and particularly artists, from all income brackets. Near the coast there were comfortable old hotels in the historic centres of cities, such as Haarlem, Leiden and The Hague. These all had good connections to the coast, with its sand-dune and fishing Katwijk and Scheveningen. Conveniently, these towns also contained major public collections of Old Masters, to which art enthusiasts might refer as ideal topographical models. For the most part, these coastal villages had changed little over the decades, but new gradually appeared along their seafronts, many of which were used by artists, for short periods. They offered fine views and rooms that were light and airy, ideal for temporary studios. At the cheaper end of the scale, there were also many family logement or possibilities to lodge in private houses and farms. There was almost too much choice in some locations, as in Scheveningen and especially Katwijk aan Zee, resulting in the dispersal of the artists’ community, all around the area and on into outlying villages, thus weakening the bonds of fellowship and the benefits of group interaction.

Scheveningen was easily the largest seaside resort in Holland. It nestled in and behind the sand dunes, 111 walking distance from The Hague, with its embassies, academies and seat of government. The fishing village of Scheveningen had long attracted artists. It offered a variety of lodgings, long before any rail link or mass tourism. It possessed a fascinating, sailing fleet of ‘pinks’ or somschieven. These massive boats were hauled up on the sands right in front of the hotels and promenade, providing a charming, if somewhat smelly, vista. The country’s first badhuis, or hoteliers, or hotelexploitant, who rose to become a leading town councillor. He made his reputation by introducing innovative fishing technologies, the most successful of which was the improved cotton nets, in 1854, and the first new lugger in 1866.

In many ways Katwijk was a smaller version of old Scheveningen, as it had similar fishing boats, no harbour and nestled along the same range of sand dunes. It only boasted one grand hotel, Het Groot Badhotel, built in 1845. By the 1880s, Katwijk offered a superb variety of lodgings to its international painters. The wave of artistic interest in Katwijk partly resulted from positive economic investment which brought about modernisation and negative commercial developments to neighbouring Scheveningen. Katwijk’s relative underdevelopment was its attractiveness, for there remained a visible traditional village. One of the earliest artists in Katwijk was D.A.C. Artz (1837-90), who settled here in the early 1870s, after his return from studio life in Paris. However, artists did not seem to favour any one particular inn or guest-house, as J.P. van Brakel’s thorough study of their lodging patterns clearly shows. During the 1880s, several new hotels were erected, all near the seafront, such as the Zeerust, Kurhaus and Hotel du Rhin, all used by this new wave of artists. Each offered a slightly different atmosphere, for example, the Badhotel De Zwaan offered billiards, a very popular pastime of the period, especially amongst male artists. Acknowledging these artists’ demands, the owners of the new Hotel du Rhin built spacious suites, wide balconies and advertised en suite atelier.

Interestingly, this building boom coincided with the use of a new iron prefabrication technique, which was not only quick to erect but cheap. From an artist’s point of view, they were ideal for hotels for they caused rooms to be larger and more airy, with balconies overlooking the beach that were easily converted to working studios. One of the best examples of this structural adaptation was found in Katwijk by Prisjen Kruit. This business started in the family...
home, Van Wassenaerbaeks 9, which was converted to lodgings, a *boulevard,* then enlarged again with the help of prefabricated extensions. The owner was Cornelius (Cees) Leenderszoon Kruit (1840-1917) and his property was perfectly placed on the beachfront, later called the *Boulevard,* and also had the tramline from Leiden running past its front door. It attracted artists from seven different countries, at least. One of its most prominent guests was Jan Toorop, who was one of the leaders of the artists’ colony and who soon had his own *villa* nearby, designed by his friend, the architect H.P. Berlage. Most hotels in Katwijk benefited from these prefabricated extensions, including the artists’ favourite lodgings, including *De Zwaan* and *Pension Zeenoot.*

