

# **The parentage of nationalism: an inquiry into the origins of Dutch intellectual nationalists.**

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## Introduction

Although nationalism was perceived as all but gone during the last decade of the 20th century, few could argue that nationalism is not omnipresent in today. The annexation of the Crimean peninsula by the Russian Federation and the separatist war in eastern Ukraine, the Scottish referendum on independence from Great-Britain, the Catalanian independence movement in Spain and the struggle between Flanders and Wallonia in Belgium are just a few of these nationalist themes and conflicts. Moreover, in Europe almost every country has seen the rise of new popular nationalist parties: the Golden Dawn party in Greece, the Jobbik party in Hungary, but also less militant movements such as: UKIP in Great-Britain, the Freedom party in the Netherlands, the Danish Folk party, True Finns and the Front National in France. The rise nationalist sentiment these past decades, has made the study of nationalism and its origins more relevant than ever.

The last party mentioned: Front National, is led by Marine Le Pen, daughter of the former party leader Jean Marie le Pen. Although Marine Le Pen has openly distanced herself from the anti-semitism expressed by her father, and has moderated party stances, it should come as no surprise that Marine Le Pen expresses similar ideals about the nation as her father. This is due to the fact that parents are probably the most important agents in the process of socialisation, more specifically political socialisation.<sup>1</sup> Parents also have tremendous influence on the selection of other agents of socialisation. They can select schools and approve or disprove other agents such as friends. Lastly children raised in different social environments meet different agents of socialisation. This is largely determined by the social status of their parents. All in all, one could argue that the ideas and stances expressed by a person are partially shaped by the social position their parents. Historically, the influence of parents and their social position on the political socialisation of their children could have been even greater, due to the absence of mass media, and the presence or lack of means necessary to provide a child with a proper education.

The idea that social environments affects ideas and thoughts of people has been accepted by biographical and social historians, but it has thus-far been absent in study of nationalism. Whereas the study of nationalism and, to a certain extent, intellectual history focus on the influence ideas have on societies, social historians and the social history of intellectuals study the influence society, economics and institutions have on the formation

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<sup>1</sup> E. Grauerholz and E.A. Swart, *Student Handbook to Sociology Socialization* (New York 2012) 21-22.

of ideas.<sup>2</sup> This thesis should be regarded as a form of social history of intellectuals. It will aim to review the intellectual origins of nationalism, by discussing the geographical and socio-economic background of nationalist writers. The thesis will specifically answer whether intellectual nationalists in the Netherlands, during the period between 1750 and 1813, come from similar socio-economic backgrounds. This will be done in a systematic way, by creating a dataset concerning Dutch nationalist writers and their geographical and socio-economic position. It will also incorporate similar data concerning their parents.

Besides discovering the background of intellectual nationalists in the Low Countries this paper has a second objective. This thesis contains a programme created to analyse the geographic and socio-economic origins of intellectual movements, by looking at the social origins of its intellectual precursors. As such, the programme presented in this paper can be applied to the intellectual and preliminary phase of all the great political movements: liberalism, socialism and conservatism. This programme could thus expand the toolkit for comparative ideological research. Although biographical studies have proven time and again that every individual's thinking is, at least partially, shaped by their parents and their social context, up until this point, this factor has not yet been considered when systematically studying the socio-economic background of intellectual movements. Furthermore, when such surveys are made, historians merely look at the socio-economic context of the intellectuals themselves, without considering parental influence.

Both objectives can be achieved by using Dutch nationalist writers as a case study to test the aforementioned programme. This case study will also allow us to contribute to the study of nationalism by comparing the results found in this survey to some of the theories concerning the historical study of nationalism. This thesis will therefore be divided in two halves. The first half of this thesis will discuss the historical debate concerning nationalism. More specifically, this historiography will look at the debate concerning the origins of nationalism internationally and in the Netherlands. Furthermore, a broad outline concerning the history of the Dutch Republic between 1750 and 1813 will be presented. The second half of this thesis will be devoted to the programme created to study intellectuals and its implementation. First the programme will be presented along with the hermeneutical decisions accompanying its creation. This chapter will also discuss the criteria for selecting nationalist writers. Finally, the research programme will be applied to these writers. The findings will be presented and discussed during the last two chapters.

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<sup>2</sup> D. Wickberg, 'Intellectual History vs. the Social History of Intellectuals', *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 5:3 (2001) 383-395, 383-386.

The systematic overview of the socio-economic backgrounds of nationalist writers presented in this thesis should contribute to our knowledge on the origins of nationalist thought. Although most of the information about these writers is known no attempt has been made to bind this data together in order to create a systematic analysis of the socio-economic origins of nationalism.

## **Part 1: Historiography and historical context**

The first part of this essay will attempt to discuss the most fundamental theories and concepts used in the study of intellectual nationalism. Moreover, this part will attempt to create a context from which the results of the programme presented in part two can be discussed.

### **1.1 Historiography: modernism and cultural dominance**

During the last thirty years most surveys concerned with the origins of nationalism have been placed within the primordial versus modernist debate. Modernists such as Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson argue that nationalism developed as a result of modernisation processes such as industrialisation and urbanisation. Modernists would argue that nationalism is a social myth sustained with modern means such as education and mass media. As Gellner describes it:

*'Nationalism is not the awakening of an old, latent, dormant force though that is how it does indeed present itself. It is in reality the consequence of a new form of social organisation, based on deeply internalised, education-dependant high cultures, each protected by its own state.'*<sup>3</sup>

Gellner argues that the modern revolution at the beginning of the 19th century disrupted agrarian social structures and identities. National identities were invented in order to replace disappearing agrarian social structures and identities.<sup>4</sup> The rigid link between modernisation industrialisation and urbanisation in Gellner's theory does not apply to the formation of each nation. At the start of the 19th century, the Dutch Republic was already highly urbanised. Over 37% of total population lived in cities and settlements with more than 2500 inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand industrialisation did not commence in the Netherlands until the late 19th century. As this paper will show nationalism in the

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<sup>3</sup> E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford 1983) 48.

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem, 39-40.

<sup>5</sup> J. Kloek and W. Mijnhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving. Nederlandse cultuur in Europese context 2* (The Hague 2001) 38.

Netherlands can be found well before 1800. Therefore, Gellner's ideas about the preconditions of nationalism have to be critically examined.

One of the most recent and influential challenges to the modernist paradigm comes from Caspar Hirschi, by now the most prominent agent of primordialism. In '*The Origins of Nationalism*'<sup>6</sup> Hirschi traces back nationalism to late medieval roman catholic culture. He argues that nationalism was invented when dynastic empires competed over the heritage of the Roman empire to enforce dynastic claims. Hirschi regards nationalism as '*the discourse that creates and perserves the nation as an autonomous value...*'<sup>7</sup> The nation is considered an abstract community equal to others.<sup>8</sup> This thesis will not regard nationalism as a discourse, but as a political ideology. This ideology aims to create a nation-state and believes that the nation, a natural unit embodied by its people, should pursue self-determination.<sup>9</sup> The use discourse similar to nationalism within dynastic conflict cannot be regarded as a nationalist ideology, because it does not concern self determination and the creation of the nation-state. As such this inquiry into the origins of nationalism will focus on modernist theories and look at the period before the heyday of the nation-state: the latter half of the 18th century.

Although the modernist paradigm has been inspired by Marxist theory and its structural and economic foundations have been evaluated by Marxist historians, political and cultural historians have dominated the study of nationalism internationally and in the Netherlands during the last two decades. Niek van Sas, who studies political culture after 1750, decided to focus on the political changes that occurred at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. Van Sas uses Reinhart Koselleck's idea about the 'Sattelzeit', the period between 1750 and 1850 during which the nation-state was invented, to describe the political transformation of the Dutch Republic into the Kingdom of the Netherlands.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, van Sas connects the emergence of nationalist thought to Enlightenment philosophy and specifically the late 'Dutch Enlightenment'.<sup>11</sup> Joep Leerssen, a cultural historian, traces the idea of the nation back to philologists such as

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<sup>6</sup> C. Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism: An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge 2012).

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem, 47.

<sup>8</sup> Ibidem, 47.

<sup>9</sup> A. Heywood, *Political Ideologies: an introduction 5th edition* (Basingstoke 2012) 172-173.

<sup>10</sup> N. van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland: van oude orde naar moderniteit 1750-1900* (Amsterdam 2005) 17-18.

<sup>11</sup> Ibidem, 20-21.

Jacob Grimm. Leerssen starts his research into nationalism with German romantic ideas of the early 19th century and the networks between philologists of northern Europe.<sup>12</sup> The international project 'Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms' further develops this idea by studying '*those intellectual networks which carried and disseminated the emerging ideals of cultural nationalism in the Romantic period and in the long nineteenth century (1770-1914)*'.<sup>13</sup> The international perspective allows the use of a comparative approach to nationalism. Also building on Leerssen's research, Jan Rock has placed Dutch philological research within a broader historical context. Rock states that the period between 1784 and 1838 was crucial for the nationalisation and institutionalisation of philological science in the Netherlands.<sup>14</sup>

Even though nationalism is widely discussed from many angles, few have specifically explored the origins of nationalist intellectuals. Max Weber was one of the first to refer to the role intellectuals played in defining the nation. Weber states that intellectuals choose to stay in close proximity to political power in order to promote ideas of nationalism.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, when writing about the nation Weber specifically mentions intellectuals as predestined to promote ideas about the nation as leaders of the 'culture community'. Promoting the nation would thus enhance their own prestige as cultural bearers of the nation. Politicians would promote the state as a vehicle for the nation. Thus, the nation and the state would be viewed as two sides of the same coin.<sup>16</sup>

When Gellner discusses intellectual nationalists he specifies their rural heritage. Gellner argues that intellectuals of rural descent were vital to the transformation and cultivation of agrarian identities into national identities in order to cope with the alienation resulting from modernisation processes.<sup>17</sup> However, little more is said by Gellner on this topic. In his socio-economic study on the preconditions of nationalism, Miroslav Hroch also mentions intellectual nationalists when discussing his three phases: phase A, when the

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<sup>12</sup> J. Leerssen, *De bronnen van het vaderland, taal literatuur en de afbakening van Nederland 1806-1890* (Nijmegen 2006) 13-17.

<sup>13</sup> Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms, 'Presenting SPIN' (versie 19 november 2008) <http://spinnet.humanities.uva.nl/home>, (28 may 2015).

<sup>14</sup> J. Rock, *Papieren monumenten: over diepe breuken en lange lijnen in de geschiedenis van tekstedities in de Nederlanden, 1591-1863* (Doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam 2010) 403.

<sup>15</sup> R. Fevre, D. Denney and J. Borland, 'Class, status and party in the analysis of nationalism: lessons from Max Weber', *Nations and Nationalism* 3:4 (1997) 559-577, 599-560.

<sup>16</sup> Max Weber, *From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology*, H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills ed. (London 1977) 176.

<sup>17</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 61-62.

nation is invented by an intellectual elite; phase B, during which ideas about the nation were spread by means of patriotic agitation; and finally phase C, when nationalism became a mass movement.<sup>18</sup> Hroch describes the intellectuals in phase A as having little social influence and lacking organisational basis.<sup>19</sup> Hroch further states that intellectuals were not concerned with spreading their ideas, their activities were merely motivated by scholarly interest.<sup>20</sup> Rather than focussing on the origins of nationalist theory Hroch aimed to discover why nationalism became a mass movement. That is why he devoted most of his attention to phase B.<sup>21</sup> By studying objective (economic) relations Hroch is able to use a comparative approach to the rise nationalism and confirm the role of the petty bourgeoisie in spreading its ideas. Furthermore, Hroch has stated that nationalism spreads from core cities to more peripheral regions<sup>22</sup> contrary to Gellner's theory. Although his work inspired the use of a comparative approach to nationalism, he does not discuss the social origins of the movement. Leerssen would agree that historians should expand research into phase A. However, Leerssen does this by looking at the way intellectuals cultivated culture and spread their ideas,<sup>23</sup> instead of looking at the economic origins of nationalism.

