CELEBRATING PEACE

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The Emergence of Dutch Identity, 1648-1815

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INTRODUCTION

The Nobel Peace Prize was awarded for the first time in 1901. The prize, in recognition of individuals who have done exceptional work on behalf of peace, was given to Henry Dunant and Fréderic Passy, two men who were instrumental in setting up important organisations that still exist today, namely the Red Cross (Dunant) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (Passy). They have been followed by a series of laureates that has included Yasser Arafat, Nelson Mandela and Barack Obama. The youngest winner ever, at seventeen, was Malala Yousafzai (2014), who became a victim of religious violence in Pakistan in 2012 and went on to fight for the rights of children.

There is something paradoxical about this prize because if it illustrates anything, it is how closely linked peace is to war. However much of an honour the Nobel Peace Prize may be, it would be even better if the prize never had to be awarded to anyone again, as that would mean peace reigned supreme everywhere. But could such a situation ever be achieved? History does not give cause for optimism. If you consider the statistics, you would have to conclude that lasting peace is a pipe dream. According to recent estimates, there have been more than 14,500 wars since the birth of civilisation. While 8,400 peace treaties have been signed since the fifteenth century, there have only been 277 years of actual peace.[1] These numbers may be highly speculative, but they do indicate that much of human history has been taken up with wars and that peace treaties are no guarantee of peace. Cynics would even argue that each peace treaty contains the seeds of the next war. The American literary historian Elaine Scarry has formulated that position as follows: 'It has been argued that peace treaties, far from minimizing the possibility of war, instead specify the next occasion of war; they in effect become predictive models or architectural maps of the next war.'[2] From this viewpoint, every peace treaty is merely the overture to the next armed conflict. After all, it always contains some compromise that is disadvantageous to one of the two parties; the wounds fester and irrevocably lead to violation of the treaty. War and peace are like a machine in perpetual motion.

Some philosophers and historians contend that humans are inherently predisposed to conflict. The English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), for example, assumed that humans act egotistically by nature and that they are primarily motivated by the desire to gain a personal advantage. In *Leviathan* (1651), he argued that 'a war of every man against every man' was unavoidable unless this natural urge of men was kept in check by an overarching power (i.e. the state).[3] Only the state can guarantee peace and security, even if the initial condition of war persists between the individual states.[4] The modern-day military historian Martin van Creveld also believes that a predisposition towards war is deeply rooted in human nature. Countless human activities in the past and present, ranging from chess and jousting tournaments to war games on the computer, illustrate the psychological need humans have to fight one another. According to Van Creveld, humans seem to derive a certain satisfaction from warlike activities and destructive acts.[5]

A contrast to this pessimistic view is provided by those who refuse to accept the idea that humans are doomed to make war. The most famous exponent of the belief that humans are good by nature is the French Enlightenment philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). He assumed that the natural condition that preceded a politically organised society was an ideal world, with the features of a paradise. The problems started when the first person erected a fence around his land and demonstrated greed. This resulted in an escalation of conflicts, whereupon the rich joined forces to protect their land, which in turn led to fresh conflicts. According to Rousseau, this vicious circle could only be broken by a social contract that represented the general will (*'la volonté generale'*). He also attached an important role to education, which should be designed so as to minimise the pernicious influences of society. He set out his main ideas in the influential novel *Émile ou De l'éducation* (1762).[6]

Underlying all this was a belief held by Rousseau, along with many other Enlightenment thinkers, that progress was possible for both individuals and society as a whole. This optimistic view also underlies the countless calls for peace that have been published over the past few centuries, such as *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (1693) by the English Quaker William Penn or *Zum ewigen Friede* (1795) by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant. The many peace conferences, organisations and institutes that have been established over the years are also based on this belief in the possibility of progress. Whether you are talking about the international peace conferences in 1899 and 1907 or the foundation of the United Nations in 1945, the driving force behind these initiatives is the hope and expectation that peace between countries and peoples can be engineered.

There is now even a flourishing branch of academic study on the subject – Peace Studies. The academic programmes offered under this label often har-

bour a certain idealism. The assumption is that the production of knowledge will, in the long term, help achieve peace.[7] Peace Studies scholars often feel a need to send a positive message. For example, in his general history of *The Glorious Art of Peace* (2012), the historian and journalist John Gittings advocated using peace initiatives from the past as a source of inspiration for the present.[8] Oliver P. Richmond, professor in Peace and Conflict Studies, also stresses the benefit to society of his discipline: 'The culmination of developing the concept of peace lies in a general recognition that the vast majority of humanity have preferred, and actively worked towards a culture of peace.'[9] According to Richmond, peace is what motivates people and unites them in the longer term, not war. The pursuit of peace symbolises the hope for a better future, with guaranteed security and no more war victims.

Peace and nation-building

This book lets both optimists and doom-mongers have their say. It is about the way in which periods of peace have contributed to the formation of the Dutch identity between 1648 and 1815. It is exploring a relatively new area within Peace Studies, namely the relationship between peace and nation-building. Researchers working on the formation of national identity tend to focus on wars and conflicts as such crisis situations result in the sharpest distinction between 'us' and 'them'.[10] Wars are seen as key drivers of a sense of togetherness but celebrations of peace turn out to be at least as relevant. It was precisely when conflicts ended that people started to reflect on their own position with respect to other countries. What did the future look like for the Netherlands (formally the Republic of the Seven United Provinces)?[11] What ideal images of Dutch identity were circulating?

The aim of *Celebrating Peace* is to show that peace treaties and peace celebrations made a key constructive contribution to the development of a Dutch identity. The conclusion of a peace treaty was the perfect occasion for looking ahead and dreaming of a better society. Every new peace was celebrated exuberantly with odes, festivals, cannon salutes and fireworks. Writers praised the contribution the Dutch had made to the new peace and emphasised their patriotism. For example, in response to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 (signed in Aachen, which was formerly known as Aix-la-Chapelle), one female poet wrote an ode to 'the cherished Fatherland in which I draw breath' (*'t lieve Vaderland, waarin ik adem haal*). She stressed that she was 'born in the Netherlands' (*in Nederland geboren*) and therefore spoke 'the pure Dutch language' (*in zuivre duitsche taal*).[12] Superlatives and glowing phrases were heaped on the nation's heroes. There was one conclusion everyone agreed on: everything

would be better from now on. Trade would blossom again, agriculture would flourish and there would be an increase in general prosperity. From the start, the idea of a new golden era or a return to the Dutch Golden Age played a significant role in this complex of predictions for the future. A positive view of the future dominated.

At the same time – and this is where the book provides fuel for more sceptical minds – many peace texts had a strong propaganda content or could even be described as bellicose. Some authors seized the opportunity to settle scores with the foreign enemy in no uncertain terms. The French in particular were denounced in such negative terms that peace publications sometimes seemed more akin to a declaration of war than a statement of reconciliation. Internal contradictions also came to the fore during and immediately following peace talks. Disagreements were forever arising on which course to take. Thus republicans and Orangists became embroiled in fierce debates about the Dutch Republic's political future. While the former did not want a stadholder in their midst, the latter group advocated giving a hereditary stadholder a central position in the polity. Views on the ideal religious setup were equally disparate. One group saw the Republic as the chosen country of a Protestant God in which Calvinist values were to be given pride of place while others had much more flexible views on religious worship. Concord and harmony were proclaimed in the peace celebrations but all kinds of dissensions were brewing under the surface.

Indeed, this book argues that peace is a continuation of war by other means. This, paraphrasing statements by the military historian Carl von Clausewitz and the French philosopher Michel Foucault, is how we could characterise the tone of Dutch peace texts in the period 1648 to 1815. Clausewitz is famous for saying that war is the continuation of politics by other means while Foucault contended that politics is the continuation of war by other means. My version puts the emphasis on another aspect, namely that peace may mark the start of a new phase and give a positive impulse to a society but that does not necessarily mean an end to hostilities. History shows that people continued to do battle during peacetime too. They may have put aside their weapons, but the fight continued on paper in the form of pamphlets and treatises. There was still the threat of a new war even after the peace treaty had been concluded, and this could be sensed in the writings. This book focuses on precisely that ambivalence – the celebration of concord, freedom and harmony versus the real threat of renewed domestic and international conflict.

Focussing on the period from 1648 to 1815 was a deliberate choice. The years 1648 and 1815 are important landmarks in Dutch history, especially from the point of view of peace. The Treaty of Munster was signed in 1648, bringing an end to a lengthy struggle against the Spanish. The treaty, in which the Republic

0.1 The solemn adoption of the Treaty of Munster on 15 May 1648, in the Great Hall, or Friedenssaal, in the town hall in Munster, print by Jonas Suyderhoef after a painting by Gerard ter Borch

of the Seven United Netherlands was formally recognised as a sovereign state, can be seen as the 'birth certificate of the Dutch state' (*geboorteakte van de Nederlandse staat*).[13] The state was born again in 1815, but this time took on a completely different shape. The acts of the Congress of Vienna arranged for William I to become the sovereign ruler of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, a union of the former Southern and Northern Netherlands. This peace treaty marked the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the start of a monarchy under a Dutch ruler.

Numerous significant peace treaties were concluded in the intervening period, including the Treaty of Westminster (1654), the Treaty of Breda (1667), the Treaty of Westminster (1674), the Treaty of Nijmegen (1678), the Treaty of Rijswijk (1697), the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), the Treaty of Paris (1783) and the Treaty of Amiens (1802). The cultural response to these peace treaties gives an insight into the process of formation of a Dutch identity, precisely because the treaties prompted people to reflect on the state of their nation and the course to be taken in the years ahead. What

should the Netherlands ideally look like? What qualities should the Dutch people have? What were the dominant discourses and what conflicts lay hidden in the ideas being propagated? Given that some peace treaties were highly European in character, this leads to the question of the Netherlands' position in a wider Europe. After all, some peace treaties – such as the Treaty of Utrecht, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and the Congress and Final Act of Vienna – brought an end to major European conflicts. To what extent did early modern peace texts such as pamphlets, songs, poems, treatises and plays already betray a sense of a European identity and how did this relate to national sentiments?

The development of a national identity

European peace treaties have received considerable attention in the historiography, especially from the perspective of international relations and the law.[14] Some peace accords stand out: the Congress of Vienna in 1815 in particular is considered to be a milestone in European history. The treaty that was concluded then was intended to guarantee Europe's future and its security. Numerous agreements were made about international trade, and new borders were drawn up. The various parties were brought together by an overarching shared interest, namely the desire for calm and stability in Europe. Never again would one man (Napoleon) and one country (France) be allowed to dominate Europe.[15]

In this book the peace treaties are considered mainly from a cultural history perspective, complementing the legal and political history approach. Peace treaties were also cultural events that were covered at length in the media. They were celebrated with major firework displays, prints, theatrical performances and numerous poems composed for the occasion. A wider public was reached through these channels, beyond the restricted circle of the negotiators, so that they too could share in the festive mood. The news was spread and interpreted through pamphlets, thus creating a debate about the peace negotiations. This public debate, including all the cultural events, is often overlooked by political and legal historians but it can provide insights into what was going on within other social circles.[16] The cultural expressions often took the form of praise for their own 'national' identity, which was considered to be superior to that of other nations.[17] There is therefore much to be gained from considering issues such as nation-building and the formation of a national identity from the point of view of international peace celebrations.

Nation-building and nationalism are usually seen as a typical nineteenth-century phenomenon. It is generally accepted that the cultivation of national sentiment reached a high point in Europe, including in the Netherlands, in the post-Napoleonic period. This was when the glorification of an illustrious past

and the nation's heroes really took off.[18] However, there has been an increased interest in recent years in earlier manifestations of nation-building.[19] The idea behind this is that while nationalism may have developed as a political ideology in the nineteenth century, forms of thinking in terms of the nation were already apparent before then, for example in the creation of origin myths, the celebration of national heroes and the cultivation of national symbols.

Periods of war and of peace celebrations in particular were accompanied by an increase in the number of patriotic publications and references to supra-regional traditions and symbols.[20] These expressions of a sense of togetherness were almost always related to an enemy 'other'; the projection of a self-image depended on creating a contrast with other nations.[21] For instance, in 1648 the Amsterdam poet Geeraerdt Brandt Jr praised the achievements of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands profusely because it had successfully been able to stand up to the Spanish: 'O Netherlands / I see the wonders of your State and gaze at / The small spot, the dot on the map that the greatest empire / was too small to best'.[22] This was about giving expression to a shared sense of identity that transcended regional differences and gained additional force from the fact that even the greatest power in the world had failed against the Republic.

The question now is how such early modern expressions of national identity should be positioned in the broader debate about the emergence of a sense of nationhood and nationalism. The development of a national identity is a thorny issue not just for modern-day societies but also among scholars. Since the rise of the study of nationalism in the 1980s, the academic field has been divided into two camps: the modernists and the traditionalists. Broadly speaking, modernists argue that nations and national identities are modern phenomena that only materialised in the nineteenth century. Important names among the modernists include Ernest Gellner, John Breuilly, Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm and Stefan Berger. Traditionalists such as Adrian Hastings, Andrew Hadfield, Azar Gat and Caspar Hirschi, on the other hand, contend that the roots of nationalism go back further and that the period prior to 1800 should therefore also be included in research on the formation of a national identity.[23] However, opinions differ considerably on *how* far back to go. For example, the historian Caspar Hirschi locates the origin of nation-building in fourteenth-century Catholic Europe while the political scientist Azar Gat believes we really need to go back to the start of human history: 'Nations and national states can be found wherever states emerged since the beginning of history.'[24]

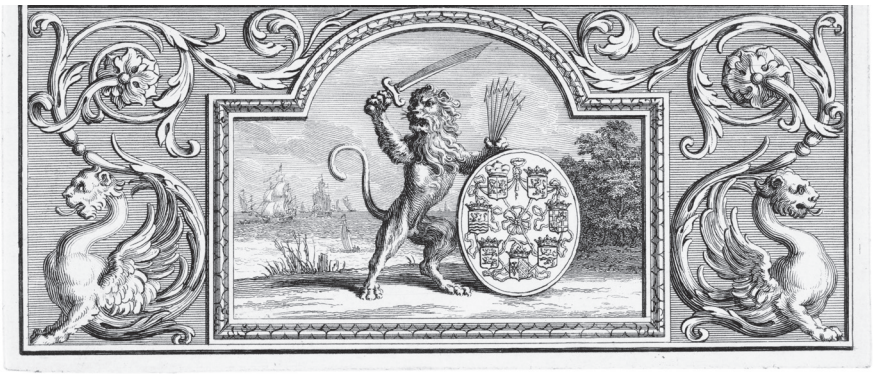
The debate, with all the associated positions, has been described at length by the influential sociologist Anthony Smith.[25] Notwithstanding the significance of his many publications, they also have a downside. Now no scholar can discuss issues such as nation-building and nationalism without first

adopting a position within the framework developed by Smith, which is based on various opposites: organic versus voluntary nationalism, constructivism versus determinism, ethnic versus civic patriotism, political versus cultural nationalism and so forth. Another disadvantage is that the past is often too messy to fit neatly into such abstract collective concepts. The sources often reveal a more complex reality that cannot be easily captured in simple frameworks. It is no coincidence that criticism of the modernist paradigm has come mainly from scholars focusing on countries that showed clear signs of a unified political and cultural community from an early stage, such as England, Sweden, Iceland and the Dutch Republic.[26]

In this book, I am aligning myself more with the traditionalists than the modernists. While the developments in the nineteenth century may have marked a new phase in the history of the Dutch identity, they cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge of what preceded them. Many unifying symbols, metaphors promoting harmony and foundational stories were already circulating in earlier centuries and they laid the groundwork, as it were, for the discourse of nationalism that had its heyday in the nineteenth century. This book may begin in 1648 with the Treaty of Munster but other years could equally well have been chosen as the starting point from the perspective of cultural and political nation-building, for example 1576 (the Pacification of Ghent), 1579 (the Union of Utrecht), 1581 (the Act of Abjuration), 1588 (the de facto foundation of the Republic after the death of its governor, the Earl of Leicester) or the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621). However the fact that peace celebrations are the central topic in this book makes the Treaty of Munster a logical starting point. Moreover, as said, this was the point when the Republic of the United Netherlands was recognised as a sovereign state.[27]

Terminology

Terminology and semantics play an important role in research on the formation of a national identity. After all, what is actually meant by the term 'national identity'? What real-world phenomenon does this concept refer to? To start with the second word: 'identity' and 'sense of identity' are notoriously tricky concepts for which many definitions have been given. The historian Willem Frijhoff offers a practical solution by linking identity and a sense of identity to a process of representation, designation and recognition. According to him, a sense of identity arises when these three cultural dimensions support one another: 'the representation of qualities and attributes of a group, the designation of a group identity in an exposition about that representation and the recognition of that exposition as a meaningful presentation of "us" as a



0.2 Lion with sword and quiver containing seven arrows, symbolising the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, by Bernard Piccart, 1716

group'.[28] These three dimensions also play a role in the creation of a national identity, as this involves the representation, designation and recognition of that identity. Repetition is hugely important in that process. Writers take inspiration from other writers and repeat each other's words and categorisations. In this way, a vast repertoire of images accumulates that articulates a specific national identity. Such forms of 'intertextuality' – in which texts are referenced in and have an effect through other texts – were very significant in creating a recognisable Dutch identity.[29]

As regards the interpretation of the word 'national', this book adopts the useful distinction introduced by the literary scholar Joep Leerssen between 'thinking in national terms' (national thought) and 'nationalism'.[30] He uses the latter term to refer to the political ideology that appeared throughout Europe from the French Revolution onwards. 'National thought' has a much broader connotation as it refers to the rich traditional sources and offshoots that reveal forms of thinking in national terms even before the nineteenth century. He includes them in his treatment of thinking in national terms in Europe, although he emphasises that 1800 saw the start of a completely new phase. According to him, many of the earlier developments that we might consider 'national' came to a dead end in history and have nothing to do with the developments in the nineteenth century.[31] Anthony Smith agrees. While he stresses the importance of cultural traditions through the centuries, he argues that there is only a very weak link between pre-modern developments and the modern nation state. His solution is to reserve 'ethnie' and 'ethno-symbolism' as terms for all pre-modern developments and to see them as separate entities to the modern state.[32] Such concepts may have meaning for certain periods and peoples but they seem extremely contrived when applied to the early modern Dutch situation.[33]

I therefore disagree with both researchers on this point. In my opinion they take too modernist a view of history. In their treatments, everything that happened after 1800 seems to be completely detached from the preceding period, whereas I would prefer to stress the importance of cultural continuity in relation to the formation of a national identity. To cite one example that will be discussed in detail later on in the book: the trio of God, the Fatherland and the House of Orange, which would become *the* defining characteristic of (Protestant) Dutch identity in the nineteenth century, was already prominent in the texts marking the celebration of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.[34] Some of these texts in turn referred to seventeenth-century notions of the Republic as the chosen land. The nineteenth-century nationalistic trinity certainly had deep roots in Dutch culture.

However, I agree fully with Leerssen in one other regard and his work has been a key source of inspiration in this respect. He contends that a sense of national togetherness is based on cultural foundations as well as political ones. That is why cultural expressions should be assigned a crucial role when studying processes of nation-building and nationalism.[35] The part played by literature should not be underestimated. Men and women of letters made major contributions to greater national awareness by giving others access again to sources from the past and by bringing their national history to life in historical novels, poems and tales. Indeed, according to Leerssen, literature is 'not just a passive reflection of the nation-building process but a trendsetter, particularly in the construction and distribution of images of national identity and tradition'.[36] That is why so many literary sources are discussed in this book: literature was the ideal medium for expressing the national identity through a vast repertoire of images, symbols and metaphors. The word 'literature' should be understood here in the broad sense, including all kinds of texts such as pamphlets, stories, essays, poems, plays and songs.

Research into modern nationalism can provide inspiration in another respect too. Two concepts in particular that have become popular among modernists can also be useful when studying early modern nation-building. These are 'invented tradition' (Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger) and the 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson).[37] The theory goes that the 'invention of tradition' – the creation of a shared historical understanding through rituals, stories and myths – was one of the driving forces behind the emergence of modern nationalism. While it is undoubtedly true that the invention of tradition reached a high point in the nineteenth century, the word 'tradition' alone points to the necessity for a broader historical perspective. Many of these invented traditions were in turn a reference to a tradition, paradoxically enough. As Gat puts it: 'The inherently fanciful process and reprocessing of tradition did not mean fabrication *ex nihilo*. Rather, it primarily involved selective re-

working of existing historical materials and folk memories which often had at least some basis in reality.'[38] That legitimises the question as to when these traditions started. What were these invented traditions drawing on? What was new and what had roots in a longer tradition?

Another term that has been at least as influential is the concept of the 'imagined community'. Anderson has pointed out that modern nations are imagined communities, made possible largely by media such as books and newspapers. While most inhabitants of a nation will never meet one another personally, there is still a sense of community that is shaped by the media and other institutions. Here too, we can see such processes at work at an earlier stage. For instance, the historian Peter Burke maintains that Biblical and other religious writings in the vernacular played a large part in the formation of imagined communities or print communities, based on a common use of language.[39] In the early modern period too, media such as pamphlets, newspapers, poems, plays and journals had a unifying function, especially in times of domestic or foreign crises.[40] You could therefore speak of 'imagined communities' before the nineteenth century, created via the media and a shared language.

Regional or national identity?

The assumption that there were early modern 'imagined communities' gives rise to the question of the scope and impact of printed texts in the early modern period: to what extent was there actually an imagined *national* community and a *national* self-image? Historians have rightly pointed out that the village, town or region was the first and chief point of identification for most inhabitants in the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; there was no single shared concept of a fatherland.[41] Burke too emphasises that early modern 'imagined communities' were different in character to those in the nineteenth century, if only because print culture did not reach so many people.[42] There is a risk of overestimating the impact of some representations.

Even so, it cannot be denied that collective connections were indeed forged and promoted in the early modern period by print culture, even if printed materials reached a smaller audience than in the modern period. They were certainly very vivid in the minds of writers and poets, who used such supra-regional concepts as 'the Netherlands' State' (*Neerlandts Staatendom*), 'the Seven-Arrowed Nation' (*het Seeven-pijlig Landt*) or 'the entire Netherlands' (*heel Nederlandt*) with great regularity long before the formation of a unified state in 1798.[43] They used such expressions to refer to larger entities than just their home town or the region to which they felt attached. Something similar applies for the concept of the 'fatherland'. Marijke Meijer Drees, a scholar of

Dutch literature, has pointed out that the term 'the fatherland' (*het vaderland*) could be used in different ways in the period 1648 to 1748 and that in many literary texts the supra-regional interpretation was very much in evidence. Poets could use it to refer to their town, region or the Republic as a whole; these meanings existed side by side, even within the same text.[44] In the second half of the eighteenth century, it became common to use the term 'fatherland' to refer to the Republic as a whole and there was even quite a 'fatherland cult'.[45]

There were other ways of referring to the Republic as a whole in addition to terms such as 'the fatherland'. Language that went beyond the confines of the region was also evident in the use of symbols and metaphors. Literary sources in particular contain such examples. For instance, Meijer Drees has shown that typical symbols of the nation such as the lion and the cow were repeatedly used in pamphlets and poems to encourage political concord in the face of foreign threats.[46] Her findings are confirmed by the work of the historian Donald Haks, who has shown that feelings of concord and patriotism were expressed in the years 1672 to 1713 through such media as songs and lottery rhymes.[47]

Such metaphors and symbols are more than purely rhetorical or functional devices in the use of language. They were part of the mental landscape through which committed commentators perceived their world.[48] In *Metaphors we live by* (1980), George Lakoff and Mark Johnson argue that we think, speak and act in metaphors. We can only understand the world through these metaphors, which are deeply embedded in our culture. The same applied in the early modern period. Indeed, that is abundantly clear from the popularity of allegorical representations – think of the commemorative coins, paintings, prints, processions, spectacles, plays and other texts. So they too tell us something about the connection that different groups of people felt with the local, national and European community.

One of the standard arguments against the hypothesis of an early modern supra-regional sense of community is the fact that the seven provinces were relatively autonomous and that the province of Holland held a dominant position in all respects. Printed materials often came from this province and it is argued that the images of the Republic frequently reflected a 'Holland-centric' perspective. It is certainly true that until 1798, when the first Dutch constitution came into effect, the provinces had a high degree of autonomy in politics. For example, the provinces of Zeeland and Utrecht originally refused to consent to the agreements in the Treaty of Munster while Utrecht had difficulty accepting the Republic's war policy during the War of the Spanish Succession.[49] At the same time, centralising tendencies were also visible in the Republic's polity. This was most evident in the modus operandi of the stadholders and the overarching political body, the States General.[50] A more nuanced picture is also needed of the spread of texts. Most of the peace texts from 1648

were indeed published in Amsterdam; only a few publications commenting on the occasion appeared outside the province of Holland. However, nearly all the texts concerned the Republic as a whole and its inhabitants.[51] The proportion of texts published in other provinces was already significantly higher in later celebrations. By the time of the celebrations in 1697, 1713 and 1748, there was definitely a broad geographical spread, with just as many celebratory texts appearing in Groningen, Friesland, Utrecht and Zeeland.[52] Only Overijssel and Gelderland were clearly underrepresented. Furthermore, the place where the treaty was concluded also had an effect. In 1667, Breda briefly became the centre of the international diplomatic world, while in 1678 the negotiators gathered in Nijmegen and in 1713 in Utrecht. On these occasions attention was focused on these towns, which were all outside the province of Holland.

In short, there is good reason to consider peace texts from as far back as 1648 from the perspective of a national culture. Authors writing on the occasion were celebrating the national freedom, a freedom that concerned 'the whole of the Netherlands' (*heel Nederland*), to use the wording of the time.

Sources and structure of the book

The sense of a Dutch identity (and to a lesser extent a European identity) is evident in a wide range of peace texts such as poems, songs, plays, sermons and treatises. These 'occasional' publications are usually extremely clichéd: they are brimming with standard expressions about peace, freedom and prosperity. That is one reason why they have seldom attracted the attention of literary scholars and historians.[53] Another factor is that many of these texts were written by authors who are not so well known. While canonical authors such as Joost van den Vondel or Hubert Korneliszoon Poot did produce texts to mark the major peace celebrations, most of the other writers are forgotten today. Yet their writings are still very much worth studying as they show how authors at that time gave expression to their patriotic feelings in constantly changing political constellations and how they saw the Netherlands' future. They are also extremely valuable from the point of view of nation-building and identity formation.

The book contains nine chronologically ordered chapters, each of which deals with a different peace treaty. Not all peace treaties are covered, but the main treaties are considered from the Treaty of Munster up to the Congress of Vienna. This enables an exploration of the most important shifts in thinking about the future of the Republic and the self-image of the Dutch in a European context. The book's chronological setup is not based on any teleological assumption. The developments cannot be seen as a linear evolution coming ever

closer to the ideal image of a harmonious Dutch society – far from it. Critical republicans could argue that the peace celebrations in 1697, 1748 and 1815 signified a step backwards in the national history because the House of Orange emerged stronger. One thing the in-depth studies make clear is that each period had its own specific preoccupations. While republicanism might be promulgated during the celebrations of one peace treaty, Orangist nationalism might be dominant in the next peace. And whereas all the emphasis might be on a Dutch identity in one period, the ideal of a European or universal peace might be more prominent in another age. Despite all these differences, there is one constant factor that unites all the occasions on which peace was celebrated: all the celebrations involved expressions of great joy and relief. There was a general feeling that from now on everything would be better. A new Golden Age was just around the corner.

A DUTCH SENSE OF IDENTITY

1.1 Commemorative medal of the Treaty of Munster in 1648, with the crowned Dutch lion

1

A NEW GOLDEN ERA
The Treaty of Munster (1648)

There was great joy in 1648 when the Treaty of Munster was concluded. After a lengthy struggle with Spain, the Dutch Republic was finally officially recognised as a sovereign state. Now that both parties had agreed to aim for 'friendship and good neighbourliness' (*vrundschap en goede nabuijrschap*) from this time forth, the King of Spain, Philip IV could no longer lay claim to the seven provinces of the Northern Netherlands.[1] The Treaty of Munster is one of a series of treaties that are jointly known as the Peace of Westphalia. Other parties were involved in this too, namely Sweden, Emperor Ferdinand III and certain free imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire, and France. The Peace of Westphalia brought an end not only to the Dutch Revolt (also known as the Eighty Years' War) but also to the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), which had engulfed much of central and southern Europe. For this reason, this peace is considered a major milestone in European history.[2]

However the people of the Dutch Republic concentrated almost exclusively on the part that concerned the sovereignty of their own nation – the Treaty of Munster. Poets took up their pens to demonstrate how happy and grateful they were, painters applied their brushes to record the official events and orators took to the pulpit to give their comments on the occasion. On 5 June, the States General arranged for the peace to be announced throughout the Republic and for 10 June to be a general day of thanksgiving, fasting and prayer.[3] Although Amsterdam was unmistakably the centre of the festivities, the peace was celebrated elsewhere too, for example with a solemn announcement in Nijmegen, festive processions in Wormer and The Hague and large bonfires in Arnhem, Delft and Breda.[4] It was clear from the start that this was a significant moment in the existence of the young Republic.

In Leiden, Professor Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn gave a speech in Latin expressing his joy at the end of the war with Spain and the recognition of the country's liberty.[5] In the speech, which was also published in Dutch, he stressed that a golden era was dawning: 'The Netherlands is beginning to grow

1.2 View of the city of Munster in 1648 by Clement de Jonghe

and to flourish, as it did in the past, and that golden time is starting again in which our forefathers lived and that we have long been yearning for.'[6] Others spoke of a 'golden century' (*gulde eeuw*), 'golden Peace' (*gouden Vreede*), 'golden Freedom' (*goude Vrijheit*) or 'golden rain' (*gouden regen*) that the 'Nymph of Peace' (*Vree-Nimf*) was showering on 'the Netherlands' towns' (*Neêrlandts steeden*).[7] The chief characteristics of this golden era were flourishing trade, arts and sciences. There was also a surplus of food: with the Netherlands at peace, agriculture prospered and cows produced an abundance of milk. Everything thrived:

> The cows give milk and cream.
> The land is brimming with goodness.
> Men are singing of peace and calm.[8]

In the words of Joost van den Vondel, who wrote a play, *Leeuwendalers,* especially for the occasion. Others too referred to the growing benefits in the production of milk: 'Now that their cows have more room to graze / The housewives will cheerfully offer fatted cheese', wrote the poet and spice merchant Jan Six

van Chandelier.[9] The Dutch cow was *the* symbol of renewed prosperity in times of peace.[10]

Thus the celebration of peace was inextricably linked to the idea of a return to a golden era. The notion of such a golden era went back to the classical concept of an '*aurea aetas*', as used by such Roman authors as Virgil and Ovid.[11] In the *Bucolics*, Virgil wrote about the return to a golden time of golden-yellow cereal fields and high levels of milk production – images that we also see in the abovementioned seventeenth-century authors. In his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid described the earliest phase of human existence as a golden era in which peace, virtue and justice reigned supreme. There was an overabundance of food and drink, and no need for armed fights: 'Men bore neither helmet nor sword. The people were at peace in all regions,' wrote Vondel in his translation of the Latin poems.[12] However, a decline set in and a silver era followed. This was followed by a copper era, during which there was a strong tendency towards war, and an iron era dominated by treachery and violence. In 1648, the idea was that the golden era would return in all its glory now that war had ended.

In this chapter, I aim to show that the image of a new golden era played a central role in the national self-image that gained shape in the early modern peace print culture in the Netherlands. In doing so, I wish to shed new light on the standard view that the Dutch Golden Age was an exclusively nineteenth-century invention. According to the standard historiography, the idealisation started during the years of the French occupation (1806-1813) and reached its high point in the period 1840-1880, when such influential publications as the periodical *De Gids*, *Het Rijksmuseum* by Potgieter and *Het land van Rembrand* (1882-1884) by Busken Huet appeared.[13] I do not wish to discredit these observations, but there is something artificial about having this history start in the nineteenth century and presenting everything as a mythical invention. To quote Azar Gat again, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' invented traditions were not 'fabrications *ex nihilo*', rather they were reworked and updated versions of existing traditions and memories, which in turn often had a basis in reality.[14]

Something similar applies to the 'invention' of the Dutch Golden Age: the people of the nineteenth century made enthusiastic use of it for nationalistic purposes but this invention was far from brand new. The foundations had been laid a hundred and fifty years earlier. Even in the seventeenth century itself, people felt they were living in unique times. Contemporary authors such as Vondel, Hooft and Vos described their own age as one of unprecedented prosperity and flourishing conditions. Thus when the Athenaeum Illustre school was founded in Amsterdam, Vondel spoke of a 'golden century of letters' (*gouden lettereeuw*) while Vos talked of 'golden times' (*gouden tyën*) in 1648.[15] Fuelled by the political momentum – the Republic had finally been liberated


Tractaet van Vrede,

Beſlooten den dertighſten

Januarij deſes jegenwoordigen Jaers 1648. binnen de Stadt van Munſter in Weſtphalen/tuſſchen den Doorluchtichſten en Grootmachtigen Prince PHILIPS de vierde van dien naem/Coninck van Hiſpagnien/etc. ter eenre/ ende de Hoogh Mogende Heeren Staten Generael vande Geunieerde Nederlanden/ter andere zyde.

IN 'sGRAVEN-HAGE,
By de Weduwe, ende Erfgenamen van wylen Hillebrandt Jacobſz van Wouw, Ordinaris Druckers vande Ed: Groot Mog: Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende Weſt-Vrieſlandt.
Anno 1648. *Met Privilegie.*

1.3 Peace treaty between the King of Spain and the States General of the United Netherlands, concluded on 30 January 1648

from Spanish tyranny after eighty years of fighting – this national self-image took on an increasingly clear form with the celebration of the Treaty of Munster. In the rest of this chapter I will give a general impression of the texts commenting on the Munster peace, with the creation of a national self-image related to the idea of a new golden era as a recurring theme throughout the chapter. I will also pay attention to two motifs that played a unifying role in the construction of a shared image of the nation: the nation's history (in particular the role of the House of Orange) and religion (divine providence). Together, these three motifs laid the foundation for a powerful national self-image that subsequent commentators would draw on again and again.

Unity and discord

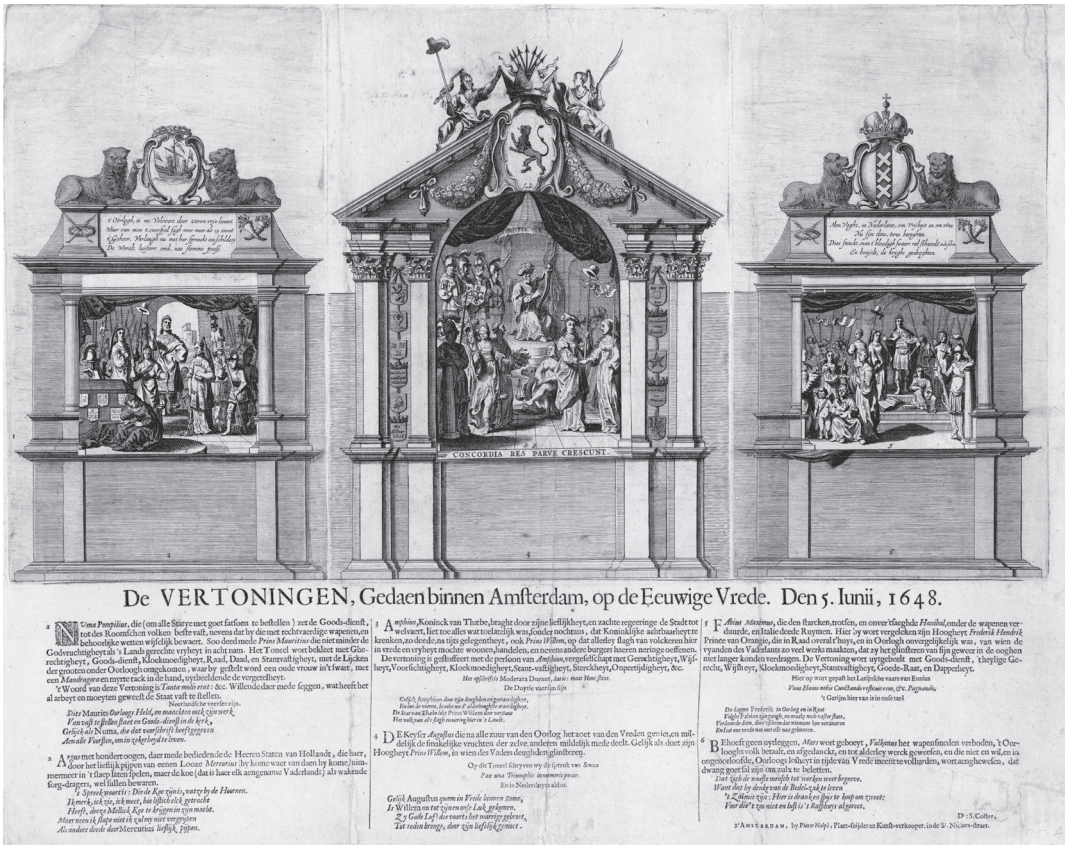
The Treaty of Munster may have been greeted with general joy but the lead-up to the treaty was characterised by considerable dissent. Utrecht, Zeeland and the Leiden faction in Holland continued to resist the conclusion of a peace with Spain right up to the last moment. An anonymous Zeeland author called on the people of Holland to join forces with Zeeland in opposing the peace treaty. This union between the two provinces would be all the more powerful for three reasons: the revolt against the Spanish had started in these regions, they were the two most prosperous provinces of the Republic and their collaboration would be founded on the Dutch Reformed faith. This text demonstrates a highly Calvinistic and regionally based identity. At the same time, his opening words reveal a frame of reference that went beyond provincial boundaries:

> Cherished Friends, dear people of Holland! You people are not unaware [...] of how we both became one State, one Republic and Sovereignty, with small parts adhering together and becoming one body; as the origins of this were in our two Provinces.[16]

The people of Zeeland and Holland were 'fellow inhabitants of one State, one body' (*mede Inghesetene van eenen Staet, van een lichaem*) and part of a greater whole, however fragmented it might be.[17] Others decried the creation of such factions, seeing it as a threat to unity when 'one Province [...] rages against another' (*d'een Provinci [...] teghen de ander woet*).[18]

Thus there were quite a few squabbles before the peace treaty was eventually signed; even afterwards, passionate Calvinists still opposed reconciliation with the Catholic Spanish. After the treaty had been concluded, both Zeeland and Leiden kept aloof from all the festivities. They did take part in the general day of thanksgiving on 10 June but Leiden restricted it to a day of fasting and prayer.[19] However, the other regions gave their support to the agreement that had been reached and praised the liberty that had been regained. There were still plenty of religious and political differences but the writers were united by something more important: the cessation of war and reinstatement of peace, which would bring new prosperity. Precisely that focus on concord was accompanied by a repertoire of words and images that pointed to the Republic as a whole: they were emphatically about the liberty of the *united* provinces of the Netherlands, referred to in brief as 'the Netherlands' (*Nederland*).[20]

The visual and literary representation of the Treaty of Munster had its roots in a classical and iconographic tradition that was associated with a vast repertoire of images. The influence of classical mythology on Renaissance literature, paintings and sculptures cannot be overstated. Artists could find detailed



1.4 Spectacles in Dam square in Amsterdam on 5 June 1648 to celebrate the Treaty of Munster, by Pieter Nolpe, with an accompanying text by Samuel Coster

guidelines for the depiction of classical and allegorical figures in such works as *Iconologia of uytbeeldingen des Verstands* (1644). This was a Dutch translation of the highly influential 1593 manual by the Italian author Cesare Ripa, in which he gave a useful overview of how to represent such common abstract concepts as plenty, wealth, fame and concord. He explained that peace could be depicted in many different ways but was invariably accompanied by certain attributes, such as the olive branch, the horn of plenty and the sheaf of corn.[21] Incidentally, Peace was strikingly similar to the female figure representing concord (Concordia), who could be portrayed with exactly the same attributes.[22]

Two classical figures appeared constantly in the material commenting on the peace of Munster: Pax, the goddess of peace (normally referred to as Peace) and Mars, the god of war. The dawn of a period of peace was usually visualised by showing Peace gaining victory over Mars. That was the case for example in the spectacles designed by Adriaan Boelens that were performed in the Amsterdam theatre on 23 and 25 June 1648.[23]The first three scenes showed Mars being disarmed, enchained and struck down, while the following three

1.5 Allegory on the Treaty of Munster. The triumphant chariot of Peace is being ushered into The Hague via a triumphal arch. The Latin caption means 'one peace [is] stronger than countless triumphs'

scenes showed Peace and Freedom being crowned and eulogised.[24] Neptune, Mercury and Ceres also made appearances, symbolising a flourishing maritime sector, trade and agriculture respectively. Similar imagery can be found in Vondel's poem to mark the occasion, *De getemde Mars*. An enraged Mars causes the most horrific plagues to afflict Europe but the goddess of Peace descends 'from the skies of the Netherlands' (*uit de lucht van Neêrlant*) and manages to put the god of war in chains. In line with the iconographic tradition, Peace is clothed in white robes and wears an olive wreath; her chariot is drawn by 'Dutch Lions' (*Nederlantsche Leeuwen*).[25]

Historical context

While classical tropes abounded in texts on the Treaty of Munster, many poetic representations also included references to real historical and geographical facts. A shared image of the fatherland was shaped in part by embedding it

in recent history, with a focus on the Dutch Revolt and the role played by the princes of Orange. Two of the most telling examples are the long epic poems dedicated to the peace by the Amsterdam poets Jan Vos (1610-1667) and Geeraerdt Brandt Jnr (1626-1685). A striking feature is the way in which local, regional and national (and even European) perspectives coexist in both poems.

The literary scholar Mieke Smits-Veldt has shown that each poet dealt with the subject in his own individual way.[26] In *Vreede tusschen Filippus de Vierde, koning van Spanje en de Staaten der vrye Nederlanden,* Vos chose an overwhelmingly European perspective. He used a somewhat abstract account of Europe's quest for peace, which had finally ended in Munster. At the same time, his work was clearly anchored in the local context. He dedicated it to the burgomaster of Amsterdam, Andries Bicker, and praised the governors of Amsterdam. The series of spectacles designed by Vos also worked up to a local climax, in which America, Africa and Asia gaze up in admiration at 'the wealthy city On the Amstel' (*de rijke stadt Aan de Amstel*), sitting in glory on her throne.[27]

There was also praise for the princes of Orange. Vos gave considerable space to the death of the stadholder Frederick Henry, praising him not just for his heroic deeds in the fight against the Spanish but also for his part in the peace process. Frederick Henry was an outspoken advocate of peace with Spain, but he died in March 1647, just before peace was actually achieved. Vos explicitly drew a connection between the renewed flowering of his fatherland and the new man in charge, William II, who would now also be able to lay aside his weapons:

> Long live brave William,
> Who has unclasped his suit of armour, hung his plumed helmet
> On the wall and laid down his broadsword.
> Enchanting Lion! full of fierce bravery,
> You let me breathe freely again, filling my breast with the air of this province.
> Orange sun rising! The life-giving rays,
> That shine from you in the morn of your dominion,
> Promise the Netherlands, that liberated land,
> A finer afternoon than Augustus gave the Roman people.[28]

Here, Vos combined regional and supra-regional perspectives: he would be able to breathe freely again in his province while the Netherlands ('that liberated land' [*dat vrygemaakte Gebiet*]) could look forward to a time of prosperity.

The ambitious young poet Brandt Jnr was also keen to demonstrate his talent in versification during the peace celebrations. Unlike Vos, he gave pride of place to the nation's historical context, which he saw as starting with the

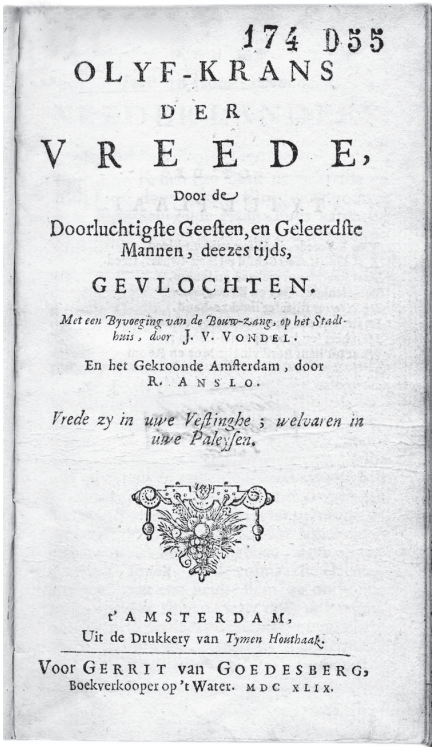
ancient Batavians (the Germanic tribe that lived in this region during the time of the Roman Empire). This drew on the 'Batavian myth', which was popular at the time and can be found in countless contemporary texts; this was a story of the country's origins that can justifiably be called an 'invention of tradition'.[29] In the series of spectacles he designed, he drew a parallel between the revolt against the Romans and the fight against the Spanish in his own time. He compared the mythical Batavian leader Bato to William of Orange, alluding to the famous tragedy *Baeto* by P.C. Hooft, and Claudius Civilis to Prince Maurice.[30] Brandt Jnr also published a long poem entitled *Het sluiten der eeuwige vreede, tusschen de doorluchtige Hoog: Moog: heeren Staaten der vrije Vereenigde Nederlanden, en zijne maietsteit van Spanje*.[31] He used blank verse, a verse form that symbolised the notion of freedom, to give an annotated historical sketch of all the complications that preceded the Treaty of Munster. Numerous significant events from the nation's history were covered, including the murder of the counts of Egmond and Hoorne in 1568, the murders and pillaging in Zutphen and Naarden in 1572, the siege and relief of Leiden, the Pacification of Ghent and the Act of Abjuration. In this way, Brandt Jnr constructed a narrative line linking periods of oppression and liberation, thus emphasising the resilience of both the Batavians of old and the current inhabitants of the Dutch Republic.

Brandt Jnr wrote from the perspective of Amsterdam, as is evident for example from his dedication to the burgomaster of Amsterdam, Cornelis de Graaf. Like Vos, he put his skills as a poet at the service of the city governors, whom he wished concord, wisdom and virtue. He saw Amsterdam as the city where he would be able to find 'happiness' (*geluk*).[32] The province of Holland's leading role was also clearly expressed in his elaborations on 'opulent Holland / That [was] so great, so free thanks to its bravery' (*weeligh Hollant / Dat door zijn dapperheit, zoo groot, zoo vrij [was]*).[33] But Brandt Jnr also took a broader view, prompted by the recent wars. Towns that had been under siege such as Leiden, Naarden, Zutphen, Roermond, Maastricht and Hulst were shown as logically connected and became part of a cohesive picture of the nation's past. The enemy had almost caused the collapse of the 'teetering State' (*waggelende Staat*) but the Orange fleet had resisted powerfully on the 'Rhine, and Meuse, and Waal and Merwede' (*Rijn, en Maas, en Waal en Merw*).[34] By locating the nation's origins in the distant Batavian past ('the Start of our State', [*het Begin van onzen Staat*]), he automatically gave Gelderland and the Betuwe region a place in the greater whole.[35] Brandt included a reference to the siege in 1635 of Schenkenschans, a fortress near Kleve (a town now in Germany, also known as Cleves). The commander of the Spanish army, Don Francisco de Mendoza, managed to conquer this 'Key to the Country in revolt' (*Sleutel van 't oproerigh Landt*), which meant that 'the lock' (*de grendel*) to the borders (*de grenzen*) had been opened. Accord-

ing to Brandt Jnr, Mendoza had left a trail of devastation throughout the Betuwe, or 'the rich fields of Prince Bato' (*vorst Batoos rijke velden*).[36]

The princes of Orange constituted another important motif that brought unity to the account of the nation's history. As with Vos, they played a prominent role in the text, in particular Frederick Henry. Brandt Jnr had the ghost of the dead stadholder give a long speech to his son William II, who he called upon to protect the welfare of 'the seven lands' (*de zeven landen*) and the 'national government of the States' (*het landtbestier der Staaten*).[37] He urged him to refrain from making enemies and avoid war, unless forced into it by 'trickery' (*list*) or 'foreign conspiracy' (*uitheemsch eedtgespan*).[38] The declaration of support for the stadholders is striking, as relations between William II and the city of Amsterdam soured to such an extent shortly afterwards that William organised an (unsuccessful) coup to dislodge the city's rulers. There is little sign of those tensions in these texts, unless it is the fact that Brandt Jnr specifically used rhyming verse for Frederick Henry's monologue as if he wanted to suggest that the freedom of the stadholders was subject to certain limits. He also stressed emphatically that their position was thanks to divine providence rather than their own efforts.[39] More generally, it is quite noticeable that the princes of Orange are assigned a positive role overall in the texts. A few poets made no reference at all to the Orange family, such as Jan Pietersz. Beeldhouwer and Pieter van Godewijk, who both wrote poems to mark the occasion, but they were the exception rather than the rule.[40]

The texts by Vos and Brandt Jnr were included in the *Olyf-krans*, which was published by the Amsterdam publisher Gerrit van Goedesberg in 1649. This compilation contained eighteen texts in total. In addition to the spectacles and epic poems by Vos, Brandt Jnr, Boelens and Samuël Coster, it also had the peace treaty text, Vondel's *Leeuwendalers*, the speech by Boxhorn mentioned earlier and several poems. Most texts had already appeared in print. It is not clear who compiled the collection of texts; it is still not known who is referred to by the initials J.B.V., who addresses the 'Dutch who love Peace and the Arts' (*Vreê- en Konst-lievende Needer-landers*). It was clearly a work with a political message, as the literary historian Marijke Spies has shown. The compiler was not afraid to include poets with a flexible attitude to religious matters: Catholic, Remonstrant and Mennonite writers were allowed to have their say.[41] Brandt Jnr's Remonstrance background was evident for instance in his plea for a 'moderate national government' (*gemaatigd land-bestier*) that avoided internal strife.[42]



OLYF-KRANS
DER
VREEDE,
Door de
Doorluchtigſte Geeſten, en Geleerdſte Mannen, deezes tijds,
GEVLOCHTEN.
Met een Byvoeging van de Bouw-zang, op het Stadthuis, door J. V. VONDEL.
En het Gekroonde Amſterdam, door R. ANSLO.
Vrede zy in uwe Veſtinghe; welvaren in uwe Paleyſen.

t' AMSTERDAM,
Uit de Drukkery van *Tymen Houthaak*.
Voor GERRIT van GOEDESBERG,
Boekverkooper op 't Water. MDC XLIX.

1.6 Title page of the anthology *Olyf-krans der Vreede* (1649)

Divine providence

Religion as well as history played a significant role in the texts on the Munster peace. The striking feature here is the diversity in the voices: Catholic, Remonstrant, Mennonite and Calvinist poets all wrote on the subject.[43] The first three groups were given the opportunity to express their views of the peace in the *Olyf-krans*. The last group – the Calvinists – deserve special attention as their voice became increasingly dominant in subsequent peace celebrations (especially in 1748 at the time of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle). The Calvinist authors assumed the Republic had a special relationship with God and that the Dutch were a chosen people, which was why they drew comparisons with the people of Israel.[44] This framing was frequently linked to historical developments, in which it was suggested that the Dutch Revolt and the liberation from the tyranny of Spain had been God's will.

This interweaving of political-historical and Biblical frameworks is illustrated by the texts commenting on the peace by two Frisian authors, Adriaan Hasius, Eelkje van Bouricius, and one from Haarlem, Jacob van Gerwen. Hasi-

us was a minister in the Reformed congregation in Leeuwarden. On 31 May 1648, he addressed churchgoers with a 'Joyful Meditation' (*Vreughde-rijcke Meditatie*). In his speech he gave a historical overview of the events from 1567 up to the peace treaty, in which he emphatically praised the sound policy of the 'gentlemen of the States General' (*heeren Staten-Generael*) and the 'illustrious House of Nassau' (*doorlughtighe huys van Nassou*).[45] He also compared the people of the Netherlands to the people of Israel, whom God had rescued from perilous situations. Hasius, who had previously served as a minister in Brielle, Poortugaal and Kralingen, continually addressed his audience as 'you people of the Netherlands' (*ghy Nederlanders*).

A poem by Van Bouricius, a friend of Hasius, may well have been recited on the same occasion. The poem certainly appeared immediately after Hasius's sermon in a printed collection of texts; it was entitled 'Rym-gedicht, passende op den staet des landts en het tractaet van den vrede, ghemaeckt tot Munster'.[46] It is suffused with the same spirit as Hasius's sermon and opens with words of thanks to God who has governed the Netherlands so well:

> O Netherlands, ruled
> by God's hand so indulgently,
> That your fine and spacious garden
> Is adorned so splendidly
> With great cities in which men see
> Your State rise up in prosperity:
> For this, both great and small must praise
> The Lord with odes.[47]

Like Hasius, Bouricius gives an overview of the main events from the Dutch Revolt, starting with the arrival of the Duke of Alba as Governor-General of the Netherlands in 1568 and ending with the Treaty of Munster in 1648. She leaves us in no doubt as to who her heroes are, as the historical narrative follows the line of the stadholders: William of Orange, Maurice, Frederick Henry and William II. In ninety-two lines, she sketches the process of liberating the 'fatherland' (*vaderland*), which she refers to as 'the Netherlands' (*Nederlandt*). This history in verse is enclosed within a prayer to God. To summarise, this is a classic example of a work containing the trinity of God, the fatherland and the House of Orange, which were to dominate much of the later peace poetry.[48]

The Harlem doctor and dramatic society member Jacob van Gerwen followed the same pattern in his *Geluckwenschingh over den eeuwigen vrede* (1648). He too introduced and concluded his sketch of the nation's history with a prayer to God in which he emphasised the Republic's special position: 'Israel's Shepherd, protect our Dutch Ship / So that it does not smack into some Rock.'[49] As

with Van Bouricius, his historical account was tied to the House of Orange. The Republic traced its origins to William of Orange ('Our State is built on the foundations of this Prince', [*Op desen Vorst grontvest, is onsen Staet gebout*]). Prince Maurice had expanded the 'small State' (*kleynen Staet*) and Frederick Henry managed to end the war. It was up to William II, who had fought 'for the Fatherland' (*voor 't Vaderlandt*) from an early age and was now following in his father's footsteps, to continue the line and achieve success with God's blessing.

Both Van Bouricius and Van Gerwen confidently ran through the high points of the nation's history, kneading them together to produce what they considered to be the essential message, namely that the Dutch had been liberated from the Spanish yoke thanks to God, who had a special relationship with the Republic. Both authors gave pride of place to this pious message and it will be clear that they both belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. Indeed, neither text is included in the *Olyf-krans*, which shows a more pliant attitude to religious matters.

The new golden era

The motif of a new golden era played a key role in the construction of a shared image of the nation in addition to the historical and religious motifs. This is particularly marked in two plays that were written specifically to celebrate the Treaty of Munster: *Hollants Vree-toneel* (1648) by Peter van Haps and *Leeuwendalers* (1647) by Vondel.

