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working papers #4

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*).¹ 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 cultural

¹ '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), 4th 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.

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.²

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.³ 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.”⁴ 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.⁵ In 1862, teachers and students of elementary schools “were given free (but restricted) entrance to the zoo.”⁶

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

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

³ 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).

⁴ Mehos (2006), 22-24, 143 n. 12.

⁵ 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—143, n. 12-16.

⁶ *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 1848.⁷ In that sense Artis was an early, constructive initiative to sustain and develop art and science, academic-level zoology in particular, in Amsterdam.⁸ 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 19th 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.⁹

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 with other European zoos and continue to attract researchers of international renown. Its first bid,

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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/>.

⁹ 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.

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 medicine¹⁰). 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 1877.¹¹

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),¹² and, later, the Koloniaal Instituut—founded 1910, it only moved into its sumptuous headquarters, just across from Artis, in 1926. But most resigned their membership because they were expected to pay for the premises' upkeep while at the same time they saw how the

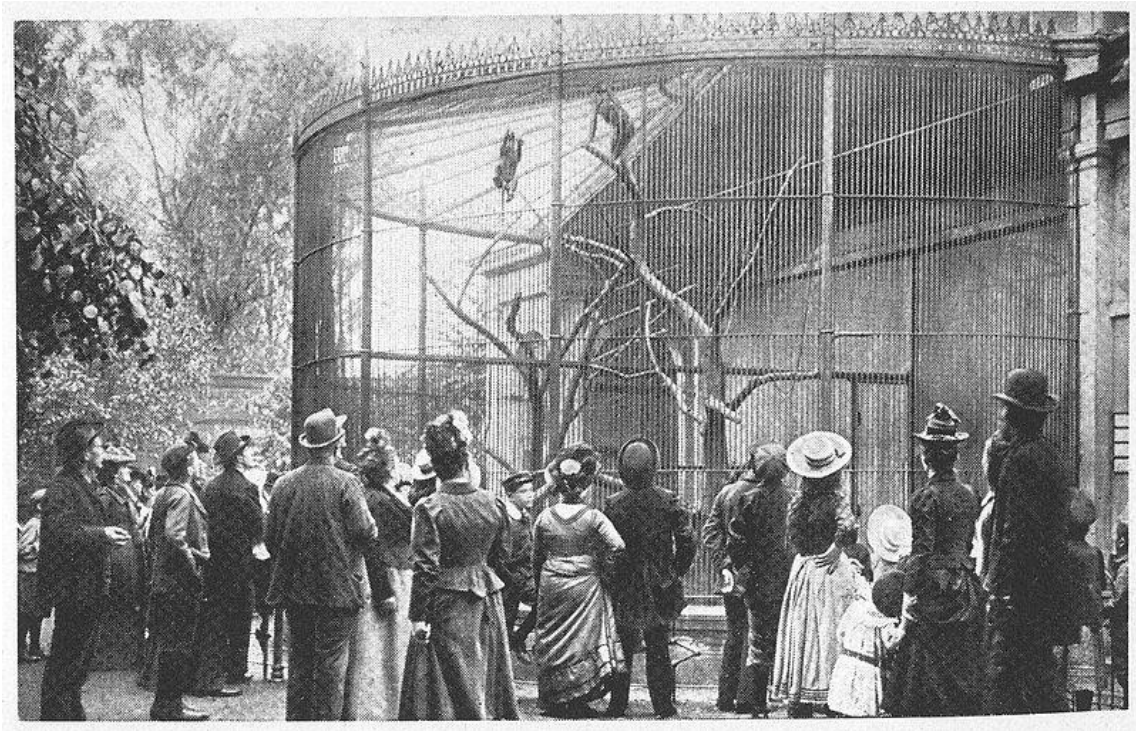
¹⁰ Smit (1988), 26-29, and n. 49.

¹¹ Mehos (2006), 50-55; Smit (1988), 25.

¹² Mehos (2006), 114-124.



Artis c. 1860s; Predator Gallery



Artis, between 1910 and 1914: monkey cage

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.¹³

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.¹⁴

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. His most crucial measure was the issue of bonds. With the money thus raised, debts could be allayed,

¹³ 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.

¹⁴ *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>.

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 100th anniversary in 1938) put increasing pressure on the municipality of Amsterdam to negotiate a deal to save the institution.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ Still, he credited Portielje for his empathetic and keen eye for the "psychological moment" in animal behavior.¹⁹ Nevertheless, each man's responsibilities and predilections—Bierens de Haan leaned towards a more experimental approach, Portielje towards a more observational one—as well personal incompatibility prevented them from cooperation,²⁰ besides their

¹⁵ In a typescript of a brochure meant for a fundraising campaign in the late 1930s—"close to [Artis's] 100th anniversary"—Portielje informs the prospective reader about the changes to Artis's animal facilities "in accordance with the inhabitants' 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'.

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

¹⁷ Ibid., 38-44.

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ 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'.

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

different concepts of animal behavior and psychology.²¹ 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,²² 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 people's university (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"²³ boosted the zoo's popularity—and his own.



Portielje during a guided tour for the blind (1951)

²¹ 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]).

²² 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), 1st 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>.

²³ 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 sounds²⁴). 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).²⁵

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 children²⁶—, 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)²⁷, to a popularly written, co-authored, two-volume illustrated ‘walk’ through Artis,²⁸ besides Dutch adaptations of foreign books on wildlife,²⁹ 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.³⁰ His fame rose with his radio causeries between 1925 and the 1950s, culminating in the popular postwar series

²⁴ 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>.

²⁵ 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.

²⁶ 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.

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

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

²⁹ E.g. adaptations of C.G. Schillings’ *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).

³⁰ 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.

Welk dier deze week? (Which animal this week?).³¹ 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. Verkruysen 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.³² Portielje also made a few translations and/or adaptations of foreign wildlife films for the Dutch market.³³ 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.³⁴⁻³⁵ 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.³⁶ His high profile is probably the reason that newspapers sometimes—and some all the time—called Portielje director of Artis.

³¹ 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.

³² 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.

³³ E.g. the German productions *DIERENLEVEN IN DE WILDERNISSEN 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).

³⁴ 'Artis-voordrachten', *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 105, #34365 (October 14, 1932), evening edn., 1st 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.

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ 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,³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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".³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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).⁴¹

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 people's university courses of the same title,⁴² 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' children.⁴³

³⁷ 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), 3rd section, 9, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011170762:mpeg21:p009>.

³⁸ Van der Weg (1999), 146.

