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Nature, nurture, mythology: a cultural history of Dutch Orangism during the first stadholderless era, 1650-1672

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NATURE, NURTURE, MYTHOLOGY: A CULTURAL HISTORY OF DUTCH ORANGISM
DURING THE FIRST STADHOLDERLESS ERA, 1650-1672

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

in

The Department of History

by
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To my parents
To Professor Christine Kooi
To the Netherlands

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Abstract

Through its military and political service to the United Provinces of the Netherlands during the course of the Dutch struggle for independence from Spain, the house of Orange came to occupy a special place in Dutch culture. The image of the house of Orange in Dutch political culture followed a trajectory of cultural assimilation from the sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century, whereby Orange's continued service linked it inextricably to certain aspects of Dutch culture. Having granted the house of Orange legitimacy as political leaders, the Dutch people went about incorporating Orange into the heart of their cultural spirit. In May 1650, William II, prince of Orange, tried to bully the province of Holland into a more favorable political settlement by visiting its principal cities at the head of the army. The first stadholderless era commenced upon the death of William II in November 1650, with the major political crisis not yet settled. The house of Orange in these years depended on the cultural loyalty of Orangists for support. These new circumstances resulted in a displacement of Orangist loyalty from the person of the stadholder-prince of Orange to the house itself, and a fidelity to the idea that the prince of Orange belonged in the offices of stadholder, captain- and admiral-general. Orangists had strong hopes that the young William III would one day come to power. The sources examined here reveal three major themes in the expressions of Orangism during the first stadholderless era. Printmakers relied on the familiarity of their audience with nature to depict William III as a young sprout who would one day grow into the strong Tree of Orange. In addition to this arboreal metaphor, images of nursing mothers in conjunction with the house of Orange reinforced the notion that William III benefited from proper nurturing and education. Finally, an analysis of the use of classical imagery in Orangist materials suggests conclusions about the social and religious composition of the audience for popular Orangism.

Introduction

Political movements succeed oftentimes by exploiting dearly held cultural traits for political gain. Through its military and political service to the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the house of Orange came to occupy a special place in Dutch culture. The image of the house of Orange in Dutch political culture followed a trajectory of cultural assimilation from the sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century, whereby Orange's continued service linked it inextricably to certain aspects of Dutch culture. Having granted the house of Orange legitimacy as political leaders, the Dutch people (some of them, at least) went about incorporating Orange into the heart of their cultural spirit. In the present day, the house of Orange continues to serve the Netherlands politically, and unifies much of the country culturally. Many Dutch people have viewed Orange as their rightful leaders for centuries. The relationship dates back to the sixteenth century, when William the Silent, prince of Orange, took command of the rebel Dutch armies and government during their Revolt against the Spanish Habsburgs. William held the title of stadholder in several provinces, a post through which he led provincial governments in the name of King Philip II of Spain. William also served as captain-general of the army and admiral-general of the navy, effectively uniting political and military command. When the States General, the supra-provincial body of urban burgers, nobles, and clergy in the Low Countries, voted in 1581 to abjure the rule of Philip II, they continued to recognize William as captain-general and admiral general. More importantly, since the provinces each appointed their own stadholder, the States of Holland and of Zeeland (the States being the assembly of towns in each sovereign province) continued to recognize William as stadholder. Martyred by an assassin's bullet in 1584, William's offices devolved in 1585 upon his second son, Maurice of Nassau, who also succeeded to the principality of Orange many years later. The succession of

the stadholderate in the male line of the house of Orange set a pattern that would last until the death of William II in 1650.

In May 1650, William II, great-grandson of William I, tried to bully the province of Holland into a more favorable political settlement by visiting its principal cities at the head of the army. The conclusion of the Revolt against Spain in 1648 left open the matter of what to do with the large number of foreign mercenaries stationed in the cities of the Republic. The States of Holland wanted to disband most of the companies, not least because they paid for most of them. William II, sensing his chances at military glory slipping away, wanted to remain at the head of the unreduced army. When he failed, he undertook an invasion of Amsterdam to usurp its government. Though the invasion did not exactly succeed either, William II did gain the political advantage.¹ When he died unexpectedly in November 1650, with an heir born posthumously, his political rivals – the States of Holland – acted quickly to reverse the actions of the previous summer. The States of Holland called a Great Assembly (*Grote Vergadering*) of all the provincial states to settle a number of constitutional questions. The most important matters facing the Assembly were what to do about the offices of stadholder, captain-general, and admiral-general. Those offices had passed *de facto* to the next prince of Orange since 1585 and *de jure* since 1630 in Holland and Zeeland (since 1629 in Utrecht and Overijssel).² The Great Assembly decided not to name anyone to the posts of stadholder, captain-general, or admiral-general despite the birth of William III as prince of Orange eight days after the death of William II. Thus commenced the first stadholderless era, a time when supporters of the house of Orange clamored for a return of William III to the now-vacant offices of his ancestors, and when Holland regents controlled the government of the Republic.

William III, an infant, could not exercise the prerogatives of the offices held by his father William II, grandfather Frederick Henry, great-uncle Maurice, and great-grandfather William the Silent. His age alone did not prevent him from doing so, however. Ever since the abandonment of the Habsburg government during the Revolt against Spain, a political faction had evolved that saw little need for an “eminent head” in the Dutch political system.³ The States of Holland, often at the forefront of republican ideas, led the way once again at the Great Assembly. The States of Holland embodied what came to be known as the States party, a loose collection of regents in favor of provincial sovereignty at the expense of a single head of state, in fact the prince of Orange. During the first stadholderless era, the States party controlled Dutch government under the skillful leadership of the most powerful politician in Holland, the Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt. De Witt articulated a set of political principles he called the “True Freedom” (*Ware Vrijheid*), the primary components of which were the sovereignty of the individual provinces and the absence of a stadholder.⁴

The States party never took hold of the imagination ordinary citizens of the United Provinces in the same way as the house of Orange. Throughout the eighty years of rebellion against Spain, the deeds of the princes of Orange on the battlefield captured the hearts and minds of Dutch citizens. As successive generations witnessed and prospered under the political leadership of the princes of Orange, many began to view the princes as a rightful and natural part of Dutch government. Thanks to the right of the stadholder to appoint the regents in each town, a large section of the urban oligarchy professed loyalty to the person of the stadholder-prince of Orange. These regents came to be known as Orangists, and their political ideology as Orangism. Orangism was the practice of acting in the interest of the prince of Orange as stadholder. Orangism received a major boost when, in 1618, the stadholder Maurice purged the town

councils of regents who would not conform to his political program, and replaced them with loyal Orangist regents.⁵ William II intended his actions in 1650 to achieve a similar end but ended up instead with the house of Orange powerless.

The onset of the First Stadholderless period put an end to the type of Orangism seen in the first half of the seventeenth century. No longer could Orangist regents count on the stadholder for political favors, because no one held that office. The prince of Orange could offer little patronage otherwise, either. Despite the absence of any prospect for personal or political gain, much of the Dutch citizenry and pockets of regents continued to express their desire for a restoration of the stadholderate. Why? The house of Orange had become an integral part of the Orangist view of Dutch culture. By 1650, Orangism had ceased to be a merely political movement, and took on a significant role in the still developing culture of the Dutch Republic. Orangists did not just sit in civic council chambers as regents; they baked bread, worked the docks, wrote poetry, and illustrated books as ordinary members of society, too. Orangists during the first stadholderless era believed the house of Orange belonged in a position of political power because they believed first that they could not separate the house of Orange from Dutch culture or the Dutch state. The Orangism that emerged during the stadholderless era signified a depersonalization of devotion to the house of Orange. The house of Orange in these years depended on the cultural loyalty of Orangists for support. These new circumstances resulted in a displacement of Orangist loyalty from the person of the stadholder-prince of Orange to the house itself, and a fidelity to the idea that the prince of Orange belonged in the offices of stadholder, captain- and admiral-general. Orangists had strong hopes that the young William III would one day come to power, of course, so perhaps some viewed their support as an investment in the future. In the everyday reality of the stadholderless era, however, Orangists did not know when,

how, or if the house of Orange would ever return to its former glory. Persistent devotion in the face of such dynastic insecurity indicates a high level of sincerity on the part of Orangists, imbuing their cultural displays with greater significance.

We find evidence for this view of Orangism in the extensive collections of well-preserved prints and pamphlets in Dutch archives. Prints of one kind or another – engravings, etchings, woodcuts – make up the lion's share of the sources for this study. An interested seventeenth-century Netherlander could purchase prints in many places in the urban United Provinces. At its height, the printing trade boasted 247 shops competing for customers in at least 34 cities throughout the country. A full $\frac{3}{4}$ of those businesses operated in the province of Holland, with 91 in Amsterdam alone.⁶ University towns, such as Leiden, also had a large number of printing shops to serve the special needs of faculty and students. The demand of Protestant theology that the faithful read the Bible in the vernacular also created a ready market for many booksellers.⁷ Merchants sold prints in other locales, as well. Bridge-side stalls and open-air markets enjoyed a steady trade in printed goods, while local and regional *kermisses* (fairs) supplied an eager stream of customers for merchants. Collections of prints were often sold at auction, as well.⁸ One did not have to purchase the print to view it or to be familiar with its contents, however. Some printing shops displayed their wares openly. Prints hanging on the walls of private residences put their messages across to all who visited the home. Above all, prints circulated in inns and taverns, where a succession of people viewed them, often reading their contents aloud to their compatriots.

Prints came in many varieties. On the whole, however, they fit into two basic categories: inexpensive, small, black and white prints and more costly, larger, sometimes framed, handcolored prints. A typical print of the first category sold for about two stuivers, whereas the

more expensive prints could cost upwards of 40 stuivers.⁹ To compare, a tankard of ale usually cost ½ stuiver, a twelve pound loaf of bread anywhere from six to nine stuivers. Throughout the United Provinces, twenty stuivers equaled one *guilder* (*fl.*). Schama suggests the average weekly wage for a skilled worker was about *fl.* 2.8 (2 *guilder* and 16 stuivers, or 56 stuivers). Frijhoff and Spies write, “the average worker earned a wage of about one guilder per day.”¹⁰ A schoolmaster or preacher earned about *fl.* 200 each year, and a professor at Leiden University *fl.* 1500 per year.¹¹ Despite Schama’s numbers, Frijhoff and Spies write, “The poverty line for a household in the cities of Holland before 1650 has been estimated at 200 guilders.”¹² Most of the population, therefore, could afford to buy cheaper prints, while larger, framed prints were dearer to the pocketbook.

Each print examined in the following pages conveyed a political message. Any mention of any of the princes of Orange during the first stadholderless era carried clear political connotations. So when Arnoldus Montanus published *'T Leven en Bedryf der Prinsen van Oranje* (The Life and Times of the Princes of Orange) from Amsterdam in 1664, for example, he intended to do far more than simply chronicle the deeds of his subjects; he also made a point of showing that he supported the house of Orange even if it had no official part in government. As far as prints go, however, the vast majority had nothing to do with politics. J.M. Montias estimates that only 7.8% of expensive prints had political subjects. Were the cheaper class of prints included in Montias’s sample, the percentage might be higher.¹³

The sources examined here reveal three major themes in the expressions of Orangism during the first stadholderless era. The first, the use of arboreal metaphors, forms the basis for Chapter One. The arboreal metaphor originated in the late sixteenth century as a simple representation of an orange tree in the iconography of William the Silent. His assassination in

1584 signaled the beginning of the evolution of Orangist iconographic development.

Printmakers and the creators of material culture described prince Maurits of Nassau, the second son of William the Silent, as the sprout of the tree of Orange. These cultural producers adopted a Latin motto, *Tandem fit surculus arbor* (At long last the sprout will become a tree), as their own expression of hope in the future of the fledgling Dutch Republic under the stewardship of prince Maurice. The birth of William III so soon after the death of his father, in the midst of dynastic uncertainty, caused the return of “sprout” descriptions and extensive arboreal metaphors under the umbrella of *Tandem fit surculus arbor*. When William III finally came to power in 1672, realizing the Orangist dream of the stadholderless era, his court, and at least one loyal regent, expressed the arboreal metaphor literally in elaborate gardens dedicated in part to the house of Orange. Dutch emblem literature illustrates a different arboreal conception of princes, as protectors of ordinary people from the dangers of the world. The emblematic notion of the prince or dynasty as a tree suggests a deep relationship between Orangism and Dutch culture.

The next strain of Orangism, investigated in Chapter Two, sought to depict William III as the beneficiary of a proper upbringing, nurture, and education. Printmakers deployed images of motherhood in service of this goal. When viewed as a well-bred and educated young man, William began to appear as a suitable candidate for the high offices of state. Loving care and a willingness to nurse were two characteristics the Dutch expected of their mothers. Despite her personal sense of royal entitlement as an English princess, Mary Stuart did not escape the expectations of her adopted country when it came to her role as the mother of the prince of Orange. Because images of motherhood occupied a considerable position in Dutch culture independent of Orangism, they helped even non-Orangists to understand and describe the house of Orange. In its appropriation of the image of the Dutch Maid, a traditional symbol of the

United Provinces, Orangism in the first stadholderless era conveyed a more general view of proper gender roles and an ideal, hierarchical social order.

Chapter Three analyzes the role of classical and allegorical imagery in Orangism, and seeks to clarify who the audience for Orangist prints was during the first stadholderless era. In addition to placing the Dutch Republic in its broader European cultural context, mythological depictions in Orangism highlight debates over the role of classical deities in poetry and art, and of the proper role of religion in the public sphere. The examination of classical and allegorical imagery as an element of Orangism raises serious questions regarding the accuracy of current scholarship on Dutch culture and society. On the one hand, some aspects of Orangism suggest that Orangist authors and printers were aware of the debates over classical themes in poetry and art. The nature of ideological divisions in Dutch society, on the other hand, comes into question when put up against the probable audience for Orangism prints.

On the whole, historical scholarship has paid little attention to the cultural aspects of Orangism, whether in the first stadholderless period or at other times in the history of the Republic. A number of studies treat the political implications of Orangism, notably Herbert Rowen's *The Princes of Orange* and Jonathan Israel's lengthy *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*.¹⁴ Rowen and Israel each acknowledge the cultural component of Orangism without offering in-depth analyses. The Orangism of the first stadholderless era as expressed in pamphlet literature has been explored by Jill Stern in her article, "The rhetoric of popular Orangism, 1650-1672."¹⁵ Eirwen E.C. Nicholson opened the study of the arboreal metaphor in Orangism with his article, "The Oak v. the Orange Tree: Emblematising Dynastic Union and Conflict, 1600-1796."¹⁶ Nicholson views arboreal metaphors in Orangism more as the origin of similar Stuart iconography of the oak tree rather than as an important factor in

Dutch iconography. The final chapter, on classical themes in Orangism, draws from the work of Marijke Spies on Dutch poetry both in her *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poets* and in her collaboration with Willem Frijhoff, *1650: Hard-Won Unity*.¹⁷ In light of scholarship on the issue, the following chapters constitute a necessary advance in the study of the cultural history of Orangism in the Dutch Republic.

Notes

¹ Herbert Rowen, *The Princes of Orange: The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 83-88.

² Rowen, *Princes of Orange*, 71-72.

³ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, 215, 218.

⁴ Rowen, *Princes of Orange*, 95-98.

⁵ J.L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic: The Politics of Particularism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 114-116.

⁶ Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 189.

⁷ Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, 189.

⁸ J.M. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983, 229.

⁹ Montias, *Artists and Artisans*, 229.

¹⁰ Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650: Hard Won Unity*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, 18.

¹¹ Simon Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, New York: Knopf, 1987, 617; Prak, *Dutch Republic*, 87. On the cost of pamphlets, Schama and Prak disagree. Schama writes that pamphlets sold for 10-15 stuivers, while Prak says the cost was no more than “a couple of stuivers.” Prak’s estimate seems closer to the mark, especially when one considers that a skilled worker would have to spend 20-25% of his weekly earnings on a single pamphlet, if Schama’s number is correct. It seems unlikely that such was the case.

¹² Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650: Hard Won Unity*, 22-23.

¹³ Andrew Sawyer, “Medium and Message: Political Prints in the Dutch Republic, 1568–1632,” in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, 172.

¹⁴ For citations of Rowen and Israel, see notes 1 and 2, respectively.

¹⁵ Jill Stern, “The rhetoric of popular Orangism, 1650-1672,” *Historical Research*, vol. 77, no. 196 (May 2004), 202-224.

¹⁶ Eirwen E.C. Nicholson, “The Oak v. the Orange Tree: Emblemizing Dynastic Union and Conflict, 1600-1796,” in Bart Westerweel, ed., *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, 227-252.

¹⁷ Marijke Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poetry: Studies in Renaissance Poetry and Poetics*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999; on Frijhoff and Spies, see note 10.

Chapter One: Arboreal Metaphors in Seventeenth-Century Orangism

The birth of William III in 1650 occasioned the employment of a Latin motif, *Tandem fit surculus arbor*, in Orangist iconography. The birth came at a delicate moment for the house of Orange. Earlier in 1650, William II, the infant prince's father, had embarked on a plan of political reorganization in the United Provinces designed ultimately to vest sovereignty in the princes of Orange as stadholders. William II's sudden death in November put an end to any such hopes, and the republican States of Holland party-faction seized the opportunity to leave the stadholderate vacant. In the eyes of many, this presaged a permanent end to the stadholderate, with the provincial States assemblies, especially Holland's, now assuming the full provincial sovereignty for which they fought the Revolt. A significant portion of the population remained loyal to Orange, and political prints, verse, and pamphlets give us a window into the shape of that support.¹⁸ Popular Orangism of the *Tandem fit surculus arbor* variety urged the mid-seventeenth century Netherlander to keep the faith in the future of the house of Orange. With its emphasis on the proven virtue of the princes of Orange, their indispensable military role, and their contributions to the unity of the fatherland, the *Tandem fit surculus arbor* representation invited its viewers to imagine William III as a tiny shoot who would grow into a worthy branch of the mighty trunk of Orange.

The Latin expression *Tandem fit surculus arbor* had limited currency in the Dutch market for popular prints because not everyone read or spoke Latin. The idea embodied in the phrase, though, gave popular printmakers an endless store of inspiration that they conveyed with general arboreal metaphors. Orangist prints and political verse in the first stadholderless period referred repeatedly to William III as the *Oranjespruit* (Orange Sprout), an *Oranjetelg* (Orange branch), or

an *Oranjevrucht* (Orange Fruit), to reflect his status as a young, promising member of the house of Orange. Printmakers and poets characterized the house of Orange as a whole as the *Oranjeboom* (Orange Tree) or the *Oranje Stam* (Orange Trunk). The use of arboreal imagery to describe the house of Orange reflected several important aspects of popular Orangism in the first stadholderless era. Portrayal as a great, old tree provided the house of Orange with a strong and powerful image. Prints conforming to this formulation conveyed dramatically how unfortunate events caused the great family tree to be hewn (*af-gehouden*) into a stump. William III, through God's grace, was born to restore the house of Orange to greatness. As a small branch of the illustrious Tree of Orange, William III played the role of the blooming flower whose radiance would sustain the country, the virtuous fruit whose juice would rejuvenate the Fatherland.

The nicknames given to William III (*Oranjespruit*, *Oranjetelg*, and so forth) reveal a new level of cultural support for the house of Orange during the first stadholderless period (1651-1672). Simply knowing these monikers had currency in Dutch culture does not add significantly to our overall understanding of popular Orangism, however, unless we understand how arboreal metaphors worked with other devices and in wider Dutch culture to attribute legitimacy to the idea of Orangist government. After the end of stadholderless government in 1672, *Tandem fit surculus arbor* did not disappear as a motif in Orangist iconography. Instead, as if to fulfill its promise, it continued to serve a useful function in a slightly altered context. William III gained the stadholderate in 1672, and rapidly set about consolidating his position. When the house of Orange returned to power after 1672, the Latin motto experienced resurgence in the decorative gardens of Orangist courtiers and regents. In Utrecht, William constructed magnificent gardens at Soestdijk that employed *Tandem fit surculus arbor* literally in rows of orange trees.¹⁹ The gardens of Diderick van Velthuysen at Heemstede, near Utrecht, however, form the truest link

between popular Orangism and the Orangism of the elite that arose after 1672. *Tandem fit surculus arbor*, in its original Latin form, played second part to simplified botanical metaphors in popular representations of the house of Orange.

The arboreal metaphor appeared first in Orangist iconography during the tenure of William I the Silent.²⁰ During the summer of 1584, William the Silent fell at the hands of a Catholic assassin in Delft.²¹ The news of the assassination devastated the rebels of the Low Countries, whose revolt against the centralizing tendencies of their Spanish Habsburg overlords still showed little military success for all its efforts. The assassination, the first of its kind in European history, thrust the patchwork government of the seven northern provinces, not quite yet what one would call a ‘Republic’, into a quest for a proper sovereign.²² William I’s rightful heir, his firstborn son Philip William of Nassau, lived in Brussels as a captive guest of the Habsburg government, effectively mooting his claim to the succession. The other main candidate, William I’s second son, Maurice was but 16 years old, hardly man enough to shoulder the burdens his late father had taken upon himself as the leader of the Dutch Revolt. An awareness of Maurice’s precarious position led to the adoption of a fitting Latin motto for the fledgling prince – *Tandem fit surculus arbor*, “at long last the sprout will become a tree.”

The Latin conceit had a long history in classical times and the Renaissance. Pliny inspired the iconic expression of the relationship between the regrowth of hewn branches and the rebirth of political fortunes in a Renaissance emblem for Francisco Maria della Rovere, the duke of Urbino in the early sixteenth century.²³ After the death of the Medici Pope Leo X in 1521, the family took pride in the fact that the orange tree outside their palace in Rome alone survived the harsh winter, interpreting the pruning and survival of the tree as an omen of their return to power.²⁴ Maurice’s circumstances in 1585, the year Holland and Zeeland named him stadholder

– a young, uncertain heir chosen to lead a major challenge to the political and religious *status quo* – gradually led to the elaboration of *Tandem fit surculus arbor* as a uniquely Orangist dynastic impresa, a mix of visual emblem and verbal/textual motto. General botanical metaphors augmented the situational meaning of *Tandem fit surculus arbor* by the time Orangists redeployed it in service of William III in the 1650s and 1660s, continuing a specifically Dutch avenue of development.

In Maurice's time, the device appeared on prints, medals, and engraved drinking glasses as late as 1606, by which time Maurice had proven his military and political capabilities (**Figure 1-a**).²⁵ Following the development of *Tandem fit surculus arbor* through the subsequent history of the United Provinces, we find Maurice firmly established as stadholder and prince of Orange by the early 1600s. Maurice enjoyed concrete political and military success against the Spanish, making good on the promise of the *Tandem fit surculus arbor* propaganda. The theme remained useful, however, and arose again in 1641, when his nephew, William II, married Mary Stuart, daughter of England's beleaguered Charles I. An engraved English broadsheet from that year, *En surculus arbor*, published in London, showed two lions, supporting a young tree that grew from a stump. The lions symbolized the Netherlands and England, who, the poem stated, "shall fill Europe with her fruitfull store."²⁶ There is no evidence to indicate that similar representations appeared in the Netherlands.

Orangists after 1650 had an opportunity to adopt the motto for their own uses. Instead of a promising and ambitious adolescent like Maurice in 1584-85, William III was a frail, sickly child whose future was entirely in question. Whereas one could realistically expect the teenaged Maurice to make a name for himself, vesting those same hopes in the newborn William III took a great deal more confidence. Nesca Robb cites what is perhaps the first use of the *Tandem fit*

surculus arbor theme in relation to William III, *Op de Nieuwegeboren Fenix van Oranje. In stede des overleden Vorst den Prinse Wilhelmus Verresen den 14 Nov. 1650* (On the new-born Phoenix of Orange, arisen in place of the deceased Prince William on 14 November 1650) a pamphlet packed with the type of panegyric that would become common during William III's minority.²⁷ "So fares it with my Orange tree," the poet writes,

*Whose spreading foliage overshadows
With bloom in-woven canopy
And golden fruit The Hague's broad meadows.
Though in flower, woefully cut down
With stem hewn level to the sod,
It springs again (my tears are flown
In gladness) like an earthly god.
O offspring of a royal line,
More than thy father's fame be thine!*²⁸

These lines launched perfectly the image of the house of Orange that emerged in the coming years. Orange is the old tree, whose lofty branches sustain the Dutch people with their shade and fruit. All the elements are here – a triumphant house of Orange ("spreading foliage...in flower") suddenly found itself crushed politically ("With stem hewn level to the sod"), its best chances at recovery in the hands of a newborn child ("offspring of a royal line"). William III embodied the wishes of the Orangist faithful that he would overcome the circumstances of his birth, that he would "spring again." The author of *Op de Nieuwegeboren Fenix van Oranje* did what few other Orangist authors would do in the coming years by acknowledging some level of fault on the part of William II. The wish to William III in the final line ("More than thy father's fame be thine!") amounted to an admission that William II had left his dynasty in less than ideal condition. Later writers would ignore any suggestion of wrongdoing, preferring instead to project an entirely positive image of the house of Orange and its past.