Mars and Pax were the main characters in the comedy by Van Haps. The god of war opens the play with a lengthy elaboration of the destruction and pillaging for which he has been responsible. He boasts of his achievements by pointing to the great deeds of such war heroes as Claudius Civilis, Prince Maurice, Jacob van Heemskerck and Piet Hein as they laid the basis for the Republic's prosperity. Pax qualifies this account by only praising heroes who took up arms in order to achieve peace, in particular Prince Frederick Henry (referred to as *Vreeden-Rijck* or 'rich with peace' in a play on the name Frederick).[50] Pax abhors the horrific events that took place during the Dutch Revolt, for example in Oudewater, Alkmaar, Rotterdam and Zutphen, and argues that men should aim for peace, not war. The play, in which numerous farcical and rustic intermezzos provide light relief, ends with a speech by Pax who sings the praises of the 'Golden ancient century' (*Gulde oude eeuw*), in other words the classic golden age before there was any jealousy or conflict. The character Vigilans ('watchful eye', [*wakend oog*]) ends the play by assuring the spectators that she will keep a watchful eye over 'the garden of Holland' (*Hollants-tuyn*).[51]

Van Haps' peace play raises the question of which fatherland he had in

mind. I agree with the conclusions in various recent general works of history and literature in which the authors state that references to Holland and the Batavians in Van Haps had a more general meaning and functioned as a *pars pro toto* for the Netherlands and the Dutch.[52] Quite apart from anything else, it is remarkable that a Gelderland poet had a peace play published by a publisher in Nijmegen, given that most texts were printed in the province of Holland. He dedicated his work to Bartholt van Gent, who was a member of the States of Gelderland and had represented that province in the peace negotiations in Munster. Apparently, Van Haps received a reward of fifteen guilders for this from the council of Nijmegen.[53] This shows that the peace spoke to people outside Amsterdam as well.

But even if we consider the content, there are passages that point to a wider geographical entity than just the province of Holland. For example, the watchful eye of Vigilans patrols the Meuse, IJssel, Rhine and Waal rivers so that she can quickly sound the alert at any sign of intruders.[54] The Dutch mother tongue, the sciences and the art of poetry also fulfil a function that goes beyond regional boundaries. Apollo and Pallas Athene argue that the Dutch surpass the Greeks in their learning. For while Athens only had one 'shop of wisdom' (*wijsheidswinkel*), Holland (i.e. the Republic) had six, located in different areas:

> Where Greece had *Athens* as its shop of wisdom,
> From which her greatest minds came
> Holland has six, there is the renowned *Athens*
> of *Leiden*, *Utrecht*, exceptional *Groningen*,
> *Franeker* no less, *Gelderland*, *Harderwijk* and
> *Nassau's Breda* (and other such places)
> Such as that which lies on the sea and that on the IJssel,
> Where *Holland's* Cicero penned his first verse.
> Countless wise men have come from here,
> Who have often exerted their powers in their mother tongue [...][55]

Van Haps referred to various universities and illustrious schools in the Republic.[56] These 'shops' had produced countless wise men who had written in their mother tongue.[57] Haps also mentioned 'Holland's Cicero' (*Hollants Cicero*) who composed his first verses on the River IJssel but it is not clear who he meant by this.[58]

A little later on, the ghost of Larbaeus appears (an anagram of the neo-Latin poet Caspar Barlaeus) and argues that all Dutch poets should applaud the Treaty of Munster. In response, Thalia, the goddess of the muses, calls upon the 'grandiloquent poets' (*hoogh-dravende Poëten*) and 'Founders of morals'

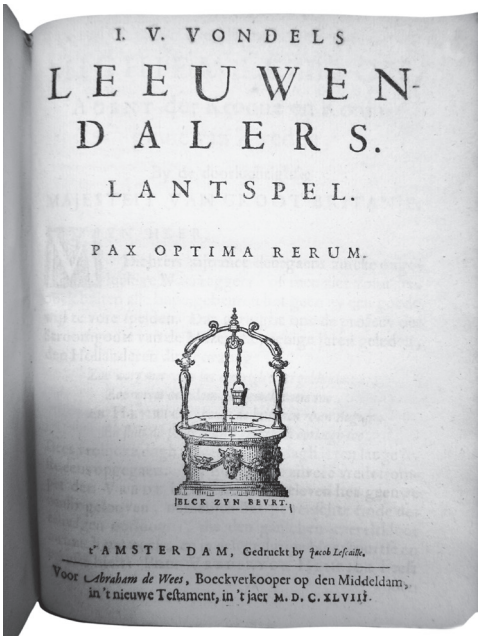
(*Zeden-stichters*) to make their contribution. She sees Huygens, Vos, Vondel and Hooft as poets of the first rank while Jacob Cats, Jan Harmensz. Krul and Jan van der Veen belong to the second rank. Again, the supra-regional perspective is important given that Cats came from Zeeland and Van der Veen lived in Deventer (although both were considered poets of the second rank). Van Haps was not entirely up to date, however, as he seems to have been unaware that both Krul and Hooft had died recently.[59] Nevertheless, the emphasis on the Dutch mother tongue and this list of poets shows that Van Haps took a broader view and did not simply focus on the province of Holland.

The idea of a new golden era also plays an important role in Vondel's *Leeuwendalers,* which appeared in 1647 in anticipation of the official conclusion of the peace on 30 January 1648. The first performances took place on 7, 11 and 14 May 1648, even before the ratification of the treaty on 15 May 1648. Two more performances followed in June.[60]

The play was inspired by the tradition of pastoral literature extolling idyllic country life. This tradition went back to Virgil's *Georgics* (a didactic poem on agriculture) and the *Bucolics* mentioned earlier. Vondel had produced a prose translation of both works, which had been published in 1646, just before *Leeuwendalers*. Indeed, Virgil's influence can be seen in numerous places.[61] Contemporary pastoral theatre also formed a source of inspiration, such as *Il pastor fido* (1589) by the Italian author Giovanni Battista Guarini. The focus in this category of theatre was on the contrast between the simple country life, in which honest shepherds adhere to pure notions of love, and the corrupt court where treachery and deceit are the order of the day. Unlike in Guarini's plays, the court did not feature in Vondel's work, which is why he had called it a 'Rural play' (*Lantspel*).

Vondel arranged for a typical Dutch setting by locating his play in 'Leeuwendaal' where plump cows grazed in meadows full of clover. Buttercups, tulips and lime trees grew alongside cypresses and bay trees in Vondel's Arcadia (which the nineteenth-century author Jacob van Lennep thought was very reminiscent of the area around Velzen and Beverwijk).[62] The play was one long evocation of the idea of a golden era that had been restored after a period of decline. That return to a golden era was linked directly to the Treaty of Munster, as is clear from the dedication that Vondel wrote to accompany his play: 'This joyful day, this golden day has finally arrived. We hear the silver trumpet blow to herald the peace. We are experiencing something we can barely believe, namely the desired end of the eternal war that afflicted the entire globe.'[63]

According to the play's story, an argument during a banquet held in Leeuwendaal in honour of the woodland god Pan escalated to such an extent that it ended in fatalities. The northern and southern sides have been on hos-


I. V. VONDELS
LEEUWEN-
DALERS.
LANTSPEL.
PAX OPTIMA RERUM.
BLCK ZYN BEVRT
t' AMSTERDAM, Gedruckt by Jacob Lescaille,
Voor Abraham de Wees, Boeckverkooper op den Middeldam,
in 't nieuwe Testament, in 't jaer M. D. C. XLVIII.

1.7 Title page of Vondel's *Leeuwendalers* (1647)

tile terms ever since then. Each year, they have to make a sacrifice to Pan as restitution. In the meantime a love affair has developed between Adelaert, the adopted son of the lord of the southern side, and Hageroos, who has been taken into the care of the lord of the northern side. Their relationship initially seems to be going nowhere, although Adelaert does rescue Hageroos from a sexual assault. When Adelaert is designated as that year's sacrifice, Hageroos is in despair. Eventually Pan intervenes with enigmatic words and Adelaert's life is spared. The play ends with a marriage feast in which everyone is reconciled with one another.

It is brimming with symbolism: the northern and southern sides represented the Northern and Southern Netherlands, whereby the southern side was ruled by Lantskroon (the King of Spain) and the northern side by Vrerick (William Frederick). The marriage was of course a metaphor for the peace that had been arranged between the Republic and the King of Spain. There can be no doubt that Vondel was aiming to convey a positive message about the peace. It is no coincidence that the play's subtitle is '*Pax optima rerum*' – peace is the best thing of all. However, professional readers still cannot agree even today on the precise interpretation of the play. Vondel's most recent biographer, Piet Calis, assumes that he deliberately remained neutral after years of being embroiled in political and religious controversies.[64] Karel Porteman also argues that Vondel took a conciliatory stance. He contends that it is not doing

Vondel justice when people characterise *Leeuwendalers* as a play with a political or religious slant.[65] Porteman is referring in particular to interpreters who see *Leeuwendalers* as a pro-Catholic work and Albert Verweij, who saw the play as promoting the ideal of a Greater Netherlands.[66]

Even so, both Calis and Porteman acknowledge that Vondel's conciliatory attitude is striking given that he did not normally try to hide his political and religious preferences. He had only recently produced two vehemently Catholic works, namely *Altaer-geheimenissen* (1645) and *Mary Stuart* (1646). It is therefore tempting to search for Vondel's 'true' intentions because it seems so unlikely that such an engaged and controversial author would suddenly abandon his partisan stance. It could be added that even a play advocating peace and general reconciliation was a thoroughly political play. After all, the peace negotiations had been plagued by quarrels between the supporters and opponents of peace. So advocating peace was in itself a political statement.

At the meta-level, there is also the more fundamental debate about whether we can ever discover the author's original intentions. Some scholars think we need to concentrate more on the many voices in the text (the 'polyphony') rather than aiming for a single, all-encompassing interpretation. Moreover, it is the task of literary specialists to generate new interpretations with the aid of modern methods. This is the opinion held by the literary scholars Frans-Willem Korsten and Stefan van der Lecq, who point out that Vondel's play contains numerous internal contradictions and could evoke conflicting associations. Thus Korsten notes that the repertoire of images from classical mythology is at odds with Christian beliefs, while Van der Lecq shows that the picture of harmony and peace is undermined in numerous passages, for example in the scene in which Hageroos is assaulted.[67] In their analyses, the historical context disappears to the background, to make way for a deconstructionist reading based on modern theories. At the same time, both Korsten and Van der Lecq seem to suggest that the texts could have been read in this way in Vondel's day too.

It will be clear that the peace texts are considered here primarily from a historical and contextual perspective. Given the context of the time, it does seem as if Vondel, who was an immigrant from the Southern Netherlands, wanted primarily to express his joy at the end of the war and the restoration of friendly relations between the Northern and Southern Netherlands. That is clear, for instance, from the following passage:

> The South and North sides join forces
> In this pairing.
> The discord is gone:
> They tie a firm knot.

They know no quarrels or envy,
No tribulations or remorse:
They kiss, embrace, court and woo.
Dispute has taken flight.[68]

I find Anton van Duinkerken's argument convincing that Vondel was talking about the general reconciliation rather than a political reunification of the North and South.[69] At the same time, Korsten and Van der Lecq show with their analyses of the use of language that Vondel's text still invites questions and contains ambiguities. I find their approach inspiring as it calls on the engagement of modern readers with the text, prompting a dialogue with Vondel's work and all the associations it evokes.

What is more, if you apply their approach to reading the text, you find even more passages that jar with the conciliatory message. Take the opening monologue by the old wet nurse Kommerijn, who cared for Hageroos after her mother Vredegunt fled the conflict and was killed. After years of absence, she returns to the place of her birth:

As Vredegunt raised me in this region,
So steer me straight ahead with this crooked stick,
On which I lean for support; drive out the bitter grudge,
And the root of the quarrels, if it remains.

This passage plays on the words 'crooked' (*krom*) and 'straight' (*recht*): she wants to be taken to her destination ('steer me straight ahead') with the crooked stick on which she is leaning. Surely that image would call to mind the statesman Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, who used a walking stick. In 1625, Vondel published *Palamedes*, a veiled accusation of the people who had the death of the old statesman on their conscience (he was executed for political reasons in 1619). We find the combination of straight and crooked in two places there too.[70] There is an even stronger link with the poem 'Het stockske van Joan van Oldenbarnevelt, Vader des Vaderlants' (1657), in which Vondel writes: 'Who, while bent so crooked, never went crooked!' (*Wie ging, zo krom gebuckt, noit krom!*).[71] The name Kommerijn can also be read as a combination of '*kommer*' (care) and '*rein*' (pure), which reinforces the association with Oldenbarnevelt as a pure and caring political statesman.[72] We will never know whether Vondel was really alluding to the political and religious disputes at the start of the century. However, it is far from unthinkable that he might have indirectly revealed something of his ideas on the justice and injustice of events in the country's history. References were frequently made to the beheading of Oldenbarnevelt in later crises too; this event had made a deep impression on many people.[73]

Vondel's pastoral interpretation of a new golden era appealed to other authors too. The image of the Leeuwendalers celebrating in a Dutch Arcadia was appreciated not just by Vondel's contemporaries but also by later generations.[74] Indeed to such an extent that the peace poetry of subsequent generations contains frequent references to 'Leeuwendaal'. Thus the merchant and poet Lucas Pater applauded the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 with a play entitled *Leeuwendaal hersteld* ('Leeuwendaal restored'). This was naturally a reference to Vondel's Arcadia that had been broken up but then restored to its former glory. The author Adriaan Loosjes (1761-1818), who glorified the seventeenth century in his historical novels, also referred to *Leeuwendalers* and its representation of a golden era. He even had the main characters in *Maurits Lijnslager* (1808) attend a performance of Vondel's play.[75]

In this way, Vondel's *Leeuwendalers* contributed to an ideal image of the Netherlands that later generations also emulated. Paradoxically, the trope of the return to a new golden era was to play a persistent role in Dutch peace texts precisely because new wars and conflicts kept breaking out. The return to a golden era became a promise that repeatedly had to be fulfilled.

Concord

The general tone of Dutch print culture commenting on the peace of 1648 was conciliatory. Catholics, Mennonites, Remonstrants and moderate Calvinists all expressed their joy at the peace that had finally been achieved after so many years of war. It is noticeable that the members of these groups stressed the general benefits of the freedom that had been regained rather than their individual differences.

In addition to pointing to the importance of the Dutch mother tongue and a Dutch poetic tradition, this concord was also expressed through the many references to the nation's past.[76] The history of Batavia and the Dutch Revolt automatically introduced a supra-regional perspective. The unifying role of the House of Orange is another aspect that stands out: despite the great diversity in religious and political backgrounds, people were unanimous in their praise for Prince Frederick Henry. Even someone like Vondel, who had made distinctly critical remarks in the past about the acts of Prince Maurice, sang the praises of the prince who had brought peace. The (virtually) universal praise is all the more striking in the light of the peace celebrations that followed in which tensions were to rise between Orangists and republicans.

Another recurring element in the materials commenting on the Munster peace is the idea of a return to a golden era. This motif, which was inspired by the classics, played an important role in projecting a positive self-image of the

Netherlands. Commentators gave it a typical Dutch slant by linking it to contemporary trade, the current political situation and a recognisable landscape populated with rotund cows whose udders slosh around.

The dawn of a golden era complete with the increased production of butter, milk and cheese was to remain a standard motif in the peace texts in subsequent celebrations of peace treaties. That was the case for example in 1748, which saw both the celebration of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and the centenary commemoration of the Treaty of Munster. For some, the frame of reference was not just the classical golden era but also the blossoming of the Republic in the seventeenth century, when Amsterdam functioned as the world's 'marketplace'.[77] There should be a revival of those times to make the Republic once again the trading centre of the world.

When the glorification of the Dutch Golden Age reached a new peak at the start of the nineteenth century in reaction to the French occupation, it was based on foundations laid one and a half centuries earlier. This was not a *creatio ex nihilo* – some aspects of this repertoire of images came from an older tradition. Yet there was an increasing awareness that the glorious days of the seventeenth century were gone for good. The Dutch could only look back in amazement and hold up the assertiveness of their forebears as an example for the oppressed nation.

However in 1648 people were still looking towards the future. The motif of a new golden era gave a finality to the country's history and gave the Dutch people a clear destination. But the dream of peace was short-lived as war broke out with England in 1652. Trading interests were at stake in this war and the one that followed in 1665, interests that had to be defended by taking up arms. Mars was temporarily released from his chains in order to safeguard the Dutch Republic's prosperity.

2

'GAINED WHILE HOLDING TOUCHPAPER AND SABRE!'

The Treaty of Breda (1667)

The Treaty of Breda, which was concluded on 31 July 1667, brought an official end to the Second Anglo-Dutch War. The Dutch had been embroiled since the summer of 1665 in a war with the English that was all about trading interests. There had been several major naval battles, including the Battle of Lowestoft (13 June 1665) the Four Days' Battle (11-14 June 1666), the St. James' Day Battle (4-5 August 1666) and the Raid on the Medway (19-24 June 1667). The final battle was seen as a great triumph for the Dutch and forced the English to rapidly agree to a peace. Negotiators from England and the Dutch Republic were joined at the negotiating table by envoys from Denmark and France (allies of the Republic). When the treaty was ratified on 24 August, everyone in Breda celebrated. Wine flowed from the fountains in front of the residences of the foreign ambassadors, and a great firework display was attended by 'many thousands' (*vele duysenden*).[1]

The peace treaty was greeted with joy too beyond the town walls of Breda. For example, Amsterdam organised victory bonfires to celebrate the general day of thanksgiving, fasting and prayer on 7 September that had been proclaimed by the States General.

Poets in various towns contributed to the general celebratory atmosphere. The Hague poet Jacob Westerbaen hoped that the Treaty of Breda would last:

> We are once again united by Peace:
> May God grant that the blade rusts in the sheath
> And that Peace lasts, the peace we gained
> From England while holding touchpaper and sabre![2]

However, this did not sound particularly conciliatory as Westerbaen emphasised that the Dutch had forced the peace with 'while holding touchpaper and sabre', a reference to the successful raid on Chatham in the Medway under the command of Michiel de Ruyter. Free passage was guaranteed again at long last,

2.1 Firework display on 7 September 1667 to celebrate the Treaty of Breda, at Kloveniersburgwal in Amsterdam

wrote Westerbaen, and trade could flourish. He wanted to give thanks to three parties for this. The first was God, who had preserved the country, secondly, the country's governors deserved full praise and thirdly the heroes who 'under the high authority of the Nation's States / Fought for this praiseworthy Peace with their hands!'[3]

Westerbaen was not alone in using poetry to sing the praises of the Treaty of Breda. A total of more than twenty poems appeared by Dutch authors, about half of them in Latin. Several other publications using a poetic form appeared too: a peace ballet, a text explaining an allegorical spectacle and an explanatory description accompanying a commemorative medal.[4] Most of the authors were from the province of Holland and the majority of the texts were published in the three main towns of Leiden, Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Even so, many of these authors spoke of the peace as being beneficial to the Republic as a whole. The 'fatherland' (*vaderland*) and the 'Netherlands' (*Nederland*) were not restricted to the province of Holland; rather, they had a supra-regional connotation as well, if only because the peace negotiations had taken place in a different region. References to a provincial identity (the 'Hollander', the 'Zeelander') did not preclude a supra-regional, 'national' identity, as the historian Gijs Rommelse has shown in an analysis of the war pamphlets from this period.[5] The texts were explicitly about the peace between the 'king

2.2 The Hague poet Jacob Westerbaen (1599-1670),
printmaker Cornelis Visscher, after a drawing by Jan de Bray

of Great Britain' (*koning van Groot-Brittanje*) and 'the States-General of the United Netherlands' (*de Staten Generael der Verenigde Nederlanden*), as the title of Westerbaen's celebratory verse puts it.[6]

Breda's tally of a good twenty poems celebrating the treaty is modest compared with other peace treaties of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Treaty of Munster in 1648, the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 all resulted in substantially larger numbers of odes to peace. That is hardly surprising as these were major international treaties involving many countries. The Treaty of Breda may have inspired fewer writers to pick up their pens but that is no reason to downplay the poetic production commenting on the treaty. The leading poets of the day addressed the topic, including Joost van den Vondel, Joachim Oudaen, Joannes Antonides van der Goes and the abovementioned Jacob Westerbaen. Even Petrus de Groot, the son of the great legal expert Hugo Grotius (Hugo de Groot in Dutch), wrote a poem. Taken together, these texts give us not only a picture of the response to the peace treaty but also a better understanding of the political climate at that time, which was extremely tense. This chapter aims to show how bellicose the peace texts were in practice. While a peace had been concluded with England,

internal relations between the republicans and the Orangists were very strained.

The mood was much grimmer than at the time of the Treaty of Munster. The peace print culture relating to Munster was brimming with pastoral scenes and optimistic visions of a new golden era. There was praise on all sides and among all religious groups for the stadholders, particularly Frederick Henry. The freedom that had been regained was a central theme for the Treaty of Breda too, but freedom had become a politically charged concept. According to the republicans, the first period without a stadholder (1650-1672) had been the start of 'true freedom'.[7] In 1650, William II had died and a new stadholder had not been appointed. In the power vacuum that followed, John de Witt emerged as the most important statesman in his capacity as Holland's pensionary. He was a fierce opponent of the stadholders and supported the Act of Exclusion, which had been included as a secret annex to the Treaty of Westminster in 1654. It provided for the exclusion of the Orange princes from the position of stadholder of Holland.[8] However, that did not mean the end of the House of Orange. William III grew up and aspired to the same office as his father.[9] The tensions between the republicans and the Orangists persisted throughout the stadholderless period and are clearly visible in the print culture relating to the Breda peace.

Prosperity and courageous heroes

Certain common elements can be seen in the poems on the Treaty of Breda. Firstly, many poets pointed to the positive influence that the peace had on trade and prosperity – a trope that we saw repeatedly in 1648 too. Thus Vondel emphasised that ships would once again be free to sail the seas now that peace had been concluded. The Dutch would have unrestricted access again to the Oresund strait, the Mediterranean and the East and West Indies: 'See the ships spreading their wings / Bravely rocking back and forth / Like a cloud of waterfowl / Unbound by beach and lake.'[10] Another poet called on city dwellers to welcome the peace because it would bring them new prosperity: 'Well, City Dwellers! / Let your thanks be heard unto Heaven: / Sing the praises of Peace; For through her power is prosperity reborn.'[11]

Secondly, many authors devoted considerable space to the war that had preceded the peace. The Raid on the Medway in particular received a great deal of attention because of the important part it had played in the peace process. The victory that Michiel de Ruyter and his men achieved strengthened the position of the Dutch negotiating team and was applauded throughout the land. In his twenty-three-page ode entitled *Bellone aen Bant,* Antonides van der Goes

2.3 Portrait of Michiel de Ruyter (1607-1676) with an ode by Vondel, printmaker Abraham Bloteling, after a painting by Jan Lievens

listed the deeds of numerous naval heroes during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. This canon of national naval heroes symbolised the Dutch Republic's resilience. For example, he praised Jacob Wassenaar van Obdam ('Holland's water god', [*Hollands watergod*]), who had been killed in the Battle of Lowestoft, the first major clash with the English. Aert van Nes, Willem Joseph van Gent, Johan Evertszoon de Oude and Tjerk Hiddeszoon de Vries were also lauded:

> Van Nes, man of great deeds, rejoices in the danger of battle,
> And swings the sabre of the high campaign over his head.
> Manful Van Gent advances with his water cask,
> And lives in fire and smoke like a salamander.
> Experienced Evertszoon, the grey lion of the water,
> Commands the fearless Zeelanders as their admiral.
> Combative Tjerk and his Frisian forces already desire
> To attack the Royal fleet in the rear,
> With a thousand heroes who follow him in his footsteps.[12]

However there was one naval hero who stood head and shoulders above the rest, and that was Michiel de Ruyter. He it was who had been able to destroy so many enemy ships with his 'mighty navy' (*magtige oorlogsvloot*) and protect the fatherland: 'The great Ruyter urges his navy men on, / to attack the enemy for the sake of their own goods and life', as Antonides van der Goes writes.[13] Other poets also stressed the crucial role that Michiel de Ruyter had played in the lead-up to the Treaty of Breda.[14]

Thirdly, there was praise for the Republic's statesmen, in particular the brothers John and Cornelis de Witt. At that point, Cornelis was burgomaster of Dordrecht, and he had garnered considerable acclaim by accompanying De Ruyter on his Raid on the Medway. The two men were showered with praise, both in Dutch and in Latin.[15]

Political provocation

That the republican perspective dominated is not surprising but the belligerent and provocative tone of some texts is still striking. A certain A.P.R.B. wrote a very vehement poem entitled *Vrede en vrijheid*. The man behind these initials was the Rotterdam lawyer and civic magistrate Adriaan Paets (1631-1686), a fervent supporter of John de Witt and strongly opposed to the Orangists. Paets was a Remonstrant and felt an affinity with the ideas of Erasmus and Hugo Grotius.[16]

In *Vrede en vrijheid*, Paets gave a historical overview from the Dutch Revolt to the Treaty of Breda, in which he showed the stadholders of the past in a very poor light. He was able to muster up some appreciation of William of Orange but he subjected Prince Maurice to a barrage of criticism: he was the man who had had 'innocence' (*de onschuld*) – i.e. the pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt – murdered in 1619. Paets considered 1650 to be the Jubilee Year because that was when the first stadholderless period started. However, war soon broke out with England, followed by a second war in 1665. According to Paets, these misfortunes were overcome mainly thanks to Cornelis de Witt, who personally accompanied the navy. On his return, the citizens of Dordrecht greeted him with great joy:

> Come now my Batavian, crown with laurels
> The heads of your great Batavians,
> Crown the head of him who, in the Council
> of the first city [=Dordrecht], and the oldest of the State,
> Sitting eminently in the first position,
> Scorning danger and supported by his belief
> In divine right and Charles' wrong,
> Destroys the murderous weapon of the proud kingdom.[17]

Freedom had been restored in part thanks to Cornelis de Witt:

> Freedom flourishes at home and abroad,
> At home by bridling the agitators,
> Abroad by an honest peace,
> That returns the sharp steel into the scabbard.[18]

This passage clearly reveals the political tensions: while peace may have reigned internally, that did depend on potential insurgents being kept in check.

The emphatically anti-Orangist tone went down well with a certain H.v.V.L., who penned a lengthy response entitled *Dubbele Victorie* (double victory). This forty-page pamphlet presents a man from Amsterdam, someone from Rotterdam and someone from Friesland who discuss the Republic's history and contemporary politics. It is brimming with republican propaganda.[19] It is not known who wrote this pamphlet. Two possible candidates are named in the literature, but it is not clear how their names relate to the aforementioned initials. The first is Johannes Naeranus, a church minister in Rotterdam. The case for him as a candidate rests on the explicit attention given to religious tolerance in the pamphlet through the man from Rotterdam, and the fact that Paets was a pupil of Naeranus.[20] The second is the well-known anti-Orangist commentator Pieter de la Court, who regularly published under pseudonyms, including V.H. and V.D.H. (Van Hove/Van de Hove, Dutch for 'of the court'). De la Court was friends with John de Witt and the author of the fiercely republican work *Interest van Holland* (1662). His name has been linked to several other pamphlets that are similar in form and content.[21] The readers of the time may well have been able to recognise specific people in the men from Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Friesland, for example the abovementioned writers.

In *Dubbele victorie,* a man from Amsterdam is engrossed in *Vrede en Vrijheid,* the poem by Paets. He thinks it is an exceptionally fine work and agrees wholeheartedly with its message. When someone from Friesland joins him, a dialogue ensues on the phenomenon of the stadholdership. The Frisian is initially in favour but his position changes in the course of the conversation. Some time later, a man from Rotterdam intervenes in the debate and airs his views on the Republic's political situation; he is at least as strongly opposed to the stadholdership as the Amsterdam man.

The striking feature of this publication is the way in which it is built around Paets' poem. Time and again, it takes a passage from that poem as a starting point for a discussion of events in the Republic. The author of *Dubbele victorie* has some praise for the first stadholder, William of Orange, as he proved himself to be a wise political leader and a genuine advocate of freedom of conscience. But a decline soon set in afterwards. That is illustrated for example by

2.4 The brothers John and Cornelis de Witt, applauded in the celebrations of the Treaty of Breda

the quarrel between Oldenbarnevelt and Maurice. The Amsterdam man mentions the twenty-four judges who condemned Oldenbarnevelt to death and claims that Maurice bribed them. His portrait of Frederick Henry the 'town-taker' (*stedendwinger*, a name he was given because of the many towns he captured in order to create a buffer against the Spanish) is none too flattering either. The prince may have achieved major victories in war, but he was more

feared than loved. Moreover, he left the country in a deplorable state because so much money had been channelled into fighting the war. But stadholder William II was the most monstrous of them all because of his attempt to seize the city of Amsterdam. The Amsterdam man's message is clear: none of the stadholders of the past were any good.

But everything changed in 1650, 'the jubilee year' (*het jubeljaar*), because then they were 'relieved of that difficult and spiteful Stadholder' (*van dien lastigen en wrevelachtigen Stadhouder verlost*), as the Amsterdam man puts it.[22] The three men go on to discuss what future the stadholdership has in their own day – and then comes the blow. The Amsterdam man starts to rejoice over the 'double victory' (*dubbele victorie*) that they have recently achieved. The first 'victory' was the Treaty of Breda, which could be seen as a triumph over the English. The second, even greater 'victory' was the announcement of the Perpetual Edict of 5 August 1667, which stated that the position of stadholder was abolished in perpetuity in the province of Holland. The conclusion is forthright:

> That is truly the greatest Victory and blessing that we have ever had. That we have not only forced our external Enemies into Peace but have also discovered our internal Enemies, defused their attacks and also deprived them of the means of proposing and supporting such a Head for us under some pretext, which would bring such difficulties as we have now been in on multiple occasions. That is why we may call this a *Double Victory* and be doubly delighted with it.[23]

The message is clear. At the end, the man from Amsterdam introduces another topic, namely religious toleration. He advocates more tolerance and criticises the Frisian magistrates and church minsters who are oppressing the Catholics. The man from Friesland reluctantly has to agree once again with the tolerant Amsterdam man.

There were more texts containing a positive response to Paets' poem. The Rotterdam poet Joachim Oudaen drew inspiration from it for his *De Vrijheid op den Troon gevestigt* (1668), in which he mercilessly attacked William II, whom he compared to Caesar. He contrasted his despicable behaviour with the conduct of the men currently running the country, who were pursuing genuine freedom: 'Very different are we, very different our State, / Thanks to the wise governance of the fathers in the Council, / The fathers of the worthy Fatherland, / They now elevate freedom in all its glory.'[24]

't Gezeegende Staatſchip der Vrye Vereenigde Neederlanden, verbeeldende de Britze en Batavierze Orelog en Vrede.

HEt praalrijck Staatſchip van het vrye Nederland,
Zeer lang een poos beſtormt van alle vier de winden,
In 't uitterſte gevaar van barning, klip, en ſtrand,
Wiſt echter, door die nood, noch ruimme zee te vinden.
De leerſchende Eendracht wierd voort meeſteres van 't ſtuur;
Naardien zy nooit verſchrikt voor d'allerwreedſte plaagen
Zy had voorſichtigheid tot hulpſter, die elck uur
Haar aanwees uit wat hoeck het onweêr op quam daagen
Wat ſtreeck men, op 't koupas, met voordeel, aan moeſt gaan,
En hoe een vaſt beſtek was op de kaart te maaken.
Waar by men zeeker al 't milwijzen kon verſtaan:
En hoe Staatvaſtigheid ſtaag, neevens haar, moeſt waaken.
Gby weet, zei 23, wat vracht wy voeren: zie eens toe:
't Zijn Zeeven Maagden, daar 't Geweld, met duizend laagen,
En Staatzucht, ſtaag op loert, om, met de ſtaale roê
Van 't moordzuck oorlog, haar een ſchriek in 't hart te jaagen,
En al heur praal, en pronk te rooven voor goe buit.
Laat dan de Dapperheid zich op het voorſchip voegen.
Den wakren Ruiter lacht als 't donderend geluidt
Van 't ſchrikkelik metaal koomt gonzen op de boegen.

Zee d'Eedlen Heer van Gent, in 't harnas opgevoed,
Aan zijne zy te wacht; hy zal zijn deugd doen blijken,
En waagen 't leeven voor de goude ſpeer en hoed,
Daar mee de vryheid hier grootmoedig ſtaat te prijken.
Voeg by hen noch een ſteep van Helden. 't Vaderland
Is rijkkelik voorzien, met wijze en dapre mannen.
Godt bied, aan ons, tot hulp alreê zijn rechter hand,
Tot endelooze ſchriek der wreede zeetyrannen.
Den grooten Raedsheer, op wiens wijſheid, zorg, en vlijt,
Den Staat zich vaſt betrouwt, zal voor peil loot verſtrekken
Wijl hy de gronden kent daar 't ſchip op ſtoot en rijdt,
Wanneer zijn voorzorg die niet tydich koomt ontdekken.
Wind op het anker, 't is nu valck voor wind en ſtroom.
Ik zie Goereê vooruit; by zon daar maklik binnen.
Het onweer is gedaan. Men zeylt nu, zonder ſchroom,
Al over eeneboeg, om 't guldevlies te winnen.
Den dollen Oorlogh God is, door de lieve Vreê,
Verwonnen en geboeit, zijn waapenen gebrooken.
De blijdſchap lacht ons toe. Wy zijn ten ende 't Wee
Dat op de vrye zee zo ſchrikkelik pleeg te ſpooken.

d'Aeloude broederſchap, der Brit en Batavier,
Is weederom vernieuwt. Zie hoe haar d'Reglen kroonen.
d'Olijftak ſtrengelt zich van zelver in 't Laurier,
Om d'aardt, en eigenſchap der zeegepraal te toonen.
De naakte Waarheid blinckt als eene zon; en ſchiet
Heur heldre ſtraalen uit in aller menſchen ogen.
Elck ſtaat verwonderd. Die die heerlik Staatſchip ziet
Die knielt eerbiedig voor ons onbekent vermoogen.
Men buigt zich dan voor God, en danck, met hart, en mond,
Zijn Vaderlikke gunſt, zo mild aan ons beweezen;
Wijl hy de zoete Vreê, zo praalrijk, aan ons zond,
Dat al de weereld juigt, nu zy weêr is verreezen.
Dat Hoop, Geloof, en Liefd dan nimmer van ons gaat.
De heerſchende Eendracht moet het ſtuur geſtaag bewaaren.
Voorzichtigheid, en Trouw altijd op Schildtwacht ſtaat,
En wijſe Wakkerheid geduurig met ons varen.
Smijt ſtux de Tweedracht en de Staatzucht buiten boord,
Zoo hebben wy voortaan geen ongemak te vreezen.
De lieve Vreede voer by ons het hoogſte woord.
Daar Vreede is daar is Godt met zijn gezeegend weezen.

t'Amſterdam, gedruckt by HUGO ALLARDT, in de Kalverſtraat, in de Wereld-Caart.

JAN ZOET, *Amſterdammer.*

2.5 Poem about the Treaty of Breda by Jan Zoet. The print had been used before, namely for the Treaty of Westminster (1654)

The Orangist voice

Given all these republican texts, one might ask where the opposing Orangist voice was. Did the Orangist point of view fade completely into the background following the victory over the English and the Treaty of Breda? Did this peace, which was primarily a republican peace designed to serve trading interests, leave no room at all for alternative opinions? Or were they suppressed? That is certainly far from unthinkable because dissident opinions were indeed censored during this period.[25]

2.6 Commemorative medal from 1669 with a powerful Dutch Lion in the foreground, by Johannes Lutma

The contributions to the peace print culture by the Orangist poet Jan Zoet are interesting in that regard. No one could ignore the important role played by the De Witt brothers in achieving the Dutch victory and that put Zoet as a loyal Orangist in a dilemma. It would of course be unseemly to praise the House of Orange for a triumph that they had had nothing to do with, but praising the De Witt brothers was not an option either. So Zoet chose a different strategy. In 'Vreede-Hail, toegepast op het loffelik sluiten der eeuwige vreede' (1667), he deliberately rejected the approach of the writers who had run out of superlatives in their celebrations of the achievements of the nation's naval heroes and the De Witts. The motto he gave his text said a great deal: 'Others may seek to decorate the heads of heroes, / I cherish the olive branch above bloodied wreaths.' Zoet made a general plea for peace, based on the Christian principle of love of your fellow man. Peace brought trade, riches and abundance, and was preferable to 'the stinking wound of war' (*stinkende oorlogswond*).[26] He did not mention any naval heroes or great statesmen by name.

That was different in the text that Zoet wrote to accompany an edited version of a print that had already been used for the Treaty of Westminster (1654). The illustration shows the Ship of State with seven maidens on board, symbolising the seven provinces. The admirals Michiel de Ruyter and Willem Joseph

van Gent stand at the prow gazing out to sea with a determined look. The words '*Liberum mare*' can be seen on the flag and the figure of the Naked Truth is blinding Indians, Turks and Africans with the light from the Bible. This time, Zoet did praise the heroes of the fatherland and he even mentioned 'the great Pensionary' (*den grooten Raedtsheer*), in other words John de Witt. This would appear to be a remarkable concession, although he does once again emphasise the devout message: 'Bow before God and thank him with heart and voice, / For His fatherly grace, proven so mild to us.'[27]

One much more explicitly Orangist celebration of the Treaty of Breda has survived, namely the *Ballet de la Paix, Dansé par Le Prince d'Orange. A la Haye, au Mois de Fevrier 1668*. This ballet was performed on 7 February 1668 in The Hague in the presence of various dignitaries. Among those attending were the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici, and the Prince of Nassau-Siegen in Germany, John Maurice of Nassau. William III, Johan van Gent and John de Witt were also among those present.[28]

The *Ballet de la Paix* is a big work consisting of twenty-two scenes with fifty-four characters played by twenty-three different actors. It mixes mythological, allegorical, comical and pastoral scenes, in which William and his courtiers fulfilled roles as Greek and Roman gods. Putting on ballets was part of the tradition of the Hague court, a practice inspired by French examples. The prince was rather a good dancer thanks to the lessons he had received since a boy. However, this performance was not as innocent as it might have seemed: the focus may have been on the celebration of the peace but William used the occasion to position himself at the centre of all the attention. Speaking as Mercury, the god of trade, William made the following prophetic statement: '*Un autre temps viendra que de justes allarmes, / Pourront ailleurs tourner nos armes / Et que mes justes voeux se verront écoutez*' (There will come another time when a just war / Will cause us to use our weapons elsewhere / And when my justified wishes will be heard).[29] William's entreaty was heard for the situation looked completely different less than five years later: in the 'disastrous year' (*rampjaar*) of 1672, the Dutch Republic became embroiled in a series of new wars, the De Witt brothers were lynched and William III took charge as stadholder. By then, the Treaty of Breda, which had been greeted with so much elation by so many poets, was a thing of the past.

War, peace and war

The peace texts in response to Breda fit perfectly with the theory that peace is a continuation of war by other means. The naval battles might have ended but the fight continued unabated. Some peace texts were remarkably belligerent

2.7 Print from an almanac about the Treaty of Breda, produced in 1774 by Simon Fokke

and anti-English in character. Take Vondel's swipe at the English in which he considered the Great Fire of London (1666) as a just punishment from God. He effortlessly linked London in flames to Dutch victories on the River Thames.[30]

Then there was the affair involving a commemorative medal that Jan Zoet produced in collaboration with the medal engraver Christoffel Adolfszoon. It was presented at the Meeting of the States of Holland in July 1668, one year after the peace treaty. The medal shows the Maid of the Netherlands accompanied by a lamb (friendship) and a lion (bravery) as she tramples on malice. The inscription says '*Procul hinc, Mala Bestias, Regnis*', meaning 'Go far from here, you hateful beast'. In the background we see English ships on fire, a reference to the Raid on the Medway. The medal was intended to commemorate the reconciliation between the Republic and England but in fact it reignited tensions between the two countries. Charles II of England was extremely annoyed by the medal, which he saw as revelling in England's defeat. Attempts to set the king's mind at rest failed and eventually the States had to offer a formal apology. A halt was called to the distribution of the medal and the remaining stocks

were destroyed. However the damage had already been done and it had a far-reaching impact. So far-reaching that England made reference to the affair in its declaration of war on the Republic in 1672.[31]

This shows once again how thin the dividing line was between war and peace. In the Netherlands, it was mainly the republicans who lauded the Treaty of Breda. They seized the opportunity to praise the De Witt brothers and created a canon of sea heroes among whom Michiel de Ruyter was the undisputed champion. The stadholders (with the exception of William of Orange) were completely absent from this celebratory narrative. From the republicans' point of view, the ideal Dutch society was a free Republic with no role for the House of Orange. The sense of a shared Dutch identity was strongly anti-English and anti-Orangist. There was no acknowledgement at all in the jubilant verses of a world beyond the Republic's borders (Europe or the colonies), even though the Treaty of Breda affected the Republic's possessions in the Atlantic. For example, the English gained definitive control of Nieuw-Amsterdam (New York) while Suriname came under Dutch rule. But the writers were only concerned with the domestic situation. It was all about 'Holland's Heroic Deed' (*Hollands Helden-daad*) and 'the Netherlands' Better State' *(Neêrlands Beter-staat*), to quote one pamphleteer, but from a republican perspective.[32]

3

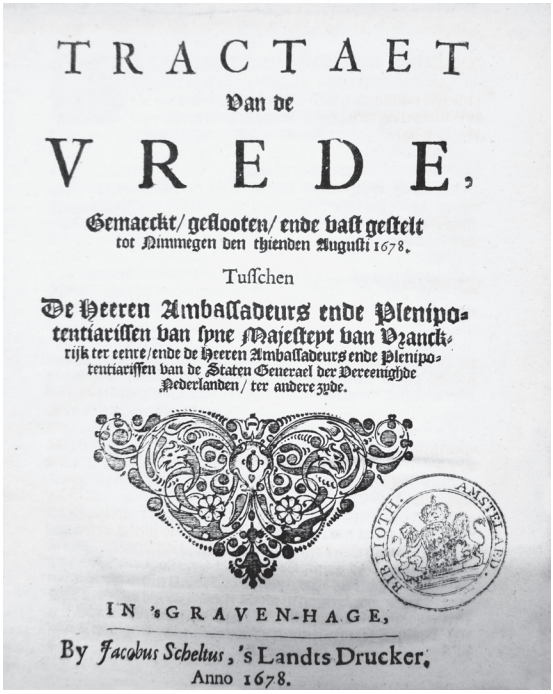
'THE FLOURISHING STATE OF THE NETHERLANDS'

The Treaty of Nijmegen (1678)

The Treaty of Munster made writers dream of a prosperous Republic in which cows grazed peacefully and merchant ships sailed round the world. Concord, harmony and prosperity were the key concepts for the young state that had finally buried the hatchet after eighty years of war. But in reality, this treaty did not mark the start of a long period of calm and peace – far from it. The treaty was soon followed by two wars with the English while fierce conflicts raged in the Baltic too. The year 1672 was calamitous as the Republic was attacked on three sides: from the west by the English, from the south by the French and from the east by the bishoprics of Munster and Cologne. This was also the year in which tensions between the republicans and the Orangists reached boiling point. John de Witt and his brother Cornelis were lynched in The Hague and William III seized power. Internal and external peace seemed further away than ever.

The Republic was able to make peace with England and the bishoprics of Cologne and Munster in 1674 but the war with France continued until 1678. This war, also known as the Franco-Dutch War or simply the Dutch War, had particularly violent episodes such as the plundering of the villages of Bodegraven and Zwammerdam at the end of 1672 and the siege of Maastricht in 1673. Dutch commentators condemned the war atrocities committed by the French in no uncertain terms, seeing them as the deplorable excesses of 'French tyranny' (*Fransche tyrannie*).[1]

The period 1672 to 1713 is sometimes referred to as the Forty Years' War in the historiography.[2] This makes clear that the Franco-Dutch War was the first of a series of wars between the Dutch Republic and France, covering four decades in total: the Franco-Dutch War was followed by the Nine Years' War (1688-1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713). The Dutch only made rather more lasting peace with France in 1713, with the Treaty of Utrecht. While the term 'Forty Years' War' ignores the fact that there were periods of peace too, it does point to the fact that all these conflicts were connected. The


TRACTAET
Van de
VREDE,
Gemaeckt/ geſlooten/ ende vaſt geſtelt
tot Nimmegen den thienden Auguſti 1678.
Tuſſchen
De Heeren Ambaſſadeurs ende Plenipotentiariſſen van ſyne Majeſteyt van Vranckrijk ter eenre/ende de Heeren Ambaſſadeurs ende Plenipotentiariſſen van de Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden/ ter andere zyde.
IN 'sGRAVEN-HAGE,
By Jacobus Scheltus, 's Landts Drucker,
Anno 1678.

3.1 Peace treaty between France and the Republic, concluded on 10 August 1678

driving force behind them was Louis XIV, who pursued an aggressive policy of power politics during his reign and was thought by his critics to be aiming for a universal monarchy. As a result, Dutch commentators reserved particular venom for the French king, whom they saw as the evil genius behind the violent conflicts. They described him as domineering, arrogant and cruel.[3]

The first anti-French alliance was formed during the Franco-Dutch War between the Republic, Spain, the Duke of Lorraine and the Holy Roman Emperor (the Quadruple Alliance, 1673). Thus Spain, the former arch-enemy, became one of the Republic's allies from that time on. The French king did not see a possibility for a quick victory so he pushed for peace negotiations. The Republic also stood to benefit from peace as that would restore trade. In 1675 Nijmegen was designated as the place where the envoys would meet, after a number of other towns had been rejected. England acted as an intermediary. A lengthy and difficult negotiation process followed, resulting on 10 August 1678 in a treaty between the Republic and France. The general announcement in The Hague followed over a month later, together with the proclamation of 5 October of that year as a general day of thanksgiving.[4] However, Nijmegen was ordered to refrain from organising any festivities as the States General wanted to wait until the other parties had reached an agreement as well.[5] The German

ambassador, Count Kinsky, ignored the ban and organised a celebration for the people in the main square, the Grote Markt.[6] Four other treaties were signed in the months that followed, including one between France and Spain and one between the Republic and Sweden. After the final signatures had been signed, the last negotiators left Nijmegen at once.[7] Two series of wall tapestries remained behind as a reminder of their presence; the tapestries had been purchased by the town governors on behalf of the States General to decorate the meeting rooms and they still survive today as a tourist attraction in the city's Valkhof museum.[8]

A shared sense of identity

After the peace treaty was concluded, the usual medals, prints, paintings and texts commenting on the event started to appear, not just in the Republic but in the other countries involved in the treaty too.[9] The significance of the national perspective is illustrated by two French prints that were published in an almanac. Both show a group of gentlemen representing the different countries ('*Les nations*'). One print shows a banquet in which a Frenchman, a German, Dutchman and a Spaniard are partaking. The Frenchman is sitting comfortably and inviting the others to raise their glasses to peace, saying: 'Eat and drink to your heart's content without fear'.[10] The Sun King Louis XIV is the shining focal point of the other print, entitled 'Les effets du soleil' ('the effects of the sun'). He looks down from his sun chariot at a conversation between five gentlemen representing different countries (*La Hollande, La France, l'Espagne, le Danemarch* and *l'Allemagne*). The following verses were added as clarification:

> *Le soleil des François luy seul fait nos beaux jours*
> *Son pouvoir est incomparable*
> *Tant qu'il nous sera favorable*
> *Nous nous divertirons toujours.*[11]

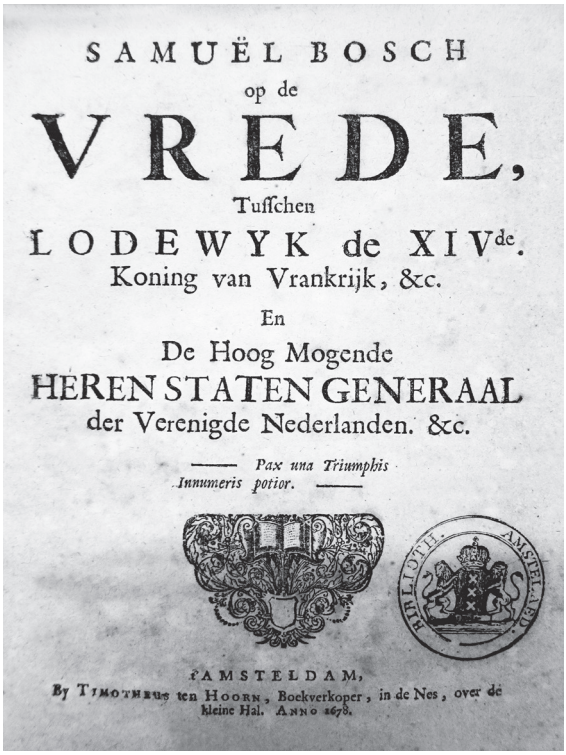
There is no mistaking the message: all the benefits are thanks to the French, in particular the Sun King, Louis XIV. Such publications functioned as propaganda and were intended to convince readers of the greatness of their nation. Such rhetoric fits in with the concept of the 'victor's peace', as it is known in peace studies – the idea of a peace that is forced on the other parties by the victor.[12]

The material commemorative culture relating to the Treaty of Nijmegen has already received attention but the texts marking the occasion have been neglected up to now.[13] Most of this corpus (consisting of about ten commemorative poems, two plays and a handful of essays) was published in Amster-

3.2 Pro-French impression of the Treaty of Nijmegen, from an almanac for the year 1680, published by Jean Moncornet in Paris

dam and fits seamlessly with the rhetoric of the victor's peace. Like their fellow writers in France, the Dutch authors gave their fatherland all the credit for achieving the peace treaty. Apparently, the peace was due to the efforts of 'brave heroes of the battlefield, men of war and youths' (*dappere krijgshelden, oorlogsmannen, en jonge borsten*), in whom the qualities of their forefathers could be recognised.[14] The lion was once again parading proudly 'with arrows bound together, / now that his garden, firmly supported by foundations / Of unity, once again bore golden fruits.'[15] It was the Republic that had managed to repress the god of war, with the Lord at its side.

It may seem strange from a modern-day perspective that both parties were claiming the victory but peace poetry in the early modern period was very much akin to propaganda. The point was to convey a patriotic message rather than give as accurate as possible an account of the true situation. One of the best examples of this kind of victory rhetoric was the reporting of the Battle of Dogger Bank (5 August 1781) in the eighteenth-century literature. The fight against the English ended in a draw but Dutch authors beat the drum as if the


SAMUËL BOSCH
op de
VREDE,
Tusschen
LODEWYK de XIV^de.
Koning van Vrankrijk, &c.
En
De Hoog Mogende
HEREN STATEN GENERAAL
der Verenigde Nederlanden. &c.
— *Pax una Triumphis*
Innumeris potior. —
AMSTELDAM,
By Timotheus ten Hoorn, Boekverkoper, in de Nes, over de kleine Hal. Anno 1678.

3.3 Poem on the Treaty of Nijmegen by Samuël Bosch

English had been completely humiliated.[16] This humiliation of the enemy also features clearly in the poetry commenting on the Treaty of Nijmegen. Dutch authors never failed to remind readers of how badly the French had behaved during the war. They pointed to the plundering of Bodegraven and Zwammerdam, where the French had wreaked havoc in a most outrageous fashion.

At first sight, there seem to be few surprising elements in the print materials relating to the Treaty of Nijmegen. As in the previous occasions when a peace treaty was concluded, writers praised the restoration of trade, divine providence and the return to a golden era. 'The Golden Century smiles at us with fresh lustre', concluded the scholar David van Hoogstraten for example.[17] According to the poet Samuël Bosch, the peace brought a return to the 'flourishing state of the Netherlands' (*bloeiende staat van Nêerland*).[18] Michiel de Ruyter, who had died in 1676, was also cited by many authors as exemplifying the nation's courage. So nothing new there. Yet this very repetition is in itself telling. These were precisely the kinds of recurring elements that demonstrated a clear shared sense of identity and that were increasingly becoming an unquestioned part of the Dutch discourse on identity. To paraphrase Frijhoff again: the process of building a national identity involves designation, *repetition and* recogni-

tion of that identity. The more frequently certain images are repeated, the more likely they are to become considered as core elements of that identity.[19]

Certain motifs appeared in all the texts regardless of the author's political and religious leanings. That was the case for example of the image of a garden in which the Dutch lion holds seven arrows, the canon of national naval heroes and the notion of a new golden era. Thus there was a fixed core set of motifs that authors from all political and religious groups built on and that were considered to be 'typically Dutch'.

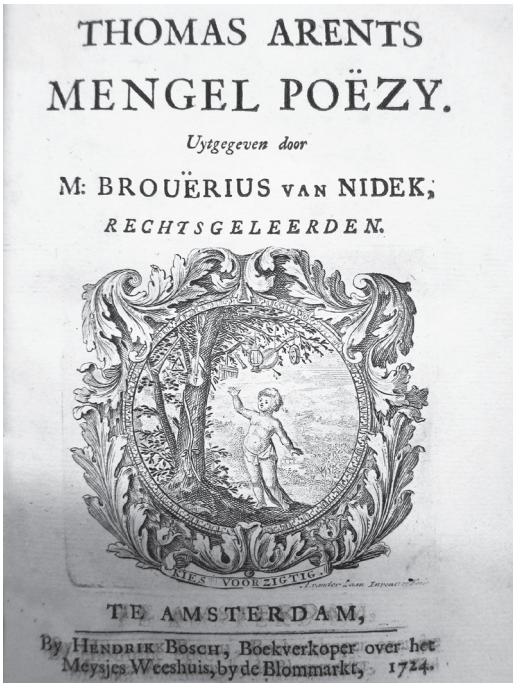
Republicans and Orangists

Meanwhile, political tensions continued behind the veneer of conventional images. While the print materials commenting on the Treaty of Breda had been dominated by a republican perspective, things were rather different now. A new stadholder had taken charge in 1672 and this was reflected in the texts. Orangist authors saw William III as the great saviour in their time of need and the man who was responsible for the new prosperity. The poet Samuël Bosch penned a very lengthy ode that left the reader in no doubt who was to thank for the peace.

> And you, O general! Who has won the crops and livestock
> of the Netherlands by leading a great army,
> Favour this song. O William! The entire state
> thanks you, along with God, because, like the nation's doctor,
> You have purged the evil of war for eternity:
> Trade, abundance and prosperity will thrive
> And grow through Peace, and richly laden
> Ships with full sails enter and leave the seaports.[20]

The medical metaphor is telling: William III was like a physician who had cured the country of a disease, namely war.

The Amsterdam estate agent Thomas Arents (1652-1701) was another of the prince's supporters. He is not remembered at all today but he had quite some success in the second half of the seventeenth century with his theatrical works. He was a member of the Nil Volentibus Arduum society, which promoted French classical theatre in the Netherlands. He also produced numerous miscellaneous poems and poems commenting on specific events. They were published in a posthumous compilation put together by the legal scholar Mattheus Brouërius van Nidek, along with the usual introductory verses in praise of the author by fellow poets. This compilation included a section of 'Epic poems'


THOMAS ARENTS
MENGEL POËZY.
Uytgegeven door
M: BROUËRIUS VAN NIDEK,
RECHTSGELEERDEN.
MES VOORZICHTIG
TE AMSTERDAM,
By HENDRIK BOSCH, Boekverkoper over het Meysjes Weeshuis, by de Blommarkt, 1724.