Living on the coast was often precarious. In Scheveningen, two sudden events occurred which dramatically altered the shoreline and dispersed the famous artists’ community forever. First, early in the 1890s, major building work was planned to finally evacuate a harbour to provide modern shipping facilities and fish-processing factories. The long shore was divided into zones for tourism and industry. The relationship of the old village, now the size of a town, to its beach changed irrevocably. Secondly, in the winter of 1894, a particularly severe west-westerly storm devasted almost all the traditional sailing boats overnight, littering the sands with huge piles of wreckage. The picturesque sight of the boats on the beach, the subject of masterly portrayals by Jacob Maris and Weissenbruch as well as by Mesdag, became a part of the past. The old atmosphere had gone and with it the Hague School Masters. One of the last to leave was Bernard Blommers (1845-1914), who had married a Scheveningen woman. He now retreated up the coast to the more sedate, old fishing village of Katwijk, lodging in 1898-99 at the *Hotel De Rein*, while his house, the *Villa Théâtre,* was being finished. It stood at the far end of the seashore, next to the old church, with not one but two ateliers. By 1905, Katwijk’s seashore was composed of either hotels used by painters or studio-homes, villas or ateliers owned by artists.

Most modernisation came to village life simply because of improved access. Katwijk was situated at the end of a branch of the river Rhine, while Scheveningen developed many links to The Hague, island. Typically, both villages had improved rail transport by the early 1880s. First, demand grew for bigger, faster coach services and so horse-drawn trams appeared, succeeded by electric and steam-powered locomotives and finally main-line railway connections. As early as 1865 the Scheveningen tram company registered an amazing 33,949 visitors, in the month of July alone. In 1879, a *badhuis-station* was opened on its promenade, just a short walk from the beach, the grand hotels, the cafes, etc. This kind of commercialism was a threat to the traditional notions of a quiet, picturesque, fishing village. It also illustrates how quickly capital investment took over. If tourism repelled the first generation of Hague School artists, by the time of its second generation, of Isaac Israels as opposed to Jozef Israels, then it was accepted as part of modern life. They came to terms with leisure and recreation as a contemporary subject and, at best, saw it as a new opportunity. They did not paint the grand hotels, but the holiday-makers and especially their children, playing on the same sands where once there were only fisherfolk.

To a certain extent, the Scheveningen experience mirrors the pattern found elsewhere around the North Sea, wherever there was a sandy beach. Oostende, just along the same sandy coast from Scheveningen, was a thriving, prosperous resort for fashionable Belgians, Brits and Germans. High demand made it an expensive destination, excluding all but the most commercially-minded artists. The 1897 Baedeker Guide calls it ‘one of the most fashionable and cosmopolitan watering-places in Europe.’ Even at the beginning or the close of the season a room cannot be obtained under 3-5 fl. a day or 15-30 fl. per week. One alternative was to move further along the coast to the next Belgian resort of Ostend. Blankenberge had just a few grand hotels along its *Digue* or seafront promenade. In size and character it was comparable with Scheveningen. Smaller still and positioned on the edge of Belgian’s sandy coast, next to the marines, is Knokke, where a small artists’ community took the opportunity to gather on the edge in the 1880s. However, such was the pressure of tourism that even in this rather neglected corner of the land, the coastal dunes were quickly smothered by art nouveau hotels, guest-houses and private villas, as well as the usual public parks, promenades and ornamental gardens, so that all traditional unspoilt aspects of the fishing village were quickly overwhelmed.

The Netherlands had an abundance of unspoilt, waterside villages, especially along the Rhine estuary channels and around the shores of the Zuidzeere, including Vl, Edam, Volendam and Marken. Saskia de Bakker describes over seven such *schuttershopen,* with Annette Storr also writing about sixteen Dutch villages frequented by American artists. This is a high frequency of artistic attention, more than is found in most countries, except perhaps France. In all, this illustrates how attractive the non-industrialised, Dutch countryside was. As the physical character of this flatland was quite homogeneous this also shows that the choice of using one village as a base over another tended to depend on other human factors, namely the attitude of their hosts, chief amongst whom was the proprietor of the local inn or hostel.

