Bilder von der
Nordlandreise
1889.

Regatta in Kiel.
1. VII. 1889.

Seine Heimfahrt mit Gefolge am Anarchi.
5. VII. 1889.

Der untere Absatz des Anarchi.
5. VII. 1889.

Odde u. d. Færjord (Hardanger).
6. VII. 1889.
The Gentlemen’s Voyage 1889: Views of a Trip to Norway

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In his glory days the German emperor Wilhelm II (1859-1941) was an enthusiastic traveller. ‘I would wish many of my fellow-countrymen to live through such hours in which one can answer for what one had sought after and achieved. There one can be cured of overrating one’s abilities, and that is essential for all of us,’ he wrote with a degree of hubris on the occasion of his first holiday trip to Norway in 1889.1 History tells us that the Kaiser’s remedy against overestimating his capacities did not have the desired effect. Instead of what should have been his finest hour, he experienced only the bitter taste of defeat after the First World War. A humiliating exile awaited him in the Netherlands, where he arrived in November 1918. Fifty-nine railway wagons were to follow in 1919 and 1920, carrying what remained of his once considerable belongings. The former ruler of the Great German Reich had to take up residence in the modest country estate, Huis Doorn, which still houses his personal effects.

The inventory included the emperor’s extensive collection of photographs and albums and a small library intended to keep the memory of better times alive during his exile. The curious history of the Hohenzollern family unfolds in the photograph collection: Wilhelm II, after all, was Queen Victoria’s eldest grandson and a first cousin of the future King Edward VII. He was also related to the Russian tsar – and he would later go to war against them both. To enhance his image the young emperor often called upon the help of photographers, among them Ottomar Anschütz (1846-1907) and Oscar (1857-1936) and Franz Tellgmann (1853-1933). Their job was to record the parades, the naval reviews – and the imperial holidays.2

The expensively-made photograph albums containing the records of most of the journeys the emperor made between 1889 and 1914 are still in Huis Doorn. There are twenty-four of these travel albums. Most of them are beautifully-made ‘souvenirs’ bound in leather with a title in gold, the photographs mounted on thick cardboard pages edged with gold, usually with comments in elegant handwriting or in letters printed in gold. The album Bilder von der Nordlandreise 1889 (Photographs of the Nordland Trip 1889), which contains thirty photographs, is one such (figs. 1-2).3 The presence of a second album from the same trip, Erinnerungen an Norwegen im Juli 1889, (Souvenirs of Norway in July 1889) in the Rijksmuseum’s collection, was therefore intriguing (fig. 3).4

The mystery deepened when it was discovered that there was yet a third album of the same voyage, Seereise Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs Wilhelm II. nach Norwegen, (Voyage by His Majesty the Emperor and King Wilhelm II to Norway) in the Agfa Fotohistorama in Museum Ludwig in Cologne.5 One trip in three photograph albums raises questions.
Who made these albums and who were they made for? Do they contain the same photographs or different ones? And who were the photographers? There is an additional reason for investigating the albums of the emperor’s first trip: in two of them there are a great many round photographs that must have been taken with a Kodak camera (fig. 4). This new American-manufactured hand-held camera had only been on the market for a year in the summer of 1889, so the German emperor’s entourage had evidently been quick to put this new photography technique into practice.

The ‘Nordland Trips’
Every year from 1889 onwards, immediately after Kieler Woche (Kiel Week) – the regattas in which Wilhelm competed in one of his sailing boats in July – the German emperor sailed along the Norwegian coast to the North Cape and back in his yacht the
On the way arrangements were made to moor in fiords where the party would go on excursions ashore. In total the *Hohenzollern* set sail for Norwegian waters twenty-six times. The final voyage, in July 1914, was to be the most controversial as the threat of war held all Europe in its grip.

What prompted the emperor’s enthusiasm for Norway? In August 1888, two months after he had inherited the German Imperial crown following the brief reign of his father Kaiser Friedrich III (1831-1888), Wilhelm summoned the geologist and scientist Dr Paul Güßfeldt (1840-1920) to the *Stadtschloß* in Berlin to tell him about the two-month trip to Norway that he had taken that summer. The emperor’s interest in Norway dated from the time when he was still a prince, and had been sparked by his friend Philipp, Graf zu Eulenburg und Hertefeld (1847-1921). Von Eulenburg had written poems and ballads about Norse myths and sagas, which he had sent the young prince. And in Berlin Wilhelm, newly emperor, had seen a panorama painted by Berlin artists depicting a Norwegian landscape with mountains and sea seen from the top of the Digerumkollen looking towards the Lofoten islands. He was so impressed by it that he decided ‘to visit this magnificent country’.

Güßfeldt was ordered to organize the trip and, according to the emperor, did so admirably, for a year later Wilhelm was indeed able ‘to admire in reality the beautiful northern panorama that had so enormously moved me in a painting’ from the top of the Digerumkollen. He also checked the accuracy of the panorama against photographs he had brought with him.