3.4 Title page from the collected works of Thomas Arents (1652-1701)

(*Helde dichten*), containing various poems on the Franco-Dutch War and the Treaty of Nijmegen.

Arents' epic poetry is one long list of superlatives, with William III as the supreme hero who was able to protect 'the United Netherlands' (*'t Verenigt Nederlant*) against both foreign enemies and rebels at home. Arents made repeated reference to domestic political tensions but he swore that these too had come to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Nijmegen. One entity ranked even higher than William, namely God, who had the best interests of the Dutch Republic at heart. This is illustrated for example by the following lines:

> Blessed Netherlands,
> Where milk and honey flow, where God plants his standard,
> His truth, like the sun, shines in full glory,
> Who can relate your wonders in their entirety
> [...]
> Like a lion, thus will Orange stand guard for you.
> He who in love and care, in fidelity and bravery
> is the equal of his forebears, whose wise and keen policy
> Saved the State when it was enveloped in much misery.[21]

This linked the Netherlands' thriving state to the wise governance of its stadholder, who knew he had God on his side like his forefathers before him, and had managed to extricate the country from a difficult position like a true redeemer. This is very similar to the Calvinist verses written to celebrate the Treaty of Munster, although now the praise was being heaped on William III.

Another committed supporter of the Oranges was Dirk Buysero (1644-1708); he was a member of the Admiralty of the Meuse in Rotterdam and also published a number of plays. He wrote a work on the Treaty of Nijmegen with songs and dance that is considered by some to be one of the first operas in the Netherlands. Buysero asked the professional musician Carolus Hacquart, who lived in Amsterdam, to compose music for the piece.[22] In this work, entitled *De Triomfeerende min, vredespel* (1680), Mars and Venus become reconciled, setting a good example for all of Europe. They are surrounded by such classical gods as Ceres, Bacchus and Neptune, who applaud the full granaries and flourishing trade. Meanwhile amorous shepherds and shepherdesses dance merrily in a circle and Elsje cheerfully milks the cows. Peace stresses that the muses will be coming to establish a new 'Golden Century' (*Goud' Eeuw*).[23] The entire company calls out 'Happy Netherlands' (*Gelukkig Nederland*) in unison and says that it is bound together with 'Orange cords' (*snoeren van Oranje*).[24] Thus all the motifs of a utopian Netherlands were brought to life with an Orange prince as its leader.

The work, which Buysero dedicated to the well-known Orangist poet Constantijn Huygens, was not performed in Amsterdam's main theatre, the Schouwburg, much to the author's annoyance. The regents decided that it was too spectacular and contained too much in the way of 'offensive elements' (*aanstotelykheden*).[25] They were presumably referring to the excessively exuberant scenes with dance, music and amorous couples, which were aimed more at entertaining than informing audiences. In response, Buysero published the work to show that there was nothing improper in it.[26] He also pointed out that it would not be that expensive to perform and it would benefit the poor. His efforts were to no avail as the work was still not performed.

However, his work enjoyed a second life. Seventeen years later it served as an allegorical play referring to the Treaty of Rijswijk, only with a different name on the title page, that of the playwright and theatrical regent Joan Pluimer (1647-1718). He had changed the title to *Op de vrede, geslooten in den jaare 1697 den 20. September* and modified the prologue, but the rest was identical to Buysero's text. In 1723 it was included in its entirety in Pluimer's collected works.[27] It is not entirely clear how this could have happened. Was this a case of deliberate plagiarism? Or did the person who compiled the collection mistakenly think that Pluimer was responsible for all of the text? Whatever the case may be, this shows how easy it was to apply the entire set of peace motifs to a subsequent treaty.

3.5 Historical work on the Treaty of Nijmegen from 1680, by A.T. de Limojon de Saint Disdier, translated from French into Dutch

That, at any rate, was the case from an Orangist perspective. However there were also authors who made no reference at all to the House of Orange, such as the Rotterdam scholar Pieter Rabus (1660-1702), the Amsterdam poet Katharina Lescailje (1649-1711) and the Overijssel poet Jan Norel (1635-1700). We see the same images in these authors' texts as in those of the writers discussed above, such as trade flourishing again, a new golden era, great national naval heroes and divine providence. Only the motif of the Orange princes is lacking. It is difficult to determine whether this was a deliberate choice by the authors. Rabus was only seventeen when his poem on the Treaty of Nijmegen was published and he actually went on to become an 'ardent Orangist' (*vurig Oranjeklant*).[28] There was little evidence of that in *Geknevelden oorlogsgod* (1678). He placed Rotterdam's burgomasters on a pedestal and linked their authority to the 'Golden time of all times' (*Gulden tijd der tijden*).[29] Lescailje and Norel too reserved their praise for Hendrik Hooft, the Amsterdam burgomaster who had been involved in the peace negotiations, rather than the stadholder.[30] That in itself says little about their political affiliations. The most that can be said is that the series of recurring motifs could also function as a unifying force without the inclusion of the Oranges.

Stratified sense of nationhood

To what extent did these peace poems concern the Republic as a whole? The vast majority of the texts were published in Amsterdam but the vocabulary used in them usually referred to the Republic in its entirety. We can see this clearly in Lescailje, mentioned above. In *De zeegepraalende vreede,* she wrote about how relieved she was that 'all of the Netherlands' (*gantsche Neêrland*) had been freed from the misery of war. She then narrowed the scope by praising Holland's trade and ended with a homage to mighty Amsterdam, and in particular its burgomaster Hooft.[31] In short, she showed a stratified sense of nationhood, working down from a national perspective to a local message.

Another example of a stratified sense of nationhood is a play by Govert Bidloo, who was the personal physician of William III. 'The 7 Provinces' (*De 7 Provincien*) feature as characters in his allegorical work *Vertooningspel op de Vreede* (1678). On the one hand, these are indeed seven separate characters, each playing their own role, yet they also speak with one voice as Holland speaks on their behalf. This reveals a certain degree of dominance by the province of Holland. Other characters see 'The 7 Provinces' as a single entity and simply refer to the group as 'the Netherlands' (*Nederland*). For example, when Mars approaches the sleeping provinces, he says: 'There sleeps the *Netherlands,* unaware of any danger / Approach, destroy her now, let us share out her riches'.[32] A little later, the group of provinces splits and Holland laments: 'Three of my sisters gone, two pitifully becalmed and helpless / The sixth fears the fleet of England with every tide'.[33] Holland is reunited with its sisters by the time the peace negotiations start and a new period of prosperity can begin.

The texts by Lescailje and Bidloo are typical of the corpus as a whole, in which the authors alternated between a local, regional and national context. When authors used the term 'the Netherlands', they were indeed referring to the Seven United Netherlands in their entirety. As Meijer Drees has noted before, the image of a united fatherland that had to be protected from a foreign enemy flourished in early modern Dutch literature.[34]

Looking inwards

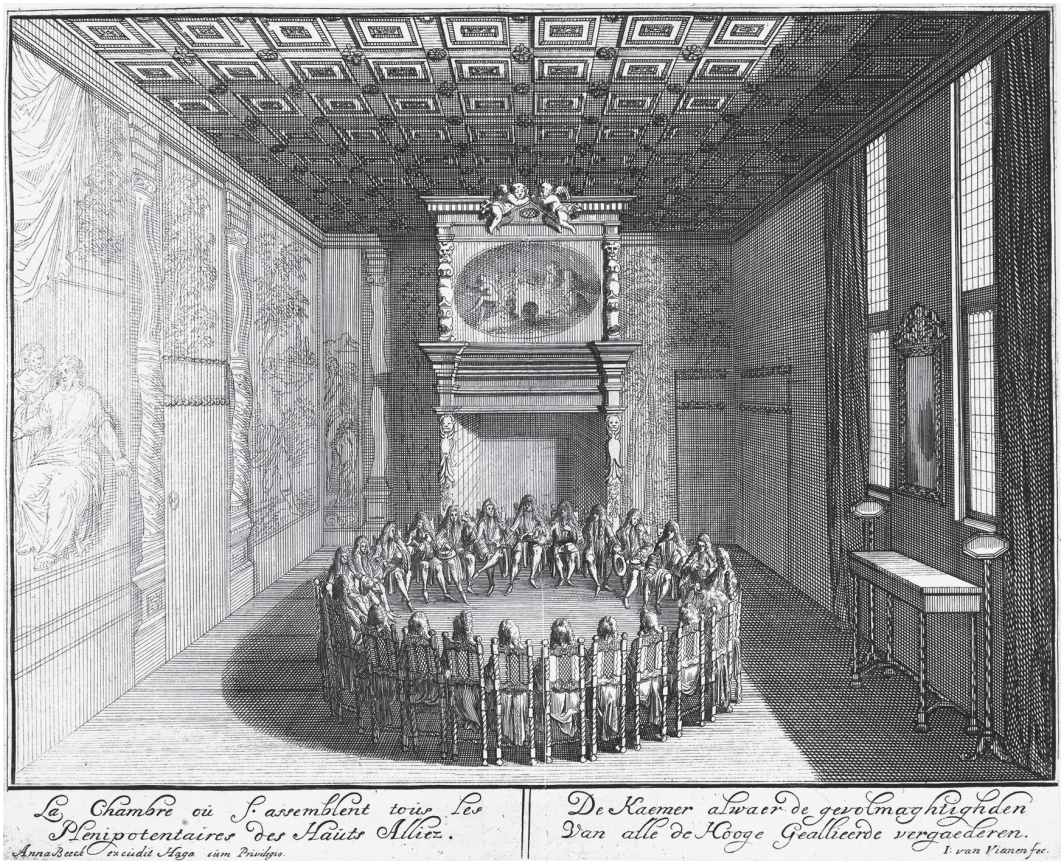
The poetry marking the peace treaty showed a clearly recognisable picture of the Netherlands as a strong, united country. All the authors, regardless of their political or religious affiliations, were agreed that the peace was thanks to the efforts of their own nation and that their country was superior to other countries. That was evident in the courage demonstrated by the naval heroes and the wise governance of the 'fathers of the fatherland' (*vaderen des vaderlands*),

which might or might not include the Prince of Orange. The return of a golden century was another recurring motif. The constant repetition of these motifs revealed a powerful sense of nationhood. It gave the imagined community of the Dutch a clear profile.

At the same time, this 'imagined community' was split into a number of sub-communities; the conventional phrases hid a certain degree of political tension. Thus some writers turned William III into the standard bearer for the glorious new age while others failed to mention his name (deliberately or otherwise). In other words, the peacefulness propagated by the writers commenting on the treaty was relative. In fact, some argued that peace had not in fact been achieved at all as the Republic's political enemies were on a war footing with one another. That is as clear as daylight when we consider a different type of text to the poems and plays. The anonymous author of the pamphlet *Korte aanteikeninge van Jan-Hagels praat* (1678) was devastatingly harsh in his judgement of those who talked of peace while discrediting others. He expressed his horror at the slanderers who spewed their 'venom' (*zwadder*) on governors at both ends of the political spectrum. In his view, such 'monsters' were more damaging to the country's welfare than its foreign enemies. Surely these 'Troublemakers' (*Woelgeesten*) could exercise more self-control? Did they not understand concepts such as 'Peace and Freedom' (*Vrede en Vryheid*)?[35]

This critical pamphlet not only shows that peace was a fragile ideal but also that the writers were primarily focused on internal affairs. Hardly had the foreign enemy been driven off before the internal problems were festering again. Despite the self-image of a powerful lion proudly and fearlessly protecting the Dutch garden against its enemies, the Republic was in fact embroiled in a permanent internal struggle with itself and its identity.

THE DUTCH REPUBLIC IN EUROPE



4.1 Meeting room for the ambassadors in Huis ter Nieuburch, by Jan van Vianen

4

'CHRISTIAN EUROPE'
The Treaty of Rijswijk (1697)

Europe, the world's splendour, her heart trampled
By raging plagues of war and plunged in a sea
Of disasters, slung from day to day
from blustering gusts into the slosh of the seething waters [...]:
Wounded by the murderous rapier; sinks powerlessly to the ground;
And puts her hands to her braids as if without hope.
Ah! she calls. Who deems me so cherished, so valuable
That he will support my limbs and uphold my legal rights?
My bowels are decaying, my strength is ebbing.
I am descending into an eternal grave, my glory is spent.[1]

Europe is completely at a loss about what to do. Her cities lie in ruins and her rivers are red with blood. She has become so weak that she is on the verge of descending into her grave. There is nothing left of her former glory and she is nearing her end.

This dramatic scene is how the Utrecht book trader François Halma opens his 1697 ode to the Treaty of Rijswijk. In Europe's speech, Halma makes clear how much damage has been wreaked on her by the war. Europe then pleads with the European rulers to call a halt to the shedding of 'Christian blood' (*Christenbloet*). They should unite and make a show of strength against their common enemy, the Turks, rather than fighting one another. Eventually Europe's wish is granted: peace is restored and a new period of prosperity dawns. Catholic France and the Protestant Republic extend hands to one another and butter exports can resume:

Now send fleet upon fleet to France's coast and ports,
With butter, the fruit of the Dutch cow
See the merchant walking, hurrying down the street,
Sweating in his warehouse; never tiring in his desire for profit.[2]

Dutch cows and butter are familiar tropes for prosperity that we encountered in the previous chapters. Here, trade interests cause the political differences with France to be forgotten. Halma also gave an ideological argument for embracing international peace as the reconciliation would enable the Europeans to drive back the Ottomans. Exaggerating somewhat, Halma wrote that 'Constantine's city' (*Konstantynsstadt,* or Istanbul) would be Christian again in the not too distant future.[3] He gave his argument additional force by using this term for the city as it refers to Emperor Constantine the Great, the champion of Christianity after whom the city was named Constantinople; the Ottomans renamed it Istanbul after they conquered it in 1453.

Europe and the Treaty of Rijswijk

The Treaty of Rijswijk brought an end to the Nine Years' War between France and the Grand Alliance, which consisted of Austria, certain German principalities, Spain, England and the Dutch Republic. The French king Louis XIV invaded the Palatinate in 1688 and the conflict soon escalated. Various rulers formed an alliance (the Holy League) to resist French expansionism. England and the Dutch Republic became involved in the war shortly afterwards when the stadholder William III invaded England. He defeated the Catholic king, James II, who was on good terms with France. In April 1689, William III and his wife Mary Stuart were crowned king and queen of England. From that moment on, the Republic and England were united through this informal personal connection. Numerous major battles took place between France and the allies during the war, including the Battle of Fleurus (1690), the Battle of the Boyne (1690) and the Siege of Namur (1695).[4]

Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire was exerting considerable pressure on Eastern and Central Europe. The conflict had escalated after the Turks had laid siege to Vienna in 1683. The Austrians were able to drive them away with the help of the king of Poland and German troops. This led to the formation of the Holy League with the support of the pope, who wanted to drive out the Ottomans and keep Europe Christian. The war continued until 1699, when the Treaty of Karlowitz was signed.[5]

Europe and its Christian identity played a key role in Halma's text. Although he referred repeatedly to the Republic, he gave pride of place to the welfare of Europe and the Christianity that bound its rulers. Halma's concept of peace was based on the idea of a *pax christiana universalis,* a universal Christian peace.[6] According to Halma, this alliance of Christian rulers and nations should protect Europe against the permanent threat from 'Mecca's Crescent' (*Mecchaas Halvemaan*).[7]

The idea of a *pax christiana universalis* played a role in the Treaty of Munster and Treaty of Nijmegen as well, but the European perspective was not nearly as prominent. That is clear for example from the terminology used in the treaties themselves. The opening section in 1648 referred to the benefits of peace for 'the Netherlands and Christendom as a whole' (*de Nederlanden en de Christenheijt als geheel*); in 1678, the treaty text stated that the 'worrying times' (*bekommerlicke tijden*), during which almost 'all of Christendom had taken up arms' (*het gantsche Christenrijck in de Wapenen was*), had now come to an end.[8] In the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697, however, the events were placed directly in a European perspective. The opening sentence of the treaty between France and Spain spoke of the termination of 'the bloodiest war, which has distressed *Europe* for a long time' (*d'alderbloedigste Oorlog, waar mede* Europa *t'sedert lange tijd bedroeft is geweest*).[9] Something similar can be seen in the print material commenting on the treaty. While authors and poets writing on the Treaty of Munster concentrated mainly on their own country's sovereignty and the benefits it stood to gain, half a century later the focus was on Europe's interests.[10] That raises the question of what form this sense of a European identity takes in the early modern peace texts and how this relates to more general tendencies.

The concept of the 'imagined community' that Anderson introduced can help here.[11] As was explained in the introduction, this concept is usually confined to modern nation-building processes but media such as newspapers, pamphlets and other occasional texts already had a unifying function in the early modern period. While such media had a significantly smaller reach than in the modern era, these sources still show a form of European identity. This was expressed for example in the peace texts, which often explicitly dealt with European issues. Accordingly, the texts written in response to the Treaty of Rijswijk can give us more information on how the European imagined community was portrayed. At the same time, they give an insight into the process of building a Dutch identity in that period. That is because Dutch authors' picture of an ideal Europe was strongly influenced by the national perspective.

Thinking on Europe and peace in Europe

Halma's Europeanism was embedded in a long tradition. That can be seen in numerous overview studies tracking the evolution of Europe as a geographical, political, cultural and legal entity.[12] In the course of the sixteenth century it became common for writers to speak of Europe. Humanism in particular played an important role in the creation of a European identity, whereby 'Europe' was treated as a synonym for Christendom.[13] A classical mythological iconographic tradition was added during the Renaissance that emphasised

Europe's superiority compared with other parts of the world. During the Enlightenment too, the emphasis was on Europe's civilised nature, in contrast to the uncivilised 'Other'.[14] This constant production of images helped create an 'imagined community', a collective European identity that evolved over time.[15]

Almost all overviews rely heavily on a select group of thinkers who belonged to their societies' intellectual elites, men such as Erasmus, Machiavelli, Montaigne, Rousseau and Kant. That led Peter Burke to ask how widespread the European sense of identity was. Was it limited to a small group of intellectuals and politicians or did it extend beyond that?[16] His impression is that the term 'Europe' and thinking in terms of a shared 'European identity' spread further and further down the ranks of society from the final quarter of the seventeenth century onwards. According to Burke, that is demonstrated for example in the use of the concept 'Europe' in songs that were sung in the streets and in the diary entries of a poor tailor from the period 1680 to 1690.[17] Donald Haks has shown that the idea of a European peace also circulated in Dutch lottery rhymes (brief maxims that were read out loud during public shows). Numerous participants in the lotteries expressed a desire for peace, including in a European context.[18]

Poems commenting on occasions such as the Treaty of Rijswijk offer an excellent addition to this material. Such texts were generally doomed to oblivion because of their ephemeral character. However they form an important source for obtaining a picture of public opinion at a certain point in time and learning about the extent to which certain ideas had spread beyond a small group of intellectuals. Moreover, there was a certain parallel between documents and correspondence that circulated in diplomatic circles and the texts that were designed for a wider audience. For instance, the historian David Onnekink notes similarities between the diplomatic discourse about the pursuit by Louis XIV of a 'universal monarchy' and contemporary news sources. Taking a broader view can therefore give us a better understanding of the connotations of certain concepts that played a key part in the diplomatic discourse.[19]

In this chapter, I aim to show that thinking in terms of a European peace was widespread in 1697. We see signs of a European identity in numerous authors, from an organist in Zierikzee to a bookseller in Friesland.[20] Of course, none of this means that this European sense of identity was stronger than their regional or national identity, and it certainly did not mean that each and every villager was part of this 'imagined European community'. Their home town would have been the initial and principal point of reference for most people.[21] Nevertheless, there was indeed a European identity, and we see this particularly clearly in the peace poetry from that period.

Just as the concepts 'fatherland' and 'the Netherlands' could have multiple meanings depending on the context in which they were used, so the term 'Europe' also had different connotations. Burke summed up the three main se-

mantic contexts in which the term functioned in the early modern period: a Christian/anti-Turk context, a colonial context and an internal political context.[22]

First, there was the identification of Europe with Christendom and the contrast that was made with the heathen Ottoman Empire. As far back as the start of the sixteenth century, Erasmus had explicitly linked his plea for universal peace to a Christian world view. In *Querela Pacis* (1517), a long lament by Pax, the goddess of peace, Erasmus complained that all the peoples on Earth despised peace. Speaking through Pax, he expressed particular regret for the fact that Christians fought one another so often. Why did they not realise that as Christians, they were limbs of one and the same body? According to Erasmus, if Christians wished to convert the heathen Turks to their faith, they would first need to start behaving like Christians.[23] In this work, Erasmus directed his criticism primarily at the Christians and he emphatically rejected armed struggle, but his views changed when Belgrade was captured by the sultan of the Ottoman Empire in 1521. In *De bello Turcico* (1530), he defended the war waged by European rulers against the Turks, although he stressed that war was a last resort.[24] 'Europe' became synonymous for 'Christian' while the heathens of the Ottoman Empire had to be resisted.

During the seventeenth century, the identification of Europe with a Christendom that stood in stark contrast to the barbaric Turks grew to become a platitude in the work of such Dutch authors as Vondel and Vos. For example, in 1634 Vondel warned his readers against the rising threat from the Turks. He called on the 'Christian princes' (*Christenprincen*) to fight their common enemy rather than one another; they should protect Europe from the 'fierce Turk' (*felle Turck*).[25] In 1648, the Leiden professor Van Boxhorn called on the Dutch to direct any belligerent urges against 'that corner of Europe where the godless Mohammedans fly the flag, to our eternal shame' (*dien hoek van Europe, daar de goddeloze Mahomettisten, t'onzer eeuwige schande, de vlagh voeren*).[26] Such statements also marked a break with the maxim 'Better Turkish than Popish' (*Liever Turks dan Paaps*), which did the rounds at the start of the Dutch Revolt. The Sea Beggars (the maritime force established by the rebels at the start of the Dutch Revolt) used this motto to express their disgust at the Catholics' suppression of freedom of conscience: it was better even to be a Turk than a Catholic. After 1648, the danger was unanimously considered to come from the East.

The second context was the relationship between Europe and other cultures with which contact had been made through the voyages of discovery. Europe was contrasted not just with the heathen Turks, but also with India, China, Peru and Brazil. Travellers reflected in their writings on their own background in relation to these new continents, a reflection in which being European played a clear role. This often led to an exposition on European superior-

4.2 Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536)

ity, in which its Christian character was emphasised once again.[27] In the peace texts, this usually took the form of platitudes about the wealth and prosperity that the expansion overseas had brought Europe and an emphasis on the importance of a free passage. As the bailiff and poet Pieter Nuyts put it in 1697:

4.3 Celebrating the Treaty of Rijswijk, print from 1774 by Simon Fokke

> Your fame and glory are praised the world over.
> Of all the four continents, you are the best and most superior.
> You are the magnificence, the elegance, the splendour,
> The authority, the majesty, the wisdom and the power.
> What your three sisters have in treasures of gold and silver,
> Of pearls and jewels in their laps,
> Is all for your convenience and is brought to you.[28]

Europe was superior to its three 'sisters' (Asia, Africa and America), who were placed in a servile position: their riches were for the benefit of Europe.

The third context in which the concept of 'Europe' functioned was that of the political conflicts within Europe itself. After 1670, the greatest threat to European peace came from the French king Louis XIV rather than the Turks. In response to this, William III presented himself as the statesman who could defend 'the freedom of Europe' against the political aspirations of Louis. The aim of the English king and stadholder was to guarantee the security and independence of the states of European.[29] In this context, 'Europe' referred more to a cohesive political system consisting of different states and principalities rather than a Christian entity. This way of thinking in terms of the balance of power quickly gained currency in the period 1670 to 1680 and received formal (albeit modest) recognition for the first time in the Treaty of Utrecht.[30]

This political interpretation of the concept of 'Europe' is also evident in two of the best-known peace manifestos from this period: *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament, Or Estates* (1693) by the Quaker William Penn and *Projet pour rendre la paix perpétuelle en Europe* (1712) by the French philosopher Abbé de Saint-Pierre. In his *Essay,* Penn called for a European parliament to be established with ninety representatives. The parliament would meet once or twice a year. Penn even came up with the following allocation of the seats: twelve for the Holy Roman Empire, ten each for Spain and France, eight for Italy, six for Britain, four for the Republic of the United Netherlands and Sweden, and two for the cantons of Switzerland and smaller adjoining nations. This institute would not affect the sovereignty of the participating nations and would have the task of ensuring an end to the misery of war in Europe. Anti-Turk feelings played a role in the background too: a key advantage of the restoration of peace would be the guaranteed security of the Christian people in the face of the Turkish invaders. Even so, Penn did not rule out the possibility of the Turks and Russians participating in the parliament too. If so, they would be allocated ten seats.[31]

A good fifteen years later, Abbé de Saint-Pierre made another attempt to design a system that could safeguard peace in Europe. He proposed setting up a European congress. In the event of a conflict, a commission should be appointed with members from the senate. His project was motivated more by political considerations than religious ones: the idea was that an intricate system of agreements would maintain the balance of power in Europe. The treatises by Penn and Abbé de Saint-Pierre illustrate the trend towards thinking about Europe in terms of a political system in which the balance of power needed to be preserved.

Christian 'entity'

In the texts written in response to the Treaty of Rijswijk, 'Europe' was primarily used in a Christian and anti-Turk context. The second context (colonial expansion) is encountered occasionally while the third (the political balance of power) is not seen at all.[32] Thinking in terms of a political equilibrium would only appear in the peace poetry relating to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

As was explained above, the identification of Europe with Christendom and in opposition to the Mohammedans was rooted in a longer tradition. A similar use of the term 'Europe' is already seen sporadically in the texts commenting on the Treaty of Munster and the Treaty of Nijmegen.[33] However, it became one of the main themes in 1697. A telling example is a remark by the abovementioned Nuyts about the 'Mohammedan Swine' (*Mahometsche Zwynen*) who had stained their territories red with 'the blood and murder of Christians' (*Kristen bloed en moord*). They were threatening not just to take Austria by surprise but also to drown the Holy Roman Empire in a sea of blood. To stop this threat, European rulers needed to propagate (*voortplanten*) peace in order to protect the 'People of the European Kingdoms' (*Volk der Europeesche Ryken*).[34] The permanent state of war against the Turks is one factor explaining why 'Christian Europe' was such a prominent theme in the texts relating to the Treaty of Rijswijk.

Europe's position as a united Christian entity was emphasised as a way of standing up to the 'Turkish threat' but the actual situation was much more complex. The Christian world was far from being a single undisputed entity – there had been deep internal divisions ever since the Reformation. This disunity, also known as *christianitas afflicta*, was an important obstacle to European peace.[35] The Catholic rulers were opposed to the Protestant rulers, who were in turn divided amongst themselves. Taking the publications on the Treaty of Rijswijk as a yardstick, we can distinguish three positions, broadly speaking, with regard to this peace treaty and its European character. The first was the most accommodating: this European peace affected *all* Christians. 'Christendom' (*christenheid*) encompassed all Christians, both Protestants and Catholics, without any hierarchical distinctions.[36] The second position was that Protestants were the true Christians and that all Christians should unite in order to tackle the Turkish threat. This line of reasoning saw the Catholic territories as part of a united Europe too but with a subservient role. The third and final position saw the 'European peace' from an exclusively Protestant perspective; Catholics were not truly part of a united Europe.

If we examine the peace poetry on the Treaty of Rijswijk, only a few authors showed evidence of the most tolerant position; the third and least accommodating position was the most common one. Most Dutch writers saw


4.4 and 4.5 Two almost identical prints. The print on the left is an allegory on the birth of Prince William III in 1650; the print on the right is an allegory on the Treaty of Rijswijk. Now the baby in the cradle is supposed to be a baby of peace

the idea of a *pax christiana universalis* purely from a Protestant perspective. They saw the restoration of European peace largely as a victory by the Protestant William III over the Catholic Louis XIV. So while the Grand Alliance in the Nine Years' War had actually consisted of both Catholic and Protestant countries, the war was presented here as a fight for the true religion.[37] The more explicitly Orangist the author, the stronger this Protestant Europeanism.

Incidentally, 'anti-Catholic' is a broad term that covers various possible attitudes: a writer could be anti-Catholic in a general sense, but this anti-Catholic stance could also be fed primarily by anti-French feelings (whereby the French were associated with Catholicism). Writers could also be pro-William and anti-Louis and use an anti-French or anti-Catholic discourse to that end. In practice it is not always easy to identify these nuances and they often blend together. A unifying element in the comments is that they were part of a shared anti-French image of the enemy that had become very popular since the invasion by the French in 1672.[38]

To start with the most tolerant attitude: we see this for example in *Vreugde-Reden* by the Middelburg lawyer François van Bergen. His text, which he dedicated to the governors of Middelburg, consisted of a long treatise on the ad-

vantages of universal peace and an ode to the Treaty of Rijswijk. In the treatise he sang the praises of peace, which he called the 'Victor of all Victories, and Glorious Triumph over all Glorious Triumphs' (*Overwinster van alle Overwinningen, en Zége-praalster over alle Zégepraalen*).[39] Such a description shows how closely intertwined war and peace were: peace was defined in terms of the ultimate victory, or the outcome of a hard-fought final battle.

Van Bergen gave an extensive, erudite overview of classical and Christian thinkers from the past who had spoken on the benefits of peace. First we read a series of statements by such authors as Herodotus, Ovid, Boethius, Cicero, Thucydides, Menander and Tibullus. These are then placed in a Christian perspective with the help of extracts from the work of writers such as Justinian, Augustine, Mantuanus and Erasmus. The Italian humanist Francesco Guicciardini was also cited. He had argued that nothing was so contrary to Christendom as war and that a 'general peace among Christian rulers' (*algemene vrede onder Christen-Vorsten*) was necessary as otherwise there would be a decline in piety and morals.[40]

In this way, Van Bergen placed his ode to the Treaty of Rijswijk in a long tradition of thinking on peace that extended from classical antiquity to humanism. The effect was to put the emphasis on the importance of peace in general, with the broad Christian perspective dominating. He ended with an apology to God, the 'Great Prince of Peace' (*Grooten Vrede-Vorst*), who had commanded his people to live in peace. This message was accentuated in the joyful poem that followed in which the restoration of peace in Europe was praised. Van Bergen did not ignore the fight that was taking place against the Turks and he stressed that the time had come to make a united stand against the true enemy: Now Europe had time 'to Muster all its Powers / in order to destroy the Kingdom of the Ottomans' (*om all' zijn' kragten in te Spannen / Tot het verwoesten van het Rijk der Ottomannen*).[41]

The internal benefits were at least as important. All the traditional benefits were listed. For example, newly flourishing trade and culture would bring renewed prosperity: 'I feel all of Europe is as if reborn' (*'k Voel geheel Euroop, als weer herleeven*).[42] It was not just the Republic that would be flourishing; the effect would be felt across Europe. Van Bergen used symbols to describe the resurgence of England (the rose), Scotland (the thistle), Ireland (the harp) and France (the lily). These nations were united by both Christianity and peace, which now had its home in Rijswijk: 'O pleasant Peace! O welfare of all people! / O greatest good on Earth! O greatest of our wishes! / Unite Christendom for eternity, bind us together! / And make the United Netherlands your home!'[43]

The husband-and-wife writers' duo Anna Maria Paauw and Christoffel Pierson also used such general Christian terms. They advocated a united Christian Europe that would fight as one against the 'Turks and Tartars' (*Turken en*

Tartaren). While Paauw had fiercely attacked Louis XIV's lust for power and supported William III in his fight against the French king a few years previously in *Europaas-Klagt over de oneenigheyd der Kristen Vorsten* (1693), she said not a word about the misdeeds or achievements of specific rulers in her writings on the Treaty of Rijswijk. The important thing now was to preserve concord among Christians. She did give an implicit warning: if any ruler (i.e. Louis) felt inclined to make war again, he should target the Ottoman Empire rather than other European rulers.[44] Pierson went one step further. He expressed the wish to see a return to the mentality of such crusaders as Godfrey of Bouillon and to see Constantinople and Jerusalem fall into Christian hands again.[45] This could only be achieved if there was lasting peace in the 'courts of Europe' (*Europiaansse hoven*).

Refraining from specific references to certain rulers, especially William III, could also be a way of avoiding politically sensitive subjects. In Amsterdam, for example, support had fallen sharply for the warmongering stadholder who was spending so much money; a new tax on marriages and burials had even led to riots in 1696, known as the *Aansprekersoproer*. Indeed, the stadholder had a remarkably modest role in Amsterdam's celebrations of the Treaty of Rijswijk.[46] It is difficult to assess whether such considerations played a part for the writers mentioned above, who published their texts in Middelburg, Rotterdam and Gouda respectively. The relatively philosophical tract by Van Bergen certainly does not seem to have been influenced by local affairs.

True Christians

The second position – true Christians are Protestants but peace with the Catholics is necessary in order to resist the threat from the Turks – could be seen in the writings of several authors. They left the reader in no doubt that Protestantism was the true religion but they stressed the resilience of both Protestant and Catholic rulers. Their texts did not include attacks on 'papists', in contrast to the third category. Halma, for example, who was mentioned earlier, advocated an alliance between the stadholder William III and Louis XIV: 'May both Kings live in true alliance, / And each rule over his dominion in full peace!' Yet there was only one ruler whose reign was based on the true religion, and that was William: 'May God's Christian Church guard over him, as the Defender of the Faith.'[47] Hendrik Hasmoor, about whom nothing further is known, was also full of praise for the general pursuit of peace by the rulers of Europe. He had laudatory words for the Holy Roman Emperor, Leopold, and Louis XIV, who wanted to end the shedding of 'Christian blood' (*Christen bloed*) and were joining forces to repel the 'proud Ottoman' (*trotsen Ottoman*).[48] But

4.6 The King-Stadholder William III wins the Battle of the Boyne (1690), by Romeyn de Hooghe

despite the praise that this author had for these two Catholic rulers, there was only one ruler who was the best and that was 'England's much renowned King, / William, Holland's fame and honour' (*Eng'lands hoog beroemde Koning, / Wiljam, Hollands roem en eer*).[49] The author expressed the hope that God would pour his blessings on William so that his government would enjoy the support of divine authority.

Pieter Rabus, who was known for his scientific journal *De boekzaal van Europe* (1692-1702), also stressed the alliance between the Christian rulers in their fight agains the common enemy. 'Christian Europe' (*Christenlandsch Euroop*) should join forces to defeat 'the Turks and Barbarians' (*de Turken en Barbaren*) and steer the half-submerged 'Christian ship' (*Christenscheepje*) safely back to the coast.[50] Rabus felt particularly drawn to the Remonstrant movement and took a very tolerant view of religion.[51] He combined this lenient attitude with an explicitly Orangist stance, as was also evident in *Vrede- en vreugdezang*, his poem praising the Treaty of Rijswijk. William III was presented as the great hero of the European military machine. According to Rabus,

his greatest victories were at the Battle of the Boyne, where he defeated the Catholic English king James II, and Namur, which he seized from the French in 1695. The latter victory in particular prompted a major 'multi-media spectacle': the triumph was celebrated with fireworks, verses, prints and paintings.[52] William III was seen as 'the great Redeemer of Britain and its allies' (*den grooten Verlosser van Brittanje, en zijne bondgenooten*). His fame was so great that only a heroic epic in the tradition of the great classical epics could do him justice.[53] Rabus's picture of the war that had recently ended ultimately ranked William highest. That impression was reinforced by the way in which Rabus highlighted his victories over the Catholic rulers.

The third and least tolerant attitude was the most common one. Most Dutch writers by far saw the Christian European alliance purely from a Protestant perspective. By Christian Europe, they meant a Protestant Europe only and 'European peace' meant first and foremost curbing the power of Louis XIV. Many of these texts were grounded in a strong Orangist affiliation. The hero of Europe was the Protestant stadholder and king William III, while the Catholic French king was seen as the ultimate enemy (even more so than the Turks). The image of Europe in these texts was thus very much dictated by the national perspective and was consequently also an expression of the 'imagined community' at the national level. The national and European self-images were strongly interwoven here.

The most explicit rendition of this Protestant and Orangist vision of Europe came from the organist and composer Johan Snep. On the general day of thanksgiving on 6 November 1697, he recited a long ode to the peace in the church of St. Lievens Monster in Zierikzee. Such thanksgiving days were established by the authorities and had a supra-regional function aimed at promoting concord. They were accompanied by all kinds of social events such as bonfires and firework displays.[54]

His poem, which had over five hundred verses, had a telling title: *Vrede der Christenheyd. Geslooten op het kasteel tot Rijswijk, Den 20 September 1697*, or 'The Peace of Christendom. Concluded in the castle in Rijswijk, on 20 September 1697'. The term 'Christendom' (*christenheyd*) referred to the union of all Christians but in practice it turned out that Snep wanted to settle scores with the Catholic French and the expansionist Louis XIV. The new peace was a triumph for William III:

> Now we see France's pride and arrogance smashed
> Underfoot, murder and fire and fierce battle trampled,
> The bloody banners, each stowed in splendour,
> All of *Christendom*, has united with its oaths
> And thus all together kissed sweet Peace.[55]

It was clear as daylight that Snep thought there was only one true religion, which had only emerged after the Reformation. In his exposition, the Republic had a special role as it was leading the way in Europe. There was a sense of superiority with respect to other nations as apparently the Republic (*'the Netherlands Israel'* [Neerlands Israël]) had a special relationship with God and the Dutch were among the chosen people.[56]

What followed was an extensive historical overview from the Dutch Revolt to the war that had recently ended. The Revolt was painted as a struggle for freedom of Religion, with the Duke of Alba as the ultimate villain. Opposing him was William of Orange, who could be seen as the founding father of Dutch liberty. Snep wrote that the Treaty of Munster was eventually concluded with God's help: 'We saw God's Church planted firmly here below' (*Bevestigd sag men hier Gods Kerk ter neer-geplant*).[57] Those who had been killed during the struggle were seen as 'God's chosen ones' (*Gods Uytverkoorenen*) and martyrs who had sown the 'true seed of the Church' (*waare zaad der Kerk*).[58] The author then discussed the 'disastrous year' of 1672 at some length, seeing the alliance of the Bishop of Munster and France as a united effort to 'suppress God's Church' (*Godes Kerk te meer te drukken*). Once again the Republic was saved by divine intervention as God sent a new stadholder who went to war against the 'proud French' (*trotsen Francen*) in the name of God.[59] Snep gave considerable attention to the plundering of the villages of Zwammerdam and Bodegraven by the French in 1672, and emphasised that God had rescued them finally from the cruel French. William III had entered the fray like a 'second Hercules' (*tweede Hercules*) and achieved heroic victories. In particular his triumphant march through Ireland, in which he managed to drive out the Catholic king James, was seen as a prime example of his unsurpassed bravery. Like Rabus, Snep considered the recapture of Namur by William in 1695 as a key turning point in the war: raising the orange flag at Namur castle was seen as the ultimate humiliation of the French king. Only William could curb the 'forceful might of the Kingdom of the Lily' (*dwingelandze magt van 't Lelie-Rijk*) forcing him to bear 'the burden of all Europe' (*den last van gants Europe*) on his shoulders.[60]

The Treaty of Rijswijk had turned the balance of power around again for good, whereby

> the French crown had once again to spew out
> That which it had imbibed. And thus the head of King William
> is decorated again, see there the Christian countries;
> And all the rulers of Europe, parties to the treaty.[61]

Therefore 'The peace of Christendom' (*De vrede der christenheyd*) had to be seen as a victory by William over the French. The Christian rulers had committed

themselves to certain agreements in the Treaty of Rijswijk but this did not signify a real equilibrium at all from the Dutch Reformed Church perspective of Snep.

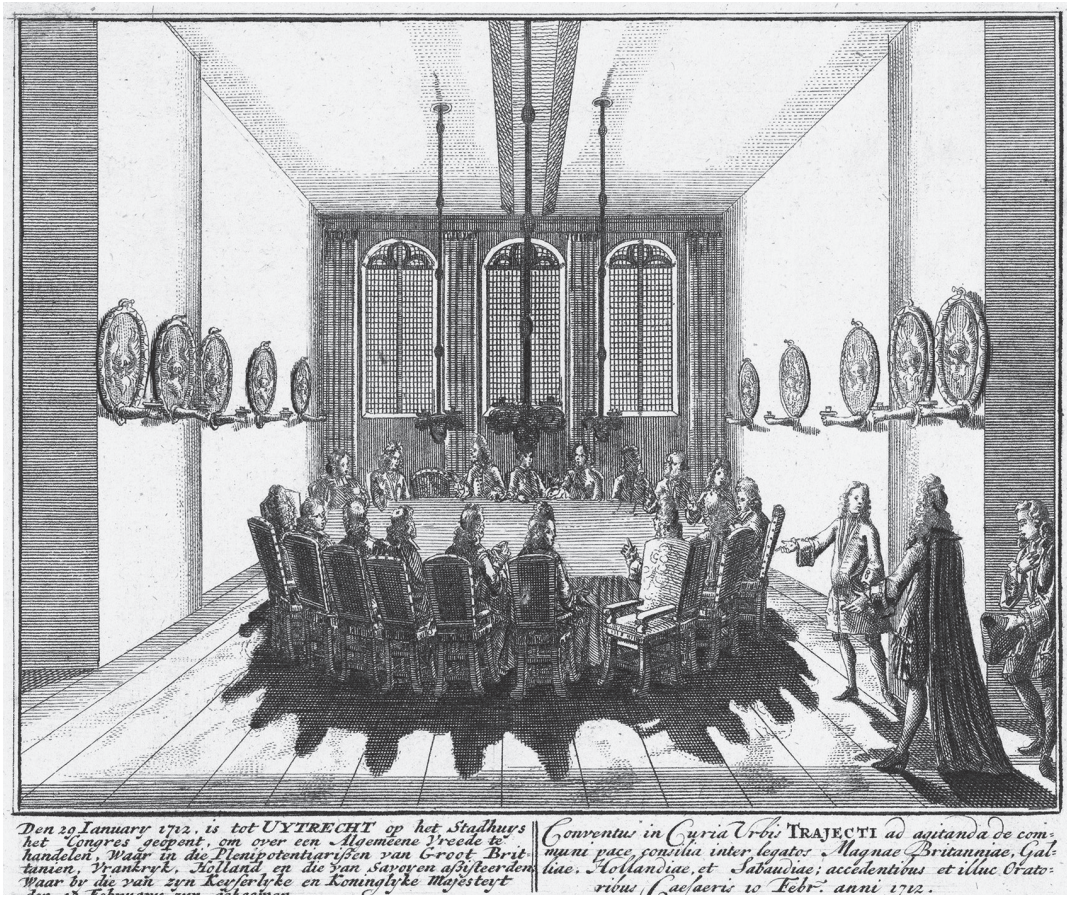
Snep was far from alone with his anti-French and anti-Catholic statements.[62] Others too attacked the domineering Louis, comparing him to the mythical figure Phaeton, who tried to fly too high with his father's chariot and fell to Earth.[63] This image of the enemy, in which the French king was painted as a domineering tyrant who wanted to impose a 'universal monarchy' (*universele monarchie*) on Europe, received a considerable boost during the Nine Years' War.[64] The Treaty of Rijswijk did not bring an end to this image of the enemy by any means; on the contrary, it became an integral part of the peace texts.

Shattered unity

The poems marking the peace of Rijswijk show that the idea of a 'Christian entity' and 'European peace' was open to very different interpretations. Almost all authors stressed the need to form a Christian alliance against the Turkish threat but in practice the divide between Catholics and Protestants was too great. This rift was partly the result of the war years that had just ended, which had seen anti-French and anti-Catholic feelings reach new heights and had promoted the sense of international solidarity among Protestants. Partly because of this, the sense of a European identity had a strong Protestant undertone among most Dutch authors, with a starring role for William III. This image of Europe was therefore an extension of the national self-image, which was largely determined by religious factors and the contemporary political climate.[65]

The Rijswijk peace did not last long. After the death of the Spanish king Charles II in 1700, a fierce war broke out over the question of who was to succeed him. The war affected not only most of Europe but also countless overseas territories and colonies in Asia, Africa and the Americas. Two major power blocs faced one another in this War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713): on the one side the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, most of the German rulers, England, the Dutch Republic, Portugal and Savoy, and on the other side Louis XIV, Spain, Cologne and Bavaria. This war was mainly about the struggle between the two most powerful rulers, Emperor Leopold I and King Louis XIV, both of whom made claim to the Spanish succession. The major military encounters during this war included the Battles of Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706) and Oudenaarde (1708). The conflict was on such a huge scale that it is sometimes called the very first world war.[66]

Thus the unity of Europe had been shattered once again only a few years after the signing of the Treaty of Rijswijk. Nothing remained of the *pax christiana universalis* that people had yearned for so much. New peace negotiations were instigated in 1705 with France and the Republic taking the lead, but they came to a fruitless end in 1710. Secret peace negotiations between England and France were more successful and eventually led to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.[67] The conclusion of a series of bilateral treaties, the last of which was signed in 1715, created a new balance of power in Europe. In the course of the eighteenth century, the idea of a *pax christiana universalis* faded into the background to be replaced by a more politically inspired ideal of peace and liberty in Europe.[68]



5.1 Opening the peace congress on 20 January 1712 in the town hall in Utrecht, by Pieter Schenk

5

OPTIMISM VERSUS CYNICISM
The Treaty of Utrecht (1713)

Until recently, the Treaty of Utrecht was a largely forgotten treaty. From a national perspective, there had been more interest in the Treaty of Munster, which marked the start of the Republic's independence, and the liberation from the French in 1813, which is seen as the start of the Dutch monarchy with the House of Orange. The Treaty of Utrecht, which brought an end to the War of the Spanish Succession, was sandwiched in between and if it symbolised anything at all, it was the definitive end of the Republic as a major European power. The eighteenth century is regarded as the century in which the Republic went into economic decline and there consequently seemed to be little reason to celebrate and commemorate the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht.

That changed in 2013, when the municipality of Utrecht seized the tercentenary of the treaty as an opportunity to promote the city. An intensive media campaign and large-scale programme of festivities revived interest in a treaty that marked a significant turning point in European power politics.[1]

On 11 April 2013, Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands officially opened the celebrations by pressing a button to illuminate the Dom cathedral tower. For six months the city hosted a wide variety of activities such as pop concerts, lectures, neighbourhood festivals, theatrical performances and exhibitions. Teaching materials were specially developed for schools in the area, focusing on the historical context and the significance today of the Treaty of Utrecht. In a glossy brochure that was distributed nationwide, the organisers made clear that they wanted to boost the national and international reputation of the city of Utrecht. The celebration was placed in a modern context with such themes as the city of peace, the future of Europe, European integration and multicultural society. The underlying goal was to have Utrecht chosen as the European Capital of Culture in 2018. That mission failed, but the organisers did succeed in putting a peace treaty that had largely been forgotten back on the map. Utrecht was once again briefly 'the centre of the world' (*het centrum van de wereld*), as the Dutch newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* put it.[2] However, there were

critical voices too. For instance, the historian Ed Jonker felt the organisation had gone too far with its city branding and was using history purely to serve the interests of modern-day commerce and politics.[3]

Jonker has a point, but you need media attention and extravaganzas if you are to reach a wider audience. That was just as true in the past. The Treaty of Utrecht was forged in the highest diplomatic circles but this was followed by a media circus in the Netherlands and abroad with the aim of letting a broader public share in the joyous festivities.[4] If we look at these activities, it is striking how much they reflected contemporary preoccupations. For example, grand firework displays gave symbolic expression to all kinds of political and ideological interpretations. Thus a general day of thanksgiving was organised in England on 7 July that culminated with a firework display. Four thousand children from the poor schools witnessed the festivities, which were aimed at consolidating the political authority of Queen Anne.[5] The firework display that the States General organised in The Hague on 14 June was dominated by a patriotic message: the Republic's political system was praised, as were such virtues as caution, justice and bravery.[6] The firework display that took place on the same day in Leeuwarden also paid attention to the Frisian stadholder, Johan Willem Friso van Nassau-Dietz (1687-1711), who had recently died and had fought as a general in the War of the Spanish Succession; it therefore conveyed a specific political message.[7] Moreover, all kinds of commercial motives were involved in the distribution of prints of these events, as publishers sought to outdo one another by coming up with improved versions.[8]

In short, political, commercial and ideological interests played a role in the celebration of the peace back then too. That is also clear when we examine the Dutch texts marking the occasion in more detail. A total of about forty works were published in 1713, comprising poems, plays, sermons, texts to accompany prints and historical accounts. Authors used their texts to air their opinions on the Republic and formulate their views on its future.

If we concentrate on the peace poetry, the diversity of the voices is striking.[9] There was no single dominant ideal; instead, a wide range of images circulated. That had been different with the Treaty of Rijswijk, when two themes clearly dominated: the common fight by a united Christian Europe against the Ottoman Empire and the glorification of William III as the champion of Protestantism. However, the political climate had changed drastically since the Treaty of Rijswijk in two respects. Firstly, the Treaty of Karlowitz had been signed in 1699, bringing an end to the war between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League. Secondly, the stadholder and king William III had died in 1702, leading to the second stadholderless period, which lasted until 1747. Given this background, it is only logical that the themes that played an important part in texts on the Treaty of Rijswijk would be replaced by new topics.

Internal political relations received greater attention and various authors opted for a satirical or even cynical treatment of the peace.[10] A few authors had doubts about the durability of the Treaty of Utrecht. It was only fifteen years since the major powers had signed the Rijswijk treaties and those agreements had soon been violated. What guarantee was there that this peace would last?

National rejoicing

Feelings of joy and relief were preponderant in most of the poems marking the occasion. The fact that the War of the Spanish Succession had ended was seen as a blessing for the Republic as a whole. It would be a mistake to think that the peace celebrations were primarily an Amsterdam affair, given that around two-thirds of the poems saw the light of day elsewhere. Publications appeared in Harlingen, Zierikzee, Groningen, Leeuwarden, Leiden, Haarlem, Rotterdam and Utrecht. The contents of the pamphlets also show that the peace was a national matter. They spoke of the benefit of the peace for 'the Netherlands's States' (*Neerlandts Staatendom*), 'the Seven States' (*de Zevenstaat*), the 'Seven-Arrowed Land' (*Seeven-pijlig Landt*) and 'the whole of the Netherlands' (*heel Nederland*).[11] In short, the pamphlets explicitly expressed a supra-regional, national sense of identity.

Broadly speaking, the peace poems can be divided into four (partially overlapping) groups: pastoral poems, political-historical poems, religious poems and satirical poems.[12] A common feature of the poems in the first three categories is that without exception, they saw the Dutch Republic as the best place in Europe and placed the nation's achievements on a pedestal. The bucolic and shepherding songs with their pastoral overtones were full of the tropes of a prosperous Republic. Plump cows grazed heartily and there was an abundance of cheese, milk and butter.[13] One example of such a pastoral ode to the Republic is *Herderszang op de vrede* (1713) by Herman van den Burg. The ploughman, sower and farmer are relieved that peace has been restored. The shepherdesses Zoetje and Haasje are also happy as they can now make plenty of 'cheese and butter from the cows' milk' (*Kaas en Boter, van der Koeijen mellek*). At the same time, the text reveals a strong anti-French sentiment (everything is flourishing again now that the 'robbers' [*rovers*], or French, have gone) and the return of peace was thanks entirely to the Republic: 'Whoever comes to molest the Lion of the Dutch Garden as he sleeps / Is wasting their energy and always flees in disgrace.'[14]

Numerous references could be found as well to Vondel's *Leeuwendalers* (1647). The Leiden pharmacist Johannes Schröder took the title of his poem *Leeuwendal. Herders-zang op den vrede* from the seventeenth-century poet's work. In a dia-

logue between two shepherds, Damon and Menalkas, they applaud the freedom that has been regained and call on everyone to rejoice: 'Let them praise your actions, O Leeuwendal! [...] Rejoice, shepherds, rejoice along the Meuse and the Rhine: / Rejoice, all who are the Netherlands [...] The fire of dissent has been quenched, we have peace in our time.'[15] The peace was implicitly presented as the outcome of the strong action taken by the Dutch. It seemed that the peace would not have been possible without their contribution.

That viewpoint was also evident in the second category – the political-historical poems. Unlike the pastoral poetry, they revealed internal political tensions. After the death of William III in 1702, most provinces had not appointed a successor. In addition, the stadholder of Friesland and Groningen had died in 1711. His son, William Charles Henry Friso, who was born after his death, was appointed stadholder of Friesland in 1711 (and of Groningen in 1718) but for the time being he was too young to actually perform his duties. Against this background, it is not surprising that many poems did not mention the stadholders at all. For instance, the lyrical poem by the lawyer P. de Bye, author of *Vredezang op de langgewenschte vrede tusschen Vrankryk en de vereenigde Nederlanden*, made no mention of the recent past. He preferred to focus on classical history by praising the courage of the ancient Batavians at great length. That people had shown on many an occasion that it was able to resist the 'tyranny of princes' (*dwinglandy der vorsten*). The Batavian love of liberty was at its strongest when others interfered with their 'temple service' (*tempeldienst*) and tried to restrict their freedom of conscience. No earthly power had ever succeeded in subduing the Batavians – they had 'courageously and intrepidly' (*kloek en onvertzaagt*) managed to secure their borders time and time again. However they also knew when to sheathe their swords:

> In the midst of your victories,
> As soon as your enemy pleads for peace,
> You put your blade in the scabbard,
> And curb your courage and powers.
>
> Who does not praise spontaneously that virtue,
> Saying; this is the nature of the Batavians,
> They never lack victory's wreaths,
> But never take them unless provoked.[16]

It was therefore the Batavians who had ultimately granted mercy to the enemy. Peace was in fact thanks to them. It was no coincidence that the goddess of peace had chosen the Republic as the location for the negotiations: 'I have once again chosen your garden, / Europe's very best part / as my residence and

pleasure garden' (*'K heb wederom uw' tuin verkoren, / Europes allerbeste deel / Tot myn verblyf en lustprieel*). A new period of flourishing science, art and trade would soon come to 'Batavia's Athens' (*Bataafs Athenen*), according to De Bye.[17]

This poetic representation of events was far removed from the true state of affairs. In reality, the Dutch negotiators were rather bitter about the other major powers. While they had achieved their main objective of curbing the power of France, the results were disappointing for the Republic in all other respects.[18] However, this poetic exercise was not aimed at giving as realistic a picture of the peace negotiations as possible. What we see is much more akin to propaganda with the rhetoric of victory that also appeared so frequently in the pamphlets and battle songs of the period.