One year later, another pamphlet contained an expression of *Tandem fit surculus arbor*, this time in both its original Latin and vernacular forms. Jan Keyzersz. Bredanus composed *Geluck-wenschinge Op den Iaerdagh van Syne Hoogheyt Wilhem Prince van Oraengien* (Good Wishes Upon the Birthday of His Highness William, Prince of Orange) in celebration of William III's first birthday.²⁹ Bredanus wrote,

*Though the child is too small, and growing,
God wants us to see
That thou, O Little Sprout, must rise up to Heaven.
For all who live wish for that happy day
When he may enjoy the shadow of your Tree...
...Tandem fit surculus arbor.*³⁰

The poem also refers to William III, who, “like the Sun (Son) acts on the Dew, who wipes away our tears of sorrow.”³¹ Bredanus, at this early date, put more detail into the plant metaphor than any other subsequent writer or illustrator. Not only was William the “Little Sprout” who supplied shade through the great Tree; Bredanus also imagined the infant prince as the sunshine that dried the tears of sad Orangists. His extensive personification of the tree recalled an emblem of Johan de Brune, *Wat is het volck, als wind en wolck?* (What are people but wind and clouds?), dating from 1624 (**Figure 1-b**). De Brune depicted a weary traveler sitting beneath a tree in a rain storm. The explanatory verse described “the nature of the people” (*de aerd des volcks*) as “senseless...worried from without and within...like the others, full of hate, bitterness, and complaints.”³² In contrast to ordinary people, prone to letting circumstances distract them from the positive aspects of life, De Brune argued,

*The Prince is like the tree, which covers us if it rains.
Once again we are cleansed from our gnawing worry.*³³

De Brune published his emblem one year before the death of Maurice, the original *Oranjespruit*. Without evidence linking the two representations, one cannot argue that De Brune intended to

evoke the iconography of the early years of Maurice's tenure as stadholder, though it seems likely. The emblem does demonstrate, however, that the Dutch audience for prints was familiar with the representation of princes as a strong, protective, shade-giving tree wholly apart from depictions of the house of Orange. The arboreal metaphor as applied to political rulers thus had origins in Dutch culture. The basis of the botanical description in Dutch culture independent of Orangism reveals the proximity of Orangist political and apolitical culture. Supporters of the house of Orange capitalized on preexisting facets of culture to express their devotion, suggesting strongly that their allegiance depended not on considerations of personal gain but on a sincere belief that the house of Orange occupied a special position in Dutch culture.

Prins Willem III als Kind (Prince William III as a Child), an engraving by Anthonie Siverdtsma, with text by G. Verbiest, appeared in October 1652, probably in anticipation of William III's second birthday the following month (**Figure 1-c**).³⁴ Siverdtsma modeled his engraving after one of the portraits of William III done by Gerrit van Honthorst earlier in 1652.³⁵ The uncertainties surrounding William's minority made it necessary for his guardians to keep their aristocratic allies throughout Europe informed of his well-being, a wise move intended to maintain every possible advantage for the future of the young prince.³⁶ The earliest images of William III in prints intended for the general Dutch public thus derived directly from the official representations sponsored by the house of Orange. The princely symbolism Honthorst encoded into the portrait countered the viewer's confrontation with the unsettling frailty of the *Oranje Stam* in a system now dominated by the States of Holland, and functioning smoothly without a stadholder-prince of Orange. William stares out at the viewer, with a gaze both comfortable and assured. He pets a playful lion standing in front of him on its hind legs. The light of Jehovah, signified by Hebrew letters, shines onto a sapling of an orange tree. A crown lies on a table next

to William. The heavenly luminescence recalls the strong pedigree of the princes of Orange as Protestant champions. The potted orange tree and its meager fruit visually evoke the Latin motto ringing the sun, *Tandem fut Curculus Arbor (sic)*.

Verbiest ably composed a Dutch poem to fit Siverdtsma's image, evoking the Latin motto in his audience's native language. Verbiest also summoned the classical figure Fame sounding the name of the prince to the world through her trumpet, though no corresponding visual image appears in the print.

*Viewer hear the great name of Orange ringing in your ears
Orange's great name: So train your eyes upon this image,
Nassau's princely virtue plays in this tender being
And what majesty is innate in the Trunk.*³⁷

To deepen the meaning of the tree metaphor, the poet chose the Dutch word *Stam*, a word that means, variously, "trunk," "stump," and "lineage." When Dutch readers encountered the word *Stam* in association with the dynasty of Orange, then, thoughts of the long tradition of Orangist governance likely came to mind, along with the literal arboreal image conjured by Jan Keyzersz. Bredanus and the author of *Op de Nieuwegeboren Fenix van Oranje*. The text alluded to the widespread discussion that surrounded William's fate in the early 1650s, referring to him as the *Telgh* yet again. Verbiest suggested that the famous Tree of Orange already held the promise of greatness that would soon appear in William III.

*In his being appears the princely elegance
Of his parents, whom envy itself crowns with Laurels,
When precious princely blood had to protect the land.*³⁸

Late in 1652, with an English war heating up, these lines presented a direct challenge to the governing States regime to name William III head of the army and navy. Unlike the author of *Op de Nieuwegeboren Fenix van Oranje*, Verbiest complimented William II and his wife. Reading Verbiest's poem, the Dutch audience learned that even "envy itself" had to admit that

William II and his wife, Mary Stuart, deserved great reward. William III's descent from such esteemed parents merited his own eventual elevation to the posts of captain- and admiral-general. These lines contained also a subtext in their evocation of Mary Stuart, daughter of the executed Charles I. The subtext equated the Dutch republican enemies of William II, who refused the protection of "precious princely blood," with the same men who murdered Charles I in England. Such a comparison would have struck a certain chord among Dutch Orangists. The timely association of Orange and Stuart would have encouraged Dutch republicans to look warily upon their ideological counterparts in England, regicides to the man, and to rethink their own aversion to government with a stadholder. In doing so, Verbiest likely hoped that the fortunes of the House of Stuart would improve, as well. The growth metaphor reassured both Orangists and English Royalists that hard times could not last forever: *Tandem fit surculus arbor*.

The greater part of the text glorifies the house of Orange and places William III's future securely in the context of its past accomplishments. The new William was not an individual prince with mere hopes of power. No, he was the sum and promise of the entire history of the illustrious house:

*Not just one princely virtue or valor
Shines in this young Sprout; but there appears all at once
William's brave wisdom; the Courage of Frederick,
And the martial virtue of Maurice: the Bulwark of our Cities.*³⁹

As a military leader and a man who won a final peace for his country after a long and costly struggle, stadholder Frederick Henry (1625-1647) was blessed with a name that begged Dutch poets for a pun, as "Frederick" easily becomes *Vrede-Ryck*, meaning literally "Peaceful Country." Verbiest's pun served to answer critics who gave credit for the 1648 peace treaty to the plenipotentiaries from the States of Holland who negotiated it, rather than to Frederick.⁴⁰ Verbiest placed the spotlight on Frederick Henry and the other princes of Orange, without whose

“military virtue” or “able wisdom” the peace negotiations would never have taken place.

Siverdtsma redeployed the *Tandem fit surculus arbor* motif in *William III van Nassau, prins van Oranje*, an engraving from 1653, this time in conjunction with Crispijn de Passe the Younger (**Figure 1-d**).⁴¹ In this three-quarter length likeness, William turns to his left. No crown lying on a table; no sun shining down. Several aspects survive from the previous engraving, however, namely the lion, the staff, and the Latin motto. The lion in this later version growls fiercely with an open mouth out at the viewer, perhaps showing the fierceness and determination of the Dutch nation during the war with England. The only text attached to this print lists all of William’s hereditary titles. The inclusion of William’s titles reinforced the notion that he came from a long and distinguished line of nobility. The viewer need not worry for the safety of the Fatherland, for the Sprout of Orange would assume, with time, the titles his bloodline guaranteed him.

Printers recycled Siverdtsma’s engraved plate time and again. Another, undated print with Siverdtsma’s image of William III, *Ziet, des Jonge Spruyt* boasted a new poem, one that unhesitatingly associated William with his Stuart forbears instead of merely alluding to them in the way Verbiest did with his reference to “precious princely blood.” The anonymous text used the same strategies to commend William – his noble ancestry, the traditional and seemingly natural relationship between the house of Orange and the United Provinces, and the deeds of the past princes of Orange. In a strange twist, the poet placed William III on par with King Philip IV of Spain, clamoring for royal connections wherever he could find them:

*See this Young Sprout, sprung from the Orange-Tree
From whom you, Netherlands, have enjoyed so much favor.
That she has risked her Goods and Blood for you
So that you might have a Free-State, and Peace.*⁴²

*Was not his Grandfather Prince (Frederick) Henry of Orange?
Maurice, his Uncle? For whom that courageous Spain
Was just a little fright, defeated by his majesty?*

*They brought these Netherlands together to such great luster.*⁴³

The author expressed incredulity, as well, that his fellow Netherlanders had forsaken Orange so soon after the winning of their independence under the leadership of that dynasty. Orange sacrificed all in the name of Dutch freedom, and willingly. No wonder, for “courageous Spain was just a little fright” compared to the militant glory of the great Maurice. The greatness of the Republic derived straight from the house of Orange, in the view of this poet. Now is not the time to give up on Orange, the poet argued, for William III is the last of the line. The poet conveyed an air of sorrow at the passing of Charles I, once again calling to mind the Orange-Stuart connection that occupied the Dutch popular imagination during the war with the English Commonwealth.⁴⁴ After lamenting the judicial murder of Charles I, “of which the echo still reverberates,” the poet proclaimed the faithfulness of the depiction of the young prince:

*Of which the Echo still reverberates, only a short time has passed
Since his command, brought you so much strength and order.
What good did Charles, his Grandfather, do for you?
When he carried the Scepter of Britain: it is now finished.*⁴⁵

*Philip is his great-Uncle, the Great King of Spain.
Thus appears this tender Sprout, the last of Orange.
Depicted from the life, he from so noble a Tree.
And for you, Netherlands, his service has come to you at last.*⁴⁶

The claim of the depiction as “naart leven” (from the life) rang true, certainly, as Siverdtsma modeled the engraving after the portrait of William III by Gerrit van Honthorst. The phrase suggests an intersection between art and politics not seen elsewhere in the sources for popular Orangism, but of which the garden art analyzed later in this chapter represented a major example. The faithfulness of the depiction paralleled perhaps the fidelity shown to the Republic by the princes of Orange, a major reason for wanting to name William III to the stadholderate. A significant debate that swirled around the stadholderate concerned where sovereignty in the

United Provinces should rightly reside. The princes of Orange had steadily increased their power throughout the Revolt; efforts intensified during the stadholderate of Frederick Henry and culminated in the actions of William II in 1650. Loyal Orangists, then, felt the princes of Orange should assume a more powerful role in Dutch government while republican-minded States party adherents wanted to see the provinces retain every measure of their sovereign power.⁴⁷ The poem closed with a wistful remembrance and hope for the future. The United Provinces and the house of Orange formed a natural pair, a combination only reinforced as the years go by.

*Whose Valor shines on through the passing of the years
With you, o! Netherlands, shall seek to join,
In service to your welfare, like the Father of your Land
And to return you to your old state.*⁴⁸

The final lines of the poem echoed a sentiment found quite often in the pamphlet literature of the stadholderless period in the seventeenth century, the theme of restoration.⁴⁹ The poet suggested that a return to the old way of doing things, that is, of government with a stadholder-prince of Orange as “eminent head,” would make the Republic great once again. The faithful service of William the Silent, Father of the Fatherland, remained the example that the new William should follow. These words must have had special resonance in the summer of 1653, when English navies pounded Dutch ships only miles away in the Channel.

The text of *Ziet, des Jonge Spruyt* echoes emblematic literature in the Dutch Republic. A large body of emblem books survives from the seventeenth century, in which authors presented truisms in pictorial and poetic form, often augmented with lengthy descriptions and references to previous authors. The closing stanza, “Whose Valor shines on...,” recalled an emblem from Roemer Visscher’s *Sinnepoppen* (1614), titled *Dapper gaet voor* (The Valiant go forth).⁵⁰ In this emblem, Visscher acknowledges that “Nobility of birth is a spur or prick to Excellent deeds,” although he allows that “the way of honor also stands open” to those “from modest descent.”⁵¹

The image shows “an awakened Eye in the hand, above a Laurel wreath.”⁵² A later print, *Dit ‘s Welhem, ‘s eersten Naam...* (This is William, that’s his first Name..., ca. 1660), depicts Fame in a robe adorned with eyes and ears, similar to the eyes in Visscher’s emblem.⁵³ The eyes and ears of *Dit ‘s Welhem* conform more clearly, though, to the *Fama* emblem in the 1644 Dutch edition of Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, which signified that the world saw and heard the deeds of the individual trumpeted by Fame.⁵⁴ Numerous poems from the entire first stadholderless period (as well as before and after) proclaim the “Valiant” (*Dapper*) deeds of the house of Orange. Although anyone could achieve greatness, so it went, those of noble birth, like the princes of Orange, had a special motivation and inclination. The use of the word *Dapper* expressed an ideal of proper behavior for both nobility and commoner rooted more generally in Dutch culture away from social, political, and religious divisions. Most Dutch citizens recognized the importance of Valor in this context, not just the audience for Orangist prints. Thus, the notion of Valor, like the concept of the prince as tree, had currency in Dutch culture beyond political Orangism.

A further exposition of the tree metaphor, *Siet hier, een leve Spruýt...* (See here, a lively Sprout, ca. 1653-54), commemorated William III and expressed hopes for his future.⁵⁵ Although the anonymous poet did not quote the *Tandem* motto directly, the designer of the print, Harmanus van Aldewerelt, included a lone tree in the middle of the town square in the background. Even without a specific reference to *Tandem fit surculus arbor*, the botanical metaphor came across with mention of *Konincklyke Stam* (Royal Trunk) and *leve Spruýt* (lively Sprout). The poet first addressed his reader, the viewer of the print:

*See here a lively Sprout of Nassau’s Noble blood
From a Royal Trunk, and Princely kin.*⁵⁶

Next, the author addressed God, and called on His grace to fall on the young prince. According to this poet, only God could guide William III into the uncertain future.

*Store in him now, O God, your Gifts of Goodness
Joy from his Trunk, and a long, good life for him.*⁵⁷

Taking the nature metaphor further, the poet asked God to bestow every positive aspect from William's family heritage on William himself. The Trunk must support William, and the whole country by extension, through hard times. Like woodland animals storing winter rations in the trunks of trees during times of plenty, the poet suggested that the prince could draw "joy from his Trunk" that had been stored by his ancestors during the good years to keep his hopes alive during the dark ones.

Taken together, the depictions of William III in these prints illuminate a new trend in Orangism, and show that support for the house of Orange had become a cultural, as well as political, signpost. The hopeful language in these prints reflected an acknowledged level of sacrifice by Orangists. They knew the delicacy of the political situation yet remained faithful.⁵⁸ The house of Orange, if it desired legitimacy, could not seize power from the regents in the way William II had attempted in 1650. Orangists endured stadholderless government with patience, waiting for the tides to turn. Whereas earlier periods in the history of the Republic saw an individual prince as the "eminent head" who exerted a level of influence over politics, political appointments, and patronage, Orangists in the 1650s were not loyal to the person of William III but instead to the dynasty itself, a patent shift towards Orangist dynasticism. The language of this Orangism was similar to that of earlier periods, for instance when writers called Prince Maurice the "Orange Sprout," but its substance changed during the first era of stadholderless government. Referring to the young prince as the *Oranjespruit*, *Telg*, or any of the nicknames we encounter in prints and pamphlets of the period depersonalized the devotion.

Depersonalization anticipated a move toward a stable dynasticism, in which fluctuations in status and power gave way, eventually, to a position of continuous power. It shows, furthermore, that previously neutral cultural symbols permeated displays of Orangism. The sources produced during the period of stadholderless government are the documents Orangists produced when they could not realistically expect any material benefit in return for their loyalty. They acted out of the sincerely held belief that the house of Orange belonged in Dutch culture.

The outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War in 1652 thrust William III into the forefront of Dutch political culture. The Orange-Stuart dynastic connection led many to believe and hope that the house of Orange would take advantage of the situation and join with the House of Stuart to force a restoration of both houses to power in their respective countries.⁵⁹ The portraits and glorifying texts that kept William III in the public eye remained current, but his image began to play a role in satirical prints on England, as well. Printmakers reinforced the long military tradition of the house of Orange by calling on Orange to guide the Dutch navy to victory against the English fleets. Crispijn de Passe the Younger, who collaborated with Anthonie Siverdtsma on *William III van Nassau, prins van Oranje* (1653), also produced prints of his own which extolled the virtue of the house of Orange. In *Uytbeeldinge van de Hoogmoedige Republijk van Engeland* (Portrait of the Haughty Republic of England), De Passe wrote,

*The Nation that through Tyranny
Will hold fast to its rule
Shall drive itself into sorrows
Through change prepared by shot of fireworks.
It was best to bring change through peace
Otherwise the juice of Orange shall prove it.*⁶⁰

De Passe situated this Orangist directive at the end of his text as the *coup de grace* of a lengthy verse vilifying Oliver Cromwell and the un-Godly and unwise policies of the new English Commonwealth. De Passe claimed that the Republic united under the banner of Orange was all

that stood in the way of Cromwellian universal dominion. Having subjugated Ireland and Scotland, and duped the French diplomatically, many thought Cromwell had embarked on a plot to conquer all of Europe.⁶¹

Where do all of these depictions lead us? The concept of *Tandem fit surculus arbor* connects popular Orangism to other cultural developments after the stadholderless era. Tree metaphors and popular Orangism, in fact, did not appear exclusively on the printed page. A fad for decorative garden art swept the country in the second half of the seventeenth-century, as wealthy burghers took part in a seventeenth century equivalent of urban flight.⁶² How does one explain the ways in which the botanical metaphor conveyed in *Tandem fit surculus arbor* appealed to both men rich enough to pursue the joys of *buitensleven* (country life) and the audiences of popular prints? The considerable output of arboreal Orangism must have in some way reached the Dutch elite, since the political downturn for Orange in the 1650s and 1660s prompted Amalia van Solms, widow of Frederick Henry, William III's grandmother and one of his guardians, to reach out to local and European allies in the name of William III. Many in the Dutch nobility continued to support Orange.⁶³

Johan Maurice van Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679), a cousin of William III who became famous as the governor of Dutch Brazil, set an example with the elaborate gardens at his numerous estates, which William III followed at his own Paleis Het Loo, in Utrecht after 1672, and elsewhere. A pen drawing by William III on the title page of Balthazar Gerbier's *Princely Virtuous Academicall Discours concerning Military Architecture or Fortifications* links *Tandem fit surculus arbor* to the young prince personally (**Figure 1-e**).⁶⁴ William sketched a ripening orange branch, growing out of a stump with the motto *Je maintiendrai Nassau*, the official motto of the Nassau dynasty, inscribed on a swirling banner. Had someone in the family, a secretary,

or a courtier retrieved some pieces of the Mauriceian material culture, those engraved drinking glasses, perhaps, to instill in William III his purpose in life of filling the shoes of his predecessors? The young prince's doodle indicates that the image of William III as the recipient of a thorough education had some bearing to reality. The fact that William communicated the fruits of his education with an acknowledgement that he knew his eventual role of maintaining the Orange-Nassau dynasty would have pleased Orangists, who contended all along that only the house of Orange could truly protect Dutch freedom.

William III was personally instilled with the knowledge that he was the *Oranjespruit*, for without it he would not have made his drawing on the title page of Gerbier's book. The connections between elite and popular Orangism in *Tandem fit surculus arbor* demand to be highlighted for their proven longevity and adaptability to varied cultural and political climates. The same concept earned the attention of ordinary Orangist Dutch citizens as well as the regent and courtly Orangist elite during times when the house of Orange held no power, during the first stadholderless period, and when it enjoyed unprecedented power, after 1672. We can see how a basic idea, once attached to experience and contextualized, moved with great fluidity among categories of society, culture, politics, and daily life. From the top of court culture, garden art filtered down into the behavior of the newly wealthy merchants. Those merchants displayed, in some cases, their Orangism by working tributes to the historical good fortune of the princes into the decorative schemes of their gardens. Of course, the explosion of wealth in the United Provinces was a nonpartisan phenomenon, as was the channeling of that wealth into garden art, as Erik de Jong demonstrates in *Nature and Art*.⁶⁵ Not all garden artists and patrons invested Orangist meaning into their gardens. The mundane orange tree did not immediately conjure up thoughts of the house of Orange, either, even in the United Provinces. J. Commelyn's 1683

treatise, *The Belgick, or Netherlandish Hesperides*, discussed the best methods of cultivation, the geographic origins, and history of the orange and other citrus trees in the Low Countries without once mentioning the house of Orange.⁶⁶ Among Orangist garden artists and patrons, however, when political circumstances demanded, the interplay of tree metaphors, garden references, and political circumstance bound together into *Tandem fit surculus arbor*. Representations employing the notion of *Tandem fit surculus arbor*, in its original Latin or vernacularized forms, linked disparate social groups around the house of Orange.

How exactly did *Tandem fit surculus arbor* make it from decoration on Mauricean medals and glasses to a broadsheet commemorating the marriage of William II and Mary Stuart to popular prints of William III and finally into the garden art of the elite? We do not know who chose the theme for Maurice's iconography. Nor do we know if the English publishers of the print celebrating the union between William II and Mary Stuart adapted the theme consciously from Orangist iconography or if they appealed to the longer tradition of vegetation symbolism, while unaware of the tradition from the time of Maurice. We know with certainty, however, that arboreal themes as they relate to William III had currency at the highest level of the Orange court. In her letter to the States General immediately after William III's birth, Amalia van Solms asked that Their High Mightinesses take care of the new "sprout" of Orange.⁶⁷ In the earliest official portraits of William III, of which there were many in the 1650s, the concept of *Tandem fit surculus arbor* enjoyed iconographical prominence. In Gerrit van Honthorst's 1652 portrait of the prince, reproduced by Siverdtsma, the light of the Lord shines upon the potted Orange tree, and the Latin phrase itself rings the ball of the sun. Even those with no knowledge of Latin, and many educated Netherlanders had at least a basic knowledge of Latin, understood the notion that a small shoot would grow into a strong tree with suitable care and nurturing. De Jong writes that

many urban dwellers kept home gardens in the greenbelt of alleys between houses.⁶⁸ Those Dutch citizens included, without a doubt, the audience for Orangist prints. For those who did not have their own garden, tree-lined canals served as points of reference for plant growth imagery. The *Hortus Botanicus* at Leiden, the *hortus* of Amsterdam, and public gardens at other cities may also have served to familiarize Netherlands with the botanical world. Dutch citizens had, therefore, ample opportunity to familiarize themselves with the plant world and knowledge of basic botanical concepts.

The garden of the regent Diderick van Velthuysen at Heemsteede, near Utrecht, leaves us with one of the finest examples of garden art with clear Orangist overtones. Van Velthuysen purchased the house at Heemsteede in 1680, six years after his rise to political prominence in the city and province of Utrecht. After the readmittance of Utrecht to the Union following its easy surrender to the French in 1672, William III stocked the local *vroedschappen* with Orange loyalists.⁶⁹ Van Velthuysen benefited directly from William's actions, and he did not hesitate to present himself as a faithful Orangist. His gardens directly reflected his personal ambitions, so much so that subsequent owners of the Heemsteede property had to reshape the gardens dramatically. Unlike many men throughout the United Provinces whose political careers depended on the prince, Van Velthuysen did not have intimate connections with the court, though he certainly knew of the gardening efforts of Philips Doublet (an in-law of Christiaan Huygens, son of Constantijn Huygens) at Clingendaal, of Hans Willem Bentinck (a close friend and associate of William III) at Zorgvliet, Willem Adriaan van Nassau-Odijk (William III's second cousin) at Zeist, and William III himself at Soestdijk and Paleis Het Loo.⁷⁰ He probably did not visit the estates personally, but likely knew of them through prints and poems extolling their pleasures. Heemsteede itself, in fact, featured in *De Zegepraalende Vecht* (The Triumphant

Vecht), a glorification of the magnificent estates along the River Vecht.⁷¹ The broader Dutch public realized as early as 1659 that the estates along the Vecht sported fantastic gardens. Jan Vos, in *De 16 Staatcywagens* (The 16 Triumphal Chariots), the print of a celebratory entrance of several members of the house of Orange into Amsterdam in 1659, showed Pomona, the goddess of gardens and orchards, riding in a chariot with the River Vecht and the province of Utrecht.⁷² A majority of the population of Amsterdam likely attended the parade described in *De 16 Staatcywagens*, supporting the argument that ordinary citizens viewed the estates along the Vecht similarly to the wealthy residents in the area.