Wilhelm felt a bond with the Norwegians: they were, after all, a Germanic race. A year later the emperor expressed his feelings in a
speech: ‘I am drawn to these people as if by magic threads.’ In the year of his accession to the throne the emperor had made the acquaintance of the Danes on a state visit to Copenhagen; he enjoyed this so much that he let it be known that he wanted to repeat the visit every year. The hard-up Danish court, however, nervously played for time, in view of the expense involved in receiving an emperor with a retinue of at least sixty people, and the obligatory military display; Denmark consequently did not become a stop on the *Nordlandreisen.*

Aside from the kinship between the German and the Norwegian peoples, there were also pragmatic reasons for taking an annual trip to the north: a journey to Norway could have great influence on tourism from Germany and also presented an opportunity to display the strength of the German fleet. After all warships always accompanied the imperial yacht *Hohenzollern,* as much to show off the power and size of the fleet as to fetch and carry telegrams and other documents – affairs of state still had to be dealt with during the voyage. The emperor also delighted in demonstrating how modern his style of travelling and governing was – and how valuable. ‘In my travels my aim has not solely been to get to know foreign countries and constitutions and to maintain friendly relationships with the leaders of neighbouring countries; these voyages, which were so often misjudged, have been very valuable to me, in that I, being withdrawn from the everyday machinations of politics, could observe these hidden relationships from a distance and could assess them in peace and quiet. When one stands alone on the high seas on a ship’s bridge with only God’s starry heaven above one, having looked inside oneself, one cannot deny the value of such a journey.’

Wilhelm wanted to travel anonymously during the first trip to Norway. He chose as his pseudonym the name ‘Graf Hakan’, after a king in one of the poems by his friend Von Eulenburg. The emperor’s decision to remain anonymous did not have the desired result, for in most of the ports that the *Hohenzollern* put into, the population turned out en masse to catch a glimpse of the German emperor. The touring party was exclusively male and the trip was therefore known as the *Herrenreise* – the gentlemen’s voyage. The emperor’s wife, Empress Augusta Victoria, would have wanted to adhere strictly to protocol and lead a court-like existence while on board and that was exactly what the emperor wanted to get away from. Nevertheless the absence of protocol was not a licence for the guests to do whatever they wanted. The day was strictly regulated and everyone had to be present during mealtimes, at recreation and for the Sunday sermon. None of the guests was allowed to go ashore without permission. For those who went on the subsequent Nordland trips, the journey was certainly not always an unalloyed pleasure: every year the same people, the same route, the same excursions ashore, the same old jokes and antics.

On the first trip the party of travellers was quite small: the emperor’s retinue was made up of nine gentlemen (some generals and adjutants, the chamberlain, the emperor’s personal physician and a minister). There were four guests: Paul Güssfeldt (fig. 6), the marine painter Carl Saltzmann (1847-1923) (fig. 7), the emperor’s close friend Philipp von Eulenburg and First Lieutenant Georg von Hülsen (1828-1922). There were nine on the staff of the *Hohenzollern* and seven aboard the escort ship the *Greif,* and, of course, the necessary crew. The number trebled on the subsequent *Nordlandreisen.* To prevent any distinction in rank and position everyone wore the uniform of the imperial yacht club in Kiel. The
emperor referred to his guests as 'my travelling companions'; in their turn they called the emperor 'most illustrious tour guide'.

All these people had to be accommodated on the Hohenzollern. This paddle-steamer, which had been built for Wilhelm’s grandfather, Kaiser Wilhelm I (1797-1888), between 1875 and 1878 was an Aviso, a fast, lightly-armed and unarmoured warship specially designed for reconnaissance and carrying messages. There is a photograph of the ship in each of the three albums and a photogravure in Güßfeldt's book. The ship was 82 metres long and 10.5 metres wide. The emperor’s salons were in the stern section of the main deck below the top deck. On the same deck were the large dining room and rooms for members of the three ministries (the Military Cabinet, the Foreign Office and the Civil Cabinet) as government had to continue during the journeys. The lower deck was reserved for the rest of the retinue. By day the emperor enjoyed being on the top deck, on one of the paddle boxes, which gave him a splendid view of the slowly-passing landscape.

It is not surprising that soon after his accession to the throne Wilhelm no longer considered the Hohenzollern fitting for his position. The ship was old, too small and not fast enough to attend fleet inspections and manoeuvres. In 1891 work began on building a new yacht, which was launched a year later and named S.M. Yacht Hohenzollern. The old Hohenzollern continued to serve for a number of years under the name Kaiseradler (Imperial Eagle).

Paul Güßfeldt and Photography
In the Huis Doorn library there is a copy of an expensive book published in 1892, Kaiser Wilhelm’s 11 Reisen nach Norwegen in den Jahren 1889 bis 1892, an account of the travels written by Paul Güßfeldt, the emperor’s guest during all twenty-six Nordlandreisen.
His Majesty had not only appointed Güßfeldt tour guide, on 27 July he also personally commissioned him to write a book about the journey. The compiler was summoned to take part in both journeys by supreme command and then summed up the results of his observations in the following pages … wrote Güßfeldt in his introduction.20

The first edition, with two additional chapters about the 1890 journey, was published in that year and was very successful – a second edition followed in 1892, by now supplemented with descriptions of the 1891 and 1892 journeys.