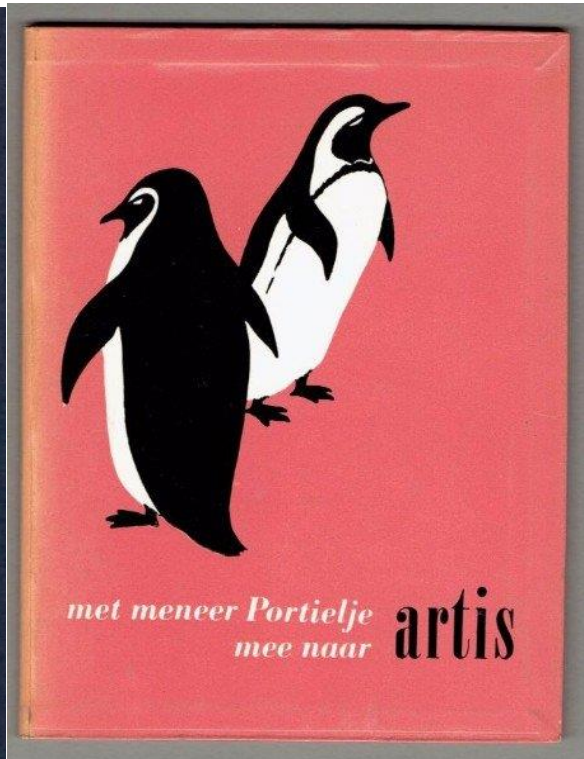
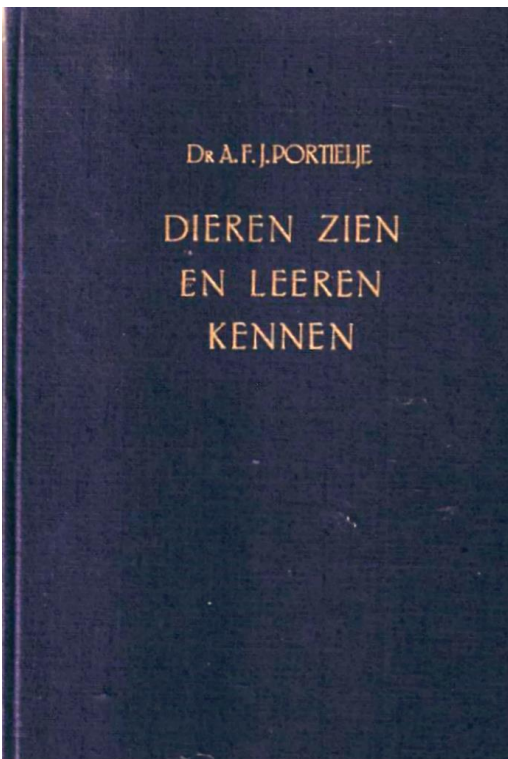
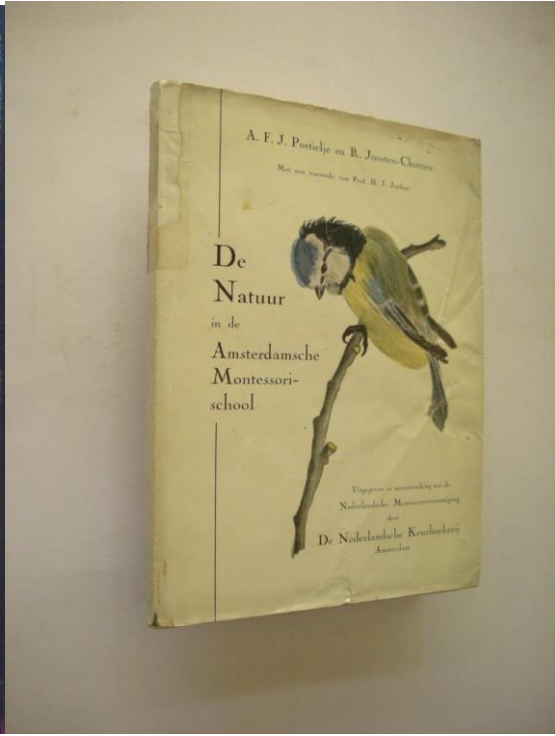
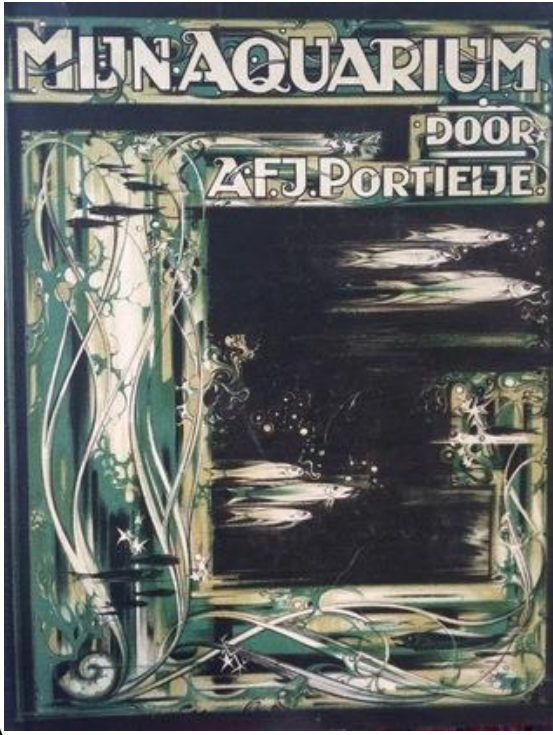
³⁹ Smit (1988), 11, n. 17.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 206.

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

⁴² 'Volksuniversiteit', *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 68, #38 (February 14, 1939), 2nd 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' reports on an illustrated lecture of that title before a Hague aquarium club; *Haagsche Courant*, #17228 (April 4, 1939), 1st section, 3, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB04:000150172:mpeg21:p003>.

⁴³ Broadcasting, as well as 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.



Besides his onsite illustrated lectures at people's universities, he sometimes also spoke on the Radio-Volksuniversiteit (People's University Radio), founded in 1930 by the Bond van Nederlandsche Volksuniversiteiten (League of Dutch People's Universities) and which went on air in July of that year;⁴⁴ during this time he also appeared on school radio.⁴⁵ His interest in school education, furthermore, led to his involvement with the Montessori movement in the late 1920s.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

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

⁴⁴ 'Radio-Volksuniversiteit Holland', *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, #132 (June 6, 1930), 1st 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 Hertogenbosche Courant*, 160, #40 (February 17, 1931), 2nd 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 people's university of the town of Enschede.

⁴⁵ See e.g. 'Radiovonken. Radio-programma vrijdag 7 november', *Ibid.*, 159, #259 (November 6, 1930), 2nd 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.

⁴⁶ 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., 2nd section, 6, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010657935:mpeg21:p006>.

⁴⁷ Smit (2013a). The first Montessori (private) 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>.

⁴⁸ 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; A.F.J. Portielje, R. Joosten-Chatzen: *De natuur in de Amsterdamsche Montessori-school* (Amsterdam: Nederlandsche Keurboekerij, 1932); see illustration above.