Even though intellectual elites and nationalism have been connected in some of the groundbreaking works concerning the rise of nationalism, a clear description of these intellectuals has yet to be made. Weber describes them as people in close proximity to political power, whereas Gellner states that they were intellectuals of rural descent. Moreover, Hroch defines them as a passive scholarly elite. Quite remarkably the study of nationalism and proponents of the modernist paradigm, with their obvious Marxist origins, have devoted so little attention to the social relations of nationalist intellectuals, a group of people whose role in the genesis of national thought is so vital. In an attempt to fill this niche this paper will focus on the social origins and social relations of intellectual nationalists in the Netherlands in order to enhance our understanding of the origins of nationalist thought.

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<sup>18</sup> M. Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge 1985) 22-24.

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem 50-52.

<sup>23</sup> J. Leerssen, 'Nationalism and the Cultivation of Culture', *Nations and nationalism* 12:4 (2006) 559-578, 562-564.

## 1.2: Historical context: the Dutch Enlightenment.

Prior to discussing the origins of intellectual nationalists in the Netherlands we have to consider the intellectual and political context of the 18th century Dutch Republic. The 'Dutch Enlightenment'<sup>24</sup>, a concept used by van Sas, should prove useful when discussing the intellectual climate in the Netherlands. The term 'Dutch Enlightenment' usually refers to a more radical form of Enlightenment philosophy which bloomed in the Dutch Republic during its 17th century Golden Age. Jonathan Israel traces back the foundations of the modern world, in terms of universality, equality and democracy, to the philosophy of Baruch Spinoza during the second half of the 17th century. He describes these ideas as the radical Enlightenment.<sup>25</sup> Yet the 'Dutch Enlightenment' encompassed a much broader variety of philosophical and scientific movements. One of which will be discussed here: the merging of Enlightenment optimism and ideas about societal decay in the Netherlands.

The relatively tolerant attitude toward religion in the 17th century Dutch Republic attracted many protestant and jewish scholars and booksellers. These emigres, especially French huguenots and people from the Southern Netherlands, stimulated the rise of a rich intellectual climate in the Netherlands.<sup>26</sup> The end of the economic bloom of the 17th century, seemed to coincide with the fading of this rich intellectual climate. Yet the Enlightenment did not cease at the end of the 17th century. The programme lasted, according to many, until the end of the 18th and start of the 19th century.<sup>27</sup> During the 18th century the Dutch Republic, as contemporaries described it, stood in stark contrast to the optimism accompanied by Enlightenment ideals. The Dutch Republic had lost its international position as a major power. The great costs of the war of Spanish succession (1702-1713), and the near conquest of the Republic by France during the war of Austrian succession (1740-1748), emphasised the political and economic decline of the Republic during the 18th century.<sup>28</sup> As opposed to countries whose rich past was far behind them, the economic and international dominance of the Dutch Republic was fairly recent.

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<sup>24</sup> van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland*, 20-21.

<sup>25</sup> J. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford 2001) 159-164.

<sup>26</sup> W.W. Mijnhardt, 'The Dutch Enlightenment: Humanism, Nationalism and Decline' in M.C. Jacob and W.W. Mijnhardt, *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline Enlightenment and Revolution* (Ithaca 1992) 197-223, 198-200.

<sup>27</sup> Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 'Enlightenment' (version 20th August 2010) <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/enlightenment/> (30 mei 2015).

<sup>28</sup> Mijnhardt, 'The Dutch Enlightenment', 207-209.

Therefore, the decline in power should be considered as a genuine experience to contemporaries.<sup>29</sup>

*'Decline was thought to be total, on all levels, in all human endeavor - moral, economic, social, cultural, political. Moral decline, luxuriousness, idleness of curse formed the deepest cause of the phenomenon; only by returning to the sober uncorrupted style of the seventeenth century could the Dutch find their way back to a more satisfactory existence'*<sup>30</sup>

A lack of moral and religious virtues were seen as the root causes of economic and political decay. As such the Enlightenment ideals and optimism were combined with a strong moral religious zeal. It is quite possible that writers have overstated the economic and moral decay of the Republic, but it is fundamental to understand that the idea of a republic in decay as it was felt by contemporaries.<sup>31</sup>

A consequence of this decay was the inward turn of Dutch contemporaries. Van Sas explains that whereas Enlightenment philosophy during its radical period was expressed outward in terms of religion and metaphysics, the late Dutch Enlightenment focussed more on appropriating Enlightenment ideas to the Dutch Republic. During this so called 'dutching of the Enlightenment'<sup>32</sup> writers and readers from different provinces started communicating with each other through magazines and literary societies.<sup>33</sup> Spectatorial magazines, such as *'Hollandsche Spectator'*, created by Justus van Effen in 1730, contributed to the 'dutching of the Enlightenment' by becoming platforms for discussions on the restoration of the Republic. These spectatorial magazines criticised the imitation of the French by Dutch elites and glorified the history of the Dutch Republic, thus promoting national consciousness.<sup>34</sup>

The success of spectatorial magazines is illustrated by the amount of titles published during the 18th century. 7 titles were published until 1748. Between 1748 and 1780 over 39 more titles were launched.<sup>35</sup> Spectatorial magazines paved the way many other more political magazines like *'The Political Porter'* (*De Politieke Kruyer*) (1781)

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<sup>29</sup> Mijnhardt, 'The Dutch Enlightenment', 209.

<sup>30</sup> E.H. Kossmann, 'Dutch republic in the Eighteenth Century' in M.C. Jacob and W.W. Mijnhardt, *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline Enlightenment and Revolution* (Ithaca 1992) 19-31, 28.

<sup>31</sup> van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland*, 73.

<sup>32</sup> Ibidem, 72.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>34</sup> Mijnhardt, 'The Dutch Enlightenment', 210-211.

<sup>35</sup> Ibidem, 209-210.

during the late 18th century. Because of their frequent appearance these political magazines contributed to the creation of public opinion.<sup>36</sup> Political magazines should be seen as different from spectatorial magazines. Whereas the former aimed at solving political issues, the latter was more focussed on moral and religious discussions.<sup>37</sup> Both of these were accompanied by a rising scholarly interest in history and philology. In his thesis Jan Rock has shown the connection between these scientific interests and Enlightenment ideals during the late 18th century. Historical knowledge and literature were seen as examples for good governance and virtuous life.<sup>38</sup> Philological inquiries were said to enable a proper reading of historical sources and literature. Therefore, literary scholars argued that people needed to understand their historical language in order to understand their own language. By doing this they become virtuous, prosperous people.<sup>39</sup>

The urge to fight decline in the Dutch Republic also led to the rise of civil societies. The upper middle class organised itself in order to enlighten and benefit society as a whole. The Society for Common Utility (Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen) formed in 1784 was one of largest among them. These societies aimed at educating the less fortunate by publishing accessible literature to civilise those who lacked a proper education and means of existence.<sup>40</sup> Besides the founding of such 'civil societies', whose purpose was more explicit, 35 societies existed with literature and history as their primary occupation.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, 20 or more civil societies incorporated literature and poetry in their activities. Members of such societies were usually wealthy merchants or elites because they were assumed to contribute by using their own funds.<sup>42</sup> Although membership of a literary society can be seen as an elitist affair, poets such as Jacobus Bellamy, who worked as a bakers apprentice, would also be recommended and incorporated due to their literary talent.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland*, 195-197.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>38</sup> Rock, *Papieren monumenten*, 405-406.

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, 214-217.

<sup>40</sup> W.W. Mijnhardt and A.J. Wichers, *Om het Algemeen Volksgeluk: Twee Eeuwen Particulier Initiatief* (Edam 1984) 11.

<sup>41</sup> C.B.F. Singeling, *Gezellige schrijvers: Aspecten van letterkundige genootschappelijkheid in Nederland, 1750-1800* (Doctoral thesis, University of Utrecht 1991) 15.

<sup>42</sup> Mijnhardt en Wichers, *Om het Algemeen Volksgeluk*, 11.

<sup>43</sup> J. Hoeksma, *Jacobus Bellamy* (Doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam 1903) 5-6.

Both literary and civil societies were highly ideological. Their primary aim was to elevate the entire populace. Poetry, literature and history were seen as the ideal medium to spread Enlightenment ideals and moral virtues. Philosophy and science were deemed necessary but unable to convey such messages to the general public.<sup>44</sup> It is hardly a coincidence that the rise literary and civil societies coincided with the idea of moral and economic decline within the republic. These societies can be seen as Enlightenment solutions to the decline of the Republic. Moreover, the increasing interest in history and literature within magazines and literary societies contributed to the emergence of national consciousness and a 'cult of the fatherland'.

Lastly, the Enlightenment fundamentally changed the concept of citizenship 'burgerschap' within the Dutch Republic. Before the 18th century the concept of citizenship was a legal one, describing the privileges of the legal inhabitants of a city. This concept also had several moral connotations including virtuous behaviour and participation in political culture.<sup>45</sup> Due to ideas of rationality and progress every human being was considered to be able to become a citizen. Within the new 'cult of the fatherland' these citizens were considered to be national citizens capable of active political involvement.<sup>46</sup> This new found national citizenship would play a prominent role during the events that changed the Dutch Republic into the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

### 1.3: Historical context: political turmoil

The 'dutching of the Enlightenment' should not merely be viewed as the rise of civil and literary societies. The 'dutching' meant that writers oriented themselves towards the Dutch Republic, the Netherlands or as they would call it themselves: the fatherland. As many historians know the United Provinces acted as a single county when it came to foreign policy. However, within the Union each province was more or less self-governing. Pressures arising from the idea of decay and decline stimulated the idea that all the provinces should function as a single county. As van Sas puts it brilliantly: '*The Dutch Enlightenment... ignored the inner borders and accentuated borders with surrounding countries...*'<sup>47</sup> Writers enthusiastically started giving substance to the idea of this fatherland by the use of poetry history and political pamphlets.

<sup>44</sup> M. de Vries, *Beschaven! Letterkundige genootschappen in Nederland* (Nijmegen 2001) 23-24.

<sup>45</sup> M. Rutjes, 'Useful citizens. Citizenship and Democracy in the Batavian Republic' in J. Oddes, M. Rutjes and E. Jacobs (ed.), *The Political Culture of the Sister Republics, 1794-1806: France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Italy* (Amsterdam 2015) 73-84, 74-75.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem, 74-75.

<sup>47</sup> van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland*, 55. (translated)

From 1780 onward literary societies manifested themselves politically. Literary societies became meeting places for people to discuss ideas about the fatherland.<sup>48</sup> Many of these societies would later be associated with the political movement of the so called 'patriots'.<sup>49</sup> The dramatic loss of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, between 1780 and 1784, emphasised the decline of the Republic's international position once more. The patriots, among whom many members of literary societies, turned against the stadtholders of Orange whom had historical ties to the British.<sup>50</sup> They emphasised the differences between the Dutch and the British and portrayed the British as natural enemies of the Netherlands.<sup>51</sup> On the other side of the schism 'orangists' emphasised their love of the fatherland but also claimed the stadtholders to be an essential part of the fatherland. Among these orangists were prominent professors such as Rijklof van Goens and Adriaan Kluit.<sup>52</sup>

After the loss of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, the Republic faced a period of political turmoil and uncertainty until the 'restoration' of the stadtholder as a new monarch in 1813 marking the birth of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Without going into too much detail it is important to recognise several events in order to understand the developments of some of the intellectuals mentioned in the second half of this thesis.