However, the pattern of artists’ villages across the whole country is, surprisingly, neither uniform nor necessarily a product of relative accessibility. Most ports around the Zuidzeere, including Hoorn, Vl, Edam and Spakenburg, had long attracted artists, but not all had welcoming innkeepers. In the cases of Marken and Volendam the village elders maintained a strict policy of prohibiting hotels and any overnight lodging. These are examples of social causation, not physical limitations. All the west coast villages, see in the dunes, had inns and hotels, and welcomed any artist clientele. However, when one examines the northern coast, its polderlands and especially the beautiful unspoilt Frisian Islands there is inexplicably a noticeable and surprising absence of artistic attention. This absence cannot be explained by the lack of communication or insufficient inns and guest-houses. Received opinion points to poor transport, but this notion is not entirely borne out by the evidence.

By the 1880s, most of these islands had hotels, or at least guest-houses, yet few paintings are registered. Texel, the largest island, had a regular paddle steamer service from the mainland and a variety of lodging houses, spread around its shore. Toorop came here several times, sketched, but no major paintings seem to have resulted. By 1890, even the smallest inhabited Frisian island, Schiermonnikoog, had at least one inn and boasted a typical *Badhuis-badhotel,* which, enterprisingly enough, advertised in a newspaper as far away as Leiden, South Holland. The 1897 Baedeker travel guide to Holland offered travellers much useful information about hotels, trams, steamboat ferries and provisioning for any island holiday to Schiermonnikoog or Roten, from Croningen, the man, northern railway terminal.
Access and accommodation do not seem to be a major issue here, as far as the practicalities of a working tour are concerned, yet few painters settled down to explore the wealth of subjects on offer, even after 1900. Anthon van Rappard (1858-92) was one of the very few to paint on the island of Terschelling, accessed from the well-appointed port of Harlingen. Terschelling was one of the most attractive of all the Frisian islands, with unspoilt nature, vast areas of shifting sands, indigenous architecture, a fascinating and busy harbour, characteristic folk costumes and plenty of lodgings, yet this seemed not enough to sustain him for more than one visit.

Historically, Holland had one additional advantage compared to other countries within the main study area. Some hotels had long experience of foreign visitors, including eccentric artists, for this region formed one leg of the Grand Tour. This eighteenth and nineteenth century cultural phenomenon witnessed the rich and privileged circulating around the splendours of European high culture, including the cities of Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden and The Hague. A few coastal areas acted as divertimenti, including the fishing villages of Katwijk, Zandvoort and Scheveningen. It was common practice for certain foreigners to congregate in specific hotels, so we find that British aristocrats patronised a number of 'English Inns' including the 'King's Head' in Middleburg, the 'Queen of Hungary' in The Hague and the 'Golden Ball' in Leiden. Once the Napoleonic wars were finally over, travellers, including artists, began to roam around the Continent once more. As early as 1817, J.M.W. Turner risked a tour through Holland, on one of his many continental sketching tours. He set the pattern for many topographical painters, making detailed watercolour studies with great attention to atmospheric mood. It is not recorded where he lodged but his visit included Leiden and the village of Katwijk aan Zee, where he completed several sketches of the river Rhine and the famous sluice or locks. However, rumours were rife amongst the travelling classes, for although they might note, for example, that the village of Katwijk had the fifty-room Groot Badhotel, overlooking the clean sands, they were also well-aware of health scares, such as its typhoid outbreaks and the deadly, mid-century, pandemic of cholera that swept through all European ports. Cholera had even reached the more isolated maritime locations, such as Skagen, which had no harbour or hotel. One local Leiden newspaper happily noted that, by 1884, the visitor numbers had risen steadily since water supplies had been updated in Katwijk and now averaged between 6-700 visitors annually, of which twenty-seven were summer-long resident artists. Between 1885-1914, Katwijk was host to at least 879 named artists from a total of eighteen different countries, according to van Brakel. His thorough research on the lodgings used by artists provides valuable new data, but few authors seem to have analysed this study deeply enough before writing on the development of artists' colony. At least half of the visitors were foreign artists, for whom knowledge of suitable accommodation beforehand was undoubtedlly of prime interest as opposed to their Dutch counterparts. The Hotel Leedag (later the Zeerust) and the Pension van Tellingen opened in 1882, and the Du Rhin, one of the most popular hotels with visiting foreign artists, opened soon after in 1885. Curiously, the most popular hotel was not the cheapest. The old, yet well-appointed, Groot Badhotel was used by the largest number of British, German and American artists. These three nationalities predominated, as in Volendam, and together they watched the number of Dutch artists lodging in hotels. The Katwijk data indicates a number of trends, including the general dispersal of the artists' community over ten hotels. The data also shows how the frequency of artists returning was poor. The vast majority of the painters, although impressively high in number, did not really settle long enough to make a solid core group and thus a mutually creative community.