Diderick van Velthuisen consciously shaped the gardens at Heemstede to underpin the position of the stadholder-prince of Orange William III. In doing so he realized the metaphor of *Tandem fit surculus arbor* (**Figure 1-f**). Van Velthuisen's Orangist garden stands out as remarkable for a couple of reasons. First and foremost, the presence of marble busts differentiates Heemstede from other gardens and Van Velthuisen from other patrons of Orangist art. Individuals in the social circles immediately around the stadholder often commissioned busts of him, but the ones at Heemstede strike us as extraordinary in mere regent circles owing political, rather than personal, loyalty to the stadholder.⁷³ As a politician who owed his success to William III, Van Velthuisen used the busts to confirm his status as an Orangist regent. De Jong cites an anonymous painting of the reception of William III into the States' Chamber in Utrecht in 1674.⁷⁴ The arrangement of busts of the stadholders at Heemstede parallels directly those in the States' Chamber.

Other Orangists, Lukas Rotgans, a known and active Orangist poet, first among them, recognized Van Velthuisen's intentions, and expanded upon them. Rotgans dedicated his 1698 epic poem, *Wilhem de Derde* (William the Third), to Velthuisen.⁷⁵ The Orangism in the

Heemsteede gardens reached wider audiences through the poetry of Rotgans. Rotgans departed from typical garden poetry in that he did not resort to “religious moralization,” opting instead to describe gardens in mythological terms.⁷⁶ In the dedication to Van Velthuysen that preceded *Wilhem de Derde*, “Van Velthuysen’s Orangist loyalty was described in depth and made public in a very favorable context.”⁷⁷ Rotgans had previously written on the travels of William and Mary in 1691, and joined the poet Adriaan Reets in eulogizing the gardens at Heemsteede. A visit to Heemsteede inevitably included leisurely walks through its extensive gardens. The high points of these strolls were the outside orangery, with its busts of William the Silent, Maurice, Frederick Henry, and William II, and the pleasure garden.⁷⁸ In his ode to Heemsteede, Rotgans suggested that Velthuysen’s gardens were a credit to the glory of the house of Orange. He described the gardens this way:

*In the middle of the garden; to remind everyone,
With this beautiful view, how much we are indebted
To their valor; how much the Netherlands, liberated,
Owe their welfare to their bloody exploits of war.*⁷⁹

These lines echo the verses written during the stadholderless period in glorifying Orange and reinforcing the role of Orange in the development of the Dutch nation. Jan Zoet’s lines in *Het Triomferende Leiden* (see Chapter Two) anticipate Rotgans’ Orangist panegyric. Rotgans deployed the arboreal metaphor when he described Heemsteede in *Wilhem de Derde*. He credited Orange with the stability of the Republic and with the prosperity of the province of Utrecht. Van Velthuysen earned his laurels through his role as

*A sentry, during whose watch the people can sleep
And rest, even though violence causes great worry,
A courageous pilot
Who helps steer the ship of the Netherlands
In the midst of a tempestuous war tide
And keeps the Keel from becoming stranded;
Seated at the helm of State government.*

*Who carefully watches over the House of State
Which the Fathers of Utrecht made famous
And toils in the service of the country
(...) Who keeps the Family Tree of Orange
Rooted in his heart.*⁸⁰

Once again, as in Zoet's 1659 Leiden poem, Rotgans contrasted the uncertainty of war with the constancy of Orangist government in the hands of men like Diderick van Velthuysen. He even spoke to the theme of provincial sovereignty, such a heated topic during William III's childhood, which had somewhat faded during his ascendancy. The *Stichtse Vaders* (Fathers of Utrecht) made the city famous, indeed, but the real acclaim goes to the princes of Orange, whose roots sink deeply into the fertile soil of Dutch culture.

A literary concept from the ancient world, *Tandem fit surculus arbor*, traveled down the ages to the late sixteenth-century Netherlands, where it collided with the dynastic politics of the house of Orange-Nassau. After it served its purpose in that time and place, it melted away, only to return in the middle of the next century when political developments once again threatened the dynastic security of the Orange-Nassau dynasty. During the period of stadholderless government, the *Tandem fit surculus arbor* conceit again supplied the producers of political culture with a useful metaphor. *Tandem fit surculus arbor* functioned as an explanatory tool with which those producers of political culture described the position of the house of Orange to a less sophisticated audience. At a time when rioting was often the most effective form of political participation for large segments of society, popular Orangism appealed to that audience with easily recognizable imagery. When loyalty to the house of Orange once again carried with it direct and immediate political benefits, the imagery embedded in *Tandem fit surculus arbor* manifested itself again in the country gardens of newly minted Orangist regents. Whenever Orangists used the arboreal metaphor as a way to describe their support for the house of Orange,

whether in illustrated prints or garden art, they expressed aspects of Dutch culture that originated outside of the political realm. The emblems of Johan de Brune and Roemer Visscher provide links between expressions of political loyalty and apolitical cultural traits. The effective exploitation of botanical metaphors served to unite widely divergent segments of Dutch society under the cultural and political umbrella of Orangism.

Illustrations



Figure 1-a: Adriaan van Conflans., *Eenentwintich verscheyden manieren van fortificatie* (Twenty One Various Manners of Fortification), 1593-94. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague. The book features the *Tandem fit surculus arbor* motif on its dedication page to Maurice.

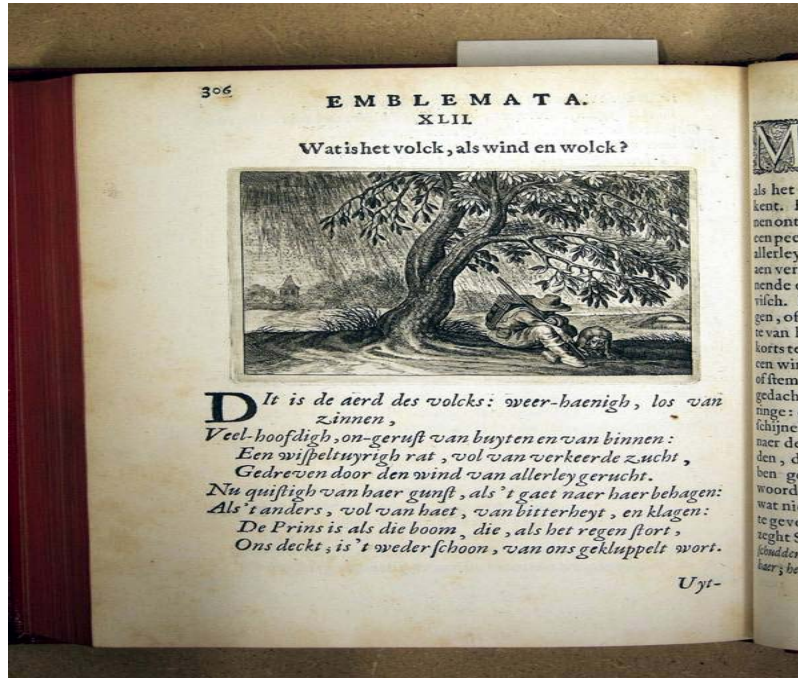


Figure 1-b: Johan de Brune, *Wat is het volck, als wind en wolck* (What are people but wind and clouds?) from *Emblemata of Sinne-werck*, 1624. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.



Figure 1-c: Anthonie Siverdtsma after Gerrit van Honthorst, *Willem III als Kind*, 1652. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.



Figure 1-d: Anthonie Siverdtsma and Crispijn de Passe, *William III van Nassau, prins van Oranje*, 1653. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

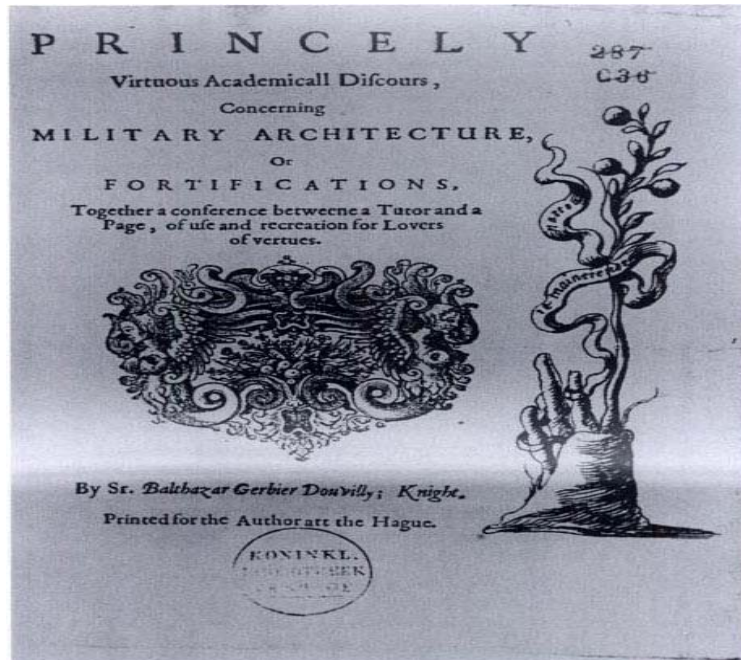


Figure 1-e: Pen drawing by William III on title page of Balthazar Gerbier, *Princely Virtuous Academicall Discours*, The Hague, ca. 1650. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

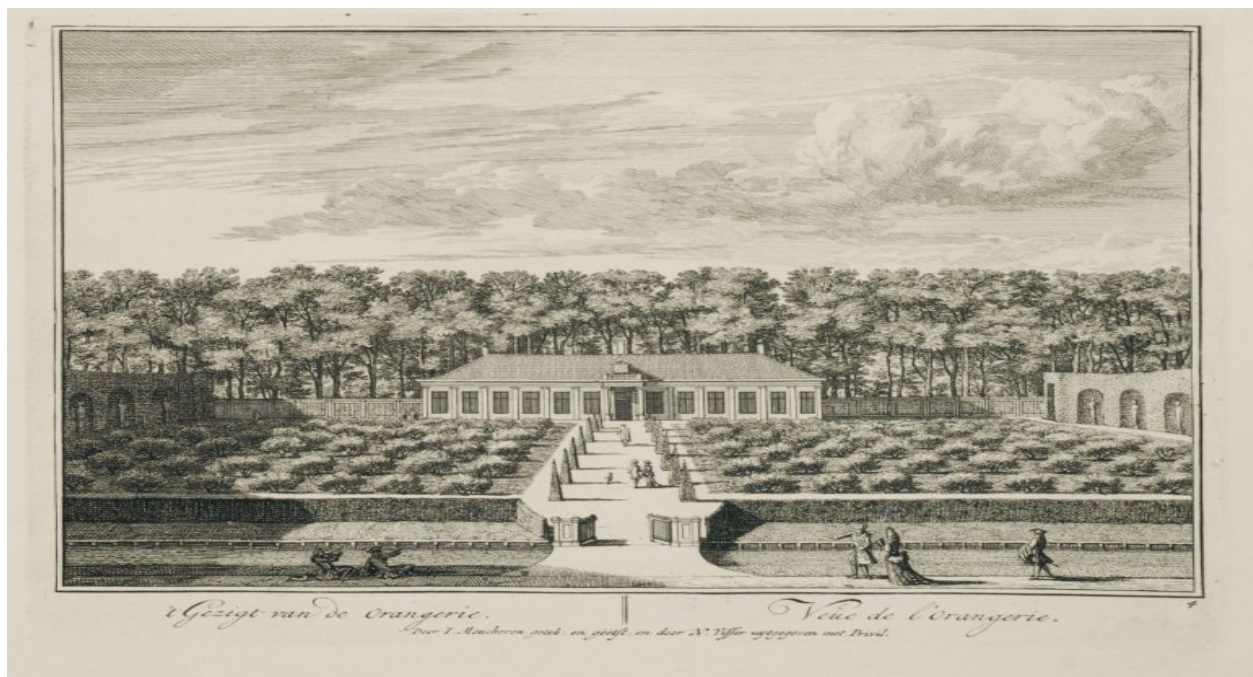


Figure 1-f: View of the orangery at Diderick van Velthuysen's Heemstede. The busts of the princes of Orange and other figures can be seen on the left and right. Isaac de Moucheron, *'t Gezigt van de Orangerie* (View of the Orangery), ca. 1700.
<http://catena.bgc.bard.edu/heemstede/index.htm>

Notes

¹⁸ Pieter Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 104-111; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 717-726; Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic*, 57-69, 154-171; Jill Stern, "The rhetoric of popular Orangism, 1650-1672," 202-224.

¹⁹ On Diderick van Velthuysen and the garden at Heemsteede, see Erik de Jong, Ann Langenakens, trans., *Nature and Art: Dutch Garden and Landscape Architecture, 1650-1740*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. Chapter Four, 67-97, and various authors in John Dixon Hunt, ed., *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture XII: The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, 25-27, 40-42, 45, 47, 158, 178.

²⁰ Nicholson, "The Oak v. the Orange Tree," 229, 229n3.

²¹ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1995, 218; K.W. Swart, *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, London: The Historical Association, 1978, 36-37.

²² On the assassination, see Lisa Jardine, *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent: The First Assassination of a Head of State with a Handgun*, New York: Harper and Collins Publishers, 2005.

²³ Gerhardt Ladner, "Vegetation Symbolism in the Renaissance," in Millard Meiss, ed., *De Artibus opuscula, XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, vol. 1. New York: New York University Press, 1962, 306n15.

²⁴ Ladner, "Vegetation Symbolism," 306n15.

²⁵ Nicholson, "The Oak v. the Orange Tree," 229n6.

²⁶ Wenceslaus Hollar, *En surculus arbor*, London, 1641, in Nicholson, "The Oak v. the Orange Tree," 231. Nicholson provides a complete list of occurrences of the *Tandem fit surculus arbor* theme in the iconography of Maurice and William II. He emphasizes, "It is not...a consistent impresa across Maurice' medallic record," 229 n6.

²⁷ Nesca Robb, *William of Orange: A Personal Portrait, Volume One: 1650-1673*, London: Heinemann, 1962, 56.

²⁸ *Op de Nieuwegebornen Fenix van Oranje. In stede des overleden Vorst den Prinse Wilhelmus Verresen den 14 Nov. 1650*, Knuttel 6884, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague. Cited in Robb, *William of Orange*, 56. The translation is Robb's.

²⁹ Jan Keyersz. Bredanus, *Geluck-wenschinge Op den Iaerdagh van Syne Hoogheyt Wilhem Prince van Oraengien &c. Baron van Breda &c, sone, ende eenigh nae-saet van Hoogh-loffelijcker gedachtenisse syne Hoogheyt Wilhem den Goeden &c. het eerste Iaer nae sijne geboorte volbracht hebbende op ten 14 November 1651* (Good Wishes upon the Birthday of His Highness William, prince of Orange, etc., Baron of Breda, etc., Son and only descendant of He of High-praised memory, William the Good, etc., On the First year after his birth, arriving upon this 14 November 1651), Knuttel 7052, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

³⁰ Wast aen kleyn kint en groeyt / Godt wilt ons al bewijzen / Day gy o kleyne Spruyt ten hemel mooght oprijzen / Want al wat leven heeft wenscht om dien blyden dagh / Dat hy de schaduw van U boom genieten magh...

³¹ Gelijck de Son den dauw ons droeve traenen droogen.

³² Los van zinnen...on-gherust van buyten en van binnen...Als 't anders, vol van haet, van bitterheyt, en klaghen. Johan de Brune, *Emblemata of Sinne-werck*, Amsterdam: Jan Jacobsz. Schipper, 1661, 306.

³³ De Prins is als die boom, die, als het reghen stort, / Ons deekt; is't weder schoon, van ons gekluppelt wort.

³⁴ Anthonie Siverdstma (engraver) and G. Verbiest (author), *Prins William III als kind*, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, 1652. Also in Hollstein, XXVII, 81. Nicholson, "The Oak v. the Orange Tree," ages William at two and a half years in this image, however, the copy in the Rijksprentenkabinet has "October 1652" in pen underneath the image.

³⁵ Hugh Dunthorne, "William III in Contemporary Portraits and Prints," unpublished article, 4.

³⁶ Dunthorne, "William III in Contemporary Portraits and Prints," 6.

³⁷ Aenschouwer soo de Faam, uw oyt blies in de ooren / Oranjes groote name: Soo ought eens op dit Beelt, / Hoe Nassauws Vorsten-deugt, in 't teere wesen Speelt / Den welck een Majesteyt, die Stam is aengebooren.

³⁸ Mits in zijn weesen spelt, die Princelycke Swier, / Zijns Ouders; wien de Nijt zelfs kroont met Lauwerier, / Toen dier-baer Vorsten Bloet, s'Lants Grond-vest vast most leggen.

³⁹ Geen eene Prince-deught, noch Vorstens dapperheeden, / Straelt in des Jonge-Spruyt; maer hier blinckt te gelijk, / Der Welhmen kloeck vernuft: de moet van Vrede-Ryck, / En Maurice Oorloogs-deught: Het Bolwerck onser Steden.

⁴⁰ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 597.

⁴¹ Siverdtsma and Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *William III van Nassau, prins van Oranje*, 1653. The Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam labels this print only as "Van Stolk X." It appears also in Hollstein, XXVII, 81.

⁴² Ziet des Jonge Spruyt, uit d'Orange-Stam gesproten. / Waar van gy Nederlant hebt zo veel gunst genoten / Dat zy haar Goet, en Bloet, voor u hebben gewaag / Tot dat gy Vrij-Etat hat, en Vrede om u zaag.

⁴³ Was niet zijn Groot Vader, Prins Hendrick van Orange? / Mouweris zijn Oom? waar voor dat moedig Spanje / Was even al seen scrick, voor dit doorlught gezlaght? / Dat neederlant te zaam tot zulcken luyster bright.

⁴⁴ An investigation into the interplay between Dutch Orangists and English Royalists in the 1650s could easily be the subject of another thesis. Prints from the First Anglo-Dutch War make it clear that a number of Dutch citizens promoted the Stuart cause actively. See especially FMs 2041, 2045, 2068, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

⁴⁵ Waer van de Galm noch zlaat, door dien t' is kort gelede / Dat 's onder u gebiet, bright zo veel sterk, en steede / Wat heft Karel zyn-Groot-Vaar u al goeds gedaan? / Als hy den Zepter droeg van Britten: maar vergaan.

⁴⁶ Phillippus is out-Oom, Groot Koning van Hispanje. / Dus ziet dit Spruijtje teer, het laste van Oranje. / Naart leven af-gebeelt, die uyt zo edel stam. / En voor u Neederlant, ten dienst in t last voort quam.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of this tension, see Price, *Holland and the Dutch*, 278-293. Price probes the question throughout his work.

⁴⁸ Wiens Dapper-Eit dan blik, die Naar verloop van Jaren / Met u, o! Neederlant, zal zoeken weer te paaren, / Tot dienst van u Stant, als Vaader van u Lant. / En stellen u weerom dan in u ouden Stant.

⁴⁹ Stern, "The rhetoric of popular Orangism," 202-224.

⁵⁰ Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, Amsterdam, 1614. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

⁵¹ Edelheydt van geboorte is wel een spoor of prickel tot treffelijcke daden... Ende die van slechte afcomst is...den wegh van eeren staet hem oock open.

⁵² ...een wakent Oogh in de handt, boven den Lauren krans.

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- ⁵³ Anonymous engraver, anonymous author, *Dit 's Welhem, 's eersten Naam...*, ca. 1660. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. FM 218.
- ⁵⁴ Cesare Ripa, *Iconologica*, Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Pers, 1644, 161.
- ⁵⁵ Harmanus van Aldewerelt (inventor) and Lodewijk Lodewijksz. (executor), *Siet hier een leve Spruyt*, engraving, ca. 1652-54. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.
- ⁵⁶ *Siet hier een leve Spruyt van Nassaus Edel Bloett, / Van Konincklyke Stam, en Princelijcke leden.*
- ⁵⁷ *Stort nu o God in hem u Geeft tot geode seden: / Tot vreugde van zijn Stam, en tot zijn eeuwich goet.*
- ⁵⁸ Stern, "Rhetoric of Popular Orangism," 204.
- ⁵⁹ Steven C.A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 68.
- ⁶⁰ Crispijn de Passe the Younger, *Uytbeelding van de Hoogmoedige Republijk van Engelandt, mitsgaders een Prognostie van Nostradamus...noopende den Oorlog tusschen Engelandt en Hollandt* (Portrait of the Haughty Republic of England, together with a Prediction of Nostradamus...predicting the War between England and Holland), FM 2036. *Het Rijck dat met de Tyranny / Wil houden staan zijn Heerschappy, / Zal door 't verandren zich bedroeven, / Door slagh van Vierwerk toebereyt, / 't Was best door Vreede by-geleyt, / Aars zal 't zap van Orangien proeven.*
- ⁶¹ The accusation of pretension to universal monarchy was a common one in the seventeenth century, especially between the Dutch and the English. See Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, Chapter 16, "Popery, trade, and universal monarchy," 256-270.
- ⁶² De Jong, *Nature and Art*, Chapter 1, "Country Life as an Ideal," 3-17.
- ⁶³ Frijhoff and Spies, 1650, 275.
- ⁶⁴ Nicholson, "Oak v. Orange Tree," 232-233.
- ⁶⁵ De Jong analyzes garden art as an artistic movement while acknowledging its political overtones. Not all of the estate owners who commissioned garden art were Orangists. De Jong, *Nature and Art*, 102.
- ⁶⁶ Simon Commelyn, *The Belgick, or Netherlandish Hesperides, that is, The Management, Ordering and Use of the Limon and Orange Trees, Fitted to the Nature and Climate of the Netherlands*, London, 1683.
- ⁶⁷ Nicholson, "Oak v. Orange Tree," 230, quotes Lieuwe van Aitzema, *Saken van state en oorlog*, The Hague, 1669, xxx, 456.
- ⁶⁸ De Jong, *Nature and Art*, 122-123.
- ⁶⁹ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 796-806.
- ⁷⁰ De Jong, *Nature and Art*, 4, 21, 41.
- ⁷¹ *De Zegepraalende Vecht. Vertoonende verscheidene Gesichten van Lustplaatsen, Heerenhuysen en Dorpen; beginnende van Utrecht en met Muyden besluytende*, Amsterdam, 1719.
- ⁷² Jan Vos, *De 16 Staatcywagens, die voor hare Doorluchtigheden Mevrouw de Keur-Vorstin van Brandenburg, en Mevrouw haar Moeder de Princesse Douariere van Oranje, met de voortreflijkste Personaadjen der Vorstelijke Huyzen van Oranje, Anhalt en Nassau, &c. op de Markt vertoont zijn, en door de Stadt redden, toen d'Edele Groot-*

achtbare Heeren Burgermeesteren der stad Amsterdam hare Vorstelijke Doorluchtigheden op 't Raathuis vergaste, Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1659. FM 2144, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. Jan Vos, *Beschrijving der Vertooningen op de Staatcywagens, die voor Hare Doorluchtigheden Mevrouw de Keur-Vorstin van Brandenburg, En Mevrouw haar Moeder de Princes Douariere van Oranje, met de voortreflijkste Personaaden der Vorstelijke Huizen van Oranje, Anhalt, en Nassou, &c. op de Markt vertoont zijn, en door de Stadt redden, toen d'Edele Groot-achtbare Heeren Burgermeesteren der stad Amsterdam Hare Vorstelijke Doorluchtigheden op 't Raathuis vergaste*, Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1659. Kn. 8183, Koninklijk Bibliotheek, The Hague.

⁷³ De Jong, *Nature and Art*, 92.

⁷⁴ De Jong, *Nature and Art*, 91.

⁷⁵⁷⁵ De Jong, *Nature and Art*, 77, makes this claim, but the version of *Wilhem de Derde* available through the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren (<http://www.dbnl.nl>) contains no such dedication. One explanation is that the version in the DBNL is the second edition, from 1710, and may have left off the dedication.

⁷⁶ De Jong, *Nature and Art*, 76. See, as well, Chapter Three of this thesis.

⁷⁷ De Jong, *Nature and Art*, 77.

⁷⁸ De Jong, *Nature and Art*, 78, 92.

⁷⁹ In 't midden van den hof; om door dat schoon gezigt / Elkeen t'errinneren, hoe dier wy zyn verplicht / Aan hunne dapperheen; hoe Neerlandt, vrygevochten / Zyn heil is schuldig aan hun bloedige oorlogstogten.

⁸⁰ Een Wachter, op wiens wacht het volk mag slaapen, / En rusten, schoon 't geweld veel onrust baart. / Een kloeke Loots, die 't Schip der Nederlanden, / In 't midden van 't verbolgen krygsgety, / Helpt sturen, en de Kiel behoed voor 't stranden; / Gezeten aan het roer van Staatsvoogdy. / Die 't Staatenhuis, beroemd door Stichtse Vaders, / Met zorg bewaakt, en slaaft ten dienst van 't land; / (...) Die in zyn hert den Stamboom van Oranje / Geworteld houd.