In 1786 a patriot uprising threatened the stadtholders position to such an extent that Prussian military intervention was used to restore the position of the stadtholder. Many 'patriots' retreated in exile only to return backed by a French revolutionary army in 1795 causing what is known as the Batavian Revolution. Like France before them, an elected National Assembly was convened with the task of writing a new constitution. Due to political delay and endless discussion a coup, led by more radical patriots such as Willem Anthony Ockerse and backed by the French, was needed to create the first constitution: 'de Staatsregeling' in 1798. The Batavian Republic became so dependent on France that changes in France meant changes to the new Republic. Due to this, the constitution was rewritten in 1801 and edited in 1805. After seizing power in France Napoleon Bonaparte named his brother: Louis Napoleon, the first King of Holland in June 1806. Because of political differences with his brother, Louis Napoleon abdicated in 1810. Thereafter, the

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<sup>48</sup> de Vries, *Beschaven!*, 265-267.

<sup>49</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>50</sup> ibidem.

<sup>51</sup> van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland*, 78.

<sup>52</sup> Appendix 1.

Kingdom was annexed to France. After Napoleon was defeated the Orange dynasty was restored in 1813, and Willem Frederik of Orange became King Willem I of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands.

It is obvious that many of the nationalist writers were influenced by the political shifts between 1780 and 1813. Professional careers changed in many cases due to the political affiliation of certain writers as we will come to see. Furthermore, writers who matured in the midst of these events like Hendrik Tollens were definitely affected by the political turmoil. But besides this a more important tendency should be mentioned. French occupation, influence and interventions were seen as infringements on Dutch society and sovereignty. The schism between 'patriots' and 'orangists' was largely resolved because of discontent over French occupation. Remieg Aerts defends the idea that the French occupation stimulated national awareness and resolved former conflicts.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, Aerts stated that the institutions built by the French were maintained after the French period because they contributed to a more central political union in the Netherlands.<sup>54</sup>

It is important to understand the rise of nationalist writing within the context of both the 'dutching of the Enlightenment' and the political upheaval of the late 18th century. The late Dutch Enlightenment was a hybrid of pessimistic views on society and the decay of the Dutch Republic on one hand and an optimistic programme of education, rationalisation and active citizenship on the other. The history and literature promoted as solutions to societal decay culminated into a 'cult of the fatherland'. The rise of this cult coincided with the political schism between patriots and orangists about the political solutions to societal decay. In the midst of this political turmoil the Kingdom of the Netherlands was created.

## **Part 2 programme and implementation**

In order to understand the geographic and socio-economic origins of nationalist writers a programme has been set up to systematically study these origins. This second part is devoted to presenting and implementing this approach. First the selection of intellectuals and the some considerations accompanying this study will be discussed. During the last two chapters the results of this programme will be presented and interpreted.

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<sup>53</sup> R. Aerts e.a., *Land van kleine gebaren: Een politieke geschiedenis van Nederland 1780-1990* (Amsterdam 2010) 52-53.

<sup>54</sup> Aerts e.a., *Land van kleine gebaren*, 57.

## 2.1 The research programme

In his doctoral thesis C.B.F. Singeling has shown that Dutch literary societies had over 1487 members.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, nearly 300 of these were enrolled in two or more societies.<sup>56</sup> This is too large a group to subject each individual member to a thorough background check during the short period of time granted to perform this research. Hence a smaller selection of writers has to be made. It is unlikely that all members of literary societies were published writers, even those registered in multiple societies. Furthermore, it is important to distinguish the writers who wrote about the fatherland and its history.

Obviously the writers need to have been born or raised in the United Provinces. Besides that, their work must have been published between the aforementioned period: 1750 to 1813. The most important criterion is that these writers must have published something concerning Dutch identity, history, character, language or the formation of a Dutch nation-state. Because of this publishers will not be included unless they were also active as writers. Furthermore, it is of no consequence what type of writing is used: poetry, novels, political pamphlets and scientific inquiries are all included. Because of practical considerations, this research has mostly included writers who have been found in secondary literature about the formation of the Dutch state and Dutch nationalism in the 18th century, more specifically '*Metamorfose van Nederland*'<sup>57</sup> and '*Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*'<sup>58</sup>. Writers who were enrolled in multiple literary societies as shown in '*Gezellige schrijvers*'<sup>59</sup> and whose literary work complies to the aforementioned criteria, have also been incorporated. The resulting list contains 36 writers who contributed to the idea of what the Dutch nation is or should be.<sup>60</sup> This list is not perfect and it remains quite possible some writers have been overlooked. The dataset should therefore be seen as a good starting point from which the writers, deemed most influential in the literature concerning the emergence of the Dutch nation-state, can be studied.

As Hroch does in his seminal study of nationalism, this research will look at the geographical distribution of its subjects.<sup>61</sup> Within the context of the Dutch Republic it

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<sup>55</sup> Singeling, *Gezellige schrijvers*, 193-194.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>57</sup> van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland*.

<sup>58</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*.

<sup>59</sup> Singeling, *Gezellige schrijvers*.

<sup>60</sup> Appendix 1.

<sup>61</sup> Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*. 50-52.

seems obvious that the province of origin of each writer is as important as the question whether the writer is of rural or urban descent. Because the Dutch Republic was already highly urbanised during the seventeenth century it seems likely that most writers were born in urban areas. Considering that the region between the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht was already the most prominent in the republic, over 30% of all the people lived in the major cities of this region,<sup>62</sup> we can clearly separate a centre and a periphery accordingly. This division could be used to discuss the influence such a centre had in spreading nationalist ideas.

By far the most challenging aspect is to compare writers according to their socio-economic status. It might prove insightful to divide writers according to their profession as Hroch and Singeling have done. However, simply dividing people according to their professions will not suffice to compare writers according to their status and origins. Therefore, their professions will to be categorised according to the social status associated with each profession. In 1962 the Dutch sociologist J.J.M. Tulder created such a status division to study social mobility in early 20th century Netherlands.<sup>63</sup> These status divisions have been adapted to the 18th century in order to analyse the socio-economic origins, position and mobility of our writers. Tulder divided professions according to 6 status categories: unschooled labour, practiced labour, petty bourgeoisie, established bourgeoisie, free occupations and the top corporate and governing officials.<sup>64</sup> In order to make it more applicable to the 18th century the established bourgeoisie and free professions have been merged into a single category. This seems legitimate due to the fact that the middle class made up a mere quarter of the urban population,<sup>65</sup> not even mentioning the total population. It would seem unwise to divide this middle class into more than two categories because its small size. Lastly, the lowest category is expanded with needy and paupers in order to include those without labour into our research.

In the adaptation used during this survey the top category (I) will be comprised of top corporate and government officials. The second category (II) will be reserved for wealthy merchants and free occupations such as professors, doctors, lawyers, clergy, and other upper middle class occupations. The third category (III) will hold the petty

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<sup>62</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*. 38.

<sup>63</sup> J.J.M. van Tulder, *De Beroepsmobiliteit in Nederland van 1919-1954: Een sociaal statistische studie* (Doctoral thesis, Leiden University 1962) 1-7.

<sup>64</sup> Ibidem, 20-22.

<sup>65</sup> Aerts e.a., *Land van kleine gebaren*, 21.

bourgeoisie among whom smaller merchants, trained clerks and smaller land owning farmers. The fourth category (IV) will be comprised of trained farmers and labourers without property. Finally the last category (V) will be made up of day labourers, the needy and paupers. When discussing the two women found on our list: Petronella Moens and Adriana Overstraten, the social status will be derived from the people supporting them: husbands, family and friends.

Least difficult to determine is the political affiliation of our writers, although some problems may yet arise. First of all the writers need to be distinguished between patriots and orangists seeing as those are the two most radical sides of the political debate between 1750 and 1813. However, during the French period this controversy dwindled, making such a division irrelevant for writers who were active only after the Batavian uprising of 1786. Furthermore, writers who came to pass before the controversy around 1780, foremost of whom is Jan Wagenaar, will also be left out of this discussion. These writers will be categorised as unknown.

As stated in the introduction of this thesis the research concerning these writers will not merely discuss writers themselves. We have to use the same methods discussed here to study the background of their parents. Considering the fact that men are often the main earners in a family, this inquiry will mainly target fathers. In some cases exceptions shall be made due to the structure of the household these writers grew up in. For example Johannes Le Franq Berkhey whose parents divorced when Johannes was still an infant, and whose father died when he was 6 years of age.<sup>66</sup> In such cases the social status of the people raising the writer will be used. In this case Berkhey's mother and grandfather. Despite such individual problems there is a more general one. Information concerning the background of the parents of these writers is harder to come by, due to the fact that not all writers have been honoured with a biography. As such, the data concerning parents is less complete than I would have hoped.

Ideally historical research is based on the extensive study of primary source material. Opposite to this rule of thumb, the use of secondary source material will be preferred here. An abundance of information necessary and a lack of time to gather them forced me refrain from primary sources. Biographies and biographical dictionaries contain most of the necessary information. Much of these became more accessible due to the increase in digital databases in recent years such as the 'biografisch portaal' database by

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<sup>66</sup> R.P.L. Arpots, *Vrank en Vry: Johannes le Franq van Berkheij (1729-1812)* (Doctoral thesis, Radboud University Nijmegen 1990) 1-9.

the Huygens institute.<sup>67</sup> Doctoral theses from the 20th century in the departments of linguistics, literature and history have also provided useful information. The dataset created will add to our knowledge of nationalism due to the fact that thus far no attempt has been made to compare and systematise the existing information. A systematic overview, in which intellectuals are divided according to their social status, could enhance our understanding of the origins of nationalism in ways that separate biographies or cultural and political historical narratives are unable to do.

## 2.2 Results

Despite the fact that not all data has been found due to incomplete source material, certain tendencies and structures have been found when looking at the background of most of our writers. All data presented and discussed below is derived from the appendix presented at the end of this paper. The results of this inquiry will be presented in the same order as discussed in the previous chapter namely: geographical, professional and social status.

At first sight there is a striking inequality between the amount of patriots and the amount of orangists found on the list. About 60% of our writers are associated or have associated themselves with patriots. It should not be concluded that more people supported the patriot cause, it could imply that patriots were more active in their attempts to spread nationalist ideas.

As shown quite clearly in table 1, Holland is by far the most commonly found province during this inquiry. Moreover, when looking at the cities of origin, 8 out of 19 writers were born in Amsterdam. Even though Amsterdam was by far the largest city in the Netherlands, the overrepresentation among these writers is slightly disproportional to the relative population of Amsterdam compared to the rest of the Netherlands.<sup>68</sup> When comparing patriots and orangists we do not see that much of a difference. In both cases over half of all writers were born in Holland. When looking at the data about the known parents of these writers we can see a similar distribution. Table 2 shows that about half of all parents were born in Holland. Also a slightly larger portion of all orangists parents were born in Holland. However, these differences are not enough in themselves to support the idea that Holland was home to more orangists than patriots.

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<sup>67</sup> Huygens Instituut voor Nederlandse geschiedenis, 'Biografisch Portaal' (version unknown) <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/> (May 12 2015).

<sup>68</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 37-38.