Yet the facade in these celebratory texts hid the inevitable political tensions. De Bye may have said nothing about the stadholders but other authors such as Jacobus de Groot and François Halma seized this chance to make Orangist statements. De Groot's *Vreedezang* was focused mainly on the past: William III was depicted as the hero on the Dutch side, even if he had died more than ten years ago.[19] De Groot's poem contains a mix of mythological images and contemporary politics. On the one hand, he showed the European political stage as a battlefield peopled by mythological characters in which Europa, whom Jupiter desires, ultimately triumphs over Mars, the god of war. On the other hand, he gave concrete descriptions of the different countries and rulers who had fought one another for power. He made a sharp distinction between the Catholic French and the Protestant allies. Thus he heaped praise on Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Duke of Marlborough and the Prussian king, Frederick I. They had defended the 'area of the Netherlands' (*Nederlands gebied*) not only against the sharp teeth of the 'Wolves' (*Wolven*) but also against heresy. William III functioned as the Dutch hero in this list, who acted as a protector of the 'true' religion. As the King of England, he had as it were sown the seeds of subsequent success. This gave the Dutch Republic a share in the success even if it had largely been rescued by its allies according to De Groot's account of the events. By joining forces, the allies had eventually managed to curb the French threat and restore peace in Europe. At the end of his poem, De Groot turned the attention to the domestic arena by wishing all 'Fathers of the Free Netherlands' (*Vaders van de Vrye Neederlanden*), and in particular Amsterdam's city governors, a prosperous future.

The Orangist perspective dominated in Halma's writings too, although he gave a much more topical interpretation by presenting the Frisian stadholder (who later became William IV) as the embodiment of his ideal future. Halma's poem was divided into two parts: first he talked of the devastating violence of the war in Europe and then he went on to contrast this with the blessings of the peace. This had the effect of highlighting the need for a lasting peace. Halma

5.2 The Frisian bookseller and poet François Halma (1653-1722)

dwelt at length on the many bloody battles, the plundering by the soldiers and the destruction of towns and villages. He gave vivid descriptions of what happens on a battlefield. Severed limbs fly past the reader:

> There it rages, with crunching, chopping, gouging
> of skulls, hidden under the bare metal helmet,
> Of hands, arms, or shoulders, that are torn off
> Swiftly like shards from the body, stretched out to spew forth the soul.
> Here they bore through the heart, through lungs, belly and guts,
> There they mow down a harvest of legs with their steel;
> Everywhere is heard the cry of screaming, cursing, moaning,
> While they ceaselessly strive for victory.[20]

The 'groans' (*jammerkreten*) of seriously wounded men could be heard everywhere. Murder and slaughter reigned supreme on the battlefield. There were no battle heroics; this was all about the torment of war. It is noticeable that Halma described the torment in general terms without referring to specific battles or individuals.


F. HALMAES
VREDEZANG
DEN EDELEN MOGENDEN HEEREN
STATEN VAN FRIESLANDT
EERBIEDIGST TOEGEWYDT, BY D'AFKONDIGING
VAN DEN GESLOTEN
VREDE
DEN XIV VAN ZOMERMAANDT, MDCCXIII.
DEVS NOBIS HÆC OTIA FECIT
TE AMSTERDAM,
By JOHANNES OOSTERWYK, Boekverkoper
op den Dam. 1713.

5.3 Poem on the Treaty of Utrecht by François Halma

The poem's tone changes suddenly about halfway through, with the anti-pastoral images making way for a more gentle mood:

> But then the time comes to cease this saddened tone,
> While beneficial peace now awakens,
> Like a fresh flower that can delight the eye,
> In the bright morning hour, after black darkness.[21]

This is followed by an inventory of all the familiar benefits of peace: the ships can sail again, trade flourishes and the granaries are filled to capacity once more. General prosperity can rise again and the 'golden season' (*gouden jaargety*) can return.[22]

The House of Orange had a clear role in Halma's picture of a new golden era. He expressed the hope that its youngest member, the stadholder of Friesland, would one day be capable of great deeds and would grow to become a true 'Founder of Freedom' (*Vryheidsstichter*). For Halma, the hereditary stadholder of Friesland personified the hope for a thriving and peaceful future for

the Republic as a whole: this prince would eventually bring 'joy and a glorious crown to the Seven States' (*Zevenstaat tot vreugde en eene glorikroon*). A lasting peace strengthened by a hereditary stadholdership would be a boon for the 'Commonwealth' (*Gemeenebest*), according to Halma.[23]

The Dutch perspective played a significant role in the texts discussed above: all the authors used the treaty as an opportunity to present as positive a picture as possible of the Republic's part in the peace. De Groot and Halma sounded an emphatically Orangist note, signalling the dawn of another golden era on the horizon.

The Dutch perspective was also an important factor in the third category – the religious poems – although here the arguments for the superiority of the Dutch people were based on religious convictions. The idea was that the Dutch were God's chosen people and that 'Netherlands' Israel' (*Neêrlands Israël*) had been rescued by the hand of God.[24] However, this pious message was accompanied by a certain humility. Two women writers, Jetske Reinou van der Malen and Susanna van der Wier, dwelt at some length on the torment of war, for example, emphasising how grateful to God the Dutch should be.[25]

The poet Hubert Korneliszoon Poot also expressed feelings of mourning and despair. He lamented the many disasters that had afflicted the Republic since the peace treaty had been concluded, such as the rinderpest and the terrible storms that had caused harvests to fail. He asked whether the Dutch people had not suffered enough already and wondered what God's purpose was with this. However his message was unambiguous: we should never doubt God's wisdom. The events were a trial but true virtue would still be rewarded in the end.[26] A similar view could be found in Halma (who was discussed above); he spoke of 'God's sword of revenge' (*Gods wraakzwaardt*). While the peace treaty had brought an end to the agony of war, the continuing disasters held a mirror up to the people of the Republic.[27]

We see a more universal Christian viewpoint in Adriaan Spinniker (1676-1754), a former Mennonite minister who worked as a bookkeeper in Haarlem. He gave a detailed account of the causes and consequences of the War of the Spanish Succession and bluntly put the blame on the French, seeing their attempt to seize Nijmegen in June 1702 as the absolute low point. However, his ultimate aim was not to vent anti-French feelings or indeed to inflate the Republic's role in events. On the contrary, his poem was a plea for a universal, Christian peace. His wish was that 'the Saviour's kingdom of peace' (*Heilands vrede-ryk*) should spread everywhere and that peace should descend into the hearts of all 'warmongers' (*krygsgezinden*). Each and every person should accept their responsibility for this:

Let each chase most diligently for the greatest good
After lasting peace, through your God and your heart.
Thus the earthly peace, through all your days,
Will be a source of true happiness, joy and well-being,
And lead you to the enjoyment of a peace, prepared
In the heavenly kingdom of peace, that will last an eternity.[28]

Spinniker was one of the few to try and bridge national and religious differences with his desire for universal peace.

Criticism and satire

Optimism dominated in the responses to the peace mentioned so far. Now that the war had ended, they would finally be able to work on a long-term future. There may have been substantial differences of opinion on what that future should ideally look like, but a positive mood predominated. But there were also writers who sounded a rather different note. This brings us to the final category – the critical and satirical texts.

Less cheerful voices could be heard in amongst all the festive razzmatazz. There were only a few such texts but they are worth examining in more detail precisely because they differed from the usual pattern. I have singled out some to look at here, all by less familiar writers, namely Jacob Zeeus, Jan van Gysen and Frans van Oort.[29]

The notary and farmer Jacob Zeeus (1686-1718), who lived in Zevenbergen in the province of Brabant, focused more on the misery caused by the war over the past few years than on the recent rejoicing. He liked to write poetry in his free time and in 1711 he had caused an uproar with *De wolf in het schaepsvel*, a satire targeting the priesthood and all forms of religious orthodoxy. To mark the Treaty of Utrecht, he published *De klagende Rynstroom*, in which the River Rhine described the difficult peace process. The river had witnessed the horrific battles on German soil and this had made it apprehensive about the good intentions of others: 'I see the flickering steel. / I see a harvest of bodies fall, / while blood spatters in my eyes.'[30] Nevertheless, the poem finished on a hopeful note. The Rhine expressed the hope that the peace would last and the poem ended with a 'water prophetess' (*waterprofetes*) rising out of the waves and predicting a European peace that would last for 'many centuries' (*een reex van eeuwen*).[31]

This hopeful shift was completely absent in a text by an anonymous poet that has survived both in print and in manuscript form.[32] In seven acerbic stanzas, the author gave short shrift to the hope of a *pax aeterna*. A sense of suspicion and distrust dominated. The 'excessively beautiful' (*overschone*) maiden of

peace is initially welcomed wholeheartedly but appearances are deceptive. She is not clothed in pure white and her smile is false. She is accompanied by Deceit and a range of other monsters, and that is a bad sign. The authorities are called upon to renounce her:

> Statesman, put the oar in the leeward side,
> If you wish to protect the ship of the country,
> Feel free to beware this cruel peace,
> [...]
> There hides, there hides a heinous poison,
> Be watchful, O Netherlands! Be watchful with the blade out of the sheath
> This phantom is no peace.[33]

The message was clear: the peace achieved in Utrecht was an illusion. It was necessary to stay alert – in fact, arms should be kept at the ready in preparation for a possible new war.

The publications by Jan van Gysen (1668-1722) and Frans van Oort (?-1728) take a more humorous approach. Both poets were skilled in satire. Van Gysen was a weaver in Amsterdam and wrote various farces, including *De Varke markt* (1712) and *De Ossemarkt* (1712). He also wrote rhyming accounts of European news in 'a jocular style' (*boertige wijze*) for the *Amsterdamsche Mercurius* (1710-1722), a weekly. His publications of this nature meant that he was later usually dismissed as a 'mediocre street poet' (*middelmatig straatpoeet*).[34] However, his poems in the *Amsterdamsche Mercurius* show that despite all the boorishness, he was genuinely interested in what was happening on the political stage in Europe.[35] That is clear too from the fact that he wrote no less than three poems on the Treaty of Utrecht, namely (in order of publication) *t'Zaamenspraak, tusschen de Hollandsche maagd en de vreede* (1713), *Vree-bazuyn* (1714) and *De Vreeden op haar zeegen, en Mars in een rolwagen* (1714). These three publications were completely different in character. The first conforms most to the traditional peace poem, with the customary attention being paid to past Dutch triumphs in war and a particular focus on William III and the Dutch as the chosen people. The second is a thanksgiving poem with a neutral Christian tone, written to mark the general day of thanksgiving and prayer on 14 June 1714. The third poem is primarily intended to make the reader laugh, which is why it stands out.

In *De Vreeden op haar zeegen, en Mars in een rolwagen,* Peace and Mars become engaged in an argument in which Mars attracts ridicule in all respects. He is locked inside a coach and is searching desperately for a key that will let him escape. Meanwhile, Peace reprimands him as she sits in her 'golden victory chariot' (*Goude zeegewagen*). After twelve years of war, he has finally got his richly deserved reward and the tables have turned. All the rulers and coun-

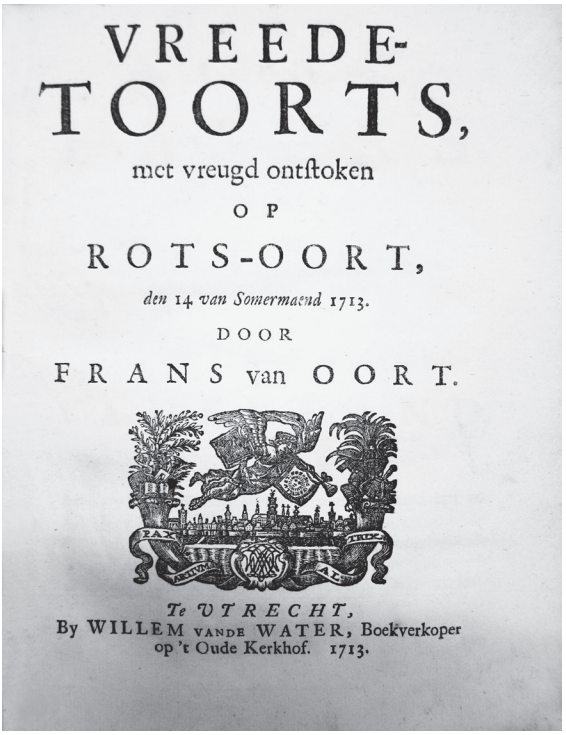
tries that were involved in the war – the Holy Roman Emperor, the kings of Spain and France, Prussia, Sicily, England and the Republic – have a key to his coach but no-one is prepared to unlock the door. No one wants the sins of Mars any more, which include murder, fire, rape, cruelty and tyranny. Peace, on the other hand, is much loved for her virtue, special gifts, and the abundance and general prosperity that she brings. Mars notes with horror that soldiers are reduced to begging if they are unable to find alternative work. Even officers and naval heroes are sitting around all day on their backsides getting bored. Men who had previously 'sliced the heads of a hundred Frenchmen in two' (*honderd Fransen heeft de kop in tweeên gekloofd*) now had to stoop to lugging bags of corn around, selling newspapers or singing songs for money.[36] The final words are spoken by Peace, who concludes that everything is better now. Trade and the arts are flourishing once again, farmers are ploughing their fields again and the horn of plenty is showering riches on all citizens. She ends by praying that she will be permitted to accompany the people down the centuries to come.

Thus the poem still ends with the traditional summary of all the benefits of peace. Indeed, it is not so much the moral message as the humorous setting that stands out here: Mars in chains is addressed by a triumphant Peace in a humiliating tone. Even so, the message is still serious: war is despicable, it causes unnecessary suffering and that is why peace should be welcomed.

Satirical Grillo

Perhaps the most unusual and unconventional response to the Treaty of Utrecht came from the brick manufacturer and lawyer Frans van Oort. He lived on a plot next to Utrecht's toll gate (Tolsteegpoort), the main building of which was called Rotsoord.[37] That explains the title of his 64-page poem: *Vreede-toorts, met vreugd ontstoken op Rots-Oort, den 14 van Somermaend 1713* ('Peace-torch, lit with joy at Rots-Oort on the 14th of the Summer month'). This is the only substantial work by this author to have survived, although we also have three shorter occasional poems.[38]

Vreede-toorts can be classified as an example of satirical literature. It has characteristics of both burlesque poetry and satirical poetry. Burlesque poetry flourished in the seventeenth century, in part thanks to the work of the French writer Paul Scarron (1610-1666). He wrote a number of famous 'travesties', such as *Le Typhon ou Gigantomochie* (1644) and *Virgile travesti* (1648-1652), in which he mocked classical genres. A Dutch practitioner of this genre was W.G. van Focquenbroch, who portrayed the classical gods in a vulgar altercation with the Giants in his *Typhon of de Reusen-strijdt* (1666). In these texts the discordance


VREEDE-
TOORTS,
met vreugd ontſtoken
OP
ROTS-OORT,
den 14 *van Somermaend* 1713.
DOOR
FRANS van OORT.
Te UTRECHT,
By WILLEM VANDE WATER, Boekverkoper
op 't Oude Kerkhof. 1713.

5.4 Title page of the satirical poem *Vreede-toorts* (1713) by the Utrecht poet Frans van Oort

between the elevated subject matter and the boorish language functioned as the key technique for obtaining a humorous effect.

Vreede-toorts shows something similar. The epic poem is on a lofty subject, namely the Treaty of Utrecht and the war that preceded it, but it is full of coarse jokes and boorish expressions. A good example is this sentence about the peace: 'O sweet Peace, comfort and refuge of my desire, / In love with your sweetness, I continue to suckle on your nipples.'[39] Most of the coarse statements are uttered by the character Grillo, who was a kind of alter ego for the author and was constantly interrupting the argument with all kinds of cutting remarks. The first-person narrator and Grillo take turns in speaking; it is clear to the reader when Grillo is speaking as his dialogue is printed in italics.

Vreede-toorts also has characteristics of a satirical poem. In this genre, the author denounces certain social or moral abuses. Joost van den Vondel was a master in crafting satirical poems, for example using them to criticise the judges who condemned Johan van Oldenbarnevelt to death and the avarice of corrupt regents. His poem *Roskam* (1626) was a direct attack on governors who put their own interests before that of other people. Various groups of people are mocked in *Vreede-toorts* but the author was essentially targeting all forms of

hypocrisy and greed. For example, he denounces the actions of Louis XIV, the good intentions of the peace negotiators and greedy regents. In Van Oort's opinion, a facade of virtuousness often hid the fact that people were simply acting from self-interest.

The name Grillo was a significant choice; it is derived from the Latin word 'grillus', which means 'grasshopper'. 'Grasshopper' (*sprinkhaan*) was also used as a nickname for the French – an important theme in the text. Furthermore, Grillo evokes associations with the Dutch word '*grillig*' (capricious), which signifies changeable, fitful and impetuous behaviour.[40] This Grillo is indeed a madcap creature who spouts cutting remarks, often of a sexual nature, with a complete lack of restraint. Grillo also functions as a kind of alternative muse who inspires the author as he pens his poetry. That is clear from the poem's opening lines:

> Fly, Grillo, Grillo, fly: trumpet it throughout the world:
> Trumpet a triumphant Peace, so gloriously pearl-laden,
> Embroidered with victory wreaths, more
> Illustrious than Europe has ever seen.
> Fly as far as Bourbon's craving flew,
> To feed the insatiable heart, made proud by its great wealth,
> With yet finer and more capacious air.[41]

While it was customary for classical epics to start by hailing the muse ('Sing, goddess, of the anger of Achilles, son of Peleus'), Van Oort has his muse, Grillo, fly up into the sky to spread the message of peace.[42] The author also attacks the French: Grillo is urged to fly as high as the insatiable craving for power of Louis XIV. A little later, Van Oort compares the French king to Phaeton, the mythical figure who flew too high in his father Jupiter's sun chariot, crashing down to earth as a result. France's hegemony came to a similar end: 'Thus the French pillar creeks, wobbles and crashes'.[43]

The burlesque character is also seen in the many jokes of a rather sexual nature and the scatological humour. Louis XIV is portrayed as a vulture, who contravenes all notions of decency even in that respect. This 'most Christian of rulers, denuded of all Christian aspects' (*Christelijksten vorst, ontbloot van Christlijkheden*) had overstepped the mark with his behaviour, both literally and figuratively:

> He did not just rape beautiful Tanne,
> Next, the Heretic felt the desire to dishonour all of Liège,
> And have his wicked way with the little Nun of Cologne.[44]

The attempts by the French king to conquer Tanne (a town in the Harz Mountains), Liège and Cologne are described here using sexual metaphors as a way of emphasising his wicked character. His depravity is revealed by the fact that he ignores official agreements and uses earlier peace treaties to wipe his backside.

> He wipes his behind on the Rijswijk treaties:
> The capital is his goal, he fills it with soldiers,
> Laughing at the moans of a Duchess,
> Who awaits a little Lorraine baby from one hour to the next.[45]

Van Oort is referring here to Louis XIV's 1702 attack on Lorraine, which had been granted to the Duke of Lorraine in the Rijswijk agreements. The French king took no notice of these agreements and stationed all his troops in the capital, Metz, where the duchess was in the process of giving birth to a 'little Lorraine baby' (*jong Lorijntje*). He could hardly have been more heartless.

Broadly speaking, the text can be divided into three sections: there is an introductory section, followed by an extensive account of the War of the Spanish Succession, while the final section focuses on the peace negotiations and the actual peace. In general, it is striking how well-informed Van Oort was about all the political events. He gave a wide-ranging overview of the key developments in each year and detailed descriptions of the different battles. His reports are reminiscent of the way in which Van Gysen presents political news in the *Amsterdamsche Mercurius,* although Van Oort adopted a less personal style. He may have taken his information from the *Europische Mercurius*, a periodical that had been summarising the main European news since 1690, but he could also have used local newspapers as a source.[46] The Haarlem poet Lucas Schermer (1688-1711), for example, who published a series of epic poems on the War of the Spanish Succession, probably used information from the Haarlem newspaper *Opregte Haerlemsche Courant*.[47]

Van Oort was also remarkably well-informed about the peace talks, which started on 29 January 1712.[48] The author gave a meticulous description of how the envoys worked together and what political interests were at stake. His account starts on a very optimistic note:

> O long desired Sun of Peace, let the rays
> Of your beguiling light fall for once
> On the hearts and minds of such States,
> As occupy the centre of trade completely unhindered:
> With the new year, open the long-closed doors
> Of Concord's magnificence; enter with the aromas
> Of the oil-rich olive.[49]

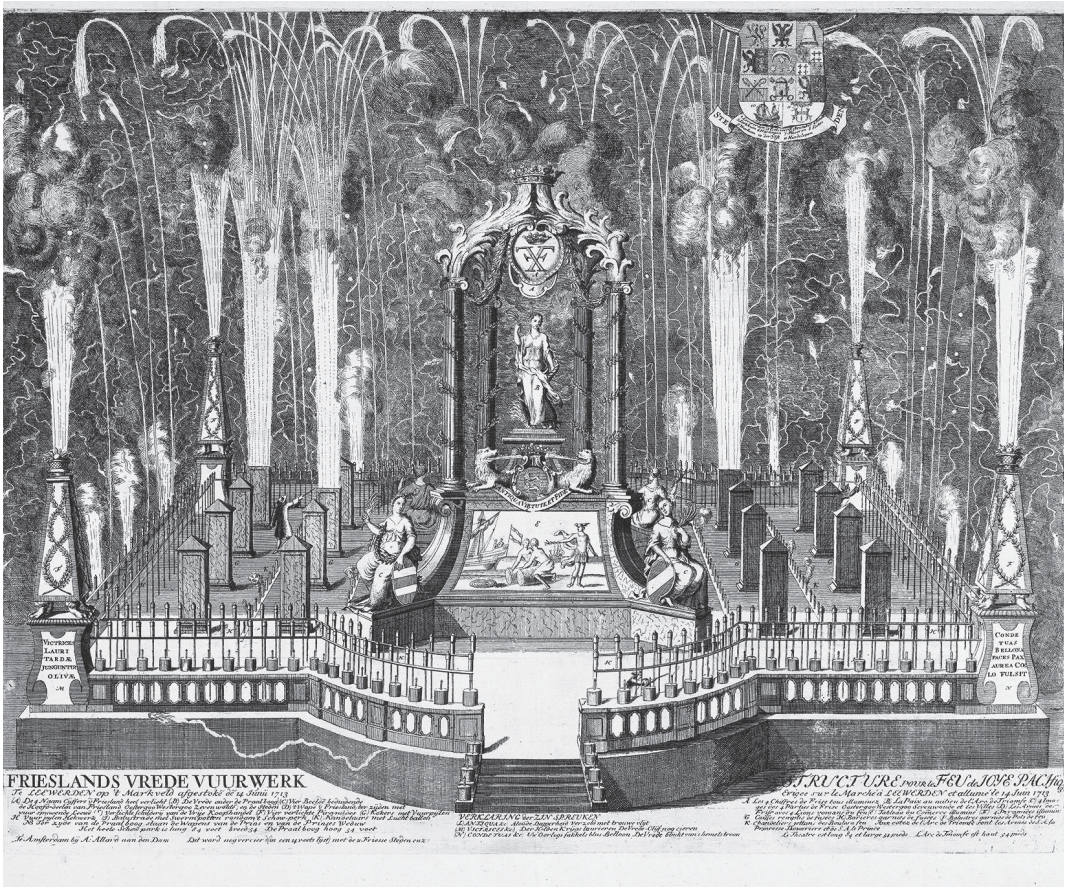
However, Grillo immediately takes the edge off the joyful mood by pointing to the participating parties' own interests. The English in particular receive a barrage of criticism because internal political disputes between the Tories and the more hawkish Whigs severely impeded progress in the peace talks. There was criticism both of the Tories' attitude to the Duke of Marlborough and of Britain's hostile attitude to the Dutch Republic. At that point the Duke of Marlborough was living in exile due to an escalating conflict with Queen Anne, who was siding with the Tories. On the continent he was celebrated as a war hero but he had fallen out of favour in his own country. Van Oort calls that scandalous ('a nasty blemish on the brightest part of the day', [*een naer gespook op het schoonste van den dag*]).[50] His second criticism concerned British allegations that the Republic was obstructing the peace negotiations:

> They also arouse suspicion among the common people about our State;
> And say that the treasury was pillaged up to ten times,
> by strange folk and foul scroungers;
> But, blood, if it were down to me, things would be completely different.[51]

This refers to the notorious pamphlet *The Conduct of the Allies* (1712) by Jonathan Swift, in which he not only attacked the Whigs but also accused the Republic of obstructing the peace negotiations.[52] Grillo's comment is merciless: 'Whoever even smells like a Whig is kicked out of office' (*Wie dat maer ruykt naer Wigs word uyt syn ampt geschopt*).[53] He continues in this vein for some time; the ideal image of negotiators longing for peace is smashed to smithereens.

Eventually the peace treaty is signed anyway and the celebrations can begin. But here too, Van Oort bursts the bubble with his commentary. He interprets the familiar tropes of renewed prosperity and blossoming arts in vulgar economic terms: Jan Credit is already queuing up to be the first to pluck the fruits of restored peace while the poets are taking up their pens to cash in on the event. Meanwhile, the masses are revelling in drink and other fleshly delights: 'How many bedsteads are going to start squeaking again / Thanks to the torch planted by Hymen!' [the god of marriage] Grillo does not put such a gloss on it: 'And everyone kisses his wife again in his own fashion.'[54]

The author also makes dozens of critical remarks throughout the text about religion and politics. Even in the prologue, Grillo refers favourably to *De wolf in 't schaepsvel* by Zeeus. This sets the tone for the rest of the work, in which he rejects all forms of authority and orthodoxy. Freedom is his motto. The Catholics come in for some taunts, as might be expected given the poem's anti-French stance. Thus Louis XIV is portrayed as a devil who preaches false words to a lay audience. On the one hand, Van Oort applauds the restoration of peace and hopes that 'never may a Patriot be driven out for his beliefs' (*nim-*



5.5 A major firework display took place in Leeuwarden on 14 June 1713. Seated next to the Temple of Peace are four figures who represent areas within the province: Oostergo, Westergo, Zevenwouden and De Steden. Printmaker Daniël Marot

mer Patriot worde om 't geloof verdreven), while on the other hand he pokes fun at everything and everyone connected to religion, including the Mennonites, Lutherans and Armenians.[55]

Van Oort does not shy away from confrontation in politics either. The targets are primarily the stadholders and the Orangists, who are the subject of numerous jibes. For example, when talking about the Treaty of Rijswijk, the author notes that it only brought an illusion of peace. People were lulled to sleep and lay there 'gaping at the fruits of the Tree of Orange' (*de vruchten van d'Oranjen Stam te gapen*).[56] The death of William III is also recalled at some length. The author solemnly reports that 'the tree of Orange' (*d'Oranje stam*) constitutes an exceptional jewel in the garden of the Netherlands with 'all the other trees [bowing] humbly' (*al 't andere geboomt sig nedrig*) before it. However, the Orange tree has grown so fast that its planters have lost sight of it. That is reason enough for Grillo to be somewhat more cynical: tall trees simply pro-

duce 'bitter fruits' (*wrange vruchten*), the 'nursery' (*kwekerij*) costs vast amounts of money and all you get is 'torment, cares and burdens' (*quelling, sorg en lasten*).[57] References are also made to the disputes between the Orangists and republicans in the past, with the masses bearing the brunt of the criticism: 'How this rabble thrashed about in the days of Barnevelt! / As Loevestein, The Hague and others can testify.'[58] And a little later on: 'In the heat of the wartime fire, as civic quarrels smouldered; / Many armoured and winged creatures colluded with Nassau's heirs.'[59]

There may be the hint of a political preference in the poem's conclusion. Van Oort ends with the wish that people will be able to enjoy the peace for a long time. The author's all too solemn, overblown words are once again at odds with those of Grillo:

[Author]
Furthermore, I wish from a heart heavy with praise and gratitude
That the State, as head of the members,
May enjoy the fruits of peace for always and in full,
For which he has sweated, toiled and kept watch.

[Grillo]
What does Grillo wish most of all for the lofty powers?
I wish that they may come to self-knowledge,
They and their boundaries lashed to steadfastness,
And all the caution of La Court's little cat.[60]

While the author wishes the Dutch Republic good luck with the peace, Grillo calls on all public administrators to exercise their critical capacities. He expresses the wish that they will be circumspect at all times and critically assess their own actions.

Grillo's final line may refer to the work of Pieter de la Court, who in his *Sinryke Fabulen* (1685) added an explanation to one hundred animal fables. One of the fables is about a cat and an iron file (the tool). A smith has rubbed nice tasting oil on the file and the cat is licking it clean greedily. However, the cat carries on licking too long and injures its tongue. It eventually pays for its greed with its life. The cat symbolises man, who lets himself be led by his desires, and it has a warning function. De la Court then draws a parallel with politics, where many have succumbed to the temptations of their office. Many people serve only their own interests, endangering the general welfare in the process. That is why it is up to citizens to keep a close watch on kings and princes with excessively long arms or iron stomachs that can consume vast amounts. De la Court's political lessons have many similarities with those of

Jean de la Fontaine, the seventeenth-century French fable writer whom he took as his example, who denounced the abuses of Louis XIV's absolute monarchy.[61] De la Court himself was a committed supporter of the republicans and consequently opposed to Orange rule. The reference to this fable may be another sign of Van Oort's critical attitude to the Orangists as well as his critical attitude to the greed of the regents in general.

Diffuse picture

In their verses marking the Treaty of Utrecht, authors gave expression to their sense of national identity in very different ways. Some went back to the image of the freedom-loving Batavians (De Bye) or pastoral tropes (Van den Burg), while others seized the peace as a chance to emphasise the role of the House of Orange both in the past and the present (De Groot, Halma). There was also a certain friction between the Republic and the wider European setting. Most writers aimed to give as positive an impression as possible of the Republic from a political or religious perspective, but some, such as De Groot, played down the role of the Republic as a power in the international political arena.

Perhaps the most striking contribution was that of the satirical poets. After so many years of uninterrupted war, there was every reason to have doubts about the new peace. Who could guarantee that *this* peace would last? Was the treaty not clearly marked with the individual interests of the nations involved? And what about internal peace? Would the country's rulers be able to withstand the temptations of power? The satirical texts can be read as a response to the unquestioning celebration of the peace; they applaud the peace from a less rosy perspective. Van Oort mercilessly exposed the 'good' intentions of the negotiators, city fathers and citizens celebrating the treaty; it was certainly peace but how genuine was it? His viewpoint was shared by others, as is clear from such verses as 'you only have the illusion of Peace /Your heart is full of venom' (*gy zyt maar Vrede in schyn / Uw hart is vol fenyn*).[62]

That sceptical note is new compared with the previous peace treaties, which were dominated by rejoicing at the restoration of trade and prosperity. A general sense of joy reigned supreme whatever the political or religious affiliations were. According to the historian Willem Frijhoff, the grand fireworks put on by the government for the Treaty of Utrecht masked the fact that there were many feelings of discontent and anxiety about the Republic's situation.[63] The critical voices would only grow louder in the years that followed. Public opinion-makers subjected such issues as the Republic's foreign policy, the failure of the economy to recover and the system of public governance to a critical examination.[64] Thus in *Nederlands toestand na de Utrechtsche vrede* (1718), an anony-

mous author complained about the economic and moral decline of the Netherlands. There would never be a recovery if they continued in this way:

> A Dutchman is nothing other than his name.
> The pure virtue of the fathers who roamed long in exile [...]
> Disaster-hit Netherlands, can you expect, carrying on in this way,
> To ever see your salutary sun rise again as before?[65]

However pitiful the situation was, there was also a clear message and a strong sense of a shared identity. Major powers such as England and France should not be trusted and the Republic should rely on its own strengths.[66] Only then would the golden era of the past return.

ORANGE ON TOP

6.1 The poet and diplomat Willem van Haren (1710-1768)

6

PEACE THROUGH WAR
Lof der vrede (1742)

'*Si vis pacem, para bellum*.' It is one of the best-known Latin sayings and it means 'if you want peace, prepare for war'. In the course of history, the expression has been used on many occasions, whether relevant or not, to justify an arms programme or military intervention. The underlying idea is that peace can only be achieved by striking fear into the hearts of the enemy. This line of reasoning plays a particularly important role in some contexts and periods of history. One example is the arms race during the Cold War, when the Soviet Union and USA were diametrically opposed and each tried to outdo the other in accumulating more and more military resources. The same applied during a less familiar episode in European history, the War of the Austrian Succession, which held sway over all of Europe between 1740 and 1748. Both Britain and the Dutch Republic initially stayed out of the war, but in both countries the internal calls to become actively involved grew steadily louder. Advocates of military intervention pointed to the fact that both countries would be violating international treaties if they remained neutral. Even more importantly, they argued that the European balance of power could only be restored by putting a stop to the aggressors.

The most outspoken Dutch exponent of this view was the Frisian politician and poet Willem van Haren (1710-1768). In 1742 he published *Lof der vrede*, a remarkable poem that caused a considerable stir. He sought to persuade his readers that 'The peoples who value sweet peace / are best able to stop tyranny and the fire of war' (*Volkeren, die zoete rust waardeeren, / Het best de Dwinglandye en 't vuur des Oorlogs weeren*).[1] He called for 'true peace' (*ware vrede*) and fiercely attacked all the people who were a threat to this, or 'those who scorned calm' (*versmaders van de rust*).[2] That sounded like a noble and pacific ambition but the main message in this poem was a call to the Republic's representatives to take up arms and choose a side in the War of the Austrian Succession. Van Haren felt the Republic should abandon its neutrality and take military action instead. He urged its governors to send troops to Central Europe to protect the

interests of Maria Theresa of Austria. So this ode to peace was in fact a call to engage in an armed conflict. What exactly was going on?

After Emperor Charles VI died in 1740, a fierce struggle broke out about who was to succeed him. His daughter Maria Theresa ascended the throne in accordance with the agreements set out in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713. However various rulers, including the Prussian elector Frederick II and the Spanish king Philip V, felt they too had a claim to the throne and they declared war against her.[3] At first the Republic adopted a neutral position, but there were also fierce advocates of military intervention, including the Orangist Willem van Haren. He represented the province of Friesland in the States General and he thought that the Republic should come to the aid of the Hungarian queen. Furthermore, military intervention might improve the position of the Frisian stadholder, William IV, and create a favourable climate for his promotion to general stadholder.

Lof der vrede is a fascinating publication for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was translated into English almost immediately by the Irish poet Samuel Boyse (1708-1749) and published with the title *The Praise of Peace: A Poem in Three Cantos*. Extracts from this translation were also published in the popular journal *The Gentleman's Magazine*. This made Van Haren one of the few eighteenth-century Dutch poets to achieve recognition abroad. Secondly, this text shows how closely intertwined the worlds of diplomacy and literature were at that time. *Lof der vrede* was one of a series of poems that Van Haren wrote on the question of the Austrian succession. Such texts circulated in the highest circles, where poetry served to seal relationships.[4] Thirdly, *Lof der vrede* shows that poetry commenting on events played a major role in the public debate. Van Haren aroused quite a reaction with his political poems. Both supporters and opponents felt called upon to respond: more than a hundred texts appeared, and were soon published in compilations.[5] Finally, Van Haren did indeed succeed in influencing the political course with his political poems, including *Lof der vrede*. Partly thanks to his efforts, the States General eventually decided to abandon its neutrality and send troops to Central Europe. All the more reason to examine this poem, its translation and the political context in which it functioned.

Diplomat and poet

The statesman and poet Willem van Haren was born in Leeuwarden in 1710. His family were prosperous members of the Frisian nobility with close connections to the stadholder's family.[6] He studied law and in 1728 he became *grietman* (mayor and magistrate) of the Frisian district of Het Bildt. In 1740 he was appointed to the States General representing the province of Friesland

and he moved to The Hague. He lived there for seven years, until he became involved in person in the War of the Austrian Succession: he served as a 'representative in the field' from 1747 to 1748, which meant that he witnessed battles on behalf of the States General. After the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been concluded in 1748, he was employed as an envoy at the court in Brussels. Over the course of time, he became increasingly entangled in problems. His political influence waned and his turbulent and unhappy marriage affected him too – while married to Marianne Charles (with whom he had no children), he also maintained a second family that included three children. The situation worsened to such an extent on both the personal and the financial front that he eventually committed suicide by taking poison.[7] He died penniless in 1768.

When Van Haren wrote *Lof der vrede,* he was embarking on a promising political career. To understand the poem properly, it is first necessary to briefly consider some works that he published before then, as they already reveal one of the key themes in his oeuvre, namely sound political leadership. He made his debut in 1741 with *Gevallen van Friso, Koning der Gangariden en Prasiaten* (1741). This perceptive and extensively annotated epic was inspired by Voltaire's *La Henriade*. Its subject was Friso, the man who gave the province of Friesland its name. The poem described the long wanderings of this young man who was born in India and eventually settled in Friesland. Friso symbolised the prototype of the virtuous ruler who strove for justice and the happiness of his subjects. In this way the poem functioned as a regional addition to the many texts praising Bato as the forefather of the Dutch.[8]

While *Gevallen van Friso* was essentially a didactic epic, in Van Haren's following publications he deliberately aimed to tie in with contemporary politics. Political provocation became Van Haren's primary goal but he dressed it up in a classical form. His real breakthrough came with *Leonidas*, a poem that he published in early February 1742. Van Haren took his inspiration from a poem of the same name by the English poet Richard Glover, but he gave it his own political interpretation.[9] The story of Leonidas goes back to an episode in the Greek historian Herodotus's *Histories*, about the fight between the Spartan king Leonidas and the Persian king Xerxes. Leonidas decided to continue the fight even though the Spartans were in the minority. Much of Van Haren's poem is taken up by an emotional address by Leonidas in which he urges his subjects to join him. He is prepared to risk his life and will confront the enemy alone if necessary:

> If no one joins my fight, I will
> Hold up the sword of war alone, alone
> And defend liberty with my life
> Alone, not afraid of any death![10]

The heroic words of Leonidas have an effect: three hundred men swear an oath of loyalty to him and follow him into battle. Most, including Leonidas himself, are killed fighting the 'barbarians' (*Barbaren*) at the Battle of Thermopylae but they are rewarded with 'eternal glory' (*eeuwige roem*). The message was clear: the Republic should follow the courageous example of Leonidas and support Maria Theresa in the defence of her throne.

The poem caused a sensation. According to some, more than a hundred thousand copies were sold within days.[11] That number was undoubtedly a gross exaggeration but it shows how much interest there was. The poem was read out loud at numerous public places in Amsterdam and caused such an uproar that the magistrates were worried about the consequences.[12] It attracted attention abroad too, with translations into Latin, French and English appearing almost immediately. The French version apparently 'flew' through the streets of Paris and caused quite a stir there too.[13] The Dutch ambassador in Paris, Abraham van Hoey, came under considerable fire as a result. He wanted to maintain good relations with France and prevent the Republic becoming involved in the war at all costs, but his position became virtually untenable when the French ambassador in The Hague sent copies of *Leonidas* to the highest ranking minister in France. Van Hoey was called to account for this by Jean-Jacques Amelot de Chaillou, the minister of foreign affairs.[14] Amelot recited two verses in translation and demanded an explanation. How could such a senior representative of the Republic use such language? Did the Republic want a war? This was followed by talks with Louis XV's first minister, André-Hercule de Fleury, and visits with all the other ministers. Van Hoey barely managed to extricate himself as he tried to persuade them that the poems were nothing more than 'fantasies and poetical fictions' (*harssen schimmen en Poëtische fictien*). He reported on the episode at length in a letter to the States General.[15]

This affair shows how much of an impact *Leonidas* had. It also reveals how tense political relations were between the Dutch Republic and France. The French kept a close eye on events in the Republic and saw Van Haren's inflammatory statements as a real danger.

In his letter, Van Hoey mentioned a second poem by Van Haren that was considered in French circles to be equally insulting. In this poem, Van Haren attacked his cowardly compatriots for their 'perjury' (*meineedigheid*). He accused them of failing to comply with the promise of loyalty to Maria Theresa – as recorded in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713. It was better to bring back the 'age-old Bravery and Virtue' (*aloude Dapperheid en Deugd*) displayed in the past by Tromp and De Ruyter, and take action: 'Where there is COURAGE, there is help. Salvation can be drawn from COURAGE! / Shall not COURAGE joined with JUSTICE always prevail?'[16] The poem was a free adaptation of an ode by

Horace in which he lamented the decline in Roman virtues. In a similar way, Van Haren denounced the degeneracy of his contemporaries.[17]

The whole affair shows that world of literature and the world of diplomats were closely interwoven; in contrast to modern times, literature and politics were not two separate worlds. Van Haren's poetry functioned as an 'act of international diplomacy', a driving force within the arena of international relations.[18] The many classical and mythological references in his poems did not obscure their meaning. On the contrary, the classical and mythological context seems rather to have increased their power of expression and impact.[19] *Leonidas* prompted a series of poems for and against Van Haren that make clear that everyone understood exactly what Van Haren was talking about. The poem was certainly interpreted as a statement of his political position in the European conflict. An anonymous poet who called himself 'Patriot' resolutely rejected Van Haren's belligerent message:

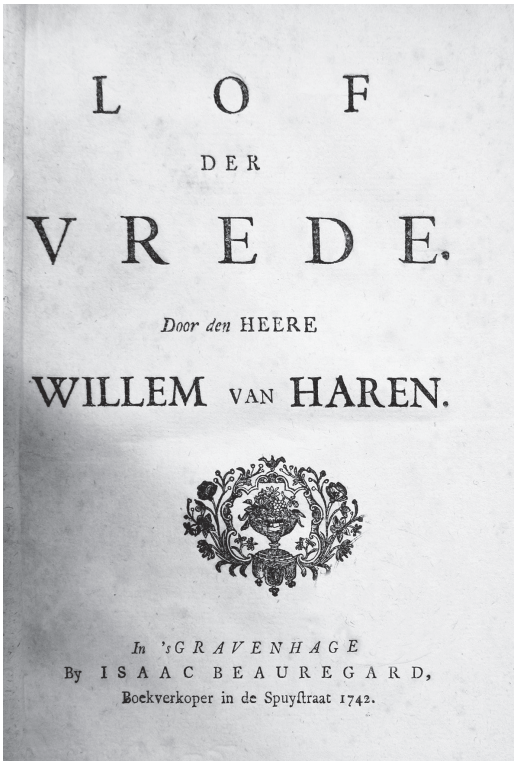
> How now, Leonidas, what madness afflicts you?
> How! you violate, despise, mock peace-loving people,
> As low, cowardly, and ah! Traitors of their oaths?
> Do you not fear God's thunder, which can smite you down?
>
> Thus to goad and provoke a peace-loving court,
> To draw the rusting sword of war from the scabbard,
> That is worn carefully to preserve peace,
> Does not befit a Spartan, however great or wise in times of war.[20]

This 'Patriot' thought that Van Haren's Leonidas had had a fit of madness; urging peace-loving citizens to go to war was not the right approach.

False and true peace

Van Haren's *Leonidas* had an effect. This poem and the many declarations of support were a factor in the States General's decision in March 1742 to add 20,000 troops to its army.[21] However, the additional soldiers were purely intended for the defence of the Republic's eastern borders, not for active engagement in the war. That was one reason why Van Haren continued as energetically as ever with his campaign, using poetry once again as an effective weapon. *Lof der vrede* was one of the most influential of the new series of political poems penned by Van Haren.

In this long, classical-mythological poem consisting of three cantos, Van Haren makes a distinction between 'false' (*valsche*) and 'true peace' (*ware vrede*).


LOF
DER
VREDE.
Door den HEERE
WILLEM VAN HAREN.
In 'sGRAVENHAGE
By ISAAC BEAUREGARD,
Boekverkoper in de Spuystraat 1742.

6.2 First edition of *Lof der vrede* (1742)

False peace was that sought by tyrants such as Julius Caesar who pulled the wool over the people's eyes with their false promises. Such rulers were only in it for their personal gain and they whipped up various individuals 'who value neither the law nor duty / and govern arbitrarily in a small circle' (*die wet noch pligt waarderen / En in een' enger kring naar willekeur regeeren*), according to Van Haren.[22] True peace, on the other hand, was the peace aimed for by virtuous rulers who were only concerned about the welfare of their subjects. In Van Haren's view, the ideal state looked like this:

> In the free regions, honest peace can be seen
> When children are brought up to be accustomed
> To the notion that man is not born for himself alone;
> But also for the benefit of the common weal;
> Yes, that such should be the first desire and first duty,
> Not to be persuaded by lust for power or love of money.[23]

Van Haren argued that the Dutch had let themselves be lulled to sleep by Morpheus, the god of sleep. Morpheus had caused the inhabitants of the Republic

to believe that they were living in a state of peace. But this was a false peace, created in the 'idle realm of dreams' (*ydel ryk der dromen*). This false peace had to be driven off because it was more dangerous than the 'fire of war' (*oorlogs-vuur*),[24]

Lof der vrede resonated with both a Biblical context and a political context. There were echoes of passages from the Bible such as Psalm 146, which praises the true faith in God and denounces the false faith in princes ('put not your trust in princes [...] in whom there is no help').[25] Van Haren may have drawn inspiration from the distinction between *securitas* (the illusion of security) and *certitudo* (the true belief in God) that was commonly made in Lutheran circles, for example.[26] Van Haren also had a clear political message: true peace could only be achieved when a stop was put to the domineering rulers in neighbouring countries. According to him, a good ruler keeps to his oath of loyalty:

> He sets the example of undefiled fidelity,
> But does not foolishly conclude that every prince does this.
> He himself never violates old and solemn alliances,
> Only others violate them continually and without shame;
> He also helps others who support him when in need
> And is not vexed if the faithless are offended at this.[27]

The reference to the contemporary political situation was clear: Van Haren was once again arguing in favour of military support for Maria Theresa. There was no time to lose:

> No time, no hour to be lost!
> An army in the field! Not to place your neighbour's crown
> On your head; O no, rather to defend
> The throne, where cherished peace shines within your ramparts,
> From falling when the blade is drawn.[28]

Reaction to *Lof der vrede*

Lof der vrede prompted many responses. Supporters applauded Van Haren for his courage and agreed with his view that true peace could only be achieved by curbing domineering rulers. Van Haren was showered with praise. One of the writers who praised him set up a 'Dutch offering of thanks' (*Nederlands danköffer*) for Van Haren, who was seen as an 'illustrious hero of the State' (*doorluchte Staetsheld*), 'upright patriot' (*Onkreukbre Patriot*) and 'steadfast pillar of the free State of the Netherlands' (*Standvaste Medezuil van Neêrlands Vryen Staet*).[29] Another writer called him an 'Atlas of the State, born for the Fatherland' (*Atlas*

van den Staat, voor 't Vaderland gebooren) because of his ability to distinguish between false and true peace.[30] He even assumed divine proportions in a variant on a well-known hymn from the *Nederlandtsche gedenck-klank* (1626) by Adriaen Valerius ('Happy is the land / That is protected by our Lord God', [*Geluckig is het Land / Dat God den Heer beschermt*]):

> Happy is the country, where men live
> Like this VAN HAREN, who comes to show us his virtue,
> Yes, such a country, although wickedness may rage there,
> Will yet live happily, even in times of pressure and adversity.[31]

'Brave' Van Haren was also compared to the orator Cicero, who excelled in his good sense and wisdom, and the consul Cato, who sustained and supported the Romans.

The idea that war was inevitable if true peace was to be achieved was formulated most forcefully in *Gezang aan het vereenigde Nederland,* by an anonymous author. He placed a fitting motto above the text: '*Si vis pacem, para bellum*', or 'if you wish for peace, prepare for war'. The poem consists of a series of specific examples taken from the nation's history that show the beneficial effect of war. The author pointed to the Netherlands' illustrious past, the vigour of William of Orange, Prince Maurice, the naval commander Cornelis Tromp and Michiel de Ruyter and the victories in the colonies. That vigour was needed again now, but this time to restore 'sweet peace' (*zoete vrede*). 'Expand your army; strengthen your castles; / Restore your fleets to their glory.' Anyone who wanted peace had to fight for the good cause first: 'Arm yourselves and join your neighbours, And either your calm will last / Or - if you fall you will fall as free men.'[32]

Critics rejected this line of reasoning. Peace was always to be preferred to a bloody war, regardless of the circumstances. A religiously inspired author, for instance, denounced the violence of war in general: 'Murder, robbery, fire, death and hellish quarrels' (*Moord, Roov, Brand, Dood en Helletwist*) had ruined so many countries. According to him, everyone suffered from the violence of war, from the farmer to the mother and the young infant.[33] A certain 'P.F.' looked more specifically at the topical issue of the Austrian succession and concluded that there was no need to intervene. In fact, he considered Van Haren and his associates to be traitors and wanted them dead. People who fought for a good cause were heroes. But anyone who advocated a war for which there were no good grounds was not worthy to live: 'He who gives his soul in the service of true virtue, / Dares to die fighting for liberty, religion, the law / If there is a crisis, but he who wants to fight / When there is no crisis deserves death.'[34] Here too the poem was accompanied by an appropriate motto: '*Nulla salus bello, pacem nunc*

poscium omnes', or 'There is no salvation in war; we all pray for peace'.[35] Paradoxically, this plea for peace sounded just as warlike as Van Haren's text, especially given the explicit wish for Van Haren's death expressed by the author.

The many responses supporting or criticising Van Haren show once again how thin the dividing line was between war and peace. Should 'true peace' be chosen in preference to 'false peace', as Van Haren argued? And could that peace only be achieved by waging war? Were the rulers who wanted to seize the throne from Maria Theresa indeed prototypical 'bad princes' who were purely interested in personal gain? Or was Van Haren wide off the mark with his notion of 'true peace' and was he misusing the term simply to push the Republic into a new war that would benefit the position of the Frisian stadholder? While the responses focused on the European question, the struggle between Orangists and patriots was a constant factor in the background. The question of who was worthy to be called a 'patriot' and who was truly serving the liberty of the nation was the subject of much dispute. Lauding previous stadholders could also be interpreted as a political signal. So Van Haren's emphatically Orangist profile only added fuel to the flames.

Translations into English

Lof der vrede attracted considerable attention not just in the Republic itself but also outside its borders. In May 1742, an extract translated into English was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.[36] This popular journal, which had been founded in 1731 by Edward Cave, and contained a mixture of news items, opinion pieces and poems. The translation was by the Irish poet Samuel Boyse, who was living in London at the time. Shortly afterwards he produced a translation of the entire poem *Lof der vrede* with the title *The Praise of Peace. A Poem in Three Cantos*. He also published at least four other political poems by Van Haren in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, namely an extract from *Leonidas, Aan de Koninginne van Hongaryen* (1742), *Aan de Groot-Brittannische natie* (1742) and *Aan zyne groot-Brittannische Majesteyt* (1743). What caused a relatively unknown Irish poet to study the work of a Dutch statesman and poet, and what made Van Haren's work so relevant for a British audience?

Boyse grew up in Dublin as the son of a Presbyterian minister. He studied in Glasgow and married a merchant's daughter at a young age. His studies did not go well and his financial situation was precarious from the start. In 1730, Boyse moved to Edinburgh, where he built up a reputation as a poet. He moved to London in 1737 and initially enjoyed some success as a poet with collected works such as *The Olive* (1737) and *The Deity* (1739). However he gradually fell into poverty. He tried to stay afloat by working as a hack writer, offering his

services to *The Gentleman's Magazine* among others. He published articles in it with some regularity, usually signing his work with 'Y.' or 'Alcaeus'.[37] In a letter to Edward Cave, Boyse described the appalling conditions in which he was living as he worked on the translation of a poem by Van Haren: he had not eaten for days and had no money to pay for his lodgings.[38] Boyse asked Cave for a modest financial contribution to alleviate the worst of the need. Shortly afterwards, Boyse noted that he had sent the translation and had received half a guinea from Cave in return.[39]

So financial motives played an important role in Boyse's decisions, but that is not the whole story. To explain why Boyse chose Van Haren's work in particular, it is necessary to take account of its content and the political context. The ideas that Van Haren was expressing tied in neatly with the political opinions of *The Gentleman's Magazine* and with Boyse's Irish background. Van Haren had something of substance to offer too.

As in the Republic, there was a big debate in Britain on whether the country should become involved in the War of the Austrian Succession. At first there was considerable resistance to the idea of military involvement but that changed when Robert Walpole resigned in 1742. The new government believed in taking a much more belligerent course and advocated giving military support to Maria Theresa. The result was that in June 1742, Britain sent 16,000 soldiers to the continent and made a financial contribution to Maria Theresa as support.[40] It would be a while before the army actually saw action; on 27 June 1743, the British army led by King George II achieved an important victory at the Battle of Dettingen.

The 1742 and 1743 volumes show that *The Gentleman's Magazine* pressed for active involvement in the War of the Austrian Succession. The magazine printed various items advocating military intervention. One of the authors showed considerable concern about the current situation, 'which seem[s] to threaten no less than the Overthrow of the Balance of Power in Europe'.[41] The poems by Van Haren fitted seamlessly with this profile as he explicitly defended the interests of Maria Theresa. These were the kind of texts that *The Gentleman's Magazine* liked to print, all the more because of the close similarities between the British and Dutch situations. Moreover, Van Haren actually addressed the British directly in some of his poems. In *Aan de Groot-Britannische natie,* he expressed lavish praise for the decision by the British to send troops to the continent (rendered here in a fairly literal translation):

> Magnanimous people! Who do not fear
> to support solemn alliances at all times,
> Since God's formidable name is printed at the head,
> May you fulfil what you have promised!'[42]

6.3 'The Benefit of Neutrality', 1742. Satirical print on the neutrality of the Republic during the War of the Austrian Succession. Britain, Spain and France are fighting over the cow while the Dutchman surreptitiously milks it

Boyse's translation of this passage read:

> O Generous nation! Faithful to your friends,
> Just to fulfil the sacred vows you make;
> Whose righteous sword from tyranny descends,
> And bids the lawless wild *oppressor* shake.[43]

Van Haren stressed that the English had kept their 'sacred vows' (*plegtige verbonden*), a reference to the fact that Britain had ratified the agreements in the Pragmatic Sanction in a treaty with Charles VI in 1731. The Republic had done this too in 1732, and both countries had undertaken to provide support for the Hapsburg monarchy if it was in trouble.

Van Haren was just as full of praise for the British one year later. In his *Aan zyne Groot-Brittannische Majesteit,* he showered praise on the British king for his victory at Dettingen. He had set the right example on the battlefield with his

unbounded bravery, according to Van Haren. Once again, he emphasised the faithful observance of previous agreements: 'No victory can equal / Your loyal and magnificent conduct.'[44]

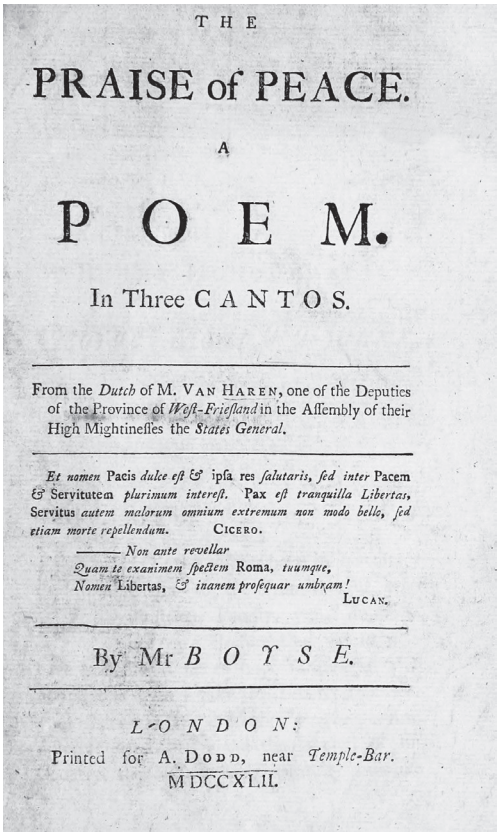
Van Haren would have written both poems with an eye to his political relations with Britain. The second poem in particular was aimed at further consolidating the relationship. He sent a copy of the poem to the country's most influential politician – Secretary of State John Carteret. In the accompanying letter, Van Haren asked Carteret if he could pass the ode on to the king, '*le magninime Liberateur de l'Europe*' (the magnanimous Liberator of Europe). One month later, Carteret replied that the king had very much appreciated the poem. The king did not speak Dutch so he arranged for the British ambassador to the Dutch Republic, Robert Hampden Trevor, to provide a prose translation in French. The king thanked Van Haren heartily for his homage.[45] This episode is more evidence of the significant role played by literature in the field of international relations; it was an important instrument for strengthening friendly relations.