Chapter Two: Motherhood, Guardianship, and Education in the Image of William III

Like any newly planted shoot, William III needed adequate care in order to mature into a strong tree. His birth on November 14, 1650 opened the issue of how he should be raised, and by whom. William III spent the first two decades of his life as a minor in the public eye. In the early 1650s, depictions of the guardianship of the child focused on the princess of Orange as William III's rightful, and dutiful, caretaker. As the decade wore on, however, dissatisfaction with Mary Stuart – her failure to secure power for William III, her cold dislike of her adopted country, and her stubborn support of her brother, Charles II – manifested itself in popular cultural displays. Even after her death in January 1661, the concept of motherhood continued to function as a symbol of William III's guardianship. During the young prince's childhood, the question of who should serve as his guardian(s) dovetailed often with concerns about his education. His arrival at Leiden late in 1659 to receive his university education resulted in the further elaboration of these themes in poems and prints. Both questions, those of guardianship and education, contributed to the rise of the image of motherhood as a significant theme in the Orangism of the first stadholderless period. In addition to the role of women specifically as mothers, Orangism from this period highlights the status of women in general in Dutch culture.

Sometime between William's birth in mid-November and the end of 1650, there appeared in Dutch bookshops an anonymous pamphlet, *Vooghdye des Jonghen Prince van Orangien* (Guardianship of the Young prince of Orange).⁸¹ The author of the pamphlet recognized immediately the importance of the decisions facing the house of Orange, for "the Guardianship of the Young prince of Orange shall not last only two or three years, but twenty or more. [It comprises] not two or three pieces of land, but a great Inheritance...a multitude of Lands and

Subjects.”⁸² The anticipated length of William’s minority troubled the pamphleteer. “Who is there around here,” he asked, “for whom can men hope...who shall meet the prerequisites to guard [the prince] for so many long years, and who shall not die before [the prince] has come to his majority?”⁸³ With the question of guardianship still open, the pamphleteer narrowed the field of contenders to members of the prince’s family. Reflecting the patriarchal structure of Dutch society, which hovered always over the guardianship issue, as we shall see below, the pamphlet declared, “The will of Fathers goes before all other dispositions, appointments, or considerations. For want of that, the law recognizes the Mother, afterwards the Grandmother, they whose love exceeds all other, so they are first in line for the Guardianship.”⁸⁴ Indeed, the will of William II was nowhere near certain. An unsigned draft of a will decreed that Mary should exercise guardianship in conjunction with representatives of the States General over any son born posthumously.⁸⁵ Amalia van Solms, princess dowager of Orange, widow of Frederick Henry, and grandmother to William III, took umbrage at her exclusion from the guardianship, and pressed for a greater role for herself and her son-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg. When finally the matter came to a resolution, in August 1651, the guardianship split between Mary Stuart, who had one vote, and Amalia van Solms and the Elector, who shared a second vote on issues concerning the upbringing of the young prince.⁸⁶

The author of *Vooghdye*, for all intents and purposes, saw Mary Stuart as the primary custodian of William III’s well-being. He acknowledged “that what the Mother lacks in age and in the knowledge of such things, the Grandmother shall help through her Counsel, and fill what lacks or is missing.”⁸⁷ Although the author lamented the lack of a father figure in William III’s upbringing, and warned Mary against following the poor example of Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, he recognized that William’s mother represented the only hope for William III to

achieve the dignities of his ancestors.⁸⁸ The consequences of a good guardianship, “that care which generally makes the Governance of Republics happy,” the pamphleteer wrote, “shall bind this Young Prince to the State...by way of an unbreakable accord.”⁸⁹ The acquisition of power by William III stood as the primary reason behind all Orangism during the first stadholderless era. The pamphleteer wrote, though, in 1650, before the Great Assembly, the 1651 Dutch constitutional convention, decreed that government would proceed without a stadholder, when no one knew that the road to power for William would turn out as rocky as it did. Still, the author recognized that William would not serve the state as a child, and that a long minority would ensue. He marked its beginning, nevertheless, with the hope that proper guardianship would guarantee that the end of the minority would find William III “in the place where men have seen His Forefathers Live and Flourish.”⁹⁰

The house of Orange attempted to ensure William III’s fitness for office by giving him the best possible education. On this matter, too, Mary Stuart and Amalia van Solms clashed. At each turn, Amalia sought a moderation of Mary’s positions as a way of improving appearances to the sitting States government so that William had better chances at gaining power. When Mary wanted to appoint a French minister to care for William’s religious upbringing, Amalia insisted on a Dutch minister, Cornelis Trigland.⁹¹ To spite Holland, apparently, Mary wanted an English education for William, but her mother-in-law felt strongly that only a Dutch education would give the prince any chance at the stadholderate or other offices of state.⁹² Neither princess could take full credit for sending William III to Leiden in 1659; the Leiden *vroedschap* made the request for the prince to come study in their city.⁹³ When it was finally resolved, the choice was easy – the city council remained Orangist, a suitable residence, the Prinsenhof, already presented

itself near the university, and no one could dispute the Dutch-ness of the education the prince would receive at Leiden.

The themes of proper guardianship and education occupied a prominent place, consequently, in depictions of William III's entrance to Leiden in November 1659. Jan Zoet, an Amsterdam poet, playwright, and satirist, commemorated the event with a few poems and an illustrated print. The print, *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* (Princely Allegory), addressed the regents of the city of Leiden, recounting the Dutch struggle for freedom and prosperity and Leiden's role in it (**Figure 2-a**). Zoet acknowledged the importance of the house of Orange in the struggle, and contended that Leiden would play a vital role in preparing William III to continue the tradition of Orange service to the Fatherland. Zoet kept to the popular description of William as the sprout of the *Oranjeboom*. In the same breath, however, he raised the question of the prince's guardianship and education. Zoet wrote,

*From the dead stump, this little Sprout shot up
That, nourished for nine years in Mary's lap,
Now, inside your wall, lacks no favor or skill.
Princes flourish best, who enjoy Pallas's breast.*⁹⁴

The years of William's childhood were coming to an end. Nourishment from his mother began to give way to a formalized education in Leiden, nurture of a different type, from Pallas, according to the poem. William arrived in Leiden at a time when pessimism washed over Orangists. Mary's guardianship had not met the expectations of the most loyal supporters of the house of Orange, to make William III acceptable to the provincial States as stadholder, and to the States General as the chief of the army and navy. With the decision to send William to Leiden the house of Orange meant to prime him for the offices of state. "Nine years in Mary's lap" left William, and the Orangists, with no realistic hope of power. These lines in *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* reveal a dichotomy between the disappointment Orangists felt with Mary's guardianship and the

hope they invested in William's education at Leiden – the difference between an ideal future and present reality.

Zoet only hinted at Orangists' disenchantment with Mary's guardianship in *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*. With *Het Triomferende Leiden* (The Triumphant Leiden, 1659), a lengthier, more refined ode to Leiden and the house of Orange, Zoet allowed himself room to elaborate on those feelings. He likened the house of Orange to the "breast of a mother" from which the city of Leiden "drinks to satisfy [its] thirst."⁹⁵ Zoet's long poem celebrated the relationship between Leiden and the house of Orange in terms of the siege of Leiden in 1574, a siege relieved by William the Silent. Zoet suggested a link between the service of the house of Orange to the city (and, by implication, the Fatherland) and the education William III would receive at Leiden. William III's education was Leiden's way of repaying the debt incurred when the first William lifted the siege. Zoet employed a breast-feeding metaphor in *Het Triomferende Leiden* as a way of describing how Orange sustained the people of Leiden after the siege, bringing them back from the edge of death to prosper once again. The exclusion of Orange from political power caused Leiden and the illustrious house to exchange roles, Zoet tells us. Now Leiden offered the mother's milk of education to the young prince of Orange instead of the prince of Orange saving the city from disaster.

Jan Zoet opened *Het Triomferende Leiden* with an exhortation. He took possession of his listener immediately, joining himself to his audience with a story that should unite all *true* Fatherlanders. He called his audience *mijn Batavieren* ("my Batavians"). *Nu, wel op* ("Now, listen up"), he told them. *Moord, en brand, en hongersnoot* ("Murder, and fire, and famine"), he wrote,

*Chastisement, and betrayal, and rape
For us, balanced on the scales of death*

*Then we, oh! then we were humbled,
[...] Imperiled by the wolf Alva,
We felt the bloody dagger,
Through the breast, in the heart,
Attacked by the unforeseen.*⁹⁶

Zoet described the horrors of the Spanish siege in graphic detail. Not only did the Spanish despoil their physical bodies and property with “murder, and fire, and famine...and rape”; the Spanish attacked Leidenaars’ freedom of conscience, and the integrity that they expected from each member of society, with “chastisement and betrayal,” the former by persecuting sincerely held religious beliefs, the latter by failing to uphold basic political and social commitments.⁹⁷ Though the Duke of Alva (“the wolf”) did not personally lead the siege of Leiden, Zoet summoned his ghost as a familiar symbol of fear and tyranny.

Het Triomferende Leiden was, to be sure, as much about the city’s historical memory as anything else, and Leiden owed her survival to the house of Orange.⁹⁸ Historical memory forms one of the backbones of culture. In the Dutch Republic, especially, the shared memory of the Revolt permeated cultural displays, political discourse, and society. Only a decade had passed since the end of the Revolt against Spain, but the worst had been over for many decades. Thanks to the annual remembrance on October 3rd of the relief of Leiden, the citizens of the city kept the spirit and historical memory of 1574 alive even when all those involved were long dead. Zoet wrote of the time when

*Rats, Cats, and Dogs
Entered our mouths in the place of game
Never were men more thin
When one saw nothing but skeletons
Throughout the neighborhoods.
And Death stood watch.*⁹⁹

These lines recall the stories that Leidenaars had resorted to eating anything they could get their hands on during the siege. Instead of business as usual, ghosts walked the streets in search food.

The specter of death haunted every hour. Just at the moment when all seemed lost, with the city “balanced on the scales of death,” Orange came to the rescue. Instead of the metaphorical *oranjevrucht*, though, nourishment came to

*The Poor Burgers, with his blood,
and his flesh, so gladly would he quench their thirst,
[From] a mother [who] with her breast
tries to quench the thirst of the dear child
Buried in her heart.*¹⁰⁰

William the Silent had liberated the desperate city of Leiden just as he had rescued the entire nation from the evil tyranny of Spain. The historical memory of the city of Leiden intersected with the historical memory of the entire nation that emerged from the Revolt. When Leiden needed rescuing, in 1574, Orange saved Leiden. Now, in 1659, when Orange’s fortunes seemed grim, Leiden did not hesitate to return the favor. Whichever metaphor the poets chose to express this relationship to the house of Orange, they placed Orange in the role of hero and life-giver. Orange juice exchanged for breast milk.

Zoet confined his poetic chronicle neither to the historical memory of 1574 nor the contemporary political situation. He made it clear as a result that other princes of Orange strengthened their house’s relationship with Leiden. He wrote of “the great *Frederick*...

*...[who] can part Good from evil
According to the rule of God’s law
These virtues he can buy
With little sweat and agility.*¹⁰¹

Frederick’s greatness and virtue, bought with “a little” effort, contrasted with the intense suffering of Leiden during the siege. Thanks to Frederick and William I, Leiden contended (via Zoet),

*My [Leiden’s] breasts always run
With milk, there it increases already
Up, rise up, my sitting Burgers.*¹⁰²

Zoet portrayed Orange and Leiden first as mother and child, respectively. Here, writing from the perspective of “the triumphant Leiden,” Zoet has the city thanking Orange for filling her breasts with the milk of civic sustenance. In the interim between 1574 and 1659, Orange provided the virtuous energy to make “rise up (Leiden’s) sitting Burgers.” When William III arrived at Leiden in 1659, he came as a hungry child, not as a powerful stadholder or the commander of an army. William III would benefit from the virtue of Leiden, the virtue that had its origins in the old princes of Orange.

Leiden now played mother to Orange’s child, William III. Zoet conveyed this change by asking, again from Leiden’s perspective, “Shall I forget [William I’s] virtue in his descendant?”¹⁰³ The answer, really, went without saying.

*...No! O, no!
Thankfully shall I measure mine.
Virtue demands reward with justice and reason
Let Envy freely rage
With a fearful countenance.
In the saddle [William III] shall climb
And lightly parade the brave steed
With my strong knee.*¹⁰⁴

Zoet showed that Leiden would remain steadfastly Orangist despite the opposition of other political interests. The house of Orange fought bravely for the cause of Dutch freedom, and Leiden intended to reward William III for the deeds of his ancestors. The city committed itself to guiding William III through his education until the time came for him to mount the “brave steed” of government. Zoet told the young prince:

*Peace, and Friendship shall kiss you
With their lips, chaste and clean
Suck my teats in the meantime.
In the face of Zuylestein,
That trusty and wise shepherd,
All the wiser for his skill.*

*Thus is your Lady Mother pleased
Who preserves her salvation in You.*¹⁰⁵

Leiden mentioned Frederick van Nassau Zuylestein, an illegitimate son of Frederick Henry, by name, assured of his expert guidance over the young prince and his studies. Mary selected Zuylestein, a strong supporter of the Stuarts, as William's governor and male role model without the full approval of Amalia van Solms.¹⁰⁶ The traditional Orangists in Leiden may also have had less than a positive impression of the choice of Zuylestein as the young prince's attendant due to his submission to his English wife.¹⁰⁷ Despite Zuylestein's association with the exiled Stuarts, Zoet did not mention the Stuart connection in relation to either Zuylestein or Mary, in contrast to representations of the house of Orange from earlier in the 1650s that capitalized on the Stuart connection. Zoet's reference to Mary, "who preserves her salvation in" William, belied the true focus of her efforts. She lobbied more on behalf of her brother, Charles II, than her son. Mary spent her days in pleasure, hardly appearing to politic on behalf of William. On the contrary, she lent huge amounts of money to her brothers to support their perpetually fruitless attempts at reclaiming the throne. Mary had ceased to be an asset to Orangists, and had turned into a liability. At least one "minister of religion...likened [her] innocent amusements to the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah."¹⁰⁸ Always mindful of her royal birth, Mary hesitated to even make common cause with prominent Orangists, feeling such associations beneath her.¹⁰⁹ The regents of Leiden, in fact, requested that Mary send William to Leiden University at a time when Mary wanted an English education for her son.¹¹⁰ What better place for the Orangists in Leiden to make sure William got a good Dutch education than under their own noses? Zoet, then, communicated the frustration of the Leiden city fathers with William's recalcitrant mother.

Zoet constructed an extended metaphor of maternal nurturing in which Leiden and the house of Orange took turns playing their respective roles. He culminated the metaphor with the

lines, “Peace, and Friendship shall kiss you / With their lips, chaste and clean. Suck my teats in the meantime.” The brightest signal of the disfavor with Mary Stuart embedded in Zoet’s text, these words throw the good example of Dutch motherhood in the face of an English princess who fell short of the mark. Mary had not performed her role as guardian to the satisfaction of the Orangists, and Zoet let his reader know by failing to cast her in the role of motherly nurturer. She failed where Leiden would succeed. The city, however, could not blame Mary entirely for the lack of success of Orangist politics in the 1650s. De Witt mastered the mechanics of the Dutch political system in a way that the house of Orange could not comprehend without the lens of the stadholder’s power. Orange did not grasp the Dutch political system without the office of stadholder. De Witt’s political techniques left “Leiden in isolated, and impotent, opposition to the States party bloc within Holland.”¹¹¹ His coherent republican philosophy left Orangists baffled, unable to articulate a set of political principles on par with De Witt’s 1654 *Deductie* or the works of the De la Courts. Mary privately expressed her belief that Orangists should “do their duty” to the prince, even though she often refused to accept visits from those who may have furthered the Orange cause. She nearly bankrupted the house by excessive support for her brother, Charles II.¹¹² One could not blame Leiden, then, for its disappointment in Mary’s maternal performance. *Het Triomferende Leiden* expresses that dissatisfaction. It is a poetic version of the uniquely Dutch mother and child painting, one in which Zoet jumbled cultural symbolism to suit Leiden’s view of politics. If De Witt and the rest of Holland saw the 1650s as a time for new beginnings, Leiden wanted to preserve as much as possible the old ways.

What is meant by “uniquely Dutch mother and child painting”? What image would Jan Zoet and the Leiden regents have had in mind when they thought of Dutch motherhood? Paintings of breast-feeding mothers, for one, occupied a place in the Dutch art market, as the art

historian Mary Frances Durantini has noted. Depictions broke down into two general categories, that of *active* and *passive* nursing scenes, each with its own set of interpretive schemes. An active nursing scene meant that children actually received nourishment in the painting, a technique that focused attention on the mother, who often looked straight out at the viewer. Durantini identifies passive nursing scenes as those in which the gaze of the child reaches the liminal space rather than the proffered breast, a device that shifts attention onto the child itself. Durantini reads active scenes as commentaries on motherhood, and passive scenes as highlighting the role of the child. In much European art, she writes, images of a nursing mother can be viewed simply as Madonna and child scenes because the mother acts in some virtuous fashion. Dutch images of mother and child, however, developed independently from the European tradition. Indeed, “the image of the nursing Christ seems to have had no comparable influence upon the Dutch nursing child.”¹¹³ This unique Dutch tradition manifested itself in Orangist political culture during the first stadholderless era.

Durantini confines her analysis of Dutch mother and child images to art-historical questions. The concept of the ideal family, though, had serious political repercussions in the Republic, especially during William III’s minority. Jan Zoet tapped into both the artistic depiction of breast-feeding mothers and its political implications for the Dutch state in *Het Triomferende Leiden*. Julia Adams’ work on patrimonialism suggests Dutch regents took their roles as fathers very seriously, not just because they wanted a harmonious family life but also because they wanted their sons to succeed them in political office.¹¹⁴ A harmonious family was also a microcosm of a harmonious state. Political offices, and their social and economic benefits, which were many, became, in effect, the property of the male lineage. As a consequence, according to Adams, “When dependence on patrimonial privilege was essential to, and even the

primary basis of, elite families' dominant position, conveying reliable access to privilege to the next generation became an urgent matter, synonymous with the social reproduction of the family itself."¹¹⁵ Dutch fathers put their political hopes in daughters as well as sons, encouraging suitable marriages, even if they did not quite arrange the nuptials beforehand. A marriage between two wealthy regent families expanded political and business opportunities, likely meant a boost in prestige for one of the parties, and added a measure of security for the common descendants of the match.¹¹⁶

Dutch heads of household exerted, therefore, a certain level of control within the home to ensure the health and well-being of their offspring, as in the decision to breastfeed. Simon Schama quotes Jacob Cats's poem, *Moeder*, calling it "a rapturous hymn in honor of the prolific splendor of the lactating breast."¹¹⁷ Cats addressed a good father's attitude to breastfeeding. "There is nothing an upright man would rather see," Cats wrote, "than his dear wife bid the child to the teat."¹¹⁸ We might ask what role women played in the decision to feed the child naturally. For Zoet and his audience, however, women were held up as exemplars of virtue, virtue derived from submission to husbands. The values of men, Adams argues, "mattered more than women's subcultures for high politics."¹¹⁹ Zoet wrote *Het Triomferende Leiden* for the regents of Leiden, an audience who lived with patrimonial values, who, however companionate their marriages, looked at Mary Stuart as a woman whose job it was to find a path to power for her son. Mary Stuart hated the Dutch, their country, and their language.¹²⁰ She had failed thus far to secure power for William. Zoet shaped his message for an audience well aware of that failure.

Six months after William arrived in Leiden to further his education, Zoet and the Leiden Orangists found a reason to think differently about Mary Stuart, if only temporarily. The hopes of Orangists throughout the United Provinces reached new heights in May 1660, when the news

broke that Charles II would return to the throne of England. Orangists expected that Charles, William's uncle, would exert significant pressure on the States General to name the prince captain-general of the armed forces. The Act of Seclusion in Holland, the clause of the Anglo-Dutch peace treaty of 1654 by which Holland agreed never to name a prince of Orange stadholder or captain-general of the army, had lost one of its main advocates with the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658. It became a dead letter when Charles came to power. Many believed, moreover, that only an Orangist Netherlands could ensure smooth relations with a Stuart England. The States of Holland knew all of this, and leapt at the chance to return to the good graces of the restored king. Several cities in Holland launched ostentatious welcome celebrations for Charles as he made his way to Scheveningen, a seaside village near The Hague, from which he embarked to England.¹²¹

The Stuart Restoration of 1660 did indeed boost William III's position in Dutch politics. At Mary's request, Friesland passed a resolution calling for William to acquire the offices of state at his eighteenth birthday. Zeeland, Groningen, and Overijssel, meanwhile, hoped for the same by the time William turned sixteen. De Witt and Holland responded with an offer to name William a "Child of State," whereby the States of Holland would educate him in preparation for his ascendance to office.¹²² Mary accepted the deal, to the chagrin of many Orangist regents, "who felt that Mary had betrayed their long efforts on her son's behalf, by doing nothing to enhance their influence."¹²³ In fact, it curbed the influence of Orangist regents throughout Holland by putting William's education completely in the hands of regents loyal to De Witt.¹²⁴ Amalia van Solms and the Elector of Brandenburg tried to propose an alternate plan, to no avail. That plan would have included an entirely different educational committee, stocked with

steadfast Orangists. When it seemed as if the Stuart connection had finally paid off for the house of Orange, Mary Stuart's unilateral negotiations with De Witt took the wind from Orangist sails.

The flood of enthusiasm from Holland must have seemed more than a little suspicious to Charles II. Throughout the last decade, Holland had done everything it could to avoid meaningful relations with him or his brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester. After the execution of their father, Charles I, Holland (along with Zeeland) blocked the efforts of the Orange party to recognize Charles II as "King of Great Britain," forcing the States General to adhere to the less offensive "King of Scotland."¹²⁵ During the First Anglo-Dutch War, Holland, through its influence in the States General, steadfastly refused to let Charles II have any part whatsoever in the naval campaigns, resisting even the possibility that making common cause with the House of Stuart would create division in the English ranks.¹²⁶ The worst affront to the exiled Charles came in the summer of 1658. He visited his sister in Hoogstraten with an eye toward gathering support for an invasion of England later that year, and began a tour through the Republic to gain the assistance of Willem Frederick, stadholder of Friesland. George Downing, Cromwell's minister to the United Provinces, took notice of his travels, and complained to the States General. Within days, the States General expelled Charles from its territory.¹²⁷ This less than hospitable treatment of Charles left the Republic somewhat embarrassed when Charles prepared to return home, and made the bowing and scraping to follow all the more necessary.

The States of Holland took material steps to curry favor with Charles, as well, assembling an extravagant collection of paintings and sculptures to send to London. In addition to twenty-four Italian paintings and twelve ancient sculptures, the States looked to Gerrit Dou, a Leiden painter and one-time student of Rembrandt, to add a touch of local color to the gift.¹²⁸ The agents of the States of Holland, tellingly, chose two paintings from Dou's studio that portrayed

young mothers caring for their infant children. Holland meant these depictions of maternal care to remind Charles of his sister, for whom he had great affection.¹²⁹ The States wanted to portray Mary as a good mother. That she remained at the mercy of Holland and the States General for William's present and future well-being was supposed to encourage Charles to forget his ill treatment at their hands during his exile. The city of Amsterdam also delivered a grand yacht from its own shipyards named – what else? – the *Mary*. The addition to the Dutch Gift of the yacht *Mary* confirms the meaning of the pictures in their new context, supporting the idea that the States party grasped for Charles II's favor with images of motherly love and loyal wives. Despite Leiden's view, as seen in Zoet's poems, Holland wanted to depict Mary as a mother doing her duty to her child, to inspire Charles to remain on good terms with the Republic.

One of the paintings, a *Young Mother* of 1658, now in the Mauritshuis, shows a woman in blue, cutting a piece of fabric while a girl looks at the baby in its cradle (**Figure 2-b**).¹³⁰ The baby's eyes are trained at its mother. The mother stares out at the viewer, making herself the center of attention. A single shoe rests at her feet, denoting the affluence of the home. The husband does not appear in the painting, but Dou implied his presence with iconographical devices. Behind the mother hangs her husband's sword and cloak. Over the mother's left shoulder, a *bas relief* Cupid balances on one foot, symbolic of the conjugal union. An empty birdcage hangs from the bottom of the stairwell representing a happy marriage. The open window on the left of the painting implies the outside, public world of the husband, contrasting with the visible inside, private domain of the wife. Gerrit Dou, at least, probably intended as much. Viewing the mother in the Mauritshuis picture as a stand in for the princess of Orange, however, likely led contemporaries to identify the absent husband with the late William II. The decision by the States of Holland to include this painting in the Dutch Gift therefore altered its

meaning beyond what Dou had in mind. With the 1658 *Young Mother*, the States of Holland succeeded in impressing Charles, at least temporarily. Charles sent a request to Dou to become an official court painter on the basis of this painting, an offer Dou politely refused.¹³¹

The other Dou painting, the *Young Mother* dated 1655-1660, now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, shows a mother in the act of nursing (**Figure 2-c**). Durantini suggests this picture, interestingly, as an exemplary “distracted child” scene.¹³² The mother holds out her breast but the baby looks at a rattle offered by a nursery maid. Durantini looks to an emblem of 1630 to interpret the presence of the rattle, arguing that the child “is rejecting his mother’s life-sustaining nourishment for the sake of an object capable of bringing only momentary enjoyment...he rejects nature for art or artifice, necessity for pleasure, and, on the highest level, virtue for vice.”¹³³ Along these same lines, Dou included a doctor’s office scene in the left background of the image, highlighting the child’s wrong choice for the things of the world, as the doctor reminded viewers of humanity’s incomplete knowledge of and temporary residence in the world. This interpretation works well in normal circumstances, but what new meanings did the painting acquire when placed in the context of the Dutch Gift? Should we presume that the States of Holland chose the painting to warn Charles II of putting worldly concerns above spiritual ones? What meanings does it gain when placed in conjunction with the 1658 painting? The theme of choosing between virtue and vice played an important role in Jan Zoet’s *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*.¹³⁴ In that 1659 print, Zoet identified the Leiden city fathers with Pallas, the goddess of wisdom, and William III with Hercules. The coupling of Pallas and Hercules made sense as a way of attributing characteristics to the young prince of Orange, a boy from a military family with hopes of ruling as an adult. The combination recalled also a story told by Prodicus, a Greek sophist, who told that Pallas counseled Hercules on the forked road of virtue and vice.¹³⁵ Did the

States of Holland, perhaps influenced by their delegates from Leiden, choose Dou's Berlin *Young Mother* to confront Charles II with the same decision as Hercules by appealing to his sense of family and duty?