**Table 1: Writers according to their province of birth.**

<b>Writers geographic</b>	<b>Total Writers,</b>	<b>Patriots</b>	<b>Orangists</b>	<b>Unknown</b>
<b>Holland</b>	19	10	7	2
<b>Zealand</b>	2	1	1	0
<b>Utrecht</b>	3	2	1	0
<b>Overijssel</b>	3	1	1	1
<b>Guelders</b>	3	2	0	1
<b>Groningen</b>	1	1	0	0
<b>Frisia</b>	2	2	0	0
<b>Brabant</b>	2	1	1	0
<b>Limburg</b>	1	1	0	0
<b>total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>

(All data derived from Appendix 1)

**Table 2: Parents according to their place of birth.**

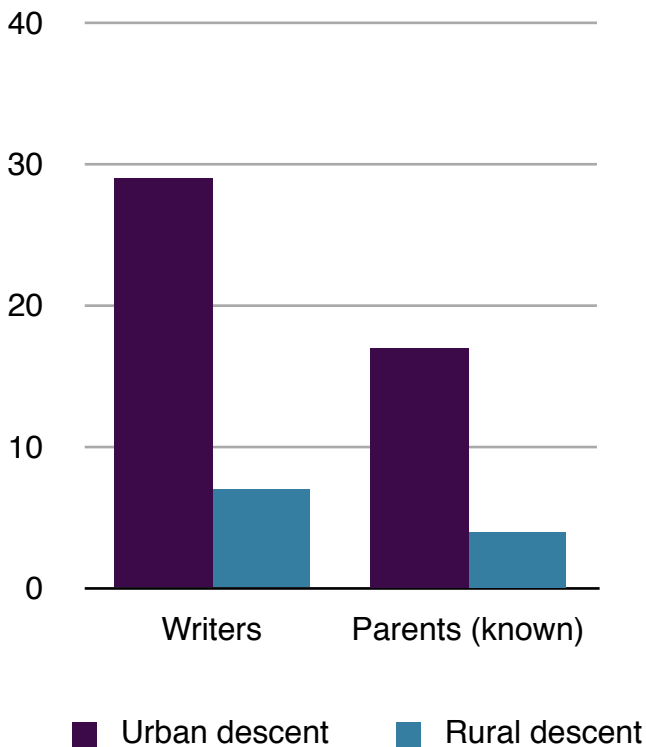
<b>Parents geographic</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Patriots</b>	<b>Orangist</b>	<b>Unknown</b>
<b>Holland</b>	12	5	6	1
<b>Zealand</b>	2	2	0	0
<b>Utrecht</b>	1	1	0	0
<b>Overijssel</b>	1	1	0	0
<b>Guelders</b>	2	2	0	0
<b>Frisia</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Brabant</b>	1	0	1	0
<b>Foreign</b>	2	1	1	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>

(All data derived from Appendix 1)

Seeing as Holland is the most urbanised part of the Dutch republic it would disprove Gellners Ideas about the first nationalists being of rural descent. By looking more closely and dividing all writers among cities and small villages this idea is confirmed. As figure 1

demonstrates the amount of writers and parents born in rural areas are nowhere near the writers and parents born in urban areas.

**Figure 1: Birthplace of writers and parents**



(All data derived from Appendix 1)

Yet this division between urban and rural, might not apply to the Netherlands. As stated above the Dutch Republic was highly urbanised. Around 1800 37% of total population lived in settlements with more than 2500 inhabitants, the highest percentage in all of Europe, Great-Britain follows second with less than 30%.<sup>69</sup> It would seem that the urban rural divide used by Gellner ought to be replaced by a division between central and peripheral areas. Within the republic each province was more or less self-governing, but it seems obvious that the centre the area between the big cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam The Hague, Utrecht, Leyden and Haarlem should be considered as the economic and governmental heartland of the Republic.

As becomes obvious when looking at table 3 and 4, dividing writers and parents according to centre and periphery shows more profound divisions. , a clear separation between patriots and orangists can be observed. Although more patriots have been studied in comparison to orangists, relatively more orangists originated from the economic and political heartland of the Dutch Republic. This idea seems to be enforced by the

<sup>69</sup> Kloek and Mijndhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 37-38.

places the parents are born. The parents of patriots clearly come from more peripheral regions than the those of orangists.

**Table 3: Birthplace of writers divided by centre and periphery**

Writers geographic	Total	Patriots	Orangists	Unknown
Centre	20	10	8	2
Periphery	16	12	3	1
Total	36	22	11	3

(Data according to appendix 1)

**Table 4: Birthplace of parents divided by centre and Periphery.**

Parents geographic	Total	Patriots	Orangists	Unknown
Centre	12	5	6	1
Periphery	9	7	2	0
Total	21	12	8	1

(data according to appendix 1)

Despite the many literary societies, prizes, political and spectatorial magazines and an assumed interest in poetry about the fatherland, it remained difficult to provide for oneself let alone an entire family by means of writing. Even though literary skills often enhanced the social standing of many writers, most of them relied on other professions to make a living. Singeling's research has shown that members of literary societies tend to be either merchants or what he called people in civil services, ranging from religious to military services. Looking more specifically, governmental services, ranging from clerks to mayors, and religious services, formed mostly by preachers, tend to be the largest categories.<sup>70</sup> Singeling derived his information from the professions mentioned on members-lists of literary societies. However, the use of such source material has its limitations. First of all, the information gathered from members-lists only mentions occupations at the moment they signed up. According to Singeling 9,5% of members are said to be students.<sup>71</sup> It seems unlikely that these people remained students the during the rest of their lives. Moreover, most writers examined during this study changed professions

<sup>70</sup> Singeling, *Gezellige schrijvers*, 192-195.

<sup>71</sup> Ibidem.

once or more during their lifetime.<sup>72</sup> Secondly, some writers held more than one profession at the same time to make ends meet or because they were active members of municipal councils. Therefore, a single statement about one's profession on the members list of a literary society is insufficient when discussing the socio-economic status of our writers.

The data presented in this study adds to that of Singeling, and tells us something about the professions most commonly associated with literary societies and nationalist writings. The most frequently returning profession is in academics and education. 11 out of our 36 writers once held a position as professor, private teacher or scientist affiliated with a university. During their student years some of these writers were influenced by the same professors. For example the orangist writers Rijklof van Goens, Adriaan Kluit, Meinard Tydenman and Jona Willem te Water all studied under Petrus Wesseling a known advocate of the stadholders.<sup>73</sup> After their student years all four of them continued a career in academics further spreading Wesseling's influence.

Besides professors quite a considerable portion of writers, 7 out of 36, held the office of preacher, and one writer: Jacobus Bellamy, died whilst studying theology in order to become a preacher.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, 5 out of 26 parents whose data was found were preachers and 2 of them had sons who continued this profession. Because most preachers were theologians in possession of a doctorate, some of these preachers, such as Mathias Siegenbeek, Petrus Weiland and Jona Willem te Water were also active as professors during a certain period of their lives.

Other frequently found occupations were government officials. Yet only one official is mentioned who never held a profession outside of government: Rhijnvis Feith. Some of these officials practiced judiciary professions before becoming government officials, although preachers or professors are also mentioned. The most often mentioned high ranking government officials amongst our writers, 6 out of 12, were members of the National Assembly after the Batavian Revolution. This revolution broke the dominance of the regent class. From the 18th century onward the regent class, a mere 1% of the people in governing position within the republic,<sup>75</sup> became more isolated from the rest of society. More often than not appointees to municipal and provincial councils were divided amongst

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<sup>72</sup> Appendix 1.

<sup>73</sup> J. Wille, *De literator van Goens en zijn kring: Studiën over de achttiende eeuw* 1 (Zutphen 1937) 73.

<sup>74</sup> Hoeksma, *Jacobus Bellamy*, 1-23.

<sup>75</sup> Kloek and Mijnhart, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 43-44.

the wealthy regent families years in advance.<sup>76</sup> As such the presence of people from liberal professions amongst the top government officials was unlikely before the Batavian Revolt. The remaining writers were often merchants from various sectors ranging from books and real estate to primary goods such as wood or fur. Medical professions are mentioned only twice and the remainder of professions mentioned are artisans or trained labourers.

**Table 5: writers according to socio-economic status**

	<b>Patriots</b>	<b>Orangists</b>	<b>Unknown</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Highest status</b>				
<b>I</b>	9	3	0	12
<b>II</b>	9	8	2	19
<b>III</b>	3	0	1	4
<b>IV</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>V</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Lowest Status</b>				
<b>I</b>	2	0	0	2
<b>II</b>	10	7	1	18
<b>III</b>	6	4	2	12
<b>IV</b>	4	0	0	4
<b>V</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>36</b>

(All data derived from appendix 1)

As mentioned above, occupation alone does not suffice to determine a person his socio-economic status. The remainder of this paragraph will therefore be devoted to dividing the nationalist writers and their parents according to their social status. Because most writers and their parents changed occupation once or twice during their lifetime, simply choosing one of their professions and dividing them accordingly would distort the dataset. Therefore, the writers and parents have been presented twice in both table 5 and 6. The first part of the table shows the highest status according to the scale described in

<sup>76</sup> Kloek and Mijndhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 43-44.

part 3 of this paper. The bottom half of each table shows the lowest class writers and parents were part of during a period of their life.

The data presented in table 5 shows that all writers held a social status above category V which means that the writers were never considered as needy once they were adults, nor were they untrained or day-labourers. This however, does not mean that all writers received a proper education. Category IV merely implies that they were practiced labourers. For example Gerrit Paape was educated as an artist in a pottery factory. And Jacobus Bellamy started out as a bakers apprentice. The total column of table 5 also shows that category III and II are the two largest categories. Lastly, there appear to be some variations when comparing all the writers highest classes to their lowest classes. The differences in category I and III are most obvious. Although it should be noted that category IV is larger when looking at the lowest classes. There seems to have been a marginal form of social mobility among these writers. Some started out in category III or IV and ended up in category I.

Even though there do not appear to be much differences between the two political groups, there are some indications that there might be a economic factor in play. When looking at the lowest status it becomes clear that there are no orangists below category III meaning that orangists were part of the middle class at all time and mainly part of upper middle class, whereas certainly not all patriots were. Furthermore, looking at both the highest and lowest status, there seems to be a slightly higher average among the orangists in comparison to the patriots, which complies with the image created by Aerts about all patriots and orangists.<sup>77</sup> When comparing social mobility it seems as though patriots have a slightly higher social mobility than orangists.

The story of Pieter Pypers provides a great example of such social mobility. Born in a middle class catholic family in Amersfoort, his parents refused to pay for his education unless he became a priest.<sup>78</sup> Unwilling to do so, Pypers found a job as a clerk for a tobacco merchant in Amsterdam.<sup>79</sup> The merchant became his patron and helped him set up his own company. Besides being a merchant Pypers was also an acclaimed poet and play-writer. His patriot activities and contacts within literary societies (especially Felix Meritus), helped him become president of the revolutionary committee in Amersfoort after the Batavian Revolution, effectively making him the one of the top administrators in the city

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<sup>77</sup> Aerts e.a., *Land van kleine gebaren*, 30.

<sup>78</sup> F. van Echten, *Pieter Pypers (1748-1805): Een bio-bibliografische studie*. (M.O. thesis Amersfoort 1982) 14-15.