The Praise of Peace

Boyse chose Van Haren partly because this fitted with the political stance of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, but he also saw Van Haren's poetry as an opportunity to comment on topical Anglo-Irish issues. A closer examination of his translation of *Lof der vrede* makes that clear.

It would actually be more correct to call it an adaptation as Boyse made quite a few changes. To start with, he made some alterations in the preliminary matter and end matter. For example, he added appropriate mottos to the title page taken from the works of Cicero and Lucanus on the subject of peace and freedom.[46] Boyse also added a lengthy dedication to George Montagu-Dunk, Earl of Halifax, who was a high-ranking official in the household of Frederick, Prince of Wales.[47] It is not entirely clear why Boyse decided to dedicate this work specifically to Montagu-Dunk. We do know that the earl had become extremely wealthy on his marriage to Anne Richards in 1741, so Boyse may have hoped to receive a financial reward for his work. Boyse also added an appendix with explanatory notes. The annotations in this appendix are particularly telling: they place the poem in an Anglo-Irish context.

Boyse made numerous changes to the content too. While he kept broadly to the meaning of the original, he created his own poetic text by paraphrasing, switching the order and using different expressions. For example, he consistently replaced the '*wakkere Nederlander*' (alert Dutchman), who speaks at several points in Van Haren's poem, with the personage 'Belgia'. Boyse also took the



THE

PRAISE of PEACE.

A

POEM.

In Three CANTOS.

From the *Dutch* of M. VAN HAREN, one of the Deputies of the Province of *Weſt-Frieſland* in the Aſſembly of their High Mightineſſes the *States General*.

Et nomen Pacis *dulce eſt & ipſa res ſalutaris, ſed inter* Pacem & Servitutem *plurimum intereſt.* Pax *eſt tranquilla Libertas,* Servitus *autem malorum omnium extremum non modo belle, ſed etiam morte repellendum.* CICERO.

——— *Non ante revellar*
Quam te exanimem ſpectem Roma, *tuumque,*
Nomen Libertas, *& inanem proſequar umbram!*
LUCAN.

By Mr *BOYSE.*

LONDON:
Printed for A. DODD, near *Temple-Bar.*
MDCCXLII.

6.4 English translation of *Lof der vrede* (1742), by the poet Samuel Boyse, who originally came from Ireland

liberty of abridging passages or leaving them out entirely. He deleted a passage, for instance, where Van Haren criticised monarchy as a form of state; that might not have been appreciated in the British context.[48] He also added to and extended the text in many places. One of the more minor alterations was Boyse's addition of a 'cock' to one line with a note explaining that this was a reference to the French; this did not appear in the original text at all.[49] This made his version even more explicitly anti-French.

A much more far-reaching change was the addition of the following passage about the history of the Netherlands:

> How placid Orange (1) brav'd the Dart of Death,
> And bless'd his Country with his dying Breath!
> How Trompe (2) her Fame to distant India spread
> How Essens triumph'd, (3) and Van Galen bled;
> Or godlike Nassau (4), on the Verge of Fate,

Another Scipio rose to save the State,
Names dear alike to Liberty and Fame,
Whose lasting Virtues endless Honors claim.[50]

Boyse provided background information on these individuals in a series of explanatory notes. He was full of praise for William of Orange ('Orange') and his brave fight against the Spanish, and the achievements of the naval heroes Maarten Harpertszoon Tromp and Jan van Galen. He was not that well-informed as he erroneously saw Jan van Galen (who came from Essen) and 'Van Essen' as two separate individuals.[51] A particularly telling change was his addition that King William III ('godlike Nassau') had saved the Republic from disaster in 1672 and had managed to rescue Britain from a precarious situation in 1688. Here, Boyse was emphasising the Orangist history of Protestant England and Ireland, a subject that had occupied him in the past.

Anglo-Irish relations had been under severe pressure since the 1720s, with the Irish increasingly aggressively rejecting the authorities in London. In October 1724, Lord Carteret was sent to Ireland to calm matters down. At the time, his arrival was greeted by Boyse with joy; he expressed the hope that Carteret would protect Ireland, just as William III had done before. Boyse pointed to the Battle of the Boyne (1690), where William had achieved an important victory over his Catholic rival James II.[52] Boyse also referred to William's heroic deeds in an ode to the Battle of Dettingen (1743): 'Aspire like Nassau the glorious Strife / Keep thy great sire's examples full in the eye.'[53] He praised Carteret ('Carteret, thou the column of the state!') in the same poem, thus once again linking William III and Carteret in a larger narrative. It would seem that with his version of *The Praise of Peace,* Boyse was also seeking to further Anglo-Irish relations and that he saw Carteret as the man for peace because he kept careful watch over the interests of the Protestants.[54]

Such additions show how many liberties Boyse took in his translation of the original. That is also clear from his radical reworking of the end. Van Haren ended his poem with an ominous, almost apocalyptic scene in which the supreme god Jupiter casts down heavy thunderbolts and flashes of lightening as divine punishment for humanity's vices. Boyse on the other hand created a gentle spring atmosphere where the snow gradually made way for delightful scented flowers and new life: 'The Spring awakens, and the Earth renews / [...] Majestic Nature shows her beauteous Face, / And wafts around the Joys of heav'nly Peace.'[55] Perhaps Boyse found the original version too warlike and wanted to leave the reader with a more hopeful scenario, in part with an eye to Anglo-Irish relations.

So Boyse permitted himself a degree of freedom as a translator. He transformed the text to produce his own poetic creation and gave his own interpre-

tation in parts. His rewriting sometimes seems to reflect deficiencies in his knowledge of Dutch, especially where he used his imagination to fill in the gaps (see the example of the mistake with the naval hero Jan van Galen). Yet he also had access to a literal prose translation in French, which could have put him on the right track in the event of any doubt.[56] Boyse was an experienced translator from French into English – he had translated Voltaire and Fénelon, among others – which adds to the suspicion that his free translation was a deliberate strategy.

However, Boyse's approach also caused him problems. At one point, *The Gentleman's Magazine* had to print a new version of one of Van Haren's poems as the Dutch author was dissatisfied with the translation. He rejected Boyse's version as it included a note explaining that the 'faithless foes' referred to the French. Van Haren, however, said that the reference should be interpreted much more broadly and he sent the editors a literal prose translation of his text in English. A few months later, *The Gentleman's Magazine* printed a new translation by a different writer.[57] This makes one curious to know what Van Haren's opinion was of the English translation of *Lof der vrede*. Did he concur with Boyse's free interpretation and many additions? Unfortunately we do not know as no response from the author has survived.

True peace

Van Haren's persistent publicity campaign, which had sparked responses beyond the borders too, had an effect. In June 1743, the States General decided to follow the example of the British and send an army to the front lines to support Maria Theresa.[58] This decision came too late for the Dutch troops to join in the Battle of Dettingen, but the Republic was now actively involved. Van Haren had made a significant contribution to this development by maintaining his connections with key British politicians and stimulating the public debate. His poetry had played an important role in this process. Where possible, he had deployed his poetic talents to serve his political objectives, and this turned out to be a successful strategy. Poems such as *Leonidas* and *Lof der vrede* had caused a furore and put pressure on the authorities. Van Haren himself was convinced that his poetry had had a crucial function in this. Looking back on this period, he concluded brightly: '*J'ai fait lever 20000 hommes par trois pièces en vers*' (I got 20,000 men delivered with three poems).[59]

Van Haren had every reason to be pleased in the years that followed too. Not only was William IV declared general stadholder in 1747 but freedom was also achieved between the European powers. On 30 April 1748, all the representatives signed the peace preliminaries at Aix-la-Chapelle and on 18 October

they ratified the treaty. This was the 'true peace' that Van Haren meant in his *Lof der vrede*. The blind ambition of greedy tyrants had lost out to the reason and justice of virtuous rulers. Maria Theresa's position had been secured and the Republic was once again governed by a stadholder.

Van Haren responded with a cheerful lyrical poem in which he expressed his joy at the restoration of peace in Europe. But there was another event too that had put him in a cheery mood, namely the birth of a new heir on 8 March 1748, the future William V. That also ensured the future of the stadholdership:

> The quarrel ceases and the echoes of war are silenced,
> O lyrical heroine! Take up once again your golden lyre:
> The child, born at the right time,
> Is worthy of celebration by virtue of your arts.[60]

There was every reason for Orangists like Van Haren to be optimistic: peace had descended on Europe, the stadholders' power had been reinstated in the Republic and a successor to the stadholdership had been born. He was not alone in his happiness as numerous other poets applauded the political developments at home and abroad. They saw a golden future opening up for the Republic with a return in all its glory to the flourishing conditions the country had enjoyed in the seventeenth century.

7

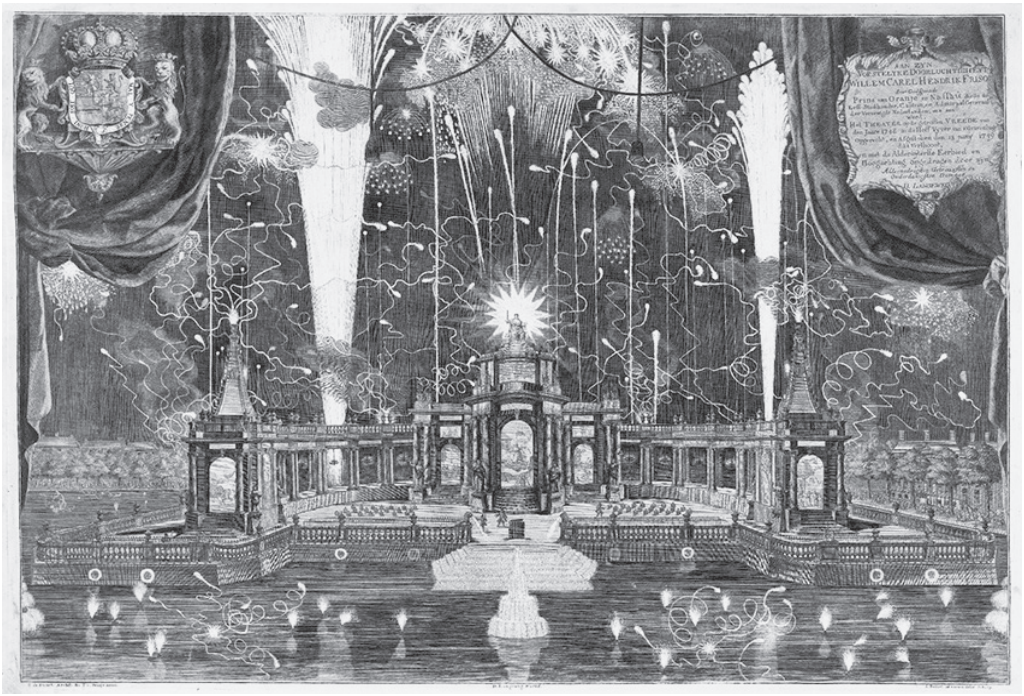
LONG LIVE ORANGE!
The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748)

Wondrous year, seen by all
To be a year as exceptional
As the one in which our State appeared,
Recorded in the chronicles!
The soon to be celebrated centenary
Adds to your lustre.[1]

According to the Amsterdam poet Jacobus van der Streng (1704-1749), 1748 was a 'wondrous year' (*wonderjaar*). Not only did the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle bring an end to the War of the Austrian Succession, but it was also exactly one hundred years since the conclusion of the Treaty of Munster. There was a third happy event as well from the Orangist point of view, as an heir was born on 8 March 1748, the future stadholder William V. The joyous mood reached a new peak thanks to this 'male scion of the house of Orange' (*mannelyke Loot uit Oranjes stam verkregen*), according to Van der Streng.

Van der Streng was not the only person to applaud 1748 as a milestone: the commemoration of the Treaty of Munster and conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle led to a horde of works marking these events, including sermons, plays, odes, prints and treatises. In addition, three major anthologies were published: *Olyf-krans der vrede* (1748, a reprint of the compilation of the same name from 1649), *Dichtkunstig gedenkteeken* (1748) and *De tempel der Vrede, geopend door de mogendheden van Europa* (1749). These were luxury publications with no expense spared and together, the three works constituted a real literary monument to peace.[2] Van der Streng's poem was included in the third collection, which had contributions from no fewer than forty-two poets from all over the country.

From the perspective of nation-building and identity formation, this explosion of patriotic texts forms a rich source. The texts not only show how contemporary writers responded to the politically turbulent years of 1747 and



7.1 Firework display in The Hague on 14 June 1749, to celebrate the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by Jan Casper Philips

1748 but also how they expressed their patriotic feelings within the new system of government: for the first time the Republic had a general stadholdership (the same stadholder for all provinces) that had been declared to be hereditary in both the male and female lines.[3]

The Orangist sense of national identity dominated. There were numerous Orangist poems that celebrated the commemoration of the Treaty of Munster, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and the arrival of the new stadholder in one and the same breath. History played an important role in the construction of a shared 'image of the fatherland'. The authors dwelled at length on the high points and low points in the country's past and the heroes who had laid the foundations for the restoration of freedom. Considerable attention was paid, naturally, to the stadholders of the past and their achievements: the authors presented the history of the Republic as one long chain of causal events in which liberty, God and the House of Orange were inextricably linked. These historical digressions can to a large extent be read as legitimisation of the authority of the Oranges. The writers presented a particular view of the past in order to suggest a logical connection between the past and present. It was a powerful offensive and seemed to be watertight.

The well-known concept of the 'invention of tradition', derived from research into modern nationalism, can again be illuminating in this context. It

7.2 Title print of the anthology *De tempel der Vrede, geopend door de mogendheden van Europa* (1749) by Simon Fokke

reveals how poets commenting on events created a historical tradition with an Orangist flavour intended to enhance the shared sense of national identity. These Orangist peace texts were not creating a tradition *ex nihilo*; they drew on pictures, symbols and stories that had been circulating for a while – after all, some of these images had been found frequently in the earlier peace print culture. They were brought up to date and sustained by the new political context in which they appeared.

These texts were continuing the tradition of the older peace texts in another respect too, as once again the dividing line between war and peace turned out to be thin. On the one hand concord was the norm in this collection of texts: the Orangist writers were unanimous in applauding the restoration of

peace in Europe and the positive consequences for their own country. On the other hand, some of the material was so close to propaganda that it seemed more belligerent than pacifist. Writers repeatedly pointed to the potential threats to peace, such as internal dissent. Indeed, a closer examination reveals countless areas of friction and cracks beneath the surface. To show this ambivalence, first an outline will be given of the standard Orangist treatment in which concord dominates, after which the focus will switch to the dissident voices and disruptive elements.

Standard treatment

Many poems commenting on the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had more or less the same setup. They start with a description of the European war in general terms, then Peace (as an allegorical figure) descends on Aix-la-Chapelle and finally all the benefits from the restoration of peace are listed. Some authors gave more attention to the political reasons for the conflict than others, but most writers basically followed this line.

There were many similarities not just in the setup but also in the content. Broadly speaking, four main motifs can be distinguished within the standard treatment: God's chosen people, Orangist sentiment, national history and the return to a golden era. That pattern is highly reminiscent of what we have already seen in the earlier peace texts, although the Orangist message was much louder now and the concept of a golden era was not so much about a revival of the classical golden period as a return to the Golden Age of the seventeenth century. Both change and continuity can be seen in all these motifs.

First, the motif of God's chosen people played an important part. Not only was it God's will that peace should be restored in Europe, but God also saw a leading role for the Republic with a stadholder at its head. This stadholder was sent by God and was portrayed as a second Moses who guided his people through difficult times. What is more, many an author drew a comparison between the Dutch and the people of Israel. A poet from Groningen, who published under the suggestive pseudonym of Ireniphilus (lover of peace), described this alliance between God, the Republic and the stadholder as follows:

> O God, who so visibly
> Rescued us from the enemy's clutches.
> When, to the benefit of the Netherlands,
> You raised Orange, as if from the mire,
> And chose him as the general shepherd,
> O Lord, protect the prince in the future too.[4]

7.3 The poet Clara Feyoena van Sytzama (1729-1807)

The sermons drafted in response to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle were also full of the idea that the Dutch enjoyed a privileged position because they were God's chosen people. We can see a direct line here from the Treaty of Munster texts through to 1748.[5]

Secondly, nearly all the texts are explicitly Orangist in character. Orangist sentiment was now focused mainly on William IV and his newborn heir. There was particular praise for William's courageous actions against the French, who had laid siege to Bergen op Zoom and Maastricht. As the Groningen poet Clara Feyoena van Sytzama wrote:

> My FRISO came; and soon the fierce faces turned pale
> Of the French, who united all their forces for one last time,
> To create a monstrosity even as it received its death blow:
> Yet the Netherlands's salvation came with the Orange dawn.[6]

7.4 Stadholder William IV, print by Jacob Houbraken from 1753

In short, Friso came, he saw and he conquered. And in doing so, he had safeguarded the Republic's future. The birth of his son gave additional assurance for the future: 'The Supreme state government is offered to Friso / In consequence of his Inheritance and to everyone's satisfaction, / God has blessed this prince with a son, a knot in the cord of Concord.'[7] Authors effortlessly connected the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to the restoration of rule by the stadholder: it could not be a coincidence that peace had been announced precisely when a new stadholder had just been appointed. In fact, the freedom that had been regained was largely thanks to William IV: 'Prince FRISO went to battle for us, [...] He returned and brought us PEACE', according to the poet Suzanna Maria Oortman.[8]

I would like to look at the third motif – the nation's history – in a little more detail because a reflection on the high points in the nation's past formed the main element in many texts. A few authors were interested in the Batavians' re-

sistance against the Romans but it was the Dutch Revolt that attracted the most attention by far. There was nothing at all about the intervening period: the Middle Ages had no meaningful role. The history of the Republic only really began with the Union of Utrecht in 1579 because it was only from that point on that the seven provinces were united in concord. That was when 'despite their tyrants, the country's States / Became united through indestructible bonds of Concord.'[9] William of Orange was assigned a special role, for in this poetic rendition he had been the founding father of this union: 'What wonderful work he has done! / When he erected that pillar of honour / On which liberty rests, when Holland's associates / Bound their arrows tight with the bonds of Concord.'[10]

The descriptions of the Dutch Revolt were lacking in nuance: they consisted of a fixed list of triumphs and defeats with the associated heroes and villains. Philip II, the Duke of Parma, the Duke of Alba, Requesens and Balthasar Gerards were the personification of evil while the successive stadholders, William of Orange, Prince Maurice, Frederick Henry and William II, embodied good. Other recurring elements were the 'fact' that the Duke of Alba had killed 18,000 souls, and the plundering of Naarden in 1572, whereby the 'ghastly groans of widows and orphans' (*ysselijke gekerm van weduwen en wezen*) became a fixed phrase.[11] This was contrasted with a series of triumphs moving from Alkmaar, Leiden and Den Briel to 's-Hertogenbosch and Hulst at the end of the war. This presentation of events progressed seamlessly onto a sketch of the wars against France, where the main villains were Louis XIV, Louis XV and General Ulrich von Löwenthal. The 'Spanish Phaeton' (*Spaansche Faëton*), Philip II, had become a 'French Phaeton' (*Fransche Faëton*), a reference to the kings' hubris.[12] Von Löwenthal, who had commanded the sieges of Bergen op Zoom and Maastricht, was depicted as a second Duke of Alba.[13] A direct line was also drawn from the ransacking of Bodegraven and Zwammerdam by the French in 1672 and the fighting that plagued the Republic in 1747.[14]

In addition to the stadholders, there was another category of heroes who were praised to the skies because they had fought for the Republic's freedom – the naval heroes. Some writers gave long lists of the Dutch heroes who had risked their lives, for example during the Anglo-Dutch wars, men such as Tromp, De Ruyter, Brakel, De Witt, Wassenaar van Obdam, Kortenaar, Bankert and Evertsen.[15] Their heroic status, however, was nothing compared with that of the Orange princes, who were invariably implicated in all the great triumphs and moments of liberation. They were the unifying theme, as it were, running through the history of the Republic. A striking feature was the reciprocal relationship between the 'prince' and his people. Many authors emphasised that William IV was like a father to his people. Joachim Oudaen (a grandson of the renowned seventeenth-century poet) characterised him as a 'Prince and very best father / Of the Fatherland' (*Vorst en allerbeste Vader / Van 't Vader-*

landt) for example, while Jan de Cerf thanked God for sending the Dutch people a new 'father' (*vader*).[16] Conversely, poets stressed that the people had expressly asked for a prince of Orange. Even in the past, citizens had been prepared to sacrifice their last drop of blood for the stadholder and now they had given their unanimous support to the new Orange ruler: 'Our descendants will scarcely believe it when told / How the Netherlands became one voice.'[17] This 'vox populi' argument was not new: it had been used back in the period 1650-1672 by pamphleteers campaigning for a stadholder.[18]

The writers emphasised that it was the persistent efforts of the stadholders which eventually led to the Treaty of Munster, in which the sovereignty of the Dutch Republic was officially recognised. The Utrecht author Sara Maria van Zon gave a concise (and extremely Orangist) account of this history:

> WILLIAM of Nassau lives again, his name on all tongues.
> Who is still unaware of MAURICE'S courage in war,
> And FREDERICK HENRY'S fame, in times of good fortune and adversity?
> No, heroes! No, everyone speaks of your brave deeds in war:
> From your wreaths spring forth the leaves of oil-rich olives.
> The second WILLIAM saw, at God's chosen hour,
> The States declared free by Munster's Peace Treaty.[19]

The fact that the Treaty of Munster had been signed precisely one hundred years earlier gave the opportunity for a historical identification with the contemporary peace. After all, a new high point in the nation's history had been reached exactly one hundred years after the Republic had been formally recognised as a sovereign state. That showed once again the strength and resilience of the Dutch people.

The fourth and final motif concerned the prediction of a new golden century for the Republic. The poets commenting on the peace brightly concluded that a new golden era was dawning now that calm had been restored to Europe: trade, agriculture, the arts and the sciences would be able to flourish as they had in days gone by. As was discussed earlier in the chapter on the Treaty of Munster, this picture traced its roots back to the classical portrayals by Ovid and Virgil of an '*aetas aurea*'. The peace texts of 1748 were also packed with the familiar tropes, such as the overflowing granaries, thriving trade, shipping, prosperous Amsterdam, unparalleled artistic achievements, harmony and concord. Joannes van der Heide, for instance, dwelt at length on the revival in trade, which would make Amsterdam once again the economic centre of the world:

> Trade is not standing still, business is reviving,
> This foundation pillar that has raised this country

To such heights will let it regain its former glory.
[...]
Thus our Amsterdam will remain the market square of the world.
Great prosperity, showered with beneficial pearls by Peace,
Marries good fortune to this country.
[...]
Rejoice Amstel! for Peace plays on your flowing waters.
Rejoice, waters of the IJ! for you see countless ships arriving.
The four continents are united, to deliver
Their profits into the lap of the Netherlands' Queen of Trade.[20]

Here, Van der Heide was referring not to the classical golden era but to the Republic's heyday in the seventeenth century. He hoped that this would return in 'its old glory' (*d'ouden luister*). Others stressed that the arts would reach new heights as well as trade. Economic prosperity would be accompanied by a renewed artistic blossoming. As one author aptly put it: 'So will all the arts grow, / Trading fortune and business flourish.'[21]

As in 1648, the return of a golden era was explicitly linked to the vigorous actions of a stadholder. Thus new life was breathed into an older motif, which was placed in the context of new circumstances. While Jan Vos had linked the new golden era to the strong authority of William II, now a connection was made between the blossoming nation, William IV and the birth of an heir apparent. According to Joannes van der Heide, the Republic could look forward to a golden future thanks to the new scion of the stadholder's family:

Be welcome, young prince! in the morn of life,
All of the Netherlands rejoices, and wishes you well with heart and voice! [...]
Grow, O noble scion! May you never lack fame! [...]
Then the Golden Age will return again after this Iron Age!
Then you will give back to the Netherlands its age-old lustre![22]

Anna Maria de Jong also saw a causal relationship between the arrival of a new stadholder and the dawn of a new golden era. Her arguments drew on a religious framework:

'O Great FRISO! [...] May God support you
With his formidable hand in the weighty government of the State!
That we may see a golden century blossom under your rule
As when David's son shone on Israel's royal throne![23]

De Jong's message was clear: William IV knew he had God's support and as a result a new golden century would come under Friso's rule. All the above-mentioned motifs –the House of Orange, God, the nation's illustrious past *and* a golden future – were joined in one inspiring, connected whole. This produced a powerful argument for the new stadholder and his administration.

'Double national plague'

If these peace authors were to be believed, the Republic was about to experience an unprecedented flourishing. Apparently there was not a worry in the world. But different views could be heard too. Firstly, some pointed to the general disadvantages of peace: according to them, moral standards fell during peacetime, with all the inevitable negative consequences. Secondly, authors alluded to the internal political tensions. While peace might have been achieved internationally, domestically relations between the Orangists and republicans were very tense. There hardly seemed to be nationwide peace at all.

The Frisian professor of classical languages Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer (1715-1785) was one of the authors who mentioned the general disadvantages of peace. In a lecture that he gave in Franeker on 12 March 1749, he argued that peace was bad for the people. In his view, it led to widespread relaxation of moral standards. The young would then fall prey to two vices in particular, avarice and sloth. Valckenaer spoke of this as a 'double national plague'.[24]

Valckenaer's sceptical stance tied in with the prevailing discourse about the negative effects of too much wealth and luxury on the people's moral fibre.[25] He preferred to applaud the heroes of the battlefield and their grandiose achievements. His message had a strongly regional slant as he argued that it was mainly the Frisian people who had demonstrated excellent qualities in this regard. Valckenaer gave a long list of Frisian generals who had risked their lives for the Republic and the stadholder. He reserved particularly praise for Hobbe van Aylva, who had 'manfully' (*manmoediglijk*) defended Maastricht against the enemy.[26]

Valckenaer was not the only person to warn of a decline in morals. Sara Maria van Zon, who was mentioned earlier, also stressed the importance of virtuous behaviour in times of prosperity *and* adversity. She criticised the persistent tendency towards moral decline among the Dutch, in which typically Dutch characteristics such as piety and thrift were giving way to French vices. The origin of the problem may have been located in France, the Republic's archenemy, but the Dutch people had also put up too little resistance:

O people! O people of the Netherlands! Once praised
As virtuous, respectable, free from pride and duplicity,
Pious, brave, parsimonious and industrious, slow to rebel;
Ah! who nowadays can in truth deny
The accusation levelled at you of being the opposite?
They see your flower has wilted, they see a barren stem.
You who once served as an example to all in devout conduct,
You are now worse than those whose failings you deride.
What vice is known in the neighbouring country
That has not taken hold here and increased steadily?
What excess! what pomp! What reckless dishonesties!
The French sins have become the Dutch morals.[27]

Van Zon thought that the Dutch should restore the old virtues to their former glory in order to prevent new disasters. If the people failed to do this, God would punish them again.

Discord

An even greater threat to stability, however, came from the internal political disputes that were flaring up again. Many an author accompanied their expressions of joy with warnings of internal discord. Underlying these warnings was a genuine fear: there had been clashes all over the Republic between Orangists and republicans in 1747 and 1748. Riots broke out between citizens in various towns, including Leeuwarden, Groningen and Amsterdam. The uprising known as the *Doelistenoproer* in Amsterdam was both the most famous and most violent of these riots. Orangists led by Daniël Raap rebelled against the power of the regents; they wanted reform in the system of government and more power for the stadholder. The authorities had great difficulty restoring order and they responded harshly: two rioters were hanged in Amsterdam's Dam square.[28]

Given these outbursts of violence, the dominance of the Orangist position in the print sources is all the more remarkable. Critical voices were in evidence, but they were in a minority. That may have been due to the repressive policy on print materials. According to the historian Ton Jongenelen, there were so many restrictions on the freedom of expression after the introduction of a hereditary stadholdership that it is debatable whether books can be seen as representative expressions of contemporary culture at all.[29] Whatever the case, one of the publications that gave ample scope for anti-Orangist sentiment was *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen* (1748-1754, 6 vols). This series of anthologies included both verses supporting the stadholder and

7.5 Session with the plenipotentiaries at the negotiations for the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, print by Simon Fokke

others critical of him, thereby giving a good impression of the heated debates. We do not know who compiled the series or who published it, and many of the poems were by anonymous authors.

The first two volumes dealt with the turbulent years 1747-1748 and contain verses from all over the Republic. Some were older poems that were still relevant to the contemporary situation. For example, the first collection opened with *Leonidas* by Willem van Haren, which could be seen as the standard-bearer for the Orangist camp in this context.[30] The collection's broad range showed that feelings of discontent were not limited to Amsterdam – there was unrest all over the place. The anti-Orangists' criticism was focused on William IV and Daniël Raap, the man who had led the 'doelist' rioters. The 'doelist' group supported the House of Orange but also hoped that the common people would be given more rights. Furthermore, the anti-Orangists criticised the one-sided view of the nation's history. In their opinion, rather than bringing calm, the 'peace year' (*vredesjaar*) of 1748 had actually spoiled the chances of peace: 'Men

sing the praises of Freedom born one hundred years ago / They would have been more Right to think of its death, / For in the Year of Peace it was lost for eternity.'[31] Others too wrote of the death of peace. Satirical elegies listed all the medication that had been tried in an attempt to save the life of Peace, but in the end she proved unable to withstand the latent diseases in society. In one of the poems, she died from an excess of 'Orange saffron with Privilege-herbs' (*Oranje safferaan met Privilegie-kruid*).[32]

One writer also voiced criticism of the poets in the anthology *Dichtkunstig gedenkteeken*, which commemorated the Treaty of Munster from an Orangist perspective. The critic argued that William IV had made sure of his triumphant procession by silencing his opponents.[33] The *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel* contained an alternative overview of the year 1748 with a cynical commentary on all the so-called joyful events, such as the birth of an heir and the conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.[34] A striking aspect is that most of the criticism was aimed at current events and that no powerful alternative view was offered of the nation's history. Only one hero was mentioned with any regularity and that was Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, beheaded in 1619, who was seen by the anti-Orangists as representing 'true peace' (*ware vrijheid*). A number of poems were dedicated to Oldenbarnevelt's famous walking stick, which was considered to be a relic of the 'fight for freedom' (*vrijheidsstrijd*).[35]

Peace or war?

The Orange faction had won the argument for now but the peace texts revealed a great fear of new disturbances. Abraham van Beaumont, the factor for the Witte Angieren dramatic society in Haarlem, for example, was afraid of 'the fierce cancer' (*de felle kanker*) that could affect the 'bowels of the City and State' (*Ingewand van Stad en Staat*).[36] The poet Abraham Veldhoven wrote in his *Vrede-zang op de Algemene Vrede* (1748) that dissent between citizens was 'the most severe of all plagues' (*de zwaarste aller plagen*).[37] Johannes Boskoop, who was a member of the Dutch Reformed congregation in Rotterdam, dwelt at length in his peace song on the 'Domestic Disturbances' (*Inlandtsche Beroerten*). It was a 'most unpleasant picture' (*allernaarst gezicht*) to see people out to kill one another:

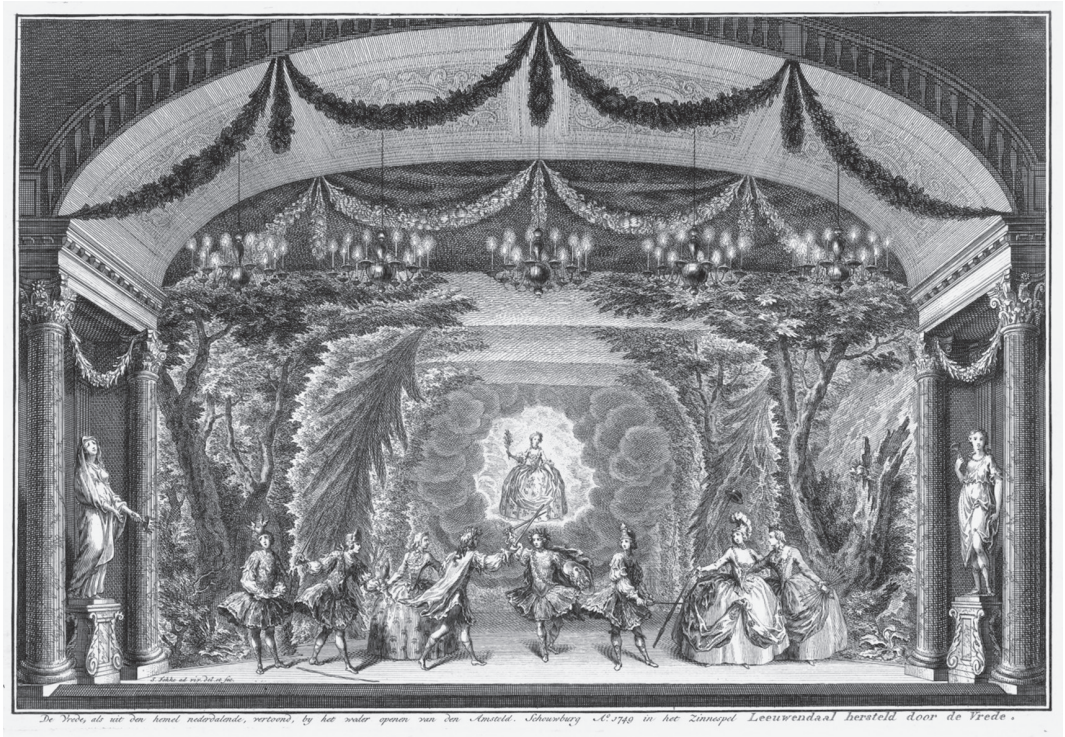
> The country is becoming agitated everywhere; men are now fighting
> with one another;
> O most terrible sight! The one murders the other!
> Where will this end! (O woe!) Just what the enemy lies in wait for:
> The country is becoming agitated everywhere![38]

In all these cases, strong government by the stadholder was prescribed as the right medicine to deal with the disturbances. The potential threat was hidden beneath a thick layer of Orangist rhetoric, but reading between the lines revealed a dread everywhere of the internal disputes escalating.

The threat of internal discord even constituted the main theme of two peace plays, namely *Europa bevredigt* by Johannes Smit (1748) and *Leeuwendaal hersteld door de vrede* (1749) by Lucas Pater.[39] It is worth examining these two plays in greater detail. In Smit's allegorical play, Mars, the god of war, tries to use Discord for his own ends as a way of bringing the 'united Netherlands' (*vereenigt Nederland*) to rack and ruin. Mars has his sights set on Maastricht and he thinks he has a good chance of success because the Netherlands is completely exhausted by the continual 'internal quarrels' (*binnenlandsche twisten*). But Discord is thwarted by Concord, who manages to gain the upper hand both in Europe as a whole and in the Netherlands more specifically. It turns out that the European rulers are tired of waging war and long for peace. The Netherlands also looks back on the 'golden time' (*gouden tyd*), when Concord led a peaceful existence. With Peace leading them, Europe's rulers finally manage to reach an agreement in which Mars and Discord come off worse. The play concludes with a series of Dutchmen lamenting the defeats, remembering the moment when Prince Friso took control and saying how fortunate they are that peace has been restored.

In Pater's play too, War and Discord come into conflict with such positive forces as Peace, Freedom, Fidelity, Alertness and Concord. Unlike Smit's play, the focus here is on the welfare of the Republic ('the Commonwealth', [*de Gemeenebest*]) rather than peace in Europe as a whole. The internal dispute that had flared up on various occasions in the past constitute one of the biggest threats. Concord therefore gives a warning about their devastating influence: 'Your State has from time to time gone to ruin due to Discord / A country can survive only through me, through Concord.'[40] Concord's foremost ally is Magnanimity, who can fairly easily be recognised as representing William IV. This character is decorated with orange veils and he acts as a true redeemer in the hour of need. Peace grants Magnanimity supreme command over the 'united Lands' (*verééndе Landen*), after which he declares himself ready to lay down his life for freedom 'to support the State edifice' (*ten steun van 't Staatsgebouw*).[41] When Discord escapes, this causes a commotion but Magnanimity puts his associates at ease: he will be able to deal with any disasters now that Concord is by his side. He will also be able to shackle Discord.

It is striking how much attention the two peace plays give to the threat of internal discord. While Peace and Concord eventually triumph, they first have to wage a fierce fight against the forces of evil. It is noticeable that Concord speaks and acts from an Orangist perspective, particularly in Pater's play. Here,



7.6 Performance of the play *Leeuwendaal hersteld door de vrede* by Lucas Pater at the reopening of the Schouwburg, Amsterdam's main theatre, on 28 July 1749

Concord does battle side by side with William IV and is anything but pacifist or neutral. At one point, Concord even calls on people to take up arms and has one of her opponents, Terror, taken away without a pardon: 'They will defend the City with all their might / But will first punish your audacity appropriately [...] Drag that wicked one away. That he may soon be incarcerated.'[42] A passage such as this once again underlines the ambivalent character of the peace texts: on the one hand the authors were preaching peace and peace alone while on the other they were giving short shrift to their potential enemies.

That these were not simply hypothetical enemies is evident from a poem satirising Pater's play. In the above-mentioned *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel van Neerlands wonderen*, which gave plenty of leeway for anti-stadholder views, a cynic wrote: 'There they hear Friso's name rise up to the stars / But no man can prove that he deserves this.'[43]

After peace comes war

The texts commenting on the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle give us an insight into how an early modern sense of national identity took shape from an Orangist

7.7 Statue of the female personification of Peace (Pax), here a specific reference to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, print by Simon Fokke

perspective. The most important topic in these works was the nation's history, which was presented as a recurring process of revolt and liberation. Orangist authors depicted the history of the Republic as one long chain of causal events in which freedom, God and the House of Orange were inextricably linked. A clear canon of low points and high points was developing with a fixed list of villains and heroes. The notion of a return to a golden era also played a key role in this 'invention of tradition': it gave a finality to the country's history and a clear destination for the Dutch people.

But this was no brand-new invented tradition, as elements in this repertoire of images drew in turn on an older tradition. The poets were using a variety of Orangist motifs and poetic images that had already been common cur-

rency in the seventeenth century. The memory of the Dutch Revolt and the part played by successive stadholders had an important role here. Apparently, elements in this discourse could easily be reactivated in the commemoration of the Treaty of Munster and conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and brought up to date by continuing the Orangist version of the nation's history up to the present and 'completing' it. Thus the Orangist commentators implied the existence of an uninterrupted line from William of Orange to William IV – they ignored the two stadholderless periods wherever possible.

The anti-Orangists found it difficult to break with this constructed history, if only because they were forced to deal with the canonical account of the nation's past. It was not possible by definition to give an account of the country's history without talking about the role played by successive stadholders.[44] That is why the critics primarily targeted the current situation by making mock of the reprehensible behaviour of William IV and his supporters. But they were drowned out – on paper, at any rate. It was 'Long live Orange' (*Lang leve Oranje*) everywhere!

However, most of the Orangist texts also reveal a certain ambivalence. They might talk of peace and harmony but they had such a strong propagandist character that they sometimes almost seemed more like an invocation to ward off the potential enemy of internal discord. The Orangist offensive was accompanied by a permanent fear of possible unrest. Time and time again, the possibility of internal quarrels flaring up is mentioned as a potential threat to the peace that had been restored. Peace had been achieved internationally, but as for national peace – far from it. With the benefit of hindsight, we can see the seeds of future conflicts in these sources. Dissent was brewing below the surface that was to lead to outbursts in the decades that followed and a full-blown civil war in the 1780s between the Orangists and the patriots.

NATIONAL IDENTITY DURING AND AFTER NAPOLEON

8.1 and 8.2 Prints by Reinier Ziesenis on the Treaty of Amiens, focusing on the recovery in trade

8

'PEACE DESCENDS AND KNEELS BEFORE BONAPARTE'

The Treaty of Amiens (1802)

A fine print appeared in Amsterdam in mid-1802 on the subject of the Treaty of Amiens, which had been concluded on 27 March 1802 between France, the Batavian Republic and Spain on the one hand and Britain on the other. At the top, it shows the figures of Peace and Steadfastness, with the latter holding a portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte. The positive consequences of the peace for the Batavian Republic are depicted on either side, with trade and fishing flourishing again. At the bottom, Strength humiliates Deceit with a bludgeon while Virtue, Riches and Science form a harmonious group. The message conveyed by this print created by Reinier Ziesenis was clear: the peace treaty was a beneficial event, especially for the Dutch economy and prosperity. A second print from the same printmaker confirmed that message. Printed in large decorative letters are the words 'Trade, shipping, restored by peace' (*Koophandel, zeevaart, hersteld door de vrede*). The figure in the centre is Mercury, the god of trade. He is surrounded by Agriculture, Prosperity and Shipping. The horn of plenty also features prominently in the print.

The prints by Ziesenis show that the Treaty of Amiens was a significant event that was greeted with much rejoicing. This peace marked the end of nine years of continuous fighting in Europe. Ever since 1792, France had been embroiled in a series of wars with other European countries, including the Republic. France had declared war on Austria on 20 April 1792 and that soon led to the annexation of the Southern Netherlands, which belonged to Austria at the time. In early 1793 France also declared war on Britain and the Republic over a conflict about free passage along the Scheldt waterway near Antwerp. Two years later, in the harsh winter of 1795, the French invaded the Republic. The patriots, who subscribed to the ideals of the French Revolution, saw the arrival of the French as a liberating force. Patriots who had fled the country returned and the political situation underwent a radical transformation. The country was renamed the Batavian Republic and Orangists disappeared from the political scene. Their leader, the stadholder William V, left in

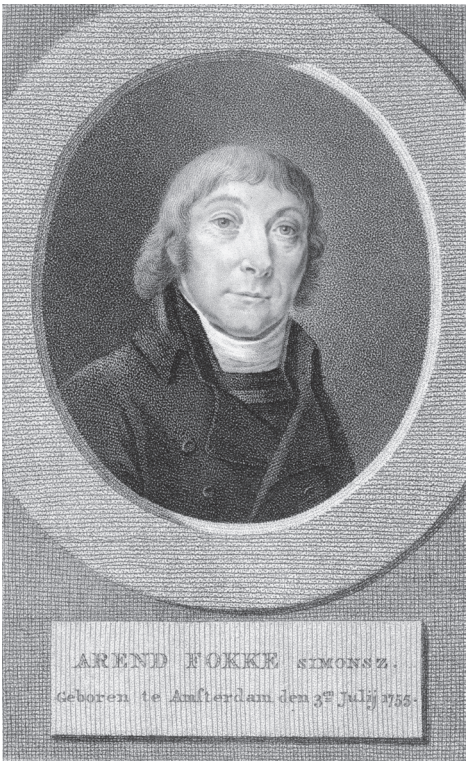
a panic for Britain and was destined never to set foot in the Netherlands again.[1]

From 1795, the Batavian Republic functioned as a sister republic to France.[2] The country was theoretically independent but that independence came at a high price. Under the terms of the 1795 Treaty of The Hague, the Dutch had to pay one hundred million guilders in reparations. They also had to provide the French with military support.[3] Over time, they became increasingly dependent on France, especially after Napoleon came to power in 1799. Napoleon supported the coup in 1801 in which a ruling council with twelve members took over the government of the Republic. In the meanwhile, he demanded large sums of money in return for letting the Netherlands remain independent, although this was increasingly turning out to be an illusory independence.[4]

A longing for calm predominated when the Treaty of Amiens was concluded. All the parties involved stood to gain from an armistice.[5] After three months of negotiations, France and Britain reached a compromise on the division of power at sea and on land. Spain and the Batavian Republic were officially involved in the negotiations as well as France's allies, but in practice they had little influence.[6] The Dutch were represented by the Batavian ambassador Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, who managed to present the final outcome as a feather in his own cap.[7] It was agreed that Britain would no longer seek to restore government by stadholder and that the House of Orange would lose all its possessions in the Batavian Republic. Napoleon would be responsible for paying the compensation. The Republic was also allowed to keep the Cape of Good Hope but Ceylon was transferred to the British.[8] The most important result, however, was that the pressure was off. The reconciliation of the two major powers brought an end to the war, which had caused considerable damage to the economy. These agreements removed significant blockades and allowed international trade to flourish once more.

Reactions in print culture

There was therefore every reason to celebrate the Treaty of Amiens throughout the Batavian Republic. The State council announced a day of national celebration on 2 June 1802. It consisted of an 'hour of thanksgiving' (*dankuur*) in the churches from ten to eleven in the morning, followed by parades in the afternoon and illuminations in the evening.[9] This call met with a positive response all over the country. For instance, the Christo Sacrum fellowship in Delft held a 'special service' (*buitengewone eredienst*) in the morning to thank God for restoring peace. The fellowship drew the public's attention to the service in their newly opened church building through newspaper advertise-



8.3 The Amsterdam author Arend Fokke Simonsz (1755-1812)

ments. People could buy an entrance ticket for six stuivers to take part in the strictly managed service, although entrance was free for anyone making a contribution in the form of music or singing.[10] 'Fraternal feelings' (*broederlijk gevoel*) were emphasised in the liturgy, and an appeal was made for general reconciliation. The commitment to God and the unity of all Christians were central themes.[11]

We do not know whether there were parades in the afternoon and if so, what form they took. However, a play by the Amsterdam author Arend Fokke Simonsz has survived that features a peace celebration procession. His pastoral play *Het vredefeest* gives an impression of how one typical village responded to the announcement of the peace. The play is peopled with rural characters who lightheartedly discuss the news from Europe. After the news has reached the village, everyone gathers in the local landowner's garden to celebrate the good news together. A procession of peasants leaves the landowner's grounds, singing all kinds of cheerful peace songs. Later, various generals join the gathering. This is emphatically a celebration in which everyone can take part, regardless of their rank, position in life or religious beliefs:

All of you who celebrate this happy festival with us,
Whatever rank, profession or situation you hold,
[...]
May Virtue, may Concord continue to preserve your healthy state,
Thus may Peace bless the flourishing Netherlands![12]

Fokke Simonsz's play was performed a number of times in Amsterdam.[13]

We know more about the third part of the national day of celebration, the illuminations. Prints and drawings give a good impression of the decorations festooning towns and cities such as Amsterdam, The Hague and Alkmaar. In Amsterdam, numerous important buildings displayed allegorical scenes. For example, the general public were able to admire an extension to the town hall that displayed Peace, Concord and Prudence. There were also references to agriculture, marine and merchant shipping and abundance – all elements suggesting a renewed economic boom.[14] In The Hague, an illuminated temple was erected in Buitenhof square with images of classical gods and a sphere at the top, which was probably meant to represent the sun as the symbol of the restoration of peace.[15] In Alkmaar, a large 'artificial fireworks' (*kunstvuurwerk*) display was organised on the site of the cheese market by some enthusiasts headed by Cornelis Julianus van Fokkenberg, who had a shop selling gold and silver objects.[16]

Publishing such prints was a lucrative business, even if there was inevitably competition. Publishers in Amsterdam such as Evert Maaskamp and Christian Josi tried to increase their market share with astute sales tricks. They produced two remarkably similar prints. Both show Peace holding an olive branch. However, Maaskamp stressed the Dutch origins of his print, calling it a 'capital work of art' (*capitaal konststuk*) and a 'felicitous Dutch product' (*treffend Nederlandsch product*).[17] Josi, on the other hand, emphasised the quality of *his* print by adding a caption in English. This was a way of suggesting that his product was on a par with foreign publications. You had to be a person of means if you wanted to hang these prints on your wall: enthusiasts interested in Josi's colour plate had to pay as much as twenty guilders.[18] In addition to prints, various commemorative medals also appeared on the market. These too were pricey objects that only the most affluent could afford.

Texts on the treaty

The rejoicing also found expression in numerous texts on the treaty. Renowned and lesser known writers had their say in the form of speeches, poems, collections of songs and plays.[19] There are a number of constant factors in these publications that say a great deal about how those authors saw the Netherlands.

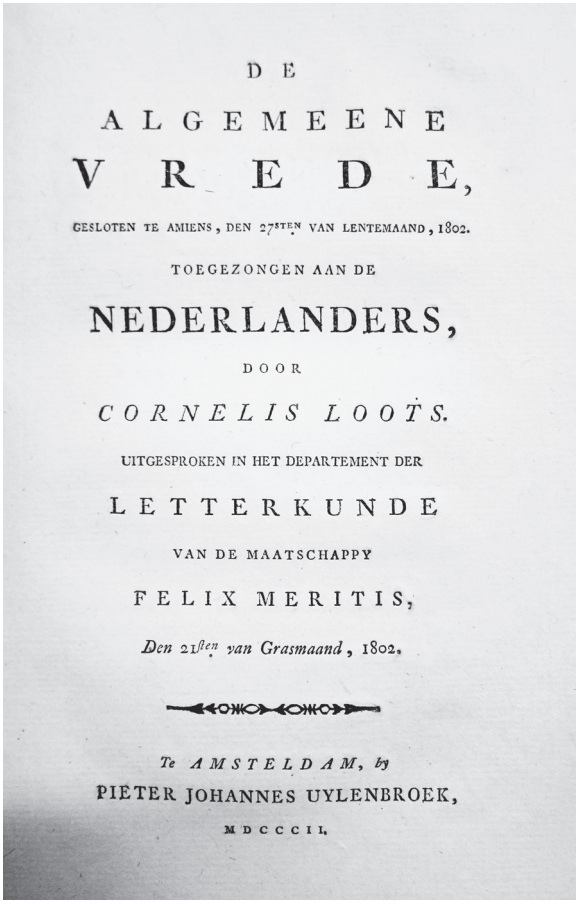
8.4 Allegorical print on the Treaty of Amiens by Jacob Ernst Marcus

As in earlier peace texts, we see many allusions to the dawn of a new golden era that would be characterised by prosperity and good fortune. Thus the Amsterdam poet Cornelis Loots claimed that trade, the arts and the sciences would be able to flourish once again. In his ode *De algemeene vrede, gesloten te Amiens*, he argued that the Netherlands would be able to rise again 'with youth-

8.5 The Amsterdam poet Cornelis Loots (1764-1834)

ful energy and new, reborn courage' (*met jeugdelijke kracht en nieuw herboren moed*) after a period of adversity. He paid particular attention to Amsterdam as the centre of economic trade and the shipping industry.[20] The Leiden professor Matthijs Siegenbeek also stressed the beneficial effects of the peace on the economy. In his opinion, the country had reached a nadir since the days of such 'immortal men' (*onsterfelijke mannen*) as Piet Hein, Maarten Tromp, Michiel de Ruyter and John de Witt. Colonies had been lost to foreign powers and trade had almost come to a standstill. Furthermore, literary pursuits had stagnated entirely. The peace would bring an end to this vicious circle and 'truly golden times' (*waarlijk gouden tijden*) would come.[21]

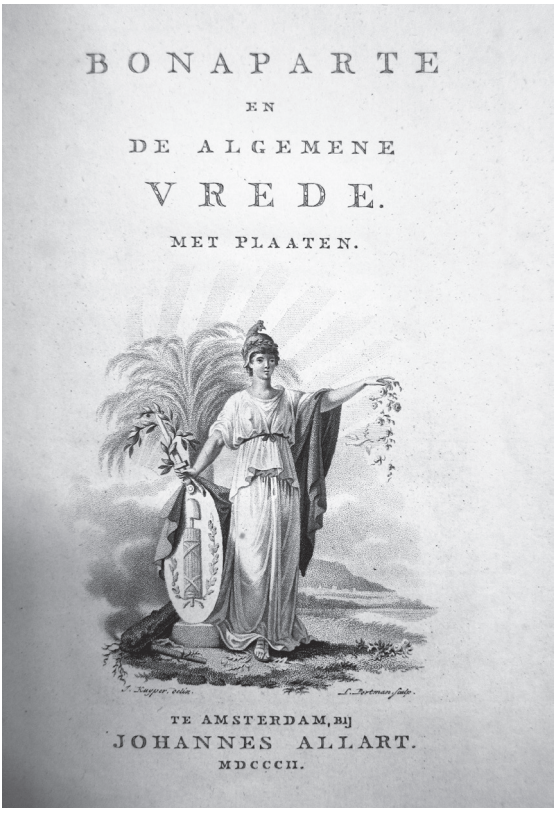
Such allusions to a new golden era fit with the familiar pattern of the peace texts. Yet the texts in 1802 were very different in character to the publications in previous treaty celebrations. Firstly, they lacked the extravagant classical and mythological context. There were fewer references to classical figures such as Janus, Mercury and Minerva while figures such as Mars, Venus and Jupiter were completely absent. Only Peace with her olive branch still played a prominent role, particularly in plays. The classical and mythological terminology had been replaced by a new vocabulary that had become widespread since the Batavian Revolution of 1795. Now peace was associated with such terms as liberty, equality and fraternity, as the following excerpt makes clear:


DE
ALGEMEENE
VREDE,
GESLOTEN TE AMIENS, DEN 27STEN VAN LENTEMAAND, 1802.
TOEGEZONGEN AAN DE
NEDERLANDERS,
DOOR
CORNELIS LOOTS.
UITGESPROKEN IN HET DEPARTEMENT DER
LETTERKUNDE
VAN DE MAATSCHAPPY
FELIX MERITIS,
Den 21sten van Grasmaand, 1802.
Te AMSTELDAM, by
PIETER JOHANNES UYLENBROEK,
MDCCCII.