The re-appropriation of Dou's *Young Mother* paintings sheds new light on a strain of art-historical thought that identifies a blurry area "between genre and history," to use Lyckle de Vries' phrase.¹³⁶ De Vries placed Jan Steen's painting *Prinsjesdag* (Prince's Day) in this category, demonstrating how Steen used conventions of genre painting to make political statements. Richard Helgerson clarifies the overlap of genre and history, as well, arguing that realistic domestic scenes featuring soldiers and young women can be read as expressions of republican anxiety about the military capacity of the house of Orange.¹³⁷ Both De Vries and Helgerson, significantly, analyze works dating from the first stadholderless era. With Dou's *Young Mother* paintings, we have an example of a picture's interpretation undergoing a seismic shift from wedding portrait, in the case of the Mauritshuis *Young Mother*, to political propaganda piece, entirely at the hands of contemporaries. There are dangers in applying allegorical political meaning to Dutch genre paintings, meanings that contemporaries may or may not have recognized. For one, we have very little evidence that painters consciously invested their pictures with political meaning. This is true especially in the case of Dou's 1658 *Young Mother*; we know he painted it originally to commemorate the wedding of Magdalena van Adrichem, to Dirck van Beresteyn, a lawyer for the Court of Holland.¹³⁸ The coat of arms of the Van Adrichem family, which commissioned the painting for the marriage of their daughter, appears on the window to the top left. The selection of Dou's 1658 *Young Mother* as a gift to Charles II, however, robbed it of that original meaning. The gentlemen from the States of Holland saw something in Dou's painting that they hoped would appeal to Charles. The selection hints also

that the stalwart republicans in Holland recognized the appeal of motherhood imagery to Orangists.

When the delegates from the States of Holland visited Dou's studio on orders from the States, the memories of Jan Zoet's poems may have lingered in the minds of the members from Leiden. Despite their unhappiness with Mary Stuart's performance of her duty to her son, they remained loyal to the Orangist cause. What Charles needed to see, they thought, was the opposite of what they really felt. The Leidenaars found Mary's behavior unacceptable, so they selected a painting that made her look like the diligent mother of their ideal hierarchical society. The symbols in the painting were recognized in England as well as in the Dutch Republic. Patrimonialism thrived in both countries, so the idea that Mary Stuart had a role to play in the maintenance of the male lineage would have appealed to the regents in Leiden and Holland as well as in England. One should not assume that the removal of the paintings from the United Provinces to England meant that their currency as powerful symbols of Dutch motherhood disappeared. As late as 1716, when it was sold as part of the auction of William III's collection at Het Loo, the Mauritshuis *Young Mother* enjoyed a considerable reputation.¹³⁹ Whether or not eighteenth-century viewers continued to think of the paintings as part of the present to Charles II remains an open question. The cultural, political, and artistic force of the works in the eyes of contemporary viewers does not.

Even after Mary Stuart's death in January 1661, images continued to appear that exalted the ideal of Dutch motherhood. In an Orangist context, after all, those images only carried meaning because of William III. An image of maternal nurturing appeared in a commemorative print of the Oath of Loyalty to William sworn by the residents of the principality of Orange, in southern France, on May 7, 1665.¹⁴⁰ A mother sits against a tree in the corner of *Ordre en*

toestel van den Eed van getrouwigheyt (Order and Display of the Oath of Loyalty) while a child literally stands at her breast (**Figure 2-d**). The independence of the child places this print at the half-way point between active and passive nursing scenes. The child's stance pushes the genre closer to its original form, as a scene of Christ and the Virgin Mary, because "theological symbolism necessarily took precedence over simple observation, so that in some pictures the child sucks while staring at the beholder or even in the act of walking," much like the child in *Ordre en toestel*.¹⁴¹ Schama notes the sacred aura about domestic mother and child scenes, arguing, "if the domestic setting was, for the Dutch, a personal church, the nursing mother was its primal communion."¹⁴² The child actively suckles the breast but stands on its own two feet in a posture implying it has *chosen* to do so. The position of the mother and child at the foot of a large tree reflects attention up the tree, where three other children climb. One child rests at a comfortable height while one of his companions sits slightly lower. A third child is just getting started, pulling himself up by a lower branch with help from an older man. The child in *Ordre en toestel* does not fit comfortably into Durantini's thesis, a dissonance made all the more jarring by its political implications. That Pieter Post, the designer (inventor) of the engraving, appropriated a cultural theme as common as a breast-feeding woman suggests a deep association between Dutch politics and culture.

The conjunction of maternal and botanical imagery in *Ordre en toestel* helps to confirm the importance of these cultural elements to Orangism in the 1650s and 1660s, as does the text of *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*. During the years of government without a stadholder, symbols of motherhood and plant growth combined in Orangism as a new chapter of what Simon Schama calls "patriotic scripture." Schama bases part of his interpretation of the Dutch Golden Age on the idea that the Dutch remembered their Revolt against Spain in Biblical terms.¹⁴³ They

elaborated this scripture at different times in their history, casting their leaders as Moses, Hezekiah, or some other appropriate figure from the Bible. The relevant enemy became thus Pharaoh or Sennacherib, depending on the circumstances. Orangists took this patriotic scripture a step further. The previous chapter explained the use of the tree and botanical metaphors in Orangist iconography from the late sixteenth century down to the early 1700s. The tree metaphor functioned as a way for Orangist propagandists to relate William III to his ancestors, and to argue that he would grow into the same greatness. In *Ordre en toestel*, the mother and her child, in the act of Dutch “primal communion,” to use Schama’s phrase, sit beneath a great tree, an increasingly important object of Orangist devotion, especially in the 1650s and 1660s. If the tree did not quite have the status of “a personal church” for Orangists, as Schama asserted the home did in the wider Dutch mind, as an image it had the same potency politically as the home did socially. Pieter Post, the print’s engraver, set this forceful depiction in the French city of Orange, the cherished possession of the princes of Orange, the source of their sovereign power. The setting sent Orangists back to their political home, as close to a personal church as their political movement could get.

Ordre en toestel appeared in 1665, when William was fourteen years old, but it continued to display the themes found in the first decade of his life, when his position in the political nation stood at a much more dubious juncture. Printers, illustrators, and pamphleteers emphasized William’s position as a child with a bright future and the surety of his proper upbringing and education. The breastfeeding mother and child thus functioned didactically. The engraver invited the viewer to carry the scene into the future – the child, standing alone already, will soon join the other children climbing the tree. The child illustrated an important moment, when William III began to move away from being a child to becoming an adult. The oath of loyalty of

the citizens of Orange marked an important stepping stone on William's path to adulthood and, by extension, political power. With these images of motherly attention, printmakers conveyed the same idea as the arboreal metaphor. In the case of breast-feeding, however, the Dutch viewer saw William as a human being, as one of them. The Dutch people literally watched William III grow up, whether the imagery showed him as a child growing into a man or as a shoot growing into a tree.

The text accompanying the print, by Jan Vos, reinforced the notion that Orangist hopes were on the up and up. Vos wrote,

*Orange, WILLIAM'S inheritance, begins to breathe again
Now the lawful head rules to the luster of his State
A free-born Prince requires also free boundaries
Never must the sun of his happiness, that now ascends,
Be sullied, through battle, by the blood and tears of burgers.
He who receives princedom from God belongs with peace-banners.*¹⁴⁴

Where Post showed the fortunes of the house of Orange on the rise visually, Vos translated the same sentiment into verse. And if the viewers of this print thought Orangist hopes for power a futile gamble, text and image came together even more forcefully to demonstrate heavenly favor for the Orange cause. In the prose title above the print, Vos wrote of the

Lord of Zuylichem [Constantijn Huygens, secretary to the princes of Orange] and the entire Parlement sitting together in the Theater, elevated against the ancient and wonderful wall of the Roman showplace; when there appeared a Crown above the aforementioned Theater and came to stand in the air, that was entirely clear, shining as an augury of happy success over the same action.¹⁴⁵

High in the clouds above the ancient Roman theater shone a brilliant solar corona, a natural phenomenon pointed out by figures in the foreground of the engraving as well as in the text. One of three individuals swearing the oath of loyalty from atop a stone column on the left of the print points to the crown of light, and a fashionably dressed man on the right points excitedly to

the top of the theater walls, urging his friend to see the miraculous vision. Vos offered a six-line verse “On the Shining of the Sun’s Crown.”¹⁴⁶

*When William as sworn in there appeared in the clouds,
Right above the theater wall, a shining crown of light,
Its rushing tail seems to signify disaster,
But this one promises salvation from Heaven’s high throne.
Now awaits the Orange fruit for the welfare of her States.
A praiseworthy and princely head lives for the salvation of his subjects.*¹⁴⁷

The comet functioned as a clear sign of Heaven’s blessing upon the principality of Orange and its sovereign prince. To the print’s Dutch audience, it was yet another reason to allow the “Orange fruit” to once again look after “the welfare of her States.” These lines by Vos extended the botanical metaphor further in a print loaded as well with maternal imagery. The story of the “Shining of the Sun’s Crown” traveled farther than just the print of *Ordre en toestel*. In the same year, 1665, an unsigned engraving and accompanying poem, signed only “M.S.,” related the story that, “shining above the Theater in the sky, there appeared a crown, filling all the bystanders with wonder, and great amazement at what they had seen.”¹⁴⁸

That print, *Sinne-beeld Ter eeren van Sijn Doorluchtigste Hoogheyt Wilhem de III. Prins van Oraenjen* (Allegory of the honor of His Most Illustrious Highness William III, Prince of Orange), angered the States of Holland, but not because it told of the miraculous omen at Orange (**Figure 2-e**). Once the print started circulating, not coincidentally on November 14, 1665, William III’s fifteenth birthday, the civic authorities in Holland struck back against what it saw as seditious material. A brief investigation revealed Crispijn de Passe as the creator of the print, and Mattheus Smallegange, a historian from Zeeland who made his home in Amsterdam, as the author of the poem. The Court of Holland, the high judicial body in the province, had De Passe arrested on December 16, and banished him from Holland for a period of twenty-five years. Although the city of Amsterdam never enforced the banishment, the episode illustrates

the seriousness with which the States party regents could treat their opposition in the Orange party. One reason why De Passe remained in Amsterdam despite the order of banishment was his reworking of the engraving to convey a message friendlier to the States of Holland.¹⁴⁹

The original version of *Sinne-beeld Ter Eeren* revived the image of the Dutch Maid, altered slightly to depict the Republic as an eligible young woman (*vryster*) lying in her sickbed surrounded by *Religio*, sitting to the left of the bed, and six sisters (*de Susters*) representing six provinces on the right behind *een Haegschen Doctor* (a Hague Doctor). On the left of the engraving, a seventh sister offers an orange to the distraught maiden. The *Haegschen Doctor*, which De Passe confessed to be an allusion to Constantijn Huygens, points to his prescribed cure, a portrait of William III held above a fruited orange branch by a young page (*pagie*).¹⁵⁰ A great lion at the foot of the bed licks William's hand. "See how the *Lion* comes with friendship to lick his hand," wrote Smallegange.¹⁵¹ Above the bed, the sun of Jehovah shines down upon the young woman. At the feet of *Religio* lies an open book, probably the Bible. Two images hang on the walls in the scene, the "Repentance of the Ninevites" (*boeite der Nineviten*) and what Ilja Veldman identifies as the future swearing in of William III as stadholder.¹⁵² Before even reading the long verse by the mysterious "M.S.," the Dutch viewer knew exactly what message it conveyed. Like the first war with England in the early 1650s, the second one in the mid-1660s prompted renewed calls for leadership under the house of Orange. In 1665, though, the return of Charles II to the English throne precluded any calls for Orange-Stuart solidarity, as had happened in 1653. This time, Orangists wanted leadership from William III to crush the Stuart king. The overriding concern of Orangists remained, though, the ascendance of William III to the offices they believed he deserved by virtue of his birth.

Had De Passe and Smallegange taken that approach in *Sinne-beeld Ter eeren*, the States of Holland may not have reacted so forcefully. Instead of attacking England and the Stuarts, the two concentrated their ire on the States of Holland and all those who opposed a restoration of the stadholderate. They appealed to religion, tradition, and the unity of the Fatherland to argue for the return of the prince of Orange to the head of the Dutch state. Religion played the greatest role in diagnosing the virgin's sickness. Smallegange wrote,

*Religion...complains that she is too quickly forgotten by the People.
...God has blessed you [the Dutch people] with the horn of plenty, in Peace.
But you have not attended to him as a result,
And with unthankfulness forgotten his penalty.*¹⁵³

For De Passe and Smallegange, the exclusion of the house of Orange from the political life of the Republic was tantamount to a renunciation of the peace and prosperity with which God blessed the country. To regain heavenly favor, Netherlanders should repent their sins like the Biblical Ninevites. "Do penance," Smallegange demanded,

*Show sorrow, and mend your ways:
You know how Nineveh still had received mercy
When it itself had repented.*¹⁵⁴

Smallegange's powerful language juxtaposed against De Passe's compelling image leaves little question of why the civic authorities in Holland reacted against the print with such vehemence. While the Republic lay open to English attack, poets and engravers commanded their political leadership to "show sorrow, and mend [their] ways." De Witt's regime, if it wanted to, could have probably weathered the criticism. De Witt remembered, though, the Orangist riots of the summer of 1653, and likely had no desire to witness a repeat. He could not allow Orangist printmakers to incite domestic unrest at such a perilous time for the Republic.

Prints like *Sinne-beeld Ter eeren* exhibited just the characteristics that made Orangists realize exactly what changes they wished to effect in their government. The Dutch Maid, one of

the oldest personifications of the United Provinces, hearkened back to the Revolt, the glory days of Orange military, political, and social leadership. The Maid as *vryster* symbol spoke to a conception of society many Orangists viewed as proper, a social hierarchy with women in submissive roles to men. Dou's *Young Mother* paintings reflected that ideal social and familial order. The Dutch Maid, even though she did not assume the role of "mother," conformed to the plot of Orangism in that she upheld a view of Dutch culture that Orangists believed had disappeared with the exclusion of the house of Orange. A typical scene in genre painting of the seventeenth century known as *The Doctor's Visit* portrayed a tentatively sick woman with a doctor attending to her. Various clues in the paintings, a letter, a map, an open window, suggested that an absent lover was the true cause of the woman's maladies. In *Sinne-beeld Ter eeren*, the *Haegsche Doctor* prescribed a return to the old ways of Orangist military leadership and governance, in the person of William III, to cure the illness plaguing the *vryster*. To the left, the seventh sister hands the virgin an orange, saying,

*Here is a fine fruit that can cool your blood
And silence the worry; thou shalt ache no longer
In your bosom, if you use the Apple right;
Its juice quickens the heart, its fragrant skin livens the spirit.*¹⁵⁵

If the Maid took the advice of her doctor, Smallegange contended,

*Then shall the desired prosperity of the Country grow once again;
Your Cities small and large shall bloom in happiness.
Grant us, o God, to see him youthfully planted
To the service of your Church, and the beloved Fatherland.*¹⁵⁶

De Passe and Smallegange augmented the potency of the Maid as a cultural symbol with the two other elements of Orangism illuminated thus far, the arboreal and maternal metaphors. The ailments afflicting the Dutch state would disappear if the Maid heeded the advice of the seven sisters and the doctor. Smallegange closed his poetic interpretation of the Dutch Maid theme

with another instance of the plant metaphor, profoundly demonstrating in the process the frequent conjunction and indivisibility of those two common themes in popular Orangism.

Illustrations



Figure 2-a: Jan Zoet, *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* (Princely Allegory), 1659. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.



Figure 2-b: Gerrit Dou, *Young Mother*, 1658. Mauritshuis, The Hague.



Figure 2-c: Gerrit Dou, *Young Mother*, 1655-60, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

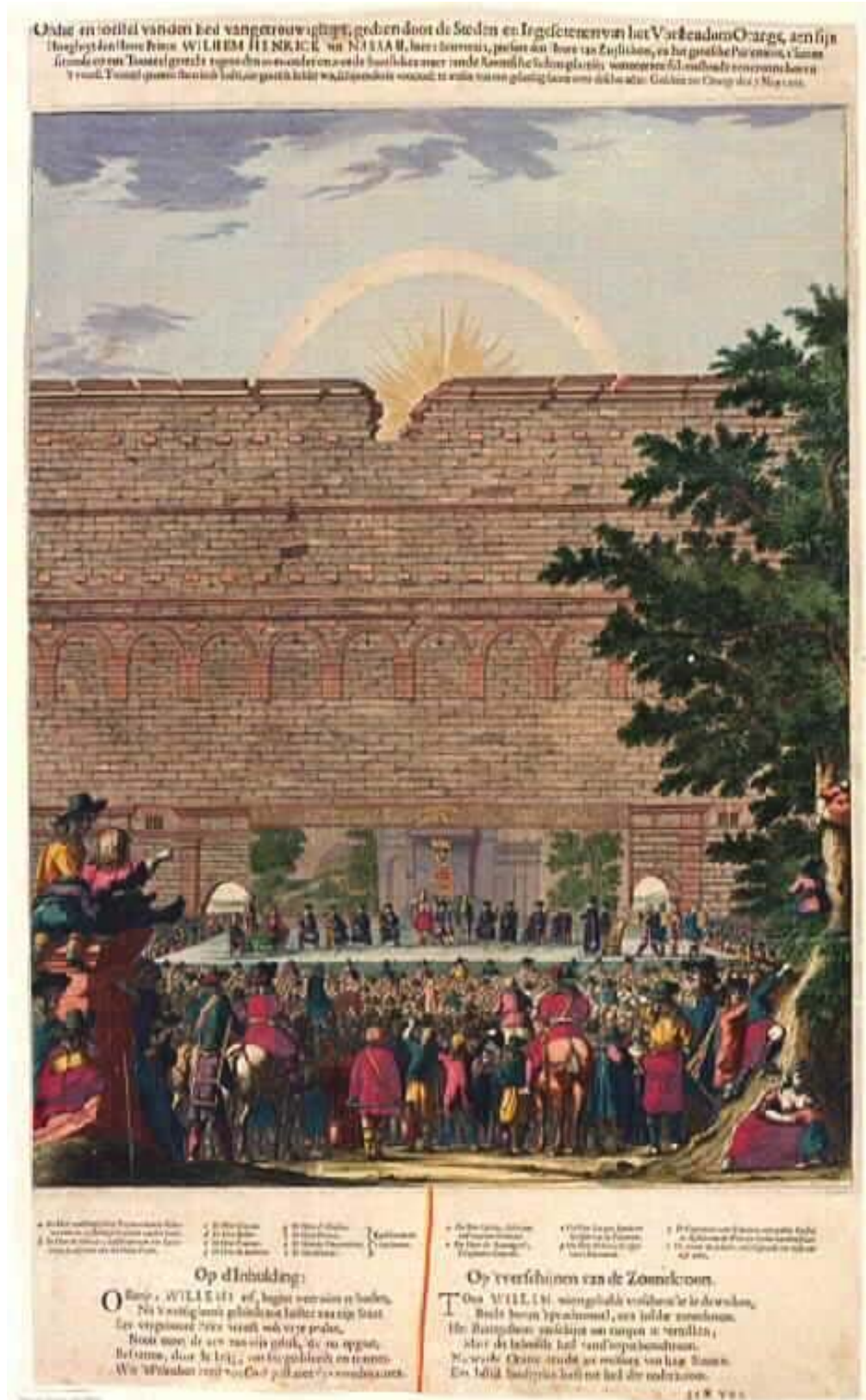
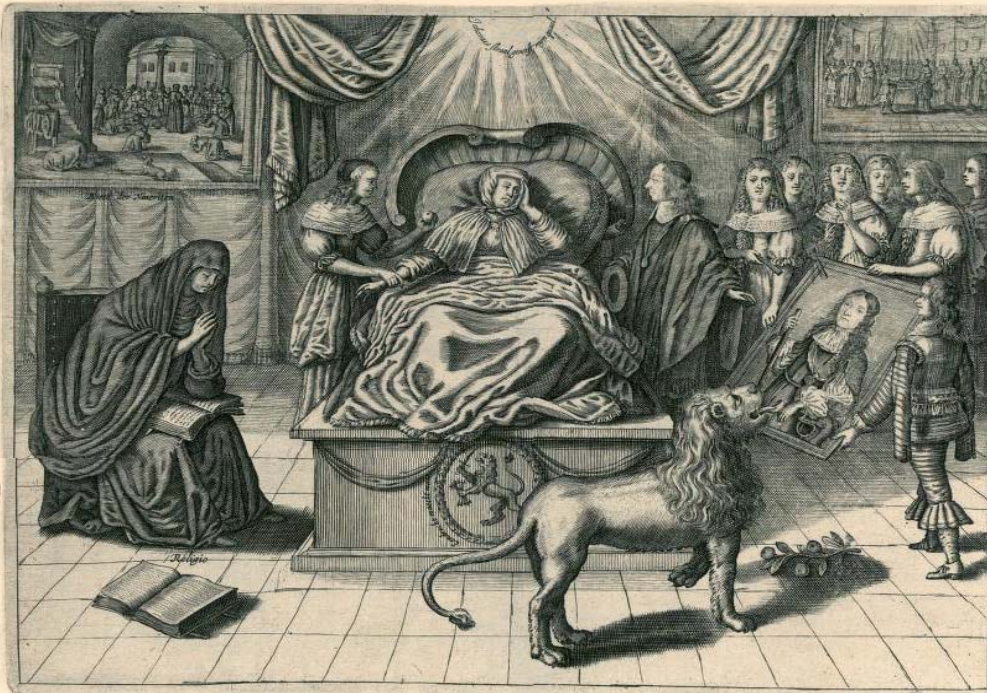


Figure 2-d: Pieter Post, *Orde en toetstel van den eed van getrouwicheyt*, 1665. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.



SINNE-BEELD.

Ter eeren van Zijn Doorluchtigste Hoogheyt WILHEM de III. Prins van Oraenjen. &c.

Ten besten des Vaderlands.