<sup>79</sup> Ibidem, 16-17.

of Amersfoort. This would have been impossible before the Batavian Revolution due to his catholic beliefs. After a peculiar affair regarding money stolen from the city's treasury by the French he (unwillingly) became the single representative of the province of Utrecht in the National Assembly,<sup>80</sup> thus enhancing his social status even more. Although he deemed himself unfit for this position, he remained in office until february 1796. After 1796 he became a tax inspector for the city of Amsterdam until his death in 1805.<sup>81</sup>

Another good example of the social mobility of patriots is given by Gerrit Paape. Pypers had a proper basic education although he never attended a university of some sort. Paape's story is even more impressive as Pypers's due to the economic situation he was raised in. His father Gerrit Paape sr. worked as a tailor in The Hague and later in Delft. Although he started out with some wealth his position quickly deteriorated after the death of his first wife. Paape sr. became a journeyman at the military repository and was downgraded to day-labourer at the same repository several years later.<sup>82</sup> Gerrit Paape jr. was thus raised in a situation close to poverty. As such Paape jr. never recieved a proper education. At the age of 13 he was sent to a pottery factory to become an artisan.<sup>83</sup> Ten years later in 1775 he resigned to pursue a career as a poet. Although he had some success in The Hague and Delft, his financial position forced him to become a private art teacher and a contract artist from which he could not derive a sustainable living.<sup>84</sup> Due to his connections in literary and civil societies he obtained a job at a charitable institution in Delft in 1781.<sup>85</sup> Between 1787 and 1795 he was forced to flee from Netherlands because of his patriot activities. After his return his patriot affiliations further helped him climb the social ladder between 1795 and his death in 1803. He was a member of Frisia's judicial court, despite having no judicial background whatsoever,<sup>86</sup> and a high ranking official at the ministry of national education from 1798.

When looking at the data concerning parents, all the structural differences detected by merely looking at the writers themselves are enforced. Although more diverse than the writers, the average social status among parents seems fairly equal to that of their kin.

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<sup>80</sup> van Echten, Pieter Pypers (1748-1805), 25-27.

<sup>81</sup> Ibidem. 27-28.

<sup>82</sup> P. Altena, *Gerrit Paape (1752-1803) Levens en werken* (Nijmegen 2012) 40-41.

<sup>83</sup> Ibidem, 47.

<sup>84</sup> Ibidem, 130-131.

<sup>85</sup> Ibidem, 133.

<sup>86</sup> Ibidem, 542-543.

Furthermore, the status differences among parents are more manifest than that of the writers. On average the parents of patriots tend to have a lower social status than their children, whereas differences between orangists writers and their parents are smaller. The two patriot parents in category I tend to distort this image. one of these: Johannes Hendrik Overstraten, father of Adriana Overstraten, was the mayor of Bergen op Zoom a peripheral city in Brabant. The second is Frederik Jacob van der Capellen father of Johannes Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol who was of Guelders nobility. On the other hand there are also more outliers to the lower categories. Jaques Bellamy, father of Jacobus Bellamy died at young age which meant that Jacobus was raised in a needy and at best poor family.<sup>87</sup> If we disregard the extremes on both sides it remains obvious that orangists parents can be considered higher in status.

**Table 6: parents according to their social status**

	<b>Patriots</b>	<b>Orangists</b>	<b>Unknown</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Highest Status</b>				
<b>I</b>	2	0	0	2
<b>II</b>	7	8	0	15
<b>III</b>	6	1	0	7
<b>IV</b>	1	0	1	2
<b>V</b>	0	0	0	0
<b>Lowest Status</b>				
<b>I</b>	1	0	0	1
<b>II</b>	6	8	0	14
<b>III</b>	7	1	0	8
<b>IV</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>V</b>	2	0	0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>26</b>

(All data derived from appendix 1)

<sup>87</sup> Hoeksma, *Jacobus Bellamy*, 1.

### 2.3 Interpreting the data

Although a fair amount of data has been collected on a small number of writers, and we have seen how they can be divided, the question remains how to interpret the figures and numbers presented above. How can we interpret the obvious geographic differences between orangists and patriots and what is to make of the most frequent occupations held by nationalists. Furthermore, how should the slight differences in status and social mobility between orangist and patriots be explained. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to explaining some or more of these differences. And comparing the results presented in the previous paragraph to the modernist theories discussed in part 1.

First of all Gellners thesis claims that industrialisation triggered nationalist among rural elites. Because we have seen that most nationalists and their parents come from urban environments Gellners idea does not seem likely for the Netherlands. The major representation of nationalists from the urban centre suggests the opposite. Second, Holland is by far the most frequent province of origin and the centre heavily outweighs peripheral areas. Over 40% of total population lived in Holland explaining its dominance over the other provinces.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, it seems likely that intellectuals live in the larger cities and that people in cities are more likely to be influenced by new Enlightenment ideas as Hroch has shown in the Czech case.<sup>89</sup>

All of this still does not explain the relative amount of orangists born in the economic and governmental centre compared to the patriots. The fact that this tendency is even stronger among the parents suggest that patriotism was more attractive to people from peripheral regions. It seems unlikely that Enlightenment ideas spread faster through peripheral regions than they did through urbanised areas. Besides the fact that patriots were anti stadtholder they also preferred a more unified state and centrally governed state.<sup>90</sup> Within the Republic, Holland had always been the most dominant province. Patriots opposed the decentralised way the Estates General functioned. Moreover, according to Aerts, within the peripheral provinces the power of the stadtholder was traditionally greater due to a system of patronage.<sup>91</sup> It makes sense that people opposed to the power of Holland and the highly urbanised region would be more inclined to align themselves with the patriot movement.

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<sup>88</sup> Aerts e.a., *Land van kleine gebaren*, 16.

<sup>89</sup> Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, 50-52.

<sup>90</sup> van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland*, 290-291

<sup>91</sup> Aerts e.a., *Land van kleine gebaren*, 18-18.

We have also seen that the Dutch Enlightenment was marked by an immense idea of moral decline and religious zeal. This moral zeal merged with the idea of national citizenry and the fatherland. Looking at it from this angle, it is hardly surprising that preachers were among the most frequently mentioned occupations. This research has also found that parents were often active as preachers. Although not every child followed in their fathers footsteps, it seems likely that this religious background influenced these ideas. That is not to say that the religious resurgence during the Dutch Enlightenment caused nationalist thought. It does say that within the Dutch Enlightenment religious and moral ideas were part of the solution to societal decay. The amount of preachers found during this inquiry suggest a connection between the religious zeal and the origins of nationalism in the Netherlands.

The Enlightenment and its ideals have been spread throughout the intellectual landscape of Europe from the late 18th century, the spread of nationalist ideals as a part of the Enlightenment could also explain the prominence of professors among our nationalists. The orangist nationalists surrounding Petrus Wesseling (mentioned above), could be seen as an example of how such ideas influenced young academics. It has also been noted that education and the study of history and literature were promoted as means to tackle the moral and economic decline within the Dutch Republic. As such, the representation of professors and other educational professions among our writers can be explained. Besides religious and educational professions we have often found government officials among our writers. The position of many of these intellectual in close proximity to political power among both orangists and patriots seems similar to the theory of Max Weber, where intellectuals seek prestige by aligning themselves to those in power. However, their small numbers are not enough to confirm this indefinitely. Moreover, during the Batavian Republic some of those intellectuals were in power themselves which obsoletes the function of politicians for intellectuals in this theory.

The findings of this paper are also slightly at odds with some of Hroch his assumptions about intellectual nationalism in Phase A. First of all Hroch has stated that intellectuals and scholars in small nations were a passive elite that did not attempt to mount patriotic agitation. Within the Dutch Republic (which, for the record, can not be seen as a small nation in Hroch his sence) intellectuals were very active in spreading their beliefs and certainly attempted to create a new 'cult of the fatherland'. Secondly the intellectuals gained political influence within the Batavian Republic by becoming members of the National Assembly, in contrast to intellectuals in Hroch's theory where they remained without widespread influence. Moreover, it has been stated that nationalists in the Dutch

Republic were highly organised within civil and literary societies. In sum, the findings of this paper do not comply with Hroch's description of nationalist intellectuals in phase A.

Secondly we have seen some structural differences in status between orangist and patriot writers. This is most obvious when looking at the amount of patriot writers who reached the top status category in comparison to most writers in their lowest status categories. Most of these writers reached this top category due to the fundamental changes that occurred after the Batavian revolution. During the first year following this revolution an elected National Assembly was convened of which four writers: Bernardus Bosch, Willem Antony Ockerse, Pieter Pypers and Simon Stijl, were members. Hendricus Wyn was also elected in Den Briel but he respectfully declined.<sup>92</sup> Hendrik Kreet also enhanced his status by helping to codify new laws for the Batavian Republic<sup>93</sup> and we have also seen rise of Gerrit Paape after the Revolution. Due to their affiliation with literary societies many writers were able to climb the social ladder after the Batavian Revolution.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand orangists positions worsened due to the Batavian revolution. For example Adriaan Kluit was fired from the University of Leyden because of his orangist sentiments, which meant that the former professor was forced to become private teacher (repetitor), helping students prepare for their dissertations. Due to the revolution and debt issues<sup>95</sup> Willem Bilderdijk fled Leyden and the Netherlands, only to return in 1806. Herman Tollius who was a tutor of the children of stadtholder Willem V also fled the Netherlands after 1795 after which he was sent to Poland to administer the stadtholder's lands in that region.<sup>96</sup>

There are a few explanations suggesting why patriots on average held a slightly lower status. Merchant opposition to England and therefore the stadtholder seems to be the most obvious one. However, the fact that orangists are more likely to come from Holland and the urban centre seems to defy this argument. On the other hand, one could argue that the established elite and regent class had little to gain with a revolution. It should be noted that such arguments remain speculative, more research into the socio-

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<sup>92</sup> P.C. Molhuizen and P.J. Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 4 (The Hague 1918) 1489.

<sup>93</sup> P.C. Molhuizen and P.J. Blok (ed.) *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 9 (The Hague 1933) 554.

<sup>94</sup> de Vries, *Beschaven!*, 280-282.

<sup>95</sup> R. Honings and P. van Zonneveld, *De gefnuikte arend: Het leven van Willem Bilderdijk* (1756-1831) (Amsterdam 2013) 116-117.

<sup>96</sup> P.C. Molhuizen and P.J. Blok (ed.) *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 5 (The Hague 1921) 949-951.

economic origins of all patriots and orangists and their political motivation is necessary to resolve this issue.

With all of this taken in consideration we can state that intellectual nationalism in the Dutch Republic was a movement throughout the entire Dutch Republic. Most intellectuals were part of an elite vested within the urban centre of a country. They originated from the top of the middle class, but did not belong to the ruling class. Although there remain certain exceptions, which could suggest that nationalist ideas were also shared among the lower classes of society, the findings of this paper seem coherent with the modernist interpretation of nationalism, as a concept invented by an economic and intellectual elite. Moreover, the fact that most of our writers were part of the top social categories within the republic suggests a top-down origin of nationalism. However, this intellectual nationalism was a late 18th century movement, and a result of the Dutch Enlightenment. Though many modernists such as Leerssen would argue that Dutch nationalism originated in the 19th century, modernists ought to consider looking for its origins in the 18th rather than the 19th century.

## **Conclusion**

The main purpose behind this thesis has been twofold. First, this thesis has suggested a way in which socioeconomic research can provide relevant information about political affiliation and the origins of political movements. The programme created for this thesis shows that the socio-economic origins of intellectuals can be examined more thoroughly by looking at their parents and the environment they were raised in. This thesis has shown that the data from parents confirms structures and tendencies revealed by looking at the intellectuals, thus strengthening structural arguments.