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 20th 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. Thijssse 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 Thijssse 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 20th century (notably Jan Verwey and Niko Tinbergen) published their early articles.⁴⁹

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

⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁰ Smit (2013b).

⁵¹ 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.

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.⁵² 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. 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”⁵³) not only appeared rather late in his lectures, three years after its first mention in a scientific article⁵⁴, 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!”).⁵⁵ 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 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

⁵² See respectively: ‘Dierenleven in Artis’, *Het Nieuws van den Dag*, #12993 (April 20, 1912), 3rd 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.

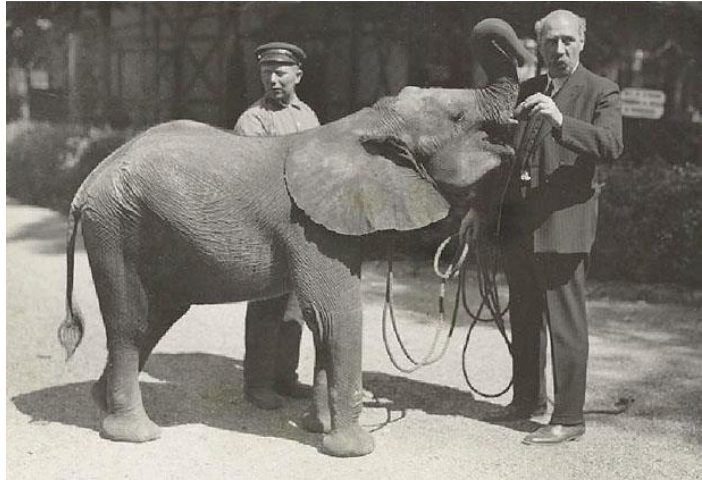
⁵³ Kruuk (2003), 322; see also: Roëll (1996), 169-173.

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

⁵⁵ ‘Derde lezing van A.G.O.’, *Heldersche Courant*, 46, #4926 (April 27, 1918), 2nd 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)

in maintaining a natural balance announced an early ecological outlook.⁵⁶ (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].⁵⁷) 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.⁵⁸

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, according to Portielje, they were picking salt from each others’ fur⁵⁹). 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”.⁶⁰

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 Physics Society of the town of Leeuwarden, is the first that gives a more detailed

⁵⁶ 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), 2nd section, 5, <https://krantenbankzeeland.nl/issue/mco/1918-11-02/edition/0/page/5>.

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

⁵⁸ ‘Natuurkundig Gezelschap’ (November 2, 1918), 5. An announcement of an earlier lecture on instinct and intelligence, on February 2, 1918, was not subsequently reviewed.

⁵⁹ Portielje completely disregarded the social aspect of grooming; see: Frans de Waal, *Chimpanzee politics: power and sex among apes*, rev. edn. (Baltimore – London: Johns Hopkins University Press - Johns Hopkins Press, 1998 [1982], passim.

⁶⁰ ‘Culemborg’, *Zaltbommelsche Courant*, 35, #7 (January 22, 1921), 2nd section, 5, <https://proxy.archieven.nl/0/2ACD20E5640041038028E1D8BA9F6D51>.

impression of Portielje's thoughts at the time about instinct and intelligence, innate and (self)-taught behaviors.⁶¹ 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 before 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, physio-chemical, 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 indeterminableness, complexity, and "multi-oneness".⁶² Indeed, his reference to brain research, or to the links between instincts and the central nervous system discussed at another occasion,⁶³ 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 and autopsy (for which cats and rabbits were considered "eminently suitable"⁶⁴). 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

⁶¹ 'Natuurkundig Genootschap te Leeuwarden', *Leeuwarder Courant*, 171, #264 (November 9, 1922), 2nd section, 5, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010602639:mpeg21:p005>.

⁶² '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>.

⁶³ 'Nutslezing', *De Gooi- en Eemlander*, 48, #32 (March 15, 1919), 2nd section, 9, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011166964:mpeg21:p009>.

⁶⁴ 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.

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.”⁶⁵

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*⁶⁶). 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.”⁶⁷ 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.

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-

⁶⁵ 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>.

⁶⁶ 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.

⁶⁷ ‘Ver. “Geloof en Wetenschap”, *Eindhovens Dagblad*, 26, #36 (February 12, 1936), 1st section, 2, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMRHCE01:000059688: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.

Eindhovens 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

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.⁶⁸ 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”⁶⁹). It makes one wonder, therefore, to what extent he actually was aware of an animal's sensory abilities and the implications for its psychology, let alone the recognition thereof.⁷⁰ 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

⁶⁸ 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, 1st section, 2, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011153138:mpeg21:p002>; ‘Ver. “Geloof en Wetenschap”’, *Eindhovens Dagblad*, 26, #36 (February 12, 1936), 1st section, 2, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMRHCE01:000059688:mpeg21:p002>; ‘Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen’, *Bredasche Courant*, 147, #42 (February 19, 1937), 1st section, 1, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMSAB03:000066664:mpeg21:p001>.

⁶⁹ ‘Roofdieren in Artis’, *Provinciale Drentsche en Asser Courant*, 114, #58 (March 10), 1937, 1st 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>.

⁷⁰ 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).

not seem overmuch bothered by this problem, as he more or less stuck to the same concept of animal psychology during his career.⁷¹

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."⁷² 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.⁷³

Surely, in their defense, reporters—as a particularly incoherent item suggests⁷⁴—, had to scribble along with his lengthy talks, including those moments when the venue had to be dimmed for projection.⁷⁵ 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

⁷¹ Roëll (1996), 76-77; 24-25; 35-37.

⁷² 'Nutslezing' (March 15, 1919), 9.

⁷³ 'Culemborg' (January 22, 1921), 5.

⁷⁴ 'Alg. Wetensch. Belangen', *Goessche Courant*, 110, #1 (January 1, 1923), Supplement, 3, <https://krantenbankzeeland.nl/issue/gco/1923-01-01/edition/0/page/7>.

⁷⁵ 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), 1st section, 1, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMRHCE01:000043927:mpeg21:p001>.

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 summaries sent to the venue and/or press beforehand and/or 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.⁷⁶ 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?⁷⁷ 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 familiar with the man and his work. As his biographer writes, Tinbergen "felt uncomfortable with the subjectivity of both [Portielje's] method and conclusions."⁷⁸

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.⁷⁹ Furthermore, he

⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷ See resp.: 'Een stuk dierpsychologie. Lezing van A.F.J. Portielje', *Dagblad van Noord-Brabant*, 72, #14281 (March 21, 1932), 2nd 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), 2nd section, 6, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001978125:mpeg21:p00006>.

⁷⁸ Kruuk (2003), 42, 76.

⁷⁹ 'Roofdierjeugd en opgroei in Artis, vergelijkend psychologisch gezien' (May 4, 1934), 1.