8.6 Ode to the Treaty of Amiens by Cornelis Loots

Calm and prosperity, O Batavians,
Liberty in your citizenship,
Virtue and industriousness intertwined
Bring good fortune to a country,
Calm and prosperity, O Batavians,
Liberty, fraternity, and justice,
These are enjoyed to the full.[22]

Democratic slogans dominated. This was emphatically a peace that was concluded 'for the benefit of the country and the people' (*tot heil van Land en Volk*).[23] A church minister from Zeeland spoke of a peace that strengthened the 'interests of the people' (*belang des volks*) and invited all Christians to share in this 'citizens' celebration' (*burgerfeest*).[24] It is significant that one of the peace songs was set to the music of the Marseillaise, the French revolutionary song.[25]



8.7 Collection with the prize-winning contributions by Johannes Immerzeel and Barend Nieuwenhuizen

Secondly, the texts lacked the extensive reflections on the illustrious achievements from the nation's past. This peace was applauded from the perspective of the current situation, without the use of history as a yardstick. That was due to the foundation of the Batavian Republic in 1795, which signified a break with the past and was accompanied by an urge to destroy the symbols of bygone days.[26] The underlying idea was that the revolution heralded an entirely new phase in history. In France, the upheaval was even accompanied by the introduction of a new calendar and system for measuring time. Only one or two Dutch authors referred to the country's history in passing, such as Siegenbeek or the legal scholar P.W. Provo Kluit. The latter praised the courage demonstrated during the Dutch Revolt but he was the only one to mention that period.[27] At the most, writers might allude to the Batavia of antiquity, a link that was also evident in the nation's new names – the Batavian Republic (1795-1801) and the Batavian Commonwealth (1801-1806).[28]

This preoccupation with the present is also evident in the heroes who were lauded. There were essentially only two: Napoleon and (a distant second)

8.8 Peace descending from heaven, print from *Bonaparte en de algemene vrede* (1802)

Schimmelpenninck. *The* great hero of Amiens was Napoleon. At that point, he was still seen as the man bringing peace to Europe. Hendrik Tollens, who would later oppose the French so vehemently, was still idolising the French general. Even the god of war looked up to him in amazement:

> It is Bonaparte – 'Bonaparte!'
> Thus sounds all around his fast-rising fame.
> Gratitude inscribed in the hearts of all,
> With golden paint, that honourable name.
> They hear his fame spread all around,
> As far as the battle cries carried, with the clattering of the blades;
> And all show in the healthful state, which is seen being prepared,
> As even the god of war comes to lead the peace on earth,
> Amazement and admiration.[29]

8.9 Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck (1761-1825)

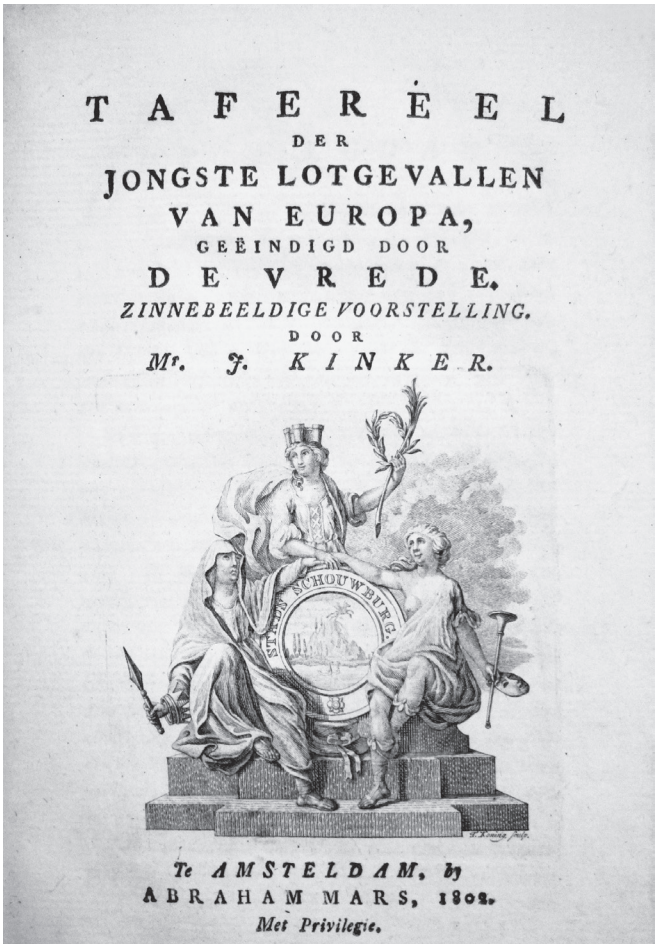
This blind adulation of Napoleon is also evident in the special celebratory compilation that was published in Amsterdam, containing the contributions of winners of a competition. Participants had been asked to 'test their artistic

talents' (*hun kunstvermogen te beproeven*) in applauding the general peace in honour of Napoleon.[30] The submissions by the bookseller Johannes Immerzeel and the senior government official Barend Nieuwenhuizen were chosen as the best. These were extremely long odes, taking up more than one hundred pages in total. Both poets idolised Napoleon. Nieuwenhuizen dwelt at length on his early triumphs, such as the liberation of the French port of Toulon in 1793 and the capture of Mantua in 1797. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 also received an honourable mention. His grand deeds had brought him eternal fame: 'Yes, great Bonaparte! Your nature / Will continue to be remembered on earth / Down to the last descendant.'[31] Immerzeel was no less complementary and used a fine piece of figurative speech to explain who was lord and master in Europe: 'Triumph! – Peace descends and kneels before Bonaparte.'[32] In a fervent argument, he made clear who the Batavian people had to thank most: 'Pay your dues in virtue to Bonaparte – to God: What noble tax! – worth the general peace!'[33] Bonaparte and God were treated as equally great here.

This veneration of Napoleon reveals time and time again how peace was inextricably bound up with war. In the hands of the Frisian doctor and poet Simon Styl, the motto '*Si vis pacem, para bellum*' (if you wish for peace, prepare for war) became: 'Your [Napoleon's] peace-loving sword, devoted to justice and reason, Has cut all tyranny from their hearts.'[34] We see an echo of these verses in Loots: 'Bonaparte draws the sword of battle from the sheath / But devotes it to victory, on the altar of Peace.'[35] The commentators unanimously concluded that Napoleon's acts of war were a necessary precondition for the peace treaty. Incidentally, there was praise for Schimmelpenninck too, although this paled in comparison with the accolades for Napoleon. Johan Pieter Farret for example, an active member of the Amsterdam city council, produced a free translation of an ode to the Batavian ambassador and peace negotiator that Jeronimo de Bosch had composed.[36]

Thirdly, it is noticeable that most texts have a reconciliatory tone. That too is a new aspect when compared to the peace print culture in the preceding period, which was highly propagandist in nature. Even writers who had supported the Batavian Revolution were now explicitly urging people to put all internal differences behind them, a process that has also been called the 'nationalisation of the revolution' (*nationalisering van de revolutie*).[37] The following verses by the law student Pieter Johannes Heron are a good example of this:

Let's go! Beloved compatriots!
Join forces now;
Let us go! United, resolved to do good,
The joy of the hearth and altar.
The Godhead wanted to grant you peace,



8.10 Title page from a peace play from 1802 by Johannes Kinker (1764-1845)

> And you, you would offend that generosity,
> With discord, that murders your rest!
> Banish this forever from your minds,
> And bring in blessed concord,
> That appeals to every friend of humanity![38]

The Beverwijk poet Jan Braams shared his point of view with the forceful call: 'May partisanship be banned to oblivion!' (*Partijschap worde in 't niet verbannen!*).[39] The peace texts display an undeniable desire for concord, but it is debatable whether the old quarrels between the two factions had really been forgotten, as the historian Bart Verheijen rightly remarks.[40] 'A Friend of Peace, Order and Liberty', for instance, put up quite a fight. In his anti-Orangist pamphlet, he denounced those Batavians who were suddenly acting as the friends of their

former archenemies. The 'guise of Fraternity' (*mom van Broederschap*) was despicable as even in peacetime you should defend your standpoints and fight opponents of civil rights as a matter of principle.[41]

Fourthly, a new theme can be seen in the texts, namely that of global citizenship. The Amsterdam poet and philosopher Johannes Kinker gave the Dutch peace texts a new dimension by extending the concept of freedom to 'all citizens' (*alle burgers*). He wrote an allegorical play featuring song and dance and entitled *Tafereel der jongste lotgevallen van Europa, geëindigd door de vrede*. It was clearly popular given that it was performed no less than eight times in Amsterdam's main theatre, the Schouwburg, in autumn 1802 as well as at a 'special' commemorative evening on 28 January 1803.[42] Kinker used contrasting characters to represent old Europe and new Europe. The Mentor of Europe symbolised the old system of government in Europe while the Priest of the Temple of Terror represented the reign of terror. The audience might associate that character with someone like Robespierre, who had had numerous political opponents killed, but Kinker assured people that he was concerned with the general concept of a reign of terror.[43] This was associated with such contemptible characters as Tyranny, Discord and Licentiousness. Opposing them were the allegorical characters who showed the human race the right path to take, such as the Protector of Europe (in other words, Napoleon) and the Spirit of the Enlightenment. Together, they were able to save Europe from disaster and revive its standing.

Napoleon was the play's great hero. He functioned as an 'unerring guide' (*onfeilbre gids*) who descended on earth with the olive branch of peace 'like a God bestowing his blessing' (*gelyk een zeegnend God*).[44] His ideal – in which we see Kinker's own views – was that of a global citizenship that unites all the peoples:

> There is only one order in us, given by laws,
> There is only one interest for which man strives,
> One God, one law, one duty burning in the hearts of all,
> One shared goal to steadily make us perfect,
> And finally one people, that only delusions
> Have caused to fight one another in one and the same fatherland.[45]

Supported by the spirit of the Enlightenment, the 'Kingdom of Peace, that unites all peoples' (*Ryk der Vrede, dat alle volkeren samenbond*) would lead to general prosperity.[46] The play closed with a harmonious scene in which tribute was paid to peace and Mercury handed the horn of plenty to prosperity. Kinker's ideal vision of peace went further in this respect than that of most other commentators. There were no national boundaries to his peace.[47]

8.11 Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821), in 1802 still seen as the great man bringing peace to Europe, print from *Bonaparte en de algemene vrede* (1802)

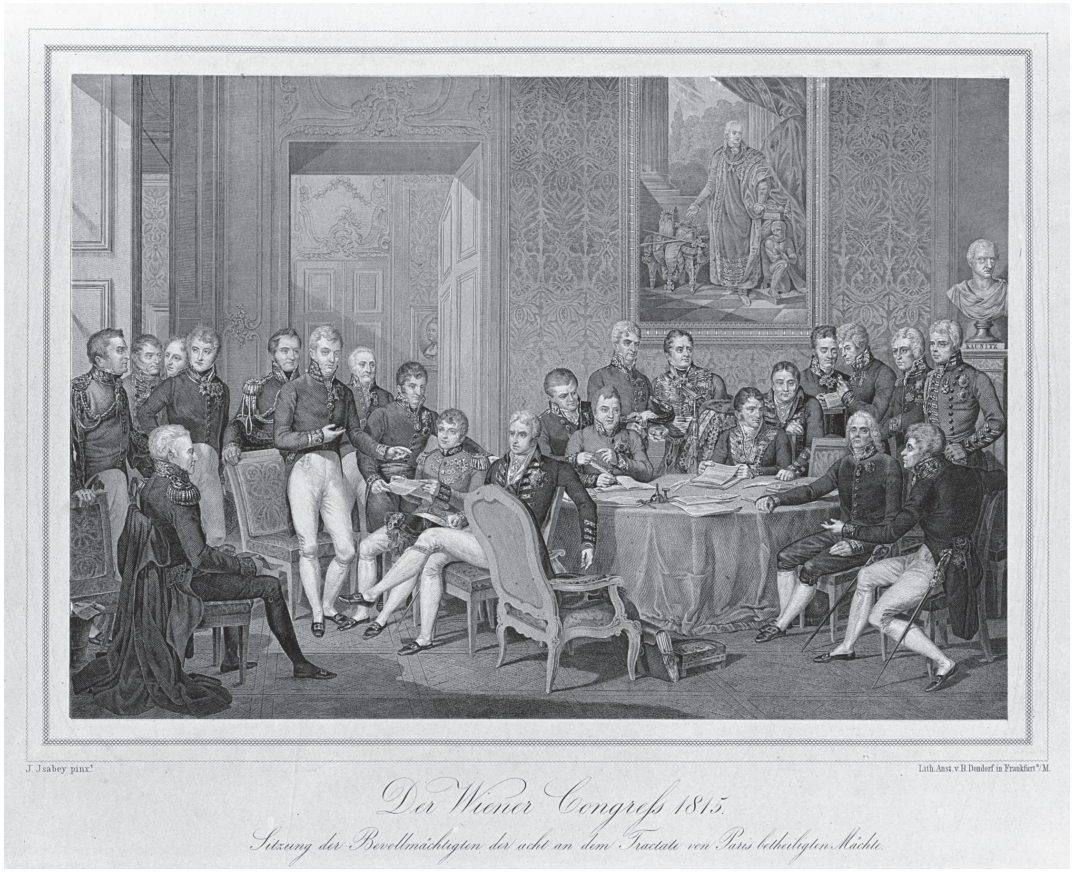
After peace comes war

Nothing came of the fraternity uniting all peoples that the writers so fervently desired. The Treaty of Amiens mainly benefitted Napoleon and there was much criticism of the treaty in Britain. By signing these agreements, Britain was accepting French hegemony in Europe and giving Napoleon the opportunity to extend his sphere of influence even further on the continent. Indeed,

historians have subsequently dubbed this a 'phoney peace' that was doomed to fail.[48] That happened on 18 May 1803, when Britain declared war on France. That marked the start of a long series of bloody wars and battles, both within Europe and elsewhere. For example, the British made renewed attempts to conquer the Cape colony, succeeding in 1806.[49]

Meanwhile, Napoleon left no doubt about his plans for the Batavian Commonwealth. He had made it clear to a Dutch delegation in July 1803 that he considered the country to be a 'satellite' (*satelliet*) of the French planet and a 'rocket that would be carried along by the whirlwind of France' (*vuurpijl die door de wervelwind van Frankrijk wordt meegevoerd*).[50] Napoleon consolidated his position by appointing Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck as pensionary of the Batavian Commonwealth in 1805. However, he was replaced only one year later by Napoleon's brother Louis Napoleon, who was made king of Holland. The Batavian Republic was gradually being transformed into a kingdom subordinate to the French.

The years that followed, with the Kingdom of Holland (1806-1810) and the Annexation (1810-1813), were among the darkest in the country's history. Napoleon sucked the economic life out of the country by imposing colossal taxes. He also imposed strict censorship and depopulated the country to supply his own army. Both the restrictions on press freedom and the conscription met with fierce resistance. Writers and intellectuals took the lead in opposing Napoleon by glorifying the distinctive characteristics of the Netherlands and its inhabitants.[51] There was an upsurge in elements such as the glorification of the Dutch Golden Age and the nation's naval heroes as writers responded to the foreign domination. Authors such as Jan Fredrik Helmers, Adriaan Loosjes and Hendrik Tollens seized on the country's past as something to hold on to: just as the Netherlands had once been able to liberate itself from Spanish tyranny, so it would now once again be able to regain its freedom. The House of Orange was also gradually given a role again in this ideal image of the Netherlands. It served both as a beacon of hope in desperate times and as a desirable element of an independent Netherlands.[52] While the writers commenting on the Treaty of Amiens had not said a word about the Orange family and its role in the nation's past, from early 1813 onwards an increasingly emphatic link was being made between the House of Orange, the Netherlands and sovereignty.[53] This link was put into effect after the country was liberated from the French in November 1813 and William Frederick was appointed sovereign prince. It was up to the new ruler, who became king in 1815, to give the country a new future.



9.1 Meeting of diplomats during the Congress of Vienna

9

DUTCH IDENTITIES IN A NEW EUROPE
The Congress of Vienna (1815)

'Peace! peace!' Loud sound the words,
With concerted voice!
The earth rests to recover from suffering:
Children, thank him.

Only now, late in the evening
Do I lie down calmly;
Only now does the dawn
Find me encouraged again. [...]

'Peace! peace!' Rolls out the cry
Along the furthest coast!
Infant, under your crib coverlet,
You can sleep safely.[1]

This was how the Rotterdam poet Hendrik Tollens (1780-1856) expressed his joy at the peace treaty that was concluded in Paris on 30 May 1814. Napoleon Bonaparte had abdicated a few weeks earlier, on 11 April 1814. A peace agreement was then signed by Louis XVIII, who had taken over as ruler of France, and the coalition of major European powers (Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Spain and Portugal).[2] A striking aspect of this poem is Tollens' personal tone. He describes himself celebrating the peace with his family and making his children kneel and pray to God. They also murmur thanks to the Russian tsar, Alexander I, who came from the north to offer aid. No longer do the children have to fear the 'monster, hot for human blood' (*Ondier, heet naar menschenbloed*); they can now grow up in peace and safety. The poet can face the future again with his mind at ease, knowing he no longer has to make 'sacrifices' (*offers*) to 'a strange barbarian' (*een vreemd barbaar*). This was a reference to the conscription, or compulsory military service, which had

taken so many innocent young men from Dutch homes. His family would be spared that now.

The Treaty of Paris signalled the end of a long period of French occupation for the Netherlands as well. Although Prince William Frederick had landed at Scheveningen on 30 November 1813 and been proclaimed sovereign prince one day later, it still took another six months before the whole of the Netherlands was liberated. Delfzijl was the last town to be evacuated by the French, on 23 May 1814, just a week before the Treaty of Paris was signed.[3] This treaty opened up the prospect of a bright new future for the Netherlands. Other writers as well as Tollens expressed their happiness. For example, the Leiden poet T.B. van Lelyveld wrote in his *Lierzang op den vrede van Europa* (1814): 'O, what a wonderful, beneficial fate! / Netherlands' fame is reborn, / We see on our horizon / The joyful sun of peace shining again.'[4]

While calm and security seemed assured for the time being, it was far from clear what the future would look like exactly. The process of liberation had been very chaotic in some towns and it was going to take time for people to become used to rule by a prince of Orange.[5] Some saw the new ruler as a saviour in their hour of need and welcomed him profusely, in a similar way to the joyous welcome that greeted William IV in 1748. They drew a parallel with the 'first William' (*eersten Willem*), meaning William of Orange, and saw this as restoring the historical line.[6] Others were more reticent, as the literary scholar Ellen Krol and historian Wilfried Uitterhoeve have shown. There were all kinds of local conflicts and it was quite a while before leading authors such as Tollens and Barend Klijn gave their explicit support to the new ruler. In their case, patriotism and support for the Oranges did not initially go hand in hand.[7]

The future of the Netherlands was still under construction in another respect too. There were continual discussions in 1814 and 1815 at the highest political level on the question of what this new Europe should look like. That included the Netherlands. It was William's express desire to expand his territory as much as possible. He managed to achieve that goal relatively quickly as the Eight Articles of London, a secret agreement signed on 21 June 1814, provided for the Southern Netherlands to be added to his territory. Almost one year later, on 9 June 1815, these agreements were formally confirmed in the Treaty of Vienna.[8] That marked the official birth of a new state, the United Kingdom of the Netherlands.

This chapter looks at how the Dutch sense of identity took shape in 1815. Numerous far-reaching decisions were made in that year in the Viennese peace negotiations, and the map of Europe was redrawn. For the Netherlands, this resulted in the creation of a new unified state ruled by a monarch. What aspects of this were picked up by the wider public? Was there a shared sense of identity between the Northern and Southern Netherlands and if so, when did

this originate and how was it expressed? With whom or what did the inhabitants of the Netherlands identify after the two territories were united, given that they had been separate entities since the Unions of Utrecht and Arras (1579)?[9]

More specifically, this chapter will zoom in on the Hundred Days, roughly the period between Napoleon's return to France in February 1815 and his abdication at the end of June that year.[10] The emphasis is on this period in particular because this was when political developments speeded up enormously. When Napoleon seized power again, it was seen as a huge threat. William made use of this opportunity to consolidate his position and he had himself proclaimed King of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands on 16 March 1815. In the meanwhile, the negotiators in Vienna made haste to settle the final outstanding issues so that they could concentrate on fighting their common enemy rather than being distracted by internal disputes.[11]

The texts commenting on events that can be found in the Knuttel catalogue of pamphlets are a good starting point for gaining an impression of the different forms that the sense of a Dutch identity took during this turbulent period.[12] A total of about eighty pamphlets dealt with the Hundred Days, with twenty-two of them referring explicitly to the union of the Northern and Southern Netherlands.[13] While this collection obviously does not give a comprehensive overview of all the popular print materials that appeared during this period – it excludes newspapers and magazines, for instance – it still gives a broad impression of the opinions that were circulating beyond the confines of diplomatic circles. It comprises various different kinds of texts, namely treatises, poems and one play. These publications show that a common sense of national identity that embraced both North and South had indeed permeated the public domain and that this took on increasingly concrete forms after William was proclaimed king in March 1815. However, this sense of a united national identity was overshadowed by the far more dominant sense of a Northern Netherlands identity, which had already reached great heights during the Napoleonic occupation.

A new state, a new identity?

As said, the creation of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in the period 1814 to 1815 was the result of an intricate web of diplomatic negotiations in which men such as Gijsbrecht Karel van Hogendorp, Anton Reinhard Falck and Hans Christoph von Gagern played a key role.[14] The historian Niek van Sas has pointed out that the formation of the new state was not just something decided on by the great powers; the Dutch themselves had a significant say

too. William I and his associates worked determinedly on pushing back the borders to gain more territory, with the Eight Articles of London in June 1814 as the first concrete result. Although William would have preferred to see his rule formally ratified immediately, he accepted the treaty on 21 July 1814. The first article of this agreement stated: '*Cette réunion devra être intime et complète, de façon que les deux pays ne forment qu'un seul et mème État, regi par la constitution déja établie en Hollande, et qui sera modifieé d'un commun accord, après les nouvelles circonstances*' (This reunion will be close and complete, such that the two countries form one sole single State, subject to the constitution that is already in place in Holland and that will be modified by common agreement in line with changing circumstances).[15] So this was to be a profound, comprehensive integration of the government of both territories.

William I got down to work energetically. As the provisional head of the '*Gouvernement de la Belgique*' (Belgian Government), he announced a series of resolutions aimed at promoting the union, such as the Language Decree (*Taalbesluit*) of 1 October 1814. It stated that from now on, Dutch would be the official language of government in the southern provinces too. Other measures concerned the freedom of the press and the policy on marriages. Restrictions on press freedom were imposed in September and from 21 October Catholics could only be granted permission to marry if they had a certificate of approval from a priest. That effectively ruled out marriages between Protestants and Catholics.[16]

Meanwhile, the peace negotiations had started in Vienna. The German diplomat Von Gagern and the Dutch envoy G.C. van Spaen tot Voorstonde were tasked with defending the interests of William and making sure that a union of the Northern and Southern Netherlands was obtained. Von Gagern also lobbied on behalf of William for an expansion towards the east and for the return of the hereditary lands of the Nassau family.[17] The consultations had reached the concluding stage when Napoleon's return threw a spanner in the works. William did not want to wait for the final negotiations; instead, he decided to proclaim himself king quickly, with the consent of the great powers. As a result, his title of monarch and the expansion of his territory were presented as a *fait accompli* before the final agreement had been drawn up.[18]

The United Kingdom of the Netherlands was dictated from above but how did the diplomatic developments tie in with the sentiment among the people? To what extent did they see themselves as subjects of a new state and to what extent did they express a new 'national' identity? These questions are closely linked to such concepts as a feeling of belonging together and cultural identity. As numerous studies have shown, a nation is bound together not just by its territorial, administrative and legal borders but also by a feeling of togetherness, of belonging with one another. Nations are defined not just by physical

borders. At least as important are the emotional and cultural foundations that determine whether people consider themselves to belong to a certain nation.[19] Cultural forms of interconnectedness that help shape a nation can be expressed through a common history, a common language and shared standards and values, for example.[20] These are precisely the areas where the Northern and Southern Netherlands had seen divergent developments.

This divergence had its origins in the split between the southern and northern provinces in 1579 and the decades that followed. In this regard, the historian Jean Stengers speaks of '*La Scission du Nord et du Sud et de la naissance dans les pays-bas de deux sentiments nationaux distinct*' (the schism of the North and South and the birth in the Low Countries of two distinct senses of national identity).[21] The Southern Netherlands had been ruled by foreign powers for a long time. The territory was governed first by the Spanish, followed by the Austrians and then the French. The French presence from 1792 and their revolutionary ideology left a mark, initiating a process of cultural assimilation in which elements from the local cultural and historical tradition were absorbed into the dominant discourse of the French occupying forces.[22] In principle the Belgians had a number of options after the French retreat in early 1814, such as the restoration of the relationship with Austria, independence as a buffer state or a merger with the Northern Netherlands.[23]

In contrast, the Northern Netherlands had seen a patriotic discourse ever since the Dutch Revolt that had been all about rebellion, liberation and independence. In the major European wars, they had repeatedly turned to the same set of images, representations and belligerent motifs.[24] The general sense of togetherness received a strong boost during successive peace celebrations. In the North, the sense of a shared identity had surged again under the Napoleonic regime. Countless commentators reacted against the French occupation by glorifying the nation's past, the Dutch language and the moral qualities of the Dutch people. Their texts expressed a clear sense of national identity, in which the glorification of certain periods during the Dutch Revolt and the Golden Age played an important role.[25] Within that resistance discourse, the call for the return of the House of Orange grew ever louder from the early spring of 1813.[26] After the liberation from the French, this motif became increasingly dominant, after some initial hesitation among some. The praise for the Orange prince began to take centre stage.[27]

William I faced a difficult task in having to forge a unified state from the two territories. A '*union intime et complète*' might have been feasible from an administrative point of view, but what about the cultural connectedness between the two peoples? Was there broad support among the general public for this diplomatic construction? The developments during the Hundred Days are highly relevant when assessing this. If we take the Knuttel collection as our

guide, there were two moments that saw a clear boost to the sense of a common identity encompassing the Northern and Southern Netherlands: immediately following William being proclaimed king on 16 March 1815, and immediately following the Battle of Waterloo.

March 1815: 'Now it matters to be Dutch'

The news that Napoleon had managed to escape from Elba came as a bombshell for Europe. The former emperor had fled the island on 26 February 1815, gathered a small army and started marching on Paris. He reached the city on 10 March, where he was welcomed as a hero. Nine days later, King Louis XVIII fled and Napoleon was once again firmly in charge without having fired a single shot.[28]

The news reached Vienna, where it not surprisingly caused consternation among the diplomats. The negotiation process was not going particularly smoothly, but now it became clear how much was at stake. The French envoy, Talleyrand, was put in a particularly difficult position. He issued a proclamation declaring Napoleon an outlaw. The allied powers joined forces in an effort to quash the new French threat; Louis XVIII's government was allowed to join them.[29]

That the situation posed a serious threat is clear from the reactions in the Dutch media. Numerous pamphlets appeared calling upon Dutch men to join the troops doing battle: the 'Corsican monster' (*Corsikaansche monster*) had to be stopped as soon as possible. As the author Petronella Moens put it:

> The fists of the proud allies
> Still clutch the sword, for the rights of the people.
> Let us go! the treacherous blood spilled;
> The exile's heart stabbed with steel!
> That steel will remain worthy of respect for ever.'
> [...]
> Fly off to battle, O beloved sons![30]

Other authors produced similar 'calls to arms', including Tollens, H.A. Spandaw, J.L. Nierstrasz, W.H. Warnsinck and C. van der Vijver. They called on 'the Netherlands' procession of Heroes' (*Neêrlands Heldenstoet*) to take up arms and eradicate the 'Tyrant' (*Dwingland*).[31]

Most of these calls contained no reference to the recent union of the Northern and Southern Netherlands, nor did they refer to the political negotiations in Vienna. The emphasis was on mobilising troops and recruiting young men

9.2 The poet Petronella Moens (1762–1843), who encouraged the young men of the Netherlands to join the fight against Napoleon

who were prepared to join the allied armies. Authors evoked the age-old Dutch virtues of courage and bravery, contrasting this with French cowardice. 'Banish those French customs / And rediscover the nature of your fathers' (*Verbant die fransche zeden / En herneemt der Vad'ren aard*), as one of the many battle songs from that period formulated it.[32] It was the 'calm and composed spirit of well-intentioned level-headedness' (*kalmen en bedaarden geest van welgemeende beradenheid*) that characterised the Dutchman in difficult times and that would be the deciding factor now too.[33] Others pointed to illustrious episodes from history, such as the Revolt against the Spanish and the heroic deeds of De Ruyter.[34]

As said, this complete complex of battle motifs and tropes traced its origins to a resistance discourse that had already reached great heights during the years of the annexation, even if an Orangist tone dominated now. The patriotic battle cries all converged on the same centrifugal force: the Orange ruler. Even a poet such as Tollens, who had previously supported the republican 'Patriots' and therefore initially been relatively neutral, was now singing the praises of the 'second First William' (*tweeden Eersten Willem*), in other words King

William I.[35] The fact that the country's poets consistently called him 'king' after 16 March 1815 shows how quickly his new status (which was not yet official) had been accepted. As an author from Schiedam said: 'Come, swiftly take the weapons from the wall! It is the fight for the Fatherland, / For God and for the King!!'[36] It should be clear that the northern perspective dominated in most pamphlets: the term 'the Dutch' (*de Nederlanders*) referred to the inhabitants of the northern provinces, including those in Zeeland, Overijssel, Friesland and Groningen.[37] The Belgians were barely mentioned.[38]

Yet a few pamphlets appeared that *did* explicitly mention the union of the North and South. The most outspoken writer was the lawyer and literary scholar Jan van 's Gravenweert. He wrote two odes to the reunification of the Northern and Southern Netherlands, in which he referred to the period when the two peoples were still joined as one. For instance, he had the ghost of Charles V, who had moved to a 'lower circle' (*lager kreits*), deliver an ode to the reunification of the two peoples. A scion of the House of Orange was now following in his footsteps:

> The fame of the Netherlands' banners,
> Unrolled to triumph once again,
> Rises before the Burgundian Cross.
> The wise scion of Orange,
> The man who curbed the violence of Spain,
> Obtains the rights to my House.[39]

There is a parallel in this respect with the diplomatic discourse in this period, in which references to the days of the Burgundian Netherlands were prevalent.[40] This utilisation of the Burgundian past and the 'dynastic historicism' (*dynastiek historisme*) was also evident in William's decision to rename the former department of Meuse-Inférieure (*Nedermaas* in Dutch) as the province of Limburg.[41] Van 's Gravenweert also drew a comparison between the current situation and the Compromise of Nobles in 1566: just as the nobles in the Habsburg Netherlands had made a stand against the Inquisition and the anti-heresy placards, so the Dutch would now defy the 'bastard ruler' (*bastaardvorst*): 'Where once there was the Nobles' courage for Netherlands' peace / Now we too protect the soil of the Fatherland.'[42]

A sense of a unified community was also expressed in three battle songs in which both the Belgians and the Batavians were urged to join the allied troops. In these texts, William I functioned as the common ruler of both peoples. A commentator going by the name of 'Vaderlander' wrote for example: 'Unite the Belgians and the Batavians / In fighting for their King and Country.'[43] An even more forceful call to battle under the impassioned leadership of the

Orange ruler was to be found in the lyrical poem by Jan Schouten, a master shipbuilder from Dordrecht:

> Help God! – inspire, strengthen the Great Alexander!
> Help Austria! – Germany! The noble Prussian Brith!
> May all rulers resolutely join forces;
> To achieve your holy goal and know:
> Thus Belgians *and* Batavians do battle! With their Orange King!
> Together in concord to defend the Netherlands.[44]

In these pamphlets, it was chiefly the fight against a common enemy that united the two peoples. The main benefit from their unification was that they were stronger together. Johannes Samuel Swaan, the rector of the Latin school in Hoorn, added another argument, namely that the territorial unification brought a significant economic benefit. The free passage for the most important waterways opened up the prospect of a new period of prosperity:

> You see in the shadow of the throne
> The arrows bound again
> That grim fate had torn apart
> For two centuries. [...]
> Now the waves flow as freely
> in the Scheldt and Waal and Meuse and IJ,
> Whose waters bring us the treasures of the world. [...]
> Batavian and Belgian join forces
> They have their own fatherland.
> They have their own fame to shore up.
> The tree of Orange bears fruit for both.[45]

Swaan left the reader in no doubt that the reunification of the two peoples in a country governed by a ruler from the House of Orange was a positive development in all respects. The economy would grow again thanks to the new boom in trade.

Strategic arguments

In addition to poems, there were also a few treatises that enthusiastically supported the unification of the Northern and Southern Netherlands. Only days after the coronation of William I, the lawyer and opinion-maker Jacobus Scheltema (1767-1835) published a text in which he showed himself to be an

outspoken advocate of the union between the North and the South. He used historical and strategic arguments to support this position. For example, he pointed to the fact that the southern provinces had been continually subject to hostile incursions from 1672 onwards, mainly from the French. The renewed Barrier Treaty (1715) should have put an end to this undesirable situation, as it gave the Republic the right to have garrisons in the main towns there. However, it turned out a failure as the costs were too high for the Republic and the 'barrier' fell during the War of the Austrian Succession. Emperor Joseph II later unilaterally cancelled the treaty. It would therefore seem reasonable to organise a proper barrier now, said Scheltema. In his opinion, no one would be better capable of doing this than William I. The government of the region should certainly not be entrusted to the allies, at any rate.[46]

According to Scheltema, there were no grounds for the fear that many of the 'new compatriots' (*nieuwe landgenoten*) would choose to side with Napoleon. They had suffered under the French occupation for even longer than the northerners and would not want a return to the old situation under any circumstances. Scheltema argued that the religious differences did not form an obstacle for the unification either: 'Catholics and non-Catholics' (*Roomsch en Onroomsch*) would unite in the common interest of driving out the enemy. He concluded his passionate plea for a united kingdom with an appeal to patriotism: 'O, that they could become entirely Dutch! Then no foreign enemy would be able to take us on.' The opening lines were also characterised by an appeal to loyalty: 'Now it matters to be Dutch. The holy fire has ignited; it must be fanned and fed in all.'[47]

Even so, Scheltema's argument shows that the 'true' Dutch did not (as yet) include the Southern Netherlands. He gave numerous historical and strategic reasons for placing the Southern Netherlands under the authority of William I but he did not point to a shared sense of identity. On the contrary, this was an area where he felt that he had to reassure his readers, as he argued that it was unlikely that the southerners would defect to Napoleon or that the religious differences would have an adverse effect.

The strategic argument dominated in two other texts commenting on the situation as well. Professor Jan ten Brink argued that the allied powers should recognise William I's new status immediately as it was mainly 'his lands' (*Zijne Landen*) that were threatened by the new French attack.[48] According to the author, William's decision to add the Belgian departments to his kingdom was wise because that was the only way of creating a 'barrier' (*voormuur*) to ward off the French attacks. An anonymous text that appeared in Rotterdam on about 20 March also stressed the fact that the new French threat would affect the Southern Netherlands first: 'Bonaparte, that scourge of humanity in God's hand, will not rest until he has reconquered Belgium and Holland, which he

will say belong to his empire.'[49] In this thirty-page booklet, three friends – Agathon, Critus and Euphemon – discussed recent political developments. They expressed surprise that Napoleon had been able to capture Paris without meeting any resistance and that Europe had once again ended up facing a threat and at war. As in Scheltema's text, the Congress of Vienna was called upon to speedily recognise the new king: 'The Congress of Vienna was now over, our independence under the rule of the House of Orange confirmed – now we would soon pluck the fruits of peace and prosperity under the paternal government of our king, and be happy.'[50] This extract shows that the author was quite well-informed about political affairs and the current status of the monarch, whose position had not yet been officially confirmed. In the following section, the three gentlemen talked about their concerns about the new threat of war. There was no doubt who would be the first to suffer: Napoleon would not rest until he had reconquered 'Belgium and Holland' (*Belgien en Holland*). First it would be the turn of 'the Belgian provinces' (*de Belgische provincien*) and then 'our small country' (*ons Landje*).[51] A worried Critus then wondered whether the 'people of Brabant, Flanders, Liège and elsewhere' (*Brabanders, Vlamingen, Luikenaars en anderen*) would be capable of withstanding the French. Such wording reveals the sharp conceptual distinction that the author was making between the South and the North. He spoke in terms of 'us' and 'them', and saw them as two separate territories that were now both under threat.

That distinction was evident too in the argument further on in the booklet, where 'the fatherland' (*het vaderland*) and 'Holland' consistently referred exclusively to the North. Speaking through Euphemon, the author sang the praises of 'Holland's loyalty and morals' (*Hollandsche trouw en zeden*), the 'fine, rich language' (*schoone en rijke taal*) and 'Holland's Ruler from the House of the First William, the Father of the Fatherland' (*Hollandsche Vorst uit het Huis van den Eerste Willem, den Vader des Vaderlands*). He called on all his fellow countrymen to show themselves to be 'true Dutchmen' (*ware Nederlanders*) and lay down their lives for 'King and Fatherland' (*Vorst en Vaderland*). The answer to the question as to whether this call also applied to the southerners was telling:

> I do not doubt that the Belgians will keep their interests and duties in mind and will prefer to remain under the gentle rule of our King while enjoying freedom, privileges and their religion rather than having to submit to the iron sceptre of Napoleon, who oppressed and starved them and tormented the servants of the Church. [...] if concord and the love of King and fatherland continue to be among us, then we will have nothing to fear under God's blessing, and after a brief period of distress and unrest we will be able to remain under the shadow of the olive branches of peace.[52]

Once again the possibility was mentioned of the southerners sympathising with Napoleon, along with the reassuring thought that they would choose the 'gentle' regime of William I in preference to the iron sceptre of Napoleon.

The pamphlets discussed above show a burgeoning awareness of the new political constellation under William I. Various writers pointed to the advantages of a unification of the North and South under the auspices of an Orange monarch. Strategic and economic arguments dominated, although one or two poets referred to fraternal feelings as well. According to Van 's Gravenweert, the roots for this could be traced back to the Burgundian Netherlands. While some authors mentioned potential internal threats such as differences in mindset and religion, these were played down in view of the benefits that reunification would bring.

One might ask whether there were also *critical* responses to the proclaimed union of the Northern and Southern Netherlands among the publications. The Knuttel collection contains only one protest article, namely *Le cri de l'oppression ou lettre d'un Belge a ses concitoyens*. It must have appeared in around March or April 1815 and it was apparently written by M. Schilderman, about whom nothing else is known.[53] This work was fiercely critical of the 'usurpation' (*usurpatie*) of the southern provinces by William I. The text was a vehement attack on this foreign ruler, who the author said had been imposed on the country from above. His regime had very little to do with liberation and sovereignty; it was simply a disguised form of tyranny.[54] After all, the new ruler had introduced one repressive measure after another, such as the Language Decree, the restrictions in the marriage law and more stringent controls of the press. However, the main objection according to Schilderman was that the enforced reunification ran counter to the Belgians' sense of national identity. They felt more French than Dutch and no military argument was a match for that 'feeling' (*gevoel*): '*La force des nations réside moins dans le nombre des hommes sous les armes, que dans le sentiment national et l'opinion de chaque citoyen' [...] Nous sommes Français par le sang que nous avons versé*.' (The force of nations resides less in the number of armed men than in the sense of national identity and the opinions of each citizen [...] We are French through the blood we have shed).[55] The author explained to his readers that it was not too late because as long as the final signatures had yet to be signed in Vienna, the country still did not belong to the new king. He expressed the hope that the French would lay claim to the country so that the Belgians could return to their embrace:

> *Notre pays n'appartient encore à personne, puis qu'il n'en a pas éte dispose au congrès de Vienne [...] N'attendons pas alors, O mes concitoyens, que les Français viennent nous chercher; allons au devant d'eux, et jetons nous dans leur bras.*

9.3 Napoleon fleeing the battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815, print by Dirk Sluyter

> (Our country does not yet belong to anyone given that it has not been disposed of at the Congress of Vienna. [...] So do not wait for the French to come looking for us, O fellow citizens; let us go before them and throw ourselves in their embrace.)[56]

However, it would never reach that point as both diplomatic and military developments played into the hands of those advocating unification of the Northern and Southern Netherlands.

June 1815: the hand of fraternity

An end (for the time being) to the months of diplomatic negotiations was reached on 9 June 1815 when the Final Act was signed at the Congress of Vienna. The document contained 121 articles and was signed by the eight signatories to the Treaty of Paris. It was subsequently adopted by the other parties involved in the Congress. The agreements, most of which had been reached months earlier, now had an official status. That included the establishment of the new

kingdom under William I, which comprised the united provinces of the North and South plus Luxembourg.

These agreements were intended to guarantee the security of Europe, but the main enemy – Napoleon – still had to be defeated. That was achieved shortly afterwards, on 18 June 1815, when the French emperor suffered a decisive defeat at Waterloo. The end came a few days later: Napoleon abdicated and the allied troops recaptured Paris. The once so powerful emperor was banished to the remote island of Saint Helena in the Atlantic Ocean.

Countless odes and celebratory texts appeared after the Battle of Waterloo, with one poetic monument after another being erected to the triumphant allies.[57] To what extent did writers and poets use the victory as an opportunity to celebrate the unification of the Northern and Southern Netherlands, which now had official status? The Knuttel collection shows that this was only a subsidiary theme. The vast majority of authors praised the restoration of freedom in the Netherlands without explicitly referring to the territorial expansion. Only a handful of authors explicitly discussed the United Kingdom of the Netherlands; a comprehensive survey revealed nine titles, six of which were published in the North and three in the South. While this is a small group, these texts can still produce some interesting insights. Firstly, it is noticeable that the northern texts were more detached in their treatment of the battle while the fighting was described at length in the southern texts. That was the result of the northern authors' greater geographical distance from the battlefield. The poet Spandaw in Groningen for example versified about the victory in very general, lyrical terms while southern poets such as P.J. Rembry brought the battle to life, giving a highly realistic account that even had limbs flying past. The following two extracts illustrate this difference: the first is by Spandaw, the second by Rembry:

I saw that fatherland elevated;
Belgian and Batavian united;
And the royal crown given
To him who gives the crown lustre.[58]

Imagine a cloud of people who move on in confusion,
Starved and tired out from head to foot,
Smeared with mud, black from the gunpowder, wounded, covered with blood, [...]
The victory of the Belgians, after such terrible danger:
It caused young and old to jump for true joy;[59]

A second striking feature is that both the northern and southern texts applaud the same heroes. In addition to Wellington and Blücher, there was exuberant praise for prince William Frederick, the heir to the throne, in particular. King William I was also praised enthusiastically on both sides. Even so, there was a difference here as while the northerners praised the united efforts of the Belgians and Batavians, the southern authors placed more emphasis on local events and the achievements of the Belgian soldiers.[60]

The northern texts were primarily lyrical poems celebrating the Battle of Waterloo as a united victory for the Belgians and Batavians. Furthermore, one lengthy prose text appeared that included proposals for concrete measures that would turn the new kingdom into a lasting unified territory. This was *De hand van broederschap, door de Noordelijke aan de Zuidelijke Nederlanders toegereikt; bij de heuchelijke hereeniging tot één volk, in de monarchij van Willem den Eersten, koning der Nederlanden* [...]. The work, which was written by an anonymous author, was one long appeal on behalf of a Greater Netherlands. The publication consisted of a series of twelve letters, the first three of which were written just before the Battle of Waterloo and the remaining nine letters after the battle.[61] It was available in Brabant and Flanders as well as Holland. The publication contained a detailed programme for consolidating the union between the North and the South, in which language played a key role.

The author argued that the new kingdom, with five million inhabitants compared with two million in the old situation, had to be 'founded and built on firm and lasting principles' (*op vaste en duurzame grondslagen gelegd en gevestigd*).[62] That could only be achieved in one way, namely if all inhabitants spoke the same language – Dutch. That was why it was necessary to put an end to the use of French in the South and promote the use of Dutch if the kingdom was to truly become one nation.[63] However, the southerners were at a considerable disadvantage in this respect and that was why the North had to extend a helping hand. He produced a detailed plan that had three main points: uniform rules for language and spelling, improvements in education and the promotion of the book trade.

A list of seven language manuals was intended to bring clarification in language matters and serve as a guideline. These books were *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche Spelling* (1804) by Matthijs Siegenbeek, *De Nederduitsche spraakkunst* (1805) and *Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek* (1799-1811) by Pieter Weiland, *Beknopte geschiedenis der Nederlandsche tale* by A. Ypey (1812) and three works produced by the philanthropic organisation Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen: *Rudimenta, of de Gronden der Nederduitsche Taal* (1805), *Syntaxis of Woordvoeging der Nederduitsche Taal* and *Grammatica, of de Nederduitsche Spraakkunst*.[64] The best way to master these rules was to practice them in the company of others, just as people in the seventeenth century had done under the leadership of Hendrik

van de Spiegel, Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft and Joost van den Vondel. Encouragement should therefore be given to associative life in the South as well.

In his appeal, the author repeatedly referred to a Flemish work that had already argued the case for an improvement in the use of Dutch in the southern provinces: *Virgilius in de Nederlanden* (1802) by Victor Alexandre Chrétien le Plat. The prologue to this work contained numerous valid arguments and reasons explaining why the southern provinces had fallen behind in this respect. That made it all the more unfortunate that Le Plat himself had such a poor command of the language, argued the author. Consequently, it would be better not to leave the tasking of improving the Dutch of southerners to people from Brabant. According to the author, the preferred option was to use the Dutch manuals on this subject. The same applied to the educational measures that were recommended. Good education started with good teachers, so it would be best to recruit them from the North. Moreover, improvements were needed in the quality of educational books. Associations such as Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen could play an important intermediary role here. Finally, the book trade needed to be revived in the South in order to enable literature to flourish once more. The idea was that this programme would lay a solid foundation for language throughout the kingdom.

The writer also urged a renewed blossoming of the fine arts. Both the North and the South had once excelled in this area but now they would have to be awakened from a 'long lethargy' (*lange slaapzucht*).[65] This was the only topic where the author did not see an imbalance between the North and the South: both peoples had earned their spurs in this field.

The extensive language plan was intended to further the process of unification of the two parts of the kingdom. However, the writer pointed to one potential threat: the power of the clergy. The 'monks and useless clergy' (*monniken en onnutte Geestelijken*) were responsible for the considerable lost ground in the command of Dutch and they should not be involved at all in the education and upbringing of children.[66] It will be clear that this was from an entirely northern perspective and that it was one-way traffic: the southern provinces had to become 'enlightened' and their 'backwardness' removed.[67] Only then could a full union be achieved between the two territories.

The southern perspective

The dominance of the northern perspective in the language programme makes it all the more interesting to examine the response in the South in more detail. As said, the Knuttel catalogue also contains three texts commenting on events that were printed in the South and that explicitly discussed the union

between the northern and southern provinces. The texts comprised two poems and one play: *Den veld-slag van het schoon-verbond* by P.J. Rembry, *De daegen Van den sestiende, seventiende en achtiende Juny 1815* by J.B.Ms. and *Belle-alliance ou les journés mémorables* [...] by Louis-Charles Mallard.[68] For the sake of completeness, I should reiterate that this is just a very fragmentary impression of what actually appeared in the South; it is purely based on the material in the Knuttel Collection and therefore by definition only partial.[69]

Rembry, about whom there is little further information, dedicated *Den veld-slag van het schoon-verbond* emphatically to the ordinary people. They were 'the abandoned mortals' (*de verstéke Stervelingen*) who had now finally found relief from their suffering. He gave a lengthy account of the battle, in which he did not shrink from graphic details. Skewered body parts, wounded soldiers, groans and tears – all the horrors of the battlefield were covered. The poet applied a clear, unsubtle frame in which Napoleon was the ultimate villain. His degenerate, adulterous nature was in sharp contrast with the noble character of the ultimate hero of Waterloo, the heir apparent Prince William Frederick. He it was who had urged the 'Belgian multitude' (*Belgische schaer*) to risk their lives for 'fatherland, for King and altar' (*vaderland, voor koning en altaer*). There was also a local perspective as the women of Brussels were praised for their willingness to care for the wounded on the battlefield. These 'Brussels angels' (*Brusselsche engelinnen*) had proved themselves to be extremely brave and therefore deserved general praise.

Rembry's poem is an expression of a stratified sense of identity, in which both the local and the national perspective played a role. At the local level, he spoke of Belgian soldiers ('Belgians', [*Belgiers*]) fighting and Brussels women ('women of Brabant', [*Brabandsche vrouweliên*]) providing aid. Moreover, this was the first battle fought by the Belgians for their new fatherland. 'Our people, who fight for the first time for the fatherland's banner / Cover their name in glory, their heads with wreaths.'[70] At the national level, the 'Belgians and Batavians' (*Belgen en Bataven*) are part of a greater whole, jointly contributing to 'the Netherlands' wartime fame' (*Neêrlandsch krygs-roem*) while the heroines of Brussels are 'the flower of the Netherlands' women' (*de bloem van Neêrlands vrouwen*).[71]

Similar references to a local, Belgian identity and a national, Netherlands identity can also be seen in the work of J.B.Ms., who published two lyrical poems and a short essay on the 'ancient greatness of the Belgians' (*oude groothydt der Belgen*). It is not known who the person was writing under the initials J.B.Ms. but his work demonstrates a thorough knowledge of both history and current affairs. The same author had already published an extensive treatise in August 1814 on the benefits of the 'union of the Batavian and Belgian provinces' (*vereeninge der Bataefsche en Belgische provincien*). In it, he pointed to the two peoples'

long history and common origins and to the similarities between the twelfth-century governors of Antwerp and the House of Orange.[72]

In *De daegen Van den sestiende, seventiende en achtiende Juny 1815,* the author stressed the importance of the diplomatic agreements that had been reached in Vienna. However, the future of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands was only guaranteed after the victory of Waterloo: 'It is certain that the date of 18 June 1815 [...] will be fixed for ever in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, cemented by the blood of its heroes.'[73] Although the author repeatedly referred to the new fatherland as 'the Netherlands' (*Nederland*), he also paid attention to the specific contribution to the battle by the Belgian people, including the women, as is demonstrated by such verses as: 'the men walk out of the Gate of Namur to battle [...] / The women, mothers all, are on their heels / You see them swarming towards the most severely wounded.'[74] The historical accounts of the 'ancient greatness of the Belgians' (*oude groothydt der Belgen*) also focused on the historical foundations for the Belgians' love of freedom, which they had lost so harshly with the arrival of the French in 1792.

The Belgian perspective is emphatically present too in the play that the Leuven printer and occasional poet Louis-Charles Mallard dedicated to Waterloo.[75] This play (which is in French) centres on Belgian soldiers. It is all about their fighting spirit and courage; they form the '*sujet héroïque national*' (heroic national subject) of the play. Only a minor role is reserved for the soldiers from Holland in the '*troupe de Belges, Hollandois, Hanovriens etc.*' (troops from Belgium, Holland, Hannover etc.). Even so, the themes of unity and loyalty still play an important role in the background. There is a love affair between Louise (*'la perle du Brabant'*, the pearl of Brabant) and one of the soldiers. The many references to their lengthy friendship and their ultimate unification can also be interpreted in an allegorical sense. There is enthusiastic praise as well for both the king and the crown prince. The soldiers give voice to their support for William I on countless occasions with cries such as *'Vive le Roi! Vive Guillaime!'* (Long live the King! Long live William!). The play ends with a declaration of loyalty by the commander of the Belgian troops: '*[je] jure obéissance éternelle / A notre prince à notre roi*' ([I] swear eternal obedience /to our prince, to our king).[76]

Confidence in the future

The collection of pamphlets shows that the sense of community between the Northern and Southern Netherlands was a hot topic on two occasions: immediately after the coronation of William I and after the Battle of Waterloo. After William was proclaimed king, various authors from the Northern Netherlands spoke out in favour of the reunification, whereby they primarily used

9.4 The patriotic poet Hendrik Tollens (1780-1856)

military and strategic arguments. This sense of community was fed chiefly by the presence of a common enemy. Fraternal feelings received another boost after the Battle of Waterloo, which gave the reunification a future in practice, not just in theory. The authors referring to the new constellation were still in the minority; a Northern Netherlands sense of national identity was dominant everywhere. This local sense of identity played an important role too in the reactions in the South. While there was praise and support for the king and the crown prince, writers also gave considerable attention to the specific contribution by Belgian soldiers and the women of Brussels to the military success. The historical positioning was also different to that in the North. The main frame of reference was the age-old Belgian struggle for freedom rather than the history of the Dutch Revolt.

The adulation of William I as the father of two fraternal peoples only really

picked up steam after the official investiture on 21 September 1815 in Brussels. This is illustrated by the following verses on the occasion by Tollens, in which he expressed his joy that the 'fraternal fissure' (*de broederbreuk*) had been 'healed' (*genezen*):

> Come quickly, our arms in embrace:
> O brothers, come! Return! Return!
> Come quickly, estranged compatriots!
> The barrier has fallen and shattered.
> Come quickly: the paternal blessing awaits you!
> The fraternal heart greets you warmly,
> A cheering welcome rolls towards you!
> The hour of unification has broken
>
> [...] our brothers have been returned to us,
> Those who had strayed for two centuries.[77]

Tollens' lyrical poem showed considerable confidence in the future. The brothers had finally been reunited after such a long separation. And yet fifteen years later, it appeared that there was insufficient support for the new state in the South. The differences in language and religion formed too great an obstacle for the development of a common sense of national identity. There was a '*rupture morale*' (moral breach) that could no longer be bridged.[78] However, Tollens did not know this in 1815; the future was still 'cloaked in gold' (*in goud gehuld*) at that point.[79]

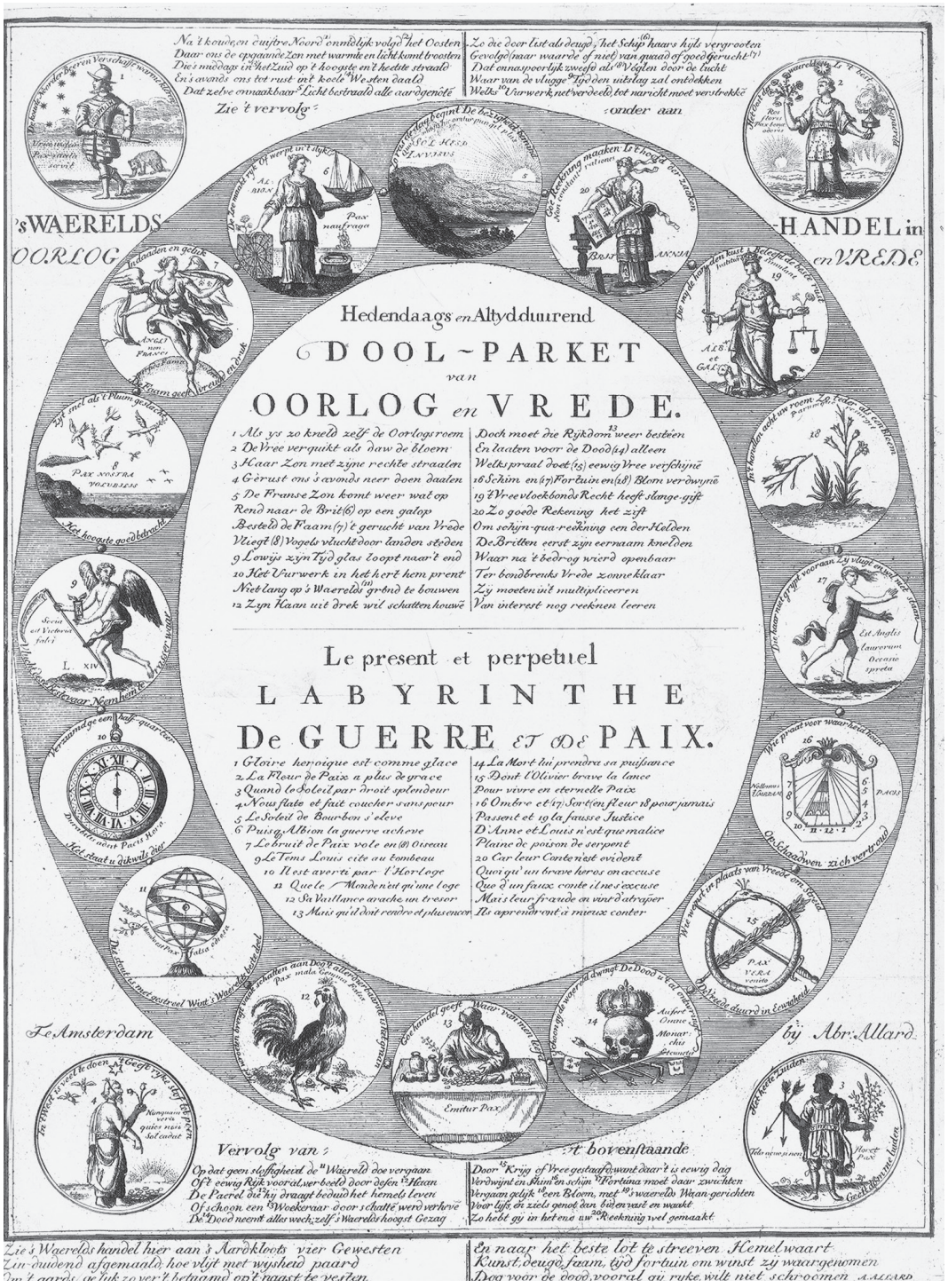
EPILOGUE

'Periods of peace are a pause for breath between two wars', sighs one of the characters in the historical novel *De ochtendgave* (2015) by the Dutch author A.F.Th. Van der Heijden.[1] This book is set during the negotiations for the Treaty of Nijmegen (1678) and shows the difficult negotiating process. 'You gasp for breath and taste the next cloud of gunsmoke,' says the first-person narrator, wondering what the point is of the negotiations when the agreements are permanently under threat.