Güßfeldt left no doubt about the book’s purpose: ‘The content of the book was determined by those events in which Kaiser Wilhelm II was the central figure.’21 But the book also served to enlighten the German reader about Norway in general: ‘the book had to be inspiring and instructive’.22 Güßfeldt made a thorough job of it: the foreword by the emperor was followed by the author’s notes about the volume, a list of the names of all of the people who had taken part in the various trips, a day-by-day chronological summary of the four voyages and a list of the illustrations. Then, for each voyage, there were full descriptions of life on board, the trips ashore, the emperor’s pursuits, technical information about the Hohenzollern, information about the country, its inhabitants, the composition of the population, the flora and fauna, the glaciers, the temperature and so on. At the back of the book was a chart showing the courses sailed in Norwegian waters. The book was beautifully illustrated with twenty-six plates. These were executed in photogravure after photographs taken by the author.23 A number of the photogravures can be found as photographs in the albums, and some of the drawings also prove to have been made after photographs.24 Small woodcut illustrations after drawings that the emperor had commissioned the marine painter Carl Saltzmann to make were also incorporated in the text (fig. 8).25

Fig 8
In the book Güßfeldt described, albeit not in a logical sequence, where he and the painter Carl Saltzmann took photographs during the journey — and how they took them: with plate cameras that had to be dragged along into the mountains during the trips ashore. He wrote about this plate camera: 'I used the same camera with which I took all my Andes photographs and Alpine shots, and must express my gratitude for the good care and knowledge of ... First Lieutenant Hedinger, who developed and printed the shots impeccably.' This was a camera for 16.5 x 12 cm glass plates. Larger plates would have been hard to transport on difficult terrain. There are two drawings of this plate camera by Saltzmann in Güßfeldt's book. In the first drawing we are looking straight into the lens of the camera with either Güßfeldt or Saltzmann standing behind it (fig. 8a), and in the other drawing we see Saltzmann, identifiable by the headgear and the beard, carrying a plate camera up the mountain during one of the trips ashore (fig. 9). Güßfeldt used a hand-held camera for snapshots, an 'Anschütz snapshot camera for 9 x 12 cm plates. This is very ingeniously conceived and extremely simple to use; one photographs without a tripod, by hand, and the results are first class provided the light is good enough'. When these snapshots were taken from the heaving ship, it was important to use the shortest possible exposure so that 'the movement of the ship only rarely affects the sharpness of the photograph.' Güßfeldt observed that the use of extra light-sensitive plates made it possible to capture, for example, 'lively impressions' of the little boats that sailed around Hohenzollern in Norwegian ports. And, 'when the sky is blue and the sun shines brightly, surprisingly fine results can be achieved'. The passage that followed about the relationship between the photographer's artistic contribution and the technology was also interesting. 'I cannot look at such successful shots without a feeling of shame. One calls oneself the maker, but one has less of a share in their creation than the technician who built the camera, the optician who polished the lenses, the chemist who prepared the light-sensitive plates and the expert who developed the exposed plates. The traveller's own contribution to his photographs is often of a purely mechanical nature ... the photographing traveller can express himself in only one respect: in the artistic choice of his vantage point; and he will seldom have a failure if he succeeds in giving his photograph a strong foreground.'

The emperor was also aware of the importance of a good viewpoint. 'The emperor quite often checked the shot to be taken in the viewfinder on the camera.' And he thought it was a pity that the colours that could be seen in the viewfinder did not appear in the result. 'Such a sight is wonderful, because all the colours of the image are preserved. One always regrets that this beautiful play of colours is lost in the picture.' If the weather was good Güßfeldt sometimes got permission to go ashore on his own to take photographs. He frequently complained about the lack of a good foreground, but then again reported cheerfully that miserable weather was no obstacle to taking good photographs: a five-second exposure was enough. When it was raining near Tromso he still managed to take a couple of snapshots. According to Güßfeldt, his three best snapshots were taken on board ship in the port of Bodo: two photographs of the many little boats in the harbour with the houses and the church of Bodo in the background and the mountains in the distance, and one photograph looking the other way, of the imperial yacht and the island of Landgode (fig. 10). He took his last photograph at the end of the journey with some sadness. It was of the
Hohenzollern – the photograph that was given a prominent place in all three albums and in the book. Güßfeldt’s book thus proves to be a source of information and an excellent tool for ‘reading’ the photograph albums. But nowhere does it mention the Kodak camera.

The Album in Doorn:
Bilder von der Nordlandreise 1889
The dividing line between the emperor’s private and public life was not always entirely clear, particularly where his many trips were concerned. The emperor managed to exploit journeys that should have been private, such as those to Norway and to his holiday home on the island of Corfu, for the greater glory of Germany and himself. The many albums in Huis Doorn bear witness to this. After the first Nordlandreise, professional photographers were invited along on the voyages in order to record them, and the photographs they took could subsequently be bought by the public – clearly these were more than private affairs.