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.”⁸⁰ 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 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.⁸¹ A passage like that makes it hard to suppress the suspicion that anthropomorphism had sneaked into the show after all.⁸²

While for most of his lecturing career Portielje talked about the psychological processes underlying animal behavior, ironically his method was largely ethological, at least

⁸⁰ 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/>.

⁸¹ See e.g. ‘Ver. “Geloof en Wetenschap”’ (February 12, 1936).

⁸² ‘Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen’, *Bredasche Courant*, 147, #42 (February 19, 1937), 1st section, 1, <http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMSAB03:000066664:mpeg21:p001>.

according to his own definition of it as the study of the external appearance of behavior.⁸³ 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-Scholten⁸⁴) 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 situate the behaviors of various species in specific environments.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ Audience response, furthermore, might well have been affected by the photographs' framing, angle, abstracted background, and some retouching.

The psychological part of Portielje's legacy has since long evaporated, its method being too empathetic 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.⁸⁷

⁸³ Roëll (1996), 75.

⁸⁴ 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.

⁸⁵ 'Derde lezing van A.G.O.' (April 27, 1918).

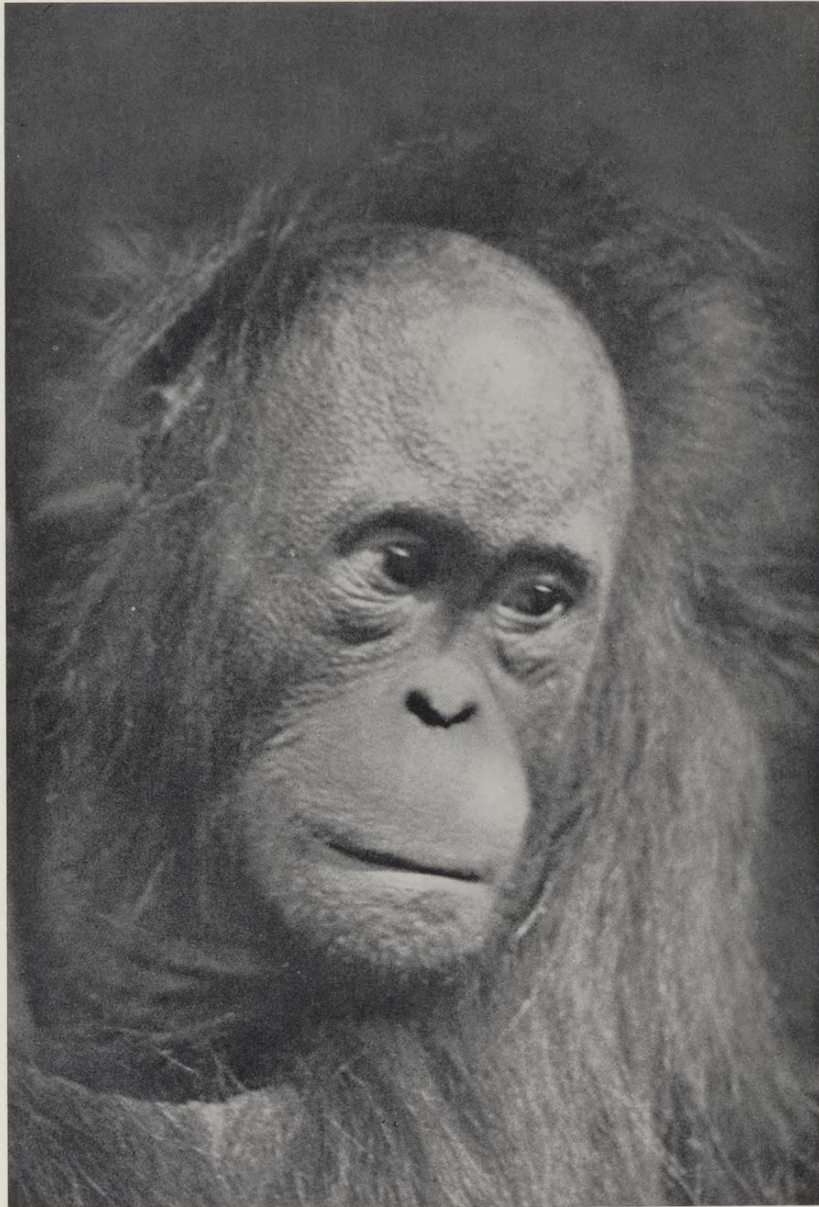
⁸⁶ These photos were used as slides as well; Portielje (1938), 8.

⁸⁷ https://wiki.beeldengeluid.nl/index.php/Han_Rensenbrink.



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)

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.⁸⁸ 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'.⁸⁹ 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.



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

⁸⁸ Smit (1988), 321-324.

⁸⁹ See the film HET NIEUWE ARTIS (Netherlands, Column Film, 2018), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3t5g6JvtiRc>.

Appendix: Illustrated lecture topics

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 Artis¹ / Dierenleven uit Artis in woord en beeld² / Het leven der dieren in Artis³

April 1912¹ | Amsterdam chapter of the Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Amsterdam, Groote Zaal Artis

November 1912² | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

April 1940³ | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Middelburg, St. Joris

June 1944¹ | A.V.I.S. Natuur Historische Afdeeling van de Zwolsche Lyceisten Bond, Zwolle, Concertzaal Odeon

March 1948¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem

February 1953¹ | Den Haag, Diligentia

Mooie en merkwaardige dieren in/uit Artis¹ / Merkwaardige dieren in Artis² / Mooie en merkwaardige dieren³ / Eenige merkwaardige dieren in onze/uit Artis⁴

March 1914¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zierikzee, Concertzaal

December 1915¹ | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Middelburg

December 1915¹ | Wetenschappelijke Belangen, Goes

March 1917² | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Vlissingen, Zeevaartschool

March 1917¹ | children's matinee, Middelburg, Schouwburg

December 1918¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen Dpt., Beemster

January 1919¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Purmerend, Amicitia

January 1919¹ | Algemeene Geestelijke Ontwikkeling, Den Helder, Tivoli; a repeat performance for children was given at the same venue the following afternoon

March 1919³ | Volksbond, Bussum, Concordia,

April 1919¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zwolle, Concertzaal Odeon

November 1919¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zaandam

January 1921¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Culemborg

March 1921¹ | Volkspark, Rijssen

October 1921¹ | De Amsterdamsche Kunstkring "Voor Allen", Amsterdam, Salvatori (today's Kleine Komedie)

January 1922¹ | Vereeniging "Samenwerking", [Amsterdam]

