstand bij dieren<sup>5</sup> / Gewoonten en instinct aanpassingen van dieren<sup>6</sup> / Instincten en intelligente aanpassingen bij verschillende dieren<sup>7</sup> / Aandriften, aanleg en intelligente aanpassing van het gedrag bij dieren<sup>8</sup>**

November 1935<sup>1</sup> | Katholieke Onderwijzersdag, Utrecht, Handelbeurs

October 1936<sup>2</sup> | Religieuze Kring, Aerdenhout

February 1937 | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Breda, Concordia

February-March 1937<sup>2</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum\*

January 1938<sup>4</sup> | Geloof en Wetenschap, Roosendaal, Katholieke Kring

March 1939<sup>5</sup> | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

March 1939<sup>6</sup> | Zwolle chapters of Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Paedagogiek and Natuur Historische Vereeniging, Zwolle, Hotel Gijtenbeek

October 1939<sup>4</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Nijmegen\*\*

February 1940<sup>4</sup> | debating society 'De Blauwe Acolijen', Rotterdam, Associatie Hermes

February 1940<sup>2</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Tiel

February 1941<sup>2</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Westzaan, Hotel de Prins

January-March 1944<sup>7</sup> | Instituut Erasmus, Haarlem, Muziekzaal van Brinkmann\*\*\*

July 1946<sup>8</sup> | R.K. Onderwijzersdag, Assen, Hertenkamp

October 1947<sup>4</sup> | Provinciale Vereniging van Chr. Onderwijzers in Friesland, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

*\*four-part course*

*\*\*two-part course*

*\*\*\*eight-part series*

### **De ethologie van roofdieren**

February 1936 | Utrechtsche Biologen-Vereeniging, [Utrecht]

### **Vogelleven vergelijkend-psychologisch bezien**

November 1936 | Volksuniversiteit Arnhem, section Dieren, Dieren, Hotel De Kroon

### **Instinct en aanpassing van zee- en zoetwatervisschen**

October 1936 | Aquariumhoudersclub "Scalare", Den Haag, clublokaal café Den Hout

### **Psychologie der dieren**

November-December 1936 | Volksuniversiteit, Alkmaar\*

April 1937 | Haagsche Studievereeniging voor Psychologie, Den Haag, Diligentia

*\*four-part course*

### **Omgang met dieren**

February-March 1937 | Volksuniversiteit, Utrecht\*

October 1938 | Zaanstreek chapter of the Nederlandsche Natuur-historische Vereeniging, Zaandam, De Harmonie

April 1923 | R.K. Vrouwenbond, Hilversum, Hof van Holland

December 1946 | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Groningen, Concerthuis

*\*five-part course*

**Allerlei uit de biologie van krokodillen, schildpadden, hagedissen en slangen<sup>1</sup> /  
Krokodillen, hagedissen en slangen<sup>2</sup>**

February-March 1937 | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, Volksuniversiteitsgebouw\*

October 1941<sup>2</sup> | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Haren, Ons Centrum

*\*course*

**Het gedrag van de meeuwen in de natuur en in Artis<sup>1</sup> / Het gedrag van de  
zilvermeeuw in de natuur en in Artis onderzocht, een inleiding op de studie van het  
vogelgedrag in het algemeen<sup>2</sup>**

October 1937<sup>1</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Assen, Foyer Concerthuis

[April] 1939<sup>2</sup> | Utrecht chapter of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van  
Vogels\*, [Utrecht]

*\*includes screening of an episode on gulls taken from the 3rd of the film series DIEREN - ACTIE -  
SCHOONHEID*

**Verband van insecten en intelligente aanpassingen bij dieren**

November 1937 | Haagsche Studievereeniging voor Psychologie, Den Haag, Diligentia

**Vogelleven op Tessel, Schouwen en op de Loosdrechtsche plassen\***

February-[March] 1938 | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum

*\*four-part course*

**Dieren zien en leren kennen**

February-March 1939 | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum\*

*\*four-part course*

March 1939 | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Ter Apel, Hotel Boschhuis\*

March 1939 | Toonzaal of Sturm's boek- en kunsthandel, Goes\*

April 1939 | Aquariumhoudersclub Scalare, Den Haag, Den Hout

*\* on the occasion of the Boekenweek*

**Merkwaardig dierengedrag<sup>1</sup> / Mooie en merkwaardige dieren, in het bijzonder wat hun gedrag betreft<sup>2</sup>**

December 1940<sup>1</sup> | 'Gemeentebelang', Oegstgeest, Het Witte Huis

February-March 1942<sup>2</sup> | Volksuniversiteit, Alkmaar\*

*\*four-part course*

**Dierenleven in het Noordhollands landschap\***

December 1942 | V.V.V. Amsterdam in cooperation with Vereeniging tot Behoud van Natuurmonumenten, de Hollandse Molen, Heemschut, Vogelbescherming, and more, Amsterdam, American Hotel

*\*series*

**[Twee vogelmiddagen]**

October 1943 | Leiden, Het Leidsche Volkshuis

**Inleiding tot de studie van vogelgedrag\***

April – June 1944 | Instituut Erasmus, Haarlem, Muziekzaal Brinkmann

*\*eight-part series*

**Kan bij dieren van zielkunde en verstand gesproken worden**

May 1946 | Cultureele Kring, Apeldoorn

**Apen en menschen**

October 1946 | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Doesburg, Hof Gelria

**Omgang met dieren wat hun uitdrukkingsvormen ons leeren kunnen en hoe er tusschen hen en ons een direct contact kan worden ontwikkeld**

January 1947 | Cultureele Kring, Harderwijk

**Dierpsychologisch onderzoek in Artis**

March 1949 | Volksuniversiteit, Groningen

**Kennis van en ervaringen met dieren, speciaal met het paard**

January 1950 | Blaricumse Paardensportvereniging, Blaricum, Zaal Faber