The early modern period does indeed seem to be one long series of wars, interrupted only by short pauses for breath. If you thumb through any general history of Europe, you will see one war after another. The list of conflicts seems almost endless, and includes the Northern War (1655-1660), the Nine Years' War (1688-1697), the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713), the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815).

When so much attention is paid to armed conflicts, it is easy to forget that peace was concluded just as often. A recent count found almost two hundred treaties in the period 1648 to 1815 documenting agreements on territories, possessions and alliances between countries and their political leaders.[2] The Republic of the Seven United Netherlands also signed a series of important peace treaties during this period, starting with the Treaty of Munster and ending with the Congress of Vienna. In 1648 it concluded a peace with Spain that made the Republic an independent state. This was followed by four treaties with France and five with England.

All those peace treaties were celebrated on a grand scale in the Republic, with days of thanksgiving and prayer, firework displays, processions, decorated buildings, commemorative medals, allegorical plays and dances, and prints. Each peace was also marked by countless texts commenting on the occasion, with writers expressing their joy about the fact that the war had ended. Constant ingredients in the peace texts included the announcement of a new golden



10.1 The labyrinth of War and Peace, print prompted by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, produced by Abraham Allard

era, the glorification of national heroes, particularly naval heroes, and the emphasis on a special relationship with God.

From the very start, these texts concerned the Republic as a whole. Sometimes they talked of the 'United Free Netherlands' (*Vereenighde Vrije Nederlanden*) but they were equally likely to just use 'the Netherlands' (*Nederland*), possibly with the addition of the adjective 'whole' (*gantsch*). Perhaps the most powerful symbol of national concord was the Dutch lion holding the seven arrows in his quiver and defending the Dutch garden against enemies. Orangist authors saw another unifying element, namely the stadholder. They persistently linked the dawn of a new golden era to a scion of the House of Orange. 1748 was even seen as a 'wondrous year' (*wonderjaar*) because the establishment of a hereditary stadholdership coincided with the centenary celebrations of the Treaty of Munster.

The perpetual repetition of these clichés has meant that publications commenting on peace treaties have seldom received much attention. It is true that we encounter few original or surprising images in them. However, they form a valuable and inexhaustible supply from the point of view of nation-building, precisely because of their repetitive nature. The continual repetition of images created as it were an imagined community of Dutch people that was recognisable through the ages and that united authors of diverse political and religious opinions. This imagined community did not come into being after 1800, as modernist historians would have us believe. The foundations for that shared sense of identity had been laid long before that. They found expression for example in the peace texts that appeared from 1648 onwards.[3]

One of those foundations was the image of a golden era, which was linked to the tropes of trade flourishing once again, overflowing granaries and growing milk and butter production. According to the renowned scholar of nationalism, Anthony D. Smith, every mature nation needs its golden era. It gives a nation authenticity and helps create a collective sense of self-esteem. Moreover, it fosters a feeling of continuity between generations and a vision focused on the future. The contours of the course the country should take become sharper because it is able to take a specific heyday as its example.[4] This image is very much in evidence in the peace texts: from the Treaty of Munster onwards it is one of the constant ingredients supporting a sense of national self-esteem.

So when early nineteenth-century authors started pointing to the Dutch Golden Age as a high point in the history of Dutch civilisation in response to the French occupation, they were actually continuing a national tradition that was already more than one hundred and fifty years old and had frequently been rekindled, including in 1802 at the time of the Treaty of Amiens. This was no brand-new invention of tradition; the nineteenth-century authors were building on a set of pre-existing images. These forms of cultural continuity

10.2 Peace is being chased away by War. Mercury, the god of trade, is flying away.
Print by Simon Fokke, c. 1774-1784

constitute a link between the early modern and modern developments, and show that not all historical trends end abruptly around 1800, as some modernists claim.[5]

These kinds of continuity do not alter the fact that each period had its own preoccupations. Thus the republican ideal of liberty dominated in the publications commenting on the Treaty of Breda while the texts on the Treaty of Amiens were imbued with the Batavian revolutionary ideal. National naval heroes were replaced by two statesman of international allure, Napoleon and Schimmelpenninck. In the celebrations of 1697 and 1748, it was the Orangist viewpoint that dominated and the achievements of past stadholders received extra attention.

While the peace celebrations in the periods 1648-1678 and 1748-1802 focused on internal affairs, a European awareness played an important role in the peace treaties of Rijswijk and Utrecht. In the Treaty of Rijswijk (1697), that European awareness was fuelled by the fear of the rising threat from the Ottoman Turks, and the importance of Christian unity was emphasised. For most Dutch authors, that sense of a European identity had a strong Protestant di-

mension, which tied in with the national adulation of the stadholder William III. The European perspective also played a significant role in the publications commenting on the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), but it was somewhat different in nature. We see here the first signs filtering through of the ideal of a European peace inspired by a balance of political power. The underlying idea was that peace and security within Europe could only be guaranteed with the right political equilibrium between the different nations.[6]

This book opened with the observation that there is a yawning gap between optimists and pessimists in peace studies. *Celebrating Peace* has shown that every time peace was concluded, the country was inundated by a wave of optimistic visions for the future. Writers dreamed of a new golden era that would make people forget the horrors of war. Each prediction for the future was even more rosy than the previous one: in the Leeuwendalers' utopia, trade flourished as never before and everyone was able to benefit from the new prosperity. Weapons may have been put aside, but the fight still continued on paper. Writers dealt mercilessly with former external enemies and took a stand against their internal opponents. In many cases, peace merely meant the continuation of war by other means.

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Text

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Chapter 2, 'The Treaty of Breda', is largely based on Lotte Jensen, '"Wederom vereenight door de vrede" Gelegenheidsgedichten op de Vrede van Breda'.In: Raymond Kubben (ed.), *Ginder 't vreêverbont bezegelt. Essays over de betekenis van de Vrede van Breda 1667*. Breda 2015, 52-61.

Chapter 5, 'The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle', contains sections from two previously published articles, namely Lotte Jensen, 'Ambivalente vrede. Gelegenheidsgeschriften rondom de Vrede van Aken (1748)'. In: *Vooys* 32 (2014) 3, 15-24 and Lotte Jensen, '"Toen 't volk als uit één' mond, lang leve Oranje! riep".

Orangisme in het vredesjaar 1748'. In: *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 128 (2015), 1-22. Chapter 9, 'The Congress of Vienna', is largely based on Lotte Jensen, '"De hand van broederschap toegereikt". Nederlandse identiteiten en identiteitsbesef in 1815'. In: Frank Judo & Stijn Van de Perre (eds). *Belg en Bataaf. De wording van het Verenigd Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*. Antwerp 2015, 79-101, 343-349.

NOTES

Introduction

1 Gittings, *The Glorious Art of Peace*, 22.
2 Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 142.
3 Hobbes, *Leviathan* (chapter 13: 13), 97.
4 Cf. Störig, *Geschiedenis van de filosofie*, vol. 1, 270.
5 Van Creveld, *The Culture of War*, 106-113.
6 Störig, *Geschiedenis van de filosofie*, vol. 2, 32-36.
7 See for example the introduction to the courses for the Bachelor's degree in Peace Studies at the University of Bradford in the UK, which includes the following: 'What are the key challenges facing humanity now and into the future? What might peaceful responses to these challenges look like?' and 'It focuses on understanding and promoting positive changes in the economies, society and politics of countries affected by poverty, exclusion, inequality and underdevelopment.' See www.bradford.ac.uk/social-sciences/peace-studies/undergraduate-courses/. Accessed 1 December 2015.
8 Gittings, *The Glorious Art of Peace*, 14: 'We need to recapture some of the idealism and the enthusiasm of the peace thinkers and movements of the past.'
9 Richmond, *Peace*, 126.
10 Gittings, *The Glorious Art of Peace*, 24.
11 In theory, the use of the term 'the Netherlands' is an anachronism but it was used repeatedly in contemporary texts. I use it as an umbrella term, following the example of Rietbergen, *Willem III*, 7-9.
12 Brakonier-de Wilde, *De vrede van Europa*, 14, 17.
13 I have taken this phrase from 'Tot de vredehandelinge binnen Munster aengestelt...', 26.
14 I refer here just to the legal history studies of Randall Lesaffer, including *Europa: een zoektocht naar vrede?*, and the numerous publications by the German historian Heinz Duchhardt. Some of his publications have been brought together in Duchhardt, *Frieden im Europa der Vormoderne*.
15 Zamoyski, *De ondergang van Napoleon*, 440-441.
16 Cf. De Bruin et al., 'Introduction', which argues for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of peace treaties.
17 Cf. Frijhoff, 'Fiery Metaphors', 244-247 and Jensen, 'Visions of Europe', 169.
18 See for example Jensen, *De verheerlijking van het verleden* and Mathijsen, *Historiezucht*.
19 For the Dutch context, see for example Van Sas (ed.), *Vaderland* and Stein & Pollmann (ed.), *Networks, Regions and Nations*.
20 See for example Meijer Drees, '"Vechten voor het vaderland"' and Van der Haven & Jensen, '"Geschiedenissen lezen, herlezen en onthouden"'. For the period before 1650, see: Stein, 'Introduction'.

21 Leerssen, 'Over nationale identiteit'; Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen*.
22 '*Neederlanden, / Ik zie de wondren van uw Staat, en staaroog op / De kleene plek, het punt, waar teegens 't grootste rijk / Te kleen viel*'. Brandt, 'Op het sluyten der eeuwige vreede', 251.
23 For two recent reviews of the debate, see Labrie, 'IJkpunten' and Jensen, 'The Roots of Nationalism'.
24 Gat, *Nations*, 4; Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism*.
25 See for example Smith, *National Identity* and Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*.
26 See for example Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, 35-65; Hadfield, 'Vanishing Primordialism'; Middel, 'Arngrímur Jónsson'; Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*.
27 For publications containing the key documents marking the 'birth' of the Republic, see: Groenveld, *Unie-Bestand-Vrede* and Huijsen & Waling, *De geboortepapieren van Nederland*.
28 '*de verbeelding van eigenschappen en attributen van een groep, de benoeming van een groepsidentiteit in een vertoog over dat beeld, en de herkenning van dat vertoog als een zinvolle voorstelling van de wij-groep*', Frijhoff, 'Identiteit, identiteitsbesef'.
29 These days the word 'identification' is often used instead of identity because it is felt that 'identity' has too static a connotation. Identification suggests a more dynamic process and an element of choice: people can identify to varying degrees with different 'identities'. See Oosterbaan, *Ons erf*, 21. This concept does indeed seem to do more justice to the way in which we treat 'identity' but it offers few advantages when studying the early modern period. The concept assumes considerable freedom of choice and agency among individuals but whether such freedom applied in the early modern period is a separate question and beyond the scope of the current study.
30 Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe*, 15-16.
31 Leerssen, *Nationalisme*, 148-150.
32 Smith, *The Nation in History*, 65-72.
33 Cf. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 6-8. The terms 'ethnie' and 'ethno-symbolism' do seem appropriate as a description of certain medieval developments. See for example Weeda, *Images of Ethnicity*.
34 For a different viewpoint, see Van Eijnatten, *God, Nederland, en Oranje*. He concentrates on the period after 1800 because he claims that this national threesome did not exist as a concept before then.
35 Leerssen, *The Cultivation of Culture*.
36 '*niet slechts een passieve afspiegeling van het natievormingsproces, maar is een gangmaker, vooral in de formulering en verspreiding van beelden van nationale identiteit en traditie*', Leerssen, *De bronnen van het vaderland*, 12.
37 Hobsbawm & Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
38 Gat, *Nations*, 17. For a critical and historicising look at the term 'invented tradition', see also Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*, 86-90 and Philips, 'Introduction'.
39 Burke, 'Nationalisms and Vernaculars', 5.
40 Stein, 'Introduction', 16-17. For early modern cultural memory in relation to nation-building, see also Pollmann & Kuijpers, 'Introduction', 3-10.
41 To give just two of the many examples: Kossmann, 'The Dutch case' and Rietbergen, 'Beeld en zelfbeeld'.
42 Burke, 'Nationalisms and Vernaculars, 9; Burke, 'Did Europe exist before 1700?', 29.
43 Halma, *Vredezang*, A 2 and 26; De Groot, *Vreedezang*, 6; Spinniker, *Zeege der vrede*, 6.
44 Meijer Drees, 'Patriottisme in de Nederlandse literatuur'; Meijer Drees, '"Vechten voor het vaderland"'. Haks arrives at similar conclusions, *Vaderland en vrede*, 143-145, 299.
45 Kloek, 'Vaderland en letterkunde, 1750-1800'; N.C.F. van Sas, 'De vaderlandse imperatief'.
46 Meijer Drees, 'Patriottisme in de Nederlandse literatuur'.
47 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 114-145, 227-262.
48 Some researchers prefer to stress the rhetorical use of terms such as the 'fatherland' and avoid phrases such as 'Dutch identity' or 'the formation of a national identity' because

they argue that these terms do not correspond to the vocabulary of the time (see for example Vroomen, *Taal van de Republiek* and Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 18 and 299). In my opinion, both phrases refer to a longer process of identity formation that took place at the local, national and European levels. Of course it manifested itself in different ways in each individual period, but avoiding the use of these terms as a consequence seems to me rather overdone. It simply shifts the debate to the question of when you are allowed to start using these terms and what they then mean exactly.

49 On the provincial negotiations in the Treaty of Munster, see Groenveld, *Unie-Bestand-Vrede*, 133-134; on the role of the province of Utrecht during the War of the Spanish Succession, see Van der Bijl, 'Utrechtse weerstand'.

50 Groenveld, Wagenaar & Van der Meer, 'Pre-Napoleonic centralization'.

51 Cf. Porteman & Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*, 505.

52 See Jensen, 'Visions of Europe', 159 and Jensen, '"Toen 't volk als uit één' mond, lang leve Oranje! riep"', 8, 11.

53 There has often been a temporary resurgence of interest during anniversary years, for example in 1998 (the 400th anniversary of the Treaty of Munster), 2013 (the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Utrecht) and 2015 (the bicentenary of the Congress of Vienna).

1 – A new golden era

1 See Article 53 of the peace treaty, cited in Groenveld, *Unie-Bestand-Vrede*, 176.

2 See for example Duchhardt, *Frieden im Europa*, 123-132 and Groenveld, 'De Vrede van Munster', 13-19. For an insightful and well-considered article discussing the extent to which the Peace of Westphalia represented a break in a legal regard with the preceding period, see Lesaffer, 'Peace Treaties from Lodi to Westphalia'. This also contains many references to literature on the significance of the Peace of Westphalia, especially on pages 9-10.

3 Groenveld, *T'is ghenoegh, oorloghsmannen*, 71-72.

4 On the announcement of the peace in Nijmegen, see Van Schevichaven, *Oud-Nijmegens Kerken*, 211. On the celebration in Wormer, see Smits-Veldt, 'De viering van de Vrede van Munster in Amsterdam', 198 (note 3). A picture of the festive procession with the triumphal arch at De Plaats in The Hague can be found in The Hague's municipal image bank (Haagse Beeldbank, identification number gr. B 777). The celebration in Delft is mentioned in Groenveld, *T'is ghenoegh, oorloghsmannen*, 73 and that in Arnhem in Groenveld, 'De Vrede van Munster', 41. The celebration in Breda can be seen in a print published in Dordrecht, consisting of an image of the bonfire in the castle forecourt and a poem on the subject by a certain R.d.C. [Roeland de Carpentier?]. This print is in the Breda municipal archive (identification number 19770265).

5 The exact date is unknown. The title of the Latin publication is *Oratio panegyrica de pace inter Phillippum IV et foederatorum Belgarum Ordines* (Leiden 1648). The Dutch translation is included in *Olyf-krans der vreede* (1649), 327-351.

6 '*Nederlandt begint, gelijk van oudts, te groeien en te bloeien, en de goude tijt gaat in, daar onze Voorvaders in leefden, en wy zoo lang naar verlangden.*' Boxhorn, 'Oratie van de vreede', 387 (Knuttel 5740).

7 See the contributions by D.P.J.Z, I.S.V.C. (Jan Six van Chandelier), Geeraerdt Brandt Jnr and Jan Vos in *Olyf-krans der vreede* (1649), *6, 150, 171, 201, 231, 316.

8 Vondel, *De werken*, vol. 5, 353 (vs. 2019-2020).

9 '*De Huys-lien nu haar Koeyen ruymer graazen / Zullen vervroolijkt offren vette Kaazen*'. Six van Chandelier, *Vreughde-Zangen*, B verso (Knuttel 5754).

10 On this subject, see Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen*, 72-78.

11 On this subject, see also Melissen, 'De heedendaagse Goude-eeuw', 31-32.

12 '*Men voerde helm noch zwaert. Het volk in alle streeken zat vreedzaem*'. Vondel, *De werken*, vol. 7, 408, vs. 122-123.
13 Blaas, 'De Gouden Eeuw: overleefd en herleefd'; Jensen, 'De Gouden Eeuw als ijkpunt van de nationale identiteit'; Jensen, *De verheerlijking van het verleden*.
14 Gat, *Nations*, 17.
15 Cf. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, *Nederlandse literatuur in de tijd van Rembrandt*, 9. See the example there of Vondel. For the other quote, see Vos, *Vreede tusschen Filippus de Vierde*, 34.
16 '*U lieden is niet onbekent [...] hoe wy te samen tot een Staet, tot een Republijckcke en Souvereyniteit gebracht, met kleyne stucken aen een ghehecht, en tot een lichaem geworden zijn; daer van de beginselen in onser beyder Provintien gelegt zijn*.' Anonymous, *Vriendelicke Aen-sprake*, A2.
17 Anonymous, *Vriendelicke Aen-sprake*, B3.
18 Van Gerwen, *Geluckwensching*, A3 [2v] (Knuttel 5751).
19 See Groenveld, 'De Vrede van Munster', 41; Groenveld, *T'is ghenoegh oorloghsmannen*, 72. The debate between those in favour of the peace and those opposed to it between 1641 and 1648 has been described by Harline in 'Mars Bruised'.
20 For the development of a local, regional and supra-regional sense of nationhood since the sixteenth century, see for example Groenveld, '"Natie" en "patria"', Meijer Drees, '"Vechten voor het vaderland"' and Stein, 'Introduction'.
21 Ripa, *Iconologia*, 568-571.
22 Idem, 97.
23 See the production details in *Onstage. Online Datasystem of Theatre in the Amsterdam Golden Age* (www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/517). See also Van der Maas, 'De vrede verbeeld', 194.
24 Boelens, *De Nieuwe vertooningen*. On the spectacles during the peace celebrations in Amsterdam, see Snoep, *Praal en propaganda*, 77-82.
25 On 'De getemde Mars', see Duits, 'Vondel en de Vrede van Munster', 186-187.
26 Smits-Veldt, 'De viering van de Vrede van Munster in Amsterdam'.
27 See the ninth spectacle in Jan Vos, *Uitlegging Op eenige vertooningen* (Knuttel 5744). On Vos's local patriotism, see Geerdink, *Dichters en verdiensten*, 69-72.
28 '*Lang leef de dappre Wellem, / Die 't harrenas ontgespt, en zijn bepluimde hellem, / Doet hangen aan den want, en 't slaghzwaardt needer leit. / Bekoorelijke Leeuw! vol fiere moedigheidt, / Gy doet mijn borst, in dit gewest, weêr aassem haalen. / Opgaand' Oranje zon! De leevendige straalen, / Die gy in d'uchtent van u heerschappy uit schiet, / Belooven Neederlandt, dat vrygemaakt Gebiet, / Een schoonder middagh, dan August de Roomsche volken*.' Vos, *Vreede tusschen Filippus de Vierde*, 35.
29 On this myth, see Schöffer, 'The Batavian Myth' and Haitsma Mulier, 'De Bataafse mythe opnieuw bekeken'.
30 Smits-Veldt, 'De viering van de Vrede van Munster in Amsterdam', 194. See also Spies, 'Verbeeldingen van vrijheid', 149.
31 The text was published privately in 1648 'at Johan Blaeu's printing works' (*ter Drukkerije van Iohan Blaeu*) in Amsterdam in 1648 (Knuttel 204 A) and later included in the *Olyfkrans* (187-256).
32 See Brandt Jnr, *Op het sluyten der eeuwige vrede*, 39: 'Oh City, there lies concealed my happiness' (*O Stadt, daar mijn geluk verborgen leit*).
33 Brandt Jnr, *Op het sluyten der eeuwige vrede*, 9.
34 Idem, 27.
35 Idem, 1.
36 Idem, 25.
37 Idem, 30-31.
38 Idem, 30.
39 Idem, 23. On the relationship between Vos and the stadholders, see Geerdink, *Dichters en verdiensten*, 54-57, 63-64.
40 See Van Godewijk, *Olyf-tack* (Knuttel 5751a) and Beeldhouwer, *Over de vrede* (Knuttel 5752). It should be said that Godewijk had however praised Frederick Henry in earlier poems.

41 Cf. Spies, 'De Vrijheid in de *Olyf-Krans der Vreede* (1649)', 201 en Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, 258-259.
42 On this subject, see also Spies, 'De Vrijheid in de *Olyf-Krans der Vreede* (1649)', 204-204 and De Gier, '"Den krijg is uitgebannen"', 160-163.
43 De Gier, 'Den krijg is uitgebannen'.
44 On this subject, see Groenhuis, 'Calvinism and National Consciousness'. On the historical relationship between God, the fatherland and the house of Orange in later centuries, see Van Eijnatten, *God, Nederland en Oranje*.
45 Hasium, 'Toe-gift, ofte Een Vreughden-rijcke Meditatie', 709.
46 An annotated version of this poem with modern spelling can be found in Schipperheijn, 'Een Friese vriendin van Huygens'.
47 Van Bouricius, 'Rym-gedicht', 523.
48 Cf. the manner in which Orangist representations took shape in 1748: Jensen, 'Toen 't volk als uit één' mond, lang leve Oranje! riep'.
49 *'Hoet Herder Israels, ons Nederlandtsche Schip, / Dat, niet te stooten komt, aen d'een of andere Klip.'* Van Gerwen, *Geluckwensching*, A3 [2v] (Knuttel 5751).
50 Contemporary authors used the same play on the name of Prince Frederick Henry to emphasise that he eventually saw his series of victories on the battlefield crowned with the olive wreath. See also the dedication in *Leeuwendalers* in Vondel, *De werken*, vol. 5, 139-140.
51 Van Haps, *Hollants Vree-tonneel*, 56.
52 Frijhoff & Spies, *1650 Bevochten eendracht*, 562; Porteman en Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland*, 506. See further Rietbergen, 'Beeld en zelfbeeld', 650. Incidentally, Van Haps did use the term 'the Netherlands' (*Nederlant*) once, see *Hollants Vree-tonneel*, 55.
53 Van Schevichaven, 'Haps, Peter van', 542.
54 Van Haps, *Hollants Vree-tonneel*, 56.
55 *'Had Griecken een Atheen of wijsheyts winckel krame, / Daeruyt (gelijck men leeft) haar hooghste geesten quame / Soo thoonter Hollant ses, daer is vermaart Atheen / Van Leyden, Uterecht, het Groeninghs ongemeen, / Het Franikers niet min, het Gelders, Harderwijck en / Het Nassouwsche Breda (en andere dergelijcken) / Als dat, dat aen de Zee, en dat aen d'Ysel light, / Daer d'Hollants Cicero heeft d'eerste vaers gedight. / Uyt dese sijn ontstaen ontalbaer wijse mannen, / Die in haer moeder tael, duck hebben ingespannen [...].'* Idem, 26.
56 Van Haps refers to the universities and illustrious schools in Leiden (1575), Utrecht (1636), Groningen (1614), Franeker (1585), Harderwijk (1600) and Breda (1646). Haps also mentions an illustrious school on the coast (does he mean Middelburg, 1592?) and one on the River IJssel (Zutphen, 1614 or Deventer, 1630). Incidentally, Johan van Broterhuizen worked at the illustrious school in Breda; he is also mentioned by Vos in *Vreede tusschen Filippus de Vierde*, 33.
57 On the development of Dutch as the national language, see Frijhoff & Spies, *1650 Bevochten eendracht*, 227-230.
58 The reference to the IJssel suggests an author like Jacobus Revius, but calling him Cicero makes a prose writer like P.C. Hooft more likely.
59 On this passage, see also Spies, *Zo veel te beleven*, 3-5.
60 Van Duinkerken, 'Inleiding', 10.
61 On Vondel's sources, see Van Duinkerken, 'Inleiding', 13-25.
62 On this subject, see Smit, *Van Pascha tot Noah*, 453-454.
63 *'Dees vrolijcke dagh, dees gouden dagh is ten langen leste eens opgegaen. Wij hooren de zilvere vredetrompet den vrede inblazen. Wij beleeven het geenwe naulix gelooven, namelijck het gewenschte einde des eeuwigen oorloghs, die den ganschen weereltkloot met zich omtrock.'* Vondel, *De werken*, vol. 5, 263, vs. 122-123.
64 Calis, *Vondel*, 249-251.
65 Porteman, 'Vondels vermakelijke *Leeuwendalers*', 98. See also Porteman & Smits-Veldt in *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*, 502-503, who conclude that Vondel was being cautious. Duits also argues that Vondel was deliberately avoiding controversies: Duits, 'Vondel en de Vrede van Munster'.

66 Porteman, 'Vondels vermakelijke *Leeuwendalers*', 98. He is somewhat milder in his judgement in the literary history that he published with Smits-Veldt. They note that Vondel also saw the peace as a 'restoration of the old bond between the Northern and Southern Netherlands' (*herstel van de oude band tussen de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden*). See Porteman & Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen*, 502. The pro-Catholic interpretations are also subjected to a critical assessment in Van Duinkerken, 'Inleiding'.

67 Korsten, *Vondel belicht*, 137-142; Van der Lecq, 'Deconstruction'.

68 '*De Zuidt- en Noortzy paren/Zich in dit paer te hoop./De tweedraght is vervaeren:/Men leit een vasten knoop./Men weet van lantkrackeel, noch nijt,/Van wederwaerdigheit, noch spijt:/Men zoent, omarmt, bemint en vrijt*.' Vondel, *De werken*, vol. 5, 353 (vs. 2005-2012).

69 Van Duinkerken, 'Inleiding', 34-35.

70 Vondel, *De werken*, vol. 2, 719, 722 (vs. 1652, 1727).

71 Vondel, *De werken*, vol. 6, 625 (vs. 20).

72 Van Duinkerken traces the name to Gummara, who apparently had Saint Gummarus of Lier as a baptismal patron saint, and to Commère, the French for a wet nurse. See Van Duinkerken, 'Inleiding', 29.

73 See for example Meijer Drees, 'Blameren en demoniseren', 230-231; Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic*, 165-177; Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, 100-101, 105-112.

74 Appreciative words for Vondel's *Leeuwendalers* were expressed for example by his contemporaries Vos, *Vreede tusschen Filippus de Vierde*, 33, and Van Hoogstraten, *Vryheit der Vereenighde Nederlanden*, 'Toe-eygening'.

75 Loosjes, *Het leven van Maurits Lijnslager*, vol. 4, 120-122.

76 In addition to Van Haps, Vos and Brandt Jnr also paid attention to this tradition of Dutch poetry. See the prologue in Brandt Jnr, *Op het sluiten der eeuwige vreede* en Vos, *Vreede tusschen Filippus de Vierde*, 36.

77 See for example Van der Heide, 'Vrede-licht'. See Chapter 7 for more on this subject.

2 – *'Gained while holding touchpaper and sabre!'*

1 For a recent overview, see Kubben (ed.), *Ginder 't vreêverbont bezegelt*. The quote can be found in the contribution by Van de Garde, 'De Vrede van Breda en de stad', 44.

2 Westerbaen, 'Op de vrede te Breda', 550.

3 '*onder t hoogh gesagh der Staten van het Land / Dees loffelijcke Vree bevochten met de hand!*' Idem.

4 *Ballet de la Paix, Dansé par Le Prince d'Orange*; *Kort Begrijp der Sinne-beelden en Vertooningen over de langh-gewensche Vrede: Verbeeldt en vertoont tot Utrecht* [...]. Utrecht 1667; 'Verklaaring over de Zinnebeelden [...]', opgenomen in Scheurleer, *Van varen en van vechten*, vol. 2, 320-322.

5 Rommelse, 'Negative Mirror Images'.

6 Westerbaen, 'Op de vrede te Breda'.

7 Cf. Klashorst, 'De ware vrijheid'.

8 Prak, *Gouden Eeuw*, 218.

9 Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 61.

10 '*Ziet de Schipvaert op haer vlogels / Moedigh zweven heene en weêr / Als een wolk van watervogels / Onbepaelt van strant en meer*.' Vondel, *De vrepylaer*.

11 '*Wel op dan, Steedelingen! / Laat uwen dank tot in den Heemel hooren: / Wilt Vreê heur lof toezingen; Wijl, door'er kragt, de Welvaart is herbooren*.' 'Toezang'. In: Scheurleer, *Van varen en van vechten*, vol. 2, 314. The author of this text is unknown.

12 '*Grootdadige van Nes juigt in het krijgsgevaer, / En swaeit den sabel van het hoog kampanje om 't haer. / Manhafte Gent rukt voort met zijnen waterstander, / En leeft in vuur en smook gelijk een Zalamander. / d'Ervarene Evertszoon, die grijze waterleeu, / Gebiet als Amirael den onverschrokken Zeeu. / De strijdbre Tjerk wenscht reets, met zijne Vriessche benden, / De Koninglijke vloot te vallen op de lenden, / Met duizent helden, die hem volgen op dien tret*.' Antonides van der Goes, *Bellone aen Bant*, 7-8 (Knuttel 9524).

13 *'De groote Ruiter prest zijn oorlogsvlotelingen, / Om voor haer goet en bloet ten vyant in te dringen'*. Idem, 9.
14 See the various poems about De Ruyter in Scheurleer, *Van varen en van vechten*, vol. 2, 194-197 and 297-301. See also the paean *Ad fortissimum Classis Praefectum, Anagramma Michael de Ruyter*, which was included in the anonymous pamphlet *Pax Laureata post Acerrimum pro mari libero bellum cum Anglis Egregia virtute gestum* [...] Leiden 1667 (Knuttel 9526).
15 See for example *Pax Laureata* [...] Leiden 1667 and P.G.R.B, *In pacem inter Serenessimum Magnae Brittanniae, &c. Regem* [...]. S.l. 1667 (Knuttel 9528).
16 Van der Aa, 'Paets, Adriaan', 17-20.
17 *'Kom nu mijn Batavier, kroon met Laurieren / De Hoofden van uw groote Batavieren, / Bekrans het hoofd van hem, die in den Raad / Van d'eerste Stad, en d'oudste van den Staat, / Op d'eerste plaats aanzienelijk gezeten, / 't Gevaar veracht, en steunend op 't geweten, / Van 't heilig recht en Carels ongelijk, / Verdelgt het moord-geweer van 't trotse Rijk.'* A.P.R.B. [Adriaan Paets Roterdamo Batavus], *Vrede en vrijheid*, 5 (Knuttel 9586).
18 *'De Vrijheid bloeit van binnen, en van buiten, / Van binnen, door het breidelen van Guiten, / Van buiten door een eerelijke Vreê, / Die 't scharpe staal doet keeren in de Scheê.'* Idem.
19 H.v.V.L., *Dubbele Victorie* (Knuttel 9587).
20 On the relationship between Naeranus and Paets, see Visser, *Samuel Naeranus*, 136-127. Naeranus was also the author of a prose treatise on the beneficial effects of the Treaty of Breda: *De vrede en vrijheid van het vaderland Hersteld en bevestigt boven gedachten en verwachtingen* [...]. S.l. 1668.
21 See Van Doorninck, *Vermomde en naamlooze schrijvers*, 248.
22 H.v.V.L., *Dubbele Victorie*, 22 and 26.
23 *'Dat is waarlijk de grootste Victorie en zegen die wij ooit gehad hebben. Dat wij niet alleen onze buiten Vijanden tot Vrede hebben gedwongen, maar de binnen Vijanden ontdekt, der zelver aanslagen tot niet gemaakt, en haar ook de middelen benomen, om ons onder pretext van zoo een Hooft voor te stellen, en voort te staan, weder in al zulke swarigheden te brengen als wij nu verscheide reizen in zijn geweest. Daar om mag men het wel een Dubbele Victorie noemen, en dubbel verheugt daar om zijn.'* Idem, 32.
24 J.O.v.R [Joachim Oudaen van Rotterdam], *De vrijheid op den troon gevestigt*, 3.
25 Brown, *John de Witt*, 153.
26 Zoet, 'Vreede-Hail', 168. On this and other contributions by Zoet to the peace materials, see also Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, 539-549 and Helmers, '"Onder schyn van trek tot vrede"'.
27 Zoet, *'t Gezeegenden Staatschip*.
28 See Bésanger, 'Ballet de la paix', 333-346.
29 *Ballet de la Paix*, 6. With thanks to Suzan van Dijk.
30 Vondel, *De vrepylaer*.
31 The declaration of war mentions 'false historical medals'. See *His Majesties Declaration*, 5 (with thanks to Helmer Helmers). On the medal affair, see also Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, 543-549 and Helmers, '"Onder schyn van trek tot vrede"', 75-76.
32 Van Heemskerk, *Zeege-juiging* (Knuttel 9523).

3 – 'The flourishing state of the Netherlands'

1 On the material commenting on the two episodes, see Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 21-57.
2 The term 'Forty Years' War' was introduced by the Utrecht historian Johan Aalbers in *De Republiek en de vrede van Europa* (1980), 1. The term is also used, with a reference to Aalbers, in Onnekink, *Reinterpreting the Dutch Forty Years War*.
3 On this image of the enemy, see Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 127-130.
4 Kist, *Neêrland's bededagen*, 225.
5 On the negotiations for the Treaty of Nijmegen, see: Sliepenbeek, 'Historische inleiding'; Van 't Hooft, 'Nijmegen en de vredesonderhandelingen'; Bots (ed.), *The Peace of Nijmegen* and Rietbergen, 'Persuasie en mediatie'.

6 Van Schevichaven, *Oud-Nijmegens Kerken*, 211.
7 Van 't Hooft, 'Nijmegen en de vredesonderhandelingen', 134.
8 The funding for these tapestries became quite an issue. On this subject, see De Heiden, 'De Antwerpse wandtapijten'.
9 See the extensive list of prints and medals in the catalogue that was produced to accompany the commemorative exhibition in 1978: Lemmens (ed.), *De Vrede van Nijmegen*.
10 Both prints were used for an almanac for the year 1680, which was published by Jean Moncornet in Paris. They were reproduced in the commemorative catalogue Lemmens (ed.), *De Vrede van Nijmegen*.
11 'Only the sun of the French gives us fine days / Its power is incomparable / For as long as it favours us / We will enjoy ourselves for ever'. The commemorative catalogue of Lemmens (ed.), *De Vrede van Nijmegen*, 31, only shows the top part of the print. The entire print can be seen at gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b69454583.
12 Richmond, *Peace*, 20.
13 See in particular Lemmens (ed.), *De Vrede van Nijmegen*.
14 See Bosch, *Op de vrede*, *3 (Knuttel 11601).
15 Rabus, *Geknevelden oorlogsgod*, 6.
16 On this subject, see for example Honings, 'Lillende lijven', 135-137.
17 '*De Goudeeuw lacht ons toe met eenen nieuwen glans*'. See the short verse that Van Hoogstraten wrote as an appendix to Rabus, *Geknevelden oorlogsgod*, 9.
18 Bosch, *Op de vrede*, *3. It is not clear whether this is the same Samuël Bosch who attacked Coenraad van Beuningen, the burgomaster of Amsterdam and opponent of William III. See Van der Aa, 'Bosch, Samuel'.
19 Frijhoff, 'Identiteit, identiteitsbesef'.
20 *'En gy, ô Veldheer! Die de wortels en de tomen/Als Heirtogtleider hebt van Nederland bekomen,/Begunstig dit gezang. ô Wilhem! al den staat/Weet u naast Gode dank, dat gy het oorlogs quaad,/Gelijk een landärts, weer voor eeuwig uit te roeien:/De nering, d'overvloed en welvaart zullen bloeien/En groeien door de Vrede, en komen rijk gelaân/Met volle zeilen, ter zeehavens af en aan.'* Bosch, *Op de vrede*, 8.
21 '*Gezegent Nederlant,/Daar Melk en Honing vloeyt, daar Godt zyn standaart plant/Zyn waarheyt, als de Zon, in vollen glans doet praalen,/Wie kan uw wonderen volkomentlyk verhaalen [...] Gelyk een Leeuw, zoo zal Orangie voor u waaken./Hy die in liefde en zorg, in trouw en dapperheyt/Zyne Ouders nergens wykt, wiens wys en kloek beleyt/Den Staat geredt heeft, toen die smoorde in veele elenden.*' Arents, *Mengel Poëzy*, 25-26.
22 Worp, 'Buysero (Dirk)', 369. On Hacquart, who was born in Bruges, see Andriessen, *Carel Hacquart*.
23 Pluimer, 'Op den vrede', 343.
24 Idem, 342-343.
25 On critical reactions to the work, see Te Winkel, *De ontwikkelingsgang der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, 516-517.
26 See the preface in Buysero, *De Triomfeerende min*, 6.
27 See Pluimer, 'Op den vrede', in the posthumously published second volume of his *Gedichten* (1723), 315-346.
28 Rietbergen, 'Pieter Rabus', 14.
29 Rabus, *Geknevelden oorlogsgod*, 2.
30 Norel, *Zee en Landtriomf* (Knuttel 11600); Rabus, *Geknevelden oorlogsgod*. Rabus dedicated his work to the 'government of the City of Rotterdam' (*regeringe der Stad Rotterdam*).
31 Lescailje, *De zeegepraalende vreede* (Knuttel 11599).
32 '*Gints sluymert Nederland, voor geen gevaar beducht / Treet toe, vernielt ze nu, laat ons haar rijkdom delen*'. Bidloo, *Vertooningspel*, 6 (Knuttel 11598).
33 '*Dry van mijn Susters weg, twee deerlijck in de ly / De Seste vreest de vlood van England ieder Ty*'. Idem, 9.
34 Meijer Drees, 'Patriottisme in de Nederlandse literatuur'.
35 Anoniem, *Korte aanteikeninge van Jan-Hagels praat*, 3, 7 (Knuttel 11623).

4 – *'Christian Europe'*

1 *'Europe, 's waerelds Pronk, door woedende oorlogsplaagen,/Op 't hert getrappelt, en gedompelt in een zee/Van rampen, dag op dag van bulderende vlaagen/Geslingert in 't geklots der barning op de ree [...]:/Door 't moordrapier gewond; zygt magteloos ter aarde;/En slaat, als buiten de hoop, de handen in haar vlecht./Ach! roept ze. Wie acht my zoo dierbaar, zoo van waarde/Dat hy myn leden schraagt, en staaft myn wettig recht?/Myn ingewand verteert, myn krachten zyn bezweken./Ik daale in 't eeuwig graf. myn glory is vergaan.'* Halma, *Europe herstelt*, A2.

2 *'Nu zend gy vloot op vloot naar Vrankryks kust en haven,/Met styfgeronnen room, de vrucht van Hollandsch koe/Met ziet den koopman langs de straaten loopen, draaven,/In 't pakhuis zwoegen; van gewinzucht nimmer moe.'* Idem, 8.

3 'Through the peace treaty, we see the sharp-horned crescent moon / Removed hastily from the vanguards and ramparts of Constantine's city, / That is instead glorified with the cross and the banner / Of Christendom, as founded in days of old by the power of the cross' (*Wy zien door 't Vreêverdrag, de scherpgehoornde Maanen, / In Konstantynsstadt, haast van spits en trans gelicht; / En haar verheerlykt met de kruisstang en de vaanen / Van 't Christendom, weleer door kracht van 't kruis gesticht*). Halma, *Europe herstelt*, 10.

4 On the subject of the Nine Years' War, see Clark, 'The Nine Years War, 1688-1697'. On the Treaty of Rijswijk (1697), see Duchhardt (ed.), *Der Friede von Rijswijk 1697*.

5 Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, 43.

6 On this concept, see Kaulbach, 'Pax im Kontext', 323. On the associated concept *respublica christiana*, see Bosbach, *Monarchia Universalis*, 50-54.

7 Halma, *Europe herstelt*, 5.

8 The citations are taken from Groenveld, *Unie-Bestand-Vrede*, 158 and *Tractaet van vrede* [...], 3.

9 *Traktaat van vrede, tusschen de kroonen van Vrankryk en Spanien* (1697), 3.

10 The European perspective was certainly in evidence in the celebrations of the Treaty of Munster, as is clear for example from the reaction of a poet like Jan Vos, but authors concentrated primarily on the benefits of the peace for the Republic. On this subject, see Smits-Veldt, 'De viering van de Vrede van Munster', 195-196.

11 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

12 See for example: Dainotto, *Europe (In Theory)*; Den Boer, *Europa*; Drace-Francis, *European Identity*; Pasture, *Imagining European Unity since 1000* AD and Wintle, *The Image of Europe*.

13 Den Boer, *Europa*, 51-53.

14 Wintle, *The Image of Europe*, 63-65, 280-281.

15 Wintle, 'The History of the Idea of Europe', 10.

16 Burke, 'Did Europe exist before 1700?', 26-27.

17 Idem, 27.

18 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 251.

19 Onnekink, 'Pride and Prejudice'.

20 Thanks to Alan Moss for his help in compiling the corpus. He conducted preliminary research for the 'Proud to be Dutch' VIDI project, which he reported on in an internal publication, Moss, 'De Vrede van Rijswijk'.

21 Cf. Kossmann, 'The Dutch case' and Rietbergen, 'Beeld en zelfbeeld', 648-649.

22 Burke, 'Did Europe exist before 1700?'.

23 Erasmus, *De klacht van de vrede*, 52, 75-76.

24 Erasmus, 'On the War against the Turks', 315.

25 Sneller, *De Gouden Eeuw*, 33. On Vondel's attitude to the Turks in relation to his own conversion to Catholicism in 1641, see Brom, *Vondels geloof*, 410-416.

26 Van Boxhorn, 'Oratie van de vreede', 386.

27 Burke, 'Did Europe exist before 1700?', 25; Wintle, *The Image of Europe*, 243-246, 256.

28 *'Uw Roem en Glory word de Waereld door gepreezen./Gy zyt van alle Vier de beste en uitgeleezen./U is de Heerlykheid, de Sierlykheid, de Pracht,/'t Gezag, de Majesteit, de Wysheid, en de Magt./Wat uw*

drie Zusteren van Goude en Zilv're Schatten,/Van Paer'len en Gesteente in hunne schoot bevatten,/Is alles u ten dienst, en word u toegevoert.' Nuyts, *Vredezang*, 12.

29 Burke, 'Did Europe exist before 1700?', 26; Troost, *Stadhouder-koning Willem III*, 101-102.

30 Lesaffer, *Europa: een zoektocht naar vrede?*, 354-355; Luard, *The Balance of Power*, 8-21; Schulze 'Europa in der frühen Neuzeit', 57-58. Duchhardt notes that the idea of a balance of power was only mentioned explicitly in two bilateral treaties: the treaty between Britain and Spain and the treaty between Spain and Savoy. See Duchhardt, *Frieden im Europa*, 81-82.

31 'Another advantage is, the Great security it will be to Christians against the Inroads of the Turk in their most prosperous fortune' (Penn, *An Essay*, 33); '[...] if the Turks and Moscovites are taken in, as seems but fit and just, they will make 10 a piece more' (Penn, *An Essay*, 18).

32 On this subject, see Jensen, 'Visions of Europe'.

33 At least four texts in the *Olyf-krans der vreede* (1649) refer to the threat from the Turks to Christian Europe. References in the material on the Treaty of Nijmegen are found for example in Arents, 'Vreugde-zang', Buysero, *De Triomfeerende min* and Antonides van der Goes, 'Op de vrede'.

34 Nuyts, *Vredezang*, 7, 20.

35 Schulze 'Europa in der frühen Neuzeit', 39.

36 See also the entry 'christenheid' in *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (wnt.inl.nl).

37 Cf. the observations by Haks, 'The States General on Religion and War', 174-175.

38 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 128-130.

39 Van Bergen, *Vreugde-Reden*, 1.

40 Idem, 8.

41 Idem, 22.

42 Idem, 12.

43 *'O Aangenaame Vree! O Welstand aller Menssen! / O grootste Goed op Aard! O Hoogste van onz' Wenssen! / Verbind het Christendom voor eeuwig met uw' Band! / En houd uw Zétel in 't Vereenigd' Néderland!'* Idem, 24.

44 Paauw, *Vree-bazuyn*, 8.

45 Pierson, *Op het sluyten van De Eeuwige Vreede*.

46 On this subject, see Van der Haven, '"Dat heeft men uw Beleid, uw groot Beleid te danken"'.

47 'Dat beide Koningen in waare bondgenootschap leven, / En elk zyn heerschappy in volle vreê bezit!' 'Gods Kruiskerk ziet op hem, als haar Geloofsverweerder.' Halma, *Europe herstelt*, 12.

48 Hasmoor, *Oorlog en vreede*, 10.

49 Idem, 13.

50 Rabus, *Vrede- en vreugdezang*, 7, 14.

51 Rietbergen, 'Pieter Rabus', 15-16.

52 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 169-174. Haks talks of a 'media spectacle' (*media-spektakel*).

53 Rabus, *Vrede- en vreugdezang*, 12. Rabus's wish would be fulfilled as one year later Lukas Rotgans published the first volume of his epic poem *Wilhelm de Derde* (1698-1700).

54 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 103-106.

55 *'Nu siet men Vrankryks trots, en hoogmoed met de voet / Verbrijseld, Moord en Brand, en felle Krijg vertreden, / De Bloedige Banier, te pronk elk is in rust, / De gantsche Christenheyd, heeft sig met diere Eeden / Verknogt, en soo al t'saem, de lieve Vrêe gekust.'* Snep, *Vreugde-galmen*, 4.

56 On the Dutch Reformed sense of nationhood in the Republic, see Huisman, *Neerlands Israël*.

57 Snep, *Vreugde-galmen*, 8.

58 Idem. Cf. the statement by the Church father Tertullian (c. 160-220) that 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church'.

59 Snep, *Vreugde-galmen*, 11.

60 Idem, 23.

61 *'de France Kroon weer alles uyt moest braaken, / 't Geen hy had ingeslokt. En dus op nieuw geçierd, / Het Hoofd van Koning Wilm, siet daar de Christen Landen; / En al de Vorsten van Europa tot verdrag.'* Idem, 24.
62 See for example P.V.D.B., 'Vreugdevuur over de algemeene vrede'; Steverslooth, 'Jerusalem en Sion', Sweerts, *De triumfeerende vrede*.
63 See for example Sweerts, *De triumfeerende vrede*, 5.
64 See also Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 92-96.
65 On the role of religion in the Dutch self-image in the period 1672-1713, see Haks, 'The States General on Religion and War'.
66 On this subject, see Onnekink & De Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht*, 42-45.
67 De Bruin et al., 'Introduction', 2.
68 That does not mean that the ideal of a *pax christiana universalis* disappeared entirely, as is clear just from the publication of Novalis, *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (1799). For the diverse views on eighteenth-century thinking on Europe in religious, cultural and political terms, see Drace-Francis, *European Identity*, 45-100.

5 – Optimism versus cynicism

1 See De Bruin et al., 'Introduction'. On the commemorative activities in 2013, see De Bruin, 'Peace was made here'.
2 Van Steenbergen, 'Utrecht even het centrum van de wereld'.
3 Jonker, 'Utrecht 1713'.
4 See De Bruin et al., 'Introduction'.
5 On this subject, see Farguson, 'Promoting the Peace', 207-210.
6 Frijhoff, 'Fiery Metaphors', 244-247.
7 See the print by Daniël Marot of the peace fireworks in Leeuwarden (plate 5.5). The accompanying text states that 'the arms of the Prince and the Dowager Princess' (*de wapens van de Prins en van de Prinses Weduw*) can be seen to the side of the arch with the coat of arms.
8 Wilmer, 'Het Hollands-Vreede vuur-werk', 187.
9 A list can be found in Jensen, 'Nationaal versus Europees gemeenschapsgevoel', 129.
10 A shift could also be seen in the texts on the occasion towards a concept of Europe as a balance of power. See in particular the play *Staatkunde* (1713) by Enoch Krook. On this play, see: Jensen, 'Visions of Europe', 173-177 and Van der Haven, 'Theatres of War and Diplomacy', 185-186, 195.
11 See in order Halma, *Vredezang* (Knuttel 16184); De Groot, *Vreedezang* and Spinniker, *Zeege der vrede*.
12 Cf. Jensen, 'Visions of Europe'. This does not cover the category of satirical poems.
13 On these typically Dutch clichéd images in seventeenth-century literature, see Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen*, 72-78. Some examples from 1713: Van den Burg, *Herderszang op de vrede*, Huydecoper, *Herderszang op den vrede*, and Prudenter, *De vrede*.
14 *'Wie Neêrlands Tuinleeuw, als hy slaapt komt aan te randen, / Spilt vrugteloos zyn kracht, en vlugt altyd met schanden.'* Van den Burg, *Herderszang*, 14.
15 *'Men roeme uw doen O Leeuwendal! [...] Juigt Herders juigt aan de Maas en Rijn: / Juigt alle die in Neerland zijn [...] Het Twistvuur is gedooft, 't is Vrede in onze dagen.'* Schróder, *Leeuwendal*, A4.
16 *'In 't midden van uw zeegepralen, / Zoo draa uw vyandt smeekt om vreê, / Steekt gy het lemmer in de scheê, / En zet uw moedt en krachten palen. / Wie prys die deugdt niet ongevergt, / En zegt; dit's de aart der Batavieren, / Zy missen nooit de lauwerieren, / Maar plukken ze nooit dan getergt.'* De Bye, *Vredezang* (Knuttel 16181).
17 Idem, B2, B3.
18 Onnekink & De Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht*, 74-75.
19 Little is known about the author, Jacobus de Groot. It is for example not clear whether this is the same Jacobus de Groot (1696-1750) who went on to become a church minister

in Utrecht or whether he was also the author of the tragedy *Eugenia* (1713). That is certainly far from unthinkable given the strong Protestant tone of his peace poem.

20 *'Daar gaat het woeden aan, met knarssen, houwen, kerven / Op bekkeneelen, met den blanken helm bedekt, / Op handen, armen, of op schouders, die, als scherven, / Flux scheuren van den romp, zielbraakende uitgestrekt. / Hier boortmen door het hart, door longe, buik en darmen, / Daar maait men eenen oogst van beenen door het staal; / Alom verspreidt de kreet van schreeuwen, vloeken, karmen, / Terwyl men onverpoost dingt om den zegepraal.'* Halma, *Vredezang*, 12.

21 *'Doch eenmaal schynt het tydt dien droeven toon te staaken, / Terwyl het vredeheil nu versch ontloken is, / Gelyk een frische bloem, die d'oogen kan vermaaken, / By heldren uchtenstondt, na zwarte duisternis'*. Idem, 20.

22 For the trope of the golden era in seventeenth-century (peace) texts, see Melissen, 'De heedendaagse Goude-eeuw'.

23 Cf. other writings by Halma in which he advocated the authority of a stadholder: Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 284.

24 On this much-used discourse, see: Huisman, *Neerlands Israël* and Ihalainen, *Protestant Nations Redefined*.

25 Van der Malen, *Olyfkrans*; De Wier, *Pligtsbetragting*.

26 Poot, *Rampen van het vredejaer* (Knuttel 16195).

27 Halma, *Godts wraakzwaardt* (Knuttel 16233).

28 *'Jaagt elk om 't vlytigst, als het allerhoogste goed, / Naar vaste vrede met uw' God, en uw gemoed. / Zo word u de aardse vreê, den loop van alle uw'dagen, / Een' bron van waar geluk, en vreugde, en welbehaage, / En leid u naar 't genot der vrede, die, bereid / In 't hemels vrede-ryk, duurt tot in de eeuwigheid.'* Spinniker, *Zeege der vrede*, 1713, 20.

29 For some more critical comments, see Frijhoff, 'Utrechts vreugdevuur', 15-18.

30 *'Ik zie het flikkerende stael. / Ik zie een'oegst van rompen vallen, / terwyl my 't bloet in d'oogen spat.'* Zeeus, *De klagende Rynstroom*, 4.

31 Idem, 8.

32 For the manuscript, see Anonymous, *Op de Vrede* [...] (Knuttel, 16192). The printed version, which is cited here, is published as the last poem and with a different title ('Gezichtzang op de vrede') in P.D.B. & L.V.W., *Vredevreugd*. This compilation is also discussed in Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 265.

33 *'Duuw Palinuur, het roer in Ly, Wilt gy den Hulk van 't Land behoeden, Mistrouw deez wreede Vrede vry, [...] Daar schuilt, daar schuilt een snood vergift, Waak dan, ô Neêrland! waak met 't lemmer uit de scheê Dit spooksel is geen Vreê.'* Anonymous, 'Gezichtzang op de vrede'.

34 Van der Aa, 'Gijsen, Jan van', 597.

35 For a discussion of Van Gysen's personal input in his journalistic work, see Beentjes, '…En de man hiet Jan van Gyzen'.