February 1922² | 'Ontwikkeling', Hoorn, Groote Parkzaal

March 1922² | Voordrachtenclub, Nunspeet (specially recommended for children)
March 1922¹ | Vereeniging “Samenwerking”, [Amsterdam]
February 1923⁴ | Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen, Tiel, Spaarbankgebouw
April 1925⁴ | SDAP sections 2, 3 and 9 C.C.v.A., Amsterdam, De Harmonie
February 1935¹ | Patrimonium, Zaandam, Gebouw voor Christelijke Belangen
April 1938¹ | Natuur-historische Vereeniging, Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Dieren, and ‘De Merel’, Soest, Eltheto
February-March 1939¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Den Haag*
February-March 1940¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, Volksuniversiteitsgebouw**
November 1941¹ | Veendam region chapter of Nederlandsche Natuurhistorisch Vereeniging, Veendam, Zaal Veenlust
November 1943¹ | 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 dieren¹ / Instinct en verstand bij dieren²

January 1917¹ | Ons Huis, Amsterdam, [Ons Huis]
March 1917¹ | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Middelburg, Schaftlokaal van Houthandel vh. G. Alberts Lzn. & Co.
March 1919² | Maatschappij tot Nut van ‘t Algemeen, Bussum, Tuinzaal Concordia

Hollandsch natuurschoon en vogelleven¹ / Vogelleven in de Hollandsche duinen en plassen² / Het vogelleven in de duinen op Texel en Schouwen en in de Naardermeer en in de Ankeveensche plassen³ / Vogelleven in Naardermeer en Ankeveensche plassen⁴ / Vogelleven op Texel en Schouwen⁵ / Het vogelleven aan ons strand en in onze duinen⁶ / Vogelleven in onze weiden en veenplassen⁷

April 1916¹ | Vereeniging Algemeenen Ontwikkeling, Zierikzee, café Juliana

April 1918¹ | Algemeene Geestelijke Ontwikkeling, Den Helder, Casino
[October 1918 | children's matinee, Middelburg, Schouwburg
October 1918³ | Natuurkundig Gezelschap, Middelburg, Vergenoeging
March 1919¹ | Vereeniging 'Handwerkers Vriendenkring', Amsterdam, Artis,
March 1919² | Heerde (Gld.)
October 1919³ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Almelo
November 1920³ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Edam
December 1921⁴ | Ontwikkeling, Hoorn, Park
January 1923⁴ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Sliedrecht
March 1923⁴ | 'Ons Huis', Rotterdam, Ons Huis
March 1923⁵ | 'Ons Huis', Rotterdam, Ons Huis
November 1927⁶ | Geloof en Wetenschap, [Roosendaal]
February 1932⁵ | Volksonderwijs, Oosterwolde, De Zon
February 1932⁷ | 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^{1*} / Inlandsch vogelleven^{2} / Inlandsch vogelleven, van psychologisch standpunt bezien^{3***}**

[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 1919¹ | Nederlandsch Onderwijzers Genootschap en den Bond van Onderwijzeressen bij het Fröbelonderwijs, Amsterdam, Gebouw Heijstee (Herengracht 545-549)

January-February 1930² | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum

October 1931³ | 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 algemeen¹ / Het jeugdleven der dieren in Artis² / Jeugdleven bij dieren³

November 1920¹ | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Breda, Bovenzaal van het Zuid-Hollandsch Koffiehuis

December 1920² | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Apeldoorn, Societeit Oranjepark

April 1921² | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Nijmegen

February 1931³ | Volks-universiteit, Heerenveen

Natuurbeschouwing en leven

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

Allerlei uit de jeugd der/van zoogdieren¹ / Allerlei uit de jeugd der zoogdieren, in het bijzonder bekeken uit dier-psychologisch standpunt² / Allerlei bijzonderheden uit de jeugd van zoogdieren³ / Jeugdige zoogdieren⁴ / De jeugd van eenige zoogdieren⁵ / [Uit] De jeugd van zoogdieren⁶ / Allerlei uit de jeugd van zoogdieren', in het bijzonder wat betreft de psychische gesteldheid der dieren⁷ / De jeugd van opgroeiende zoogdieren⁸

January 1921¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen Dpt., Bussum, Cinema-bioscoop
January 1921² | Paedologisch Gezelschap, Amsterdam, Universiteitsgebouw
April 1921¹ | Ned. Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Rotterdam Dpt., [Rotterdam]
March 1922¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zaltbommel
November 1922³ | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia
March 1923⁴ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Kampen
December 1923⁵ | Algemeene Wetenschappelijke Belangen, Goes, Schuttershof
February 1923¹ | Natuur- en Letterkundig Genootschap, Roermond
November 1923¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zwolle
December 1923⁶ | Nederlandsche Montessorri Vereeniging afdeling Haarlem en Omstreken,
Haarlem
February 1924¹ | Vereeniging T.A.G.O. [Ter Algemeene Ontwikkeling], Anna Paulowna
April 1924¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Eindhoven, Apollo's Lust
December 1924⁷ | Natuurkundig Genootschap Wessel Knoop, Arnhem, Logegebouw
January 1925⁶ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Beemster
January 1925¹ | Volksbond, Bussum, grote zaal Concordia
November 1948 | Nederlandse Vereniging van Huisvrouwen, Utrecht

Een en ander over het leven van zoogdieren¹ / [Uit] Het leven der zoogdieren²

December 1921¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Hellevoetsluis
April 1924² | Bond van Werklieden in Openbare Diensten en Bedrijven, Amsterdam, Gebouw
Liefdadigheid naar Vermogen
March 1926² | 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]¹/ Biologische en in het bijzonder ethologische en dierpsychologische waarnemingen in Artis en in de vrije natuur² / Dierpsychologische waarnemingen gedaan in Artis en in de vrije natuur³

November 1922¹ | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Groningen, Concerthuis

April 1923² | Rotterdamsch Natuurkundig Genootschap, Rotterdam, Lezingzaal Gemeente-ziekenhuis

November 1923³ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Kampen

December 1925¹ | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

Dierenleven*¹ / Het leven der dieren² / Over dieren en dierenleven³ / Uit het leven der dieren⁴ / Dierenleven⁵**

September-November 1923¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Maarssen

October 1923² | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Beesd

November 1923² | SDAP, Amsterdam, Diligentia

January 1924² | Algemeene Geestelijke Ontwikkeling, Den Helder

February 1924⁵ | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum

November 1924³ | Hoogezand, Hotel Faber

January 1925¹ | Volksuniversiteit Rotterdam, Rotterdam

October 1925¹ | Volksuniversiteit Amsterdam, Amsterdam

June 1926⁴ | Vereeniging van onderwijzers en onderwijzeressen in de inspectie Gouda, [Gouda]

**ten-part course*

***seven-part illustrated course*

Menschapen, in verband met hun psychisch vermogen¹ / Menschachtige apen² / [Een en ander over] menschachtige apen, in 't bijzonder [wat betreft] hun psychische vermogens³ / Menschachtige apen, in het bijzonder wat hun psychische vermogen betreffen⁴ / Menschachtige apen en hun psychische vermogens⁵

October 1923¹ | 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 1926³ | SDAP Afdelingen 2, 3, and 9, Amsterdam, Ons Huis