This new programme can be used and refined within the study of nationalism by expanding the database within the Netherlands. Moreover, it can be used to compare nationalisms of different countries in order to enhance our understanding of the rise of nationalism all over Europe. Such a project might become a social historic counterweight to the Study Platform of Interlocking Nationalisms.<sup>97</sup> Next to nationalism this programme could also be used to expand our knowledge of all ideologies. By comparing the intellectual forebears of distinct ideologies such as socialism, liberalism, conservatism and nationalism according to this programme, we might be able to learn more about the origins

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<sup>97</sup> Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms, 'Presenting SPIN' (version November 19th 2008) <http://spinnet.humanities.uva.nl/home>, (May 28th 2015).

of all the great ideologies both nationally and internationally. Such programmes might help us discover socio-economic structures behind ideologies left undiscovered.

Second, this thesis has sought to contribute to the debate on the origins of nationalism by implementing its programme on the period in which Dutch nationalism was born. Although this thesis has enforced the modernist claim, it does post important side notes to its assumptions about the intellectual forebears of nationalism. In contrast to modernisation this paper has argued that the spread of Enlightenment ideals has been the driving force behind intellectual nationalism, which is most likely strengthened by urbanisation. Nationalist intellectuals in the Netherlands were not of rural descent nor were they a passive elite, as previous theories have stated. In fact most writers we have studied were part of an urban economic elite at the top of the middle class and sometimes part of the governmental elite. They were active in spreading their beliefs and exercised their influence on a political level. Lastly, the more radical patriots were of slightly lower descent but experienced more social mobility due to the upheavals of the late 18th century.

In sum this thesis has shown the relevance of investigating the socio-economic backgrounds of intellectuals and intellectual nationalists. More specifically, it has shown the relevance of broadening comparative research by not only looking at writers and intellectuals themselves, but to also include the socio-economic position of their parents to enforce our hypotheses. Although sometimes influential people come from unlikely social and economic environments, these environments helped shape their ideas and thoughts. Accordingly, their influence on broader movements has been partially shaped by this background. It would be unwise to neglect these origins of intellectual theory when the digital revolution expands access to such information manifold.

## Appendix 1:

After each name the political affiliations are mentioned when known. Second, the birth and death years are noted. Third, the place of birth is mentioned along with its province. Last a short description of each person's professional career is mentioned. Within these descriptions, the numbers between brackets refer to the status related to the profession they follow.

The second paragraph behind each name consists of similar data concerning parents or legal guardian of each writer sake for their political affiliation.

The third paragraph contains a short description of the work produced by each writer, that was considered to incorporate them into this list.

**Allart, Johannes** (patriot), (1754-1816). Born in Windesheim (Overijssel). Worked as a book-merchant and publisher (3).<sup>98</sup>

Parent: Jacobus Allart (?-?). Place of birth unknown. Preacher in Windesheim (2).<sup>99</sup>

Wrote patriot essays such as '*Freedom*' (*De vrijheid*) and '*To Dutch youth*' (*Aan de Nederlandse jeugd*).<sup>100</sup>

**Alphen, Hieronymus van** (orangist), (1746-1803). Born in Gouda (Holland). Worked as a lawyer (2) in Utrecht after which he became the attorney general (2) in Utrecht. He later became the top advisor of the City of Leyden (2) and in 1794 he became minister of finance (1) to the entire Dutch Republic. He resigned from this position after the Batavian Revolution.<sup>101</sup>

Parent: Johan van Alphen (1710-1750). Born in Amsterdam (Holland). A regent at the orphanage of the holy spirit in Leyden (2). He was also a member of the city council of Gouda (2) and the financial advisor of the church of Saint John in Gouda (2).<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> T. Broos, 'Boeken zijn zo goed als geld maar geld is beter: Johannes Allart (1754-1816)', *Spectator* 9 (1979) 14-23.

<sup>99</sup> Ibidem,

<sup>100</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>101</sup> P.J. Buijnsters, *Hieronymus van Alphen (1746-1803)* (Assen 1973), 45, 150, 246, 268.

<sup>102</sup> Ibidem, 6-7.

A known poet and writer concerned with the elevation and Enlightenment of the Dutch people especially children. He is also known for his poetry in '*Songs of the Netherlands*' (*Nederlandsche gezangen*) (1779)<sup>103</sup>

**Assendelft, Adrianus** (orangist), (1736-1809). Born in Haarlem (Holland). Worked as a preacher in Nieuwenhoorn and Leyden (2).<sup>104</sup>

Parent: Unknown.

Wrote contributions for the society of fatherlands literature (maatschappij voor vaderlandse letteroefeningen) and poetry in favour of the stadtholder such as '*Saluts of Leydens singers to Willem V*' (*Heilgroete der Leidsche zanggodinnen aan Willem V*).<sup>105</sup>

**Bellamy, Jacobus** (patriot), (1757-1786). Born in Vlissingen (Zeeland). Worked as a bakers apprentice (4) until his talents were discovered by Jona Willem Te Water. He was sent to Utrecht to become a preacher supported by benefactors from Zeeland. he died whilst completing his education.<sup>106</sup>

Parent: Jaques Bellamy (?-?). Born in Vlissingen. Worked as a valet and later became a clerk (4). Due to his early death his family was left needy (5). The economic situation improved slightly when grandfather Jaques Bellamy, who was also a valet to Dutch as well as English masters (4), moved in with them.<sup>107</sup>

Wrote poetry under his own name as well as his alias Zeelandus. Most known are his songs about the fatherland: '*Zeelandus's songs about the fatherland*' (*Vaderlandsche gezangen van Zeelandus*) (1782)

**Bilderdijk, Willem** (orangist), (1756-1831) Born in Amsterdam (Holland). Worked as a lawyer in The Hague and Leyden (2). He fled the country in 1795 and worked as a private teacher in Braunscheig and Hamburg (3) until his return in 1806. After coming in Contact with Louis Napoleon, he helped setting up a Royal Library in the Netherlands (2) and became a personal tutor to the king (2). After the French period he worked as a

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<sup>103</sup> P.J. Buijnsters, *Hieronymus van Alphen (1746-1803)* (Assen 1973), 140, 141, 146-149.

<sup>104</sup> P.C. Molhuizen and P.J. Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek 1* (The Hague 1911) 190-191

<sup>105</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>106</sup> J. Hoeksma, *Jacobus Bellamy*, 1-23.

<sup>107</sup> Ibidem, 1.

military prosecutor (2) and was supported by King Willem I. Later on he worked as a private teacher in Leyden (3) from 1817 until his death.<sup>108</sup>

Parent: Isaac Bilderdijk (1720-1798). Born in Amsterdam (Holland) He worked as a physician in Amsterdam (2), a practice he later combined with the function of tax collector in Amsterdam (2).<sup>109</sup>

As a writer he was known as a conservative romanticist. A famous poet and historian in his own day. He has had to many contributions to mention Let alone his complete history of the Netherlands '*History of the Fatherland*' (*Geschiedenis des Vaderlands*) (1832-1839).<sup>110</sup>

**Bosch, Bernardus** (patriot), (1746-1803). Born in Deventer (Guelders). Worked as a Preacher in Opsmeer, Oudcarspel, Vollenhove and Diemen (2). Later he became member of the first National Assembly representing 'Zaansche municipaliteit' (1).<sup>111</sup>

Parent: Unknown.

Wrote as journalist during the Batavian Revolutions. In cooperation with Petronella Moens he published several patriot magazines such as 'The fatherlands chatter' (De Vaderlandsche Praat-al).<sup>112</sup>

**Capellen tot den Pol, Joan Derk** (patriot), (1741-1784). Born in Appeltern (Guelders). As part of Guelders nobility (1) he received an excellent education at a Latin school and later at the University of Utrecht. He aspired to become a member of the provincial council Guelders. After being declined in Guelders he applied to the council of Overijssel where he was admitted in 1772 with the help of the stadtholder (1). He was evicted from the council in 1778 mainly due to his oppositional stances. After this he led a more solitary life corresponding with members of the american congress and writing political pamphlets. Until his death in 1784.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Honings and Zonneveld, *De gefnuikte arend*, 77, 153-154, 234-239, 333, 340.

<sup>109</sup> Ibidem, 19-22.

<sup>110</sup> De bibliotheek van Nederland, 'Willem Bilderdijk' (version unknown) <http://www.dbnl.org/auteurs/auteur.php?id=bild002> (April 22nd 2015).

<sup>111</sup> P.C. Molhuizen and P.J. Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek 2* (The Hague 1912) 217-218.

<sup>112</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>113</sup> H.S. Haase, *Het schaduwbeeld of het geheim van Appeltern* (Amsterdam 1989) 52-53, 136-139, 237-240.

Parent: Frederik Jacob Derk van der Capellen (1710-1780). Born in Appeltern (Guelders) Because of his noble decent (1) he was captain in a infantry korps in Guelders. He also became a landlord in the Betuwe dividing his time between his military duties and overseeing his property (1).<sup>114</sup>

His most famous work is '*To the people of the Netherlands*' (*Aan het volk van Nederland*) (1781). A political pamphlet opposing the stadtholder and demanding more power for the Dutch people. It is one of the first polarising essays dividing the Netherlands between patriots and orangists.<sup>115</sup>

**Engelberts, Engelbert Mathias** (patriot), (1731-1808). Born in Noordlaren (Groningen). Worked as a preacher in Hoorn (2).<sup>116</sup>

Parent: Mathias Engelberts (?-1779). Place of birth unknown. Worked as a preacher in Norg, Noordlaren, Meeden and Delft (2).<sup>117</sup>

Wrote a passionate defence of the Dutch nation. '*Defence of the Dutch Nation*' (*Verdediging van de eer der Hollandsche Natie*) (Amsterdam 1763)<sup>118</sup>

**Feith, Rhijnvis** (patriot), (1753-1824). Born in Zwolle (Overijssel). Was the mayor of Zwolle (1) and later the head of treasury department of Zwolle (2).<sup>119</sup>

Parent: Pieter Feith (?-?). Born in Zwolle (Overijssel). Worked as the head of treasury department of Zwolle (2).<sup>120</sup>

Writer of poetry and prose concerning the fatherland such as the poems '*New Year Song*' (*Nieuwjaarslied*) and '*To my fatherland*' (*Aan mijn vaderland*).<sup>121</sup>

**Franq Berkheij, Johannes le** (orangist), (1729-1812). Born in Leyden (Holland). Worked in a natural science cabinet as superintendent (2). After receiving his doctorate in

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<sup>114</sup> Haase, *Het schaduwbeeld of het geheim van Appeltern*, 19-28.

<sup>115</sup> Ibidem, 349-351.

<sup>116</sup> J.A. van der Aa, *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden: Bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op enigerlei wijze in ons Vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt* 5 (Haarlem 1859)147-148.

<sup>117</sup> Van der Aa, *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* 5, 147.

<sup>118</sup> Kloek and Mijnhardt, *Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, 161.

<sup>119</sup> Molhuysen and Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 1, 854-857

<sup>120</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>121</sup> Ibidem.