EEN *Vryser* door den dienst der Minnaers
hoog gekeijst
In glory, rijkdom, weeld, had dertel nu
geweiger
Het brast beleid der beste Vrienden acht
te slaen,
En wilde roekeloos langs loffer wegen
gaen.
Een onbesuilde drift deed haer geheel vergeten,
Wat dank sy hen voor raad en bystant had te weten;
Hoe dat sy gants haer heil eens door haer hulp bequam,
Als hare Vryheit dus voorspoedig oirpronk nam.
Dies socht sy sonder toom naer eigen swier te leven,
Met al het hoogst gefach in haren dienst te geven
Aen lieden, die gering noit hadden in de macht,
Alfins haer na den eich te maken groot geacht.
Hier door heeft hare glans gewiddig al-genomen,
En by haer buuten is sy gants in smet gekomen,
Die haer aen alle kant slaeg schimp en schade doen:
En waer is 't middel om die rampen te verhoen?
Haer Onderdanen, rijk voorheen in volle weelden
Door Welvaerts overvloed, geduurig vroolick quelden,
Genoten alle lutt; dewijl haer niets ontbrak,
Als yder tot sijn plicht met wylje de handen slack;
Die sitten nu, Helas! 'r hups niet bangster herten,
Behoeftig, neeringloos, in alle sware smerten,
Van buiten door den last des oorloogs droef geplaegt;
En sien haer broeders veel gevangen en verjaegt.
Dus hoort-men over al gants deerlijke klachten,
En suchten, Hemel, wilt d'ellenden toch versachten!
Sy, die niet was gewoon, als voorspoed slaeg te sien,
En dat sy vriend'lijk wierd ge-eert van al de lien,
Verlagen en ontfelt, voelt onbekende pijnen,
En valt seer onverwacht in al te droevig quijnen,
Ligt siek en deerlijk krank, dies yder bidt om raad,
De *Gedachten* met gewen ter zijden neer geleten.
Klaegt, dat sy van het Volk te schandig word vergeten,
En roept; Schoon Nederland, 't is uwer sonden schult,
Dat uwe Steden dus van plagen zijn vervult.
Godt had u met den hoorn des overvloeds gelegent,
In Vrede; mer gy hebt hem daer voor niet bejaget,
Als met ondankbaerheit, vergetend sijn gebort:
Men siet in u de Deugt en Vroomheit meest bespot:

Ghy hebt den Mammon lief, dien koopt gy hoogst vereeren,
Dien geeft gy gants uwen heil, Gy wilt geen wijfheit leeren,
Dan die u 't aerdelike goed sou konnen brengen aen.
Al 't geen vergank lijk is kan nimmer vast befaen.
Doet boete, toont berouw, en betert uwe wegen:
Ghy weet hoe Ninive noch heeft genaet verkregen
Wanneer 't sich heeft bekert: Legt uwe sonden af;
Dood hoogmoed, en verdijft d'ondankbaerheit in 't graf.
Omhelst de ware Deugt; Wilt Godt en menich betalen
't Geen gy hen schuldigh zijt; soo lullen 's Hemels stralen
Weer gunstig daelen neer; dan sult gy 't aller tijdt
Van ramp, en tegenpoed, en straffen zijn bevrijdt.
Een van de *Susters*, die de krankke trouw besloeken,
Treed tot haer, biddend, dat sy 't hert wat wil verlokken,
En scheppen nieuwe moed, en volgen goeden raad;
Men vind noch nutte hulp voor 's lullen vyerig quaet.
Hier is een schoone vrucht die kan u 't bloed verkoelen,
En stillen 't ingewand; gy sult geen smert meer voelen
In uwen boetem, soo gy d'Appel recht gebruikt;
Sijn sap verquikt het hert, sijn schel geest-wekkend ruikt.
Een *Haefchen Deller*, dien 't geheim noit was verborgen,
Vol vlyt om haer na wenich getontheit te befragen,
Besloekt haer aen het bed, en onderstaet haer quaet,
En overweegt seer naeuw d'ontroering altemael.
Hy seyt, Meijster, wenicht gy frich te zijn genesen,
Ik weet een raad, die nu een hooghtien nut sal wesen.
Gy zijt voorleker van uw Vrienden niet gedient
Gelijk 't behoort, hier is voor u veel waerder Vrient;
Wien schoone bezittenis daer *Pagie* koopt vertoonen;
Wilt sijn roemrijke deugt mer uwe gunst beleenen;
Gy kent sijn Voorlijk bloed; 't is het Doorluchtig Zaet
Der Helden, nu vergood, die slaeg met raad en daet
U bystant brachten aen, na dat hier d'eerste gronden
Van uwe Vryheit door dien WILHEM zijn gevonden,
Door wien, als Opperhoofd, uw Eendracht wierd geflicht,
Beveiligd, en den Staet soo heilzaam opgericht
Met goed en bloed; van wiens noit vol-geroemde loten
Gy niet dan trouwe dienst gelukkig hebt genomen.
Het is *Oraenjes Prins*, van Keiserlijke Stam,
Geteelt nit Koninks bloed; Siet met hoe schoonen vlam
Deugt uit sijn oogen traelt; daer koud gy heil van wachten:
Uw hoogen dienst vereicht d'aensienelike machten.
Der Borgers schouders zijn geduurig veel te swak,
En buigen door den last van Hooger Achtingspakk.

Een die gering is kan geen groot ontsach bekomen,
En word met naedeel slechts in hoogen Staet genomen.
Gy weet hoe dese Prins kan wettig zijn gekroont,
Waer toe Godt in de lucht noch 't reekens heeft vertoont.
Wanneer hy weder in sijn Erf wierd ingehuldigt:
Tot klaar bewijs wat hem de menschen zijn verschuldigt;
En 't kan wel blykken, hoe van wegen sijn geboort
Hem ook de Koninks Kroon van Arles toebehoort.
Dit Hoofd, waer op niet recht dan goude kroonen passen,
Is tot uw hooghtien Dienst gants eigen opgewassen,
Dewijl gy kroonen trotst: het is uw eigen bloed,
Te recht een Hollands Kind, in u geteelt, gevoed.
Gering of Vremde Dienst moet noit uw Lammers scheeren,
Die, seer nootdrufdig, sou de wol en meer begeren.
Sijn liefd, en trouw slaen vast, de Steden, 't goed, en 't land!
Hem eigen in den Staet, zijn u tot ontpand.
Sijn welvaert is toch aen uw heil soo vast gebonden,
Dat altyt uw verlies sijn schade word bevonden:
Uw Glory, hem verheft; wilt hem dan noit vermaen;
Gy sult door sijn beleid in voorpoed kloek befaen.
Siet hoe de *Leeuw* sijn hand seer vriendelick koopt lekken,
Vermits sijn waerdigheit ons herten al kan trekken
Mer toegenegeen zucht; wanneer wy dankbaer zijn,
Sal die geduchte Naem genesen al uw pijn.
Laet hem dan, na verdienst, uwy hooger eeren dragen;
Dat past hem, 't hoort hem toe; gy vind men ras verlagen:
Al die viandig uwen voorpoed taften aen:
Dan sal uwy Volk met lust de Vaendels swaen gaen,
En met een Helden moed doen vreesen haren degen;
Soo vvyord gy vveer gesond, en rijk vol alle legen.
Dan slaet uw Staet geacht, ge-eert, gemint, ontfien;
Dan vvil ons yder eer en vriendelick komen bien;
Dan sal vwyer *in* uwer Land gevensichte vvelvaert groeien,
Uw Steden klein en groot in hooghte vveelden bloeien.
Geeft ons, o God, te sien, hem jeugdig voort-geplant,
Ten dienste van uw Kerk, en 't lieve Vaderland.
De Prinzen van Oraenjen hebben rechte om kroonen te dragen, en sijn Prinzen te dien
kroonen, gelijck om eeniger der Vorsten gelijck is, als in dooijste 1778 den Retraet van
Hauz, de 7 van dies euen gabe 'm Prin van Oraenjen, en andere.
a. Wanneer den 9. May den jaer 1661 de Amptelike binnen Oraenjen gepubliceert, en den
nieuwen eed van de Borgers gedaan wierd, verheben boven het Tonnel in de lichte het rooken
van een konink, by alle de ontsaunders met verwondering en grove lanchen aengeseen.
c. De Prinzen van Oraenjen waren voornemelyc Koningen van Arles, als Prins Wilhem van
Hauz de VII. die nam, door den Keiser Frederik de II. ingehuldigt, en gekroont binnen
de stad van Metz, op den 13. January, 1514. Welc Koninkryck toen erfelick in sijn bloed
gevoerd, al, intes by sijn euen geboort, tot den Prins Raymond de 7. 't liefste sijnwe aen
kamel de 7. broeder van St. Louis Konink van Vranckryck in 1227, tegen 't rechtlijck
Nakomelingen, 't welc van haer niet gewoont hat woude.

M. S.
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Figure 2-e: Crispijn de Passe (engraver) and Mattheus Smallegange (author), *Sinne-beeld Ter eeren van Zijn Doorluchtigste Hoogheyt Wilhem de III. Prins van Oraenjen.*, 1665. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Notes

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- ⁸¹ Unknown author, *Vooghdye des Ionghen Prince van Orangien*, place unknown, 1650. Knuttel 6906, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.
- ⁸² De Vooghdye vanden Iongen Prince van Orangien, en sal geensins wesens, van twee, of drie jaren, maer van twintigh, of meer. Niet van twee, of drie Stucken Landen, maer van een groot Erf...een meenichte van Landen, en Onderdanen. *Vooghdye* 1.
- ⁸³ Maer wie isser onder haer, van wie men kan verhoopen...tot de vooghdye voor soo lange jaren, en die gene die niet en sal komen te sterven, voor al eer de Vooghdye sy voltrocken, of ten eynde? *Vooghdye* 2.
- ⁸⁴ Den wille des Vaders gaet voor alle andere dispositie, verordineringe, of consideratie. By ghebreck van dien, de rechten laetent de Moeder toe, daer na de groote Moeder, gelijk die in liefde alle andere overtreffen, day sy luyden ooc sijn also d'eerste in orden om de Vooghdye te aenveerden. *Vooghdye* 2-3.
- ⁸⁵ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 75.
- ⁸⁶ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 75.
- ⁸⁷ In 't gene dat de Moeder daer ontbreekt in ouderdom, ende inde kenisse der saecken, de groote Moeder sal kunnen te hulp komen door haer Raden, ende bysetten 't gene daer ontbreecke of manqueren sal. *Vooghdye* 3.
- ⁸⁸ Elizabeth of Bohemia, the Winter Queen, lived in exile in The Hague. Of Elizabeth, Geyl writes, "...all misfortune had been unable to rid [her] of a love of pleasure." Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 129.
- ⁸⁹ Dese sorge de welcke gemeynelijck maeckt de Vooghdye der Republijcken geluckigh, sal desen Iongen Prins verbinden aen den Staet...door een onverbreekelijck accoort. *Vooghdye* 8.
- ⁹⁰ ...inde plaetse inden welcken men heeft Syne Voor-Vaders sien Leven ende Floreren. *Vooghdye* 9.
- ⁹¹ L. van Poelgeest, "The Stadholder-King William III and the University of Leiden," in Paul Hoftijzer and C.C. Barfoot, eds., *Fabrics and Fabrications: The Myth and Making of William and Mary*, Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1990, 100.
- ⁹² Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 131.
- ⁹³ Van Poelgeest, "William III and the University of Leiden," 101.
- ⁹⁴ Uit den dooden stronck, dit Spruitjen op quam schieten, / Dat, neegen jaren in MARIA'S schoot gequeekt, / Nu, binnen uwe wal, geen gonst noch konst ontbreekt. / De Vorsten tieren best, die Pallas borst genieten. Jan Zoet, *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*, 1659.
- ⁹⁵ Als een moeder, aan'er borst...Poogt te paen in zyn dorst. Jan Zoet, *Het Triomferende Leiden*, Leiden, 1659.
- ⁹⁶ Twist, verraad, en vrouweschenden / Voor ons, waagde tot de dood:/ Toen wy, och! toen wy verleegen, / [...] Van d'Albaansze wolf benart, / Voelden den bebloeden degen, / Door den boezem in het hart, / Op het onvoorsienst, gestoten.
- ⁹⁷ Frijhoff and Spies conclude *1650: Hard Won Unity* by writing, "The country owed its identity not so much to social structures, values, or customs, as to the ways people in that society went about the everyday business of thinking and acting and living together, in a spirit of mutual concern." Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 600.
- ⁹⁸ The memory of the Revolt figured heavily in the Dutch "discussion culture". See Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 220-225.

⁹⁹ Ratten, Katten, Honddepoten / In de plaats' van wildbraad, vond: / Toen men niet dan maagrelijken, / Spoocken, vreemt en ongedaan, / Zag verstroot in alle wijcken. / En de dood op schildwacht staan.

¹⁰⁰ D'Arme Burgers, met zyn bloed, / En zyn vleesch, zo graag wou laven, / Als een moeder, aan'er borst, / 't Liefte kind, in 't hart begraven, / Poogt te paen in zyn dorst.

¹⁰¹ Den grooten *Frederik*...als hy 't Goed van 't Quaad kan schiften / Naar den regel van Godsrecht / Deeze deugden kan hy koopen, / Voor een weinig sweet, en vlyt.

¹⁰² Myn borsten altyd loopen / Van de melck, daar 't al door dijt. / Op, wel op mijn Burger zaten

¹⁰³ Zoud ik deeze deugd vergeeten, / Aan zyn nazaat?

¹⁰⁴ Neen! O neen! / Danckbaar zal ik 't mijne uitmeten / Deugd eischt loon, met recht, en reên / Laat de Nijdt hem vry begrimmen, / Met een schrikkelik gezicht. / In den zadel zal hy klimmen, / En met moedig Ros, zeer licht, / Van myn sterke knie bescreyden.

¹⁰⁵ Vreede, en Vriendschap zal u kussen, / Met 'er lippen, kuis, en rein / Zuig myn speenen ondertussen, / In 't gezicht van *Suilestein*, / Die getrouwe, en wyzen hoede / En meer groten van zyn aart / Zo verheugt zich uw Vrouw Moeder, / Die heur heil, in U, bewaert.

¹⁰⁶ Poelgeest, "William III and the University of Leiden," 107; Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 131.

¹⁰⁷ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 131, 147-48, 198, 220, 242.

¹⁰⁸ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 129.

¹⁰⁹ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 76-77.

¹¹⁰ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 131.

¹¹¹ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 727.

¹¹² Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 128-131.

¹¹³ Mary Frances Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983, 22.

¹¹⁴ Setting her analysis in "a time when fathers ruled," Adams writes, "Dutch regents were stirred by visions of their own ascendant lineages (*geslachten*): in that they were typical of early modern elite family heads, whether landed or mercantile, petty squires or rulers." Julia Adams, "The Familial State: Elite Family Practices and State-Making in the Early Modern Netherlands," *Theory and Society*, 23, no. 4, (Aug., 1994), 507; Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005. On "patrimonialism" generally, Adams refers her reader to Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968, 226, 294-297, 1006-1007, 1010-1013, 1022-1023, 1028-1031. She writes, "Other terms currently in vogue for [the patrimonial] state include neo-feudal, predatory, absolutist, brokerage, tax/office, tributary, fiscal/military, and agrarian bureaucratic. Adams, "Familial State," 527n3.

¹¹⁵ Adams, "Familial State," 508.

¹¹⁶ Adams, "Familial State," 511.

¹¹⁷ Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 538.

¹¹⁸ Jacob Cats, *Moeder*, cited in Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 538.

¹¹⁹ Adams, "Familial State," 511.

¹²⁰ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 77-78.

¹²¹ Primary sources on the celebrations at The Hague and Scheveningen include prints, pamphlets, and newssheets. For prints, see Muller 2156-2167, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. For pamphlets, see Knuttel, 8197-8239, especially 8209, 8215, and 8217, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague. The newssheets announce Charles' departure as a matter of course, reporting it as any other news item. See the relevant dates for *Hollantse Mercurius*, *Tydinge uit verscheydende quartieren*, and *Ordinaris dingsdaeghse courante*, in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague.

¹²² Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 751.

¹²³ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 752.

¹²⁴ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 752.

¹²⁵ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 56.

¹²⁶ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 99-101.

¹²⁷ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 132-133.

¹²⁸ Ronni Baer, "The Life and Art of Gerrit Dou," in Baer, *Gerrit Dou (1613-1675): Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2000, 31. For the most complete treatment of the "Dutch Gift" to date, see Denis Mahon, "Notes on the 'Dutch Gift' to Charles II," *Burlington Magazine*, 91, no. 560. (Nov., 1949), 303-305; Mahon, "Notes on the 'Dutch Gift' to Charles II:II," *Burlington Magazine*, 91, no. 561. (Dec., 1949), 349-350; and Mahon, Notes on the 'Dutch Gift' to Charles II:III," *The Burlington Magazine*, 92, no. 562. (Jan., 1950), 12-18. Baer cites also, Willem Martin, *Het leven en de werken van Gerrit Dou*, Leiden, 1901, 60-68, though this work is unavailable at present. See also, Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 750.

¹²⁹ Antonia Fraser, *Charles II: His Life and Times*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993, 37, 85-87; Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 131.

¹³⁰ Gerrit Dou, *Young Mother*, 1658. Mauritshuis, the Hague.

¹³¹ The iconological interpretation presented here comes from Baer, *Gerrit Dou*, cat. 21, 106.

¹³² Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting*, 11-16.

¹³³ Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting*, 11.

¹³⁴ *Prinsselijk Zinnebeeld* is analyzed more thoroughly in Chapter Three.

¹³⁵ Harry Thurston Peck, *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, New York: Harper & Brother, 1897, 790.

¹³⁶ Tussen genre en historie. Lyckle de Vries, *Jan Steen: Prinsjesdag*, Bloemendaal, the Netherlands: H.J.W. Becht, 1992, 62.

¹³⁷ Richard Helgersson, "Soldiers and Enigmatic Girls: The Politics of Dutch Domestic Realism, 1650-1672," *Representations*, no. 58. (Spring, 1997), 49-87.

¹³⁸ Baer, *Gerrit Dou*, cat. 21, 106.

¹³⁹ Koenraad Jonckheere, ““When the cabinet from Het Loo was sold”: the auction of William III’s collection of paintings, 26 July 1713. *Simiolus: Netherlands quarterly for the history of art*, 30, no. 2 (2005), 56-116.

¹⁴⁰ Pieter Post, *Ordre en toestel van den Eed van getrouwigheid*, FM 2209, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

¹⁴¹ Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 540. Schama makes his point on the basis of Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996, 5-6.

¹⁴² Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 540.

¹⁴³ Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, Chapter Two.

¹⁴⁴ Oranje, WILLEMS erf, begint weer aam te haalen / Nu ’t wettig hooft gebiedt tot luister van zijn Staat. / Een vrygeboore Prins vereist ook vrye paalen. / Nooit moet de zon van zijn geluk, die nu opgaat, / Bespatten, door de krijg, van burgerbloeden en tranen. / Wie ’t Prinsdom heeft van Godt past met dan vreedevaanen.

¹⁴⁵ ...den Heere van Zuylichen, en het gantsche Parlement, t’samen sittende op een Tooneel gerecht tegens den over-ouden en wonderbaerlicken muer, vande Roomsche Schou-plaetse; wanneer ten selven stoned een Croone boven 't voorsz. Tooneel te staen inde locht, die gantsch helder was, schijnende de voorbode te wesen van een gelukkig success over deselve actie.

¹⁴⁶ Op ’t verschijnen van de Zonnekroon.

¹⁴⁷ Toen WILLEM wiert gehuldt verscheen'er in de wolken, / Recht boven ’t praaltooneel, een heldre zonnekroon, / Het staartgestarnt verschijnt om rampen te verolken, / Maar dit beloofde heil van d'opperhemeltroon. / Nu wacht Oranje vrucht tot welstant van haar Staaten. / Een loflijk hooftprins leeft tot heil der onderzaaten.

¹⁴⁸ Crispijn de Pas, engraver, and Mattheus Smallegange, author, *Sinne-beeld Ter eeren van Sijn Doorluchtigste Hoogheit Wilhem de III. Prins van Oraenjen. &c. Ten besten des Vaderlandt* (Allegory to the honor of His Illustrious Highness William III, Prince of Orange, etc., The best of the Fatherland). Vershcheen boven het Toneel in de lucht het teeken van een krone, by alle de omstanderen met verwonderling, en groot junchen aengesien.

¹⁴⁹ Ilja M. Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1564-1670): A Century of Print Production*, Rotterdam, the Netherlands: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2001, 370-376. Veldman suggests that the banishment may have ignored “probably because the city of Amsterdam had acted only under duress, and possibly on account of Crispijn’s age and physical condition.” Her analysis of the print focuses more on its legal ramifications for De Passe rather than its content. Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe*, 375.

¹⁵⁰ Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe*, 371.

¹⁵¹ Siet hoe de Leeuw sijn hand seer vriendelijck kooft lekken

¹⁵² Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe*, 371.

¹⁵³ De *Godsdienst*...Klaegt, day sy van het Volk te schandig word vergeten, / ...Godt had u met den horn des overvloeds gesegent, / In Vrede; maer gy hebt hem daer voor niet bejgent, / Als met ondanckbaerheit, vergetend’ sijn gebot.

¹⁵⁴ Doet boete, toont berouw, en betert uwe wegen: / Ghy weet hoe Ninive noch heeft genaed verkregen / Wanneer ’t sich heeft bekeert.

¹⁵⁵ Hier is een schoone vrucht die kan u ’t bloed verkoelen / En stillen ’t ingewand; gy sult geen smert meer voelen / In uwen boesem, soo gy d’Appel recht gebruikt / Sijn sap verquikt het hert, sijn schel geest-wekkend ruikt.

¹⁵⁶ Dan sal weer in het Land gewenschte welvaart groeien; / Uw Steden klein en groot in hoogste weelden bloeien. / Geeft ons, o God, te sien, hem jeughdig voort-geplant, / Ten dienste van uw Kerk, en ’t lieve Vaderland.

Chapter Three: Classical and Allegorical Imagery and Audience in Seventeenth-Century Orangism

Along with arboreal metaphors and images of motherhood, printmakers and poets adapted common Renaissance classical imagery and allegory to describe the house of Orange in the years of stadholderless government. While the themes examined thus far fit into long and specific lines of development in Dutch culture, the use of ancient myths in political-cultural representations belonged to a broader European tradition. Unlike the metaphors from the plant world and family life, which had meanings exclusive to Orangism and the United Provinces, allegorical figures and Greek and Roman deities meant the same thing in Rome as they did in Amsterdam. Orangist prints used classical themes to endow William III and the house of Orange with the attributes of good, just rulers. The images of Hercules and Pallas worked exceptionally well together as a way of countering the criticism of Orangist militarism.¹⁵⁷ The strength of Hercules and the wisdom of Pallas combined to convey an ideal of proper governance and wise use of military force. Allegorical images, derived from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, published in Dutch in 1644, acted as an early modern version of mythology – symbols for natural, political, and cultural phenomena, but without the religious overtones of classical myths.¹⁵⁸

As a component of Orangism, prints with classical imagery enable us to probe the question of audience. It remains a challenge to assess adequately the question of the audience for prints and other similar types of sources in the seventeenth century, although scholarship in this area makes a few conclusions possible. Certain social groups were more receptive to classical themes in images and poems; the level of education among individuals in these groups determined how well they understood classical images. Understanding did not necessarily imply approval, however, as religious belief affected how readily one accepted the use of mythological

figures. The criteria of education and religion apply not only to attitudes toward art and poetry but also probably to a more general cultural and social outlook. Although resistance to the deities of Greek and Roman mythology in Dutch art and poetry stretched back to the middle of the sixteenth century, it may have become part of a broader division in Dutch culture and society by the middle of the seventeenth century.

The religious environment in the United Provinces helps to clarify the audience for specifically classical images. A debate over the rightful place of religion in Dutch society and politics amounted to something of a culture war in the mid-seventeenth century. This culture war combined with political disputes in the 1650s to produce a somewhat divided society.¹⁵⁹ Maarten Prak writes of a group of Netherlanders who were “frightened” by mythological depictions in painting, and refused to purchase art with mythological themes.¹⁶⁰ Echoing Prak, Marijke Spies describes “a conflict between classical and Christian humanism...realism and idealism, nationalism and internationalism, universalism and historical thinking” in the early modern Netherlands.¹⁶¹ She analyzes that conflict in terms of a debate among Dutch poets over the use of pagan deities in their verse. Beginning with Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert, in 1550, one group of poets decried the use of mythological symbolism as a shameless reversion to paganism. Much like his countryman Erasmus, Coornhert saw himself, and Dutch poetry, as having advanced beyond reliance on myth. No longer did Coornhert believe Dutch poetry needed the Muses for inspiration, Spies tells us. He thought instead that poetry should deal with “real, truthful issues,” and that “true artfulness lies in an adequate verbal representation of reality, visualizing things as they are.”¹⁶² Coornhert’s view of truth rested on his conception of piety. “He had no use for [mythological stories],” Spies writes, “only for truth as learned by biblical

parables.”¹⁶³ The myths of the ancients, in other words, had no place in Christianized Dutch culture.

This particular stance on classical imagery had currency during the first stadholderless era, as well. Right in the middle of William III’s minority, in 1661, Willem Sluijter, a writer, introduced his book of psalms with an “urgent warning...that he had followed the style of the Bible, and avoided the ‘alien and false adornments of antique fables and the names of pagan gods’.”¹⁶⁴ In addition to the religious aspect of the argument against classical imagery, Coornhert, Sluijter, and company preferred the Dutch language to Latin. Spies does not address the specific confessional implications of the debate, although the emphasis on using the Dutch language related undoubtedly to the Protestant desire to make the Bible available to everyone in the vernacular. Concomitant with the rise of the Dutch language, furthermore, we see the increased recognition of a uniquely Dutch culture.¹⁶⁵ With a developing native language and a flourishing national culture, these poets saw no need to revert to linguistic and cultural representations so closely attached to Roman, or Roman Catholic, superstition.

Prints with classical imagery reflected the interests of just a small cluster of Orangists. Despite the confessionally divided population of the United Provinces, Christianity still held a monopoly on culture. Cultural and political differences separated those with similar religious backgrounds, however, and religious scruples drove a wedge between individuals with similar political outlooks. The available evidence does not allow one to conjecture too much on *who* was an actual Orangist. It only permits a judgment of how Orangists described the house of Orange and Orangist culture. Jonathan Israel holds that a nationwide debate between two university professors, Voetius and Cocceius, caused a social and ideological schism in Dutch culture. Voetius favored Calvinist orthodoxy, scriptural literalism, strict Sabbath observance,

and the further reformation of lifestyles. Cocceius and his followers took a more liberal approach, arguing that the scriptures were too complex to be interpreted literally, that Sabbath observance no longer applied within the new Covenant with Christ, and that religion must fit society.¹⁶⁶ Israel argues, “The rift [between Voetians and Cocceians over Sabbath observance] became fundamental not only in the church and academic spheres but in the body politic and the whole edifice of Dutch Golden Age culture.”¹⁶⁷ The orthodox faction wanted religious supremacy in all areas of life whereas the liberal group thought only secular concerns deserved public attention. The persistent use of classical themes in Orangism suggests that the orthodox-liberal division did not cut as deeply into Dutch culture as Israel contends, for if Orangists were orthodox Calvinists along Voetian lines, they would not have employed classical imagery so readily.