The Dutch contingent appears somewhat divided. They formed the majority of the resident artists, a core group who bought, leased or built their own house-studios, such as Sluiter, Tootop and Blommers. Yet, the Dutch were the most likely to use the smallest lodging houses and to scatter in outlying villages, including Katwijk aan de Rijn, Noordwijk and Oegstgeest. A few German painters also risked this move and were twice as likely to do so as any other foreign group. This pattern tends to reflect language skills, the Dutch finding it easy to explore all possibilities in their own countryside. Some Belgians and Germans in Holland naturally had a higher degree of local language skills, when it came to seeking out alternative accommodation, models, etc. The large English-speaking group were at a general disadvantage, and so tended to socialise together, although the evidence from Katwijk and Volendam shows no clear probabilities. There seems to be a general mixing of groups in Katwijk, unlike Laren. Katwijk witnessed a marked rise in artist-lodgers throughout the second half of the 1880s and another peak around 1900, but as yet there is no specific explanation for these rises, either from contemporary journalism or exhibition catalogues. However, the central problem with Katwijk artists' colony was the lack of any one, clearly identifiable clubhouse, inn or hotel, which might act as its community and social centre. This problem also seems to have affected what many consider to be the first Dutch artists' colony at Oosterbeek, 'Holland's Barbizon'. This was a quiet, sprawling, wealthy village situated on a wooded escarpment, overlooking the broad floodplain of the river Rhine, just outside the city of Arnhem. It first began attracting painters as early as the 1840s, such as J.W. Bilders (1811-90), but a loose artists' community seems more to have formed around his son Gerard Bilders (1838-65). This select group of painter friends solved the problem of minimum-cost housing by residing, not so much in any village inn, but with their friends' families and acquaintances, whose large leafy mansions were scattered throughout the forest. The Weinsker family mansion, for example, was already host to two artists-guests, Johannes de Haas (1832-1908) and Krusen van Elten (1829-1904), when Paul Gabriel (1826-1903) came to stay in 1835. No matter how philanthropic the hosts, these cramped situations were not conducive to fostering a permanent community. After mid-century, the village of Oosterbeek was more of a leafy suburb for the rich of Arnhem. It had its own railway station down the valley, its tramways and its selection of hotel-restaurants, but neither the comfortable Schoonoord nor the Hotel De Doornenkamp seem closely associated with these painters and neither one was really adopted as the artists' clubhouse, as happened so famously in Volendam or Laren.

From the 1880s, the wave of Dutch landscape painters became more adventurous and spread out inland. They most frequently foraged in villages on the southern floodplains and around the Zuiderzee. Of the many picturesque artists' villages across this region, including Bunschoten, Korenhoef, Hattem, Marken, Monnickendam, Noordwijk, Volendam, Rijnland, Spakenburg and Staphorst, only two really developed significant, internationally renowned, artists' colonies and they both had innskeepers that rose to prominence through special and long-standing associations with these visiting artists. The two main Dutch artists' hotels,