Leyden he moved to Amsterdam to become a physician and a pharmacist (2). During this time he wrote his natural history of the Netherlands which propelled him to the position of lector at Leyden university(2). A position he kept through al of the upheaval in the late 18th century<sup>122</sup>

Parent: Due to a divorce and an early death Johannes was raised by his mother. Maria Berkeij (?-?). Born in Leyden (Holland) Maria and her son were supported by her father who was a merchant and an art dealer (3). After the death of her father Maria continued this business.<sup>123</sup>

As a scientist and a writer he was most famous for his '*Natural history of holland*' (*Natuurlyke historie van holland*) (1779-1782)<sup>124</sup>

**Goens, Rijklof Michael van** (orangist) (1748-1810). Born in Utrecht (Utrecht). After his studies van Goens quickly became a Professor in Utrecht (2). Due to a theological conflict in which Goens was accused of atheism, he left the university after which he became a member of the Municipal council in Utrecht (2). After the upheaval of 1786 he left the country and attended several courts in Austria and Germany.<sup>125</sup>

Parent: Daniel Francois Goens (?-1791). Born in The Hague (Holland). was named regent to a hospital in Utrecht (2) before he became a member of the provincial high court of Utrecht, a position he held the rest of his life (2).<sup>126</sup>

Goens was an influential philologist in his day known for his work in comparing classical poetry to contemporary poetry. He was further known as a conservative politician in Utrecht who wrote theoretical defences for the orangist party.<sup>127</sup>

**Heel, Jakob Petrus van** (?-1795). Born in Rotterdam (Holland). Worked as a Notary (2).<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Arpots, *Vrank en Vry*, 37-38, 89.

<sup>123</sup> Ibidem, 1-13.

<sup>124</sup> Ibidem, 62-68.

<sup>125</sup> P.C. Molhuizen and P.J. Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 3 (The Hague 1914) 473-478.

<sup>126</sup> Wille, *De literator van Goens en zijn kring* 1, 3-5.

<sup>127</sup> van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland*, 76.

<sup>128</sup> J.A. van der Aa, *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden: Bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op enigerlei wijze in ons Vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt* 8-1 (Haarlem 1867) 346.

Parent: Unknown.

Acclaimed poet, honorary member of 3 literary societies. Wrote about citizenship and being of use to the fatherland. '*Fatherlands poetry*' (*Vaderlandse Gedichten*) (Rotterdam 1785).<sup>129</sup>

**Helmerts, Jan Frederik** (patriot), (1767-1813). Born in Amsterdam (Holland). Worked in the company of his father a masonry and real-estate merchant (3) which he took over from his father.<sup>130</sup>

Parent: Hermanus Hendricus Helmerts (1742-?). Born in Amsterdam (Holland) Worked in the masonry of his father and later expanded the company to include the sale of real-estate (3).<sup>131</sup>

As a writer Helmerts is most known for his ode to the Dutch nation '*The Dutch Nation*' (*De Hollandsche Natie*)(1812).<sup>132</sup>

**Kemper Joan Melchior** (orangist), (1776-1824). Born in Amsterdam (Holland). After receiving his title as doctor in Leyden he became a lawyer (2) in Amsterdam. Several years later he began a career in academia as a professor in civil law in Harderwijk, Amsterdam and Leyden (2). After the defeat of Napoleon he was named commissioner of the Zuiderzee department (1) in order to help control the transition from French territory to a self-governing kingdom. He also played a crucial role in the restoration of the Orange family in 1813. After the restoration he was relieved of duty and returned to the University of Leyden as rector-magnificus (2). He later helped drafting a code of law for the new kingdom(1), and was appointed to parliament in 1817 (1).<sup>133</sup>

Parent: Orphaned at the age of 9 he was raised by his grandmother of whom no further occupations are mentioned. It is known that both his parents were born in Amsterdam (Holland)<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> van der Aa, *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 346.

<sup>130</sup> Marinus van Hattum, *Jan Frederik Helmerts (1767-1813): Leven van een Amsterdamse wereldburger* (Doctoral thesis, VU University Amsterdam 1994) 23-26.

<sup>131</sup> Ibidem, 23-26.

<sup>132</sup> Ibidem, 89-97.

<sup>133</sup> J.W.A. Naber, *Joan Melchior Kemper 1776-1824* (Haarlem 1913) 21, 26, 51, 65, 99, 137, 183-185

<sup>134</sup> Ibidem, 11-15.

As a writer he is most known for his work on civil law. He is mentioned by van Sas as an advocate for the use of one's national language as the essence of a national identity.<sup>135</sup>

**Kluit Adriaan** (orangist), (1735-1807). Born in Dordrecht (Holland). Before finishing his education Kluit was offered a job as a teacher in Rotterdam, which he abandoned to work in The Hague, only to become rector several years later in Alkmaar and later in Middelburg (2). He became a professor in Leyden in 1779. Due to the turmoil in the Republic he lost his job between 1786 and 1787 and between 1795 and 1802. During these years he worked as a private teacher helping students prepare for their dissertation (3).<sup>136</sup>

Parent: Willem Kluit (1692-1777) Place of birth unknown. Mentioned to be a pharmacist in Dordrecht (2).<sup>137</sup>

Most famous for his work in history and linguistics. His magnum opus is a political history of the Netherlands '*The history of the Dutch constitution up to 1795*' (*De historie der Hollandsche staatsregeling tot 1795*) (1802-1805).<sup>138</sup>

**Kreet, Hendrik Arnold** (patriot), (1756-1804). Born in Amsterdam (Holland). Worked as a lawyer (2) before becoming a clerk at the national judicial court. He contributed to the creation of a national code of law during the Batavian republic (1).<sup>139</sup>

Parent: Jan Kreet (?-?). Place of birth unknown. Occupations unknown.

Worked on linguistics and European languages, member of 4 different literary societies. He published on the work of Vondel and 15th century Dutch language.<sup>140</sup>

**Loosjes, Adriaan Pieterzoon** (patriot), (1761-1818). Born on the island of Texel (Holland). Worked most of his life as a writer publisher and book-merchant (3) in Haarlem.

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<sup>135</sup> van Sas, *Metamorfose van Nederland*, 96.

<sup>136</sup> I van de Bilt, *Landkaartschrijvers en landverdelers: Adriaan Verwer (ca. 1655-1717) Adriaan Kluit (1735-1807) en de Nederlandse taalkunde van de 18e eeuw* (Doctoral thesis VU University Amsterdam 2009) 100-110.

<sup>137</sup> Ibidem, 100.

<sup>138</sup> Ibidem, 100-107.

<sup>139</sup> Molhuysen and Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 9, 554.

<sup>140</sup> Ibidem.

After the revolution he was appointed to the provincial council of Holland from 1797 to 1798 (2).<sup>141</sup>

Parent: Petrus Loosjes (?-?). Born in Zaandam (Holland). Worked as a preacher (2) like his father before him. active in Den Hoorn, Monnikendam and Haarlem.<sup>142</sup>

Best known for his historical novels such as '*Maurits Lijnslager*'.<sup>143</sup>

**Loots, Cornelis** (patriot), (1764-1834). Born in Amsterdam (Holland). Worked as a clerk (3) in an exchange office. After the death of his brother in law (Jan Frederik Helmers) he took over his company as stone and real-estate merchant (3).<sup>144</sup>

Parent: Albert Loots (?-?). Born in Amsterdam (Holland). not much is mentioned although it was said that he was unable to provide his son with a proper education.<sup>145</sup>

Poet who wrote on national and military topics. Such as '*The Batavians, during the reign of Julius Ceasar*' (*De Batavieren, ten tijde van Julius Cezar*) and '*The victory of the Dutch at Chattam*' (*Overwinning der Nederlanders op Chattam*).<sup>146</sup>

**Luzac, Elie** (orangist), (1721-1796). Born in Noordwijk (Holland). Worked as a printer and book merchant (3)/(2) almost his entire life and died as an influential and wealthy man.<sup>147</sup>

Parent: Elie Luzac sr. (?-?). Born in Bergerac (France). Elie owned a french boarding school in Noordwijk. Besides this he was a municipal government official and even a 'schout' in Noordwijk (2). After selling his school to a friend he became a mathematician at the University of Leyden (2).<sup>148</sup>

As a writer Luzac was concerned with defending the position of the stadtholder and the influence of a people on its government.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> M.H. de Haan, *Adriaan Loosjes* (Doctoral thesis Leiden University) 10-44.

<sup>142</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>143</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>144</sup> L. Jenssen, 'Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland: 1780-1830' (version november 12th 2013) <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1780-1830/lemmata/data/Loots> (April 24th 2015).

<sup>145</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>146</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>147</sup> R. van Vliet, *Elie Luzac (1721-1796): Boekverkoper van de Verlichting* (Nijmegen 2005) 28-29.

<sup>148</sup> Ibidem, 22-26.

<sup>149</sup> Ibidem, 383-393.

**Moens, Petronella** (patriot), (1762-1843). Born in Kubaard (Frisia). She was supported by Bernardus Bosch During which time he was a preacher (2). And she also lived with her sisters about whom no further information was found. After 1803 she was forced to support herself with her own writing which did not result in a sustainable living (4).<sup>150</sup>

Parent: Petrus Moens (1732-1803). Born in Middelburg (Zealand). Worked as a preacher (2) in Kubaard and Aardenburg.<sup>151</sup>

Moens is famous for her work poetry with Adriana Overstraten, and her collaborations with Bernardus Bosch. From 1798 she edited her own magazine '*Friend of the Fatherland*' (*Vriendin van het Vaderland*). She is famous for incorporating the female population into the nation.<sup>152</sup>

**Ockerse, Willem Anthony** (patriot), (1760-1826). Born in Vianen (Utrecht). Worked as preacher in Baarn, and Wijk bij Duurstede, (2) where he reluctantly stayed until 1796. When he moved to Amsterdam he became politically active by creating his own Magazine '*De Democraten*' after legally ending his career as a preacher he became a member of the National Assembly (1) in 1797. He helped engineer the coup in January 1798. After leaving politics in July 1798 due to a counter coup he pursued intellectual and commercial ventures only to become a preacher once more in Linnen in 1810. And became a secretary in the Society of beneficence from 1813 (2).<sup>153</sup>

Parent: Rudolphus Ockerse (1730-1807). Born in Rhenen (Utrecht). Stated out as a clerk in a notary's office (3) before becoming a notary (2) himself. He also worked as a local government official (drossaard) in Vianen (2) and was later appointed to the Municipal council.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> E. Hagen, 'Moens, Petronella (1762-1843)' (version Januari 13th 2014) <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/PetronellaMoens>, (April 20th 2015).

<sup>151</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>152</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>153</sup> J. Stouten, *Willem Anthonie Ockerse (1760-1826): levens en werk* (Amsterdam 1982) 24, 38, 49-51, 91-92, 111-114, 129-130, 185, 192.

<sup>154</sup> Ibidem, 2-6.

As a writer and publicist he is most known for his political pamphlets such as '*Batavians demand a constitution*' (*Bataven! eischt eene nationale conventie*) (1795) as well as some work on the mental conditions of man.<sup>155</sup>

**Overstraten, Adriana** (patriot) (1756-1828). Born in Bergen op Zoom (Brabant). Was married to Sebastiaan Rauws who used to be a naval officer (2). After his death she remarried to Nicholaas van Cuylenbergh a Drossaard (local government official) (2).<sup>156</sup>

Parent: Johannes Hendrik Overstraten (?-?). Place of birth unknown. A notary and public attorney (2) in Bergen op Zoom. He also held the position of mayor in Bergen op Zoom (1).<sup>157</sup>

As member of 8 different literary societies she was most known for her work with Petronella Moens in '*Fatherlands poetry*' (*Vaderlandse Dichtproeven*) (1786).<sup>158</sup>

**Paape, Gerrit** (patriot), (1752-1803). Born in Delft (Holland). Started as a journeyman (4) at a pottery and later became a pottery artist. Later he made his living as a private art teacher and painter (4). Due to his contacts in literary societies he found a job as a servant at a charity institution in Delft (3). After the revolution he became a member of the Frisian council of justice (2) and a government official at the ministry of national education (1).<sup>159</sup>

Parent Gerrit Paape sr. (?-?). Born in The Hague (Holland). Had his own tailor shop (3). due to circumstances he had to give up his shop and he became a journeyman at a military repository (4). He was later demoted to day labourer at the same repository (5).<sup>160</sup>

Wrote poetry and plays about the fatherland including: '*Fatherlands Poetry*' (*Vaderlandsche Gedichten*) (1784) and '*Fatherlands Comedy*' (*Vaderlandsche Blijspelen*) (1787).<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> Stouten, *Willem Anthonie Ockerse (1760-1826)*, 303-316.