The emperor had albums made up of his journeys to the north and to the Mediterranean (the Mittelmeerreisen), bound in leather, the title in gold and the pages gold-edged. The photographs of the first two Nordlandreisen are mounted together in one album. Unlike the albums from the later journeys this is a concertina-style album. One side of this leather album contains the photographs from the 1889 trip and the other holds those from 1890, which are not discussed here. Thirty albumen prints, four photographs per page, each 9.7 x 14.6 cm, one page with two larger photographs, chronologically arranged and with notes in gold letters, illustrate the first trip to Norway. The title in gold letters, Bilder von der Nordlandreise 1889, is printed on the front and a
Wilhelm II ex-libris plate had been pasted into the album.

The albums from the later journeys contain primarily larger platinum prints and gelatin silver prints, but this album holds small albumen prints in which the emperor does not figure prominently, nor does he in the album in the Rijksmuseum. Barely one year after his accession to the throne Wilhelm was yet to develop that strong feeling for self-promotion that he would exploit to the full later. The subjects of these photographs are the same as in the Amsterdam album: excursions ashore, picnics (the emperor barely visible among the guests), landscapes (fjords, mountains and glaciers), including, of course, the panorama near Digermul that Wilhelm had so admired in Berlin, the reception in the port of Bodo, and the Hohenzollern in Bergen harbour. Unfortunately the albumen prints have yellowed badly.

There is only one photograph in the Doorn album that is identical to a photograph in the Amsterdam album: that of the Hohenzollern. The majority of the photographs in the two albums were taken during the same excursions, such as the one in which the Steinmann, a sort of memorial cairn of piled-up stones in the form of a man, was erected. While Güßfeldt photographed the view for the photograph in the Amsterdam album, the photograph in Doorn shows the entire company behind the recently erected stones. The only person sitting, on the right, is Carl Saltzmann, who can be recognized by his beard and is also identified by name in the Cologne album. He has a tripod across his knee and he holds a hand camera. The fact that the hand camera was seen as an unusual object is revealed by the entry in the Cologne album written in pencil under the photograph: ‘Mit Hand Kamera’ (with hand camera). This means that the photographer was Güßfeldt and the photograph is also included as a photogravure in Güßfeldt’s book.¹⁰

The Album in Amsterdam:
Erinnerungen an Norwegen im Juli 1889

The album in the Rijksmuseum is not actually an album at all; it is a portfolio with an inscription containing thirty-eight cardboard pages on which the photographs have been pasted.¹⁰ The title Erinnerungen an Norwegen im Juli 1889 is printed in gold letters on the outside of the folder. The front is decorated with a double border and corner embellishments in gold. On the first page there is a printed table of contents, with numbering that refers to cardboard pages with handwritten numbers. The album contains eighty-eight photographs: fifty-seven albumen prints and thirty-one round Kodak photographs on printing-out paper. The photographs are mounted chronologically, sub-divided into the outward and return journeys. Unfortunately the albumen prints have yellowed badly and, as in the Cologne album, often have unsightly fixer spots.

Every aspect of the trip appears in the photographs: the Hohenzollern in the port of Bergen, life on board, excursions ashore, glaciers, fjords and Lapp villages. Some of the photographs have been retouched, mostly the clouds, the steam from the ships and the transition between the mountains and the sky. We can see how photographs were taken during the trip in those showing tripods and cameras, for instance the one bottom left on page six, where Saltzmann is hidden behind the large plate camera on a tripod near the Buarbreen glacier.
(fig. 11), and the photograph on page thirty-three, top right, taken on the Digermul Height (fig. 12). The year before, the panoramic painting of the view from Digermul in Berlin had made a great impression on Wilhelm and this may be why the guests had to build a Steinmann there. We can see one guest wielding a spade, further along a man is drawing and to his right there is a man with a plate camera on a tripod photographing the view.

Thanks to the notes in the album in Cologne we know that the man photographing is Güssfeldt and that this time it was Carl Saltzmann who took the photograph. There are also other photographs in the Amsterdam album that can be attributed to Güssfeldt or to Saltzmann with certainty.

Who compiled this album and for whom? In view of the title Erinnerungen – souvenirs – its original owner must have been on the journey. The album was put together with care, the photographs are neatly pasted in, the numbers on the photographs, which were evidently thought to detract from the pictures, have been removed by retouching. But nowhere are there names or captions in pen or pencil next to the photographs. Unfortunately all that can be discovered about the provenance is that the album arrived at the Rijksmuseum with a number of other albums from the first Diepraam Collection in 1996. Any previous provenance cannot be established: Diepraam most probably bought it at a book sale or in an antique shop. The fact that the table of contents is printed and not handwritten is strange and may indicate that this was not just the private album of one of those on the journey. Perhaps one of the photographers made the album up for the emperor so he could also see the
results from the new Kodak camera? The official album of this journey in Huis Doorn does not contain any Kodak photographs—but the emperor, who is known to have been interested in technical innovations of all kinds, would undoubtedly have shown an interest in the new camera. However, unlike all the albums in Huis Doorn, the Amsterdam album does not have an imperial bookplate in it.