October 1926³ | Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen afdeling Arnhem, Arnhem, Logegebouw

October 1926³ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Delft, Loge-gebouw

December 1927⁴ | SDAP Afd. 8, Amsterdam, Diligentia

January 1928³ | SDAP Afd. 6, Amsterdam

January 1929³ | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Rotterdam, Leeszaal ziekenhuis aan de Coolsingel

March 1929³ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Culemborg, zaal van den heer Van Gelder

December 1929⁵ | first in the winter 1929-1930 series of Artis lectures, Amsterdam, Artis

[October 1930]² | Volksuniversiteit, Dordecht

December 1930⁴ | 'Geloof en Wetenschap', Roermond, Christoffelhuis

December 1930⁴ | SDAP afd. 4, Amsterdam, Vereenigingsgebouw Coöperatiehof

April 1931² | Volksuniversiteit, Dordrecht

Apri1931³ | Afdeling 11 [SDAP], Amsterdam, Muzieklyceum at Albert Hahnplantsoen,

March 1932² | Koninklijk Zoölogisch Botanisch Genootschap, Den Haag, Groote Zaal Haagsche Dierentuin

January 1936² | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Haarlem, Gemeentelijke Concertzaal

September 1942² | Het Plaatselijk Nut, Westzaan

Omgang met dieren en hoe hen eenigszins te begrijpen¹ / Omgang met dieren en wat wij van hen beleven kennen² [sic]

February 1924¹ | Bond voor Daadwerkelijke Dierenbescherming, Den Haag, grote zaal Cafe Riche

April 1932² | Afd. Maastricht van de Limburgsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Dieren, Maastricht, Redoutezalen

[Over] Dierenleven in Artis en in de wildernis¹ / Dieren in Artis en in de natuur² / Dieren in Artis en in de wildernis³

March 1924¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Assen

March 1924¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Enschede, Zalencentrum Irene

[children's show] May 1927² | Friesland chapter of Dierenbescherming and the Leeuwarden chapter of Kinderbond, Leeuwarden, zaal Schaaf

September 1930 - ?¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam*

September 1930(?) - March 1931¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem

January-February 1932² | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum**

October 1932¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam***

October 1933² - ? | Volksuniversiteit, Amsterdam****

April 1935³ | F.A.M.O.S. (Federatie van Amsterdamsche Middelbare Scholieren voor Ontspanning en Sport), Amsterdam, A.M.V.J.-gebouw

November 1943¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, Volksuniversiteitsgebouw*****

**10-part course*

***five-part course*

****course*

*****course*

******three-part course*

Dierenleven in de Z.-O.-Afrikaansche wildernis¹ / Zoogdieren in de Oost-Afrikaansche steppen² / Dierenleven in Aequatoriaal Oost-Afrika³ / Dierenleven in de wildernissen van Aequatoriaal Oost-Afrika⁴

March 1924¹ | 'Ons' Huis, Amsterdam [with slides and film], [Ons Huis]

September 1926¹ | Geloof en Wetenschap, Roosendaal

November 1926² | Amsterdam chapter of Algemeene Nederlandsche Bond van Handels- en Kantoorbedienden, Amsterdam

March 1936³ | Comité voor Winterlezingen, Huizen, gebouw Silo

February 1939⁴ | 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 zoogdieren¹ / Allerlei bijzonderheden over de jeugd en den opgroei van onze zoogdieren, zowel in Artis als in het wild² / Allerlei uit de jeugd en den opgroei der zoogdieren in 't bijzonder wat betreft de psychische vermogens³ / De jeugd en opgroei van zoogdieren en hun psychische gesteldheid⁴ / Allerlei uit de jeugd van zoogdieren, in 't bijzonder wat betreft de ontwikkeling hunner psychische vermogens⁵ / Jeugd en opgroei/opgroeiing van zoogdieren⁶

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

February 1925² | Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Breda, Kleine Zaal Concordia
[course] [1925/6]³ | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem

April 1926³ | Vereeniging 'Ontwikkeling', Hoorn, Groote Parkzaal
[course] January-February 1927¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem

March 1927¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Assen, Foyer Concerthuis

May 1927³ | Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen, Amsterdam, American Hotel

December 1927¹ | Gooische School, Laren, Hotel Hamdorff

January 1928¹ | Geloof en Wetenschap, [s-Hertogenbosch], auditorium R.K. Lyceum

March 1928³ | London chapter of the Algemeen Nederlandsch Verbond, London, South African Students Club

July 1928¹ | Montessorri-school, Dordrecht, Café Americain

December 1928⁵ | Geloof en Wetenschap, Eindhoven, auditorium Gymnasium Augustianum

January 1930¹ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Velp, Naderbij [= church]

April 1936⁶ | Utrecht chapter of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen, Utrecht, Tivoli

April 1937⁶ | 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 natuur¹ / [course] Dierenleven en omgang met dieren in Artis en in de natuur^{2*} / Omgang met de natuur³ / Omgang met [de] dieren in/uit Artis⁴ / Omgang met dieren⁵

April 1925¹ | Friesland division of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Dieren, Leeuwarden, zalen Schaaf

October 1925¹ | Vereeniging 'Dierenvrienden', Amsterdam, Bellevue

April 1926³ | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

March 1927⁴ | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

April 1928¹ | popular science lecture series, Amsterdam, Artis**

February 1947⁴ | Chocolate factory NV De Zaanstroom, Wormerveer

September 1947⁴ | Utrechtse Rashonden Vereniging, Utrecht, Esplanade

October 1947⁴ | Provinciale Vereniging van Chr. Onderwijzers in Friesland, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

October 1947⁴ | Vereniging 'Beekbergen Vooruit', Beekbergen, zaal Smittenberg

December 1947⁴ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Krommenie, Concertzaal of the Ver. Blikfabrieken

May 1948⁴ | Kleine Academie, Tilburg, N.K. De Harmonie

February 1949⁴ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Oostzaan, Concordia

April 1950⁴ | Volksuniversiteit, Enschede, Gehoorzaal Volksuniversiteit

September 1950⁴ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Soest, grote zaal Eemland

March 1952⁵ | Natuurvrienden van het Instituut voor Arbeiders-Ontwikkeling, Rotterdam, H.B.S., Afrikaanderplein

May 1952⁵ | Vereniging van Onderwijzers(essen) in de Inspectie Winschoten, Winschoten, Hotel Dommering

June 1952⁵ | Amsterdam, Krasnapolsky***

February 1953⁵ | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, Gebouw Volksuniversiteit

September 1953⁵ | Zwolle chapter of Dierenbescherming, Zwolle, Hotel van Gijtenbeek