<sup>156</sup> B. van Boxtel, 'Adriana van Overstraten' (version Januari 13th 2014), <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vrouwenlexicon/lemmata/data/AdrianavanOverstraten> (April 20th 2015).

<sup>157</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>158</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>159</sup> Altena, *Gerrit Paape*, 47, 130, 131, 133, 542, 543.

<sup>160</sup> Ibidem, 40-41.

<sup>161</sup> Ibidem, 9-15.

**Pypers, Pieter** (patriot), (1748-1805). Born in Amersfoort (Utrecht). Worked as a clerk for a tobacco merchant in Amsterdam (4) before starting his own business and become self-employed (3). After the Batavian Revolution he became chairman of the revolutionary committee in Amersfoort (2) and was promoted to the National Assembly at the end of 1795 (1). In 1796 he became a tax collector in Amsterdam (2) and briefly joined the municipal council during 1798 (2).<sup>162</sup>

Parent: Antonius Pypers (?-?). Place of birth unknown. Occupations unknown.

A known poet and play writer in his day although he also wrote essays. Pijpers usually wrote about the fatherland. Especially his speech '*The Freedom in the Netherlands*' (*De vrijheid in Nederland*) (1784) is known as well as his collection of poetry titled '*Fatherlands Poetry*' (*Vaderlandse gedichten*)<sup>163</sup>

**Sels, Willem Hendrik** (patriot), (1741-1789). Born in Wageningen (Guelders). Worked as a bookkeeper at the Amsterdam currency exchange (3) before becoming prosecutor at the military court in Amsterdam (2).<sup>164</sup>

Parent: Joost Sels (1701-1759). Born in Bredevoort (Guelders). A succesfull naval officer (2)<sup>165</sup>

Member of 4 literary societies, poet with an interest in the old testament and comparisons between Israel and the Netherlands as a chosen people.<sup>166</sup>

**Siegenbeek, Matthijs** (patriot), (1774-1854). Born in Amsterdam (Holland). Worked as baptist preacher in Dokkum and Leyden (2) after which he became a professor in Dutch language and literature (2).<sup>167</sup>

Parent: Jan Siegenbeek (?-?). Place of birth unknown. Jan presumably worked as a Tailor (3).<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> van Echten, *Pieter Pypers (1748-1805)*, 12-29.

<sup>163</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>164</sup> P.C. Molhuyzen and P.J. Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 7 (The Hague 1927)1132-1135.

<sup>165</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>166</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>167</sup> Molhuyzen and Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 5, 735-741.

<sup>168</sup> Ibidem.

As the first professor in Dutch language and literature Siegenbeek contributed massively to the codification of the Dutch language and spelling.<sup>169</sup>

**Stijl, Simon** (patriot), (1731-1804). Born in Harlingen (Frisia). Worked as a physician in Harlingen (2), after which he became a member of the first National Assembly (1).<sup>170</sup>

Parent: Jelle Stijl (?-?). Place of birth unknown. Worked as a fur merchant (3) in Harlingen.<sup>171</sup>

Was active as a historian and wrote about the Dutch republic and its bloom. '*The rise and bloom of the Dutch Republic*' (*Opkomst en bloei der verenigde Nederlanden*) (1774).<sup>172</sup>

**Swildens, Johan Hendrik** (patriot), (1745-1809). Born in Voerendaal (Limburg). Worked as a professor and rector magnificus at the university of Franeker (2).<sup>173</sup>

Parent: Cornelis Swildens (?-?). Place of birth unknown. Worked as a teacher (3) and notary (2) in Voerendaal.<sup>174</sup>

Swildens is mainly famous for his book dedicated to the Enlightenment of Dutch youth '*Fatherlands A to B Book for Dutch youths*' (*Vaderlandsch A-B boek voor de Nederlandsche jeugd*) (1781).<sup>175</sup>

**Tollens, Hendrik**, (1780-1856). Born in Rotterdam (Holland). After his education he worked in the family business in Rotterdam selling paint and paintbrushes (3). He took over the business after his father after his death in 1818.<sup>176</sup>

Parent: Carolus Lodewijk Tollens (1751-1818). Born in Rotterdam (Holland). Worked in the family business and took over the paintbrush shop from his father in 1797

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<sup>169</sup> Molhuizen and Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 5, 735-741.

<sup>170</sup> Ibidem, 837-839.

<sup>171</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>172</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>173</sup> Molhuizen and Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 3, 1226-1228.

<sup>174</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>175</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>176</sup> G.W. Huygens, *Hendrik Tollens: De dichter van de burgerij: Een biografie en een tijdsbeeld* (Rotterdam 1972) 20, 75-76, 159-161-162.

(3). His business talents allowed the company to grow in size adding a paint shop and buying up several competitors.<sup>177</sup>

Mostly known for his poetry opposing the french occupation of the Netherlands and glorifying Dutch history such as '*Fatherlands war song*' (*Vaderlandsch Krijgslied*) (1815).<sup>178</sup>

**Tollius, Herman** (orangist), (1742-1822). Born in Breda (Brabant). Was a professor in history at the university of Harderwijk (2). He later became the personal tutor of the stadtholders children (2). After the Batavian Revolution he fled alongside the stadtholder and administrated the stadtholders dominions in poland (1).<sup>179</sup>

Parent: Phillipus Johannes Tollius (?-?). Born in Zundert (Brabant). Worked as a lawyer (2).<sup>180</sup>

Tollius published about the revolt and the political situation in the Dutch Republic as well as its history.<sup>181</sup>

**Tydeman, Meinard** (orangist), (1741-1825). Born in Zwolle (Overijssel). Worked as a school-administrator (3) before becoming a professor of history in Harderwijk and Utrecht (2).<sup>182</sup>

Parent: Hendrik Willem Tydeman (?-?). Place of birth unknown. Former officer at the infantry division in Overijssel (2).<sup>183</sup>

Wrote on Dutch history as a professor expanding on the work of van Alphen.<sup>184</sup>

**Vreede, Pieter** (patriot), (1750-1837). Born in Leyden (Holland). Inherited the textile factories of his father in Leyden (3) and relocated to Tilburg where his company bloomed (2). after the revolution he became a member of the municipal council in Tilburg (2) after

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<sup>177</sup> Huygens, *Hendrik Tollens*, 17-20, 32, 160.

<sup>178</sup> Ibidem, 285-294.

<sup>179</sup> Molhuysen and Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 5, 949-951

<sup>180</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>181</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>182</sup> Molhuysen and Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 2, 1464-1466.

<sup>183</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>184</sup> Ibidem.

which he was sent to join the National Assembly in 1796 (1) where he took part in the coup of January 1798.<sup>185</sup>

Parent: Pieter Vreede sr, (?-?). Born in Leyden. Owned a lucrative textile factory in Leyden (3).<sup>186</sup>

A poet and play writer he is known for his songs about the fatherland. '*Fatherlands songs for the society of weapons merchants in Leyden*' (*Vaderlandsche liederen, voor het genootschap van de wapenhandel te Leyden*) (1784-1785).<sup>187</sup>

**Wagenaar, Jan**, (1709-1773). Born in Amsterdam (Holland). Worked as a translator (3) until 1733 after which he was probably active as a salesman in pottery (3). In 1740 he inherited a successful lumberyard from a dear friend (3). He sold this company in 1757 because revenue from his writing increased. He had additional income as a high public servant in Amsterdam (2).<sup>188</sup>

Parent: Jan Wagenaar sr. (?-?). Place of birth unknown. Not much is known about Jan Wagenaar sr. He was probably a shoemaker (4), his social rank is described as among the lower strata of society.<sup>189</sup>

Known as the greatest historian of his day he wrote 24-piece history of the Netherlands '*Fatherlands history about the histories of the now United Netherlands*' (*Vaderlandsche Historiën vervattende de geschiedenissen der nu Vereenigde Nederlanden*) (1749-1759).<sup>190</sup>

**Water, Jona Willem te** (orangist), (1740-1822). Born in Zaamslag (Zeeland). After completing his education in Utrecht, he became a preacher in Haamstede, Veere and Vlissingen (Zeeland) (2). After several conflicts in Vlissingen he became a Professor in Middelburg and later at the University of Leyden (2). In Leyden he combined his function

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<sup>185</sup> Pieter Vreede, *Mijn Levensloop*, M.W. van Boven, A.M. Fafanie and G.J.W. Steins ed. (Hilversum 1994) 7-23.

<sup>186</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>187</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>188</sup> L.H.M. Wessels, *Bron waarheid en de verandering der tijden: Jan Wagenaar (1707-1773), een historiografische studie* (The Hague 1997) 33, 82-86.

<sup>189</sup> Ibidem, 28, 82.

<sup>190</sup> Ibidem, 2-3.

as professor in theology with being a preacher. he was forced to retire in 1815 although he kept lecturing until 1817.<sup>191</sup>

Parent: Willem te Water (1698-1764). Born in Amsterdam (Holland). Worked as a preacher (2) his entire life. He was first stationed at Zaamslag and later in Axel.<sup>192</sup>

Worked as a Historian mainly interested in national history although he as assigned as a theological and church historian. He mainly wrote about the Dutch revolt in the 16th and 17th century and the birth of the Dutch Republic.<sup>193</sup>

**Weiland, Petrus** (patriot) (1754-1841). Born in Amsterdam Holland. Worked as a preacher (2) in Woerden and Utrecht. After his career as a preacher he became a professor in linguistics (2) in Amsterdam and Utrecht.<sup>194</sup>

Parent: Adreas Weiland, (?-?). Born in Batavia (Dutch East India) occupations unknown.<sup>195</sup>

As a scholar he is most known for his 11 part dictionary of the Dutch language. '*Low german linguistic dictionary*' (*Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek*) (1799-1811).<sup>196</sup>

**Wyn, Hendrik van** (patriot), (1740-1831). Born in The Hague (Holland). Worked as a lawyer (2) and became high administrator in Den Briel and Gouda (2). During the restoration of 1787 he was deposed by the stadtholder because of his support during the revolt. After the Batavian Revolution he became the main archivist of the Batavian Republic (2).<sup>197</sup>

Parent: Abraham van Wyn (?-?). Place of birth unknown. Occupations unknown

As a scholar he was most interested in literature. He published '*New contributions to the Fatherlands literary studies*' (*Nieuwe bijdragen tot opbouw der vaderlandsche letterkunde*) his major contribution to the establishment of national literary science.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> J. de Mooij, *Jona Willem te Water: Historicus en theoloog tussen traditie en Verlichting* (Doctoral thesis Leiden University 2008) 17, 40, 43, 48, 235, 239-240, 245-246, 281-282.

<sup>192</sup> Ibidem, 16-17.

<sup>193</sup> Ibidem, 83-84, 96-97.

<sup>194</sup> v P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 10 (The Hague 1937)1160-1162.

<sup>195</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>196</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>197</sup> Molhuysen and Blok (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 4, 1487-1490.

<sup>198</sup> Ibidem.

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