The Album in Cologne: Seereise Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs Wilhelm II nach Norwegen
The album in Cologne is bound in leather with a title in gold on the spine: Seereise Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs Wilhelm II nach Norwegen, (Sea Voyage of His Majesty the Emperor and King Wilhelm II to Norway). The front and back covers are printed with motifs in red, blue and gold. But the execution of the rest of the album is not as splendid as it is in the other two: on the first page the title Seereise Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs Wilhelm II. nach Norwegen. Vom 1ten Juli 1889 (Kiel) bis 27ten Juli 1889 (Wilhelmshaven) has been written in ink. On the second page, also handwritten, we read ‘Photographs taken by Dr Güssfeldt and marine painter Salzmann and photographs bought in Norway’. There follows a handwritten list of the nine gentlemen in the retinue and the four guests: ‘Retinue of His Majesty the Emperor and King during the sea voyage on board His Majesty’s yacht Hohenzollern’, with their titles and functions. The one hundred and eighteen photographs, mounted on cardboard, are all numbered in pencil, annotated in ink, and sometimes have added comments, again in pencil (for example, ‘moved’, ‘out of focus’, ‘emperor from behind’, ‘with the hand

Fig. 12
CARL SALTZMANN,
Güssfeldt with camera near the top of the Digermul, 21 July 1889. Albumen print.
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (inv. no. RP-F-00-5357-82).
Fig. 13

The photographs have not been arranged chronologically; they are grouped topographically according to the places that were visited on the voyage, irrespective of whether they were taken on the outward or return leg.

There are three types of photograph in the album: rectangular photographs taken with the plate camera of landscapes, fiords and glaciers, trips ashore with picnics and scenes of life on board; twenty-two round Kodak photographs of life on board, excursions ashore and to Lapp villages (fig. 13); and finally thirty-two photographs bought in Norway during the trip (mostly 22 x 16 cm) of landscapes, towns and the local inhabitants, including a number of Lapp families (fig. 14).

The photographs that were purchased were taken by the photographers Knud Knudsen, F. Beyer, Axel Lindahl and the firm of K.K.B. Knudsen (1832-1915), one of the most important Norwegian landscape photographers of the 19th century, had travelled widely in such places as Germany and the Netherlands. From 1864 he ran a photographic studio in Bergen. His greatest claim to fame was the publication of his Photographic Views of Norway, which appeared in English, French and German. Knudsen also took stereo-photographs and portraits as well as landscape photographs. There are no fewer than eighteen of his photographs in the Cologne album. The Swedish photographer Lindahl (1841-1906) worked in Udevalla,
Gothenburg and Stockholm, and later in Norway too. He also published landscape photographs: *Norwegian Views.*[^46] No information has been found about the other Bergen photographer, F. Beyer, nor about K.K.B.

We may assume that the other photographs in the album were taken by Güßfeld and Saltzmann, as stated on the title page. The actual business of photography is also featured in the Cologne album. We can see one of the photographers standing behind a tripod in a rowing boat while the company goes ashore; the photograph is also in the Amsterdam album.[^47] The same is true of the photographs of the *Steinmann*, in which Güßfeld and Saltzmann can be seen taking photographs with a hand-held camera and a tripod.

Who could have made this album and who might it have been made for?

It was certainly not for Kaiser Wilhelm, because the composition is too random and the notes are too slapdash. There are two clues that the album was compiled by Philipp von Eulenburg. Even though Von Eulenburg is regarded as the only real friend that Wilhelm had – he introduced him as ‘My bosom friend Philipp Eulenburg, the only one I have,’ on a hunting party in 1889 – the emperor had no qualms about abandoning his friend later when Von Eulenburg was implicated in a lawsuit in 1908 because of his alleged homosexuality.[^48] A note beside a photograph of the ship the *Sirius* in the Cologne album was probably written by Von Eulenburg himself, ‘In the year 1889 sailed aboard the steamship Sirius from Bergen to Trondheim after five days because of illness’.[^49] Prone to seasickness, he had debated whether he should actually...
go on the trip at all. But Herbert von Bismarck (1849-1904), the son of the old chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) and at that time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, persuaded Von Eulenburg to go, because, ‘your influence on His Majesty is excellent and is also very important to me’. The trip proved disastrous for Von Eulenburg: he already had shingles when he went on board on 29 June and he became so ill on the way that he finally had to disembark in Bergen on 9 July and, barely recovered, was only able to rejoin the company in Trondheim on 14 July. And there is a second clue that points to Von Eulenburg: there is a piece of paper stuck in the back of the album on which is printed: P.F.L. Timpe|Hofbücherei|Oldenburg i. Gr. In 1890 Von Eulenburg was among other things an envoy in Oldenburg, and it would seem obvious that he bought the album cover there. After he had bought the album Von Eulenburg wrote his own name and place of residence at the top of the list of guests: ‘Gesandter Graf zu Eulenburg in Oldenburg’. Von Eulenburg must have been the original owner and compiler of the Cologne album.