November 1953⁵ | Geloof en Wetenschap', Dedemsvaart, St. Vitusgebouw

**course*

*** for members only*

****benefit performance*

Het aquarium¹ / Dierenleven in het Aquarium in/van Artis² / Het dierenleven in het aquarium³ / Dierenleven in het Artis-aquarium⁴ / Het leven in het Aquarium in Artis⁵ / [Het] Aquarium van Artis⁶

January 1926¹ | SDAP Afdeeling 6, Amsterdam, Café Oost-Indië

January 1926¹ | SDAP Afdeeling 8, Amsterdam

January 1926² | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Nijmegen

October 1927³ | SDAP Afd. 5, Amsterdam, Concordia

January 1928² | Alg. Ned. Typografenbond, Amsterdam, Gebouw Liefdadigheid naar Vermogen

January 1928² | Algemeene Nederlandsche Bond van Handels- en Kantoorbedienden, Amsterdam, grote zaal Odeon

December 1928² | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

November 1930² | Vereeniging van Beeldende Kunstenaars, Laren, Hotel Hamdorff

January 1931² | Handwerkers Vriendenkring before Bond van Personeel in Overheidsdienst, Amsterdam

November 1931² | Aquariumclub Scalare, afdeeling Den Haag en Omstreken van den Nederlandschen Bond van Aquariumhouders, Den Haag, HBS at Nieuwe Duinweg

January 1932⁴ | Aquariumclub 'Goerami', Hilversum, Boaz-huis

February 1932⁵ | Afdeeling 5 [SDAP], Handwerkers Vriendenkring, Amsterdam, Roetersstraat

March 1932² | Afdeeling 7 [SDAP], De Schakel, Amsterdam, Borneostraat

April 1933⁶ | Afdeeling 2 [SDAP], Amsterdam, De Wittenstraat 10

December 1933² | 'Ons Huis', Amsterdam, Ons Huis

January-February 1934² | 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 1943² | Zaanstreek chapter of the Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Zaandam, R.K. Vereenigingsgebouw

November 1943⁶ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Deventer, Schouwburg

**four-part course*

Instinct en ondervinding bij dieren¹ / Instinct en ondervinding bij de hogere dieren²

February 1926¹ | Wetenschappelijke Kring, Tilburg, N.K. Harmonie

March 1927² | Wetenschappelijke Kring, Tilburg, Café De Lindeboom

October 1928¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Enschede

February 1936¹ | Geloof en Wetenschap, Eindhoven, Gymnasium Augustinianum

Een en ander uit de psychologie der vogels¹ / Allerlei uit de biologie, in 't bijzonder ook wat betreft het psychische leven der vogels²

March 1926¹ | Nederlandsche Vereeniging tot Bescherming van Vogels, Utrecht, Gebouw K&W

February 1928² | 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 zoogdieren¹ / Allerlei uit de biologie van de kruipende dieren² / Een en ander uit de biologie der reptielen en amphibieën³ / Allerlei uit de biologie van reptielen, amphibiën [sic], visschen en eenige lagere zeedieren⁴ / Allerlei uit de biologie der reptielen⁵

January 1928¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Utrecht*

March 1928² | Patrimoneum, Amsterdam, Veilingzaal Koopmansbeurs

April 1928³ | Rotterdam chapter of Ned. Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Rotterdam

1928/1929⁴ | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, [Gebouw Volksuniversiteit]**

*February 1932⁵ | Vereeniging van Aquarium- en Terrariumliefhebbers 'De Natuurvriend', Den Haag, Amicitia

**ten-part course*

***V.U. course*

Het leven der zoogdieren in de Zuid-Afrikaansche steppen¹ / Het wilde dierenleven in de wildernissen van Zuid-Afrika²

February 1928¹ | Bond van Personeel in Overheidsdienst, Amsterdam, Concordia

January 1929¹ | Bakkersgezellenbond, Amsterdam, Concordia

March 1932¹ | [SDAP] Afdeeling 2, Amsterdam, De Wittestraat 10

March 1949² | 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 natuur¹ / Vogellevens in en buiten Artis geobserveerd²

January 1929¹ | Vereeniging voor Beeldende Kunstenaars Laren-Blaricum, Laren, Hotel Hamdorff

February 1949² | Winterswijk chapters of Ned. Natuurhistorische Vereniging and Geloof en Wetenschap, Winterswijk, Boer Balink

Psycho-biologische waarnemingen en proefnemingen in Artis en in de natuur¹ / Psycho-biologische onderzoeken in Artis en in de natuur² / Onderzoeken naar het leven der dieren in Artis, zoowel als in de vrije natuur³ / Psycho-biologische waarnemingen in Artis en in de natuur⁴ / Dierenleven in Artis en in de natuur, vergelijkend en psychologisch bezien⁵

April 9, 1929¹ | R.K. Volksuniversiteit, Deventer, St. Josephgebouw

December 1929² | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Zaltbommel

January 1931³ | Natuur Historische Vereeniging, Bergen op Zoom, Thalia

October 1932² | Vereeniging Algemeen Geestelijke Ontwikkeling, Giessendam, Roxy Theater

February-March 1935⁴ | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, [Gebouw Volksuniversiteit]*

February-March 1936⁵ | 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 roofdieren¹ / Allerlei uit de biologie der roofdieren²

December 1929¹ | Natuur- en Letterkundig Genootschap, [Roermond]

January 1931² | 'Geloof en Wetenschap', Utrecht

January 1940² | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Nijmegen, De Vereeniging

De taal der dieren¹ / Het gedrag van zoogdieren en vogels, in het bijzonder hun mimische en fonetische uitdrukkingvormen² / De manier, waarop vogels en zoogdieren zich uitdrukken³ / Hoe onze zoogdieren en vogels zich door klanken en andere teekens kunnen uitdrukken, en hun wenschen kenbaar maken⁴ / Uitdrukkingbewegingen bij zoogdieren en vogels/vogels en zoogdieren⁵ / Verschillende gedragvormen bij zoogdieren en vogels⁶

January 1930¹ | 'Geloof en Wetenschap', Roosendaal, Koninklijke Harmonie 'De Unie'

October 1930² | 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 1932³ | Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Breda, Zuid-Hollandsch Koffiehuis

March 1935⁴ | Natuur Historische Vereeniging, Breda, 't Zuid

March 1935⁵ | Doetinchem chapter of Nederlandsche Natuurhistorische Vereeniging, Doetinchem, Heerenlogement

January 1937⁵ | 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 wildernis¹ / Leeuwenjeugd in Artis² / Leeuwenjeugd en opgroei in Artis; leeuwenleven in de Oost-Afrikaansche steppen, in het bijzonder van psycho-biologische standpunt beschouwd³ / Leeuwenjeugd en opgroei in Artis en leeuwenleven in de Oost-Afrikaansche steppe⁴ / Leeuwenjeugd en opgroei in Artis en leeuwenleven in de wildernissen van Centraal-Oost-Afrika⁵ /