Israel pays little attention to the cultural content of Orangism during the stadholderless era. His interests lie with its social composition and ideological expressions. Research into the cultural content of Orangism seems to contradict Israel’s model of social division between orthodox and liberal Calvinists in the second half of the century. The only culturally controversial aspect of Orangism was its frequent use of classical imagery. Knowing the identity of Orangist rioters in Zeeland gives us a definite portion of the population who thought of themselves consciously as Orangists.¹⁶⁸ According to Israel and Spies, the Zeelanders who rioted in the name of Orange during the summer of 1653 (who we know to have been Orangists, or else they would not have rioted in the name of Orange) were not the audience for classical images. Those rioters, if they fit the social model Israel attributes to the orthodox, disapproved of the use of myth in cultural representations, in part because it impeded the advance of a purely Dutch culture. Classical imagery as an element of Orangism differed from arboreal and maternal

metaphors in the controversy surrounding its use. Poets who drew material from mythological sources were attacked as superstitious and un-Dutch.¹⁶⁹ Such accusations seem astounding when one considers that the house of Orange, supported, in theory at least, by the orthodox wing of the Reformed church, patronized one of the most extensive examples of classical imagery in the Oranjezaal at Huis ten Bosch.¹⁷⁰

The orthodox camp shared a quest for a further reformation of morals, the disapproval of paganism in art specifically. One contributor to the debate, Daniel Heinsius, an intellectual active in the middle part of the seventeenth century, sounded much like the liberals and their adaptation of religion to society with his belief that uttering the names of ancient deities had no bearing on the sincerity of one's Christian convictions. Some Orangists, though allied tentatively to a conservative model of society, disregarded the demand for further reformation when it came to their art and poetry. Despite Israel's contention that "Orangists and Voetians were natural allies; for both were endeavoring to check the political dominance – with its confessional implications – of the States of Holland," the evidence of classical themes in Orangist prints from the 1650s and 1660s leads to a different conclusion.¹⁷¹ The reality was not as simple as Israel contends. Israel cites Orangist Voetian preachers in support of his schismatic view of Dutch culture, to the exclusion of less religiously dogmatic Orangists.¹⁷² The composition of the Orange party varied probably as much as Dutch culture itself. Some loyal adherents to the Orange cause likely felt intellectual kinship to Voetius, others to Cocceius. The label of "Orangist," then, does not have strict boundaries.

With the issue of audience somewhat clarified, though far from settled, we turn back to the content of the classically influenced strain of Orangism. Orangists employed ancient gods and goddesses from the moment of William III's birth in order to illuminate his virtues, associate

him with his family line, and argue for his fitness for political office. In the period when William's future seemed most uncertain, the months between his birth and the Great Assembly, a print by Cornelis van Dalen asserted the Orangist point of view. The first instance that William III appeared in illustrated prints came naturally enough immediately after his birth, in November 1650. Van Dalen put out *Soo wordt de Jonge Prins van Hemelsche Godinnen Begroet* (Thus Heaven's Goddesses Greet the Young Prince), a stock print knowing engravers could alter in simple ways to fit numerous occasions (**Figure 3-a**). Van Dalen capitalized on the birth by reworking a plate created originally by Govert Flinck to celebrate the birth of Marie Emilia, daughter of Hendrik Casimir of Nassau, a Frisian stadholder during the 1630s.¹⁷³ Van Dalen appropriated the scene specifically to the Dutch branch of the house of Orange. His changes affected the substance of the print, its reception and interpretation. Van Dalen inserted the coat of arms of the house of Orange-Nassau in place of other princely arms. He removed the crown from the head of the baby lying in the cradle. He also changed the image of a castle in the background to that of the Binnenhof, the seat of Dutch government in The Hague and residence of the princes of Orange. Van Dalen added a trophy, held aloft by angels, of a phoenix rising from the flames and ashes, a definite expression of faith that the future held great promise for the newborn prince. The print as it appeared at the end of 1650 shows William III in an open cradle. Pallas stands prominently in the right foreground with her armor, helmet, and spear, while Venus and Cupid stand at the foot of the cradle. Flora stands at the top of the cradle, holding a cornucopia. Angels and cherubim fly in the sky below the figure of Fame blasting her trumpet with the good news from the house of Orange. Pallas accompanied the princes of Orange in visual imagery with great regularity, as this chapter will attest, symbolizing the wisdom and the

righteousness with which they waged war. Venus and Cupid represented the new mother's fertility and the married love that united Mary and William II, her late husband.

Flora appeared as an indication of fertility, abundance, and prosperity. Flora's associations with springtime denoted, as well, that the house of Orange anticipated a re-flowering of its political fortunes, another instance of the plant growth metaphor so prevalent in the 1650s and 1660s. William III and his house wanted their supporters to know that he would grow into a worthy man, so his partisans depicted him symbolically as a promising shoot of the tree of Orange. Van Dalen, like the producers of botanical images, relied on the ancients for his plant metaphor. His choice of classical deities, however, means that he figured into the long debate on mythological versus biblical imagery in poetry. The creators of botanic metaphorical images represented the other side of the debate. Van Dalen, in using ancient religious symbols, aimed at an intellectually sophisticated audience. The printers who made the sorts of images compiled in Chapter One likely targeted a broader collection of Dutch social groups.¹⁷⁴

In light of previous versions of *Soo wordt de Jonge Prins Begroet*, it took deliberate effort on the part of the poet as well as the engraver to relate the print specifically to current events. The text announced the beginning of a "golden age" of "Dutch peace" as a result of the birth, ignoring altogether the events of the previous spring and summer of 1650 that left five of the seven provinces without a stadholder and the house of Orange powerless. The poet did not thank the God of Calvin for His blessing on the house of Orange but appealed to the myths of ancient times. In light of the debate over the place of classical deities in poetry, these verses probably appealed to a particular segment of the population educated enough to decipher their complex references.

*Thus Heaven's Goddesses greet the Young Prince
And Batavia's Nation promises a golden age from this time forth*

*Dutch peace shall begin in his cradle
The Court in The Hague draws courage from this blessed Head.*¹⁷⁵

Already in these lines we see the beginnings of the language with which poets continued to praise William III. His presence was occasion for great jubilation and hopes for peace as a result of his “blessed” lineage. The use of the word “Head” (*Hooft*) in this context was an unmistakable reference to the debates swirling in the Republic about whether or not to appoint a new stadholder to replace William II.

In *Het Triomferende Leiden*, Jan Zoet invoked the name of Pallas to give the house of Orange an aura of wisdom and a basis in the distant past. The praise he showered on William the Silent culminated in a plea for William III to receive the same treatment.

*Yet before he [William the Silent] came to fall
He built a church for Pallas
To ensure the laws on my walls
There is the Athenians’ miraculous work
And old Rome must keep silent
Not foreseeing with mad opulence.
But illuminated with the light of Heaven
Rich in wisdom, arts and languages.*¹⁷⁶

Zoet argued that William III’s seemingly endless travails have all been worthwhile, for they have only led him to the font of power. Now that he had arrived in Leiden, the young child could learn from Pallas. Her wisdom would surely guide him to his destination, the “Throne of honor and State.”

*Seven times have planted [you, William]
...by my Pallas, [who is] rich with Counsel
To place your Highness, with joy
Upon the Throne of honor and State.*¹⁷⁷

Zoet seized upon the idea of William the Silent’s wisdom, gained from Pallas, and traced it down to 1659, a time when William III needed a good education before he ascended to power. In this sense, Pallas and the other classical deities function much the same as the arboreal metaphor, in

that they serve as an iconographical bridge between the successive generations of princes of Orange. Whether William III inherited the wisdom of his ancestors through the esteemed Orange Trunk or from the mythological guidance of Pallas, the treasured Orange legacy made him the ideal candidate for the political and military offices of his forbears.

Het Triomferende Leiden was not all classical allusion. Zoet made reference as well to stories from the Bible, showing that the mythological allegories functioned perhaps underneath the overarching glory of the Christian God. To reinforce the notion of divine favor, Zoet likened the inundation of the countryside in 1574 to the Biblical Exodus from Egypt.

*Pharaoh and his armies drowned
And the Castilian Crown
Lost luster in everyone's eyes
Due to the Green Laurel Wreath
On the bowed head of Prince William,
Shining with glory and bright glints.*¹⁷⁸

Alva played the part of Pharaoh, Spain tyrannical Egypt. William the Silent became Moses, the flooded polders the Red Sea.¹⁷⁹ Here, Zoet adhered to Coornhert's demand that poetry deal with real issues, not the fanciful deities of the ancients. The coexistence of mythological and Biblical themes in Zoet's poem conforms to the dictum of Heinsius' that "mythical stories could be viewed simply as the expression of moral insights, which ruled out any conflict with Christianity."¹⁸⁰ Zoet, as a well-known poet, must have been aware of the tension surrounding the use of classical images and probably with the works of Heinsius specifically. Zoet knew the vagaries of belief of the various religious groups in the United Provinces, as well, having written a satire on Dutch religious divisions sometime in the second half of the 1650s.¹⁸¹ Although we lack an admission of such directly from Zoet, it seems highly plausible that he crafted *Het Triomferende Leiden* to appeal to an audience with a wide range of beliefs.

Another of Zoet's verses from 1659 appeared with an illustrated print. *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* (Princely Allegory), mixed Christian and classical imagery in praise of the Leiden city fathers and William III.¹⁸² Mythical characters like Hercules and Pallas bestowed their respective traditional attributes upon William III, both visually and textually. Though pagan figures granted William traits like strength, bravery, or wisdom, Zoet left great matters like "the salvation of the Fatherland" to "God's goodness, with Scepter in hand, that drips with grace."¹⁸³ The style of Orangism found in Zoet's 1659 poems and songs projects a religiosity more distinct than that found in prints from earlier in the decade. These poems clarify the complex interplay between the orthodox Calvinist aversion to classical images, at one end of the Orangism spectrum, and the embrace of myth at the other end. Zoet combined Christianity and mythology without hesitation. The coexistence of Christian and classical imagery in *Het Triomferende Leiden* and *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* renders the simple picture of cultural rifts between Coornhert and Heinsius, Voetius and Cocceius, therefore implausible.

Zoet relied on classical imagery to make points about his own culture. He paid no heed to the admonishments of writers like Coornhert and Sluijter to describe Dutch culture with only the truth from the Bible. Mythological stories worked just as well as Biblical ones in his eyes, as evidenced further by the evocation of the labors of Hercules. In *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* Hercules appeared holding the reigns of "The Courageous State-Horse," recalling the strong man's eighth labor, the taming of the mares of Diomedes.¹⁸⁴ Hercules and his companions seized the human-flesh-eating mares, provoking a battle with their owner, King Diomedes. In the course of the battle, Hercules killed the king. The battle over, a victorious Hercules fed the mares the body of their former owner, thus taming them. To evoke this labor, artists showed Hercules grasping the rein of a mare while holding a club in his other hand. In *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* Hercules

disciplines the “State-Horse” with one hand while gripping William’s arm with his other. The nine-year-old prince of Orange acted as a proxy for the club of Hercules here, a material embodiment of the demigod’s martial force. The military tradition of the house of Orange remained foremost in the Dutch mind. William became the club that would tame the State-Horse yet he also subdued the might invested in the club with the wisdom of Pallas. This story of Hercules reflected perfectly the Orangist opinion that the stadholders only used military force when absolutely necessary, and struck against those who remained anxious that the princes of Orange had designs on the sovereignty of the States General.

What function did the depiction of Hercules perform in *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*? What traditions might the seventeenth-century viewer have had in mind when viewing and contemplating the picture of Hercules? Rulers of the Dutch Republic, just like everywhere else in Europe, employed Herculean metaphor to legitimate power or claims to power for centuries. The dukes of Burgundy, who ruled the Low Countries in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, pretended to descend from Hercules, and left their mark on material, political, and artistic culture. A contemporized Hercules figure appeared in Flemish tapestries during the Burgundian period. The wedding of Charles the Bold, in 1468, featured a dramatic production of the strong man’s twelve labors. The image of Hercules even influenced the iconography of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the elite noble order formed in 1430 to secure alliances to the duke of Burgundy. Charles V maintained the Order, making William the Silent a Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1555. Hercules figured into the personal iconography of Charles V, especially his voluntary handover of power to Philip II that same year. When Hercules stole the golden apples of the Hesperides, as the myth goes, he made a deal with Atlas to support the Earth while Atlas retrieved the fruit. When Atlas returned, he simply resumed his duty. The smooth transition of

power between the two virtuous, dutiful, mighty men worked perfectly well as images for rulers concerned with projecting an aura of stable invincibility.¹⁸⁵

The first chapter showed how the cultural displays of the house of Orange took a new slant on the stories of Hercules in the Hesperides. With *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*, however, Jan Zoet utilized entirely different episodes from the Herculean canon. Even with dissimilar back stories informing the image and the text, the presence of Hercules had a limited number of meanings. So what did Zoet mean? Zoet's verse mentioned Hercules three times. First, he associated the Leiden city fathers with the might of Hercules. In the opening stanza, Zoet wrote,

*Illustrious Fathers, who occupy the fourth place
In the high Council of Holland's Government;
Who are our embodiments of Hercules and Pallas,
You send, in times of war, Valor to the field
Your Wisdom goes to watch when we are vexed with Deceit
Through Council and Deed, you protect the general welfare.*¹⁸⁶

The regents of Leiden, the fourth most senior town in the States of Holland and thus the fourth to speak when debating matters before that body, appeared to Zoet as models of governance, probably for their continued support for Orange. Zoet mentioned Hercules and Pallas in the same breath as the Leiden regents to identify them more closely with the prince of Orange. Leiden on its own had no power to make war or peace. Only the States General could declare war, under the terms of the Union of Utrecht. The prince of Orange, however, traditionally held the command of the military forces in the United Provinces. When Zoet praised the Leiden regents for their military valor, therefore, he really commended their support for the house of Orange.

William could not assume the role of military commander before he gained wisdom, Zoet suggested, alluding also to one of the primary reasons why the prince came to Leiden. The States General, led by Holland, held the power in the political game, and that meant that Orange

had to play along. By taking such elaborate public steps in securing the best Dutch education possible for William, his guardians acknowledged the reality of republican government. Even Orange tolerated the stadholderless system because, paradoxically, only by cooperating with the regent governors could it regain power. Thus, William

*...departs not from Leyden, before his proud youth
Is enriched, according to the necessity, with craft and virtue
The sword is given to the Monarch when he knows how to sharpen it.*¹⁸⁷

In *Het Triomferende Leiden*, too, Zoet employed a sword metaphor in conjunction with the idea that William III needed a proper education before claiming the stadholderate.

*When Minerva, kneaded into his brains
The full knowledge of the new and old times
As he carried the whetted sword
Of the great Frederick,
Who never forsook the beating drums.*¹⁸⁸

Here, again, Minerva (Pallas) bestowed her wisdom upon William III so that he could return to the Republic to "the old times" of Orangist dominance. Zoet extended the military metaphor he utilized throughout the poem. Only when William III acquires the proper knowledge to govern should the States' assemblies grant him the power of the stadholderate or the captain- and admiral-generalship. Zoet sharpened his sword metaphor with a double-entendre. The Dutch verb *wetten*, to sharpen, also meant "laws," so that only with wisdom could William put a fine edge on the laws of the land.

The coupling of Hercules and Pallas strengthened the allusions in the poem to the fact that William came to Leiden to receive a proper education. Prodicus, the Greek sophist, told the story of Hercules at the crossroads, in which Pallas wisely counseled Hercules on the choice between the wide, easy path of Vice and the narrow, rocky path of Virtue.¹⁸⁹ Often in baroque art, the virtuous way had Pegasus at its end. In *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*, Hercules took the advice

of Pallas, who would help him guide William III down the road of virtue. For Zoet's Orangist audience, though, a simple Pegasus would not reward the prince sufficiently. What that audience, the prince, and his guardians desired were the reins of the Horse of State. The moral dilemmas presented to Hercules and the house of Orange help us make more sense of the next lines. Again invoking the transmogrified Pegasus, Zoet wrote of

*The courageous Horse of State, richly decorated with splendor and
Treasure, bridled and stopped in its tracks.
Minerva and Hercules use their heavy feet
To trample the horrors of hell.*¹⁹⁰

"The horrors of hell," in the form of republican, stadholderless government, halted the march of the princes of Orange just as they "bridled and stopped" the Horse of State. Bequeathed with the might of Hercules and the knowledge and wisdom of Pallas, William III would reassert the Orangist prerogative in Dutch politics and culture.

The final instance of Herculean metaphor in *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* connoted the Amstel and the Rhine with Hercules and Pallas, respectively.

*Thus flows the Amstel with blessings into the Rhine.
One is Hercules and the other is Pallas
In order to one day sit WILLIAM HENRY in the saddle.*¹⁹¹

William III sits in the saddle of the Horse of State astride the conjunction of two Dutch rivers, uniting the country under his common guidance. Zoet chose these rivers from the heart of Holland as William III's figurative riding grounds to assert the prince's domain over the lands through which they flowed. This bit of political geography illuminated the entire point of Orangism in these years – to place William III in the offices of state once occupied by his forebears. The Horse of State played the same role as the Throne of State. If William could sit easily in the saddle of the Horse of State, little could stop him from occupying the throne.

To reinforce William III's claim, Zoet referred to Alexander the Great in connection to William II, addressing the events of 1650 directly. He did not bemoan the late prince's memory.

Zoet's verse:

*Swiftly, severe violence walks into the bloody murderous drama
Greedy selfishness lays its hands on the Country's Jewel,
And the horrors go grazing in fat pastures.
The Dead fear no Monarch, or hallowed head of an army
Thus the militant steed loses his Alexander.*¹⁹²

Mention of the army recalled the political dispute between the States of Holland and the house of Orange concerning the maintenance of the large force gathered in the United Provinces during the Eighty Years' War. The States of Holland, who supplied most of the finances for the upkeep of the army, wanted the soldiery reduced commensurate with the absence of a direct threat to the security of the nation. William II, prince of Orange and "hallowed head" of all the military forces in the Republic, contended that the nation could not afford to leave itself undefended. In 1659 the issue of the head of the military remained sensitive.¹⁹³ Orangists wanted William III to succeed to the offices of his ancestors, captain-general and admiral-general. The Act of Seclusion amended to the treaty ending the First Anglo-Dutch War, however, barred any prince of Orange from ever occupying those posts again in conjunction with the stadholderate. Supporters of Orange found themselves faced with an either/or proposition they found unacceptable. Zoet wrote, "When the shepherd falls, the herd must be astonished."¹⁹⁴ Orangists were indeed astonished at stadholderless government. No matter the political climate at the time of William II's death, Zoet argued nonetheless, the nation must continue to honor the house of Orange.

We do not know if Zoet etched the plate for *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* before he wrote the poem or *vice-versa*. Whichever occurred first, neither text nor image determined its counterpart.

Only a handful of the fifty-four lines of the poem refer to the etching, a fact that leads one to question the significance of the image compared to the texts. The image alone, however, creates its own narrative largely independent of the text. Zoet expounded on the central figures of Hercules, Pallas, and the Horse of State in verse but left it up to his audience to decipher the meanings of the other figures. Clues in the text suggest possible interpretations but a true understanding of the complex interactions between text and image comes only by tapping into the mental world of a seventeenth-century Netherlander. *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld* reflected a shift, too, in the function of allegorical and mythological representations in the Dutch Republic. The period of stadholderless government in the 1650s and 1660s saw a move toward symbolic rather than narrative uses of allegorical and mythological figures.¹⁹⁵ *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*, with its implied narratives, suggests an engraver standing on the cusp of artistic change. The political ramifications of the print made its symbolism more important, while the stories embedded in the figures acquired secondary significance. Had the narratives possessed equal consequence, Zoet would have probably supplied some hints to their meaning. He opted, though, only to elucidate the symbolic meanings of certain primary figures, Hercules, Pallas, and the Horse of State.

Pallas, the goddess of wisdom, played a major role in depictions of William III, as she did in the imagery around all the other princes of Orange. Viewers of Orangist prints in the 1650s and 1660s would have had some idea of the ways printers had represented past princes of Orange thanks to the descriptions of triumphal entries. The image of Pallas figured heavily into triumphal entries and the prints produced to publicize them. From its roots in ancient Rome the Triumphal Entry took special shape in the Low Countries, a region that even in the High Middle Ages asserted noteworthy civic and provincial privileges. During William III's minority, however, it would not have made sense to view the Triumphal Entry in the normal context of a

claim of local privileges *vis-à-vis* a ruler. Instead, Orangists refashioned the ceremony to suit the particular circumstances of the house of Orange during the era of the “True Freedom.” The creators of Orangist Triumphal Entry processions seized the opportunity to present the public – and the prince – with their vision of a proper political settlement. The past military glory of Orange remained a major reason for continued hope that the William would regain the offices of state. Once he assumed his preordained station (as Orangists hoped he would), the Orangists expected him to carry out his duties according to the examples set by his ancestors, who benefited, so Triumphal Entries told the seventeenth-century Dutch, from the virtue of Pallas.

William III’s entry into Leiden in 1659 presented the city with the newest incarnation of their civic savior. As we have seen in the works of Jan Zoet, the time had come for Leiden to repay the debt it owed Orange for its salvation. Leiden would nurture William in the early years of his education and provide him with the skills necessary to govern. Even Triumphal Entries for minor figures in the Orange-Nassau dynasty, like the Electress of Brandenburg, who entered Amsterdam in 1659, contained references to past princes of Orange and hopes for the future. Zoet and Jan Vos, who designed the pageantry for the Electress of Brandenburg as well as for the entry of William III and his mother in the summer of 1660, must have consciously created expectations in the young prince regarding his future behavior.¹⁹⁶

Instilling a sense of anticipation as to the nature of William III’s eventual stadholderate challenged the existing republican regime implicitly through its elevation of an alternative ideal. The Triumphal Entries of William in these years made a subtle suggestion to the civic authorities that the stadholderless system did not meet the standards of governance set by the house of Orange. In Leiden, we can assume that the regents assented wholeheartedly to criticisms of the True Freedom, since the city’s delegation in the States of Holland voted consistently in favor of

Orangist interests. More surprising is the inclusion of such language in the processions of William and his mother into Amsterdam, a city historically opposed to the political power of the princes of Orange in much the same way as Leiden stood in favor.

In *De 16 Staatcywagens*, a 1659 print showing the entrance of the Electress of Brandenburg into Amsterdam, Jan Vos presented chariots of Unity, the seven provinces, Thankfulness (*Danckbaerheijt*), the city of Amsterdam, Kaiser Adolf of Nassau, and the five princes of Orange (**Figure 3-b**).¹⁹⁷ He associated each of the provinces and each of the princes with mythological figures. Vos showed Diana, the goddess of the hunt, riding with Gelderland. To Holland he gave Juno and Mercury, the patron deities of marriage and commerce, respectively. Zeeland receives, fittingly, Neptune, the god of the sea. Vos did not elucidate the meaning of each deity in relation to the provinces, probably because the associations were so obvious to contemporaries. No one had to ask why Mercury went with Holland, or Neptune with Zeeland, because everyone knew that Holland was the trading center of the world and that Zeeland's prosperity came from the sea.

In representations of William III up to this point, we have seen how the image-makers invested him with the accumulated virtue of his ancestors. Vos utilized the deities of the ancients to demonstrate, in part, that William would inherit the good traits of his forebears. With this figurative gathering of all of the princes of Orange in one location, however, Vos necessarily took the long view, spreading characteristics from generation to generation when he could not invest William III with all of them. Vos did not conceive of the house of Orange as a succession of individual princes but as a repository of collected virtues, each prince in turn earning the blessings of his predecessors. William I rode with "...a Lion, half-hidden under a shield, on

which sits a Fox. Prince William has before himself Pallas, and Freedom.”¹⁹⁸ Vos added, in verse,

*This is he who for his land received the bullet
He who dies for freedom's sake through his death will be reborn.*¹⁹⁹

The idea of giving one's life for Dutch freedom resonated deeply in a nation that had endured, by 1659, nearly a century of warfare in the name of independence. Many in the United Provinces viewed the house of Orange as having made the ultimate sacrifice for that cause. When Vos invoked the name of William I, then, he conjured images of a martyr with a near mystical aura. The Father of the Fatherland, as the Dutch have called William the Silent since his assassination in 1584 in Delft, rested in the pages of patriotic scripture, above factional squabbling, beyond reproach.