‘You press the button, we do the rest’

There are a great many Kodak photographs (some of them the same ones) in the albums in Amsterdam and Cologne. We are still in the dark as to who took the Kodak photographs in the Amsterdam album and in Von Eulenburg’s album, but in any event it must have been one of the nine ‘gentlemen’ travellers, Güßfeldt, Salzmann, or an anonymous third party. The Kodak camera was a new phenomenon in photography. It is not surprising that these small photographs are much poorer quality than the large ones taken with the plate camera. The usual way of taking photographs before this – with large plate cameras that required a new plate for each photograph – was time-consuming and extremely inconvenient when travelling. It is no wonder that there had been experiments with roll films as early as the middle of the century, and in 1888 the American George W. Eastman (1854-1932) finally succeeded in producing a roll film. Developing the photographs involved lifting the image layer from the paper and transferring it on to a permanent transparent bottom layer. To use the new film, Eastman developed a simple, light box camera covered with fine-grained black leather and measuring 16.5 x 9.5 x 8.3 cm. The spool was located at the back of the camera and retained with a wind-up key. There was a counter to keep track of the number of photographs taken. The film (70 mm wide) contained a hundred negatives.

The exposure was made with a revolving shutter. In order to get a sharp image the focal length of the objective was short (57 mm) and the aperture was small. The reduced depth of field at the edges was counteracted by using a round template. This made it possible to get a more or less sharp image of everything from one metre to further away without focusing. Eastman called his camera Kodak, a meaningless word, but one that is easy to pronounce in most languages. What made the Kodak so unique was the combination of the type of camera, the type of film (with a hundred pictures) and the marketing method, and it rapidly transformed photography into something large numbers of people could afford. Kodak provided a unique service: when the roll was fully exposed the owner sent the camera back to the factory (the Eastman Dry Plate & Film Corporation), where the film was taken out, developed and printed. Depending on the weather – the prints were printed on printing-out paper which needed sunlight – it took five or six days before the owner got the newly-loaded camera back.

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Compared with the laborious and heavy work that taking a photograph entailed before 1888, Eastman's invention can rightly be described as revolutionary. No more endless adjustments, no more lugging around heavy plate cameras and glass plates. Now a snapshot could be taken instantly with a lightweight camera while travelling as well as in day-to-day life. Everyone was now able to take photographs, even the ordinary man in the street. 'Anybody who can wind a watch can use the Kodak Camera' and, 'No focusing, no finder required, you press the button, we do the rest'. These were Kodak's slogans and they were immensely successful. Eastman himself described the new camera in *The Kodak Primer*: '... this is the essence of photography, and the greatest improvement of all; for where the practice of the art was formerly confined to those who could give it study and time and room, it is now feasible for everybody ... the mere mechanical act of taking the picture which anybody can perform, is divorced from all the chemical manipulations of preparing and finishing pictures which only experts can perform ... Hence it is now easy for any person of ordinary intelligence to learn to take good photographs in ten minutes. Not simply to take one picture as an experiment, but to repeat it over and over again with such accuracy as to average over eighty-five percent good pictures from the start.'

Though still prohibitively dear for the very poor, from that moment on photography was not all that expensive for the somewhat better off: for $25 you got a camera including film, a bag and a booklet in which the owner could make precise notes of when he had taken a picture and what exposure he had used. Reloading the camera, developing and printing cost $10 for a hundred photographs.

Eastman's invention was a huge success. He obtained the patent for the US on 4 September 1888. Sales were extremely encouraging: more than five thousand of the first Kodak cameras were sold. Eastman designed a simpler model and obtained the patent for it on 4 January 1889 as he was not satisfied with the expensive revolving shutter. This new camera came on to the market in May 1889, now with a celluloid film (The Eastman Transparent Film), and also became a great success. In October of that year the first camera was given the name No. 1 Kodak camera, to distinguish it from the new No. 2 Kodak camera, which means that Güßfeldt and Saltzmann took their photographs with the No. 1 camera.

Professional photographers must have witnessed the arrival of the Kodak camera with concern. Aside from the probable loss of clientele they also had their doubts about the quality of the photographs taken by all these amateurs, 'I cannot claim that all the "button-pressers" have become photographers', wrote the author of a booklet about the hand camera in 1901. In the event they had no need to be concerned; Kodak photographs were obviously not suitable for professional purposes but continued to be targeted at the amateur. And it was not just the ordinary people who were keen on the new camera — high-born members of the courts of Europe bought hand cameras as well. In England the future King Edward VII and his wife Princess Alexandra were among the first users. In Germany, too, the imperial family took to the camera. There is clear evidence of this in the Doorn collection, including an album dating from 1908 with photographs of the Empress Augusta Victoria, Princess Victoria Louise and Prince Joachim taking pictures of each other with Kodak's Folding Pocket Camera on board the sailing ship *Iduna*. There is also a frame containing amateur photographs of the imperial family from around 1905, in which we can see members of the family holding...
a Kodak camera and the later Folding Pocket Camera. However we never see the emperor with a camera, nor do we know whether he ever took photographs himself. His place was in front of the camera, not behind it.