Leeuwenjeugd en leeuwenopgroei in Artis; leeuwenleven in de Oost-Afrikaansche steppen⁶ / De jeugd van den leeuw⁷ / Leeuwenjeugd en opgroei in Artis en het leven der leeuwen in de wildernis, bezien vanuit vergelijkend psychologisch standpunt⁸ / Leeuwenleven in Artis en in de wildernis⁹

May 1930¹ | Vereeniging tot instandhouding van de Prinses Julianaschool, Bussum, St. Vitusgebouw

winter program 1930-1931² | Volksuniversiteit Drachten e.O. & Drachten dpt. of Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, [Drachten]

January 1931³ | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Breda

March 1931⁴ | March 1931⁴ | 'Nut en Genoegen', Oostvoorne

May 1931⁵ | Waterleidingbedrijf, Utrecht

October 1931⁶ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Winschoten

January 1932⁷ | Nut en Genoegen, Dedemsvaart

June 1934⁸ | R.K. Onderwijzersdag, Breda

April 1953⁹ | 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)¹ / Aquarium²

February 1931¹ | 's-Gravenhaagsche Vereeniging van Aquarium- en Terrariumliefhebbers 'De Natuurvriend', Den Haag, Amicitia

December 1932² | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis*

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

Het gedrag van de zilvermeeuw¹ / Zilvermeeuwen²

September 1931¹ | Personeel der openbare lagere scholen v/h district Heerenveen, Heerenveen

December 1932² | 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^{1*} / Roofdieren in Artis en in de wildernis²

October 1931¹ | Blaricum's Belang, Blaricum

winter program 1932-1933² | '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 | Garantenvereeniging, 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*¹ / Hoe de dieren uiten, wat er in hen omgaat²

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 Artis¹/ Roofdieren in Artis²

February 1933 | Patrimonium, Nieuwendammerham*

October 1953² | [on the occasion of World Animal Day], Harlingen, Harlinger Schouwburg

**descriptive title in newspaper announcement*

Vogelleven van psycho-biologisch standpunt bezien¹ / Psycho-biologische waarnemingen bij vogels²

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

December 1933² | 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 uitdrukkingsvormen¹ / Omgang met dieren in Artis vergelijkend-psychologisch bezien²

February-April 1934¹ | Nederlandsch Jack-London-Verbond, Den Haag, Gebouw De Ruyterstraat*

March 1952² | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

May 1952² | Oost-Brabant chapters of the Katholieke Onderwijzersbond, Eindhoven, Katholiek Leven

September 1952² | Vereniging van Onderwijzers en Onderwijzeressen in de Inspectie Zuidhorn, Groningen, De Harmonie

December 1953² | 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 wildernis¹ / Roofdierjeugd en opgroei in Artis [van] vergelijkend psychologisch standpunt beschouwd/ bezien ² / Roofdieren in hun jeugd en opgroei, vergelijkend psychologisch bekeken³ / Roofdierjeugd en opgroei in Artis⁴ / Jeugd en opgroei van

roofdieren in Artis⁵ / Jeugd en opgroei van roofdieren, psychologisch bezien⁶ / Allerlei uit de jeugd en opvoeding van roofdieren⁷ / Allerlei uit de jeugd en den opgroei van roofdieren, vergelijkend-psychologisch bezien⁸

May 1934¹ | Onderwijzersdag of the R.K. Onderwijsbond, Helmond

September 1934² | Vereeniging van Onderwijzers(essen) in de Inspectie Zuidhorn, Groningen, De Harmonie

November 1934² | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis*

May 1935³ | Vereeniging van Onderwijzers en Onderwijzeressen in de Inspectie Winschoten, Winschoten, Hotel Wissemann

December 1936⁴ | Geloof en Wetenschap, Oudenbosch

March 1937⁵ | Volksuniversiteit, Assen, De Kern

September 1937⁶ | Haarlem chapter of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen, Haarlem, Gemeentelijk Concertgebouw

September 1937⁷ | Groningen chapter of the Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Huisvrouwen, Groningen, Huize Maas

October 1937⁸ | Volksuniversiteit, Zwolle, Hotel van Gijtenbeek

February 1940⁵ | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Emmen, Concertzaal or Hotel Groothuis

**'Artis-voordracht'*

Menschachtige apen vergelijkend-psychologisch bezien^{*1} / '[Menschachtige apen psycho-biologisch gezien²]

October 1934¹ | Artis, Amsterdam, Koningszaal Artis

October 1935² | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Steenwijk

January 1936¹ | 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'

Vogellevens 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 dieren¹ / Instincten en intelligente aanpassing[en] bij [de] dieren² / Instincten en intelligentie-aanpassing bij dieren³ / Instincten en intelligentie[s] bij dieren⁴ / Aandriften, aanleg en intelligente aanpassing-instincten en vormen van verstand bij dieren⁵ / Gewoonten en instinct aanpassingen van dieren⁶ / Instincten en intelligente aanpassingen bij verschillende dieren⁷ / Aandriften, aanleg en intelligente aanpassing van het gedrag bij dieren⁸

November 1935¹ | Katholieke Onderwijzersdag, Utrecht, Handelbeurs

October 1936² | Religieuze Kring, Aerdenhout

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

February-March 1937² | Volksuniversiteit, Hilversum*

January 1938⁴ | Geloof en Wetenschap, Roosendaal, Katholieke Kring

March 1939⁵ | Natuurkundig Genootschap, Leeuwarden, Amicitia

March 1939⁶ | Zwolle chapters of Nederlandsche Vereeniging voor Paedagogiek and Natuur Historische Vereeniging, Zwolle, Hotel Gijtenbeek

October 1939⁴ | Volksuniversiteit, Nijmegen**

February 1940⁴ | debating society 'De Blauwe Acolijen', Rotterdam, Associatie Hermes

February 1940² | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Tiel

February 1941² | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Westzaan, Hotel de Prins

January-March 1944⁷ | Instituut Erasmus, Haarlem, Muziekzaal van Brinkmann^{***}

July 1946⁸ | R.K. Onderwijzersdag, Assen, Hertenkamp

October 1947⁴ | 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 slangen¹ /
Krokodillen, hagedissen en slangen²**

February-March 1937 | Volksuniversiteit, Arnhem, Volksuniversiteitsgebouw*

October 1941² | Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen, Haren, Ons Centrum

**course*

**Het gedrag van de meeuwen in de natuur en in Artis¹ / Het gedrag van de zilvermeeuw
in de natuur en in Artis onderzocht, een inleiding op de studie van het vogelgedrag in
het algemeen²**

October 1937¹ | Volksuniversiteit, Assen, Foyer Concerthuis

[April] 1939² | 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 leeren 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 dierengedrag¹ / Mooie en merkwaardige dieren, in het bijzonder wat hun gedrag betreft²

December 1940¹ | 'Gemeentebelang', Oegstgeest, Het Witte Huis

February-March 1942² | 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