After the Revolt ended, even Prince Maurice, whose intervention in Dutch politics cost Grand Pensionary of Holland Johan Oldenbarnevelt his head and cemented Reformed orthodoxy as the Twelve Years' Truce wound down, enjoyed nothing but a glowing reputation. “He has Religion, Prudence....,” Vos wrote,

*Prince Maurice has saved the nation to the salvation of the States.
This courageous war hero fights no less bravely than his soldiers.*²⁰⁰

With the principle of provincial sovereignty so important to the States party ideology, Vos interpreted Dutch history with Prince Maurice of Orange in the vanguard of the defense of “the States.” Maurice preferred provincial sovereignty to Spanish tyranny, certainly, but many viewed his solution to the Truce Crisis of 1618-19 as a major blow to true republicanism.²⁰¹ Maurice's actions caused a definite shift in power away from the provinces and into the hands of the stadholder-prince of Orange. Vos twisted the true nature of those events, in a sense, to remove any shade of controversy from the house of Orange. Vos's claim notwithstanding,

Maurice deserved celebration also for revolutionizing military tactics and fortifications while in command of the Dutch forces against Spain. Thus, Vos endowed Maurice with “an iron fist...Mars, and Military Engineering.”²⁰² While Jan Zoet’s Horse of State trampled Mars at the feet of William III, Maurice employed Mars to help the Dutch win their freedom. Maurice, a branch of the Tree of Orange, benefited like William III from the wisdom of Pallas, waging war with wisdom. The float for Frederick Henry utilizes some of the Orangist imagery we have seen associated with William III in his youth. Vos gave Frederick Henry Hercules, a burning Phoenix, and an Orange branch surrounding a globe. Vos reminded the viewer that it was Frederick Henry

*Who had watered the plant of peace
Laurels are best when they are fruited with fat Olives.*²⁰³

Thus Vos presented a catalog of civil and military virtues for William III to make his own. The ideas conveyed in the Triumphal Entry drew on the collective memory of the Revolt years to suggest to William III the ideal image of a stadholder prince of Orange. The people whom William III would eventually govern knew the past deeds of the princes of Orange and expected the new one to live up to those standards.

As Vos suggested positive examples for the young prince, he could not ignore altogether the memory of William II. Vos must have known that Amsterdam had not completely forgotten the botched invasion of 1650. He pretended that it never happened, however, just as he glossed over the role of Maurice in 1618-19. The float for William II, the first of its kind in Amsterdam since his death, conformed to the conventions of the Dutch Triumphal Entry. Vos wrote, of William II, “He has Peace, Trade, Riches, and Overflow standing by him.”²⁰⁴ Vos preferred to remember William II as the stadholder who concluded the Revolt against Spain, and ushered in an age of prosperity for the nation.

*The second William stopped the war for the peace of the Cities.
Countries bloom best in the shadow of Peace.*²⁰⁵

These were the memories the third William needed of his father, for William III still had great potential. With a suitable education, Vos insisted, the child would meet the challenges of political power. William III rode with “Hope, in the lap of Religion, who is clothed in white...[while] the Seven Liberal Arts sharpen him by their lessons.”²⁰⁶ Vos wrote,

*Here the Orange Sprout learns virtue and craft
Through Religion and Ingenuity one woos Countries and Cities.*²⁰⁷

Perhaps Jan Zoet consulted (or attended – we know he operated an inn in Amsterdam called *Zoete Rust*, or Sweet Rest) these Amsterdam ceremonies when composing his odes to the young prince for the celebrations in Leiden, for here the “Seven Liberal Arts sharpen him by their lessons,” while, in *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*, Zoet reminded the Orangists of Leiden that “The sword is given to the Monarch when he knows how to sharpen it.” The recurrence indicates strongly that the Orangist political nation believed that the States General and States of Holland would indeed grant William III the positions of his ancestors one day in the future. Orangists believed that the house of Orange deserved special recognition for its service in the name of Dutch freedom. Here, Vos employed allegory to assert William III’s increasing ability to rule with sound judgment. The lessons of the Seven Liberal Arts illustrated William’s proper education with allegory, instead of the historical and Biblical lessons discussed in relation to *Het Triomferende Leiden* in the previous chapter. The close interaction of educational and allegorical themes only strengthens the importance of both to the Orangism of the first stadholderless era.

The preceding discussion on classically and allegorically themed Orangist prints places into question current views that piety and education determined audience. Each of these factors

combined to suggest an image of who did not approve of mythological themes. That classical imagery made up a significant portion of Orangist materials from the stadholderless period contradicts the Orangism of ordinary, moderately educated common folk. It attests, though, to the wide cultural appeal of the house of Orange. The audience for classically charged prints probably comprised the more well-to-do, educated, and internationally minded Netherlands. Consider, though, that Jan Vos's *Triumphal Entry* went through the streets of Amsterdam, visible to the entire city. Did the pious protest at the pagan deities on display? Not at all, and many Orangist printmakers continued to employ the gods of Greece and Rome in their prints. An audience for those prints existed, evidently, or printers would not have produced them. Nothing in the evidence indicates a connection between levels of education and piety, so it does not follow that the well-educated audience disavowed Christianity by viewing prints with mythological themes. Use of pagan symbols, in fact, did not prevent a poet or printmaker from professing Christianity, implying that not everyone subscribed to Coornhert's and Sluijter's views of piety.

Illustrations



Figure 3-a: Cornelis van Dalen, *Soo wordt Hemelsche Godinnen Begroet*, 1650. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Notes

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- ¹⁵⁷ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 760; Rowen, *The Princes of Orange*, 84.
- ¹⁵⁸ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 452, 455-56.
- ¹⁵⁹ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 664.
- ¹⁶⁰ Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, 245.
- ¹⁶¹ Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poetry*, Chapter 8, "Helicon and Hills of Sand: Pagan Gods and Early Modern Dutch and European Poetry," 69.
- ¹⁶² Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poetry*, 70.
- ¹⁶³ Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poetry*, 69.
- ¹⁶⁴ Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poetry*, 75. Spies does not identify Willem Sluijter other than to attribute to him the collection of psalms in question.
- ¹⁶⁵ Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians, and Poetry*, 71.
- ¹⁶⁶ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 661-662.
- ¹⁶⁷ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 664.
- ¹⁶⁸ Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 104-111; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 720-21; Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 132.
- ¹⁶⁹ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 455.
- ¹⁷⁰ Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 65-67.
- ¹⁷¹ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 664.
- ¹⁷² Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 660-669, especially 664.
- ¹⁷³ Govert Flink (pinxit), C. van Dalen (sculpsit), C. Danckerts. (Execudit), *Soo wordt de Jonge Prins van Hemelsche Godinnen Begroet*, engraving, 1650. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. OB-33.623.
- ¹⁷⁴ Frijhoff and Spies present a picture of a horizontally organized Dutch society, in which many more or less equal groups coexisted. Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 21, 37, 79.
- ¹⁷⁵ Soo wordt de Jonge Prins van Hemelsche Godinnen / Begroet, en Batoos-ryck een goude tyt belooft / De duytsche vrede Sal van syne wiegh beginnen / Het haaghse Hoff draaght moedt op dit gesegent Hooft.
- ¹⁷⁶ Doch al eer hy quam te vallen, / Heeft hy Pallas eene kerck / Op doen rechten in mijn Wallen, / Daer 't Atheensche wonder werck. / En oud Roome voor moet swichten, / Niet versien met zotte praal: / Maer met puik van Hemel lichten, / Rijk in wijsheyd, konst, en Tael.
- ¹⁷⁷ Zeeven reizen heeft geplant...By myn Pallas, rijk van raad, / Om uw Hoogheid, met genoeg, / Op den troon van eer en Staat.
- ¹⁷⁸ Faro, en zyn Heyr verdroncken: / En den Kastieljaansze kroon / Luister loos in ieders oogen; / Door den groenen Lauwer krans, / Om *Prins Willems* hooft gebogen, / Overschoon van gloor en glans.

¹⁷⁹ For an extended discussion of the Hebraic metaphor as an aspect of Dutch national identity, see Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, Chapter 2.

¹⁸⁰ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 454.

¹⁸¹ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 349-351.

¹⁸² Jan Zoet, *Prinsselijk Zinnebeeld* (Princely Allegory), 1659. FM 2145, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

¹⁸³ Godsgoedheid, met den Septer in de hand, / Die van genade druipt, tot heil van 't Vaderland.

¹⁸⁴ Het moedig Staatpaart.

¹⁸⁵ This account of the image of Hercules in the Burgundian and Habsburg periods draws from, Malcolm Bull, *The Mirror of the Gods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 90-92, 117.

¹⁸⁶ Doorluchte Vaderen, die, in den breedten Raad, / Van Hollandsheerschappy, de vierde plaats beslaat; / En ons een Herkules en Pallas kunt verbeelden. / Gy zend, in oorlogsnood, de Dapperheid te veld. / Uw Wijsheid gaat te wacht wanneer 't Bedrog ons queld. / Door Raad en Daad bescharmt men d'algemeene weelden.

¹⁸⁷ Hy schey van Leyden niet, voor dat zijn fiere jeugd / Verrijkt is, naar den eisch, met schrandereid en deugd. / Het scharmswaert voegt een Vorst wanneer by 't weer te wetten.

¹⁸⁸ Als Minerf de volle weet, / Van de nieuwe en oude tyden, / In zyn herssens heeft gekneet. / Als hy 't scharmswaert wette voeren, / Van den grooten Frederik, / Die zijn trommen nooit liet roeren, / Dan tot 's Vyants Hoon en schrick... / Als hy weet in 't hart te steecken / Van Geweld, en van Verraadt.

¹⁸⁹ James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, London: James Hall, 1974, 150.

¹⁹⁰ Het moedig Staatpaart, rijk verzien met pracht en schat, / Word, by den teugel, van de vlugge Tijd, gevat. / Minerf, en Herkules vertreên, met forsse voeten, / De gruwlen van de hel...

¹⁹¹ Dut stroom den Amstel dan, met zeegen, in den Rijn. / Den een moet Herkules, en d'ander Pallas zijn, / Om WILLEM HENDRIK in den zadel eens te zetten.

¹⁹² Flux treedt het streng Geweld op 't bloedig moordtooneel. / De Gierige Eygenbaat grijpt naar het Landtjuweel; / En al de Gruwlen gaan, in vette weiden, graazen. / De Dood ontziet geen Vorst, tot Leegerhoofd gewijt. / Dus raakt het strijdbaar ros zijn Alexander quijt.

¹⁹³ Rowen, *Princes of Orange*, 83-84.

¹⁹⁴ Wanneer den Harder sneeft, de Kudde moet verbaazen.

¹⁹⁵ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 452.

¹⁹⁶ Margit Thøfner, "Domina & Princeps proprietaria: The Ideal of Sovereignty in the Joyous Entries of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella," in Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo, eds., *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621*, Leuven: Brepols, 1998, 60. On the image of Isabella in her 1598 entries in Brabant, Thøfner writes, "...the aim is clearly to erode the differences between Antwerp's ideal sovereign and Isabella's actual person, so that she may come to understand herself in terms of this ideal."

¹⁹⁷ Jan Vos, *De 16 Staatcywagens, die voor hare Doorluchtigheden Mevrouw de Keur-Vorstin van Brandenburg, en Mevrouw haar Moeder de Princesse Douariere van Oranje, met de voortreflijkste Personaadjen der Vorstelijke Huyzen van Oranje, Anhalt en Nassau, &c. op de Markt vertoont zijn, en door de Stadt redden, toen d'Edele Groot-achtbare Heeren Burgermeesteren der stadt Amsterdam hare Vorstelijke Doorluchtigheden op 't Raathuis vergaste,*

Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1659. FM 2144, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam. Jan Vos, *Beschrijving der Vertoonningen op de Staatcywagens, die voor Hare Doorluchtigheden Mevrouw de Keur-Vorstin van Brandenburg, En Mevrouw haar Moeder de Princes Douariere van Oranje, met de voortreflijkste Personaadjen der Vorstelijke Huizen van Oranje, Anhalt, en Nassou, &c. op de Markt vertoont zijn, en door de Stadt redden, toen d'Edele Groot-achtbare Heeren Burgermeesteren der stad Amsterdam Hare Vorstelijke Doorluchtigheden op 't Raathuis vergaste*, Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1659. Kn. 8183, Koninklijk Bibliotheek, The Hague.

¹⁹⁸ ...een Leeuw, die half onder een schilt leit, daar een Vos op sit. Prins Willem heeft Pallas, ende Vryheyt voor sich.

¹⁹⁹ Hier is hy, die, voor 't Lant, door 't moordtschut is gebleeven. / Wie voor de vryheidt sterft zal door sijn doot herleeven.

²⁰⁰ Hy heeft Godtsdienst, Voorsichtigheydt...Prins Maurice heeft het Landt geredt, tot heil der Staaten. / Een moedigh Krijgsheldt vecht niet min dan zijn soldaaten.

²⁰¹ Wayne te Brake, *Shaping History: Ordinary People in European Politics, 1500-1700*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, 119-121

²⁰² Een ysere vuist...Mars en Krijgsboukunst.

²⁰³ ...de vrede heeft bevochten. / De Lauw'ren worden best met vett'Olijf door-vlochten.

²⁰⁴ Hy heeft Vrede, Neering, Rijkdoom, en Overvloedt by zich staan.

²⁰⁵ De tweede Willem boeit de Krijgh tot rust der Steeden. / De Landen bloeien best in schaaduw van de Vrede.

²⁰⁶ Hoop...op de schoot van de Godtsdienst, die in 't wit gekleedt is...De zeeven vrye Kunsten...scherpen hem haar lessen in.

²⁰⁷ Hier leert d'Oranjespruit de deugdt en schranderheeden. / Door Godtsdienst en Vernust bekoort men Landt en Steeden.

Conclusion

The first stadholderless era ended in the summer of 1672, when the armies of Louis XIV of France and the prince-bishop of Münster overran most of the Republic, leaving only the provinces of Holland and Zeeland unoccupied. Charles II, meanwhile, sent the full brunt of the English navies to pound the Dutch coasts. Facing unprecedented social and economic unrest, including the murder of Johan de Witt and his brother, Cornelis, by a bloodthirsty mob in The Hague, the States of Zeeland and Holland named William III to the posts of his ancestors, stadholder, captain-general, and admiral-general, on July 2 and 3, respectively. After leading the Dutch forces to victory against the triple onslaught of France, England, and Münster, William purged the town councils of prominent States party politicians in favor of Orangists.²⁰⁸ William would go on to lead the combined Protestant forces of Europe against the hegemonic ambition of Louis XIV and become king of England in the 1688-89 “Glorious Revolution.” The promise of Orangism during the first stadholderless era came true. The *Oranjespruit* grew into the *Oranjeboom*; William’s Dutch education prepared him more than adequately for the offices of state; he benefited throughout his rule from the wisdom of Pallas and the strength of Hercules.

The preceding analysis of Orangist expressions during the first stadholderless era has demonstrated that popular affection for the house of Orange had become embedded in Dutch culture by 1650, when supporters of the young William III’s claim to power mobilized those expressions in his favor. Botanical and maternal metaphors in Orangism showed that Orangists employed important cultural symbols in their articulation of loyalty to the house of Orange. Dutch emblems corroborated the cultural aspect of Orangism by providing examples in which the same metaphors used by Orangists to describe their loyalty to the house of Orange appeared in apolitical contexts. Even classical and allegorical themes common to European culture in

general placed Orangism in the milieu of specifically Dutch culture wars. The impossibility of maintaining Orangism in the political forms it took prior to 1650 resulted in the elaboration of innovative forms of cultural Orangism. Loyalty to the house of Orange ceased to function as a political expression of self-interested Orangist regents, or as the explosion of social frustrations on the part of ordinary Dutch citizens in riots; Orangism during the first stadholderless era drew from the deep well of Dutch tradition to produce a striking new element of Dutch political culture.

The recognition and investigation of the cultural components of Orangism demand renewed attention to the historiography of Orangism. The past decade has witnessed an increased interest in the cultural ways the Dutch of the seventeenth century expressed their fidelity to the house of Orange, though no study to date treats the subject during the first stadholderless era, when, for the first time, the Dutch Republic boasted a government without a prince of Orange at its head. Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, in their sweeping survey, *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, write of the preeminent status of the princes of Orange in the Republic as cultural patrons. “The prince-stadholder...gradually maneuvered himself into a strong position of leadership, socially and culturally as well as politically above the nobles who had previously been his equals,” they argue.²⁰⁹ When Frijhoff and Spies write of the prince of Orange’s cultural leadership, however, they fall into the same trap that ensnares other writers, namely, they ignore the cultural production of Orangist documents and materials not connected directly to the Orange court.

Simon Schama offers the most meaningful input on the subject of cultural Orangism. His discussion of “patriotic scripture” remains essential in some respects to the argument of Chapter Two, that the placement side by side of arboreal and maternal themes amounted to an elevation

of the mentality of popular Orangism into the realm of civic religion. Schama shows persuasively how the Dutch rebels in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, convinced of their divine ordination, rewrote the stories of the Old Testament with their political and military leaders in the roles of God's chosen and their enemies in the roles of the evil oppressors. For the most part, the term "patriotic scripture" does not apply in its precise form to the Orangism of the first stadholderless era. No examples survive of William III being likened to an infant Christ, or any other Biblical child. Mary Frances Durantini's argument on the nature of Dutch mother and child images, moreover, precludes any suggestion that the maternal imagery of Orangism has a Madonna and Child component.²¹⁰

When the query of cultural history becomes one of audience, when the question asked becomes "who" viewed culture instead of "what" was produced, the focus turns necessarily to the history of society. In this regard Pieter Geyl makes a major contribution, followed up by the work of Jonathan Israel. Geyl's *Orange and Stuart* remains the most complete analysis of the social aspects of Orangism, though "the central thread" of Geyl's book, "Orange involvement with Stuart," steers his emphasis onto the Orange and Stuart courts rather than Orangists among the common folk. When Geyl pays attention to Orangists outside of court circles, he inevitably does so in the context of Orangist riots.²¹¹ Israel's study of Dutch society in this period stresses the economic benefits of living in Holland, where high wages and dropping agricultural prices and food costs combined to create unprecedented prosperity for most groups of society.²¹² Israel, unfortunately, leaves the position of the house of Orange out of his discussion of Dutch society and culture in the 1650s and 1660s.

Once again, Frijhoff and Spies make the most important addition to the study of Orangism in Dutch society. Whereas Geyl and Israel acknowledge the actions of Orangist

rioters, they make little effort to discover the identity of rioters. Frijhoff and Spies get to the heart of the matter, writing,

From the identity of the sixteen persons convicted in Rotterdam for participation in the Orangist riot we can deduce which groups were calling for a new stadholder: a sail maker, two sailors, a fish peddler, a lace maker, a tile maker's apprentice, a brewery worker, a basket maker, a mill worker, and a number of drunken teenagers. The common people wanted Orange back.²¹³

The professions listed here all belong solidly to “the common people,” as the authors state.

Knowing that taverns and inns provided some of the main venues for viewing prints in the public sphere, that is, outside of the home, we might assume that the individuals Frijhoff and Spies cite formed at least part of the audience for popular Orangist prints. Such an assumption in part generalizes the behavior of an entire group of society. Rudolf Dekker's study of riots in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Holland argues that alcohol often played a role in instigating riots.²¹⁴ The conclusions drawn from this picture of Orangism in society are unfortunately limited. It would be shortsighted, as well as plain wrong, to argue that Orangists came only from the lower orders of society. The daily habits of these Orangists probably gave them ample opportunity to view prints, whether in taverns or in market stalls. The culture, then, the way of life of ordinary Dutch citizens placed them in the target audience for Orangist prints which capitalized on the cultural traditions of those citizens to convey a political message. The persistent Orangism of regents in cities like Leiden and Haarlem in Holland and throughout Zeeland, as well as the fact that William III had a ready pool of Orangists from which to draw during his purges of 1672, forces the conclusion that a significant number of urban burgers continued to believe in the Orange cause.

The most recent analysis of the political content of Orangism, Jill Stern's “The rhetoric of popular Orangism, 1650-1672,” argues that Orangist pamphlets cited the concept of *vox populi*,

vox dei (the voice of the people is the voice of God) in favor of restoring the office of stadholder. To prove that the *vox populi* stood with Orange, pamphleteers agitated for “direct action by the commonalty” in the form of riots against the sitting republican governments.²¹⁵ Stern’s article is a condensed version of an unpublished doctoral dissertation; in this condensed version, she focuses on the pamphlet literature of 1672 while giving only brief attention to the rest of William III’s minority. Stern highlights the continuity of Orangist polemic in the first stadholderless era with the popular political arguments from the Revolt against Spain, writing, “Indeed, the rhetoric of the Revolt, which had emphasized that the authority of the magistrate rested on the common authority of the people, was to be taken out and aired again in 1672.”²¹⁶ She stresses, however, “the radical tone” of the pamphlets, in their assertion “that the stadholderate held the key to [the people’s] privileges and liberties...a stadholder and captain-general [were] perceived by many citizens to be essential not only to rid their country of a foreign aggressor but also to defend their interests against an overweening urban patriciate.”²¹⁷ Stern makes no claim, however, to seek an understanding of the ways the ideas expressed in pamphlet literature relate to the print literature of the period.

Jonathan Israel joins Stern in treating Orangism as a political ideology, and through his more general treatment encompasses cultural manifestations of Orangism, as well. In addition to his in-depth probing of the domestic political ramifications of Orangism, Israel analyzes the effects on the Dutch citizenry of the Orange-Stuart alliance, the Restoration of Charles II, and the presentation of the Dutch Gift in 1660.²¹⁸ He discusses the interactions between English Royalists and Dutch Orangists in The Hague, a subject very important to the understanding of the social implications of Orangism, but which again neglects the content of Orangist print production.²¹⁹ Israel allows much space on the issue of “party and faction in the early 1660s.”²²⁰

His analysis focuses on the ability of Johan de Witt to control the popular elements mobilized by Orange and in the name of Orange during the first stadholderless era, and especially “the Orangist revival [which] demonstrated the continued ascendancy of older traditions over the popular mind.”²²¹ He contends that the States party attempted to tame the influence of those traditions. The preceding chapters of this thesis have suggested some of the ways in which those “older traditions” continued to exert influence “over the popular mind,” namely by taking advantage of important Dutch attitudes to create a new form of political culture.

Finally, J.L. Price offers his own version of politics in Holland during the seventeenth century in *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Politics of Particularism*. Price maintains that Orangism was only a “coloration” assumed by opportunistic politicians at appropriate times, in contrast to Israel and Stern who see concrete statements of Orangist political ideology in the pamphlet literature of the first stadholderless era.²²² He writes off the Orangism of Leiden and Haarlem as pure economic interest. He also insists, however, that the States party had the only real ideology, since its brand of republicanism was “the creation of their interests.”²²³ In the case of Leiden, at least, Price neglects to consider the Orangist loyalty implicit in the historical memory of the city, as the examination of Jan Zoet’s *Het Triomferende Leiden* in Chapters One and Two makes clear. If anything, this highlights the need for a more detailed study of Orangism in Leiden, and an attempt to understand how the historical memory of the Revolt and Siege of 1574 affected subsequent politics in that city. Price stresses, as well, the lack of a major articulation of Orangist ideology comparable to that produced by republican writers such as Pieter de la Court.²²⁴ Were Price correct in his assessment, and Stern and Israel incorrect in theirs, the notion that Orangism operated on cultural levels and less on political ones would ring a great deal more true. The two ways of expressing

Orangism do not, however, mutually exclude each other. The themes discussed in the preceding chapters augment the already excellent analysis of political Orangism with an acknowledgement and scrutiny of cultural Orangism.

The present study is important, therefore, for its focus on the diverse expressions of Orangism in Dutch culture during the first stadholderless era. Much work remains, however, particularly in the culture of the rural provinces and in individual cities in Holland and Zeeland. An investigation into the steady Orangism of Leiden might lead to wider research into Orangism in Haarlem and Enkhuizen, two other cities which frequently voted in favor of Orange's interests in the States of Holland. The question of audience remains an open one, as well. We may never know with certainty who viewed which prints, but the advances in scholarship exemplified by Frijhoff and Spies's *1650* suggests possible inroads into the issue. In this sense, one hopes the present thesis might act as a sprout which may mature, with proper nurture from subsequent historians, into a great tree of research and scholarship.

Notes

²⁰⁸ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 796-806.

²⁰⁹ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 97-98.

²¹⁰ Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting*, 22.

²¹¹ See especially Geyl, *Orange and Stuart*, 104-111.

²¹² Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 630-632.

²¹³ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, 132.

²¹⁴ Rudolf Dekker, *Holland in beroering: Oproeren in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, Baarn: Ambo, 1982. 27.

²¹⁵ Stern, "Rhetoric of popular Orangism," 202.

²¹⁶ Stern, "Rhetoric of popular Orangism," 224.

²¹⁷ Stern, "Rhetoric of popular Orangism," 224.

²¹⁸ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 748-758.

²¹⁹ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 717-718.

²²⁰ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 748-757.

²²¹ Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 758.

²²² Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic*, 156.

²²³ Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic*, 156.

²²⁴ Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic*, 154-171.

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