36 Van Gysen, *De Vreeden op haar zeegen, en Mars in een rolwagen*, 12.

37 Heemskerck Düker, 'De "Pottebakkers Huur-Galey"', 86.

38 See Heemskerck Düker, 'De "Pottebakkers Huur-Galey"', 89.

39 *'O soete Vrede, troost en heul van myn verlangen, / Ik blyf, verlieft op 't soet aan uwe tepels hangen.'* Van Oort, *Vreede-toorts*, 58 (Knuttel 16185).

40 See the entries for 'sprinkhaan' and 'grillig' in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (wnt.inl.nl).

41 *'Vlieg, Grillo, Grillo, vlieg: basuyn door d'hele werreld: Basuyn een Vretriomf, so gloriryk beperreld, Bestikt en geborduurd met zegekranssen, dat Europe nimmermeer roemryker heeft omvat. Vlieg so verr', als de sucht heeft van Bourbon gevlogen, Om 't onversaed'lyk hert, trots door het groot vermogen, Met nog een fijner en een ruymer lugt te voên.'* Van Oort, *Vreede-toorts*, 1.

42 The opening of Homer's *The Iliad* quoted here is from the 1987 translation by Martin Hammond.

43 *'So kraekt, so waggeld, ja so stort de Fransze zuyl.'* Van Oort, *Vreede-toorts*, 2.

44 *'Hy heeft die schoone Tanne alleenig niet verkragt, / Voorts kreeg den Bogger lust, / heel Luykerland t'onteeren, / En 't Ceulse Nonnetje te grijpen bij de veeren.'* Idem, 4.

45 *'Hy veegt zyn agterst aen de Rijswijkze tractaten: / De Hoofdstad is sijn buut, die smijt hy vol soldaten, / Daer word het kermen een Hertogin belacht, / Die vast van uur tot uur een jong Lorijntje wacht'* Idem, 10.
46 On the *Europische Mercurius*, see Koopmans, 'De presentatie van het nieuws'.
47 I have Teun Abbenhuis to thank for this information; in a PhD thesis from 1966 entitled *Vier heldendichten van Lucas Schermer (1688-1711),* he carried out a systematic comparison between Schermer's poetry and the news sources of that time.
48 Onnekink & De Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht*, 90.
49 *'O lang gewenste Son des Vredes, laet de stralen / Van u bekoor'lyk ligt tog eenmael nederdalen / In d'herten en 't gemoed van sulke Mogendheên, / Die met volslage magt de handelplaets bekleên: / Ontsluyt met 't nieuwe jaer de lang gesloten deuren / Van eendragts Heerlykheit: tre binnen met de geuren / Van d'olyryke olyf.'* Van Oort, *Vreede-toorts*, 38.
50 Idem, 38.
51 *'Ook maken ze onsen Staet by het gemeen verdagt; / En seggen dat m'er beurs wel tienmael heeft verkragt, / Door Pierlepompen, en door vaetze kakkerlacken; / Maer, bloed, mogt ik begaen, 'k sou andre koeken backen.'* Idem, 39.
52 Onnekink & De Bruin, *De Vrede van Utrecht*, 55-56.
53 Van Oort, *Vreede-toorts*, 39
54 *'Wat sal men in 't verschiet weer mennig ledekant / Sien leven by de toorts door Hymené geplant!' 'En ider soend sijn Wijf dan weer op sijn fatsoen.'* Idem, 48-49.
55 Idem, 52, 63.
56 Idem, 3.
57 Idem, 6.
58 *'Wat woelde dit gespuys ten tyde Barnevelds! / So kunen Louvestein, Den Haeg en meer getuygen.'* Idem, 57.
59 *'In 't heetst van 't oorlogsvuur, als borgertwisten smeulden; / Veel schil- en pluymgediert met Nassauws erven heulden.'* Idem, 60.
60 *'Voorts wensch ik uyt een hert, met lof en dankbaerheden / Beswangerd, dat den Staet, als Hoofden van de Leeden, / De vreevrugt geniete oneindig en volmaekt, / Waer voor hy heeft gesweet, geyverd en gewaeckt.'* 'Wat wenscht Grillo best aen haer Hoogmogendheden? / 'k Wensch haer de kennis van haer selven wel t'ontleden, / Haer, en haer grensen aen d'onwrikbaerheid gesnoert, / En al d'omsigtigheid van 't katje van la Koert.' Idem, 64.
61 On De la Court's work and related texts, see Noak, 'De *Sinryke fabulen*'.
62 Anonymous, 'Gezichtzang op de vrede'.
63 Frijhoff, 'Utrechts vreugdevuur', 15.
64 Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 271-287.
65 *'Een Nederlander is niets overig dan de naam. / Der Vaderen blanke deugd ging lang als balling dwalen [...] / Rampzalig Nederland kunt ge op dien voet verwagten, / Dat ooyt uw' Heylzon, als voorheen, weer ryzen zal?' Nederlands toestand*, 4-5 (Knuttel 16408A). This was an edited translation of the previously published Latin poem *Belgii post Pacem Trajectinam status. Elegia* (1713, Knuttel 16227).
66 Cf. Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede*, 173-174. The author was fiercely opposed to the Republic joining the Quadruple Alliance, an alliance between England, France, Austria and the Republic.

6 – Peace through war

1 Van Haren, *Lof der vrede*, 36.
2 Idem, 62-63.
3 On the War of the Austrian Succession, see Anderson, *The War of the Austrian Succession*.
4 On this subject, see Jensen & Corporaal, 'Poetry as an Act of International Diplomacy', 7.

5 *Verzameling van gedichten, Van, voor en tegen Jr. Willem van Haren* [...]. Utrecht 1742 and *Vervolg der gedichten, Voor en tegens jonkheer Willem van Haren*. Amsterdam 1742.
6 The biographical information is based on Van der Aa, 'Haren, Willem van' and Prinsen, 'Willem van Haren'.
7 The story of Van Haren's suicide is contested. Van der Aa claims that this story was spread by his enemies to blacken Van Haren's reputation. See Van der Aa, 'Haren, Willem van', 192.
8 On Van Haren's Gevallen van Friso, see Smit, Kalliope in de Nederlanden, vol. 2, 349-192. On Bato and the Batavian myth, see Schöffer, 'The Batavian Myth'; Teitler, De opstand der 'Batavieren', 49-50.
9 See Jensen & Corporaal, 'Poetry as an Act of International Diplomacy', 4.
10 *'Ik zal dan, wil niemand met my streven, / Alleen, alleen het Oorlogs-Zwaard / Opheffen, en alleen de Vryheid met myn leven / Beschermen, voor geen dood vervaard!'* Van Haren, *Leonidas*, 8.
11 Nijhoff, 'De staatsman-dichter Willem van Haren', 212.
12 According to a letter from William Bentinck to the Duchess of Portland, 5 February 1744: 'Mr. Haren's Leonidas raised the spirits so high at Amsterdam – where his little poem was read loud upon the bridges and in the public places and almost got by heart by the mob – that the Magistrates dreaded the consequence'. In: Bentinck, *Briefwisseling*, 92.
13 Nijhoff, 'De staatsman-dichter Willem van Haren', 214.
14 For more on this episode, see: Nijhoff, 'De staatsman-dichter Willem van Haren', 214-216; Van Strien, *Voltaire in Holland*, 190.
15 See the letter from Abraham van Hoey to François Fagel, 16 February 1742. In: *Brieven en onderhandelingen van den heer Hoey*, 5-8, quote on 5.
16 *'Daar MOED is, daar is Hulp. Uit MOED is Heil te halen! / Zal MOED met RECHT gepaard niet altyd zegepralen?'* Van Haren, *Drie uitmuntende gedigten*, 13-15, quote on 15.
17 The poem does not have a separate title; it bears a motto from Horace's *Odes*, III, 6.
18 Cf. Jensen & Corporaal, 'Poetry as an Act of International Diplomacy'.
19 A similar argument can be made for *Palamedes* (1625) by Vondel, an allegory on the beheading of Oldenbarnevelt. See Geerdink, 'Politics and Aesthetics'.
20 *'Hoe dus, Leonidas, wat dolheid komt u aan? / Hoe! schend, veracht, bespot gy vreêgezinde Leden, / Als laage, laffe, en ach! Verraaders van hunnen Eeden? / Vreest gij Gods donder niet, die u ter neêr kan slaan? // Een Vredelievend Hof dus op te hitse en raên, / Om 't roestrig oorlogszwaard te trekken uit de schede, / Dat zich voorzichtig draagt in 't koestren van de Vrede, / Betaamt geen Spart, hoe groot of wys in oorlogsdaên.' Verzameling van gedichten*, 7.
21 As one of William IV's most important advisors, William Bentinck wrote 'the great effect of the Leonidas, put the Magistrates in such a fright that they came into the augmentation of troops, for which there was an universal cry'. Bentinck, *Briefwisseling*, 92.
22 Van Haren, *Lof der vrede*, 16.
23 *'In 't vry gewest is dan d'opregten vreê te kennen, / Wanneer men in de jeugd de kind'ren doet gewennen / Aan 't denkbeeld dat de mensch niet voor zich zelv' alleen / Geboren is; maar ook ten nutte van 't gemeen; / Ja, dat zulks de eerste lust en eerste pligt moet wezen, / Door geene staatzugt, door geen geld-lust te belezen.'* Idem, 29.
24 Idem, 11.
25 In the words of Van Haren: 'They will not gaze at some dream, some idle flattery / To base their security on the words of kings, / Reassured, content and happy.' Van Haren, *Lof der vrede*, 32.
26 Beeke, 'Martin Luther on Assurance', 166-167. With thanks to Beatrice De Graaf.
27 *'Hy geeft het voorbeeld van eene ongeschonden trouw, / Maar stelt niet dwaaslyk vast dat ieder Prins die houw'. / Hy zelf schend nimmer oude en plegtige verbonden, / Schoon anderen die staag en zonder schaamte schonden; / Hy helpt ook andren die hem bystaan in de nood / En schroomt niet dat zich een trouwloze daar aan stoot.'* Van Haren, *Lof der vrede*, 34-35.
28 *'Geen tyd, geen uur verloren! / Een leger in het veld! Niet om uw's buurmans kroon / Te zetten op uw*

hoofd: o neen; maar om den troon, / Waar op de dierb're vreê praalt binnen uwe wallen, / Met d'uitgetogen kling te hoeden voor het vallen.' Idem, 35.

29 Blok, 'Nederlands Danköffer', 25.

30 Schollevanger, 'Aan den Hoog-Welgebooren Heer den Heere Willem van Haren', 35.

31 *'Gelukkig is het Land, alwaar dat Mannen wonen / Als deez VAN HAREN, die zyn deugd aan ons komt tonen, / Ja zulk een Land, Schoon dat de boosheid daar op woet, / Dat leeft gelukkig, zelfs in druk en tegenspoet.*' H. de Wit, 'Wensch der Nederlanders', 8. Cf. Valerius, *Nederlandtsche gedenck-clanck*, 156.

32 *'Vergroot uw Leger; sterk uw Sloten; / Herstel den luister van uw' Vlooten.' 'Wapen u met uw Gebuuren, En, of uw Rust zal duuren, / Of zo gy valt, gy valt dan vry.*' Anonymous, *Gezang aan het vereenigde Nederland*, 14-15.

33 Sterlingh, *Bellonaas treurspel*, 3-10. This response may be a complaint about war in general but Sterlingh was not attacking Van Haren as he also wrote an ode to Van Haren. See *Verzameling van gedichten*, 63-64.

34 *'Hij, die zyn Ziel ten doel voor ware deucht zal zetten, / Durft vechtend' sterven voor de Vryheid, Godsdienst, wetten, / Zo 't nood is, maar die buiten nood / Wil vechten, die verdient de Dood.*' P.F., 'Aan de handhavers der vreede', 5.

35 The motto comes from the *Aeneid* by Virgil, Book XI, 362.

36 Anonymous, 'Extracts of Mr Van Haren's Love of Peace', 270. This translation can be attributed to Boyse. On this subject and for a detailed discussion of the other English translations of Van Haren's work, see Jensen & Corporaal, 'Poetry as an Act of International Diplomacy'.

37 Shiels, 'Samuel Boyse', 174.

38 Chalmers, 'The Life of Boyse', 518.

39 Percy, 'Samuel Boyse', 173: 'July 21, 1742, received from Mr. Cave, the sum of half a guinea, by me in confinement'. This was the translation of 'Aan de Groot-Brittannische natie', which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in July 1742 with the title 'Ode in Praise of the British Nation, from the *Dutch* of Van Haren'. See *The Gentleman's Magazine* 12 (July 1742), 383-384.

40 Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession*, 99-102.

41 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 12 (Jan. 1742), 32-33.

42 *'Grootmoedig volk! Dat plegtige verbonden, / Daar Gods gedugte naam geprent staat aan het hooft, / Niet vreest te staven t'allen stonden / Dat nakoomt wat gy hebt beloofd!*' Cited in *Verzameling van gedichten*, 47-48.

43 *The Gentleman's Magazine* 12 (July 1742), 383.

44 *'Geene Overwinning kan het halen / By Uw getrouw en grootsch gedrag.*' Van Haren, *Aan zyne Groot-Brittannische Majesteit*, A2r.

45 Both letters are printed in Nijhoff, *De staatsman-dichter Willem van Haren*, 381-382.

46 The mottos come from Cicero, *Philippicae*, 2, 113 and Lucanus, *Bellum Civile*, 301-303.

47 Speck, 'Dunk, George Montagu'. He owed this post to the fact that he had actively opposed the Walpole government (even though he was a Whig). Boyse also mentioned John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, in the dedication. He would later play an active role in the peace negotiations in Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) and he supported the promotion of William IV to the position of general stadholder. See Roger, 'Montagu, John'.

48 Van Haren wrote: 'we who still walk the commonwealth / of the Netherlands thanks to the grace of God / And desire no monarch, no prince in our towns'. (*wy die 't Gemeenebest / Van Nederland door de gunst des Hemels nog betreden, / En geen' Monarch, geen' Vorst begeeren in onz' steeden*). Van Haren, *Lof der vrede*, 29.

49 Cf. Van Haren, *Lof der vrede*, 9 with Boyse, *The Praise of Peace*, 4.

50 Boyse, *The Praise of Peace*, 30-31.

51 Van Galen came from Essen and was therefore sometimes called Jan van Galen van Essen. Boyse wrote in an explanatory note: 'Van Essens [sic] and Van Galen, two Dutch admirals, who died in the Service of their country.' Boyse, *The Praise of Peace*, 46.

52 Jensen & Corporaal, 'Poetry as an Act of International Diplomacy', 11-12.
53 Boyse, 'Stanzas', 175.
54 Jensen & Corporaal, 'Poetry as an Act of International Diplomacy', 12.
55 Boyse, *The Praise of Peace*, 44.
56 The French translation appeared with the title 'Eloge de la paix' in a collection with other French translations of Van Haren's work. This collection was published by Isaac Beauregard in The Hague in 1742 and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. See Van Haren, 'Eloge de la paix'.
57 Namely William Rider. For all the details on the background, see Jensen & Corporaal, 'Poetry as an Act of International Diplomacy', 7-8.
58 For an extensive overview of the negotiations leading up to this decision, see Geyl, *Willem IV en Engeland*, 83-100.
59 Willem van Haren wrote this to his relative, Oene van Grovestins, on 15 April 1765. Cited in Halbertsma, *Het geslacht der Van Haren's*, 303.
60 *'De twist houdt op en de oorlogsgalmen smoren, / O Zangheldin! Aanvaard op nieuw uw gouden lier: / Het kind, ter goeder uur geboren, / Is waard dat uwe kunst het vier.'* Vloten, *Leven en werken van W. en O.Z. van Haren*, 180.

7 – Long live Orange!

1 *'Wonderjaar, door elk gerekend / Voor een Jaar, zo ongemeen / Als ooit onzen Staat verscheen, / In Kronyken aangetekend! / 't Korts verheerlykte Eeuwgety / Zet u schoonen luister by'*. Streng, 'Zegezang op de vrede', 288. This chapter is based on Jensen, 'Ambivalente vrede', Jensen, '"Toen 't volk als uit één' mond, lang leve Oranje! riep"' and Jensen, 'Consensus and Discord'.
2 On the story of how these three compilations came about, see Jensen, '"Toen 't volk als uit één' mond, lang leve Oranje! riep"', 7-11.
3 On the stadholdership in this period, see: Schutte, 'Willem IV en Willem V'; Rowen, *The Princes of Orange*, 163-185; Bilker, 'Het erfstadhouderschap'; Schutte, *Oranje in de achttiende eeuw*, 34-45. Critical opinions about the stadholdership are discussed in Den Hartog, *De Patriotten en Oranje*.
4 *'O God, die Ons zo Zigbaarlyk / Gered hebt uyt des vyands handen. / Toen Gy tot heil der Nederlanden / Oranjen hieft, als uit het slyk, / En koost tot algemenen Herder / O Heer, bescherm den Prins ook verder.'* Ireniphilus, *Zegezang*, 8.
5 On the sense of a Dutch national identity in eighteenth-century sermons and the comparisons made in them between the Dutch people and the people of Israel, see Huisman, *Neerlands Israël*, 52-65. On the church, religion and national identity, see also Van Rooden, 'Godsdienst en nationalisme in de achttiende eeuw', 206-207.
6 *'Myn FRISO kwam; en straks verbleekte 't woest gelaat / Der Franschen, die voor 't laatst nog al hun krachten paren, / Om een gedrocht zelf by zyn doodsteel t'evenaren: / Doch Neêrlands heil kwam met de Oranje dageraad.'* Van Sytzama, 'Op de algemeene vrede', 43.
7 *'Het Opperstaatsbewind word Friso opgedragen, / Gevolg van 't Erfrecht, en tot ieders welbehagen, / Schenkt God dien Prins een Zoon, een' knoop aan d'Eendrachtsband.'* Speyers, 'Op de vrede van Europa', 44.
8 *'Prins FRISO trok voor ons ten stryde, [...] Hy keerde, en bragt aan ons den vree'*. Oortman, 'Lierzang op de vrede', 13.
9 *''s Lands Staaten zich, ten spyt dier Dwingelanden, / Te saam verbonden door onbreekbaare Eendrachtsbanden.'* Oursiere, 'Eeuwgetyde der vaderlandsche vryheid', 281.
10 *'Wat heerlyk werk heeft hy verricht! / Toen hy die eerzuil heeft gesticht, / Waaröp de Vryheid rust, toen Hollands bondgenooten, / Hunn' pylen hecht inéén door Eendragtsbanden slooten.'* Industria Dux Naturae, 'Op het eerste eeuwgetyde der Nederlandsche vryheid', 373.
11 The quote comes from Frankendaal, 'Op de vrede', 192. See further Luyken, 'Nederlands blydschap', 207 and Van Elvervelt, 'Eeuwgedachtenis', 183.

12 Jan Luyken, 'Nederlands blydschap', 208; Straat, 'Op de gewenschte vrede', 169.
13 See Van der Heide, 'Vrede-licht', 203.
14 See for example Willink, 'Eeuwgetyde', 235.
15 Willink, 'Eeuwgetyde', 234; De Timmerman, 'Eeuwfeest', 366 and Straat, 'Op de gewenschte vrede', 163.
16 Joachim Oudaen's grandfather had a reputation for being an republican poet while the grandson wrote pro-Orange verses.
17 *'De Naneef zal niet ligt gelooven, als men hem / Verhaald, hoe Nederland zich vormde tot één stem.'* Johannes van der Heide, 'Vrede-licht', 206. See also Van der Streng, 'Op het eeuwgetyde der Nederlandsche vryheid', 172: 'The brave Batavian follows his battlefield standard; / Yes, he swears loyalty to his supreme commander in the field / with drawn blade and glittering sword of war, / To risk the last drop of blood with his hero' (*De dappre Batavier volgt zyne Veldstandaarden; / Ja zweert dit Opperhoofd getrouwheid in het veld / By uitgetooge kling en schittrende oorlogszwaarden, / Den laatsten droppel bloeds te waagen met dien Held*).
18 Stern, *Organism in the Dutch Republic*, 181-182; Haks, 'Oranje in veelvoud', 81. The 'vox populi, vox dei' argument also played a role in the illuminations that were erected to celebrate William IV's promotion to the position of stadholder. Grijzenhout, 'Beeldvorming en verwachting', 121.
19 *'WILHELMUS van Nassau herleeft op alle tongen. / Wie blyft 'er onbewust van MAURITS oorlogsmoed, / En FREDRIK HENDRIKS roem, in voor- en tegenspoed? / Neen, Helden! neen, elk meldt uw dappre krygsbedryven: / Uit uwe Lauren sproot het loof van vette Olyven. / De tweede WILHEM zag, op Gods bestemden stond, / De Staaten vry verklaard, by 't Munsters Vreverbond.'* Van Zon, *Gedachtenisviering*, 8.
20 *'De Neering zit niet stil, de Koopmanschap herleeft, / Die grondzuil, die dit Land tot zulk een hoogte heeft / Verheven, moet het weêr in d'ouden luister stellen. [...] Dus blyve ons Amsteldam het marktplyn van de waereld. / De ryke Welvaart, door de Vrede in heil bepaereld, / Huwt voorspoed aan dit Land. [...] Juich Amstel! want de Vree speeld op uw waterstroomen. / Juich Ystroom! want gy ziet ontelbre Scheepen koomen. / Vier waerelddelen zyn verëend, om haar gewin / Te werpen in den schoot van Neêrlands Koopvorstin.'* Van der Heide, 'Vrede-licht', 216, 222.
21 *'Zo zullen alle Kunsten groeijen, / Het Koopgeluk en Neering bloeijen.'* Capelle, 'Op de algemene vrede', 132.
22 *'Wees welkom, jonge Prins! in 's levens uchtendstond, / Gansch Neêrland juicht, en wenscht u heil met hart en mond! [...] / Groei op, ô eedle Telg! U moet' nooit roem ontbreken! [...] / Dan zal de Goudëeuw, na deze Yzren', weêr herleven! / Dan zult ge aan Nederland zyn' ouden luister geven!'* Van der Heide, 'Eeuwgetyde', 115.
23 *'ô Groote FRISO! [...] God wille u onderschragen / In 't wigtig Staatsbewind door zyn geduchte hand! / Dat we onder uw bestier een gouden Eeuw zien bloejen / Gelyk toen Davids Zoon op Is'rëls Ryksstroon blonk!'* De Jong, 'Op de langgewenschte vrede', 23-24.
24 Valckenaer, *Redevoering*, 21.
25 Schepper & De Vet, 'De herdenking van de Vrede van Munster in 1748 en 1948', 18-19.
26 Valckenaer, *Redevoering*, 40.
27 *'O volk! ô Neêrlands volk! weleer in lof verbreid, / Als deugdzaam, deftig, vry van trots- en dubbelheid, / Godsdienstig, dapper, spaar- en werkzaam, traag tot muiten; / Ach! wie in deezen tyd, wie kan met waarheid stuiten / Den blaam, u opgelegd, van al het tegendeel? / Men ziet uw' bloem verwelkt, men ziet een' dorren steel. / Gy, daarge in vroom gedrag ten voorbeelde elk mogt strekken, / Zyt erger thans, dan zy wier feilen u bevlekken. / Welke ondeugd is bekend, in 't bygelegen Land, / Die hier geen' ingang vond, en toenam hand voor hand? / Wat overdaad! wat pracht! Wat dertele oneerlykheden! / Der Franschen zonden zyn de Nederlandsche zeden.'* Van Zon, *Gedachtenisviering*, 6-7.
28 Wilschut, *De tijd van pruiken en revoluties*, 91-94.
29 Jongenelen, 'Vuile boeken maken vuile handen'. Heersink has a different opinion. He says that Amsterdam actually had a pragmatic, indulgent policy in the period 1746 to 1751, and only eight cases of censorship are known. See Heersink, 'Onder druk van de censuur'.
30 'Leonidas, De Hollandsche Leeuw'. In: *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel*, vol. 1, i-viii.

31 *'Men roemt de Vryheid als voor honderd jaar gebooren / Men had met meerder Recht aan zyne dood gedacht, / Wyl zy in 't Vreede Jaar voor Eeuwig ging verlooren.'* 'Op het eeugety van Neerlands Vryheid. Geviert op den Juny 1748'. In: *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel*, vol. 2, 265.
32 'Het ongelukkig sterfgeval', 'De groote graf-tombe', 'De stervende vryheid, verkwikt en getroost'. In: *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel*, vol. 1, 172-175.
33 'Aan de dichteren en dichteresse, Van het Eeuwgety 1748 van Neerlands vryheid'. In: *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel*, vol.2, 264-265.
34 'Vaderlandsche Gedenk-spiegel Van 't Eeuw-getydig Schrikkel-Jaar 1748'. In: *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel* vol. 1, 158-171.
35 Joachim Oudaen, a supporter of William IV, sold Oldenbarnevelt's stick to the burgomaster of The Hague, Jan Hudde Dedel, for sixteen ducats. On this subject, see the series of poems in *Dichtkundig Praal-Tooneel* vol. 2, 276-292.
36 Van Beaumont, 'De olyf-krans der vréde', 16.
37 Veldhoven, *Vrede-zang*, 5.
38 *''t Landt wordt alöm beroert; men Vegt nu met elkander; / O allernaarst gezicht! Den Een' Vermoord den ander! / Waar wil dit heen! (ô smart!) waar op de Vyandt loert, / 't Landt wordt alöm beroert!'* Boskoop, *Neerlandts herstelde luister*, 9.
39 The title of the play by Pater refers to *Leeuwendalers,* the peace play that Joost van den Vondel penned in 1647 to mark the imminent Treaty of Munster. There are few similarities, though, in its content.
40 *'Door Tweedragt is uw Staat van tyd tot tyd vervallen / Door my, door Eendragt kan alleen een Land bestaan.'* Pater, *Leeuwendaal hersteld*, 15.
41 Idem, 23-24.
42 *'Men zal de Stad met alle magt verweeren, / Maar uw vermeetelheid eerst straffen naar waardy [...] Sleep weg dien snooden. Dat hy straks gekerkerd zy.'* Idem, 29.
43 *'Daar hoort men Frisoos naam tot aan 't gesternte reyzen / Dog dat hy sulks verdient dat kan geen mensch bewyzen.'* Anonymous, 'Op het zinspel genaamt Leeuwendaal', 110.
44 A similar observation is made in Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, 254-255.

8 – 'Peace descends and kneels before Bonaparte'

1 On this period, see Aerts, 'Een staat in verbouwing', 35-43, Amsenga & Dekkers, *'Wat nu?', zei Pichegru*, 14-25 and Verheijen, *Nederland onder Napoleon*.
2 On the use of this term and the relationship between the Republic and France, see Jourdan, 'Buitenbeentje tussen de zusterrepublieken'.
3 Amsenga & Dekkers, *'Wat nu?', zei Pichegru*, 25.
4 Aerts, 'Een staat in verbouwing', 44.
5 More than one year earlier, on 9 February 1801, France had made peace with the Holy Roman Emperor Francis II in the Treaty of Lunéville.
6 Homan, *Nederland in de Napoleontische Tijd*, 34-35.
7 Hagen, *President van Nederland*, 148-149. Schulten, 'Schimmelpenninck et la Hollande', 292-293.
8 *Publicatie van het Staats-bewind der Bataafsche Republiek*, 6, 13-16.
9 Grijzenhout, *Feesten voor het vaderland*, 186-188.
10 On this fellowship and this service, see Arnold, *Het genootschap Christo Sacrum te Delft*, 262, 281 and the published liturgy, *Buitengewone eredienst*. For the entrance price, see 2.
11 *Buitengewone eredienst*, 11-12.
12 *'Gij allen, die met ons, dit heuchlijk Feest vereert! / In elk een' stand, beroep, of leefwijz' gij verkeert, [...] Dat deugd, dat eendragt, steeds uw' heilstaat houde in stand, / Zo zalige de Vreê het bloeijend Nederland!'* Fokke Simonsz, *Het vredefeest*, 33.
13 Hagen, *President van Nederland*, 150.
14 Grijzenhout, *Feesten voor het vaderland*, 188.

15 Idem, 187.
16 See the colour illustration in the Alkmaar Regional Archives, PR 1002830.
17 On the subject of the two prints and the publishers, see Koolhaas-Grosfeld, *De ontdekking van de Nederlander*, 57-61. Quotation on 61.
18 Idem, 61.
19 On verses commenting on the Treaty of Amiens, see also Van Hattum (ed.), *Helmers en France*, 9-15 and Verheijen, *Nederland onder Napoleon*.
20 Loots, 'De algemeene vrede', 39.
21 Siegenbeek, *Redevoering*, 49.
22 *'Rust en welvaart ô Bataaven, / Vryheid in uw Burgerstand, / Deugd en vlyt aan een gestrengeld, / Werken voorspoed in een Land, / Rust en welvaart ô Bataaven, / Vryheid, Broederschap, en Recht, / Worden eeniglyk genooten.' Vreede-zang aan de Bataaven*, 5. The poem was written by 'A Friend of Peace, Order and Liberty' (*Een Vriend van Vreede, Orde, en Vryheid*).
23 Anonymous, *Een gedicht, opgesteld tot gedagtenisse van de vreede*. The poem was published at the expense of the publisher, P. Visser in Amsterdam, but it is not clear whether he was also the author of the poem.
24 Grendel, *Dank-feest*, 2, 9.
25 Styl, *Vreugdezang*. Fokke Simonsz published an entire collection of peace songs, entitled *Nieuwe vaderlandsche vrede-liedjens* (Amsterdam 1802).
26 Mathijsen, *Historiezucht*, 40-46.
27 Provo Kluit, *Lierzang op den vrede*, 13 (Knuttel 23150).
28 See for example Immerzeel, 'De algemene vrede', 103: 'That twenty centuries around the terps in your place / Come to an end and cover over your fathers' grave, / Batavia! Your origin, that is glorified in the heroic song of the Bard / Will honour time, before they devour your glorious tribe'.
29 *'t Is Bonaparte. – 'Bonaparte!' / Dus galmt alöm de vlugge faam. / De dankbaarheid schreef in elks harte, / Met gouden verf, dien achtbren naam. / Men hoort alöm zyn' roem verbreiden, / Zoo verr' de krygskreet klonk, by 't klettren van den kling; / En alles toont in 't heil, hetgeen 't ziet bereiden, / Daar zelfs de god des krygs de vrede op de aard' komt leiden / Verrukking en bewondering.'* Tollens, 'Lierzang op de algemeene vrede', 229.
30 See the introduction to *Bonaparte en de algemene vrede*, vi. It is not known what association organised the competition. On the subject of this competition, see also Van Hattum, *Helmers en France*, 11-12.
31 *'Ja, groote Bonaparte! Uw aarde / Blijft in gedachtenis op aarde, / Tot bij het jongste nageslagt.'* Nieuwenhuizen, 'Bonaparte', 37.
32 *'Triumf! – de vrede daalt, en knielt voor Bonaparte.'* Immerzeel, 'De algemene vrede', 66.
33 *'Betaal door deugd uw' tol aan Bonaparte – aan God: Wat eedle schatting! – waard' den algemenen vrede!'* Idem, 104.
34 *'Uw vredelievend Zwaard, gewyd aan Recht en Reden, Heeft alle Dwinglandy de hartaêr afgesneeden.'* Styl, *Vredezang*, 6.
35 *'Bonaparte rukt het slagzwaard uit de scheede, / Maar wijdt het aan de zege, op 't outer van de Vrede.'* Loots, 'De algemeene vrede', 32.
36 Farret, *Dichtstuk* (Knuttel 23152). This poem also appeared in *Kleine dichterlyke handschriften,* including with a translation by the Amsterdam publisher and poet P.J. Uylenbroek, 'Gedicht van Hieronymus de Bosch'.
37 Van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland*, 86.
38 *'Weläan! Geliefde landgenooten! Slaat nu de handen in elkaêr; Weläan! Verëend, het heil besloten, 't Geluk van haardstede en lataar. De Godheid wilde u vrede schenken, En gy, gy zoudt die weldaad krenken, Door tweedragt, die uw rust vermoordt! Verbant haar eeuwig uit uw zinnen, En haalt de zalige eendragt binnen, Die elken menschenvriend bekoort!'* Heron, 'De vrede', 22.
39 Braams, *De heilzaame invloed van den vreede*, 16.
40 Verheijen, *Nederland onder Napoleon*.
41 *Vreede-zang*, 7. It is not known who the author was behind this pseudonym.

42 Hanou, *Sluiers van Isis*, vol. 2, 26; Worp, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen schouwburg*, 250.
43 Cf. Hanou, *Sluiers van Isis*, vol. 1, 103.
44 Kinker, *Tafereel*, 53-54.
45 *'Er is slechts één bevel in ons, dat wetten geeft, / Er is slechts één belang waar naar de menschheid streeft, / Één God, één recht, één plicht in aller hart aan 't blaken, / Één zelfde doel om ons gestadig te volmaken, / En eindelyk één volk, dat slechts door misverstand / Zich-zelf bestrydt in een en 't zelfde vaderland.'* Idem, 42.
46 Idem, 56.
47 We see a similar notion in Provo Kluit: 'Then we are all bound by one band; / And the people, driven by one spirit, / Will praise you, united, / As children of one fatherland' (*Dan boeit ons allen ééne band; / En 't volk door éénen geest gedreven / Zal U, verëenigd, hulde geven, / Als kindren van één Vaderland*). Provo Kluit, *Lierzang op den vrede*, 16.
48 Johnson, 'Amiens 1802', 26.
49 Homan, *Nederland in de Napoleontische Tijd*, 38.
50 Cited in Van Hagen, *President van Nederland*, 165.
51 On this subject, see Jensen, *Verzet tegen Napoleon*.
52 Verheijen, 'Beef dwingeland!'.
53 Jensen & Verheijen, 'Oranje boven!'

9 – Dutch identities in a new Europe

1 *'Vrede! vrede!' Dreunt het luid, / Met vereende stem! / De aarde rust van 't lijden uit: / Kindren, dankt het hem. // Nu eerst leg ik 's avonds laat / Mij gerust ter neêr; / Nu eerst vindt de dageraad / Mij bemoedigd weêr. [...] // 'Vrede, vrede!' Rolt de kreet / Langs de verste kust! / Zuigling, onder 't wiegekleed, / Veilig is uw rust.'* Tollens, 'Het vredesfeest van 1814', 116-117.
2 On the Treaty of Paris, see Zamoyski, *De ondergang van Napoleon*, 180-196.
3 For a useful chronological overview of all the events in the period 1813 to 1815 in relation to the Netherlands, see the website www.koninkrijk1813.huygens.knaw.nl/, which was set up by Jos Gabriëls.
4 *'ô, Welk een heerlijk, heilrijk lot! / De roem van Neêrland is herboren, / Wij zien aan onzen horizont, / De blijde vrede-zon weêr gloren.'* Lelyveld, *Lierzang*, 14.
5 Uitterhoeve, *1813 - Haagse bluf*.
6 See for example Anonymous, *Aan de gedachtenis van vader Willem den Eersten*.
7 Uitterhoeve, *1813 - Haagse bluf*; Krol, '"Het twistend kroost"'.
8 The Eight Articles of London were ratified in full in the Treaty of Vienna 'as if the same had been inferred word for word in the current transaction' (*als of dezelven woordelyk in de tegenwoordige transaktie geinfereed waren*). See Article 73 in *Handelingen van het Kongres van Weenen*, 43 (Knuttel 24028).
9 On the division of the Seventeen Provinces, see De Schepper, 'Het ontstaan van twee Nederlandse staten'. For a general historical overview of the Southern and Northern Netherlands, see De Schepper, *'Belgium dat is Nederlandt'*.
10 Strictly speaking, this is the period from Napoleon's coup in Paris (20 March 1815) up to his abdication (22 June 1815). The more flexible interpretation adopted here encompasses the period from Napoleon's departure from Elba (26 February 1815) up to the coronation of Louis XVIII in Paris (8 July 1815). On the events during the Hundred Days, see Schom, *One Hundred Days*.
11 Zamoyski, *De ondergang van Napoleon*, 440, 453.
12 *The Early Modern Pamphlets Online* is a digital collection that can be accessed through the website of the National Library of the Netherlands: www.kb.nl.
13 Some additional hits were found via Saalmink, *Nederlandse Bibliografie 1801-1832*.
14 On the formation of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, see Van Sas, *Onze Natuurlijkste Bondgenoot*, 55-112. On the role of Von Gagern at the Congress of Vienna, see Hundt,

Die mindermächtigen deutschen Staaten. Specifically on Von Gagern's relations with William I, see De Graaf, 'Second-tier Diplomacy'.

15 *Actes du Congrès de Vienne*, 213. The Eight Articles of London are included in this publication as an appendix. On the final stage of the negotiations, see Zamoyski, *De ondergang van Napoleon*, 432-460. For a general overview of the Congress of Vienna, see also Duchhardt, *Der Wiener Kongress*.

16 On these measures, see the protest penned by Schilderman, *Le cri de l'opression*, 4-7 (Knuttel 24081). On the Language Decree and some responses to it in the South, see Weijermars, *Stiefbroeders*, 17-48.

17 De Graaf, 'Second-tier Diplomacy', 557-559. See also Van Sas, *Onze Natuurlijkste Bondgenoot*, 102-103. Van Sas notes that in practice it was largely Clancarty who defended the Dutch interests.

18 Koch, *Koning Willem I*, 276-277.

19 François & Schulze, 'Das emotionale Fundament der Nationen'.

20 Nation-building from a cultural perspective is the main theme in Leerssen, *The Cultivation of Culture* and Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe*.

21 Stengers, *Les racines de la Belgique*, 101.

22 On this process of cultural transfer, see Deseure, *Onhoudbaar verleden*.

23 Koolhaas-Grosfeld, 'Een reisboek', 50-53. See also Dubois, *L'invention de la Belgique*, 133-143.

24 Meijer Drees, '"Vechten voor het vaderland"'; Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, 115-145.

25 Jensen, 'De Gouden Eeuw als ijkpunt' and Jensen, *Verzet tegen Napoleon*.

26 On this subject, see Verheijen, 'Beef dwingeland!' and Jensen, 'Lokale en nationale feestvreugde'.

27 Krol, 'Verdienste blinkt op Neêrlands troon'.

28 Price, *Napoleon*, 251.

29 On the difficult position in which Talleyrand found himself, see Gabriëls, 'Diplomatie van de duivel'.

30 *'De vuist der fiere bondgenooten, / Voert, voor der volken regt, nog 't zwaard. / Welaan! 't verraadlijk bloed vergoten; / Den balling 't staal in 't hart gestoten! / Dat staal blijft eeuwig eerbied waard.' [...] Vliegt ten strijd, o dierbre Zonen!'* Moens, *Bij het intrekken van Napoleon*, 6 (Knuttel 23994).

31 Van Pellecom, *Wapenkreet*, 6-7.

32 Van Oordt, *Vaderlandsche wapenkreet*, 6 (Knuttel 24021).

33 Dassevael, *Aan mijne landgenooten*, 16.

34 See for example Wierdsma, *Opwekking* (Knuttel 24027).

35 T.[ollens, H.], *Aan de Nederlanders* (Knuttel 24005, dated April 1815). See also: Tollens, *Vaderlandsch Krijgslied* (Knuttel 24024A) and Tollens, *Vaderlandsche wapenkreet* (Knuttel 24022B).

36 *'Komt, fluks de wapens van den wand! Het is de strijd voor 't Vaderland, / Voor God en voor den Koning!!'* Van Pellecom, *Wapenkreet*, 15 (Knuttel 24023).

37 See for example J. Baars, *Het juichend Vlissingen*; Anonymous, *Lied voor de Vriesche vrijwillige jagers* (Knuttel 24007A); Wierdsma, *Opwekking*; Bakker, *Aan zijne landgenooten* (Knuttel 23999) and Karsenbergh, *Iets aan mijne landgenooten* (Knuttel 24003).

38 Prototypical examples are Des Amorie van der Hoeven, *Juichtoon bij de komst van Z.M. den Koning* (Knuttel 24199) and Vosmaer, *Lierzang op de verheffing der Nederlanden tot een koninkrijk*. Both poems applaud the proclamation of William as king purely from a Northern Netherlands perspective.

39 *'De roem van Nederlands banieren, / Ontrold om weêr te zegevieren, / Verheft zich voor 't Bourgondisch Kruis. / De wijze Nazaat van Oranje, / Dien temmer van 't geweld van Spanje, / Verkrijgt de regten van mijn Huis.'* Van 's Gravenweert, *De schim van Keizer Karel den Vijfden*, 5. The poem is dated 22 March 1815 (Knuttel 24127).

40 De Graaf, 'Second-tier Diplomacy', 555-557, 561.

41 The term comes from Joep Leerssen. See Leerssen, 'De Nederlandse natie', 323.

42 *'Wat eens der Eedlen moed voor Neêrlands rust bestond, / Ook wij beschermen thans den Vaderlandschen grond.'* Van 's Gravenweert, *Het verbond der edelen*, 13. This poem is dated 27 March 1815 (Knuttel 24127).

43 *'Verzelt den Belgen en Bataven / In 't strijden voor hun Vorst en Land.'* Vaderlander, *Stryd!* (Knuttel 24007, dated 19 April 1815).

44 *'Help God! – beziel, versterk den Grooten Alexander! / Help Oostenrijk! – Germaan! Den eedlen Pruisischen Brith! / Slaa aller Vorsten hand onschroefbaar in elkander; / Tot het bereiken van uw heilig doel en wit: / Zóó strijde en Belg! Bataav! Met hunnen Oranje Koning! / Tot steun van Nederland eendrachtig onderling.'* Schouten, *Opwekking*, 6 (Knuttel 24024).

45 *'Gij ziet in schaduw van den troon / Der pijlen weêr herbonden, / Die voor twee eeuwen 't grimmig lot / Had losgescheurd. [...] / Nu stroomt de golf weer even vry / Van Schelde en Waal en Maas en Y, / Wier watren 's werelds schat ons dragen. [...] / Bataaf en Belg slaan hand in hand / Zij hebben 't eigen vaderland. / Zij hebben d'eigen roem te schragen. / D'Oranjenboom schenkt beiden vrucht.'* Swaan, *Aan mijne Nederlandsche landgenooten*, 3 (Knuttel 23993).

46 Scheltema, *Bemoediging*, 15-16. (Knuttel 23991). The pamphlet is dated 17 March 1815 and has a postscript that was produced on 20 March 1815.

47 *'O, dat men geheel Nederlander wierdt! Dan zal geen buitenlandsche vijand iets op ons vermogen.'* *'Nu geldt het Nederlander te zijn. Het heilig vuur ontvlamt; het moet bij allen opgewekt en gevoed worden.'* Scheltema, *Bemoediging*, 3, 23.

48 Ten Brink, *Kort betoog* (Knuttel 24001).

49 *'Buonaparte, die geessel des Menschdoms in Gods hand, zal niet rusten voor dat hij Belgien en Holland, hetwelk hij zal zeggen tot zijn Keizerrijk te behoren, weder heeft veroverd.'* Anonymous, *Waarom vreest men toch thans zoo zeer* (Knuttel 23990). The start of the text suggests that it must have appeared around 20 March, as reference is made to news items reporting on the flight of the French king after Napoleon had seized power.

50 *'Het Weener Congres was nu afgelopen, onze onafhankelijkheid onder bestuur van het Oranje Huis bevestigd – wij zouden nu onder de Vaderlijke Regeering van onzen Koning weldra de vruchten van vrede en welvaart plukken, en gelukkig zijn.'* Idem, 8.

51 Idem, 8, 17.

52 *'Ik twijfel niet, of de Belgen zullen hun belang en pligt in het oog houden, en liever onder de zachte regering van onzen Koning bij het genot van vrijheid, voorregten en Godsdienst willen blijven, dan weder onder den ijzeren Scepter bukken, van Napoleon, die hen verdrukte, uitmergelde, en de dienaren van de Godsdienst kwelde. [...] indien Eendracht en liefde voor Vorst en Vaderland onder ons blijft wonen, dan zullen wij onder Gods zegen voor niets te verzen hebben, en na een korten tijd van kommen en onrust ons onder de schaduw der vrede olijven bestendig kunnen verhengen.'* Idem, 29.

53 The author reported that they had now had eight months of the hated regime (*'régime odieux'*) of William I. Counting from August, that would mean this epistle must have been written in around March or April 1815. See Schilderman, *Le cri*, 12.

54 *'Un prince étranger nous a été imposé, sou la force des baïonnettes, et ce prince a tout détruit, en huit mois.'* (A foreign prince has been imposed on us with the aid of bayonets and this prince has destroyed everything in eight months.) Schilderman, *Le cri*, 3. The word *'tyran'* (tyrant) is found on page 20.

55 Idem, 9-10, 28.

56 Idem, 30.

57 Even literally sometimes, as in Anonymous, *Monument, ter gedachtenis der coalitie voor de vrijheid en onafhankelijkheid der natien*, which depicts an obelisk (Knuttel 240002). For a general consideration of the culture of remembrance surrounding Waterloo, see Forrest, *Waterloo*.

58 *''k Zag dat Vaderland verheven; / Belg en Batavier hereend; / En de Koningskroon gegeven / Hem die kroonen luister leent.'* Spandaw, *Nederlands behoud*, 3 (Knuttel 24057).

59 *'Verbeélt u wolke volks, die zig verwerd aendryven, / Verhongerd, en vermat van hoofde tot aen voet, / Bemodderd, zwart van 't kruyd, gekwetst, bedekt van bloed, [...] De zége van den Belg, naer zoo vrees-*

lyk gevaer: / Dit deed daer oud en jong van ware vreugd opspringen;' Rembry, *Den veld-slag van het schoon-verbond*, 16 (Knuttel 24056).

60 On the different ways in which the North and South celebrated the victory at Waterloo, see also Weijermars, 'De mythe van Waterloo'.

61 That was clear from the preamble to the fourth letter. See Anonymous, *De hand van broederschap*, 19 (Knuttel 24083).

62 Anonymous, *De hand van broederschap*, 13.

63 Idem, 26-27.

64 Idem, 37-38.

65 Idem, 83.

66 Idem, 35, 48-51, 55.

67 Idem, 65, 73.

68 Knuttel 24056, 24035 and 24052 respectively.

69 For a general picture of Southern literature between 1800 and 1830, see Van den Berg & Couttenier, *Alles is taal geworden*, 145-184. For some later examples of Waterloo poetry, which were partly churned out for various competitions in the period December 1815 to June 1816, see Weijermars, *Stiefbroeders*, 52-55.

70 *'Ons volk, die eerst-mael stryd voor 's vaderlands bannier, / Dekt zynen naem met glans, zyn hoofd met lauwerier.'* Rembry, *Den veld-slag*, 13.

71 Idem, 17, 19.

72 J.B.Ms., *Vaderlandsche aenmerkingen* (Knuttel 23723). In this work, he criticised the views expressed in two brochures that had appeared previously, namely A.B.C., *La Réunion de la Belgique a la Hollande* [...] Brussels [1814] (Knuttel 23720) and V.B., *De la confédération des Belges et des Bataves*. Brussels [1814] (Knuttel 23722).

73 *'Het is seker dat den dag van den 18 juny 1815 [...] het Koningryck der Nederlanden door het bloed ciment van syne helden, voor altyd gevestigt is.'* J.B.Ms., *De daegen*, 2.

74 *'de mannen gaen om streyd de Naemsche Poort uytloopen [...] / De vrouwen, moeders all'betrapen zig de hielen / Men siet hun naer de meest en swaerst'gewonde grielen.'* Idem, 13.

75 On Mallard, see Quérard, *La France litteraire*, 469. He also wrote *Epitre en vers au roi de Hollande* (Leuven 1815).

76 Mallard, *Belle-alliance*, 16, 23.

77 *'Snelt toe, onze armen zijn omsloten: / o Broeders, komt! keert weer! keert weer! / Snelt toe, vervreemde landgenooten! / De slagboom viel verguizeld neêr / Snelt toe: u wacht de vaderzegen! / Het broederhart gloeit u tegen, / Het welkom rolt u juichend aan! / 't Vereeningsuur is aangebroken // [...] de broedren zijn ons weergegeven / Twee eeuwen lang van ons afgedwaald.'* Tollens, *Bij de verheffing*, 7-8 (Knuttel 224131).

78 Other factors that have been mentioned are the economic contradictions between the Northern and Southern Netherlands and the lack of technical and infrastructural resources necessary to make the policies on language and religion a success. See Rietbergen, 'Het mislukte experiment', 21. See also Dubois, *L'invention de la Belgique*, 143-144.

79 Tollens, *Bij de verheffing*, 12.

Epilogue

1 *'Vredes zijn adempauzes tussen twee oorlogen in'*. Van der Heijden, *De ochtendgave*, 193.

2 See the list of 'treaties' in the broad sense of peace treaties, edicts and trade treaties at en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_treaties.

3 Once again, it should be noted that expressions of that shared sense of identity could also be found in the period before 1648; see for example Stein, 'Introduction'.

4 Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*, 221-224.

5 Leerssen makes that claim in *Nationalisme*, 150.

6 Cf. Jensen, 'Visions of Europe', 176-177.

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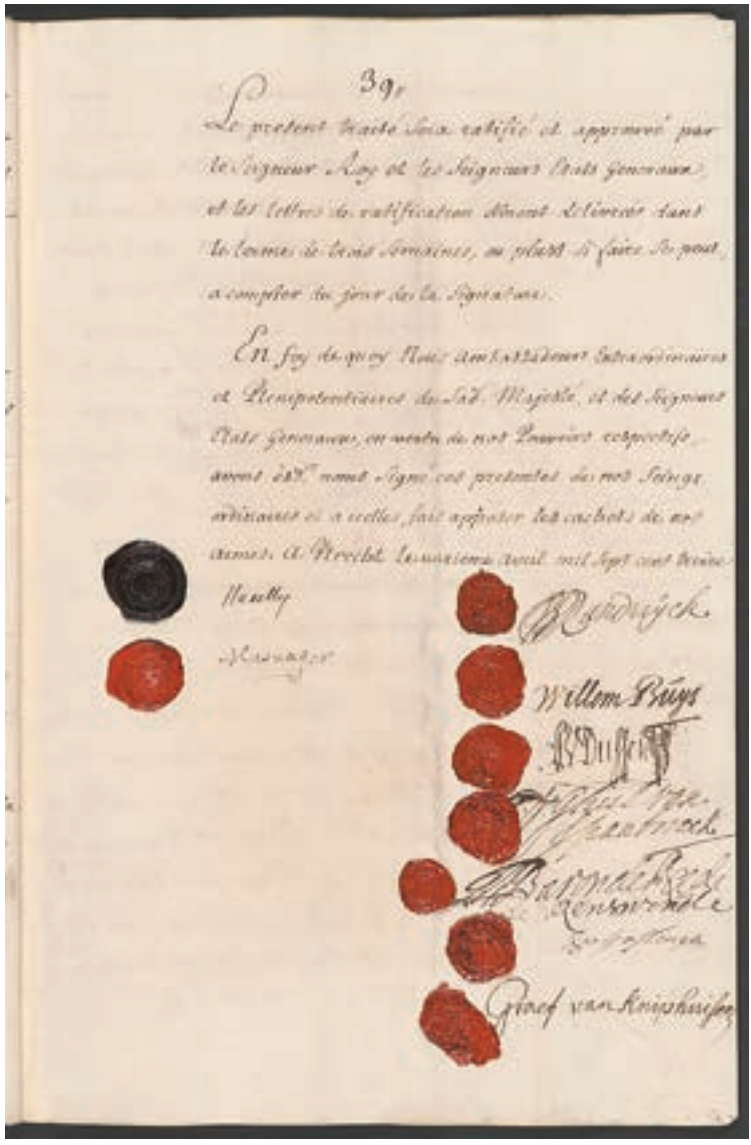

K15 Peace treaty between France and the States General, 1713

K16 Firework display next to the Vyver lake in The Hague, held on 14 June 1713. Hand-coloured print by D. Stoopendaal after H. Polak (The Hague: Anna Beeck, 1713)

K17 The fireworks pavilion on the Hofvijver lake in The Hague, set up to celebrate the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

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K19 Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Austria (1717-1780)

OLYFKRANS
DER
VREDE,
Door de doorluchtigste Geesten en geleerdste Mannen van dien tyd
GEVLOCHTEN;
Zynde eene Verzameling van Lofreden en Gedichten op den Eeuwigen Vrede, tusschen Philippus den IV. Koning van Spanje, en de Hoog Mogende Heeren Staaten der Verenigde Nederlanden;
Gesloten te Munster *den* XXX*sten van* Louwmaand, *bevestigt den* XV*den van* Bloeimaand, *en alom in Nederland afgekondigt den* V*den van* Zomermaand, A°. MDCXLVIII.
Benevens eenige
GEZANGEN
Op de Grondlegging, Bouwing en Inwying van het
STADHUIS TE AMSTELDAM,
Begonnen in het voornoemde Vredejaar.
En eindelyk verscheide
GEDICHTEN
Op de Eeuwe der Grondlegging van gem.
STADHUIS,
Verscheenen den XXVIIIsten van Wynmaand, Ao. MDCCXLVIII.
TE AMSTELDAM;
By GILLIS BARBON, en WILLEM GLA,
Boekverkopers.

K20 *Olyfkrans der Vrede*, reprint of the collection from 1649 with additions commenting on the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

K21 Stadholder William IV (1711-1751), by Jacques-André-Joseph Aved

K22 Tapestry cover from a magistrate's cushion with the coat of arms of the city of Rotterdam, held by two lions. The year 1748 has been embroidered above the coat of arms with its crown

K23 Obverse of a commemorative medal of the Treaty of Amiens with the likeness of Napoleon Bonaparte, made by Rambert Dumarest
K24 Reverse of a commemorative medal of the Treaty of Amiens, made by Rambert Dumarest

K25 *'Tempel des Vredes opgericht in den Jaare 1802'* (Temple of Peace erected in the Year 1802). Allegorical representation prompted by the Treaty of Amiens. A portrait of Napoleon, 'bringer of peace to the world' (*bevrediger der waereld*), in the top centre, images of the Battle of Bergen and Battle of Castricum on the right. By C. Brouwer

K26 The caption reads 'Depiction of the firework display set up by some enthusiasts, under the direction of Cornelis Julianus van Fokkenberg, to celebrate the general peace concluded at Amiens on 27 March 1802, and held at the site of the cheese market in Alkmaar on 2 June 1802'

K27 Allegory on the first Treaty of Paris, 30 May 1814. Coastal scene with the personification of Peace stood holding an olive branch and horn of plenty. On the left a monument with the portraits of the rulers of the four allies in the fight against Napoleon: the Emperor of Austria, the Tsar of Russia, the King of England and the King of Prussia

K28 Deliberations at the Congress of Vienna, 1815. The diplomats are holding a meeting around a table with a large map

K29 The great charge at the Battle of Waterloo on 18 June 1815. In the middle on a small hill is the Duke of Wellington on horseback, surveying the battlefield with his staff officers

K30 A hussar in the Dutch army at the time of the Battle of Waterloo in 1815,
by Jean-Louis Van Hemelryck

K31 Allegory on the triumphant procession of the Prince of Orange, who would later become King William II, as a hero of Waterloo, 1815. The prince is standing in a chariot pulled by four white horses and is being crowned by Peace. By Cornelis van Cuylenburgh

K32 King William I (1772-1843), 1819, by Joseph Paelinch