The three albums – whoever compiled them and for whom – reveal the possibilities offered by photography at the end of the 1880s. In 1889 photography was at a turning point: the slow, laborious business of capturing landscapes and people with a plate camera was giving way to a quick, easy method of taking pictures with versatile hand-held cameras. The hand camera was light and easy to carry and could also be used on mountainous terrain without a tripod. And, as Güssfeldt writes, photographs could also be taken successfully in dull, rainy weather thanks to the short exposure times. Photographs became snapshots. The hand-held camera did not take over from the plate camera overnight. The different ways of taking photographs were used together for some considerable time. This is evident from the albums under discussion, which were each compiled in their own distinct way.

The Cologne album is the liveliest of the three: it contains the informal round Kodak photographs and the static photographs taken with the plate camera together with the professionally-taken photographs purchased locally. In that respect the album is a precursor of the travel albums that became quite common in the next two decades. We have demonstrated that this particular example was put together by Philipp von Eulenburg. The album in the Rijksmuseum, with a mixture of Kodak photographs and large photographs, sometimes combined on one page, also looks lively. On the other hand, the album’s printed index is somewhat impersonal and this may indicate that its function differed from that of the Cologne album. The idea that this album was also compiled for Kaiser Wilhelm, perhaps to show him the results from the new hand camera, is appealing, but unlikely. The German compiler and owner remains somewhat of a mystery but it must certainly have been one of the other travellers, who ordered copies of Saltzmann’s and Güssfeldt’s photographs for his album. Did he take the Kodak photographs too, or was that yet another member of the party? We will never know the answers unless more albums from the same trip come to light.

Compared with the other two albums, the imperial album in Doorn, with relatively small photographs that are almost all the same size, is rather dull. This album was expressly designed as the official imperial album and had to be a prestigious object. The albums that the emperor had made of his subsequent trips until 1914, although containing larger, better quality photographs, also follow this ‘official’ pattern. It was not until 1908 – nineteen years after the first Nordlandreise – that the first snapshots appeared in imperial photograph albums: in a private album compiled by the emperor’s daughter Victoria Louise.
1 Paul Güßfeld, Kaiser Wilhelm’s II. Reisen nach Norwegen in den Jahren 1889 bis 1892, Berlin 1892, p. ix. ‘Manchem von Meinen Landsleuten möchte Ich wünschen, solche Stunden zu erleben, in denen der Mensch sich Rechenschaft ablegen kann über das, was er erstrebte und was er geleistet hat. Da kann man geheilt werden von Selbstüber- schätzungen, und das thut uns allen Noth.’


3 Inv. no. HUDE-A077.

4 Inv. no. RP-F-00-5257.

5 Inv. no. WRM/PH/st 207.


7 ‘Dieses großartiges Land aufzusuchen,’ Kaiser Wilhelm II, Aus meinem Leben 1859-1888, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, pp. 238-239. The emperor was so impressed by Güßfeld’s qualities that he devoted more than two pages of this book to this ‘Allround Man’ [sic].

8 ‘Herrliche nordsche Rundbild in natur bewundern, das mich im Gemälde so mächtig bewegt hatte.’ Ibid., pp. 238-239.


13 Marschall, op. cit. (note 6), pp. 72 ff. Von Eulenburg’s poem, ‘Wie sie Freunde waren’, was later published in Skaldengesänge. Dichtungen von Philipp Graf zu Eulenburg, Braunschweig 1892. It was common knowledge that the characters of Anund and Hakan were meant to represent Wilhelm’s late father Friedrich II and Wilhelm himself.

14 The empress (and her retinue) went along for part of the journey in 1893 and 1894 only.

15 For the names of all the guests and members of the staff: see Güßfeld, op. cit. (note 1), p. xvi, and the album in the Agfa Photographica in Cologne.

16 Adolf von Achenbach et al., Unser Kaiser. Fünfundzwanzig Jahre der Regierung Kaiser Wilhelms II, 1888-1913, Berlin-Leipzig, Viena-Stuttgart 1913, pp. 368 ff. There is also a description in this book of the daily routine on board, the etiquette, the meals and the evenings. It is illustrated with photographs which, with one exception, were all taken during the later journeys.


18 Rijks museum album page 1, Huis Doorn album no. 28, Agfa Photographica album no. 1, and Güßfeld, op. cit. (note 1), after p. XLIV.

19 There is also a copy of this book in the Rijks museum library.

20 ‘Der Verfasser wurde durch allerhöchsten Befehl zu der Theilnahme an beiden Reisen bezeugen und hat im Folgenden die Resultate seiner Wahrnehmungen zusammengefaßt.’ Güßfeld, op. cit. (note 1), p. x. This introduction refers to both journeys, because it is the one in the second edition of 1892.


22 ‘Das Buch sollte anregend und belehrend wirken.’ Ibid., p. xii.

23 Ibid., p. xii.

24 Ibid., p. 8. See the photograph of Kronborg Castle in the Rijks museum album, page 3.

25 Ibid., title page and p. xiii. The original drawings made by Carl Saltzmann during the journeys to Norway in 1889 and 1890 are in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. (Rep. 53 No. 327); Paul Güßfeld’s estate is also held in the same archives, however the earliest documents date from 1890.

26 ‘Ich bediente mich derselben Camera, mit der alle meine Andesbilder und Hochalpen-Photographien aufgenommen wurden, und danke es, nach der Rückkehr, der Fürsorge und Meisterschaft des ... Oberst-Lieutenant Friedhelm Hedinger, daß die Aufnahmen tadillos entwickelt und copirt wurden.’ Ibid., p. 133.
Ibid., p. 97 and p. 133 respectively.

28 'Anschrif' schen Momentapparat für 9 x 12 cm-Platten. Derselbe ist sehr ingenios erfunden und für den Gebrauch außert bequem; man photographirt ohne Stativ, aus freier Hand, und ist guter Resultate sicher, wenn die Beleuchtung nicht gar zu ungünstig ist.' Ibid., p. 134.

29 'Daß die Schiffsbewegung der schärfe des Bildes nur selten Abbruch thut.' Ibid., p. 133.

30 'Wenn der Himmel blau ist und die Sonne hell scheint, so erhält man überraschend schöne Resultate.' Ibid., p. 133.

31 'Solche wohlgelegenen Bilder kann ich nie anders als mit einem Gefühl der Beschämung betrachten. Man nennt sich den Verfertiger, ist aber an diese Urheberschaft weniger beteiligt als der Techniker, welcher die Camera zusammengefügt hat; der Optiker, welcher die Linsen geschliffen; der technische Chemiker, welcher die empfindlichen Platten hergestellt, und der kundige Mann, welcher die exponirten Platten entwickelt hat. Die Verdienste des Reisenden an seinen photographischen Aufnahmen sind oft nur rein mechanischer Natur. ... Nur in einer Beziehung kann sich der photographierende Reisende aufzeichnen: in der künstlerischen Auswahl des Standpunktes; und er wird selten ganz fehl greifen, wenn es ihm gelingt, seinem Bilde einen kräftigen Vordergrund zu geben.' Ibid., pp. 133-134.

32 'Vor der Aufnahme prüfte der Kaiser nicht selten das zu gewinnende Bilde auf der sogenannten matten Scheibe des Apparates.' Ibid., p. 135.


34 Ibid., p. 279. See the Doorn album no. 14.


37 For a number of Nordlandreisen and Mittelmeerreisen the photographer was T. Jürgensen of Kiev.

38 HUDF-A077; album dimensions 25.7 x 38.2 x 5.5 cm.

39 Gußfeldt, op. cit. (note 1), after p. 318.

40 Inv. no. RP-F-00-5357; 33.6 x 46.5 x 4.5 cm, loose pages 31.5 x 45.8 cm.

41 The figure 15.00 in pencil on one of the flysheets probably refers to the price it was sold for.


43 Photographische Aufnahmen von Dr. Gußfeldt und Marinemahler Salzmann sowie in Norwegen gekaufte Photographien. The first names, Paul and Carl, have been added in pencil, and the name Salzmann has been corrected to Saltzmann.


46 Neil Morgenstern, Axel Lindahl 1841-1906, s.l., 1901 (cat. Sekretariat for fotoregistrening, s.l.).

47 Agfa Fotohistorama album no. 7, Rijksmuseum album page 6.


49 'Im Jahre 1889 mit dem Dampfer 'Sirius' von Bergen wegen Krankheit auf 5 Tage voraus nach Trondhjem gefahren.' A member of staff of the museum in Cologne had already suggested that Von Eulenburg could have compiled the album.

50 'Ihr Einfluß auf S.M.ist ein vortrefflicher und mir auch sachlich ein sehr lieber.' Letter dated 15 May 1888, see: Haller op. cit. (note 47), p. 45.

51 Information from the Museum Ludwig, referring to: Philipp von Eulenburg. Mit dem Kaiser als Staatsmann und Freund auf Nordlandreisen, B. 1, 2, Dresden 1931.

For a clear blueprint of the first Kodak camera see: Arthur Goldsmith, The Camera and Its Images, s.l. 1979, p. 119.
The Kodak Primer, see Carl W. Ackerman, George Eastman. Founder of Kodak and the Photography Business, New York 1930, p. 78.
Literature about the Kodak camera in:
The diameter of the round prints from this camera was 8.9 cm.
Walter D. Welford, The Hand Camera and How to Use It, London 1901, p. 11.
Inv. nos. HUDF-A093 and HUDF-3454, see Asser/Ruitenberg op. cit. (note 2), cat. nos. 91 and 92.
Inv. no. HUDF-A093. There are no known travel albums belonging to Wilhelm's parents and grandparents, who travelled far less than he did.